

Atelier de Morphosyntaxe

Dernière mise à jour : 3 juillet 2017

Responsables :

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Descriptif :

Cet atelier, co-organisé par Françoise Rose et Antoine Guillaume dans le cadre du séminaire de l'« [axe « Description, Typologie, Terrain »](#), a pour objectif de créer un espace de présentation et de discussion dans le domaine de la morphosyntaxe, dans une perspective typologique et fonctionnelle. [En savoir plus...](#)

Thématiques de l'année 2016 - 2017 :

Valeurs épistémiques (animé par M. Bruil)
Ordre et position des morphèmes (animé par C. Imbert)
Impératifs et commandes (animé par M. Vuillermet)

Programme :

Pour plus d'informations, voir le [calendrier du laboratoire DDL](#).

- 7 octobre 2016

Na Song (INALCO-CRLAO, Paris) : "Sentence-final particle *ja* – egophoric strategy in Baoding (Jilu Mandarin, Sino-Tibetan)"

This paper focuses on the sentence-final particle *ja* in Baoding dialect and its egophoric function, which is typologically rare among Sinitic Languages. Sentence-final particle *ja* in declaratives, reported speech, as well as in interrogatives will be examined to demonstrate its egophoric function. Person hierarchy governing *ja* structure shows the following distribution pattern: *ja* can co-occur with the 1st person in declaratives and the 2nd person in interrogatives. As for the 3rd person, only associated one can co-occur with *ja*. *ja* in reported speech has the interpretation that the subject of the main clause is coreferential with the subject of the complement clause. Concerning the correlation between *ja* and interrogatives, Baoding dialect, differs from Standard Mandarin which has no grammaticalized evidentials (San Roque et al 2015), and belongs to the type of languages having a symmetrical system with the same markers in declaratives and in interrogatives. From these perspectives, Baoding dialect has a typological significance for our understanding of how Sinitic Languages mark egophoric evidential.

- 21 octobre 2016

Antoine Guillaume (DDL) : "A preliminary investigation of epistemic particles in Tacana (Takanan family, Amazonian Bolivia)"

In this talk I will present a number of 2nd position ('Wackernagel') particles in Tacana which express a range of meanings related to the domain of "Epistemics / knowledge". In particular, I will discuss =*da* 'assertive', =*ja* 'dubitative', =*pa* 'reportative', =*tuke* 'contrary to evidence', =*ni* 'contrary to expectations (in questions)' and =*tse* 'abilitative'. Particular attention will be given to =*da*, glossed as an assertive marker by the first linguists who worked on the language (Ottaviano & Ottaviano 1965, 1967, 1989), but whose exact function turns out to be highly opaque.

- 25 novembre 2016

Jinke Song (DDL) : "The ordering in compound verb and in serial verb construction – Expressions of caused-motion events in Mandarin Chinese"

Mandarin Chinese, one of the analytic languages, relies more on word order than on inflection or affixes to provide grammatical information. To express caused-motion events, Mandarin employs both compound verb (CV) and serial verb construction (SVC). Previous studies (Zhang, 1991; Feng, 2001) have shown that the diachronic change demonstrates the development of compound verb from serial verb construction due to the process of grammaticalization and the change of word order. This presentation provides a description of the orderings of verbs and object in CV and SVC in Mandarin with a special focus on expression of caused-motion events. The changes of grammatical functions (directional > resultative > aspectual) of some morphemes will also be discussed in order to illustrate the evolution and the distinction between CV and SVC.

- 6 décembre 2016

Scott DeLancey (U. Oregon) : "Mirativity and evidentiality in typological perspective"

In this talk I will briefly review the history of a set of related concepts: evidential, médiatif, inferential, egophoric, and mirative, in the context of the question of what we mean by "category". How do we decide what is a category, and how do we decide when we have a "new" category? Do some or all of these concepts belong to some superordinate category? If so, are there other categories, such as modality, which are related?

- 9 décembre 2016

Esteban Diaz (DDL) : "Type d'énoncé et indexation du sujet en nasa yuwe (isolat, Colombie)"

Le nasa yuwe, isolat amérindien des Andes du Sud-Ouest de la Colombie, a un système d'indexation obligatoire du sujet. Cette indexation a recours à des enclitiques qui peuvent ou non être attachés au verbe. Une des caractéristiques les plus saillantes de ces enclitiques est que, en plus de l'indexation du sujet, ils sont des marques portemanteau qui codifient aussi le type d'énoncé. Dans cette présentation je vais montrer comment ce système d'indexation codifie certaines valeurs épistémiques grâce à la combinaison des catégories de personne et type d'énoncé, en faisant référence notamment au type d'énoncé dit 'suspensif' qui exprime une catégorie intermédiaire entre assertion et interrogation.

- 16 décembre 2016

Geny Gonzales (DDL) : “Egophoricity and Evidential-Epistemic morphemes in Nam Trik (Barbacoan, Colombia)”

The Barbacoan languages are known for having egophoric systems (Dickinson 2000, Curnow 2002, Floyd to appear) which “distinguish speakers from non-speakers in declaratives, and addressees from non-addressees in interrogatives” (Creissels 2008). Nevertheless, the existence of such a system in Nam Trik had not been fully argued for. A recent paper by Norcliffe (to appear), which was based on the Nam Trik variety from Guambia, claims that in the Guambia variety of Nam Trik, there are traces of an egophoric system, nevertheless the verb marking pattern does not exhibit an egophoric pattern. This talk, based on data from the Nam Trik variety from Totoró, argues that this variety of Nam Trik possesses a set of verbal suffixes that exhibit the cross-linguistically recurrent pattern of an egophoric distribution, and also an “undergoer” egophoric marker which exhibits also a pattern of egophoric distribution.

Additionally, Nam Trik has a system of morphemes expressing the epistemic status and information source, which depending on the construction, can interact or be in contrastive distribution with the egophoric markers, in similar ways to those described by DeLancey (to appear) in some Tibetic languages.

- 3 février 2017

Marine Vuillermet (DDL) & Nina Dobrushina (Moscow HSE & Collegium de Lyon) : “Imperatives & commands: introduction (I)”

Our theme, imperatives and commands, targets the study of “those situations in which the speaker wishes a state of affair (SoA) to (not) become true and conveys an appeal to the addressee(s) (or a third person) to help make this SoA (not) true” (adapted from Mauri & Sanso’s 2011:3491). Such situations are very instrumental in regulating joint activities and are highly frequent in discourse (see e.g. Xrakovskij & Birjulin 2001:4; Mauri & Sansò 2011:3489), and are accordingly associated to several interesting research questions. During the seminar, we would like to address the following ones:

1. their tendency to heterogeneity in their morphological encoding(s) – languages vary from having or just a single dedicated imperative marker (2nd person) to one for each traditional grammatical persons (i.e. 6 forms as in Hungarian) (van der Auwera, Dobrushina & Goussev 2003; Jarry & Kissine 2016);

2. the semantics associated to the numerous strategies available – e.g. the semantic (and morphological) impact of the grammatical person of the potential performer, or the restriction in verb types available to a specific encoding, or the existence of alternative indirect (but often highly conventionalized) directive expressions in reaction to the pragmatic specificity of this face threatening device;
3. their origins (again, frequently influenced by the grammatical person as shown by (Mauri & Sansò 2011)).

- 10 février 2017

Marine Vuillermet (DDL) & Nina Dobrushina (Moscow HSE & Collegium de Lyon): “Imperatives & commands, introduction (II)”

This second introduction session focuses on the peripheral types of directive situations, especially the **apprehensives** and the **optatives**, which, respectively, primarily encode the speaker’s judgement of possible undesirability and the speaker’s wishes.

- 17 mars 2017

Geny Gonzales (DDL) "Imperatives in Nam Trik (Barbacoan, Colombia)"

The aim of this talk is to present some data about the imperatives in Nam Trik, a Barbacoan language spoken in the Colombian Andes. Nam Trik has specialized morphology for a second person imperative, with two forms, one for singular *-i* ‘IMP.SG’ and one for plural *-ai* ‘IMP.PL’, and a polite imperative with only one form for singular and plural *-tro*. This language also has a specialized construction for first person plural imperatives and another construction for imperative third person marked with the permissive morpheme *-pash*.

Noé Gasparini (DDL) "Directives in Siriono (Tupi-Guarani, Bolivia)"

The analysis of imperative in Siriono started in Berkeley in 2015 and was driven by the Speech act theory. Exploring how manipulative speech-acts are expressed grammatically in this Tupi-Guarani language led me to consider one canonical imperative and subcategories. A set of clitics are included in the study, some as directive force modifiers, others as the expression of a desire, a function often considered as part of the directive field but a separate domain in Siriono.

- 24 mars 2017

Magdalena Lemus (DDL) : "Imperatives in Yukuna (Arawak, Colombia)"

This talk will present the encoding of imperatives in Yukuna, a North Amazonian Arawak language of Colombia. Yukuna has a sentential imperative, with no overt morphological marking, used with second person singular and plural. In contrast to this, Yukuna has a dedicated verbal suffix for third person imperatives *-ré*, and a prohibitive *-niña*. The main morphosyntactic properties of these constructions will be discussed, as

well as their specific semantics. Finally, other strategies used in the expression of directives will be addressed, notably the case of suffix *-chí*, often associated with first person directives.

- 7 avril 2017

Antoine Guillaume (DDL) : "A preliminary investigation of directive moods in Tacana (Takanan, Bolivia)"

Tacana has a complex morphological system on the verb for encoding directive force. The system is made of prefixes (*me-* or *pa-*), suffixes (*-ke*, *-ji* or *-ja*), and a clause initial particle (*be*), which combine in different ways in order to yield four distinct directive categories (imperative, prohibitive, restricted hortative and extended hortative) which are specified for the number (singular, dual or plural) of the performer: imperative *-ke* (2SG) and *me-...-ke* (2DL/PL), prohibitive *be ...-ji* (2SG) and *be me-...-ji* (2DL/PL), restricted hortative *me-* (1DL.INCL, 1SG→2SG) and *me-...-ja* (1PL.INCL) and extended hortative *pa-* (1DL.INCL, 1DL.EXCL, 1SG and 3SG/DL/PL) and *pa-...-ja* (1PL.INCL and 1PL.EXCL). The talk will discuss all four directive categories with a particular focus on the extended hortative category, which partly overlaps functionally with the restricted hortative and which can also be used in purpose clauses.

- 14 avril 2017

Brigitte Pakendorf (DDL) : "The imperative domain in Even (Tungusic, Siberia)"

Even is a Northern Tungusic language spoken in small dispersed communities spread over northeastern Siberia, with a high degree of dialectal fragmentation. This talk is based on data from two peripheral dialects – the Lamunkhin dialect from the western edge of the language's distribution and the Bystraja dialect from the eastern periphery – which differ considerably at all levels. The imperative domain consists of the canonical 2nd person imperative, 1st person hortative, 3rd person jussive, as well as an admonitive mood. The canonical imperative comprises two forms, one for commands that have immediate time reference, the other with distant future reference. This formal distinction between immediate future and distant future reference is also found for 1pl hortatives in the Lamunkhin dialect. In my data, the admonitive mood is practically restricted to the Bystraja dialect, where it expresses a warning to avoid the undesirable consequence of an action. Depending on the availability of time, I will end with a brief discussion of the areal distribution of the immediate future/distant future distinction in imperatives. As will be shown, this feature can plausibly be traced to Evenki and Even structural influence in the absence of borrowing of any forms.

- 5 mai 2017

Natalia Cáceres (U. Oregon) : "The imperative domain in Ye'kwana (Carib, Venezuela)" - en visioconférence

In Ye'kwana, a Cariban language spoken in southern Venezuela and northern Brazil, there are five different dedicated constructions for expressing the imperative domain. Of these, the most frequent construction in recorded texts is the 2nd person A or S imperative, followed by the hortative-jussive-optative which functions with all possible persons, then by the supplicative or permissive—also available for all persons, the prohibitive which functions for 2nd person A, S or P, the fifth and less frequent construction being the one dedicated to expressing admonition or apprehension, also with no person marking restrictions. Interestingly, there are two additional grammatical features that are unique to this domain. Across the family, it is with the imperatives that associated motion morphemes appear: Ye'kwana presents only the cross-Cariban allative -ta suffix but other languages of the family have innovated additional contrasts. Furthermore, the five constructions combine in Ye'kwana with a prefix ön-/an- with two different meanings: negative for the prohibitive and the admonitive and sociative for the rest. A cognate ön-/an- morpheme is only found in the Cariban languages of Venezuela where it occurs exclusively with the declarative negative form of verb stems. This talk illustrates all the uses of the five imperative constructions in Ye'kwana highlighting its specificities in a comparative light and with respect to typology.

- 30 juin 2017

Esteban Diaz (DDL) "Imperatives & commands in Nasa Yuwe (Isolate, Colombia)

In my corpus of Munchique's Nasa Yuwe (isolate, Colombia) a clear syntactic distinction between directive and non-directive moods can be identified: while in non-directive moods subject agreement is obligatory, in directive moods dedicated marks of IMPERATIVE, PROHIBITIVE and JUSSIVE are mutually exclusive with subject agreement. A dedicated suffix (-we) marking either a plural addressee or a polite directive can also be added to the directive moods' constructions. In addition to these three morphologically dedicated directive moods' markers, some non-directive mood constructions are used to express directive meanings like HORTATIVE, polite orders, advises and requests. These constructions involve the use of non-directive mood subject agreement markers (ASSERTIVE or SUSPENSIVE) as well as the use of what I propose here to be an IRREALIS clitic (=ne). Hypothesis on the diachronic origin of some of these constructions will be also proposed.

Micha Daniel (Moscow HSE & Moscow State U.) "Imperatives & commands in Alutor (Chukotkan, Kamchatka)"

Chukotkan languages are claimed to feature a homogeneous imperative paradigm across all persons. This is a rare case in the typology of volitionals cross-linguistically. In this (short) presentation of data from one of the languages of the family, Alutor, I provide arguments against and in favor of the homogeneity interpretation. On the one hand, it seems that considering Alutor volitionals of the first and third person (i.e. hortatives and jussives, respectively) as morphologically aligned with second person imperatives goes against the general morphological makeup of the language. On the other hand, the different-person imperatives have some non-trivial common uses, which makes it feasible to consider them all together.