The discourse functions of Mojeño Trinitario classifiers in verbs

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Mojeño Trinitario

• Arawak, Lowland Bolivia

• Linguistic description
  • Dictionary (Gill 1993)
  • Handbook (Gill 1957)
  • Grammatical sketch (Rose 2015)
  • Papers http://www.ddl.cnrs.fr/Rose

• Documentation https://www.ortolang.fr
Methodology

• Observation of the data
  • 6 hours of (semi)-spontaneous texts
  • 2 hours of stimuli-based sentences
  • 4920 elicited sentences

• Counts of classifiers in a text sample
  • 7 texts of different genres
  • 520 sentences
  • 175 occurrences of classifiers

• Counts of Referential Distance and Topic Persistence (Givón 1983)
Mojeño Trinitario classifiers

• 31 classifier suffixes
  • Some have two allomorphs: stem-internal and stem-final

• One set with large distribution
  = multiple classifier system (Aikhenvald 2000)
  • On numerals
  • On adjectives
  • On nouns
  • On verbs

• Verbal classifiers
  • Classifiers on verbs
  • Categorize a nominal element
Mojeño Trinitario classifiers

• The classifiers categorize the referent, not the noun.
  • The same noun can be assigned to various classes.
  • Highlight some inherent or temporary property of the referent.

(1) *t-íto-*gi to *wkugi*
3-be_bare-**CLF:**cyl ART.NH tree
‘The trunk of the tree is bare.’ elicited

(2) *t-íto-*si to *wkugi*
3-be_bare-**CLF:**sphere ART.NH tree
‘The crown of the tree is bare.’ elicited
Mojeño Trinitario classifiers

- Cannot stand as the head of an NP, contrarily to nouns (Rose & Van Linden submitted)
- Most have a CV structure
- General semantics (physical properties like shape, interiority, consistency,...)

Table 1. Selection of CLF with gloss and definition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>CLF.hum</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gi-gie</td>
<td>CLF.cyl</td>
<td>1D, cylindrical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mo-me</td>
<td>CLF.fabric</td>
<td>2D, flat, large and generally flexible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si</td>
<td>CLF.sphere</td>
<td>3D, sphere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-omo-e</td>
<td>CLF.liquid</td>
<td>liquid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>CLF.path</td>
<td>space between parallel boundaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-muri</td>
<td>CLF.group</td>
<td>group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Classifiers on verbs

• Associated participant

Table 2. Syntactic function of participant associated with CLF on V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mojeño</th>
<th>Typology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S of intransitive verbs</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>Cross-linguistically common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O of transitive verbs</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obliques</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>Rarely described</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Applicative function: promoting an oblique as a core argument (Rose 2020)

• Human classifier not found on active verbs.
Other nominal categorization

• Gender marking in person formatives in:
  • Articles
  • Pronominal pronouns
  • Demonstratives
  • Person indexes

• Interactions
  • In an NP, ART + CLF possible
  • In a V, person indexes + CLF possible

Fig. 1: Semantic sub-categorization of third person.
Functions of verbal classifiers
Functions of classifiers

• Why this question?
  • Classifiers are not obligatory (except on numerals)
  • Found in 34% of the sentences in the sample

• Why on verbs?
  • Half of the occurrences of classifiers are found on verbs in the sample
  • Less discussed in the literature
Functions of classifiers

• Categorization is not their primary function (François 1999)

• Functions of classifiers (Contini-Morava and Kilarski’s 2013)
  • Semantic functions (Rose & Van Linden submitted)
    • Derivation (common in South America (Krasnoukhova 2012))
      • Only 4% of V-CLF in the sample
    • Differentiating referents & ascribing properties (=qualification)
    • Individuation
  • Discourse functions
    • Reference management
    • Referent identification
    • Re-presentation of referents.

• "The primary function of a noun classification system may be related to discourse level participant reference." (Payne 1987)
  • But discourse issues not often investigated in detail
1- Reference management

How are classifiers used in the management of reference (i.e. definiteness, persistence, or prominence in discourse)?
Reference management

- Reference management functions of
  - Verbal classifiers with an associated noun (S, O or Obl)
  - Verbal classifiers without an associated noun (S, O or Obl)

- Counts of Referential Distance & Topic Persistence on:
  - N
  - CLF+N
  - CLF
Reference management

• Referential Distance
  • Number of clauses to the left, to the previous occurrence of the referent, overtly marked (Givón 1983)

Table 3. Referential distance of different referential expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>average RD</th>
<th>median RD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>12,69</td>
<td>20,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF+N</td>
<td>10,83</td>
<td>9,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>7,55</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• CLF used more often than N for participants that are given, and used more often alone when participants have been mentioned recently.
Reference management

• Topic Persistence
  • Number of clauses to the right, in which the participant continues an uninterrupted presence as a semantic argument of the clause, marked overtly or not. (Givón 1983)
  • Comparable in the three constructions

Table 4. Topic persistence of different referential expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>average TP</th>
<th>median TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>0,94</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF+N</td>
<td>1,28</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>1,24</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Degree of topicality not relevant (?)
Reference management with an associated NP

• Functions:

  • First mention of a participant

    (3)  \( t(a)-\text{appú-}'e-ko \)  \( pjuena \)  \( s-ju'e \)  \( \text{CLF=S} \)

    \( 3\text{NH-swell-CLF:convex-ACT} \)  \( \text{DEM} \)  \( 3\text{F-stomach} \)

    ‘Her stomach swelled.’ T_12_009

  • New mention of an old participant

    (4)  \( ta-ni-k-'o \)  \( \text{to} \)  \( 'santi \)  \( \text{CLF=O} \)

    \( 3\text{NH-burn-CLF:path-ACT} \)  \( \text{ART.NH} \)  \( \text{field} \)

    ‘It (the fire) burns the field.’ T_21_032
Reference management without associated NP

• Functions:

  • Introduction of new non-topical participant

(5)  \( te \ t\text{-}jara-'i=po,... \) \( CLF=S \)

  SUB  3-be.clear-\textbf{CLF:atmo}=PFV

  When it was day time,... (lit. when the environment was clear) T_11_006

  • Mention of given participant ('anaphoric use').

(6)  \( na\text{-}nok=po \quad \underline{to} \quad muiji. \quad n(a)\text{-}oktaya-ji-k=po \) \( CLF=O \)

  3PL-put-\textbf{ACT}=PFV \ ART.NH \ straw \ 3PL\text{-}step\_\textbf{on-CLF:amorph-}\textbf{ACT}=PFV

  They put the straw. They step on it. T_24_078
2- Referent identification

When the associated noun is not expressed within the same sentence, how does the classifier help identifying the referent? Or disambiguating between potential referents?
Referent identification

• Important question
  • 80% of V-CLF without associated noun

• The classifier participates in referent retrieval by:
  • Inference on the situation within the discourse
  • Inference on the speech event
  • Interpretation as a kind, or as a prototype
  • Disambiguation between potential referents
Referent identification 1-Inference on the situation

• Straightforward cases of anaphora

(7) pjor-jo-jno parawa-tataji, w-cho-'i-gi-a v-ni-gi-a.
   DEM-EXI-again ara-DESPE 1PL-pluck-clf:fruit-ACT-IRR 1PL-eat-ACT-IRR

w-cho-'i-gi-a=a'i=ni v-ijro-k-a=ri'i=ni psuro wrinko
   1PL-pluck-clf:fruit-ACT-IRR=IPFV=FRUST 1PL-eat-ACT-IRR=IPFV=FRUST DEM gringa

‘There again is this fucking ara, we should pluck it and eat it. If we had plucked it, we would have given it to that foreign woman (for her to eat it so that she becomes talkative).’ T_29_049/050
Referent identification 1-Inference on the situation

- Cases without overt antecedent
  - Inference on the situation within the discourse

(8) *t-kucho-ku-‘a-vi*

- 3-wait-*clf:path*-ACT-IRR-1PL

‘It is waiting for us (on the path).’ [trip in the forest] T_30_052
Referent identification 1 - Inference on the situation

• Or inference through metonymy (bridging or indirect metaphor)

(9) ene  t-ko-siop-ɕi-k-wo=po  \text{ta-ye'e}.

\text{and 3-CAUS-enter-\textcolor{red}{CLF:sphere}-ACT-MID=PFV 3NH-PREP}

‘And it (the dog) put its head into it.’ T_18_015
Referent identification 2- Exophoric retrieval

• Referent located deictically in the context of the speech event

(10) \textit{v-eja-pue-gi-a}
1\textsc{pl}-\textsc{sit-clf.ground}-\textsc{act-IRR}
‘Let’s sit on the ground!’ T_24_099
Referent identification 3- Retrieval as ‘kind’ or prototype

• “Kind” of entity as a vague but sufficient interpretation

(11) ŋi-k-ana-e-k=pu=iji to 'chope merómero

3M-CAUS-cross-CLF:liquid-ACT=PFV=RPT ART.NH big caiman

‘He said he made the great caiman to cross (the body of liquid).’ T_19_170
Referent identification 3- Retrieval as ‘kind’ or prototype

• Translation task of classifiers $\rightarrow$ prototypical members of the class, depending on the lexical verb.

(12) s-an-ku-’o
    3F-cross-CLF:path-ACT
    ‘She is crossing a river, a street.’

(13) na-ech-ku-’=po
    3PL-cut-CLF:path-ACT=PFV
    ‘They cut down (forest into a field).’

(14) n-siop-ku-’o
    1SG-enter-CLF:path-ACT
    ‘I enter an empty house.’

(15) n-ko-sip-ku
    1SG-MID-wash-CLF:path
    ‘I wash my vagina.’
Referent identification 4- Disambiguation between potential referents

(16) *ajta to ſñ-ichmoo=po toj ſni-jii-si-k=pu=iji*
until  ART.NH 3M-meet=PFV gulp 3M-swallow-CLF:sphere-ACT=PFV=RPT
‘[He (the rooster) searched (the cricket) into the corn husks, it says,] until he succeeded and “gulp” swallowed it(spherical=insect), it says.’ T_35.062
3- Re-presentation of referents

How are classifiers used in giving different representations of the same referent?
Re-presentation of referents

• The same referent may be categorized differently.

• Recategorization within the discourse:
  • When the physical properties of the referent evolve through time
  • When the speaker adopts a different perspective on the same referent.
Re-presentation of referents

(17) *n-escho to sawari-omo, éto-na kchara*

1SG-give_drink ART.NH tobacco-CLF:liquid one-CLF:hum spoon

to____sawari-omo [to n-nu-j-re]_{REL}

ART.NH tobacco-CLF:liquid ART.NH 1SG-chew-CLF:amorph-PAT.NZ

‘I gave her to drink some tobacco juice, one spoon of tobacco, the one that I had chewed.’ T_12_014

*Transformation of the referent*
Re-presentation of referents

(18) \( n\text{-om-a} \quad j\text{mani} \quad p\text{ak-tataj-ono} \quad t\text{-ijane-mo-no} \quad \text{Perspective shift} \)

\[ 1\text{SG-take-IRR} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{dog-DESP-PL} \quad 3\text{-stink-CLF:fabric-PL} \]

‘They (the men) could take (for a hunt) these fucking (skinny) dogs that stink.’ 29.042

29.043: ‘Here they don’t do anything, this is why they (the men) would have shaken them (the dogs) up there.’
[dogs referred to with -mo classifier for dogs]

29.044 ‘They (the dogs) are here lying next to us, we never eat what they hunt.’
[dogs referred to with subject person prefixes on verbs]

\( eto \quad n(a\text{-om-muu-}'a=a'i=ni) \)

\[ 3\text{NH} \quad 3\text{PL-take-CLF:group-ACT-IRR=IPFV=FRUST} \]

‘They (the men) could have taken the dogs (as a group).’ T_29_045
Functions of classifiers on verbs - Summary

• Not an agreement system
  • Not obligatory
  • Selection by the speaker
  • Use for discourse management

• Functions of classifiers on verbs:
  • The discourse functions of classifiers are most salient on verbs
  • Derivational function on verbs not very important
  • Discourse functions and qualification of referent done simultaneously.
# Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESP</td>
<td>despective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXI</td>
<td>existential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRUST</td>
<td>frustrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPN</td>
<td>generic possessive noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NH</td>
<td>non-human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURACT</td>
<td>pluractional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAT.NZ</td>
<td>patient nominalizer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References 1


References 2


Appendix
Nominal Classification

• Main differences with nouns:
  • Most have a CV structure (nouns are minimally bisyllabic)
  • Cannot stand as the head of a NP
    • « repeaters » are considered as plain nouns
  • More general semantics (physical properties like shape, interiority, consistency, quanta)

• Similarities with nouns
  • Comparable distribution on nouns, adjectives, numerals and verbs (suffixation vs. compounding)
  • Some formal and semantic resemblance for a minority of classifiers
    - pewo'u CLF:hand pewo'u 'span' (measure unit with hand)
    - gi CLF:cylindrical -gira 'seed'
autre idée: mettre CV et sémantisme dans diapo suivante et pas argumneter pour la classe de CLF

Françoise Rose; 05/04/2019
Classifiers in discourse

• Great variation in the use of classifiers
  • From 8% to 60% of the sentences per text

• Variation could be due to genres, or speakers, or topics...
  • Each text in the sample from a different speaker
  • Narrations: 24% and 27%
  • Expository texts: 60% and 63%
  • Conversations: 8%, 14% and 38%
Classifiers vs. bound nouns

• Classifiers are commonly assumed to originate in nouns (Aikhenvald 2000)
  • more specifically in compounds (Seifart 2010)
  • and noun incorporation (Mithun 1986: 395).

• 16 classifiers are not obviously related to a noun

• 1 classifier reconstructed for Proto-Arawak as classifier and noun
  pi 'CLF:long.thin.flexible; snake' (Payne 1991b: 248)

• 11 classifiers show a formal and semantic relationship to a N
Nominal classification

• The classifiers categorize the referent, not the noun
  • The same noun can be categorized differently.

(1) *tére-*pi N-CLF
  belt-CLF:rope
  ‘belt (typically a leather one)’

(2) *tére-*mo
  belt-CLF:fabric
  ‘woven belt’

(3) *t-íto-*gi to *wkugi* V-CLF
  3-be_bare-CLF:cyl ART.NH tree
  ‘The trunk of the tree is bare.’

(4) *t-íto-*si to *wkugi*
  3-be_bare-CLF:sphere ART.NH tree
  ‘The branches of the tree are bare.’
Classifiers vs. bound nouns or repeaters (Cf. Rose & van Linden)

(1) no api-na-no 'chañ(e)-ono NUM-CLF
   ART.PL two-CLF:h-PL person-PL
   'two persons'

(2) to yuk-pi N-CLF
   ART.NH fire-CLF:rope
   'a candle'

(3) to chope-gie wkugi ADJ-CLF
   ART.NH big-CLF:cyl tree
   'the big trunk'

(4) n-semo-pi-ko V-CLF
   1SG-be_angry-CLF:rope-ACT
   'I am angry at words'

(5) api-pgienu NUM-N
   two-neck
   'two necks'

(6) to manka-chpu N-N
   ART.NH mango-trunk
   'the mango tree trunk'

(7) 'chope-tupara'o ADJ-N
   big-charge
   'the biggest responsibility'

(8) t(i)-v(e)-o'ri-ko V-N
   3-take_out-fruit-PLURACT-ACT
   'he collects fruits'
Classifiers vs. bound nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>CLF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as NP head</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on numerals</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on adjectives</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on nouns</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in verbs</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Classifiers generally have a more general meaning than nouns.
Functions of classifiers on numerals
Functions of classifiers on numerals

• Obligatory on numerals, whatever their function: as modifiers, as NP heads (in absence of associated noun), as predicates or in the counting routine.

(1) en-jo no apī-na-no 'chañ-ono
3PL-COP ART.PL two-CLF:hum-PL person-PL
‘There are two persons’ Traj_M_11

(2) no sinkō-na-no t-yono-no...
ART.PL five-CLF:hum-PL 3-go-PL
‘The five (persons) go....’ Traj_S_19
Functions of classifiers on numerals

• Looks like agreement
• Except that the human classifier is used as a default classifier: no categorization in spontaneous speech

(1) ty-juu-ko-po  ta-ke-ripo  et-na  añu,  api-na  añu.
   3-grow-Act-perf 3NH-be_so-perf  one-clf:gen year  two-clf:gen year
   ‘It grows, it is like that one year, two years.’ 21.057

(2) to  v-giekrupe  mopo-na.
   ART.NH  1PL-spirit  three-clf:hum
   ‘Our spirits (ghosts) are three.’ 30.113
Functions of classifiers on numerals

• Also found in the absence of the associated noun
  • Actually as frequent in texts with and without the noun
  • No syntactic agreement (no antecedent in case of new participant)
  • But no ambiguity because of the role of articles in gender marking

ene  takepo ŋi-ke=pu=iji  ŋi  éto-na
and after  3M-say=PFV=RPT  ART.M  one-CLF:hum

« ... n-kopa-ko=yre  ta-yampane  to  éto-na »
1SG-kill-ACT=FUT  3NH-do_not_matter  ART.NH  one-CLF:def
‘And after that, one of them said: "[…] I am going to kill whatever it is" 19.020
Functions of classifiers on numerals

• Expected combinations with full paradigm easy to elicit
• Only three instances of classifiers other than -na in the corpus

(1) t-roto-wo to (...) ta-vecht-i-k-pu-iji to eto-pi
    3-succeed-MID ART.NH 3NH-detach-ACT-PERF-REP ART.NH one-CLF:rope

manje'e ta-ettit-i'o-o'i
um... 3NH-tie-APPL-IPFV
Ils arrivèrent à détacher la corde. {texte6.028} (because of hesitation?)
Functions of classifiers on numerals

(2) ty-ute-k=po eto sera 'attaji, to sera=ri'i api-mri
    3-come-ACT=PFV 3NH silk fabric, ART.NH silk=IPFV two-CLF:group
    The silk arrived, the silk was of two types. 25.089 (as a measure term)

(3) wo t-a-kaj-n-ono to api-’-ina
    NEG 3-IRR-share-1SG-PL ART.NH two-CLF:fruit-IRR
    ‘And they don't give me two (fruits) when they come to Trinidad.’
    38_216 (to avoid ambiguity)
Functions of classifiers on numerals

- Individualizing/unitizing function of classifiers: nouns have to be classified to be numerable or countable (Bisang 1999, Seifart 2009): "the noun refers to some kind of mass and the classifier gives a unit to this mass" (Denny 1986: 298).

- In Mojeño Trinitario, the individualizing function is encoded by determiners (articles or demonstratives).
  - A classifier is not required for a noun to be marked as plural.
  - A classifier can categorize a mass referent.

(1) a-joch-a=po  j-ma  tapajo-no  (2) n-yere-\textit{pa}-re-ko  móteji .
2PL-close-IRR=PFV DEM-NH.PL door-PL 1SG-carry-\textit{CLF:mass}-PLURACT-ACT earth
‘Close the doors!’ 6.113  ‘I carry earth.’ 28.011
Functions of classifiers on numerals

- The presence (and selection) of classifiers on numerals is highly grammaticalized, and basically devoid of either syntactic, semantic or discourse function.
  - Almost lexicalized
Derivational function of classifiers
Derivational function

• Derivational function on
  • Noun
  • Adjectives
  • Verbs
  • Demonstratives

• Derive nouns
  • Sometimes with an additional derivational formative –rV
  • 16% of the cases in the sample
Derivational function of classifiers on nouns

- Classifiers in Western Amazonian languages as derivational devices on nouns (Aikhenvald 2000; Seifart & Payne 2007)
- Pepper’s list of 100 complex concepts: 52 items in Mojeño Trinitario

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simple</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-N compound</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borrowing</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N with classifier</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other derivation</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other devices</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Derivational function of classifiers on nouns

• Derivation (sometimes with a derivative –rV)

(1) yuk-\textit{pi}  
  fire-\textsc{clf:rope}  
  'candle'

(2) \textit{wray-}a  
  chichen-\textsc{clf:oval}  
  'chicken egg'

(3) p-iypé-re-\textit{ku}  
  2sg-foot-\textsc{deriv}-\textsc{clf:hollow}  
  ‘your footprint’
Derivational function

• On adjectives

1) ‘chope-’e
   big-\texttt{CLF:belly}
   ‘drum’

• On verbs

2) to $t$-ijr-$\texttt{omo}$
   ART.NH 3-be\_hot-\texttt{CLF:liquid}
   ‘breakfast/dinner’

• On demonstratives

3) $p$-jo-$\texttt{kni-ri-pi}$
   DEM\_NH\_SG\_INV\_DERIV-\texttt{CLF:rope}
   ‘the topic (of a discussion)’
Function of classifiers on nouns - qualification
Other functions of classifiers on nouns

- 23% of the classifiers in the sample are found on nouns.
- Two functions: qualification (16 cases) and derivation (21 cases).
  - If the meaning of N-CLF is a token of the kind expressed by the noun root, then the classifier is qualifying the referent.
  - If the meaning of N-CLF is a token of a different kind from that expressed by the noun root, then the classifier is deriving a new nominal stem.

**qualification**

(1) to **aramre-pi**
  ART.NH wire-CLF:rope
  'barbed wire'

**derivation**

(2) to **yuk-pi**
  ART.NH fire-CLF:rope
  'candle'
Functions of classifiers on nouns

• Qualification: Highlights some inherent or temporary property of the referent.
• Classifier is not obligatory (lexical choice).

\[
\text{mari-}si \quad \text{mari-}ji \quad \text{mari-}cho \\
\text{stone-CLF:sphere} \quad \text{stone-CLF:shapeless} \quad \text{stone-CLF:plank} \\
\text{‘a round stone’} \quad \text{‘stone field’} \quad \text{‘stone block’}
\]
Functions of classifiers on nouns

• A common way to qualify a noun
  • Adjectives are few, and rarely used as modifiers.
  • Most common adjectives are about size, age, value, emotion.
  • In the text sample, 40 CLF qualifying a noun, and 38 adjectives.

• May sometimes seem redundant

(1) to aramre-pi
   ART.NH wire-CLF:rope
   'barbed wire'

(2) to utsera-mo
   ART.NH 1pl-tear-CLF:liquid
   'our tears'
Function of classifiers on adjectives
Functions of classifiers on adjectives

• Can be thought of as agreement
  (1) su  'seno  s-imoo-ro-ko=o'i  to  chope-gie wkugi
  ART.F woman 3F-watch-PLURACT-ACT=IPFV  ART.NH big-**CLF:cyl** tree
  'The woman is watching at the big tree' Traj_M_63

• But is not obligatory
  (2) n-nos=yore  te  p-jo-ka  'chope  wkugi
  1SG-stay=FUT  PREP  DEM-NH-PROX  big  tree
  ‘I am going to stay in this big tree’ 19.054
Functions of classifiers on adjectives

• But adjectives are few, and little used.
• 10 examples of ADJ+CLF in the sample
  • 6 with ‘chope ‘big’.
  • Only one with a head noun → agreement is not main function
• Classifiers on adjectives without a head noun
  • Derivation
  • Anaphora

‘chope-gie et-jo=o’i
big-CLF:cyl 3NH-COP=IPFV
‘there are some big ones’ [talking about trees]