Syntax of the World's Languages III

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Abstracts

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Motivations for final position and for enclitic position: On the placing of the inflected verb in historical Basque

Modern Basque (and historical Basque as a whole; generalized attestations start in the 16th century) is a XXIV-type language in Greenberg's (1966) classification; that is, a non-rigid SOV language with Gen-N order and postpositions, but with N-Adj order.

In the present work, I examine the position of the inflected verb in the simplex clauses of historical Basque, from the perspective of the motivations that may play a role in it. Probably the most important generalization here is that, in the historical period, the simplex clause of Basque has always had a rather free word order. However, two major motivations show up which seem to account for a competition in the position of the inflected verb. On the one hand, there is a motivation for placing the inflected verb in final position (or at least after all the major constituents of the clause). On the other hand, there is another motivation which tends to place the inflected verb enclitic to a focal host.

These two major motivations are not always in conflict: the focal host can appear in second-to-last position, thus fulfilling both motivations at the same time. Only when the focal host that attracts the inflected verb appears in an early position (particularly in initial position) do we have a competition between motivations. This is especially clear in negative clauses and wh-questions.

In these two cases, at least, the historical trend of Basque evolves towards promoting (i.e. ranking higher) the incentive for placing the inflected verb enclitic to an early focal host (e.g. negative particle, wh-word), in detriment of placing the verb in final position. This implies a trend from V-final position towards a non-final position of the inflected verb, (at least in negative clauses and wh-questions): see examples (1)-(4).

Nevertheless, each of negative clauses and wh-questions has its own peculiarities regarding word order. This is particularly true of clauses with periphrastic verbs consisting of a main non-inflected verb and an inflected auxiliary. (This type of verb is, incidentally, the most frequent in historical Basque.) Thus, the evolutions of negative clauses and wh-questions have not been absolutely parallel. In negative clauses, the enclisis of the inflected verb to the negative particle is constant in all periods of historical Basque. Therefore, a major change in the position of the synthetic verb is not appreciable (compare, nevertheless, (1a) and (1b) below). What is noticeable is the evolution towards an earlier position of the negative clitic-complex (i.e. negative particle + inflected auxiliary) in periphrastic verbs, exemplified in (2) below.

On the other hand, in wh-questions, the evolution has been towards the enclisis of the whole verbal complex (i.e. either inflected synthetic verb, or main verb + inflected auxiliary) to the wh-word, exemplified in (3) and (4) below, respectively.

In any event, these changes should not be understood as a clear-cut evolution from an SOV language towards an SVO language (or towards a less V-final language), because affirmative declarative clauses and subordinate clauses are not involved in this trend, and moreover because quite free word order has always been paramount in the historical period of Basque as a whole.

(1a) ni-k liburu-a **ez daukat** (Old Basque / ?Modern Basque)
I-ERG book-DET no I-have
'I don't have the book'

(1b) ni-k **ez daukat** liburu-a (?Old Basque / Modern Basque)
I-ERG no I-have book-DET
'I don't have the book'

(2a) ni-k liburu-a ikusi **ez dut** (Old Basque)
I-ERG book-DET seen no I-have
'I haven't seen the book'

(2b) ni-k **ez dut** liburu-a ikusi (Modern Basque)
I-ERG no I-have book-DET seen
'I haven't seen the book'

(3a) nor-k liburu-a **dauka**? (Old Basque)
who-ERG book-DET has
'Who has the book'

(3b) nor-k **dauka** liburu-a? (?Old / Modern Basque)
who-ERG has book-DET
'Who has the book'

(4a) nor-k liburu-a **ikusi du**? (Old Basque)
who-ERG book-DET seen has
'Who has seen the book'

(4b) nor-k **ikusi du** liburu-a? (?Old / Modern Basque)
who-ERG seen has book-DET
'Who has seen the book'

Peter M. Arkadiev

PARTICIPIAL COMPLEMENTATION IN LITHUANIAN: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

In Lithuanian, there is a special kind of non-finite sentential complements headed by participles able to express such morphological categories as tense and agreement (gender, number, and case, or lack thereof; for an overview of the morphosyntax of participles in Lithuanian cf. Ambrazas 1979, Ambrazas (ed.) 1997). The range of verbs which take participial complements (PCs) is quite broad and includes verbs denoting perception, speech acts of different kinds, emotional and cognitive states.

There are two main subtypes of PC-constructions in Lithuanian. The first type (*accusativus cum participio*), see ex. (1), is characterized by the following properties: (i) the subject of the embedded predicate is different from the matrix subject; (ii) the embedded subject is (usually) overtly expressed and marked by Accusative case; (iii) the embedded predicate appears in a special 'adverbial' form without agreement morphology. By contrast, the other subtype (*nominativus cum participio*), see ex. (2), shows the opposite properties: (i) the embedded subject is identical to the matrix subject (more precisely, there is a binding relation between them), and (ii) cannot be overtly expressed; (iii) the embedded predicate shows full agreement morphology (number, gender, and nominative case) normally reflecting the properties of the matrix subject. Finally, some matrix verbs in these constructions show optional reflexive marking.

These constructions pose several problems for syntactic analysis. First, what is the precise grammatical function and syntactic position of the accusative noun phrase in (1)? The embedded subject seems to have undergone 'raising' to the object position in the main clause, which is reflected in its ability to be passivized (3) and marked genitive when the matrix verb is negated (4), just as ordinary direct objects. However, it turns out that in fact only a small subset of PC-taking verbs allow passivization, and that the genitive on the embedded subject may come from the lower verb, too (5). Moreover, the PC together with the accusative NP may undergo movement as an indivisible whole (6), and, finally, accusative case may be assigned by the matrix verb to the embedded subject without any displacement of the latter, which is the norm for embedded clauses of existence or location, cf. ex. (7).

Second, how to reconcile the fact that the embedded clause may express the whole range of tense distinctions, which indicates a high degree of syntactic independence, with its being 'transparent' to binding, cf. (8) where the embedded clause contains a possessive reflexive bound by the matrix subject? What kind of syntactic relation is to be posited between the matrix and the embedded clauses in light of this and other facts?

Third, what is the relation between the matrix and the embedded clauses in (2)? Which syntactic mechanism is responsible for the establishment of the referential identity of the two subjects, and what is the role of agreement morphology here? How to analyze the same/different subject dichotomy in the light of examples like (9) where the embedded subject is expressed by the overt reflexive pronoun?

In my presentation, mainly based on a corpus of examples attested in the Internet, I will discuss these and other problems which are posited by this rather understudied material.

References

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(1) *Sak-ia-u* ***tėv-ą*** *gerai* ***gyven-a-nt***.
say-PST-1SG father-ACC well live-PRS-PA
'I said [my] father lived well.' (Ambrazas 1997: 367)

(2) *Tėv-as* *sak-ė(-**si**)* *gerai* ***gyven-ąs***.
father-NOM say-PST(3)(-RFL) well live-PRS.PA.NOM.SG.M
'Father said he lived well.' (ibid.)

(3) ***Tėv-as*** *buv-o* ***mat-o-m-as*** *parein-ąs.*
father-NOM be-PST(3) see-PRS-PP-NOM.SG.M come.back-PRS.PA.NOM.SG.M
'Father was seen coming back.'

(4) *Ar* ***ne**-mat-e-i* ***tėv-o*** *parėj-us?*
Q NEG-see-PST-2SG father-GEN come.back-PST.PA
'Haven't you seen father come back?' (Ambrazas 1997: 368)

(5) *Tačiau žin-o* ***j-ų*** ***es-a-nt*** *Vokietij-oje.*
however know-PRS(3) he-GEN.PL be-PRS-PA Germany-LOC
'However, [they] know that some of these things are in Germany.' (Internet)

(6) *Film-e yra tok-ių kadr-ų,* [***kur-iuos*** ***es-a-nt***] *ne-įtar-ė*
film-LOC be(PRS.3) such-GEN.PL shot-GEN.PL which-ACC.PL be-PRS-PA NEG-suspect-PST(3)
net ir pat-ys grup-ės nar-iai.
even and self-NOM.PL group-GEN member-NOM.PL
'In the film there are some shots which the members of the team themselves did not suspect to be there.' (Internet)

(7) *Profesori-us prisimin-ė* [***buv-us*** *ant vargon-ų angel-ų* ***skulptūr-as***].
professor-NOM remember-PST(3) be-PST.PA on organ-GEN.PL angel-GEN.PL sculpture-ACC.PL
'The professor recalled there to have been statues of angels on the organ.' (Internet)

(8) *Advokat-as$_i$ teis-ės termin-ų aiškinim-ą man-o* ***es-a-nt*** ***savo$_i$*** *darb-ą.*
lawyer-NOM law-GEN term-GEN.PL interpretation-ACC think-PRS(3) be-PRS-PA REFL job-ACC
'The lawyer believes the interpretation of legal terms to be his job.' (Internet)

(9) *Bet* ***sav-e*** *j-ie suvok-ė* ***es-a-nt*** *lietuvi-ais.*
but REFL-ACC he-NOM.PL consider-PST(3) be-PRS-PA Lithuanian-INS.PL
'But they consider themselves to be Lithuanians.' (Internet)

Rusudan Asatiani

Georgian Passive and the Information Structure of a Sentence

Georgian passive is quite different from the Indo-European one: In Indo-European languages passive constructions are functionally defined; they are conversive ones of the corresponding active constructions where patient is promoted to the subject position, and agent is demoted and transferred to the prepositional phrase. The passive verb forms in Georgian do not always show the conversion of the active construction. That is, they are not simply defined by syntactic transformations and they are mostly governed by semantic peculiarities of a verb. Sometimes 'passive constructions' actually represent active semantics: *dgeba* 'S/he is standing up', *ekačeba* 'S/he pulls something', *ac'veba* 'S/he pushes something' and so on. It seems that in Georgian, as in some other languages, e. g. in Japanese [Shibatani, 1985], active-passive opposition forms a continuum where prototypical passive differs from so called middle forms.

A passive verb formally is clearly distinguishable from an active one: In present tense, S.3 has *-a* ending for passive verb forms (first of all, for prototypical ones) while it has *-s* ending for active forms (first of all, for prototypical ones) [Shanidze, 1973]. Verbs with medial semantics (such are the verbs with peripheral semantics) choose either active or passive formal models of representation.

We can suggest the main semantic regularity which governs a process of grammaticalization of medial verbs from this point of view: **If medial verb semantics allows different directions (or locations) of an action (or state) (that is, it can be directionally or locally oriented), a verb has a passive form; if not, it has an active form;** e. g. *dgeba:a-dgeba:gada-dgeba:c'ar-dgeba:ča-dgeba* 'S/he stands up : s/he retires : s/he is heading-in : s/he stands in/between'; still, compare with *cxovrobs* 'S/he lives', which doesn't allow such forms and doesn't distinguish aspectual differences that are marked in Georgian by Preverbs: *a-* 'up', *c'a-* 'away, to', *ča(r)-* 'down' *gada-* 'cross' and others.

These peculiarities of the Georgian passive define the restrictions of their usage in the process of the structuring of information. On the basis of the semi-spontaneous data which is collected using the *Questionnaire on Information Structure* (QUIS is being developed within the Sonderforschungsbereich 632 "Information Structure" at the University of Potsdam and the Humboldt University Berlin funded by the German Scientific Society [Skopeteas et all. 2006]), the passive constructions in Georgian are not defined by the invisibility of agent (data n. 42) and they don't always simply suppose the changes of syntactic functions: When an invisible Agent is presented and the passive constructions are logically the most appropriate, Georgian informants prefer to produce active constructions with uncertain subject which is represented in verb forms either by S.3.PL suffixes (1) or indefinite pronouns *viɣac/ raɣac* 'somebody/ something'(2) :

(1) *botl-s* *k'r-av-en* *pex-s*
bottle-DAT push-HAB-ACT.PRS.S.3.PL foot-DAT
'(They) are pushing the bottle with foot.'

(2) *ma-s* *vi-ɣa-c* *pex-s* *u-rt'q'-am-s*
3.DAT who-PTC(somebody)-also foot-DAT [IO.3]OV-hit-HAB-ACT.PRS.S.3.SG
'Somebody is hitting him with foot.'

Thus, the analysis of the information structure of sentences in Georgian gives one additional strong argument to interpret Georgian passive as a grammatical category mostly governed by semantic (and not only by syntactic) features.

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Gilles Authier

A new strategy for relative clauses in Azerbaijani and Caucasian Tati

Relative clauses in Azerbaijani (South-West Turkic) and Caucasian Tati (South-West Iranian) are of two types. The participle strategy is well known for all Turkic languages, and has probably been borrowed by Tati from Azerbaijani, but while Azerbaijani, like Turkish, makes use of (generally) different participles to relativize subject *vs* other functions, and has Tense/Aspect distinctions on participles, Tati uses the same participle (in any Tense/Aspect) to relativize subject *and* other functions in the relative clause, (a feature certainly induced by neighbouring Daghestanian languages, which notoriously have unoriented participles, preserving ergative internal syntax):

« A dog who barks does not bite »

1.

rous-de	seg	dendu	ne-bzeren
bark-PART	dog	tooth	Neg-Strike.PRSPRS.3

« The dog who barked was beaten »

2.

rous-de	seg	kuf-de	bü
bark-PART	dog	beat-PART	be.PAST.3

« The dog (whom) we beat bites ».

3.

[İmu	kuf-de-yi]	seg	dəndu	bzeren.
4	beat-PART-???	dog	tooth	strike.PRS.3

« The dog to whom we give a bone does not bite »

4.

imu	sugum	də-rə-yi	seg	dəndu	nə-bzərən
we	bone	give-PRS-???	dog	tooth	Neg-strike.PRS.3

« The dog whose ears we pull does not bite »

5.

imu	guş-ye.yi-re	keş-re-yi	seg	dəndu	nə-bzərən
we	ears-PL-ANAPH3-ACC	pull-notSubjectPART-4	dog.NOM	tooth	Neg-strike.PRS.3

There is no evidence of Persian type relativization strategy in Caucasian Tati, nor in Azerbaijani. But Caucasian Tati, and to a lesser extent Azerbaijani (probably under its influence) evinces an original 'head-internal' strategy. This makes uses of ki as a linker morpheme, but (contrary to Persian) they are preposed, introduced by an inflected interrogative pronoun ('which') and the domain noun is embedded and marked for case / its function in the relative clause. It is the target clause which has either zero anaphora (if the domain noun has subject function) or a resumptive pronoun marked for case (other functions).

In Azerbaijani, the domain noun has to have subject function in the target clause, where it is omitted (zero anaphora). If the domain noun has a non subject function in the target clause, either the participle strategy is used, and the domain noun is then outside the relative clause (zero anaphora is then in the relative clause) or a correlative strategy, with a resumptive pronoun bearing case for its function in the target clause:

« Do not pull the ears of the barking dog ! »

6.

[ø	hür-ən]	it-in	qulaq-lar-ı-nı	dart-ma !
ZEROANAPH(Subject)	bark-SubjectPART	dog-GEN	ear-PL-ANAPH3-ACC	pull-PROHIB

or

7.

hansı	it	ki	hür-ür,	o-nun	qulaq-lar-ı-nı	dart-ma !
which	dog	KI	bark-PRS.3	2-GEN	ear-PL-ANAPH3-ACC	pull-PROHIB

« Do not give a bone to the dog we beat ! »

8.

[ø	döy-düy-ümüz]	it-e	sümük	ver-mə !
ZEROANAPH(Object)	beat-notSubjectPART-4	dog-DAT	bone	give-PROHIB

or

9.

hansı	it-i	ki	döy-ür-ük,	o-na	sümük	ver-mə !
which	dog-ACC	KI	beat-PRS-4	2-DAT	bone	give-PROHIB

« Do not pull the ears of the dog we give a bone to !»

10.

sümük	ver-diy-imiz	it-in	qulaq-lar-ı-nı	dart-ma
bone	give-nonSubjectPART	dog-GEN	ear-PL-ANAPH3-ACC	pull-PROHIB

« Do not give a bone to the dog whose ears we pull ! »

11.

qulaq-lar-ı-nı	dart-tığ-ımız	it-e	sümük	ver-mə !
ear-PL-ANAPH3-ACC	pull-nonSubjectPART-4	dog-DAT	bone	give-PROHIB

In Caucasian Tati, the relativized function is expressed on the embedded domain noun (if object) or expressed by a preposition before the relative pronoun 'which' ; its function in the target clause is left out if subject:

« The dog that we beat, bites ».

12.

(kitam)	[seg-e	ki	kufden-im]	Ø	dəndu	bzərən
which	dog-**ACC**	KI	beat.PRS-4	ZEROANAPH(Subject)	tooth	strike.PRS.3

« The dog (to whom) we give a bone does not bite »

13.

[be-kitam	seg	ki	sugum	dərənim]	Ø	dəndu	nə-bzərən
to-which	dog	KI	bone	give.PRS-4	ZEROANAPH(Subject)	tooth	Neg-Strike.PRSPRS

« The dog whose ears we pull does not bite »

14.

[e-kitam	seg	ki	quş-yeyi-rə	keş-ren-im]	Ø	ne-rousdən
of-which	dog	KI	ears-PL.ANAPH3-ACC	pull-PRS-4	ZEROANAPH(Subject)	Neg-bark.PRS.3

If the function of the domain noun in the target clause is not subject, parallel to the participle strategy evinced also by Azerbaijani, one can use a resumptive pronoun in the target clause, after the head internal RC:

« Do not pull the ears of the barking dog ! »

15.

[kitam	seg	ki	rousden]	guşye-yi-re	me-keş !
which	dog	KI	bark-PRS.3	ears-**ANAPH3**-ACC	PROHIB-pull

« Do not give a bone to the dog we beat ! »

16.

[kitam	seg-e	ki	kufden-im]	bo-u	sugum	me-di !
which	dog-ACC	KI	beat.PRS-4	to-**ANAPH3**	bone	PROHIB-give

« Do not pull the ears of the dog we give a bone to !»

17.

[be-kitam	seg	ki	sugum	de-ren-im]	guşye-yi-re	me-keş !
to-which	dog	KI	bone	give-PRS-4	ears-**ANAPH3**-ACC	PROHIB-pull

« Do not give a bone to the dog whose ears we pull ! »

18.

[e-kitam	seg	ki	guşye-yi-re	keş-ren-im]	bo-u	sugum	me-di !
of-which	dog	KI	ears-ANAPH3-ACC	pull-PRS-4	to-**ANAPH3**	bone	PROHIB-give

« Do not pull the ears of the dog we beat ! »

19.

[kitam	seg-e	ki	kuf-den-im]	guşye-yi-re	me-keş !
which	dog	KI	beat-PRS-4	ears-**ANAPH3**-ACC	PROHIB-pull

In the last example, the case markers of the two different functions cross (« scrambling »):

« Do not beat the dog whose ears we pull »

20.

[e-kitam	seg-*e*	ki	guşye-yi-re	keş-ren-im]	*mo-kuf* !
of-which	dog-ACC	KI	ears-ANAPH3-ACC	pull-PRS-4	PROHIB-beat

These head internal relative clauses treat as one of their arguments the domain noun, which inflects accordingly, and preserve the same structure as independant clauses. A case marker (or preposition) affects the domain noun. Contrary to most previously described head-internal relative clauses, 1) a case marker signals the relativized function, 2) they are used to relativize any syntactic functions of the well-know accessibility scale, 3) an explicit subordination marker (KI) is itself internal to the relative clause, between the embedded domain noun and the verb of the relative clause.

Bisang, Walter

Hidden complexity in syntax

Current functional approaches to complexity are based on the assumption that it can be compared cross-linguistically in terms of the number of overt distinctions present in a language and that it develops with the passage of time (Dahl 2004, McWhorter 2005). If linguistic structures are the result of a balance between the competing motivations of explicitness and economy there must be another side to complexity. While current approaches focus on the explicitness side of grammar as it is reflected in "overt complexity", i.e. in overt grammatical structures and the markedness patterns associated with them, this paper will argue that there is another type of complexity called "hidden complexity" which reflects economy. Hidden complexity is characterized by the lack of obligatory grammatical categories and by pragmatic inference. As a consequence, hidden complexity yields the following effects that are developed to a comparatively high degree in East and mainland Southeast Asian languages:

(i) The difference of grammatical distinctions in a language is not reflected by the number of markers because individual markers themselves carry a number of different distinctions. The distinction that is relevant in a particular utterance has to be inferred from linguistic and non-linguistic context.

(ii) Given the lack of obligatoriness, a seemingly simple sequence may represent a considerable number of different constructions. The construction intended by the speaker has to be inferred again from linguistic and non-linguistic context. Thus, an utterance like Thai *bâan yày* [house big] can either be a DP ('big house') or a sentence ('The house is big'). But this is only the tip of the iceberg – example (1) from Late Archaic Chinese with four different syntactic analyses may illustrate this.

Thus, the seeming simplicity in terms of the number of markers is counterbalanced in structures showing hidden complexity by the grammatical distinctions that can be inferred and by the number of constructions that may apply simultaneously to a given utterance.

An area which is sometimes compared to East and mainland Southeast Asia is West Africa. A look at Yoruba will reveal that there are some effects of hidden complexity in terms of point (i) but that effects of type (ii) are rare. This is among other things related to the fact that some basic categories such as subjects or objects are obligatory in finite clauses.

The paper will end with a look at Creoles, i.e., at those languages which are often associated with maximum simplicity (McWhorter 2005). As will be argued, this particular simplicity is simplicity from the perspective of overt complexity. If one looks at the contact languages involved (West African, Standard Average European), they are all characterized by a considerable number of overt distinctions which then get lost in one way or another in extreme situations of contact. As a result, a simple structure usually has one single interpretation, while in many examples from East and mainland Southeast Asian languages a seemingly simple structure is open to a number of different interpretations. If this turns out to be true, Creoles may not give access to what is basically (maybe universally) needed in grammar but they show to what extent structures of overt complexity may be reduced in particular contact situations.

Example

(1) Constructed example from Late Archaic Chinese:
病不幸

bìng *bù* *xìng*.

ill NEG be.fortunate

(a) Simple sentence: 'Illness is unfortunate'

(b) Headless relative clause: 'The one who is ill is unfortunate.'

(c) Subject clause: 'That he is ill is unfortunate.'

(d) Conditional clause: 'If s/he is ill this is unfortunate.'

Non-constructed examples will be shown during presentation.

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Shannon Bischoff & Mans Hulden

The material above VP in Coeur d'Alene

Coeur d'Alene (Salishan/USA) is a polysynthetic language no longer learned by children. Although it has been documented since the early 20th century, no account or full description of the particles that appear to the left of the verb root has ever been put forward. In an effort to better understand the basic clause structure of Coeur d'Alene (Cr) the authors employ the typological generalizations regarding the so called *left periphery* of Cinque (1999) and Rizzi (1997), leaving the theoretical generalizations aside. In this way a number of particles are accounted for in terms of their structural organization and occurrence in Cr.

Using Gladys Reichard's unpublished field notes/manuscripts, Cr grammar and stem list (Reichard, 1938, 1939), and consultation with R. Brinkman Director Cr Language Programs and Cr scholars I. Doak and A. Mattina, an account of adverbials and functional elements in Cr is arrived at.

Eleven Cr particles (identified in Table 1) were analyzed. The authors find that a strict morpheme ordering emerges that parallels Cinque's 1999 *universal hierarchy of functional projections*. This is illustrated in (1), where the greater than sign '>' indicates an element deemed higher in the structure (or to the left of proceeding material). The greater than or equal to symbol '$\geq$' indicates that a clear distinction in ordering is not available due to the lack of a diagnostic for the exact position of aspectual morphemes with regards to their relation to one another. Further, the '$\geq$' indicates the preliminary adoption of Cinque's hierarchy in terms of aspectual morphemes. Whether the aspect elements are derived in one position or multiple positions must be left to future inquiry.

Next the Cr data was analyzed in terms of Rizzi's (1997) *Split CP Hypothesis*. The conclusion arrived at is that Cr patterns with Benincà's (2001) modification of Rizzi's account of Italian and Wantabe's (2004) account of Ancient Japanese. However, as Cr has no overt tense marking (other than via adverbials and modals), it is difficult to determine if Cr patterns with Cinque (1999) or Rizzi (1997).

The conclusions drawn from this work are: 1) Cr has a strict ordering of adverbial and functional projections; 2) Cr appears to fit with a number of languages analyzed typologically in terms of adverbials and functional elements; 3) this ordering can be interpreted as providing evidence for either a Cique-style or Rizzi-style articulation of the left periphery; 4) future inquiry should determine if the proposals of Cinque (1999) and Rizzi (1997) are simply notational variants of the same structure or present alternate structures found in languages cross-linguistically.

Table 1: Coeur d'Alene Particles

Temporal Adverbial	*kʷnɛʔ*	'soon' immediate future
	kʷkʷn'i'y'ɛʔ	'soon' immediate future
	kʷukʷiʔɬ	'soon' immediate future
Sentential Adverbial	*hoi*	'and' / 'then' discourse/narrative adverbial
	kʷum'	'and' / 'then' discourse/narrative adverbial
Mood	*nɛʔ*	irrealis
Modal	*čɛɬ*	future intentional, permissive, mild request
	čɛʔ	ought, obligation
	cmiʔ	'was to be but isn't', possibility
Aspectual	*cmiʔ*	'used to' terminative
	pinč	'always' habitual

1. Hierarchy of adverbial and functional heads in Cr:

   $mood_{speechact} > adverbial_{sentential} > adverbial_{temporal} > topic > mood_{irrealis} > modal_{possibility} > modal_{ability/permissive} \geq adverbial_{temporal} \geq aspect_{habitual} \geq aspect_{terminative} > aspect_{continuative} \geq aspect_{customary} \geq aspect_{completive} > verb - root$

References

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Jung-hsing Chang

Interrogative Constructions in Taiwan Sign Language: A Role and Reference Grammar Account

Signed and spoken languages share the same language faculty but they are expressed in different modalities (Talmy 2003). The major difference between signed languages and spoken languages lies in that the words of spoken languages are produced by actions within the vocal tract that result in sounds, and these sounds are perceived through audition, whereas those of signed languages are produced by actions of the hands, arms, torso, face, and head that produce signals, and these signals are perceived visually (Liddell 2003). Thus, the study of how sign languages are structured and why they are structured the way they are will help us understand more about the nature of human languages, at the same time showing the similarities and differences between signed and spoken languages.

This paper has investigated interrogative sentences in Taiwan Sign Language (TSL) within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG)(Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005), with the aim of finding out: (a) the structure of TSL interrogative sentences (e.g. the position of wh words and the formation of Yes-No question), (b) the constraints on linking in wh questions in TSL, and (c) the function of nonmanual expressions in TSL interrogative sentences (e.g. eyebrow raising, headshakes/head nods, eye gaze, and head body posture). Three important issues of this research are:

First, unlike American Sign Language (ASL) that interrogatives are wh-doubles (Binns-Dray 2005), wh words are generally moved to the final position of a sentence in TSL (e.g. SCHOOL FATHER WORK 'Father works in school.' →FATHER WORK <u>WHAT PLACE</u> 'Where does father work?'), challenging the claim by Petronio & Lillo-Martin (1997:23) and Frank & Kapur (1996:653) that no language has movement to the end of the sentence. This paper will discuss how RRG accounts for the linking of wh arguments to syntax in TSL.

Second, instead of using special question-marking morphemes to form Yes-No questions such as Chinese <u>ma</u>, Japanese <u>no</u>, or Korean <u>ni</u>, TSL uses nonmanual features to express Yes-No questions (e.g. a TSL Yes-No question is usually accompanied by raised eyebrows, opened eyes, etc.). It will be discussed how the nonmanual features are related to focus domains in RRG.

Last, it is noted that the sentence with a spatial verb such as RUN ABOUT in TSL must co-occur with a classifier morpheme (e.g. ANIMAL) to substitute for a more specific sign (here, the subject DOG) (e.g. ROOM DOG $ROOM_{cl}$+$AMINAL_{cl}$-RUN ABOUT 'The dog is running about in the room.'). However, the requirement of classifiers in such expressions postulates an interesting issue for the formation of wh questions in TSL. For example, in TSL 'What has run into the room?' is expressed as in (1), whereas 'What has sunk into the ocean?' is expressed as in (2). The examples in (1) and (2) have shown that the wh questions with spatial verbs in TSL cannot be formed just by adding the wh words; rather, an alternative question should also be involved. Such grammatical phenomenon in TSL did not yet receive attention in the literature of sign language. This paper will discuss how such structures are represented and accounted for in the framework of RRG.

(1) ROOM $ROOM_{cl}$+$AMINAL_{cl}$-RUN INTO WHAT? <u>CAR, THING</u>?
'What has run into the room? <u>A car or a thing?</u>'

(2) OCEAN $OCEAN_{cl}$+ROUND $OBJECT_{cl}$-SINK, <u>SHIP, ANIMAL</u>, WHAT?
'What has sunk into the ocean? <u>A ship or an animal?</u>'

SWL3
Berlin, 25-28 September 2008

Remarks on so-called "conjunct/disjunct" systems

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Morphological variations of verbs involving a binary choice with a 1 vs. 2/3 person contrast in declarative clauses and a 2 vs. 1/3 person contrast in questions have been labeled *conjunct/disjunct systems* by Hale 1980, and have been first described for Tibetan, Newari, and a few other Tibeto-Burmese languages (Hale 1980, DeLancey 1986, DeLancey 1990, DeLancey 1992, Genetti 1994, Hargreaves 2005, Bickel 2008, Tournadre 2008). Similar patterns have also been found in the Mehweb dialect of the Nakh-Daghestanian language Dargwa (Magometov 1982), in Awa Pit, a Barbacoan language spoken in Colombia and Ecuador (Curnow 2002), and in the Papuan language Oksapmin (Loughnane 2007).

In my talk at SWL3, after reviewing the literature on conjunct/disjunct systems, I will present my own findings on Akhvakh, a Nakh-Daghestanian language belonging to the Andic branch of the Avar-Andic-Tsezic family, spoken in the western part of Daghestan and in the village of Axaxdərə near Zaqatala (Azerbaijan).

In the perfective positive (and only in this tense), Akhvakh verbs show variations expressing person distinctions, morphologically distinct from variations in gender-number and following a different alignment pattern. There are two possible endings for this tense, with basic allomorphs *-ada* and *-ari*. The following chart summarizes the rule governing the choice between *-ada* and *-ari* in Axaxdərə Akhvakh:

	declarative clauses	questions
1st person A / S_A	***-ada***	*-ari*
2nd person A / S_A	*-ari*	***-ada***
3rd person A / S_A	*-ari*	*-ari*
no A / S_A	*-ari*	*-ari*

The choice between *-ada* and *-ari* expresses a *1st p.* (*-ada*) vs. *2nd/3rd p.* (*-ari*) contrast in declarative clauses, but *2nd p.* (*-ada*) vs. *1st/3rd p.* (*-ari*) contrast in questions, and follows a split intransitive pattern: transitive verbs agree with A, whereas intransitive verbs divide into S_A verbs agreeing with S in the same way as transitive verbs with A, and S_P verbs invariably showing the ending *-ari*. This division of Akhvakh intransitive verbs into two classes transparently reflects the degree of control of the participant encoded as S. Consequently, the function of *-ada* is to encode coincidence between the controller of the event and the SAP responsible for the assertion (the speaker in declarative speech acts, the addressee in questions). A plausible historical hypothesis is that this pattern emerged from the reanalysis of a former tense distinction.

In conclusion, I will discuss the relationship between so-called 'conjunct/disjunct' systems, evidentiality marking, and person agreement.

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Sonia Cristofaro

Argument encoding in Ancient Greek infinitive and participial complement clauses

A distinguishing feature of Ancient Greek are the accusative + infinitive and accusative + participle constructions found in certain types of complement clauses, that is, clauses that function as an argument of a main predicate, or complement-taking predicate. In these constructions, the verb is in the infinitive or participial form, while A, S, and O arguments all receive accusative case marking (examples (1) and (2)). This deviates from the argument alignment pattern attested in main clauses, where A and S arguments are clearly distinguished from O arguments at both the morphological and the syntactic level.

This type of alignment split turns out to be quite rare in complement clauses and dependent clauses in general cross-linguistically (only a few cases were found in a balanced eighty language sample), and its rarity appears to be a specific manifestation of the general typological principle whereby A and O arguments, since they cooccur in the same clause, are usually kept distinct.

As accusative + infinitive and accusative + participle constructions are already attested in the earliest Ancient Greek texts, there is no direct diachronic evidence about how they originated, and this issue has never been investigated in a general typological perspective (although some hypotheses about the origin of accusative + infinitive constructions have been put forward in the literature on Ancient Greek). Based on extensive textual evidence, the paper argues however that the distribution of infinitives and participles in general across various types of complement constructions makes it possible to put forward some typologically motivated and functionally grounded hypotheses about the development of accusative + infinitive and accusative + participle constructions. A model is proposed where the development of these constructions is crucially related to

(i) The use of infinitives and participles under coreferentiality of arguments between main and dependent clauses, which reflects an economic pattern of information recoverability that is well-attested cross-linguistically. In this case, the coreferential arguments are expressed overtly in the main clause, but not in the dependent clause (examples (3)-(5));

(ii) The semantics of the contexts where accusative + infinitive and accusative + participle constructions can be used - specifically, the fact that accusative + infinitive constructions typically encode events that are not positively presented as realized, and the fact that accusative + participle constructions are used when the sentence describes a process of acquisition of knowledge about some situation.

The main asset of this analysis is that it invokes a general principle, information recoverability, that is valid both cross-linguistically and across different construction types in Ancient Greek. Also, contrary to what has been argued for nominative and ergative systems, the association between A, O, and S arguments in complement clauses is not regarded as the result of any general semantic or pragmatic principle. Rather, this pattern results from a number of associations that are established between different complement sentence types, and are independent of the semantic or pragmatic features of individual arguments. This fact, along with the fact that this pattern violates the general principle of distinguishing A and O arguments, may account for the rarity of this pattern cross-linguistically.

(1) *hoútō mèn Ioûn es Aígupton apikésthai légousi*
in.this.way PTCL Io:ACC.SG in Egypt:ACC.SG arrive.AOR:INF say:3.PL
Pérsai, ouk hōs Héllēnes
Persians NEG like Greeks
'The Persians, contrary to the Greeks, say that this is how Io came to Egypt' (Herodotus, 1.2.2)

(2) *oîda* **humàs** *egṑ [...]* **téttaras** **óntas**
knew you:ACC.PL I four:ACC.PL be.PRES.PTCPL:M.ACC.PL
koinonoûs **gegonótas** *sofías*
common:M.ACC.PL PERF:become:PTCPL:M.ACC.PL wisdom
'I know the four of you have formed a partnership in wisdom' (Plato, Gorgias, 487c)

(3) *se kaí ou dúnamai prolipeîn*
you also NEG can:1SG leave.AOR:INF
'I cannot leave you' (Homer, Odyssey, 13.331)

(4) *Héktora taûta keleúete muthésasthai*
Hector:ACC this.ACC order:PRES.IMP.2.SG say:AOR:INF
'Bid Hector to say this' (Homer, Iliad, 7.284)

(5) *kaí ē gunè eporaî min exiónta*
and the woman saw:3.SG 3.SG.ACC go.out:PRES.PTCPL-ACC.M.SG
'And the woman saw him go out' (Herodotus, 1.10.6)

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
AOR	aorist
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
M	masculine
NEG	negation
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
PRES	present
PTCL	particle
PTCPL	participle
SG	singular

Maud Devos

From non-verbal predication to predicative focus in Shangaci.

Shangaci is a variant of Makhuwa (Bantu, P30) that has undergone considerable influence from Swahili. It is more or less mutually intelligible with Koti (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000). I estimate the number of speakers to be 4000. The majority of Shangaci speakers live in a village nord of Angoche, the coastal town in the Nampula province of Mozambique where Koti is the main language.
In Shangaci the way to express constituent focus after a verbal predicate (1) is strikingly similar to the expression of identification (2) in a non-verbal sentence. Both constructions involve lowering of the nominal constituent, more specifically the deletion of its first lexical high tone.

(1)	siŕráfuna mashaála	si-ni-rafun-a ma-shala
	I am not eating YOUNG COCONUTS.	Neg.1sg-Pres-chew-Fi 6-young.coconut
(2)	aámpa mashaála	ampa ma-shala
	These are young coconuts.	6.Demi 6-young.coconut

The main part of the paper is dedicated to my claim that this similarity is no coincidence but that it is the result of grammaticalisation of a construction expressing identification into a marker of focus (Creissels 2006: 357). I present language-internal evidence as well as evidence from unrelated languages that corroborate this view. The examples (3) and (4) for instance basically show the same way of expressing focus.

(3)	kittisákhá orampalaála	ki-tti-sakh-a o-rampalal-a
	I want to LIE DOWN.	1sg-Pres-want-Fi 15-lie.down-Inf
	(< *I want it is to lie down*)	
(4)	quero é deitar-me (Port)	want.1sg is.3sg lie.down myself
	I want to LIE DOWN.	
	(< *I want is to lie down*)	

In the remainder of this paper I look at the focus construction in Shangaci from a typological point of view. In the typology of Heine and Reh (1983) Shangaci appears to be an example of a language with a weakly grammaticalised focus system. In such languages the focus part of the sentence shows traces of an identificational origin. However, the out-of-focus part should show resemblance to relative clauses. This is not the case for Shangaci thus questioning the ultimate derivation of this type of focus construction from cleft constructions. From the relatively broad typological perspective of Heine and Reh I turn to a very local typology involving only three languages: Makhuwa, Koti and Shangaci. The languages are closely related but show intriguing differences in the expression of focus. In all three languages the expression of focus involves two factors: tense-aspect morphology (Hyman and Watters 1984) and lowering of the focussed constituant. The crucial difference lies in the importance of each of these factors in the expression of focus.

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abbreviations

Neg	negative
Pres	present
Fi	final suffix
Dem	demonstrative
Inf	Infinitive

Object Relations in Panará (Jê)

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Typologically, ditransitive clauses are understood to have three core arguments, defined by the independent criteria of **obligatoriness** and **grammatical behavior** (morphosyntactic properties that distinguish core relations from obliques). Whereas a transitive clause has two obligatory participants, A (agent) and O (patient), a ditransitive clause has three obligatory participants, A (agent), T (patient), and R (recipient). The two objects of the ditransitive clause (T, R) often align with the single object (O) of a transitive clause into either Direct Object (O, T) vs. Indirect Object (R) or Primary Object (O, R) vs. Secondary Object (T).

In Panará (Jê), grammatical behavior clearly distinguishes prototypical intransitive and ditransitive clauses. The core arguments of these clauses are distinguished by both case-marking and verb agreement: A bears ergative case in opposition to unmarked O and S; in irrealis clauses, prefixes agree with Nominative (A, S) and Accusative (O), whereas in realis clauses, prefixes agree with Ergative (A) and Absolutive (S, O).

Ditransitive clauses are not difficult to describe, but they are difficult to characterize in typological terms. A lexically underived ditransitive verb like 'give' adds the recipient (R) in a postpositional phrase, which resembles an oblique except in that it controls accusative verb agreement in place of the unmarked T. Case-marking unites O and T as the DO, leaving R in the IO relation, whereas verb agreement unites O and R as the PO, leaving T in the SO relation. In addition to the recipient of a prototype ditransitive verb like 'give', this control of verb agreement is shared by the objects of postpositional phrases headed by the benefactive, malefactive, comitative, instrumental-comitative$_4$ and inessive (for open recipients), meaning both semantically core/obligatory and a subset of semantically optional/peripheral participants share these grammatical properties of IO/PO. Note that relative clause formation still groups these PPs with other PPs, whereas A and O/T have a separate relativization strategy.

In a similar vein, any intransitive clause may add one of these PPs, creating an extended intransitive clause: the S of the intransitive V continues to be unmarked and to control nominative or absolutive agreement (depending on mood), but verb now also agrees with the object of the PP as if it were PO.

To conclude the exposition of patterns in Panará, we turn to applicative constructions, in which either an intransitive or a transitive verb may incorporate one of the IO postpositions, with the result that R becomes PO in control of verb agreement, in case-marking, and in relative clause formation. Since T remains unmarked, it is now a full SO in a ditransitive construction more parallel to that found in English and Bantu languages. However, when a postposition is incorporated into an intransitive verb, the case-marking and verb agreement of S (→A?) does not change to ergative, but remains absolutive.

In summary, Panará presents a true difference between oblique PPs and Indirect Object PPs, in that only the latter control absolutive/accusative verb agreement. Further, there is a difference between Indirect Object and Primary Object, in that although both control the same verb agreement, the former are objects of postpositions and follow the oblique relativization strategy, whereas the latter are unmarked and follow the A/O relativization strategy. However, even when these tests indicate that incorporation of postpositions adds a core (PO) argument to a formerly intransitive verb, case-marking of the former S does not change to ergative, calling into question the transitivity of the applicative verb.

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Simultaneous double alignment in Kuni, or, how many agreement patterns does a language need?

In comparison to the majority of languages which have at the most one morphological alignment system marked on a word class (even split alignment systems mark only according to one system at a time), Kuni (ISO 639-3: kvg), a Marind language (Trans-New Guinea Phylum) with approx. 4'500 speakers in the Western Province of Papua New Guinea, exhibits two simultaneous and obligatory systems of cross-referencing grammatical relations on the verb, which operate on an accusative and ergative basis respectively. This paper explores the morpho-syntactic differences and interactions between these two systems.

In simultaneous double alignment (Dixon 1994:48 refers to this phenomenon as 'two mechanisms for cross-referencing'), one series of affixes marks S and A while the other marks S and O resulting in redundant marking of S in intransitive sentences (*ex.1)*. In Kuni every finite verb contains a nominative portmanteau Verb Subject prefix *(ex.2 – all Kuni examples are from unpublished fieldwork by R. Fumey, personal communication*), which marks person, number and gender as well as differences of tense, aspect, mood, interclausal relations, applicative functions and deixis, besides determining the tone pattern of the clause, forming a very regular system with no known exceptions. In addition, Kuni verbs contain obligatory absolutive affixes which mark person, number and gender of S/O *(ex.3+4)* that can also be used to indicate distributive verbal number *(ex.5),* and/or they contain an absolutive stem alternation based on gender (*ex.6+7*). This absolutive system entails classes of pre- or suffixes (sometimes combined) and contains numerous exceptions and irregularities. On top of these two systems, a third marking pattern exists in the form of stem alternation based on verbal number *(ex.8)* (also found in the related language Marind) which also works on an absolutive basis (as verbal number is known to do; cf. Durie 1986).

Like other types of redundant agreement marking (e.g. exuberant agreement; cf. Harris 2006) simultaneous double alignment is very rare cross-linguistically. Koiari (Koiarian, Trans-New Guinea; Dutton 1996) is another example, where, however, few person-number contrasts are made and the absolutive is restricted to a singular-plural opposition (which is also reminiscent of verbal number). In Kuni the absolutive marking is less restricted, but the nominative prefixes still exhibit a higher degree of finiteness than the absolutives (e.g. 1pl incl/excl distinction). The nominative prefixes are absent in nominalisations *(ex.9)* and infinitives, while the absolutive affixes are regarded as integral parts of the verb stem. Both the Kuni nominative and absolutive systems contain forms that can be related to the free pronoun forms. In terms of Bybee's (1985:15) scale of relevance the number stem alteration can be seen as being the most relevant to the verb, the absolutive marking being intermediate and the nominative marking being least relevant. Alternatively, Dixon (1994:94) proposes a hierarchy according to which, in simultaneous double alignment, person identifies more closely with the nominative system and gender identifies more with the absolutive, while number comes in between. The simultaneous double alignment in Kuni shows some of these tendencies but does not correlate entirely.

Kuni knows little syntactic restriction, with no apparent pivot constraints *(ex.10)* (note also Dixon's 1994:155 observation that many languages with obligatory verbal marking of subject and object do not operate on a pivot), no switch-reference marking, fixed word-order only for emphasis, and little coordination, while subordination is indicated by the Verb Subject prefix *(ex.11)*. Interclausal relationships are usually apparent through the person/number/gender marking of S/A/O, as well as by accompanying (optional) noun phrases and pronouns. In comparison, Koiari, like many Papuan languages (Foley 1986:183), exhibits switch-reference marking based on S/A, making it syntactically accusative. Because an in-depth study of syntax in Kuni has not yet been completed, one aim of this paper is to further investigate the syntactic restrictions and possibilities in Kuni in their interaction with simultaneous double alignment and to discover if Kuni does have a syntactic basis in either one of its two morphological alignment systems.

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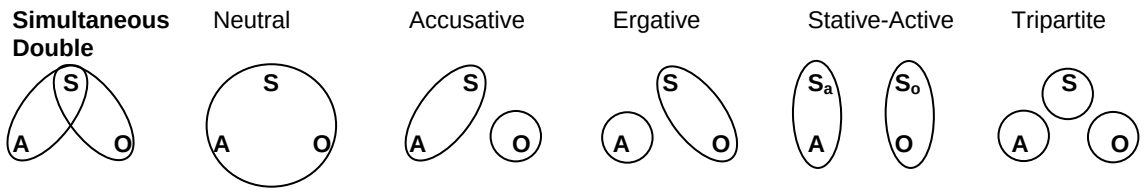
Examples:

(1) Simultaneous double alignment in comparison to other alignment types:



(2) *Gekha khøuwâ* ***gené****-fakh-ān?*
what sun/day **NOM.3SG.M**[1]-come-ABS5a[2].3SG «INTQ»[3]
'When will he arrive?'

(3) *Nøte-****zø****-má-****s*** *nømøkhaiya.*
NOM.1SG-**ABS2.2PL**-show-**ABS4b.2PL** «NINT» yesterday
'I showed it to you (pl) yesterday'

(4) *Nepet no-mó-khofotá-****v****.*
banana NOM.1sg-ELATIVE-send-**ABS5b.3SG.N** «INT»
'I'm going to send bananas.' (sent together)

(5) *Nepet no-mó-khofotá-****m****.*
banana NOM.1sg-ELATIVE-send-**ABS6.3SG.N.DIST** «INT»
'I'm going to send bananas.' (sent on different vehicles/loads, or packed separately)

(6) *Nømøkhaiya gu-w-av,* *mae-****o-mé-t***
yesterday NOM.3SG.F-ABS.3SG-go«SUB» NOM.1SG-**ABS2.3SG-see-ABS4.3SG**«NINT»
'When she went yesterday I saw her.'

(7) *Nømøkhaiya qa-w-av,* *mae-****qeiv****.*
yesterday NOM.3SG.N-ABS.3SG-go«SUB» NOM.1SG-**see.N**«NINT»
'When it went yesterday I saw it.'

(8) *Tæ-****buv****..* *Tei-****simbi****..*
NOM.1SG-**sleep** «SUB» vs. NOM.1PL.EXCL-**sleep** «SUB»
'If I sleep…' 'If we sleep…'

(9) ***Qa****-te-****q****-at* *mbaín.*
ABS2.2SG-know-**ABS5.2SG**-NMLZ Neg.Equative
'You don't have knowledge.'

(10) *Ge-o-mé-t* *ndugu,* ***vø****-ndō-teit*
NOM.3-ABS2.3SG-see-ABS4.3SG «NINT» her **NOM.SEQ.3**-ALL-run.SG «SEQNINT»
'He saw her and then **she** ran to him**'** OR '… then **he** ran to her'

(11) *Pepa* ***tæ****-peaom-it,* *ndigu miting ndó-gó-t.*
letter **NOM.SUB.1SG**-write-PROGCLOSE «**SUB**» they meeting NOM.3-do- PROGCLOSE «INT»
'While I will write a letter, they will have a meeting.'

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[1] For convenience, references to TAM have been excluded in the nominative prefix glosses.
[2] The numbers and letters following ABS refer to different absolutive classes.
[3] The tone patterns of the clauses are orthographically marked by diacritics and are glossed using angle quotes: «…»

Carola Emkow

Ordering of grammatical markers within the predicate in Araona

Araona, a Tacana language, spoken in northwestern Bolivia (Amazonia) by about 150 people. is an agglutinative, predominantly suffixing and mildly polysynthetic language.

The paper will deal with the ordering of grammatical markers within the predicate in the light of the the diagrammatic iconicity in stem-inflection relations. This typological investigation of the iconicity of distance hypothesis for verbal affixes is based on the study of fifty unrelated languages as postulated by Bybee (1985). Bybee dealt with affixes expressing typical grammatical categories like VALENCE, VOICE, ASPECT, TENSE, MODALITY (including MOOD), person and number agreement. According to Bybee's principle of iconity reflected in the ordering of affixes (also known as 'principle of relevance') affixes closer to the verb stem are more 'relevant' to the verb than to the rest of the sentence (the proposition), while affixes further away are less relevant.

In Araona, grammatical categories expressed in the verb are tense, mood, modality, evidentiality, aspect, directionals and posturals. The language hence appears to be appropriate for testing the 'principle of relevance'. However, in this language, the iconicity of distance should not exclusively be defined by the ordering of affixes . Other factors need to be taken into consideration.

Araona has simple predicates where all grammatical markers and particles (which we call verbal modifiers) are attached to the main verb and complex predicates where grammatical markers are attached to the auxiliary verbs Verbal categories in Araona can be divided into core and non-core verbal categories. A core verbal category is one whose members never detach from the main verb. A non-core verbal category is one whose members may be carried by an auxiliary verb. A verbal marker may not be able to attach to a verb directly for one of two reasons. An affix or clitic may not attach because the verb is defective and cannot combine with it (that is, the verb is not fully inflecting).or because there is a constraint on the co-occurrence of some grammatical markers which are mutually exclusive. There is a hierarchy according to which a grammatical marker is given priority over another. The marker attached to the main verb can be regarded conceptually closer to the verb than the marker that is carried by an auxiliary verb.

To apply Bybee's 'principle of relevance' to the predicate in Araona, we need to discuss the ordering of the grammatical markers and verbal modifiers as well as the way they are used in complex predicates. The closeness of a grammatical marker to the verb stem must be evaluated by

- the slot it occupies (linear order)
- whether it is a member of a core verbal or non-core verbal category
- its rank in the 'auxiliation hierarchy' according to which a marker is given priority over another.

Such an analysis reveals that by and large the structure of the predicate reflects the diagrammatic iconicity in stem-inflection relations as postulated by Bybee (1985),

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David Erschler

On wh-question formation in Iron Ossetic: A case for areal influence

Ossetic is a Northeast Iranian language spoken in the Central Caucasus. It has been long isolated from other Iranian languages, and has had close contacts with Caucasian and Turkic languages. The influence of those on Ossetic is widely recognized. In my talk, I describe the wh-question formation in Iron Ossetic[1] and argue that the existing strategy is an outcome of contacts with the neighboring Kartvelian and Nakh (Northeast Caucasian) languages[2]. Such contacts of Ossetians are well attested, *cf*, among others, (Abaev 1949; Bielmeier 1977). Thus it is not unreasonable to expect a certain degree of convergence with these languages in the Ossetic syntax.

Ossetic is an underlyingly SOV language, see (1a). In simple clauses, the wh-word is obligatorily fronted into the preverbal position, (1b). It can be separated from the verb only by second position clitics, negative particles, and negative pronouns (2). In composite verbs, the preverb marks the linear left edge of the zone where the wh-word might show up (3). However, there are no restrictions on where wh-word + verb may appear in the clause, see (4). In multiple wh-questions, all wh-phrases are obligatorily fronted (6a). The only robust superiority constraint is that "who" should precede "what". However, it seems to have to do with the animacy, rather than with the semantic roles or with the syntactic functions of the phrases, (6a,b).

The obligatory wh-fronting in Ossetic contrasts with the strategies of question formation found in other modern Iranian languages. Those are normally considered to be *in situ*, see, for example, (Tegey, Robson 1996) for Pashto, (Karimi, Taleghbani 2007) for Persian, and (7) illustrating the situation in Kurmanji Kurdish. However, there exists considerable freedom in placement of wh-words, and the preverbal position is an available option, see Wakhi examples (8). On the other hand, the directly neighboring Kartvelian obligatorily front wh-words into the preverbal position, see (Harris 1984, Tuite 1997) for Georgian and Svan data. In Nakh, although such placement of wh-words is not completely obligatory, it is nevertheless the unmarked and sometimes the only available option, (Nichols 1994a, 1994b), Chechen exl. (9). This makes it plausible to assume that Ossetic has developed the obligatory wh-fronting under the influence of these languages[3]. The availability of the preverbal position for wh-words in Iranian permits to make a conjecture about the grammaticalization path of this construction in Ossetic.

Admittedly, Ossetic is a non-prototypical representative of the Caucasian linguistic area. However, the considered case of language interaction shows that looking for 'Sprachbünde within Sprachbünde' might prove a worthwhile task allowing to more completely understand the place of periphereal members in a Sprachbund.

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[1] Ossetic is comprised of two dialects, Iron and Digor. The situation in Digor is substantially the same (Abaev 1949).

[2] The data from Ossetic, Wakhi, Kurmanji Kurdish (the dialect spoken in Armenia), and Chechen were elicited by me from native speakers. Some of Ossetic examples were taken from modern literary texts.

[3] Neither Turkic nor Northwest Caucasian languages have obligatory wh-fronting.

(1) a. Soslan Mædinæ-j-y warž-y
S. M-EP-ACC love-PRS.3SG
'Soslan loves Madina.'

b. Mædinæ-j-y či warž-y? /*či Mædinæ-j-y warž-y
M-EP-ACC who love-PRS.3SG
'Who loves Madina?'

(2) a. či=dyn=sæ ba-iv-zæn?
who=DAT.2SG=ACC.3PL PREV-change-FUT.3SG
'Who will exchange them for you?'

b. Kæm-æn ničі/*ničі kæmæn rad-zæn xærinag?
who-DAT nobody give-FUT.3SG food
'To whom will nobody give food?'

(3) æmæ=ma wædæ sy š-fænd kodt-at/*šfænd sy kodtat?
and=also then what PREV-advice aux.PST-COND.2PL
'So, what would you then advice?'

(4) ænæ xud-æj sæmæn ra-syd-tæ wyng-mæ?
without cap-ABL why PREV-go.PST-PST.2SG street-ALL
'Why have you gone outside without a cap?'

(6)a. či kæj/kæj či fed-ta ?
who who.ACC see.PST-PST.TR.3SG
'Who has seen whom?'

b. či sy/*sy či balxæd-ta
'Who has bought what ?'

(7) Kurmanji Kurdish (the dialect spoken in Armenia)

a. Mamustä prtur da šagert.
teacher book give:PST.3SG student
'The teacher gave a book to the student'

b. Mamustä če da šagert?
teacher what give:PST.3SG student
'What did the teacher give to the student?'

c. Mamustä prtur da ki ?
teacher book give:PST.3SG who
'Who did the teacher give a book to?'

(8) Wakhi

a. Maalim ja kaṣir kətob rətt-i.
teacher DET boy book give.PST-3SG
'The teacher gave a book to the boy'

b. Maalim ja kaṣir čiz rətt-i.
teacher DET boy what give.PST-3SG
'What did the teacher give to the boy?'

c. Maalim kətob-i kujər rətt-i? / Kujər maalim kətob-i rətti?
teacher book-OBL who:DAT give:PST-3SG
'Who did the teacher give a book to?'

(9) stɛna-x laec-na j-u kni:ga?/* stɛna-x kni:ga laecna ju?
what-LAT catch-CVB II-COP.PRS book.NOM
'What is this book about?'

Glosses: Abl = ablative, Acc= accusative, All = Allative, Aux = Auxiliary, Cvb = converb, Cond = Conditional, Cop = copula, Dat = Dative, Det = determiner, Ep = epenthetic, Gen= Genitive, Lat = Lative, Obl = oblique, Prev= preverb, Tr= transitive, II = 2nd class marker.

Sebastian Fedden

The origin of switch-reference markers in Mian

This paper gives an account of the unusual behaviour of switch reference (SR) marking in Mian (a Trans New Guinea language from Papua New Guinea) by explaining this behaviour in the light of the origin of the SR markers, which have ultimately been derived from mood and tense markers.

The formal and functional features of SR systems have received considerable attention in the literature (e.g. Haiman and Munro 1983, Stirling 1993, Roberts 1997). SR is commonly described as a discourse tracking device, whose main function is to monitor the subject, i.e. to indicate through verbal morphology whether the subject of some other clause (in clause chaining constructions in Papuan languages the succeeding one (cf. Foley and Van Valin 1984, Foley 1986)) is the same (SS) or different (DS).

The Mian SR system is less strongly grammaticalized than those of the languages spoken in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. While the suffix *-s* always signals DS and event sequentiality (as in 1), the suffix *-n* only unequivocally marks SS (and event sequentiality) if the subject is first person singular while it functions just as an indicator of event sequentiality in all other person-number combinations regardless of the reference of the subject in the succeeding clause. In example (2), the SS/Sequential marker *-n* shows the expected behaviour. If the subject of the first clause is anything but first singular, *-n* merely indicates sequentiality of events, as in (3).

This creates a functional paradox. SR morphology is redundant when either of the subjects is first or second person because here disjoint reference is obvious to discourse participants. In the third person, however, one would expect full functionality of the SR system because of its importance for referent identification. Yet, Mian suspends SR meaning in this case.

I propose that the SR marker *-n* originated in the homophonous realis mood marker whereas *-s* 'DS/Sequential' goes back to a homophonous deictic tense marker. The suffix *-n* simply marks the 'real' status of an event and therefore remains noncommittal with respect to conjoint or disjoint subject reference in the verb of the following clause. The marker *-s*, on the other hand, being derived from a deictic tense category forces a 'DS/sequential' interpretation.

Previous accounts of the origin of SR formatives have given emphasis to explaining why SR marking functions the way we expect it to (cf. Givón 1983, Haiman 1983). The Mian case shows that tracing the SR markers back to their origins as tense or mood markers makes it possible to explain why the SR system behaves contrary to expectation.

Examples

(1) *nē* *binō* *we-s-i=a*
I floor sweep-DS.SEQ-1SG.SBJ=MED

ē *uninō* *fu-n-e-so=be*
he food cook-REAL-3SG.M.SBJ-Y.PST=DECL
'Yesterday, I swept the floor and then he cooked food'

(2) *nē binō we-n-i=a* *uninō* *fu-n-i-so=be*
I floor sweep-SS.SEQ-1SG.SBJ=MED food cook-REAL-1SG.SBJ-Y.PST=DECL
'Yesterday, I swept the floor and then cooked food'

(3) *ē binō we-n-e=a* *nē uninō* *fu-n-i-so=be*
he floor sweep-SEQ-3SG.M.SBJ=MED I food cook-REAL-1SG.SBJ-Y.PST=DECL
'Yesterday, he swept the floor and then I cooked food'

Gabriella Fekete

Information structure and choice of perspective in the Hungarian narrative discourse: a developmental study

Each language provides alternative linguistic options for the organization of the information flow. These competitive constructions do not dissent from a semantic level but from a syntactic and pragmatic one (voice, word order). Thus, the speaker has the possibility to select a linguistic "packaging" for verbal reproduction as close as possible to the conceptualization of his life's experience. Indeed, he chooses certain elements rather than others: not only the semantic roles which he wants to express but also the role which will be placed in the foreground and in the background ; it consists of the choice of the verb, the grammatical role attributed to the participants of the event, and their order (in some languages). Much work has proposed that the speaker selects first a component of event, a "Starting Point", and takes it necessarily as a registration point on which the event is based (MacWhinney 1977, Gernsbacher & Hargreaves 1992, Langacker 1998). Its selection is founded on the subjective interpretation of the actions and the objects of the speaker, according to his communicative intention and to the discursive context (Croft 1994), as in (1a)-(1c).

Producing a narrative text is a complex task for the child. It simultaneously claims the capacity to produce a conceptual organization by means of a multi-propositional verbal realization, and the ability to organize the events coherently and chronologically. The linguistic coding of the experiences depends on the competence of using the already acquired linguistic structures.

Our study examines how Hungarian speakers organize the information flow in narrative texts. Our corpus is composed of narratives elicited from five groups (3-year-olds, 5-year-olds, 7/8-year-olds, 10/12-year-olds, and adults) of Hungarian native speakers. The narrative task used to elicit the narratives is a series of pictures with no text (*Frog, Where are you?* Mayer 1969), which has served as the basis for a number of cross-linguistic developmental studies (Berman and Slobin 1994). The series of pictures recounts the adventures of two principal characters (a boy and a dog) in search of their runaway frog. Over the course of the story the boy and the dog encounter a host of secondary characters (a mole, an owl, a swarm of bees and a deer), and they are affected by their actions. We will focus, in particular, on the range of information structures employed in the four episodes in which the protagonists meet secondary characters. This study tends to illustrate the developmental process of the Hungarian child's capacity to select the linguistic constructions in competition in order to change the semantic statute in the narrative speech, and consequently, to tell events according to various points of view. Hungarian word order is very flexible and perhaps best described as being pragmatically determined (topic-focus-comment structure). Because the syntactic functions are expressed by casual suffixes, and the passive voice is generally used only in the resultative sequences, the "fronting" of the element in perspective is manipulated by word order, as in (2a)-(2c). We test the hypothesis that the fundamental use of the intransitive constructions, which enclose only one participant for a causative event, decreases with age. It is progressively replaced by transitive options including simultaneously the two participants of the event. The tendency to always put the agent of the action in subject position and/or in topic position also decreases with age, and it changes to a preference to maintain the thematic subject in perspective.

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Examples

(1a) The bees pursue the dog. (Agent perspective)
(1b) The dog, the bees pursue. (Patient perspective)
(1c) The dog is pursued by the bees. (Patient perspective)

(2a) A méh-ek üldöz-ik a kutyá-t.
def abeille-plur poursuivre-pres.3Pplur def chien-accus
The bees pursue the dog.

(2b) A kutyá-t, az-t üldöz-ik a méh-ek.
def chien-accus demonstr-accus poursuivre-pres.3Pplur def abeille-plur
The dog, the bees pursue.

(2c) A kutyá-t üldöz-ik a méh-ek .
def chien-accus poursuivre-pres.3Pplur def abeille-plur
The dog is pursued by the bees.

Matthias Gerner

QUANTIFICATION, CASE MARKING AND TEMPORAL MARKING IN MILE AZHEE

The isolating languages of East and Southeast Asia manifest extensive polysemy in grammatical marking within both the nominal and verbal paradigms. Polysemous marking often blends different linguistic concepts in ways that no linguist would naturally conceive. Most Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages are verb-final and tend to be inflectional in the West and isolating in the East of their residence area. In the Southeastern branch of TB (mainly Burmese-Lolo), syntactical sketches of a number of individual languages have emerged which stand out through an extreme form of polysemy in syntactical marking, see Thailand Lahu (Matisoff 1973, 1975), Liangshan Nuosu (Gerner 2004) and Yongren Lolo (Gerner, in Press).

In this paper, I would like to report on another recently-discovered case of exceptional syntactic polysemy. The Azhee language which is spoken by 90,000 people in Mile County of Yunnan Province (P.R. of China)[1] exhibits a grammatical marker, la^{55} / la^{33}, with senses spreading over three core areas of the grammar: (i) case marking; (ii) quantificational marking and (iii) temporal marking.

Case Marking	*Quantificational Marking*	*Temporal Marking*
la^{55} Agentive (after 1st or 2nd NP)	la^{33} 'all' (after 1st NP)	la^{33} Perfect (after V)
la^{33} Causee (after 2nd NP)	la^{55} 'alone' (after 1st or 2nd NP)	la^{33} 'not till then' (after temporal NP in 1st or 2nd position)
la^{33} Locative (after 2nd NP)		
la^{33} Instrumental (after 2nd NP)		

In this language, it is not uncommon to find up to three occurrences of this marker in one sentence. I will focus on a comprehensive framework-neutral description of the empirical facts including issues such as multiple marking, ambiguity resolution etc. Even though my conceptual thinking is still rudimentary at this stage, a natural area of theorization for the Azhee data seems to be *formal semantics* where thematic roles and NP quantification have been characterized as inclusive relations between nominal and verbal predicates (following Davidson 1967; Barwise and Cooper 1981).

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[1] The Azhee people are ethnically grouped within the Yi nationality, which is one the 56 officially recognized nationalities in the P.R. of China.

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Carrie Gillon

The syntax of bare nouns in Innu-aimun

Introduction The structure of bare nouns has long been controversial. While many argue that bare nouns are associated with unpronounced (covert) determiners (e.g., Longobardi 1994), as in (1a), many others argue that bare nouns are in fact bare, and are not associated with covert determiners (e.g., Compton 2004), as in (1b).

In this paper, we examine the semantics of bare nouns in Innu-aimun, a dialect of Eastern Cree (Algonquian) spoken in Labrador, Canada. We argue, on the basis of their semantics, that bare nouns in both languages lack a covert D.

Basic facts Innu-aimun lacks overt determiners altogether. Bare nouns can receive indefinite (2a), definite (2b) and generic (2c) interpretations. English, on the other hand, has overt determiners: *a* for indefinite interpretations (3a) and *the* for definite interpretations (3b). Bare nouns in English receive generic (4a) and indefinite interpretations (4b).

The proposal Bare nouns in English and Innu-aimun are truly bare. They are not associated with a covert determiner. For the purposes of this paper, we take "determiner" to refer only to elements that occupy D. Demonstratives and quantifiers are assumed to occupy other positions, following Giusti 1991.

D = Domain restriction We analyze determiners to be obligatorily associated with domain restriction, following Westerståhl (1984) (see also Giannakidou 2004 for a similar proposal). While many argue that the position D is associated with definiteness (see, for example, Lyons 1999), Matthewson (1998) has shown that this cannot be the case for Salish determiners. We thus take the only necessary meaning of determiners to be domain restriction. Domain restriction allows us to explain why DPs are sensitive to the context in which they are uttered (Westerståhl 1984, von Fintel 1994, among many others). DPs (usually) cannot refer to all individuals in the world that match the NP description (5). Domain restriction (C) is the characteristic function of the set of individuals that are under discussion (von Fintel 1994) (6).

Evidence for a lack of D If the position D is associated with domain restriction, then the presence of a covert determiner in bare nouns can be tested. The lack of a covert determiner in both languages can be detected by the behaviour of bare nouns in certain contexts. We tested their scopal behaviour, their (lack of) uniqueness, and their behaviour in familiar contexts. All of these tests point to a lack of the D position in bare nouns.

The presence of a determiner would be consistent with a nominal taking wide scope. However, bare nouns in each language must take narrow scope with respect to some operator (7). On its own, this does not prove the non-existence of the D position; however, it is suggestive of a lack of D.

If bare nouns were associated with a covert determiner, they might be expected to behave like DPs with respect to uniqueness. While *the* must be used to refer to the unique referent in the context (see, for example, Frege 1997[1892]) (8), bare nouns do not (9).

Finally, and most crucially, bare nouns are not forced to be anaphoric. That is, they do not have to refer to a previously introduced referent. In English, bare nouns are never allowed to be anaphoric (10a). However, in Innu-aimun, they can be (10b). If bare nouns had covert determiners, they would be obliged to refer to something in the context. This is not the case. While bare nouns are able to be used in familiar contexts, they are not forced to refer to a previously introduced referent (11).

Implications English bare nouns are not used in familiar contexts, whereas Innu-aimun allows the use of bare nouns in these contexts. Why would this be? In this paper, the difference is shown to be related to the lack of determiners in Innu-aimun. In English, the availability of *the* disallows the use of bare nouns in familiar contexts.

We show that the lack of overt determiners does not make a difference in the shape of bare nouns. In English (which has overt determiners) and in Innu-aimun (which does not), bare nouns have the same structure. This suggests that bare nouns in all languages share this structure. Independently, Compton (2004) has argued that bare nouns in Inuktitut lack D. Therefore, the availability of D is not necessarily utilized for all arguments in all languages, contra Longobardi (1994).

The structure of bare nouns in English and Innu-aimun

key words: semantics, domain restriction, determiners, bare nouns

Data

(1) a. DP b. NP

2

D NP

Ø

(2) a. **Atîk^{u}** pimûteu. b. Upau **pineshîsh**. c. **Pineshîsh-at** upauat.
caribou *3.walk* *3.fly* *bird* *bird-pl* *3pl.fly*
'A caribou was walking.' 'The bird is flying.' 'Birds fly.' (Innu-aimun)

(3) a. I saw **a** caribou. b. **The** caribou was walking.

(4) a. **Birds** fly. b. **Birds** were flying.

(5) **The** men were laughing. (refers to men in the context, not all the men in the world)

(6) [[the men]] = max(λx [men'(x) ə C(x)]) (C = domain restriction; max = uniqueness)

(7) a. Kassinû ishkueu shuenimepan **auâssa**. (Innu-aimun)
every *woman* *3.kiss.3* *child*
'Every woman kissed a child.' (narrow; *wide)

b. John didn't see spots on the floor. (narrow; *wide) (Carlson 1980:19)

(8) a. The king visited me. (must be the only king in the context)

b. Yesterday a bunch of **children** were playing in the yard. I saw **the** children again today. (must be the entire group of children)

(9) a. **Mîna** nimîtshi. Passe apu minuanikue **mîna**. (Innu-aimun)
berries *1sg.eat* *some* *neg* *good* *berries*
Apu nitu mitshamân nenu kakaminuat.
neg *ever* *1sg.eat* *dem* *mouldy*
'I ate berries. Some of the berries were mouldy. I didn't eat the mouldy ones.'
(didn't eat all of the berries in the context)

b. Mary packed boxes. (does not have to refer to all of the boxes)

(10) a. I saw some bears last night. They were wandering around the park. # I shot **bears**.

b. Nuapamâu **mashk^{u}**. Napasuân **mashk^{u}**. (Innu-aimun)
1.see.3 *bear* *1.shoot.3* *bear*
'I saw a bear. I shot the bear.'

(11) a. **Mashk^{u}** nipassua utâkushît mak **mashk^{u}** nipassua anûtshîsh.
bear *1.shoot.3* *yesterday* *and* *bear* *1.shoot.3* *today*
'I shot a bear yesterday and I shot a bear today.' (total = 2 bears shot)

b. Tshinuashkushiu **nâpeu** mak apu tshinuashkushit **nâpeu**.
tall *man* *and* *neg* *tall* *man*
'The man is tall and (another) man is not tall.' (Innu-aimun)

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Antoine Guillaume

Third person agreement and passive marking in Tacanan languages: a historical perspective

In several languages of the Tacanan family (Amazonian Bolivia & Peru), the verbal suffix *-ta* (or its cognate *-ka*) marks a 3rd person plural S argument within an intransitive clause and a 3rd person (singular or plural) A argument within a transitive clause. Since 3rd person singular S arguments and 3rd person O arguments are unmarked, the pattern can be analyzed in terms of split intransitivity (S_{PL}=A / S_{SG}=O). This pattern is attested in Reyesano, as exemplified in (1) and (2), with data from Guillaume (fieldnotes, forthcoming), as well as in Araona (D. Pitman 1980: 44, M. Pitman 1981: 202, Emkow 2006: 559-565), Ese Ejja (Chavarría 1984, 2003; Vuillermet 2007) and Tacana (Ottaviano 1980; Ottaviano and Ottaviano 1965, 1989).

In the fifth (and last) language of the Tacanan family, Cavineña, there is no verbal marking for 3rd person arguments. However, there is a passive marker, *-ta*(*na*), that appears to be a cognate of the two suffixes *-ta* that were discussed just above Guillaume (2004, Fieldnotes).

The goal of this paper is to investigate several possible historical scenarios for the development of third person marking and passive marking in the Tacanan languages. In particular, I will consider the possibility that these suffixes all come from a single source, an independent 3rd person plural pronoun **tuna*, that would have first become an enclitic to the verb, and second a verbal suffix, used for indexing 3rd person plural S or A in the proto-language. Then, this marker would have lost its plural meaning in transitive clauses. In Araona, Ese Ejja, Reyesano and Tacana, it remained a marker for 3rd person A. In Cavineña, it became a passive marker.

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Data:

(1) Intransitive clauses (Reyesano)

a. a-puti-a
PAST-go-PAST
'he/she/it went'

b. a-puti-**ta**(-a)
PAST-go-3S.PL-PAST
'they went'

(2) Transitive clauses (Reyesano)

a. a-ba-**ta**(-a)
PAST-see-3A-PAST
'he/she/it/they saw him/her/it/them'

b. m-a-ba-**ta**(-a)
1SG-PAST-see-3A-PAST
'he/she/it/they saw me'

Lutz Gunkel & Susann Schlotthauer

Attribution in Basque, Finnish, Hungarian and Turkish: Morphology vs. Syntax

Languages such as Basque, Finnish, Hungarian and Turkish have to use special segmental markers, so-called attributors, in order to relate certain types of NP/PP-attributes to their respective nominal heads. Such attributors often occur as bound markers, i.e. affixes or clitics, as the following examples from the 4 above-mentioned languages show:

(1) Turkish (GK 2005: 196)
bahçe-de-**ki** ağaç-lar
garden-LOC-ATTR tree-PL
'the trees in the garden'

(2) Hungarian (SMN 2000: 634)
az ablak alatt-**i** virág
the window under-ATTR flower
'the flower under the window'

(3) Basque (HO 2003: 145)
mendie-ta-**ko** haitzuloak
mountains-LOC-ATTR caves
'the caves in the mountains'

(4) Finnish (ISK 2005: 272)
alueiden kesk-**inen** kilpailutilanne
region.PL.GEN centre-ATTR competition situation
'situation of competition between regions'

The constructions in (1) to (4) share a number of important characteristics: the constituents linked by the attributors can be (i) phrasal, (ii) internally complex, and (iii) referential. On the other hand, there are morphosyntactic differences that appear to contradict a uniform analysis, be it in terms of a morphological solution – by treating the attributor as a derivational affix – or in terms of a syntactic solution – by treating it as a phrasal clitic. For example, in Basque, the attributor seems to be most flexible with respect to the category of its base, which may be either a N(P), P(P), Adv(P) or – to a limited extent – even a clause. In Turkish the attributor is more or less restricted to N(P)s with locative case marking, certain types of P(P)s and "adverbials" expressing location in time (GK 2005: 196). The situation is different in Hungarian and Finnish, where the attributor attaches only to adverbs, certain types of P(P)s and NPs with uninflected heads.

Morphosyntactic differences and commonalities between the four attributors can be adequately captured when viewing their "bondedness" as a scalar concept with phrasal clitics and derivational affixes marking the respective end points of the corresponding scale. What is more interesting, however, is the question to what extent a formally motivated scale of this type would correspond to differences in terms of meaning. Building on Croft's distinction between "type-changing" and "function-indicating" morphosyntax (cf. Croft 1991: 69) we will argue that there is indeed a correlation between bondedness and the semantic type of the attributive phrase: derivational affixes are prototypically type changing yielding properties (or property concepts) whereas phrasal clitics (or free word forms) are type preserving and thus serve merely as formal indicators of the attribution relation. Exploring the four languages mentioned above it can be shown that the Finnish and Basque constructions are located at the respective end points of such a scale. The Finnish construction makes use of a type-changing affix, the Basque one of a type-preserving clitic, while Turkish and Hungarian are located in between: In Turkish, the attributor exhibits characteristics of both clitics and affixes; the same holds – though to a limited degree – for Hungarian, where in turn the attribute often appears to be semantically ambiguous between a property and non-property reading.

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Corinna Handschuh

Case alternations of exposed subjects
Focus on verb-initial languages

In a number of verb-initial languages there is a construction in which subjects are placed in front of the verb. Those languages are e.g. Maasai, Nandi, Turkana, Dinka (all Nilotic), Tennet, Murle (both Surmic), Nias (Western Malayo-Polynesian) and Houailou (Eastern Malayo-Polynesian). A common strategy among those languages is to strip the pre-verbal subject of any case-marking it would receive when occurring in its canonical (post-verbal) position. This pattern is exemplified by Turkana (1) and Houailou (2). While the the construction are formally similar, its function varies between the languages. It always marks some notable information-structure property of the subject, ranging from subject-focus to contrastive topic (or both).

Two alternative explanations are put forward in the literature to account for the absence of the expected case marking:

- The fronted subject is outside the domain in which case is assigned
- The fronted subject is now part of a cleft construction and receives the case form according to its role in the cleft (i.e. predicate nominal)

A particularly instructive case is found in Tennet (Surmic). In Tennet two constructions exist where the subject is placed before the (otherwise initial) verb. The first construction is similar to the ones discussed before as the subject does not receive standard subject case-marking (3a). Randal (1998) analyzes this construction as a cleft construction in which the agent of the background clause functions as a predicate nominal of the type "it is X" (for which the canonical case-form is zero). In the second construction (most likely marking discontinuous topics) the subject keeps its overt case marking even in pre-verbal position (3b).

For the Tennet data, the cleft analysis seems suitable. The pre-verbal position of the argument cannot be responsible for the loss of case-marking as (3b) shows. However, as I will demonstrate in my presentation, the cleft analysis could account for the other languages of this type in my sample, since they all employ the zero-coded form of a noun for predicate nominals. I will mainly concentrate on languages where an overtly coded subject is combined with the absence of overt marking of either transitive patient – so called marked-nominative systems (Dixon 1994: 63) – or transitive agent – marked-absolutive (Donohue & Brown 1999:60f.) – since these languages provide ample examples of this construction.

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Examples[1]

(1) a. a-yɔŋ̀ e-yaká-sɪ ŋa-àtùk
me 3-be-PL NNEUT.PL-cow.NOM
ŋa-àrèy màke̋
NNEUT.PL-two.NOM self
'I only have two cows.'[2]

b. ŋa-atuk̀ ŋa-areỳ màke̋
NNEUT.PL-cow NNEUT.PL-cow self
e-yakà-sɪ a-yɔŋ̀
3-be-PL me
'Two cows is all I have.'

Dimmendaal (1982: 182)

(2) a. na kuru **na** **tawa**
3SG sleep NOM dog
'The dog sleeps.'

b. **tawa** (we) na kuru
dog ('pause') 3SG sleep
'As for the dog, it sleeps.'

Lichtenberg (1978: 111)

(3) a. lokúli cí á-rúh lohâm
Lokuli REL IMPF-beat Loham
'It is Lokuli who is beating Loham.'

b. íjja zin wála-i í-kíya
and then crow-NOM IMPF-come
'And then Crow came.'

Randal (1998: 261)

[1]Glosses have been added when not provided by the original author and slightly altered to gain transparency and uniformity (e.g. 'Subject marker' to 'Nominative').

The following glosses are used: 3 = third person, AM = associative marker, IMPF = imperfect, NNEUT = non-neuter, NOM = nominative case, PART = particle, PL = plural, SG = singular

[2]The distinction between nominative case and zero-coded noun form is based on tone.

Antoine Guillaume

The Basque nominal reciprocal *elkar* in detransitivized reciprocal constructions

Is it an argument, an adverbial or something else?

And, more important: what does it matter for grammatical theories?

Basque has a number of grammatical means to express mutual relations (cf. Artiagoitia 2003). This talk centers on a combination of the frequent nominal marker *elkar*(-Case) and an innovation in Western dialects, a detransitivized clause. My main theoretical goal is to demonstrate that sentences like (4) present a challenge for models of basic clause structure and that Construction Grammar is ready to deal with them.

The database of my talk is a combination of native speakers' judgments and frequency counts from texts. For a cross-linguistic perspective, I will consult other combinations of detransitivizing strategies with nominal markers (e.g. in Turkic languages, Nedjalkov and Nedjalkov 2006: 1123).

With high probability, *elkar*(-Case) has its origin in two demonstratives. *-k-* is the remnant of an ergative suffix, but for centuries it has been part of *elkar*(-Case) regardless of the antecedent's case. *Elkar*(-Case) combines with the full array of Basque case suffixes and postpositions. The unmarked form *elkar* is used as an absolutive. Like the reflexive marker *bere burua*(-Case), it is – in absolutive or dative case – always cross-classified on the verb as 3rd person singular.

(1) shows a transitive clause structure with the auxiliary agreeing both with the A argument (which would be explicitly expressed as *guk* '1PL.ERG') and the O argument *Jon*. (2) is the corresponding reciprocal construction with *elkar* and 3rd singular absolutive agreement on the verb; its A argument would be *guk*, too. (3) is an example of the intransitive reciprocal construction of Western dialects: the auxiliary exhibits agreement with the sole plural participant, which would be *gu* '1PL(ABS)'. The main focus of this talk lies on sentences like (4) in which the intransitive auxiliary co-occurs with an invariable *elkar*.

What is the grammatical status of this invariable *elkar* in (4)? Since it is just an infrequent use of a single item in some dialects, my discussion leaves the basic principles of clause structure untouched, the central one being: absolutive, ergative and dative arguments are marked on the inflected verb, most often an auxiliary. In addition, I avoid any reliance on inaudible items.

Since invariable *elkar* is not followed by any case suffix nor a postposition, it looks just like an absolutive argument, comparable to the O arguments *elkar* in (2) and *Jon* in (1). This solution is not reasonable: in (4) the verbal marking is missing. Treating *elkar* in (4) as an adverb does not help much either, because Basque adverbials are in general marked for some case or another. Indeed, *elkar*(-Case) has a popular form with comitative suffix, *elkarrekin*, meaning 'with each other, together'. Two viable solutions are to treat *elkar* in (4) as a reciprocal depictive – bearing absolutive case – or an uninflected particle, constituting a category on its own. But this necessitates to split up this single use and the bulk of occurrences of *elkar*(-Case) with and without case marker.

In fact, I will argue there is need for a unique treatment of invariable *elkar*. But for a description in terms of Construction Grammar, this has no system-wide implications. What is special about the combination of intransitive reciprocal construction and *elkar* is the need to acknowledge an exception to general principles. The cross-linguistic perspective shows that this is seldom but surprisingly widespread among nominal reciprocal markers.

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(1) *Bilbon Jon ikusiko dugu.*
Bilbon Jon ikusiko dugu
Bilbao-LOC Jon see.FUT 1PL>3SG:PRS
'We will see Jon in Bilbao.'

(2) *Bilbon elkar ikusiko dugu.*
Bilbo-n elkar ikusiko dugu
Bilbao-LOC RCP see.FUT 1PL>3SG:PRS
'We will see each other in Bilbao.'

(3) *Bilbon ikusiko gara.*
Bilbo-n ikusiko gara
Bilbao-LOC see.FUT 1PL:PRS
'We will see each other in Bilbao.'

(4) *Bilbon ikusiko gara elkar*
Bilbo-n ikusiko gara elkar
Bilbao-LOC see.FUT 1PL.PRS RCP
'We will see each other in Bilbao.'

Martin Haspelmath (preliminary abstract)

"Ditransitive person indexing in Semitic languages"

In this talk, I look at ditransitive person indexing (cross-reference marking) in a number of Semitic languages, especially varieties of Arabic, Aramaic and Amharic. In other words, I look at object markers on the verb, especially when both a direct object (theme) and indirect object (recipient) are present in the clause. The Semitic languages have an old set of object markers which can apparently be reconstructed to Proto-Semitic (and perhaps even beyond), but many modern varieties have grammaticalized a set of new object person markers. The rich data from Semitic give us a chance to examine some claims about the Ditransitive Person-Role Constraint (Haspelmath 2004) in more detail, in particular the diachronic part of Haspelmath's story: To what extent does the diachronic evidence support the claim that person-role restrictions are due to a performance effect having to do with usage frequency?

Katharina Haude

The two basic transitive constructions of Movima

Movima (isolate, lowland Bolivia) has two transitive constructions: direct and inverse. In the direct construction, the argument realized in first position after the predicate (which represents the higher-ranking participant in the hierarchy 1>2>3, topic>nontopic) is the actor and the one in second position the undergoer, and in the inverse construction, the first argument is the undergoer and the second the actor. The only formal difference between the two constructions is direct and inverse marking on the predicate.

While direct/inverse systems are not uncommon in the languages of the Americas, the Movima system has several noteworthy features. It involves not only bound person clitics, but also full DPs, and hence the organization of the entire clause. Furthermore, the argument in second position after the predicate aligns with the single argument of the intransitive clause. Accordingly, the direct construction patterns ergatively and the inverse construction patterns accusatively. The asymmetry in argument encoding extends to syntax as well: for relativization and topicalization of the first argument of a transitive clause, a detransitivizing operation is required, which functions like an antipassive when based on the direct and as a passive when based on the inverse construction.

My explanation of these unusual facts is that, in principle, all Movima clauses are construed as equational clauses with predicate nominals. Evidence can be seen in the ability of both morphological nouns and verbs to function as predicates and as arguments likewise. It can be shown that the denotee of an underived verb is not an event, but a participant in the event, which means that verbs are semantically nounlike. Furthermore, a possessor of a noun is encoded in the same way as the first argument of a bivalent verb. In this way, all clauses can be interpreted as intransitive, equational clauses with monovalent/nonpossessed or bivalent/possessed predicate nominals. The existence of a direct and an inverse construction, which provide the lower-ranking participant with a privileged syntactic status, can be ascribed to the fact that the single argument of a prototypical possessive clause (e.g. „this“ in „this is my house“), is lower in the saliency hierarchy.

While there is synchronic evidence for a noun-verb distinction in Movima, and no diachronic information is available, this cognitively-based explanation makes it possible to understand the unusual syntactic organization of this language.

Johannes Helmbrecht

Abstract

The syntax and semantics of applicative constructions in Hočank (Sioux)

An applicative marker is a derivational means on the verb which is used to express an oblique participant of a clause as direct object or undergoer (depending on the syntactic status of the core arguments in that language). Languages may differ in that they have so-called *one-type* applicatives or *multi-type* applicatives (cf. Peterson 1999; Polinsky 2005). Applicatives of the former type do not distinguish the semantic role of the "promoted" participant (such as the *be-* derivation in German), applicatives of the latter type do. With regard to the syntax, applicatives may be used to add an argument slot to the valency of the applied verb, or they rearrange the valency of the verb by adding a new argument slot while deleting another (Lehmann and Verhoeven 2005). The proposed paper presents an investigation of the syntax and semantics of applicatives in Hočank, a highly endangered Siouan language of Wisconsin, along the lines of this typology. Hočank has a set of four applicative prefixes of the *multi-type* type distinguishing various semantic roles such as locative, goal, instrument, and benefactive. First, the semantic polysemy of all four applicative markers will be examined. Secondly, the effects of the different applicative prefixes on the argument structure of the applied verbs will be shown. Thirdly, the applicative prefixes in Hočank are undergoing a process of lexicalization with the verb stem to different degrees. The principal syntactic and semantic effects of this process on the applied verbs will be summarized in terms of grammaticalization theory. A statistic account will complement this investigation. The paper will be concluded with some suggestions for the typology of applicative constructions from the perspective of Hočank. The data for the survey to be presented come from the digital corpus of the Hočank language, elicited material, and the lexical database produced by the DOBES project on the "Documentation of the Hočank Language".

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Eric Hoekstra

Embedded Verb-First in an SOV-language: the case of Frisian

Frisian, like Dutch and German, is a language in which the verb follows the object in embedded clauses, regardless of whether the verb is finite or infinitival. Unlike Dutch and German, Frisian features one very specific type of embedded infinitival construction in which the verb precedes the object. An examples is given below:

Ik bin net fan doel en fertel har ús takomsplannen
I am not of purpose and tell them our future-plans
"I don't intend to tell them our plans for the future."

The embedded clause has the meaning of a 'normal' infinitival sentence built on the infinitival marker *te* (German *zu*, Dutch *te*). Thus we can paraphrase the sentence above, using a to-infinitive:

Ik bin net fan doel om har ús takomsplannen te fertellen
I am not of purpose for them our future-plans to tell
"I don't intend to tell them our plans for the future."

The two constructions differ in the following respects:

- the position of the verb: final or initial with respect to the *Mittelfeld*
- choice of clause-initial complementiser: *en* or *om*
- presence or absence of the infinitival marker *te*
- verbal morphology: infinitival (*-en*) or zero-morphology

It is furthermore the case that the verb-form with zero-morphology is formally homophonous with the imperative (as will be shown). As a result, linguists studying Frisian refer to the construction as the *Imperativus-pro-Infinitivo* or IPI-construction.

Historical evidence will be provided that the present-day IPI-construction arose out of a construction with the same properties, except that the initial verb had the form of an infinitive. I will trace back the existence of this construction via Middle Frisian to Old Frisian.

The two constructions show some further differences:

- A constituent in an IPI cannot be questioned; it can, in an infinitival clause.
- An IPI cannot be put in sentence-initial position, whereas an infinitival clause, very marginally, can.
- An IPI is facilitated by negation, for many speakers, whereas infinitival clauses are not generally sensitive to negation.

Thus IPI's do not have all the possibilities which 'normal' embedded clause have, suggesting they are not fully grammaticalised.

The verb-first construction can also be found in some Dutch dialects and in Low German. However, none of these dialects underwent the 'Frisian' development whereby a bare verb form replaced the infinitive. It should finally be pointed out that the complementiser introducing the IPI is homophonous to the coordinating conjunction. Interestingly, this is systematically the case in Danish. Furthermore, the IPI is also present in North Frisian dialects, providing us with European dialectal perspective on this construction.

Fu-Tsai Hsieh

Reference Tracking: Null Objects in Chinese

The interpretation of embedded null objects in Chinese is a disputed topic: Huang (1984) proposes that embedded null objects in Chinese can never be co-indexed with matrix subjects and can only be interpreted as variables, while Xu (1986) argues that coindexation with matrix subjects is possible, and thus, *pro* interpretation is also available. This paper investigates the cause of this discrepancy and proposes a novel solution that is supported by experimental data.

Examination of the sentences illustrated in Huang (1984) and Xu (1986) reveals that matrix verbs play a key role in determining the interpretation of embedded null objects in Chinese. Two types of matrix verb can be identified on the basis of their semantic and syntactic behaviour: 'V1' and 'V2.' The matrix verbs in Huang (1984) are predominantly V1-type verbs whereas those in Xu (1986) are predominantly V2-type verbs, as shown below.

V1-type, Huang (1984:539)	V2-type, Xu (1986:78)
Zhangsan$_i$ shuo [Lisi kanjian $e_{*i/j}$ le] say see Asp "Zhangsan said Lisi saw (him)."	xiaotou$_i$ yiwei meiren kanjian e_i thief assume nobody see "The thief assumed nobody saw (him)."

A grammaticality judgment task was conducted to test this distinction. Sixteen native Chinese speakers judged bi-clausal sentences in which the matrix verb was either of V1-type or V2-type and the embedded object was either an empty category or a lexical pronoun. The results revealed a clear V1/V2 difference in the interpretation of embedded null objects that is not considered in Huang (1984) and Xu (1986), as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Mean Percentage of Responses with respect to V1/V2

Response	V1	V2
A (matrix subject)	20%	42%
B (sentence-external referent)	58%	41%
C (either A or B)	22%	17%

Interpretation of the embedded null object as a variable was preferred with a V1-type verb, while *pro* and variable interpretations were almost equally embraced with a V2-type verb. In short, V2-type verbs tend to allow embedded null objects to be coindexed with matrix subjects, whereas V1-type verbs do not. The finding provides an explanation for the Huang/Xu discrepancy. I propose a principle for the reference of embedded null objects in Chinese: an embedded null object can be coindexed either with a sentence-external referent, usually with a matrix V1-type verb; or with a matrix subject, usually with a matrix V2-type verb.

Monica-Alexandrina Irimia

Adverbial agreement and its marked status

This paper encompasses a syntactic analysis of circumstantials/ adverbials (Cinque 1999, Niksen 2000) and provides an explanation for their marked agreement patterns. More specifically, it is demonstrated that grammatical mechanisms like Movement and Merge, as well as the order of functional projections in syntax (Cinque 1999) block feature-checking procedures for these projections, unless the process is a Last Resort one.

The evidence is mainly drawn from Atkan Aleut, where circumstantial adverbials can agree in phi-features with a DP past the main verb (as in 1):

(1). ATKAN ALEUT INFLECTED ADVERBIALS

b. Hlax waaGalakan qilaxsix. (Bergsland and Dirks 1981)
Boy.3.sg. come.back.$_{Neg}$. morning.3.sg.
'The boy didn't come back this morning'.

c. Hlas waaGalakan qilaxsis.
Boy.3.pl. come.back.$_{Neg}$ morning.3.pl.
'The boys didn't come back this morning'.

The examples above strike as surprising, due to the general assumption- based on cross-linguistic examination- that adverbial agreement systems are typologically marked. Subject-adverbial agreement patterns have not been extensively studied and categorized; but, as an illustration, Moravcsik's (1974, 1978) implicational hierarchy set out in terms of grammatical functions, provided in (2), classifies adverbial agreement as the last option in human language.

(2). Subject Agreement >> Object Agreement >> Indirect Object Agreement >> Oblique/Adverbial Agreement

This paper analyzes the data in Atkan Aleut as involving the Late Merge Principle, as well as a Last Resort Strategy. Following Chomsky (1995), if non-theta-marked elements can wait to merge outside the VP, they will follow this path. Moreover, it is also shown that the data under discussion appears to be similar to the inflected negatives in Sami, analyzed in van Gelderen (2006) as having undergone movement to T. Circumstantials in Atkan Aleut, already being heads and merged outside the VP, are able to adjoin to T (to check tense) and/or to AGR (to check person and number).

What makes the distinction between languages in which circumstantials are inflected (for person, number, tense) and languages in which they are not is the syntactic stage at which they are found. More specifically, this paper assumes that in circumstantial-uninflected languages, the circumstantial is attached as the innermost complement of verbs (McConnell-Ginet 1982, Larson 1989, 2004, Kayne 1994, Chomsky 1995); in Atkan-Aleut, circumstantials are Merged Late (like canonical adverbs, Cinque 1999). Due to the restrictions of the language, as there are no temporal/aspectual auxiliaries that can fill the T head, and the negation encliticizes into the main "verb" (probably prohibiting its further movement), circumstantials are required to attach to the T/AGR domain. The Late Merge of circumstantials is, therefore, part of a Last-Resort process, which prevents a more cronic violation of syntactic principles in language.

Carmen Jany

Chimariko Argument Structure:
Agents and patients, person hierarchy, and first person obligatoriness

Agent-patient based and hierarchical argument marking has been reported for a number of Native American languages (Mithun 1991, 1999). Chimariko, an extinct language from Northern California, is of particular interest and complexity as it reveals a hierarchical marking system favoring speech act participants over third persons, in addition to its agent-patient distinction for first persons. While the hierarchical system is apparent only in transitive clauses, an agent-patient distinction is found in transitive and intransitive clauses. First persons are obligatorily marked either as agents or as patients. This points to subjectivity as a motivation for grammar (Scheibman 2002), and to affectedness as a governing factor for the patient category (Mithun 1991).

Chimariko has free and bound personal pronouns. Whereas the free pronouns are simple in form and mark only person and number but not semantic roles, the bound pronominal system is highly complex, manifesting an agent-patient distinction as well as hierarchical behavior. The hierarchical system favors speech act participants over third persons if they are acted upon. That is, if a clause contains a first or second person and a third person, the latter is not explicitly marked on the predicate. Only one participant is expressed in the verbal morphology unless a second person acts on a first; in the latter case both are marked. However, the first person patient marker differs in shape from the first person patient pronoun in other instances.

Chimariko distinguishes three persons and singular, dual, and plural forms. First- and second-person pronouns always distinguish number, but only first-person bound pronouns manifest different forms for agents and patients. A similar pattern is also found in Haida, a language spoken in British Columbia (Mithun 1999). The ranking found in Chimariko morphosyntax is as follows: first persons > speech act participants > third persons. This coincides with the widely attested animacy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976). Furthermore, the fact that first persons always surface and show the most distinctions can be related to subjectivity, given that speakers tend to use subjective expressions most often in conversation (Scheibman 2002). Also, if affectedness is a decisive feature for patient marking, it makes sense to have only first-person patient markers, as speakers tend not to know to what degree others are affected.

The data for this work is drawn from the field notes of J.P. Harrington and the notes of George Grekoff. Harrington collected elicited sentences and oral narratives from several consultants, leaving 3500 handwritten pages. Grekoff examined Harrington's extensive corpus. In addition to these materials, an early grammatical sketch by Roland Dixon (1910) and material from Sapir edited by Howard Berman (2001) have also proven useful.

On the whole, the pattern found in Chimariko illustrates that first persons are better patients than others and that speech act participants are better agents and patients overall. Demonstrating a close integration of syntax and semantics at the level of predicate-argument relations, this paper aims to contribute to theories defining the nature of grammatical relations.

Examples:

1. 1>3, 3>1 => 1 agent, patient

pʰaʔasitaʔče yekʰotinda, čʰaxaduʔxakon, wisseeda čʰumčaxa
pʰaʔasitaʔče ***y-****ekʰo-tinda* ***čʰa-****xaduʔx-akon wisseeda* *čʰu-m-čaxa*
that.why 1SG.A-kill-ASP 1PL.P-kill-FUT downstream IMP.PL-DIR-COMP
'That's why I killed him, they will kill us, you all move down (to B.Noble's place).'

2. 1 => 1 agent; 3>3 => 3; 1>3 => 1 agent;

pʰiʔa yehatat, hiničxeʔkut, ʔičiʔta, puqʰela ʔitxaʔmat
pʰiʔa ***y-****ehata-t* ***h-****iničxeʔku-t* ***ʔ-****ičiʔta* *puqʰela* ***ʔ-****itxaʔma-t*
grease 1SG.A-have-ASP 3-smell-ASP 1SG.A-catch basket 1SG.A-put-ASP
'I had grease, they smelled it, I caught them, I put them in a basket'

3. 2>3 => 2

mokoxanaʔ
m-*oko-xana-ʔ*
2SG-tattoo-FUT-Q
'Are you going to tattoo her?

3>2 => 2

qʰakʼoʔnaʔ
qʰ-*akʼo-ʔna-ʔ*
2PL-talk-APPL-Q
'Was he talking to you?'

4. 2>1 => 2 + 1 patient

m-e-*xota*
2SG-1SG.P-look.at
'<u>You</u> look at <u>me</u>'

m-e-*kʰo-xana-ʔ*
2SG-1SG.P-kill-FUT-Q
'Are <u>you</u> going to kill <u>me</u>?'

2>3 => 2

m-i*xota*
2SG-look.at
'<u>You</u> look at <u>it</u>'

m-a*kʰo-xana-ʔ*
2SG-kill-FUT-Q
'Are <u>you</u> going to kill <u>him</u>?'

A	Agent
APPL	Applicative
ASP	Aspect
COMP	Completive
DIR	Directional
FUT	Future
IMP	Imperative
P	Patient
PL	Plural
Q	Interrogative
SG	Singular

Nerida Jarkey

Abstract: Expressing source in motion events in White Hmong

Talmy (1991, 2000) identifies two typologically distinct patterns for describing motion events. In 'verb-framed languages' the path of a motion event—information about source, route and goal—is generally expressed by the verb, while manner of motion is expressed by a 'satellite', e.g. an adverb or a preposition. In 'satellite-framed languages', on the other hand, it is information about manner that tends to be conveyed within the verb, with information about path conveyed through 'satellites'.

Some languages that express motion events using serial verb constructions (SVCs) do not fit well into either of these types. In White Hmong, a Miao-Yao language spoken in northern Thailand, Laos and Vietnam, and in southern China, information about *both* path and manner can be expressed by verbs in series. Verbs expressing manner of transport (e.g. *nqa* 'carry', *cab* 'lead') come first in these SVCs, followed by those expressing manner of motion (e.g. *nkag* 'crawl', *ya* 'fly'). Next come verbs indicating the route of the motion event (e.g. *hla* 'cross/pass', *ncig* 'encircle'), then the source (e.g. *tawm* 'leave', *dim* 'escape') and finally the goal or direction (*mus* 'go', *tuaj* 'come', *los* 'come home'). Note that all these types of manner and path information can be incorporated into a single SVC and thus a single clause in Hmong. In natural text, examples with three such juncts quite commonly occur. This is illustrated in examples (1) – (3) overleaf.

As shown in examples (1) – (3), verbs expressing path functions take core arguments that indicate route, source or goal, depending on the meaning of the verb. These arguments can take the form of proper nouns, a small number of common nouns expressing places associated with certain activities (e.g. *tsev* 'home', *khw* 'market'), and locative phrases composed of a 'spatial deictic' followed by a noun phrase (Ratliff 1990). 'Spatial deictics' are not prepositions; they do not signal the role of the noun phrase that follows them in relation to the verb, but instead indicate some salient aspect of the spatial properties of that noun phrase in relation to the perspective of the speaker (e.g. *ntawm* 'place nearby', *pem* 'place up', *nram* 'place down', *tim* 'place across', *hauv* 'place inside'). It is thus the meaning of the verb, not the meaning of the spatial deictic, that results in the interpretation of the semantic role of the argument: *mus ntawm khw* (go place.nearby market) 'go [to] market (nearby)' not 'go near the market'; *mus tim khw* (go place.across market) 'go [to] market (across there)' not 'go across the market'.

While information about manner and about one of the path functions, route, can only be expressed by a verb in Hmong, there are commonly used alternatives for expressing the other path functions, goal and source. Goal arguments are often introduced, for example, by the word *rau*. Used elsewhere as a verb meaning 'put in/insert', when used with the function of introducing a goal, *rau* has grammaticalized to the extent that it is well translated by the English preposition 'to'. Its development as a preposition suggests some move towards satellite framing in this language.

The alternative way of expressing source arguments is far more interesting. There is no word in Hmong equivalent to the English preposition 'from' that can be used to introduce the source of a motion event in cases in which the semantics of one of the 'source' verbs are not appropriate. In these circumstances, the only way to express a source argument is to introduce it as a noun phrase or locative phrase *followed by* some reference to motion away from that source. In each of the examples (4) and (5) overleaf, the locative phrase that is interpreted as indicating source does not receive that interpretation from the verb that precedes it, but only by virtue of the reference to motion away that follows. Notice that, even after a goal verb like *tuaj* 'come', a locative phrase is understood as indicating source rather than goal if there is some further reference to motion away. See examples (6) and (7).

This paper will describe in detail the conditions under which noun phrases and locative phrases in Hmong can be understood to refer to the source of a motion event, and further discuss the

implications of this research for the understanding of cross-linguistic diversity in the expression and packaging of motion events.

Examples

(1) cov tub.rog khiav tawm ntawm lub kwj.ha los tsev
CLF soldier run leave place.nearby CLF valley come.home home

'The soldiers fled [from] the valley nearby [and] came home.'

(2) Niaj hnub cog tus me.nyuam nqis hav mus nram pas.dej
every day carry CLF child descend valley go place.down pond

'Every day [she] carries her child down the valley to the pond below.'

(3) cov hmoob hla dej na.koom dim hauv nplog-teb mus
CLF Hmong cross river Mekong escape place.inside Laos go

thai-teb
Thailand

'The Hmong crossed the Mekong River, escaping [from] Laos [and] going [to] Thailand.'

(4) Nws khiav ntawm khw los tsev
3SG run place.nearby market come.home home

'He ran home from market (nearby).'

(5) Peb lawv tus npua tom lub zos mus pem teb
1PL drive CLF pig place.yonder CLF village go place.above field

'We drove the pig from the village yonder to the higher fields.'

(6) Peb tuaj Australia tuaj
1pl come PN come

'We came from Australia.'

Compare:

(7) Peb tuaj Australia
1pl come PN

'We came to Australia.'

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Zaira Khalilova

Reported speech in Khwarshi

Khwarshi, which is spoken by about 3000 speakers, belongs to the Tsezic branch of the Nakh-Dagestanian language family. Like many other Dagestanian languages, Khwarshi uses a special quotative particle to mark reported speech. The particle *λun* is a quotative (or citation) particle derived as the result of grammaticalization of the converb *iλin / iλun* 'having said' of the verb *iλa* 'to say'. Cognate quotative particles are found in other related languages, for example in Bezhta (*-λo*) and (outside the Tsezic branch) in Godoberi (*-λ'u*). The quotative particle *λun* can be combined not only with utterance predicates but also with propositional attitude predicates (e.g. 'to think', 'to believe', 'to consider', and others).

The same basic construction with a finite clause followed by the quotative particle *λun* is used to express both direct and indirect speech. The main outward manifestation of the difference between direct and indirect speech in Khwarshi resides in the use of pronouns. In direct speech, as in (1)–(2), the same pronouns are used as in the reported speaker's utterance. In indirect speech, the pronouns are shifted to the reporter's deictic center, as in (3).

There is, however, no sequence of tenses comparable to that found in English, i.e. the tense-mood verb form of the reported speaker's utterance is retained in indirect speech, as can be seen in (3), where the combination of Infinitive and Present tense of the copula encodes Future tense. Time adverbials do, however, shift from the deictic center of the person whose speech is reported in direct speech, as in (4), to the reporter's deictic center in indirect speech, as in (5); i.e. in (4), 'today' is to be interpreted from Muhammad's perspective (= 'yesterday' from the reporter's perspective), while in (5) it is to be interpreted from the reporter's perspective (= 'tomorrow' from Muhammad's perspective).

It follows from this that examples of reported speech with the quotative particle that do not include crucial pronouns or temporal adverbials are ambiguous between direct and indirect speech. Direct speech, however, can also be expressed without a quotative particle, as in (6).

Like most Dagestanian languages, Khwarshi uses reflexive pronouns as "logophoric" pronouns to avoid referential ambiguity: The logophorically used reflexive pronoun in (7) indicates explicitly that the person whose speech is reported is also the individual referred to by that pronoun in the subordinate clause, in contrast to (8), where the ordinary pronoun is ambiguous, i.e. can refer either to the person whose speech is reported or to some other individual.

In addition, Khwarshi can mark a proposition as deriving from hearsay by using the fossilized General tense form *čāl* of the verb *čala* 'to inform', with or without the quotative particle *λun*, as in (9).

The paper gives an overview of the main features of reported speech in Khwarshi.

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(1)
mo na-ɣul m-ok'-še λun iλ-in łiłuk'a boc'-qo-l
2SG where-VERS III-go-PRS QUOT say-PST.UW witch wolf.OBL-CONT-LAT
'The witch said to the wolf: Where do you go?' [Witch.005]

(2)
Ise di-qo-l c'alid-o λun iλ-še goli
3SG.ERG 1SG.OBL.CONT-LAT read-IMP QUOT say-PRS COP
'He says me to: Read!'

(3)
Muħamadi iλ-i ise dac b-iqq-a goli λun
Muhammad.ERG say-PST.W 3SG.ERG lesson III-learn-INF COP QUOT
'Muhammad said that he would learn the lesson. '

(4)
Muħamadi hunuža iλ-i de žequł dac b-iqq-a goli λun
Muhammad.ERG yesterday say-PST.W 1SG.ERG today lesson III-learn-INF COP QUOT
'Muhammad said yesterday: I will learn the lesson today. '

(5)
Muħamadi hunuža iλ-i ise žequł dac b-iqq-a goli λun
Magomed.ERG yesterday say-PST.W 3SG.ERG today lesson III-learn-INF COP QUOT
'Magomed said yesterday that he would learn the lesson today. '

(6)
can-a iλ-in de indu qˤuba-y λib y-āc'-bi
she-goat-ERG say-PST.UW 1SG.ERG this dirty-V leaf V-eat-GNT.NEG
'The she-goat said: I don't eat such a dirty leaf.' [Pudi.006]

(7)
Išet'i iλ-i iłe-iłeči/*j lac'a l-iy-i λun
mother. ERG say-PST.W REFL.3SG.ERG meal IV-do-PST.W QUOT
'The mother$_i$ said that she$_{i/*j}$ made a meal.'

(8)
Išet'i$_i$ iλ-i iłe$_{i/j}$ lac'a l-iy-i λun
mother.ERG say-PST.W 3SG.ERG meal IV-do-PST.W QUOT
'The motheri said that shei/j prepared a meal.'

(9)
uλnu y-ucc-u y-eč-dow λun čāl
winter V-cold-PST.PTCP V-be-PRS.PTCP QUOT inform.GNT
'They say, the winter will be cold.'

Two indefinite articles in Uzbek

Udo Klein

The aim of this paper is to show that Uzbek has the crosslinguistically rather unusual property of using two indefinite articles, namely the expressions "bir" and "bitta". From a synchronic perspective the two indefinite articles can be shown to compete (at least in certain environments), and from a diachronic perspective there is evidence that "bitta" significantly expands to the expense of "bir".

As pointed out in Beckwith (1998), Uzbek numerals higher than 'one' require a numeral classifier. (1) provides an example of a classifier, (2) is an example of a mensural classifier, and (3) contains the generic classifier "ta" (glossed CL:GENERIC). See Aikhenvald (2000, 116-120) for criteria distinguishing classifiers from quantifying expressions.

The only numeral which can occur without a classifier is "bir" (one), as illustrated in (4). In this example "bir" is used to introduce a new participant which (i) is presumed to be unknown to the hearer and which (ii) is the subject of further specification in the subsequent discourse. According to Heine (1997, 66-82), this is the second stage in the development of an indefinite article from a numeral. However, as shown by the sentence (5), the second condition is not necessary for the use of "bir" in Uzbek. This indicates that "bir" is at least in the third stage of development into an indefinite article, which is characterised by the numeral being used to introduce a hearer-unknown participant, even if this participant is not subject to further specifcation in the following discourse. Example (6) indicates that "bir" is not commonly used to express non-referential uses (which is characteristic of stage IV), while example (7) shows that it cannot be used in predicative constructions (stage V). We conclude that "bir" has reached (at least) the third stage of development into an indefinite article.

Uzbek differs from other Turkik languages, e.g. Turkish which also uses the word "bir" as an indefinite article (Kornfilt, 1997, p. 106), in that in addition to "bir" it has developed a second indefinite article, namely "bitta". Bodrogligeti (2003, p. 456) suggests that "bitta" derives from the suffixation of numeral "bir" with the generic classifier "ta". Sentences (8) and (9) illustrate that it has reached the fourth stage of development into an indefinite article. First, it can be used in presentative constructions (stage II), as illustrated in (8), and secondly, it can also be used non-referentially (stage IV), as illustrated in (9).

In some contexts, the competition between the two indefinite articles is exploited in order to distinguish between non-specific and neutral uses of NPs. In (10) the direct object NP must be interpreted non-specifically, whereas in (11) this is not the case. In other contexts, e.g. with nouns referring to inanimate entities, there is some reason to believe that the use of "bir" is decreasing, while the use of "bitta" is increasing, irrespective of specificity. In the past, it was perfectly acceptable to say (12), whereas in modern colloquial Uzbek (13) is strongly preferred.

(1) ikki **nafar** uq'ituvch'i
two CL:HUMAN teacher
two teachers

(2) besch **coynak** coy
five pot tea
five pots of tea

(3) uch'-**ta** q'iz
three-CL:GENERIC girl
three girls

(4) Bir zamon-lar **bir** schoh bu'l-ib u't-gan ekan...
a time-PL a(=one) king be-GER be-PTCP apparently
Once upon a time there was a king...

(5) Farhod **bir** u'q'ituvch'i-ni haq'oratla-gan-i uch'un jazo-lan-di.
Farhod a(=one) teacher-ACC insult-PTCP-ARG:3SG because-of punish-PST-3SG
Farhod was punished because he insulted a teacher.

(6) ? Bugun yana **bir** u'q'tuvch'i-ng bilan urisch'-ding-mi?
today again a(=one) teacher with argue-2SG-Q
Have you argued with a teacher again?

(7) * Bu ayol **bir** u'q'ituvch'i.
this woman a(=one) teacher
Int: This woman is a teacher.

(8) Kech'a isch-hona-m-ga **bitta** talaba kel-ib,
yesterday work-room-POSS:1SG-DAT a(=one-CL:GENERIC) student come-GER,
yig'la-sch-ga tusch-di.
cry-NOMIN-? begin-PRF:3SG
Yesterday a student came into my office and started crying.

(9) Men **bitta** moschina sot-ib olmoq'-ch'i-man, lekin
I a(=one-CL:GENERIC) car sell-GER take.INF-WANT-1SG, but
q'anaq'a-si-ni ol-isch-im-ni hali bil-may-man.
which-ARG:3-ACC take-NOMIN-AGR:3-ACC yet know-NEG-1SG
I want to buy a car, but I don't know yet what kind of car.

(10) Professor **bir** student-ni tekschir-moq'-chi.
professor a(=one) student-ACC examine-want-3SG
The professor wants to examine a student. [non-specific]

(11) Professor **bitta** student-ni tekschir-moq'-chi.
professor a(=one-CL:GENERIC) student-ACC examine-want-3SG
The professor wants to examine a student. [specific, non-specific, numeral]

(12) Men **bir** stol-ni tuz-at-dim.
I a(=one) table-ACC repair-PRF-1SG
I have repaired a table.

(13) Men **bitta** stol-ni tuz-at-dim.
I a(=one-CL:GENERIC) table-ACC repair-PRF-1SG
I have repaired a table.

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Kadri Kuram

Which Theory of Scope does Turkish Favor?

There are at least three or four different approaches to the linguistic phenomenon called *scope*, especially scope of universal and existential quantifiers. To mention some, May (1977, 1986 and 1989) are the first thoroughly articulated and most frequently cited studies. May argues for a Quantifier Raising (QR) approach to scope interactions. QR applies obligatorily in all constructions containg two or more quantifiers. Quantifiers involved raise at LF to spec,CP. With the help of re-description of command, May achieves an elaborate theory of quantifier scope. Later on, these studies become indispensible citations in the reference sections.

In the following years, many articles and books were published on scope of quantifiers and other scope-taking elements. For example, Auon and Li (1989 and 1991) report that in Chinese, in contrast to English, scope of quantifiers is rigid if they are the subject and object of active transitive sentences. However, Auon and Li (1989) report, rigidity disappears when the Chinese sentences are passivized while ambiguity disappers, in direct contrast, in English double object constructions. To solve the puzzle, they claim that scope-taking is parasidic on A-movement. They do so by claiming that c-commanding trace of an NP chain is enough to take scope over the chain. In this way, they attribute unambiguity of Chinese active sentences to the non-existance of raising of subject, which is adjoined to spec,IP. The object QP cannot QR up to spec,IP to c-command NP chain since it would then violate *Minimal Binding Requirement*. Other proposals on similar or different aspects of scope abound, like Hornstein's (1995) movement to spec,AgrOP and Fox's (1995b and 1999) view that QR is restricted by economy and paralellism in Antecedent Contained Deletion (ACD) constructions.

Turkish is agglutinative Altaic language with relatively free word order. It is notorious for the problems it raises for UG, especially Kayne's LCA (see Kural 1996 and Kelepir 2001 for discussions). Still there is little literature on Turkish quantifiers and scope interactions. Kelepir (2001) can be put forward as one example of studies on Turkish scope interactions and clause structure. However, no such attempt has been made to document the relations of scope-taking elements in various constructions. In this regard, this paper will aim to give an adequate description of syntactic scope in Turkish, then evaluating the abovementioned theories of scope in terms of applicability. I intend to cover the scope interactions of wh-words, universal quantifiers and existential quantifiers. I also intend to test these scope-taking elements in the following clause structures: simple transitive sentences, passive, raising, unaccusative, unergative, double object constructions, some PP constructions, ACD, negation and scrambling. I write below a few examples from the database.

(1) a. Bir asker her hedefi vurdu *a>every*
a soldier every target hit

b. Her asker bir hedefi vurdu *a>every/every>a*
every soldier a target hit

(1)shows that if Existential is higher than the Universal Quantifier, scope is rigid in such a way that UQP cannot take scope over EQP (1a). However, if UQP is higher than the EQP, EQP can take scope over the UQP (1b).

We may complicate the matters somewhat. For example, (1a,b) are in standart word order SOV. We know that Turkish allows scrambling. This is what happens in (2). (2a,b) are the

scrambled counterparts of (1a,b). They show the same scope interactions. Object UQP scrambled over the subject EQP in (2a) cannot take unambiguous scope. This is similar to the pattern in (1b). The same similarity also holds for (2b) and (1a). In both of them, EQP is higher than the UQP and takes unambiguos wide scope over the UQP. [1]

(2) a. Her hedefi$_j$ bir asker t_j vurdu *a>every/every>a*
every target a soldier hit

b. Bir hedefi$_j$ her asker t_j vurdu *a>every*
a target every soldier hit

Let us now complicate the matters even further by adding negation to the sentences. The interesting point is that in (3a) UQP can take wide scope over the EQP, in contrast to general inclination, if negation takes the widest scope. This reading, though difficult to discern, is made more salient when we consider (3c), which has the reading where UQP can take scope over EQP by surface structure, and try to interpret (3a) in that way. Still we need the help of focus on subject EQP.

(3) a.Bir asker her hedefi vur-ma-dı *a>every>neg/ neg>a>every/neg>every>a*
a soldier every target hit-neg.

b.Her asker bir hedefi vur-ma-dı *a>every/every>a*
every soldier a target hit-neg.

c. Her hedefi$_j$ bir asker t_j vurmadı
every target a soldier hit-neg

As to the unergatives, facts are already confusing enough. Locative UQP can take scope over subject EQP, though it is lower than the subject (see (4a)). This is unexpected for Yatsushiro (1996) who shows that Japanese represents unambiguity in nom-loc word order in unergative constructions. Yatsushiro says subject is generated above the locative phrase and raises to spec,TP. Thus locative has no way to take scope over the subject. We may further scramble the sentence to have loc-nom word order and ambiguity persists (4b). However, there is another way to analyse the construction. Locative is generated above the subject and the subject does not raise for case licensing. This is Yatsushiro's analysis for unambiguity of unaccusatives in loc-nom word order. So, how does the subject take scope over the locative without c-commanding it? The answer lies in (1a) and (2b). We see that EQPs lower than UQPs can take wide scope. Nothing prevents this to apply to (4b). To conclude, scopal relations do not give any insight into clause structure just as proposed clause structures don't provide any explanation for the scopal interactions.

(4) a. Bir sporcu her havuz-da yüzdü *a>every/every>a*
a sportsman every pool-loc swam

b. Her havuz-da bir sporcu yüzdü *a>every/every>a*
every pool-loc. a sportsman swam

c. Her sporcu bir havuzda yüzdü *a>every/every>a*
every sportsman a pool-loc. swam

[1] We neglect for the moment the fact that one of the is scrambled while the other is standart word order and they are contained in different arguments, i.e. subject and object.

Silvia Kutscher

Argument realization of psych-verbs in an active language: the case of Laz (Ardeşen variety)

Abstract
Cross-linguistically and within languages, psych-verbs exhibit a wide range of construction types, cf. e.g. (1) for German.

(1) a. (Experiencer/NOM & Stimulus/ACC)
Er *mag* *dich.*
1SG:NOM like:3SG:PRS 2SG:ACC
'He likes you.'

b. (Experiencer/ACC & Stimulus/NOM)
Du *erstaunst* *ihn.*
2SG:NOM astonish:2SG:PRS 3SG:ACC
'You astonish him.'

c. (Experiencer/DAT & Stimulus/NOM)
Du *gefällst* *ihm.*
2SG:NOM like:3SG:PRS 3SG:DAT
'He likes you.'

Assuming that the arguments of psych-verbs have the semantic roles of stimulus and experiencer, this constructional variation challenges the assumption that verbs sharing the same theta-grid select the same case patterns. In order to account for this, previous research has tried to show that the constructional variants of these verbs can be traced back to differences in semantic roles (Pesetsky 1995) or in semantic (event- or causal) structure (e.g. Grimshaw 1990, Dowty 1991, Van Valin/LaPolla 1997, Croft 1991).

In most theories, psych-verbs are subclassified in subject-experiencer verbs with a stative, non-causative semantic structure (e.g. *fear, like, admire*) and object-experiencer verbs with a non-stative/eventive, causative semantic structure (e.g. *frighten, please, astonish*). Some authors also refer to causative morphology as a supporting factor for this subdivision; supposedly, only object-experiencer-verbs show causative morphology (e.g. Pesetsky 1995, Van Valin / La Polla 1997).

So far, only languages of the nominative/accusative-alignment type have been taken into consideration in the theoretical literature. The subject of my talk will be the alignment principles of psych-verbs in the Ardeşen variety of the South-Caucasian language Laz. In contrast to its sister varieties, Ardeşen-Laz is of the active alignment type, i.e. the linking of semantic role and syntactic realization of verbal arguments is licensed purely by the semantic parameter [+/-control], cf. (2).

(2) a. (Subject is marked as Actor)
b*-ulur*
1A-walk:SG:PRS
'I walk.'

b. (Subject is marked as Undergoer)
m-*açinden*
1U-sneeze:SG:PRS
'I sneeze.'

In my talk, I will show that neither the assumed isomorphism between event/causal-semantic structure and realization of arguments nor the stipulated correlation between causative morphology and object-experiencer realization holds for Laz, cf. (3.a,b) for stative verbs

licensing subject (i.e. Actor-marking) and object-experiencer (i.e. Undergoer-marking) alignment.

(3) a. *b-i-xelam*
1A-VV-freu:1A.SG:PRS
'I am glad.'

b. *him* *m-a-oropen*
3SG:NOM 1U-VV-lieb:SG:PRS
'I love him/her.'

I will argue that in Laz other semantic parameters such as control of the event and systematic sense alternations are at work, which are in correspondence with the principles of semantically based alignment characteristic of the active language type. The constructional variation of psych-verbs seems to be dependent on other semantic (and typological) properties than are raised by the theoretical literature.

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Lacroix, René

The subordinator *na* in Laz

My talk is a typologically oriented description of the subordinator *na* in the South Caucasian language Laz. The data presented here is from the dialect of Arhavi. *Na* is used in relativization, complementation and adverbial subordination. It can thus be described as a multi-purpose subordination marker.

In Laz, relative clauses precede their head. The verb is finite, occurs at the end of the relative clause and is immediately preceded by *na*. Core syntactic roles (A, O, S) as well as obliques (ex.1) can be relativized.

(1) na bon-es tsk'ai ii altuni d-iv-u
SUB wash-AOR.I3P water all gold PV-become-AOR.I3S
'All the water with which they washed her became gold.' (K'art' 130)

Relative clauses in Laz are typologically interesting in that they use *finite* verb forms while *preceding* their head. Moreover, in free relative clauses, the plural suffix or the case indicating the function of the relative in the matrix clause directly attach to the finite verb form heading the relative clause:

(2) si na čk'om-i-pe-k va-g-o-dzğ-es-na
2S SUB eat-AOR-PL-ERG NEG-II2-TR-satisfy-AOR.I3P-if
'If the ones you ate didn't satisfy you, ...' (K'art' 137)

The internal structure of complement clauses is identical to the structure of the relatives: the verb is finite, occurs at the end of the subordinate clause and is immediately preceded by the subordinator *na*:

(3) bič'i-k ts'its'ila motal-epe-š o-čk'om-u-ša na y-ul-u-t'u
boy-ERG snake young-PL-GEN PV-eat-VN-ALL SUB PV-go.up-THS-IMPFT.I3S

k-ox-o-ts'on-u
PV-PV-TR-understand-AOR.I3S
'The boy understood that the snake was going up to eat the young ones.' (Dum37 VIII)

When a clause is the complement of a postposition, the case suffix required by the postposition directly attaches to the verb heading the subordinate clause:

(4) id-i-a mžoa na y-ul-u-n-ši-k'ele
go-IMP-QUOT sun SUB PV-go.up-THS-I3S-GEN-toward
'Go toward the place where the sun rises.' (K'art' 128)

Compare with the following example, in which the postposition *-k'ele* is used with a noun:

(5) b-i-mt'-i-t dağı-š k'ele
I1-MP-flee-AOR-PL mountain-GEN toward
'We fled toward the mountain.' (Qip 47)

The use of *na* is not the only strategy to form complement clauses in Laz. The following sentence is an example of a complement clause without *na* whose internal structure is as that of an interrogative:

(6) dunya-s mit ko-do-m-i-skid-es-i-t var-m-i-čk-i-nan
world-DAT someone PV-PV-II1-APPL-stay-AOR.PL-INT-too NEG-II1-APPL-know-THS-PL
'We even don't know if anybody of our acquaintances is still alive.' (Dum37 I)

cf. mit ko-do-m-i-skid-es-i
someone PV-PV-II1-APPL-stay-AOR.PL-INT
'Does anybody of our acquaintances be still alive?'

Some adverbial clauses involve the subordinator *na* too. Their internal structure is identical to that of relatives and complement clauses.

(7) mgeyi-š korba-s na t'u-šeni
wolf-GEN stomach-DAT SUB he.was-because
'because he had been in the wolf's stomach' (Dum67 II)

Morphologically, it seems that *na* is an enclitic attached to the constituent which precedes the verb. In the sentence below, hyphens indicate intonation breaks and grave accents, stressed syllables.

(8) mà-na - è-k-č'op-i - kitàbi
1S-SUB PV-II2-buy-AOR book
'the book I bought for you' (elicited)

Although in most cases *na* is placed immediately before the verb, there are some occurrences of *na* following the first constituent of the subordinate clause:

(9) čku na tsk'ar var-m-a-v-e-nan var-g-i-čk-i-n-i
1P SUB water NEG-II1-APPL-become-THS-PL NEG-II2-APPL-know-THS-I3S-INT
'Don't you know that we don't have water?' (Dum37 VIII)

In some rare instances, *na* appears twice: after the first constituent of the subordinate clause and in its usual position before the verb:

(10) mu g-i-čk-i-t'es heg-na deve-na gola-xt-u
what? II2-APPL-know-THS-IMPFT.PL here-SUB camel-SUB PV-pass-AOR.I3S
'How did you know that the camel passed through here?' (Jğ 37)

The last point I will address concerns conditionals, which differ from the types of subordinate clauses examined above in that *na* is placed *after* the verb, at the end of the subordinate clause:

(11) zabun dido monk'a ren-na hemsat'is ar xoja-s ko-d-u-jux-um-an
ill.person very heavy he.is-if immediately one hoja-DAT PV-PV-APPL.II3-call-THS-I3P
'If the person is seriously ill, they call a hoja immediately.' (Dum37 XIII)

My conclusion will draw attention to the fact that the constructions with the subordinator *na* cannot be explained, either as inherited from proto-Kartvelian (since they do not exist in Georgian or Svan), or as borrowed from Turkish (since they depart from the type of subordination structures attested in Turkish in some important respects).

Abbreviations

ALL	allative	SUB	subordinator
AOR	aorist	THS	thematic suffix
APPL	applicative	TR	transitive
DAT	dative	VN	verbal noun
ERG	ergative	I1	set I, 1st person singular and plural
GEN	genitive	I3S	set I, 3rd person singular
IMP	imperative	I3P	set I, 3rd person plural
IMPFT	imperfect	II1	set II, 1st person singular and plural
INT	interrogative	II2	set II, 2nd person singular and plural
MP	mediopassive	II3	set II, 3rd person singular and plural
NEG	negation	1S	1st singular
PL	plural	2S	2nd singular
PV	preverb	1P	1st plural
QUOT	quotative		

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Yi-An Lin

The Information Structure of Nominal Phrases and DP-internal Phrasal Movement in Buginese

Within the framework of Aboh's Split DeterminerPhrase (DP) hypothesis, this paper argues that the information structure is encoded in the syntactic structure of nominal phrase based on the linguistic data of Buginese, an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia. As indicated by Nishiyama (1998), Buginese allows a remarkable free word order within nominal phrases:

(1) a. iaro lima buku-e b. lima iaro buku-e c. lima buku-e iaro
those five book-the five those book-the five book-the those
d. iaro buku lima-e e. buku iaro lima-e f. buku lima-e iaro
those book five-the book those five-the book five-the those

According to Nishiyama's iterated DP analysis, where demonstratives project a DP and c-select another DP headed by the definite marker *–e*, (1a) is the underlying structure generated by the operation Merge only, whereas (1b-f) are derived by DP-internal phrasal movement. However, cross-linguistically speaking, the postulation that demonstratives project an upper DP is quite idiosyncratic. In addition, as admitted by Nishiyama himself, the discussion of what sort of feature triggers the proposed movement is absent in his analysis. As a result, the current paper intends to fill in this gap in terms of Chomsky's (2001, 2005) Probe-Goal approach of Minimalism. Following Aboh's (2004) Split DP hypothesis, which argues that the left periphery of nominal phrase encode the information structure in the same way as the left periphery of clause, I re-interpret Nishiyama's analysis by saying that all the examples in (1) are derived by DP-internal topicalization and/or focalization proceeded by a phrasal movement, namely the movement of Num(ber)P to the Spec(ifier) of lower DP in Nishiyama's proposal. The internal structure I propose for Buginese nominal phrase is schematized as:

(2) $D_{topic}P>D_{focus}P>D_{topic}P> D_{definite}P>NumP>SpecificityP>nP>NP.$

Following Li's (1999) study on NumP and Sio's (2006) study on S(pecificity)P, I assume numerals are accommodated in the Spec of NumP and demonstratives are accommodated in the Spec of SP and moved to the Spec of $D_{definite}P$. Furthermore, I assume the optional movement as in the DP-internal topicalization or focalization is triggered by the edge feature [EF] whereas the obligatory phrasal movement such as the movement of NumP to the Spec of $D_{definite}P$ is triggered by the [EPP] feature. The interaction of these two types of movements then leads to the free word order in Buginese nominal phrases shown in (1). The derivation process as mentioned is that the obligatory movement of NumP to the Spec of $D_{definite}P$ takes place before the DP-internal topicalization or focalization which targets the Spec of $D_{topic}P$ or $D_{focus}P$ respectively.

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Agbo Maduabuchi

DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS IN IGBO

This is a study of the semantics and morpho-syntax of double object constructions in Igbo. The phenomena are investigated from both descriptive and theoretical perspectives. The theory within which this investigation is developed is the minimalist program of Chomsky (1995) and subsequent works.

In the study, it is shown that the reduplicated verb (RV) suffix is attached to the verb in Igbo. In this case the verb and RV suffix together are involved in determining theta assignment of the indirect object NP in Double Object Constructions.

Double object constructions are very interesting in Igbo. The properties of these constructions are considered with respect to the Split VP hypothesis of Koizumi (1995). In this study it will be argued that the evidence from Igbo data favour the Split VP hypothesis of Koizumi (1995).

EXAMPLES OF DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS IN IGBO

In Igbo Double Object Constructions (DOCs) the following can be observed:

(i) The indirect object precedes the direct object;

(ii) The –rV (benefactive) suffix is normally present.

(1) to (5) below are examples of DOCs

(1) Kalu bu-ta-a-ra umunna mmanya
Kalu carry-towards-rV(ben) rV(past) kinsmen wine
Kalu carried some wine to the kinsmen

(2) Uche go-o-ro m akwa
Uche buy-rV(ben) rV(past) me cloth
Uche bought clothes for me

(3) Chidimma nye-re Ogo ego
Chidimma give-rV (past) Ogo money
Chidimma gave Ogo some money

(4) Umuakwukwo weta-ra Onye nkuzi nzu ode
Students bring-rV (past) person teach chalk write
The students brought some chalk for the teacher

(5) Ukochukwu kpe-e-re ndi agha ekpere
Pastor pray-rV(benefactive)- rV(past) soldiers prayer
The pastor prayed for the soldiers

(3) and (4) above are peculiar because they are double object constructions without the –rV (benefactive) attached to the verbs. This phenomenon will be explained in the full body of the work. The above examples raise the question as to the status of the –rV benefactive suffix in double object constructions. That is, whether they are part of the verb or should be regarded as Split VPs.

*Igbo is a tone language spoken in Nigeria.

Andrej Malchukov

Towards a comprehensive TAM-hierarchy for alignments splits

The phenomenon of TAM (tense/aspect/mood) based split ergativity has attracted much attention in the typological literature: as is well known, some ergative languages (e.g., many Indo-Arian languages) restrict ergative marking to the domain of perfective/past. Yet most of the literature have focused on the split ergativity conditioned by the perfective /imperfective (resp. past/non-past) split, which has been offered a functional (DeLancey 1981) or diachronic explanation (Trask 1979, Anderson 1992). Based on the earlier work (by Comrie 1978; Dixon 1979, 1994; Lazard 1994/1998; Moravscik 1978; Nedjalkov 1988, among others), I propose an extended version of the TAM-hierarchy for split ergativity which takes the following form: Imperative > Future/Irrealis > Present > Imperfect (Imperfective Past) > Perfective Past > Perfect > Resultative. I will present cross-linguistic evidence for the hierarchy, as well as discuss some problematic data. It will be shown that some counterexamples (e.g., the hierarchy Present > Future > Past, posited for Newari by Givón 1984) can be accounted for if we recast the hierarchy above as a two-dimensional hierarchy where tense/mood hierarchy and aspect hierarchy are treated as separate dimensions. It will be further shown how other prominence hierarchies noted in the literature can be integrated with the proposed TAM-based hierarchy.

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Anna Martowicz

Explicitness of markers of clausal relations

It has been claimed repetitively (most recently in Wray and Grace, 2007) that a number of speakers as well as the presence of written form are factors which correlate with the level of explicitness of a language. There is however a serious problem we encounter when trying to verify that hypothesis - the common sense definition of "explicitness" (*distinctly expressing all that is meant; leaving nothing merely implied or suggested; expressed*) widely used in linguistics is of a little use since a number of phenomena allows for various surface realizations and hence display degrees of explicitness. The aim of this paper is to contribute to the discussion on explicitness and its correlates by proposing a hierarchy of explicitness of markers of clausal relations.

The empirical data come from a genealogically and areally stratified sample of 50 languages with various numbers of speakers (from around 200 for Nez Perce through 150,000 for Konso to 873 milion for Mandarin) and with various levels of written form development. The data have been elicited from reference grammar books and for each language an informant (a linguist) answered a list of questions. The relations considered are: anteriority, causality, purpose and conditionality.

In the paper I argue that of the highest explicitness among markers of adverbial relations between clauses are connectives distributed obligatory over main and subordinate clause. They are followed on the continuum by connectives distributed optionally (i.e. where it is acceptable to omit one element of the pair – see example A below). Next group contains one-word subordinators, complex (multi-word) subordinators, adverbial suffixes on final verb forms and clitics serving the function of connectives which should all be treated as equally explicit. Also different realizations of converbs should be treated as equally explicit but less explicit than the previous group mentioned. Further on the continuum in a downgrading order are relative clauses, so called special verb forms (eg. subjunctives), coordination and juxtaposition of clauses.

I also distinguish between monofunctional and macrofunctional (c.f. Gil, 2001: 107 and example B below) forms of connectives and between monofunctional and macrofunctional forms of converbs ascribing different levels of explicitness to them.

20 years ago Lehmann (1988) proposed a scale of explicitness of clause linkage considering how tight syntactically two clauses are connected. Although his scale and my hierarchy happen to overlap in some cases, they do not concern exactly the same type of phenomena. Moreover, needless to say, in the last two decades much has changed in linguistics. In my proposal the relevant recent findings and discussions (e.g. definition of word - Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2002; problem of universality of linguistic categories - Haspelmath, 2007; problem of symmetric vs asymmetric verb forms; the phenomenon of converbs) are taken into consideration.

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Examples

A. From the point of view of explicitness I distinguish structures where both distributed connectives are obligatory (a)) from those where they are merely optional (b)):

a) Konso (Cushitic)

Anti	***a***	*isha'e*	*kalay*	***kammaan***	*urmalaapa*	*anay.*
I	after	he	come home:pf	after:1	market:pp	go:pf

'I went to market after he came back home.'

a…kammaa acts as a subordinator and either swapping the position of its two elements or omission of one of them results in an unacceptable sentence.

b) Mandarin Chinese:

Yinwei *zhangsan*	*lai*	*le,*	***suoyi*** *Lisi gai*	*zou*	le.
because Zhangsan	come	ASP so	Lisi should go		ASP

"Lisi should leave because Zhangsan has come.

yinwei (because) requires *suoyi* (so) optionally.

B. Macrofunctional markers of relations between states of affairs expressed in clauses may be disambiguated by syntactic environment (a)) or on the basis of semantics (b)). This distinction also seems relevant to the discussion on explicitness of clause linking strategies:

a) In Boko (Niger-Congo) both cause and purpose clauses are marked by the same discontinuous morpheme *ke....yain* … Purpose clauses are always in subjunctive or prohibitive form.

ma ye geo,	***ke*** *male gyanke*	***yain***
I don't want to go	because I am sick	reason

ma	*mo*	*n*	*kiin*	***ke***	*ma ese kpa-ma*		***yain***
I	came your place		so that	I	(Subj) medicine give-to	you	reason

b) In Kafa (Omotic) a suffix *–f* is used as a linkage strategy for clauses of purpose and cause. In this case the only means allowing for disambiguation is semantics:

*Maariin gara London deemte Joon waajjira isaa keessatti arguu**f**.*

Mary went to London for seeing John in his office.

*Arra ganama karrobee**f** dhoqqee hedduu jira.*

Because it rained this morning there is much mud now.

Ranko Matasovic & Diana Forker

"Dependent first" syntactic patterns (or non-local dependencies) in NE and NW Caucasian languages

Non-local dependencies in Daghestanian languages have been noticed for at least 20 years (see for instance Kibirk 1987). The particular kind of non-local dependency we shall explore in this paper will be called the "dependent first" (DF) syntactic pattern. It is found in all branches of NE Caucasian, as well as in the Adyghe branch of NW Caucasian. Similar phenomena are also attested in other parts of the world (Itelmen, Chukchi, Blackfoot and Hindi, see Richards 2007 for examples and references).

The "dependent first" syntactic pattern involves a modal (*want, must*), phasal (*begin, finish*) or another complement taking verb (*know, believe…*) which is combined with an ordinary verb whereby the agreement pattern and/or the case assignment in the matrix clause is affected by an element in the subordinated clause.

The first part of the talk will compare the DF patterns in NE Caucasian languages (with a special focus on the Avar-Andi-Tsez group) with those found in the Adyghe branch of NW Caucasian (with a special focus on Kabardian). It will be shown that the attested structures differ in a number of properties:

(1) only case assignment, only agreement, or both is involved
(2) the subordinated verb may be finite or non-finite (infinitive, participle, gerund)
(3) pragmatic factors may be involved (e.g. Polinsky and Potsdam (2001) claim that in Tsez the trigger of DF agreement must be topical, and similar restrictions hold in Kabardian).
(4) transitivity of the subordinated verb (e.g. in Godoberi the DF agreement is blocked when the subordinated verb is intransitive (Haspelmath 1999)
(5) the range of verbs which allows one or another form of non-local dependencies differs from language to language

However, in all languages the DF patterns are optional, occurring besides the more common "head first" patterns.

In the second part of the talk the various analysis proposed in the literature by Kibrik (1987), Haspelmath (1999), Polinsky & Comrie (1999), Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) and Bošković (2007) will be compared and discussed. We shall also attempt to provide an explanation of the fact that DF patterns are disfavored cross-linguistically, but rather commonplace in the North Caucasus.

The following examples from Kabardian and Hinuq illustrate the three possible constructions:

(1) Kabardian

ś'āla-m	*χədžabzə-r*	0-*yə-łāġ°a-nwə*	*0-0-x°ay-āt*
boy-ERG	girl-NOM	3sg.- 3sg.-see-inf.	3sg.-3sg.-want-impf.

"The boy wanted to see the girl"

(2) a. Hinuq

diž	*y-eq'i-yo*	*ked*	*Kidili-do*	*y-iƛ'i-yo*
I.DAT	II-know-PRS	girl(II)	Kidiro-DIR	II-go-PRS

'I know that the girl goes to Kidiro.'

b.

ʕali	*b-uw-a*	*b-aq'-o*	*zoq'we-s*	*buƛe*
Ali.ERG	III-make-INF	III-must-PRS	be-PST	house(III)

'Ali had to build a/the house.'

In (1) the argument in the superordinated clause *boy* gets the ergative case from the subordinated verb *see*. In (2a) the superordinated verb *know* agrees with the absolutive argument *girl* of the subordinated complement clause which belongs to class II. This construction is usually called Long-Distance Agreement (LDA). Finally, (2b) combines both agreement and case: the superordinated verb *must* again agrees with the ABS argument of the complement clause, and in addition the subordinated verb *make* assigns ergative case to the subject of *must*.

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Dejan Matic

On antecedent-reflexive agreement in Even (North Tungusic)

Every theory of intrasentential anaphora has to minimally address the questions of the locality of binding and of the coindexation of the antecedent and the anaphoric expression. The bulk of the relevant literature is devoted to locality, i.e. to the definition of appropriate domains of binding. The relationship between the elements of anaphoric constructions has been dealt with either in terms of grammatical relations (what kinds of arguments are optimal antecedents) or in terms of possible semantic interpretations, such as coreferential vs. bound variable interpretation or distributive vs. collective interpretation. The matching of agreement features between the antecedent and the anaphoric expression has hardly been ever tackled.

The present talk attempts to shed some light on this by exploring the agreement properties of reflexives in Even, a North Tungusic language spoken in north-eastern Siberia by some seven thousand people. The reflexive expressions in Even – the independent pronoun *mēn* and the possessive suffixes *-i* (sg.) and *-wur* (pl.) – are specified for number and underspecified for person. Expectedly, the canonical situation includes full number agreement between the antecedent and the reflexive:

(1) **Mut** kartọška-ŋ-ga-**wụr** ga-da-p
1pl.in potato-aln-desig-poss.refl.pl take-nonfut-1pl.in
ebiet-ke-**wur** iri-t-te-**wur**.
lunch-desig-poss.refl.pl cook-res-purp.convb-poss.refl.pl
'We bought some potatoes (for us) so that we can make some soup (for us).'

There are, however, cases in which this canonical agreement is disturbed. An antecedent which is both formally and semantically singular may trigger plural marking on the reflexive expression, with a kind of 'group' reading of the anaphora:

(2) Ọhọk-ụ gụl-**li** ebiet-**ur** iri-t-te-**wur**.
oven-acc light-imp.2sg lunch-poss.refl.pl cook-res-purp.convb –poss.refl.pl
'Light(you.sg) a fire in the oven so that you.pl/we can make lunch.'

The group reading is especially clearly visible with coordinated singular subjects, one of which binds the plural reflexive:

(3) Gụlụn-**dụr** ieke-**wur** ọldan-dʒị-**nị̈kan**
fire-dat.poss.refl.pl cauldron-poss.refl.pl hang-prog-sim.convb.sg
ahị̈ ulku-d-de-n, ńarị-dmar tak-ụ nē-d-ni.
woman stir-prog-nonfut-3sg man-emph salt-acc put-prog-3sg
'Hanging the(ir) cauldron over the(ir) fire, a woman is stirring, and the man, he is adding salt.'

In neither case can we speak of agreement *ad sensum*, which would imply a transfer of the plurality feature from the semantic representation of a formally singular antecedent. The antecedents in (2) and (3) are not only formally singular, but also have an unequivocally singular reference. Furthermore, the plural agreement marking on the reflexive has a semantic impact and stands in clear contrast to both non-reflexive marking and singular reflexive marking. For instance, in (2), non-reflexive possessive would mean that the antecedent – the subject of the matrix clause – does not participate in the

preparing of lunch, whereas the singular marking would carry an implication that she is doing it alone. Plural reflexives denote a set of which the antecedent is a member: in (2), the antecedent is a member of the set of persons that prepare lunch.

This mismatch of features represents a problem for most current theories of binding and agreement. In contrast to other kinds of sloppy identity anaphora, such as bound variable readings, which may be accounted for by different derivations on some level of representation (Sternefeld 1995), the singular-plural mismatch in Even does not lend itself to this type of syntactic analysis, since all relevant syntactic tests point to the canonical derivation. Furthermore, both the control and the unification theories of agreement fail to account for it in their standard form. For this reason, some modifications of the unification theory will be proposed, so as to account for the Even data.

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Caterina Mauri

The cross-linguistic coding of coordination relations

The aim of this paper is to investigate the cross-linguistic coding of the three basic coordination relations of combination ('and'), contrast ('but') and alternative ('or') on the basis of a 80 language sample. The notion of coordination relation will be defined in purely functional terms as a relation established between functionally parallel states of affairs (henceforth SoAs), i.e. each having an autonomous cognitive profile and the same illocutionary force (cf. Cristofaro 2003: 31; Foley and Van Valin 1984: 239-44; and Verstraete 2005: 613). Every construction used to establish one or more coordination relations is considered a coordinating construction, regardless of its morphosyntactic properties.

As pointed out, among others, by Dik (1968) and Haspelmath (2004), specific subtypes may be identified within each coordination relation. Combination may be temporal (simultaneous vs. sequential) or atemporal, depending on the location of the SoAs on the temporal axis. Contrast may be oppositive, corrective or counterexpectative, depending on the origin of the conflict (cf. Lang 1984; Rudolph 1996). Alternative may be simple or choice-aimed, depending on the necessity to make a choice between the available possibilities (cf. 'standard' vs. 'interrogative' disjunction, Haspelmath 2004). This research examines the cross-linguistic coding of the three basic coordination relations and their subtypes with respect to two parameters: (*i*) the *coding of the relation* (presence and morphophonological complexity of overt coordinating markers, distinguishing between syndesis vs. asyndesis, mono-/polymorphemic, mono-/polysyllabic markers) and (*ii*) the *coding of the SoAs*, by means of balanced vs. deranked verb forms (cf. Stassen 1985) (if both SoAs are coded by means of the same verb form, the construction is classified as syntactically parallel, if one of the SoAs is coded by means of a deranked form while the other is coded by means of a balanced form the construction is classified as non-parallel). Finally, each coordinating construction attested is examined on the basis of its semantic domain, i.e. the set of relations it may be used for (general vs. dedicated constructions).

The analysis of the attested coordinating constructions reveals implicational constraints on cross-linguistic variation, both within the coding of each coordination relation and in the comparison between them. Three main results will be presented. **First**, as far as the coding of the relation is concerned, the degree of semantic specificity of a construction is directly proportional to the morphophonological complexity of the coordinating marker used: the higher the number of relations expressed, the simpler is the marker's morphophonology (cf. Zipf 1949: 66-133). Markers coding combination relations, either general or dedicated, are morphophonologically simpler than those expressing contrast and alternative. Furthermore, some coordination relations are more likely to be expressed without any overt markers, as a result of their being more easily inferable from the context. In particular, if in a given language a contrast relation generated by the denial of an expectation is expressed by simple juxtaposition, this strategy will be available for contrast relations generated by opposition and correction, too. Within alternative, on the other hand, if no marker is used in the expression of a simple alternative, then no marker will be used for an alternative where a choice is requested.

Second, the coding of the states of affairs turns out to be affected by the internal semantics of the established relation. In general, coordination relations show a cross-linguistic tendency for syntactically parallel constructions, but if a language uses a non-parallel strategy for the expression of a coordination relation at all, it will certainly be used for the sequential combination of two states of affairs (Table 1 and 2).

Third, the exam of the attested semantic domains reveals a neat bipartition within the coordination conceptual space, which relates combination to contrast on the one hand and combination to alternative on the other hand. Combination and contrast markers show recurrent overlapping polysemy patterns across languages, pointing to the combination-contrast conceptual space represented in (ex.1) (see Malchukov 2004 for a slightly different assessment). To the contrary, combination and alternative relations tend to be coded by means of completely different markers, thus showing a reduced semantic overlap. However, in languages with no overt marker for alternative, the two relations are expressed by means of the same construction, namely alternative is systematically conveyed through the combination of possibilities. In such cases, the potential status of each combined SoA is obligatorily marked by means of some irrealis markers (ex.2).

To conclude, I will argue that combination, contrast and alternative do not stand on the same level, but combination is more basic and is implied by the other two relations. Based on the attested polysemy patterns and on the morphophonological complexity of the coordinating markers, I propose a twofold conceptual space, structured along two perpendicular axes of increasing semantic specificity having their origin in the combination relation (Fig. 1). On the one hand, a combination of SoAs may be specified in terms of some discontinuity (Givón 1990: 849) originating a contrast. On the other hand, a combination may be specified in terms of the irreality of the SoAs it links, creating a set of alternative possibilities. Along the two axes, the more a coordination relation is semantically specified, the more complex will be the marker expressing it.

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Examples

	Temporal		Atemp	Oppos	Correct	Denial
	seq	sim				expect
Tauya	-	-	-	-	-	-
Korean	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-		+/-
West Greenlandic	+/-	+/-	+/-		+/-	+/-
Jamul Tiipay	-	-	-	-	-	+
Japanese	-	-	-	-	-	+
Supyire	-	+	+	+	+	+
Turkish	+/ -	+	+		+	+
Lango	+/ -	+	+	+	+	+/+
Hebrew	+		++	+	+	+
Vietnamese	+	+	+	+	+	+/+

Table 1: *The combination-contrast parallelism implication: attested types.* + = syntactically parallel construction; -- = syntactically non-parallel construction; blank= no information available

	Temporal		Atemp	Simple alt	Choice-aimed alt
	Seq	Sim			
Jamul Tiipay	-	-	-	-	-
West Greenlandic	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Korean	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+
Tauya	-	-	-	+	+
Japanese	-	-	-	+	+
Kolyma Yukaghir	-	-	-		+
Supyire	-	+	+	+	+
Turkish	+/-	+	+	+	+
Lango	+/-	+	+	+	
Hebrew	+	+	+	+	+
Vietnamese	+	+	+	+	+

Table 2: *The combination-alternative parallelism implication: attested types.* + = syntactically parallel construction; -- = syntactically non-parallel construction; blank= no information available

Example (1)

sequential combination ----- simultaneous combination ------ atemporal combination ---- oppositive contrast ----- corrective contrast ---- counterexpectative contrast

Example (2)

Wari', Chapacura-Wanam (Everett and Kern 1997: 162)

Mo *ta* *pa'* *ta'* *hwam* *ca*,
COND realis.future kill 1sg:realis.future fish 3sg.M
mo *ta* *pa'* *ta'* *carawa* *ca*
COND realis.future kill 1sg:realis.future animal 3sg.M
'Either he will fish or he will hunt.' (lit. 'if he (says) "I will kill fish", if he (says) "I will kill animals".')

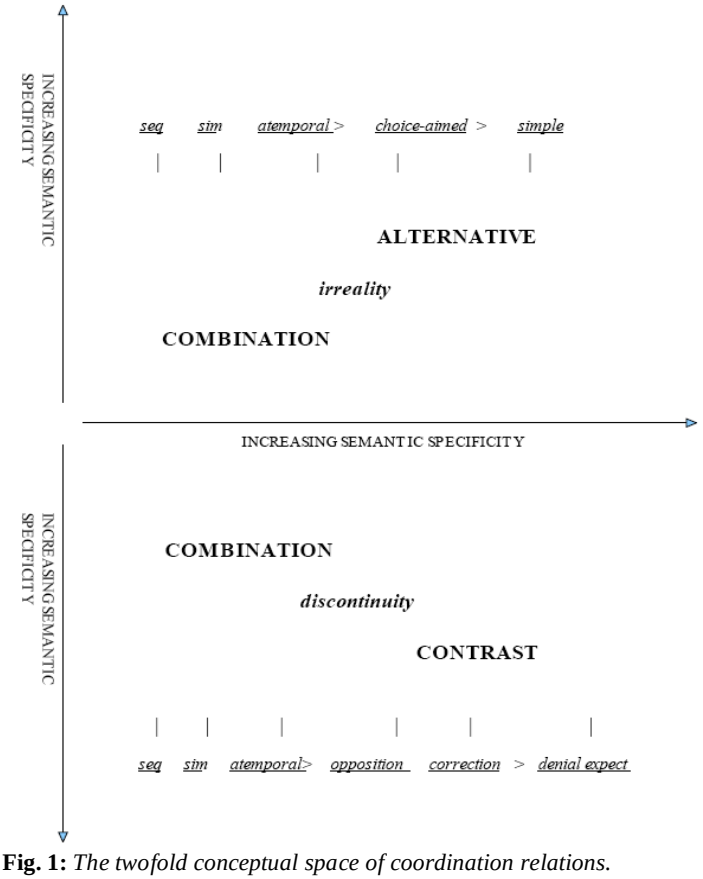

Fig. 1: *The twofold conceptual space of coordination relations.*

Caterina Mauri & Andrea Sanso

The reality status of directives and its coding across languages

Aim and sample. In this paper we aim to investigate the cross-linguistic coding of the directive function with respect to the semantic dimension of realisness in a balanced sample of 180 languages. The *directive function* is defined as follows:

A SPEAKER *wants a state of affairs to become true and conveys an appeal to an* ADDRESSEE(S) *to help make this SoA true. The* PERFORMER(S) *of the action(s) required to bring about the desired SoA may coincide (i) with the addressee(s), (ii) with the addressee(s) + the speaker or (iii) with a third party.*

The set of forms associated with this function will be called *directives*, roughly corresponding to the notion of *imperative-hortative system* adopted by van der Auwera et al. 2004 (cf. also Birjulin & Xrakovskij 2001). Realisness is a semantic dimension with at least two values, REALIS and IRREALIS, defined in purely logical terms on the basis of the actualization vs. non-actualization of a given state of affairs (Givón 1984: 285ff.; Chung & Timberlake 1985: 241ff.; Mithun 1995; Elliott 2000). The reality status of a given state of affairs may be encoded *directly* (i.e. by means of dedicated realis/irrealis markers), or *indirectly* (i.e. by means of non-dedicated forms which imply a given reality status of a situation, e.g. optatives/subjunctives, illocutionary force particles, epistemic adverbs, etc.). We will call realis/irrealis strategies those strategies directly or indirectly encoding the realis/irrealis status of a given state of affairs.

Data. The states of affairs depicted by directives have not occurred yet and hence are, in purely logical terms, irrealis. Accordingly, we might expect that (i) such an irrealis status is mirrored at the morphosyntactic level, and that (ii) in languages lacking (partially or totally) dedicated forms for the expression of the directive function, such a function may be taken up by some irrealis strategy. This latter pattern is indeed well attested, and it is not infrequent to find languages in which directives are coded by forms like subjunctives, optatives, or by an overt irrealis marker, in case such a form is available (see ex. 1). However, a cross-linguistic analysis of directives shows that the picture is more complicated. First of all, there are languages with tripartite systems, in which realisness is directly coded by means of a system of realis vs. irrealis markers, whereas directives are a system on their own (see ex. 2). Moreover, the directive function may also be expressed by means of overt realis strategies, despite the logically irrealis status of the requested state of affairs (see ex. 3). The attested use of realis strategies points to the hybrid realisness of directives, which has been only hinted at in the literature (e.g. Mithun 1995: 376-378). Although from a purely logical point of view the requested state of affairs has not occurred yet, from the speaker's perspective it is perceived as imminently real. The speaker-centered dimension that characterizes the realisness of directives has a number of manifestations that have not been systematically inquired across languages. First, we will argue that, in languages lacking a dedicated set of directives, realis and irrealis strategies are not evenly distributed across persons (i.e. Performer(s) of the action) but follow the hierarchy in (a).

(a) 2nd persons (singular > plural) > 1st person plural inclusive > [1st person plural exclusive, 1st person singular] > 3rd persons

The hierarchy means that if a realis strategy is used to code the directive function for a person on the hierarchy, it is also used for all the persons to the left. Likewise, if an irrealis strategy is used to code the directive function for a person on the hierarchy, it is also used for all the persons to the right. As a further manifestation of the speaker-centered dimension of the directive function, directives are often combined with rather rich sets of dedicated (i.e. incompatible with forms other than directives) deictic affixes denoting distance from the speaker's here-and-now (dislocative/ventive, postponed directives, etc.; see exx. 4 and 5). The distribution of deictic affixes across persons in directives complies with the hierarchy in (a): if a deictic affix occurs in directives addressed to a person on the hierarchy, it will occur also for all the persons to the left. Moreover, an imperative/frozen form of a deictic motion verbs is frequently grammaticalized as a directive marker, accompanying the directive (or other forms) of the main verb. While this pattern is used as an expressive/emphatic device in some languages (e.g. English '*come on, let's go*'), in others it is nearly obligatory (see ex. 6).

Explanation. Our explanation for the hierarchy identified in (a) rests on the hybrid reality status of directives. It will be argued that the identity of the Performer (i.e. 1st, 2nd, 3rd person) determines different degrees of perceived reality, which is directly proportional to the control that the speaker has on the actualization of the requested state of affairs, to the urgency and to the obligation of the performer to comply. The more a person is located on the left of the hierarchy in (a), the higher is the degree of perceived reality of the requested state of affairs. As a consequence, directives addressed to persons on the left of the hierarchy are more likely to be coded by means of realis markers and are more sensitive to the deictic dimension. To sum up, our cross-linguistic analysis highlights two main results. First of all, it will be shown that the cross-linguistic coding of the reality status of directives is not only determined by the logical non-occurrence of the state of affairs, but rather mirrors its perceived reality. Furthermore, it will be argued that the perceived realisness of a directive may have different degrees depending on the identity of the Performer (2>1>3), and this scalarity is mirrored across languages by the different distribution of realis and deictic forms.

Examples

(1) NUNGGUBUYU (Australian, Gunwinyguan, Nunggubuyu; Verstraete 2005: 232)

a. ***ba****=bura:-v*
2SG.IRR=sit-NPST
'Sit!'

b. ***ama****=lhan^{g}a-n^{g}*
CLF.IRR=stand-NPST
'Let it (the vehicle) stop.'

(2) NDJÉBBANA (Australian, Ndjébbana; McKay 2000: 222ff.)

a. *dja-**ka**-ddjórrkka*
2>3-**IRR**-take
'you'll take it'

b. ***ma**-nmarabúya*
IMP.2SG-bury
'bury it!'

c. *nji-**rri**-rakarawé-ra*
1PL-**R**-move-REM
'we went along'

(3) TUKANG BESI (Austronesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian, Sulawesi; Donohue 1999)

Realis subject prefixes: *ku-* (1sg); *'u-* (2sg); *no-* (3); *ko-* (1paucal); *to-* (1pl); *i-* (2pl)
Irrealis subject prefixes: *ku-* (1sg); *ko-* (2sg); *na-* (3); *ka-* (1paucal); *ta-* (1pl); *ki-* (2pl)

a. ***No**-wila legolego*
3R-go arms.swinging
'he was walking, swinging his arms'

b. ***Na**-baiara-'e*
3IRR-pay-3OBJ
'she's going to pay'

c. ***I**-sumbere-waliako!*
2PL.R-immediate-return
'go back home this instant, you lot!'

d. ***To**-manga-do*
1PL.R-eat-EMPH
'Let's eat first!'

(4) TRIO (Cariban, Cariban; Carlin 2004: 307)

a. *∅-epeka:**-ta*** (Carlin 2004: 307)
3.OBJ-buy-**DISL.IMP**
'(go) buy it there!'

b. *∅-ene**-ta***
3.OBJ-see-**DISL.IMP**
'(go) look there!'

c. *∅-ene**-mïi***
3.OBJ-see-**VENT.IMP**
'come look at it!'

(5) JARAWARA (Arauan, Arauan; Dixon 2004: 397)

a. *otara noki ti-na-**hi!***
1.EXCL.OBJ wait 2sgA-AUX-**IMM.POS.IMP.F**
'you (sg.f) wait for us (here and now)!'

b. *otara noki ti-**jahi!***
1.EXCL.OBJ wait 2sgA-**FUT.POS.IMP.F**
'you (sg.f) wait for us (in some distant time or place)!'

(6) YUCATEC (Mayan, Mayan; Hofling & Ojeda 1994: 284)

First-person plural hortative expressions employ suppletive 1st person plural forms of 'to go' (*ko'ox* [1+2sg] and *ko'on-e'ex* [1+2pl]).

a. ***Ko'ox** j k'ay (túun)*
HORT SUBORD sing then
'Let's sing (then)'

b. ***Ko'on-e'ex** j k'ay!*
HORT-2PL SUBORD sing
'let's all sing'

Abbreviations: A(ctor); AUX(iliary); CL(assi)F(ier); DISL(ocative); EMPH(atic); EXCL(usive); F(eminine); HORT(atory); IMM(ediate); IMP(erative); IRR(ealis); N(on)P(a)ST; OBJ(ect); PL(ural); POS(itive); R(ealis); REM(ote past); SUBORD(inator); VENT(ive).

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Zarina Molochieva

Scope properties of Chechen converbs

Based on Foley and Van Valin (1984), Good (2003) proposes that Chechen exhibits a range of formal strategies used in clause combining in Chechen. These include converbs, verbal nouns, coordinating conjunctions and only one subordinating conjunction. This presentation concentrates on converbs, which appear in either coordinating or subordinating constructions. The converbs that mostly appear in coordinating clauses are simultaneous converbs, anterior converbs, and progressive anterior converbs. The subordinating converbs include: temporal, concessive, locative, comparative, and extent, converbs of manner, conditional converbs and postpositional converbs. The postpositional converbs are the converbs that always occur the complement of a temporal postposition.

My paper deals with the full range of the subordinating converbs mentioned above including those not mentioned in Good (2003). Special attention is paid to the syntax of subordinate clauses as well as to the latest results of the analyses of the syntax of word order, question formation, negation and subject reference in subordinating constructions.

With many converb constructions (temporal, posterior converbs, converb 'until' and converb 'as soon as'), the interrogative suffix *–ii* can appear either on the head verb of the matrix clause or on the head verb of the subordinate clause, depending on which element of the sentence is in the scope of the question marker (ex.1a). It is impossible to focus on the head verb in the matrix clause and in the dependent clause simultaneously (ex.1b). However, some of the converbs (comparative, extent, irrealis, postpositional and locative converbs) do not allow the interrogative marker in the dependent clause and the interrogative marker can appear only on the head verb in the matrix clause (ex. 2a, 2b). On the other hand, the converbs in the dependent clause require the interrogative marker if the matrix clause is not present, i.e. if the speaker repeats the question or gives special emphasis to the dependent clause (ex. 2c). With postpositional converbs, the interrogative marker appears on the postposition.

As expected under most theories of clause linkage (Van Valin 2005, Bickel 2006), the scope properties of a sentence-level interrogative marker differ between coordinating and subordinating converb constructions. The scope of the yes/no question does not range over the whole sentence in subordinating converb constructions, unlike in chained clauses where the scope of the yes/no question ranges over the whole sentence (conjunct scope according to Bickel (2006)) (ex. 3).

The scope of negation differs from the scope of interrogation. The dependent clause can be negated without negating the matrix clause and in the chained constructions the negation of the finite verb does not negate the whole sentence (ex. 4).

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[[CVB=Q] [V]]

1a. Mu:sa **ħa-va:-l-ii** j-ilxi-ra Za:ra?
M.NOM(V) V-come-CVBpost-Q J-cry-WPST Z.NOM(J)
'Did Zara cry before Musa came?'

*[[CVB=Q] [V=Q]]

1b. Mu:sa **ħa-va:-l-ii** j-ilxi-r-**ii** Za:ra?
M.NOM(V) V-come-CVBpost-Q J-cry-WPST-Q
Z.NOM(J)
'Did Zara cry before Musa came?'

[[CVB] [V=Q]]

2a. Aħ **toex-na-šeħ** j-axa-r-**ii** Za:ra tyka-na?
2SG.ERG hit-CVBant-CVBconc J-go-WPST-Q Z.NOM store-DAT
'Did Zara go to the store, even though you hit her?'

*[[CVB] [V=Q]]

2b. *Aħ **toex-na-šeħ-ii** j-axa-ra Za:ra tyka-na?
2SG.ERG hit-CVBant-CVBconc-Q J-go-WPST Z.NOM store-DAT
'Did Zara go to the store, even though you hit her?'

[[CVB] [Ø=Q]]

2c. Aħ **toex-na-šeħ-ii?**
2SG.ERG hit-CVBant-CVBconc-Q
'…even though you hit her?'

3. Mali:ka, tyka-na 'a-j-ax-na ʦ'a j-eʔa-r-**ii**?
M.NOM(J) store-DAT CL-J-go-PRF home J-come-WPST-Q
'Did Malika go to the store and come home?' (Good 2003)

4. Mu:sa tyka-na lu'ush **ʦa**-v-oed-u.
M.NOM(V) store-DAT want-CVBsim NEG-V-go-PRS
Musa goes to the store without wanting (to do this).'

Claire Moyse-Faurie

Disappearance or marginalisation?
The ergative marker in Polynesian Outliers

The Polynesian Outliers all belong to the Proto-Nuclear branch of the Polynesian language family, but they are spoken outside Polynesia, resulting from different Polynesian migrations into Melanesia or Micronesia. Their language ancestors, such as Samoan, East Futunan or East Uvean, are all ergative languages, without a passive voice.
These Polynesian Outliers, however, have either totally lost the ergative marker of Proto-Polynesian (PPn **e*), or they only use it optionally, together with a marked word order. At the same time, the former absolutive marker (PPn **ia*) was reanalysed as a topic marker in some cases.
West Uvean

ia	*koe,*	*gi*	*no*	*huliwa*	*i*	*de*	*ao…*
TOP	2SG	2SG	must	work	in	ART	day

'You, you may work by daylight…'

These Outliers are thus currently more of the accusative type with the unmarked SVO word order, even though they still lack a passive. We will first discuss the relation between the word order change and the changes in case marking.

For those languages which have preserved the ergative marker **e* of Proto-Polynesian, we will then discuss the constraints (optional word order, verb valency, meaning and syntactic category of arguments) as well as the advantages (disambiguation, focus on the agent) associated with this use.
For those languages which have lost the ergative marker PPn **e*, we will show that other expressions, such as the personal article *a* in West Uvean, or the predicative marker *ko* in Kapingamarangi, seem to have taken over the role of ergative markers to avoid the ambiguity resulting from its loss whenever the optional word order VOS or OVS is used:
Kapingamarangi (Rutter, p. c.)

Di	*daane*	*ne*	*daaligi*	***ko***	*di*	*aligi*
ART	man	PAST	kill	**PRED**	ART	chief

'The man was killed by the chief.' (lit. the man was killed, it is the chief)

West Uvean

Goa	*oti*	*kaina*	*de*	*ulu-ika*	***a***	*de*	*kovi*
PERF	finished	eat.TR	ART	head-fish	**PERS**	ART	person

'The man completely ate the head of the fish.'

Finally, we will extend our comparison to languages of other families which have also lost their ergative markers (as for instance Reyesano, Guillaume to appear), in order to see whether similar causes and effects can be identified for this loss.

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Rutter, L. K., unpublished manuscript. Ergative to accusative : The case of Kapingamarangi.

Stefan Müller A Lexical Analysis of Persian Complex Predicates

The dual nature of complex predicates in Persian was a much discussed topic during the past decades. On the one hand complex predicates behave like words since they undergo morphological derivations and on the other hand complex predicates behave like syntactic objects. For instance their parts can be separated by scrambling or by clitics or morphological material like the imperfective prefix or negation (Mohammad and Karimi, 1992).

Often proposals were made that treat the complex predicates entirely in syntax or entirely in the morphology component. Depending on the theoretical assumptions that are made the respective proposals run into problem with some of the data. However, as Megerdoomian (2002, p. 66) observed, *the duality problem witnessed in Persian light verbs is a theory-internal problem. [. . .] any theory that does not distinguish between the component responsible for word-formation and the component for creating phrases will not face a problem.* Megerdoomian suggest an approach in the framework of Distributed Morphology, but this is not the only option. I will show in my talk that a lexicalist analysis of the Persian data is possible as well. There is a common misunderstanding of the term *lexicalist* and of what it means to be licensed in the lexicon. For instance Embick (2004, p. 389) assumes that lexical analyses of resultative predicates imply that the predicate *hammer flat* is formed in the lexicon component and rejects such analyses on the basis of (1), which shows that the resultative phrase can be syntactically complex. An alternative lexical analysis would assume that resultative constructions are licensed by a lexical rule that licenses a lexical item that selects for a result predicate (see Simpson, 1983; Wunderlich, 1992, p. 45; Verspoor, 1997; Wechsler, 1997; Wechsler and Noh, 2001; Müller, 2002 for analyses of English, German, and Korean resultative constructions). So in addition to the usual *hammer* there is a lexical item that selects for a result predicate. If such a lexical item is used in syntax, it can be combined with *flat* or with *flatter than* . . . .

I suggest a lexical analysis for Persian complex predicates that uses the technique of argument attraction that was formalized by Hinrichs and Nakazawa (1994) in the framework of HPSG. I assume that the light verbs select their respective preverbs (parallel to the analysis of *hammer flat*, in which a special lexical entry for *hammer* selects the result predicate). Depending on the class of the preverb, arguments of the preverb are attracted by the light verb and can be realized as arguments of the preverb light verb combination. Since subcategorization is a property of stems, subcategorization information can be accessed in the morphological component and affixes can access both the valence information contributed by the light verb and the valence information that is contributed by the preverb. This solves the bracketing paradox that would otherwise exist for morphological analyses (see also Müller, 2003 on the morphology of German particle verbs).

As Vahedi-Langroudi, 1996, p. 6, p. 202–203, 211 and Karimi-Doostan (1997) observed many light verbs do not allow derivation if they are not realized together with the preverb (2). Karimi-Doostan (1997, p. 196) therefore suggests the analysis in Figure 1b rather than the one in Figure 1a. Following Müller's approach I assume that a version of *kardan* is used that selects for a light verb and attracts its arguments, that is, *kon-* contains all information that is necessary for the derivation to apply. Hence, I assume the structure in Figure 1a. The grammar rule that combines *konande* with the preverb shares crucial aspects with the rule that licenses predicate complexes in syntax. In HPSG this sharing of properties between several grammar rules can be achieved by using inheritance hierarchies for the compact representation of linguistics information. It is therefore possible to distinguish morphology from syntax and to capture the commonalities of the respective combinations.

Since preverb light verb combinations are not formed in the lexicon, but are licensed by the lexical item for the light verb + argument attraction, the syntactic properties of Persian complex predicates can be explained as well: the preverb is an argument of the light verb and as such can be fronted or separated from the light verbs by auxiliaries (See Bouma and van Noord, 1998 for an analysis of the Dutch predicate complex that allows particles to occur before auxiliary verbs).

The analysis assumes that all information is projected from the lexical head (which attracts both syntactic and semantic information of its preverb). The idiomatic cases that were discussed by Karimi (1997) and by Goldberg (2003) can be accounted for by a variant of the so-called idiomatic argument analysis (Nunberg, Sag and Wasow, 1994; Sag, 2007).

The analysis is part of a fragment of a Persian HPSG grammar that was implemented in the TRALE system. The fragment covers (among other things) various types of complex predicates (causatives, noun incorporation of the *telefon kardan* type, verbal nouns as preverbs, process nouns as preverbs, active/inchoative alternations), passive, adjectival participles, nominalization, *-i* derivation (Vahedi-Langroudi, 1996, p. 204), inflection, cliticization, negation, scrambling and nonlocal dependencies (Karimi, 2005), (optional) agreement (Karimi, 2005, p. 97), and copula constructions. The grammar shares a common core with grammars for German, Chinese, and Maltese.

(1) The metal is [hammered [$_{aP}$ flatter than a pancake that has been run over by a steamroller and stomped on by elephants]].

(2) a. pazirâʔi konande
entertainment do-er
'entertainer'

b. * konande
do-er

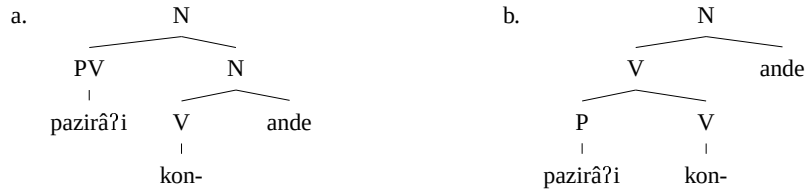

Figure 1: Alternative Structures for *pazirâʔi konande* ('entertainer')

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Adriano Murelli

A look at non-standard syntax: relative clauses in European languages

Typological research mostly relies on data from standard varieties. In the past decade this method has been repeatedly challenged: several scholars argue that the standard cannot be taken as the reference variety of a language, since it is the result of deliberate language control, manipulation and embellishment and often exhibits incoherent or unnatural features (Cheshire & Stein 1997, Van Marle 1997, Wingender 2003, Weiß 2003). Following Kortmann's (2002) claim that non-standard and dialect syntax matters, as it can lead to re(de)fine typological classifications and hierarchies, the typological-dialectological approach is adopted to investigate a single syntactic construction – relative clauses – in a restricted area – Europe.

The existing literature devoted to relative clauses in European languages, though being extensive, doesn't provide a full account of language variation inside this area: first of all, data are mostly taken from reference grammars, which, as such, only describe the standard variety. Second, the research suffers from a striking West-European bias. Cross-linguistic studies (Smits 1989, Zifonun 2001, Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat 2007) contain partially incomplete or inexact information on the Slavic languages and sometimes simply ignore them.

So, I pursue a double purpose: 1) to include non-standard data in the investigation of relative clauses and 2) to provide new and more insightful typological data on Slavic languages. In order to do this, I collect and compare scattered data from heterogeneous sources, which may appear methodologically questionable, but proves to be a first step towards a deeper exploration and comprehension of the non-standard linguistic space.

A first recognition on some 30 languages provides following results:

- In the vast majority of European languages relative clauses are postposed and introduced by a relative element: a pronoun, an adverb, a particle. The frequency of use of the single strategies varies very much from language group to language group, if not from language to language.
- The relative pronoun seems to be the default strategy in the Slavic languages, German and Dutch; the relative particle is predominant in Romance and North-Germanic languages as well as in Balkan languages; the zero-marker is present in English, North-Germanic languages and, possibly, in some Slavic languages.
- Non-default strategies are e.g. the relative particle in Slavic (E1), German and Dutch (spreading from neuter to masculine/feminine antecedents, see E2).
- Focussing on the dichotomy between standard and non-standard, a conflict between functional principles can be brought to light. The standard, being an *Ausbau* variety, tends to differentiation and explicitness, while non-standard prefers compactness, leaving to the hearer the task of inferring and disambiguating meanings. Meaning distinction and disambiguation can be seen as resulting from the principle of iconicity; meaning compactness, on its turn, mirrors the principle of economy. Vice versa, the use of a relative pronoun expressing all three functions of relative clauses is clearly more economic than spreading them onto more elements: the latter strategy, however, aims at keeping apart the functions of relative clauses and can be regarded as iconic.
- Beside historical development, or better as a consequence of it, different strategies have a different sociolinguistic status in each language. Moreover, language contact and the spontaneous, online production of spoken/written texts (*konzeptionelle Mündlichkeit*, Koch & Oesterreicher 1990) lead to the rise of 'hybrid' strategies, like those in E3-E4 (demonstrative/relative pronoun + particle and particle + resumptive demonstrative), E5 (particle + relative pronoun) and E6 (relative adverb + resumptive pronoun).

Examples

E1.	А	ой!	Не	знаешь /	возьмешься	в	ведро /	вода /	замерзла / таз /
RUS	And	PTC	not	know.2S	take.2S		in bucket	water	froze.3S basin
	что	умывались /			все	замерзло //			
	REL	washed.1P.ourselves			all	froze.3S			

'Oh, you don't know! When I wanted to wash myself in the bucket, the water had frozen,
the basin we used to wash ourselves, everything had frozen' (woman, 80 y.o.)

E2. Ich weiß sogar noch meine (-) meine Bodenkür was ich gehabt hab.
GER I know even still my (-) my body treatment REL I had have.
'I still remember my body treatment that I have had.' (TV-program "Big Brother", quoted in Birkner 2005)

E3. To su te gelice, z tymi ak ja som do šule chejźił
LSO That are those chap.P with REL.INSTR.P PTC I am to school gone
'Those are the chaps I went to school with' (Faßke 1996: 170)

E4. Su to te źowćka ak ty sy z tymi do šule chejźił
LSO Are that those chap.P REL you are with those.INSTR to school gone
'Those are the chaps you went to school with' (Faßke 1996: 170)

E5. Marysia zna chłopców, co których Ania lubi.
POL Marysia know.3S boy.P REL REL.ACC.P Ania like.3S
'Marysia knows the boys who(m) Ania likes' (Szczegielniak 2004: 1)

E6. Il s' est vendu une armoire fribourgeoise dont un de mes amis a été la voir
FRA He REFL is sold a wardrobe Friburger REL one of my friends is been it see
'He sold a Friburger wardrobe, which a friend of mine went to see' (Gapany 2004: 189)

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Brian Nolan

The patterns of occurrence of Irish light verb constructions

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Abstract

Light verbs are attested in many of the world's languages (Butt 1995, Butt 2003, Alsina et al. 2001). Cross linguistically, there appears to be a common class of verbs involved in these constructions and generally there is agreement that light verbs contribute to the formation of complex predicates. Light verbs, too, have a non-light or 'heavy' verb counterpart. In this paper we discuss the patterns of occurrence of light verb constructions (LVC) as found in modern Irish. We claim that the light verb encodes the event process initiation (or cause) and the matrix verb indicates the bounded component or result. In light verb constructions, the matrix verb appears in syntax as a verb noun form. The function of light verbs in these constructions is to modulate the event and sub-event semantics and the different light verbs do this in different ways. We distinguish between auxiliary verbs constructions (AVC) and those constructions involving light verbs (Anderson 2006, Aikhenvald and Dixon 2007). We provide evidence based on Irish data that shows how aspect and argument structure considerations are resolved for the complex predicate within the light verb construction via the linking system between semantics and syntax. We motivate a functional account that appeals to the analysis of complex predicates found within Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2005), for the layered structure of the clause.

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Brigitte Pakendorf

Relative clauses in Sakha (Yakut) in an areal perspective

The languages of northern Eurasia show several structural similarities, leading Anderson (2006) to speak of a 'Siberian linguistic macro-area'. Some of the characteristics of the area are a form of vowel harmony, SOV word order, agglutinative morphology, and participial relative clauses that follow the gap strategy. However, the languages of Siberia differ with respect to the construction of non-subject relative clauses. The most widely described strategy is that found in Turkish, which is similarly found in Evenki (e.g. Comrie 1989: 142-143, 1998: 79; Lehmann 1984: 52-55), in which the subject of the relative clause is referenced by possessive suffixes on the participle when heads other than subjects are relativized (1). A different strategy is that followed by Khalkha Mongolian, in which unmarked participles are used for all types of relative clause, but a distinction is made in the coding of overt relative clause subjects: these remain unmarked in subject relative clauses, and take Genitive case marking in non-subject relative clauses (2). A third strategy found in the languages of Siberia references the subject of the relative clause not on the participle, but in the form of possessive suffixes on the head noun (Nikolaeva 1999: 79).

This paper will analyze the variation in treatment of relative clauses in the languages of Siberia, with a focus on relative clauses in Sakha (Yakut). Sakha is a Turkic language spoken in northeastern Siberia that shows many of the areal characteristics of its neighbours. Relative clauses in Sakha are predictably prenominal and follow the gap strategy, with the subordinate predicate being in its participial form (3a). There do not appear to be any syntactic constraints on relativization, with direct objects, oblique objects, possessors, and even complex constructions being open to relativization. In the relativization of non-subjects, Sakha employs the third strategy, namely indexing the subject of the relative clause with possessive suffixes on the head noun (3b). However, this possibility is blocked when the subject of the relative clause is marked by a possessive suffix referring to the head (3c). This can be explained by the fact that such relative clauses exhibit structural and semantic parallels to possessive constructions (Nikolaeva 1999: 84-88). Since the relation between the subject of the relative clause and the head noun is expressed by the possessive suffixes on the overt subject (3c), additional marking on the head is redundant.

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Examples:

1) Evenki (Nedjalkov 1997: 39)
si ule–ʔeri–s ulle alapču bi–si–n
2SG cook– SIM.PTCP–POSS.2SG meat tasty be–PRS–3SG
'The meat that you are cooking is tasty.'

2) Khalkha Mongol (Kullmann & Tserenpil 2001: 392)
miniːj tar'–san ceceg maš gojo urga–žeː
1SG.GEN plant–PF.PTCP flowervery beautiful grow–PST
'the flowers I planted grew very beautifully'

3) Sakha (Yakut) (field data):
a) *onno kel–bit ʔon–u čay–da–t–ayïn*,
there come–PST.PTCP people–ACC tea–VR–CAUS–PRS.2SG
ʔuhuʔrustuba–ttan kel–bit ʔon–u
shift–ABL come–PST.PTCP people–ACC
'So you give tea to the people who came, to the people who came from their shift.'

b) *bihigi Uyban araχs-an bar-bït učuʔtal-ïn tapt-iʔ-bït*
1PL I. leave–PF.CVB go–PSTPT teacher–ACC.3SG love–IPF.CVB–1PL
'We love the teacher whom Ivan left.'

c) *bihigi kergen-e araχs-an bar-bït učuʔtal-ï tapt-ïʔ-bït*
1PL husband–POSS.3SG leave–PF.CVB go–PSTPT teacher–ACC love-IPF.CVB–1PL
'We love the teacher whom her husband left.'

Enrique L. Palancar

Linking Clauses in Otomi: Purpose and Complements

In this paper, I describe in full detail the properties of a special linking clause construction existing in San Ildefonso Tultepec Otomi (Mesoamerican; Otopamean, Otomanguean). This construction is used as the native means to express purposive semantics in Otomi. An example is given in (1), where the juxtaposed clause in boldface expresses purpose:[1]

(1) dá = ’bạt’-i **[dá = hand-Ø-a = no = r** **fo^{h}ko]**
1.PST=turn.around-F 1.PST=look.at-3OBJ-B=DEF.SG=SG bulb
‘I turned around to look at the bulb’. {18; 8-9}

Alternatively, the language has a hypotactic subordinated clause to express purpose, which is introduced with the conjunction *pa* –a loan from Spanish *pa*(*ra*)– as shown in (2):

(2) Nu = pya Ø = ’ạ^{h}-k-a = gi ’na = r txi-fo^{h}to
DEF=now 3.PRS=ask.for.S-1DAT-B-1DAT IND.SG=SG DIM-picture
[pa ga = hös-p-a = bi]
PURP 1.IRR=take.S-3DAT-B=3DAT
‘She’s now asking me for a picture to take it to her’. {11; 133-4}

Crucially, the construction in (1) is further used as a “complementation strategy” (Dixon 2006) to encode the clausal complements of a number of matrix verbs (mainly desiderative, manipulative, modal, phasal, and a few others). An example with the matrix verb *ne* ‘want’ is given in (3):

(3) ya hin = dá = **ne**-Ø **[dá = ’bụ^{h} = ’pụ]**
P NEG=1.PST=want-3OBJ 1.PST=live.S=there
‘I didn’t want to live there’. {9s; 125-6}

The linking clause construction illustrated in both (1) and (3) involves a main clause and a juxtaposed clause which follows the main one. I propose that the juxtaposed clause in this construction is a syntactically reduced clause (or IP). This can be seen, as I show in detail, in a number of structural properties: a) this type of clause lacks the common syntactic positions available to the left of a full clause; b) it shows a strong Tense/Aspect/Mood marking dependency with respect to the main clause in the construction; and c) it cannot be negated (negation is placed morphosyntactically in the main clause having semantic scope over the event in the reduced clause). Besides, the linking clause construction has a number of morphosyntactic features that suggest the existence of a high degree of syntactic integration between the main clause and the juxtaposed clause (i.e. subject cross-reference is common; the clauses may share one plural subject marker; compaction of matrix verb, etc.).

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[1] B bound form; DAT dative; DEF definite; DIM diminutive; F free form; IND indefinite; NEG negative; OBJ object; P particle; PRS present; PST past; S suffixal form; SG singular.

Karen Park

Evidence of a Fijian Reflexive and its Implications in Anaphoric Binding Theory

This paper takes a close look at syntactically reflexive situations within the Fijian language, ultimately demonstrating the existence of a unique reflexive form and the implications it holds for anaphoric binding theories.

Anaphoric binding constraints have long been the topic of debate fundamentally linked to questions of syntactic universals and the existence of a universal grammar. Research into the syntax of distinct languages has done much to help linguists identify which aspects of an anaphoric binding theory might be applied cross-linguistically, thereby enabling the process of determining syntactic universals for anaphoric binding. This is neatly illustrated by the influence the long-distance reflexivization evidenced by Mandarin Chinese (Huang 1982; Yang 1983) and the multiple reflexives found in Marathi and Norwegian (Dalrymple 1993) have had on the development of current approaches to anaphoric binding.

According to Dixon (1988) the Fijian language does not have a reflexive. Other authors of Fijian language texts, including Schutz (1985), Milner (1956), and Capell (1941), do not cover the topic at all, effectively refuting its existence. Yet an interesting pattern emerged when a group of native Fijian speakers were asked to translate a series of four stories and several sentences, all of which made use of the reflexive in the English language. Pronouns referring to the subject of the transitive verb *digitaki*, 'to choose', in stories about an upcoming election were unique in that they were immediately followed by the post-head modifier *ga* (1). However pronouns in other traditionally reflexive positions did not continue this trend (2). The two different patterns in reflexive sentences are here identified as "election sentences" where a potential reflexive has been observed and "mirror sentences" where no distinguishing mark of a reflexive is noted. This suggests that there are at least two previously unrecognized forms of expressing reflexive meaning in the Fijian language: the unmarked pronoun observed in the mirror sentences and the pronoun marked with *ga* in the election sentences. Moreover, since there appears to be little outstanding syntactic difference between the three different reflexive forms, semantics seems to play a significant role in determining which form will be used.

A second set of data was collected to delve further into questions of context, use, and binding domains with respect to the observed reflexive forms. This consisted of three additional stories, a series of sentences that focus on domain boundaries, and a series of Standard Fijian sentences that the native Fijian speakers were asked to translate into English making note of ungrammatical sentences. The ensuing results suggest that the reflexive form is linked primarily to the meaning of the verb though the context of the utterance might still play a minor role (3), that the reflexive form is equally applied to all pronoun types (4), and that the reflexive form is restricted to a short distance domain (5).

The reflexive form in the Standard Fijian language adds an interesting perspective to the ongoing debate currently surrounding anaphoric binding. Of the many approaches to anaphoric binding theory, the theory of constraints defined as lexical properties within the model of Lexical Functional Grammar (Dalrymple, 1993) appears to be most amenable to the multiple reflexive forms within a single binding domain and the semantic influence of the predicate on these forms demonstrated by the Fijian language.

Essentially, a theory of cross-linguistically invariant syntactic phenomena is only as strong as the data it has to support it. As we continue to expand our knowledge of the unique systems of syntactic relationships evidenced by the diverse languages of the world we become better able to formulate a perspective by which to describe unique syntactic processes within a universally-available set of linguistic parameters.

(1) Election sentences:

a. O Josese a digitaki koya ga.
DET Person_i PAST TV(choose) sg_i^{obj} MODIF
"Josese voted for himself."

(2) Mirror sentences:

a. O au sa dani au na iloilo.
DET 1sg^{subj} ASP to see^{dial} 1sg^{obj} DET mirror
"I saw myself in the mirror."

(3) Choice of reflexive linked to verb meaning:

a. O Josese a raici koya e na raitio yaloyalo.
DET Person_i PAST TV(look at) $3\text{sg}_i^{\text{obj}}$ ASP DET television
"Josese saw himself on television."

(4) Reflexive equally applied to all pronoun types:

a. Au vanai au ga.
$1\text{sg}_i^{\text{subj}}$ TV(to shoot) $1\text{sg}_i^{\text{obj}}$ MODIF
"I shot myself."

b. E vanai koya ga vakai koya.
$3\text{sg}_i^{\text{subj}}$ TV(to shoot) $3\text{sg}_i^{\text{obj}}$ MODIF CAUS $3\text{sg}_i^{\text{obj}}$
"He shot himself."

(5) Reflexive form restricted to short distance domain:

a. O Josese a vosa vei Marika baleti koya ga (Marika).
DET Person_i PAST speak PREP Person_j PREP(concerning) $3\text{sg}_j^{\text{obj}}$ MODIF
"Josese spoke about Marika."

b. *O Josese a vosa vei Marika baleti koya (Marika).
DET Person_i PAST speak PREP Person_j PREP(concerning) $3\text{sg}_j^{\text{obj}}$
Improper.

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Olga Potanina

Morphosyntactic Structure of Nominalizations in Eastern Khanty

Eastern Khanty, a highly endangered Finno-Ugric language spoken in Western Siberia, makes a robust use of non-finite constructions for a variety of functions. Non-finite embedded subordinate clauses (relative clauses, for instance) are the most productive means of making complex sentences. In Eastern Khanty the postpositional noun (as defined in earlier grammars) *taɣɨ* "place" is a frequent device for relative clause formation which functions as the head of the relative clauses and indicates direction or location.

My presentation will focus on the process which turns a relative clause construction with the head *taɣɨ* into a noun phrase denoting a more abstract phenomenon than location. The analysis of the examples (taken from earlier published grammars and recent unpublished field data 2005-2007) allows assuming that the "postpositional noun" *taɣɨ* "place" is grammaticalizing, and now turns into a nominalizer performing the function of linguistic representation of highly abstract notions for which Eastern Khanty lacks nouns. Now it has assumed a more general abstract (often temporal) meaning as the original locative meaning "place" has bleached out. The stable and fixed syntactic position of this nominalizer and its frequent occurrence in certain constructions contribute to the loss of the referential meaning of this word which acquired grammatical properties of a functional word (example 1). Eastern Khanty also widely uses participial constructions with most of the cross-linguistically attested nominalizers like *qu* "man", *ot* "thing", *wer* "affair".

Depending upon the construction in which *taɣi* occurs its syntactic status is either a noun or a nominalizer with a temporal semantics. Still the status of this noun remains controversial due to the possible case inflection of a nominalizer which significantly contributes to a nominal analysis of *taɣi* (example 2). My talk aims to describe the morphosyntactic properties of such nominalizations in Eastern Khanty, comparing them to noun phrases and to full-fledged independent clauses in terms of grammatical categories of the nominalized predicate.

1.

jetərki	*köj-tə*	*taɣɨ*
blackcock	coo-NPP	NMZ

‘The cooing of the blackcocks’ (Tereshkin 1961: 117)

2.

jol-t-al	*taɣɨ-j-oɣ*	*löɣ-əs*	*osəw-a*	*at-wəl*
shaman-NPP-3Sg	place-EP-Abl	stop-PST.3Sg	Osip-Lat	tell-PRST.3Sg

‘He finished shamaning and told Osip” (Steinitz 1980: 561)

Abbreviations:

NPP – Non-past participle; NMZ – nominalizer; EP – epinthetic; Abl – ablative; Lat – lative; PST – past tense; PRST – present tense; 3Sg – third person singular

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Francoise Rose

A shift in dependency-marking: from Proto-Tupi-Guarani to Emérillon

In Proto-Tupi-Guarani (Jensen 1998), dependent clauses were marked by subordinating suffixes and a special indexation system on dependent verbs. While person indexation on independent verbs is primarily based on the person hierarchy, the indexation system used on dependent verbs is called absolutive and coreferential in that the P argument is cross-referenced on transitive verbs in the same way than the S argument is on intransitive verbs (with absolutive Set II indexes, as in examples (2) and (3)), and that a subject coreferential with the subject of the main verb will be marked with a special set of coreferential indexes (coreferential Set III, as in example (1)). In Emérillon, a Tupi-Guarani language presently spoken in French Guiana, most of the corresponding dependent constructions nowadays use the same hierarchical person indexation system as the independent verbs do, as illustrated in (4) and (5), and most of the dependency-marking suffixes have been lost, as in (4) and (6). To explain how this great shift in dependency-marking occurred, this talk will give a look at the output in Emérillon of the four types of dependent constructions found in Proto-Tupi-Guarani: the temporal/conditional subordinate construction; the gerund expressing sequential, simultaneous action or purpose; the nominalizations; and the "oblique-topicalized construction" (the predicate takes this special form when an oblique is fronted).

This presentation will describe in detail the effects of the shift in dependency-marking in Emérillon, sorting the historical evolutions from the most conservative to the most innovative. First, some dependent constructions stayed untouched, but lost their productivity and nowadays constitute residues of the former system. This is the case of nominalizations, still displaying the absolutive indexation system and dependency-marking suffixes. Some residual forms of the gerund are also found as in (6), although this construction lost its suffixes and is moreover restricted to transitive verbs. Some other constructions kept their suffixes but replaced their absolutive indexation system with the hierarchical one: this is the case of some subordinate clauses like (5). Furthermore, other dependent constructions lost both their suffixes and the absolutive indexation. Thus the oblique topicalized construction completely disappeared, while gerunds gave rise to a newly constituted serial verb construction like (4), in a comparable way to what happened in Tibetan (DeLancey 1991). Finally, the re-analysis of subordinate constructions as normally indexed clauses with postposed subordinators (as described for Newari in Genetti 1991) triggered the creation of new subordinators out of postpositions, thereby filling the gap left by the nominalizations. Thus, the initial loss of the absolutive and coreferential indexation system affected in an amazing way the entire syntactic domain of dependency in Emérillon.

Comparing the different stages of change in various dependent constructions in Emerillon, but also in other Tupi-Guarani languages (Jensen 1990), this talk will propose a historical sketch of a gradual change, where the shift in dependency-marking concerned first intransitive clauses, and only later transitive clauses, affecting also some types of dependent constructions more deeply than others.

The fundamental changes underlying this general shift away from 'deranking' are the normalization of person indexation and a decrease in explicitness via the loss of the suffix. On the whole, it looks superficially like the opposite process from 'desententialization' (Lehmann 1989). However, within the total reorganization of dependency marking, the tendency towards towards insubordination (Evans 2007) was partly counterbalanced by other strategies to encode dependency. As a consequence, the change under study can not be seen as an overall movement towards either greater autonomy or integration, in other words towards either elaboration or compression Lehmann (1989), or finiteness and unfiniteness (Nikolaeva 2007) -the two extremes of the clause linkage continuum- but rather as a shift to a new equilibrium.

Examples

Proto-Tupi-Guarani and Tupinambá (Jensen 1990)

(1) *a-có* ***wi-****poracéj-****ta***
1SG.I-go 1SG.**III**-dance-**GER**
I went to dance.

(2) *o-úr* ***i-****kuáp-****a***
3.I-come 3.**II**-meet-**GER**
He came to meet him.

(3) ***syé*** *só-****reme***
1SG.**II** go-**SUB**
If I go, ...

Emérillon

(4) *a-ho* ***a-****zaug*
1SG.I-go 1SG.**I**-bathe
I went to bathe.

(5) ***a-****wɨg-a-****nam****,* *o-ho-pa*.
1SG.**I**-arrive-a-**SUB** 3.I-go-TAM
When I arrived, he had gone.

(6) *logements sociaux-kom* *a-iɲuŋ-okal* ***i-****mõdo*
housing project-PL 1SG.I-put-CAUS 3.**II**-make.go
I had many and many houses built.
(litt. I had put housing and made it go)

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Elena L. Rudnitskaya

The issue of subject vs. topic in Korean

In the paper, we consider the issue of applicability of universal subject criteria to Korean. Korean, like Japanese, has the Nominative (NOM) marker *-i/-ka* and the Topic (TOP) marker *-(n)un*. The subject cannot be unequivocally identified with any of these morphological markers because some of standard criteria of a subject can be applied to both NOM and TOP NP-s. For instance, the priorities related to semantic roles (control of verb agreement) are primarily associated with NOM NP-s, but priorities related to topicality/ thematicity (such as the initial position in the sentence) are associated with TOP NP-s (cf. Li & Thompson's 1876 hypothesis that Japanese and Korean are both subject prominent and topic prominent languages).

Based on criteria proposed in the work cited above and on additional criteria mentioned by Y. Cho, Han, C. Sohn 1990, Yoon 2004, Testelec 2002, we have worked out 9 criteria for subject: 1. Nominative marking; 2. Control of verb agreement; 3. Whether the verb agreement is obligatory and whether the NP controlling agreement can have the "honorific NOM" *-kkeyse* (these two features correlate). 4. Conjunction reduction (i.e. deletion of the subject/ object of one of two sentential conjuncts) control. 5. Subject raising. 6. Sentence-initial position. 7. Control of reflexives and text anaphora. 8. Syntactic copying of the plural marker *-tul-*. 9. A possible transformation into the null subject of a converb/ participle/ complement clause.

Features 5-7 are most instrumental in distinguishing TOP NP-s from NOM NP-s; feature 8 is to some degree language-specific. For illustration, test sentences for criteria 2,4,5 are given in examples (1)-(3).

The conclusions are the following. First, confirming Yoon 2004, the morphological feature 1 (NOM marking) does not entirely correlate with other major features of a subject, in particular, the verb can agree with a TOP NP and even with a Dative (DAT) NP (DAT NP-s are not real subjects, but quasi-subjects that do not have all subject properties, cf. Yoon 2004). That is, Korean cannot be claimed to have a morphologically unitary subject, but a number of "quasi-subjects" (TOP NP, NOM NP, DAT NP, etc.). The *-tul-* copying test 8 gives the same results. Second, a NOM NP, unlike the TOP NP, always controls the null subject in case of conjunction reduction - this is the only test that distinguishes the NOM NP from other quasi-subjects. For some tests (3,5,9), the morphological marking (NOM vs. TOP) of the quasi-subject is irrelevant. Thus, Korean does not allow to conclude that neither NOM nor TOP marking allows to identify the subject in Korean (prior to quasi-subjects with respect to universal subject criteria). TOP NP have properties related to topicality and "focus of empathy", such as 5,6,7, to a bigger degree than NOM NP-s.

In European languages, the morphological property NOM correlates with other subject features to a more degree than in Japanese/ Korean. Quasi-subjects in European languages (such as DAT Experiencers, see Kondrashova 1994, Testelec 2002) can control reflexives and anaphor, but (unlike in Korean) cannot control verb agreement. The issue of the subject in "double-nominative"/ "double-subject" sentences (Yoon 2004, see also Rudnitskaya 2005) is an additional issue not discussed in this paper.

(1) Halape-nim-i/-un o-si-n-ta
grandfather-HON-NOM/-TOP come-HON-ASP-DECL
"The grandfather has come" **[Criterion 2, +NOM, +TOP]**

(2)a. (Na-nun) [[Mia-ka yeppu-ta-ko] [Ø
(I-TOP) [[Mia-NOM pretty-DECL-QUOT] [$Ø_{NOM}$
namphyen-*i/√ul (*Ø) cohaha-n-ta]]
husband-*NOM/-√ACC (*$Ø_{ACC}$) love-ASP-DECL]]
(-ko sayngkakha-n-ta)
(-QUOT think-ASP-DECL)
"(I think) Mia is pretty and loves her husband"; *"... her husband loves her"

b. [Mia-nun yeppu-ko] [namphyen-i Ø cohaha-n-ta]
[Mia-TOP pretty-CONV] [husband-NOM $Ø_{ACC}$ love-ASP-DECL]
"Mia is pretty, and her husband loves her" **[Criterion 4, +NOM, -TOP]**

(3)a. Na-nun[Waikhikhi-ka/-nun kyengchi-ka
I-TOP [Waikhikhi-NOM/-TOP **[TOPIC]** landscape-NOM **[SUBJECT]**
coh-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta
good-DECL-QUOT] think-ASP-DECL
"I think the landscape in Waikiki is good"

b. Na-nunWaikhikhi-lul [Ø kyengchi-ka
я-ТОП Ваикики-ВИН [Ø пейзаж-ИМ
coh-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta
хороший-ИЗЪЯВ-ЦИТ] думать-АСП-ИЗЪЯВ
«Я думаю о Ваикики, что там хороший пейзаж» **[Criterion 5, -NOM, +TOP]**

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Sergey Say

Causative constructions in Kalmyk and the speaker's perspective

1. Causative derivation is typically viewed as a valency-increasing operation: a new argument, the Causer, is added to the core and occupies the "transitive subject" (A) position, while the original subject is demoted into a lower syntactic position. Semantically, the causative construction is also more complicated than the "underlying" structure, since the complex causative event is construed as encompassing two subevents, and it is the central argument of the causing subevent that is introduced into the subject position.

As most other Altaic languages, Kalmyk enjoys extensive use of (in fact, several types of) morphological causatives. The data on Kalmyk has been gathered through fieldwork in 2006-2007. In many cases Kalmyk causative derivatives conform to the canonical characterization given above, see (1)-(2).

However, there are cases when the relations between the causative and the corresponding non-causative constructions are semantically and / or syntactically less straightforward and they are in the focus of the present study. It is argued that it might be insightful to consider such "deviations" in term's of "**the speaker's perspective**". In other words, causative may be used as a morphosyntactic device that allows the speaker to adjust the number of arguments taken into perspective as well as their syntactic weights to the current communicative tasks. There are at least two types of usages that seem to corroborate this view.

2. There are cases in which the argument that bears the Causer role in the causative construction is in fact semantically and syntactically represented in the underlying non-causative construction as well, although it occupies a non-subject position and is not construed as the Causer; in these cases the causative marks rearrangement of arguments rather then increase in valency. This pattern is cross-linguistically typical of verbs of emotion and semantically similar verbs ('be afraid of', 'be pleased', 'laugh' etc.), see (3) and (4) below. Such pairs do not differ significantly in their propositional content; thus, in both (3) and (4) the stimulus 'the letter' is simultaneously the Cause and the Content of the emotion. The difference between the two clauses lies predominantly in the sphere of either assignment of "primary responsibility" or in the discourse grounding of participants. However, in Kalmyk there is a relatively wide spectrum of verbs that participate in such "rearranging" causatives, see for example (5) and (6), where again the causative syntactically rearranges the two participants of the underlying construction and helps to construe the Medium ('water') as the argument that is primarily responsible for the event. It should be noticed that in rearranging uses of the causative the causer is not a prototypical Agent, it usually lacks the ability of control, can often be inanimate, and it is not even necessarily the source of the energy flow.

3. The flexible ability of the Kalmyk causative to reflect the speaker's perspective on the situation is all the more clear if one considers its uses in the discourse context and in several types of syntactic environments. As in many other languages, one of the properties of the coherent discourse in Kalmyk is a tendency to maintain a constant perspective across stretches of several consecutive clauses. Moreover, there are several types of poly-predicative constructions that demand the sameness of subject. In such cases causativization may serve as a somewhat "artificial" means for the creation of the syntactic "pivot", see (7). In this example, as in many other cases, the participant that is construed as the causer of the proposition expressed in the embedded clause does not have most of the properties that are associated with the prototypical causer, the only causer-like property being volition; there is no "causing subevent" in the semantics of the embedded clause. However, the application of causativization in the embedded clause makes it possible to express the necessary meaning in a bi-predicative same-subject configuration, placing the bearer of the volition in the centre of the perspective. Such discourse- or syntax-driven usages of the Kalmyk causatives will be compared to a similar phenomena that have been sporadically reported for other languages (Yup'ik Eskimo, some Formosan languages).

4. The role of perspective-taking on the part of a speaker is usually associated with valency-preserving rearranging voices, such as passive or antipassive. Canonical causatives have a strong semantic motivation that leaves, as it were, little freedom for a speaker to express more fine-grained discourse-driven nuances. However, the non-canonical uses of the causative discussed in the paper seem to bridge the gap between the two types of argument-determined operations.

(1) *ködəlməshchə* *xö* *al-əv.*
labourer ram slaughter-PST
'The labourer slaughtered a / the ram'.

(2) *ezən* *ködəlməshch-är* *xö* *al-ul-əv.*
master labourer-INSTR ram slaughter-CAUS-PST
'The master made the labourer slaughter the ram' (or 'the labourer slaughtered the ram by order of the master'.

(3) *Zalu-qinny* *bichəg* *Bajərta-gə* *bajərl-ul-əv.*
husband-GEN.POSS.REFL letter Bajrta-ACC rejoice-CAUS-PST
'The husband's letter (lit. her husband's letter) made Bajrta glad'.

(4) *Bajərta* *zalu-qinny* *bichk-tə* *bajərl-dha-na.*
Bajrta husband-GEN.POSS.REFL letter-DAT rejoice-PROG-PRS
'Bajrta is glad because of her husband's letter'.

(5) *Cholu-n* *usə-n-də* *chiv-nä.*
stone-EXT water-EXT-DAT sink-PRS
'A stone sinks in water'.

(6) *Usə-n* *cholu* *chiv-ä̈-nä.*
water-EXT stone sink-CAUS-PRS
'A stone sinks in water' (lit. 'Water sinks a stone').

(7) *bi* [*örün* *narn* *ertə* *qar-ul-xar*] *sed-dhä-nä-v.*
I morning sun early rise-CAUS-CONV.PURP want-PROG-PRS-1SG
'I want that the sun rise early in the morning' (lit. 'I want to raise sun early in the morning').

1SG	First singular
ACC	Accusative
CAUS	Causative
CONV.PURP	Purpose converb
DAT	Dative
EXT	Root extension
GEN	Genitive
INSTR	Instrumental
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive
PRS	Present
PST	Past
REFL	Reflexive

Eva Schultze-Bernd

SPLIT NOUN PHRASES AS AN ICONIC STRATEGY OF MARKING THETIC CLAUSES

The formal and functional analysis of split (discontinuous) noun phrases continues to be a matter of debate (see e.g. De Kuthy 2002, van Hoof 2005, Fanselow & Fery 2006, Fery 2006). Some approaches "save" constituency in an underlying structure by assuming movement out of a phrase. Others assume base-generation of two (elliptical) phrases, or generation of identical copies of (non-elliptical) NPs with subsequent elision (Fanselow & Ćavar 2002). Some recent analyses have evolved mainly to account for a phenomenon of "split topicalization", encountered e.g. in German and in some Slavic languages, where the first part of the "split NP" quite clearly assumes the discourse function of topic, and the second part the function of focus, as in (1).

Similar analyses have been proposed by McGregor (1997) and Merlan (1994: 242) for the Australia languages Gooniyandi and Wardaman. This fits in with earlier generalisations about split NPs in Australian languages according to which the first nominal element tends to be semantically more generic and the second more specific (see Blake 2001). The assumption of two distinct phrases does indeed seem plausible for such structures with different information structure values.

In this paper, I will argue, based on analysis of first-hand data, that split NPs are also employed in at least some Northern Australian languages to mark the annuntiative or presentational subtype of thetic (all-new) clauses, which serve to alert the hearer to the presence of an entity not previously part of the discourse. This can be illustrated with the out-of-the-blue utterances in (2) and (3).

This is a function not recognised in the literature on split NPs so far. It also adds a so far undocumented strategy to the cross-linguistic strategies for the marking of theticity identified by Sasse (1987, 2006), such as verb-fronting, subject accenting, and clefting. Sasse argues that these strategies are iconic in that they prevent the default assignment of a topic-comment structure to the clause in question. I will argue that the occurrence of split NPs in thetic clauses is motivated in the same way: the splitting of the noun phrase and its distribution to both sides of the predicate prevents the division of the clause into a coherent topic and a distinct comment. This strategy is possible for annuntiative thetic clauses because in announcing the presence of an entity not previously part of the discourse more often than not a specific property of that entity is being pointed out, such as the length of the tree in (1) and the strength of the wind in (2), so that more than one nominal is available. Other subtypes of thetic clauses are marked in other ways which remain to be explored more fully, e.g., in Jaminjung, solely by means of the sentence focus clitic also illustrated in (2).

The phenomenon just described also provides new evidence against an analysis of all split NPs as two coreferential phrases. It will be proposed that a surface- and construction-based analysis is best suited to capture this particular phenomenon, along the lines of McGregor (1997) and Croft (2001, 2006), who argue for a separation of semantic dependency and hierarchical configuration. In this particular case, the discontinuity – which despite the non-configurational character of the languages in question is highly marked in terms of frequency – is licenced by the occurrence in a larger construction, the annuntiative thetic clause.

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Examples

(1) ***Bohnen*** *mag er nur* ***grüne*** German
bean:PL likes he only green:PL
'As for beans, he likes only green ones.' (van Hoof 2005)

(2) ***jurrwumurlung*** *gurdij garra-ny* ***garndi*** Ngarinyman
long stand be-NPST tree
'there is a long tree standing up' (lit. 'long stand it-is tree')

(3) ***burdaj*** *ga-ram=ngardi* ***gujugu*** Jaminjung
wind 3sg-come.PRS=SENT.FOC big
'a big wind is coming!' (lit. 'wind comes big')

Frank Seifart

Nouny tail-head linkage: The anaphoric sentence-connector pronoun of Bora

Bora is an endangered Witotoan language spoken in the Amazon regions of Colombia and Peru. As a sentence connector Bora systematically employs a certain type of anaphoric pronoun in genres such as narratives and procedurals. Based on a large and diverse corpus of Bora collected by the author this paper discusses the properties of this sentence-connector pronoun and addresses issues such as the interaction of clause-level syntax with topicality and the parallels of this strategy to connect sentences with tail-head linkage.

A Bora connector pronouns is formed with the stem *aa-* (examples 1-4) and has a fixed sentence-initial position (word order is otherwise very free in Bora). It obligatorily combines with a class marker which shows grammatical agreement in noun class and number with an antecedent (examples 1-4). The referent of the antecedent is topical in the new clause, but it is not necessarily the main topic. Thus, an inanimate participant can be referred to by *aa-* (e.g., a stick in example 1, line 3), even though other participants may be more topical (e.g., *he* and *them* in line 3 of that example). Highly topical animate participants are usually (additionally) tracked by subject marker on verbs (e.g. example 1, line 1). The connector pronouns formed with *aa-* are syntactically tightly integrated into the new clause: they may be the dependent of a genitive phrase (example 2) and they are often case-marked according to their syntactic function in the new clause (example 1, line 3 and example 3, line 2). The use of *aa-* is thus a strategy to express topicality - also of non-subjects (note that Bora lacks passive) - quite independently of clause-level syntax.

In their pervasiveness and systematicity in certain genres, the Bora sentence-connector pronouns are reminiscent of tail-head linkage in languages of New Guinea. The crucial difference is that it is verbs that are repeated sentence-initially in these languages. This is related to a general tendency to avoid noun phrases in these languages, which is in sharp contrast with Bora, where noun phrases abound. Interestingly, the connector pronoun (unlike other nominal expressions in Bora) may also include some verbal morphology, such as the frustrative marker (example 4, line 2). Often, the connector pronoun combines with the inanimate class marker, which then usually refers to the general situation described before, instead of a particular referent (example 3, line 1), another clear parallel to verby tail-head linkage.

The sentence-connector pronouns are also the host for second-position clitics, which express TAM notions, including evidentiality (examples 1-3, Figure 1). They may also combine with further morphology which establishes, e.g., temporal relations between clauses (example 3, line 1). A fully expanded sentence-connector pronoun (Figure 1) thus provides a whole array of discourse relevant information, packed into the first word of a sentence.

(1) *í-cujcú-i* *ékéévéco-obe* *níjco-obe*
POS.3-walking_stick-CL.stick grab-CL.MASC.SG smear-CL.MASC.SG

tee-ne *mahní-ba-ri* *pĩru tee-ne*
3.INAN-CL.INAN tar-CL.INAN-INST all 3.INAN-CL.INAN

áá-i-rí=va *dii-té-ke* *píllúhcúco-obe*
CON-CL.stick-LOC=QUOT 3.ANIM-CL.ANIM.PL-ACC glue-CL.MASC.SG

"He grabbed his walking stick, he smeared it, with tar, all (over), it. **And to it (i.e. walking stick)** he glued them.'

(2) *[áá-mó* *úníu-rí]=váa* *pe-híjcyá-mé* *pe-híjcyá-me*
[**CON-CL.river** edge-LOC]=QUOT.REM go-REP-CL.ANIM.PL go-REP-CL.ANIM.PL

'**And along it (i.e. river)** they walked, they walked'

(3) ***áá-ne-tú=ne*** *ɨnááve-ebe* *i-wábyá* *cááme-u*
CON-CL.INAN-ABL=REC tie-CL.MASC.SG 3.POS.hammock high-ADL

áá-be-ké=ne *mɨhbajyúneecu [⋯] aamú*
CON-CL.MASC.SG-ACC=REC fish_sp [⋯] hit

'**And then (lit. from that)** he tied his hammock high up. And **him** the fish hit'

(4) *étsihdyu* *lláhaájtsɨ-tu wáámenéjúco-obe díí-lle-ma*
From_there patio-ABL fly-CL.MASC.SG. 3.ANIM-CL.FEM.SG-SOC

á-ro-llé=vá=pe *úmehéé-néj pɨinéúré i-íllityé-ne* *ihjyúcunú*
CON-FRUS-CL.FEM.SG=QUOT=REM tree-PL middle 3-feaer-CL.INAN scream

'From the patio he flew with her. **But she**, in the middle of the trees, was frightened and screamed'

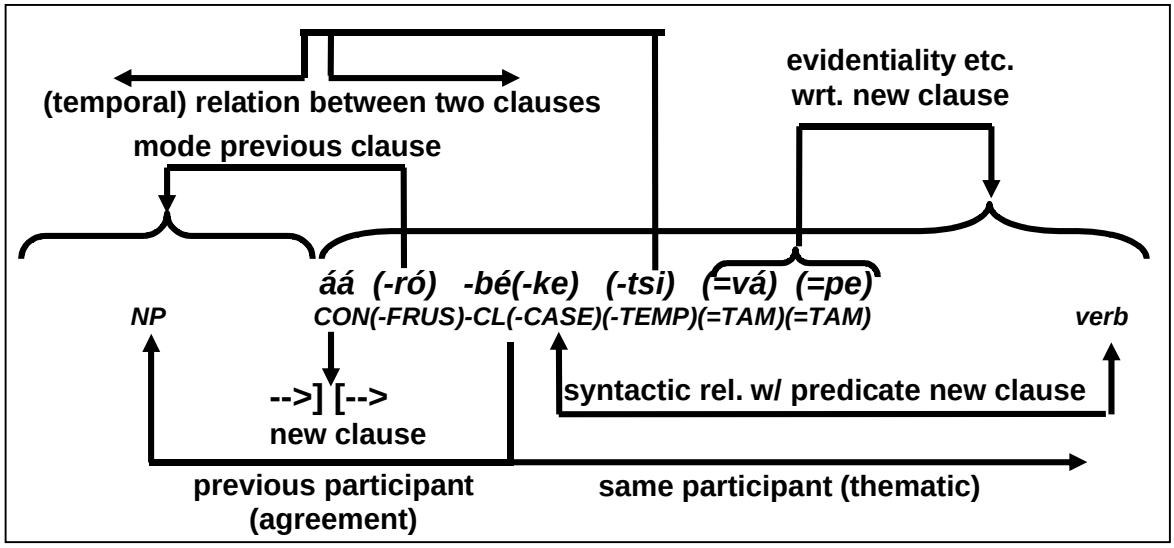

Figure 1: MULTIPLE RELATIONS ESTABLISHED BY *aa-* 'CON'

Natalia Serdobolskaya

Sentential and VP-nominalizations: syntax and semantics

Most of the Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages possess two types of nominalized constructions: the sentential type (all the arguments retain the same morphological marking as in the corresponding independent clause) (1) and VP-nominalizations (2) (the subject is marked with genitive/possessive, while all the other arguments retain the same marking as in a corresponding independent clause: the POSS-ACC type, see Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993). Both the constructions are possible with one and the same verbal noun (see (1) and (2)). The question arises about the functional distribution and the formal properties of the two constructions.

Syntactically, type 2 constructions seem to belong to the "sentential" type. However, in both Finno-Ugric languages and in Tuvinian, nominative case is used not only to mark subjects in an independent sentence, but also modifiers in NPs, see (3b). Hence, the question arises, 1) whether the nominative in nominalizations is inherited from the independent clause or a modifier nominative assigned in the higher DP, and 2) if the nominalization in (2) is a nominalized IP or a DP with a verbal noun as head.

To answer these questions, I propose to analyze the following syntactic properties of the constructions in question:

(A) Subject properties (see Keenan 1976);
(B) Allowance of embedded dependent clauses in nominalizations;
(C) Allowance of noun predicates, secondary predicates, or light verbs in nominalizations;
(D) Restrictions on the word order: if they are different in independent and nominalized clauses, and in DPs.

According to these parameters, nominalizations with nominative subjects in Finno-Ugric and Tuvinian behave in a different way:

(A) Nominative subjects in Mari and Komi-Zyrjan nominalizations do not show subject properties, while Tuvinian nominalizations do. Moreover, on the contrary to the Tuvinian nominalizations, Mari and Komi-Zyrjan constructions do not allow (B) any dependent clauses embedded in the nominalization, (C) noun predicates, secondary predicates, or light verbs in the nominalization. (D) In Mari and Komi-Zyrjan, the restrictions on the word order in independent and nominalized clauses are different: type 1 constructions are subject to the same restrictions as independent clauses, while type 2 constructions follow the restrictions on word order imposed in DPs.

I argue that the type 2 constructions in Mari and Komi-Zyrjan do not belong to the "sentential" type. As (A) shows, this type does not preserve the subject position. (B)-(D) show that these constructions do not have the same syntactic structure as independent clauses. Hence, they do not preserve the clausal syntactic structure. On the contrary, Tuvinian nominalizations with nominative subject demonstrate all the properties of an independent clause given in (A)-(D).

Semantically, Finno-Ugric and Tuvinian constructions also differ. In both Mari and Komi-Zyrjan, the choice of the NOM-ACC / GEN-ACC construction is regulated by the following:

- animacy of the subject: if it is animate, it is more likely to be marked with genitive;
- semantic role of the subject: the more it is closer to the agent, the more it is likely to be marked with genitive;
- referential properties of the subject: definite subjects are more likely to acquire genitive, while indefinite and non-specific subjects are more likely to be assigned nominative.

In Tuvinian, the choice of the construction depends on the semantics of the dependent clause and the matrix verb: if the matrix verb is factive (see Kiparsky, Kiparsky 1971), and the dependent clause belongs to the presupposition, genitive case is preferred. The sentential construction is chosen with the matrix verbs that take dependent clauses introducing an asserted proposition (like believe, think, e.a.). In other words, nominative subjects are more likely to appear in the assertion, while genitive subjects are preferred in presupposed dependent clauses. This correlates with the syntactic properties of these constructions: the sentential constructions in Tuvinian preserve more clausal properties that the GEN-ACC constructions. Hence, they are more likely to appear in the assertion.

Examples:

MARI (EASTERN)

(1) ača-m-**ən** tide pört-**əm** čoŋ-əm-əž-əm me pal-ena.
father-POSS.1SG-**GEN** this house-**ACC** build-NZR-POSS.3SG-ACC we know-PRS.1PL
We know that (my) father has built this house.

(2) məjə lum lum-m-əm už-am.
I snow(**NOM**) to.snow-NZR-ACC see-PRS.1SG
I see it snow.

(3) a. tunəktəš-**ən** joltaš-**əže**
teacher-**GEN** friend-**POSS.3SG**
the/a teacher's friend

b. pursa šür
pea**(NOM)** soup
pea soup

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Michelle Sheehan & Anders Holmberg

An asymmetry in disharmonic word orders: trend or principle?

Hawkins' (1994, 2004) influential work derives many typological patterns from a 'Performance-Grammar Correspondence Hypothesis' (PGCH), arguing that harmonic structures are preferred across the languages of the world because of parsing. Less discussed, but potentially more interesting, is what Hawkins (1994) has to say about the two disharmonic structures: he predicts there should always be a slight preference for the order: (i) [$_{XP}$ X [$_{YP}$ [ZP] Y]] over (ii) [$_{XP}$ [$_{YP}$ Y [ZP]] X], because the first word in (i) (i.e.X) serves to construct the first immediate constituent. This has the benefit of correctly predicting, for example, that there will be more VO languages with post-positions than OV languages with prepositions, which appear to be the case (10 vs. 38 according to Haspelmath et al. 2005).

While Hawkins (2004) has since altered his theory, predicting both disharmonic orders to be equally marked/frequent, the Generative tradition has noticed ever increasing instances of this same asymmetry in disharmonic structures. For example, Holmberg (2000) discusses the fact that the order VOAux is the only permutation not possible in Finnish, and Biberauer et al. (2007) show this to be true of all the Germanic languages plus Basque. Similarly, they cite Ackema & Neeleman (2004: 164ff) who note the ungrammaticality of structures like *[history of science]ist]. Biberauer et al. attribute this gap to a principle of Universal Grammar, the Final Over Final Constraint (FOFC), which states that a head-initial phrase cannot be embedded immediately under a head-final one. They derive this from Minimalist phase theory, assuming Kayne's (1994) LCA, but we will gloss over these details here and focus on the empirical status of the asymmetry to assess whether it has the status of a trend (as predicted by Hawkins 1994), or an absolute.

At first sight it is difficult to tease apart the predictions of the two approaches. On the surface, apparent obvious counterexamples such as the order [Aux…[PP]V] in West Germanic favour a PGCH-based account. However, we argue that a closer examination of the facts across a wide range of languages raises problems for the PGCH, implying that a deeper grammatical principle is actually at work. For example, a closer inspection of the 10 languages that are OV with prepositions (according to Haspelmath et al. 2005), reveals that many of them actually postpose argumental PPs, avoiding the marked/ungrammatical structure (1-5), others appear to lack true P heads (Mangarrayi). While PP postposing fits in with either approach, the fact that none of the 38 VO postpositional languages preposes its postpositional P is revealing (Dryer 1992:92). The PGCH in no way predicts this striking asymmetry. Under a FOFC-account, the postposing of prepositional phrases in OV languages is necessary to avoid a crash, whereas there is no grammatical motivation to move a post-positionalP from its argument position in a VO language. Rare apparent counterexamples to FOFC, like the order PPV in Tigré (Semitic), Sorbian (Slavic) and West Germanic, must obviously be addressed, and an account given of how PPV is derived in these languages. As the focus of this presentation is empirical, we will merely sketch some interesting independent word order facts about these languages which might provide the answer.

Another revealing data set comes from embedded clauses/CPs. As Hawkins (1994) notes, OV languages often select head-initial embedded CPs, whereas VO languages rarely (if ever) select head-final CPs. This is problematic for PGCH, as the most marked combination is widely attested, whereas the less marked combination is not. In order to account for this Hawkins introduces " an independent parsing preference for immediate matrix disambiguation" which allows the order of C and its complement to invert in V-final languages. Even then, the PGCH cannot account for all the facts. Our ongoing survey of OV languages with initial C elements confirms that, so far, *all* of these typologically unrelated languages postpose the CP to the right of V, as in (6-7). This, admittedly, is also predicted by the PGCH. The problem for the PGCH comes from languages like Iraqw, a Southern Cushitic Language and Neo-Aramaic, a Semitic language, which are OV but VCP, even where C-elements are optional, as in (8). In the absence of an overt C, the PGCH predicts that an embedded clause should surface in its canonical position. Under a formal approach, FOFC prevents the CP from being able to surface in object position, even where C is null. Of course, it might be argued that VCP has been grammaticalised in these languages so that the PGCH is effectively overridden by the grammar, but this kind of approach begins to lose its predictive power.

Other languages present an even greater challenge to the PGCH, as they do the opposite to what is predicted. Persian and German allow optional complementiser-drop *only* where clauses are post-verbal (9) (i.e. in a non-canonical position) (c.f. Oehl 2004), but not where they surface preverbally, as in (10). The apparent FOFC violation in (10) can be accounted for by appealing to the fact that preverbal clauses are nominalised, and therefore island-like. In fact, FOFC, which is derived from phase theory, predicts that linearization in the nominal domain should be independent of that in the clausal domain because they involve separate lexical arrays.

Finally, in many languages, the C/subordinator is clause-internal. In one such language, Basque, C is cliticised onto Aux (Ortiz de Urbina 1999). Because of independent facts about the word order of Basque, this C element often surfaces clause finally. The PGCH would therefore predict these CPs to surface preverbally, or perhaps be preposed, contrary to fact. In fact, Basque allows clauses to surface either preverbally or crucially to be postposed to a position following Aux. While these patterns are not directly predicted by FOFC, nor are they predicted to be ruled out. As such, they, again, are problematic only for the PGCH approach.

Positing FOFC as a UG principle makes it very easy to falsify. A single language such as German might serve, ultimately to disprove it. In this way it differs from the PGCH, for which marked word orders, as long as they are rare, are not problematic. On the other hand, whereas FOFC only purports to rule *out* certain structures, the PGCH has to rule *in* all attested word orders. The data to be presented indicate that it fails to do so, without further assumptions.

(1) Lăbulmunne [ta-Bagdàd]! [Neo-Aramaic]
Take-me to Bagdad [example from Khan (1999:338)]
'Take me to Bagdad.'

(2) bache-hâ raft-and (be) manzel [Persian]
child-Plur go-Past-3pl (to) home
`The children went home.' [example from Mahootian (1997)]

(3) Ew çûo (e) mal [Kurdish]
He went to home the-F
'He went home.' [example from Akrawry (1982)]

(4) Lôhirí hardát áy Árûsha [Iraqw]
Road this goes to Arusha [example from Whiteley (1958)]
'This road goes to Arusha.'

(5) á-lwÁAr' kí kwàc [Päri]
1s-fear PREP leopard [example from Anderson (1988)]
'I am afraid of leopards.'

(6) Ja pak jeho widźal njejsym [Sorbian]
I however him saw NEG-aux
I, however, didn't see him'

(7) Marka so woprawdźe wjeseli, [zo jónu skoro zaso do Lipska pojědźe] [Sorbian]
Marka refl really rejoices that once soon again to Leipzig drive-FUT
'Marka is really glad that she will soon once again go to Leipzig.' [examples from Lindseth (1998:115)]

(8) Inós i flikruus (gidabá) bati hleemeero g-a aleeháy [Iraqw]
He Su.3 think:3.SG.M (that) iron:sheets all Ob.3-Ob.F can:3.SG.M
'He thinks that he'll get all the iron sheets.' [example from Nordbustad (1988:60)]

(9) Man midanam (ke) gorbe-ha shir doost darand [Persian]
I . know that cats milk like have
'I know that cats like milk'

(10) Man in ke gorbeha shir doost darand ra midanam. [Persian]
I this that cats milk like have ACC know
[examples from Oehl (2004)]

(11) [Galapagoak muskerrez beterik daudela] diote [Basque]
Galapagos lizards-of full are-that say-they
'They say that the Galapagos are full of lizards' [example from Laka (1990)]

(12) Jonek uste du [Mikelek eskutitzaidatzi du-ela] [Basque]
Jonek thinks AUX M letter write AUX-that
'Jonek thinks that Mikelek has written a letter.' [example from Ortiz de Urbina (1999)]

Amelia Silva

Case marking and clause structure in Mebengokre (Kayapó)

This paper discusses the relationship between aspect and split ergativity in Mebengokre (Kayapó), an understudied Macro-Jê language spoken in the northeastern Amazon region, in Brazil. The progressive aspect in this language is expressed by means of a periphrastic construction composed by "positional verbs" such as *dʒa* 'be standing', *ɲɯ̃ɯ̃* 'be sitting', *nõ* 'be lying down', preceded by the light verb *ɔ* 'make'.

Mebengokre displays an interesting contrast related to case-assignment in the progressive constructions. In one structure the external argument receives nominative (unmarked) case (1), while in the other the external argument is marked with the ergative case marker *kutɛ* (2). The change in the positional verb *dʒa* (1) to *ãm* (2) induces the change in the case assignment.

The pattern shown in (1) and (2) raise the question whether these two sentences have the same underlying syntactic representation. Another question is related to the aspectual nature of those sentences, given the fact that in the standard cross-linguistic generalization, if a language shows aspect-driven case split, it displays ergativity in perfective forms, and accusativity in imperfective forms (cf. Dixon 1994). This is the case in Hindi (cf. Mahajan 1990) but not in Basque, for instance. In this language, according to Laka (2007), both perfective (3a) and imperfective (3b) show ergative case, yet progressive never displays ergative subjects (3c). Laka argues that this type of "ergative split" is a reflex of the type of the syntactic structure associated with progressives and imperfectives, that is, they involve a biclausal structure in which there are two verbs available for licensing the absolutive (=Nominative) case while perfective clauses are associated with a monoclausal structure.

Mebengokre seems to posit some problems for Laka's analysis since it predicts that in progressive, with a biclausal structure, the ergative it is not expected to surface. Since the constructions (1) and (2) behave in two different ways, in its case array, by assuming Laka's analysis we have to argue that in the first case we have a biclausal representation while the second one involves a monoclausal representation. In order to account for the case-assignment pattern in the progressive construction I will argue, following previous observation on this phenomenon (Reis Silva 2001), that in both clauses the composed predicate (*"make"+positional verb*) takes a nominalised sentence as its complement. Though, despite the fact that Mebengokre seems to be a counter evidence for Laka's analysis I will claim that the nature of the element heading those clauses, whether lexical or functional, plays an important role in the case-assignment.

(1) kubẽ tɛp krẽ-n ɔ dʒa
barbarian fish eat-PART make be-standing
"The barbarian is eating fish."

(2) kubẽ kutɛ tɛp krẽ-n ɔ Ø-ã-m
barbarian 3Erg fish eat-PART make 3Abs-stand-PART
"The barbarian is eating fish."

(3) a. emakume-a-k ogia-a jan du
woman-det-E bread-det$_p$*l* eat-prf 3A/pl/have/3E
'The woman has eaten bread'

b. emakume-a-k ogia-ak ja-ten d-it-du
woman-det-E bread-det$_p$*l* eat-impf 3A/pl/have/3E
'The woman eats bread'

c. emakume-a ogi-a jaten ari da
woman-det bread-det eating prog is
'The woman is eating bread'

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Between VO and OV languages

Word order typologies are based on the idea that the possible word order types correspond to the six permutations of basic constituents without paying attention to intermediate cases. This paper presents a word order type that combines properties of OV and VO languages. Observational evidence (i.e. word order frequencies in corpora) shows that OV and VO orders are both very frequent in these languages, which gives rise to controversial accounts about their canonical word order. In particular, we discuss primary evidence collected through production experiment in Georgian, Armenian, and Konkani (India, Indo-European) and we relate our findings in these languages to facts reported for further languages in the literature (e.g. Yiddish, see Haider & Rosegren 2003). We argue that these languages constitute a word order type on its own (we refer to it as OV|VO languages in the following) and show that languages of this type share some common properties in syntax and its interaction with information structure.

We first present evidence from production experiments for these languages which shows that slight asymmetries in givenness, animacy, or discourse saliency of the involved constituents may trigger reordering of the constituents. Word order flexibility of this type is in contrast to VO languages such as Greek, Hungarian and Russian, in which deviations from canonical word order are not licensed by slight asymmetries of this kind but only by discrete information structural operations such as topicalization or (contrastive/exhaustive) focusing. In our experimental dataset, similar behavior has been observed in OV languages, such as Prinmi (China, Tibeto-Burman), with the difference that word order freedom in these languages applies to the relative order of subjects and objects, but does not affect the position of the verb. This data shows that the OV|VO language type patterns with V-final languages with respect to the factors that trigger word order variation.

Evidence gained through elicitation with native speakers shows that reordering of the arguments affects the dependency relations, as it has been already observed for several V-final languages (e.g., Korean and Turkish): fronted objects may bind into and may take scope over subjects, which does not hold for objects in their canonical position. These facts are again in contrast with the facts from V-initial and V-medial languages. This data shows that the OV|VO language type patterns with V-final languages with respect to the syntactic properties of word order permutations.

Based on this evidence we conclude that the empirical evidence allows us to postulate a distinct OV|VO word order type, that shares some distributional properties with VO languages and some syntactic and information structural properties with OV languages.

The paper is based on primary evidence that has been collected through elicitation or experimental sessions with native speakers of the discussed object languages.

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Syntax of the Worlds Languages III
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Arnd Sölling

Reduction and Extension of Noun Incorporation in Modern Nahua Dialects

This Paper deals with different degrees of productive noun incorporation in modern Nahua dialects spoken in different parts of Mexico and describes a process of reduction and extension of semantic range bordering the morpho-syntactic interface in one dialect. Mithun (1984), describing noun incorporation as "the most nearly syntactic of all morphological processes", has established an implicational hierarchy dividing the phenomenon into four basic types. While peripheral dialects like Western Huasteca Nahuatl (NHW; spoken by about 400.000 in a mountainous area in the north-west of the country) exhibit Type I (lexical compounding of a noun stem with a verbal stem), Type II (manipulation of case structure) and Type III (backgrounding of known information), many central dialects close to the capital of the country only show Type I and fossilized forms. Type IV, the classificatory relation between an incorporated stem with a free-standing nominal stem, has never been demonstrated for any modern dialect or for the classic language. It is important to point out that many modern Nahua dialects are not direct descendants of the extinct dialect spoken by the rulers of the ancient Aztec empire, which shows a high frequency of incorporations in the recorded textual material.

Merlan (1976) has detected instances of noun incorporation that can be assigned to Types I-III in Western Huasteca Nahuatl. Hill & Hill, examining a large corpus of gathered data, came to the conclusion that the Central Puebla dialect (NCX; 16.000 speakers) exhibits fossilized forms of lexical compounding and concluded that instances of incorporation were rare in this dialect in the first place (Hill & Hill 1986:258). Fossilized forms refer to forms anchored in the lexicon that cannot be segmented into different stems by the speaker anymore. It is obvious that the ongoing contact with the Spanish language over more than 400 years influenced the dialects and changed their syntactic systems, but loss of productive incorporation or changes in word order cannot be assigned to contact alone (Steele 1986:38).

The Morelos dialect spoken in Hueyapan (NHM; 15.000 speakers), exhibits fossilized forms and some Type I incorporation. Types III and II are not attested in this dialect. Incorporation of Spanish loanword material is still productive (like in many modern dialects), but incorporation of nominal Nahua material seems to have become restricted to short nominal roots and especially body parts (Magnus Hansen 2008), a common feature of languages in the linguistic areal. The reduction of the semantic range of patient nouns that can be incorporated point to the fact that they are on the verge of transforming into a class of derivational body part affixes. It has been observed before that "there is a diachronic relation between compounding and derivational morphology, in that one element of a compound may become a derivational affix if it occurs in a large number of combinations (Bybee 1985:106)." This statement applies to the situation described in Hueyapan as the new class of body part affixes can be attached to any verbal stem. Furthermore, morpho-phonological differences blur the relationship between the incorporated and the free form. While the semantic range of incorporatable nouns is reduced, the body part terms attached to the verbal stem can extend their basic meaning and assimilate meanings of other stems that do not incorporate (Magnus Hansen 2008). This extension marks the main difference of Hueyapan to other dialects, where incorporated body part affixes change their form in a comparable way. While incorporated Nahua material now resembles derivation in many cases, the incorporation of Spanish loanwords still resembles lexical compounding as it is free of any lexical restrictions. A reason for this could be that existing lexicalized compounds provide sufficient lexical alternatives to avoid incorporation whereas the management of Spanish loan structure still produces new or unexpected situations that can lead to productive formations of neologisms.

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Examples:

Material from the Western Huasteca Nahuatl dialect demonstrates the ability of peripheral dialects to exhibit Types I to III. Type I can be demonstrated in (1.) to (2.):

(1) *ni-to-sish-mati*
1SGSUB-3SGPOSS-voice-know
"I know his voice." (Merlan 1976:188)

(2) *∅–mo-tlaca-ketza*
3SGSUB-3SGREFL-man-stand
"He stands like a man" (Merlan 1976:189)

Example (4) shows the manipulation of the case structure; an oblique argument assumes the direct object slot vacated by the incorporation:

(3) *ika tla'ke ∅-ki-tete'ki pantzi*
with what 3SGSUB-3SGOBJ-cut bread
"What did he cut the bread with?" (Merlan 1976:185)

(4) *ne' ∅–pantzitete'ki ika kochillo*
3SG 3SGSUB-bread-cut with knife
"He cut the bread with a knife." (Merlan 1976:185)

Type III can be demonstrated in (6):

(5) *na' ni-'-neki ni-tla-pohua-s hua·n ash ni'piya mo·shti*
1SG 1SGSUB-3SGOBJ-want 1SGSUB-3SGOBJ-INDEF-read-FUT but NEG 1SGSUB-3SGOBJ-have book
"I want to read something but I don't have a book." (Merlan 1976:184)

(6) *na' ni-mitz-mo·shtimaka*
1SGSUB 1SGSUB-2SGOBJ-book-give
"I'll give you one (a book)." (Merlan 1976:184)

The Puebla Central Dialect yields fossilized incorporations as in (7) and productive lexical compounds featuring Spanish material as in (7) and (8):

(7) *ni-a:-miki*
1SGSUB-water-die
"I'm dying of thirst." (Hill & Hill 1986:257)

(8) *∅–vakah-tza'tziz*
3SGSUB-cow-scream
"He screams like a cow."

(9) *∅-tzena'-maka*
3SGSUB-dinner-give
"He gave a dinner." (Hill & Hill 1986:258)

The Morelos Dialect spoken in Hueyapan exhibits the body part affixes that transform into a class of affixes. For example, the root *i:x-* (meaning 'eye', 'face' or 'eyes') only appears incorporated whereas the free stem is *i:xtololo* (meaning 'eye' only) (Magnus Hansen 2008). This reduction can be seen in other dialects like Veracruz Nahuatl (10), but the extension of the semantic range can only be observed in Hueyapan.

(10) *xinechtlacuihui pan tepozmecaixtlatiltlahcuiloli*
xi-nech-tlacui-hui pan tepoz-meca-ix-tlatil-tlahcuilo-li
IMP-1SGOBJ-schreiben-POSSN über Eisen-Seil-Auge-versteckt-Schreiber-ABS
"Write me an e-mail." (own data)

Justin Spence

Discourse Effects on Word Order in Hupa

This paper investigates conditions on the distribution of nominal phrases in Hupa, an Athabaskan language of northwest California. The study is based largely on text data presented in Sapir and Golla (2001), but is supplemented by recent fieldwork with one of the few remaining speakers of the language. Hupa subject and object noun phrases are cross-referenced with agreement prefixes on the verb and need not be expressed at all; when they are expressed, however, they sometimes occur before the verb, sometimes after. This is shown to be true for subjects and objects alike in (1)-(3).

Conathan (2004) shows that the relative ordering of subject and verb in Hupa is sensitive to a number of factors, such as the discourse/informational status of the subject (old information tends to occur in postverbal position), and whether the subject stands in contrast with another nominal (in which case it precedes the verb, as in 2a-b). The present study identifies an additional condition influencing the occurrence of noun phrases in preverbal versus postverbal position. In particular, noun phrase material can be split between the two positions. This is shown in (4), where a numeral expression in preverbal position modifies the postverbal object, or in (5), where a possessed noun in preverbal position agrees with its postverbal possessor. In the text material examined thus far, there are apparently exceptionless conditions on which material may occur in which position: quantifiers and possessed nouns occur preverbally, quantified nouns and possessors postverbally.[1] Elsewhere, quantifiers frequently occur without any accompanying noun at all, and the possessed noun in (5) bears an agreement marker *kʸi-* which cross-references the postverbal possessor. The generalization seems to be that when nominal expressions are split across the preverbal and postverbal positions, the one with proniminal force occurs preverbally.

Examples such as (4) and (5) can be interpreted as a special case of a more general phenomenon, whereby redundant nominal expressions occur in pre- and postverbal positions. In (6), the postverbal object *λ'ohce?-kʸoh* offers an additional detail (size) clarifying the previously-mentioned preverbal object *λ'ohce?*. This leads to an interpretaion of (4) and (5) in which the postverbal nominal fixes the reference of a previously-mentioned quantifier or pronominally-prefixed possessed noun. Where material associated with a single nominal reference occurs simultaneously in preverbal and postverbal positions, the preverbal instance is the "real" sentential argument; the postverbal instance is essentially an afterthought, a clarification of the preverbal pronominal element. This can be related to Rice's (1988) description of postverbal position in the otherwise rigidly SOV Athabaskan language Slave: the postverbal position, although much more restricted in Slave than in Hupa, expresses "extra information not crucial to the thread of the discourse" (1988:1195).

This treatment of certain postverbal objects is very much concordant with Conathan's analysis of postverbal subjects, insofar as old, non-contrastive information can also be considered in some sense peripheral to the discourse. It remains to be seen whether such an analysis is tenable for the ordinary cases of postverbal arguments: in (2b), for example, the adverbial *kʸiye:* 'again' suggests that the object *hay mił-č'idilye:* 'the regalia' has been taken out previously; if *hay mił-č'idilye:* can be inferred as the object of the verb from the discourse context, perhaps it is included postverbally essentially, once again, as an afterthought. This treatment may not be tenable in call cases, but the analysis presented here for cases of noun phrase fission such as (4) and (5) brings us a small step closer to understanding the factors at play in determining the position of noun phrases relative to verbs in Hupa.

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[1] Both may appear together in either pre- or postverbal position as well; crucially, we don't find quantifer or possessed noun postverbally with quantified noun or possessor preverbally.

Examples[2]

1. kʸeːyaʔiɬnaʔ hay camehsλ'ôn
   they cook the women
   The women cook. (1.44)

2a hay camehsλ'on kʸeːyaʔałnaʔ
   the women they cook,
   …the women cook,

2b hay-yôw xoʔosday q'inaʔ kʸiyeː ʔahtʼin čʼeːyaʔaliW hay miɬ-čʼidilyeː
   (and) those men also again all they take out the with which they dance
   and the men take out all the regalia again. (1.47)

3 widwâːd yaʔałčʷeʔ ɬaʔ-ǯeːnis
   acorn flour they make all day
   …they prepare acorn flour all day. (1.2)

4. ʔahtʼiŋʔ hay xoʔosday nahxi-taːqʼi-Waŋ xolaʔ-meʔ yaːsilây hay kʸinahɬdan-cʼey
   All the men two or three in their hands lie the dance sticks, rattles
   All of the men hold two or three split-stick rattles in their hands. (10.44)

5. hay camehsλ'on kʸeːdaʔay naːyaʔwiɬweʔ hay naːxay ʔahtʼiŋ …
   the women heads they struck at them the wounded all …
   The women clubbed the heads of all the wounded… (77.55)

6. h[ayahaǯid] ɬiwaŋ λ'ohceʔ čʼoːneʔičʷid λ'ohceʔ-kʸoh
   Then one person swamp grass he goes after big swamp grass
   Another person goes to fetch swamp-grass (λ'ohceʔ), the big variety of swamp-grass. (31.8)

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[2] All examples cited here are taken from Sapir and Golla (2001), using the glosses, translations, and limited morphological parsing provided there. Text and line numbers are provided on the free translation line; Golla's editorial additions to the material in Sapir's field notes are in square brackets.

Kiyoko Takahashi

Historical changes in Thai negative expressions

The aim of this paper is to investigate historical changes in Thai negative expressions within the framework of 'Radical Construction Grammar' (Croft 2001) which posits a uniform model of grammatical representation, namely the syntax-idiom-morphology-lexicon continuum (ibid.: 17-18).

I have collected negative expressions from discourse corpora of Thai inscriptions from the 14th century through the 20th century (viz. *Corpus of Thai Inscriptions, Installments 1, 3, 4, 6.1, 6.2 and 7*, which were published by the Prime Minister's Secretariat, Thailand), and found that since the 14th century, there have been always more than one negative (e.g. *bɔɔ*/*bɔ̀ɔ*, *pày*, *hɔ̀ɔn*, *mii*/*mìi*, *bɔ̀ɔ hɔ̀ɔn*, *bɔ̀ɔ mí?*, *mí?*, *mây*, and so on). Previous historical studies on Thai negatives (Kullavanijaya 1996, Mikami 2000) provided little in-depth syntactic analysis of the negative expressions. In this paper I will closely examine the syntax of expressions including the following three main negatives:

(a) *bɔ̀ɔ* which was frequently used in the period from the 14th century to the 15th century
(b) *mí?* which was frequently used in the period from the 16th century to the middle of the 19th century
(c) *mây* which was frequently used in the period from the middle of the 19th century to the 20th century

Having analyzed the data, I hypothesize that Thai negative expressions have undergone the following course of changes: (1) > (2) > (3) > (4) > (5) > (6) > (7) > (8).

(1)	*bɔ̀ɔ* [VP]	
(2)	*bɔ̀ɔ* [*mii* ('exist') compliment-VP]	<idiom>
(3)	*bɔ̀ɔ mii* [VP]	<syntactic reanalysis, lexicalization>
(4)	*bɔ̀ɔ mí?* [VP]	<phonological reduction>
(5)	*mí?* [VP]	<phonological reduction>
(6)	*mí?* [*dây* ('emerge') compliment-VP]	<idiom>
(7)	*mí? dây* [VP]	<syntactic reanalysis, lexicalization>
(8)	*mây* [VP]	<phonological reduction>

I regard this as a diachronic manifestation of the syntax-idiom-morphology-lexicon continuum.

I argue that in order to have a better understanding of historical changes in grammatical constructions in general, we must consider that syntax, idiom, morphology and lexicon form a continuum; they are not categorical, separate components of grammatical representation.

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Jimena Terrazza

The alignment system of verbal person markers in Wichi

The Wichi language (from the Mataco-mataguaya family) is spoken in the Gran Chaco, wich is an area that covers parts of Bolivia, Argentina, and Paraguay. Data that is presented in this paper was collected in Rivadavia Banda Sur in the province of Salta in Argentina, by the author herself on several occasions.

Wichi is a head-marking language that displays person marking on the verb. The agent-like and the patient-like argument as well as the sole argument of intransitive clauses are marked on the verb by pronominal affixes. The third person subject is the one that varies the most.

There are six different forms for the third person subject: *i-, ta, hi-,ya* and *Ø-*. The *i* marker stands for A, and *ta-* for S:

(1) xwan **i**-lon hayox
Juan 3A-kill tiger
'Juan kills the tiger'

(2) Hinu wex^{w} **ta**-k^{y}em-łi
man a.lot 3S-work-ITER
'The man works a lot'

As for *hi-, ya-* and *Ø-*, they do not distinguish S from A:

(3) Atsihna **ya**-hemen hinu
woman 3-like man
'The woman likes the man'

(4) Hanox^{w}ax **ya**-quy
child 3-play
'The child plays'

(5) Hinu **Ø**-tim wahat Ø-łe
man 3-swallow fish 3pos-bone
'The man swallows the fish bone'

(6) Ax^{w}enk^{y}e **Ø**-wiyo
bird 3-fly
'The bird flies'

(7) hinu **hi**-wen-**am**
man 3-look-2P
'The man looks at you'

(8) yiexu **hi**-p'etax
old.man 3-slip
'The old man slips'

At the same time, some verbs allow the alternation between *hi-* and *i-* and between *ya-* and *i-*. When this happens, it implies that the subject becomes more agentive.

As far as P is concerned, there is a set of suffixes for the first singular and plural exclusive (*-nu*), the plural inclusive (*-nam*) and the second person singular and plural (*-am*). The third person is a zero morpheme.

The hypothesis I state is that in Wichi, there are two alignment systems of the person markers: tripartite and nominative-accusative. The former is more widespread than the latter. Moreover, person markers that operate on a nominative-accusative system exhibit different forms to code the third person. This variation is motivated by semantic parameters like control, animacy, and will.

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Sonja Thoma

Independent pronouns in St'át'imcets- Evidence for a covert cleft

The problem: This paper investigates independent pronouns in St'át'imcets (aka Lillooet Salish), a highly endangered language spoken in northern interior British Columbia. These pronouns provide a challenge to the a classic distinction between predicates and arguments in the Salish languages. St'át'imcets, distinguishes predicates from arguments on grounds of two major characteristics: predicates are (i) clause initial, (ii) never occur with a determiner. Arguments on the other hand obligatorily have a determiner. Independent pronouns never occur with a determiner, neither in argument positions (1) nor in predicate position (2). Thus a categorial classification of the pronouns on these grounds is impossible, the clear line between the form of predicates and arguments seems blurred.

Proposal: I offer an analysis that unifies the form of independent pronouns in argument and predicate positions, by assigning St'át'imcets independent pronouns D status across all syntactic positions. I argue for the existence of a covert cleft construction with independent pronouns in predicate position, following from the Salish generalization that DPs cannot be predicates. Crosslinguistically, pronouns have been analyzed as either belonging to category N or D (Postal 1966, Abney 1987). The analysis in this paper conforms the Salish data with English in treating independent pronouns uniformly across all syntactic positions as D.

Evidence: St'át'imcets allows verbs, nouns, and adjectives to serve as predicate. As a headmarking language, overt arguments are optional, inflected roots of all categories can form a full sentence (van Eijk 1997, Davis in prep). This means the language has a full set of bound pronouns that directly attach to roots. An additional set of free (independent) pronouns exists (table I), that can occur in argument or predicate positions; these are the pronouns under investigation. I present three main arguments in favor of analyzing St'át'imcets independent pronouns in initial position as D arguments of a covert cleft construction. First, I show a minimal pair, with the independent pronoun as the cleftee in a cleft construction introduced by *nilh* (3b) and a "bare" pronoun without the cleft introducer (3a). Minimal pairs like this are impossible for nominal predicates (4a-b). The second argument in favor for analyzing independent pronouns in sentence initial position as D comes from coordination. Independent pronouns do not coordinate with bare nominal predicates (5). Last, the information structural properties of independent pronouns parallel the properties of clefts; the focus semantics of predicate pronouns corresponds to the focus semantics of clefts, and crucially differs from the focus semantics of predicate nominals (6,7) (cf. Koch 2007). Furthermore, an analysis by Davis (2003) supports the D status of independent pronouns in argument positions; pronoun headed relative clauses provide evidence in addition to the cleft data, showing that argument independent pronouns are D (8).

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Primary fieldwork data:

Table I: St'át'imcets independent pronouns (adapted from van Eijk (1997) and Davis (in prep))

	Singular	*Plural*
1st P	s7éntsa	(wi)snímulh
2nd P	snúwa	(wi)snuláp
3rd P	snilh	(wi)snilh

Independent pronouns as argument (1) and predicate (2)

(1) [qwatsátslhkan]$_{\text{PREDICATE}}$ [s7ents]$_{\text{ARGUMENT}}$
leave-1SG I
'*I* am leaving'

(2) snúwa [ti qwatsátsa]$_{\text{ARGUMENT}}$
you DET leave-EXIS
'*You* are leaving'

Minimal pairs: cleft with pronoun (3b), ungrammatical cleft with determinerless nominal (4b)

(3) a. snúwa ti wa7 ít'em
you DET IMPF sing-MID
'You are singing/It's you who is singing'

b. nilh snúwa ti wa7 ít'em
nilh you DET IMPF sing-MID
'You are singing/It's you who is singing'

(4) a. sqaycw ti wa7 qwal'út
man DET IMPF speak
'The man is speaking'

b. *nilh sqaycw ti wa7 qwal'út
nilh man DET IMPF speak

Coordination: independent pronouns do not coordinate with NPs (5a) but with DPs (5b)

(5)a. *snúwa múta7 kúkwpi7 i zácal'qwem'a
you and chief DETPL tall-appear-EXIS

b. snúwa múta7 **ti** kúkwpi7a i zácal'qwem'a
you and DET chief-EXIS DETPL tall-appear-EXIS
'You and the chief are tall.'

Clefts (6a)/independent pronouns (7) convey contrastive focus, nominal predicates (6b) do not

Context: two pictures, one with a sleeping dog, another with a bear climbing a tree.
Question : *swat ku guy'tál'men (who is sleepy)*

(6) a. nilh ti sqáx7a (ti) wa7 guy't
nilh DET dog-EXIS (DET) IMPF sleep
'The DOG is sleeping
(Lit: It's the dog who is sleeping)

b. sqáxa7 (ti) wa7 guy't
dog (DET) IMPF sleep
'A dog is sleeping'
(Lit:the sleeping one is a dog)

Context: Bill tells everyone he shot a bear. That's not true, I shot it and say:

(7) s7énts ti zuqwnucwstáliha ti míxalha cw7aoz kw snilhts sBill
I DET kill-animal-TR-TOP.EXIS DET bear NEG DET NOM-NILH-3RDPOSS NOMBill
,**I** killed the bear, not Bill!'

DP headed relative clauses (8a) parallel pronoun headed relative clauses (8b)

a. [**ti sqaycwa** wa7 k'wezúsem]
DET man-EXIS IMPF work-MID
'the man who is working'

b. [**snúwa** wa7 it'em]
you IMPF sing
'you who are singing'

Hubert Truckenbrodt, Malte Zimmermann, Bertha Abdu Danja and Mira Grubic

Focus and word order in Tangale (West Chadic)

This talk discusses the effects of information structure on word order in the Shongom dialect of Tangale, a Chadic language spoken in parts of Northeastern Nigeria. Drawing on existing literature as well as on the results of ongoing fieldwork, we argue that certain word order permutations with wh-questions and focus are effected by the presence of a covert focus marker that must be prosodically licensed by preceding material.

The literature on Tangale includes a dictionary and treatise of the morphology by Jungraithmayr 1991, a description and analysis of the phonology by Kidda 1993, who also remarks on various aspects of the syntax, an analysis of the phrasal phonology and of the syntax of wh-phrases in Kenstowicz 1987, as well as contributions on focus marking in Tangale (e.g. Tuller 1992) up to Hartmann and Zimmermann 2007.

The basic word-order in Tangale is SVO. In constituent questions that ask for the subject (and in the subject focus construction) the order becomes V O S. In constituent questions that ask for the object, the order remains S V O (question terms underlined). Kenstowicz (1987) argued on this and other grounds that there is a general landing site for wh-phrases to the right of the clause. Tuller (1992) postulates an additional focus position: A focused constituent can alternatively be adjoined at the left edge of VP (with the VO-cluster moving further up in the case of subject focus → VOS). Finally, Kidda (1993) and Hartmann & Zimmermann (2007) maintain that only subjects show inversion while all other constituents remain in their original position when questioned (or focused).

We begin by providing data that support the view that only subjects are displaced. When one of the constituents to the right of the verb is questioned, word order restrictions remain unaffected (see (1), (2)). This is unexpected on the account that postulates wh-movement to the right, which predicts changed word order restrictions due to the changed position of the questioned constituents. Our data also allows us to develop a more specific analysis of the subject questions. It seems that the subject right-adjoins to the VP, where the VP contains: obligatorily the verb-adjacent direct object, optionally an indirect object (which we assume optionally evacuates from the VP), see (3), and never a temporal adjunct (which we assume is in IP), see (4). This last case is also problematic for the 2-focus-position theory of Tuller (1992), where a clause-final focus position should always be available.

These first results raise the question what motivates the change of word order in the case of subject-questions? The standard reason for reordering – placing the questioned constituent in a constant clause-peripheral position – seems not to be at issue here.

Our current hypotheses go in the following direction and draw on the parallel of wh-constituents and focused constituents in Tangale: Other West-Chadic languages such as Guruntum have a focus marker [a] (preceding the focus) that is also used in questions (Haruna 2003). We hypothesize that Tangale has a historical remnant of such a vocalic marker, which is an empty phonological mora. This empty-mora focus/wh-marker (i) is placed to the left of the focused/questioned constituent and (ii) acts as a suffix that needs to suffix to a preceding constituent. This forces (possibly cyclic) inversion of the subject, since this suffix would otherwise not have a preceding word to suffix to: [[-μ]-who came?] -> [came-μ who?]

The following considerations support this hypothesis:

(i) Phonological evidence for the empty mora suffix is that a process of word-final vowel deletion (which also serves as a diagnostic for the absence of prosodic phrase boundaries) is blocked in position preceding wh-phrases and foci (see Kenstowicz 1987). In our hypothesis, the empty mora 'saves' the vowel that would otherwise delete in this position. From Kenstowicz:

Kay dobug~~o~~ Málay *'Kay called (Malay).'* (deletion of [o] before object; [u]-epenth.)
Kay dobg**o** noŋ (=who) *'Who did Kay call?'* (retention of [o] before wh-phrase)

(ii) In the case of certain adjuncts, Tangale has an overt instance [-n] of the empty mora suffix we postulate, as shown in (5) and (7).

(iii) Temporal adjuncts can stand initially and finally as in (6). When questioned, the initial position is no longer available as in (7).

We also explore the implications of our hypothesis for echo questions, initial adjunct-subject-configurations, locative adjuncts, and we investigate possible prosodic restrictions on focus inversion.

(1) *Without wh-phrases: direct object > PP object*

lakụ padug landa [tọm tijo]	* lakụ padug [tọm tijo] landa
Laku bought dress from Tijo	Laku bought from Tijo dress
'Laku bought a dress from Tijo.'	

(2) *Same with wh-phrase: wh-direct object > PP object*

lakụ padgọ naŋ [tọm tiju]	* lakụ padgọ [tọm tiju] naŋ
Laku bought what from Tijo	Laku bought from Tijo what
'What did Laku buy from Tijo?'	

(3) *Inverted wh-subject: can occur after PP object*

padụg landa noŋ [tọm tijo]	padụg landa [tọm tijo] noŋ
bought dress who from Tijo	bought dress from Tijo who
'Who bought a dress from Tijo?'	

(4) *Inverted wh-subject: can not easily occur after temporal adjunct*

muduygo noŋ [ono]	?? muduygo [ono] noŋ
died who yesterday	died yesterday who
'Who died yesterday?'	

(5) *[-n] suffix preceding wh-PP*

lakụ padụg { landa tọm tiju / landa-**n** tọm noŋ }

cf. n tom noŋ *'from whom?'*

Laku bought dress from Tiju
dress from who

(6) *Temporal adjunct [ono] in final or initial position*

lakụ padụg landa tọm tiju [ono]	[ono] lakụ padụg landa tọm tiju
Laku bought dress from Tiju yesterday	yesterday Laku bought dress from Tiju
'Laku bought a dress from Tiju yesterday.'	

(7) *Temporal adjunct wh-word [dimin] not in initial position*

lakụ padụg landa tọm tiju-**n** [dimin]	* [(-**n**) dimin] lakụ padụg landa tọm tiju
Laku bought dress from Tiju when	when Laku bought dress from Tiju
'When did Laku buy a dress from Tiju?'	

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Claire K. Turner

Grammatical Aspect and Split Intransitivity in SENĆOŦEN: A Role and Reference Grammar Approach

SENĆOŦEN (the Saanich dialect of North Straits Salish) has a three-way grammatical aspect distinction: imperfective (1b), resultative (2b), and morphologically unmarked (1a, 2a), argued for other Salish languages to be perfective (Bar-el, 2005). Perfective aspect is unrestricted in its distribution. However, imperfective and resultative both appear to be restricted in the types of verbs with which they can occur; most verbs which take imperfective don't take resultative and vice versa. Therefore, it seems that SENĆOŦEN verbs can be split into two classes, with very little overlap: those which can take imperfective and those which can take resultative. This paper investigates the nature of this split, which appears to be based on argument structure and has been taken to provide evidence for split intransitivity in SENĆOŦEN (Turner, 2007). It is argued here, however, that the split is actually based on the semantics of the verb. An approach based on Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & La Polla, 1997) is taken in the analysis, which synthesises previous work on Salish verb classes. The main argument put forth is that SENĆOŦEN resultatives are found with predicates carrying a culmination entailment—achievements or unaccusatives, and imperfectives with those which do not.

As in all Salish languages, SENĆOŦEN verbs are intransitive unless they bear an overt transitivising suffix (3a). There are two widespread transitivising suffixes in SENĆOŦEN, control transitive /-t/ (3b) and non-control transitive /-nax^{w}/ (3c) (Montler, 1986). Imperfectives are found with control transitives and with certain (agent-oriented) intransitives but not others (4), and resultatives are found with certain (patient-oriented) intransitives but not others (5).

In research on Salish languages, there are two main approaches to verb classification, one based on grammatical relations and one on aktionsart/situation type. Gerdts (1991, 1988) and Gerdts & Hukari (2006) provide evidence for a syntactic unaccusative/unergative distinction among roots in Halkomelem (Central Salish). Several syntactic criteria are used to distinguish the two classes; the only feasible test for SENĆOŦEN, given its current state of documentation, is that unaccusatives take control transitive /-t/ (6) and unergatives take causative /-stax^{w}/ (7). The subject of an unaccusative is the object of the corresponding control transitive.

Four situation types have been identified for SENĆOŦEN and other Salish languages (Kiyota, in prep.; Bar-el et al., 2006; Bar-el, 2005; Matthewson, 2004): activities, accomplishments, achievements, and inchoative states (events with inchoative meaning in the perfective and stative meaning in the imperfective). In these accounts, achievements are characterised by their property of carrying a culmination entailment, or an intrinsic final point (Bar-el, 2005), which cannot be cancelled (8); achievements are intransitive or non-control transitive. Accomplishments in Salish languages, unlike in English, do not entail culmination, and can be cancelled without ungrammaticality (9); according to the accounts of Salish situation types, they are derived from achievements by the control transitive suffix.

This paper combines the two approaches to Salish verb classes, and follows Van Valin's argument (1990) that phenomena distinguishing unaccusatives and unergatives and differences between situation types are both products of the logical structure, i.e., semantics of the verb. He uses the framework of Role and Reference Grammar, where semantic macroroles present in the structure of a verb are based on the aspectual properties of the verb (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997), and no distinct level of grammatical relations is assumed. It is argued here that, in SENĆOŦEN, imperfectives are not used with verbs which carry a culmination entailment (i.e., those which cannot be cancelled in the perfective, as shown in the Sḵwx̱wú7mesh example in (8)). This corresponds to the class of "achievements", which is also the only class to lack a semantic *actor* (similar to agent), resulting in the effect that imperfectives are not used with unaccusative verbs. Resultatives, in contrast, are found only with "achievements". Although there may be split intransitivity in SENĆOŦEN, this paper shows that the grammatical aspect split does not provide sufficient evidence for it, since the split can be analysed as a product of the culmination properties of Salish verb classes.

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1) a. ȻŁ YÁ, ȻE DOQ ŦE Janet*
kʷɬ yéʔ kʷə **ƛ̓áǩʷ** θə Janet
REAL go INF **go.home** DET Janet
'Janet went home; Janet's gone home.'

b. YÁ, SEN I DODEQ
yéʔ sən ʔi **ƛ̓á-ƛ̓əkʷ**
go 1SGSBJ AUX **IPFV-go.home**
'I'm going home; I'm on my way home.' (already walking)

2) a. LEƮ LE, TŦE LEPOT
ləƛ̓ᶿ ləʔ tθə ləpat
fill PST DET cup
'The cup was filled.'

b. SLÁƮEŁ TŦE LEPOT
sleƛ̓ᶿəɬ tθə ləpat
fill/RES DET cup
'The cup is full.'

3) a. qʷə́y tsə speʔəs
die DET bear
'The bear died.'

b. qʷə́č-**ət** sən tsə spéʔəs
die-**C.TR** 1SBJ DET bear
'I killed the bear (intentionally).'

c. qʷə́y-**nəxʷ** sən tsə spéʔəs
die-**NC.TR** 1SBJ DET bear
'I accidentally killed the bear.' (Kiyota, in prep.)

4) a. LEƮ LE, TŦE LEPOT
ləƛ̓ᶿ ləʔ tθə ləpat
fill PST DET cup
'The cup was filled.'

b.
*leƛ̓ᶿəɬ
fill/ IPFV
'The cup is being filled.'

5) a. ȻŁ YÁ, ȻE DOQ ŦE Janet
kʷɬ yéʔ kʷə ƛ̓áǩʷ θə Janet
REAL go INF go.home DET Janet
'Janet went home; Janet's gone home.'

b.
* sƛ̓á-ƛ̓əǩʷ
RES~go.home
'I'm home; I'm at home.'

6) a. LEƮ LE, TŦE LEPOT
ləƛ̓ᶿ ləʔ tθə ləpat
fill PST DET cup
'The cup was filled.'

b. LEƮET TŦE LEPOT
ləƛ̓ᶿ-**ət** tθə ləpat
fill-**C.TR** DET cup
'Fill the cup.'

7) a. ȻŁ YÁ, ȻE DOQ ŦE Janet
kʷɬ yéʔ kʷə ƛ̓áǩʷ θə Janet
REAL go INF go.home DET Janet
'Janet went home; Janet's gone home.'

b. DEQISTONES SX̱
ƛ̓əǩʷ-i-**st**-aŋəs sxʷ
go.home-ʔ-**CAUS**-1SGOBJ 2SGSBJ
'You took me home.'
(Montler, 1986, p. 166)

8) * na kw'el ta smits 7i na7-xw wa kw'el-**t**-as
RL get.cooked DET meat PART RL-still IPFV cook-**TR**-3ERG (TR cognate with C.TR)
'You're saying it's cooked but they're still cooking it!...Why would you keep on cooking it? It's cooked!...' Skwxwú7mesh (Bar-el et al., 2006)

9) na p'aya**k**-ant-as ta John ta snexwilh-s
RL heal-TR-3ERG DET John DET canoe-3POSS (TR cognate with C.TR)

welh haw **k**-as 7i huy-nexw-as
CONJ NEG IRR-3CNJ PART finish-LC.TR-3POSS (LC.TR cognate with NC.TR)
'He fixed his canoe but he didn't finish (fixing) it.'
Skwxwú7mesh (Bar-el et al., 2006)

* Unless otherwise cited, SENĆOŦEN examples come from fieldwork carried out by the author.

Rigina Turunen

The typology of Erzya nonverbal predication

Erzya Mordvin is one of the minor Uralic languages spoken in Central Russia. In Erzya the nonverbal (adjectival, nominal and locational) predicates can be inflected for person and tense by predicative suffixes. The present tense suffixes are person agreement markers identical to those of verbal conjugation, and the past tense suffixes are, from a diachronical point of view, fused copulas. The Erzya nonverbal predication system is interesting also because of rich variation of predication strategies: the use of predicative suffixes is claimed to be optional in the present tense, and the past tense constructions can be replaced with analytical copula constructions.

This study is based on my forthcoming doctoral thesis. I have used as data mostly written sources, but also questionnaries and recorded conversations.The database concists of about 5500 Erzya nonverbal predicate clauses. This presentation focuses on the typology of Erzya nonverbal predication, and especially on the conditions of using person agreement markers in nonverbal predicate clauses.

Stassen (1997), one of the major studies on nonverbal predication, includes typological classification of Erzya intransitive predication as well, which I think needs to be revaluated. I think that in Erzya there are three predication strategies instead of two as suggested by Stassen. In the clauses 1a, b, c and d predication is made by predicative suffixes. Stassen labeled the predicative suffixes of the present tense *nominal PNG-markers*, but the past tense suffixes (d) are not taken into account in his study. The second strategy, not mentioned in (Stassen 1997), is simple juxtaposition in the present tense constructions, like in the clauses 2a and b. The third strategy makes use of a copula verb in the future and past tense constructions like in 3a and b.

Further, I state that the predicative suffix construction of Erzya fulfills all the criteria, also the negation criterion, to be concerned as a verbal strategy - and not as a nominal strategy like argued by Stassen (i.b.). This leads to a situation, in which Erzya forms a counter example to Stassen's typology: Erzya is a tensed language in which nonverbal predicates are encoded by verbal strategy.

The zero strategy (2a and b) is hardly ever mentioned in the grammatical descriptions of Erzya, but as shown by my data, it is used quite often. I have found as well morphological as semantical criteria for the use of zero strategy. The part of speech affects the use of person agreement markers: adjectival predicates agree obligatorily in person, and free variation between person agreement marking and zero strategy is typical only to nominal predicates. Further, nouns inflected with definite and possessive suffixes, as well as personal pronouns as predicates never agree in person. Zero strategy is thus more likely to be used in clauses in which the predicate is a definite (pro)noun. What follows from this is that in Erzya, encoding of adjectival predicates is more similar to the encoding of verbal predicates than the encoding of nominal predicates. I have found further evidence to this statement in the negation systems as well: the adjectives are more likely than the nouns to be negated with the same negation particle as the verbs. The fact that Erzya adjectives form an intermediate territory between verbs and nouns is totally in accordance with the time stability scale by Givón (1984), as well as Stassen's typology of intransitive predication.

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Examples

1.a *Mon mazi-jan*.
I beautiful-SG1
′I am beautiful′

1.b *Min paro jalga-tano.*
We good friend-PL1
'We are good friends.'

1.c *Mon t′e-sa-n*.
I this-INE-SG1
′I am here′

1.d *Mon to-so-l′-iń'*.
I that-INE-2.PST-SG1
'I was there.'

2.a *Mon tonavt′ńića*.
I student
′I am a student.′

2.b *Ki-t′ tiń*?
who-PL you(PL2)
'Who are you?'

3.a *Min-ś ul′ –ń-i-ńek azor-t.*
we-EMPH be-FREQ-1.PST-PL1 landlord-PL
'We were landlords.'

3.b *Mon-gak ul′- ń-i-ń to-so.*
I-PART be-FREQ-1.PST-SG1 that-INE
′I was there also′

3.b *Ton pokš ćora-ks ul′-a-t.*
you big man-TRA be-SG2
'You will be a big man.'

Rosa Vallejos Yop

The focus function(s) of =*pura* in Kokama-Kokamilla discourse

Focus subtypes are characterized according to scope and pragmatic information (i.e., [non]-contrastive). While the existence of strategies dedicated to coding scope seems clear, the existence of grammar dedicated to pragmatic contrast is in dispute (Lambrecht 1994; Myhill and Xing 1996). Some models propose that contrast is expressed in sentence grammar (Dik et al. 1981; Watters 1979); others argue that contrast belongs to conversational implicature (Lambrecht 1994). Kokama-Kokamilla (KK), an Amazonian language, has constructions that clearly distinguish focus subtypes according to both parameters. More specifically, this study examines the functional nuances of the clitic =*pura* that attaches to a noun phrase (in subject, object, or oblique functions), a verb, a dependent clause, and a particle. The database for this study consists of twenty-two texts including folk stories, personal narratives, and spontaneous conversations taken from nine speakers. The combined texts include approximately 2539 intonation units, among which 351 instances of =*pura* (14%) have been identified.

While =*pura* is an important cue to pragmatically marked sentences, by itself it cannot be associated with specific subtypes of focus. It is the interaction of =*pura* with constituent order and prosody that formally distinguishes between subtypes of focus. In sentence-focus constructions, =*pura* marks the first element of the focus domain, then focal stress occurs towards the end of the focused unit (1). In narrow focus constructions, stress and =*pura* co-occur in the focused element. The focused unit is usually the object of the clause (2, 3a), sometimes an oblique (3b), or quite rarely, the subject. Thus, once the hearer knows that i) any non-subject is marked by =*pura;* and, ii) it is stressed, this is a narrow-focus construction. In contrast, once the hearer knows that i) the subject is marked by =*pura;* and ii) it is unstressed, s/he knows that this is a sentence focus construction. Further, when the stressed *pura*-marked NP is the O in the pragmatically unmarked SVO pattern (2), it correlates strongly with non-contrastive focus. When the stressed *pura*-marked NP is the O in the pragmatically marked OSV pattern (3a), it correlates strongly with contrastive focus. However, Dik et al.'s (1981) finer distinctions within the contrastive category are neutralized in these data. Overall, the facts of KK suggest that contrastive focus constructions deserve a place in the grammar of focus.

(1) Speaker A: *rana* *yaparachi,* *rana* *tsarɨwa-ka*[1]
3plM dance, 3plM be.happy-REI
'They dance, they celebrate'

Speaker B: *era* *ya=**pura**=nu* *tsarɨwa-ka* [$S_{=pura}$ V]
a.lot 3F=FOC=PL be.happy-REI
'(Yes,) they celebrate a lot'
Presupposition: <They celebrate>; assertion: TRUE <They celebrate>

(2) *ɨwati-tsui* *ts=umi* *[lima* *ritama=**pura**]* [S V $O_{=pura}$]
high-ABL 1SF-see Lima community –FOC
'From above, I see Lima city' {VL-RA.032}
Presupposition: <I see X>; assertion: <X= Lima city>

(3) a. *yaepe;* *[etse=**pura**]* *ya=mutsana-ka=tsuri.* [$O_{=pura}$ S V]
there 1LF=FOC 3F=medicine-REI=PST3
'Then, he bewitched me' {CB-RA.060}
Presupposition: <he bewitched X>; assertion: <X=me>
Set of alternatives: <mother, grandmother, me>

b. *[yamua=**pura**=muki]* *hasta* *aypuka* *tsa=kakɨrɨ* [$COM_{=pura}$ S V]
other =FOC=COM until currently 1SF-live
'With the other one (last husband) I live up to now' {07OCT1-RA.157}
Presupposition: <I live with X>; assertion: <X= 5th husband>
Set of alternatives: <1st husband, 2nd husband…>

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[1] ABBREVIATIONS: underscore=stress, ABL=ablative, COM=commitative, FOC=focus, PL=plural, PST=past, REI=reiterative, 1LF= first person singular long form female speech, 1SF=first person singular short form female speech, 3F=third person singular female speech, 3plM=third person plural male speech

Eva van Lier, Kees Hengeveld and Jan Don

Flexibility and levels of grammar

There is an ongoing debate about the question whether truly ‘flexible’ languages exist, i.e. languages in which there are no separate classes of verbs and nouns. If so, such languages would stand in sharp contrast to ‘differentiated’ languages, which do have specialized lexical categories (Hengeveld & Rijkhoff 2005, Peterson 2005). However, it has also been claimed that the differences between flexible and differentiated languages are in fact not so radical (Evans & Osada 2005, Croft 2005).

Recently, in detailed descriptive work on candidate flexible languages the claim has been advanced that in these languages linguistic units of any type of internal structure remain flexible until they are inserted at the final level of phrase structure (Peterson 2006 for Kharia; Himmelmann in press for Tagalog). This means that not only roots, but also derived, inflected, phrasal and clausal linguistic units are flexible, in the sense that they too can be used in predicative as well as in referential function, without any formal marking. In contrast, typical differentiated languages would be characterized by the fact that all content roots must immediately be turned into categorized words, i.e. nouns or verbs, which are then restricted to usage as the head of a verb phrase or a noun phrase, respectively (at least if no further derivation is applied).

However, it has been proposed that these two cases, maximally flexible versus fully differentiated languages, in fact represent the extreme ends of a scale. (Haig unpublished; XXX submitted). This would mean that there are cases, i.e. specific construction types within individual languages, in which categorization neither takes place at the root level, nor is postponed until the final level of phrase structure. Rather, it occurs at some intermediate level between these two extremes.

The present paper investigates this idea with a focus on lexical and syntactic derivations in languages for which a lack of categorization at the root-level has been proposed. It provides evidence for various cut-off points for categorization in these languages. Some languages (such as Kharia and Tagalog) appear to be maximally flexible to the extent that syntactic derivations can still be used in any phrase-structural slot. In other languages (for example Samoan, see Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992; Mosel 2004), syntactic derivations produce categorized output structures, whereas lexically derived forms remain flexible. Finally, there are languages in which both lexical and syntactic derivations may yield categorized constructions (Kambera, see Klamer 1998).

These data suggests that the notion of ‘flexibility’ should not be applied to a language as a whole, but rather to specific construction types. In other words, any language is expected to combine a certain amount of flexibility with a certain amount of differentiation. The predominance of each of these two opposing factors, and the grammatical level at which they play al role, provides a promising window on (the limits of) linguistic diversity.

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Martine Vanhove

Clause order change in Beja (North Cushitic): Syntax, information structure, and prosody in temporal and conditional clauses

The issue of the relationship between prosody and morphosyntax is crucial in studies on discourse analysis and information structure (e.g. Chafe 1994n Lambrecht 1994, Büring 2007), even more so for unscripted languages. In addition, recent researches in various theoretical frameworks have shown that there is no necessary congruence between morphosyntactic units and prosodic units in spontaneous oral discourse (e.g. Berrendonner 2002, Morel et Danon-Boileau 1998, Rossi 1999, Cresti and Moneglia 2005). Within the long-standing debate on the opposition between sentence and utterance, these researches also add support to the assumption that the basic unit for oral discourse is not the sentence, but the utterance or the period or the paragraph, depending on the theory.

More often than not, the syntactic assumptions of typologists and descriptive linguists alike concerning the canonical constituent order of a given language are based on written or elicited data. Scarcely is attention paid to spontaneous oral discourse and their prosodic contours.

Within this general background, my presentation will deal more specifically with the issue of constituent order change in one language, Beja, an unscripted language belonging to the Northern branch of the Cushitic phylum. Beja is usually (and rightly so from a strict syntactic viewpoint) described as an SOV language, with a Dependent–Matrix clause order. Still other constituent orders can also be observed, and are not statistically marginal. It will be shown that discursive and pragmatic reasons are at stake, and that they can be traced back through prosodic cues (melody contours, rhythm, pauses, pitch resets). Illustration will be provided by the study of constituent order change in temporal and conditional clauses, which, at the level of information structure, usually consitute the frame setting of the utterance. The analysis cannot hold when the clause order is reversed, or when prosodic contours clearly indicate final boundary. Depending on the prododic contour, the information is either backgrounded or highlighted. Examples 1 and 2 below show (i) that the concepts of dependent and matrix clause are not always relevant for oral discourse, and (ii) that clauses syntactically marked as dependent can even be fully independent at the syntactic and information levels, as mirrored by the prosodic contours. Examples will taken from spontaneous narratives collected by the author during fieldwork in Sudan.

The results presented are part of an ongoing joint project on a pilot online corpus for Afroasiatic languages (*Oral Corpus in Afroasiatic languages: prosodic and morphosyntactic analysis*, ANR grant ANR-06-CORP-018), which indexes the transcription to the sound file, and analyses the intonative and morphosyntactic structures of the languages surveyed.

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Examples

Ex. 1

umbaruuk darri=yeek *id=heeb* *ini (p) //↓*
2M.SG.NOM kill\INT\IPFV3M.SG=COND say\PFV3M.SG=1SG.ACC say\PFV3M.SG
ti-mendikwiyaay aniw=hook ***umbawuuk darri=yeek (p) /↑***
DEF.F-rifle give\IPFV1SG=2SG.ACC 2M.SG.NOM kill\INT\IPFV2M.SG=COND
oon ani t-ʔarabiyaay=wa / oo-maal w-haay
DEM.M.SG.ACC 1SG.NOM DEF.F-car=COOR DEF.M.SG.ACC-fortune DEF.M.SG-with
yʔ-a-b akati=yeeb=wa / kass=oo aniw=hook //↓
come-GER-M be\IPFV1SG=REL.M=COOR all=3SG.ACC give\IPFV1SG=2SG.ACC

(I won't kill the leopard, he told me, he said.) '**You, if you kill it**, he told me, he said. I'll give you the rifle **if you kill it**, as for me, I'll give you the car and all the fortune that I brought.' (Foreigner 7-9)

Ex. 2

door=ka kwirbaaʤ dhaay dʔi / hasara uu-tak (p) /
time=DIST whip DIR do\AOR1SG EXCL DEF.M.SG.N-man
w-ʔabki-b (p) / iwnin (p) / i-kaam=oo
DEF.M.SG-take\AOR3M.SG-REL.M be_angry\PFV3M.SG DEF.M-chameau=3SG.ACC
yi-bki=na=yib (p) / ***hoos=i itab***
DEF.M.PL-take\AOR3MSG=CONTRAST=REL.M LOC=1SG.ACC fill\REFL\PFV3M.SG
iiha-n=hoob//↓ *ya iraanay oon oo-dar*
be\PFV3M.SG-LINK=TEMP VOC EXCL DEM.M.SG.ACC DEF.M.SG.ACC-side
umbariyoo mišʔari eefeen / uun ani lheeyt (p) /
3M.SG.ACC cameleer be\IPFV3PL DEM.M.SG.NOM 1SG.N tomorrow
yʔarib-t kam=eet abari/ too-ri//↓
go_to_well\AOR1SG-REL.F she-camel\PL=REL.F have\PFV1SG DEF.F.SG.ACC-well//

When I was whipping it, gosh, the man who was holding it got angry, the one who was holding his camel well; **while he was despising me.** (He said): 'Gosh, in that direction there are cameleers, as for me, tomorrow, I am going to the well with the she-camels I have, to the well.' (Mismar 35-41)

Elisabeth Verhoeven

Animacy hierarchy and argument hierarchy in conflict:
Constraints on Object-Topicalization in Korean

A central issue in contemporary language typology is the impact of different hierarchical concepts of syntactic properties and the interaction between them: (a) the hierarchy of syntactic functions (subject > object), (b) the topicality hierarchy (topic > non-topic), and (c) the animacy hierarchy (animate > inanimate). Optimal constructions result from the harmonic alignment of these hierarchies: consider a sentence in which the subject is animate and topical and the object is inanimate and non-topical. Conflicts between these hierarchies result in constructions that are less typical: consider a sentence with an inanimate and non-topical subject. The world's languages display several constraints that ban suboptimal constructions of this type, but the kind of constraints and the range of constructions that are banned are highly language specific: hence, it is a task of language description to identify the exact locus of the constraint in the respective object language and the range of constructions that are excluded.

In my paper, I discuss primary data from Korean elicited with native speakers. The relevance of Korean for the typological problem at issue is that (a) it exemplifies a well delimited constraint of this type and (b) that it provides evidence for a possible functional reason for such a constraint in a particular grammar, namely paradigmatic exclusion.

Korean experiencer object verbs typically occur in the word order 'subject-object-V'. As generally holds for transitive clauses in this language, it is possible to topicalize the undergoer constituent which results in the 'object-subject-V' order, as exemplified in (1) and (2). However, when the object outranks the subject in the animacy hierarchy, as exemplified in (3), inanimate subject & animate object, and in (4), 3.SG subject & 1.SG object, the construction of object topicalization is ungrammatical (notice that the constructions that correspond to (3) and (4) without object topicalization are grammatical).

My empirical study shows that there are three factors that influence the topicalization of object constituents in Korean:

A. The first factor is the relative position of the arguments on the animacy hierarchy, as exemplified through the minimal pairs (1) vs. (3) and (2) vs. (4).

B. The second factor is the case marking of the fronted argument. It will be shown that the constraint applies to case-ambiguous topicalized arguments. When the argument bears both a topic marker and a case suffix (as in the case of dative arguments), then there is no restriction on animacy.

C. The third factor is the availability of alternative constructions that may potentially encode the same situation. Examples (1) to (4) exemplify a causative experiencer object verb. Parallel to this paradigm, Korean also displays basic stative experiencer-oriented verbs that may be used with topicalized experiencers. (A sentence completion task performed by eight native speakers provides evidence that speakers choose the basic stative verbs with a topicalized experiencer in relevant contexts.)

Factor A is predictable from the known cross-linguistic preferences: The ungrammatical construction instantiates a case of conflict between the animacy hierarchy, the argument hierarchy and the topicality hierarchy. Without B and C, however, the animacy constraint would look as a random instantiation of universal preferences. Factors B and C elucidate the functional delimitation of the constraint at issue. Factor B shows that there is some interaction with ambiguity: it does not apply to non-ambiguous NPs. Factor C shows that the application of the constraint is motivated through semantic blocking. Since an alternative construction is available for the topicalization of the argument in question, the conflicting constellation does not occur.

(1) *haengin-➔n* *kunin-i* *kipp➔-ke* *haess-ta*
pedestrian-TOP soldier- NOM happy-ADVR do:CMPL-DECL
'As for the pedestrian, the soldier made him happy.'

(2) *haengin-➔n* *nae-ka* *kipp➔-ke* *haess-ta*
pedestrian-TOP 1.SG- NOM please-ADVR do:CMPL-DECL
'As for the pedestrian, I made him happy.'

(3) **haengin-➔n* *kamera-ka* *kipp➔-ke* *haess-ta.*
pedestrian-TOP camera-NOM happy-ADVR do:CMPL-DECL
int.: 'As for the pedestrian, the camera made him happy.'

(4) **na-n➔n* *kunin-i* kipp➔-ke haess-ta.
1.SG-TOP soldier- NOM happy-ADVR do:CMPL-DECL
int.: 'As for me, the soldier made me happy.'

Jean-Christophe Verstraete

Contact-induced restructuring of pronominal morphosyntax in Umpithamu
Between free pronouns and enclitic agreement marking

This paper will examine the morphosyntactic status of pronominal elements in Umpithamu, a Paman language from Cape York Peninsula, Australia. I will first show that these elements do not easily fit into established typologies of pronominal morphosyntax, like bound versus free forms (eg Dixon 2002), or agreement markers versus pronominal arguments (eg Evans 2002, Baker 2002), and that criteria like stress assignment, length, position, and distribution produce conflicting categorizations. I will then argue that the unusual status of pronominal elements in Umpithamu can be explained as a consequence of restructuring induced by contact with the Lamalamic languages to the south (see also Rigsby 1997). I will use syntactic and historical-comparative evidence to show that the free pronominal forms of Umpithamu were drawn into a model of enclitic agreement marking found in the Lamalamic, leading to hybrid forms with the internal structure of free pronouns and the external morphosyntax of agreement clitics.

Umpithamu is a split ergative language, with ergative-absolutive alignment for lexical elements, and nominative-accusative alignment for pronominal ones. Examples (1)-(3) illustrate the most typical characteristics of pronominal morphosyntax at the clause level. Pronouns typically occur right after the verb, without any intervening material, and different case forms are bound to each other, as in (1) and (3), with nominative preceding other cases. Pronouns never take positions associated with lexical arguments, but typically serve as cross-reference for such arguments. In general morphosyntactic terms, therefore, the basic uses in (1)-(3) suggest an analysis as an enclitic cluster with an emerging agreement function.

In addition, however, there are also a number of features that contradict this analysis. Umpithamu pronouns are enclitic in terms of their fixed position relative to the verb, without intervening material, but they are like free forms in terms of stress and length, with their own stress pattern, and relatively long forms of up to five syllables, as in (3). Moreover, they can also occur in clause-initial position when one of the referents is in focus, as in (4). This is not just problematic for the clitic analysis, but also for the agreement analysis, since the elements are subject to information-structural operations that are normally reserved for arguments.

From a comparative perspective, the situation in Umpithamu is equally unusual. Even though the language can be shown to belong to the Middle Paman subgroup, sharing phonological and morphological innovations with Ayapathu and several Wik languages, its pronominal morphosyntax is quite different from the typical Middle Paman pattern, which has morphologically distinct free and clitic forms, with free forms showing the distribution of lexical arguments, as in (5), and clitic forms used sparingly for cross-reference. In this sense, Umpithamu pronouns are exceptional both in typological and in comparative terms.

In this paper, I will bring together the morphosyntactic and the historical-comparative evidence to propose a model that can account for the unusual characteristics observed in Umpithamu. I will argue that the most likely scenario producing the combination of features is one of contact-induced restructuring towards the model of Umbuygamu and Mbarrumbathama, the Lamalamic languages in which Umpithamu speakers were traditionally fluent (Rigsby 1997). I will show that the external morphosyntax of pronominal elements is an almost exact copy of the Lamalamic system, with pronominal elements occurring in clusters with an agreement function, typically encliticized to the verb, as in (6), or in clause-initial position in focus contexts. I will also show that, unlike in Lamalamic where the elements have the reduced form typical of clitics, the morphological material in Umpithamu is drawn from the free pronoun system of Middle Paman. I will argue that this is what produced the hybrid forms of Umpithamu, with the external characteristics of agreement clitics and the internal characteristics of free forms. I will also suggest that the retention of the free forms in the clitic position indicates that restructuring may have been relatively recent.

Examples

Umpithamu (Australia; Middle Paman, Pama-Nyungan)

(1) anharra watyu-n ilu-ungku
sw.crocodile spear-PST 3SG.NOM-3SG.ACC
'He speared the saltwater crocodile.'

(2) omoro yongki-n iluwa
father come-PST 3SG.NOM
'Father came.'

(3) ngaympi-n iluwa-athungku
hit-PST 3SG.NOM-1SG.ACC
'He hit me.'

(4) ilu-ungku ayngkini-n
3SG.NOM-3SG.ACC send-PST
'He was the one who sent her away'

Kugu Nganhcara (Australia; Middle Paman, Pama-Nyungan)

(5) nhila pama-ng nathurum nhingurumala putpi-nga
3SG.NOM man-ERG 1SG.ABL 3SG.REFL hide-CAUS
'That man hid himself from me.' (Smith & Johnson 2000: 398)

Umbuygamu (Australia; Lamalamic, Pama-Nyungan)

(6) anharr langa-n la-ngan
sw.crocodile spear-PST 3SG.NOM-3SG.ACC
'He speared the saltwater crocodile.'

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Syntax of the World's Languages III

Title : « Information structure in Colloquial Burmese, a highly contextual language »

Abstract :
Burmese is a Tibeto-burman language spoken almost exclusively in Burma (Myanmar). A typological sketch will describe Burmese as a tonal language with a strong tendency to monosyllabicity, without inflection morphology (gender, number, agreement...), without overt-marking for grammatical tense, and with a 'optionality' of grammatical markers as many others SouthEast Asian languages (ref. Bisang 1996, Enfield 2003 , Matisoff 1989). Syntactically, it is a Verb-final language with mainly modifier-head order. Moreover — or should we say given the previous morphosyntactic features — Burmese is also a highly contextual language, that is to say a language where many information does not appear formally and is inferred from the situational context, as shown by example (1), where the participants ('Young Burmese women') of the States of Affairs (SoAs) in the last sentences (b, b' & c) are expressed neither as a NP, nor as an anaphoric pronoun.
Therefore, morphosyntactic structure is definitely linked to pragmatic one, and nominal markers may be analyzed as a syntactic device as well as pragmatic one as shown by example (2). In this example, the 'Nominative/Source' morpheme က /Ka'/ appearing in the transitive SoA in (2a) is also used as the topicalizing marker of a intransitive SoA in (2b). However it is not obligatory as illustrated by (2c).

After a brief introduction to Burmese morphosyntax, we will first show the strategy used by Burmese to indicate the *topic referent*, and the means to mark a linguistic expression explicitly as a *topic* (i.e. topicalization).
Then, we will examine different types of *focus* — i.e. narrow focus, broad focus and contrastive focus — some of which involve morphosyntactic device such as nominalization (example 3).
Finally, we will focus on the nominal marker ကို /ko/, that illustrates perfectly the deep links between morphosyntax and pragmatic given his polyfunctionality : indeed it is used :
- as a directional marker of an motion verb argument,
- as an optional object marker in sentences with expected order of the constituents (SOV),
- as a topic marker in sentences with unexpected order of the constituents (OSV),
- as an emphatic marker in topicalized phrase already marked as a *topic*,
- as part of modal expressions conveying 'definiteness' (example 4).

Examples:

(1) a. မြန်မာ့ အမျိုးသမီး တွေ ဟာ အလုပ် ကြိုးစား တယ် ။

myaNma´	**ʔe`myoθe`mi-Twe**	**h**a	ʔəloʔ	`co͡Sa	Tɛ
Myanmar.GEN	young women - plur.	**TOP**	work	to apply o.s. to	PVF:REALIS

Burmese young women apply themselves to work.

b. သတ္တိ ရှိ တယ် ။

θaʔti´	ʃí´	Tɛ
courage	to have	PVF: Realis.assert

[They] are brave;

b'. ချွေတာ တယ် ။

chweTa	Tɛ
be thrifty	PVF: REALIS

[They] are thrifty;

c. မိသားစု ပေါ် အချိန် ပေးတယ် ။

miˆθazuˊ	Pɔ	ʔəchɛiN	`pe	Tɛ
family	on	time	give	PVF: REALIS

[They] spend time to [take care of] their families.

(2) ဝင်းဝင်းမော်က ကျမကို ထူးဆန်းတဲ့နေရာတွေကို လိုက်ပို့ပေးတယ် ။

`wiN`win`mɔ	**Kaˊ**	cəmaˊ	Ko	`thu`shaN	Tɛˊ	neya-Twe	Ko
Win Win Maw	S.	1SG	DAT	be strange	REL:R	place-PLUR	DIR

laiʔ-poˊ	`pe	Tɛ
to drive s.o.	AUX:benef.	PVF:REALIS

Win Win Maw, (she) drive/drove me in strange places.

b. ကျွန်မ လျှောက် သွား တယ် ။

cəma	Ø	ʃɔʔ	`θwa	Tɛ
1SG (F.P.)	Ø	VV:erratiq.	to go	PVF:REALIS

I go/went for a walk. [I traipsed round]

c. ကောင်မလေးက တော် တယ် ၊ သိ လား ။

kɔNmaˊ `le	**Kaˊ**	tɔ	Tɛ	θiˊ	`la
young girl	**TOP**	be smart	PVF:REALIS	know	QST

This young girl, (she) is smart, you know !!

(3) a. မနေ့က သူ နဲ့ ကျွန်တော် တွေ့ တယ်။

məneˊkaˊ	θu	nɛˊ	cənɔ	tweˊ	Tɛ
yesterday	3SG	with	1SG	to meet	PVF:REALIS

I met him yesterday.

b. သူ နဲ့ ကျွန်တော် တွေ့ တာ မနေ့က ပါ ။

θu	nɛˊ	cənɔ	tweˊ	Ta	məneˊkaˊ	Pa
[3SG	with	1SG	to meet	NOM:REALIS]$_{NP1}$	[yesterday]$_{NP2}$	Politeness

It is <u>yesterday</u>$_{focus}$ that I met him [the fact I met him was yesterday]

(4) မနက်ဖြန် စာမေးပွဲ ရှိကိုရှိမယ် ။

mənɛʔphyaN	sa-`me-`pwe	ʃiˊ	**Ko**	ʃiˊ	mɛ
tomorrow	exam	<u>to have</u>	**PTC**	<u>to have</u>	PVF:IRREALIS

The exam will take place tomorrow for sure.

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Sylvie Voisin

Causation in Wolof

In this presentation, we want to expose both a canonical distribution of several markers of causation in the point of view of Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002) and the emergence of a specific suffix expressing a single meaning of sociative causation in Wolof, an Atlantic language spoken in Senegal.

In the literature of causative constructions, the semantics has received an important attention, as the different syntactic operations involving in causative derivation. The common meanings of causative constructions are direct *vs*. indirect, intentional *vs*. unintentional, and recently, sociative (Comrie, (1985), Dixon (2000) and Kulikov (2001)). The particularity of this last meaning is be included in a scale where the extremities are the direct / indirect opposition. In this view, Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002) described a semantic continuum of markers of causation. This continuum can be have different configurations according languages, and several markers can shown some semantics overlaps.

In this way, the five suffixes of causation in Wolof are a great illustration of this continuum, and also add a new way of observation. The causative suffix *-e* has direct meaning and, is limited to a handful of intransitive verbs (Cf. (1)). A productive way of deriving causative forms from intransitive verbs in Wolof is to add *-al*, implying a direct involvement of the causer in the event caused (Cf. (2)). Suffixes carrying a meaning of indirect causation are *–loo* and *–lu* (Cf. (3)). The suffix *–loo* occurs in typical causative constructions, it is not limited to intransitive verbs, and semantically implies indirect causation. The suffix *–lu* differs from *–loo*. With *–lu*, the referent of the subject is presented as having another participant, not mentioned in the construction, acting as the immediate agent.
Among these causative suffixes, the *–le* derivation, is specialized to the expression of a particular type of causation, namely sociative causation, in which the causer is not the only initiator or controller of the event, but crucially contributes to the realization of an event in which the causee takes an active part (‘help someone do something’) (Cf. (4)) (Voisin, 20002).

In the typological literature, sociative causation is typically presented as a possible reading of regular causative construction as do the others suffixes *–al*, *–lu* and *–loo* in Wolof, rarely as a specific marker as for *–le*.

In Rose & Guillaume (forthcoming), the same specificity is described for several South American languages. We can see partially the same features for this kind of derivation (e.g. a specific distribution of sociative marker on only one class of verbs, intransitive or transitive according languages). In Wolof and South American languages, markers of sociative causation are linked with an applicative marker. In South American languages, the sociative markers show a syncretism with an applicative derivation. In Wolof, the sociative marker is diachronically compounded with an applicative marker.
In their paper, following features of South American languages, the authors bring together sociative and applicative markers into the phenomenon of applicative / causative syncretism. In theses languages, the sociative marker has the same form of the applicative derivation. They postulate, according to the characteristics of theses languages, an extension of the applicative derivation to the sociative causative meaning. This explanation is the reverse of the hypothesis postulated by Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001). With the data of Wolof, we propose to confirm that applicative derivation is a possible source of sociative causation.

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Wolof examples extracted from Voisin (2002 & forthcoming)

(1) a. *génn na ci diggu kër*
go.out PRF.S.3SG LOC yard
‘He/she went out in the yard.’

b. *génn-e na guro yu sànkar yépp*
go out-CAUS PRF.S.3SG cola.nut LINK be.with.worms all
‘He/she took out all the cola nuts that had worms.’

(2) a. *Tan mi dal na ci médd mi.*
vulture DEF alight P3S LOC carrion DEF
The vulture alighted on the carrion.

b. *Mu né ñu dal-al leen fii.*
N3S say N3P put.down-CAUS O3P here
He says that they put them here.

(3) a. *ñaw naa roob*
sew PRF.S.1SG dress
‘I sewed a dress.’

b. *ñaw-lu naa roob*
sew-CAUS PRF.S.1SG dress
‘I had a dress sewn.’

c. *ñaw-loo naa ko roob*
sew-CAUS PRF.S.1SG O.3SG dress
‘I had him/her sew a dress.’

(4) a. *Tabax naa kër-am.*
build P1S house-POSS3S
‘I built his house.’

b. *Tabax-le naa ko kër-am.*
build-CAUS P1S O3S house-POSS3S
‘I helped him build his house.’

Anna Volkova

Towards specific features of dative experiencer predicates:
the case of long-distance binding in four Finno-Ugric languages

The proposed paper is on reflexive binding in subordinate clauses with dative experiencer predicates in four Finno-Ugric languages, spoken in Russia -- Mari, Komi-Zyrian, Erzya and Udmurt. The distribution of anaphoric expressions (and reflexives above all) is generally very well studied, but these four languages have never attracted syntacticians' attention before and present an interesting case of violation of opacity elements hierarchy [Manzini, Wexler 1987] and [Dalrymple 1993]. The data below was compiled during several field work sessions in 2000-2006 in Summer linguistic expeditions, organized by the Moscow State University.

Background: Mari, Udmurt and Erzya each has two reflexives. One of them is a compound local reflexive (Mari škenžəm ške, Udmurt asəze ač'iz, and Erzya es' pr'et') bound within nucleus domain in terms of [Dalrymple 1993], meaning that the reflexive pronoun can occur only in argument structure of a predicate. Besides there is a simple reflexive pronoun (Mari ške, Udmurt ač'iz, and Erzya es'). Mari ške can be used both locally and non-locally, and is bound within the minimal finite domain. It implies that ške in the dependent finite clause can not be coreferent with an argument of the matrix clause. So does the only Komi-Zyrian reflexive pronoun ačis. Udmurt simple reflexive ač'iz is strictly local. Erzya simple reflexive es' is also strictly local and occurs only in two positions: in coargument and non-argument positions (in terms of [Testelets, Toldova 1998]).

Issue: Nevertheless there is a context where the constraints described above are violated in all four languages, namely the context of dative experiencer predicate. Being an argument of a dative experiencer predicate in a relative finite dependent clause simple reflexives in Mari, Komi-Zyrian and Erzya described above unambiguously refer to the argument of the main clause (1-3). The strictly local Udmurt simple reflexive ač'iz can be used in non-finite relative clause to refer to the argument of the main clause (4). The examples of such predicates <Dat, V, Nom> (5) are Mari kelšaš 'like', čučaš 'seem', Komi-Zyrian kažitčiny 'like', Udmurt jaranə 'love', and Erzya er'ave 'need'.

Proposed explanation: I consider this phenomenon to be another piece of evidence that the choice of controller of a reflexive pronoun is not just an issue of structural relations among constituents. Other factors such as semantic roles, word order, animacy/inanimacy of the referents should be taken into consideration. In this particular case the position of the possible antecedent of a reflexive pronoun on a semantic roles scale (Ag < Exp < St < Pt) seems to be relevant. While searching for a controller the reflexive pronoun which is an Experiencer rejects the possibility of being controlled by a local subject-Stimuli and goes beyond the boundaries of the clause for an Agent which is higher on the semantic roles scale.

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(1) Mari

a. p'etər-lan pört [kud-əm šken-ž-lan van'u
Peter-DAT$_i$ house that-ACC Refl-POSS3SG-DAT$*_{i/j}$ Ivan$_j$
čoŋ-a] kelš-a
build-PRS+3SG like-PRS+3Sg
Peter likes the house that Ivan builds for himself.

b. p'et'a [kudo imne ška-lan-že kelš-en] van'alanpölekl-en
Peter$_i$ that horse Refl-DAT-POSS3SG**$_{i/*j}$** like-PRT+3SG Ivan-DAT$_j$ present-PRT+3SG
Peter gave Ivan as a present a horse that he (=Peter) liked.

(2) Komi-Zyrian

a. p′eta tədməd-i-s vas'a-əs nyv-kəd [kody aslys radejt-i-s]
Peter$_i$ introduce-Pst1-3 Vasya-Acc$_j$ girl-Comit$_k$ who Refl.Dat.3$*_{i/k}$ love-Pst1-3
Peter introduced Vasya to a girl who loves herself.

b. bat'-əs tədməd-i-s pi-sə nyv-kəd [kody aslys kažitč-i-s]
father$_i$ introduce-Pst1-3 son-Acc.3$_j$ girl-Comit$_k$ who Refl.Dat.3$_{i/*k}$ like-Pst1-3
Father introduced his son to a girl whom he (=father) liked.

(3) Erzya [Ivanov, Fed'ko 2006]

a. pet'e'-s' ar-s' loman-t'e [kona-s'tij-s' es'-t'e-nde kuda]
Peter-DF$_i$ come-PST.3.SG man-DAT$_j$ who-DF build REFL-DAT-3SG$*_{i/j}$ house.NOM
Peter came to visit a man, who built him a house.

b.p'et'e-s' maksy-ze van'e-t'e lošad' [kona-s' es'-t'e-nde er'ave]
Peter-DF $_i$ present-PST.3SG Ivan–DF.DAT$_j$horse that-DF REFL-DAT-3SG$_i$ need.3SG
Peter gave Ivan as a present a horse that he (=Peter) needed himself.

(4) Udmurt

a. ivan mən-i-z [as-lə-z korka baš't-əš'] aď'ami dor-ə.
Ivan$_i$ came-Pst1-3 Refl-Dat-3$*_{i/j}$ house buy-Act.Part man$_j$ to
Ivan came to a man, who bought himself a house.

b. pet'a kəšnəjaš'k-i-z [as-lə-z jara-m] nəl vəl-e.
Peter$_i$ married-Pst1-3 Refl-Dat-3$_{i/*j}$ love-Part1 girl$_j$ with
Peter married a girl, whom he loved.

(5) Mari

mələnem futbol kelš-a.
I.DAT football like-PRS+3SG
I like football.

Kilu von Prince

Nominal Linkers in Three Languages

From the more familiar European languages, we are used to the notion that nouns can be modified by adjectives, participles, relative clauses, genitive constructions and adpositional phrases (as in *the book on the table*). However, in a significant number of languages, two or more of these attributive structures are conflated into one. Thus, in a survey about relative clauses, adjectives and genitives, 61 out of 138 languages merge at least two of the three modificational structures (Gil 2005: 246). One widespread strategy to derive nominal modifiers from a range of different categories involves the use of a certain type of particle which I will refer to as "(nominal) linkers", following the lead of Marcel den Dikken and Pornsiri Singhapreecha (2004).

Recent years have seen the first attempts to give a unified description of those elements over different languages (e.g. Den Dikken and Singhapreecha 2004, Rubin 2002). Crosslinguistic investigations of the phenomenon, however, are hampered by the fact that in most languages, the particles in question have either been classified as one of the canonic categories (e.g. as adpositions or genitive markers) or have been given different, rather opaque terms such as "connective" (e.g. Moser 1974) or "a-binder" (Loogman 1965) in the case of Swahili.

In this talk, I will present data from Mandarin Chinese (MC), Hindi and Swahili, highlighting distributional similarities and differences of their respective linker elements. Parallels between linker constructions in the three languages become apparent in examples like (1)-(6). But whereas in MC, the particle *de* is obligatory in almost all cases of nominal modification – often even with lexical adjectives – the corresponding items in Hindi and Swahili are more restricted in their use and compete with alternative ways of modifying a noun such as relative clauses.

I will argue that exploring the range of variation in the usage of linker elements might not only provide profound insights into the nature of nominal modification but also offer new perspectives on the theory of categories.

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Examples

1. Verbal Modifiers

Hindi

(1) khāne k-ā svād
eat.OBL LK-M salt(M)
"table salt" (lit. "salt for eating")

Swahili

(2) maji y-a kunywa
water (6) 6-LK drink
"drinking water"

Mandarin Chinese

(3) chī de dōngxi
eat LK thing
"things to eat"

2. Nominal Modifiers

Hindi

(4) Rām kī kitāb
Ram LK.F book(F)
"Ram's book"

Swahili

(5) chumba ch-a Francis
room(7) 7-LK Francis
"Francis' room"

Mandarin Chinese

(6) Zhangsan de fangjian
Zhangsan LK room
"Zhangsan's room"

Claudia Wegener

'...and then it was his killing the giant?' - Structure and discourse functions of thetic clauses in Savosavo

This talk presents the structure and discourse functions of a dedicated event-central thetic clause type found in the Papuan isolate Savosavo, spoken in the Solomon Islands, based on a corpus of about 25h of first hand data. This clause structure is thetic in the sense that it presents a state of affairs as a whole (cf. Sasse 1987, 2006). Contrary to other uses of the term theticity in the literature (cf. Lambrecht 1987, 1994), this clause type is not restricted to all-new information, it is not only used for 'sentence-focus'. What is asserted in such a thetic clause in Savosavo is the existence of the state of affairs, regardless of whether parts of it are new in the discourse or not.

Structurally, it consists of a nominalized verbal clause (NVC) that expresses the state of affairs and functions as the predicate of a non-verbal presentational clause (1). It is an event-central thetic clause because, by nominalizing the clause, the verb remains the head of the resulting structure, while subject participant is structurally degraded to an adnominal modifier, a genitive NP. Although the state of affairs is nominalized, its internal syntax remains very clausal. Even the emphatic particle **te**, which is associated with the information structure of a clause, can be used, and it is possible to nominalize complex clauses consisting of a clause chain (2).

In Savosavo discourse, these thetic clauses are very common and found in almost all genres. They are in complementary distribution with finite verbal clauses.

The aim of this talk is to present the structure of these thetic clauses, and talk in more detail about their syntactic distribution. This is particularly interesting, as they are used to single out particular events, and are therefore used in very prominent, climactic positions in, e.g., a story or procedural text. This is very different to some typical functions of thetic clauses in other languages, e.g. weather expressions, background descriptions etc. (cf. Sasse 1987).

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Examples:

(1) **[Ko** **Ghulia** **ko** **mama** **ko** **te**
DET.SG.F Ghulia 3SG.F[GEN] mother 3SG.F[GEN] EMPH

lo=la **kasanga-ghu]$_{NVC}$=e** **(lo=na).**
3SG.M=LOC.M be.angry-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM.M
'Ghulia's mother was angry about that.', lit. 'Ghulia's mother her being angry about it (was) it.'

(2) **[To-va** **k-ate-a** **te=to**
3DU-GEN.M 3SG.F.O-hold-SS CONJ=3DU.NOM

piti-ghi-ghu]=e **(lo=na).**
tie-3SG.F.O-NMLZ=EMPH 3SG.M=NOM.M
'The two of them held her and tied her up.', lit. 'The two of them their holding her and tying her up (was) it.'

Abbreviations:
CONJ conjunction, DET determiner, DU dual, EMPH emphasis, F feminine, GEN genitive, LOC locative, M masculine, NMLZ nominalizer, NOM nominative, O object, SG singular, SS same-subject marking

Anton Zimmerling

Clitic-Second Languages and Verb-Second languages in a diachronic perspective

The paper discusses the relation of Germanic word order systems based on the Verb-Second Constraint (=V-2 systems) and word order systems with clitic clusters in clausal 2nd position (= systems with Wackernagel's Law ~ W-systems ~ systems with C-oriented clitics). V-2 languages are typologically rare outside Europe, while languages with 2nd position clitics are attested both in Old and Modern Indo-European Languages (cf. Hittite, Avestan, Old Greek, Old Novgorod Russian, Serbo-Croat, Czech, Slovene, Pashto, Ossete) and in a number of non-Indo-European languages, cf. Kabyle Berber (Afroasiatic), Lummi (Salish), Makah (Wakashan), Warlpiri and Djaru (Pama-Nyungan), Quiavini Zapotec (Otomangean), Mayo (Uto-Aztecan) etc. It is plausible that all languages with Wackernagel's law, irrespective of their genetic origin, share a number of constraints on clitic placement (clusterization rules, movement patterns, orientation of clitics), cf. [1], [2], [12], [5].

It is arguable that at least some V-2 languages have had Wackernagel's law on an earlier stage. This possibility was discussed already by Berthold Delbrück [6], who referred to Germanic languages. Recently, Stephen Anderson [4] repeated the same hypothesis:

(i) Pure W-systems → Systems with Verb-Second constraint.

According to Delbrück and Anderson, Germanic Verb-2 constraint emerged as a result of analogous leveling: 2nd position of clitic auxiliaries was later generalized for all verbal forms, stressed and unstressed. I will argue that Delbrück-Anderson's hypothesis is falsified by Old Germanic Data and propose an alternative explanation:

(ii) Germanic clitics have attracted finite verbal forms to clausal 2nd position.

Delbrück-Anderson's hypothesis predicts that after the generalization of the V-2 constraint the class of W-2 clitics was lost. We will demonstrate that Old Scandinavian languages have preserved a large class of pronominal and adverbial clitics; clitic clusters in clausal 2nd or clausal 3d position are attested up to the end of the 16th century. During this period the V-2 constraint was superimposed on an older system with Wackernagel's law. In Scandinavian main declaratives finite verb could either took 2nd position or move to clause-initial position (=V2/V1 constraint). Consequently, Old Scandinavian clitic clusters could end up in 2nd position only in verb-initial clauses (#Vf — CL), but had to take clausal 3d position in all other cases, where the preverbal position was filled by any other category (#XP — Vf — CL).

We will argue that Proto-Germanic W-2 clitics moved out of clausal 2nd position and left it vacant for finite verbals: W-2 clitics typically moved to the right, if the preceding category on some reasons cannot host them. An exact parallel is furnished by Modern Slovak (see illustration on page 2).

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Examples and Illustrations:

Old Icelandic. “Færeyinga saga”, ca. 1200-1210.

# Vf —| X n**d**/ **z**<|	# Vf — XP —| n**d**/ **z**<Y|
Vil |*ek* (1) *n**d***(2) | at vit farim b<**x**ir til Noregs| (Far 93) Lit. "Want |*I*(1) *now* (2)|, that we go.1.Pl.Opt. to Norway both"	ok er Ragnhildr |*n**d***(1) ***z***a*r eftir* (2)|, ok er hun flytt til bygg**x**a (Far 93) lit. "and is Ragnhildr |*now* (1) *there after* (2)|, and is she carried to the farmsteads"

Ferr=3Sg.Pres.\| ***z**at* =NOM (1) *n**d*** (2) *allt* (3)\| sv< sem **y**r<ndr=Nom.Sg. lag**x**i=3Sg.Pret. til (Far 96)

Lit. "Goes \| *it* (1) now (2) *all* (3)\| so as **y**r<ndr arranged"

Comment: Old Icelandic has a rule of clusterization, where particles n**d** “now”/ **z**< “then”take the central parts: pronominal clitics stand to the left of n**d** “now”/ **z**< “then”, unstressed adverbials and verbal particles stand to the right of n**d** “now”/ **z**< “then”. Clitic clusters can consist of 4-5 elements lacking phrasal stress.

Slovak

XP	CL	(YP)	VP
a) Aby That	*si* *for-oneself*	človek a man	[predstavil __ srazu] [could imagine__at once]
XP	Vfin	CL	YP
b) Vodič autobusu The bus driver	zapálil lighted	*si* for himself	cigaretu a cigarette

Comment: Modern Slovak is a W-2 language, where clitic clusters end up in 2nd second position, while the placement of finite verbal forms in most cases is irrelevant. This holds for reflexive and possessive clitics, too, cf. example (a). However, if the initial constituent is long (consists of more than one word)and has a syntactic structure of its own, possessive and reflexive clitics move one step to the right: in this case, clausal 2nd position is filled by moved verbal forms, cf. example (b).