

VIII
SYNTAX *of the*
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LANGUAGES



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Embedded interrogatives in some French-based creoles

French has two interrogatives pronouns for inanimates ('what'): a weak form *que* (extracted) (1a) and a strong form *quoi* (in situ) (1b). Embedded interrogative clauses accept none of them and use a special form *ce que* (2), unless they are verbless clauses (3) (Ross 1969)

- F (1) a. *Que veux-tu ?* 'What do you want?'
What want 2SG ?
b. *Tu veux quoi ?* 'You want what?'
2SG want what ?
- F (2) *Je sais ce que/*que/*quoi tu veux.* 'I know what you want.'
1SG know what 2SG want
- F (3) *Paul a mangé quelque chose mais je ne sais pas quoi/*que.*
Paul PERF eat something but 1SG NEG know NEG what
'Paul ate something but I do not know what.'

Interrogative pronouns in creoles have mostly been studied with respect to the simple/complex form distinction (Haspelmath 2013). Looking at three French-based creoles (Mauritian, Seychellois and Guadeloupean), we show that they recreated a weak/strong distinction for inanimate interrogatives ('what'), without a ban on embedded clauses.

Mauritian has an alternation between two inanimate interrogatives: *ki*, which must be extracted (Véronique 2007) and *kiete* which must be in situ (4). In embedded interrogatives, *ki* is used (5) unless it is verbless and elliptic, and *kiete* must be used (6). We analyse *ki* as weak form and *kiete* as strong form, like the personal pronouns: *mo, to / mwa, twa* (7) (Syea 2000). Only the weak forms can be subject (9a), only the strong forms can be coordinated (8)(9b) or stand alone.

An embedded interrogative clause follows the verb long form (LF) (10a) like sentential complements (Henri 2010, Syea 2013), even when it is verbless (10b). We analyse the verbless clause as a fragment (Ginzburg and Sag 2000): it is a clause reduced to a pronoun.

In Seychellois (Corne 1977), we also find an alternation between two forms for 'what': *ki*, which must be extracted (11a) and *kwa* which must be in situ (11b). *Ki* occurs in embedded interrogative clauses (12a), and *kwa* in verbless clauses (12b) Even if some grammars disagree (Germain 1976, Bernabé 2003), we gathered data pointing to a similar alternation between *ka* and *kisa* ('what') in Guadeloupean (13)(14).

French-based creoles did not inherit the weak form *que*, and certain have *kwa* (Seychellois) or *ka* (Guadeloupean), which come from *quoi*. However, together with Mauritian, they recreated a weak/strong form distinction, with a more regular distribution and no ban on embedding.

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- M (4) a. *Ki/*Kiete to kapav fer?*
 What 2SG can do? 'What can you do?'
 b. *To kapav fer kiete/*ki ?*
 2SG can do what ? 'You can do what?'
- M (5) *Mo trouve [ki/*kiete to kapav fer].*
 1SG see.LF what 2SG can do
 'I see what you can do.'
- M (6) *Pol inn manz kitsoz me mo pa 'nn trouve [kiete/*ki].*
 Paul PERF eat.SF something but 1SG NEG PERF see.LF what
 'Paul has eaten something but I did not see what.'
- M (7) a. *Mo/*Mwa pou vini.* 'I will come.'
 1SG FUT come.LF
 b. *Pol inn trov twa/*to.* 'Paul has found you.'
 Paul PERF find.SF 2SG
- M (8) a. *Zan ek mwa/ *ek mo.* 'John and I.'
 b. *Twa /*to ou Zan.* 'You or Jean'
- M (9) a. *Ki/*Kiete pase la?*
 What happen.LF here? 'What happened here ?'
 b. *Kisannla ou kiete/* ou ki inn fer twa sanz lide?*
 Who or what /*or what PERF make 2SG change.SF idea?
 'Who or what made you change your mind?'
- M (10) a. *Mo trouve /*trouv [ki to kapav fer].*
 1SG see.LF / *SF what 2SG can do 'I see what you can do'
 b. *Pol inn manz kitsoz me mo pa 'nn trouve /*trouv [kiete].*
 Paul PERF eat.SF something but 1SG NEG PERF see.LF / *SF what
 'Paul ate something but I did not see what'
- S (11) a. *Ki/*Kwa ou oule?* ('What do you want?')
 What 2SG want?
 b. *Ou oule kwa /*ki?* ('You want what?')
 2SG want what ?
- S (12) a. *Pol in manz en keksoz, me mon pa'n vwar [ki in manze].*
 Paul PERF eat IND something but 1SG NEG PERF see what 3SG eat
 'Paul has eaten something but I did not see what he ate.'
 b. *Pol in manz en keksoz, me mon pa'n vwar [kwa].*
 Paul PERF eat IND something but 1SG NEG PERF see what
 'Paul has eaten something but I did not see what.'
- G (13) a. *Ka / *Kisa ou vlé ?* ('What do you want?')
 What 2SG want?
 b. *Ou vlé kisa /*ka ?* ('You want what?')
 2SG want what ?
- G (14) a. *An ka mandé mwen [ka'w manjé/ *kisa ou manje].*
 1SG PROG wonder 1SG what 2SG eat 'I wonder what you ate.'
 b. *I manjé on biten ki pa té bon, an ka mandé mwen [kisa/*ka].*
 3SG eat IND something REL NEG very good, 1SG PROG wonder 1SG what
 'He ate something bad, I wonder what.'

From antipassive to causative and from causative to antipassive:
Two cases of the antipassive/causative syncretism

An antipassive construction is an intransitive derived construction in which the object of the transitive base construction has been omitted or expressed as oblique, whereas a causative construction is a derived construction in which the valency of the base construction is altered by the introduction of an agent/causer as the new subject. So in terms of valency changing operations, antipassive and causative constructions can be considered as the result of opposite operations since the antipassivization process corresponds to a valency decrease whereas the causativization process usually implies a valency increase (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000, Givón 2001, Kulikov 2011, among many others). Therefore, the same marker is not expected to be involved synchronically in both processes. Nevertheless, this rare polysemy/syncretism can be found in some languages.

This presentation aims to show and explain two different cases in two languages in which a same marker is used both for antipassivization and causativization processes.

The first case is represented by the marker *-(a) an* in Mocoví, a Guaycuruan language spoken between Chaco and Santa Fe provinces in Argentina. It has been recently demonstrated (Juárez and Álvarez 2017) that this suffix can be used as an antipassive marker when attached to transitive verbs and as a causative marker when combined to intransitive verbs, as illustrated in (1) and (2) respectively.

The second case is from Nivaclé, a Mataguayan language spoken in Paraguay and Argentina, in which the marker *vanca-* can also be used both for antipassivization and for causativization, as exemplified in (3) and (4) respectively.

I will try to explain these non-prototypical uses of the valency markers *-(a) an* and *vanca-* considering the differences and similarities between both cases. Based on comparisons with daughter languages and on linguistic reconstructions, the source of these markers will be explored (source associated with the verbal derivation domain for *-(a) an* in Mocoví, and with the middle voice domain for *vanca-* in Nivaclé), and two different evolutionary pathways will be proposed (from causative to antipassive in Mocoví, and from antipassive to causative in Nivaclé). In both cases, the evolution seems to be achieved through reanalysis processes in which subject agentivity and argument demotion are key features. The bridging contexts motivating these diachronic changes will be hypothesized, and the importance of light verb constructions and of restrictions on argument number will also be discussed in order to explain these two different cases of the antipassive/causative syncretism.

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Examples

Mocoví (Juárez & Álvarez 2017)

- (1) a. *so pyoq i-ta-tak* *so yale* **Transitive**
 CLF dog 3.TR-sniff-PROG CLF man
 'The dog is sniffing the man'
- b. *so pyoq re-ta-gan* **Antipassive -(a)gan**
 CLF dog 3.INTR-sniff-ANTIP
 'The dog sniffs'
- (2) a. *r-eda na l-asote* **Intransitive**
 3.INTR-move CLF 3.POSS-branch
 'The branch moves'
- b. *y-ida-gan na l-asote* **Causative -(a)gan**
 3.TR-move-CAUS CLF 3.POSS-branch
 'He/she moves the branch' (Gualdieri 1998: 263)

Nivacle (Vidal & Payne 2016)

- (3) a. *xa-p'ał kan'ut ka xpajitf.* **Transitive**
 I-burn yesterday D₃ house
 'I burned the house yesterday'
- b. *xa-vanca-p'ał (*ka xpajitf)* **Antipassive -vanca**
 I-ANTIP-burn D₃ house
 'I burned (something/things).'
- (4) a. *xa-tsepxal-xan* **Intransitive**
 I-weave-do
 'I am weaving'
- b. *xa-vanca-tsepxal-xan (*xa nivacle)* **Causative -vanca**
 I-CAUS-weave-do D₂ man
 'I make (sbdy) weave'

Kriol complex sentences

Kriol is the English-lexified contact language, primarily an oral vernacular, spoken by an estimated 20-30,000 Aboriginal people over a large tract of mainland northern Australia. Although linguistic description of Kriol commenced in the 1970-80s (Hudson, 1985; Sandefur, 1979), to date there has been as yet no thorough treatment of complex sentences in Kriol (but see Schultze-Berndt, Meakins, & Angelo, 2013, pp. 248-249 for a brief account).

The research presented here addresses this gap. I utilise the Interclausal Semantic Relations Hierarchy (van Valin & LaPolla, 1997) to examine a data set of naturalistic Kriol narratives and conversations in order to identify constructions ranging from verb complexes through to complex sentences. As a first pass strategy to limit likely sources of syntactic variation, I have selected socially, locationally and temporally constrained data: L1 Kriol-speaking adults from a single family residing in a community placed relatively centrally within the Kriol Sprachraum, and recorded within a single year. Overall, the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy posited in relation to semantic relations holds for this analysis of Kriol, but there are exceptions. For example, a common construction in extended Kriol discourse is one consisting of (often lengthy) strings of temporally sequenced events that are expressed through cosubordinated cores (see (1) below). Against prediction, this core level juncture construction occurs lower in the semantic hierarchy than do constructions with clause level junctures.

The grammatical forms employed in complex verb, clause and sentence constructions are all ultimately of English origin and some, but not all, are attested historically in precursor Australian pidgins (Baker, 1993). Despite this inheritance, the syntactic constructions instantiated by the English-derived forms are un-English-like, and many are tantalisingly reminiscent of general patterns in the Aboriginal substrate and adstrate languages. These include:

(2) a more robust associated motion construction in Kriol than hitherto described (cf Meakins, 2010);

(3) a syntactic complementiser *bla~ba* (from Eng. 'belong'), which also fills possessive and purposive functions, thus mirroring the most widespread affix in Australian languages, the bivalent dative/purposive *-ku* (Blake, 1976, p. 421);

(4) a relativiser *weya* (from Eng. 'where') which also serves as an adverbial subordinator, analogous to the adjoined relative clause described by Hale (1976) as a common construction in Aboriginal languages;

- the direct discourse construction is characterised by a high pitch quotative intonation and contrasting low pitch matrix verb, often *laigijad* 'do/say thus' (from Eng. 'like that'); both pitch and the 'do/say' semantic bundle are common in Aboriginal languages (cf Sharpe, 1972, for an example from the local Kriol speaking area).

(1) *en thei go-bek dal-i mami en dedi [...]*
and 3PL.NOM go-back tell-TR mum and dad

'and they go back and tell (thei) mum and dad [...]' (MH, T10, 33)

(2) *Munanga-mob bin tok-tok*
non-Aboriginal-COLL PST talk- REDUP

ba meig-i dem tu jeya la Ketherrain Goj...
COMP make-TR dam too there LOC Katherine Gorge

‘The non-Aboriginal people were talking about building a dam there in Katherine Gorge too.’
(BR, T1, 138)

(3) *en mela bin ran-im-in thet lain, gu-bek, jidan-abat la modika,*
and 1PLEX PST run-TR-in DET line go-back sit-about LOC car

weitabat alabat til thei bin kam-bek la mela
wait-about 3PL until 3PLNOM PST come-back LOC 2PLEX

‘and we pulled in the fishing lines (and) went back, sat in the car (and) waited for them until they came back to us.’ (MH, T12, 60)

(4) *Yu sabi thet hos weya mela bin oda?*
2SG know DET hos REL 1PLEX PST order

‘Do you remember the hose that we ordered?’ (BR, T2, 379)

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CONTENT QUESTIONS IN ABAZA: SYNTAX IN MORPHOLOGICAL GUISE

From the point of view of information structure content questions consist of focus and presupposition (Lambrecht 1994: 282), and most languages of the world encode the focus of a content question by special lexical means, i.e. question-words like *who* or *where* (Ultan 1978: 53; Siemund 2001: 1018). No more surprising is the fact that in many languages content questions are structurally similar to cleft-like focus constructions with the question word being the predicate and the presupposition relativized. This is the common strategy in the North Caucasian languages (Sumbatova 2009). Among the latter, the Northwest Caucasian Abaza and Abkhaz are outstanding in that their content questions can express both focus and presupposition morphologically in the single polysynthetic verbal form (see Hewitt 1979: 10–23 on Abkhaz and Idiatov 2007: 271–278 on Abaza), a phenomenon so far not mentioned in typological discussions of content questions. In this paper I analyze the *wh*-verbal morphosyntax of Abaza based on fieldwork data collected in 2017.

The polysynthetic Northwest Caucasian languages consistently express all the arguments of the verb, including those introduced by causative or applicative derivation, by cross-referencing prefixes for the absolutive, ergative and indirect objects, cf. (1). The same strategy is employed in relativization using special relative prefixes in the same position as the cross-referencing ones (cf. the notion of “*wh*agreement”, O’Herin 2002, Ch. 8), cf. (2).

Interrogative verbal forms in Abaza are based on relativization: they contain a relative prefix indicating the role of the question variable in the proposition, and an interrogative suffix showing the human (*-da*) vs. non-human (*-ja*) class of the variable. In this way are formed questions referring to any argument, cf. the absolutive in (3), the ergative in (4a), the indirect object in (4b) and the possessor (encoded as an indirect object of the nominal) in (5). The interrogative suffixes themselves can be synchronically analysed as containing the regular third person singular absolutive prefixes of the human (*d-*) resp. non-human (*j-*) class, though comparative data from Abkhaz and Ubykh suggests that the human and non-human question suffixes could have different origins.

Questions targeting adjunct relations are formed on the basis of adverbial subordination, which is marked by specialized prefixes, cf. (6a), to which a special interrogative prefix *-ba-* is added (6b). The origins of the latter are obscure, cf. Idiatov (2007: 272, fn. 31), but it is clear that the adverbial interrogatives like (6b) have a different source than the argument interrogative forms in (3)–(5).

The independently occurring question words in Abaza (cf. O’Herin 202: Ch. 8) are either synchronically or transparently diachronically interrogative verbal forms of the discussed type (Genko 1955: 105–107; Idiatov 2007: 271–278) forming the predicate of a clefted construction, cf. (7). Such question words exist only for argument questions.

Another peculiar feature of Abaza *wh*-questions is the multiple relativization of all morphosyntactic positions co-indexed with the question focus, including possessors (8) and even arguments of embedded predicates, which in Abaza normally index all participants like in main clauses (9) — a phenomenon attested to various degrees in all Northwest Caucasian relative constructions (cf. Lander 2009).

Though typologically very rare, content interrogative verbal forms in Abaza (and, *mutatis mutandis*, in Abkhaz) naturally fall out from an interaction of several more common strategies: (i) formation of content questions by means of clefts and (ii) morphological marking of relativization coupled with (iii) the highly elaborated expression of grammatical and semantic roles of arguments in the polysynthetic verbal complex.

Examples

- (1) *j-šə-z-j-a-s-h^w-p̄*
3SG.N.ABS-2PL.IO-BEN-3SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-NPST.DCL
'I will tell him this about you.' (textual example)
- (2) *sə-nbž'aɪ^w-čə-k^wa jə-z-dór-k^w-wə-z*
1SG.IO-friend-PL.H-PL 3SG.N.ABS-REL.ERG-know-PL-IPF-PST.NFIN
'my friends, who didn't know that' (textual example)
- (3) a. *j-ʃa-ka-šá-da?* REL.ABS-DIR-LOC-fall-QH 'Who fell?'
b. *j-šá-b-g-ja?* REL.ABS-DIR-2SG.F.ERG-carry-QN 'What did you bring?'
- (4) a. *w-ʃa-z-rə-há-da?* 2SG.M.ABS-DIR-REL.ERG-CAUS-be.afraid-QH 'Who frightened you?'
b. *wə-z-z-pš-wá-ja?* 2SG.M.ABS-REL.IO-BEN-wait-IPF-QN 'What are you waiting for?'
- (5) a. *s-pa* 1SG.IO-son 'my son'
b. *də-z-p-wə-da?* 3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-son-PRS.NFIN-QH 'Whose son is he?'
- (6) a. *h-ʔa-nxa-wá* 1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-work-IPF school 'The school where we work.'
b. *w-ʔa-bá-nxa-wa?* 2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-QADV-work-IPF 'Where do you work?'
- (7) *d-z-ač^w-ja awat a-č-k^wa ʃa-z-rə-ha-z?*
3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-belong-QH those DEF-horse-PL DIR-REL.ERG-CAUS-be.afraid-PST.NFIN
'Who frightened those horses?', lit. 'Whom does the one who frightened those horses belong?' (Pazov 2016)
- (8) *z-pájs' jə-ʃ^wna-č^w-wə-da?*
REL.IO-room REL.ABS-LOC-sit-PRS.NFIN-QH
'Who_i is sitting in his/her_i own room?'
- (9) *j-sə-c-na-jə-rnəs jə-z-taq-wə-da?*
REL.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-DIR-go-PURP 3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-want-PRS.NFIN-QH
'Who wants to go with me?'

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Nonverbal existential sentences in Udmurt

The talk focuses on a type of nominal clauses in Udmurt (Uralic) which has not been accounted for by the literature so far: nonverbal existential sentences, i.e., existential sentences which do not contain any verbal element. The main goal is to explore what are the conditions that license the omission of the existential verb in these sentences. Predicative possessive sentences (as a subtype of existential sentences) without any verbal element are also subject of the investigations.

According to the literature, nominal sentences without any overt verbal element occur in Udmurt in non-negative, present indicative clauses when the predicate is a (pro)noun, an adjective, a numeral, a participle, or an adverb (Csúcs 1990: 62; Winkler 2001: 65–66), cf., e.g., (1). (When the sentence is negative, and/or when it is not in the present indicative, the copula – which is identical to the existential verb – appears in them.) Existential clauses (including predicative possessive ones), on the other hand, have been claimed to contain the existential verb independently of polarity, tense, and mood, i.e., also in non-negative sentences in the present indicative, cf. (2)–(3) (Winkler 2011: 65–66).

Contemporary Udmurt texts – e.g., blog posts –, however, suggest that the omission of the existential verb is possible in existential sentences, too. The noun phrase whose existence is asserted is frequently modified by a quantifier ((4)–(5)) or an adjective in these cases, but not necessarily, cf. (6)–(8). Edygarova (2010: 237) claims that in predicative possessive sentences the existential verb can sometimes be omitted if the possessee expresses an abstract notion (8). However, the exact conditions of the omission of the existential verb are not clear.

In my talk, I examine whether the omission of the existential verb in existential sentences is conditioned by semantic and/or by information structural factors. By comparing the behaviour of these structures with the analogous Russian existential and predicative possessive sentences lacking an existential verb, I also investigate whether the appearance of these constructions in Udmurt may be attributed to Russian influence. Finally, I propose an analysis for the syntactic structures of these verbless existential and possessive sentences in Udmurt.

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Examples

- (1) so dyšetíš.
3SG teacher
'He/She is a teacher.' (Csúcs 1990: 62)
- (2) ta gurt-yn odig motor nyl vań.
this village-INE one nice girl EX.PRS
'There is a nice girl in this village.' (Csúcs 1990: 63)

- (3) tynad pinal-jos-yd vań.
 2SG.GEN child-PL-2SG EX.PRS
 'You have children.' (Csúcs 1990: 73)
- (4) tatyn tros udmurt-jos.¹
 here many Udmurt-PL
 'There are many Udmurts in here.'
 (http://udmurto4ka.blogspot.hu/2016/03/blog-post_25.html)
- (5) mi'am kwat' inty gine.²
 1PL.GEN six place only
 'We only have 6 places.'
- (6) tatyn no otn (voobsche-to vezd'e) ju-em-jos.³
 here and there actually (Rus.) everywhere (Rus.) drink-PTCP.PRF-PL
 'Here and there (actually everywhere) there are drunken people.'
- (7) mi'am gine kurs-my-len problema (...).⁴
 1PL.GEN just class-1PL.GEN problem
 'Only our class has a problem (...).'
- (8) mi'am – d'emokrat'ija!
 1PL.GEN democracy
 'We have democracy!' (Edygarova 2010: 238)

¹ Source of the example: http://udmurto4ka.blogspot.hu/2016/03/blog-post_25.html (Accessed: 30. 01. 2018)

² Source of the example: http://udmurto4ka.blogspot.hu/2014/09/blog-post_21.html?m=0 (Accessed: 30. 01. 2018)

³ Source of the example: <http://udmurto4ka.blogspot.hu/2014/07/4.html> (Accessed: 30. 01. 2018)

⁴ Source of the example: http://udmurto4ka.blogspot.hu/2013/12/blog-post_27.html (Accessed: 30. 01. 2018)

Partial syntactic ergativity in Panará (Jê)

In the current debate regarding the nature of ergative case, two approaches have been advanced as underlying ergative case systems universally: structural case and inherent case (Deal 2016; Woolford 2006). A key phenomenon in this debate is found in ergative languages that present a partial syntactic ergativity, for which the ergative argument is banned from certain but not all \bar{A} operations. Typologically rare, such languages like Shipibo (Panoan, Baker (2014)) and Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Polinsky:press) challenge both standard inherent and dependent approaches to case-marking theory.

In light of recent data, Panará (Jê, Brazil) appears as one such language: While most \bar{A} operations, like interrogative fronting or relativization, are available to all arguments, an ergative argument cannot be extracted from a relative clause. Absolutive arguments, on the other hand, can be extracted from relative clauses.

- (1) a. **Joopy** ti= s- anpũ Perankô hẽ [e jy= tẽ].
 jaguar 3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS see Perankô ERG INTR leave
 “Perankô saw the jaguar that fled.”
- b. **Kôôtita** rê= sanpũ [joopy hẽ ti= pĩri e].
 chicken 1SG.ERG see jaguar ERG 3SG.ERG kill
 “I saw the chicken that the jaguar killed.”
- c. ***Joopy** rê= sanpũ [e ti= pĩri kôôtita].
 jaguar 1SG.ERG see 3SG.ERG kill chicken
 “I saw the jaguar that killed the chicken.”
- d. ***Joopy** hẽ rê= sanpũ [e ti= pĩri kôôtita].
 jaguar ERG 1SG.ERG see 3SG.ERG kill chicken
 “I saw the jaguar that killed the chicken.”

However, as of now mysterious morpheme *tân* allows the ergative to be extracted from a relative clause into the upper clause in its bare form:

- (2) Joopy rê= tân= sanpũ ti= pĩri kôôtita.
 jaguar 1SG.ERG ?? see 3SG.ERG kill chicken
 “I saw the jaguar that killed the chicken.”

Although only absolutes can extract from relative clauses, Panará ergatives can undergo wh-extraction just like both types of absolutes, which does not fit the usual inherent case approach to this type of variable syntactic ergativity (Aldridge 2012, Coon 2015, Assmann et al. 2015).

The analysis presented here frames the phenomenon as an instance of morphology that marks extraction. The phenomenon of extraction-sensitive verbal morphology has been observed in very few languages: Irish (McClosky 2001, 2002), Chamorro (Chung 1982), Seereer (Baier 2014), Kĩĩtharaka (Abels & Muriungi 2008), Wolof (Torrence 2005) and Dinka (van Urk 2015). It is argued that the verbal morpheme *tân* spells out the features of an ergative constituent that has moved in a successive-cyclic fashion to Spec-INFL after crossing a CP edge, that of its home clause.

Selected references Baker MC. 2014. On dependent ergative case (in Shipibo) and its derivation by phase. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45:341–379. • Deal, A.R. 2016. Syntactic ergativity as case discrimination. In Aaron Kaplan, Abby Kaplan, Miranda K. McCarvel & Edward J. Rubin (eds.), *Proceedings from WCCFL 34*. • Woolford, E. 2006. Lexical case, inherent Case, and argument structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37:111-130. • Polinsky M. In press. Syntactic ergativity. *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, 2 edition.

The predicative use of the infinitive and the expression of the subject in Jóola Fóoñi (Atlantic)

The organization of verbal predication in Jóola Fóoñi (an Atlantic language spoken in South Western Senegal) shows a particularity that, judging from the available documentation, is quite exceptional among West African languages. In Jóola Fóoñi, the paradigm of the verb forms that can act as the nucleus of independent assertive clauses includes not only forms specialized in predicate function, but also a form also found in other functions with syntactic and semantic properties that justify labeling it as ‘infinitive’. In its predicative use, the infinitive expresses the TAM value ‘present’ or ‘near future’, without any additional modal implication.

Our presentation focuses on the fact that, in the predicative use of the infinitive, the constraints on argument expression are radically different from those observed with the other verb forms that can act as the nucleus of independent assertive clauses.

As illustrated in example (1), in Jóola Fóoñi, the general characteristic of the independent verb forms specialized in predicate function is that they include an obligatory prefix indexing the S/A argument (subject), whereas the expression of the subject argument as an NP preceding the verb is syntactically optional. The obligatory subject index expresses person, and in the third person, gender-number (or ‘class’).

The infinitive is formed by adding a gender-number prefix to the verb stem. For example, the infinitive of ‘cultivate’ is **ɛ-waj**, with the same prefix of class E as in **ɛ-yeŋ** ‘dog’ (note however that, in its infinitive marker function, we gloss this prefix ‘INF’). As illustrated in (2), in the predicative use of the infinitive, there is no subject indexation, and the identification of the subject argument entirely relies on the subject NP.

One might imagine that the lack of subject indexation in the predicative construction illustrated in (2) results in the obligatoriness of the subject NP. This question has never been discussed in the literature on Jóola Fóoñi, but it is clear from our corpus of more than ten hours of recorded naturalistic texts that, in Jóola Fóoñi, the subject NP is syntactically optional, not only with verb forms including a subject index, but also with the infinitive in predicate function. As illustrated in (3), if no subject NP precedes an infinitive in predicate function, the subject argument can be interpreted as non-specific, but depending on the context, it can also be identified to any salient entity, either speech act participant or other.

Interestingly, this particularity of Jóola Fóoñi contradicts a well-known generalization according to which unrestricted pro-drop is found only in languages that have, either consistent agreement across the TAM paradigm, or no agreement at all (cf. among others Huang 1984: “Pro-drop is licensed to occur either where a language has full agreement, or where a language has no agreement, but not where a language has impoverished partial agreement”).

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Examples

abbreviations: CL = noun class, DEF = definite, INF = infinitive, PRO = pronoun, RDPL = reduplication, SG = singular, SI = subject index

- (1a) **ɛ-niin-ɛ-w** **na-jo-jok** **ko-ñul-a-k.**
CLa-man-DEF-CLa SI.CLa-see-RDPL CLbk-child-DEF-CLbk
‘The man saw the children.’
- (1b) **na-jo-jok** **ko-ñul-a-k.**
SI.CLa-see-RDPL CLbk-child-DEF-CLbk
‘He/she saw the children.’
- (1c) **(inje)** **ni-jo-jok** **ko-ñul-a-k.**
PRO.1SG SI.1SG-see-RDPL CLbk-child-DEF-CLbk
‘I saw the children.’
- (1d) ***ɛ-niin-ɛ-w** **jo-jok** **ko-ñul-a-k.**
CLa-man-DEF-CLa see-RDPL CLbk-child-DEF-CLbk
- (2a) **ɛ-niin-ɛ-w** **ɛ-wap** **ba-jangata-a-b.**
CLa-man-DEF-CLa INF-cultivate CLb-peanut-DEF-CLb
‘The man is cultivating peanuts.’
- (2b) **inje** **ɛ-wap** **ba-jangata-a-b.**
PRO.1SG INF-cultivate CLb-peanut-DEF-CLb
‘I am cultivating peanuts.’
- (3) **ɛ-wap** **ba-jangata-a-b.**
INF-cultivate CLb-peanut-DEF-CLb
‘There is peanut cultivation going on.’, or depending on the context ‘I am cultivating peanuts.’, ‘We are cultivating peanuts.’, ‘You are cultivating peanuts.’, ‘(S)he is cultivating peanuts.’, ‘They are cultivating peanuts.’

Negation and Epistemic Marking in Kalapalo, Southern Carib Brazil

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Standard clausal negation in Kalapalo, a Southern Carib language, exhibits two different subtypes of Miestamo's (2005) 'asymmetric constructional type' each of which also appears as an asymmetric paradigm. The asymmetry of *A/Cat/TAM/Neutr* has to do with most affirmative aspectual suffixes being disallowed; only the punctual (PNCT) aspect (*contra* Hopper and Thompson 1980) and distant future tense (FUT.2) are used. The verbal clause is initiated by one of two possible negative free words, and is sometimes also suffixed by the bounded negative quantifier *-la*. The sub-type asymmetries of *A/Fin/Neg-LV* concern functions of non-finite verbs, derived negative nominal, or negative adverbial constructions, serving as copular complements. FE in each of these sub-types is an auxiliary copular verb (AUX) that marks subject, plural number and aspect/mood. *A/Fin/Neg-LV* AUX hosts more (and different) aspectual inflections than are present in the Kalapalo affirmative paradigm or in *A/Cat/TAM/Neutr*.

Two inherently negative particles with sentential scope are used to negate main indicative and non-verbal clauses: a) the contrastive or denial *afit̃i*, 'never; not so', and b) the discursively neutral (*i*)*ñali(u)*, 'not'. Both particles occur in verbal, nominal and adverbial constructions. The bound negative quantifier suffix *-la* ('never') and the class inclusion copula *-i* (COP) sometimes inflect the main clause verb. COP may also follow the negative nominalizer suffix *ŋi*. Kalapalo asymmetries accord language-internally with inflectional and derivational features, including the fact that nominal and adverbial words often function attributively. There are also several Kalapalo imperative negation types; these will be listed in a handout but not included further in this presentation.

To help develop Miestamo's questionnaire, I focus on *negation in epistemic marking* in Southern Carib Kalapalo in which the stances of both participants are referenced, and the two-member SN polarity system is complicated by degrees of negation and hedging. Language-external (pragmatic) metalinguistic negation involves marked epistemic stance procedures involving use of five epistemic free particles/clitics (EM) (see handout for a full list of 28 Kalapalo EM ordered in six pragmatic sets). The triadic epistemic stance procedure involves a speaker's self-positioning, and alignments with other subjects/interlocutors concerning evaluation or judgment of an epistemic object. (John DuBois 2007:22-24). The five dedicated epistemic particles/clitics (EM) with negation meanings do not usually co-occur with the free and suffixed verbal negators described above. EM are generally used as constituent negators occurring with non-demonstrative clauses, hosted by question word and tag question elements, switch reference constructions, and copular complements. The five epistemic negators in this presentation are shown on the handout with a listing of affirmatives occurring in the same pragmatic sets. All data come from my recorded research materials.

Examples of the five epistemic negators.

(1). *kiŋi kiŋi-ni* (plural) EM11. ‘acceptance but with regret’, ‘unfortunately’ (affirmative: ‘if only’, ‘hope in vain’: *muk^we* EM12) a). Context: An event has taken place, and the speaker had mistakenly counted on a third person (his father-in-law) to act in a certain way. The initial clause of this complex sentence includes the EM *kaŋa* EM6; the speaker thereby expresses the unlikeliness of an event. Line ii then includes the EM11 negator which marks the speaker’s polite regret to the listener for having agreed to let his father - in -law do so. (Type 2 standard negation)

- i. *ige-tomi=kaŋa-fa* *igei,*
 take.away-PURP=EM6-TOP IDEM
 ‘Although it was **unlikely** I would be escorted/led for that’,
- ii. *uk^w-oto-feke=kiŋi* *a-tiŋiŋi-ko* *ige-tomi.*
 dual-relative-ERG= EM11 EQS-IMP-PL take.away-PURP
 ‘**regrettably** I let our relative (lit., ‘parent’) be my escort/ leader’.

(2). *pile* EM15 is a negator regarding a past event with first hand evidential meaning. The speaker moves from acceptance to rejection of a proposition. (in the set there are markers of three degrees of affirmation and one affirmation of non-human thought)

(two types of affirmatives in this set: a. *maki* EM13: speaker now accepts prior known (introspective) information ; b *makina* EM14: new and unexpected information leads to acceptance of the interlocutor’s earlier proposition which had been rejected). The two are mirative forms that emphasize the speaker’s sudden surprise at a contrastive understanding.

Context: The warrior accuses his uncle (whose wife was his lover) of taking him away because of jealousy (not to go for arrows, as the uncle originally told him)

a-faŋa-ŋo-oyo-i *wāke u-a-niŋi=pile* *wāke u-ikuki-ne-ta*
 2-jealous-NLOC-USIN-COP EM1 1-EQS-PFV=EM15 EM1 1-take.away-TRNS-CONT
a-tiŋiŋi
 EQS-IMPF

‘What really happened before was that it was your very jealousy of me that made you (decide to?) take me away, that’s what really happened before’

(3) *tiki* EM19. This marks the speaker’s refusal to accept a role in an endeavor described by the interlocutor or by third persons. *tiki* is also a mirative form that emphasizes the speaker’s sudden surprise concerning the contrastive understanding or disagreement.

- i. *ta-tiki* *∅-e-li-ko-iña* *u-ẽ-na-li*
 RQ-EM19 3-kill-PNCT-PL-DAT 1-come.to-INTR-PNCT
 ‘Why should anyone say I’ve come here to kill you all?’
- ii. *awu-nda-fiŋi=mbe=dye* *tsa=lefa*
 like-CONT-resemble=SE=SS EX=SEQ
 ‘What they’re saying about me is a lie’.

(4) *nipa* EM24 This EM marks a contradiction or negation of an interlocutor’s or 3rd person’s presupposition, now treated as different from what has or would have been experienced, said, or seen. Context: a dispute about traveling.. EM24 is used to mark the Kalapalo speaker’s contradiction of the visitors opinion.

- i. *la!* *e-te-ke* *efu-ta=nipa* *e-ge-tomi* *Atatsinu-kai*
 distant.place 2-go-IMP canoe-in=EM24 2-travel-PURP (name)-by means of.

‘ “**Except that’s** the way you should go, **not how you want/say**, you go by canoe on the Atatsinu” ’.

ii. *afĩĩ, la u-te-ta-ni* [...]

denial, distant.place 1-go-CONT-FUT1

‘ “I won’t, I’ll be going that (other) way”.’

iii. *la= nipa e-te-ke, Atatsinu-kai=nipa e-te-ke, la*

distant.place=EM24 2-go-IMP (name)-DEST= EM24 2-go-IMP distant.place

‘ “**Except that’s** the way you should go, , you should go to the Atatsinu, way over that way (**not what you said/want**) ”.’

(5) *tima* (EM 28). (Type 1 standard negation, purposive rhetorical question,). Context: The speaker has been accused of trying to poison someone’s son, an act he denies.

. *tĩ-tomi=tima e-mugu igi-fes-iĩali u-feke*

RQ-PURP=EM28 2-son head-ugly-MAL 1-ERG

‘Why should I be **blamed** (by you) for bothering your son?’

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LA NÉGATION DANS LES TIROIRS VERBAUX PERFECTIFS EN NUASÚÉ: UN FACTEUR D'INVERSION DE LA VALEUR DU PARFAIT

RÉSUMÉ

Cette communication porte sur la négation propositionnelle et particulièrement sur l'influence de l'expression de la négation sur la distribution du parfait dans les tiroirs verbaux des temps prototypiques du nuasúé, langue bantu peu connue, parlée au Cameroun et enregistrée sous le code A62A (Maho, 2009). Le nuasúé possède deux marques d'expression de la négation qui varient selon le statut des propositions. D'une part, les formes verbales non finies et subordonnées complétives admettent l'une des deux particules **kàti/tè** précédant la proposition niée. D'autre part, la négation des formes finies se fait plutôt au moyen du préfixe de négation standard **|tr-|** qui, conformément aux typologies des langues bantu, se place en position post-initiale entre l'indice pronominal et les marques d'aspectualité (TAM). Dans les constructions analytiques imperfectives, la négation repose sur la notion de portée intrinsèquement liée à la structure informationnelle de la phrase. Ainsi, le préfixe de négation standard **|tr-|** est incorporé au mot exprimant l'information focalisée. On distingue donc la négation de l'implication du sujet dans le procès dénoté par le verbe comme (1a), celle de la réalisation du procès ou celle de la prédication seconde aspectuelle comme en (1b).

| | |
|-----|--|
| (1) | |
| a. | <p>sí tyâ:pá ùmámàné:tilè kálátà sí- tr [â:]H -pá ù- má- màn- [-a] H a- til- [-a] L kálátà cl1.père NEG- F₁ -être S3S- P₁- AUX.RES-PLR-PFT ITGF-écrire-PLR-SIT lettre « (Ce soir) Le père n'aura pas déjà écrit la lettre. »</p> |
| b. | <p>sí kànâ:pá ùtìmámàná ètilè kálátà sí- kànâ= a- -pá u- tr- má- màn [-a] H a- til- [-a] L kálátà cl1.père F₁ =ITGF-être S3S-NEG- P₁-AUX.RES-PLR-PFT ITGF-écrire-PLR-SIT lettre « (Ce soir) Le père n'aura pas déjà écrit la lettre. »</p> |

Cependant, dans les constructions synthétiques perfectives, la négation se fait en nuasúé par l'incorporation de la marque de négation dans l'unité verbale. Ce type de négation correspond à la négation du groupe verbal qui est souvent accompagnée de modification aspectuelle.

À côté de la description de ce fonctionnement global de la négation en nuasúé, cette communication montre qu'en nuasúé, en plus d'inverser la valeur de vérité des constructions synthétiques perfectives affirmatives, la négation entraîne aussi l'inversion des valeurs du parfait des temps prototypiques. Pour les tiroirs affirmatifs des temps du passé auxquelles est toujours associée la marque du parfait (2a), la négation occasionne la suppression de cette dernière (2b). Par contre, pour les tiroirs affirmatifs des temps du futur qui n'admettent pas la marque du parfait (3a), la négation s'accompagne toujours du parfait marqué par une mélodie tonale haute sur l'ensemble des suffixes verbaux (3b). Après avoir décrit ce phénomène d'inversion aspectuel gouverné par la négation, nous envisageons une explication sémantico-logique de ce phénomène d'inversion de la valeur du parfait dans ces temps verbaux en nous appuyant sur le rapport entre temps verbaux et l'aspect parfait se dégageant de la perception dans la communauté nuasúé.

| | |
|------------------|---|
| (2) ¹ | |
| a. | mà:mú é:kùsélítìn ìfùmbí mà:mú á:- kù- sél [-It -In] H ì-fùmbí cl1.mère P ₃ -S2O-peler[-SGL-APPL] PFT cl4-oranges « La mère t'a pelé les oranges » |
| b. | mà:mú tyé[↑]èkùsélítìn ìfùmbí mà:mú ti- á: L -kù- sél- [-It -In] L ì-fùmbí cl1.mère NEG- P ₃ - S2O-peler[-SGL-APPL] SIT cl4-oranges « la mère ne t'a pas pelé les oranges » |
| (3) | |
| a. | mà:mú kèkùsélítìn ìfùmbí mà:mú kà- kù- sél [-It -In] L ì-fùmbí cl1.mère F ₂ - S2O-peler[-SGL-APPL] SIT cl4-oranges « La mère te pèlera les oranges » |
| b. | mà:mú tyé[↑]èk[↑]ùsélítìn ìfùmbí mà:mú ti- [â-]H -kù- sél- [-It -In] H ì-fùmbí cl1.mère NEG- F ₂ - S2O-peler[-SGL-APPL] PFT cl4-oranges « La mère ne te pèlera pas les oranges » |

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¹ **Abréviations** : cl_N=classe nominale numéro ; S2O=deuxième personne du singulier objet ; S3S=troisième personne du singulier sujet ; SGL=singulactionnel (perfectif) ; PLR=pluractionnel (imperfectif) ; APPL=applicatif ; SIT=situationnel ; PFT=parfait ; NEG=négateur ; F₁ =futur 1 ; F₂ =futur 2 ; P₃ =passé 3 ; AUX.RES=auxiliaire résultatif ; ITGF=marqueur d'intégration

A crosslinguistic perspective on embedding and factivity: the case of embedded gapping

It is usually assumed (Hankamer 1979, Neijt 1979 and the subsequent literature) – based especially on English data in (1) – that some elliptical constructions, such as gapping, cannot be embedded within the conjunct it belongs to. Therefore, according to Johnson (2009), there would be a strong syntactic constraint on gapping (and a diagnostic of this elliptical construction), i.e. ‘the No Embedding Constraint’. The first reported counter-examples come from Farudi (2013) who observes that in Persian gaps are possible under a wide range of embedding verbs.

- (1) *Alfonso stole the emeralds, and **I think** [**that** Mugsy the pearls]. (Hankamer 1979)

We show, based on empirical evidence from four acceptability judgment tasks for French, Spanish, Romanian and Persian, that there is crosslinguistic variation with respect to the No Embedding Constraint, but in all these languages we observe a (more general) semantic constraint at work: some predicates embed clauses better than others, independently of gapping.

Previous work on Spanish embedded fragments (de Cuba & MacDonald 2013) insists on the crosslinguistic relevance of the semantic distinction (factive vs. non factive predicates) as a very strong constraint for fragment embedding: only non-factive verbs can embed fragments. In order to test the interaction between gapping and embedding on the one hand, and between gapping and factivity on the other hand, we set up an experiment (with 24 experimental items) on acceptability judgments for each language on the Ixex Farm platform, by using a crossed factorial design (2x3) with two factors (GAPPING and EMBEDDABILITY), giving rise to six conditions, as shown in (2) for Spanish. We compare elliptical occurrences (conditions a-c) with non-elliptical ones (conditions d-f), in order to better control our two factors. We pay attention to the heterogeneous behaviour of factive verbs (Karttunen 1971, Hooper & Thompson 1973, Hooper 1974), and take into account a more fine-grained distinction: true factives (e.g. emotion verbs) vs. semi-factives (e.g. knowledge verbs).

- (2) a. [**+gapping, –embedding**]
María estudió piano y Angel guitarra.
b. [**+gapping, +embedding&nonfactive**]
María estudió piano y **me parece que** Angel guitarra.
c. [**+gapping, +embedding&factive**]
María estudió piano y **me sorprende que** Angel guitarra.
d. [**–gapping, –embedding**]
María estudió piano y Angel estudió guitarra.
e. [**–gapping, +embedding&nonfactive**]
María estudió piano y **me parece que** Angel estudió guitarra.
f. [**–gapping, +embedding&factive**]
María estudió piano y **me sorprende que** Angel estudió guitarra.

Our experimental results for Spanish, Romanian and Persian show that embedded gapping is acceptable in the same way as its embedded non-elliptical counterpart. Moreover, there is a sensitivity to the semantic type of the embedding predicate (cf. Fernández-Sánchez 2016): embedded clauses under a factive verb are less acceptable than embedded clauses under a non-factive verb; however, factive predicates don't behave the same, confirming the dichotomy proposed by Hooper (1974) between semi-factive and true factive verbs: semi-factive verbs are much closer to non-factives than to true factive verbs. Crucially, all these effects are not correlated with ellipsis (no significant difference between gapping and non-

elliptical counterpart). Therefore, what has been claimed to be specific to gapping is in fact more general.

As for French, embedded gapping is dispreferred compared to the non-elliptical counterpart, but we observe the same sensitivity to the semantic type of the embedding predicate : semi-factive and non-factive verbs embed better than true factive predicates.

Based on our experimental results, we conclude that embedded elliptical clauses as well as embedded non-elliptical clauses (*pace de Cuba & MacDonald 2013, Fernández-Sánchez 2016*) are sensitive to the semantic type of the embedding predicate. The fact that some predicates embed clauses better than others can be explained by the distinction between assertive and non-assertive context-change potential (CCP), proposed by Farkas (2003) to explain the mood alternation in Romance embedded clauses. Non-factives as well as semi-factives are assertives (their complements have assertive CCP), whereas true factives are non-assertives (their complements have evaluative CCP).

Typologically, our results show that a continuum analysis accounts for the various data better than the categorical ‘No Embedding Constraint’. On the one hand, there are indeed languages where embedded gaps are rather unacceptable (e.g. English, French) ; on the other hand, there are languages where embedded gaps are possible with some kinds of predicates (Spanish, Romanian, Persian). Therefore, the ‘No Embedding Constraint’ considered to be a strong syntactic constraint specific to gapping must be reconsidered.

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Morphosyntax of apprehension in Ngumpin-Yapa languages (Australia)

This paper explores the strategies used for encoding highly probable and undesirable events in Mudburra, Warlpiri and Warlmanpa, three Pama-Nyungan languages of the Ngumpin-Yapa subgroup spoken in North Central Australia. The analyses of Warlmanpa and Mudburra constitute the first detailed analysis of apprehension in these languages, based on heritage materials and the authors' recordings.

The three languages surveyed share several similarities in their expression of apprehension: (1) in order to encode high probability undesirable events they possess both a finite auxiliary base and a non-finite complementising suffix; (2) they exhibit a strong tendency for the pre-emptive clauses to occur first; and (3) the choice between the apprehensional auxiliary or apprehensional complementiser suffix largely corresponds to whether the precautionary clause is adjoined or embedded to the pre-emptive clause. However the languages also have several differences: (1) the form of the apprehensional morphemes (provided in Table 1); (2) the extent to which the form is a dedicated apprehensional; and (3) the contexts in which the apprehensional morphemes perform other grammatical functions.

Table 1 Apprehensional auxiliary bases/enclitics and complementiser suffixes in Mudburra, Warlpiri and Warlmanpa

| | Auxiliary | Examples | Complementiser | Examples |
|-----------|----------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------|
| Mudburra | <i>bi(ya)</i> APPR | (a), (d) | <i>-wirri</i> APPRCOMP | (g), (j) |
| Warlpiri | <i>kalaka</i> APPR | (b), (e) | <i>-kujaku</i> APPRCOMP | (h), (k) |
| Warlmanpa | <i>(nga) =nga</i> (RSLT) =POT | (c), (f) | <i>-kuma</i> APPRCOMP | (i), 0 |

Mudburra has a dedicated apprehensional auxiliary base, used almost exclusively in precautioning, apprehensional-epistemic and fear functions. The Warlpiri auxiliary base *kalaka* is analysed as a unitary 'admonitive' auxiliary base (Nash, 1980, p. 60), and is likely historically derived from the auxiliaries *kala* 'potential' and *ka* 'imperfect' (cf. Hale, Laughren, & Simpson, 2015, p. 1703). Similarly, in Warlmanpa, the expression of apprehension in the auxiliary has been described as a unitary 'admonitive' circumclitic *nga* = *nga* (Nash, 1979). This presentation considers a synchronic compositional alternative for Warlmanpa apprehensional auxiliaries involving a 'resultative' auxiliary base *nga* and a 'potential' auxiliary enclitic =*nga*.

While all three languages have synchronically dedicated auxiliary complementiser suffixes, they all have distinct forms that ostensibly arose from different sources. In this paper we offer some speculative suggestions as to the historical sources of the Ngumpin-Yapa complementiser suffixes. This highlights that these languages have converged on similar sets of grammatical categories (set out in Table 1), but have done so with diverse inherited material.

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Precautioning function (auxiliary base/enclitic)

- (a) *Jard yuwa-rra=nyanu, duwa bi=n wandi-narra.*
close put-IMP=RR door APPR=2SG.S fall-SPEC
Close your (car) door, otherwise you might fall out. (Mudburra)
- (b) *Jinta-wangu ya-nta, kala-ka-ngku jarnpa-ngku paka-rni-kiyaku.*
one-PRIV go-IMP POT-IPFV=2SG.O kurdaitcha-ERG hit-NPAST-NEGPURP
Don't go alone, lest a kurdaitcha man might attack you. (Warlpiri)
- (c) *Kari=rna kari=ma pa-nkarla, nga=rna=nga palapala-ja-rrarla.*
COND=1SG.S far=TOP go-IRR RSLT=1SG.S=POT tired-INCH-IRR
If I were to go far, I would become tired. (Warlmanpa)

Apprehensional-epistemic function (auxiliary base/enclitic)

- (d) *Jalanya bi=ngku biyanga-narra.*
tongue APPR=2SG.O cut-SPEC
You might cut your tongue. (Mudburra)
- (e) *Kala-ka=npa wanti.*
POT-IPFV=2SG.S fall[NPAST]
Lest you fall. (Warlpiri)
- (f) *Nga=nyanu-n=nga kuma-nma.*
RSLT=RR-2SG.S=POT cut-POT
Careful, you might cut yourself. (Warlmanpa)

Precautioning function (complementiser suffix)

- (g) *Jakarr ma, kunanga-wirri jinarli-li.*
cover do[IMP] fly-APPRCOMP leaf-ERG
Cover it up with leaves, so the flights don't get it. (Mudburra)
- (h) *Pingka ya-nta, wanti-nja-kujaku.*
slowly go-IMP fall-INF-APPRCOMP
Go slowly, lest you fall. (Warlpiri)
- (i) *Pingka pa-nka, wa-nja-kuma.*
slowly go-IMP fall-INF-APPRCOMP
Go slowly, lest you fall. (Warlmanpa)

Apprehensional-epistemic function (complementiser suffix)

- (j) *Janki-nyi-wirri.*
burn-PFV-APPRCOMP
Careful, you might get burnt. (Mudburra)
- (k) *Warlu-kujaku.*
fire-APPRCOMP
Don't touch the fire. (Warlpiri)
- (l) *Warungka ma-nja-kuma.*
crazy get-INF-APPRCOMP
Lest (they) get crazy. (Warlmanpa)

List of glosses

ABIL=abilitative, AUX=auxiliary, CNCS=concessive, INTS=intensifier, IPFV=imperfective, NEG=negative, PERF=perfective, PL=plural, PST=past, SG=singular

Reference

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The relation between negation and subject agreement in Oro Waram (Pakaa Nova, Txapakura)

Introduction: The aim of this paper is to investigate the interaction between agreement and negation in Oro Waram (Pakaa Nova, Txapakura) – Rondonia, Brazil - as gender seem to have an important role in the negation marking. Additionally, negation marking is the same as the one in relatives, what can lead us to assume that the complementizer phrase (CP) in this language has unique characteristics for negative constructions.

Empirical facts: In Oro Waram, transitive verbs in affirmative sentences agree in number and person with the subject, and in number and gender with the object. With intransitive verbs, there is person and number agreement with the subject.

In negative sentences, the agreement with the subject follows a different pattern, mainly in the third person when the gender in the subject is marked, as we can see in the examples below:

- (1) a. trajy? fo **na** trama
 hear WELL 3SG MAN
 “The man hears well”
 b. **?om ka** trajy? fo **ka** trama
 NEG REL hear BEM 3SG.M.NEG homem
 “The man doesn’t hear well”
- (2) a. trajy? fo **na** narima?
 hear WELL 3SG womam
 “A mulher escuta bem”
 b. **?om ka** trajy? fo **kama?** narima
 NEG REL hear WELL 3SG.F.NEG womam
 “The woman doesn’t hear well”
- (3) a. trajy? fo **na** mijak
 hear WELL 3SG wild boar
 “The wild boar hears well”
 b. **?om ka** trajy? fo **ne** mijak
 NEG REL hear WELL 3SG.N.NEG wild boar
 “The wild boar doesn’t hear well”

Examples in (b) show that in negative sentences, the agreement marking vary in the masculine (1b), feminine (2b) and neutral (3b), triggering markers *ka*, *kama?* and *ne*, respectively.

Analysis: These facts show that there is an interface between the agreement system and negation marking in this language. This distinction seems to be conditioned by factual modality, once there is a distinction between factual (affirmatives) and non-factual (negatives). Moreover, the negation expression *?om* is accompanied by the relative marker *ka* used in relative and interrogative sentences.

Therefore, we also assume a parallelism between relative, interrogative and negative sentences in Oro Waram, as these structures are in a domain headed by a CP, lexicalized by the complementizer *ka*.

Title: **Internal possession in Korean and the genitive.**

In Korean, internal possession is expressed by genitival constructions. The genitive case is generally marked by the suffix *-ŭi*, which can attach to the dependent of the genitival construction (cf. Li, 1985: 275). Unlike Japanese (cf. Uehara, 1999), the genitival suffix can be omitted in specific cases. Previous studies on genitive and possessive constructions in Korean put forth numerous hypotheses to explain the differential possessor expression and the genitive drop. Han (2012) claims that the genitive marking has to do with the expression of specificity, and An (2009) shows that the genitive drop cannot occur if the dependent holds a theta role, *i.e.* agent, theme, goal, source or experiencer, and if there is a modifier between the dependent and the head-noun. Some studies on multiple nominative and accusative constructions (cf. Shin, 2006 and Cho, 1993) also considered the role of animacy and alienability in possessive construction. Those hypotheses will be discussed in our study to find the parameters to take into account in differential possessive constructions.

Han (2012) distinguishes three general types of genitive constructions. Type A where the genitive suffix may not be inserted as in 1a, type B where the genitive suffix is optional as in 1b, and type C where the insertion of the genitive suffix is compulsory as in 1c.

1. a. *yŏsŏng-∅ chapchi*
 Woman-∅ magazine
 ‘Women’s magazine.’
- b. *munje(-ŭi) haegyŏl*
 Problem(-GEN) solution
 ‘The solution to the problem.’
- c. *p’yŏnghwa-ŭi chongsori*
 Peace-GEN sound of a bell
 ‘The chime of peace.’

These examples suggest that i) the type of suffixation of internal possessive constructions may be ruled by the relation between the two constituents of the noun phrase, and that ii) the genitive *-ŭi* can function as a determiner rather than a case marker. That recalls the proposition of Park (2014) who distinguishes a genitive *-ŭi* and a determiner *-ŭi*.

Internal possessive constructions in Korean mostly belong to the B-type constructions, although B-type constructions do not always express possessive relations. The optional marking in B-type constructions has been explained by Cho (1991:16) who claims that “the genitive particle [*-ŭi*] can be omitted in rapid speech when there is no ambiguity in the context”. However, there are also cases where internal possessors must take the genitive case in order to express possession, like in C-type constructions, as in 2, although there can be no ambiguity in the context. But some possessive constructions can also be interpreted as belonging to the A-type constructions when the genitive suffix is not attached, as in 3.

2. *Isunshin-ŭi kŏbuksŏn*
 Yi Sunshin-GEN turtle ship
 ‘(Admiral) Yi Sunshin’s turtle ship.’
3. a. *kŭ ai-ŭi changnan ’gam*
 DEM child-GEN toy
 ‘This child’s toy.’ (= the toy of this child)

- b. [[*kũ ai changnan'gam*] or [*kũ [ai changnan'gam]*]
 DEM child toy DEM child toy
 'This child's toy.' 'This child's toy.'
 = the toy of this child = this toy for children

As shown in 3b, there are some A-type constructions (called Aa-type by Han, 2012) that can take the genitive suffix, although it will change the meaning of the phrase. This can be explained by the fact that the possessor in Aa-type constructions can also be employed as an independent noun. B-type constructions are different from Aa-type constructions in that the suffixation or the omission of the genitive suffix doesn't have a consequence for the meaning of the phrase. The meaning of the phrase without the suffix *-ũi* (i.e. 3b) will depend on the context.

The aim of this study is to compare the different types of possessive constructions in order to i) determine the contexts or nominal relations that permit the omission of the suffix *-ũi* in internal possessive constructions, ii) analyze the functions of the genitive suffix in Korean, and iii) define the parameters that play a key role in differential possessive construction. This study is based on first-hand data collected in 2016 in South-Korea.

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At a crossroads between discourse and syntax: the polyfunctionality of clause linkers *ru'* and *ga'* in Mayrinax Atayal

Mayrinax Atayal (henceforth Mayrinax) is an Austronesian language spoken in Miaoli, north-central Taiwan in which a large inventory of (at least six) “clause linkers” has been attested in the literature (Liu 2011). Two of the most widely discussed linkers in the language—*ru'* and *ga'*—have been reported to show inter-clausal functions (3) in forming complex sentences (Huang 1995). However, whether the two linkers also show functions beyond the clause level has remained an unexplored topic.

Drawing on data from naturally occurring speech, the present study demonstrates that Mayrinax speakers not only utilize *ru'* and *ga'* as devices that manage the structure of discourse, but they do so by organizing the two linkers into discourse units with different degrees of morphosyntactic complexity. On the one hand, *ru'* and *ga'* can be used as “simplex” discourse markers (1) and utterance-final particles (2) in linking two stretches of discourse, with *ru'* indicating topic continuity and/or advancement of storyline (translatable as ‘and’ or ‘and then’), and *ga'* introducing an adversative/contrastive twist in the current discourse context (translatable as ‘but’ or ‘however’). On the other hand, the two linkers are found to occur with short, informationally light clauses to form “complex” discourse markers (4). *ru'* is found to form discourse markers that manage temporal/logical relationships among discourse units, whereas *ga'* is observed to form discourse markers that indicate contrastive focus and/or presentation of alternatives.

Currently available evidence leads to two competing hypotheses in explaining the emergence of polyfunctionality in Mayrinax *ru'* and *ga'*, both indicating a close relationship between discourse-linking devices and clause-combining strategies. For one (5a), the prosodic structure of each usage of *ru'* and *ga'* points to a developmental pathway whereby *ru'* and *ga'* underwent first (i) *grammaticalization* (Hopper and Traugott 2003) from simplex discourse markers into utterance-final particles and clause linkers, and later (ii) *lexicalization* (Brinton and Traugott 2005) to form complex discourse markers. For the other (5b), comparative data from other Atayal dialects show that the two linkers may have extended from syntax to discourse in two opposite directions. On the one hand, they underwent lexicalization to form complex discourse markers. On the other hand, their syntactic position in the right periphery when used as conjunctions motivated them to gradually detach from the preceding syntactic units, undergoing gradual increase of prosodic independence and grammatical autonomy. This led to *insubordination* (Mithun 2008) and finally *degrammaticalization* (Norde 2009), pushing them from operating at the syntax level to functioning at the discourse level.

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(1) *ru'* and *ga'* as (prosodically independent) simplex discourse markers¹

- a. *aruwa'la. ru', l<um>amu' lawwi ku, mamalikuw haca'.*
leave COS. DM. <INTR>pick again ABS man that
'He left. **And then**, that man, (he) kept on picking (the pears).'
- b. *ras-un=niya' la. ga', tiku mamalikuw ... ga', ... ini'=niya' tal-iy.*
bring-TR=3SG.ERG COS. DM. as.for man ... TOP ... NEG=3SG.ERG see-TR.IRR.
'He_i took (the pears) away. **However**, as for the man_j ..., he_j didn't see (him_i).

(2) *ru'* and *ga'* as (prosodically dependent) utterance-final particles

- a. *muwah ku, asigi kuominzhengfu la ru', kal-un=niyam, ... paguacun,*
come ABS, like Nationalist.government COS FP, call-PV=1PL.EXCL, ... Paguacun,
'(Then) came, the Nationalist government **and**, (they) called us, Paguacun.
- b. *tayhuk 'i' imuwag ku, ulaqi' ka yani la ga', ... nabakis la.*
arrive LOC house ABS, child LNK that COS FP, ... old.man COS
'The child has arrived home **but**, he has become an old man.'

(3) *ru'* and *ga'* as (coordinating/subordinating) conjunctions and complementizers

- a. *... taku-'un=nha' ku rauq ru', spung-un=nha' k-<in>babawiq.*
... dig-TR=3PL.ERG ABS ground CONJ, measure-TR=3PL.ERG STAT-<NMLZ>high.
'They would dig into the ground **and**, measure the depth.'
- a' *... tal-an ru', payux a c<um>i'ax 'i' babaw na kaal.*
... see-TR COMP, many ABS <INTR>shine LOC high GEN sky.
'It is seen **that**, there are many shiny things high up in the sky.'
- b. *atu'na, yaku, ... jitai hani ga', ... ras-un=ta' ru' pa-qaniq cu'iyu' ...*
reallyLNK, like, ... times this TOP, ... bring-TR=1PL.INCL CONJ CAU-eat OBL medicine...
'**If**, (it was) like, ... the modern times, ...we would have (them) take the medicine ...'
- b' *tal-an=mu ga', muwaniy.*
see-TR=1SG.ERG COMP like.that.
'I think **that**, it went like that.'

(4) *ru'* and *ga'* in (prosodically and grammatically independent) complex discourse markers

- a. *muwah ru'* [come CONJ] 'therefore'
- a'. *muwaniy ru'* [like.that CONJ] 'because of that / therefore'
- b. *ini'ga'* [NEG TOP] 'if not / otherwise'
- b' *quw ga'* [Q TOP] 'if not so / or'

- (5) Two competing hypotheses: a. Discourse > **Syntax** > Discourse (1 > 2 > 3 > 4)
b. Discourse < **Syntax** > Discourse (1 < 2 < 3 > 4)

¹ Punctuation in the data represents intonation unit (IU) boundaries in spontaneous speech. Commas “,” indicate continuing (slight rising) intonation contour; periods “.” indicate final (falling) intonation contour. Omitted data in the interest of space are represented with three dots “...”. Glossing abbreviations not included in the Leipzig Glossing Conventions involve: CONJ ‘conjunction’, COS ‘change of state’, DM ‘discourse marker’, LNK ‘linker’, STAT ‘stative marker’.

Typology, complexity and subordination in Korlai Indo-Portuguese

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In VO languages, subordinators (Cs of Complementizer Phrases [CPs]) are overwhelmingly clause-initial, while in OV languages both clause-initial and clause-final subordinators are not uncommon. In cases of new languages such as creoles, the situation can be complex. The present paper surveys various subordination strategies in Korlai Indo-Portuguese (KIP) to gauge the extent of the variation found in this creole language whose source language is a typical VO language (e.g., prepositional, N-Rel) and whose substrate/adstrate language is a typical OV language (e.g., postpositional, Rel-N and N-Rel). The structure of KIP has developed over the last 80 years from VO to OV, and has also developed a complex set of subordinated clauses structures. Two will be highlighted in this study: complex sentences with complementizer clauses and complex sentences with temporal clauses. In KIP complementizer clauses (e.g. the equivalent of ‘[she [said **[that [they would come]]]]’)** appear most commonly as (1a-b), as (1c) in the oldest texts collected, and occasionally as (1d), which contains double marking.

Temporal subordinate clauses differ, depending on temporal reference and the nature of the subordinator. If past reference is involved, *ki* is used, as in (2a). However, if future reference is involved, *kør ki* is found, as in (2b). There is no variation in these uses. However, with future reference is involved, the postposed affixal conjunction is also found, as in (2c).

Over the last 80 years, KIP has evolved into a kind of typological hybrid language, displaying both OV- as well as VO-related typological features. This complexity is accounted for by appealing to the dynamics in the community in which education plays an increasingly important role, children are becoming more balanced bilinguals, and Marathi is developing a stronger presence in the village.

Examples

- 1a. El halo el-o lə vi.
3SG say-PST 3-PL FUT come tomorrow
'S/he said they would come tomorrow.'
- 1b. El halo el-o lə vi puris
3SG say-PST 3-PL FUT come COMP
'S/he said that they would come tomorrow.'
- 1c. El halo ki el-o lə vi amya
3SG say-PST COMP 3-PL FUT come tomorrow
'S/he said they would come tomorrow.'
- 1d. El halo ki el-o lə vi puris
3SG say-PST COMP 3-PL FUT come COMP
'S/he said they that would come tomorrow.'
- 2a. Teru kadz ki jave nə ti kumen.
Teru house when came 1PL PST eating
'When Teru came, we were eating.'
- 2b. Teru kadz kər ki lə vi nə lə kume.
Teru house when FUT come 1PL PST eating
'When Teru comes, we will eat.'
- 2c. Teru kadz vin-ki nə lə kume.
Teru house come-when 1PL PST eating
'When Teru comes, we will eat.'

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES IN SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE

An in-depth description and analysis of the complex clause system in the Southern Indo-Portuguese creoles of Malabar (MIP) and of Sri Lanka (SLP) has not been done yet. In fact, the references to conditional clauses (and complex constructions in general) are scarce, and restricted, in the case of SLP, to the work of Smith (1977; 2013), and in the case of MIP, Krajinović (2015). The goal of this paper is, therefore, to provide an overview of the conditional constructions in these languages, as compared to their lexifier and substrate languages. Furthermore, this work aims to contribute to the discussion on the existence of a Southern Indo-Portuguese cluster (Cardoso 2013). In order to do so, we will examine data extracted from the *corpora* of Cardoso (2006-2015; 2007-2010; 2017).

Both in Malayalam and Tamil, the substrate of MIP and SLP respectively, the strategy for constructing conditional clauses is to add the suffix *-aa(l)* to the past tense verb stem, independently of whether the situation is located in the past (Asher & Kumari 1997: 87; Schiffman 1999: 160-161; Krishnamurti 2003: 335-338). In Malayalam, the perfective marker can optionally appear on the embedded verb in counterfactual clauses (Asher & Kumari 1997: 88).

In MIP, conditional clauses are formed with the post-verbal particle *sæ/sə* or *sana*. The embedded verb always appears with the pre-verbal past marker *ja* (1), except in the case of inherently finite verb forms such as in (3), which appear in their non-past form. In counterfactual clauses, we can optionally find an additional perfective marker (5). However, the past marker does not determine the temporal interpretation of the embedded situation, which can be interpreted as taking place in the future (2). In the case of habitual and hypothetical conditionals, the main clause verb appears with the irrealis marker (4). In the factual and counterfactual clauses, on the other hand, the main clause verb appears with a past marker (1) and (5) (see also Krajinović 2015: 73-75). The use of the past marker in the embedded clause, as well as the optional perfective marker in counterfactual clauses, is similar to the use we find in the substrate language.

In SLP, conditional constructions are formed using the post-verbal particle *see/sara* or less frequently the pre-verbal prefix *kam(da)-*. As opposed to Tamil and MIP, factual conditionals can occur with the habitual/generic marker on the embedded verb (6-8). In the main clause, we find either future marker (6-7) or modal verbs (8). This behavior seems similar to the Portuguese superstrate, where factual clauses require the indicative mood (Lobo 2013). In hypothetical clauses, on the other hand, there seems to be a preference for the use of past verb forms in the embedded clause and for the future marker *lo-* in the main clause (9). In counterfactual constructions, we find both a past and a perfective marker in the embedded clause, and an irrealis marker in the main clause (10).

Comparing MIP and SLP, we find similarities in the use of a sentence-final conditional marker. This distinguishes these creoles from other Indo-Portuguese languages, which typically use a sentence initial conditional marker (see for example Cardoso 2009 for the case of Diu IP; Clements 2013 for Korlai). Furthermore, the strategy used to express hypothetical conditionals in both creoles is identical and also the counterfactual present certain similarities (despite the small number of occurrences). However, in the case of factual conditionals, SLP allows generic/habitual markers, similar as in the superstrate. With this study, we hope to contribute not only to the better understanding of conditional constructions in these two languages, but also of the similarities and differences among the Indo-Portuguese creoles.

- (1) *tsunami ja vi sæ, eki niŋa nũka~nũka mɔra.*
 tsunami PST come COND here nobody NEG.PST~NEG.PST die
 ‘If the tsunami came, here nobody ever died.’ (MIP, Cardoso 2007-2010)
- (2) *peyshi ja traza sana, aka yo lo fazæ.*
 fish PST bring COND DIST 1SG.NOM IRR make
 ‘If [you] bring fish, I will make that.’ (MIP, Cardoso 2006-2015)
- (3) *kæra sana fala.*
 want COND say
 ‘If you want, tell me.’ (MIP, Cardoso 2006-2015)
- (4) *æla mas arso ja da sæ,*
 3FSG.NOM more problems PST give COND
æla-kə bo “punishment” lo da.
 3FSG-DAT good punishment IRR give
 ‘If she continues to make problems, I will punish her.’ (MIP, Cardoso 2006-2015)
- (5) *bos minha pærtə ja prunta tinhi sæ,*
 2.NOM 1SG.GEN SOC PST ask PRF.PST COND
yo poros tin asisti.
 1SG.NOM 2.DAT IPFV.PST help
 ‘If you had asked me, I would have helped you.’ (MIP, Cardoso 2006-2015)
- (6) *nóos kriyáansa andáá faláá see, etus naanda ovii.*
 1PL children go speak COND 3PL.HON NEG.FUT listen
 ‘If we speak to the children, they won’t listen.’ (SLP, Cardoso 2017)
- (7) *kamfaltáá azeeti, lodáá minha saangi.*
 COND.lack oil FUT.give 1SG.GEN blood
 ‘If [you] lack olive oil, I’ll give [you] my blood.’ (SLP, Cardoso 2017)
- (8) *áka viida nósa jeentispa kázmeentu maráá see,*
 that because 1PL.GEN people-OBL wedding build COND
isti “language”pa pooy leváá buniitu.
 this language.OBL HABIL take well
 ‘Therefore, if we marry our own people, we can carry this language properly.’
 (SLP, adapted from Smith 2013)
- (9) *avóora ung séeti, óytu pesaam tinha see taam, bóom “joke” loteem.*
 now one seven eight person PST.EXS COND also good joke FUT.EXS
 ‘If there were seven, eight people around, there would be good jokes.’
 (SLP, Cardoso 2017)
- (10) *eev kulumbu jaandáá tinha see, minha kambráádupa naandiiyamoyáá.*
 1SG Colombo PST.go PST.PRF COND 1SG.GEN friend.OBL NEG.IRR.see
 ‘If I had gone to Colombo, I would not have seen my friend.’
 (SLP, adapted from Smith 2013)

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Interpositions, a rare type of grammatical word

A rare type of grammatical word (or clitic), for which I propose to coin the term “interposition”, is found in some African languages whose common characteristic is that they have no fixed order of the object and oblique phrases in post-verbal position: Ju|’hoan and other Southern !Xun dialects (Kx’a), Lamba (Gur, Niger-Congo), and Nande (Bantu, Niger-Congo). As illustrated by the examples on p. 2, interpositions never occur when the verb is followed by a single object or oblique, can only be found between two successive terms (objects or obliques) in the construction of the same verb, and do not contribute to the recognition of the semantic role of either of the NPs to which they are adjacent.

Interpositions can be viewed as a variety of adposition, since they have in common with other types of adpositions the obligatory adjacency to NPs. Their specificity is that they must necessarily be adjacent to two NPs (or NP-equivalents) at the same time. This particularity has led some authors to designate them as “linkers,” but this is not a satisfying solution, since “linker” commonly refers to grammatical words occurring between two words or phrases that have a direct syntactic relationship and form a constituent, whereas interpositions occur between two NPs that do not form a constituent, each of them having its own function (either object or oblique) in the construction of the verb. Other terms found in the literature are “default prepositions”, “transitive particles”, “transitive prepositions”, or “multipurpose oblique markers”, but none of them is consistent with the very particular distribution of interpositions.

The interpositions found in !Xun and Lamba are invariable, and I am aware of no evidence suggesting a possible grammaticalization path. By contrast, the interposition of Nande expresses gender-number agreement with the NP that precedes it. Moreover, it is phonologically identical to an equative copula that follows NPs expressing identification and agrees with them (example (4)), which suggests the following grammaticalization path: the interposition of Nande started as a focus marker making explicit the focus function of NPs in immediately-after-verb position (a type of focus marking quite common in Eastern Bantu languages); subsequently, the use of the former focus marker generalized in this position when the verb was followed by more than one term, so that it lost its initial function and became a purely syntactic marker.

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Examples

abbreviations: AFF = affirmative, CL = noun class, COP = copula, INTERP = interposition, SG = singular, VE = valency-external

(1) Ju|’hoan (Kx’a, Dickens 2005: 37–39)

- a. *Mí !ú-n!a’àn !ái.*
 1SG grand-father die
 ‘My grandfather died.’
- b. *Mí !ú-n!a’àn !ái-á |Aotcha.*
 1SG grand-father die-VE |Aotcha
 ‘My grandfather died at |Aotcha.’
- c. *Mí !ú-n!a’àn !ái-á goàq=’àn.*
 1SG grand-father die-VE yesterday
 ‘My grandfather died yesterday.’
- d. *Ha !ái-á |Aotcha kò |ámà hè.*
 3SG die-VE |Aotcha INTERP today
 ‘He died in |Aotcha today.’
- e. *Ha !ái-á |ámà hè kò |Aotcha.*
 3SG die-VE today INTERP |Aotcha
 ‘He died in |Aotcha today.’

(3) Nande (Bantu, Niger-Congo, Baker and Collins 2006: 309)

- a. *Kambale moasenyire olukwi l(o) omo-mbasa.*
 (CL1)Kambale AFF.CL1.chopped CL11.wood CL11.INTERP CL18-CL9.axe
 ‘Kambale chopped wood with an axe.’
- b. *Kambale moasenyire omo-mbasa m(o) olukwi.*
 (CL1)Kambale AFF.CL1.chopped CL18-CL9.axe CL18.INTERP CL11.wood
 ‘Kambale chopped wood with an axe.’

(4) Nande (Bantu, Niger-Congo, Schneider-Zioga 2014)

- a. *Omúkali yó mwami*
 CL1.woman CL1.COP CL3.chief
 ‘It is the woman who is the chief.’
- b. *Ekitábu kyo Kámbale*
 CL7.book CL1.COP (CL1)Kambale
 ‘It is the book that Kambale bought.’

Processing explanations of word order universals and diachrony: relative clause order and possessor order

Languages with postposed possessors usually also have postposed relatives. Conversely, languages with preposed relatives also have preposed possessors. Several influential explanations for this pattern (Hawkins 1983, 2004, Dryer 1992) are in terms of processing ease. When modifiers are preposed to their heads, this delays recognition of the head and identification of constituency relationships, with heavy (more structurally complex), or phrasal modifiers leading to longer delays. This leads to modifiers being postposed, and heavier modifiers, such as relative clauses, have a stronger tendency to be postposed than lighter ones, such as possessors. Competing principles, however, can lead to heavy modifiers being preposed. If SOV languages have postposed modifiers, for example, modifiers of a direct object will be placed between this object and its verbal head. This delays recognition of the relationship between the two, especially for heavier modifiers such as relative clauses. In SOV languages, then, these can be preposed.

These hypotheses have been formulated independently of the actual diachronic origins of the relevant constructions in individual languages. The paper discusses several recurrent processes leading to the development of relative clause constructions and possessive constructions cross-linguistically, particularly processes whereby a relative element or a possessive marker develop from demonstratives or semantically generic nouns in various types of source constructions. These processes, it will be argued, pose two major challenges for processing explanations.

First, the order of relatives, possessors, and their respective heads usually continues the order of the elements from which they originate in the source construction. In many cases, this order cannot be explained in terms of the need to optimize identification of constituency relationships, because the relevant elements do not stand in a syntactically hierarchical relationship. Sometimes, these elements stand in an appositive relationship, ('The VERBing one, X', 'X, the one that VERBs' > 'The X that VERBs'; 'Y's one, Y's thing, X', 'X, that of Y' > 'The X of Y': (1)). In other cases, the elements that give rise to the relative clause or the possessor constructions originate from a predicative or an equative sentence ('X, that one VERBs', 'X, Y VERBed that one' > 'The X that VERBs', 'The X that Y VERBed'; 'X, that is of Y' > 'The X of Y': (2), (3)). In this case too, the relevant elements do not stand in a hierarchical relationship with the elements that give rise to the head.

Also, processing ease is assumed to provide independent motivations for relative clause order and possessor order. In many cases, however, these two orders are not independent, because relatives and possessors originate from the same source construction, or possibly from one another ((1)). This was shown by Aristar (1991) for Agaw languages, but can be generalized to several languages and construction types. Explanations in which processing ease independently motivates relative clause order and possessor order can only be invoked when the two originate independently. This is the case, for example, when relatives and possessors are different constructions ((4)) and can therefore be assumed to have developed from different sources. These cases, then, should be disentangled when trying to account for the relevant synchronic distributional patterns.

In line with previous work by diachronically oriented typologists (e.g. Bybee 1988, 2006, Aristar 1991), these facts suggest that explanations for word order universals and typological universals in general should refer to the multiple specific diachronic processes and source constructions that give rise to the relevant distributional patterns, rather than more general principles pertaining to these patterns in themselves.

- (1) Late Middle Chinese
 (a) *liao wan bing di iao*
 cure ten.thousand sickness REL medicine
 ‘a medicine that cures all sickness’
 (b) *wo di xue wen*
 1SG GEN knowledge
 ‘my knowledge’ (relative/ possessive marker possibly originating from constructions of the type ‘the one (which) cures all sickness, medicine’, ‘my one, medicine’: Yap, Pik-ling Choi, and Cheung 2010: 77-9)
- (2) Ancient Greek
teuchéa [...] tá hoi pór-e chálke-os Árēs
 arms those to.him give-3SG brazen-NOM.M.SG Ares.NOM
 ‘the arms that brazen Ares had given him/ the arms, brazen Ares had given him those’
 (Homer, Iliad 7.146)
- (3) Kanakuru
bili ma lowoi
 horn POSS boy
 ‘the boy’s horn’ (possessive element derived from a demonstrative in a construction of the type ‘the horn (is) that of the boy’: Schuh 1983: 183, 193)
- (4) Cavineña
 (a) *Cavina=ju kwa-ya=ke e-diji*
 Cavinás=LOC go-IPFV=LIG PREF-path
 ‘the path that goes to Cavinás’
 (b) *Lizardu=ja arusu tee*
 Lizardu=GEN rice garden
 ‘Lizardu’s rice garden’ (Guillaume 2012: 70, 502)

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The semantics and polysemy of causal markers in Hill Mari

This study deals with Hill Mari (<Finno-Ugric) causal markers, which are postpositions and cases. Some of these markers have typologically non-trivial polysemy. We will compare our material with the cross-linguistic research and discuss semantic differences between causal markers in Hill Mari. Our data was collected by elicitation in fieldwork (Kuznetsovo and some nearby villages in Mari El, Russia, 2017) and was supplemented by corpus examples (ca 20000 tokens in total).

Cross-linguistically causal markers tend to develop from locative and instrumental markers, see e.g. (Luraghi 2009) for Greek and Italian, (Haag 2004) for Russian. In Hill Mari dictionary (Savatkova 2008) there is a series of postpositions such as *gišän*, *veldäk*, *verc* described as ‘because of’, *gišän* being the default option in our dataset. However, none of these postpositions has a locative meaning. The polysemy of spatial and causal relations within postpositions emerges only for the elative postposition *gäc(än)*: it sometimes expresses cause (1), but, as we will elaborate on in the talk, it could be just a pattern borrowing of Russian elative preposition *ot* with a similar polysemy (2).

Gišän can mark both theme of speech (3) and cause (4-6). Such polysemy is not attested in typological studies of grammaticalization, see (Traugott, König 1991; Heine, Kuteva 2004; Luraghi 2015). In (Dirven 1993) it is noted that English preposition *about* can mark both theme (*talk/think about*) and cause of emotional state (*excited/crazy about*), but it is seen as a metaphor from spatial meaning (*about the playground*), and consequently this explanation does not work for *gišän* which has no spatial meanings as well as cannot be reduced to verbs of emotions.

The second way of cause marking that we will discuss is one of the spatial cases. There are 3 spatial cases in Hill Mari – inessive, illative and lative (in terms of Alhoniemi 1993). Lative (diachronically a directional case, see Galkin 1964: 51-52), in contrast to illative and inessive, has a wide polysemy net in its non-spatial uses (Davidyuk 2017). In particular, lative marks cause, which is a non-trivial fact for a directional case (Luraghi 2014; Ganenkov 2002). It is however important for the cause marked with lative whether the situation is controlled (4) or non-controlled (5-6).

In our talk we will also elaborate on other causal markers in Hill Mari and on a possible set of distinguishing parameters, such as internal vs. external cause, mediate vs. immediate cause etc. (see some theoretical background in Apresjan 2003 and Haag 2004), comparing Hill Mari causal markers with causal markers in other languages.

Examples

(1) *piüergä cer gäcän kol-en*
man disease EL die-PRET
‘The man died **from the disease.**’

(2) (a) *mužčina otošol ot dveri*
man moved.away from door
‘The man moved away **from the door.**’

(b) *mužčina umer ot bolezni*
man died from disease
‘The man died **from the disease.**’

(3) *pet'a maša dono igečä gišän pop-en*
Petya Maša with weather about talk-PRET
‘Peter talked with Mary **about the weather.**’

(4) *vas'a üštä [mardež gišän]/*[mardež-eš] okn'a-m čüč-än*
Vasya cold wind about wind-LAT window-ACC close-PRET
‘Vasya closed the window **because of cold wind.**’

- (5) *vazê stöl vël-ec kogo [mardež-eš]/ [mardež gišän] kenvaz-ân*
vase table on-EL big wind-LAT wind about fall-PRET
‘The vase fell from the table **because of strong wind.**’
- (6) *vas'a üštä [mardež-eš]/ [mardež gišän] jasê li-n*
Vasya cold wind-LAT wind about sick become-PRET
‘Vasya got sick **because of cold wind.**’

Glosses

ACC - accusative, EL - elative, LAT - lative, PRET - preterite

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Typological congruency, discourse configurationality and bare nouns : the case of Armenian and Persian

A set of typological properties have been shown to converge with SOV basic order. Besides features which are harmonic with SOV basic order (Greenberg 1963, Dryer 1992 among others), one can mention agglutination, preverbal wh- interrogatives, preverbal focus (Sornicola 2006:380), but as well pro drop, lack of morphological agreement in NP, non-finite relativization, and, maybe less reported, bare objects and bare non prototypical subjects (Donabedian 2010a). In the Anatolia-Caucasus-Iran continuum, several languages share these features, and in addition show a similar pattern of Information packaging, characterized by a default focus preverbal position bearing sentence nuclear stress (ex. 1a, 2a, 3a and 4a), and a focus marked by prominent stress on any constituent of the clause regardless of its linear position (Skopeteas & Fancelow 2010 for Georgian, Kornfilt 2003 for Turkish, Kahnemuyipour 2004 for Persian) (see ex. 1b, 2b, 3b, 4b and 4c). Furthermore, the linear order in those languages is flexible since it depends on discourse configuration and not on syntactic constraints, as accounted for as *discourse configurationality* (Kiss 1995). Several studies suggest that Armenian and Persian fall under this type, e.g. Comrie (1984), Megerdumian (2011), Tamrazian (1994) for Eastern Armenian, extended to NP by Hodgson (2013), and Faghiri (2016) for Persian, N.B. the issue of (non-)configurationality of Persian is controversial, see Faghiri (2016) for a discussion.

In this paper, we will provide data from Armenian and Persian showing that in these languages the linear order of constituents in simple sentences is determined by discourse configuration (information structure), rather than by syntactic configuration (phrase structure). Our data suggest that, putting aside some minor differences between the two language, the information structure of simple canonical (verb final) sentences, can be captured by the following schema: Topic - Focus - Verb - (Background)

Moreover, we argue that the behavior of bare nouns in Armenian and Persian can be explained in terms of discourse configurationality: bare objects (sometimes abusively called incorporated, see discussion in Samvelian 2001, Samvelian 2006-07) generally occupy the preverbal focus position, which is also the position of non verbal elements in complex predicates before the finite verb, of adverbs before the verb, or of the participle before the auxiliary in periphrastic verbal constructions. The occurrence of bare subjects in the same position (Donabedian 2010b) depends both on verbal properties (those constructions are associated with inaccusative and existentials verbs) and on the argument's level of referentiality, the latter being somewhere on a continuum between what (Creissels 2006:128) calls a "restrictive modifier of the verb" and a fully referential argument. The hierarchy between different kinds of objects before the verb is linked to the special status of this position (cf. Faghiri 2016), which exhibits-syntactic and referential cohesion dependency with the verb (it lacks morphological marking), forms a phonological phrase with the latter and bears the nucleus accent of the sentence.

The paper will provide a consistent set of data confirming the congruent typological properties between Eastern and Western Armenian and in Persian, and, based in these data, will draw conclusions on a general typological level. While highlighting the typological convergence between these languages, it will also point out some unexpected differences and will provide a typological account for them (e.g. differences in the degree of the grammaticalization of the auxiliary).

A diachronic grammar of absence Definiteness with and without an article in Hungarian

The talk aims to discuss referential marking in Old and Middle Hungarian and to propose a model in which both variation and syntactic change can be accounted for in an adequate manner.

By the time of the first continuous written records (first half of the Late Old Hungarian period), the definite article had grammaticalized to systematically encode the definiteness of the noun phrase. However, this early article had a more restricted use than in the subsequent stages of the language: it was at first used to encode pragmatic uniqueness (thus absent with inherently unique nouns, or in noun phrases with a generic reading), and only appeared when referential identification was not encoded otherwise (by demonstratives or possessor expressions) (Author 2013, 2014). Furthermore, the article seems not to appear in definite noun phrases in which referentiality is anchored by certain constituents that syntactically serve as modifiers. A recent research showed that the absence of article in this case is related to the properties of a phrase-internal element which is either already anchored in discourse, or performs a reference establishing function (in terms of Hawkins 1978). These are typically locative adnominal modifiers (in terms of Rijkhoff 2001, 2002), which contribute to the identification of the referent by locating the head noun in a spatiotemporal dimension. In structural terms, such modifiers will appear as relational adjectives, postpositional phrases, participial modifiers or restrictive relative clauses in Hungarian.

The use of the article proportionally increased already within the Old Hungarian period, although on a different degree in the possible target contexts. Consequently, to account for the directions and the degree of spreading, the regular absence of article must be examined in a systematic way. To put differently, the resistant contexts, in which the spreading of the definite article was delayed, are in fact diagnostic when describing how the grammar of definiteness changed in time.

However, the question must be addressed from two different aspects: i) it is either the semantic properties of the head noun (i.e. its inherently unique nature), or the generic reading of the noun phrase that is responsible for the absence of the article, independently of other, accompanying elements, ii) or the absence of the article is related to syntax, i.e. to the presence of other elements that are able to anchor the referent in discourse. The gradual appearance of article may be detected on both these axes, although not necessarily in line with each other, as witnessed by empirical facts coming from Middle Hungarian data. Therefore, diachronic variants (the presence vs. absence of article in a given context) must strictly be distinguished from contemporaneous dialectal and register variants across the records.

The research also aims at contributing to the methodological issue of using digitized corpora in historical linguistics, highlighting results which were inaccessible before corpus-building, but pointing out, at the same time, the limits of corpus queries in reconstructing such a complex matter as the diachronic grammar of definiteness in the history of a language.

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Corpora: <http://omagyarkorpusz.nytud.hu/en-intro.html>, <http://tmk.nytud.hu/about.php>, plus various text editions.

Sukaungge ‘to not want’ is morphologically complex: the root is the Indonesian loan *suka* ‘to like’, which is used as such in Kalamang as well. It is inflected with a third person possessive form *-un*, and then the propositional negator *ge* is added. During earlier fieldwork the forms *gonggin-nin* ‘to not know’ and *mambon-nin* ‘to not be there’ were accepted by speakers, even though they do not occur in the corpus. Their exact meaning will be investigated this spring, and I will report on that during the talk as well.

The inherent negativity of the (pro)nominal suffix *-mun* and the verbs in (7) is reflected in constructions with the particle *tok*. On its own, this particle means ‘still’, but together with a negated verb it means ‘not yet’, as is illustrated in (8).

- (8) *mu tok po-nin* *mu tok tiri~tiri*
 3PL yet anchor-NEG 3PL still sail~RED
 ‘They haven’t anchored yet, they are still sailing.’

However, when combined with a (pro)noun with *-mun*, as in (9), or with an inherently negative verb, as in (10), *tok* also takes the meaning ‘not yet’.

- (9) *ka-mun* *tok kome*
 2SG-PROH yet look
 ‘Don’t you look yet!’
- (10) *mu toni pitis* *tok saerak*
 3PL say money yet is.not.there
 ‘They said that they money isn’t there yet.’

A study of O'dam suppletion and category shift

In this paper we explore the interaction of verbal number suppletion and category shift in O'dam (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman) verbs. As is true across the Uto-Aztecan family, O'dam has several verbs that supplete for number in an ergative pattern (i.e. subject of an intransitive and object of a transitive), for example: 'throw' *bui'ñ ~ yobo*; 'kill' *mua ~ kood*; 'acquire' *bhiiy ~ u'y*; 'pull out' *jupñi ~ juupxi*, among others. This ergative pattern is found across the Uto-Aztecan family (Haugen & Everdell 2015) and across the world (see Veselinova 2006 and Bobaljik & Harley 2012). In O'dam, verbs that normally supplete for the number of the subject or object become conditioned by the plurality of events when they are derived into a non-verbal category. This raises questions over the interaction between suppletion and event semantics, and what is carried over in category shifts.

O'dam verbs can take a resultative suffix *-xim/-ix*, as in (1-3), creating a construction that patterns like adjectives. In (4) we see a number disagreement between the event patient (*u'ux* 'sticks') and the resultativized verb (*jupñi* 'pull out (SG)'). However, the sentence refers to a bundle of sticks that were only pulled out once, thus, while the object is plural, the event is singular.

In addition, verbs can take nominalization suffixes, such as *-dam* in (5). In nominalizing constructions, the verbal stem seems to agree not with the object of the event but with the plurality of events coded in the verb. For example, in (5) the plural *kood* 'kill' is used to describe a 'killer of animals' rather than the singular form *mua* that we see in the later part of the phrase. The plural *kood* is used because the person no longer participates in any events of killing animals, as opposed to not killing multiple animals. Therefore, the verb root in the non-verbal context is suppletive based on the plurality of events rather than the plurality of the object. For both constructions, there are no attested non-deverbal nouns or adjectives that supplete for the number of the event.

This data is an interesting puzzle because it suggests a link between the number of event participants and the number of events, i.e. washing several socks generally entails several individual washing events. We also discuss possible ramifications this data has on the nature and decomposition of O'dam verbs. To our knowledge, verbal number suppletion has not been examined for its interaction with event number, so that documentationists may find this line of inquiry fruitful for their own work too.

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Examples:

1. *bhai'* *xi-biidha-k* *gu* *kalsitin* *gu* *bakuan-xim*
 DIR IMP-bring-PUNCT DET sock DET wash.SG-RES
 'Bring me the washed sock.'
 (Elicitación_02082017_MA_Michael Everdell)
2. **bhai'* *xi-biidha-k* *gu* *kalsitinis* *gu* *bakuan-xim*
 DIR IMP-bring-PUNCT DET socks DET wash.SG-RES
 Intended: 'bring me the washed socks.'
 (Elicitación_02082017_MA_Michael Everdell)
3. *bhai'* *xi-biidha-k* *gu* *kalsitinis* *gu* *bopkun-xim*
 DIR IMP-bring-PUNCT DET socks DET wash.PL-RES
 'Bring me the washed socks.'
 (Elicitación_02082017_MA_Michael Everdell)
4. *Bhai'* *xiñ-biidha-k* *gu* *u'ux* *gu* *jupñi-xim*
 DIR IMP-bring-PUNCT DET stick:RED:PL DET pull.out.SG-RES
 'Bring me the pulled out sticks'
5. *Aap* *cham* *jir=koo'n-dam* *aa* *na=p* *iam* *maa'n*
 2SG.SBJ NEG COP=kill.PL-NMLZR PART SUB=2SG.SBJ PART one

jiñ-mui'-dha' *gu* *tooxkolh* *na=ñ* *bhai-dha-'*
 1SG.OBJ-kill.SG-APPL DET pig SUB=1SG.SBJ cooked-APPL-FUT
 'You do not kill animals? Even to kill me a pig to cook?' (lit. 'you are not a killer of animals right?')
 (García 2014:90)

Possessive agreement in Meadow Mari, Udmurt, and Komi-Permyak

The aim of the present paper is to explore what the possible semantic, syntactic and pragmatic factors are that may influence the presence or the lack of agreement between the possessee and the possessor in three Uralic languages (Meadow Mari, Udmurt, and Komi-Permyak). We examine adnominal constructions with a lexically present nominal or pronominal possessor. The research questions were motivated by the preliminary results of the ongoing project *Typological Database of the Volga Area Finno-Ugric Languages*.

At first glance, all of the above mentioned Uralic languages seem to behave similarly with regard to possessive agreement: both nominal and pronominal possessors are marked by a non-nominative case (1)–(9), whereas possesseees are either marked by a possessive suffix agreeing with the possessor ((1), (3), (6), (7)) or remain unmarked ((2), (4), (5), (8), (9)). However, there seem to be striking differences between the target languages concerning the frequency of the occurrence of possessive agreement. As for Meadow Mari, agreement is assumed to be entirely optional (except for constructions with 3rd person pronominal possessors, when it is obligatory) (Bereczki 2002: 28). In Udmurt, the general rule is that possesseees are marked by a possessive suffix (3) and lack of agreement is exceptional (Perevoshchikov et al. 1962: 78–79). The omission of possessive suffixes seems to be more available when the possessor is pronominal (4), or, in the case of nominal possessors, if the possessee denotes an inalienable abstract property (5). Finally, in Komi-Permyak pronominal possessors usually trigger agreement (7), whereas nominal possessors usually do not (8), though there are exceptions to both tendencies, cf. examples (6), (9) (Rédei 1978: 61, Bartens 2000: 122, Ponomareva 2010).

The exact conditions of the appearance/omission of possessive suffixes are not entirely clear in any of the target languages. Lexical properties of the possessor (whether they are nominal or pronominal) may play a role, as well as the alienability value of the possessee. We thus plan to examine what the possible factors are that may influence possessor agreement, focusing especially on the following parameters:

- semantic properties of the possessee (alienability, animacy, abstractness);
- lexical properties of the possessor (nominal/pronominal);
- syntactic role of the possessee (in Udmurt and in Komi-Permyak, the possessor bears the ablative case if the possessee is a direct object; otherwise it requires genitive case);
- discourse factors, e.g., the information role of the possessor and of the possessee.

Such a multidimensional analysis can both enlarge our knowledge concerning the examined languages and provide some insight into the nature of possessive agreement cross-linguistically.

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Examples

- (1) Meadow Mari (Bereczki 1990: 35)
jeŋ-ən lud-žə
other_person-GEN duck-3SG
'another person's duck'
- (2) Meadow Mari (Bereczki 1990: 42)
məj-ən šergaš šörtən.
I-GEN ring golden
'My ring is golden.'
- (3) Udmurt (Perevoshchikov et al. 1962: 77)
kolxoz-len mašina-jez
kolkhoz-GEN car-3SG
'the car of the kolkhoz'
- (4) Udmurt (http://udmurto4ka.blogspot.hu/2014/09/blog-post_63.html?m=0 Accessed: 2018. 01. 23.)
mi'am gurt-yn ozy verašk-o (...).
we.GEN village-INE in_that_way speak-3PL
'That's how they usually speak in our village.'
- (5) Udmurt (Perevoshchikov et al. 1962: 79)
šergej-len mylkyd lobž-ono kad'.
Sergey-GEN mood fly_away-PTCP like
'Sergey is in a good mood.' (Lit. 'Sergey's mood is about to fly away.')
- (6) Komi-Permyak (Ponomareva 2010: 71)
nyvka-lön jurši-ys šöd röm-a.
girl-GEN hair-3SG black colour-ADJ
'The girl's hair is black.'
- (7) Komi-Permyak (L. P., p. c.)
sylön kerku-ys
(s)he.GEN house-3SG
'his/her house'
- (8) Komi-Permyak (Ponomareva 2010: 72)
zonka-lön jurši ženyt.
boy-GEN hair short
'The boy's hair is short.'
- (9) Komi-Permyak (L. P., p. c.)
sylön ki
(s)he.GEN hand
'his/her hand'

Aspect-negation interaction in Komi and Udmurt non-finite ‘before’/‘until’-clauses

Aims: In this talk, we deal with a type of adverbial subordinate clause in two closely related Finno-Ugric languages, namely Komi-Zyryan (Izhma dialect) and Udmurt. We focus on one morphologically cognate converb in *-ted'* (Komi-Zyryan) and *-toz'* (Udmurt) that encodes ‘before’ and ‘until’ clauses. These two clause types have been referred to as *Posteriority* and *Terminus ad quem* in (Kortmann 1996). We will highlight the interaction between aspect, negation and semantic/pragmatic properties of these clauses. This has already been observed in the typological literature (Hetterle 2015, Bickel 2010), however, the Komi and Udmurt data present a new challenge for the traditional analysis of these clause types. We use data both from fieldwork (collected in Ovgort village, Yamal-Nenets region and Udmurtia, respectively) and from text corpora.

Background: Existing typological classifications distinguish between ‘before’ and ‘until’ clauses, which are defined as follows: (i) Posteriority: ‘before p, q’, (ii) Terminus ad quem: ‘until p, q’. This means that ‘before’-clauses are analyzed as a semantically neutral precedence relation whereas in the ‘until’-clauses express a terminative relation between a punctual event and a durative event. In the latter case, the main clause must encode a durative event, which is true until the punctual event described in the subordinate clause happens.

Analysis: This definition implies that the key difference between the ‘before’ and ‘until’ reading is that achievement verbs in the main clause allow only the former reading, since they are [-durative], cf. (1)–(2). However, as the Komi and Udmurt data show, ‘until’-clauses do pose some problems to the “event1 [durative] *until* event2 [punctual]” template. Under negation, punctual events can also appear in the main clause. In this case, the durative main clause actually encodes not the event itself but the state of its absence which lasts up to event2. In (3), the state of ‘not leaving’ lasts until the given point. While discussing the properties of English ‘until’-clauses Mittwoch (1977) argues that negation makes the otherwise punctual predicate durative. Karttunen (1974), on the other hand, claims that this is a different ‘until’, which is not durative but punctual (the so-called “NPI until”). A further problem concerns what we call result/degree extension use of the ‘until’-clauses. This kind of context also allows for the main clause event to be punctual, as shown in (4). In this case, the original temporal scale is reinterpreted as a degree scale due to a special pragmatically bound combination of the events showing the intensity of the wound rather than its terminal boundary.

In this talk we argue that the interpretation of the ‘before’/‘until’/result clauses depends on the viewpoint, i.e. perfective/imperfective distinction rather than on the aspectual class of the predicate. We consider viewpoint aspect to be a sentential property which is influenced by several factors including the type of the direct object in case of transitive verbs, tense, negation, etc. Additionally, we take a closer look at the role of the negation in the main clause. We investigate whether this type of ‘until’-clauses carry simply an implicature of the actualization of the event or an entailment. Furthermore, we demonstrate how ‘until’-clauses interact not only with negation, but also with focus.

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Abbreviations

CN — connegative, CVB.TERM — terminative converb, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, INE — inessive, NEG — negation, NPST — non-past, OBJ — object, PL — plural, POSS — possessive, PST — past, SG — singular,

Dataset

(1) Udmurt (Matthew 26:75)

[*Atas ćortj-tož*], *kuiñ pol ton mon bordjś kuštišk-o-d.*

rooster crow-CVB.TERM three times you I from deny-FUT-2SG

‘Before the rooster crows, you will deny me three times.’

(2) Udmurt (elicited)

[*Atas ćorja-tož*] *diskoťeka-ijn ekt-o-m.*

[rooster crow-CVB.TERM] disco-INE dance-FUT-1PL

‘We will dance in the disco until the rooster crows.’

(3) Izhma Komi (elicited)

[*Pet'a vo-ted'*] *me o-g mun*

Pete come- CVB.TERM I NEG.NPST-1 go.CN

‘I will not leave until Pete comes (=> then I will leave).’

(4) Izhma Komi (Komi National Corpus)

[*Kuv-tədz-is*] *ranit-is han-lis' plem'an'n'ik-sə*

die-CVB.TERM-3SG wound-PST.3SG khan-OBJ.GEN nephew-POSS.3SG

‘He wounded Khan’s nephew to death.’

Hul'q'umi'num' articles and their morphosyntactic distribution

Articles in Salish languages encode a rich set of semantic concepts (cf. Gerdts 2013, Gillon 2013, Matthewson 1998). Drawing on data from Hul'q'umi'num', the Island dialect of Halkomelem Salish (ISO code: hur), we give a synopsis of the article system and then discuss correlates between types of articles (and the demonstratives form from them) and morphosyntactic structure, based on a 14,000 line text corpus as well as elicited data. Hul'q'umi'num' has a dozen articles—some are very common (one per clause on average) and some extremely rare (one per 4000 lines). There are two types of articles: **Deictic articles** (*tthu*, *lhu*, etc.) encode gender, number, and viewpoint deixis (indicating visibility to speaker/narrator); **non-deictic articles** (*tu*, *kw'*, etc.) are used for speech participants (first and second person), other fixed designation referents (personal names, place names), non-individuated referents (generics, mass nouns, partitives), and irrealis referents (hypothetical, non-existent).

Articles are ubiquitous in Hul'q'umi'num'—all NPs in argument position (either core arguments or obliques) must have a determiner (or quantifier), including possessed nouns, proper nouns, mass nouns, generic nouns. NPs outside of the argument-structure syntax (predicative nominals, vocatives, appositives, increments) do not have determiners. Thus, the presence or absence of a determiner is the main way in which NP status is signalled (more so than word order). Relevant for Hul'q'umi'num' syntax is the distinction between core arguments (subjects, objects) and oblique-case arguments (non-linked patients, obliques, passive agents, and proper-noun possessors). Our corpus study shows a skewing in the use of articles. Non-deictic articles are used either exclusively or overwhelming on oblique-case marked arguments rather than arguments. We will show how this skewing has led to a defacto case system and the loss of the oblique-case preposition in neighboring dialects of the language.

Determiners can be divided into articles, which must be followed by an NP, and demonstratives, which appear with or without an NP. Demonstratives are compositional: they are formed from articles plus additional elements. Articles form **discourse demonstratives** (*tthey'*, *lhey'*, etc.) that point to a particular referent within a context, usually aforementioned referents or inferables, but not main characters, and our text counts show that these are rarely in subject position and frequently in object or oblique object position. **Pro-determiners**, consists of a deictic article or either type of demonstrative and a third-person pro-form (*nilh* (sg.), *ne'ulh* (pl.), etc.). The pro-determiners are anaphoric and topic-centered—they cannot occur out-of-the-blue, they refer only to aforementioned referents, and they are used to track the main character across long stretches of discourse (Gerdts & Hukari 2004). Topics are associated with subject position in Hul'q'umi'num', and the pro-determiners are overwhelming associated with subject position in the corpus. Transitive clauses in Hul'q'umi'num' seldom have two overt NPs. The usual pattern is for a single overt NP to represent the object in a transitive clause. However, the pro-determiners violate this generalization, overwhelming linking to the ergative position.

One last structure that we will illustrate for Hul'q'umi'num' are the **complex auxiliaries** (*'e'ut*, *'e'ut, na'ut, na'uth*). These consist of a verbal auxiliary (*'i* 'here and now' and *ni* 'there and then') combined with a deictic article marking gender. We show that the article piece of a complex auxiliary is a type of agreement, controlled by the gender and number of the subject of the clause. Regular third person verb agreement does not encode features of number or gender, so these innovative complex auxiliaries usually help to disambiguate potential referents.

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The syntax of interpolation — or adding in the extras — in Hul'q'umi'num'

Halkomelem (ISO code: hur) is a Salish language, of the Central Salish branch, spoken as a first language by around 40 elders in southwestern British Columbia. Data for this research are from the Island dialect — Hul'q'umi'num'— drawn from our corpus of transcriptions and translations of recordings of over 100 different speakers, dating back to 1962. This is part of a larger project studying how speakers convey information and add interest to their performance of narratives. Working as syntacticians, we find it puzzling that we encounter so few sentences in narratives that mirror the ones given by speakers during elicitation tasks. A recurrent feature is that sentences in narratives are augmented or interrupted with supplemental information, for example, increments (1–2), lists (3), and parentheticals (4–5). We will use the term “extra” as a cover term for such devices, and the term “host” for the run-of-the-mill NPs or clauses to which they are attached.

Extras are vital to conveying information; speakers use them as an opportunity to elaborate if they think their meaning is not clear enough. Thinking of them in terms of the Cooperative Principle (Grice 1975), the extra needs to be informative and relevant, but it should also be short and sweet, so as to quickly return to the main thread. Extras are closely tied semantically to their host, so one expects a rather constrained and characterizable syntax (similar to coordinate structures or anaphora). Although there has been some treatment of extras in terms of their semantics, pragmatics, and prosodics (references below), their syntactic structure has not been explored. This paper offers a prolegomenon to a syntactic analysis of extras based on 100 examples of each type.

First, we analyze their **internal syntax**. What is the size of the extra—is it a word, phrase, or entire clause? In the case of increments, the extra is a N, ADJ, or NP. One and two word increments are the norm. Lists in Hul'q'umi'num' consist only of NPs and not VP or clauses. Parentheticals often consist of one or two short clauses. Does the extra exhibit any special syntax? We observe that extras often have stripped down syntax. NPs in argument positions in Hul'q'umi'num' obligatorily take determiners, but NPs in increments and lists do not require determiners. The first clause in a parenthetical lacks clause-linking clitics. In the parenthetical clause in (4), we see SV word order, while VS, as in the host, is standard.

Second, what is the **external syntax** of extras? Where does the extra appear relative to the host? In our corpus we find that increments occur immediately following the word they are modifying at the end of a clause. For lists, 55% appear in clause final position, 35% in medial position, and 10% in initial position. Parenthetical clauses are inserted at clause boundaries. Can the host be syntactically characterized? Increments must have an NP host. The host can appear in any argument position, and even as a predicate nominal, as in (2), as long as the host is otherwise last in the clause. We see a priming word in the host for 60% of lists, and 20% of the time there is a reprising word after the list.

How is the **segue** from the host to the extra and back from the extra host signalled? Our research shows that speakers use prosodics to demarcate extras. Increments are signalled with a pause then a high-fall pitch. Each NP in a list has pitch reset. Parentheticals are pronounced with an overall lower pitch and a faster tempo. No function words are used to introduce any type of extra. Clearly a thorough treatment of extras will require reference to the interface of syntax, prosodics, semantics, and pragmatics.

A final point is that regular models of clausal syntax are not insightful for representing the interpolation of the extras into the clausal syntax. We suggest a **two-plane, three-dimensional model** similar to that proposed for coordination and comparatives (Moltmann 1992). One type of evidence for having a separate plane for extras is that local tracking of non-topic NPs is suspended in parentheticals: a referent that would appear as zero in the clausal syntax is spelt out in the parenthetical (5). The third dimension represents the connection between the two planes. Speakers segue back and forth, e.g. (3) and (5), and the meaning of the discourse unit is updated and accumulated. We briefly show a treatment of each of the extras, and conclude that this model might prove useful for studying the syntax of interpolation of a wide variety of supplemental devices— appositives, vocatives, echos, etc.

- (1) ...m'i t'uhw-stum tthu=snuhwulh, thi snuhwulh.
 come come.down-CAUS.PASS DET=canoe big canoe
 '...to bring the canoe down, **the big canoe.**' (WS sql'ew')
- (2) wulh=hwu=sum'um'ne' — mukw' suw'wuy'qe'.
 PRF=INCHO=ST.child all male.PL
 'And now they had children —**all boys.**' (ER pitch)
- (3) ts'ey'xw-t-us kwthu='uw'=mukw' stem s'ulhtun—qwunus—mukw' stem—
 dry-TR-3SUB DT=CN=all what food whale all what
 'They dried different kinds of food—**whale**—everything—
 stsa'tx— nilh sqwuqwis 'u tthu=tl'elhum qa' s'ulhtun-s.
 halibut 3PRO be.in.water OBL DT=salt water food-3POS
halibut—that's (all different kinds of) food from the salt water.' (MG)
- (4) 'uw'=ts'e'-t='ulh=ch='ul' tthun'=s'ulhtun 'u tthu=smeent 'i' qw'ul
 CN=set.down-TR-PST=2SG.SUB=QUAL DET.2POS=food OBL DET=rock CNJ cook
 (Before this,) you would set your food on rocks and it would cook
 —thu='e'yx ts'e'-t=ch 'i' nilh kwthey'.
 DET=crab set.down-TR=2SG.SUB CNJ 3.PRO DEM
 —**crab you set down or whatever.** (EJ pitch)
- (5) suw'=kwun-utewut tthu=swakwun—yu='i'mush tthu=swakwun—
 N.CN=take-SUB.PASS DET=loon SER=walk.imperf DET=loon
 'And then they captured a loon—**a loon was walking by**—
 suw'=hwu=kwun'e-t-s tthu'nilh tthu=swakwun.
 n.CN=INCHO=take.DUR-TR-3POS DET.3PRO DET=loon
 and they captured it.' (EJ pitch)

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The Interaction of Negation and Tense-Aspect-Mood in Gyeli (Bantu A80)

The literature comparing Bantu languages (most notably Devos & van der Auwera 2013 and Nurse 2008) provides several generalizations about negation. For instance, as has long been noted (e.g. Meeussen 1967), negation is marked in various positions of the verbal complex (pre-initial, post-initial, post-final), most often directly on the verb or through potential verb-external negative markers (Devos & van der Auwera 2013). Nurse (2008) discusses the varying number of contrastive negatives which are usually found across different sentence types (main or relative clause, subjunctive), ranging from a single to three contrasts. He states that differences can be considerable even within the same language subgroup: while Njem (A84) only has a single contrast, Makaa (A83) is categorized under “several/odd types”. Still, given the size and structural diversity of Bantu languages, systematic descriptions of negation systems in individual languages needed to capture variations are rare (but see, e.g., Ngonyani (2001) on Swahili, Tanda & Neba (2005) on Mokpe, Gibson & Wilhelmsen (2015) on Rangi and Mbugwe, or Malete (2003) on Sesotho). This paper provides a description of the negation system in Gyeli (Bantu A801), an endangered language spoken by “Pygmy” hunter-gatherers in southern Cameroon.

Gyeli contributes to our understanding of negation in several ways. First, the northwestern Bantu languages that Gyeli belongs to are generally lesser studied. Literature on Gyeli is scarce, comprising mostly Renaud's (1976) phonological and nominal morphological description and Grimm's (2015) grammar. Second, northwestern Bantu languages differ considerably in their structure from eastern and southern Bantu, e.g. in terms of more isolating verbs and more complex tonal processes employed in tense-aspect-mood (TAM) encoding rather than segmental morphemes. Gyeli provides a good testing ground for some lesser noted negation phenomena in Bantu such as the role of tone in negation expression, negation type distinctions that do not depend on clause types, and constraints on negation in different TAM categories.

After presenting an overview of the Gyeli negation system, following Miestamo's (2016) negation questionnaire which is based on my own fieldwork within a documentation project, this paper concentrates on the interaction of negation with TAM categories across different sentence types. Gyeli has five forms to mark sentential negation, as summarized in Table 1, which are restricted to specific tense-mood categories and differ in their morphosyntactic behavior. The most prevalent strategy is to mark negation through preverbal negation words that function like auxiliaries. The negation suffix *-lɛ* only occurs in the present tense. All negation types are asymmetric in Miestamo's (2005) sense: preverbal negation words change the finiteness of the main verb while the negation suffix *-lɛ* affects the tonal pattern of the verb stem and some subject concord markers, as shown in (1).

The dichotomy of differing negation types contrasting indicative/subjunctive or main/relative clauses, as often assumed for Bantu, does not apply in Gyeli. The negation form *tí*, that is used with subjunctives and infinitival subordinate clauses, is also found in main clauses for present negation. The choice between *-lɛ* or *tí* in the present appears to relate to information structure principles and an immediate-after-verb focus position. With *-lɛ*, negation is focussed, while *tí* promotes the main verb to focus position, as shown in (2). Negation does, however, intersect with a mood distinction between realis and irrealis, patterning with the irrealis categories through the absence of a realis marking H tone. Finally, it is not possible to directly combine negation with aspectual markers. Either aspect is lost under negation or needs to be encoded in an embedded clause of a negated matrix clause, as illustrated in (3).

| Negation marker | Status | TAM constraints |
|-----------------|-------------------|--|
| -le | Negation suffix | Present |
| sàlé/pàlé | Negation AUX verb | Past |
| kálè | Negation AUX verb | Future |
| tí | Negation AUX verb | Present, imperative, subjunctive, infinitive |

Table 1: Gyeli negation markers

- (1) a. mɛ kɛ.
mɛ-H kɛ
1S-PRES go
“I go.”
- b. mɛɛ kɛlé.
mɛɛ kɛ-le
1S.PRES.NEG go-NEG
“I do not go.”
- (2) a. mɛɛ délé.
mɛɛ dɛ-le
1S.PRES.NEG eat-NEG
“I DON'T eat.”
- b. mɛ tí dɛ.
mɛ tí dɛ
1S NEG eat
“I don't EAT.”
- (3) a. mɛ nzíí dɛ.
mɛ nzíí dɛ
1S PRES.PROG eat
“I'm eating.”
- b. *mɛ/mɛɛ nzíí délé.
mɛ/mɛɛ nzíí dɛ-le
1S/1S.PRES.NEG PRES.PROG eat-NEG
“I'm not eating.”
- c. mɛɛ bélé [mɛ nzéé dɛ].
mɛɛ bɛ-le mɛ nzéé dɛ
1S.PRES.NEG be-NEG 1S PROG.SUBORD eat
“I'm not eating.”

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Negation in Veps

Abstract submitted to Workshop 2 Negation in the languages of the world

Clausal negation in Veps shares the basic characteristics of other Finnic languages, a north-western branch of Uralic languages. Compared to more eastern Uralic languages it lacks the distinction between present and past tense negative auxiliaries, for instance. The preverbal auxiliary inflects in person and number, whereas tense, aspect and other properties are expressed by other means. However, the Veps negation system is, as a rule, a highly dynamic system that displays several structural innovations of more general typological interest. Even the otherwise regular preverbal position of the negative word may alternate with postverbal under certain conditions depending on clausal topics. These developments are typically limited or shared only occasionally by other Finnic varieties.

The paper focuses on three features characteristic of Veps negation. One of the most characteristic features in Veps stative relation clauses is the alternating use of copula as certain clause types manifest a copula whereas others don't. This dichotomy is reflected in negative clauses as well as the negative morpheme either alone expresses negation (1) or combines with a copula. In this case, the negative morpheme often fuses with the copula (2), which is more typical of SG1 and SG3 than plural and SG2 forms (3).

- (1) hii **ii** venänika-d
they NEG Russian-PL
'They are not Russians.'
- (2) priha-d se **iile**, ni ke-da **iile**
boy-PART it NEG.be NEG who-PART NEG.be
'There is no son, there isn't anybody.'
- (3) **e-d** **ole** sina minu-n maks
NEG-2SG be.CNG you I-GEN friend
'You are not my friend.'

Thus, in examples like (2) functional properties and the more specific type of categories involved determine to what extent the secondary fusional negative copula is lexicalized. There is some alternation between Veps dialects as the southern dialects display fusional forms more frequently than the northern dialects.

Furthermore, the way the copula is manifested has special importance for the description of Veps tense system as well, because in Finnic languages, compound past tense forms regularly exhibit the same characteristics as copula constructions and mark person and tense with a copula. In Veps, however the lack of copula in attributive stative relation clauses affects syntactically parallel past tense constructions that often lack a copula in colloquial speech (4).

- (4) hän edohko l'udi-n škola-d **män-nu** škol-ha
(s)he earlier Veps-GEN school-PART go-PST.PTCP school-ILL
'(S)he has gone to school before the Veps school [was founded].'

Given the alternation of various Veps syntactic constructions in which negation is involved, Veps negation can be characterized as a system in transition. The divergence is more illustratively seen in colloquial data drawn from spoken variants and publications based on oral language than in the literary standard.

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Patterns of morphosyntactic transformation in the Amur Linguistic Area

The Amur drainage area, which comprises the Upper, Middle and Lower Amur sections of the Amur main course with the adjoining southern tributaries Sungari and Ussuri, as well as the western source rivers Argun and Shilka, is the homeland of three language families: Mongolic, Tungusic, and Amuric, which linguistically may be said to form the Amur Linguistic Area. Mongolic and Tungusic comprise a dozen of historically known and modern languages each, while Amuric comprises only a single isolate language, Nivkh or Ghilyak, albeit with considerable dialectal diversification. Other language families in the neighbouring regions include Turkic, with a historical expansion center in Mongolia, as well as Japonic and Koreanic, with expansion centers on the Korean peninsula.

Conventionally, Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Koreanic and Japonic are classified as languages of the so-called Altaic type, while Nivkh is considered to represent a different typology. A closer look at the Nivkh data shows, however, that this language also has features reminiscent of the Altaic typology, especially as regards its morphosyntax. Moreover, there are reasons to assume that Nivkh has undergone a process of "Altaicization", which has changed its originally different typology in the direction of the neighbouring Altaic languages. A similar process of "Altaicization" has been established for Mandarin Chinese, and it has also been postulated for Japonic, which may have originated as a language of a non-Altaic type.

The present paper analyzes in more depth the synchrony and diachrony of the syntax and morphosyntax of the verbal forms occurring in predicative position in the languages of the Amur linguistic area. In all languages of the area, verbal forms are typically divided into three types: (1) independent predicative forms, (2) dependent predicative forms or converbs, and (3) nominalized forms, occurring prototypically in the position of adnominal modifiers or participles (actor nouns), but also as independent nominal headwords or infinitives (action nouns). A tendency shared by all languages of the area is to replace the original independent predicative forms by nominalized forms, which, then, are also used in the function of finite predicates.

Since the development of nominalized forms into the function of finite predicates is relatively well known from the languages traditionally classified as "Altaic", the present paper will, in particular, analyze the Nivkh verbal morphosyntax. It will be shown that the forms synchronically used as finite predicates in Nivkh are also historical nominalizations. At the same time the forms used as converbs may originally have been independent finite forms. Parallels for the latter development may be found in the neighbouring Tungusic languages, and it may be assumed that the Nivkh system of verbal predication was diachronically transformed in the context of the Amur Linguistic Area. The paper will also discuss the question concerning the relative and absolute dating of this transformation.

Clausal negation in Nivkh

Nivkh (Paleosiberian, isolate) is a moribund language spoken in several dialects on Sakhalin Island and in the Amur region of Russia. It is an agglutinating polysynthetic language with some elements of morphological fusion. The paper compares data from the Amur dialect (A) that has undergone strong influence from the neighboring Tungusic languages and the East Sakhalin dialect (ES) that has been developing more independently from this impact.

Nivkh has a full spectrum of lexical and grammatical devices for expressing clausal negation, such as lexicalized negative verbs, an analytical form with a nominalized verb, verb root compounding, a particle and a suffix. These devices are located at different points on the scale of grammaticalization, and some of them are the result of grammatical reanalysis and areal contacts. A clear border is drawn between expression of negation in declarative and non-declarative (prohibitive and preventive) clauses.

In declarative clauses, lexical means for expressing negation include free and bound verbal roots with a negative meaning. A free verb root may occur in the clause independently with an inflectional and/or derivational marker(s), cf. (A) *əγəʃ*, (ES) *əγa-d* '(s.o.) does not want (sth.)', whereas a bound root is partly grammaticalized and tends to occur in combination with another lexical verb root, as (A) *-molo-* 'do not want' in *pʳə-i-molo-ʃ* '(s.o.) does not want to come'. Note that verb root compounding is a common verb-formation strategy in both dialects of Nivkh. The resulting complex verb behaves like a regular verb and may undergo subsequent inflection. Only one of the negative verb roots, with the meaning 'do not usually do', has been fully grammaticalized into the suffix *-γsu/-ksu/-xsu-* and its connection with the original verb has been completely lost, cf. (ES) *ra-γsu-d* '(s.o.) does not drink'. Most of the negative lexical roots have additional modal and aspectual connotations.

Existential negation is expressed by verbal predicates derived from the roots (A) *q^hau-*, (ES) *qavr/-Gavr-* 'not to be/have (intr.)', (A) *ləγə-* 'lack (tr.)'. Standard verbal negation is rendered in A and ES differently. In A, the negative verb *q^hau-* combines with the nominalized lexical verb marked by the dative suffix *-toχ/-roχ/-doχ*, cf. *p^hrə-doχ q^hau-ʃ* '(s.o.) did not come'. The rise of such an analytical form is possibly due to the influence of neighbouring languages. ES makes use of a more traditional strategy, i.e. verb root compounding, so that the root of the negative verb *qavr/-Gavr-* is attached to the lexical verb root, cf. *p^hrə-Gavr-d* '(s.o.) did not come.' These forms display regular inflection, including marking of opposition between non-future and future tenses. In addition to them, in the future tense both dialects utilize the synthetic negative verb forms with the suffix (A) *-rla/-tla*, (ES) *-rlo/-tlo* that brings the nuance of uncertainty, cf. (ES) *p^hrə-i-rlo* '(s.o.) will probably not come.' Diachronically these suffixes consist of two elements – the converbal suffix *-r/-t* and the interrogative clitic *=la/=lo*.

In non-declarative clauses, negation is rendered by grammatical means as follows. The prohibitive meaning is marked by the particle *t^ha* which precedes, directly or non-directly, the corresponding imperative form, cf. (A) *t^ha p^hrə-ja* 'do not come (you:sg)'. In ES, there is also an alternative way to express the same meaning by standard verb root compounding involving the negative verb *qavr/-Gavr-*, cf. *p^hrə-Gavr-ja* 'do not come (you:sg)'. The preventive meaning is marked by one or another diachronically polycompositional marker depending on the speech situation. 'Visual' preventive is issued when the speaker directly observes the addressee's behaviour that may lead to undesirable consequences. It is marked by the suffix (A) *-nəra/-nəta*, (ES) *-inəŋra/-inəŋta*, cf. (ES) *zosq-inəŋra* 'don't break (you:sg)' in the situation when the speaker sees how the addressee plays with the toy. 'Inferential' preventive is marked by the suffix (A) *-ijra/-ijtla*, (ES) *-jaŋra/-jaŋta* and is used when the speaker foresees undesirable consequences basing not on direct evidence, but on previous experience, cf. *zosq-jaŋra* 'don't break (you:sg)' in the situation when the speaker gives the toy to the addressee.

**Auxiliary verb constructions in Wolof and neighboring languages:
a case-study to rethink the notion of auxiliary in general linguistics**

The first objective of my paper is to propose a typological analysis of Wolof (Atlantic, Niger-Congo language) inflectional periphrases. In Wolof, conjugation is mainly analytical (Church 1981, Robert 1991). Thus, contrary to what is observed in a large part of languages, most Wolof verbal categories (TAM) are expressed by periphrastic constructions (or inflectional periphrases) called “predicative constructions” (1-8)). Most of these periphrastic constructions contain a specific word called “predicative marker” (1-8)). It is a predicative element, without any lexical meaning, but bearing most part of the grammatical information (Guérin 2014).

I will study how these constructions differ from each other. I will place these inflectional periphrases in a typological space, relying in particular on criteria given by Bonami & Samvelian (2015) and Brown *et al.* (2012). This typological analysis will serve as an empirical basis to propose a new approach of the notion of “auxiliary”.

Many definitions and/or criteria have been proposed to circumscribe this notion (Ross 1969, Gross 1999, Heine 1993, Anderson 2006, etc.). Nevertheless, all these propositions can be reduced to three kinds of definition: Categorical definition(s); Functional definition; Panchronic definition.

The analysis of the data from Wolof and other African languages (especially Mande and Cushitic) makes it possible to highlight the advantages and limits of these definitions. The categorical definition does not fit with the Wolof (or other African languages) data. Indeed, in this language, the predicative markers (1-8)) do not have any verbal features, and are not a coherent and specific lexical category – they are not in the same place within the sentence, they do not bear the same kind of features, etc.

The panchronic definition (Anderson 2006) is also problematic. Indeed, this definition is based on a diachronic criterion to define a synchronic lexical category. This choice is relevant in the grammaticalization theory point of view, but it is questionable in the broader framework of linguistic typology or general linguistics. Besides, the panchronic definition does not make it possible to explain the distribution of TAM markers in several languages. For instance, in Mandinka (Mande, Niger-Congo), TAM markers are independent words without any verbal feature. They are in paradigmatic opposition and share some morphosyntactic features. Nevertheless, some of these markers are not grammaticalized verbs. For instance, the perfective marker *yé* (9)) comes from a postposition, while the imperfective marker *ká* (10)) comes from the verb *kari* (usually do something) (Creissels & Sambou 2013). They thus are in the same lexical category, but not in the same grammaticalization path.

Thus, analyzing critically these definitions and applying them to the data, a “functional” approach of auxiliaries seems to be the best option in a typological point of view. I propose the following definition: an auxiliary is an autonomous element which combines with a verb lexeme to express a grammatical verbal category (as tense, aspect, mood, etc.).

Under this definition, I will propose a general typology of predicative elements. This typology is mainly based on two criteria: ± verb and ± auxiliary. I distinguish five kinds of predicative elements (grouped within a continuum):

| Full verb | Catenative verb | Semi-auxiliary v. | Auxiliary verb | Predicative marker |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| + Verb | | | – Verb | |
| – Auxiliary | | + Auxiliary | | |

Each kind of predicative element is characterized by specific features.

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- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1) Subject Focus <i>Omar =a lekk ceeb.</i> Omar =SFOC eat rice ‘It is Omar who has eaten rice.’</p> | <p>6) Future <i>Omar =dina lekk ceeb.</i> Omar =FUT.S3SG eat rice ‘Omar will eat rice.’</p> |
| <p>2) Presentational Focus <i>Omar =a ngi lekk ceeb.</i> Omar =PRST eat rice ‘Here is Omar eating rice.’</p> | <p>7) Optative <i>Na Omar lekk ceeb.</i> OPT Omar eat rice ‘May Omar eat rice.’</p> |
| <p>3) Object Focus <i>Ceeb =la Omar lekk.</i> rice =CFOC Omar eat ‘It is rice that Omar has eaten.’</p> | <p>8) Imperative <i>Lekk-al ceeb !</i> eat-IMP.S2SG rice ‘Eat rice!’</p> |
| <p>4) Verb Focus <i>Omar =dafa lekk ceeb.</i> Omar =VFOC.S3SG eat rice ‘Omar does eat rice.’</p> | <p>9) <i>Jatoo ye dannoo barama.</i> lion:DET PF hunter:DET hurt ‘The lion has hurt the hunter.’</p> |
| <p>5) Perfect <i>Omar lekk=na ceeb.</i> Omar eat=PRF.S3SG rice ‘Omar has eaten rice.’</p> | <p>10) <i>Saayaa ka moolu</i> death:DET IPFV person:DET:PL <i>kumbondi.</i> cry:CAUS ‘Death makes the people cry.’</p> |

The negation system of Cuwabo (Bantu P34, Mozambique)

Variation in Bantu negation strategies has been the subject of a number of previous studies (e.g. Kamba Muzenga 1981, Güldemann 1999, Devos and van der Auwera 2013, Gibson *et al.* Submitted). This talk concentrates on the negation system of Cuwabo, a Bantu language spoken North Mozambique. Several negative constructions will be considered, starting with standard verb forms, which in terms of strategy all negate by means of affixes, in both declarative and non-declarative clauses. However, the position and the number of these affixes differ depending on the TAM categories of the negated verb. Compare negative perfective (1) and negative situative (2). Overall, the choice among the four different negative affixes, i.e. the pre-initial *ka-*, the post-initials *-hi-* and *-náa-* and the final *-i*, is linked to the type of clause, namely independent/main vs. dependent. The first two are the default ones, whereas the last two are restricted to a specific TAM category, i.e. subjunctive and situative, respectively. It is interesting to note that certain TAM categories allow several negation strategies. For instance, the subjunctive may negate by means of either *ka-* (3a), *-hi-* (3b) or *-náa-* (3c). The choice between the three negative markers depends mostly on the type of clause. It will finally be shown that in most cases, negative verb forms display constructional symmetry with their affirmative equivalents.

After presenting a brief overview of these different negative verb forms, this talk will describe into more details two subdomains less studied across Bantu languages, namely negative non-verbal predication and non-clausal negation. With regard to non-verbal predication, Cuwabo has two distinct negative copulas. The first type *kahíyo* (with *kahíye* as a free variant) is invariable and translated in English as ‘there/it is not’. It is used in several non-verbal predication contexts, i.e. equation, proper inclusion, attribution and existential predication (4a). This negative copula has interesting uses: it is often employed by story-tellers in the introductory formula *weérlé káhíye óddo*, literally translated as ‘(the one) who did, it is not that one’; it may also be used as a pragmatically-linked linguistic device which consists in postulating affirmation through negation, in the same way as the English expression ‘is it not that ...’ or the French ‘n’est-ce pas ... que/de’ (4b). The second negative copula derives from *kahíyo/kahíye*, but inflects for subject marking and also contains one of the three locative clitics. It is used for locative predication (4c).

As for non-clausal negation, two aspects will be described: first the semantics of negative replies to polar questions (expressed by the word *nnée* ‘no’), then the expression of indefinite pronouns and adverbs such as ‘nobody’, ‘nothing’, ‘never’, and ‘nowhere’, which do not exist as such in Cuwabo, but can only be expressed via clausal negation (5a-b), or via the negative copula (5c).

Whenever possible and relevant, morphosyntactic, semantic, pragmatic and intonational aspects of these subdomains of negation will be explored.

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Examples (author's personal data):

- (1) Negative perfective
 áwééne o-mu-tamel-á namárógolo **ka**-mu-fwány-île
 PRO3PL NAR-OM1-look.for-FV 1a.hare NEG.SM2-OM1-find-PFV
 'They looked for the hare, but did not find him.'
- (2) Negative situative
 ddi-ní-dh-ág-a o-taabúw-á vatí vá-a-rib-a
 SM1SG-IPFV.CJ-go-HAB-FV 15-suffer-FV.PL 16.sunset SM16-SIT-be.dark-FV
 ddi-a-**hi**-gúl-**hi** vela
 SM1SG-SIT-NEG-buy-NEG 10a.candle.H1D
 'I am going to suffer at night if I do not buy candles.'
- (3) a. Negative subjunctive in *ka*-
 óddó ni-ládá **ka**-gay-e
 1.DEM.II 5-hand NEG.SM1-balance-SBJ
 'That Mr.Hand cannot balance itself.'
- b. Negative subjunctive in *hi*-
 o-hi-ddí-kúkú-el-a owánínyu
 SM2SG-PFV-OM1SG-take-APPL-FV 17.at home.POSS.2RESP
 wíí ddí-**hi**-kweñt-e
 CMP SM1SG-NEG-copulate-SBJ
 'you took me to your house to not have sex?!'
- c. Negative subjunctive in *náa*-
 Rósa ó-ni-o-ttápattedh-a náma e-**náa**-lul-e
 Rosa SM1-IPFV.DJ-INF-cook.sp-FV 9a-meat SM9-NEG-spoil-SBJ
 'Rosa is cooking the meat in salty water, so that it does not spoil'
- (4) Negative copulas
 a. **kahíyó** mwáha
 NEG.COP 3.problem
 'No problem!'
- b. rapáriga ddabunó **kahíyó** o-kálá dhiidho
 1a.girl then NEG.COP INF-be naked
 'then the mistress remained naked'
- c. mú-ádhí=ye **kaá=vo** ánááye **kaá=vo**
 1-wife=POSS.3SG NEG.COP.1=LOC16 2.child.POSS.3SG NEG.COP.2=LOC16
kadhí=vo
 10-furniture=10.POSS.3SG NEG.COP.10=LOC16
 'his wife is not here, his children are not here, his furniture is not here'
- (5) Expression of 'nobody' and 'nothing'
 a. ka-dh-ílé=vó mu-ttu
 NEG.SM1-come-PFV=LOC16 1-person.PL
 'nobody came'
- b. ka-ddi-ní-fúná elo
 NEG-SM1SG-IPFV-see 9.thing.PL
 'I do not want anything'
- c. kaá=wó o-dh-ile=wo
 NEG.COP=LOC17 SM1-come-PFV=LOC17
 'nobody came'

YAQUI EXTERNAL POSSESSION CONSTRUCTIONS

This paper examines internal and external possessors of body-part terms in Yaqui (Mexico; Uto-Aztecán). It is well known that languages have more than one construction for encoding possessive relations, and that their distribution usually correlates with different semantic relationships, e.g. kinship terms, body parts, garments, natural entities, domestic animals, and the ownership of other personal objects (Payne & Barshi 1999). This paper focuses on possessor-possesum relations involving body-part terms (LØdrup 2009).

Yaqui is an agglutinating, head-final, dependent-marking, primary-object language, and it has several possessive structures (Jelinek 1988; Dedrick & Casad 1999; Gurrola 2005; Muchembled 2014). Internal possession is indicated by juxtaposition (1a), genitive-like phrases (1b-c), and possessive pronouns (1d); body-part terms cannot be coded by genitive phrases. Yaqui also has so-called possessive clauses. In (2a), the verbal possessive suffix *-k* is added to the possessed entity. There are two possessive verbs, *jippue* ‘have’ and *atte’ak* ‘have, own’. Body-part terms can be associated with *jippue* only; in (2b) the possessor takes nominative case and the possessum takes accusative case. These are cases of external possession, since the two participants belong to different constituents. The possessive alternatives are mutually exclusive.

However, the coding of a body part’s possessor varies in syntax. In (3a), the possessor acts as the actor and the body part takes the locative postposition *-po*; in (3b) it is coded by an accusative pronoun. A body-part term cannot be internally possessed when serving as the transitive object, a restriction that does not apply to other entities, as shown in (3c). In (4a-b), the possessor is coded as an oblique argument marked by the locative postposition *-(e)t* ‘on, over’; in (4c) it takes the dative-like postpositional marker *-u* (which marks the ‘indirect object of some ditransitive verbs). In all these structures, the external possessor counts as a core argument, i.e., there is an additional argument that is not a part of the basic valency of the verb.

Yaqui grammars have not said much about external possession constructions. In order to examine the potential motivations for the constructions in (3) and (4), we first analyze whether the Yaqui data belong to the well-known dative external possession constructions in Spanish and other European languages (e.g. *le corté el cabello* ‘I cut his hair’; Slotz et al. 2008). We argue that these structures satisfy some of the affectedness conditions proposed by Haspelmath (1999), namely the animacy and situation hierarchies, inalienability hierarchy, and the fact that the possessor and the possessum do not belong to the same phrase. However, the syntactic relation hierarchy is disfavored: although the possessum is expressed as a locative PP, the coding of the possessor as a dative argument (4b) is much less frequent when compared to the accusative and locative possessors (3c) and (4a, c). Second, we examine the status of the possessor and show that only accusative possessors (3c) function as a direct core argument (undergoer). Finally, we investigate the status of the two-locative core arguments in (4) and the morphological coding of the possessor. We show that the possessor must be a human being and be pronominally coded, that locative external possession is not limited to (bi-)transitive verbs, and that the locative marking relates to goal-source distinctions, but in an expected way: *-(e)t* encodes the goal, and *-u* the source.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>waka beea</i> | <cow | skin> | ‘the cow’s skin’ |
| | b. | <i>Joan-ta kari</i> | <Juan-ACC | casa > | ‘John’s house’ |
| | c. | <i>a majka-wa</i> | <3SG.POS | mask-GEN> | ‘his mask’ |
| | d. | <i>em koba</i> | <2SG.POS | head> | ‘your head’ |
| (2) | a. | <i>Inepo</i> | <i>tettebem</i> | <i>mam pusia-k</i> | |
| | | 1SG.NOM | RDP.long-PL | hand_finger-have | |
| | | ‘I have long fingers.’ | | | |

- b. *Empo bwe koba-ta jippue*
 2SG.NOM big head-ACC have
 ‘You have big head.’
- (3) a. *Maria-Ø mam-po (emo) taja-k*
 María-NOM hand-LOC SELF burn-PFV
 ‘Mary burned her hand.’ (lit. burn on the hand)
- b. *U ili uusi-Ø pujba-po nee witta-k*
 DET little child-NOM face-LOC 1SG.ACC scratch-PFV
 ‘The little boy scratched my face.’ (lit. scratched me on the face)
- c. *U ili uusi-Ø a ji’osia-m witta-k*
 DET little child-NOM 3SG.POSS paper-ACC.PL scratch-PFV
 ‘The little boy scratched his papers.’
- (4) a. *u jamut-Ø_i kutanaa-po koka-ta a-et_i yecha-k*
 DET woman-NOM neck-LOC necklace-ACC 3SG.OBL-LOCC put-PFV
 ‘The woman put the necklace on her neck.’
- b. *U goo’o-Ø mam-po ne-t yejte-k*
 DET mosquito-NOM hand-LOC 3SG.OBL-LOCC stand-PFV
 ‘The mosquito stood in my hand.’ (lit. stood in the hand on me)
- c. *u jamut-Ø_i tajoorm kuta-naa-po a-u_i u’ura-k*
 DET woman-NOM cloth.ACC.PL neck-around-LOC 3SG.OBL-DIR take-PFV
 ‘The woman took off the scarf on her neck.’ (lit. took the scarf on the neck to her)

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Title: The grammar of negation in Tacana (Takanan family, Amazonian Bolivia)**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 Ejja, Araona and Reyesano). The language is critically endangered, being only spoken by a few dozens of elderly people. It is also basically undescribed. The goal of this paper is to provide an overview of negation in Tacana on the basis of firsthand data collected from the Tumupasa dialect between 2009 and 2013, using Miestamo et al's (2015) questionnaire, and building up on an on-going (still unpublished) study which has so far mostly been dealing with standard negation constructions and their diachronic reconstruction.

Of particular interest, when looking at the broader range of negation constructions in Tacana (see illustrative examples below the reference list), is the recurrence, in many of them, of an element *mawe* (with variants *mue* or *mwe*), used on its own or in combination with a preposed element *ai*, forming *aimawe* (with variants *aimue* or *aimwe*). Depending on the construction, the negation markers *mawe* or *aimawe* can have different degrees of grammatical or phonological freedom (e.g. *mawe* can be a clitic); different positions in the clause (e.g. they can be preposed or postposed to the negated constituent); they can be used alone or in combination (forming embracing negation constructions); and possibly, in the case of embracing constructions, one marker can be optional.

By varying these different parameters, and only using the two negation markers *mawe* and *aimawe*, Tacana is able to encode a wide range of distinct negation constructions: stand-alone negation (1a,b), existential negation (2), negation of declarative main clauses with a simplex verbal predicate (3), negation of declarative main clauses with a complex (coverb+light) verb predicate (4a,b), negation of adjectival/stative predicates (5), privative negation (6) and negation of subordinate clauses (7). Remarkably, only one negation construction, negation of imperative clauses (prohibitive) (8), does not rely on *mawe* or *aimawe*, being realized through the combination of unrelated markers, the particle *be* and a verbal suffix *-ji*.

References

Miestamo, Matti, Anne Tamm & Beáta Wagner-Nagy. 2015. *Negation in Uralic languages*. (Typological Studies in Language 108). Amsterdam.

Illustrative examples

(1) Stand-alone negation

Aimawe! (or: *mawe!*) *Ema ebiasu tuche-da.*
no no 1SG a_lot strong-ASF
(‘Your father can kill us all!’) ‘No (he can’t)! (Because) I’m stronger (than him).’

(2) Existential negation

[*Aimue beu, se*], [*aimue beu*].
NEG.EXIST PERF fish NEG.EXIT PERF
‘There is no fish, there isn’t any.’ (lit. fish is nothing, it is nothing.)

(3) Standard negation in simplex verb constructions

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

(4) Standard negation in complex (coverb+light) verb constructions

- a. *Biame aimue =da dia a-ta-ina.*
But NEG =TOP eat AUX.TR-3A -PAST.HAB
‘But (the jaguar) would not eat it.’
- b. *Mué=pa teje-ti-yu a-ta-idha [jida mesa ewane] beu.*
NEG=REP find-GO-REITR AUX.TR-3A-PAST that 3SG.GEN wife PERF
‘He didn’t find his wife.’

(5) Negation of adjectival / stative predicates

Tueda sai-da=mawe, ema =mu sai-da=kita.
3SG nice-ASF=NEG 1SG =CONTR nice-ASF=INTENS
‘He is bad (lit. not nice) and I am nice.’

(6) 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).’

(7) Negation of subordinate clause

... *me-risi sai-da beju [tu=e-kwinana-yu=mawe=puji].*
MALEF-tie good-ASF PERF 3SG=IMPFV-emerge-REITR=NEG=PURP
‘They tied the jaguar very well so that it would not appear again (lit. emerge).’

(8) Imperative negative (prohibitive)

Mawe tiyu! Be tsu ema dia-ji!
no uncle IMP.NEG YET 1SG eat-IMP.NEG
(‘I’m going to eat you.’) ‘No, Uncle! Don’t eat me yet!’

Where are Zapotec negative constructions situated from a Typological perspective?

In Teotitlán del Valle Zapotec (TdVZ), a central Zapotec (Otomanguan; Oaxaca, Mexico) variety, clausal negation is marked with the clitics *kēd=* and *=di*, as shown in (1)¹.

- 1) *Kēdbíxhúdi* *nnay*
kēd²=bi-xhu=di *nnay*
 NEG=COMPL³-tremble=di yesterday
 ‘It didn’t tremble yesterday.’

Negation of declarative verbal clauses is typologically classified on the basis of the status of the negative marker (Dahl 1979, 2010), or on the basis of the structure of the negative clause as a whole (Miestamo 2005, 2007). Thus, in TdVZ one could argue that *kēd=* and *=di* constitute discontinuous or double negation as *ne ...pas* in French, which may be considered as syntactic negation if we consider these clitics to be syntactic particles. Nevertheless, in TdVZ, the clitic status and the morphosyntactic behavior of *kēd=* and *=di* makes it difficult to define whether we are dealing with morphological or syntactic negation in this language.

On the other hand, since there is no change in the indicative counterpart of the clause besides the addition of the negative markers, TdVZ may appear to have symmetric negation (Miestamo 2005). Nevertheless, I will present evidence to show that negative constructions in this language (1) exhibit a type of syntactic negation, and (2) negative constructions are asymmetric.

Negation in TdVZ is syntactic in as much as the main exponent of negation, the negative marker *kēd=*, host second position clitics that typically follow the verb in declarative statements, as shown in (2); compare with (3) to see the contrast. In addition, clausal negative constructions trigger a tone change that is observed in other syntactic environments (subordination, cleft constructions and interrogatives, Gutiérrez et al. 2010). Notice that the verb root in (2) has a high falling tone in this environment, which is not its lexical tone, as can be seen in the morphological division (second line) or in the declarative counterpart, example (3).

- 2) *Kēdzábasçēddyán* *dixhtíly*
kēd=zá=ba-sçed=di=an *dixhtíly*
 NEG=**also**=COMPL-study=di=3SG.IF spanish
 ‘He didn’t study Spanish either.’
- 3) *basçedzán* *dixhtíly*
 ba-sçed=**zá**=an *dixhtíly*
 COMPL-study=**also**=3SG.IF spanish
 ‘He also studied Spanish.’

¹ My information on TdVZ is based ongoing field documentation begun in 2012, including elicitation (Miestamo’s questionnaire (2016)), and on my own knowledge of the language as a native speaker.

² TdVZ has five contrastive tones represented here as follows: low (a), mid (ã), high (á), high-falling (â), and rising (ã). Also, I should mention that there is a tone sandhi process: mid tone assigns a high tone to the following syllable. Thus, the high falling tone in the verb root in (4) is due to this process and not due to the negative context.

³ Abbrev: COMPL = Completive, CONTRF = Counterfactual, HAB = Habitual, IF = Informal, NEG= Negative, SG = Singular

POLITENESS HIERARCHY IN CHUUKESE

Chuukese (aka Trukese) is an Austronesian language, spoken by about 20,000 speakers in Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia, where seventeen languages are spoken in the whole country. (Spencer 1996, Lynch 1998). This paper analyzes Chuukese complex agreement system caused by politeness hierarchy, based on my own data collection from native speakers.

It is a well-known phenomenon that many European languages incorporate agreement features to represent respect or politeness towards a single addressee (e.g., French *vous* 'you all' towards one addressee and plural verbs due to the number feature of the subject). I find that Chuukese utilizes plural number to express respect towards a single person, which has not been mentioned in any linguistic literature. This is evident in all three person features, as shown in (1), possessive markings as in (2), and for all grammatical functions (e.g., subject in (1) vs. object in (3)). Chuukese exhibits even more complex politeness system, which, to my knowledge, no other language has. There are three levels of politeness towards a single referent expressed by different grammatical systems: (i) plural number in agreement trigger and target to achieve the highest level of respect (similar to many European languages), (ii) a mismatch in number between agreement trigger in singular and target in plural to express semi-level of respect, and (iii) singular agreement feature in both to be used to younger people or friends to show intimacy, which is exemplified in (4). Lastly, nouns do not possess number marking and their meaning in number is interpreted in the discourse context, and their verbs can be in either number (see (1d) and (2b)).

The mismatch in form and meaning, where plurality refers to either aggregates or a non-aggregate polite individual, is analyzed as follows: All lexical entries with a number feature express politeness through plurality. I argue that Chuukese nouns lack number, and they are not agreement triggers. The subject or object markings in plural always have dual meanings - an aggregate or a polite non-aggregate interpretation. Pronouns possess number features along with subject and object markings. The plural verbs can have singular pronominal (or any other nominal) subject by their lexical constraint, where they assign polite interpretation when they have singular pronominal subjects (or other nominals lacking number feature). That is, it is purely verbs' number feature that can assign the polite interpretation. When both subject and verb have plural number, respect towards the individual intensifies.

(1) a. Am ai=pwe anisi John
 we.EXCL SM.1EXCL.PL=will help John
 'We[EXCL] will help John.' or 'I[POLITE] will help John.'

b. Ami ou=pwe kapwong ngeni
 2PL SM.2PL=will greet to_her/him
 'You (PL or a single polite addressee) will greet her/him.'

c. Ir ra=mmen niekape.
 3PL SM.3PL=REAL good-looking
 'They are beautiful.' or 'She/he (polite) is beautiful.'

d. Jon aa / ra samwau
 Jon SM.3SG / SM.3PL sick
 'Jon is sick. (informal / polite)'

(2) a. Imw-emi ei a=mmen risikape.
 house-POSS.2PL this SM.3SG=REAL beautiful
 'Your (PL or a single polite addressee) house is beautiful.'

POLITENESS HIERARCHY IN CHUUKESE

- b. Nouch tokter re=pwe anisi John
 our.INCL doctor SM.3PL=will help John
 ‘My [POLITE] doctor, our doctor, *or* our doctors will help John.’
- (3) John e=pwe anisi-kemi
 John SM.3SG=will help-OM.2PL
 ‘John will help you[PL].’ *or* ‘John will help you[SG.POLITE].’
- (4) a. ir ra=mmen wenechar.
 they SM.3PL=REAL honest
 ‘They are honest *or* She/He [Most formal/polite] is honest.’
- b. ii ra=mmen wenechar.
 she/he SM.3PL=REAL honest
 ‘She/He [Semi-formal/polite] is honest.’
- c. ii a=mmen wenechar.
 she/he SM.3SG=REAL honest
 ‘She/He is honest.’

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Transitivity and argument roles of verbs of naming

The argument structure of verbs of naming is peculiar in several respects. These verbs introduce an NP, the role of which has been labelled NAME in Hartmann et.al. (2013), with an unusual syntactic status. Accordingly, languages appear to vary to a great extent on how they encode this role and the argument structure of naming verbs in general.

At first glance, an English example like (1) appears to be ditransitive with a subject (*the parents*), a primary object (*the child*) and a secondary object (*Rachel*). However, the status of the third NP as a secondary object or even argument of the verb is questionable. For instance, it cannot undergo the so-called Dativ Alternation (2), unlike other double object verbs:

- (1) *The parents named the child Rachel.*
 (2) **The parents named Rachel to the child.*

In addition, the name does not have a referent on its own but seems to share a referent with the primary object. While NPs that share a referent with some other NP are usually analyzed as being in apposition to that NP, this analysis is not possible here, since appositive NPs are always optional, which the name is clearly not. Another possible analysis would be to view this as an instance of nominal (identity) predication with the primary object as the entity predicated over and the name as the nominal predicate. This analysis is running into problems of its own, since the two NPs in an identity predication can be freely interchanged. This is not the case here. A similar conclusion is drawn by Anderson (2007: 219), who considers the name neither to be a complement nor to be predicative.

The most promising analysis, in my opinion, is that it is an instance of mentioning the name without a referential use of it. In other words, the form of the name can most accurately be described as a quotation or citation. Indeed, some languages that have a special quotative marker use it on the name in such constructions. Out of the languages in Hartmann et.al. (2013), this pattern is found in Korean and in Standard and Mitsukaido Japanese. Another language of this type is Khoekhoe.

In this paper, I will give a crosslinguistic overview of the structure of verbs of naming including, but going beyond, the data in (Hartmann et.al. 2013). The main focus will be on the argument structure of these verbs, as reflected by the realization of the arguments and other accompanying NPs. In particular, I will test whether the analysis as a quotative usage of the name element is applicable for all languages, or if in some languages it must be analyzed as a regular argument of the verb.

References

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How passives and dative alternations are related to split (or differential) object marking

In this talk, I would like to argue that there is an overarching generalization from which general features of passives and dative alternations in the world's languages follow, and which also subsumes the well-known split P (or object) flagging pattern. I am referring to the following three universals:

Universal 1

If a passive alternation is sensitive to givenness, then the passive alternant tends to be used when the A is not given information and/or the P is not new information.

Universal 2

If a dative alternation is sensitive to givenness, then the dative alternant tends to be used when the R is not given information and/or the T is not new information.

Universal 3

If a language has an asymmetric split in P flagging (= case or adpositional marking) depending on some prominence scale, then the special flag is used on the prominent P-argument.

These observations are not new, but apparently they have not been prominently claimed to be implicational universals before, and linguists have not established a direct link between them. I will argue that they should be considered together, and that they can be seen as special cases of another, much more general universal:

Universal 4

Deviations from usual associations of role rank and referential prominence tend to be coded by longer grammatical forms.

Role rank refers to the two rankings $A > P$ (for monotransitives) and $R > T$ (for ditransitives), and by referential prominence, I mean the scales of person ($1/2 > 3$), nominality (person form $>$ full nominal), animacy (human $>$ inanimate), specificity (definite $>$ indefinite), and givenness (given $>$ new).

To make it plausible that Universals 1-3 are indeed strong universal tendencies, I first need to explain the comparative concepts that are used to formulate them.

I will then argue that Universal 4, and therefore also the other three universals, can be explained as following from a tradeoff between the tendency to minimize speaker effort (leading to a preference for short coding) and the tendency to maximize the effect on the hearer (leading to a preference for robust coding). What is crucial for this explanation is the observation that in discourse, A and R show a clear tendency to be referentially prominent, while P and T are referentially less prominent.

Time permitting, I will also mention a few further predictions that follow from Universal 5, such as split A flagging and split R and T flagging.

Extraction and referential constructions in Movima

In Movima (isolate, Bolivia), all content words, whether verb or noun, function as predicates when occurring in clause-initial position; see (1) for a transitive verbal and (2) for a nominal main-clause predicate. The clause-final argument (in square brackets) can also be expressed before the predicate, which may be seen as the result of “extraction”: as a DP heading a relative clause (introduced by *di'*), (3)a; as a determiner, resulting in a DP (3)b; or as a topicalized free pronoun (3)c. With verbal predicates, these constructions are pragmatically marked, as can for instance be seen from their lower discourse frequency.

The predicate of the extraction constructions has properties that it does not have in main clauses, e.g. it can undergo a valency-decreasing operation and shows a particular negation pattern. Extraction, therefore, has the effect of degrading the predicate to subordinate status, in line with cross-linguistic claims (cf. Myhill 1985, Grosu and Horvath 1987).

However, these constructions can also be analyzed from a different perspective. They are the only constructions that allow full access to all types of nouns, including possessed and proper nouns (4), which cannot function as main-clause predicates with a pronominal argument in clause-final position (5). Obviously, it would be awkward to analyze the constructions in (4) in terms of extraction, not only because there is no basic construction to extract from, but also because this analysis would, for instance, regard a simple DP as the result of a syntactic operation. Nouns, furthermore, occur at least as often in these constructions than as main-clause predicates, so there is no pragmatic markedness involved.

Still, since nominal and verbal predicates are structurally identical in these constructions – as will be shown, valency decrease and the specific negation pattern are productive with nouns as well – , it is desirable to analyze them all in identical terms. This is possible with a construction-based approach. The constructions in (3) and (4) have in common that they are referential, with the content word *characterizing* an entity that is *determined* by a referential expression, i.e. a DP (a.), a determiner (b.), or a free pronoun (c.). The referring function of these constructions explains why they are naturally accessible to nouns, while with verbs they are pragmatically marked (cf. Croft 2003). Thus, these constructions are best analyzed not in terms of argument extraction, but as referential constructions that can host verbs just as well as nouns.

References:

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Examples

- (1) Main clause with transitive verbal predicate
vel-na=sne [kis]
watch-DR=3F OBV:3PL
'She watched them.'
- (2) Main clause with nominal predicate
dichi:ye [is]
child 3PL
'They (are) children.'
- (3) "Extraction" with transitive verbal predicate
- a. RC: *[is dichi:ye di'] vel-na=sne*
ART.PL child REL watch-DR=3F
'the children she watched'
- b. DP: *[is] vel-na=sne*
ART.PL watch-DR=3F
'the (ones) she watched'
- c. TOP: *[isko] vel-na=sne*
PRO.PL watch-DR=3F
'She watched them.'
- (4) "Extraction" with possessed nominal predicate
- a. RC: *[is dichi:ye di'] majni=sne*
ART.PL child REL offspring=3F
'the children who are her offspring'
- b. DP: *[is] majni=sne*
ART.PL offspring=3F
'her offspring'
- c. TOP: *[isko] majni=sne*
PRO.PL offspring=3F
'They are her offspring.'
- (5) Main clause with possessed nominal predicate?
**majni=sne [kis]*
offspring=3F OBV:3PL
(intended: 'They are her offspring.')

Abbreviations:

3=third person; ART=article; DP=determiner phrase; DR=transitive direct; F=feminine; OBV=obviative; PL=plural; PRO=free pronoun; RC=relative clause; REL=relativizer; TOP=topicalization.

Functional Versatility and Grammaticalization Paths of Two Demonstratives in the Rucheng Language (Sinitic)

The Rucheng language is the *lingua franca* of Rucheng County, which is under the administration of Hunan Province in China. It is a Sinitic language whose precise affiliation is not known (Language Atlas of China, 2012). This paper focuses on the proximal demonstrative *ki*⁴³ and the distal demonstrative *nay*⁴³ in the Rucheng dialect, aiming to give an overview of the functional versatility of these two demonstratives. In so doing, phonetic, semantic and syntactic evidences for their grammaticalization paths will be examined.

In general, the Rucheng dialect uses a two-way contrast demonstrative system. The proximal demonstrative *ki*⁴³ and the distal demonstrative *nay*⁴³ are two adnominal demonstratives which always precede a noun or a classifier and cannot be used as an independent argument, that is, as pronouns. What is noticeable is the fact that both *ki*⁴³ and *nay*⁴³ are multifunctional. This is particularly the case for the proximal demonstrative, *ki*⁴³, which, when used as a structural particle, serves as possessive marker, nominalizer, attributive marker or adverbial marker (see examples 1-4).

In contrast to this, *nay*⁴³ can be used not only as a distal demonstrative, but also as a locative postposition which follows a noun to indicate location, inclusion, limitation, or a position relating to space/time (see examples 5-8). It should be noted that, as a localizer, *nay*⁴³ is normally used to vaguely describe that an entity holds some kind of general relation to the referential object. Put differently, the spatial relation encoded by *nay*⁴³ has the generic interpretation of 'in/on (the referential object)', while what it exactly means depends on the context (see examples 5 and 6).

Our study shows that the structural particle *ki*⁴³ is probably developed from the proximal demonstrative *ki*⁴³. Development from a demonstrative into a relative marker / nominalizer / modifier marker is not uncommon in world languages (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 113-115; Yap et al 2011: 16-19). As for *nay*⁴³, some evidences suggest that its function of a localizer has probably developed from its function as a demonstrative. We suppose that its grammaticalization process began with the usage as a postposition expressing 'there (where the referential object is located)', from which the grammatical function of postpositional localizer 'on/in' developed under a process of semantic bleaching ([demonstrative + locative] > locative). This means, *nay*⁴³ in Rucheng has gone through a grammaticalization path (demonstrative > localizer) which is rare not only in Sinitic languages (the typological study on demonstratives in Sinitic languages by Chen (2010) made no mention of this type of grammaticalization process), but also in languages of the world (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 172).

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Examples :

- 1) ηει³³-ki⁴³
1SG-POSS
my/mine
- 2) ʃ⁴³-ki⁴³
eat-NMLZ
food
- 3) xɔŋ⁵⁵sæ³⁴ki⁴³ təu⁵⁵fwæ²¹
red ATT hair
red hair
- 4) ɕiŋ³³ɕiŋ³³k^hu²¹k^hu²¹ ki⁴³ tsu³⁴
hard ADV do
work hard
- 5) fa⁴³ ts^hai⁴³ twai⁵⁵-naŋ⁴³.
Meal LOC table-on
The meal in on the table.
- 6) su²¹ʃ⁴³ ts^hai⁴³ ki⁴³-kɕi³⁴ xwæ⁵⁵tɕi³³-naŋ⁴³.
key LOC DEM.PROX-CL box-in
The key is in this box.
- 7) tɕiŋ³³ŋja⁴³-naŋ⁴³ jau⁴³ nɔ⁴³ ki⁴³ pje3 tɕ^hja⁵⁵ tswɕi³³kwei³³lei⁴³.
this.year-in must OBJ DEM.PROX CLF money catch-back-come
We must get the money back this year.
- 8) ts^hoŋ⁵⁵ ki⁴³-tɕi²¹-kɕi³⁴-ŋi⁵⁵-naŋ⁴³ ɕɤa²¹ ji⁴³kɕi³⁴.
From DEM.PROX-several-CLF-people-in select one-CLF
Pick one of these people.

Complement clauses in Hoocąk (Siouan)

Complement clauses are defined as subordinate clauses that fill either the subject or the object argument of the predicate in the main clause (cf. for instance Noonan 1985; Dixon 2010; and many others). It is the goal of this paper to present an overview of the morphosyntactic properties of complement clauses in Hoocąk. Hoocąk is a North American Indian language of the Siouan family still spoken in Wisconsin, USA. The results of this descriptive survey are interesting for Siouanists as well as for typologists for several reasons:

- a) Subordination is weakly grammaticalized. Hoocąk has no infinite verbs forms such as infinitives, gerunds, and participles. In general, complement clauses look exactly like main clauses with the same word order and the same coding of core arguments. A few exceptions apply, though. There are some types of complement clauses that allow suppression of person marking of the subordinate verb, if there is a coreference between the A or S argument of the matrix verb and the A or S argument of the subordinate verb. In addition, there is some variation with regard to the structural position depending on the semantics of the complement taking verb.
- b) There is no obligatory complementizer marking complement clauses in Hoocąk. Sometimes complement clauses have a special quotative marking (with matrix verbs of communication), and sometimes complement clauses are marked with a definite article.
- c) Complement clauses can be recognized in Hoocąk only by the semantics of the complement-taking verb in the main clause, by the structural position of the complement clause immediately preceding the matrix verb, and by some TAM categories of the matrix verb having scope over the complement clause.
- d) Hoocąk is a head-marking language indexing obligatorily the S, A, and the U (if present) argument at the verb showing a mixed active/inactive split (S_A, S_U) for the first and second persons and an accusative alignment for the third persons. Lexical NPs and free personal pronouns are always optional, i.e. they never fill the A and U arguments of the verb (cf. Van Valin 2013 for a theoretical account of this property). Consequently, this holds also for the complement clauses. Hence, it is not possible to speak of complement clauses in Hoocąk in a strict sense (according to the definition), but more adequate to speak of a "complementation strategy" in Hoocąk (cf. Dixon 1995; 2010).
- e) Nevertheless, there is a kind of hierarchy of complement taking verbs that corresponds slightly to the degree of tightness of the syntactic integration of the complement clause into the main clause.

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Subjecthood and Case in Lun Bawang

Grammatical functions have long been controversial, particularly in Western Austronesian (WAN) languages (Schachter 1976). This is because they have symmetrical voice systems or multiple transitive clause-types in which different semantic roles are mapped to subject (or at least syntactically privileged, e.g. through NOM case-marking). As a result, in non-actor voices, the actor appears to function as the object and another semantic role (e.g. undergoer) as subject. This is controversial partly because it is cross-linguistically rare for actors to function as objects and partly because typical subject properties are split between the syntactically privileged argument and the actor role (Schachter 1976, Kroeger 1993). Thus, those who adopt this approach typically argue that only certain properties (e.g. raising) are controlled by the subject, whilst others (e.g. binding) are controlled by the actor independent of function (Manning 1996).

In this paper, I present data from the Ba' Kelalan dialect of Lun Bawang, a WAN language spoken in Northern Sarawak. The data is doubly puzzling because, although the dialect is like other WAN languages in having a system of symmetrical voice alternations, it is unlike other WAN languages (and indeed other reported dialects of Lun Bawang (Clayre 2005)) in that pronominal undergoers can be expressed using an oblique form in both AV and UV (see (1)). In other words, if the undergoer is the subject of the UV clause, then it is one that can be obliquely-marked. This might lead us to posit that the actor is really the subject of the UV clause. However, I would like to propose an alternative: that case-marking in Lun Bawang (and perhaps WAN more generally) does not relate to the grammatical function but rather to semantic or discourse properties of the argument. After all, oblique forms are restricted to non-actor roles (see (2)). Hence, oblique forms may have been reinterpreted as undergoer markers, generalising from the use of oblique-marking for pronominal undergoer objects in AV (as found across dialects of Lun Bawang). The same marking may also reflect the fact that actors are typically more topical than undergoers in both AV and UV. In any case, it suggests that grammatical functions should be identified on the basis of syntactic behaviour rather than morphological form. If this logic is applied then several tests, including relativisation and control, support the identification of the undergoer as the UV subject.

Consequently, Lun Bawang provides further support that semantic role and syntactic function are independent in WAN and that oblique marking does not necessarily correlate with oblique function.

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Examples:

- (1) a. **Actor Voice**
Uih mefet **kemu** pakai we
1SG AV.hit OBL.2SG use cane
'I hit you with a cane'
- b. **Undergoer Voice (OBL undergoer)**
Bifet uih **keneh** ngaceku ieh pelaba lalid
UV.PFV.hit 1SG OBL.3SG because 3SG very naughty
'I hit him because he was very naughty'
- c. **Undergoer Voice (NOM undergoer)**
Bifet Badau uih
UV.PFV.hit PN 1SG
'Badau hit me'
- c. **Actor Voice Oblique**
Nefa uih mere bera **kemu**
Tomorrow 1SG AV.give rice OBL.2SG
'Tomorrow I will give rice to you'
- (2) a. **Actor Voice**
***Keneh** nemepag anak ineh
OBL.3SG AV.PFV.slap child DEM
For: 'He slapped the child'
- b. Delai dih nemepag **keneh**
man dem AV.PFV.slap OBL.3SG
'The man slapped him'
- c. **Undergoer Voice**
*Pipag **keneh** anak dih
UV.PFV.slap OBL.3SG child DEM
For: 'He slapped the child'
- d. Pipag delai dih **keneh**
UV.PFV.slap man DEM OBL.3SG
For: 'The man slapped him'

The elusive syntactic definition of articles as a unified class in North Vanuatu

Lynch (2001) reconstructed, for Proto-Oceanic, a common non human **a/na* article (making “no definitive allomorphic statement”). Its reflexes are found in many languages in North Vanuatu, which makes spotting the article(s) in these languages seemingly easy. In some of these languages, the reflex(es) of **a* and/or **na* have a pretty consistent behaviour. Mwotlap, for example, has a *nV-* (V being a copy of the first vowel of the noun) article, allowing nouns to access argumental functions and a few other functions, which they can’t do by themselves. This *nV-* article is therefore what Tesnières calls in French a *translateur* (i.e. a transferring morpheme). François 2007 analyses it, similarly, as “a device used to transform qualifying noun phrases (...) into referential noun phrases”.

In other languages in North Vanuatu, contrary to what happens in Mwotlap, the cognate forms exhibit a very irregular syntactic behaviour, depending, in particular but not only, on the function of the NP they appear in. Sungwadia (spoken on Maewo Island), has the following system of articles¹):

| | SUBJECT | | OBJECT | OBLIQUE | PREDICATIVE |
|--------------------------|---------------|------------|------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| SINGULAR | \emptyset | | <i>na=</i> | <i>a=</i> | <i>a=/\emptyset</i> |
| | <i>a=</i> | <i>na=</i> | | | |
| PLURAL (animate only) | <i>irana=</i> | | <i>(-ra) na=</i> | <i>irana=</i> | <i>irana=</i> |

These forms are reflexes of the common **a/na* articles, and are semantically relatively underspecified: they do not mark (in)definiteness, or specificity/genericity, etc. The noun they precede is in fact always referential. But in some functions, they’re not necessary, or even can’t be used before a referential noun, whereas in other functions (object, oblique), they may not be omitted. The object and oblique articles have *de facto* evolved into case marking, whereas the subject and predicative articles can’t really be analysed that way. But they do have some features in common: morphology, distribution, referentiality of the following noun. This raises the question of the syntactic status of these forms: some of them seem to be *translateurs*, some of them clearly aren’t, and singular and plural forms don’t necessarily fall into the same category, for a same function.

After rapidly proposing a historical scenario explaining Sungwadia’s system, and presenting a few additional data in Lolovoli and Mwerlap (two other languages spoken in the region), this talk will address the following questions: should these forms be analysed as a unique part of speech, or several (the morphology and distribution notwithstanding)? Is it possible to propose a theoretical syntactic framework, allowing us to propose a unified definition for what an “article” is in the languages of North Vanuatu?

FRANÇOIS Alexandre, 2007 "Noun articles in Torres and Banks languages: Conservation and innovation". In Jeff Siegel, John Lynch and Diana Eades (eds), *Language Description, History and Development: Linguistic indulgence in memory of Terry Crowley*. Creole Language Library 30. Amsterdam, New York: Benjamins. pp. 313-326.

LYNCH John, 2001, "Article accretion and article creation in Southern Oceania", *Oceanic Linguistics* 40 (2), pp. 224-246

TESNIÈRES Lucien, 1966, *Éléments de syntaxe structurale*, Paris, Klincksieck.

1 We focus here on the common noun articles, but personal articles have a very irregular syntactic behaviour as well, and the constraints on them are different than those on common noun articles.

Non-specific agents in specific contexts: Human impersonal pronouns in spoken Turkish

Impersonal constructions can largely be defined as constructions in which actants central to a given action (e.g. agents or experiencers) are left unexpressed or are presented as non-specific. To achieve an effect of impersonality, rather than of a 'generalised reference', however, the non-specification of the actant has to occur in an otherwise specific or focused context (Blevins 2003, Siewierska 2008a, b; Johanson 2006). Example (1), from an autobiographic conversation about the loss of professional skills, illustrates a nonspecific speaker reference in a context marked as temporally specific by the use of the *-(I)yor* present:

- (1) *Yani, insan yeteneğ-in-i kaybed-iyor, ama gene de yap-ıyor-uz.*
 that.is INSAN skill-PSS.3-ACC lose-PRS but still also do-PRS-1PL
 'I mean, you lose your skill, but I still do it.' (EFE02tk_Hai_m_0796_4_SKO)

Next to lexical nouns expressing the notion of 'man, human being' (mainly mentioned in connection with Romance and Germanic languages, Gast & van der Auwera 2013), Turkish makes use of impersonal passives, second person, third person, certain non-finite and semi-finite verb forms, and more (Johanson 1990, Csató 2010, Akar 2011; Giacalone & Sansò 2007, Viberg 2010). Within this larger picture, the present study focuses on the Turkish nominal expression *insan* 'man, human being', which can empirically be shown to cover a range of functional employments between fully lexical and fully impersonal; see Example (2) for a clearly lexical use:

- (2) *Ben uuh meselaaa uuh •• buraya gel-medem önce ih şey*
 1SG.NOM IJ for instance IJ here come-VN-ABL before IJ thing
değil-dim. ••• İyi/ şen.şakrak bir insan-dim. Bütün
 not-COP.PST.1SG good jolly one INSAN-COP.PST.1SG all
diyalog-lar-ım hep iyi-ydi, sev-il-en bir
 dialogue-PL-POSS.1SG always good-COP.PST.3SG like-PAS-PAR one
insan-dim.
 INSAN-COP.PST.1SG
 'I eh for instance eh •• wasn't like eh ya know before coming here. ••• I was a good/ a jolly person. All my dialogues were always good, I was a popular person.' (RUBA_002_Agn, part 1, 00:16:08)

Based on a searchable corpus of transcribed spoken Turkish, this study addresses the following questions: How do lexical uses of *insan* blend into impersonal ones? Which morphosyntactic categories make a difference? Which discourse-analytical categories come into play? How can the two levels be related to each other?

The corpus search comes up with a concordance of several hundred findings in which *insan* is interactionally employed, presenting close views at individual points on a scale from fully lexical to fully impersonal. Methodologically, a combination of morphosyntactic categorial tagging and qualitative discourse analysis (Herkenrath & Rehbein 2012) will be applied.

So far, the following grammatical categories have proven relevant: semantic role of the grammatical subject; morphosyntactic categories of the NP (*insan*): specification (*bir* 'one'), deixis, number, and case; syntactic position of *insan*; temporal-aspectual categories expressed in the predicate. Discourse-analytically, the demotion of an agent/experiencer is related to interactional management of actant identification, following communicative needs in dealing

with reference to specific persons, often, but not always, the speaker her/himself. Analysis of these functions requires a qualitative look at story content and speaker-hearer interaction.

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The Subject Participle in Armenian and Turkish and the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy

Armenian is an Indo-European language spoken in the southern Caucasus, Anatolia, and northern Iran. It has been in intense contact with Iranian and Turkic languages, notably Persian, Kurdish, Turkish and Azeri. Like all these languages, Armenian has the possibility of forming both finite and non-finite (participial) relative clauses. The participial relative clauses are a relatively recent development in the history of the language, and have many parallels with those in Turkic languages, especially Turkish and Azeri. Like these languages, Armenian has two main participles used in relativization: one, known as the subject participle (SP), is predominantly used to relativize subjects, and the other, known as the resultative participle (RP), is most frequently used for non-subjects. In grammars and typological studies, it has been stated that the SP is generally only used for subjects, and occasionally for possessor of subject (Dum-Tragut 2009, Gandon 2016, drawing a parallel with the Turkish equivalent). However, an examination of spoken corpus data reveals that this generalization is not strictly correct (although it appears to apply more rigidly in the literary language). The identification of the true factors at play has implications for the analysis of similar structures in other languages, especially those of the wider area, and for the typology of relativization in general.

Although the SP is mainly used for relativization of the syntactic subject (exclusively so in the literary language), in colloquial speech it does not seem to be constrained by syntactic factors (there are examples in spoken corpus data where it is used for possessor of subject, DO, instrumental, location, IO, and possessor of object). What all these examples have in common is that the relativized element could be considered more topicworthy than the syntactic subject, which tends to be inanimate, non-individuated, or otherwise non-salient (see Haig 1998 for similar facts in Turkish). Thus this could be considered an instance of 'promotion to subject' of highly topical elements, described as a general principle by Mak et al (2002), who suggest that pragmatic factors play a role in the universal preference for subject relativization. Promotion of topic to syntactic subject is implicit in generative syntactic interpretations proposed for the operation of the Turkish SP (in both Cagri's (2005) and Kornfilt's (2000 etc.) interpretations, the relativized non-subject element is conceived of as in some sense occupying syntactic subject position in such constructions). However, other properties of Armenian relatives mean that the syntactically-based interpretations that have been proposed for Turkish cannot apply to Armenian. Notably, the existence of a definite article in Armenian, showing that DP subjects are possible in non-subject uses of subject participle, invalidates Cagri's proposal that the relativized element moves to subject position only when this is left vacant because the syntactic subject is NP, not DP, and the lack of obligatory subject agreement with RP invalidates that of Kornfilt, who proposes that the subject participle is only used when the non-subject participle cannot be used due to binding facts arising from its obligatory subject agreement. Comparison of the Armenian and Turkish data, together with the fact that some of the syntactic rules associated with participle choice in Turkish appear to be of fairly recent origin (Haig 1996), corresponding to pragmatically-based tendencies in older forms of the language, and also in Armenian, has interesting implications for the origin and nature of syntactic rules more generally, and the relativization accessibility hierarchy in particular.

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Yiddish Possessive Alternations

Yiddish - like its Germanic relatives, English and Norwegian - exhibits an alternation between prenominal and postnominal possessives with full noun phrase possessors, cf. (1). While prenominal possessors carry inflection on the head noun (argued here to be an exponence of genitive case), postnominal possessors occur as the complement of the preposition *fun*, ‘of’, and are inflected for dative. Both variants are claimed to have the same interpretation in traditional grammars and textbooks. However, the choice between the two possessive constructions is not generally free: in the (Northeastern) Yiddish variety discussed here, it is determined by the animacy and number of the possessor: only [+animate] singular possessors are fully acceptable in prenominal position, cf. (2)-(3).

Crucially, Yiddish prenominal possessors induce (in)definiteness spread. That is, definite prenominal possessors render the possessive construction definite (similar to the definite interpretation conferred by the English Saxon genitive), whereas indefinite prenominal possessors give rise to indefinite possessives, as evidenced by their acceptability in fairy-tale contexts (‘Once upon a time there was...’) and their triggering of a weak ending on an adjective modifying a neuter possessum, cf. (4).

Uniquely within Germanic, Yiddish allows co-occurrence of a prenominal possessor and an indefinite article, resulting in an indefinite possessive construction, cf. (5a). Indefinite possessive constructions may also be formed with possessive pronominals, which must either agree in gender, number and case with the possessum or be affixed with invariant *-s* (cf. (5b)), in contrast to possessive determiners, which show no gender, case or possessive marking and which cannot occur in the indefinite possessive construction nor combine with a definite article (cf. (6)).

The Yiddish possessive data in (1)-(6) raise the following questions:

- What is the syntactic structure of prenominal possessives, and what accounts for the observed restriction to singular possessors?
- What is the syntactic mechanism that gives rise to (in)definiteness spread?
- What voids definiteness spread in indefinite possessive constructions?
- What is the morphosyntactic status of possessive pronominals in the indefinite possessive construction?

In answer to these questions, the present paper develops an analysis of Yiddish prenominal possessives according to which prenominal and postnominal possessive constructions have two distinct structures that are not derivationally related. Indefinite possessive constructions in turn are argued to have a distinct phrase structure from other prenominal possessives, with the possessor that precedes an indefinite article originating in a reduced relative clause rather than in the nominal spine. It is the relative clause-internal position of the possessor in indefinite possessive constructions that is responsible for a definite possessor’s inability to induce definiteness spread in this construction. The possessive pronominals found in the indefinite possessive construction are proposed to belong to different lexical categories (adjectives and pronouns), and to occupy distinct syntactic positions. Finally, the paper offers some diachronic perspective on how the synchronic variability of differential possessor expression may have arisen in Yiddish.

Examples

- (Prenominal and postnominal possessives with full noun phrase possessors)
- (1) a. d-er mame-s feder
the-F.SG.GEN mother-GEN pen
'the mother's pen'
b. d-i feder fun d-er mame-n
the-F.SG.NOM pen of the-F.SG.DAT mother-DAT
'the pen of the mother'

(Prenominal possessives with [+/- animate] possessors)

- (2) a. d-em yingl-s fus
the-N.SG.GEN boy-GEN foot
'the boy's foot'
b. *d-em barg-s fus
the-M.SG.GEN mountain-GEN foot
c. d-er fus fun-em barg
the-M.SG.GEN foot of-M.SG.DAT mountain
'the foot of the mountain'

(Prenominal possessives with singular/plural possessors)

- (3) a. d-em dokter-s karete
the-M.SG.GEN doctor-GEN coach
'the doctor's coach'
b. ?*d-i doktoyr-im-s karete-s
the-PL doctor-PL-GEN coach-PL
c. d-i karete-s fun di doktoyr-im
the-PL coach-PL of the-PL doctor-PL
'the coaches of the doctors'

(Indefiniteness spread induced by indefinite prenominal possessors)

- (4) a. A mol iz geven a melexh-s tokhter.
once is been a king-GEN daughter
'Once there was a king's daughter.'
b. a melexh-s nay/ *nay-e hemd
a king-GEN new[WEAK]/ new-STRONG shirt
'a new shirt of a king'

(Indefinite possessive constructions)

- (5) a. d-er mame-s a feder
the-F.SG.GEN mother-GEN a pen
'a pen of the mother'
b. ir-e/ ir-s a feder
her-F.SG.NOM her-S a pen
'a pen of hers'

(Possessive determiners)

- (6) a. ir / *ir-e/ *ir-s feder
her/ her-F.SG.NOM/ her-S pen
'her pen'
b. *ir a feder
her a pen
c. *di ir feder
the-F.SG.NOM her pen

System of Negation in Geshiza¹

Based on descriptive linguistic fieldwork, this presentation offers the first description of negation in Geshiza, a Western rGyalrongic Trans-Himalayan (alternatively Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman) minority language spoken in Western Sichuan of the People's Republic of China. In addition to a brief mention in the grammatical sketch of Duo'erji (1998), no extensive description of negation in Western rGyalrongic languages has ever been carried out even though these languages play an important role in deepening our understanding of the Trans-Himalayan language family and its history (Jacques 2017).

Based on the questionnaire prepared for the workshop (see earlier version Miestamo et al. 2015), the beginning of the presentation offers an overview of negation in Geshiza. This is followed by a discussion of two highlighted and typologically interesting phenomena in the language, namely negation and aspect, and negation and controllability. The system of negation in Geshiza exhibits considerable complexity, the frequently-occurring negator morphemes illustrated in Table 1.

Negation in Geshiza is intertwined with the category of aspect marked primarily by multifunctional verbal prefixes that also indicate the concrete or metaphorical direction of action in the language. Overt aspect marking (primary aspects: Perfective, Imperfective, and Prospective) is not obligatory, but contrasts with aspectually neutral forms in Geshiza. Aspectually marked forms are negated with *me-* while aspectually neutral forms are negated with either the default non-aspectual negator *mi-* or the non-aspectual negator of non-controllable verbs *mə-* (1, 2).

To corroborate the claim that the distribution of *me-* and *mi/mə-* is determined by the contrast of aspectual markedness and neutrality, it is shown that when a verbal prefix indexes direction, rather than aspect, the non-aspectual negators must be used (3). In other words, merely formal presence or absence of verbal prefixes plays no role in determining the proper negator. Also, the Geshiza system sketched above diverges from previously documented rGyalrongic languages in which the difference between two negative prefixes in languages is interpreted, for instance, in terms of an aspectual contrast: e.g. imperfective and perfective (e.g. Prins 2016).

As the second subtheme, the presentation shows a link in Geshiza between non-aspectual negation and the notion of controllability. In addition to aspectual distinctions, Geshiza exhibits a binary tense system of Past and Non-Past tenses. In the non-Past tense, in lieu of *mi-*, the negator *mə-* (4) appears with a subset of Geshiza verbs, a sample of which is offered in Table 2. The shared denominator for these verbs can be defined as the speaker's lack of control on the action, illustrated by the contrasting verb pair *mi-sji* 'not to listen'; *mə-nt^hje* 'to not hear'. Consequently, the notion of controllability that plays an important role in Trans-Himalayan languages has become embedded as a part of the negative system of Geshiza.

¹ The glossing here follows Leipzig glossing rules with the following additions: DISC.PART discourse particle; DOWN downward direction; INV inverse; PROSP prospective; SENS sensory evidential; SUPPL suppletive; TOPN toppnym.

Table 1. Summary of principal means of negation in Geshiza

| Domain of negation | Form | Gloss |
|----------------------|------------------|--|
| Verbal negation | <i>mi-</i> | Non-aspectual negator (default) |
| | <i>mə-</i> | Non-aspectual negator (non-controllable) |
| | <i>me-</i> | Aspectual negator |
| | <i>di-</i> | Prohibitive marker |
| Existential negation | <i>ma</i> | Negative inanimate existential verb |
| Copular negation | <i>mɲa ~ mja</i> | Negative copula |

Table 2. Examples of default and non-controllable negation in the Geshiza Non-Past tense

| Non-Modal Negation | | Modal Negation | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| Example | Gloss | Example | Gloss |
| <i>mi-ɛə</i> | to not go | <i>mə-dzo</i> | to not fit in |
| <i>mi-ne</i> | to not rest | <i>mə-v-se</i> | to not know |
| <i>mi-v-ra</i> | to not hit | <i>mə-snə</i> | to not dare |
| <i>mi-v-sle</i> | to not fell (e.g. trees) | <i>mə-nt^hje</i> | to not hear |
| <i>mi-v-t^ho</i> | to not build | <i>mə-vdo</i> | to not see |

- (1) Negation with *me-* (prefixed form with Prospective aspect, Non-Past tense)
t^hævæ *we* *zə-me-v-t^ho-ræ.*
 now house PROSP-NEG-INV-build.NPST.3>3-SENS
 Now, they are not about to finish building the house.

- (2) Negation with *mi-* (non-prefixed Aspectually neutral form, Non-Past tense)
brangu ***mi-ɛoŋ.***
 TOPN **NEG-go.NPST.1**
 I will not go to Danba County Town.

- (3) Negation with *mi-* (Prefixed aspectually neutral form with downwards direction, Non-Past tense)
tienləuŋ^hat^hu *næ-mi-ve-ræ.*
 computer.plug DOWN-NEG-go.SUPPL.3-SENS
 The computer plug would not fit (into the power strip).

- (4) Negation with *mə-* (lack of control by the speaker)
t^hə *ŋæ=ŋu* *tɛ^həs^ho* *mənɔ* ***mə-san.***
 DEM 1=PL.ERG DISC.PART at.all **NEG-know.1PL>3**
 We don't know anything about it.

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The feedback between syntax and functions of the article *ni* in Yokot'an

Yokot'an is a Mayan language of the Cholan branch spoken in Mexico by around 37 thousand speakers. The purpose of this talk is to discuss how the syntactic analysis of the NP in Yokot'an is dependent both on the syntactic analysis of the clause and the functionality of deictic enclitics and the definite article.

Assuming that deictic enclitics are phrase-final particles, one may wonder comparing (1a) to (1b), whether (1b) constitutes a single NP or two separate NPs. If we consider it as a single NP, the location of the deictic enclitic might be a problem, but otherwise one may have to consider the possibility that Yokot'an allows two syntactically independent NPs being associated to the same argument slot (this has been considered for other Mayan languages, see Skopeteas et.al, 2017). When we add the article *ni* we find that the standard position for demonstratives is postponed to the noun (1c). However we also find frontal demonstratives (1d), again shall we analyze these as two NPs in analogy to (1b)?

Vázquez Álvarez (2011:252) has argued for Chol -a sister language of Yokot'an- that demonstratives and the article do not cooccur in the same NP. Namely, the apparent frontal cooccurrences are due to a homophonous focus marker being confused for a demonstrative. In fact, it has been proposed that definite articles in the Cholan branch have raised through syntactic reanalysis of clefted (complex) clauses into dislocated (simplex) clauses (Becquey 2014, building on Mora-Marin 2009). This involves an implicit reaccommodation of the NP syntactic integrity whereby a non-verbal clefted predication is now reinterpreted as a single "articled" NP constituent preceded by a demonstrative-like focus marker. This interaction between information structure, clausal structure and NP structure leads to the following questions. What should count as an article? And What is the mutual feedback between function and the syntactic distribution of nominal determiners?

I have argued (Pico, to appear) that the function of *ni* is tied to the topical management of NPs and as such has similarities with topic markers that develop from demonstratives (e.g. De Vries 1995). But some purely syntactic contrasts in special contexts endow *ni* with an additional function as a nominality or referentiality marker. Some of these contexts are negative existential/possessive constructions (2a-b). These contexts somehow suggest an incipient function of the article as a marker of argumenthood based on the syntactic contrast of its presence versus absence.

This study examines a 7-hours corpus of first hand ELAN-annotated data and pays attention to the structural role of the article in the syntactic interpretation. We will revise the combinations of the article with demonstratives, possessives, numerals and its occurrences as syntactic nominalizer or referentiality marker. This will feed our discussion about the interaction of the article with the NP structure and the clausal structure.

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(1a) *Jin winik=da*
DEM man=CL
this man

(1b) *Jin=da winik*
DEM=CL man
this man

(1c) *ni winik jin=da* / *ni winik jin=i*
DET man DEM=CL / DET man DEM=CL
This man / That man.

(1d) *jin=i ni winik*
DEM=CL DET man
That man.

(2a) *Mach-'an (ni) kā-herramienta.*
NEG-EXIST (DET) POSS.1-tool
[without article] I do not have tools / [with article] I do not have my tools (with me)

(2b) *Mach ajni (ni) molino une.*
NEG EXIST.PFV (DET) grinder PRO.3
[without article] There was no grinder / [with article] The grinder was not (there).

The Syntax and Semantics of Stative Verbs in Kavalan

Abstract

This study explores the syntax and semantics of three subclasses of stative verbs in Kavalan, a highly endangered Formosan language spoken in the eastern coast of Taiwan. In Kavalan, verbs are divided into three major classes: adverbial verbs, dynamic verbs, and stative verbs based on the criteria that Kavalan verbs can (i) occur sentence-initially, (ii) attract bound pronouns, (iii) attract aspectual markers, and (iv) take different voice-marking affixes. (cf. Chang 2006, 2009). Kavalan stative verbs are characterized by the appearance of the stative prefix *q-* or *qa-* (cf. Huang's (2000) study on the verb classification in Mayrinax Atayal; Zeitoun's (2000) study on the distinction of stative and dynamic verbs in Mantaurant Rukai; Zeitoun & Huang's (2000) study on the marker *ka-* in Formosan languages) when the verb root is attached with the causative prefix *pa-*, which can be illustrated by the pairs in (1).

This study shows that there is no single class of stative verbs in the language. Rather, three distinct subgroups of stative verbs are found: verbs of bodily sensation, verbs of cognition and verbs of emotions. The members of these three subclasses each have inherent properties that encode different shades of meaning in the patterns of argument realization and morphosyntactic behaviors, as in (2) and (3).

The findings of this study may be of some contribution showing that verb classes are a means for capturing morphosyntactic patterns of shared verbs and identifying grammatically relevant elements of meaning (Fillmore 1970; Levin 1993; among others).

Key words: stative verbs, syntax, semantics, verbs of bodily sensation, verbs of cognition, verbs of emotion

Data:

- (1) a. qaytalun iku mati w qawka suppaRan ku aizipna.
 qaytalun=iku matiw qawka suppaR-an=ku aizipna
 third.time=1SG.NOM AV.go then know-PV=1SG.GEN 3SG.NOM
 I did not know him until I went there for the third time.
- b. me-zukat ita pasani, qasukaw senaqay ta, suppaR tiRus paqsuppaR timaitan.
 me-zukat=ita pasa-ni, qa-sukaw
 AV-go.out=1IPL.NOM toward-where IRR-be.bad
 senaqay=ta pa-q-suppaR tiRus timaitan.
 luck=1IPL.GEN CAU-STAT-know divine.bird 1IPL.LOC
 No matter where we are going, the divine bird will appear to tell us if something bad is going to happen to us.
- (2) Argument realization in the three types of stative verbs in Kavalan
 (i) Verbs of bodily sensation: **V-an(PV) + NOM_{Experiencer} + OBL_{Stimuli}**
 e.g. mammaqaŋ aiku tu sezang zau.

mammaq-an aiku tu sezang zau
hot-PV 1SG.NOM OBL sun this
I am roasted under the scorching hot sun.

(ii) Verbs of cognition: **V + NOM + tu clause/ V-an (PV) + GEN + tu clause**

e.g. suppaRan ku tu [aisu sammaymaynep].

suppaR-an=ku tu aisu sam-may~may~nep
know-PV=1SG.GEN COMP 2SG.NOM SAM-AV.sleep~RED~sleep
I knew that you were (just) pretending to be sleeping.

(iii) Verbs of emotion: **V + NOM_{Experiencer} + tu clause/tu NP_{stimuli}**

maytis=iku tu Raytunguz-an na wasu
AV.fear=1SG.NOM COMP bark-PV GEN dog
I am afraid that dogs (would) bark (at me).

(3) Morphosyntactic characteristics of the three types of stative verbs in Kavalan

| type | adjectival | cognitive | emotional |
|---|------------|-----------|-----------|
| characteristics | | | |
| Can be attached with <i>sa-</i> superlative prefix | V | X | X |
| Can take clausal complements | X | V | V |
| With <i>qena-...(-an)</i> nominals denoting stimuli | X | X | V |

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Isomorphism, conversion and lability in Mande verbal morphosyntax: big consequences of small changes

The verbal morphosyntax of Mande languages is characterized by an important degree of isomorphism between verbs and nouns and between the forms of verbs used in transitive and intransitive constructions. In the former case, the isomorphism is often described in terms of conversion, usually from verbs to nouns. In the latter case, the isomorphism is often described in terms of lability, typically P-lability of the decausative and passive types. The latter type, passive P-lability, is said to be typologically highly unusual (cf. Letuchiy 2006, Creissels 2014). Interestingly, the two types of isomorphism are both most prominent within one particular subgroup of Western Mande (WM) languages, viz. Central-Southwestern Mande (CSWM). Thus, in CSWM languages such as Bambara (cf. Dumestre 2003), roughly speaking, any verb can be used as a noun, viz. action nominal (while the reverse is not true), and any verb that is used transitively can also be used intransitively with a passive-like meaning without any changes in its form (while the reverse is not true). In the remaining subgroups of WM and in Southeastern Mande (SEM), the other major branch of Mande, the two types of isomorphism are much more constrained.

I argue that both the convergence of the two types of isomorphism itself and the fact that they are most prominent in the CSWM subgroup are related phenomena. They both result from one small change in the verbal morphology in the history of Mande. In particular, they are both endpoints of an evolution of the same light verb construction comparable to do-periphrasis in English. Semantically, the evolution of this construction went from a kind of verb focus through (with transitive verbs) antipassive to a more general detransitivization device and simultaneously to a marker of action nominalization (possibly through the use of this construction as dependent predication). This scenario is composed of changes of which every stage is attested or transparently reconstructible in various Mande languages (cf. Creissels 2012 on some WM examples). Formally, the light verb became a bound suffix and later fused with the verb root often resulting in irregular stem pairs. This complicated allomorphy was subsequently resolved by generalizing one of the two stem forms. The joint result of these changes was the rise of the two isomorphism types in question. In WM groups other than CSWM, the relevant changes have not been completed and/or were superseded by later changes. In SEM, very few possible traces of the relevant construction can be found suggesting that it has disappeared rather early there.

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The Hittite suffix *-ške/a-* between verbal aspect and pluractionality: a typological approach

The Hittite verbal system notoriously lacks the morphological distinction between perfective and imperfective stems common to most ancient Indo-European languages (Melchert 1997: 83), and in this language aspectual distinctions remain at a low degree of grammaticalization, as “[a]ny basic verbal stem in Hittite may be read as perfective or imperfective, provided that its inherent meaning and the context are appropriate” (Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 317). The overt encoding of imperfectivity is partly taken over by a number of derivational suffixes, whose function, in spite of the sizable number of studies devoted to them, remain controversial. In particular, scholars have long debated over the function of the suffix *-ške/a-*, with some authors interpreting it as a full-fledged marker of imperfective aspect (cf. Cambi 2007), or as a marker of different actional nuances including, among other things, iterativity (cf. (1)), habituality (cf. (2)), and distributivity (cf. (3)), (Bechtel 1936, Dressler 1968, Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 317-323). The connection of the suffix with imperfectivity is reflected by the fact that it is largely incompatible with stative verbs (Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 318), and by its occurrence with temporal adverbs meaning ‘in/for X time’ (Bertinetto & Cambi 2006).

In this paper, we aim to review the traditional analysis of the *-ške/a-* suffix by grounding its interpretation on recent typological insights on aspect and verbal number. Drawing from a complete survey of verbs showing the *-ške/a-* suffix in Old Hittite texts, we investigate the aspectual construal of these forms according to Croft’s (2012) cognitive approach to verbal aspect, and show that they are by no means limited to the encoding of imperfectivity as defined by Cambi (2007). Moreover, we argue that *-ške/a-* can be better explained in terms of pluractionality, as the different functions that this suffix encodes (such as (1), (2) and (3)) are basically the same covered cross-linguistically by the so-called pluractional constructions (cf. Newman 1990). Specifically, we investigate to what extent the functions associated to the suffix *-ške/a-* can be arranged in a network that complies with the conceptual space of pluractional constructions put forward by Mattiola (2017).

Finally, by also taking into account comparative evidence from cognate suffixes in other IE languages, as e.g. Latin *-sc-* (cf. Haverling 2000), we also set out to establish the original function of the Hittite suffix and explain the diachronic processes whereby the different functions developed out of this core meaning.

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Examples

(1) ITERATIVITY

nu ABU=YA ari-sk-it

CONN father=1SG.POSS determine.by.oracle-IMPF-PST.3SG

“And my father kept asking through oracle (but he did not find you Gods through oracle).” (KUB 14.13 obv. 50)

(2) HABITUALITY

nu=kan GAL-yaz katta apas pai-ske-tta

CONN=PTC gate.ABL down DEM.NOM go-IMPF-PRS.3SG.MID

“He (viz. the guard) usually goes down out of the main gate.” (IBoT 1.36 i 63)

(3) DISTRIBUTIVITY

*nu=kan INA ŠÀ ^{KUR}Hatti apēzz=a UD^{KAM}-az a[kk]i-ske-*ttari**

CONN=PTC to inside H. DEM.ABL=also day.ABL die-IMPF-PRS.3SG.MID

“From that day as well, people died in the inner part of the land of Hatti.” (KUB 14.8 obv. 30)

Reexamining the Nuuchahnulth Article

Despite early claims that Nuuchahnulth (previously Nootka, iso 639-3 nuk) and related Wakashan languages did not distinguish lexical categories like noun and verb (Sapir 1911, Swadesh 1938), later research has found properties that distinguish these categories (Jacobsen 1979, Rose 1981, Wojdak 2001, Davidson 2002). The arguments for word category in Nuuchahnulth revolve principally around the use of the morpheme =?i, traditionally called an article. I argue that this morpheme is an overt marker for a syntactic participant, that common nouns in Nuuchahnulth are one-place predications, and for a cross-linguistic understanding of articles that includes the Nuuchahnulth article.

Because of the flexibility Nuuchahnulth exhibits around word categories and syntactic use, linguists working on this language refer to the *syntactic predicate*, that part of the sentence that expresses the primary semantic relation, and *syntactic participants*, the part(s) of the sentence that fill semantic arguments of the predicate. Grammatical inflection mostly occurs as a cluster of second-position clitics. The basic structure of the clause in Nuuchahnulth is:

predicate =inflection (participants)

The canonical predicate is a verb and the canonical participant is a noun (1). But Nuuchahnulth allows nominal (2) and adjectival (3) predicates, as well as verbal (4) and adjectival (5) participants. As first pointed out in Jacobsen 1979, when a participant is a non-noun, the article =?i is required, and its absence is ungrammatical. For nouns its presence is entirely optional, and does not change the semantics or information structure of the sentence.

In a formalized semantics, we can analyze each content morpheme as having its own semantic content (or *predication*), which requires some number of semantic *arguments*. These concepts are related to but distinct from their syntactic correlates. To fill a semantic predication's arguments, Nuuchahnulth puts that word in the syntactic *predicate* position, followed by the syntactic *participants* that fill the predication's arguments, as schematized above. Articles may appear only on participants. The Nuuchahnulth article carries no definiteness information, and is incompatible with names (6, 7), and in many dialects is incompatible with deictic demonstrative-only participants (8, 9).

These syntactic facts are best explained by understanding common nouns in Nuuchahnulth as one-place predications, which are quantified and relativized when used as syntactic participants. That is, the semantics of a noun like *mink* 'milk' can be schematized in a loosely Neo-Davidsonian fashion as $\text{milk}(e1, x1)$, or in prose, "There is some event $e1$ *being milk*, and some thing $x1$ such that the event $e1$ *being milk* is true of $x1$." With nouns, the language permits the syntax to access the $x1$ argument without the use of the article. But for adjectives and verbs, the article is required to access the predication's argument. This also means names and deictics are semantically different from common nouns. They do not contain an event variable but are simple referring expressions, explaining their incompatibility with the article.

Nuuchahnulth suggests the possibility that the most basic understanding of articles may be that they are simply a means of syntactically associating the semantic argument of one predication with the argument of another. Because the Nuuchahnulth article is not associated with definiteness and because of Nuuchahnulth's flexibility with syntactic categories, the language offers a chance to look at the syntax of articles separate from the conflation of articles with definiteness and givenness.

- (1) $\widehat{ts'iqsipk}^{\text{?aał}} \text{mink}$
 $\widehat{ts'iqsip} =k$ $=\text{?aał}$ mink
 pour =QUESTION.2SG =HABIT milk
 “Do you usually pour milk?”
- (2) $\text{wiiqm}i\widehat{s}^{\text{?if}} \text{witsqal}^{\text{?at}}$
 $\text{wiiqm}i =\text{?if}$ $\text{witsqal} =\text{?at}$
 unpleasantness =STRONG.3 bad.eyesight =PASS
 “It’s unpleasant when one has bad eyesight.”
- (3) $\text{?at}^{\text{?a}}\widehat{t}i\widehat{s}^{\text{?if}} \text{quu}^{\text{?asm}}\widehat{m}^{\text{?inh}}$
 $\text{?at}^{\text{?a}} =\text{?if}$ $\text{quu}^{\text{?asm}}$ $-\widehat{m}^{\text{?inh}}$
 two =STRONG.3 person -PL
 “There are two people.”
- (4) $\text{?u}^{\text{?iis}} \widehat{s}i\widehat{h}ak \text{kamatq}uk^{\text{?i}}$
 $\text{?u}^{\text{?iis}}$ $\widehat{s}i\widehat{h}ak$ $\text{kamatq}uk =\text{?i}$
 FOCUS =STRONG.3 crying running =ART
 “The one that’s running is crying.”
- (5) $\text{wik}^{\text{!iit}}\widehat{?aał} \widehat{t}^{\text{?iixts}}\widehat{us} \widehat{t}at\widehat{t}uu^{\text{?i}}$
 $\text{wik} =\text{!iit}$ $=\text{?aał}$ $\widehat{t}^{\text{?iixts}}\widehat{us}$ $\widehat{t}at\widehat{t}uu =\text{?i}$
 NEG =COMMAND.2PL =HABIT laugh.at other.PL =ART
 “Don’t laugh at others!”
- (6) $\text{yats}^{\text{?asw}}\widehat{it}^{\text{?ass}} \text{mituuni}$
 $\text{yac} -\text{!as} =\text{w}^{\text{?it}}\text{?as} =s$ mituuni
 step outside FUT STRG.1SG Victoria
 “I am going to visit Victoria.”
- (7) $*\text{yats}^{\text{?asw}}\widehat{it}^{\text{?ass}} \text{mituuni}^{\text{?i}}$
 $*\text{yac} -\text{!as} =\text{w}^{\text{?it}}\text{?as} =s$ $\text{mituuni} =\text{?i}$
 $*\text{step}$ outside FUT STRG.1SG $\text{Victoria} =\text{ART}$
 Intended: “I am going to visit Victoria.”
- (8) $\text{wiinapu}^{\text{?i}} \text{?ahkuu}$
 $\text{wiinapu}^{\text{?i}} =\text{!i}$?ahkuu
 stop =COMMAND.2SG here
 “Stop here.”
- (9) $*\text{wiinapu}^{\text{?i}} \text{?ahkuu}^{\text{?i}}$
 $*\text{wiinapu}^{\text{?i}} =\text{!i}$ $\text{?ahkuu} =\text{?i}$
 $*\text{stop} =\text{COMMAND.2SG}$ $\text{here} =\text{ART}$
 Intended: “Stop here.”

L indicates first-syllable lengthening, and ! makes the preceding segment +glottalic.

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Apprehensive and precautioning constructions in Japhug

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Unique among languages of Sichuan, Japhug has an apprehensive marker, the prefix *ɕu-* (see example 1), which despite its rarity in texts, presents some unusual morphological properties (such as a specific direct 3→3' form). Unlike many languages with apprehensive morphology (Lichtenberk 1995, François 2003, Verstraete 2005, Overall 2009, Vuillemet 2018), it is hardly if ever used in precautioning constructions.

- (1) *ɕu-maɣhu-a* *ku zo* *ɣɣ-suso-nu tɕe* *rcanu,* *ɕoɕzi kuβde zo*
 APPREHENSIVE-be.after-1SG SFP EMPH IFR-think LNK unexpectedly corner four EMPH
jo-yi-nu.
 IFR-come-PL
 'Fearing of being late, they came from the four corners of the world.' (150906 toutao, 19)

There are two main precautioning constructions in Japhug: finite precautioning clauses and purposive clauses.

The former lacks dedicated morphology, and consists of either a clause in the irrealis, or a clause introduced by the linker *ma* 'because' with a verb in the factual non-past, often with the adverb *tʰa* or *tɕetʰa* 'later' as in (2) (see Jacques 2014: 308), a typologically frequent type of construction (see for instance Angelo & Schultze-Berndt 2016).

- (2) *nx-ŋga* *nyki, mɣzu tx-ndɣm* *tɕe a-tɣ-xɣzju* *ma tʰa*
 2SG.POSS-clothes filler again IMP-take[III] LNK IRR-PFV-add.some.more LNK later
tu-nɣndzo
 2-feel.cold:FACT
 'Put some more clothes on, add some, so that you don't get cold.'

Finite precautioning constructions are only used to express evaluation by the speaker. Evaluation by a discourse participant other than the speaker are nevertheless possible by embedding the precautioning clause in a reported speech complement with a verb of cognition such as *suso* 'think', as in (3).

- (3) *na-phut-nu* *kunɣ chu-βde-nu* *ɕti.* *tɕe ɣju-rɣtɕuɣmtɕab-nu ma*
 PFV:3→3'-pluck-PL also IPFV-throw.away-PL be.AFFIRM:FACT LNK IPFV-trample-PL LNK
turme ra ku a-mɣ-tɣ-ndo-nu *ma ɣu-znɣndɣ-nu* *ɣu-suso-nu*
 people PL ERG IRR-NEG-PFV-TAKE-PL LNK INV-CAUS-be.poisoned:FACT-PL SENS-think-PL
 'Even if they pluck (this mushroom), they throw it away and trample on it, so that people don't take it and don't get poisoned.' (23-grWBgrWBftsa, 27)

The negative purposive converb can be also be used to express precautioning meaning as in (4). This construction is considerably rarer than the finite precautioning clauses, but can express evaluation by the subject of the main clause.

- (4) [*ku-lɣ* *acɣβ* *nu ku u-mɣ-sɣ-jmu~jmut,*] *u-pʰuŋgu* *nu*
 NMLZ:S/A-herd Askɣabs DEM ERG 3SG-NEG-PURP:CONV-forget 3SG.POSS-inside.clothes DEM
tɕu rɣstas-pupu tɕʰurdu ci *ɣɣ-rku,*
 LOC stone-little pebble INDEF EVD-put.in
 'The shepherd Askɣabs put a little pebble inside his clothes so that he would not forget it'.
 (qaCpa2002, 166)

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Negation in Chuxnabán Mixe

Negation has generally been described in terms of its functional and structural differences to affirmative sentences. Following Miestamo (2007), such differences can be classified into different types whereby negative strategies used in imperatives, existentials, and nonverbal clauses often differ from “standard negation”, i.e. the “negation of declarative verbal main clauses” (Payne 2005). Moreover, negation may interact with marking on other constituents and may result in multiple expression of negation within a sentence (Horn 2010, Kahrel & van den Berg 1994, Payne 2005). This paper examines negation strategies in Chuxnabán Mixe zeroing in on the functions and uses of the negators *ka'ap*, which can surface either as particle or in its shortened form *ka-* as a verbal prefix, and *nii-*. Moreover, the interaction with other structures and multiple expressions of negation are examined.

Chuxnabán Mixe is a previously undocumented Mixe-Zoquean language spoken by nine hundred people in one village in Mexico. The data for this paper stems from personal field work in 2008 and 2011, including the collection and transcription of oral narratives. A total of 75 sentences with negative markers stemming from the oral narratives were analyzed. This data has been complemented with about 50 elicited sentences. Further elicitation will be conducted in May-June of 2018 following the negation questionnaire (Miestamo 2016) to fill current gaps, such as “negative replies”.

In general, the negative particle *ka'ap* is used in “standard negation”. It always precedes the verb, and its presence triggers dependent marking on the verb, i.e. a special verb form, including a separate set of person markers. The verb may also receive the negative prefix *ka-* instead of the negative particle *ka'ap* and in addition to other negative words.

The negative particle *ka'ap* can also directly precede a constituent to be negated, as in *ka'ap pën* “nobody”. Constituent negation may also be expressed with the negative prefix *nii-*. For instance, negative words, such as “nobody” *nii pën* or “nowhere” *nii maa*, are formed by adding the negative prefix *nii-* to the interrogative words “who” *pën* and “where” *maa*. The negative prefix *nii-* can also occur with numerals, as in *nii määjtsk* “not the two”. The presence of a negative word with the prefix *nii-* often triggers the negative prefix *ka-* on the verb resulting in double negation.

Negative imperatives are formed with the particle *këtii/kii* immediately preceding the verb which does not receive any additional negative markers. Negative existentials are formed by either using the negative particle *ka'ap* and the auxiliary verb *iich* or the interrogative word “what” *tii* or with the negative existential verb *amaay*. The negative potential and desiderative include both negative markers in one construction with either *nii* preceding the negative particle or *nii-* attached to the verb.

All in all, negation has proven to be a very complex topic in Chuxnabán Mixe with different constructions for different types of negative expressions, and negative constructions interacting with one another and with the grammatical structure of the clause. To date, there are very few studies of negation in Mixe-Zoquean languages, mostly in descriptive grammars (Boudreault 2009, Romero-Méndez 2008, Van Haitsma 1976). This paper is aimed at yielding a better understanding of negation in Mixe-Zoquean languages and to contribute to a systematic cross-linguistic comparison of negation.

Examples

Standard negation with *ka'ap*, *ka-*, or *nii*

1. ***ka'ap*** *tuk-y ja kääky*
ka'ap t-tuk-y ja kääky
NEG 3A.DEP-cut-DEP.ASP DEM tortilla
'He didn't break the tortilla (to eat it).'
2. ***kya'te'kë*** *tëejkake'ëy*
y-ka'-të'kë tëejk-akë'ëy
3S.DEP-NEG-walk house-closed
'She is not even walking through the patio of her house'
3. *tää* ***nii*** *yë'ë ja kääky tkojkaychäänyë*
tää nii yë'ë ja kääky t-kojkaychäänyë
then NEG DEM DEM tortilla 3A.DEP-finish.eat
'Then the tortilla never came to an end (they never finished eating it)'

Negative existential with *ka'ap*

4. ***ka'ap*** *üich tii jëen ka'ap üichtii careteerë*
ka'ap üich tii jëen ka'ap üich tii careteerë
NEG IMP.COP formerly fire NEG IMP.COP formerly road
'There was no electricity, there was no road'

Constituent negation with *ka'ap*, *nii*=

5. ***ka'ap*** *jä'ä jachë pënkoo myäyë*
ka'ap jä'ä jachë pënkoo y-mäy-ë
NEG DEM hatchet someone 3O.DEP-hold-INV
'Nobody could hold the hatchet (it was very heavy).'
6. ***nii******pënëka*** *tääpë to'oxychëejk kya'ixa'chë*
nii=pënëka-ja'a tääpë to'oxychëejk y-ka'-ixa'ch-ë
NEG=someone-dem this woman 3O.DEP-NEG-see.meet-INV
'Nobody had met (seen) this woman.'

Negative imperative

7. ***këtiij*** *mtsëëkëtë nëëkxtë*
këtiij m-tsëëkë-të nëëkx-të
NEG.IMP 2-be.afraid-PL go-PL
'Don't be afraid! Go!'

Negative desiderative

8. *perë ka'apëka nii****kaapxtë***
perë ka'apëka nii=kaapx-të
but NEG.POT NEG=say-PL
'But they (the children) didn't want to say'

Locative arguments in Kinyarwanda

There is variation among Bantu languages in whether locative phrases are arguments or adjuncts (Welmers 1973, Bresnan & Kanerva 1989, Bresnan 1994, Rugemalira 2004). In this talk, I argue that locatives in Kinyarwanda (Bantu; Rwanda) are arguments that can differ in their semantic contribution based on how they are licensed, i.e. via a bare verb or an applicative. I then focus on a class of verbs which alternate between these two options, and I argue that the semantic distinction between them can be captured by extending the analysis of applicatives in Jerro (2016) in which applicativization marks a increase in lexical entailments.

First, I show that locative phrases in Kinyarwanda are arguments that are licensed either lexically or via an applicative. Two pieces of evidence are that locative phrases are permitted in argument positions such as the subject of a passive, and, relatedly, they trigger subject agreement, such as *mw'ishyamba* 'in the forest' in (2). (NB: All locative classes mark class 16 verbal agreement)

- (1) *N-a-bon-ye umw-ana mw' i-shyamba.*
 1SGS-PST-see-PRFV 1-child 18 5-forest
 'I saw the child in the forest.'
- (2) *Mw' i-shyamba h-a-bon-w-e-mo umw-ana.*
 18 5-forest 16S-PST-see-PASS-PRFV-18O 1-child
 'In the forest was found/seen a child.'

Second, there is a class of verbs for which a locative can be licensed either by the verb or by the applicative, but the choice between the two has a systematic semantic effect. With the bare verb, the locative only necessarily describes the object, as in (3a); with the applicative, the locative takes scope over the subject and object, as in (3b).

- (3) a. *Umw-ana y-a-menn-ye igi-kombe mu n-zu.*
 1-child 1S-PST-break-PRFV 7-cup 18 9-house
 'The child broke the cup in the house.' (only the cup must be in the house)
- b. *Umw-ana y-a-men-ey-e igi-kombe mu n-zu.*
 1-child 1S-PST-break-APPL-PRFV 7-cup 18 9-house
 'The child broke the cup in the house.' (the child and the cup must both be in the house)

The sentence in (3a) is compatible with a context where the child is outside of the house and throws a rock which breaks a cup that is inside the house; in (3b), both the child and the cup are entailed to be inside the house. Given the evidence that locative phrases in Kinyarwanda are arguments regardless of whether they are licensed by the verb or applicative, the locative applicative in cases like (3b) does not necessarily increase the valence of the verb. Instead, I propose that the applicative marks an increase in the number of lexical entailments. I build on the approach developed in Jerro (2016) in which applicativization marks an output condition which requires that the applied variant of a verb has stricter lexical entailments associated with an internal argument.

Jerro's (2016) approach intended to capture cases (among others) in which there is no increase in the argument structure of the verb but rather an increase in the entailments associated with an internal argument. For cases like (3), the output condition of applicativization is satisfied by the additional entailment that the entire event (and thus the agent) is contained within the location described by the locative. This approach broadens the original proposal by Jerro (2016) to include not only entailments relating to an internal argument, but also the entailments associated with the event itself – thus shedding more light on the semantic nature of applicativization.

Mocoví agent-defocusing constructions: Beyond the passive

Since Shibatani's (1985) seminal work on passives and related constructions, *agent defocusing* has been argued as the main functional motivation for passives and functionally passive-like constructions, e.g., reflexives, reciprocal, and plural constructions, among others. Agent defocusing has been taken as a prototype-based cover term that refers to “phenomena like absence of mention of an agent, mention of an agent in a non-prominent syntactic slot, blurring of the identity of an agent by the use of plural forms” (Shibatani, 1985:832). More recent cognitive-functional studies have argued that agent defocusing is associated with a range of diverse morphosyntactic constructions such as impersonal active, promotional and non-promotional passives, and (action) nominalizations (e.g., Malchukov & Siewierska, 2011). This paper studies two structurally different constructions, i.e., verbal and object nominalizations, that defocus the agent-like subject participant from transitive clauses in Mocoví, a Guaycuruan language spoken in northeastern Argentina. It aims to describe the synchronic motivations of each construction and to broaden the typology of agent-defocusing constructions by showing that not only action nominalizations but also object nominalizations serve to defocus the presence of an agent-like subject participant from transitive clauses (cf. Sansò, 2016). I argue that although agent defocusing is usually linked to valence-reducing mechanisms, Mocoví agent-defocusing constructions re-arrange the syntactic function of core arguments to express changes on the clause information structure but not necessarily on verbal valence.

One structural type of agent defocusing in Mocoví is a verbal construction marked by the prefix *qa-*, as illustrated (1) and (2). This verbal construction has the morphosyntactic properties of impersonal active, non-promotional and promotional passives and may trigger a personal passive reading, as in (2b). Yet despite the passive reading associated with the *qa-* construction, the verbal valence is not modified (the number of arguments is always two); however, the pragmatic prominence of arguments is changed. The patient-like object argument is pragmatically more prominent than the agent-like subject argument.

Another structural type of agent defocusing involves object nominalizations (following Comrie and Thompson's (2007) definition). Such nominalized verbal clauses are also rendered into personal passive readings and their morphosyntactic properties show a combination of verbal and nominal features, as in (3)-(4). The syntax resembles a prototypical verbal clause, but morphology is typically from the possessed noun domain. Morphological changes show that the transitive agent-like subject argument is expressed as the indeterminate possessor of the nominalized verb and the transitive patient-like object argument is expressed by the gender and number marking of the nominalization-based object, as in (3b-c) and (4b-c). The function of these nominalizations parallels that of passive-like constructions in, for example, Spanish or English. The expression of the agent-like subject argument as the indeterminate possessor can be functionally analyzed as the oblique-marking/omission of the agent-like subject argument of passive constructions. Like the *qa-* construction mentioned above, the nominalized predicate does not reflect a change in its valence (there are still two participants) but pragmatic changes suggest that the acquired state by the former transitive patient-like object argument prevails over the other event participant.

- (1) *qa*-marked agent-defocusing
- a. so yale **yim** i-ogoren
 DET man 1SG 3-love
 ‘The man loves/likes/takes care of me’.

- b. ayim **qa-i**-ogoren
 1SG A.DEF-3-love
 ‘(They) love me’./ ‘(They) like me’./ ‘(They) take care of me’.

(2) *qa*-marked agent-defocusing

- a. so pyoq **i**-alawat a-so keʔla-y-ole-Ø
 DET dog 3-kill F-DET ear-ATTR-N.CLASS-F
 ‘The dog killed the hare’.
- b. so keʔla-y-ole-Ø **qa-i**-alawat so pyoq-ole-k
 DET ear-ATTR-N.CLASS-F A.DEF-3-kill DET dog-N.CLASS-M
 ‘The hare was killed (by) the dog’./ ‘The hare, the dog killed her’.

(3) Agent-defocusing: Object nominalization

- a. so pyoq **i**-alawat a-so keʔla-y-ole-Ø
 DET dog 3-kill F-DET ear-ATTR-N.CLASS-F
 ‘The dog killed the hare’.
- b. so keʔla-y-ole-Ø **n**-alawat-**a** so pyoq-ole-k
 DET ear-ATTR-N.CLASS-F IND.POSS-kill-OBJ.NMLZ.F DET dog-N.CLASS-M
 ‘The hare was killed (by) the dog’.
- c. so pyoq-**okiʔ** **n**-alawat-**ek** so nanayk
 DET dog-DIM.M IND.POSS-kill-OBJ.NMLZ.M DET snake
 ‘The little dog was killed (by) the snake’.

(4) Agent-defocusing: Object nominalization

- a. so yale ayim **i**-tʃag
 DET man 1SG 3-cut
 ‘The man cut me (masc)’./ ‘The man operated on me (masc)’.
- b. a-so ʔa:lo-oʃi **n**-tʃag-**se**-Ø
 F-DET woman-DIM.F IND.POSS-cut-N.CLF-F
 ‘The little girl cuts’./ ‘The little girl was operated on’.
- c. naʎa:qa **ajim** **n**-tʃag-**se**-**k**
 today 1SG IND.POSS-cut-N.CLF-M
 ‘I (masc) was operated on today’.

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Yimarne in Kunbarlang: from similitive to quotative

Based on original fieldwork data, we discuss the array of uses of *yimarne* 'like' in Kunbarlang (Gunwinyguan, non-Pama-Nyungan; northern Australia), focusing on its *reported discourse* (RD) functions. First, we describe the range of functions that attest to *yimarne*'s grammaticalization, and propose a mechanism of domain extension that may underlie the development of the different uses. Then we present an analysis of the distribution and syntax underlying the quotative use of *yimarne* to contribute to the existing literature on the syntactic typology of quotative indices (QIs), as well as to the description of grammaticalization pathways for similitive markers.

Grammaticalization. Originally a similitive particle combining both with phrasal (1a) and clausal (1b) expressions, *yimarne* has developed a vast range of uses. The list includes uses marking: approximation/hesitation, counterfactual conditionals, counterfactual wishes, quotatives (2), and indirect RD complements (3). Moreover, it is also used preceding (past) counterfactuals (4), in which case there is no other matrix predicate — a case of insubordination (Evans 2007). The latter function has probably developed out of the use in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals and in the complements of counterfactual wishes, both of these proper subordinate structures. Interestingly, it is not allowed in hypotheticals.

In the talk we propose a grammaticalization pathway for these different functions based on semantic considerations. We discuss in detail how the distinction between the presumed original meaning of reality-based qualitative comparison (similar to X with respect to certain features) and hypothetical 'near-equivalence' ('as if') can be seen to pave the way for the selection by *yimarne* of a wider-range of semiotic entity types (including mention terms, unreal states-of-affairs, reports, and quotes).

Reported discourse. Similitive-based QIs are frequent in the languages of the world (Güldemann 2008, ch.5). While acknowledging this typical development, we note a number of peculiarities. Crucially, *yimarne* combines with a wide array of predicates, and has, besides the quotative use, a function as a complementizer introducing indirect RD, as in (3). Unlike the English *like*-construction which admits only the stative verb *be* and the intransitive dynamic *go*, *yimarne* is found with matrix predicates meaning 'think', 'act' (say/do), 'want'. In accordance with this wide distribution and with the remaining degree of semantic compositionality of the construction, we propose that

yimarne has not been reanalyzed as part of the predicate that combines with a quote in a bi-clausal structure (cf. English [*I'm like*] [quote], Vandelanotte & Davidse 2009), or as selecting intermediary demonstrative elements ([*like* [THAT ... [quote]]]); see Haddican and Zweig 2012 and references therein). Instead, we suggest that it still syntactically combines with its complement. This allows it to be combined with both specific and highly polysemous matrix predicates - in the latter case serving to disambiguate their meanings by specifying the type of complement entity they combine with.

Examples

- (1) a. Yimarne nawonkebardangan.
Y goanna
'It's like a goanna.'
- b. Nganj-bardingolkduwa, yimarne nga-ngundje ngondo balkkime
fsg.fut-drink.npst Y fsg.nf-act.npst dem now
nga-bardingolkduwa.
fsg.nf-drink.npst
'I'll drink, like I'm doing now.'
- (2) Kikka ka-ngunda [yimarne [lemon namanwarri]].
she tsg.nf-act.pst Y lemon sour
'She finds [lit. 'said'] lemon sour.'
- (3) Ka-ngunda [yimarne [pussycat ka-karrme]].
tsg.nf-act.pst Y cat tsg.nf-act.npst
'She thought that he had a cat.' [from description of a storyboard where the speaker literally says: 'I thought you had a cat.']
- (4) Yimarne ngay-buni karra kodjkodj, karlu, ka-kelkkidanj.
Y fsg.irrpst-hit.irrpst prep head no tsg.nf-flee.pst
'I tried to hit it on the head [lit. 'like I would hit it...'], but no, it ran away.'

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Reflexivization of the fringe: the case of Mano, Mande

This paper focuses on typologically unusual morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties of reflexive markers in Mano, a Mande language spoken in Guinea and Liberia. In particular, we will discuss the role of the syntactic periphery in reflexivization.

Mano possesses a dedicated 3rd person singular reflexive pronoun \bar{e} which contrasts with the non-reflexive pronoun \dot{a} . Both pronouns are used in argument positions: direct object (ex. 1), argument of postposition (ex. 2), inalienable possessor. The reflexive pronoun can be used alone forming a SIMPLE reflexive marker (ex. 1a) or be accompanied by the intensifier $d\bar{i}\bar{e}$ forming a COMPLEX reflexive marker $\bar{e} d\bar{i}\bar{e}$ (ex. 1b). The complex marker is often preferred in the position of the direct object or the argument of postposition. All other personal pronouns do not distinguish between a reflexive and a non-reflexive form, however, whenever the context requires a complex reflexive marker the personal pronouns are obligatorily followed by the intensifier. Typically, reflexive pronouns in Mano are subject-oriented. The binding domain of a reflexive pronoun is a finite clause.

1. Morphology: source of grammaticalization

The intensifier $d\bar{i}\bar{e}$ functioning as part of the complex reflexive marker most certainly grammaticalized from the adjective $d\bar{i}\bar{e}$ ‘real, true’. Thus, Mano represents a rare African case where an intensifier evolves from an adjective rather than a noun (Heine 2000).

2. Semantics: unusual polysemy

The reflexive markers, including the complex one, can also be used as markers of derived intransitivity (ex. 3). However, there is a dedicated reciprocal marker $k\bar{i}\bar{e}$. The fact that an intensifier is used to form a reflexive marker and a marker of derived intransitivity, but not a reciprocal marker violates the typological generalization by Heine (2000:7), Gast and König (2006:236) and König (2016).

3. Syntax

3.1. Non-subject orientation

In a number of cases, the controller of the reflexive may not be the subject of the clause. In these cases, however, there are restrictions on the syntactic position of the target.

a) Thus, the controller can be a human possessor of a non-human subject (ex. 4).

b) When the controller is a direct object, the reflexive can be the argument of a postposition (ex. 5). The complex marker is preferred in such a case (6a vs 6b). Not only do these examples violate the general rule of subject orientation, they represent an additional problem for the analysis. Postpositional phrases in Mano and in other South Mande languages are situated in the IP-adjoined position (Nikitina 2009) and thus the direct object does not command the reflexive pronoun in the postpositional phrase.

c) Finally, the controller can also be the first conjunct in a coordinated construction, in such a case the reflexive occupies a position of a possessor inside the second conjunct (ex. 7a).

3.2. Variation with the pronominal \dot{a}

In the majority of the cases of non-subject orientation the reflexive pronoun can be replaced by the pronominal \dot{a} . Ex. 7b illustrates a case of coordination.

The absence of complimentary distribution between the reflexive pronoun and the pronominal may be an indication that in these contexts at the syntactic periphery the anaphoric dependency is not established in the narrow syntax (cf. Reuland 2011).

1a *lē ē tènē-pèlè* vs *lē à tènē-pèlè*
 3SG.EXI 3SG.REFL appreciate-INF 3SG.EXI 3SG appreciate-INF
 ‘She is praising herself’ vs ‘She is praising him’

1b *lē ē diè zḡḡ-pèlè* vs *lē à zḡḡ-pèlè*
 3SG.EXI 3SG.REFL INT show-INF 3SG.EXI 3SG show-INF
 ‘He is showing himself’ vs ‘He is showing her’

2 *ē b́ā ē m̀* vs *ē b́ā à m̀*
 3SG.PRET touch 3SG.REFL PP 3SG.PRET go 3SG PP
 ‘He touched himself’ vs ‘He_i touched him_j’.

3 *s̄ ē ē diè péé.*
 cloth 3SG.PST 3SG.REFL INT tear
 ‘The cloth tore itself apart’.

4 *à zò āà nī ē diè m̀*
 3SG heart 3SG.PRF forget 3SG.REFL INT PP
 ‘He forgot himself (lit.: his heart forgot himself/itself)’.

5 *āà lēē zḡḡ ē dē lēē*
 3SG.PRF woman show 3SG.REFL husband PP
 ‘She_i has shown the woman_j to her_{i/j} husband’.

6a *āà ḡ zḡḡ ē lēē* vs 6b *āà ḡ zḡḡ ē diè lēē*
 3SG.PRF man show 3SG.REFL PP 3SG.PRF man show 3SG.REFL INT PP
 ‘She_i has shown the man_j to herself_i/to himself’ vs ‘She_i has shown the man_j to herself_i/^{ok}to himself’.

7a *Zéézú wà ē lòkòò* vs 7b *Zéézú wà à lòkòò*
 Jesus and 3SG.REFL mother Jesus and 3SG mother
 ‘Jesus_i and his_i mother’ vs ‘Jesus_i and his_{i/j} mother’

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Negation in Mano, Southern Mande

This paper focuses on the expression of negation in Mano, a Southern Mande language spoken in Guinea and Liberia by approximately 400 000 speakers. The data discussed in the paper comes from a systematic description following a questionnaire. After a quick overview I will focus on the most interesting points of the talk: the existence of special negative markers in conditional clauses and the distinction between full and partial negation in the functioning of indefinite quantifiers.

Mano predications are divided into two major types: copula clauses, where the head is a copula, and constructions with auxiliaries. Auxiliaries express TAMP and function as a site of subject indexation, thus forming pronominal series. However, the auxiliaries are not the only markers of TAMP. As it is typical for languages of Sub-Saharan Africa (Welmers 1973: 343), in Mano, the expression of specific TAMP values is not located in specific markers: it is rather expressed by a construction as a whole which contains auxiliaries together with predicative markers, particles, adverbs and verbs in a particular morphological form. In particular, negation is expressed in copulas, in auxiliaries and in additional predicative markers which are used in certain negative constructions.

Negation in Mano is asymmetric (in the sense proposed by Miestamo, 2005) both because negation involves a change in the TAMP constructions (constructional asymmetry) and because the inventory of negative constructions is reduced with respect to the inventory of affirmative constructions (paradigmatic asymmetry). Thus, for negative non-verbal constructions there is only one copula, *wó*, while affirmative non-verbal clauses contain either an existential auxiliary or either of the three available affirmative copulas *lē*, *wó* or *gè* (ex. 1). In declaratives, there is only one negative auxiliary which, combined with different lexical and grammatical means, is used to form constructions of negative habitual, aorist, and perfect, while in the affirmative zone, there are three different auxiliaries used for these purposes (ex. 2). The inventory of affirmative modal constructions is much richer than the inventory of negative ones: thus, there is no negative equivalent of the prospective construction.

One of the striking features of the Mano predicative system are constructions used in conditional clauses. They employ verbal forms which are used nowhere outside conditional clauses. With respect to negation, conditional clauses are also unusual, because they employ a special negative predicative marker *gòg* which is used only in real and unreal negative protasis and in unreal negative apodosis (ex. 3).

Another interesting feature concerns quantification. The semantic map for quantifiers in Mano violates the adjacency principle (Tatevosov 2002). Moreover, indefinite quantifiers differ with respect to the scope of direct negation: for some, such as the most commonly used indefinite quantifier *dò*, the whole predication is under the scope of negation, while for others, such as the quantifier *gbúú*, it is not. Compare the behavior of these markers in the contexts of indirect (ex. 4) and direct negation (ex. 5).

Examples

1. Negation in non-verbal clauses

equation

a *gǔ wē lē ŋ dē ká* vs b *gǔ wē wó ŋ dē ká*
 man:FOC DEM 3SG.EXI 1SG husband with man:FOC DEM COP.NEG 1SG husband with
 ‘This man is my husband’ ‘This man is not my husband’

existential predication

c *bīē vò ò bē* vs d *bīē vò wó bē*
 elephant PL 3PL.EXI EXIST elephant PL COP.NEG EXIST
 ‘Elephants exist’ ‘Elephants do not exist’

resultative

e *à bɔ̄-ò lē* vs f *à bɔ̄-ò wáá ká*
 3SG leave-GER COP 3SG leave-GER COP.NEG>3SG with
 ‘He has left (lit.: his leaving is)’ ‘He has not left (lit.: his leaving isn’t it)’

ostensive

g *wálà léwè gǔ*
 god word COP.DEICT
 ‘Here is the word of God’

2. Negation in declaratives

a *lèè lō lóóí* vs b *lèè ló lóóí*
 3SG.IPFV go:IPFV market 3SG.NEG go market
 ‘She goes to the market’ ‘She does not go to the market’
 c *ē ló lóóí* vs d *lèè gbāā ló lóóí*
 3SG.PST go market 3SG.NEG NEG go market
 ‘She went to the market’ ‘She did not go to the market’
 e *āà ló lóóí* vs f *lèè ló lóóí néḡ*
 3SG.PRF go market 3SG.NEG go market yet
 ‘She has gone to the market’ ‘She has not yet gone to the market’

3. Negation in conditionals

e *gǔ pé bē sí-à ā lèé*
 3SG.SBJV COND.NEG thing:FOC DEM take-CNTRFCT TOP 3SG.IPFV
gǔ fèlā gbāā
 COND.NEG become.clear-CNTRFCT now
 ‘If she hadn’t taken this thing, her skin (lit.: she) would not have become so fair’.

4. Quantifiers: indirect negation

a *ḡḡ yí dɔ̄ ékēá mī dò nū-à lē*
 1SG.NEG>3SG interior know if person INDEF come-GER COP
 b *ḡḡ yí dɔ̄ ékēá mī gbúyù nū-à lē*
 1SG.NEG>3SG interior know if person some come-GER COP
 ‘I do not know if someone came’

5. Quantifiers: direct negation

a *mī* **dò** *lèé* *gbāā* *nū*
person **INDEF** 3SG.NEG NEG come

‘Nobody came’

a *mī* **gbúù** *lèé* *gbāā* *nū*
person **some** 3SG.NEG NEG come

‘Some people did not come’

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Negation in Pashto

Pashto, an East Iranian language with 50 million speakers, is one of two official languages of Afghanistan and is also spoken by the majority of the population in the two border provinces of Pakistan (namely Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan). The language has five major dialects of which Yousafzai (North Eastern) is considered the standard dialect in Pakistan. The present study uses data from this dialect.

The study explores the nature of negation in Pashto. Based on the questionnaire developed by Miestamo (revised 2016), the study offers detailed insights into the negation system of the language, focusing mainly on the structural patterns of three sub-domains of negation: standard negation, negative imperatives and negation in possessive predications. The data shows the patterns of standard negation in SAAD (simple, affirmative, active and declarative) sentences where, like other Indo-European languages, a negative auxiliary (*na*) is used before the main verb. The study further describes two dedicated negative constructions in non-declaratives of Pashto focusing on imperative construction (*ma*, as in *ma waya* ‘don’t tell!’) and possessive construction (*nishta*, as in *bacha saka motar nishta* ‘Bacha doesn’t have a car’). Finally, the paper highlights some potential areas for further research on negation in Pashto.

Keywords: Pashto, negation, *na*, *ma*, *nishta*

Examples:

(1) Standard negation

a. *Bacha kor ki de.*

Bacha home Prep. be3SG

‘Bacha is at home.’

b. *Bacha kor ki na de.*

Bacha home Prep. NEG be3SG

‘Bacha is not at home.’

c. *Shado gade gi.*

Monkey dance3SG PRES IMPF
IMPF

‘The monkey is dancing.’

d. *Shado na gade gi.*

Monkey NEG dance3SG PRES

‘The monkey is not dancing.’

(2) Negative imperatives (dedicated negative construction)

a. *Ma khwara.*

NEG eat 2SG Present.

b. *Ma ye wrra.*

NEG 3SG take 2SG Present.

‘Don’t eat.’

c. *Ma za.*

NEG go 2SG Present.

‘Don’t go.’

‘Don’t take it.’

b. *Bacha ta ma waya.*

Bacha Prep. NEG tell 2SG Present.

‘Don’t tell Bacha.’

(3) Negative possessives (dedicated negative construction)

a. *Bacha sara topak nishta.*

Bacha with gun NEG have.
have.

‘Bacha doesn’t have a gun.’

b. *Zama pa ke sa kar nishta.*

1SG Poss. Prep. Prep. any thing NEG

‘I don’t have anything in it.’

c. *Bazar ke tamatar nishta.*

Market Prep. tomato NEG have.

‘There is no tomato in the market.’

d. *Da pasal sa khwand nishta.*

Nom. crop any taste NEG have.

‘The crop doesn’t have any good taste.’

Syntactic Structure of the Nominal Complex in Russian Sign Language

The Greenberg's Universal 20 (Greenberg 1963) has recently started being investigated in sign languages (so far Polish SL (Rutkowski et al 2015), American SL (MacLaughlin 1997), Italian SL (Mantovan 2015), Taiwan SL (Zhang 2007) and Hong Kong SL (Tang et al 2002)). It has been claimed that the modality of sign languages has several effects on the word order in the NP (Tang et al 2002). First of all, it implies higher variability in word orders than in spoken languages (Mantovan 2015, Zhang 2007). However, this variability is not a random effect, it is constrained differently in different sign languages. For instance, Zhang (Zhang 2007) proposes that the linear position of noun modifiers in Taiwan Sign Language depends on syntactic complexity (or number of layers) of the nominal domain. Another approach is proposed by (Mantovan 2015). She claims that the variability of word orders in nominal domain in Italian Sign Language can be explained by markedness of orders and by position of modifiers in the cartographic hierarchy of the NP extended projection. Moreover, she attests sociolinguistic factors that can influence a word order within the NP in Italian Sign Language.

The aim of our research is to find out which orders of nominal modifiers (demonstrative, numeral, adjective, possessive) are attested in RSL and which of them appears to be the neutral.

In the early studies on RSL it was assumed that adjectival signs follow the modified sign (Grenoble, 2012), but the later works on the topic showed that adjectives can be used both pre- and postnominally (Kimmelman 2010). In our research we attested both pre- and postnominal positions of the adjectives in the attributive position (1, 2), although postnominal one seems to be dominant. In addition to this, the position of adjectives depends on a particular informant: they consistently put it either before or after the noun, without changing the strategy.

Possessives usually precede the noun and the adjectives if they are used prenominaly. Numerals, by contrast, generally occur after the noun and all its other modifiers. The interesting thing about them is that they presuppose reduplication as the convenient way of expressing plurality in RSL (Grenoble 2012, Kimmelman 2012), as in (3), where two fingers are involved instead of one to sign "sister". However, we find examples where the size adjectives in a postnominal position are reduplicated instead of noun (4). One of the possible explanation of this phenomenon is that these adjectives start to perform as classifiers thus becoming more "nominal" than "adjectival".

We observe that generally RSL signers tend to avoid syntactically complex NPs and prefer to split the sentence in two clauses when they need to describe a noun with two or more adjectives (5, 6). In some sense it is in parallel with the chinese example (7) provided by (Aoshuan 2002), where the informant has to repeat the verb in order to express all its arguments. She explains it by the fact that Chinese is an isolating language where the verb doesn't have to many slots in its argument structure. We propose that RSL also being a isolating language performs the same way.

Among other factors that influence the word order in the NP, we also name the number of its modifiers, the types of adjectives (evaluating, size, colour, etc.), articulatory factors.

Examples:

(1) DOG BIG BEAUTIFUL SLEEP

A big beautiful dog sleeps.

(2) TALL SUSPICIOUS MAN PUT.ON.HAT HAT

A tall suspicious man puts a hat on.

(3) SISTER.PL STUDY

Sisters study.

(4) BOY INDX MOTHER FATHER GIFT SOLDIER LITTLE.PL

Parents gifted a boy little soldiers [toys]

(5) TABLE.BIG WOOD TABLE.BIG BREAK

A big wooden table broke (lit. A big wooden table. The big table broke)

(6) BUSH HIDE SNAKE.UNDER SNAKE BROWN LONG

A big brown snake hid under the bush (lit. A snake hid under the bush. Snake in brown and long)

(7) Women xue Yingyu xue le wu man

We studied English for five years

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Typological Aspects of Negation in Sign Language of the Netherlands: Negative Particles, Negative Modals, and Neg-Raising

Background: Traditionally, typological studies on negation have focused entirely on spoken languages (e.g. [1,2]). Only recently, sign languages (SLs) have been added to the typological picture, and scholars have made efforts to show (i) in how far SLs differ from each other typologically (intra-modal typology; e.g. [3,4]) and (ii) in how far typological classifications based on spoken languages can be applied to SLs (cross-modal typology; e.g. [3,5]).

Present study: We investigate aspects of negation in Sign Language of the Netherlands (NGT), based on naturalistic corpus data [6] and elicited data, and inspired by the Miestamo questionnaire. On the one hand, we address intra-modal typology by offering a broad classification of the NGT negation system. On the other hand, we zoom in on selected aspects of NGT negation and discuss these from a cross-modal typological perspective.

I. Intra-modal typology: Across SLs, clausal negation can be realized by manual negative particles and/or a non-manual marker – a headshake. Yet, SLs differ from each other with respect to whether the use of a manual negator is obligatory or not [4]. Corpus data reveal that NGT can be classified as a *non-manual dominant* SL, i.e. a SL in which clauses are commonly negated by only a headshake accompanying (part of) the utterance (1a). This is in contrast to *manual dominant* SLs (e.g. Italian SL [7]), in which the presence of a manual negator is obligatory. Still, 41% of our NGT corpus data contain the manual particle NOT (1bc).

II. Cross-modal typology: We further discuss three (morpho)syntactic features of NGT negation which are interesting from a cross-modal typological perspective: (i) position of the manual clause negator; (ii) negation in complex clauses; and (iii) negative modals.

As for feature (i), we find that NGT systematically employs two positions for NOT: pre-VP (1b) and post-VP (1c), the latter being the more common one. Crucially, this difference is not related to differences in scope of negation (as it is in e.g. Dutch), nor is there any indication that pre-verbal position of NOT is due to a requirement for focused material to appear clause-finally – as has been claimed for ASL (2ab) [8]. Rather, NGT seems to behave like Fongbe, which also employs two distinct positions for negative particles (3ab) [9].

As for feature (ii), we observe interesting patterns in complex sentences involving complement clauses. First, the corpus data confirm previous claims ([10] for ASL, [11] for NGT) that a headshake negating a matrix verb typically spreads over the complement clause, even though the embedded predicate is not negated (4a). Second, discussions with Deaf informants reveal that Neg-raising [12] is possible – a phenomenon which, to the best of our knowledge, has never been described for any sign language. As (4b) shows, the headshake may accompany the matrix predicate with certain cognition verbs like THINK, although semantically, negation scopes over the embedded verb (cf. the English translation). In this case, spreading of the headshake over the complement clause is obligatory, which, at first sight, might suggest that there is also ‘Neg-transport’ into the embedded clause. Yet, as was shown in (4a), the same type of spreading is also observed with non-Neg-raising predicates. In addition, the manual negator NOT is optionally present in the main clause (4b), which lends further credence to the claim that we are indeed dealing with an instance of Neg-raising.

Finally, we address the behavior of modals under negation. Across SLs, modals commonly display cliticized or suppletive negative forms [4,13], and this is also what we observe in NGT; CAN^NOT, for instance, involves reduction and handshape assimilation of NOT (5a). Yet, the corpus data reveal two additional patterns: like lexical verbs, modals may also be negated by a headshake only, or by the particle NOT in combination with headshake (5b). Interestingly, this contrasts with other SLs for which the use of specialized (cliticized/suppletive) forms, when available, has been claimed to be obligatory [13].

Notation conventions: signs are represented in SMALL CAPS; INDEX = pointing sign, subscript indicates person; hs = headshake, line above glosses indicates scope (onset & offset) of the headshake; ^ indicates cliticization; F-A-N in example (2) is fingerspelled.

- (1) a. $\overline{\text{INDEX}_1 \text{ MAYBE GRASP INDEX}_1}$
 ‘Maybe I didn’t understand it.’
- b. $\overline{\text{INDEX}_1 \text{ NOT OPINION HAVE}}$
 ‘I don’t have an opinion (on that).’
- c. $\overline{\text{INDEX}_1 \text{ POINT UNDERSTAND NOT}}$
 ‘I don’t understand/get the point.’ [NGT]
- (2) a. JOHN BREAK F-A-N NOT
 ‘John did not break the fan.’
- b. JOHN NOT BREAK F-A-N, TV
 ‘John did not break the fan but the TV.’ [ASL; Wood 1999]
- (3) a. Kòkú má ná xò àsón ó
 Koku NEG FUT buy crab DET
- b. Kòkú ná xò àsón ó ǎ.
 Koku FUT buy crab DET NEG
 ‘Koku will not buy the crab.’ [Fongbe; Aboh 2010]
- (4) a. $\overline{\text{INDEX}_1 \text{ KNOW [INDEX TRUE]}}$
 ‘I don’t know whether that’s true.’
- b. $\overline{\text{INDEX}_1 \text{ THINK (NOT) [TOMORROW INDEX}_3 \text{ COME]}}$
 ‘I don’t think he will come tomorrow.’ [NGT]
- (5) a. $\overline{\text{HANDICAPPED MOVE}_{(\text{group})} \text{ CAN}^{\wedge} \text{NOT}}$
 ‘The handicapped cannot move (to another place).’
- b. $\overline{\text{CAN NOT TRULY PLAY SPORTS}}$
 ‘(They) can’t really play sports.’ [NGT]

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Definite Articles and Their Uses: Diversity and Patterns of Variation

The goal of this paper is to provide the basic outlines of a typological study of definite articles, on the basis of both formal and notional criteria, with a focus on European languages. In contrast to earlier contributions to this topic (Krámský, 1972; Nocentini, 1996) and to recent, more comprehensive typological studies (Dryer, 2005, 2014), more attention will be paid to the problems of (a) providing a clear semantic basis for the comparison and to (b) the reconstruction of plausible historical developments, following the leads of Greenberg (1978), of Hawkins (2004), of Heine & Kuteva (2005) and Carlier & Mulder (2005). Providing such a basis involves the discussion of some fundamental issues, such as Saussure's views on the inseparable unity of *signifiant* and *signifié* and the compatibility between analyses for the singular ('uniqueness') and for the plural ('exhaustiveness'). The implementation of these goals will be a first step towards a more fine-grained typology of definite articles and ultimately provide a better basis for extending the scope of such a typology to the specific articles of Polynesian languages (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen, 1992; Moyse-Faurie, 1997) and to other systems discussed in Dryer (2015). Moreover, it will also be pointed out that even in the restricted area of Europe we find a remarkable diversity in the use of definite articles.

As far as semantic differentiations are concerned, many Germanic languages with their distinctions between weak and strong articles and their combinations of articles and demonstratives provide major challenges (cf. Schwarz, 2013). In Oceanic languages, the possible uses of 'specific articles' have to be examined in more detail in order to establish their relationship to 'definite articles'. On the formal side, specific attention will be given to identifying the contexts in which definite articles manifest variation, such as multiple use, co-occurrence, non-occurrence, and use as structure-builders for noun phrases.

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Negation in Oneida and Northern Iroquoian

This paper describes properties of negation in Oneida (Northern Iroquoian). Negation is exclusively clausal and applies only to verbs. In most contexts it consists of two necessary components, a negative particle, usually *yah* ‘not,’ and an inflectional prefix *teʔ-*. The negative particle + negative prefix structure exists in Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga; only the negative particle occurs in Tuscarora; just the negative prefix occurs in Seneca; and Cayuga has the negative particle but the prefix is optional. In the punctual aspect negation is restricted to the optative mood (one of three moods) in Oneida; in Seneca and Tuscarora the negative can also occur with the factual mood. The negative particle is the word for ‘no’ in most of the languages, but not in all varieties of Oneida.

The negative prefix is subject to rather unique morphological restrictions. First, the negative prefix competes with three other prefixes in the same position class: the coincident, contrastive, and partitive. When the meanings expressed by two of these prefixes are conveyed, only one prefix can occur in the position class. If the coincident and negative meanings are conveyed, the coincident prefix has priority and only the coincident prefix occurs; if the negative and partitive meanings are conveyed, the negative has priority and the negative prefix surfaces. Second, the contrastive prefix substitutes for the negative when certain other prepronominal prefixes occur, for example the dualic in (2).

- (1) *Yah kwí· teʔ-yakninú·wehse?* (a·shakyatukóhtΛ?)
not link NEG-we like (for us to catch up to him)
‘We don’t want (that we catch up to him,)’
- (2) *Yah th-aʔte-wakatuhutsyoní, só·tsi? kano·lú·.*
not CONTR-DUALIC-I want (it) too much it costs
‘I don’t want it, it’s too expensive.’

We analyze the necessary co-occurrence of the negative particle and the negative prefix as obligatory negative concord; and negative concord can be more widespread, as in the example of “negative spreading” in (3), where both verbs have the negative prefix. The negative particle + prefix pattern applies to almost all negation, including possession, existentials, and questions. But not imperatives: Instead of the particle *yah*, the particle *tákaʔ* occurs; instead of the negative/contrastive prefix, either the future or optative modal prefix occurs; and instead of the punctual aspect ending, the imperative ending (usually) occurs.

- (3) *Yah tho té·ku teʔ-wakethé·tslayΛ? aknaʔtalú·ní· wá·yat.*
not that NEG-amount.to NEG-I have flour so that I bake pie
‘I don’t have enough flour to bake a pie.’

Semantically, the scope of negation, like other operators in Oneida, obeys a strict left to right order: A single sentence never has different interpretations depending on the relative semantic scope of negation and a quantified expression. Interestingly, though, the order of negation and a quantified expression is sometimes restricted. For example, *yah akwekú* ‘not all’ is possible, but *akwekú yah* is not. Instead, NPIs are used to express the meaning which that order would express, as in (4).

- (4) *Yah ki? náhte? teʔ-yukniʔnhúhsayΛ?*
not actually anything NEG-we two have eggs
‘We don’t have any eggs.’

In sum, our paper presents the unique, as well as more expected, properties of Oneida negation from synchronic, comparative, and typological perspectives.

Negation in Nafsan

This paper reports on the properties of negation in Nafsan (South Efate), a Southern Oceanic language of Vanuatu, with special focus on asymmetries regarding TMA meanings and negative verbs. As Thieberger (2006) describes in his grammar of Nafsan, negation is formed by two discontinuous markers *ta(p)...mau*. Although the discontinuity of negative markers and their diachrony is quite well-studied in the literature on Oceanic languages (e.g. Lynch et al., 2011; Vossen & van der Auwera, 2014), the study of asymmetries of constructions and paradigms (Miestamo, 2005) has not attracted as much attention in this linguistic area, including in Nafsan.

In Nafsan there are three obligatorily expressed TMA categories marked on portmanteau subject proclitics: realis (1), irrealis (2), and perfect (3), and all of them can be negated with the construction *ta(p)...mau*. *Ta(p)* is a preverbal particle and different TMA subject proclitics can attach to it. *Mau* is a postclausal particle, as shown in (1). The only constructional asymmetry in Nafsan is attested with auxiliaries *tae* ‘can/know_how’ and *kano* ‘cannot’, as exemplified in (4) (Thieberger, 2006).

An interesting feature of Nafsan is that the asymmetrical paradigms of negation do not have to be instantiated as a contrast of grammatical/agrammatical combinations of TMA with negative marking. Instead, a combination of a TMA form with negation can be blocked only for certain meanings. This is the case with the perfect category in Nafsan, which can also be classified as a iamitive (Olsson, 2013) because it combines some features of the English-style perfect and meanings of ‘already’. When perfect is negated it can have a meaning of ‘anymore’ (3), but not ‘not yet’, as shown in (5) where the affirmative clause is marked with the perfect and its negative *nondum* (‘not yet’) version does not have the perfect marking. As we can see in (5), the *nondum* meaning can be achieved only with the combination of realis, the marker *ta* ‘still’ and the discontinuous negation *ta(p)...mau*. This shows that, although Nafsan does not have a dedicated *nondum* marker (Veselinova, 2017), it still has to express this meaning as separate from the iamitive marking (cf. Krifka, 2000).

In the case of the auxiliary functions of *tae* ‘can/know_how’ and *kano* ‘cannot’, there is also an indication of paradigmatic asymmetry when it comes to irrealis contexts. *Kano* ‘cannot’ seems to be grammaticalizing into a general negation of possibility, as shown in the apodosis of the conditional clause in (6) where *kano* is highly preferred over the default *ta(p)...mau*, according to the fieldwork data. In contrast, we see that the affirmative apodosis in (7) does not have *tae*. This shows that the distribution of *kano* is not entirely symmetrical to the distribution of *tae*.

There are a few other negative verbs in Nafsan, typically with a corresponding positive counterpart, and their functions are often not symmetrical in relation to the semantics or/and the morphosyntax of their positive counterparts. For instance, the verb *tik* ‘not be/have’ can be understood as the negative counterpart of the verb *piatlak* ‘have’ (Thieberger, 2006). However, *tik* is different from *piatlak* in some respects. It is an intransitive verb used with either an existential meaning or as a general negative word ‘no/it is not’, as exemplified in (8). Notice that whenever *tik* is used with the meaning ‘no/it is not’ it has the marking of 3SG.REAL=, and it does not agree with the subject (8). In order to have a possessive meaning, *tik* has to be transitivized with the suffix *-ki* as in (9) (Thieberger, 2006). *Piatlak* can also have an existential or a possessive meaning, but it does not undergo transitivization.

Nafsan is a good example of a language that according to its grammatical description seems to be characterized by symmetrical relations between negative and affirmative clauses (cf. Thieberger, 2006). In this paper I show, however, that there are asymmetries between specific semantic and morphosyntactic features of negative and affirmative markers and clauses.

- (1) *Ru=ta nrik kineu ki gas kin ka=fo jenj-ki-n mau.*
 3PL.REAL=NEG1 tell 1SG PREP when COMP 1SG.IRR=PSP.IRR change-TR-3SG.OBJ NEG2
 (PSP-prospective)
 ‘They didn’t tell me when I would change it.’ (Thieberger, 2006:247)
- (2) *P̃a=ta mtak mau.*
 2SG.IRR=NEG1 fright NEG2
 ‘Don’t be scared!’ (Thieberger, 2006:288)
- (3) *Go malfanen kai=pe tap siwer pak tal̃mat mau.*
 and now 1SG.PRF=PRF NEG1 walk to garden NEG2
 ‘And now I don’t walk to the garden anymore.’ (082.010, Thieberger, 2017)
- (4) *i=tae sef pelpel me katom i=kano.*
 3SG.REAL=can escape quickly and Hermit_crab 3SG.REAL=cannot
 ‘He can run away quickly, but the hermit crab can’t.’ (036.007, Thieberger, 2017)
- (5) *Ale ki=pe ptu-ki nuan me tomat i=ta tap ptu-ki nuan mau.*
 then 3SG.PRF=PRF give-TR fruit but tomato 3SG.REAL=still NEG1 give-TR fruit NEG2
 ‘It has given fruit, but tomato hasn’t given fruit yet.’ ([author retracted])
- (6) *Ku=f mer pei ta tai nkas ne mau, ka=fo kano*
 2SG.REAL=COND COUNT first NEG1 cut wood that NEG2 1SG.IRR=PSP.IRR cannot
m̃el pak naũm ale ka=fo kano lom.
 fall to river then 1SG.IRR=PSP.IRR cannot wet
 ‘If you hadn’t chopped that wood, I wouldn’t have fallen in the water, and I wouldn’t have gotten wet.’ ([author retracted])
- (7) *ka=f mer pei p̃i bol nanom, ka=fo lom usrek.*
 1SG.IRR=COND COUNT first kick ball yesterday 1SG.IRR=PSP.IRR wet completely
 (COUNT-counterfactual)
 ‘If I had played football yesterday I would have gotten wet.’ ([author retracted])
- (8) *Ru=f to nigmam traus-i-ϕ, ko=fo tae,*
 3PL.REAL=COND PROG 1PL.EXCL.BEN tell-TR-3SG.OBJ 1PL.EXCL.IRR=PSP.IRR know
me gar i=tik.
 but 3PL 3SG.REAL=not
 ‘If they had told it to us, we would know, but they didn’t.’ (Thieberger, 2006:259)
- (9) *u=tik-ki te-namrun ko=fam-i-ϕ.*
 1PL.EXCL.REAL=not_have-TR DET-something 1PL.EXCL.IRR=eat:IRR-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘We had nothing to eat.’ (110.017, Thieberger, 2017)

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Abstract - Syntax of the world's languages

Locative marker syncretism pattern of Iraqw (South-Cushitic)

Iraqw, a South-Cushitic language of Tanzania, is reported to have an uncommon locative marker syncretism. According to the existing grammars, the Iraqw ablative case clitic is used to express both location and source (1a/b). Goal information, on the other hand, is expressed by the directional case clitic (1c). Based on these sources, Iraqw is reported to have a locative marker syncretism of the pattern **Source=Location≠Goal**, which means that the same marker is used to express source and location in contrast to a distinct goal marker. This pattern has been proven by typological research to be extremely rare in languages of the world, and has even been argued to be an unattainable linguistic pattern due to syntactical constraints. In order to account for the occurrence of this unusual pattern in Iraqw, this research re-examines the use of the adverbial case clitics in locative phrases and presents new data collected during a two month period in the field.

There are two types of locative constructions in Iraqw. The first type is a copular locative clause which can never take an adverbial case clitic. The syncretism does not hold for these clauses. The second type is composed of locative clauses with a complete verbal complex. These clauses can be formed in three ways: with a noun phrase marked with the directional case clitic or the ablative case clitic or with a bare unmarked noun phrase. The use of the directional case clitic has not been reported on locatives before, but the data shows that the clitic implies purpose or intention in this type of construction rather than location

The use of the ablative case clitic likewise depends on the semantics and construction of the phrase. It cannot be used in every locative construction, but has a strong correlation with durative morphology. Over half of the attestations of the ablative case clitic are in clauses with overt durational morphology on the main verb. Especially in combination with positional verbs, the durative aspect is often obligatory in order to get the ablative case clitic (2). Without overt durative morphology the bare noun phrase construction is favored (3). Durative aspect can be reconceptualised as a temporal Path, and I argue that this is exactly what happens in locative phrases marked with the ablative case clitic. It is the Path property that is reconceptualised in such environments and extended in meaning to add to the semantics of the clause. The directionality of the Path is the driving force behind the interpretation of the clitics and plays a determining role in the use of the ablative and directional case clitic on locative expressions. The bare noun phrase construction can be considered as the most basic locative construction, which means that the notion of Place is not overtly marked in Iraqw.

These conclusions have a significant impact on the spatial marker classification of Iraqw, as it means that the analysis of the spatial markers as a **Source=Location≠Goal** syncretism is incorrect. Rather I argue that the locative marker is a lack of marking, or zero marker, and the source and goal markers are build on top of this. This leads to the reanalysis of Iraqw as a language with a **Source≠Location≠Goal** system that can be lexicalized as **wa/ø/i** 'ABL/ZERO/DIR'. This location marker system is very common in languages of the world, and so Iraqw can no longer be considered a typological rarity in the field of spatial marker syncretisms.

Examples

- (1) a. *i-na ti'iit bará qaymó-r=wa alé*
SBJ.3-PST appear:3SG.M in:CON field-F=ABL RESPRO
'He went out of the field.'
(Nordbustad 1988:194)
- b. *i-na gadiyuús bará qaymó-r=wa alé*
SBJ.3-PST work:3SG.M in:CON field-F=ABL RESPRO
'He worked in the field.'
(Nordbustad 1988:194)
- c. */eesi inós i hi'<iim~am>iit amo-r=i alé*
always 3SG SBJ.3 travel<HAB~HAB>:3SG.M place-F=DIR RESPRO
'He always travels to this place.'
(Mous 1992:219)
- (2) a. *muu i tumnanaa'a<m>iit bará guru kanisá-r=wa alé*
people SBJ.3 kneel<DUR>:3SG.M in:CON stomach:CON church-F=ABL
RESPRO
'The people are kneeling in the church.'
- b. **muu i tumnanaa'a<m>iit bará guru kanisa*
people SBJ.3 kneel<DUR>:3SG.M in:CON stomach:CON church
'The people are kneeling in the church.'
- (3) a. *amaslaahhiaa tsoxnono'ót gawá loo/i*
frog SBJ.3:PFV squat:3SG.F top:CON leaf
'The frog is squatting on the leaf.'
- b. **amaslaahhi aa tsoxnono'ót gawá loo/i-r=wa alé*
frog SBJ.3:PFV squat:3SG.F top:CON leaf-F=ABL RESPRO
'The frog is squatting on the leaf.'

Abbreviations

1 first person; 2 second person; 3 third person; ABL ablative; BACK background suffix; BGND background aspect; CON construct case; COND conditional; CONSEC consecutive; DEM1 demonstrative 1; DEM3 demonstrative 3; DEM4 demonstrative 4; DEP dependent; DIR directional; DUR durative; EMPH emphatic; EXPEC expectational; F feminine; F1 feminine subclass; HAB habitual; IMP imperative; IMPS impersonal; INDF indefinite; INS instrumental; INTER interjection; M masculine; MID middle; OBJ object; PST past; PFV perfective; PL plural; POSS possessive; REAS causational; RESPRO resumptive pronoun; SBJ subject; SG singular.

Inauspicious events in Thulung Rai: from prohibitives to the odd avertive

The Thulung (Tibeto-Burman, Kiranti sub-group, Eastern Nepal) corpus built over more than 15 years yields a single example of a precautioning clause (1), despite searches suggested by Vuillermet 2017.

- (1) jakke biruwa b_{ASTU}-ka me-po-menu rwaksaka
 small plant.species cattle-ERG NEG-eat-PROH say-CVB
 ur-mu ba:si
 surround-INF OBLIG
 'So that the cattle does not eat the small biruwa plants, we must surround them (with bamboo sticks).'

The precautioning marker *-menu* in (1) is affixed to the verb root, resulting in a dependent precautioning clause which is linked to the preemptive clause which follows by a converbal form of a quotative verb. The marker *-menu* rather transparently comes from a negated form of the verb *numu*, 'to be auspicious'.

A considerably larger number of examples are found with the same marker *-menu*, but with rather significant differences: They are prohibitives, most frequently with *-menu* marking nominalized clauses (see (2)) and concessive clauses (see (3)).

- (2) ʌni u-motsu-ka tsʌi po-mu mal-u-lo me
 and 3SG.POSS-wife-ERG CONTR eat-INF try-3SG>3SG-TEMP DEM
 leledum-ka tsʌi pe-si-menu
 Leledym-ERG CONTR eat-NMLZ-PROH
 'And when his wife tries to eat it [the child], Leledum says "it is not acceptable to eat it." '

- (3) tshoktsoʌ:-lowo mʌtsu se-si-menu
 anger arise-even.though man kill-NMLZ-PROH
 'Even though we get angry, it is unacceptable to kill people.'

In the prohibitive function, no causal relationship with another clause is expressed. Prohibitive clauses are independent, and coordinated clauses tend to be temporally marked.

This presentation will explore the transition from the negative form of the verb *numu* to prohibitive marker to precautioning marker, while also considering the parallel changes undergone by the mirror positive constructions (from verb *numu* to optative marker to a rare purpose clause marker).

I shall also present alternative constructions which can be used to express undesirable events, such as 'otherwise' clauses (as in (4)), which contrast with negative conditionals and counterfactuals, both of which are irrealis-marked.

- (4) semsʌŋ dzəmka tsir-mu ba:si meʔe-ma:la dzhar
 firewood carefully stack-INF OBLIG NEG.COP-COND fall
 'Firewood must be stacked carefully, otherwise it will fall.'

Of particular interest is the consideration of why precautioning clauses should be so rare in the Thulung corpus, and apparently in other Kiranti languages as well (Ebert 1994).

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How empathy hierarchy is reflected in Khroskyabs morphosyntax

Empathy hierarchy (following the term by DeLancey 1981) refers to the ranking of arguments related to grammatical person, animacy or other grammatical or pragmatical properties. It can be observed through morphosyntactic behaviours depending on the languages studied.

This paper studies the different reflections of empathy hierarchy in the morphosyntax of Khroskyabs, a polysynthetic language of the Rgyalrongic group in the Trans-Himalayan family. I will show that the hierarchy is not only observable in the person indexation of simple clauses, but also in more complex constructions. Furthermore, I will argue that empathy hierarchy still has an effect in the recent evolution of the language, instead of being merely a fossil inherited from the proto-language.

Three types of constructions will be mentioned in this talk.

Argument indexation in simple transitive constructions: as with most Rgyalrongic languages, argument indexation in simple clauses is the first access to the study of empathy hierarchy. Khroskyabs exhibits a simple 1>2>3 hierarchy, which is reflected in both sides of the verb. An inverse prefix *u-* is required when the A ranks lower than the P, and the person ending of the higher-ranking argument is indexed in all scenarios other than 1→2 (Lai, 2015). The paradigm is illustrated in Table 1.

Causativisation of trivalent verbs: causativisation of trivalent verbs, such as *k^hâ* ‘to give’ and *ryî* ‘to borrow’, results in a new verb with four arguments. Verb indexation in these cases largely relies on the empathy hierarchy. If the causee and the recipient are both SAP arguments, the verb indexes the causee as P; but if one of them happens to be a non-SAP argument, the SAP argument, naturally ranking higher, must be indexed as P, as shown in (1) (Lai, 2016: 156).

Reported speech: empathy hierarchy has two effects on reported speech. Firstly, an unexpected ergative marker =*yə* occurs on second person A’s in the matrix clause when a first person argument is present in the speech report, regardless of the syntactic role it has. For instance, in (2a), with a first person argument in the speech report, the matrix A, *nû* ‘2SG’, is unexpectedly marked by =*yə* ‘ERG’, while in (2b), without a first person argument in the speech report, there is no ergative marker on the matrix A. Secondly, the development from the Old System to the New System of reported speech is based on empathy hierarchy. In the presence of an argument in the speech report that ranks higher than the matrix A, the indexation of this higher-ranking argument on the verb must be presented from the current speaker’s perspective in the New System, instead of the original speaker’s perspective in the Old System. See Example (3) (Lai, 2017). This shift from the old to the new system of reported speech is observed only in Khroskyabs, which indicates a rather recent linguistic change related to empathy hierarchy.

Table 1: Transitive paradigm in Wobzi Khroskyabs

| | | P | | | |
|---|-----|-----------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| | | 1sg | 1pl | 2 | 3 |
| A | 1sg | | | $\Sigma-n$ | $\Sigma-\eta$ |
| | 1pl | | | $\Sigma-n$ | $\Sigma-j$ |
| | 2 | $u-\Sigma-\eta$ | $u-\Sigma-j$ | | $\Sigma-n$ |
| | 3 | $u-\Sigma-\eta$ | $u-\Sigma-j$ | $u-\Sigma-n$ | $(u)-\Sigma$ |

- (1) a. SAP causee & SAP recipient (causee = P)
tʂaʕi = ɣə nû (= k^he) ηâ = k^he kapê rây n-u-s-k^há-n
 Bkrashis = ERG 2SG(=DAT) 1SG = DAT book one PFV-INV-CAUS-give₂-2
 Bkrashis made you give me a book.
- b. non-SAP causee & SAP recipient (SAP = P)
tʂaʕi = ɣə dzomâ (= k^he) ηâ = k^he kapê rây
 Bkrashis = ERG Sgrolma(=DAT) 1SG = DAT book one
n-u-s-k^há-η
 PFV-INV-CAUS-give₂-1SG
 Bkrashis made Sgrolma give me a book.
- (2) a. *nû = ɣə [nəjê ηô kə-rd-úη] = pa rə-nts^hê-n*
 2SG = ERG 2SG.LOGO 1SG PST-meet₂-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2
 You think that you (yourself) met me.
- b. *nû [nəjê ætê kə-rd-úη] = pa rə-nts^hê-n*
 2SG 2SG.LOGO 3SG PST-meet₂-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2
 You think that you (yourself) met him.
- (3) a. Old System
cê = ɣə [ηô = ɣə nû k-u-rdú] = pa rə-nts^hê
 3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet₂ = NMLS NPST-think
 He thinks that I met you.
- b. New System
cê = ɣə [ηô = ɣə nû k-u-rdú-n] = pa rə-nts^hê
 3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet₂-2 = NMLS NPST-think
 He thinks that I met you.

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COPULAR CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE RUI'AN LANGUAGE (WU, SINITIC):
THE EXPRESSION OF EXISTENCE AND LOCATION

Rui'an language is a Sinitic language of the Wu branch spoken in Rui'an county, 25 km south of the prefectural city of Wenzhou, Zhejiang province, China.

The Wu group can be roughly identified as those language spoken in the region extending from just north of Shanghai to Wenzhou in the south. Wu languages are quite diverse and categorized into six sub-regions. The Rui'an language belongs to the Oujiang sub-region, which is the furthest south, located on the border with Fujian province and the Min dialect area. Due to its geographical location and historical background, it has inherited and/or preserved quite atypical, *sui generis* traits. The Rui'an language shows an 8 tone system, remnants of multisyllabic words and a prominent O(S)V tendency. Although being a Sinitic language, it greatly differs from Mandarin in many respects, such as in its copular constructions described in this paper.

Mandarin resorts to two distinct structures for copular constructions: *shi*⁴ (corresponding to English 'be') when followed by a noun phrase, and *zai*⁴ (literally 'stay, be at') when followed by a locative phrase. In the Rui'an language, however, boundaries are not so clearly defined, while the relevant negation particles for copular verbs may change according to the verb used.

In the Rui'an language, the basic copular verb is [zɿ²¹⁴]. Contrary to Mandarin, [zɿ²¹⁴] can precede both noun phrase complements, as in (1), and locative nouns, as in (2). However, in negative sentences, [zɿ²¹⁴] as existential copula only allows for the non-past tense negation [fu³⁵], while as locative copula only admits the perfective negative particle [nau²¹⁴].¹

In the Rui'an language, only the locative [zɿ²¹⁴] and the verb [jiau²¹⁴] ('to have') are granted the special status of being exclusively negated by [nau²¹⁴]. This syntactic behaviour is quite peculiar, and even more so if we think that [nau²¹⁴] is actually the negation of [jiau²¹⁴]: in Mandarin, neither the verb *shi*⁴ nor *zai*⁴ can be negated by *mei*³*you*³ ('to not have'), [nau²¹⁴] counterpart in Mandarin.

[zɿ²¹⁴] is usually used for animate subjects, while, for inanimate ones, a set of different lexical verbs is employed. As illustrated in (3), the locative sentence is realized through the verb [ku³¹] ('to put'), quite evidently a lexical verb.

Contrary to Mandarin, lexical verbs, although not inherently owning the meaning of 'being positioned/placed somewhere', do not need to be completed by post-verbal resultative verbs, which would instead be expected in Mandarin, as reported in (4). Moreover, while Mandarin admits a sentence such as in (5), the Rui'an language always requires the locative phrase to be expressed.

However, when location is not enough syntactically explicit – for example when the locative phrase presents no postposition – lexical verbs are used in combination with animate subjects too.

For example in (6), the locative phrase is solely constituted by a single noun: in this case, the use of [zɿ²¹⁴] alone may not easily be disambiguated as 'be at' instead of 'be', and therefore the lexical verb [ɛy³⁵] ('to stay') is preferred. In (7), the problem does not arise, since the postposition [dei²¹⁴] is included into the locative phrase and therefore removes all ambiguities.

In the Rui'an language, locative constructions can also express the continuous aspect: the locative phrase [zɿ²¹⁴ gau⁴³⁴] ('be here') can appear in pre-verbal position to express that the action is being performed or continued over a certain period of time.

Although being a syntactic category, the locative meaning in-built in the continuous aspect construction has not completely been bleached out. In fact, when the speaker is referring to an action being performed in the past or in a different location, the continuous aspect is no longer expressed through [zɿ²¹⁴ gau⁴³⁴] but through [zɿ²¹⁴ hau⁴³⁴] ('be there'), as to mark a difference in time and space from the present time and/or the speaker. An examples is reported in (8).

The comparison of copular constructions between the Rui'an language and Mandarin Chinese underlines important structural differences within Sinitic languages.

Data is taken from the author's fieldwork in Wenzhou.

¹ [nau²¹⁴] is the negation of [jiau²¹⁴] ('to have'), corresponding to Mandarin *mei*³*you*³ 'to not have'.

EXAMPLES

- (1) *gi*³¹ (*fu*³⁵) *zɿ*²¹⁴ *zəu*³¹ *ho*²² *nan*³¹ (Rui'an language)
 3SG (NEG) COP Rui'an people
 'She/he is (not) a person from Rui'an'
- (2) *ni*²¹⁴ *zɿ*²¹⁴ *niao*³⁵ *a?* *ŋ*²¹⁴ (*nau*²¹⁴) *zɿ*²¹⁴ *gau*⁴³⁴ (Rui'an language)
 2SG COP where INT? 1SG (NEG) COP here
 'Where are you? I am (not) here'
- (3) *səu*⁵⁵ *ku*³¹ *təyo*²¹⁴ *ie*²² (Rui'an language)
 book put table on.LOC
 'The book is on the table'
- (4) *shu*¹ *fang*⁴-*zai*⁴ *zhuo*¹*zi* *shang*⁴ (Mandarin)
 book put-be_at table on.LOC
 'The book is on the table/(I) put the book on the table'
- (5) *ta*¹ *bu*² *zai*⁴ (Mandarin)
 3SG NEG be_at
 'She/He is not here'
- (6) *gi*³¹ *ey*³⁵ *zəu*³¹ *ho*²² (Rui'an language)
 3SG stay Rui'an
 'She/he is in Rui'an'
- (7) *ŋ*²¹⁴ *zɿ*²¹⁴ *ho*³²³ *do*³¹ *dei*²¹⁴ (Rui'an language)
 1SG COP school in.LOC
 'I am at school'
- (8) *ŋ*²¹⁴ (*nau*²¹⁴) *zɿ*²¹⁴ *gau*⁴³⁴ *ts^h.ɿ*³¹ *səu*⁵⁵ (Rui'an language)
 1SG (NEG) be_here.ASP read book
 'I am (not) reading a book'

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Phrasal or clausal conjunction? – postverbal conjoined subjects in Bosnian/ Croatian/ Serbian: an experimental study

In some previous experimental work on agreement strategies in South Slavic languages (see Marušić et al. (2015), Willer-Gold et al. (2016), Čordalija et al. (2016)), it was demonstrated that the closest conjunct agreement (CCA) is the only available strategy for agreement with conjoined NPs in postverbal contexts. However, the examples that are claimed to be a result of closest conjunct agreement in postverbal contexts, as in (1a) from Bosnian/ Croatian/ Serbian (B/C/S), could potentially be analysed as clausal ellipsis, as in (1b)

(1) a. U borbi su se sudarala koplja i sablje.
in battle collided._{neut} spears._{neut} and swords._{fem}
'In the battle collided spears and swords.'

b. U borbi su se sudarala koplja i u borbi su se sudarale sablje.

The clausal ellipsis analysis of examples with postverbal conjoined subjects was actually argued for by Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994). In their approach based on examples from three dialects of Arabic, the postverbal linear agreement was actually claimed to be a result of clausal ellipsis, not of closest conjunct agreement. Thus, they predicted a semantic independence of two coordinated events. However, Munn (1999) pointed out that this claim is difficult to defend if a specific type of predicates were taken into account – the so-called collective predicates. Therefore, we designed a sentence-picture matching experiment with collective verbs and postverbal subjects with speakers of B/C/S in order to test whether postverbal linear agreement was a result of phrasal coordination or clausal ellipsis. The participants in the experiment were given sentences with accompanying pictures and they had to determine whether each sentence matched the corresponding picture and to what degree (on a 0-100% scale). Thirty participants were tested, third-year students at the University of Sarajevo (mean age 21). A 2x2 factorial design was employed, with collective predicates (*collide*-type verbs) and simple, non-collective predicates (*display*-type verbs), eight of each, contrasting conjoined &P subjects (e.g. *spears* and *swords*) with simple NPs (e.g. *swords*), yielding 32 experimental items and 32 fillers.

The study managed to show that CCA is not a result of clausal ellipsis, but a distinct agreement strategy. Since the experiment demonstrated no significant difference in ratings between sentences containing conjoined &P subjects and simple NP subjects with collective verbs, we concluded that sentences with conjoined &P subjects and collective predicates (*collide*-type verbs) were not derived by means of clausal ellipsis. Otherwise, such sentences would be rated considerably lower than all others, because the picture with which such sentences were paired would be incompatible with the interpretation which assumes two-event semantics. And such readings would be inevitable if such sentences underlyingly had a biclausal structure.

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Negation in Yukuna: (a)symmetries in main versus subordinate clauses

The goal of this paper is to provide an overview of the negation system of Yukuna, an under-described, North-Amazonian Arawak language spoken in Colombia by approximately 1000 speakers. The coding of negation varies greatly within the Arawak family (Aikhenvald 1999: 96), even between closely-related languages. However, in a survey of Negation in a sample of 27 Arawak languages, Michael (2014) revealed that in Standard Negation, most languages use a single negation marker, and most display some type of asymmetry, both constructional and paradigmatic. Asymmetries dealing with the marking of finiteness, realis, and TAM are the most common.

On the basis of first-hand data, I will describe the negation system of Yukuna (clausal negation in different clause types, and constituent negation), and then focus on the differences between Standard Negation (SN, i.e. negation in main clauses) and negation in adverbial subordinate clauses. The main claims of this paper are that SN in Yukuna can be described in terms of Paradigmatic Asymmetry, whereas adverbial subordinate clauses display Constructional Asymmetry (Miestamo 2005).

SN in Yukuna is encoded with a discontinuous marker made up of an uninflecting, clause-initial particle *Unká*, and a verbal suffix *-la*. There are no structural differences between the affirmative and its negative counterpart (**Erreur! Source du renvoi introuvable.**). However, verbs in the affirmative can carry special focus markers *-ri/-yo/-ño* (gender and number agreement, S focus) (2.a) and *-ka* (adverbial focus) (3.a) that do not co-occur with negation (2.b, 3.b). The information structure distinction made in the affirmative is thus neutralized in the negative: this constitutes a case of Paradigmatic Asymmetry concerning a category other than TAM.

In adverbial subordinate clauses, the verb carries an overt nominalizer *-ka*, followed by a subordinating enclitic (4.a). When negated, the Lexical Verb of the subordinate loses its nominalizer in order to carry the negative suffix *-la*, and becomes unable to host the subordinating enclitic, which is then placed on the negator *Unká* (4.b). This leads to a case of Constructional Asymmetry where the negative element is the one carrying the subordinating morphology while the Lexical Verb is no longer overtly nominalized. This raises questions about the analysis of negator *Unká*, which shows auxiliary-like properties in this construction.

Finally, I will conclude by discussing how the study of negation sheds light on language internal issues such as the definition of finiteness, and then discuss the specificities of the Yukuna system, both from the Arawak language family perspective, as well as from a broader typological perspective.

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Examples

1.
 - a. *Ru=je'mi-chá ru=ja'piyá*
3SG.F=listen-REC.PST 3SG.F=under
'She obeyed her.'
 - b. *Unká ri=jema'-lá-cha ri=ja'piyá*
NEG 3SG.NF=listen-NEG-REC.PST 3SG.NF=under
'He obeyed him.'
2.
 - a. *Ru=i'rí íi-cha-ri*
3SG.F=son cry-REC.PST-S.FOC.NF
'Her son cried.'
 - b. *Unká ru=i'rí iyá-la-cha.*
NEG 3SG.F=son cry-NEG-REC.PST
'Her son did not cry.'
3.
 - a. *Kajú ru=i'rí íi-cha-ka.*
Much 3SG.F=son cry-REC.PST-ADV.FOC
'Her son cried a lot.'
 - b. *Unká ru=i'rí iyá-la-cha kajú*
NEG 3SG.F=son cry-NEG-REC.PAS much
'Her son did not cry a lot.'
4.
 - a. *Iná wáta-ka=chú...*
INDF.PRO want-NMLZ=COND
'If one wants...'
 - b. *Unká=chú iná wáta-la*
NEG=COND INDF.PRO want-NEG
'If one doesn't want...'

Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|--------------|
| ADV | Adverbial |
| COND | Conditional |
| DIM | Diminutive |
| F | Feminine |
| FOC | Focus |
| INDF | Indefinite |
| NEG | Negation |
| NF | Non-feminine |
| NMLZ | Nominalizer |
| PRO | Pronoun |
| REC.PST | Recent past |
| S | Subject |
| SIM | Similative |

Negation in Kam, a Niger-Congo Language of Northeastern Nigeria

This paper will provide an overview of the expression of negation in Kam, a purported Adamawa (Niger-Congo) language spoken in Northeastern Nigeria by some 20,000 speakers.

In Kam, **standard negation** is expressed with a clause-final particle *h̀̀*. It is used in all tense and aspect settings (future, imperfect, and perfect). The perfect aspect particle *à* is dropped under negation. However, because tense and aspect distinctions are also marked by tone, perfect aspect constructions remain distinct even under negation, at least in transitive clauses (note the tone of the first syllable of *m̀̀fà̀̀m* 'meat'):

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------|-----|--------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|
| (1) | <i>àwū</i> | <i>kī̀̀m</i> | <i>m̀̀fà̀̀m</i> | <i>à</i> | vs. | <i>àwū</i> | <i>kī̀̀m</i> | <i>m̀̀fà̀̀m</i> | <i>h̀̀</i> |
| | 3SG | chew.PF | meat | PRF | | 3SG | chew.PF | meat | NEG |
| | 'He has eaten meat.' | | | | | 'He has not eaten meat.' | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| (2) | <i>àwū</i> | <i>kī̀̀m</i> | <i>m̀̀fà̀̀m</i> | | vs. | <i>àwū</i> | <i>kī̀̀m</i> | <i>m̀̀fà̀̀m</i> | <i>h̀̀</i> |
| | 3SG | chew.FUT | meat | | | 3SG | chew.FUT | meat | NEG |
| | 'He will eat meat.' | | | | | 'He will not eat meat.' | | | |

Verbless clauses with a **predicatively used noun** simply adopt the standard negator *h̀̀*. Negating **predicatively used adjectives**, however, is slightly more complicated. In Kam, each core adjective has two different forms in predicative position: a longer, partially reduplicated form that is used for positive polarity (e.g. *m̀̀m̀̀ús̄* 'full', *l̀̀l̀̀è̀̀g* 'sharp'), and a shorter form that is used for negative polarity in combination with the negator *h̀̀* (*m̀̀s̄ h̀̀* 'not ripe', *l̀̀è̀̀g h̀̀* 'not sharp'). Reduplication could thus be seen as a marker of positive polarity in predicative adjectives. If *h̀̀* is introduced after a reduplicated adjective, it functions as an intensifier and not as a negator (*m̀̀m̀̀ús̄ h̀̀* 'very full', *l̀̀l̀̀è̀̀g h̀̀* 'very sharp').

Negative imperatives and hortatives are formed with a construction with a preverbal particle *k̄* and a clause-final particle *gà*. For **locative and existential predication** (and non-verbal predicative possession), a negative copula *s̄(r̄)r̄* is used.

The analyses proposed in this abstract are provisional and will be tested further during my next trip to Kam country from April to June 2018. On this trip, I also plan to gather data on other issues raised in the workshop questionnaire that I have not been able to focus on thus far.

Complementation strategies in Ruuli

Ruuli (ISO 639-3: *ruc*) is a previously undescribed Great Lakes Bantu language spoken in the Nakasongola and Kayunga districts of central Uganda. Ruuli employs a number of complementation strategies. The most common strategies are complement clauses with the verb in the infinitive form marked by the prefix (*o*)*ku-*, as in (1), and several types of clausal complements with finite verb forms. The complement clause can be either unmarked, as in (2), or be marked by a complementizer, the most common of which is *nti*, as in (3). These two options are also available for complement clauses with direct speech. Another less common complementizer is *nga*, as in (4). Another source of variation among the complementation strategies comes from the form of the finite verb: Whereas in most cases the indicative form is used, as in (2)–(4), some complement taking predicates can also be used with the subjunctive, as in (5). In this paper we will first provide an overview of the complementation strategies in Ruuli and draw parallels to complementation strategies described for related languages. We will then present an overview of the individual complement taking predicate, of which there are more than 60.

As individual complement taking predicates do not allow for every complementation strategy, we will then proceed with the exploration of conditions which determine the choice of the complementation strategies. To this end, we annotated a sample of over 2000 complement clauses for various predictors. The sample comes from a corpus of naturally produced texts (over 200 000 words) collected in 2017–2018. First, we investigate the restrictions imposed by the semantic characteristics of various matrix predicate types, e.g. knowledge predicates, phasal predicates, modal predicate, utterance predicates, etc. (following Noonan 2007). This variable alone correctly predicts the occurrence of the infinitive construction with two classes of complement taking predicates viz. modal and phasal in nearly 100% of cases. As other classes of complement taking predicates allow for more variation with respect to the type of complement construction they take, we consider further variables, such as the identity of the subject arguments in the two clauses, the polarity of the two clauses, as well as the tense-aspect-mood of the two clauses. We also consider whether the complement clause refers to a proposition or a state of affairs (cf. Svenonius 1994, Cristofaro 2003, Boye 2012), also known as “actions” and “facts” (Vendler 1967), and “events” and “propositions” (Palmer 1979). This contrast that can essentially be understood as a contrast between truth-valued and non-truth valued meaning units and is frequently mentioned as a factor in determining the choice between different complementation strategies. We quantify the impact of these variables and build a probabilistic model of the distribution of the complementation strategies in question. We then evaluate the quality of a model’s predictions and compare it to a rule-based account.

Examples

- 1) *Nsobola oku-sosoitoora omuntu ekiibulo.*
1sgSBJ-can INF-serve person(1) meal(7)
‘I can serve a person a meal.’
- 2) *N-lowooza ba-ku-funa=mu kidooli.*
1sgSBJ-think 3plSBJ-PROG-get=LOC little
‘I think they benefit little.’

- 3) *Naye nje n-ku-lowooz nti oKanca a-li-ba-bona.*
 but I 1sgSBJ-PROG-think COMP God(1) 3sgSBJ-FUT-3plO-see
 ‘But I think that God will judge them.’
- 4) *te-o-ku-bona nga ekyo kyona ki-sobola oku-bba-a nti ...*
 NEG-2sgS-PROG-see COMP 7.that 7.also 7SBJ-can INF-be COMP
 ‘Don’t you see that it can also be that ...’
- 5) *Omwana tu-ku-tak-a a-kul-e.*
 child(1) 1plSBJ-PROG-want-FV 3sgSBJ-grow.up-SUBJ
 ‘We want the child to grow up.’

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Verbal classifier structures in the Wu dialects of China

Abstract:

Verbal classifiers (VCLs) have been much less studied from a typological perspective than have nominal classifiers (NCLs), and even less in the non-Mandarin branches of Sinitic languages such as the Wu dialects. In this paper, we first introduce our definition for VCLs and classification for the verbal classifier systems of Sinitic languages. VCLs are used to express the place, duration, manner or the number of times that actions take place, while NCLs are used to modify nouns and are qualified by numerals. While VCLs form a special grammatical category in most Sinitic languages, with a set of forms distinct from the verbs they modify. In this study it is shown that verbal reduplication may also produce forms with a similar function to VCLs: specifically, the reduplicant of the base form can act as a VCL and may even grammaticalize further into an aspect marker.

Consequently, we analyze the possible syntactic types of reduplicated verbs in verb constructions, distinguishing VCLs in general from a variety of verbal reduplication forms, the latter including [V-V], [V-(YI)-V], [V-V-V], [V-V-V-V], [V-V-V-V-V], [O-V-V-3SG], [V-V-O] and [O-V-V-C], in which the reduplicants code delimitative aspect, iterative aspect, imperfective aspect and tentative mood. Hence, what can be analyzed as a case of verbal reduplication from a phonological point of view is in fact functionally an aspect or mood marker.

For this purpose, examples of [V-V], [V-V-V], [V-V-V-V] and [V-V-V-V-V-V] structures are used from the Wu dialects of Shaoxing, Ningbo, Jiaying and Hangzhou, where this phenomenon is strikingly evident. Finally, we discuss the connections between verbs, verbal classifiers, and aspect markers, arguing that verbs grammaticalize into auto-verbal classifiers, and then auto-verbal classifiers grammaticalize into imperfective aspect markers.

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Examples:

Nominal classifier:

- (1) Suzhou dialect (Wu, Sinitic)
 iəʔ⁵ tən⁵¹³ ve³¹
 one NCL meal
 'A meal.' (YE Xiangling, 1988:442)

Verbal classifier:

- (2) Suzhou dialect (Wu, Sinitic)
 tɛ^hiəʔ⁵ iəʔ⁵ tən⁵¹³
 eat one VCL
 'Eat once.' (YE Xiangling, 1988:445)

[V-VCL]: VCL codes delimitative aspect & tentative mood

- (3) Shaoxing dialect (Wu, Sinitic)
 ŋiaŋ¹¹ ŋo⁵⁵ k^hɛ³³~k^hɛ³³
 let 1SG look~VCL: look
 'Let me have a look.' (WANG Futang, 2015:346)

[V-IPFV-IPFV]: VCL grammaticalizes into an imperfective aspect marker

- (4) Ningbo dialect (Wu, Sinitic)
 k^hi⁴⁴~k^hi⁴⁴~k^hi⁴⁴, k^huən⁴⁴ zoʔ² lɛi²²
 read~IPFV~IPFV sleep deeply PRF
 '(He) was reading and then fell asleep deeply.' (RUAN Guijun, 2009:26)

[(V-IPFV)-(V-IPFV)]: VCL grammaticalizes into an imperfective aspect marker and the verb complex is then itself reduplicated

- (5) Jiaxing dialect (Wu, Sinitic)
 kã⁴⁴~kã⁴⁴~kã⁴⁴~kã⁴⁴, ɛio⁴⁴ tɛ^hi⁴⁴lɛ²² li
 talk~IPFV~talk~IPFV laugh INCEP PRF
 '(We) were talking and then began to laugh.' (XU Yue, 2016:118)

[(V-IPFV)-(V-IPFV)-(V-IPFV)]:

- (6) Hangzhou dialect (Wu, Sinitic)
 ʔŋou⁴⁴ tɛ^hiəʔ³~tɛ^hiəʔ⁵~tɛ^hiəʔ³~tɛ^hiəʔ³¹~tɛ^hiəʔ³~tɛ^hiəʔ⁴ kuən⁵⁵ dzɛʔ³ lɛʔ³¹
 1SG eat~IPFV~eat~IPFV~eat~IPFV fall asleep PRF
 'I was eating for a while and then fell asleep.' (QIAN Nairong, 2003:404)

Prominent internal possessors and backward possessor raising: Norwegian *ryggen på ham* 'the back on him'

A prominent internal possessor is a possessor that is realized internally in a noun phrase, while being syntactically active in the sentence that the noun phrase is a part of. This kind of possessor has been documented in several unrelated languages (see e.g. Ritchie 2016, 2017). There has been a focus on agreement properties, but Ritchie 2016:623 stresses that prominent internal possessor constructions are not a homogeneous phenomenon. I will argue that Norwegian has prominent internal possessors in sentences such as example (1) on the next page. (This kind of sentences are mentioned, but not analyzed this way, in König and Haspelmath 1998:559, Stolz et al. 2008:231–38, Author 2009.)

These possessors with the preposition *på* 'on' can only be used with possessums that denote body parts and garments worn by the owner. (They might look like partitives, but they will be shown to be grammatically different.) They correspond to dative external possessors in e.g. German and French; a French example is (2). Old Norse also had dative external possessors, which were later replaced by the PP with *på* 'on'.

The possessor construction with *på* 'on' shows several restrictions which are shared with the dative external possessor construction in e.g. German and French. Some examples: The set of acceptable verbs is restricted. The body part noun phrase cannot be a subject, except with some passives and unaccusatives. The body part noun cannot be modified non-restrictively, see example (3). A body part noun that denotes a body part which we have one of, is always in the singular with a distributive reading, see example (4).

Some of these properties, such as the latter two, can be found in other contexts where a body part noun is bound by a possessor that is external to the noun phrase. One case is sentences in which the subject is a possessor, see examples (5) and (6) (Author 2010).

A dative external possessor is interpreted as an affected participant in the event denoted by the verb. The same is the case with the Norwegian *på* possessor. Even if example (7) with a regular possessive pronoun could be used of the same situation as example (1), the possessor in (7) would not be conceptualized as an affected participant.

The *på* possessor behaves as if it were an argument of the sentence, both by being interpreted as an argument of the verb and by inducing restrictions at the clause level (e.g. restrictions on the verb and on the subject function of the body part noun). At the same time, standard constituency tests indicate that it is - or can be - a part of the body part noun phrase. In example (8), a PP with the body part noun and the *på* possessor precedes the finite verb - a sufficient condition for constituency in a verb second-language like Norwegian. In example (9), this PP is clefted as one constituent. When the body part noun phrase is an object, both a one constituent and a two constituent analysis seem to be possible, see examples (10) - (11).

Dative external possessors in e.g. German and French are phonologically realized at the clausal level, but they are often assumed to be grammatically represented in the body part noun phrase as well. This is often implemented as possessor raising from the body part noun phrase to the clausal level (see e.g. Deal 2013). The noun phrase internal *på* possessors show the "opposite" situation: they are phonologically realized in the body part noun phrase, but they also need to be represented at the clausal level. There is an interesting parallel in raising and control of subjects (Ritchie 2017). The subject is usually realized phonologically in the high subject position (*John tried [to leave]*), but some languages can realize it in the low subject position: *tried [John to leave]* (Polinsky and Potsdam 2002). It still needs to be raised to the high position at an abstract level of representation; this is called "backward control". In a parallel way, the noun phrase internal *på* possessors could be treated as a case of "backward possessor raising" - they are realized in the low possessor position, and raised to the clausal level at an abstract level of representation.

EXAMPLES

- (1) De skar dypt i ryggen på ham
they cut deep in back.DEF on him
'They cut deep in his back'
- (2) On lui a tiré dans le ventre
one him has shot in the stomach
'They shot him in the stomach'
- (3) Hun vasket (*den skitne) ryggen på ham
she washed (the dirty) back.DEF on him
'She washed his (dirty) back'
- (4) Hun stappet kaker i munnen / *munnene på dem
she popped cakes in mouth.DEF / mouths.DEF on them
'She popped cakes into their mouths'
- (5) Han vasket (*den skitne) ryggen
he washed (the dirty) back.DEF
'He washed his (dirty) back'
- (6) De hadde kaker i munnen / *munnene
they had cakes in mouth.DEF / mouths.DEF
'They had cakes in their mouths'
- (7) De skar dypt i ryggen hans
they cut deep in back.DEF his
'They cut deep in his back'
- (8) I ryggen på ham skar de dypt
in back.DEF on him cut they deep
'In his back, they cut deep'
- (9) Det var i ryggen på ham de skar dypt
it was in back.DEF on him they cut deep
'It was in his back they cut deep'
- (10) De måtte fjerne leveren på ham
they must remove liver.DEF on him
'They had to remove his liver'
- (11) Leveren på ham måtte de fjerne / Leveren måtte de fjerne på ham
liver.DEF on him must they remove / liver.DEF must they remove on him
'His liver, they had to remove'

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Lest-clauses in Upper Tanana Dene

This paper provides a detailed description of the properties of *lest*-clauses in Upper Tanana, a Dene (Alaskan) language spoken by 20-50 elderly speakers in eastern interior Alaska (USA) and the Yukon (Canada). *Lest*-clauses in Upper Tanana are a type of adverbial clause. They are characterized by the presence of the subordinator *ch'a* 'lest', which is usually translated as 'to prevent that' or 'so that not'. Like many other subordinators in this language, *ch'a* originates as a postposition, likely the spatial postposition P+*ch'a* 'away from P'. Its postpositional origins are obvious in that it triggers nominalization of the clause. The subordinator *ch'a* occurs in clause-final position and the *lest*-clause usually, but not always, follows the main clause (1).

- (1) Nts'aa ch'ixia' nts'aa łoodzaafeł [tatxol ch'a']?
 how eggs how 2p:carry.pO:Fut 3p:break:Fut:Nom lest
 'How are we going to carry the eggs [lest they will break] ?'
- (2) Shutdaanegn ch'a' k'anagnta'.
 3S:get.hurt:Fut:Nom lest 1s:be.careful:Ipfv
 'I am careful lest I get hurt.'

The preemptive clause may be a question (1), or an assertion (2). There are no modal or aspectual restrictions on the preemptive clause. The precautionary clause is always in the Future, which in Upper Tanana also expresses irrealis notions such as impossibility or counterfactuality. The *lest*-clause is never inflected for negative polarity. While the two clauses involved usually have different subjects, this is not a requirement (2).

Semantically, Upper Tanana *lest*-clauses express the function of avertive precautioning. Implied in all of these instances is that the idea that the subject of the main clause has direct control over the event expressed in the subordinate clause. No instances of an in-case precautioning function or the fear function identified by Lichtenberk (1995), both of which involve a lack of such control, are attested. It is interesting in this context that there are only a handful of directives including a *lest*-clause, and those few examples that exist differ structurally from the ones in (1-2), as for example (3), formally a purpose clause similar to (3). where the illocutionary force of negative directive comes from the prohibitive marker *sq'*.

- (3) "Soo' djiit'eh, sq' ahshyuugn kon' deek'än' shyiit natłlth'äl xa
 careful 2s:be:Ipfv Proh down fire burning in 2s:fall:Fut Purp
 'Be careful, be careful so you don't fall into the fire down there...'

The small number of directives including a precautionary clause is likely due to the overall rarity of negative directives in Upper Tanana (Lovick 2016), but more work needs to be done before their structure is fully understood.

It is unclear how common *lest*-clauses are in the wider Dene language family due to lack of data. Koyukon (Alaska), has a subordinating conjunction *nugh hūdenh* with an in-case precautioning function (Jetté & Jones 2000:494). Rice (1989:1262) reports a negative purpose subordinator *ch'á* in Slave (Canada), likely cognate with the Upper Tanana morpheme *ch'a*.

From the brief overview given here, several interesting (and possibly unusual) aspects of *lest*-clauses in Upper Tanana appear. First, they are not limited to directives. Second, different constructions are used depending on the illocutionary force of the preemptive clause. Third, the subordinator *ch'a* 'lest' seems to be derived from a spatial postposition, rather than from a temporal, volitive, or causal element, indicating, possibly, that the undesired event remain physically far removed from the subject of the preemptive clause. In this talk, I will explore these issues in greater detail, contributing thus to our understanding of *lest*-clauses from a language area that is often underrepresented in syntactic typology.

TWO POSTVERBAL 'CAN' MODALS IN CAIJIA

Caijia is an endangered isolating language of SVO spoken in Guizhou Province in Southwest China. On the basis of first hand fieldwork data, this paper, first of all, aims to present an analysis of two postverbal modal elements, ty^{55} (< 'acquire') and to^{55} (< 'achieve'), both of which can be interpreted as English 'can' in this language. Noting that auxiliaries are preverbal in this language including most modal ones ([AUX VP]), the situation is further complicated by these two modal elements being phonetically similar and having similar syntactic behavior ([VP ty^{55}/to^{55}]). As a consequence, difficulties arise in the attempt to fully distinguish one from the other in terms of the domain of modality. Second, this paper also aims to figure out the contrast between ty^{55} and to^{55} after combing through the data. Finally the present paper will also provide plausible explanations for the contrast of these two elements.

One of the areal grammatical features in Southeast Asia is that of the verb 'acquire' developing into a modal (Matisoff 1991, Enfield 2003, Sybesma 2008). Sybesma (2008) identifies eight usages of 'acquire' on the basis of four languages in Southeast Asia. ty^{55} in Caijia possesses three of these them: i) lexical verb 'acquire', ii) lexical verb 'be okay' and iii) modal element comparable to English 'doable, -able'. Furthermore, the postverbal ty^{55} in Caijia is also used to express deontic modality including permission 'can', obligation 'should' as well as prohibition 'cannot' in its negated form. By contrast, the verb 'achieve' is relatively less reported as a source of modal elements in the languages of Southeast Asia. In this case, the postverbal to^{55} in Caijia is mainly used to express dynamic ability 'can', which is often expressed by postverbal 'acquire' in certain other languages of Southeast Asia (Enfield 2003, Sybesma 2008).

The contrast between deontic and dynamic for these two modals in Caijia is clear-cut. However, both ty^{55} and to^{55} are extended to other uses, for example non-deontic and epistemic possibilities. In such cases, both overlap and contrast of these two elements are observed in different contexts within the same type of possibility. Examples in (1) are the cases of non-deontic possibility. (1a) illustrates the overlap of these two elements, while (1b) and (1c) illustrate their contrast.

It seems that the overlap and contrast of these two elements are of some complexity and cannot be easily solved. This is mainly because the better-known frameworks of modality are not suited to solving this problem; for example, the traditional three-way distinction (deontic, dynamic and epistemic), the contrastive agent-oriented vs. speaker-oriented modalities (Bybee et al 1994), or the bipartition of modality, epistemic vs. non-epistemic, (van der Auwera & Plungian 1998). As a matter of fact, the contrast between ty^{55} and to^{55} proved to be a contrast between non-intrinsic possibility and intrinsic possibility. ty^{55} is restricted to the possibility only determined by enabling external conditions, while to^{55} is used to code the possibility related to intrinsic ability or capacity. It is purely the context that enables the apparent overlap. Hence, if ty^{55} is used in (1a), it means that the condition of the brook being shallow enables the action of wading. By contrast, if to^{55} is used in (1a), it means that the participant is physically able to wade across the brook under the current condition that the brook is shallow. In (1b), ty^{55} only can be used because the potability of the water is not related to any intrinsic ability of the participant. Whereas, in (1c), even though turning red for

peaches is constrained by the sunlight, it is the inherent property of the peaches that makes turning red possible.

EXAMPLES

Non-deontic possibility:

(1) Overlap:

- a. ɔ²¹ tɕ^hi⁵⁵k^ha⁵⁵ ʈa⁵⁵tu²¹ xiŋ⁵⁵. ku²¹ to⁵⁵/tɥ⁵⁵.
 this brook CLF shallow very wade can
 tɥ⁵⁵: ‘The brook is very shallow. Wading is doable’
 to⁵⁵: ‘The brook is very shallow. One is able to wade across.’

Contrast:

- b. mo²¹ sɿ⁵⁵, niɔ⁵⁵ sɿ⁵⁵je²¹ piɔ⁵⁵-k^hu⁵⁵ lɛ²¹ts^hɛ²¹ ǎ²¹ tɥ⁵⁵/*to⁵⁵.
 that water want let 3SG boil-open only then drink can
 ‘The water, it needs to be boiled so that one can drink it.’
- c. mo²¹ lo²¹po⁵⁵niɔ⁵⁵ tɥ⁵⁵ŋ⁵⁵son²¹ tsa⁵⁵-tɥ⁵⁵ ts^hɛ²¹ ts^hɿ⁵⁵ to⁵⁵/*tɥ⁵⁵.
 that peach want PASS sun bake-hit then red can
 ‘Peaches can only turn red after being shined on by the sun.’

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Argument structure constructions: polysemy or homonymy

In the literature on verb argument structure, polysemy is usually viewed as due to extension of constructional patterns to different verb groups (Goldberg 1995), while construction homonymy is virtually ignored. Goldberg (2006: 38) acknowledges the possibility of homonymy: “in fact, there do exist instances of constructional homonymy: a single surface form having unrelated meanings. In order to identify which argument structure construction is involved in cases of constructional ambiguity, attention must be paid to individual verb classes. In fact, in order to arrive at a full interpretation of any clause, the meaning of the main verb and the individual arguments must be taken into account”, but does not elaborate further on the issue. In order to explore possible homonymy of argument structure constructions, I concentrate on three constructions of Ancient Greek bivalent verbs: NomAcc, NomGen and NomDat. All three constructions display sub-constructions, depending on whether or not the second argument encodes a spatial relation, cp. (1) and (2). The spatial interpretation of sub-constructions is activated by the verbal meaning, and most often by the occurrence of a spatial verbal prefix, such as *ex-* ‘out of’ in (2). Hence the three constructions can be viewed as being underspecified for spatial meaning. Spatial sub-constructions can always be substituted by constructions containing PPs that duplicate the verbal prefix (*exérkhomai ex GEN*, rather than *exérkhomai GEN* as in (1)). The non-spatial sub-constructions show a peculiar distribution across verb groups: NomAcc - change of state/position verbs; this is the canonical transitive construction and is highly productive; it may extend to all other verb types. NomGen - low transitivity verbs as in (2) or change of state verbs, indicating partial involvement of the second participant in a situation; the construction is based on the partitive meaning of the I(ndo)-E(uropean) genitive (Conti&Luraghi 2014). NomDat - verbs that indicate situations in which two (groups of) human beings entertain some type of potentially interactive relation (e.g. ‘fight’, ‘meet’, ‘talk’, ‘help’); the construction reflects the use of the dative for the encoding of non-agent roles taken by human participants typical of IE languages (Brugmann 1901: 547-559). In addition, example (3) illustrates a third NomDat sub-construction that occurs with verbs of manipulation such as *khraómai* ‘use’. Non-spatial constructions display a strikingly similar syntactic behavior, as they can all passivize, as (3)-(6) show. Possible passivization with constructions other than NomAcc develops over time, extending first to the NomGen then to the NomDat construction (Conti 1998). Traditionally, different meanings of the NomGen and the NomDat constructions are explained diachronically as connected to case syncretism (genitive +ablative, dative+locative +instrumental; Schwyzer 1950: 89-90; 138-139). Crucially, however, the information about diachronic developments is not available to speakers. The non-spatial sub-constructions NomGen and NomDat are related to their spatial counterpart in cross-linguistically frequent patterns of polysemy, but this only partly holds for the NomDat (genitive and ablative cf. Nikiforidou 1991; dative and locative cf. Rodriguez Aristar 1996; this leaves out verbs of manipulation). Hence, it looks difficult to relate the sub-construction of verbs of manipulation to the other two NomDat sub-constructions. Moreover, even with the spatial sub-constructions, polysemy does not result from construction extension, as in cases discussed in the literature (e.g. Goldberg 1995), but from the historical merger of different constructions. In my paper I will delve deeper into the meaning of the three constructions and the syntactic differences between spatial and non-spatial sub-constructions, in order to assess whether a polysemy or a homonymy account better accommodates the data.

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Examples

- (1) *mé tis idētai exelthōn megároio*
 NEG INDF.NOM see.SBJV.AOR.MID.3SG go.out.PTCP.AOR.NOM hall.GEN
 ‘If someone saw me going out from the hall.’ (Od.21.229)
- (2) *hē potamoû ērássat’ Enipēos theíoio*
 DEM.NOM.F river.GEN fall_in_love.AOR.3SG E.GEN divine.GEN
 ‘She fell in love with a river, the divine Enipeo.’ (Od. 11. 238)
- (3) *kai sphi trixa exeurēmata egéneto, toîsi*
 and 3PL.DAT threefold invention.NOM.PL become.IMPF.3SG DEM.DAT.PL
hoi Hēllēnes ekhrēsanto
 ART.NOM.PL Greek.NOM.PL use.AOR.MID.3PL
 ‘They invented three things that the Greeks made use of.’ (Hdt. 1.171.4)
- (4) *hai de es tò mèn epoiēthēsan*
 DEM.NOM.PL.F PTC to ART.ACC PTC make.AOR.P.3PL
ouk ekhrēsthēsan
 NEG use.AOR.P.3PL
 ‘They (the ships) were not used for the purpose for which they had been made.’ (Hdt. 7.144.2)
- (5) *Dēiokēs mén nun tò Me#dikòn éthnos sunéstrepse*
 D.NOM PTC PTC PTC ART.ACC Median.ACC nation.ACC unite:AOR.3SG
moûnon kai toútou êrxe
 alone.ACC and DEM.GEN.N rule.AOR.3SG
 ‘Deioces then united the Median nation, and no other, and ruled it.’ (Hdt. 1.101)
- (6) *hupò toû Kúrou Smérdios árkhontai kai*
 under ART.GEN C.:GEN S.GEN rule.PRS.M/P.3PL and
hup’ oudenòs álloú
 under INDF.GEN INDF.GEN
 ‘They are ruled by Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and by no other.’ (Hdt. 3.74.3).

The transcategorial morphology and its relation to the omnipredicative pattern in languages of Tupi-Guarani family

Based on the comparison of the syntactic features of nouns and verbs in languages of the Tupi-Guarani family, Queixalós (2006) defends the hypothesis that members of this family descend from a language in which all lexical entries were predicates – a pattern called *omnipredicativity*, a concept put forward by Launey (1994) for Nahuatl. According to the authors, one of the consequences of the omnipredicative pattern is the existence of transcategorial morphology. If the transcategorial morphology is one of the consequences of the omnipredicative pattern, as we defend, then the gradual loss of the omnipredicative properties among the languages of the family would result in a tendency to also restrict the transcategoriality of personal markers. In order to show this correlation between loss of omnipredicative properties and restriction of transcategorial morphology, in this presentation, we analyze four languages of Tupi-Guarani family, spoken in South America - Tupinambá, Apyãwa (Tapirapé), Guajá and Nheengatú (*língua geral*) – which represents different stages of linguistic change from a more to a less prototypical omnipredicative pattern (Cruz & Praca, 2015; Magalhães, Praca, Cruz, 2017). In these languages, among other transcategorial morphemes – such as, causatives and aspectual markers – , there is a set of personal markers which has the ability to occur as internal argument of different types of phrases which have as head divalent verbs, as in (1), unaccusative verbs, as in (2), nouns, as in (3) and postpositions, as in (4), from Apyãwa. As a result, we observe that in Tupinambá and Apyãwa, languages that are considered more conservative, the use of transcategorial personal markers is kept in all lexical classes. In Guajá, there is a tendency of losing these markers, observed by the existence of a small subclass of unaccusative verbs that no longer can be combined with transcategorial personal markers. In Nheengatú, the transcategorial personal markers can no longer be combined with divalent verbs, and the majority of unaccusative verbs does not occur with these markers (except by a small class of unaccusative verbs that still keeps the ability to be combined with the referred set). In this language, the cognates of the transcategorial personal markers, found in conservative languages, has been restricted to only indicate internal argument of nouns and postpositions.

Examples

- (1) *korinãka'i-ø* *xe* *ne=ø-mook*
 Korinãka'i-RF only 2.II=LK-wet
 'Only Koriãka'i wet you'
- (2) *ne=ø-kywer*
 2.II=LK-be.thin
 'You are thin'
- (3) *amõ-ø* *xãy-ø* *r-e* *ne=r-opy-ø* *kapitãw-a*
 other-RFR moon-RF LK-POS 2.II=LK-father-RF boss-RF
 'On the next month, your father will be the boss'
- (4) *we-xãok-pãw-ire* *ekwe* *ã-xãr* *ne=ø-pyri*
 1.III-bath-COMP-after FUT 1.I-come 2.II=LK POS
 'After I've finished bathing, I'll come to stay with you'

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Determiners in Tojol-ab'al [toj] (Mayan)

Purpose: Aim of the talk is to present a general picture of the determiners in Tojol-ab'al. Both definite and indefinite determiners are presented together with their syntactic distribution. Evidence for the grammaticalization of the indefinite determiner out of the numeral one and the co-occurrence of the determiners with other markers (classifiers, demonstratives, possessives)¹ will also be discussed. Finally, the phenomenon of determinant circumclisis is also presented.

Data: Example (1)² shows the indefinite determiner *jun* introducing a new referent in the first utterance of a narrative. Example (2) shows the use of the definite determiner *ja* for the same referent once it has been activated in the discourse. Additionally, the same example shows the final position clitic *-i'* at the end of the nominal phrase. This discontinuous determination, (also determinant circumclisis) is also present in other Mayan languages like Tseltal (Polian 2014). It should be notice that the clitic *-i'* cannot be triggered by the indefinite determiner. It is always triggered by the definite determiner *ja* and attaches to full phonological nominal phrases. Also important for its analysis is the fact that the clitic marks the end of an intonational curve, being this a cue for left or right dislocation occupying the ex-situ topic position³. Tojolabal determiners can; but need not, co-occur with demonstratives and nominal masculine/feminine classifiers (only definite) and possessive markers (both)⁴. Example (3) shows the occurrence of the definite determiner with the possessive and (4) and (5) that of the indefinite one. Example (4) has a clearly partitive reading which can be derived from the numeral one. The case in (5) doesn't necessarily have the partitive reading. The referent is discourse new and focused. The non-partitive reading is a presentational cleft like the French *c'est* with the difference that the focus particle *ja'* must be clause initial but the focused element could be in-situ or extracted to the immediate preverbal position. Example (6) shows the occurrence of the numeral *jun* together with the plural/general numeral classifier *-e'*. Since the cardinality of the form is clear out of the distributional reading, it can be said that this is a numeral. This example also shows how the numeral classifier *ib'* is triggered by the quantifier *kada* and both precede the proper NP: each plant, the tree(s). Examples (7) and (8) show the occurrence of the definite determiner with the distal (7) and proximal (8) demonstratives. Since determiner and demonstratives are in different slots of the nominal phrase, the co-occurrence is possible as predicted by Becker (forthc). Finally, example (9) shows the determiner preceding the locative preposition *b'a* but the context reflects a normal prepositional phrase. This is evidence of the determinant circumclisis as phrase marker wrapping up the proper PP and giving it a topical status.

Predicting: An overview of the statistical tendencies in terms of definiteness, specificity and genericity will be given out of a corpus of ~24000 token-words. For example, a huge majority of the occurrences of the indefinite determiner with possessive marking are specifics with a relative clause or the referent was context given in the stimulus. There is also the case of body part terms like example (10) where the possessive marker of the noun *k'ab'* 'arm' is rather a sign of syntactic dependence in the typical Mesoamerican genitive construction: on one branch of the tree (lit.: on one his arm the pine).

¹ The first most completely analysis of the Tojolab'al noun phrase is Gómez Cruz 2010. I am building on it.

² All data comes from the autor's fieldwork. Proper acknowledgement will be given to the speakers if accepted.

³ The first approximation to Tojol-ab'al information structure was Brody 1982. Curiel 2007 constitute a detailed integral analysis of information structure that includes the phonetic analysis of the clause. I am building on them.

⁴ This is also reflected in the Spanish of mother-tongue speakers of a Mayan language: *una mi mamá*.

- (1) *Jun yal kerem sok jun ts'i*⁵
 DET DIM boy COM DET dog
 'One little boy and one dog' [20151216_Chiapas_Frog_IRL.001]
- (2) *Ja yal kerem=i' wan=xa way-el.*
 DET DIM boy=DEF PROG=DISC sleep-VN
 'The little boy was already sleeping.' [20151216_Chiapas_Frog_IRL.003]
- (3) *Ti y-al-a ja s-tatam=i'...*
 deixis A3-say-TR DET A3-husband=DEF
 'Then, her husband said...'. [20160220_Chiapas_Story_CLC.002]
- (4) *I jak=b'i al-j-uk y-ab'-le' y-uj jun s-kompa*
 and come=REP say-PASS-IRR A3-hear-3PL A3-AG DET A3-friend
 'And then one of his friends came to tell them' [20151230_Chiapas_Chich_IRL.056]
- (5) *Ja' k-i'-oj jun j-ts'i*
 FOC A1-take-TR DET A1-dog
 'I brought **ONE OF MY DOGS**_{FOC} (partitive)
 'It is my dog that I brought (presentational cleft)
 [20160220_Chiapas_Story_CLC.012]
- (6) *I kada ib'-e' ja te'i' ay yi'oj⁶ june' yal chan⁷*
 And each CL:plant-CL:gen DET tree=DEF EXIST A3-take-TR one-CL:gen
 'and each tree has one bird' [20151216_Chiapas_Scope_IRL.002]
- (7) *Wewo oj k'e'-k-otik man s-ni' ja yaxte' jaw=i'.*
 now POT go.up-IRR-B1.INCL until A3-nose DET oak DIST=DEF
 'Let's climb quick up to the top of the oak' [20151228_Chiapas_Pukuj_IRL.091]
- (8) *Ja lo'il it=i' ti ek' il b'a Chiapas*
 DET story PROX=DEF deixis pass.by here LOC C.
 'This story happened here in Chiapas'
 [20151228_Chiapas_Pukuj_IRL.007]
- (9) *Kwando ja yal kerem wan yiljel ja b'a k'e'en=i'.*
 when DET DIM boy PROG A3-see-PASS-VN DET LOC cave=DEF
 'When the boy was looking in the cave'
 [20151216_Chiapas_Frog_IRL.019]
- (10) *B'a jun s-k'ab' ja taj=i'*
 LOC DET A3-hand DET pine=DEF
 'on one branch of the tree' [20161219_Chiapas_NijPos_IRL_2.064]

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⁵ **Abbreviations:** 1,2,3=person; A=Set A, ergative and possessor; AG=agentive pronoun; B=Set B, absolutive; CL=numeral classifier; COM=comitative/instrumental; DEF=definite final position clitic; DET=definite and indefinite determinants; DIM=diminutive; DISC=discontinuative second position clitic; DIST=distal demonstrative; EXIST=existential particle; FOC=focus cleft particle; INCL=inclusive plural; IRR=irrealis; LOC=locative preposition; PASS=passive; PL=plural; POT=potential mood; PROG=progressive; PROX=proximal demonstrative; REP=reportative second position clitic; TR=transitive independent status suffix; VN=verbal noun.

⁶ *Ay yi'oj* (lit.: there is she takes) represents the habeo-construction where the person of the verb 'i' changes.

⁷ *Yal chan* means bird (lit.: little snake).

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Some remarkable features of negative verb forms in Andi (Nakh-Daghestanian)

Andi is one of the minority languages spoken in Daghestan (Russia), which belongs to the Avar-Andic branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian (aka East Caucasian) family. Like most other languages of the Andic group, Andi is underdescribed, and the data discussed in the present paper mainly come from the author's fieldwork in 2015–2017.

The verbal paradigm of Andi includes a number of finite and non-finite synthetic forms, derived suffixally from one of the two stems. In the table below, both affirmative and negative forms of the verb 'say' are shown. It is clear from the table that the marking of negation is very regular in Andi: most finite forms use the negative marker *-s:u*, which is simply added to the affirmative form as a suffix¹. In some non-finite forms (perfective participle, masdar), *-s:u* precedes an inflectional suffix rather than follows it. There are two interesting things as far as the derivation of negative forms is concerned. First, an irregular negation marker *-č'igu* is used with one form, namely the perfective converb syncretic with the finite perfect; the regular negation in *-s:u* is also available, but the distribution between the two variants is not clear. Second, in two forms the marker *-s:u* is fused with some other marker(s), cf. *-s:ja* in the future and *-s:ub* in the prohibitive. Note that the prohibitive (functionally, negative imperative) is structurally not parallel to the imperative and is not derived from the latter; the morphological asymmetry between these two forms is, however, a general feature of Nakh-Daghestanian languages.

Besides a general overview of negation in the verb system, during the talk I would like to dwell on the two phenomena which make the Andi system quite remarkable both intragenetically (i.e. among the related languages) and cross-linguistically. The first phenomenon concerns the interaction of negative forms with the two clitics, the additive *=lo* and the intensive *=gu*. Although both markers are enclitic to all other hosts (both verbal and non-verbal), they behave in a peculiar way when hosted by negative verb forms. In this latter case, the clitic is obligatorily placed inside the verb form, tearing it apart and standing before negation marker. It happens both with verb forms with a regular negation marker and with irregular negative equivalents, see examples in (1). In this context, the two clitics thus behave as *endoclitics*, a typologically rare type of clitics which are placed not on a word periphery, but inside a morphological word.

The second phenomenon is interesting from the functional point of view and in the grammaticalization perspective. Among the affirmative verb forms listed in the table, the form in *-david* seems to have a negative meaning (e.g. *rul-david* 's/he doesn't say'), although it does not include a negation marker as such. A regular negative equivalent can be derived from this form, which quite expectedly has an affirmative meaning (e.g. *rul-david-s:u* 's/he says', i.e. 'it's not true that s/he doesn't say'). A closer inspection reveals, however, that such forms do not have a plain negative meaning, but rather express counterexpectation on the part of the speaker (e.g. 's/he still doesn't say, although I expected him/her to say it', see also (2)); hence the label Counterexpectation Present, which we find appropriate for the form in question. Judging from dialectal comparison and also a few parallels from closely related languages, Counterexpectation Present which is now a morphologically bound form originated in a periphrastic construction with an auxiliary (*(b)-abi*, which probably meant something like 'lack' or 'refuse' (in modern Andi, the verb with this stem is only used with the meaning 'get tired'). Both the existence of a verb form with a counterexpectation meaning and the grammaticalization path involving an 'inherently negative' verb are quite unusual for a Nakh-Daghestanian verb system, although both have clear parallels in genetically unrelated languages (cf. e.g. 'not-yet' tenses in Africa).

¹ The negative marker is clearly related to the homophonous negative copula.

Table 1. Synthetic forms of ‘say’ in Andi (Rikvani dialect)

| Aorist and related forms | affirmative | negative |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Aorist | <i>ruli</i> | <i>ruli-s:u</i> |
| Perfect (= Perfective Converb) | <i>ruli-d</i> | <i>ruli-d-s:u / ruli-č’igu</i> |
| Perfective participle | <i>ruli-b</i> | <i>ruli-s:u-b</i> |
| Imperative | <i>rul-o</i> | – |
| Masdar (action nominal) | <i>ruli-r</i> | <i>ruli-s:u-r</i> |
| Progressive | <i>rul-rado</i> | <i>rul-rado-s:u</i> |
| Infinitive and related forms | | |
| Infinitive | <i>rul-du</i> | <i>rul-du-s:u</i> |
| Present | <i>rul-duq</i> | <i>rul-duq-s:u</i> |
| Prospective | <i>rul-dulq</i> | <i>rul-dulq-s:u</i> |
| Intentional | <i>rul-dukojd</i> | <i>rul-dukojd-s:u</i> |
| Habitual | <i>rul-do</i> | <i>rul-do-s:u</i> |
| Prohibitive | – | <i>rul-do-s:u-b</i> |
| Future (= Imperfective Participle) | <i>rul-dja</i> | <i>rul-do-s:ja</i> |
| Counterexpectation Present | <i>rul-david</i> | <i>rul-david-s:u</i> |

- (1a) *c’a-do=lo=s:u*, *k’am-mo=lo=s:u*
 drink-HAB=ADD=NEG eat-HAB=ADD=NEG
 ‘He neither drinks, nor eats.’
- (1b) *hege.ši-lo* *bužu-do=lo=s:ub*
 DEM.LL(M)-SUPER.LAT believe-PROH+ADD
 ‘{Be careful} and do not trust him.’
- (2) *w-ukun-nu* *žil’i-d*, *amma* *w-ukun-navid*
 M-eat-INF want-PRF but M-eat-UNEXP.PRS
 ‘He wants to eat, but he still doesn’t eat.’ (e.g. he is too shy)

Applicative prefixes in Umoⁿhoⁿ (Omaha, Siouan)

Native languages of North America are known for a number of features, including complex morphology, particularly on the verb (Mithun 2015, 1999). The Umoⁿhoⁿ (Omaha) language (Siouan family) shares those features, for it displays a particularly complex verbal system including a number of valency-changing affixes (e.g. applicatives, causatives, and so-called “instrumental” prefixes).

Despite the existence of an extensive textual corpus, Umoⁿhoⁿ has received little attention (*ie*, several parts of the grammar not yet described, and most works unpublished). More generally, works on the Siouan family languages seldom address the issue of valency change, beyond the morphological description of derivations on the verb.

The Umoⁿhoⁿ corpus from the end of the 19th Century consists of more than 800 pages of tales and letters, glossed and translated (Dorsey 1890, 1891). The corpus offers numerous complex examples of verbal valency alternation through the addition or removal of participants, locatives, instruments, etc. In this talk I propose a basic presentation of 5 applicative prefixes existing in Umoⁿhoⁿ, that can be referred to as “locative” prefixes, though they also perform other functions. Three are simple prefixes (**í-** ; **á-** ; **u-**), while the other two are combinations of prefixes (**ítha-** and **uthú-**, from underlying ***í-á-** and ***í-u-**).

Among the noteworthy features of these applicatives is the polyfunctionality of **í-**, which is attested as locative (*by, beside*), instrumental (*with*), or “causal” (*because of, on account of*) applicatives. While the first two applicative categories introduce NPs as additional core arguments, in accordance with the canonical functions of applicatives (see Peterson 2007), the “causal” applicative deviates from the norm as it cannot result in the addition of another NP; instead, it refers anaphorically to a previous clause.

Another interesting feature of the locative applicatives is their relative obligatoriness. Though syntactic alternatives do exist (using postpositions instead of verbal prefixes on the verb), they are limited in number. The choice between applicative construction or oblique construction seems to be constrained by morphology (some derivational prefixes, even lexicalized, cannot combine) and/or possibly by semantics, as in Haya and several other languages mentioned by Peterson (2007:49).

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Examples

- (1) **gthíⁿ** “to sit”

shkóⁿ-azhi gthíⁿ-ga, á-biamá Ishtínik^he ak^há.
move-NEG sit-IMP.M say-HEARSAY I. ANIM.PROX
““Sit still”, said Ictinike.” (Dorsey, 1890:97.7)

- (2) **í-gthiⁿ** “to sit by”

Níⁿkashiⁿga áwat^he í-gthiⁿ thiⁿk^hé, á-biamá.
person *what.thing* APPL-sit ANIM.OBV say-HEARSAY
““Where is the person sitting?” said the Pawnees.” (Dorsey, 1890:409.4)

- (3) **u-gthíⁿ** “to sit in”

xáde búta unáshte oⁿg-ú-gthiⁿ-i.
grass round left.from.fire 1PL.SBJ-APPL-sit-PL
“We sat on a round track of grass which has not been burnt by the prairie fire”
(Dorsey, 1890:456.6)

- (4) **í-noⁿpe** “to be afraid of someone on account of it”

Wanáta dádoⁿ t’éwatháí éshtewóⁿ í-noⁿpe-hnóⁿ ’í-biamá.
animal whatever killed.3PL.OBJ notwithstanding APPL-fear-HAB give-HEARSAY
“No matter what animals they killed, they always gave them to him, being afraid of him (that is, afraid not to give him the game)”. (Dorsey, 1890:22.2)

- (5) **á-noⁿge** “to run on”

ki zhoⁿthínoⁿge-’ósagi mazhóⁿ thoⁿ á-noⁿga-i.
and wagon-swift land INAN.ROUND APPL-run-PROX
And the wagons runs over the land. (Dorsey, 1891:103.1 ; my translation)

Abbreviations

APPL: applicative prefix

ANIM: animate

OBV: obviative

PROX: proximate

Morphosyntactic variation in Old Swahili

Comparative studies of Bantu languages have often focussed on lexical and phonological data, or on specific morphosyntactic construction types. They are also mainly based on synchronic data. The present study develops a novel approach to the study of morphosyntactic variation in Bantu, by including historical data from classical Swahili poetry (based on Mieke 1979) and by adopting both qualitative and quantitative methods of comparison. We will discuss variation in Old Swahili and compare Old Swahili to Modern Standard Swahili, both in terms of the nature of morphosyntactic differences seen, and as part of a quantitative study comparing Old Swahili with 15 neighboring East African Bantu languages.

Our methodological approach is based on recent work by Guérois *et al.* (2017), which develops a novel approach to the study of morphosyntactic variation in Bantu languages, based on 142 parameters or variables, which reflect salient and well-described aspects of Bantu grammar. By developing a large-scale database based on these parameters, the approach investigates typological, diachronic-historical, and contact-related aspects of variation in Bantu. Currently the database contains data from about forty Bantu languages, with information coming from published sources and original fieldwork. For current study of Old Swahili we have data for 61 out of 142 parameters, due to the limited data available for Old Swahili, especially in the area of complex syntax and information structure.

In this talk we discuss the differences between Old Swahili and Modern Standard Swahili, including:

- the coding of alienable and inalienable possession (Parameter 18)
- demonstrative morphology (Parameter 20)
- the use of the agentive suffix *-i* (Parameter 28)
- the coding of the agent phrase in passives (Parameter 38) (cf. examples (1) and (2))
- the presence of negative imperative forms (Parameter 58)
- the formation of the perfect (Parameter 68) (cf. examples (3) and (4))
- the presence of multiple pre-verbal TAM slots (Parameter 73)
- preverbal and postverbal object marking (Parameter 75) (cf. examples (5) and (6))

In the quantitative part of the study we show that there is a clear difference between Old Swahili and Standard Swahili with respect to their similarity with a sample of 15 neighboring East African Bantu languages. Overall Old Swahili is more similar to the other languages of the sample, with respect to the morphosyntactic parameters, than Standard Swahili. This can be seen both from considering all the pairs in which Old Swahili and Standard Swahili are involved, and from an overall similarity value calculated over all language pairs.

The study shows that the relation between Old Swahili and Standard Swahili is characterised by a loss of variability and processes of regularisation. We propose that this is related, at least in part, to processes of language planning and standardisation which Swahili underwent from the 20th century onwards. Results of the study present a new perspective on the study of morphosyntactic variation as they show the effect of standardisation and a particular trajectory of morphosyntactic development. They also show the usefulness of combining qualitative and quantitative methods in the study of morphosyntactic variation.

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Berlin. Dietrich Reimer.

Examples

- (1) Old Swahili: Agents of passive are expressed by preposition *na* or by copula *ni*:

a. m-wema, m-za-w-a na w-ema
1-good 1-bear-PASS-FV COM 14-good
'the good one, born in goodness'

b. mahari a-l-o-pa-w-a ni Jabiri
9.bride_price SM1-PST-REL-give-PASS-FV COP Jabiri
'the bride-price set by him by Jabir' (Miehe 1979: 197)

- (2) Standard Swahili: preposition *na* only

Wa-me-shik-w-a na njaa
SM2-PERF-hold-PASS-FV COM hunger
'They were grabbed by hunger'

- (3) Old Swahili: Expression of the perfect by suffix *-ile*

ni-kom-ile ku-kutubu
SM1SG-finish-PERF 15-write
'I have finished writing' (Miehe 1979: 178)

- (4) Standard Swahili: Expression of the perfect by prefix *me-*

Wa-tu wa-me-fik-a
2-person SM2-PERF-arrive-FV
'People have arrived'

- (5) Old Swahili: Both pre-verbal and post-verbal object markers, referring to the same object (probably for emphatic effects).

a. na u-me-n-amkuwa-mi
and SM2SG-PERF-OM1SG-call-OM1SG
'then you called me' (Miehe 1979: 101)

b. a-ka-zi-angusha-zo
SM1-CONS-OM10-throw.down-OM10
'and he threw thus down' (Steere 1884, in Miehe 1979: 101)

- (6) Standard Swahili: Only one (pre-verbal) object marker

Ni-li-m-pa *ni-li-m-pa-zi/-zo
SM1SG-PAST-OM1-give SM1SG-PAST-OM1-give-OM10
'I gave him' Intd.: 'I gave them (to) him'

Negation in Koasati (for the workshop “Negation of the Languages of the World”)

Koasati is a Muskogean language spoken by about 200 members of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana and by some members of the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas. Many aspects of Koasati negation—particularly the placement of negative affixes in different verb classes—have been described in Kimball (1991). The description given here reflects further research on Koasati and describes negation in a wider typological context (Dahl 1979; Miestamo 2005, 2016).

Koasati generally has SOV word order. In conversation, phrases are often added after the verb as afterthoughts. Enclitics appear after noun phrases to indicate case or discourse status: *-k* for subject (with a focused form *-ok*), *-n* for nonsubject (focused form *-on*), and *-p* for topic, among others.

Verbs are marked for the person and number of their arguments. Koasati distinguishes agentive (‘AG’), nonagentive (‘P’ for patient), and nonagentive dative (‘D’) series of person markers (1a-2a). In the negative, the agentive series is fused with the mark of negation (an old inflected negative-hypothetical auxiliary).

The verbs in (1-2) both suffix the primary mark of negation. Verbs in other classes may infix it before the final CCV (*talwa-* ‘sing’, *ta<kǎ>lw-o-n* ‘I don’t sing’) or prefix it to a root of the shape (C)VCV (*hiča-* ‘see’, *ak-hī:č-o-n* ‘I don’t see’). Only a few verbs are suppletive: *nā:ho-* ‘exist’, *ikso-* ‘not exist’; *ko-* ‘not be (a thing, a property)’. Infixing and prefixing verbs arguably have three marks of negation (*ak-*, tone, *-o*), though /k/ is most salient; suffixing verbs arguably have two marks of negation (suffix, tone). Only verbs may be negated.

As Miestamo (2005:129) has noted, this is an asymmetric system with person marking expressed differently in the positive and negative. Grammatical aspect also differs: positive sentences may appear in various aspects, but negative sentences appear in a specific imperfective aspect (‘RGR’ or rising tone grade, signaled by rising tone on the penult).

Koasati lacks a dedicated pattern for lexical negation, but some instances of clausal negation may have been lexicalized. The opposite of *čoba-* ‘big’ is *čo<kī: >b-o-n* ‘small, not big’, for example, and the opposite of *čayha-* ‘tall’ is *ča<kī: >h-o-n* ‘short, not tall’.

Negative commands have a dedicated suffix *-nna* added to the second person singular or plural: *ta<či>lwa-nna-n* ‘don’t you sing!’, *ta<hači>lwa-nna-n* ‘don’t you all sing!’.

Dependent clauses are almost always finite and may be negated: *o<kī: >b-o-:p* ‘if it doesn’t rain’. The suffix *-ha:lo-* normally appears with negation, however: *hopon-tàkkó-haal-ok* ‘before I cook (lit. ‘while I do not cook’).

Koasati generally uses the same pronouns for questions and indefinites: *na:si* ‘what, thing, something, anything (with a negative), nothing (with a negative)’. Negative polarity items have not yet been identified. I plan also to study the use of negation with quantifiers (most of which are verbs).

Very little work has been done to date on the scope of negation in Koasati. One area I will consider is the interaction of topic marker *-p* with negation. As in Japanese (Nyberg 2012:45-46), a topic marker helps indicate a noun phrase in the scope of negation (3). I will also discuss the ability of negation to span clauses linked with switch-reference markers.

Languages with set nouns do not have adnominal number agreement

We owe the distinction between languages with set nouns and languages with individual object nouns to Jan Rijkhoff (2002). In languages with set nouns, such as Oromo (Cushitic branch of Afro-Asiatic), nouns construed with a numeral do not get number marking, but rather remain unmarked (1) (Rijkhoff (2002: 46). In contrast, languages with individual object nouns, such as Dutch, mark the number on nouns in such constructions (2).

Apparently, in languages with set nouns the unmarked noun is inherently neither singular nor plural, and the plural marking only resolves the ambiguity. In languages with individual object nouns the unmarked noun is inherently singular, and cannot be used to refer to more than one object. Thus, in Oromo *farda* can mean both ‘horse’ and ‘horses’, *nad’eeni* is both ‘woman’ and ‘women’, while in English *book* refers only to a single object, and *book-s* to a plurality of objects. Oromo nouns apparently denote sets rather than individual objects, and the context shows when the set contains just one individual. What has not been noted so far is that Rijkhoff’s typology has consequences for our understanding of number agreement, where agreement is defined as a systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element (in this case the noun) and a formal property of another (in this case number marking on nominal modifiers) (Corbett 2006). Adnominal agreement is agreement in the domain of the NP (Matasović 2014), i.e. it is the agreement of nominal modifiers (typically adjectives, articles, demonstratives and numerals) with the head noun, cf. the contrast between *this book* and *these books* in English.

In our paper we will use a genetically and areally balanced sample of 100 languages (Matasović 2014) to show that languages with set nouns as a rule do not have adnominal number agreement. A few apparent counter-examples, such as Hungarian (in which number agreement is marginal) will be discussed. On the other hand, languages with individual object nouns may or may not have adnominal number agreement, so the proposed implicational universal is unidirectional: if a language has adnominal number agreement, then (with frequency that cannot be attributed to chance) it does not have set nouns (but the converse does not hold). Note also that a language can have set nouns and number agreement on verbs (but not on adnominal modifiers), which is the case, e.g., in Kabardian (NW Caucasian, 3-4). Finally, we will attempt to explain the proposed implicational universal by showing how it is a consequence of the most common patterns of grammaticalization of markers of number agreement.

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Examples:

- (1) *gaala* *lamaani*
two camel
'two camels'
- (2) *twee* *boek-en*
two book-PL
'two books'
- (3) *txəl t'wə*
book two
'two books'
- (4) *ā-xa-r* *y-aydž-ā-xa-ś*
DEM-PL-ABS 3SG-study-PRET-PL-AFF
'They studied'

Configurationality in Ngkolmpu Revisited

Ngkolmpu, a Yam family (Papuan) language spoken in the extreme south-east of the Indonesian province of Papua, has been described as displaying non-configurational noun phrases (Donohue 2011). In that paper, Donohue notes that noun phrase elements may be discontinuous from each other as long as each element is overtly marked for case. He argues that this is the result of a process of scrambling and that this process of scrambling is sensitive to overt morphological case. In this paper, new data gathered from naturalistic texts shows that noun phrases are not truly non-configurational but instead appear non-configurational as nominal elements may be separated from their demonstratives when appearing in topic position.

Nominal phrases in Ngkolmpu are demonstrative phrases (DP) which consist of a noun phrase (NP) and a demonstrative; both the final element of the noun phrase and the demonstrative are marked for case (1).

1. *ntop kraru ngkiengku mo pi yeyerki*

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|
| [[ntop krar-w] | ngkiengku] | mo | pi |
| big dog-SG.ERG | PROX.SG.ERG | wallaby.ABS | DIST.ABS |
| y\yerk/i | | | |
| SG>3.HOD.PFV\stalk | | | |

‘This big dog stalked the wallaby.’

In spoken discourse, however, we see word orders in which elements of the nominal phrase may be separated from each other as in (2). Note that for both the ergative and the absolutive argument the head nominal is separated from their corresponding demonstrative.

2. *ntopu, mo, piengku yeyerki pi*

| | | | |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| ntop-w | mo | piengku | y\yerk/y=pi |
| big.SG.ERG | wallaby.ABS | PROX.SG.ERG | SG>3.HOD.PFV\stalk=DIST.ABS |

‘The big one stalked the wallaby.’

Drawing from a corpus of 3.5 hours of recordings collected over 10 months fieldwork, I show that nominal phrases participating in constructions such as those in (2) are always topics (Erteschik-Shir 2007). I argue that these constructions are left periphery topic constructions which involve the fronting of topical NPs whilst case marked demonstrative remain in the core of the clause. These topical NPs are otherwise morphosyntactically identical to DP-internal NPs, i.e. show the same restrictions of constituency as regular NPs. Thus, rather than being fully discontinuous, as Donohue argues, we see only discontinuity between NPs and demonstratives. This analysis, based on a more reliable data set, is both more empirically accurate and provides a detailed account of the information structural motivations for such these constructions.

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Beyond collectives: a cross-linguistic approach to ‘aggregate’ derivation

Collectives have been variously defined in the literature, also from a typological perspective (cf. Gil 1996, Mihatsch 2000), and despite different syntactic characterizations, there is general agreement on their semantic core: collective nouns refer to a denotational multiplicity that is conceptualized as a unity. Yet, the ways in which this unitary profile is achieved can be highly different, to the point that a wide range of different phenomena have been analyzed under the label ‘collective’ (Mihatsch 2000: 244).

Joosten (2010) proposes a fundamental distinction between what he calls collective proper (e.g. *club*, *archipel*) and *aggregate* nouns (e.g. *jewellery*, *furniture*), based on semantic parameters. In particular, in both collective and aggregate nouns the individual entities making up the whole are not conceptually profiled, but are rather de-focused and backgrounded. However, the motivation underlying this de-profiling is different in the two cases. As argued by Joosten (2010: 42-43), for collectives the lower salience of individual entities is a consequence of the salience of the whole set, which in itself has specific and identifiable properties. Aggregates, instead, “deliberately abstract away from the individual entities” (Joosten 2010: 43) because this is for some reason useful in communication (e.g. *furniture* vs. *chairs, tables, sofas and armchairs*). Unlike collectives, for which the set can be perceived and conceptualized as such (e.g. *team*), aggregates are more heterogeneous and dependent on context (they show many properties typical of exemplar-driven abstraction, see Mauri 2017, Mauri and Sansò 2018).

Based on a 150-language sample, the aim of this paper is to provide a typology of the strategies attested for the derivation of aggregates, that is, constructions that take a specific entity as their base and then derive an aggregate noun referring to a *whole* abstracted away from the base, the specific identify of which is thus de-profiled. An example of aggregate derivation is provided by Italian derivational affixes *-aglia* (Magni, to appear) and *-ame* (Mauri 2017), which derive *ferraglia* ‘set of various old iron things’ from *ferro* ‘iron’ or *bambiname* ‘children and related stuff’ from *bambini* ‘children’, or Kuuk Thayorre =*yuk*, that may be added to a noun to generalize its reference including entities that are somehow similar or normally associated to the base noun (Gaby 2006: 209).

While studies on collective derivation in individual languages are numerous, very few have taken the distinction between collectives and aggregates into account, and even more crucially there is no systematic cross-linguistic survey on the formation of aggregates. Yet, unlike collectives, aggregates are likely to serve basic discourse functions such as the online construction of categories (cf. Barsalou 1983), reference to heterogeneous ‘kinds’ and, more in general, they allow speakers to de-profile the internal composition of a multitude, even in cases where such multitude cannot be conceived itself as a salient set.

The cross-linguistic survey takes the following parameters into account: i) diachronic evidence concerning the source for the aggregate derivational morpheme, where available; ii) the multifunctionality of the aggregate derivational morpheme; iii) possible restrictions on the base noun, mainly concerning the animacy hierarchy and the part of speech; iv) relations with the wider domain of plurality and plural formation. Based on these parameters, we will argue that there are regularities concerning the sources of aggregate markers, which often derive from classifiers or nouns denoting generic elements (e.g. ‘thing’). In relation to the animacy hierarchy, aggregates appear not to be confined to the lower levels of the hierarchy, but can also take proper nouns as their bases. Finally, aggregate morphology plays a crucial role in the emergence of additive plurality marking (cf. Lehmann (1982: 58-61) and in the development of associative and simulative plurals (e.g. the suffix *-owie* in Polish is found with plural animates, e.g. *synowie* ‘sons’, but also to derive aggregates *listowie* ‘foliage’ vs. *liście* ‘leaf.pl’, Vassilieva 2005).

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A typology of non-exhaustivity: focus on non-exhaustive connectives

Non-exhaustivity has been mainly referred to in the literature as opposed to exhaustivity, especially within formal approaches to focal particles and negative polarity items (cf. Chierchia 2006, Giannakidou 2016, Lin and Giannakidou 2015). Giannakidou (2016) proposes to analyze non-exhaustivity in terms of referential vagueness, whereby a given referential expression expresses indeterminacy regarding the value of some indefinite element and depends on the speaker's epistemic stance (cf. Haspelmath 1997). There have been specific studies on individual strategies having to do with non-exhaustivity (such as *general extenders*, cf. Overstreet 1999), but no systematic research has been undertaken up to now.

The aim of this paper is to move a step in this direction and adopt a cross-linguistic approach to non-exhaustivity. We define *non-exhaustivity* as a property operating on the set of contextually determined elements for which the predicate of the sentence can potentially hold (cf. Kiss 2010), in such a way that the set is open to further, referentially vague additions. Non-exhaustivity can be conveyed by means of different linguistic strategies (e.g. general extenders and similative plurals, Daniel and Moravcsik 2005). In this research, we focus on a rather under described, but widely attested phenomenon, namely *non-exhaustive connectives*. By non-exhaustive connectives we mean connectives that link two or more items into a conjunctive or disjunctive list and further specify that the list is open to potential additions. They have been briefly discussed by Stassen (cf. enumerative connectives, 2000: 5), Haspelmath (cf. representative conjunction, 2007: 24), Dixon and Aikhenvald (cf. open disjunction, 2009: 31), and Mauri (cf. non-exhaustive connectives, 2017: 310). However, little empirical evidence has been provided and this phenomenon has only been tangentially touched in the literature.

Consider example (1) in Japanese. By using the connective *ya* to link 'computer' and 'stereo', the speaker implies that the list is not restricted to the mentioned objects and that similar items should be considered as well. If the speaker wanted to refer only to 'computer and stereo', she should have used the exhaustive connective *-to* instead of *-ya*. Similar cases are (2) from Koasati and (3) from Papuan Malay. In (2), the non-exhaustive connective *-ó:t* implies the existence of further similar places to the ones explicitly mentioned, whereas in (3), the connective *ka* indicates that a list of alternatives is not exhaustive. All these connectives have a clear referential function, because they make reference to the presence of one or more unspecified elements beyond those mentioned.

Based on a 200-language sample, we provide a cross-linguistic typology of non-exhaustive connectives, taking into account on i) their morphosyntactic and distributional properties, ii) their semantic functions, and iii) wherever available, information on their diachronic sources. We will argue that the cross-linguistic distribution of non-exhaustive connectives shows a number of regular tendencies, which shed new light on the mechanisms underlying the expression of non-exhaustivity. First, they cross over the classical Boolean distinction between 'and' and 'or' (cf. examples (1) and (4)), suggesting that in non-exhaustive contexts the distinction between conjunction and disjunction is somehow neutralized, or at least backgrounded. Second, non-exhaustive connectives are more frequent in languages that fall outside the so-called 'And-But-Or' language type (cf. Mauri 2008), and this is likely due to the fact that the presence of general 'and' and 'or' markers blocks the emergence of dedicated non-exhaustive connectives. Third, diachronic data show interesting correlations with the domains of non-factuality (e.g. Japanese *ya* < interrogative marker in Middle Japanese; Papuan Malay *ka* is still used also and foremost as an interrogative marker) and plurality (e.g. Kanuri non-exhaustive connective *-so*).

To conclude, the synchronic and diachronic patterns identified will be argued to have an impact on a general theory of logical connectives and (non-)exhaustivity in natural languages.

Examples

1) Japanese (Chino 2001: 41)

Watashi-no heya-ni wa, konpyūtā-ya sutereo-ga oitearimasu.
I-GEN room-LOC TOP computer-YA stereo-NOM place:STA:POL
'In my room there is a computer, a stereo, **and such.**' (Chino 2001: 41)

2) Koasati (Muskogean, Haspelmath 2007: 24)

akkámmi-t ow-i:sá-hci hahci-f-ó:t oktaspi-f-ó:t kámmi-fa
be.so-CONN LOC-dwell.PL-PROG r iver-in-EX swamp-in-EX be.so-in
'So they live in rivers and in swamps AND IN SUCHLIKE PLACES.'

3) Papuan Malay (Austronesian, Kluge 2017: 543)

[...] *nanti banjir ka, hujang ka, guntur ka*
very.soon flooding OR rain OR thunder OR
'[it's not allowed to kill the snake otherwise] later (there'll be) flooding, or rain, or thunder (or something else)'

4) Japanese (Kaiser et al. 2001: 594)

Gomu-ya purasuchikku-no yakeru yōna nioi-ga shita to iu
rubber-YA plastic-DET burn like smell-NOM do:PAST QT say
'He says there was a smell like burning rubber or plastic (or something else).'

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Negation in Modern Hebrew

Modern Hebrew is an Afroasiatic language spoken in Israel. **Standard negation** is expressed by a construction in which the negative particle *lo* appears before the finite verb. This construction is symmetric to the corresponding affirmative (1a). **Negative indefinites** obligatorily co-occur with clausal negation (1b).

In **existential** and **possessive** predication, *lo* is in complementary distribution with the negative particle *en*: *en* occurs in present tense (2a), and *lo* occurs in other tenses and is followed by the copular verb *haya* (2b). In formal register, other present tense predicates can also be negated by *en*, which functions as a negative copula. *en* typically follows the subject and inflects for person, number and gender (3a), but it can also precede the subject, in which case it occurs in an uninflected form (3b).

Prohibitives are expressed in a construction in which the negative particle *al* precedes the future tense form (4a). This construction is in most cases symmetric to the affirmative, since the imperative paradigm has been largely replaced by the future tense paradigm. However, several high-frequency verbs have preserved the imperative form, in which case the negation is asymmetric (4b-c). In formal register, *al* can also occur in a **jussive** construction, in which it is followed by a dative pronoun and an infinitive (4d). Negative **obligation** is expressed by a construction in which *asur* ‘forbidden’ precedes an infinitive (4e). In general prohibition (e.g. *no smoking!*), *asur* is interchangeable with *lo*, and in formal register also with *en* (4f).

Negated quantifiers vary in syntactic distribution. For example, *lo meat* ‘not a few’ can be the complement of a preposition (5a) and can occur in both subject and object position (5b). In contrast, *lo kol* ‘not all’ can neither be the complement of a preposition (5c) nor occur in object position. **Scope ambiguity** normally does not arise in sentences in which *kol* ‘all’ occurs in subject position and precedes the clausal negator, in contrast with English *All that glitters is not gold* (6a). However, such ambiguity arises in several well-defined environments (6b).

In some contexts, clausal negation does not have a negative interpretation. For instance, clausal negation in free relative clauses can have a similar interpretation to English *-ever* free relative clauses, i.e., speaker indifference or ignorance (Eilam 2007: 3, see e.g. (7)).

Finally, there is a construction in which the vulgar interjection *zayin* ‘fuck!’ (literally ‘penis’) occurs sentence-initially and expresses emphatic negation (8), roughly equivalent to ‘no way’ or ‘the hell.’ This might be termed **cazzitive negation**, on the basis of Italian *cazzo*, which occurs in a similar construction.

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Examples:

- (1) a. *ani (lo) roe et dana.*
I (NEG) see.PRS.M ACC PN
‘I (don’t) see Dana.’
- b. *klum lo kar-a.*
nothing NEG happen-PST.3SG.M
‘Nothing happened.’

- (2) a. *en l-i kelev.*
 NEG DAT-1SG dog
 ‘I don’t have a dog.’
- b. *lo hay-a l-i kelev.*
 NEG be-PST.3SG DAT-1SG dog
 ‘I didn’t have a dog.’
- (3) a. *ha-hanhala en-a axrai-t le-ovdan xafats-im.*
 DEF-management NEG-3SG.F responsible-SG.F for-loss.of item-PL
 ‘The management is not responsible for lost items.’
- b. *en ha-hanhala axrai-t le-ovdan xafats-im.*
 NEG DEF-management responsible-SG.F for-loss.of item-PL
 ‘The management is not responsible for lost items.’
- (4) a. *(al) ta-kšiv-Ø l-o!*
 (PROH) 2SG-listen-M DAT-3SG.M
 ‘(Don’t) listen to him!’
- b. *lex-Ø!* c. *al te-lex-Ø!*
 go.IMP-SG.M PROH 2SG-go.FUT-M
 ‘Go!’ ‘Don’t go!’
- d. *al l-anu lehikana le-iyum-im.*
 PROH DAT-1PL give.in.INF DAT-threat-PL
 ‘We shouldn’t give in to threats.’
- e. *asur l-i ledaber it-xa.*
 prohibited DAT-1SG talk.INF with-2SG.M
 ‘I’m not allowed to talk to you.’
- f. *asur/ lo/ en leha’axil et ha-xay-ot.*
 forbidden NEG NEG feed.INF ACC DEF-animal-PL
 ‘Do not feed the animals!’
- (5) a. *le-lo meat student-im yeš rexev.*
 DAT-NEG few student-PL EXIST car
 ‘Quite a few students have a car.’
- b. *kara-ti lo meat sfar-im šel-a.*
 read-PST.1SG NEG few book-PL of-3SG.F
 ‘I read quite a few of her books.’
- c. *lo le-kol ha-student-im yeš rexev.*
 NEG DAT-all DEF-student-PL EXIST car
 ‘Not all students have a car.’
- (6) a. *kol ha-prat-im lo yedu-im.*
 all DEF-detail-PL NEG known-PL
 ‘All the details are unknown.’ (unambiguous)
- b. *kol ha-prat-im adayin lo yedu-im.*
 all DEF-detail-PL still NEG known-PL
 Reading A: ‘All the details are still unknown.’
 Reading B: ‘Not all the details are known yet.’
- (7) *matay še-ani lo raev-Ø, yeš oxel.*
 when COMP-I NEG hungry-SG.M EXIST food
 Negative reading: ‘When I’m not hungry, there is food.’
 Indifference reading: ‘Whenever I’m hungry, there is food.’
- (8) *zayin hu yi-kax ot-a le-amerika!*
 penis he 3SG.M.FUT-take ACC-3SG.F to-America
 ‘The hell he is going to take her to America!’

Besemah negation in typological and historical perspective
“Workshop 2: Negation in the languages of the world”

Negation in Besemah (ISO 693-3: pse; Glottocode: cent2053), an under-described Malayic language of southwest Sumatra, Indonesia, is in many respects typical of the other, better described systems of negation in Austronesian languages of western Indonesia, which demonstrate a number of typologically interesting features. Negation in declarative clauses in Besemah has two forms that have been characterized in better described standard varieties of Malay-Indonesian as a (i) ‘verbal/adjectival negator’ *dide* [didə] (long-form), *dik* [dɪʔ] (short form) in (1) and (ii) ‘nominal negator’ *bukan* [bukan], *bukane* [bukanə], *kane* [kanə] in (2). However, Kroeger (2014) provides good evidence in Standard Indonesian that the latter label is too narrow, based on the fact that this so-called ‘nominal negator’ can be used to negate verbal predicates under certain pragmatic conditions, as in the example in (3) with contrastive narrow focus on the verbal predicate. Additionally, there is a dedicated negative imperative construction that is marked by the word *jangan*, as in (4) (Sneddon 1996: 325-326). In naturally-occurring speech, the negative imperative clause that follows *jangan* is almost invariably expressed in the passive voice (McDonnell 2016: 213-214), an issue that is rarely discussed in the literature on negation in Malayic and other western Indonesian languages.

Besemah diverges from other well-known Austronesian languages in several respects. First, the existential verb in the negative *bedie* ‘not.exist’ is different from the form of the verb that occurs in the positive *ade* ‘exist’ (Veselinova 2013). Second, there are quite a few lexicalizations that are quite transparently made of up of the negative element (*di-*) + lexical item (*dindak* ‘not want’ < *ndak* ‘want’). All of these lexicalizations are now a single phonological word, and in some cases the lexical item has been reduced (e.g., *dimak* ‘not pleasant’ < *lemak* ‘pleasant’), and in other cases additional material is added (e.g., the glottal stop in *digik* [digiʔ] ‘not anymore’ < *agi* ‘again’). In some instances, the meaning has taken on special pragmatic functions (e.g., *diade* ‘it’s nothing, don’t worry’ < *ade* ‘exist’). Finally, Besemah evinces a post-verbal negator *adak* [adaʔ] as in (5). This special negator is far less frequent and behaves similarly to the ‘verbal/adjectival negator’ *dide*.

Based on extensive fieldwork and a 50,000-word documentary corpus of conversations and narratives in Besemah, this paper presents a description of the negation system of the language. Drawing on evidence from both well-described and little-described Malayic languages, it further shows how the negator *dide* arose via a negative existential cycle (Croft 1991) that in turn led to a special negative existential verb, and how post-verbal negation arose via a Jespersen cycle (van der Auwera 2009), wherein the post-verbal negator *adak* also came from the existential verb *ade*.

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- (1) a. siring-siring dide seghut ige,¹
 RDP-stream NEG overgrown exceed
 ‘those streams are too overgrown,’ (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-002, 00:25:33-00:25:35)
- b. lagikah anak=(ny)e dik be-kance,
 even.more child=3 NEG MID-friend
 ‘her kids don’t even have friends,’ (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-002, 00:00:45-00:00:46)
- (2) Tumi,
 T.
 ‘Tumi,’
 ...
 mamang-an kane kance.
 uncle-NMLZ NEG friend
 ‘is (my) uncle not a friend.’ (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-004, 00:01:32-00:01:35)
- (3) sate sampai ke pucuk,
 after arrive to top
 ‘after (he) arrived at the top (of the tree),’
- jambu tadi bukane di-umban-ka=nye,
 guava earlier NEG PV-fall-CAUS/APPL=3
 ‘he didn’t drop the guava down (from the tree),’
- bukan di-enjuk-ka ngaghi ading petri ni tadi,
 NEG PV-give-CAUS/APPL with younger.sibling prince DEM.DIST earlier
 ‘he didn’t give (the guava) to the prince’s younger brother,’
- di-makan=(ny)e.
 PV-eat=3
 ‘he ate (the guava).’ (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-003, 00:01:46-00:01:53)
- (4) jangan di-kekuk,
 NEG.IMP PASS-puncture
 ‘don’t put holes (in the road),’
- mangke ayik dide masuk ke jalan.
 so.that water NEG enter to road
 ‘so the water doesn’t go into the road.’ (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:31:20-00:31:22)
- (5) takut=lah kamu
 scare=FOC 2PL
 ‘you are more scared,’
- ng-(k)inak adak
 AV-see NEG
 ‘(because you can) not see.’ (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-002, 00:26:20-00:26:21)

¹ Non-standard abbreviations include AV = agentive voice and PV = patientive voice.

Prominent internal possessor (PiP) constructions in Gurindji

Gurindji (Ngumpin-Yapa, Australia) prominent internal possessor (PiP) constructions, as in (1), consist of a possessive NP_a which is cross-referenced with a clause-level bound pronoun clitic, and an embedded possessor NP_b which is marked with the dative case and also cross-referenced with an object/oblique pronominal clitic. PiP constructions contrast with normal alienable possession where possessor NP_b is not cross-referenced by a pronominal clitic. Because the possessor_b in PiP constructions is a modifier within the larger possessive NP headed by the possessum_c and yet is cross-referenced with clause-level agreement morphology, Meakins and Nordlinger (2017) suggest there is a type of morpho-syntactic disagreement between the syntactic position of the possessor as an NP-internal argument, and the fact that it is cross-referenced at the clausal level as if it were a clausal argument itself.

In this paper, we demonstrate that the cross-referencing of an NP-internal argument extends to reduced subordinate clauses in Gurindji. This type of subordinate clause consists solely of a coverb which takes case-markers that simultaneously cross-reference arguments in the main clause, referred to as switch-reference (Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014: 425 onwards). In the case of PiP constructions, locative or allative case-marking cross-references a possessive NP in the main clause (depending on whether it is a subject or object NP in the main clause), and dative-marking cross-references the embedded possessor itself, as in (2). Note that the use of the dative in switch-reference function also occurs for other dative-marked NPs in the main clause such as benefactives and normal alienable possession.

In this paper, we also examine the function of PiP constructions. PiP constructions are used to present a human possessor as the likely candidate in a set of possible possessors. This function is demonstrated in contexts where ownership is considered high stakes, for example in vehicles (1) and (2), claims about land and its associated mythological creatures (3), restricted foods (4) and other resources (5). The use of the PiP construction singles out a person or group of people from a potential set of owners. In this respect, they represent a type of contrastive focus in that it either sets up a restricted set of alternatives (either explicitly or not) and puts forward one of the alternatives or expands a set of potential possessors. Dik (1997: 331-32) refers to this type of focus as a counter-presuppositional contrastive focus and proposes a number of subcategories. PiP constructions can be used for *restricting* focus, as in (4), where the speaker presumes that the hearer has a correct piece of information X, but also incorrectly believes Y to be the case; and also *expanding* focus, as in (5), where the speaker presumes that the hearer has a correct piece of information, but knows another piece of information which is also correct. In both cases, one possessor option is highlighted over another.

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- (1) [Ngayiny_b-ju karu-ngku_c]_a ngu=yi_b=lu_a
 1MIN.DAT-ERG child-ERG CAT=1MIN.O=3AUG.S
 tawirjip pa-ni marluka-wu kurrurij.
 pelt hit-PST old.man-DAT car
 'The children of mine threw rocks at the old man's car.'
- (2) [Ngu=rna=yina_b wulyuk ma-na-na]_{MAIN}
 CAT=1MIN.S=3AUG.O wash do-IMPF-PRS
 [makin-ta-wu_b]_{SUB} [Nangari-jpan-ku_b kurrurij]_{a,MAIN}
 sleep-LOC-DAT Nangari-PL-DAT car
 I'm washing the Nangaris' car while they're asleep.
- (3) Ngantipa=ma kurlayarra-side-ta=ma Namama Dreaming
 1AUG.EXC=TOP south-side-side-LOC=TOP bee.REDUP Dreaming
 ngu=**ngantipa** **ngantipanguny**=ma
 AUX=1AUG.EXC 1AUG.EXC.DAT=TOP
 Us mob are on the south side (of the river). The Bee Dreaming belongs to us.
- (4) "Kula=nta nga-lu, yarrularn-tu=ma janka-ku=ma," kuya.
 NEG=2AUG.S eat-POT young.man-ERG=TOP woman-ERG=TOP thus
 "You shouldn't eat it, young men and women," she said.
 "Ngu=**ngantipa** **ngantipanguny** jangkakarni-lu
 AUX=1AUG.EXC.O 1AUG.EXC.DAT adult.REDUP-ERG
 "It is ours, as adults.
 ngu=rnalu nga-lu kajijirri-lu kuya-ny."
 AUX=1AUG.EXC.S eat-POT old.woman.REDUP thus-NMLZ
 Only us older women can eat that type." (Gurindji: VW: FM09_a123: 1:09min)
- (5) **Ngumpit-ku-parlak** nyawa=ma ngu=**ngantipa** **ngantipany**
 man-DAT-together this=TOP AUX=1AUG.EXC.O 1AUG.EXC.DAT
 This (white ochre) is ours, men together (with women).
 (Gurindji: TD: FM08_a11_2b: 0:34min)

Negation in Kabyle (Berber)

Kabyle (Berber, Afroasiatic) is spoken by about four million people in Algeria. The language is tenseless, and has four MAN stems : aorist, imperfective, perfective, and negative perfective. The MAN system opposes different forms or distributional differences in the affirmative and in the negative, thus displaying an A-Cat-TAM type of asymmetry (in the typology of Miestamo 2005). Nouns are marked for gender, number and state. Verbs bear subject bound pronouns with argumental (as opposed to agreement) status.

The distribution of MAN forms is asymmetric at several levels, which will be detailed in the presentation. While in affirmative utterances all MAN stems are used (including the 'negative perfective', in counterfactual hypotheticals), in negative utterances, the aorist only appears with a dedicated preverbal negator, to express the negative optative, and the two forms in the negative subsystem are the imperfective and the negative perfective. Additionally, the subject bound pronouns of the affirmative hortative (a combination of the imperative second plural and the indicative first plural) are different from those of the negative hortative (indicative first plural). For the prohibitive (**example 1**), Kabyle has a Type 1 construction in the van der Auwera and Lejeune (2005) typology, but instead of the aorist stem, the imperfective stem must be used. This general asymmetry is the main typologically salient feature of Kabyle, each Berber language having their own A-Cat-TAM type, and some of them having become almost symmetrical following extensive contact with Arabic.

Clausal verbal negation, in main and dependent clauses, is marked by a preverbal negator *ur*. In about half of the verbal negative clauses in my corpus (composed of first-hand data collected in the field between 2007 and 2011), a postverbal marker *ara* also appears, in contexts which will be detailed in the presentation (**cf. 2 & 3**). Oaths and negative coordination are among the contexts when only *ur* is used, negative hypothetical protases are among the structures where the postverbal marker is necessary. The prosodic contours of negations with or without *ara* are different, and reflect the functional differences of the various constructions.

Indefinites are used with clausal negation *ur*, in complementary distribution with the postverbal marker (itself grammaticalized from an indefinite meaning 'thing'). They can be focussed, through fronting, in negative clauses, with special effects of emphasis and exhaustivity.

Negation in non-verbal clauses is distinct from clausal negation. One form, *maffi*, is used for equational, inclusion, and attributive negation (**4**), as well as for the negation of cleft clauses, often expressing metalinguistic negation. Another form, *ulaf*, is used for locative (**5**) and existential negation (**6**). The properties of *ulaf* conform to the tendencies described in Veselinova (2013).

Subject relativization is a special construction in the affirmative and the negative, with a dedicated negative strategy. Negative derivation is virtually inexistent.

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Examples

(1) *urug# utsugaðamtara //*

ur ug# ur ttugad-mt ara //
 NEG FS NEG be_afraid\IPFV-IMP.2PL.F POSTNEG //
 ‘don't be afraid.’ (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0750)

(2) *jærna lquðanni / urkmiðallek urkmjuqam //*

jærna lqu-*nni* / ur=*km* i-*fi*llk
 moreover food\ABS.SG.M-CNS / NEG=ABSV.2SG.F SBJ.3SG.M-be_ill\IPFV
 ur=*km* i-*wqim* //
 NEG =ABSV.2SG.F SBJ.3SG.M-put\NEGPFV //

‘Moreover that food, it would neither ail you nor have a bad influence on you.’ (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0890-0891).

(3) *a::: nnanas nuknuntsæddara //*

a::: nna-n=*as* nækk^o*ni* ur n-*tæddu* ara //
 HESIT say\PFV-SBJ.3PL.M=DAT.3SG IDP.1PL NEG SBJ.1PL-come\IPFV POSTNEG //
 ‘Oh, they said, as for us we won't go.’ (KAB_AM_NARR_02_307)

(4) *ʒaldʒijanni / maʃʃi ðjæmmas ə::: ##*

ʒalʒija-*nni* / maʃʃi d jæmma-*s* ə::: ##
 ʒalʒija-CNS / NEG.ATTR COP mother\ABS.SG.F-KIN.3SG HESIT ##
 ‘This Aldjiya, she was not his mother ...’ (KAB_AM_CONV_01_SP3_04-05)

(5) *imidibbd^səd iɣz^sər / ulafint / andantidzakkın //*

imi=*dd* i-*wwəd* i-*xzər* / ulaf=*itənt* /
 when2=PROX SBJ.3SG.M-arrive\PFV SBJ.3SG.M-watch\PFV / NEG.EXS=ABSV.3.PL.F /
 anda i=*tnt* i-*ğğa* akk-*in* //
 where REL.REAL=ABSV.3PL.F SBJ.3SG.M-leave\PFV thus-DISTa //

‘When he arrived, he saw they were not there, where he had left them.’ (KAB_AM_NARR_01_0653-0655)

(6) *ulaf əlqaʒa /*

ulaf lqaʒa /
 NEG.EXS ground\ANN.SG.F /
 ‘there was no proper ground’ (KAB_AM_NARR_03_0241)

The following abbreviations are used: ABS absolute state; ABSV absolutive pronominal paradigm; ANN annexed state; CNS shared reference demonstrative; COP copula; DAT dative; F feminine; FS: false start; HESIT hesitation; IDP independent pronoun; IPFV imperfective; KIN kinship pronominal paradigm; M masculine; NEG preverbal negator; NEG.EXS existential negator; NEGPFV: negative perfective; PFV perfective; PL plural; PROX proximal; SBJ subject pronominal paradigm; REAL realis; REL relator; SG singular.

All examples are referenced based on the ISO code of the language, the initials of the researcher, the genre, the number of the file, and the number of the intonation unit, preceded, in the case of conversations, by SP1, SP2 or SP3 representing the various speakers.

Avertive constructions in Seychelles Creole and beyond

In this paper, I will discuss avertive constructions (also called *negative purpose clauses* or *'lest' clauses*) in several creole languages. In avertive constructions, we find a semantic relation of negative purpose which holds between two situations, one of which is performed with the aim to prevent a second undesirable event from happening. One example comes from Seychelles Creole (French-based; Indian Ocean):

(1) Seychelles Creole (Bollée & Rosalie 1994:130)

Mon oule toultan reste debout pangar mon lenz a kraze.
1SG want always stay up LEST POSS.1SG cloth FUT wrinkle
'I always wanted to stay up lest my cloth gets wrinkled.'

The avertive marker here is a conjunction (*pangar*) which has been grammaticalized from a French imperative phrase: *prends garde* 'mind, note'. Negative purpose clauses in Seychelles Creole obligatorily show the future marker *a(va)* (and not *pou*, which is a second future marker in that language). Moreover, we do not find verbal negation particles in such avertive constructions. Frequency-wise, such constructions are extremely rare in text corpora across languages (see Schmidtke-Bode 2009). In a corpus of Seychelles Creole spoken texts (Bollée & Rosalie 1994; roughly 40,000 words), for instance, we just find a handful instances of *pangar*-clauses compared to hundreds of positive purpose *pour* ('for')-clauses (see ex. 2).

Interestingly, there is another striking difference between positive and negative purpose clauses: Whereas the former (ex. 2) tend to show a preference for subject identity in the matrix and the purpose clause, this is not the case in the latter (ex. 1), where the subject of the matrix clause most prominently differs from the subject in the negative purpose clause.

Preliminary typological work by Schmidtke-Bode (2009:129ff.) shows that dedicated avertive constructions are not widespread across the world's languages, and we find clear areal patterns where such constructions are preferred, namely Australia and Oceania. Even though there is no systematic study of avertive constructions in creole languages, there is evidence that other creoles feature similar negative purposive clauses, for instance Casamance Creole (see ex. 3).

In my talk, I will focus on Seychelles Creole, but I will also consider other creole languages to investigate the source constructions of the avertive markers matter-wise, but also pattern-wise. The question will be whether this construction type is inherited by the relevant lexifier and/or substrate languages, or constitutes an innovation in these high-contact languages.

Further examples

(2) Seychelles Creole (Michaelis 1993:76)

Avan nou servi laIwa pour anpay lanmson
in.the.past 1PL use sisal in.order.to fix hook
'In the past, we used sisal to fix the hook.'

(3) Casamancese Creole (Biagui & Quint 2013)

perá N kalá antu ku ña beju~beju na kordá.
wait.IMP 1SG.SBJ keep.quiet before REL.OBJ POSS.1SG old~old FUT wake.up
'Well, let me speak more quietly so that my "oldie" (baby/husband) does not wake up.'

References

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While in English or Romance languages, it is generally easy to draw a clear distinction between finite and non-finite verbs and clauses (e.g. 'I want [*him to come*]' where 'to come' is non-finite vs. 'I said [*he would come*]' where 'he would come' is finite), the same does not apply in many Creole languages where verb inflection is largely analytic and non-finite verbs have virtually no specific morphological coding (Mufwene & Djikhoff 1989).

However, if we take the Capeverdean (CV) equivalents (1 a.) and (2 b.) of these two English sentences, some morphemes can justify that in both cases we are dealing with finite clauses. As a matter of fact, despite the fact that in both examples, the verb 'ben' appears in its bare form, in (1), the use of a subject pronoun *e* and in (2) the use of both S3SG *e* and the aspectual (TAM) particle *ta* (IPFV) clearly lead one to analyse both clauses as finite. A similar pattern is found in English-lexified varieties such as Pamaka/Ndyuka

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| (1 a.) | <i>N</i> | <i>kré</i> | [<i>p-e</i> | | <i>ben</i>] |
| | S1SG | want | COMPL-S3SG | | come |
| (1 b.) | <i>Mi</i> | <i>wani</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>kon.</i> |
| | I | want | S3SG | IPFV | come |
| (2 a.) | <i>N</i> | <i>fla</i> | [<i>m-e</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>ben</i>] |
| | S1SG | say | COMPL-S3SG | IPFV | come |
| (2 b.) | <i>Mi</i> | <i>taki</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>o/e</i> | <i>kon.</i> |
| | I | said | S3SG | FUT/IPFV | come |

Be that as it may, (1) and (2) also illustrate a gradient in finiteness: CV want-clauses such as [*p-e ben*] generally cannot be inflected for aspect while this is perfectly possible with CV say clauses such as [*m-e ta ben*]. Such restrictions are not found in all creole though as illustrated in the Pamaka/Ndyuka examples.

In this presentation, we intend to explore the limits between finiteness and non-finiteness in the subordinate clauses found in several Creole languages and contrast these limits with the respective lexifiers of these Creoles. In order to have a wider typological scope, our study is based on Creoles derived from three different lexifiers (Arabic, English and Portuguese). The first part of our talk will focus on the notion of (non)-finiteness, particularly as regards verbal morphology and subordinate clauses. Then, in a second part, we will examine the attested structures in two types of subordinate completive clauses, namely want- and say-clauses across different Creole languages and their lexifiers, with the aim of investigating whether Creole languages display specific phenomena in that area of their grammar. Finally we will conclude about the interest of Creole studies regarding the structures at stake and more generally the universals of grammar in human languages.

Negation against a Polysynthetic Backdrop: Mohawk

The patterns of negation which exist in individual languages are often not unrelated to other structural characteristics. Mohawk, an Iroquoian language of Northeastern North America, is polysynthetic, with an unusually high proportion of verbs in spontaneous speech. This trait has major implications for its inventory of negative constructions. Many of the kinds of non-verbal clauses mentioned in the Questionnaire for Describing the Negation System of a Language by Miestamo (2016), for example, are expressed in verbal predications in Mohawk. These are negated like other verbal clauses, with a construction that has evolved via a Jespersen cycle. The construction consists of an initial negative particle recently descended from the word for ‘no’, plus an older verbal prefix. An example of standard negation can be seen in (1) ‘I **don’t** like her’, of attribution in (2) ‘It’s **not** a big town’, of locative predication in (3) ‘There **weren’t** any chickens there’, and of possessive predication in (4) ‘He **didn’t have** a spreader’. There are no non-finite clauses, so dependent clauses are negated in the same way as main clauses. There is no nominal case, so negation does not affect case marking. Negation has no effect on determiners. There is no negative nominal derivation. It might thus be wondered whether this language, with considerable complexity in other grammatical domains, has anything to contribute to our typological understanding of negation. In fact it offers several features of interest directly related to particular aspects of its structure. Examples are drawn primarily from unscripted conversation.

Three lexical categories are clearly distinguished on the basis of morphological structure: verbs, nouns, and particles. Morphological structure is not necessarily isomorphic with syntactic function, however. While verbs can serve as predicates, and also as whole clauses and sentences, they can also as referring expressions, with no change in form. But these they are negated differently. Those functioning as predicates and larger sentences are negated with the particle ‘not’ and a verbal prefix, as in examples (1), (2), (3), and (4). But those functioning like nouns in other languages in equation and proper inclusion constructions are negated with the particle and a negative verb *tè:ken* ‘it is not’. The difference can be seen in (5) ‘He **doesn’t** hunt’ versus ‘He **is not** a hunter’. It can also be seen in (6). The word for ‘my grandfather’ is literally ‘he is grandparent to me’, but it is negated as a referring expression.

Mohawk negative constructions also reveal realis/irrealis distinctions. The particle *tóhsa*’ is used as a prohibitive in negative imperatives and negative delayed imperatives, as in (7) ‘**Don’t** talk!’ and ‘**Don’t** forget!’. Not surprisingly, it is also used in hortatives, as in (8) ‘**Let’s not** mix families with white people’. But it is also used to negate irrealis predications, as in (9) ‘I hope it is **not** too late already.’ It is thus not simply a prohibitive: it is an irrealis negator. Another similar but not identical distinction emerges from negative constructions. Standard negation is incompatible with both basic past and future tenses. The negative counterpart of a past tense sentence like that in (10) ‘He **saw** it’ is a perfect: ‘He **hasn’t seen** it.’ Since it did not happen, one speaks only about the state of its not having occurred. The negative counterpart of a future sentence like that in (11) ‘He **will** see it’ contains the irrealis prefix *a:-* otherwise translated ‘would/could/should/might’ in place of the future prefix *en-*: it is off the timeline, only hypothetical.

Finally, strategies for the expression of negative scope are in line with general syntactic principles in the language. There is no basic, pragmatically unmarked word order in Mohawk. All orders, some in concert with particular prosodic structures, convey pragmatic information. Essentially, the most newsworthy information occurs first (often after various discourse particles), followed by successively more predictable and peripheral information. Individual elements, including not only referring expressions but also quantifiers, adverbials, and more, can be negated by placement early in the sentence, close to the negative particle *iáh*, as in (12). And, not surprisingly, prosody can be exploited to heighten contrast.

- (1) *Khe-nòn:we'-s.*
1SG>3-like-HAB
'I like her.'
- Iah te-khe-nòn:we'-s.*
not NEG-1SG>3-like-HAB
'I **don't** like her.'
- (2) *Ka-nat-owán-en.*
N-town-be.big-ST
'It is a big town.'
- Iah te-ka-nat-owán-en.*
not NEG-N-town-be.big-ST
'It is **not** a big town.'
- (3) *Iah áro'k te-kont-ì:teron-' ne kíkit.*
not yet NEG-Z.PL.AGT-dwell-ST ART chicken
'There weren't yet any chickens there.'
- (4) *Iáh te-hó:-ien-' ne te-w-atokw-áht-ha'.*
not NEG-M.SG.PAT-have-ST ART DV-N.AGT-spread-CAUS-HAB
'He **didn't** have a spreader.'
- (5) *R-ató:rats.* 'He hunts, is a hunter'
- Iáh te-h-atórat-s.*
not NEG-M.SG.AGT-hunt-HAB
'He doesn't hunt.'
- Iáh r-atorat-s tèt:-ken.*
not M.SG.AGT-hunt-HAB NEG-N.be.ST
'He is **not** a hunter.'
- (6) *Rak-hsót=ha thí:ken.*
M.SG>1SG-be.gp.to=DIM that
'That is my grandfather.'
- Iáh rak-hsót=ha tèt:-ken thí:ken.*
not M.SG>1SG-be.gp.to=DIM NEG-N.be.ST that
'That is **not** my grandfather.'
- (7) *Tóhsa' s-atá:ti!*
PROH 2SG.IMP.AGT-talk
'**Don't** talk!'
- Tóhsa' en-se-sewa-'nikónhr-hen!*
PROH FUT-REP-2PL-mind-drop
'**Don't** forget!'
- (8) *Tóhsa' non: ra-'ser-ón:ni te-ti-at-hwatsír-a-iehst.*
PROH ever M.SG.AGT-axe-make DV-1IN.DU.AGT-MID-family-JR-mix
'Let's **not** mix families with white people.'
- (9) *A:-iá:w-enhs ki' tóhsa' sótsi ó:nen a:-io-'niskò:-'-on.*
IRR-N.PAT-happen in.fact **PROH** too now IRR-N.PAT-be.late-INCH-ST
'I hope it is **not** too late already.'
- (10) *Wa-h-atkáhto-'*
FAC-M.SG.AGT-see-PFV
'He **saw** it.'
- Iáh te-ho-tkáhth-on.*
not NEG-M.SG.PAT-see-ST
'He **hasn't** seen it.'
- (11) *En-ha-tkáhtho-'*
FUT-M.SG.AGT-see-PFV
'He **will** see it.'
- Iah th-a:-h-atkáhtho-'*
not CONTR-IRR-M.SG.AGT-see-PFV
'He **won't** see it.'
- (12) *Iah ne s-ka-ià:t-a te-ionkw-entsi-a-ient-à:-'-on.*
not the one-N-body-be.one NEG-1PL.PAT-fish-LK-have-INCH-ST
'We didn't even catch **one fish**.'

A synchronic description of verbal aspect in Salasaka Kichwa

Salasaka Kichwa (SK) (ISO 639-3 =qx1) is an exclusively suffixing agglutinative language spoken in the highlands of central Ecuador. SK is presently under-documented and considered to be at risk of attrition (Moseley 2010) due to contact with Spanish. The goal of this paper is to provide a synchronic description of verbal aspect in Salasaka Kichwa using natural speech data.

There are four aspects in SK: perfect, progressive, habitual, and completive. The first three have also been documented in other highland Ecuadorian Quichua (EQ) dialects, such as Imbabura Quichua (IQ) and Central Highland Quichua (CHQ) (c.f. Cole 1982, Aschmann 2010). SK is the only EQ dialect to feature completive aspect. The perfect, progressive, and completive aspects are expressed with simplex morphological constructions, whereas the habitual aspect is formed with a periphrastic construction.

1. Perfect. Perfect aspect describes a past or prior situation with relevance to a particular reference time (Comrie 1976, Carnie 2013) that is indicated by the tense. The suffix *-shka* indicates perfect aspect in SK, as shown in (1).

- (1) *Chi achku-ga... waña-shka-ga-Ø...*
This dog-TOP... die-PRF-PST-3...
'This dog...had died...'

2. Progressive. Progressive aspect is marked with the suffix *-gu*. It signifies ongoing or continuous action. Progressive aspect is not distinct from durative aspect in SK, unlike in IQ (cf. Cole 1982).

- (2) *ut'ki ña manga t'imbu-gu-n-Ø*
hurry now pot boil-PROG-PRS-3
'Hurry up, the pot is now boiling'

3. Completive. The suffix *-shta* denotes completive aspect, which describes action that is carried out "thoroughly and to completion," and is commonly used for emphasis (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca. 1994:54). This suffix is exclusive to SK; it is not found in any other EQ dialect.

- (3) *Ñuka mesa-da p'aki-shta-shka-n-ni*
1S table-ACC break-COMPL-PRF-1
'I have completely broken the table'

4. Habitual. The habitual aspect has a periphrastic construction: the agentive (AG) marker *-g* attaches to the verb root, and the resulting nominal is followed by the auxiliary verb 'be' *ka-*, which carries all verbal inflection, including tense, person, and number.

- (4) *Ñuka-k awela ni-g ka-n-Ø*
1S-POSS grandmother say-AG be-PRS-3
'My grandmother habitually says'

There are three possibilities for indicating plurality in third-person constructions, the third of which is unique to habitual constructions in SK. First, if the third-person plural subject is overt, the verb does not need to agree in number, as shown in (5).

- (5) *Pai-kuna ri-g ka-n-Ø*
3-PL go-AG be-PRS-3
'They habitually go'

Second, when there is pro-drop in third-person plural constructions, the nominal plural suffix *-kuna* attaches to the verb, as shown in (6).

- (6) *ri-g ka-ga-Ø-kuna*
 go-AG be-PST-3-PL
 ‘They used to go’ or ‘They habitually went’

Third, rather than being marked on the subject (5) or the auxiliary verb (6), the plural marker may suffix to the nominalized part of the verb phrase, as shown in (7).

- (7) *Ni-g-kuna ka-shka-n-Ø*
 say-AG-PL be-PRF-PRS-3
 ‘They have habitually said’

This pattern of indicating plurality in third-person constructions has not been reported before in SK, or any other EQ dialect of which we are aware. Other results of this study also differ from previous descriptions. First, natural speech data showed evidence of a habitual construction in the present tense (4), which had not been previously documented in SK (cf. K. Waskosky 1992). Second, our findings did not show auxiliary deletion in habitual constructions, contrary to previous studies (cf. K. Waskosky 1992). An example of this described auxiliary deletion is shown in (23).

- (23) *Ñuka ri-g ka-ga-ni*
 1S go-AG ~~be~~-PST-1
 ‘I used to go.’ (adapted from K. Waskosky 1992)

While our data did not include any instances of the described phenomenon, we do not conclude that it never occurs.

Finally, it was discovered that the ingressive suffix *-gri* is no longer in use in Salasaka (cf. K. Waskosky 1992), although to our knowledge, it is still used in other dialects.

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Negation in Lopit, an Eastern Nilotic language

Lopit is an under-described Eastern Nilotic language spoken by around 50,000 people living in the Eastern Equatoria province of South Sudan. It is part of the Lotuxo subgroup of the Lotuxo-Maa languages. It shares many features with other Eastern Nilotic languages, including VSO word order, marked nominative case system, tripartite number marking, Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) vowel harmony and lexical and grammatical tone. This talk will present an overview of negation in Lopit, which uses a range of verbal strategies, few of which have been described in detail for Eastern Nilotic languages.

Standard negation in Lopit is expressed with the auxiliary verb *na*, 'not be'. When it is used with a lexical verb, this verb moves away from the first position in the clause (to a position after the subject) and is prefixed with the verb displacement marker *l-*, 'VDM'. The main verb maintains its person/number marking. This is shown in (2), which is the negation of the declarative sentence in (1). The negative auxiliary *ina* does not follow the normal pronominal agreement paradigm in simple verbal constructions (i.e. *a-*, *i-*, and *e-* for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person respectively). However, when used in more complex constructions, it does follow this paradigm. This is shown when the negative auxiliary is inflected for mode as in example (3) using the irrealis prefix *nai-*. The auxiliary *na* is used in a range of constructions including coordinated, conditional and relative clauses. In these cases, the construction has the same general form of AUX (S) V as shown in (2) and (3). The negative root *na* is also used in words such as the conjunction *oloxona*, 'not yet' and the tag question *xona*, 'isn't it?'. The negative auxiliary is also used in copula constructions, i.e. those in which there is no main verb. In example (4), *ina* can be translated as 'there is no' or 'there is not'.

Although most negative constructions involve *na*, there are two other special constructions. One involves the use of the auxiliary *nei* (probably a variant of *na*) in negation with the persistive aspect. This is shown in (5) and this form does have the normal person inflection, even in simple constructions. There is also a special construction for negative imperatives, shown in (6). It uses the word *idek* and a verb prefix *xai-*. The prefix *xai-* appears to be an imperative prefix, although it is different from other imperative prefixes. The word *idek* can be glossed as the imperative form of the verb *idek*, 'leave' (i.e. as 'IMP.leave').

Eastern Nilotic languages express negation in different ways; with a separate verb, a negative prefix or a particle, as shown in Table 1. While the negative auxiliary is fairly common in Nilotic and Surmic languages, it has usually lost its verbal characteristics (Creissels, Dimmendaal, Frajzyngier, & König, 2008). Only Lopit and its closest relative, Otuho, appear to use an inflected negative verb. Negation in Lopit can be described as asymmetric, featuring grammaticalised word order asymmetry (Miestamo, 2005). This presentation will examine the variety of negation constructions in Lopit and make comparisons with other Eastern Nilotic languages.

- (1) á-wú náŋ à tòrít
 1SG-go 1SG.NOM to Torit
 'I'm going to Torit'
- (2) íjá náŋ l-á-wú à tòrít
 NEG 1SG.NOM VDM-1SG-go to Torit
 'I'm not going to Torit'
- (3) á-ŋaî-mwei náŋ ... a-ŋai-ŋa náŋ l-a-mwei
 1SG-IRR-sick 1SG.NOM 1SG-IRR-not.be 1SG.NOM VDM-1SG-be.sick
 'If I were sick...'
 'If I were not sick.....'
- (4) íja ɲo de xaji
 NEG what in house
 'The house is empty' (lit. 'There is nothing in the house.')
- (5) e-ŋei xaɲaɲa e-le-fanu
 3-not.be flies 3-PERS-come.PL
 'The flies have stopped coming.' (lit. 'the flies are not still coming')
- (6) idek xai-i-ŋa-ŋaxa-k ŋa-duxo-k náŋ ɟai
 NEG.IMP NEG-II-REDUP-repeat-DAT INF-pour-DAT 1SG.ABS tea
 'Don't keep pouring me tea!'

Table 1: Negation in Eastern Nilotic languages

| | Lotuxo-Maa | | Teso-Turkana | | Bari | |
|----------|------------|-------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| | Lopit | Otuho | Maa | Turkana | Ateso | Bari |
| verb | <i>ɲa</i> | <i>beng</i> | | | | |
| prefix | | | <i>(m)mi-</i> ; <i>(m)m-</i> | <i>na-</i> ; <i>pe-</i> ; <i>nyi-</i> | | |
| particle | | | | | <i>mam</i> | <i>ti</i> ; <i>tine</i> |

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"Polyvalent Suffixes": Derivation and Cliticization in Garifuna

Douglas Taylor (1952, 1953) identifies a group of "polyvalent suffixes" in the Arawakan language Garifuna (earlier called "Island Carib") of Central America, which, he says, are those "occurring with several word-classes" (1953: 152). These suffixes include certain verb stem formatives and grammatical clitics, as well as non-productive derivational suffixes. The first two represent Garifuna's classes of stem-forming suffixes and second-position clitics, while the third is less productive and more restricted in occurrence.

Garifuna has a number of verb stem-forming non-final suffixes (stem "extenders"), which are added at the end of a basic verb stem. These include middle *-gua*, causative *-güda*, and passive *-uuwa*, as well as an "environmental" suffix *-Vga* (whose first vowel harmonizes with a preceding basic verb stem), as used in cases like (1b) (see next page).

- (1) (a) Dilí-ti dúna. (b) Dilí-iga-ti.
be.cold:B-T3M water 'The water is cold' be.cold:B-ENV-T3M 'It's cold'

Garifuna also has second-position clitics, including (among others) interrogative *san*, *funa* 'maybe', past *buga* and *meha*, *yebe* "almost", emphatic *tiya* / *ti*, and subjunctive *hamuga*. These follow the first phrase in a sentence (its first word or a verb plus auxiliary phrase) as in examples like (2)(a) (a normal VSO statement) vs. (2)(b) an object focus statement. (Auxiliary *ba* (2)(b) is used in certain *wh* extraction contexts and in futures like (3)(b)).

- (2) (a) Éiha l-umu-tu funa Wán údu.
see:B P3M-TR-T3F maybe John whale[F] 'Maybe John saw the whale'
(b) Údu funa l-éihi bo-u Wán.
whale[F] maybe P3M-see:P ba-D3F John 'Maybe John saw the WHALE'

Taylor's "polyvalent suffixes", such as *raü* 'a little' (related to *iráhü* 'child (young human)', *iráü* 'child (offspring)'), plural argument *burii*, *ya* 'also', and *timaa* 'more', work both ways. In (3)(a), for example, *-raü* is a stem-forming suffix, while in (b) *raü* is a post-verb-phrase clitic. *-Raü* can also be used as a (diminutive) compound element, as in *údu* 'whale' vs. *údu-raü* 'fish', but *-it* is not a productive diminutive suffix.

- (3) (a) Dilí-iga-raü-ti.
be.cold:B-ENV-a.little-T3M 'It's a little cold'
(b) Gúndaa ba-dina raü.
be.happy:B ba-D1S a.little 'I will be just a little happy'

Thus, Garifuna has some morphemes that are only stem-forming, others that are only clitics, and others that can be both, in different syntactic structures. Taylor's description of polyvalent suffixes suggests that they can follow different types of word in any configuration, but that is not true. Almost any type of major class word can appear in focus position (as in (2b)), so the polyvalent suffixes can appear as clitics after any such word in a focus statement. Just one type of word cannot appear immediately before a clitic: a verb stem, which must be followed by an inflectional suffix like the *-ti* in (1a) or by an auxiliary, such as *lumutu* in (2a) or *badina* in (3b), to form a phrase. But the polyvalent suffixes can be suffixed to verb stems as extenders, as in (1b) and (3a). This suggests that in main clauses like those here the polyvalent suffixes come after the first full word, not just the first phrase.

Abbreviations

P, T, D — pronominal agreement series

1, 3, S — person and number

M, F — gender

:B, :P — verb stem types

ENV — environmental

TR — transitive non-future auxiliary

ba — *ba* auxiliary

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Copular verbs and copula drop in Tundra Nenets

Copular sentences exhibit rich and multifaceted – and in many respects still ill-understood – morphosyntactic variation across languages. A significant part of this variation concerns the morphosyntactic and functional correlates within individual languages of the lexical distinctions, if any, between different copulas, as well as the licensing of the absence of an overt copula. In this talk we situate Tundra Nenets (Northern Samoyedic, Uralic) in the landscape of parametric variations in the use of copular verbs, based on prior literature as well as novel data, concentrating on the following two questions:

Q1: What is the distribution of the *be*-verbs (copular or existential) across different constructions?

Q2: What are the conditions for no *be*-verb to be present in a clause?

In Tundra Nenets, verbal copulas are used in clauses with non-verbal predicates and there are copula-less sentences as well (often referred to as nominal sentences). The distribution of the verbs corresponding to English *be* seems at first sight to be determined by grammatical factors: previous literature says that *ɲæ-* is the copula used with nominal/adjectival/locative predicates, while *tan'a-* is used in existential sentences and in predicative possession (see e.g. Nikolaeva 2014).

Novel data show, however, that the distinction between existential/possessive vs locative copular sentences in their use of different *be*-verbs is not as clear-cut as previous descriptions suggest. We will demonstrate that there is no obvious division of labor between the copular verbs and the environments; instead, all of the verbs may be used in all the constructions. It means that the verbal copula *ɲæ-* previously assumed to combine with nominal, adjectival and numeral (henceforth Nominal) predicates (1) as well as locative predicates (2) has a broader distribution: it can also be used to form possessive and existential sentences, i.e. it can appear in clauses with an indefinite/non-specific subject (theme) element (3). In these latter contexts, *ɲæ-* is an alternative to the so-called existential verb *tan'a-*. At the same time, *tan'a-*, which has been described as an existential verb appearing in existential and possessive sentences can also occur in locative sentences with a definite subject in the clause (4)–(5), which makes it seem like a purely functional copular verb.

Additionally, there is a copular verb (*me-*) that alternates with *ɲæ-* in locative sentences, existential sentences and predicative possessives. Their distribution is dependent on the pragmatic [+/- animate] category of the subject (6).

Addressing Q2, we propose that the omission of the copula is licensed if the tense and subject agreement features are morphologically realized elsewhere. We demonstrate it with cases of obligatory copula drop in contexts where the tense and subject agreement markers can be realized on nominal and adjectival predicates as opposed to cases where they cannot, in which environment the copula is generally obligatory, except for some interesting exceptions (cf. Nikolaeva 2014).

Considering copula omission in Tundra Nenets the following three generalizations can be formulated: (i) in clauses with a Nominal predicate no copula appears if the only inflections an overt verbal copula would bear are tense and subject agreement; (ii) Nominal predicates can morphologically bear both tense and subject agreement inflections (and they generally must do so in the absence of the copula), while locative predicates and ordinary adverbs cannot; (iii) the copula remains absent when it does because its tense and subject agreement features receive morphological realization elsewhere via syntactic agreement with the predicate or the subject. In all these cases, the copula omission is obligatory. There are further cases of locative predication, nevertheless, in which the copula is optionally omitted. In the overwhelming majority of the attested occurrences of copula drop in locative sentences the locative predicate is pronominal (proadverbial).

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Examples

- (1) *mǎnʲ lekarǎ-d°m / ɲarka-d°m ɲæ-ɲku-d°m.*
1SG doctor-1SG big-1SG be-FUT-1SG
'I will be a doctor/ big.'
- (2) *kniga-mʲi tǎnʲana ɲa.*
book-POSS.1SG there be
'My book is there.'
- (3) *tʲika-n° ɲile°-da sʲudbʲa ja-ʔ sʲi ɲæ-wi°.*
that-GEN under-POSS3SG giant land-GEN hole be-INFER
'Under that there was a large hole in the ground.'
- (4) *ɲileka-ʔ tanʲa-wi°-ʔ.*
devil-PL be-INFER-3PL
'There were devils.'
- (5) *tʲuku° xasawa labe-kǎna tanʲa.*
this man room-LOC be
'This man is in the room.'
- (6) *tʲiki° wenʲeko tǎnʲana me°.*
that dog there be
'That dog is there.'

The syntax of logophoric speech:

Toward a structural approach to the direct-indirect continuum

The distinction between direct and indirect speech has long been known not to reflect properly the cross-linguistic diversity of speech reporting strategies (e.g., Coulmas 1986; Aikhenvald 2008). Yet prominent typological approaches to speech reporting have been firmly grounded in that traditional distinction as they look to place language-specific strategies on a direct-indirect continuum, treating them as deviations from the “direct” and “indirect” ideals (Güldemann 2008, Evans 2015). While the continuum approach offers a useful methodological tool for describing data from individual languages, it does not always provide a solid basis for cross-linguistic comparison: the continuum is organized according to an intuitive notion of *perspective* (shaped to a large extent by the way the distinction works in European languages), and ultimately presupposes that language-specific choices of a reporting strategy are based on the same universal underlying principles. It also pays little attention to the syntactic properties of different types of speech reporting strategies.

We aim at complementing the prominent perspective-based approach by taking a closer look at the syntax of one particular strategy that has been commonly treated as a representative of “semi-direct” discourse. We analyze and compare the use of *logophoric* speech reports in two unrelated languages: Wan (Mande, Cote d’Ivoire, Nikitina 2012) and Ainu (isolate, Northern Japan, Bugaeva 2008). Both languages make use of special logophoric pronouns (independent and/or bound) for marking co-reference with the reported speaker (examples 1a,b). A closer comparison reveals a number of similarities that challenge accounts of logophoricity as a “semi-direct” strategy that is syntactically distinct from other speech reporting constructions.

Reports involving logophoric pronouns share a number of crucial syntactic properties with direct speech, and differ systematically from indirect speech. Their affinity with direct speech is reflected, for example, in common patterns of alternation: the same report may involve shifting between the logophoric and the direct strategy, sometimes within the same sentence (2a,b). No shifts are attested in the case of indirect reporting (shifts between indirect and direct or logophoric speech normally involve obligatory use of speech-introducing predicates). Logophoric reports also behave like direct speech with respect to assigning values to indexical markers: e.g., pronominal reference within logophoric reports is sensitive to the roles participants play in the reported speech event, not their role in the reporting event (3a,b). Ordering patterns and co-occurrence restrictions similarly point to an affinity of logophoric reports with direct speech, and their difference from indirect speech: while indirect speech reports are commonly restricted to a specific set of matrix predicates, direct speech and logophoric reports occur freely in the absence of any matrix clause. When the matrix clause is present, logophoric reports and direct speech allow for a wide range of ordering options; such flexibility does not always characterize indirect speech reports.

The differences between logophoric and direct speech on the one hand, and indirect speech on the other, point to a relatively high degree of syntactic integration of indirect speech with the matrix clause. Many of the properties of indirect speech that are traditionally described in terms of “perspective shift” fall out of the syntactically subordinate status of indirect speech reports. Constructions involving direct speech and logophoric reports, on the other hand, qualify for a separate, possibly universal type of bi-clausal structure.

More generally, our findings suggest that the commonly assumed “indirect – direct” continuum conflates two independent aspects of the typology of speech reporting: the syntactic status of the report, and the language-specific meaning of indexical elements. Disentangling these aspects helps account for fine-grained differences between the attested options, and may lead to a more constrained view of the diversity of speech reporting strategies than the one presented by perspective-based continuum approaches.

Examples

(1) The use of logophoric pronouns:

a. è gé bā gōmō [Wan]

3SG said LOG understood

‘He said he understood.’

b. “**asinuma** arpa-**an** kusu ne” sekor Ø-hawean. [Ainu]

LOG.SG go.SG-LOG.S intention COP QUOT 3.S-say.SG

‘She said, “I [lit. self] will go.”’ (Tamura 2000 (1988): 74)

(2) Switching between logophoric and direct reporting:

a. b́é è gé ēé! **bāā** kē é, lā nòni-á ñ mì

then 3SG said yeah LOG.EMPH that DEF 2SG lose-STAT.PERF 1SG at

‘Then he said: yeah, as for myself, you won’t be able to recognize me.’ (continued in the 1st person, as direct speech) [Wan]

b. “naici ot ta anak-ne, ne citensa ka, **a-Ø-o** ka somo ki...

Honshu place at TOP-COP this bicycle even LOG.A-3.O-ride even NEG do

tane-po ene hanke-ko citensa ani.. **k-ek** neya **ku-san**

now-EMP like.this close-NEG bicycle INST 1SG.S-come.SG and 1SG.S-return.SG

neya ki kor, kes-to an kor **k-an...**” sekor Ø-hawean

and do when every-day be.SG when 1SG.S-be.SG QUOT 3.S-say.SG

‘He said, “In Honshu, I [lit. self] do not ride this bicycle..., but now [in Hokkaido], when I ride a long way by bicycle to come (here) and go back, and keep doing it every day, (I finally do get a suntan).”’ (Satō 2002: 59) [Ainu]

(3) Pronominal reference in logophoric reports

a. è gé zò b́é **lā** **bā** pólì [Wan]

3SG said come then 2SG LOG wash

‘She said: come and [you] wash me.’

b. “taan hekaci, itak-**an** ciki pirka-no **e-Ø-nu**

this boy speak-LOG.S if be.good-ADV 2SG.A-3.O-listen

kusu ne na...” sekor Ø-hawean [Ainu]

intention COP FIN QUOT 3.S-say.SG

‘(My grandfather) said, “Hey, boy, if I [lit. self] speak, you should listen well!...”’ (Bugaeva 2004: 204-205, 214)

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Negation in Murrinhpatha (Australia)

In this paper I discuss negation in Murrinhpatha, a polysynthetic non-Pama-Nyungan language from Northern Australia. Negation in Murrinhpatha has not been discussed in any detail in previous descriptive work on the language (e.g. Walsh 1976; Street 1987; Blythe 2009), and nor has there been much detailed discussion of negation in the literature on Australian languages more broadly. In this paper I first provide a brief overview of the negation system in Murrinhpatha, and then focus on two areas of particular typological interest: polarity reversal arising from interactions with the tense/aspect/mood (TAM) system, and the existence of a set of negative noun classifiers, which are used for a number of non-verbal negation strategies including existential negation and possessive negation.

The basic system of sentential negation (Dahl 1979, Miestamo 2005) in Murrinhpatha involves the use of a pre-verbal particle (*mere* or *marda*), combined with irrealis TAM inflection in the verb. Consider the examples in (1) and (2) contrasting positive and negative verb forms. There are two irrealis TAM categories: past irrealis is used with all negative past events (1-2) and future irrealis is used with all negative events in the present and the future, including negative imperatives (3-5). Realis TAM categories are not permitted in negative contexts.

An interesting consequence of this system is that, since irrealis TAM is also used to express other modal meanings such as deontic mood, an ambiguity arises between negative declarative readings and negative deontic readings, as shown in (6). This ambiguity results in a type of polarity reversal whereby on one meaning (6a) the interpretation is that the event did not take place (i.e. the girl was not given); yet on the other meaning (6b) the interpretation is that the event *did* take place (i.e. the girl *was* given, but the speaker feels she shouldn't have been). Nordlinger & Caudal (2012) note that this type of polarity reversal has not been mentioned in the literature on irrealis mood and negation, although it is found in other northern Australian languages, such as Bininj Gun-Wok (Murray Garde, pers. comm.).

Another interesting feature of the Murrinhpatha negation system involves the negation of non-verbal clauses. As is relatively common cross-linguistically (Veselinova 2013), Murrinhpatha has a distinct construction type that is used in the expression of existential negation and other non-verbal negation contexts. The Murrinhpatha construction is typologically interesting, however, since it involves the use of negated noun classifiers, which have not been described elsewhere in the literature on negation (as far as I am aware).

Murrinhpatha has a set of 10 noun classifiers (Walsh 1993), which co-occur with nouns in an NP (7, 8), or can occur alone as general nouns (e.g. 3). Each of these classifiers can be prefixed to form a negated version, which is used to express existential negation and negative possession (9, 10). Interestingly, these negated classifiers are predicative, not referential, and cannot function as classifiers themselves. In contexts where the presence of a particular noun is being negated, the regular noun classifier must also be used (10). In this paper I will discuss the semantic and syntactic properties of these negated classifiers in the context of the cross-linguistic literature on negation and expand further our understanding of negation crosslinguistically through the first detailed description of negation in a language of Australia.

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Examples

- (1) *thu pan-nhi-bat?*
 CLF:WEAPON 3SGS.SLASH(23).NFUT-2SGO-hit
wurda, mere puy-ngi-bat-tha.
 no NEG 3SGS.SLASH(23).PSTIRR-1SGO-hit-PIMP
 ‘Did he hit you? No, he didn't hit me.’ (MP-20100917-RN01 002:143-148)
- (2) *da mere ne-purl-dha!*
 CLF:TIME NEG 2SGS.HANDS(8).PSTIRR-wash-PST
da mam-purl-warda=ngem
 CLF:TIME 1SGS.HANDS(8).NFUT-wash-NOW=1SGS.SIT(1).NFUT
 ‘You didn't clean the place! I'm cleaning it now.’ (MP-20100917-RN01)
- (3) *kardu mere kurru-lili*
 CLF:HUMAN NEG 3SGS.GO(6).FUTIRR -walk
 ‘That person can't walk.’ (JB, 2004_07_04JB01.txt 2427.459)
- (4) *mere na-ngi-mathpath-nukun=thurru*
 NEG 2SGS.HANDS(8).FUTIRR-1SGO-interrupt-FUTIRR=2SGS.GO(6).FUTIRR
 ‘Don't you continually interrupt me.’ (Street & Street 1989)
- (5) *nangkal kama win pama-nu,*
 who maybe win 3PLS.DO(34).FUT-FUT
mere the puma-bath-ngime nekingime.
 NEG ear 1INCLS.HANDS(8).FUTIRR-have-PC.F 1INCL.PC.F
 ‘We won't know who's going to win.’ (MP-20100917-RN01)
- (6) *marda the-na-mut-tha palngun.*
 NEG 2SGS.POKE(19).PSTIRR-3S.M.BEN-give-PIMP female
 a. ‘You didn't give him that girl.’
 b. ‘You shouldn't have given him that girl.’ (JB 2007-08-27JB04c.txt)
- (7) *kardu wakal ngurdu-thuk-nu ngarra da=warda*
 CLF:HUMAN child 1SGS.SHOVE(29).FUT-send-FUT home=EMPH
 ‘I'll send the little boy home now.’ (MP 002:037-20070608-RN)
- (8) *ku tumtum mam-lerrkperrk*
 CLF:ANIMATE egg 1SGS.HANDS(8).NFUT-destroy
 ‘I crushed the egg in my hands.’ (MP 002:039-20070608-RN)
- (9) Q: *Ngarra John-yu?* A: *Ma-kardu*
 where John-DM NEG-CLF:HUMAN
 ‘Where's John?’ (He's) not here [Lit: there is no person]’
- (10) *Ngay-ka ma-ku ku tumtum (*Ngay-ka ma-ku tumtum)*
 1SG-TOP NEG-CLF:ANIMATE CLF:ANIMATE egg
 ‘I don't have any eggs.’

Referentiality and modifiability of incorporated nouns: cross- and intra-linguistic variation

This paper investigates the semantics of nouns involved in incorporation constructions, more specifically their referentiality and modifiability. Noun incorporation can be defined as the inclusion of a noun into a verb such that they together form a new, complex predicate (Mithun 1994:5024; Gerds 1998:84; Massam 2009:1078). In Chukchi, for example, the noun *utt* ‘stick’ can be incorporated into a verb with the stem *mle* ‘break’, as in (1).

The literature on incorporation presents strongly conflicting views on the referentiality and modifiability of incorporated nouns. Firstly, whereas Mardirussian (1975:386), Miner (1986:242) and Mithun (1984:849, 856, 866) propose that incorporated nouns are non-referential, Baker (1988:78-80, 1996:287-291), Sadock (1991:86-88) and Barrie & Mathieu (2016:3) state that incorporated nouns have a referential function. Secondly, some authors claim that incorporated nouns cannot take modifiers (Mardirussian 1975:386; Hagège 1978:60; Miner 1986:242) or only combine with modifiers in a subset of incorporating languages, in which the modifiers can be analyzed as independent noun phrases (Mithun 1984:863-872; Rosen 1989:298-301). By contrast, others argue that incorporated nouns are modifiable just like unincorporated ones (Baker 1988:92-105; Sadock 1991:91-99; Barrie & Mathieu 2016:4).

The present study investigates a possible explanation for these conflicting views and hypothesizes that there is variation with respect to the referentiality and modifiability of incorporated nouns, both cross- and intra-linguistically. This hypothesis is tested on the basis of an examination of incorporated nouns in a variety sample of 20 languages with productive, semantically transparent noun incorporation. For the analysis, reference grammars, articles on incorporation and experts on the relevant languages are consulted.

The research is grounded in Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008), which uses a semantically-based classification of nouns according to which nouns can be used in three different ways: as non-referential and non-modifiable nouns, as non-referential and modifiable nouns, or as referential and modifiable nouns (Smit 2005:102-103). Nouns are considered referential if they are marked for identifiability and/or specificity by means of, for instance, articles, demonstratives or interrogative pronouns, if they are proper names, or if they are available for anaphoric reference (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008:113-124). Nouns are regarded as modifiable if they can combine with adjectives, relative clauses, numerals, etc. (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008:241-247). Modifiers of incorporated nouns may be incorporated together with their noun, as in (2), or be ‘stranded’ outside the incorporation structure, as in (3).

The results show that, cross-linguistically, incorporated nouns are non-referential and non-modifiable, non-referential and modifiable, or referential and modifiable. Moreover, many sample languages allow both modifiable and non-modifiable and both referential and non-referential incorporated nouns. These findings confirm the hypothesized cross- and intra-linguistic variation, suggesting that earlier accounts have made too strong generalizations about the referentiality and modifiability of incorporated nouns.

Examples

- (1) Chukchi (Kurebito 2001:79)
yəm t-utt-ə-mle-γʔək-∅
 1SG[ABS] 1SG.SBJ-stick-E-break-1SG.SBJ-AOR
 ‘I broke a stick.’
- (2) Huauhtla Nahuatl (Merlan 1976:188, fn. 41)
Naʔ ipanima ni-ā-k^walli-oni
 1SG always 1SG-water-good-drink

- ‘I always drink good water.’
 (3) Southern Tiwa (Allen, Gardiner & Frantz 1984:297)
Wisi ibi-musa-tuwi-ban.
 two 3PL>3PL-cat-buy-PST
 ‘They bought two cats.’

Abbreviations

1 = first person, 3 = third person, ABS = absolutive, AOR = aorist, E = epenthesis, PL = plural, PST = past, SBJ = subject, SG = singular

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Iconically motivated subject drop in two sign languages

Background. Most sign languages (SLs) distinguish between verbs that display person agreement properties (*agreement verbs*) and verbs that do not (*plain verbs*) (Padden 1988). SLs also generally allow null arguments with verbs of either type (see e.g. Lillo-Martin 1991 for American SL (ASL); Bos 1993 for SL of the Netherlands (NGT); Glück & Pfau 1998 for German SL (DGS)). Lillo-Martin (1986, 1991) argues that the null argument in constructions with both plain and agreement verbs may be a variable bound by an empty topic. Additionally, agreement verbs (only) can license the empty category *pro*. This analysis is supported by the observation that agreement verbs do not require a resumptive pronoun for a left dislocated subject, but plain verbs do (1). Bos (1993) and Glück & Pfau (1998) describe similar patterns for NGT and DGS.

Objective. This study reassesses the licensing conditions for null subjects in clauses with plain verbs in two sign languages: DGS and Russian Sign Language (RSL). We show that null subject patterns in clauses with plain verbs that are articulated on the body (*body-anchored verbs*, e.g. FEAR, EAT, THINK; see fig. 1) are different than in clauses with plain verbs that are articulated in neutral space (*neutral verbs*, e.g. BUILD, PLAY, SING; see fig.2); we suggest that iconic factors are at play.

The data. For DGS, 579 examples were extracted from an annotated naturalistic corpus containing 85 000 signs (DGS Corpus: www.sign-lang.uni-hamburg.de/dgs-korpus), involving 49 body-anchored (428 tokens) and 24 neutral verbs (151 tokens).¹ For RSL, 197 tokens were extracted from a corpus containing 25 000 signs (RSL corpus: <http://rsl.nstu.ru/>), representing 16 body-anchored (129 tokens) and 21 neutral verbs (69 tokens). For each token, we annotated the verb type, and overtness and person of the subject argument of the verb.

Results. The distributions of overtness and person of the subject across verb types are shown in Tables 1 and 2.² It is clear that, in both languages, body-anchored verbs strongly disfavor non-overt 3rd person arguments – in contrast to neutral verbs. Mixed-effect logistic regression models (with verbs and texts as random factors) show that the effect of verb type is significant in both RSL and DGS in predicting the odds of having a null 3rd person subject.

Analysis. In contrast to previous studies, we find that subject drop in the two languages is disfavored in clauses with body-anchored verbs and non-first person referents, but it is permitted in clauses with body-anchored verbs and first person referents, and in clauses with neutral verbs – independent of person. The contrast between body-anchored verbs and neutral verbs is not adequately explained by a null topic analysis alone (Lillo-Martin 1986, 1991), since there is no a priori reason to assume that non-first person subjects are less likely to be topics (and therefore less likely to be dropped) in clauses with body-anchored verbs than in clauses with neutral verbs.

Instead, we argue that iconic properties of body-anchored verbs – they typically iconically refer to a mental or physical location in or on the body (Meir et al. 2007) – affect the licensing conditions for null subjects. Specifically, the iconically motivated place of articulation of body-anchored verbs coincides with that of first person, leading to a default first person interpretation of a null subject. As such, we align ourselves with recent efforts to reconcile formalist and iconic views on sign language structure (e.g. Schlenker et al. 2013; Wilbur 2003).

¹ The verbs represent verb meanings from the ‘ValPaL’ list, which has been used in the study of argument structure in spoken languages (www.valpal.info).

² Second person examples constitute a small minority of the cases in both languages and are thus excluded from quantitative analysis.

Glossing conventions: signs are glossed with approximate translations in SMALL CAPS; INDEX – pointing signs. t – nonmanual marker of topics; subscripts represent locations in the signing space.

- (1) a. $\overline{\text{t}}$
 BROTHER_a JULIE_b THINK (INDEX_a) _aLOOK-OVER_c CAR_c FINISH
 ‘My brother_i, Julie thinks he already looked over the car.’
- b. $\overline{\text{t}}$
 BROTHER_a JULIE_b THINK *(INDEX_a) BRUSH-TEETH FINISH
 ‘My brother, Julie thinks he already brushed his teeth.’

Figure 1. THINK in RSL



Figure 2. BUILD in RSL



Table 1: Referents in DGS

| Body-anchored | | |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>person</i> | null | overt |
| 1 st | 103 | 174 |
| 3 rd | 10 | 141 |
| Neutral | | |
| <i>person</i> | null | overt |
| 1 st | 30 | 41 |
| 3 rd | 20 | 60 |

Table 2: Referents in RSL

| Body-anchored | | |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>person</i> | null | overt |
| 1 st | 37 | 21 |
| 3 rd | 7 | 64 |
| Neutral | | |
| <i>person</i> | null | overt |
| 1 st | 3 | 6 |
| 3 rd | 23 | 36 |

References: Bos, H.F. 1993. Agreement and prodrop in Sign Language of the Netherlands. *Linguistics in Amsterdam* 10(1). 37-47. Glück, S. & R. Pfau. 1998. On classifying classification as a class of inflection in German Sign Language. *Proceedings of ConSOLE VI*. Leiden: SOLE. 59-74. Lillo-Martin, D. 1986. Two kinds of null arguments in American Sign Language. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 4. 415-444. Lillo-Martin, D. 1991. *Universal Grammar and American Sign Language. Setting the null argument parameters*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. Meir, I. et al. 2007. Body as subject. *Journal of Linguistics* 43. 531-563. Padden, C. 1988. *Interaction of morphology and syntax in American Sign Language*. New York: Garland. Schlenker, P. et al. 2013. Iconic variables. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 36. 91-149. Wilbur, R.B. 2003. Representations of telicity in ASL. *Chicago Linguistics Society* 39. 354-368.

Valency alternations across Northern Eurasia

Valency alternations have been the subject of much research, and studies tend to have focused on specific alternations (e.g. Keenan & Dryer 2007 on passives), alternations in specific language groups (e.g. Operstein & Sonnenschein 2015 on Zapotecan languages), or consisted of case studies (e.g. Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000), while the interaction between different valency alternations has received little attention. Here I present a few results of a case study in which I have looked at the interaction and correlations between different valency alternations in languages belonging to a wide range of different language families. My language sample consists of more than 50 languages spoken across Northern Eurasia, belonging to both larger (e.g. Sino-Tibetan, Indo-European) and smaller language families (e.g. Yukaghir, Eskimo-Aleut), also including isolates. The alternations under investigation are defined as constructions altering the valency of a clause by the means of morphosyntactic marking (e.g. affixation or periphrastic constructions with designated auxiliaries), while constructions employing other means (e.g. the mere omission of an argument without additional marking) have been excluded. For the purpose of crosslinguistic comparison, all valency alternations have been defined and treated as comparative concepts (in the spirit of Haspelmath 2010).

Typologically, the vast majority of languages in Northern Eurasia possess accusative alignment, both in terms of flagging and indexing, with only a few exceptions (e.g. ergative flagging in Chukchi). Furthermore, most languages in the region are suffixing, with pre- and circumfixation being limited primarily to a few languages of the Far East. The Far East is also notable for its presence of noun incorporation, applicatives and antipassives, which have a very limited distribution elsewhere in Northern Eurasia. It is assumed that all languages in the sample have some manner of expressing reflexivity, reciprocity and causativity; while passive alternations can be found in approximately four fifths of the languages. Most languages have morphological causatives, while three quarters of the languages possess morphological passives and/or reciprocals. Approximately half of the languages have morphological reflexives. Interestingly, the presence of morphological passives or reciprocals appears to entail the presence of morphological causatives throughout Northern Eurasia. Even in the few cases where a language lacks this correlation, remnant morphology suggests that the lack of morphological causatives may have been productive in the recent past. A considerable amount of languages also appears to have all three morphological alternations (passives, reflexives, causatives), primarily located in the central parts of the region, spanning four language families (Uralic, Turkic, Tungusic, Mongolic).

Due to the presence of noun incorporation, applicatives and antipassives in the Far East of Northern Eurasia, the total number of morphological valency alternations tends to be higher in languages located in this area compared to languages located further towards the West. Compare, for instance, Swedish with one morphological alternation and Tundra Yukaghir with six. It is also worth noting that the number of morphological valency alternations does not necessarily correlate with the number of valency alternating affixes in a given language. In Komi, for instance, passives, anticausatives and reciprocals are all marked by the same suffix, while the same valency alternations are marked by three different suffixes in Udihe. Nevertheless, the number of unique valency alternating affixes in a given language also appears to correlate with geographical distribution, with fewer unique valency alternating suffixes being found in languages located towards the West of Northern Eurasia, and more being found in languages located towards the East.

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Enets non-finite clauses: an intergenerational study of a seriously endangered language

This paper contributes to a discussion of structural changes that result from language attrition in language-contact settings (Campbell, Muntzel 1989; Aikhenvald 2012). We analyse corpus data from Forest Enets (Uralic, Samoyedic), a language of Northern Siberia, Russia, with no more than 20 fluent speakers left. Our corpus comprises archive and modern recordings of texts (ca. 115 000 tokens / ca. 21 hours) of Enets speakers born between 1910s to 1960s.

Although some contact-induced phenomena (e.g. borrowing of Russian conjunctions and discourse particles) are attested already in the speech of the Enets speakers born in 1910–1930s, the massive shift to Russian occurred in the next generation of speakers (after 1940 y.o.b.). Since the 1950s, Enets has been gradually going out of use and now it is replaced by Russian in all spheres of usage.

This study aims at detecting the changes in Enets syntax that can be attributed to language attrition by comparing the frequency distributions of non-finite forms in the texts of different generations of speakers (apparent-time study). The use of complex clauses with non-finite forms can be influenced both by language-internal processes of simplification characteristic of attrition (*ibid.*) and the influence of Russian as dominant language, cf. (Grenoble 2013). We will show that, although all Enets speakers born between 1910s and 1960s seem to share the same inventory of non-finite forms, and use them in roughly in the same functions (see e.g. Siegl 2013: 66, 426–461), the frequency characteristics of their use are indicative of structural attrition.

First, the corpus data shows that the frequency of non-finite forms is negatively associated with the speaker's y.o.b. (cf. Figure 1 showing the ratio of non-finite forms to all verb forms as a function of speaker's y.o.b.). Less expectedly, there is the increase of range of the ratios of non-finite forms in the youngest generation of speakers (born after 1950) shown in Figure 1 in grey. This group of speakers is also more diverse in the ways they use particular non-finite forms than the older speakers. This finding may indicate a disintegration in the linguistic systems of the youngest generation of speakers, which might be due to language disuse as well as incomplete acquisition.

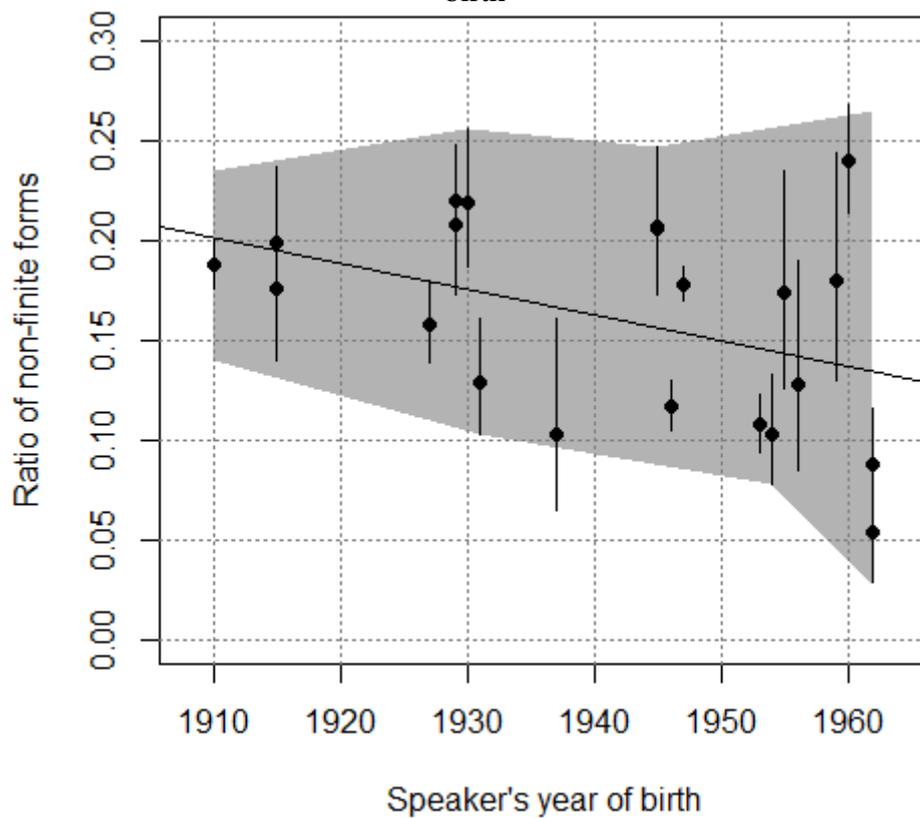
Second, there is evidence of changes in the use of individual dependent-clause marking devices. There is a general decrease in frequency of non-finite complement clauses: in some contexts finite forms come to be used in place of non-finite strategies (e.g. nominalizations) due to Russian influence, for some non-finite forms the decrease in the use of matrix verbs (aspectual and modal verbs) is a more plausible explanation. Complex verbal constructions involving non-finite forms (e.g. participles) also become less frequent. The latter two facts indicate the decrease in the use of formally complex devices of aspectual and modal modification.

As a result, we show that in terms of the ratio of non-finite forms, its range, and the inventory of non-finite forms, the speakers born after 1950 can be opposed to all the older speakers as they presumably do not share a common system of grammatical forms. The speakers born in the 1940s cluster as an intermediate group: their system of non-finite forms in terms of parameters mentioned above is similar to that of the oldest generation but the distributions of individual non-finite forms are indicative of the system simplification and neutralization of some semantic oppositions. This corresponds well to the sociolinguistic picture reconstructed for the language community: those Enets speakers who had a chance to grow up with no Russian till the schooling age now demonstrate a somewhat more complex linguistic system than their younger siblings born in the next decade.

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Figure 1. Ratio of non-finite forms to overall number of verb forms and speaker's year of birth



Enets conditional converb of the verb ‘say’ as conditional clause marker

In Enets (<Samoyedic<Uralic) the so-called conditional converb of the verb *man* ‘say’ in some uses can be analyzed as a conditional clause marker (1). Among the languages of Siberia investigated in [Matić, Pakendorf 2013], this function is attested for the verb ‘say’ only in Enets. The present study shows that of the two dialects of Enets, Forest and Tundra, such uses exist only in the former, and even in Forest Enets the grammatical properties of this marker indicate that this is a recent development.

The data for this study come from a corpus of texts in Forest Enets (appr. 215 000 words) comprising both archive (1970–1990s) and modern (2005–2016) recordings roughly corresponding to two generations of speakers. The aim of the paper is to trace the changes in the grammatical behaviour of conditional converb of *man* ‘say’ over time and to assess its status as a conditional clause marker. The lexical uses of this form are not taken into consideration.

First, there is evidence of reduction of this form in the modern texts as compared to the earlier records. The conditional converb in Enets is usually marked by the suffix *-buʔ* and can also bear possessive marker encoding the subject of the conditional clause [Siegl 2013: 440–445]. While in the modern texts the reduced form *mab* is much more frequent (1), in the archive texts the conditional converb of the verb *man* ‘say’ is mostly attested in its regular form *ma-buʔ*, usually marked with the second person singular possessive marker (2).

Second, in the earlier texts this form typically occupies the initial or the final position in the clause (2), whereas in modern occurrences it usually follows the first constituent (1), thus occupying the position typical of discourse-linking particles in Enets.

In the majority of examples both in the modern and in the older texts the clause introduced by conditional ‘say’ is headed by the verb in the aorist form – the unmarked form that has past or present time reference depending on the aspectual properties of the verb. Other verbal forms are sometimes attested in the clauses introduced by the conditional converb of *man* ‘say’, but mostly in older texts. Both in older and in modern texts, this form is frequently attested in clauses with non-verbal predicates, especially adjectives (3).

These facts suggest that over the several decades the conditional converb of *man* ‘say’ underwent phonetic reduction and became more syntactically integrated into the clause. Its frequent use with non-verbal predicates can be explained as follows. In Enets, non-verbal predicates cannot bear the marker of conditional converb. Adjectives and nouns can be used as predicates in past and present indicative clauses without any copula. When used in conditional clauses, they must combine with the conditional converb of an existential verb. Due to this asymmetry, the innovative marker may be used as a more economic marker of conditionality in non-verbal clauses.

The path of grammaticalization of the verb ‘say’ to a conditional marker proposed in the literature includes the stage when this verb is used as a discourse marker of suggestion or supposition [Chapell 2017; Van Olmen 2013]. The case of Enets is interesting in that the meaning of supposition can be attributed not only to the verb ‘say’ itself but also to the conditional converb marker, which can express the meaning of uncertainty and supposition in independent clauses, cf. [Urmanchieva 2016: 127]. That the conditional converb of the Enets verb ‘say’ is only halfway through the grammaticalization into a conditional conjunction can be illustrated by the examples where it introduces scene-setting clauses not followed by apodosis (4).

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- (1) *ɔlaj-za ma-b tɔne,*
 leftover-NOM.SG.3SG say(pfv)-CVB.COND there_is(ipfv).3SG.S
kudaxaa-d ni kanus
 for_a_long_time-DAT.SG NEG-3SG.S leave(ipfv).CONN
 ‘If it has leftovers, it does not go far away’.
- (2) *ma-bu-t tɔ-ju tɔɔ-e-zʔ,*
 say(pfv)-CVB.COND-OBL.SG.2SG that-RESTR.ADJ reach(pfv)-M-3SG.M
axa, teza d’eri d’oda
 yeah now day middle
 ‘If, say, it moved there, yeah, now it is the middle of the day’.
- (3) *bi-ta ma-b d’ɔri, mu,*
 water-NOM.SG.3SG say(pfv)-CVB.COND deep.3SG.S PLC
oka poga mɔʒnɔ tʃi-f
 many fishing_net it_is_possible install(pfv)-CVB
 ‘If the water, say, is deep one can install many nets’.
- (4) *mɛuru-da ma-b tɔz, seŋi-lu-d-e-zʔ ani*
 get_dark(pfv)-FUT.3SG.S say(pfv)-CVB.COND so look(ipfv)-INCH-FUT-M-3SG.M and
tʃike mu taxa, kamoʒo-ku-da taxa ɔzi
 this PLC behind house-DIM-OBL.SG.3SG behind be_visible(ipfv).3SG.S
 ‘So it gets dark, he takes a look again — he is seen behind this, behind his little house’.

Matlatzinca (headless) relatives: A typological overview

For lesser described languages, relative clause structure commonly serves as a convenient reference point to gain an overall understanding of some important aspects of the syntax of extraction and subordination as well as of focus constructions. In this talk, we focus on the relative clause structure in Matlatzinca, an Amerindian language from Mexico belonging to the Otomian group of the Oto-Manguean phylum.

Headed relative clauses in Matlatzinca can be introduced by the complementizer *ki*, like in (1), but more naturally by a relativizer,¹ like in (2). This relativizer stems from a distal demonstrative that when used as a determiner in a DP, it occurs to the left of the NP (this may be seen in the DP in (4)). Relatives can also be introduced by a demonstrative-related relative pronoun, like in (3), which is sensitive to the number of the head noun, but cannot be used pronominally in other contexts outside a relative clause. However, by far the most frequent relative clause in Matlatzinca is asyndetic (i.e., not introduced by either a relative pronoun or an overt complementizer), like in (4). This is a typical Mesoamerican trait.

Our focus is on headless relatives. In this paper, we will discuss three main features that make Matlatzinca headless relatives typologically interesting. Firstly, it is cross-linguistically common to find interrogative pronouns in head-less relatives at least for some of the relativizing functions. Matlatzinca does not allow for this. Instead, headless relatives share the same structure as headed relatives: they can be introduced by a complementizer (5); a relativizer; a relative pronoun (6); as well as by an asyndetic clause, like in (7). The latter is a second typologically interesting feature, more particularly because asyndetic headless relatives are very common in pseudo-clefts, as we will show.

One last interesting feature of Matlatzinca is that while embedded interrogatives are kept separate from true headless relatives (of both the maximal and the existential types) –compare (8) with (9)– the language has a special set of proforms used with free choice relatives, and such forms are mostly based on the interrogative set. Apparently, if we understand Caponigro and Fălăuș (to appear) correctly,² what would be typologically expected is that free choice relatives based on interrogatives are used when the language further allows for headless relatives based on interrogatives, not the opposite, as it happens in Matlatzinca.

Our paper is descriptive in nature and it is a typologically-informed first approximation to the syntax of Matlatzinca. We will present all the aforementioned characteristics and other relevant ones, and when possible, we will illustrate them with natural examples coming from an emergent textual database of spontaneous speech being developed under an ongoing ELDP funded documentation project on the language.

¹ We call a ‘relativizer’ a specific type of complementizer that is only used to introduce relative clauses.

² Caponigro, Ivano and Anamaria Fălăuș. To appear. Free Choice Free Relative Clauses in Italian and Romanian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*.

Examples:

- (1) xa tuh pëti (n=t'uxuhmu) [**ki** ro_man hori]
NEG 1SG.INCPL know SG=woman COMP 3PL.AMBU look.for
'I don't know the woman who they were looking for.'
- (2) (t'a=n kareta) [**tit'i** ron t'ini ki n="guajolotera"]
DEM=SG car REL 3PL.INCPL say COMP SG=*guajolotera*
'That car that they called (that it was) "guajolotera".' (cl_hongos 047.b)
- (3) to' si (n=mhewi) [**t'in** 'o tawi]
1SG.CPL eat SG=tortilla REL.PRO.SG 2SG.CPL bring
'I ate the tortilla that you brought.'
- (4) chhi, na ga kwe me 'ëni
yes PRCL PRCL 1.DU.CPL have chicken

(tit'i ne pëchhi) [_ khwen te 'embi pi], ne to "criollo"
DEM PL chick 1.PL.INCPL INFL have.at.home[3OBJ] LOC PL DIM *creole*
'Yes, we had a chicken (of) those chicks that we have at home here, the "creole"
(ma_ofrenda 552-554)
- (5) we tu the chu Obispo,
CLF.HUM dead 1POSS uncle Obispo
[**ki** ron t'ini n="Pozole"]
COMP 3PL.INCL say SG=*Pozole*
'My late uncle Obispo, the one who they called "Pozole" (fe_lengua 356-357)
- (6) [**t'in** khwen t'ini "pinsa xuni"]
REL.PRO.SG 1PL.INCPL say forest agave
'That one we called "forest agave".' (lu_platillos 051)
- (7) [_ mu_tu hë k'ëna] ka the mëriwi
HAB_3CPL.IRR drink a.little COP 1POSS brother.in.law
'The one who drinks a little bit is my brother in law.' (rn_pulque 254)
- (8) ...mu re pwëya [**wante-hë** ni familia-hë]
NEG 3SG.CPL know who-PL 3POSS relative-PL
'They did not know who their relatives were.' (lu_platillos 144.b)
- (9) a. xa tuh pëti [**t'in** ro_man hori]
NEG 1SG.INCPL know REL.PRO.SG 3PL.AMBU look.for
'I don't know who they were looking for.'
- b. ku yë [**t'in** khwén si]
3SG.INCPL exist REL.PRO.SG 1PL.EXCL.INCPL eat
'We have something to eat.' (Lit. 'There is what we eat.')
- (10) 'i tuki [**me_yant'ëwi** 'ih nawi]
2SG.INCL take FREE.CHOICE_which 2SG.INCL want
'Take whichever you want.'

Grammatical relations, case-marking and person hierarchy in Wampis

Grammatical relations (GRs) concern the nature of the relationship between a predicate and its core arguments: the single argument of intransitive constructions (S), the most agent-like argument (A) and the most patient-like argument (P) of transitive constructions (Comrie 1978). Different typological works on GRs in the last decades have found the description of the distribution and functions of A, S and P extremely useful to understand the syntactic patterns of languages.

Most typological works increasingly conceive GRs as language or even construction-specific (Comrie 1979, Fillmore 1988, Croft 2001, among others). There are, at the same time, languages in which different typological patterns seem to converge, or, rather, where different principles seem to play a role in the structuring of GRs. In this paper, I analyze the morphosyntactic patterns in which GRs are expressed in Wampis, a language of the Peruvian Amazon that belongs to the Jivaroan family (also known as Chicham family). Wampis is an agglutinative, suffixing and cliticizing language. It shows both head and dependent marking. The most common constituent order in terms of frequency is verb-final, and clause-chaining is a prominent feature of the language.

GRs constitute an area of rich complexity in Wampis. An A-argument usually agrees with and is indexed on the verb, however, sometimes the verb indexes P via a typologically uncommon pattern of hierarchical agreement. In fact, I show that there are two different person hierarchies: one for syntactic marking of NP object constituents and another for morphological marking of arguments on the verb. Generally speaking, the basics of the Wampis system for marking GRs can be summarized as follows:

- (a) Syntactic case marking (marking of NP objects) is based on referential properties of A and P, where if A is a 1PL or 2SG/PL person acting on a Non-speech act participant, P does not receive object marking. P is only marked when A is a 1SG or 3SG/PL person.
- (b) Argument indexation is complex, with at least three different morphological positions to be filled and access to those positions depending on a person hierarchy that is different from the one at the base of syntactic case marking. In this case, if P is a 1PL or 2PL and A is 3SG/PL, then the verb agrees with P and not with A.
- (c) Symmetrical object pattern: syntactically, all objects (including objects of applicatives) receive the same marking (the case clitic =*na*) —except for those cases observed in (a).
- (d) Ditransitive clauses morphologically show patterns of a secundative system (the Recipient (R) aligns with P), but syntactically objects follow the same symmetric pattern mentioned in (c).
- (e) Switch reference marking clearly distinguishes A/S as a category, but P is not distinguished as a particularly unique category. Wampis possesses non-canonical switch-reference that mark non-subject to subject and subject to non-subject switch-reference, “non-subject” categories can be objects or locations, not only objects.

Drawing on primary data from extensive fieldwork, this study raises relevant questions on the nature of GRs, especially on issues concerning object marking in the language. Further, the talk explores how such complex systems can be best described and how intimately the interpretation of the subject and object can be to the construction where they (instantiated as specific arguments) occur in the language.

Some examples

Morphological indexation

- (1) *atum tsanu-ru-a-rumi* (2PL → 1SG, verb agrees with A)
2PL lie-1SG.OBJ-IPFV-**2PL**+DECL
'You (PL) are lying to me.'
- (2) *atumi=na tsanu-tama-a-rumi* (3 → 2PL: verb agrees with P)
2PL=OBJ lie-1PL/2PL.OBJ-IPFV-**2PL**+DECL
'He/they are lying to you (PL).'

Syntactic marking of NP object

- (3) A=3, P=1sg (Object marked with =na)
A P
nĩ mi=na waina-tu-ka-ma-yi
3SG 1SG=**OBJ** see-1SG.OBJ-INTENS-PST-3+DECL
'He saw me.'
- (4) A=2sg, P=3 (Object not marked with =na)
A P
ami yawaã mã-á-ma-mi
2SG jaguar kill-HIAF-PST-2SG+DECL
'You killed a jaguar.'

Ditransitive construction

- (5) A T R
Puhupat ukuntjĩ=**na** mi=**na** su-**ru**-sa-yi
Puhupata bone=**OBJ** 1SG=**OBJ** give-**1SG.OBJ**-ATT-3+DECL
'Puhupat gave a bone to the dog.'

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Latvian “semi-prepositions” and their properties: between spatial adverbs and canonical adpositions

Latvian grammars traditionally distinguish a separate class of relational lexemes combining properties of adverbs and adpositions, which is known as “semi-prepositions” (Latvian *pusprievārdi*, see MLLVG I: 701; 722-723), though other terms have been proposed by some linguists, e.g., *relational adverbs* (Lagzdiņa 1997: 193) or *prepositional adverbs* (LVG 2013: 600-601); some of them have been discussed as *verb particles* in (Wälchli 2001). These lexemes form a closed class and mostly have spatial semantics, e.g., *garām* ‘past, by’ or *pāri* ‘over, across’. Some of them have clear formal correspondences among prepositions, e.g., *gar* (adposition) ‘along’ and *garām* (relational adverb) ‘past, by’, while other have only more or less precise semantic equivalents, e.g., *pie* ‘at, by, near’ (adposition) vs. *klāt* ‘near, close to’ (relational adverb).

The relational adverbs in focus can be distinguished from typical adpositions both on the basis of formal and syntactic criteria. First, most of them end in typical adverbial morphemes: *-i* (*pāri*), *-ām* (*garām*), *-us* (*blakus* ‘nearby, beside’). Second, they license dative noun phrases as their complements and cannot govern the accusative, in contrast to most adpositional correlates. In addition, relational adverbs are ambipositional, and, as Lagzdiņa (1997: 187) mentions, can be even separated from their complements, cf. (1):

- (1) *Čak-s* *viņ-ām* *dodas* *līdzī.*
 Č.-NOM.SG 3-DAT.PL.F leave.PRS.3 ALONG.WITH
 ‘Čaks leaves with them.’ (LMLVTK)

| Properties | typical relational adverbs | typical adpositions |
|---|----------------------------|---|
| can be used without an overt complement | + | - |
| flexible position | + | - |
| adverbial form | + | - |
| govern dative NPs (in the singular) | + | only <i>līdz</i> (always) and <i>pa</i> (in some constructions) |
| can govern accusative NPs | - | + (some of them) |

In my talk, I will present a systematic account of Latvian relative adverbs based on the corpus data. I will focus mainly on two parameters: the position of the complement and the omissibility of the complement. For instance, grammatical descriptions tend to ignore the fact that pronominal complements tend to be preposed, e.g., *blakus mājai / mājai blakus* ‘near the house’ vs. *man blakus / *blakus man* ‘beside me’. Heavy noun phrases, on the contrary, tend to be postposed. Another important factor deals with the discourse status of NPs, as highly activated NPs tend to be omitted with relational adverbs.

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LMLVTK = Līdzsvarots mūsdienu latviešu valodas tekstu korpuss (Balanced corpus of modern Latvian texts), www.korpuss.lv

Negation system in Amri Karbi

This paper provides the description of the negation system in Amri Karbi (Tibeto-Burman, India) according to the questionnaire (Miestamo 2016). In the talk I will focus on differences in the paradigms in the negative and affirmative.

Standard negation (Payne 1985, Miestamo 2005) in Amri Karbi is expressed by a negative marker on a verb which is an onset reduplication suffix – *Ce*. The suffix attaches to a stem or to a verbal complex (1). As seen from the example (1) the aspect in the affirmative is lost in the negative, so there is paradigmatic asymmetry in Amri Karbi's affirmative and negative constructions. This paradigmatic asymmetry does not spread to all the TAM system in Amri Karbi, as there is at least one member in the category that is not lost in the negative and that is the irrealis2 –*ye* (2).

Interestingly in the closely related language, Karbi (Konnerth 2014) the irrealis2 is lost in the negative. On the other hand irrealis1 in Amri Karbi, similar to Karbi, is lost in the negative (2).

Imperatives in Amri Karbi have a dedicated negative construction that is different from standard negation (3). Another way to create a negative imperative is to add a negative suffix to deontic *nang*. The positive imperative requires a different deontic verb *lage* (4).

There are three negative copulas in Amri Karbi, equational copula *kale* and two existential copulas *ingyong* and *we*. In the negative locative and possessive constructions a negative existential copula *ingyong* is used (5). Sometimes it co-occurs with the equational copula *kale*, in this case *ingyong* is reduced, resulting in: *kale yong*. Negative existential copula *we* in Amri Karbi also occurs in the possessive and existential constructions, but not as widely as *ingyong*. Negative copula *we* also occurs in 'do you V or not?' questions (6).

Negative equational copula *kale* is used to negate nominal predicates (7). Negative equational copula *kale* is also used to negate property verbs and nominalized verbs, although existential copula *ingyong* and negative verbal suffix can also negate property and nominalized verbs (8).

Subordinate clauses, which are usually nominalized are negated by verbal negative suffix (9).

Negative answer to a question always corresponds to the type of predication used in the question.

That is negative equational copula *kale* cannot be replaced by negative existential copula *ingyong* or *we*, in the same way when a predicate in the question is a verb, *kale* cannot be used as a negative response, but either *ingyong* or *we* (10).

Constructional asymmetry appears in the negative questions where negative copulas appear with different question particles than in the positive (11).

Negative pronouns, which are the pronouns marked by additive =*ta*, usually co-occur with predicate negation (12).

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- (1) *ne an cho-man* *ne an cho-che*
 1 rice eat-HAB 1 rice eat-Ce
 ‘I eat rice’ ‘I do not eat rice’
- (2) *hlong-hle-ye* **hlog-hle-bo*
 reach-Ce-IRR2 reach-Ce-IRR1
 ‘will not reach’
- (3) *tso-noq* *tso-yeq*
 eat-IMP eat-NEG.IMP
 ‘eat!’ ‘do not eat!’
- (4) *chobel lage* *chobel nang-ne*
 deceive need deceive need-NEG
 ‘deceive!’ ‘do not deceive’
- (5) *anang=ke a-so do* *anang=ke a-so* *ingyong*
 3=TOP POSS-tooth COP 3=TOP POSS-tooth NEG.EXIST.COP
 ‘he has teeth’ ‘he has no teeth’
- (6) *ingho=ma hane ki-pu-po=ke* *nang ne pen neng-do-man=ma we=ma*
 who=Q 1 NMLZ-say-DEF=TOP 2 1 with heart-stay-HAB=Q NEG.EXIST.COP=Q
 ‘the one who is calling me, do you love me or not?’
- (7) *anang=ke ne-ai-pe* *anang=ke ne-ai-pe* *kale*
 3=TOP 1-mother-FEM 3=TOP 1-mother-FEM NEG.EQ.COP
 ‘she is my mother’ ‘she is not my mother’.
- (8) *anang a-ke-thi* *anang a-ke-thi* *kale/ingyong* *anang a-ke-thi-the*
 3 POSS-NMLZ-die 3 POSS-NMLZ-die NEG.EQ.COP/NEG.EXIST.COP 3 POSS-NMLZ-die-Ce
 ‘he is dead’ ‘he is not dead’ ‘he is not dead’
- (9) *parake anang bu-pe=ke* *kampi-hel kikat* *une* *ayoq hem padem-o*
 then 3 grandmother-FEM=TOP monkey-PL NMLZ-run be.able-NEG so.that house repair-RL
 ‘and their grandma repaired the house so that monkeys could not run away’
- (10) *anangke nang ai ma? – kale* *hiq ingudo ma? –ingyong/we*
 ‘is she your mother? – no’ ‘is the dog barking? – no’
- (11) *Mohan-po hem do-ma?* *Mohan-po hem ingyong-te?*
 Mohan-MASC home COP-Q Mohan-MASC home NEG.EXIST.COP-Q
 ‘is Mohan at home?’ ‘isn’t Mohan at home?’
- (12) *kai=ta theq-the-to kai=ta ingyong holeq*
 who=ADD see-Ce-EMPH who=ADD NEG.EXIST.COP here
 ‘nobody will see, nobody is here’

Grammaticalization processes of converb constructions in Udmurt

This presentation examines the features of grammaticalization processes of verbs in Udmurt converb complex predicate constructions from a cross-linguistic perspective. The converb forms with a *-sa* ending are widely used in Udmurt: they often mark adverbial subordination, like converbs generally do (cf. e.g. Haspelmath 1995), e.g., they can convey temporal, modal or causal (1) meaning. Despite these cases, verbs expressing motion, location, posture, or action combining with converbs can be grammaticalized: in these cases, verbs tend to function syntactically like main verbs but are interpreted rather as aspectualizers. In these constructions, converbs provide the lexical meaning while the verbs lose parts of their lexical properties.

In order to distinguish the verbs conveying a rather lexical meaning from the ones with a rather obscure, grammaticalized, often aspectual meaning, the converb complement should always be taken into consideration, as grammaticalization can be understood rather as a process of constructions with particular items in them, rather than a process concerning single elements. During this process, the unit loses specific semantic features, becomes more general in meaning, which enables the constructions to be used in new contexts (see, e.g. Bybee 2003, Himmelmann 2004). In case of, e.g., the verb *kyl'lyny* 'lie', one meaning component ('to do something without any movement') becomes generalized, and in some cases, it has only imperfective grammatical function (2). Not uncommonly, however, these aspectualizers retain part of their lexical semantics. Partially due to this feature of these verbs, the same aspectual function can be expressed by several aspectual verbs with a different primary lexical meaning (for cross-linguistic examples see, e.g. Vendra continuous markers, Heine 1993: 57). For instance, perfectivity can be expressed by different verbs of motion or action: e.g. *bydtyny* 'finish', *kuštyny* 'throw', *potyny* 'go out' (cf. examples (3)-(5)). In these cases, the primary lexical meaning may have an effect on the use of the verbs with different converbs and in different pragmatical contexts. It is worth mentioning, however, that even in case of the same aspectualizer, the primary lexical meaning can be retained to different extents in different environments, i.e. with different converbs (see examples (6)-(7)).

In my presentation, I plan to describe the assumed grammaticalization paths on the grounds of synchronic units by examining aspectual auxiliaries combined with converbs of different lexical meaning (especially aspectualizers *kuštyny* 'throw', *potyny* 'go out', *kyl'lyny* 'lie', *pukyny* 'sit', *vuny* 'arrive', *koškyny* 'leave') and the same converb constructions in different semantic-pragmatic contexts on the basis of structured interviews conducted in Udmurtia (2015, 2016), texts of blogs and literary language, and questionnaires.

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Examples

- (1) *a muket-y3 kyška-sa pegž'-em*
but other-3SG get.frightened-CVB escape-2PST.3SG
'but the other escaped, getting frightened' (Keľmakov 1981: 61)
- (2) *2 čas olomar daurt-ysa kyll-i-zy*
two hour something spend_time-CVB lie-PST-3PL
'They did something for two hours.' [pragmatical context: band rehearsal]
(udmurto4ka.blogspot.fi ₁)
- (3) *kartoška kopa-sa bytt-em-yn ni val.*
potato dig-CVB finish-PTCP.PST-INE already be.PST
'The potato has been dug out already.' (Keľmakov 1981: 127)
- (4) *perěš vera no vera, tros dyr luysal ke,*
old_man speak.3SG.PRS and speak.3SG.PRS much time be.COND.3SG if
bydes ulon-z-e vera-sa kušty-sal.
whole life-3SG-ACC speak-CVB throw-COND.3SG
'The old man just speaks and speaks, if he had more time, he would tell the story of his whole life.' (marjamoll.blogspot.fi ₁)
- (5) *badžym klass-jos-yn dysetsk-iš ćurali-os-leš gožjam-jos-ses*
big class-PL-INE study-PTCP.PRS blogger-PL-ABL writing-PL-ACC.3PL
lydžy-sa pot-i.
read-CVB go_out-PST.1SG
'I have read the writings of the bloggers (older students) (marjamoll.blogspot.fi ₂)
- (6) *ogjauloňhi-ja-zy byžy-sa košk-o, pe, val.*
dormitory-ILL-3PL run-CVB leave-PRS.3PL PTC be.PST
'They were running to their dormitory (supposedly).' (marjamoll.blogspot.fi ₃)
- (7) *šulem šuna-sa košk -e.*
heart melt-CVB leave-PRS.3SG
'It makes your heart melted.' (udmurto4ka.blospot.fi ₂)

Sources of examples

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Variation in argument realization in Estonian *-mine* verbal noun constructions:
a corpus-based study

This paper introduces a corpus-based study, which focuses on the variation in argument realization of Estonian verbal noun constructions, containing the most regular and productive deverbal suffix *-mine* (e.g. *laulmine* 'singing'). In particular, the effect of genre and register on the argument marking will be demonstrated.

In the process of nominalizing a verb, it is theoretically possible to retain overt marking of all the arguments and modifiers of the predicate. In actual language use, however, this is seldom the case and instead, only one argument at most is explicitly expressed (Hopper & Thompson 1984). For example, according to Nau (2016), the functional equivalents of Estonian *-mine* nouns in Latvian (the *šana*-nouns) mainly occur with a complement expressing P-argument, when derived from transitive verbs, while the expression of A is generally avoided; in turn, nominalizations of intransitive verbs often occur with a complement expressing S.

In this study, 3 different corpora were used for unveiling the factors influencing the expression and form of the arguments: 1) the Balanced Corpus of Estonian (BCE), consisting of equal proportions of material from newspapers, fiction and scientific texts (5 mln tokens per genre); 2) the Corpus of Estonian Dialects (CED, approx. 1 mln tokens); 3) the Phonetic Corpus of Estonian Spontaneous Speech (PCESS, approx. 500 000 tokens). The data therefore covers both written and spoken, edited and spontaneous, common and areally used language, and therefore makes it possible to draw implications for Estonian nominalization on a greater scale than has been done so far.

The data is analyzed using mixed-effects logistic regression, complemented with the 'tree & forest' method (following Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012). The morphosyntactic and semantic features of the deverbal *-mine* nouns included in the analysis are number, case, syntactic function of the NP, form of arguments, semantic class of the verb etc. The initial results indicate that there are indeed significant differences across genres in the realization of the core arguments. For example, the patient argument of transitive verbs is considerably more likely to be expressed in written newspaper texts. The results of the modeling also illustrate, that explicit argument realization can be considered to reflect the degree of conventionalization/lexicalization of the deverbal nouns in question.

References:

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Two types of genitives in Moksha

The aim of this paper is to analyze two types of adnominal genitives in Moksha (< Finno-Ugric). They mark different types of possessors and, as I will argue, have different syntactic structure. The present research is based on the field data collected in the villages of Lesnoje Tsibajevo and Lesnoje Ardashevo (Mordovia, Russia) in 2015-2017.

Cross-linguistically different types of possessors can be encoded with different constructions. (see (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2002) for the languages of Europe). One of the main splits on the scale of possessive relations is the split between anchoring (*father's house*) and non-anchoring (*ring of gold*) relations (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2002), where anchoring possessors serve as anchors for specific possessees and non-anchoring possessors denote some generic properties.

Core possessive relations like part-whole (*girl's hand*), kinship (*girl's father*) or legal ownership (*father's house*) are encoded in Moksha with Double-marking construction where the possessor is marked with genitive of definite declension and the possessee requires a possessive marker (1).

One could expect that genitive of the definite declension marks definite possessors whether genitive of the indefinite declension marks indefinite ones, following the general distribution pattern of the two declension types (2).

But it is not the case as the indefinite genitive cannot mark anchoring possessors normally (3). Neither can it trigger possessive marking of the head.

As can be seen from (3), the Dependent-marking construction encodes a non-anchoring relation of predestination but not ownership.

These two types of genitive dependents differ also in their possibility to be modified with demonstratives and quantifiers: in contrast with definite genitives (4a), indefinite genitives cannot have quantifiers as dependents (4b).

Note that the indefinite genitive does not distinguish number, while the definite genitive has different forms for singular (1) and plural (4a).

I claim that these two types of possessors differ both in their internal and external structure. Basing on the hierarchical model of the DP (Abney 1987, Alexiadou et al. 2007) I claim that possessors marked with definite genitive are full DPs which move into the Spec,DP of the possessee for the case and trigger possessive agreement on the head. Indefinite genitive possessors are NPs (they even lack projection of number), they are adjuncts to the possessee and they result lower than the former. These two genitives are compatible within one DP (5).

The structure for DP in (5) is presented in (6).

To sum up, although it was underrepresented in the recent formal works, Moksha provides challenging data with its two types of genitives which are different structurally and semantically.

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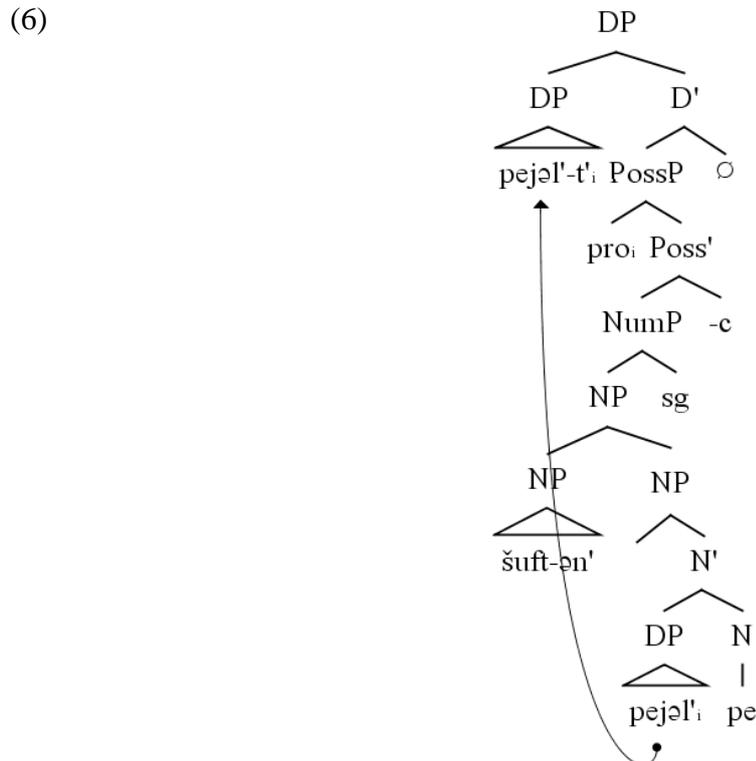
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Examples:

- (1) *ava-t' sumka-c pra-s'*
 woman-DEF.SG.GEN bag-3SG.POSS.SG fall-PST.3SG
 'The woman's bag has fallen'.
- (2) a. *mon kaz'-in'ə pan'čf-t' jomla st'ər'-n'ε-n'd'i*
 I present-PST.3.O.1SG.S flower-DEF.SG.GEN little girl-DIM-DAT
 'I presented the flower to a little girl'.
- b. *mon kaz'-ən' pan'čf jomla st'ər'-n'ε-t'i*
 I present-PST.1SG flower little girl-DIM-DEF.SG.DAT
 'I presented a flower to the little girl'.
- (3) a. *ava-n' sumka-s' pra-s'*
 woman-GEN bag-DEF.SG fall-PST.3SG
 'The woman bag (intended for women) has fallen'.
 *'The bag of a woman has fallen'.
- (4) a. *s'embə ava-t'n'ə-n' sumka-nzə pra-s'-t'*
 all woman-DEF.SG.GEN bag-3PL.POSS fall-PST.3-PL
 'The bag of all women has fallen'.
- b. **s'embə ava-n' sumka-t'n'ə pra-s'-t'*
 all woman-GEN bag-DEF.PL fall-PST.3-PL
 'The bags for all women have fallen'.
- (5) *pejəl'-t' šuftə-n' pe-c kola-v-s'*
 knife-DEF.SG.GEN wood-GEN end-3SG.POSS.SG crack-pass-pst.3sg
 'The wooden handle of the knife has cracked'.



Purposive meaning potential with *fo* and *so* in Vincentian Creole

Vincentian Creole (VinC) utterances containing *fo* and *so* display a wide range of interpretations. *Fo* functions as a possessive marker (1a), a directional preposition (1b) or a marker of modality (1c) whereas *so* can be accounted for as discourse marker (2a) or an inferential connective (2b).

- (1) a. *Dat a fomi moni*
 DEM COP POSS.1SG money
 'That's my money.'
- b. *I van fo Leyu gaan*
 ART van DIR Layou gone
 'The van for Layou has left.'
- c. *Mi ha fifti dalaꝝ fo bai fud*
 1SG have fifty dollars COMP buy food
 'I have fifty dollars to buy food.'
- (2) a. *So we yo a du?*
 So what 2SG PROG do
 'So what are you doing?'
- b. *Mi foget fomi bok so tiicha biit mi.*
 1SG forget POSS.1SG book so teacher beat 1OBJ
 'I forgot my book, so the teacher flogged me.'

But these two morphemes can also introduce purpose clauses (3a) and (3b).

- (3) a. *Mi hafo wash i pan fo mami beik.*
 1SG have.to wash ART pan for mommy bake
 'I have to wash the pan for mommy to bake.'
- b. *Mi a wok so aayo kod iit mi aut.*
 1SG PROG work PURP 2SG/PL IRR eat mi out
 'I am working so that you can eat, drink and be merry at my expense.'

Whereas the function of *fo* as a purposive marker has been widely studied in creoles (*cf.* Winford 1993, Washabaugh 1980, among others), an analysis of the syntactic functions of *so* is yet to be embarked on. In the domain of English (this creole's main lexifier), researchers have been mainly interested in the pragmatic functions of *so*, often accounting for it as a discourse marker (Schiffrin 1987), a pragmatic particle (Östman 1995), and as an inferential connective (Blakemore 1988). In the domain of syntax, purpose clauses introduced by *so* are typically, though not exclusively, followed by *that*. Our study focusses only on syntactic structures that

accommodate purposive *fo* and *so*. We show that although both morphemes introduce clauses that may render semantically similar interpretations, there is a syntactic mismatch with respect to the types of clauses appearing as complements of these markers. For instance, unlike *fo* clauses (4a), *so* clauses must have irrealis markers (4b).

- (4) a. *Aayo beta prei fo rein *kod kuhm.*
 2SG/PL better pray PURP rain IRR come
 ‘You had better pray for it to rain.’
- b. *Bring i brefruut so mi *[kod] roos dem wan taim*
 bring ART breadfruit PURP 1SG IRR roast 3PL one time
 ‘Bring the breadfruit so that I can (for me to) roast it right away.’

We show also that the syntactic and semantic variations observed in Vincentian usage do not altogether match those of Modern-day English usage although both *for* and *so... that* can introduce purpose clauses in that language. We argue, inter alia, that the mismatch gives rise to idiosyncrasies in Caribbean English-based Creoles in general.

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Control violation in Russian converbs

According to the academic Russian grammar (Shvedova (ed.) 1980), there is a strict requirement for the null subject of a converbial clause (that is PRO) to be controlled by the Nominative subject of a main clause, cf. (1). However, the classical example from Anton Chekhov's novel in (2), which had been written much earlier than the grammar was published, violates this requirement. The control violation also occurs in contemporary texts of various styles and genres. Consequently, there arises the following research question which the paper aims at investigating: is control violation a frequent and acceptable phenomenon or is it perceived as a deviation from the standard requirement? Specifically, the study concentrates on the PP *u menya* (1SG pronoun in Genitive) which substitutes the 1SG Nominative NP *ya* in a main clause, cf. (3). The Genitive form is one of the two most typical forms which occur instead of Nominative in converbial clauses (the other is Dative *mne*). In order to answer the research question, we used both experimental and corpus methods.

Firstly, in two experiments, we simultaneously tested two factors: (i) The Genitive NP controlling PRO is explicit or implicit; (ii) the converbial clause is located before or after the main clause (preposition or postposition). Accordingly, we formulated two hypotheses: (A) explicit NP is better; (B) although both preposition and postposition are grammatical and attested, preposition is better. As stimuli of both experiments, we used imperfective converbs derived from mental verbs (Babenko 1999), tested them for frequencies in (Lyashevskaya, Sharov 2009) and in the Russian National Corpus. Main clauses had the following structure: *u menya* 'at me.GEN' / no controlling NP (exp. 2: also *u nego* 'at him.GEN') + Verb + Nominative subject NP. Converbial clauses consisted of 3-5 words and main clauses consisted of 4-6 words. The linear position of a converbial clause was either before or after a main clause. Sentences (3)-(6) exemplify stimuli. All in all, there were 32 stimulus sentence sets (8 per condition in each list) in exp.1 and 24 stimulus sentence sets (8 per condition in each list) in exp. 2. As fillers of exp. 1, we used clauses with grammatically correct participial clauses (preposed vs. postposed) + *u menya* 'at me.GEN', whereas as fillers of exp. 2, we used sentences with converbial clauses (preposed vs. postposed) + grammatically correct vs. incorrect main clauses with 1SG or 3SG pronouns (in grammatically incorrect sentences, subject-verb agreement was violated). Exp. 1 was a grammaticality judgment task with a 7-point Likert scale, 240 participants, age 17-68. Exp. 2 was a speeded grammaticality judgment task (sentences flashed on the screen word by word) with a binary scale (yes/no), 65 participants; age 16-52. Firstly, the findings of both exp. 1&2 showed that all the sentences with control violation were judged as degraded. Secondly, the findings confirmed hypotheses (A) and (B). Moreover, the results of exp. 2 showed that grammatical fillers were judged as grammatical significantly more often than stimuli ($p < 0.001$) and preposed converbial clauses more often than postposed ($p = 0.001$). Ungrammatical fillers were judged as grammatical significantly less often than stimuli ($p < 0.001$), preposition vs. postposition was not relevant for this comparison ($p = 0.08$).

Secondly, in a corpus study, with respect to explicit NP only (cf. factor (i) and ex. (3) and (5)), we tested two hypotheses: (C) control violation (PP with a NP in Genitive) is not frequent in written contemporary and old texts; (D) but if it occurs, preposition of a converbial clause is preferred over postposition. The search queries were conducted in two subcorpora of the Russian National Corpus: the subcorpus of texts written from 1950 onwards and in the subcorpus of texts written before 1900. The queries were as close as possible to the stimuli of exp. 1&2, that is, a converbial clause of a length 3-5 words, with imperfective converbs derived from mental verbs; a main clause of a length 4-6 words. The linear position of a converbial clause was either before or after a main clause. Having received the sentences according to the queries, we browsed them all and selected 1910 relevant sentences, with 422 preposed and 1488 postposed converbial clauses. Among them, only 39 preposed and 48

postposed sentences contained control violation. In other words, control violation is not frequent in contemporary and old texts. This finding supported hypothesis (C). Moreover, preposed converbial clauses with control violation occur more often than postposed converbial clauses with control violation ($p < 0.001$). This confirmed hypothesis (D).

To summarize, control violation is a non-frequent and degraded phenomenon, which both corpus and experimental methods demonstrated respectively. However, unlike ungrammatical sentences with subject-verb agreement violation, control violation is not perceived as strongly unacceptable.

(1) (Shvedova (ed.) 1980)

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>Okončiv</i> | <i>Akademiju</i> | <i>khudožestv,</i> | <i>Serov</i> | <i>byl</i> | <i>polon</i> |
| graduate.from.CONV | academy.ACC | arts.GEN | Serov.NOM | was | full |
| <i>želanija</i> | <i>pisat'</i> | <i>tol'ko</i> | <i>otradnoe.</i> | | |
| wish.GEN | paint.INF | only | something.pleasant.ACC | | |

‘Having graduated from the Academy of arts, Serov was willing to paint only something gratifying.’

(2) (Anton Chekhov 1884)

| | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Proežžaya</i> | <i>mimo</i> | <i>siey</i> | <i>stantsii</i> | <i>i glyadya</i> |
| pass.CONV.PRS | by | this.GEN | station.GEN | and look.CONV.PRS |
| <i>na prirodu</i> | <i>v okno,</i> | <i>u menya</i> | <i>sletela</i> | <i>šlyapa.</i> |
| at landscape.ACC | to window.ACC | at I.GEN | flow_off.PST | hat.NOM |

‘Passing by this station and looking at the landscape, my hat flew off.’

(3) Exp.1&2 stimulus sentence

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|----------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| <i>PRO_i</i> | <i>glyadya</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>etu</i> | <i>kartinu,</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>menya_i</i> | <i>voznikli</i> | <i>strannye</i> | <i>assotsiatsii.</i> |
| | look.CONV | on | this | picture | at | I.GEN | appeared | strange | associations |

‘Looking at this picture, I had strange associations.’

(4) Exp.1&2 stimulus sentence

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| <i>PRO_i</i> | <i>glyadya</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>etu</i> | <i>kartinu,</i> | <i>voznikli</i> | <i>strannye</i> | <i>assotsiatsii.</i> |
| | look.CONV | on | this | picture | appeared | strange | associations |

‘Looking at this picture, I had strange associations.’

(5) Exp.1&2 stimulus sentence

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>U</i> | <i>menya_i</i> | <i>voznikli</i> | <i>strannye</i> | <i>assotsiatsii,</i> | <i>PRO_i</i> | <i>glyadya</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>etu</i> | <i>kartinu.</i> |
| at | I.GEN | appeared | strange | associations | | look.CONV | on | this | picture |

‘Looking at this picture, I had strange associations.’

(6) Exp.1&2 stimulus sentence

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>Voznikli</i> | <i>strannye</i> | <i>assotsiatsii,</i> | <i>PRO_i</i> | <i>glyadya</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>etu</i> | <i>kartinu.</i> |
| appeared | strange | associations | | look.CONV | on | this | picture |

‘Looking at this picture, I had strange associations.’

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Greenberg's Sixth Universal Revisited: The VSO/SVO Word Order Contrast in Early Egyptian

1. INTRODUCTION. Greenberg's (1966) Universal 6 states that "All languages with dominant VSO order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic word order" (p.79). VSO languages are always prepositional (Universal 3), which is harmonic with both VS and VO order (p.98), and have possessum–possessor (Universal 2) and noun–adjective ordering (Universal 17) in complex NPs. Languages of this type [I/Pr/NG/NA] display a broad geographical distribution. Of the Afro-Asiatic phylum, Greenberg mentions Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic (Semitic), Berber and Ancient Egyptian as cases in point (Appendix II.1, p.108). In this talk, I shall revisit the issue, focusing on the VSO/SVO word order contrast in Early Egyptian (ca. 2650–1990 BCE).

2. MAJOR CLAIMS. On the surface, Early Egyptian meets the syntactic profile of Universal 6 in that the predominant VSO order has an SVO alternative. Yet on closer inspection, problems arise concerning the notion of 'basicness' in the Greenbergian word order typology. VSO and SVO clauses differ from each other in form and meaning. Another problem concerns the structural ambiguity of VSO sentences, which correspond to different syntactic configurations. In order to make this point clear, I shall use phrase structure trees, showing that a sentence is both a linear string of words and a hierarchical structure with phrases nested in phrases.

3. WORD ORDER VARIATION THAT CORRELATES WITH MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION. VSO and SVO orders are associated with different finite verb morphologies and different aspectual viewpoints. The VSO pattern is used for the description of events, actions and accomplishments. The initial verb can be inflected for tense, aspect, mood and grammatical voice. As illustrated by (1), the eventive-inflected verb **j-rx** 'learns (about)' appears in its neutral/perfective aspectual form and comes close in meaning to that of a perception verb ("to recognize"). The SVO pattern, on the other hand, has a stative–resultative interpretation. As can be seen from (2), the clause-medial stative-inflected verb **rx-w** 'knows' is inflected for subject agreement (3M), but cannot be inflected for tense, aspect and voice. It a possession of knowledge sense ("to know through learning"). Regardless of how the VSO–SVO word order contrast is analyzed in configurational terms (in this regard, Kramer 2009 and Author 2016 offer two rather different analyses), what is relevant here is that the VSO/SVO alternation is correlated with variation in other grammatical domains (TAM/voice marking vs. agreement; eventive vs. stative interpretation).

4. WORD ORDER VARIATION THAT DOESN'T CORRELATE WITH MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION. The dominant VSO order displays more syntactic diversity than meets the eye, whereby one VSO structure differs from another in terms of the precise hierarchical position of the different items. The availability of more than one position for the nominal subject is shown by the word order contrast between (3) and (4). In (3), the postverbal subject NP *Hemen* follows the postverbal negation **w** 'not' in linear order. The initial verb **jsp** 'will accept' appears in its perfective–neutral aspect form, with the obtained future denotation being a contextual feature. In (4), the postverbal subject *Thoth-nakht* precedes both the negation **w** and the focus particle **js** in linear order. Once again, the initial verb **swr** 'will drink' occurs in its perfective–neutral aspect form and adopts a future tense meaning. In work on cartographic structures (e.g., Cinque 1999), adverbial elements are seen as landmarks with a fixed position, whereas verbs and their arguments are syntactically more mobile entities. From this perspective, the order VERB > NEGATION *w* > SUBJECT > DIRECT OBJECT in (3) indicates that the subject NP is located in a lower syntactic position, while the alternative VERB > SUBJECT > NEGATION *w* > DIRECT OBJECT order in (4) indicates that the subject has moved into a higher position. I shall argue that the lower position is reserved for canonical subjects and the higher one for non-canonical, focused or quantified subjects. The tree structures in (5a–b) further illustrate this point.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS. Considering the morphological and semantic differences, VSO and SVO orders cannot be regarded as free syntactic variants, as seems to be predicted by Greenberg's Sixth Universal. Based on a configurational analysis, one can distinguished between an unmarked VSO structure, in which the subject resides in a lower position, and a marked VSO structure, in which it

is in a higher position. Again, this markedness contrast is unexpected from the perspective of the Greenbergian word order typology.

(1) Basic VSO order with eventive interpretation

j-rx Pjpp Pn mwt=f
 AUG-learn.PFV Pepi DEM.M.SG mother.F.SG=POSS. 3M.SG
 “This (King) Pepi (here) learns about his mother’ (Pyramid Text 910a/P)

(2) Alternative SVO order with stative interpretation

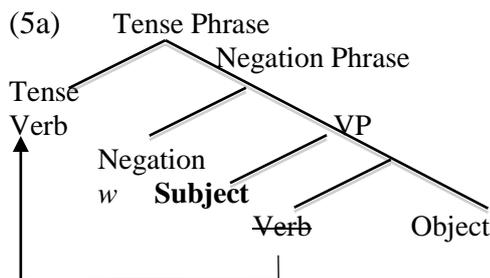
D³hwt(j)-nxt pn **rx-w** rn n(j) whꜥ-w
 Thoth-nakht DEM.M.SG learn-STAT.3M name.M.SG LINK.M.SG fowler-M.PL
 “This Thoth-nakht (here) knows the names of the fowlers.’ (Coffin Text VI 22o/B1Bo)

(3) VERB > NEGATION w > SUBJECT > DIRECT OBJECT

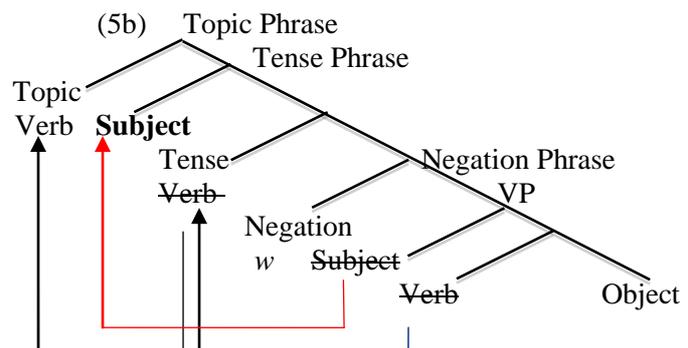
jzp w Hmn jꜣt=f nb
 accept.PFV NEG Hemen thing.F.SG=POSS.3M.SG each.M.SG
 “(The god) Hemen will not accept any of his property.” (Mo^calla Inscription nr. 8, III.6)

(4) VERB > SUBJECT > NEGATION w > EMPHATIC PARTICLE js > DATIVE CLITIC > DIRECT OBJECT

swr D³hwt(j)-nxt w js n=sn wzꜣt
 go.PFV Thoth-nakht NEG EMPH for=3PL urine.F.SG
 “This Thoth-nakht will surely not drink urine.” (Coffin Texts VII 115j/B4Bo)



Unmarked VSO structure with canonical ‘low’ subject NP within the VP constituent



Marked VSO structure with non-canonical ‘high’ subject NP within the Tense Phrase

(N.B. Arrows indicate movement; strikeout mark the original position of the moved constituent)

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Repetition of verbs and their objects as a constituency test in Vatlongos (Vanuatu)

Like many other Oceanic languages of Vanuatu, Vatlongos uses verbal repetition to mark durative aspect and intensification. Similar phenomena have been described in Mwothlap (François 2001:150–1) and Daakaka (Von Prince 2012:409–10), while in grammars of other languages it is treated as a purely rhetorical device and therefore only discussed when it interacts with other grammatical processes such as subordination (Crowley 2004:184–6) or clause-chaining (Thieberger 2004:237; Schneider 2010:302). In Crowley's (1982:261) grammar of Paamese, the language most closely related to Vatlongos, verbal repetition is only mentioned in relation to its cooccurrence with an emphatic clitic, but there are three examples on a single page of the text in the Appendix.

However, in Vatlongos this construction is sufficiently regularised to constitute a reliable constituency test for a verb (or other predicate) and its direct complements, providing the predicate is semantically eligible to participate in the construction. Process and activity verbs can be thus marked for durative aspect ((1), (2), (3), (7)), while stative verbs with a gradable component to their meaning can be intensified ((4), (5), (6), (8), (9)). Unlike in many other languages of Vanuatu where only the verb stem is affected, the verb is repeated along with its verbal affixes (2), and any direct object noun phrases ((3), (5)). In copular constructions, the copular verb *he* is repeated along with the noun, adjective or loan verb that constitutes the predicate (6), as well as any object of a loan verb. On the other hand, subject noun phrases ((4), (6)) and oblique preposition phrases are not repeated with the verb. This demonstrates that preposition-phrase arguments are treated as adjuncts at constituent structure, even when lexically specified by the verb. This consistent behaviour isolates the predicate and its direct object as a constituent in Vatlongos, a finding that is independently supported by the behaviour of the negative clitic.

As such, the repetition strategy can be used as a diagnostic test to analyse the constituent structure of other verbal and clausal constructions in Vatlongos. The exclusion of auxiliary verbs from the scope of the repetition (7) supports an analysis of the auxiliary as the head of the Inflection Phrase, external to the verb phrase. Component verbs of non-contiguous serial verb constructions can independently undergo verbal repetition (8), suggesting that the second verb forms a Verb Phrase in its own right. Within relative clauses, an adjective can function as a predicate without the copular verb that is required in root clauses, and its predicative status is confirmed by its participation in this repetition strategy (9).

Iconic repetition of verbs or 'total reduplication', is generally believed to be the source of partial reduplication strategies (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:166), but repetition of clauses or predicates as a rhetorical strategy is likely to precede reduplication of verbs alone. Although fossilized reduplicated forms also exist in the language, the Vatlongos construction therefore seems to mark an earlier stage in the grammaticalization path that culminates in reduplication.

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- (1) *muis muis muis...*
 3SG.NFUT.cry 3SG.NFUT.cry 3SG.NFUT.cry
 ‘He kept crying’ [20141220d_n01s082_19]
- (2) *la-pein-ni la-pein-ni la-pein-ni*
 3PL.NFUT-paint-TR 3PL.NFUT-paint-TR 3PL.NFUT-paint-TR
maa... aveti tol
 on_and_on month three
 ‘They kept on and on painting it for three months.’ [20150305h_h01o111_22]
- (3) *mi-gil vul mi-gil vul*
 3SG.NFUT-NFUT.dig hole 3SG.NFUT-NFUT.dig hole
 ‘He kept on digging the hole.’ [20141106f_n01e018_33]
- (4) *vatiang gehik gehik gehik gehik*
 wind 3SG.NFUT.strong 3SG.NFUT.strong 3SG.NFUT.strong 3SG.NFUT.strong
 ‘The cyclone was very very strong.’ [20150419d_h01s046_19]
- (5) *besi xi besi xi besi xi*
 3SG.NFUT.happy 3SG 3SG.NFUT.happy 3SG 3SG.NFUT.happy 3SG
 ‘They’re very very happy.’ [20141105f_p01e013_98]
- (6) *tuvava ak be patpat*
 baby PROX 3SG.NFUT.COP fat
be patpat be patpat
 3SG.NFUT.COP fat 3SG.NFUT.COP fat
 ‘This baby was very very fat.’ [20170331b_n01s034_05]
- (7) *Di lu-kas-i lu-kas-i maa...*
 NFUT.CONT 3DL.NFUT-wash-OBJ 3DL.NFUT-wash-OBJ on_and_on
 ‘They kept on washing it.’ [20141106f_n01e018_37]
- (8) *la-kaakau la-katten la-katten*
 3PL.NFUT-walk 3PL.NFUT-go_fast 3PL.NFUT-go_fast
 ‘They walked really fast.’ [20150225a_x02s046_01]
- (9) *liei xil xa te-lep te-lep*
 branch PL REL ADJZR-big ADJZR-big
 ‘very big branches’ [20150226a_n01s098_48]

Khinalug Negation – Patterns

Khinalug is a Nakh-Dagestanian language spoken by app. 2.300 people in Khinalug village in Northern Azerbaijan. First descriptions of the negation patterns can be found in Kibrik et alii (1972:106, 110, 113) and Kerimov (1985:115 ff). The corpus developed during the DoBeS project “Documentation of Khinalug” reveals additional negation patterns (cf. Weblink).

In non-verbal predicates, the predicative element combines a) for properties: directly with the sentence type marker, b) for properties as well as existence and possession: with a non-verbal spacial copula, or c) for existence, possession, and developing properties (i.e. ‘become’), with a copula verb. The negative counterparts are formed with the a) negative copula CL-*i* (ex.1), b) a combination of spacial + negative copula (ex.2), or c) negated copula verb (ex.3).

A large number of finite verb forms, including copula verbs, is built on the basis participle + demonstrative, or participle + copula. Here, the negative copula combines directly with the demonstrative, or positive copula (ex.3,4).

In habitual present and past, the order of morphemes that form the verb stem is different, so that the imperfective suffix is the last element. The negation attaches to this without a class marker, i.e. bare -*i* (ex.5).

Voluntative in -*nä*, hortative excl. in -*nä* and incl. in -*t^hoa* are negated by attaching the negative copula CL-*i* directly to the respective form.

Imperatives of regular transitive verbs are formed with the perfective stem + -*a* or -*ä*, and are negated by attaching the perfective stem of ‘do’, i.e. *k^hui*, and the negative copula CL-*i* (ex.6). Imperatives of regular intransitive (or passivized) verbs are formed with the perfective stem + suffix in -*il*; these forms take an additional suffix -(*i*)*n* (the etymology and function of which is unclear) before the combination of ‘do’ and the negative copula can attach (ex.7). 1/4SG and NHPL are realized as *kui*: < *kui-yi*.

Jussives are formed syntactically, combining the stem of ‘let’, i.e. CL-*aχ* with the form in -*t^hoa*, which is most probably a rather recent development. The negative counterpart is a form in -*s*-CL-*i* (the etymology and function of -*s* is unclear): for regular transitive verbs, the imperative in -*a/ä* takes the -*s*- CL-*i* ending directly, for regular intransitive verbs, the imperative in -*il* takes the suffix -(*i*)*n* first, then -*s*-CL-*i* (ex.8-10). In allegro speech, this combination is usually shortened to -(*i*)*n*-*s*-CL-*i*, dropping -*il*. 1/4SG and NHPL are realized as *si*: < *si-yi*.

Participles of regular verbs are formed by the perfective and extended imperfective stem + participle suffix -*i*. The perfective participle is negated by adding -*i-n-dä* to the stem, i.e. negation in -*i* without the preceding class marker, the suffix -(*i*)*n*, and a different participle suffix in -*dä* (ex.11-12)). The imperfective participle is negated by adding a copula, the suffix -(*i*)*n*, and again -*i-n-dä*, appearing as -*u-n-dä* due to vowel harmony. Beside the regular verbs with participles ending in -*i*, there is a verb type with the perfective participle ending in -*n-i*, the imperfective participle ending in -*n-dä* (e.g. *χäk^hi-n-i*, *χäk^hi-n-dä* ‘laugh’, negated as *χäk^hi-n-i-n-dä*, *χäk^hi-n-t^ho-n-u-n-dä*). Thus, the negation in -*i-n-dä* behaves like the imperfective participle of this verb type.

Converbs are formed by adding the respective suffix to a) the perfective participle or its negated form (ex.13), b) the simple imperfective stem + copula, the negation of which is morphologically identical with the negated imperfective participle (ex.14), c) the nominalized perfective or imperfective participle or their negated forms, where case forms have converbial functions (-PTCP-NMLZ-CASE).

Conditional suffixes that combine with participles (realis -*q’alu*, irrealis -*q’äšin*) differ morphologically from the conditional suffix at finite forms (tense-related realis -*q’i*). They are negated by combining with a negated participle or a negated finite form respectively.

Examples

- 1) *hu mä'lim-mä / mä'lim y-i-mä*
1SG teacher-DECL / teacher 1SG-NEG.COP-DECL
He is a teacher / not a teacher.
- 2) *hu mä'lim t^ho-mä / t^ho-y-i-mä*
1SG teacher COP.far/even-DECL / COP.far/even-1SG-NEG.COP-DECL
He (far from speaker) is a teacher / not a teacher.
- 3) *e sa kulu at:u-dä-mä / at:u-dä-v-i-mä*
I:GEN.AL one jug be-DP3SG-DECL / be-DP3SG-3SG-NEG-DECL
I have a jug / don't have a jug.
- 4) *Alagöz sor k^hazuw-qo-mä / k^hazuw-qo-z-i-mä*
PN village:LOC come.PFV:2SG-COP.below-DECL/come.PFV:2SG-COP.below-2SG-NEG-DECL
Alagöz came to the village / did not come to the village.
- 5) *Ähmäd il dalug k^hi-t^ha-r-mä / k^hi-t^ha-r-i-mä*
PN here work do.IPFV-COP:LV-IPFV-DECL / do.IPFV-COP:LV-IPFV-NEG-DECL
Ahmad works here / does not work here.
- 6) *läk'-ä! / läk'-ä-k^hui:* 7) *läk'il! / läk'-il-in-k^hui:*
give-IMP.TR / give-IMP-do.PST:1SG:NEG give-IMP.ITER/ give-IMP.ITER-'in'-do.PST:1SG:NEG
give! / don't give! be given! / don't be given!
- 8) *yaç č'až-t^ho-a* 9) *č'až-ä-si:i* 10) *zabuw-ul-in-si-v-i*
let pour-COP.far/even-LV pour-IMP.TR-'si'-1SG:NEG see.PRF:HPL-IMP.ITER-'in'-'si'-HPL-NEG
may (s)he/it pour may (s)he/it not pour may (s)he/it not see [them]
- 11) *dalug k^hu-i / k^hu-i-n-dä* *luguld*
work do.PFV-PTCP / do.PFV-NEG-(I)N'-PTCP man
a man who worked / did not work
- 12) *dalug k^hi-r-i / k^hi-to-n-u-n-dä* *luguld*
work do.IPFV-IPFV-PTCP / do.IPFV-COP-(i)n'-NEG-(i)n'-PTCP man
a man who is / is not working
- 13) *k^hu-i-sin / k^hu-i-n-dä-sin*
do.PFV-PTCP-CVB1 / do.PFV-NEG-(i)n'-PTCP-CVB1
when ... did / when ... did not do
- 14) *k^hi-t^ho:ršuni / k^hi-t^ho-n-u-n-dä-yoršuni*
do.IPFV-COP:CVB2 do.IPFV-COP-(i)n'-NEG-(i)n'-PTCP-CVB2
while ... was doing / while ... was not doing

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Weblink

Archive of the DoBeS project Documentation of Khinalug:
<https://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/asv/?jsessionid=3FFD3A8FCCCF686C030DEB1C014C460BD?0&op=onpath=node:77915>

Alignment in the Andic languages: towards a definition of transitivity in Zilo

The aim of this presentation is to discuss the concept of transitivity in Zilo Andi. Andi is an unwritten Nakh-Daghestanian language (Andic branch) spoken in Daghestan, Russia. The dialect in question is that spoken in the village of Zilo, which it is currently under investigation. The present study is based on first-hand elicited data collected during fieldwork in Zilo.

Zilo has an ergative system: S and P are marked in the absolutive and indexed by class markers on some verbs, whereas A is marked by the ergative and never entails cross-referencing. The verb does not mark transitivity/intransitivity in any formal way, so that transitive and intransitive constructions differ only by the presence vs. absence of the A-term ('P-radical alignment' in the terminology of Creissels 2014). This pattern is illustrated in (1), where *r-* is the marker of the 2nd inanimate class. In addition, Zilo does not display morphological voice associated with valency decreasing such as the passive or the anticausative.

So far, some Andic languages have been studied from the perspective of labiality and P-radical alignment. In this presentation, we adopt a different approach and will consider the data within the framework of transitivity. Our methodology is close to the one adopted in Gérardin 2016 for Georgian, a non-related Caucasian language. It consists of rigorously separating levels of linguistic study (morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics) in order to define a transitive prototype and then establish a transitivity scale (cf. Næss 2007; Hopper et Thompson 1980).

Our starting point will be the behaviour of Zilo verbs when a complement clause marked in the ergative is added to the construction. Works on transitivity in Andic languages have shown that the presence of an ergative term (A_{ERG}) is almost always optional. Its absence is compatible with all verbs without any formal change of the verb, so that transitive verbs in Andic languages can somehow be considered labile. As suggested by Creissels 2014, we will demonstrate, first, that the optionality of A_{ERG} is not systematically the case, and secondly, that it has different consequences depending on the verb. Indeed, the optionality of A_{ERG} without any morphological change applies only to some verbs (e.g. CL-*ajt/-o* 'to unstitch', CL-*ež-a* 'to brown in the sun'). For these verbs, the presence vs. absence of A_{ERG} has semantic motivations, so that its absence can trigger an anticausative reading of the clause, the agent being deleted semantically. For other verbs (e.g. *sabi-jd-i* 'to heal'), the absence of A_{ERG} can only have pragmatic motivations; the intransitive clause can only be interpreted as a passive, i.e. the agent is demoted for pragmatic reasons, but is present semantically. Finally, in some other verbs, the presence of an A_{ERG} is permitted only when the verb contains a causative marker (CL-*uk:u* 'to fall' → CL-*uk:-oł-i* 'to make fall', *turi* 'to break down' → *tur-oł-i* 'to cause sth to break down'). These are the 'proper' intransitive verbs.

After describing these phenomena, we will define as 'prototypical transitive' the verbs for which the presence of a semantic agent is compulsory (the *sabi-jd-i* 'heal' type). As a second step, we will show how the other verbs are organized around this prototype. A preliminary transitivity scale is presented in Table 1. Our study aims at both presenting hitherto unknown data from one of the least described branches of the Daghestanian languages, and at contributing to a better understanding of transitivity cross-linguistically.

Examples

(1) a. TRANSITIVE

den-ni *gurdo* *r-ajtʃ-o*
 I-ERG shirt.ABS INAN₂-unstitch-PST(AOR)
 ‘I unstitched the shirt.’

b. INTRANSITIVE

gurdo *r-ajtʃ-o*
 shirt.ABS INAN₂-unstitch-PST(AOR)
 ‘The shirt got unstitched (i.e. by itself) / was unstitched (i.e. by someone).’

Table 1 : preliminary transitivity scale

| A _{ERG} mandatory | A _{ERG} possible without any formal change of the verb | A _{ERG} licenced only by a causative marker on the verb |
|---|---|---|
| <i>saxi-jd-i</i> ‘heal’ <i>CL-it’i-jd-i</i> ‘straighten’ <i>bari-jd-i</i> ‘sharpen’ <i>tʃuruki-jd-i</i> ‘stain’ <i>ʃobi-jd-i</i> ‘neuter’ | <i>CL-itʃon</i> ‘bring’ <i>ummi</i> ‘push’ <i>CL-iqxu</i> ‘slaughter’ <i>CL-itʃi</i> ‘catch’ <i>qxuqʃan</i> ‘saw’ <i>arɣ-on</i> ‘open’ | <i>CL-uk:u</i> ‘fall’ → <i>CL-uk:-ot-i</i> <i>CL-ed:on</i> ‘talk’ → <i>CL-ed:-ont-i</i> <i>CL-uts’o</i> ‘melt’ → <i>CL-uts’-ot-i</i> <i>k:immi</i> ‘smile’ → <i>k:imm-ot-i</i> <i>turi</i> ‘break down’ → <i>tur-ot-i</i> |

+ transitive ←----- transitive

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Nominal sources for applicative markers? Classifiers in Mojeño Trinitario

Well attested diachronic sources for applicative markers are adpositions and verbs. Nominal sources are regarded as dubious (Peterson 2007), although (incorporated) nouns have been argued to have developed into applicatives in some languages (Nordlinger 2011, Gerdtz and Hinkson 2004, inter alia). In this talk, I present the possible applicative effect of the verbal classifiers of Mojeño Trinitario (Arawak, Bolivia), based on a large text corpus collected in the field. Although they show no similarity with free nominal lexemes in the present state of the language, verbal classifiers in Mojeño Trinitario are very likely derived historically from nominal incorporation, a usual path of development (Mithun 1986). These data add new evidence for the possibility that elements derived from nouns can be reanalyzed as morphological applicative markers, although Mojeño has not reached this step.

Mojeño Trinitario has a set of 28 classifiers found in multiple environments (on numerals, nouns, adjectives and in verbs) - a common characteristic of classifier systems in the Arawak family (see for example Aikhenvald 2007). When used on verbs, Mojeño classifiers function like verbal classifiers in that they categorize the S of an intransitive verb (1) or the P of a transitive verb (2), as typical for verbal classifiers (Keenan 1984, Aikhenvald 2000). But they can also categorize an adjunct, most often a location, as in (3) and (4). Adjuncts in Mojeño Trinitario are distinguished from objects by always occurring with a preposition (usually *te* as in (3)), and not being indexed on the verb, i.e. they have no effect on the transitivity of the verb. Third person direct objects are expressed as NPs without a preposition as in (2), and trigger a special kind of co-argument indexation on the verb in a third-person subject prefix other than the non-specific third person prefix *t-* (see Rose 2011). In all cases, the NP/PP coreferential with the classifier can be omitted for discourse reasons (see Mithun 1986, Payne 1987).

In some cases, the presence of a classifier on the verb promotes an adjunct (otherwise always introduced by a preposition) to a direct object. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate this applicative effect of classifiers on an intransitive verb root, and example (7) on a transitive verb root. In both cases, the classifier on the verb categorizes a peripheral participant (for instance location or cause), and the derived verb treats this participant as a direct object. This participant would otherwise be expressed as an adjunct with a preposition: it is promoted from adjunct to direct object position. When the verbal root is intransitive, the verb stem is transitive in this construction (this is visible in the subject index and the presence of a direct object NP).

This paper, by presenting in details the applicative effect of classification of nouns in Mojeño Trinitario, fulfills three aims. First, it expands our knowledge of the syntactic functions of nominal classification cross-linguistically. The applicative effect of classifiers has never been reported in the typological literature, and is to my knowledge not attested in other Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 2016; Danielsen 2007:211). Second, this paper also contributes to a better knowledge of applicativization. It adds a possible strategy never reported before to the typological literature on applicativization: the use of verbal classifiers. Third, it shows that it is conceivable that classifiers may be intermediary stage for the nominal origin of dedicated applicative markers (assuming that Mojeño classifiers develop from nouns, and that (some of) the classifiers used with applicative function may further develop into applicative markers).

- (1) *t-ewara-s-ko* (to *mari*)
3-break-CLF:**round**-ACT ART.NON.HUM stone
'it breaks (something round, a stone for ex.)'
- (2) *s-etchu-chu-si-ko* (to *seboya*)
3F-cut-RED-CLF:**round**-ACT ART.NON.HUM onion
'She is cutting (something round, an onion, for ex.)'
- (3) *te to 'pog'e t-eja-pue-ko-no.*
PREP ART.NON.HUM ground 3-sit-CLF:**ground**-ACT-PL
'They sit on the ground.'
- (4) *n-essu-pue-ko te pog'e to 'saype*
1SG-sharpen-CLF:**ground**-ACT PREP ground ART.NON.HUM machete
'I am sharpening my knife on the ground.'
- (5) *to kwoyu t(a)-ow-e-ko (*te) to 'une*
ART. NON.HUM horse 3NH-be-CLF:**liquid**-ACT PREP ART.NON.HUM water
'The horse is in the water.'
- (6) *eñi ñi-semo-pi-k-po*
PRO.M 3M-be.angry-CLF:**rope**-ACT-PFV
'He got mad (at these words).'
- (7) *na-suk-je-ch=yore (*te) to smeno.*
3PL-plant-CLF:**interior**-ACT=FUT PREP ART.NON.HUM forest
'They are going to plant (crops) in the forest.'

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Nominal Classification in Mako (Sáliban)

Recent typological research on nominal classification (cf. Fedden & Corbett (2017) demonstrates that a single language can exhibit concurrent systems of nominal classification. In this presentation, I focus on four nominal classification systems, namely two gender systems, a classifier system, and a possessive classifier system,¹ in Mako [ISO: wpc]—a Sáliban language spoken along the Middle Ventuari River and its tributaries in the Venezuelan state of Amazonas—and show that concurrent systems of nominal classification (cf. Fedden & Corbett 2017) can include both multiple gender and multiple classifier systems. Data used in this presentation comes from primary fieldwork with speakers of the language.

Two different gender systems co-exist in Mako. The first system distinguishes between animates and inanimates: subject animate nouns are indexed on verbs (1); subject inanimate nouns, on the other hand, cannot be indexed on the verb (2). Additionally, a second system distinguishes between masculine and feminine but only for animates. Some animate nouns take a masculine suffix *-e* while others are marked with a feminine suffix *-o* (3) and all animate nouns, regardless of whether they are overtly marked for gender with *-e* or *-o*, are indexed as masculine or feminine in the third person singular forms of possessed nouns (4) and verbs (cf. (1) and (5)).

In addition to gender, Mako exhibits a rich system of classifiers. The Mako classifiers include a feminine and a masculine classifier for singular animate referents (see *-ō* ‘MASC’ and *-uhu* ‘FEM’ in (6) and (7) respectively) and a plural classifier *-adi*, as well as a large set of shape/function classifiers for inanimate referents, two of which are exemplified in (8). This classifier system behaves like many other Northwestern Amazonian systems (see Aikhenvald 2000, 2007; Seifart & Payne 2007, *inter alia*): classifiers in Mako are realized in different loci (e.g. nouns (8), nominalized verbs (7), demonstratives (9), numerals (2) (5) (7), and the dummy root *its-* (6)) and serve five primary functions (i.e. classification, agreement, individuation, derivation, and anaphora).

The fourth classification device consists of a closed system of possessive classifiers. These are used in inalienable possession constructions where the possessor is expressed on a possessive classifier via a prefix. The possessive classifiers in Mako are *-uk^wæ* for edible animals/plants and most other nouns (9), *-ah^wi* for pets (10), and *-ale* for borrowed nouns (11).

This presentation contributes not only to the description of Mako, an underdescribed Amazonian language, but also to our cross-linguistic understanding of nominal classification through a case study of a language where four different systems co-exist and interact, thus expanding current recent typological research (e.g. Fedden & Corbett 2017) on the co-occurrence of nominal classification systems in a single language.

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¹ Mako nouns can also be divided into alienable and inalienable; this fifth way of classifying nouns is not taken into account here as it falls outside what is traditionally considered the domain of gender and classifiers.

- (1) *Rosalba* *h̄i-bamat-obe*
 Rosalba 3SG.FEM-stop-TAME
 ‘Rosalba stops’
- (2) *d<opo>latahi* *pelota-po* *bamat-obe*
 two<CL:ROUND> ball-CL:ROUND stop-TAME
 ‘two balls stop’
- (3) a. *ilek^w-e* b. *ilek^w-o*
 spouse-MASC spouse-FEM
 ‘husband’ (lit. ‘male spouse’) ‘wife’ (lit. ‘female spouse’)
- (4) a. *∅-abe[?]do* b. *h-abe[?]do*
 3SG.MASC.father 3SG.FEM-father
 ‘his father’ ‘her father’
- (5) *bak^w-ō* *ḥh-a* *hobe-ma*
 one-CL:MASC 3SG.MASC-live-TAME there-TOP?
 ‘only one (man) lives there’
- (6) *ĩts-ō-nĩ* *bak^w-ō-nĩ* *t^h-ĩtsid-in-obe*
 DUMMY_ROOT-CL:MASC-NON.SUBJ one-CL:MASC-NON.SUBJ 3PL-greet-PST-TAME
 ‘they are greeting one man’
- (7) *ha[?]ḍzuw-uhu* *bak^w-uhu*
 be_small-CL:FEM one-CL:FEM
 ‘one little girl’
- (8) *oh^wiḍzo-[?]wo* *teobe-ma* *in-awa* *h-ĩn-obe*
 water-CL under-TOP? stone-CL:STONE stand-PST-TAME
 ‘the stone was under the cloud’
- (9) *b-ola-ma* *it^hĩ* *ṭf-ũk^wã* *t^hola*
 PROX-CL-TOP? 1SG.PRO 1SG-POSS_ROOT port+CL
 ‘this one is my port’
- (10) *∅-ah^wĩ* *awiri-k^wĩ-da*
 3SG.MASC-POSS_ROOT.ANIM dog-SOC-CONTR?
 ‘with his dog’
- (11) *k^wĩ-ale* *año-t^hĩ*
 2SG-POSS_ROOT year_Sp.-EMPH?
 ‘your age’ (lit. year)

What Do Serial Verbs Mean? A Worldwide Survey

It has been claimed that certain semantic functions of Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) are more common than others. Notably, SVCs involving motion verbs are the most common according to Foley & Olson (1985), Durie (1997), and Aikhenvald (2006). Durie (1997:310) observed Motion SVCs in all of the serializing languages he studied. Foley & Olson (1985) suggest that the frequency of semantic types may exist on a fixed scale: motion > posture > stative intransitive verbs > transitive verbs. Aikhenvald (2006:48) agrees that posture verbs are the second most likely group, higher on her hierarchy than any transitive verbs. Our study is based on a balanced, worldwide sample of languages, in contrast to previous research, much of which has been impressionistic and regionally restricted, based on descriptive traditions first in West Africa, then in creole and pidgin languages, then in Southeast Asia, and so forth. These descriptive traditions have led to the semantics of particular SVC types being intrinsically tied to impressions of what is a typical “serializing” language, without statistically representative samples to support generalizations.

SVCs have generally been defined by their form and structure, not restricted to certain semantic types. There is quite a bit of variation in different proposed definitions for SVCs (see discussion in Haspelmath 2016, *inter alia*), but there are several recurring themes: (i) no linker between the verbs; (ii) the same values for Tense-Aspect-Modality (TAM) and negation; (iii) shared arguments; and (iv) single eventhood, or monoclausality. Various derivations and interpretations of these criteria are found throughout the literature on SVCs, but if we apply the above criteria consistently to a cross-linguistic sample, we find that nearly 40% of languages have some constructions we could consider SVCs. This casts a much wider net than one might expect from previous research. SVCs are indeed more common, and in more places, than often assumed. But are previous generalizations about their semantic types accurate, and what about theoretical generalizations such as discussion of a “serialization parameter” (Muysken 1988; Baker 1989; Stewart 2001, *inter alia*)?

In this paper we survey the distribution of some of the best known traditional semantic subtypes of SVCs across 100 languages, including an 80-language subset known to have SVCs from a larger, cross-linguistically balanced sample, in addition to 20 creole languages. The data is based on descriptive grammars, secondary materials, and previous research on SVCs where available. Specifically, we consider four common SVC types: (1) Motion SVCs; (2) TAKE SVCs; (3) Posture SVCs; and (4) Comparative SVCs.

The distribution of these subtypes varies substantially. Only 6% of the languages have all four types, while 5% have none of these four (but do have other SVCs). 85% have Motion SVCs of some kind; 40% have TAKE SVCs, and an overlapping but distinct 40% have Posture SVCs; only 20% have Comparative SVCs. These common types appear in various unrelated languages around the world, without any clear areal biases. Motion SVCs are statistically the most common, but not ubiquitous. Posture SVCs are not more common than TAKE SVCs, as suggested by previous studies. We also observe that areas and families traditionally known for SVCs are where many of the languages in our sample cluster, especially those with multiple semantic types. These categories also exhibit distinct semantic subtypes, such as Associated Motion vs. Directional within Motion SVCs, or Instrumental, Comitative and other functions of TAKE SVCs as described for Kwa languages by Shluinsky (2017). There is also functional variation in categories such as aspectual use of posture verbs.

Finally, the variation in the semantic distribution of SVCs complements research that distinguishes structural subtypes, such as V- and VP-level SVCs (Schiller 1990) or Nuclear and Core SVCs in Role and Reference Grammar (Foley & Van Valin 1984). Our results highlight the importance of continued comparative research, but also encourage fine-grained analyses of distinct semantic and structural subtypes.

Examples from Nigerian Pidgin, one of the few languages with all four types in our survey:

(1) Motion SVC (Faraclas 1996:212)

| | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----|------|------|
| Im | kari | dì | nyam | kòm. |
| 3SG | carry | the | yam | come |

‘(S)he brought the yams.’

(2) TAKE SVC (Faraclas 1996:73)

| | | | | | |
|---|------|-------|-----|-----|-------|
| A | tek | nayf | kòt | dì | nyam. |
| I | take | knife | cut | the | yam |

‘I cut the yam with a knife.’

(3) Posture SVC (Faraclas 1996:213)

| | | | |
|-----|------|--------|-------|
| Im | dè | stanòp | chòp. |
| 3SG | IMPF | stand | eat |

‘(S)he eats standing.’

(4) Comparative SVC (Faraclas 1996:11)

| | | | |
|------|----------|------|-------|
| Nyam | swit | pas | rays. |
| yam | be.tasty | pass | rice |

‘Yam is more delicious than rice.’

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Serial verbs need no explanation but other complex constructions do: creoles and beyond

One of the most contentious debates in pidgin and creole studies has been the origin of Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs), a topic that has received much more attention than the syntax of other complex sentence types. This paper relates the two topics typologically, explaining diachronically why SVCs are so common in creoles in contrast to other complex sentence construction types. In fact, it is argued that SVCs are to be expected typologically given no competing factors, while other complex constructions require an independent explanation, or at least more time to develop. This conclusion is supported statistically by extensive cross-linguistic surveys including a relatively balanced sample of 25 creoles (and pidgins), a balanced sample of 10 signed languages, and correlated data for non-creoles.

Substratists have observed SVCs in many creoles as well as their substrates and interpreted a causal relationship. Although some of these studies show specific semantic or functional properties too similar to be explained by coincidence (e.g., McWhorter 1992; Lefebvre 2011), that argument does not explain why SVCs *in general* must be due to substrate influence, given that they appear in creoles and signed languages without such substrates. Innatists (Bickerton 1981, *inter alia*), have argued that children are provided with the capacity to produce SVCs by UG. But that explanation relies on SVC-exceptionalism.

What properties must be accounted for? First, SVCs share arguments and Tense-Aspect-Modality features and express a single event. Thus SVCs and similar constructions grammaticalize from complex, multi-clausal constructions expressing two related events. The resulting multi-verb construction will resemble its source construction. Second, no dependency marker links the verbs. SVCs must develop from unmarked multi-clausal constructions, as predicted by typology, without reference substrate influence or UG.

The absence of linking elements is readily explained for creoles: there are few to begin with. 76% of the creole languages in the sample have essentially isolating morphology, and even among those with some inflection, dependent-verb affixes are extremely rare. Where such morphology is present it may block the formation of SVCs, strictly defined, as happened in Yimas-Arafundi Pidgin, shown in (1). Coordinating conjunctions as well are rarely obligatory in creoles and often multi-functional (AND equivalent to WITH for example), making development of pseudocoordination (like English *go and get*) unlikely.

Furthermore, the isolating tendency of creole morphology lends itself to parallel verb forms in SVCs. Many non-creoles have no bare verb forms available, so SVCs would contain potentially long, morphologically-parallel fully inflected verbs. Other types of multi-verbal construction do often develop in non-creoles such as those with switch-reference marking, or chaining forms. Yimas-Arafundi Pidgin is a rare exception: these types of dependency markers are extremely rare in creoles but common in non-creoles. In the sample, 80% of the creoles have SVCs, including especially the isolating languages. Consider also Kituba, which permits SVC-like constructions, but only when the verb form happens to have no inflection (Mufwene & Dijkhoff 1989), as well as English quasi-SVC *go get* (Pullum 1990). As for the signed languages, all 10 in the sample have SVCs and isolating inflectional morphology.

Multi-verb constructions develop naturally due to discourse, but the asyndetic form of SVCs is predicted by morphosyntactic typology. So it is the properties of non-creoles (complex morphology, obligatory linking elements, etc.) that *restricts* development of SVCs, though not other functionally equivalent multi-verb constructions. Conversely, extensive usage of SVCs could mitigate the need to develop other constructions, while the relatively short history of creoles (and signed languages) does not facilitate morphologization. Instead, alongside SVCs, more often creoles exhibit borrowed or transparently derived (sometimes from earlier SVCs) semantically-specific, unbound conjunctions for clause combining.

(1) Dependency-marked SVC-like construction in Yimas-Arafundi Pidgin (Foley 2013:108):

mən yaki wayk-**mbi** məndək-nan
 3SG tobacco buy-**DEP** finish-NFUT
 ‘He has already bought tobacco.’

| Language type | Presence of SVCs | Isolating morphology | Dependent/chaining verb forms | Generalized AND* |
|------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| Creoles | 20/25 | 19/25 | 2/25 | 7/25 |
| Non-creoles | 126/325 | approx. 18% | 135/325 | 133/325 |
| Signed languages | 10/10 | 10/10 | 0/10 | 0/10 |

Table 1: Distribution of features in creoles, non-creoles and signed languages.

Survey based on the methodology of WALS (Haspelmath et al. 2005) and APiCS (Michaelis et al. 2013), with data from descriptive grammars, secondary sources and those databases.

*Generalized AND is considered to be a dominant-strategy coordinating conjunction AND that is distinct from the comitative WITH and used to conjoin both nouns and clauses.

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Para-hypotaxis in the world's languages: A cross-linguistic survey

Recent research has recognized the lack of a clear dichotomy between coordination and subordination (Fabricius-Hansen & Ramm 2008, *inter alia*), including the description of several construction types with hybrid properties such as co-subordination (Van Valin 1984), pseudocoordination (Ross 2016) and pseudosubordination (Yuasa & Sadock 2002). Another construction type, para-hypotaxis, actually formally blends parataxis (coordination) and hypotaxis (subordination), but has received relatively little cross-linguistic attention. First described by Sorrento (1929) for historical usage in Romance and Classical languages, para-hypotaxis has often been considered a literary device, but recent research has shown it to be a legitimate construction type in unrelated languages around the world, including (i) Germanic and other European languages historically (Pesini 2013), (ii) Swahili (Rebuschi 2001), (iii) the Zamucoan family and other languages in the Gran Chaco of South America (Bertinetto & Ciucci 2012), and (iv) Uto-Aztecan languages (Olguín Martínez 2016). Specifically, para-hypotaxis can be defined as a syntactic configuration involving a marked dependent clause that is additionally linked to the main clause by a coordinating conjunction, as in (1):

Para-hypotaxis in Siar (Oceanic, Papua New Guinea: Rowe 2005:102)

- (1) Na e Lula el wót, ap al war-ai i.
when ART Lula 3SG arrive, and 1SG say-TRANS 3SG
'When/if Lula arrives, I'll tell him.'

As para-hypotaxis has only been described for a limited number of languages in specific regions of the world, in this paper we present the first worldwide survey of this phenomenon, following the methodology of *WALS* (Haspelmath et al. 2005). Based on a preliminary 150-language sample, we have identified para-hypotaxis as a feature of at least 15 languages, as well as historical usage in another 6 (mostly European) languages. Thus over 10% of the languages in our small sample have relevant data to consider. Interestingly the distribution of para-hypotaxis does not appear to show large effects of areal or genetic grouping, with scattered examples found around the world. We also consider the possibility of a correlated phenomenon, for which we introduce the term hypo-parataxis, with apparent examples in at least 10 of the languages, where what functions as a coordinate construction is marked not only with a coordinating conjunction but also a subordinated form (often clause-chaining with converbs or switch-reference marked dependent verbs) in one of the conjuncts, as in (2):

Hypo-parataxis in Yimas (Lower Sepik, Papua New Guinea: Foley 1991:450)

- (2) tmal l-ŋka-p-mpi kumpwia mnta wa-ka-tay
sun down-go-away-SEQ flying.fox CONJ OBJ-1SG-see
'The sun (having) set, (and then) I saw flying foxes.'

In this paper we aim at contributing to the theoretical discussion and typological literature on clause linkage, as well as spreading awareness of these interesting construction types that have generally escaped the notice of typologists and fieldworkers alike. Para-hypotaxis and hypo-parataxis can be considered subtypes of correlative linkage more broadly, but are especially important typologically because they display mixed marking of both coordination and subordination within the same construction, which may also have diachronic implications (such as the overt linking of preposed subordinate clauses to matrix clauses, or predominantly clause-chaining languages moving toward more usage of syndetic coordination). We also discuss difficulties associated with identifying these phenomena, such as the lexical ambiguity of some conjunctions and the subordination-coordination continuum generally.

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Syntax and semantics of verbal negative markers in Buryat

In this study I am going to make a typological overview of negative markers and their functions in Barguzin dialect of Buryat language (Mongolic family) basing on the negation questionnaire (Miestamo 2016). Buryat has 4 negative markers with distinctive functional distribution: *-gʰi* (verbal negation (5a) and caritive case (1)), *=uʒi*: (existential negation (2)), *=bʒʒ* (constituent negation (3)) and *bʰ=* (prohibitive (4)). Taking this into account, I will describe the major morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of each marker to provide a detailed account of negation system in Buryat. The main subject of my interest will be the distinction between constituent and sentential negation and the interplay between sentential and standard negation. I will compare the usage of *-gʰi* and *=bʒʒ* in the domain of clausal negation and provide evidence for the status of the former as a standard negator.

Payne (1985) introduced the notion of standard negation as “the negation of the most minimal and basic sentences”. Importantly Miestamo (2005) restricts it to declarative verbal main clauses. In Buryat two negative markers can be used in this function: *-gʰi* (5a) and *=bʒʒ* (5b) – a transcategorial constituent negator which can take scope over a whole clause thus resulting in clausal negation.

The distinction between syntactic, semantic and pragmatic negation helps to account for the seeming synonymy of these constructions. *-gʰi* is undoubtedly a syntactic sentential negation (Klima 1964, Zeijlstra 2004): it is associated with either post-nominal or post-verbal position, its grammaticality depends on TAM form of the verb, it may not draw contradictory negation in the presence of other scope-taking elements (6b). On the other hand, *=bʒʒ* is an external negative marker with strict contradictory semantics (6c), thus working as semantic sentential negation in the sense of (Jackendoff 1969).

Given that standard negation is associated with verbal negation, I assume that syntactic negative marker *-gʰi* should be regarded as a standard negator in Buryat. Furthermore, I argue that syntactic (and standard) negation is an internal operation (i.e. assertion of negation rather than negation of assertion) corresponding to the relation of contrariety, not contradiction. This idea finds support in pragmatics and can be illustrated with the negation of scalable predicates and the effect of “neg-raising” which is widely attested cross-linguistically (Horn 2001). Given these and scope-related assumptions, the semantic condition of standard negation which identifies it with the unary operation of negation in propositional logic ($\sim p$) seems to be irrelevant at least in Buryat.

In my talk I will provide further evidence for standard negation in Buryat to be associated with syntactic (internal) sentential negative marker expressing contrariety relation.

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Examples

- (1) *doktor-gui*
doctor-CAR
'without doctor'
- (2) *doktor #gi:*
doctor NEG.EX
'There is no doctor'
- (3) *doktor bəfə*
doctor NOT
'not a/the doctor'
- (4) *b# unt-a*
NEG sleep-IMP
'Don't sleep'
- (5) a. *otfir unt-a:fa-gui*
Otfir sleep-HAB-NEG
'Ochir does not sleep a lot'
- b. *otfir unt-a:fa bəfə*
Otfir sleep-HAB NOT
'Ochir does not sleep a lot'
- (6) a. *bi gansa fʉlən-də dura-tʃi-b*
1SG only soup-DAT love-COM-1
'I like only soup'
- b. *bi gansa fʉlən-də dura-gui-b*
1SG only soup-DAT love-NEG-1
'I do not like only soup'
- c. *bi gansa fʉlən-də dura-tʃi bəfə-b*
1SG only soup-DAT love-COM NOT-1
'I like not only soup' or 'It is not the case that I like only soup' (true when speaker does not like anything at all)

List of glosses

1 – first person agreement, 1SG – first person singular, CAR – caritive, COM – comitative, DAT – dative, HAB – habitual, IMP – imperative, NEG – negation, NEG.EX – existential negation, NOT – constituent negation

Revisiting Greenberg: Articles and the Development of Case Markers in Early Georgian

This paper aims at reviewing syntactic factors that conditioned the grammaticalization of demonstratives into definite and specific articles in Old Georgian and addresses a similar process in Old Georgian's unwritten predecessor, viz. Early Georgian, in which it had gone further—up to the development of case markers. This evidence supports so far unsubstantiated claims that Greenberg made 40 years ago in his milestone paper on the emergence of nominal markers from demonstratives.

Modern Georgian features no such category such as article, whereas there is written evidence that Old Georgian (5th–11th centuries AD) had both definite and indefinite inflected articles (Šanidze 1953, 1976; Imnaišvili 1956; Fähnrich 1994). The functions of the latter were served by indefinite pronouns, viz. *ert-* 'some; a(n)' (from the numeral *ert-* 'one') and *vinme* 'somebody', while the former rested upon the set of demonstrative pronouns, viz. *ese* 'this', *ege* 'that', and *igi* 'yonder' (this pathway being mentioned by Heine & Kuteva 2002: 109–110). These could either precede their heads and thus remain deictically marked demonstratives or follow those thus becoming articles, see ex. (1) and (2). Furthermore, their deictic semantics could significantly bleach, once these expressions were attached to the right of the noun, which turned out to be an important factor for their grammaticalization into definite articles.

Should the NP contain an attributive constituent, the article appeared between the head and the attribute, as it apparently had to be in close affinity with the noun (Imnaišvili 1956), see ex. (3) and (4).

The definite article also developed the so-called "specific" function (cf. Greenberg 1978 and the discussion in Harris 1985: 77 ff.), see ex. (5). This function turned out to be the endpoint of this grammaticalization pathway in Old Georgian. However, as diachronic analysis suggests, a similar process had already taken place in Early Georgian before the first extant texts were written and gone one step further, as specific articles grammaticalized into the markers of NOM (Šanidze 1925, 1953) and ERG (Čikobava 1939; Šanidze 1953: 620), thus splitting the function of the indefinite absolutive case (or "stem-case" in Fähnrich 1994) in the nominal domain into the separate marking of NOM and ERG, see ex. (6) and (7).

Particular oblique cases, such as GEN, DAT, and INSTR, attached an emphatic suffix *-a* (Šanidze 1953: 48; Čikobava 1956: 265–268; Harris 1985: 77), see ex. (8), which was a remainder of the proximal deictic vowel *a* originally prefixed to the oblique stem of the demonstrative (cf. *a-ma-* vs. distal *i-ma-* and unmarked *ma-*). As Vogt maintains, in Old Georgian, aside from the forms of the NOM and ERG cases, only those nouns could attach a definite article, which carried this *-a*. Those forms must have lost the semantics of definiteness and it became necessary to make them definite again—now by means of attaching a definite article anew (Vogt 1947). At the same time, such case forms as ABS, VOC, and oblique case forms without *-a* could not attach a definite article. The obligatoriness of the use of articles begins to decrease as early as in the 11th–12th centuries AD and these gradually disappear from the language.

From the typological perspective, factual evidence reconstructed for Early Georgian vindicates the grammaticalization pathway of demonstratives into case markers (the third subtype of "nominal markers" in Greenberg's 1978 taxonomy), via definite and specific articles, which Greenberg could pre-estimate but not substantiate with factual data claiming that this type of nominal markers is hardly attested and only possibly reconstructible for Indo-European. Furthermore, the grammaticalization process in issue turned out to be replicated anew, although without reaching the case marker endpoint milestone as in Early Georgian, at a later stage of the history of the language, i.e. in the Old Georgian period, which fact supports the existence of recurrent grammaticalization pathways in natural languages.

Examples

- (1) *ese* *k'ac-i* *ara* *ar-s* *γmrt-isa=gan.* (Jo. 9:16)
 DEM.PROX:NOM man-NOM NEG be.PRS-S3SG God-GEN=EL
 ‘This man is not from God’.
- (2) *ara* *v-i-c-i* *k'ac-i* *ese.* (Mk.14:71)
 NEG S1-VAL-know-PERM man-NOM DEM.PROX//DEF.ART:NOM
 ‘I do not know **this/the** man’.
- (3) *kar-i* *igi* *zlier-i* (Mt. 14:3)
 wind-NOM DEF.ART:NOM strong-NOM
 ‘the strong wind’
- (4) *švid-i* *igi* *p'ur-i* (Mt. 15:36)
 seven-NOM DEF.ART:NOM bread-NOM
 ‘the seven breads’
- (5) *da* *ay-qd-a* *nav-s-a* *ma-s...* (Mt. 9:1)
 and PRV-step-S3SG.AOR boat-DAT-EMPH SPEC.ART:OBL-DAT
 ‘And (Christ) stepped into a (certain) boat...’ cited after (Harris 1985: 78), extended context
- (6) *k'ac* → *k'ac* *igi* → *k'ac-i*
 man:ABS man:ABS DEF.ART:NOM man:NOM
 ‘man’ ‘the man’ ‘man’
- (7) *k'ac* → *k'ac* *ma-n* → *k'ac-man*
 man:ABS man:ABS DEF.ART:OBL-ERG man-ERG
 ‘man’ ‘the man’ ‘man’
- (8) *k'ac-s* → *k'ac-s* *a-ma-s* → *k'ac-s-a*
 man-DAT man-DAT PROX-DEF.ART:OBL-DAT man-DAT-EMPH
 ‘to man’ ‘to the man’ ‘to the man’

Abbreviations

ABS – absolutive; AOR – aorist; ART – article; DAT – dative; DEF – definite; DEM – demonstrative; EL – elative; EMPH – emphatic marker; ERG – ergative; GEN – genitive; INSTR – instrumental; NEG – negation marker; NOM – nominative; NP – noun phrase; OBL – oblique stem; PERM – permansive; PROX – proximal; PRS – present; PRV – preverb; S – subject person marker; SG – singular; SPEC – specific; VAL – valency operator; VOC – vocative.

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Morphosyntactic Reanalysis as a Trigger of New TAME Paradigms Formation in Zan

This talk addresses a diachronic scenario in Zan that involves morphosyntactic reanalysis of potential applicatives which triggered significant changes in the TAME system of the Zan verb.

Preliminaries

Zan is a technical term to refer to two closely related Kartvelian, or South Caucasian, languages, Megrelian and Laz. These differ in many respects from two other representatives of the family, namely Georgian and Svan.

All Kartvelian languages share a sophisticated verb system with polypersonal cross-reference morphology that features (a) four verb classes, (b) a wide array of valency-changing derivations, and (c) three groups of TAME paradigms.

The verb classes include (I) active transitives, (II) unaccusatives, (III) unergatives, and (IV) inverse statives (verbs of possession and perception). The latter (cf. e.g. Harris 1985: 271–327) assign object person markers to semantic subjects and subject person markers to objects and affect their case-marking alignment by coding the subject with dative and the object with nominative, cf. *direct* cross-reference ex. (1) and (2) vs. *inverse* cross-reference ex. (3).

Valency-changing operations involve a substantial number of both decreasing and increasing derivations that include anticausatives, passives, causatives, and an elaborate system of applicatives, cf. ex. (4), (5), and (6). Applicatives can also be derived from unaccusatives creating an additional argument that is inactively involved in the situation, cf. ex. (7) and (8).

The three groups of TAME paradigms divide into (i) present-future series, (ii) aorist series, and (iii) perfect evidential series. The latter series is the most recently grammaticalized group of TAME forms that has morphologized participle-based periphrastic constructions for class II unaccusatives and the inverted morphology of stative verbs for class I transitives and class III unergatives. A feature that distinguishes Zan from the other Kartvelian languages is that class IV statives lack the third, perfect series forms.

What this talk is about

It is typical for Kartvelian that anticausatives such as ‘it is eaten’ or ‘it is drunk’ develop potential readings such as ‘it is edible’ and ‘it is potable’, respectively. Zan features an innovation that disambiguates these readings by creating dedicated potentials (Šerozia 1984), cf. ex. (9) vs. (10). Accordingly, it also disambiguates the applicatives derived from those verbs, cf. ex. (11) vs. (12), which process turns out to be productive and ultimately leads to the reanalysis of the construction, say, ‘The cake_{NOM} can be eaten by John_{DAT}’ into ‘John_{DAT} can eat the cake_{NOM}’, thus redistributing the arguments’ roles. This reanalysis triggers the transfer of the originally II class unaccusative verbs into the IV class statives.

Considering the necessity to express the potential semantics in the evidential TAMEs (cf. e.g. ‘John has apparently managed to catch a hare’, etc.), the verb system of Zan had to cope with the impossibility of forming the third series perfects from IV class statives and ended up developing a new, fourth series of dedicated evidentials. Those go back to specific periphrastic constructions involving past participles with the resultative prefix *no-* and a copula. Such TAME forms have gained high frequency and rallied all verb classes, thus creating two parallel TAME series capable of expressing evidential semantics, cf. examples illustrating third (13) and fourth series of TAME forms (14).

The talk will provide a detailed account of the functional distribution of the two evidential TAME series and an explanation of the morphosyntactic and semantic conditions that made the diachronic scenario in question possible.

Examples

- (1) *ma moʒgire-s simartle-s v-u-c'-in-k.*
MEGR I:NOM friend-DAT truth-DAT **S1**-APPL-tell-SM-**S1SG**
'I will tell the truth to my friend'.
- (2) *ma si simartle-s g-i-c'-in-k.*
MEGR I:NOM you.SG:DAT truth-DAT **IO2**-APPL-tell-SM-**S1SG**
'I will tell you_{SG} the truth'.
- (3) *si laʒap-i g-i-ʒor-s.*
MEGR you.SG:DAT game-NOM **IO2**-VAL-love-**S3SG**
'You_{SG} like to play'.
- (4) *boš-i č'aril-s č'ar-un-s.*
MEGR boy-NOM letter-DAT write-SM-**S3SG**
'The boy writes a letter'.
- (5) *boš-i č'aril-s žimak'oč-i-s u-č'ar-un-s.*
MEGR boy-NOM letter-DAT friend-AUG-DAT **APPL**-write-SM-**S3SG**
'The boy writes a letter **for** his friend'.
- (6) *boš-i č'aril-s i-č'ar-un-s.*
MEGR boy-NOM letter-DAT **APPL**-write-SM-**S3SG**
'The boy writes a letter **for himself**'.
- (7) *boš-i i-t'q'ob-u.*
MEGR boy-NOM **VAL**-hide-**S3SG**.INACT
'The boy is hiding'.
- (8) *boš-i nana-s a-t'q'ob-u.*
MEGR boy-NOM mother-DAT **APPL**-hide-**S3SG**.INACT
'The boy is hiding **from** his mother'.
- (9) *i-č'k'om-u* (10) *i-č'k'om-e*
MEGR ANTICAUS-eat-SM MEGR ANTICAUS-eat-SM.POT
'X **is** eaten' 'X **can be** eaten'
- (11) *a-č'k'om-u* (12) *a-č'k'om-e*
MEGR **APPL**-eat-SM MEGR **APPL**-eat-SM.POT
'X is eaten **by Y/at Y's place**' 'X can be eaten **by Y/at Y's place**'
- (13) *u-č'k'om-u* (14) *no-č'k'om-u-e*
MEGR **PERF**-eat-**S3SG** MEGR **EVID**-eat-PTC-COP
'X has apparently eaten Y' 'X has apparently eaten Y'

Abbreviations

ANTICAUS – anticausative; APPL – applicative; AUG – augment; COP – copula; DAT – dative; EVID – evidential; INACT – inactive; IO – indirect object (person marker); MEGR – Megrelian; NOM – nominative; PERF – perfect; POT – potential; PTC – participle; S – subject (person marker); SG – singular (number); SM – series marker; TAME – tense-aspect-mood-evidential (form// paradigm); VAL – valency operator.

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A cross-linguistic perspective on the interaction of predicate structure, valence orientation and canonicity in psych expressions

INTRODUCTION. We report results of an ongoing typological study on structural alternations within the psych domain and their correlation with non-canonical syntactic phenomena (NCSP) (Aikhenvald et al. 2001). The psych verb inventory of many languages displays a strong valence orientation preference (Nichols et al. 2004). One type (e.g. Spanish, Icelandic, Greek) derives intransitive experiencer-subject (ES) verbs from transitive experiencer-object (EO) verbs. This contrasts with another type (e.g. Turkish, Yucatec, Korean, Chinese) which creates EO verbs by transitivizing intransitive bases. Yet other languages make use of double derivation (e.g. Finnish, Hungarian). These three types of the so-called psych alternation are illustrated in (1); the alternants are characterized by the fact that both experiencer and stimulus possess argument status. Nichols et al. (2004) observed that transitivization relies on functionally bounded operations, whereas intransitivizing predicates tend to expand their domains over time, incurring irregularities along the way. Crucially, the intransitivizing type has been claimed to correlate with NCSP (Landau 2010, Verhoeven 2010, 2014). While this overall variability is widespread, its universal status cannot be assumed a priori and its semanto-syntactic prerequisites remain to be determined.

METHOD. We selected a sample of 30 languages from 5 macro-areas. Expanding upon current methodology (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009, Sauter 2009) we developed a questionnaire for native speaker elicitation of lexicalizations across five basic emotion domains (HAPPINESS, SADNESS, ANGER, FEAR, DISGUST; Johnson-Laird & Oatley 1989), eschewing the problem of translation equivalence (Wierzbicka 1992). The resulting database of parallelized psych alternants allows us to test whether (a) NCSP are an epiphenomenon of valence orientation and (b) the psych alternation arises independently of the structure of psych expressions.

RESULTS. Base orientation and NCSP in the first subsample pattern as shown in (2), showing that (a) is borne out. Icelandic is well-known for its oblique subjects (Zaenen et al. 1985). Spanish displays clitic alternations and non-canonical word order effects (Franco 1990). In contrast, Chinese, Korean and Turkish causativized EO predicates largely behave like canonical transitives. This seems to be functionally motivated: The basic ES verb encodes a prominent experiencer, while under causativization, the stimulus is a causing actor and the experiencer an undergoer of a caused change (Pesetsky 1995). Finnish distributes its bases across all three strategies. Interestingly, this coincides with divided opinions on its status: Landau (2010) claims non-canonicity for Finnish passives as in Icelandic, while others have argued that its passivization is uninformative (e.g. Sakuma 2013). As regards (b), we found that there appears to be a language type, represented by Bété, in which the stimulus is not governed in one of the alternative structures. As the alternations in (3-4) show, the emotion is rendered as a nominal constituent itself, blocking the inclusion of the stimulus as an argument despite the presence of alternation morphology (see 3a, 4b). In ongoing research, we investigate whether the lack of the psych alternation of the form introduced in (1) holds up as a typological parameter.

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- (1) *Morphological structure in experiencer verbs*
- a. Transitive EO → Intransitive ES
gleðja ‘please’ → *gleðja-st* ‘please-MID’ (Ice.)
- b. Intransitive ES → Transitive EO
pwukkulepta ‘be.ashamed’ → *pwukkulep-key hata* ‘be.ashamed-ADVR do’ (Kor.)
- c. Intransitive ES ↔ Transitive EO
huolest-ua ‘worry-INCH’ ↔ *huole-ttaa* ‘worry-CAUS’
- c'. Intransitive ES → Transitive EO
huolest-ua ‘worry-INCH’ → *huolest-u-ttaa* ‘worry-INCH-CAUS’ (Fin.)

(2) *Structural patterns in sample* (n=465 pairs)

| LANGUAGE | BASES TOTAL | %ES | %EO | %DOUBLE | NCSP |
|-----------|-------------|-------|-------|---------|------|
| Icelandic | 30 | 6.67 | 90 | 3.34 | yes |
| Spanish | 119 | 0 | 100 | 0 | yes |
| Korean | 116 | 91.38 | 0 | 8.62 | no |
| Chinese | 75 | 92 | 2.67 | 5.34 | no |
| Turkish | 64 | 68.75 | 12.5 | 18.75 | no |
| Finnish | 61 | 47.54 | 32.79 | 19.67 | ? |
| Bété | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | n/a |

(3) *Absence of psych alternation in Bété under causativization*

- a. *Jóró jé cícéjī sībā (dàgú kádō ó jé).*
 anger PRF little.one sting (brother big POSS reason)
 ‘The little brother is enraged by the big brother.’
- b. *Dàgú kádō jé cícéjī jóró sīb-à.*
 brother big PRF little.one anger sting-CAUS
 ‘The big brother has enraged the little brother.’

(4) *Absence of psych alternation in Bété under mediopassivization*

- a. *Ně̀ně̀lù sùrú gũ mǒná wǒ.*
 toy pour child joy onto.
 ‘The toy gladdened the child.’
- b. *Mǒná jé gũ wǒ sùr-ó.*
 joy PRF child onto pour-MID
 ‘The child was pleased.’

Negation in Yupik-Inuit Languages

This paper addresses the form of negation and its scope in West Greenlandic Inuit (WG), Central Alaskan Yupik (CAY) and other Yupik-Inuit (Y-I).

All of these languages have affixal negation. Affixal negation is commonplace and generally contrasts with non-affixal negation. What is typologically unusual in Y-I (Dahl 1979) is that virtually all negation is manifested derivationally. Standard Negation (NEG) of the logical type is expressed only as a derivational suffix that applies to verb stems and yields elaborated verb stems. There are no independent words, stems, or clitics with which the derivational NEG affixes alternate, and the same is the case for all other kinds of negation.

Essentially all morphology in Y-I is suffixal. All words begin with a stem (STEM), following which come zero or more derivational suffixes (DER), followed by a single portmanteau inflectional suffix (INF), and then up to three or four enclitics (CL). Three morphological rules describe the structure of words in Y-I (Sadock 2003, Woodbury 2017):

(i). STEM = STEM+DER; (ii). WORD = STEM+INF; (iii) WORD = WORD+CL

The derivational status of NEG is proven by three facts: NEG may not follow inflection (1); derivational affixes may follow NEG (2); more than one NEG can be found in the sequence of derivational affixes that precedes the inflection in a word (3-4).

Though the morphology requires NEG to be located inside a verb, its semantic scope can include other clausal elements outside of the verb that is negated as in (5), where the semantic position of NEG is higher than the syntactic position. The fact that NEG only applies to verb stems also predicts that there are no negative quantifiers like English *nobody*, and no negative universal pronouns like *not all*. To express "nobody left" in WG (and CAY) one says something very like Not(Exist(x): (left(x))), see (6). Negative universals are formulated as negation within the verb that takes scope ambiguously over the whole proposition or the predicate alone (7).

The CAY standard negation suffix *-nrite-*, though derivational, occurs in a fixed templatic order at the end of the whole stem, following tense suffixes but preceding any evidential suffixes that in turn immediately precede the inflection (Woodbury 2017), see (8-9). Furthermore future tense and negation fuse to form a suppletive future negator 'will not' that obeys the same ordering principle (10). Likewise in WG there is a very strong tendency for NEG to immediately precede the inflection, sometimes in a suppletive way (Fortescue 1980).

Templatic order and suppletion are clear inflectional tendencies which may 'fit' broadly with negative meaning; and most normal derivational suffixes are unable to follow the final templatic sequence that includes negation. But in both languages there is a telling class of exceptions, so-called 'double transitive' derivational affixes (Kleinschmidt 1851) with meanings like 'say', 'allow', 'think', among others, that can follow a negative stem (11-12) and can restart the final suffix template. (Fortescue 1980, Woodbury & Sadock 1986): At least in CAY these may be added to NEG-final stems and can in turn be followed by a NEG (4).

EXAMPLES (From authors' corpora and field notes except as noted; in the glosses, -, +, = are derivational, inflectional, and enclitic boundaries, respectively)

- (1) WG: *isinngilaq* **iserpunngit*
 isir-**nngit**+laq **isir-Vuq-nngit*
 go.in-NEG+IND.3sgS
 "he/she does not go in"
- (2) WG *pinngitsuuvoq*
 pi-**nngit**-Tuq-u+Vuq
 Vst-NEG-one.that-be+IND.3sgS
 "she/he has not done anything," ("er uskyldig" Berthelsen et al. 1997)
- (3) WG *sulinngiffeqanngilaq*
 suli-**nngit**-ffik-qar-**nngit**+laq
 work-NEG-time-be-NEG+IND.3sgS
 "There is no vacation time."
- (4) CAY *ayanritninritaa*
 ayag-**nrite**-ni-**nrite**+(g)aa
 go-NEG-say-NEG+IND.3sA.3sO
 's/he_i didn't say s/he_j didn't go' (Miyaoka 2012:1286)
- (5) WG *Inersimasut* *kisimik* *qamuteqanngillat.* (Kruse 1969)
 inersimasuq+t *kisi+mik* *qamut-qaq-nngit+lat*
 adult=ABS/pl *only+NOM.pl sled-have-NEG+IND.3pls*
 "Not only adults have sleds"; ("It is not the case that only adults have sleds")
- (6) WG *takkuttoqanngilaq*
 takkut-Tuq-qar-**nngit**+laq
 show.up-one that-exist-NEG+IND.3sgS
 "it is not the case that someone showed up." (i.e., "nobody showed up.")
- (7) WG *Monu kisimi takkutinnngilaq.*
 Monu kisimi takkut-**nngit**+laq
 Monu only show.up-NEG+IND.3sgS
 "Not only Monu showed up."/"Only Monu didn't show up." (Bittner 1994)
- (8) CAY *cumike-luaqa-llru-nrite*+(g)aaq
 catch.on-fully-PAST-NEG+IND.1sgA.3sgO
 "I didn't fully catch on to it"
- (9) CAY *piunritliniluni*
 piur-**nrite**-llini+luni
 carry.on-NEG-EVID+APPOS.3sgS
 "he evidently not carrying on"
- (10) CAY *navegngaitelliniut*
 naveg-**ngaite**-llini+(g)ut
 collapse-FUT-NEG-EVID+IND.3pls
 "they evidently will not collapse" (cf. * **-ciqe-nrite** '-FUT-NEG')
- (11) WG *atuannngitsippara*
 atuar-**nngit**-tit+Vara
 go.to.school-NEG-allow+IND.1sgA.3sgO
 "I let her stay home from school" [I allowed him/her to not go to school.]
- (12) CAY *qacingqanricukluki*
 qacingqa-**nrite**-yuke+luki
 stay.put-NEG-think+APPOS.3plO
 "thinking they were not staying put" (Woodbury 2005)

Routes towards the irrealis

Introduction. Two well-known facts about irrealis markers across languages are:

- (i) the heterogeneity of their distributional patterns: irrealis markers may cover either “states of affairs that are not presented as positively realized at some reference point, but may possibly take place at a later time” or “states of affairs that failed to take place, including unsuccessful attempts, unfulfilled obligations and desires, and counterfactual conditions” (Cristofaro 2012: 138-139);
- (ii) their tendency to combine with other markers in portmanteau morphemes encoding other grammatical categories besides reality status (e.g. person or switch reference, cf. (1) and (2)).

Cristofaro (2012: 143-144) and Mauri & Sansò (2016: 189-192) have suggested that both (i) and (ii) might be the result of the different diachronic pathways through which the single irrealis markers have emerged and established. Diachrony may thus hold the key to the understanding of many apparent irregularities and mismatches in the distribution and phenomenology of such a controversial grammatical category (see Bybee 1998 among others).

Sample and objectives. Based on a 120-language sample in which an irrealis marker of whatever sort and with whatever distribution is attested, this paper aims to identify the diachronic pathways leading to the emergence of these markers, and to investigate to what extent these pathways are responsible for their synchronic distribution (and idiosyncrasies).

Results. A few diachronic sources appear to be recurrent across the sample:

- 1) verbs indicating possession (‘hold’, ‘have’), possibly passing through a stage of future/modal auxiliaries and then spreading to various unactualized states of affairs (cf. (3)-(4));
- 2) motion verbs (especially ‘go’), possibly passing through a stage in which the verb is used as a marker of dislocation (‘go and V’) or as a marker of future states of affairs (cf. (5));
- 3) nominalization markers, possibly reinterpreted as reality status markers when used to mark clausal complements of irrealis-inducing verbs such as ‘want’ or ‘intend’ (cf. (6));
- 4) temporal subordinators, first evolving into conditional markers and then extending to various types of irrealis complement and adverbial clauses (cf. (7));
- 5) purposive markers, first insubordinating as future markers and then extending to other unactualized states of affairs (cf. (8));
- 6) nominal modifiers (demonstratives, classifiers etc.) indicating out-of-sight/distant referents, possibly as the result of conventionalization of pragmatic implicature (if one of the participants is out of sight, then the state of affairs that involves it is unactualized; cf. Vidal & Manelis Klein 1998), or through a different process in which it is a nominalized verb form used in unactualized adverbial or complement clauses that is marked as out-of-sight/distant/future (as argued by Kroeber 1999: 355ff. to explain the emergence of the Southern Interior Salish irrealis paradigms).

All these diachronic sources originally encoded (or were used in) a subset of unactualized states of affairs, and eventually were reinterpreted as markers of (and came to be used in) a larger set of unactualized states of affairs. The cross-linguistic data show that future states of affairs, adverbial subordinate clauses, and complement clauses depending on irrealis-inducing verbs are the main bridgeheads through which the source markers extend to other unactualized situation types following recurrent paths, a fact that also explains the synchronic distribution of these markers.

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Examples

- (1) TUKANG BESI (Celebic) realis and irrealis subject prefixes (Donohue 1999: 113)

Realis: 1SG *ku-*; 2SG *ko-*; 3SG *na-/a-*; 1PL *ta-*; 2PL *ki-*; 3PL: *na-/a-*
 Irrealis: 1SG *ku-*; 2SG *'u-/nu-*; 3SG *no-/o-*; 1PL *to-*; 2PL *i-*; 3PL *no-/o-*
- (2) JAMUL TIIPAY (Yuman) realis and irrealis switch-reference markers on dependent clauses (Miller 2001: 228ff.):

-ch (‘realis same subject’); *-m/-chm* (‘realis different subject’); *-k* (‘irrealis same subject’);
-km (‘irrealis different subject’)
- (3) PARESI-HALITI (Central Maipuran): the irrealis marker (the particle *iya*) is homophonous with a verb meaning ‘hold’ (Brandão 2010: 50-51; 18).
- (4) DIU (Portuguese-based creole; Cardoso 2009: 148): the two irrealis markers *ad/a* (irrealis present) and *vidi* (irrealis past) both derive from the Portuguese complex modal verb *haver de* ‘to be going to/shall’.
- (5) CHINDALI (Southern Bantoid; Botne 1999; 2003): *-ka-* marked verbs appear in various irrealis states of affairs; the form *tu-ka-moghaghe* (1PL-IRR-dance) may mean, according to the context, “we will dance”, “that we will dance”, or “we should go dance” (Botne 2003: 397). The “irrealis” marker *-ka-* can be traced back to a verb root meaning ‘go’, which underwent multiple grammaticalization paths leading to a synchronically multifunctional marker (Botne 1999).
- (6) KURTÖP (Bodish; Hyslop 2011: 452ff.): the irrealis nominalizer *-male*, used in subordinate clauses depicting unactualized states of affairs, can also be used as a finite verbal suffix, mostly with future/potential semantics.
- (7) OKSAPMIN (Nuclear Trans-New Guinea; Loughnane 2009): the irrealis marker *=xən* is homophonous with the adverbial subordinator *=xən* ‘after, when’.
- (8) NORTHERN MAO (Omoti; Ahland 2012: 379ff.): the irrealis subject markers are suffixal, while realis subject markers are prefixal; this mismatch can be explained as the reflex of an older stage in which irrealis verb forms were subordinate (purposive) forms followed by a fully finite existential or copular verb. In the course of time, the existential/copular verb ended up being phonologically bound to the subordinate verb form (and partially eroded), getting reinterpreted as an auxiliary, while its erstwhile subject prefixes were reinterpreted as subject suffixes of the former subordinate form.

Deictic Directionality Exponents in Emai

Motion remains a topic of linguistic investigation under various guises. Deictic directionality, for example, pertains to motion toward or away from a deictic center (Hooper 2002). In this paper, we examine deictic directionality (DD) exponents in the minority language Emai (Edoid, West Benue Congo and Niger Congo, Williamson and Blench 2000). Relatively strict SVO, Emai manifests lexical and grammatical tone, minimal segmental inflection and few prepositions. In addition to simple predicates varying in transitivity, it manifests complex predicates with verbs in series or verb plus particle nexus.

DD in Emai is coded by venitive (VN) *re* and andative (AN) *a*. These particles interact with verbs of change characterized not only by scalarity type, i.e. multistage vs dual stage (Beavers 2013), but also directionality. Across verb and particle meanings, these features differentially constrain syntactic co-occurrence of verb and particle. Three primary patterns emerge.

Under pattern one, each DD exponent combines with the same verb. As a simple predicate, *ee* ‘be agitated’ has no apparent directionality bias (*àlèkè ò ó èè òvbí óì* [Aleke SC C be.agitated off-spring her] ‘Aleke is anxious about her child.’ In a complex predicate, *ee* conveys directionality consistent with AN *a* (*àlèkè éé ólí úkpùn á* [Aleke be.agitated the cloth AN] ‘Aleke forgot the cloth’) or VN *re* (*àlèkè éé ólí úkpùn ré* [Aleke be.agitated the cloth VN] ‘Aleke remembered the cloth’).

Two other patterns occur with contrasting verb sets. Pattern two shows each DD exponent aligned with verbs that contrast in directionality. DD further modulates the extent of this directionality. The verb *anme* in a simple predicate has the sense ‘scrape’ (*àlèkè ò ó ànmè ójé étò* [Aleke SC C scrape Oje hair] ‘Aleke is scraping Oje’s hair’), whereas in a complex predicate with AN *a*, the sense is ‘scrape off’ (*àlèkè ánmé ójé étò á* [Aleke PRP.scrape Oje hair CS] ‘Aleke scraped Oje’s hair off’). Similar modulation, although with opposite directionality, characterizes verb *koko* ‘tighten’ with VN *re*: *òjè kókó èkpà* [Oje PRP.tighten fist] ‘Oje tightened his fist’ in opposition to *òjè kókó óbò ré* [Oje PRP.tighten fist VN] ‘Oje tightened up his fist.’

Pattern three affects verbs like *nwu* and *khuye*. When their simple and complex predicates are compared, they reveal a dual-stage scalar character. Respectively, *nwu* shifts from ‘carry’ to ‘bring’ when paired with VN (*àlèkè nwú émà* [Aleke PRP.carry yam] ‘Aleke carried yam’ vs *àlèkè nwú émà ré* [Aleke PRP.carry yam VN] ‘Aleke brought yam’), while *khuye* shifts from ‘close’ to ‘open’ with AN (*àlèkè khúyé ólí úkhùèdè* [Aleke close the door] ‘Aleke closed the door’ vs *àlèkè khúyé ólí úkhùèdè á* [Aleke close the door AN] ‘Aleke opened the door’).

A final point of consideration concerns the notion of deictic center. Although conventionally assumed to encompass speaker and hearer, this is not the case with Emai DD exponents. When the verb *buu* ‘approach’ takes a direct object that is a pronoun in the first person, it requires VN *re*: *óli ómò búú mè ré* [the baby PRP.approach me VN] ‘The baby approached me’ vs **óli ómò búú mè*. Not so with a second person pronoun; like pronouns in the third person, second person forms do not permit VN *re*: *óli ómò búú óì / é* [the baby PRP.approach her/you] ‘The baby approached her / you.’ We conclude by distinguishing DD from other motion types in Emai and by exploring possible lexical sources for DD exponents, particularly verbs.

Negation in Siwi (Berber, Egypt) and its paradigmatic asymmetries

The presentation has the aim to present negation in Siwi Berber (Afro-asiatic), an Eastern Berber language spoken in Egypt, mainly focusing on the specificities found in this language and on the analysis of how some asymmetries between the affirmative and negative domain can be explained from a semantic/pragmatic point of view.

Negation in declaratives: According to the terminology used by Miestamo (2003), Siwi affirmative and negative constructions in declarative clauses are almost completely symmetrical: the negative only differs in the prefixation of the negation marker *la-* (see ex. 1). A partial asymmetry is found with the *ga*+aorist form, which corresponds to two forms in the negative: the irrealis marker *ga-* is dropped, with subsequent first vowel lengthening (ex. 2). The only verbal form which is never attested in the negative domain is the imperfective+*-a*. Nevertheless, as far as paradigmatic (a)symmetry is concerned, 1) the negative form without *ga-* is found mainly (but not exclusively) in purpose clauses, after the complementizer *anni*, 2) the imperfective+*-a* form in the affirmative is never found in the negative, because of the semantic constraints conveyed by this form (this form is used when the event or process expressed by the verb is concomitant with another one (ex. 3). The *-a* suffix establishes a pragmatic dependence between the two clauses), and 3) the imperfective rather than *ga*+aorist is used in the negative, when the latter expresses iteration of actions. The *ga*+aorist theme is used for the irrealis, future, possibility, etc. but it also shares the iterative function with the imperfective. The different nuances of these two themes in the affirmative are neutralized in the negative domain. There is also a degree of asymmetry in the frequency these verbal forms appear (see the following percentage in a corpus of 1 hour): PFV: NEG 65%, AFF 35%; IPFV NEG 18%, AFF 21%; *ga*+AOR: NEG 7%, AFF 35% and perfect of result: NEG 4%, AFF 9%.

Negation in non-declaratives: Another aspectual asymmetry concerns the imperative, where the aorist in the affirmative corresponds to *la*+imperfective in the negative (ex. 4).

Non-verbal clauses: Existential predication is made by the particle *di/di-(y)a* 'there is'. *di-(y)a* is used when the speaker wants to intensify the truth of the predication (ex. 5). Negative existential and possessive predication use *la-*. The only possible negation of the existential is *la-di* (*la-di-ya* is not attested). The negation marker *la-* can also be used with nouns (mainly in enumerations), adjectives, and quantifiers. Attributive-equative and locative negative predication as well as negative contrastive focus use the negator *áččì/qáččì* with all predicates, even verbal (ex. 6). (*qáččì* instead of *la-* for verbal and attributive predication (with adjectives and quantifiers) is used when the speaker wants to rectify or contrast what (s)he thinks being presupposed by the addressee. *la-* is used by the speaker to clarify/comment.

After a brief overview of the clausal and non-clausal negation in Siwi, the presentation will focus on the paradigmatic asymmetries between the affirmative and negative domain, especially regarding the TAM category, feature shared to a different extent by other Berber languages (Mettouchi 2012, for an overview). The different functions provided by *qáččì* and *la-* in verbal and non-verbal predication and the incompatibility of the suffix *-a* (used to code pragmatic relevance for the speaker, keeping information on the pertinence, reality and effectiveness) in some environments (existential predication and imperfective+*-a*) with the negative domain will also be investigated.

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Examples:

- 1 *tə-ṁṁ-ás* *lá-tə-ṁṁ-as*
3SG.F-say.PFV-3SG.DAT **NEG**-3SG.F-say.PFV-3SG.DAT
She told him *She did not tell him/her'*

- 2 *ga-t-úsəd* *lā-t-usəd* *la-ga-t-úsəd*
IRR-3SG.F-come.AOR **NEG**.IRR-3SG.F-come.AOR **NEG**-IRR-3SG.F-come.AOR
She will come *She will not come*

- 3 *i-takíl-a* *jə-zrǎ* *taqərđúmt*
3-walk.IPFV-PRAGM 3SG.M-see.PFV scorpion.F
While I was walking, I saw a scorpion

- 4 *su* *la-tóssu*
drink.AOR **NEG**-drink.IPFV
Drink! *Do not drink!*

- 5 *di* *inuwán* / *al* *ámra* *dí-ya*
EXIST wells.PL / until now EXIST-PRAGM
There are some wells. Until now there are, indeed!

- 6 *qáčči* *ət-təṁṁ-ásən* *tanfás* *u* *xláš*
NEG 3SG.F-say.IPFV-3PL.IO tale.PL.F or stop
It was not only about telling them stories (she also gives a pedagogical message)

All the examples are taken from the author's corpus, Schiattarella 2015.

List of abbreviations:

| | |
|------|---------------------|
| AFF | affirmative |
| AOR | aorist |
| DAT | dative |
| F | feminine |
| IPFV | imperfective |
| IRR | irrealis |
| NEG | negative |
| PFV | perfective |
| PL | plural |
| PRGM | pragmatic relevance |
| SG | singular |

Syntactic determinants of the development of articles: A cross-linguistic investigation

Abstract for *Syntax of the World's Languages VIII* (Paris 2018)

An interesting question for the typology of articles is whether there are certain (morpho)syntactic environments or conditions that favour the very development of articles from their historical source constructions. A number of studies have suggested correlations between the emergence of articles and the loss of a case system and word-order freedom (e.g. Vennemann 1975, Hewson and Bubenik 2006, among others). Others have argued for a complementary distribution, or at least some systematic connection, between articles and grammaticalized distinctions of verbal aspect (e.g. Abraham 1997, Leiss 2000). More recently, a purely syntactic criterion has been brought into the discussion, namely the basic order of verb and object: Hawkins (2014) proposes that the grammaticalization of definite articles is a more productive process in VO than in OV languages, so that the synchronic distribution of articles is significantly skewed between the two language types. According to Hawkins, this is because articles function as processing cues to the recognition (or on-line ‘construction’) of an NP, and that such elements are generally more beneficial in VO than in OV languages. As illustrated schematically below, an additional NP constructor C (such as a definite article) in a VO language can shorten the domain for the construction of the VP (V+NP), especially if N is delayed by intervening material (e.g. in sequences like *the very delicious meal*); in an OV language, by contrast, additional NP constructors lengthen this dependency domain, no matter where they occur in the NP:

$$\begin{array}{l} [\text{VP V} [\text{NP N} \dots]] \\ [\text{VP V} [\text{NP C} \dots \text{N} \dots]] \\ | \text{-----} | \end{array}$$

V-NP processing domains in VO languages

$$\begin{array}{l} [[\dots \text{N} \dots \text{C}_{\text{NP}}] \text{V VP}] \\ [[\dots \text{C} \dots \text{N}_{\text{NP}}] \text{V VP}] \\ | \text{-----} | \end{array}$$

V-NP processing domains in OV languages

Paired with a theory of communicative efficiency, these processing considerations lead Hawkins to predict that OV languages are, on average, less likely to grammaticalize (definite) articles than VO languages.

In the present paper, I first question some of Hawkins’ underlying assumptions and then subject a modified version of his claim to empirical testing, based on data from the *World Atlas of Language Structures online* (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013); I employ contemporary methods that carefully control for genealogical and areal relatedness (such as the mixed-effects regression approaches proposed by Jaeger et al. 2011) or that examine potential diachronic biases in article development within and across the families in the sample (cf. Bickel 2013). The analysis yields two somewhat antagonistic findings: On the one hand, the current data reveal a robust global statistical signal for Hawkins’ hypothesized word-order effect – one that excels the signals from both case and aspect marking. On the other hand, more specific considerations suggest that the alleged processing pressure is not always plausible to assume and that, even where it may be operative, there are indications that it is relatively weak and easily overridden.

In the context of the specific workshop, it will not only be interesting to discuss these results as such, but also to consider them in light of the structures of individual languages, such as those investigated by the other workshop participants.

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Syntactically independent but pragmatically dependent: precautioning temporal markers

To date, little research exists on the diachronic sources of markers in the apprehensional domain. Attested sources include complementisers with main verbs of fear, the lexical verb 'look, watch' (Lichtenberk 1995), as well as general modal markers of possibility (Bybee et al. 1994: 211; Pakendorf & Schalley 2007).

In this paper, we aim to draw attention to the potential for temporal connectives to develop into markers of precautioning clauses. For example, three English-lexified creole languages of the Pacific, Hawai'i Creole, Norfolk, and Northern Australian Kriol, employ a grammaticalised reflex of English *by and by* in precautionary function (Mühlhäusler 2010: 356–357; Sakoda and Siegel 2008: 536; Siegel 2011: 545; Angelo & Schultze-Berndt 2016). Additional attested cases come from Australian languages, Pidgin Hawaiian, Dutch (Boogaart 2009), and German, where the deictic and anaphoric temporal adverb *nachher* 'afterwards' is used in precautionary contexts, even where no temporal sequence is involved.

The propensity for such temporal markers to develop into precautionary markers can be explained in terms of the commonly attested invited inference from temporal to causal consequence (*post hoc ergo propter hoc*) (e.g. Traugott & König 1991). Moreover, clauses involving deictic or anaphoric temporal connectives such as German *nachher* share with typical precautionary clauses their pragmatic dependency on the linguistic context, independently of their syntactic status as main or subordinate clause.

In this paper, on the basis of data from naturalistic discourse, we will provide evidence for the semantic development of Kriol and German temporal connectives to precautionary markers, the syntactic status the corresponding clauses as main clauses, and their simultaneous pragmatic dependency in discourse.

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Nominalization of nominalizations in Hill Mari and beyond

The formation of subordinate clauses is generally associated with two processes, namely the loss of certain clausal properties commonly referred to as decategorization or deverbalization, and the acquisition of some nominal properties, that is, recategorization or nominalization, see, for instance, Lehmann (1988) and Malchukov (2004). Consequently, non-finite forms introducing subordinate clauses (converbs, participles and nominalizations) are regarded as hybrid categories possessing both verbal and nominal properties, cf. Hopper & Thompson (1984), and belong to the continuum with finite verb and noun as extreme points. A question that has not been addressed with due attention in typological studies is, however, the relative degree of nominalization characteristic of different non-finite forms. In this paper, we focus on the comparison of participles (adnominal modifiers) and event nominalizations, or action nominals (verbal arguments).

Since participles are commonly viewed as verbal adjectives, and adjectives themselves are known to possess certain verbal features, cf. Ross (1972), it is reasonable to assume that participles will be more verbal if compared to nominalizations. Indeed, available cross-linguistic data seems to support this hypothesis. A particularly salient example is the encoding of direct objects in non-finite relative and complement clauses. As shown in Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993), 1/3 of the 70-language sample expressed the direct object in an action nominal construction as a possessor/genitive, which can be considered as a signal of strong nominalization. On the other hand, among the 100 languages investigated in Shagal (2017), only three allowed for the genitive encoding of the direct object in participial relative clauses.

Even stronger evidence can be expected to come from languages where complement and relative clauses can be introduced by the same multifunctional non-finite forms, which is a fairly common pattern cross-linguistically, cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993: 42–44), Shibatani (2009). The prediction is that a form demonstrating the nominalization/participle syncretism will exhibit more signs of nominalization when used nominally than if functioning as an adnominal modifier.

In this paper, we aim to show that this is exactly the case in Hill Mari, a Uralic language spoken in Central Russia. In Hill Mari, the non-finite form in *-mâ-* can introduce both relative clauses and complement clauses, therefore functioning both as a participle and an event nominalization, compare examples (1) and (2) respectively. The most notable difference between the two constructions is that in complement clauses the possessive marker indicating the dependent clause subject attaches to the *-mâ-* form itself, while in relative clauses it appears on the modified noun. The nominalization also takes a case marker, such as the accusative *-m* in example (2).

The subject of the participial relative clause in *-mâ-* in Hill Mari can bear nominative or genitive case markers if expressed overtly (3) or be encoded by a possessive marker on the modified noun as in (1) (combinations are also possible). Genitive encoding is obligatory only for the 1st/2nd person personal pronouns, and is optional for the other types of nominals on the animacy hierarchy – cf. the encoding on the proper noun *Masha* in (3). Furthermore, genitive marking becomes optional for the 1st/2nd person personal pronouns in the presence of a possessive marker on the modified noun (4). In contrast, when introducing complement clauses, the *-mâ-* form always requires a subject in genitive (5), irrespective of the presence of a possessive marker on the nominalized verb. Therefore, our prediction is borne out: in Hill Mari, one and the same form used as a participle and an event nominalization puts different constraints on the encoding of the subject. The nominalization requires genitive encoding patterning with nouns, while the participle allows nominative subject preserving more verbal properties.

Examples

- (1) [Maša(-n) ârgâ-mâ] plat'jâ-žâ-m už-ân-at?
Masha-GEN sew-NMZ dress-POSS.3SG-ACC see-PRF-2SG
Did you see the dress that Masha is sewing?
- (2) [Maša-n plat'jâ-m ârgâ-mâ-žâ-m] už-ân-at?
Masha-GEN dress-ACC sew-NMZ-POSS.3SG-ACC see-PRF-2SG
Did you see that Masha was sewing a dress?
- (3) Mân' [tân'*(-än)/ Maša(-n) pârâl-mâ] melenä-m a-m kač.
I you-GEN Masha-GEN nibble-NMZ pancake-ACC NEG.NPST-1SG eat
I will not eat a pancake nibbled by you/Masha.
- (4) Mân' [tân' pârâl-mâ] mel'nä-et-äm a-m kač.
I you nibble-NMZ pancake-POSS.2SG-ACC NEG.NPST-1SG eat
I will not eat a pancake nibbled by you.
- (5) Mân' [ät'ä -m*(-än) ärväž kâč-âm-(âž)-âm] už-ân-am.
I father-POSS.1SG-GEN fox catch-NMZ-POSS.3SG-ACC see-PRF-1SG
I saw my father catching a fox.

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Ditransitive constructions in Akebu

The paper deals with ditransitive constructions in Akebu, a Kwa language spoken in Togo. The research is based on our field data of recent years. As a framework for a study of ditransitive constructions we use the one of Malchukov et al. (2010). Possessive-like ditransitive constructions are known in cross-linguistic perspective as marginal, but attested (Creissels 1979: 567-574; Croft 1985). Kwa languages are known to have neutral alignment in ditransitive constructions (see e.g. Lefebvre 1994; Osam 1996; Essegbey 2010; Creissels & Kouadio 2010). Akebu is of a special interest, since has a different pattern.

Akebu has three strategies of alignment of ditransitive verbs, if both objects are expressed: neutral strategy; possessive-like strategy; strategy with a pronominal reprise.

In the neutral strategy, both theme and recipient have no overt marking (and are thus morphosyntactically marked as direct objects). This strategy is regularly used with a pronominal recipient of 1st or 2nd person (1) or with a full NP or pronominal recipient of 3rd person if the theme has a possessor (2)-(3).

In the possessive-like strategy the recipient is formally marked as a possessor of the theme. This strategy is the most standard one and is used with a full NP or pronominal recipient of 3rd person if the theme has no possessor (4a-b). The same marker is used in possessive NPs between a possessor and a possessee, as in (4c). Still, a sequence of a recipient and a theme in a possessive-like ditransitive construction cannot be analyzed as a single NP. Firstly, such a sequence cannot be focalized in ditransitive, not possessive meaning, as shown in (5). Secondly, the possessive-like strategy is regularly used with pronominal themes, as in (6a), but a possessive NP headed by a pronoun is impossible (6b).

In the strategy with a pronominal reprise the recipient is expressed twice: by an object pronoun and as a possessor-like NP (7). This strategy is regular with pronominal recipients, though is less standard than the other two strategies.

Both themes or recipients may be omitted in some pragmatic or syntactic contexts. In this case both of them take overt marking (and thus behave as direct objects), as a recipient in (8) and a theme in (9).

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Examples

- (1) nó-kūñ lə gə-kə
 1SG.PFV-give 2SG.OBJ meat-KƏ¹
 ‘I gave you the meat.’
- (2) né-tíí mə è-píí-pə mə díé-tə
 1SG.PFV-tell 1SG.POSS PƏ-child-PƏ 1SG.POSS speech-TƏ
 ‘I told my children my secret.’
- (3) ná-káj ŋù mə nətə-wə
 1SG.PFV-show ŋU.OBJ 1SG.POSS house-WƏ
 ‘I have showed him my house.’
- (4) a. nó-kūñ mə kéè-yə lá cíkèé-yə
 1SG.PFV-give 1SG.POSS friend-ŋU POSS dog-ŋU
 ‘I gave my friend the dog.’
- b. nó-kūñ nəá cíkèé-yə
 1SG.PFV-give ŋU.POSS dog-ŋU
 ‘I gave him the dog.’
- c. mə kéè-yə lá cíkèé-yə Ø-náání
 1SG.POSS friend-ŋU POSS dog-ŋU ŋU-be.big_{FCT}
 ‘My friend’s dog is big.’
- (5) ñì-yə sā ló tù-wə sā wə nā-káj
 person-ŋU DEM POSS thing-WƏ DEM FOC ŋU.JNT.PFV-show
 *‘He showed THIS MAN THIS THING.’
 OK ‘He showed THIS MAN’S THING.’
- (6) a. nó-kūñ nəə wə
 1SG.PFV-give ŋU.POSS ŋU.OBJ
 ‘I gave him it [the house].’
- b. *nəə wə
 ŋU.POSS WƏ.OBJ
 exp. lit. ‘his it’
- (7) né-tíí ŋù nəə díé-tə
 1SG.PFV-tell ŋU.OBJ ŋU.POSS speech-TƏ
 ‘I told him the news.’
- (8) lə-pí è-ŋì-pə
 3.PFV-ask PƏ-person-PƏ
 ‘He asked the people.’
- (9) kūñ kəláátíá-yə!
 give.IMP banana-ŋU
 ‘Give the banana!’

¹ Non-common abbreviations are: KƏ, DƏ, PƏ, TƏ, WƏ – markers of noun classes or corresponding pronouns; FCT – factative; JNT – conjoint verbal agreement marker.

Relative clauses in two English-lexified creoles: Tok Pisin and Hawai'i Creole

This paper examines the complex sentences with relative clauses in two English-lexified creoles.

Spoken Tok Pisin uses relativization strategies that differ from those of most varieties of English: the gap strategy for subject relative clauses:

- (1) Tok Pisin (Smith 2002)

Ol i lotu long dispela man i bin dai
3SG PM pray PREP this man PM PST die
'They were praying for the man who died.'

and the resumptive pronoun strategy:

- (2) Tok Pisin (Smith 2002)

Dispela pik em sa kaikai ol man em sa raun
this pig 3SG HAB eat PL man 3SG HAB go.around
'The pig that ate the people was at large.'

However, written Tok Pisin often uses the relative pronoun strategy:

- (3) Tok Pisin (https://tpi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran_pes)

King Tupou i bin wanpla man husat i bin kamapim
King Tupou PM PST one man who PM PST bring,out
ol gutpla senis long kantri.
PL good change in country

'King Tupou was one man who brought about good changes in the country.'

Hawai'i Creole (both spoken and written) sometimes uses the relative pronoun strategy as in English, e.g.:

- (4) Hawai'i Creole (Lum 1999)

He coach everybody who come in da weightroom.
'He coached everybody who came to the weight room.'

But it also commonly uses the gap strategy in subject relative clauses:

- (5) Hawai'i Creole (Pak 1998):

You dah one wen show us dah map.
'You're the one who showed us the map.'

and the resumptive pronoun strategy:

- (6) Hawai'i Creole (Cabral 2004)

...da girl her mother stay work Walmart.
'...the girl whose mother works at Walmart.'

The paper analyses these relative clause constructions from a typological perspective and explores their possible origins: lexifier influence, substrate transfer or independent development. It also discusses the differences between spoken and written varieties.

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Smith, Geoff P. 2002. *Growing Up with Tok Pisin: Contact, Creolization, and Change in Papua New Guinea's National Language*. London: Battlebridge.

Spoken in the eastern part of the Tibetan plateau, Salar is a Turkic, Oghuz language that belongs to the Amdo linguistic area. Language contact plays an important role in the evolution of this language and this dimension is crucial in its description. Salar language shares indeed a centuries-long history of contacts with the neighbouring Tibetic, Mongolic and Sinitic languages (see *i.a.* Dwyer 1995 & 2013, Janhunen 2007 & 2012) which led Salar to diverge significantly from its genetically related languages.

My presentation will address the question of subjecthood in Salar: this notion is widely used in the description of Turkic languages and raises no particular difficulty in this language family (Johanson 1998). By contrast, the definition of subject has proven to be particularly problematic in Chinese (Li & Thomson 1976, LaPolla 1993 & 2016) and in the Tibetic languages (Tournadre 1988 & 2008, Haller 2007).

On the basis of the subject-properties defined by Keenan (1976) and their refinement and elaboration proposed thereafter (e.g. Van Valin 1977, Comrie 1981, Croft 1991, Lazard 1994, Givón 1995, Dryer 1997, LaPolla 2016), I will show that although Salar language retains (at least partially) some subjecthood properties, such as a unified case marking (in nominative) as well as a specific relativization pattern, simultaneously, some significative subjecthood properties - otherwise present in most other Turkic languages - have been lost as a result of its intense contact with Amdo-Tibetan and Sinitic varieties. Among them the loss of verb agreement, have already been clearly identified (Johanson 1998, Mehmet, 2012 Dwyer 2013, Ma 2013, Vaillant 2016) and highlighted as a spectacular feature of contact-induced language change in Salar. Conversely, the loss of other features related to subjecthood remained merely unnoticed, such as the loss of passive and reflexive voice derivations. For instance, the existence of a passive voices is mentioned in Vaillant (2016: 32) and a reflexive voice is described in Mehmet 2012: 169), whereas I will show that such derivations are clearly unproductive in synchrony.

In this presentation, my aim is twofold: I will examine the grammatical properties of subjecthood in Salar and show that this grammatical relation, though still relevant in Salar, is more marginal than in most Turkic languages. Correspondingly, I will show that several features of Salar, considered as exotic in comparison with other Turkic languages, are related to each other insofar as they affect the syntactic function of subject. They constitute a coherent set of language change toward a less syntactically oriented grammar and a prominence of semantic-pragmatic principles. Such a grammatical shift has occurred under the influence of the neighbouring Tibetic and Sinitic languages.

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On the relationship between articles and case: A typological approach

As is well known, in a large number of Indo-European languages spoken in Europe, case inflection has been lost and a definite article has meanwhile emerged as, for example, in the South Slavic varieties spoken in the Balkans, most notably Bulgarian and Macedonian, as in (1) and (2).

In this paper, we focus on the question whether article systems tend to interact with case across languages. We test the hypothesis that there is an inverse relationship between article systems (whether definite or indefinite) and case marking. This claim has been discussed for more than 100 years (see, e.g., Krámský 1972, 48–49) but it has never been subjected to rigorous testing.

The data for article systems comes from Dryer (2013a,b) and the data for case marking from Iggesen (2013). Altogether the sample contains data for 183 languages. We tested the hypothesis using generalized mixed effects modeling (GLMMs; for recent applications to typological data, see Jaeger, Croft & Pontillo 2011, Bentz & Winter 2013). The central idea of GLMMs is that the value of the dependent variable is predicted based on the independent variable(s) and using a particular grouping structure in the modelling to adjust the variables of interest. In our models the variable "article system" was coded as the dependent variable with values "present" and "absent". The variable "number of cases" was coded as the predictor with values ranging from zero cases to ten or more (following the classification in the source; languages with borderline case marking were analyzed as having no case marking in the spirit of Hewson & Bubenik 2006, p. 364).

Genealogical affiliation and geographical location of the languages were used as grouping structure to adjust the estimates for article systems and number of cases. We modelled genealogical affiliation using the highest level of classification in the WALS and for geographical location of languages we classified languages into 24 areas in which they are primarily spoken (following the Autotyp; Bickel et al. 2017). Each variable's effect was evaluated using likelihood ratio test.

The results provide statistical evidence for an inverse relationship between the occurrence of article system and the number of cases in a language (estimate = -0.17 ; $df = 1$; $p = 0.0048$). This result means that the greater the number of cases is in a language, the less likely it is to have an article system, and the smaller the number of cases is in a language, the more likely it has an article system.

We further discuss what the causal connection between an article system and the number of cases might be. While agreeing in principle with Hewson & Bubenik (2006, p. 364) on the role of word order in expressing definiteness, we argue for a more specific domain connecting the articles and grammatical case, namely sentence-level information structure.

Examples

(1) Old Church Slavonic. Codex Marianus, 11th Century (John 1:50)

viděhъ tę podъ smokovъnic-ejъ
I-saw you.ACC PREP fig_tree-INS
'I saw you under the fig tree'

(2) (Early) Modern Balkan Slavic. Tihonravov Damascene, 17th Century (Děmina 1985, p. 245)

si počinete pod dravo-to
REFL rest.IMP.2PL PREP tree-DEF
'rest under the tree!'

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Don't be fearful, lest it be undesirable: prohibitive and precautionary clauses in Papapana

Apprehensives convey “the possibility of a state of affairs that is possible, but undesirable and best avoided” and have received little attention in typological and semantic literature, despite being widespread cross-linguistically (Angelo&Schultze-Berndt 2016: 258). Based on a survey of Southeast Solomonian (Oceanic, Austronesian) languages, Lichtenberk (1995) distinguishes three apprehensive subtypes. Lichtenberk’s “precautionary” subtype involves a precautioning morpheme in a clause encoding the high probability and undesirability of an event. This clause is associated with a “preemptive” (Evans 1995: 264) clause expressing preventative action. Precautioning morphemes have received even less attention than other apprehensives, and while precautioning morphemes are sometimes related to apprehensional-epistemic morphemes, associations with prohibitive morphemes are rarely attested.

Based on the author’s fieldwork data, this paper analyses the mood particle *te*, used in both precautionary and prohibitive clauses in Papapana, a previously undocumented and under-described endangered Northwest Solomonian (Oceanic, Austronesian) language. Moreover, the paper considers the polysemy of *te* from cross-linguistic and diachronic perspectives.

In Papapana, the apprehensive mood particle *te* is used in conjunction with the irrealis mood enclitic =*i* in a subordinate precautionary clause. The matrix preemptive clause has directive illocutionary force, aiming to prevent the probable and undesirable event in the precautionary clause from occurring. The preemptive clause always has a second person subject but the precautionary clause could have a second (1) or third person (2) subject, and there is no preference for non-co-referential subjects (unlike in Schmidtke-Bode’s 2009 typological study). The two clauses are juxtaposed and preemptive clauses always precede precautionary clauses, a common cross-linguistic tendency (Dixon 2009: 48).

However, when *te* occurs in an independent clause, it is used in conjunction with irrealis mood =*i* and verbal reduplication to express negative imperative mood (i.e. prohibitive) (3). It is possible for a preemptive clause to be either imperative (1&2) or prohibitive (4&5), and thus *te* can occur in both the preemptive and precautionary clauses simultaneously (4&5).

In both functions, *te* marks the event as undesirable: in prohibitive clauses, the speaker directs the addressee to avoid doing the undesirable action, while in precautionary clauses, the speaker warns the addressee of an undesirable outcome, which can be avoided by following the speaker’s directives. Despite the overlapping semantics, the polysemy demonstrated by Papapana *te* appears to be rare. It is found in *Tukang Besi* (Austronesian), where the conjunction *bara* ‘lest’ has the meaning ‘don’t’ in main clauses (Donohue 1999: 453-454), and to some extent in Maori where the monitory particle *kei* can also express negative imperatives (Bauer 1993: 37, 465). Similarly, in *Sakha* (Turkic) the second person affirmative “Voluntative-Potential” forms convey future prohibition while the other Voluntative-Potential forms (primarily expressing possibility and hope) may have an apprehensive nuance (Pakendorf&Schalley 2007).

Pakendorf&Schalley (2007) find that use of affirmative epistemic forms to express prohibitives is rare and propose the grammaticalisation path: possibility → apprehension → warning → prohibition. This goes against the assumed unidirectional development of deontic modality to epistemic modality (Traugott 1989, Bybee&Pagliuca 1985), reflected in Lichtenberk’s (1995) proposed development path from warning to apprehensional-epistemics. This paper considers the extent to which Papapana data supports Pakendorf&Schalley’s (2007) proposed pathway, investigating whether the diachronic source for *te* lies in markers of possibility, and has any relation to the positive purpose clause subordinator *tenava* ‘so that’.

This paper adds to the growing body of research on the under-studied precautionary clause by analyzing the morpho-syntactic behaviour and polysemy of a precautioning morpheme in a lesser-known language. Furthermore, the paper challenges theoretical assumptions about grammaticalisation pathways.

Examples

- (1) O=orete egoego, o=te pu=i
2SG.SBJ=walk well 2SG.SBJ=APPR fall=IRR
'Walk carefully, lest you fall'
- (2) O=asi=a pei to'o~to'o, e=te tepe=i=o=i
2SG.SBJ=leave=3SG.OBJ ART RD~cut 3SG.SBJ=APPR cut=TR=2SG.OBJ=IRR
'Leave the knife, lest it cuts you'
- (3) Mu=te nao~nao=i
2PL.SBJ=APPR RD~go=IRR
'Don't go'
- (4) O=te ani~ani=i ovata, o=te ou=i
2SG.SBJ=APPR RD~eat=IRR bread 2SG.SBJ=APPR cough=IRR
'Don't eat bread, lest you cough'
- (5) O=te e~esivo=i, i=te nongon=i=o=i
2SG.SBJ=APPR RD~sneeze=IRR 3PL.SBJ=APPR listen=TR=2SG.OBJ=IRR
'Don't sneeze, lest they hear you'

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Negation in Ungarinyin

The northwestern Australian Aboriginal language Ungarinyin (Worrوران, McGregor & Rumsey, 2009) employs a single consistent strategy for expressing clausal negation, with an immediately preverbal negation particle *wa* and irrealis marking on the verb, as shown in (1).

- (1) yali wa banyirrkumererennyirri
 yali wa ba-nyirr-ka₂-mara-y₁i-nyirri
 kangaroo NEG 3pl.O-1pl.EXCL.S-IRR-take-IRR.PST-DUAL
 'We did not catch (any) kangaroos/We caught no kangaroos' (100722-08NGUS, 3:58-4:00)¹

The clause in (1) is potentially ambiguous between negating the event of going kangaroo hunting and describing an unsuccessful hunting trip, since Ungarinyin does not commonly use negative quantifiers (also cf. Miestamo, 2005, p. 225). However, the language can mark negation in nominal constructions explicitly as well, for example in clauses without a verbal predicate, as in (2).

- (2) munduwarri aynangkanangka
 munduwarri ay-nangka-nangka
 louse none-GEN-NMLZ
 'He has no lice' [Lit.: '(He is) a person without lice'] (100722-04NGUS, 1:49-1:51)

Based on Miestamo's (2016) questionnaire on negation, the present paper provides a detailed overview of negation in Ungarinyin, contextualising the analysis with contrastive examples from other Worrوران languages, in particular from Gambera and Unggumi, which have not been previously described but display highly similar marking strategies.

After introducing the basic strategies for expressing negation in Ungarinyin, the paper focuses on a variety of lexicalised and negative modal strategies, which provide an opportunity for exploring the semantic range of negation. The paper concludes by proposing that for Ungarinyin at least three semantic oppositions are fundamental: aligning/disaligning (Du Bois, 2007), absence/presence and existence/non-existence.

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¹ The subscript numbers in the morphological glosses indicate the type of assimilation process the preceding (semi)vowel is involved in. For details, see Rumsey (1982).

Verbal negation system in Ulch

The system of verbal negation in Ulch (Tungusic; Khabarovsk Krai, Russia; severely endangered, under-described) will be observed. The data under discussion come from a) texts: texts collected in the 1960s-1790s and published by O. P. Sunik (1985) and new field records; b) elicitation tasks.

The negation system attested in Ulch seems to be interesting in following aspects.

1) In a crosslinguistic perspective. Like other Southern Tungusic languages Ulch has a typologically non-trivial negation system. The system is quite rich (in some fragments it is much richer than the affirmative one), heterogeneous, asymmetric with respect to the affirmative one both semantically and structurally. Cf. the inventory of past tense negative form in (1), which all correspond to one and the same affirmative form. Ulch system will be characterized in terms of M. Miestamo's typological classification (2006 and others).

2) From the point of view of grammaticalization. All verbal negators in Ulch hypothetically go back to only two diachronic sources, which reveal different degree of grammaticalization in different forms and constructions:

a) to the negative auxiliary verb **a*-. In Northern Tungusics it functions as a finite verb accompanied with the connegative form of the lexical verb (Uralic-type system). In Southern Tungusics including Ulch it is attested only rudimentarily in different frozen forms (cf. (2a) from Evenki and (2b) from Ulch). Cf. the general overview of negation in Tungusic languages in Hölzl 2015. However in one negative construction in Ulch it saves some verbal features (3).

b) to the negative existential *kəwə* 'there is no X'.

The hypotheses on the grammaticalization paths for some particular negative forms and constructions will be proposed. The data of Ulch will be discussed in a more general perspective of grammaticalization cycles: Jespersen's double negation cycle (cf. Auwera 2009 among others), Croft's negative existential cycle (cf. Croft 1991, Veselinova 2013; 2014; 2016).

3) In the comparative context. The domain of verbal negation reveals very high degree of variation in closely-related Southern Tungusic languages. The data of Ulch will be tentatively inscribed into a more general picture of negation systems of closely-related varieties (different dialects of Amur Nanai, Bikin Nanai, Kur-Urmi).

4) From the point of view of language attrition and grammatical interference. The Ulch language is severely endangered by the moment. Our modern field data are collected from bilingual Russian-Ulch speakers of older generation (born in the 1950s or earlier). All speakers nowadays use Russian more actively than Ulch. This sociolinguistic situation traces also to our data on negation system. The comparison between 3 inventories of verbal negators will be presented in the talk: 1) the negators mentioned in short grammar sketches by T. I. Petrova (1936) and by O. P. Sunik (1985), 2) the negators revealed in O. P. Sunik's texts, 3) the negators attested across modern speakers. These three inventories are different, cf. (4): some forms are lost by modern speakers, some forms used by them were simply omitted in the existing descriptions (as far as we can see from Sunik's texts), some others seem to be innovations, developed probably in contact with Russian. Cf. e.g. symmetric prohibitive constructions "NEG.IMP + imperative" instead of expected "NEG.IMP + Connegative", (5).

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Examples

- (1) a. negative past tense forms of the verb *soŋgo-* ‘to cry’:
soŋgom=(*də*) *kəwə*, *əŋdə soŋgora taxan*, *əŋdə soŋgora*, *əčəl soŋgora*, *soŋgoxa*=(*də*) *kəwə* ‘(he/she) did not cry’
 b. affirmative past tense form of the verb *soŋgo-* ‘to cry’: *soŋgoxan* ‘(he/she) cried’
- (2) a. Beyetken **e-che-n** girki-l-nun-mi suru-mu-re
 boy NEG.AUX-PST-3SG friend-PL-COM-REFL go.away-VOL-CONN
 ‘The boy did not want to go away with his friends’ (Nedjalkov 1997: 96) — Evenki: the negative verb *e-* in the past tense form
 b. zverⁱ **əčəl** ič-ə-jə=mdə
 animal NEG.PST see-CONN-1SG=QUOT
 ‘I have not seen such an animal yet’ (field recids) — Ulch: the past negative particle *əčəl* probably going back to the frozen past tense form of **e-*
- (3) *kəsi ana osin xaj-wa=da əŋəs wā-ra*
 luck without if something-ACC=EMPH NEG.2SG.FUT kill-CONN
 ‘If you are unlucky, you will get nothing (no prey of animals)’. (Sunik 1985, texts) — the negative future marker *əŋəs*: it can be glossed as *ə-ŋə-s* = NEG.AUX-FUT-2SG, however it is attested only for 2 person contexts with no other person-number markers
- (4) The fragment of verbal negative system: negative forms with reference to past

| negator | Petrova 1936, Sunik 1985 | texts from Sunik 1985 | our field data |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| <i>əŋdə</i> CONNEG ‘do’-PST | yes, default | n/a | n/a |
| CVB.SIM <i>kəwə</i> | yes | yes | yes, default |
| <i>əčəl</i> CONNEG | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>əčəl</i> PRS | no | yes | yes |
| <i>əŋdə</i> CONNEG | no | yes | yes |
| PST <i>kəwə</i> | no | n/a | yes |
| PST <i>əŋdə</i> , <i>əŋdə</i> PST | no | n/a | occas. |

- (5) a. *bū-ru* (give-IMP, ‘give!’) ~ *əž bū-ru* (NEG.IMP give-IMP ‘don’t give!’) — attested in the data from younger speakers; cf. Russian: *davaj* (give.IMP) ~ *ne davaj* (NEG give.IMP)
 b. *bū-ru* (give-IMP, ‘give!’) ~ *əž bū-rə* (NEG.IMP give-CONN ‘don’t give!’) — attested in the data from older speakers and in Petrova 1936, Sunik 1985.

Clause Structure and Grammaticalisation: Modal Markers in Tat

Tat is a group of related SW Iranian dialects or even languages, closely related to Persian and spoken mainly in the Republic of Azerbaijan and southern Russia. It is divided into two main dialect groups with little to no mutual intelligibility: the written and relatively well-studied Judeo-Tat (JT) and the non-written and understudied Muslim Tat (MT).

A point of divergence across Tat varieties is the expression of directive modality (expressions for ‘must / be necessary’). The verbal origin of modal markers in some Tat dialects has been discussed (AUTHIER 2012, SULEYMANOV 2017), but questions of valency triggered by their use in both the present (or rather non-past) and the past are yet to be addressed. In this light, I will examine two divergent varieties: Abşeron MT and (literary) JT.

In Abşeron MT, directive modality is expressed by modal markers accompanied by verbs in the subjunctive as shown in (1) for a non-past construction and (2) for a past construction. The marker *ye* in (1) is a shortened variant of *miya* (MILLER 1945: 120). Both modal markers – *ye* in (1) and *miyesd* in (2) – are particles that have probably been grammaticalised out of the same impersonal verb, a cognate of Persian *bāyistan* ‘to be necessary’ (SULEYMANOV 2017: 289).

JT directive modality is also expressed by special markers for the non-past (3) and for the past (4). The non-past modal marker *biyo* in (3) is said to be a grammaticalised imperative form of the verb *omore* ‘to come’ (AUTHIER 2012: 183–184). The past marker *miyosd* in (4–5) is treated as a past eventual form of the verb *voisde*, which is translated as ‘to be wanted’ or ‘to be needed’ (6–7). The verb is also said to be a cognate of Persian *bāyistan* (op. cit. 235).

However, the above analysis for JT is challenged by three factors. First, *miyosd* is never seen accompanied by an oblique-marked experiencer, as is *voisde* in (6), nor followed by a modal verb form that would agree with a presumably pro-dropped experiencer, as in (7). Second, in (5), we find a second-person agreement suffix on *miyosd* (impossible for the third-person-only *voisde*). This rules out the possibility of *miyosd* prompting either an experiencer structure (cf. French *il me faut* + V) or an impersonal structure (cf. French *il faut que je* + V) and implies instead the use of an active structure (cf. French *je dois* + V) where the object of *miyosd* is always expressed by an infinitive. Third, my own field inquiry (2017) has revealed the existence of *mivoisd* (commonly realised as *moisd*) as the past eventual form of *voisde*.

In this paper, I will use syntactic evidence in synchrony and diachrony to suggest, first of all, that *voisde* and *miyosd* are forms historically belonging to the paradigms of two different verbs. All tense-aspect-mood forms of *voisde* preserve the non-agentive structure in their realisations. Once this is established, I will demonstrate that the non-past modal marker *biyo* and the past modal marker *miyosd* in JT derive from the same archaic verb (cognate of Persian *bāyistan*), with *biyo* grammaticalised into a particle (like its cognate *ye* in Abşeron MT) and *miyosd* having been able to preserve its verbal characteristics. The latter, in turn, have historically undergone a syntactic functional transformation, leading to the present-day difference in the use of the transitive JT *miyosd* and its Abşeron MT impersonal equivalent *miyesd*.

The presentation aims to show that while the grammaticalisation of modal markers of verbal origin manifests itself to various degrees, reflexes of changes in the functional structure of the original verbs are still identifiable in the respective modal constructions.

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Examples (glosses may have been slightly modified)

Abşeron Muslim Tat (SULEYMANOV 2017: 286, MAMMADOVA 2017: 236)

- (1) *rah=miü b-aftän-ü=äm nä-aftän-ü=äm miü äz unĵä ye*
road=PC1 MOD-fall-3=ADD NEG-MOD:fall-3=ADD I from there DEB
b-güdošt-um
MOD-pass-1
‘Regardless of whether my path lies (there) or not, I must (lit. it is necessary that I) pass by there.’
- (2) *imu miyesd ä raf-dan qeyšär bä šumu xəbär mĭ-dä-r-im*
we DEB.PST from go-INF before LOC you.PL news EVT-give-PST-1PL
‘Before leaving, we had to/should have (lit. it was necessary that we) let you know.’

Judæo-Tat (AUTHIER 2012: 183, 235, 107, 98)

- (3) *kosib-e zen=me=re ez me eričü biyo ĵeyle sox-u?*
poor-ATR woman=PC1=OBL from I why DEB separate MOD:do-3
‘Why must he separate my poor wife from me?’
- (4) *te meh veras-de čü mi-yos-d xur-de kiflet=me?*
till month finish-INF what EVT-must-AOR:3 eat-INF family=PC1
‘Until the end of the month, what was my family supposed to eat?’
- (5) *tü ez i=ni väřdo mi-yos-d-i xüşde=re quz güř-de*
you from this=COP:3 time EVT-must-AOR-2 REFL=OBL bent take-INF
‘It was at that moment that you ought to have hanged yourself.’
- (6) *me=re vois-d ixdilot sox-de e_tovun zindeguni en=u*
I=OBL want-AOR:3 story do-INF about life GEN=3
‘I wanted to talk about his life.’
- (7) *vois-d säxd gir-ü u=re*
want-AOR:3 firm MOD:take-3 it=OBL
‘He had to hold it tight.’

Gloss abbreviations:

ADD = additive, AOR = aorist, ATR = attributive, DEB = debitive, EVT = eventual, INF = infinitive, LOC = locative, MOD = modal (subjunctive, imperative), NEG = negative, OBL = oblique, PC = personal clitic, PL = plural (singular unmarked), PST = past, REFL = reflexive

REPORTED SPEECH IN DARGWA: PRONOUNS AGAINST VERBAL PERSON MARKING

Many East Caucasian languages show typologically unusual reported speech constructions, which do not fit into the standard opposition of direct vs. indirect speech (see Polinsky 2015 on Tsez; Forker 2013 on Hinuq; Authier 2009 on Kryz; Yaroshevich 2017 on Tabassaran, etc.).

Dargwa¹ has a usual direct speech construction, which is marked by the quotative particle *ible* (historically, the perfective converb of the verb ‘say’), cf. example (1). The same particle introduces other types of reported speech constructions. The constituent introduced by the particle *ible* is a full sentence (CP) with its own illocutionary force, information structure, person marking, modality, etc. In all constructions, the constituent encoding reported speech expresses the illocutionary force in the same way as in independent sentences. In particular, it can include an interrogative particle (example 2) or an imperative/optative verb form (3).

Unlike most East Caucasian languages, Dargwa has a developed person marking agreement². Surprisingly, in the reported speech constructions, the person of the pronouns and the person agreement markers within the predicate are regulated by different rules, cf. the following table:

| Reported situation | Current situation | Pronouns in core argument positions | Person marker | Construction | Ex |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----|
| reported speaker/addressee | any | 1/2 | 1/2 | direct speech | 4a |
| | | 3 (reflexive), 1/2 ³ | 1/2 | mixed pattern | 5 |
| other | current speaker/addressee | 1/2 | 3 | mixed pattern | 6 |
| | | 1/2 | 1/2 | indirect speech | 4b |
| other | other | 3 (reflexive/demonstrative) | 3 | neutral | 7,8 |

The choice of a construction is determined by the person of the core arguments of the reported speech or, rather, the opposition of interlocutors vs. non-interlocutors (Nikitina 2013):

- (1) The most influential arguments are the reported speaker and addressee: if any of them is a core argument of the predicate, this is obligatorily reflected by the person marker within the predicate, and optionally – in the choice of the pronoun(s), cf. examples (4a) and (5).
- (2) If the core arguments of the reported speech are not reported interlocutors, it is the current interlocutors that come into play: their person is obligatorily expressed by the choice of the pronouns and optionally – in the person marker (examples (4b) and (6)).

As seen from the table, the reported interlocutors are oriented towards person marking within the predicate and towards direct speech: any construction with them has at least one element of the direct speech. On the contrary, current interlocutors are oriented towards pronouns and indirect speech (the grey fragment in the table covers the direct speech domain; the white fragment limited by a bold line covers the indirect speech domain).

If the pronouns and person markers are referring to different type interlocutors, the resulting constructions show lack of person agreement, cf. (5) and (6). I shall try to explain this phenomenon by certain common properties of agreement in Dargwa, which is based on the properties of the NP referents. I shall also try to provide a general explanation of the

¹ This work is based on the data of the Tanti dialect.

² Intransitive verbs and non-verbal predicates agree with their absolutive arguments. Transitive verbs agree with one of their core arguments (the ergative and absolutive NP): if one of them is 1st/2nd person and the other one is not, the verb bears the corresponding 1st/2nd person marker; if both are interlocutors, the verbs agrees with the absolutive (1, 2 > 3; P-argument > A-argument).

³ The 1st or 2nd person pronouns are possible if a current interlocutor is at the same time a reported interlocutor (‘I said that I ...’, ‘You said that you...’).

behavior of other elements sensitive to the direct vs. indirect speech opposition (non-argument pronouns, deictic adverbials, verbs with deictic semantics).

EXAMPLES

- (1) [ʃaʕla haʕʒ ha-b-ič-ib-le=sa-b] – b-ik'-u-le=sa-b=nu, –
 you:GEN hajj UP-N-fall:PF-PRET-CONV=COP-N HPL-say:IPF-PRS-CONV=COP-HPL
 [[ča-r-ka-jχ_e-e] ible]
 ON+UP-EL-DOWN-return:PF-IMP QUOT
 hil-t:-a-li b-urs-ib-le=sai
 this-PL-OBL.PL-ERG N-speak:PF-PRET-CONV=COP<N>
 ‘Your hajj is already finished’, – they said [to him], – ‘Go back home’, – they said.
- (2) t:at:i-li durħa^s-li-c:e [[sa-j tuken-ne-ħe ag-ur-**di**] ible]
 father-ERG boy-OBL-INTER self-M shop-OBL-IN go:PF-PRET-2+Q QUOT
 x:ar-b-aκ-ib
 ask-N-LV:PF-PRET
 ‘The father asked the boy_j whether he_j had been at the store.’
- (3) umra-li rasul-li-c:e tiladi-b-arq'-ib
 neighbor-ERG rasull-OBL-INTER ask-N-make:PF-PRET
 [[sun-na s:ak:a-se qali ċe-b-až-aq-a] ible]
 self-GEN new-ATR house(ABS) on-N-see-CAUS-IMP QUOT
 ‘The neighbour_i asked Rasul_j to show his_{i,j,k} new house.’
- (4) t:at:i w-ič'-u [[**du** lager-le-ħe q'-a^s-**d**] ible]
 father M-say:IPF-PRS I(ABS) camp-OBL-IN go:IPF-TH-1 QUOT
 a. ‘The father_j says that he_j will go to the camp.’
 b. ‘The father_j says that I_k will go to the camp.’
- (5) t:at:i w-ič'-u [[**sa-j** lager-le-ħe q'-a^s-**d**] ible]
 father M-say:IPF-PRS self-M(ABS) camp-OBL-IN go:IPF-TH-1 QUOT
 ‘The father_j says that he_j will go to the camp.’
- (6) t:at:i w-ič'-u [[**du** lager-le-ħe **q'-a^s-n**] ible]
 father M-say:IPF-PRS I(ABS) camp-OBL-IN go:IPF-TH(3) QUOT
 ‘The father_j says that I_k will go to the camp.’
- (7) t:at:i w-ič'-u [[**sa-j** lager-le-ħe **q'-a^s-n**] ible]
 father M-say:IPF-PRS self-M(ABS) camp-OBL-IN go:IPF-TH(3) QUOT
 ‘The father_j says that he_{k,*j} will go to the camp.’
- (8) t:at:i w-ič'-u [[**hit** lager-le-ħe **q'-a^s-n**] ible]
 father M-say:IPF-PRS that(ABS) camp-OBL-IN go:IPF-TH(3) QUOT
 ‘The father_j says that he_{k,*j} will go to the camp.’

Causative in Ossetian as a complex predicate

Problem. The causative construction in Ossetian, (1), looks superficially similar to its Romance *faire*-inf counterpart (e.g., Guasti 2005 and literature therein), (2).

- (1) Alan Zawır-ən Aslan-ı mar-in kodta.
A.NOM Z.-DAT A.-ACC kill-INF do.PST.TR.3SG
'Alan was making Zaur kill Aslan'
- (2) Maria ha fatto riparare la macchina a Gianni.
Maria has made repair the car to Gianni
'Maria made Gianni repair the car.' (Guasti 2005: 146)

The causative construction in (1) consists of the verb form labeled 'infinitive' in reference grammars of Ossetian and the causative verb *kənm* 'make' (pst *kodta*); the causer argument appears in the nominative, the causee (the external argument of the original predicate) comes in the dative, and the internal argument retains accusative case marking (morphologically identical to the genitive). (1), a periphrastic causative, is the only productive type of causative construction in the language, which is used, semantically, to render both direct and indirect causation, also known under a few other labels (manipulative vs. directive (Shibatani 1976), contactive vs. distant (or non-contactive) (Xolodovič (ed.) 1969, Saksena 1982), immediate vs. mediated (Kulikov 2001), causer-controlled vs. causee-controlled (Wierzbicka 1988)). (1) exemplifies causativization of a transitive configuration; causatives of intransitives will be presented in the full version of the paper.

Given the apparent parallelism between (1) and (2), it is tempting to analyze them along similar lines, e.g., as in (3), which follows Folli and Harley 2007 and a few related proposals (all the components are shown in their base positions).

- (3) [_{VP} Alan [_{VP} Zawır-ən [_{VP} Aslanı marın]] kodta]

(3), however, cannot be correct in view of (4), where the internal argument appears as a possessive (pro)clitic attached to the lexical verb.

- (4) Alan Zawır-ən jə=mar-in kodta.
A.NOM Z.-DAT POSS.3SG=kill-INF do.PST.TR.3SG
'Alan was making Zaur kill him'

The clitic cannot appear in a verbal environment, as (5) with the finite verb indicates; its distribution is restricted to the position at the left periphery of a noun phrase, (6a-c).

- (5) *Zawır jə=mardta.
Z. POSS.3SG=kill.PST.TR.3SG
'Zaur was killing him'
- (6) a. je=si duwə əmbalıtı.
 POSS.3SG=this two friend.PL.GEN
 'these two friends of him'
- b. *ası jə=duwə əmbalıtı
- c. *ası duwə je=mbalıtı

(4)-(6) suggest that the infinitive is in effect a nominal, which (3) does not capture, hence an alternative analysis is called for. The aim of this paper is to propose such an analysis.

Proposal. We argue that the causative construction is to be analyzed as a **a complex predicate**. On this analysis, (1) is parallel to (7), a canonical complex predicate consisting of a nominal and a light verb (Lyutikova, Tatevosov 2013).

- (7) Alan Madinə-jɪ p'a kodta.
 A. M.-ACC kiss LV.PST.TR.3SG
 'Alan was kissing (lit. 'kiss-making') Madina.'

In a complex predicate, the nominal part is a modifier of an eventuality description rather than an argument of the light verb. Evidence for this generalization comes from prefixation. Perfectivizing prefixes are associated with different attachment options depending on the status of the nominal. If a nominal is an argument of *kodta*, the prefix appears on the verb, (8).

- (8) Alan χəzar š-kodta.
 A. house PRF-make.PST.TR.3SG
 'Alan built a house.'

If, the other way around, a nominal is a non-verbal component of a complex predicate, the prefix is merged on top of the non-verbal component, (9).

- (9) Alan Madinə-jɪ a-p'a kodta.
 A. M.-ACC PRF-kiss make.PST.TR.3SG
 'Alan kissed (lit. 'kiss-made') Madina.'

Prefixation in the causative construction, (10), patterns with (9), not with (8).

- (10) Alan Zawır-ən Aslanı *(a-)mar-in (*š-)kodta
 A.NOM Z.-DAT A.-ACC PRF-kill-INF PRF-do.PST.TR.3SG
 'Alan made Zaur kill Aslan'

Evidence from prefixation suggests that in the causative construction, the "causative" verb *kənm* 'make' is essentially a light verb modified by a nominal. The nominal consists of the verb stem (e.g. *mar-* 'kill' in (1)) that appears with the infinitival morphology and its internal argument (*Aslan* in (1)) which form a verb phrase embedded under a nominal layer of structure. We suggest that at least for a subset of causative configurations, the causee is to be analyzed as an argument of the causative verb, along the lines of Alsina 1992.

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Precautioning clause in Seediq

Seediq is an Austronesian language, spoken in northeastern Taiwan and belonging to the Atayalic subgroup. In Seediq, precautioning is expressed by using “*saw* + '*adi* + FUTURE + '*u*” (examples (7) and (8)). FUTURE stands for the future form of a predicate. Each morpheme consisting this, that is, *saw*, '*adi*, FUTURE and '*u* are not dedicated markers for precautioning, but when they are combined, it express precautioning. Let us see the use of these morphemes one by one.

Saw may be followed by a referential expression, that is, as a preposition, expressing similitive, as in (1), and may also be followed by a future form predicates, meaning “it is likely for the state of affairs denoted by the predicate to take place,” as in (2).

'*Adi* is a negator and '*adi* FUTURE is negative expression for FUTURE, as shown in (3). Combination *saw* '*adi* FUTURE means “the state-of-affairs denoted by the predicate is not likely to take place,” as in (4).

'*U* is a general conjunction in Seediq, which appears between two clauses and is followed by a non-final pause. It expresses temporal, conditional, contrast, etc. by itself, as in (5). It is used quite widely, and can be used in context of correlative as well (Tsukida 2014). The clause preceding it may contain a clause-initial conjunction such as *nasi* “if”, '*ana* “even if”, *babaw* “after”, and so on. This '*u* may function as topic marker as well, as in (6), preceded by a referential expression. We can consider the clause following '*u* is the main clause and the one preceding it is dependent on it.

Then one might expect the combination of the four, *saw*, '*adi*, FUTURE and '*u*, should mean “when the state-of-affairs denoted by the predicate is not likely to take place,” but it is not the case. It is used to express precaution, as in (7) and (8). The main clause, that is, the clause which follows '*u*, is the preemptive clause. This order is the opposite of the cross-linguistic preference indicated in Dixon (2009:48). Preemptive clause may be imperative, as in (7), or declarative, as in (8).

The combination does not always express precautioning. The clause preceding '*u* in (9) is the same as that of (8), but (9) is interpreted to be a correlative construction. This seems to be because of the meaning of the main clause. If it is able to be interpreted as a preemptive act, the clause preceding '*u* can be interpreted as precautioning.

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Examples

- (1) saw bubu=na ka laqi.
like mother=3SG.GEN NOM child
The child is like his/her mother.
- (2) saw mpe-takur ka laqi.
likely AV.FUT-stumble NOM child
The child is likely to stumble.
- (3) a. mpe-takur ka laqi.
AV.FUT-stumble NOM child
The child will stumble.
b. 'adi mpe-takur ka laqi.
NEG AV.FUT-stumble NOM child
The child will not stumble.
- (4) saw 'adi mpe-takur ka laqi nii 'u!
like NEG AV.FUT-stumble NOM child PROX EMPH
This child is not likely to stumble!
- (5) m-uduh siyang ka sehiga 'u,
AV-roast pork NOM yesterday GC
'eme-'ima ka m-eniq hiya?
PL-who NOM AV-exist there
When they roasted meat, who were there?
- (6) Masaw 'u, me-gerung ka tederuy=na.
Masaw GC AV-be.broken NOM car=3SG.GEN
As for Masaw, his car is broken.
- (7) saw 'adi sepeg-un laqi ka patas nii 'u,
like NEG read-GV1 child NOM book PROX GC
sa-'i liying.
go-GV.NFIN <AV>hide
Go hide it lest a/the child should read the book.
- (8) saw 'adi mpeke-gerung ka peratu 'u,
like NEG AV.FUT-be.broken NOM plate GC
seku-'un=mu kulu.
put-GV1=1SG.GEN box
I put the plate in a box lest it should be broken.
- (9) saw 'adi mpeke-gerung ka peratu 'u,
like NEG AV.FUT-be.broken NOM plate GC
berig-un=mu.
buy-GV1=1SG.GEN
I will buy such a plate as will not break.

Abbreviations

AV Agent Voice; CV Conveyance Voice; EMPH Emphatic; GC General Conjunction; GEN Genitive; GV Goal Voice; GV1 Goal Voice 1; GV2 Goal Voice 2; FUT Future; NEG Negative; NFIN Non-Finite; NOM Nominative; NS New Situation; PL Plural; PROX Proximate; SG Singular; 1 First person; 3 Third person.

Title: Agents and transitivity – a look at agentive alignment in Semai (Aslian, Malaysia)

This talk discusses syntactic alignment in Semai, an Austroasiatic Aslian language spoken in Malaysia. Prior work on Aslian suggests multiple syntactic types within this group of languages, including split ergative (Diffloth 1976), tripartite (Kruspe 2004) and nominative-accusative (Burenhult 2005). Current work on Semai proposes that the additional type of agentive alignment is added to the group.

In Semai, agentive subject NPs receive distinct marking, different from non-agentive subject NPs. The agentive marker is typically found on transitive subjects, prototypically agentive (1), but may also mark agentive intransitive subjects. When attached to agentive intransitive subjects, agentive case offers emphasis on agentivity (2). Further, agentive case may also be used to express new information or emphasis of transitive subjects (3). Agentive case, then, appears to be linked to information structure in a way that opposes earlier theories which suggest that agent markers are typically associated with given information (Du Bois 1987). In Semai, non-agentive subjects are zero-marked (4).

In addition to an agentive alignment pattern, Semai makes a fundamental distinction between active events (processes) versus stative events (states or completed events) (Tufvesson, in preparation; cf. Matisoff (2003); Diffloth (1974)). A distinction independent of the transitivity of a clause. This split is manifested by presence versus absence of subject indexing on the verb; (5) and (6) versus (4) and (7).

Semai, then, offers a syntactic profile that combines an agentive/non-agentive split with a split between processes and states. These two splits will be further demonstrated and described. As outlined above, the manifestation of both splits is linked to the way in which the clausal subject is realised. The influence of the two morphosyntactic realisation of subject, on each other, will be discussed. Finally, the syntactic pattern found in Semai will be discussed in relation to other languages within the Aslian group, to point to similarities and differences in alignments described as split ergative and tripartite.

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- (1) *ki=cap* *ʔi=ʔaki:c* *ja=ʔi=cnɔ:ʔ*
 3.SG=to.catch SPEC=older.uncle AGT=SPEC=child.of.younger.sibling
 ‘the niece catches her uncle’
- (2) *ŋ=ʔət* *ja=ʔen*
 1.SG=to.go/leave AGT=1.SG
 ‘I go’
- (3) *səŋe:t* *ʔadɛh* *pr-moh* *ja=ʔen*
 young.person DEM.this CAUS-to.wash(onself) AGT=1.SG
 ‘I washed this child’
- (4) *crik* *hɛ:ʔ*
 be.elongated 2.SG.FAM
 ‘you are tall’
- (5) *ki=ʃar*
 3.SG=to.run
 ‘she runs’
- (6) *ki=pɔh* *ʔi=tne:ʔ*
 3.SG=to.hit(with.hand) SPEC=older.sibling
 ‘she hits her older sister’
- (7) *ʃar* *kə:ʔ*
 to.run 3.SG
 ‘she ran’

Why relative verbs agree with their head noun in many Bantu languages

Inflected verbs in the Bantu languages contain an obligatory slot for a marker that indexes their subject. However, in the relative verb forms of some Bantu languages this marker indexes the head of the relative clause, rather than its subject. This is illustrated in (1), where the relative verb has a class 6 prefix, in agreement with the class 6 head noun 'mangoes', instead of the class 1 prefix we would expect if the verb had agreed with its subject 'woman'.

Agreement of relative verbs with their head noun has long puzzled specialists of the Bantu languages, and has been dubbed *quirky agreement*, because the same slot is seemingly occupied by different types of agreement markers depending on the syntactic context. This paper PROVIDES A DIACHRONIC EXPLANATION OF THE PHENOMENON.

It starts by pointing out that prefixes of two different paradigms can be found in relative verbs, viz. so-called verbal prefixes (VP) and so-called pronominal prefixes (PP). Subsequently, I will point out the existence of two implicational universals regarding relative clause constructions in the Bantu languages, viz.

- If the relative verb agrees with its subject, then its prefix is always a VP;
- If the relative verb agrees with its head noun, then its subject is always in postverbal position

These correlations point to a diachronic scenario that is made up of trivial changes, of which every stage is attested in the currently spoken Bantu languages. It starts with a demonstrative that agrees with the head noun and functions as a relativiser. This demonstrative is integrated in the relative verb form of those languages that have postverbal subjects in relative clause, leading to double agreement in the relative verb, currently attested in e.g. Shona (2). In a subsequent simplification of relative verb forms, either agreement prefix can go. If it is the subject marker that goes, we end up with the situation that needed explanation.

(1) Orungu (Gabon)

ábà [máǵòlìn ó[↓] ηwánt[↓] ógà]
 á-bà má-à-gòl-in-ì ó[↓] ηw-ántò ó-gà
 6-mango AGR₆-REL.RPST-buy-APPL-RPST 1-woman 1-chief
 'the mangoes [that the woman bought for the chief]'

(2) Shona

Mbatya dza-v-aka-son-era va-kadzi mwenga
 10.clothes REL₁₀-VP₂-PST-SOW-APPL 2-women bride
 'the clothes which the women sowed for the bride'

The Semantics of Split-Intransitive Alignment Systems: A Multidimensional Scaling Analysis

In the linguistic literature on the alignment of verbal person marking, significant attention has been dedicated over the years to split-intransitive systems, discussing their diachronic paths of evolution and attempting to explain or predict which intransitive verbs are most likely to receive Sa (i.e. A-like) marking or So (i.e. O-like) marking (see e.g. the contributions in Donohue & Wichmann 2008).

Regarding the latter question, authors such as Mithun (1991) and Croft (1998; 2012) have discovered significant systematicities in the cross-linguistic behaviour of split-intransitive systems. Mithun (1991), studying five languages from the Americas, concludes that both aspectual and causal semantic factors are at work in such systems. On the one hand, the arguments of intransitive event predicates – achievements, accomplishments and activities in Vendler's (1967) terms – are more likely to receive Sa marking while the arguments of predicates expressing states are more likely to receive So marking. On the other hand, arguments which are volitional, instigate the event, and are in control are more likely to receive Sa marking while strongly affected arguments are more likely to receive So marking. In Croft's (2012) quantitative analysis using multidimensional scaling, however, aspect did not turn out to be a significant predictor for the behaviour of intransitive predicates. Instead, he posits the following scale based on only causal properties, where the semantic classes of predicates on the left are more likely to receive Sa marking, and those on the right to receive So marking:

Controlled activities – inactive actions – inherent properties/dispositions –
 bodily actions – inchoatives – uncontrolled activities/transitory states

Both these studies, however, are based on language samples that are not quite geographically balanced, strongly favouring languages of the Americas. This presentation will treat the first results of a study aiming to investigate whether their predictions hold up when tested on a more geographically stratified sample. The present paper is based on the examination of six genetically and geographically unrelated languages: Acehnese (Austronesian, Indonesia), Beria (Nilo-Saharan, Chad/Sudan), Creek (Muskogean, USA), Pilagá (Guaykuruan, Argentina), Rotokas (East Papuan, Papua New Guinea) and Tsova-Tush (Caucasian, Georgia). A multidimensional scaling analysis (see Croft & Poole 2008) of the argument marking patterns found with twenty-four intransitive predicates in these languages seems to show that causal factors have the strongest effect on the likelihood of a predicate to receive Sa or So marking, but aspectual factors play a secondary role as well.

Firstly, intransitive predicates whose argument is volitional, instigates the event, and is in control (Croft's controlled activities and inactive actions) are most likely to take Sa marking, whereas predicates whose arguments are affected and non-controlling (states and uncontrolled activities) are most likely to take So marking. Bodily actions, which the argument can perform volitionally or non-volitionally, are in between. Within these three larger categories, then, aspectual factors seem to determine the behaviour of verbs: controlled activities (i.e. events) are more likely to receive Sa marking than controlled states (Croft's inactive actions). On the other end of the continuum, uncontrolled activities (i.e. events) are more likely to receive So marking than uncontrolled states. In sum, the study of a more geographically balanced sample of languages generally corroborates previous hypotheses, but adds significant nuance: aspectual factors do seem to play a role in the behaviour of split-intransitive systems, but less strongly so than causal factors.

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VERB-BASED LEXICAL RESTRICTIONS ON INCORPORATION – A TYPOLOGICAL SURVEY

Theoretical background

Many morpho-syntactic processes, such as auxiliary selection or non-canonical case-marking, are known to be restricted lexically (Malchukov & Comrie 2015, McFadden 2007). Such phenomena relate to the lexicon-grammar interface, i.e. to the fundamental question of how much information is lexically stored, and how much is computed syntactically – a question that is answered very differently across theoretical approaches (Wechsler 2015). Especially in the area of valency- and voice-related processes, the interaction between grammar and lexicon is well-pronounced. Some assume a categorical distinction between syntactic, fully productive and regular processes (e.g. passivization), versus lexical, unproductive and irregular processes (e.g. applicative constructions) (Mel'čuk 1994). For others, this distinction is rather a matter of degree, dependent on a range of features and their language- and construction-specific values (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000).

Research aim, data, results

In this study, we focus on lexical restrictions on incorporation constructions. Incorporation has been variously treated in the literature as a purely syntactic phenomenon (starting with Baker 1988), and as a lexical process (e.g. Mithun 1984, Rosen 1989). Research investigating these two approaches has mostly focused on restrictions on properties of incorporable units, including semantic role, syntactic function, modifiability, and referential status. In contrast, much less systematic research has been done on restrictions posed by the number and type of incorporating verbs (cf. Caballero et al. 2008). Yet, many language-specific descriptions suggest that there is considerable cross-linguistic diversity in this respect. This study provides a typological survey of this variation, based on a convenience sample of 50 languages.

In our presentation, we will discuss types and degrees of verb-based lexical restrictions on incorporation, as well as interactions between restrictions on incorporating verbs and incorporable elements. Specifically, we will show the cross-linguistic clustering and size-range of incorporating verb classes and consider their underlying semantic motivations. Areal factors will also be taken into account. Based on our findings, we will situate incorporation within the larger typological spectrum of voice-and valency-related constructions: Are restrictions on incorporation similar to or different from restrictions on semantically related processes, such as antipassivization (cf. Polinsky 2013)? Finally, we will discuss the theoretical implications of our data for the lexicon-grammar interface.

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Imperative negation: Toward a typology

In Horn's (2001: 450) view, the overall stimulus to avoid postverbal negation is even more forceful in directive than in assertive clauses: "A violation of Neg First ... [could] literally constitute a matter of life and death (*Kill him – oops – not!*)". Prohibitives may therefore be assumed to feature more preverbal negation than negative declaratives. In this paper, we want to investigate this hypothesis in more depth, by having a cross-linguistic look at negation in imperatives.

With a genetically and geographically stratified sample of 200 languages (see Miestamo et al. 2016: 256-259), we seek to provide answers for two sets of questions: 1. which shapes does imperative negation take (e.g. affixes, particles, verbs; see Dahl 2010 on standard negation), are there any areal trends and how does imperative negation compare to standard negation formally; 2. in which position is the imperative negator found in relation to the main verb or the finite element (à la Dryer 1988 and Dahl 1979 respectively, both on standard negation), do any areal trends exist, do all formal types of negator exhibit the same behavior or not, are the type of negator and/or its place correlated with word order and, lastly, is Neg First indeed more prominent in prohibitive than in negative declarative clauses?

Our preliminary findings indicate that imperative negation, especially that of the postverbal kind, is more verbal than standard negation and that there is a positive correlation between the place of those verbal negators in the clause and basic constituent order. The explanation for this observation probably lies in the diachronic fact that numerous prohibitive markers come from lexical verbs like 'stop', 'not want' and 'leave' (see Aikhenvald 2010: 351-362). More generally, our initial results seem to suggest that Neg First does not have a stronger impact on imperatives/directives than on declaratives/assertives. In our view, this observation must be due at least partially to the fact that the ambiguity underlying Horn's (2001) argument does not occur in most of the world's languages because of the typically asymmetric character of imperative negation (see Miestamo & van der Auwera 2007).

Negative constructions in Beja (North-Cushitic)

Clausal negation in Beja, a North-Cushitic (Afroasiatic) language spoken by over a million speakers in Eastern Sudan, is asymmetrical.

Standard negation is marked by a particle *ka= / ki=* (depending on person and verb class), proclitic to the verb form. It is used for clausal negation, and shows a double constructional asymmetry in the marking of grammatical categories, namely the five-term basic TAM system of the Indicative, an asymmetry which corresponds to the A/Cat/TAM type of Miestamo (2005). In the affirmative, Beja distinguishes between Imperfective, Future, Perfective, Aorist and Perfect. The last three are lumped together in the negative polarity, on the basis of the Perfect, originally a manner converb + a copula, replaced by a 'be(come)' auxiliary which carries the negative marker (ex. 1). Moreover the Imperfective negative is based on the **Perfective** paradigm (ex. 2), a consequence of the historical renewal of verb forms (Cohen 1973). In the Future (a complex predicate grammaticalized from the Aorist form), the negative particle is added to the Future auxiliary (a verb meaning 'say'), also in the Perfective paradigm (ex. 3). Standard negation cannot be used outside main declarative clauses.

The other mood paradigms consist of an Imperative and an Optative-Hortative-Jussive (OHJ). Their negative markers are different from the Indicative one.

The Prohibitive marker is *ba:= / bi:=*, and that of negative OHJ is *ba= / bi=*. For both paradigms, the affirmative and negative are formally asymmetrical.

The negative Imperative stem varies depending on the verb class: it is identical to the positive Imperative for the verb class conjugated with suffixes (V2), but the stem undergoes ablaut in the verb class conjugated with prefixes (V1). Beja verbs thus belong to the two most common strategies described in van der Auwera et al. (2005): V2 belong to the most frequent one crosslinguistically ("the prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives"); and V1 to the second most common type ("the prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives") (ex. 4).

In the OHJ, the stem and the inflection allow differentiate between the negative and affirmative polarities. The affirmative is based on the Aorist for both verb classes, and a proclitic particle *ba= / bi=*, identical to the negative OHJ particle. The negative has different stems and/or inflection: V1 have the same stem as the negative Imperative, and different flexional morphemes, while V2 differ from the affirmative OHJ only by the addition of prefixed flexional morphemes (ex. 5). In addition to its use in independent clauses, the negative OHJ paradigm occurs (instead of the indicative) in subordinated clauses: relative, complement, temporal, conditional clauses (ex. 6), showing in this environment again an asymmetry with the affirmative indicative paradigms, which can be used in subordinate clauses.

Subordinate clauses are also expressed by four nonfinite forms, and among them, only the simultaneity converb can be used in a negative clause with the marker *ba:=* (similar to the negative Imperative, but which does not alternate with *bi:=*). The stem undergoes ablaut for V1 class (ex. 7), identical to that of the negative Imperative and OHJ. The negative form has a clausal privative meaning.

Based on first-hand data collected by the author since 2000 in Sudan, this presentation, after a brief discussion of the most common negative constructions, will focus on some of the issues raised by Miestamo's online questionnaire: the negative asymmetry in equational, proper inclusion and attributive clauses, phasal negation, the use of negative clauses to undertone an affirmation (in relation to reinforced negation), non-clausal negation, negative replies, and the special status of negation in causal clauses.

The reconstitution of subordination.

Siegel (2008) has shown that interlanguage varieties and pidgins both lack subordination structures. Creoles, on the other hand, do exhibit such structures. The question that we want to address in this paper is how the system of subordination has been reconstituted in the emergence of creoles.

Three factors are relevant for the reconstitution of the subordination system: (i) predicate class (and argument structure) of the embedding verb; (ii) presence and/or absence of lexical markers of subordination (i.e. complementizer-like elements); (iii) the form and/or position of the embedded verb (e.g. indicative vs subjunctive):

(1) Predicate [_{embedded clause} (complementizer) (SUB) V-Aff]

On the basis of an in-depth comparison between Saramaccan (an English-based creole spoken in Surinam) and Fongbe (its major substrate language), we show that the creole patterns cannot be accounted for by substrate influence alone. The embedded C-domain in Saramaccan is decidedly different from the one in Fongbe with respect to the position of the complementizers as well as the co-occurrence restrictions on the possible combinations of complementizers (cf. Aboh 2015, Van de Vate & Veenstra 2016). Furthermore, there is no substrate continuity with respect to the selectional properties of clause embedding predicates: the set of verbs that obligatorily selects the do-complementizer in Fongbe shows a variable selection pattern in Saramaccan (cf. Kinyalolo 1993, Veenstra 2015a). There is also no continuity with respect to the morphological marking within the embedded clause (obligatory Mood marking in subjunctive contexts in Fongbe, but absence of such marking in Saramaccan). On the other hand, the feature specification of the complementizer introducing embedded clauses are similar: in both languages it can be used as a speech verb, a serial verb, a quote introducer as well as a conjunction conveying comparison/manner (Lefebvre 2015).

We argue that the mismatches between the creole and its substrate are due to processes of incipient (second) language learning. The match with respect to the complementizer system is due to non-incipient (or advanced) language learning. We show that the strategies of clause connection learners use that go beyond the Basic Variety involve the creation of an ‘unspecified general subordinator’ (Giacalone Ramat 1999). This generic place-holder is slowly refined over time to fit into the target-language system. We argue that also in the creole context there is also the emergence of such an unspecified subordinator. This element is not refined over time, however, because there was no access to the target-language system anymore (due to a Target Shift in the sense of Becker & Veenstra 2003). Instead, it was filled in with the grammatical properties of the general complementizer, as found in Fongbe and the other Gbe languages (but actually it is an areal feature from a larger area in West Africa). The advance of this scenario is that it straightforwardly accounts for both the match in the form (and functioning) of the complementizer system and the mismatches in selectional restrictions of matrix predicates and the morphological marking in subordinated clauses. On a general level, it provides a strong case for the importance of place-holders in the creation and development of subordination systems (Veenstra 2015b).

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Aspect marking in Capeverdean (CV) adverbial subordinate clauses

In Capeverdean Creole, the aspect of a given state of affairs is specifically conveyed by several aspectual particles, primarily \emptyset , *sata*, *ta* /sɛtɐ, tɐ/ (perfective, progressive and [non-progressive] imperfective respectively) and secondarily (occupying other slots) by *ál* /al/ (potential) and *dja* /dʒɐ/ (completive). These particles express different values according to the verb they combine with. They share three main characteristics: i) they are invariable; ii) they always precede the verb they modify; iii) only one of the three primary particles can be used with one and the same verb. (QUINT, 2000: 235)

The adverbial relationship between two states of affair is characterized by the fact that one of them, termed the dependent, codes the circumstances in which the other or main state of affairs is taking place (CRISTOFARO, 2003: 155). Comrie (1976) contends that, usually, the imperfective is used in ground situations while the perfective codes figure events. Within this perspective, we expected the imperfective aspect to be more frequent than perfective among the verbs of adverbial clauses. However, our Capeverdean corpus points to an opposite result: as shown in the following example, it is the perfective which dominates:

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|------------|----------|-------------|--------------|----------|------------|
| <i>kántu</i> | <i>k-e</i> | <i>ben</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>fla:</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>N</i> | <i>ben</i> |
| SUB.PST | SUB.PST- | come.PFV | S3SG | say.PFV | COMP | S1SG | come.PFV |
| | S3SG | | | | | | |
| | AC_temporal | | MC | | CC_zero [DS] | | |

When he came, he said: here I am (lit. 'I've just finished to come').

(kea_ev_narr_01_080)

In this example, both the verb of the adverbial clause and the verb of the main clause have a zero (\emptyset) aspectual marker, coding perfective aspect. In this case, the subordinator *kántu* ‘when’ plays an important role prompting the hearer to construe the state of affairs coded by the adverbial clause as a circumstance or ground event and the state of affairs of the main clause as a key-element in the course of the narrative, i.e. a figure.

This study is based on the analysis of a corpus of twelve spontaneous oral narratives recorded in the countryside of the Capeverdean island of Santiago, i.e. in places where most speakers use the basilectal form of the language. In the first part of our presentation, we will review the various types of adverbial clauses attested in our Capeverdean corpus. Then, in the second part, we will show some quantitative data and discuss the implication thereof regarding aspect marking in each type of adverbial

subordinate clause. Our preliminary results seem to show that the perfective aspect is the most frequently used in Capeverdean adverbial clauses, while both the adverbial subordinators and the general context act as the real markers of ground events and their aspectual structure.

List of abbreviations

| | | |
|---------|---|---|
| AC | | adverbial clause |
| COMP | - | completive (aspect) |
| DS | - | direct speech |
| PFV | - | perfective |
| CC_zero | - | completive clause with no subordinator (complementizer) |
| MC | - | main clause |
| SC | - | subordinate clause |
| PST | - | past |
| SUB | - | (adverbial) subordinator |
| S1SG | - | subject, first person, singular |
| S3SG | - | subject, third person, singular |

Pronominal and other negation in Kalamang, a Papuan language of East Indonesia

Kalamang, a Papuan language spoken in the East of Indonesia, has a straightforward negation system. The peculiarities of the system are in the prohibitive forms, which are formed with an obligatory (pro)nominal suffix. Kalamang also exhibits several dedicated negative verbs. The inherent negativity of these is reflected in their use in combination with *tok* ‘still; not yet’.

Kalamang has a clausal negator *-nin* and a propositional negator *ge*. The clausal negator can be added to verbs, modifier words, and locative expressions, which are all predicative.

(1) *ma yuon-at konat-nin*
3SG sun-ACC see-NEG
‘He didn’t see the sun.’

(2) *wa me mang-nin*
PROX.DEM TOP bitter-NEG
‘This isn’t bitter.’

(3) *ma ewun naun-kitko-nin*
3SG root.3POSS soil-inside-NEG
‘It doesn’t root inside the soil.’

(4) *ge-o wowa ge pi don yori taruoret*
no-REINF aunt no 1PL.IN thing true say
‘Nuh-uh aunty, no, we say true things.’

As is common crosslinguistically, Kalamang has a dedicated construction for prohibitives. However, the obligatory element in this construction is not a verbal suffix, but a (pro)nominal suffix. Consider the following example.

(5) *ka-mun tirire laut bebas-ko*
2SG-PROH sail sea.MLY open.MLY-LOC
‘Don’t you sail to open sea!’

This (pro)nominal suffix is optionally paired with a verbal suffix, as in (6).

(6) *ka-mun se reidak ewa-in*
2SG-PROH IAM much speak-NEG
‘Don’t you speak much!’

During fieldwork that I will conduct in spring 2018, during which I will also fill out the entire Miestamo-questionnaire, I will explore whether there is a difference between these ‘double prohibitive’ constructions and the ones with just *-mun*. I will elaborate on this during the talk. Kalamang has at least five verbs that have dedicated lexemes for the positive and negative counterpart. These are the following:

(7) a. *gonggin* ‘to know’ *komahal* ‘to not know’
b. *lo* ‘to want’ *sukaungge* ‘to not want’
c. *mambon* ‘to be there’ *saerak* ‘to not be there’
d. *kobes* ‘to reach’ *kokour* ‘to not reach’
e. *bisa* ‘can’ *eranun* ‘cannot’

Sukaungge ‘to not want’ is morphologically complex: the root is the Indonesian loan *suka* ‘to like’, which is used as such in Kalamang as well. It is inflected with a third person possessive form *-un*, and then the propositional negator *ge* is added. During earlier fieldwork the forms *gonggin-nin* ‘to not know’ and *mambon-nin* ‘to not be there’ were accepted by speakers, even though they do not occur in the corpus. Their exact meaning will be investigated this spring, and I will report on that during the talk as well.

The inherent negativity of the (pro)nominal suffix *-mun* and the verbs in (7) is reflected in constructions with the particle *tok*. On its own, this particle means ‘still’, but together with a negated verb it means ‘not yet’, as is illustrated in (8).

- (8) *mu tok po-nin* *mu tok tiri~tiri*
 3PL yet anchor-NEG 3PL still sail~RED
 ‘They haven’t anchored yet, they are still sailing.’

However, when combined with a (pro)noun with *-mun*, as in (9), or with an inherently negative verb, as in (10), *tok* also takes the meaning ‘not yet’.

- (9) *ka-mun tok kome*
 2SG-PROH yet look
 ‘Don’t you look yet!’
- (10) *mu toni pitis tok saerak*
 3PL say money yet is.not.there
 ‘They said that they money isn’t there yet.’

Negation and finiteness in Gutob

For several Munda languages complex interactions between negation and other parts of the verbal morphology, e.g. TAM/voice marking and/or the placement of agreement markers have been reported (cf. Peterson 2011: 335 on Kharia, Anderson 2008: 601 on Remo, Osada 2008: 132 on Mundari). In the South Munda language Gutob the interaction between negation and TAM/voice morphology is especially pervasive (Griffiths 2008: 654). In finite verbs TAM and basic voice are marked by a portmanteau suffix. If the verb is negated, the meaning of the TAM/voice markers changes. For example, the habitual marker in positive verbs (ex. 1) functions as a marker of realis in negated verbs (ex. 2). This "paradigmatic displacement" (cf. Miestamo 2005: 55) affects almost the entire paradigm but is not reciprocal between two TAM categories.

The interaction between negation and TAM/voice morphology is especially interesting with regard to the question of whether Gutob distinguishes between finite and non-finite verbs (cf. Griffiths 2008: 658). It can be shown that finiteness in Gutob is scalar, with differences both in TAM/voice marking as well as in the choice of the negative prefix. Only fully finite verbs are marked for TAM, while predicates in subordinate clauses are marked with converb markers. Since these converb markers are homophonous with the positive realis markers but remain unaffected by negation, often fully finite verbs and converbs can only be distinguished in negative contexts. The negative prefixes *ar-* and *mor-* are distributed along the finiteness scale with fully finite forms taking *ar-* and nominalized verbs taking *mor-*. Converbs as not fully finite yet not fully nominalized forms occur with both prefixes.

With a detailed analysis of the negation system of Gutob I contribute to the understanding of negation in Munda languages and provide data for further cross-linguistic studies. I use both the questionnaire by Kahrel & van den Berg (1989) as well as the revised questionnaire by Miestamo (2016). The analysis is based on ca. 15 hours of both spontaneous and elicited new data obtained during two field trips in 2016 and 2018. While my analysis seeks to cover all aspects of negation that are mentioned in the questionnaire, I will focus on the interaction between negation with TAM/voice morphology and finiteness for my talk at the SWL8 workshop on negation.

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- 1) *nei gutob samo sarloŋ-to-nei*
 1p Gutob language speak-HAB=1p

'We usually speak Gutob.' (Gutob-0444_20161125_014)

- 2) *nij maŋta dio? nij ar-sun-to*
 1s what QUOT 1s NEG-say-NEG.REAL

'I **didn't** say anything.' (Gutob-0444-20161205_9_R_817)

TAM/voice Morphology in Gutob (adapted from Griffiths 2008: 654):

| | Positive | | Negative | |
|-----------------|----------|--------|----------|--------|
| | Middle | Active | Middle | Active |
| IRREALIS (NPST) | -loŋ | -tu | -a | -Ø |
| REALIS (PST) | -gV | -o? | | -to |
| IMPERATIVE | -a | -Ø | -gV | -o? |
| HABITUAL | | -to | | - |
| OPTATIVE | | -e? | | -e? |

The precautioning function across languages

The apprehensional domain comprises any grammatical morphemes that encode the *high probability* and the *undesirability* of an event. Lichtenberk (1995) and Author (to appear) have shown that the apprehensional morphemes may encode at least four distinct functions. The paper focuses on two functions that are particularly close, the apprehensive and the precautioning. It aims at establishing parameters to distinguish the two functions thanks to a large crosslinguistic survey.

Both an apprehensive and a precautioning marker encode the *high probability* and the *undesirability* of an event. However, precautioning clauses *systematically* associate with an explicit precaution to avoid the probable, undesirable situation. Evans calls such precaution clauses the “preemptive situation” (1995:264), and Lichtenberk (1995: 298) the “precautionary action”. In (1) from Ese Ejja (Takanan), the child grabs the dog (preemptive situation) to prevent it from going into the jungle (undesirable situation). Unlike precautioning clauses, apprehensive clauses do not require an explicit preemptive situation. In (2), the Ese Ejja verb form *pokichana* could stand on its own, as a warning to the addressee that María could join. Nevertheless, such warnings often come together with a command or suggestion of how to avoid the probable, undesirable situation, which makes it similar to the precautioning function. In (2), the apprehensive clause follows a directive expressed with the prohibitive *a'a... -jji*: the addressee should not tell María about their plans.

Another difference between the two functions is that the evaluation of the high probability and undesirability of the event is made by either the speaker or the subject of the preemptive clause. In (1), the child who grabs the dog (preemptive clause) is the one who evaluates the event of going into the jungle undesirable (precautioning clause). If the preemptive clause is an imperative like in *grab the dog lest it go to the jungle*, it is then the speaker who evaluates the situation as undesirable. By contrast, apprehensive markers can only encode the speaker’s evaluation. This difference constitutes the basis of my working definitions.

Still another difference sometimes mentioned is that the apprehensive can only mark highly probable, undesirable event that are unrealized and future, while the precautioning can mark any kind of unrealized events, like in *he grabbed the dog lest it go to the jungle*. However, the apprehensive marker of Toqabaqita (Austronesian; Lichtenberk 1995:296) does allow a past and present reading, along with a future reading. Example 3 can translate, according to the context, as ‘you may **have been** / **be** / get sick!’

The two functions are so close that, unlike Ese Ejja, some languages like Marrithiyel (Western Daly; Green 1989) or Toqabaqita may use a single morpheme for the two functions. Distinguishing these two functions from one another has therefore been a main issue in the literature (see for instance Austin 1981:229 or François 2003, 304-310).

Based on the exploration of a worldwide sample of about 100 languages displaying apprehensional morphology, the aim of the paper is to highlight the specificities of each function. In addition, I will use interactive maps to show the worldwide distribution of the precautioning morphemes, distinguishing between the languages with a dedicated morpheme from those with one morpheme for several functions, and look for areal specificities.

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Examples

Ese Ejja (Takanan ; Bolivia & Peru)

- (1) *E'-bakwa iñawewa iña po-ani, (...) [e'bio=wasijje e-poki kwajejje].*
NPF-child dog grab be-PRS jungle=ALL PREC-go PREC
'The child is grabbing the dog [**lest** it go to the jungle].' [HUNT]
- (2) *A'a María wowi-jji, poki-chana!*
PROH M. tell-PROH go-APPR
'don't tell her, (beware of that) she may come along!' [volunt]

Toqabaqita (Austronesian ; Solomon Islands ; Lichtenberk (1995: 294 ;298)

- (3) *Ada 'oko mata'i.*
APPR you(SG):SEQ be.sick
'You may have been sick' or 'You may be sick' or 'You may get sick'

Negation, prosody and constituency : the case of Kakabe, a Western Mande language

This presentation deals with a typologically rare phenomenon of the prosodic marking of negation. In Kakabe (< Mande), negation auxiliaries and copulas in most cases trigger a High boundary tone (optionally accompanied by intonational raising ↑) at the end of the utterance, cf. (1a) and (1b). Tonal or intonational marking of negation is very rarely attested in linguistic descriptions, see Dryer (2013). I will propose a discourse-driven explanation of this cross-linguistically uncommon marking of negation and discuss its relation to double-negation constructions. I will also show how the prosodic marking of negation is sensitive to the syntactic organization of the utterance.

The boundary morpheme H% in Kakabe is not specialized for negation, but serves primarily to signal continuation. The motivation for the use of the same prosodic marking for continuation and negation can probably be found in the analysis of the function of negative utterances in conversation (Ford et al. 2001; Schegloff 1996; Sacks 1992). In her study of negation in conversation in English, Ford (2001) comes to the conclusion that negative utterances are units which lack completion and therefore demand further elaboration. In this perspective one can suppose that in Kakabe H% boundary tone has been extended from continuation marking to negative utterance due to the similarity of their roles in the conversation structure.

This analysis is supported by the fact that Negation Boundary Tone is not licensed in interrogative or subordinate utterances (relativized clause, conditional protasis, temporal clause, etc.). Thus, the H% of negation is overruled by other intonational operations and has to be local with respect to the negation marker by which it is licensed.

An interesting property of the Negation Boundary Tone possibly related to the previous is that only minimal negation utterances are involved, leaving unaffected the extended negative utterances. As can be seen in (2) compared to (1a), the Negation Boundary Tone is blocked by the presence of an indirect object noun phrase at the end of the utterance. Supposedly, this is due to the prosodic constituency of the utterance: it might be blocked by a phonological phrase boundary intervening between the negative operator and the right boundary of the intonation phrase.

A possible continuation of the analysis based on the discourse function of negation proposed above is to consider the boundary H% as the second part of a double negation construction. The Negation Boundary Tone is blocked by polarity items, compare the pairs (a) vs. (b) in (3) and (4). This is reminiscent of the 'French-style' double negation construction. In the latter, the second part of the negation, e.g. *pas*, is mutually exclusive with the negative quantifiers such words as *rien* 'nothing', *personne* 'nobody', *nulpart* 'nowhere', etc. This distribution is explained by the fact that *pas* originally belonged to the same semantic group as *rien*, *personne* etc., that can be described as polarity neutral emphatic markers 'even a thing', 'even a person' etc. (van Alsenoy & van der Auwera 2014: 17-18).

The second aspect which favors the double negation marking analysis for the Kakabe is the existence in this language of sentence final emphatic particles ↑*féw*, ↑*fúyi* that host (↑)H tone, phonologically equal to the Negation Boundary Tone, and which are very frequent in negative utterances. Since the sentence final emphatic particles are always IP-final, there is no way to tell whether (↑)H is their lexical tone or whether it is the IP-final tone. These particles can be used in both negative and positive context, cf. (5a) and (5b), but in negative contexts they are more frequent. The sentence-final emphatic particles, along with assertion focus markers are a common source for the second element of a double negation-marking construction, at least in Western African languages, see Beyer (2009: 205). One can suppose that (↑)H% with the floating mora is the 'less segmental' equivalent of emphatic final particles which became associated with negation.

(1) (a) Affirmative (b) Negative
 à bání bòi à máá bò↑yí
 3SG PFV fall 3SG PFV.NEG fall.BT
 He fell down. He didn't fall down.

(2) à máá bòi táábálè tò
 3SG PFV.NEG fall table.ART in
 'He didn't fall on the table.'
 * à máá bòi táábálè ↑tó

(3) (a) dóódò máá bità (b) à máá bì↑tá
 PERS.PI PFV.NEG catch 3SG PFV.NEG catch.BT
 Nobody was caught. He wasn't caught.
 * dóódò máá bì↑tá

(4) (a) à bélé ↑fénfèn màlà (b) à bélé à mà-↑lá
 3SG be.NEG thing.PI do-GER 3SG be.NEG 3SG do-GER.BT
 She isn't doing anything. She isn't doing it.
 * à bélé ↑fénfèn mà↑lá

(5) (a) à máá bán ↑fèw (b) à báb bán ↑fèw
 3SG PFV.NEG finish EMPH 3SG PFV.NEG catch EMPH
 It has not finished! It has finished!

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A quantitative analysis of object agreement in Luruuli/Lunyara

Verb agreement can basically be defined as a co-variance of features (e.g. gender, number or grammatical role) between a noun and its verbal head (cf. e.g. Steele 1978). An issue which is often discussed in the context of verb agreement is the dichotomy between grammatical and pronominal agreement, the basis of which is the co-occurrence restriction (Bickel and Nichols 2007): one speaks of grammatical agreement if two expressions referring to the same entity can co-occur, i.e. one expression is an argument realized as an NP, and the other one is an agreement marker, most often attached to the predicate. If the co-occurrence of the argument and an agreement marker is not possible, the marker on the verb itself is seen as an argument and one speaks of pronominal agreement. In many languages, the absence or presence of the verbal marker concerns specific conditions, such as, for example, the clause-internal/clause-external status of the argument, information structure, the type of noun phrase it co-occurs with, phrase structure, or polarity.

In Bantu languages, the verb obligatorily agrees with the subject, and null subjects are permitted. Similarly, when the object is pronominalized, it is realized as a clitic on the verb. Although the languages of the family seem to behave fairly similar with regard to object agreement, the factors that license the co-occurrence of the object NP and the object clitic are very diverse (cf. e.g. Stucky 1983, Kawasha 2003, Buell 2008, Riedel 2009, van der Wal 2009, Downing 2011). In order to identify the central factors which condition the co-occurrence of the pronominal clitic and the object NP, we conduct a quantitative case study of the Bantu language Luruuli/Lunyara (JE.103) contributing to the description of variation within the Bantu language family. The phenomenon of optional agreement with objects in Luruuli/Lunyara is illustrated below. Example (1) shows agreement between the object clitic on the verb and the full object NP following it. In example (2) there is only the object clitic without the corresponding NP, whereas in example (3) the object is realized as a full NP without agreement on the verb.

The relevant factors will be identified using a bottom-up analysis. We first annotate a language corpus (30000 words) for the various properties of object arguments, such as role, animacy, specificity, and modification in order to quantitatively investigate their respective impact on object agreement. These variables will be then used to train a probabilistic model which allows predicting the distribution of agreement marking.

- (1) *Wabiwuurangaku ebintu ebyo?*
 o-a-**bi**-wuura-nga-ku e-bintu e-byo
 2 SG.SBJ -PST-**8OBJ**-hear-HAB-LOC AUG-8.thing AUG-8.this
 ‘Did you use to hear about these issues?’ [II-N-BBALE-170220-FS-2, 45]
- (2) *Mbiwuura.*
 n-**bi**-wuura
 1SG.SBJ-**8OBJ**-hear
 ‘I heard about them.’ [II-N-BBALE-170220-FS-2, 46]
- (3) *okoba oKigozi Bbaale?*
 o-koba o-Kigozi Bbaale
 2 SG.SBJ -mean AUG-1.Kigozi Bbaale
 ‘You mean Kigozi Bbaale?’ [II-N-BBALE-170220-FS-2, 122]

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Relativization in the Brag-dbar dialect of Situ Rgyalrong

Brag-dbar is a dialect of Situ Rgyalrong, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the western Sichuan Province of China. Like other Rgyalrong languages, it has obligatory person indexation and a simple case marking system showing ergative alignment (Zhang 2016: 105). This dialect has a rich array of relative constructions, involving different parameters. This talk aims to provide a description of the relative constructions in Brag-dbar. It concentrates on two aspects: the form of the subordinate verb and the position of the head noun.

Like most languages in this family (Genetti 1992, DeLancey 2002, Sun 2006, Jacques 2016, etc.), relativization in Brag-dbar in most cases requires nominalization of the subordinate verb. From this perspective, three types of relative clauses are attested in Brag-dbar, showing different degrees of finitude. First, the non-finite relative clauses are built with participles (S/A participle in *kə-*, P participle in *ka-* and oblique participle in *sa-*, see 1). Second, semi-finite relative clauses are formed with the uniform nominalizer *kə-*, retaining most verbal inflections (see 2). Third, finite relative clauses are also found (see 3). However, not all participants have access to each of the three types. Semi-finite relative clauses are mainly found with P and other adjunct participants, while finite relative clauses are only found with P.

In terms of the position of the head noun, Brag-dbar allows headless, internal and external headed relative clauses. External headed relative clauses can be both post-nominal and pre-nominal. While previous works have shown that in some languages, internal headed relative clause prefers non S/A participants (Munro 1976: 187–218, Dixon 2000: 333–334), in Brag-dbar, it is also found with S/A (see 4), although in some cases there are ambiguities (see 5).

In this presentation, we first describe the relativization in Brag-dbar, then based on a corpus of 25 texts collected during fieldworks, we show the proportion of each type and try to reveal whether the position of the head noun is correlated with other parameters. A comparative perspective will also be included in this study (mainly with Japhug Rgyalrong and Khroskyabs Rgyalrongic).

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Examples:

(1) khartshâs u-kə-siēt u-rmî tə tɛhimi-mgôn ɲês
 deer POSS.3SG-PTCP:S/A-kill POSS.3SG-people DET tɛhimi-mgôn be.3SG.FAC
 'The person who killed the deer is tɛhimi-mgôn.'

(2) ɲā kə jimān kəlū rɛ-'kə-ndza-u jo tə na-nəjê-ɲ
 1SG ERG corn insect PFV-NMLZ-eat_{II}-3SG PL DET PFV-throw_{II}-1SG
 'I threw the corns that the insect had eaten.'

(3) nəjê khɪ̄ u-'tə-ska-n tə ma-na-smɛ
 2SG rice PFV-2-cook_{II}-2SG DET NEG-SENS-be.cooked_I
 'The rice that you've cooked is not ready for eating.'

(4) [təeōk^{HEAD} ɲo kə rjalpê u-kə-nəzdār] mə-na-kə-ndô-s?
 servant PL ERG king POSS.3SG-PTCP:A-be.afraid.of INTER-IPFV.PST-3NS-exist_{II}-PST
 'Were there any servants who were afraid of the king?'

(5) tapū kə [lamâ^{HEAD} tarpâj kə-viê] 'na-natso-u
 tapū kə lamâ^{HEAD} [tarpâj kə-viê] 'na-natso-u
 child ERG monk scripture PTCP:A-do SENS-watch_I-3SG
 'The child is looking at the monk who recites the scriptures.'

Negation in Mapudungun

Fernando Zúñiga (University of Bern)

Based upon original data and the extant descriptions of Mapudungun (unclassified, Chile and Argentina), the present paper presents a comprehensive picture of negation in the language according to the guiding principles detailed in Veselinova (2014) and Miestamo (2016).

Mapudungun has a heavily skewed distribution of negative markers: while *-ki* and *-la* are only found with imperative and indicative verbs (1), respectively, *-nu* ~ *nu* is found with all other verbs (e.g. nonfinite forms) (2), as well as with non-verbal elements (e.g. in nominal clauses) (3).

Such a distribution is interesting for a cross-linguistic characterization of negation on several grounds. First, unlike in other languages, there is no tense-aspect-related allomorphy whatsoever in Mapudungun. Second, the standard negator *-la* is not the default option despite its high frequency (indicative clauses are indeed quite common both in everyday use and in narrative texts). Third, the default negator *-nu* is currently encroaching upon the imperative realm; double-marked forms (*-ki-nu*) or even simply imperatives that use *-nu* instead of *-ki* are increasingly common. (This is possibly due, or at least reinforced, by contact with Spanish, which uses subjunctive forms in parts of the imperative paradigm. To judge from its age and consistency through time, however, *-nu* ~ *nu* itself is unlikely to be a Spanish loan.) Fourth, the different kinds of stative predications (Payne 1997) show a differentiated picture: equation is expressed by nominal clauses in Mapudungun and therefore always use *-nu*; all other subtypes (i.e., proper inclusion, property attribution, existence, location, and possession) are expressed by verbal clauses and therefore show the mood- and finiteness-related allomorphy shown in (1-2). Fifth, even though the default negator *nu* is used with negative indefinites (see (3b)), none of the negators are used in lexeme derivation—i.e., not even the default negator can be used as Latin/Spanish *dis-* with nominal or verbal stems, or as English *-less*.

- (1) a. *Langüim-ki-fi-nge tufa-chi üñüim!*
kill-NEG-3OBJ-2SG.IMP this-ATTR bird
‘Don’t kill this bird!’ (finite verb, imperative)
- b. *La-le-la-i tufa-chi üñüim.*
die-RES-NEG-IND[3SG] this-ATTR bird
‘This bird has not died.’ (finite verb, indicative)
- (2) a. *Feyengün aku-nu-fu-le!*
3PL arrive-NEG-RI-3.SBJV
‘If only they (PL) would not arrive!’ (finite verb, subjunctive; Smeets 2008: 184)
- b. *Ngilla-la-a-i kofke nie-nu-lu plata.*
buy-NEG-FUT-IND[3SG] bread have-NEG-NFIN money
‘He who has no money will not buy bread.’ (nonfinite verb; Smeets 2008: 189)
- (3) a. *Feyti ruka nu.*
DEM house NEG
‘That is not a house.’ (nominal clause; Smeets 2008: 244)
- b. *chem rume* [what ever] ‘whatever’ vs. *chem nu rume* [what NEG ever] ‘nothing’
- c. *Dewma mari tripantu nie-el tripa-n*
already ten year have-NFIN exit-1SG.IND
ñi küdaw-a-el, welu müte kamapu nu.
1SG.PSR work-FUT-NFIN but very far.away NEG
‘When I was already ten years old, I went away to work, but not very far away.’
(Smeets 2008: 245)

Abbreviations

ATTR attributive, DEM demonstrative, FUT future, IMP imperative, IND indicative, NEG negation, NFIN nonfinite, OBJ object, PL plural, PSR possessor, RES resultative, RI ruptured implicature, SG singular, SBJV subjunctive

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