Atelier de Morphosyntaxe

Dernière mise à jour : 12 décembre 2019

Responsables :

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Descriptif :

Cet atelier, organisé par Françoise Rose et Minella Duzerol 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 2019 - 2020 :

La négation, animé par Olga Krasnoukhova
Word constituents, animé par Adam Tallman

Programme :

Pour plus d'informations, voir le calendrier du laboratoire DDL.

- 25 octobre 2019

   Olga Krasnoukhova (University of Antwerp) : "Negation: Typology, diachrony, and areality"

The cross-linguistic comparison of 'standard negation', i.e. the negation of main clause declarative sentences with an overt verbal predicate, shows a universal tendency for languages to have a clausal negator before the verb. This has been first noted by Jespersen (1917:5), and although this observation was based on a small number of related languages, this tendency – also known now as the 'Negative-First Principle' after Horn 1989/2001 – has been confirmed ever since in studies based on large and representative samples (e.g. Dahl 1979, 2010; Dryer 1988, 2013; Vossen 2013, *inter alia*). Even though these studies differ in approach as to the type of verb that the negator precedes or follows, namely, lexical verb (finite or not) or auxiliary (when there is one), the results point in the same direction: Dahl (1979) finds a majority of languages in his sample to have a negator before the finite verb. In Dryer (2013), approximately 70% of the 1324 languages surveyed have a negation marker before the lexical verb. In constructions with negation of imperative clauses, or prohibitives, the tendency for the

preverbal position of a negative element seems even stronger (Horn 2001:450). A cross-linguistic study by Van Olmen (2010:492) suggests this too. Nonetheless, despite this strong universal tendency, a sizable proportion of the world's languages express negation after the verb, and this concerns both standard negation and imperative negation. Interestingly, a good number of these languages seem to cluster in areas, including the 'Macro Sudan Belt' (Güldemann 2007; Idiatov 2015), New Guinea (Reesink 2002; Vossen 2016), and South America as a macro-area (Muysken et al. 2014:306; Vossen 2016). The documented clustering of postverbal negation in the areas mentioned above suggests that this strategy can arise or be reinforced through language contact.

Cross-linguistically, it is not unusual for languages to use the same negator for different types of negation synchronically (van der Auwera & Krasnoukhova, forthc.). In fact, same negative markers can be indicative of a diachronic relation between negative functions. However, it seems also the case that languages prefer to use specialized means. Thus, negation of non-verbal predicates (often referred to as 'ascriptive negation') commonly requires negative markers different from those used for standard negation (Eriksen 2011), it is more common than not to have specialized prohibitive markers or verb forms (see Van der Auwera & Lejeune 2013), and negative existentials tend to differ from standard negation markers (Veselinova 2013).

In my introductory talk, I will first offer an overview of the main typological parameters pertaining to the domain of negation. Second, I will outline a few diachronic processes known for negation formation. Finally, I will zoom in on South American languages for a brief illustration of some areal patterns in negation marking.

discourse, and (2) raise questions important for advancing language description and typology in this topic.

- 8 novembre 2019

Antonio Castillo Ramirez (DDL) : "Negation in Nomatsigenga"

In this talk, I will provide a descriptive analysis of the negative constructions in Nomatsigenga (not), a Kampa-Arawak language spoken in the *Selva Central* area of Peru by approximately 4000 individuals. This talk mainly addresses two aspects: 1) the types of negative construction exhibited in the language (e.g. standard negation, prohibitives, negation of non-verbal predications) and the negation strategies involved, and 2) the complex interaction between the domain of negation and reality status (Elliot 2000). It will be seen that, although there are some other lexical and grammatical items expressing negation, the most frequent negation strategy involve the two particles *te(ni)* and *kero*, and, most importantly, that negation is one parameter that always triggers "irreality".

- 22 novembre 2019

  Minella Duzerol (DDL) : "Negation in Martinican (creole, Martinique)"

This talk aims at describing some of the negative constructions available in Martinican (creole, Martinique), identifying and classifying the morphemes involved in these negative constructions. Relying on narrations and descriptions produced by native speakers as well as elicitations, I consider first clausal negation (1). I look at negative predication in both main/independent and subordinate clauses. Two negative markers, *pa* and *pé*, are involved and present specific distributions accordind to the predicates. I also describe two temporal meanings that have specific markers in negative constructions : *not yet* and *no more*. Then, I describe how non clausal negation is expressed focusing on negative indefinites and negative quantifiers (2).

- 29 novembre 2019

  Oscar Cocaud-Degrève (Université Lyon 2) : "A preliminary account of negation in Bolivian Guarani"

This talk will attempt to give a preliminary account of the expression of negation in Bolivian guaraní, a tupi-guaraní language. Relying on elicitations for the most part, the goal is to start describing how are expressed different types of negation, but also to identify and classify the different negative markers present in the language.

- 6 décembre 2019

  Gérard Philippson (DDL) : "Negative markers in Kilimanjaro Bantu (E60)"

In spite of considerable diversity, a "canonical" pattern can be proposed for the negative constructions of many Bantu languages[1] (Meeussen, 1969, Kamba Muzenga 1981), i.e.
  (1) NEG(ative)-S(ubject)C(oncord)-T(ense)A(spect)M(ood)-STEM for verb forms in main clauses
  (2) SC-NEG-TAM-STEM for dependent, hortative, sequential etc. forms
However, a number of Bantu languages exhibit quite different strategies, at least for (1) where an initial NEG marker is not found or at least not obligatory, and negation is marked by clause-final elements (for a very complete survey see Devos and van de Auwera, 2013).
K(ilimanjaro) B(antu) languages (E60 + E74a in the Guthrie-Maho classification) spoken in north-eastern Tanzania are such languages.
After a presentation of the KB languages, the talk will show that if non-main negative verb forms are quite similar to the "canonical" pattern in (2) above, the negative forms in main clauses are surprisingly diverse among the various languages of the group; nevertheless most languages have a post-verbal negative marker, seemingly or possibly of locative origin.
The talk will then concentrate on the Gweno language (E65) which offers the best example of a complete system of post-verbal negative markers based on clitics apparently originating in

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[1] Outside the extreme North-Western part of the domain

personal pronouns and try to evaluate its relationship with the markers found in the rest of the group

- 20 décembre 2019

  Léa Mouton (DDL) : "La négation en hmong noir (langue hmong-mien, Vietnam)"

This talk aims to describe some of negative constructions in Black Hmong language a variety of Hmong language spoken in Vietnam. The data will be based on narrations produced by native speakers. Some negative constructions in Black Hmong will be compared to constructions found in other Hmong languages, mainly in White Hmong spoken by Hmong speakers in Laos and the Hmong of the diaspora (USA). I will first present the negation of main clause declarative sentences (standard negation), then I will present negation in other kinds of sentences (non-standard negation). I will also present another particle of negation found in imperative constructions in White Hmong and Hmong Leng languages.

- 31 janvier 2020

  Adam J.R. Tallman (DDL) : "Word constituents and the morphology-syntax distinction: descriptive and typological perspectives (1/3)"

This seminar will be concerned with two related issues in linguistics; (i) the distinction between morphology and syntax language-internally and cross-linguistically; (ii) the legitimacy of 'words' as language-internally motivated and as cross-linguistically comparable constituents. We will review ideas in the field concerning the distinction between morphology and syntax and the problems associated with identifying word constituents with a focus on literature critical of the traditional distinctions between morphology and syntax on the one hand and the word and the phrase on other hand (rather than the vaster literature in the field of linguistics which presupposes these distinctions without argumentation). New perspectives on constituency will be proposed for the description and comparison of morphology and constituency across languages.

The first talk will provide an overview of proposals regarding what distinguishes morphology and syntax together with an outline of the seminar. For those interested in presenting later on in the seminar, attendance will be crucial, since a number of new methodologies will be proposed, and it will be expected that those who present engage with these methodologies. In the first lecture an overview of the basic problems in identifying words in specific languages and cross-linguistically will be provided, focusing on the interpretation of wordhood diagnostics and what it means for such diagnostics to converge or diverge around specific spans of structures. A new proposal for how to motivate words in the face of misalignments will be proposed based on the concept of convergence beyond chance along with a research program for how to investigate constituency in general. The talk will critique the concepts of 'morphosyntactic/grammatical word' and 'phonological/prosodic word' as they are currently used in linguistic description and confessional 'theoretical approaches' like prosodic phonology upon which much description is based. (see Tallman accepted ; in review; Tallman et al. 2019; Guttierez et al. 2019)

- 14 février 2020

    Adam J.R. Tallman (DDL) : "Word constituents and the morphology-syntax distinction: descriptive and typological perspectives (2/3)"

This seminar will be concerned with two related issues in linguistics; (i) the distinction between morphology and syntax language-internally and cross-linguistically; (ii) the legitimacy of 'words' as language-internally motivated and as cross-linguistically comparable constituents. We will review ideas in the field concerning the distinction between morphology and syntax and the problems associated with identifying word constituents with a focus on literature critical of the traditional distinctions between morphology and syntax on the one hand and the word and the phrase on other hand (rather than the vaster literature in the field of linguistics which presupposes these distinctions without argumentation). New perspectives on constituency will be proposed for the description and comparison of morphology and constituency across languages.

The second talk will continue the discussion of wordhood diagnostics gradually moving into a different approach that does not assume that morphology necessarily has to be word-based, but rather assumes that morphology can be justified based on statistically meaningful associations between wordhood criterial variables over head-modifier/elaborator/dependent combinations. It will be argued that morphosyntactic misfits (clitic, compound, perphrasis) are basically useless for cross-linguistic comparison, because they presuppose the descriptive architectures that they problematize.
(see Tallman and Epps in press; Tallman and Auderset in progress)

- 28 février 2020

    Adam J.R. Tallman (DDL) : "Word constituents and the morphology-syntax distinction: descriptive and typological perspectives (3/3)"

This seminar will be concerned with two related issues in linguistics; (i) the distinction between morphology and syntax language-internally and cross-linguistically; (ii) the legitimacy of 'words' as language-internally motivated and as cross-linguistically comparable constituents. We will review ideas in the field concerning the distinction between morphology and syntax and the problems associated with identifying word constituents with a focus on literature critical of the traditional distinctions between morphology and syntax on the one hand and the word and the phrase on other hand (rather than the vaster literature in the field of linguistics which presupposes these distinctions without argumentation). New perspectives on constituency will be proposed for the description and comparison of morphology and constituency across languages.

The third talk will provide an illustrative example of the methodology defended in the previous lectures based on Chácobo, Araona and a few other languages (probably Quechua and Zapotec).

- 20 mars 2020

  Magdalena Lemus Serano (DDL)

- 3 avril 2020

  Minella Duzerol (DDL)

- 17 avril 2020