

Predication, Specification, & Information Structure in Kinande



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A) Introduction of problem

- Higgins 1973 distinguished predicational from specificational copular sentences in English:

(1)	Sentence Type	Context	Example
	Predicational	Tell me about John.	John is a teacher.
	Specificational	Who is the teacher?	John is the teacher.

- Two approaches to copular sentences are current in the literature:
 - The **inverse analysis** (e.g. Moro 1997, Mikkelsen 2005 den Dikken 2006) posits that specificational subjects are generated as small clause predicates that then undergo predicate inversion to initial position. Mikkelsen 2005 treats the underlying small clause subject as referential (type e) and the underlying small clause predicate as predicative (type <e,t>).
 - The **equative analysis** (e.g. Heycock & Kroch 1999) posits that both phrases in specificational sentences are referential (type e). Romero 2005 takes an equative approach, but argues that the specificational subject denotes an individual concept, of type <s,e>.
- What then is the correct account of specificational sentences?



B) Data bearing on the problem: Reverse specificational sentences

- Specificational sentences can also occur with reverse word order.
- But, are such reverse specificational sentences equatives, then, or are they predicational sentences with a focused subject (c.f. Mikkelsen 2005)?

(2)		Specificational	Predicational	Reverse specificational
	Inverse analysis	<e,t> + e	e + <e,t>	e + <e,t>
	Equative analysis	e / <s,e> + e	e + <e,t>	e + e / <s,e>
	Example in context	[Who is the teacher?] The teacher is JOHN.	[Tell me about John.] John is the TEACHER.	[Who is the teacher?] JOHN is the teacher.

- Hedberg & Potter 2010 observe that Thai uses different copulas in predicational and specificational sentences, and that the specificational one is also used in reverse specificational sentences.
- (3) (a) [Tell me about Mr. Sun.]
 Nāy dwng xāthitý pēn nək sǎedng thī p̄hm chxb māk thīsud.
 Mr. CL Sun COPULA actor that I(masc.) like a.lot the.most
 'Mr. Sun is the actor that I like BEST.'
 (b) [Who is the actor that you like best?]
 (i) Nək sǎedng thī p̄hm chxb māk thīsud khūx nāy xāthitý
 actor that I(masc.) like a.lot the.most COPULA Mr. Sun.
 'The actor that I like best is Mr. SUN.'
 (ii) Nāy dwng xāthitý khūx nək sǎedng thī p̄hm chxb māk thīsud.
 Mr. CL Sun COPULA actor that I.msc like a.lot the.most
 'Mr. SUN is the actor that I like best.'
- They argue that this supports the equative analysis.
- However, den Dikken (p.c.) rightfully criticizes this account as based on syntactic observations that are too superficial.
- Here we more deeply examine Kinande (Bantu, ISO 639-3, DR Congo).
- Kinande also superficially exhibits a pattern where predicational sentences exhibit a different copula from specificational and reverse-specificational sentences.
- We argue, though, that the Kinande facts support the inverse analysis of den Dikken 2006.

C) The Kinande facts

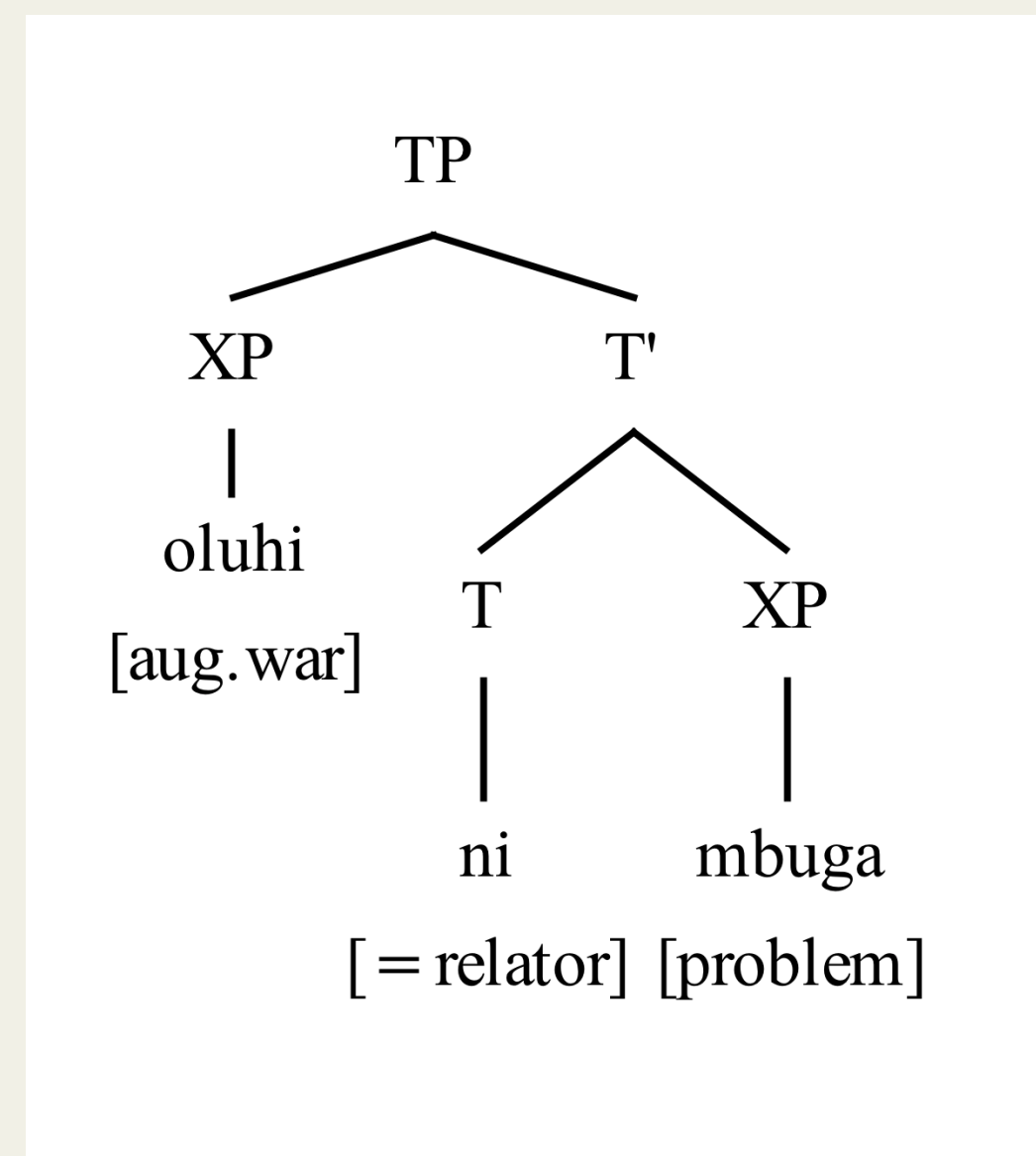
- Two copulas: one for predicational sentences NI, one for equative LO
- Inverse and reverse specificational takes LO.
- But the second nominal in reverse specificational is marked as a syntactic predicate.

Predicational sentences:

- [What about the war?]

(4) olúhi ni mbúga
 aug.11war COP 9.problem
 'The war is a problem.'

(5) [_{RP} oluhi [_{R'} [RELATOR=Cop NI] [mbuga]]]



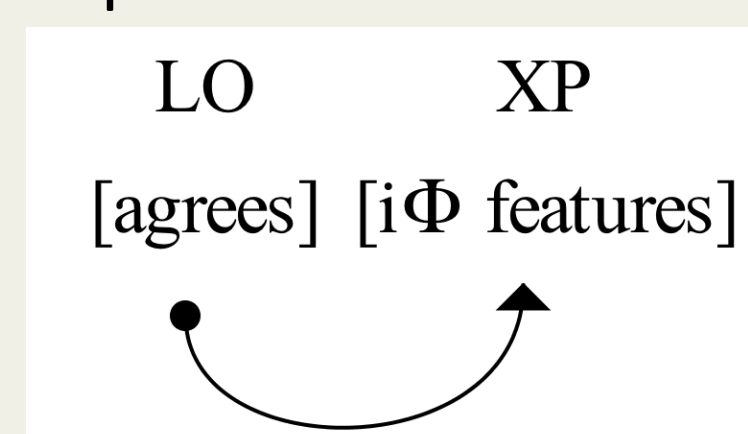
(6) Predicates are marked by ABSENCE of augment, a prefix that occurs on nominals:

- mbuga =class 9.war (predicate)
- e-mbuga =class 9 augment.class 9.war (DP)

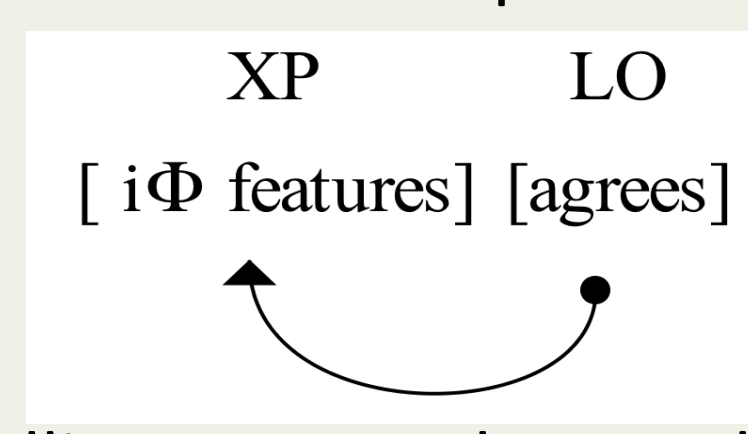
Specificational sentences:

- [What is the problem?]

(7) émbugá lô lúhi (inverse)
 aug.9problem 11FOC aug.11war
 'The problem is the WAR.'



(8) olúhi lô mbúga (reverse)
 aug.11war 11FOC 9.problem
 'The WAR is the problem.'



- Falling tone on the copula in (7) is from the augment of the second nominal, which indicates that the nominal is referential.
- The final nominal in (8) lacks an augment, indicating that it is syntactically predicative.
- This is consistent with the inverse analysis.

EXPRESSIONS THAT NEVER HAVE AUGMENTS:

(9) ómwibí yo Magúlu
 aug.1thief 1FOC Magulu
 'The THIEF is called Magulu.'

(10) ómwibí ni Magúlu
 aug.1thief COP Magulu
 'The thief is Magulu.'

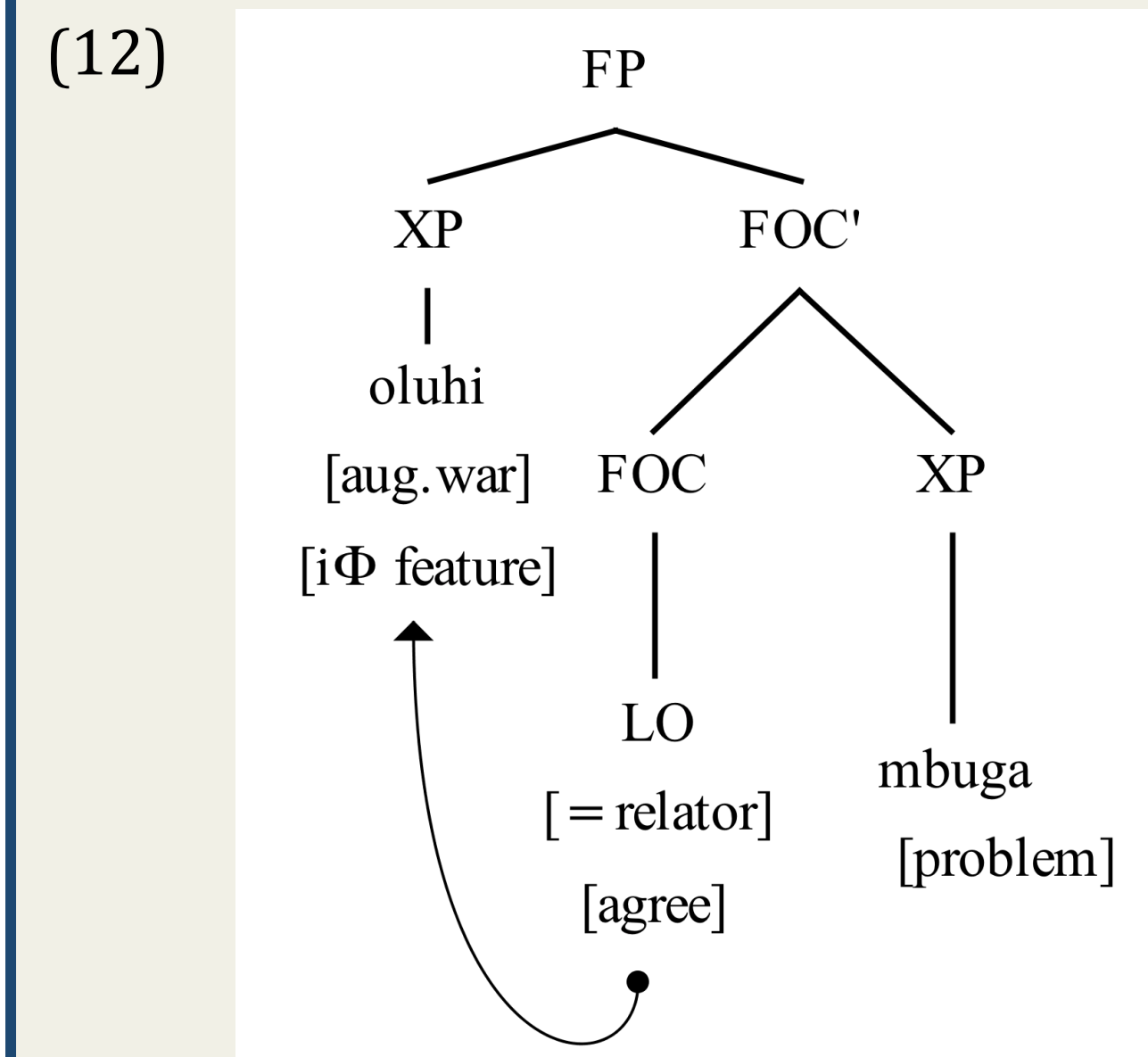
- In Reverse (9), name is obligatorily interpreted as predicate.
- Proper names (lacking augments) cannot undergo downward agreement, so in specificational clauses (10), they take the default (predicational) copula NI.

(11) á.b-ibí b' á.bo-Magúlu
 aug.2-thief 2COP aug.2aMagulu
 'The thieves are Magulu and his associates.'

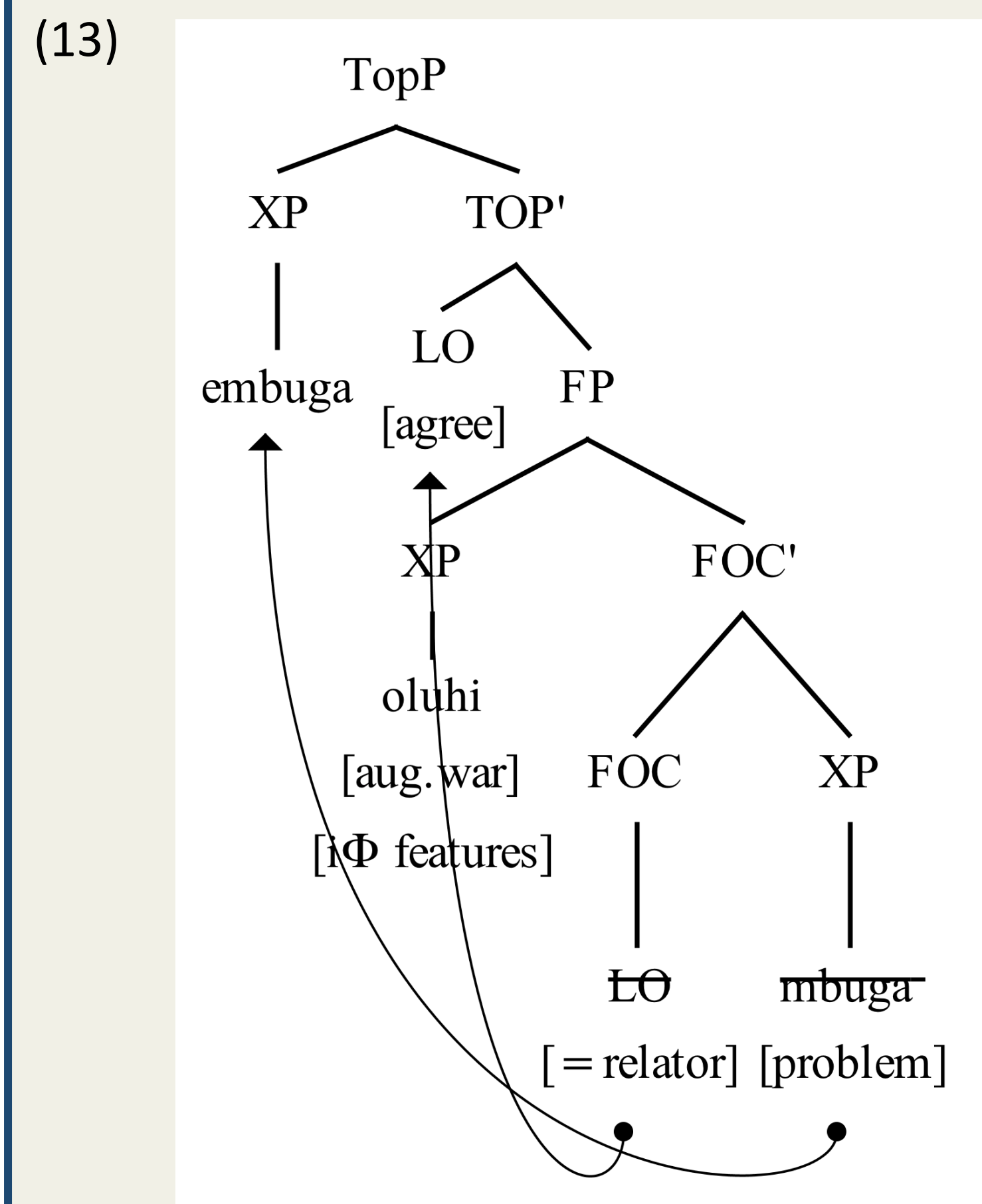
D) Analysis

- We propose that (7) receives the analysis in (12), following den Dikken's claim that predication can be mediated by RELATORS instantiated by a variety of functional heads, here FOCUS (FOC).

REVERSE SPECIFICATIONAL



INVERSE SPECIFICATIONAL



Augment creates complex predicates:

(14) a-ba-lume a-ba-genda || a-ba-lume ba-genda
 aug-2-man aug-2-left || aug-2-man 2-left
 'The men who left.' 'The men left.'

(15) a-balume a-bo bagenda || a-balume bo bagenda
 aug-2man aug-FOC 2left || aug-2man FOC 2left
 'The men that left.' 'The MEN left.'

- (7) = 'That which is a problem is the war.'
- Inversion, as proposed by den Dikken, is motivated as a means of licensing a headless reduced relative.

Additional examples illustrating distribution of augment:

- (9) a. Abakali bo bagalimu.
 aug.2woman 2FOC 2teacher
 'The WOMEN are teachers.'
 b. Abakali ni bagalimu/ *ni abagalimu
 aug.2woman COP 2teacher *COP aug.2teacher
 'The women are teachers.'
 c. Eproblème bâ bagalimu
 aug. problem 2FOC aug.2teachers
 'The problem is the TEACHERS.'

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