

Functional Projections in Analytic Languages
(The 'Sino-Kwa' Project)

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ABSTRACTS

Multi-dimensional models for functional categories

Pieter Muysken

In this paper I discuss the apparent opposition between dichotomous category models (e.g. Baker 2003), in which a sharp distinction is postulated between lexical and functional categories, on the one hand, and cline-like models (e.g. Hopper and Traugott 2003), in which the distinction between the two types of categories is perceived as gradual, in the light of grammaticalization theory. I will propose that in order to account for the full richness of the many observations about categorial distinctions made we need multi-dimensional models for categories (semiotics, computation, processing, cognition), as proposed e.g. in the auto-lexical tradition (Sadock 1991), coupled with optimization strategies (Blutner et al. 2006) to assure optimal matches between specifications on the different dimensions. The paper hopefully will take me one step further than the general discussion of these issues in Muysken (2008).

Sino-Kwa: analyticity, parametric theory and the lexical-functional divide

C.-T. James Huang

(1) Recent work on language variation puts great emphasis on micro-variations that are attributed to differences in the nature of certain items in their (functional) lexicons, in line with the Lexical Parameterization Hypothesis (LPH) or the Borer-Chomsky conjecture in Baker's recent terminology. The LPH and other minimalist considerations have led in some work to the abandonment of the Principles-and-Parameters approach, in particular macro-parametric proposals that have heretofore proven quite successful (within limits) in explaining the striking *clustering* of otherwise unrelated variations among languages. It is a question how such macroparametric generalizations are to be fully captured under a microparametric approach.

(2) That language variations do cluster across categories and domains is a fact recognized early in traditional typological classes: analytic, synthetic, fusional, agglutinative, etc. Sinitic and Kwa languages stand near the extreme end of analyticity, with many correlating properties despite their apparent lack of genetic relations. Part of my talk will present a summary of the macroparametric properties of Modern Chinese exhibiting high analyticity, and of the macro-history of Chinese syntax as going from a relatively synthetic language (Old Chinese) that became highly analytic (peaking in Middle Chinese) and then slowly regained varying degrees of mild synthesis (representing the major dialect groups of Modern Chinese). The strikingly neat patterns of property-clustering argue for the existence of macro-variations, and yet closer looks at the dialectal variations suggest variations that may or may not generalize to other categories.

(3) Along with others who have been concerned with the 'tension' between micro- and macro-parameters, I shall assume that it can be resolved under a default principle of some sort that characterizes a macro-variation pattern as a 'natural class' of a number of micro-variations. In Holmberg and Roberts' (2008) terms (for example), macro-parameters are "aggregates of micro-parameters with correlating values"—where the micro-parameters act in concert for reason of markedness (conservatism, 'generalization of the input'). In this connection, it will be interesting to learn more about the extent of cross-linguistic correlations that obtain between Sinitic and Kwa. At issue is whether the (weak) predictions of such an approach are compatible with known facts of cross-linguistic macro-variations.

(4) As for the origin of variation (or change), the general assumption among many is that this is related to the degree to which a given lexical item is (or has become) 'sufficiently' grammaticalized so as to trigger some grammatical operations (or trigger some changes in grammatical systems). In minimalist

terms, the major parametric differences may be seen as differences in value of features below the lexical-functional divide, such as [interpretable], [needs Agree], [EPP], [Strong]. Extending the macro-history of Chinese, I shall analyze some data from Old Chinese exhibiting nominative-genitive alternation and suggest that it lends support to the hypothesis that Chinese had evolved from an agglutinative ancestor. As for the current situation and the future, we see that more items are acquiring [+strong] features that trigger head movement, resulting in an increase in varying degrees of polysemy and synthesis.

Utterance particles: a neglected common functional category in Sino-Kwa comparison

Felix K. Ameka

Utterance particles are a functional category that is common to the Kwa and Sino areas, but it is a feature that has not been recognised in the comparison of the areas. In this talk, I hope to do three things: First, I discuss the syntax, functions and semantics of utterance particles in Ewe and argue for their grammatical category status (Ameka 1998). Second, I describe the areal distribution of some of the utterance particles in a convergence zone in the Kwa speaking area, in the hope that the processes and their effects will shed some light on the nature of functional categories. Finally, the nature of the projections of these elements in the Kwa languages will be determined and compared with those proposed for Chinese final particles by Boya Li (2006). It will be suggested that the Kwa particles do not have an elaborate cartography as proposed for the Chinese varieties.

Relatives, Factives and Clausal Complements

Enoch O. Aboh

This talk builds on Aboh (2005) where it is argued that instances of clausal complements to nouns (e.g., the fact that John got the job annoyed me) should be analysed as truncated relatives on a par with their Gungbe (Kwa) equivalents. In the context of Hale and Keyser's (1993) analysis of denominal verbs (and most recently Kayne 2008) the question arises whether this analysis of clausal complement to nouns extends to clausal complements to inherent complement verbs. These verbs require a nominal complement in their citation form, though some may take an additional clausal complement (Manfredi 1991, Ihonu 1992, Essegbey 1999).

How functional are the verbs in Gbe SVCs?

James Essegbey

Ever since the beginning of discussions of the phenomenon that is now known as serial verbs, it has been noted that not all the verbs in the sequence express prototype verbal notions like action and state. For instance Bowen (1858: 58) notes that some verbs (e.g. to 'be enough in Yoruba) are "used adverbially" when they occur in combinations like soro to 'speak enough'. In some cases, the semantics of the verbs in combinations are "lighter" than when they occur alone. The classic case is the TAKE-verbs in almost all Kwa languages which refer to the lifting or holding of concrete entities in monoverbal constructions but express instrumental notions in SVCs. In some languages, the semantic generalization is accompanied by a reduction in verbal properties such as inflection for tense/aspect, a reduction leading to what Ansre (1966) called a verbid. Accounts for verbids span the gamut from fully verbal to pure case assigners (e.g. see Campbell 1991 on *de* in Akan). In recent work, Aboh (to appear) proposes to extend the functional category analysis (vP) to all V1's in SVCs. In this talk, I test Aboh's proposal in connection with SVCs like Bamgboshe's (1982) sequence and consequence-type SVCs and those that express complex manner of motion in Ewegbe (Ameka and Essegbey 2001). I argue that while Aboh's analysis works for some TAKE-SVCs it does not account for other types. This is because the V1 in these other sub-construction does not merely function as an initiator but, instead, encodes the activity.

***The domains of grammar and pragmatics in Yoruba and in East and
mainland Southeast Asian languages***

Walter Bisang (University of Mainz)

The present paper will start out from the general hypothesis that the domains of grammar and pragmatics are not uniform across languages. This argumentation falls in line with Huang (1994: 2) who states that in more ‘pragmatic’ languages such as Chinese “many of the constraints on the allegedly grammatical processes are in fact primarily due to principles of language use rather than rules of grammatical structure”. Kwa languages have often been impressionistically compared to East and Southeast Asian languages and their isolating properties. It will be shown that this impression is not quite adequate. For that purpose, the paper will first suggest a revision of current approaches to complexity (McWhorter 2005, Dahl 2004) which are all based on the assumption that complexity can be cross-linguistically compared in terms of the number of overt distinctions present in a language. If linguistic structures are the result of a balance between the competing motivations of explicitness and economy there must be another side to complexity. While current approaches focus on the explicitness side of grammar as it is reflected in “overt complexity”, i.e. in overt grammatical structures and the markedness patterns associated with them, this paper will argue that there is another type of complexity called “hidden complexity” which reflects economy. Hidden complexity is characterized by the lack of obligatory grammatical categories and by pragmatic inference. As a consequence, hidden complexity yields the following effects that are developed to a comparatively high degree in East and mainland Southeast Asian languages:

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

(ii) *Syntactic hidden complexity*: Given the lack of obligatoriness, a seemingly simple sequence may represent a considerable number of different constructions. The construction intended by the speaker has to be inferred again from context. A look at Yoruba will reveal that there are some effects of functional hidden complexity but that effects of syntactic hidden complexity are rare. The phenomena that will be discussed will be:

- The functional range of the markers *ti* (Yoruba) and *le* (Chinese) (cf. Bisang and Sonaiya 1997)
- Pro-Drop (cf. radical Pro-Drop as discussed in Neeleman and Sendrői 2007) and the inference of arguments in
 - Relative clauses (argument and non-argument coreference)
 - Wh-questions (in situ vs. movement)
 - Extraction
- Focus and its functions (information vs. identification focus)
- Topic and its functions (Chinese-style topics vs. English-style topics)

APIP, early spellout and displacement in Benue-Kwa (Niger-Congo)

Victor Manfredi

Benue-Kwa (BK, Elugbe & Williamson 1977; Williamson & Blench 2001) is much the biggest subgroup of the Niger-Congo family (Greenberg 1963). A contiguous and prima-facie innovative set of BK languages (BK2: Gbè, Yorùbá, Ìdò• mà, Nupe...) sets itself apart from the areally discontinuous remnant (BK1: Àkan, È• dó, Ìgbo, Cross, Plateau, ‘Bantoid’...) in several ways: (i) auxiliiation is the sole form of finite inflection; (ii) a minimally inflected finite eventive predicate is systematically ambiguous between a simple past and a present perfect construal; (iii) a root can be lexically specified for one of three pitch levels; (iv) a serial construction must be aspectually integrated beyond a bare reading of “consecutive events” (Manfredi 2005). By inspection of data, the immediate E language trigger for children’s creation of BK2 was phonetic erosion, beyond a threshold of recoverability, of the inherited finite inflectional suffix. In derivational, I language terms, the cluster of four effects can and arguably must be captured as a timing change from late to early phase-based spellout (Manfredi 2008, cf. Chomsky 2001). To define this threshold in a predictive way remains very challenging. Apparently there is a contradiction between the existence of three lexical tones and the ‘footing’ (prosodic licensing)

required by late spellout. As an indirect approach to this problem, consider another BK-internal consequence of derivational timing.

Proposal: A fifth generalization about analyticity in BK, restricted to the predicate domain, has been observed by Aboh (2007) as a parameter of obligatory syntactic displacement. In his terms, a “low focus position” is exploitable in BK1, but not in BK2. The same effect is also expressible without a focus checking position (Manfredi 2007), and I hypothesize that this contrast belongs to the complex described above, i.e. that it is a consequence of the shift from TP to VP spellout, in which case it cannot be captured derivation-externally e.g. as a list of OT-rankings (Cheng & Downing 2008). Consider two nontrivial descriptive properties of Yorùbá: (Y-i) the right edge of a transitive verb followed by an overt complement can’t align with L tone (Déchaine 2001, cf. Carstens 1987, Pulleyblank 2004), and (Y-ii) narrow argument focus entails a nontrivial WH-chain and lack of reconstruction/WCO (Manfredi 2006, cf. Adésolá 2005). These generalizations follow from early spellout under certain assumptions about grammatical architecture. One of these is “footdriven” i.e. non-checking theoretic movement (Craenenbroeck 2006) also known as “scopophobia” (Manfredi 1997), and here is another: all prosody is phrasal (APIP, cf. the “prosodic matching” of Wagner 2005). APIP can be true under two conditions: either prosody does not belong to phonology (*pace* Goldsmith 1976, Nespor & Vogel 1986 and much following literature), or else phonology is not “different” (*pace* Bromburger & Halle 1989)—or indeed both of these standard assumptions could well be false simultaneously. In broader comparative terms, the *in-situ* property of so-called analytic languages, whose lexical tones are much richer than in BK2, may then be understood less as covert phrasal movement (Huang 1982) than as the encoding of phrasal stress—a well-known *in situ* scope-marking device (Cheng & Rooryck 2000)—in so-called tones up to the limit of available foot formation mechanisms (Duanmu 2005). If analyticity parameters are encoded in grammar prosodically, this mediation provides some insight into the relatively modest degree of analyticity difference which can be observed in a local typological space (BK) vs. what is possible in general (UG).

Understanding the Structure and Content of the Yoruba DP

Oluseye Adésolá

The Yoruba definite determiner *náà* was re-analyzed as a saliency marker in Yoruba (Ajiboye 2005). He concludes that definite and indefinite readings are derived from the Yoruba bare NP with null determiner heads contrary to fact. In this paper, I argue that only an overtly headed DP can yield definiteness in Yoruba. I show that null-headed DPs are not restricted to lexically governed positions in Yoruba (cf. Longobardi 1994). I also show that neither the definite nor the indefinite nominal expression is restricted to either the preverbal or post-verbal position in Yoruba (cf. Mandarin versus Cantonese).

Reduplication and the structure of the DP

Artemis Alexiadou

As is well known, reduplication is a morphological process through which languages derive new lexical words and/or mark grammatical functions. In this paper I will be concerned with productive reduplication phenomena in the nominal domain. In particular I will investigate reduplication of adjectives found in a number of genetically unrelated languages such as Mandarin Chinese, Persian, Turkish, and Kwa, illustrated in (1) with a Chinese example. This construction will be contrasted with the doubling of determiners in another set of languages, especially in (southern) Germanic dialects, shown in (2) with a Bavarian German example.

(1) ta gao gao de (from Yang & al. 2007)
 he tall tall de

(2) a so a groÙa Bua (from Kallulli & Rothmayr 2008)
 a so/such a big boy

At first sight, these doubling structures both seem to share a common feature, namely intensification/emphasis, which the simple structures lack. The paper will discuss the fine properties of these two patterns and argue for a syntactic approach to doubling/reduplication, which makes use of an elaborate DP structure.

