

Unifying prolepsis and cross-clausal cliticization in Lubukusu*

Lydia Newkirk
lydia.newkirk@rutgers.edu
Rutgers University

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1 Descriptive facts

1.

The constructions in this talk are somewhat analogous to prolepsis in English:

(1) *John knows **of Mary** that **she** is an excellent linguist.*

- The matrix clause has an extra nominal in it (the proleptic object), and
- the embedded clause has an obligatory coreferential pronoun.
- The embedded clause is interpreted as being about the proleptic object.

2.

Lubukusu (Luhya, Kenya) has three related structures that get at the same aboutness interpretation

Descriptively this variation is characterized by how the extra nominal in the matrix clause is introduced:

- Preposition-introduced
 - Applicative-introduced
 - “Bare” Cliticization
- } Prolepsis
- } Cross-clausal cliticization (CCC)

3.

Preposition-introduced prolepsis:

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- (2) John_i a-lom-a **khu-mu-eene_i** a-li Bill a-khaenj-a [o-mu-undu
 John SM.c1-say-FV PREP-c1-own c1-that Bill SM.c1-look.for-FV c1-c1-person
 o-wa-mu-lip-a **o-mu-eene_i**]
 wh-c1-OM.c1-PST-pay-FV c1-c1-own
 ‘John_i said about himself_i that Bill is looking for the person who paid himself_i’

4.

Applicative-introduced prolepsis:

- (3) Jack_i a-**i_i**-kanakan-**il**-a **o-mu-eene_i** a-li Lisa a-many-il-e
 Jack SM.c1-RFM-think-APPL-FV c1-c1-own c1-that Lisa SM.c1-know-TNS-FV
 a-li Wendy a-mu_i-siim-a **o-mu-eene_i**
 c1-that Wendy SM.c1-OM.c1-like-FV c1-c1-own
 ‘Jack_i thought for himself_i that Lisa thinks that Wendy likes him_i’

5.

But the same semantics can be achieved without a preposition or applicative marker, instead by adding a clitic to the matrix verb:

- (4) Jack_i a-**i_i**-many-il-e a-li George a-mu_i-siim-a **o-mu-eene_i**
 Jack SM.c1-RFM-knows-TNS-FV c1-that George SM.c1-OM.c1-like-FV c1-c1-own
 ‘Jack_i knows that George likes him_i.’¹

6.

The proleptic constructions also allow full DPs as the proleptic object:

- (5) John a-subil-a **khu Bill_i** a-li **o-mu-eene_i** a-li o-mu-miliyu
 John SM.c1-believe-FV PREP Bill c1-that c1-c1-own/him c1-be c1-c1-smart
 ‘John believes of Bill_i that he_i is smart’
- (6) John a-kanakan-**il**-a **Jane_i** a-li Bill a-mu-siim-a **o-mu-eene_i**
 John SM.c1-think-APPL-FV Jane c1-that Bill SM.c1-OM.c1-like-FV c1-c1-own/her
 ‘John thinks of Jane_i that Bill likes her_i.’

7.

Names/full DP nominals aren’t available for the cliticization strategy, because they are simply unavailable for cliticization:

- (7) N-a-**mu_i**-bon-a (#Wekesa_i)
 1sgS-PST-OM.c1-see-FV Wekesa
 ‘I saw him.’²

¹Afranaph ID 3759

²Diercks & Sikuku, 2015, ex. 2

But the clitic can be an object marker rather than a reflexive marker:

- (8) John a-a-**mu**-lom-a a-li o-mu-eene a-a-siim-a Mary
 John SM.c1-PST-OM.c1-say-FV c1-that c1-c1-own SM.c1-PST-like-FV Mary
 ‘John said about him_i that he_i likes Mary.’

8.

Another distinction between the proleptic and cliticized constructions: the proleptic constructions are not sensitive to islands...

- (9) Yohana_i a-a-nyool-a chi-lomo **khu-mu-eene_i** [mbo **o-mu-eene_i**
 John SM.c1-PST-receive-FV [c7-report PREP-c1-own that c1-c1-own
 a-a-kul-a ku-mukuunda]
 SM.c1-PST-buy-FV c19-farm]
 ‘John_i heard a rumor about himself_i that he_i bought a farm.’ (CNPC)

9.

...while the cross-clausal cliticization construction is.

- (10) * Bill_i a-**i_i**-nyol-a [chi-lomo mbo John a-mu-lip-a
 Bill SM.c1-RFM-receive-FV c7-report that John SM.c1-OM.c1-pay-FV
o-mu-eene_i]
 c1-c1-own
 ‘Bill_i heard [a rumor (about himself_i) that John paid him_i].’ (CNPC)

10.

To summarize the data we’ve seen so far:

Prolepsis

- Extra nominal introduced by APPL or preposition
- No restrictions on extra nominals
- No island restrictions
- “Aboutness” interpretation

Cross-Clausal Cliticization (CCC)

- Extra clitic on matrix verb
- Pronouns only
- Island-sensitive
- “Aboutness” interpretation

Puzzles:

- Why these distinctions?
- Why the same meaning?
- Why have both types anyway?

2 Nominal licensing

The distinctions between the applicative and prepositional strategies on the one hand, and the bare cliticization strategy on the other can be neatly captured in terms of how the extra nominal is licensed in the matrix clause.

11.

The lack of binding across islands correlates with A'-movement across those same islands:³

- (10) * Bill_i a-**i**_i-nyol-a [chi-lomo mbo John a-mu-lip-a **o-mu-eene**_i]
 Bill SM.c1-receive-FV c7-report that John SM.c1-OM.c1-pay-FV c1-c1-own
 'Bill_i heard [a rumor (about himself_i) that John paid him_i]' (CNPC)
- (11) * Naanu ni-y-e Wafula a-kha-enj-a [o-muu-ndu o-w-a-kul-a _]
 who pred-c1-pron Wafula c1-prs-look.for-FV c1-c1-person wh-c1-pst-buy-fv
 'What is it that Wafula is looking for [the person who bought _]?'

12.

- (12) * John_i a-**i**_i-lom-a a-li o-mu-eene_i a-rekukh-a [paata ya Mary
 John SM.c1-RFM-say-FV c1-that c1-c1-own SM.c1-leave-FV after Mary
 khu-mu-khuu-p-a **o-mu-eene**_i]
 c15-OM.c1-c15?-hit-FV c1-c1-own
 'John_i said that he_i left [after Mary hit him_i]' (Adjunct island)
- (13) * **Naanu** ni-y-e Nasike a-a-rekukh-a [paata ye _ khu-khuup-a Nanjala]
 Who pred-c1-pron Nasike c1-pst-leave-FV after of inf-beat-FV Nanjala
 'Who is that Nasike left [after _ hitting Nanjala]?'

13.

I pursue the following analysis for the cross-clausal cliticization construction, generally following analyses of cross-clausal agreement in Polinsky & Potsdam (2001); Bruening (2001); Branigan & MacKenzie (2002):

- The embedded DP (a pronoun) A'-moves up to the embedded left periphery
- In Lubukusu, the pronoun cliticizes to the matrix verb as the RFM⁴

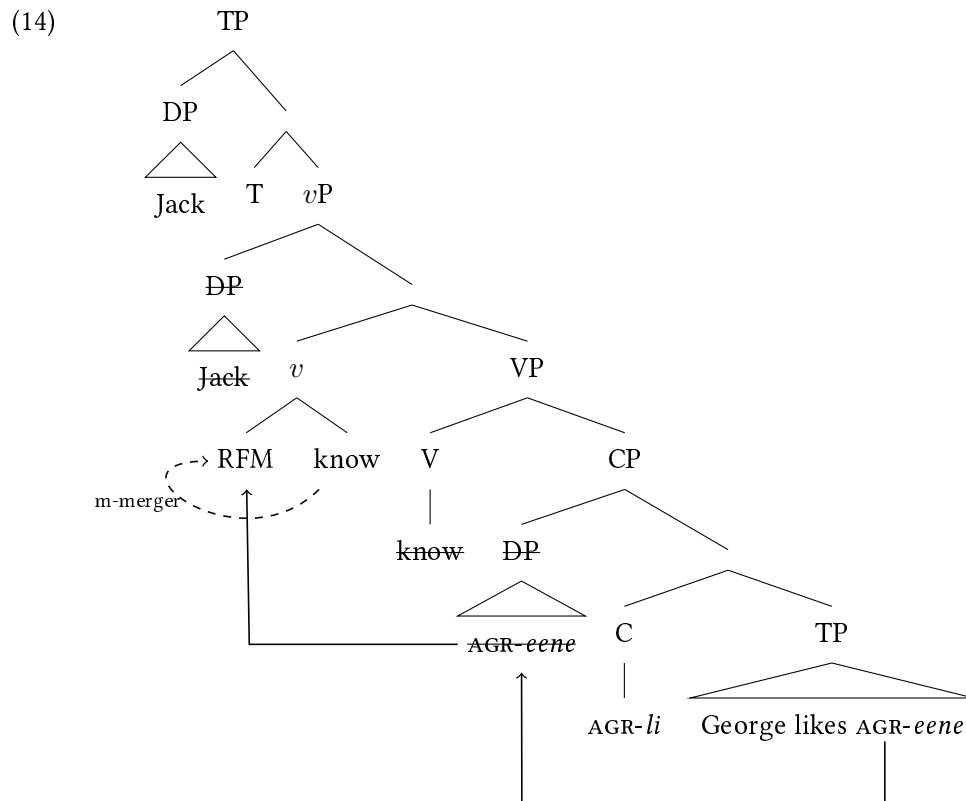
14.

On this analysis, (4) has the (preliminary) structure in (14).

- (4) Jack_i a-**i**_i-many-il-e a-li George a-mu_i-siim-a **o-mu-eene**_i
 Jack SM.c1-RFM-knows-TNS-FV c1-that George SM.c1-OM.c1-like-FV c1-c1-own
 'Jack_i knows that George likes him_i.'

³Wasike (2006)

⁴Matushansky (2006); Safir & Sikuku (2011); Safir (2014); Diercks & Sikuku (2015); Baker & Kramer (2016)



15.

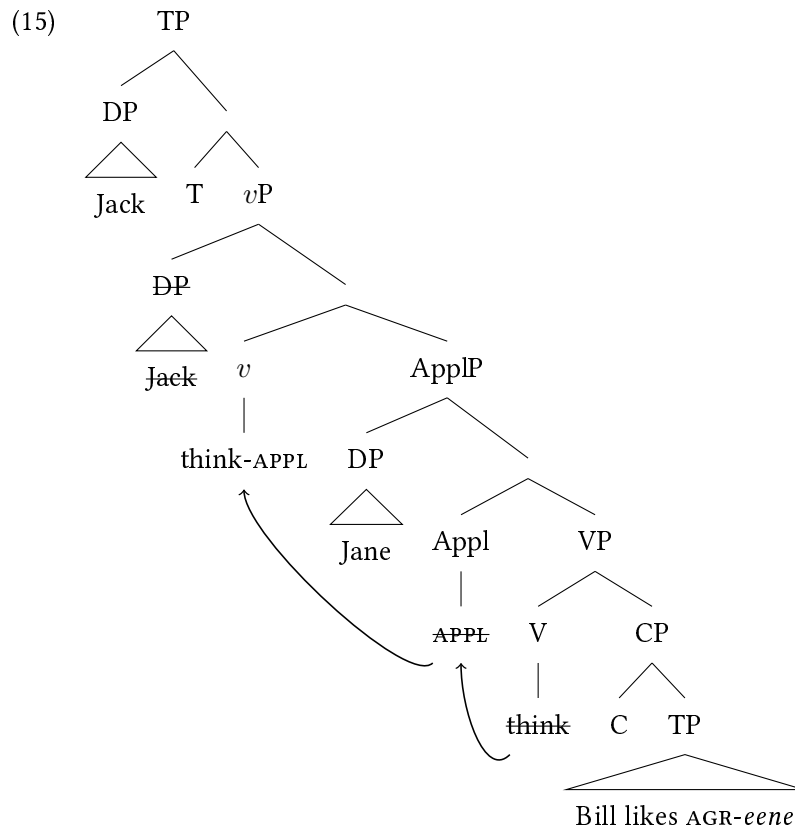
Turning now to the prolepsis cases, they look relatively boring from our standpoint:

- The proleptic object is **base-generated** in the matrix clause, introduced by a preposition or an applicative ⁵
- The embedded pronoun is related to the proleptic object by binding (more on that in a moment)

16.

- (6) John a-kanakan-**il**-a **Jane_i** a-li Bill a-mu-siim-a
 John SM.c1-think-APPL-FV Jane c1-that Bill SM.c1-OM.c1-like-FV
o-mu-eene_i/niye_i
 c1-c1-own/her
 ‘John thinks of Jane_i that Bill likes her_i.’

⁵Salzmann (2006, to appear)



17.

The movement strategy only permits pronouns due to independent facts about Lubukusu object marking clitics: Only pronouns can double clitics, and full DPs cannot.

- (7) N-a-**mu**_i-bon-a (#Wekesa_i)
 1sgS-PST-OM.c1-see-FV Wekesa
 ‘I saw him.’

- (16) Yòháná_i á-á-**i**_i-bon-a (o-mu-eene_i)
 Yohana SM.c1-PST-**RFM**-see-fv c1-c1-own
 ‘John_i saw himself_i’⁶

18.

In principle, a full DP could A'-move to the matrix clause, but Lubukusu has no way of **syntactically licensing** it there

Instead, non-pronouns must be licensed by an APPL or a preposition, in positions that preclude movement

19.

Summing up:

⁶Afranaph ID:1248/1249

- The core distinction between prolepsis and CCC is whether or not the extra matrix nominal moves or not, deriving presence/absence of locality effects
- Other restrictions depend on how that matrix nominal is syntactically licensed
- Expect these restrictions to be idiosyncratic/language-specific

3 Acquaintance

20.

There are a number of loose ends to tie up:

- Where specifically does the pronoun move through in the left periphery?
- How do we obtain a binding relationship between the proleptic object and the embedded pronoun?
- Why is the interpretation identical for both CCC and prolepsis?

21.

Proleptic objects have to be read **transparently**⁷

(17) **Context:** *Bill is walking down the street. He glances down a dark alley and sees a man in a trench coat talking into his watch. Bill, who reads too many thrillers, immediately thinks to himself "That man is a spy." In reality, the man in the alley is Bill's friend Wayne, although Bill didn't recognize him.*

- # Bill thinks of Wayne_i that he_i is a spy.
- Bill thinks that Wayne is a spy.

22.

It's not enough to derive a topic interpretation on the extra nominal. We must derive a way for the attitude holder to be **acquainted** with the extra nominal

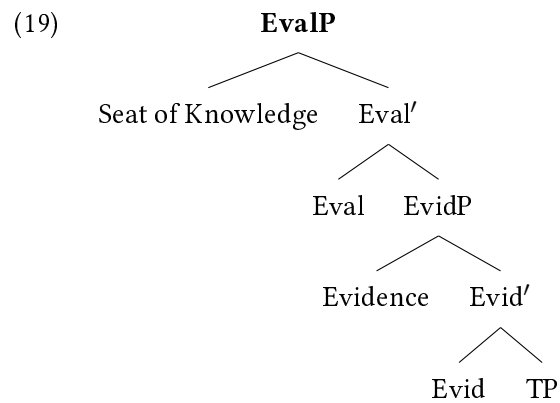
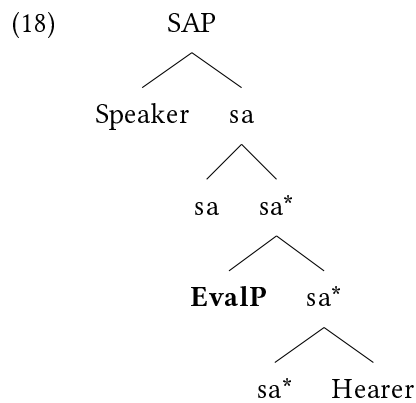
23.

Speas & Tenny (2003) propose a set of projections in the left periphery that include nominals for various attitude holders such as Speaker, Hearer, Seat of Knowledge...

Each of these can be used for different perspectival phenomena based on their coindexation with other nominals

24.

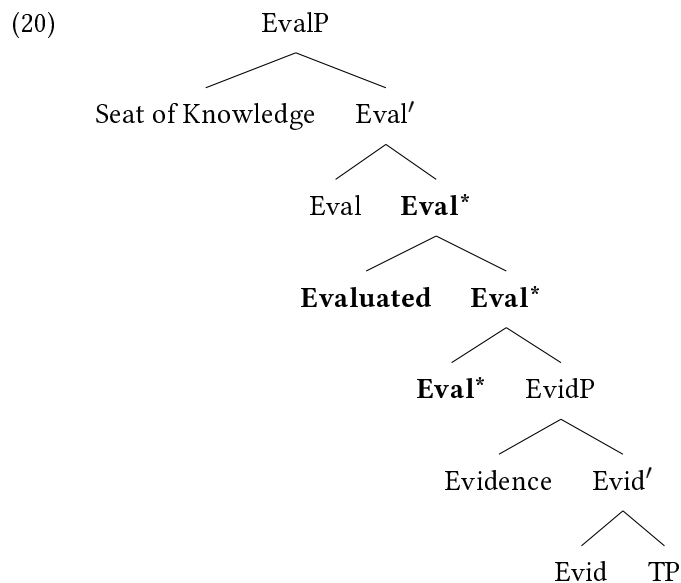
⁷Quine (1956); The judgment is subtle but robust for English speakers. I am still attempting to get clear judgments for Lubukusu.



25.

Unfortunately, all of these positions are inherently perspectival, and so they won't work for a proleptic object (which doesn't even have to be sentient)

But within their system, there is space to add one more position, for an **evaluated object**.



27.

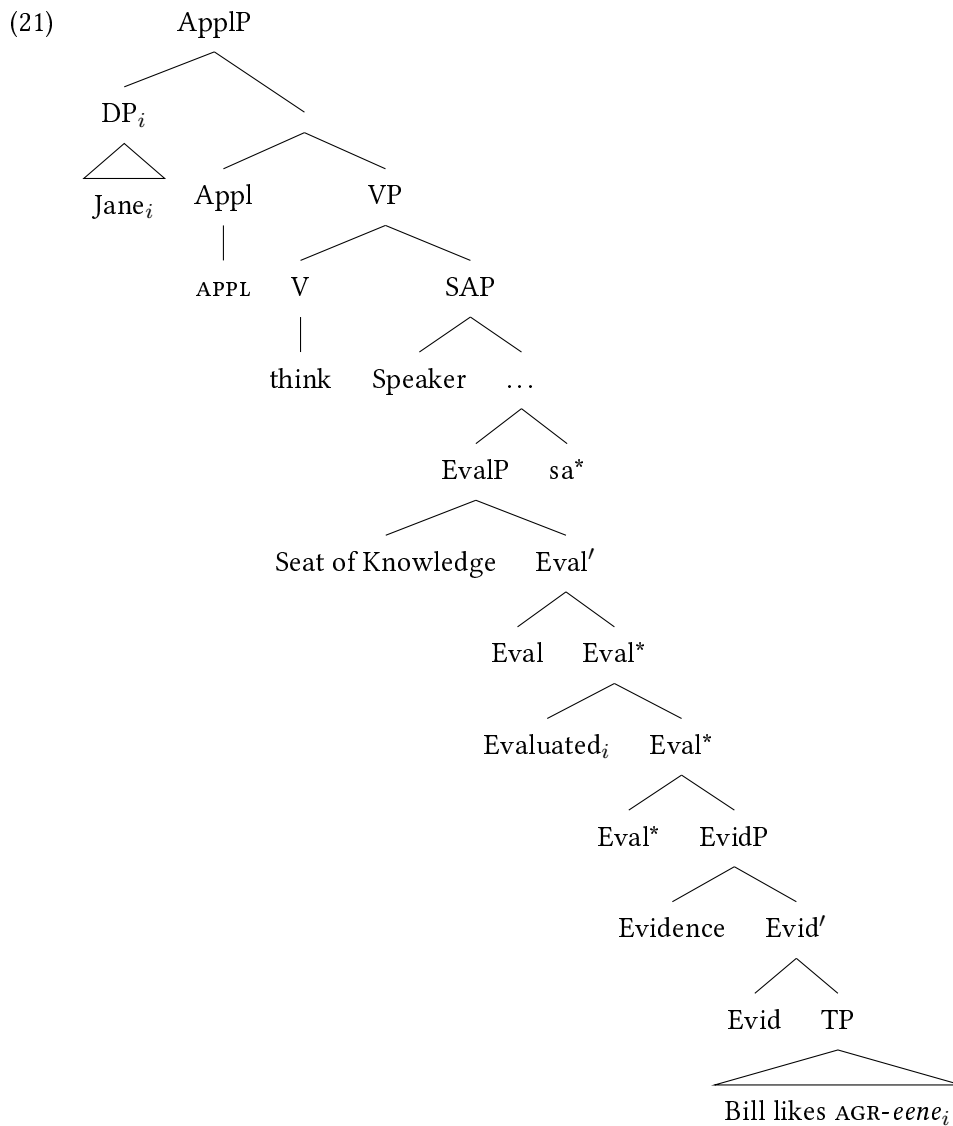
Working out the semantics:

- The Eval head supplies an acquaintance relation between the attitude holder and the moved pronoun/proleptic object and predicates the embedded clause of that object
- The Evaluated specifier position is available as an escape hatch for a moving pronoun, or in the case of prolepsis is occupied by a null nominal bound by the proleptic object
- Either way, the Seat of Knowledge is bound by the attitude holder

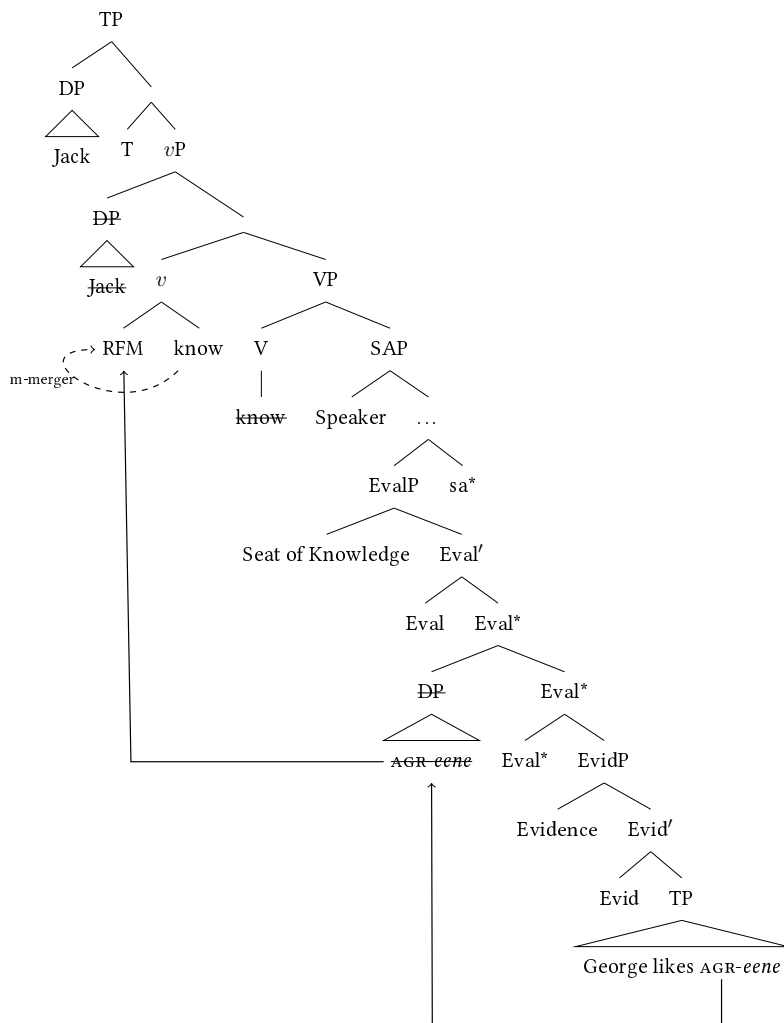
- The interpretation works out the same either way, with the attitude holder transparently acquainted with the evaluated nominal

We can now return to the tree structures we've already constructed, adding in the new left peripheral projections:

- (6) John a-kanakan-**il**-a **Jane_i** a-li Bill a-mu-siim-a
 John SM.c1-think-APPL-FV Jane c1-that Bill SM.c1-OM.c1-like-FV
o-mu-eene_i/niye_i
 c1-c1-own/her
 'John thinks of Jane_i that Bill likes her_i.'



(22)



4 Cross-linguistic predictions

30.

We can focus in on the aspects of these constructions now:

- An extra nominal in the matrix clause
- A transparent acquaintance relation between the attitude holder and that nominal
- The embedded clause is predicated of the nominal, giving an “aboutness” interpretation

Depending on the syntactic licensing strategies available, languages will vary with regard to whether they use a movement strategy, prolepsis, or both

31.

As mentioned before, there are parallel structures for cross-clausal cliticization attested cross-linguistically. They also cause a topic interpretation for the agreed-with nominal, and are analyzed as movement:

Innu-Aimûn, but with agreement instead of cliticization:⁸

- (23) a. N-uî-tshissenim-âu_i tshetshî mûpishtâshkuenit [**kassinu kâûâpikueshit**]_i
 1-want-know-3 if visited-2/INV every priest
 ‘I want to know of them_i if [every priest]_i visited you.’
- b. N-uî-tshissenim-âu_i [**kassinu kâûâpikueshit**]_i tshetshî mûpishtâshkuenit
 1-want-know-3 every priest if visited-2/INV
 ‘I want to know of [every priest]_i if they_i visited you.’

32.

van Koppen et al. (2016) analyze Middle Dutch prolepsis involving ECM of the (base-generated high) proleptic object. English and German both have prepositionally-licensed prolepsis (Salzmann, 2006, to appear).

- (24) Maer die serjanten sijn kenden [**den coninc van Israël**]_i, dat **hi**_i niet was harde
 but the sergeants his knew the_{ACC} king of Israel that he_{NOM} not was very
 fel.
 fierce
lit. ‘But his sergeants knew the king of Israel that he was not very fierce’ ‘But his
 sergeants knew about [the king of Israel]_i that he wasn’t very fierce’

33.

What to expect when looking at prolepsis and cross-clausal licensing, as we’ve learned from Lubukusu:

- The same transparent aboutness interpretation
- Diagnosed by locality/island tests
- Variation across and within languages based on what nominals can be syntactically licensed where and how:
- If the licensing can apply to a moved nominal, expect CCC
- If it can only apply to base-generated nominals, expect prolepsis

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