Syntax of the World's Languages 5

1–4 October 2012
CAAS, Don Frane Bulića 4
Dubrovnik, Croatia

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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1. PROGRAMME

SYNTAX OF THE WORLD'S LANGUAGES 5

DUBROVNIK, OCTOBER 1 – OCTOBER 4, 2012

CAAS, Don Frana Bulića 4

PROGRAMME

SESSION A: Conference Hall, ground floor, CAAS

SESSION B: Room 4, 1st floor, CAAS

SESSION C: Room 5, 1st floor, CAAS

Conference office: Office 2, 1st floor, CAAS

Coffee will be served during breaks in the atrium of the CAAS

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1

8.30-9.15 REGISTRATION (Lobby of the CAAS, Don Frana Bulića 4)

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9.15-9.30	Opening of the conference		
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10.10-10.40	Leonid Kulikov: Quasi-denominatives in Sanskrit: evidence from ancient Indo-European for a typology of light verbs and denominatives	Enrique Palancar: Verbal inflection with applicative-like function: The adverbial tenses in Otomi-Mazahua	Sonia Cristofaro: Typological explanations in synchrony and diachrony: the evolution of adnominal possession

10.40-10.55 COFFEE

	SESSION A	SESSION B	SESSION C
10.55-11.25	Grete Dalmi: The meaning of the zero copula in multiple BE-system languages	Liina Lindström, Kristel Uiboaed: Word order variation in experiencer-object construction in Estonian	Ranko Matasović: Verbal and Adnominal Agreement: Areal Distribution and Typological Correlations
11.30-12.00	Hélène Gérardin, Arthur W. Laisis: Some thoughts on alignment change and grammatical categories in Ossetic	Ana Vilacy Galucio: Discourse and epistemic modality in Mekens: The counterfactual, counter-expectation or frustrative construction	Jerzy Gaszewski: Variability of Polish governed prepositions and its semantic effects
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12.35-15.00 LUNCH

	SESSION A:	SESSION B	SESSION C
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15.35-16.05	Natalia Bogomolova: Person agreement with non-canonical subjects in Tabasaran	Lynn Drapeau, Renée Lambert-Brétière: From preverbs to sequentiality markers: clause chaining in Innu	Michael Daniel, Victoria Khushurdian: Eastern Armenian: transitivizing or detransitivizing language?
16.10-16.40	Gérardin, Hélène: Georgian version morpheme and the reflexive-like grammaticalized noun *tavi*	Fernando Zúñiga: Algonquian relative root complements: A comparative perspective	Ian Roberts, Tim Bazalgette, Theresa Biberauer, Alison Biggs, Michelle Sheehan and Jenneke van der Wal: Two Statistical Typological Generalisations and their Consequences

16.40-17.00 COFFEE

	SESSION A	SESSION B	SESSION C
17.00-17.30	Dmitry Ganenkov: Today's syntax is yesterday's morphology: from affixes to clitics in the Lezgian TMA system	Lotta Jalava, Rigina Turunen: Nonverbal and complex verbal in Uralic	Martin Haspelmath, Andreea Calude, Michael Spagnol, Heiko Narrog, Elif Bamyaci: Coding causal-noncausal verb alternations: a form-frequency correspondence explanation
17.35-18.05	Diana Forker: Cases - non-cases: At the margins of the Tsezic case system	Tuomas J. Huumo, Kersten Lehismets: Ambipositions in Finnish: meaning, use, and conceptualization	Melania Duma: English-Romanian Code-Switching. Are there bilingual grammars?

18.10-19.10 PLENARY TALK: Bernard Comrie: *Differential Object Marking Revisited* (Conference Hall, ground floor, CAAS)

19.30-21.00 WELCOME RECEPTION (Atrium of the CAAS, Don Frana Bulića 4)

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	SESSION A	SESSION B	SESSION C
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10.05-10.35	Timur Maisak: Subject pronoun doubling in Agul: a corpus study of an unusual pattern	Don Killian: Interaction between information structure and case marking in Uduk, a Koman language of Sudan	

10.35-10.55 COFFEE

	SESSION A	SESSION B	SESSION C
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11.30-12.00	Johanna Nichols: AOV/verb-second word order in languages of the central Caucasus	Renée Lambert-Brétière: Clause linking devices in Kwoma	
12.05-12.35	Manana Karkashadze and Ether Soselia: Some peculiar *i*-prefixed verbal derivatives in Georgian	Daniela Katunar, Jana Willer-Gold, Tena Gnjatović: Achieving specificity in a determinerless language: Specificity markers in Croatian	

12.35-15.00 LUNCH

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15.35-16.05	Seppo Kittilä: Remarks on the Goal-Source asymmetry: how does animacy determine the coding of core vs. peripheral arguments	Adriana Molina-Munoz: On the Right Periphery: A Diachronic Study of Right-peripheral Relative Clauses in Hindi-Urdu	

16.10-16.40	Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Giorgio Iemmolo, Taras Zakharko, and Balthasar Bickel: The same but different: Formal discrepancies in determining alignment of agreement systems	Malgorzata Krzek: Structural Dative Case in Polish	

16.40-17.00 COFFEE

	SESSION A	SESSION B	SESSION C
17.00-17.30	Fernandez, Beatriz, Milan Rezac: A Basque approach to Differential Object Marking	Gabriela Alboiu, Virginia Hill: Resetting the Focus parameter in Romanian	
17.35-18.05	Carl Rubino: Idiosyncrasies in Tausug Ergative Case Patterning	Rusudan Asatiani: Information Structures of a Sentence: Cleft Questions in Megrelian and Laz	

18.10-19.10 PLENARY TALK: Robert D. Van Valin, Jr.: *Information Structure in Head-Marking Languages* (Conference Hall, ground floor, CAAS)

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10.05-10.35	Anita Peti-Stantić: Canonical and non-canonical clitic placement in free word order language	Johan van Niekerk: The Complex Passive in Afrikaans – A Case of Syntactic Incorporation	

10.35-10.55 COFFEE

	SESSION A	SESSION B	SESSION C
10.55-11.25	Dejan Matić, Irina Nikolaeva: Island violations in Tundra Nenets and Tundra Yukaghir	Oleg Belyaev: The syntax of clitic climbing in Ossetic	
11.30-12.00	Maria Ovsjannikova, Sergey Say: Constituency in Bashkir genitival constructions: between predicative and attributive possession	Tobias Weber: Agent marking splits conditioned by information structure: finding the relevant factors	
12.05-12.35	David Gil: Person Marking in Noun-Phrases	Alexander Letuchiy: One type of non-canonical transitive constructions: so-like constructions	

12.35-15.00 LUNCH

	SESSION A	SESSION B	SESSION C
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15.35-16.05	Elena Rudnitskaya: Morphosyntax of a numeral phrase with a classifier in Korean – the Synactic Predication inside DP analysis	Ksenia Shagal: Russian participial Syntax from a Slavic perspective	
16.10-16.40	Huy Linh Dao: On the Syntax and Semantics of Imperative Clauses in Vietnamese	Nina Dobrushina: Subjunctive complement clauses in Russian	

19.30 CONFERENCE DINNER (Restaurant "Sesame")

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4

	SESSION A	SESSION B	SESSION C
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10.05-10.35	Andrea Sansò: Nominalization-based impersonal and passive constructions as a cross-linguistic type	Natalia Zevakhina: Syntax of exclamative constructions in the world's languages	

10.35-10.55 COFFEE

	SESSION A	SESSION B	SESSION C
10.55-11.25	Ronald P. Schaefer, Francis O. Egbokhare: Emai Coordination Strategies for Clause Linkage	Sonja Riesberg: Are passive agents really adjuncts? Another look at asymmetrical and symmetrical voice alternations	
11.30-12.00	Ricardo Etxepare, Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria: On the different crosslinguistic sources of transitive necessity modal predicates	Saskia van Putten: Left-dislocation and syntactic integration in Avatime	
12.05-12.15	Closing of the conference		

12.15-16.00 LUNCH

16.00 DUBROVNIK SIGHTSEEING TOUR (Meet in front of the CAAS, Don Frana Bulića 4)

2. ABSTRACTS

Gabriela Alboiu, Virginia Hill

Resetting the Focus parameter in Romanian

This is a case study of syntactic variation and change: the level of verb (V) movement in Early Modern Romanian (EMR – 16th to 18th c.) declarative clauses, where the verb is either high (1) or low (2) in relation to clitics. (1) and (2) occur in free alternation. We argue that (1) arises from V-to-Focus. This goes against the standard justification in terms of Wackernagel's law (*W-l*), which would apply in EMR but not in Modern Rom (MR).

Background. *Historical linguistics* assigns the word order in (1) to a phonological requirement on second position clitics, i.e. *W-l* (Frânceu 2009 a.o.). Thus, EMR belongs to the typological group that includes old Romance ((Meyer-Lübke 1890) and Slavic languages (Slawski 1946). For some reason, MR lost *W-l*. *Generative grammar* assigns a particular configuration to *W-l*: Rivero (1993) argues that *W-l* triggers Long Head Movement (LHM), i.e., the non-finite verb stem raises across clitics (pronouns and/or auxiliary), targeting the highest head position (X^o) in the clause (1a). This operation occurs in complementary distribution with the fronting of phrasal constituents (XP). Thus, *W-l* triggers either [X^o > Clitic] or [XP > Clitic] orders.

Objective. We check on the application of *W-l* in EMR from Rivero's perspective. The main data source: the Moldavian chronicles (17th-18th c.). Framework: the clause cartography in Rizzi (1997), where LHM means V movement to Force in the hierarchy [Force > Topic > Focus > Finite > IP] (Fischer 2003).

Analysis. First, EMR displays both finite (1b) and non-finite (1a) verb stems above the clitics; hence, we have V fronting, not only LHM. Second, V fronting/LHM co-occur with phrasal constituents fronted to Topic (3). This invalidates *W-l* as the trigger: the enclitics occur in 3rd, 4th position. Furthermore, the first written texts, translated from Church Slavonic display "mistakes" in the placement of clitics (4): we see LHM plus proclitics. Although double spell-out of clitics is common at this time (5), it involves low V movement, not LHM/V fronting. We found no evidence of *W-l* in EMR. On the other hand, there is evidence that the V movement alternation in (1) and (2) is discourse related: (i) LHM/V fronting disallow constituents with contrastive focus reading; (ii) LHM/V fronting is cancelled by clause coordinators that double as "narrative fillers" ('and', 'but') (6a); higher placed connectors ('therefore', 'so') show no effects on it (6b); (iii) option for (1) or (2) depends on the writing style. Thus, the analysis exploits the discourse-syntax interface: high V movement targets Focus (vs Force) to check a discourse operator, when such operator exists (it depends on discourse type) and when no other items (e.g. "narrative fillers") do the checking. The enclisis mimics *W-l* insofar as the order is [V > clitics], but the operation is syntactic, i.e., verb movement to Focus, triggered by various focus operators (contrast, question, verum, emphatic foci) merged in the left periphery (i.e., Foc in Rizzi 1997).

Conclusion. By explaining the variation in V movement in EMR, the syntactic approach uncovers the need to revisit the typological classification of EMR as *W-l*, which had been done on the basis of phonology only and with no particular testing. Crucially, our analysis points out the resetting of a syntactic parameter that concerns the movement of the verb, not the movement of clitics in relation to the verb.

(1) a. **Rămasu-i- au** pomană în țară mănăstirea ... **[- finite] V form**
left- of.him-has memory in country monastery-the **V>Clitic>Aux**
'In the country a monastery has been left to his memory....'
(Costin *apud* Panaitescu 1979: 33)

b. **Cunoaşti-se** că au fost neaşezaţi... **[+ finite] V form**
tell- refl that have been non.settled **V > Clitic**
'One can tell that they were not settled'
(Ureche *apud* Panaitescu 1958: 73)

(2) a. **S-au tras** cuvintul in Tara Leseasca pan astadzi,... **Clitic>Aux>V**
refl-has stayed word.the in Country.the Polish until today...
'The rumor has stayed in Poland until today,...'
(Costin *apud* Panaitescu 1979: 161)

c. **Să rădicase** în dzilele aceştii domnii.... **Clitic > V**
refl arose in days.the this.Gen government
'During the time of this government, there arose....'
(Costin *apud* Panaitescu 1979: 51)

(3) Acest domn...dupa doi ani.. **rădicatu-s- au** de la Tara
this king-TOP after 2 years -TOP risen- refl-has of from Country-the
Muntenească cu multă ...oaste.. (Ureche *apud* Panaitescu 1958: 19 v p 90)
Muntenească with much army
'After two years, this king alighted from Vallachia with a big army.'

(4) părinţii noştri....**i- ai mîntuitu-i-ai** **TopP>Clit>AUX> LHM**
parents.the ours them-have blessed-them-have (hypercorrection)
'you blessed our parents' (Densuşianu 1997: 707 – PH.xxi, 5 – 16th c.)

(5) De la Focşeni le-au dusu-li cu căruţi... **Clitic$_i$ > AUX > V > Clitic$_i$**
from at Focsani them have transported them with carts
'they transported them from Focsani by carts'
(Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 193)

(6) a. .... Niteia bătutu-o-au şi o au dobîndit. **+LHM > 'and' > -LHM**
Niteia beat-it-has and it has conquered
'Niteia, he has beat it and conquered it.'
(Ureche *apud* Panaitescu 1958: 71)

b. **Dece** intrat-au tătarii in ţară,... **'so' > +LHM**
so invaded-have Tartars in country
'So the Tartars invaded the country,...'
(Neculce *apud* Iordan 1955: 143)

REFERENCES: **Fischer, Olga**. 2003. Rethinking the Tobler-Mussafia Law. *Diachronica* 20 (2): 259-288. **Frâncu, Constantin**. 2009. *Gramatica limbii române vechi (1521-1780)*. Iaşi: Demiurg. **Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm**. 1890/1902. *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*. Strasburg. **Rivero, Maria Luisa**. 1993. LHM vs V2 and null subjects in Old Romance. *Lingua* 89: 217-245. **Rizzi, Luigi**. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Haegeman, L. (ed.). *Elements of grammar: A handbook of generative syntax*. 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer. **Slawski, Franciszek**. 1946. *Miejsce enklityki odmiennej w dziejach jrzyka bulgarskiego* (The Place of the Inflected Enclitic in the History of Bulgarian), Krakow: Polska Akademia Umiejetnosci.

Peter Arkadiev, Alexander Letuchiy

'Indirect antipassives' in Circassian[1]

Antipassive is a valency-changing operation which decreases the syntactic status of a direct object of a transitive verb. The resulting verb is intransitive and has no direct object.

We consider some peculiar features of antipassive in Adyghe and Kabardian, polysynthetic languages of the Circassian branch of the West Caucasian family[2]. In Circassian, antipassive is marked with a change of the last vowel of the verbal stem from -ə (which can be elided word-finally) to e (cf. (1) and (2)). Obviously, only stems ending in -ə can form genuine antipassives; stems ending with -e sometimes demonstrate what is called A-lability: they can be used both with and without a direct object (see Smeets 1992 for a detailed discussion of Adyghe valency-changing operations).

In general, the group of transitive verbs forming antipassives coincide with those pointed at by Kazenin (1994) or Cooreman (1994). However, what makes the Circassian antipassive peculiar from a cross-linguistic perspective is the fact that it can apply not only to transitive verbs. Some verbs with ə-final stems belonging to the 'extended intransitive' class in terms of Dixon (1994), i.e. bivalent intransitives with an indirect object, can change the final vowel to -e like transitive verbs, becoming monovalent intransitive. In such cases the expression of the object argument becomes impossible, as in (3b) and (4b), as opposed to (3a) and (4a), respectively. To this class belong such verbs as Adyghe jebewən 'kiss (smb.)' / bewen 'kiss (in general)'[3], jeχʷenən 'scold smb.' / χʷenen 'scold (in general)', jegəjən 'rebuke (smb.)' / gəjen 'rebuke (in general)', jepʟən 'look (at smth.)' / pʟen 'look (in general or in some direction)', jepčən 'ask (smb.)' / pčen 'ask (in general)', jedeʔʷən 'listen (smth.)' / deʔʷen 'listen (in general)', jebenən 'fight, struggle (against smb.)' / benen 'fight (e.g. for peace, no mention of an opponent)', Besleney jeʔʷənč'ən 'to push (smb.)' / ʔʷənč'en 'to push (in general)', and a number of others.

Though this operation, which we call "indirect antipassive", seems to be very close to "standard" antipassive and should probably be described as such for the languages in question, typologically it is a much more infrequent phenomenon. In general, an asymmetry exists between valency increase and valency decrease which concerns their relations to transitivity. Two features: 'valency increase vs. decrease' and 'change vs. no change of transitivity' yield us four possible values shown in the table.

	transitivity changes	transitivity does not change
valency increase	applicative adding a DO, causative of intransitive verbs	applicative ('version') adding an IO, causative of transitive verbs
valency decrease	antipassive, passive	impersonal passive

If we consider only operations which affect object arguments, one of the four cells remains empty: applicatives can add either a DO (Kimenyi, see Peterson 2007) or an IO (Kartvelian and North-West Caucasian languages), but antipassives only eliminate a DO, not an IO. Most languages, when they need to eliminate an IO argument do not employ any special marking. Thus, the antipassive in Circassian languages, which applies to both morphosyntactically transitive and intransitive bivalent predicates, constitutes a typologically quite rare case.

Such peculiar behaviour of the antipassive can be considered an accusative trait in the otherwise predominantly ergative morphosyntax of Circassian: in a way, this operation distinguishes between the subject (S and A) and object (P and IO) arguments regardless of their absolutive vs. oblique marking. This finds parallel in some of other operations treating P and IO arguments alike.

[1] The research has been supported by the Russian Foundation for Fundamental Linguistic Research, grant A-23.

[2] Our data comes from the Temirgoy dialect of Adyghe and the Besleney dialect of Kabardian; fieldwork material has been collected in 2005–2006 and 2012 in the villages Haqwerinehabl and Ulyap, Republic of Adygheya, Russia.

[3] The "dative" prefix je- is obligatorily attached to all verbs having an indirect object not introduced by locative, benefactive, malefactive or comitative applicative prefixes, but is not a marker of valency change itself.

References

Cooreman, A. (1994). A functional typology of antipassives. In *Voice: Form and Function*, B. Fox, P.J. Hopper (eds). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 49–82.

Dixon, R.M.W. (1994). *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kazenin, K.I. (1994). On the lexical distribution of agent-preserving and object-preserving transitivity alternations. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 17, 141–154.

Peterson, D.A. (2007). *Applicative constructions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smeets, R. (1992). On valencies, actants and actant coding in Circassian. In *Caucasian Perspectives*. B.G. Hewitt (ed.). München, Newcastle: LINCOM Europa, 98–144.

Examples[4]:

Adyghe

(1) a. č'ale-m pis'me-r j-e-txə.
boy-OBL letter-ABS 3SG.A-DYN-write
'The boy is writing a letter.'

b. č'ale-r ma-txe.
boy-ABS DYN-write:AP
'The boy is writing.'

Kabardian

(2) a. č'ale-m ɬə-r j-e-šx.
boy-OBL meat-ABS 3SG.A-DYN-eat
'The boy eats meat.'

b. č'ale-r ma-šxe.
boy-ABS DYN-eat:AP
'The boy eats.'

Kabardian

(3) a. č'ale-r pŝaŝe-m je-bewə-n xʷje.
boy-ABS girl-OBL DAT-kiss-POT must
'The boy should kiss the girl.'

b. bewe-n-wə jə-č'ase.
kiss:AP-POT-ADV 3SG-POSS-like
'He/she likes kissing' (lit. "To kiss is his/her love").

Adyghe

(4) a. narkomanije-m t-je-benə-n faj.
drug.addiction-OBL 1PL.ABS-DAT-fight-POT must

[4] Abbreviations used in glosses: A – agent, ABS – absolutive, ADV – adverbial, AP – antipassive, DAT – "dative" prefix, DYN – dynamic prefix, OBL – oblique, POSS – possessive, POT – potential.

'We should struggle against drug addiction.'

b. dzjudo-m-č'e me-bane.
judo-OBL-INS DYN-fight
'He is a judoist ' (lit. "He fights by means of judo").

Rusudan Asatiani

Information Structures of a Sentence: Cleft Questions in Megrelian and Laz

The Kartvelian Languages (Megrelian and Laz) provide examples of interrogative constructions that can be qualified as "Cleft Constructions". Cleft constructions play a specific role in discourse of those languages, and in that way include the both the focus and the topic clefts; e.g. in Megrelian cleft questions introducing the focus are very common:

(1) *mušeni re meurki=ni?*
why be.PRS.S.3.SG S.2.go.PRS.SG-that
'Why is it that you are going?'

Structurally, this type of constructions seems to be in confirmation with the universal description of clefts (Harris 1993):

- There are two clauses – (a) *mušeni re* and (b) *meurki=ni*;
- The first clause contains the focused constituent – the question word *mušeni*;
- The copula *re* is presented in the first clause as well;
- The first clause is the superordinate clause;
- The second clause is subordinate one and has the structure of a relative clause with the clause final conjunction *ni*;
- It is not expected to find a pronominal place holder comparable to English *it*, since Megrelian does not use one otherwise (Chikobava 1936).

Harris (1988, 1993) has discussed just only one type of cleft constructions in Laz, developed from the relative clause construction, which she dubs a 'top-heavy cleft', because the copula and the focused noun phrase are not in the superordinate clause as they are in English clefts, but in the subordinate clause that starts the whole sentence. The function of such constructions is to indicate a shift in topic or to introduce a new episode:

(2) *arteyi k'udani na yen, ka=gami-q'on-u amu-k.*
one.NOM girl.NOM that be.PRS-S.3.SG AFF-PR-bring-AOR.S.3.SG 3.SG-ERG
'As for the girl, he brought her out.'

Yet, there exist another type of clefts as well – cleft questions (similar to the Megrelian ones) that mark the focus:

(3) *mu (r)en, na č'ar-um-s?*
what-NOM be.PRS.S.3.SG that write-TM-S.3.SG
'What is it that s/he is writing?'

The structural difference between the Megrelian and the Laz cleft questions is that in Megrelian the focused constituent is governed by the verb presented in the subordinate (resp. the second) clause and the conjunction *ni* is at the end of the sentence closing the whole construction, while in Laz

focus constituent's case is defined by the copula presented in the superordinate (resp. the first) clause and the conjunction *na* takes the first position in the subordinate (resp. the second) clause.

Megrelian: Laz:

mu-su re, č'ar-un-s=ni? mu (r)en, na č'ar-um-s?
what-**DAT** be.PRS.S.3 write-TM-S.3.SG=that what-**NOM** be.PRS.S.3.SG that write-TM-S.3.SG

'What is it that s/ho is writing? 'What is it that s/ho is writing?

Gilles Authier

A constructional approach to the emergence of personal cases (apudlocative and comitative) in two unrelated languages of the Eastern Caucasus

Grammaticalization of adpositions from body part terms, and of cases from the former, is a trivial process. In some modern Iranian languages, new specialized locative constructions or cases have been created from periphrases of the type "at a person's [place]", very much like French *chez* derived from Latin *casa* (see Korn 2008 for Baluchi). A straightforward example is Qonaqkend, a variety of Muslim Tat spoken in Azerbaïdjan, in which location near a person is obligatorily expressed via the noun *ten* 'body' used as a preposition (ex. 1).

Spatial configurations in Tat languages are expressed by possessive NPs in which a space term or a bodypart is predeceded by a 'locative'clitic (with or without movement to or from) and followed by the item. These NPs closely match the multiple spatial cases found in East Caucasian languages. In this language family, local deixis is expressed by cases and postpositions, the former making up large paradigms, and spatial deixis referring to persons is often assigned a special case form, labelled apud-essive, -lative, and –elative.

Jewish Tat is spoken further north in Azerbaijan, and Daghestan, where it has gained literary status. For location at or near a human person or entity it uses the prepositions *eki* (sometimes *ekin*) and *ezki(n)* (ex. 2, 3, 4). By metonymy, these adpositions can be used with a human institution (ex. 5), and reversely, an abstract noun denoting a specifically human bound can also justify its use (ex. 6). It is out of doubt that these constructions are derived from possessive NPs, because when used with a demonstrative, they additionally take the genitive preposition *en*, which is only used to link nouns (ex. 7).

There is no noun **ki(n)* in Jewish Tat, but there is a noun *kinle* 'hearth', and 'household', a meaning very fit to apply to locations near or at humans only. Also, there is a productive Juhuri diminutive suffix *–le* (cf. ex. 2). As a rule, a final /n/ is dropped : *zuhu* 'tongue' < pers. *zabân*. So, *eki* and *ezki* are certainly derived from prepositional expressions with a noun **kin* from which *kinle* 'hearth' is derived. Another phonetic feature of Juhuri in some of its dialects is the strong tendency of Persian /u/ to be fronted to /ü/ and sometimes delabialized to /i/ after /k/: *kilâh* 'cap' cf. Persian *kulâh*. Proto-Tat **kin* is thus certainly Persian *kun*, which essentially means 'anus, buttock'. As a bodypart, it is tabooed in Juhuri, which is why the diminutive form came to be used when meaning

'bottom of the house' = 'hearth'. Then we can suppose that frequent occurrence of possessive expressions in which 'hearth' meant only 'home' and 'household' became the most common way to express location 'at someone's place', or even just 'near, next to' a person. So the body part meaning did not directly grammaticalize into a 'human locative' adposition. Instead the ambivalent mental image of the house as both metaphoric space 'like a body' and as a social unit allowed for "an intermediate stage whereby distinct conceptual domains are bridged my means of metonymical understanding" and "a development from a lexical item to a grammatical marker [becomes] possible" (Heine et al. 1991).

But the grammaticalization paths leading from '(human) buttocks' to 'at someone's place' – even crossing the metaphor of "the house as a body" – is not a very common 'cline'. Also the use of *kun* to refer to a part of the house is a bit strange, and not attested in Persian or other Tat languages: it represents an unexpected metaphoric jump. A probable explanation is code-copying from another language, in which the meaning '(human) buttocks' is conveyed by a general spatial term meaning 'base(ment)' also used as 'personal case' marker.

Jewish Tat speakers, before settling in the lowlands between Quba and Derbent in the XIXth century, are known to have been living in close contact with languages of the South Eastern Caucasus. A large part of the population of the village of Kryz, was Jewish and Tat-speaking. And in Kryz (Saadiev 1972), the word *q'an* means 'bottom' of a typically hollow object (ex. 8 & 9), including buildings, and is used metaphorically for the (human) 'bottom' body part (there is another, rude, term for "ass"). *q'an* has also grammaticalized uses: marked with sublocative cases it became the usual way to express location 'under' (except with animates, contrast ex. 9 and 12), while the bare form is used as a postposition to express instrumental case with objects, and comitative or apudlocative with humans (ex. 10). So we believe that Jewish Tat copied from Kryz *q'an* both the new (= not found in Muslim Tat) and metaphoric uses of the body part term *kin* < *kun* 'bottom' for a part of the house and for location near a person.

The copying process was probably helped by the accidental phonetic resemblance between *kin* and *q'an*. The diminutive form *kin-le* was created to avoid using a tabooed word for 'hearth' in various contexts, but the collocation of *kin* + terms referring to human persons was preserved, because this construction was already functioning as a case.

Example, Qonaqkend Tat (Haciev, 1993):

1. *yä* *ruz* *äyäl* *ama* *bä* *tän* *piyär* *xiştän*
   a day body come.AOR(3) LOC (body=)APUD father REFL
   « One day, the son came to his father… »

Examples, Jewish Tat (XXX, to appear):

2. *i* *telü-le=y=me* *eki=tü* *mun-u=gu !*
   this thorn-DIMIN=EZ=1 APUD=2 remain-3=OPT
   « Let this little thorn stay with you (= 'keep it') ! »

3. *şoh* *ruy* *bi-re* *eki* *oşne* *gür-debu=ho* *zen*
   king face be-PART APUD lover take-PQPF.3=NML.Z wife
   « the king, turning towards the woman who had a lover… »

4. *hette* *i* *kuk* *vediromo=re* *ezki* *goboy. tü* *diro !*
   as_soon_as this boy come_out-INF APUDEL collector 2 (IMP)enter
   « As soon as the boy will go out from the tax' collector's, you enter ! »

5. *u=re* *mi=ber-ün* *eki* *sud.*
   3=DAT EVT=bear-3PL APUD tribunal
   « They take him to the tribunal. »

6. *e=mühbet=evoz* *eki* *jofo*
   LOC=love=WITH APUD labour
   « out of love for one's job »

7. *mediro-y* *ezki* *en=u-ho.*
   EVT.come-3 APUDEL GEN=3-PL
   « He comes from their place. »

Examples, Kryz (Saadiev 1972):

8. *k'ik'lac-q'an* *dahar-a* *q'an* *xvala-y,* *nitsi* *ğe-'r-a.*
   pot.GEN-WITH stone-GEN bottom break.PF-PART cheese out-push.IPF-EVT
   « Having broken the bottom of the pot with a stone, he presses the cheese out. »

9. *nukvarci* *ciga* *'ag* *q'änkin* *ke-'r-a.*
   servant-GEN place_to_sleep niche(GEN) base-SUBLAT under-push.IPF-EVT
   « (she) makes the bed of the servant under the niche. »

10. *paççah-cir* *sa-r* *adni* *azzayra* *u-nda-q'an.*
    king-ERG one-M person send.IPF-EVT this-HPL.GEN-WITH
    « The king sends someone with / to them. »

11. *gada* *gardanğart'i-ra* *vun* *kant'-il-q'an.*
    boy(GEN) neck cut_off-EVT 2 knife-GEN-WITH
    « You'll cut the boy's neck with a knife. »

12. *lem-ik* *çoxtsin-a* *naft,* *vart'ura-y* *kirbit-ci-q'an* *ts'a³.*
    donkey-SUB under.pour-EVT oil kindle-EVT-A match-GEN-WITH fire
    « (he) pours oil under the donkey, et cracks a match. »

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Oleg Belyaev

The syntax of clitic climbing in Ossetic

Ossetic is an Iranian language spoken by about 500,000 people in the North Caucasus. The basic word order is SOV, the inflection of nouns is agglutinative with 2 numbers and 9 cases, while verbs have fusional morphology inherited from Proto-Iranian. Ossetic possesses a paradigm of pronominal second-position (Wackernagel) enclitics, which have forms of 3 persons, 2 numbers and

6 cases (except nominative, equative, and comitative).

This paper is dedicated to the phenomenon of clitic climbing in Ossetic. When the pronominal clitics express arguments of non-finite subordinate clauses, they may «climb» into the main clause, like in Romance and Slavic languages. However, clitic climbing in Ossetic has a number of properties that make it typologically unique:

1. Clitic climbing is possible not only from infinitival complement clauses (1), but also from adverbial clauses headed by converbs (2) and from noun and postpositional phrases (3).

2. There are two variants of «non-canonical» placement of clitics belonging to a subordinate non-finite clause: «strong» clitic climbing, when the clitic occupies the second position in the main clause (1)–(3), and «weak» clitic climbing, when the clitic attaches to the prosodic word that immediately precedes the subordinate clause (4)–(5) (thus the clitic is not in the «second position» at all).

3. «Strong» clitic climbing from noun and postpositional phrases and clauses headed by case-marked infinitives is obligatory (6).

A number of tests demonstrate that a clitic that has undergone «strong» climbing occupies an argument position in the main clause. For example, it is impossible to use it together with a main clause NP that bears the same case (7). «Weak» clitic climbing does not demonstrate this effect (8), and must be analyzed as the clitic remaining *in situ* in its left-peripheral position without undergoing prosodic inversion (Halpern 1995).

The behaviour of «strong» clitic climbing poses serious questions concerning the way this phenomenon has to be analyzed. Since clitic climbing is possible not only from infinitive complements, but also from adjuncts and even postpositional phrases (the postposition is normally unseparable from its object in Ossetic), a movement analysis of clitic climbing (as e.g. Kayne 1989, Sportiche 1996) is hardly tenable. Restructuring (Rizzi 1978) or clause union (Aissen & Perlmutter 1983) are also ruled out for the same reasons. At the same time, the case marking of the clitic is obviously determined in the subordinate clause, yet, as (7) demonstrates, a «climbed» clitic occupies an argument position in the main clause. This means that «strong» clitic climbing is similar to raising (Postal 1974), but with the crucial difference that the target position is not determined by the argument structure of the matrix verb. Clitic climbing can be analzyed in the spirit of non-transformational approaches to raising such as (Bresnan 1982), where it is assumed that raising verbs have a semantically empty subject or direct object position which has to be «structure shared» with the subject position of the subordinate clause (so-called functional control). In Ossetic, I argue, such a semantically empty position can be freely introduced in the argument structure of any matrix verb, and can belong to any grammatical function, provided that it is occupied by a clitic which has to express an argument of the subordinate clause.

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Examples[5]

(1) wəj təχ:ɜj =jəl qɜw-ə [bɑ-tutɜ kɜn-ən]
3SG.DIST.GEN for 3SG.ENCL.SUPER need-PRS.3SG PV-spit do-INF
'For this one has to spit on it' (Max dug 3, 2007)

(2) žɑwər =ɜm lɜw:əd-i [lɜmbənɜg kɜš-gɜ-jɜ]
Zaur 3SG.ENCL.ALL stand-PST.INTR.3SG closely look-PTCP-ABL
'Zaur stood looking at him closely'

(3) wəm =dɑm =nɜm [NP ɜv:ɑχš] sɑrd-i
3SG.DIST.IN DIR 1PL.ENCL.ALL near live-PST.INTR.3SG
'He lived there near us' (Bicoev G.X. Večernjaja zvezda)

(4) mɜn fɜnd-ə [=jɜm ɑlə bon kɜš-ən]
1SG.GEN want[6]-PRS.3SG 3SG.ENCL.ALL every day look-INF
'I want to look at it every day'

(5) žɑwər fonz minut-ə [=jɜm lɜmbənɜg kɜš-gɜ(-jɜ)] lɜw:əd-i
Zaur five minute-GEN 3SG.ENCL.ALL closely look-PTCP-ABL stand-PST.INTR.3SG
'Zaur stood for five minutes, watching him closely'

(6) rɑg-ɜj <=dən> qɑv-ə [<*=dən> dɛ= vžɑg
long.ago-ABL 2SG.ENCL.DAT intend-PRS.3SG 2SG.ENCL.DAT POSS.2SG tongue
<*=dən> ɑ-χɑw-ən kɜn-ən-mɜ]!
2SG.ENCL.DAT PV-tear-INF do-INF-ALL
'It is since long ago that he intends to tear your tongue away' (Max dug 4, 2004)

(7) * dɜ= mɑd-ə =dɜ qɜw-ə [nən-nɑj-ən]
POSS.2SG mother-GEN 2SG.ENCL.GEN need-PRS.3SG PV-wash-INF
'Your mother needs to wash you'

5 Examples with references are from the Ossetic National Corpus (http://corpus.ossetic-studies.org).

6 The verbs 'want' and 'need' in Ossetic take the Experiencer as the direct object, and the Stimulus as the subject.

(8) jɛχ: kʷəd təng =mɜ fɜnd-ə [=jɜ fɛn-ən] fɜlɜ
oh how much 1SG.ENCL.GENwant-PRS.3SG 3SG.ENCL.GENP V : s e e - I N F
but
wɜwːɜj!
alas
'Oh, how much I want to see her, but alas!' (Max dug 6, 2006)

Theresa Biberauer, Jenneke van der Wal

Expletives beyond English

'Expletive' or 'dummy' subjects are typically characterised as lacking independent semantic content, but fulfilling an essential role in ensuring the grammaticality of a sentence, as in (1).

(1) *(**There**) are pancakes on the table. Presentational

Nominal-associated expletives of the type illustrated in (1) and, alongside these, clause-associated expletives (2) and referentially opaque, quasi-argumental expletives (3) play a prominent role in the grammar of modern English.

(2) **It** is obvious that you like pancakes. Extraposition
(3) **It** is raining. Weather

As Newmeyer (2005) notes, however, subject-oriented expletives of the English type are crosslinguistically rather rare. While it is undeniably the case that few systems employ the full suite of expletive types found in English, our concern in this paper will be with looking more closely at the extent to which one or more of expletive-types (1-3) and, potentially, additional types can nevertheless be observed in typologically diverse languages.

In order to identify the elements to be investigated, we take as our point of departure key insights deriving from the relatively detailed study of expletives in familiar Germanic languages. One aspect of this is what we have learned about the extent to which different types of expletives are semantically and grammatically "empty". Thus previous research has identified both agreeing and non-agreeing expletives (cf. (2,3) vs (1)), and it is also clear that expletives combining with indefinite associates (1) need to be distinguished from those necessarily taking definite associates (2) or, apparently, no associate at all (3,).

(4) **Der** må ikke ryges. Impersonal
EXPL may not smoke.PASS
"Smoking is not allowed" (Danish; Svenonius 2002)

Furthermore, consideration of modern and earlier Germanic varieties (specifically, Afrikaans, Dutch and German on the one hand - cf. Mohr 2005, Hartmann 2006 - and Old English and Old High German - cf. Light 2010 - on the other) points to the possibility that expletive(-like) elements may only be optionally required, with their presence triggering an interpretive effect that is absent in their absence. Optional presence without apparent semantic effects appears to represent a further option (cf. Nicolis 2008 on expletives in a range of creole varieties and the variable, semantically vacuous use of expletive daar in Afrikaans impersonals - Richards & Biberauer 2005). Finally, consideration of the diachrony of expletive development in the history of the various Germanic languages points to a fixed sequence of developments in relation to the rise of (1-4)-type expletives - first (3), then (2), then (4) - with the modern Germanic languages having "stopped" at different points in this developmental sequence (Biberauer 2006); and it also shows clearly that the development of indefinite-related expletives (Travis (1984)'s there-type) is independent of the development of definite-related expletives (cf. Ball 1991, Allen 1995).

Armed with these synchronic and diachronic insights, pointing to the partial independence of the expletives employed in familiar Germanic systems, and accepting the Uniformity Hypothesis, our hypothesis is the following: even if few languages operate with the entirety of the varied inventory of expletive types found in English, it might nevertheless be expected that lesser studied systems, including those with properties quite different from the familiar Germanic varieties, may feature one or more of the sub-types found in Germanic. In our talk, we show that this expectation - which requires numerous subject-related contexts to be investigated before we can establish that a language systematically fails to employ expletives - does in fact seem to lead to some surprising findings. We can, for example, identify languages that feature:

A. just one of the expletive types (1-4). Haitian Creole employs the (2)-type (see (5)), while Aghem uses the (1)-type in presentational focus structures (6).

(5) **Li** difisil pou pale ak Jan [Haitian Creole]
it difficult for speak with John
"It is difficult to speak with John" (Deprez 1994)

(6) A m[X] z[X][X]m á-fín nza[X] â ba[X]ton [Aghem]
EXPL AUX sing friends nzang for chief
"Friends sang nzang for the chief" (presentational focus; Nurse 2010)

B. one or more of the types (1-4), used on an optional and, thus, interpretively significant basis. Cimbrian da instantiates an interpretively significant version of the Germanic (1)-type (cf. also colloquial German da and one use of Dutch er), and various Romance varieties can also be shown to have developed interpretively significant optional expletives of different kinds (cf. i.a. Carrilho 2008, the contributions in Kaiser & Remberger 2009, and Bartra-Kaufmann 2011).

(7) dar mann bo (da) hat o- geheft a nauga arbat
the man that EXPL has up taken a new job
"The (specific) man who has taken up a new job (Grewendorf & Poletto 2010)

c. an English-like range of obligatory expletive-types, with evidence of a strong subject-position requirement which may, in some cases, be even stronger than that which holds in English. Esan (Rolle 2010), Edo and Yoruba (Adesola 2006), each of which require obligatory resumption in subject relatives to ensure that the subject slot is overtly filled, are cases in point.

(8) a. ọ jabe eni ibhokhan ghọnghọn (Esan)
3.SG seem DEF child.PL be happy.REDUP
"It seems the children are happy"

b. ọni okpiai [ni ọi dẹ ọni ebe]
DEF man REL 3.SG buy DEF book
"the man that bought the book" (Lit.: the man$_i$ [that he$_i$ bought the book])

(from Rolle 2010)

Our talk focuses on the types of expletives found in lesser studied languages and considers how these are distributed across the languages in question, and also how they interact within the systems of which they form a part. Our concern is therefore both with attempting to gain better understanding of the system-internal role of expletives of different types and with considering the broader, crosslinguistically oriented question of whether it is meaningful to think in terms of a typology of expletive systems. We show that while the modern English-style expletive system is undoubtedly crosslinguistically very rare, it is nevertheless the case that sub-components of what makes English so rare do in fact seem to result in subsets of expletive phenomena surfacing in other systems too. From a descriptive perspective, this is important as there is still much to learn about the formal properties of expletive(-like) elements and also about how these elements interact with one another and also with the larger system of which they are a part. Similarly, it is also important from a theoretical perspective, as better understanding of this still largely mysterious phenomenon will allow us to refine our understanding of the relationship between syntax and the two interfaces that are very clearly implicated by expletives: phonology and semantics.

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Natalia Bogomolova

Person agreement with non-canonical subjects in Tabasaran

Tabasaran (Lezgic branch of Nakh-Daghestanian) follows the ergative-absolutive alignment of core arguments with nouns, i.e. O in the transitive clause and S in the intransitive clause are in the formally unmarked absolutive, while A in the transitive clause bears the ergative marker, as in (1). However, personal pronouns do not differentiate between the ergative and the absolutive, so that personal core arguments are not distinguished by case morphology, see (2).

With canonically marked subjects, up to two personal pronouns may be incorporated in the verb. The incorporation of personal subjects into the first pronominal postion (right after the TAM markers) is obligatory. In addition to this, the verb can optionally incorporate a second personal

argument. Non-subject personal argument is inserted in the second pronominal position (after the subject argument) in the verb and depends on discourse factors. The person marker signals that speaker's attention focuses on the second participant of the situation and s/he is in the center of the situation. Note that if the second argument is non-absolutive and bears case markers, it gets incorporated with all its case morphology. In (3), the second person dative pronoun is incorporated in the verb together with the dative marker -s.

Apart from canonically marked subjects, Tabasaran possesses a number of non-canonical subjects with some verbs. Most important of the are the following:

(a) dative subjects with experiential verbs like 'see', 'hear', 'know', 'come across', 'find' etc, see (4);

(b) ad-elative subjects in the involuntary agent construction, as in example (5);

(c) post-essive subjects in the possessive construction, see example (6).

In most dialects of Tabasaran, incorporation of a non-subject argument is blocked in the presence of non-canonical subjects, see (7) from the dialect of Mežgül. It appears that this constraint is conditioned morphologically: only one case marked argument may be incorporated in the verb.

In this paper I describe and discuss three strategies attested in the dialect of Djuli that are used to obviate this ban on incorporation of a non-subject argument in the presence of a non-canonical subject.

(i) The order of incorporation is reversed: The absolutive non-subject argument is incorporated first, while the case marked subject follows it, as in (8);

(ii) The case morphology after the second incorporated pronoun refers to the case of the subject, (9);

(iii) The case morphology of the subject argument is dropped altogether, as in (10) where the dative subject of 'want' is incorporated in the absolutive form without the dative marker.

Examples (from the Djuli dialect, if not otherwise indicated)

Incorporated subject pronouns are in bold; incorporated non-subject pronouns are underlined.

(1) rasul-di murad uˤ<r>χ-nu.
Rasul-ERG Murad(ABS) <NN>save-PFT
'Rasul saved Murad.'

(2) **izu** ivu uˤ<r>χ-uˤn-**zu**-va.
I(ABS) you(ABS) <NN>save-PFT-1SG-2SG
'I saved you.'

(3) **izu** ivu-s vari p-ni-**zu**-vu-s.
I(ABS) you-DAT all tell-PFT-1SG-2SG-DAT
'I told you all.'

(4) rasul.di-s murad aˤ<r>q:-uˤnu.
Rasul-DAT Murad(ABS) <NN>see-PFT
'Rasul saw Murad.'

(5) rasul.di-x-an ist:ak:an uˤ<v>ʁuˤ-nu.
Rasul-AD-ELAT glass(ABS) <N>break-PFT
'Rasul (accidentally) broke the glass.'

(6) rasul.di-q kitav q-a.
Rasul-POST(ESS) book(ABS) POST-be(PRS)
'Rasul has got a book.'

(7) **uzu-z**uvu gun-ǯa-**zu-z** ‖ *gun-ǯa-**zu-z**-vu. [the Mežgül dialect]
ʁ-DAT you love-PRS-1SG-DAT love-PRS-1SG-DAT-2SG
'I love you.'

(8) ivu-s izu aˤ<r>q:-nu-zu-vu-s.
you-DAT I(ABS) <NN>see-PFT-1SG-2SG-DAT
'You saw me.'

(9) **iz-x-an** ivu taraq-nu-**zu**-vu-x-an.
I-AD-ELAT you(ABS) fall-PFT-1SG-2SG-AD-ELAT
'I let you fall.'

(10) **izu-s** ivu-q-ri liχu-s k:un-du-**zu**-vu-q-ri.
I-DAT you-POST-DIR work-INF want-FUT-1SG-2SG-POST-DIR
'I want to work with you.'

Eleanor Coghill

Word order and Information Structure in Neo-Aramaic

The Neo-Aramaic dialect of Telkepe has what could be described as 'flexible' or 'free' word order. In fact word order is not free, but conditioned by information structure, rather than the syntactic roles of arguments. But word order alone does not indicate the information structure, but rather in conjunction with the position of the nuclear stress.

Pronominal subjects and objects are normally expressed by inflection on the verb alone, but independent pronouns may additionally be used when that argument is in focus. When nominal arguments appear, these may be indexed on the verb: for subjects this is obligatory, for objects dependent on topic-status (the author: forthcoming).

A nominal which is the primary topic usually comes first:

(1) ʾu bíʾə k-šálq-i pqálp-ədbə́ṣlə ...
and eggs IPV-boil-3PL in-skin-of-onions
And [the eggs]TOP1 boil in the skin of the onions ...
STOP1 V ...

Topics are typically pronominal, thus only on the verb. When an argument is one of several activated participants, and thus a pronoun would be ambiguous, then it may appear as a noun. The following sentence occurs in a discourse in which a house is mentioned; thus 'floors' are activated (definite) as part of the situation.[7] There are however many other things that are similarly activated (doors, windows etc.), let alone the things that have been recently mentioned in the discourse. A pronoun (i.e. pronominal inflection on the verb) would therefore not be sufficient to make identification unambiguous, thus the full noun is used. As the topic it is preposed:

(2) ṭawābəq kull-ay npèl-la,|
floors all-3PL fell-3PL
[The floors]TOP all collapsed, ...
STOP1 V̀

There is another possibility, between these two alternatives, where the referent might well be retrievable from anaphora alone, but the speaker cannot be quite sure. Rather than using the strategies for topical referents mentioned above, i.e. (a) only pronominal expression, which might be insufficient, or (b) a preposed noun, which might be unnecessary, instead (c) the noun is mentioned but is postposed (or 'right-dislocated', cf. Lambrecht (1994: 202–204), but still, as a topic, unstressed:

(3) k-mazə̀d'-ɒ baġdad.|
IPV-frighten-3FS Baghdad(f.)
It's frightening, Baghdad.
V̀ STOP1

This contrasts clearly with postposed focus, which would be stressed:

(4) k-mazəd'-ɒ bàġdad.|
IPV-frighten-3FS Baghdad(f.)
[Baghdad]FOC is frightening. (not a different city)
V SFOC
(constructed example)

When there is both a subject and an object nominal (or independent pronoun), usually the verb position is in the middle: i.e. either SVO or OSV. The argument which is the topic comes before the verb and the argument that is the focus comes after and takes nuclear stress, i.e. SVÒ or OVS:

(5) ʾu hojar k-āre-lə palāxɒ.|
and plough(m.) IPV-hold.3MS-OBJ.3MS ploughman
And [the plough]TOP1 is held by [the ploughman]FOC. (active, not passive, in original)
OTOP V SFOC

The rule that the focussed argument should come after the verb causes some ambiguity however: when there is broad focus (i.e. the whole phrase constitutes new information), the nuclear stress similarly comes on the final component of the intonational phrase. Thus the following phrase could be understood as either having focus on the whole phrase or just on the final element, the object:

(6) k-maḥk-ux-wɒ sūraθ,|
IPV-speak-1PL-PST Surath
[We spoke Surath.]FOC
or We spoke [Surath]FOC.
[V Ò]FOC or V [Ò]FOC
(constructed example)

The first interpretation might be the answer to 'What did you do?' or 'What happened?', while the second would be the answer to 'What did you speak?'

There is an alternative strategy available to disambiguate between these two interpretations, where the focussed element is positioned immediately before the verb and stressed:

(7) sūraθ k-maḥk-ux-wɒ,|
Surath IPV-speak-1PL-PST
We spoke [Surath]FOC.
ÒFOC V

When there is also a topic, there can even be two arguments before the verb, which is normally rare in the dialect:

(8) bas ʾāyi ʾalqušnāyə k-am-ri-lɒ.|
but this Alqoshis IPV-say-3PL-OBJ.3FS
But this is what the Alqoshis say.
OTOP SFOC V

But this strategy (placing the focussed element directly before the verb) is seldom used, so presumably the inherent ambiguity is not often a problem (context will play a role in disambiguating).

This paper will address these and other strategies that are involved in the interaction of syntax and information structure in this dialect.

[7] Cf. Lyons (1999: 2–4) for an explanation of situational definiteness.

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Bernard Comrie

Differential Object Marking revisited

Differential object marking (DOM), whereby the P of a transitive clause receives marking distinct from that of the A of a transitive clause and the S of an intransitive clause only if the P is relatively high on the scales of animacy and/or referentiality, has been considered one of the most robust results of late twentieth-century linguistic typology, but its validity has recently been called into question by Bickel & Witzlack-Makarevich (2008). This presentation aims to rehabilitate DOM.

First, a careful characterization is provided of the author's understanding of DOM, to avoid the construction of arguments using strawmen to undermine DOM. In particular:

a) Only the scales of animacy and referentiality are involved, to the exclusion of other scales, such as number, that belong neither empirically nor conceptually.

b) Only case marking of noun phrases is relevant ("flagging"), with the crucial factor being an opposition between one form used for highly animate/referential P that is distinct from that used for both low animate/referential P and for S (and A, except under ergative flagging).

c) It is not excluded that exceptions may arise through the transfer of the animacy/referentiality feature to highly correlating morphosyntactic categories of the language in question, such as gender or inflectional class.

d) The behavior of pronouns requires re-examination in relation to the availability of verb indexing as a means of identifying the person-number-gender-honorificity of core arguments.

Second, a careful characterization is given of the prediction of the DOM hypothesis, in particular:

d) The prevalence of marking of highly animate/referential Ps needs to be contrasted with the virtually non-existent parallel marking of low animate/referential Ps, i.e. there are many independent instances of the former but hardly any instances of the latter.

Third, material is presented suggesting that DOM may be more widespread, in small pockets often missed by earlier typological research. Treating all of these as chance developments fails to explain why they all tend towards a particular target, namely DOM with marked highly animate/referential P.

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Denis Creissels

Incorporation in Mandinka

Mandinka is a West Mande language spoken by approximately 1.5 million speakers in Senegal, The Gambia, and Guinea Bissau. In the title of this abstract, 'incorporation' is taken in its usual meaning of combination of an uninflected form of a noun with a verbal lexeme resulting in the formation of a verb stem. Incorporation is rarely mentioned in descriptions of African languages, but the lexicon of Mandinka includes many verb stems formed in this way.

In Mandinka, the distinction between incorporated nouns and nouns heading NPs is facilitated by the fact that bare nouns can fulfill a syntactic function only in very restricted conditions, whereas incorporated nouns are invariably in their bare

form. In addition to that, N+V compounds functioning as verb stems, like other compounds, are recognizable from a special tone pattern distinct from the mere addition of the tone patterns of their formatives. In (1), jíy-o, definite form of jíi 'water', is the head of the NP yír-ôo jíy-o, lit. 'the water of the tree', fulfilling the object function in the construction of bǒŋ 'pour', whereas in (2), jíi 'water' is the first formative of the compound verb jíi-bóŋ 'water', and yír-ôo 'tree' fulfills the object function in the construction of the compound verb.

(1) [Kew-ó]$_S$ ye [yír-ôo jíy-o]$_O$ [boŋ]$_V$ sáayiŋ.
man-DEF PF.POS tree-DEF water-DEF pour now
'The man has just poured (not necessarily on the tree) the water intended for the tree.'

(2) [Kew-ó]$_S$ ye [yír-ôo]$_O$ [jíi-bóŋ]$_V$ sáayiŋ.
man-DEF PF.POS tree-DEF water-pour now
'The man has just watered (lit. water-poured) the tree.'

Syntactically, three types of incorporation can be distinguished in Mandinka

- detransitivizing incorporation, as in búlú 'hand' + fáyí 'throw' → búlú-fáyí 'help one another, club together';
- incorporation involving a change in the semantic roles assigned by the verb but no change in transitivity, as illustrated above by jíi 'water (N)' + bǒŋ 'pour' → jíi-bóŋ 'water (V)';
- incorporation involving no change in the valency of the verb, as in sólí 'leopard' + sawúŋ 'jump' → sólí-sáwúŋ 'jump like a leopard'.

In my talk at SWL5, after describing incorporation in Mandinka, I would like to discuss its origin. In cases such as jíi 'water (N)' + bǒŋ 'pour' → jíi-bóŋ 'water (V)', as can be seen from the examples above, reanalysis (or re-bracketing) of a construction in which the incorporated noun was the object of the verb seems to provide a satisfactory explanation. However, incorporated nouns invariably precede the verb, and they sometimes (for example in the case of sólí-sáwúŋ 'jump like a leopard') correspond semantically to NPs that cannot precede the verb, and invariably occur in post-verbal position. Moreover, comparative evidence shows that this cannot be explained as the result of historical changes in constituent order, since the rigid 'Subject-Object-Verb-Oblique' constituent order is found in all Mande languages, and therefore must be very ancient in this language family, which contrary to some claims show absolutely no evidence of having undergone changes in constituent order. The solution I put forward in order to solve this puzzle is that verbal N+V compounds result from the conversion of N+ V compounds originally used as action nouns.

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Sonia Cristofaro

Typological explanations in synchrony and diachrony: the evolution of adnominal possession

According to Haiman (1983, 1985), the structure of adnominal possessive constructions is iconically motivated by the conceptual distance between possessor and possessee. Higher conceptual distance, as found in ienable as opposed to inalienable possession, is reflected by higher distance between the two elements encoding possessor and possessee, as determined by the use of overt morphemes indicating the possession relationship or free, rather than bound morphemes. In an alternative hypothesis (Nichols 1988, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1996, Haspelmath 2008), the structure of possessive constructions is motivated by the frequency of different possession types. Alienable nouns are not usually possessed, so the possession relationship is more difficult to identify, and must be pecified overtly. Inalienable nouns are typically possessed, so the possession relationship need not be specified overtly, and the frequency of possessor-possessee combinations leads to the fusion of the relevant morphemes.

These hypotheses are mainly based on the synchronic distribution of different types of possessive constructions cross-linguistically, rather than the actual diachronic processes that give rise to the relevant constructions in individual languages. The paper discusses several such processes, based on extensive cross-linguistic evidence, and argues that these processes pose a number of challenges both for the iconicity and for the frequency hypothesis. For example,

(i) There are systematic correlations between a number of restrictions in the use of individual constructions for alienable vs. inalienable possession and the original meaning of the construction. Constructions originating from spatial expressions or from demonstratives modifying a possessee are typically not extended to body parts or kin terms ((1), (2)). Constructions originating from benefactive/purposive expressions are typically not used for body parts ((3)), and juxtaposed constructions involving possessor specification (Heine 1997; (4)) are initially used only for body parts. These retrictions are naturally accounted for in terms of relative incompatibility between the relevant possession types and the original semantics of the construction, so there is no obvious evidence that the distribution of the construction is determined by the differences in conceptual distance or frequency between the relevant possession types.

(ii) Likewise, individual possessive morphemes are used for possession types directly related to their original meaning, but not for possession types that are equally frequent and involve the same degree of conceptual distance, but are less directly related to the original meaning of the morpheme. For example, morphemes derived from locative elements are only used when the alienable possession relationship involves a salient spatial component ((5)), and morphemes presumably originating from 'eat' and 'drink' verbs are used to indicate possession of edible and drinkable items, but not other types of alienable possession (6)).

These facts raise a general point about typological explanations. Typologists identify particular construction types (e.g. particular types of possessive constructions) on synchronic grounds, and account for these types in terms of categories and functional factors associated with their distribution (e.g. alienability, conceptual distance or frequency). Yet, each type may originate from distinct diachronic processes in different languages, each motivated by principles other than those that can be postulated on synchronic grounds. Hence typological explanations should be based on the comparison of diachronic processes, rather than the comparison of construction types defined on synchronic grounds.

Kabiye (Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer 1991)

(1) (a) kólú t'ɛ́ píya
blacksmith POSS children
'the blacksmith's children (typically those living in his compound but not his own)' (cf. t'ɛ́ 'at, to'; 'home')

(b) kólú píya
blacksmith children
'the blacksmith's (own) children'

Kanakuru (Schuh 1983)

(2) bil kimne; mO Miyim; bili **ma** lowoi
horn buffalo; wife Miyim; horn POSS boy
'buffalo's horn; Miyim's wife; the boy's horn' (cf. **me** 'this')

Creek (Martin 1993)

(3) **an**-ha:y-itá; **am**-pó:si; ca-cókwa
for.me-make my-cat my-mouth
'to make something fo me; my cat; my mouth'

Nyulnyul (McGregor 1996)

(4) (a) bin wamb nimal jin
this man his.hand 3SG.OBL
'this man's hand'

(b) bin wamb yil jin
this man dog 3SG.OBL
'this man's dog'

Tswana (Cole 1955)

(5) dikgômo tsa-me; tsa-rona; ts-êtšho; tsa-ga-êtšho
cattle POSSC-1SG/ POSSCONC-1PL/POSSC-COMM/ POSS.CONC-LOC.CONC-POSS
'my (personal) cattle; our cattle (we being unrelated individuals); my/our (family's) cattle; the cattle of my/our village (communal possession by the people constituting a local unit larger than the family)'

Suau (Lynch 1973)

(6) (a) sine ta e-na numa
woman this POSS-her house
'This woman's house'

(b) salai ne a-na goila
pig that POSS-its water
'My food' (cf. 'ai 'to drink')

Grete Dalmi

The meaning of the zero copula in multiple BE-system languages: a cartographic approach

1 There are many languages in the world that have more than one way to express BE, with well-definable syntactic and semantic differences among the lexical predicates used in copular sentences (Stassen 1996, 2001). Irish uses the auxiliary verb *tha/bhi* with secondary predicates expressing a temporary state but the pronominal copula *is/ba* with secondary predicates expressing a permanent state (Doherty 1996). A similar divison of labour is found in Spanish and Portuguese in the distribution of *ser/estar* (Maienborn 2003, Schmitt 2005).

2 Maienborn's new ontological classification of eventualities (Maienborn 2005a,b, 2010) provides a key to the above alternation. She distinguishes predicates expressing a Davidsonian state (*stand, lie*) from predicates expressing a Kimian state (*know, hate*) in that the former contain a spatio-temporal event variable but the latter do not. Predicates expressing a Kimian state contain only a temporal variable. The Kimian temporal variable is also found in the adjectival/nominal predicate of copular sentences, irrespective of whether it expresses a permanent or a temporary property. The Kimian temporal variable is bound in the T-domain of the main predicate, the copula.

3 Copular sentences in the 3rd person singular/plural of the present indicative are formed merely with an adjectival or nominal predicate in Russian (Pereltsvaig 2007, Richardson 2001), Hebrew (Shlonsky 2001), Arabic (Bennamoun 2007), Maltese (Stassen 1996) and Hungarian (Dalmi 2010). Clause negation, however, unambiguously reveals that copular sentences are finite, i.e. they have a FinP and a TP projection. Unless we want to postulate a FinP and a TP in the functional layer of adjectival and nominal predicates, we need to introduce a VP in these sentences, even if this VP has a zero V_0 head. This forces a biclausal, Raising-analysis of copular sentences cross-linguistically.

4 What all this means for a cartographic analysis of copular sentences is that they have a rich C-domain and an impoverished V-domain, in which the lexical verb selects a single small clause complement. The subject of the small clause raises to the canonical subject position of the main clause.

5 In languages where the small clause predicate bears case, case agreement vs. case obviation are the morpho-syntactic reflexes of the permanent/temporary distinction: case agreement on the small clause predicate signals a permanent property while case obviation reflects a temporary property. In neither case does the small clause predicate contain an event variable, only a temporal variable. In the case of permanent properties, the Kimian variable is bound by the T_0 head. Temporary properties are treated as alternative states in the sense of Rooth (2001). The temporal variable of the secondary predicate is bound by an OP_{alt} operator merged with the T_0 head.

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Appendix

Irish (Doherty 1996)

(1) Is fear é.
COP man he.ACC
'He is a man.' (permanent property)

(2) Tá sé *in-a* fhear anois.
AUX he in-his man now
'He is a man now. (actual property)

Spanish (Maienborn 2003)

(3) Las hojas de este árbol *son* amarillas.
the leaves of this tree are-S yellow.
'The leaves of the tree are yellow.'

(4) Las hojas de este árbol *está* amarillas.
the leaves of this tree are-E yellow.
'The leaves of the tree are yellow (now).'

Portuguese (Schmitt 2005)

(5) Ele *é* feliz.
he COP happy
'He is happy.'

(6) Ele *está* feliz.
he COP happy
'He is happy (now).'

Russian (Pereltsvaig 2007, Richardson 2001)

(7) Ivan *0* xrabr-yj soldat.
Ivan COP brave-NOM soldier.NOM
'Ivan was a brave soldier.'

(8) Ivan *byl* xrabr-ym soldat-om.
Ivan COP.PAST brave-INST soldier-INST
'Ivan was a brave soldier.'

Arabic (Bennamoun 2000)

(9) ʔar-rajul-u mariiD-un *l-ʔaan-a*
the-man-NOM ill-NOM the-now-ACC
'The man is ill now.'

(10) ʔal-ʔaw-laad-u *lays-uu* sabbaaH-iin.
boy-PL-NOM NEG-3PL swimmer-PL-NOM
'The boys are not swimmers.'

Hebrew (Shlonsky 2000)

(11) Hu *0* zamar rok.
ő COP énekes rock
'Ő rockénekes.'

Maltese (Stassen 1996)

(12) Albert *0* tabib.
Albert COP orvos
'Albert is a doctor.'

Hungarian (Dalmi 2010)

(13) Ezek a fiú-k *0* fogorvos-ok.
these the boy-PL COP.PRES3PL dentist-PL
'These boys are dentists'.

(14) Az egyetem-en *van-nak* fogorvosok.
the university-on COP-PRES3PL dentist-PL
'There are dentists at the university.'

Michael Daniel, Victoria Khushurdian

Eastern Armenian: transitivizing or detransitivizing language?

Armenian is one of the – not so many – languages that simultaneously have productive causative and mediopassive derivations. This constitutes a challenge with a view to the typology of transitivizing vs. detransitivizing languages developed by Nichols et al (2004) – a challenge of which the latter study is aware. Interestingly, Haspelmath (1993) and Nichols with co-authors provide different answers to the question. This can be partly due to the fact that they considered different languages, Eastern and Western Armenian. However, are the linguistic differences between the two closely related languages significant enough to amount for the difference in answers, or is there also a difference in the criteria applied? The paper provides several considerations that should be added to the set of criteria used by Nichols et al., on the one hand, and Haspelmath, on the other, to provide a more fine-grained picture of Armenian transitivity. According to these criteria, Eastern Armenian should be considered as a detransitivizing language in spite of the presence of the productive causative morpheme.

First of all, mediopassives are considerably more frequent in terms of token frequency (www.eanc.net). The second and related argument is the relative order of the morphemes which may – even though rarely – combine in one verbal form. Whenever it happens, the marker of the mediopassive follows the causative suffix. We interpret this as an indication that the causative is a more lexical and mediopassive is a more grammatical category in Eastern Armenian - the interpretation which is fully compliant with their relative frequencies.

Third, we consider several verbal meanings that, cross-linguistically, may fluctuate between primary transitive and primary intransitive verbs. Of these verbs e.g. 'burn', 'roll' and 'open' are expressed by primarily transitive meanings, while 'boil' is expressed by a primarily intransitive meaning. One primary transitive meaning is especially salient: in Eastern Armenian, 'sink' is a transitive verb, while the meaning 'sink (intr)' is conveyed by a mediopassive.

Finally, we show that the causative in Eastern Armenian is not a very typical representative of the causative category in functional semantic terms. Cross-linguistic function of morphological causatives is direct causation. However, the morphological causative of 'die' does not mean 'kill' but 'cause to die', the meaning 'kill' being expressed by a separate transitive verb. Other manipulative causatives are also conveyed by primary transitive verbs (e.g. 'break (tr)'). The presence of a wide range of primary transitive verbs makes the Eastern Armenian causative shift into the area of distant causation, area rather unusual for morphological causatives. On the contrary, the Eastern Armenian mediopassive is very typical cross-linguistically and covers the expected range of detransitivizing functions.

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Huy Linh Dao

On the Syntax and Semantics of Imperative Clauses in Vietnamese

The main purpose of this paper is to highlight some of the hitherto neglected aspects of imperative clauses in Vietnamese, with special focus on those where directive speech acts are conveyed by using the sentence-final particle *đi* [1]. This morpheme, which means 'to go' in its lexical use as a motion verb, has been treated as an "empty word" by Trương (1970:185) or has been assumed to have grammaticalized into an imperative marker (Do-Hurinville 2009:93). However, while previous works concentrated primarily on describing the pragmatic function of this element, relatively little attention has been paid to its syntactico-semantic properties, as well as its interaction with other preverbal imperative markers and sentential negation (see, e.g., Diệp 2005). In this present study, we attempt to address those issues by discussing some novel empirical data and put forward a unified semantic and syntactic analysis to capture the behavior of *đi* in a principled way.

First, as evidenced in [2], imperatives are not obligatorily marked with *đi* and can be expressed by purely prosodic means or by adding the preverbal particle *hãy*, which may freely co-occur with *đi*. Second, it should be noted that, unlike the former, the latter appears to be banned from negative imperatives, as shown by the contrast in [3] where putting *đi* in the scope of sentential negation (*không*) results in ill-formedness whereas sentences with *hãy* outscoping *không* seem fully felicitous. Third, it has been pointed out that instead of employing *không* to encode negative directive speech acts, Vietnamese makes use more frequently of prohibitive markers such as *đừng* or *chớ* [4] (cf. L. C. Thompson 1965, van der Auwera & Lejeune 2005, a.o.). Interestingly, the aforementioned contrast in [3] also holds true in those contexts: the occurrence of *đi* in the scope of negative elements is ruled out. Nonetheless, a closer examination of data collected on the subject reveals that the sentence-final particle can be "rescued" in the presence of some appropriate presupposition triggers [5].

All the facts stated above, as we will argue, are claimed to be best explained through a semantic analysis in which: (i) *đi* is a deontic modal particle endowed with universal quantificational force, and at the same time (ii) behaves as a Positive Polarity Item (PPI), in that it is anti-licensed by negation and tends to escape its scope. In the same line of reasoning, we suggest that the preverbal modal *hãy* should be analyzed as a PPI as well, since it always takes wide scope over negation. On syntactic grounds, it will be shown that the functional projection headed by *đi* is located immediately above vP but below NegP. Crucially, we propose that a sentence like [2d] instantiates the so-called *modal concord* or *modal matching* configurations (see Grosz 2009), phenomenon where two modal expressions exhibiting the same modal type (deontic/epistemic…) and sharing similar quantificational force (universal/existential) do not yield a cumulative reading,

but yield only one modal operator at Logical Form (LF) (cf. Guerts & Huitink 2006, Zeijlstra 2008, a.o.). Following Zeijlstra (2008), we take the *modal concord* between *hãy* and *đi* to be an instance of syntactic agreement, whereby those two elements, carrying matching features ([iMOD-DEON -∀] and [uMOD-DEON -∀], respectively), are said to enter an AGREE relation which arguably would be blocked by interveners such as the sentential negation morpheme *không* and prohibitive markers *đừng* or *chớ*.

We further support our claims by extending our discussion to the cohortative marker *thôi*, which happens to display the same distributional properties and scopal restrictions w.r.t. negation as *đi*. However, it will be demonstrated that the latter, but not the former, is rescuable by the presence of presupposition triggers.

[1] *Ăn đi* !
Eat IMP
'Eat !'

[2] a. *Đọc quyển sách này ngay đi!*
Read CL book DEICT immediately IMP
b. *Đọc quyển sách này ngay !*
Read CL book DEICT immediately
c. ***Hãy** đọc quyển sách này ngay !*
IMP read CL book DEICT immediately
d. ***Hãy** đọc quyển sách này ngay đi !*
IMP read CL book DEICT immediately IMP
'Read this book right away'

[3] a. *Uống nước đi !*
Drink water IMP
b. ***Hãy** uống nước (đi) !*
IMP drink water IMP
'Drink water!'
a'. ***Không** uống nước (*đi) !*
NEG drink water IMP
b'. ***Hãy không** uống nước (*đi) !*
IMP NEG drink water IMP
'Don't drink water'

[4] a. **(Hãy) đừng** *quên những người đã giúp bạn !*
IMP PROH/NEG forget PLUR human ANT help 2SG
a'. ***Đừng** quên những người đã giúp bạn (*đi)!*
PROH/NEG forget PLUR human ANT help 2SG IMP
'Don't forget those who (have) helped you!'
b. **(Hãy) chớ** *vội tin người lạ (*đi)!*
IMP PROH/NEG hasty trust strangers IMP
'Don't trust strangers too hastily!"

[5] a. ***Đừng** trách tôi (*?đi) !*
PROH/NEG blame 1SG IMP
'Don't blame me!'
a'. **(Thôi) đừng** *trách tôi nữa (đi) !*
Stop PROH/NEG blame 1SG more IMP
'Don't blame me anymore!'
b. ***Không cãi** nhau (*?đi) !*
NEG argue RECIPR IMP
'Don't fight each other !/Don't argue!'
b'. **(Thôi) không cãi** *nhau nữa (đi)!*
Stop NEG argue RECIPR more IMP
'Don't fight each other/Don't argue anymore !'

Abbreviations: 1SG (First person, singular); 2SG (Second person, singular); ANT (Anterior or Perfective aspect); CL (Classifier); DEICT (Deictic); IMP (Imperative); NEG (Negation); PLUR (Plural); PROH (Prohibitive); RECIPR (Reciprocal pronoun).

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Nina Dobrushina

Subjunctive complement clauses in Russian

In many languages of the world, the forms in the irrealis domain (subjunctive, conjunctive, conditional) are also used in complement clauses. The distinction between indicative and subjunctive complement clauses is widely discussed for Romance languages (Farkas 2003, Aehard 1998, Siegel 2009) and Balkan languages (Tomić 2006, Siegel 2009, Giannakidou 2009). The set of verbs that require subjunctive complementation varies from language to language, but typological studies identify a number of semantic types of predicates which tend to have subjunctive complement clause (Dixon 2006, Givón 2001, Palmer 2001, Noonan 2007).

In Russian, subjunctive is marked analytically by a particle *by* (*b*). In complement clause, subjunctive particle can not be separated from the complementizer *čto* (ex. (1), (2). The same conjunction is used to attach a purpose clause (ex. 3).

The paper identifies Russian verbs licensing subjunctive in complement clauses, either as the only option or as an alternative to the indicative. Basing on the Russian National Corpus (www.ruscorpora.ru), a list of these predicates was compiled, with relative frequencies of subjunctive vs. indicative for each predicate.

The main result of the study is distinguishing two clearly distinct classes of subjunctive complement clauses: purpose-like clauses and epistemic clauses

The first class - purpose-like usages - includes a bigger range of predicates (in my list, there are 56 predicates of this type, such as *xotet'* 'want', *predpochitat'* 'prefer', *nado* 'should',

prosit' 'ask', *dobit's'a* 'achieve / strive for'). This class covers predicates of desire, manipulation, deontic necessity and possibility, predicates of achievement, and some other. What these predicates have in common is that:

(a) the complement clause designates the target event

(b) the subject of the main clause is involved in the performance of the target event mentally or emotionally or otherwise, by causing the manipulee or by personal contribution to the achievement of this event.

The complement clauses of this type have a lot in common with true purpose clauses. They are all time reference dependent, and most of them place the situation in the future relatively to the situation of the main clause. They also share with purpose clauses some formal properties.

The closeness of the purpose clauses to the complement clauses of the verbs of desire and intention is widely discussed in typological literature (Palmer 2001: 131 – "purpose clauses express what the subject wants or intends"). What is more, it is likely that the usage of *čtoby* as a complementizer derives from its usage in purpose clauses. The development of the complement clauses from the purpose constructions was discussed in Haspelmath 1989, Dixon 2006: 39, and later revisited in Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 176.

On the contrary, the usages of the complementizer *čtoby* in the second class, referred to as epistemic subjunctive, are confined to a very limited set of predicates (*somnevat's'a* 'to doubt', *voobražat'* 'to imagine', *verit'/ poverit'* 'to believe', *pomnit'* 'to remember', *pripomnit'* 'to recall', *dumat'* 'think', *znat'* 'to know', *neverojatno* 'incredible', etc.). They express low epistemic value of the complement situation, and most of them are used only under negation, in questions or with adverbs indicating a low epistemic status. These predicates do not imply the involvement of the subject in the development of the subordinate situation. What is more important, the complement clauses of this type are not time reference dependent. The epistemic subjunctive complement clauses not only lack semantic properties of purpose clauses, but are also distinct in some formal respects.

Examples

(1) *On by priše-l*
he **SUBJ** come-PST.M.SG
'He would come'.

(2) *Ja xoč-u, čto-by on priše-l.*
I want-1SG **COMPL-SUBJ** he come-PST.M.SG
'I want him to come'.

(3) Ja ujd-u, *čto(-)by on priše-l.*
I go.away-1SG **COMPL-SUBJ** he come-PST.M.SG

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Lynn Drapeau, Renée Lambert-Brétière

From preverbs to sequentiality markers: clause chaining in Innu

Algonquian languages are known for exhibiting separate 'orders' of conjugation, i.e., distinct sets of mutually exclusive inflectional markers, known as the 'independent', the 'conjunct' and the 'imperative' (Wolfart 1973; Clarke 1982). Traditionally, the use of a paradigm set was accounted for by the syntactic context (the independent order in independent clauses vs. the conjunct order in dependent clauses). Several authors have since shown that the conjunct order is used in cases of 'dependency', not only syntactic but also discursive and cognitive (Starks 1992; Buszard 2003). Others have argued that it is used as a foregrounding device (Cyr 1991, 1994).

Based on data collected from speakers of Innu (a.k.a. Montagnais), an Algonquian language spoken in Northeastern Quebec (Canada), we revisit the use of the conjunct in clauses introduced by *êkwê* and *cê(kucê)*, as illustrated in (1) and (2), and we show that such constructions are cases of clause chaining, i.e., the conjunct inflected main clauses in (b) and (c) are dependent upon the matrix clause in (a) for the expression of tense, mood and illocutionary force, and describe events intimately linked to the event of the matrix clause. We argue that *êkwê* and *cê(kucê)* are text structuring markers signalling the sequentiality of events, and that the use of the conjunct order in the medial clauses is indicative of another level of dependency between clauses, not a syntactic but a discursive one, marking the clauses as part of a single episode.

The use of the non-finite form of a verb to indicate clause dependency is well documented (e.g. Longacre 1985, Payne 1991, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). In Innu, the conjunct inflection of the verb does not explicitly mark the semantics of the interpropositional relationship. In subordinate clauses, the conjunct verb form occurs with preverbs that indicate the temporal relationship of the subordinate clause to the main clause. We will argue that the markers *êkwê* and *cê(kucê)* are the

result of the grammaticalization of the combination of the conjunction *êkw* and the preverb of the following dependent clause. Two preverbs are involved in clause chaining: the preverb *ê=*, described as a factitive particle, indicating that the event of the subordinate clause is realized (cf. (3)), and the preverb *cê=*, the form of the future preverb used in complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses, as shown in (4). The outcome is two sequential markers used in clause chaining, one *êkwê* (*ekw* 'and' + *ê=* 'factitive') chaining realis states of affairs, and another *cê(kucê)* (*ekw* 'and' + *cê=* 'future') used to chain irrealis states of affairs.

Our analysis of the constructions of the type illustrated in (1) and (2) in terms of clause chaining provides a unified account of their properties. First, it explains the presence of the conjunct inflection on the verbs of the dependent clauses. Second, it illustrates the specific function of *êkwê* and *cê(kucê)* as sequentiality markers encoding reality status. Third, it supports the observation made by authors like Cyr (1991, 1994), Starks (1992) and Buszard (2003) that conjunct inflected clauses are used to encode foreground information.

Examples

(1) a. *cyêcêpâwši-t* *mišta-wîpat* *ni-nâtalipâ-n*
CF.be_morning-3.CJ very-early 1-go_to_fish_net-1.INDEP
'In the morning, I went to check my fish net very early'
[...background information...]

b. *êkwan* *êkwê* *cîwêyâ-n*
FOC.PRO SEQ.REAL go_back_on_water-1.CJ
'and so I then went back (where I came from) in my canoe'

c. *êkwan* *êkwê* *kapâyâ-n*
FOC.PRO SEQ.REAL get_off_boat-1.CJ
'and then I got out of the canoe'

(2) a. *nipâ-Ø* *pitamâ*
sleep-2.IMP first
'sleep first'

b. *cêcišêpâwši-t-i* *mâ* *cêkucê* *mîciš-in*
CF.be_morning.II-3.CJ-SUBJ EMPH SEQ.IRREAL to_eat.AI-2.CJ
'in the morning, then you will eat'

c. *ciši=mîciš-in-i êkwan cê atussê-in*
finish=to_eat.AI-2.CJ-SUBJ FOC.PRO SEQ.IRREAL to_work.AI-2.CJ
'after you have eaten, then you will work'

(3) *ni-cissêlim-âw* [*ê=âkuši-t*]
1-to_know.TA-3:3 FACT=be_sick.AI-3.CJ
'I know he is sick'

(4) *mišta-milwêlitam-w* *nê* *pîpicêw* [*cê=nipi-li-t-i* *nêlu-a*
very-be_happy.TI-3 DEM woodpecker CF.FUT=to_die.AI-3'-CJ-OBV DEM-OBV
âyâšêw-a]
Aiasheu-OBV
'the woodpecker is happy that Aiasheu will die'

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Lynn Drapeau

Possessor applicatives in Innu (Algonquian)

The study of applicative constructions in Algonquian languages has, for the most part, been limited to applicative ditransitive constructions in which the applied object (AO) is the Beneficiary/Recipient/Affectee (Brittain 1993; Rhodes 2010). Yet, the Innu language (a.k.a. *Montagnais*), as do other dialects of Cree, also evidences, alongside this Benefactive ditransitive, another derived verbal construction labelled "relational" (Ellis 1971; Wolfart 1973; Junker 2003) (Ellis 1971; Wolfart 1973; Junker 2003). The latter has never been recognized as an applicative, but has mostly been depicted as a distinct verbal paradigm.

This presentation investigates the formal and semantic properties of the so-called "relational" forms on the basis of text data gathered in Innu communities from Northeastern Québec (Canada). Innu is a radically head-marking language with accusative alignment, but in which the mapping of participants to core functions is severely curtailed by the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976). Transitive verbs register two animate participants through a system of direct/inverse marking and

the language allows to distinguish proximate (topical) and further (non-topical) 3rd persons through obviation (OBV) markers.

I show that the "relational" verb forms are a type of applicative that brings into the core, as direct argument of the verb, a participant which is not a semantic argument, but one only indirectly involved in the situation depicted by the predicate: third person possessors, as well as other indirectly involved third person participants. The AO thus refers to a participant holding a variety of roles associated to the INDIRECTUS macro-role (Lehmann 2006). The data show that the applicative suffix attaches to the three morphosyntactic categories of verb which take an Animate S: transitive verbs with Animate Objects (TA), transitive verbs with Inanimate objects (TI) and Intransitive verbs (AI). In the TA case, the applicative suffix attached to the verb stem is *–im*; in the AI and TI cases, the applicative suffix (in boldface and glossed APP) is *-w*. The first three examples below illustrate the use of the construction with TI verbs. In (3), the applicative verb registers the 3rd person Animate (A) possessor and in (4) an Animate (A) participant introduced in the matrix clause, although that participant is not, at first blush, a semantic argument of the lower clause. The subsequent examples display the same phenomenon with an intransitive verb. In (5), the verb of the subordinate clause is inflected for an applied third Animate object that refers to a participant involved in the state of affairs, but, again, not as a semantic argument in the clause. Likewise in (6), the derived applicative verb registers a third Animate possessor. The applicative construction is obligatory with third Animate possessors, hence our label of 'possessor applicative'. It is pragmatically obligatory in the case of other 'involved' Animate third person participants. Given the parallel existence of a true benefactive construction in Innu, the language thus displays a split between, at one endpoint of the cline of 'indirect' participants, a) *beneficiary* (ditransitive) applied constructions in which the AO is the affected target of the action, and, at the other endpoint, b) *indirect* applicative constructions in which the AO is an involved participant which is not explicitly targeted in the situation.

The Innu Possessor applicative construction thus offers a robust example of how, through applicativization, highly peripheral participants can be taken into the core. It also offers valuable insight into the family of 'indirect' semantic roles.

1. *ni-milûnê-n* *nê* *akup* 'I like this dress'
   1-like.TI-1 DEM dress.I

2. *ni-milûnam-w-ân* *ut-akup* 'I like her dress'
   1-likeTI-APP-1:3A 3-dress.I

3. *ni-cîtâpam-ikw* *an-tê* *êtûtam-w-ak*
   1-to_look_at.TA-3A:1 DEM-LOC CF.to_do.TI-APP-1:3A.CJ
   'she looks at me as I do it'

4. *(nânikutini pâmutayâwštîpan mâni cêcî mîškut) milî-atussê-w-k* *nîl*
   well-to_work.AI-APP-1:3A.CJ me
   '(sometimes she took the kids for a walk so that) me, I could work well'

5. *šûšêp* *atussê-w-êw* *Mâli-a* *w-îc-ilî-t*
   Joseph to_work.AI-APP-3:3A' Mary-OBV 3-house-OBV-LOC
   Joseph is working at Mary's house

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Melania Duma

English-Romanian Code-Switching – Are there bilingual grammars?

The present study undertakes an inquiry into the grammatical nature of the rules that allow R(omanian)E(nglish)C(ode)S(witching). The formal approaches to CS opt between Constraint-Based and Constraint-Free models of computation. These CS lines of thought constitute the reflex of the major approaches to monolingual grammars, the various versions of Generative Grammar, in particular. Because CS involves bilingualism and because monolingual theories were not initially designed to account for bilingual phenomena, the conclusions of CS research have been revised and re-revised with no clear-cut consensus in the following matters: a one or two grammar computation, a third grammar (CS specific) computation or an unconstrained computation.

RECS is poorly represented in the literature, and the observations are purely descriptive. To bridge this gap as well as evaluate the already existing claims, a study of RECS was conducted and the conclusions are based on evidence from two corpora: offline web data and offline Facebook data, both spontaneous in nature, as well as from the rating given to RECS examples in an acceptability judgment test.

The study takes the latest claim in the field (MacSwan 1997 and subsequent studies) as research hypothesis and rejects it on the basis of the RECS data. The research question states that nothing constrains CS except for the requirements of the languages involved. This statement is not substantiated by the data gathered for the purpose of the present project. Instead, three claims are brought forward:

Claim1:

The RECS computation is monolingual.

Claim2:
RECS supports the principle of Late Insertion for functional categories.
Claim3:
RECS supports the existence of two simultaneous Root entries in the Numeration.

The three claims are formulated on the basis of DP data: noun gender assignment and noun-adjective agreement, and IP data: I-V interaction and the morphological nature of the subject.

Ricardo Etxepare, Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria

On the different crosslinguistic sources of transitive necessity modal predicates

▶Deriving transitive necessity modals from incorporation of a necessity nominal into possesive *have*

Isačenko (1974) observes that those languages that do not possess a possessive *have* also lack a transitive modal verb *need* (see also Bhatt 1998 & Noonan 1993). On the basis of this typological correlation, Harves (2008), Kayne (2009) and Harves & Kayne (H&K) (2008, 2012) argue that English *need* derives from an underlying structure with the nominal *need* as the complement of a light verb *have* (a verb expressing ordinary possession), as in (1). Assuming this structure, modal *need* is derived via incorporation of nominal *need* to the light verb *have*, as illustrated in (2). Incorporation explains: **i)** why *need* shows up "disguised" as a verb, and **ii)** why it surfaces with verbal inflectional morphology (3), just as any other verb in English; **iii)** further, since the incorporated noun does not require Case, *have* can assign accusative Case to the complement of *need*, making the preposition *of* unnecessary. Summarizing, the incorporation analysis proposed by H&K captures the generalization that only languages that have a possessive auxiliary-like *have* possess also a transitive *need* and explains in a simple and an elegant way the verbal behavior and the inflectional properties of the denominal transitive modal *need*. It also explains why in (2) the object of *need*, the DP *a new car*, surfaces as the object of the transitive modal construction and receives accusative Case.

▶An alternative source for transitive necessitiy modals: the Basque modal predicate BEHAR

Basque has a noun meaning *need* (*behar;* see (4)) and a transitive modal form, traditionally classified as verbal, homophonous to it (5), just as in English. As illustrated in (6a), Basque also has a possessive *have*, which freely alternates with a lexical verb meaning "to possess" (the verb *eduki*) in the expression of possession (6b). Given this correlation, it is tempting to extend an incorporation analysis *à la* Harves & Kayne to this language. We depart however from the specific underlying structure and the ensuing derivation proposed by these authors for English *need*. The reason is that, while modal *behar* behaves as a regular transitive verb with respect to Case and agreement, modal *behar* differs both from its English lexical counterpart *need* and from ordinary denominal Basque verbs in that it cannot take the inflectional morphology that regular verbs take. In particular:

i. In contrast with the majority of verbs in Basque –which take a special type of suffix *(-tu, -n, i)* in their citation form (what is traditionally called 'the participial form)–, *behar* bears no suffix whatsoever. This is illustrated in (7).
ii. A second intriguing feature that distinguishes *behar* from regular verbs in Basque is that the purported verb *behar* does not possess non-finite forms. In this, the modal verb *behar* differs from denominal verbs derived from noun incorporation, such as *dantzatu* 'to dance' in (8b), resulting from the incorporation of the independently existing noun *dantza* 'dance' onto *egin* ('do') in (8a). Both the light verb *egin* "do" (9) and the denominal verb *dantzatu* "dance" (10) have infinitival (9a, 10a), nominalized (9b,10b) and stem (9c,10c) forms; *behar*, however, admits none of those forms (11a-c).
iii. Finally, there is another property of *behar*, related to the one we have just discussed, which separates *behar* from the rest of the verbal paradigm, and which has to do with the attachment of aspectual inflexional suffixes. While aspectual morphemes usually attach directly to the verbs in Basque (see (12)), modal *behar* does not take any aspectual markers (except for the suffix of prospective aspect *–ko*, derived from the genitive *–ko*, which selects for nominal complements); rather the aspectual morphemes must attach to a dummy auxiliary *izan* 'be/have' (13).

All these properties are unexpected if, as proposed for English *need*, the Basque noun *behar* also incorporated into a silent counterpart of *have*. We thus contend that the necessity modal *behar* is related to its nominal base in a way other than ordinary syntactic incorporation. Under our analysis the modal noun *behar* starts as the nominal predicate of a small clause whose subject (either a DP or a non finite clause) is the content of the need, as represented in (14). This clausal constituent merges to an adpositional head (*P* in (15)) which introduces an independent argument, external to the clause: the DP for which the need or obligation is relevant, what we informally call the 'experiencer' of the need. The adpositional phrase is the complement of an intransitive verb *be* that provides the verbal support for the construction. In (15), P incorporates to the copula BE, giving rise to transitive *have*. The underlying structure of modal constructions is thus akin to the one proposed for auxiliary *have* by Kayne (1993) (*have* < *be +P*). Under our approach the Case properties displayed by this type of structures is explained as follows: since nominal *behar* is a predicate in (15) it is exempted from meeting any Case requirements. Transitive *have* is thus available to check the Case features of a nominal other than *behar* (incorporation of *need* is therefore not required to explain how Case is assigned under our approach). We provide several arguments, related to the reflexivization and reciprocalization paradigms allowed with *behar*, which provide further support to our analysis. Independent evidence supporting the underlying structure in (14) come from the existence of structures like (16), with a bare noun (*artzain*, 'shepard') which acts as the nominal predicate of a small clause, whose subject is a noun phrase (*semea* '(the=our) son').

The underlying clausal configuration we propose for Basque necessity modals in (15) is reminiscent of the type of nominal modal constructions we find in other languages (17-18). In Scottish Gaelic, for instance, necessity modal constructions may be expressed by means of structures of the type illustrated in (17). In this example, the phrase *to buy a house* is the complement of the modal expressing obligation or necessity and the obligatory prepositional phrase is necessarily construed as the element for which the obligation is relevant. To account for the interpretation of the embedded subject, Ramchand (1997) assumes that the complement phrase contains a controlled subject position (PRO). We hope that the analysis put forward here, as well as the Basque data uncovered, can serve as a modest testing ground for the analysis of the nominal modal construction and its relation to verbal modals in other languages, a topic which remains yet to be extensively studied.

▶Deriving transitive necessity modals from incorporation of a necessity nominal into possesive *have*

(1) HAVE [need …] (2) They have [need of a new car] > they [need+∅have]V [a new car]ACC > They need a new car

(3) a. There will need to be more work done b. He has always needed a sister c. She needs a new car

▶An alternative source for transitive necessitiy modals: the Basque modal predicate BEHAR

(4) a. Behar handia dut b. Ez dut horr-en beharr-ik
need big aux neg aux that-gen need-partitive
'I have a big need' 'I don't have any need of that'

(5) a. [NP Liburu bat] behar dut b. [Liburu bat erosi] behar dut
book one need Aux book one buy need Aux
'I need a book' 'I need to/must buy a book'

(6) a. Jonek liburu bat du b. Jonek liburu bat dauka
Jon-erg book one has Jon-erg book one possesses
'Jon has a book' 'Jon has/possesses a book'

(7) a. *Har-tu*: to take b. *Egin-n*: to do/make c. *Irakurr-i*: to read d. *Behar__*: to need/must/ have to

(8) a. [VP [N *Dantza*] *egin*] b. [V *Dantza-tu* [N (*dantza*)]]
dance do dance
'To dance' 'To dance'

(9) a. Dantza egin b. Dantza egite c. Dantza egin dezan
Dance do+Ø dance do-nom dance do Aux-subjunc
'To dance' 'Dancing' 'So that (s)he may dance'

(10) a. Dantzatu b. Dantzatze c. Dantza dezan
dance-parte dance-nom dance Aux-subjunc
'To dance' 'Dancing' 'So that (s)he may dance'

(11) a. *Behartu b. * Behartze c. *Behar dezagun
need-parte need-nom need Aux-subj
'To need' 'Needing' 'So that (s)he may need'

(12) a. Hartu dut b. Hartzen dut c. Hartuko dut
take-perf Aux take-imp Aux take-prospective Aux
'I have taken it' 'I usually take it' 'I will take it'

(13) a. Behar izan dut b. Behar dut c. Behar izaten dut d. Behar izango / beharko dut
need be-perf Aux need Aux need be-imp Aux need be-prosp / behar-prosp Aux
'I have need it' 'I need it' 'I usually need it' 'I will need it'

(14) …[SMALL CLAUSE DP/non-finite clause *behar*]

(15) …BE [PP SubjectEXPERIENCER OF NEED P [SMALL CLAUSE DP beharNEED]] non finite clause

(16) [DETPHRASE seme-a]Ø [NP artzain] bidali genuen mendira
son-the-Abs shepard send Aux mountain-Loc
'We sent our son to work as a shepard in the mountain' (Lit: 'We sent our son a shepard to the mountain')

(17) Bu choir dhombh [PRO taigh a cheannach] (from Ramchand, 1997:150).
Scottish Gaelic
obligation to+me house 3p buy-VN
'I should buy a house'

(18) a. B'éigean dúinn cinneadh a dhéanamh. (Hickey 2009)
Irish
was compulsion to-us decision COMP make-VN
'We had to make a decision.'
b. Tá feidhm orm teach a thógáil (Hansen & de Haan 2009)
Irish
be-prs need on me house PTL build-VN
'I need to build a house'
c. Ret e vo deoc'h [VP kas ho mab d'ar skol],
Breton
obligation P will to.2PL send your son to the school
'You'll have to send your son to school' (Kerrain (2010:79)

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Beatriz Fernández, Milan Rezac
A Basque approach to Differential Object Marking

Under certain conditions, nonstandard varieties of Basque display so-called quirky dative objects, a phenomenon that belongs to the broader family of constructions studied in the typological literature as *Differential Object Marking* (DOM) (Bossong 1991, Lazard 2001, Aissen 2003). For the most part, Basque grammarians have either ignored the phenomenon or set it aside with suspicion. In this talk, we seek to redress this gap.

In Standard Basque and in most varieties of Basque the structure of a sentence with a bivalent predicate as *ikusi* 'see' is (1). In (1) there are two arguments, subject and object marked by ergative case and by absolutive case, respectively. The auxiliary selected is a transitive one, i.e. *edun* 'have' as we can see in the root *-u-*. Besides, the transitive auxiliary cross-references the ergative and absolutive arguments by ergative and absolutive agreement markers, i.e. the suffix *-t* for 1st person singular ergative and the prefix *z-* for 2nd person absolutive.

The correspondent sentence in the dialect of Lekeitio, a DOM variety of Basque can be seen in (2). Compared to the canonical sentence in (1), two main differences arise: a) although, *ikusi* 'see' is a bivalent verb, the object is marked by dative case *-(r)i* in *suri* 'to you'–, not by absolutive case *-su Ø*; b) along with the dative marking in the object, the auxiliary selected is a ditransitive and not a transitive one. This ditransitive auxiliary form triggers dative agreement with the dative object (by the suffix *-zu*) and includes a dative flag (DF) which precedes the dative agreement suffix. This dative flag appears canonically in the auxiliary along with trivalent predicates, as in (3), from Lekeitio variety. In (3), the dative agreement suffix *-zu* corresponds to the indirect object marked by dative *–su-ri* 'to you'.

As we will see, Basque DOM is subject to restrictions on animacy, person, definiteness and tense. Actually, only human objects can take DOM –(2) vs. (4a,b); DOM is more common with 1st and 2nd person objects than 3rd person ones; only definite objects admit DOM (5); and finally, DOM seems to be more frequently attested in past than in present tenses, at least in some varieties. Roughly speaking Basque DOM is attested in Navarrese, Western Basque and Central Basque.

In this talk, we will characterize Basque DOM and compare it to other well-known DOM phenomena, as Spanish *leísmo* (6) (also attested in the Spanish of the Basque Country). We will also discuss evidence in favor and against the syntactic (in)direct object nature of Basque DOM objects, although our results are not conclusive regarding this issue.

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Examples

(1) Nik zu ikusi za-it-u-t
I-ERG you.ABS see 2ABS-plABS-root-1sgERG
'I saw you.'

(2) (Ni-k) su-ri ikusi d-o-t-zu-t
I-ERG you-DAT see expl-root-DF-2DAT-1sgERG
'I saw you.' (Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994:125-7)

(3) (Ni-k) su-ri liburua emon d-o-t-zu-t
I-ERG you-DAT book.ABS give expl(3ABS)-root-DF-2DAT-1sgERG
'I gave you a book.'

(4) a. *(Nik) txakurrari ikusi dotzat
I-ERG dog-DAT see aux
'I saw the dog.'

b. *(Nik) telebistari ikusi dotzat
I-ERG TV-DAT see aux
'I watched TV.'

(5) **Eztotzat czaututen iñori
no aux.3DAT/1sgERG-PAST know anybody.DAT
'I don't know anybody.' (Mounole 2008)

(6) ¿Conoces a Juan? Sí, le conozco hace tiempo
know-2sg P Juan yes cl.DAT know-1sg do-3sg time
'Do you know Juan? Yes, I've known him for a long time.' (Fernández Ordoñez 1999)

Beatriz Fernández, Jon Ortiz de Urbina
On the nature of Basque datives in bivalent unergatives

In Basque and in many other languages, some bivalent predicates mark their sole object dative and not absolutive/accusative (see (1), Etxepare 2003). This is something unexpected for Case Theory, as, in an ergative language like Basque, the sole object is expected to be marked absolutive, and dative Case tends to be dependent on the presence of another absolutive/accusative argument. Morphologically, this sole object is indistinguishable from the indirect object of trivalent predicates (2): both of them share dative case and the same dative agreement marker is introduced by a dative flag in the auxiliary (Trask 1997). Besides, both of them occur with what looks like the same ditransitive auxiliary. As shown by Blume (1998) this type of marking cannot be dismissed as a purely idiosyncratic 'lexical' property of a few verbs: while verbs showing this complementation pattern do usually make up a small class, the specific items are surprisingly similar across languages. Thus, Basque bivalent unergatives also fall into semantic classes identified by Blume (1998): a) verbs of communication: *abisatu* 'notify', *aditu* 'listen to', *deitu* 'call', *entzun* 'listen to', *erregutu* 'pray', *eskertu* 'thank'; b) verbs of relative motion: *jarraiki/jarraitu* 'follow', *segitu* 'follow', *jazarri* 'chase', *lagundu* 'accompany', and c) 'obey verbs': *manatu* 'order', *obeditu* 'obey'. A further semantic class, made up by aspectual verbs like *ekin, eragon* 'engage in' differs from the previous one, both in crosslinguistic saliency and in Basque internal properties.

In this talk, we will focus on the syntactic behavior of datives in bivalent unergatives in the first three classes and show that similarities with indirect objects extend also to syntax and are, therefore, not a merely morphological phenomenon. Moreover, cross-linguistically, these datives seem to behave in a similar fashion –see for instance German (inherent) datives of bivalent predicates analyzed by McFadden (2004). For instance, datives in both Basque and German behave similarly in impersonal/passive clauses (4) and depictive secondary predicates (5) patterning with indirect

objects in trivalent structures. A third piece of evidence used by McFadden to show the parallelism between indirect objects and (inherent) dative objects in German, namely, the impossibility of genitive marking in nominalizations, does not extent to Basque in a straightforward way (6). In fact, we find in this area, asymmetries between indirect objects and datives in Basque. Still, we will maintain the claim that datives of these bivalent unergatives are indirect objects as in German. Other pieces of evidence, such as datives under causativization and relativization will be also briefly explored. This evidence argues in favor of analyses which actually identify these apparent 'first' complements as 'second' (via argument conflation, etc.). We also provide evidence to show that while the configuration in (1) resembles that found in cases of *Differential Object Marking (DOM)* (Lazard 2001), also attested in some Basque varieties (3), datives in bivalent unergatives do not show any animacy, person, definiteness or tense restrictions. This provides further support for their treatment as 'second' objects.

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Examples

(1) Nik zuri begiratu d-i-zu-t (bivalent unergative predicate)
I.ERG you.DAT look at expl-(root)-DF-2DAT-1sgERG
'I looked at you.'

(2) Nik zuri liburua eman d-i-zu-t (trivalent predicate)
I.ERG you.DAT book.ABS give expl-(root)-DF-2DAT-1sgERG
'I gave you the book.'

(3) Nik zuri ikusi d-i-zu-t (DOM)
I.ERG you.DAT see expl-(root)-DF-2DAT-1sgERG
'I saw you.'

(4) Mikeli asko lagundu zaio
Mikel.DAT a lot aux (3sgABS)-3sgDAT
'Mikel was helped a lot.'

(5) Nik Joni biluzi lagundu diot
I.ERG$_i$ Jon.DAT$_j$ naked$_{i,j}$ help aux (3sgDAT-1plERG)
'I helped Jon naked.'

(6) Suminduen barkamena
outraged.pl.GEN forgiveness
'The forgiveness of the outraged.'

Diana Forker

Cases - non-cases: At the margins of the Tsezic case system

Tsezic languages (Nakh-Daghestanian or East-Caucasian; Russia) have rich case inventories due to their large number of spatial cases. Case assignment in these languages is largely semantically motivated, and morphosyntactic features play only a marginal role (cf. Kibrik 1997). Due to the dominant role of semantics in the assignment of case it seems that it is relatively simple to extend the case inventory. That is, suffix- and enclitic-like elements with an autonomous distinguished form and paired with a clear-cut meaning develop into cases.

The perfect example of such a suffix is the Tsezic suffix *-lun /-lin*, which can be translated with 'as X' (1). This suffix can be added to nouns, pronouns, adjectives, participles, etc. Its cognates can also be found in a number of Andic languages (which are related to the Tsezic languages and spoken in an adjacent territory). Creissels (2010) analyzes the item *-l-* of the Andic language Akhvakh. He argues that it is possible to reconstruct **l-* at least at the Proto-Avar-Andic-Tsezic level and that it has "grammaticalized into an essive case ending at least in Northern Akhvakh, and probably in several other languages of this branch of East Caucasian". However, taking a closer look at Tsezic *-lun /-lin* and comparing it to unambiguous examples of cases such as ergative or dative/lative reveals a number of differences: in the Tsezic languages Hinuq and Bezhta, *-lun* can be added to the so-called 'direct form of the stem', which is not possible with the ergative or dative/lative. Furthermore, *-lun* can follow nouns that are already case-marked, which is absolutely forbidden for the ergative or dative/lative.

Therefore, I want to explore these and similar borderline cases of the Tsezic case systems by adopting the canonical approach as developed by Corbett (cf. Corbett 2005, 2007) and others. By employing Corbett's (2008) list of ten criteria that help to distinguish canonical instances of cases from less canonical ones I will go through the Tsezic systems of suffixes and enclitics that are suitable candidates for cases and compare them with the 'grammatical' and the spatial cases. I will argue that these systems are far from being homogenous and that they not only loose members that are no longer in use anymore (e.g. certain spatial cases in Bezhta), but that they also gain new members.

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Examples

(1) Hinuq
de *Ø-edo -ho* *adwokat-lun*
1SG I-work-PRS layer-AS
'I (masc.) work as a layer.'

(2) Bezhta
dibola *rähät-li-ǯ'a-lun*
you.SG.GEN2 relax-OBL-SPR-AS
'as you like'

Ludovico Franco
The many moods of Iranian Ezafe

This work is a typological survey on the behaviour of the Ezafe linker among (Eastern & Western) Iranian languages. Basically, Ezafe is an enclitic particle (1), which links the head noun to its modifiers (and to possessor NPs). The initial a-theoretical aim is to roughly check the distribution of the Ezafe position in the NP. In order to simplify the research, I have considered only the relative order of nouns and adjectives/attributive modifiers (hence, leaving aside relative clauses, possessives, etc.), with Ezafe as a not independent linking "variable" which can be (optionally) inserted between them. Given this premise, the logical possible combinations are reduced to [→ NEzA, AEzN, NA, AN]. Hence, logically possible orders such as [→EzNA, EzAN, NAEz, ANEz], not unreasonable if Ezafe would be an independent item inside NP, are excluded here. However, the occurrence of functional morphemes before or after barely paratactically adjoined nouns and modifiers [→NA, AN] or other challenges have been taken here in special consideration [e.g. Pashto example in (2), Zazaki alleged Suffixaufnahme in (3)], and could eventually feed theoretical assumptions to be introduced and discussed below. My actual sample includes 33 languages & dialects (14 East Iranian: Ossetic, Shughni, Yaghnobi, Sarikoli, Yazgulami, Munji, Bartangi, Wakhi, Yidgha, Ishkashimi, Ormuri, Parachi, Pashto, Waziri; 19 West Iranian: Persian, Tajik, Vafsi, Northern Talysh, Southern Talysh, Harzandi, Tati, Dari, Mazandarani, Gilaki, Zazaki, Sorani, Baluchi, Hawrami, Laki, Alamuti, Khalkal, Sabzevari, Semnani). Data are from personal non-native knowledge and informants (Standard Persian, Mazandarani, Gilaki) or grammars/descriptions/articles/PhD dissertations. The main results are roughly the following: (i) frequently more than one strategy is allowed [i.e. NEzA, AEzN and AN in Parachi (4)]; (ii) the most widespread order (with & without the Ezafe) is AN; (iii) crucially, NA combination without a linking Ez particle is unattested in the Sample. Notice that this order without the mean of a linker is widely attested (Rijkhoff, 1998; 2002). Given our general findings, and on the basis of a series of specific evidence (e.g. the distribution of the Ezafe&allomorphs on relative clauses & on head nouns (5)), I will try to demonstrate that previous theoretical analyses (e.g. Samiian, 1994; den Dikken & Singhapreecha,

2004; and, especially, Larson & Yamakido, 2008) are empirically unsuitable. I argue instead for an anti-symmetric analysis of Ezafe, relying essentially on Kayne (1994) and Cinque (2005; 2010). Ezafe is a kind of multipurpose functional item [see (6)], which can Spell-Out/Climb-up (Caha, 2009) a series of functional heads in the extended projection of the noun (7). The moved NP has its landing site in the Specifier of one of those functional head, obligatorily triggering an overt linker and thus generating the order NEzA. The combination AEzN instantiates overt agreement between the owner of the extended projection and its modifiers, when nothing moves. This is a marked (not-economic) option (in the sense of e.g. Koopman, 2000), which is however allowed by UG. AN is the unmarked option in Iranian languages, for which crucially the unmarked extended NP is {Dem-Num-A-N}. The absence of NA in Iranian Languages can be explained as a strong tendency predicted by Antisymmetry. In fact, Kayne (1994) originally pointed out compelling tendencies that follows from LCA. For instance, cross-linguistically, it is easy to find agreement between postpositions and their NP complements, while it is rare to find agreement between prepositions and their complements. This tendency is explained because the moved NP complement reaches a Spec position and thus enters in Spec-head configuration with the postposition, where agreement between Specifiers and heads is very frequent. For analogy, if NP phrasally move to the Spec of an X° in its extended projection, overt agreement/movement cue is triggered in Iranian languages. Further notice that recent developments of Anti-symmetry theory (Kayne, 2009) have "revitalized" Ghomeshi's (1997) analysis of Ezafe, involving non-projecting nouns in Persian. I will tentatively propose a unified analysis able to account for such hypothesis assuming a constrained configuration basically along the lines of Franco (2011).

(1) lebâs-e sefid (Persian)
dress-EZ white
"the white dress"
(2) [de mēz] andāze (Pashto)
of table length
"table's length"
(3) a'qil-e [mar'dim-de pil-I] (Zazaki)
wisdom-EZ people-OBL.EZ older-PL
"the wisdom of older people"
(4) a. gino pus; b. pus-e gino c. gino-e pus, all "little boy" (Parachi)
(5) taq-e huner-êk-î ke bû-y (…) (Sorani Kurdish)
only-EZ talent-INDEF-EZ that be.PASt-3.SG
"The only talent that he had (…)"
(6) PREDICATE > asman-e abi / losmon-i- obi 'blue sky';
EVENT > ruz-e enqelabi / ruz-i inqilob 'the day of revolution' - 'revolution day';
POSSESSOR > ketab-e Hasani / kitob-i Hasan 'the book of Hasan' - Hasan's book';
AGENT > kar-e mardom / kor-i mardum 'the work of people';
PATIENT > qatl-e Hoseyn / qatl-i Husayn 'the murder of Hoseyn';
PURPOSE > daru-ye gerip / daru-yi gripp 'flu medicine';
GOAL > rah-e Tehran / roh-i Dusanbe 'the road of / to Tehran, Dushanbe';
LOCATION TIME > mardom-e inja, emruz / mardum-i injo, imruz 'people (of) here, of today';
ORIGIN > ahl-e Tehran / ahl-i Dusanbe 'inhabitant of Tehran, Dushanbe';
SOURCE, CAUSE > ab-e cesme / ob-i casma 'water of well' - well-water',
SUBSTANCE > gombad-e tala / gunbad-i-talo 'dome of gold';
ELEMENT > anbuh-e sa 'el-an / anbuh-i so 'ii-on 'crowd of pilgrims'
PART > do najar-e an-ha / du nafar-i on-ho 'two (persons) of them'.

Persian/Tajik (Windfuhr & Perry, 2010: 473)

(7) [XP Dem [XP X…[YP RelC [YP Y… [WP NumP [WP W …[ZP AP [ZP Z… [NP N]]]]]]]]]

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Dimitry Ganenkov

Today's syntax is yesterday's morphology: from affixes to clitics in the Lezgian TMA system

It is quite typical of East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) languages to distinguish between two classes of verbs: simplex verbs vs. complex verbs. Simplex verbs are morphological verbs *sensu stricto*, i.e. they consist of a verbal stem to which various TMA markers are attached, see examples from Agul (Lezgic branch) in (1). On the other hand, complex verbs include a lexical part and a light verb, which serves as a host to verbal morphology, as in Agul examples in (2).

Etymologically simplex and complex verbs are easily found in Lezgian (the description of Lezgian verbal inflection and derivation can be found in Haspelmath 1993), so that originally they should also have been present in Lezgian, (3) and (4). Synchronically, this difference is somewhat blurred, since both synthetic and analytic formation are possible both with original simplex verbs and with original complex verbs with the light verb 'do' (except for a relatively small number of simplex 'strong verbs'), (5). This implies that they represent a single morphological category (cf. 'weak verbs' in Haspelmath 1993). Whether a TMA form is formed synthetically or analytically depends on a number of morphological and pragmatic conditions.

Thus, one may conclude that morphologization of complex 'do'-verbs (while preserving the original possibility of analytic formation) led to reanalysis of original simplex verbal roots as syntactically independent lexical category, which clearly violates the general tendency towards univerbation. However, this development gave rise to an even more unusual situation: parallel usage of synthetic TMA markers and analytic 'do'-compounds led to demorphologization of synthetic TMA markers.

In this paper, I discuss the syntactic behaviour of TMA markers in Lezgian. All data come from a corpus of original texts. I argue that original synthetic TMA markers have been reanalyzed as clitic forms of the light verb 'do'. As a result, they may be phonologically attached not only to verbs as described above, but potentially to a word of any lexical category: noun (6), pronoun (7), adverb (8), and especially various question words, (9). In the latter case, the verb may be separated from TMA markers and be in the form of bare lexical stem, as in (10). That this attachment is in fact to a phrasal category can be seen from examples where its host is either plural/case markedj, (6), (11) or has its own dependents (12). When attached to a host, clitic forms of 'do' (i.e. former synthetic TMA markers) introduce the ergative argument (8), (9), (11). I also discuss a number of consequences that arise as a result of this reanalysis: noun vs. verb distinction, transitive vs. intransitive verbs and some others.

Examples (all sentence examples come from original texts)

(1) Simplex verbs in Agul

	INF	PRS	PFT
'do'	aq'-as	aq'-aa	aq'-une
'become'	x-as	x-aa	x-une
'write'	lik'-as	lik'-aa	lik'-ine

(2) Complex verbs in Agul

	LEXICAL PART		INF	PRS	PFT
'rob'	taraš	+	aq'-as	aq'-aa	aq'-une
'change (tr.)'	degiš	+	aq'-as	aq'-aa	aq'-une
'change (itr.)	degiš	+	x-as	x-aa	x-une

(3) Original simplex verbs in Lezgian

	INF	PRS	PFT
'do'	ij-iz	ij-izwa	aw-una
'become'	ž-ez	ž-ezwa	x-una
'look'	kilig-iz	kilig-zawa	kilig-na

'rob'	taraš aw-una	+	ij-iz	ij-izwa
'change (tr.)'	degiš aw-una	+	ij-iz	ij-izwa
'change (itr.)	degiš	+	ž-ez	ž-ezwa x-una

(4) Original complex verbs in Lezgian

	LEXICAL PART	INF	PRS	PFT

(5) Synthetic and analytic formation of TMA categories with simplex and complex verbs

	INF	PRS	PFT
'change (tr.)'	degiš ij-iz ‖ degiš-iz	degiš ij-izwa ‖ degiš-zawa	degiš awuna ‖ degiš-na
'look'	kilig-iz ‖ kilig ijiz	kilig-zawa ‖ kilig ijizwa	kilig-na ‖ kilig awuna

(6) konserwi-jar-**da-j** zawod
conserves-PL-HAB/FUT-PART factory
'a canning factory' (lit. 'a factory that produces conserves')

(7) A-m-**na** k'an-da
that-SUBST-PFT need-HAB/FUT
'It is necessary to do that.'

(8) Zijaudin-a i-k'-**da-j**, Zijaudin-a a-k'-**da-j**.
Z.-ERG this-ADV-HAB/FUT-PST Z.-ERG that-ADV-HAB/FUT-PST
'Zijaudin did in this way, Zijaudin did in that way.'

(9) Bes ama-j-bur-u a-k' wučiz-**zawa-č**.

PTCL rest-PART-PL-ERG that-ADV why-PRS-NEG
'Why don't others do in that way?'

(10) Wun kis wučiz-**zawa**?
you(ABS) sleep why-PRS
'Why are you sleeping?'

(11) Bednazar-a mad sefer-da čin caw-a-l-**na**.
B.-ERG again time-LOC face sky-OBL-SUPER-PFT
'Bednazar raised his face towards the sky once again.'

(12) [SP näni-n iχtilat-ar]-**zawa-j** insan-ar
evening-GEN conversation-PL-PRS-PART man-PL
'people that made evening conversations (in the streets)'

Jerzy Gaszewski

Variability of Polish governed prepositions and its semantic effects

Some clarifications are in order first – the paper is *not* dealing with government exercised by prepositions. Instead, what is investigated are Polish prepositions subject to government themselves. As regards "government", it is understood traditionally – as determination of morphosyntactic form of a dependent by its syntactic head, cf. the German term *Rektion* and Polish *rekcja* (in more recent works subsumed under the more general label *akomodacja*).

Governed prepositions like *na* + Acc. in (1) are commonly assumed to be semantically empty (e.g. Schröder 2000, Nagórko 2005, Kiss et al. 2011 or Grochowski 1988) in sharp contrast to free prepositions exemplified in (2). The minimal semantic value of governed prepositions (typically not taken into account at all) is that they take some part in distinguishing constituents syntagmatically (e.g. the experiencer from the theme in (1)).

The presentation focuses on prepositions that are governed (undoubtedly motivated by the use of a particular word as head) but allow limited variation of marking (in Polish linguistics this is known as *akomodacja alternatywna*). Such observed variation may result from differences between dialects (or registers), it can also reflect a diachronic change in progress (government is a phenomenon particularly prone to change at a rapid pace, cf. Buttler 1976).

Yet, there are clear cases where variable marking has clear semantic import and must be part of the language competence of the speakers. For example, the verb *przygotowywać/ przygotować się* 'to prepare' can take two prepositions, which produce opposite entailments. The subject in (3) will be understood as the aggressor, and in (4) as the victim of the attack. Effects of the same kind are obtained with the verb *modlić/pomodlić się* 'to pray' – (5) implies the subject has a husband and prays for his benefit, the reading of (6) is quite different – the subject only wants to get married, as it were to "get" a husband from God.

The analysed prepositions are thus truly intermediate in character. The head exerts a determinative influence on choice of the preposition, but at the same time there are paradigmatic contrasts. It is also conspicuous that the contrasts are idiosyncratic and valid only for individual lexemes used as heads (at best for sets of synonyms).

The paper will offer a brief survey of such contrasts, attempt to form some generalisations (e.g. the contrast of *na* + Acc. and *do* recurs with a number of words), assess the scope of the phenomenon (wider than could be assumed, e.g. Grochowski's 1988 example of a preposition that has "no meaning at all" is in fact involved in a paradigmatic contrast) and show its limitations (the semantic oppositions do not work in all contexts). The analysis will be supported by the data from the recently completed nearly 1.6-billion-word National Corpus of Polish.

Examples:

Note: the glosses for prepositions always provide their basic meaning in non-governed contexts

(1) Ona czeka na nas.
she wait.3SG on we.ACC
"She's waiting for us."

(2a) Chłopcy stoją za domem.
Boy.PL.NOM stand.3PL behind house.INSTR
"The boys are standing behind the house."
(2b) Chłopcy stoją przed domem.
Boy.PL.NOM stand.3PL in front house.INSTR
"The boys are standing in front of the house."

(3) Przygotowywali się do ataku.
prepare.PAST.3PL REFL to attack.GEN
"They prepared to stage the attack."
(4) Przygotowywali się na atak.
prepare.PAST.3PL REFL on attack.ACC
"They prepared to endure the attack."

(5) Modliła się za męża.
pray.PAST.3SG.FEM REFL behind husband.ACC
"She prayed for her husband."
(6) Modliła się o męża.
pray.PAST.3SG.FEM REFL about husband.ACC
"She prayed for a husband."

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Hélène Gérardin, Arthur Laisis

Some thoughts on alignment change and grammatical categories in Ossetic

As an Iranian language isolated in the Caucasus since ancient times, Ossetic displays a range of morphosyntaxic constructions and categories which diverge quite dramatically from those found in other Iranian languages or in surrounding 'indigenous' Caucasian languages. The purpose of our communication is to investigate a number of changes pertaining to verbal alignment. Since this field of studies is quite recent, these phenomena were not always given a theoretically satisfying treatment in the earlier grammatical literature on Ossetic and need an up-to-date analysis. We will strive to describe them accurately and put them in their historical and areal context.

In the Iranian language family, case systems are most often based on a Direct-Oblique opposition. Ossetic is here an exception, due partly to conservatism and partly to innovation. The question of the existence of an accusative case in Ossetic has been dividing the specialists since the ground-breaking article of Abaev (1940), which first chose to deny its existence both on theoretical and pedagogical grounds. It seems to us, however, that the debate we face is somehow twist, since the notion of accusative is not straightforward and can cover many different ideas. Ossetic so-called accusative is a cover term for what is now called Differential Object Marking (DOM). DOM in Ossetic is bi-dimensional, grounded on both animacy and definiteness. The exact distribution of the 'accusative' forms (which are identical either with nominative or genitive : N.Acc. sg. *-ø*, pl. *-tæ*, G.Acc. sg. *-y*, pl. *-ty*) and the conditions triggering DOM remain unclear in grammars; we will bring textual evidence in order to precise the use of DOM, when relevant, in Ossetic. We will also have to look a bit further for parallels and/or striking differences in Iranian – where DOM is a feature commonly met with.

As regards the verbal morphology, Ossetic presents a curious split in the past-tense inflection: transitive and intransitive verbs having distinct endings (cp. *a-cydi-ān* PRV-come.PST-1SG.INTRS « I came » and *kodt-on* do.PST-1SG.TRANS « I did »), a feature « for which we cannot find a close parallel in a living Iranian language » (thus Abaev 1949). Abaev points to a somewhat similar innovation in Sogdian: contrary to Ancient Sogdian, which displays consistent split-ergativity, Classical Sogdian uses for transitive perfects a periphrastical form (*xwaβnu wēt-ārām* dream.ACC see.PST.PTCP-have-PRS.1SG 'I saw a dream'). We would like to add another parallel to the

discussion: Khotan Saka – a Middle Iranian language spoken in medieval Eastern Turkestan, which could well have a special connection with the Scytho-Alanian tribes – documents two sets of endings aiming at the same functional distinction as in Ossetic (cp. *ysat-ämä* be_born.PST-1SG.INTRS « I was born » and *dät-aimä* see.PST-1SG.M.TRANS, *dät-ämä* see.PST-1SG.F.TRANS « I saw »). We argue then that, contrary to Sogdian, Khotanese never went through an ergative stage, a fact which could also prove true for Ossetic: ergativity in Iranian is a very diverse feature, and although its earliest roots are to be found in Old Iranian, it need not have developed in all Iranian dialects. Our purpose will thus be to confront both paradigms, shortly present their alleged etymologies and establish a proposal on their mutual relationship. The hypothesis of an areal spreading of the feature at stake will be supported by external evidence from a Persian dialect, Semnānī, and an Ugric language of the central Eurasian steppe, Mordvin.

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Hélène Gérardin

Georgian subjective version and the reflexive-like grammaticalized noun *tavi*

In order to express prototypic reflexivization on a verbal argument, Old and Modern Georgian have two different strategies: a morphological, head-marking, verbal strategy (by means of a specific so-called "subjective version" morpheme) and an analytical strategy, involving the grammaticalized body part term *tav-* "lit. head" which can be preceded by a possessive pronoun marking person and number. The aim of our presentation is to show and explain the distribution of these two devices in the system of the language.
Our study will focus on standard Modern Georgian. We might refer if needed to Old Georgian evidence.

Georgian verbal morphology includes so-called "version" morphemes. They all mutually exclusive and denotate various types of orientation of the process towards a goal or an object, or recipient. Reflexivity as expressed by grooming and body care verbs will involve the "subjective version" alone, with no mention of an object:

(1) *q'ovel dila-s v-i-ban*

every morning-DAT SUBJ1-SV-wash
"I wash every morning."

The "subjective version" construction cohabits with another, involving a nominal clause governed by grammaticalized noun *tav-i* (whose meaning was originally "head"). The *tavi*-construction expresses coreference between two core arguments, either subject (or experiencer) and direct object (or stimulus):

(2) *nik'o-m* *tav-i* *mo-i-k'l-a*
Niko-ERG tavi-NOM PF-SV-kill-3SG.AO
"Niko committed suicide."

either subject and indirect object:

(3) a. *vutxari* *čem-s* *tav-s*
I_said POSS1SG-DAT tête-DAT
"I said to myself."

tav-i can also be expanded by a possessive adjective, depending on the type of version; we will then focus on the choice between these two concurrent constructions (POSS + *tav-i* vs SV + *tav-i*) and the relationship between possessive adjective and version.
It seems to us that the "subjective version" implies a possessive meaning which would make the possessive adjective redundant.
Cases where both constructions are allowed and final choice is up to the speaker seem to have an underscored possessive meaning, i.e. promotion of the subject is self-evident (emphasis, constrastive focalization, coordination, etc.).

(4) a. *tav-s* *da-v-i-ɣli*
tavi-DAT PF-SUBJ1-SV-tire
"I will tire myself."
b. *arc tavis tav-s* *da-v-ɣli* *da arc sxva-s*
nor POSS tavi-DAT PF-SUBJ1-SV-tire and nor another-DAT
"I won't tire nor myself nor another."

Prior to establishing their syntactically and semantically grounded distribution, we will have to rule out a few contexts where any choice is impossible for purely formal reasons. For example, the "subjective version" itself has undergone some linguistic evolution from its original function to other new grammatical more inflexional (as a formant for several tenses) or suppletive-derivational (for the sake of disambiguation) meanings.
In these special cases, constructions involving POSS + *tavi* + SV are indeed observed.

Finally, an algorithm will account for all variations observed in the constructions with *tavi*-.

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Matthias Gerner

Differential subject marking in Nesu

ABSTRACT. *Differential object marking* is reported in about 300 languages worldwide (Bossong, 1985, 1991; Aissen 1999, 2003). The direct object is marked if and only if it or its containing clause exhibits certain referential properties such as the following:

- the animate direct object is marked, e.g. in Sinhalese (Gair, 1970);
- the definite direct object is marked, e.g. in Hebrew (Givón 1978);
- the direct object that is semantically ambiguous with the subject is marked, e.g. in Lolo (Gerner 2008);
- the direct object of a clause with resultative state is marked, e.g. in Chinese (Li & Thompson 1981:466).

By analogy, *differential subject marking* is a pattern in which the subject is marked if and only if it or its containing clause displays certain referential properties. The Nesu language (Tibeto-Burman, Gejiu County, China) does not mark the direct object but exhibits differential subject marking imposed by resultative aspect. The subject must be case-marked, if the simple clause encodes a resultative state; it can be case-marked if the clause is perfective without implying a result; it cannot be case-marked if the clause is imperfective.

Nesu (Tibeto-Burman family: China, Yunnan Province)

(1) kə^{55}hə^{33} [kə^{55}] dzɪ^{21}mo^{21} kə^{55} te^{h}e^{21} pə^{55} dze^{21} p^{h}a^{21} wa^{53}. | Obligatory in resultative clauses
3P PL [NOM] wolf DEM.DIST NUM.CL drive flee DP
'They put the wolf pack to flight.'

(2) ŋo^{33} [(kə^{55})] dzo^{21} dzɛ^{33} wa^{53}. | Optional in perfective clauses
1P SG [NOM] rice, food eat DP
'I have eaten rice.'

(3) kə^{55} [(*kə^{55})] ə^{55}sə^{21} sə^{21} dzə^{21}. | Forbidden in imperfective clauses
3P SG [NOM] love song sing PROG
'He is singing a love song.'

For two reasons, this pattern should not be viewed as passive marking. First, there is no morphological marking on the verb as in languages with passive marking (Haspelmath, 1990). Second, for resultative and imperfective clauses there is no pragmatic choice between active versus passive voice. For perfective clauses with optional case-marking, the pragmatic status of the directed object is not promoted nor that of the subject demoted.

Case marking is incompatible with negated clauses. This is not a general property of differential subject marking but rather imposed by the reinterpretation of negated clauses as imperfective clauses.

(4) ka^{55} (*ka^{55}) ma^{21} dɣ^{11} wɑ^{11}.
3P SG NOM NEG kick NEG-DP
'He hasn't kicked me.'

Forbidden in negated clauses

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David Gil
Person-Marked Noun-Phrases

This paper introduces a cross-linguistically rare typological feature: person-marked noun-phrases. Examples of person-marked noun-phrases in two Austronesian languages of New Guinea are provided below:

(1) I-sayor *bun=wa-ya* boropon rum=ri-ya *Roon*
1SG-see woman=2SG-DEF front house=3SG:INAN-DEF
'i saw you in front of the house'

(2) Sa liat *mace* *ko* depan rumah *Papuan Malay*
1SG see woman.friend 2SG front house
'i saw you in front of the house'

In both (1) and (2), the noun-phrase in direct-object position contains a common noun 'woman' marked by a 2nd-person pronominal form, *=wa-* and *ko* respectively.

As suggested by (1) and (2), person-marked noun-phrases are associated with diverse structures in different languages. In Roon, nouns may be marked for definiteness with the enclitic *-ya*, which agrees with its head noun with respect to person, number and gender, making use of the same prefixes that also mark subject-verb agreement. Thus, in *bun=wa-ya* in (1), the definite article *-ya* is prefixed with the 2nd-person singular *wa-*, thereby marking the noun-phrase as a whole for 2nd person. In contrast, in Papuan Malay, any noun-phrase may be optionally marked with a phrase-final periphrastic pronoun expressing both person and number. When the pronoun is singular, such as the 2nd-person singular *ko* in (2), the pronoun and the noun are coreferential; however, in the case of dual or plural pronouns, an associative inclusory interpretation is obtained.

An ongoing worldwide cross-linguistic survey of person-marked noun-phrases, totaling around 120 languages at the time of writing, suggests that it is an areal feature occurring sporadically along the north coast of New Guinea, in Austronesian languages, such as the above, and also languages belonging to other families, eg. Barupu (Skou) and Mawake (Madang). However, outside of this region, the construction is vanishingly rare; so far, the only other case that I am familiar with is in the Khoisan language Nama. (For a noun-phrase to exhibit person marking, it must (i) constitute a single phonological phrase, ruling out English *I saw you, the woman, in front of the house*; (ii) occur across nominal inflectional paradigms, ruling out English *I saw you women in front of the house*, possible only in the plural; and (iii) involve at least two persons, thereby excluding cases where a noun is marked by a determiner also bearing some 3rd-person features.)

The absence of person-marked noun-phrases in the Austronesian languages and Malay dialects outside the New Guinea region suggests that the construction originated in the non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea, and subsequently spread, first a few thousand years ago into the arriving Austronesian languages, and then much later into the intrusive Malay contact language. Unfortunately, the details of how this happened must await further descriptive studies, and much is probably lost in the mists of time. What can be noted, however, is that the Papuan Malay system of person-marked noun-phrases, illustrated in (1), differs formally from patterns of person-marked noun-phrases occurring in other languages of the region, such as Roon, exemplified in (2), thereby suggesting that the development of person-marked noun-phrases in Papuan Malay involves the spread of a general mode of expression rather than a specific morphosyntactic structure.

Antoine Guillaume
Encoding of information structure in Cavineña narratives

The goal of this paper is to investigate for the first time how the traditional discourse- pragmatic categories of topic, focus, presupposition, assertion, contrast, etc. (Lambrecht 1994) might be encoded in Cavineña, a Bolivian Amazonian language from the Tacanan family. The study is based on natural texts collected in the field between 1996 and 2003 and builds on the earlier description of the language in Guillaume (2008).

Cavineña is an ergative case-marking language with no person marking in the verb and with syntactically free constituent order in independent clauses. In this paper I will first argue that the sentence-initial position has a privileged discourse status for encoding (at least) the pragmatic roles

of topic and focus. The two pragmatic roles are distinguished by specific discourse particles, such as the second position ('Wackernagel') enclitic *=bakwe* for contrastive topic (1), and the phrasal particle *=dya* (2) for narrow contrastive focus.

I will then show how other positions in the clause, with or without the presence of discourse-pragmatic particles such as *=dya* correlate with different subtypes of focus in terms of scope (narrow vs. broad) and/or pragmatic information (contrastive vs. non contrastive). And I will suggest that prosody does not play any significant role in the encoding of discourse-pragmatic roles.

The preliminary results of this study tend to show that Cavineña displays a number of recurrent features in information structuring in Amazonian languages (Derbyshire 1987, Payne 1990; 1993, Dooley 1990, Van Valin 2009, Vallejos 2009):

- constituent order primarily determined by discourse (rather than syntactic) factors
- privileged status assigned to sentence-initial position for discursively salient participants
- crucial role given to particle-like morphemes (rather than prosody) for specifying different types of discourse-pragmatic roles.

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Examples

(1) Contrastive topic

Amena [***tume Chakubu=ra***] ***=bakwe*** *kweja-aje-kware=dya.*
BM there Chácobo.person=ERG =CONTR inform-GO.DISTR-REM.P AST=FOC

'As for the Chácobo man, he would explain to them (what I had just said).' pa060

(2) Contrastive focus

[***Jeeke ebakwapiji=ra=dya***] *=yatse duju-chine.*
this young_child=ERG=FOC] =1DL take-REC.P AST

'It is THIS YOUNG CHILD (and not anybody else) who took us (to the other side of the river in his canoe).' fl010

Martin Haspelmath, Andreea Calude, Michael Spagnol, Heiko Narrog, Elif Bamyaci

Coding causal-noncausal verb alternations: a form-frequency correspondence explanation

We propose, and provide corpus-based support for, a usage-based explanation for cross-linguistic trends in the coding of causal-noncausal verb pairs, such as *raise/rise, melt (tr.)/melt (intr.), break (tr.)/break (intr.)*. While English mostly uses the same verb both for the causal and the noncausal sense (i.e. labile expression), most languages have extra coding for the causal verb (i.e. causative coding) or for the noncausal verb (i.e. anticausative coding). Thus, Maltese has *dar* 'turn (intr.) ' vs. *dawwar* 'turn (tr.)', and Romanian has *usca* 'dry (tr.)' vs. *se usca* 'dry (intr.)'. Causative and anticausative coding is not randomly distributed (Haspelmath 1993): Some verbs such as 'freeze', 'dry' and 'melt' tend to be expressed as causatives, while others such as 'break', 'open' and 'split' tend to be expressed as anticausatives. Languages like Japanese and Swahili (shown in 1b and 1c) are typical; causative-prominent languages like Swahili and anticausative-prominent languages like Arabic (in 1a, 1d) are neutral and do not provide evidence either way. What is not found is languages where 'freeze'-type words have anticausative coding and 'break'-type verbs have causative coding.

(1)		a. Indonesian	b. Japanese	c. Swahili	d. Standard Arabic
'freeze'	(intr.)	*mem-beku*	*kooru*	*ganda*	*ta-jammada*
	(tr.)	*mem-beku-kan*	*koor-aseru*	*gand-isha*	*jammada*
'break'	(intr.)	*patah*	*war-eru*	*vunj-ika*	*in-kasara*
	(tr.)	*me-matah-kan*	*waru*	*vunja*	*kasara*

In much previous work (e.g. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, Koontz-Garboden 2009), it was assumed that formal coding reflects the verbal semantics, and that anticausative coding is used only with verbs expressing externally caused events, while causative coding is used only with verbs expressing internally caused events.

Our proposal, by contrast, does not assume a particular semantic analysis of the verb pairs but instead proposes an explanation in terms of usage frequency. Frequency often determines linguistic coding (with very high frequency leading to suppletion, and lower frequency leading to greater coding length), for well-understood reasons of coding efficiency. Our basic observation is that coding type is significantly correlated with cross-linguistic usage frequency: Verb pairs for which the noncausal member is more frequent tend to be expressed as anticausatives, while verbs pairs

where the causal member is more frequent tend to be expressed as causatives. This is demonstrated using corpus data from eight languages from three different continents.

Usage frequency is only one of the factors that determines coding, and it does so over very long periods of time, so its effects are not easy to see. Only our unique methodology of considering both coding asymmetries and frequency asymmetries in a range of diverse languages allowed us to discover this pattern and its explanation.

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Johannes Helmbrecht

Spatial relations in a language without case marking and adpositions – the syntax and semantics of spatial constructions in Hocąk (Siouan)

Hocąk is a highly endangered North American Indian language of the Siouan family still spoken by a few tribal members in Wisconsin, USA. The typological profile of this language exhibits some peculiarities that are worth closer looking at not only for descriptive but also for typological reasons. One of these peculiarities is the complete lack of nominal case marking and adpositions. The core arguments, actor and undergoer, are pronominally indexed on the verb. Peripheral participants such as the beneficiary, the instrument, and two spatial relations ('on' and 'in') can be brought into the argument structure of the verb by means of different applicative markers in the morphology of the verb. However, the productivity of the spatial applicatives that change or rearrange the valency of the verb is very restricted. Hence, the question arises how peripheral participants of the clause in particular spatial relations that are mostly expressed by prepositions in German or English are expressed in Hocąk, especially since alternative means such as local case marking/ adpositions are not available for the speakers of Hocąk.

The proposed paper will provide an answer to this question by means of a corpus linguistic investigation that combines semasiological and onomasiological approaches. On the one hand, the Hocąk expressions of the most fundamental spatial relations will be searched and analyzed within a corpus of Hocąk texts, this is the onomasiological approach. On the other hand, the usages of the forms found to express these spatial relations including the two local applicatives mentioned above will be examined with regard to their distribution in the corpus, this is the semasiological approach. The data base is a corpus of about 100 Hocąk texts that were recorded, transcribed, and fully

annotated within the DOBES project "Documentation of the Hocąk Language" funded by the Volkswagen Foundation (2003-2008) as well as data elicited by the author.

Basic notions of the analysis of the data are figure and ground as defined and used in cognitive approaches of linguistics (cf. Talmy 1985) and in semantic typology with regard to space as developed by Levinson (cf. Levinson 2003; Levinson & Wilkins (eds.) 2006). It will be shown that the semantics of the figure and the semantics of the ground and the kind of spatial relation they constitute determines the type of construction that is chosen by the speakers. Several semantic parameters will be discussed that are relevant for spatial constructions in Hocąk and perhaps for other languages too.

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Tuomas J. Huumo, Kersten Lehismets

Ambipositions in Finnish: meaning, use, and conceptualization

Finnish is one of the relatively few languages with ambipositions - adpositions that can be used both prepositionally and postpositionally (for an overview, see e.g. Grünthal 2003). From the typological point of view, the class of ambipositions is rare (Hagége 2010: 124). In our paper we discuss Finnish ambipositions, most of which indicate a path, and the effects of the PreP/PostP variation on the construal of the event that takes place along the path.

Finnish is a language that has both prepositions and postpositions. According to Hagége (2010: 113) in such languages the distribution of the two categories may be more or less equal, or then one type may dominate over the other. Finnish clearly belongs to the last-mentioned group, since postpositions dominate and the percentage of prepositions is only 20–25 % (Grünthal 2003: 36). In languages with ambipositions, the difference between their PreP and PostP variants is not only positional but may also imply a meaning opposition (Hagége 2010: 118–119).

Path adpositions indicate dynamic meanings such as 'via', 'through', 'along', 'across' and 'over [dynamic-directional]'. In the literature (e.g. Leino 1993) it has

been pointed out that there are rather striking meaning differences between the variants of some Finnish ambipositions, such as kautta 'via' and pitkin 'along'. As postpositions, they typically indicate a path of motion, whereas their prepositional use is best compatible with the meaning of a path where nothing moves but where entities are situated (as in There are thunderstorms across Europe) or an event takes place (It rains across Europe). The overall nature of such a path is illustrated by Talmy's (2000: 71) analysis of the example There is a house every now and then through the valley, which, according to him, utilizes a sequential perspectival mode with a moving proximal perspective point and a local scope of attention - a subjective scanning proceeds along a static configuration. Finnish ambipositions are able to indicate such meanings only when used as prepositions, whereas their postpositional use evokes the meaning of (actual) motion. However, also prepositions are able to indicate a path of actual motion. Consider (1) and (2):

1) Juoks+i+mme metsä+n läpi ~ läpi metsä+n
run+PST+1PL forest+GEN through ~through forest+GEN
'We ran through the forest'. (POSTP or PREP, with POSTP unmarked)

2) Sien+i+ä kasvo+i mon+i+n paiko+i+n läpi
mushroom+PL+PAR grow+PST.3SG many+PL+INS place+PL+INS
metsä+n.
through forest+GEN
'There were mushrooms growing in many places throughout the forest' (only PREP)

In our presentation we give an overview of the meaning oppositions between prepositional and postpositional uses of Finnish ambipositions, relying on both native speaker intuitions and a corpus of written texts. In grammatical terms, our results suggest that the postpositional variants have a tighter association with the verb than the prepositional ones, which take on a more autonomous and setting-like function. For instance, in expressions like 2 the path is construed independently and scanned through in order to observe what it contains (what occurs, exists or takes place along the path). We also argue that this meaning difference is the reason why prepositions are more productive than postpositions in the expression of time (i.e. with a complement that indicates a time period): time periods are construed as directional, autonomous settings and scanned through in order to observe what kinds of events take place along them.

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Lotta Jalava, Rigina Turunen

Nonverbal and complex verbal in Uralic

The aim of our study is to compare the complex conjugational paradigms of two Uralic languages, Erzya (Mordvinic = M) and Nenets (Samoyedic = S) and to show their possible development processes. We suggest that the key to the development of some inflectional categories lies in nonverbal predication. From this perspective, our study also discusses the borderline between nonverbal and verbal in different stages. The data is drawn from M and S, which represent remote branches of the Uralic language family. From a typological point of view, however, they resemble each other in being more synthetic than many of their other sister languages. M and S also display many complex conjugational categories that are not attested in the other Uralic languages.

The data in our study consists primarily of empirical and spoken material. By comparing the synchronic data we show that the documented synchronic variation in the paradigms, as well as between the analytic and synthetic constructions, demonstrates the gradual grammaticalization of the constructions from nonverbal predication into complex conjugational paradigms. For example, in Nenets, the category of verbal mood includes many asymmetric paradigms of complex markers consisting of different participial and derivational suffixes. As for Erzya Mordvinic, the variation in nonverbal predication is, per se, a temporary installation of the development of complex morphology, as well as its decay. Thus, we follow the idea of Croft (2003: 250), according to whom variation is actually language change in progress. The analysis of these kinds of inflectional patterns gives us a key to the processes that have been productive in the previous stages of languages.

The grammaticalization of complex verbal categories such as tempus and modality in Mordvinic and Samoyedic cannot be inspected without considering the effect of language contacts. The encoding of these functions in the neighbouring languages of S seems more or less to follow the same principles. The complex paradigms of M cannot be as transparently explained by areal diffusion. A possible model for nonverbal conjugation and some of the modal categories in M is provided by Turkic, especially Tatar (see Johanson & Utas 2000). It must be noted, however, that Turkic influence has been rather weak in the other areas of M grammar. Furthermore, it is maintained that inflectional morphology is more likely to be shared with genetic relatives, and most unlikely to be attributed to language contact and diffusion (e.g. Aikhenvald 2007: 5).

Our comparative study of Mordvinic and Samoyedic presents the possible paths of the gradual change from nonverbal into verbal conjugation. Thus, our approach seeks to link the knowledge of the genetic inheritance of Uralic to the achievements of typological and contact linguistics. In M and S, nonverbal parts-of-speech can be conjugated in person and tense, and it seems that this possibility opens up the path for the development of several modal categories that in M and S are based on nominalized verb forms. It seems that even the existence of object conjugation in these languages is linked to the existence of

the categories of nonverbal conjugation. Similar conclusions have also been made with regards to Inuit and Mansi (Uralic) (Mahieu 2009).

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Mathias Jenny

Form and meaning of clause linkage types in Mon

Mon is an Austroasiatic language spoken by some 800'000 people mainly in southern Myanmar, with a few communities also in central and western Thailand. Most speakers of Mon are bilingual with the respective national language of their country. Despite its historical and cultural importance in Southeast Asia, only few linguistic descriptions of Mon are available. With a documented history going back to the 6th century, and influence of varying degrees from neighboring languages, Mon is of interest also to diachronic and areal comparative studies, which can be helpful in the analysis of the structure of present day Mon.

The present study looks at types of clause linkage in Mon, based on original texts, both written and oral, as well as elicited data. The material has been collected by the author over the past fifteen years in both Thailand and Myanmar, with ongoing research in both countries.

The three-way distinction of clause linking strategies used in traditional linguistics (coordination, subordination, co-subordination) has recently been challenged as insufficient to capture the variety found in the world's languages (cf. Bickel 2010). Mon makes use of different devices to link clauses into larger units of discourse, including verb serialization, juxtaposition, tail-head linkage, and a number of devices marking dependent clauses. Consistent with the overall SV/AVO structure of the language, most markers introducing dependent clauses occur in clause initial position. There are, however, dependent clauses marked as such by clause final markers (ex. 1), and chained clauses can be connected by interclausal markers, belonging to neither (or both) of the clauses (ex. 2). The use of clause-final markers can be seen as a replication of Burmese clause structure by indigenous means and is attested since the Middle Mon period, when Burmese influence is increasingly prominent in Mon.

Relative and complement clauses are regularly marked by a clause final topic marker, which indicates their non-assertive, presupposed status. Their position in the sentence is usually fixed, viz. relative clauses occur after the head noun, while complement clauses occupy the preverbal, less commonly the postverbal, position.

The linking devices used for forming adverbial (or adjoined) clauses and their positional

possibilities are more varied. Adverbial clauses also exhibit a wider range of semantic and pragmatic restrictions and possibilities. They can therefore not be seen as forming a distinct category. The present study undertakes to look at the different means available to the speakers of Mon to link chunks of discourse into larger units, without claiming any *a priori* categories. The main focus is on overtly marked adjoined (ad-V and ad-S) clauses, as they exhibit the greatest variety in form and function. Adjoined clauses can be introduced by a clause-initial subordinator, a relator noun as head, a preposition, or carry a clause-final marker. Other markers occur in the main clause, rather than the dependent clause. Adjoined clauses can be detached on the left or right periphery of the sentence, or they can be embedded in the main clause. Mon does not seem to restrict ad-S clauses to the periphery, but allows them to occur embedded in the main clause (ex. 2). In a largely isolating language like Mon, with no inflectional morphology, features taken as relevant to the notion of subordination, such as finiteness, are difficult to define and probably irrelevant to the analysis. Of more importance are other syntactic and semantic/pragmatic features such as the scope of IF, tense, negation and other operators in linked clauses, (flexibility of) position, coreference of arguments, and presupposition and assertion values of the linked clauses.

The main question to be answered in this study is whether there are any correlations between form and function, and restrictions and possibilities, of different types of adjoined clauses. As there is no large text corpus available for Mon in digital form, and because discourse pragmatic factors are expected to play an important role in the choice of clause linking devices, this study is conducted by an in-depth analysis of a few sample texts, rather than using a quantitative approach. The results are checked against native speaker intuition and supplemented by elicited data.

As theoretical typological background of the study serve works by B. Bickel (2010), R. M. W. Dixon & A. Y. Aikhenvald (2009), S. A. Thompson *et al.* (2007) and S. Cristofaro (2003), among others.

Examples

(1) Direct speech between A and V; conditional clauses with clause initial COND and clause final TOP, and clause final RESTR:

mi?-kon-plem le [[*yɔ̀.ra?* *hədak.chan* *kao?* *ʔɯə* *dam* *teh*]
Mi-Kon-Plem ADD COND love DAT 1s true TOP
[*kaleŋ* *ciə?* *ʔarè* *ʔɯə* *hmaʔ*]] *ʔɯə* *poŋ.phek* *màn* *roŋ.* *kɛ̀h* *raʔ.*
listen eat speech 1s RESTR 1s associate win ASRT say FOC
'Mi Kon Plem said: "If your love for me is true, only when you listen to my words will I be able to stay with you."'

(2) Two embedded purposive clauses (juxtaposed) with same subject as main clause and only one clause-initial marker; 'finish' with sequential function between the two main clauses:

mi?-kon-plem le [*swek* *kɔ̀ʔ* *tɤ̀ŋ* *moə* *phap.paciəʔ* *kəwɔŋ* *chan ɓa* *kɔ̀h*]
Mi-Kon-Plem ADD PURP get receive guest feed lover love two MEDL
ʔa *phya* *toə* *ràn* *mɤ̀ŋ* *phyun* *caŋ* *raʔ.*
go market finish buy CAUS.come meat chicken FOC

(3) Ad-S adverbial clause embedded in main clause:

plày *paʔthamaʔ* *mùə* *kɔ̀h* [*dɔə* *ʔəkhoŋ* *ŋuə* *plut*] *prap* *klɔŋ* *hnəʔ.*
young.man first one MEDL LOC time sun set approach come house
'When the sun set, the first young man came to the house.'

Abbreviations

ADDitional	ASeRTive	CONDitional	DATive	FOCus
LOCative	MEDiaL	PURPosive	RESTRictive	
TOPic				

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Manana Karkashadze, Ether Soselia

Some peculiar *i-* prefixed verbal derivatives in Georgian

There are some intransitive verb forms in Georgian having a univalent argument structure, which according to the context may express either active or passive semantics, e.g.:

(1) *ič'ut'eba*

a) *Ana ič'ut'eba* 'Ann is screwing up her eyes'

b) *tvalebi ič'ut'eba* 'Eyes are being screwed up'

(2) *ik'vanc'eba*

a) *patara gogo ik'vanc'eba* 'A little girl is spreading her arms out wide'

b) *xelebi ik'vanc'eba* 'Arms are being spread out wide'

Those forms are valency-decreased derivatives of corresponding basic transitive verbs, and their morphological structure is the same as that of so-called *i*-prefixed passives, for example, compare pairs of forms in (3) and (4) bellow:

(3) Active: *k'eravs* '(s/he) is sewing (sth) ~ Passive: *i-k'ereba* '(it) is being sewed'

xat'avs '(s/he) is drawing (sth)' ~ *i-xat'eba* '(it) is being drawn'

and

(4) *čut'-av-s* '(s/he) is screwing up her/his eyes' ~ *i-čut'-eb-a*

k'vanc'-av-s '(s/he) is spreading her/his arms out wide' ~ *i-k'vanc'-eb-a*

Active verbs in transitive verb constructions (4) express specific motion of body parts and have bivalent argument structure (with A and O functions), where A usually is an animate noun and O is a noun denoting a body part:

(5) a) *ana* *č'ut'avs* *tvalebs*

Ann(NOM) is screwing up eyes(DAT)

'Ann is screwing up her eyes'

b) *patara* *gogo* *k'vanc'avs* *xelebs*

little girl(NOM) is spreading out wide arms(DAT)

'A little girl is spreading her arms out wide'

In the syntactic structure of those valency-decreased derivatives either A or O argument is removed. Consequently, differently derived syntactic structures of the same verb form have different semantics. In the case of A removing (compare: 1b to 5a; 2b to 5b), the relation between the core arguments of transitive and derived intransitive verbs is the following: O → S. It is the basic syntactic process of passivization. So, in the derived intransitive construction S argument is a noun denoting a body part and the verb has passive semantics (1b and 2b). In the case of O removing (compare: 1a to 5a; 2a to 5b), the relation between the core arguments of transitive and derived intransitive verbs is the following: A → S. It is the basic syntactic process of forming antipassive. So, in the derived intransitive construction S argument is an animate noun and the verb has active semantics (1a and 2a).

The antipassive derivatives with an animate S are semantically synonymous with the corresponding basic transitive (active) verb constructions, and this fact of synonymy is due to the lexical meaning of the verbs: they denote specific motion of body parts, and you can exactly identify the target body part for each of those verbs. As far as the domain of all possible targets for each of such verbs is strongly restricted, in the derivatives, where O (target) is removed, the latter could be exactly identified.

The verb forms analogous to ones in (1) and (2) are analyzed in the paper and it is shown that quite often the same devises are used to derive passive and antipassive constructions.

Daniela Katunar, Jana Willer-Gold, Tena Gnjatović

Achieving specificity in a determinerless language: Specificity markers in Croatian

Definiteness is described as a specific syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic phenomenon that varies cross-linguistically with regard to the means languages use to express that category (Lyons 1999). A semantic feature related to the notion of (in)definiteness is specificity, which refers to the uniqueness of an entity in the mind of the speaker (cf. Pavey 2008, Taylor 2002, Haspelmath 1997). Specificity is also described syntactically as a feature of indefinite markers taking a wide scope (e.g. *Sarah would like to read a book about butterflies but she can't find it.* (Ionin 2010)), and as such is mainly regarded as a salient property of indefiniteness (Fodor & Sag 1982, Ionin 2010, Taylor 2002). Although it is not common to speak of specificity in relation to definite markers (cf. Lyons 1999), it can be stated that specificity is an inherent feature of definite expressions, since it serves to identify a unique referent of a definite NP. Consequently, it appears that specificity spreads over both definiteness and indefiniteness.

In view of the variability of markers (such as articles, affixes or different classes of pronouns) used to express these categories, the goal of this paper is to provide a tentative account of the strategies languages use to express specificity with regard to definiteness/indefiniteness. We focus our analysis on the way these strategies are used in Croatian in comparison to some other Slavic languages. Since Croatian is a so-called determinerless language, we provide an overview of the main markers/strategies used to express (in)definiteness: i) lexical items a) indefinite pronouns e.g. *neki, netko, nekakav* 'some, someone' etc., b) *jedan* 'one', c) demonstrative pronouns *ovaj, taj, onaj* 'this, that'; and ii) definite inflectional affixes on adjectives, e.g. *nov* 'new-Indef.' / *nov-i* 'new-Def.'. Even though the use of a definite marker usually excludes the use of an indefinite marker and vice versa, we show examples where the co-occurrence of a definite and indefinite marker within the same NP necessitates their syntactic-semantic reinterpretation as markers of specificity (examples on p. 2).

Based on the comparative analysis of Croatian we will propose a preliminary model by which specificity can be a) established through context, e.g. *I used an egg for this recipe* (Taylor 2002)), b) a (syntactically) covert category inherent to the meaning of an indefinite marker, e.g. Cro. *jedan* 'one', c) an overt category marked by the construction Def. + Indef.marker. It is this last possibility we will discuss in depth in order to explore the syntactic and semantic conditions that facilitate such constructions. We will also discuss the theoretical implications this model offers for a more in depth analysis of the interaction of the definite/indefinite categories.

Examples:

a. *taj neki čovjek*
Dem.def.sg.masc. Indef.sg.masc. NP.sg.masc.nom.
Lit. "that some man"

b. jedan nov-i program
One.sg.masc.nom. adj.-def.sg.masc.nom NP.sg.masc.nom.
"one/a new programme"

c. taj neki velik-i čovjek
Dem.def.sg.masc. Indef.sg.masc. adj.-def.sg.masc.nom NP.sg.masc.nom.
Lit. "that some big man"

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Don Killian

Interaction between information structure and case marking in Uduk, a Koman language of Sudan

Uduk [udu] is a little-researched Koman language of eastern Sudan, and forms a part of the larger Nilo-Saharan family. Recent fieldwork data conducted by the author has shown Uduk to be a split-ergative language, with differential case marking (DCM) based on discourse prominence. Constituent order in Uduk is highly variable, word order being governed by pragmatic principles. There are three known possible word orders for transitive predications: AVO (1, 4) and OVA (2, 5) occur commonly next to each other, VAO (3, 6) occurring much less frequently. Intransitive predications do not allow for postverbal subjects, and only occur in SV order. Whenever a topicalized object (O) occurs preverbally, the agent (A) follows the verb, preceded by an ergative marker (2, 5). This marker also occurs on A if the verb (V) is focused in a VAO construction (3, 6). If the agent is topicalized, post-verbal O can be co-referenced on the verb (4), depending on the noun class. In pre-verbal position, however, neither S, A, nor O have case marking. This is due to an areal feature of northeast Africa, in which case is neutralized before the verb, regardless of the basic constituent order of the language (excluding AOV languages), described in König (2008). Differential case marking has gained more attention in recent years, but potential factors affecting differential case marking are still not well understood, particularly in regards to information structure. Similar patterns have been described in Tima (Dimmendaal 2010) and Shilluk (Miller & Gilley 2001), however, and recent evidence suggests Ingessana may also have discourse-based DCM (Stirtz 2012). In my presentation, I survey different potential factors in Uduk DCM and word order, examining typical typological factors such as animacy, tense/aspect, volitionality, showing that discourse prominence plays a role in Uduk case marking strategies.

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Examples
1. AVO (O not cross-referenced)
wʌ̀ɰ̀ k'ɔ̀ʃ mi
man hit/kill.IMPF goat
'The man hit/killed the goat'

2. OVA
mì k'ɔ̀ʃ ʌ̄ wʌ̀ɰ̀
goat hit/kill.IMPF ERG man
'The man hit/killed the GOAT'

3. VAO
k'ɔ̀ʃ ʌ̄ wʌ̀ɰ̀ mi
hit/kill.IMPF ERG man goat
'The man HIT/KILLED the goat'

4. AVO (O cross-referenced)
wʌ̀ɰ̀ k'ɔ̀ʃɔ̄ɗ-à pɛ̀
man hit/kill.IMPF-NCA eagle
'The man hit/killed the eagle'

5. OVA
à pɛ̀ k'ɔ̀ʃ ʌ̄ wʌ̀ɰ̀
NCA eagle hit/kill.IMPF ERG man
'The man hit/killed the EAGLE'

6. VAO
k'ɔ̀ʃ ʌ̄ wʌ̀ɰ̀ à pɛ̀
hit/kill.IMPF ERG man NCA eagle
'The man HIT/KILLED the eagle'

Abbreviations
ERG Ergative NCA Noun Class A IMPF Imperfective

Seppo Kittilä

Remarks on the Goal-Source asymmetry: how does animacy determine the coding of core vs. peripheral arguments

As illustrated, for example, by the cross-linguistically common Differential Object (see e.g. Bossong 1985 and Næss 2003) and Subject (see, e.g., de Hoop and de Swart (eds), 2008) Marking, animacy has direct consequences for the coding of arguments across languages. Aristar (1997) has shown that similar effects are attested also for peripheral arguments. My paper is also concerned with animacy effects on argument coding: the paper examines the effects of animacy on the coding of Goals/Recipients and Sources across languages. More precisely, the focus lies on the Goal/Source asymmetry, which is studied in light of animacy. Asymmetry refers in the present context to the different semantic role assignment in semantically rather synonymous transfer/motion constructions, such as *John gave a book to Lisa* and *Lisa received a book from John*. The roles of Goal and Source are deictic notions, which make them different from other semantic roles; all events of transfer or motion may be described from different perspectives, and languages display, for example, variation in the coding of transfer events allowing either the Agent/Recipient or the Source to surface as the subject.

The paper starts with a typology of Goal/Source marking. The typology is based on the similarities and differences in the coding of animate and inanimate Goals and Sources. Three types are distinguished based on whether the differences are based on the direction of transfer alone (Type 1), on direction of transfer and animacy (Type 2), or whether the effects of animacy differ according to the direction of transfer (Types 3a ja 3b). The types are illustrated in (1)-(4).

In addition, the paper discusses the rationale behind the attested asymmetry, for which the reasons are many. First, animacy effects are semantically/pragmatically more radical on core than peripheral participants. For example, animacy effects the semantic role of an R (Goal/Recipient) argument in cases, such as ***John sent the ball to Mary/London*** (in the first case, we are dealing with a Recipient, in the second with a Goal), while the role of location is maintained regardless of the animacy of its referent (even though animate locations are conceptually and often formally marked). Second, Sources can be seen as a kind of demoted agents of transfer events, which makes them more peripheral arguments and explains the more frequent occurrence of type 3a in contrast to 3b. Inanimate Sources are formally always the least core-like of the examined arguments. Third, the direction of energy flow is different in *John gave a book to Lisa* and *Lisa received a book from John*. In the first case, the flow can be seen as iconic, because the transfer proceeds from the subject referent to the R argument. In the second case, in turn, the flow is non-iconic, which is highlighted by demoting the Source to a semantically transparent oblique. It is functionally important to code the Source explicitly for its role in this case. Finally, the roles of Source and Agent are divided between subject and the Source oblique in *Lisa received a book from John*; John is explicitly marked as Source, while Lisa can (under favorable conditions) be seen as an Agent who has contributed to receiving the book from John. In *John gave a book to Lisa*, the roles of Source and Agent are both borne by the subject referent, which renders explicit formal coding of either role redundant.

Type 1: direction only

North Saami (examples courtesy of Jussi Ylikoski)

(1a) *Oahpaheaddji sáddii reivve girje_álláí /Anárii*
teacher.NOM send.PAST letter.ACC writer.ILL /Inari.ILL
'The teacher sent the book to the writer/to Inari'

(1b) *Oahpaheaddji oaccšui reivve girje_állis /Anáris*
teacher.NOM receive.PAST letter.ACC writer.LOC /Inari.LOC
'The teacher received the letter from the writer/Inari'

Type: direction and animacy

Finnish

(2a) *henkilö lähett-i kirjee-n yksilö-lle /paimio-on*
person send-3SG.PAST letter-ACC individual-ALL /Paimio-ILL
'A person sent a letter to an individual/to Paimio'

(2b) *yksilö sa-i kirjee-n henkilö-ltä /paimio-sta*
individual receive-3SG.PAST letter-ACC person-ABL /Paimio-ELAT
'An individual received a letter from a person/from Paimio'

Type 3a. Variable Goal marking

Balinese (examples courtesy of I Wayan Arka)

(3a) *Guru-ne nto ngirim buku sig anak-e nto /ke Indonesia*
teacher-DEF that AV.send book to person-DEF that /to Indonesia
'The teacher sent a book to the person/Indonesia'

(3b) *Guru-ne nto nrima buku uli anak-e nto /Indonesia*
teacher-DEF that AV.receive book from person-DEF that /Indonesia
'The teacher received a book from the person/Indonesia'

Type 3b. Variable Source marking

Gujarati (examples courtesy of Babu Suthar)

(4a) *sikshak-e vidyaarthi-ne /pustakalaya-ne pustak mokl-y-uN*
teacher-ERG student-DAT /library-DAT book.N send.PAST-N
'The teacher sent a book to the student/library'

(4b) *sikshak-e vidyaarthi pase.thi /dilhi-thi pustak li-dh-uN*
teacher-ERG student near.INSTR /Delhi-ABL book.N take-PAST-N
'The teacher took a book from the student/Delhi'

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Małgorzata Krzek

Structural dative case in Polish.

1. This paper is concerned with the derivation of the construction in (1). In particular I argue that the construction in (1) is derived from the construction in (2), and not from the construction in (3), as argued by Dziwirek (1994) and Rivero, Arregui and Frąckowiak (2010).

(1) Marysi szybko czytało się te książki.
Marysia.DAT quickly read.3SG.NEUT SIĘ these books.ACC
'For Marysia reading these books was quick.'

(2) Te książki czytały się szybko.
these.NOMbooks.FEM.NOM read.3PL.FEM SIĘ quickly
'These books read quickly.'

(3) Czytało się te książki szybko.
read.3SG.NEUT SIĘ these books.ACC quickly
'[One] read these books quickly.'

Dziwirek (1994) assumes the existence of a covert dative nominal in (3), which, when overt yields the sentence in (1). For Rivero et al (2010), on the other hand, the dative is not a part of the argument structure of the verb, but it is introduced by the applicative phrase which is merged above TP. The two analyses are problematic for a number of reasons.

2. Dziwirek's analysis fails to account for why covert dative subject in (3) behaves differently from the overt dative nominal in (1) with respect to a number of subjecthood tests (e.g. licencing agent oriented adverbials, participation in control relations). Secondly, it does not explain why the presence of the dative nominal is contingent on the presence of a manner adverb. Thirdly, if it is assumed, as Dziwirek does, that the dative contributes the human flavour to SIĘ such that there can only be one dative nominal in a sentence, then an example such as in (3) is problematic.

(4) Czytało się dzieciom książki.
read.3SG.NEUT SIĘ children.DA T books.ACC
'[One] read books to children.'

The sentence in (4) contains an overt dative nominal, which suggests that a covert subject does not carry dative case.

3. According to Rivero et al (2010), adverbs of manner are merged much higher, not in *v*P, but in a position from which they c-command the whole TP. If this is the case, they should be analysed as factive adverbs. One of the properties of factive adverbs is that they can occur outside the scope of negation and also outside the scope of the universal quantifier in the subject position. If this is the case, they should be analysed as factive adverbs of the type illustrated by examples in (5).

(5)a. Stupidly, Mary kissed John. (adapted from Wyner 2008)
b. Stupidly, Mary did not kiss John.
c. Stupidly, every girl kissed John.

Examples in (6) demonstrate, however, that this is not the case for manner adverbs in impersonal SIĘ constructions. These adverbs are not analysed as factive. They receive the interpretation typical for those that appear under semantic scope of sentence operators mentioned above.

(6)a. Marysi nie czytało się tych książek szybko.
Marysia.DAT NEG read.3SG.NEUT SIĘ these books.GEN quickly
'Marysia didn't read these books quickly.'

b. Każdej matce gotowało się przyjemnie dla swojej rodziny.
every.DAT mother.DAT cooked.3SG.NEUT SIĘ with-pleasure for her family
'Every mother cooked for her family with pleasure.'

The sentences above then show that adverbs occurring in impersonal SIĘ construction are indeed

merged within *v*P/VoiceP, not as argued by Rivero et al (2010) outside of the TP.

4. One of the overlooked properties of the constructions in question is that it behaves differently from the impersonal SIĘ construction with respect to passivization. While for the construction in (3) passivization is allowed, it is excluded for the construction in (1). This is illustrated by examples in (7) and (8) respectively.

(7) Było się oskarżanym.
AUX.past SIĘ accused
'[One] was accused.'

(8) *Marysi nieprzyjemnie było się oskarżaną.
Marysia.DAT unpleasantly AUX.past SIĘ accused
(Intended) 'Marysia found being accused unpleasant.'

Based on the observations above, it is argued that the particle SIĘ in the two constructions performs two different functions, either an argument or a head of a functional projection. In (3) it is an argument, and in (1) it is a head of Voice Phrase (Fassi Fehri 2009). What follows is that the construction in (1) is not related to (3). The construction in (3) is impersonal and is a cognate of a *si*-construction present in Romance, whereas the one in (1) is derived from the middle construction.

5. Following Kratzer (1996), it is maintained that the external argument is not an argument of the verb but is rather introduced into the structure by Voice Phrase. As the head of VoiceP, SIĘ blocks the merge of the external argument. The lack of agent in middle constructions is substantiated by the facts that neither agent-oriented adverbials nor control into embedded infinitival clauses are possible. A non-core argument, of which a dative nominal is an example, is introduced into the structure by a high applicative head (Pylkkänen 2008). The head of this High Applicative Phrase (HApplP) is of a benefactive type, and it assigns dative case to the DP in its specifier. In order to explain the mismatches in the case assignment between (1) and (2), I assume, following Marantz (1991), that morphological case is not tied to specific syntactic positions, and therefore it should not be, even indirectly, linked to the DP licensing. Rather, as noted by McFadden (2004, 2007, 2011), Marantz (1991), and Sigurdsson (2003), cases are assigned according to a dependency relationship, with accusative case assignment being dependent on there being another higher argument within the same phase (which I take to be the VoiceP) to which structural case has been assigned. This other higher argument in (1) is, I argue, the dative nominal. In other words, it is assumed that dative case on the nominal *Marysi* 'Marysia.DAT' is structural, not inherent. It is considered to be structural as it is assigned in a particular configuration by a functional not lexical head. As a result, the internal argument of the verb in (1) can receive accusative case because it is dependent on the structural dative case assigned by the High Applicative head. In (2), on the other hand, the internal argument receives nominative case, as it is the only argument within the phase.

6. It is predicted that dative case may be assigned in two ways: structurally (by a functional head) and inherently (by a lexical head). It is further assumed that some languages should use both types of dative case (Polish) while in others dative case would be assigned either exclusively structurally or inherently. Crucially, because structural dative is assigned only to non-core arguments by the High Applicative head in the spec-head configuration, the case does not change into nominative, and they cannot become subjects of passivized sentences. This is illustrated by the data in (9).

(9) a. *Marysia/ *Marysi była dana kwiaty.
Marysia.NOM/ Marysi.DAT was given flowers
(Intended) 'Marysia was given flowers.'

b. *Marysia/ *Marysi była pomagana.
Marysia.NOM/ Marysi.DAT was helped
(Intended) 'Marysia was helped.'

Leonid Kulikov

Quasi-denominatives in Sanskrit: evidence from ancient Indo-European for a typology of light verbs and denominatives

In middle and late Vedic texts describing the Vedic ritual, that is, in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, we find a number of technical terms referring to certain ritual activities, in particular, to recitations and chants. These include, for instance, *prastāva-* [introductory part of a sāman], *pratihāra-* [next part of a sāman, usually functioning as a response to *prastāva*], *udgītha-* [a part of a sāman], *pravara-* [invocation of Agni accompanied by enumeration of the [x]ṣi-ancestors], *upasád-* [ceremony preceding Sutyā (Soma pressing)], and many others. The meaning 'perform A' (where A stands for a ritual activity), is usually expressed by means of a verb that is derived from the root which appears in the term for A; this root is compounded with the preverb used in A: *prá-stauti* '(he) performs prastāva', *práti-harati* '(he) performs pratihāra', etc. Accordingly, such formations might be considered as a variety of 'light verbs', assimilated to their objects. Such verbs occur in two main syntactic patterns: (i) with or (ii) without their cognate object (A) in the accusative. Type (i) is attested, for instance, in TS 6.2.3.3 *y*[x]*ḥ* [...] ***upasáda up***[x]***sīdan*** '... the upasads which [the gods] performed ...' More common is pattern (ii), without an overtly expressed cognate object A, as in TB 2.2.6.2 = AB 5.23.4 *mánasā prá stauti, mánasód gāyati, mánasā práti harati* 'with his mind he performs prastāva, with his mind he chants udgītha, with his mind he performs pratihāra'.

Such verbs can be called '**quasi-denominatives**'. Quasi-denominative verbs meaning 'perform A' borrow their 'morphological core' from A, i.e. they are built on the root of A and copy the morphological features of the corresponding 'non-cognate' verb – in particular, they have the same present type and other paradigmatic properties. However, the syntactic properties and meanings of quasi-denominatives may be quite different from those of the 'non-cognate' verbs (cf. *prá-stauti* 'praise before (smth.) or aloud', *práti-harati* 'throw back'). From the point of view of their syntax and semantics, such verbs resemble denominatives, in spite of the lack of the denominative suffix *-(a)yá-*.

A correct syntactic and semantic analysis of such quasi-denominatives is compulsory for the adequate interpretation of the Vedic syntax and furnishes important evidence for diachronic typology of denominatives and 'light verbs'.

Renée Lambert-Brétière

Clause linking devices in Kwoma

In this presentation, I examine the specific features of procedurals and narratives observed in Kwoma, a Papuan language spoken in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. One of the characteristics that make these two genres identifiable in Kwoma is the presence of "tail-head linkage" (Thurman 1975), which can be defined "as a way to connect clause chains in which the last clause of a chain is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next chain" (De

Vries 2005: 363). An example is provided in (1). In this talk, I present the forms and functions of tail-head linkage in Kwoma, with a particular focus on the recapitulation clauses involving the verb *wo* 'to do'. I demonstrate that in addition to being used as a recapitulation device, this verb functions as a conjunction, linking clauses.

Tail-head linkage is crucially involved in creating the particular structure that characterises coherent discourse as opposed to random sequences of utterances in Kwoma. Close examination of the data reveals a regular pattern. Texts containing pervasive tail-head linkage usually describe close sequences of events and the linkage itself is a way of signalling a specific relationship between two independent clauses. As Foley (2000) indicates, a typological characteristic of discourse in Papuan languages is that there is only one piece of new information per clause. Tail-head linkage as a cohesive device allows for thematic continuity, as "the recapitulating subordinate clause provides a linkage between the previously asserted information and the new information to be asserted in its own sentence" (Foley 1986: 200). In languages that lack conjunctions, tail-head linkage is often used as a means to connect discursive units. As reported by de Vries (2005), discourse conjunctions often derive from verbs used to link clauses.

In Kwoma, in addition to regular tail-head linkage, we find a particular type involving the verb *wo* 'to do' in the recapitulative clause, as illustrated in (2). A striking difference between regular tail-head linkage and that involving the verb *wo* is the possibility for the latter to appear in an independent form, as shown in (3): the clause in (b) does not recapitulate the sentence in (a), but serves to indicate that (a) and (c) are part of the same action. I argue that this type of linkage is used to indicate action continuity.

Examples

(1) a. *(...),* namba wan *sogura sən ətа rə ruwuwa*

namba	wan	sogura	sə=na	ətа	rə	**ruwu-wa**
number	one	ring	3sg.f=OBJ	DEM	3sg.m	put.on-PERF

'..., the first ring he put on'

b. *ruwuchinaga, ətа rə apagap yowu iwa*

ruwu-chi-niga	ətа	rə	apagap	yowu	i-wa
put.on-COMPL-CONT	DEM	3sg.m	soon	climb	go-PERF

'when it had been put on, he then climbed up'

(2) a. *dətа nyiy sər*

dətа	nyiy	sə-r
DEM	night	be-PAST

'the night came'

b. *worək, rə ətа rətaka sər*

wo-r-k	rə	ətа	rə-ta=ka	sə-r
do-PAST-SUB	3sg.m	DEM	3sg.m-EMPH=ASSOC	be-PAST

'when done, he was with him'

[when the night came, he was with him]

(3) a. *nobo nyiy sowa*

nobo	nyiy	sə-wa
road	night	be-PERF

'the road is dark'

b. *wowa*

wo-wa

do-PERF

'(it) did'

c. *adaka yawa*

an-ta=ka	ya-wa
1sg-NOM=ASSOC	come-PERF

'I came to your place'

[the road is dark, so I came to you place]

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Alexander Letuchiy

One type of non-canonical transitive construction: *so*-like constructions.

The definition of direct object and canonical transitive construction includes various characteristics (see, among others, Næss 2007). However, the requirement that a direct object should be in accusative is always included into typical features.

In my talk, I will consider cases when an adverbial or similar thing serves as an analogue of direct object. I all them '*so*-like constructions'

In (1), the verb *znat'* 'know' has a canonical direct object which changes its case to genitive under the genitive of negation (see Ickovich et al. 1976, Rakhilina et al. (eds.) 2008). In contrast, in (2), the verb *dumat'* 'think' does not have a canonical DO. The function of direct object is carried out by the adverb *tak* 'so'.

Adverbs of these cases has several properties which draws it close to direct object. First of all, both *eto* 'this' and *tak* 'so' can have a sentential argument as an antecedent – sentential arguments of this type are usually supposed to be direct objects (see (3), (4)).

Second, constructions with *tak* can be passivized, as well as those with *eto*. However, this fact is not illustrative for Russian, because in Russian, passive constructions can be impersonal. Note that in English, where impersonal passives do not exist, *so* cannot be a subject of passive constructions. Note that the agent of the passive construction occurs more rarely in *so*-like construction than in the standard construction – thus, the *so*-like construction is passivized in a non-standard way.

So-like non-canonical objects can seem to be a European feature (besides the construction in (2), I include into this class constructions with interrogative pronouns such as *kak* 'how'). However, this is not true. For instance, in Adyghe (West Caucasian) a similar construction exists (5). In (5), the fact that the prefix *zer(e)-* is chosen proves that the construction is built on a *so*-like construction. The prefix *zere-* forms two types of relativization: (1) 'the fact that' and (2) 'the way how'. The first option is inavailable for semantic reasons: the author wants to emphasize that the hero thought THIS (and not another thing) – therefore, the second interpretation is more plausible. Interestingly, the verb λəten 'suppose' is transitive, and in (5) it retains its transitivity which is obvious from the presence of the prefix jə- marking the agent of transitive verbs. Thus, the construction looks literally as 'this is how he supposed this', but the real function relativization is carried out by the *so*-like marker. The Adyghe data shows that in this language, *so* is not considered to be analogous to direct object.

The distribution of the canonical transitive construction vs. the *so*-like construction is different for different lexemes. For instance, the verb *polagat'* 'suppose' can never occur in canonical transitive construction with the pronoun *eto* 'this', cf. impossible *čto ty polagaj-eš* 'What do you suppose' [what.ACC you.NOM suppose-PRS.2SG] and *ja et-o polagaj-u* 'I suppose it' [I.NOM this-ACC suppose-PRS.1SG]. In contrast, the verb *ščitat'* 'consider' can occur with both constructions, especially with interrogative pronouns – the sentence *a ty čto polagaj-eš* 'And you, what do you think / consider' [and you.NOM what.ACC consider-PRS.2SG] is possible, though *so*-like constructions are used more often.

In my talk, I will analyze some other features of *so*-like constructions which allow to define their place between canonical transitive and canonical intransitive constructions.

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(1) *Ja* *et-ogo* *ne* *znaj-u.*
I.NOM this.GEN.SG not know-PRS.1SG
'I don't think so (this).'

(2) *Ja* *tak* *ne* *ščitaj-u.*
I.NOM so not consider-PRS.1SG
'I don't think so.'

(3) *Vasja* *zna-et,* *chto* *ja* *prid-u,*
Vasja know-PRS.3SG that I.NOM come-FUT.1SG
i *Petj-a* *tozhe* *et-o* *zna-et*
and Petja-NOM also this-SG.ACC know-PRS.3SG
'Vasja knows that I will come, and Petja also knows it.'

(4) *Vasja* *duma-et,* *chto* *ja* *prid-u,*
Vasja think-PRS.3SGthat I.NOM come-FUT.1SG
i *Petj-a* *tozhe* *tak* *dumaet*
and Petja-NOM also so think-PRS.3SG
'Vasja thinks that I will come, and Petja also thinks so.'

(5) a-š' zer-jə-λəta-ʁe-r a-rə.
he-OBL FCT-3SG.A-suppose-PST-ABS that-COP
'This is what he supposed.'

Liina Lindström, Kristel Uiboaed

Word order variation in experiencer-object construction in Estonian

Languages show several ways how the experiencer argument can be marked according to their affectedness, control, etc. In Estonian (a Finno-Ugric language), the experiencer can be marked as a typical subject (with nominative case), as an oblique (adessive or allative case), or as an object. In this paper, we focus on the experiencer-object (EO) construction where the experiencer is marked with the partitive as a typical object and the stimulus is marked with the nominative as a subject (1).

(1) *Min-d* *huvita-vad* *kriminaalromaani-d.*
EXPERIENCER STIMULUS
OBJECT SUBJECT
I-PRT interest-PRS.3PL detective_novel- PL.NOM
'I am interested in detective stories.'

The typical word order in the EO construction is OVS, while the basic word order in transitive clauses is SVO in Estonian. However, as the previous studies have shown, the word order in EO construction varies remarkably in Estonian (Lindström 2012).

In this paper, we examine the factors which may have an effect on the word order variation in the EO constructions. We analyse 1500 EO sentences randomly sampled from the corpus of written Estonian. As Estonian has verb-second word order, we concentrate on the ordering of subject and object arguments only. The factors that we take into account fall into two main groups.

1. Variation of semantic roles and grammatical relations in experiential constructions:
   - Agentivity of the stimulus. In many languages EO verbs vary in terms of the agentivity of the stimulus argument (Verhoeven 2010, Sonnenhauser 2010). In Estonian, it has an effect also on the word order variation: if the stimulus of the EO construction refers to the person who act or may act agentively, the word order is almost always SO, while non-agentive stimulus more often appears in OS word order sentences (Lindström 2012). Even the possibility to use agentive stimulus with a verb may affect word order also in non-agentive EO sentences of the same verb. We measure the rate of the agentive sentences with each EO verb and find possible correspondencies with word order in non-agentive EO sentences with the same verb.

- Lability of the verbs. Rather many experiential verbs in Estonian may form in addition to the EO construction also experiencer-subject (ES) construction, compare (2, EO) and (3, ES). We take into account the possibility to form ES construction with the verb as a factor possibly affecting the word order in the EO construction.

(2) *Min-d* *ehmata-s* *tema* *väljanägemine.*
1-PRT scare-PST.3SG (s)he.GEN look.SG.NOM
'I was scared of his/her look'

(3) *Ma* *ehmata-si-n.*
I.NOM scare-PST-1SG
'I got scared'

2. Referent accessibility:

- Givenness/newness of the experiencer argument,
- Givenness/newness of the stimulus argument.

In this paper, we take all these factors (agentivity of stimulus, lability of a verb, accessibility of stimulus and experiencer) and apply regression modelling on the actual usage data to explore which factors interact and/or have the most influence on the word order in EO sentences. We include the verb as an additional factor to explore whether the word order may be determined by the verb occurring in these constructions.

We hypothesize that the agentivity of the stimulus, accessibility of stimulus and experiencer have the most influence on the word order in EO sentences, whereas the verb itself does not play the major role.

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Silvia Luraghi

Opposite tendencies of placement rules for P2 clitics and the position of the finite verb

Many ancient and some modern Indo-European languages feature P2 clitics, that is, clitics that occur after the first accented word (in some languages the first accented constituent) in a sentence, as first pointed out by Wackernagel (1892). Some languages also offer evidence for different diachronic trends in the placement of P2 clitics. The paper describes the diachrony of P2 clitics in two languages which exhibit different word order patterns as regards to the position of the finite verb: Hittite and Classical Greek. Hittite is a strict verb-final language (an alternative verb-initial order is available and accounts for a small minority of pragmatically marked occurrences, Bauer 2011). Much to the contrary, Classical Greek is a typical free word order language, in which the finite verb occurs with the same frequency in OV and VO patterns (Dover 1960). Both languages have various types of clitics in P2, including sentence particles and connectives, modal particles, and pronouns. Arguably, such disparate clitics occur in P2 for different reasons. Connectives and sentence particles have the whole sentence in their scope, and attach to the left border of a syntactically defined domain, i.e. the sentence (their phonological and structural hosts coincide in terms of Klavans 1985). Pronouns are mostly verbal arguments, which attach to a specific position (P2) rather than to a structurally defined domain (they take a phonological host which is different form their structural host). Both in Hittite and in Greek, sentence particles and connectives occur in P2 in all sorts of texts and at all language stages, as they do in numerous other Indo-European languages. Regarding pronouns, Hittite and Greek are strikingly different: while placement in P2 is exceptionless in Hittite, in Greek they can occur anywhere in the sentence. In the course of time, the initial clitic cluster in Hittite acquires new members (Luraghi 1998); often clitics are hosted by the sentence introducer *nu*, which is analyzed as being proclitic (Melchert 1998). An alternative pattern features a left dislocated constituent hosting the clitic cluster. These two patterns fulfill different discourse functions: in the first, no constituent is extraposed, and the clitic cluster (possibly leaning to the right, and thus borrowing proclisis from the sentence introducer) precedes the whole sentence. In the second, a left dislocated constituent is highlighted (as emphatic topic or contrastive focus) by the occurrence of the clitic cluster, which separates it form the rest of the sentence. In Greek on the other hand Goldberg (2010) has shown that clitics typically occur at the left edge of an intonational unit. As sentences can be split into several intonational units depending on discourse factors, it follows that clitics can occur in various positions within the same sentence, thus creating breaks in the sentence by inserting phonologically weak units. This pattern was also used for pragmatic purposes, but it eventually led to a weakening of Wackernagel's Law. Together with increasing configurationality, this had the effect that clitics ended up being attracted to the verb (their structural host), as evidenced by the New Testament (Jansse 2000). It is argued that opposite tendencies in the two languages are related to conditions concerning the position of the finite verb and the placement of clitics. The strictly final position of the verb mirrors strict P2 placement of clitics in Hittite, while free position of the verb in Greek corresponds to multiple possibilities for clitic placement.

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Timur Maisak

Subject pronoun doubling in Agul: a corpus study of an unusual pattern

A recent corpus of Agul*, a language of the East Caucasian family spoken in Daghestan, reveals an interesting pattern of pronoun doubling – a phenomenon that had not been mentioned for this language before and is not usually associated with the languages of this family. In this pattern, illustrated in (1) and (2), the subject pronoun precedes the finite verb, which is followed by the second occurrence of the same pronoun, here – the 1st person pronoun *zun* 'I'. Neither of the two pronouns is separated by an intonation break.

In the corpus, this doubling pattern occurs only with subject pronouns – but not with full noun phrases, nor objects. It is also restricted to the finite clauses with just one verb, namely the general speech verb 'say' (which is the most frequent verb): in (1) and (2), *pune* and *ʁaa* are two forms of this verb based on suppletive stems. The pronoun doubling pattern is not very frequent, it occurs in the corpus about 60 times. It cannot be qualified as a spontaneous speech error, though, as the examples can be found in texts recorded from several speakers, and are judged as correct.

Examples like (1) and (2) represent the main body of the data – subject pronoun doubling is mostly attested with the 1st person pronoun *zun* 'I'. There are some examples with other pronouns as well, cf. (3) with the logophoric/emphatic pronoun (here used as the anaphor). In all such cases, the pronoun is doubled after the verb in its full ("strong") form; there are no special weak or clitic variants of pronouns in Agul.

The pronoun doubling pattern looks like the contamination of two variants of subject-verb word order available in the reported speech construction. In the first case the subject (referring to the original speaker) precedes the speech verb, and the quote follows (4); in the second case, the speech verb follows the quote and the subject is postposed (5). In order to establish word order regularities that can reveal the origin of the doubling pattern, the paper will present the corpus study of SV/VS orders with pronoun subjects.

Another problem is the discourse function of the doubling, which is not immediately clear. Similar phenomena attested in some of the European languages (like subject pronoun doubling in the Dutch dialects or clitic doubling in the Balkans) are often assumed to reflect the information structure, in particular the topical status of the referent and the topic shift. The preliminary study of the pronoun doubling in the Agul corpus shows a more complex picture, which will be discussed in the paper.

Examples:

(1) aχp:a χabar aq'.u-guna, **zun** **p.u-ne** **zun**, "'arak:ajad.i-ne,
then news do.PF-TEMP **I(ERG)** **say.PF-PFT** **I(ERG)** beggar come.PF-PFT
ja baw".
VOC mother
After they informed us, I said: "Mother, a beggar came to us".

(2) **zun** **ʁ.a-a** **zun**, "ha-mi-št:išc' ag.u-neza-s".
I(ERG) **say.IPF-PRS** **I(ERG)** ha-DEMM-ADV(GEN) thingsee.PF-PFTI-DAT
And I say: "I have seen such-and-such thing".

(3) **uč.i** **p.u-na-a** **uč.i**, "pul qa-dawa" p.u-na-a.
self(ERG) **say.PF-RES-PRS** **self(ERG)** money {POST}be-PRS:NEG say.PF-RES-PRS
And he said, that there is no money.

(4) aχp:a **baw.a** **p.u-na-a**, "wa'" p.u-na-a, "š.u-na jac-ar
then **mother(ERG)** **say.PF-RES-PRS** no say.PF-RES-PRS go.PF-CONV ox-PL
džik'ar-q'-e"...
find-do-IMP

* The corpus of spontaneous oral narratives recorded in the 2000s mainly comprises legends, fairy-tales, stories about village life and curious incidents; the size of the subcorpus that we took into account is ca. 90000 words.

Then the mother said: "No, go and find the oxen!"

(5) "qu-'ø.a-jde req: ha-f-t:awa gada.ji-s", **p.u-na-a**
RE-go/come.IPF-PART3 road know-S-COP:NEG boy-DAT **say.PF-RES-PRS**
me dad.a.
DEMM **father(ERG)**

"The boy does not know the way back", said father.

Arantzazu Martinez Etxarri

[N+egin] verbal morphosyntactic constructions of Basque

[N + *EGIN*[8]] constructions play an important role in the grammar of Basque as productive activity morphosyntactic verbal forms. I show evidence favoring that standard transitive verbs and complex structures of this type have the same structural representation; transitive verbs project a non-bound object NP at the overt-syntax, whereas the NP of the locutions is bound. An incorporation hypothesis is proposed to account for [N+*EGIN*] forms and degrees of incorporation are considered. Evidence for incorporation is presented, by means of the application of tests such as insertion, word order change, partitive marking, scrambling, relative sentences and so on.

In the Basque linguistic tradition this [N+V] pattern is termed locution as a morphosyntactic construction formed by a non-determined indefinite common noun and a dummy verb. Meteorological locutions are exceptional as its noun is determined. However, determination is limited and the noun is necessarily non-referential, lack of the determiner position functioning as a justification for incorporation. The head movement constraint is fulfilled and so is the Proper Head Movement Generalization proposed by Baker (1995). The dummy verb also triggers incorporation in terms of semantic features. We propose that the verb of the locution needs to receive a meaning from the incorporating noun, the noun functioning as the semantic base. Aspectual tests are applied to a corpus to conclude that the mayority of these verbs correspond to the activity class, Van Valin, R. and R.J. La Polla (1997).

Different levels at which NI takes place are distinguished and we propose to divide these complex constructions of Basque into two main classes: Class I or *alde egin* 'to escape' type, class II or *negar egin* 'to cry' type. An Incorporation Theory in the sense of Baker (1988, 2005) accounts for the verbal locution of the type *alde egin* through adjunction. In the case of the type *negar egin*, we understand that semantically, the noun with the verb form a complex predicate even if we deny incorporation at the syntactic level.

To conclude, we assert the transitivity of [Noun + EGIN] locutions and the various degrees of incorporation are explained understanding that Noun Incorporation falls into a hierarchy that suggests a path along which Noun Incorporation develops (Mithun 1986).

8 EGIN 'TO DO/MAKE'

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EXAMPLES:

Verbal locutions type I:

(1) Mikel-ek alde egin du
Mike (erg) run make aux (abs-erg)
Mike has run away

Verbal locutions type IIa:

(2) Mikel-ek negar egin du
Mike (erg) cry make aux (abs-erg)
Mike has cried

Verbal locutions type IIb:

(3) Elurra egin du
rain make aux (abs-erg)
It has rained

Ranko Matasović

Verbal and adnominal agreement: areal distribution and typological correlations

Verbal agreement is the pattern in which the verb is - under syntactically or phonologically specifiable conditions - obligatorily modified by an affix expressing the agreeing category. The

most common agreeing categories in verbal agreement are person, number, and gender, although other categories are also attested. *Adnominal agreement* is the pattern in which all or some adnominal modifiers within the NP are – under specifiable syntactic and/or phonological conditions – obligatorily modified by an affix expressing the agreeing category. The most common categories in this agreement pattern are gender, number, and case. Together, verbal and adnominal agreement represent the two main types of agreement domains cross-linguistically (Corbett 2006).

In Eurasia, adnominal agreement is rather limited to the SW parts of that macroarea (Matasović 2004, WALS), while verbal agreement is relatively common everywhere, except in those language areas that are characterized by low overall morphological complexity (E Asia and Indochina). This might be related to the fact that person/number markers on verbs often have referential function, while referential function of gender/case/number markers is at best exceptional. While, in the realm of verbal agreement, it is often difficult to distinguish between pure agreement markers, bound pronominal markers which agree when full NP arguments are present, and independent pronouns (Siewierska 1999, 2004, Mithun 2003), such distinctions have no parallels in the realm of adnominal agreement.

Therefore, it is legitimate to ask whether verbal and adnominal agreement are two independent typological parameters, or rather two aspects of the same parameter. More specifically, we'd like to know whether there is any correlation between the presence of verbal and adnominal agreement cross-linguistically, and whether the differences in areal distribution of these two features occur globally, or just in Eurasia.

In this paper, we shall test the following hypotheses: 1) The presence of adnominal agreement implies the presence of verbal agreement, but not vice versa. 2) All types of adnominal agreement have similar areal distribution. Verbal agreement in person is the odd-man-out, occurring in all language areas with equal frequency. 3) Unlike verbal agreement markers, adnominal gender agreement markers are never in complementary distribution with the presence of the (nominal) controller.

In order to test these hypotheses, a sample of 200 languages has been collected and implemented in an Access database. The sample contains languages from all the continents and from over 100 genera, and the distribution of languages in various macroareas has been matched with the genetic diversity found in them.

However, we have to exclude the possibility that the limited distribution of languages with adnominal agreement is just a chance consequence of the fact that languages tend to have more morphology on the verb than on the noun and its modifiers. Therefore, we have also coded the morphological complexity of the noun and the verb in order to see whether languages that have verbal agreement, but no adnominal agreement, are also those in which verbs are morphologically complex and nouns are morphologically simple.

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Dejan Matić, Irina Nikolaeva

Island violations in Tundra Nenets and Tundra Yukaghir

The paper intends to enhance the empirical basis for the typology of constituent questions and syntactic islands by presenting new data on systematic island violations in two languages of the extreme north of Eurasia, Tundra Yukaghir (TY, north-eastern Siberia, isolate) and Tundra Nenets (TN, north-western Siberia, Uralic). Both languages display a lack of (strong) islands effects in questioning: questions are possible out of variety of syntactic environments including subject clauses, sentential complements and indirect questions, as well as adjunct and relative clauses, as illustrated in (1a) and (2a), respectively. Noteworthy, in both languages constituent questions in root clauses are formed by either placing qu-words in the focus position, which is immediately preverbal, or by fronting them to the left periphery, as shown for TY in (3). But in dependent clauses, qu-words remain in situ, i.e. in the same position in which a non-question word fulfilling the same grammatical function would occur, see (1b) and (2b), which show that the qu-word cannot occur in the focus position in the main clause in this instance. This behaviour is unusual: in all island-insensitive languages we are aware of, if qu-words are moved in root clauses, they are placed in the same position when extracted out of embedded clauses (e.g. North Germanic, cf. Maling & Zaenen 1982); and if qu-words are in situ in root clauses, they are also in situ in dependent contexts (e.g. Japanese, cf. Shimojo 2002). We argue that this typologically unusual feature of TY and TN relates to the fact that in both languages the whole embedded clause containing a qu-word counts as a focus domain, which at the same time represents a question domain. We show that in TN and TY, there is clear morphosyntactic evidence that the question feature percolates to the mother node, i.e. to the head of the island, and thus marks the limits of the focus domain. In TN, the main verb has to be in the interrogative mood in the presence of a qu-word in the dependent clause, as if one of the immediate constituents of the main clause were questioned, cf. (4a) and the ungrammatical (4b). Moreover, the main verb cannot agree with the object, which

can only happen if the object - the complex NP in this case - is focused, cf. (4a) and the grammatical (4c). In TY, the head of the relative clause island must be morphologically marked for focus and the verb must carry focus agreement, cf. (2a) and the ungrammatical (2c). Thus, in both languages the focus (i.e. question) domain spreads over the whole island. This accounts for the lack of island effects and explains why question words remain in situ and are not moved to the focus position in the root clause: the question word must be within the focus domain, i.e. within the island clause, in order to take scope; if it were moved, it would fall out of the focus domain and could not function as a question marker. We compare the merits of this explanation with those of an alternative account, put forward for languages such as Korean, Japanese and Sinhala (Choe 1987; Kishimoto 1992; Yoon 1999, among others), according to which island violations are due to the extensive use of covert heavy pied-piping. We further suggest that these basic syntactic facts are matched by semantics. Although there is a fair amount of variation, dependent clauses are not generally used to inquire about the identity of the denotation of the question word they contain. Most often they enquire about the identity of the whole island. The main argument for this is that, albeit speakers' judgements differ, the preferred answer to questions like (2) is the repetition of the whole island as in (5) (cf. also Pesetsky 1987). The apparent island insensitivity of qu-words in TN and TY thus seems to be a consequence of the way syntax, semantics and focus structure interact.

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Examples

(1) Tundra Nenets

a. Pet´a [Wera-h ŋəmke-m xada-qma-xəd°] to-sa ?
Petya Wera-gen what-acc kill-perf.an-abl come-inter
Lit.: 'Petya came after Wera killed whom?

b. * Pet´a [Wera-h xada-qma-xəd°] ŋəmke-m to-sa ?

(2) Tundra Yukaghir

a. [Čoɣojo-lə kin-ińˊ tadi:-j-o:l] köde-k tada: oɣo:l-u-l?
Knife-acc who-dat give-0-stat.nlzr person-foc there stand-0-sub.foc(3)
Lit. 'The man who gave the knife to whom is standing there?'

b. *[Čoɣojələ tadi:jo:l] ködek tada: kiniń oɣo:l-u-l?

c. *[Čoɣojə-lə kin-ińˊ tadi:-j-o:l köde] tada: oɣo:ńˊ.
knife-acc who-dat give-0-stat.nlzr person there
stand.intr.3(sg)

(3) Tundra Yukaghir

a. Taŋ köde čoɣojə-lə kin-ińˊ tadi:-m?
that person knife-acc who-dat give-tr.3(sg)
'Who did that man give a knife to?'

b. Kiniń taŋ köde čoɣojələ tadi:m?

c. */? Taŋ köde kiniń čoɣojələ tadi:m?

(4) Tundra Nenets

a. [Wera-h s´ax°h xo-wi°] noxom xada-sa-ŋ°?
Wera-gen when find-perf.part polar.fox kill-inter-2sg
Lit. 'You killed the polar fox which Wera found when?'

b. ... *xada-nə-s´°?
kill-2sg-past

c. ... * xada-sa-r°?
kill-inter-2sg>obj.sg

(5) Tundra Yukaghir

Pe:čə-ŋin tadi:-j-o:l köde-k.
Petya-dat give-0-stat.nlzr person-foc
'The man who gave it to Petya.'

Adriana Molina- Munoz

ON THE RIGHT PERIPHERY:
A Diachronic Study of Right-peripheral Relative Clauses in Hindi-Urdu

This study investigates the diachronic changes affecting Right-peripheral relative clauses (henceforth RCs) in Hindi-Urdu triggered by the addition of a new construction in the system. Hindi-Urdu presents a relativization strategy called *Relative-correlative*. In these constructions the RC containing the relative pronoun is juxtaposed, and not embedded, to the correlative clause (henceforth CC) containing an (optional) correlative/demonstrative pronoun (Lipták 2009). In Hindi-Urdu, the RC can only occur in a left or right peripheral position, e.g. (1).

(1) a. [RC **joo kitaab seel par hai**] [CC *vah* kitaab acchii hai]
REL book sale on be-PRES.3.SG. DEM book g o o d be-PRES.3.SG.

Lit. '**Which book is on sale**, that book is good'; "The book which is on sale is good"

b. [CC *vah* kitaab acchii hai] [RC **joo seel par hai**]
DEM book good be-PRES.3.SG. REL sale on be-PRES. 3.SG.

Lit. 'That book is good **which is on sale**'; "The book which is on sale is good"

Modern Hindi-Urdu also presents constructions like the ones commonly found in English, in which the RC immediately follows the head NP it modifies, and it is contained within the main clause, rather than being juxtaposed to the entire clause, e.g. (2). These constructions are an innovation in Hindi-Urdu, and they were not inherited from Sanskrit (Puri 2011, Davison 2009, Marlow 1993, Snell 1990). According to Hock (1989), Sanskrit only has relative-correlative constructions (in a left or right peripheral position); apparent embeddings are simple instances of parenthetical phrases in apposition, and they should not be analyzed as Embedded RCs of the English type.

(2) [MC *vah* kitaab [RC **joo seel par hai**] achhii hai]
that book REL sale on be-PRES.3.SG. good be-PRES. 3.SG.

'That book which is on sale is good'

(Bhatt 2003: 488)

The addition of a new construction had implications in the system. For instance, Marlow (1993) argues that the addition of the new structure resulted in the divergence of Left and Right-peripheral relative-correlatives, but convergence of Right-peripheral RCs and Embedded RCs in Hindi-Urdu (cf. Dayal 1996, Srivastav 1991). The synchronic relation between Right-peripheral and Embedded RCs, therefore, is not a reflection of the historical derivation, given that Embedded RCs did not derive from Right-peripheral RCs, but rather from Left-peripheral RCs. Marlow, however, does not discuss if divergence resulted in different syntactic derivations for Left- and Right-peripheral RCs, or rather non-syntactic factors proper of the left or right peripheries (such as word order, information structure, and working memory) are the ones conditioning the different occurrences of the three types of RCs.

Davison (2009), on the other hand, examines the differences between Hindi-Urdu and Sanskrit Left-peripheral RCs. She argues that there was a recent change in the syntactic adjunction relation between the RC and the correlative clause probably motivated by the addition of a new embedded structure: Left-peripheral RCs were conjoined in Sanskrit (i.e. CP to CP or "symmetrically adjoined"); however, they are adjoined in Hindi-Urdu (i.e. CP to IP or "asymmetrically adjoined"). According to Davison, this difference in the syntactic adjunction explains why we find some restrictions in Left-peripheral constructions in Hindi-Urdu, but not in Sanskrit (e.g. "No-stacking" condition at the left periphery). Davison, however, only discusses Left-peripheral constructions. She does not discuss Right-peripheral RCs.

In the present study, I examine Right-peripheral constructions in Sanskrit and Hindi-Urdu in order to determine if the addition of the new structure (which also occurs to the right of the modified element) had consequences in the syntactic structure of Right-peripheral RCs; or rather, the changes are motivated by other factors, such as information structure (cf. Dwivedi 2003) or processing constraints particular to the right periphery (cf. Kothari 2010, Varsishth 2001). A close examination of the historical development of Right-peripheral RCs is an important complement to a synchronic analysis of Hindi-Urdu RCs, as it offers additional data for understanding the origin of the asymmetries between the different constructions. This study also contributes to the understanding of syntactic and non-syntactic constraints in the analysis of syntactic phenomena (Phillips 2009, Sprouse 2007). Finally, this study has implications for the typology of relative clauses, given that it examines the interaction between at two different relativization strategies.

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Zarina Molochieva

Natural speech vs. controlled-stimulus narratives: referential density in Chechen

Bickel (2003, 2006) shows that referential density, variation in the ratio of overt arguments to grammatically available arguments, varies significantly across languages. His work raises two questions which the present paper aims at answering: (1) What causes cross-linguistic differences in referential density -- structural properties of grammar, situational and pragmatic factors such as text length, discourse traditions, social situation (Bickel 2006)? (2) Can referential density be calculated on natural speech or does it require a controlled stimulus? Bickel uses exclusively narratives produced in response to a stimulus, the Pear Story movie (Chafe 1975).

This paper uses narratives in Chechen (Nakh-Daghestanian, Caucasus) as a test. Chechen is a good test language because it has a rich evidential system and differences are reported in the frequency of evidential usage between highland dialects (rural, more isolated, smaller communities) and lowland dialects (larger speech communities, some urban, well connected). The frequency of evidential categories in highland dialects depends on the interpersonal relationship of the speakers, with closely acquainted speakers able to presuppose and assume more about the hearer's knowledge and therefore using relevant evidentials.

This paper presents a pilot study comparing referential density in Bickel's ten Pear Film narratives and two spontaneously produced texts of about 200 clauses each. The speakers of the spontaneously produced texts are rural elderly speakers (75 and 82) of different dialects, one highland and one lowland. The lowland speaker addresses and interacts with a non-close acquaintance who speaks a different dialect, while the highland speaker speaks to a very close acquaintance from the same highland dialect. Both texts are third-person narratives about extended events with motions, actions, and plot, similar to Pear Film narratives. The Pear Film texts were collected from younger diasporic Standard (lowland) Chechen speakers and mostly speaking to people they do not know very well. Since referential density as reported by Bickel (especially 2006) and the conditions for evidential usage in Chechen both involve speakers' and hearers' attention to and knowledge of referents, the prediction is that the highland texts will have lower referential density than the lowland texts.

The pilot study confirms this prediction. Referential densities are: Pear stories ~0.54 (Bickel 2006), spontaneous lowland speech 0.55, spontaneous highland speech 0.50. Highland speech has lower referential density. Lowland spontaneous speech and Pear Film narratives have similar referential density. Referential density is not greatly discrepant overall; any of the three values would keep Chechen in its same place in Bickel's table (2006). This indicates that referential density can also be usefully measured on natural texts (assuming basic genre consistency as here).

Bickel (2003:733) suggests that, in languages with low referential density the speakers may pay more attention to the event, while in languages with high referential density speakers attend more to the referents. This study suggests that the matter is more complex: In Chechen, in general and in my texts, it is motion events which structure narrative, and motion events are greatly elaborated using serialization of motion verbs, spatial preverbs, etc., suggesting that speakers are paying a great deal of attention to the motion events. In particular this is true in the highland text, which has the lower referential density.

The pilot study will be expanded to approximately to ten texts by the time of the conference.

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Johanna Nichols

AOV/verb-second word order in languages of the central Caucasus

The mechanisms, functions, and typological analysis of verb-second order (V2) in otherwise verb-final languages are known to linguistics primarily from the Germanic languages. AOV/V2 order also turns out to be systematic in an areally connected, genealogically diverse handful of languages from the Nakh-Daghestanian family in the central Caucasus. They differ from Germanic languages in their extensive use of clause chaining and complex predicates with light verbs, both of which impact V2.

Most published grammars say little or nothing about word order and are absolutely silent on the diagnostic phenomena listed below. This paper uses a corpus survey of six languages to document what the grammars leave out: Lak (isolate branch); Avar, Godoberi, and Chamalal (Avar-Andic); Hunzib (Avar-Andic-Tsezic), Ingush (Nakh). For each I have surveyed about 150 clauses of third-person narrative involving human actors (yielding about 70-100 finite clauses). (The survey is still in progress. By September I will have covered another 4 languages and at least doubled the corpus size for all.) Sources: texts in published grammars, plus my own work on Avar. The diagnostics of AOV/V2 order in these languages are:

1. Verb-second finite clauses, not just AVO but the more revealing OVA, XVS, XVA (X = any subcategorized phrase) are common, including clauses such as episode-initial ones where all information is new so word order should be neutral.
2. Preverbs, first elements of complex verbs, etc. are clause-final while the conjugated verb part is clause-second. (Ex. (1) on p. 2 below.) Only Nakh has true preverbs; Andic languages seem to have lexically or phraseologically associated adverbs that precede clause-final verbs and stay clause-final when the conjugated verb is in second position; Avar seems to lack these entirely.
3. TAM auxiliary is clause-second; lexical verb is clause-final.
4. The main (final) clause is verb-initial after one or more chained clauses (so second position = immediately after the whole chain, or perhaps just after its last converb). (Ex. (2) below.)
5. AOV and other verb-final order is also found in finite clauses (so V2 is less rigid than in Germanic).
6. Chained and other nonfinite clauses are rigidly verb-final. (Ex. (2).)

Pilot study results. √ = strong, ~ = less strong, ? = a few examples, blank = absent.

Branch	Language	1. V2	4. V1	6. AOV	5. AOV	2.Preverbs	3.Aux. second,

			(final)	nonfinites	finites	separable	lexical V final
AATs	Avar	~	√	√	~		
", Andic	Godoberi	√		√	√	~	?
", Andic	Bagwalal	√		√	~	~	?
", Tsezic	Hunzib	√	~	√	~		?
Nakh	Ingush	√	√	√	~	√	√
Lak	Lak	~		√	√		

Conclusions: All but Lak are AOV/V2. V2 is not a single phenomenon with diverse symptoms, but a cluster of phenomena not all necessarily present. The AOV/V2 type and the resemblance to Germanic are strongest where all components are in evidence. Chain-final V1 is functionally motivated (the converb and main verb, closely chained, are adjacent) and could have been the starting point. V2 order is not just a by-product of pragmatics (e.g. initial focus) but a basic pattern. The basic word order of these languages could be described as a main/non-main split; or as verb-final, with V2 a second basic order found only, and often, in main clauses. But their basic word order type is neither free, nor verb-final with some freedom, nor plain verb-final.

Examples (NW = nonwitnessed -- a finite tense in Ingush, a clitic in Avar; J, B = gender agreement markers):

(1) Ingush. Conjugated verb in second position, its prefix final.

Cweaqa qaalsag **jeaqqaai** cu=t'iera **wa**
one more woman J.take-NW.J there=on-ABL DEICTIC PREFIX
And then he grabbed the other woman off of there. (Nichols 2011:683)
Unseparated form: *wa-jeaqqai* 'down-took', i.e. 'took (down) off'.

(2) Avar. Verb-initial order in post-chain main clause, following two verb-final chained clauses.

čol ˛oboda ču=gi bux´un,
horse-GEN post-LOC horse=& B.strike-CONVERB

t'ilada t'ohib maxul maƛ=gi q'azabun,
stick-LOC on top iron-GEN nail=& insert-CONVERB

cun=ila **as** **kavu**
contact-PAST=NW he.ERG gate

'He fastened the horse to the hitching post, pounded an iron nail into the end of the stick, and pushed the gate' ('having fastened... having pounded, **pushed he the gate'**)
(Schiefner 1873:5, cited in Bokarev 1949:221)

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Enrique Palancar

Adverbial applicatives and verbal inflection in the Otomi-Mazahua languages of Mexico

In this paper, I examine a typologically rare inflectional phenomenon found in the Otomi-Mazahua languages of Mexico. In these languages, a subset of the inflectional paradigm of verbs is used when an adverbial constituent occurs in preverbal position, commonly in focus. I treat such cases as instances of an atypical applicative construction.

Otomi-Mazahua is a linguistic group of Mexico which comprises Mazahua, on the one hand, and the Otomi language family, on the other. The Otomi-Mazahua group belongs to the Oto-Pamean branch of Oto-Manguean. In this group, verbs inflect for TAM values by complex sets of preverbal markers, which are commonly proclitized to the verbal stem. Additionally, such markers often realize the person of the subject in a cumulative fashion. The data in (1) is from Highlands Otomi and they represent the subparadigms for the present realis and the present irrealis of the transitive verb *fa̱ʰki* 'empty' and the intransitive verb *te* (intr) 'be alive', respectively (Voigtlander and Echegoyen 2007: 64-65).[9] Example (2) is an instance of the present realis for a third person subject.

Highlands Otomi is a VOS language, but in (2) the NP subject *mu'u ya̱ paxi* 'plants' occurs in a preverbal position as a way to introduce its referent as a new topic. Notice as well that an instrumental participant is encoded obliquely in (2) by a PP headed by the preposition *nunge* 'with, by'. While this oblique encoding is common in the modern languages, it competes with another construction where an instrumental participant is encoded by an unmarked NP and appears preverbally in focus position. This construction appears in (3), and it is an old native way to encode adverbial meaning.

[9] The verbs in (1) pertain to the largest conjugation class in Highlands Otomi; there are five classes in total. The phenomenon I study in this paper has important consequences for the reduction of the inflectional contrasts among the classes.

I treat the construction in (3) as a case of an adverbial applicative construction, but only to be understood as a rather marginal instance of the prototype of an applicative construction, i.e. it is atypical. This is because it deviates from core instances in having an atypical syntactic function and an atypical realization. It is because of these deviations that the construction is interesting for the building of a typology of applicative constructions.

It is known that cross-linguistically prototypical applicatives serve the function of promoting an NP, so that it can acquire 'object' properties, such as pronominalization, relativization, reflexivization, and passivization (Peterson 1999: 38ff.). The applicative construction of Otomi-Mazahua treats the targeted participant as an argument, but not as an object. The syntax of the argument structure of the verb remains intact; the morphology merely registers the introduction of an adverbial into the core of the clause. In this respect, most of the triggers are manner and time adverbs and even adverbial clauses. Despite this, the adverbial constituent is not an adjunct, but an argument. This can be seen for example in that when the constituent is elided entirely from surface structure –something that happens only rarely– the adverbial reading remains present, as in (4) when compared with (5). In this sense, the construction is associated with focalized adverbials, and it reminds one of the non-canonical uses of the Tswana applicative construction presented in Creissels (2004).

From a morphological perspective, the Otomi-Mazahua construction is also atypical in that the adverbial applicative function is not encoded by a specific form that can be singled out in the verbal complex, as it happens with prototypical applicative morphemes cross-linguistically. In contrast, the function is realized through a set of TAM and person subparadigms, whose number and morphological complexity vary substantially across the different languages of the group.[10] This is not the sort of job inflection is expected to do. In (6), I illustrate the adverbial subparadigms in Highlands Otomi for the same TAM values given in (1).

In the paper, I provide an overview of the phenomenon in three Otomi languages and in Mazahua in order to gain an understanding of its scope and of its formal and distributional complexities.

Examples:

(1)

		fa̲ʰki 'empty' (tr.)	te 'be alive' (intr.)
Present realis	1st	dí=fa̲ʰki	dí=te
	2nd	gí=fa̲ʰki	gí=te
	3rd	i=fa̲ʰki	i=te
Present irrealis	1st	ga=fa̲ʰki	ga=te
	2nd	gi=fa̲ʰki	gi=te
	3rd	da=mba̲ʰki	da=te

(2) [nu='u̲ yo̲ paxi]$_{SUB}$ i=tc [nange ra 'yc]$_{OBL}$
INTRO=DEM.PL PL plant 3.PRES.REAL=be.alive w i t h
SG rain
'Plants are alive with the rain.'

(3) [ra 'yc] **ná**=ntc[11] yo̲ paxi
SG rain 3.PRES.REAL.ADV=be.alive PL plant
'With the rain plants are alive.'

(4) ná=ntc yo̲ paxi
3.PRES.REAL.ADV= be.alive PL plant
'Plants are alive (with it or that way).'

(5) i=tc yo̲ paxi
3.PRES.REAL=be.alive PL plant
'Plants are alive.'

(6) Adverbial tenses

		fa̲ʰki 'empty' (tr.)	te 'be alive' (intr.)
Present realis	1st	ná=fa̲ʰki	ná=nte / ní=nte
	2nd	gní=fa̲ʰki	gná=nte / gní=nte
	3rd	ní=fa̲ʰki/ na=fa̲ʰki	na=nte / ní=nte
Present irrealis	1st	dá=fa̲ʰki	dá=nte
	2nd	gdí=fa̲ʰki	gdí=nte / gdá=nte
	3rd	dí=mba̲ʰki	dí=nte / dá=nte

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[10] From what we know of grammaticalization theory, this situation may most likely have emerged from the phonological attrition and fusion of a historical invariant applicative marker, which cannot be reconstructed.

[11] The use of the nasal stem *nte* for the verb *te* 'live' in the examples responds to other requirements, which have nothing to do with the adverbial tense.

Anita Peti-Stantić

Canonical and non-canonical clitic placement in free word order language

The general claim in the past has been that in free word order languages, such as South Slavic languages, the distribution of clitics is bound to the positions that depend on either syntactic or phonological constraints. My research demonstrates that the clitic placement in South Slavic languages allows for much more freedom than was previously claimed in the literature.

Although the first task seems to be factoring out the ungrammatical sequences, especially as a lot of disagreement arose in linguistic literature over that question, this task showed to rely heavily on factors that were not accounted for by now. Since the distribution of clitics relies on fine-grained interplay between different components of grammar, it is important to determine types of constraints that play role in clitic placement, as well as their hierarchy, at the same time accounting for some variables that were never tested in order to gain information on grammaticality/ acceptability and/or the dynamics of processing.

To counterbalance the claims that were not supported by testable data, I am conducting the set of judgment task experiments (partially using ME method), as well as the paraphrasing and contrastive sentence completion experiments. My main goal is to explore the difference in non-controversially grammatical and what has been claimed to be ungrammatical linguistic data. My prediction is that the acquisition of the latter is delayed, or even suspended, depending on various factors I will be controlling for.

While designing the experiment, I accounted for three types of constraints and their combinations: 1. phonological, 2. morphosyntactic, and 3. informational. At the same time I controlled for the age, level of education, reading habits, and exposure to the linguistic analysis.

Based on the systematization of results, I propose that the relevant discrimination line be set up between sequences with canonical and non-canonical clitic placements rather than the grammatical and ungrammatical ones. Sequences with canonical clitic placements exhibit perfect match between prosodic and syntactic phrasing (Ex. 1.1, 2.1 and 3.1), and these sentences require basic semantic reading. Sequences with non-canonical clitic placements do not exhibit perfect match between prosodic and syntactic phrasing (Ex. 1.2, 3.4, 3.5), and the appropriate reading for these sentences requires alternative semantic interpretations that rely on focus marking.

The main goal of this study is to demonstrate that the experimental investigation of clitic placement is best couched in the domain of gradience. Such an approach, by offering novel evidence for acceptability of the sequences that are claimed to be ungrammatical, advances linguistic theory by uncovering acceptability distinctions that have gone unnoticed in the literature up to the present day. Since the experiments have already confirmed that hierarchy of constraints plays substantial role in the language acquisition, but that the "external" factors also play a role in acquisition dynamics, this discovery not only results in a significant contribution to our understanding of the interface between phonological, morphosyntactic and information structures in free word order languages, but also opens a new path for investigation of acquisition of complex linguistic data.

TABLES WITH EXAMPLES

1.1 and 1.2 "Sister will wait for me in front of the school."

2.1, 2.2, 2.3 "My sister will wait for me in front of the school."

3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5 "My sister and her friend will wait for me in front of the school."

		PROSODY (2PWP) (2PPhP)	MORPHO SYNTAX (2SP=NP)	FOCUS READING REQUIRED
1.1	**Sestra** će me dočekati ispred škole NP Subj cl cl V PP	x x	x	–
1.2	**Sestra** dočekat će me ispred škole. NP Subj V cl cl PP	– –	–	x
2.1	**Moja sestra** će me dočekati ispred škole.	– x	x	–
2.2	**Moja sestra** dočekat će me ispred škole.	– –	–	–
2.3	**Moja** će me **sestra** dočekati ispred škole.	x –	–	–
3.1	**Moja sestra i njena prijateljica** će me dočekati ispred škole.	– –	x	–
3.2	**Moja sestra i njena prijateljica** dočekat će me ispred škole.	– –	–	–
3.3	**Moja** će me **sestra i njena prijateljica** dočekati ispred škole.	x –	–	–
3.4	**Moja sestra** će me **i njena prijateljica** dočekati ispred škole.	– –?	x	x
3.5	**Moja sestra i njena** će me **prijateljica** dočekati ispred škole.	– –	–	x

2PWP - position after the first prosodic word

2PPhP - position after the first prosodic phrase

2SP - position after the first syntactic phrase which is at the same time NP

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Sonja Riesberg

Are passive agents really adjuncts? Another look at asymmetrical and symmetrical voice alternations

The most common view on passive constructions found in the literature is to analyse the prepositionally marked agent argument as an adjunct. Under such an approach, the passive agent is prevented from being linked to a syntactic function. The details of this process differ from theory to theory, but in most cases the passive morphology is assumed to be responsible for this "suppression" of the agent argument.

There are, however, also other views that either acknowledge some kind of special status of this passive adjunct or dispense with the adjunct analysis altogether. Grimshaw, e.g., introduces the term ARGUMENT- ADJUNCT, claiming that the passive agent shows properties of both arguments (due to its "relationship to an argument structure") and adjuncts (due to it "not satisfy(ing) argument structure positions") (1990: 107). Likewise, in RRG the status of passive agent is not clear: having a slot in the logical structure of the verb, it is a core argument of the verb, however, being syntactically realised in the periphery it shows adjunct properties (cf. Van Valin 2005). Dowty (2003), on the other hand, comes to the conclusion that there are no reliable criteria for distinguishing arguments from adjuncts in the first place and that passive agent should be analysed as arguments.

In this paper, I want to argue that argumenthood and adjuncthood might better be conceived of as gradual concepts, with the passive agent being closer to the argument side than to the adjunct side. The first piece of evidence for this claim will come from German data, based on work by Zifonun, Hoffmann, Strecker, et al. (1997), who developed a series of tests to distinguish arguments from adjuncts. Applying these tests results in a very fine grained distinction, showing strong

evidence that the passive agent in German is clearly more argument-like than adjunct-like. The second piece of evidence will come from Austronesian languages (especially Totoli and Balinese). Within this family, many languages show so called SYMMETRICAL VOICE alternation (Himmelmann 2005; Foley 2008), where a change in voice takes place without any suppression of arguments, and where the non-subject seems to be a direct argument in all constructions. However, just like in asymmetrical active-passive alternations, arguments differ in their syntactic behaviour (Arka 2009), giving rise to the claim that they gradually vary in argument status.

These observations have two consequences: First, it is no longer necessary to analyse the passive agent as some kind of hybrid category (e.g. either as an argument-adjunct, or an argument realised in the periphery). Instead, the difference between the non-subject in an active construction and the non-subject in a passive construction consists in the former being a direct core argument and the latter being an oblique core argument. Second, and resulting from the first point, the difference between asymmetrical and symmetrical voice systems is then not as fundamental as it is widely assumed. Both alternation types can be analysed without argument suppression. The difference between the two systems would then only be this: in symmetrical voices non-subject agents are direct core arguments while in asymmetrical voices they are oblique core arguments.

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Two Statistical Typological Generalisations and their Consequences

This paper tests the cross-linguistic validity of certain Greenbergian word-order correlations, as well as the general "suffixing preference" in morphology (see Greenberg's Universal 27, Gilligan & Hawkins 1988). In order to assess these word order typologies, we investigated the relevant features in the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) database (wals.info): Coding of Nominal Plurality (33A), Position of Case Affixes (51A), Position of Tense-Aspect Affixes (69A), Order of Object and Verb (83A), Order of Adposition and Noun Phrase (85A), and Position of Polar Question Particles (92A).

The Cartesian product of this set of features pairwise gives the harmony combinations in (1). The notion of "higher" head refers to notional prominence (which would correspond to a relatively "high" position in a syntactic phrase-marker), for example which head is more likely to determine the presence of the other: verbs can have prepositional complements but prepositions do not normally have verbal complements. Similarly, suffixes are less prominent than free morphemes. We assume the following order of prominence:

(2) Q-particles > TA affixes > V > adpositions > case affixes > plural affixes

Based on Greenberg and, in particular, Hawkins' approach to understanding word-order correlations (Hawkins 1994, 2004), we would expect the (a)- and (b)-type orders of (1) to be much more frequent than the (c)- and (d)-type, and furthermore we predict (a) and (b) to appear in roughly the same frequency, just as (c) and (d). So one might expect a 40%, 40%, 10%, 10% distribution, for example. We calculated the proportions of the four logically possible combinations for each dyad, and remarkably, this is not what we found. Instead, the general distributions across the four categories appeared to be skewed, as in (3), an observation that has been confirmed statistically. Additionally taking into account that Q-particles seem to behave in quite a different way and leave them out, we obtain the overview in (4).

Two things emerge from these figures. First, word-order harmony is more readily observed in head-final systems than in head-initial ones. Second, the second type of disharmonic order is much rarer than the first. In fact, there is no significant difference between the between the (a)-type order and the (c)-type order.

If there is no bias of any kind, then four possibilities should average out at 25% each. Options (a) and (c) are closest to this, and this suggests that the preference for (b) and the dispreference for (d) are what need to be accounted for. We can account for (d) as follows:

(5) A more prominent head-final category cannot have a head-initial category in its complement.

This generalisation can clearly account for the asymmetry in disharmonic orders we observe in (2c-d). It is, however, rather loosely put, and we can be more precise by making direct reference to constituent structure, as follows:

(6) A head-final phrasal category must take a head-final phrasal category as its structural complement.

This is the Final over Final Constraint (FOFC, cf. Biberauer, Holmberg and Roberts 2010). Now note that FOFC can account for the asymmetry in (2a-b) as well: if every head is principle allowed to precede or follow its complement, but (6) holds, then once a head-final category is introduced into the structure its complement must be head-final, and so must the "next one down" be, and so on. If there is no preordained tendency towards harmony, truly harmonic head-initial systems will occur at chance, but the probability of head-final ones will be multiplied due to (6). In our talk we present the relevant data and patterns emerging from the WALS study, and speculate as to why it appears that (6) multiplies the chances of harmonic head-finality by roughly a factor of 3.

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(1) a. harmonic head-initial (e.g. VO and Prepositions)
b. harmonic head-final (e.g. OV and Postpositions)
c. disharmonic I: "higher" head initial (e.g. VO and Postpositions)
d. disharmonic II: "higher" head final (e.g. OV and Prepositions)

(3) a. harmonic head-initial (e.g. VO and Prepositions) 13%
b. harmonic head-final (e.g. OV and Postpositions) 61%
c. disharmonic I: "higher" head initial (e.g. VO and Postpositions) 16%
d. disharmonic II: "higher" head final (e.g. OV and Prepositions) 11%

(4) a. harmonic head-initial (e.g. VO and Prepositions) 15%
b. harmonic head-final (e.g. OV and Postpositions) 69%
c. disharmonic I: "higher" head initial (e.g. VO and Postpositions) 11%
d. disharmonic II: "higher" head final (e.g. OV and Prepositions) 5%

Carl Rubino

Idiosyncrasies in Tausug Ergative Case Patterning

This paper will demonstrate how ergativity is manifested in Tausug, a language spoken by over one million people on several islands surrounding Jolo in the Sulu Archipelago, Philippines. Like sister Philippine languages, a robust voice distinction exists in this language where an affix on the predicate denotes the semantic role of its corresponding subject, e.g. Agent Voice (AV), Object Voice (OV), Instrumental Voice, Benefactive Voice, etc. Predicates with transitive morphological marking may take two core pronominal arguments, an agent (A) in the genitive case, and an object (O) in the nominative case (#1, #3). The nominative case is also the case reserved for single argument (S) predicates (#2, #3).

(1.) ... bagay-un ku siya magbalik.
... friend-TRANS.OV 1s.GEN 3s.NOM again
'... I will befriend her again.' [Transitive predicate in object voice (OV)]

(2.) N-ag-selos siya ha bagayku.
REALIS-INTR.AV-jealous 3s.NOM OBL friend 1s.GEN
'She's jealous of my friend.' [Intransitive predicate in actor voice (AV)]

(3.) ly-asubu niya aku bang ma-baya' aku m-agad...
REALIS:TRANS.OV-ask 3s.GEN 1s.NOM if INTR-want 1s.NOM INTR-go
'He asked me if I want to go ...' [Transitive predicate with two intransitive verbs in the conditional clause]

Although productive morphological marking affords a straightforward analysis for ergativity marked by the genitive case, there are noteworthy exceptions to expected ergative case patterning. Using a three million-word spoken and written corpus of Tausug collected and transcribed by Ateneo de Zamboanga University, I will demonstrate the use of the genitive case with single-argument predicates, as well as certain predicates where an argument can appear in either the nominative or genitive case to allow a more in-depth look at the idiosyncrasies exhibited in the grammatical relations of this Austronesian language.

Elena Rudnitskaya

Morphosyntax of a numeral phrase with a classifier in Korean – the Synactic Predication inside DP analysis

The paper discusses several approaches to the formal analysis of quantitative constructions with classifiers in Korean. Classifiers in Korean (and Japanese), unlike in Chinese, cannot occur without a numeral (1). The [Num + Class] phrase is usually considered a floating quantifier. The numeral-classifier group shows various Case-marking patterns in (2). (2a) is rare and usually definite. For (2d), the quantified NP and the [Num + Class] group is often separated by other material (NP is considered to be topicalized).

Classifiers in Korean (and Japanese) can be looked at as adverbs [M.-K. Park, K.-W. Sohn 1993], cf. [Nakanishi 2004] for Japanese, or as secondary predicates [S.-J. Kim 2004], cf. [Miromatsu 1998] for Japanese. [Ko 2005] argues for the "adverb" pattern in (2d) and the "secondary predicate" pattern in (2c).

We argue that syntactic and morphological properties of classifiers are nominal rather than adverbial. Many classifiers are former full nouns grammaticalized as auxiliary nouns. A classifier cannot be used with the so-called core numerals that are nouns but not adnouns, cf. (3). Non-numeral quantifiers can also be floating; in this case, these quantifiers change their morphology – from adnominal to nominal in (4). The lack of a Case marker on the NP or on the classifier in (2b-c) can be explained if we take the fact of a frequent drop of NOM/ACC markers in Korean into account [Sohn 1999].

The comparison of classifiers to adverbial secondary predicates (e.g. *elmana* 'to some/ to which degree') reveals that classifiers are in an argument rather than in an adverb modifier position: in (6), the [Num + Class] phrase can be (covertly) extracted from a RC island in a wh-question, unlike in (5) - (5)-(6) are from [M.-K. Park, K.-W. Sohn 1993].

We regard the following analysis as the most well-based: (i) the classifier is a lexically deficient noun in a grammatical use NP_{CLASS}, and (ii) the whole quantitative construction is a complex DP that includes the NP-quantified noun (NP_1), the NP_{CLASS}, and the adnominal numeral (Mod) that modifies N_{CLASS} (Mod is an adjunct to N'_{CLASS}):
[SpecDP [D' [Spec NP_{CLASS} NP_1 (*chayk*) [N'_{CLASS} [Mod (*sey*) [N'_{CLASS}] (*kwen*)]]]] D]]

This analysis is based on [Merchant's 1996: 180] German agreeing floating quantifiers analysis and on [Heycock's 1993] "syntactic predication" conception. NP_1 is in the Spec NP_{CLASS} position – that allows us to regard NP_1 as the (logical) subject and N'_{CLASS} as the (logical) predicate of the syntactic predication.

The facts that this analysis allows us to explain are:

- The Case-assignment to both NP_1 and N_{CLASS} inside one DP in the classifier construction, cf. (2d), without introducing a SC-like structure, as in [Lee 1989; Cho 2003; S.-Y. Kim 2004]. In a Subject-raising construction, raising the NOM NP_1 and leaving the [Num + Class/N_{CLASS}] phrase in the embedded clause is impossible if Class/N_{CLASS} is Cased (2d). This is an argument for the whole classifier group with a numeral being just one DP.
- Partitive effects and indefiniteness of the numeral-classifier phrase (the DP's D is usually empty, even though SpecDP can be filled with a demonstrative pronoun).

The presented analyses suggests a unitary underlying structure for (2a-d). First, some restrictions on the position of the NOM NP_1 in discontinuous constructions (2c) mentioned by [Ko 2005] can be explained by the information structure factors [J.-B. Kim 2011], by a frequent NOM/ ACC drop, and by the syntactic predication theory (in which Class is part of the (logical) [Num + Class/ Class/N_{CLASS}] predicate). Second, we can derive (2a) by applying movement operations driven by the [+DEF] feature in D.

(1) *(yel) kwen-uy chayk(-ul)
ten CLASS-GEN book(-ACC) "Ten books"

(2) a. sey kwen*(-uy) chayk-ul
Three.ADN CLASS-GEN book-ACC
"Three books [ACC]"

b. chayk sey kwen-ul
book three.ADN CLASS-ACC

c. chayk-ul sey kwen
book-ACC three.ADN CLASS

d. chayk-ul sey kwen-ul
book-ACC three.ADN CLASS-ACC

(3) chayk seys (*kwen(-ul))
book three.CORE.NOUN CLASS(-ACC) "Three books"

(4) a. Motun haksayng-i ttena-ss-ta
all.MODIF student-NOM go_away-PAST-DECL
"All the students went away"

b. *Haksayng-i motun ttena-ss-ta
student-NOM all-MODIF go_away-PAST-DECL

c. Haksayng-i motwu(-ka) ttena-ss-ta
student-NOM all.NOUN(-NOM) go_away-PAST-DECL

(5) a. John-i elmana cichyese
John-NOM to_what_degree tired.CONV
tolawa-ss-ni?
come_back-PAST-QUEST
"How tired did John come back?"

б. *Ne-nun [CNP elmana cichyese
youi-TOP to_what_degree tired.CONV
tolao-n RelCl] salam NP]-ul mana-ss-ni?
come_back-PART man-ACC meet-PAST-QUEST
"A man how much tired as (he) came back did you meet?"

(6) ?[CNP [Haksayng-i myech myeng chamkaha-n]
Student-NOM how_many CLASS participate-PART
tayhoy]-eyse ku-ka sang-ul tha-ass-ni?
contesat-LOC he-NOM prize-ACC win-PAST-QUEST
"How many students participated in the contest in which he won a prize"

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Andrea Sansò

Nominalization-based impersonal and passive constructions as a cross-linguistic type

The aim of this paper is to discuss a still poorly-analyzed type of passive and impersonal constructions based on action nominalizations (either stand-alone or followed by a copula or an existential predicate): on the basis of cross-linguistic data from various unrelated languages, it will be shown that this type is cross-linguistic recurrent, and thus robust as a type, and is characterized by special functional features that have chiefly to do with the versatility of nominalizations as a morpho-syntactic device (in the sense of Noonan 1997).

Passive and impersonal constructions derived from action nominalizations have been firstly investigated with respect to Uto-Aztecan languages. In Ute, for instance, the *-tu/-ra* suffix marks both action nominalizations and impersonal passives in which the object of active retains its case-marking and the subject of active is fully demoted (cf. (1)). A similar pattern is said to be at the basis of the "passive" constructions in other Uto-Aztecan languages (Langacker & Munro 1975): the passive-impersonal suffix reconstructable for Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA) occurs in several dialectal variants, including **-tiwa*, **-tiwa*, and **-liwa*; it was originally bimorphemic, and there is considerable evidence in favour of the reconstruction of a PUA morpheme **ti* 'be' + **-wa*, which derives 'abstract' nominalizations in most of the daughter languages, i.e. it designates "the activity described by the nominalized verb, rather than the agent, patient, instrument, product, or location of the activity" (Langacker & Munro 1975: 799); even in languages in which the present-day passive/impersonal construction is not based on *-ti-wa*, the possibility exists of forming "quasi-passive" sentences by means of a copular construction with a nominalized verb (Langacker 1977: 48).

Passive and impersonal constructions formed with the same building blocks (an action nominalization and an optional copula or existential predicate) are attested in various languages. In the passive construction of Paumari, for instance, the object of the active clause becomes the subject of the passive, and there is a copular verb *hi*, which co-occurs with a nominalized form of the verb, which is itself marked by the suffix *-hi* (cf. (2)). In Rukai, the suffix *-ane* forms object voice and/or nominalizations; in the latter case *-ane* is used to derive nominals from verbs, resulting in elements that can be case-marked and used as arguments or complement clauses (cf. (3c-d)); in object voice constructions (cf. (3b)), the patient is marked as nominative, and the agent is marked as genitive, unlike the active voice construction, which exhibits a nominative-accusative pattern. In most of the languages of the languages examined the constructions derived from action nominalizations maintain "impersonal" traits: the patient is rarely promoted to subject, and the construction is in general possible with intransitive verbs; the agent, on the other hand, can be considered as defocused to some extent, but it is a fact that **it is in most cases overtly coded** (unlike other impersonal construction types, see Siewierska 2010, Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007, 2011 among others).

Besides languages in which there are grammaticalized impersonal or passive constructions based on action nominalizations, there are also many languages in which nominalizations (accompanied or not by an existential predicate) are exploited (more or less systematically) in specific discourse contexts: lists of events in which the action is presented as a whole, with no emphasis on its main participants (agent/patient; cf. (4)), cases in which there is a contrasted referent (cf. (5)), cases in which it is to be emphasized that something is in fact the case, cases in which a recapitulative thematic topic is to be established especially after major breaks in a narrative (cf. Wegener 2008 on Savosavo and Palmer 2011 on Northwest Solomonic).

The connection among these various uses of action nominalizations will be explored, and a unified proposal will be put forward based on the chief function of action nominals, namely the conceptualization of events as naked facts: as event-central predications, stand-alone

nominalizations or nominalizations + copular predicates allow the speaker to present chains of events in summary fashion, to provide background information with respect to the main narrative-expository line, or to present all-new information. Yap et al. (2011) have proposed the term **stance marking** to cover the range of semantic and pragmatic effects of such constructions in Asian languages. We will show that the action nominalization > impersonal/passive development is part of the same story, given the discourse functions of passive and impersonal constructions across languages, and we will sketch a diachronic scenario accounting for this development.

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Data

(1) Ute (Uto-Aztecan, Numic; Givón 1988: 419, 421)

a. *ta'wá-ci̱ siváatu-ci paxǎ-xa*
man-SBJ goat-OBJ kill-ANT
'The man killed the goat.' (active)

b. *siváatu-ci paxǎ-ta-xa*
goat-OBJ kill-PASS-ANT
'Someone killed the goat/The goat was killed.'

c. *kani-naaǧa ṯuká-ta-xa*
house-in eat-PASS-ANT
'Someone ate in the house.'

d. *ṯuká-ta tiṉ'a-tu̱*
eat-NOM good-NOM
'Eating is good.'

(2) Paumarí (Arauan, Brazil; Chapman & Derbyshire 1991: 180-181; 240)

a. *mina'di vani-a bi-n-oba-'iana-hi ida Kasai*
electric_eel CONTR-ERG 3SG-CAUS-shock-again-THEME DEM:F Kasai
'The eel shocked Kasai again.' (active clause)

b. *oba-hi hi-'iana-hi ida Kasai mina'di-a*
shock-NOM AUX-again-THEME DEM:F Kasai eel-by
'Kasai was shocked again by the eel.'

c. *kodi-kana-i naothinia o-vada-'i-hi*
POSS.1SG-bath-NOM after 1SG-sleep-ASP-NOM
'After my bathing, I slept.'

(3) Rukai (Austronesian, Tsouic; Chen 2005: 37)

a. *wa-kane ku babuy ka cumay*
IMPFV-eat ACC boar NOMIN bear
'The bear ate a boar.' (active)

b. *ta-kane-ane ki cumay ka babuy*
PFV-eat-OV GEN bear NOMIN boar
'A bear ate the boar.' (object voice)

c. *ma-ulai-nga ku [ta-katuas-ane-li].*
IMPFV-be_a_while-PFV NOMIN PFV-leave-NOM-1GEN
'It's been a while since I left.' (lit. My leaving has been a while.)

d. *wa-Del-aku ku [ta-kane-ane ki cumay].*
IMPFV-see-1NOM ACC PFV-eat-NOM GEN bear
'I saw that a bear ate.' (lit. I saw a bear's eating.)

(4) Yami (Austronesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian, Northern Philippines; Rau 2002: 184)

sya mi-anoanood, citai na am, k<om>an pa sira, ka-pianoanood da pa.
3SG.NOMIN AF-sing later 3SG.GEN TOP <AF>eat first 3PL.NOMIN NOM-sing 3PL.GEN still
'They will sing. After a short while, they will eat first. After that they will still sing.'

(5) Rawang (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Nungish; LaPolla 2006)

a. *mvnuq-lòng wā è-vím nòng wē í-má*
shoot-CL only N.1-eat 2PL NOM be-Q
'Is it only the shoots that you eat?'

b. *àng dī bó-í-wē í-ē*
3SG go PFV-1.PST-NOM be-NPST
'(Yes,) He went.'

c. *Vpūng nō Vdó-í vdór-ò-wē í-ē*
PN TOP PN-AG hit-3.TR.N.PST-NOM be-NPST
'Vpung was hit by Vdeu.'

Maria Ovsjannikova, Sergey Say

Constituency in Bashkir Genitival constructions: between predicative and attributive possession

For the expression of predicative possession Bashkir (Altaic, Turkic) employs the so-called Genitive strategy: the Possessor in the predicative possessive construction (PPC) is encoded by the same means as in the attributive possessive construction (APC), cf. (1a)-(1b).

Based on the surface structure of sentences like (1), it is tempting to view them as clauses with one-place existential predicate with the subject position occupied by an unitary NP, that is, by an APC. However, the study of the Genitival constructions in Bashkir shows that the genitive + nominative sequence in the Bashkir PPC has a number of properties suggesting less tight constituent structure than that in the APC.

Among these properties are those considered indicative of the lack of constituency typologically, and also those that are put forward here as criteria relevant for Bashkir (and, possibly, other similar languages). 1) The genitive + nominative sequence in Bashkir PPCs can be interrupted by clause-level elements, e.g. adverbials (2). 2) The Possessee can be expressed by personal pronouns (cf. (3)), which otherwise never take dependents. 3) The basic way of expressing a pronominal Possessor in Bashkir is to use the possessive affix, e.g. *ul-əm* 'son-P.1SG' 'my son', whereas the redundant expression of pronominal Possessor by free pronouns (e.g. *minең ul-əm* 'my son-P.1SG') is rare and emphatic. However, it is in PPCs that free pronominal possessors are more frequently used than not (4). 4) There often is an intonation break between the Possessor and the Possessee, which is not typical of APC. Other properties of Bashkir PPC to be discussed in the talk are its interaction with ellipsis, anaphora and quantifier scope.

Typological studies of predicative possession (e.g. [Heine 1997: 58, Stassen 2005]) show that such a strategy is typologically rare (some 10% of the world's languages). In [Stassen 2009: 113–122] it was argued that in many languages with the Genitive PPC the genitival NP should be treated as a constituent of a clausal rather than a phrasal level, the major criterion being the possibility of discontinuity. The situation in Bashkir cannot be reduced to just that: in fact, the very APC in Bashkir does not form a homogeneous class of uses, but instead fall into several subtypes with discrepant properties. The following types of structures were analyzed in the study. 1) Constructions with genitival APC in the subject position of such verbs as e.g. 'ache' or 'be.born'. The use of these verbs implies a) that there is a participant standing in the possessor relation to the subject participant and b) that the "possessor" is necessarily highly affected by the event, cf. (5). 2) Constructions where the APC denotes a body-part that occupies the subject position of other patientive verbs, e.g. change-of-state verbs, cf. (6). Unlike constructions of the previous groups, the verbs in these constructions do not necessarily imply that there must be a possessor; however, when there is an animate possessor, it is necessarily affected and often topic-worthy. 3) All other types of APCs with genitival possessors, cf. (7). 4) Constructions with unmarked "possessors", that is, unmarked preposed nouns standing in the attributive relation to the head noun bearing a possessive suffix, as in (8). As in other Turkic languages, in Bashkir such constructions generally denote various qualitative properties of the head noun.

The following conclusions were arrived at based on the comparison of PPC with individual subtypes of APCs. 1) Although the genitival NP in PPC shows more properties of a clause-level constituent, it still retains some properties characteristic of a phrase-level constituent. 2) There is no strict border between Possessive NPs in the PPC and those in the APC in terms of their constituency properties. Rather, the constructions at issue form a hierarchy: the higher a construction is on this hierarchy, the more properties that are expected from a unitary noun phrase it demonstrates.

APC-4 > APC-3 < APC-2 < APC-1 < PPC

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(1a) *Murat-təŋ qəð-ə bar*
Murat-GEN daughter-P.3 there.is
'Murat has a daughter'.

(1b) *Murat-təŋ qəð-ə Öfö-lä jäšä-j*
Murat-GEN daughter-P.3 Ufa-LOC live-PRS
'Murat's daughter lives in Ufa'.

(2) *minең ir-em-deŋ ös jəl inde haqal-ə bar*
I.GEN man-P.1SG-GEN three year now beard-P.3 there.is
'My husband has been wearing a beard for three years now'.

(3) *Gölnaz-dəŋ malaj-ə bul-hа hиŋ, ä hinең bit min bar*
Gulnaz-GENboy-P.3 be-COND after, but thou.GEN as I there.is
'Gulnaz has a son, but you have me'.

(4) *?(minең) haqal-əm bar*
I.GEN beard-P.1SG there.is
'I wear a beard'.

(5) *minең ul-əm təw-ðə*
I.GEN son-P.1SG be.born-PST
'A son has been born to me'.

(6) *Murat-təŋ küð-e qəðar-ðə*
Murat-GEN eye-P.3 redden-PST
'Murat's eyes turned red'.

(7) *Murat-təŋ aγa-hə asqəs-ə-n jиγalt-qan*
Murat-GEN elder.brother-P.3 key-P.3-ACC lose-PC.PST
'Murat's elder brother has lost his key'.

(8) *matematika uqətəwsə-hə*
mathematics teacher-P.3
'Mathematics teacher'

Ronald P. Schaefer, Francis O. Egbokhare

Emai Coordination Strategies for Clause Linkage

Coordination as a clause linkage strategy on the African continent exhibits few clear generalizations (Creissels 2008). Simple juxtaposition of clauses dominates in some languages, while others formally mark, sometimes with partial overlap, conjunctive 'and', adversative 'but' and disjunctive 'or' (Watters 2000). Nonetheless, few studies have addressed the syntactic nature of clauses formally linked by coordinators.

For this paper, we examine the properties of clauses joined by coordination markers in Emai, a West Benue Congo minority vernacular of Nigeria's Edoid group (Elugbe 1989, Williamson & Blench 2000). Our data emanate from documentation of oral tradition texts as well as dictionary construction and reference grammar description. Emai is a relatively strict SVO language with minimal inflectional morphology and few adpositions. It exhibits lexical as well as grammatical tone, distinguishing three degrees of aspect (perfect, imperfect and prospective). Its clauses reveal complex predicates framed by postverbal particles and verbs in series.

Emai exhibits distinct clausal linkers for adversative (*àmàà*) and disjunctive (*dà*) but none for conjunctive. Constructions with adversative and disjunctive markers are highly constrained, although differentially so. Each requires that its coordinands show subject identity and contrast in polarity (exclusively ordered as affirmative then negative). Disjunction is further constrained in its expression of mood and verb phrase shape.

Adversative requires subject identity (man$_1$ ~ he$_1$) across clauses (*ọ́lí ọ́mọ̀hè dẹ́ ọ́lí ùkpìn àmáà ọ́ ì sò ọ́ì* [the man$_1$ buy the cloth but he$_1$ NEG sew it] 'The man bought the cloth but he did not sew it'); disjoint subjects are unacceptable (**ọ́lí ọ́mọ̀hè dẹ́ ùkpìn àmáà ọ́lí òkpòsó í ì sò ọ́ì* [the man buy cloth but the woman SC NEG sew it] 'The man bought the cloth, but the woman did not sew it'). For expression of polarity, adversative links not only present perfect (absolute tone on subject) with perfect negation (*ì*) but also prospective aspect (*lọ́* 'will') with prospective negation (*khà* 'will not') and positive focus (*lí*) with negative focus (*kí*). Since imperative and prohibitive also pair (*dẹ́ ọ́lí ùkpìn àmáà é è sò ọ́ì* [buy the cloth but you PR sew it] 'Buy the cloth but don't sew it'), mood is relatively unconstrained in adversative constructions.

Disjunctive *dà* also requires subject identity and clausal polarity (*ọ́lí ọ́mọ̀hè dẹ́ ọ́lí ùkpìn dà ọ́lí ọ́mọ̀hè í ì dẹ́ ọ́lí ùkpìn?* [the man buy the cloth or the man SC NEG buy the cloth] 'Did the man buy the cloth or did the man not buy the cloth?'). However, negative polarity is limited to perfect negation and prospective negation, negative focus and prohibitive being unacceptable. In addition, disjunctive coordinands require verb identity and interrogative mood. Non-identical verbs and declarative mood are unacceptable (**ọ́lí ọ́mọ̀hè lọ́ è ọ́lí émà dà ọ́lí ọ́mọ̀hè í khà dà ọ́lí ẹ́nvọ́* [the man will eat the yam or the man will not drink the wine] 'The man will eat the yam or the man will not drink the wine'). It is thus polarity and subject identity that limit Emai coordination regardless of type, while interrogative mood and event identity further constrain disjunction. Moreover, verb and noun phrase ellipsis, despite their frequent appearance worldwide (Haspelmath 2007), fail to occur in this SVO language with verbs in series.

Robert Schikowski, Balaram Prasain, Krishna Poudel

Modelling differential object marking in Nepali

Nepali (Indo-European > Indo-Aryan, Nepal) features classical differential object marking (DOM, Bossong 1985) where "low" objects are marked by the nominative (zero) and "high" objects by the suffix **-lai** (cf. e.g. Foster 1985:25, Acharya 1991:160), variously labelled as dative or accusative. For instance, NOM is odd on the human object in (1a), whereas it's DAT that is odd on the inanimate object in (1b):

(1) a. *Tyo* *sʌpʌna-ma* *mʌi-le* *ek-jʌna* *manche?(-lai)*
MED dream-LOC 1s-ERG one-HUM.CLF person?(-DAT)
dekh-ẽ.
see-PST.1s
'In that dream I saw a person.' [elicitation SR 2011]

b. *Tyo* *sʌpʌna-ma* *mʌi-le* *yʌuṭa* *ḍhuṅga(?-lai)*
MED dream-LOC 1s-ERG one.CLF stone(?-DAT) *dekh-ẽ.*
see-PST.1s
'In that dream I saw a stone.' [elicitation SR 2011]

Apart from the factor of animacy illustrated in (1), there are plenty of other variables which take abigger or lesser influence on DOM:

- specificity
- topicality
- focus
- word class
- modification of NP
- co-arguments
- voice
- distance object-predicate

However, none of the factors known so far completely determines DOM in the sense that one of their values would always go together with NOM or DAT. For instance, even highly animate nouns such as **manche** 'person' can be in the nominative when they have non-specific reference:

(2) *Mʌ* *tin-jʌna* *sʌgau-ne* *manche*
1s three-HUM.CLF help-NPST.PTCP person
khoj-dʌi *ch- u,* *jo* *bhʌ-e*
look.for-PROG AUX.NPST-1s whoever be-COND
pʌni *hu-nch-ʌ.*
also be.good-NPST-3s
'I'm looking for three helpers, anyone is okay.' [elicitation SR 2011]

On the other hand, even non-specific referents can be assigned the dative when their identity is accessible at least in principle, as with **birami** 'ill/patient' in (3):

(3) *Hal-samma-ma* *ek* *sai* *ek-jana*
present.time-TERM-LOC one hundred one-HUM.CLF
bhand *baki* *birami-lai* *upacar* *gar-I* *ghar*
COMP more ill-DAT cure do-CVB$_2$ home
phark-a-i-sak-i-eko *ch-a.*
return-CAUS-LNK-finish-PASS-PST.PTCP be.there-NPST.3s
'Until now more than 101 patients have been cured and sent back home.' [NNC.a02.38]

In short, whichever factor one looks at, there always seems to be another factor interfering with it. Three ways to model such a complicated system can be conceived of:

1. monocausal rule-based: There is one underlying factor (not known so far) that bundles together all known factors and fully determines DOM.
2. multicausal rule-based: There are several factors that together form a rule system fully determining DOM.
3. multicausal probabilistic: There are several factors each of which increases to a greater or lesser degree the likeliness of DOM.

This talk will seek to evaluate these approaches with respect to their ability to explain the distribution of DOM in actual corpus data. The used corpus is the Nepali National Corpus (NNC, Hall et al. 2006), parts of which have been annotated by the authors for the relevant factors. It will be shown that the monocausal approach works least well, also because of theoretical problems, and that while both multicausal approaches fare much better a probabilistic approach after the model of Bresnan et al. (2007) can cover more exceptional constellations.

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Natalia Serdobolskaya

Raising in Altaic languages: syntactic criteria

Raising has been defined as a construction where the subject of the dependent clause receives morphological case from the matrix verb and occupies the syntactic position in the matrix clause (e.g. *I believe **John** to be a linguist*). The analysis of the raised NP as occupying the position in the matrix clause is supported by a large number of syntactic tests that include reflexivization, reciprocals', passivization of the matrix verb, scope of quantifiers (Lasnik, Saito 1991), constituency tests, idioms' test, passivization of the dependent verb and others (see Postal 1974; Davies, Dubinsky 2004).

In Altaic languages there are complement constructions that seem, at first sight, to show the properties of raising to the object position (as in English), cf. (1) and (2) (cf. Yoon 2004). I analyze the fieldwork data from two languages, Tuvinian (Turkic) and Kalmyk (Mongolic).

However, these constructions demonstrate a number of properties that can not be explained on the basis of the analysis involving raising to the object position.

First, the Altaic construction of raising can appear both with nominalized clauses and dependent clauses with lexical complementizers (as in Japanese and Korean, cf. (Kuno 1976, Ohta 1997, Yoon 2007)). Both types of complements can include the overtly expressed subject (genitive or nominative in nominalizations and nominative in complementizer clauses), which differs them from English raising.

Second, in Altaic languages raising is also possible with intransitive matrix verbs. The accusative can be assigned to the raised NP with matrix verbs that can not have a direct object and even in adverbial clauses (3). These facts lead to the conclusion that the accusative in this case is not assigned by the matrix verb. Still, it can be shown that the raised NP occupies some position within the matrix clause, since it may be expressed by reflexive / reciprocal pronouns that have an antecedent in the matrix clause (for other arguments of the dependent verb it is impossible).

Third, various syntactic tests show that the raised NP does not occupy the position of the direct object in the matrix clause. In both Tuvinian and Kalmyk, the raised NP can not become the subject in the matrix clause by the passivization of the matrix verb. In Kalmyk constructions with raising, the direct object in the dependent clause can not be assigned accusative. It can be explained if it is assumed that the raised NP occupies the slot reserved for the accusative NP in the lower clause, which shows that the raised NP remains in the lower clause.

Fourth, constituency tests show that the raised NP does not belong to the matrix clause. The dependent clause with the raised NP shows constituency properties (cf. Serdobolskaya 2009a, 2009b).

Both in Tuvinian and Kalmyk, the choice between the raising construction and the construction without raising (with nominative subject) is regulated by the animacy of the dependent clause subject and by the information structure of the sentence. If the raised NP constitutes the topic or the focus of the sentence, it is raised. Else the construction without raising is chosen.

On the basis on these arguments, I claim that the constructions in Tuvinian and Kalmyk can not be termed as raising to object. I argue that another type of raising is to be postulated, which I propose to analyze as raising to the left periphery of the dependent clause. This explains the relevance of the information structure for the choice of the construction. It also explains why the raised NP still forms a constituent with a lower clause and can not become a subject by the passivization of the matrix verb.

Examples

Tuvinian

(1) [ada-je-m-nə končužu-p tur-gan-ən] men dəŋna-də-m
father-mother-my-ACC quarrel-CONV stay-NMZ.PST-ACC.POSS.3 I hear-PST-1SG
'I heard my parents quarrelling.'

Kalmyk

(2) ter ämtə-s [**namagə** sad-in dotər or-s-i-n^{j}] üz-lä
that people-PL I.ACC garden-GEN inside enter-PC.PST-ACC-P.3[12] see-REM
'These people saw me sneaking into their garden'.

(3) [chamagə ir-xə öməŋ] bi elstə-də
you.ACC come-PC.FUT before I Elista-DAT
kür-chk-sən bi-lä-v
reach-COMPL-PC.PST быть-REM-1
'When you arrived, I already was in Elista.'

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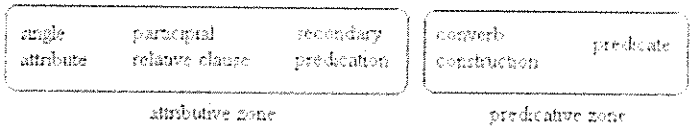
[12] In Kalmyk complements, the 3SG possessives on the participles can also refer to 1st and 2d person.

Ksenia Shagal

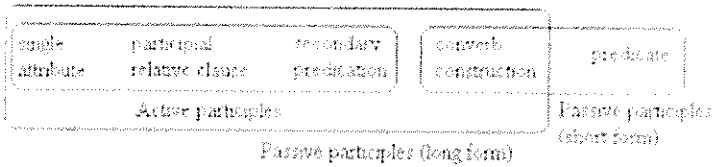
Russian participial Syntax from a Slavic perspective

Russian is probably the most notable Slavic language with respect to the non-finite verbal paradigm, since it has preserved the Proto-Slavic affluent participial system almost unchanged. Russian participles have been studied from various aspects within the language, but there is still very little typological research on them. This paper aims to investigate the syntactic properties of Russian participles in comparison with other Slavic participial forms.

The method of semantic mapping (cf. [Haspelmath 2003]) allows to arrange the possible syntactic positions of the Russian participles, based on the functioning of the participial forms in the living Slavic languages, into the following map (cf. [Shagal 2011]):



As shown by this map, the functions in question constitute two main zones, the distinction coming from the fact that the forms themselves fall into two parts, reflecting the asymmetry of the Slavic Voice system.



Active participles are entirely attributive, which can be explained by the fact that other verb forms (including converbs) have a full-fledged Active paradigm, so the participles do not have to fill any gaps and substitute any missing elements. Passive participles, however, are not just participles; in addition to their attributive functions, they also have to serve as a substitution in cases when there is no specialized Passive finite or converbal form (cf. [Weiss 1995]). As a result, Russian (unlike most Slavic languages) distinguishes between the so-called short (originally indefinite) and long (originally definite) forms of Passive participles, which generally perform different functions, as shown on the map. The only intersection is the function of a predicative in a construction with a converbal copula *buduči* (the distribution here is regulated by a bunch of parameters), cf. (1):

(1) *telo* ***buduči*** ***pogruž-enn-ym / pogruž-en-o***
body be.CONV dip-PTCP.PASS.PST-N.SG.INS / dip-PTCP.PASS.PST-N.SG
v vodu vesit P
in water weighs P
'Body being dipped in water weighs P.'

Thus, Russian tends to break the participial paradigm into two parts: "true" attributive participles and "substitutional" predicative participles, which is not typical of the Slavic languages. This split itself in conjunction with the properties the short form shows in the transitional position (in the converb construction) may be considered as a signal of the segregation of short forms from the participial paradigm.

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Michelle L. Sheehan

Degrees of ergativity

It has long been noted that syntactic ergativity in the transitive clausal domain is vanishingly rare, with most 'ergative' languages being only morphologically ergative (cf. Anderson 1975). Thus Tongan displays ergative Case marking (1), but subject raising applies to A/S arguments to the exclusion of O, rather than absolutive (S/O) arguments) (Anderson 1975: 3-4, 13). This makes Tongan different from Dyirbal (and a few other languages – cf. Aldridge 2008), which displays syntactic ergativity in that (a) A-bar extraction of ergative (A) arguments is banned; (b) at least some subset of syntactic operations apply to absolutive (S/O) arguments, rather than A/S 'subjects'.

To account for the relative rarity of syntactic ergativity of this kind, Estival and Myhill (1988) propose a plausible diachronic model whereby ergative syntax is quickly overridden by accusativity, leaving only a morphological residue. The implication is that syntactic ergativity is an historical accident, arising independently in different language families because of the strong tendency to reanalyze nominalisations and passives as active clausal alignments, but being quickly lost (Gildea 2004). This arguably also explains Dixon's (1994) observation that no language is fully ergative, with most 'ergative' languages being sensitive to tense/aspect, person or matrix/embedded splits for diachronic reasons (Harris and Campbell 1995, Gildea 2008). It might also explain Corbett's (2006) observation that there are languages with ergative case alignment and accusative agreement but not vice versa.

While it seems true that there is a cross-linguistic preference for syntactic accusativity in transitive clauses, it is also noteworthy that ergativity seems to be the preferred alignment in several other (active) syntactic domains, so that no language is fully 'accusative' either (cf. Moravcsik 1978). Nominalizations, for example, have ergative alignment in very many languages, including English (2) and other Indo-European languages (Alexiadou 1999, 2001, Bok-Bennema 1991, Gildea 2008, and Williams 1987 amongst many others). Interestingly, there is evidence that nominalizations are syntactically ergative in the Dyirbal sense, disallowing A-bar extraction of ergative-marked subjects, as in the Spanish example in (3) for example, and allowing raising of absolutive S/O arguments to the exclusion of A.

But any attempt to reduce the ergative/accusative opposition to the nominal/verbal distinction runs into trouble, as there are further syntactic contexts which appear to favour ergativity. At least one causative construction in a number of Romance languages appears to be ergative, for example, in that it treats S and O alike to the exclusion of A (cf. Kayne 1975, Zubizarreta 1985, Roberts 2010), as in French (4), and this appears to be part of a broader cross-

linguistic trend (Comrie 1976). Finally, as Dryer (1986) notes, the internal arguments of ditransitive verbs can also display one of two alignments. Thus the unique argument of a monotransitive verb can be grouped either with the goal of a ditransitive to give a 'secundative' alignment in Haspelmath's (2005) terms, as in the Yoruba example in (5) from Rowlands (1969: 21), or with the theme, giving the more familiar 'indirective' alignment (as in 6). Assuming, that the goal is base generated above the theme in such cases, it is actually the indirective alignment which is ergative, as it serves to single out the higher goal argument (as a Dative/prepositional). The indirective alignment observed in most Indo-European languages is therefore another pocket of ergativity.

As such, it appears that ergativity, though it is infrequent at the transitive clausal level, cannot be considered to be a peripheral alignment arising as a diachronic accident. Rather the accusative/ergative choice affects many different syntactic domains. Moreover, in each domain, a number of parallel one-way implications recur, something which can be fruitfully modeled via a parameter hierarchy of the kind proposed by Holmberg & Roberts (2010). In such a model, a series of micro-parameters are arranged in a tree-like structure with more embedded combinations being more 'marked' hence less frequent (all else being equal). The fact that syntactic ergativity in clauses is so rare follows, in this model, from the greater syntactic complexity of clauses as opposed to nominalisations.

(1) a. na'e tamate'i 'a kolaiate 'e tevita [Tongan]
PAST kill ABS Goliath ERG David

b. na'e lea 'a etalavou
PAST speak ABS young.man

(2) a. The city's destruction (by the Romans)

b. The Romans' arrival/departure

(3) a. **De** qué país has criticado la invasión por los Americanos? [Spanish]
Of what country have.2S criticized the invasion by the Americans
'Which country is such that you have criticized the Americans' invasion of it?'

b. ***Por** quién has criticado la invasión de Irak?
By whom have.2S criticized the invasion of Iraq

(4) a. On a laissé nettoyer la chambre **par** Pierre. [French]
One has left clean.INF the bedroom by Pierre
'One has let Pierre clean the room.'

b. Il faut laisser vivre **(*par)** les gens.
It must leave.INF live by the people

(5) a. ó pa mí [Yoruba]
he kill me

b. ó fún mi l' owó
he give me SEC money

(6) a. He killed me

b. He gave the money **to** me

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Johan van Niekerk

The Complex Passive in Afrikaans – A Case of Syntactic Incorporation

Foreign to Continental West Germanic languages, of which Afrikaans is cognate, is the passivization of a verb in the presence of a bare verbal complement.

DUTCH

1. (a) Ik heb Marietje een liedje horen zingen. - Active

(b) *Marietje is een liedje gehoord/horen zingen. - Passive

(c) *Een liedje is gehoord/horen zingen. - Passive

GERMAN

2. (a) Ich habe Mariechen ein Liedchen singen hören/gehört. - Active

(b) ?*Mariechen ist gehört/hören worden ein Liedchen singen. - Passive

(c) ?*Ein Liedchen ist gesungen gehört/hören worden. - Passive

In Afrikaans though assisting verbs and linking verbs readily allow for such complex passives. These verbs may then appear in either its infinitival form or in its participle form:

AFRIKAANS

3. (a) Ek het Marietjie 'n liedjie (ge-)hoor sing. - Active

(b) Marietjie is 'n liedjie (ge-)hoor sing. - Passive

(c) 'n Liedjie is (ge-)hoor sing. - Passive

4. (a) My oom het die huis (ge-)laat bou. - Active

(b) Die huis is deur my oom (ge-)laat bou. - Passive

(c) Die huis is (ge-)laat bou. - Passive

5. (a) Hy het die kinders (ge-)kom haal. - Active

(b) Die kinders is deur hom (ge-)kom haal. - Passive

(c) Die kinders is (ge-)kom haal. - Passive

In her study on non-finite verbal complements in Afrikaans, Robbers (1997:187/188) claims "...that incorporation always takes place in the case of complex passives. The fact that an embedded object can become the subject of the passive clause led us to the claim that, in active constructions, the embedded object can receive accusative Case from the matrix verb. This is licensed by the incorporation of the embedded verb into the matrix verb at LF."

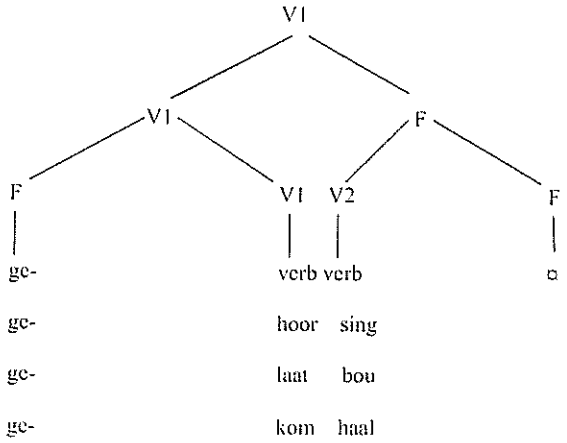
Syntactic incorporation, which derives morphologically complex words from more basic elements (roots, stems or affixes), is held to be a variant of Move-X (Chomsky, 1981) that applies to heads. It follows that various kinds of affixation and incorporation processes are viewed as instances of head-to-head movement.

The purpose of this paper is to substantiate this claim that complex passives in Afrikaans are a case of syntactic incorporation - as Robbers (1997) claims for Afrikaans and Southern Dutch and Baker

(1988) and Guasti (1991) claim for Italian.

As a generalization on linking and assisting verbs, the following is presumed: As a result of incorporation of the infinitival verb into the linking/assisting verb at LF, an AGRoP can be projected above the linking verb. In Spec AGRoP accusative Case can indeed be assigned to the subject of embedded intransitive/ergative verbs, or to the object of embedded transitive verbs.

Complex initials in Afrikaans allow for right-incorporation. When the infinitival verb adjoins to the right, the prefix and the suffix (allowing for Afrikaans infinitivals carrying a zero suffix) no longer immediately dominate each other, which might explain the absence of the IPP-effect (i.e. with *ge-*). However, the functional heads F still symmetrically c-command each other since both are included by V1:



Saskia van Putten

Left-dislocation and syntactic integration in Avatime

Left-dislocation is a phenomenon that occurs in many of the world's languages. Typical properties of left-dislocated elements are: (a) they occur sentence-initially, (b) they are set off from the rest of the sentence by a pause or intonation break, and (c) they are crossreferenced by a pronoun in the remainder of the sentence. Because of this, left-dislocated elements are often said to be extraclausal. However, there have also been suggestions that a difference should be made between more and less syntactically integrated left-dislocated elements (Shaer 2011).

In Avatime, a Kwa (Niger-Congo) language spoken in Ghana, left-dislocation occurs frequently. Left-dislocated elements take the left-most position in the sentence, preceding elements displaced for focus. A resumptive pronoun may occur in the remainder of the utterance. Left-dislocated subjects are always crossreferenced by a resumptive pronoun, as there is obligatory subject-marking

on the verb which has both a pronominal and an agreement-marking function (1). Because of this, there is in many cases no distinction between left-dislocated and in-situ subjects. Left-dislocated objects usually get a resumtive pronoun (2), but this may be left out. In the case of left-dislocated adjuncts a resumptive pronoun is possible, but usually absent. Elements that have no grammatical role in the remainder of the sentence are also found in the left-dislocated position (3). Left-dislocated elements in Avatime are frequently but not necessarily followed by a pause. It is possible for multiple left-dislocated elements to occur within one sentence (4).

The difference between integrated and non-integrated left-dislocation, according to Shaer (2011), is that the former constructions restrict the type and position of resumptive pronouns and are sensitive to island restrictions, which is not the case for the latter. Another relevant distinction may be that non-integrated dislocates, as opposed to integrated ones, can be iterated. These criteria would classify left-dislocation in Avatime as non-integrated.

However, one property of Avatime seems to indicate a more integrated status of left-dislocation: left-dislocated elements can occur within subordinate clauses (5). It has been noted in the literature (e.g., Van Valin 2005) that direct speech complements can contain left dislocations. However, in Avatime, all kinds of complement clauses can contain left-dislocated elements. These complement clauses are always introduced by the complementizer sị̀, clearly marking them as subordinate. These embedded left-dislocations look the same as main-clause left-dislocation in all respects.

Thus, to account for the Avatime data, we have to reconcile the extra-clausal nature of left-dislocated elements with the fact that they occur within subordinate structures. Using the RRG framework, these facts can be explained relatively easily, by widening the possibilities for embedding. If we assume that not only clauses, but also sentences (consisting of pre-clausal elements plus clause) can be embedded, we can maintain the non-integrated analysis of Avatime left-dislocations while accounting for their occurrence in complement clauses.

Examples

(1) wɔ tsyɛ á-dei-lá wɛ̀ɛ́-ta wiyawiya te
2S ADD C_3P-corn-DEF:FOC 2S.PROG-chew ID like.that
'You too, you are chewing [corn]$_{FOC}$ like that.

(2) gi ba ki-bɔɛ ki-zɛ kɛ
CON C_1P.POS C_4S-money 1P-collect C_4S
'And their money, we 've collected it.'

(3) o ablaɛ bi-dɔmɛ gì ɔ-katsiɛ ɛɛ-ŋa kɔ̀
oh now C_4P-thing CON C_1S-old.man C_1S.PROG-eat just
sị yɛ li-po me
say C_1S.POS C_3S-stomach inside
'Oh, now the thing that the old man ate, he said his stomach!'

(4) mɔ mɛ te xunyɔ-ɛ me-bi tiaba bɛ-kị ba ku-plikpa
1S.CTR1S like.that CTR-CM 1S.POS-child two C_1P-give C_1P
C_6P-letter

'As for me, two of my children$_i$, they have sent them$_i$ letters.'

(5) sị ba sị̀ i-tsre lɔ gi elɔm a-kɔ mani
tell C_1P COMP C_2P-okro DIST REL elɔm C_1S-take
bring
ke-pa mɛ ... ba-da lɛ kị̀ wɔ
C_6S-house inside ... C_1P.SBJ-sell C_2P give you
'Tell them that the okro that Elom brought to the house, they should sell it to you.'

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Martine Vanhove

Syntax and semantics of the Optative/Hortative Negative in Beja (Cushitic)

The Optative/Hortative Negative verb form of Beja (North-Cushitic) is syntactically and semantically not symmetrical with the Optative/Hortative Affirmative verb form. While the latter is only used in independent clauses to express either simply a wish of the speaker (optative) or a wish which conveys an appeal to the addressee(s) or a third person to help make the future state of affairs true (hortative) (see Dobrushina et al. in WALS), the former has additional syntactic uses and semantic values: (i) it is mandatory in negative relative, completive and conditional clauses whatever the TAM of the affirmative equivalent; (ii) it expresses a participant-internal modality in both dependent and independent clauses; (iii) it is used with the Future auxiliary to express a Negative Future. This presentation, based on spontaneous first hand data, will (i) provide an overview of the different syntactic and semantic uses of the Optative/Hortative Negative; (ii) discuss possible scenarios to explain the syntactic evolution and the semantic polysemy / evolution in light of internal and crosslinguistic evidence; (iii) propose a tentative semantic map of this Beja verb form.

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Ana Vilacy Galucio

Discourse and epistemic modality in Mekens: The counterfactual, counter-expectation or frustrative construction

The goal of this paper is to present the so-called frustrative construction in the Mekens language, also known as Sakurabiat, and to discuss its interaction with the manifestation of discourse and epistemic modality in the language. Mekens is a member of the Tupari branch of the Tupi linguistic family, from Southwestern Amazonia, Brazil, and it is spoken in the region that has been referred to as the Guaporé-Mamoré linguistic area, near the Brazilian-Bolivian border.The frustrative or adversative construction is a subtype of the declarative sentence type in Mekens. This construction is signaled by the particle *etaop*, which can be applied to verbal and nominal clauses, and which adds a specific semantics to the proposition. The particle *etaop* adds a counter-expectation or antithetic meaning to the statement indicating that the expected result of a given event does not obtain, as in (1a-b) below.

(1a) *isɨ̃ o-so-a kwat õt i-taka etaop*
DEER 1S-SEE-TH.V GO I 3-FOLLOW FRUSTR
'The deer saw me and ran away, I ran after it, but couldn't get it'/ 'The deer saw me and ran away, I followed it, in vain'

(1b) *pedro makiyã mi-a-t etaop*
PEDRO AGOUTI KILL/SHOOT-TH.V-PST FRUSTR
'Pedro shot but didn't kill the agouti' /
'Pedro shot the agouti, in vain'

The frustrative construction is also employed in negative declarative clauses (2a). In this case, it has scope over the negated proposition, cancelling it. The scope of this frustrative particle is sensitive to its position in the clause. Its counter-expectation meaning applies to the preceding clause. Thus, when it occurs between two declarative sentences, and preceeds the negated clause, it functions as a simple adversative operator since it is the first clause's presupposition that is cancelled by the particle (2b).

(2a) *e-ɬeg=õ ka õt e-so-a-t-apo=õt etaop*

2S-HOUSE=DAT MOVE I 2S-SEE-TH.V-PST=NEG=I FRUSTR
'I went to your house, and almost missed you'/
'I went to your house (and) it was nearly the case that I didn't see you'

(2b) *e-teg=õ* *ka* *õt* *etaop* *e-so-a-r-apo=õt*
2S-HOUSE=DAT MOVE I FRUSTR 2S-SEE-TH.V-PST-NEG=I
'I went to your house, but didn't see you'/
'I went to your house, in vain, I didn't see you'

I will describe the morphosyntactic and discourse properties of this frustrative construction, looking especially into its interaction with epistemic and discourse modality in the language. This type of (frustrative) construction has also been reported for other Tupian languages and also for genetically unrelated languages, spoken in the same region. In this talk, I will also attempt to investigate whether this construction could stand as a good candidate for a linguistic areal feature of this region, thus, supporting the definition of a linguistic area (the Guaporé-Mamoré linguistic area).

Tobias Weber

Agent marking splits conditioned by information structure: finding the relevant factors

It has been noted that in some languages the case marking of the agent argument of a two-place or a three-place predicate depends on information structure (also treated under the label Optional Ergative Marking, cf. McGregor 2010). However, in languages where this situation applies, information structure is not the only factor conditioning a split in the case marking of the agent argument. Other relevant factors are the following:

1) Referential properties of the agent argument, such as person, number, animacy, lexical class (e.g. noun vs. pronoun)
2) Lexical predicate class, where the predicates belonging to the same class have the same case frame
3) Clausal properties, such as TAM categories or clause types (e.g. main clause vs. different types of dependent clauses), scenario (i.e. the case marking of the agent argument depends on properties of other arguments of the same predicate)
4) Semantic factors, such as volitionality

Thus, agent marking splits conditioned by information structure are usually restricted to specific grammatical contexts. In Sherpa, for instance, information structure is only relevant for the case marking of second and third person agent arguments in the imperfective aspect of a specific predicate class (containing mainly semantically highly transitive predicates; Kelly 2004).

The goals of the present paper are the following:

1) Determining the functions of the involved case markers

2) Exploring the exact nature of information structure conditioning agent marking splits (typically only certain types of focused agent arguments are case-marked)
3) Finding the relevant factors that determine the domain in which information structure conditions agent marking splits
4) Establishing crosslinguistic patterns
5) Finding explanations for the diachronic development of the patterns

Some methodological prerequisites should also be mentioned here:

1) Case marking is defined here in fairly broad terms, including any element of dependent marking on the clause level irrespective of their morphological nature (affixes, clitics and separate words), since the properties (and definitions) of words vary widely across languages (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002).
2) Arguments (and valence) are defined in purely semantic terms (following the approach by Bickel 2011) since the application of syntactic criteria of argumenthood poses problems for the crosslinguistic investigation of arguments (cf. Witzlack-Makarevich 2010: 41-47).

Examples are drawn from a worldwide sample of languages. However, languages of Australia, New Guinea and the Himalayas feature more prominently.

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The same but different: Formal discrepancies in determining alignment of agreement systems

Introduction When determining the alignment type of a system of marking (e.g. case or agreement) we ask the question which of the argument roles S, A, and P are coded identically or are treated alike (cf. Comrie 2005, Malchukov et al. 2010). In doing so it is assumed that the issue of identity or sameness of argument marking is straightforward: each argument is cross referenced by an individual agreement marker and the markers for the three argument roles S, A, and P are either identical or different. However, as has been noted in Siewierska (2003), the consideration of different formal criteria used in the determination of the alignment of agreement yields conflicting classifications in some cases.

Variation This can be illustrated with Chorti (Mayan), which exhibits agreement with S, A, and P. The distribution of agreement markers depends on the aspect of the verb. In the completive aspect the determination of alignment is straightforward: it is ergative both in terms of the phonological form and position (all suffixal), e.g. -et for both S (1a) and P (1b), while the A markers are phonologically distinct prefixes, e.g. a- in (1c). In the incompletive aspect, on the other hand, the phonological form and positional criteria do not converge in defining a unique alignment: the phonological forms are distinct for all three roles: S is cross-referenced with the prefix i- in (1d), A with the prefix a- in (1e), and P receives the suffix -et in (1f). Therefore, the established alignment pattern is tripartite. With respect to the position, however, an {S, A} argument set is established by the use of prefixes and thus differs from the suffixal {P} set, which yields an accusative pattern. The range of formal discrepancies is not limited to the phonological marker vs. its position issue, as in Chorti. The identity or difference of argument treatment can be established on the basis of the following criteria:

- the ability of arguments to trigger agreement
- phonological form of the agreement marker(s)
- position of the agreement marker(s) (e.g. pre, post, etc.)
- host of the agreement marker(s) (e.g. auxiliary, lexical verb, etc.)

In the systems with one marker per argument, as in Chorti, formal discrepancies result from the mismatch between at least two of these criteria. Apart from such systems, an additional source of formal discrepancies is available in systems with multiple agreement markers per argument. Such systems show formal discrepancies if individual markers of the same argument show different distributions. This can be illustrated with the examples from Limbu (Sino-Tibetan). In (2a), S is co-referenced twice on the verb (by the markers kɛ- '2' and -tch(i) 'DU'). If we consider the distribution of these markers in other contexts, we observe that kɛ- '2' shows accusative alignment, as it only cross-references S (2a) and A (2b), whereas -tch(i) 'DU' shows neutral alignment, as it is used for all second person dual arguments S, A, and P in (2). Apart from causing formal discrepancies

themselves, multiple agreement markers can in addition behave heterogeneously with respect to the parameters given above.

Results The discrepancies of the type presented above have been either ignored or glossed over in typological investigations and descriptions of individual languages. In two pilot studies we developed the typology of formal discrepancies and evaluated the effects of adopting individual criteria of determining the identity of argument encoding on typological surveys. In the first study, we found that of 80 languages with agreement, 52 show a discrepancy between the ability of an argument to trigger agreement and the phonological form of the markers. The precise effects of this discrepancy on the typologization of agreement systems can be massive. For instance, for 19 Kiranti (Sino-Tibetan) languages considered in the second study the alignment of agreement can be classified as neutral according to the criteria of which argument trigger agreement, whereas according to the criteria of phonological markers these systems show multiple splits with the prevalence of the accusative alignment in the third person and ergative alignment in the first person.

Examples

(1) Chorti (Mayan; Guatemala; Quizar 1994:121f.)

a. wayan-et.
sleep-2sS
'You slept.'

b. in-ira-et.
1sA-saw-2sP
'I saw you.'

c. a-ira-en.
2sA-saw-1sP
'You saw me.'

d. i-wayan.
2sS-sleep
'You sleep.'

e. a-ira-en.
2sA-see-1sP
'You see me.'

f. in-ira-et.
1sA-see-2sP
'I see you.'

(2) Limbu (Sino-Tibetan; Nepal; van Driem 1987:369)

a. kɛ-nu:ks-ɛ-tchi
2(S)-return-PST-DU
'you two returned'

b. kɛ-huʔr-ɛ-tch-u
2(A)-teach-PST-DU(A)-3(P)
'you two taught him'

c. huʔ-n-ɛ-tchi-ŋ
teach-1>2(A&P)-PST-DU(P)-1s(A)
'I taught you two'

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Natalia Zevakhina

Syntax of exclamative constructions in the world's languages

Theoretical prerequisites and goals of the study. It is obvious that almost every sentence can be uttered with an exclamative intonation (eg. (1) and (2)). However, there are special sentence types, which have traditionally been called exclamative constructions (further ECs, eg. (3)), conventionally associated with illocutionary force of exclamation (cf. [Michaelis 2001], [Portner and Zanuttini 2003] among others). Their major pragmatic-semantic properties are the following: presupposed proposition, an assertive component of meaning that violates speaker's expectations, and speaker's judgment that a given situation is non-canonical. EC's show syntactic properties, as well, but they have been paid much less attention in the literature than pragmatic-semantic ones. One of the two aims of this talk is to establish syntactic strategies used for ECs cross-linguistically. The other aim of the talk is to investigate syntactic properties of wh-ECs in the world's languages, i.e. those EC's that involve wh-words.

Data and methodology. The study involves two samples for the two aims. The first one comprises around 85 languages which belong to 20 language families (Altaic, Arawakan, Austronesian, Chukchi-Kamchatkan, Dravidian, Indo-European, Kartvelian, Na-Dene, Nakh-Daghestanian, Ndu, Niger-Kongo, Nilo-Saharan, Quechua, Semitic, Sino-Tibetan, Tai-Kadai, Tupi, Uralic), including isolated languages (Basque, Haida). The other sample is a subset of the previous one and contains around 25 languages for a detailed study of wh-ECs. The language data were collected both from literature and from native speakers via questionnaires (tête-a-tête and in correspondence).

Results. The talk establishes two basic types of ECs a language can use: clausal vs. nominal EC's. Clausal ECs show syntactic properties of embedded clauses: sentential arguments of factive verbs (eg. (5)), conditional forms of premises (eg. (6)), indirect questions (cf. (3) and (4)). That is, their syntax is identical to those but illocutionary force is different. It has been acknowledged that ECs are often used as sentential arguments of factive verbs (cf. [Michaelis 2001]). What is puzzling is that their syntactically non-embedded uses mimic embedded, unlike other syntactic types (cf. direct and indirect questions). Nominal ECs usually have definite interpretations and, therefore, have definite determiners (eg. (7)). There is language diversity with respect to whether nominal ECs require relative clauses (eg. (7) and (8)).

As for the whECs, the talk argues for the following findings. First, being a subset of clausal ECs, whECs resemble indirect questions syntactically. If a wh-phrase in indirect questions moves from its site or stays in situ, the same occurs in ECs, respectively (eg. European vs. Altaic languages). If a verb in indirect questions moves from its site or stays in situ, the same holds for ECs, respectively (id.).

Second, the talk shows that basically wh-ECs express the following groups of meanings: (i) 'how' (eg. (3)), 'what'(Adjective); (ii) 'how many/much', 'what'(Noun), 'who' (eg., (9)), 'where'; (iii) 'when', 'why' (eg. (10)). If a language has (non-embedded) wh-ECs, it has wh-ECs of the first group of meanings (i). Whether it also has wh-ECs of the second group of meanings (ii) is less clear: it can only have embedded wh-ECs of (ii) but if it has non-embedded wh-ECs of (ii), it has to have wh-ECs of (i). The last group (iii) is distinguished from the other two that semantically its wh-ECs are rhetorical questions and can express negative emotions only.

Third, the talk demonstrates that languages can use different strategies for marking exclamation with gradable adjectives and adverbials dependent on syntactic environments: adjective + noun, adjective in a predicate position, adverbial. The talk discusses the distribution of the following wh-words among these contexts: 'what', 'how', 'how much/many'.

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Examples.

(1) Mary is beautiful!

(2) Is Mary beautiful!

(3) How beautiful Mary is!

(4) John wonders how beautiful Mary is.

(5) ADYGHE
aš' a-r ʂʷ zer-ja-ɬaʁʷe-re-r! [Kalinina 2011]
this.ERGthis-ABS well FACT-3SG-see-PTCP-ABS
How she loves him!

(6) TURKANA [Dimmendaal 1982]
k-ɛ-cap' ŋa-bɛrɣ
COND-3SG-weed women
What a weeding (these women do)!

(7) The books she read!

(8) MALAGASY [Potsdam 2011]
izany sotrohin' i Paoly!
DEM drink.PASS DET Paul
What/How much Paul drinks!

(9) TURKISH
Biz-e yarın kim gel-ecek-Ø!
we-DAT tomorrow who come-FUT-3SG
Who will come tomorrow!

(10) HEBREW
oj lama ata jošen meat!
Oh why you.M sleep.PRS few
Oh, why you sleep a little! (Literally)

Fernando Zúñiga

Algonquian relative root complements: a comparative perspective

Rhodes (2005, 2010) successfully made the case for the existence of a distinct grammatical relation found in Ojibwe and other Algonquian languages, viz. relative root complements. Unlike objects and subjects, these complements are licensed by the presence in the verb stem of a preradical element called relative root (RR) in Algonquian studies. In (1), for instance, the complement *aniniw* '(a) man' (with locative marking here) is licensed by the relative root *in* 'like, in the form of' in the verb built upon the root *aabam-* 'see':

(1) Ottawa Ojibwe (Rhodes 2010: 306)
Aniniw-ing=sh go naa o-gii=in-aabam-aa-an niwi manidoo-an.
man-LOC=EMPH EMPH 3ERG-PST=RR.like-see-ANIM.OBJ-OBV this.OBV spirit-OBV
'He saw the spirit in the form of a man.'

The relative root complement differs from both the subject (*o-* 'he', realized only on the verb) and the object (*niwi manidoo-an* 'this spirit (OBVIATIVE)') as to key morphosyntactic properties like verb agreement and obviation inflection. In fact, such complements occupy an intermediate position between obliques and secondary objects with respect to several morphosyntactic and semantic diagnostics. The semantics of Ojibwe relative roots is heterogeneous but basically includes several deictic and locative notions ('from', 'to(ward)', 'in'), as well as quantification ('a certain length', 'a certain length', 'a certain number').

Rhodes (2010) also unmistakably stated that "[w]hile the details are different, all the dialects of Ojibwe and, in fact, all Algonquian languages show analogous syntactic phenomena." Since the morphosyntactic properties of Algonquian grammatical relations show variation, the goal of the present paper is to present comparative evidence from other Algonquian languages and to preliminary evaluate just how analogous relative root complements are across the family. It is noteworthy that there are also referential factors to be taken into account: relative root complements (and secondary objects) cannot be speech act participants in Ottawa Ojibwe, but 1st and 2nd persons are perfectly fine in that function in Blackfoot (2).

(2) a. Ottawa Ojibwe (Rhodes 2010: 314)
**Giin da=izh-aa-w.*
2 FUT-RR.to-go/come-3
Intended: 'He will come to you (SG).'
b. Blackfoot (Frantz 1991: 95)
N-omoht-itsiniko-o:k-wa kiistóyi.
1-RR.about-tell-INV-3SG 2SG
'He told me (a story) about you (SG).'

The focus of the paper lies on syntactic, rather than semantic, parameters of variation, and most examples discussed in detail come from Ottawa Ojibwe and Blackfoot. The data sources are both published and original material for Blackfoot, and published materials for Ojibwe, Cree, Menomini, and the other languages surveyed.

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3. RESTAURANTS IN DUBROVNIK

Dubrovnik has many restaurants offering national and international cuisine in all range prices. Here is a suggestion of our favourites. They are all within walking distance of the conference site and you will have enough time to reach them and have lunch there during breaks.

Kamenice, Gundulićeva poljana 8. In the heart of the Old Town, this place looks a bit run-down, but they offer absolutely fresh oysters and mussels at very reasonable prices.

Lokanda Peškarija, Na ponti bb. In the old harbour, this restaurant is one of our favourites. They serve great seafood at affordable prices.

Mimoza, Branitelja Dubrovnika 9 (www.esculap-teo.hr). Very near the conference site, in front of the Hilton Imperial Hotel. Owned by the same company as the more famous Nautika, but less pricy.

Nautika, Brsalje 3 (www.nautikarestaurant.com). Close to the conference site (on the square nearest to the entrance to the Old Town). Rather expensive, but on several occasions voted as the best restaurant in Croatia. They feature great seafood, very imaginative cooking and a fine wine list.

Pizza Oliva, Lučarića ulica 5 (pizza-oliva.com). In a street parallel to "Stradun". This pizzeria offers unexpensive but tasty pizzas and pasta dishes.

Poklisar, Ribarnica 1 (www.poklisar.com). A very large menu, including meat dishes, seafood, pasta and pizzas. In the medium price range.

Taj Mahal, Nikole Gučetića 2 (www.tajmahaldubrovnik.com). Bosnian cuisine (kebabs, stews, and pies). Fine cooking, but not really for vegetarians.

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5. NOTES