

(1) **Ungarisch** (eine NIE¹ europäische Sprache):

- a. Kit_i szeretné! [CP hogy meg hívjunk e_i a születésnapodra]
whom would-like-2d that VM invite-3pl you birthday
“Whom would you like us to invite for your birthday?”
- b. [Melyik embert]_i találgattad, [hogy ki látta e_i] ?
which man-ACC guessed-you that who saw
“* [Which man]_i did you guess who saw e_i ?”

(2) **Warlpiri** (Walbiri):

- a. Ngarkangku kà wawiri pantini
Man is kangaroo shooting
(ungefähr:) “The man is shooting the kangaroo”
- b. *Ngarkangku wawiri kà pantini
- c. Wawiri kà ngarkangku pantini
- d. *Pantini wawiri kà ngarkangku
- e. Pantini kà wawiri ngarkangku
- f. Wawiri kà pantini ngarkangku
- g. *Wawiri pantini ngarkangku kà
- h. Ngarkangku kà pantini wawiri
- i. *Wawiri ngarkangku kà pantini

(3) **Deutsch** (Hauptsatz)

- a. Fritz hat den Hund schon gestern gewaschen
- b. Den Hund hat Fritz schon gestern gewaschen
- c. Gestern hat Fritz den Hund gewaschen
- d. Den Hund gewaschen hat Fritz schon gestern
- e. *Fritz den Hund hat schon gestern gewaschen

(4) **Vata**

- a. ñ lè bĩ sàká
I eat now rice
“Ik ben nu rijst aan het eten”
- b. ñ gbì nā Ò lè sàká
I know that he/she eat rice
- c. à nĩ-kā sàká lĩ
we will rice eat
- d. yÓ-Ó gūgū nā Kòfí ní mÓ yé-yÉ
child-the think that Kofi didn’t him seen

¹NIE = nicht-indoeuropäisch, non-Indo-European

- (5) Ungarisch wieder:
- Haza ment Isztvan = “Isztvan went home”, unmarked
home went Isztvan
 - ISZTVAN ment haza. = Focus: “It was *Istvan* ...
 - Nem ment haza Isztvan. (*nem* = “not”)
 - Isztvan nem ment haza. (*Isztvan* is topic.)
 - *Ment haza Istvan.
- (6) Basic word order (Basis Reihenfolge)? Vgl. “fixed-order” Sprache Englisch:
- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----------------|
| Fred saw Mary | SVO | Ausserung |
| Has Fred a book? | VSO | Frage |
| My sister, nobody likes! | OSV | Topicalisierung |
- (7) Deutsch (Nebensatz)
- Er meint, dass Fritz den Hund schon gefüttert hat (unmarkiert)
 - Er meint, dass ihn der FRITZ schon gefüttert hat (markiert/Lenerz)
- (8) Also Deutsch = SOV (basis Reihenfolge) aber Topic-V-Rest im Hauptsatz
- (9) Allgemein:
- | | SOV | SVO | VSO | VOS | OVS | OSV |
|---------------------------|-------|-------|-------|------|-----|------|
| Ruhlen (1975) | 51.5% | 35.6% | 10.5% | 2.1% | 0 | 0.2% |
| Mallinson & Blake* (1981) | 41% | 35% | 9% | 2% | 1% | 1% |
- *Unclassified: 11%
- (10) Die meisten VOS/OSV/OVS Sprachen sind “exotische” Sprachen mit wenigen Sprechern, ausser Madagassisch:
- VOS: Seediq (Austronesian), Malagasy
- OSV: Kabardian (Northwest Caucasian; ergative case system), Warao
- OVS: Apalai, Hixkaryana (Carib)
- Basic Malagasy [from Pearson (2001), Ch.2]:
- (11) Einige Beispiele; was ist die Beziehung zwischen Verbform und Bedeutung?
- Mamòno akòho amin’ny àntsy ny mpambòly
AT.kill chicken with-Det knife Det farmer
“The farmer kills chickens with the knife”
 - Vonòin’ny mpamboly amin’ny antsy ny akoho
TT.kill-Det farmer with-Det knife Det chicken
“The chickens are killed by the farmer with the knife”
or “The chickens, the farmer is killing (them) with the knife”
 - Amonòan’ny mpamboly akoho ny antsy
CT.kill-Det farmer chicken Det knife
“The knife is being used by the farmer to kill chickens”
or “The knife, the farmer is killing chickens (with it)”
 - # Amonòan’ny mpamboly ny antsy ny akoho
CT.kill-Det farmer Det knife Det chicken
“The chickens are being used by the farmer to kill the knife”
 - # Vonòin’ny akoho amin’ny antsy ny mpamboly
TT.kill-Det chickens with-Det knife Det farmer
“The chickens are killing the farmer with the knife.”

- (12) “Voicing system” (Diathese): es gibt unterschiedliche Terminologie in der Literatur; z.B., wenn wir die rechte DP als “Trigger” bezeichnen, dann werden die “Voices” vom Verb häufig Active Trigger, Theme Trigger, Circumstantial Trigger (AT, TT, CT) bezeichnet
- (13) Einige Linguisten benutzen stattdessen “Active, Passive, Circumstantial”; meinen Sie, dass (11b) echt Passiv ist?
- (14) Schematisch könnte man das so sehen:

$$V_{voice2} \quad \text{arg}_1 \quad (\text{arg}_2) \quad \text{arg}_3 \quad \text{arg}_2$$

└──────────┘ ↑

• Einige erste (empirische und theoretische) Fragen:

- (15) Zeigt (11) V-O-S oder V-X-Topic (wie das Vorfeld im Deutschen)?
- (16) Normalerweise ist “Bewegung” (‘movement’ oder ‘displacement’) nach Links
- Who_i did Fred say that Susan had met e_i ?
 - Ausnahmen wie “Heavy NP shift” sind sehr beschränkt: I read e_i yesterday [several articles on physics]_i
 - Ist die Versetzung vom “Trigger” in (11) “Bewegung”? Theorie-interne Frage: wenn so, sog. A- oder A'-bewegung?

• Ein zweites empirisches Rätsel: “Fokus” und das Partikel *no*

- (17) Normalerweise kann man ohne weiteres über ein Subjekt egal ob “aktiv” oder “passiv” extrahieren²:
- [Which book]_i did Fred say [(that) the students read e_i last semester]?
 - [Which book]_i did Fred say [(that) e_i was read by the students last semester]?
 - That movie, she claims (that) everyone likes e_i !
 - That movie, she claims (?that) e_i is liked by everyone !
- (18) Im Madagassischen liegt die Sache anders³:
- Ny akoho no *novonoin*’ny mpamboly tamin’ny antsy [vgl. (11b)]
Det chicken Foc Pst-TT.kill-Det farmer Pst-with-Det knife
“It’s the chicken that the farmer killed with the knife”
 - *Ny akoho no *namono* tamin’ny antsy ny mpamboly [vgl. (11a)]
Det chicken Foc Pst-AT.kill Pst-with-Det knife Det farmer
 - *Ny akoho no *namonoan*’ny mpamboly ny antsy [vgl. (11c)]
Det chicken Foc Pst-CT.kill-Det farmer Det knife
 - Ity antsy ity no *namonàan*’ny mpamboly akoho
that knife that Foc Pst.CT.kill-Det farmer chicken
“ It’s that knife that the farmer used to kill chickens”
 - *Ity antsy ity no *namono* akoho ny mpamboly vgl. (11a)
that knife that Foc Pst.AT.kill chicken the farmer

²Abgesehen vom Problem, dass viele Sprecher haben mit *that* + “subject trace”

³Pearson (2001), Ch.2 (36)

- (19) Das gleiche beim “long-distance” “Topic”, sgn. +WH-focus Fragen⁴:
- Mihèvitra Rakoto [fa namàngy ny dàdany ny mpiànatra]
AT.think Rakoto that Pst.AT.visit Det father-3 Det student
“Rakoto thinks that the student visited his father”
 - Mihevitra Rakoto [fa novangian’ny mpianatra ny dadany]
AT.think Rakoto that Pst.TT.visit-Det student Det father-3
“Rakoto thinks that the student visited his father”
 - Iza_i [no hevèrin-dRakoto [(fa) namangy e_i ny dadany (e_i?)]] ?
who Foc TT.think-Rakoto that Pst-AT.visit Det father-3
“Who does Rakoto think visited his father?”
 - * Iza_i [no hevèrin-dRakoto [(fa) novangian’ e_i ny dadany]] ?
who Foc TT.think-Rakoto that Pst-TT.visit Det father-3
“Who does Rakoto think visited his father?”
 - Iza_j [no heverin-dRakoto [(fa) novangian’ny mpianatra e_j (e_j?)]] ?
who Foc TT.think-Rakoto that TT.visit-Det student
“Whom does Rakoto think the student visited?”
 - * Iza_j [no heverin-dRakoto [(fa) novangian’ e_j ny mpianatra]] ?
who Foc TT.think-Rakoto that AT.visited Det student

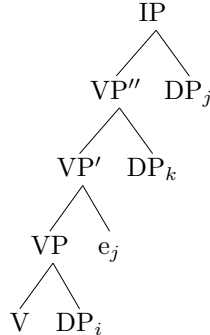
• Ein drittes empirisches Problem: Partikeln

- (20) Normalerweise kommen unbetonte Partikeln vor in der sgn. Wackernagel-Position (2. von Links); vgl. Warlpiri (oben), oder slavische Klitica (verbal or pronominal clitics)
- Dárek jsem ti přinesl
present am you brought [Czech]
“I brought you a present”
 - Petar je pažljivo gledao film
Peter is carefully watched film [Serbo-Kroat.]
“Peter carefully watched the film”
- (21) Im Madagassischen, kann z.B. *ve* = “yes/no question” auch in *vorletzter* Position vorkommen:
- Vonoin’ny mpamboly amin’ny antsy ve ny akoho?
TT.kill-Det farmer with-Det knife Q Det chicken
‘The chickens, is the farmer killing (them) with the knife?’
 - I Bakòly ve no manàpaka bòzaka?
Det Bakoly Q Foc AT.cut grass
‘Is it Bakoly who is cutting the grass?’

⁴Pearson, Ch.3, (71) & (76). **NB:** Malagasy is WH-in-situ for normal questions: z.B. *Namangy iza ny mpiànatra?* “Who did the student visit”

• Noch ein Problem: Binding (anaphora)

- (22) Previous analyses, e.g., Guilfoyle, Hung & Travis (1992), Sabel (2003):



- (23) Traditionelle C-command Definition (d.h., nicht die von Kayne 1994): A C-commands B iff the first branching node above A dominates B.
- (24) a. A'-movement "reconstructs" (e.g., WH-question):
 [Which pictures of himself]_i did Mary say that John liked *e_i* ?
 b. A-movement does not (e.g., raising to subject):
 i. [The ladies]_i seemed to [each other]_i [*e_i* to be annoying]
 ii. *It seemed to [each other]_i that [the ladies]_i were annoying
- (25) Novonòin'ny lehilàhy_i ny tènany_i
TT-kill-det man det self
 "The man killed himself" Vgl. "Himself was killed by the man"

• Fourth empirical problem: order of adverbs: Cinque (1999)

- (26) a. Cinque's order (allegedly universal):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 (speech act) > Generally > Neg > Already > Still > (at-all) > Anymore > Always
 9 10
 > Completely > Well

- b. Zum Beispiel

- i. Federer still always beats Nadal
 ii. *Federer always still beats Nadal

- c. Malagasy order:

? 2 3 4 5 (3) V 10
 Na(dia) > Matètika > Tsy > Efa > Mbòla > Tsy > (Verb) > Tsàra >
 Even > generally > Neg > Already > Still > Neg > Verb > Well >
 9 8 7 6 ? 1
 Tantèraka > Foàna > Intsony > Mihitsy > Àza > Ve
 Completely > Always > Anymore > At-all > though > Speech Act

- d. Zum Beispiel:

Tsy manasa tsara tanteraka foana intsony ny lamba mihitsy Rakoto
 not wash well completely always anymore the clothes at-all Rakoto
 "??Rakutu doesn't wash the clothes anymore always completely well"
 vgl. "Rakutu doesn't always wash the clothes completely well anymore" -CT

- Semester Reihenfolge: Phonologie, Morphologie, Syntax, Emphase auf Syntax
- Für Schein: Quiz, kurze Presentation (als vorbereitung für Hausarbeit) und Hausarbeit.
- Für nächste Woche: Erwin, Sean (1996) "Quantity and moras: an amicable separation" in *The Structure of Malagasy*, vol.1, Matthew Person & Ileana Paul, eds. UCLA

References:

- Cinque, Guglielmo (1999) *Adverbs and functional heads; a cross linguistic perspective* NY: Oxford U. Press
- Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. vol. 25: Linguistic Inquiry Monographs. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Pearson, Matt (2001) *The clause structure of Malagasy: a minimalist approach* Ph.D. diss. UCLA
- Ruhlen, Merritt. 1975. A Guide to the Languages of the World. Language Universals Project, Stanford University.
- Tomlin, Russell. 1986. Basic Word Order: Functional Principles. London: Croom Helm.

First readings: a.s.a.p <http://www.ling.uni-potsdam.de/~thiersch>

- Rasoloson, Janie & Rubino, Carl (2005) "Malagasy" §1 – 3.1, 5.1 (mit Vorsicht genießen!)
- Erwin, Sean (1996) "Quantity and moras" in Pearson & Paul *Structure of Malagasy* Vol.1

