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Development of TAM and polarity marking conditioned by transitivity status in Western Mande

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A number of Western Mande languages, viz. most Greater Manding varieties and Soninke, differ from the rest of Mande in that in clauses with certain TAM and polarity (TAMP) values, they use different TAMP markers depending on the transitivity status of the clause. The range of predicative constructions involved varies according to the language. It may include positive constructions, such as Positive Perfective, as in (1) from Mandinka, Positive 2PL Imperative, Positive Imperfective with focalization, Positive Subjunctive, as well as negative constructions, such as Negative Perfective, as in (2) from Mandinka, Negative Imperfective and Negative Progressive. I provide a diachronic explanation for this typologically unusual situation by arguing that depending on the construction, TAMP marking conditioned by transitivity status in Western Mande has developed following two different pathways. The first involves all the positive constructions, with the exception of the Subjunctive. Here, the difference in TAMP marking conditioned by transitivity status results from a conflation of two different constructions, viz. C_1 that used to function primarily as intransitive and C_2 that used to be largely indifferent to transitivity status. Along with the integration of C_1 and C_2 as variants of the new construction C' , C_1 has further specialized as a dedicated intransitive construction, the intransitive variant C'_I of the new construction C' ; and C_2 has become confined to transitive uses as the transitive variant C'_T of C' . The second group of constructions includes all the negative constructions and the Positive Subjunctive. Here, the difference in TAMP marking is only indirectly related to the transitivity status of the construction. It is a result of a differential phonological evolution of a single TAMP marker as a function of its right context, which is accounted for by frequency effects and typical patterns of Mande phonotactics. In particular, the TAMP marker in the intransitive variant of a given construction has preserved some segmental or tonal material that has been lost in the allomorph in the transitive variant of the construction.

Mandinka (Creissels 2013:62, 70, 181)

- (1) a. *sùl-óo sèlè-tà yír-óo sántò* (intransitive PFV:-tá)
monkey-ART climb-PFV.I tree-ART at.the.top
'The monkey climbed to the top of the tree.'
- b. *sùl-óo yè yír-óo sèlè* (transitive PFV: yé ~ ñá)
monkey-ART PFV.T tree-ART climb
'The monkey climbed the tree.'
- (2) a. *ǎ máŋ ǎsílǎŋ féŋ ná jàŋ* (intransitive PFV.NEG - máŋ¹)
1SG PFV.NEG fear thing OBL here
'I am not afraid of anything here.'

- b. *ǵ mǎŋ móórí jé jèè* (transitive PFV.NEG - mǎŋ)
1SG PFV.NEG marabout see there
'I did not see any marabout there.'

On *n*-words in Gallo. The case of *jamés/jamaez/jamin*

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This paper aims to contribute to the literature on so called *n*-words (negative words) across Romance languages by exploring the distribution of *jamés/jamaez/jamin* ('never' / 'any time') in Gallo, comparing it systematically with its cognate '*jamais*' in standard French (specifically, the French spoken in Loire Atlantique (Nantes)). Gallo is an endangered regional language of the Oïl family (like French), spoken in Upper Brittany, historically a Latinate (rather than Celtic) zone extending over Côtes-d'Armor, Ile-et-Vilaine, Morbihan and Northern Loire-Atlantique.

As is well known, the analysis of *n*-words across Romance is debated (cf. Corblin & al. 2004). Are *n*-words inherently negative expressions (Zanuttini 1991, Déprez 2003; Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, de Swart 2002) or Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) —that is, indefinites that must appear in the scope of negation to be licensed (Laka 1990, Giannakidou 1997)?

Based on data from the SYMILA project (*Syntactic Micro-variation in Romance Languages of France*, ANR-12-CORP-0014), Auffray (2012), Deriano (2005), and Robin (2010), we argue that while '*jamais*' in standard French is an inherently negative expression (following Déprez 2003), '*jamés/jamaez/jamin*' in Gallo is an NPI licensed in the scope of semantic negation.

I. *jamais* in Standard French

- (1) *Jamais* *il* *ne* *lui* *serre* *La* *main*.
n-word *he* *NEG* *him* *shake.PRS* *the* *hand*
'Never, will he shake his hand'.
(2) *Il* (*n'*)¹ *a* *jamais* *mangé*.
He *NEG* *AUX.PST* *n-word* *Eat*
'He has never eaten.'

Examples in (1-2) show that '*jamais*' appears on its own, introducing semantic negation, be it in pre-verbal or post-verbal position (to be more precise, be it in a position preceding/following the verbal element bearing inflection).

(3) further shows that French allows negative concord (NC) readings, where multiple occurrences of morphologically negative expressions express semantically a single negation. Crucially however, sentential negation in standard French does participate in the negative concord system, as shown in (4) (cf. Déprez 2003). That is, when French '*pas*' co-occurs with an *n*-word, as in (4), it yields only a Double Negation (DN) reading, where the two negations cancel each other out, yielding a semantically positive statement.

- (3) *Personne* *n'* *a* *jamais* *mangé* **NCor DN**
n-one *NEG* *AUX.PST* *n-word* *Eat*
'No one has ever eaten.' (NC)
'It is not the case that no one has ever eaten. = Someone has eaten. (DN)
(4) *On* *ne* *l'* *a* *pas* *Jamais* *su* **DN (only)**
We *NEG* *CL* *AUX.PST* *NEG* *n-word* *know*
'It is not the case that we didn't know it' = 'We knew it.' Not 'We never knew it.'

II. Preverbal *jamés/jamaez/jamin*

Preverbal '*jamés/jamaez/jamin*' in Gallo also appears on its own, introducing semantic negation.

¹Standard French expresses sentential negation with two discontinuous markers, and an obligatory negative adverb *pas* and an optional expletive clitic *ne*

- (5) *Jamin il arë cru sa.* (ANR SYMYLA)
n-word he AUX.FUT believed that
 'He would have never believe that'

III. Postverbal *jamés/jamaez/jamin*

(6) shows, however, that '*jamés/jamaez/jamin*' in post-verbal position co-occurs with matrix negation, itself expressed by '*pas/pouin/pouint/pus*' in Gallo (Robin 2010). Crucially (5-6) yield **negative concord** readings, not double negation readings. Compare Gallo (6) with French (4).

- (6) a. *Il arë cru Sa pouin jamin!* (ANR SYMYLA)
He AUX.FUT believed Tha NEG n-word
 t
 'He would have never believed that.'
- b. *Tu le vaiz pas Jamaez roler une cigarette.* (Robin 2010)
You CL see NEG n-word Roll a cigarette
 'You never see him rolling a cigarette.'
- c. *En ne l' a Pouin jamés su* (CC,91) NC
We NEG CL PST NEG n-word know
 'We never knew it.'

Furthermore, elicited data from the SYMYLA data base tell us that '*jamés/jamaez/jamin*' not only can, but must co-occur with matrix negation, suggesting that it needs to be in the scope of negation. That is to say, that it behaves like an NPI.

- (7) *Â Tu poiun jamin të denâchë...* (ANR SYMYLA)
AUX-PST You NEG n-word CL detached
 'Have you ever been detached?'
- (8) * *Â Tu jamin të denâchë* (ANR SYMYLA)
AUX-PST You n-word CL detached

We conclude that while '*jamais*' in standard French is inherently negative (since it freely occurs on its own in pre/post verbal position and yields a DN reading with sentential negation), '*jamés/jamaez/jamin*' in Gallo behaves exactly like an *n-word* in Spanish/Italian (9-10): (apparently) licensed on its own in preverbal position (5)/(9) but by semantic/matrix negation in postverbal position (6-7)/(10). (Concretely), we extend Penka's analysis of *n-words* in Spanish/Italian to Gallo. On this proposal, Gallo *n-words* are NPIs that must fall in the scope of overt semantic negation to be licensed in postverbal position, but can be 'self-licensed' by an implicit negative operator in preverbal position.

- (9) *Nunca pasó El examen de inglés.*
Pro n-word passed the exam of English
 'He never passed the exam.'
- (10) *María no pasó nunca el examen de inglés.*
Mary NEG passed n-word the exam of English
 'Mary never passed the English exam.'

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An uncommon grammaticalization pattern in Dan: from a verb to an adverbial suffix

Adverbs in Dan-Gweetaa (Dan < Southern Mande < Southeastern Mande < Mande < Niger-Congo) are relatively numerous, they represent about 5% of the vocabulary. Among these, there are simple (non-derived) adverbs (*yɔ̃* ‘here’, *tò* ‘now’, *kpá* ‘once upon a time’, etc.); those derived with a transcategorial suffix *-dɔ̃* (a very numerous class, cf. Vydrin 2011); and those derived with the suffix *-wō* from determiners. Among the latter, many (may be even all) adverbs may have variants with the suffix *-bō*.

In this presentation, I am going to show that these suffixes originate from verbs, and that this evolution is due to reinterpretation of the syntactic structure of pragmatically marked verbal constructions.

The adverbs derived with the suffix *-wō* ~ *-bō* are about a dozen (the determiners from which they are derived are given in brackets):

yā āwō ‘very’ (*yā ā* ‘bad’), *báwō* ‘again’ (*bá* ‘certain; another’), *dɛ́báwō* ~ *dɛ́bábō* ‘again’ (*dɛ́bá* ‘few’), *zàwō* ‘as soon as’ (probably from *zà*, a contrastive topic marker), *dě dēwō* ‘very, too much’ (*dě dē* ‘self’), *dě əwō* ‘again’ (*dě ə* ‘new’), *kpě̀əwō* ~ *kpě̀əbō* ‘always’ (probably from *kpě̀ə* ‘the rest’), *zĩǎǎwō* ‘as much as...’ (*zĩǎǎ* ‘self; even’), *sĩbǎwō* ‘excessively’ (*sĩbǎ* ‘numerous’), *gbàwō* ‘almost’ (*gbà* ‘all, entire’), *dhũwō* ‘sometimes’ (probably from *dhũ*, a determiner serving as a plural marker), *dèbɛ̃ɛ̃wō* ‘exactly’ (*dèbɛ̃ɛ̃* ‘self; exactly’), *blě̀sùwō* ‘already’ (*blě̀sù* ‘first’).

If we look for candidates to the source of the suffix *-wō*, we find a dummy verb *wō*, a substitute of a lexical verb, which is used when the lexical verb is focalized or is pragmatically prominent in some other way. In this case, the lexical verb is nominalized (the nominalization is morphologically unmarked) and put into the position of the direct object to the dummy verb *wō*. The nominalized lexical verb may have a focus marker (1b), but it may appear without focus marker as well.

- (1a) *Zá yà glòò.* → (1b) *Zá yɔ̃ glòò dɛ́ wō.*
Zan 3SG.PRF have.rest Zan 3SG.EXI have.rest FOC do

‘Zan has taken rest’. → ‘It’s rest that Zan did’.

Here are some other uses of the construction with the dummy verb.

— pluriactional meaning:

- (2) *Gɔ̃ yà pɔ̃-dũ wō.*
Geu 3SG.PRF fall-PL do
‘Geu has fallen several times’.

— expression of adverbial meanings by determiners or adjectives:

- (3) *Gɔ̃ yà pɔ̃ bá wō.*
Geu 3SG.PRF fall other do
‘Geu has fallen again’.
- (4) *Gɔ̃ yà pɔ̃ zĩ̀sù wō.*
Geu 3SG.PRF fall horrible do
‘Geu has fallen horribly’ (from a high tree, etc.).

In a construction with a dummy verb, an oblique may follow either the (nominalized) lexical verb (5a) or the dummy verb (5b).

- (5a) *Dá bā yɔ̃ dũ ǎ dɛ́ wō gèè gò.*
child ART 3SG.EXI flee FOC do\NTR mask from
‘The child FLEES the mask’.

- (5b) *Dá bā yɔ̃ dũ ǎ gèè gò dɛ́ wō.*
child ART 3SG.EXI flee mask from FOC do\NTR

(the same meaning)

Compare constructions, semantically different, with a dummy verb (6a) and with a *-wō*-adverb (6b).

(6a) *Dē yà d̥l̥h̥ yā ā d̥l̥ wō kó bā bā.*
 leaf 3SG.PRF stick bad FOC do house on there
 ‘A leaf has stuck to the wall of the house in an ugly way’.

(6b) *Dē yà d̥l̥h̥ yā āwō kó bā bā.*
 leaf 3SG.PRF stick bad-ADV house on there
 ‘A leaf has stuck hard to the wall of the house’.

It can be suggested that the adverbial suffix in question comes back to the dummy verb. The evolution can be represented as follows:

1) The lexical verb is nominalized and put into the construction with the dummy verb; the nominalized lexical verb may acquire a modifier (1c).

(1c) *Zā yà NP[glòò dē ẽ wō.*
 Zan 3SG.PRF take.rest new do
 ‘Zan has taken rest again’, lit. «Zan has done a new rest».

2) The nominalized form of the lexical verb is reinterpreted as finite and acquires the inflectional morphology (in Dan, the verbal morphology is mainly tonal; e.g., the neutral aspect is marked by the extra-low ton on the verb), while the dummy verb is reinterpreted as a derivative adverbial suffix (1d).

(1d) *Zā yà glòò dē ẽwō.*
 Zan 3SG.PRF take.rest\NTR new-ADV
 ‘Zan has taken rest again’.

The grammaticalization pattern suggested here is indirectly corroborated by the fact of variability of the adverbial suffix, *-wō ~ -bō*. One might think that *-wō* is just a “weak variant” of *bō* (in Dan, *b* may be pronounced as *w* in the word-internal position in the rapid speech). However, another explanation can be suggested. There is a very polysemous verb *bō* whose original meaning is ‘to remove; to harvest’, and it also appears as a dummy verb. In the constructions with nominalization of the lexical verb (like in (1b)), *wō* and *bō* are synonymous. Therefore, a parallel evolution of both dummy verbs to synonymous adverbial suffixes seems quite plausible.

An evolution “verb → adverbial suffix”, although very exotic from the typological viewpoint (in particular, it is not attested in (Heine & Kuteva 2002), nor in (Lehmann 2015)), appears quite logical in Dan. It is also found in the closely related languages Mano (Khachaturyan 2015, 70) and Tura (Idiatov, Aplonova 2016).

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Glosses

ADV — adverbial suffix	NTR — neutral aspect inflection
ART — definite article	PL — plural marker
EXI — existential series of predicative markers	PRF — perfect
FOC — focalizer	SG — singular

From Affirmation to Continuousness: An Unusual Case of the Aspectual Construction

$s\gamma^{55}...s\gamma^{21}$ in Caijia

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Caijia is an isolating, under-described, and non-classified language of SVO spoken by less than 1,000 (Language Team of Bureau of Ethnic Identification of Guizhou Province 1982) people in northwestern Guizhou Province of China possessing many quasi-Sinitic grammatical features.

On the basis of first-hand field data collected in empirical approach (Dahl 2000:810-18, MPI Stimuli Videos), this paper aims to present, in a typological perspective, a unique grammatical phenomenon that the construction $s\gamma^{55}...s\gamma^{21}$ serves to mark the continuous aspect in this language, and demonstrate how this construction can develop into an aspectual marker.

One of the areal grammatical features in Southeast Asia is that verbs ‘to dwell/be at’ regularly grammaticalize into progressive aspect markers (Matisoff 1991), a feature already attested in many Sinitic and non-Sinitic languages in China. The neighboring languages of Caijia demonstrate the same feature, i.e. locative serving as progressive marker, such as Yi of Lolo-Burmese (Zhai 2011), Miao of Hmong-Mien (Wang 1985, Shi 2003), and Southwestern Mandarin of Sinitic. Wu (2010) has further refined the grammaticalization pathway of the verb ‘to dwell’ among Southeast Asian languages— $V_{\text{DWELL}} > V_{\text{EXIST}} > (\text{Prep}_{\text{LOC}}) > \text{PROGRESSIVE}$.

The verb ‘to dwell’ in Caijia underwent a similar process, but it has not gone that far along this grammaticalization pathway, stopping at the *locative preposition* stage. Instead, Caijia developed another special construction $s\gamma^{55}...s\gamma^{21}$, in which the first $s\gamma^{55}$ serves as a copula and the second $s\gamma^{21}$ as a nominalizer, to mark the continuous aspect including non-progressive/stative and progressive (Comrie 1976). This circum-construction is astride the V or VP that should be marked. For example,

- (1) a. $[t\eta^{55} [t\eta^{55} s\gamma^{55} \text{ VP} [tu^{21} l\alpha^{24}-k^{ha55}] s\gamma^{21}]?$ ‘Where is the cup?’
 cup STAT be at Q-place STAT
 b. $j\epsilon^{55} s\gamma^{55} \text{ VP} [p\alpha^{21} s\gamma^{55}] s\gamma^{21}$. ‘He is swimming.’
 3S PROG swim PROG

This construction also shows multi-functionality. Apart from marking the continuous aspect, it also has an emphatic or affirmative function, which resembles the affirmative function of copula *shi* 是 in Standard Mandarin (Li & Thompson 1981). For example,

- (2) je⁵⁵ mia²¹ nɛ⁵⁵ sɿ⁵⁵ mia²¹ se²¹[sɿ²¹+e], tu²¹sɿ²¹ ɲo⁵⁵ pv²¹ taŋ²⁴ tɛ^hi⁵⁵k^ha⁵⁵.
 3S beautiful TOP AFF beautiful [AFF+PM] but 1S NEG that like
 ‘She is certainly beautiful, but I am not that into her.’

My proposal is that the aspect-marking function develops out of the affirmative function, to be exact the function of affirming states, with the non-progressive marking as an accelerator for the progressive marking. In other words, this construction first grammaticalized into a stative marker, then was generalized to the progressive aspect marker. The proposed pathway of grammaticalization for the construction $sɿ^{55}...sɿ^{21}$ is: AFFIRMATIVE>NON-PROGRESSIVE/STATIVE>PROGRESSIVE. Apparently, such a construction type to mark the continuous aspect has not yet been attested or reported in other languages in China so far. Furthermore, the affirmative is a rare source for progressive aspect markers in cross-linguistic perspective.

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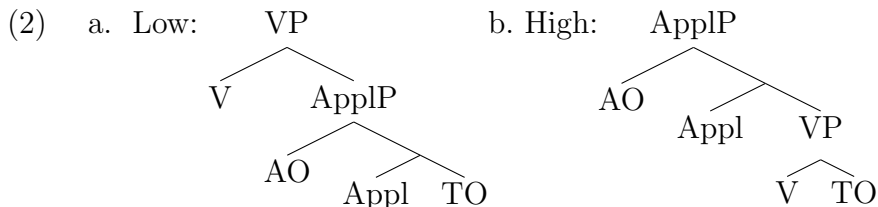
Applicative Morphology at the Syntax-Semantics Interface

Introduction: In this paper I argue that the semantic contribution of an applicative head is independent of its syntactic structure, contra previous work which has argued that the syntax of applicatives correlates with a particular semantics, such as transfer-of-possession (Pylkkänen 2008). Furthermore, a vein literature has linked the thematic role of the applied object to specific syntactic configurations in order to derive the objecthood properties of a particular applicative. I instead argue that there is no correlation between the applicative’s syntactic structure and thematic role type, allowing the thematic role to independently vary from the syntactic facts of object symmetry in a specific language.

Background: A famous feature of Bantu languages is the applicative morpheme, which licenses a new object to the argument structure of the verb. A heavily debated topic has been how the grammatical function of the applied object is similar or different to the grammatical function of the direct object of the verb. Consider, for example, the sentence in (1) from Chicheŵa (Bantu; Malawi).

- (1) *A-mfumu a-na-mang-ir-a mw-ana nyumba.*
 2-chief 2S-PST-build-APPL-IMP 1-child 9.house
 ‘The chief built the house for the child.’ Chicheŵa

The two objects in (1) are asymmetrical with respect to various objecthood diagnostics, e.g. only the beneficiary can be the subject of a passive, and only the beneficiary can be object-marked on the verb. The theme, however, cannot. In order to explain these facts, some have appealed to Pylkkänen’s (2008) distinction between so-called high and low applicatives, which differ in how the applied object is related to the verb.



In high applicatives, the applicative relates an event to an individual, while the low applicative relates two individuals. With object symmetry, it is claimed that high applicatives are symmetrical and low applicatives are asymmetrical (McGinnis 2001, McGinnis and Gerdt 2003, Zeller and Ngoboka 2006, Jeong 2007), though the details of what drives this difference are debated (e.g. via phases or locality constraints).

Claim: In this paper, I argue against correlating high and low applicative structures to specific thematic role types, and moreover, that object symmetry is not predictable from thematic role. Furthermore, I question the usefulness of the high/low distinction more broadly, arguing that formally, there is no restriction to assigning high applicatives a transfer-of-possession semantics. In short, I argue that the syntactic and semantic nature of applicatives are not unified and may covary in constrained ways across and within languages. Furthermore, I show that not all objecthood diagnostics cited in the literature follow from a single

point variation, but rather various semantic and discursive factors such as animacy, noun cast, and topic prominence affect the results of different diagnostics.

Empirical Predictions: Three typological predictions follow from the hypothesis that syntax and semantics are not universally correlated. The data come from three Bantu languages: Kinyarwanda (Rwanda), Chicheŵa (Malawi), and Lubukusu (Kenya).

(i) Applicative morphemes that are syntactically high and have low applicative semantics. In Kinyarwanda, for example, the benefactive applicative shows properties ascribed to high applicatives, e.g. it can be used with intransitives. However, the benefactive also introduces transfer-of-possession, as shown in (3), a property reserved for low applicatives.

- (3) *A-z-oher-er-eza ama-faranga aba-byeyi ba-njye.*
 1S-FUT-send-BEN-IMP 6-money 2-parent 2-my
 ‘S/he will send my parents money.’

(ii) There is no universal link between object symmetry and thematic role type. Cross-linguistically, there is no clear-cut preference for a specific role to show symmetry or asymmetry. One example is that in benefactive applicatives in Chicheŵa, the direct object of the verb cannot be object-marked on the verb when the applicative is used. In Lubukusu, however, the cognate sentence is acceptable.

- (4) **A-mfumu a-na-i-mang-ir-a mw-ana.*
 2-chief 2S-PST-9O-build-APPL-IMP 1-child
 ‘The chief built it for the child.’ Chicheŵa
- (5) *Omw-ami k-a-ki-ombakh-il-a omw-ana*
 1-chief 1S-PST-7O-build-APPL-FV 1-child
 ‘The chief built it for the child.’ Lubukusu

(iii) Objecthood diagnostics can independently vary in their object behavior. For example, in (6), the theme can be the subject of a passive, while in (7) the theme cannot be extracted in a relative clause.

- (6) *Igi-kombe cy-a-men-esh-ej-w-e in-koni na mw-ana.*
 7-cup 7S-PST-break-ISH-PERF-PASS-PERF 9-stick by 1-child
 ‘The cup was broken with a stick by the child.’
- (7) **Iki ni-cyo gi-kombe mama y-a-men-esh-eje in-koni.*
 7.this COP-7 7-cup 1.mom 1S-PST-break-ISH-PERF 9-stick
 Intended: ‘This is the cup that mom broke with the stick.’ Kinyarwanda

Conclusion: I claim that the syntax and semantics of an applicative are not linked, which captures the inter-linguistic and inner-linguistic mismatches between the thematic role of the applied object and the syntactic facts of objecthood.

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Possessive chains and Possessor Camouflage Bernard Comrie

Recursive possessive constructions produce possessive chains like (1) in English [eng].

- (1) *the girl-'s father-'s house*
DEF.ART girl-GEN father-GEN house
'the house of the father of the girl'

In most such constructions, from knowing the morphosyntax of possessor and possessum in the corresponding bipartite construction, as in (2), one can predict the morphosyntax of the intermediate possessor (*father* in (1)): it combines the distinctive properties of possessor and possessum.

- (2) *the girl-'s house*
DEF.ART girl-GEN house
'the house of the girl'

From the bipartite construction in (2) we can identify the properties of possessor and possessum in this construction as in (3).

- (3) a) The possessor precedes the possessum.
b) The possessor stands in the genitive.
c) The possessum lacks the definite article expected given its definite semantics.

In the possessive chain (1), each possessor precedes its possessum, each possessor including the intermediate possessor stands in the genitive, and each possessum including the intermediate possessor lacks the semantically expected definite article.

Many languages with typologically distinct possessive constructions conform to this generalization, e.g. Russian [rus], Finnish [fin], Abkhaz [abk], Welsh [cym], Turkish [tur], Tsez [ddo], Standard Arabic [arb]. However, two independent cases are known in which the properties of an intermediate possessor are not predictable from the properties of possessor and possessum in the bipartite construction, a phenomenon that may be called Possessor Camouflage.

In Sakha (Yakut) [sah] and the closely related Dolgan [dlg], the bipartite possessive construction is head-marking, as in (4); the examples are from Sakha.

- (4) *učūtal ĵie-te*
teacher house-3SG
'the teacher's house'

The properties of this construction are as in (5).

- (5) a) The possessor precedes the possessum.
b) The possessum is indexed for the person-number of the possessor.

In a possessive chain, as in (6), the intermediate possessor manifests the possessum property of indexing the person-number of its possessor, but takes an explicit possessor marking, genitive case, that is not found in the bipartite construction.

- (6) *kini ehe-ti-n oron-o*
 s/he grandfather-3SG-GEN bed-3SG
 ‘her grandfather’s bed’

A specification for intermediate possessors must therefore be added to those in (5), as in (5').

- (5') c) The intermediate possessor stands in the genitive.

The second case involves Scottish Gaelic [gla] and Irish [gle], illustrated here with Scottish Gaelic. The bipartite possessive construction is shown in (7).

- (7) *doras an taighe*
 door(M) the.M.SG.GEN house.GEN
 ‘the door of the house’

From this, one can deduce the properties in (8).

- (8) a) The possessum precedes the possessor.
 b) The possessor stands in the genitive.
 c) The possessum lacks the definite article expected given its definite semantics.

In the possessive chain, illustrated in (9), however, the intermediate possessor, while lacking a definite article as predicted by its status as possessum, fails to stand in the genitive case as expected from its status as possessor.

- (9) *doras taigh na mnà*
 door(M) house(M) the.F.SG.GEN wife.GEN
 ‘the door of the house of the wife’

Thus (8) needs to be modified either to restrict genitive marking to “ultimate” possessors or to exclude intermediate possessors from the scope of (9b).

Given only two known independent cases, it is hard to make typological generalizations that are likely to stand the test of time. Since the two cases differ on some significant typological parameters, including constituent order and the head/dependent-marking parameter, it is not easy to hypothesize typological characteristics that might correlate with Possessor Camouflage. One feature that both cases share is that the unusual behavior of intermediate possessors concerns their behavior as possessor rather than as possessum, so this suggests a hypothesis worth testing. Now that the phenomenon of Possessor Camouflage is recognized, others are encouraged to seek out further examples to construct a more broadly based typology of the phenomenon.

Motion in Toposa

Is Toposa a verb frame or satellite frame language?

Helga Schroeder

A lot of research has been conducted on motion events after Talmy started his research on the typology of motion events (1972, 1985). In his final version Talmy (2000) suggested a dichotomy of S-languages versus V-languages. The predominant pattern in S languages is that the manner of motion is conflated in the verb root while the path is expressed in additional syntactic categories, also known as satellites. In predominant V-languages the path is packaged in the verb and the manner of motion is expressed in other syntactic categories and/or manner of motion verbs do not occur often.

A lot of debate has followed Talmy's typological suggestions and the dichotomy has been challenged in several ways in particular through languages with serial verb constructions (Ameka & Essegbey 2013 for Ewe). Slobin then suggested to expand Talmy's typology to a third category called equipollent frame (Slobin 2006). In this frame path and manner of motion have equal status and they are expressed either in coordinated, serialised or compounded verbal constructions. Croft et al. (2010) refined Talmy's typology even further and added the double framing category that takes care of languages where the path is lexicalised in the verb root and additionally expressed as satellite.

Using examples from Toposa, an Eastern Nilotic language spoken in South Sudan, this paper will argue for a specific parametric variant in an overall V-frame language. By predominantly lexicalising the path, hybrid lexicalised verb constructions of manner-path or even manner-path-ground emerge. These constructions do neither fit into V framing nor symmetric or equipollent framing. Also macro-event constructions will be highlighted caused by the allative and ablative directional morpheme.

The following examples serve to exemplify the research question. The verb 'exit' is expressed with the intransitive verb 'go out' *pud*, a typical path oriented verb:

- (1) Ki-liliṇi iṇeṣi, to-ṇo-u, to-pud-o
DEP-keep.quiet he DEP-rise-ALL DEP-go.out-ABL

He kept quiet, he rose, he went out.

The verb 'fall' has a manner aspect integrated in the verb *sam* meaning to 'fall gently':

- (2) E-sam-akini lo-ukwa lu e-rai ṇasuran koṇina,....
1P-fall:gently-BEN-REF LOC-thorns which 3P-be-PST F/PL-grass soft

I fell [gently] into the thorns which were [like] soft grass, [I descended] like a [falling] sorghum leaf.

The research will also consider Slobin's suggestion (2003:162) that speaking can influence thinking in such a way that a saliency hierarchy between the use of manner in motion versus the use of path of motion emerges. In line with this argument, the paper will discuss that Toposa speakers freely use and interact with the dimension of

path whereas the dimension of manner is only mentioned when it is emphasised and/or focused upon as in the narrative plot. The research is based on a corpus of about 50 Toposa narrative texts (M. Schröder 2010).

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PREPOSITIONAL MARKING IN THREE PLACE VERBS CONSTRUCTIONS IN SPANISH.

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Three-place predicates have been long discussed (Goldberg 1995; Newman 1996, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Kailuweit 2008; Haspelmath 2008, among many others). Nevertheless, the kind of phenomena which are mostly analysed in the literature are relative to either ditransitive, transfer or locative verbs, as the ones shown in (1a), (1b) and (1c), respectively:

- (1) a. Pat gave the book to Kim.
b. Maurice presented the book to Elenor.
c. Henry loaded the hay on the truck.

This kind of constructions are characterized by the presence, besides the agent subject, of two arguments which are in a hierarchical relation: a theme and a recipient or a goal. In the unmarked case, the theme appears coded as a direct object and the other participant is coded as a prepositional complement introduced by different prepositions. In English, as in the examples of (1), the recipient is coded through the preposition *to* - (1a) and (1b) - and the goal can be marked, depending on the specific context, by *on in* or *at*.

There are, nevertheless, other types of three argument predicates less widely studied, as it is the case of the Spanish verbs of 'putting together', exemplified in (2a-a') by *reunir* 'to gather', the verbs of 'putting into a relation', like *comparar* 'to compare' in (2b-b'), and the verbs of 'exchange', exemplified by *intercambiar* 'to exchange' in (2c-c'):

- (2) a. *El presidente reunió a los empresarios **con** los trabajadores.*
'The president gathered the businessman with the workers.'
a'. *El presidente reunió a los empresarios y a los trabajadores.*
'The president gathered the businessman and the workers.'
b. *Leonor comparó a Leonardo **con** Miguel Ángel.*
'Leonor compared Leonardo with Miguel Ángel.'
b'. *Leonor comparó a Leonardo y a Miguel Ángel.*
'Leonor compared Leonardo and Miguel Ángel.'
c. *John intercambió los lentes **por** el sombrero con George.*
'John exchanged the sunglasses for the hat with George.'
c'. *John y George intercambiaron los lentes y el sombrero.*
'John and George exchanged the sunglasses and the hat.'

What all these predicates have in common is the fact that they have as arguments an agent and two themes. The non-prima examples show the three argument projection of this type of verbs. In these cases, the agent is the subject, one of the themes is the direct object, while

the other theme is coded as a prepositional complement; the non-direct object themes in (2a) and (2b) are introduced by the preposition *con* ‘with’, and the one in (2c) by the preposition *por* ‘for’. The prima examples show that the two non-subject arguments can be coded as a single complement, through a complex noun phrase with conjoined head nouns. This proves that both these arguments have the same semantic status, i. e. they both are themes.

There are other two classes of three place predicates in Spanish that we want to bring into the discussion: The verbs of ‘substitution’, exemplified by *reemplazar* ‘to replace’ in (3a-a’) and the verbs of the ‘commercial event’, like *comprar* ‘to buy’ in (3b-b’):

- (3) a. *El entrenador reemplazó a Maradona por Messi.*
 ‘The coach replaced Maradona with Messi.’
 a’. **El entrenador reemplazó a Maradona y a Messi.*
 ‘The coach replaced Maradona and Messi’.
 a’’. *El coach reemplazó a Messi con Maradona.*
 ‘The coach replaced Messi with Maradona.’
 b. *Juan compró un libro por 30 pesos.*
 ‘John bought a book for 30 pesos’.
 b’. **Juan compró un libro y 30 pesos.*
 ‘John bought a book and 30 pesos.’
 b’’. *Juan compró 30 pesos de libros.*
 ‘Juan bought 30 pesos worth of books’.

These verbs also have two themes as part of their argument structure, but they cannot be conjoined in a single noun phrase because they are not reciprocal themes as the ones exemplified in (2). Nevertheless both themes can be coded as direct object, like in the alternative constructions in the bi-prima examples.

What is interesting about the types of verbs exemplified in (2) and (3) is the variation of the preposition that introduces the third argument or second theme: *con* ‘with’ in (2a) and (2b), and *por* ‘for’ in (2c), (3a) and (3b). The aim of this work is to provide an explanation for this variation. In order to do this, we follow the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) claim that the preposition assignment is not idiosyncratic, but is semantically motivated (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). We offer semantic definitions for each verbal class, captured in the mode of RRG logical structures (LS), and show that a part or a segment of them matches the semantic content of one of those prepositions. In this way we show that the preposition assignment is predictable.

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Psych predicates from a cross-linguistic perspective

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Phenomenon. Psych verbs have been observed to pose a challenge for theories of argument realization due to the linking problem (Dowty 1991), and because they exhibit argument structure alternations exclusive to them (Belletti and Rizzi 1988). The experiencer and stimulus tend not to be encoded by the canonical cases (NOM and ACC, respectively) of a transitive verb, so that it is not possible to predict the syntactic realization of the experiencer and the stimulus. There has been relatively little recent research on cross-linguistic comparison of psych predicates (e.g. Bossong 1998), and even less in the form of quantitative corpus typology (for work on single languages see e.g. Pijpops and Speelman (2015) and Engelberg (2014) for an analysis of Dutch / German psych verbs).

Aim of the study. Work on parallel corpora for typological research, although promising, is still lacking for most phenomena (e.g. Dahl 2007, Levshina Forthc, Meyer and Cysouw 2014). Our aim is twofold: firstly, we try to fill this gap by providing a systematic analysis of psychological predicates from a cross-linguistic, quantitative perspective; and secondly, we want to capture more than the default coding strategy for a given semantic concept. We will provide a more fine-grained typology of syntactic patterns, instead of the common division of psych verbs into two classes (e.g. Croft 1993, Pesetsky 1995, Iwata 1995), i.e. subject-experiencer (e.g. *like*) and object-experiencer verbs (e.g. *please*). Additionally, by using a parallel corpus we ensure that the constructions we analyze in the different languages denote the same situation, which means that we can control for semantics. Moreover, we compare token and type frequencies of the psych verb constructions within and across languages, which sheds light on Romance, Germanic, and Slavic preferences for constructions expressing the semantics of psych verbs.

Methodology. We chose the following languages: Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, Dutch, and Russian. On the one hand, this choice reflects the availability of parallel corpora; on the other hand, it allows for the comparison of variation within and between Romance, Germanic (and Slavic). We used a multi-lingual parallel corpus based on TED talks (Kulkarni 2015, and p.c.) . We extracted all constructions for 12 semantic concepts: *be happy*, *be surprised*, *love*, *like/please*, *be interested*, *enjoy*, *hate*, *be worried*, *fear*, *be upset*, *be bored*, *be sad*. The main strategies found in the corpus are the following (E=experiencer, S=stimulus):

Nominals:	<i>él_E</i>	<i>tiene interés</i>	<i>(en ella_S)</i>	(Spanish)
	he.NOM	has	interest (in she)	‘he is interested in her’
Predicatives:	<i>hij_E</i>	<i>vindt haar_S</i>	<i>leuk</i>	(Dutch)
	he.NOM	finds	she.ACC nice	‘he likes her’
Intransitives with PP:	<i>ela_E</i>	<i>gosta de eles_S</i>		(Portuguese)
	she.NOM	likes	of they	‘she likes them’
Transitives:	<i>njega_E</i>	<i>zanima nešto_S</i>		(Serbian)
	he.ACC	interests	something.NOM	‘something is interesting to him’
Reflexives:	<i>elle_E</i>	<i>s'-ennuie</i>		(French)
	she.NOM	RE \square L-bores		‘she is bored’
Dative EXP (adjective):	<i>eto_S</i>	<i>mne_E</i>	<i>interesno</i>	(Russian)
	this.NOM	I.DAT	interesting	‘this is interesting to me’
Dative EXP (verb):	<i>das_S</i>	<i>gefällt mir_E</i>		(German)
	this.NOM	pleases	I.DAT	‘this pleases me’

Comparing the realization of semantic concepts rather than specific lexemes allows for a reflection of the distribution of construction types in usage.

The semantic concepts were selected on the basis of high token frequency and semantic type (positive vs negative emotions). Both the causative (*frighten, worry*) and stative variants (*fear, be worried*) (cf. Croft 1993) were taken into consideration. We then extracted the possible syntactic constructions (and different lexemes, in case more than one is used for stative and causative meanings) to express those semantic concepts.

Results. Semantics is reflected in syntax. Although different lexemes of the same concept use a wide range of constructions within and across languages, clear coding trends for the 12 concepts across said constructions could be observed. To do so, we classified the sentences as:

- **experiencer oriented** (nominative experiencer, no stimulus / prepositional stimulus, adjectival / nominal / intransitive / reflexive construction);
- **stimulus oriented** (general experiencer, nominative stimulus, adjectival / intransitive / nominal construction);
- **balanced** (no general experiencer, stimulus expressed, transitive construction).

The concepts *worry, upset, happy, interested* showed a clear tendency toward experiencer-oriented marking; *fear, enjoy, sad* manifested experiencer and stimulus-oriented strategies equally, while *surprise* and *bored* tended to be coded as stimulus-oriented. The concepts *hate, love, like* were mainly expressed by balanced constructions.

Concluding remarks. Using a parallel corpus we are able to empirically study the variation of psych predicate construction across languages in Europe. We find that psych-predicates exhibit three main patterns of constructions depending on their semantics: experiencer oriented, stimulus oriented, and balanced. These patterns are partially independent of the the actual lexemes themselves.

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The Morphosyntax of Comparative Sentences in three Zapotec Languages

In this paper, I describe and analyze the morphosyntax of comparative sentences in three Zapotec languages: two from the Sierra Norte region – San Juan Yae Zapotec (SJYZ) and San Andrés Yaa Zapotec (SAYZ) – and one from the Valles Centrales region – Tlacolula Valley Zapotec, as realized in the San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec (SLQZ) dialect – as exemplified in sentences (1), (2), and (3) below, respectively:

- (1) Migel n-aka=r=e' xtsa' ka Pedru.
Miguel neut-be=ER=3mresp tall than Pedro
'Miguel is taller than Pedro.'
- (2) Petr=a' t-seedl=x=be' ka needa'.
Petra=dem hab-study=ER=3inf than pron.1s
'Petra studies more than I.'
- (3) Zyèeiny=ru' li'ebr b-zìii' Beed cah (noo) nih b-tòò'
MUCH.sol/abs=ER book perf-buy Pedro than (NOO) rel perf-sell
Lia Paamm.
LIA Pam
'Pedro bought more books than Pam sold.'

This study will look at two major components of comparative constructions in these languages. First, I discuss the morphemes that indicate that the sentence expresses a comparison of inequality, namely =*ra* (a native morpheme) and *maaz*- (borrowed from Spanish), which may cooccur as in (4) below:

- (4) Pedru n-aaka=r=e' maaz=ra xtsa' tska'/ka le r-aaka=da'.
Pedro neut-be=ER=3mresp MAAZ=ER tall than/than rel.inan hab-think=1s
'Pedro is taller than it seems (literally, taller than I think).' [SJYZ]

Secondly, I analyze the structure of the constituent that serves as a basis for comparison in terms of Stassen's 1985 typology, including a study of the morpheme or morphemes that introduce that constituent, such as *ka* in example (1) above and the sequence *tska' le* or *ka le* in (4) above, where the standard of comparison is explicitly clausal, as well as sentences with an explicit numeral standard of comparison, such as (6), where there is no overt element introducing the standard of comparison.

- (5) Pedru gu'uw=e' maaz=ra chi bīku'. [SJYZ]
Pedro perf.buy=3mresp MAAZ=ER ten dog
'Pedro bought more than ten dogs.'

Previous work (Galant 2004, 2005, 2006, 2011) has been done on such constructions in SLQZ and SAYZ. In this work, I provide data on SJYZ and I compare and contrast such constructions in these three varieties of Zapotec, with the goal of initiating a typology of comparatives within the Zapotec language family and providing a better understanding of the morphosyntax of degree expressions and the use of borrowed morphemes from Spanish in Zapotec languages.

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Adverbial clauses in Veracruz Huasteca Nahuatl: A clause-chaining language?

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The typological diversity of Clause-Chaining Constructions has been addressed in the light of four properties which are expected to be satisfied: (a) The use of non-finite clauses not headed by a conjunction with temporal or circumstantial meaning (Myhill and Hibiya, 1988), (b) the presence of Switch-Reference (SR) markers (Dooley, 2010), (c) temporal relations are commonly inferred rather than encoded by means of explicit formal devices (Dooley, 2010) and (d) conjunct scope of Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) markers (Bickel, 2010), the TAM values of the main clause extend their scope to the non-finite dependent clause(s).

Givón (2001) explains that Clause-Chaining Constructions must be first addressed in functional-communicative terms rather than structural terms for the reason that this will allow us to investigate the structural typological diversity beyond Papuan languages. Thus, this functional-communicative perspective claims that Clause-Chaining Constructions are not restricted to the four properties mentioned above. Givón (2001) mentions that a large array of morphosyntactic properties is used in Clause-Chaining Constructions, such as adverbial clauses as chain-initial background devices and chain-medial cataphoric devices, conjunctions and subordinators, TAM markers, SR markers, to name but a few.

This presentation contributes to this theoretical discussion by exploring Veracruz Huasteca Nahuatl (VHN), a Uto-Aztecan language spoken in Mexico. Traditionally, this language has been described as a language with no Clause-Chaining Constructions. This presentation provides some evidences that VHN seems to have Clause-Chaining Constructions. However, these constructions are problematic for the different definitions/conceptions of Clause-Chaining. VHN has the following properties:

- (i) The language shows unconstrained scope of TAM markers (the time reference of the dependent clause is completely independent of that of the main clause), symmetric scope of TAM markers (the dependent clause has the same time reference as the main clause) and conjunct scope of TAM markers.
- (ii) Temporal adverbial clauses make use of a set of mechanisms that allow the encoding of discourse coherence, mainly referential and temporal continuity.
- (iii) Adverbial conjunctions further reinforce the semantic relation already encoded by morphosyntactic features.

This presentation will draw on a corpus of 26 narratives taken from Peregrina (2015). The narratives are made up of a basic story in which the participants recreate specific aspects of daily life, such as sexuality, love, poverty, faith, revenge, to name but a few.

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Are adverbial phrases in Tupi-Guarani a trigger of nominalization?

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This paper focuses on form and function of adverbial phrases within Tupi-Guarani (TG), a subgroup of the Tupi linguistic stock. For this purpose, we analysed four Tupi-Guarani languages that represent different stages of conservation: Tupinambá, Apyãwa (Tapirapé), Guajá, and Nheengatú (língua geral). In the most conservative of them, Tupinambá, an extinct language described in the 16th century by Anchieta (1595), adverbial phrases in the first position trigger a morphological change in the expression of personal prefixes in the verb, as illustrated by the examples below. In (1) the verb occurs with a prefix of the active series (the same that occurs with transitive and active intransitive verbs), whereas in (2) the verb occurs with a prefix of the non-active series (the same prefix that occurs with nouns, postpositions, and stative verbs); and it suffers a morphological transformation by the suffix *-û*, glossed here as ‘circumstantial’, and traditionally analysed in the TG literature as ‘indicative II’ (Rodrigues 1953):

- (1) *a-so*
1SG.A-go
‘I went’
- (2) *kwese* *xe-so-û*
yesterday 1SG.NA-go-CIRCUM
‘Yesterday I went’
- (3) *Kwesé* *i-só-û*
yesterday 3.NA-go-CIRCUM
‘yesterday he went’

In Tupinambá, the adverbial phrase in the first position triggers the transformation of the verb if the verb is active and marked by a prefix of first person, such as in (2), or third person, such as in (3). In Apyãwa and in Guajá, the use of the structure has been restricted to the third person, as illustrated in (4) and (5) respectively.

- (4) *ãxiwe* *rõ’õ* *i-moo-i* *a-men-a*
amanhã PTCP 3.NA-pintar-CIRCUM 3.CO-marido-REFER
‘parece que é amanhã que elas pintarão os maridos delas’
- (5) *terê* *Ø-pepe* *i-ho-ni*
train R-in 3SG.NA-go-CIRCUM
‘By train he went’

The two languages differ by the fact that in Guajá the use of the circumstantial marker can occur not only with predicates whose nucleus is an active verb, such as in (5); but also with predicates whose nucleus is a stative verb, such as (6), and with with existential predicates whose nucleus is a noun, such as in (7).

- (6) *mõ kararahu i-kira-ni mimehẽ*
 Q paca 3SG.NA-be.fat-CIRCUM when
 ‘when will the paca be fat?’
- (7) *kwa kwarahy-ni mĩ-pe*
 DEM sun-CIRCUM far.away-LOC
 ‘There is the sun (far away)’

In the most innovative language, Nheengatú, which descends from Tupinambá, the adverbial phrase does not trigger any transformation of the verb, as illustrated in (8).

- (8) *kuxima ya-puraki piasawa*
 Formerly 1PL.A-trabalhar piassaba.palm.tree
 ‘Formerly we used to work with piassaba palm tree.’

The comparison of these four languages suggests that the circumstantial marker should be analyzed as a nominalizer. The hypothesis defended in this work is that the adverbial phrase in the first position of the clause becomes the main predicate, and the verbal structure is nominalized. Thus, a sentence such as (2) should be reanalyzed as (9) below:

- (9) *kwese xe-so-û*
 yesterday 1SG.NA-go-NMLZ
 ‘Yesterday I went’ [Lit.: My “gone” was yesterday]

On a pragmatic level, the construction indicates that the adverbial phrase became the *rheme*, the most informational part of the sentence. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that the nominalized verb not only occurs with prefixes of the non-active series, but also adopts an ergative alignment, a pattern shared with other cases of nominalizations in these languages. Furthermore, this hypothesis is compatible with the fact that in this group of languages, noun phrases verbal phrases, nominal phrases, adverbial phrases, and postposition phrases can occur as predicates – such as in (9), in which the adverb *kwese* ‘yesterday’ occurs as the main predicate. The idea put forward in this paper is that Tupinambá, Guajá, and Apyãwa have some degree of omnipredicativity which allows for the preservation of the nominalization triggered by the adverbial phrase, whereas Nheengatú has lost its omnipredicative properties which had as consequence the loss of the construction. From a broadly typological perspective, the paper discusses the implication of this construction to a better understand of the omnipredicative pattern, as defined by Launey (1994). More specifically, we address the historical development of these languages and give more evidence to the Queixalòs (2006)’s hypothesis that languages of Tupi-Guarani language descend from a strong omnipredicative language

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Spanish complex prepositions in the locative domain before and now

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Spanish, as other European languages, have complex prepositions, called *locuciones prepositivas* (RAE 2010) in its grammatical tradition. The main goal of this paper is to analyze, syntactically and semantically, complex prepositional expression in the locative domain.

Many complex prepositions contain, at least formally, another part of speech, such as *a través de* ‘through’, *viendo a* ‘towards’, or *a lo largo de* ‘along’, which have the noun *través* ‘oblique’, the verb *ver* ‘to see’ and the adjective *largo* ‘long’, respectively. Due to this other part of speech, it is necessary to use a final preposition to introduce a NP or a non-finite verb; particularly with nouns and adjectives, an initial preposition is often required. Thus, the complex PP usually has the following structure: [(Preposition) + Part- of-speech + Preposition + NP] (Fagard & Mardale 2012).

In addition to those expressions, there is another type of complex prepositions that contains two prepositions, such as *a por* ‘for’ and *de entre* ‘from within’. Here we distinguish two subcases: those that are the result of a syntactic blend (Barlow 2000), as in *a por*, and those in which the two prepositions have a phrasal structure, as in *de entre*. This paper deals with this latter type. As we argue, these cases have a peculiar syntactic structure as one preposition takes a PP as an argument, which in turn takes a NP as an argument. In other words, the syntactic structure is Preposition [Preposition [NP]].

Following Jackendoff (1983), in descriptions of change of location, such as *The mouse ran from under the table*, it is necessary to distinguish between path and location, expressed, respectively, by *from* and *under* in the previous example. Particularly, in the cases under discussion, the expression of place is in fact a topological relation, in the sense of Levinson & Meira (2003).

In this paper we study complex prepositions, both diachronically and synchronically. Particularly, we analyze whether they act as a single syntactic and semantic unit or whether they could be analyzed as being compositional. As Adler (2008) has pointed out for French, many alleged prepositional locutions are nothing more than regular prepositional phrases.

Here, we argue three main points. First, historically, Spanish used to have prepositional locutions in which a preposition expressed path (in bold) and a noun a topological relation (in italics), as shown in (1).

- (1) La sangre dela paloma sacada **de** *baxo* dela ala diestra. (XV century)
‘The dove’s blood taken from under the right wing.’

Constructions like this one grammaticalized into locative adverbs, such as *debajo* ‘underneath’, from *bassus* ‘thick and short’, or *encima* ‘over’, from *cýma* ‘top’. However, as the complex construction is reanalyzed as a single unit, it only specifies location, and so in Modern Spanish it is necessary to add another preposition to include path, as shown in (2). Part of the modern locative expression (the adverb) is a single lexical unit, but since it is the argument of a preposition, the whole expression has a phrasal structure.

- (2) ...y miré un montón de gente que iba saliendo **de abajo** de los palos...
‘...and I watched lots of people going out from under the sticks...’

Second, setting aside blends, complex prepositional expressions containing two prepositions also have a phrasal structure, in which the first preposition conveys path and the second a topological relation, as in (3). In addition, there existed other cases in Early Spanish that are no longer used, as the one shown in (4). Now, complex prepositional expressions with two prepositions have semantic and syntactic restrictions.

- (3) ...dos preciosas gatitas salieron **de entre** las zarzas, tan contentas...
‘...two cute little cats came out from between the blackberries, so happy...’
- (4) ...sacada **de so** el ala diestra. (XVI century)
‘...taken from under the right wing.’

Finally, we will argue that in Modern Spanish, in motion events, it is more common to restrict prepositions to express path, while adverbs or nouns express topological relations.

In Modern Spanish, except for a few cases, locative expressions containing two prepositions, one preposition and an adverb, or one preposition and a noun (in these two last cases, usually followed by a second preposition) have a phrasal structure and their meaning is compositionally obtained. This contrasts with other semantic domains, such as cause or concession, in which non-compositional complex prepositions are more common.

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Ebb and Flow: Syntax in Coast Salish Narratives
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Like many syntacticians working on endangered languages, I find that much of my research crosses beyond the boundaries of what is traditionally considered syntax. During my forty-year journey of working on the morphology, syntax, and semantics of Hul'q'umi'num', a Salish language spoken in southwestern British Columbia, a top priority has been to record stories. Not only do stories provide naturalistic data for linguistic analysis, but they create a literature rich in cultural context. Thanks to the speakers who have laid down their stories on audio and video, the native speaker linguists who have helped transcribe and translate materials, and the funding agencies that have recognized the importance of oral literature, we now have 12,000 pages of Hul'q'umi'num' stories and translations.

Studying them has led to a vexing observation: in terms of classic syntactic analysis, not much more has been learned about Hul'q'umi'num' from stories that was not learned from the first 500 pages of texts along with elicited data. But working on texts also leads to a couple of interesting questions:

- (1) When working with stories, why does one encounter so few sentences that mirror the ones given by speakers during elicitation tasks?
- (2) What kinds of structures then does one need to master in order to be able to tell a Hul'q'umi'num' story that sounds truly authentic?

Simply put, a story requires structures that help the teller to perform the story and help the listener to follow along. There is an ebb and flow to the story making heavy use of structures smaller than a clause (vocatives, echos, appositives, increments, lists) and larger than a clause (oral paragraphs, sections, episodes), all requiring syntactic, semantic, and prosodic analysis. (For example, a ban on proper noun ergatives provides evidence for the internal structure of an appositive.) Classic syntactic structures are not only a vehicle for expression of NP-arguments (Gerds & Hukari 2004, 2008), but they provide a skeletal frame for embellishments and rhetorical structure. And much of what we regard as problematic for sentence-level syntax (for example,

violations of Chomsky's binding condition C) is easily analyzed from the viewpoint of story coherence.

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August 18

Transitivity in Atlantic and Mande languages

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The transitivity properties of verbs are central in the morphosyntactic organization of languages. In this domain, important contrasts can be observed between Atlantic and Mande languages (two language families that occupy adjacent areas in West Africa). In the study we would like to present at SWL7, we compare the transitivity systems of two Atlantic languages (Wolof and Joola-Fooñi) with those of two Mande languages (Mandinka and Soninke).

With the exception of Wolof (for which abundant published material is available, in particular Nougier-Voisin (2002) on valency-changing morphology, and several dictionaries), our study builds mainly on the authors' previous publications and/or fieldwork on Joola, Mandinka, and Soninke (references not given below for the sake of anonymity).

In order to ensure comparability between the data we analyze, and to be able to provide precise quantitative evaluations of the trends that emerge, for each of the languages dealt with in our study, we have selected a sample of about 300 semantically bivalent verbs for which we have equivalents in the other three languages.

The questions addressed in our study are as follows.

(a) The degree of transitivity prominence. The languages we analyze provide further evidence for the common view that, cross-linguistically, transitive coding (defined as the construction selected by the verbs used to encode events involving a typical agent and a typical patient, such as 'break') is the default coding frame for bivalent verbs. There are however differences in the degree of transitive prominence, i.e. the extent to which transitive coding is used for bivalent verbs that semantically depart more or less from the transitive prototype. Examples (1) and 2 show that the type of coding selected by 'break' is also selected by 'forget' in Joola-Fooñi, but not in Soninke.

(1) Joola-Fooñi (Atlantic)

- (1a) **A-ñiil-au na-fum-fum f-eh-af.**
CLa-child-D.CLa CLa-break-RDPL CLf-egg-D.CLa
'The child broke the egg.' (transitive coding)

- (1b) **A-ñiil-au na-lon-lon ka-rees-i**
CLa-child-D.CLa CLa-forget-RDPL CLk-name-2SG
'The child forgot your name.' (transitive coding)

(2) Soninke (Mande)

- (2a) **Lémínè-n dī sèllín-ñéllè-n kára.**
child-D TR hen-egg-D break
'The child broke the egg.' (transitive coding)

- (2b) **Lémínè-n mùng(ú) án tòxó-n ɲà.**
child-D forget 2SG name-D POSTP
'The child forgot your name.' (intransitive coding)

In this respect, there is a sharp contrast between Mande languages, in which the degree of transitive prominence is roughly comparable to that observed in Romance languages, and

Atlantic languages, characterized by a much higher degree of transitivity prominence. We confront our results with Haspelmath (2015) on a sample of 36 languages world-wide, and Say (2014) on the language of Europe.

(b) The strategies used to avoid specifying the P argument of transitive verbs. In this respect too, there is a sharp contrast between Atlantic languages (in which the general rule is that non-specific objects of transitive verbs can be omitted) and Mande languages (in which, as a rule, transitive coding implies overt expression of the P argument, and A-lability is limited to a minority of potentially transitive verbs).

(c) The relationship between transitive verbs and monovalent verbs assigning a role similar to that assigned to the P argument of a transitive verb. Such pairs may consist of two morphologically unrelated verbs (as in Joola-Fooñi X **buj** Y ‘X kills Y’ / Y **ket** ‘Y dies’), of two verbs related via some valency-changing derivation (as in Joola-Fooñi X **fum** Y ‘X breaks Y’ / Y **fum-o** ‘Y breaks’, where **-o** is an anticausative suffix, or X **juum-en** Y ‘X stops Y’ / Y **juum** ‘Y stops’, where **-en** is a causative suffix), or of the same verb in two different constructions (as in Joola-Fooñi X **kaan** Y ‘X does Y’ / Y **kaan** ‘Y happens’). The four languages we investigate differ greatly in the extent to which they have recourse to P-lability and detransitivizing derivations. We confront our results with the hierarchies / generalizations put forward by Haspelmath (1993) and Nichols & al. (2004).

(d) Pairs of bivalent verbs that encode the same type of event but differ in the mapping of semantic roles onto syntactic functions. Here again one may find pairs consisting of two morphologically unrelated verbs (as in Mandinka X Y **kanu** ‘X likes Y’ ~ Y **diyaa** X **ye**), of two verbs related via some valency-changing derivation (as in Mandinka X **sílá** Y **lá** ‘X is afraid of Y’ ~ Y X **sílá-ndí** ‘Y frightens X’, where **-ndí** is a causative suffix), or of the same verb in two different constructions (as in Mandinka X Y **fáa** ‘X (a substance) fills Y (a container)’ (transitive construction) ~ Y **fáa** X **lá** ‘Y fills with X’ (extended intransitive construction)). In addition to a morphological classification of such pairs, we address the question of regularities in the relationship between the semantic role of the participant selected as the subject and the selection of transitive coding, and in the involvement of valency-changing morphology.

Abbreviations

CL = noun class, D = definiteness marker, RDPL = reduplication, SG = singular, TR = transitivity marker, POSTP = multifunction postposition

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Pronouns as determiners and as nouns in Oceanic

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Although the Determiner Phrase (DP) is well established in syntactic theory (following Abney 1987), it is under-investigated in the Oceanic branch of Austronesian, outside theoretical literature on Polynesian (e.g. Pearce 1998, 2003 on Māori; Kahnemuyipour & Massam 2006 and Massam & Sperlich 2000 on Niuean, etc), and is absent from the Oceanic descriptive tradition (e.g. Lynch et al 2002). In that Oceanic tradition, pronouns are assumed to be the head of an NP – in effect located in N.

Following the Oceanic tradition, pronouns in Hoava (Solomon Islands) have been analysed as NP heads (Davis 2003). However, a range of facts mitigate against this analysis. The 3rd person pronouns *sa* '3SG' and *ria* '3PL' clearly occur as phrasal heads (1a), (2a). However, they are formally identical to Davis's singular and plural definite articles (1b), (2b). Moreover, these occurrences directly parallel non-3rd pronouns in isolation (3a) and preceding other material (3b). Davis analyses non-3rd forms as in (3) as pronouns in both contexts, arguing that data such as (3b) involves NP NP apposition, an analysis inconsistently not extended to parallel strings in (1b) and (2b). Davis's analysis involves treating *sa/ria* as pronouns in some contexts and articles in others, also inconsistently not extended to non-3rd forms. Her analysis also does not account for the fact that pronouns cannot be accompanied by an article, and that the supposedly apposed NP is also prohibited from carrying an article, facts that follow automatically from an alternative analysis in which pronouns are the head of a DP, not an NP, and are therefore located in D not N. Following Palmer (forthcoming), this paper argues that pronouns in Hoava may not carry an article because they are already occupying D, and the accompanying string involving a lexical noun may not carry an article because that string is an NP associated with a DP whose D is already occupied by the pronoun. The paper presents evidence supporting the conclusion that Hoava has a DP, and that pronouns are determiners and located in D.

This, however, is not the situation in many Oceanic languages, where pronouns are accompanied by articles. Standard Fijian has two articles: proper (*k*)o, and common *na* (marking specificity). The proper article occurs with personal names, place names, bound kin terms, and demonstratives, as well as pronouns (Schütz 1985; Palmer & Smith 2016). Unlike Hoava, Fijian pronouns other than complements of V or P require the article (4a) (see Aronovich 2013). Unlike Hoava, when Fijian pronouns are accompanied by a string around an N expanding on the identity of the referent, the N is accompanied by its own article (4b), apparently a DP in apposition to the DP carrying the pronoun. And unlike Hoava, a phrase with a lexical N head does not require the pronoun (4c), compare (2b). These facts indicate that pronouns in Fijian are located in N, rather than D, an assumption implicit in Aronovich's (2013) analysis.

The paper concludes that the syntactic and categorial status of pronouns differs among Oceanic languages. In some, such as Hoava, pronouns are in D, while in others, such as Standard Fijian, they are in N. The paper concludes that category to which pronouns belong differs commensurately across languages. In Alderete's (1998) non-DP analysis of the distribution of Fijian NPs he assumes that the lexical category of pronouns in Fijian is N because they head an NP that carries a determiner. The present paper concludes that in languages such as Fijian, pronouns are indeed nouns encoding person features, while in languages such as Hoava pronouns are person-encoding determiners.

Examples

- (1) a. "Aso mae goe" gua-ni rao [sa] rao. b. sa nikana tarai
walk come 2SG say-APPL 1SG sa 1SG
"Walk towards me" he said to me. sa man preach
"the preacher"
- (2) a. Kiug=ii rao [ria]. b. ria nikana Merika
call=ACC 1SG ria
"They called me." ria man Amerika
"the Americans"
- (3) a. Va-mate=a [gami] [keke boko]. b. gami nikana hupa
CAUS-die=3SG.ACC 1EXCL.PL one pig
"We killed a pig." 1PL.EXCL man black
"we black men"
- (4) a. Era sã qito [ko ira].
3SG.SBJ PERSIST play PERS 3PL
"They are playing."
b. Era qito [ko ira na gone]. c. Era qito [na gone].
3SG.SBJ play PERS 3PL the child 3SG.SBJ play the child
"They the children played." "The children played."

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Relativization in Guiqiong, a Tibeto-Burman language of Western

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Abstract

This talk reports on the relativization of Guiqiong language (/gw³³te^hɿ⁵³/, mandarin: *guiqiong*), a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by approximately 6,000 people (Sun, 2000) who reside in Kangding County (WT Darrtsemdo), which is part of Ganzi (WT Dkar-Mdzes) Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan Province in the People's Republic of China. More exactly the geographical distribution of Guiqiong, according to my language consultants, located in a zone which is 20 kilometres long et 1 kilometre wide, and who contains Shiji Village (/sə³³gi⁵³/), Shelian Village (/le³⁵mũ³³/), Qianxi Village (/te^hɿ³³dza⁵³/), Maibeng Village (/me⁵⁵pũ⁵³/) and Guza Township (/gwi³³dza⁵³/).

Guiqiong, presents a rich array of relativization constructions. Like most Tibeto-Burman languages, Guiqiong exhibit an interesting composite of behavior in nominalized structures. In Guiqiong, nominalization is used to produce the relativization. Guiqiong presents also non-nominalized structures in relativization. Based on both natural oral texts and elicited material, the present talk describes all attested types of relatives in Guiqiong, including head-internal, prenominal, double-headed relative clauses, as well as nominalized and non-nominalized ones. It provides a case by case account of the possible constructions for all syntactic roles including various types of adjuncts.

The remainder of the talk is structured as follows. First, we provide some general background information on the Guiqiong. Second, we present general information on relative clauses in Guiqiong, and in particular show the existence of the head-internal, prenominal, and double-headed relative clauses. Third, we describe non-finite relative clauses, whose main verb is in a participial form (nominalized form). Three participles in /-wu/, /-lu/ and /-ji/ in Guiqiong language are used depending on the syntactic function of the relativized element. Fourth, we study finite relative clauses, whose main verb is not nominalized. Fifth, we summarize the different strategies used in Guiqiong for relativization. Sixth, I discuss how this study is relevant for the typology of alignment in Sino-Tibetan languages and beyond. Finally, the relative clauses of Guiqiong classified by the syntactic function of relativized element are exemplified below.

- **Relativization of S argument**
- (1) [HEAD₃₃ε⁵⁵tsi t^hu³³-ji⁵⁵-wu³³ pi⁵³]_{RC} la³⁵-le³³.
 child DIR:UP-go-NMLZ:A/S CLF:PERSON run away-MUT
 ‘The child who went up ran away.’
- **Relativization of A argument**
- (2) [ti³³ HEAD₃ts^hə³³mā⁵⁵ɲa³ a³³la⁵³ ki⁵⁵-wu³³ p^hə⁵³]_{RC} la³⁵-le³³.
 this woman alcohol sell:A/S CLF:GENERAL run away-MUT
 ‘The woman who sells alcohol ran away.’
- **Relativization of P argument**
- (3) [sə³³ka⁵ sə³³tu⁵⁵-mū⁵³ kē³³ HEAD₃dzu³ tɕa⁵³ ɕε³³-lu⁵³]_{RC} tɕ^hə⁵ [gε³³-wu⁵⁵]_{RC} tɕa⁵³ jē⁵⁵.
 before villager of Cuza locality story CLF:ARTICLE
 tell-NMLZ:P very good-NMLZ:A/S CLF:ARTICLE exist
 ‘Before there was a story which was told by the villagers of Cuza and who was a very good one.’
- **Relativization of place adjunct**
- (4) [ts^hε³³wā³⁵ HEAD₃xū³³ts^hu⁵³ mi-nā³³-ji⁵³]_{RC} HEAD₃kē³ t^hε³³xī⁵⁵
 Tshedbang village DIR:DOWN-exist-NMLZ:O place be distant
 ‘The village where Tshedbang was born is distant.’
 泽旺出生的村庄很远。
- **Relativization of instrument adjunct**
- (5) [ɲə³³-mē⁵ HEAD₃pi³ tɕ^hi³³ dzə³⁵-ji³³ p^hə⁵³]_{RC} zu³³
 1SG-GEN pen word write-NMLZ:O CLF:GENERAL 3SG
 wu³³-k^hā⁵⁵-le³³.
 DIR: CENTRIFUGAL-give-MUT
 ‘(I) gave him my pen with which I write.’
- **Relativization of the recipient**
- (37) [ɲə³ zo³⁵ wu³³-k^hā³⁵]_{RC}-mē³³ HEAD₃jo⁵⁵pu⁵³
 1SG money DIR:CENTRIFUGAL-give-GEN servant
 p^hə³³ la³⁵-le³³.
 CLF:GENERAL run away-MUT
 ‘The servant to whom I gave some money ran away.’
- **Relativization of theme**
- (36) ts^hε³³wā³ [tɕu³³pu⁵⁵-nā a⁵⁵ma³³-lə³³ k^hā³⁵]_{RC}-mē³ HEAD₃Ndɔ³⁵ kwə³³-le⁵⁵nā⁵
 Tshedban chieftain-AGT mama-DAT place rice eat-PROG
 g

➤ **Possessor relativization**

(38) [ɲi³³ki⁵³ ɛ³³lɛ⁵⁵tsi³³ tsə³³ ɲã⁵₃ kẽ⁵⁵]_{RC}-mẽ³³ HEAD ɲi³⁵

that child four year reach-GEN mother

zi³³ kwə³³-lɛ⁵⁵nã⁵⁵

rice eat-PROG

‘That mother whose child has four years old is eating the rice.’

➤ **Comitative relativization**

(39) [zu³³ ɲɔ⁵⁵mũ⁵³ Ndu³⁵ ba³³]_{RC}-mẽ⁵⁵ HEAD ɛ³³lɛ⁵⁵tsi³ ɲə³³-mẽ⁵⁵₃

3SG together Darrtsemdo leave-GEN child 1SG-GEN

Ndzu³⁵

.

friend

‘The child with whom he left for Darrtsemdo together is my friend.’

➤ **Relativization of time**

(40) [zu³³ ɲə³³ dǎ³⁵]_{RC}-mẽ³³ ɲi³³ki⁵³ HEAD ɲẽ³³pu⁵³ li³³si⁵³

3SG 1SG beat-GEN that ce jour-là new year

dzə³⁵.

be.

‘Tha day that he beat me was new year.’

➤ **Relativization of compative construction---compre**

(41) ɲə³³ [zu³³ wẽ³³ɲẽ⁵³ sã³³ ɲã⁵³ ta³³]_{RC}-mẽ⁵⁵

1SG 3SG head three year old-GEN

HEAD ɛ³³lɛ⁵⁵tsi³³ dǎ³⁵-lɛ.

child beat-MUT

‘I beat the child who is three years older than him.’

‘我打了比他大三岁的小孩。’

Key words: Guiqiong, Relativization, Nominalization, Strategy of relativization, Syntactic pivot

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Relativization mechanisms in Acadian French

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The main objective of this paper is to identify the derivational mechanism(s) at work in the restrictive relatives of Acadian French (henceforth, AF). In the framework of generative grammar, I show that two derivational patterns (i.e., a raising and matching structure) occur side by side in the language, although not exactly in free alternation.

Data. The main properties of restrictive relatives in AF are as follows: (i) the generalization of *que* ‘that’ versus *wh*-phrases (e.g., in (1) *que* instead of *où* ‘where’); (ii) deletion of *que* ‘that’ (see 2a vs 2b); (iii) preposition stranding (see 3); (iv) subject-verb agreement mismatch (see 4).

- (1) *comme la partie de la France que j’ai été j’ai trouvé*
 since the part of the France that I=have been I=have found
que ç’avait l’air un peu pauvre
 that it=had the=look a bit poor

‘since the part of France where I was I found it looked a bit poor’ (Wiesmath 2007: 217/6, L164)

- (2) a. *i y a pas way que je pourrais vivre aux États longtemps*
 it=here=has not way that I could live in.the States long
 ‘there is no way that I could live long in the States’ (Wiesmath 2007: 195/2, F353)

- b. *la way 0 c’était fait*
 the way this=is done
 ‘the way this was done’ (Wiesmath 2007: 195/3, D224)

- (3) *j’avais tout le temps deux trois personnes que j’étais en*
 I=had all the time two three people that I=was in
recherches avec
 research with

‘I always had two-three people with whom I was doing research’ (Wiesmath 2007: 207/13, H307)

- (4) *[des figurines] j’en ai que ça fait rire*
 sculptures I=of.these=have that it make laugh

‘[sculptures], I have some that make you laugh’ (Wiesmath 2007: 190/3, D210)

Theoretical framework. I adopt the **raising** analysis that considers the restrictive relative as the complement of D(eterminer) (Kayne 1994, Donati & Cecchetto 2011 a.o.). In this analysis, relativization involves the movement of the noun from the relative clause to the relevant D merged in the matrix clause. This movement is verifiable through strong island constraints or anaphoric/variable binding effects. For the **matching** structure, I adopt the analysis in Bhatt (2002), Hulsey & Sauerland (2006), where the relative DP is merged in the matrix clause and is referentially identical to an elided item at the gap site. Such structures are immune to strong island constraints and to illicit chains. I also use the cartographic representation of CP (Rizzi 1997) in order to determine the way in which *wh*-phrases and *que* ‘that’ check the features of a relative C; namely, I use the hierarchy Force [clause typing] > Focus [operator] > Fin [finite].

Analysis. First, I test restrictive relatives with ***wh*-phrases** in CP, and discover that a raising mechanism is at work as they display strong island effects (5) and anaphoric elements in the matrix DP can be bound inside the relative clause. However, speakers tend to correct the strong island effect by inserting a resumptive phrase at the gap site (6). Hence, a matching structure is available side by side with the raising mechanism.

- (5) **La maison_k où je t’ai montré la fille qui travaillait e_k*
 the house where I to.you=have showed the girl who worked

Intended: ‘The house where the girl I showed you was working...’

- (6) *La maison_k où je t'ai montré la fille qui travaillait là_k*
 the house where I to.you=have showed the girl who worked there
 'The house where the girl I showed you was working...'

Second, I establish that the same alternation of derivational patterns applies to restrictive relatives with *que* 'that': the strong island effect is cancelled by the insertion of a resumptive pronoun/deictic phrase at the gap site. However, there is further variation in the way the features of C are checked: while the *wh*-phrase in (5/6) checks all the features of C, *que* 'that' is unstable as to its ability to do the same. I show that *que* may be either "strong" or "weak"/bleached. Strong *que* merges in Fin and raises to Force, checking [finite] and [clause typing], while the *wh*-phrase checks [operator] on its way up, if the raising mechanism applies (7). Weak *que* merges in Fin and may (8) or may not (9) check [clause typing] through long distance Agree with Force. If weak *que* cannot check Force, then it co-occurs with a *wh*-phrase in Spec, ForceP (9). The variation in the location of *que* is indicated by the topic phrase, either under (7) or above *que*.

- (7) *I y a ben de choses que [des fois] je fais pas attention*
 it=there-has many of things that sometimes I=do not attention
 'There are many things to which sometimes I do not pay attention.'
- (8) *c'est ça la vie [moi] que j'ai fait*
 it=is this the life I that I=have=made
 'this is the life I personally lived' (Wiesmath 2007: 194/4, M351)
- (9) *la grande dépression américaine [ioù] que douze photographes*
 the big depression American where that twelve photographers
avaient fait des milliers d'images
 had made thousands images
 'the big American depression in which twelve photographers had made thousands of images...' (Pusch 2012: 3)

This analysis allows me to conclude that *que* 'that' deletion (2b) involves the bleached *que*, which systematically triggers relativization through DP raising. On the other hand, preposition stranding (3) involves strong *que* 'that' (I did not find *que* deletion in this context) and relativization through matching structures. This confirms previous analyses showing that these prepositions are not actually stranded, but take null *pro* as complements, so no extraction takes place (Roberge & Rosen 1999 a.o.). AF stands out in this respect by the use of the determiners *de* and *à* as if they are stranded Ps. In fact, these elements are D heads that take the relative DP as complement (not a null *pro*), and remain stranded in D. The recent spreading of this structure may indicate a reanalysis/re-lexicalization of these items as Ps.

Finally, I look at restrictive relatives with subject-verb agreement mismatch (4), which is peculiar to AF. The tests indicate a systematic matching relative in the presence of *que* 'that'. That is, AF is a non-null subject language; when relativization concerns the subject position, it must either leave behind a copy of the DP upon raising, or it requires an expletive to spell out this position. The former pattern arises in the presence of a *wh*-phrase, whereas the latter involves either the clitic *i* 'it' or the fully fledged *ça* 'it'. The expletive has inherent 3rd person singular features, triggering the agreement mismatch. These restrictive relatives arise only when the relative DP has a generic reading that can be resumed by the expletive.

Conclusions. AF uses both raising and matching mechanisms for deriving restrictive relatives. The matching option became productive due to the paucity of *wh*-phrases in relative clauses and the productivity of resumptive mechanisms, expletive subjects, and preposition "stranding".

Why absolute participial orientation?

Among the types of inherent participial orientation, the most well-known and well-studied ones are active orientation (towards the A and S participants), and passive orientation, (towards the P participant). However, a considerable number of languages possess participial forms that can be oriented towards either the P participant or the S participant, see English past participles in *a murdered politician* and *a fallen leaf* respectively. Since this pairing of participants is parallel to that characteristic of absolutive coding in the languages with ergative alignment, I refer to this type of participial orientation as absolutive, cf. also Payne & Payne (2013: 107).

Despite being attested all around the world, absolutive participles have not gained much attention in cross-linguistic studies. This paper aims to propose possible explanations for their development in typologically diverse languages. The sample examined in the study comprises 18 languages from 10 language families spoken in Eurasia, Africa, South America and Australia.

The absolutive pattern in participial relativization is, apparently, most natural in the languages that exhibit ergativity in other domains as well. For instance, in Koryak, a language with ergative alignment in nominal coding, the forms in *-lqəl-* can be used to relativize both S participants, cf. (1), and P participants, cf. (2):

Koryak (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Russia; Kurebito 2011: 28–29)

- (1) *æccaj-Ø* [*jaja-k* *ŋajqətvə-jo-lqəl-Ø*] *pæce ajm-e-Ø*
ant-ABS.SG house-LOC clean-NMZ-NOMFUT-ABS.SG first go.to.fetch.water-PFV-3SG.S
'The ant who is supposed to clean at home has gone for water.'
- (2) *kalikal* [*akmec-co-lqəl-Ø*]
book.ABS.SG buy-NMZ-NOMFUT-ABS.SG
'the book which someone intends to buy'

This pattern, nevertheless, is not exclusive for ergative languages. Haspelmath (1994) shows that participles oriented towards the patient of transitive verbs or the subject of intransitive verbs are widespread in Indo-European languages and beyond. The intransitive verbs that can form such participles are, however, commonly restricted to unaccusative predicates. The participles formed from these predicates have resultative meaning, and the absolutive orientation here is in line with the general cross-linguistic correlation between ergativity and completive aspect, cf., for instance, DeLancey (1981). The participles, thus, are oriented towards the most affected participant in the situation.

It appears though, that in some languages this tendency does not suffice to explain the existence of absolutive participles, since sometimes they are not associated with any particular aspect. For example, the negative participle *-li* in Khanty is neutral with respect to temporal and aspectual characteristics, cf. (3) and (4):

Khanty (Ugric; Russia; Nikolaeva 1999: 34)

- (3) [*pe:jal-ti* *xo:s-li*] *ŋa:wre:m* *il* *su:wil-ə-ti* *pit-ə-s*
swim-INF can-PTCP.NEG child down drown-EP-INF start-EP-PST.3SG
'A child who could not swim started drowning.'

- (4) [jo:nt-li] je:rmas šuŋ-na xu:j-ə-l
 sew-PTCP.NEG dress corner-LOC lie-EP-NONPST.3SG
 ‘A dress which someone did not finish sewing lies in the corner.’

In this case, one of the possible explanations for the attested participial orientation can be related to the Absolutive Hypothesis introduced in Fox (1987). It has been shown in this and further studies that S and P relativization has a special discourse function of introducing new participants, and it is most frequent in the corpora of various languages. S and P participants are, therefore, the most relativized ones, so if a language has only one participial form (or only one negative participial form, like Khanty), the combination of these two roles happens to be most efficient.

In my talk, I am going to discuss in more detail these and some other cases of absolutive participial orientation in connection with the possible mechanisms of its development.

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The origin and use of a relative clause construction with passive morphology in Orungu (Bantu, Gabon).

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This paper provides an analysis of two relative clause constructions in the Gabonese Bantu language Orungu that are in complementary distribution. The conditioning of the choice between them is typologically interesting, in that it involves the syntactic relation, the thematic role and referential properties of the target of relativisation. The relative verb form of one of these constructions, which we call the O-construction, has passive morphology. We argue that O-relatives are the result of a reanalysis of the initial use of passivisation to relativise certain objects by promoting them to subject position, providing formal and semantic evidence that demonstrates that synchronically it is a separate relative clause construction that directly targets objects. This is a very rare type of change in relative clause constructions, which usually merely involves relative clause markers. However, the origin of O-relatives is easily accounted for by the predictions of the accessibility hierarchy if we assume the prior existence of a discontinuity of the Toba Batak type, i.e. one in which positions that cannot be directly relativised are first promoted to a higher position on the accessibility hierarchy, from where they can be relativised.

**Title: In the beginning was the noun:
Why a creole grammar differs from that of its lexifier**

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Mauritian Creole (MC) is a French lexifier creole whose main substrates include languages of West and East Africa as well as Malagasy. Most of the lexicon is from French, but the grammars of these two languages are quite different. Unlike its lexifier MC lacks a definite article, Case assigning prepositions, and a copula. This paper argues that the loss of functional categories in the process of creolization triggered a shift in noun denotation which can account for the typological shift from Subject prominent (Sp) in French to Topic prominent (Tp) in MC. Within a Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995), functional categories are analyzed as quantificational operators that convert predicates into arguments and serve to establish the referential properties of noun phrases. Whilst French common nouns must occur with a determiner in argument positions, MC freely admits bare nouns which can be [\pm definite], [\pm specific], and in the case of count nouns, singular or plural, as in (1)a.-b. and meaning is derived from the context. MC has zero marking for present tense, where subject and predicate are string adjacent in non-verbal predicative constructions as in (1)a.:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) a. <i>Sat malad.</i>
cat sick
'The cat is sick.'
<i>Le chat est malade.</i></p> | <p>b. <i>Zot kontan sat.</i> (MC)
3.pl like cat
'They like cats.'
<i>Ils aiment les chats.</i> (French)</p> |
|--|---|

In generic contexts, MC nouns pattern like English bare plurals, which, according to Carlson (1978) and Chierchia (1998), are argumental, kind denoting terms that can raise into a determiner (D) position like proper nouns. Further evidence of N raising into D in MC is the occurrence of 'prepositionless' genitive constructions (Longobardi 1996: 26) as in *Enn buke flier* ('A bunch of flowers', Fr. *Un bouquet de fleurs*). This is an instance of *inherent case* assignment (Chomsky 1995:114) as opposed to structural case assignment by a governing preposition.

Sentences (1)a.-b. and (2)a. are 'thetic' judgments, which consist of a single act, namely the recognition of the material of a judgment expressed by a subject and a predicate. They contrast with 'categorical' judgments which contain two acts, namely, one of picking out a referent and expressing something about it as in (2)b.¹ A language is identified as Tp if it realizes categorical and thetic judgments in different syntactic structures (Kiss 1994). This contrast is illustrated by (2)a. and (2)b. The former comprises a subject and a predicate, while (2)b. is a Topic Comment construction, where a resumptive pronoun co-referential with the Topic functions as the subject of the Comment:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">THETIC JUDGMENT</p> <p>(2) a. <i>Zako kontan banann.</i>
monkey like banana
'Monkeys like bananas.'
<i>Le singe aime la banane.</i></p> | <p style="text-align: center;">CATEGORICAL JUDGMENT</p> <p>b. <i>Zako li kontan banann.</i> (MC)
monkey 3.SG like banana
'Monkeys like bananas.'
<i>Le singe aime la banane.</i> (French)</p> |
|--|---|

Tp languages and Sp languages have been analysed as typologically different languages where sentence articulation is motivated by different considerations (Kuroda 1972; Kiss 1994). In Tp languages it is motivated by discourse semantics, and in Sp languages sentence structure results

¹ The terms 'thetic' and 'categorical' were coined by Franz Bentano and Anton Marty, see Kuroda (1972:154).

from theta role and case assignment considerations. The discourse semantic function of the Topic is to foreground a specific entity that something will be predicated about, and it is not necessarily identical to the grammatical subject. Note that the Topic controls co-reference in the sentence:

- (3) *Sa pye la so fey zoli samem mo kontan li* (*zot)
 DEM tree SP 3.SG.POSS leaf beautiful that's.why 1.SG like 1.SG (*3.PL)

'This tree, its leaves are beautiful, that's why I like it.' (*them).

Cet arbre, ses feuilles sont jolies, c'est pourquoi je l'aime (*les aime)

The subject is typically the external argument of the predicate. It expresses the most prominent theta role, bears nominative (NOM) Case, and triggers agreement with the verb (in languages with inflectional morphology). In languages like English and French, the subject position must be filled, and when there is no semantic subject, an expletive is used. There is no such requirement in MC, where 'subjectless' sentences are common as shown:

- (4) a. *Vann zepis dan bazar.* b. *Fer fre zordi*(MC)
 sell spices in market make cold today
 '(They) sell spices in the market.' '(It)'s cold today.'
 (On) vend des épices au marché. (Il) fait froid aujourd'hui.(French)

Sp and Tp languages also differ in the level of representation at which they structurally represent predication (Kiss 1994). In Tp languages, it is represented at S-structure and in Sp languages it is identified at Logical Form (LF), after operator movement has taken place. This means that in Tp languages, if there is a topic, Spec,TopP must be filled overtly, while this can happen at LF in English and French and are instances of Quantifier Raising (May 1985). Other characteristics of Tp languages include the lack of expletives and passive constructions. For example, MC has no weather verbs with expletive subjects, and it has limited use of passives with the verb *gagny* ('to get') as shown in (5) and (6) respectively:

- (5) *Lapli pe tombe.* (6) *Mo 'nn gagny pike ek*
 rain ASP fall bebet.1.SG PERF get
 'It is raining.' (Lit. 'Rain is falling') sting with insect
Il pleut. 'I got stung by insects.'
J'ai été piqué par des insectes.

The lack of expletives may be a consequence of a zero copula being unable to assign NOM Case to an indefinite pronoun which lacks referential properties. The lack of passives may result from the inability of the direct object to raise to Spec,IP which is already occupied by the trace of the noun phrase that has raised overtly to Spec,TopP. This analysis raises the following questions: are nouns in Tp languages typically specified as [+ARG, -PRED], and do Tp languages generally lack a definite article and a copula (equivalent to auxiliary 'be'), hence their need to resort to Discourse Configurational strategies to express the syntactic form of predication? Comparisons will be made with other Tp languages, such as Chinese and Japanese.

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The seven grammaticization stages of Hebrew intensifying adverbials within the: 'not x, but y' construction

Ruti Bardenstein and Mira Ariel

The Modern Hebrew adverbial *bixlal* (at all/any/actually/even/in general/generally), among many other similarly functioning sentential adverbials, seems puzzling from a synchronic point of view since it functions both as a NPI *lo..bixlal /bixlal lo* 'any', 'at all' (not...any/at all) and as a Discourse Marker (DM) in positive environments, being interpreted either as an 'in general' DM when focused (stressed) or as an 'actually' DM when unfocused (unstressed). As a result, it has been the focus of various papers examining both its semantics and discursive use (Migron 2003, Ziv 2012, Greenberg and Khrizman 2012, Kadmon and Sevi, 2014, Greenberg (2014) as well as its possible grammaticization path (Avigail Tsirkin-Sadan 2015). Our research examines the grammaticization path of various Hebrew discourse markers (DMs) within **rectification constructions**, such as *bixlal* in: '*bixlal lo p, ela q*' (*not at all p, but q*) as in (1) and *rak* (only/just) in: '*lo p ela rak q*' (*not p, but only/just q*) as in (3). Our claim is that **a frequent occurrence of specific markers within rectification constructions created a strong association between these markers and the function of rectification**, which paved the way for a dramatic semantic change of such DMs, turning them into **rectification markers**. Once reinterpreted as rectification markers they can be used to indicate rectification **even in the absence of the complete construction**. That is how we interpret (2) and (4): While *bixlal* (2) and *rak* (4) explicitly modify the nucleus of the rectification construction (*bixlal/rak q*), the rejection of the satellite '*lo p*' ('*not p*') along with the rectification connector *ela* (but), is now left for inference. The examples we use are taken from Israeli newspapers (mainly Ha'arets), the radio, T.V shows and news broadcasts, the internet and the Ma'amad (The spoken corpus of the Tel-Aviv University).

We distinguish between two types of rectification markers:

A. 'Satellite markers', marking the rectified assumption (*bixlal*, *kvar* (already), *davka* (actually), *adayin* (still/yet), *od* (more/still/yet)).

B. 'Nucleus markers', marking the rectifying assumption (*rak* (only/just), *stam* (just), *pashut* (simple), *besax-hakol* (just)). For example, *rak* (only/just) has developed within the Rectification Construction: '*lo p ela rak q*' (*not p, but only q*) as in (3)

It is our claim that the grammaticization path of rectificational DMs involves:

- a. Shifting the focus (stress) to the rectified/rectifying material
- b. The satellite of the construction ('*lo p*') along with *ela* (but) as a connector (between the satellite and the nucleus), becoming only optional.

As a result, the rectification constructions: '*bixlal lo p ela q*' (as in 1) and '*lo p, ela rak q*' (as in 3) turned into what I call a **compact rectification construction**: '*bixlal q*' (as in 2) and '*rak q*' (as in 4) respectively. It is our claim, therefore, that the Hebrew DMs *bixlal* and *rak* (among many other DMs), when unstressed/unfocused, before a rectifying stressed/focal predicate, scope over an argumentative discourse construction of rectification.

Examples

1. China Town **bixlal lo** hitxila be-sin, **ela** ba- filipinim
 China Town **at all NEG** start in- China, **but** in-the-Philippines
 'China Town didn't at all start in China, but in the Philippines' [Xnet12.05.13]

2. Harofi'm nidhamu! Hagidul hasartani hu **bixlal ka'akua**
 The doctors were astounded! The tumor is **at all a tattoo!**
 'The doctors were astounded! The tumor is actually a tattoo!'
 [Walla health, 22.5.15]

- Our claim is that the explicature (Sperber& Wilson 1986) of (2) is the following:

- 2a. Harofi'm nidhamu! Hagidul hasartani hu bixlal [**lo gidul sartani ela**] ka'akua
 The doctors were astounded! The tumor is actually [**not a tumor, but**] a tattoo

3. Ani **lo** tsarix einayim, **ela rak** zug yadayim
 I **NEG** need eyes **but only** a pair (of) hands [4.2.16, הרצליה, local]
 'I don't need eyes, just/only a pair of hands'

4. Yalda shebikra shilshom (rishon) bemuzeon yisrael, shavra kli zxuxit hashayax
 le'exad meosafey ha'arxiologia haxashuvim ba'olam.
 Bamuzeon mavtixim ki matsavo shel hakli **rak yishtaper**
 its condition of the dish **only will improve**
 ketotsa'a me hashikum she ya'avov. (Ha'arets, Nir Xason, 25.8.15)
 as a result of the reconstruction that it will go through

'A girl who visited two days ago (Sunday) the Museum of Israel, has broken a glass vessel which belongs to one of the most important archeological collections in the world. The museum representatives guarantee that the vessel's condition will **only improve** as a result of its reconstruction'. [Ha'arets, Nir Xason, 25.8.15]

It is our claim that the explicature of (4) is:

[...] matsavo shel hakli [lo yaxmir ela] rak yishtaper!
 [...] its condition of the dish [**will not worsen but**] only will improve!

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Parametric approaches to morphosyntactic variation in Bantu: a comparative-typological account of negation

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Bantu languages provide a rich area for the study of linguistic variation. Against the background of a shared broad typological profile across the family, a number of recent studies have focused on internal morphosyntactic variation. A particular strand within this research adopts a parametric approach, where variation is analysed with recourse to a set of (surface) parameters to map implicational relations between different constructions and languages. This provides the basis for explanations of different distributions and patterns in the data, in terms of diachronic relations, language contact, or universal cognitive constraints (e.g. Marten et al. 2007, Bax & Diercks 2012, Petzell & Hammarström 2013, Marten & van der Wal 2014, Zeller & Ngoboka 2014, Gibson et al. forthcoming).

A particular intriguing area for a parametric approach to cross-linguistic typologies of Bantu languages is the expression of negation. The encoding of negation exhibits a high degree of variation amongst Bantu languages (see, e.g. Güldemann 1999, Devos & van der Auwera 2013), and is related to a number of dimensions, including the use of auxiliary and main infinitival verbs to express negation (1), and a complementary pair of markers, the choice of which often relates to whether it occurs with an independent tense (2a) or a dependent tense (2b). Languages also vary with regards to the number of negation markers, and the location within a clause in which negation is marked. For example, negation can be encoded through the use of a negative prefix, negative suffix, and/or a postverbal negative marker. Similarly, negation can be marked once within the clause (3a) or in multiple locations (3b).

- (1) àyá ùté kwàm nâ àbé ↓dí [Eton (A71)]
 |à-já ù-Ltɛ L-kòm nâ à-bʼɛ L-dí|
 3-pain 3-PR INF-do CMP 1-NEG INF-eat
 ‘Due to the pain, she doesn’t eat.’ (van de Velde 2008: 284)
- (2) a. **ka**-ddi-j-ilé [Cuwabo (P34)]
 NEG-SM1SG-eat-PFV
 ‘I didn’t eat’
 b. ... ddi-**hi**-j-e
 SM1SG-NEG-eat-SBJ
 ‘... so that I don’t eat’ (Guérois 2015)
- (3) a. Msambizgi wa-ku-timb-a w̃ ana **yayi** lero [Tumbuka N21]
 1.teacher SM1-PRES-hit-FV 2.child NEG nowadays
 ‘The teacher does not hit children these days.’ (Chavula 2016)
 b. **káá**-dédélo-**kú** mu-tóndú **ba** [Salampasu (L51)]
 NEG1.1-cut.PFV-NEG 3-tree NEG
 ‘He hasn’t cut a tree.’ (Ngalamulume 1977, via Devos & van der Auwera 2013: 210)

Against this backdrop, we develop a comparative-typological account of Bantu negative constructions based on descriptive parameters formulated along the following domains:

- **Form:** tone, affixes, words, particles, auxiliary verbs;
- **Position:** pre-initial vs. post-initial, pre-verbal vs. post-verbal;
- **Status:** bound vs. unbound;
- **Co-occurrence of marking:** single, double or triple negation;

- **Featural coverage:** dedicated negative markers vs. negative morphemes which also encode other grammatical features

Results of the study show that whilst certain negation features cover a large part of the Bantu linguistic area, the distribution of others is much more limited, revealing innovation, often through grammaticalisation, and in some cases (probable) influence from contact with non-Bantu languages. Specific characteristics of negation marking in Bantu which appear from the data are 1) the widely found maintenance of the inherited contrast between two verbal negation prefixal slots (initial **ka-* and post-subject marker **tá-* or **tí-*, cf. Meeussen 1967, Nurse 2008), which are closely integrated into the TAM systems of the relevant languages, and often serve to mark (semantic or syntactic) subordination (e.g. *ka-* and *hi-* in (2), above); 2) several grammaticalisation processes, in particular instances of Jespersen's cycle (Devos and van der Auwera 2013); 3) the development of negation markers from locative sources (e.g. *-kú* in (3b)); 4) the development of (typically clause-final) negation markers from a range of lexical sources which are sometimes hard to trace (e.g. *Tumbukayayi* in (3a)); and 5) the effect of language contact on negative marking (e.g. in Rangi, Gibson and Wilhelmsen 2015).

Overall, the study adds to research examining the morphosyntactic expression of negation, and the kind of variation encountered in this domain. Results of the study also contribute to the study of variation in Bantu, and add to a growing body of work in this area. Through this, the study contributes to our understanding of the interaction between inheritance, innovation and contact in closely related languages such as Bantu languages, and so to our understanding of the relationship between (possible) areal features and the reconstruction of genetic relatedness in the context of Bantu, and African languages more broadly.

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Diachronic univerbating of verbal complex in Q'eqchi' (Mayan)

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This paper deals with diachronic change in the syntactic structure of the verbal complex in Q'eqchi', a Mayan language spoken in Guatemala. I argue that during the last five centuries Q'eqchi' changed from a syntactically complex finite predication formed by independent or cliticized words to a simple flat structure based on affixation.

In modern Q'eqchi', the verbal complex is monoclausal; all grammatical categories (tense/aspect, person, number, voice) are expressed by affixes (1).

Modern Q'eqchi', fieldwork data, dialect of Cobán

- (1a) nak-oo-x-k'am
PRES-1PL.ABS-3SG.ERG-bring
'S/he brings us'
(1b) nak-e'-k'am-e'
PRES-3PL.ABS-bring-PASS
'They are brought'

The linguistic analysis of some colonial documents from the 16th to 18th centuries written in Q'eqchi' makes it evident that in that period, the verbal complex was less consolidated. There are two arguments in support of this claim. First, some particles were able to interrupt what in the modern language is a finite verb form. Second, the absolutive markers could be removed from the verbal complex in some contexts.

In colonial times, the finite verb form was not as uninterruptible as it is in modern Q'eqchi'. There were at least three particles that could occur between a tense-aspect marker (not necessarily accompanied by an overt absolutive marker when it cross-references the third person) and a verbal stem (possibly with an ergative prefix, if needed): *ta* 'optative' (2a), *raj* 'counterfactive' (2b) and *le* 'quotative'.

Colonial Q'eqchi', undated translation of the Lord's Prayer

- (2a) *bota avaEhab chiza ybanunquil Ea maac* (Breton 1915)
b=o **ta** aw-ak'ab' chisa' i-banun-kil qa-maak
PROH=1PL.ABS **OPT** 2SG.ERG-lead PREP 3SG.POSS-make-NMLZ 1PL.POSS-sin
'Do not lead us into temptation'

Colonial Q'eqchi', the undated grammar

- (2b) *naquin rah iloEon* (Berendt 1875: 31)
nak=in **raj** i-loq'on
PRES=1SG.ABS **CF** 3SG.ERG-love
'S/he would have loved me'

In colonial Q'eqchi', as opposed to the modern language, the absolutive markers could be placed in front of the verbal complex, when there was a clause-initial focalized constituent (3a) or a conjunction *naq* (3b).

- Colonial Q'eqchi', the XVI century grammar
 (3a) *cebat Ehiculuc*(de Cardenas ~1565: 89)
seeb'=at chi-k'ulun-q
soon=2SG.ABS FUT-come-IRR
 'Come soon'

- Colonial Q'eqchi', the testament from 1583
 (3b) *nacquin chi camc*(Burkitt 1905: 273)
naq=in chi-kam-q
when=1SG.ABS FUT-die-IRR
 '...when I die'

The Q'eqchi' diachronic data support Pye's (2009: 267) ideas that the Mayan verbal complex "masks a structure of complementation", and that "a complex clausal analysis accounts for the structure of the verbal complex better than a monoclausal analysis". Thus, a finite verbal clause in colonial Q'eqchi' should be interpreted as a complex clause, consisting of a tense-aspect auxiliary as the main predicate and an inflected verb form as its complement. Tense/aspect markers were apparently independent words in complementary distribution with some adverbs and conjunctions. The colonial data on Q'eqchi' also show that personal absolutive markers were clitics and not affixes as in the modern language. They were left-bound and could be encliticized to a tense/aspect auxiliary, a topicalized adverb or a conjunction. This corroborates the hypothesis that at the stage of Proto-Maya, the absolutive indices were independent words with a tendency to enclisis; see Lehmann (2015).

The process of univerbating of the verbal complex made it uninterruptible. The set of clause-initial elements was limited to tense/aspect markers. The movement of the absolutive markers became impossible, since they were reanalyzed as prefixes.

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Gender agreement in Deni (Arawá)¹

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Deni is an Arawá language spoken by about 1,500 people who live on the Cuniuá (six villages) and Xerua (three villages) rivers in southern Amazonia, Brazil. Other Arawá languages are Kulina (which is closely related to Deni), Madi (which consists of three dialects: Jarawara, Jamamadi and Banawá), Sorowahá and Paumarí. The Arawá language, which gave its name to the family, has been extinct since 1877 and is known from an 1869 word list².

Morphological gender distinction is a very common feature of Arawá languages which occurs in some word classes, like verbs, quantifiers, demonstratives, numerals. These languages have two subclasses of nouns, inalienably possessed nouns and free nouns, which are either feminine or masculine. Although gender is not typically morphologically marked on nouns (except for third person of inalienably possessed nouns), it is manifested through gender agreement in many parts of the Deni grammar. According to Dixon (1999: 298), the gender in Arawá languages is inherent to free nouns, and the feminine is functionally unmarked. This paper deals with the gender agreement within clause, which includes the predicate and its arguments.

Deni has transitive and intransitive clauses. Transitive clauses require two obligatory arguments, one functioning as the A and the other functioning as the O. Differently, intransitive clauses require one obligatory argument functioning as S. Besides A, O, and S arguments, Deni also includes optional peripheral arguments (OPA) which are typically marked by case. The structure of predicate is synthetic – that is, many morphemes can attach to the verb root, of which some have different forms to feminine and masculine genders. Arguments trigger the gender agreement on verbs. In intransitive clauses, the S triggers gender agreement; in transitive clauses, either A or O triggers gender agreement, since Deni has A-constructions (in which the A triggers the gender agreement) and O-constructions (in which the O triggers the gender agreement). Person is always formally marked on the verb; the feminine form is used for first and second person, regardless of sex (see (1a))³; for the third person either feminine or masculine gender is used, depending on the kind of construction.

In Deni, most members of the noun class have the inherent feminine gender; although gender is not typically formally marked on the nouns, it is formally marked on the noun modifiers within the NP, like demonstratives, numerals, and quantifiers, as illustrated in (1a,b,c) respectively, as well as in the predicate, as in (1d,e).

- (1a) [a-ri dzabitsu] _{NP} [Ø-putaha-ri] _P
this-M single.man 3-be.big-NFUT.M
'This single man is big.'

¹This paper is based on data obtained during four fieldtrips to Deni-speaking villages (mainly at Cidadezinha village, the first one on the Cuniuá river) in the period between 2011 and 2015.

²For a classification of Arawá languages, see Dixon (1999, 2004, 2006) and a summary in Aikhenvald (2012: 56); additional sources include Everett (1995) and Dienst (2008); a comprehensive list of older sources is in Dixon (2006).

³The abbreviations used here are the followings: 1, 3 = first, third person; DISTR = distributive; F = feminine; M = masculine; NFUT = non-future; PL = plural; SG = singular; VCM = verbal class marking.

- (1b) [edza]_{OPA} [amunehe pami-hi pami-hi]_{NP1} [ekhedza]_{OPA} [makhi
 here woman two-DISTR.F two-DISTR.F there man
 pama-ha pama-ha]_{NP2}
 two-DISTR.M two-DISTR.M
 ‘Four women on this side, and four men on the other side.’ (lit. here two plus two woman; there two plus two man)
- (1c) [aba vapiha-ri]_{NP} [Ø-puha-ri]_P
 fish lot-M 3-have-NFUT.M
 ‘There is a lot of fish.’ (lit. It has a lot of fish.)
- (1d) [uva]_{NP} [hapi-u-na-ru]_P
 1SG take.bath-1SG-VCM-NFUT.F
 ‘I took a bath.’
- (1e) [amunehe deni]_{NP1} [kidza-Ø-na-ru]_{P1} [makhidehe deni]_{NP2}
 woman PL be.sick-3-VCM-NFUT.F man PL
 [kidza-Ø-na-ri]_{P2} [Madiha tikhiraria]_{NP3} [kidza-Ø-na-ru]_{P3}
 be.sick-3-VCM-NFUT.M autodenomination all be.sick-3-VCM-NFUT.F
 ‘The women are sick; the men are sick. All Madiha are sick.’

In (1a), *dzabitsu* ‘single man’ is the head of the NP, and it triggers the gender agreement in both demonstrative *a-ri* ‘this-M’ (which is its modifier within the NP) and on the verb *putaha-ri* ‘be.big-NFUT.M’. In (1b), the NP1-head *amunehe* ‘woman’ triggers the feminine gender agreement on its modifier (numeral) within the NP, whereas NP2-head *makhidehe* ‘man’ triggers the masculine gender agreement on its modifier (numeral) within the NP. The quantifier *vapiha-ri* ‘lot-m’ in (1c) agrees in gender with the head of NP *aba* ‘fish’, which has the inherent masculine gender. Besides the gender agreement within the NP, Deni also has gender agreement marked on the verb. The intransitive clause in (1d) shows the feminine gender agreement involving the first person singular which is realized on the verb. Finally, (1e) includes three intransitive clauses; then the NP of each clause is in the S function. In the first clause, the head of NP1 is a feminine noun which triggers gender agreement on the predicate; in the second clause, the head of NP2 is a masculine noun which triggers gender agreement on the predicate. In Deni, the feminine is the default; this form is functionally unmarked and it is used for groups composed by men and women, as can be seen at the third clause in (1e).

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Title: Negation in Tacana (Amazonian Bolivia): descriptive, typological and comparative-historical perspectives

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Abstract

Tacana is one of the five extant languages of the small Takanan family from the Amazonian lowlands of Bolivia and Peru (together with Cavineña, Ese Ej(j)a, Araona and Reyesano). The language is critically endangered, being only spoken by a few dozens of elderly people. It is also basically undescribed. This paper is the first study of negation in this language. It is based on data (texts and elicitations) from the Tumupasa dialect that I collected during four months of fieldwork conducted during four field trips between 2009 and 2013.

In this language, negation of **innon-imperative clauses** is realized by way of a morpheme *ma* ‘NEG’ which enters several morphological and/or syntactic constructions in order to express different subtypes of negation, such as one-word negation (1), standard negation (1), existential negation (2), indefinite negative (3) and privative negation (4):

- (1) One-word negation and standard negation

Mawe! Aimue da ema e-puti=mawe.
NEG NEG TOP 1SG FUT-go=NEG
(‘Do you want to go to Mass with us?’) No! I won’t go! su028

- (2) Existential negation

Aimue beu, se, aimue beu.
NEG PERF fish NEG PERF
(‘There is no fish, there isn’t any. (Lit. fish is nothing, it is nothing.)’ em075

- (3) Indefinite negation

Mué=aidhe biame ema jeutsu.
NEG=someone INDEF 1SG respond
(‘Nobody answered me.’ n2.0046

- (4) Privative negation

Pero pisa=mue da ema.
but weapon=NEG TOP 1SG
(‘I don’t have a gun (Lit. I am without a gun / gun-less).’ co046

(*mawe* and *mue* = **ma**-we [NEG-RESTRICTIVE], *aimue* = *ai*-**ma**-we [thing-NEG-RESTRICTIVE])

By contrast, negation of **imperative clauses (prohibitive)** does not involve *ma* ‘NEG’ but a combination of a particle *be* and a suffix *-ji* on the verb, the exact origins of which are unclear.

(5) Imperative negative (prohibitive)

Mawe tiyu! Be tsu ema dia-ji!

NEG uncle IMP.NEG YET 1SG eat-IMP.NEG

(‘I’m going to eat you.’) ‘No, Uncle! Don’t eat me yet!’ bu029

The first part of the paper will be a typologically-informed description of the various negation constructions in Tacana. The second part will compare these constructions with those documented in the other four Takanan languages (Cavineña, Ese Ejja, Araona and Reyesano), with the goal of trying to reconstruct their past history. I will show, among other things, that like in Tacana, negation of/innon-imperative clauses in the other Takanan languages involve a cognate morpheme *ma* ‘NEG’, although the morphological and/or syntactic constructions in which *ma* appears are quite different from one language to the next. The comparative study will be based on the following descriptions of the other four Takanan languages: Guillaume (2008) for Cavineña, Vuillermet (2012) for Ese Ejja, Pitman (1980) and Emkow (2006) for Araona, Guillaume (2012; field notes 2004-2008) for Reyesano.

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Poster Session

On simultaneous temporal clauses: the uses of *mientras* ‘while’ and *cuando* ‘when’

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In the domain of adverbial subordination, it has been said that the temporal relationship between the two sentences in temporal adverbial clauses depends on the meaning of the linkage marker that introduces the subordinate clause (Garcia, 2000). Thus, the relationship between the two events can be of sequentiality, when it is marked by *before* or *after*, or simultaneity, if it is introduced by *while*. Compared with sequential temporal subordination, those clauses denoting a temporal overlap between the two events have received less attention in the literature (Chétrit, 1976; Éberenz, 1982; García, 2000).

The notion of simultaneity implies that the main and the linked event temporally overlap in their realization (Thompson *et al.*, 2007: 254), though the exact extent of the overlapping is unspecified and subject to variation (Cristofaro, 2003). In English, simultaneous clauses can be marked by *while* as well as the general temporal marker *when*. Yet, the few typological studies on the topic have focused on simultaneous *when* clauses (Diessel, 2008; Cristofaro, 2013).

In this paper, I examine 763 simultaneous clauses in Spanish taken from oral and writing data. In the corpus, 241/763 (31.59 %) of the data is introduced by *mientras* ‘while’, whereas 522/763 (68.41 %) is marked by *cuando* ‘when’. The linkage marker *cuando* also introduces sequential relationships and behaves in a similar way to English *when* (Declerck, 1997; Cristofaro, 2003), and French *quand* (Chétrit, 1976).

In a simultaneous temporal relationship, the time of an event is included in the time of another event. Chétrit (1976) proposes three sub-types of simultaneous events: synchronization (perfect simultaneity) as shown in (1), concomitant (partial simultaneity) as in (2), and coincidence (punctual simultaneity), as depicted in (3). Apparently, just the first type allows the alternation between *cuando* and *mientras*.

Synchronization:

- (1) a. [***Cuando*** la señora L fue presidenta], yo fui vicepresidente
a'. [***Mientras*** la señora L fue presidenta], yo fui vicepresidente
‘When/While Mrs. L was president, I was vicepresident’

Concomitant:

- (2) a. [***Cuando*** iba a Tehuacán], competía allá con Roberto Cardini
a'. ?[***Mientras*** iba a Tehuacán], competía allá con Roberto Cardini
‘When/?While I was going to Tehuacán, I competed over there with Roberto Cardini’

Coincidence:

- (3) a. [***Cuando*** yo nací], ya mi mamá era clavadista
a'. *[***Mientras*** yo nací], ya mi mamá era clavadista
‘When/*While I was born, my mother was already a diver’

The aim of this paper is twofold: to examine the distribution and use of the three sub-types of simultaneous relationships in corpus, and to demonstrate that *mientras* is highly restricted (it introduces a subtype of simultaneous events), whereas *cuan* can combine with all the subtypes.

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‘HOME’ to possession: more than an areal phenomenon

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It has been long observed that there is a path of grammaticalization from ‘HOME’ to the attributive possessive marker in some African languages. With evidences only from such African languages as Kabiye (Claudi & Heine 1989), Ngiti (Kutch Lojenga 1994), Zulu and Xhosa (Güldemann 1999), this path of grammaticalization is treated as an areal phenomenon (Heine & Kuteva 2002:175).

This paper shows that there are also evidences for this path of grammaticalization in Sinitic languages, which are neither genetically nor geographically related to the above mentioned African languages. Both diachronic and synchronic evidences from Sinitic languages are concerned in this study. Diachronically, there are evidences from different historical periods showing different stages of grammaticalization. Synchronically, a variety of Chinese dialects illustrate a parallel usage of the morpheme which means ‘HOME’ as the attributive possessive marker.

The grammaticalization from ‘HOME’ to the possessive marker is divided into the following stages. At the initial stage (about 420-589AD), the morpheme ‘HOME’ is used after pronouns in the nominal constructions, which provides the syntactic environment for the grammaticalization. In this period, the usage of ‘HOME’ as a possessive marker is only restricted to pronominal possessors, and it can be interpreted both as ‘HOME’ and as a possessive marker. Furthermore, the possessed nouns in this construction are also restricted to the nouns which has some connection with ‘HOME’ or ‘HOUSE’, such as household and relative. At the second stage (618-907 AD), the original meaning of ‘HOME’ is almost bleached when the morpheme ‘HOME’ is used as a possessive marker. Besides, there are more nouns which can be used in this construction. At the final stage (after 907 AD), the semantic content of the morpheme ‘HOME’ was further bleached and it could also be attached to nominal possessors as a possessive marker.

This path of grammaticalization is also manifested in different modern Chinese dialects, which display different levels of grammaticalization. In some dialects, ‘HOME’ can be used alone as the possessive marker. For instance, in southwestern

Mandarin, 'HOME' is attached to both pronominal possessors and nominal possessors to express the possessive meaning. In other dialects, Jizhou dialect for example, 'HOME' is combined with a demonstrative to express the possessive meaning. In Hakka, the morpheme 'HOME' is further grammaticalized and becomes part of the possessive pronoun.

The parallel development in Sinitic languages and African languages shows that the path of grammaticalization from 'HOME' to the attributive possessive marker is more than an areal phenomenon. It is interesting that this grammaticalization develops independently in Sinitic languages and African languages.

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Friday, August
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Alignment splits in case marking and the referential hierarchy: reassessing the evidence in diachronic perspective

The cross-linguistic distribution of accusative and ergative case marking patterns across different NP types is traditionally described in terms of the referential (or animacy) hierarchy 1, 2 > 3 > human > animate > inanimate. Accusative patterns are sometimes limited to a left end portion of the hierarchy, e.g. pronouns, or pronouns and animates, while ergative patterns are sometimes limited to a right end portion of the hierarchy, e.g. nouns but not pronouns.

In a classical and very influential explanation for this phenomenon, the NPs towards the left end of the hierarchy are less likely to occur as P arguments, hence, when they do, the P role is disambiguated through overt case marking, yielding an accusative pattern. By contrast, the NPs towards the right end of the hierarchy are less likely to occur as A arguments, hence, when they do, the A role is disambiguated through overt case marking, yielding an ergative pattern (Comrie 1989, among others).

These assumptions are based on the synchronic distribution of accusative and ergative patterns across different NP types, not how this distribution actually arises diachronically in individual languages. The paper discusses various types of cross-linguistic evidence about this process, and argues that this evidence poses several challenges for explanations in terms of disambiguation.

First, the relevant patterns typically emerge as a result of the reinterpretation of pre-existing constructions. In languages where A, S, and P arguments are originally undifferentiated, a variety of elements (for example topic markers or demonstratives, as in (1) and (4)) can grammaticalize into P or A markers, leading to an accusative or an ergative pattern. As is usually the case in grammaticalization (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994, Heine 2003, Traugott and Dasher 2005), these processes are plausibly driven by a number of often highly particularized contextual associations that speakers establish between the old and the new function of the markers, so there is no direct evidence that they are also driven by the need to disambiguate particular argument roles.

The fact that individual patterns are restricted to particular NP types is also often naturally explained in terms of the properties of particular source constructions, rather than the relative likelihood of those NPs occurring in particular argument roles. For example, accusative patterns restricted to pronouns or pronouns and animates may develop from constructions mainly used with these elements, such as topic markers ((1)). By contrast, constructions normally also used for inanimates ('take' verbs in serial verb constructions, nominalizations: (2), (3)) give rise to accusative patterns also applying to inanimates. Likewise, ergative patterns not applying to (at least certain types of) pronouns may develop from various types of constructions with the same distributional constraints, for example demonstratives used to highlight new agents ((4)). However, constructions used with both nouns and pronouns (for example resultative constructions or, again, nominalizations: (5)) give rise to ergative patterns applying to both.

Finally, accusative patterns sometimes become restricted to pronouns as nouns lose the relevant case distinctions. While in accordance with the referential hierarchy, this phenomenon is plausibly due to the conservative nature of pronouns (Blake 2001, among others), rather than the need to disambiguate pronominal P arguments. In fact, cross-linguistically, pronouns may retain an ergative

pattern originally also used with nouns, leading to exceptions to the hierarchy.

In line with previous observations on specific instances of various alignment patterns (Garrett 1990, Gildea 1998, Creissels 2008), these facts suggest that the various patterns captured by the referential hierarchy, and typological hierarchies in general, can be a combined result of several particularized diachronic processes, not based on the principles that can be postulated on synchronic grounds, nor amenable to a unified explanation. A full understanding of individual hierarchies requires data about these processes (for example, for the referential hierarchy, what source constructions can give rise to specific case marking patterns, in what contexts, through what mechanisms), rather than data about the resulting patterns in themselves.

- (1) Kanuri: *-ga*: accusative marker restricted to pronouns, topic marker (Cyffer 1998)
- (2) Twi: *de*: accusative marker applying to inanimates, derived from a ‘take’ verb (Lord 1993)
- (3) Wayana: *-n*: accusative marker applying to inanimates, derived from the reanalysis of a possessive marker in a nominalized construction (Gildea 1998)
- (4) Bagandji: *-duru*: ergative marker not applying to pronouns, derived from a demonstrative (Hercus 1982, McGregor 2006)
- (5) Cariña: *-’wa*: ergative marker applying to pronouns, derived from the reanalysis of a dative marker in a nominalized construction (Gildea 1998)

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Human impersonal pronouns in Afrikaans: a questionnaire-based approach

Daniel Van Olmen & Adri Breed

The last decade has seen an increasing interest in human impersonal pronouns (HIPs). They have been studied quite extensively in the languages of Europe (e.g. Siewierska 2011) and in West Germanic in particular (e.g. van der Auwera et al. 2012). Afrikaans, however, has not received much attention in the literature, despite, for instance, the language's interesting relation to the so-called sandwich distribution of the 'man'-pronoun in European West Germanic: it is very much alive in German, i.e. *man*, has been lost entirely in English and appears to be on its way out in Dutch, i.e. *men* (see Weerman 2006). Afrikaans no longer has ancestral *men* but is developing a new 'man'-pronoun, i.e. ('n) *mens* '(a) human'. The internet example in (2), with a suppletive second person singular form, suggests that it may even be acquiring a second one, i.e. ('n) *man* '(a) man'.

- (1) ('n) *Mens mag nooit drink en bestuur nie.*
 INDEF.SG human may never drink.INF and drive.INF NEG
 'One should not drink and drive.'
- (2) *Man moet jouself geestelikreg kry.*
 man must 2SG.REFL mental right get.INF
 'One should sort oneself out mentally.'

The other HIPs in Afrikaans are *hulle* 'they' and *jy* 'you (singular)'. In this paper, we aim to provide the first description of their functional distribution in Present-day Afrikaans, examine what it can contribute to our understanding of HIPs in general and test the usefulness of two types of questionnaire for the study of HIPs in languages for which few/no corpora are available. More precisely, we asked half of the roughly 150 students of Afrikaans at the North-West University Potchefstroom (South Africa) to read 26 short passages illustrating 13 different contexts of use and, for each passage, to rate the acceptability on a 5-point scale of the various HIPs in a clause completing it. The other half were given the same passages but were asked to fill in the slot of the HIP themselves so that the clause is about people in general or people that the speaker cannot/does not want to identify in any way. Our main research questions and some of the initial findings are discussed below.

First, how are the HIPs in Afrikaans distributed over the various functions identified in the two most recent semantic maps of the domain by Siewierska & Papastathi (2011) and Gast & van der Auwera (2013)? A first look at the judgments suggests substantial variation in the acceptability of ('n) *man* as a HIP and a clear distribution of labor between, on the one hand, *hulle*, i.e. universal-external (e.g. 'in Bali, they eat dragonflies') and existential uses, and, on the other hand, ('n) *mens* and *jy*, i.e. universal-inclusive uses (e.g. 'one only lives once'). These results show that, unlike the 'man'-pronouns in Dutch and German, ('n) *mens* has not (yet?) grammaticalized beyond a human non-referential indefinite, which may be due to its preference for second person singular-suppletive forms. As to the existential uses, Siewierska & Papastathi (2011) make a distinction between specific (e.g. 'they're knocking on the door, it's Mary'), inferred (e.g. 'they've eaten pizza here, I can smell it') and vague (e.g. 'they've found your bike') contexts while Gast & van der Auwera (2013) distinguish number-neutral contexts (e.g. 'they've found your bike' may involve one or more finders) from clearly plural ones (e.g. 'they've gathered here for a party'). To test the two dimensions, the questionnaire included specific, inferred and vague passages with a

number-neutral reading as well as ones with an explicitly plural reading. The initial findings indicate that they interact in that, for instance, *hulle* is judged slightly less acceptable in specific than in vague contexts and, in turn, slightly less acceptable in number-neutral than in plural contexts.

Second, do *'n mens* and *mens* differ in (socio)linguistic terms? The preliminary results indicate that, on the whole, they are both acceptable in the same contexts, which means that a form-function correlation is lacking in the incipient grammaticalization of this HIP since the loss of the article is usually taken as a sign of a higher level of grammaticalization (see Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007), and that, for both variants, forms such as the repeated subject (*'n mens*), the possessive *'n mens se* and the reflexive *mensself* meet with surprisingly broad acceptance, in spite of the fact that suppletive forms of the second person singular are prescribed here (see Donaldson 1993). The variation in acceptability that is attested between *'n mens* and *mens* seems to be highly idiolectal, with a slightly higher overall score for the article-less variant among men than among women, who tend to be more conservative in their use of Afrikaans (see Raidt 1995) and exhibit a preference for the more prestigious form here (see Prinsloo & Odendaal 1995).

Third, and finally, do HIPs always constitute the most common strategy for impersonalization and, if not, which other strategies does Afrikaans use? Despite the completion task's limitations in not allowing passives among other things, a first look at the results appears to confirm Siewierska & Papastathi's (2011) claim that HIPs are actually rarely used existentially, which could be linked to the aforementioned acceptability judgments about *hulle* in such contexts. Unlike in the universal uses, where HIPs dominate, informants are very often found to use the indefinite pronoun *iemand* 'someone', for instance, in the specific number-neutral cases and the indefinite noun phrase *mense* 'humans/people', for instance, in the evidential use (e.g. 'they say that ...', which features in Siewierska & Papastathi 2011 but not in Gast & van der Auwera 2013).

In sum, the paper has implications for the combinability of the two existing semantic maps, the role of sociolinguistic/idiolectal variation in incipient grammaticalization and the status of the existential uses in a map of HIPs.

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Passive/antipassive derivation as disambiguating mechanism

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Passive constitutes one of the central topics in syntactic research regardless of whether the approach adopted is functional-typological or more formal in nature (see, e.g., Siewierska 1984 and Shibatani 1985). Antipassive has been studied somewhat less thoroughly, but also its form and function have raised interest among linguists (see, e.g., Cooreman 1994 and Janic 2013). These studies vary enormously according to their goals and consequently also results, but the same features, most notably to agent/patient demotion and the promotion of the marked (ergative or accusative) argument to primary argument status are usually mentioned as the defining characteristics of (anti)passives. Moreover, the great majority of studies agree that the verb needs to bear special marking in order to be considered as a passive or an antipassive.

As regards the functions of (anti)passives, the studies thus far have focused on why/when (anti)passives are used, e.g. passives are used for blurring the identity of the agent, while antipassives underline the indefiniteness of the patient. In this paper, however, the focus lies on verb morphology. Put another way, the paper argues that the use of the (anti)passive morphology follows from disambiguation. For example, in English, where the subject relation is very strong, the intended reading of the semantic role borne by the subject argument in cases such as *the deer is eating* vs. *the deer is being eaten* is best assured via verb morphology; the marked verb morphology highlights the unexpected semantic role of the subject (similar changes are attested in inverse constructions for a similar reason). English is by far not the only language where this is attested, but, as noted above, changes in verb morphology are central to most definitions of (anti)passives. More evidence for the disambiguation view is provided by lack of (anti)passive in languages where both arguments are freely omissible and the semantic role of the remaining argument is thus directly inferable from its marking. This is attested, e.g., in most split intransitivity languages. Moreover, the omission of the secondary argument is usually not signaled on the verb (see also Malchukov 2006: 340ff for Primary Argument Immunity Principle). On the other hand, the disambiguation view is not equally applicable to languages that have both passive and antipassive (see, e.g., Fortescue 1984 for West Greenlandic), or to (anti)passives derived from intransitive clauses.

The disambiguation view proposed in this paper is further supported by the fact that passive and antipassive can be seen as somewhat different manifestations of a single morphosyntactic mechanism that promotes secondary arguments to primary argument status (the mechanisms are usually seen as each other's mirror images). First of all, this is manifested in the semantic emptiness and the obligatory nature of (anti)passive derivation; the derivation has to apply whenever the primary argument is omitted and the role of the promoted argument needs to be disambiguated. In this sense, (anti)passivization differs from, e.g., reflexivization that also modifies the meaning of the affected clause. Second, the demoted argument, regardless of its semantic role, is typically marked by the same (semantic) cases including instrumental, locatives and dative. Third, (anti)passive morphemes have emerged from similar constructions, most notably reflexive, in certain languages (see, e.g., Dixon 1977 for Yidiñ antipassives and Siewierska 1984 for reflexive passives). And finally, if a given language lacks primary arguments (subjects), as, e.g. split intransitivity languages do, the language also lacks (anti)passive derivation, because disambiguation can be assured by other means.

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Person marking in Menya (Tibeto-Burman) **Yang Gao**

Menya (Chinese: *mùyǎ* 木雅) is a Tibeto-Burman language, spoken in Sichuan Province, People's Republic of China by a group of people identified as ethnic Tibetans. As a poorly described language, previous works on Menya are rare, including Sun (1983), Huang (1991, 1992,) and Ikeda (2002, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2012).

As an endangered language, Menya is threatened by two dominant languages: Chinese (Southwest Mandarin) and Tibetan. It is therefore not surprising to find the language more and more simplified among young people, especially when it comes to the person marking system. As a result, it is urgent to document and analyze the personal agreement system in Menya.

This talk is divided into three sections. First, we will present some background information on various typological features of Menya that relevant to the topic of this talk. Second, we plan to describe regular person marking paradigms in Menya. Third, list of irregular verbs and also two irregular cases that may reveal insights of the language's history will be presented. We will share a hypothesis as a conclusion about the alignment typology in Menya from a diachronic point of view.

Person agreement manifests U/A¹ of a verb. Regular person marking paradigms in Menya illustrated as follow:

Final vowels of verb stem		1SG	1PL, 2PL	2SG	3SG, 3PL
Stem1	[ɛ], [ʌ], [i], [e]	-∅	-e	-ɛ	u-/zero ²
	[ɛ], [ʌ], [e]				
Stem2	[ə], [y], [ø], [u]	-ʌ		-y	
	[ə], [ø], [u]				

Examples

Stem 1	1SG	1PL, 2PL	2SG	3SG, 3PL
« write » v.t. ² k ^h əzɿ	² k ^h əzɿ∅ (² k ^h əzɿ-∅)	² k ^h əzɿe (² k ^h əzɿ-e)	² k ^h əzɿɛ (² k ^h əzɿ-ɛ)	² k ^h uzɿi (² k ^h ə-u-zɿi)
« win » v.i. ¹ k ^h ək ^h e	¹ k ^h ək ^h ∅ (¹ k ^h ək ^h e-∅)	¹ k ^h ək ^h e(¹ k ^h ək ^h e-e)	¹ k ^h ək ^h ɛ(¹ k ^h ək ^h e-ɛ)	¹ k ^h ək ^h e (¹ k ^h ək ^h e)
Stem 2	1SG	1PL, 2PL	2SG	3SG, 3PL
« harrow » v.t. ² hɛdzɿ	² hɛdzɿʌ (² hɛdzɿ-ʌ)	² hɛdze (² hɛdzɿ-e)	² hɛdzɿy (² hɛdzɿ-y)	² hɛdzɿy (² hɛ-u-dzɿy)
« take; hold; get » v.t. ¹ təz∅	¹ təzʌ (¹ təz∅-ʌ)	¹ təze (¹ təz∅-e)	¹ təzy (¹ təz∅-y)	¹ tuz∅ (¹ tə-u-z∅)

Two irregular verbs' person marking paradigms "hit" ¹tədɛ and "kill" ¹nʌsʌ are presented below.

¹ U=unique argument, A=agent (Creissels, 2006)

² u- is a third person agent (3A) marker who appears when agent of a transitive verb is the third person.

P A	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3
1SG			<i>R-∅</i>	<i>R-∅</i>	<i>R-∅</i>
1PL			<i>R-e</i>	<i>R-e</i>	<i>R-e</i>
2SG	<i>u-R-u</i> ³	<i>u-R-e</i>			<i>R-ε</i>
2PL	<i>u-R-u</i>	<i>u-R-e</i>			<i>R-e</i>
3	<i>u-R-u</i>	<i>u-R-e</i>	<i>u-R-ε</i>	<i>u-R-e</i>	<i>u-R</i>

This table shows that the prefix *u-* appears not only when the agent is the third person, but also when it is the second person and the patient is the first person. For this reason, we presume that Menya had once a direct/inverse prefix and it works just like a third person agent marker today in most of cases, except for these two often used verbs “hit” and “kill” in which it still preserves the function as a real direct/inverse marker.

From the description above, we can see that, in Menya, the alignment of verbal inflection is essentially an accusative alignment, while a hierarchical feature is shown by two irregular high frequency verbs, “hit” ¹*təde* and “kill” ¹*nasə* with direct/inverse marking. Based on this evidence, we can assume that current accusative alignment is evolved from an older hierarchical alignment and that this pathway could be typologically significant.

Keywords: Menya, person marking, direct/inverse mark

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³The suffix *-u* is an irregular 1st person singular mark of these two verbs.

Focus constructions in Limbum

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Aim of the talk. Focus has been addressed within various frameworks with different goals and methodology. By presenting new data from Limbum (Grassfields Bantu, Cameroon), the aim of this talk is two-fold: firstly, we will show that Limbum has two formally distinct means to express focus; secondly, we argue that these two positions/constructions represent evidence for a distinction of two focus functions.

Data. The default word order of Limbum is SVO. The subject, object and verb can be focused in both the left and right periphery of the clause. While left peripheral (high) focus of the subject (1) or the object (2) involves a mono-clausal construction with a preceding focus marker, the verb can be focused only in a bi-clausal cleft-construction featuring doubling of the verb (3):

- (1) *á Nfor í lá n-jàb*
FOC Nfor 3SG cook CL9-soup
'It is NFOR who has cooked soup.'
- (2) *á n-jàb Nfor à=lá*
FOC CL9-soup Nfor 3SG=cook
'It is SOUP that Nfor cooked.'
- (3) *á r-lá cíne Nfor à=lá n-jàb*
FOC CL5-cook COMP Nfor 3SG=cook CL9-soup
'It was COOKING the soup that Nfor did.'

The subject, object and verb can also be focused in the right periphery of a clause (low focus). In this case, focus is marked by *bá*, whereas *á* is dedicated to the high focus position. While the marker is realized in subject (4) and object (5) focus, it is absent in verb focus (6), where focus is realized by doubling of the verb.

- (4) *à lá bá Nfor n-jàb*
EXPL cook FOC Nfor CL9-soup
'NFOR (and not someone else) has cooked soup.'
- (5) *Nfor à=lá bá n-jàb*
Nfor 3SG=cook FOC CL9-soup
'Nfor has cooked SOUP (and not something else).'
- (6) *Nfor à=lá n-jàb lá*
Nfor 3SG=cook CL9-soup cook
'Nfor has COOKED soup (and not eaten it).'

The two focus constructions. It has been noticed in previous work (e.g. Aboh 2007, Buell 2009, Hyman & Polinsky 2010) that many Bantu languages seem to manifest a structural low focus position, the so-called "IAV" (immediately after verb) position (cf. Watters 1979).

These have been of special interest for formal approaches to syntax, since they challenge the assumption of a dedicated focus position in the left periphery of the clause. Limbum data confirms that there is a postverbal focus position. Opposed to this low focus position, Kwa languages have been shown to use high focus exclusively (Aboh 2007). The Limbum pattern is new in so far, as it makes use of both high and low positions in the clause to mark focus. The question arising – so far rather neglected by formal approaches to the two focus positions – is whether there is a functional difference between high and low focus, i.e. between (1)-(3) and (4)-(6). On the basis of Hungarian and English, É. Kiss (1998) proposed that a high (ex-situ) position is used to express information focus (i.e. non-presupposed information), while the low (in-situ) position marks identificational (contrastive) focus (i.e. selecting a subset from a presupposed set of referents). However, Tóth & Csátár (2016) demonstrated for Hungarian that the different interpretations of focus do not depend on the two positions, but can be manipulated by the context instead.

As suggested by our translations of the examples above, Limbum provides evidence for distinct functions of the two focus constructions. Tests for both focus functions show that the focused elements in clause initial position (cf. (1), (2), (3)) can only be interpreted as information focus (i.e. non-contrastively), while the focus in clause final position (cf. (4), (5), (6)) obligatorily involves contrast. In Limbum, this functional difference can also be linked to the two focus particles that are used in the higher and lower positions. The marker *á* only expresses focus, while the low focus marker *bá* is also used in other expressions such as *bá mè* 'me instead (of someone else)'.

Concluding remarks. In this talk, we will address a new pattern of two focus constructions in Limbum which convey information and identificational focus, respectively. This formal distinction suggests that the functional distinction of information vs. identificational focus is a promising and should be pursued in further research.

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Noun + adjective compounding and quasi-compounding in the languages of Sub-Saharan Africa

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In most languages, ‘adjective + noun’ compounding is limited either to lexicalized combinations (as in *blackbird*), or to bahuvrihi compounds (as in *redbreast*). ‘Adjective + noun’ compounding as a regular and fully productive morphological process creating words equivalent to the ‘attributive adjective + noun’ phrases found in most languages is not common. Attention has been drawn to this phenomenon by Dahl (2004: 225-235 & 2015: 127-131), who argues that “combinations of adjectives and nouns may become tightened and integrated into a one-word construction without losing their productivity.” He mentions Lakota, Burmese, Chukchi, and Elfdalian, as having tighter combinations of adjectives and nouns that are not constrained in the ways compounds usually are, and also notes that Celtic, Romance, and Southern Ute have a contrast between tighter preposing constructions and looser postposing ones, the formers being consequently analyzable as instances of quasi-compounding (combinations of words which in some respects behave as if they were the two elements of a single compound word).

In this paper I show that (a) phenomena interpretable in terms of quasi-compounding in ‘attributive adjective + noun’ combinations are pervasive in the languages of Sub-Saharan Africa, and (b) languages in which the integration of attributive adjectives and nouns into one-word constructions is obligatory can be found in the Mande and Gur language families.

As regards point (a), as already signaled in Creissels (2003), Sub-Saharan languages provide evidence against mainstream approaches to lexical categories in which adjectives and adverbs (and sometimes adpositions) are put on a par with nouns and verbs, and rather support the view that there are only two basic lexical categories (nouns and verbs) with corresponding phrasal categories. In Sub-Saharan languages, the recognition of ‘adjectival phrases’ with an internal structure comparable to that of NPs or VPs is problematic, since the possibilities of expansion of attributive adjectives tend to be limited to a single word expressing intensity. For example, typical Sub-Saharan languages may have attributive adjectives equivalent to English *proud*, but cannot use them in constructions similar to *a man proud of his son*, whose equivalent is a relative clause construction involving a verb cognate with an adjective (*a man who takes-pride of his son*).

As regards point (b), Soninke (West Mande) illustrates the clearest case of a language with ‘noun + adjective’ compounding one can imagine. In this language, the distinction between phrases and compounds is particularly clear-cut. Crucially, nouns have a distinction between an autonomous form that can function as a word without any additional material, and a non-autonomous form occurring exclusively when the noun is a non-final formative of a complex lexeme. For example, the non-autonomous form of *yìràamé* ‘cloth’ is *yìrà-* (as in the compound *yìrà-gáagàaná* ‘cloth seller’, where *gáagàaná* is an agent noun derived from *gáagà* ‘sell’). Morphologically, Soninke adjectives are not different from nouns, and they can fulfill the same syntactic functions. For example, *qúllè* ‘white’ can be found in nominal positions with the type of meaning expressed in English as *a/the white one*. Adjectives can also combine with nouns expressing the concept they modify, as in *yìrà-qúllè* ‘white cloth’, but as shown by this example, ‘noun + adjective’ combinations expressing the kind of modification typically expressed by attributive adjectives can only take the shape of compounds in which the noun in its non-autonomous form:

- (1) **Ń dà yìràamé-n qóbó.**
 1SG TR cloth-D buy
 I bought a/the cloth.
- (2) **Ń dà qúllè-n qóbó.**
 1SG TR white-D buy
 I bought a/the white one.
- (3) **Ń dà yìràn-qúllè-n qóbó.**
 1SG TR cloth-white-D buy
 I bought a/the white cloth.

It is also possible to combine adjectives with nouns in their autonomous form, but with a different type of meaning, since adjectives following nouns in their autonomous form can only be interpreted as secondary predicates (in (4), **yúgú-** is the non-autonomous form of ‘man’, whereas in (5), **yúgò** is the autonomous form of the same noun):

- (4) **Yúgú-xàsè-n kàrá.**
 man-old-D die
 The/An old man died
- (5) **Yúgò-n qàsè-n kàrá**
 man-D old-D die.
 The man died old.

Equally clear cases of ‘noun + adjective’ compounding, with however different details, can be found in some Gur languages. For example, in Gurmanche (Ouoba 1982), nouns have obligatory gender-number suffixes (commonly designated as class suffixes, for example **dā agā** (pl. **dā amú**) ‘market’, **tī-bū** (pl. **tī-dī**) ‘tree’). In compound nouns, the modifying noun occurs without its class suffix, for example **dā atī-bū** (pl. **dā atī-dī**) ‘market tree’ (i.e. tree belonging to a variety commonly found in markets) vs. **dā ag tī-dī** ‘tree of the market’, **dā amú tī-dī** ‘trees of the market’, if ‘market’ has specific reference. In this language too, adjectives are morphologically nouns, with the difference that adjectival stems can combine with any of the class suffixes found in the language. In most Niger-Congo languages with similar noun class systems, in the construction ‘noun + attributive adjective’, both the noun and the adjective have their class affix, and there is agreement between them, but in Gurmanche (and quite a few other Gur languages), such constructions constitute single words (with just one class suffix) in which the adjectival lexeme can be described as inserted between the noun stem and its class suffix; for example with **ciám-** ‘big’:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------|----------------|-------|---|--------------------|--------------|
| (6) | tī-bū | ‘tree’ | + ciám- | ‘big’ | > | tī-ciám-bū | ‘big tree’ |
| | tī-dī | ‘trees’ | + ciám- | ‘big’ | > | tī-ciám-dī | ‘big trees’ |
| | diē-gū | ‘house’ | + ciám- | ‘big’ | > | diē-ciám-gū | ‘big house’ |
| | diē-dī | ‘houses’ | + ciám- | ‘big’ | > | diē-ciám-dī | ‘big houses’ |

Abbreviations

D = default determiner (a former definiteness marker whose combination with nouns constitutes the semantically least marked form of nouns in present-day Soninke), SG = singular, TR = transitivity marker.

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Comparative evidence in the analysis of additive focus marking

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Analyses of additive focus particles to date have predominantly been concerned with examples from European languages such as German *auch*, English *too*, or French *aussi* (e.g. König 1991, Reis & Rosengren 1997, Krifka 1999, Sæbø 2004, Beck 2007, Lenertová & Sudhoff 2007, Winterstein 2010, amongst others; cf. also Lee & Pan 2010 on Cantonese *tim*). These additive particles are typically monomorphemic, without internal structure, and so their morphological form has not played a significant role for their analysis.

However, across the world's languages, a variety of formal expressions of focus particles are found, including forms which are morphologically complex (e.g. in Bantu languages, Swedish, and languages of the Balkan sprachbund including Bulgarian, Greek, and Romanian) (see e.g. Schneider-Zioga 2015 on Kinande). Swahili, for example, has five focus particles, three of which encode additive focus:

<i>tu</i>	exclusive focus	'only'
<i>hata</i>	scalar focus	'even'
<i>pia</i>	additive focus	'too, also, as well'
<i>vilevile</i>		
<i>na+Pron</i>		

Table 1: Swahili focus particles

Of the three Swahili additive focus particles, two are morphologically complex. *Vilevile* is a reduplicated form of the demonstrative *vile*, which itself consists of a class agreement prefix *vi-* and distal demonstrative base *-le*. The form *na+Pron* is composed of the conjunction/comitative preposition *na* and a pronominal clitic. It is forms like this which this talk focusses on. For example, *innaye* in (1), the class 1 pronominal clitic-*ye* agrees with the class 1 noun *Sadru* – as does the class 1 subject marker *a-*.

- (1) Sadru **na-ye** a-li-tamk-a kwa sauti
1.Sadru CONJ-RC1 SM1-PST-speak-FV with voice
'Sadru, too, spoke loudly' (Swahili) (LemYar 110:020)

The meaning of (1) is that someone else, in addition to Sadru, spoke loudly. The Swahili additive focus marker is similar to the more familiar examples in two respects. It is associated with a topic and it presupposes a context which contains the proposition asserted holding of some other referent. However, here these two characteristics are encoded more transparently in the morphological form of the marker: the conjunction requires the establishment of some contextually supplied parallel proposition, while the pronominal clitic marks the association with the topic.

Constructions similar to the Swahili example in (1) are found in related Bantu languages, as well as without Bantu:

- (2) Kambale **na-ye** mwa-hikere
1.Kambale CONJ-RC1 SM1.TNS-arrive.PFV
'Kambale, also, arrived.' (Kinande, Bantu D42) (Schneider-Zioga 2015)

- (3) kè tlàà bíná lé mná
SM1sg FUT dance CONJ PRO.1SG
'I too shall dance' (Tswana, Bantu S31) (Creissels 1996: 110)
- (4) Aş.vrea să merg acolo pentru a participaşi eu
want.COND that go.1SG there in.order to participate and I
'I'd like to go there to take part, too' (Romanian) (Schulte 2006)
- (5) Ivan, i toj, zamina za Sofia.
Ivan and 3SG.MASC.NOM left for Sofia.
'Ivan, too, left for Sofia' (Bulgarian) (Tania Kuteva, p.c.)
- (6) Kalle åt maten han med
Kalle ate food.the he with
'Kalle too ate the food' (Swedish) (Erik Magnusson Petzell, p.c.)

In this talk we present cross-linguistic examples of additive focus marking, with specific focus on Bantu languages. Domains of variation include the form and nature of the conjunction/preposition (e.g. (2) vs. (3)), the nature of the pronominal element (pronominal clitic, full pronoun, possessive pronoun, complex pronoun, or, in a related construction, full lexical noun) (e.g. (2) vs. (3)), the order of conjunction/preposition and pronoun (cf. (3, 4, 5) vs. (6)), and syntactic restrictions on the position of the particle (e.g. post-topic or clause-final, cf. (2, 5) vs. (3, 4, 6)).

The results of the study chart the variation in morphological form and syntactic restrictions of additive focus marking, and provide evidence for different typological generalisations. More generally, the talk will demonstrate 1) the interaction of conjunctions/prepositions and pronominal elements in the interpretation of additive focus, 2) dimensions of variation of additive focus marking, 3) the value of detailed cross-linguistic studies of morphosyntactic microvariation, in particular of lesser-described languages, and 4) the particular perspective on the interaction of structure and interpretation additive focus markers provide.

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Nominal valency and N+V compounding in Mano

In this paper I will analyze the relationship between nominal valency and N+V compounding (NVC) in Mano (South Mande).

Word order in Mano is S – O – V – X (Nikitina 2011). There are two syntactic classes of nouns, alienably possessed and inalienably possessed. The latter class includes many non-prototypical items (compare with Nichols 1988), such as the names of physical or abstract properties (*ɲónó* ‘taste’, *tònɔ̄* ‘benefit’, *fàŋá* ‘strength’, *lòò* ‘love (to someone)’ etc.). Inalienable possessors are expressed the same way as direct objects: by the basic set of pronouns, or by a noun phrase without any formal marking. Therefore, the example

1	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>sàḡ</i>	<i>líé</i>	<i>tó.</i>
	2SG.PST	work	edge	leave
		NPDO	[N	V] _V
		[N _{poss}	N _{rel}]	DO V

‘You finished the work’.

can be analyzed in two ways: either as what I will call a “transitive” compound *líé* *tó* and its direct objects *sàḡ* ‘work’, or as a simple transitive verb, *tó* ‘leave’ having as its direct object *sàḡ* *líé*, an inalienably possessed noun *líé* ‘edge’ preceded by its possessor, *sàḡ* ‘work’. Semantic non-compositionality (‘edge’ + ‘leave’ → ‘finish’) can be one of the reasons to prefer the compound interpretation. However, as it will be shown below, there are stronger syntactico-semantic considerations in favor of the compound interpretation: it allows to explain mismatches between valency properties of the nouns used independently and as part of a compound.

1. In the majority of cases, if the nominal item in the compound is an inalienably possessed noun, the compound itself is “transitive”, if the nominal item is alienably possessed, the compound is “intransitive”. Sometimes, however, the valency of the noun and the compound do not match, the semantic arguments can be expressed by a postpositional phrase: *léé* ‘leaf, inal.’, but *léé* *bō* ‘unveil, intr.’; *kò* ‘hand, inal.’, but *kò* *vɔ̄* ‘dominate, intr.’; *ɲé* ‘medicine, al.’, but *ɲé* *ké* ‘cure, tr.’; *náá* ‘sin, al.’, but *náá* *kpó* ‘curse, tr.’. In these cases, it is the compound that licenses its arguments, their expression is not motivated by the valency properties of the noun.

2. In certain cases the argument of a “transitive” compound cannot be reanalyzed as a possessor of the inalienably possessed noun for semantic reasons. Cf.:

2	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>sɔ́ɔ́</i>	<i>dɔ̄.</i>
	2SG.PST	3SG	teeth	stop
		NPDO	[N	V]
		*[N _{poss}	N _{rel}]	DO V

‘You bit him’, *‘you stopped his teeth’.

See also: *kò* *dĩē* <hand pass> ‘exaggerate with smth’; *ɲé* *ké* <eye do> ‘guard’. Again, the argument is licensed by the compound.

3. There is an important number of N+V combinations where the verbal root is preceded by an action-denoting root, which cannot be used independently from the verb in question. The verbal root functions like a light verb and does not contribute to the semantics of the combination. Some of these combinations are “transitive”: *ɲé* *zē* ‘explain in details’ (*zē* ‘kill’); *sà* *dɔ̄* ‘disdain’ (*dɔ̄* ‘stop’); some are intransitive, but govern a postpositional phrase: *báà* *bō* ‘neglect’; *bàkà* *bō* ‘calumniate’ (*bō* ‘implement’). If such action-denoting roots were to be considered as independent nouns, there would be no way to assign their valency but referring to the valency properties of the combination (if the combination is “transitive”, the nouns are inalienably possessed; if the combination is “intransitive”, the

nouns are alienably possessed), whose valency must depend on the valency of the nominal part. The compound interpretation will allow to avoid circularity in valency assignment.

Nominal and verbal components of NVC in Mano are systematically detachable (see Khachaturyan 2013), which is strictly against the definitions of compounding as formation of “single words” (Scalise and Vogel 2010:5), unlike more “standard” NVC in some other Mande languages, like Mandinka (Creissels and Jatta 1981). However, compounding in general is notoriously difficult to define, many criteria are in play (Lieber&Štekauer 2009), (Aikhenvald 2009). This is especially true in languages with poor morphology, like Mano. The contradiction and the circularity of valency assignment in the nominal component and the compound itself can be considered as an argument in favor of defining certain N+V combinations in Mano as compounds, as they are more morphosyntactically bound than a corresponding free combination of a direct object NP and a Verb.

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Delimiting and Demystifying Switch-Reference: on distinguishing form and function

Daniel Ross

Switch-Reference (SR), originally described by Jacobsen (1967), is the widespread and frequently discussed morphological marking of whether the subjects of two clauses are co-referential (Same Subject: SS) or not (Different Subject: DS). The phenomenon has received substantial attention in descriptive work and relatively little attention from a theoretical perspective. One challenge is that, although there is clearly some relevant phenomenon (or several related phenomena) to be explained, no standard definition has been settled on, and it is unclear where the boundaries between SR and other similar phenomena lie. This results in different phenomena being classified as SR by different researchers, and in substantial ink wasted, under different definitions, on whether or not a given construction is in fact SR, with significant consequences if their typological and theoretical claims are to be taken seriously.

Previous regional surveys (Austin 1981 for Australia, Jacobsen 1983 and McKenzie 2015 for North America, and Roberts 1997 for Papua New Guinea) have provided a large-scale view of SR in the regions where it is most prevalent, with infrequent publications describing similar systems in languages elsewhere in the world such as some of the papers in Haiman & Munro (1983), but a representative worldwide perspective has not yet been published.

The present research is based on a genetically and geographically balanced survey of clause linkage in 325 languages around the world. SR is confirmed to be an areal feature: it is found frequently in languages of Papua New Guinea, the Americas, and Australia, and it is strikingly rare elsewhere. Still, researchers have reported similar systems elsewhere and have claimed that the definition of SR should be extended to those additional morphosyntactic phenomena (e.g., Wieseemann 1982 for Bantu, and Nichols 1983 for converbs in Causasian languages). Likewise, other phenomena such as obviation and topicalization also resemble the function of SR in some ways.

The variation within SR systems is extensive in current research. For example, Austin, Jacobsen and McKenzie include in their data languages with diverse morphological and periphrastic SR marking. Some languages have specific SS or DS morphemes (1), while others have distinct subject-agreement markers for both. Others use normal subject-agreement marking for one and a special marker for the other (2). And others indicate either SS or DS by a lack of overt markers on the verb. Some languages have no morphological marking of SR at all but display analogous syntactic constructions such as distinct SS and DS coordinating conjunctions (3). Languages also differ in whether SR is manifested for coordination and/or various types of subordination. Therefore, SR is marked in vastly different ways in different languages, which might suggest a common analysis based on function or grammatical category, but this is difficult as well. While an analysis based on subject-tracking is at first appealing, SR systems have been shown to violate literal same-subject or different-subject constraints, for example in favor of continued or changing discourse topics (Mithun 1993). It is unclear what common thread ties together the various SR systems in the languages of the world.

It is concluded, then, that the key to understanding SR is in distinguishing its different properties. On the one hand, there is the form that encodes SR, typically morphological marking on the verb, but also conjunctions or a lack of marking in some cases, and on the other hand there is the function of SR, which is typically assumed to be subject reference tracking. A two-dimensional typology is proposed, firstly indicating exactly what is being tracked in a suspected

SR system and secondly what morphosyntactic forms encode this tracking. The latter is especially important for understanding SR in a larger morphosyntactic context: in form it can overlap with at least verb-subject-agreement, tense markers, subordination markers, and even coordinating conjunctions. Considering conjunctions, for example, on the one hand many SR systems are used in place of normal coordinating conjunctions (as “medial verbs” or “clause chaining”), and might in fact be considered conjunctions themselves though they are phonologically part of the verb. Likewise in some languages of Vanuatu, conjunctions have grammaticalized into SS markers, in a form which can now be used with an overt conjunction (2). There are also other considerations, such as languages without any distinct SR marking, but with serial verb constructions in which the verbs must have the same subject and some other non-serial-verb construction (e.g., normal coordination or subordination) where the subjects may differ. Considered from the perspective of the typology proposed here, this is also a type of SR. The same might apply to even commonly discussed constructions such as infinitives marking SS.

Examples

(1) Koita (Papuan, Papua New Guinea: Lynch 1983:210)

daka oro-go-nuge auki da era-ga-nu
1SG come-SG-DS3SG1SG.OBJ see-SG-PST
‘I came and he saw me.’ (DS)

daka oro-go-i era-ga-nu
1SG come-SG-SS see-SG-PST
‘I came and saw him.’ (SS)

(2) Lenakel (Oceanic, Vanuatu: Lynch 1983:211)

i-im-vin (kani) r-im-apul
1-PST-go (and)3SG-PST-sleep
‘I went and he slept.’ (DS)

i-im-vin (kani) m-im-apul
1-PST-go (and) SS-PST-sleep
‘I went and slept’ (SS)

(3) Lakota (Siouan, United States: Dahlstrom 1982:72)

Joe wīyā wā hāska č^ha wāyākī {na / yūk^hā} heye ...
Joe woman REL tall INDEF see { and.SS / and.DS } say
‘Joe saw a woman who was tall, and { he / she } said ...’

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Differential object marking in Wutun

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Wutun is a distinct local form of Northwest Mandarin spoken by ca. 4000 speakers in Qinghai Province, P.R. China. Due to long-term linguistic contact with neighboring non-Sinitic languages (notably Amdo Tibetan), Wutun has adopted many non-Sinitic grammatical features and it can be characterized as a Tibetanized variety of Chinese (see Janhunen et al. 2008). In my talk, I will discuss the assignment of DOM in Wutun by the morpheme *-ha*. This marker has cognates in several other forms of Northwest Mandarin and it has most probably originated as a topic marker, whose grammaticalization towards optional case marker has been further triggered by DOM in Amdo Tibetan (Dede 2007: 870-873). Following the framework proposed by Næss (2004), I will argue that the key notion that DOM encodes in Wutun is affectedness. Affectedness itself consists of several features, including animacy, definiteness and information structural factors such as topicality. The data for my study comes from first-hand fieldwork among the Wutun speakers in between 2007 and 2013.

The morpheme *-hain* in Wutun is found on all R arguments of ditransitive clauses (such as *enian*, ‘child’ in 1) and some O arguments of monotransitive verbs (such as *bianshe*, ‘dumplings’ in 2), while some O arguments of monotransitive verbs (such as *rek*, ‘meat’ in 3) are unmarked:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) | <i>ana</i>
mother | <i>enian-ha</i>
child-DOM | <i>huaiqa-ge</i>
book-REF | <i>ka-lio</i>
give-PFV |
| | ‘The mother gave the child a book.’ | | | |
| (2) | <i>bianshe-ha</i>
dumpling-DOM | <i>gek</i>
dog | <i>qe-she-lio</i>
eat-RES.AO-PFV | |
| | <i>ze-li</i>
EXEC-SEN-INF | ‘The dumplings were eaten by a dog.’ | | |
| (3) | <i>ngu</i>
1SG | <i>rek</i>
meat | <i>qe-di-yek</i>
eat-PROGR-SEN-INF | |
| | ‘I am eating some meat.’ | | | |

The examples (1) – (3) can be explained in terms of affectedness. R arguments of ditransitive clauses (as in 1) are animate, which makes them the most affected participants in the event. For example, Kittilä (2008) has argued that transfer events have more dramatic effects on animate participants than on inanimate participants. While an animate Recipient can purposefully use the transferred entity, in case of the Theme its mere location changes. In case of inanimate O arguments, affectedness involves a combination of definiteness and topicality. The O argument in (2) is definite and topical, while the O argument in (3) is indefinite and non-topical. The definiteness of the O argument in (2) implies total affectedness; all the available dumplings were eaten, so the whole entity was affected. The indefiniteness of the O argument in (3), on the other hand, implies that only part of the entity is affected. Moreover, because the O argument in (3) is topical, it has a particularly important role in advancing the conversation and it is therefore more significant and easily perceptible to the hearer than the non-topical O argument in (3).

With animate O arguments DOM is mainly conditioned by information structural factors such as topicality and contrastiveness, as in (4):

- (4) *ya* *ngu* *nia* *din-yek*
 INTJ 1SG 2SG.OBL wait-EGO
 'Ok, I will wait for you (asserting a plain fact).'
- (5) *ngu* *nia-ha* *din-di-yek*
 1SG 2SG.OBL-DOM wait-PROGR-EGO
 'I am waiting for *you* (and not somebody else).'

Example (4) is a pragmatically neutral statement in which the speaker is merely stating a fact that s/he is waiting for the addressee, while in (5) the speaker emphasizes that s/he is waiting for the addressee and not somebody else. Because the O argument in (5) is contrastive, it is more significant and more of interest than O argument in (4), and it can therefore be argued that it is more salient. Salience, in turn, is one of the dimensions along which the degree of affectedness can be measured (Næss 2004: 1202). Salient expressions are more perceptible from the human point of view and therefore they represent high degree of affectedness.

In addition, *-ha* in Wutun encodes Experiencers (as in 6), Possessors (as in 7) and involuntary Agents (as in 8):

- (6) *gu-ha* *e-di-li*
 3SG-DOM hungry-PROGR-SEN.INF
 'S/he is hungry.'
- (7) *ni* *liang-ge-ha* *dong* *wu-ge*
 2SG two-REF-DOM thousand five-REF
yek-mu
 EXIST-EMPH
 'You two will have five thousand (yuan), right?'
- (8) *enian-ha* *mi-jedo-ma* *gu* *chabi*
 child-DOM NEG-know-COORD that teacup
da-pe-gu-lio
 hit-get broken-COMPL-PFV
 'The child broke that teacup accidentally.'

In (6) – (8) the notion of affectedness involves subjective changes. The Experiencer in (6) is undergoing an unpleasant bodily process, while the Possessor in (7) could do something with the money. The involuntary Agent in (8) is construed as being affected by his/her actions. S/he could, for example, feel very sorry for the mistake and be afraid of a punishment.

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Causal conjunctions of temporal origin in Spanish, Catalan and Basque: Diachronic and contrastive analysis

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Temporal constructions expressing precedence in time often give rise to causal constructions (cf. Eng. *since*). This is the case, for instance, with Sp. *pues* (*que*) and *ya que*, Cat. *pus* (*que*), *puix* (*que*) and *ja que*, and Bq. V-*en(ez)gero* (cf. *gero* ‘later’):

The goal of this talk is to examine the formation and evolution of these conjunctions in Spanish, Catalan and Basque, focusing on similarities among the three languages, both those that may be due to contact, and those illustrating more general patterns. Our point of departure is a classification of causal construction that takes into account structural, semantic and pragmatic factors (Santos Río 1982; García 1996; Galán 1999; Gutiérrez Ordóñez 2000; Goethals 2010, RAE-ASALE2011; Baños 2011, 2014; Pérez Saldanya 2014).

We will show that the temporal source of these causal constructions conditions their diachronic path of development. Thus, these conjunctions are always initially used in a very specific type of causal subordinate clauses. In particular, they arise in presupposed explicative causal clauses with illocutive force, as in the Old Spanish example in (1), the Old Catalan examples in (2) and the Old Basque example in (3). Notice that in these examples the causal clause provides information that is shared by the speaker and the addressee and is used to justify the command expressed in the main clause:

- (1) *Pues queassí es, callad, que yo hablaré en esto e meter me é a ello por vos fazerplazer* (*General Estorial*, 2.261 [1270-1280])
‘Since this is the way it is, *be quiet*, for I will speak about it and will engage in it to please you’
- (2) a. *E puselafer non-o volg per mi, prec-vos séinerqela·mfazats tornar et estar ab mi.* (*Preliteraris*: 102[1215-1225])
‘And *since* she did not want to do it for me, I *beg* you, sir, make her come back and stay with me’
b. *Puixaxiés —dix lo mestre—, anemsecretament a la cambra de les armes e veurem primer si ésveritat de les ballestes.* (Martorell, *Tirant*: 373 [1490])
‘Since that is the way it is—said the master—*let’s go* secretly to the armory and we will see first if it is true what has been said about the crossbows’
- (3) *Ene peneadaukusungero, arren, berbabatesazu* (J.P. Lazarraga, 16th c.)
‘Since you see my pain, please, *tell* me a word’

These causal constructions also share a common subsequent evolution across languages. Progressively they lose their initial restrictions and start being used as explicative and rhematic, including as causal clauses oriented towards the propositional content of the main clause, like in (4) and (5):

- (4) Los hombres, bien afeitados, *pues* la víspera quedaron abiertas las barberías (Valera, *Juanita*: 128 [1896])
‘The men, well shaven, *since* the barber shops were open the day before’

- (5) Catalunya, emperò, no té compte ab aquells, *puixno* regnaren en ella (Despuig, *Col·loquis*: 92 [1557])
 ‘Catalonia, however, does not count them [as kings], *since* they will not reign there’

We will consider also recurrent syntactic patterns in the formation of causal conjunctions and the cyclical nature of the changes that they undergo, in addition to borrowed patterns, e.g. *Spya que*> (nonstandard) *Bqyake ta*, as in (6); *Sppues*> (nonstandard) *Cat. pues* (7).

- (6) O, nereJauna, *ya ketaezgaden digno zureerreñurajoateko, konzedizaguzu...*
 ‘O, Lord, *since* we are not worthy of going to your kingdom, give us...’ (F. Martínez de Moretin, 18th c., cited in Etxaide-Ytharte 1983: 665).
 (7) y axí, no puguésser los obligats, *pues* lo un ere pagès y loaltre sastre (*Generalitat de Catalunya* VIII: 1798 [1674-1677])
 ‘And so, it was not possible to force them, *because* one was a farmer and the other a tailor’

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The typology of features: what we learn from simple and concurrent systems

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Features have a key role in all the major theories of syntax and morphology. Yet there are major parts of the theory of features where we are still ignorant, or where the answers are assumed rather than well-founded. The particular part of the theory we tackle is the question of whether there can be concurrent feature systems, that is, systems with two features of the same type, for example, two features for case, or tense, or gender, each with its own distinct set of values, yet both operating concurrently within the same domain. We lay out the analytical prerequisites, and undertake case studies of two particularly interesting and challenging languages, Kayardild and Mian. The Tangkic language Kayardild has been analysed as having concurrent tense-aspect-mood systems; we argue against the received wisdom here, suggesting that in this one corner of the grammar Kayardild is actually quite normal (there is a single tense-aspect-mood system). The Ok language Mian has been analysed as having concurrent systems of nominal classification, and we bring additional arguments, notably interaction with a third feature, to support this analysis. We conclude that (i) in general it is both feasible and valuable to apply a principled approach to determining whether we are faced with one feature or with concurrent features, and (ii) in our specific case studies, adopting this explicit approach leads us to more insightful analyses in both instances.

Saturday,
August 20

Expressing adverbial relations in clause linkage with converbs: definitional and typological considerations

Daniel Ross

Converbs are often defined as adverbial verb forms (e.g. Haspelmath 1995) and are a primary means of encoding adverbial relations in clause linkage in many languages around the world. However, before making progress in understanding this relationship, several definitional issues must be addressed, and typological variation must be considered. The topics in this talk are informed by a growing typologically-balanced sample of over 300 languages, based on the methodology of the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (Haspelmath et al. 2005). Despite much discussion, no representative cross-linguistic survey of converbs has been published, and different claims in the literature are often informed/biased by the data provided by the language or region in question. This research is an attempt to rectify that by introducing topics that must be considered before any general conclusions about converbs can be drawn, in order to build a foundation of typological variation from which adverbial clause linkage can be studied.

The definition of *converb* is still the subject of debate among linguists, even though in general it may seem easy to intuitively identify and classify cross-linguistic forms as converbs. As a starting point, we can say descriptively that converbs are dependency-marked verb forms used to link verbs/clauses to other verbs/clauses. A definition of exclusion may be most useful to establish the function of converbs: they are not typically arguments selected by another verb (vs. infinitives); they do not typically modify noun phrases (vs. participles); and they do not fill thematic roles (vs. action nominals or gerunds). This leaves a wide range of functions ranging from clause chaining to medial verbs to complex predicates (1-3).

Semantically converbs may express a wide range of meanings, although often “general converbs” are described for languages that express anteriority/sequentiality as a basic meaning that leads to pragmatic implicatures of various types such as cause and effect, reason, purpose, etc. On the other hand, some languages have multiple converb forms, ranging from small extensions to this prototype, e.g. a different form for simultaneity, to several semantically-specific notions. Also problematically although most research about converbs relies on form-based definitions (dependent verb forms with certain functions), the verb form used as a converb is also used in various other roles in many languages; English *-ing* can be used as a converb, infinitive, participle, or gerund, from a functional perspective (see 4). Another problem is that it is unclear whether forms that are otherwise converb-like but also encode additional information are converbs, as in example (2) with switch-reference marking, despite the fact that converbs themselves have been argued to encode same/different subject (Nichols 1983). Likewise, there is also disagreement about whether forms marked both for subject and also with a converb-like suffix should be considered converbs (Amha & Dimmendaal 2006).

Regarding the form of the converb, the most salient characteristic is that converbs appear to be entirely suffixal and precede a fully inflected verb/clause; furthermore, in the sample they are also both much more common in SOV than SVO/VSO languages and SOV languages are more likely to have converbs than not. The only potential instances of prefixal converbs might be the so-called narrative/sequential verb forms found in some Bantu languages (5). In terms of grammaticalization, while in some cases they may come

from generalized, semantically empty forms such as participles, there are cases where converbs are transparently derived from semantically full suffixes. For example, in some Australian languages, converbs with different semantics correspond to the case markers in the language (as in Uradhi with dative marking purposive and other cases marking other relations: Crowley 1983). Interestingly, despite being bound as suffixes on the verb, the forms of the converbs thus resemble common instances of grammaticalization in non-SOV languages, like the directional preposition *to* becoming a marker of purposive adverbial clauses in English and many other languages.

1) Clause-chaining:

Ojiisan-ga yama-de hatarai-te obaasan-ga mise-no ban-o shi-ta
old.man-NOM mountain-LOC work-CVB old.woman-NOM store-GEN sitting-ACC do-PST
'The old man worked at the mountain, and the old woman tended the store.'

2) Medial verbs (Kate, Papua New Guinea: Longacre 1985:267)

a. Fisi-ra na-wek b. mu- \emptyset -pie kio-wek
arrive-CVB.SEQ.3SG ate-3SG spoke-DS-CVB.SEQ.3PL wept-3SG
'He arrived, then he ate.' 'After they spoke he wept.'

3) Complex predicates (Guarani, Paraguay: Velázquez-Castillo 2004:187)

o-karu-(ta) o-hó-vo
3SG-eat-FUT 3SG-go-CVB
'S/he will eat as s/he goes.'

4) English *-ing* usage:

Laughing, he entered. (Converb)	He started laughing. (Infinitive)
The laughing man. (Participle)	Laughing is fun. (Action nominal / Gerund)

5) Narrative *-ka-* in Bantu (Swahili, East Africa: Mohammed 2001:160)

Wa-li-ondoka wa-ka-ona moto mbele
3PL-PST-leave 3PL-NAR-see fire ahead
'They left and saw a fire ahead.'

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On the origin, development and use of conditional clauses. The case of *falls*-clauses in German

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Introduction. In Present-day German (1900 -) conditional clauses can be introduced in two different ways: (i) moving the finite verb to the first position in the clause (= verb first conditionals; cf. Axel & Wöllstein 2009 and Reis & Wöllstein 2010), (ii) using the complementizer *wenn* (cf. Hinterwimmer 2008) or *falls* (both: 'if'). Not much is known, however, about how *falls*-conditionals emerged and to what extent they differ from the other two patterns. The aim of this talk is twofold. First, I will reanalyze the origin and outline the development of *falls*-clauses. Second, I shall highlight their main usage properties at the syntax-semantics interface, show to what extent they differ from *wenn*-conditionals as well as account for where these differences come from.

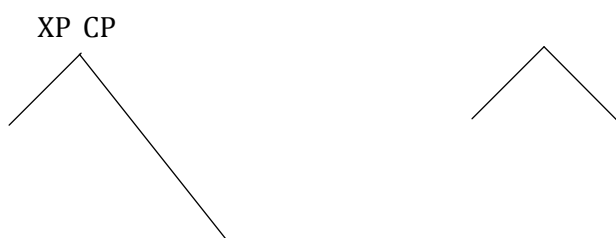
Synchronic analysis. Syntactically, it has been assumed that adverbial clauses can occupy different positions within the host clause and that these positions correlate not only with interpretative differences, but also with differences as to the choice of the complementizer. Accordingly, the received wisdom has it that adverbial clauses can be divided into three main groups: (i) central adverbial clauses (= CACs), (ii) peripheral adverbial clauses (= PACs), and (iii) non-integrated adverbial clauses (= NACs) (cf. e.g. Hageman 2006, 2010 for English and Frey 2011, 2012 for German). Whereas CACs are taken to be merged with the IP- or VP-domain of the associated matrix clause and thus depend on its illocutionary force, PACs seem to possess their own illocutionary potential and be merged with the associated matrix CP. NACs, in turn, are deemed to be independent speech acts connected with the matrix clause in a pragmatic way. Keeping this division in mind, I assume German *falls*-clauses to be PACs:

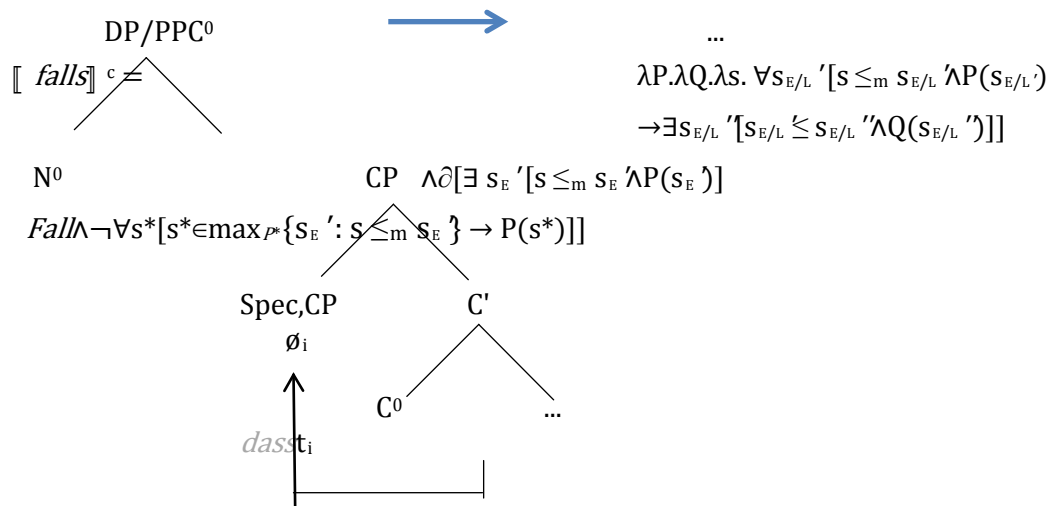
- (1) *Falls dann doch mal ein Kunde nicht ganz zufrieden ist,*
if then MP MP a customer NEG really satisfied is
kann er sich problemlos an den Chef wenden.
can he REFL problem-free to the boss address.INF

'If a customer is not satisfied, he can contact the boss without any problems.'
(DeReKo, *Hamburger Morgenpost*, 23/1/2008)

Arguments provided for this analysis come from various syntactic tests. First, CACs and PACs - contrary to NACs - can occupy the prefield position of the matrix clause, meaning that a NAC analysis for (1) must be ruled out. Second, the example given in (1) simultaneously illustrates that *falls*-clauses can host modal particles (*doch* and *mal* in 1). As modal particles are prohibited in CACs, it straightforwardly follows that *falls*-clauses ought to be analyzed as PACs. Other arguments supporting this view involve: a) accessibility to matrix negation, b) matrix focus particle scope, (iii) interrogative operator scope, (iv) intonational integration, (v) ellipsis of the matrix clause, and (vi) association with a correlative element within the matrix clause. Semantically, I argue that every *falls*-clause can be replaced by a *wenn*-clause, but not the other way round. This restriction follows from the compositional meaning of both complementizers. Following Hinterwimmer (2013), I argue that *falls* is a universal quantifier over possible worlds presupposing two restrictions related to the epistemic state of the speaker. First, *falls* requires the presence of at least some situations being compatible with the speaker's knowledge where the antecedent proposition is true. Second, *falls* does not allow the antecedent proposition to be true in all of the best situations that are compatible with the speaker's knowledge where the antecedent proposition is true. As it will be shown, these restrictions account for why *falls* is unacceptable in, for instance, factual conditionals (cf. Iatridou 1991).

Diachronic analysis. Mainly, I will show that *falls* grammaticalized into a complementizer in Early New High German (1350 - 1650):





Based on the reanalysis depicted above, I claim that *falls* grammaticalized from the lexical noun head *Fall* 'case' being modified by an attributive clause that, in turn, is headed by the relative particle *dass* 'that'. As the example given in (3) illustrates, the relative particle could be realized covertly, as well, triggering the verb last position in the adverbial clause:

(2) $[[_{DP/PP} [N^0 Fall(es)]] + [c^0 \text{ overt } dass]] \rightarrow [[_{DP/PP} [N^0 Fall(es)]] + [c^0 \text{ covert } dass]] \rightarrow [c^0 falls]$

(3) *Jm fall sie aber solches nicht in der gute thun wolten/*
 in.the case they but such NEG in the good do.INF want.3PL.PST
solten sie bald darzu gezwungen werden.
 should.3PL.PST they soon to.that force.PTCP PASS.AUX.INF

'But in the case they wouldn't want to do such a thing in a good intention, they should be forced soon to do it.' (BFK, Sigmund von Birken, *Spiegel*, Nürnberg, 1668, p. 64, lines 4-7)

Two assumptions follow from the approach taken here. First, an adverbial clause develops out of an attributive clause by an N⁰ into C⁰ incorporation. Such a morphological incorporation entails the semantic restrictions imposed on the *falls*-clause (see the semantic analysis above), which were originally specified in the attributive clause modifying the N-head *Fall* 'case'. Second, there is no need to postulate a radical language change process, according to which the N-head *Fall* 'case' would develop directly into the C-head *falls* 'if'. An attributive clause headed by a (c)overt particle *dass* 'that' is proposed to build a diachronic intermediate stage (see also Axel-Tober 2016 and Meyer 2016 for a similar reanalysis of complement clauses).

Conclusion. As it turns out, German *falls*-clauses provide new insights into how adverbial clauses can emerge in general and how their emergence circumstances determine their use nowadays.

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Insubordination and un-coordination in Hul'q'umi'num'

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Nominalizations are the main way of expressing adverbial clauses in the Salish language Hul'q'umi'num'. Nominalized adverbial clauses expressing temporals may appear in sentence-initial position, followed by the main clause. Clauses expressing locations, manner, reason, and purpose usually appear after the main clause. The languages of the Pacific Northwest (Cable 2009) are well-known for their use of subordinate structures in the absence of main clauses (what Evans 2007 calls insubordination). (Compare nearby Sliammon, Watanabe to appear.) Nominalizations are the main way to express a sequence of events in a narrative (the quasi-clause chaining of Mithun 2008). Hul'q'umi'num' subordinate clauses are easily detected due to their unique inflection.

On the other hand, Hul'q'umi'num' also links clauses with coordinate structures: two clauses with main clause morphology connected by the coordinator 'i' 'and, but, or'. The coordinate strategy is used when the events expressed by the two clauses occur concurrently or when the two clauses have a tight logical relationship. For example, conditional clauses are expressed with the first clause introduced by the particle *ha'* 'when, if' and the consequence clause introduced by the coordinator 'i'.

- (1) [ha' ts'u tuw' q'ul'q'shun] 'i' [tl'ewulh qulqul-nuhw-us tthey'].
if hearsay MIT trip and again bad-TR-3ERG DEM
"Whenever he tripped on something, he got mad at it."

Also, coordinate constructions are used to express a variety of temporal adverbials and modal meanings, for example:

- (2) [nuts'a' skweyul] 'i' [ni' tsun q'aqi].
one day and AUX 1SG.SUB sick.
"One day I was sick." (literally, "One day and I was sick.")

Various evidence can be offered to show that such structures contain more than one clause (Bätscher 2014). For example, the clause boundary serves as a barrier for the movement of the subject clitic into second position in the main clause.

- (3) *[nuts'a'tsun skweyul] 'i' [ni' q'aqi]

Nevertheless, adverbial expressions lack other hallmarks of Hul'q'umi'num' clausehood, such as determiners and auxiliaries. This leads to the conclusion that the coordinator has grammaticized into a linker of an adverbial phrase while maintaining its status as a barrier for clitic movement.

What we see then is that Hul'q'umi'num' plays fast and loose with the notions of coordination and subordination. Adverbial relations are expressed by a variety of

structures along the continuum of clausehood: adverbial phrases are expressed as pseudo-coordinates, while adverbial clauses are expressed as nominalizations.

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Deictic Associated-Motion and the Tense-Aspect Domain
Doris Payne & Manuel Otero

Deictic motion (D) affixes are common in Nilo-Saharan (Creissels et al. 2008). Their meaning extensions when collocated with different verb subclasses in Nilotic and Koman (Nilo-Saharan subfamilies) show that deictic motion is a core element involved in grammaticalization of aspectual, temporal, and directionality oppositions. On translational motion roots, D elements can profile reference point SOURCE or GOAL (e.g. ‘run from/toward ego’, ‘run toward addressee’, ‘run toward a reference point displaced from ego’). On kinetic non-translational-motion roots like ‘beat’ or ‘stretch out’ and some stative roots, they add ‘associated motion’ as well as reference point information, e.g. stretch+AWAY> ‘drag away from ego’, be.proud+AWAY> ‘go away proudly from ego’. They may also communicate metaphorical directed motion (e.g. ‘look at’, ‘say to’, ‘cook for’). The semantics of the D affixes may extend beyond (metaphorical) associated motion. In some languages extensions are primarily into aspect. For example, X+AWAY may mean ‘X is done iteratively’ if X is a punctual action like ‘spear an animal’. In such a language, AWAY may come to code plural actional, continuous, habitual, or other imperfective meanings. In other languages, X+AWAY/TOWARD comes to have perfective and/or inchoative meaning. From the deictic motion domain, temporal, evidential, and even numerical and argument-frame changing meanings may also develop. Temporal implications are evident in Koman languages where, for example, ‘X+TOWARD.EGO’, where X is a dynamic verb, means ‘X was finished at another location and the primary actor in that event is now here’; hence a past-time interpretation of X is obligatory. In Koman, use of the D affixes is, in fact, the only grammatical means of expressing temporal distinctions in the verb. Given such patterns, “D” should be added to the “TAM” acronym since aspect and tense are not separable morphemes from deictic motion.

Associated Motion, Direction, Orientation and Location: A Typology of Verbal Deixis

Daniel Ross

Verbal affixes expressing direction or other types of spatial deixis are found in over 40% of the languages in the world, yet remain understudied from a broad comparative perspective. Especially relevant is the usage of directional markers that indicate path on motion verbs versus associated motion markers that induce a motion event (and in many cases also indicate path) on non-motion verbs and whether or not these two types are distinct cross-linguistically. Based on a growing typologically balanced sample of over 300 languages around the world, in this talk I present a typology of these verbal affixes (see examples below).

The most common directional contrast is between *away from the speaker* and *toward the speaker*, found widely and given various names in descriptive work (*itive/ventive*, *andative/venitive*, *translocative/cislocative*, *centrifugal/centripetal*), with most discussion limited to individual families or regions. However, this contrast between *toward* and *away*, using the terminology above, is not consistently distinguished for whether it expresses direction or associated motion, and in many languages can express both.

Direction and associated motion are widespread, although the boundary between them is sometimes unclear. Less common are markers of orientation and location, which may also overlap with the others. From the perspective of grammaticalization, periphrastic verbal constructions encoding associated motion are widespread, suggesting serialization and other constructions as a source for associated motion affixes, while directionals probably develop from adverbs. Orientation appears to be mostly a secondary function of the other categories, while locationals may develop from noun incorporation. This four-way typology is a starting point for cross-linguistic classification of the deictic functions of these morphemes, while the morphemes themselves often have multiple functions. Due to overlap and some borderline cases, it is difficult to make absolute distinctions between these types, and it is suggested that these phenomena should be investigated together.

(1) Associated Motion with induced motion in Maasai (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955:127)

asi	asi-oyo	asi-eku
be.impatient	be.impatient-AWAY	be.impatient-TOWARD
'to be impatient'	'to go away quickly'	'to come quickly'

(2) Directionals (used primarily with motion verbs) in Kiribati

(Groves, Groves & Jacobs 1985:26–27)

biri	biri-mai	biri-wati
run	run-TOWARD	run-TOWARD.2SG
'to run (e.g. away)'	'to run toward speaker'	'to run toward you'

(3) Motion and direction/location distinguished in Barasano (Jones & Jones 1991:77)

ābi-ya	ābi-a-ya	ābi-a-yá	ābi-a-sa
pick.up-IMP	pick.up-DIST-IMP	pick.up-MOTION-PROX.IMP	pick.up-MOTION-DIST.IMP
'Pick it up!'	'Pick it up there!'	'Bring it here!'	'Take it away!'

(4) Borderline case of direction of action in Hausa (Newman 1983:407)

sàyi	sayãr
buy	buy.AWAY
‘buy’	‘sell’

(5) Orientation (as a function of directionals) in Jacaltec (Craig 1993:28)

xil-ah-toj	naj	tet	ix
saw-UP-AWAY	he	to	her
‘He looked at her (up-away from him).’			

(6) Locationals (a selection of examples from Nisgha: Mithun 1999:146–147)

ḱisə= ‘downstream’	ḱisə=ʔúlksk ^w ‘drift down the river’
[t]q̣ ayks= ‘close to the ground’	[t]q̣ q̣ks=ké-ɫ ‘lie on the ground or floor’
.xlip= ‘at one end, at tip’	.xlip=qanqín ks ‘chew on the tip’

(7) Locational and temporal usage of proximal (<come) and distal (<go) marking in Zulu (Taljaard & Bosch 1988:61; Poulos & Bosch 1997:20–22)

U-ya-funda	U-zo-funda	U-yo-funda
3SG-PRES-study	3SG-COME-study	3SG-GO-study
‘S/he is learning.’	‘S/he will study nearby/soon.’	‘S/he will study far away/later.’

(8) Periphrastic associated motion in English

Go read a book!	Come eat with us!
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Nominalizations in diachronic perspective: some theoretical implications

Research on nominalization has mainly remained synchronically oriented so far, with most studies providing classifications of different nominalization types in terms of their structural or semantic properties (for example, argument structure, presence vs. absence of particular types of inflectional distinctions or nominal morphology, or the entity type denoted by the nominalization: Comrie and Thompson 2007, among others). Yet, research on the possible diachronic origins of nominalizations is crucial both to gain a full understanding of nominalization phenomena, and to understand the nature of a number of more general grammatical patterns involving nominalizations, for example some word order correlations.

As an introduction to the workshop, the paper will illustrate these issues by reviewing several diachronic processes that can give rise to nominalizations cross-linguistically. In classical accounts, the distinguishing structural properties of nominalizations (including for example the use of nominalizers, or the presence of various types of nominal morphology) are traditionally assumed to reflect the fact that nominalization is a special process whereby some non-referring expression is exceptionally treated as a referring one (Hopper and Thompson 1984 and 1985, Langacker 1987 and 1991, Croft 1991, Heine and Kuteva 2007). Yet, many nominalizations do not originate in this way. Rather, the source construction originally consists of a referring expression in its own right, modified by some other expression. The referring expression can be a determiner or a semantically generic lexical item, such as ‘person’, ‘one’, ‘thing’ or ‘place’. At least some properties of the resulting nominalization are related to the presence of the referring expression, rather than some specific phenomenon of nominalization (Cristofaro 2012).

More generally, different nominalization types originate from different sources and through different processes. Sometimes, an originally referring expression evolves into a nominalizer, with the nominal properties of this expression becoming properties of the resulting structure as a whole. In other cases, a usually non-referring expression is directly combined with nominal morphology, for example case marking. In yet other cases, the nominalization is a result of the reinterpretation of the syntactic relationships between different components of a complex sentence. This suggests that traditional criteria for nominalization do not actually capture a unified phenomenon. Rather, these criteria identify a series of constructions that originate through different mechanisms and are motivated in terms of different principles.

Finally, the properties of particular source constructions also motivate the use of the resulting nominalizations across different contexts. For example, some nominalizations are used as relative clauses or as constructions encoding possessors because the source constructions are naturally reinterpreted in this way. This provides a clue as to why nominalizations are used in certain contexts as opposed to others, and casts new light on general patterns in which the resulting constructions are involved, for example word order correlations involving relative clauses and possessive constructions.

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Deictic Determiners and Nominalization in Nivacle

Doris Payne, Manuel Otero, Alejandra Vidal

Mataguayan languages (Chorote, Maká, Nivacle, Wichí) of the South American Chaco have fairly elaborate systems of deictic determiners (D). Varying somewhat by language, D elements code fine visibility distinctions (e.g. ‘never seen’, ‘seen before but not now’, ‘currently seen+proximate’, ‘currently seen+distal’), and can also mark number, gender in the singular, and humanness in the plural (Stell 1989, Gerzenstein 1994, Carol 2011, Messineo et al. 2011, Nercesian 2014, Fabre 2015).

In Nivacle the Ds function as determiners bound to other forms while in some other Mataguayan languages (e.g. Maká), they function as both independent demonstrative pronouns and as (bound) determiners. Functionally, Nivacle has both complement and relative clauses that look, on the surface, to be identical nominalization structures headed by Ds. However, we argue for contrasting historical scenarios that gave rise to the two dependent clause types. We suggest that in a stage pre-dating modern Nivacle the determiner function of Ds on full clauses gave rise to nominalized complement clauses, while the independent pronoun function may have yielded relative clauses via a constructional amalgam (Lambrecht 1988).

In Nivacle (and other Mataguayan languages), a word – regardless of semantics – functions as a predicate if it occurs without a D, and a word can be used as a “noun” only with an accompanying D; compare ‘dog’ in (1) and (2). Hence, the Ds are first relevant to nominalization because they make simple words deployable as arguments of predicates. That is, the D effectively nominalizes a lexeme.

- (1) *nó'que'ǵ xi-nu'u* (Nivacle)
now 1SG-dog
‘Now I am a dog!’

- (2) *na=nu'u Ø-tux ka=t'asxa'an* (Nivacle)
D:MASC.SG.VISIBLE=dog 3SG-eat D:SG.NONEXISTENT=meat
‘The (visible) dog ate the (absent) meat.’

Secondly, the D elements also make full (inflected) clauses referring to situations or events able to distribute as dependents of matrix predicates. If the D-marked clause functions as a core argument of another predicate, we refer to it as a “complement clause” (3). If a D-marked clause refers to a situation or event but is not in a core argument position, we call it an “adverbial clause”.

- (3) *na=ta'avclax nin-te'esh ka=n-mô* (Nivacle)
D:MASC.SG.VISIBLE=be.young 3.NEG-say D:NONEXISTENT=3-sleep
‘The (visible) boy doesn’t want to (go to) sleep.’
(more literally: ‘the boy doesn’t say/cognize/want that he sleep’)

For many other languages, morphemes that allow clauses to distribute like nouns are considered to be clausal nominalizers (Comrie & Thompson 1985, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993). Indeed, *ka=* in (3) is just as much of a nominalizer as is *ka=* in (2), the only difference being that an inflected clause *n-mô* ‘he/she-sleeps’ is embedded under *ka=* in (3), whereas a single lexeme *t'asxa'an* ‘meat’ is embedded under *ka=* in (2).

Only a limited subset of D elements occurs as nominalizers on complement and adverbial clauses. The two Ds found in these functions in our corpus are those that, when on participants, indicate that they are 'going away, out of sight, dead', or 'never seen'. Furthermore, the Ds on complement and adverbial clauses do not agree with the person or number of any argument of the clause.

In modern Nivac^{le} D elements can also create relative clauses with no lexical head. These clauses reference prototypical participants – people, actors, items manipulated, etc., rather than events. All the Ds can occur in relative clauses, coding deictic features of the referenced participant. In those languages which allow Ds to function as independent pronouns, the structure for a relative clause like 'I see the masculine.one (who) goes' is structurally like [_k SUBJECT VERB [_j D]_k VERB]_j where D is the object pronoun of the first clause *k* and simultaneously segues into subject pronoun of the second clause *j*. This is an amalgam structure, roughly akin to English *I saw a farmer killed a dog* where *a farmer* is simultaneously object of *saw* and subject of *killed* (Lambrecht 1988). One need not appeal to nominalization of the second clause.

Synchronically, however, it appears that Nivac^{le} does not allow Ds to function as stand-alone pronominals. Hence, if the amalgam route is correct for development of relative clauses, the relative function and structure must have arisen prior to loss of the pronominal function of D elements in Nivac^{le}. In any case, the resultant surface structure of the relative can look identical to that of the complement (and adverbial) clauses, just that the range of Ds is not limited for the relative clauses, and reference is to a participant rather than to an event or situation.

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Syntactic reanalysis of nominalizations in Mande and its historical consequences

In this paper, we present a comparative analysis of morphosyntactic properties of nominalizations in two South Mande languages, Wan and Mano, in view of the “nominal periphrasis” hypothesis that relates the typologically unusual SOVX (“Subject-Object-Verb-Other”) word order of Mande languages to syntactic reanalysis of nominalizations at the Proto-Mande stage (Claudi 1988; Nikitina 2011). The changes involving recategorization of nominalizations as verbs can be divided into two major types: structural, and lexical. Structural changes involve changes in word order, constituent structure, and changes in the structure of paradigms; in the Mande case, they are represented by the development of typologically rare OVX word order, the reduction of verb phrase structure, by the merging of accusative and genitive pronouns, and by the development of passive labiality. Lexical changes involve reassignment of word class labels; we present data suggesting that such reassignment was common at earlier stages in the development of Mande languages. Taken together, the evidence of Mande languages illustrates the way changes involving nominalizations can shape, in some languages, major aspects of grammar and lexicon. Languages with “split predicate” syntax are especially susceptible to that type of change. Subsequent innovations in nominalization structure triggers syntactic development of various kinds: elaboration of verb phrase structure, as in Mano, and mixed category syntax, as in Wan.

Both Mano and Wan (as well as most other Mande languages) display a striking similarity between verb phrase syntax and the syntax of noun phrases, which is due to a historical reanalysis of nominalizations as verbs. The examples in (1a-b) illustrate the parallel structure of transitive verb phrases and “inalienable” possessive constructions; both consist of a head (nominal or verbal, respectively) preceded by a noun phrase or a pronoun (corresponding to the possessor or the object).

- (1a) à kpákā á wìl kpákā á
3SG leg animal leg
'his leg'; 'animal's leg'; [Mano]
- (1b) ē à sí; ē wìl sí
3SG.PST 3SG take 3SG.PST animal take
'He took it; 'He took the animal'. [Mano]

Both verb phrases and noun phrases only allow for one phrase-internal argument: noun phrases cannot accommodate more than one inalienable possessor, and verb phrases generally do not allow for more than one object. With nominalizations (and gerunds, which in Mano function like a nominalization form), additional arguments can be realized as “alienable” possessors, i.e. as possessive adjuncts, marked by a special possessive marker in Mano (2a) and by lengthening in Wan (2b):

- (2a) [wálà là à sí-à] wáá ká
God 3SG.POSS 3SG take-GER NEG.COP with
'God didn't take him (lit: It isn't God's him-taking)'. [Mano]
- (2b) [Dètóó gòlì bɛ wà é] ɲ sò-ɲ ɲ lɛɲ óɲ
D.POSS money ask NMLZ DEF 1SG please-NEG 1SG to NEG
'I don't like Deto's asking for money.' [Wan]

Mande languages are characterized by a typologically rare SOVX word order: subjects and objects precede, but oblique arguments follow their verb (Creissels 2005). That word order is due to a highly restricted structure of verb phrases: postpositional arguments cannot be accommodated within the verb phrase and must be instead extraposed to a clause-final position (Nikitina 2009). In Wan, the behavior of nominalizations is consistent with that restriction: neither regular noun phrases nor constructions with nominalizations can accommodate postpositional phrases; postpositional phrases appear instead at the end of the clause, after the finite verb. In (3), the postpositional argument ‘with

dogs’ appears in the clause-final position, even though semantically, it is related to the nominalization ‘the killing of animals’ (which is embedded in the object NP).

- (3) yàá [wì té-ŋ]_{NMLZ} gbè lá lé [gbā ñé mú yā]_{PP} É gbè lɛŋ
 3SG+COP animal kill-NMLZ manner show PROG dog PL with REFL son to
 ‘He is showing to his son the way of hunting with dogs.’ (i.e., ‘how to hunt using dogs’) [Wan]

In Mano, the behavior of postpositional phrases is different (Khachaturyan 2014): there are contexts in which postpositional arguments can follow their nominalizations (4b, as opposed to 4a). Such cases are marked by the presence of a low-tone marker on the verb, which is an evidence of nominalization at a higher syntactic level.

- (4a) yékè í túó [yíí bō-ò]_{NMLZ} lɛɛ [gùlù yí]_{PP}
 better.not.to 2SG.CONJ frighten water take.off-GER for hole in
 (4b) yékè í túó [yíí bō [gùlù yí]_{PP}]_{NMLZ} lɛɛ
 better.not.to 2SG.CONJ frighten water take.off:NMLZ hole in For
 ‘You shouldn’t be afraid to pump water from the pit.’ [Mano]

The possibility of accommodating postpositional phrases within a construction with nominalization is an innovation that Mano shares with some very closely related South Mande languages, such as Dan-Gweetaa. In Wan, a similar property is attested with clause-initial gerunds, which derive historically from nominalizations, but function as time-setting converbs that are restricted to the clause-initial position:

- (5) [à gà é [bā ē gó]_{PP}] è bòlè mú ē
 3SG go CONV field DEF in 3SG bird PL saw
 ‘On her going to the field, she saw birds.’ [Wan]

The construction with converbs likely represents the first step in the development of higher-level nominalizations capable of accommodating a postpositional argument, a process that is more advanced in Mano.

Wan has developed a different possibility to accommodate inside the nominalization the arguments that are expressed postverbally in finite predications. It is a mixed category construction where such arguments occupy the preverbal position (6a), which, just like in Mano example 4, can alternate with a construction where the postverbal argument is in the adjunct position to the clause (6b).

- (6a) ɪ [àà [kú é wā]_{NP} wíá-ŋ] éŋ m̩ɔ̃
 1SG 3SG.ALN house DEF underside enter-NMLZ sound heard
 ‘I heard him enter the house (lit.: I heard the sound of his house underside entering)’. [Wan]
 (6b) ɪ [à wíá-ŋ] éŋ m̩ɔ̃ [kú é wā]_{PP}
 1SG 3SG enter-NMLZ sound heard house DEF under
 ‘I heard him enter the house (lit.: I heard the sound of his entering under the house)’. [Wan]

These two syntactic innovations in nominalizations, elaboration of verb phrase structure, and the mixed syntax construction, respond to the same necessity to accommodate postverbal arguments inside the erstwhile reduced verb phrase structure, which is a product of earlier reanalysis of nominalizations as verbs.

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Effects of Predication and Reference Patterns on the Development of Nominalization

Marianne Mithun

It is generally assumed that all languages have mechanisms for predicating and referring, though they vary in the shapes and inventories of grammatical constructions that serve these functions. Some languages show sharp formal distinctions between predicating and referring expressions. Verb and noun roots may comprise non-overlapping classes; verb and noun morphology may show very different structures; predicates and arguments may exhibit distinct syntactic behaviors, etc. In other languages, distinctions may be more subtle: many or even most roots may serve as the foundation of either verbs or nouns; morphological verbs and/or nouns may function both to predicate and refer, etc. Languages also differ in the relative density of predicating and referring lexical items in spontaneous speech. Unscripted speech in many languages indigenous to North America, for example, can show much higher verb/noun ratios than are commonly observed in that of some better-known languages of Europe and Asia. Here it will be shown how such propensities can affect the development of nominalizing constructions. Examples will be drawn from languages of the Iroquoian family, indigenous to eastern North America.

Words in Northern Iroquoian languages fall into three categories on morphological grounds: verbs, nouns, and particles. The three lexical categories are sharply distinguished at the root, stem, and word level. Verb roots serve only as the foundation of verbs, and noun roots only as the foundation of nouns. (Particles show no internal morphological structure, though they may be compounded.) Verb and noun morphology are completely distinct in terms of both their templates and their inventories of prefixes and suffixes. The lexical categories defined in terms of morphological structure are not isomorphic with syntactic function, however. All morphological verbs contain minimally a pronominal prefix identifying their core arguments (one for intransitives and two for transitives) and a verb root. They can thus serve not only as predicates (with coreferential lexical nominals in the same clause) but also as full clauses on their own, and as referring expressions. Such behavior can be seen in the passage below. Lexical categories are marked with V for morphological verbs, N for morphological nouns (there are none here), and P for morphological particles.

Mohawk: Konwatsi'tsaién:ni Phillips, speaker p.c.

P	P	V		P	V		P	P	V
Ó:nen	ki:ken	shiwenhniserá:te'	iáh	tha'tetiawé:non	kí:ken	ne	teionnhónhskwaron.		
now	this	as the day stands	not	had she come back	this	the	she is doubly jowl attached		

'One day this cow did not return home,

V		P	V		V		V
Iahonwanató:ri'	ne	tehnika:sà:'a	iatate'kèn:'a		aonsakonwaia'tisákha'.		
they sent them out	the	they two are children	they two are brothers to each other		they would go back to body look for her		

so they sent out their two sons to search for her.'

Here the Mohawk speaker used morphological verbs referentially for several ideas that would usually be conveyed in English with nouns: ‘day’, ‘cow’, ‘boys’, and ‘brothers’. This is a common pattern.

This distribution of predicating and referring functions over verbs and nouns has apparently shaped the development of nominalizing morphology in the languages. The words in this passage for ‘day’, ‘cow’, ‘boys’, and ‘brothers’ contain no morphological nominalizers. Each could be used to predicate, though these particular verbs have generally become lexicalized as referring expressions, a development that could be seen as a kind of conversion or zero derivation. In this particular passage, the particle *ne* ‘the aforementioned’ also signals that the following words are being used referentially, but *ne* does not appear before first mentions of a referent.

There are, however, nominalizing suffixes in the Iroquoian languages, which play a crucial role the grammar. Morphological verbs can contain an incorporated noun stem, like ‘day’, ‘jowl’ and ‘body’ above.

aonsakonwaia’tisákha’

a-onsa-konwa-**ia**’t-isak-ha-’

OPTATIVE-REPETITIVE-3PL>ZOIC-**body**-seek-ANDATIVE-PFV

‘they would go back and bodily seek her’ = ‘they would go look for her’

There is a strict requirement that incorporated nouns must be true morphological noun stems. If an idea normally conveyed by a morphological verb stem is to be incorporated, it must be overtly nominalized with a nominalizing suffix.

Akwé:kon

akwek-on

be.all-STATIVE

it is all

ka’**seréht**akon

ka-’**sere-ht**-a-k-on

NEUTER.AGT-**drag**-NOMINALIZER-LINKER-be.in-STATIVE

it is in the **thing that drags**

‘He put it all in the wagon.’

waháta’.

wa-ha-t-a’

FACTUAL-M.SG.AGT-be.in-INCH.PFV

he put it in

There are several nominalizers. The origins of one set are no longer retrievable, but the sources of the others are still detectable in verbal suffixes: causatives and instrumental applicatives. These verbal suffixes alter the argument structure of the verb to include an argument to which the derived verb can then refer.

iehwista’ékstha’

ie-hwist-a-’ek-**st**-ha’

INDEFINITE.AGENT-metal-LINKER-strike-INSTRUMENTAL.APPLICATIVE-HABITUAL

‘one strikes metal with **it**’ = ‘bell’

The origins of some of these nominalizers can in turn still be seen in verb roots. The causative-instrumental suffix *-(h)st* above, for example, is clearly descended from the verb root **-hst* ‘use’. The causative-instrumental suffix *-hkw* of *iehiatónhkhwa* ‘one writes with it’ = ‘pen/pencil’, is descended from the verb *-hkw* ‘pick up’.

We will probably never know exactly why certain sources develop into nominalizers in particular languages, but we may make some progress by observing recurring patterns of expression of predication and reference.

Nominalization, attribution, subordination and insubordination in Japanese: A diachronic analysis of attributive *to iheru* constructions

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Abstract

This paper examines how attributive constructions in Japanese are reanalyzed as conclusive constructions—in other words, how noun-modifying constructions initially used in the referential domain are reinterpreted with broader scope as stand-alone finite structures that represent entire events, situations or propositions. From a diachronic perspective, this is a study of how nominalization constructions frequently develop attributive (i.e. noun-modifying) functions, then sometimes further develop into attributive tense-aspect-mood markers in relative clauses, and in some instances further develop into conclusive (i.e. finite) tense-aspect-mood markers in stand-alone independent clauses (see Yap, Grunow-Härsta&Wrona 2011 and papers therein). The Japanese language, with its long-recorded history spanning from the 8th century to the present, offers a time-window for us to examine how its erstwhile-*ru* nominalization constructions, as in (1a) and (1b), have been reanalyzed as-*ru*attributive constructions that can be accompanied by a head noun, including general nouns such as *mono* ‘thing’, as in (2). The result is a headed relative clause construction, where the head noun can be reanalyzed as a new nominalizer if it is a general noun, and the erstwhile -*runominalizer* is reanalyzed as an attributive marker (functionally equivalent to the English relativizer *that*). By the 10th century, -*runominalized* complement clauses were often accompanied by tense-aspect-mood (TAM) and evidential markers such as *narubeshi* and *narikeri* to form finite clauses, as in (3). This shift in function from the referential to predication domain eventually paved the way for the reanalysis of -*ru* itself as a non-past tense marker in Modern Japanese, as seen in (4). This reanalysis of -*ru* from attributive suffix to conclusive suffix led to a blurring of the attributive/conclusive distinction that was a crucial feature for the *kakarimusubi* focus system in Old and Middle Japanese, triggering its demise and in its place introducing a new wave of nominalizers such as *no* in Modern Japanese, and more recently *mono*, *tokoro* and others as well.

There is some evidence from Old Japanese that general head nouns or nominalizers can also develop into sentence final particles with a focus reading, as in the case of *nomi* (< ‘body, self’) in (5), attested as early as the 8th century. Some of these *nominalizer*-derived focus particles can be used in non-sentence-final positions as well, as in the case of *namu* (< ‘reason’) which can appear in post-complement clause position as in (6a) and in post-subordinate clause position as in (6b). Given that some *nominalizer*-derived focus particles (e.g. *namu*) are more grammaticalized than others (e.g. *nomi*), we can infer that the reanalysis of general nouns or nominalizers as stance markers is robust and productive in Japanese, with waves/cycles of this process being repeated in the history of the Japanese language (see Horie 2008). Furthermore, understanding the relationship between nominalizers and sentence final particles with focus readings can also help us better understand the possible origins of many focus particles in Japanese, including those within the erstwhile *kakarimusubi* focus system, among them *nan* and *zo* as well. The findings of this paper thus help to shed light on the relationship between nominalization, attribution and subordination, and also contributes to our understanding of the morphosyntactic and discourse-pragmatic environments in which insubordination occurs.

Data for our diachronic analysis come from historical texts in the Taikei Honbun database, and for illustrative purposes we particularly focus on the *to iheru* attributive ‘say’ construction in classical Japanese.

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Examples

- (1) a. *Inishie no hito, tsukuyonokunito iheruwa,*
 ancient GEN people, tsukuyonokuni COMP say.ATTR TOP
kedashiutagafuraku ha kono chi naramuka.
 probably doubt.ATTRNOM this place may Q
 ‘That which the ancient people called Tsukuyonokuni (i.e. country of Tsukuyo), I wonder if this might be the place.’ (*Hitachikoku Fudoki*, p.37, 8th c., probably 715-717)
- b. *Koko ni Mamakoniahite, sunawachisaraniikurukoto*
 here LOC name.of.person DAT meet.CVB therefore further live NMLZ
etarito iheruwakorenari
 get-PFV COMP say TOP this be.PFV
 ‘This was **what she** (the wife of Jogenho) **said**, “I met Mamako here, and so I got this thing which makes me live longer.”’ (*Manyoshuu*, p.109, 8th c.)
- (2) *Umarurukoyoobooyokukokoroyokunaruto iherumono wo*
 be.born child appearance good heart good become COMP say.ATTR thing ACC E
bamairi, saranu mono mosore nishitagahiteshitamafu
 EMPH go.to.praynot.good thing also that DAT follow.CVB do.HON
 ‘She went to pray **for things that are said to be good for the newborn baby to become good-looking and have a good personality**, and (she) also prayed for other things.’
 (*Utsubo Monogatari*, p.262, 10th c.)
- (3) *Sakuyakonohanafuyugomoriimawaharube to sakuya*
 bloom FOC this flower winter take.restnow TOP spring.around EPIST bloom FOC
konohanato iherunarubeshi.
 this flower COMP say/think.ATTR PFV should
 ‘This flower that is now blooming rests in winter; since now spring is here, this flower **should be** blooming.’ (*Kokin Wakashuu*, p. 95, 905 AD)
 Lit. ‘... **one should think that** the flower would be blooming.’
- (4) *Karewakonaito itteru.*
 he TOP come.NEG COMP say
 ‘He says he won’t come.’
- (5) *Sunawachi, Kamizai no Goo to ifubeki wo*
 in.other.words name.of.place GEN name.of.place COMP say should CONCESS
ima no hitonaoayamarite Kamihara no Goo
 now GEN person still mistake.CVB name.of.place GEN name.of.place
to iherunomi
 COMP say.ATTR EMPH
 ‘In other words, although we should call this place Kamizai no Goo, people nowadays may still mistakenly just call it Kamihara no Goo.’ (*Izumokoku Fudoki*, p.237, 8th c.)
 Lit. ‘... **(it is) a fact that people nowadays call it Kamihara no Goo.**’
- (6) a. *Na wo ba, Sakaki no Miyatsukoto namuihikeru*
 name ACC EMPH name.of.place GEN name.of.person COMP FOC say.ATTR
 ‘His name is said to be Miyatsuko of Sakaki.’ (*Taketori Monogatari*, p. 29, 9th c.)
 Lit. ‘As for his name, the fact is that it is said to be Miyatsuko of Sakaki.’
- b. *Hashi wo yattsu watseruniyoritenamuyatsushashito ihikeru*
 bridge ACC eight stretch.across.CAUS because FOCEight.Bridges COMP say.ATTR
 ‘**Because** (we) stretch eight bridges across (the river), **that is reason/why** we call (the place) Yatsushashi (i.e. Eight Bridges).’ (*Ise Monogatari*, p. 116, 10th c.)

The Synchrony and diachrony of three types of Japanese nominalization strategies in subordinate and insubordinate environments

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of three major nominalization strategies in Japanese, i.e. *no*-nominalization, *koto*-nominalization, and zero (attributive)-nominalization in both subordinate (1, 2) and insubordinate environments (3, 4) (cf. Horie 1997, 2011, 2012)

(Subordinate environments)

- (1) [Ika-nai]{(a)*no*/(b)*koto*/(c) *(φ)}-gamondai-da.

go-NEG:ATTRNOML/NOML-NOM problem-COP

‘*Not going* is a problem.’

- (2) [Ika-nai] (φ)-*yori* ittahoo-ga ii.

go-NEG than go:PST direction-NOM be good

‘Going is better than *not going*.’

(Insubordinate environments)

- (3) [Ika-nai] {(a) *koto*./(b) *koto-da*./(c) *no*./(d) *n-da*}.

go-NEG NOML/NOML-COP/NOML/NOML-COP

‘(a) You *shouldn’t* go./ (b) I advise you against going./ (c, d) (subject to various contextual interpretations) I have some justifiable reason for not going.’

- (4) [Ika-nai] *mitaina*(φ).

go-NEG be like: ATTR

“(He) was like “I’m not going.””

In Modern Japanese, two ‘overt’ nominalization strategies, i.e. *no*-nominalization and *koto*-nominalization, are the default choices in marking complement clauses (1a, b). In contrast, the zero (attributive)-nominalization, a remnant of the Old Japanese morphosyntax, is not acceptable in regular complementation e.g. those marked by the nominative case marker *ga* (1c) (see Horie 1997). However, zero (attributive)-nominalization is still employed in ‘peripheral’ subordinate environments, e.g. a nominalized clause marked by oblique case markers such as *yori* (‘than’) which indexes the object of comparison (4).

The same two overt nominalization strategies, i.e. *no*-nominalization and *koto*-nominalization, are frequently employed in sentence-final ‘insubordinate’ constructions, independently (3a, c) or with the copula *da* (3b, d). Each of these insubordinate nominalization constructions conveys a different range of epistemic, modal, or evidential meanings. Again, zero (attributive)-nominalization is a rare

breed. In fact, due to the sweeping morpho-syntactic change which led to the loss of formal distinction between attributive and sentence-final predicate forms in Medieval Japanese, the majority of Modern Japanese attributive predicate forms have become non-distinct from their sentence-final counterparts (5a, b) barring a minority of predicates, i.e. nominal adjective and copulas which still retains the formal distinction(6a, b).

- (5) (a) [*aruku/hiroi*] miti (b) Sono miti {o *aruku./* -wa *hiroi.*}
 walk:ATTR/wide:ATTR road that road-ACC walk:FIN TOP wide:FIN
 ‘the road where one *walks/a wide* road’ ‘(I) *walk* on that road./That road *is wide.*’

- (6) (a) [yuusyuu-*na*/kankokuzin-*no*] dooryoo (b) Dooryoo-wa {yuusyuu/kankokuzin}-*da*.
 smart-ATTR/Korean-COP:ATTR colleague colleague-TOP smart/Korean-FIN
 ‘a colleague of mine who *is smart*/who *is Korean*’ ‘A colleague of mine {*is smart*./*is Korean*.}

- (7) Dooryoo-wa {*yuusyuu-*na*./*kankokuzin-*no*.}
 colleague-TOP smart-ATTR/Korean-COP:ATTR
 (intended meaning) ‘A colleague of mine *is smart/is Korean*.’

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The Diachrony of Nominalizations in Assamese

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Abstract

Assamese, the Indo-Aryan language spoken in the North-Eastern part of India which is called the grand daughter of Sanskrit¹ is very rich in the process of nominalization of both clause level and word level. In Assamese, there are broadly two types of rules for clause level nominalization i.e. for forming subordinate noun clauses- (A) by using nonfinite forms of the clauses, as in (1) and (B) by using some particles or subordinators, as they are sometimes called, such as *buli*, *ze*, *ne*, *neki* etc, as in (2) –

1. mɔi gas-ɔt utH-a tumi dekH-is-a?
I tree climb-ing you see-perf-2?
‘Have you seen my climbing a tree?’
2. mɔi gas-ɔt utH-ɔ ne nu-utH-ɔ tumi kiʒo hɔdH-is-a?
I tree climb-3 or neg-climb-3 you why ask-perf-2(hon)
‘Why are you asking whether I climb a tree or not?’

Here the subordinate clause is nominalized by the subordinator *ne*.

The Word level nominalization i.e. the process of derivation of innumerable noun words or bases is also of two types- (A) by the process of compounding i.e. by concatenation of two or more words into one and (B) by affixation (e.g. *rɔ-ɔni* ‘lady planter’, *naɔ-ɔria* ‘boatman’, *parh-uoi* ‘reader’ etc) It is, however, to be noted that there is a gradation from clause level nominalization to word level nominalization.

The diachrony of nominalizations in Assamese is connected chiefly to the same process of Sanskrit or Old Indo Aryan language through the Middle Indo Aryan or Prakrit spoken in Eastern part of India. Most of the nominalizers and or subordinators of Assamese are derived from Sanskrit and most of the rules of their use are also similar to Sanskrit. For example the relativizer *zɔ-* particle of Assamese (and also of many other New Indo Aryan Languages) is derived from *ya* of Sanskrit, interrogativizer *kɔ-* particle is derived from *ka* of Sanskrit, nominalizing affix *-ɔni*, *-ɔti* etc are derived from Sanskrit *-vanikā* (Prkt *aniā*), *-vantikā* (Prkt *attiā*) respectively. There are, however, a number of nominalizers in the language the sources of which are not available in Sanskrit or Prakrit but available in non Aryan languages of Tibeto-Burman or Austric family. A lot of differences in the processes of compounding are also noticed between Assamese and its source language. (For example the compounding of a noun and its determinative particle which are lexemes themselves (e.g. *pani* ‘water’ + *gilas* ‘glass’ = *panigilas* ‘the water in the glass’) is not available in Sanskrit)

The difference of processes of clause level nominalizations between the two stages of the language is even high. It is noticed that the synthetic nature of Sanskrit have been changed, to some extent, to analytic nature in Assamese (and more or less in other NIA languages too), may be due to

¹ Sanskrit here refers to Old Indo Aryan language, not to the literary Sanskrit only. As the Sanskrit texts are available and to some extent intelligible among the linguist across the world such texts are taken for comparison.

the influence of non-Aryan languages. It can be noticed easily that nominalization (and other types of subordination of clauses) is many times more frequent and more complex in Assamese than its source language. The following sentence exemplifies our observation which comprises eight subordinations including three nominalizations –

3. kHa-i tHak-ote dekH-is-o buli ko-le
 eat-part stay-part see-perf-3 that say-part
- kenekoi dekH-is-o buli hudH-a-r dorkar as-e zadi
 how see-perf-3 that inquire-part-gen need is-3 if
- hudH-i tHak-a
 inquire -part stay-2(hon)

‘If you think it necessary to inquire about how I have seen even after my telling you that I have seen when I was eating (then) go on.’

This very important aspect of Assamese language has not been touched yet by any linguist except the sketchy study of the subordination processes by this writer as far as known to me. This Paper aims a thorough investigation of this aspect of the language. Focus will be on syntactic type of nominalizations. The methodology used here is British Scholarly model initiated by P.H Matthews, R. Quirk etc, although generativists like N. Chomsky, R.B. Lees etc are also consulted.

Key Words – Nominal, Nominalization, Nominalizer, Subordination, Lexicalization, Syntactic function, Compounding.

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