Vitoria-Gasteiz, May 2017

The syntax of interaction

Towards a formal typology of discourse markers

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Lecture II

Introducing an idea

https://blogs.ubc.ca/syntaxofinteraction/

Overview

	Topic
Day 1 **Introduction**	*From Speech acts to Interaction*
	The syntacticization of speech acts
Day 2 **Introducing an idea**	*The syntacticization of interaction*
	Framework: The extended Universal spine
	Methodology: storyboards
Day 3 **Case study I**	*Confirmationals*
Day 4 **Case study II**	*Response markers*
Day 5 **Conclusions**	*Other discourse markers*
	Towards a typology of discourse markers

Today

Day 2	**Introducing an indea**
9-9.30	Defining a research agenda: Developing a formal typology of discourse markers
9.30-10.00	A framework for comparison and discovery
10.00-10.30	The universal spine hypothesis
10.30-11.00	Break
11.00-11.30	The syntacticization of interaction: Extending the universal spine to include an interactive layer
11.30-12.00	Methodology: Corpus-search and story-board elicitation
12.30-1.00	Questions, discussion

Defining a research agenda

Towards a formal typology of discourse markers

A methodological challenge

What is “out there”?

Goal

Develop a typology of discourse markers.

A **methodological challenge:**
It is hard to investigate *discourse markers* (DM) across languages

What do we compare?

What do we compare?

Do we compare …

i) … based on **meaning**?

ii) … based on **form**?

iii) … based on **[form-meaning]** bundles?

What do we compare?

Problems with meaning-based approaches

- What type of meaning are we investigating?
  - Not-at issue?
  - Expressive?
  - Conversational?
  - Addressee-oriented?
  - Specifying a relation/attitude towards the common ground?
  - ….?

.

- Are these types of meanings universally attested?
- Do they form a universal natural class

What do we compare?

Problems with form-based approaches

"these expressions [translation equivalents of modal particles; MEW] if used in English as often as their counterparts are used in German, would produce very mannered speech." Fillmore (1984:133)

It has also been proposed that the linguistic work done by modal particles in German is done by prosody in English (Schubiger, 1965). Prosody indeed has been found to be used as a contextualization cue, i.e. to fulfil the function proposed for modal particles in this article (Gumperz, 1992, 2001). However, prosody self-evidently also fulfils this function in German (e.g. Krivonosov, 1963: 62). It is therefore taken to be a justified procedure here to concentrate on the lexical and grammatical correspondents of German modal particles which are visible in the transcripts. (Fischer 2007)

Goal

Research Program:
Towards a syntactic analysis of discourse markers

Conceptual motivation:
Syntax mediates between form and meaning
To provide a framework of discovery and comparison

→ a **formal typology**
→ exploring the way form and meaning relate to each other

What's out there?

Comparison across languages
Comparison across dialects
Comparison across particles
Comparison acrsso particle uses

Comparison across languages

This is hardly done at all.

- But because notions of truth are not always abstract, and vary widely in world cultures, the study of both evidentiality and epistemology seems to touch very firmly on what may be a persistent Eurocentric dogma in linguistic research.

- While there has been considerable examination and discussion of evidentiality, linguists rarely have considered epistemic systems in comparative perspective.

Basso 2008

Comparison across dialects/particles

Table 1. Raw frequencies of fifteen utterance-final InTs

Tag	BrE	IndE	NZE
accha	0	2	0
ah	0	18	0
ahn	0	10	0
eh	6	0	**292**
is it	1	12	0
isn't it	1	33	0
na	0	109	0
no	0	**237**	1
OK/okay	7	12	7
right	8	12	11
see	2	2	2
yeah	34	60	35
yes	7	4	2
you know	**171**	158	18
you see	31	27	18
Total	**268**	**696**	**386**

Columbus 2010: 294

Comparison across particles

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
OUTER RIM						**DISCOURSE MARKERS**							**INNER RIM**		
ATTENTION	**ACKNOWLEDG**	**AGREE/DISAGREE**	**UH**	**CONJ 1**	**ADV**	**SLOT 1**	**SLOT 2 (rare)**	**UH**	**CONJ 2**	**UH**	**AGREE/DISAGR**	**UH**	**ADVERB**	**PARENTHETICA**	**ADVERB**
oh (boy)	okay	yeah	uh	and	then	so	you know	uh	if	uh	yeah	uh	then	I guess	then
gosh	yes	yes, yeah	um	because	now	well	like	um	when	um	no	um	basically	I mean	basically
wow	oh	no	ah	but	actually	like	I dunno	ah		ah		ah	now	I think	now
golly	right	nope			basically	you know							whatever		whatever
see		yeah, exactly			then again	I dunno							actually		actually
hey		yeah, yeah				anyway(s)							maybe		maybe
look						anyhow							probably		probably
geez						of course							meanwhile		meanwhile
sure						see							currently		currently
fine						you see							eventually		eventually
look						mind you							finally		finally
man													hopefully		hopefully
													occasionally		occasionally
													technically		technically
													again		again
													sure		sure
													you know what		you know what

Tagliamonte 2016, Ch. 6

Comparison across particle uses

	Description	Example
1	Declarative + *Eh* Tag Q	*I suppose you are a smart fellow, eh?*
2	Imperative + *Eh* Tag Q	*Listen to me, eh?*
3	Wh Q + *Eh*	*And who is to look after the horses, eh?*
4	Wh Q (rhetorical) + *Eh*	*How about that, eh?*
5	Yes/no Q + *Eh*	*Did that seem allright, eh?*
6	Yes/no Q (rhetorical) + *Eh*	*Isn't that a corker, eh?*

Love 1973

	Type	Description	Example
1	Request for repetition:	to indicate that something wasn't heard	*"Eh?" said grandfather Pinner curving his hand over one ear*
		to indicate that something wasn't fully comprehended and suggesting surprise, disbelief, etc.	*Harry (eagerly). Eh? Did you ask 'em about Mary…?*
		to indicate pre-occupation	*"It seems a fine enough night." "Eh? Oh, yes……"*
2	The equivalent to a tag question	following direct statements	*"The sun is too hot, eh?" he asked.*
		following statements preceded by qualifiers	*"…maybe you'll be going to the Indies again some day, eh?"*
		following elliptical statements i) initiated by the speaker himself ii) initiated by another speaker iii) initiated as a conclusion drawn	*Bowling. What's he got to say for himself. Eh?* *"I do know…"—You do, eh?" he demanded accusingly* *"Billy!" "Ah, Frank my lad! Busy as usual, eh?"*
		excluded by punctuation from preceding statement	*"That's how we shall save the races. Eh? You begin to see it now?"*
3	Negative examples of 2		*"You won't, eh?" "No thank you…"*
4	A reinforcement of an exclamation	introduced by *so*	*"So you think he might be hard on me, eh?"*
		miscellaneous (Canadian examples only)	*"Gee, what a night, eh?"*
5	A reinforcement of an imperative		*"Listen, Harry, phone me before you go out tonight, eh?"*
6	A reinforcement of an interrogative	with a question form itself normally taking falling intonation i) included by punctuation ii) excluded by punctuation	*"And who is to look after the horses, eh?"* *"Why make a report? Eh?"*
		rising or falling intonation i) included by punctuation ii) excluded by punctuation	*"Did you get that, eh?* *Hastings. Wasn't it lucky. Eh! (sic)*
7	Occurring elsewhere than sentence final	utterance final in conjunction with a name	*"A bit too well-eh, Josey?" cried the wife*
		utterance initial followed by a name only	*"…these kids aren't all Expo fans. Eh, gang?"*
		miscellaneous	*Hardcastle. Eh, why don't you move?*
8	The narrative *Eh?*		*Jesus, the old Deacon, eh—getting off that hot one about the Mayor, eh?"*

Avis 1972

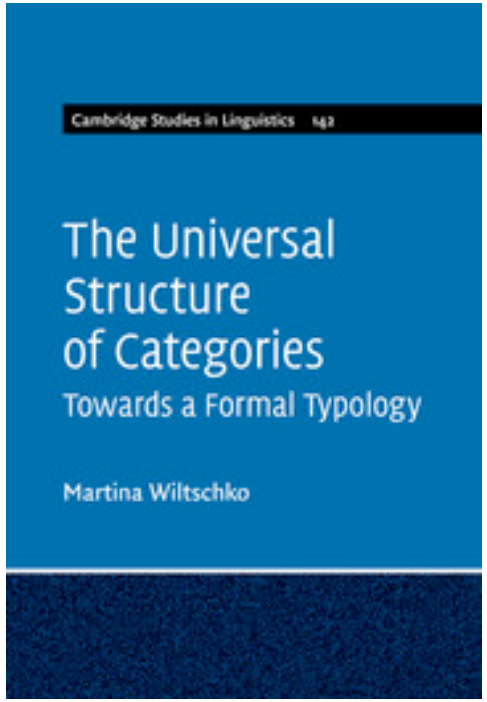
8 types

	Type	subtypes	example
1	reversed polarity	seeking agreement (S has little doubt that p is true)	*Silly letter, eh? (after reading a letter)*
		seeking confirmation (S has some doubt that p is true)	*That should be okay, eh?*
2	constant polarity	repetition of previous utterance	*Speaker A: He said "eh" twice.* *Speaker B: Oh, he said "eh", eh?*
		reference to action	*Oh, you are still here, eh?*
		elaboration of previous utterance	*Speaker A: George brought it over.* *Speaker B: Oh, you've seen it, eh?*
		reference to old information	*But I hear we just missed them, eh?*
3	imperative		*Look at that, eh?*
4	exclamation		*What a drag, eh?*
5	polar interrogative		*(Did) you see the game last night, eh?*
6	wh question		*What are you trying to say, eh?*
7	pardon		*Eh?*
8	anecdotal		*He went from building, eh, to building*

Gibson 1974

The challenge

- How do we know what else might be comparable?
- How do we compare particles and intonation?
- How do we compare anything to each other across languages?



The universal spine hypothesis

A framework for **discovery** and **comparison**

Three issues surrounding categories

i) What are grammatical categories?
ii) How do we identify them?
iii) And are they universal?

The linguistic reality of categories

Categorizable Units of Language (UoL)

words:	PRONOUNS, REFLEXIVES, DETERMINERS, COMPLEMENTIZERS, AUXILIARIES, …
morphemes:	POSSESSIVE, PROGRESSIVE, …
features:	TENSE, NUMBER, CASE …
clause-types:	IMPERATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE, …

The need to talk about *categories (c)* arises because…
… we can generalize over the distribution of a set of UoLs
… the distribution of a UoL cannot be determined based on meaning or sound (alone)

How do we identify language-specific categories?

AUXILIARIES:

(1) a. *Edward **has** blown the whistle.*
b. *Edward **is** blowing the whistle.*

c:AUXILIARY = π: *have*
c:AUXILIARY = π: *be*

(2) a. *Edward **had** blown the whistle.*
b. *Edward **was** blowing the whistle.*

(3) a. *They **have** blown the whistle.*
b. *They **were** blowing the whistle.*

(4) a. ***Has** Edward blown the whistle?*
b. ***Is** Edward blowing the whistle?*

How do we identify categories?

If criterial diagnostics for categories are language-specific, how do we discover categories across languages?

Are there **universal diagnostics** for categories?

i) Patterns of multi-functionality
ii) Patterns of contrast

Diagnostic 1
Patterns of multi-functionality

THE AUXILIARY-MAIN VERB POLYSEMY

(1) a. *Edward **has** courage.*
b. *Edward **is** the whistle blower we have been waiting for.*

(2) a. *Does Edward **have** courage?*
b. ***Is** Edward the whistle blower we have been waiting for?*

a. *c*:VERB = {π: *have,* Σ:possession}
b. *c*:VERB = {π: *be,* Σ:identity}

a. *c*:AUXILIARY = {π: *have,* Σ:?}
b. *c*:AUXILIARY = {π: *be,* Σ:?}

Diagnostic 1
Patterns of multi-functionality

(1) a. ***lí****=chap* *ole* ***í****?*
AUX-2PL PRT be.here
'You folks are here, eh?' Galloway 2009: 100

b ***li*** ***í*** *the-l* *tàl?*
AUX be.here DET.FEM-1SG.POSS mother
'Is my mother in?' Galloway 2009: 100

(2) a. ***í:****-lh=tsel* ***lí****.*
AUX-PST-1SG.S be.there
'I was there.' Galloway 2009: 103

b. ***lí****-lh=a=chxw* ***lí****.*
AUX-PST-Q-2SG.S be.there
'Were you there?' Galloway 2009: 217

a. *c*: VERB = {π: *í,* Σ:be.here}
b. *c*: VERB = {π: *lí,* Σ:be.there}

a. *c*: AUXILIARY = {π: *í,* Σ:?}
b. *c*: AUXILIARY = {π: *lí,* Σ:?}

Diagnostic 1
Patterns of multi-functionality

THE ARGUMENT -- EXPLETIVE POLYSEMY

1. Q. *Wo ist dein Bier?*
'Where is your beer?'

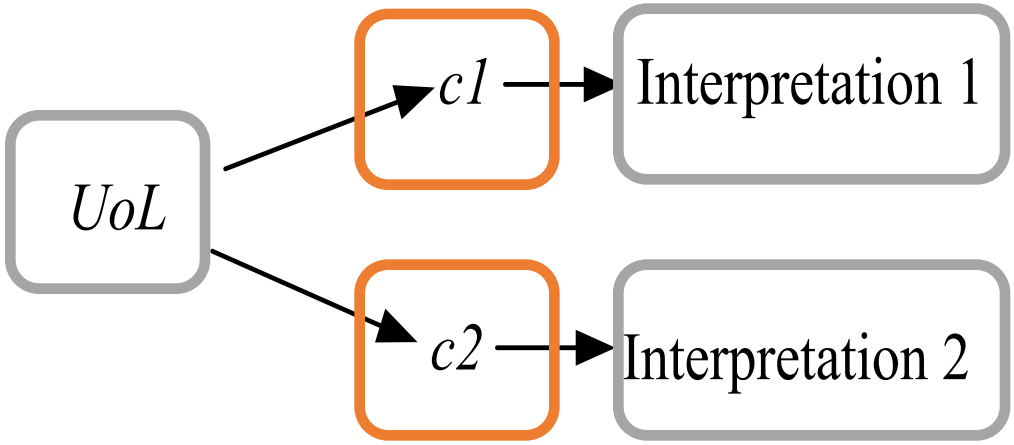
A: *Ich habe es getrunken*
I have it drunk
'I drank it'

2. ***Es** gibt Bier!*
it gives beer
'There is beer.'

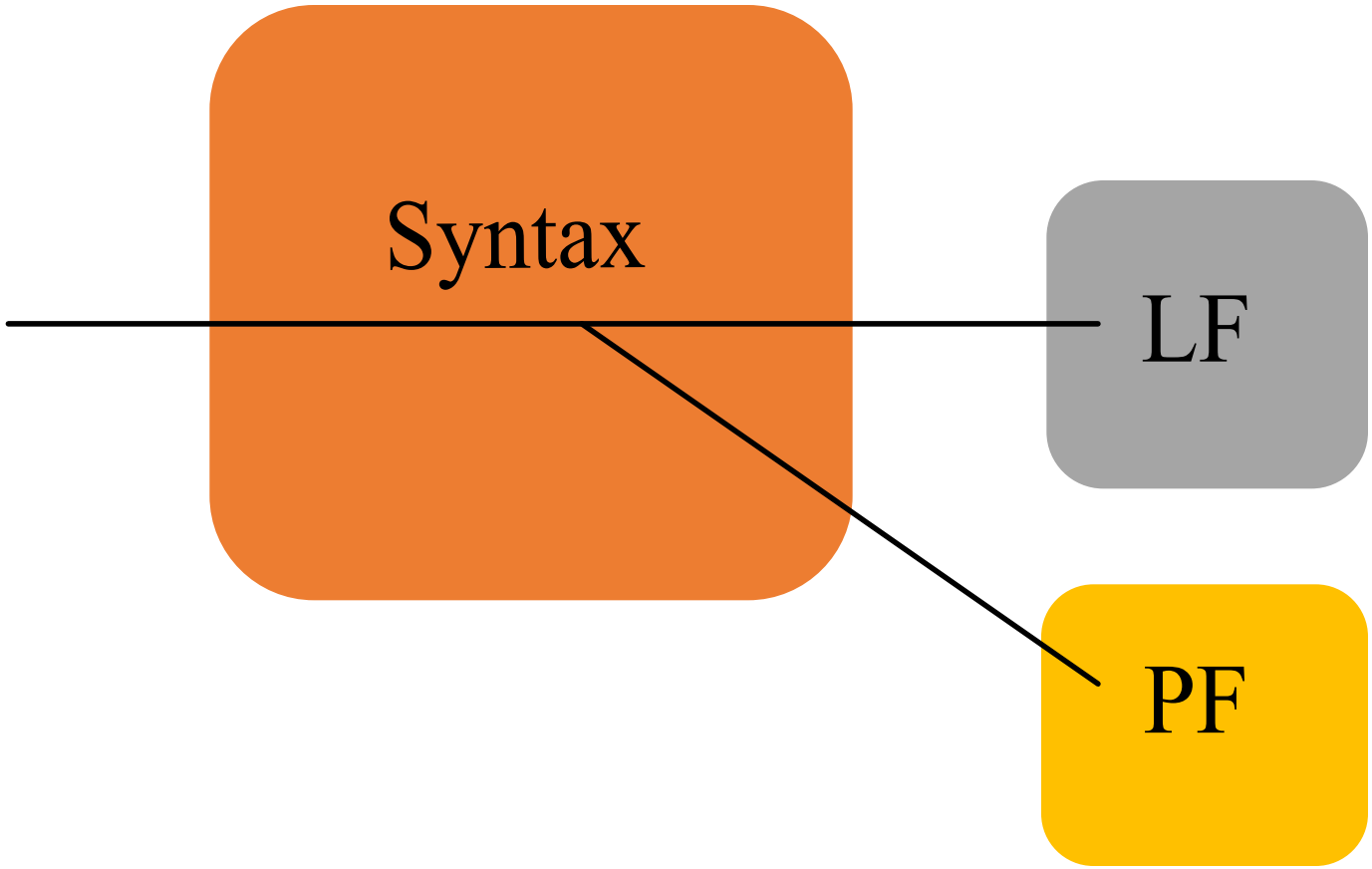
a. c:PRONOUN$_{REF}$ = {π: *es,* Σ:neuter referent}
b. c:PRONOUN$_{EXPLETIVE}$ = {π: *es,* Σ: $\emptyset$}

Diagnostic 1
Patterns of multi-functionality

Mediates the relation Between form and meaning



Mediates the relation Between form and meaning



How do we identify categories?

If criterial diagnostics for categories are language-specific, how do we discover categories across languages?

Are there **universal diagnostics** for categories?

i) Patterns of multi-functionality
ii) Patterns of contrast

Diagnostic 2: Patterns of contrast

(1) a. *They planted the bug.*
b. *They planted the bug-**s**.*

(2) a. **They planted three bug.*
b. *They planted three bug-**s**.*

(3) a. *te lhíxw swíweles*
DET three boy
'the three boys'

b. *te lhíxw swóweles*
DET three boy.PL
'the three boys'

Wiltschko 2008: 642

A paradigmatic contrast

Base	Marked by	Interpreted as
N	{π:Ø, Σ:sg}	singular
N	{π:-s, Σ:pl}	plural

Singular is marked

An interpretive contrast

Base	Marked by	Interpreted as
N	---	singular
N	{π:-s, Σ:pl}	plural

Singular is default
(in the absence of marking)

Diagnostic 2: Patterns of contrast

(1) ***Bug spray*** *won't help. There are bugs everywhere.*

(3) a. *te lhíxw swíweles*
DET three boy
'the three boys'

b. *te lhíxw swóweles*
DET three boy.PL
'the three boys'

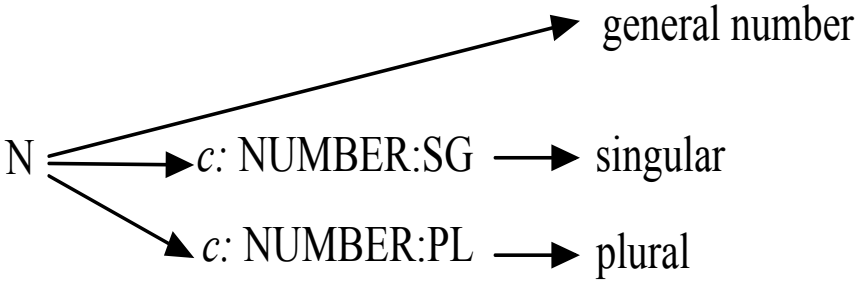
Wiltschko 2008: 642

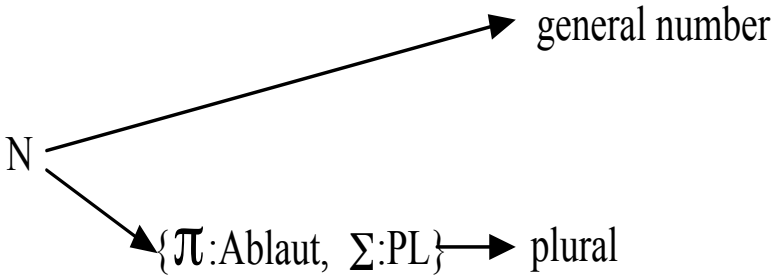
An interpretive contrast

Base	Marked by	Interpreted as
N	---	general
N	{π:-s, Σ:pl}	plural

Truly unmarked is general number

Diagnostic 2: Patterns of contrast

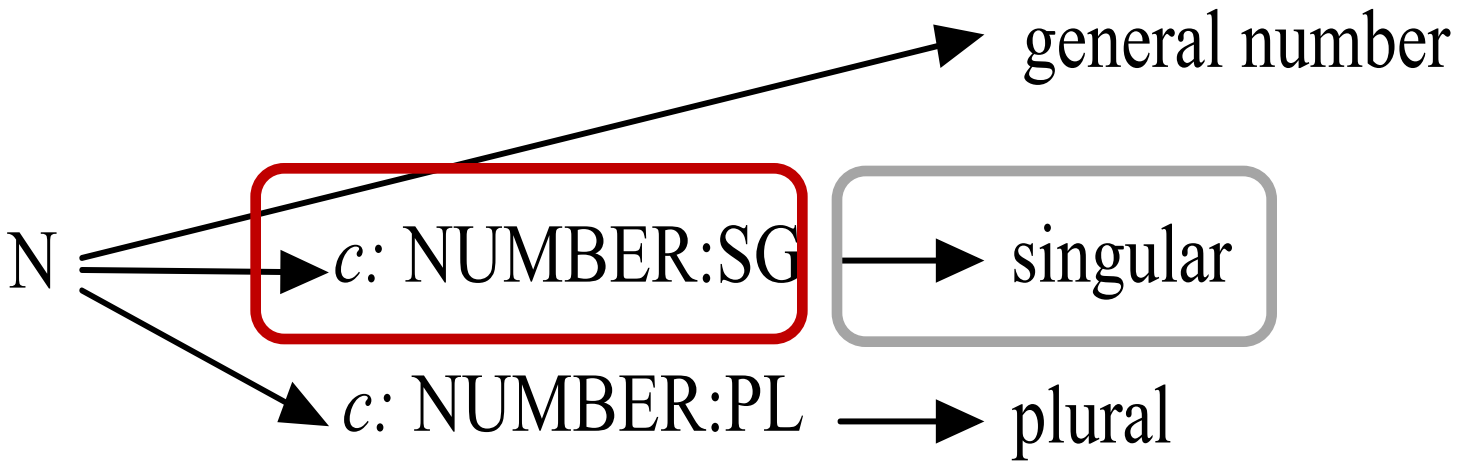




Base	Marked by	Interpreted as
N	{π:Ø, Σ:sg}	singular
N	{π:-s, Σ:pl}	plural

Base	Marked by	Interpreted as
N	---	singular
N	{π:-s, Σ:pl}	plural

Diagnostic 2:
Patterns of contrast



Observation: the relation between a UoL and its interpretation is mediated by its categorial identity *c*.

Diagnosing universal categories

Observation:

- the relation between a UoL and its interpretation is mediated by its categorial identity *c*.

Conclusion:

- the existence of *c* is a linguistic reality.
- UoLs are categorizable as a matter of *Universal Grammar* (UG).
- But, *c* is not an intrinsic property of UoLs

Question:

How does *c* come about?

The Universal Base Hypothesis

The deep structures of all languages are identical, up to the ordering of constituents immediately dominated by the same node.

Ross 1970[1968]:260

UG serve as a repository of categories

The Universal Base Hypothesis: Cartography

[$\text{Mood}_{\text{speech-act}}$ *frankly*
[$\text{Mood}_{\text{evaluative}}$ *fortunately*
[$\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ *allegedly*
[$\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}}$ *probably*
[T_{past} *once*
[T_{future} *then*
[$\text{Mod}_{\text{irrealis}}$ *perhaps*
[$\text{Mod}_{\text{necessity}}$ *necessarily*
[$\text{Mod}_{\text{possibility}}$ *possibly*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{habitual}}$ *usually*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{repetetive}}$ *again*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{frequentative(I)}}$ *often*
[$\text{Mod}_{\text{volitional}}$ *intentionally*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{celerative(I)}}$ *quickly*
[$\text{T}_{\text{anterior}}$ *already*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{terminative}}$ *no longer*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{continuative}}$ *still*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{perfect(?)}}$ *always*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{retrospective}}$ *just*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{proximative}}$ *soon*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{durative}}$ *briefly*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{generic/progressive}}$ *characteristically*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{prospective}}$ *almost*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{sg.completive(I)}}$ *completely*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{pl.completive}}$ *tutto*
[Voice *well*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{celerative(II)}}$ *fast/early*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{repetetive(II)}}$ *again*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{frequentative(II)}}$ *often*
[$\text{Asp}_{\text{sg.completive(II)}}$ *completely*]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

3 Problems

Sapir's observation

Languages differ in their formal organization of meaning.

"…almost every newly described language presents us with some "crazy" new category that hardly fits existing taxonomies."

Haspelmath (2007: 119)

Problem #1

Categories based on substantive content are not universally attested

NO TENSE IN BLACKFOOT

a. *Anna* *Mai'stoo* *isttso'kiniwa.*
ann-wa Mai'stoo-wa isttso'kini-wa
DEM-PROX Raven-PROX hungry.AI-PROX
'Mai'stoo is hungry.' OR 'Mai'stoo was hungry.'

b. *Anna* *Mai'stoo* *áihpiyiwa.*
ann-wa Mai'stoo-wa á-ihpiyi-wa
DEM-PROX Raven-PROX IMPF-dance.AI-PROX
'Mai'stoo is dancing.' OR 'Mai'stoo was dancing.'

adapted from Louie 2008, in prep.

Problem #1

Categories based on substantive content are not universally attested

NO NUMBER IN MANDARIN

a.	*yi4*	*zhi1*	*mao1*	b.	*san1*	*zhi1*	*mao1*
	one	CLASS	cat		three	CLASS	cat
	'one cat'				'three cats'		

Problem #1

Categories based on word class are not universally attested

NO COMPLEMENTIZERS IN BLACKFOOT

a. *Nitsikannistsikssimmstaawa* ***nitssisstsiikoohsi****.*
nit-iik-annist-ikssimmstaa-wa nit-sistsikoo-hsi
1-INT-MANNER-think.AI-PROX 1-tired.AI-CONJ
'I think I am tired.'

b. *Aniiwa* ***otaissistsikoohsi****.*
wanii-wa ot-a-sistsikoo-hsi
say.AI-PROX 3-IMPF-tired.AI-CONJ
'He said he was tired now.'

c. *Nitsíksstaa* ***nááhksoy'ssi****.*
nit-iik-sst-aa n-ááhk-ooyi-hsi
1-INT-want-AI 1-NONFACT-eat.AI-CONJ
'I want to eat.'

Problem #1

Categories based on word class are not universally attested

NO DETERMINERS IN POLISH

a. *Student lubi Marie.*
student likes Mary
'The student likes Mary.'

b. *Marie lubi student.*
Mary likes student
' A student likes Mary.'

Zlatic, to appear (2)

Problem #1

Categories based on **morphological type** are not universally attested

Typological research has also established beyond reasonable doubt that not only are specific grammatical constructions not universal, but basically none of the so-called minor word classes of English that help to constitute particular constructions (e.g.. Prepositions, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions, articles, adverbs, complementizers, and the like) are universal across languages either. Tomasello 2003: 5

Two non-solutions

Silent categories?

a. $C_{UG} = \{c_1, c_2, c_3, \ldots c_{n+1}\}$

b. $C_{Lg1} = \{c_1\ c_2, c_3, \ldots c_{n+1}\}$ $C_{Lg2} = \{c_1, c_2, c_3, \ldots c_{n+1}\}$

$UoL_{Lg1} = \{\{\Sigma_1\ \pi\}, \{\Sigma_3\ \pi\}\ldots\}$ $UoL_{Lg2} = \{\{\Sigma_2\ \pi\}, \{\Sigma_3\ \pi\}\ldots\}$

Pick and chose?

$C_{UG} \supseteq C_{Lg}$

Problem #2

UoLs with the same content (e.g. temporality or plurality) do not show the same distributional properties

a. *í-lh* *qw'eyílex* *tú-tl'ò.*
AUX-PAST dance DET-PRN
'He was dancing.'

b. *í* *qw'eyílex tú-tl'ò.*
AUX dance DET-PRN
'He is/was dancing.'

Ritter and Wiltschko, to appear (2)

Problem #2

UoLs that belong to the same **word class** (e.g. pronouns) do not show the same distributional properties

(1) *Every man$_i$ is happy when he$_i$ sings.*

(2)a. *mékw'* *ye* *sewíyeqe$_i$* *xwoyí:wel* *lhi-s* *t'í:t'elém* ***tú-tl'ò$_i$.***
every DET.PL men.PL happy when-3S singing DET-3PRN
'Every man$_i$ is happy when he$_{*i/j}$ sings.'

b. *mékw'* *ye* *sewíyeqe* *xwoyí:wel* *lhi-s* *t'í:t'elém.*
every DET.PL men.PL happy when-3S singing
'Every man$_i$ is happy when he$_i$ sings.'

Wiltschko 1998: 17 (49)

Problem #3

“Rare” categories

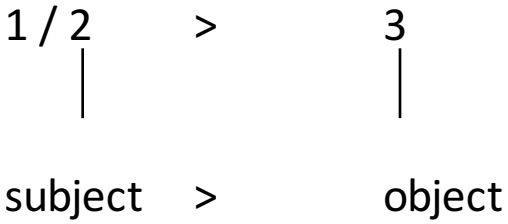
a. *Nitsinóáwa.*

nit-ino-**aa**-wa

1-see.TA-**DIR**-PROX

‘I see him/her.’

Direct mapping



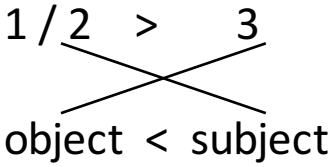
b. *Nitsinóóka.*

nit-ino-**ok**-wa

1-see. TA-**INV**-prox

‘S/he sees me.’

Inverse mapping



Problem #3

Control marking (Squamish, Salish)

a. *chen kw'lh-**at** ta tiy.*
1SG.S pour-TR DET tea
'I poured the tea.' (on purpose)

b. *chen kw'élh-**nexw** ta tiy.*
1S.SU spill-LC.TR DET tea
'I spilt the tea.' (accidentally)

Jacobs 2011: 1 (1)

Three problems for the Universal Base Hypothesis

i) Missing categories

ii) Categories with different distributional properties across languages

iii) Rare categories

The No Base Hypothesis

"languages could differ from each other without limit and in unpredictable ways."
Joos (1957: 96)

"…almost every newly described language presents us with some "crazy" new category that hardly fits existing taxonomies." Haspelmath (2007: 119).

… the number of categories (*c*) is potentially infinite.
… if C_{UG} is a non-finite set the postulation of a UG is no longer explanatory

The No Base Hypothesis

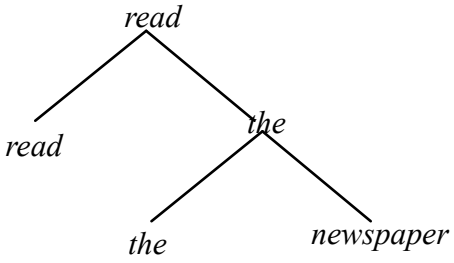
NBH in the typological tradition

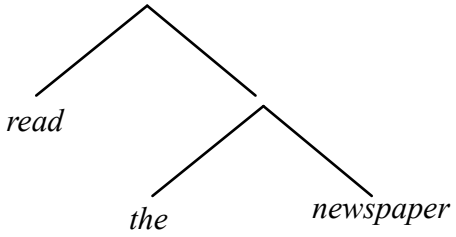
"Universal Grammar does not consist of an inventory of universal categories and relations available to all speakers". Croft (2001: 34)

grammatical relations and word classes in a cross-linguistic sense are *"at most a convenient fiction".* There are no cross-linguistic grammatical categories of any type. (Dryer 1997: 117)

NBH in the generative tradition:

There are no pre-fabricated labels for categories (see Chomsky 1995; Collins 2002)

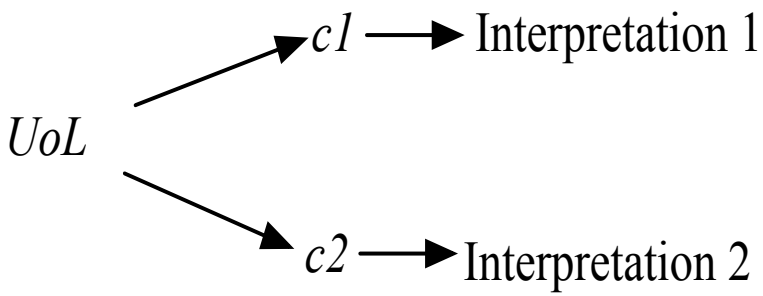




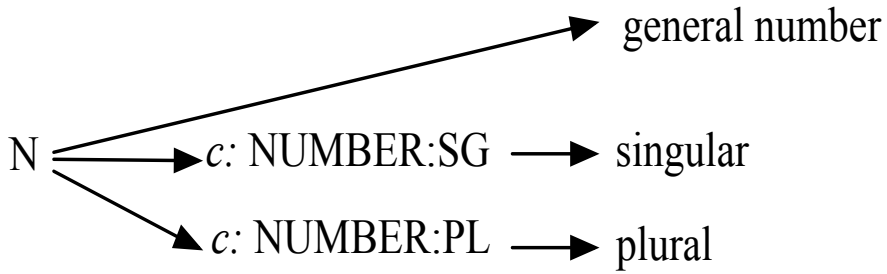
Problem #1

There are universal categorical patterns

Patterns of multi-functionality



Patterns of contrast



Problem #2

Categories show systematic ordering effects

Universal ordering effects of categories

a. *Who did you see?*
b. focus > tense > subject > verb

a. *Nitsóóhtowawa.*
nit-yooht-o-a-wa
1-hear-TA-DIR-PROX
'I heard him/her.' Bliss 2013.:33 (8)

b. …verb < transitivity < direct < proximate

c:DISCOURSE > *c*:GRAMMATICAL > *c*:EVENT > *c*:VERB

A compromise:
The universal spine hypothesis

Universals and variation

i. There is evidence for the universality of categories

ii. Languages vary in their categorial inventories

.

The problematic assumption:

The set of universal categories (C_{UG}) is a repository of grammatical categories

Making sense of **variation** in categorial patterns

Missing categories

a. C_{Lg1} ={c_1:TENSE <κ_1,{π,Σ:past}>…}

b. C_{Lg2} ={c_1:? <κ_1,{π,Σ:?}>…}

→*c* is constructed differently

(e.g. with different substantive content)

→A new research question:

What is there instead of tense?

Making sense of **variation** in categorial patterns

Categories with different distributional properties.

a. C_{Lg1} ={c_1:NUMBER <κ_1,{π,Σ:plural}>…}

b. C_{Lg2} ={π,Σ:plural}

c. C_{Lg3} ={c_2:NUMBER <κ_2,{π,Σ:plural}>…}

→ UoLs that don't associate with κ can modify κ

Making sense of **variation** in categorial patterns

Unexpected Categories

a. $C_{Lg1} = \{c_1 : \text{DIRECT} = \kappa_1 + \text{UoL}\}$

b. $C_{Lg2} = \{c_2 : \text{CONTROL} = \kappa_2 + \text{UoL}\}$

How are these categories constructed?

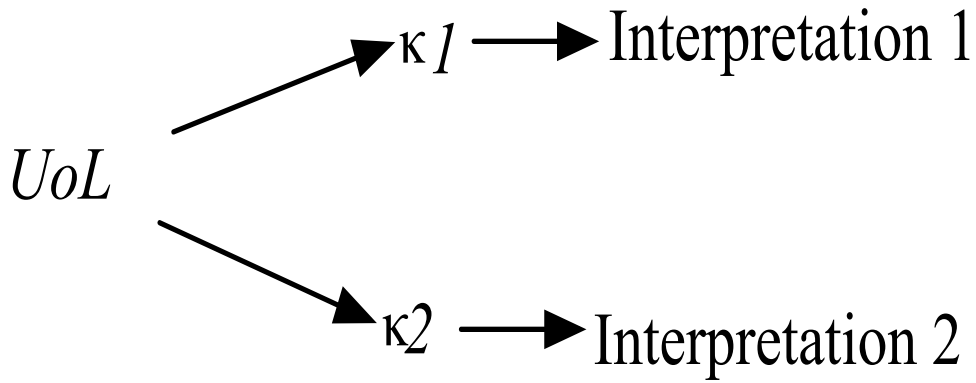
Making sense of **universality** in categorial patterns

- categorial identity mediates between a UoL and its interpretation.
- the UoL serves merely as an ingredient in the construction of the category along with the universal categorizer κ.
- the interpretive effect that correlates with a switch in categorial identity of a given UoL must be due to κ.

Effects of κ

- …regularizes the distribution of UoLs
- …determines hierarchical structure,
- … adds meaning

Making sense of **universality** in categorial patterns

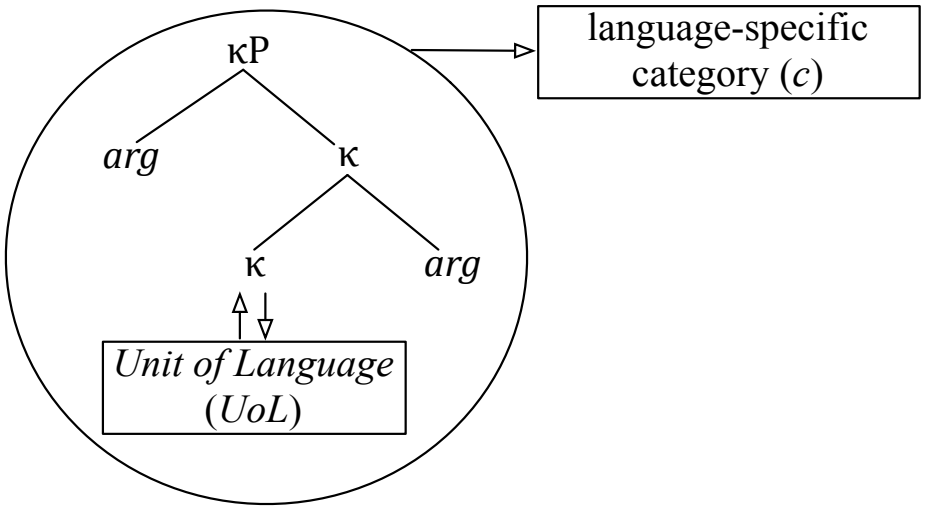


- Categories are not universally associated with sounds (π),
- Categories are not universally associated with substantive content (Σ) (Ritter and Wiltschko, 2014).
- Categorial identities κ come with particular functions, which reflect their position in the hierarchical organization of the set of κ, the universal spine

A compromise:
The universal spine hypothesis

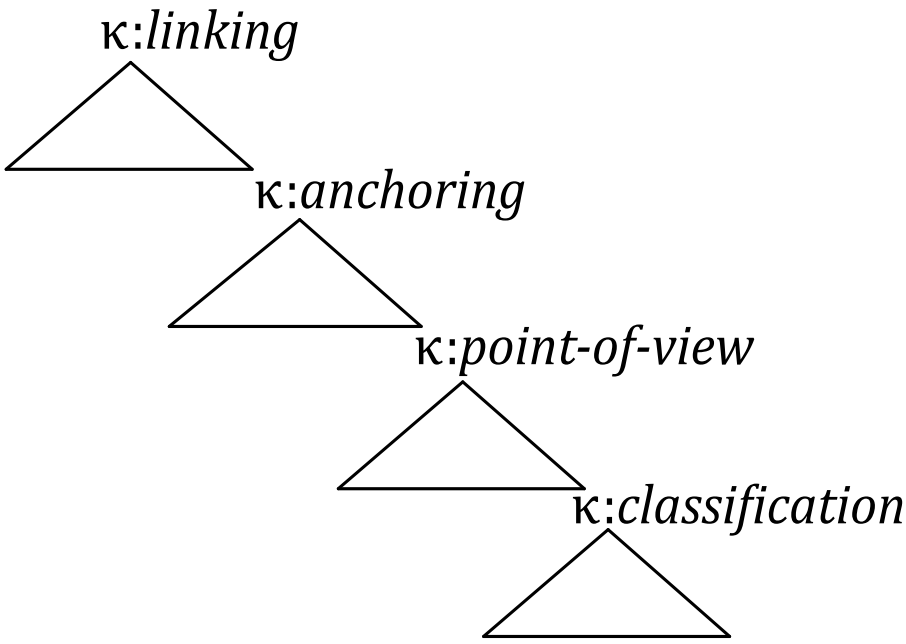
Language-specific categories (*c*) are constructed from a small set of universal categories κ and language-specific UoLs

***c* = κ + UoL**



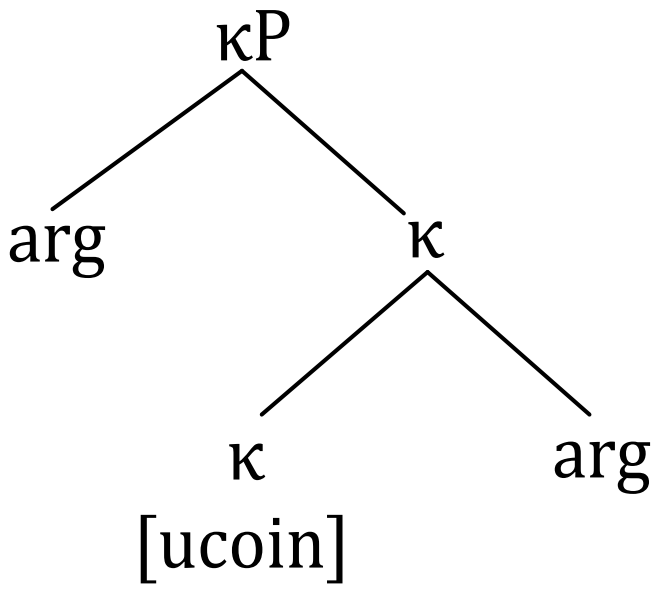
The universal spine

The set of universal categories κ is hierarchically organized where each layer of κ is defined by its function.



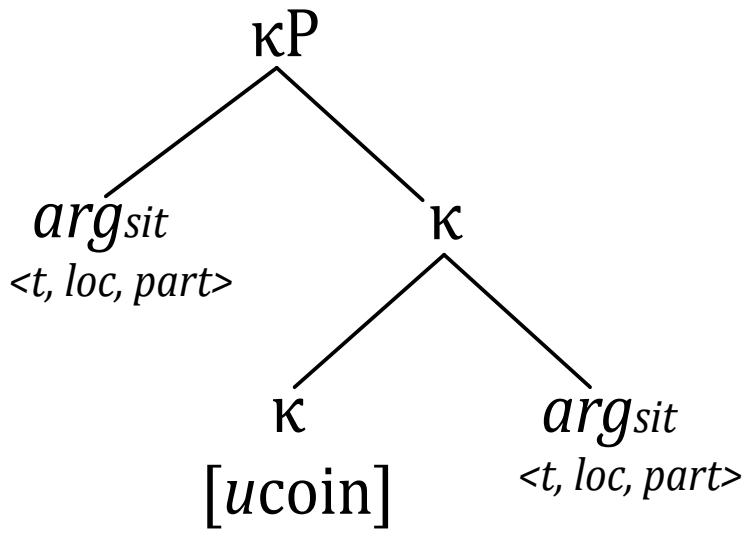
Properties of κ

- Transitivity
- Relationality
- possibility for substantiation



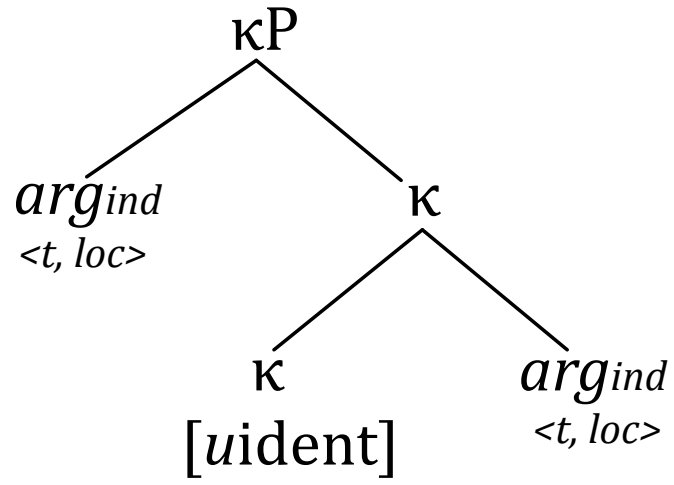
Verbalizing and nominalizing the spine

Verbal categories



Cf. Hale 1983
Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 1997

Nominal categories



defining features of nominality is *identity (*Baker 2003)

nouns carry, as part of their meaning, *criteria of identity* (Geach 1962 see also Gupta 1980; Carlson 1982; and Barker 1998, 1999).

Parameters of variation

i) ***How*** does the UoL associate with the spine?

ii) ***Where*** does the UoL associate with the spine?

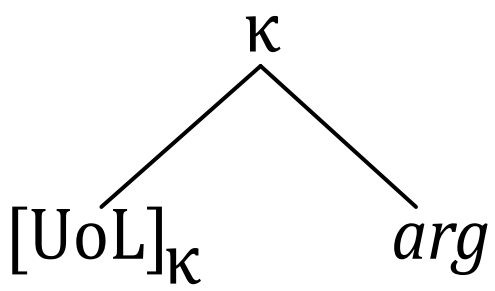
iii) ***When*** does the UoL associate with the spine?

The logic of Associate

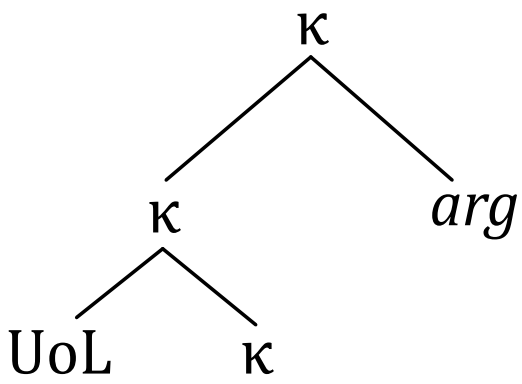
MANNER OF ASSOCIATION:

How does the UoL associate with the spine?

a. UoL is κ



b. UoL modifies κ



Diagnosing syntactic heads

The contrast diagnostic

UoL associates with κ via the "*is-a*" relation if….

…the distribution and interpretation of the unmarked form ***complement*** the distribution and interpretation of the marked form

→ **Paradigmatic contrasts**

Manner of association / Surface effects	κ-categories	κ-modifiers
obligatory (relative to κ)	✓	✗
syntactic head effects (e.selection, agreement, …)	✓	✗

Diagnosing syntactic heads

The contrast diagnostic

UoL associates with κ via the *modification* relation if the distribution and interpretation of the unmarked form ***include*** the distribution and interpretation of the marked form

→ **interpretive contrasts**

Diagnosing syntactic heads

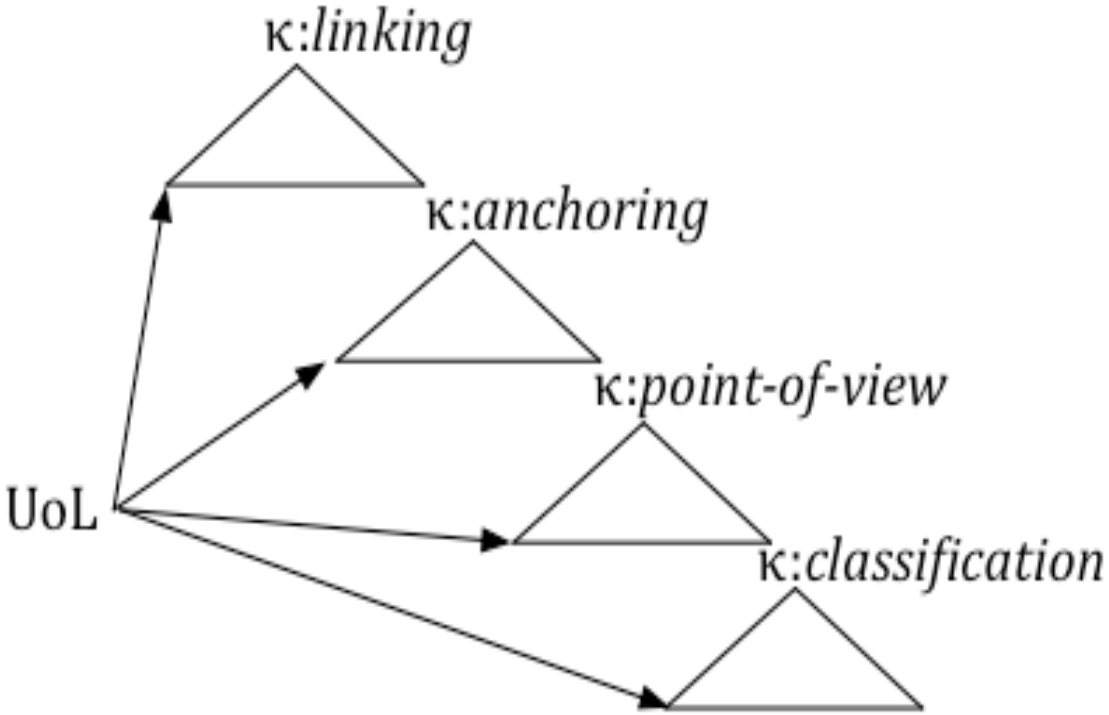
The contrast diagnostic

Surface effects \ Manner of association	κ-categories	κ-modifiers
obligatory (relative to κ)	✓	✗
syntactic head effects (c-selection, agreement, …)	✓	✗
allows for zero marking	✓	✗
allows for expletive interpretation	✓	✗

The logic of Associate

PLACE OF ASSOCIATION:

Where does the UoL associate with the spine?



Diagnosing place of association

Diagnosing relative height:

- Linear order
- Mirror principle

Diagnosing absolute height:

The function diagnostic

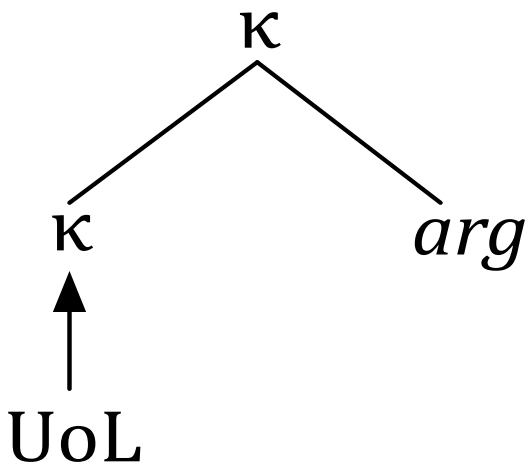
The absolute position of a given UoL can be diagnosed by identifying its function (independent of substantive content).

The logic of Associate

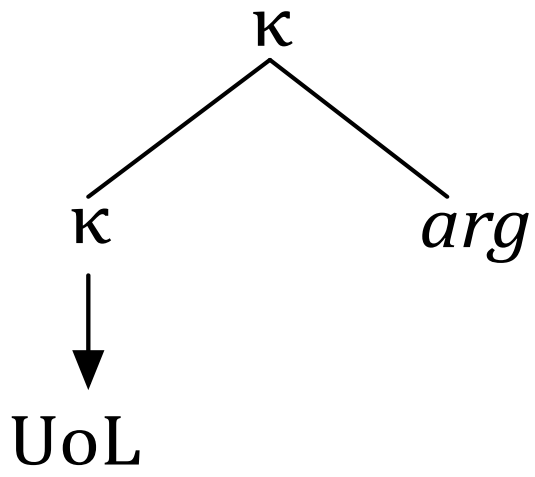
TIMING OF ASSOCIATION:

When does the UoL associate with the spine?

a. UoL associates early



b. UoL associates late



Diagnosing time of association

The category-neutrality diagnostic

If a UoL displays effects of category-neutrality, it associates with κ early.

(1) a. *I like this **dance**.*

b. *I know how to **dance**.*

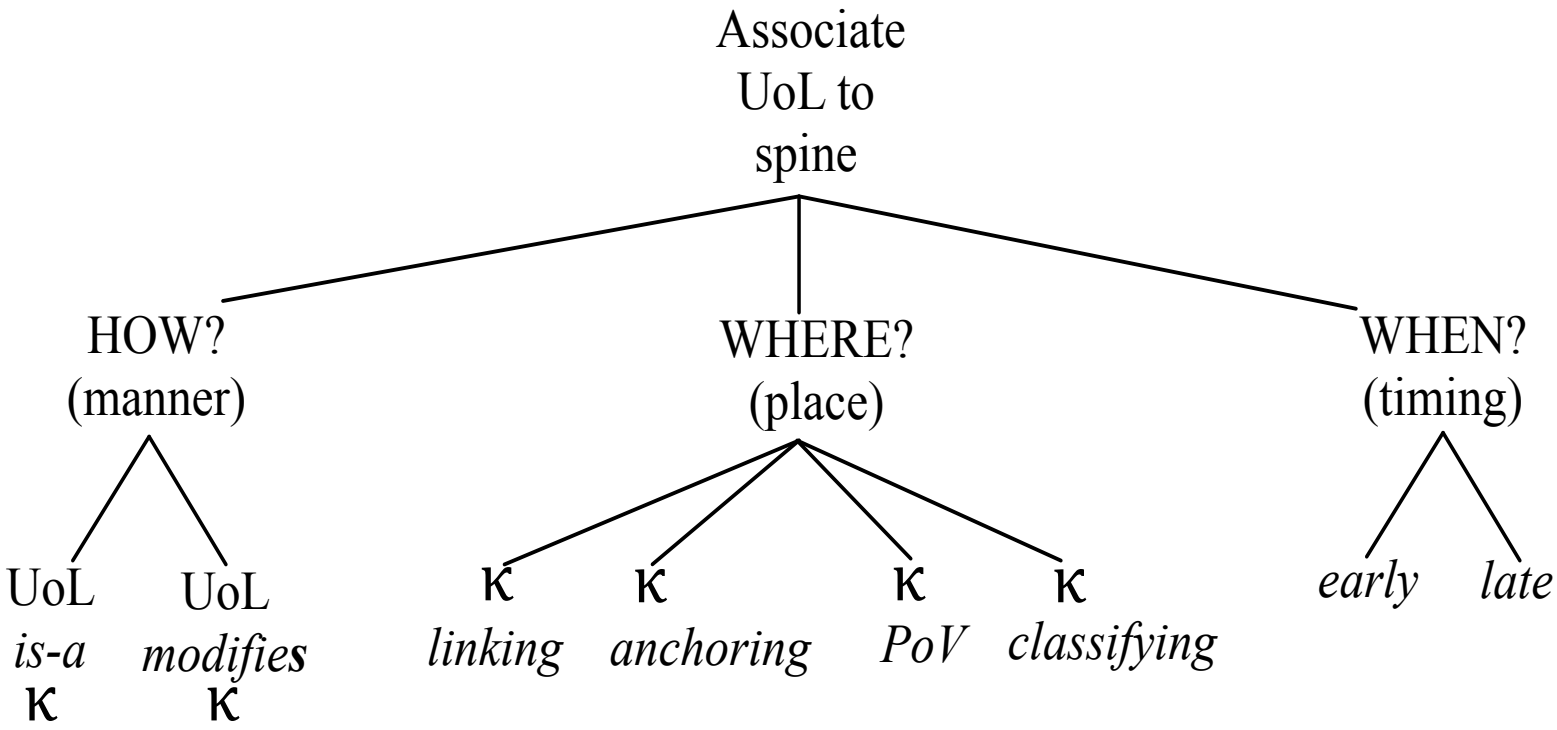
(2) a. *I know **that** guy.*

b. *I know **that** this guy is courageous.*

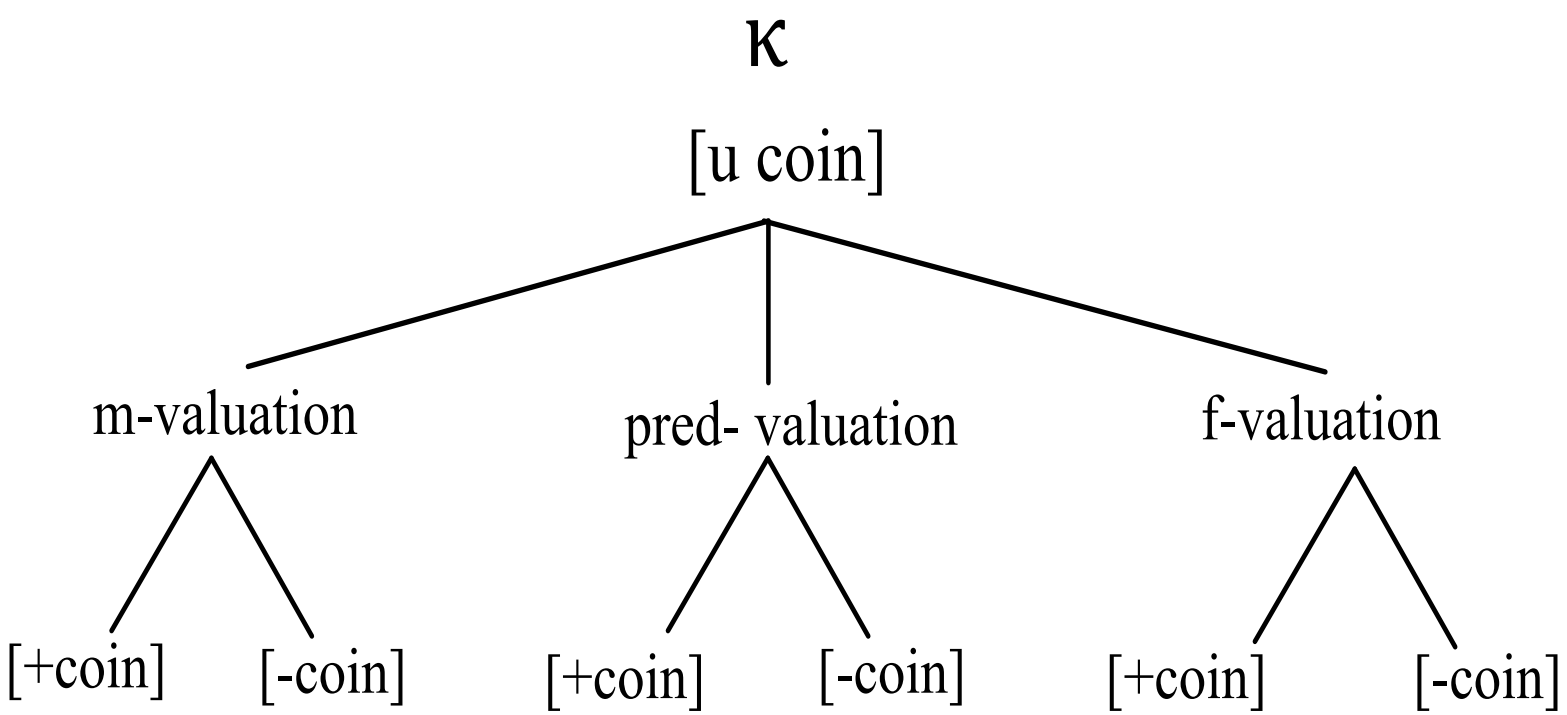
The categorial-complexity diagnostic

If a UoL displays effects of categorial complexity, it associates with κ late.

Association typology



Valuation typology



Methodological implications

How do we gloss?

i) **lí**lhachexw **lí**?

ii) **lí**-lh=a=chexw **lí**

iii) AUX-PAST=Q=2SG.S be.there

iv) 'Were you there?'

adapted from Galloway 2009: 217

"*Interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses give information about the meanings and grammatical properties of individual words and parts of words*" http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php (preamble).

Methodological implications

"It should also be noted that there are often multiple ways of analyzing the morphological patterns of a language. The glossing conventions do not help linguists in deciding between them, but merely provide standard ways of abbreviating possible descriptions. Moreover, glossing is rarely a complete morphological description, and it should be kept in mind that its purpose is not to state an analysis, but to give some further possibly relevant information on the structure of a text or an example, beyond the idiomatic translation."

http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php
(preamble) (emphasis MW)

Methodological implications

"Glosses are part of the analysis, not part of the data. When citing an example from a published source, the gloss may be changed by the author if they prefer different terminology, a different style or a different analysis."

http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php (preamble)

Methodological implications

- Glossing requires the postulation of *meta-categories*
- How do we compare languages without postulating such meta-categories?
- How do we know what to compare if we do not have conceptions of categories in mind that have somewhat universal scope?
- Haspelmath 2007: 11 "*comparison cannot be category-based, but must be substance-based, because substance (unlike categories) is universal".*

Methodological implications

- **Glosses**
- …are based on content: DURATIVE, FUTURE, IMPERATIVE, LOCATIVE, PLURAL,…
- … are based on word class: AUXILIARY, COMPLEMENTIZER, DETERMINER,…
- … based on grammatical function: ABSOLUTIVE, OBJECT, INFINITIVE, …

Methodological implications

"*This raises a terminological issue which arises in many areas of grammar. Should we apply terms which were invented for European languages to similar—but not identical—categories in other languages? For example, should we say 'The perfect/definite determiner/subjunctive in language X differs semantically from its English counterpart', or should we say 'Language X lacks a perfect/definite determiner/subjunctive', because it lacks an element with the exact semantics of the English categories? I adopt the former approach here, as I think it leads to productive cross-linguistic comparison, and because it suggests that the traditional terms do not represent primitive sets of properties, but rather potentially decomposable ones.*"

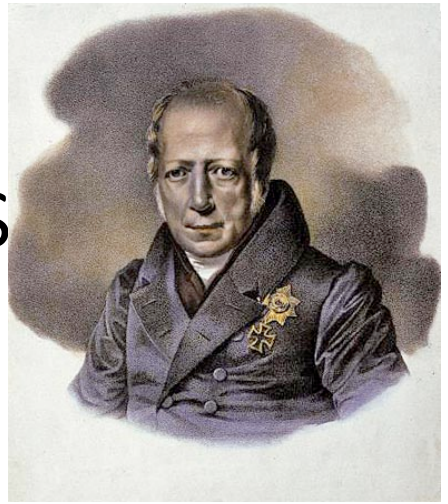
Matthewson 2010. 9:14, Fn.10.

Methodological implications

"To put it in a broader perspective, when confronted with unfamiliar or previously undescribed linguistic phenomena, how do we know when to establish a new category to account for it, and when to redefine an existing one? To what extent is a category to be defined in terms of the internal oppositions of the language itself (that is, in terms of its positioning within the systems of the language under description), and to what extent should we impose preconceived notions of categories and their boundaries? These seem to us to be fundamental and difficult methodological points that we constantly face in linguistic research, most especially on underdescribed languages, and ones that warrant further discussion and reflection by the field as a whole."

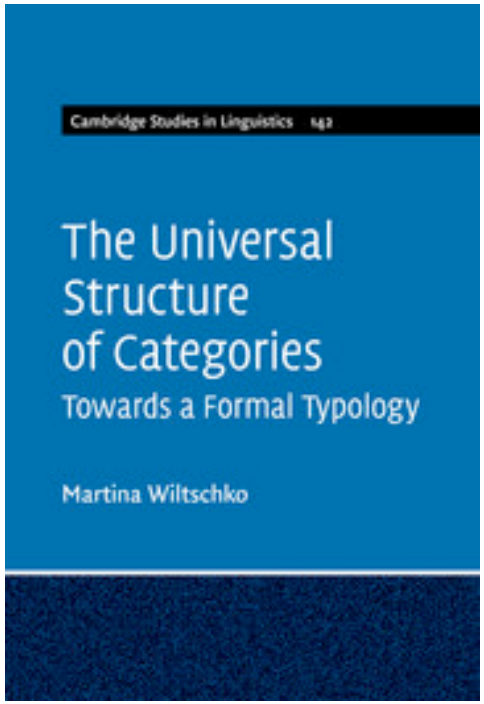
Nordlinger and Sadler 2008: 329

Methodological implications



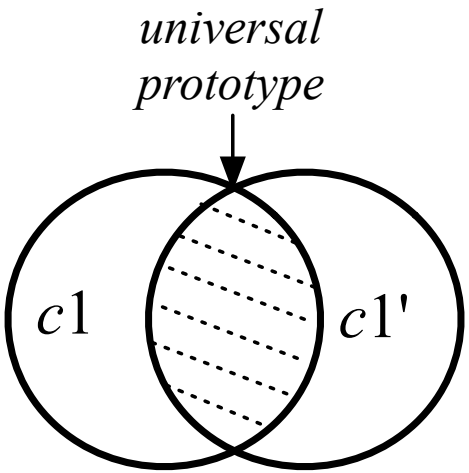
The enlightening recognition of differences requires a third element, namely unweakened simultaneous consciousness of one's own form of language as well as those of unfamiliar ones. But this presupposes in its clarity that one has reached the higher point of view, to which both are subordinated; and it awakens darkness where apparent complete divergence makes it impossible – at first sight – to assimilate the unfamiliar to oneself and oneself to the unfamiliar.

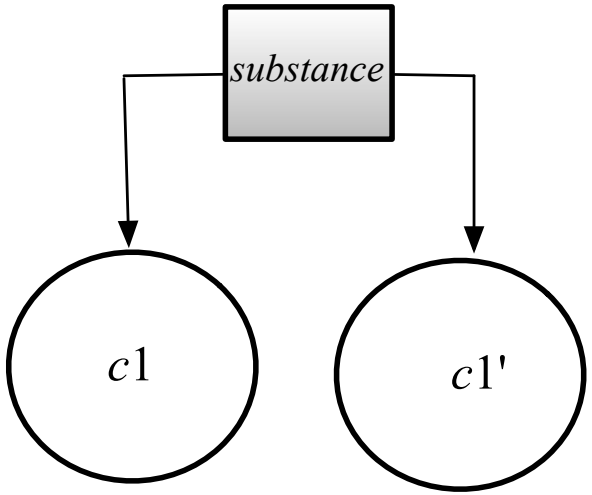
[W.v.Humboldt; Translation MW]

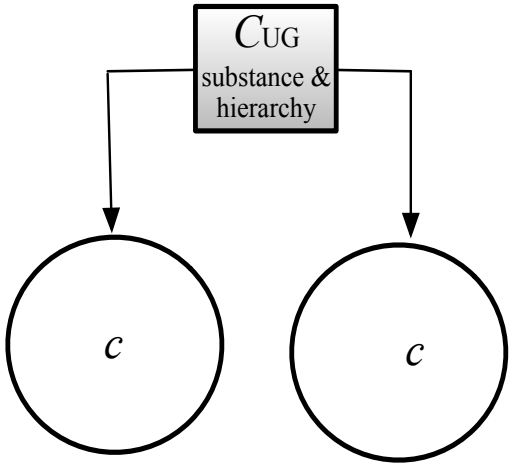


It is one of the goals of this monograph to start developing such a philosophical universal grammar based on insights rooted in the generative tradition. The USH is meant to provide a foundation for this endeavor. On the assumption that language-specific categories c are constructed (c = κ+UoL) the comparison among such categories brings about a new analytical challenge. We need to identify the ingredients of each category (UoL and κ) as well as the way these ingredients relate to each other: this comprises the structure of categories and provides the foundation for a formal typology. It is formal because it is based on the structure of categories, rather than their meaning. (Wiltschko 2014)

Comparing categories







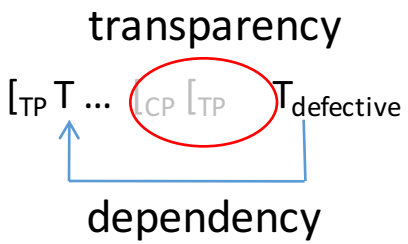
Comparing subjunctives across languages

A case study

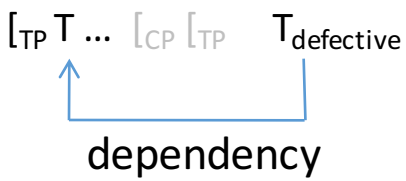
What is the categorial status of the subjunctive

- **A common analysis: tense based**
  - Subjunctive = defective TENSE
    - Via feature specification: [-Tense,+agr] (Picallo 1984, 1985)
  - Subjunctive = dependent TENSE
    - "tense" specification in the subjunctive does not introduce a *now* variable
    - It introduces a *dependent time* variable (Giannakidou 2009)

- **Correlates of defective tense**



Correlates of defective tense



Subjunctive "tense" specification depends on matrix tense

(1)a. *Sabia* *que telefona/* *telefonava* (Catalan)

Know.IMPF.1SG that phone.IND.PRS.3SG/phone.IND.IMPF.3SG

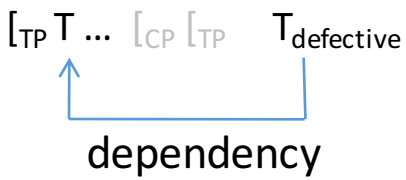
'I knew that s/he calls/that she used to call.'

b. *Desitjja* *que telefoni/* **telefonés*

Desire.PRS.3SG that phone.SUB.PRS.3SG/phone.SUB.IMPF.3SG

'S/he wishes that s/he calls/called.' Quer 2006 (2)

Correlates of defective tense



No independent temporal reference

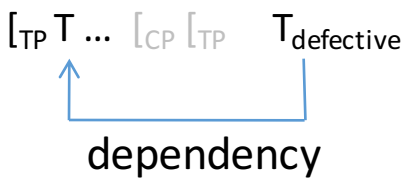
(1)**O eaftos to arxizi na ton anisixi* ***avrio*** (Greek)

the self his-NOM begin-3SG SUBJ PC worry.3SG tomorrow

'He started being worried about himself tomorrow.'

(Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, 30b)

Correlates of defective tense



Subjunctive may not be used in matrix clause

(1) a. * *Daniel haya llamado* (Catalan)
Daniel call.SUB.PERF.3SG
'Daniel has called (SUB).'

b. * *Ahir plogués*
Yesterday rain.SUB.IMPF.3SG
'Yesterday it rained (SUB).' Quer 2006 (3)

Correlates of defective tense

transparency

$[_{TP}\ T \ldots [_{CP}\ [_{TP}\ \ ]\ T_{defective}$

(Some) subjunctives trigger obviation effects

(1)a. **Queremos$_i$ que ganemos$_i$* (Spanish)

want.1PL that win.SUB.PRS.1PL

'We want to win.'

b. *Queremos$_i$ que ganen$_k$*

want.1PL that win.SUB.PRS.3PL

'We want them to win.' (Quer 2006 (29))

Correlates of defective tense

transparency

$[_{TP}\ T \ldots [_{CP}\ [_{TP}\ \ T_{defective}$

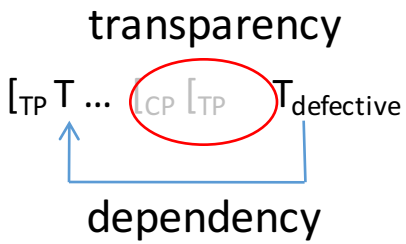
(Some) subjunctives allow for long distance anaphors

(2)a. *Jón$_i$ veit að Pétur$_j$ rakar sig$_{*i/j}$*
Jón know.3SG that Pétur shave.IND.3SG self
'Jón knows that Pétur shaves himself.'

b. *Jón$_i$ segir að Pétur$_j$ raki sig$_{i/j}$*
Jón say.3SG that Pétur shave.SUB.3SG self
'Jón says that Pétur shaves himself.' (Quer 2006 (29))

Evaluating the defective tense analysis

Correlates of defective tense

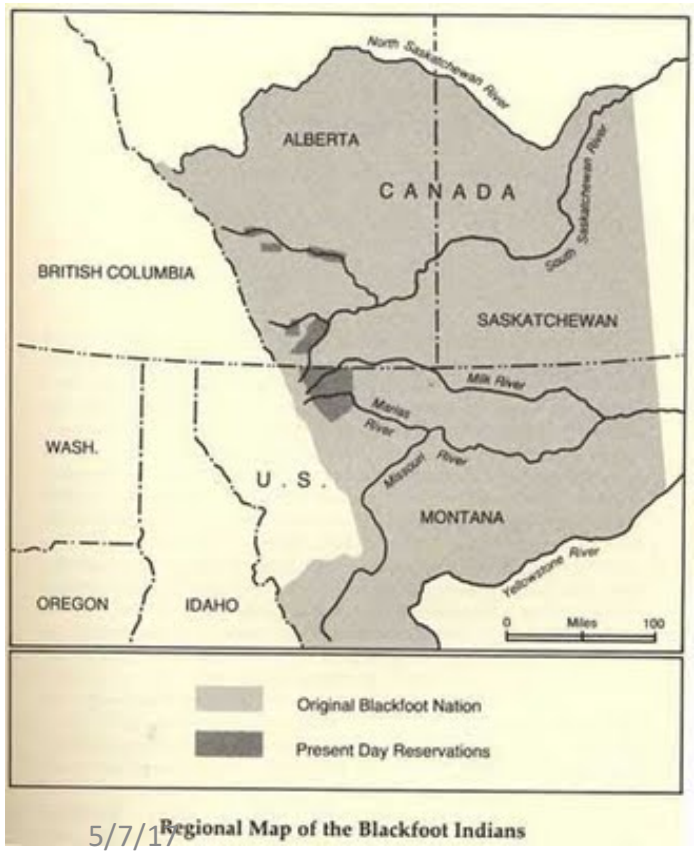


- Subjunctive "tense" specification depends on matrix tense
- No independent temporal reference
- Subjunctive may not be used in matrix clause
- (Some) subjunctives trigger obviation effects
- (Some) subjunctives allow for long distance anaphors

If subjunctives are defined by 'defective tense' then what about subjunctives in tenseless languages?

Subjunctives in tenseless languages

Blackfoot (Algonquian)



Regional Map of the Blackfoot Indians

Subjunctive

(1) *Ikkamáyo'kainoainiki, nitáakahkayi*

ikkam-á-yo'kaa-inoainiki nit-yáak-wa:hkayi

if-DUR-sleep(AI)-2P.SUBJ 1-FUT-go.home

'If you are sleeping, I'll go home.'

Subjunctives in tenseless languages

Halkomelem (Salish)

Subjunctive

(1) *éwe-tsel lí-**l** tl'íls-th-òmè*

NEG-1SG.S AUX-1SG.SUBJ want-TR-2SG.O

'I don't like you.'

(2)*we-lám-**àl***

if-go-1SG.SUBJ

'If I go…'

Galloway 1993: 184

Subjunctives in tenseless languages

Upper Austrian German

Subjunctive

(1) *Wonn a nua ham gang-at.*

If he only home go-SUBJ

'If only he went home.'

(2) *Ea hot gsogt….*

He has said….

… ea gan-at gean ham.

… he go-SUBJ preferably home

'He said he would like to go home.'

The syntax of tenselessness

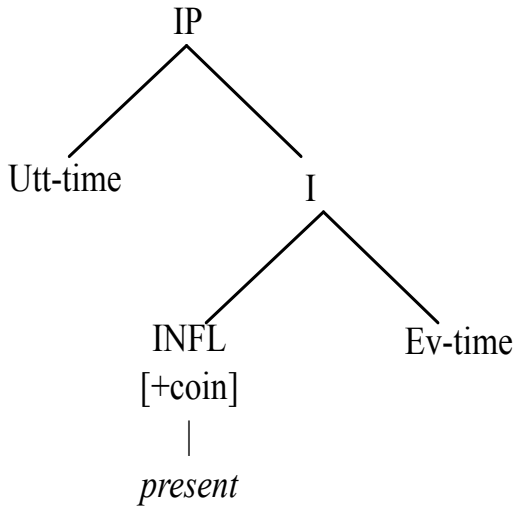
Ritter & Wiltschko 2009, 2012, 2014

- TENSE
- Tenseless languages
- Tenseless constructions

TENSE

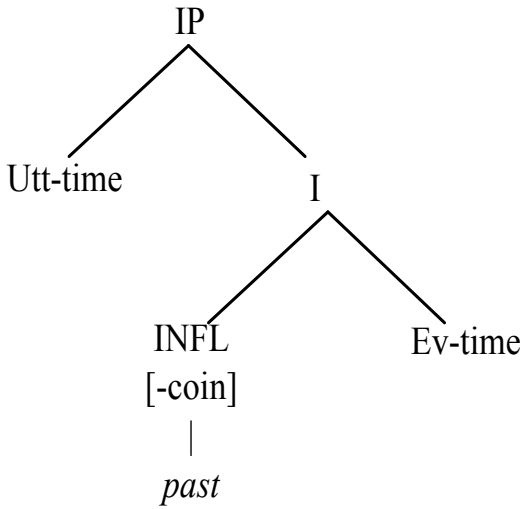
Present

(1) Yoshi likes his ball.



past

(2) Yoshi lik-ed his ball.



TENSE orders the event time relative to the utterance time

Demirdache & Uribe Etxebarria 1997
Ritter & Wiltschko 2009, 2012

Tenseless languages

Blackfoot

… is tenseless

(1)*Oma pita a-ipaawani*
3DEM eagle IMPF-fly.up
'That eagle is/was flying up.'
(Reis Silva and Matthewson 2007: (8))

Ritter & Wiltschko 2004, 2005, 2009, 2012

Halkomelem

… is tenseless

(1)a. ***í-lh*** *qw'eyílex tútl'ò*
AUX-PAST dance he
'He was dancing'

b. ***í*** *qw'eyílex tútl'ò*
AUX dance he
'He is/was dancing.'

Wiltschko 2003

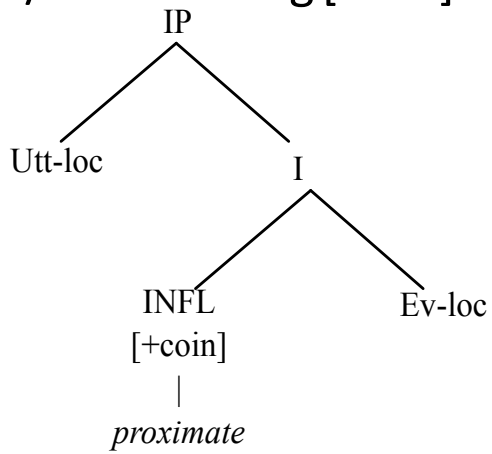
Halkomelem uses LOCATION

proximate

a.***í*** *qw'eyílex tútl'ò*

PROX dance he

'He is/was dancing [here]'

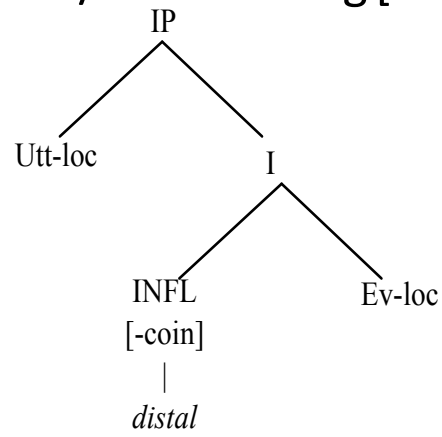


distal

b.***lí*** *qw'eyílex tútl'ò*

DIST dance he

'He is/was dancing [there].'



LOCATION marking orders the event location relative to the utterance location

Blackfoot uses PERSON

Local person

(1) *Kitsinóóhpoaawa*

kit-ino-o-**hp**-oaawa

2-see-1:2-**local**-2PL

'I saw you (PL).'

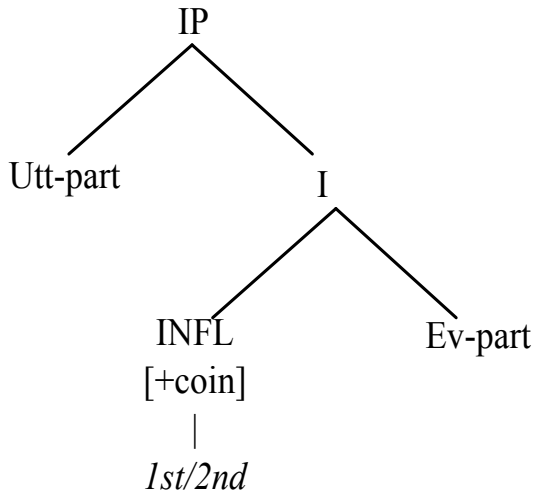
Non-local (3rd) person

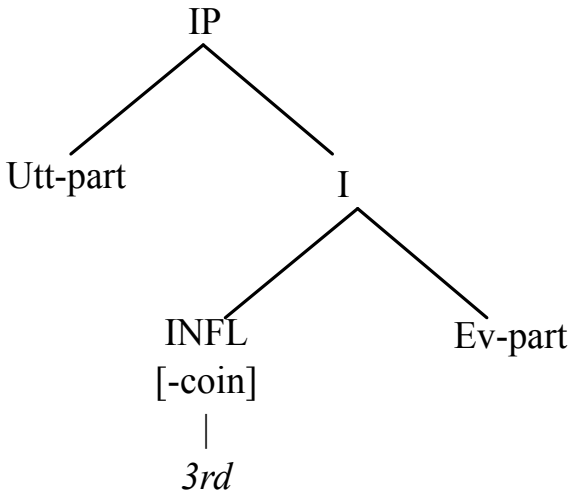
(2) *Ana póókaawa inoyííwa ani imitááyi*

an-(w)a pookaa-wa ino-yii-**Ø**-wa an-(y)i imitaa-yi

DEM-PROX child-PROX see-DIR-**3**-PROX DEM-OBV dog-OBV

'The child saw the dog'



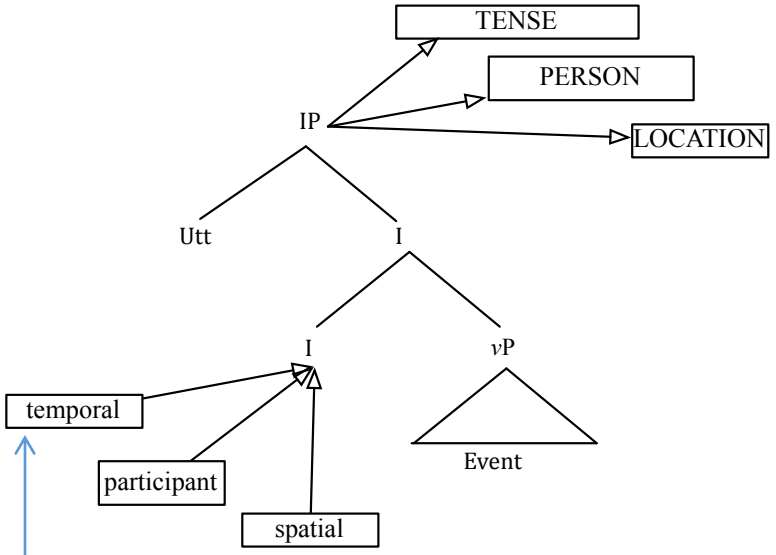


PARTICIPANT marking orders the event participant relative to the utterance participant

TENSE

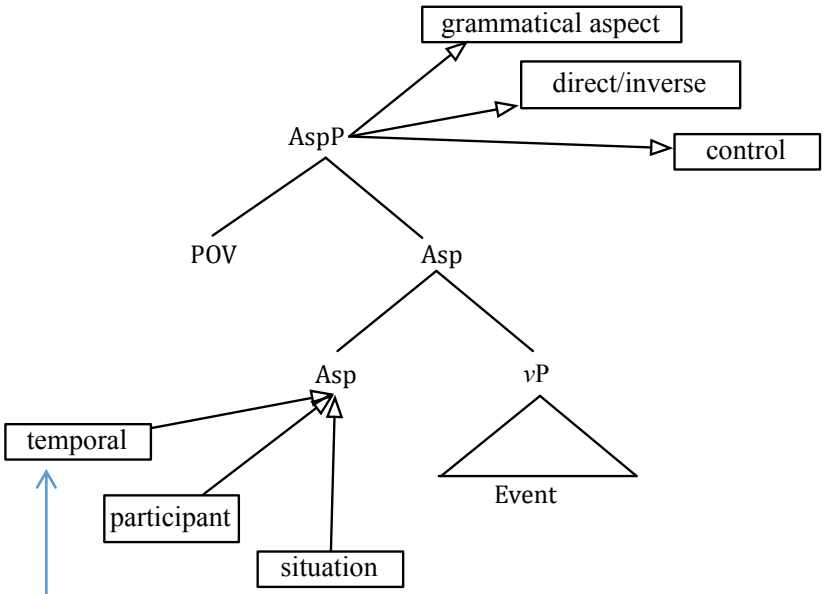
3 Guises of INFL

Ritter & Wiltschko 2009, 2011



3 Guises of Viewpoint aspect

Wiltschko 2012

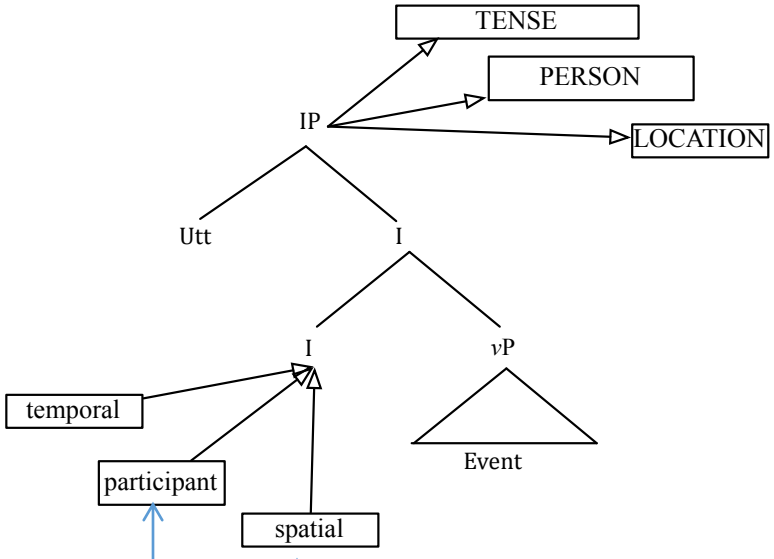


"tensed" languages

TENSELESS languages

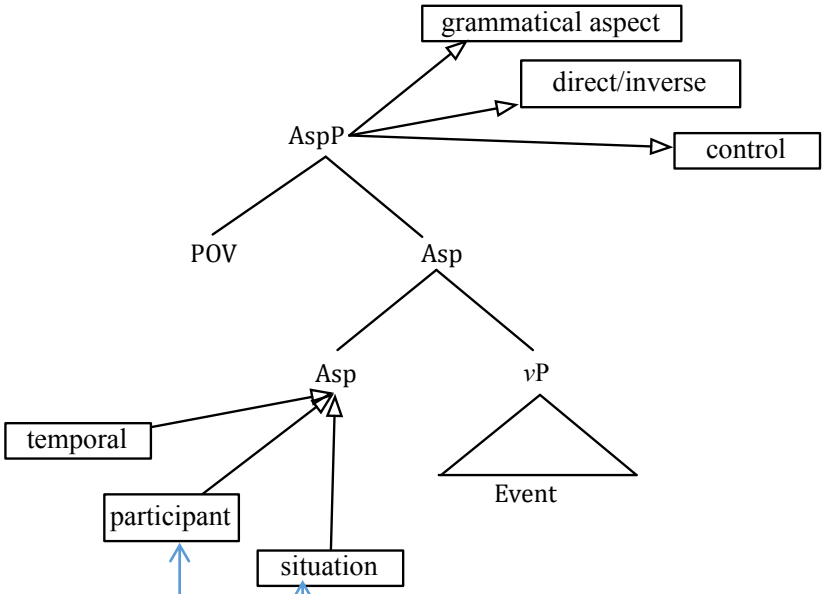
3 Guises of INFL

Ritter & Wiltschko 2009, 2011



3 Guises of Viewpoint aspect

Bliss, Ritter & Wiltschko 2012,

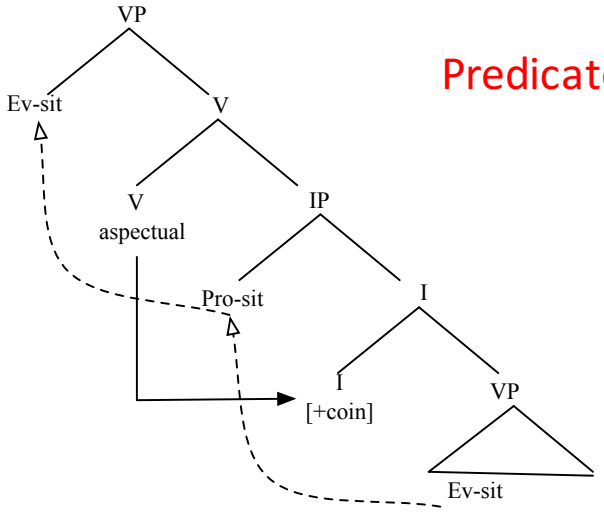


Tenseless languages

TENSELESS constructions

Simultaneous infinitives

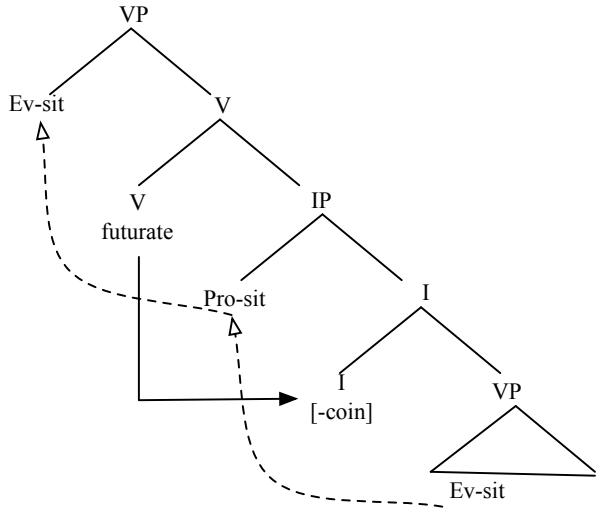
(1)*Yoshi is starting to play*



Predicate valuation

Future irrealis infinitives

(2) *Yoshi wants to play.*

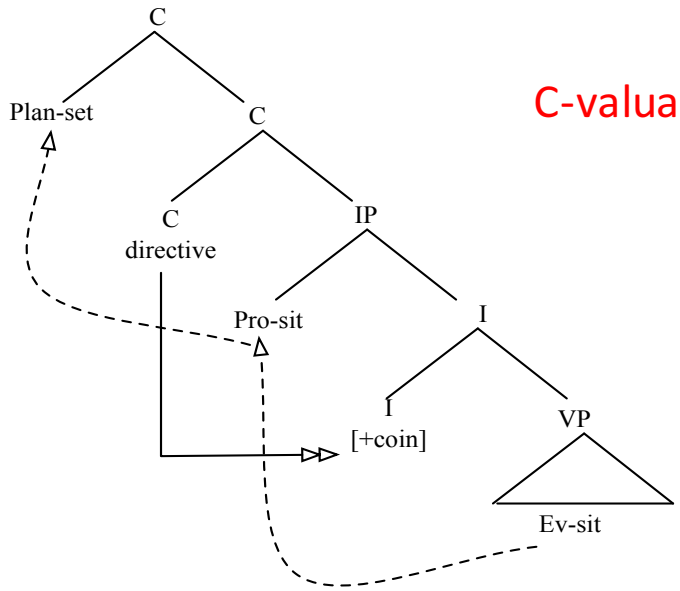


[*u* coin] in INFL is valued by the matrix predicate

TENSELESS constructions

Imperative

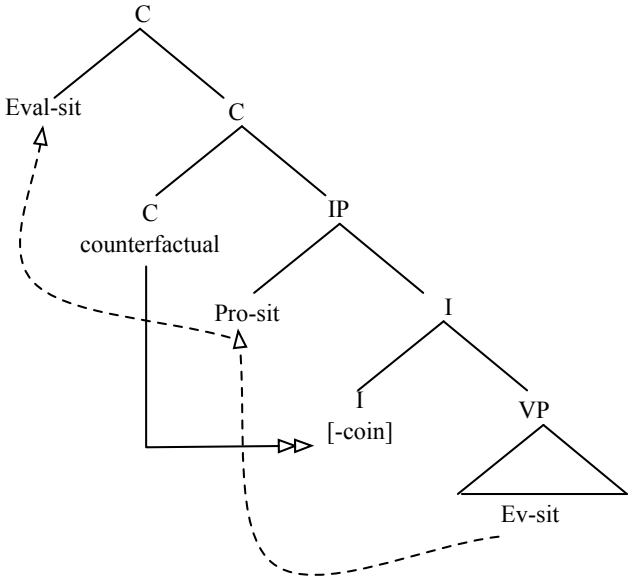
(1) *(You) be quiet!*



C-valuation

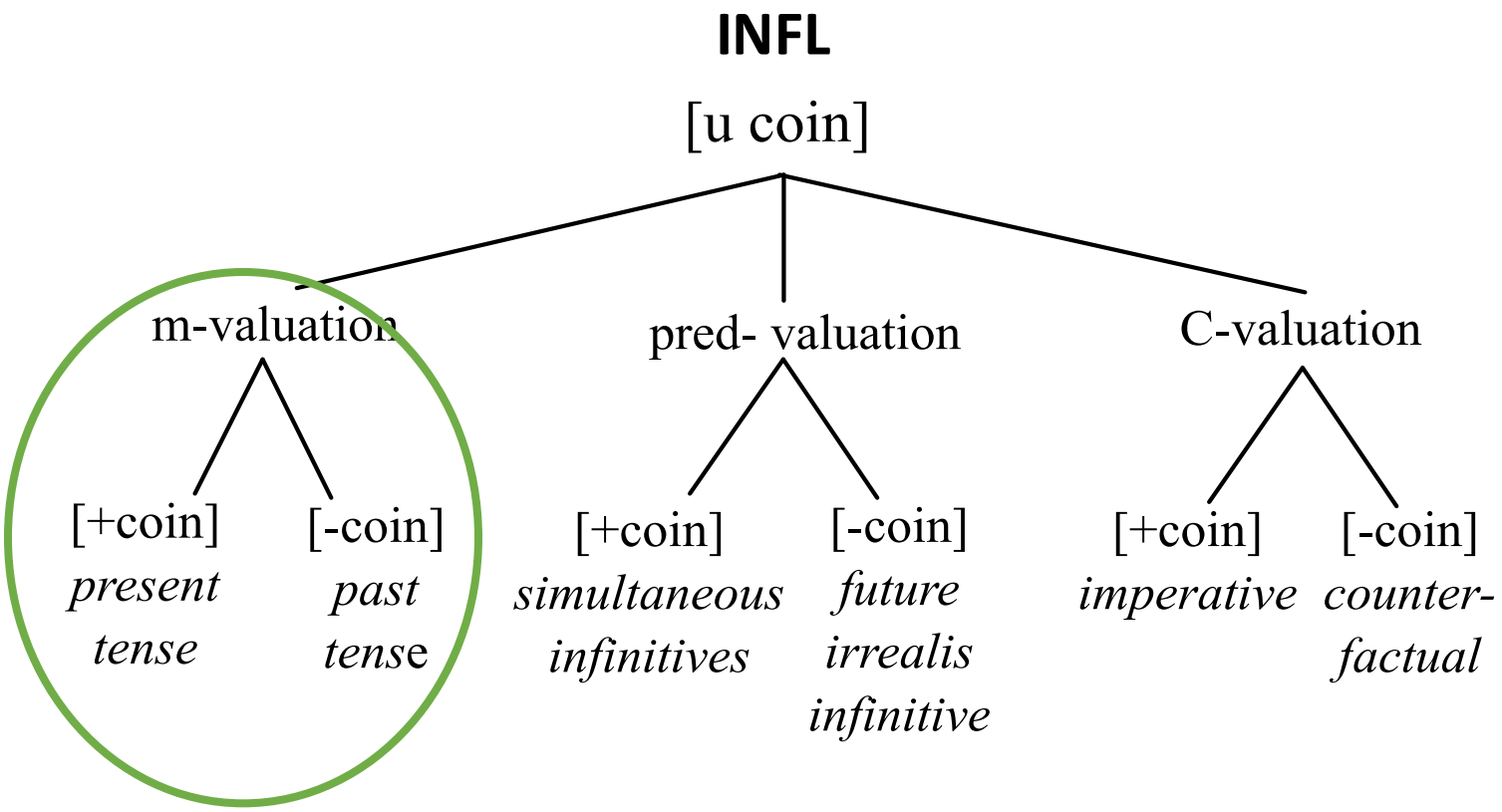
Counterfactual

(2) *If I had a car right now, I would drive*



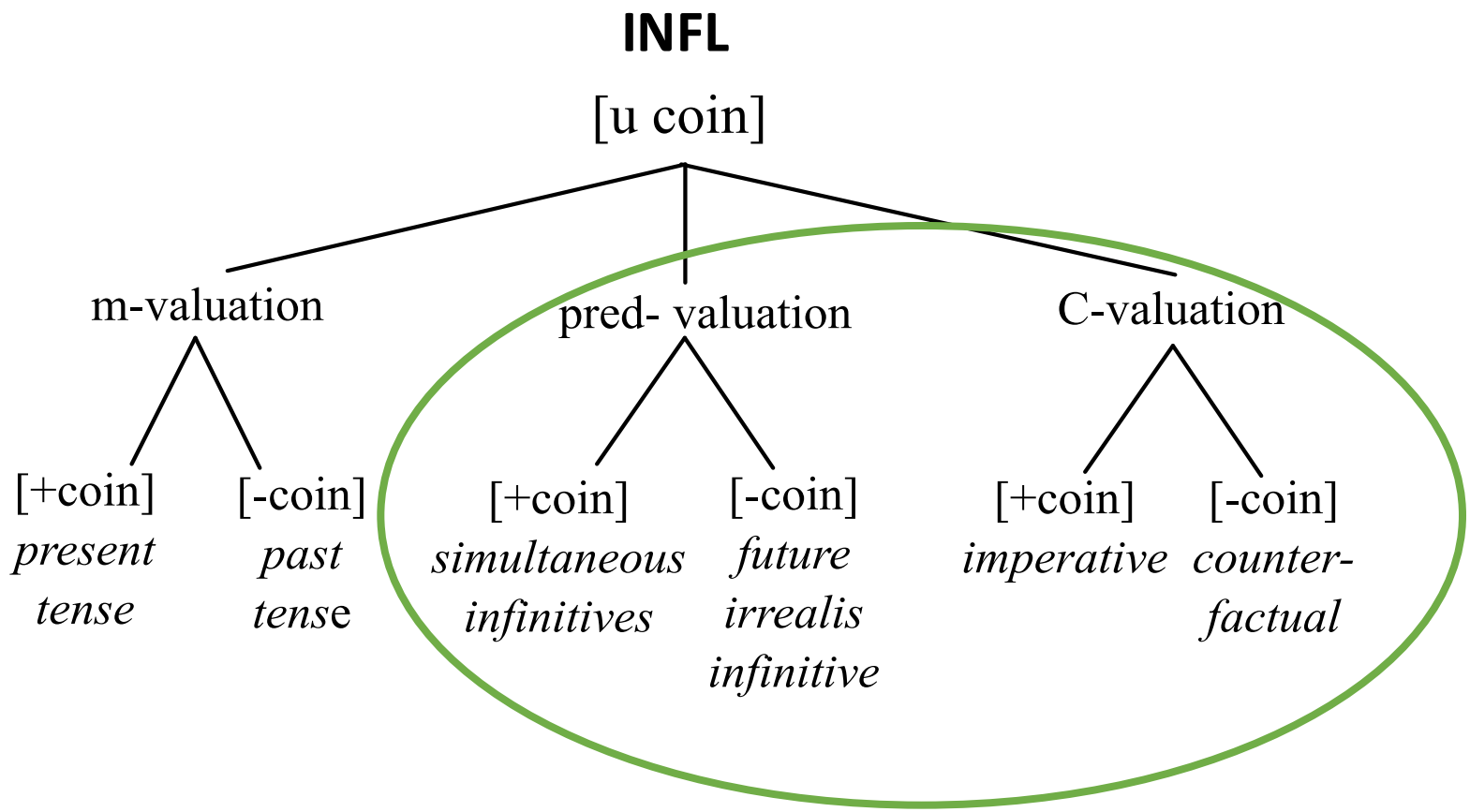
[*u* coin] in INFL is valued by the higher functional head

TENSE



Tensed clauses

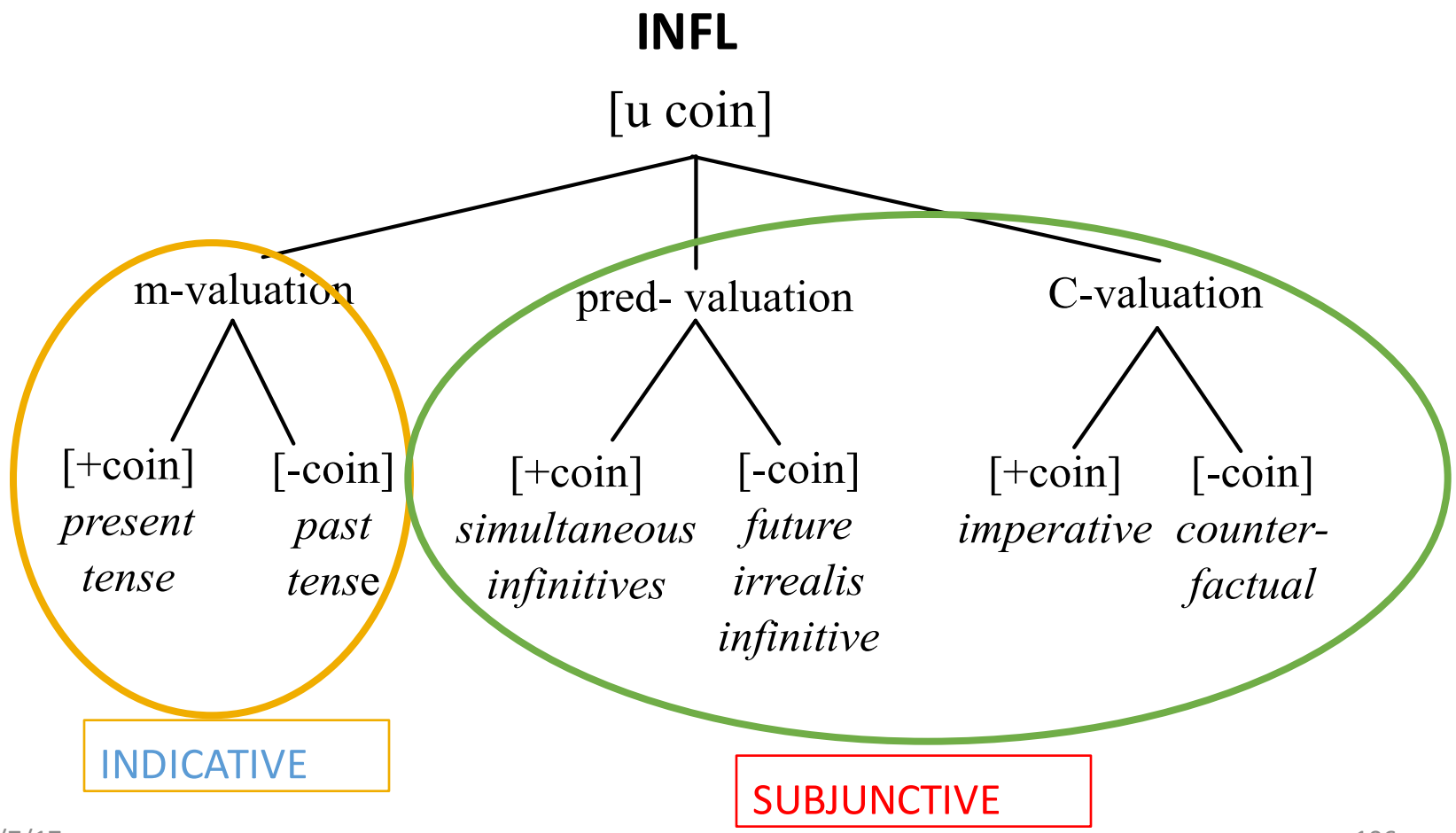
Tenseless constructions



The subjunctive in Cypriot Greek

Christodoulou & Wiltschko 2012

The subjunctive in Cypriot Greek



Subjunctive in Cypriot Greek

Dependent clause with simultaneous event

(1) *O Kostas arxis-e* ***na*** *pez-i kithara.*
DET Costa start.PRF-PAST.3SG SUBJ PLAY.IMPF-PRES.3SG guitar
'Costa has started playing the guitar.'

(2) *Katafer-a* ***na*** *parados -o ti diatriv-I mu.*
manage. PRF-PAST.1SG SUBJ submit.PRF-DEP.1SG *DET* *dissertation* I.GEN
'I managed to submit my dissertation.'

Dependent clause with future irrealis event

(1) *thel-is* ***na*** *par-ume lig-a fruta?*
want.IMPF-PRES.2SG SUBJ take.PRF-DEP.1PL little-AGR fruit
'Would you like us to (also) get some fruit?'

Subjunctive in Cypriot Greek

Command

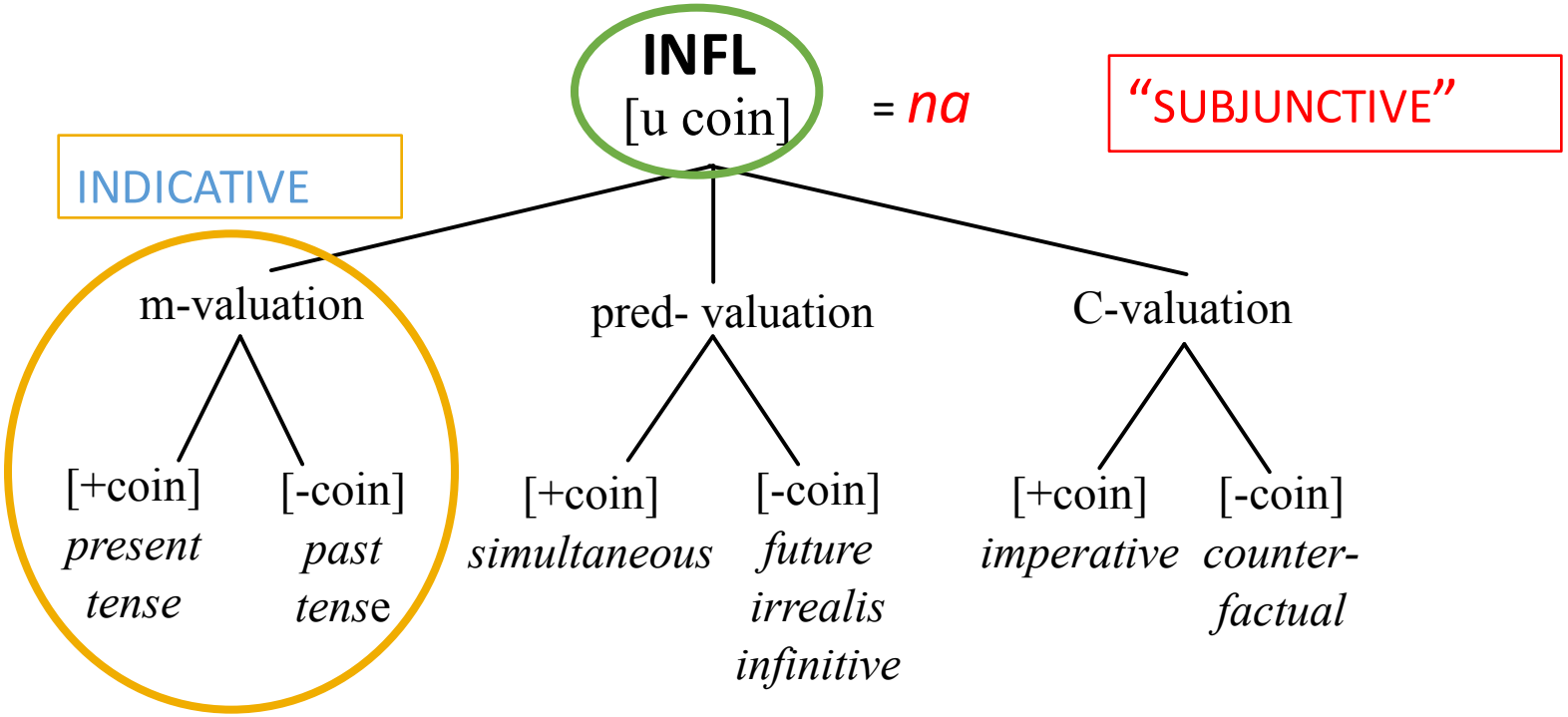
(1) ***Na*** *mas* *graf-ete*
SUBJ 1.PL.GEN write.IMPF-PRES-2PL
'(Do) write to us (regularly)!'

(2) ***Na*** *mas* *graps-ete*
SUBJ 1.PL.GEN write.PRF-DEP.3PL
'(Do) write to us!'

Conditional

(2) *An/as kerdiz -es to laxio* ***na*** *anakeniz-es to spiti.*
IF/COND win.IMPF-PAST.2SG DET lottery SUBJ renovate.IMPF-PAST.2SG DET house
'If you had won the lottery, you would have been able to renovate the house.'

The subjunctive in Cypriot Greek



Subjunctive is the traditional label for one of the possible values of the grammatical category 'mood' (in some grammatical traditions also known as 'conjunctive'). It minimally contrasts with the mood category displayed in main assertive clauses, namely indicative. It mostly surfaces in subordinate clauses (Gr. hypotaktiké *'subordinated'), but independent uses of subjunctive are attested as well.*

Quer 2006

Subjunctive in Upper Austrian German

- Upper Austrian German is tenseless
- Upper Austrian German has a subjunctive
- The subjunctive in Upper Austrian German values INFL
- Predictions

Upper Austrian is tenseless

Unmarked forms are compatible with present, past and future

(1) PRESENT

a. *I **kum** grod ham*
I come now home
'I am coming home right now'

b. *I bin grod am ham kuma*
I am now at home coming
'I am coming home right now'

(2) PAST

a. *I **kum** gestan ham*
I come yesterday home
'I came home yesterday.'

b. *I bin gestan ham kuma*
I am yesterday home come
'I came home yesterday.'

(3) FUTURE

a. *I **kum** moagn ham*
I come tomorrow home
'I will come home tomorrow.'

b. *I wead moagn ham kuma*
I will tomorrow home come
'I will come home tomorrow.'

Upper Austrian is tenseless

Upper Austrian has no morphological form for past

Standard German

	PRESENT	*SIMPLE PAST	**PRESENT PERFECT**	PRESENT	SIMPLE PAST	PRESENT PERFECT
1sg	*I kum*	**I kam*	*I bin kuma*	*Ich komm-e*	*Ich kam*	*Ich bin gekommen*
2sg	*Du kum-st*	**Du kam-st*	*Du bist kuma*	*Du komm-st*	*Du kam-st*	*Du bist gekommen*
3sg	*Ea kum-t*	**Ea kam*	*Ea is kuma*	*Er komm-t*	*Er kam*	*Er ist gekommen*
1pl	*Mia kum-en*	**Mia kam-en*	*Mia san kuma*	*Wir komm-en*	*Wir kam-en*	*Wir sind gekommen*
2pl	*Ia kum-ts*	**Ia kam-ts*	*Ia sats kuma*	*Ihr komm-t*	*Ihr kam-t*	*Ihr seid gekommen*
3pl	*Si kum-en*	**Si kam-en*	*Si san kuma*	*Sie komm-en*	*Sie kam-en*	*Sie sind gekommen*

Upper Austrian has a subjunctive

Strong verbs

	PRESENT	*SIMPLE PAST	SUBJUNCTIVE A:	SUBJUNCTIVE B:
1sg	*I kum*	**I kam*	*I kam*	*I kam-**at***
2sg	*Du kum-st*	**Du kam-st*	*Du kam-st*	*Du kam-**at**-st*
3sg	*Ea kum-t*	**Ea kam*	*Ea kam*	*Ea kam-**at***
1pl	*Mia kum-en*	**Mia kam-en*	*?Mia kam-en*	*Wia kam-**at**-n*
2pl	*Ia kum-ts*	**Ia kam-ts*	*Ia kam-ts*	*Ia kam-**at**-ts*
3pl	*Si kum-en*	**Si kam-en*	*?Si kam-en*	*Si kam-**at**-n*

So as to compensate for this temporal-modal ambiguity, modern standard German has developed a compound past subjunctive würde(-) *+ infinitive, the past subjunctive form of the compound future tense. In spoken German in particular, this construction tends to be used instead of regular past forms like* lebte *in past subjunctive functions and instead of uncolloquial 'synthetic' past subjunctives of cerain strong verbs.* Fabricius Hansen & Sæbø (2004: 216)

Upper Austrian has a subjunctive

Weak verbs

	PRESENT	*SIMPLE PAST	*SUBJUNCTIVE A	SUBJUNCTIVE B:
1sg	*I koch*	**I koch-te*	n/a	*I koch-**at***
2sg	*Du koch-st*	**Du koch-te-st*		*Du koch-**at**-st*
3sg	*Ea koch-t*	**Ea koch-te*		*Ea koch-**at***
1pl	*Mia koch-en*	**Mia koch-te-en*		*Wia koch-**at**-n*
2pl	*Ia koch-ts*	**Ia koch-te-ts*		*Ia koch-**at**-ts*
3pl	*Si koch-en*	**Si koch-te-en*		*Si koch-**at**-n*

,

Upper Austrian has a subjunctive

Reported speech

(1) *Da Hons hot gsagt dass d'Maria kam-at*

DET Hans has said that DET-Maria come.SUBJ-SUBJ

'Hans said that Maria would come.' (Speaker has some doubt)

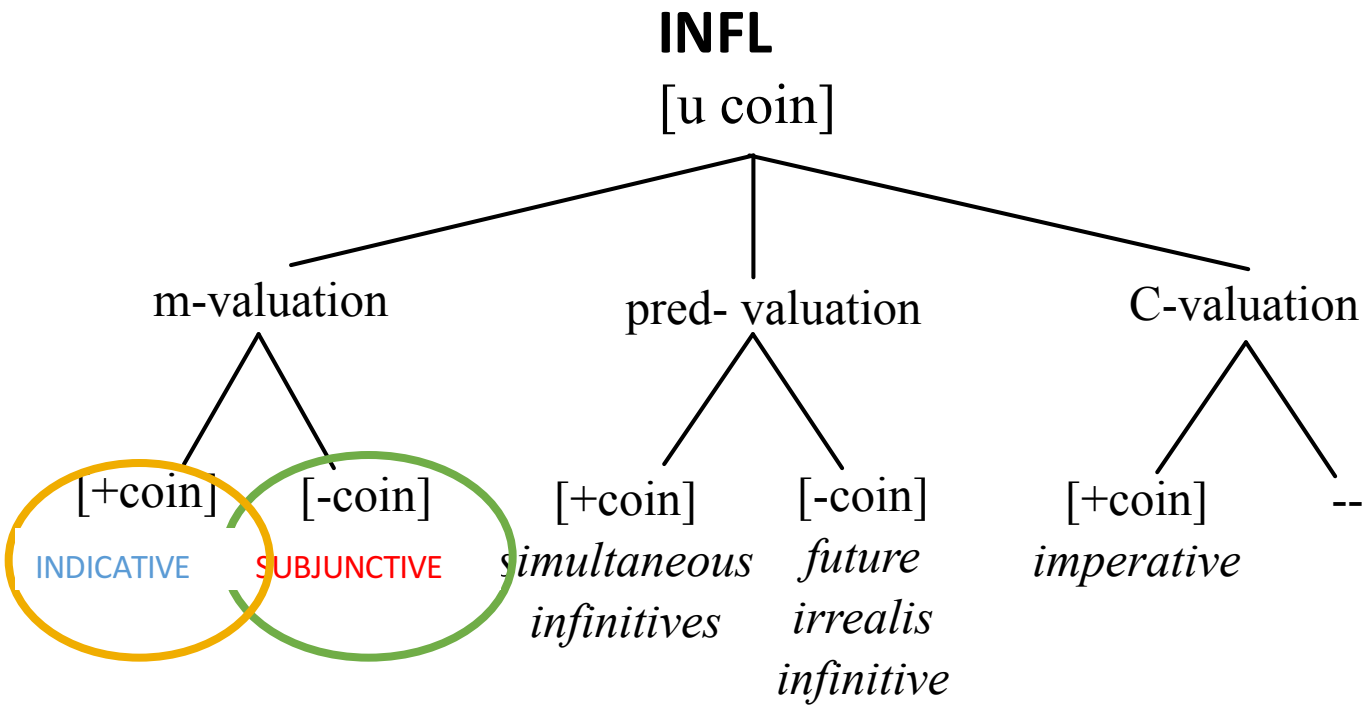
Optative

(2) *Wonn a nua ham gang-at.*

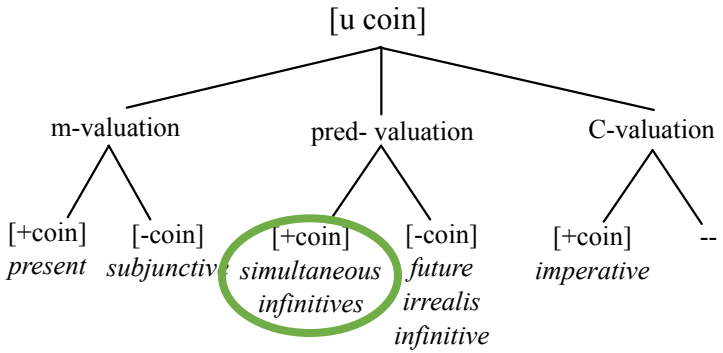
If he only home go-SUBJ

'If only he went home.'

The subjunctive values INFL



Predictions



Simultaneous events

(1) a. *Da Hons vasuacht dass a kocht* — *finite indicative*

b. **Da Hons vasuacht dass a kocht-at* — *finite subjunctive*

DET Hans tries that he today cook(subj*)*

'Hans promises to cook today.'

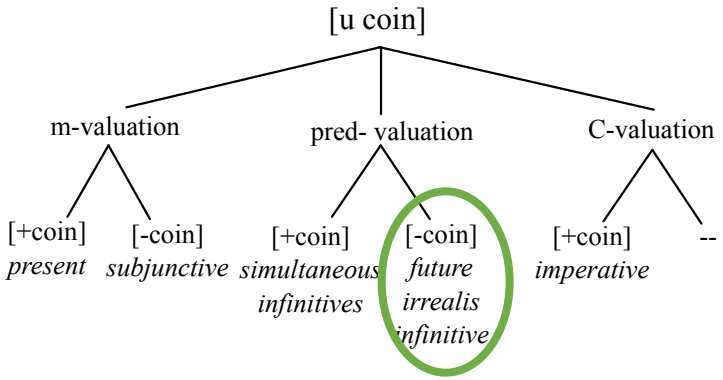
(2) a. *Da Hons fongt on zum kochn* — *zum infinitive*

DET Hans starts to cook

b. *Da Hons vasuacht zum kochn* — *zum infinitive*

DET Hans tries to cook

Predictions



- **Future oriented**

(1) a. *Da Hons vaspricht dass a heit koch-t* — *finite indicative*

b. **Da Hons vaspricht dass a heit koch-at* — *finite subjunctive*

DET Hans promises that he today cook(subj*)*

'Hans promises to cook today.'

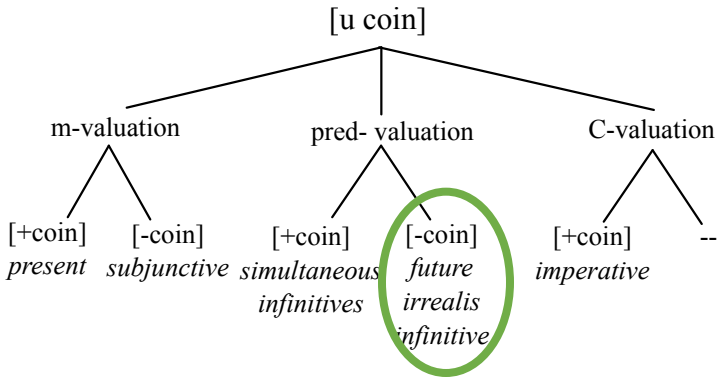
(2) a. *Da Hons wue heid kochn* — *bare infinitive*

b. *Da Hons mecht heid kochn* — *bare infinitive*

DET Hans wants today cook

'Hans promises to cook today.'

Predictions



- **Imperative**

(1) a. *Koch heit bitte.*
cook.IMP today please.
'Cook today, please!'

b.**Koch-at heit bitte*
cook-SUBJ today please.

(2) *Koch-at-st du heit bitte?*
cook-SUBJ-2SG you today please

Predictions

Subjunctive *–at* associates with INFL

(1)a. *wonn-st kumm-st*

if-2SG come-2SG

'if you come….'

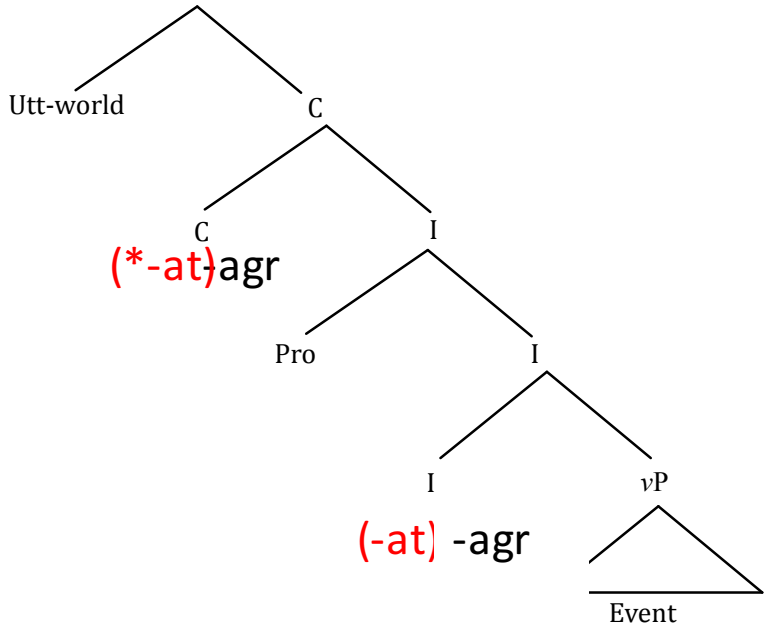
b. *wonn-st kumm-at-st*

if-2SG come-SUBJ-2SG

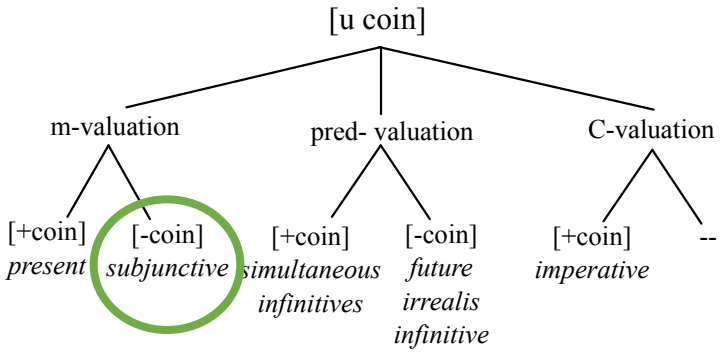
'if you came….'

(2)a. **wonn-at-st kumm-st*

b. **wonn-at-st kumm-at-st*



Predictions



- Subjunctive behaves like an "indicative" clause
  - No dependency effects
  - No transparency effects

Predictions

Subjunctive "tense" specification does not depend on matrix tense

(1) a. *Ea hot gsogt, du kumm-at-st.*
He has said.PERF you come-SUBJ-AGR
'He said you would come.'

b. *Ea hot gsogt, du war-at-st kumma*
He has said.PERF you was-SUBJ-AGR come.PART
'He said you would have come.'

c. *Ea hot gsogt, du wuat-at-st kumma.*
He has said.PERF you will-SUBJ-AGR come.PART
'He said you would come.'

Subjunctives allow for independent temporal reference

(2) *Ea hot gestan gsogt dass a moagn hamgang-at.*
he has yesterday said that he tomorrow home go-SUBJ
'He said yestereday that he would go home tomorrow.'

Predictions

Subjunctives does not trigger obviation effects

(1) *Ea vasuach-(at)t (eh) dass a gwinn-at*

He try-SUBJ PRT that he win-SUBJ

'He is trying to win.'

The subjunctive does not allow for long distance anaphors

(2) a. *Da Hons$_j$ hot gsagt dass da Peda$_i$ si$_{i/*j}$ rasiert.*

DET H has said that DET peter REFL shave

'Hans said that Peter shaved himself.'

b. *Da Hons$_j$ hot gsagt dass da Peda$_i$ si$_{i/*j}$ rasier-at.*

DET H has said that DET peter REFL shave-SUBJ

'Hans said that Peter would shave himself.'

Predictions

Subjunctive may be used in matrix clause

(1) a. *Ea ruafat o.*
He call-SUBJ PRT
'He (would) call.'

b. *Ea hed(-at) o-gruafn*.
He had-SUBJ PRT-call.PART
'He would have call.'

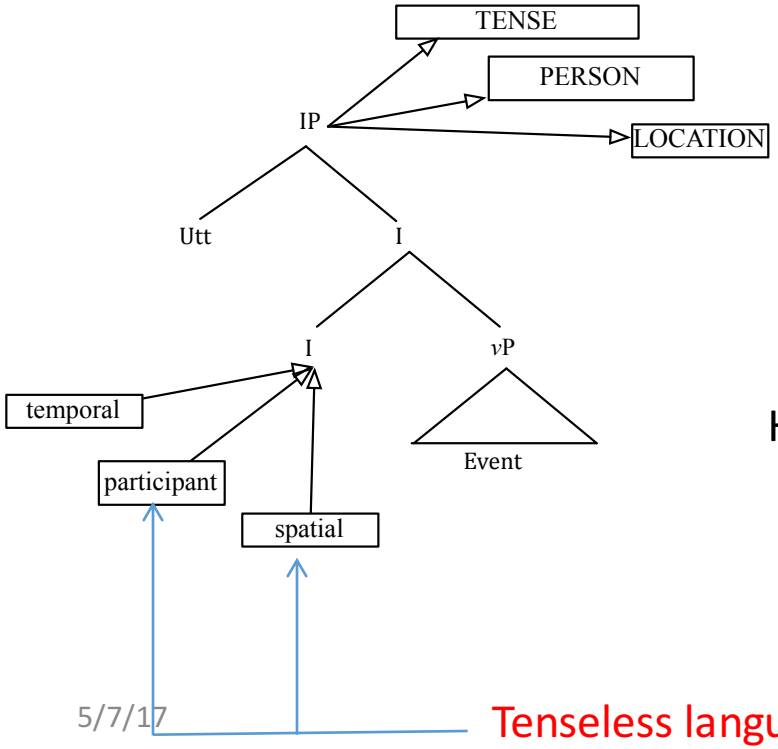
(2) a. *Es regn-at.*
it rain-SUBJ
'It would rain.'

b. *Es hed(-at) gregnt.*
it had-SUBJ rain.PART
'It would have rained.'

The UAG subjunctive values INFL

3 Guises of INFL

Ritter & Wiltschko 2009, 2011



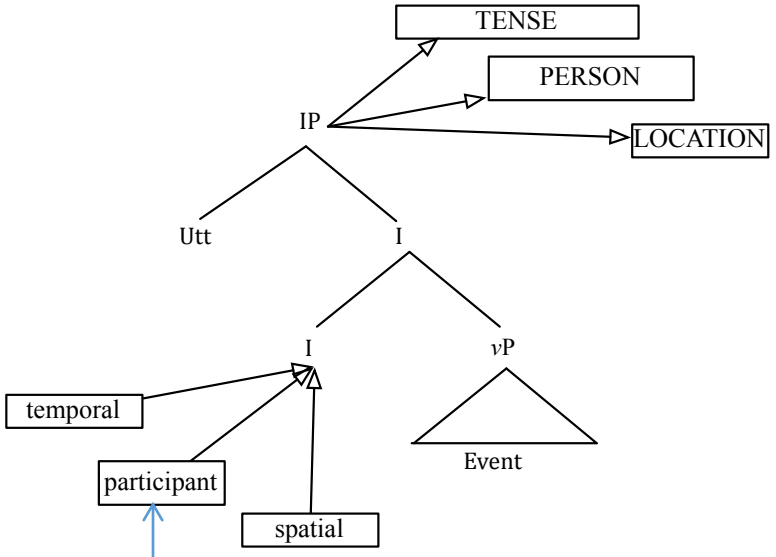
How does Upper Austrian fit into this typology?

Tenseless languages

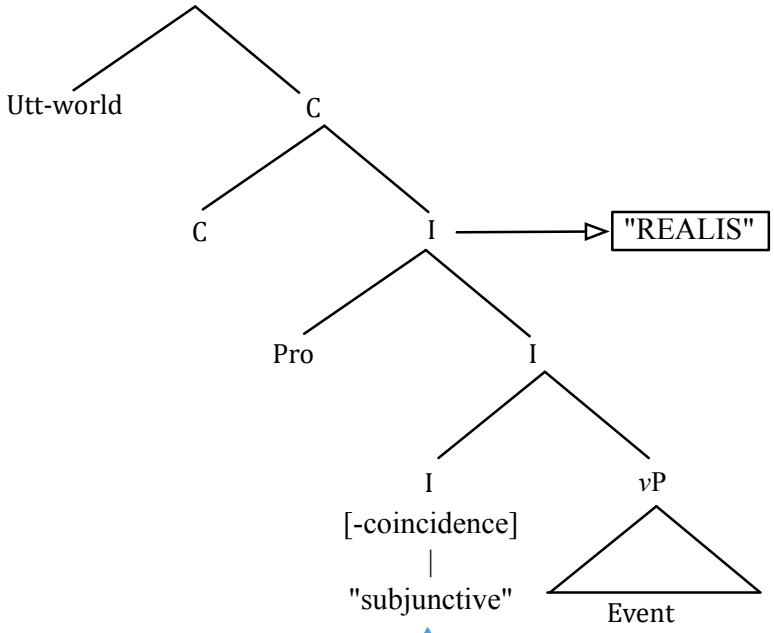
The UAG subjunctive values INFL

3 Guises of INFL

Ritter & Wiltschko 2009, 2011



Another guise of INFL



Tenseless languages

Subjunctive in other tenseless languages

- Halkomelem
- Blackfoot

Halkomelem subjunctive

form

	INDICATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE
1sg	*li* ***tsel*** *t'ilem*	*… li-**l** t'ilem*
2sg	*li-**chexw** t'ilem*	*… li-**xw** t'ilem*
3sg	*li t'ilem*	*… li-**s** t'ilem*
1pl	*li-**tset** t'ilem*	*… li-**t** t'ilem*
2pl	*li-**chap** t'ilem*	*… li-**p** t'ilem*
3pl	*li t'ilem*	*… li-**s** t'ilem*

Distribution

(1) *éwe-tsel lí-**l** tl'íls-th-òmè*

neg-1sg.s aux-1sg.subj want-trans-2sg.o

'I don't like you.'

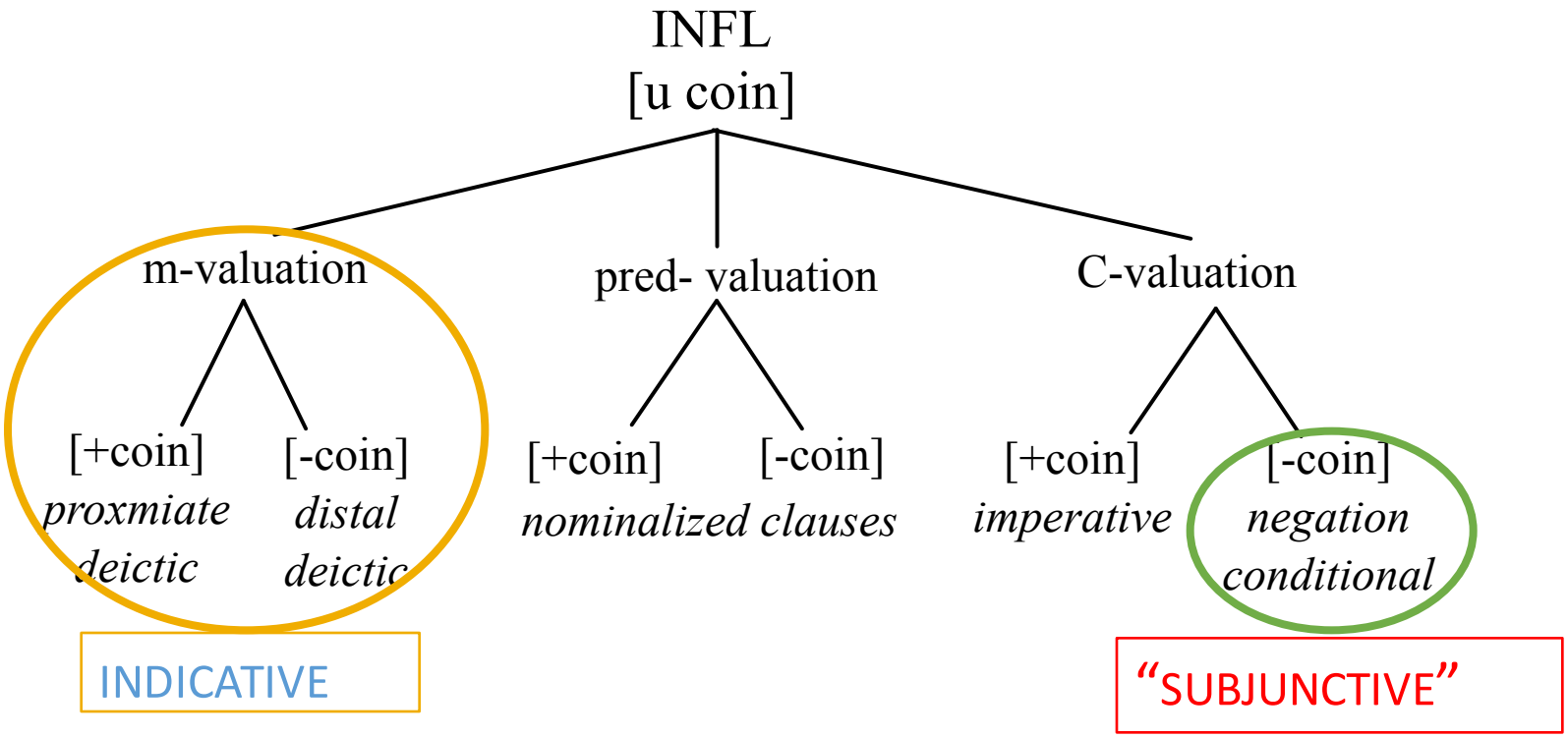
(2)*we-lám-**àl***

if-go-1sg.subj

'If I go…'

Galloway 1993: 184

Halkomelem subjunctive



Blackfoot subjunctive

Subjunctive mode (from Frantz 1991: 113)

(1) with suppositional antecedent (usually with prefix *ikkam* 'if')

Ikkamáyo'kainoainiki, nitáakahkayi

ikkam-á-yo'kaa-inoainikinit-yáak-wa:hkayi

if-dur-sleep(AI)-2p(subj)1-fut-goˆhome

'If you are sleeping, I'll go home.'

Blackfoot subjunctive

Subjunctive mode (from Frantz 1991: 113)

(1) temporal "when" clauses which refer to the future or generic;

a. ***Áótooyiniki*** *áakitsoyo'pa*

a'-o'too-yiniki yáák-it-Ioyi-o'pa

inchoat-arrive(AI)-1s/2s(subj) fut-then-eat(AI)-21

'When you/I arrive, (then we'll eat.'

b. ***Aisóótaasi,*** *áakitsipiuimmiaawa*

a'-sootaa-si yáak-it-IpiiM:-yi-aawa

inchoat-rain(II)-in.s(subj) future-then-enter-3p-PRO

'When it rains, they will go in.'

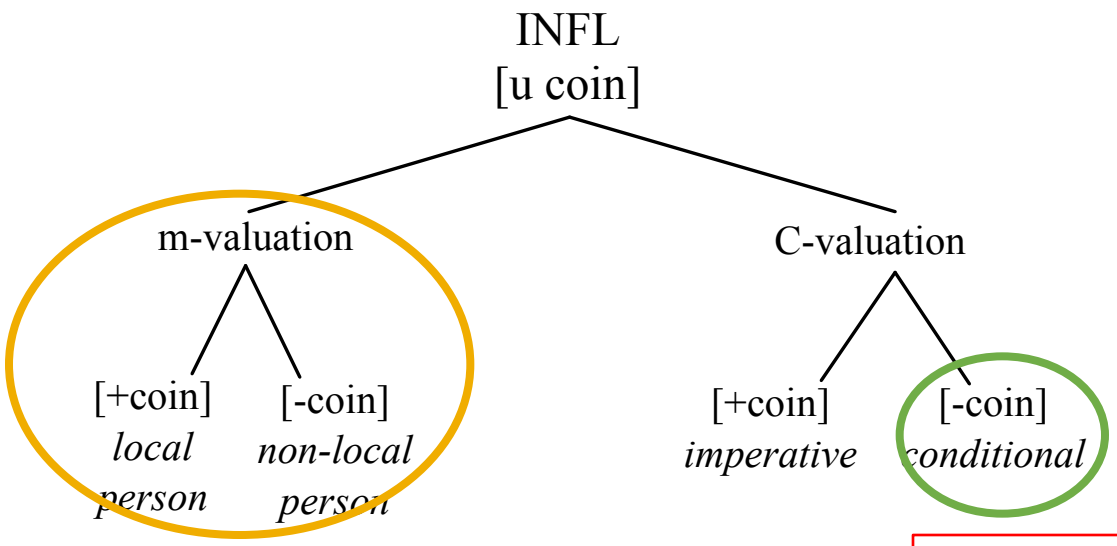
c. *kanáísootaasi, itáípiimma*

kan-á-isootaa-si it-á-IpiiM:-wa

all-dur-rain(II)-3s(subj) then-dur-enter-3s

'Whenever it rains,he goes in.'

Blackfoot subjunctive

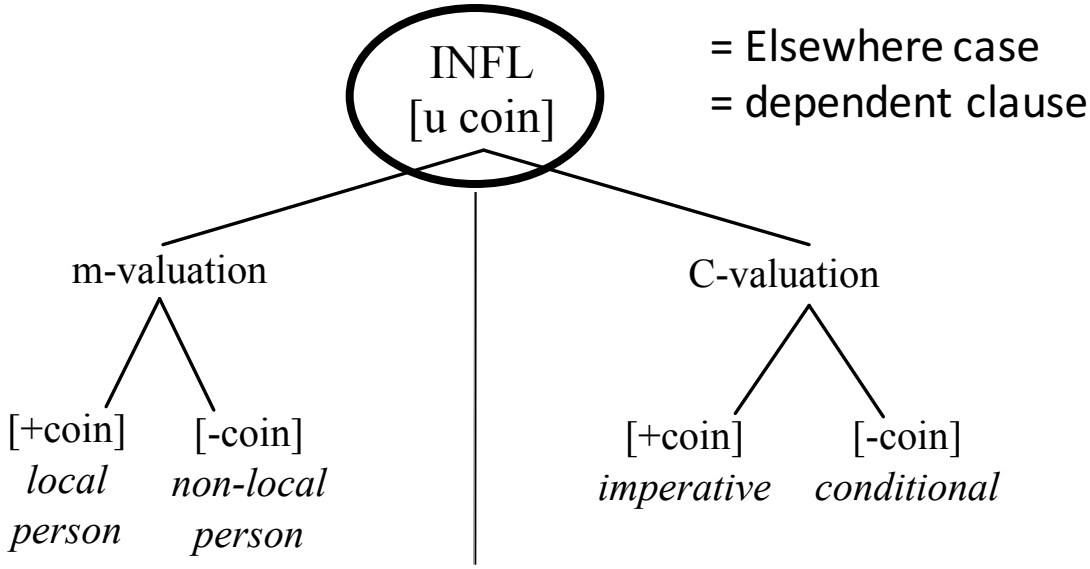


INDICATIVE

"SUBJUNCTIVE"

	INDEPENDENT MODE			IMPERATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE MODE		
	VAI	VTA	VTI		VAI	VTA	VTI
1	*…hp*	*…hp*	*…hp*	--	*…in*	*-in*	*…mminn*
2	*…hp*	*…hp*	*…hp*	*…t*	*…in*	*-in*	*…mminn*
21=X	*…o'p*	*-Ø*	*-'p*	--	*…o'*	*-i'ki*	*…i'ki*
3	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*…m*	--	…si	*-isi*	*…isi*

Another mode: conjunctive



	INDEPENDENT MODE			CONJUNCTIVE MODE			IMPERATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE MODE		
	VAI	VTA	VTI	VAI	VTA	VTI		VAI	VTA	VTI
1	…hp	…hp	…h p	…hs… i	…hs… i	…hs	--	…in	-in	…mmin n
2	…hp	…hp	…h p	…hs… i	…hs… i	…hs	…t	…in	-in	…mmin n
21=X	…o'p	-Ø	-'p	…o'si	…hs… i	…hs	--	…o'	-i'ki	…i'ki
3	-Ø	-Ø	…m	…hs… i	…hs… i	…hs	--	…si	-isi	…isi

The conjunctive as the elsewhere case

CONJUNCTIVE MODE (from Frantz 1991: 110f)

(1) temporal clauses of past occurrence

Áyo'kaawa nitáí'to'toohsi

á-Io'kaa-wa nit-á-it-o'too-hs-yi

dur-sleep(AI)-3s 1-inchoat-there-arrive(AI)-conj-conj

'He was asleep when I got there.'

(2) purpose clauses (with ááhk 'non-factive)

Nomohtó'tookááhksspommookssoaayi

n-omoht-o'too k-ááhk-sspommo-o:k-i-hs-oaa-yi

1-source-arrive(AI) 2-might-help(TA)-inv-1-conj-2pl-conj

'I came for you(pl) to help me.'

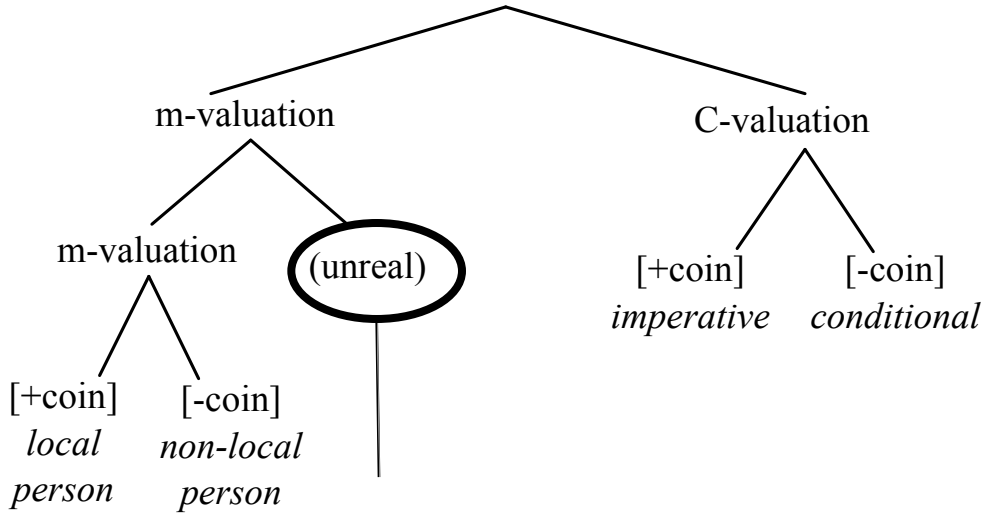
(3) embedded indicative clauses (complement of want)

nitsíksstaa nááhksoyssi

nit-ik=ssaa n-ááhk-Ioyi-hs-yi

I-very-want I-might-eat(AI)-conj-conj

And another one: unreal



VAI	INDEPENDENT	UNREAL	IMPERATIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE
1	*nit…*	*nit…htopi*	--	*…iniki*
2	*kit…*	*kit…htopi*	*-t*	*…iniki*
1pl	*nit…**hp-**innaana*	*nit…hpinnaanopi*	--	*…in-naan-iki*
2pl	*kit…**hp-**oaawa*	*kit…hpoaawopi*	*-k*	*…in-oaa-iniki*
21=X	*…'pa*	*…o'topi*	--	*…o'ksi*
3	*…wa*	*…wahtopi*	--	*…si*
3pl	*…yi*	*…wahtopiyi*	--	*…si*
3obv	*…yini*	*…wahtopiyini*	--	*…si*

Blackfoot unreal

Unreal (from Frantz 1991: 110)

(1) counterfactual

a.	***Nitsítssáyoyihtopi,***	*nitáaksoyi*	*ánnohka*
	nit-it-say-loyi-htopi	nit-áak-loyi	annohka
	1-then-neg-eat-unreal	1-future-eat	now
	'If I hadn't eaten then, I'd eat now.'		

b.	*kátá'yo'kaawahtopiyaawa,*	*áaksstaayaawamááhksoyssaawa*	
	kátá-yo'kaa-wahtopi-yi-aawa	áak-sstaa-yi-aawa	m-ááhk-loyi-hsi-aawa
	neg-sleep-unreal-3pl-pro	future-want-3pl-pro	3-might-eat-conj-pro
	'If they weren't asleep, they'd want to eat.'		

(2) hypothetical

nikkáminá anatao'topi

n-ikkam-inaanat-a-o'topi

1-if-own(TA)-dir-unreal

'How I should like to own him!'

Blackfoot unreal

Unreal (from Bliss 2006)

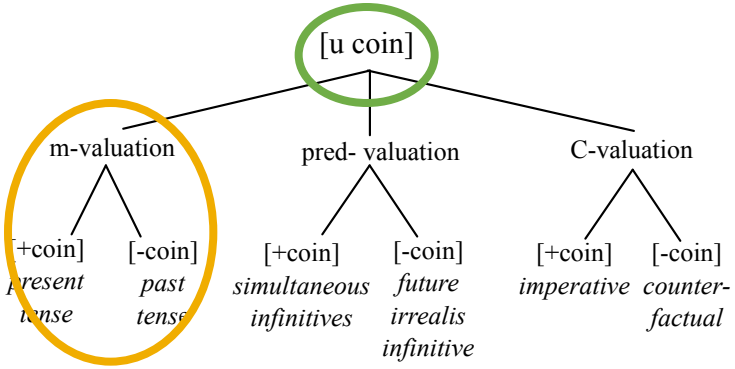
(1) a. *Na Leo áwaaniiyihka nitsikáísska'po'taki'piyihka*
na Leo a-waanii-yi-hk-(w)a nit-ik-aissk-a'po'taki-opi-yihk-(w)a
DEM Leo DUR-say.AI-OBV-REL-PROX 1-very-always-work.AI-UNREAL-REP-PROX
'Leo said that I work too much'

b. *Na Leo áániiwa kitsíiksisawaatohpiyihk matóóni*
na Leo (w)aanii-wa kit-ii-(o)ksisawaat-o-opi-yihk matooni
DEM Leo say.AI-PROX 2-PST-visit.TA-1:2-UNREAL-REP yesterday
'Leo said I visited you yesterday'

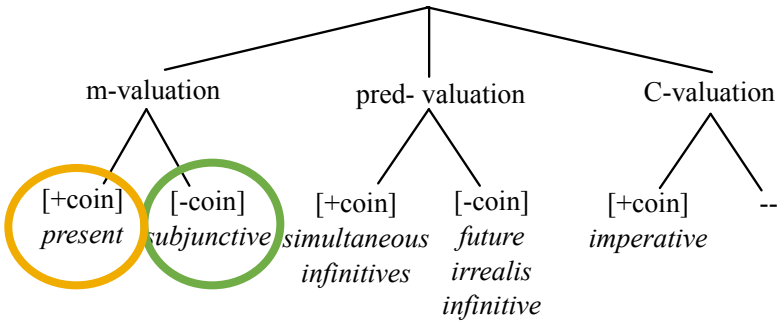
Towards a typology of subjunctives

Summary

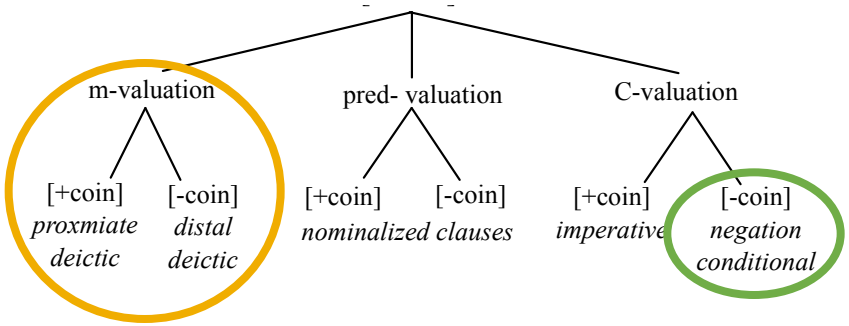
Greek



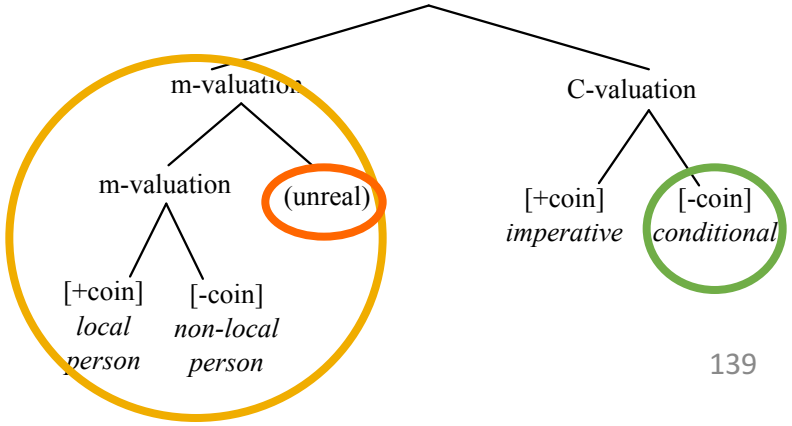
Upper Austrian



Halkomelem

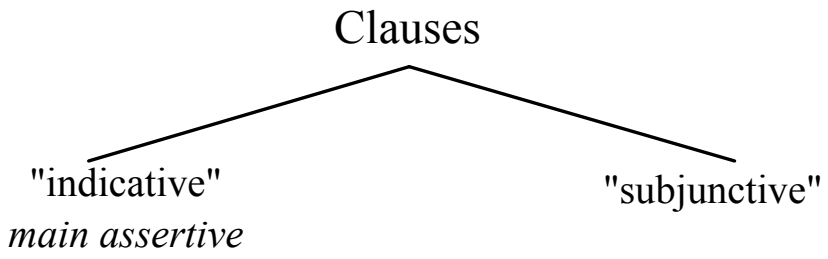


Blackfoot



Questions about subjunctives

Why do we observe so much diversity in the expression and interpretation of subjunctive mood cross-linguistically?



- … the subjunctive contrasts with main assertive clause
- … this contrast may come about in various ways
- … the subjunctive is constructed in language-specific ways

Questions about subjunctives

Can any robust universal generalizations with respect to subjunctive be made in spite of this diversity?

… the construction of language specific categories is constrained by UG

Another case study: Differences in aspectual categories

How do we construct “rare” categories

The variation problem

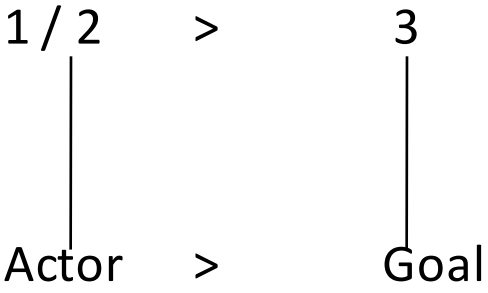
Case-study I: *direct/inverse marking* (Algonquian)

Blackfoot

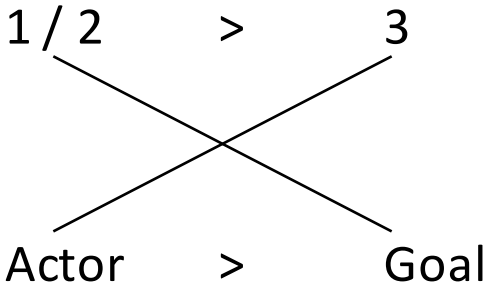
a. *nitsinóáwa*
nit-ino-**aa**-wa
1-see.TA-**DIR**-3S
'I see him/her.'

b. *nitsinóóka*
nit-ino-**ok**-wa
1-see.TA-**INV**-3S
'S/he sees me.'

Direct mapping



Inverse mapping



The variation problem

Case-study II: *control marking* (Salish)

a. na kw'elh ta tiy
RL spill DET tea
'The tea spilt.'

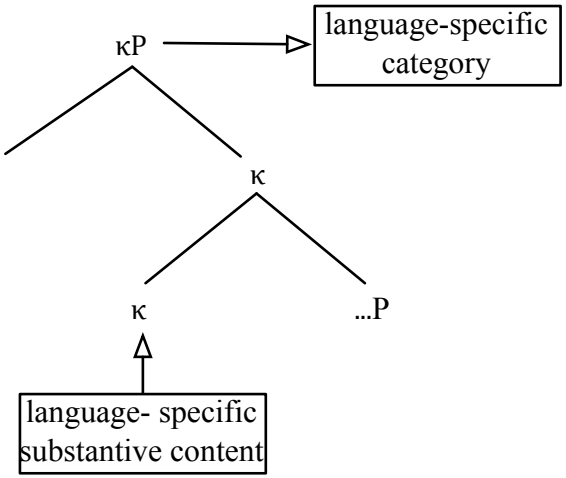
b. chen kw'lh-**at** ta tiy
1S.SUB pour-TR DET tea
'I poured the tea.' **(on purpose)**

c. chen kw'élh-**nexw** ta tiy
1S.SUB spill-LCTR DET tea
'I spilt the tea.' **(accidentally)**

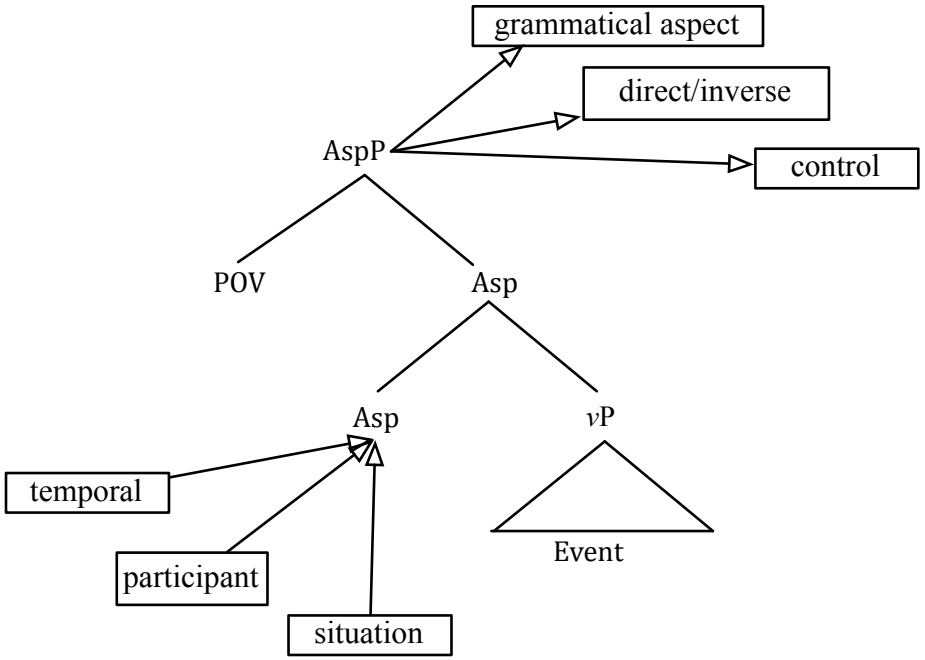
Proposal

Accounting for variation

- Deconstructing categories



3 Guises of Viewpoint aspect



Direct/inverse marking

Based on Bliss, Ritter & Wiltschko 2011, 2012

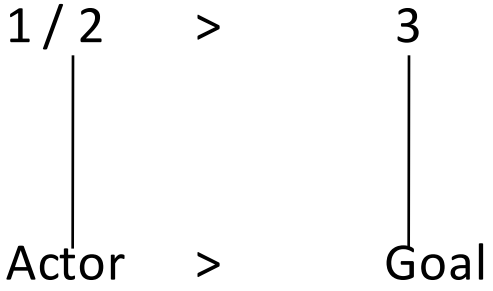
Data

Blackfoot

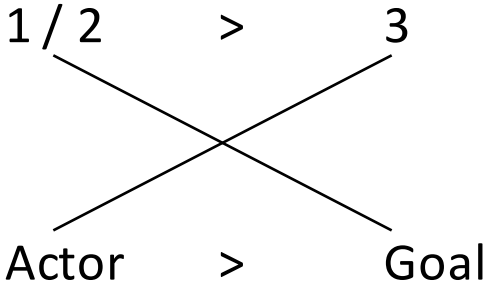
a. *nitsinóáwa*
nit-ino-**aa**-wa
1-see.TA-**DIR**-3s
'I see him/her.'

b. *nitsinóóka*
nit-ino-**ok**-wa
1-see.TA-**INV**-3s
'S/he sees me.'

Direct mapping



Inverse mapping



Reported for:

Algonquian languages, Tibeto Burman languages (DeLancey 1981b), Chukotko-Kamchatkan (Comrie 1980), Wakashan (Whistler 1985), Tupi guarani (Payne 1990), … Klaimann 1992, DeLancey 1981a).

Previous analyses

- The direct/inverse system is as a category in its own right.
- A system which marks the topicality of non-agents relative to agents

Thompson 1990b, Grimes 1985

- *Direction* is a grammatical category
- Direct/inverse marking marks hierarchy alignment

Zúñiga 2006, Aissen 1997 within OT

Previous analyses

Direct/inverse system reduces to **Agreement**:

- Direct = *object agreement*
- Inverse = *passive morpheme* (Rhodes 1976 for Ojibwe)

- Direct = *subject agreement* (AgrS)
- Inverse = *object agreement* (AgrO) (Brittain 1999 for Western Naskapi)

- Direct & Inverse = *object agreement* *(*McGinnis 1999)

- Cyclic Agree (Bejar & Rezac 2009)

Previous analyses

Direct/inverse system reduces to

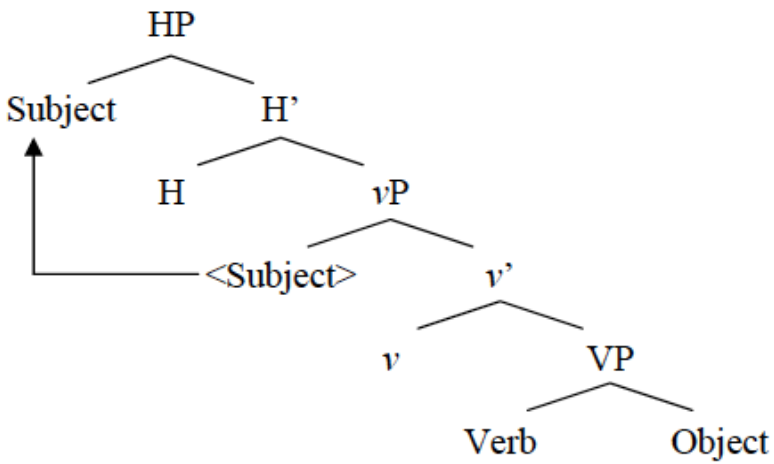
- A form of ergativity (Hewson 1985; DeLancey 1981b)
  Direct = nominative alignment
  Inverse = ergative alignment (Déchaine & Reinholtz 2008)

- Person Case Constraint (Bianchi 2006)

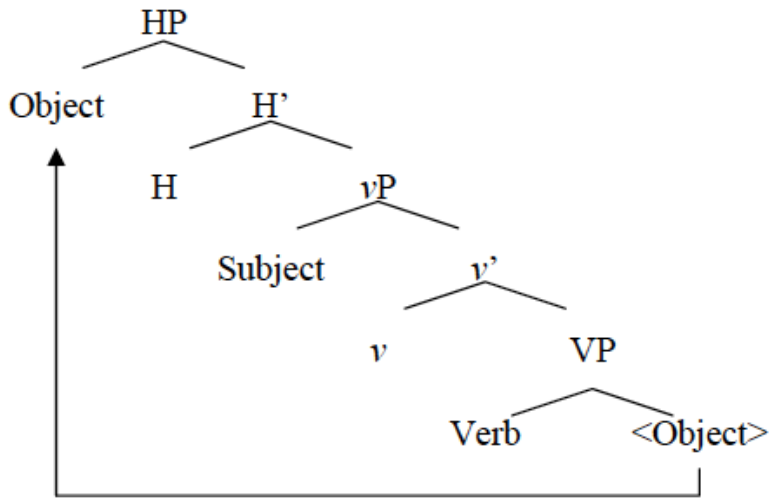
- Person based nominal licensing (Lochbihler 2012)

Previous analyses

Direct:



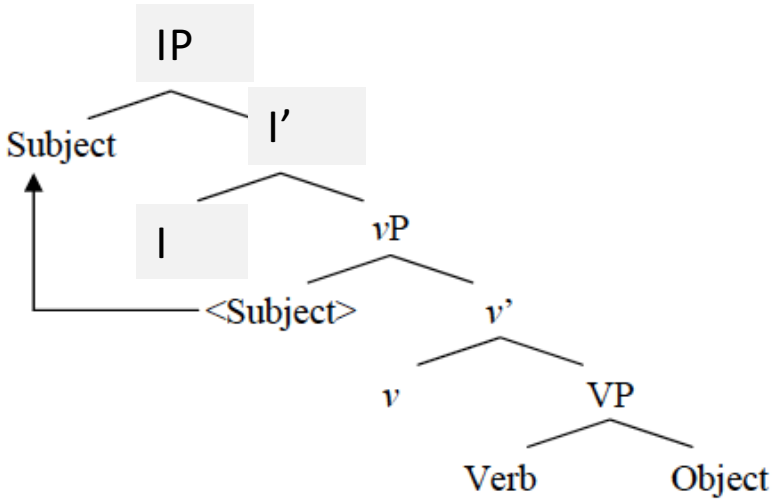
Inverse:



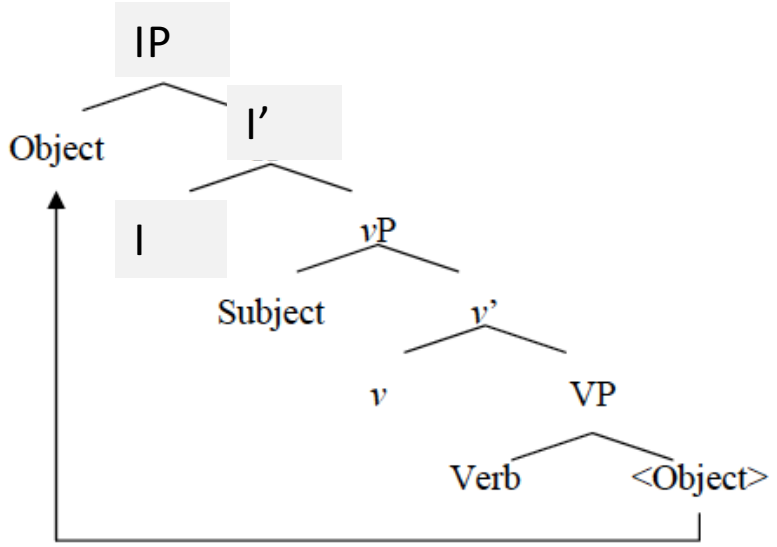
Bruening 2001b

Previous analyses

Direct:



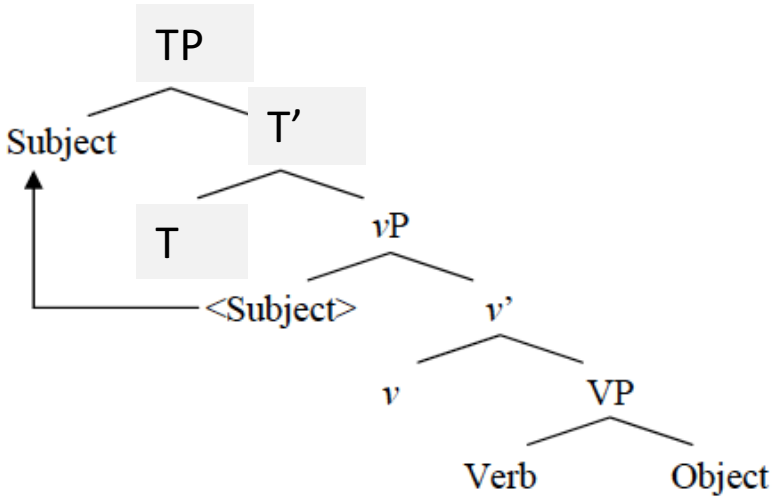
Inverse:



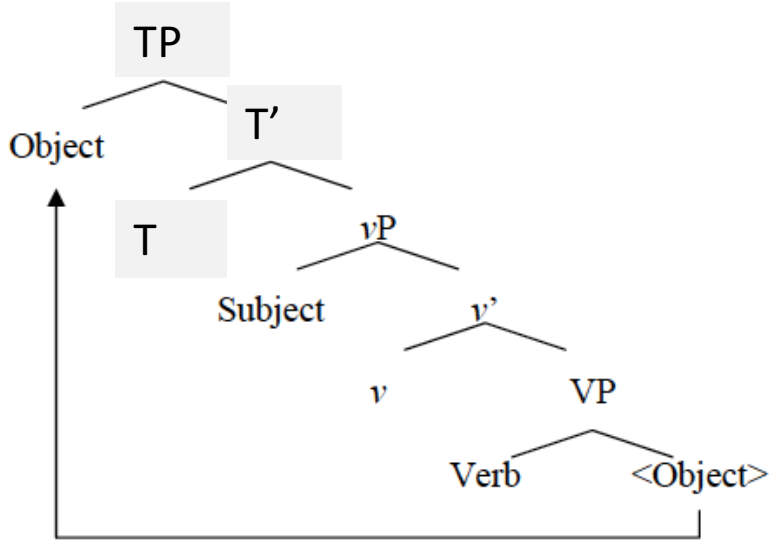
Bruening 2005, Quinn 2006

Previous analyses

Direct:



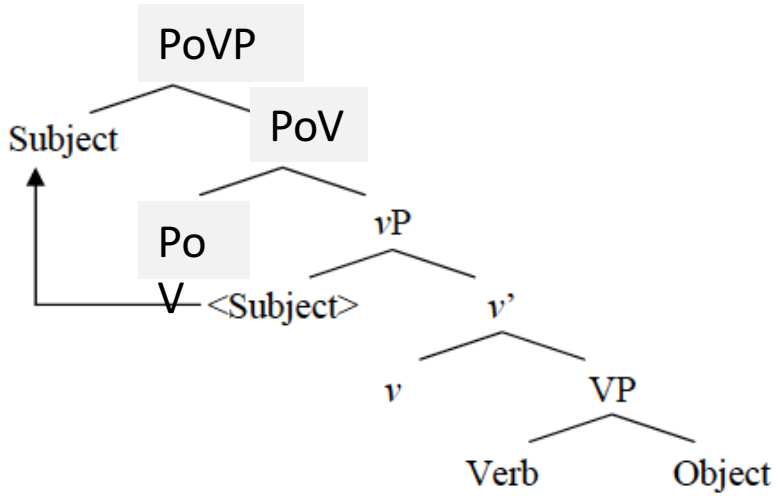
Inverse:



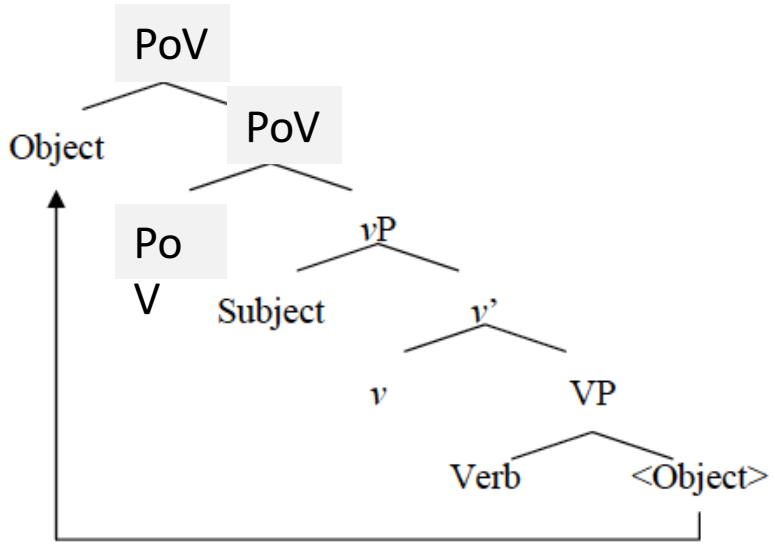
Bruening 2009b

Previous analyses

Direct:



Inverse:



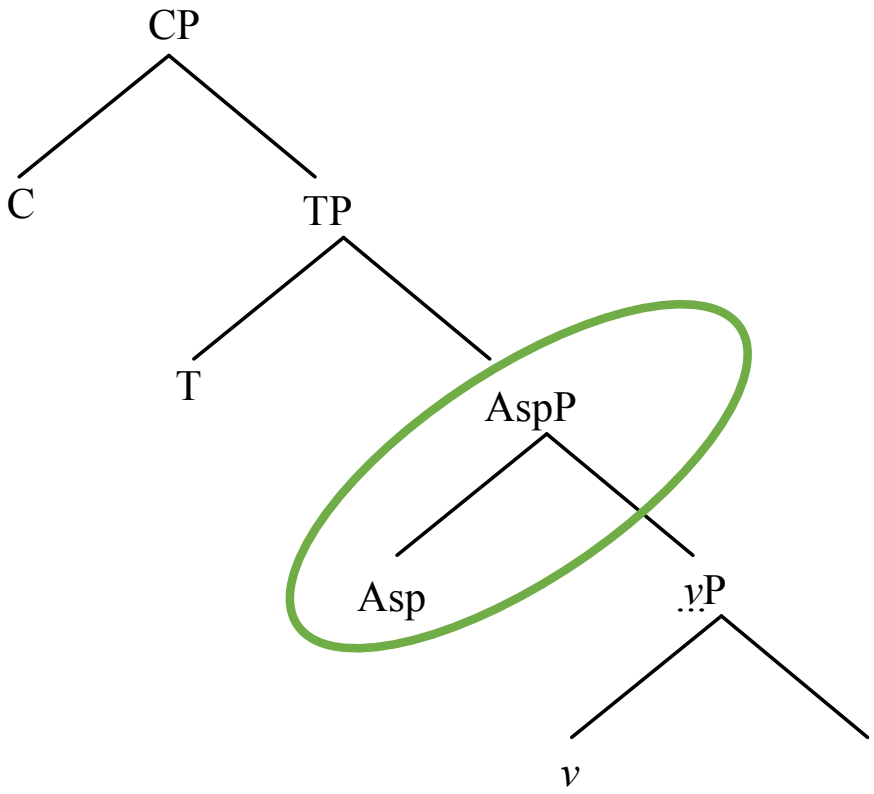
Bliss 2005

Direct/inverse is encodes **perspectival information**

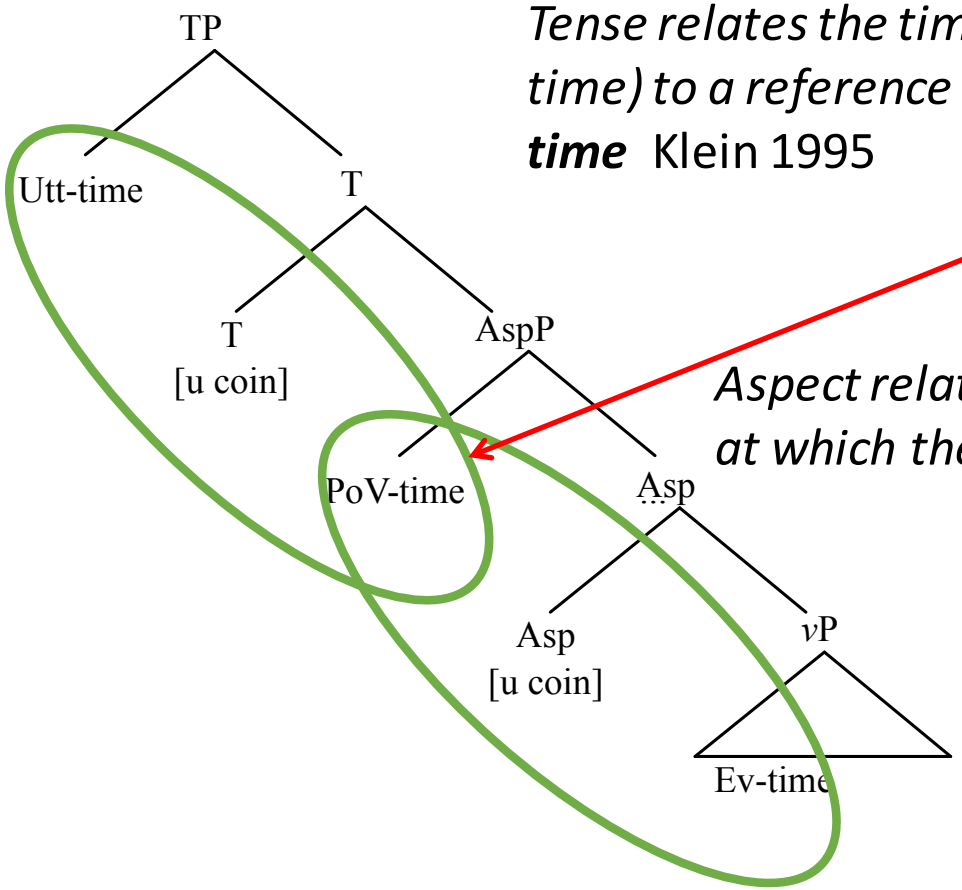
Muehlbauer 2008

"A mechanism for marking the identity or non-identity of natural viewpoint and natural starting-point" deLancey 1981: 641

Proposal:
Direct inverse = Viewpoint Aspect



Background on Viewpoint Aspect



Tense relates the time of utterance (Utt-time) to a reference time: the ***assertion time*** Klein 1995

I call this **Point of View Time**

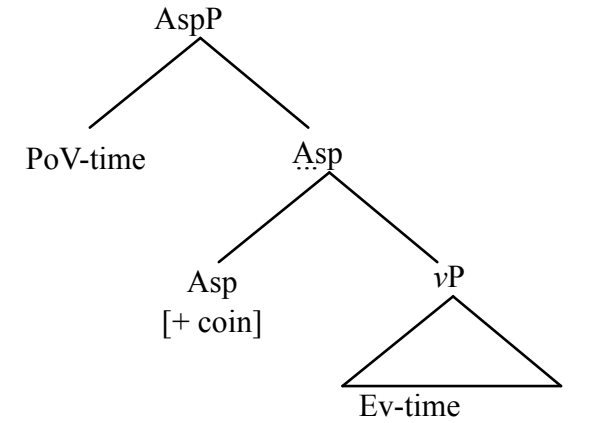
Aspect relates the Assertion-time to the time at which the event or state occurs or holds
Klein 1995

Based on Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 1997

Background on Viewpoint Aspect

Imperfective:

a. Yoshi is eating lunch
b. Yoshi was eating lunch



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Background on Viewpoint Aspect

Imperfective:

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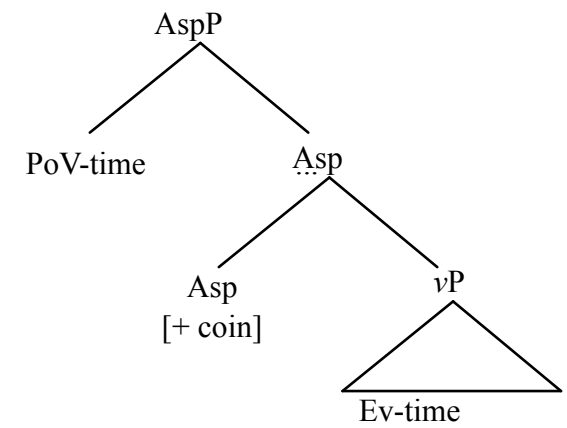
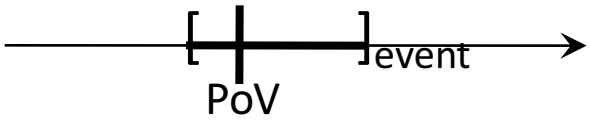
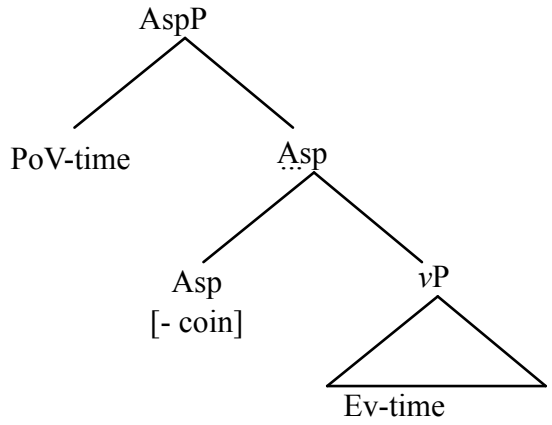
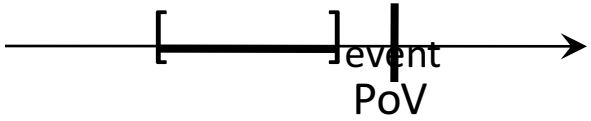




Perfective:

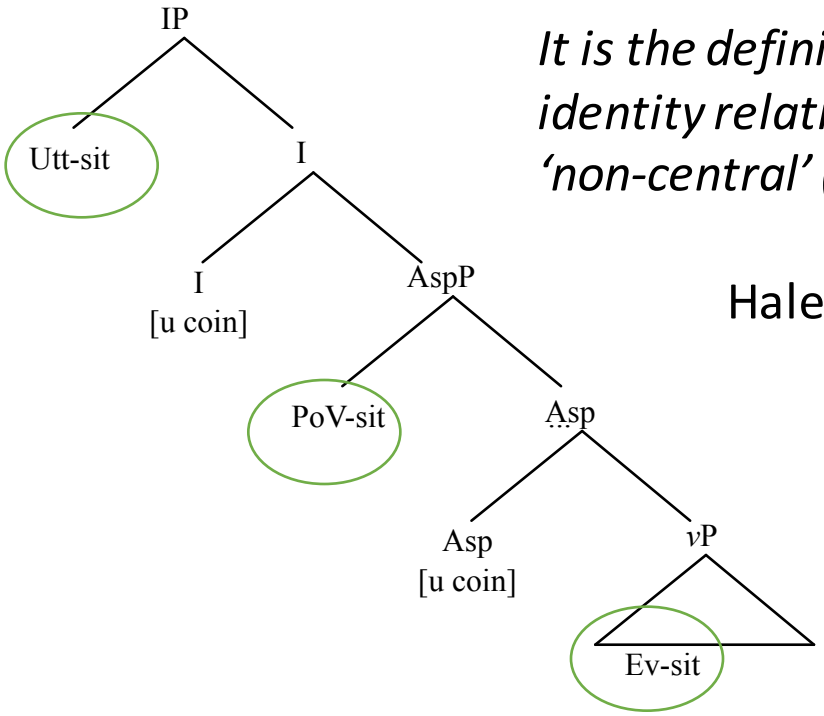
a. Yoshi has eaten lunch
b. Yoshi had eaten lunch





Based on Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 1997

Step 1:
Abstracting away from substantive content



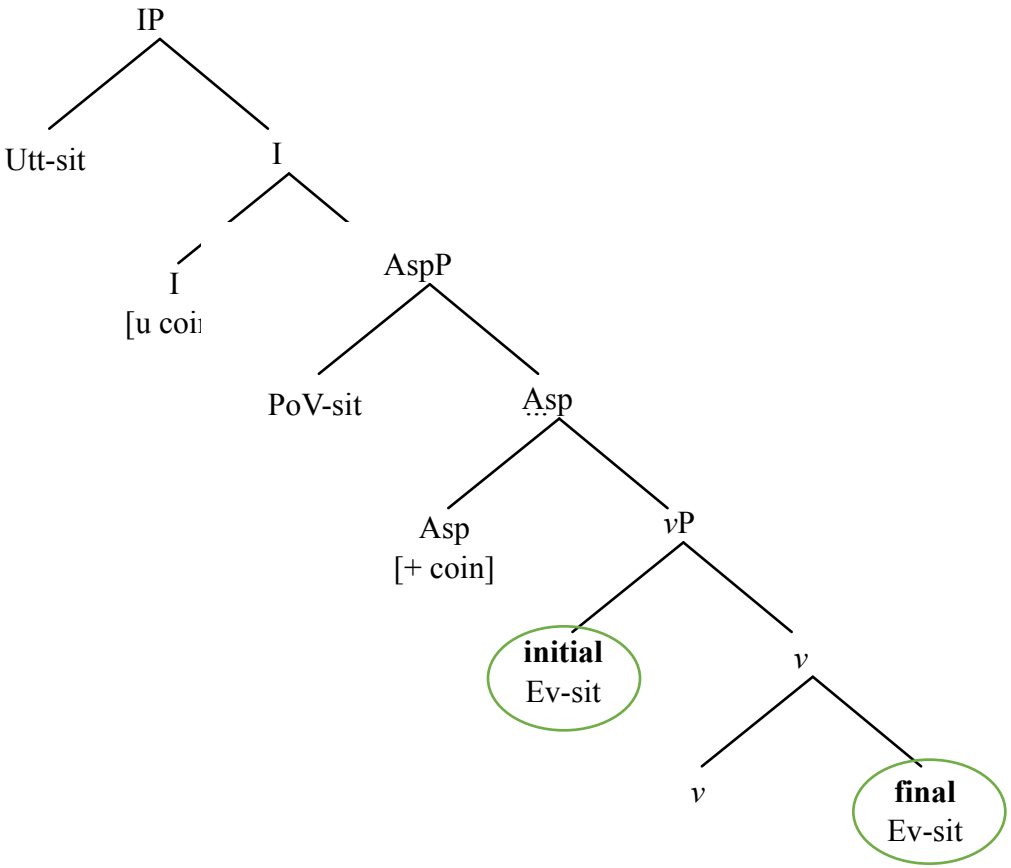
It is the definition of spatial, temporal, and identity relations in terms of 'central' versus 'non-central' (or 'terminal') coincidence.

Hale 1986: 238

Substantive content (like temporality) is not an intrinsic content of categories.

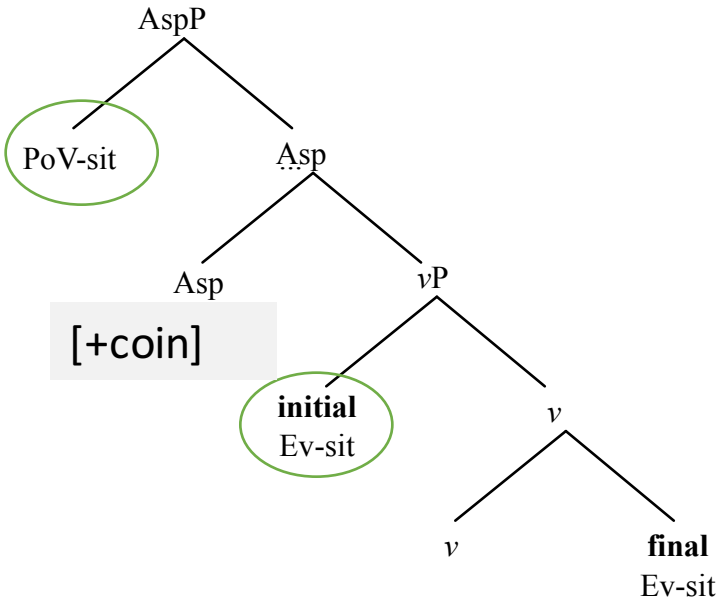
Ritter & Wiltschko 2009, 2011

Step 2:
Adding initial and final subevents



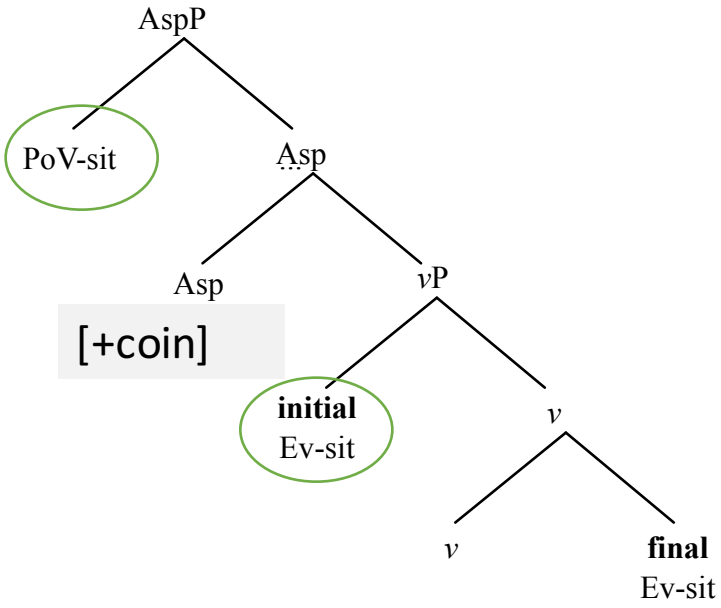
Step 3:
Central vs. terminal coincidence

Central coincidence

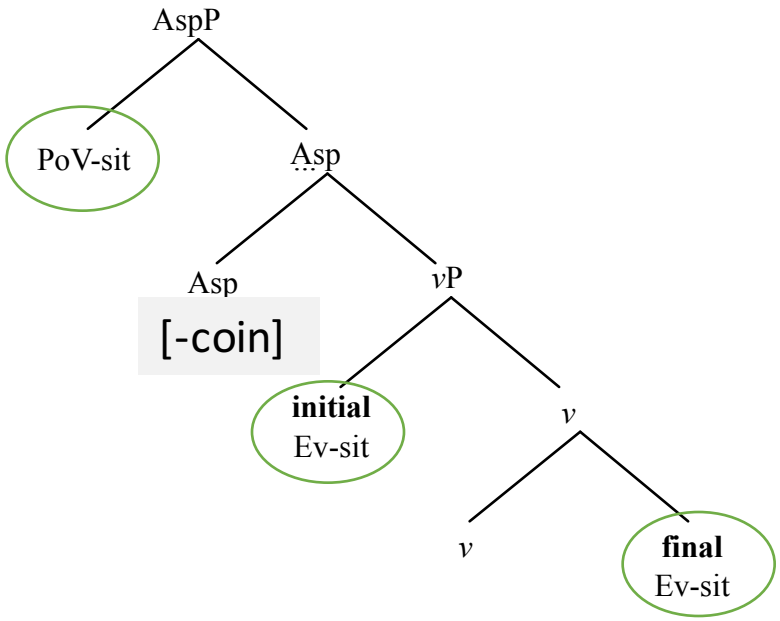


Step 3:
Central vs. terminal coincidence

Central coincidence

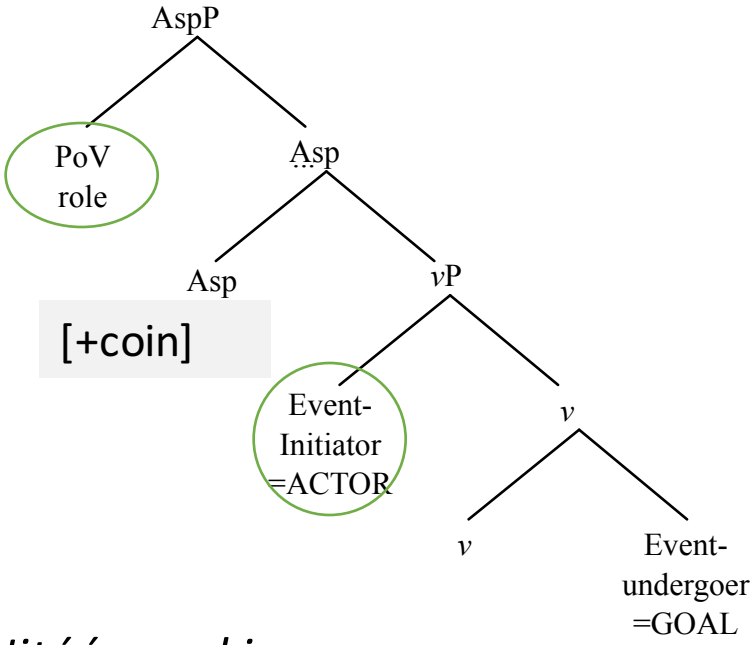


Terminal coincidence



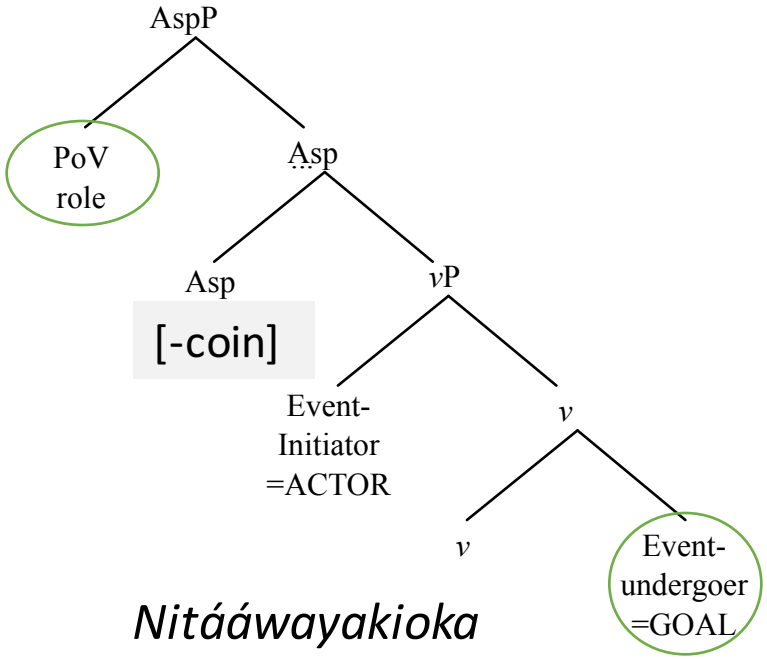
Step 4:
Participant-based aspect

Direct: coincidence



Nitááwayakiaa
nit-(w)aawayaki-**a**-wa
1-hit-**DIR**-3SG
'I hit him.'

Inverse: terminal coincidence

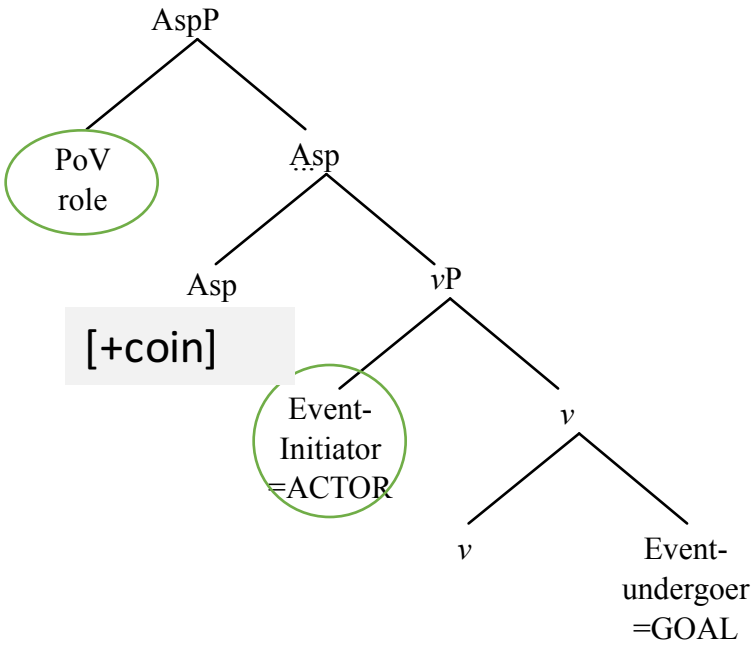


Nitááwayakioka
nit-(w)aawayaki-**ok**-wa
1-hit-**INV**-3SG
'He hit me.'

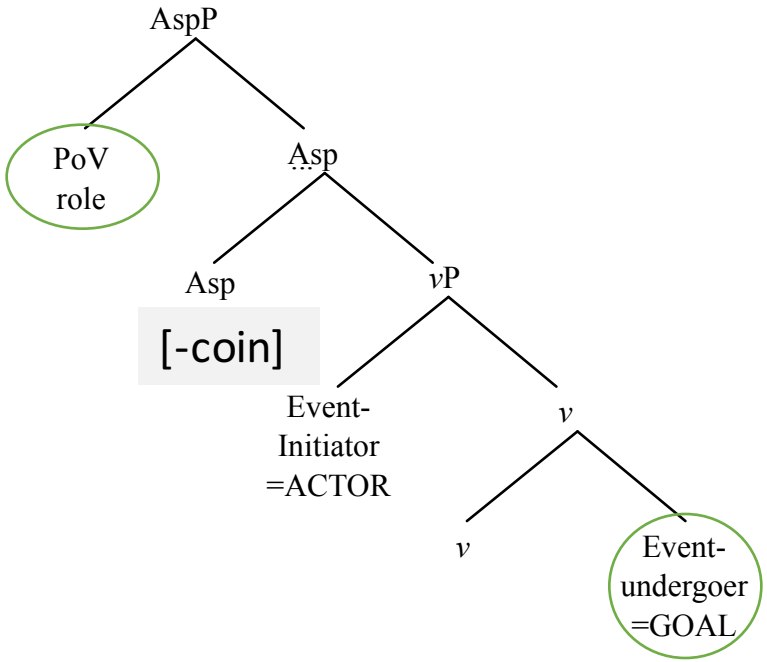
Ritter & Wiltschko 2008, Bliss, Ritter & Wiltschko 2012

Step 4:
Participant-based aspect

Direct: coincidence

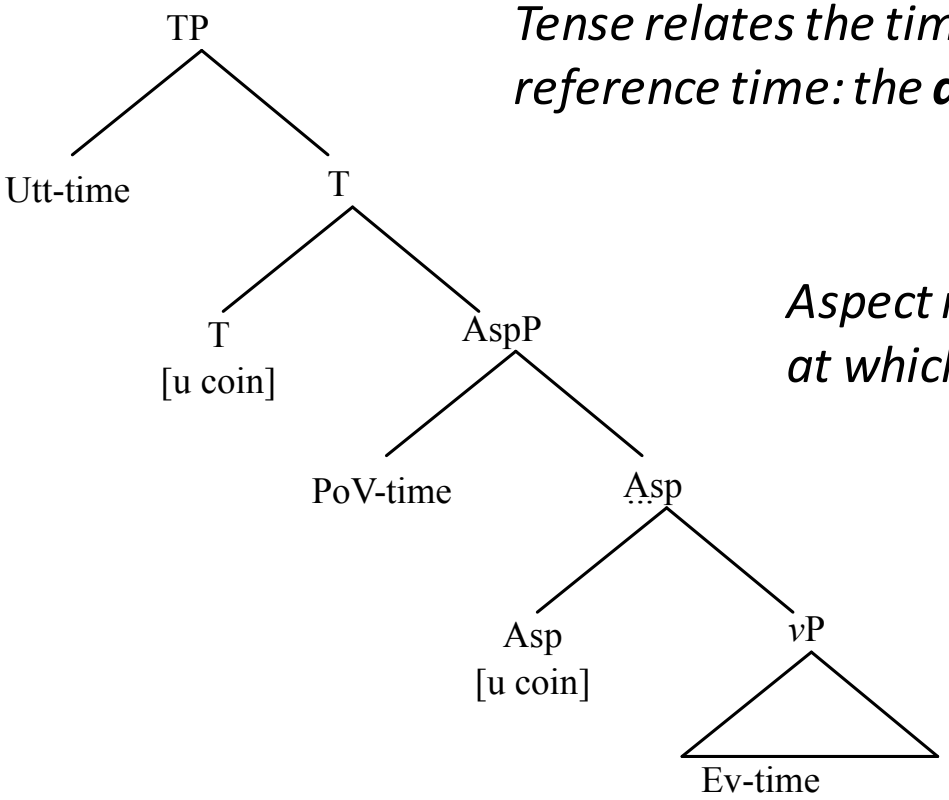


Inverse:terminal coincidence



"A mechanism for marking the identity or non-identity of natural viewpoint and natural starting-point" deLancey 1981: 641

Revisiting temporal aspect



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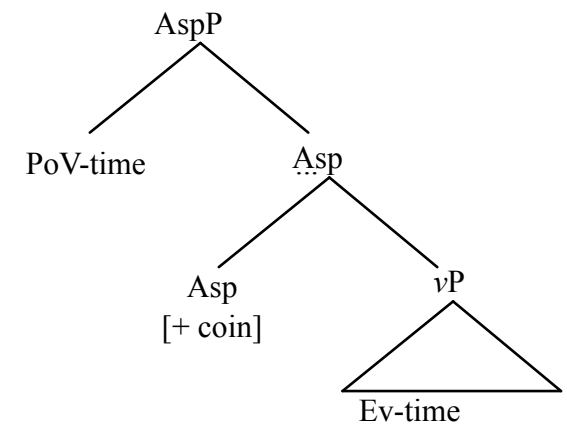
Aspect relates the Assertion-time to the time at which the event or state occurs or holds Klein 1995

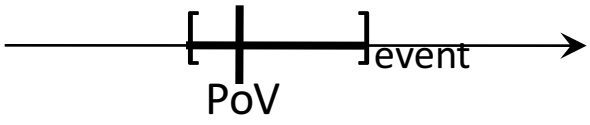
Based on Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 1997

Revisiting temporal aspect

Imperfective:

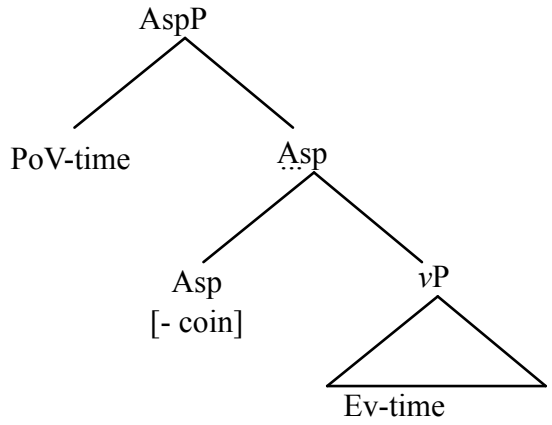
a. Yoshi is eating lunch
b. Yoshi was eating lunch

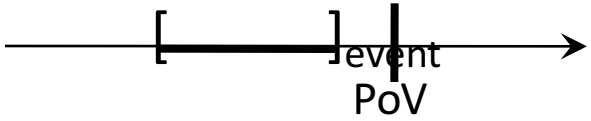




Perfective:

a. Yoshi has eaten lunch
b. Yoshi had eaten lunch

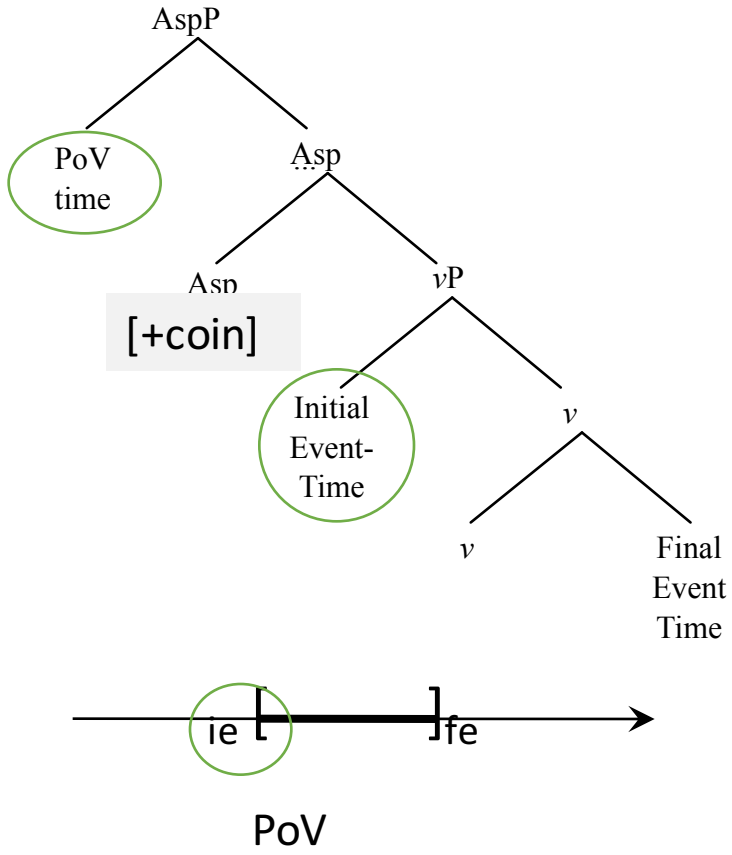




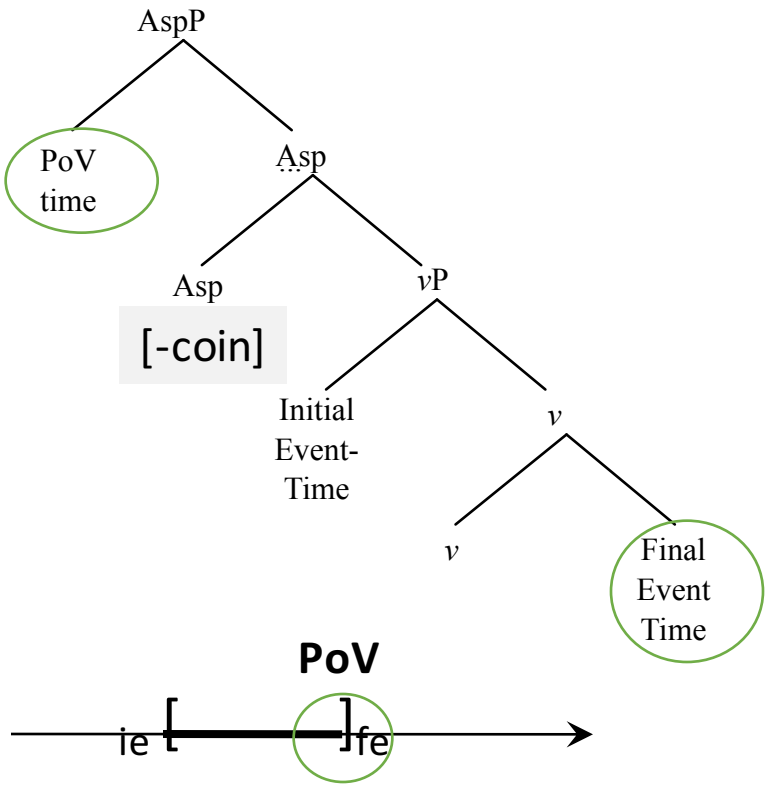
Based on Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 1997

Revisiting temporal aspect

Inceptive, Ingressive, inchoative



Perfect aspect



Control marking

Based on Jacobs 2011

The data

Squamish (Central Coast Salish)

a. na kw'elh ta tiy
RL spill DET tea
'The tea spilt.'

b. chen kw'lh-**at** ta tiy
1S.SUB pour-TR DET tea
'I poured the tea.' (on purpose)

c. chen kw'élh-**nexw** ta tiy
1S.SUB spill-LCTR DET tea
'I spilt the tea.' (accidentally)

- Pervasive in Salish
- Also reported for Malagasy and Tagalog (Travis 2000)
- Ilokano (Gerdts 1979)

The data

a. na kp'-**ét**-Ø-as *ta spahím'* ta shewáh
RL shut-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET wind DET door
'*The wind* shut the door.'

b. na kép'-**nexw**-Ø-as *ta spahím'* ta shewálh
RL shut-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET wind DET door
'*The wind* shut the door.'

c. chen kwélash-**nexw**-Ø ta nexwlámay'
1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET bottle
'I *managed to* shoot the bottle.'
Context: the subject is practice-shooting bottles

It's **not about volitionality**

The logic of control

Control

"Controlled situations are those in which the agent functions with usual average capacities in keeping things under control."

Non-control

i) can be "events which are natural, spontaneous-happening without the intervention of any agent," or,

ii) can be events which are "unintentional, accidental acts," or,

iii) can be "limited control [which is] intentional, premeditated [events] which are carried out to excess, or are accomplished only with difficulty, or by means of much time, special effort, and/or patience, and perhaps a little luck."

Thompson and Thompson (1992:52)

the core contrast is aspectual

a. chen ts'its'áp'-**nexw**-Ø
1S.SUB work-LCTR-3OBJ
'I *finished* my work.'

b. na míkw'-**nexw**-Ø-as ta snexwílh
RL clean-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET canoe
'He *finished* washing his canoe.'

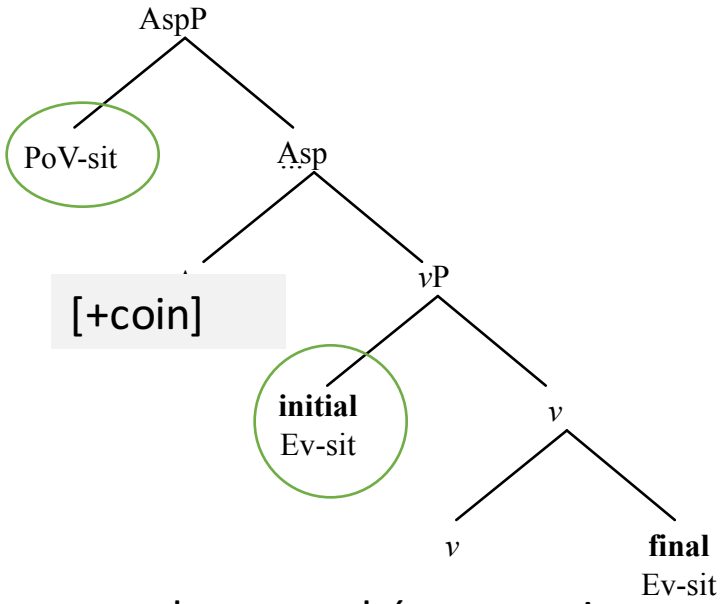
c. chen tséxw-**nexw**-Ø ta swíẇlus t-kwetsi smant
1S.SUB hit-LCTR-3OBJ DET young.man OBJ-DEM rock
'I hit the young man with a rock.'
Speaker's comment: [The lc-transitive predicate] *already happened*.

It's about finishing

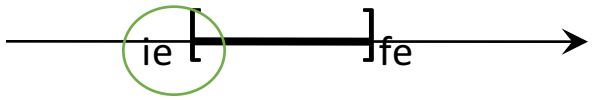
Jacobs 2011

proposal: situation-based aspect

Control



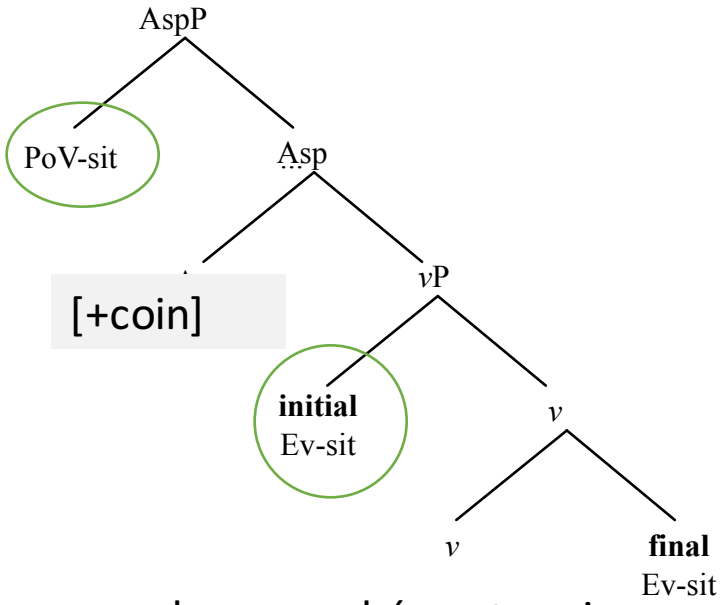
a. chen cháy-**n**-**t**-umi
1S.SUB chase-TR-TR-2S.OBJ
'I chased you.'



PoV

proposal: situation-based aspect

Control



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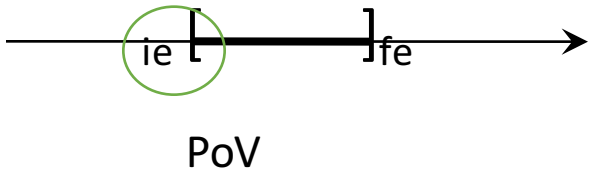
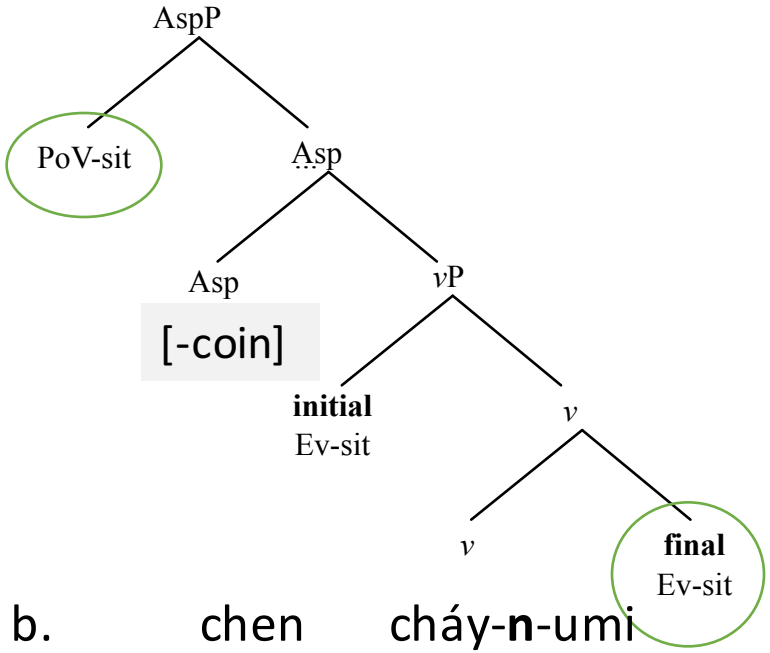
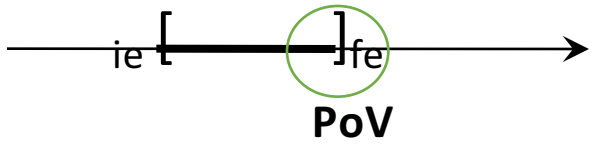


Limited control



b. chen cháy-**n**-umi
1S.SUB chase-LCTR-2S.OBJ
'I caught up to you.'



focusing initial or final event

C-predicate version	C-predicate meaning	Lc-predicate	Lc-predicate meaning
(1) a. kw'ach-**t**	'to look at it'	b. kw'ách-**nexw**	'to see it'
(2) a. p'i7-**t**	'to take/grab it'	b. p'í7-**nexw**	'to have/hold/receive it'
(3) a. yelx̲-**t**	'to search for it'	b. yélx̲-**nexw**	'to have found it'
(4) a. ta7l-**t**	'to study it'	b. tél̓-**nexw**	'to have learnt it, to realize it, to have found it out, to discover'
(5) a. k̲w'úy-**ut**	'to beat (a person)', 'to kill (game)'	b. k̲w'úy-**nexw**	'to have beat (a person) up' 'to have killed (game)'
(6) a. húy-**ut**	'to create it'	b. húy-**nexw**	'to finish it'
(7) a. kw'en̓-**án̓**	'to pour it'	b. kw'én̓-**nexw**	'to spill it; to have poured it'

a difference in culmination entailments

Culmination is not necessary

c-predicate
na p'ayak̲-**en**-t-Ø-as ta John ta snexwílh-s
RL fix-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET John DET canoe-3POS
'He (John) fixed his canoe,

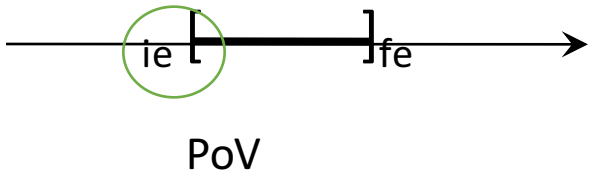
welh haw k̲'-as i húy-nexw-Ø-as
but NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
but he didn't finish (fixing) it.'
(Bar-el et al. 2005, ex. 12)

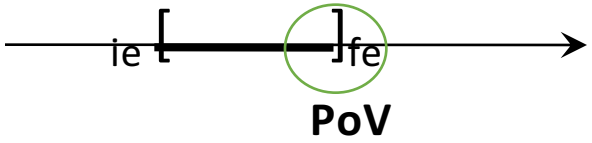
Culmination is necessary

lc-predicate
na p'ayak̲-**nexw**-Ø-as ta John ta snexwílh-s
RL fix-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET John DET canoe-3POS
'He (John) fixed his canoe,

#welh haw k̲'-as i húy-nexw-Ø-as
but NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
but he didn't finish (fixing) it.'

Jacobs 2011: 23





a difference in culmination entailments

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RL fix-TR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB DET John DET canoe-3POS
'He (John) fixed his canoe,

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but NEG SBJ-3CONJ PRES finish-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB
but he didn't finish (fixing) it.'
(Bar-el et al. 2005, ex. 12)

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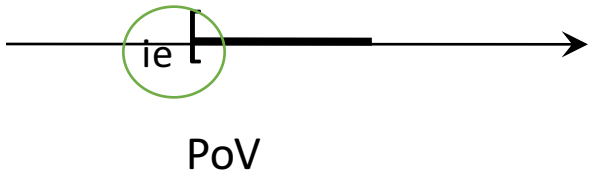
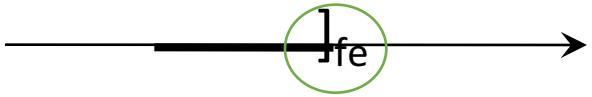
Jacobs 2011: 23



PoV



PoV

deriving “control”

Control readings are a byproduct of the aspectual distinction

Assumptions about the normal course of events:

i) a (sentient) agent is initiating the event **intentionally**
ii) the agent is **in control** of the process of the event
iii) the event will reach its **natural endpoint**

Based on Jacobs 2011

Context of use for c-predicates

na	xel̓-**t**-Ø-as	ta	sxwexwiy̓áḿ	lha	Mary
RL	write-TR-3OBJ-3SUB	DET	story	DET	Mary

'Mary wrote a story.'
Speaker's comments: 'She wrote it ...she's finished.'
(Bar-el et al. 2005:6a)

chen	lhích'-**it**-Ø	ta	seplín
1S.SUB	cut-TR-3OBJ	DET	bread

'I tried to cut the bread,'

welh	es-kw'áy.	an	tl'exw-Ø
but	STAT-cannot	too	hard-3SUB

'but I couldn't. It was too hard.'

context of use for limited control predicates

a. chen ts'its'áp'-**nexw**-Ø
1S.SUB work-LCTR-3OBJ
'I *finished* my work.'

b. na míkw'-**nexw**-Ø-as ta snexwílh
RL clean-LCTR-3OBJ-3SUB DET canoe
'He *finished* washing his canoe.'

c. chen tséxw-**nexw**-Ø ta swíẇlus t-kwetsi smant
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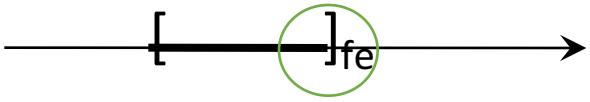
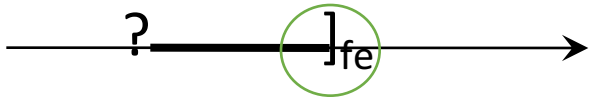
'I hit the young man with a rock.'
Speaker's comment: [The lc-transitive predicate] *already happened*.



context of use for limited control predicates

a. chen kwélash-**nexw**-Ø ta nkw'ekw'chústn
1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET window
'I accidentally shot the window.'
Context: I was aiming at another target (e.g. a bottle) but I mistakenly shot the window.

b. na kwelash-**númut**-Ø
RL shoot-LCREFL-3SUB
'He *accidentally* shot himself.'
Context: he was cleaning his gun and he accidentally pushed the trigger and shot himself.



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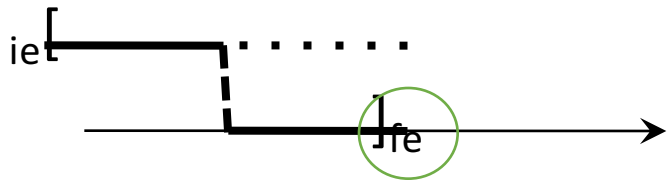
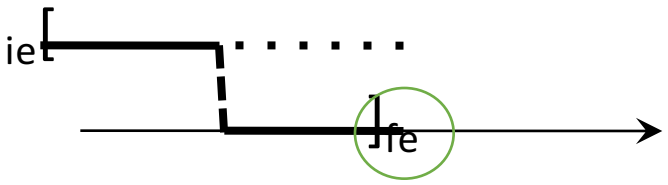


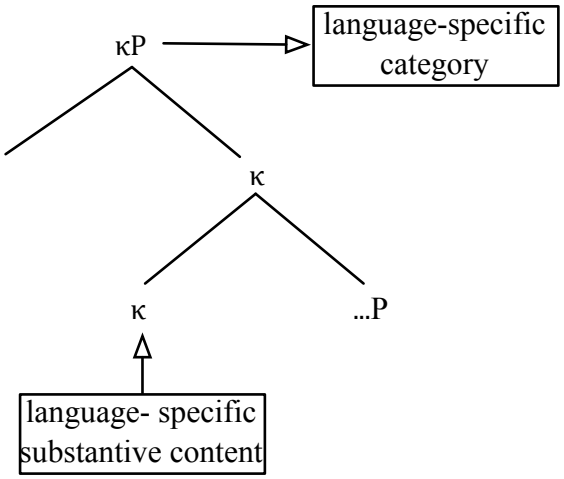
context of use for limited control predicates

chen kwélash-**nexw**-Ø ta sx̱wí7shen
1S.SUB shoot-LCTR-3OBJ DET deer
'I *managed to* shoot the deer.'
Context 1: I was hunting and the target, the deer, was at a great distance, making it difficult to shoot it.
Context 2: I'm a novice hunter and I don't have great accuracy yet in shooting.

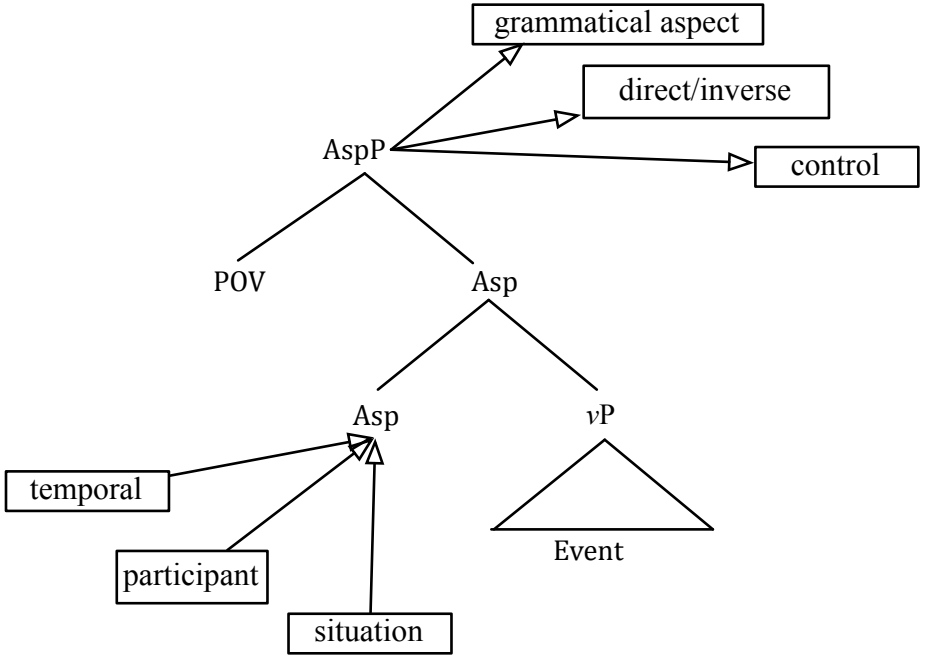


Accounting for variation

- Deconstructing categories



3 Guises of Viewpoint aspect

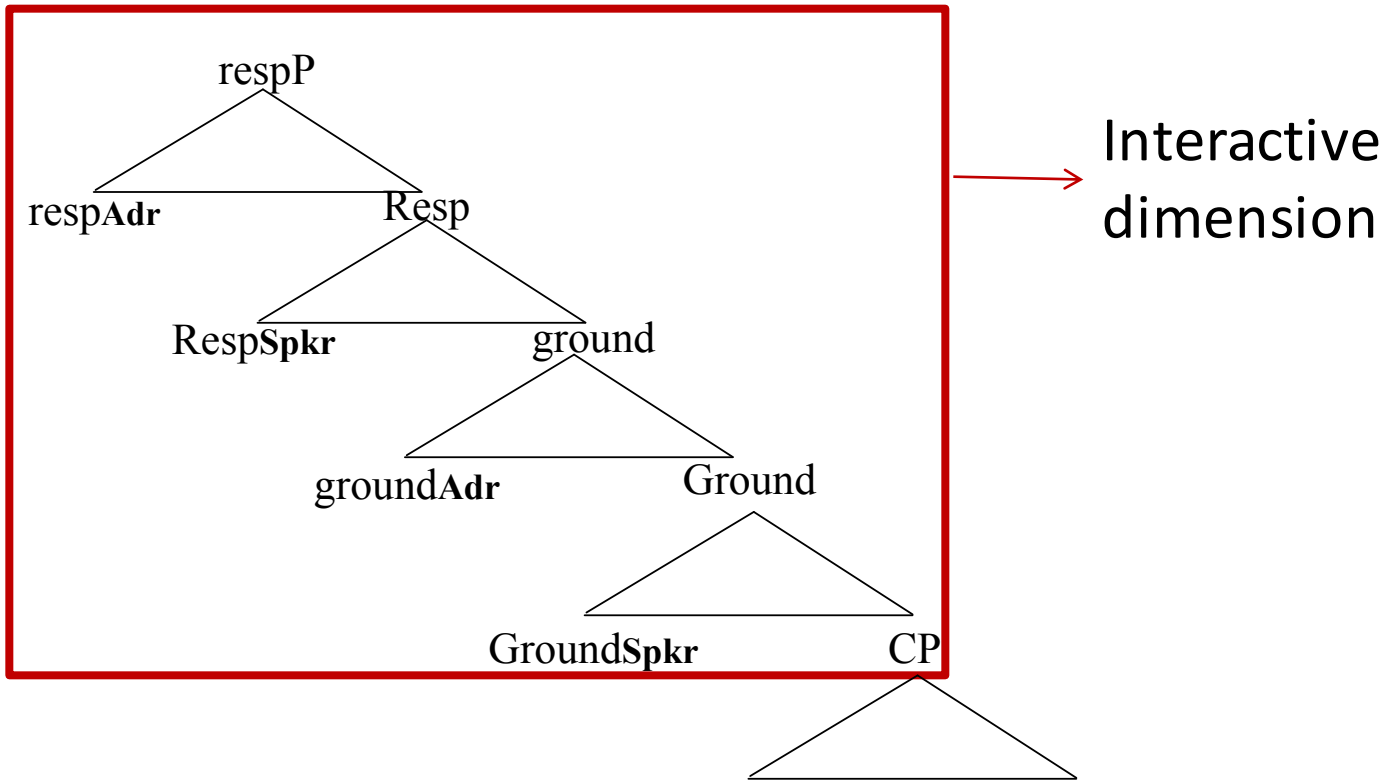


The syntacticization of interaction

Part II

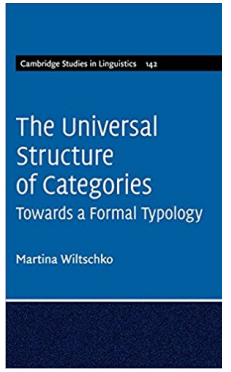
Grounding and **Responding** vs. Speaker and Addressee

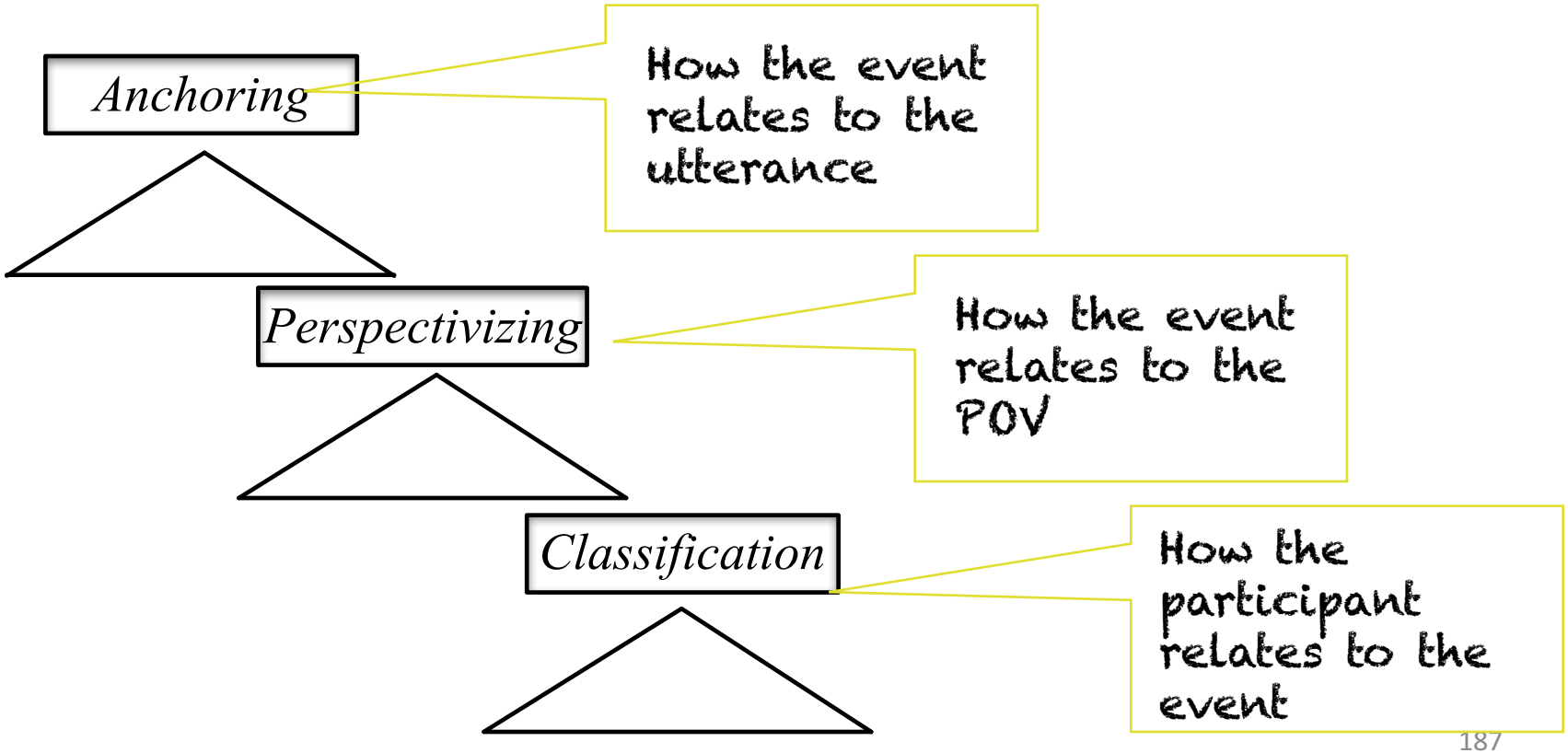
The syntax of interaction



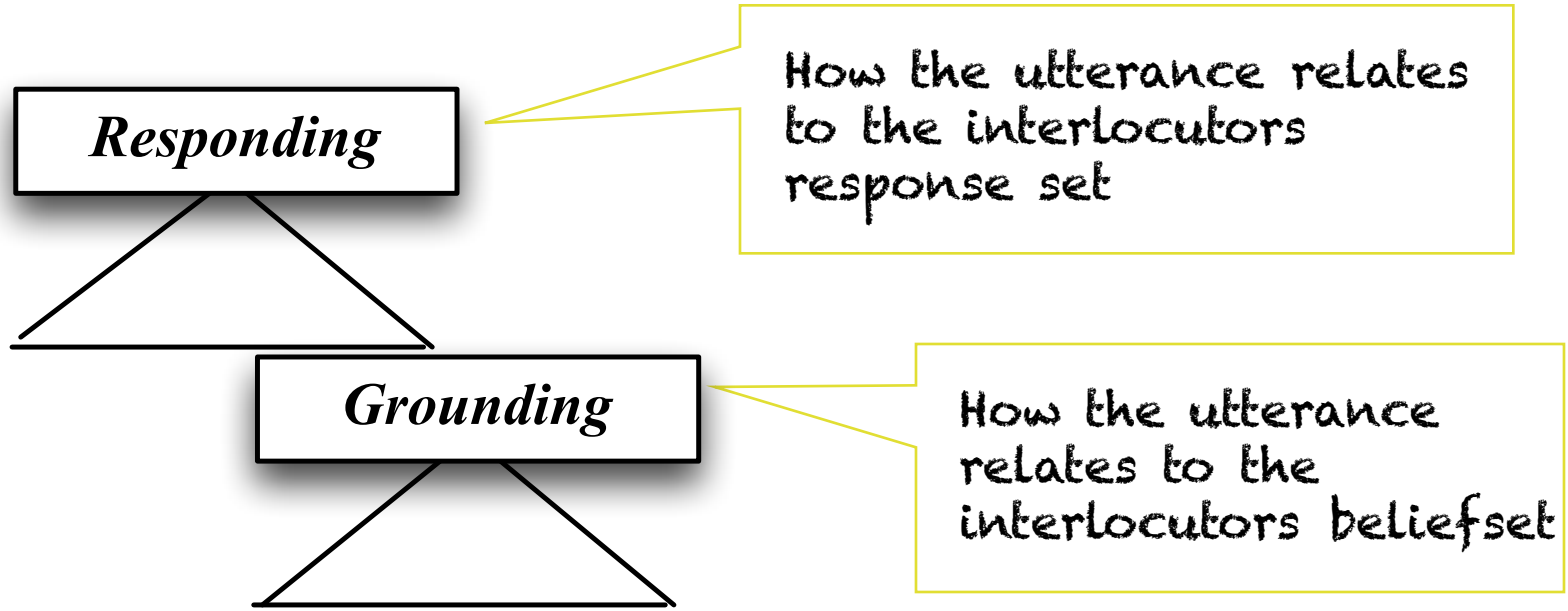
Interactive dimension

The universal spine hypothesis

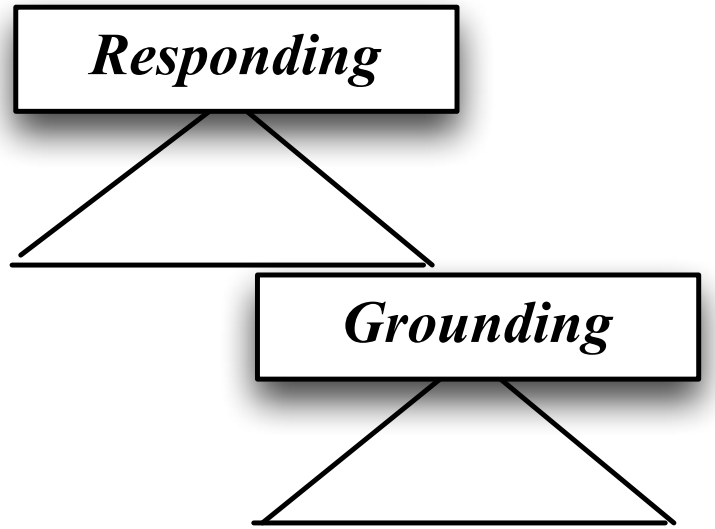




The syntax of interaction

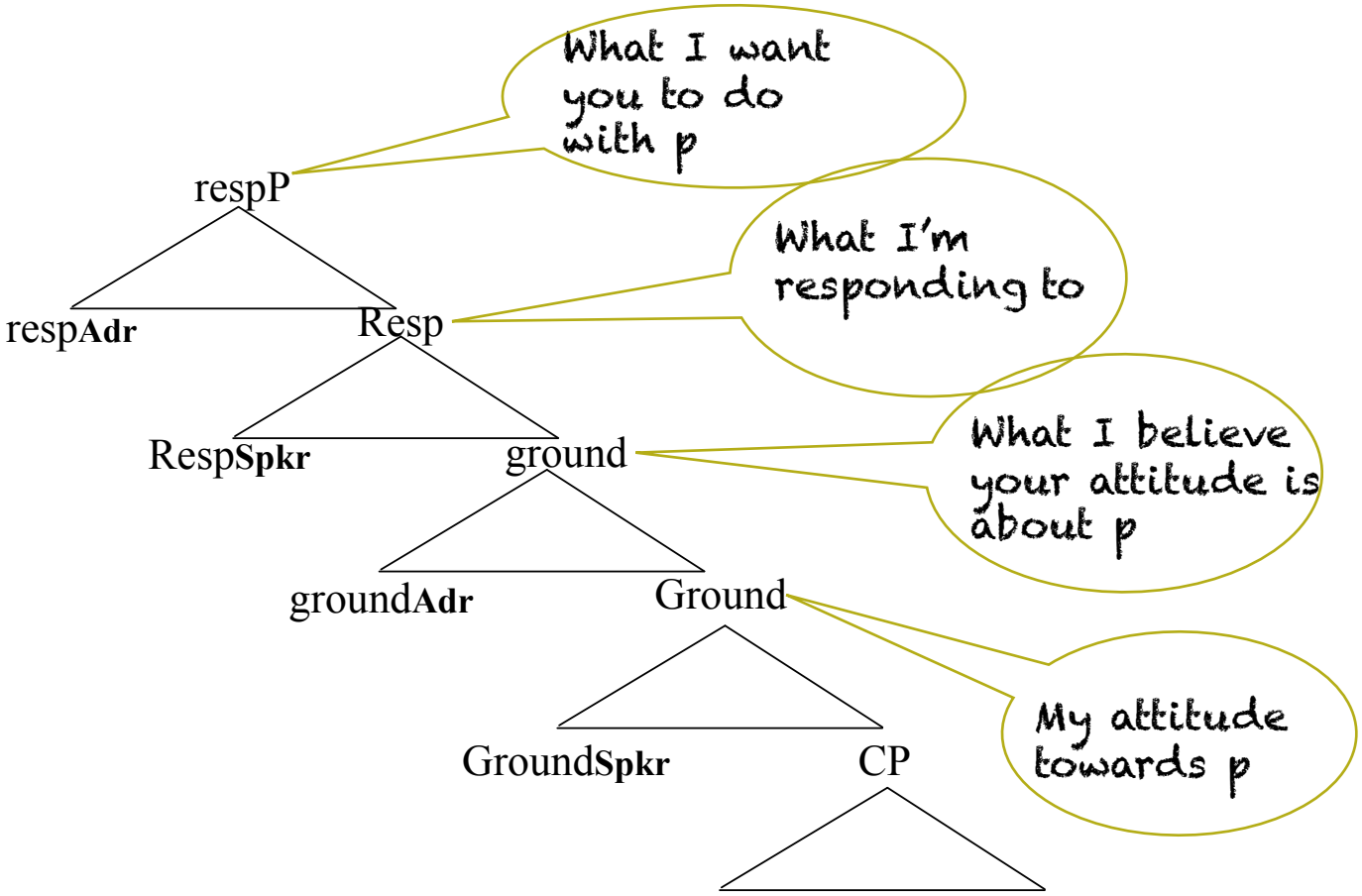


The syntax of interaction



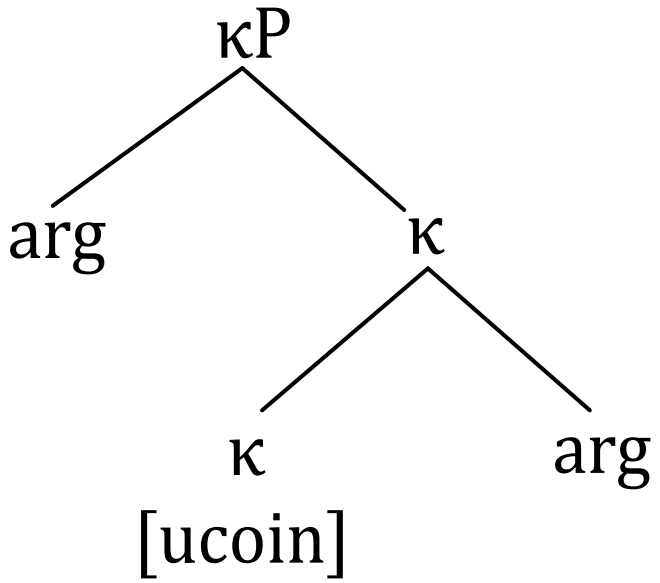
- We claim that utterances impact dialogue in two ways that we describe in terms of update. On the one hand, **Speaker commits** herself to some content: uttering amounts to update Speaker's commitments. On the other hand, **Speaker calls on Addressee** for him to change his own commitments.
  - Beyssade & Marandin 2006

The syntax of interaction

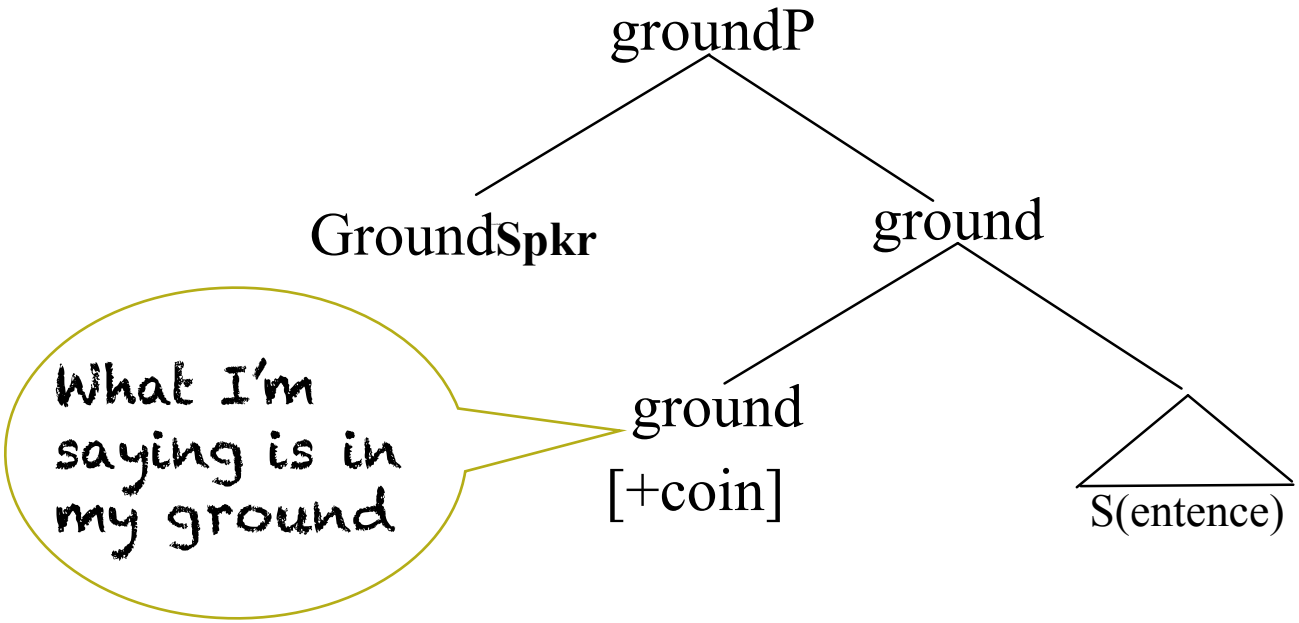


Another instance of **κ**

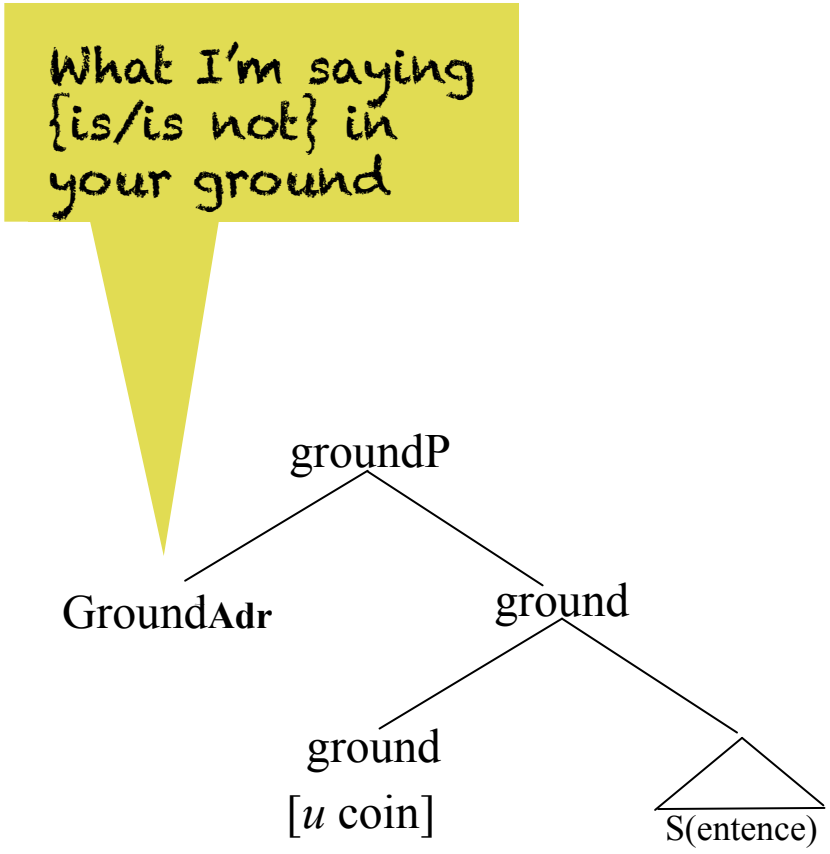
- Transitive
- Relational
- Possibility for substantiation

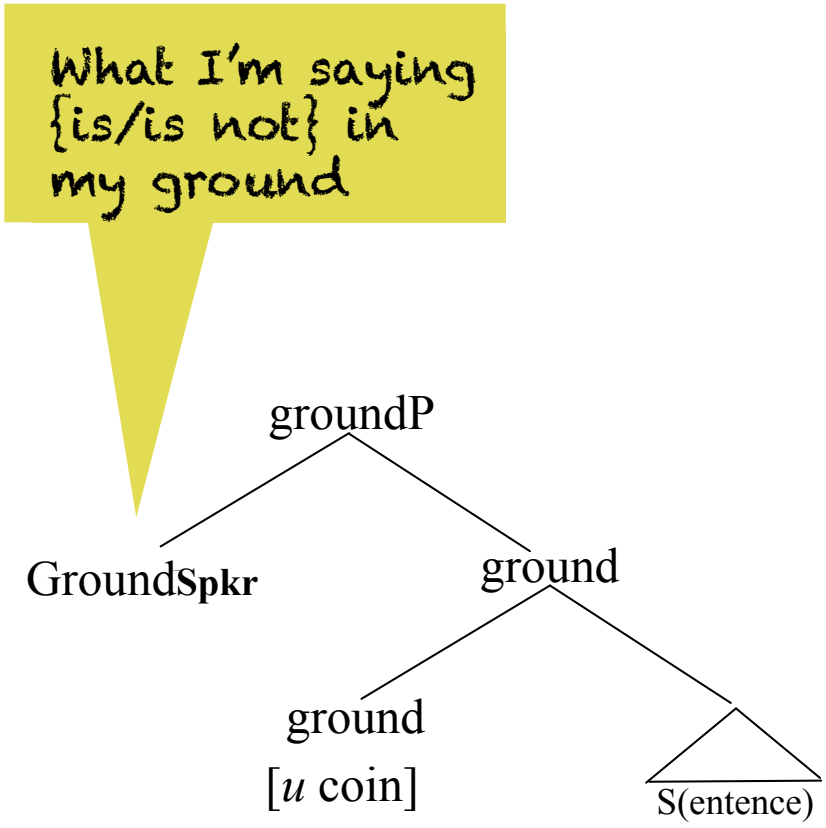


Another instance of **κ**

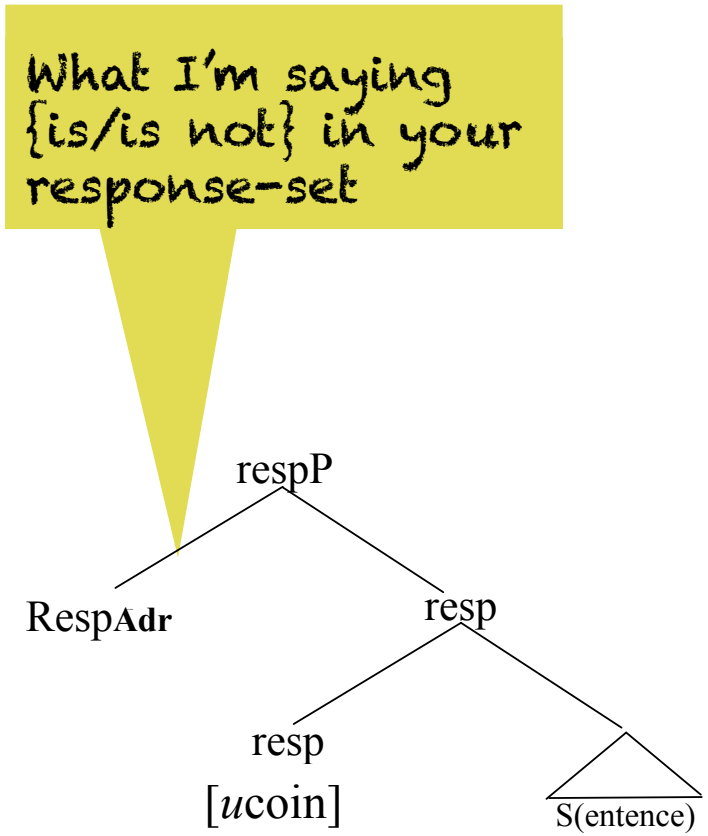


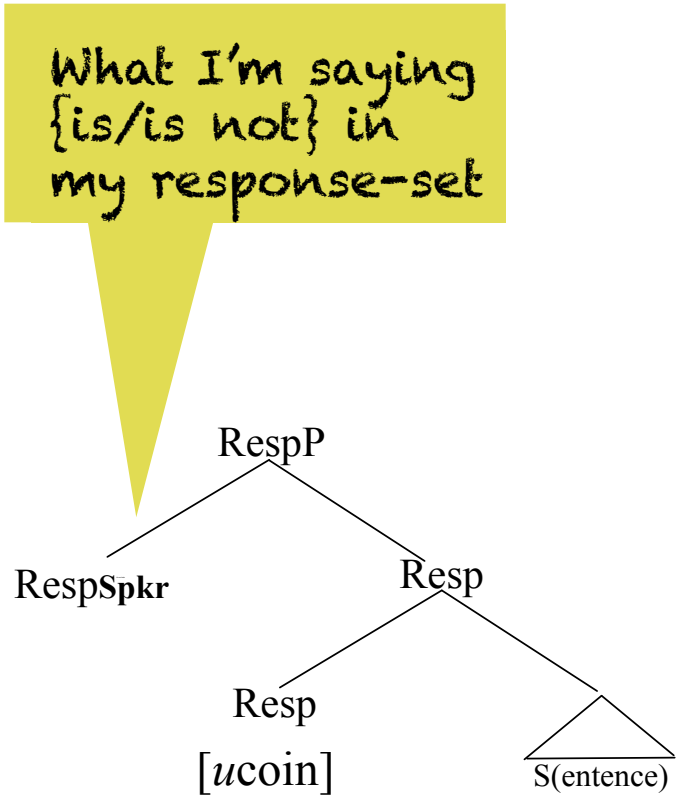
Coincidence on the extended spine

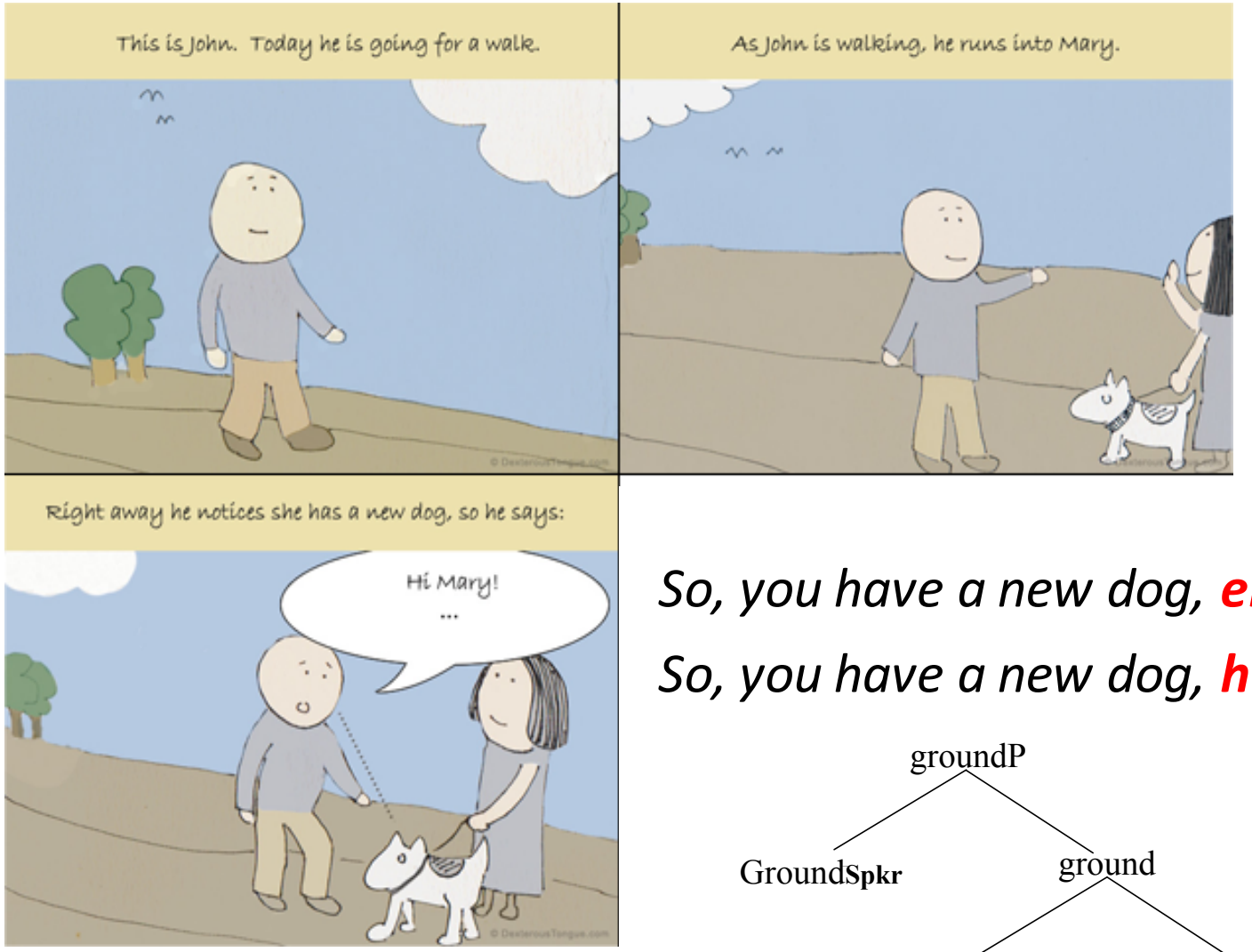




Coincidence on the extended spine

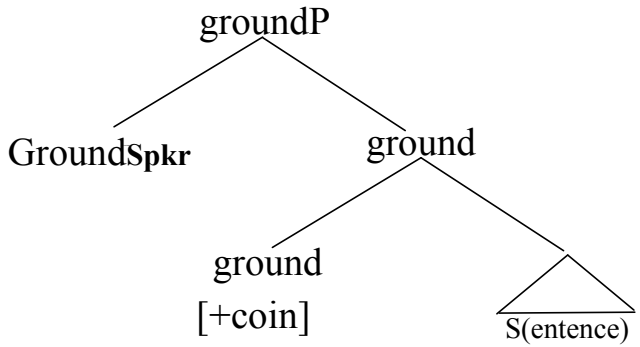


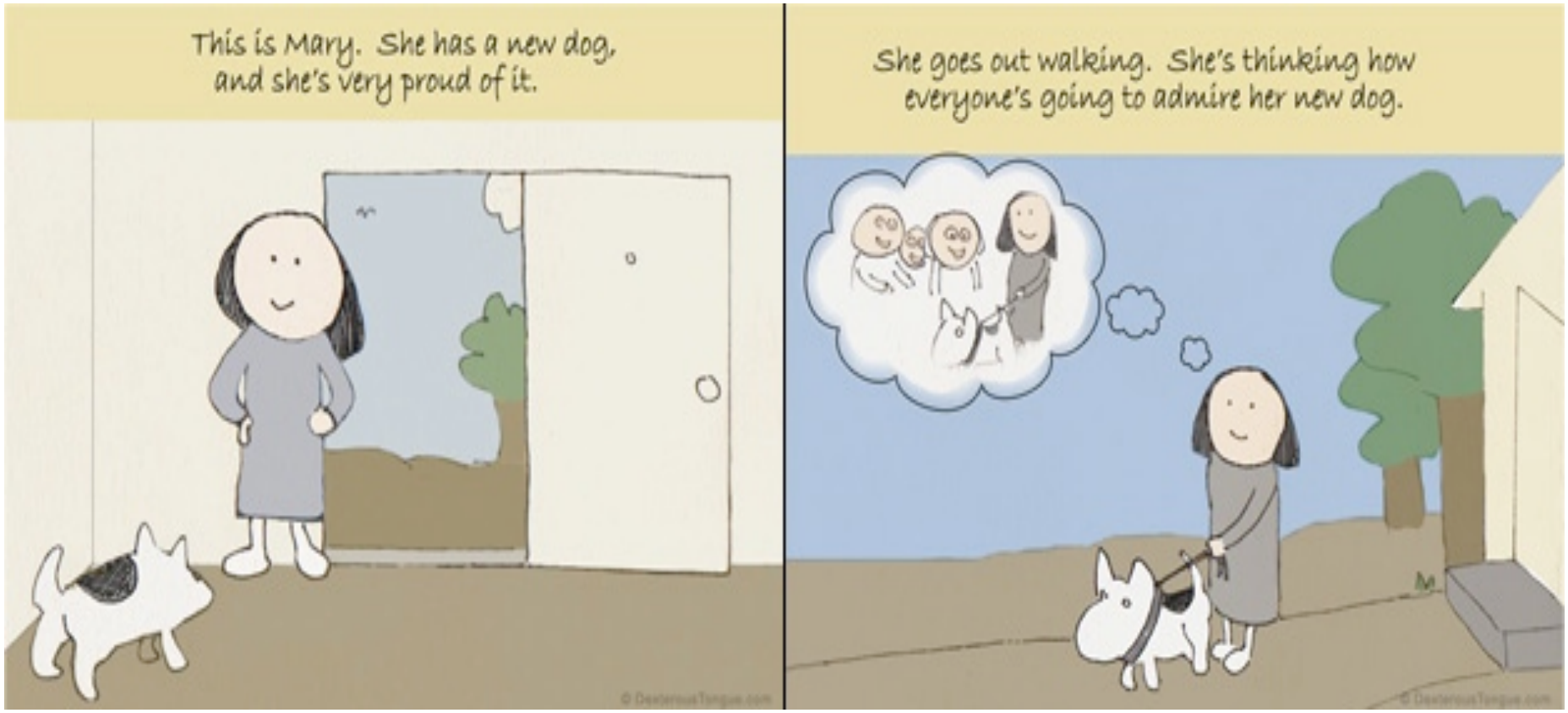


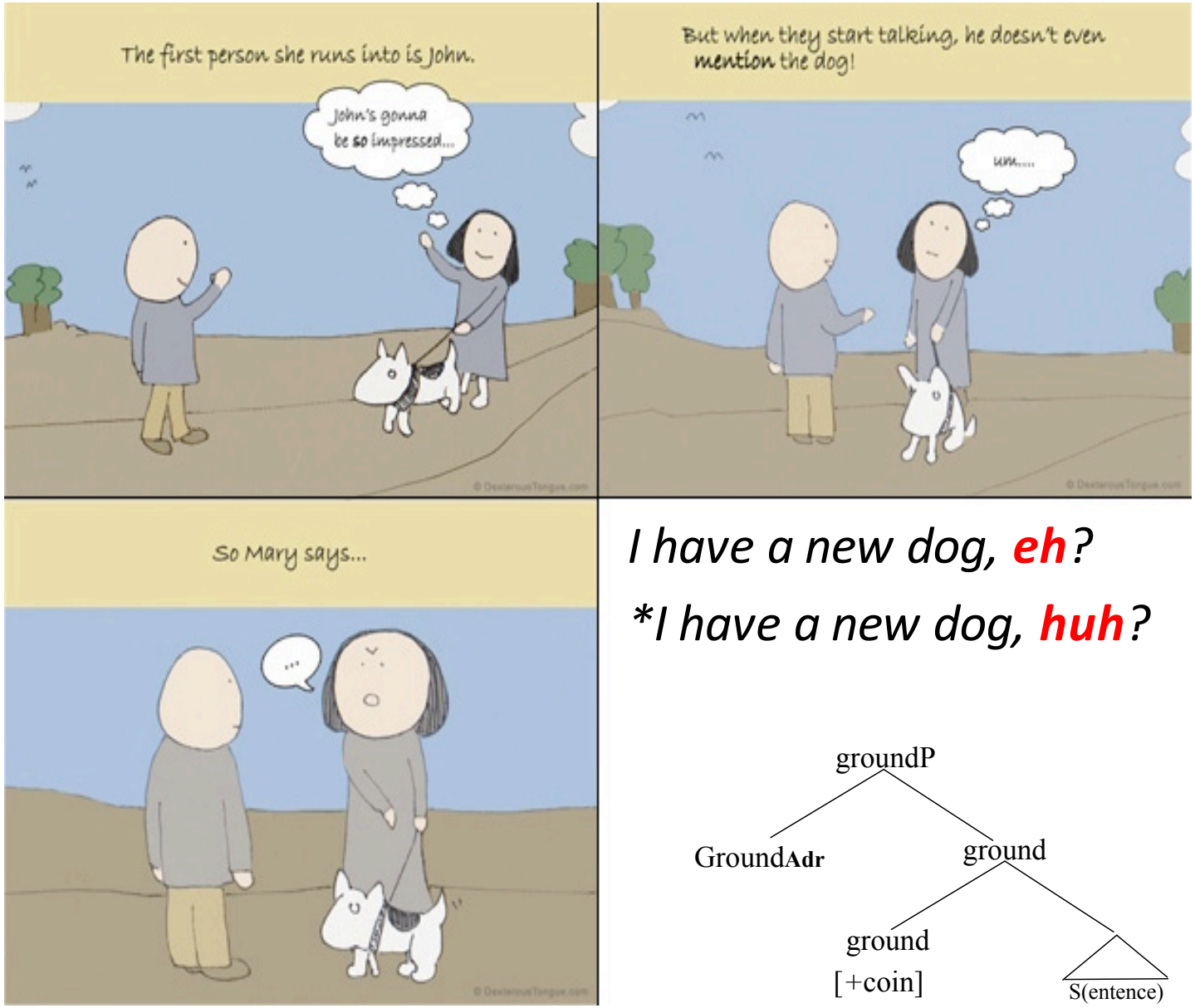


*So, you have a new dog, **eh**?*

*So, you have a new dog, **huh?***



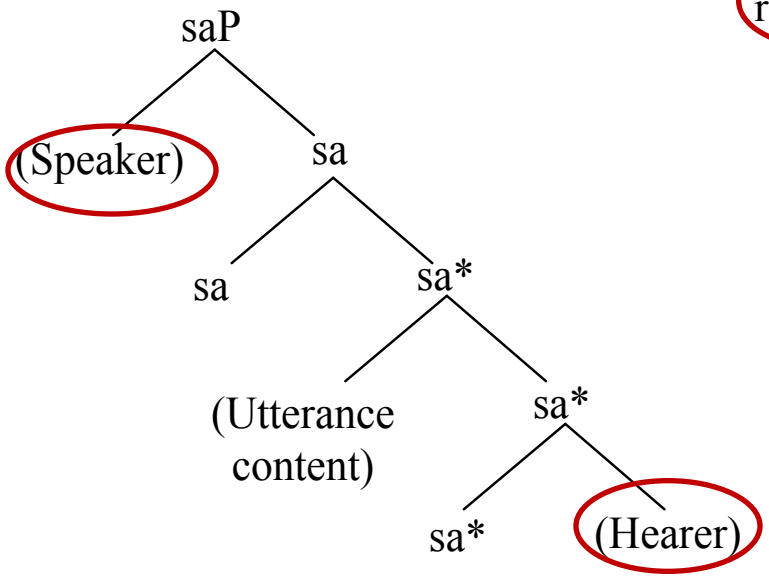

This is Mary. She has a new dog, and she's very proud of it.
She goes out walking. She's thinking how everyone's going to admire her new dog.

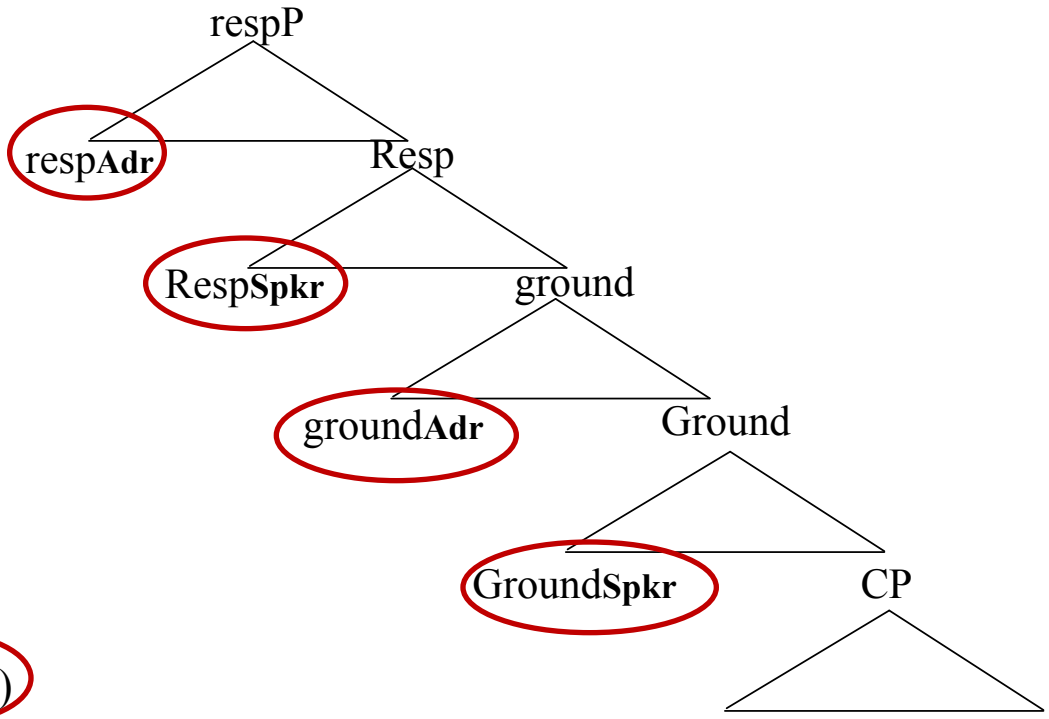


*I have a new dog, **eh**?*

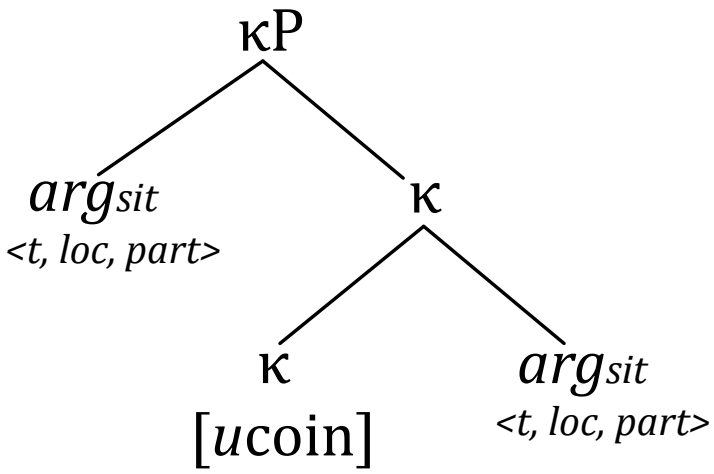
I have a new dog, **huh?*

Why participant's Ground and Response-set instead of participants?





The structure of categories



Parameters of variation associated with confirmationals and response markers identified thus far:

- **Timing of grounding**
- **Strength of belief (degree)**
- **Source of belief (location??)**

Variation

(1) *Du host leicht an neichn Hund?*
You have part a new dog?

(2) **Du host an neichn Hund, **geu**?*
You have a new dog, conf

(3) **Du host leicht an neichn Hund?*
You have part a new dog?

(4) *Du host an neichn Hund, **geu**?*
You have a new dog, conf

The syntacticization of interaction

Wiltschko (2016) Ergative constellations in the structure of speech acts

Speech act modifiers

Conditions of use for declarative assertions

(i) S believes the proposition (*p*) conveyed by her utterance.

(ii) S wants A to adopt *p* into her set of beliefs

Bach and Harnish 1979

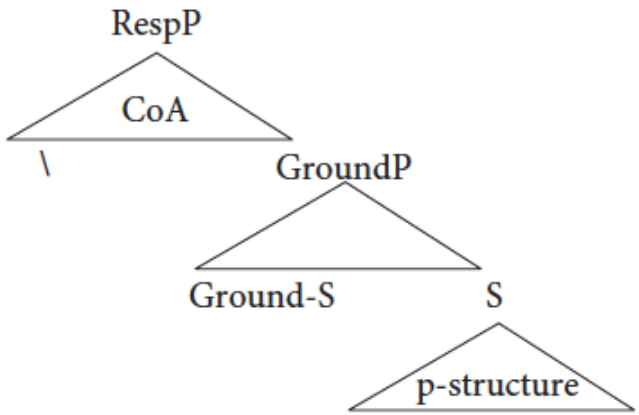
But declaratives can be modified:

i) Modifying the commitment (e.g. via **evidentials)**

ii) Modifying the Call on Addressee (e.g. via **intonation)**

Speech act modifiers

(1) You are leaving.



Conditions of use for declaratives

(i) *Bel(S,p*)

(ii) CoA: Bel(A,p)

(2) You are leaving, eh?

Conditions of use

(i) **Bel (S,p)** $\vee$ Bel (S,¬p)

(ii) CoA: Confirm (Bel (A,p))

RespP phrase need not project

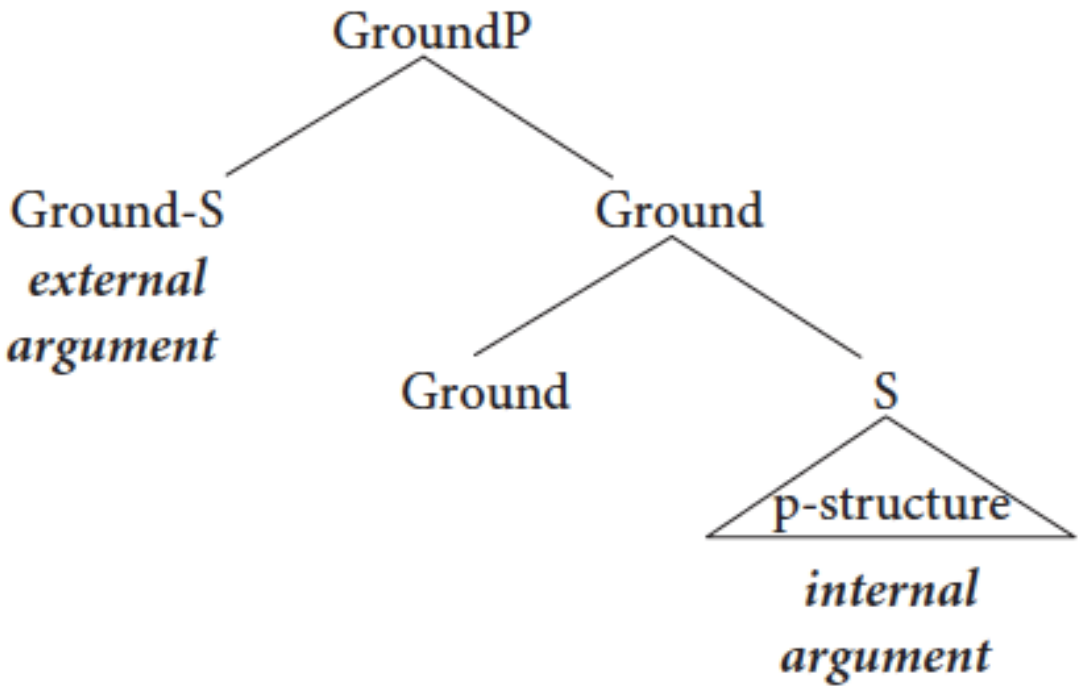
John runs into Mary and notices that she is walking a young puppy. He knows that she had wanted to get a new dog for a while. He exclaims:

(1) *You have a new dog!*

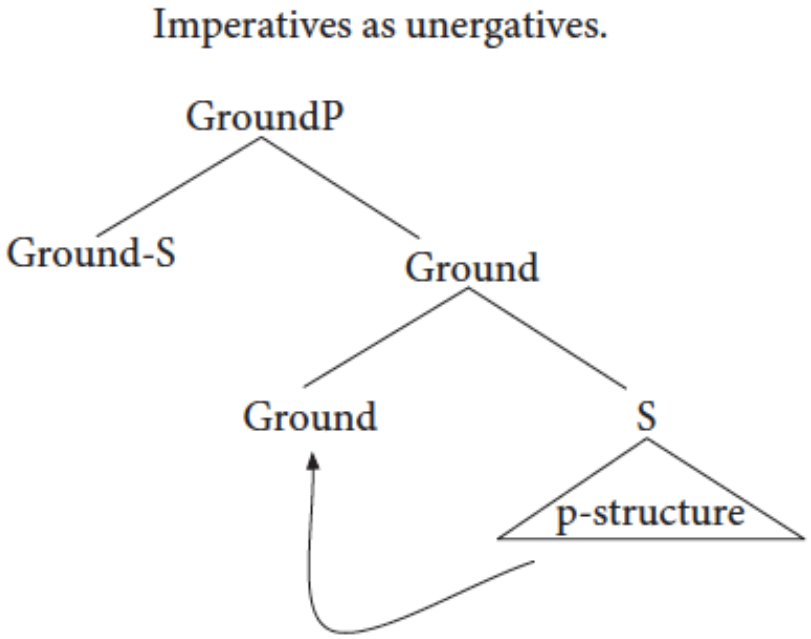
→Not “informative”

→no response necessary

Grounding structure



Unergative intransitives



- imperative clause-type denotes a **property**

(Portner 2004)

- Ground= set of intentions

Unaccusative

Para- sha- n- **si**

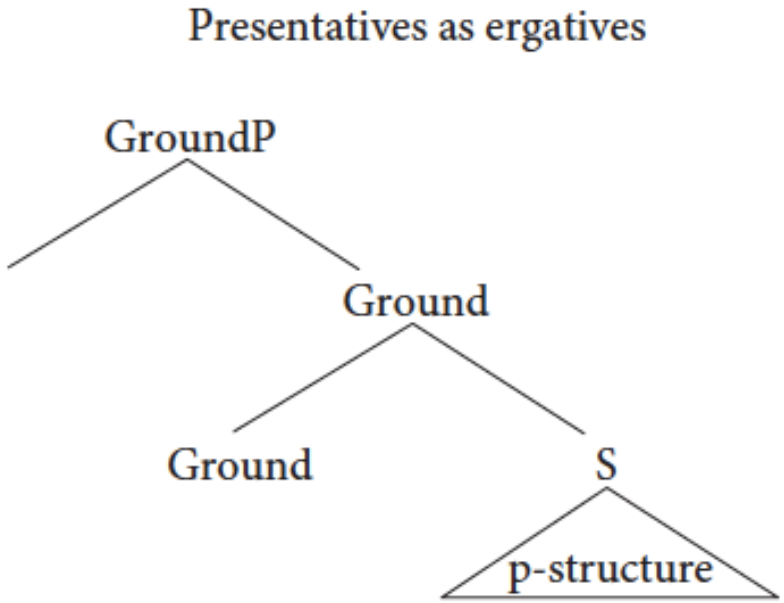
rain- prog- 3- si

p= ‘It is raining”

ILL = PRESENT (p)

Faller 2002: 199 (165)

- Sentences with evidentials have presentative force
- Presentatives “present propositions”
- S puts forth p without committing to the truth of p



Unaccusative

the speaker brings the embedded proposition into the conversation for consideration. That is the current speaker's speech act is one of presentation of another speaker's assertion. […]*There is no condition that the speaker believes p, and the illocutionary act is that of present* (Faller 2002: 198f.).

Presentatives are the most basic speech acts:

- contain the least amount of structure
- most basic kind of update (Portner 2004)

Grounding structure

Argument–structure	Speech act structure
Transitive predicates	Declarative assertion
Unergatives predicates (qua concealed transitive)	Imperative
Unaccusative (ergative) predicates	Presentation

Methodology to investigate interaction

Corpus data

Storyboards

Sarge: **Well,** you're the one keeping the secret. I'm just obliging.

Jack: **Oh,** then it's gonna be a talk about that.

Sarge: You didn't actually think I'd come over here without bringing it up, **did you**? **I mean**, you never answered my question before.

Jack: I have an appointment scheduled for tomorrow.

Sarge: **And?**

Jack: **And what?**

Sarge: Are you going to keep it or not?

Jack: **Well,** I have every intention of going.

Sarge: **Yeah.** Intentions, **eh**...

Jack: **Okay, okay, okay, yeah, yeah, yeah,** I'm definitely going in. They can run tests to their hearts' content.

Nikki: Tests? What, you're having tests?

Jack: **Yeah,** just routine, **uh,** you know the hospital.

Sarge: Doctors love to be thorough.

Nikki: **Oh. Well,** in that case, I'm all for it.

Corpus of American Soap operas
http://corpus.byu.edu/soap/
Young and Restless 2012-05-29

Problems with corpus data

- no negative data
- limited context
  (who knows what?)
- not always sound files available
- hard to find minimal pairs
- hard to use for cross-linguistic investigations

Sarge: **Well,** you're the one keeping the secret. I'm just obliging.

Jack: **Oh,** then it's gonna be a talk about that.

Sarge: You didn't actually think I'd come over here without bringing it up, **did you**? **I mean**, you never answered my question before.

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Sarge: Doctors love to be thorough.

Nikki: **Oh. Well,** in that case, I'm all for it.

How do we explore grammatical competence in understudied languages

- Grammars and dictionaries

Grammars typically do NOT contain conversational materials

- Native speaker judgments

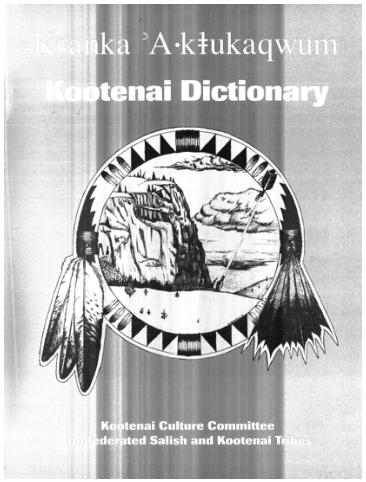
How do you say:

I have a new dog, eh?

This doesn't (always) work

How do we explore grammatical competence?

- Grammars and dictionaries



- Native speaker judgments

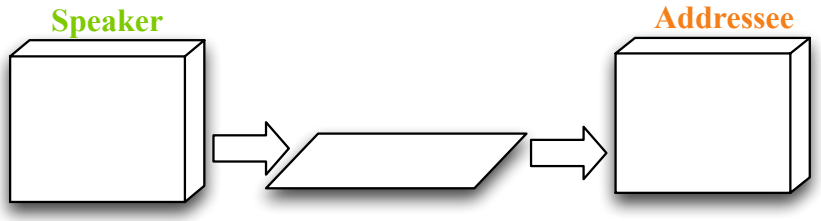
This doesn't work

So what should we elicit and how?

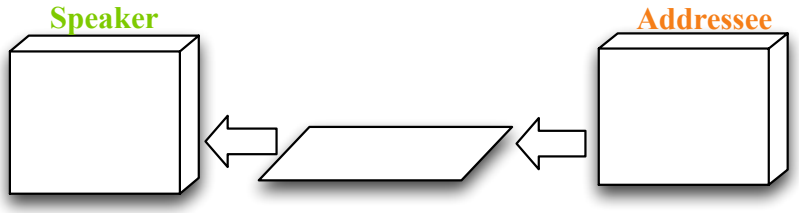
What should we elicit?

Minimal conversational units

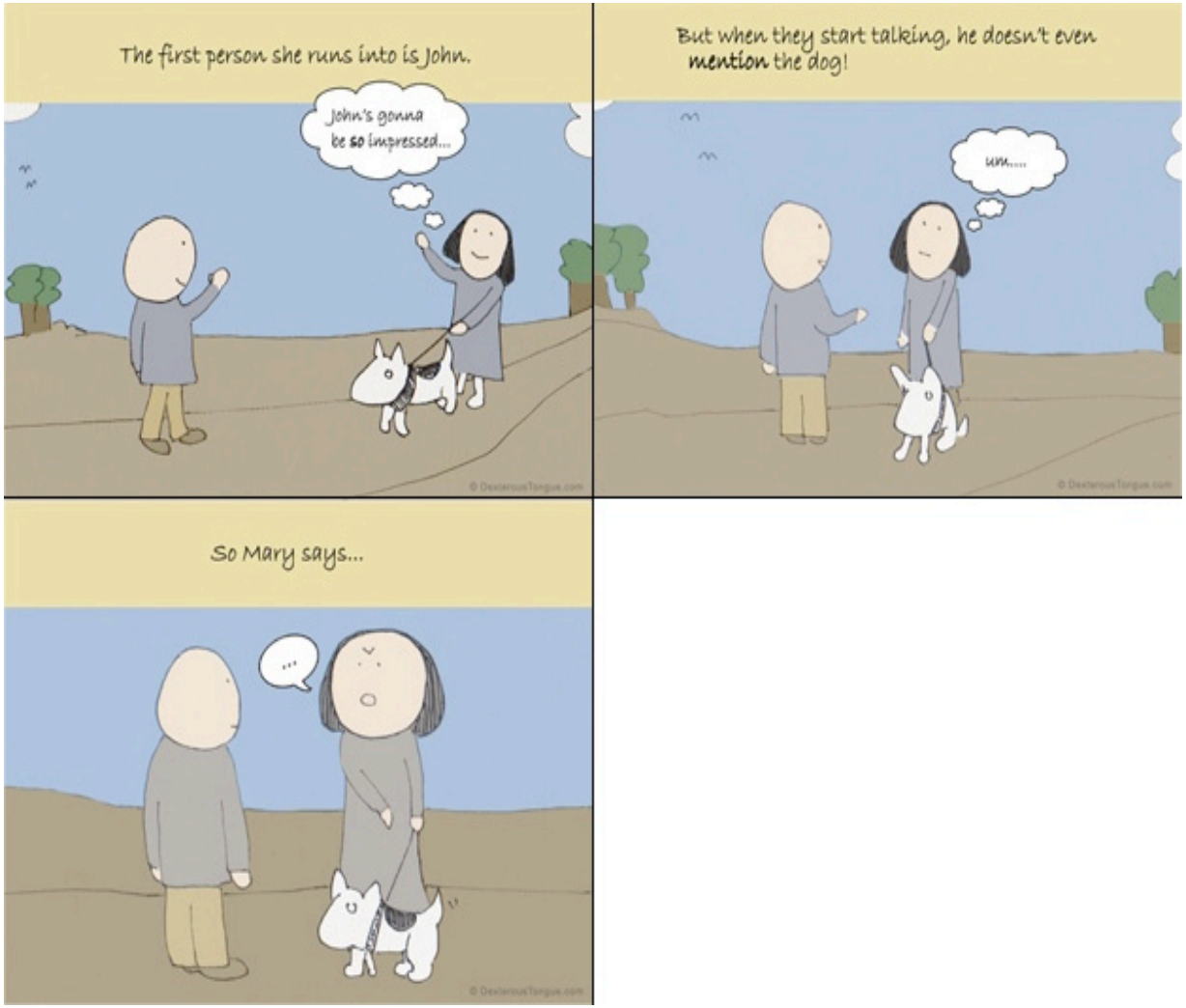
A: Presentation



B: Acceptance



How do we explore conversational competence?

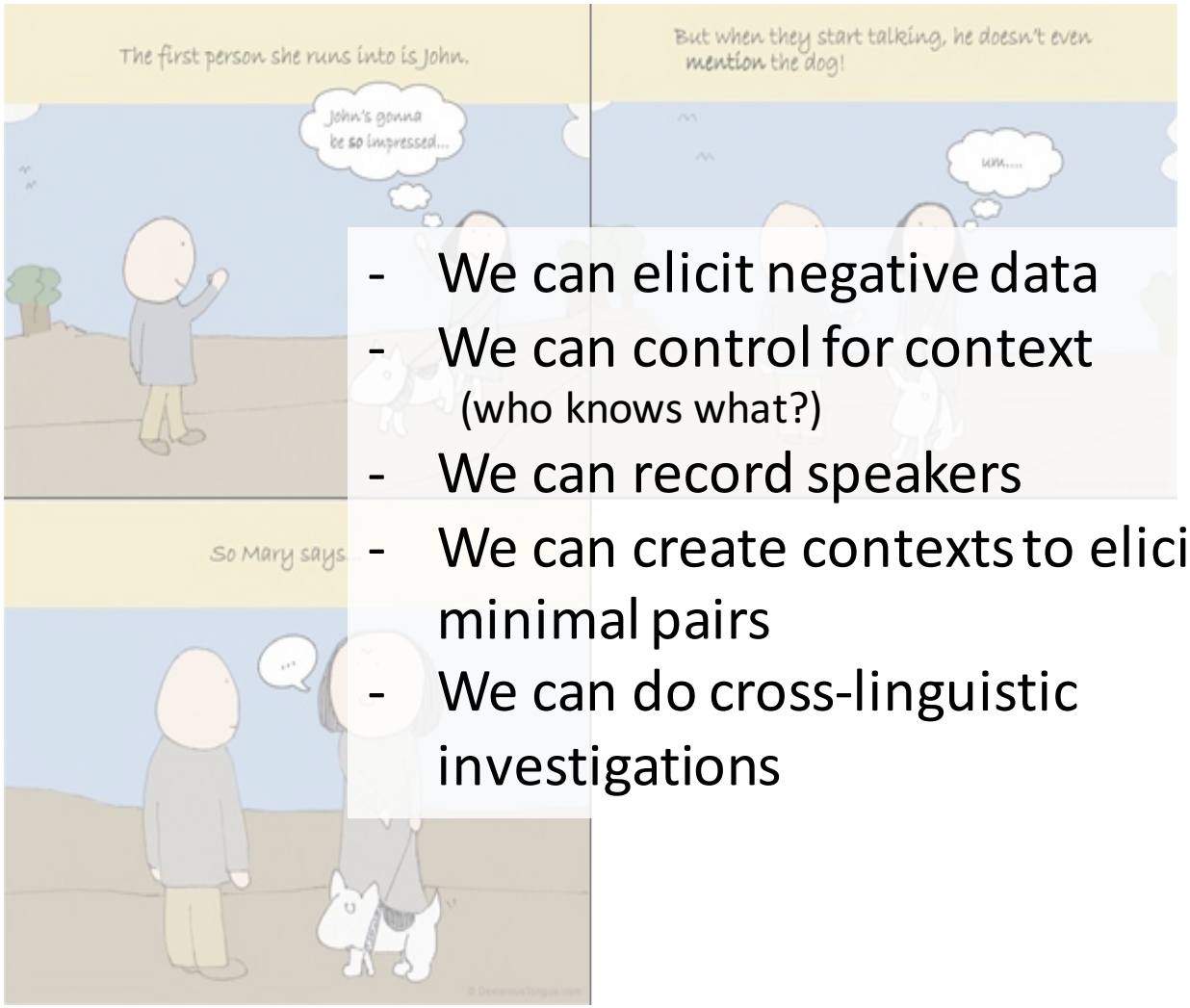


Story board elicitation

Burton & Matthewson 2014

Story board elicitation

(Burton & Matthewson 2014)



- We can elicit negative data
- We can control for context (who knows what?)
- We can record speakers
- We can create contexts to elicit minimal pairs
- We can do cross-linguistic investigations

How do we explore conversational competence?

- Native speaker judgments
- Minimal conversational units
- Elicited via story-boards