

Why we all need some fieldwork in our linguistics

Jenneke van der Wal



ANDREW NEVINS

*Minoritized Languages
guiding Linguistic Theory*

Fri, Oct 11
15:00 CEST

Discussant:
Jonathan Bobaljik



glow^{ing}
lecture series

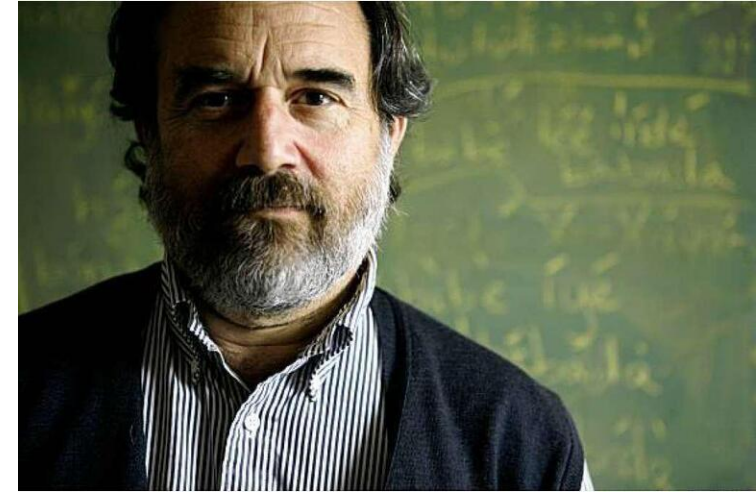
1. Look at languages beyond European spoken languages ✓
2. Practice collaborative linguistics ✓

Take-away points (& roadmap)

1. Theory needs new data (and vice versa, though less so)
2. Appreciate a language for and within its own system
3. Collaborate
 - with descriptive linguists
 - with native speaker linguists

Bonus: the 'how'

Hyman (2001): fieldwork as “a state of mind”



	FIELDWORK PROTOTYPE	FIELDWORK COUNTERTYPE	LEAST FIELD-WORK-LIKE
ELICITEE	Other	Self	Introspection
ELICITOR/OBSERVER	Self	Other	Secondary data
DISTANCE	Far	Near	One's domicile
SETTING	Small	Large	City, university
DURATION	Long	Short	Brief stopover
LANGUAGE	Exotic	Well-known	One's own
SUBJECT MATTER	Languages as used in their natural/cultural context	Language in general as a formal system	Abstract syntax
DATA	Naturalistic	Controlled	Synthetic speech
MOTIVATION	Languages-driven	Theory-driven	Mathematical linguistics

1. Theory needs data (and v.v.)

How “universal” is universal grammar?

- Generativists have moved beyond the criticism that it's only English and European languages
- BUT we must keep looking into underdescribed languages!



Theoretical
analyses benefit
from fieldwork

Fieldwork benefits
from theoretical
analyses

Case studies:

Kîitharaka clefts - tone

Kîitharaka clefts - present tense alternation



Kĩitharaka
 (central Kenya, E54)
 work with Patrick N. Kanampiu

Kĩitharaka clefts: tone

(1) (Who went to the farm?)

I Kĩmáthi ûthííre mûndaaní.

ni Kĩmathi û-thi-ire mû-nda-ni
FOC Kĩmathi 1RM-go-PFV 3-farm-LOC

‘It is Kĩmathi who went to the farm.’

Two analyses:

1. Biclausal cleft (Harford 1997)

‘[it is Kĩmathi] [who went]’

2. Monoclausal focus construction (Abels & Muriungi 2008)

‘KIMATHI went’

ni

i / _C i kaíyí ‘it is a boy’
Predictions for:
 1. Copula
 n / _V n ñitarú ‘it is a boat’
 2. Relative marking
 3. Interpretation
 4. Movement

Relative marking in Kĩitharaka

1. subject marker on verb
2. relative pronoun
3. tone!

Predictions for relative marking

- biclausal cleft analysis: **present**
- monoclausal focus: **absent**

Relative marking 1

- Historically: class 1 subject marker *a-* (non-rel) vs *û-* (relative)
- Currently: Free variation in relative clauses and initial focus construction

(2) Aariûngá na antû na áragûri, agícûaga [muntû ûmûragûrira] kîronda kîbua.

a-a-ri-ûnga na a-ntû na a-ragûri,
1SM-PST-go-round with 2-person and 2-medicine.man

a-kî-cu-ag-a [mu-ntû û-mû-ragûr-îr-a] kî-ronda kî-bua
1SM-DEP-find-HAB-FV 1-person 1RM-1OM-heal-APPL-FV 9-wound 9-be.good

‘She went around people and medicine-men looking for someone who could heal her wound.’

relative clause

(3) Kûrî na [mwaána ákúbútîra].

kû-rî na mw-ana a-kû-butîr-a
17SM-be with 1-child 1SM-PRS-swim-FV

‘There is a child who is swimming.’

Relative marking 1

(4) Í Kímaathi **û**rágwiire.

ni Kimathi **û**-ra-gw-ire

FOC 1.Kimathi **1RM**-YPST-fall-PFV

'It's Kimathi who fell.'

initial focus construction

(5) Amûûria “I ngukûûria mwarî, [n'ûû **a**gûpéere] rûûtha rwa gûtaa rûûyî?”

a-mû-ûri-a ni n-kû-kû-ûri-a mû-arî

1SM-1OM-ask-FV FOC 1SG.SM-PRS-2SG.OM-ask-FV 1-girl

[ni **û** **a**-kû-pa-îre rûûtha] rû-a kû-taa rû-ûyî?

FOC 1.who **1SM**-PRS-give-PFV 11.permission 11-CONN 15-fetch 11-water?

'He asked her, “let me ask you girl, who gave you permission to fetch water?”’

Relative marking 2

- Relative pronoun

- (6) a. Gî-túmá [**kîrá** mbîgwíiré] í gîkûrî kînéne mûno.
kî-tuma **kî-ra** m-îgw-ire ni gî-kû-rî kî-nene mûno
7-noise **7-REL** 1SG.SM-hear-PFV FOC 7SM-PRS-be 7-big INT
'The noise [that I heard] was very loud.'

(< distal demonstrative)

- b. gî-túmá gî-kî/ gî-ku/ **kî-rá**
7-noise 7-DEM.PROX/ 7-DEM.MED/ 7-DEM.DIST
'this/that/that yonder noise'

Relative marking 2

- Initial focus construction: relative pronoun only when emphatic

(7) Í mûrigitání (**ûrá**) áriiríé.
ni mû-rigitani(û-ra) a-ari-ire
FOC 1-nurse (1-RM)1SM-talk-PFV
'It's the nurse who spoke.'

- Absence of relative marking motivates a monoclausal analysis

Relative marking 3

Abels & Muriungi (2008:689)

“One major disclaimer is in order here. Kĩĩtharaka is a tone language, but we do not understand the grammar of tone sufficiently to be able to say **if and how tone interacts with the focus-related phenomena** studied in this paper. In fact, following the orthographic style of the Kĩĩtharaka bible, we do not indicate tone in our examples at all.”

	relative marking on V
general present	-
present perfective	segmental difference
present progressive	(absence ni)
future	tonal difference
hodiernal past	tonal difference
hesternal past	(absence ni)
remote past	(absence ni)

Relative marking 3

Future: tonal marking

- (8) a. mbúri îgaacíará [relative]
n-bûri î-ka-ciar-a
9.goat 9SM-FUT-give.birth-FV.REL
'a goat that will give birth'
- b. Mbúri îgáaciára. [non-relative]
n-bûri i-ka-ciar-a
9.goat 9SM-FUT-give.birth-FV
'A/the goat will give birth.'
- c. Í m̀búri îgaacíará. [initial focus constr.]
ni n-bûri i-ka-ciar-a
FOC 9.goat 9SM-FUT-give.birth-FV.REL
'It's a goat that will give birth.'

Relative marking 3

Present perfective: segmental marking

- (9) a. Mûbíirá [úrá Karímí **áringá**], úrí mûtîni. [relative]
mû-biira û-ra Karîmi a-riing-a û-rî mû-tî=ni
3-ball 3-REL 1.Karîmi 1SM-hit-FV 3SM-be 3-tree=LOC
'The ball that Karîmi has kicked is in the tree.'
- b. Karímí **akûringá** mûbíirá. [non-relative]
Karîmi a-kû-riing-a mû-biira
1.Karîmi 1SM-PRS-hit-FV 3-ball
'Karîmi has kicked a ball.'
- c. Í mûbiirá Karímí **áringa**. [initial focus constr.]
ni mû-biira Karîmi a-riing-a
FOC 3-ball 1.Karîmi 1SM-hit-FV
'It's a/the ball that Karîmi kicked.'

- Absence of relative marking motivates a monoclausal analysis
- But tonal evidence from fieldwork motivates a reconsideration!

Kĩitharaka clefts: present tense

- *Ni* is used in initial focus construction and preverbally
- A&M propose one analysis for both *ni*

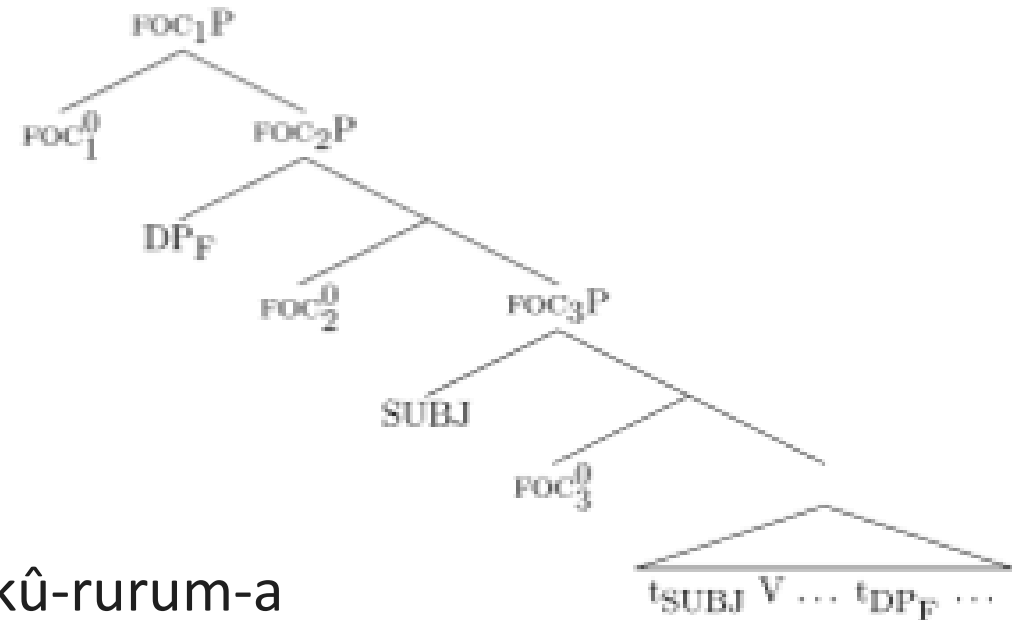
(10) (Who went to the farm?)

I Kĩmáthi ûthíire mũndaaní.

ni Kĩmathi û-thi-ire mũ-nda-ni
 FOC Kĩmathi 1RM-go-PFV 3-farm-LOC
 'It is Kĩmathi who went to the farm.'

(11) Bakĩthikĩĩria béegua nthĩgũrũ **n'** ikũruruma.

ba-kĩ-thikĩiri-a ba-ĩgua n-thĩgũrũ **ni** ikũ-rurum-a
 2SM-DEP-listen-FV 2SM-hear 9-earth FOC 9SM-PRS-shake-FV
 'When they listened, they felt that the earth was shaking.'



Argument: initial *ni* and preverbal *ni-* show the same present tense allomorphy

Abels & Muriungi's generalisation for initial and preverbal *ni*:

Present tense prefix must be *rî-* when *ni* is absent, and *kû-* when it is present.

- (12) a. Maria a-**rî**/***kû**-ruga mbi?
Maria a-rî/kû-rug-a mbi
1.Maria 1SM-PRS-cook-FV what
'What is Maria cooking?'
- b. Maria a-**rî**/***kû**-ruga mboco.
Maria a-rî/kû-rug-a mboco
1.Maria 1SM-PRS-cook-FV 10.bean
'Maria is cooking beans.' (Abels & Muriungi 2008: 697, adapted)

- (13) a. I mbi Maria a-**kû/*rî**-ruga?
ni mbi Maria a-kû/rî-rug-a
FOC what 1.Maria 1SM-PRS-cook-FV
'What is Maria cooking?'
- b. I mboco Maria a-**kû/*rî**-ruga.
ni mboco Maria a-kû/*rî-rug-a
FOC 10.bean 1.Maria 1SM-PRS-cook-FV
'Maria is cooking beans.'/'It's beans that Maria is cooking.'
(Abels & Muriungi 2008: 697, adapted)
- (14) Maria n'a-**kû/*rî**-ruga.
Maria ni a-kû/rî-rug-a
1.Maria FOC 1SM-PRS-cook-FV
'Maria is cooking.' (Abels & Muriungi 2008: 697, adapted)

Browsing all forms. Viewing forms 1,501 to 1,600 of 2,528
(page 16 of 26)

100 items per page

13 14 15 16 17 18 19

labels: ?

(1,511) gwataaní rûgono
/guat-a=ni ru-gono/
catch-imp=pla 11-story
‘Take a story’

(1,512) téne mûno i kwarî na muntû
/tene mûno ni kû-a-rî na mu-ntû
long very cop 17-pst-be with 1-person
ûmwé, aarî na mwekûrû na mwarî
û-mwe a-a-rî na mû-ekûrû na mû-arî
1-one 1sm-pst-be with 1-wife and 1-daughter
wake
wa-ke/
1.conn-1.pro

‘Very long ago, there was a man who had a wife and his daughter’

(1,513) baatûûrágá bwéega mwanká ntugû îmwe
/ba-a-tuur-ag-a bû-ega muanka n-tugu î-mwe/
2sm-pst-live-hab-fv 14-good until 9-day 1-one
‘They lived well, till one day’

BUT: *kû-* often used in absence of *ni*!

- (15) Nkûrûngû **îkû**îgua kaana gagîitana î, yaûkîira.
n-kûrûngû î-**kû**-îgu-a ka-ana ka-gîit-an-a î î-a-ûk-îr-a
9-gazelle 9SM-PRS-hear-FV 12-child 12SM-call-RECIP-FV ii 9SM-PST-wake-APPL-FV
'When the gazelle heard the child calling, it stood up.'
- (16) (What is grandma doing with the mangos?)
Ká á-**gû**/***rî**-tá (meembe).
ka a-**kû**/***rî**-t-a ma-embe
KA 1SM-PRS-throw-FV 6-mango
'It is that she is throwing (them) away.'
- (17) Mbiti îrá î-**kû**/***rî**-thekága íi nthûûkú mûnó.
m-biti î-ra î-**kû**/***rî**-thek-ag-a ni n-thûûku mûno
9-hyena 9-REL 9SM-PRS-laugh-HAB-FV COP 9-hostile INT
'The hyena that was laughing is very ugly/hostile.'

- Instead: *kû-* is default and *rî-* used for progressive or continuative reading and in main clause only.

(19) A-*rî*-endi-a nyaanyá na i-tûngûrû.

1SM-PRS-sell-FV 10.tomato and 8-onion

'She is selling tomatoes and onions.'

*Context A:

We are walking in Marimanti and a woman passes by on a motorcycle. I wonder who this is; you say she is a market seller. I ask what she typically sells. You reply this.

✓ Context B:

We are on the market and pass a stall. I can't quite see what a particular woman is selling, and ask what she is selling here. You reply this.

Relevance for GLOWing linguists:

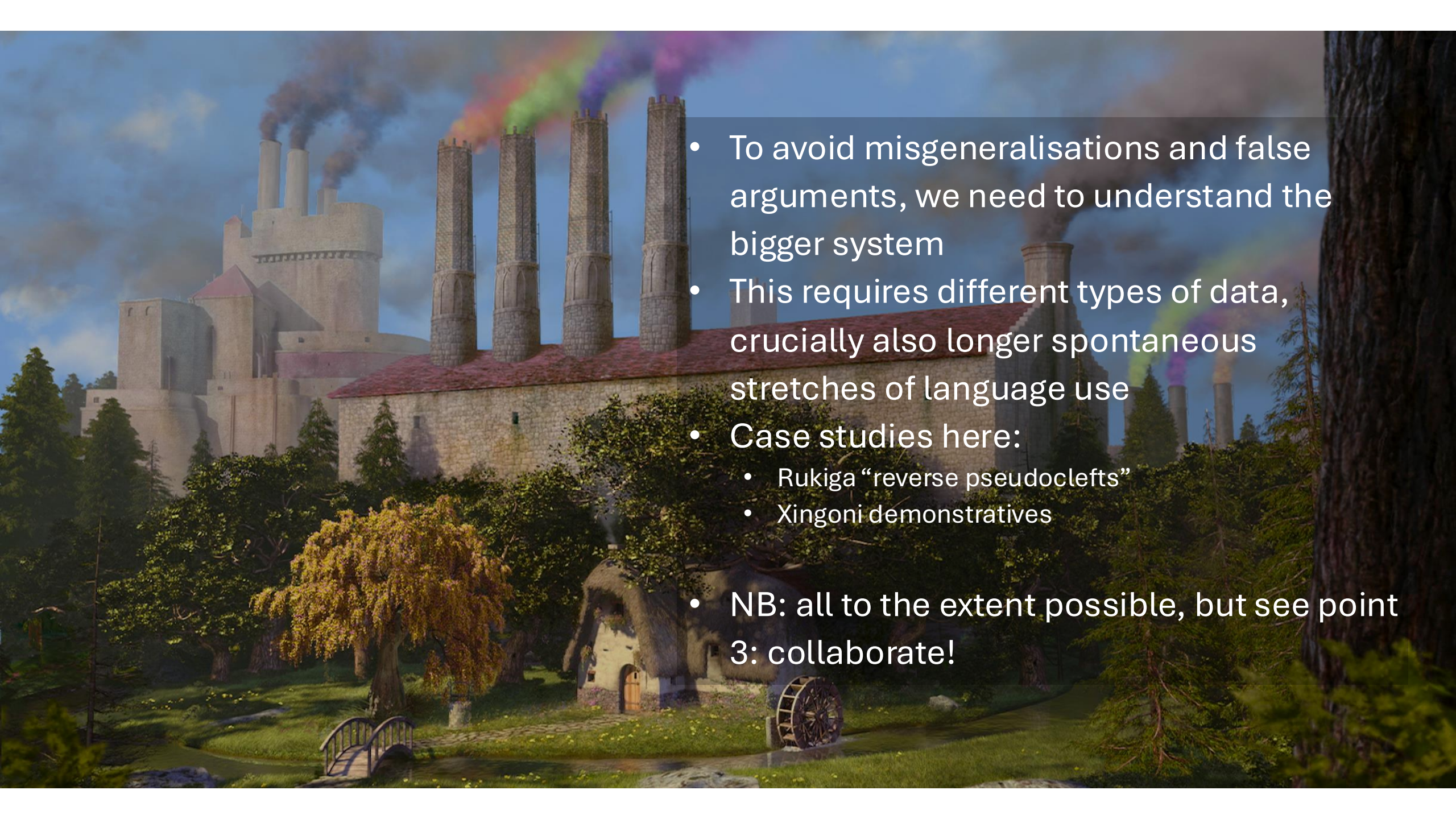
- New fieldwork data can add/remove/sharpen the arguments
- This is necessary to arrive at the right (motivation for) analysis
- This in turn supports (or not) the general theory
- Tone is relevant (you wouldn't write your data without vowels!)

- Introspection
- Classification experiments
- Categorical and Non-Categorical
- Why and how dialects?

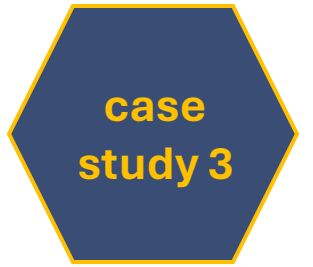




2. Appreciate a language
for and within its own
system



- To avoid misgeneralisations and false arguments, we need to understand the bigger system
- This requires different types of data, crucially also longer spontaneous stretches of language use
- Case studies here:
 - Rukiga “reverse pseudoclefts”
 - Xingoni demonstratives
- NB: all to the extent possible, but see point 3: collaborate!



(21) Kinyakyusa (Tanzania, database Lusekelo, Msovela & vdWal)

I-j-a-m-bwiga jo iji n-gu-loond-a.
AUG-9-CONN-9-ginger 9.COP 9.DEM.PROX 1SG.SM-PRS-want-FV
'With ginger is what I want.'

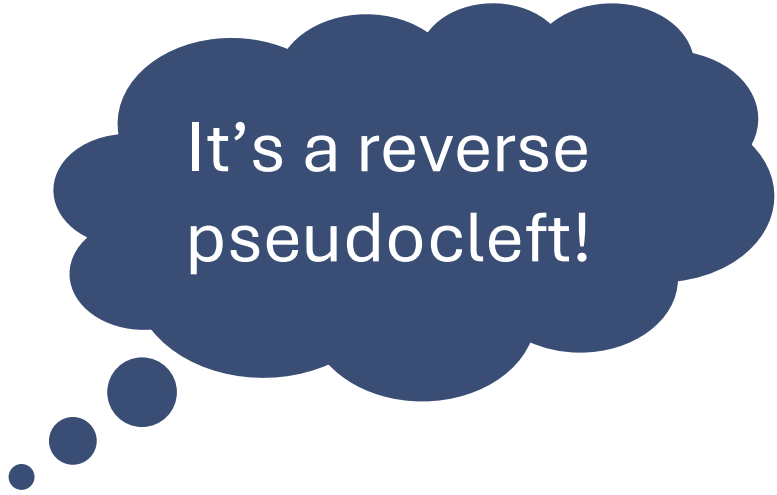
(22) Kĩĩtharaka (Kenya, database Kanampiu & vdWal)

Mũ-biira n' uu Karĩmi a-riing-iré.
3-ball COP 3.PRO 1.Karimi 1SM-kick-PFV
'A ball is what Karimi kicked.'

NP COP PRO (S) V

(23) Rukiga (Uganda, database Asiimwe & vdWal)

Muhógo ni-yó Paméla a-ryá-téeka.
9.cassava COP-9.PRO 1.Pamela 1SM-FUT-cook
'Cassava is what Pamela will cook.'



It's a reverse
pseudocleft!

NP_{FOC} = [free relative]



Rukiga
 (western Uganda, JE14)
 work with Allen Asiimwe

Rukiga reverse pseudoclefts

(Asiimwe & Van der Wal to appear)

(24) a. [E-kí Bíiru y-aa-y-ozy-á] ni sókisi.
AUG-7REL.PRO 1.Bill 1SM-N.PST-wash.CAUS-FV COP 10.socks
'What Bill washed is socks.'

b. *Sókisi n' [e-kí/e-zí Bíiru y-aay-ózy-a].
10.socks COP AUG-7/10.REL.PRO 1.Bill 1SM-PST-wash.CAUS-FV

c. Sókisi ni-zó Bíiru y-aay-ózy-a.
10.socks COP-10.PRO 1.Bill 1SM-PST-wash.CAUS-FV
'SOCKS Bill washed.' / 'Socks is what Bill washed.'

Understanding this in its own system

Ingredient 1: Focus not allowed preverbally

- (25) a. *Kí Jóvani y-aa-twar-a?
what 1.Jovan 1SM-N.PST-take-FV
int. 'What has Jovan taken?'
- b. (What has Jovan taken?)
#E-n-tébe Jóvani y-áá-twár-a.
AUG-9-chair 1.Jovan 1SM-N.PST-take-FV
int. 'Jovan has taken a chair.'

- (26) *Táátá wenká yíij-a.
taata w-enka y-a-ij-a
1.father 1-only 1SM-N.PST-come-FV
'Only dad came.'

Ingredient 2: Topics preferred preverbally

(27) Omu bwire bwa Yés' ábant' ábaabaire baba bain' éndwára nk'ébibémbe, hamwé n'ézíndi ndwára bakabá babashoróora.

[o-mu bw-ire bu-a Yesu] [a-ba-ntu a-ba-aba-ire ba-ba
AUG-18 14-time 14-CONN 1.Jesus AUG-2-person AUG-2RM-be-PFV 2SM-be

ba-ine e-n-dwara nka e-bi-bembe hamwe na e-zi-ndi
2SM-have AUG-10-disease like AUG-8-leprosy and and AUG-10-other

n-dwara] ba-ka-ba ba-ba-shoroor-a
10-disease 2SM-FPST-be 2SM-2OM-discriminate-FV

'During Jesus' time, people who were suffering from diseases like leprosy and other diseases were discriminated against.'

Topic/nonfocus/accessible – V – Focus/nontopic

Ingredient 3: basic cleft more natural for pronouns than NPs

(28) N' oh' ógyéñzire?

ni o-há o-gyend-iire
COP 1-who 1SM.REL-go-PFV
'Who left?'

(29) Nizó naabuganáho.

ni z-o e-zi n-aa-bugan-a=ho
COP 10-PRO AUG-REL.PRO 1SG.SM-N.PST-meet-FV=16.LOC
'It's them that I have met there.'

(30) (What will Pamela cook?)

Ni muhógo eyí Paméla aryátéeka.
ni muhógo e-yí Paméla a-ryá-téeka
COP 9.cassava AUG-9.REL.PRO 1.Pamela 1SM-FUT-cook
'It's cassava that Pamela will cook.'

Topic/nonfocus/accessible – V – Focus/nontopic



Sókisi ni-zó Bíiru y-aay-ózy-a.
10.socks COP-10.PRO 1.Bill 1SM-PST-wash.CAUS-FV
'Socks, it's them that Bill washed.'



If the initial NP is a topic, then we can explain other properties too:

- (31) a. *Enki/ki ni-kyo Paméra a-ryá-téeka? *no wh*
what COP-7PRO 1.Pamela 1SM-FUT-cook
'What is it that Pamela will cook?'
- b. *Oha ni-we o-waa-shohora?
1.who COP-1.PRO 1SM.REL-N.PST-move.out
'Who has moved out?'
- (32) Sókisi, ni-zó Bíiru y-aay-ózy-a. *pause*
10.socks COP-10.PRO 1.Bill 1SM-PST-wash.CAUS-FV
'Socks, it is them that Bill washed.'

$NP_{FOC} = [\text{free relative}]$

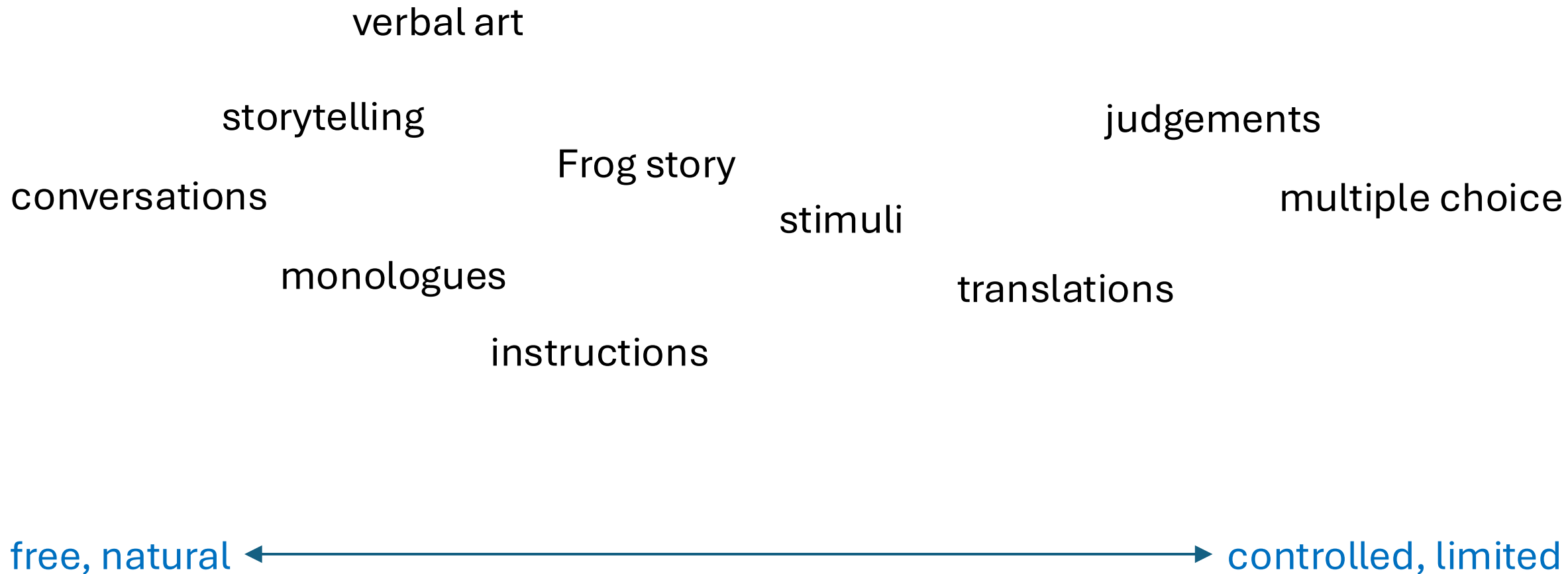
Topic/nonfocus/accessible – V – Focus/nontopic

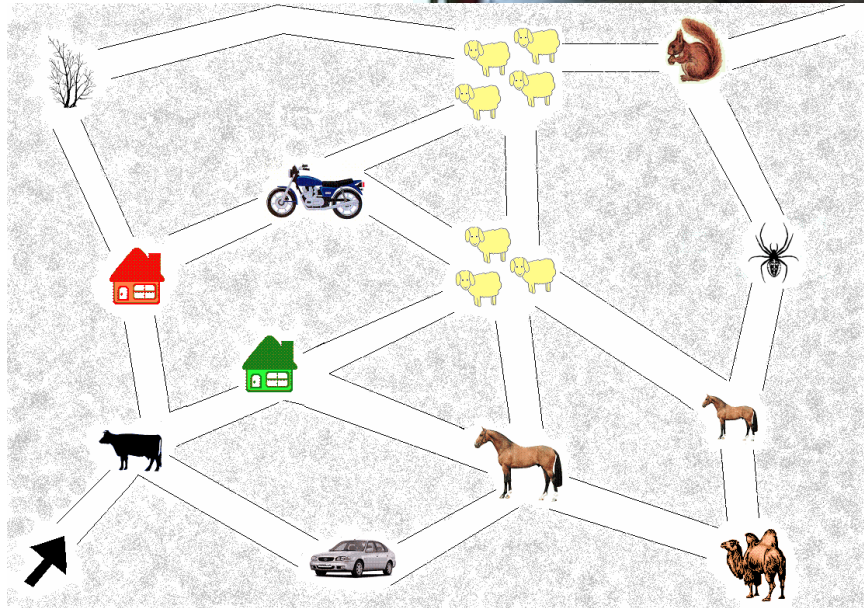
$NP_{TOP_i} COP PRO_{FOC_i} V_{REL}$

NB This is not the full story – there are fragment answers too! See further Asimwe & vdWal to appear.

Relevance for GLOWing linguists:

- The analysis must fit within the rest of the grammar.
- This can only be evaluated by looking at the language beyond the one phenomenon we're focusing on.
- This in turn requires different types of data.

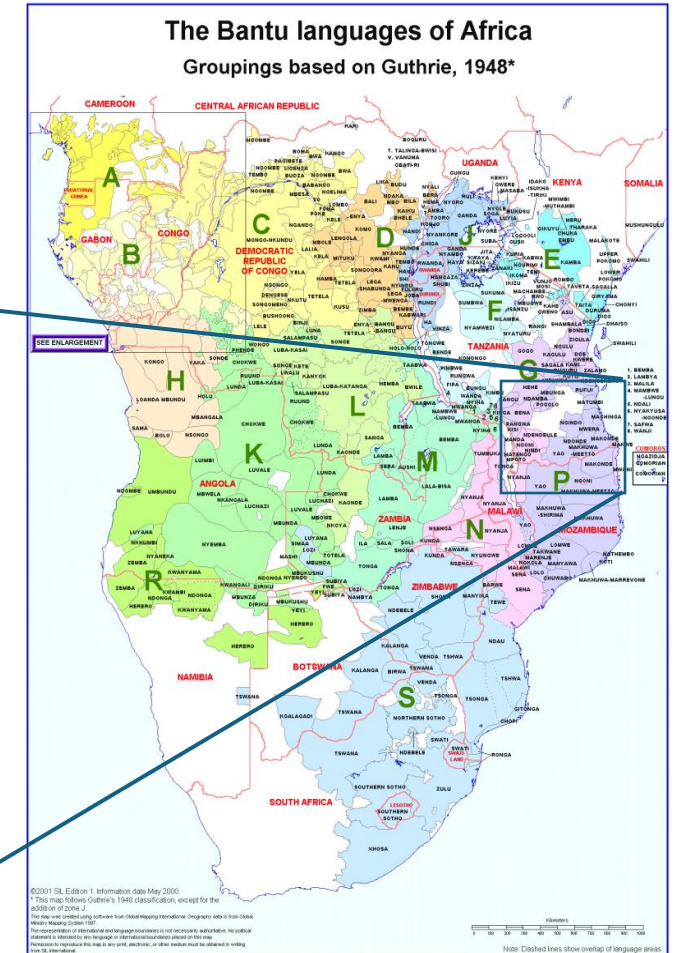






A descriptive grammar of Mozambican Ngoni

Heidrun Kröger



case
study 4

Xingoni demonstratives

	CL1	CL2
Proximal 1 - near speaker with physical contact	jôni	vani
Proximal 2 - generally near speaker	jônjoni	vambani
Medial - near hearer	jônojo, -ôjo	vanava, -ava
Distal 1 - generally far	jôla	vala
Distal 2 - far but visible	jwajôla	vavala

All Texts	Type	Words
Primary data	Oral texts	10731
	Written texts	2231
Secondary data	Various translated texts	2299
	Biblical texts	167718
	Children's books	1501
		184480

“Nneki hôte, pangi jê **hilatu!**”

Ahula **hilatu hêla**, akita’: “Kutopa!”

mu-ni-lek-i hôte pangi jê hi-latu
SP₂SG-OP₁SG-leave-SBJV1 first perhaps 8-shoe

minor participant > distal demonstrative

a-hul-a hi-latu hêla a-kit-itai ku-top-a
SP₁-take_off-FV 8-shoe DEM.D₈ SP₁-say-IPFV 15-be_heavy-FV

“Leave me first, maybe it’s the shoes!”

She took off the shoes, she said: “(They are) heavy!” T10.87-88

Akave’ **munalôme**, nnupataji ni ntegaji mitegu ya nyama.

Jôno’ akave’ nahanamundu va wiwo.

a-ka-v-el-a mu-nalôme mu-lupata-ji ni mu-tega-ji
SP₁-PST-be-APP-FV 1-man 1-hunt-NMLZ and 1-trap-NMLZ

mi-tegu i-a nyama
3-trap PP₃- CON 9.animal

major participant > medial demonstrative

Jôno’ a-ka-v-el-a ni=a-hana=mundu va-a u-iwo
he/DEM.M₁ SP₁-PST-be-APP-FV with=1a-wife=RFL.POSS PP₂-CON 14-jealousy

There was a man, a hunter and a trapper. He had a jealous wife. T2.1-2

“Nneki hôte, pangi jê **hilatu!**”

Ahula **hilatu hêla**, akita’: “Kutopa!”

mu-ni-lek-i hôte pangi jê hi-latu
SP₂SG-OP₁SG-leave-SBJV1 first perhaps 8-shoe

minor participant > distal demonstrative

a-hul-a hi-latu hêla a-kit-itai ku-top-a
SP₁-take_off-FV 8-shoe DEM.D₈ SP₁-say-IPFV 15-be_heavy-FV

“Leave me first, may
She took off the shoe

	referent continuity	referent enhancement
major participant	verbal prefix	medial dem.
minor participant/prop	distal I dem.	medial dem.

Akave’ **munalôme**, ni
Jôno’ akave’ nahanan

a-ka-v-el-a mu-nalôme mu-lupata-ji ni mu-tega-ji
SP₁-PST-be-APP-FV 1-man 1-hunt-NMLZ and 1-trap-NMLZ

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Jôno’ a-ka-v-el-a ni=a-hana=mundu va-a u-iwo
he/DEM.M₁ SP₁-PST-be-APP-FV with=1a-wife=RFL.POSS PP₂-CON 14-jealousy

There was a man, a hunter and a trapper. He had a jealous wife.

The function of the clitic medial seems to be first and foremost *referent enhancement* while the distance feature as near the hearer is bleached.
(H. Kröger 2024)

the pragmatic use of the Xingoni medial and distal 1 shows a grammaticalized distinction between referent continuity –done by the distal– and referent enhancement – done by the medial.
(H. Kröger 2024)

Relevance for GLOWing linguists:

- Only the features [+/- prox] and [+/- dist] do not capture how demonstratives function in Xingoni (i.e. speaker's competence)
- This can only be established in longer stretches of spontaneous use

Take-away 2:

- Beware of myopia
- Get a feeling of how a language functions as a system
- Use different types of data and longer stretches of spontaneous use

- What is the whole system?
- What is the status of a linguistic fact?
- Attested-Possible-Unrealized-Transitional
- Diasystems
- Maps/Dialectology/Quantitative Analysis helps

Examples

(1) Everyone must_{fin} can_{inf} swim_{inf} (1-2-3)

(2) *Everyone can_{inf} must_{fin} swim_{inf} (2-1-3)

(3) Everyone must_{fin} swim_{inf} can_{fin} (1-3-2)

‘Everyone must be able to swim’



a

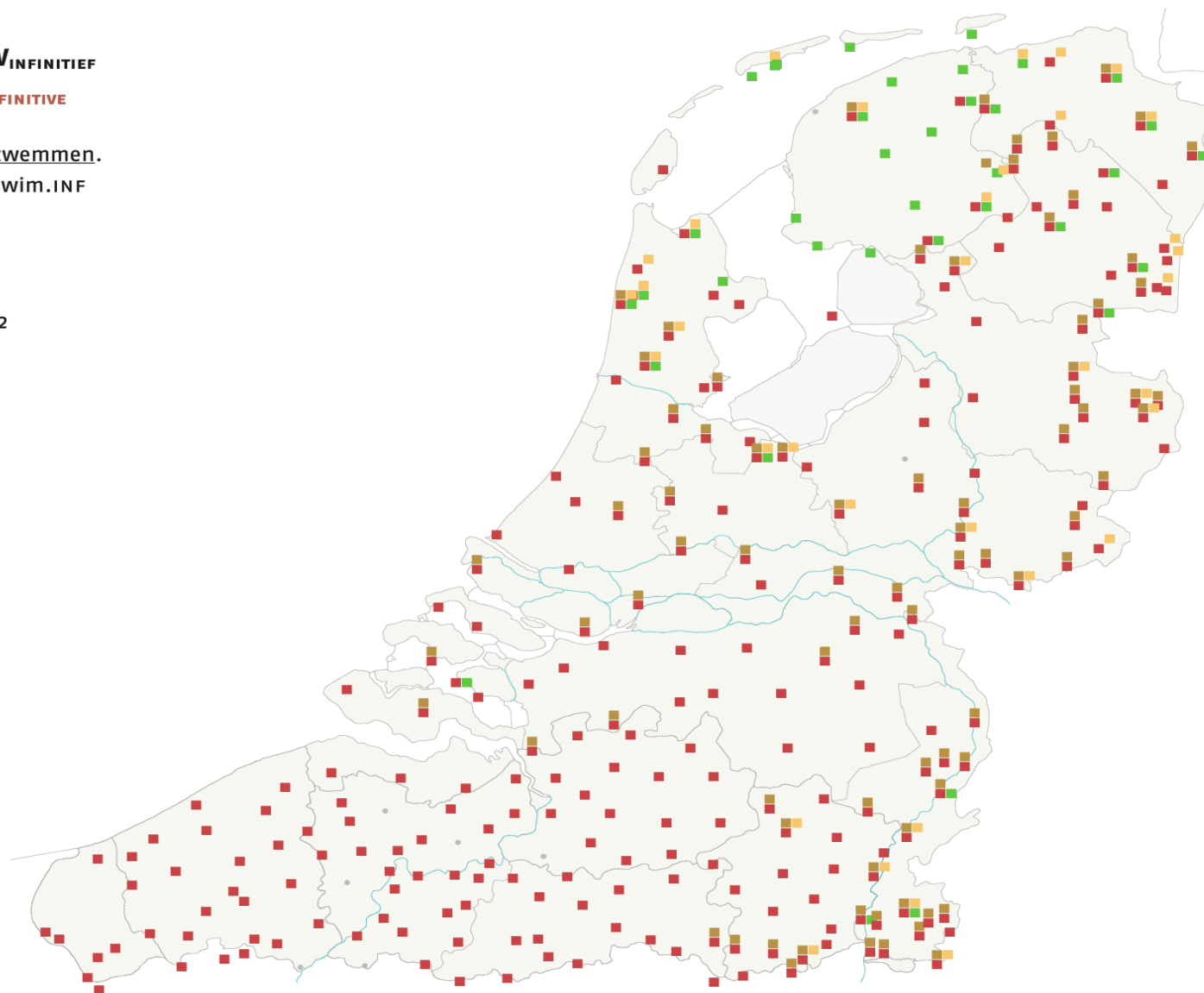
1.3.2.1 **Modaal_{FINIET} • Modaal_{INFINITIEF} • V_{INFINITIEF}**
Modal_{FINITE} • Modal_{INFINITIVE} • V_{INFINITIVE}

Ik vind dat iedereen moet kunnen zwemmen.

I think that everyone must.FIN can.INF swim.INF

'I think that everyone should be able to swim.'

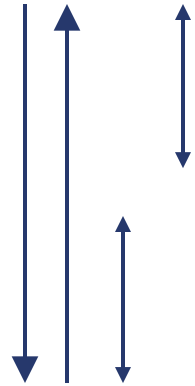
- V1-V2-V3 (moet kunnen zwemmen) 242
- V1-V3-V2 (moet zwemmen kunnen) 34
- V3-V1-V2 (zwemmen moet kunnen) 83
- V3-V2-V1 (zwemmen kunnen moet) 37





3. Collaborate

- data
- description
- analysis
- theory



complement your
expertise: find a
linguist buddy!

If you know a lot about a theoretical area, approach a language expert/fieldworker to see what happens in that language (and vice versa).



Klaus von Heusinger

+Semra Kizilkaya, Zarina Levy-Forsythe = DOM in Turkish and Uzbek

+Alina Tigau = DOM in Romanian

+Georg Kaiser, Alazne Arriortua = DOM in Basque

+Tiago Augusto Duarte, Marco García, Georg Kaiser = DOM in Spanish

If you want to work on a language that is not your own, find native speaker linguists for the inside insights to complement your outside perspective (and vice versa)

BaSIS
Bantu Syntax & Information Structure

The Bantu languages of Africa
Groupings based on Guthrie, 1948*

Elisabeth Kerr
Leiden University
Tunen

Zhen Li
Leiden University
Teke

Allen Asiimwe
Makerere University
Rukiga

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Makhuwa

Aurelio Simango
Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
Changana

Nelsa Nhantumbo
Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
Copi

Rukiga (Asiimwe and Van der Wal to appear)

(34) O-kw-óg-a (kw-é) n-áá-yog-a.

AUG-15-swim-FV 15-CM 1SG.SM-N.PST-swim-FV

'I have (really) swum (, but...).'

1. Contrast: I was expected to swim and play baseball.
2. Verum: Pool attendant sees me walking away from the pool area showing no sign that I entered the water.
3. Intensity: I went into the pool and swam for a long time with lots of energy.
4. Depreciative: The water was too cold but I went ahead and swam anyway.
5. Mirative: I have always feared to get into the water but hey I can swim!

Kîîtharaka (Kanampiu & Van der Wal to appear)

(35) Mbúra **yoo** îkuúra

m-bura î-o î-kû-ura

9-rain 9-CM 9SM-PRS-rain

‘It has (indeed/really) rained (but...)’

- Contrast: There was a weather forecast that predicted there would rain accompanied by heavy storm
- Verum: Has it really rained? I do not trust what Edith says.
- Intensive: I hear you received some good amount of rainfall unlike other times!
- Depreciative: It has rained but you think it won’t help because the crops had already withered.



Justine Sikuku
Moi University (Kenya)

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REGULAR ARTICLE

Pragmatic effects of clitic doubling

Two kinds of object markers in Lubukusu

Justine M. Sikuku, Michael Diercks, and Michael R. Marlo
Moi University | Pomona College | University of Missouri

Object markers (OMs) in Bantu languages have long been argued to be either incorporated pronouns or agreement morphemes, distinguished mainly by their ability (or not) to co-occur with (i.e. double) *in situ* objects. Lubukusu appears to be an instance of OMs-as-incorporated pronouns, as OMs in neutral discourse contexts cannot double *in situ* objects in a broad range of syntactic contexts. As we show, however, certain pragmatic contexts in fact do license OM-doubling; we demonstrate that OM-doubling in Lubukusu is licit only on a verum (focus) interpretation. We analyze OM-doubling within a Minimalist framework as the result of an Agree relation between the object and a verum-triggering Emphasis head (Emph^o). The non-doubling OM results from an incorporation operation. We therefore claim that Lubukusu displays two distinct syntactic derivations of OMs (generating doubling and non-doubling) with the interpretive effects of OM-doubling arising from the semantic/pragmatic properties of Emph^o.

Keywords: object marking, clitics, clitic doubling, verum focus, Bantu, Lubukusu

1. Relevant background

1.1 Introduction

Object marking on verbs in Bantu languages is a mechanism for referring to discourse-familiar entities, similar to pronominalization. Object marking is generally realized by a prefix that appears morphologically adjacent to the verb root, as is shown below in (2) for Lubukusu [lúuʔukusu], a Bantu language spoken in Western Kenya.¹

1. Lubukusu belongs to the Luyia (also written Luhya) subgroup of Bantu languages. Lewis et al. (2016) treat Luyia as a 'macrolanguage', and Marlo (2009) estimates that there are at least

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Chapter 14

Object marking in Lubukusu: Information structure in the verb phrase

Justine Sikuku^a & Michael Diercks^b

^aMoi University ^bPomona College

Object marker (OM) doubling (i.e. clitic doubling) in Lubukusu has previously been argued to necessarily generate a verum (focus) reading of the clause. We argue for a new empirical generalization: OM-doubling is licit when there is focus in/on the verb phrase, and verum results when that is not otherwise possible (as an elsewhere case). We demonstrate these patterns with a large range of novel empirical data, providing a fuller picture of clitic doubling in Lubukusu.

1 Background and summary of core contributions

The properties of object markers/clitics (OMs) have long been areas of deep syntactic interest. This paper addresses Lubukusu (Bantu, Luyia subgroup, Kenya), building on Sikuku, Diercks & Marlo (2018) and falsifying some key details of their proposals.¹ Example (1b) illustrates the OM in Lubukusu, showing that it generally cannot co-occur with a transitive object in neutral pragmatic contexts.²

- (1) a. N-á-βon-a Weekesa. Lubukusu
1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 1Weekesa
'I saw Weekesa.' (Sikuku et al. 2018: 360)

¹Lubukusu is a (Luyia) Bantu language; it has been estimated that there are at least 23 different Luyia varieties spoken in Western Kenya and Eastern Uganda (Marlo 2009). Lewis et al. (2016) list the number of Lubukusu speakers at 1,433,000 based on the 2009 census. Originally classified as E31c, an earlier edition of the Ethnologue reclassified it to J30, and Maho (2008) to JE31c.

²Examples cited from Sikuku et al. (2018) have tone marking as provided by Michael Marlo, a co-author on that paper; new data in this paper are not marked for tone.

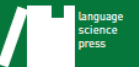
Justine Sikuku & Michael Diercks. 2021. Object marking in Lubukusu: Information structure in the verb phrase. In Akinbiyi Akinlabi, Lee Bickmore, Michael Cahill, Michael Diercks, Laura J. Downing, James Essegbey, Katie Franich, Laura McPherson & Sharon Rose (eds.), *Celebrating 50 years of ACAL: Selected papers from the 50th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, 305–330. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.5578822

Object Marking in Lubukusu

At the interface of pragmatics and
syntax

Justine Sikuku
Michael Diercks

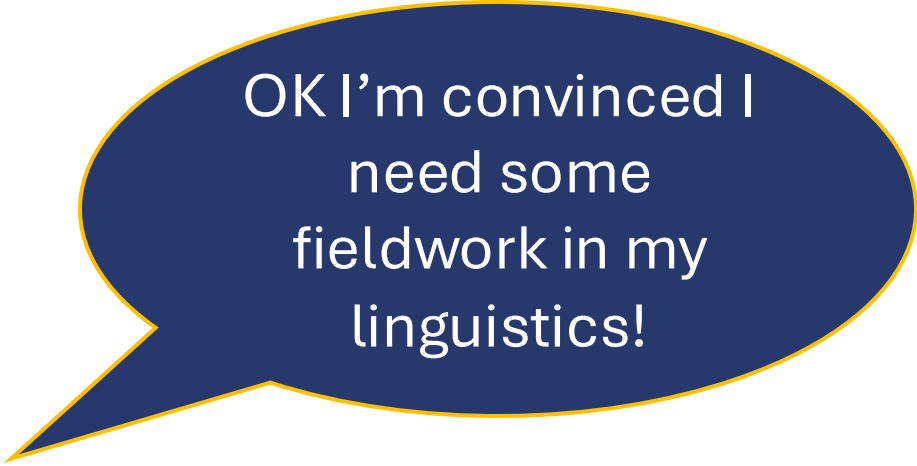
Open Generative Syntax



language
science
press

Take-away 3:

- Collaborate with language experts if you're a theoretical linguist
- Collaborate with theoreticians if you're a language expert
- Collaborate with linguists inside/outside your language to complement the inside and outside perspectives



OK I'm convinced I
need some
fieldwork in my
linguistics!

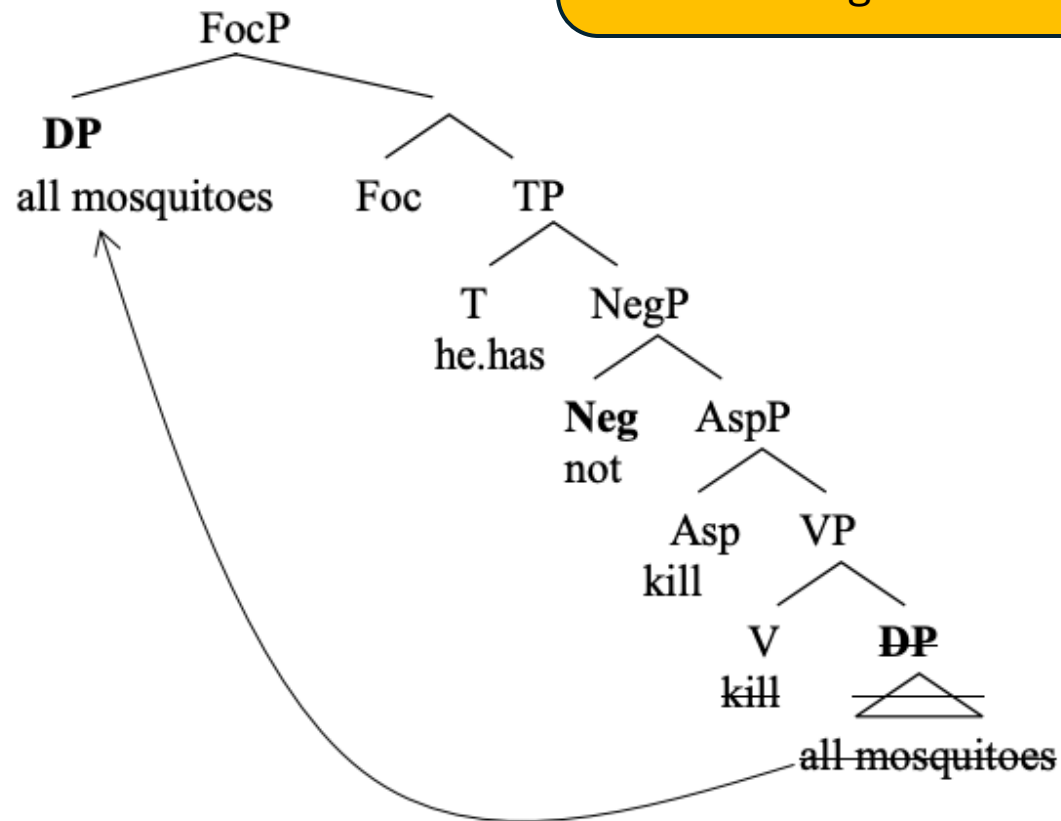
But how?

- Get spontaneous data too – excellent time investment!
(conversations, stories etc.)
- Contextualise all examples
- Translate to the practical level

‘It’s all mosquitoes that he has not killed.’

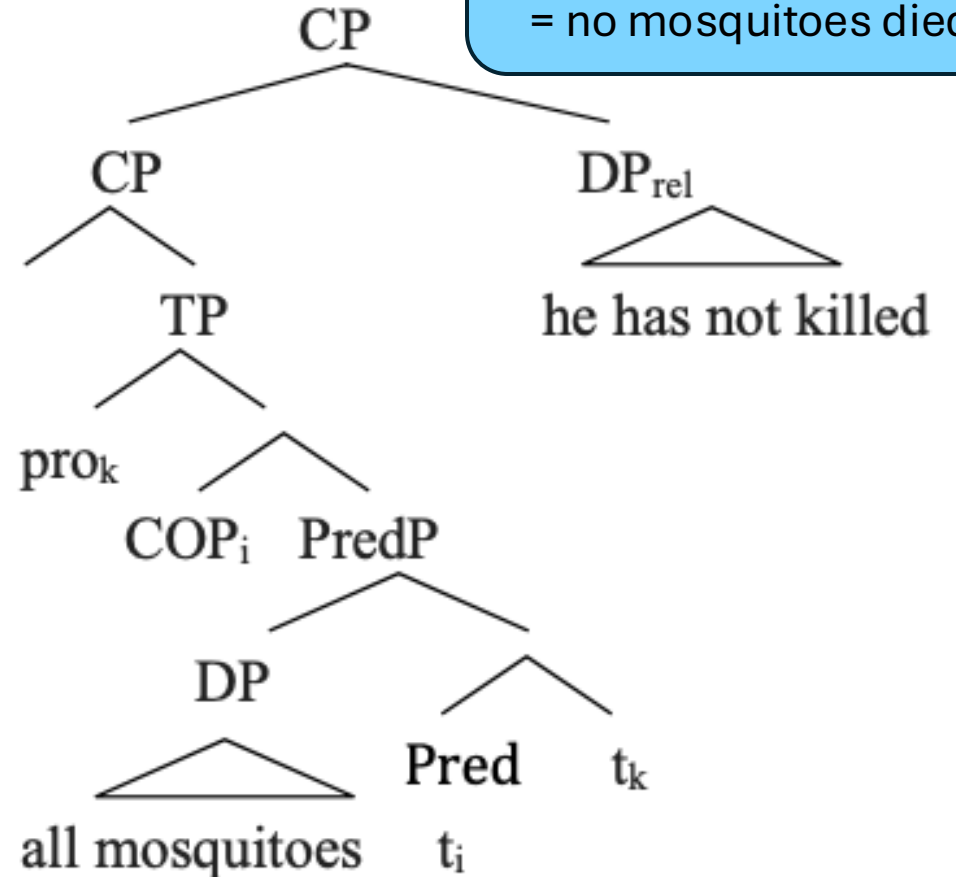
monoclausal focus

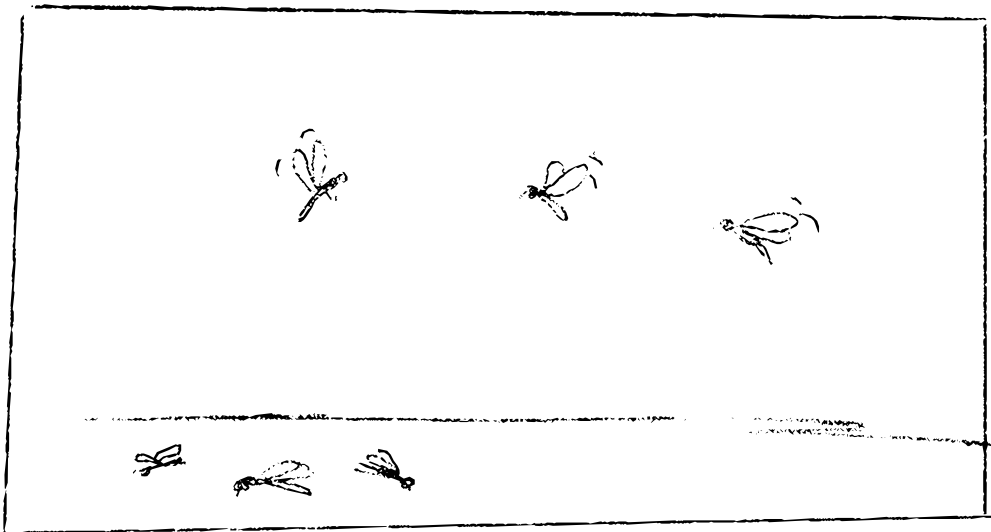
prediction:
neg > all / all > neg
= ambiguous



biclausal cleft

prediction:
neg /> all
= no mosquitoes died



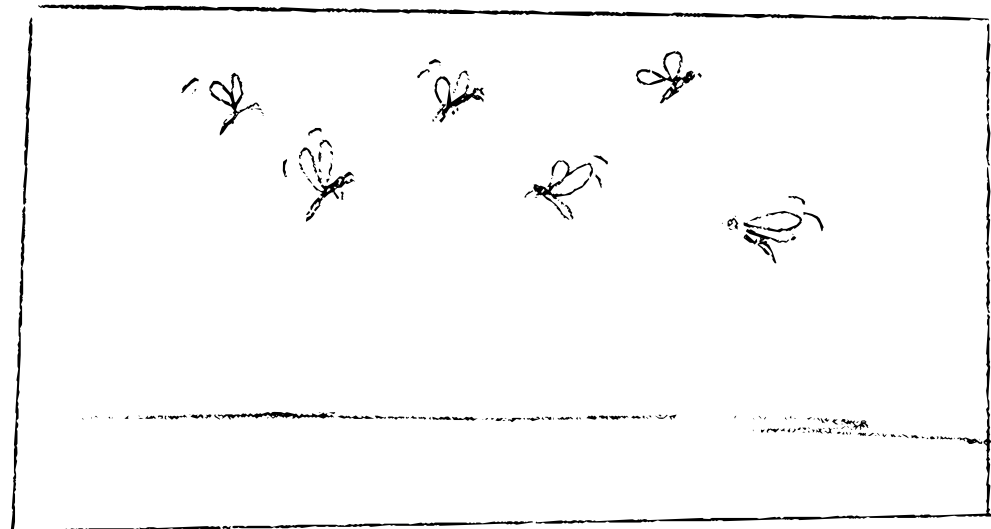


prediction: Neg should scope over \forall ,
therefore: need judgement

create sentence with negation and 'all',
which does not otherwise have difficulties
(tense, cultural plausibility, etc.)

translate sentence into target language


Í rwaagí rúunthé atiráûragá.
ni rû-agi rû-onthe a-ti-ra-ûrag-a
COP 11-mosquito 11-all 1SM-NEG-YPST-kill-FV
'It's all the mosquitoes that he didn't kill.'



create visual aid to distinguish readings

ask judgement

- (20) a. Í rwaagí rúunthé atiráúragá.@
 ni rû-agi rû-onthe a-ti-ra-ûrag-a
 COP 11-mosquito 11-all 1SM-NEG-YPST-kill-FV
 ‘It’s all the mosquitoes that he didn’t kill.’ all>neg, *neg>all
- b. Atiráúrâga rwaagí rúunthé.
 a-ti-ra-ûrag-a rû-agi ru-onthe
 1SM-NEG-YPST-kill-FV 11-mosquito 11-all
 ‘He hasn’t killed all the mosquitoes.’ neg>all, *all>neg

 prediction:
 neg /> all
 = no mosquitoes died

@ A felicitous context here would be ‘did he kill all the flies?’, as a contrast set is necessary for the use of a preverbal focus – see Kanampiu & Van der Wal (to appear).

- Get spontaneous data too – excellent time investment!
(conversations, stories etc.)
- Contextualise all examples
- Translate to the practical level
- And then translate back: know what you're finding

Case questionnaire

Background

This questionnaire aims to find out more about the distribution and behaviour of DPs in different languages. Your contribution is much appreciated and will be duly and gratefully acknowledged in any publications resulting from this research. Please let us know if you have any questions or comments.

Michelle Sheehan & Jenneke van der Wal

Tests

1. Are pronouns/DPs inflected for morphological case?

Please provide a translation of the following sentences:

1.1 He saw the girl.

1.2 The girl saw him.

1.3 I read the girl's book.

1.4 I read his book

2a. Can DPs appear in subject position of a non-finite clause which is the complement of a raising verb without any special marker/preposition?

Please provide a translation of the following sentences and indicate the grammaticality:

2a.1 John loves Sara.

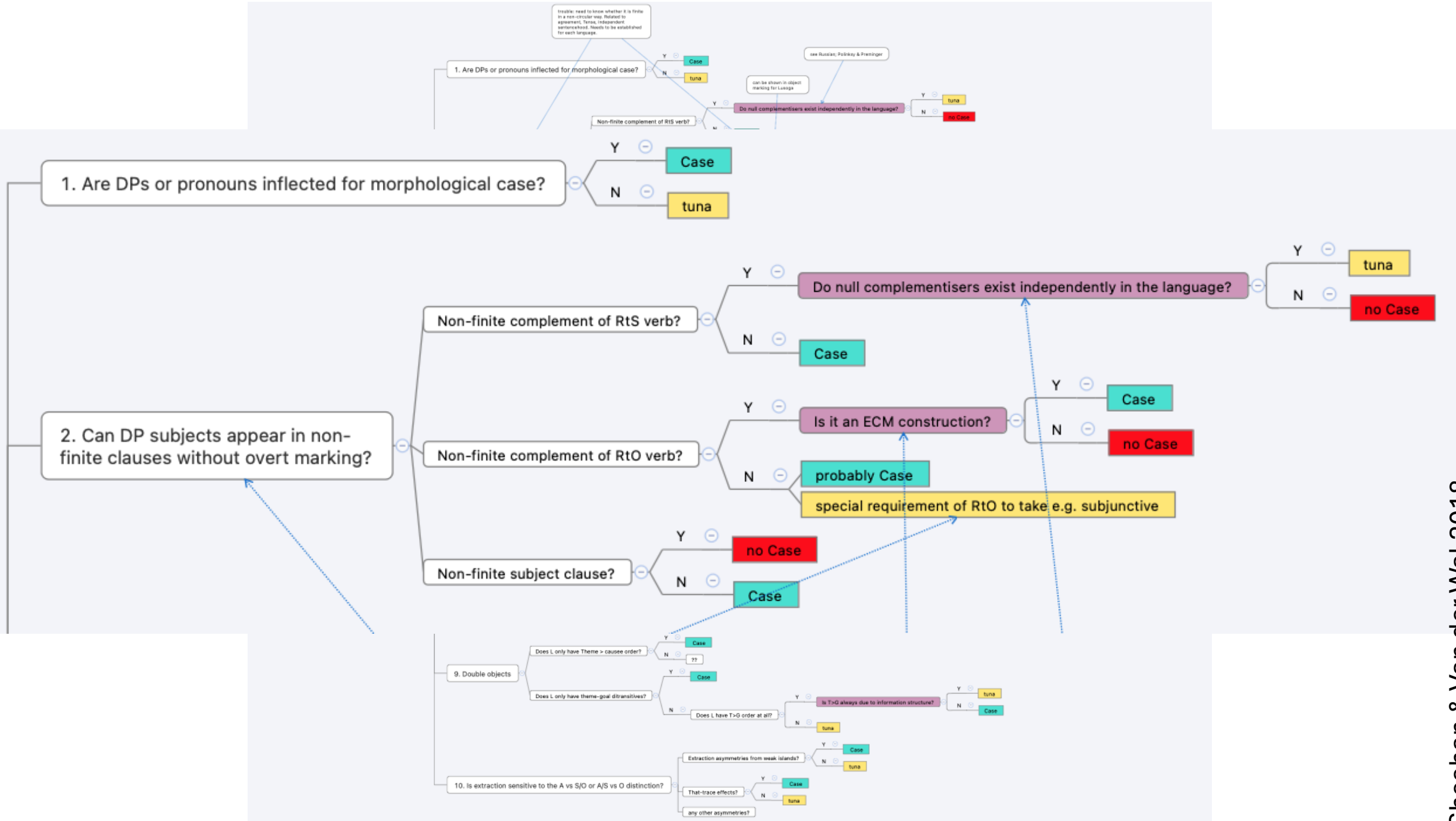
2a.2 John seems to love Sara.

2a.3 It seems that John loves Sara.

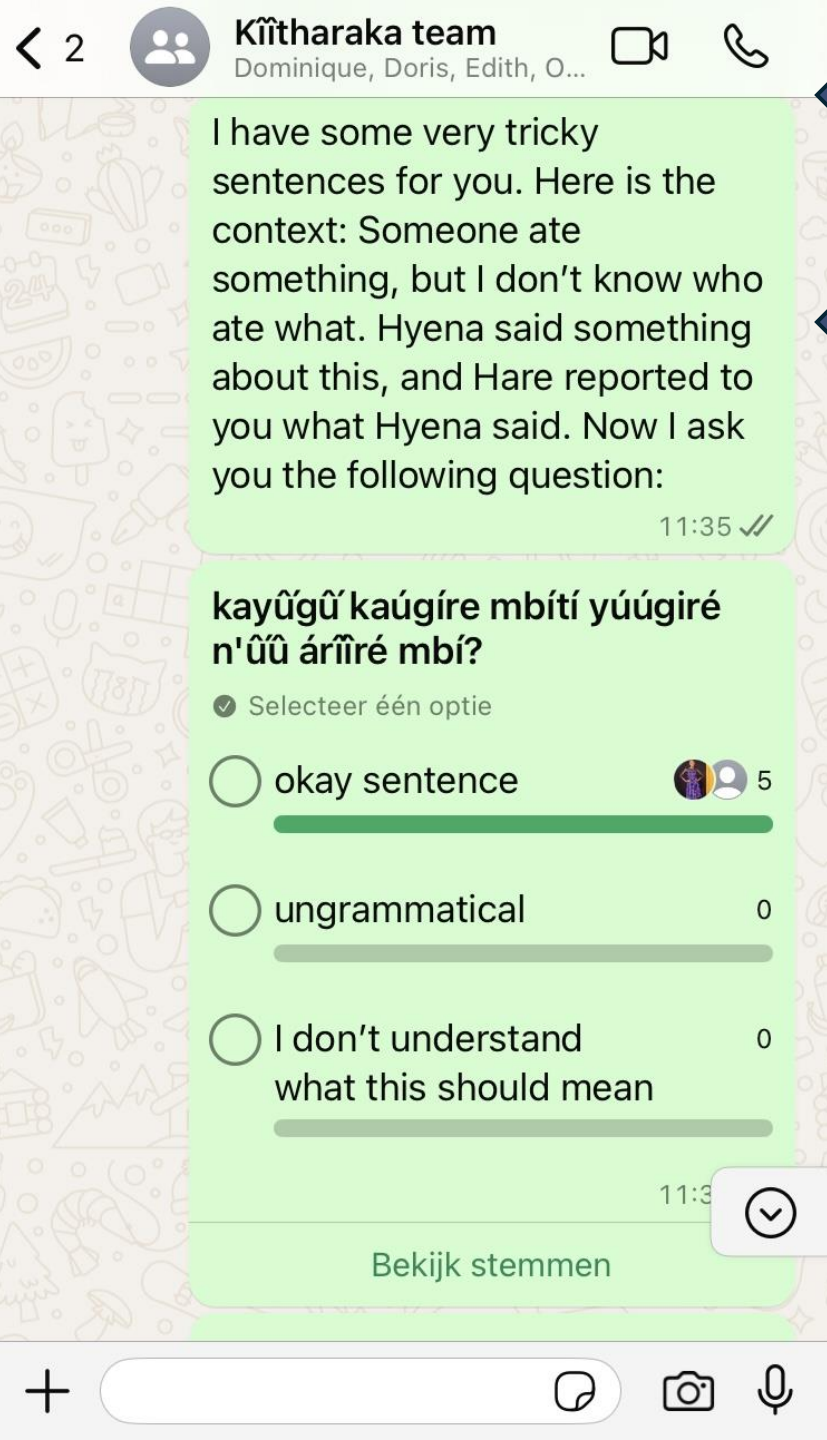
2a.4 It seems John to love Sara.

2a.5 John seems that loves Sara.

(If *seems* is not a raising verb in your language, please provide an alternative, such as *appears/tends/happens/is likely/unlikely* etc.)



- Get spontaneous data too – excellent time investment! (conversations, stories etc.)
- Contextualise all examples
- Translate to the practical level
- And then translate back: know what you're finding
- Online/distance “fieldwork” in my experience only when you know the speakers and they know what you are asking



team

context

‘Hare said Hyena said it’s who that ate what’



**n'ûû kayûgû káúgíré mbítí
n'ĩúgíré n'árĩíré mbí?**

✔ Selecteer één optie

Okay sentence 0

Ungrammatical 0

I don't understand what this sentence should mean 4

11:38 ✓✓

Bekijk stemmen

**í mbí kayûgû káúgíré n'ûû
mbítí yúúgíré n'árĩíré?**

✔ Selecteer één optie

Okay sentence 0

ungrammatical 0

‘Who did Hare say Hyena said ate what?’



Take-away points

1. Theory needs new data (and vice versa, though less so)
2. Appreciate a language for and within its own system
3. Collaborate
 - with descriptive linguists
 - with native speaker linguists



Thank you!

glow^{ing}
lecture series