

and space', could be related to the degree in which those languages allow discontinuity—'structural distance'—between constituents that belong together. In other words, the extension of the depictive coding strategy into the less usual areas of the domain possibly correlates with 'freedom of word order'.

On depictive secondary predicates in Laz

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7.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with morphosyntactic, semantic, and prosodic characteristics of depictive secondary predication in Laz. We show that Laz adjunct expressions generally cannot be divided into depictive and adverbial constructions on the basis of their morphosyntactic properties. We also deal with some prosodic characteristics of adjuncts expressing manner and state, and discuss to what extent depictive expressions may be delimited from manner adverbials on the grounds of intonational patterns. Concerning the semantic interpretation of adjuncts in Laz, we argue that they are vague with respect to participant- or event-oriented readings. Laz clause-level adjuncts thus are general adjunct constructions in the terminology proposed in the introduction to this volume. An interesting exception to this generalization are distributive numeral expressions, which can be argued to be a genuine depictive construction.

A sister language of Georgian, spoken on the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea, Laz is the only member of the South Caucasian family which is spoken primarily outside Georgia. The vast majority of its speakers live in Turkey and are bilingual. An increasing number of young Laz, however, are fluent only in Turkish. In addition, native speakers of Laz restrict using their mother tongue to private communications amongst friends and family members.

The variety of Laz discussed here is the one spoken in the city of Ardeşen and the villages of the Ardeşen region. Although this dialect (Ardeşen-Laz) differs from other Laz varieties with respect to the case-marking system (see Kutscher 2001: ch. 5), it is similar to the other dialects in that no variant of Laz exhibits

The authors would like to thank Eva Schultze-Berndt, Nikolaus Himmelmann, and Katrin Lehmann for numerous comments on previous versions of this chapter, and Britt Temme for brushing up our English. We also are grateful to the patience and helpfulness of the Laz speakers in the region of Ardeşen and in Germany, who have supported our work for several years now.

NP internal agreement or an adverbialis case, in contrast to the Georgian varieties discussed by Boeder (Ch. 6, this volume).

The data presented in this chapter consist of utterances taken from a corpus of spoken texts recorded on location in Turkey. Some texts from this corpus have been published in Wodarg (1995) and Kutscher and Genç (1998). Examples from these publications are marked with W (for Wodarg) and K/G (for Kutscher and Genç) followed by an abbreviated title of the source text and the reference number of the intonation unit (e.g. K/G *murun3xi 003*). Other examples are from our research on positional verbs elicited with stimuli of the Language and Cognition Group of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. These are marked 'Posit'. Examples not marked for their source have been elicited for the purposes of this article.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. Section 7.2 gives a short overview of Laz basic clause structure. Section 7.3 focuses on how NP-internal modifiers can be delimited from adjuncts. Section 7.4 concerns participant-oriented and event-oriented manner expressions, and gives an overview on their segmental and distributional characteristics (7.4.1) followed by a few remarks on prosodic communalities and differences (7.4.2). Section 5 deals with participant-oriented and event-oriented uses of adjuncts in instrumental case (7.5.1), motative case (7.5.2), and locational nominals (7.5.3). Section 7.6 argues that distributive numerals are expressed by a genuine depictive construction in Laz. Section 7.7 deals with expressions of role and life stage, which in Laz are biclausal in nature. Section 7.8 concludes.

7.2 Morphosyntactic essentials

Laz is basically an SOV language, exhibiting the categories case and number in nominal expressions and a rich inventory of verbal categories with up to ten different morphological slots to be filled in the predicate (see Kutscher 2001: ch. 1). Predicates in Laz are head-marking—i.e. depending on the valence of the verb, verbal inflection is mono- or polypersonal.

With polypersonal verbs the finite verb inflects for both actor and undergoer as in (1).

- (1) *cemçam*¹
hit:[2>1]SG.PRS
'You beat me.'

¹ Examples are written in the Lazoğlu/Feurstein orthography introduced to the Laz community in Turkey in 1984. It deviates from the Caucasianists' transcription in the following graphemes (<Laz=Caucasianist>): <ç=č>, <c=ç>, <k=k̄>, <ḡ=ḡ̄>, <ḡ=ḡ̄>, <ḡ=ḡ̄>, <ḡ=ḡ̄>, <ḡ=ḡ̄>.

Laz is an active language (Klimov 1974), i.e. monopersonal verbs subdivide into two classes, depending on whether the verb takes a controlling or non-controlling single core argument. Controlling single core arguments are marked as actor on the predicate, cf. the first person marker *b-* in (2a). Non-controlling single core arguments are marked as undergoer, cf. the first person marker *m-* in (2b). This is indicated by an arrow (>) in the gloss.

- (2) a. *bulur*
go:1SG.PRS
'I go.'
- b. *maçinden*
sneeze:>1SG.PRS
'I sneeze.'

Note that information on person and number in Laz predicates is not marked by a single prefix but rather results from the interaction of prefixes and suffixes. These are portmanteau forms coding tense/aspect/mood simultaneously (see Mattissen 1995).²

Argument NPs are always non-obligatory and often are omitted in discourse. If present, all argument NPs in Ardeşen-Laz are unmarked for case, as opposed to other Laz dialects. This holds for the actors of polypersonal predicates (3a, b), primary and secondary objects (3b), and for the single core argument of monopersonal inactive predicates (3c).

- (3) a. *baba pencere kosuy*
father window clean:[3>3]SG.PRS
'Father wipes the window.'
- b. *nana baba bere meçay*
mother father child give:[3>3]SG.PRS
'Mother gives the child to Father.'
- c. *biçi aşkurinen*
boy be_afraid:>3SG.PRS
'The boy is afraid.'

² Person-marking in the glosses includes information on the macro-roles actor and undergoer. Undergoers are marked with a preceding angled bracket, >. In polypersonal predicates this bracket is to be read as 'acts on'. In monopersonal-inactive predicates, it marks the single core argument as a non-controlling argument. The single core argument of monopersonal active predicates is an actor and has no special marking.

Adjuncts, e.g. goals (4a) or instruments (4b) take oblique case-marking.

- (4) a. *yecekuleša* *eşkafataten (...)*
 yecekule-ša *eška-ftaten*
 'place name'-MOT up-go:IPL.FUT.PFV
 'We went up to *yecekule*.' (K/G *gecekule* 005)
- b. *žarite* *goçxu;* *škomu* ³
 žari-te *goçxu* *škomu*
 water-INS clean:3SG.PST.PFV eat:3SG.PST.PFV
 'He cleaned it with water and ate it.' (K/G *proyonı* 031)

Expressions of location (5a) or time (5b), however, are always unmarked for case.

- (5) a. *Trabzoni ya* (0.3) *xolo* *teyyare* *kocepvedi*
 Trabzon QUOT again plane EMPH-down-sit:1SG.PST.PFV
 'He said: "In Trabzon I sat down in an airplane once again".'
 (K/G *Ferat dayı* 1 002/3)
- b. a. *mapxa ndya;* (0.1) *xvala* *pucepe*
 a *mapxa ndya* *xvala* *puci-pe*
 one sunny day alone cow-PL
 keşkebuçvi \
 k-eşkebuçvi
 EMPH-up: lead:[1>3]SG.PST.PFV
 'One sunny day I brought the cows up alone.' (W *Kuhtext* 004)

Having set out the major characteristics of Laz clause structure, in the following sections we will turn to the nature of participant-oriented adjunct constructions beginning with delimiting unmarked adjuncts from NP-internal modifiers.

7.3 Participant-oriented adjuncts vs. NP-internal modifiers

In contrast to Georgian (see Boeder, Ch. 6, this volume), Laz NPs only inflect on the last element of the phrase and do not exhibit NP-internal agreement,

³ In transcripts of audio data intonational units are delimited as follows: \ = final intonation, i.e. pitch drops to the base line; ; = medial intonation, i.e. pitch ends in mid-range either level or slightly falling; / = progradient intonation, i.e. final pitch is clearly rising. A number in brackets, e.g. (0.1), indicates the length of a pause in seconds.

as (6) illustrates (see Kutscher 2001: ch. 2 for details).

- (6) (...) *pasiari lemşite* *kelebuçi* /
 pasiari lemşi-te *ko-elebuçi*
 rusty needle-INS EMPH-sew:[1>3]SG.PST.PFV
 'I sew it together with a rusty needle.' (K/G *korme* 011)

In (6) the instrument-NP *pasiari lemşite* 'with a rusty needle' is case marked only on the semantic nucleus (*lemşi* 'needle') of the NP, whereas the attribute *pasiari* 'rusty' is a bare adjective stem. The last lexical element of an NP can either be the semantic nucleus (as in (6)) or a possessive pronoun (cf. (7)).

- (7) *pasiari lemşi* *škimi-te* *kelebuçi*
 pasiari lemşi *škimi-te* *ko-elebuçi*
 rusty needle POSS.1SG-INS EMPH-sew:[1>3]SG.PST.PFV
 'I sew together it with my rusty needle.'

Hence, the right border of an NP can clearly be identified by inserting a possessive pronoun into the phrase. NP-internal modifiers can thus be formally distinguished from participant-oriented adjuncts following the NP. Compare (8a) with (8b).

- (8) a. *tuža cari* *škimi* *bimxor*
 hot bread/meal POSS.1SG eat:1SG.PRS
 'I eat my hot meal.'
- b. *cari* *škimi* *tuža* *bimxor*
 bread/meal POSS.1SG hot eat:1SG.PRS
 'I eat my meal hot.'

In (8a) the adjective *tuža* 'hot' is part of the NP and functions as an NP-internal modifier to its head noun. The position of *škimi* in (8b) shows that the modifier *tuža* 'hot' is outside the NP. It serves as a clause-level adjunct with object-oriented reading. Although the semantic nucleus of the NP functions as the controller of this participant-oriented adjunct, *tuža* 'hot' exhibits no morphological means to show this semantic relation overtly. In this respect as well, Laz contrasts with Georgian.

While participant-oriented adjuncts following their controller NP can be distinguished from NP-internal modifiers, the possessive pronoun insertion test obviously does not work for adjuncts that are placed to the left of their controller-NP. Hence, *tuža* 'hot' in (8a) may either be read as an NP-internal modifier or as a participant-oriented adjunct of its own. In actual utterances,⁴

⁴ Note that Laz is mainly a spoken language. There are no widespread mass media in the language and only a few printed books and journals. Most Laz do not read and write in their language. There is no standard variety.

however, a participant-oriented adjunct construction differs from one with NP-internal modification with respect to prosody. A participant-oriented adjunct may form an intonation unit of its own (see section 7.4.2), while this does not hold for NP-internal modifiers.

7.4 Depictive and manner expressions

This section is concerned with participant-oriented expressions of state (i.e. the kind of expression widely used to exemplify depictives) and event-oriented manner expressions. We use the term **DEPictive** in this section as a convenient shorthand for 'participant-oriented expression of a state', i.e. for a purely semantically defined expression type. As we will see, there is little evidence to support the distinction of two different (formal) constructions for these two kinds of expression.

7.4.1 Similarities in distribution

In Laz, there are no segmental means to distinguish manner adverbials and depictives. For manner expressions, compare the adjectives *vrosi* 'good, well' and *evedi* in (9), for depictive compare the participle *okokoṭeri* in (10).

- (9) a. *vrosi gamaṣedi;* *gazirasen* *ya* *koṣepe* \
 vrosi gamaṣedi *gazirasen* *ya* *koṣi-pe*
 good look_through:2SG.PST.PFV see:>2SG.FUT.PFV QUOT man-PL
 'Look carefully. You'll see (something),' the men said.' (K/G
 murunṣxi 032)

- b. *evedi komoxti* \
 evedi ko-moxti
 quick EMPH-COME:2SG.IMP
 'Come here quickly!' (W *Bientext* 034)

- (10) *masa-ṣi cindo;(1.9) okokoṭeri* *eo-zun* \
 table-GEN surface folded_in_half on-lie:3SG.PRS
 'It is on the table, folded in half.' (Posit)

The position of an adjunct constituent of any kind is more or less free, i.e. it depends on discourse pragmatic rules. The preverbal position is the preferred position for both depictive and manner expressions with respect to text frequency and in terms of the order usually given in elicited utterances. Note that preverbal position is the preferred slot for focused constituents. For example, interrogative pronouns are obligatorily placed there and cannot be intonationally detached from the predicate: compare (11).

- (11) *ḡoma cuma ṣkani noya mu iindru?*
 yesterday brother POSS.2SG market what buy:3SG.PST.PFV
 'What did your brother buy on the market yesterday?'
 **ḡoma cuma ṣkani mu noya iindru?*

In this position, participant-oriented and manner expressions as well as other kinds of constituents tend to have a falling pitch accent with the fall continuing on the following predicate (cf. figures 7.1 and 7.2). Topics are placed utterance-initially.

Depictive expressions may precede or follow their controller, as the examples in (11) illustrate. In (12a), the controller *toṣi* 'rope' precedes the depictive adjunct *kirkoleri* 'wound up', while in (12b) the controller *toṣi* 'rope' follows the adjunct *koṭeri* 'folded'. Note that the depictive expressions in both utterances are prosodically separated from the adjacent constituents.⁵

- (12) a. *toṣi ; kirkoleri ; (0.1) buṣiṣi cindo goozun* \
 toṣi kirkol-eri buṣi-ṣi cindo goo-zun
 rope wind-PTCP stump-GEN surface on-lie:3SG.PRS
 'The rope is on the tree stump in a wound fashion.' (Posit)
 b. *boṣi ṭikina / (0.5) koṭeri / (1.1) toṣi goozun* \
 boṣi ṭikina koṭeri toṣi goo-zun
 empty basket fold-PTCP rope on-lie:3SG.PRS
 'On an empty basket there is a rope in a folded state.' (Posit)

Furthermore, depictive expressions may appear in clause-initial position; cf. *kuṣxe ṣunṣu* 'barefoot' in (13).

- (13) *kuṣxe ṣunṣu žari moyapay*
 kuṣxe ṣunṣu žari moy-ap-ay
 foot-naked water bring-CAUS-[3>3]SG.PRS
 'She sent her barefoot for water.' (W *Fadume* 009)

Depictive expressions may also be placed after the predicate as is the case with the depictive *kuru* 'plain' in (14).

- (14) *nezi bimxor / (0.1) kuru /*
 nezi bimxor kuru
 walnut eat:1SG.PRS plain
 'I eat the walnuts plain [i.e. without any other food].' (K/G
 nezi 036)

⁵ At this point, it remains to be investigated what kinds of semantic effect correlate with these alternative positions and prosodic breaking.

These variations in word order are also found with manner expressions. They too may follow the predicate, as shown for the manner adverbial *evedi* 'quickly' in (15).

- (15) *Kedir Kedir a; (0.1) a komoxti \ evedi;*
Kedir Kedir a a ko-moxti evedi
Kedir Kedir one one EMPH-COME:2SG.PST.PFV quick
 'Kedir, Kedir, come on. Quickly!' (W *Bienentext* 032)

In post-predicate position, both depictive and manner expressions exhibit the characteristics of afterthoughts, i.e. they constitute a separate intonation unit and follow a prosodic unit with final intonation.

Manner adverbials may also be non-adjacent to the predicate, as is the case in (16), where the interrogative pronoun *mi* 'who' directly precedes the predicate.

- (16) *biñumi vrosi mi ompulu?*
all well who hide:[3>3]SG.PST.PFV
 'Who has hidden everything well?'

In conclusion, we can state that in Laz depictive (participant-oriented) and manner (event-oriented) expressions cannot be distinguished by segmental or distributional means. They would therefore appear to be formally expressed by a single construction type which allows both participant-oriented and event-oriented readings, thus exemplifying a general adjunct construction as defined in the introduction to this volume. However, there may be prosodic differences between the two expression types, as further discussed in the next section.

7.4.2 Prosodic differences?

In this section, we provide preliminary evidence for the observation that depictive and manner expressions differ with regard to at least one aspect of prosodic marking. In preverbal position, depictives may be intonationally detached from the main predicate of the clause, i.e. they may form an intonation unit of their own. In contrast, manner adverbials cannot be intonationally separated from the predicate in this position. Note that these are very tentative observations, since Laz prosody is still very poorly understood.

In Laz, elements in preverbal position show a strong tendency to form an intonational unit with the following predicate. This holds for adverbials as well as depictive expressions, as the following examples demonstrate. Figure 7.1

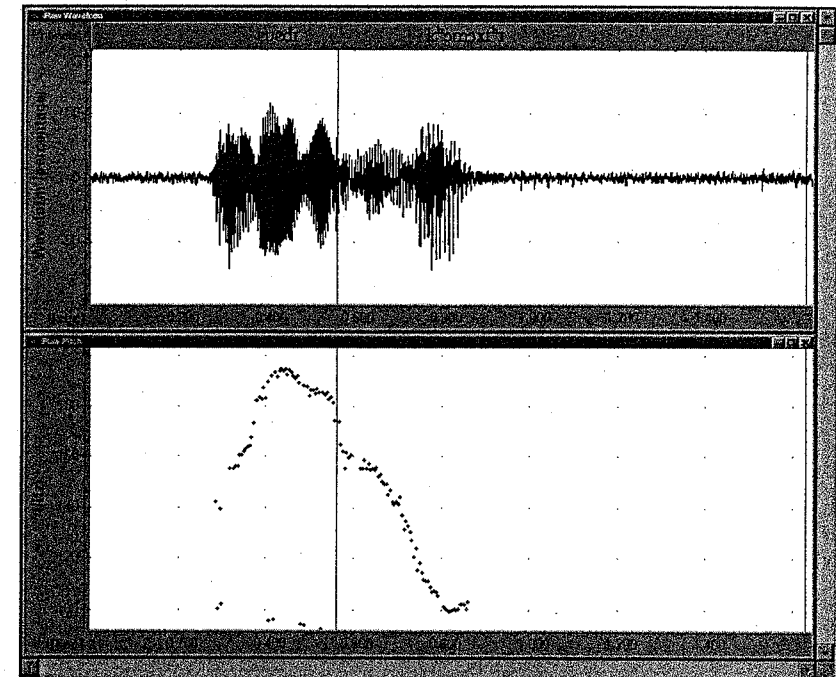


FIGURE 7.1 Wave form and pitch extraction for example (9b)

shows the waveform and pitch extraction for the manner adverbial in (9b) above. The vertical cursor line crossing the graphs indicates the word boundary between the adverb *evedi* 'quickly' and the predicate *komoxti* 'come'.

Figure 7.1 clearly shows rising F₀ on the first syllable of the manner adverb *evedi* followed by a fall on the second syllable. The fall continues smoothly into the first syllable of the predicate *komoxti*.

A continuous contour like the one in Figure 7.1 is found on most of the preverbal depictive expressions in our corpus, as well. Figure 7.2 illustrates the F₀ contour of the depictive expression *okokoteri* 'folded' given in example (10) above. The relevant section of the contour is marked with a vertical line in the figure. Once again the falling contour on the depictive participle *okokoteri* 'folded' is continued on the following predicate *eozun* 'it lies on sth.'.

In contrast to adverbial manner expressions, with depictive expressions we also find examples in our corpus where the depictive expression is intonationally detached from the following predicate by a clear break in the

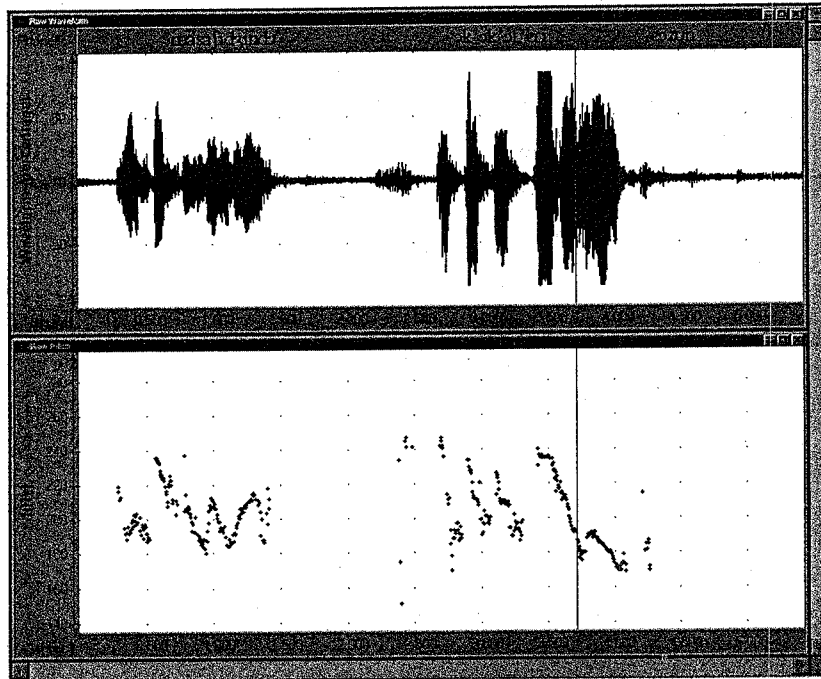


FIGURE 7.2 Wave form and pitch extraction for example (10)

F₀ contour, as is illustrated in (17) and figure 7.3.⁶

- (17) *gzalineri* / (0.6) *mendaxtey* \
 by_foot go_to:3PL.PST.PFV
 'They went there by foot.' (K/G *askerepe* 111)

As Figure 7.3 illustrates, the F₀ contour in this case is quite the opposite of those given in Figures 7.1 and 7.2. In figure 7.3 the F₀ clearly rises on the last syllable of the depictive *gzalineri* 'by foot' (in all likelihood realizing a high-rising boundary tone). The onset pitch of the following predicate, *mendaxtey*, is clearly much lower and in the mid range typical for the onset of a new intonation unit.

As for manner adverbials, we did not find an F₀ contour in our corpus comparable to the one illustrated in Figure 7.3 for depictive expressions. Therefore, we tested this intonation pattern by elicitation. The test utterance

⁶ The semantic effects of the prosodic break need further investigation.

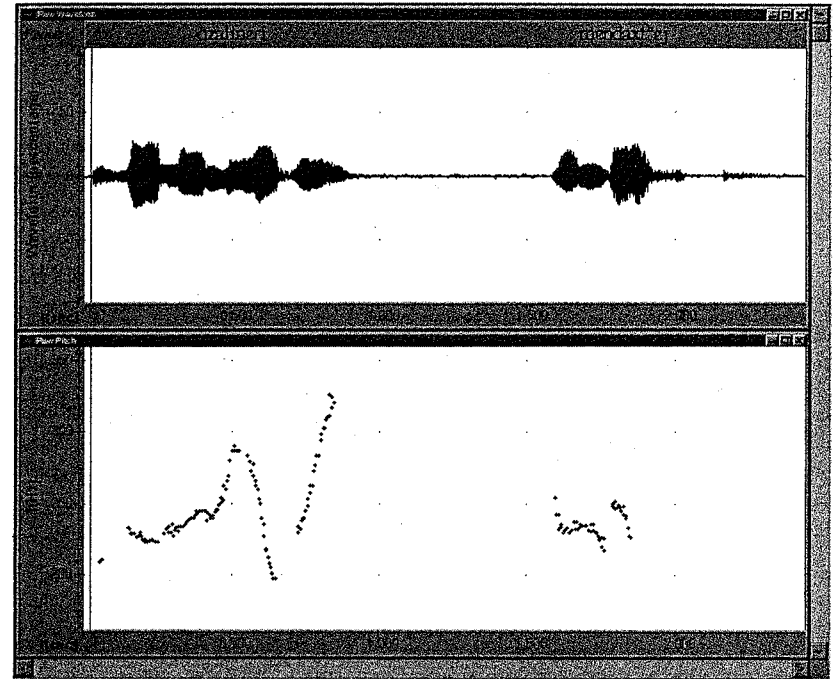


FIGURE 7.3 Wave form and pitch extraction for example (17)

(18) was taken from a narrative in our corpus. In the original utterance, the manner adverbial *vrosi* 'well' and the predicate *dvompuli* 'hide it' are part of a single continuous pitch movement (see Figure 7.4).

- (18) *biṭumi o3xone vrosi dvompuli* /
 biṭumi o3xone vrosi dv-ompuli
 all attic good EMPH-hide:[2<3]SG.IMP
 'Hide everything well in the attic.' (K/G *askerepe* 104)

For our test, the second author of this chapter, a native speaker of Laz, produced the utterance illustrated in (19), i.e. a high-rising, unit-final pitch on the manner adverbial *vrosi* followed by a break and a mid range onset on the predicate *dvompuli*.

- (19) *biṭumi o3xone vrosi / dvompuli*
 all attic well EMPH-hide:[2>3]SG.IMP
 'Hide everything well in the attic.'

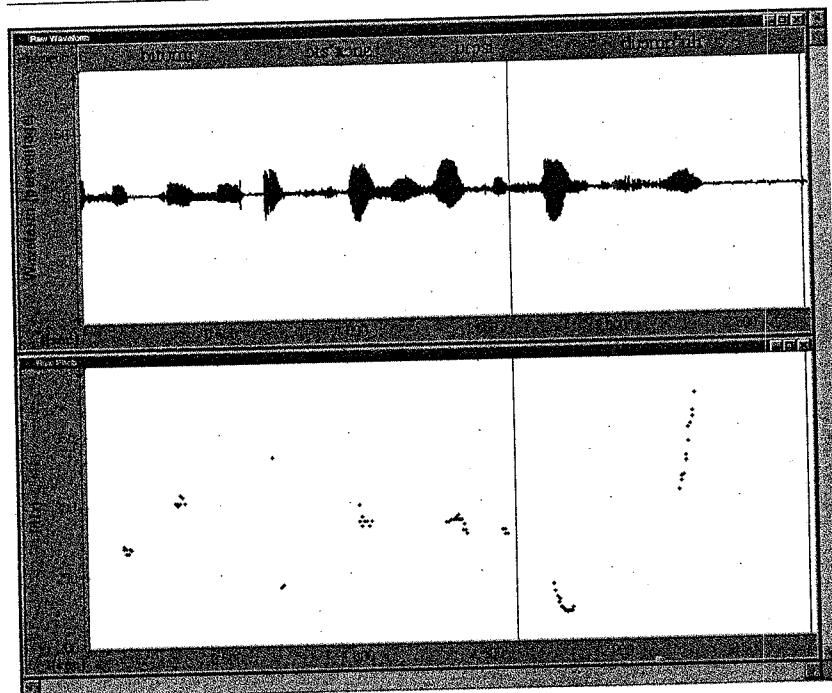


FIGURE 7.4 Wave form and pitch extraction for example (18)

This test utterance was played to two other native speakers. Both speakers clearly rejected it on the grounds that it was ‘not sounding right’. Both of them only accepted intonation patterns close to the one found in (18), i.e. with no intonational break.

To conclude, manner adverbials and depictive expressions appear to be very similar with respect to (the lack of overt) marking and distribution. But depictive expressions may constitute intonation units of their own (typically with progredient final intonation) when in pre-predicate position. In contrast, sequences of manner adverbial plus predicate strongly disfavour prosodic breaking. Preliminary analyses of other adverbial expressions support the impression that the restrictions concerning possible intonation patterns demonstrated for manner adverbials in this section also hold for other adverbials. But the intonational properties of adverbial and depictive expressions definitely need further investigation. For the time being, we consider them to instantiate a single construction type, i.e. a general adjunct construction.

7.5 Other types of adjunct that allow participant-oriented readings

This section provides data on other types of expressions which share semantic characteristics with depictive expressions in Laz. Section 7.5.1 investigates the semantic range of the instrumental case, section 7.5.2 discusses uses of expressions marked with motative case, and section 7.5.3 deals with locational nouns. For all three kinds of expressions, we will argue that no clear boundary can be drawn between participant-oriented and event-oriented constructions.

7.5.1 Instrumentals

The suffix *-te* mainly marks NPs referring to the instrument of an event. Its use is restricted to non-human referents (see Kutscher 2001: ch. 5 for details). In addition to encoding an instrument, the suffix covers cause (20, 21), purpose (22), and accompaniment (23) readings. In the following, we discuss these uses in more detail.

An instrumental case may mark adverbials of cause, as is the case with the verbal noun *obiru* ‘play’ in (20) which gives the reason why the speaker returned home late.

- (20) *himndya* / (0.1) *obirute* *leba domau* \
- | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| him-ndya | obiru-te | leba do-mau | |
| DEM-day | play:VN-INS | late | EMPH-become:>1SG.PST.PFV |
- ‘On this day I was late because of playing.’ (W *Kuhtext* 006)

Instrumentals of cause are not restricted to event-oriented uses. Compare the noun *škurina* ‘fear’ in instrumental case in (21). The example is from a narrative about a mother and a daughter harvesting tea up in the mountains away from their village. On their way home they reach a river and as dusk comes, the mother begins her evening prayer. While the mother is praying, the daughter hears some strange noises and thinks the river ghosts are coming to get her. The mother, knowing that her daughter is a timid person and would prefer to go home and not pray at the bank of the river, thinks that her daughter is hallucinating and says:

- (21) (...) *škurinate* *ognam* *ya*
- | | | | |
|------------|------------------|------|--|
| škurina-te | ognam | ya | |
| fear-INS | hear:[2>3]SG.PRS | QUOT | |
- ‘You only hear it because you are frightened.’ (K/G *gecekulesa* 028)

In this context, the nominal *şkurinate* denotes a mental state of the actor of the predicate *ognam* 'you hear it', i.e. the daughter, and hence functions as a participant-oriented expression.

The same holds for the instrumental phrase *parate* 'with money' in (22) which denotes the purpose of the activity of the actor participant of the main predicate *pşilum* 'I pluck':

- (22) *çayi*; (0.1) *parate* *pşilum*
çayi *para-te* *pşilum*
 tea money-INS pluck:1SG.PRS
 'I am harvesting tea for money [in order to get money].'

The instrumental in (22) also relates to the mental state of the actor or rather, it encodes that the actor is accompanied by a certain mental state, namely the thought of money. Hence, more literally one may translate (22) as 'I pluck tea with money on my mind'.

An instance of the participant-oriented use of the accompaniment meaning of the instrumental is the instrumental phrase *kakalite* 'with a stone' in (23).

- (23) *mbuli kakalite ceşkidu*
mbuli kakalite ceşkidu
 cherry stone-INS swallow:3SG.PST.PFV
 'S/he swallowed the cherry with its stone.'

As can be shown by the insertion of a possessive pronoun in (24) (see section 7.2 above), *kakali* 'stone' in (23) is not internal to the object NP *mbuli*. It forms a constituent of its own and functions as a participant-oriented adjunct.

- (24) *mbuli şkimi kakalite ceşkidu* → **mbuli kakalite şkimi ceşkidu*
mbuli şkimi kakali-te ceşkidu
 cherry POSS.1SG pip-INS swallow:3SG.PST.PFV
 'S/he swallowed my cherry with its stone.'

In some cases the instrumental expression is semantically vague as to a participant- or event-oriented reading, as seen in (25).

- (25) *şuneri kibrite cari imxoy*
şun-eri kibri-te cari imxoy
 hurt-PTCP teeth-INS meal/bread eat:3SG.PRS
 'S/he eats the meal with hurting teeth.'

In (25), the hurting teeth of the actor are the instruments of the eating process, i.e. on the one hand the expression is event-oriented. Simultaneously, the instrumental phrase in (25) refers to the physical state of the eater and therefore is participant-oriented.

To conclude, the instrumental allows event-oriented as well as participant-oriented uses. Moreover, in some instances the orientation of the instrumental is in fact vague. Hence, Laz instrumentals instantiate what Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (Ch. 1, this volume) call a general adjunct construction. In the following section, we will show that comparable findings hold for motative phrases.

7.5.2 Motatives

The term motative originates in the grammar of Pazar-Laz written by Rosen (1844) and captures the particular semantics of this case, which only encodes that the referent of a nominal thus marked has moved, but it is vague with respect to whether the referent is moving towards a goal (as in (26a); see also (4a) above) or moves away from a source, as in (26b).

- (26) a. *bere oxori-şa amulun*
bere oxori-şa amo-ulun
 child house-MOT into-go:3SG.PRS
 'The child goes inside the house.'
- b. *bere oxorişa gamulun*
bere oxori-şa gamo-ulun
 child house-MOT out-go:3SG.PRS
 'The child goes out of the house.'

The direction of movement is usually specified by a spatial prefix to the predicate, e.g. *amo-* 'into' in (26a) or *gamo-* 'out' in (26b).

Motative phrases most frequently are event-oriented, as in the preceding examples. In some cases, however, we have found motative-marked phrases which clearly have participant-oriented semantics. In these cases, the predicate denotes an event of emission and the motative relates to the source of this event; compare (27) for illustration.

- (27) *şarmakluyepeşa buoxam \ naana*
şarmaklu yi-pe-şa buoxam nana
 railings-PL-MOT call:[1>3]SG.PRS mother
 'I called her from the railings: "Mother."' (K/G *nezi* 044)

In (27), the narrator of the story is accidentally caught in a storehouse and tries to call her mother so that she may be released. The actor of the predicate *buoxam* 'I call her' is behind the railings of the storehouse, while the undergoer, the person called, is outside the storehouse, coming down the street. Interestingly, the motative phrase in these participant-oriented uses expresses the

location of the controller, not its movement towards a goal or from a source. The calling, however, is directed away from the controller in (27), which makes the controller the source of the event expressed in the predicate. Hence, the motative phrase at the same time is also event-oriented. Compare (28), where the caller comes to the storehouse and calls a person standing behind the storehouse's railings. In this case the motative-marked phrase is purely event-oriented, denoting the direction of the calling but not the location of the caller.

- (28) *serende-şa moxtu do*
 storehouse-MOT come:3SG.PST.PFV and
řarmakluyepe-şa uoxu
 railings-MOT call[3>3]SG.PST.PFV
 'S/he came to the storehouse and called to her towards the railings.'

To conclude, Laz has a general adjunct construction of location—the motative-marked phrase. These motative phrases may be used to express the location of a participant and at the same time are event-oriented in that they indicate the direction to which the event is oriented.

7.5.3 Locational nominals

In addition to the general adjunct construction of location dealt with in the preceding section, Laz also has expressions in which the location of a participant is expressed by an unmarked locational nominal, e.g. *cando* 'top' in (29).

- (29) *cando keizdaman* /
 cando ko-e-izdaman
 top EMPH-up-pull:3PL.PRS
 'They [the boys] pull it (the food) up [from a shelf in the kitchen] being on the top [i.e. in the store room above the kitchen].' (K/G lu 062)

The landmark expression *cando* 'top' in (29) denotes the location of only one of the participants in the event, namely the boys. Conversely, the preverb *e-* 'up' denotes the direction of the food which is being pulled up, i.e. the food is on its way up to the boys. With respect to participant orientation, Laz locational nominals, which consist of a locative adverb plus the suffix *-ndo*, differ from the locative adverbs from which they are derived.⁷ The latter are compatible with

⁷ Landmark expressions with the suffix *-ndo* like *cando* 'top' are nominals. They can appear in core argument function and may be modified by a genitive NP (cf. (15a)).

- (i) *cando muři buzi řiu*
 cando muři buz do-ıu
 top POSS.3SG ice MOD-become:3SG.PST.PRF
 'Its surface became ice.' (K/G řxomepe 006)

spatial preverbs of the same semantic domain. Thus, the locative adverb *cin* 'up' in (30) specifies or emphasizes the spatial semantics of the preverb *e-* 'up'.

- (30) *cin e-izdaman*
 up up-pull:3PL.PRS
 'They pull it up [above].'

Locative adverbs are event-oriented only. The adverb *cin* 'up' denotes the upward movement of the food and, in contrast to the locational nominal in (29), does not relate to the location of the actor. The puller in (30) may as well transport the food away from herself with the help of a block and tackle.

Since the nominal expressions may be participant-oriented, there is a functional difference between locational adjunct expressions containing a nominal with *-ndo* suffix and those with an adverb. Nevertheless, locational nominal expressions cannot be analysed as a genuine depictive construction, since they may also be used as locative modifiers. In this function, the locational expression refers to the location of the event to which the predicate relates. Compare (31), where the locational expression *oxoriři cando* 'on top of the house' relates to the place where the event of the speaker's spreading the hazelnuts is taking place.

- (31) *oxori-ři cando ntxiri goo-bobyam*
 house-GEN top hazelnut on-lie_mass:[1>3]SG.PRS
 'I spread hazelnuts on top of the house.'

Laz locational nominal expressions may also serve to relate only to a part of the event expressed by the predication (i.e. internal modifier function, cf. Maienborn (2001)). Compare (32) for illustration.

- (32) *řafri cando me-buřadi*
 nail top at-hammer:[1>3]SG.PST.PFV
 'I hammered the nail on the upper part [of the door].'

The locational nominal *cando* 'top' in (32) does not relate to the location of the whole event, since only the hammering and the object of the hammering is located on the upper part of the door. The actor of the event is not located there. Hence, the locational nominal specifies an internal aspect of the event

Conversely, bare forms, i.e. expressions without *-ndo* suffix, are locative adverbs. They cannot appear in core argument function (see Kutscher 2001, chapter 3 for details) and cannot be modified by a genitive NP.

- (ii) *ntxiri cin goobobyam -> *oxori-ři cin*
 hazelnut above spread.on:[1>3]SG.PRS
 'I spread hazelnuts above.'

but does not locate the event as a whole. In this function, the locational nominal is both participant-oriented (relating to the location of the nail, but not the actor) and event-oriented.

Locational nominals can also be used as frame-setting expressions (Maienborn 2001). In this function, the locational nominal does not relate to the location of the event directly but sets a frame for it. Compare (33), where a young woman is instructed by her mother-in-law how to escape from the Russian soldiers who are about to invade the village.

- (33) *oxori doloxendo / nekna-pe pencerepe vrosi*; (0.3)
 oxori doloxendo nekna-pe pencere-pe vrosi
 house inside door-PL window-PL good
doçadi / (0.5) (...)
 do-oçadi
 EMPH-nail:[2>3]SG.PST.PFV
 'Inside the house, nail the doors and windows well...' (K/G
askerepe 098–102)

The locational expression *oxori doloxendo* 'inside the house' in (33) is intonationally detached and has a progradient intonation contour. It sets the frame of the hammering event denoted in the following intonation unit *nekna-pe pencerepe vrosi doçadi* 'nail the doors and windows well'.

In sum, locational nominal expressions in Laz serve the three different functions which Maienborn (2001) argues to be typical for locative adjuncts: internal and external modification and frame-setting. With respect to these functions, locational nominal expressions in Laz are event-oriented. In addition, locational nominals in some uses exhibit purely participant-oriented readings. Hence, locational nominal expressions in Laz are another instance of the general adjunct construction.

7.6 A genuine depictive construction: distributive numerals

This section deals with quantifier expressions. On constructional grounds, these have to be divided into two subclasses in Laz: collective quantificational and distributive quantificational expressions.

Collective quantificational expressions are similar in construction to the manner expressions discussed in section 7.4 above. They are construed with unmarked quantifiers such as *xvala* 'alone' in (34) and may have participant-oriented readings (34a) or are vague with respect to participant and event orientation (34b).

- (34) a. *xvala eška-ftare* /
 alone up-go:1SG.FUT.PFV
 'We will go up alone.' (K/G *xvala* 004)
 b. *kişi çoyi xvala pşkudur*
 winter village alone live:1SG.PRS
 'In the winter I live on my own in the village.'

Bare numerals, however, can only be interpreted as event-oriented. Compare the numerals *ar* 'one' and *cur* 'two' in (35), which denote the frequency of the soldiers' comings.

- (35) *askerepe a moxtey ; cu moxtey* /
 askere-pe ar moxtey cur moxtey
 soldier-PL one come:3PL.PST.PFV two come:3PL.PST.PFV
 'The soldiers came once, they came twice.' (K/G *askerepe* 019)

Reduplicated numerals, in contrast, are clearly participant-oriented, as in (36).

- (36) *askerepe curcur moxtey*
 soldiers two:RDP come:3PL.PST.PFV
 'The soldiers came in pairs'

These participant-oriented numeral expressions can only have a distributive meaning (e.g. 'two by two' in the above example) and cannot be used to express the total number of referents of the phrase,⁸ like the German construction with *zu* 'to' + numeral.⁹

Other participant-oriented quantifiers may also be reduplicated, compare (37).

- (37) *xvalaxvala* / (2.3) *bulur* \
 xvala:RDP bulur
 alone go:1SG.PRS
 'I walk totally alone.' (K/G *inonu* 058)

In these cases, however, the reduplication seems to be emphatic or, in the case of Turkish loans, may be induced by the Turkish source construction. Reduplication in these emphatic cases, however, is non-obligatory and hence not a genuine constructional means to encode participant orientation. In contrast, for numerals functioning as participant-oriented adjuncts

⁸ When used in argument position, numerals show a special form with a suffix (for details, see Kutscher 2001: ch. 3.2.2).

⁹ Compare German *Sie kamen zu zweit* (3.PL came at two) 'The two of them came', referring to exactly two persons coming, in contrast to the distributive construction *Sie kamen in Paaren* (3.PL came in pairs) 'They came two by two', referring to more than two persons.

reduplication is obligatory. Therefore, we would argue that reduplicated numeral expressions are an example of a genuine depictive construction.¹⁰

7.7 On expressing role and life stage in Laz

Expressions of role such as *I got the book as a present* are often considered to be typical examples of depictive secondary predicate expressions. Interestingly, adjunct constructions of this type cannot be found in Laz. Role expressions in Laz always have to be biclausal constructions. Both the role predication and the main predication form independent main clauses, each containing a finite verb. An example is given in (38).

- (38) *baba škimi doktori on \ hastahane içalışay *
baba škimi doktori on hastahane içalışay
 father POSS.1SG doctor be:3SG.PRS hospital work:3SG.PRS
 'My father is a doctor. He works at the hospital.'

Life-stage expressions, which often occur in the same type of construction as role expressions (e.g. *she lived in Paris as a child*), occur in two types of construction in Laz. The first type of life stage construction is again biclausal in nature. The life stage is expressed in a finite copula construction such as *borți* 'I was' in (39). In contrast to biclausal role expressions, however, the life-stage expression in biclausal life-stage constructions is the predicate of a subordinate clause marked by the motative suffix *-şa*. The motative in these constructions, together with imperfective aspect, expresses the simultaneity of the two predications.

- (39) *bere borțişa / lu zeri va bimxortı *
bere bortı-şa lu zeri var-bimxortı
 child be:1SG.PST.IPFV-MOT traditional meal NEG-eat:1SG.PST.IPFV
 'When I was a child, I didn't eat *lu zeri*.'

The subordinate clause construction is obligatory for this type of life-stage expression and not merely an alternative as is the case e.g. in English, where

¹⁰ Subject to the condition that distributive numeral expressions are analysed as depictive expressions. McGregor (Ch. 5, this volume) provides a detailed discussion of numerative expressions in some Australian languages. As he points out, distributive quantificational expressions (or, in his terms, iterative co-participation) do not as easily qualify as depictive expressions. Although semantically they are participant-oriented and predicative, at least in some of the Australian languages under consideration, they lack agreement with the designated controller. In the Panoan language Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela, Ch. 8, this volume), on the other hand, numerals in distributive function show agreement with the controller.

the subordinate clause *when I was a child* could be turned alternatively into the depictive construction *as a child*.

The fact that the subordinate clause is marked by a suffix expressing simultaneity which is similar in form to the motative case marker *-şa* (see section 7.3.2) gives rise to the question of whether this construction is a converb construction. Since the finite verb of the subordinate clause allows for an explicit subject NP and may have complements that are not co-referential with a participant of the matrix clause, we analyse the suffix in this use as a temporal conjunction. Compare (40), where *nana škimi* 'my mother' is the subject of the predicate *komoxtu* 'she came'.

- (40) *nana škimi oxori ko-moxtu-şa*
 mother POSS.1SG house EMPH-COME:3SG.PST.PFV-MOT
kitabı golobioni
 book read:1SG.PST.PFV
 'When my mother came home, I was reading a book.'

The second type of life stage expressions has two variants. It may either contain a temporal adverb, as in (41b), or, for expressions denoting the exact age of the controller, a numeral is combined with the participle *žaneri* 'of age', as in (41a).

- (41) a. *cur žaneri osinapu ceboçi*
 cur žan-eri osinapu ceboçi
 two year-PTCP speak:VN begin:[1<3]SG.PST.PFV
 'Two years old I began to speak.'
- b. *ordo yuru*
 early die:3SG.PST.PFV
 'S/he died young.'

This kind of life stage construction is an instance of the general adjunct constructions discussed in sections 7.4 and 7.5.

7.8 Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented an overview of expressions in Laz which allow participant-oriented readings. We have argued that although Laz has a wide range of expressions of this kind, there are no unique segmental or distributional means marking a given construction as a genuine depictive construction. The single major exception to this claim is reduplicated numerals functioning as distributive quantifiers (section 7.6). The fact that otherwise there appears to be no genuine depictive construction in Laz seems

to be based on two factors: (a) the lack of case agreement on various levels, including agreement between controllers and participant-oriented adjuncts; (b) the fact that participant- and event-oriented adjuncts share essentially the same distributional possibilities. They also appear to share essentially the same possibilities of prosodic marking, in particular the ability to appear in intonation units of their own. The only possible exception with regard to prosody pertains to the observation discussed in section 7.4 that manner adverbials in pre-predicate position cannot be separated prosodically from the following predicate. However, this observation as well as other features of prosodic marking and packaging are still in need of much deeper exploration.

8

Participant agreement in Panoan

PILAR M. VALENZUELA

8.1 Introduction

Panoan is a well-established linguistic family in South America; it comprises some thirty languages spoken in the Amazon regions of Peru, Brazil, and Bolivia. PARTICIPANT AGREEMENT (PA) can be considered the typologically most salient feature of Panoan grammar. It refers to the use of a distinct inflectional morphology on adjuncts, in correlation with the syntactic function of the participant they are predicated of.¹ In this contribution, I examine PA in Shipibo-Konibo (SK), a Panoan language spoken by c.30,000 people settled along the Ucayali river and its main tributaries in the Peruvian Amazon. Although the discussion will be restricted to this single language, most of the points made also apply to the sister languages for which sufficient description is available. Consider the following sentences where the locative

The present account of the SK Participant Agreement system is based on Valenzuela (2003). I would like to thank Eva Schultze-Berndt and Nikolaus Himmelmann for their invitation to participate in this volume and for helpful comments on a previous version of this chapter. My analysis of the Panoan PA system has benefited from input from audiences who attended my talks at the Michigan Historical Linguistics Group hosted by Sally Thomason, and the MPI for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, in 2001 and 2002; I am very grateful for this. Foremost, I am indebted to the various Shipibo speakers who shared with me data and valuable insights on this fascinating aspect of their language; especially, I express my gratitude to Kesin Beso, Sanken Bari, and Yoi Sani. *Jakiribi ichabires irākél*

¹ In addition to PA, Panoan languages share the following morphosyntactic features: dominantly agglutinative morphology with 'polysynthetic tendencies' in the verb; use of suffixes and enclitics, except for a closed set of body-part prefixes which play an oblique function; basic AOV/SV order (following the labels in Dixon 1979 and 1994) and constituent order correlations conforming to this syntactic type; no (or very incipient) cross-referential pronominal marking in the verb or auxiliary; (split-)ergative alignments manifested through case-markers attached to the last NP word; syncretism/polyfunctionality involving a case enclitic *-n* which may indicate ergative, instrument/means, genitive, locative/allative or other oblique functions; a fairly complex switch-reference system; various types of transitivity-dependent concord; and innovative evidential systems with non-cognate morphology across languages from different subgroupings. Comparative analysis and reconstruction of the Panoan PA morphology can be found in Valenzuela (2003). See also Sparing-Chávez (1998) for Amawaka, Loos (1999) for Kapanawa, and Fleck (2003) for Matses.

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Secondary Predication and Adverbial Modification

The Typology of Depictives

Edited by
NIKOLAUS P. HIMMELMANN AND
EVA SCHULTZE-BERNDT

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi

Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi

New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece

Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore

South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

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in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States

by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© editorial matter and organization Nikolaus P. Himmelmann and

Eva Schultze-Berndt 2005

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First published 2005

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Secondary predication and adverbial modification: the typology of depictives / edited by
Nikolaus P. Himmelmann and Eva Schultze-Berndt.

p. cm.

Summary: "This book approaches depictive secondary predication from a crosslinguistic
perspective. It maps out all the phenomena and brings together critical surveys and new
contributions on their morphosyntactic and semantic properties"—Provided by publisher.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-19-927226-3 (alk. paper)

1. Grammar, Comparative and general—Syntax. 2. Grammar, Comparative and
general—Verb phrase. 3. Grammar, Comparative and general—Adverbials. 4. Semantics.

5. Typology (Linguistics) I. Himmelmann, Nikolaus. II. Schultze-Berndt, Eva.

P295.S413 2005

415—dc22

2004024152

Typeset by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India

Printed in Great Britain

on acid-free paper by

Biddles Ltd., King's Lynn

ISBN 0-19-927226-3

10 0 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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