Analysing discontinuous DPs in Tunen: Contiguity violations not driven by IS?

Elisabeth J. Kerr

Leiden University Centre for Linguistics

ACAL54, University of Connecticut

13th June 2023

Discontinuous DPs and the Contiguity Principle

- Contiguity Principle (cf Behagel 1932's First Law, Principle of Iconic Distance) proposed to hold crosslinguistically:

(1) **Contiguity principle**
     "material that is contiguous at one step in the derivation (that is, e.g., merged as a single phrase) should remain contiguous unless other principles force a violation of contiguity."   (Fanselow & Cavar 2001, cited in **?**)

- Interesting (apparent) violations of this principle are discontinuous noun phrases, where a nominal modifier (e.g. numeral, adjective) is split from the head noun by other material (such as a verb)

Discontinuous DPs and the Contiguity Principle

(2) Context: 'Did three boys hit you?'
   Ma'! **X-ch'úuppal-o'ob** jats'-ik-en **óox-túul=i'**.
   NEG F-girl-PL hit-INCMPL-B.1SG three-CL.AN=LOC
   'No! Three GIRLS hit me.'
                                              (Yucatec Maya, Skopoteas et al. 2020:628)

   ⇒ Modifier 'three' is split syntactically from the noun 'girls'
   ⇒ Contiguity Principle explanation: Split in structure is due to
      split in information structural (IS) interpretation

Discontinuous DPs crosslinguistically

- Discontinuous DPs are reported to be a low-frequency strategy in the world's languages (e.g. 1-5% of noun phrases in Louagie and Verstraete 2016:51's overview of 3 Australian languages), restricted to a particular information structure (IS) context of contrastive focus

- Van de Velde (2022:909): Discontinuous DPs appear to be "very rare" in Bantu, with only 3 languages known to have examples: Chichewa, Ganda, and Tunen

Discontinuous DPs in Bantu

- Today: Study and formal anaysis of Tunen discontinuous DPs, which I propose are violations of the Contiguity Principle not explained by IS

Intro
0000

Background
●000

Empirical investigation
00000000000000

Formal analysis
0000000000000000

Discussion
0000

Conclusion
0000

References
0000000000

Background

Tunen

- Tunen (aka Nen) = Narrow Bantu A44 language, ISO 639-3 code tvu, spoken predominantly in Mbam region of Cameroon by somewhere over 35000 speakers
- At borderlands between Narrow Bantu and non-Bantu Bantoid, close to Bantu homeland as one of the first branch of Bantu (consistent across classifications)
- Bantu noun class system, OV word order, ATR harmony, reduction of final vowels and utterance-final tone lowering

Methodology

- 2 x in-situ fieldwork stays in Yaoundé/Ndikiniméki, Cameroon (delayed by COVID-19)
- BaSIS project methodology: elicitation using controlled discourse context + natural speech
- + secondary data from Dugast (1975) texts
- + extra elicitation using CHAOS/C08 draft questionnaire
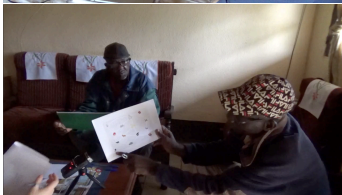
Outline

Outline

§1 ~~Introduction~~

§2 ~~Background to study~~

§3 Empirical investigation

§4 Formal analysis

§5 Discussion

§6 Conclusion

Intro
0000

Background
0000

Empirical investigation
●000000000000

Formal analysis
00000000000000

Discussion
0000

Conclusion
0000

References
0000000000

Empirical investigation

Discontinuous DPs

- Tunen allows a nominal modifier to be split from the noun it modifies (S-TAM-O-V-Mod)
- Previous work: Discontinuous nominal expressions used for contrast on modifier (Mous 1997, 2003)

(3) mὲ-ná   **ìmìtὲ**   **yὲ mʷə̀nífí** índí **mὲ-ŋéŋ**
     1SG-HOD.PAST 9:calabash 9:of 6:water give:H 9-big

     ò   hὲlɔ́bátὲ
     LOC 19:child

     'I gave the BIG water calabash to the child.'
                                    (Mous 1997:133; Mous 2003:305)

Discontinuous DPs

- But Isaac (2007) shows that the construction is also found in Dugast (1975) texts to introduce new discourse referents
- And these constructions showed up unexpectedly in my 2019 fieldwork:

(4) Context: 'How many birds do you see?' (focus = modifier)
     Context: 'What do you see?' (focus = whole DP)
     mɛ́ ndɔ **túnoni** sinə **tɔ́lál**.
     /mɛ   ᴴndɔ **tɔ-ᴴnoni** sinə **tɔ-ᴴlálɔ́**/
     SM.1SG PRES 13-bird   see   13-three
     'Je vois [trois oiseaux]$_{FOC}$.'
     'I see [three birds]$_{FOC}$.'   [EO, 397]

Discontinuous DPs for other IS

- By controlling discourse context, we can confirm that S-O-V-Mod discontinuity is actually compatible with multiple IS contexts, not just contrastive focus on the modifier

Predicated-centred focus

(5) bánɛ ɔ́ ndɔ **ɛndɔ́mbá** sinə hɔ́yɛ́ **élálɔ́**?
     /banɛ ɔ   ndɔ **ɛ-ndɔmba** sinə hɔyɛ **ɛ-lalɔ**/
     is_it SM.2SG PRS 7-sheep see there 7-three
     'Est-ce que tu vois trois moutons-là ?'
     'Do you see three sheep over there?'   [PM 916]

(6) Context: "Do you see two birds?"
     ɛ́ɛ, mɛ́ ndɔ **tunoní** sinə **tɔ́fandɛ**.
     /ɛɛ mɛ   ᴴndɔ tɔ-noní sinə tɔ-ᴴfandɛ/
     yes SM.1SG PRS 13-bird see 13-two
     'Oui, je vois deux oiseaux.'
     'Yes, I see two birds.'   [EO 1408]

11 / 37

Intro
oooo
Background
oooo
Empirical investigation
oooooo●ooooooo
Formal analysis
oooooooooooooo
Discussion
oooo
Conclusion
oooo
References
ooooooooooo

Discontinuous DPs for other IS

(7)   Context: PM instructs EO in the QUIS map task.
(ɔ) ɛnɔ́mɛ ɔyɛ́á yɛ́ ndɔ ákána ɛndɛndélɛ **miɔkɔ́** yɛ́ lɛ **élál**.
/ɔ   ɛ-nɔ́mɛ ɔyɛ́á yɛ   ᴴndɔ ákána ɛndɛndélɛ
PREP 7-road REL.7 SM.7 PRS leave straight_on

  mi-ɔkɔ́   yɛ́   léá   **ɛ-ᴴlalɔ́**/
  9.chicken SM.9 be   9-three

'Sur la route qui va tout droit il y a trois poules.'
'The road that goes straight on has three chickens.' [PM 686]

Discontinuous DPs for other IS

(8) Context: PM instructs EO in the QUIS map task (cont.).

   a. ɔ   ná   **miɔkɔ́**   bɔ́ŋɔ́ **ɛ́lálɔ́**?
     /ɔ   na   **mi-ɔkɔ** bɔŋɔ **ɛ-lalɔ**/
     SM.2SG PST2 9-chicken find 9-three
     'Tu as trouvé les trois poules?'
     'Have you found the three chickens?'   [PM, 687]

   b. mɛ ná **miɔkɔ́** bɔ́ŋɔ́ **í - í - ínisə**
     /mɛ   ná   **mi-ɔkɔ́** bɔ́ŋɔ́ **ɛ́-nisə**/
     SM.1SG PST2 9-chicken find 9-four
     'J'ai trouvé qu- qu- quatre poules'
     'I've found f- f- four chickens.'   [EO 688]

Discontinuous DPs: Which IS contexts?

IS context	**Discon. allowed?**
Focus on modifier only	Y
Focus on whole DP (N+Mod)	Y
Predicate-centred focus	Y
Thetics/new discourse referents	Y

⇒ *contra* expectations from Mous (1997, 2003) and crosslinguistic work on discontinuous DPs as reflecting split in IS status (Contiguity Principle)

Discontinuous DPs: Form

- Tunen discontinuous DPs differ from those found in other languages formed via IS-driven movement to the left periphery (e.g. Chichewa; Mchombo 2004 *et seq.*)

- How are discontinuous DPs formed in Tunen? What can be split?

Quantifiers

(9) Context: You are a farmer who has lost all of your animals,
    but by a stroke of luck, you find them all again.

mɛ ná Húélé hóli ɛ́ˈséá méná **biáˈmíá bɛhɔ́sɛ** bɔŋɔ **bikim**.

/mɛ   ná   Húélé hóliə ɛ-séá mé-ná
SM.1SG PST2 God   thank 7-say SM.1SG.COND-PAST2

  biâmíá   bɛ-hɔ́sɛ   bɔ́ŋɔ bɛ-ᴴkimə/
  POSS.PRON.1SG.8   8-horse   find   8-all

'Je remercie Dieu comme j'ai retrouvé tous mes chevaux.'
'I thank the Lord that I've found all my horses.' [EE+EB 1827]

Quantifiers

(10) The governor visits the school and is so excited he gives out a lot
of different things to the students.
Context 1: "Did he give out a lot of things to the students?" (truth
focus)
Context 2: "What did he give to the students?" (term focus on
object)

   a. aná baná **bɛkɔa** índíəkín **biənyi**.

   /a-ná   ba-ná   **bɛ-kɔa** índíəkíná **bɛ-ənyi**/
   SM.1-PAST2 2-child 8-thing give.APPL 8-many
   'Il a donné beaucoup de choses aux enfants.'
   'He gave out a lot of things to the children.'   [JO 2326/9]

   b. ?aná baná **bɛkɔa biəny** índíəkín. [JO 2325]

   c. aná baná índíəkín **bɛkɔa biənyi**. [JO 2327/30]

Numerals

(11) ɔ   ná   **miɔkɔ́**   bɔ́ŋɔ́ **élálɔ́**?
      /ɔ   na   **mi-ɔkɔ**   bɔŋɔ **ɛ-lalɔ**/
      SM.2SG PST2 9-chicken find 9-three
      'Tu as trouvé les trois poules?'
      'Have you found the three chickens?'   [PM, 687]

(12) a   ná-kā   **hikumukumu** nibɜ̀ **hímòti** o-bɛ́s'
      3S:SM PST-ALL old.person:19 meet one:19 INF-bathe

      ɔ̀   nuiy.
      LOC river
      'He met an old woman bathing in the river.' (OR161, cited
      in Isaac 2007:61)

Can't split associative

(13) Context: "Which member of Marie's family did the teacher meet at the school?"

   a. ***yɛ́ Malíá** múlə́liə aka **inyə** nyánána (u isukul).
   /**yɛ**   **Malíá**   mɔ-lə́liə   a-ka   inyə
   ASSOC.9   1.Maria   1-teacher   SM.1-PAST3   9.mother

   nyánáná   ɔ   ɛ-sukúlu/
   meet.RECIP   PREP   7-school

   Intd.: 'Le maître a rencontré [la mère]$_{FOC}$ de Marie à l'école.'
   Intd.:''The teacher met Maria's [mother]$_{FOC}$ at the school.' [JO 2652]

   b. *múlə́liə aka **inyə** nyánána **yɛ́ Malíá**. [JO 2655]

   c. *múlə́liə aka **yɛ́ Malíá** nyánána **inyə**. [JO 2654]

What can be split?

Obj modifier type	Discon. allowed?
Quantifiers	Y
Numerals	Y
Adjectives	Y
'how many'	N
Associatives (genitive)	N
Relative clauses	Y

Intro
OOOO

Background
OOOO

Empirical investigation
OOOOOOOOOOOOO

Formal analysis
●OOOOOOOOOOOO

Discussion
OOOO

Conclusion
OOOO

References
OOOOOOOOOO

Formal analysis

Intro
0000

Background
0000

Empirical investigation
0000000000000

Formal analysis
0●00000000000

Discussion
0000

Conclusion
0000

References
0000000000

Discontinuous DPs: Analysis

- 2 types of formal analyses for discontinuous DPs crosslinguistically:
    - Base-generated as XPs (e.g. with Mod as VP adverb)
    - Movement analysis (subextraction/Copy+deletion)

- ! Analysing Tunen discontinuous DPs has implications for analysing Tunen's OV syntax

Adverbial analysis of discontinuity

- Recap: Tunen discontinuous DPs appear to violate the Contiguity Principle in having a modifier split from a noun for no clear interpretational motivation
- Possible analysis: the two elements are base-generated in separate XPs (meaning discontinuity is only apparent); modifier as a VP adjunct
- Possibility for quantifiers to modify subjects argues in favour of this, but 3 arguments against such an approach:

Against an adverbial analysis

- Argument 1 against the adverbial analysis: OVMod modifiers take noun class agreement, but adverbials do not

(14) Context: '(He's a) Munen! I'm not lying to you.'
a ka nyɔɔkɔ háaha ɔ uwəsú **mɔŋɛŋ**.

/a	ka	nyɔ-aka	háaha	ɔ	uwəsú	**mɔŋɛ́ŋa**/
SM.1	PST3	work-DUR	here	PREP	PRON.1PL.POSS	much

'Il a beaucoup travaillé ici chez nous.'
'He worked a lot here in our region.' [EO 1043]

(15) Context: 'When did the dog bark a lot?'
ɛmɔ́á yé ná bɔ́mɔ́kɔ́ **mɔŋɛ́ŋa** nə́búlú.

/ɛ-mɔ́á	yé	ná	bɔ́mɔ́-aka	**mɔŋɛ́ŋa**	nɛ-búlú/
7-dog	SM.7	PST2	bark	much	5-night

'Le chien a beaucoup aboyé pendant la nuit.'
'The dog barked a lot at night.' [JO 1105]

23 / 37

Against an adverbial analysis

(16) bɔ́ɔ́ní bɛndɔ bɔ́ɔ́ní bándɔ ɛŋganda bíínə **tɔfa ɛmbát**.
/bɔ́ɔ́níə ba-ndɔ bɔ́ɔ́níə ba-ndɔ ɛ-ŋganda bíínə **tɔfá**
DEM.DIST.2 2-person DEM.DIST.2 SM.2-PRES 7-enganda dance quickly

ɛmbáta/
too.much
Les gens-là dansent l'enganda trop rapidement.'
'Those people over there dance the enganda too quickly.' [EE+EB 1836]

(17) Malíá aná bɛlama ɔ́ndɔ **tɔfá**.
/Malíá a-ná bɛ-lama ɔ́ndɔ **tɔfá**/
1.Maria SM.1-PST2 8-vegetable buy quickly
'Maria a acheté des légumes vitement.'
'Maria bought the vegetables quickly.' [JO 2480]

Against an adverbial analysis

- Argument 2 against the adverbial analysis: Discontinuous DPs in Tunen found for adjectives, not just quantifiers

(18) mɛ̀-ná   **ìmìtə̀**   **yè** mʷə̀nífí índí **mɛ̀-ŋéŋ**
      1SG-HOD.PAST 9:calabash 9:of 6:water give:H 9-big

      ò   hɛ̀lɔ́bátɔ̀
      LOC   19:child

      'I gave the BIG water calabash to the child.' (Mous 1997:133; Mous 2003:305)

Against an adverbial analysis

- Argument 3 against the adverbial analysis: No semantic evidence for event reading of the modifier

(19) Context: After concluding the explanation.
      mhm. ɔˤhá **bɛndɔ** bá ndɔ wɛɛ́ya sinə **balal**.

      /mhm ɔhá   **bɛ-ndɔ**   ba   ᴴndɔ   wɛɛ́ya
      mhm   for.that 2-person   SM.2-PRES   PRON.1   see

         sinə   **ba-ᴴlálɔ́**/
         2-three

      'Mhm. C'est pour ça que trois gens le regardent.'
      'Mhm. That's why three people are looking at him.' [PM 597]

Intro
0000

Background
0000

Empirical investigation
00000000000000

Formal analysis
000000000000000

Discussion
0000

Conclusion
0000

References
0000000000

Against an adverbial analysis

⇒ Arguments to reject an analysis of (apparent) S-O-V-Mod discontinuous DPs in Tunen as derived from the modifier as a VP adjunct

- Remaining analyses: movement via subextraction / movement via Copy+Deletion

Formal analysis: How to get OV?

- Syntactic diagnostics show that, aside from the VP, Tunen is consistently head-initial; disharmonic Aux-O-V word order

- 3 types of formal analysis of Aux-O-V word order considered:
    - Roll-up movement (driven by [+V^]) (Sheehan et al. 2017)
    - Head movement (Julien 2002; Zeller 2013; van der Wal 2022, i.a.) modified by addition of object shift
    - Base-generation of OV (Haider 2010, 2013; Sande et al. 2019)

Formal analysis: How to get OV?

- Syntactic diagnostics[1] motivate analysis with V-to-*v* head movement + formally-driven object shift to Spec*v*P to derive OV order

(20)

_____
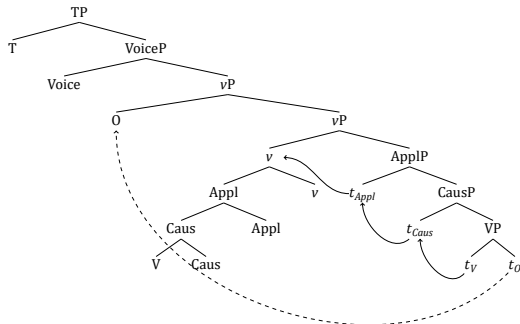
[1] Bantu verbal morphology (derivational extensions), headedness diagnostics, negation test, adverb placement test, O-V-X, voice prefix *bɛ́-*, in-situ subjects, lack of aspectual distinctions in FV.

Formal analysis: How to get OV?

- Syntactic diagnostics motivate analysis with V-to-*v* head movement + formally-driven object shift to Spec*v*P to derive OV order

(21)
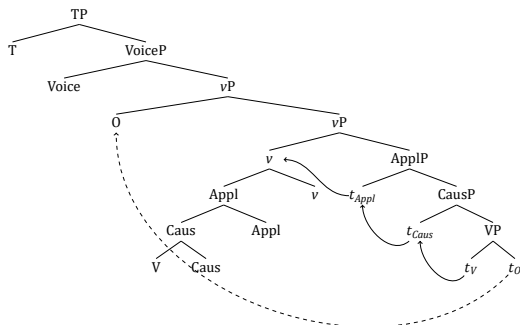
⇒ Extension to discontinuous DPs: Need to look into structure of DP

The structure of the Tunen DP

Tunen contiguous DPs have strict order (compatible with work on derivable Universal 20 orders):

(22)   D/Dem <u>N</u> Adj Num/Q   (Kerr 2020)

(23)   tɔɛ́yɛ tɔbanána tɔfítitiə tɔtɛ́↓tɛ́ tɔ́fandɛ
       /tɔ-ɛyɛ <u>tɔ-banana</u> tɔ-fititiə tɔ-tɛtɛ **tɔ-fandɛ**/
       13-DEM 13-banana 13-black 13-small 13-two
       'ces deux petites bananes noires'
       'these two small black bananas'   [JO, 844]

The structure of the Tunen DP

Tunen contiguous DPs have strict order (compatible with predictions from work on derivable Universal 20 orders):

(24)   D/Dem <u>N</u> Adj Num/Q   (Kerr 2020)

Only pull splits are allowed (preserving order of contiguous DP); only material after the noun can be split

The structure of the Tunen DP

Proposed structure:

(25)
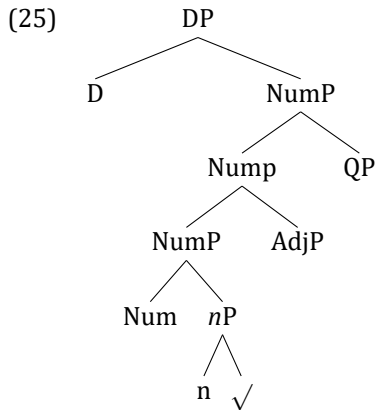
Alternative analyses of Dem-N-Adj-Num: roll-up analysis, N-to-D head movement approach (Carstens 2017)

Intro
○○○○
Background
○○○○
Empirical investigation
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
Formal analysis
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○●
Discussion
○○○○
Conclusion
○○○○
References
○○○○○○○○○○

Formal analysis of Tunen OVMod discontinuity

(26)

Intro
OOOO

Background
OOOO

Empirical investigation
OOOOOOOOOOOOOO

Formal analysis
OOOOOOOOOOOOOOO

Discussion
●OOO

Conclusion
OOOO

References
OOOOOOOOOO
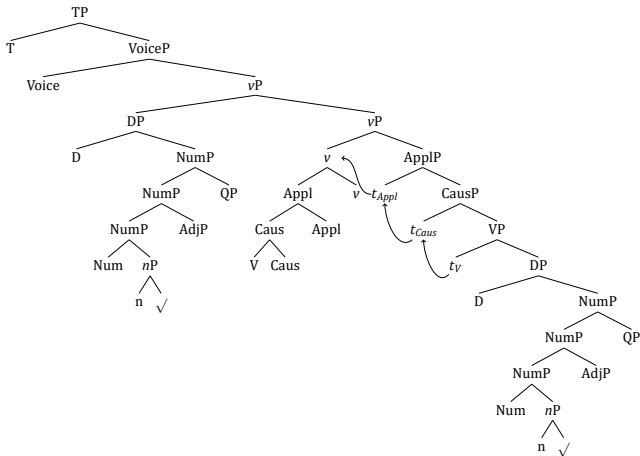
Discussion

Discussion: The validity of subextraction

- Subextraction account criticised in other work on discontinuous DPs due to A'-movement diagnostics, but Tunen discontinuous DPs argued not to be derived through IS-driven A'-movement
- Subextraction account makes testable predictions re: possible and impossible splits (to be tested in further empirical research)
- Issues with Copy+Deletion alternative: spell-out of lower DP material (Adj/Numeral/Quantifier) is of a non-consistuent (linearly defined?)

Discussion: Discontinuity vs contiguity

- While discontinuous DPs are found across IS contexts and generally given as the first answer in elicitation, contiguous orders are also accepted - but variably

- Variation across and within speakers as to whether SOModV or SVOMod is preferred
    - For grammars with SOModV: predicted possibility to take larger NumP projections
    - For grammars with SVOMod: Implications for analysis of OV wrt licensing-driven movement

- Parallel to extraposition and analysis of relative clauses - is the postverbal position (always) the in-situ position?

Further research

- Testing predictions of subextraction versus Copy+Deletion analyses to tease them apart
- Corpus frequency of discontinuous S-O-V-Mod vs contiguous S-O-Mod-V vs contiguous S-V-O-Mod
- Prosodic analysis of *v*P to diagnose in-situ vs ex-situ modifiers
- Extending analysis to account for quantifiers/numerals associating with subjects

Conclusion

Conclusion

- Tunen S-O-V-Mod discontinuous DPs are not restricted to IS context of split in IS status of noun and modifier
  - Continguity violations not driven by IS?

- Proposal that the splits arise from independently-motivated object shift mechanism to derive Tunen's OV word order

Intro
○○○○

Background
○○○○

Empirical investigation
○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Formal analysis
○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Discussion
○○○○

Conclusion
○○●○

References
○○○○○○○○○○

Thank you!

Acknowledgements

References I

Behagel, O. (1932). Deutsche Syntax: Eine geschichtliche Darstellung, vol. 4: Wortstellung. *Periodenbau. Heidelberg: Carl Winter*.

Carstens, V. (2017). Noun-to-determiner movement. *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Syntax*.

Dugast, I. (1975). *Contes, proverbes et devinettes des Banen: Sud-Ouest du Cameroun*, volume 12. Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France.

Givón, T. (1974). Syntactic change in lake Bantu: A rejoinder. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 5(1):117–139.

Haider, H. (2010). *The syntax of German*. Cambridge: CUP.

Haider, H. (2013). *Symmetry breaking in syntax*. Cambridge: CUP.

Isaac, K. M. (2007). Participant reference in Tunen narrative discourse. *Unpublished M. Phil Thesis. Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics*.

Julien, M. (2002). *Syntactic heads and word formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

References II

Mchombo, S. A. (2004). *The syntax of Chichewa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mchombo, S. A. (2006). Linear order constraints on split NPs in Chichewa. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics*, 43:143–160.

Mous, M. (1997). The position of the object in Tunen. In *Object positions in Benue-Kwa*.

Mous, M. (2003). Nen (A44). *The Bantu Languages*, pages 283–306.

Sande, H., Baier, N., and Jenks, P. (2019). The syntactic diversity of SAuxOV in west africa. In Emily Clem, P. J. and Sande, H., editors, *Theory and description in African Linguistics: Selected papers from the 47th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, page 667–701. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Sheehan, M., Biberauer, T., Roberts, I., and Holmberg, A. (2017). *The final-over-final condition: A syntactic universal*. MIT Press.

Skopoteas, S., Verhoeven, E., and Fanselow, G. (2020). Discontinuous noun phrases in Yucatec Maya. *Journal of Linguistics*, page 1–40.

References III

Van de Velde, M. L. O. (2022). The AMAR mechanism: nominal expressions in the Bantu languages are shaped by apposition and reintegration. *Linguistics*, 60(3):899–931.

van der Wal, J. (2022). *A featural typology of Bantu agreement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zeller, J. (2013). In defence of head movement: evidence from Bantu. In Cheng, L. and Corver, N., editors, *Diagnosing syntax*, pages 87–111. Oxford University Press Oxford.

References

Glosses/abbreviations

Glosses: 1, 2, 3... = Bantu noun class marker; 1S(G), 1PL = 1st person singular, plural; 2S(G) = 2nd person singular; APPL = applicative; ASSOC = associative (=connective) marker; CAUS = causative; COP = copula; DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative; DUR = durative; EMPH = emphatic (pronoun); DJ = disjoint verb form; FOC = focus marker; FUT = future tense; FV = final vowel (Bantu); INF = infinitive; LOC = locative; NEG = negation; NOM = nominative; NMLZ = nominaliser; PASS = passive; PAST1 = first-degree past tense (just now); PAST2 = second-degree past tense (hodiernal); PAST3 = third-degree past tense (yesterday); PFV = perfective PM = ?; PRES = present tense; PO = postposition; POSS = possessive; PREP = preposition; PRON = pronoun; PROX = proximal; RED = reduplicant; SM = subject marker; TAM = tense/aspect(/mood) marker
Abbreviations: Aux = auxiliary; C = complementiser node (pragmatic domain); Cop = copula; Comp = complement clause; Compl = complement clause; DO = direct object; DP = determiner phrase ($\approx$ noun phrase); Gen = genitive; IO = indirect object; IS = information structure; MSB = Macro-Sudan Belt; mvt = syntactic movement; NOM = nominalised; O = object; PNC = Proto-Niger Congo; S = subject; T = tense node (inflectional domain); TP = tense phrase (inflectional domain); V = verb; V2 = verb-second, vP = verbal projection above VP and below voice domain, VP = verb phrase; X = obliques (non-S/O arguments and adjuncts)

Intro
○○○○

Background
○○○○

Empirical investigation
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Formal analysis
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Discussion
○○○○

Conclusion
○○○○

References
○○●○○○○○○○

Contact

Contact:

Elisabeth J. Kerr
Leiden University

e.j.kerr@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Appendix

Appendix

Appendix: Relative clauses

(27) mɛná **wááyé múə́ndu** siəkin **ɔwánákáná ɔ bulí na móto**, tátá wə́n.
/mɛ-ná **wááyé mɔ-ə́ndu** siəkinə **ɔwá-á-ánákáná ɔ**
SM.1SG-PAST2 DEM.1 1-woman see REL.1-SM.1.REL-leave PREP

bɔ-lí na móto tátá wə́ni
14-work with 6.motorcycle not 1.other

'J'ai vu la femme qui est allée au travail avec le moto, pas l'autre.'
'I saw the woman who went to work by motorbike, not the other one.'
[PB 2019]

(28) mɛka ámɛ **yáyéá ibəŋuluəkə yí búsíə** siəkinə **ɔyéá áˈná ɔnd**, [...]
/mɛ-ka amɛ **yayɛa ɛ-bəŋuluəkə yɛ busiə**
SM.1SG-PAST3 PRON.1SG PRON.POSS.1 7-car ASSOC.7 14.front

siəkinə **ɔyɛa a-na ɔndɔ**/
see REL.7 SM.1-PAST3 buy

'Moi j'avais vu la première véhicule qu'il a acheté, [..]'
'I myself saw the first vehicle he bought, [...]' [PM 1084]

Appendix: Relative clauses

(29) (nɛɔfénɛ) Mɘ́tinɘ aná **belábɔ́néá bikimə** {ʔɔkɔlɔkɛn} **ɔbéá yamíá inyɔ́
an'á táléáká** naánɛkɔla {ɔkɔlɔkɛn(a)} (nɛɔfén).

/(nɛɔfénɛ) Mɘ́tinɘ a-ná **bɛ-lábɔ́néá bɛ-kimə** {ɔkɔlɔkɛna}
(today) Martin SM.1-PAST2 8-food 8-all {taste}

ɔbéá yamíá inyɔ́ a-ná táléá-aka naánɛkɔla
REL.8 my 1.mother SM.1-PAST2 cook-DUR yesterday

{ɔkɔlɔkɛna} (nɛɔfénɛ)/
{taste} (today)

'Martin a goûté (aujourd'hui) toute la nourriture que ma mère a cuisiné
hier.'

'Today, Martin has tasted all the food that my mother cooked (yesterday).'
[PM 498]

(30) bál(ɛ) utíbíniɘ **ɛbɔ́ka ɔyéá mwití aná fálɛ́**.

/ba-lɛa ɔ-tibiniɘ **ɛ-bɔka ɔyɛa mwiti a-na falɛa**/
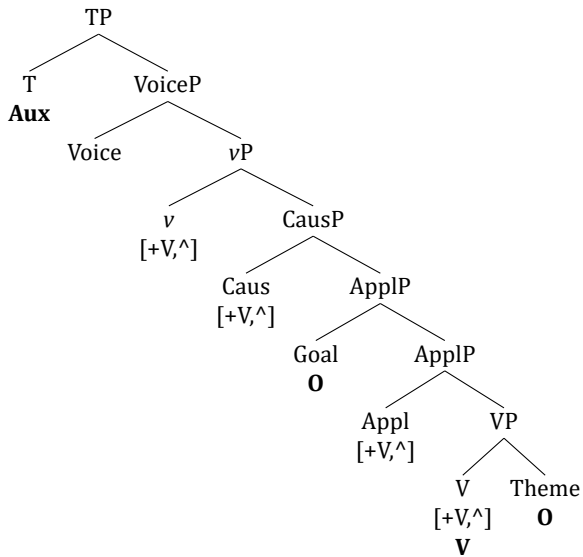SM.2-be INF-observe 7-place REL.7 DEM.1 SM.1-PAST2 tumble

'Ils sont en train d'observer l'endroit du la personne a degringolé.'
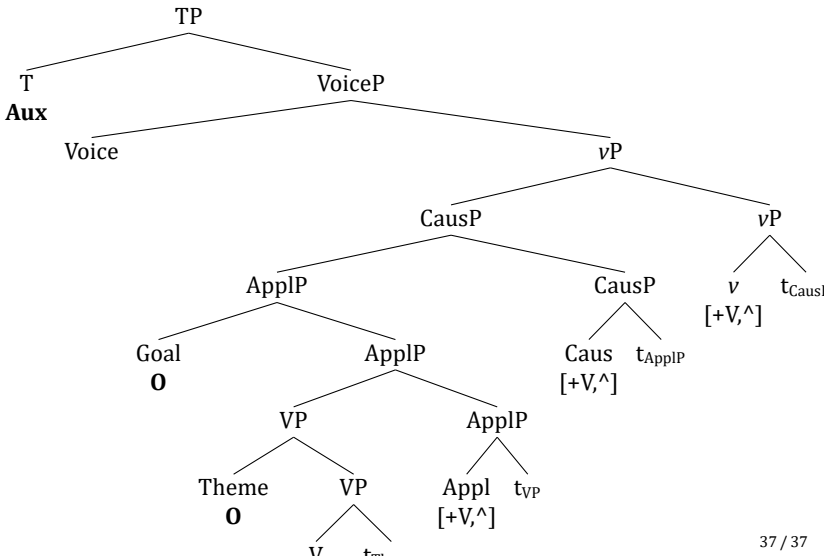'They're looking at the place the guy fell.' [PM 582]

Roll-up account

(31)

```
                    TP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
              T           VoiceP
            Aux       ┌─────┴─────┐
                    Voice         vP
                            ┌──────┴──────┐
                            v           CausP
                          [+V,^]    ┌─────┴─────┐
                                  Caus        ApplP
                                 [+V,^]    ┌────┴────┐
                                         Goal      ApplP
                                          O     ┌────┴────┐
                                              Appl       VP
                                             [+V,^]   ┌───┴───┐
                                                      V     Theme
                                                   [+V,^]     O
                                                      V
```

Roll-up account

(32)

Ganda

(33) a. **o-mu-sajja**   **o-mu-rungi**   agenze
          AUG1-NP1-man   AUG1-NP1-good   left
          'The good man left.' (restrictive)

      b. **o-mu-sajja**   agenze **o-mu-rungi**
          AUG1-NP1-man   left   AUG1-NP1-man-good
          'The man left, the good one.' (non-restrictive)   (Givón
          1974:135, cited in Van de Velde 2022:907)

Chichewa

(34) **Mbûzi** atsíkáná á mfúmu a-a-gul-á **zákúd-a**.
      10goats 2girls 2AssocM 9chief 2S-perf-buy-fv
        10SM-black
      Lit. 'Goats, the chief's girls have bought black (ones).'
                                    (Chichewa; Mchombo 2006:147)