Clitic Complexes in an African Typological Perspective

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Abstract

More or less simultaneous with Greenberg's seminal work on SVO, SOV and VSO typology, Bernd Heine published his typology of African languages suggesting four types, adding his type B, S Aux O V (Other). In this group B we find Mande languages but also Kru. The Cushitic languages of the Tanzanian Rift are under his SOV type. The "Aux" of Mande and Kru languages is very similar to the selector in Tanzanian Rift Cushitic and yet indeed the syntax is different in important ways. I present these commonalities and differences. And then I proceed with a comparison of selectors and similar clitic complexes in the rest of (East) Cushitic.

1. The Cushitic typology

I have an article on the typology of Cushitic clitic complexes that will be discussed in the series of readings, Mous (). For this presentation I want to mention one thing only:

> These Cushitic clitic complexes do not have an auxiliary as their basis. An auxiliary to me can be used as a main verb with lexical meaning in addition to its auxiliary use.

The article provides an overview of what can be expressed in the clitic complex in the various languages. In this presentation I come back to the Cushitic languages in our area and I concentrate on the syntactic properties.

(1)   Iraqw (Cushitic; Tanzania)

     inós   **i**   hhartá   hhawati malé hanmiis

     s/he   BE:3 stick:F1:CON man:DIR again give:DUR:PRES:he

           PRED O   OO   Adv   V

     'He is giving a stick to the man again.'

(2)   Alagwa   Mous (2001.)

     kúu   **lo-s-o**   hhab-it   Juma

     2SG.M OPT-BEN-O.M   tell-2SG   Juma

     'You should tell Juma'

(3)   Burunge, , (Cushitic, Tanzania)   Kiessling 1994:163)

     'ana fu'umay-hhank-[i] **ha-gi-ni-ri**   fa'a   'agim[a] 'ilibaa-goo-ba

     1SG Fleish-N-DEM1   S1/2-O3PL-O.FOC-COM   Brei   essen.1SG.IPF Milch-PRED-NEG

     'Ich esse den Brei zusammen mit *diesem Fleisch*, nicht etwa mit der Milch.'

In Somali, focus is expressed by focus markers or indicators; there is only one focus marker in one clause. The focussed element does not occur within the verb brace.

(4)   Somali (Cushitic; Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti) (Saeed 1999)

a.   naag **baa**   libaax aratay
        woman FM   lion   saw:she
        S   pred O   V
        'A WOMAN has seen a lion.'

b.   Cali   moos   **w-uu**   cunay
        Ali   banana FM-he   ate:he
        S   O   pred   V
        'Ali HAS EATEN a banana.'

c.   Cali   **wax-uu** cunay   moos
        Ali   FM-he   ate:he banana
        S   pred   V   O
        'Ali has eaten a BANANA.'

(5)   Word order options in the Somali clause

S	O	FocM-SubjPro		V	
	O	FocM-SubjPro	S	V	
	O	FocM-SubjPro		V	S
S		FocM		O	V
S		FocM		V	O

2. Similar to Mande

In this resepect the Cushitic clitic complexes are very similar the Mande languages that have a structure of

S   Pred   O   V   Other

Here too this predicative element often is not an auxiliary. Some can be traced to a postposition. Some common properties:

1. The subject can be just a pronoun and in that case the subject and the predicative are often amalgamated.
2. The predicative can consist of a (floating) tone.
3. In many languages there is an other construction with no predicative: the predicative is not obligatorily present in all clauses.
4. The object is typically by necessity between Pred and Verb
5. The "Other" position is for adjuncts and Adpoitional phrase (including those that are part of the valency of the verb).

(6)   Mandinka transitive verbal predication (Creissels &Sambou 2013:58)

a.   Jatóo   ye   dánnóo   barama
        lion:D ACPP   hunter:D   hurt
        The lion has hurt the hunter

b. jatóo   maŋ   dánnóo   barama
    lion:D   ACPN   hunter:D   hurt
    The lion has not hurt the hunter

c. jatóo   sì   dánnóo   barama
    lion:D   POT   hunter:D   hurt
    The lion could well hurt the hunter

3. Heine's B and D

Different Mande type B, Cushitic type D. Different in syntactic type. What are the differences?

> A: SVO
> B: SVO ~ SOV
> C: VSO
> D: SOV

In Heine's categorization:

- Iraqw, Gorwa: A,D
- Dadog (Datooga): A
- Sandawe: D
- Maasai: C
- Nyamwezi: A
- Sukuma: A
- Swahili: A
- Hadza: C
- Somali: D
- Nen: B

Type B: Genitive before Noun, Postpositions, Nominal qualifiers (adjectives, numerals) follow the noun, adjectives precede demonstrative and numeral, adverb follows adjective and verb, subject pronoun precedes the tense/aspect markers, the verb and the object pronouns.

"The decisive difference between the two types is that in D languages the verb follows whereas in B languages it precedes the adverbial phrase."

Manding is rigid type B. Also Senufo, Bariba and Seme, Tumale and Tagoi of Kordofanian, TuNen, Dyerma dialect of Songhai.

Subtypes of D (inner NP orders) are Galla, Kaffa, Amharic. D languages tend to have T after V.

How is Heine's typology different from Greenberg's? For Heine the various orders within the noun phrase lead to different subtypes. Having more types and more subtypes precludes a redefinition of the observed typology of Heine into the concept of dominance of headedness which was the important next step from the Greenberg typology.

4. B: Niger-Congo   S Aux O V Other

A number of West-African type B languages have a structure that is superficially quite similar to that of the Mande languages but with an Auxiliary for the Predicative. This structure is in particular very common among the Kru languages but also present in a number of other Niger-Congo languages, including the Narrow Bantu language TuNen.

Some properties of this structure:

1. Clause structure depends on Tense/Aspect
2. Object not limited to the Aux__Verb frame
3. Position of Object is related to Information Structure

(7)   Object placement in Tikar depending on T/A (Bantoid, Cameroon)

a   nun   fâ   ɓwi'   ji
      she   gave   us   food
      S   V   IO   O
      'She gave us food.'

b   à   **yě**   wù   swum-ndɔ'   čĭ.
      he   will   you   thing-certain   do
      S   Aux   IO   O   V
      'He will do something to you.'

Other properties of Tikar: There is a closed set of adverbials that follow the predicative marker immedialtely and these contain 'again', 'contrary to expectation', 'also', 'only' 'in contrast to', 'right now', 'first', 'quickly', 'usually'. Locative objects may occur within the verbal brace or after it. Locative adjuncts with a general locative preposition occur sentence finally. The order in imperatives is V–IO–O. Data and analysis are from Stanley (1991) and Jackson (1980).

A similar situation in the Southern Atlantic languages Kisi.

(8)   Kisi (Southern Atlantic; Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia) (Childs 2005:8)
        à   **wá**   ndú   kòòwáŋ   kìóó
        they   PROG.PAST   him   medicine   give
        S   AUX   O   O   V
        'They were giving him medicine. '

Syntactic properties

1. Clitic status and direction:

I use the term clitic complex for a grammatical unit that consists of a number of grammatical morphemes that are in themselves clitics in a morphophonological sense: morphemes that cannot stand on their own. They typically encode sentence type, subject, and TAMP+ categories. The clitic complex may have phonological word status but can itself also cliticise to the left. In all different types, languages and language areas, cliticization seems to be to the left, not to the right.

2. Function of placement before or after CC or Verb

Some language show differentiation of objects —or more generally verb related entities— being placed before or after the clitic complex. The Cushitic languages of the Tanzanian Rift Valley Objects are place after the CC, within the verb brace to background them. These languages do not allow this for the subject. In Somali the subject can be placed after the CC. Kiessling (2003) summarises the function of placement of the object into verb brace in the following way:

> "[it] is a syntactic device for tying up information which is composed of at least two conceptual units or entities into a single compact bundle which is to be analysed without internal structure any more. So the incorporated constituent loses syntactic and conceptual independence, merging with the verbal complex to form a monolithic conceptual block."

(9)   Iraqw: Position of Object and Information Structure

a.	**a**	kahawú	wáh		b.	kahawa	**u**	wáh
	BE1/2	coffee:CON	drink:1.SG			coffee	O.M	drink:1SG
	PRED	O	V			O	PRED	V
	'I use coffee.'					'I drink coffee.'		

Placement of objects *after* the verb is —**in Iraqw**— rare and used for series of pre-climax objects. Elements other than objects require a resumptive element as stand-in for the verb if placed after the verb. This shows the specialised status of the after verb position.

(10)   Post verbal pre-climax objects
        Ar garmako ina ót gwareehh, ar garmako ina ót tlaaqati, ar garmako daangw guna ót.
        of one boy it got gazelle, of one boy it got impala, of one boy anELEPHANT it got.

(11)

i-na	basi-r-ar	daqay-ká	tluwo-sa	**alé**
3-PAST	bus-F-INSTR	leave:3M-NEG	rain:M-REAS	RESPRO
'He didn't go by bus because of the rain.'				

The other Tanzanian Cushitic languages show much more freedom for objects and do allow them after the verb. Since this is uncommon in general in Cushitic languages —they are verb-final! — my hypothesis is that these are the result of language contact with Bantu languages.

(12)   Alagwa (Cushitic, Tanzania) Object placement

(a)

dende'ee-w-ós	**ningi**	bu'-i-yee'	yaawáa
folks-N-3SG.POSS	CSEC S3	pay-3-PF.PL	dowry
S	Pred	V	O
'His folks paid the dowry.'			

(b)

dende'ee-w-ós	yaawáa	**ningi**	bu'-i-yee'
folks-N-3SG.POSS	dowry	CSEC:O3PL	pay-3-PF.PL
S	O	Pred	V
'His folks paid the dowry.'			

(c)   dende'ee-w-ós   **ningi**   yaawáa bu'-i-yee'
         folks-N-3SG.POSS   CSEC:S3   dowry   pay-3-PF.PL
         S   Pred   O   V
         'His folks paid the dowry.'

In some of the West-African type B languages Objects can be placed in the Immediately Before Verb position for backgrounding and in the Immediately After Verb position for Focus or Contrast.

(13)   mɛ́-ndò bònìàkà nɛ́ (EB)
        1SG-PROG yams eat
        'I am eating yams.'

(14)   mɛ́-ndò nɛ́ á bónìàk (EB)
        1SG-PROG eat CONTR yams
        'What I am eating is yams.'

This is clearly a crucial difference between Heine's B and D languages:

        D: Objects before or after CC

        B: Objects before or after Verb

Research Question 1: *But what does Verb - Object in Tanzanian Cushitic do to their syntax?*

Research Question 2: *How do the Tanzanian RIft Valley languages fair in relation to placement before/after CC or before/after V.*

Imperatives typically have no clitic complex or predicative marker or auxiliary. The West-African type B languages and Bantu have Verb-Object order in imperatives. The Cushitic languages have Object - Verb order in impertives

Research Question 3: *Can we corelate this VO versus OV order in imperatives?*

Secondary predication.

Supyire IAV

(15)   Secondary (object) predicates in Supyire (Senufo-Gur, Ivory Coast) (Carlson 1994:469,266)

a.   pi   **na**   kuru   piŋke   pyi   bogo
     they   PROG   this(EMPH)   drum.DEF   call   bogo
     S   pred   O   V   o2
     'They call this drum 'bogo'.'
b.   Kà   pi   **í**   ú   mɛ́gɛ   le   Yoŋoyaŋa
     and   they   NARR   her   name   put   Yoŋoyaŋa
              S   pred   O   V   o2
     'They named her Yoŋoyaŋa'

(16)   Alagwa secondary predicate after the CC
a.   'iyóo-r-oo'in   t-od   **nanga**   'ilaa   tunduk na   saalu-w-ód
     mother-F-3pl.POSS AN.F-D3   SEQ:O3sgf   eyes   block   by   loincloth-M-D3
     'the eyes of his mother were blocked by the loincloth' (Laa'ay:139)

b.   maa   karaama-r-ód   **nanga**   hhaysoo 'óoh
        then   castrated.bull-F-D3   SEQ:O3sgf   tail   grasp
        'he grabbed the castrated bull by its tail' (Laa'ay:185)

Research question 4: *What are the positions for secondary predication in the Tz Rift Valley languages?*

Research Question 5: *And what about object of verbal nouns ~ infinitives?*

Placement of adverbs

Iraqw has a set of so-called verbal adverbs that occur within the verb brace. Sentential adverbials do not occur within the verb brace. They modify the verb rather than situating the event.

narrative cohesion
mak things will turn out to be different
discourse function
tsuwa emphatic assertion of the validity
tawo, toó only this action and nothing else; without result
hhó assertion of validity and correction of assumed presuppositions of hearer
qo state of affairs is only one possible
 boundaries
ak more, further (used in comparison)
lak almost (in telic expressions, often with negative)
alge almost (not in telic expressions), nearly, for a short time
composition of subject
al together
adawa all together
bahh partly, together in a group
 time and speed
ada quickly
ala firstly
sangw, sa now, ever (emphasis)
tseewa early
organisation in time
baló ever (often with negation meaning 'never')
malé again
qaró already

In Western but not in Eastern Kru the position inside the verb brace is prohibited for adverbs.

Research question 6: *How common are restrictions on adverb placement with regard to the verb brace and which semantics of adverbs?*

3. Placement within verb "phrase" or movement of clitic

In Konso (Cushitic, Ethiopia) the placement of the CC indicates that the constituent preceding it is in focus. Another way of viewing this is an anlysis of movement of those constituents. The CC can never follow the verb; it rarely precedes an explicit subject. The CC is cliticised to a preceding noun phrase or to the following verb. No adverb can intervene between the CC after the object and the verb, see (17). There is a difference in meaning between clitisization to the verb or to the preceding noun phrase. Clitisization to the verb results in verb focus, (17c2).

(17)a. * damta-**n** aynew pidd-e
food-1 quickly buy-PF
'I came and I quickly bought food.'

b. damta aynew-**ep**-pidd-it-^{i}
food quickly-2-buy-2-PF
'You quickly bought food.'

c1. damta-**p**-pídd-it-^{i} vs c2 damta **ip**-pídd-it-^{i}
food-2-buy-2-PF food 2-buy-2-PF
"You bought <u>food</u>." "You <u>bought</u> food."

d. damta-**n** pídd-e vs damta **im**-pídd-e
food-1 buy-PF food 1-buy-PF
"I bought <u>food</u>." "I <u>bought</u> food."

The above examples show that the direction of cliticization determines the scope of the focus expressed by the CC. The examples below show that the position of the CC after the object indicates selective focus on the object. The presence of a CC is compulsory here, or it could be replaced by a personal pronoun. The CC never expresses selective focus on the subject.

(18)a. **in** íshin tooy-é vs b. íshin **in** tooyé
1 2pl look-pf 2pl 1 look-pf
"I looked at you." "I looked at you while there were others."

CCs do not express selective focus on the subject. When positioned after the subject (presence is not compulsory) their presence indicates positive assertion of the sentence. When the CC appears after a non-subject constituent it expresses selective focus on this constituent. When preceding the verb and cliticized to it, it expresses selective focus on the verb. There is a limit to the distance between the CC and the verb; there is no such limit to the distance between a subject pronoun and the verb.

If this were recast in a transformational analysis, the question is "what moves?": the clitic or the argument. In the Omotic languages and Sandawe it is the clitic that is assumed to move. The alternative is that the arguments move. Victor Manfredi's suggestions: Consider CC to be aux plus subject inflection and consider the aux to be close to the verb in a fixed position and let the constituents move through the clause and consider everything to the left of the aux to be in the left periphery and to be a contrasted topic.

4. Constituency

Somali and **Iraqw** are analysed as having a "verbal piece" as essential unit for their syntax: one can speak of constituency in the sense that the position inside or outside the verbal piece is relevant. Function is defined in terms of position, not in terms of movement.

Iraqw syntax: The subject is expressed on the main verb. The object precedes the main verb. Verbal adverbs and noun phrases with an adverbial case clitic can also occur between "to be" and the verb. Prepositional phrases, noun phrases with a background suffix, sentential adverbs cannot occur between "to be" and the verb. I call the word group from "to be" to the verb, the verbal complex. All three of these types of constituents, verbal adverbs, objects, and noun phrases with an adverbial case clitic can at the same time occur in the core of the sentence. These constituents can occur in any order. The adverb can precede or follow a noun phrase with a case clitic. The object can precede or follow a noun phrase with a case clitic.

(19) aníng a-na   (malé amo-r-óg-i   malé   atéet
      1.SG   S.1/2-PAST (again) place-F-2.SG.POSS-DIR again   call:1.SG
      'I called upon you again.'

(20) hhayso g-i-n   yaamu-r   muux
      tail   S.3-O.P-EXPEC land-INSTR beat:3.SG.M:PRES
      'He is beating his tail on the ground.'

(21) The verbal complex consists of: SUBPRO 1Obj ADPOSIT DEICTIC 2Obj Verb
      SUBPRO = subject pronoun
      1Obj = first object pronoun
      2Obj= second object pronoun (different series)
      ADPOSITional clitics = **u** 'to, for', **ku** 'in, into, on, at, with', **ka** 'from, away from, out of', **la** 'with'
      DEICTIC = **soo** hither, **sii** 'away from speaker', **wada** 'together, towards each other', **kala** 'apart, away from each other'

Both Somali and Iraqw do not have a VP in the sense that the Object and Verb form a syntactic unit together. For both, the syntax is strongly pragmatically organised. Both have a clitic complex and only one that is present in every clause termed indicator in Somali and selector in Iraqw. Both have a syntactic unit with the verb as last element and left hand limit that is this clitic complex. In Somali there two possibilities for the left hand limit of this unit: the subject pronoun (or the focus marker to which this is cliticised) (Saeed) or the impersonal marker with a Middlefield between the two limits (Rome). For a comparison with Iraqw we take the verbal piece, i.e. the maximum, as reference. Both languages have object pronouns in the verbal piece; both languages have adpositional clitics introducing a third argument in the verbal piece, in both languages this adpositional clitic may violate iconicity. Somali and Iraqw both have a limited number of adverbial elements that are allowed in the verbal piece (deictics in Somali; verbal adverbs in Iraqw).

The differences are: Somali allows a subject into the verbal piece (Middlefield); Iraqw allows only objects in the verbal piece. Iraqw has overt third person object pronouns; Somali is null third person object pronouns. Somali has maximally two object pronouns (different series); Iraqw has maximally one. Somali allows stacking of adpositional clitics which is difficult in Iraqw. The order within the verbal piece is stricter in Somali.

5. Clitic complexes feature of the Tanzanian Rift Valley Sprachbund

For me Sprachbund is not a concept with explanary power. A Sprachbund is geographical area where there is a lot of linguistic similarity as a consequence of language contact. Our article on the Tanzanian Rift Valley as a Sprachbund can only hope to be an incentive for proper language contact studies. Serious language contact studies follow the criteria that were laid out by Sarah Thomason on when to speak of language contact.

1. The Thomason criteria for contact induced structural change

1. look at the languages as wholes: if structural interference of any kind has occurred, it is highly unlikely to be isolated in the system

2. identify a source language (or, in a case of language shift, one or more languages related to the proposed source language).

3. identify shared (or partially shared) structural features in the proposed source and receiving languages.

4. prove that the proposed interference features did not exist in the receiving language before it came into contact with the source language: that is, prove that the proposed receiving language has changed with respect to these features.

5. prove that the proposed interference features were present in the source language before it came into contact with the receiving language

NB an external cause does not exclude an internal cause. Multiple causation is common, and a complete explanation for a given change in a contact situation must take potential internal as well as external motivations into account.

2. Historical developments in Families

EA Bantu
See Rift Valley article: S-T/A X S-T/A Y+Verb;

Datooga:
The Gisamjanga-Datooga: examples in (12) adverb and (13) subject illustrate the separability from the verb of the future and the sequential proclitic.

Cushitic:
Reconstructable for WestRift South Cushitic. Undeterminable for South Cushitic.

Probably recurrent parallel grammaticalisation of cleft constructions in East Cushitic

Hayward's proposal for Arbore: Neutral sentences have (S) Infl (complements) V order:
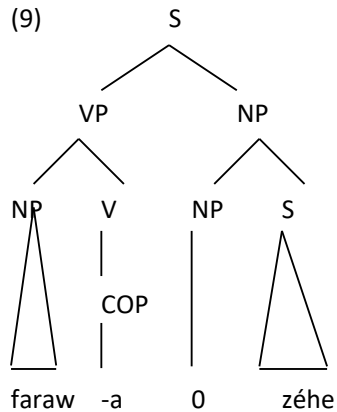
(22)   mo   'í-y   kor   kúure
        man   SEN-3   tree   cut:3SG:PERF
        The man cut a tree.

Sentences with subject focus:

- verb uninflected
- no subject clitic
- no subject case

(24)   *farawa zéhe*
        'a HORSE died' (Hayward 1984: 113-118)

The analysis is that this is basically a nominal sentence /thing (that) died horse is/ in which the noun is and fronted for focus: there are no subject clitics in relative clauses; the noun is not in subject case because it is in a predicative form, containing a copula; verb is "inflected" for 3M (= zero marking) because 'thing' is masculine.
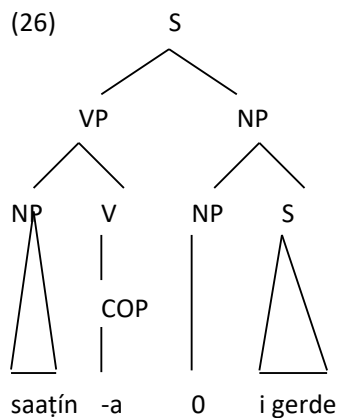
(9)

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                    S
            ┌───────┴───────┐
           VP              NP
        ┌───┴───┐       ┌───┴───┐
       NP       V      NP        S
        │       │       │        │
        △      COP      │        △
        │       │       │        │
      faraw    -a       0      zéhe
```

Sentences with non-subject focus have:

- no subject clitic
- verb agreement

(25)   *saaṭináy gerde* 'he stole a box' [*saaṭín* 'box']

This can be explained by the same analysis /(thing) (that) I stole box is/ with fronting of /box is/:

(26)

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                    S
            ┌───────┴───────┐
           VP              NP
        ┌───┴───┐       ┌───┴───┐
       NP       V      NP        S
        │       │       │        │
        △      COP      │        △
        │       │       │        │
     saaṭín    -a       0     i gerde
```

The underlying relative clause contains *i*, the subject clitic, but not *'a* the sentence type identifier. The problem with these analyses as **synchronic** syntactic analyses is that the verb form regular relative clause is slightly different.

Hayward's analyses are inspired by Saeed's analysis of Somali (Saeed 1982).

Sandawe

In Sandawe, the movable person-gender-number marker (Elderkin 1989:25ff) bears some similarity to the preverbal clitic cluster in the other languages. It can move from the end of the verb position to the end of the constituent preceding the verb (object, adjunct) and as well to constituents preceding that constituent, compare (15a and b).

(27)   a. nâm   sòmbà   thímé-sʉ̀.
          Nam   fish   cook-3f.sg.irr
          'She will cook Nam's fish.' (Eaton 2002:92)

b. ijo: ⁿǁiniŋ-sa   ǁa:
   mother   corn-3f.sg   plant
   'The mother planted corn.' (Kagaya 1990:2,4 quoted in Eaton 2002:92)

The function of the position of the person-gender-number marker is pragmatic (focus). Thus the preverbal clitic cluster has the following characteristics in common with West Rift and Nyaturu: (i) there is inflection including subject marking separate from the verb, (ii) cliticisation is to the left, (iii) the preverbal clitic cluster has focus function (not in Nyaturu).

Hadza

Hadza shows a similar clustering of preverbal clitics for tense and subject person in the sequential (Berger 1943, Wagner 1988, Bonny Sands, p.c.). Their clitic status is manifest in (13), where the cluster is separated from the verb by direct objects.

(27)a Hadza: Preverbal clitic complex separated from the verb by a direct object
   yamo   ts'okwanàko   elás ...
   seq.?3sgm   giraffe   create
   "… he also created the giraffe …" (Berger 1943: 102f.)

   b. yamo   séseme   élā ...
      seq.3sgm   lion   create
      "The lion was also created …" (Berger 1943: 103)

6. Remaining research questions

How many different types of phenomena?

   Different from Romance because not (main) pronouns?

   Different form Romance because not on auxilliaries but at most on copula

   Are Cushitic and Omotic phenomena comparable?

   Sandawe and Southern Cushitic comparable? Areal?

Parameters of grouping

   Instead of inflection on verb or in addition to inflection on verb

   Subset of clauses or basic grammar

Other interesting issues:

   Nature of pragmatic meaning

   Recurrent history in drift

   Emergence of pragmatic organised syntax by grammaticalision of clefting

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Checklist for the Cushitic and Omotic Flexible Subject Clitics
FORM OF THE SUBJECT CLITIC

1.   What is the form of the subject clitic?
1.1 Does it vary for all person distinctions in the language (person, number, gender, inclusive, exclusive)? *Generally not*
1.2 Is there any formal similarity with pronouns? *Generally not*
1.2.1   with possessive pronouns? *no*
1.3 Does the clitic express other notions than subject? *Yes*
1.3.1   If so, what notions are expressed by it: tense; aspect; mood; negation; clause status (dependent), object, other notions? *All of these but first of all clause type*
1.3.2   Does the clitic combine some of these notions into one morpheme? *Yes*

1.4 What moves? E.g. in Zargulla, what moves is the copula plus subject clitic, whereas in Sheko, only the subject clitic occurs in various positions in the sentence. *Depends on analysis*
1.4.1   If it is not only the subject clitic, what is the primary mover? (subject clitic or e.g. focus marker, copula)
1.4.2   What is the morphological status of the primary mover?
1.4.3   Is it a purely grammatical marker or does it have a lexical root (copula?)? *Copula as historical lexical root*
1.4.4   Is it a free word or a clitic? What arguments are there for either status? *free word/clitic*
1.4.5   If it is a clitic, to what word does it adjoin and in what direction? *Generally leftward*

POSITION OF THE SUBJECT CLITIC

2.   Where in the sentence can the subject clitic occur?
2.1 What conditions the position of the subject clitic?
2.2 Is there any difference between main and dependent clauses in the behaviour of the subject clitic? (e.g. in Sheko, the 'neutral' position of the subject clitic in main clauses is preverbal, whereas in medial/ converb clauses it is clause-initial) *Yes: in form and in absence of object clitics in object relative clauses*
2.3 Does the language have separate means for affirmative and contrastive focus? *Yes*
2.3.1   What (other) focus strategies are present? Are these competing with or complementing the function of the subject clitic? *complementary to*

PRESENCE AND ABSENCE OF THE CLITIC

3.   Is the clitic obligatorily present in every clause? *In some languages, but depending on analysis*
3.1 If not, when and why is it absent? *in wome with subject focus*
3.1.1   is it, for instance, present with highly topical (well-known, continued) subjects?
3.1.2   is it present with non-topical (new) subjects?
3.2 Can the subject clitic occur more than once in a clause? If yes, please specify the conditions. *No*
3.3 Does the subject clitic occur for purely grammatical reasons (i.e. in contrast to occurrences driven by informational sructure)? *Yes*
3.4 Can the clitic co-occur with a subject noun phrase? with a subject pronoun? *Yes*
3.4.1   with a possessed argument?

OTHER PERSON MARKING

4. Is there any other person marking next to the subject clitic? E.g. in Konso, there is additional marking on the verb *Yes, on the verb; except in some cases in most languages*

4.1 If so, what is the position of this marking?

4.2 Is it a full paradigm or reduced in contrast to the subject clitic?

4.3 Does it always occur together with the subject clitis or are there restrictions (e.g. in imperative and jussive, or with subject focus marking, there might be restrictions)?

Checklist for the Word Order Subject-Predicative-Object-Verb-Other

Workshop Distributed Predicative Syntax (SPOVX); 4th World Conference on African Languages (WOCAL), Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, June 17-22, 2003

Stefan Elders (Afrikanistik 1, Universität Bayreuth)

Maarten Mous (Afrikaanse taalkunde, Universiteit Leiden)

1.   MORPHOLOGICAL STATUS OF THE VERB

1.1.   What is the form of the verb in the SPOVX construction: verb stem; verbal noun; inflected verb stem?

1.2.   Is only one of these forms allowed or are several forms allowed?

1.3.   If several forms are allowed:

1.3.1.   Is there an alternation between several forms for the same TAM distinction? What conditions the alternation?

1.3.2.   Or do TAM distinctions differ in the kind of verb form they take? If so, describe the conditioning of the different verb forms.

1.4.   If the TAM distinction in question is a progressive or another imperfective construction, is the verb form:

1.4.1.   identical to a verbal noun (citation form of the noun; abstract noun in a noun phrase) (see also questions ** and **)

1.4.2.   different from a verbal noun? if so, what form does it take: verb stem? Inflected verb?

1.5.   If the verb is inflected, what marking can it take?

2.   STATUS OF THE OBJECT NOUN PHRASE

2.1.   Does the object behave like a true object? For example, can it be pronominalized?

2.2.   If the preverbal object is pronominalized, what form does it take: object pronoun; possessive pronoun; other?

2.3.   Does the object behave like a modifier noun in a possessive construction and describe the construction?

2.4.   Does the form of the verb argue for an analysis as associative construction?

2.5.   Object and modifiers:

2.5.1.   Can the preverbal object be modified (by another noun, adjective, numeral, demonstrative, determiner)?

2.5.2   If not, what is the syntactic position of modifiers bearing on the object noun?

2.5.3   Can the object noun phrase and the verb be separated by another constituent, like an adverb? Are disjunct objects allowed? (Object noun preceding the verb, its modifier following the verb). If so, which modifiers can follow the verb? (Modifier noun; adjective; numeral; quantifier; demonstrative; other).

2.6   Object incorporation and verb-noun compounding

2.6.1   If the preverbal object cannot be modified or be separated syntactically from its verb, is there evidence that the object is incorporated into the verb? What kind of evidence is there for incorporation (phonological, syntactic)?

2.6.2   If there is verb + noun compounding resembling a verb with its object noun, does the structure of the compound reflect syntactic order? does it allow for a different order?

3   POSITION OF NON-SUBJECT NOUN PHRASES

3.1.   What is the position of non-subject phrases with respect to the verb:

3.1.1. Direct object

3.1.2. Indirect object

3.1.3. Locative object

3.1.4. Depictive noun phrase: e.g. 'pieces' in 'he cut the rope (into) pieces; he said the matter (in) nice words; and secondary predicates: e.g. 'Akin' in 'we call the child Akin'

3.1.5. Adpositional phrases (prepositional and postpositional phrases)

3.1.6. Adverbs (locative and temporal adverbs)

3.1.7. Ideophones

3.2. Which kinds of object can precede the verb?

3.3. Which kinds of object can follow the verb? (for word order alternations, see 5)

3.4. How many objects can precede the verb? One? more than one? which ones?

3.5. Do nominal and pronominal objects show an identical or different syntactic behaviour

3.6 What is the status and the position of the complement of a nominalized verb that is itself an object of the main verb?

4 . PREDICATIVE MARKER

4.1. What is the morphological status of the predicative marker?

4.1.1. Is it a purely grammatical marker or does it have a lexical root (copula?)?

4.1.2. Is it a free word or a clitic? What arguments are there for either status?

4.1.3. If the predicative marker is a clitic, to what word does it adjoin and in what direction?

4.2. What notions are expressed by the predicative marker: tense; aspect; mood; negation; focus; clause status (dependent), other notions?

4.2.1. Do predicative markers combine some of these notions into one morpheme?

4.3. Is more than one predicative marker allowed?

4.3.1. Is the predicative marker following the subject the only inflectional marker in the sentence?

4.4. If not, where does inflectional marking occur:

4.4.1. on the verb?

4.4.2. on the subject pronoun?

4.4.3. predicative markers in other positions in the sentence (sentence-initial, post-verbal, sentence-final)?

4.5. Do predicative markers resemble other morphemes in the language?

4.5.1. Is there evidence that they stem from lexical morphemes?

4.5.2. Is the marker following the subject always a predicative marker, or are auxiliaries also allowed in this position? (auxiliaries are defined here as verbs that occur both as grammatical markers and as main verbs)

5. WORD ORDER VARIATION

5.1. Is the order Subject-Predicative marker-Object-Verb-Other the only word order allowed in the language?

5.2. If other word orders are allowed, which ones?

5.3. Are alternative word orders grammatically obligatory in a certain construction?

5.4. What conditions alternative word order?

5.4.1. The presence of a predicative marker (or auxiliary)?

5.4.2. The type of tense/aspect/mood distinction? (e.g. progressive versus other)

5.4.3. Negation versus affirmative

5.4.4. Object noun phrase versus object pronoun?

5.4.5. The type of object noun phrase?

5.5. Do word order alternations involve a change in verb form (verb stem versus verbal noun)?

5.6. Are alternative word orders conditioned by pragmatic factors?

5.6.1. Are word order alternations conditioned by focus?

5.6.2. Is there a word order alternation between focus and non.focus constituents?

5.6.3. Does a certain position in the sentence have a certain function in information structure? E.g., Aghem:

Immediately After Verb Position = focus position;

Immediately Before Verb Position = background position

5.7 Though clitics are bound morphemes, they may show a particular behaviour in word order alternations. Are there any word order alternations involving a change of position of clitics in a sentence?