Split agreement alignment in Bantu

Jenneke van der Wal

ReCoS: Rethinking Comparative Syntax

BaSIS: Bantu Syntax & Information Structure

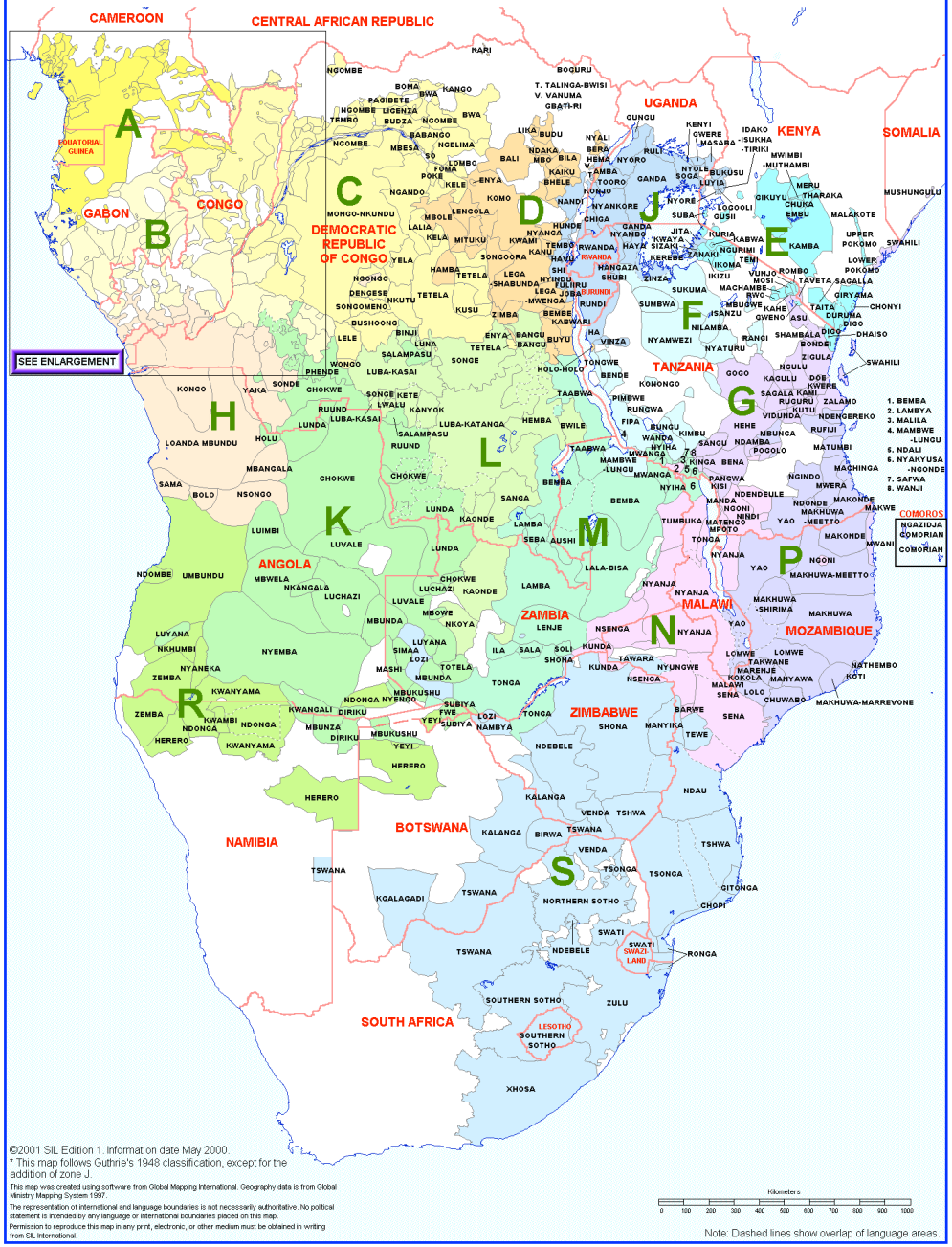
LUCL

ROADMAP

- Bantu basics
- Ditransitive alignment (secundative, indirective, split?)
- Monotransitive alignment (nominative, ergative, split?)
- Split alignment and topicality
  - Symmetric object marking
  - Subject inversion
- Implicational relation of lower clausal heads (FLUID)
- Conclusions

The Bantu languages of Africa

Groupings based on Guthrie, 1948*



BANTU BASICS

Bembe (Iorio 2014: 203)

(1) a. Baana b-a-kola bitabo.
2.children 2SM-N.PST-buy 8.books
'The children have bought books.'

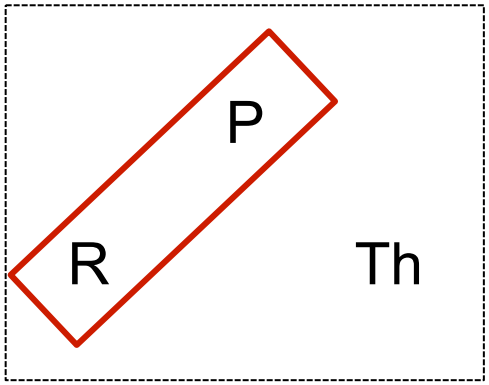
b. Baana b-a-bi-kola.
2.children 2SM-N.PST-8OM-buy
'The children have bought them.'
[class 8, the books]

PUZZLE 1: DITRANSITIVE ALIGNMENT

Secundative alignment

I equip [$_{P}$ the girl]

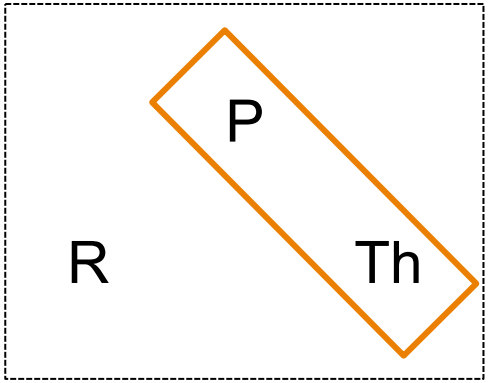
I equip [$_{R}$ the girl] [$_{T}$ with a book]



Indirective alignment

I donate [$_{P}$ the book]

I donate [$_{T}$ the book] [$_{R}$ to the girl]



BANTU SECUNDATIVE

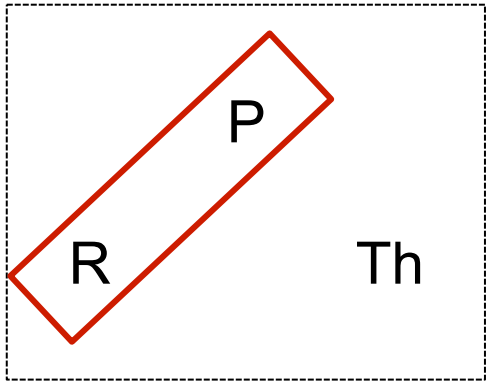
Secundative alignment

Swahili (Riedel 2009: 80)

(2) a. A-li-**mw**-ona Juma.
1SM-PST-1OM-see 1.Juma
'She saw Juma.'

b. A-li-**m**-nunulia (Juma) kitabu.
1SM-PST-1OM-buy.APPL 1.Juma 7.book
'She bought a book for Juma.'

c. *A-li-**ki**-nunulia Juma (kitabu).
1SM-PST-7OM-buy.APPL 1.Juma 7.book
int. 'She bought it/a book for Juma.'



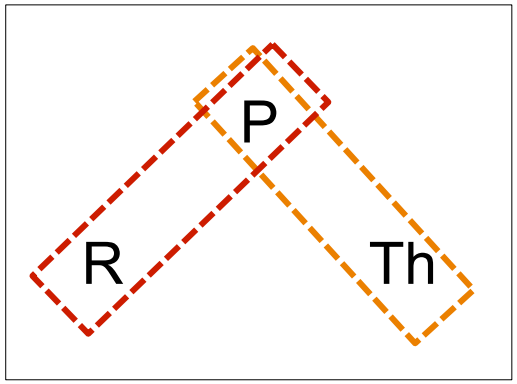
BANTU
SPLIT ALIGNMENT?

Zulu (Adams 2010: 11)

(3) a. Aba-ntwana ba-ya-si-thanda (lesi sikole).
2-children 2SM-DJ-7OM-like 7.DEM 7.school
'The children like it (this school).

b. U-mama u-ba-nik-e in-cwadi (aba-ntwana).
1a-mama 1SM-2OM-give-PFV 9-book 2-children
'Mama gave them a book (the children).'

c. U-mama u-yi-nik-e aba-ntwana (in-cwadi).
1a-mama 1SM-9OM-give-PFV 2-children 9-book
'Mama gave the children it (a book).'



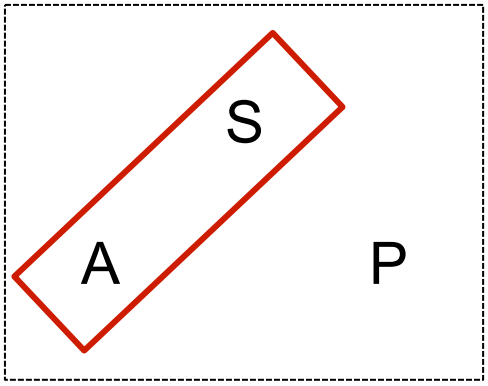
PUZZLE 2: MONOTRANSITIVE ALIGNMENT

Nominative alignment

Dutch

[$_S$ Hij] ren-de.
3SG.M.NOM run-PST
'He ran.'

[$_A$ Hij] zag [$_P$ hem].
3SG.M.NOM see.PST 3SG.M.ACC
'He saw him.'

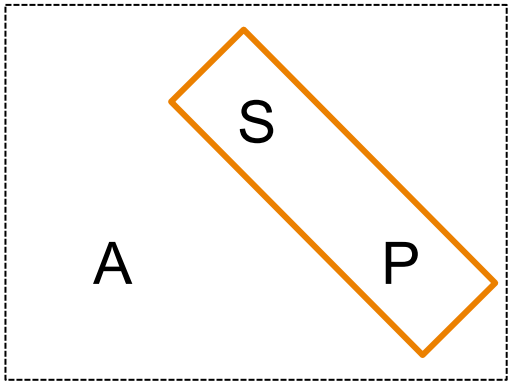


Ergative alignment

Chol (Coon et al. 2014:190)

(4) Tyi uk'-i-[$_S$ yety].
ASP cry-ITV-2ABS
'You cried.'

Tyi [$_A$ y]-il-ä-[$_P$ yety].
ASP 3ERG-see-TV-2ABS
'She saw you.'



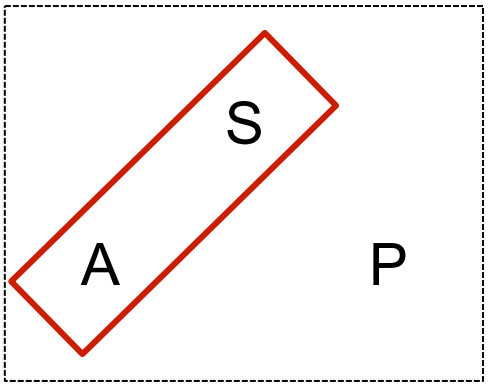
BANTU NOMINATIVE

Makhuwa

(5) a. [$_S$ Mwalápwá olé] o-hoó-wa.
1.dog 1DEM 1SM-PST.DJ-come
'That dog came.'

b. [$_A$ Naphúl'uulé] oo-várá [$_P$ ephepéle].
1.frog 1.DEM 1SM-PERF.DJ-grab 9.fly
'That frog caught a fly.'

c. [$_P$ Enúpá] o-núú-téká [$_A$ Hasáani].
9.house 1SM-PFV.PERS-build 1.Hasan
'The house, Hasan has built it.'



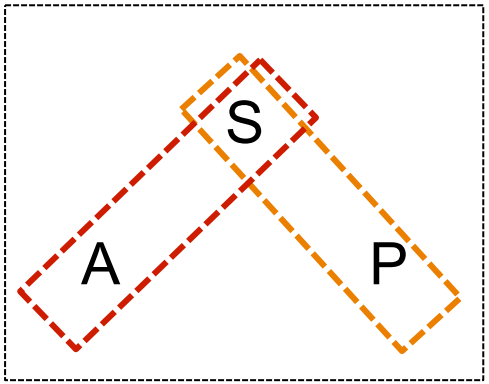
BANTU
SPLIT ALIGNMENT?

Dzamba

(6) a. [$_S$ Ee-mva] e-wà-áki lɔɔme.
9-dog 9SM-die-IPFV today
'The dog died today.' (Bokamba 1976:34)

b. [$_A$ Omwana] a-tom-aki [$_P$ imukanda].
1.child 1SM-send-PFV 5.letter
'The child sent a letter.' (Henderson 2011:743)

c. [$_P$ Imukanda] mu-tom-aki [$_A$ omwana].
5.letter 5SM-send-PFV 1.child
'*The child* sent the letter.'



INGREDIENTS FOR ANALYSIS

For ditransitives:

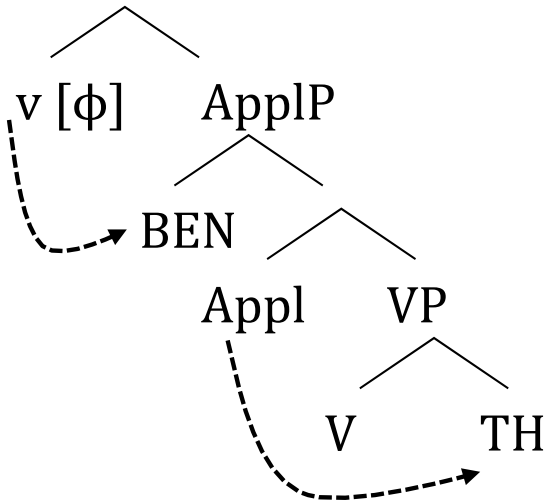
A. In indirective alignment, the **Recipient is licensed by Appl** (Larson's 1988 "inherent case")

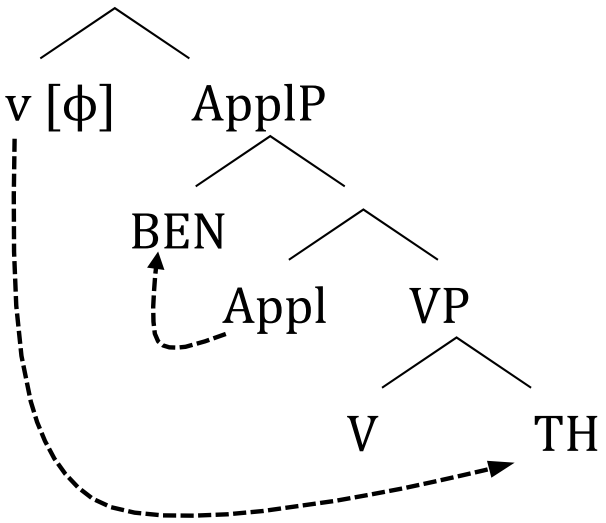
B. Alternation between indirective and secundative alignment in Northern Khanty depends on the **relative topicality of R and Th**. (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011)

Proposal: Bantu symmetric object marking shows split agreement alignment based on relative topicality.

PROPOSAL

Low functional heads can be flexible
in licensing complement or specifier





(cf. Haddican & Holmberg 2012, 2015; Van der Wal 2017)

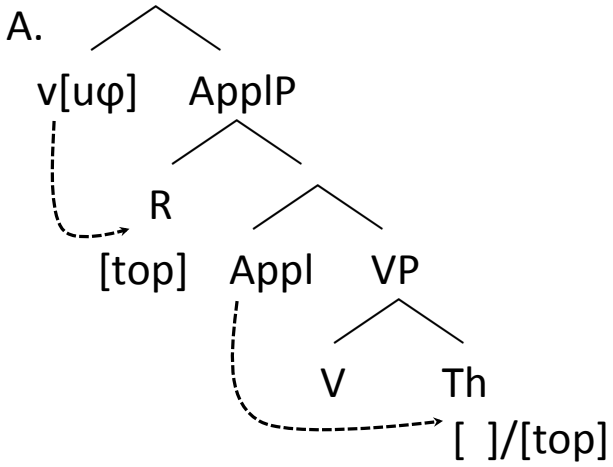
RELATIVE TOPICALITY

Van der Wal (2017):

In languages with symmetric OM

- Appl's licensing abilities depend on the Topic features of its specifier
- Appl can only license arguments with the same or fewer features as the argument introduced in its specifier

APPL SENSITIVE TO [TOPIC]

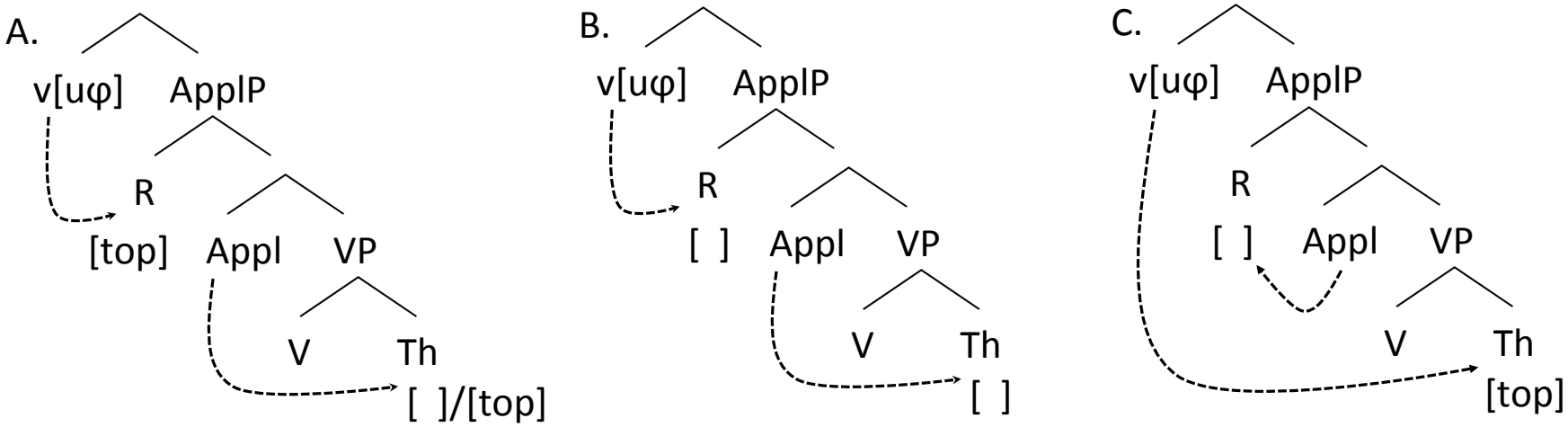


Zulu (Adams 2010)

(7) a. Ngi-ya-**m**-theng-el-a u-Sipho u-bisi.
1SG.SM-PRES.DJ-1OM-buy-APPL-FV 1a-Sipho 11-milk

c. *Ngi-ya-**lu**-theng-el-a u-Sipho u-bisi
1SG.SM-PRES.DJ-11OM-buy-APPL-FV 1a-Sipho 11-milk
'I am buying milk for Sipho.'

APPL SENSITIVE TO [TOPIC]



topicality	*Appl*	*v (OM)*	*alignment*
R > T	Th	R	secundative
R = Th	Th	R	secundative
Th > R	R	Th	indirective

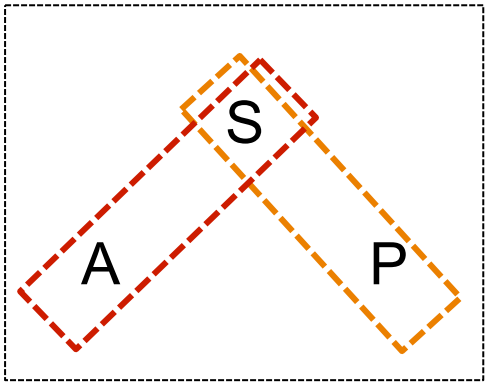
PUZZLE 2 AGAIN

Dzamba

(6) a. [$_S$ Ee-mva] e-wà-áki lɔɔme.
9-dog 9SM-die-IPFV today
'The dog died today.' (Bokamba 1976:34)

b. [$_A$ Omwana] a-tom-aki [$_P$ imukanda].
1.child 1SM-send-PFV 5.letter
'The child sent a letter.' (Henderson 2011:743)

c. [$_P$ Imukanda] mu-tom-aki [$_A$ omwana].
5.letter 5SM-send-PFV 1.child
'*The child* sent the letter.'



INGREDIENTS FOR ANALYSIS

For monotransitives:

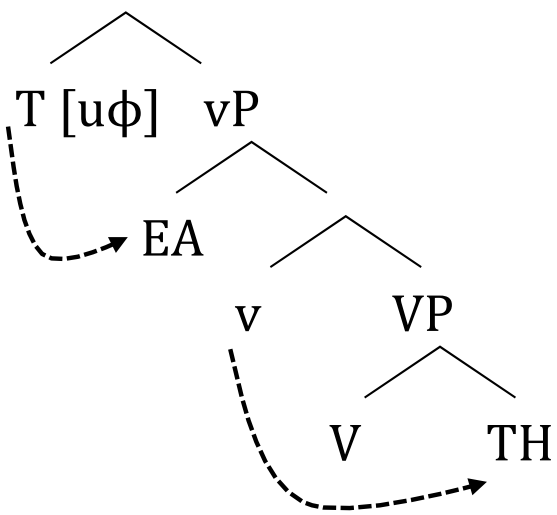
A. In ergative alignment, the **EA is licensed by v**
(i.a. Levin 1983, Woolford 1997, Aldridge 2004, Legate 2008, Assmann et al. 2015 ; see overview in Sheehan 2017).

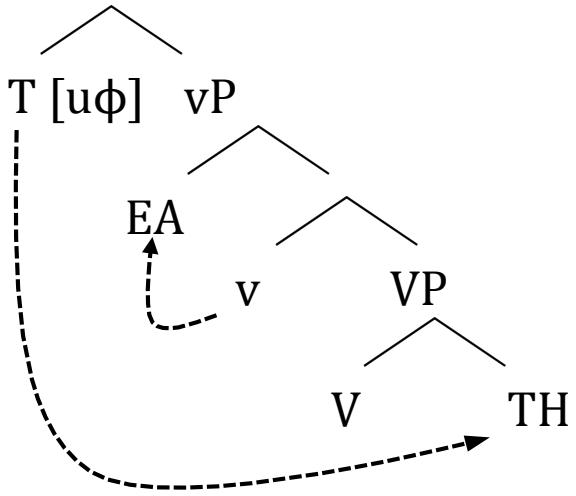
B. 'Optional ergativity' can be determined by **focus**
(i.a. McGregor 2010, DeLancey 2011, Schultze-Berndt 2017).
Direct-inverse alignment can -under a broad definition- be determined by **relative topicality of A and P**
(Givón 1994, Thompson 1994; see Ura 2000, Morimoto 2006, Bostoen & Mundeke 2011 for 'inverse voice' in Bantu).

Proposal: Bantu locative and theme inversion shows split agreement alignment based on relative topicality.

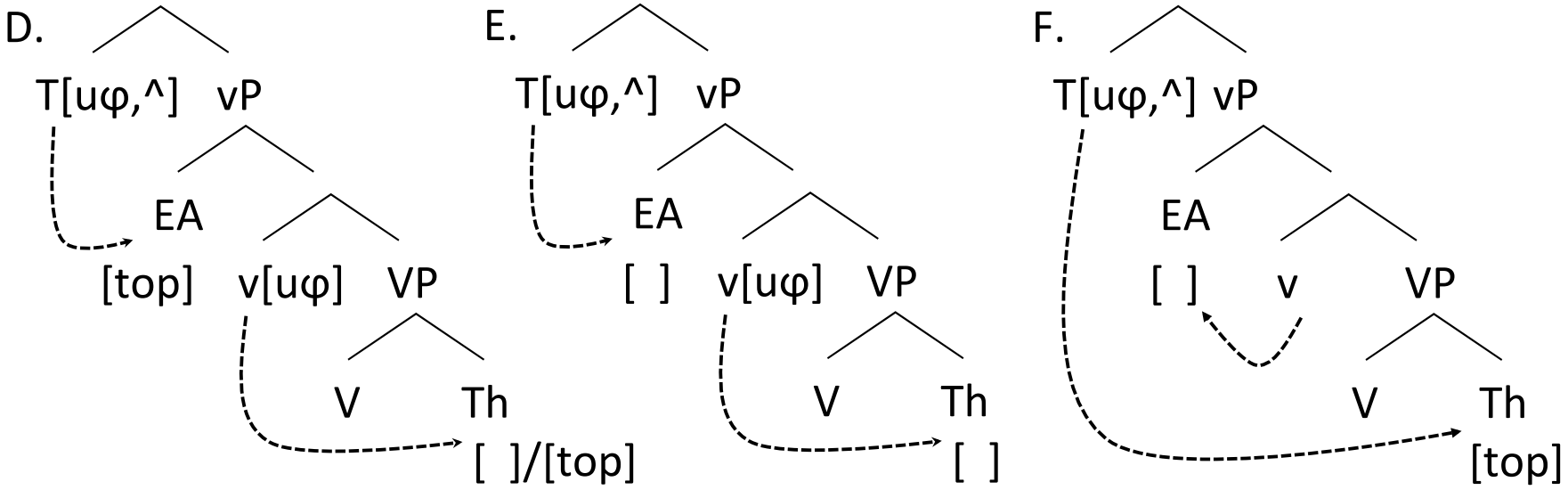
PROPOSAL

Low functional heads can be flexible
in licensing complement or specifier





LITTLE V SENSITIVE TO [TOPIC]



Omwana a-tom-aki imukanda.
1.child 1SM-send-PFV 5.letter
'The child sent a letter.'

Imukanda mu-tom-aki omwana.
5.letter 5SM-send-PFV 1.child
'*The child* sent the letter.'

SUBJECT INVERSION

Locative Inversion (*Otjiherero*, Marten 2006)

(7) M-òn-djúwó mw-á hìtí é-rùngà
18-9-house 18SM-PAST enter 5-thief
'Into the house entered a/the thief.'

Instrument Inversion (*Swati*, Thwala 2006)

(8) Imali i-dlala bantfwana ka-Gates.
4.money 4SM-play 2.children LOC-Gates
'Children play with money at Bill Gates' home.'

LITTLE V'S LICENSING

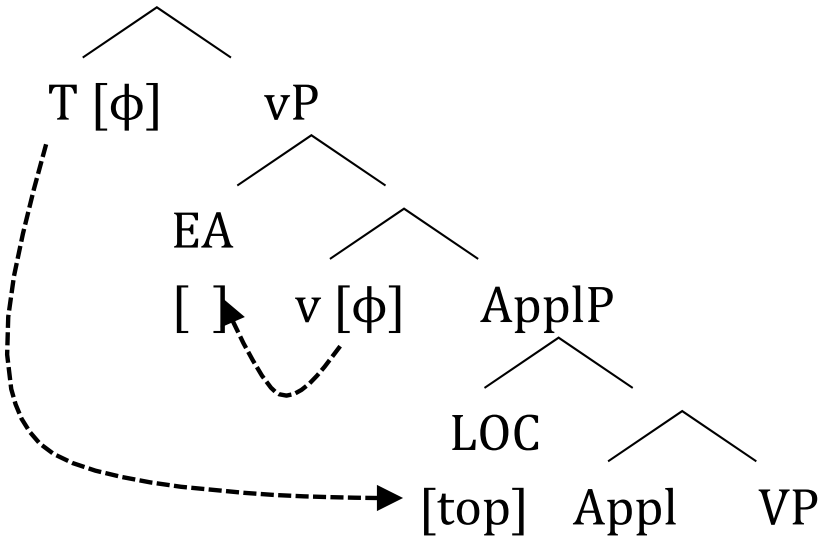
Kîîtharaka Locative Inversion (Buell & Muriungi ms.)

(8) a. Tw-ana tûkûrû i-tû-ceth-ag-(ir-)a kî-eni-ni.
13-children 13-old FOC-12SM-play-HAB-(APPL-)FV 7-field-LOC
'Older children play in the field.'

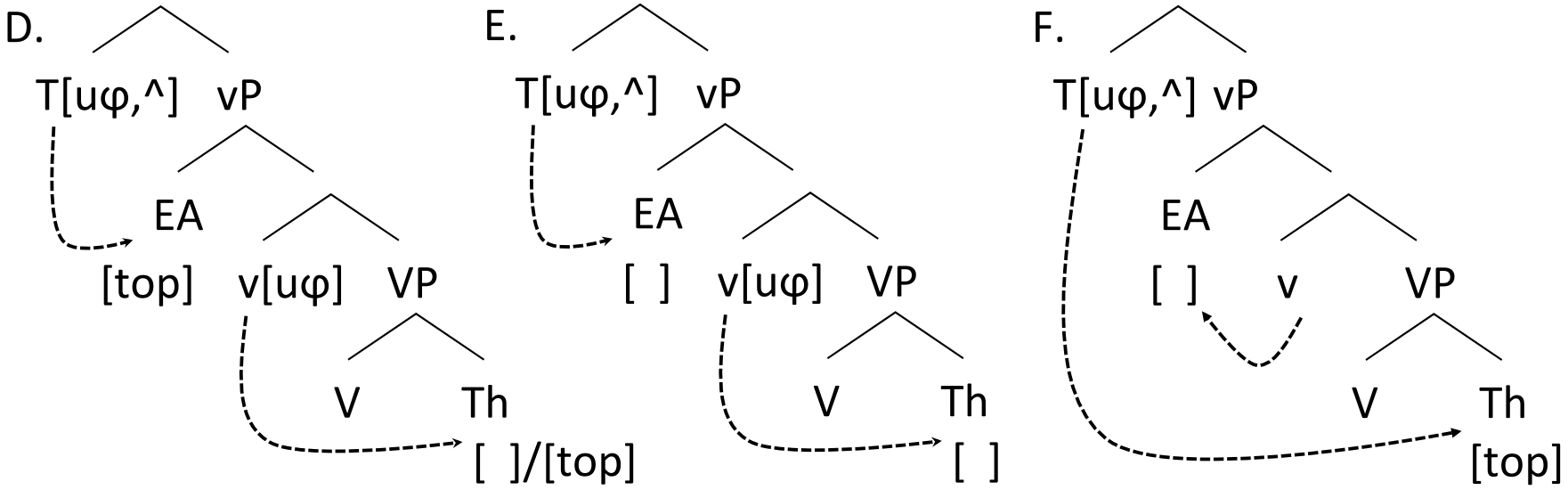
b. Kî-eni i-gî-ceth-ag-ir-a tw-ana tû-kûrû.
7-field FOC-7SM-play-HAB-APPL-FV 13-children 13-old
'In the field play older children.'
lit. 'The field plays old children.'

c. ??Kî-eni i-gî-ceth-ag-a tw-ana tû-kûrû.
7-field FOC-7SM-play-HAB-FV 13-children 13-old
int. 'In the field play older children.'

LITTLE V'S LICENSING



LITTLE V SENSITIVE TO [TOPIC]



topicality	*v*	*T (SM)*	*alignment*
EA > IA	IA	EA	nominative
EA = IA	IA	EA	nominative
IA > EA	EA	IA	ergative

INTERIM SUMMARY

In languages with symmetric object marking

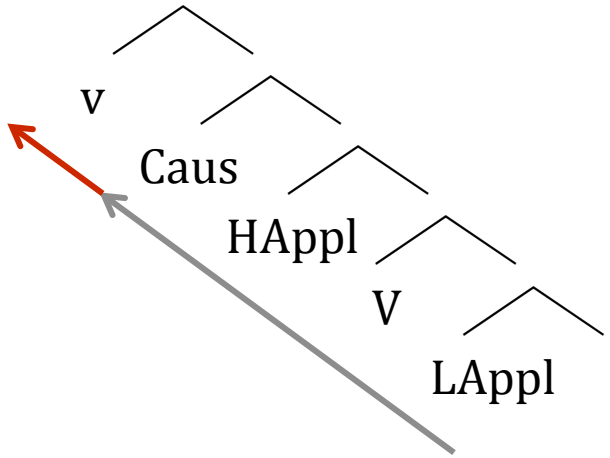
- Appl licenses downward (“secundative”) unless the Benefactive is less topical than the Theme (“indirective”)
- v licenses and agrees with the other argument

In languages with locative/instrument/theme inversion

- v licenses downward (“nominative”) unless the EA is less topical than the locative/instr/theme (“ergative”)
- T licenses and agrees with the other argument (and moves it)

IMPLICATIONAL RELATION

Caus	HAppl	LAppl	languages
■	■	■	Zulu, Shona, Kĩĩtharaka, Kikuyu, Bembe
	■	■	Otjiherero, Southern Sotho, Lubukusu
		■	Luguru
			Makhuwa, Matengo, Chichewa



FLUID
Flexible Licensing Up Implies Down

IMPLICATIONAL RELATION

FLUID Predictions (to be adjusted):

- Languages fully symmetric object marking may or may not have subject inversion
- Languages with subject inversion also have symmetric object marking
- Languages with asymmetric object marking do not have subject inversion

- Symmetric OM lgs ✓
- Asymmetric OM lgs 3 types

ASYMMETRY + INVERSION

1. Agreeing inversion

Makhuwa (Van der Wal 2009: 189)

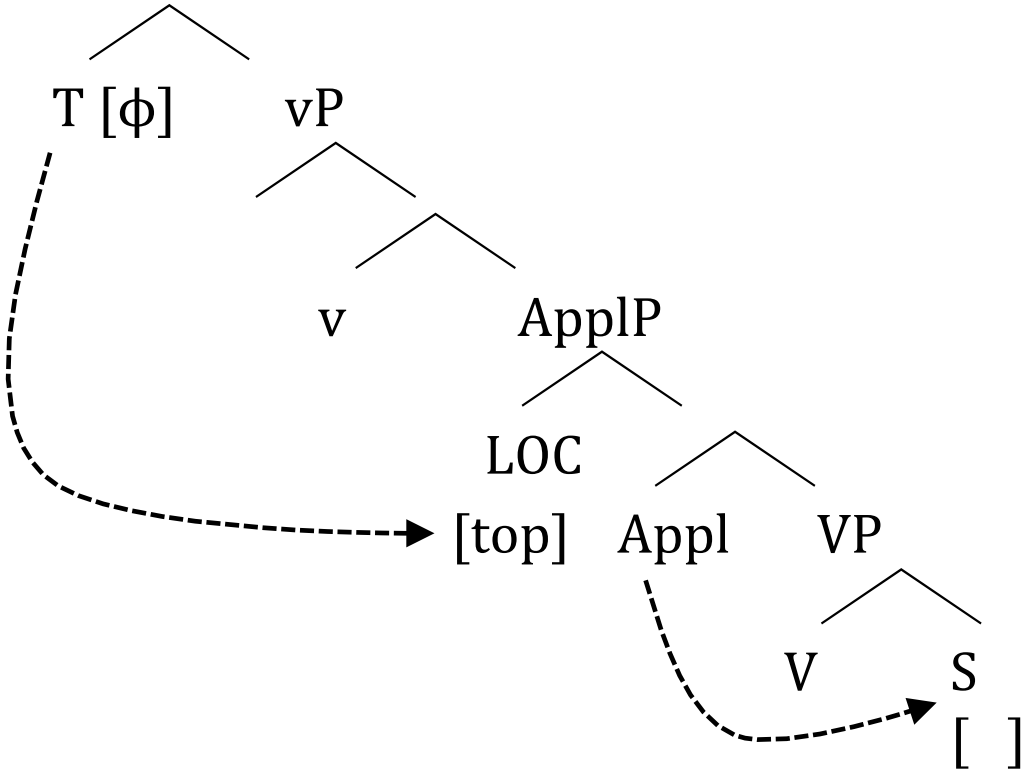
(9) Válé ni-hoó-wá nláikha.
PM 5SM-PERF.DJ-come 5.angel
'Now there came an angel.'

2. Locative inversion restricted

Chichewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989:16)

(10) M-chi-tsîme mw-a-gw-er-a /*mw-a-kodz-a mbûzi.
18-7-well 18SM-PFV-fall-APPL-FV/18SM-PFV-urinate-FV 9.goat
'Into the well has fallen/*urinated a goat.'

ASYMMETRY + INVERSION



ASYMMETRY + INVERSION

Swahili (Riedel 2009: 80, Whiteley & Mganga 1969: 111, Gibson 2008: 15)

(11) a. A-li-**m**-nunulia Juma kitabu. *asymmetric*
1SM-PST-1OM-buy.APPL 1.Juma 7.book
'She bought a book for Juma.'

b. *A-li-**ki**-nunulia Juma (kitabu).
1SM-PST-7OM-buy.APPL 1.Juma 7.book
int. 'She bought it/a book for Juma.'

(12) a. Mgeni a-li-pik-a chakula. *theme inversion*
1.guest 1SM-PST-cook-FV 7.food
'The guest cooked food.'

b. Chakula ki-li-pik-a mgeni.
7.food 7SM-PST-cook-FV 1.guest
'The guest cooked food.'

IMPLICATIONAL RELATION

FLUID Predictions:

- Languages with [non-agreeing subject inversion in predicates that take an EA] also have symmetric object marking
- Languages with asymmetric object marking do not have [non-agreeing subject inversion in predicates that take an EA]

symmetric OM	✓
1. only AI	Makhuwa, Matengo
2. only unacc	Chichewa, Lubukusu, Tumbuka?, Sambaa?
3. LI (+)	Yao, Kagulu, Swahili

(unclear/no data on inversion for Ruwund, Kiyaka, Chingoni, Lika, Chimwiini)

FLUID

v	Caus	HAppl	LAppl	languages
✓	✓	✓	✓	Zulu, Shona, Kĩîtharaka, Kikuyu
X	✓	✓	✓	Bembe, Chaga?
	X	✓	✓	Otjiherero, Southern Sotho, Lubukusu
	X	X	✓	Luguru
✓	X	X	X	Yao, Kagulu, Swahili
X	X	X	X	Makhuwa, Matengo, Chichewa

PARTIAL SYMMETRY + INVERSION

Lubukusu (Diercks 2011: 703, 716)

(13) a. Mú-mú-siirú mw-á-kwá=mó kú-mú-saala.
18-3-forest 18S-PST-fall-18L 3-3-tree.
'In the forest fell a tree.'

b. *Mw-i-duka mw-a-chekh-a=mo Moses.
18-9-store 18SM-PST-laugh-FV-18L Moses
int. 'In the store laughed Moses.'

PARTIAL SYMMETRY + INVERSION

Otjiherero (Jekura Kavari, personal communication)

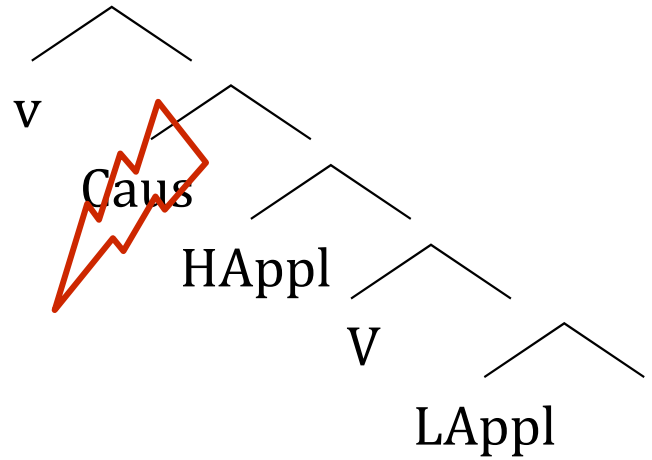
(14) a. Ma-ve ve tjang-is-a om-bapira. *caus asymm*
PRES-2SM 2OM write-CAUS-FV 9-letter
'They make them write a letter.'

b. * Ma-ve i tjang-is-a ova-natje.
PRES-2SM 9OM write-CAUS-FV 2-children
'They make the children write it.'

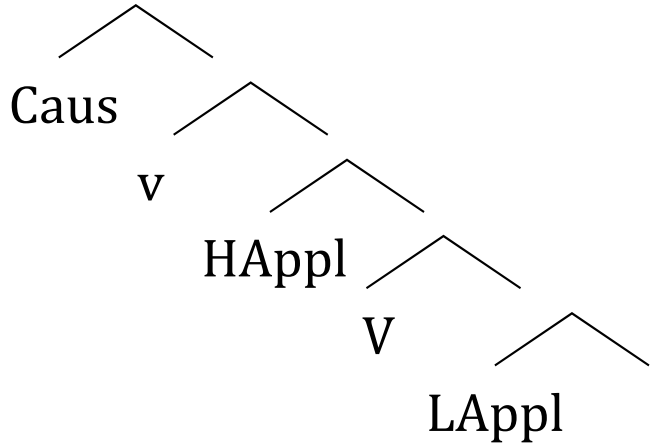
(Marten 2006: 113)

(15) Kò-mù-tí kw-á-pósé òzó-ndjìmá. *loc inversion*
17-3-tree 17SM-PST-make_noise 10-baboons
'In the tree made noise (the) baboons.'

PARTIAL SYMMETRY + INVERSION



verb-selecting Caus



phase-selecting Caus

PARTIAL SYMMETRY + INVERSION

Otjiherero (Jekura Kavari, p.c.)

(16) Omítiri máí tjang-is-á ovanâtjé ombapíra wina.
1.teacher PRES-1SM write-CAUS-FV 2.children 9.letter intent'y
'The teacher intentionally caused the children to write a letter.'
*'The teacher caused the children to intentionally write a letter.'

FLUID FAILED EXTENSION

v	Caus	HAppl	LAppl	languages
■	■	■	■	Zulu, Shona, Kĩĩtharaka, Kikuyu
	■	■	■	Bembe, Chaga?
■		■	■	Otjiherero, Southern Sotho
		■	■	Lubukusu
■			■	Luguru
■				Yao, Kagulu, Swahili
				Makhuwa, Matengo, Chichewa

N.B. Haspelmath (2005) on the basis of 100 languages: “no correlations between monotransitive alignment types and ditransitive alignment types are found”

CONCLUSIONS

- Flexible licensing by low functional heads forms a plausible and unified analysis of both symmetric object marking and (some types of) subject inversion.
- The implicational hierarchy for low functional heads (FLUID), does not extend to little v; ditransitive and monotransitive alignment are independent.
- Bantu languages with symmetric object marking and/or subject inversion seem to have a sort of split alignment, determined by relative topicality.

FURTHER

Empirically:

- PCC
- Default Agreement Inversion
- Transitive predicates in inversion
- etc. etc.

Theoretically:

- Case licensing separate from ϕ agreement
- Licensing determined by discourse features
- etc. etc.

BaSIS
Bantu Syntax & Information Structure

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Contact: jennekevanderwal@gmail.com

BaSIS project: https://bantusyntaxinformationstructure.com

ReCoS: Rethinking Comparative Syntax

BaSIS
Bantu Syntax & Information Structure

LUCL

SUMMER SCHOOL ‘LIMITS OF VARIABILITY IN LANGUAGE’

Gefördert durch DFG Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

SFB 1287 Limits of Variability in Language
Cognitive, Grammatical, and Social Aspects

Summer School "Limits of Variability in Language"
18 - 22 June 2018

	Mo, 18.06.2018		Di, 19.06.2018		Mi, 20.06.2018		Do, 21.06.2018		Fr, 22.06.2018	
	Session A	**Session B**	**Session A**	**Session B**	**Session A**	**Session B**	**Session A**	**Session B**	**Session A**	**Session B**
09.00 - 10.50	**H.Burnett** Formal Approaches to Social Meaning, Variation and Identity Construction	**L. Hyman** Morphophonemic Variation in Bantu	**H.Burnett** Formal Approaches to Social Meaning, Variation and Identity Construction	**L. Hyman** Morphophonemic Variation in Bantu	**H.Burnett** Formal Approaches to Social Meaning, Variation and Identity Construction	**L. Hyman** Morphophonemic Variation in Bantu	**H.Burnett** Formal Approaches to Social Meaning, Variation and Identity Construction	**L. Hyman** Morphophonemic Variation in Bantu	**H.Burnett** Formal Approaches to Social Meaning, Variation and Identity Construction	**L. Hyman** Morphophonemic Variation in Bantu
10.50 - 11.10	**Coffee Break**									
11.10-13.00	**S. Tagliamonte** Linguistic Variation and Change in Social Context	**J. van der Wal** Morphosyntactic variation in Bantu	**S. Tagliamonte** Linguistic Variation and Change in Social Context	**J. van der Wal** Morphosyntactic variation in Bantu	**S. Tagliamonte** Linguistic Variation and Change in Social Context	**J. van der Wal** Morphosyntactic variation in Bantu	**S. Tagliamonte** Linguistic Variation and Change in Social Context	**J. van der Wal** Morphosyntactic variation in Bantu	**S. Tagliamonte** Linguistic Variation and Change in Social Context	**J. van der Wal** Morphosyntactic variation in Bantu
13.00-14.00	**Lunch Break (self-paid)**									
from 14.00	**S. Barbiers** Introduction to Macroscale Microsyntactic Variation Research		**S. Barbiers** Introduction to Macroscale Microsyntactic Variation Research		**M. van Koppen & J. van Craenenbroeck** Discovering parameters: from micro- to macrovariation		**M. van Koppen & J. van Craenenbroeck** Discovering parameters: from micro- to macrovariation		**M. van Koppen & J. van Craenenbroeck** Discovering parameters: from micro- to macrovariation	
	including a short Coffee Break									
End of session	**18.00**		**17.00**		**17.00**		**17.00**		**17.00**	
	Buffet						**Dinner (self-paid)**			

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(Please e-mail me for other references)

PARAMETERISED TIMING

- Sensitivity of Appl and v to topicality of specifier can be seen as parameter on timing of the head's operations
  (Müller 2009, Assmann et al. 2015)
- Appl and v have 2 functions: merge specifier DP & license DP
- If merge spec > license, then licensing determined by the specifier's topicality
  - for Appl: symmetric object marking
  - for v: theme/locative/instrument inversion constructions
- If license > merge spec, then all licensing and agree will be downwards and insensitive to topicality.
  - for Appl: asymmetric object marking
  - for v: no subject inversion OR
  - subject inversion restricted to unaccusatives and passives (as in Chichewa) OR
  - subject inversion showing agreement of T with the postverbal subject (as in Makhuwa).

OTHER ERGATIVITY?

The postverbal “ergative” subject cannot be extracted in Zulu:

(17) a. Lesi si-kole si-fund-el-a a-ba-ntwana.
7.DEM 7-school 7SM-study-APPL-FV AUG-2-children
‘Children study at this school.’

b. *Ngi-thand-a a-ba-ntwana [lesi si-kole esi-ba-fund-ela-a=yo].
1SG.SM-like-FV AUG-2-children 7.DEM 7-school 7REL-2OM-study-APPL-FV=REL.DIS
int. ‘I like the children who study at this school.’

c. *Ngi-thand-a a-ba-ntwana [lesi si-kole esi-fund-ela-a bona].
1SG.SM-like-FV AUG-2-children 7.DEM 7-school 7REL-study-APPL-FV 2.PRO
int. ‘I like the children who study at this school.’
(Zeller 2013: 1130, 1131)

SYMMETRY + INVERSION

Bembe (Iorio 2014: 329)

(18) a. ʔwa-a-chw-a baana. *unaccusative*
15EXPL-T-come-FV 2.child
'There arrived children.'

b. *ʔwa-a-tend-a baana. *unergative*
15EXPL-T-speak-FV 2.child
int. 'There are children speaking.'

c. *ʔwa-a-som-a baana etabo. *transitive*
15EXPL-T-reading-FV 2.child 7.book
int. 'There are children read books.'