

**ASSIDUE**

**Arbeitspapiere des Seminars für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Erfurt**

**Nr. 12**

**Person prominence and relation prominence**

**On the typology of syntactic relations  
with particular reference to Yucatec Maya**

Second revised edition

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January 2004

ISSN 1612-0612

**Erfurt**

**Seminar für Sprachwissenschaft  
der Universität**



**Impressum:**

Arbeitspapiere des Seminars für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Erfurt

Seminar für Sprachwissenschaft

Philosophische Fakultät

Universität

D - 99105 Erfurt

**Herausgeber:**

Prof. Dr. Christian Lehmann

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ISSN 1612-0612



## **PREFACE**

The present work is a revised version of an earlier working paper that has emerged in the project ‘Lexical and grammatical typology of Yucatec Maya’, funded since 1995 by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in its programme of selective measures on language typology. Since then the findings have been further developed in a second paper ‘Direkte und indirekte Partizipation’ that is published simultaneously with the present one.

The original observation that induced us to apply for the project and, finally, to write this work was the fact that Yucatec Maya, a native Indian language of Mexico, backgrounds persons in many syntactic constructions where well-known European languages like German and English put them in a syntactically prominent position. In the present book we investigate this outstanding trait of Yucatec Mayan syntax with regard to a sample of eight languages. The book is mainly addressed to typologists, descriptive linguists and mayanists, but may as well be of interest to philologists of the other languages.

Without the help of a great number of people this work could not have been accomplished. We would like to thank first of all the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for its financial support. Cordial thanks go as well to several people who commented on earlier versions of the book or helped and advised us with data from different languages, including Winifred Bauer, Jürgen Bohnemeyer, Volker Gast, Colette Grinevald, Nils Jahn, Gerd Jendraschek, Elena Kalinina, Elena Lenk, Ulrike Mosel, Eva Schultze-Berndt, Stavros Skopeteas, Jasmin Vishvanath, and Roberto Zavala. As a matter of course, all remaining errors and shortcomings are entirely of our own responsibility.

Last but not least, we especially thank our consultants for Yucatec Maya Sebastian Baas May, Amalia Ek Falcon, Ernestoh May Balam, Ramón May Cupul, Antonio May Ek, Norma May Pool, Justina Paat May, all from Yaxley, Quintana Roo and for Tamil Shanmugam Kanagarajahn from Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

Erfurt, May 2000

## **PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION**

A number of minor mistakes that made their way into the first edition have been corrected.

Erfurt, January 2004



## **ABSTRACT**

A set of universal hierarchies is assumed: a hierarchy of entities, one of semantic roles and one of syntactic functions. There are also universal principles that map semantic roles onto syntactic functions. To the extent that syntactic functions are grammaticalized, they manifest more than just semantic roles. At the same time they serve the organization of functional sentence perspective and they are sensitive to ‘animacy’, i.e. to the hierarchy of entities.

Languages differ in the extent to which the hierarchy of entities interacts with the mapping of semantic roles onto syntactic functions. Some languages, among them several SAE languages including German, lend much importance to animacy, tending to allow persons a high position in the hierarchy of syntactic functions even if their semantic role did not suggest such a mapping. Other languages, including Yucatec Maya, are relatively insensitive to animacy in this area and rather tend to manifest each semantic role in a constant syntactic way.

Two types of syntactic structures are postulated, one of person prominence, which is present in SAE languages, and one of relation prominence, which is present in Yucatec Maya. The diverse structural manifestations of the two types and their implications for the organization of grammar are explored within eight mostly unrelated languages: Maori, Korean, Tamil, Samoan, Lezgian, German, English, and Yucatec Maya. Their ways of grammatical construction in different functional areas are compared to each other to allow them to be given diverse positions on a continuum of person and relation prominence.





# CONTENTS

<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. Theoretical background.....</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1. The cognitive structure of a situation.....	5
2.1.1. Situation, situation core, and participants .....	5
2.1.2. Participant features.....	6
2.1.3. Participant roles .....	7
2.2. Syntactic functions.....	9
2.3. Correlation between syntactic functions and participant roles .....	12
<b>3. Prominence in typology .....</b>	<b>13</b>
3.1. Subject prominence vs. topic prominence .....	13
3.2. Reference domination vs. role domination .....	14
3.3. Person prominence vs. relation prominence .....	15
<b>4. Languages investigated.....</b>	<b>19</b>
4.1. Yucatec Maya .....	19
4.2. Samoan.....	19
4.3. Maori.....	20
4.4. Tamil .....	21
4.5. Lezgian.....	21
4.6. Korean.....	22
<b>5. Prominence in syntactic constructions .....</b>	<b>23</b>
5.1. Introduction.....	23
5.2. Higher predicates .....	23
5.2.1. Modal predicates .....	24
5.2.2. Phase predicates .....	38
5.2.3. Tense, aspect, and aktionsart auxiliaries.....	44
5.3. Possessive constructions .....	48
5.3.1. Part-whole relations .....	48
5.3.2. Ascription of possession .....	52
5.3.3. Predication of belonging.....	55
5.3.4. Ascription of property to body part.....	58
5.3.5. Affection of possessor .....	62
5.4. Mental, sensual, and emotional states and processes.....	67
5.4.1. Preliminaries .....	67
5.4.2. Sensual states and processes .....	68

5.4.3. Emotional states and processes .....	77
5.4.4. Mental states and processes .....	85
5.4.5. Conclusion .....	92
5.5. Benefactive .....	94
<b>6. Relation prominence in YM: a historical-comparative perspective .....</b>	<b>103</b>
6.1. Colonial Yucatec Maya.....	103
6.1.1. Preliminaries .....	103
6.1.2. Modal predicates .....	103
6.1.3. Phase predicates .....	105
6.1.4. Aspect auxiliaries.....	106
6.1.5. Conclusion .....	107
6.2. Cognate languages .....	108
6.2.1. Preliminaries .....	108
6.2.2. Higher predicates .....	108
6.2.3. Possessive constructions .....	117
6.2.4. Mental, sensual and emotional states and processes.....	120
6.2.5. Benefactive .....	127
6.2.6. Conclusion .....	130
<b>7. Typology .....</b>	<b>133</b>
7.1. Empirical generalizations.....	133
7.1.1. The domain of possession.....	136
7.1.2. Higher predicates .....	137
7.1.3. Participant roles .....	139
7.2. Grammatical correlations.....	140
7.3. Conclusion .....	141
<b>Indices.....</b>	<b>143</b>
Abbreviations.....	143
Morpheme glosses & syntactic categories .....	143
Languages .....	145
Sources of data.....	145
Bibliographical references .....	146

## LIST OF FIGURES

F1. <i>Participant features</i> .....	6
F2. <i>Participant roles</i> .....	8
F3. <i>Hierarchy of syntactic functions</i> .....	10
F4. <i>Continuum</i> <i>of person foregrounding and person backgrounding constructions</i> .....	18

## LIST OF TABLES

T1. <i>Modal categories</i> .....	25
T2. <i>Syntactic construction</i> <i>of obligative, possibility, and desiderative modal operators</i> .....	37
T3. <i>Syntactic construction of phase operators</i> .....	44
T4. <i>Syntactic status of possessor in peripheral body part-whole relations</i> .....	52
T5. <i>Syntactic status of possessor in an ascription of possession</i> .....	55
T6. <i>Syntactic status of possessor in a predication of belonging</i> .....	58
T7. <i>Syntactic status of possessor in an ascription of a property to a body part</i> .....	62
T8. <i>Syntactic status of affected possessor</i> .....	67
T9. <i>Syntactic status of experiencer in affective constructions</i> .....	92
T10. <i>Syntactic status of beneficiary</i> .....	100
T11. <i>Syntactic construction of modal operators in Mayan</i> .....	111
T12. <i>Syntactic construction of phase operators in Mayan</i> .....	116
T13. <i>Syntactic status of possessor in an ascription of possession in Mayan</i> .....	118
T14. <i>Syntactic status of possessor</i> <i>in peripheral (body) part-whole relations in Mayan</i> .....	119
T15. <i>Syntactic status of affected possessor in Mayan</i> .....	120
T16. <i>Syntactic structure in affective constructions in Mayan</i> .....	127
T17. <i>Syntactic status of beneficiary in Mayan</i> .....	129
T18. <i>Person vs. relation prominence in Mayan</i> .....	130
T19. <i>Person vs. relation prominence</i> .....	134
T20. <i>Syntactic construction of higher predicates</i> .....	138



# 1. Introduction

Languages may choose different strategies in coding and distributing information on different linguistic units and levels of syntactic representation. A situation consisting of an event and participants involved in it may be expressed in different ways as e.g. in E1 from German. The examples in E1 differ in their style level. E1.a represents the so-called nominal style which is predominantly used in bureaucratic communication. The verb *erfolgen*, possessing a relatively abstract meaning, is combined with a nomen actionis, which represents the main event. The main participant occupies the function of an attribute to the latter. E1.b would be the verbal variant of E1.a, the main event being conveyed by the verb. The participant is related to it in subject function.

- E1. a. Die Einäscherung der Leiche erfolgte nur wenige Tage später.  
GER 'The cremation of the corpse took place only a few days later'.  
b. Die Leiche wurde nur wenige Tage später eingeäschert.  
'The corpse was cremated only a few days later'.

In languages like Samoan, the strategy of E1.a does not have stilted overtones of the impersonal bureaucratic style, but is part of the everyday idioms of the language (cf. Mosel 1995). Again, as in the German case, in E2.a/b, a rather desensitized verb is used while the main event is rendered by the nominalization and the participants are represented in attribute position.

- E2. a. Ua alu le savali=ga a tamaiti.  
SAM PF go ART walk=NR POSS child  
'The children went for a walk.' (Mosel 1995:15)  
b. Na lagona le fiafia o le tama.  
PST feel ART happiness POSS ART boy  
'The boy was happy.' (ibid.)

The nominalization strategy emphasizes the event and, at the same time, backgrounds the participants, both syntactically and pragmatically. In Samoan, the participants do not even need to be expressed at all, but may be inferred from the context, as in E3.

- E3. Ua sau le fia 'ai.  
SAM PF come ART want eat  
'I / You / we are hungry.'  
lit.: 'The wanting to eat has come.' (ibid.)

In the verbal strategy of E1.b – on the contrary – the participant clearly takes a salient syntactic position. Being represented as the subject, it is an obligatory part of the sentence.

Fore- and backgrounding may take place with respect to all components of a situation and their syntactic representations, including the participatum, as has been shown above. In the present paper, we want to confine ourselves to the investigation of the syntactic representation of animate participants.

The following is a contribution to a typological characterization of Yucatec Maya (YM), the Mayan language spoken on the peninsula of Yucatan. We shall start from the observation that YM often uses person backgrounding constructions where Standard Average European (SAE) languages, following Benjamin L. Whorf's term, prefer person foregrounding constructions. We shall show that this is a pervasive trait of YM syntax which forms a cluster with other properties of its grammar. When languages are arranged on a continuum according to their preference of person foregrounding or person backgrounding constructions, YM occupies the latter pole. Languages such as English and German, on the contrary, occupy the opposite pole.

In Chapter 2, we outline the semantic and syntactic principles, upon which the present study is based. We postulate a hierarchical structure of participant features, semantic roles, and syntactic functions along the lines of earlier works of, among others, Croft 1990, Lehmann 1984 [P], 1991, Dik 1980, Keenan & Comrie 1977. In Chapter 3, earlier approaches to prominence in typology, namely the typology of subject vs. topic prominence and the typology of reference vs. role domination, are shortly reviewed. On the basis of the assumptions presented in Chapter 2, a typology of person vs. relation prominence is outlined. Chapter 4 gives a short characterization of the investigated languages.

Chapter 5 covers the empirical investigation. Eight mostly unrelated languages, Maori, Korean, Tamil, Samoan, Lezgian, German, English, and Yucatec Maya, are examined with respect to their organization of syntax in four main grammatical areas. These will be higher predicate constructions, possessive constructions, the domain of sensual, mental, and emotional states and processes, and benefactive constructions. The line of discussion follows the order from outer to inner propositional relations, dealing, first, with the syntactic relations in constructions with higher predicates, second, with actant relations in possessive and affective constructions and third, with the benefactive as a circumstant relation.

In Chapter 6, we shall discuss the constructions in some of the grammatical areas given above for an earlier language stage of YM, namely Colonial YM, and for two cognate languages, Jacaltec, a member of the Kanjobalan family, and Tzotzil, a member of the Tzeltalan family, in order to analyse the present relation prominent traits of YM within the light of historical and comparative data. Chapter 7 summarizes the findings and presents a general typological outlook.





## 2. Theoretical background

### 2.1. The cognitive structure of a situation

#### 2.1.1. Situation, situation core, and participants

A **situation** is a cognitive representation. Those components of a situation that are conceptualized as entities are called **participants**. A participant can be in a stative or dynamic relation to one or more participants. These relations cross-cut at an immaterial centre, i.e. the centre of the situation. It is called **situation core**. Thus, we have to distinguish the properties of the participants from those of the situation core.

Modal, aspectual, and temporal (TAM) information concerns the situation as a whole. It deals with the conception, design, and structure of the situation with respect to parameters of time and attitude in a broader sense. Therefore, it is conceived of as distinct from the situation. From a logical point of view it can be represented as a two-place relator that relates the deictic centre in its personal, local, and temporal identity to the situation. On a linguistic level, however, the first argument, i.e. the deictic centre, often remains implicit and the operator is syntactically represented as a one-place predicate. This view of understanding the TAM-information as distinct from the situation is connected to the placement of the speaker in the deictic centre. However, the speaker may pass on this role to one of the participants. Then the TAM-information becomes part of the situation. This is a precondition for its syntactic integration into the proposition.<sup>1</sup>

The situation core is the reification of the relation(s) among the participants. Such relations are immaterial and can be more or less specific. Abstract relations among participants such as class inclusion, identification or belonging may not be represented by their own linguistic sign. They can be inferred from the context. However, the more specific a relation among participants is, the more an explicit linguistic expression is needed. Therefore, the situation core is commonly represented by its own linguistic sign, the **predicate**. In a language, the predicate is generally formed by a verb. A verb, however, does not represent the core of a specific situation in the universe of discourse but a type of situation core. The verb solely expresses part of the numerous relations that exist among participants on a cognitive level.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lehmann 1990 for further details.

On a linguistic level, participants are commonly represented by noun phrases. This is an iconic reflection of their status as entities. By virtue of representing the situation core with its own linguistic sign, the predicate, relations emerge between the participants and the predicate. This kind of relation will be called **participant role**. The participants' properties, independent of their relation to the predicate or other participants, will be called **participant features**. Both, participant roles and participant features, will be explained in more detail in the following chapters (cf. Lehmann 1991 and 1993[P]).

### 2.1.2. Participant features

A participant possesses some properties such as [human], [animate], [individuated] etc. that are independent of his role in a situation. These are arranged in a hierarchy that reflects the degree of empathy the speaker feels for the entities on the different levels. This hierarchy, otherwise called *animacy hierarchy* (cf. Comrie 1981, Ch. 9) or *empathy hierarchy* (cf. Kuno 1987), is represented in F1.

F1. *Participant features*

SAP		Non-SAP		human		non-human		ani- mate		in- animate		individual ob- ject		substance		object		location		entity		proposition	

The main division is between propositional and non-propositional participants (entities). In the latter case, the participant may be a place or an object. An object may be individuated or a substance. An individual object may be an inanimate thing or an animate being. The latter may be an animal or a human being. Finally, we distinguish between speech-act-participants such as first and second person and non-speech-act-participants. The further up a participant is located in F1, the more empathic the

speaker is with him. For reasons of simplicity, we are going to use the converse of this term by speaking of empathic and anempathic participants.

Participant features of predicates do not simply replicate semantic classes of referential expressions; selection restrictions of verbs do not replicate noun classes. What is of relevance for a predicate is not, strictly speaking, an absolute property of a participant, but rather a certain qualitatively different kind of involvement that the participant is capable of. As a predicate feature, the feature [human] has the interpretation ‘requiring intellectual power of the participant’. The feature [animate] has the interpretation ‘requiring life-force (thus, an autonomous source of energy granting the possibility of independent motion and/or of exerting force) of the participant’. Typically, participants linked to predicates with these features will be human and animate, resp. But any thinking entity, like a computer or an agency, or any entity exercising force, like wind, will be an acceptable participant of predicates with the respective features. Similarly, the participant feature [place] allows for any participant that can function as a place, and the feature [object] for anything that can be treated as a thing, including animate beings. Here, proposition is defined as an abstract object that may be represented by a possibly reduced clause. The ontological status of the proposition will not be considered; ‘begin’ and ‘say’ will both be assumed to have taken a propositional participant.<sup>2</sup>

In a variety of functional and structural contexts in the languages of the world, entities further up in this hierarchy are given prominence over entities further down. In particular and *ceteris paribus*, more empathic entities tend to occupy higher syntactic functions according to F3 than less empathic entities.

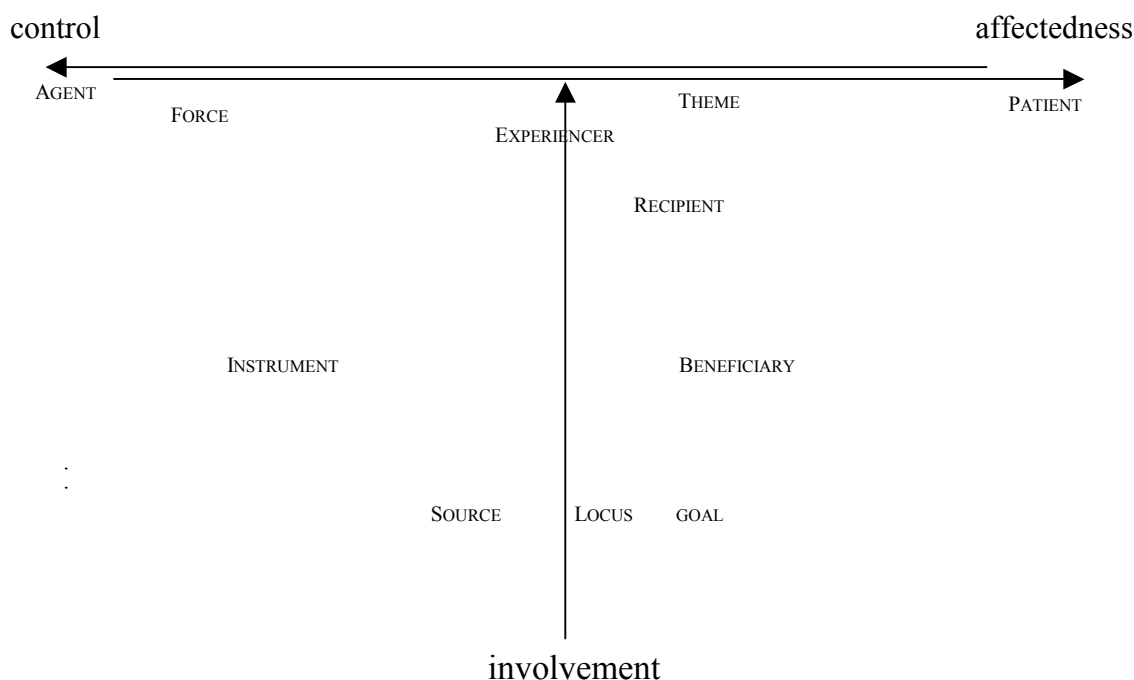
### 2.1.3. Participant roles

The role of a participant vis-à-vis the predicate can be described as the degree of his **involvement** in the situation on the one hand and as his ability to **control** the situation or the fact of **being controlled** by the situation on the other hand. Involvement and control / affectedness are conceived of as gradient parameters. The assignment of different values on both leads to more specific participant roles, as represented in F2.

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<sup>2</sup> It should be clear that this is an oversimplification. For a multi-layered model distinguishing among speech act, propositional content, and state of affairs, see Hengeveld 1992, Ch. 1.5.

## F2. Participant roles



The notion of involvement relates to the degree of centrality vs. marginality of the participant to the situation. It is primarily assessed with reference to the degree of involvement of other participants in the same situation which may be stronger or looser. Central participants obligatorily take part in the situation. This holds e.g. for the agent and the patient in dynamic transitive situations as well as for the experiencer in experiential situations and the recipient in situations of transfer. Compared to them, participants in other roles like beneficiary and instrument or the local roles are marginal. They can be added to many situations and presuppose the existence of other participants. E.g. the beneficiary generally presupposes an actor and an undergoer.<sup>3</sup> Hence, the involvement of participants depends not only on their obligatoriness in the situation but also on the number and obligatoriness of other participants in the situation.

On a structural level, strong involvement of participants correlates with the valency dependence of the corresponding verbal dependents. Central participants are represented by complements, peripheral participants by adjuncts. Languages lexicalize types of situation cores by incorporating into them the properties and relations of the most central participants. The presence or nature of peripheral participants, on the other hand, is not conceived of as having an affect on the identity of a situation core.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 5.5 for further details concerning benefactive situations.

Control and affectedness are represented on the horizontal dimension in F2. They are equally gradient properties that are opposed to each other, and each of them increases with the centrality of a participant. A participant has control over a situation if he is responsible for it. This implies that it is within his power to initiate the situation, to let it realize, and to stop it. It presupposes that he is involved in the situation at least to some degree, although mediated control is possible. Affectedness is the degree to which a participant is subject to the situation. This means that the situation happens to him; the participant is disposed or even acted upon in the situation. The controlling roles are represented on the left side of the diagram in F2 and the affected roles are situated on the right side.

Specific participant roles are only shaped in the peripheral area of F2. In the centre of a situation the identity of participant roles becomes indistinct. The participants are only divided with regard to control i.e. whether they mainly control the situation or whether they are controlled by it. Hence, they are merely categorized as actor or undergoer (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1984).

Participant roles are not exhaustively defined by their relational functions vis-à-vis the predicate. They are conceived of as a bundle of diverse features relating also to the absolute properties of a participant as represented in F1. Thus it holds that the more empathic a participant the more different participant roles are open to him. Empathic participants may take almost all roles in F2. Besides the roles that can exclusively be accessed by animate participants such as agent, experiencer, recipient, and beneficiary, they can function as locations, patients or themes. On the contrary, the most anempathic participant, the proposition, is always the theme.

F2 arranges in a two-dimensional space what others have formulated as a hierarchy. For instance, Dik (1980:14) proposes the following hierarchy of semantic roles: Agent > Patient > Recipient > Beneficiary > Instrument > Locative > Temporal. A one-dimensional projection of F2 is, in any case, required if it is to be correlated with F3 below.

## **2.2. Syntactic functions**

Let us assume a hierarchy of syntactic functions (or grammatical relations). There are various criteria which are generally used to formulate the hierarchical order of syntactic functions, e.g. the accessibility of the nucleus of a relative clause to them (cf. Lehmann 1984[R], Ch. IV.3.1.1. and Keenan & Comrie 1977), their markedness with

regard to case marking (cf. Lehmann 1983, §4. and Croft 1990, Ch. 5.3.2.), and their dependency on the valency of verbs.

According to the accessibility hierarchy of syntactic functions, adverbial functions are more easily accessible to the nucleus of a relative clause than adnominal ones. Within adverbial functions, complements are more easily relativized than adjuncts, direct complements are more easily relativized than the indirect ones, and the same is true for subjects with regard to direct objects. This means that, in a given language, if adjuncts can be relativized, (in)direct complements can be relativized, too. But if the former can not be relativized, the relativization of the latter is also excluded in the language, and so on. Consequently, a subject may be the only syntactic function which can be fulfilled by the nucleus of a relative clause in any language. Regarding adnominal functions, there may be an internal hierarchy in the order of genitive attribute, *secundum comparationis*, and prepositional attribute. Finally, syntactic functions in embedded clauses are hierarchically further down than syntactic functions in the matrix clause. F3 illustrates this hierarchical order of syntactic functions. The left-hand functions range higher than the right-hand functions, and the hierarchy works iconically from top to bottom.

### F3. *Hierarchy of syntactic functions*

subject	object			
direct complement	indirect complement			
complement		adjunct		
			adverbial function	adnominal function
syntactic function in matrix clause			syntactic function in embedded clause	

The hierarchical order of the syntactic functions in F3 is supported by the dependency of the syntactic functions on the valency of verbs. Rules of the following sort are of relevance here (cf. Pinkster 1988): any participant will receive subject function if it is the only argument of the verb. A bivalent verb takes two obligative participants. If it is transitive, one participant will receive subject function and the other object function. If

the verb is intransitive, the arguments are generally coded as subject and prepositional object. The ranking of the second argument with bivalent transitive and intransitive verbs may be deduced from the argument structure of transitive verbs that code prepositional objects as adjuncts outside their valency frame. In the case of trivalent verbs, in addition to these, the third participant receives the function of an indirect complement. Thus we receive the ranking of the adverbial functions as indicated in F3.

According to the criteria of structural markedness concerning case marking and verb agreement, the cases can be arranged in line with Lehmann 1983, §4. There is a correlation between the morphological markedness and the grammatical function of an argument in the following way: in general, arguments that are morphologically more marked are lower on the hierarchy in F3 and vice versa. This criterion correlates in an inverse way with the potential of an argument to trigger verb agreement. Arguments that are able to trigger verb agreement are generally higher in F3 than those that are not. Thus, in a grammatical relation, an argument which can trigger verb agreement is less marked than the one which cannot (cf. Lehmann 1983:370, Croft 1990:105). In most SAE languages the subject is typically less marked than the direct object and in languages which display the ergative/absolutive distinction, the absolutive is less marked than the ergative. Less marked (or zero-marked) maximal grammatical cases (nominative / absolutive) are depicted on the top of the hierarchy and more concrete cases (e.g. locative cases) are arranged further down the hierarchy.<sup>4</sup> In languages that are syntactically ergative, the absolutive generally represents the highest syntactic function, while those that are only morphologically ergative display a split in the coding of the syntactic pivot, being absolutive with intransitive verbs and ergative with transitive ones.

Following Keenan 1976, the notion of subject is a ‘multi-factor concept’ summarizing diverse properties, among them coding properties such as uniform case marking, subject-verb agreement, and word order or behavioral properties in valency changing operations or coreferential constructions such as subject deletion in subordinated clauses. Hence, the subject position in F3 could be further divided into different degrees of subjecthood. On such a scale the Lezgian dative subjects would occupy a lower position in F3 than ergative or absolutive arguments, for their subject status is restricted to affective constructions.

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<sup>4</sup> For other structural-markedness criteria relevant to the grammatical relations hierarchy cf. Croft 1990, Ch. 5.3.2. & 1995, §5.

F3 is a one-dimensional representation of the hierarchical ordering of different syntactic functions within a possibly complex sentence. Such a representation obscures the actual existence of several sublevels of a hierarchical order within one sentence, e.g. concerning the relative ranking of adnominal functions to different nominals within one clause. This makes clear that F3 covers in fact a multi-dimensional structure.

### **2.3. Correlation between syntactic functions and participant roles**

We may further assume a universal association of participant roles in F2 with syntactic functions in F3. In general and *ceteris paribus*, participant roles which are further up in F2 have priority access to higher positions in F3 over participant roles further down in F2. There may be formulated rules of the following kind (cf. Fillmore 1968, Dik 1978, Dixon 1989): a single participant role of an intransitive situation is always mapped onto subject function, that may be an agent, a theme, or an experiencer, etc. according to the semantic type of the situation core. In a transitive situation, at least two participant roles are required. In this case, if no other factors intervene, e.g. productive grammatical processes, one will be mapped onto subject function, e.g. the agent of an action, and the other onto object function, e.g. the patient or the theme.<sup>5</sup> Optional participant roles like instrument, location, source, goal will receive an oblique syntactic function. If there is a situation with three participants, namely agent, patient, and recipient/benefactive, these may be coded respectively as subject, direct object, and indirect object.

However, these general correlation rules are only applicable to prototypical cases. Other factors such as participant features may intervene to alter a straightforward reproduction of participant roles to syntactic functions. The role of the participant's empathy within the assignment of syntactic functions is investigated below.

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<sup>5</sup> In syntactically ergative languages the distribution of the semantic functions would be reverse.



### **3. Prominence in typology**

A number of approaches dealing with the typology of semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic functions should be mentioned here. They are known as various kinds of prominence typologies as they are concerned with the predominance of either semantic or pragmatic principles in syntactic structure.

The two most widely known approaches in this area, the typology of subject vs. topic prominence first developed by Li and Thompson (1976) and the typology of reference vs. role domination (Van Valin 1980, Foley & Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1993), are shortly reviewed in the following chapters.<sup>6</sup>

#### **3.1. Subject prominence vs. topic prominence**

The typological distinction between subject prominence and topic prominence affects the organization of the basic sentential structure of a language. Languages may differ in their strategies of sentence construction to the point that the basic grammatical relation may be, on the one hand, that of subject-predicate or that of topic-comment, on the other hand. If pragmatic properties, in particular topic properties, are syntacticized in the form of a syntactic function, the language is subject-prominent; otherwise it is topic-prominent.

Subject-prominent languages have a functionally quite vague subject which is a part of verbal valency. The topic, on the contrary, is not necessarily a part of verbal valency and freely eligible from a syntactic point of view. Consequently, the subject relation is much more constrained by grammatical rules than the purely pragmatic relation of the topic. This is in line with one important distinguishing characteristic of subject vs. topic-prominent languages. Subject-prominent languages normally have a passive operation to allow a participant, different to the 'normal' verb-determined one, to appear in subject position. In topic-prominent languages, however, passivization does not occur or is just a marginal phenomenon. This can be explained by the more significant role of the topic in the structure of a simple declarative sentence in such languages. As the topic can be chosen freely, there is no need for a special operation to allow for certain participants to occur in a pragmatically salient position.

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<sup>6</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of both typologies cf. Sasse 1995.

The typology of subject vs. topic-prominence is conceived as a continuum, with languages like English or Indonesian at the subject-prominent pole and languages like Lisu or Chinese at the topic-prominent pole. There are two kinds of intermediate positions between the poles which accommodate languages with neither subject nor topic-prominence (e.g. Philippine languages) and languages with both subject- and topic-prominence (Korean, Japanese).

Sasse 1982 argues for subject prominence in languages such as English and German. For English, in particular, Hawkins 1986 shows that the subject function has a much wider range of uses than in other languages (including, especially, German). The tendency to represent arguments in subject function regardless of their semantic role certainly interacts with the person foregrounding tendency to be investigated below.

### **3.2. Reference domination vs. role domination**

The typology of reference vs. role domination revolves around the notion of pivot, introduced in Foley & Van Valin 1984, Ch. 4.1, as, essentially, the NP function in a clause which is crucial to syntactic processes such as raising, participial relativization, and interclausal ellipsis.

The pivot may be determined by discourse properties, such as givenness, definiteness, salience etc., in which case it is a pragmatic pivot. Languages with a pragmatic pivot, like English and Dyrbal, are called reference-dominated. The unmarked choice for the pragmatic pivot in accusative languages is the agent of transitive verbs and the subject of intransitive verbs. In ergative languages it is the patient of transitive verbs and the subject of intransitive verbs. To allow for the promotion of patients in accusative languages and the promotion of agents in ergative languages, passive and antipassive constructions are a fundamental characteristic of reference-dominated languages.

The pivot in role-dominated languages, on the contrary, is determined by semantic role properties. Thus, with a given predicate and its associated arguments, the pivot selection is completely predetermined. The semantic pivot is a generalization from the notion of actor, which, due to its controlling and initiating properties, is the most natural choice for the central participant in an event. Languages like Choctaw and Archi exhibit such a role-dominated syntactic structure. The pivot is chosen according to a hierarchy of semantic roles, e.g. Actor < Undergoer < Dative (Foley & Van Valin 1984:116 for Choctaw). For this reason, role-dominated languages do not have nor need a syntactic voice opposition. Furthermore, there are also role-dominated languages like, e.g., Eastern Pomo, which do not have a separate syntactic pivot at all.

Their syntax is exclusively sensitive to semantic roles like actor and undergoer. Thus, there is a strict correlation between syntactic status and semantic role function in role-dominated languages.

Again, these two types of domination do not constitute a simple binary opposition. Some languages, e.g. Tagalog, have both types of pivots, where some syntactic rules are sensitive to a semantic pivot, while others involve a pragmatic pivot. The distinction between pragmatic pivot and semantic pivot forms a continuum with these two functions as poles.

According to this typology, English and German are clearly reference-dominated. YM, too, conflates in the valency of its transitive verbs many distinct semantic roles, just like the typical reference-dominated languages do. Therefore, the principles of the typological differences between English and German on the one hand and Yucatec Maya on the other hand must be investigated with respect to another framework.

### 3.3. Person prominence vs. relation prominence

Similarly to the above-mentioned approaches, a typology of person vs. relation prominence is also based on the assumption that both pragmatic and semantic functions can be crucial to the organization of syntactic structure in language. However, the focus is neither on the basic syntactic structure as in the typology of subject and topic prominence nor on the identification of the outstanding syntactic function as in the typology of reference and role domination. A typology of person prominence vs. relation prominence focuses on the role of animacy in the assignment of syntactic functions to the participants of a situation. We will illustrate this idea with modal operator constructions.

There is both intra-linguistic and cross-linguistic variation in the construction of modal operators. E4.a-c. combine the operator of obligative modality with the proposition ‘I go’.

- |     |    |                 |        |                |      |
|-----|----|-----------------|--------|----------------|------|
| E4. | a. | me              | ire    | oportet.       |      |
| LAT |    | me              | go:INF | be.proper:3.SG |      |
|     | b. | mihi            | ire    | opus           | est. |
|     |    | me              | go:INF | necessary      | is   |
|     | c. | mihi            | eundum | est.           |      |
|     |    | me              | go:GER | is             |      |
|     |    | ‘I have to go.’ |        |                |      |

The three Latin constructions in E4 make the proposition depend on the operator in various syntactic ways. These have in common, however, that the pivot argument of that proposition gets into a syntactically oblique function. The English version of E4, however, promotes the pivot into main subject position, so that it becomes the subject of the modal verb.<sup>7</sup> Note that this particular process does not express the conceptual relational properties of the modal operator, but, on the contrary, obliterates them.

In the example at hand, the promoted argument is a person. Although this is not required for the promotion in English, it gives the subject position to an element which is higher on the hierarchy of F1 than the proposition. Traditionally, the English construction has been called **personal**, the Latin construction **impersonal**.<sup>8</sup> We therefore call the strategy behind the English construction by the cover-term **person foregrounding**. The Latin strategy, which does not care to give the pivot of the embedded clause preferential syntactic treatment, will be called **person backgrounding**.

In a variety of syntactic constructions, a difference between German and YM asserts itself. First, assume a German and a YM construction that are functionally equivalent. Second, assume that the construction contains expressions designating entities at different positions in F1. Third, assume the possibility of variation in this functional context in the sense that the relevant expressions could be given diverse positions on F3. Then German consistently gives more syntactic prominence to the constituent with features further up in F1, while YM strictly sticks to the lexically determined association of semantic roles with syntactic functions, regardless of participant properties.<sup>9</sup> The first type of syntactic structure, present in SAE languages, will be called **person prominence**. The second type, present in YM, will be called **relation prominence**. We shall see that these two types represent the poles of a continuum on which other languages may be located with regard to their syntactic structure.

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<sup>7</sup> The term promotion (and its antonym demotion) is used here to describe an operation between paradigmatically related constructions (cf. Matthews 1981, Ch. 12). Given a construction C with a participant P in a syntactic function F, then the promotion of P is the transformation of C into C' where P has a syntactic function which is higher on the hierarchy of syntactic functions than F.

<sup>8</sup> Traditionally the term 'impersonal' is used for verbs and the respective constructions the subject of which is third person without referential meaning (cf. Abraham 1988:938). We are going to apply it also for any predicate resp. construction that takes a propositional participant in subject function. Within the realm of the present study there is always a further empathic participant that is coded in an oblique syntactic function. This distinction will be especially relevant for any kind of higher predicate construction (modal, phase, temporal etc.).

<sup>9</sup> This is shown in detail with respect to diverse predicate classes in Lehmann 1996. YM grammaticalizes semantic relations in grammatical and often even in morphological structure.

For the purpose of cross-linguistic comparison, the notions of person foregrounding and person backgrounding have to be expanded with respect to the two hierarchies in F1 and F3. First, a person foregrounding construction is one with the empathic participant in a high syntactic function in F3 compared to all other possible syntactic functions that it may take. A person backgrounding construction, on the contrary, is one in which the empathic participant is not assigned preferential syntactic treatment with respect to all other possible realizations. Thus, the notion of person foregrounding and person backgrounding may be conceived of as a gradient concept, depending on the position of the empathic participant in F3.

Furthermore, person foregrounding and person backgrounding have to be understood as relational concepts, depending on the relative positioning of the participants of a situation in F3. A construction may be called **person foregrounding** if a participant further up in F1 occupies a position further up in F3 in comparison with another participant further down in F1. This is the case for the English version of E4, where the empathic participant is promoted to main subject function while the proposition appears as direct object to the bivalent modal operator. And vice versa, a construction may be called **person backgrounding** if a participant further up in F1 takes a position further down in F3 than another participant further down in F1. This is the case in the Latin examples in E4, where the empathic participant occurs in an oblique syntactic function, being realized as a direct object in E4.a and as an indirect object in E4.b/c, while the modalized proposition takes subject function.

In such a way, we may define the status of the person fore- or backgrounding of a construction as a continuum with the respective poles as in F4.

## F4. Continuum of person foregrounding and person backgrounding constructions

less empathic participant / more empathic participant	subject	direct object	indirect object	other verbal dependent	attribute	in embedded clause			
subject		person foregrounding constructions							
direct object									
indirect object									
other verbal dependent									
attribute	person backgrounding								
in embedded clause	constructions								

Different functionally equivalent constructions may be assigned a position on the above continuum with respect to each other. A construction with the empathic participant in indirect object function may be called less person backgrounding than a construction where he occupies some syntactic function in the embedded clause. For an example, compare E10.a and b from Lezgian. Similarly, a dative subject must be regarded as having less subject properties and thus, as being further down in F3 than other subjects (cf. E32.b from Lezgian).

If there is only one participant, his syntactic function has to be evaluated with respect to the other possible allocations in F3 that have not been chosen. Thus, the German construction *mich hungert* 'I am hungry' is less person foregrounding than the construction *ich habe Hunger* id., because in the former example, the empathic participant appears in the accusative case while in the latter example it takes subject function.

## **4. Languages investigated**

The investigation penetrates details of syntactic constructions that are well-described for only a few languages. Therefore we solely chose a few mostly unrelated and typologically different languages that are quite well described in the relevant grammatical areas. Wherever grammatical descriptions were insufficient we worked with informants or asked specialists for additional data. This chapter briefly presents some general typological information relevant to the following investigation for 6 of the 8 languages, leaving out German and English as they are regarded to be generally well-known.

### **4.1. Yucatec Maya**

Yucatec Maya (henceforth YM) is the Mayan language of the Yucatan peninsula at the southeast of Mexico and the neighbouring areas of Belize and Guatemala. Spoken by about 500.000 people it is the biggest indigenous language of Mexico. The language is only rarely used for written communication and is more and more influenced by its superstratum Spanish. Nominal morphology is quite simple. There is no case. The grammar of possession is well developed, displaying morphological and syntactic distinctions between various classes of alienable and inalienable nouns. Tense and aspect are coded by an (preverbal) auxiliary. The syntactic structure is concentric, i.e. the head – verb, possessed noun, preposition – is marked for the dependent by cross-reference indices. Word order is right-branching. While verbal agreement works partly according to the ergative system, the clause structure is accusative and there is a regular passive operation. Subject and direct object are both cross-referenced on the verb. Verbal concepts are mainly encoded in mono- and bivalent verbs. YM has only a few trivalent verbs which take an obligatory indirect object. The latter is marked by a multi-functional grammatical preposition with general local meaning. Our data is taken from the literature as well as from own fieldwork in Yaxley, Quintana Roo, Mexico.

### **4.2. Samoan**

Samoan belongs to the Samoic-Outlier subgroup of the nuclear branch of the Polynesian language family. It is mainly used in Western Samoa by about 160.000 people for oral and written communication. While Samoan morphology is ergative, the syntactic organization does not identify a clearcut pivot. The ergative (A) and the absolutive (O,

S) arguments are treated alike in most syntactic processes. The cases, apart from the unmarked absolutive, are marked by prepositions. The verb only carries number agreement for the absolutive argument (referring to S and O). Other verbal categories such as tense, aspect, and mood are marked by preverbal particles. Samoan has three different verb classes, called ergative, non-ergative, and labile. The latter may occur with both valency-frames, but if they are construed as non-ergative verbs, the semantic function of the absolutive argument, i.e. if it is actor or undergoer, can only be determined by the context. There is no passive or antipassive voice. In nominal possessive constructions the possessor is marked by one of two prepositions, *a* referring generally to controlled possession and *o* referring to naturally or socially given possessive relationships. This distinction comes close to the difference between alienable and inalienable possession. Samoan is predominantly right-branching, the head preceding the dependent in general. The Samoan data in this paper is taken from Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992 and placed at our disposal by Prof. Ulrike Mosel, University of Kiel.

### 4.3. Maori

Maori belongs to the Eastern branch of the Polynesian language family. It is spoken by about 50.000 to 70.000 indigenous people in New Zealand. Most or all speakers are bilingual in English. Maori is syntactically an accusative language with a rather clear subject function. All arguments, apart from the subject are marked by prepositions. However, many prepositions are multi-functional, so that there is no one-to-one correspondence between preposition and syntactic (or semantic) function. In general, direct objects may be marked by the prepositions *i* or *ti*, indirect objects are either marked with *ki* or with *moo/maa*. There is a passive voice, and both direct and indirect object can be promoted to subject function in a passive sentence. In Maori, there is no subject-verb-agreement. Tense, aspect, and mood are marked by a set of particles that generally precede the verb; some are discontinuous, the second part following the verb. Possessive relationships are distinctively marked according to different parameters such as temporary vs. permanent possession, present vs. past possession or actual vs. intended possession. However, the distinction between alienable vs. inalienable possession is not reflected in the grammar. The possessor agrees with the possessum in number (but only the singular being marked). The word order is VSO. In general, the head precedes the dependent. Our data and analyses are taken from Bauer 1993 and placed additionally at our disposal by the same author.



#### 4.4. Tamil

Tamil is a Dravidian language with about 45 Million speakers. It is spoken in South India and Sri Lanka. Since ancient times, there is a very rich literature and a constant mutual influence with Indo-Arian languages. Tamil has a rich case system, marking not only grammatical relations such as subject, direct and indirect object, but also a number of peripheral roles such as beneficiary, instrumental, comitative, and diverse local functions. Nominal possession is marked by one of three genitive suffixes or by juxtaposition of possessor and possessum. The verb inflects for the usual categories including person and number of the subject. In the third person plural the verbal gender inflection distinguishes between the categories human vs. non-human, and additionally in the third person singular between masculine and feminine. However, in the nominal constructions there is no such agreement. Tense and aspect are marked by verbal suffixes. The system of fundamental relations is accusative and word order is left-branching. The language has a passive voice, which can be characterized as being mainly patient foregrounding. Our data is taken from Asher 1982, Lenk 1990 and additionally gathered through consultant work with Shanmugam Kanagarajahn (SK) from Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

#### 4.5. Lezgian

Lezgian is a member of the Lezgian branch of the North-East-Caucasian (Daghestanian) group of languages. It is spoken by about 400.000 people in Southern Daghestan and Northern Azerbaijan in the Eastern Caucasus. Lezgian morphology is mainly agglutinating and suffixing. There is a rich case system consisting of 18 cases, most of which are locative (in origin). Alienable and inalienable possession is marked by the genitive case on the preposed possessor noun or pronoun. The Lezgian verb is inflected for several categories such as tense-aspect, negation, several mood forms, and various non-finite forms, but not for person and number (of the subject). The syntax is mainly left-branching (head-final). Being morphologically ergative, Lezgian may be characterized as a role-dominated language for it shows a tendency toward a closer correspondence between semantic roles and case-marking: agents always appear in the ergative case, themes are always in the absolutive, recipients and experiencers are always dative-marked, patients are always in one of the local cases. There is no passive voice and the subject status is rather weak. The subject function can be taken by ergative arguments of transitive verbs, absolutive arguments of intransitive verbs, and dative arguments in

so-called affective constructions.<sup>10</sup> Our data and analyses are taken from Haspelmath 1993. Furthermore, Elena Kalinina, University of Moscow, helped and advised us with additional material and analyses.

#### **4.6. Korean**

The genetic affiliation of Korean, spoken by about 70 Million speakers in North- and South-Korea, is not very clear. Traditionally a relationship with the ural-altaic languages is claimed. Korean morphology is agglutinating. The verb inflects for the usual categories, apart from person. The linguistic indication of honorification plays an important role in the language. Honorificity of participants of the situation as well as of speech act participants is marked on the verb. Nominal possessive constructions are construed by genitive marking of the preposed possessor noun. The structural distinction between inherent and established possession is not very clear. The system of fundamental relations is accusative and the word order in general left-branching. The noun is case-marked, however the nominative is divided into topic and focus. The data is from one of the authors of this work.

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<sup>10</sup> The notion of subject is in Lezgian not as straightforward as in subject-prominent languages such as English or German. Some of the subject properties (Keenan 1976) such as uniform case-marking and subject-verb agreement are not fulfilled in Lezgian. However, subject deletion in subordinated clauses and the imperative test single out the mentioned arguments as subjects (cf. Haspelmath 1993:294ff).

## 5. Prominence in syntactic constructions

### 5.1. Introduction

In the present section, the languages of the sample are investigated with respect to their organization of syntax in four main grammatical areas. These correspond to situations that are characterized by the presence of an empathic participant. The situations investigated are further characterized by non-distinctive control relations: the empathic participant is neither clearly controlled by the situation, nor does he himself clearly control it. This holds for the semantic roles that are located around the vertical axis in F2, i.e. experiencer and beneficiary.

A possessive relationship is also not an instance of a typical transitive relation with a clear control incline. However, the possessor as being prototypically animate is said to have *potential* control over the possessum. This feature may give rise to its prominent syntactic coding, as will be shown below.

Modal, aspectual, and temporal information qualifies the situation as a whole. Hence, it constitutes a relation between a situation-external entity, i.e. the deictic centre and the situation itself. For different reasons (which are to be explained below) the TAM-operator may be integrated into the proposition, representing the situation, and the empathic participant may get into a direct relation to it. As a predicate, the TAM-operator may then attribute control properties to the empathic participant which differ in their degree corresponding to the semantics of the respective operator.

The present chapter will deal with the syntactic coding of the empathic participant in higher predicate constructions, in possessive constructions, in the domain of sensual, mental, and emotional states and processes, and in benefactive constructions. The line of discussion follows the order from outer to inner propositional relations, dealing first, with the syntactic relations in constructions with higher predicates, second, with actant relations in possessive and affective constructions and third, with the benefactive as a circumstant relation. In the mentioned configurations inter- and inner-language variation in the structural expression is expected.

### 5.2. Higher predicates

Higher predicates are operators over a proposition. In general, they concern the temporal, aspectual, and modal structure of a situation. In Ch. 5.2.1 and Ch. 5.2.2, we are dealing with less grammaticalized modal and phase predicates. In Ch. 5.2.3, more

grammaticalized temporal and aspectual auxiliaries of YM are contrasted with temporal, aspectual, and aktionsart auxiliaries of various SAE languages.

## 5.2.1. Modal predicates

### 5.2.1.1. Preliminaries

Modality is primarily conceived of as a relation between the deictic centre and the situation as a whole. In general, the deictic centre is being occupied by the speaker, but he may freely pass it on to some other situation-external entity or to one of the participants of the situation. A modal relation is thus a directed relation with the deictic centre as the source and the situation as the goal of the modal qualification. In the following we distinguish between different types of modality.<sup>11</sup>

A modal relation may be an epistemic evaluation of the speaker with respect to the truth of the situation. E5.a exemplifies epistemic necessity, E5.b epistemic possibility.

- E5.   a. John must / should be there by now.  
       b. John can / may be there by now.

A deontic qualification connotes the requirement of, desire for or commitment to the realization of the situation. Deontic modal attitudes are conveyed by the obligative (E6.a), permissive (E6.b), and optative (E6.c).

- E6.   a. John must go home now.  
       b. John may / can / is permitted to go home now.  
       c. May John go home now! / I wish John would go home now!

Contrary to epistemic modality, deontic modality is directed towards the main participant. The obligation, the permission, and the desire hold for the main participant with respect to the action to be performed which he may choose to carry out or not.

Finally, the speaker may transfer the deictic centre to the main participant so that the source of modality is identical with its goal. This holds for the expression of a participant's need (E7.a), a participant's ability (E7.b) or a participant's desire (E7.c). In all these cases, modality is not given by situation-external factors but originates within the main participant himself.

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<sup>11</sup> For a general account on modality cf. Palmer 1986, 1994 and Dik 1989.

- E7. a. John needs to vomit.  
 b. John can / is able to perform a somersault.  
 c. John would like / wants to go home.

In T1, the modal categories are arranged from the left to the right according to their increasing orientation towards the main participant. The rows summarize the modal categories with respect to the modal attitudes necessity, possibility, and volition. As soon as the main participant gets in a relation to the modal predicate, the latter attributes him properties such as control and affectedness. In this respect the alignment of the modal attitudes from top to bottom corresponds to an increasing degree of control on the part of the main participant. An obligation is generally imposed on somebody with very little freedom to avoid it just as a bodily need can only be controlled to a very limited degree. With regard to a permission and an ability the participants have the choice to carry out a certain action, hence, they are less controlled than with respect to necessity. Wishes and desires, finally, are conceived of as being part of the participant's consciousness and as such are controllable – at least to a certain degree – by him.

In the following chapters we concentrate our investigation on obligative modality, different subtypes of possibility such as potential, permissive, and habilitative modality and, finally, desiderative modality. These are highlighted in T1.

T1. *Modal categories*

<b>orientation</b> <b>modal attitude</b>	<b>deictic modality</b>		<b>participant-internal modality</b>
	<b>epistemic</b>	<b>deontic</b>	
<b>necessity</b>	necessitive	obligative	need
<b>possibility</b>	potential	permissive	habilitative
<b>volition</b>		optative	desiderative

Modal predicates are used by many languages to express different types of modality. They reflect the conceptual properties and relations outlined above in a more or less iconical way. The modal predicate may be a monovalent operator taking the whole proposition as a subordinated clause in subject function. The main participant either takes a syntactic function in the subordinated clause or may be an adjunct to the modal predicate. Both construction types use the strategy of **person backgrounding** because in both cases the main participant occupies a lower syntactic function in F3 than the proposition. If the modal predicate is a bivalent operator, taking the main participant in subject function and the proposition in oblique function, we are dealing with the strategy of **person foregrounding**, because the main participant occupies a position further

up in F3 than the proposition. In case the modal meaning is grammaticalized to a verbal affix or conveyed by an adverb, the construction cannot be evaluated according to the principles of person fore- or person backgrounding and is therefore left out of discussion and evaluation.

### 5.2.1.2. Obligative

YM (E8), Samoan (E9), Lezgian (E10), Tamil (E11), and Korean (E12) all use impersonal operators to convey obligative modality. The modal operator is a monovalent predicate that takes the proposition as clausal complement in subject function. The main participant is coded as part of the subordinate clause.

In YM, there are two obligative modal predicates, *yan* and *k'abéet*; *yan* being more strongly grammaticalized than *k'abéet*. The former only occurs as a modal auxiliary taking a proposition as a complement (E8.a), while the latter can also have a lexical meaning (E8.c). In this case a need is expressed. A concrete entity obtains subject function and the main participant occurs as a further verbal dependent in indirect object function.

- E8. a. Yan in náak-al.  
 YM DEB SBJ.1.SG climb-INCMPL  
 'I have to climb.' (Andrade 1955:119)<sup>12</sup>
- b. K'abéet in bét-ik.  
 necessary SBJ.1.SG make-INCMPL  
 'I have to do it.'
- c. K'abéet tèech kàab wáah chukwa'?'  
 necessary you honey or chocolate  
 'Do you need honey or chocolate?' (BVS 07.01.17.)

Samoan uses the non-ergative verb *tatau* 'necessary, must, appropriate' to express obligation. The subordinate clause is introduced with the conjunction *ona*.

- E9. a. Ua tatau ona ou alu i i=a=u piriota ma (...)  
 SAM PF necessary CNJ 1.SG go LD ART=POSS=1.SG period and  
 'I must go now to my period (i.e. class at the university) and (...)'  
 lit.: 'It is necessary now that I go to my period (...)' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:599)

<sup>12</sup> The orthography in YM examples from different sources is adjusted to the normalized Bielefeld orthography.

- b. Ua tatau ona ta'u i l=o='u atalii  
 PF necessary CNJ tell LD ART=POSS=1.SG son  
 o le ma feiloaiga mulimuli lenei  
 PRSV ART 1.DE meeting last this  
 'I must tell my son that this is our last meeting.'  
 lit.: 'It is necessary to tell my son (...)' (o.c.:593)

In Lezgian, there are three obligative adjectives, *lazim*, *gerek*, and *carasuz* (all three meaning roughly 'necessary'). They form one-place predicates with the copula *ja*. The obligative predicates may optionally take a dative experiencer which then controls the subject position of the masdar.

- E10. a. Muallim-ar har sa tars.uni-z diqetda-ldi  
 LEZ [teacher-PL every one lesson-DAT attention.OBL-SRDIR  
 hazur x̂u-n lazim ja.  
 ready become-MSD] necessary COP  
 'The teachers have to prepare carefully for every class.' (Haspelmath 1993:101)

- b. Za-z ∅ wi wan atu-n,  
 1.SG:DAT [DAT 2.SG:GEN voice come-MSD  
 ∅ wi sufat aku-n gerek že-zwa-č.  
 DAT 2.SG:GEN face see-MSD] necessary be-IMP-NEG  
 'I do not need to hear your voice, to see your face.' (o.c.:360)

In Tamil, the modal auxiliaries follow the infinitive form of the verb. For obligative modality, there are various markers with different degrees of grammaticalization. They also express different degrees of obligation. In E11.a, the obligative is an inflectional suffix, so that the construction cannot be classified as person fore- vs. backgrounding. In E11.b and c, the modal predicates appear in an impersonal form, taking the infinitive complement in subject function. The main participant is subject of the infinitive.

- E11. a. avan aŋke pooka-ŋum.  
 STAM<sup>13</sup> 3.SG.M there go-DEB  
 'He must go there.'
- b. avan aŋke pooka-ttaan veenum.  
 3.SG.M there go:INF-EMPH DEB  
 'He must go there.'

<sup>13</sup> The Tamil examples in this paper originate from different sources that represent either spoken or literal varieties and use different transliterations. They are identified by STAM for spoken Tamil and LTAM for literal Tamil.

- c. naan vii -ukku pooka veeŋ iyirukk-utu.  
 1.SG house-DAT go:INF DEB:PRS-3.SG.NT  
 ‘I have to go home.’ (Asher 1982:167)

In Korean, obligative modality is expressed by *-(e)ya hata* with the literal meaning ‘only V-ing will do’. Here, the modalized proposition is construed as an adverbial clause to the predicate *hata*.

- E12. na-n n/nae-ka cik m ka-ya ha-n-ta.  
 KOR 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM now go-only do-PRS-DECL  
 ‘I have to go now.’ lit.: ‘Only my going will do.’

In Maori, obligation is conveyed by the particle *me*, which seems to be grammaticalized to an extent that it does not have verbal valency anymore. It may be a parallel case to the YM auxiliaries discussed in Ch. 5.2.3.

- E13. a. Me tuhi koorero koutou inaianei.  
 MAO OBLG write story 2.PL now  
 ‘You should write a story now.’
- b. Me taapuke te tuupaapaku i roto i te toru raa.  
 OBLG bury the body at inside at the three day  
 ‘The body must be buried within three days.’ (Bauer 1993:460)

German and English manifest modal predicates as bivalent verbs. The modalized proposition appears as a complement, while its subject – the main participant – is promoted to the subject position of the modal verb.

- E14. Ich muß es machen.  
 GER ‘I have to / must do it.’

Furthermore, German and English display impersonal obligative constructions with the modal adjectives *notwendig* / *necessary* as nominal predicates in a matrix clause (E15). However, this construction is of a higher syntactic complexity and therefore more marked than the modal verb construction.

- E15. Es ist notwendig, daß du es machst.  
 GER ‘It is necessary that you’ll do it.’

### 5.2.1.3. Possibility

#### 5.2.1.3.1. Potential

For the expression of potential modality, YM, Samoan, Korean, and Lezgian have impersonal monovalent predicates that take the modalized proposition in subject function.



YM (E16.a) uses the modal predicates *páah-tal* and *beytal* which only appear in the third person singular for all subtypes of possibility attitudes. Samoan uses the labile verb *mafai* (E16.b) and in Korean, potential modality is expressed by impersonal predicates like *kəs ita* ‘the thing is’ or *kan ngsəngi issta* ‘the possibility exists’ (E16.c). *Kəs* and *kan ngsəngi* function as heads of a relative clause, the latter representing the modalized proposition.

- E16. a. k-u páah-tal a k’uch-ul  
 YM IMPF-SBJ.3 possible-PROC SBJ.2 arrive-INCMPL  
 ich ka’-p’éel òorah xímbal-il  
 in two- CLF.INAN hour walk-ADVR  
 ‘You can get there in two hours [by] walking.’ (BVS 08.01.06)
- b. (...) e le mafai ona iloa e se tagata  
 SAM T/A/M not possible CNJ know ERG ART(NSPEC.SG) person  
 ona alofa mutimutivale moni seita vagana ua mafai ona tuu ia  
 CNJ love pity true until except PF possible CNJ place 3.SG  
 i totonu o le tagata o alofa mutimutivale i ai  
 LD inside POSS ART person PROG love pity LD ANAPH  
 ‘(...) it is impossible to truly love without being able to identify oneself with the person one loves.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:600)
- c. suni-ka cip-e iss- l kan ngsəng-i issta.  
 KOR [Suni-NOM house-LOC EXIST-PROSP possibility-NOM] EXIST  
 ‘It is possible that Suni is at home.’

The Lezgian potential marker is *mumkin*. It is constructed in the same way as the obligative markers (cf. E17.a), i.e. with the proposition in subject function. The main participant may optionally appear as a dative experiencer. Further constructions of potential modality are shown in E17.b with the main participant being part of the complement clause. In E17.c the participant appears in a local case determined by the modal predicate.

- E17. a. Zi adres degiš x̂u-n mumkin ja.  
 LEZ [1.SG.GEN address change become-MSD] possible COP  
 ‘My address may change.’ (Haspelmath 1993:360)
- b. Ada-q galaz kwe-kaj x̂ajit’ani sūhbet iji-z že-da.<sup>14</sup>  
 [3.SG-POESS with what-SBEL INDEF talk do-INF] be.possible-FUT  
 ‘With her one can talk about anything.’ (o.c.:196)

<sup>14</sup> For diachronic reasons, the suffix *-da* has the two rather disparate meanings future and habitual (cf. Haspelmath 1993:130). Following Haspelmath, it is always glossed with ‘FUT’.

- c. Meger ada-waj     $\emptyset$  tamu-z    fi-z    že-n-ni?  
 PTL    3.SG-ADEL    [ $\emptyset$  forest.OBL-DAT go-INF] be.possible-HORT-INT  
 ‘Can he possibly go to the forest?’ (o.c.:151)

In Maori, there is no special marker to express potential modality. German and English have both, a personal and an impersonal construction for the expression of potential modality. E18.a illustrates the personal construction with modal verbs, E18.b illustrates the impersonal construction with the modal adjectives *möglich*, *possible* as nominal predicates in the matrix clause.

- E18. a. Peter kann schon zu Hause sein.  
 GER    ‘Peter can /may be already at home.’
- b. Es ist möglich, daß Peter schon zu Hause ist.  
 ‘It is possible that Peter is already at home.’

In Tamil, potentiality is expressed by an inflectional verbal category, with the verbal affix *-laam*.

- E19. raman kalai-yil    vara-laam.  
 STAM    Raman tomorrow-LOC    come-POT  
 ‘It is possible that Raman comes tomorrow.’ (SK)

### 5.2.1.3.2. Permission

In YM (E20.a), Samoan (E20.b), Korean (E20.c), and Lezgian (E20.d), permission is again expressed by impersonal modal predicates. For YM and Samoan the constructions are equal or similar to those of the potential marker. In Korean, permission is expressed by *-(V)to toita* with the literal meaning ‘it may be / it becomes even if / although’ or *-(V)to cohta* with the literal meaning ‘it is good even if / although’. The main participant is part of the modalized proposition which can be analysed as an adverbial phrase to the impersonal modal predicate. Lezgian expresses permission with an existential predication which codes the main participant as a dative argument. The syntactic function of the main participant seems to be the same as in E10.b.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> This analysis contradicts Haspelmath (1993:280) who treats *awa* as taking a dative subject argument such as with experiential verbs (cf. E32.b). In E20.d however, it seems to be unlikely from a semantic point of view that the dative argument occupies a higher syntactic function than the absolutive argument *ixtijar* ‘permission’.

- E20. a. H bey-chah ka'ch u hóok'-ol.  
 YM PST possible-PROC.PST past SBJ.3 exit-INCMPL  
 ichil óox p'éeel òorah, ba'le' ma' hóok'-i'.  
 in three CLF.INAN hour however NEG exit-NEGF  
 'He could leave for three hours, but he didn't leave.'
- b. A o nei aso ua taga ona inu ava malosi tatou.  
 SAM but PRSVthese day(SPEC.PL) PF allowed CNJ drink kava strong 1.PI  
 'But these days we are allowed to drink alcohol.'  
 lit.: 'it is allowed that we drink alcohol.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:599)
- c. na-nun/nae-ka suyong-ul hae-to toi-n-ta.  
 KOR 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM swim-ACC do-even.if become-PRS-DECL  
 'I am allowed to swim.'
- d. Meger ada-z tam.u-z fi-da-j ixtijar awa-ni?  
 LEZ PTL 3.SG-DAT [[forest-DAT go-FUT-PART] permission] EXIST-INT  
 'Is he indeed allowed to go to the forest?' (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)

Maori (E21.a), German (E21.b), and English (translation of E21.a/b) use personal modal predicates for the expression of permission. The main participant occurs as its subject and the proposition in direct object function.

- E21. a. Kaahore ahau e aahei ana ki te kai rare.  
 MAO NEG 1.SG T/A able T/A to the eat sweet  
 'I'm not allowed to eat sweets.' (Bauer 1993:463)
- b. Ich kann / darf es machen.  
 GER 'I can /may do it / I am allowed to do it.'

In Tamil permission is expressed by the same verbal affix as potential modality (cf. Asher (1982:170) who also mentions *-ttum* in the same function).

- E22. niṅkal vilaiyada pooka-laam.  
 STAM 2.PL play:INF go-POT  
 'You may go playing.' (SK)

### 5.2.1.3.3. Habilitative

Habilitative modality is construed impersonally in YM<sup>16</sup>, Samoan, Korean, Lezgian, and Maori. From these languages, YM (E23.a) and Samoan (E23.b) have monovalent habilitative predicates that take the proposition in subject function. The main partici-

<sup>16</sup> Our data contains one counter-example with *páahtal* in habilitative meaning, taking the main participant as the subject. In this case, control on the part of the participant is underlined.

pant takes some syntactic function in the subordinate clause. The Korean example in E23.c contains an existential construction with *su* ‘way, ability’ as the only argument and dummy head of a relative clause (compare analysis of E16.c). In Lezgian and Maori, the main participant is in an oblique function with regard to the modal predicates. In Lezgian it is coded in a local case and in Maori as an adpositional phrase in an impersonal passive construction without subject.

- E23. a. ma’ u páah-tal in sèen meyah  
 YM NEG SBJ.3 possible-PROC SBJ.1.SG very work  
 ‘I can’t work very much’ (BVS 17.01.31.02)
- b. E mafai ona tautala le pepe.  
 SAM T/A/M can CNJ talk ART baby  
 ‘The baby can talk.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:710)
- c. na-nun/nae-ka ku kəs-ul ha-l su(-ka) issta.  
 KOR [1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM DET thing-ACC do-PROSP way(-NOM)] EXIST  
 ‘I am able to do it.’
- d. I ġweč’i gadadi-laj  
 LEZ this little boy.OBL-SREL (Haspelmath 1993:357)
- ∅ iħtin güzel zat’-ar ras-iz alağ’-da-ni?  
 [∅(ERG) such pretty thing-PL create-INF] be.able-FUT-INT  
 ‘Is the little boy able to make such beautiful things?’
- e. E kore e tae-a e ahau ki te kai.  
 MAO T/A NEG T/A reach-PASS by 1.SG to the food  
 ‘I cannot eat.’ (Bauer 1993:463)

The Tamil modal auxiliary *muṭiyum* expresses physical ability. It is constructed similarly to the obligative modal *veerum* (cf. E11.b), apart from occurring with an agentive NP in the instrumental case in the formal variety of the language (E24.a). However, in some colloquial dialects, both instrumental and nominative case (E24.b) are possible. In both cases, the main participant is an actant of the embedded verb, the modal predicate being impersonal.<sup>17</sup>

- E24. a. enn-aale atu ceyya muṭiyum.  
 STAM 1.SG-INSTR that do:INF able  
 ‘I can do that.’ (Asher 1982:77)

<sup>17</sup> In Tamil, the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs is marked by the nominative case. However, there is a small set of verbs, mostly stative and defective, that do not occur with a nominative NP. Corresponding sentences are analysed as being subjectless (cf. Lenk 1990:43ff.).

- b. neettu naan kuuṭṭatt-ukku vara muṭiyale.  
 Yesterday 1.SG meeting-DAT come:INF able:INF:NEG  
 ‘Yesterday I couldn’t come to the meeting.’ (o.c.:170)

Samoan, Maori, Lezgian and Korean also possess personal habilitative predicates that take the main participant in subject function. The Samoan example in E25.a is derived from the impersonal construction in E23.b by a raising process. This is only possible with agentive absolutive and ergative arguments (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:711). Marking the main participant in ergative case clearly underlines his controlling function. Maori uses a neuter verb<sup>18</sup> *aahei* ‘be able’ to express ability in a personal construction. Also in German and English ability is expressed with personal modal auxiliaries in constructions as exemplified above for the other modal meanings.

- E25. a. E mafai e le pepe ona tautala.  
 SAM T/A/M can ERG ART baby CNJ talk  
 ‘The baby can talk.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:710)

- b. Kaaore ia e aahei ki te haere.  
 MAO NEG 3.SG T/A able to the move  
 ‘She will not be able to go.’ (Bauer 1993:462)

- c. Ich kann schwimmen / lesen.  
 GER ‘I am able to swim / read.’

Some languages like Maori, Korean, and Lezgian additionally use bivalent verbs meaning ‘know’ to express acquired ability.

- E26. a. E moohio ana ahau ki te kaukau.  
 MAO T/A know T/A 1.SG to the swim  
 ‘I can swim.’ (Bauer 1993:462)

- b. na-nun/nae-ka suyong-ul ha-l cul(-ul) an-ta.  
 KOR 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM swim-ACC do-PROSP method(-ACC) know.PRS-DECL  
 ‘I can swim.’

- c. Ada-z ∅ samolët hal-iz či-da-j.  
 LEZ 3.M.SG-DAT [∅ airplane lead-INF] know-FUT-PST  
 ‘He knew how to fly an airplane.’ (Haspelmath 1993:357)

<sup>18</sup> Neuter verbs are distinguished from others by mainly three criteria: a. they lack a passive voice, b. they normally occur with a non-agentive NP as subject, c. if an agent is included, it is marked in an oblique case with *i* (cf. Bauer 1993:413).

#### 5.2.1.4. Desiderative

YM and Tamil are the only languages of our sample that have impersonal modal predicates to express desiderative modality. YM *tàak* ‘anxious’ conveys (strong) desire and may imply that there is a bodily need that is responsible for it. *Tàak* is in a distribution class with the aspectual auxiliaries investigated in Ch. 5.2.3. It takes a complement clause in subject function and the main participant occurs as the subject to the subordinated verb (E27). In Tamil, desiderative modality is expressed by secondary means from other domains such as the obligative modal *veeṇum* (cf. E11.b) or the evaluative verb *virupam* ‘like’ (E144.b). Both occur in impersonal constructions with the main participant in the dative case, while the theme appears as the subject in the nominative case. Note that the desiderative construction with *veeṇum* differs from the obligative one, although both are person backgrounding.

E27.      *Tàak*    *in*            *bèet-ik*.  
 YM        anxious SBJ.1.SG make-INCMP  
           ‘I want to do it.’

E28.    a. *en-akku oru glassu ṭii veeṇum*.  
 STAM    1.SG-DAT one glass tea wanted  
           ‘I want a glass of tea.’ (Asher 1982:105)

          b. *en-akku tenir arunta virupam*.  
           1.SG-DAT tee:water drink:INF like  
           ‘I would like to drink tee.’ (SK)

In YM, there is a further desiderative modal expression with the relational noun *k’áat* ‘wish’. *K’áat* belongs to a subclass of abstract relational nouns that correspond to stative transitive verbs in other languages. The construction in E29 resembles a transitive verb construction, the possessor and the subject clitic being morphologically identical. But unlike a verbal predicate, the abstract relational nouns are not accompanied by an aspectual auxiliary. They are only used predicatively, and constructions, such as E29, may be half way between a pure nominal and a verbal construction. Thus, a definite categorization of the main participant as possessor or subject in cases such as E29 is not possible. In any case, his position on the hierarchy of syntactic functions is assumed to be lower than that of the subject.

E29.      *In*            *k’áat*    *in*            *w-il-eh*.  
 YM        POSS.1.SG wish    SBJ.1.SG  $\emptyset$ -see-SUBJ  
           ‘I desire to see it.’ (Tozzer 1921:61)

A similar construction also exists in Maori and is exemplified in E30. Contrary to YM, it is only chosen if the person entertaining the wish is different from the one for whom

the wish holds. In the examples in E30, it is in both cases the speaker. In E30.a he is coded as a possessive attribute to the predicate noun *hiahia* ‘wish’, in E30.b he can only be pragmatically inferred. The subordinate clause is introduced by the subjunctive particle *kia*, the common marker for optative mood.

- E30. a. Ko taku hiahia  
 MAO EQT SG:GEN:1.SG wish  
 kia mau-ria mai e koe he kuuao tori.  
 SUBJ bring-PASS hither by 2.SG INDEF baby cat  
 ‘I wish you would bring me a kitten.’ (Bauer 1993:459)
- b. Ko te tuumanako,  
 EQT the wish  
 kia tae mai koutou ki taa taatou hui.  
 SUBJ arrive hither 2.PL to SG:GEN 1.PI meeting  
 ‘It is [our] wish that you should come to our meeting.’ (o.c.:42)

Besides these impersonal constructions, Maori also has personal verbal predicates to convey desiderative meaning (E31). These are unmarked in comparison with the impersonal constructions in E30 as they are structurally less complex. While the subordinated clauses in E30 are entirely verbal, the *ki te* clause in E31.a has more nominal characteristics, appearing without tense/aspect/mood markers (cf. Bauer 1993:43). Moreover, the verbal strategy is chosen with same subject in the main and the embedded clause.

- E31. a. Ka hiahia aua tamariki ki te haere a te Tuurei.  
 MAO T/A desire ANA.PL children to the move at(FUT) the Tuesday  
 ‘The children want to go on Tuesday.’ (o.c.:459)
- b. Ka piirangi ana maatou kia haere raatou.  
 T/A want T/A 1.PL SUBJ move 3.PL  
 ‘We want them to go.’ (o.c.:42)

The other languages of our sample also use personal bivalent predicates for the expression of desiderative modality. In Samoan<sup>19</sup>, the main participant occurs as an absolutive argument while the theme is usually coded as a locative-directional object (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:432). In Lezgian, the desiderative modal predicate *k’an* takes the main participant as a dative complement in subject function. Korean<sup>20</sup>, Ger-

<sup>19</sup> Another main strategy for the expression of desiderative modality is the preverbal adverb *fia* ‘want’. For the reasons explained in Ch. 3.3 we will leave it out of consideration here.

<sup>20</sup> Korean also uses another strategy to convey desiderative meaning in form of the verbal suffix *-kess-* which follows the main verb stem.

man, and English have desiderative modal auxiliaries which occur with an embedded clause in direct object function, while the main participant takes the subject position of the modal predicate. In Korean it may alternatively be marked for topic function.

- E32. a. ‘Ua mana‘o le ulugāli‘i ‘i le mea ‘ai.  
 SAM PF want ART couple LD ART thing eat  
 ‘The couple wanted something to eat.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 432)
- b. Ča-z kwe-q galaz k’wal-er degišar-iz k’an-zawa.  
 LEZ 1.PL-DAT [2.PL-POESS with house-PL change-INF]want-IMPF  
 ‘We want to exchange apartments with you all.’ (Haspelmath 1993:225)
- c. na-nūn/nae-ka cikūm kū kōs-ul ha-ko siph-ta.  
 KOR 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM now DET thing-ACC do-GER desire-DECL  
 ‘I would like to do it now.’
- d. Ich will / möchte es machen.  
 GER ‘I want / would like to do it.’

The Tamil example in E28.b may also be construed personally, as in E33. The former represents a more polite level.

- E33. naan tenir arunta virumpu-kinṭr-een.  
 STAM 1.SG tee:water drink:INF like-PRS-1.SG  
 ‘I would like to drink tee.’ (SK)

### 5.2.1.5. Conclusion

The results of the discussion above may be summarized as in T2.

T2. *Synt. construction of obligative, possibility, and desiderative modal operators*

language \ modal operator	ENG	GER	MAO	LEZ	KOR	SAM	TAM	YM
<b>obligative</b>	+	+	n.c.	-	-	-	-	-
<b>potential</b>	+	+	\	-	-	-	n.c.	-
<b>permissive</b>	+	+	+	-	-	-	n.c.	-
<b>habilitative</b>	+	+	+	+ / -	+ / -	-	-	-
<b>desiderative</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ / -	-

- + modal operator takes individual subject  
 - modal operator takes propositional subject  
 \ non-existent in the language  
 n.c. not classifiable



If there is more than one construction type per modality, the unmarked or most common construction has been chosen as the value in T2. This concerns the German and English obligative and potential modal auxiliaries, the desiderative constructions in YM and Maori as well as the habilitative constructions in Samoan and Maori. Where such a decision could not be made, both values have been attributed, as, e.g., for the Lezgian and Korean habilitative operators and the Tamil desiderative.

The behaviour of the three kinds of modal operators in the language sample may be summarized as follows. On the one hand, English and German favour person foregrounding modal predicates in all of the three areas, while Tamil and YM clearly prefer person backgrounding constructions. In Maori, Lezgian, Korean, and Samoan the situation is less uniform. These four languages have in common that the obligative takes a propositional subject, while the desiderative takes an individual subject. The potentiality construction is also person backgrounding in these languages. Permissive modality is expressed with a person foregrounding construction in Maori, while Lezgian, Korean, and Samoan have person backgrounding permissive constructions. Habilitative modality occurs in a person foregrounding construction in Maori and in a person backgrounding construction in Samoan, while in Lezgian and Korean both construction types co-occur.

The distribution in T2 leads us to the following implicational generalizations: if a language has an impersonal desiderative, then the possibility modalities and the obligative will be constructed impersonally, too. If in a language one of the possibility modalities is construed impersonal, the obligative will be impersonal, too. The converse can be done for the person foregrounding constructions, beginning at the other pole of the hierarchy: if a language has a personal obligative, possibility and the desiderative will be personal, too. If in a language possibility is expressed with a personal construction, the desiderative will be personal, too.

The distribution in the subtypes of the domain of possibility is equally clear-cut. The potential tends to be constructed person backgrounding, while habilitative modality shows a greater affinity to person foregrounding expressions. Permissive modality is somewhere in between the two.

The syntactic coding in the domain of modality has a clear functional basis in T1. In fact, the vertical alignment of the modal categories in T2 is a one-dimensional projection of their two-dimensional arrangement in T1. The prominent coding of the main participant as the subject correlates on the one hand with the orientation of the modality towards the main participant and on the other hand with his ability of control with regard to the modality type. The languages in the middle of T2 follow more or less the

strategy of an iconic syntactic representation of the conceptual relations in the different modality subtypes. The languages at the poles, however, do not care for the specific relational and control properties, coding the main participant in all the modal constructions either by a person foregrounding or by a person backgrounding strategy.

### 5.2.2. Phase predicates

A phase predicate is an operator over a proposition which focuses on different stages of a situation expressed in the proposition. Hence, it is a relator between the deictic centre and the situation as a whole. The situation itself may be agentive, i.e. controlled by one of the participants, or non-agentive. If the situation contains an agent, this one generally controls the beginning, realization, and the end of the situation. This is the conceptual precondition for the integration of the phase operator into the proposition.

The possibilities of structural variation generally correspond to those introduced for the modal predicates in Ch.5.2.1: the phase predicate may be monovalent, taking the proposition as a complement clause in subject function, or it may be bivalent, taking the main participant in subject and the proposition in direct object function. In the following, we shall concentrate on phase operators dealing with the beginning and the end of a situation.

YM manifests the proposition as a clausal complement, in subject function, to the monovalent verb representing the phase operator.

- E34. a. k-u            ho'p'-ol  
 YM        IMPF-SBJ.3   begin-INCMPPL  
           u        t'oh-ik        balche' ti'    u        chi'  
           SBJ.3    pour-INCMPPL   balche   LOC   POSS.3   mouth  
           'and begins to pour balche into their mouths' (CHAAK 019)
- b. K-u            chúun-ul                    in            bèet-ik.  
           IMPF-SBJ.3   start\DEAG-INCMPPL   SBJ.1.SG   make-INCMPPL  
           'I start to do it.'
- E35. a. K-u            ts'o'k-ol        in            bèet-ik.  
 YM        IMPF-SBJ.3   end-INCMPPL   SBJ.1.SG   make-INCMPPL  
           'I finish doing it.'
- b. K-u            xúul-ul                    in            xíimbal.  
           IMPF-SBJ.3   end\DEAG-INCMPPL   SBJ.1.SG   stroll  
           'I finish walking.'

While *ho'p'* (E34.a) and *ts'o'k* (E35.a) are basic intransitive verbs, *chúun* 'begin' (E34.b) and *xúul* 'end' (E35.b) are deagentive forms derived from the transitive verbs *chun* and *xul* (E36), which take the main participant as a subject if he has control over the action represented in the complement clause (cf. Bohnemeyer 1998:424). The intransitive phase operators, however, do not seem to be sensitive to control relations.

- E36. a. Táan in chun-ik in mèt-ik.  
 YM PROG SBJ.1.SG begin-INCMPL SBJ.1.SG do-INCMPL  
 'I am starting to do it.'
- b. K-in xul-ik in meyah/k'àay.  
 IMPF-SBJ.1.SG finish-INCMPL SBJ.1.SG work/sing\INTROV  
 'I finish working/singing.'

Today, the phase operator *ts'o'k* (E35.b) also occurs in a grammaticalized form as a terminative aspect auxiliary. The origin of this grammaticalization process lies in a complex sentence with the full verb in the past as matrix predicate (E37.a) (cf. Lehmann 1993[G]). The complement clause does not take an aspectual auxiliary of its own, but may appear in whatever finite form is appropriate. In such a construction the main verb is in the third person singular and may have its own aspect. It is monomorphemic because the absolutive third person singular suffix is generally zero. The past auxiliary itself is phonetically extremely weak and may therefore be easily dropped.

- E37. a. H ts'o'k a meyah.  
 YM PST [end(ABS.3.SG) SBJ.2.SG work]  
 'You finished working.'
- b. Ts'o'k a meyah.  
 TERM SBJ.2.SG work  
 'You have worked.'
- c. Ts'-a meyah.  
 TERM-SBJ.2.SG work  
 'You have worked.'

If the construction becomes grammaticalized, the clause boundary of the subject complement clause disappears, so that the phase verb forms a clause with the erstwhile subordinate verb. At the same time, it is reinterpreted as an aspect auxiliary, while the full verb becomes the main verb. In such a way, a non-inflecting auxiliary evolves which combines with a finite full verb. At the stage exemplified in E37.b, the auxiliary is still a free form and may, thus, constitute a sentence. After further phonological reduction, as in E37.c, it unites with the following syllable and enters the subclass of bound auxiliaries (*t-* PAST, *k-* IMPERFECTIVE).

In Samoan, both phase operators are construed in a person backgrounding way. Samoan uses the non-ergative verbs *mā'ea* 'finished, complete' (E38.a) or *'uma* 'all, finished' (E38.b/c) to express the end of a situation (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:595). Both take *ona*-complement clauses in subject function which contain the main proposition. The main participant takes a syntactic function in the complement clause.

- E38 a. Na        maea    loa    ona    tapena    mea  
 SAM        PST        finished then CNJ pack up things (SPEC.PL)  
              amata    loa    ona    savavali.  
              begin    then CNJ walk  
              'They finished packing up everything and started to walk.' (o.c.:371)
- b. 'Ua        'uma        ona    tā'ele    le    teine.  
       PF        finished    CNJ bathe    ART girl  
       'The girl has finished bathing.'  
       lit.: 'That the girl bathes was finished.' (o.c.:154)

In order to express the beginning of a situation, the labile verb *'āmata* 'begin, start' is used (E38.a, E39.a). It equally takes an *ona*-complement clause in subject function. A construction with an ergative complement is quite rare. As shown in E39.b, there is only evidence for the occurrence of *'āmata* as a main verb without a complement clause.

- E39. a. Na        amata    loa    ona        ote    l=o=u                    tina.  
 SAM        PST        start    then CNJ    scold ART=POSS=1.SG    mother  
              'Then my mother started to scold.' (o.c.:595)
- b. O        le    nofoaga    la        lenei  
       PRSV    ART settlement    EMPH    this  
       na        amata    e        le    kamupani    a        Niu Sila (...)  
       PST        start    ERG ART company    POSS    New Zealand  
       'This settlement which had been started by a New Zealand Company (...)'  
       (Ulrike Mosel, p.c.)

The phase predicate *'āmata* can also take asyndetic complement clauses. In E40, the juxtaposed verbs *amata maligi* may be interpreted as a verb series (cf. o.c.:603) which would be the result of a reanalysis.

- E40.        (...) ma    amata    maligi    o=na                    loimata  
 SAM               and    start    run        POSS=3.SG    tear(SPEC.PL)  
              '(...) her tears started to run' (o.c.:603)

Like YM, Lezgian has transitive as well as intransitive phase predicates. The impersonal phase verb *bašlamišun* 'begin' takes complement clauses in subject function. The

impersonality of this phase verb can be concluded from the fact that the case of the main participant varies according to the case frame of the subordinated verb (cf. E41.a vs. b.). It is used with controlling (E41.a/b) as well as with non-controlling participants (E41.c). The intransitive verb *aq̄wázun* ‘stop’ is used to describe the end of a non-controlled event as shown in E41.d. It takes a masdar complement in subject function.

- E41. a. Ajal-ar    q̄uwa-z    bašlamiš-na.  
LEZ        [child-PL    play-INF]    begin-AOR  
          ‘The children began to play.’
- b. Nabisat-a        wiči-n        ktab k’el-iz        bašlamiš-na.  
          [Nabisat-ERG    self-GEN    book read-INF]    start-AOR  
          ‘Nabisat started to read her book.’ (Haspelmath 1993:359)
- c. Zi            bedendi-k        zurzun akat-iz        bašlamiš-na / \*egeč’-na.  
          1.SG.GEN    body.OBL-SBESS    shiver    come-INF    start-AOR / start-AOR  
          ‘My body was beginning to tremble.’ (Sadiq’ 1995<sup>21</sup>)
- d. ivi        avax-na        fi-n        aq̄waz-na.  
          [blood    stream-AOR        go-MSD]    stop-AOR  
          ‘The blood stopped running.’ (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)

Other phase verbs are bivalent. They take a controlling participant in subject function, while the propositional argument appears in object function or as a local complement. As in YM, these transitive phase verbs cannot take non-controlling participants as their subject (cf. E41.c, Elena Kalinina, p.c.).

- E42. a. Bāzi    insan-ar    hatta arza-jar        kx̄-ini-w-ni                    egeč’-na.  
LEZ        several    person-PL    [even complaint-PL    write-MSD.OBL-ADESS-also]    start-AOR  
          ‘Some poeple even started writing letters of complaint.’ (Hazhiev 1995<sup>22</sup>)
- b. Ada        ğil-e        awa-j        gazet k’el-un        aq̄wazar-na.  
          3.SG.ERG    [[hand-INESS    EXIST-PART]    paper    read-MSD]    stop-AOR  
          ‘He stopped reading the newspaper (that was) in his hand.’ (Haspelmath 1993:361)
- c. čna        hele i        mesela-ni        behem hāl-na        kütäh-na-wa-č.  
          1.PL.ERG    [still this    problem-also    sufficient-solve-AOC]    finish-AOR-PFV-NEG  
          ‘We haven’t yet finished solving this problem.’ (Hazhikuliev 1995<sup>23</sup>)

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<sup>21</sup> Elena Kalinina, p.c.

<sup>22</sup> Elena Kalinina, p.c.

<sup>23</sup> Elena Kalinina, p.c.

Tamil, Maori, Korean, German, and English generally manifest phase predicates as bivalent verbs. The propositional argument appears as a complement, while its subject is promoted to the subject of the phase verb.

- E43. a. *avaᅇka aaru maacatt-ukku munnaaᅇi*  
 STAM 3.PL.M six month-DAT before  
*inta uuᅇᅇ kaᅇᅇa aarampiccaᅇka.*  
 this house:ACC build:INF begin:PST:3.PL  
 ‘They started building this house six months ago.’ (Asher 1982:164)
- b. *poona vaaram avaᅇka inta uuᅇᅇ kaᅇᅇi muᅇiccaᅇka.*  
 last week 3.PL.M this house:ACC build:PST.PART finish:PST:3.PL  
 ‘Last week they finished building this house.’ (o.c.:164)
- E44. a. *Ka tiimata raaua ki te horoi i te whare.*  
 MAO T/A start 3.DU to the clean ACC the house  
 ‘They started to wash the house.’ (Bauer 1993:450)
- b. *Kua tata mutu ia ki te peita i tana whare.*  
 T/A near finished 3.SG to the paint ACC SG:GEN:3.SG house  
 ‘He is about to finish painting his house.’ (o.c.:440)
- c. *Kua oti kee i a Pou te taarai toona waka.*  
 T/A finished contr<sup>24</sup> by ART(PERS)Pou the adze SG:GEN:3.SG canoe  
 ‘Pou had already finished adzing out his canoe.’ (o.c.:451)
- E45. a. *suni-nᅇn/-ka cha-lᅇl mantᅇl-ki sicakha-n-ta.*  
 KOR Suni-TOP/-NOM [car-ACC make-NR] begin-PRS-DECL  
 ‘Suni starts to make a car.’
- b. *suni-nᅇn/-ka cha mantᅇ-nᅇn kᅇs-ᅇl kkᅇtᅇnae-ss-ta.*  
 Suni-TOP/-NOM [car make-AT Ding-ACC] finish-PF-DECL  
 ‘Suni has finished making a car.’
- E46. Die Kinder begannen zu spielen.  
 GER ‘The children started playing.’

The German phase predicates are not sensitive to control relations in the same way as the transitive YM ones are. In German – at least in some colloquial dialects – control of the main participant can be expressed by using a special type of construction with an instrumental adjunct. E47.a and b show that this construction is only possible with a human participant. However, a construction with an infinitive complement is not sensitive to control properties. It can be chosen in both cases (E47.c/d). This corresponds to

<sup>24</sup> contrary to expectations

the impersonal phase predicates in YM and Lezgian which also occur with and without a controlling participant.

- E47. a. Wir fangen gleich an / beginnen gleich mit dem Aufräumen.  
 GER ‘Soon, we will start clearing up.’
- b. \*Das Haus fängt an / beginnt mit dem Brennen.  
 lit.: ‘The house starts with burning.’
- c. Erna begann, auf Erwin einzureden.  
 ‘Erna began to talk insistently to Erwin.’
- d. Das Haus fängt an / beginnt zu brennen.  
 ‘The house starts to burn.’

Even if the predicate of the argument proposition does not materialize, the person foregrounding strategy of German and the person backgrounding strategy of YM are carried through. Assume the following situation: B is waiting for A to finish. Finally A gets ready. In German, A says: *ich bin fertig* ‘I’m done.’ In YM, he says *ts’o’k-ih* (fin- ish-ABS.3.SG) ‘it is done’.

Compare T3 for a summary of the phase predicate constructions in the languages of the sample.

T3. *Syntactic construction of phase operators*

language	ENG	GER	KOR	MAO	TAM	LEZ	YM	SAM
‘begin’	+	+	+	+	+	+ / -	+ / -	-
‘end’	+	+	+	+	+	+ / -	+ / -	-

+ phase operator takes individual subject

- phase operator takes propositional subject

First, it has to be noted that none of the languages of the sample chooses a different construction type for the expression of the beginning and that of the end of a situation concerning the strategies of person foregrounding and backgrounding. Furthermore, it holds that all the languages, apart from Samoan, possess personal phase predicates. This may be due to the fact that the beginning or the end of a situation MAY at least be controlled by the main participant. Lezgian, YM, and Samoan possess impersonal phase predicates that take the proposition as the subject, even if the main participant is supposed to have control over the situation. Thus in these languages, the beginning and the end of a situation may be conceptualized as independent of a controller. In German

and English – on the contrary – even non-controlling participants may be subject of transitive phase verbs.

### 5.2.3. Tense, aspect, and aktionsart auxiliaries

In many languages, tense, aspect, and aktionsart meanings are mainly realized by verbal inflectional categories. But in some languages, all or some of these categories may be expressed by auxiliaries that are personal or impersonal operators over the proposition.

YM has a set of aspectual auxiliaries that are in a distribution class with modals such as *k'abéet* ‘necessary’ (cf. E8) and *tàak* ‘anxious’ (cf. E27). Most of the auxiliaries originate from grammaticalization of full intransitive verbs, as has been shown for the terminative auxiliary *ts'(o'k)* in Ch. 5.2.2. This is also true for the future auxiliary *bíin* (E48.a), which is grammaticalized from the irregular Colonial YM motion verb *ben(-el)* ‘go’, and the remote past auxiliary *úuch* (E48.b), which is grammaticalized from *úuch* ‘happen’.

E48. a. ma' bíin síih-ik          mix hun-túul          chàampal  
 YM          NEG FUT be.born-SUBJ nor one-CLF.AN little:child  
 ‘no child will be born.’ (CM 56)

b. Hàah    in                    w-ohel.  
 true      POSS.1.SG      Ø-knowledge  
 hach    túun úuch          in                    w-il-ech          Don Hoseh  
 really   then REM.PST SBJ.1.SG      Ø-see-ABS.2.SG      Don Joseph  
 ‘Yes, I know. Really though, it’s been a long time since I’ve seen you, Don José.’ (BVS 13.01.11)

Like *ts'(o'k)* in E37.b/c, the auxiliaries are invariable as to person and number. This may directly stem from their sources<sup>25</sup> – presuming that *bíin* and *úuch* have undergone the same evolution as described for *ts'(o'k)* – or it may be a consequence of analogical integration into the auxiliary paradigm.

The evolution of the progressive auxiliary has taken a somewhat different course. Here a relational noun *táan* ‘middle’ is at the origin of the progressive construction. In Colonial YM, the possessed form *u táan* occurs as a progressive marker (E49.a/b). In E49.a, it refers to the verbal complex *u hàanal*, in E49.b to *in bèeltik*. The literal meaning may be translated with ‘its eating / my doing is in its middle’. Thus, the possessor

<sup>25</sup> In this case, the paraphrase of the source construction of E48.a would be ‘it is not going that a



of the relational noun *táan* is always third person singular. After phonological reduction – the possessive pronoun *u* is lost – only *táan* remains as the progressive marker (E49.c). This process already took place in Colonial times.

- E49. a. U      *táan*    *u*      *hàan-al*  
 CYM      POSS.3 middle SBJ.3    eat-INCMPL  
           *ká*   *kiim-ih*                    *in*      *tsíimin lae.*  
           CNJ die-CMPL(ABS.3.SG) POSS.1.SG horse ??  
           ‘(While it was) eating, my horse died.’ (San Buenaventura 1684:37)
- b. U      *táan*    *in*      *bèelt-ik.*  
           POSS.3 middle SBJ.1.SG do-INCMPL  
           ‘I am doing it.’ (San Buenaventura 1684:37)
- c. *Táan*    *in*      *kàambes-ik.*  
           PROG SBJ.1.SG learn:CAUS-INCMPL  
           ‘I am teaching.’ (San Buenaventura 1684:19)

In YM, these aspectual predicates remain — such as the modal predicates — outer operators without a personal argument of their own. They are always grammatically third person singular, so that the conditions for loss of person marking are fulfilled. At this point, the aspectual predicate may become an auxiliary and, thus, a constituent of the core predication.

Apart from these person backgrounding aspectual auxiliaries, there is a further aspectual element *muka'h* ‘going to’ (with a phonological variant *mika'h*), which inflects for the main participant in subject function. It seems to occur mainly with intentional state of affairs (cf. E50.a/b), though this is not mandatory. *Muka'h* is also used, if the speaker has sufficient evidence that the state of affairs will take place (E50.c).

- E50. a. Ai   *iihoh*   *mika'h-e'x*  
 YM      oh    son      IMMFUT-ABS.2.PL  
           *wáahláah a*   *p'at-en-e'x*                    *kih*    *rèey*  
           INT all    SBJ.2 leave(SUBJ)-ABS.1.SG-2.PL says.he king  
           ‘“Oh son, are you all going to leave me?” said the king.’ (MUUCH 023)
- b. *muka'h-en*                    *in*      *w-e's*      *tèech*    *bix-ih*  
           IMMFUT-ABS.1.SG    SBJ.1.SG    ∅-show(SUBJ) you    how-ABS.3.SG  
           ‘I’m going to show you how to do it.’ (NAH 081)

- c. Táan k il-ik bèey-o', pwes, muka'h  
 PROG SBJ.1.PL see-INCMPL thus-D2 well IMMFUT(ABS.3.SG)  
 chúun-ul u y-ïik'-al le siklòon-o' (...)  
 start\DEAG-INCMPL SBJ.3 Ø-wind-REL DEF cyclone-D2  
 'So we were realizing, well, the storm of the hurricane was about to begin  
 (...)' (Bohnemeyer 1998:362)

The semantically very close auxiliary *bíin* 'FUT', on the contrary, appears frequently with the third person, implying predictivity (cf. E48).<sup>26</sup> According to Vapnarsky (1995), *bíin* is used in prophecies, underlining that something will happen in the future without giving the exact time of reference.

From a diachronic point of view, *muka'h* is derived from a Colonial focus construction with the motion verb *bíin* (*bíin in / u ka'h*, 'going I do / he/it does'). It is reanalysed as a one-place auxiliary, taking the only participant in subject function (cf. Bohnemeyer 1998:360). *Muka'h* resembles in its structure the so-called 'motion-cum-purpose'-constructions which are very common in Mayan languages<sup>27</sup>: an intransitive motion verb takes a subordinated clause with purpose meaning. Also with the intentional future construction, the subordinated clause works as purpose with respect to the auxiliary meaning. As with motion verbs, transitive subordinated cores are marked with subjunctive after *muka'h* while intransitive cores appear in incomplete aspect. The latter's subject position is controlled by the aspectual auxiliary while with transitive cores the ergative marker is preserved.

In general, however, most of the YM aspectual auxiliaries are clearly person backgrounding in their construction. In this, they contrast with most of the temporal, aspectual, and aktionsart operators in SAE languages. These favour the strategy of raising the subject of the core predication and making it the subject of the aspectual predicate. The core verb will then be subjectless, which leads to the integration of the two predicates into one clause. The result is an infinitive construction as in E51 / E52 and E53.a or a gerundial construction as in E53.b.

- E51. Je suis en train de réfléchir.  
 FRE 'I am thinking.'

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Bohnemeyer 1998:389ff for a comprehensive analysis of *bíin*.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Aissen 1987:16ff, 1994 for Tzotzil and Zavala 1993 for a general account on 'motion-cum-purpose'-constructions in different Mayan languages.

- E52. FRE a. Je vais revenir tout de suite.  
 SPAN b. Voy a regresar en seguida.  
 ‘I will be back presently.’

- E53. a. João voltou a ler.  
 PORT ‘Hans read again.’  
 b. João anda contando mentiras.  
 ‘Hans constantly tells lies.’

The examples above show a clear opposition in the construction of tense, aspect, and aktionsart meanings in the SAE languages and in YM. If these meanings are conveyed by auxiliaries, SAE languages generally choose personal operators while YM prefers impersonal ones in most of the investigated cases. Only with the intentional future both YM and SAE languages choose person foregrounding constructions. This is in line with the control properties connected with such a kind of future meaning.

### 5.3. Possessive constructions

In prototypical possessive relationships, the possessor is further up in F1 than the possessum (the possessed item) and the latter is relational. In linguistic structure, a possessive relationship may appear in a referential construction, in a predication or as part of a basically non-possessive construction. The latter may for example express the indirect affection of the possessor by virtue of being the possessor of an affected entity.<sup>28</sup>

The focus of the following investigation of possessive constructions is the syntactic coding of the animate possessor. Inalienable or inherent possession is prominent in referential possessive constructions. As an example of such a construction we are going to treat part-whole-relations with peripheral parts in Ch. 5.3.1. A possessive predication presupposes the dissociation of possessor and possessum and establishes a possessive relation between them. Its primary locus is therefore in alienable possession. Possessive predications are divided by the criterion of whether the possessum or the possessor is taken as the element to be pinned down by the relation. Accordingly, we get ascriptions of possession (to be investigated in Ch. 5.3.2) and predications of belonging (investigated in Ch. 5.3.3). Ascriptions of a property to a body part (Ch. 5.3.4) and situations with an indirectly affected possessor (Ch. 5.3.5) are basically non-possessive. Nevertheless, they are interesting cases of structural variation in the syntactic coding of the animate possessor, as will be shown below.

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. Lehmann 1998:8ff for a general account.

### 5.3.1. Part-whole relations

Certain objects are notionally parts of things. If such objects, e.g. peripheral body parts, belong to an animate possessor, there are in general two different strategies of syntactic expression. The peripheral part may be directly possessed by the animate possessor (*my lips*) or it may be possessed by its immediate superordinate whole which then is possessed by the animate possessor (*the lips of my mouth*). In the latter case the conceptual relations are more precisely mirrored in syntactic structure. The animate possessor is coded as a secondary attribute with respect to the possessed nominal with the peripheral part as its head. It takes thus a syntactic function further down in F3 than in the former construction where the animate possessor is a primary attribute to the peripheral part. The construction is, thus, more person backgrounding, accounting for the relation between the peripheral part and its directly superordinate whole.

In order to express such part-whole relations, YM must specify the immediate superordinate whole as the possessor of its part and add the animate possessor as a secondary attribute.

- E54. a. u        bòox-el    in        chi'  
 YM        POSS.3 lip-REL    POSS.1.SG mouth  
           ‘my lip(s)’
- b. u        pàach    in        w-ich  
           POSS.3 back    POSS.1.SG 0-eye  
           ‘my eyelid’
- c. u        chùuch    in        lùuch  
           POSS.3 stalk    POSS.1.SG squash-D2  
           ‘my squash stalk’
- d. u        k’ab-il    in        nòok’  
           POSS.3 hand-REL    POSS.1.SG dress  
           ‘my sleeve’

In languages such as Tamil (E55.a/b), Korean (E56), and Samoan (E57), many peripheral body parts occur in juxtaposition or composition with their superordinate wholes. In this case, the semantic relation between the two is expressed on a lexical level. Syntactically, the peripheral body part is directly possessed by the animate possessor, i.e. the latter occurs as a primary attribute to the nominal denoting the peripheral body part. In Tamil, it is possible to leave out the superordinate whole such as in E55.c, if the reference of the peripheral body part is clear from the context. In Korean, there are also peripheral body parts denoted by a simple lexeme such as in E56.c.

- E55. a. en-atu      kaalviral  
STAM      1.SG-GEN      foot:finger      ‘my toe’ (SK)
- b. en-atu      talaimuṭi  
            1.SG-GEN      head:hair      ‘my hair’ (SK)
- c. en-uṭaiya      (kaal)viral  
            1.SG-GEN      (foot:)finger      ‘my toe’ (SK)
- E56. a. nae sonkalak / palkalak  
KOR      1.SG hand:long.slim.thing / foot:long.slim.thing      ‘my finger/ toes’
- b. nae      nunkkəphul / ipsul  
            1.SG      eye:skin / mouth:comb      ‘my eyelid / lips’
- c. nae      muləp  
            1.SG      knee      ‘my knee’
- E57. a. ‘o      l=o=‘u      tama’ilima  
SAM      PRSV      ART=POSS=1.SG      little.one:arm/hand  
            ‘(that is) my finger’
- b. ‘o      l=o=‘u      tulivae  
            PRSV      ART=POSS=1.SG      joint:foot/leg  
            ‘(that is) my knee / the joint of my leg’ (Ulrike Mosel, p.c)

Also in Lezgian, Maori, German, and English, the peripheral body part is directly possessed by the animate being as presented in the following examples. In these languages, peripheral body parts are mainly denoted by monomorphemic lexemes although there are also compounds such as shown above for Korean, Samoan, and Tamil (e.g. E60.c for English and German). Extremely peripheral body parts such as ‘fingernail’, ‘eyelash’, ‘eyebrow’, ‘earlobe’ are very often expressed by compound nouns consisting of the peripheral part and its superordinate whole.

- E58. a. Jac-ari-n      krč-ar.i      žanawur      q’uluq di      gadar      q      uwu-na.  
LEZ      ox-PL.OBL-GEN      horn-PL      wolf      back      throw(PER) REP-AOR  
            ‘The oxen’s horns threw the wolf back again.’ (Haspelmath 1993:84)
- b. zi      p’uz-ar  
            1.SG.GEN      lip-PL      ‘my lips’ (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)
- c. zi      tup’-ar  
            1.SG.GEN      finger-PL      ‘my fingers’ (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)
- d. zi      q’ebeq’  
            1.SG.GEN      lid      ‘my eyelid’ (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)

- E59. Ku awhara taku koonui.  
 MAO T/A hit.accidentally SG:GEN:1.SG thumb  
 ‘I hurt my thumb.’ lit.: ‘My thumb has been hurt.’ (Bauer 1993:410)
- E60. a. meine Zehen ‘my toes’  
 GER b. meine Ferse ‘my heel’  
 c. mein (Augen)lid ‘my eyelid’

Some of the mentioned languages use a construction with the possessor as a secondary attribute if the peripheral body part is intended to be modified by an adjective or noun meaning ‘right’ or ‘left’. Then it is either the noun denoting the superordinate whole (E61.a from Korean and E62 from Lezgian) or the relational noun for ‘right/left.side’ (E61.b from Korean and E63 from Tamil) that is directly possessed by the animate possessor.

- E61. a. nae olunson omcisonkalak  
 KOR 1.SG right.hand thumb.finger ‘my right thumb’  
 b. nae olunccok mulup  
 1.SG right.side knee ‘my right knee’
- E62. a. zi erči ğil.i-n č’exi / k’anč’al t’ub  
 LEZ 1.SG.GEN right hand-GEN big thumb finger  
 ‘my right thumb’ (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)  
 b. zi erči wili-n q’ebeq’  
 1.SG.GEN right eye.OBL-GEN lid  
 ‘my right eyelid’ (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)
- E63. en-atu iŋ-atu kalviral / mulangkal / kannmaŋel  
 STAM 1.SG.GEN left.side-GEN leg:finger / knee:leg / eye:skin  
 ‘my left toe / knee / eyelid’ (SK)

However, this does not hold for English, German, and Samoan. In these languages, also peripheral body parts are directly modified by ‘right’ or ‘left’ and immediately possessed by the animate possessor.<sup>29</sup>

- E64. a. mein rechtes Knie / Augenlid ‘my right knee / eyelid’  
 GER b. mein rechter Daumen ‘my right thumb’

<sup>29</sup> This does not imply that the literal translation of e.g. E62 does not exist in these languages. The crucial point here is rather that a construction such as the German ‘mein rechtes Augenlid’ is not possible in the other mentioned languages.

- E65. a. ‘o l=o=‘u tulivae taumatau  
 SAM PRSV ART=POSS=1.SG joint:foot/leg right  
 ‘my right knee’ (Ulrike Mosel, p.c)
- b. ‘o l=o=‘u tama‘imata agavale  
 PRSV ART=POSS=1.SG little.one:eye left  
 ‘my left pupil’ (Ulrike Mosel, p.c)

The results of the discussion above are summarized in T4.

T4. *Syntactic status of possessor in peripheral body part-whole relations*

language	GER	ENG	SAM	MAO	LEZ	KOR	TAM	YM
an. possessor								
primary attribute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

There is a clear-cut difference in the construction within the domain of part-whole relations between YM and the rest of the languages. Solely YM codes the possessor of a peripheral body part as a secondary attribute to the nominal denoting the peripheral body part (this one being possessed by the immediate superordinate whole) while all the other languages code it as its primary attribute. Two further distinctions not represented in the table can be made with respect to the (+)-marked languages. Some of these languages, Korean, Tamil, and Samoan express the relation between the peripheral body part and its superordinate whole on the lexical level, coding many of them as compound nouns. Another (more marginal) syntactic criterion singles out Lezgian, Korean, and Tamil, because in these languages, the peripheral body part is not directly modified by adjectives such as ‘right’ or ‘left’ (that equally refer to the superordinate body part). A construction with the possessor as a secondary attribute to the peripheral body part is chosen instead. The corresponding languages are located in the middle of T4, showing at least some traits of (the representation of) the relation between the peripheral body part and its superordinate whole.

### 5.3.2. Ascription of possession

In an ascription of possession, the possessor is taken as the referential anchor – as the topic – and possession of the possessum is predicated over it. There are mainly two strategies to express the ascription of possession, i.e. the use of a possessive verb on the one hand and an existence predication on the other hand. In the former case, the possessor is understood to have control over the possessum, and accordingly the verb *have* takes the possessor as a subject and the possessum as a direct object (*I have a horse*). This is a strategy of person foregrounding, because the animate possessor oc-

copies the most prominent syntactic function in F3. In the latter case, the existence of the possessum is predicated and it appears as the subject of the existence clause. If the possessor is taken to specify the possessum it is coded as its attribute (*there is a horse of mine*). If its existence is predicated with respect to the possessor, the latter appears as the oblique object (*there is a horse to me*). In both cases the animate possessor is syntactically backgrounded. In the current section, it will be investigated which of these strategies are used by the languages of our sample to convey an ascription of possession.

In YM, an ascription of possession is generally rendered by an existence predication. The possessor may appear as an indirect object (E66.a) or as an attribute to the possessed noun (E66.b). The two versions are largely equivalent. The language does not have a grammatical verb with the meaning ‘have’. The closest equivalent is *ti’a’l-t* ‘possess, acquire’, which is regularly derived from *ti’a’l* ‘property’.

- E66. a. Yàan tèn tàak’in.  
 YM       EXIST   me       money
- b. Yàan in           tàak’in.  
       EXIST POSS.1.SG   money  
       ‘I have money.’

Similarly, Samoan forms existence clauses with the verb *iai* ‘exist, be present’ in which the possessum appears as its primary argument, and the animate possessor is attributed to the possessum. A lexical possessor appears in postnominal position (E67.a) and a pronominal possessor occurs prenominally (E67.b).

- E67. a. E       iai       le   ta‘avale   a       le   fafine.  
 SAM       T/A/M   EXIST   ART   car           POSS   ART   woman  
           ‘The woman has a car.’  
           lit.: ‘The car of the woman exists.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:774)
- b. E       iai       s=a=u                           ta‘avale?  
       T/A/M   EXIST   ART(NSPEC.SG)=POSS=2.SG   car  
       ‘Do you have a car?’ lit.: ‘Does your car exist?’ (o.c.:501)

In Maori, all sentences attributing possession are non-verbal. Maori has no verbs equivalent to English *own*, *have*, or *possess*. Even ‘existence’ statements have no copula or existence verb (Bauer 1993:78). Thus, a nominal clause without a copula or existence verb is used to express an ascription of possession, as exemplified in E68.

- E68. a. He hooiho too       Tohe.  
 MAO       CLF horse   [SG:GEN   Tohe]  
           ‘Tohe has a horse.’



- b. He pukapuka aa Pou.  
 CLF book [(PL.)GEN Pou]  
 ‘Pou has some books.’ (o.c.:198)

In these examples, the predicate noun appears in the initial position of a nominal clause. It is accompanied by the particle *he* which marks classifying or attributive predicates (cf. o.c.:78). The possessor is construed as an attribute to the possessum and agrees with it in number: the prefix *t-* in E68.a refers to the possessum *hooiho*, while the plurality of the possessum *pukapuka* in E68.b is marked by the suppression of *t-*.

Tamil and Lezgian both use existence predications with the animate possessor in an oblique syntactic function (dative or local) to express an ascription of possession. In Tamil the different case marking of the possessor indicates a difference concerning the temporality of the possessive relation. Dative marking indicates a permanent possessive relation (E69.a), while with locative marking a temporary possessive relation is expressed (E69.b). The selection of the locative instead of the dative case indicates thus the reduced control of the possessor over the possessum (cf. Lenk 1990:121). A similar difference concerning the temporality of the possessive relation is conveyed in Lezgian by the choice between the existence predicate *awa* (E70) vs. the local copula *gwa* ‘be at’, the latter expressing temporary possession. In this case, the possessor is marked by the adessive *-w* (cf. Haspelmath 1993:318).

- E69. a. avarkaḷ-ukku oru kutirai iru-nt-atu.  
 LTAM 3.PL.HUM-DAT one horse be-PST-3.SG.NT  
 ‘They had a horse.’ (Lenk 1990:120)

- b. enn-iṭam paṇam iru-kkiṛ-atu.  
 1.SG-LOC money be-PRS-3.SG.NT  
 ‘I have money.’ (o.c.:121)

- E70. a. Ada-z/ada-q xtul-ar awa.  
 LEZ 3.SG-DAT/3.SG-POESS grandchild-PL EXIST  
 ‘She has grandchildren.’ (Haspelmath 1993:89)

- b. Pul ada-q gzaf awa.  
 money 3.SG-POESS much EXIST  
 ‘He has a lot of money.’ (o.c.:318)

Korean uses both, the existence verb *issta* ‘exist’ (E71.a) and bivalent possessive verbs like *kacita* ‘have’ (E71.b) or *soyuhata* ‘possess’ in an ascription of possession. The difference in case marking clearly indicates that in E71.a the possessum is the subject, while in E71.b, it has direct-object function. In both cases, topic marking of the possessor is more common, while the constructions with a case-marked possessor are se-

mantically marked. The nominative on the animate possessor in E71.b for example, indicates its being focused.

- E71. a. suni-n<sub>ᅇn</sub>/-eke      cip-i      iss-ta.  
 KOR      Suni-TOP/-DAT      house-NOM      EXIST-DECL  
 ‘As for Suni, there is a house. / There is a house for Suni.’
- b. minsu-n<sub>ᅇn</sub>/-ka      cha-l<sub>ᅇl</sub>      kaci-ko      iss-ta.  
 Minsu-TOP/-NOM      car-ACC      have-CONT      EXIST-DECL  
 ‘As for Minsu, he has a car. / It is Minsu who has a car.’

Finally, German and English both use bivalent verbs in an ascription of possession.

- E72.      Ich habe Geld.  
 GER      ‘I have money.’

The summary of the discussion above is represented in T5.

T5. *Syntactic status of possessor in an ascription of possession*

language	GER	ENG	KOR	LEZ	TAM	YM	MAO	SAM
<b>possessor</b>								
<b>subject</b>	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
<b>oblique complement</b>	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
<b>attribute</b>	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+

The languages on the left of T5, German, English, and Korean, use a person foregrounding construction with a bivalent verb meaning ‘have’ to express an ascription of possession. The other languages lack such a verb and use a person backgrounding strategy with an existential predicate. They differ from each other with respect to the coding of the animate possessor in such a construction. While in Korean, Lezgian, and Tamil the animate possessor appears as a verbal dependent in an oblique case, the Maori and Samoan constructions are even more person backgrounding in coding the animate possessor as a nominal dependent, i.e. as an attribute to the possessum. In YM, both constructions are possible.

### 5.3.3. Predication of belonging

A predication of belonging is a possessive predication which takes the possessum as the referential anchor and predicates over it that it belongs to the possessor. Thus, the possessum is normally topical. In syntactic terms, it is usually the subject. Some languages have verbs like *belong* to denote lexical expression to this kind of relationship.

In such constructions, the possessor usually appears as an oblique complement of the verb (*The horse belongs to me*). However, there also may be a grammatical verb only or no verb at all. Then the possessor exhausts the predicate, being an indirect object to an overt or zero copula (*The horse is to me*). Alternatively, the possessor may be coded as an attribute to a pronominal substitute of the possessum (*The horse is mine*) or to a dummy relational noun (*The horse is my property*). In this case, the possessed nominal with such a dummy noun as its head is predicated over the possessum. Comparing these strategies with each other, those which code the animate possessor as a verbal dependent are person foregrounding while those which code him as a nominal dependent are person backgrounding. In the first, case the animate possessor takes a syntactic function further up in F3 than in the second case.

In YM and Korean, the explicit way of asserting a predication of belonging is to form a nominal clause whose subject is the possessum and whose predicate is a possessed nominal. The latter consists of the dummy possessed noun (*ti'a'l* ‘property’ in YM (E73.a), *kəs* ‘property’ in Korean (E73.b)) as its head and the animate possessor as its attribute. In Korean, the topic construction is again unmarked, while the nominative marking implies focusing of the possessum.

- E73. a. a ti'a'l le nah-a', Hoseh, wáah u ti'a'l leti'.  
 YM [POSS.2 property] DEF house-D1 Joseph or POSS.3 property that.one  
 ‘Is it your house, José, or his?’ (BVS 05.01.20)
- b. kə chaek-un /-i nae kəs i-ta.  
 KOR DET book-TOP /-NOM [1.SG property] COP-DECL  
 ‘As for the book, it’s mine / THAT book is mine.’

Lezgian (E74.a), Samoan (E74.b/c), and Maori (E74.d/e) use constructions with the animate possessor as a nominal(ized) attribute to a pronominal substitute of the possessum to render a predication of belonging. The possessum has subject function with regard to the nominal predicates. While Lezgian uses a copula to add the nominalized possessive attribute, the Samoan clause is semi-verbal, the possessor occurring in a construction with the TAM-marker *e*. In Maori, possessive predications are always non-verbal. Word order and typically inverse distribution of definiteness among possessor and possessum form the only structural distinction between a predication of belonging (cf. 5.3.2, E68) and the ascription of possession. The semantic distinction marked by the contrast *n-/m-* is that *n-* forms express either past or present (or both) ownership, while *m-* forms express future or intended ownership. The *n-* and *m-* morphs never occur in isolation. They are always bound to the possessive prepositions *a* or *o* (cf. Bauer 1993:208).

- E74. a. Balk'an wi-di tuš,  
LEZ horse 2.SG:GEN-NR.SG COP:NEG  
im či pačahdi-n-di ja.  
this:ABS 1.PL:GEN king.OBL-GEN-NR.SG COP  
'The horse is not yours, it's our king's.' (Haspelmath 1993:87)
- b. E a Feleti le ta'avale.  
SAM [T/A/M POSS Feleti] ART car  
'The car belongs to Feleti.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:525)
- c. E a=na le ta'avale?  
SAM [T/A/M POSS=3.SG] ART car  
'Is the car his/her?' (o.c.:525)
- d. Naa Hone te kii nei.  
MAO ACT:GEN John the key PROX  
'This key is John's / This key belongs to John.' (Bauer 1993:208)
- e. Moo Hone te kii nei.  
MAO INTD:GEN John the key PROX  
'This key is for John.' (o.c.:208)

Tamil, English, and German use both person backgrounding and person foregrounding constructions to express a predication of belonging. The person backgrounding strategies of Tamil (E75.a), English, and German (E75.b-d) are parallel to the strategy used by Lezgian, Samoan, and Maori, shown above in E74.

- E75. a. inta pustakam raaman-atu.  
STAM this book Raman-GEN  
'This book is Raman's.' (Asher 1982:92)
- GER b. Das Buch ist mein(e)s. 'The book is mine.'
- GER c. Der Bleistift ist meiner. 'The pencil is mine.'
- GER d. Diese Jacke ist meine. 'This jacket is mine.'

In Tamil (E75.a), the genitive-marked possessor noun constitutes the predicate and is ascribed to the possessum nominal. The copula *iru* is optional in this case. German and English also use copula constructions with a nominalized possessive attribute. The German possessive pronoun *mein* is nominalized by the suffix *-er*, *-(e)s*, and *-e*, when it is used predicatively. It is declined like the indefinite pronoun *einer*, *ein(e)s*, and *eine* in accordance with the gender and case of the possessum. Thus, we can say that the animate possessor is coded as an attribute to the grammatical dummy possessum *-er*, *-(e)s*, and *-e*.

The person foregrounding strategies of Tamil, German, and English are exemplified in E76 and E77. A lexical item conveying the meaning of belonging (*contam* ‘proper, belong, related’ in Tamil and the verbs *gehören* and *belong* in German and English) is used as a predicate that takes the animate possessor as an indirect object in the dative case. In a Rhineland dialect of German, there is additionally a copula construction with the animate possessor as an indirect object (E77.b).

E76. a. *inta pustakam raaman-akku contam(-atu).*  
 STAM this book Raman-DAT property(-3.SG.NT)  
 ‘This book belongs to Raman. / This book is Raman’s.’ (SK)

b. *inta vīṭu eṇ-akku contam.*  
 LTAM this house 1.SG-DAT property  
 ‘This house belongs to me.’ (Kukuczka 1982:55)

E77. a. *Das Buch gehört mir.* ‘The book belongs to me.’  
 GER b. *Das Buch ist mir.* ‘The book is mine.’

The Tamil constructions differ with respect to the temporality of the possessive relationship. The person backgrounding example in E75.a expresses a temporary possessive relation, whereas the person foregrounding cases in E76 are used to convey a permanent possessive relation.

The results of the discussion above are summarized in T6.

T6. *Syntactic status of possessor in a predication of belonging*

language	GER	ENG	TAM	KOR	MAO	SAM	LEZ	YM
possessor								
oblique complement	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
attribute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

The default case to express a predication of belonging is apparently the person backgrounding strategy. All the languages of the sample use copula or nominal clauses in which the possessor is either coded as an attribute to a dummy noun (YM and Korean) or as a nominalized possessive attribute (German, English, Lezgian, Tamil, Maori, and Samoan). German, English, and Tamil possess an additional construction to foreground the animate possessor when using lexical items meaning ‘belong, proper’.

#### 5.3.4. Ascription of property to body part

There are essentially two strategies of expressing that a body part has special properties. The first is to place the body part in subject position of the clause and the property

in predicate position (*John's legs are long*). The second is to combine the property as an attribute with the body part in an NP and to use this as the possessum of an ascription of possession (*John has long legs*). The situation in question has two features, the property and the possessive relationship. The first strategy foregrounds the property by making it the point of a predication, while at the same time the animate possessor is backgrounded into an attribute. The second strategy – on the contrary – foregrounds the possessive relationship and with it the animate possessor by coding him as subject, while backgrounding the property into an attribute.

In order to express that a body part has a special property, YM (E78), Samoan (E79), Maori (E80), and Tamil (E81) use the person backgrounding strategy. A nominal clause is formed of which the subject is a possessed NP with the body part noun as its head and of which the predicate is a nominal (possibly an adjective or a deadjectival noun) containing the relevant property. The Maori construction is parallel to the expression of an ascription of possession (cf. E68). Concerning YM, note it does not say ‘she is deaf’, but rather ‘her ear is deaf’, as exemplified in E78.a.

E78. a. Ko’k u xikin.

YM deaf POSS.3 ear  
‘She is deaf.’

b. Chowak-tak u múuk’ y-òok le x-ch’úuppal-e’.  
long-SBSTR.PL POSS.3 strength Ø-foot DEF F-girl-D3  
‘The girl has long legs.’

E79. a. E māfolafola tau o=na mata.

SAM T/A/M flat completely POSS=3.SG face(SPEC.PL)  
‘His face was completely flat.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:389)

b. O o=na mata ua mumu (...)  
PRSV POSS=3.SG eye (SPEC.PL) PF red  
‘His eyes were red.’ (o.c.:642)

E80. He parauri ngaa waewae o te tangata raa.

MAO [CLF brown] [the(PL) leg GEN the man DIST]  
‘The man’s legs are brown.’ (Bauer 1993:206)

E81. a. en- uṭaiya talai periy-atu.

STAM 1.SG-GEN head big-NR.NT  
‘My head is big (/a big one).’ (SK)

b. ava -uṭaiya vaay periy-atu.

3.SG.F-GEN mouth big-NR.NT  
‘Her mouth is big (/a big one).’ (SK)

Although in Tamil a construction such as in E82.a, in which the possessor appears as a verbal dependent to the predicate *iru* ‘be’ is commonly used to express the ascription of possession (cf. E69), it cannot be used to render the ascription of a property to a body part. The nominal clause in E82.b has an idiomatic meaning. However, it seems to be unacceptable if the speaker wants to refer to the property of a real body part (cf. Kukuczka 1982:50).

- E82. a.\* *en-akku alukk-āka kai-kaḷ iru-kkinr-ana.*  
 STAM 1.SG-DAT dirt-ADJR hand-PL be-PRS-3.PL.NT  
 ‘?I have dirty hands.’ (o.c.:50)
- b. *ēlēnā-v-ukku-p periya vāy.*  
 Elena-∅-DAT-∅ big mouth  
 ‘Elena has a big mouth.’ (o.c.:50)

In Korean, terms designating properties are manifested as stative intransitive verbs, e.g. *cakta* ‘be small’, *kilta* ‘be long’ etc. There are three different ways of expressing the ascription of a property to a body part. Most commonly, the animate possessor is coded as the topic and the predication of the property is ascribed to him as the comment (E83.a). Furthermore, the possessor can be marked by the nominative case if he is focused (E83.b) or, he can be backgrounded into an attribute of the possessum (E83.c). In the latter case the body part is treated as an individualized object, but it need not be a detached body part, and the property of the possessum is underlined.

- E83. a. *suni-nūn tali-ka kil-ta.*  
 KOR Suni-TOP [leg-NOM long-DECL]  
 ‘As for Suni, her legs are long.’
- b. *suni-ka tali-ka kil-ta.*  
 Suni-NOM leg-NOM long-DECL  
 ‘It is Suni whose legs are long.’
- c. *suni(-ui) tali-ka kil-ta.*  
 [Suni(-GEN) leg]-NOM long-DECL  
 ‘Suni’s legs are long.’

In E83 the property is clearly ascribed to the body part nominal as the subject of the intransitive verb. This can be deduced from the fact that E83.a and b would be ungrammatical if the body part noun was suppressed. Thus, from a syntactic point of view, the animate possessor is less prominent than the possessum.

Also, in Lezgian, the main construction to express the ascription of a property to a body part is person backgrounding with the animate possessor as an attribute to the nominal denoting the body part (cf. E84.a/b). In E84.c/d however, the animate posses-

sor appears in subject position and is thus foregrounded. The nominalized body part is modified by the adjective denoting the property, and the whole phrase is directly ascribed to the subject. This construction is similar to the English translation ‘She is of black eyes’ or the German equivalent ‘Sie ist schwarzäugig’. Such constructions seem to be marked in Lezgian, e.g. the sentence in E84.d might have a restrictive reading like ‘she is the one with black eyes (as opposed to someone with blue ones)’ (Elena Kalinina, p.c.).

- E84. a. Kü                    ğil-er    ğizildi-n-bur                    ja,    dišehli-jar.  
 LEZ            2.PL.GEN    hand-PL gold.OBL-GEN-NR.PL    COP woman-PL  
 ‘Your hands are golden, women.’ (Haspelmath 1993:313)
- b. Adan            wil-er    č’ulaw ja.  
           3.SG.GEN eye-PL black COP  
 ‘Her eyes are black.’ (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)
- c. Ruš-ar    q’eleč’    jak’-ari-n-bur                    ja.  
           girl-PL thin    flesh-PL.OBL-GEN-NR.PL    COP  
 ‘The girls are lean (lit.: of thin flesh).’ (o.c.:313)
- d. Am            č’ulaw    wil-eri-n-di                    ja.  
           ABS.3.SG black eye-PL.OBL-GEN-NR.SG COP  
 ‘She is of black eyes’. (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)

German and English display both construction types in the domain under discussion (E85). However, German is the only language that clearly favours the foregrounding of the animate possessor. E85.a and c exemplify the relevant German and English constructions: the special property is construed as an attribute to the nominal denoting the body part, and the modified NP with the body part as its head is ascribed to the animate possessor as subject of a ‘have’-predication. The person backgrounding constructions are shown in E85.b and d. In English, they are perfect whereas in German they are subject to some restrictions. E85.b is only acceptable if the body part is treated as a detached object. Generally, the person backgrounding construction seems to be only fine with a temporary property ascribed to the body part (E85.d). This criterion rules out E85.b, the length of one's legs being generally conceived of as a permanent feature.

- E85. a. Das Mädchen hat lange Beine.                    ‘The girl has long legs.’  
 GER b. ? Die Beine des Mädchens sind lang.                    ‘The girl’s legs are long.’  
           c. Sie hat kurze Haare.                    ‘She has short hair.’  
           d. Ihre Haare sind kurz.                    ‘Her hair is short.’

Inalienable items in general are not freely used as the object of ‘have’-predications. Body parts in particular can only be ascribed to possessors if they have special proper-



ties. Thus, German and English use *haben/have* in the discussed area, although sentences such as *das Mädchen hat Beine/the girl has legs* are odd. This is an example of the use of a strategy in contexts which are rather far removed from its proper locus.<sup>30</sup>

Note, additionally, that in German and English – contrary to YM – bodily properties or conditions such as deafness or blindness are ascribed to the person as a whole (E86.a). Other adjectives denoting bodily properties may select both, the body part or the animate possessor in subject position (E86.b).

- E86. a. Das Mädchen ist taub / blind / kahlköpfig. ‘The girl is deaf / blind / bald.’  
 GER b. Ihr Kopf ist kahl. ‘Her head is bald.’

The results of the discussion are summarized in T7.

T7. *Syntactic status of possessor in an ascription of a property to a body part*

language	GER	ENG	LEZ	KOR	MAO	TAM	SAM	YM
possessor								
subject	+	+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-
attribute	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

In all the languages of the sample, the person backgrounding strategy can be used to express an ascription of a property to a body part. Such a strategy gives priority to the expression of the inherent relation between the animate possessor and his body part. German, English, and Lezgian, to a restricted degree, alternatively make use of the person foregrounding strategy which underlines the role of the possessor as the person carrying the relevant body feature.

### 5.3.5. Affection of possessor

There is a class of situations which involve possessive relationships between two participants. These are prototypically body part relations, more marginally also relations of an animate possessor to intimate parts such as clothes play a role. The situation itself is non-possessive. Rather, at the core of the situation, there is some kind of affection or impingement on the possessum. The animate possessor is necessarily indirectly affected by the impact on its body part or other intimate part/property.<sup>31</sup> Optionally, the

<sup>30</sup> The construction is an instance of what is called ‘predication by attribution’ in Lehmann 1984[R], Ch. IV.2.1.

<sup>31</sup> This implies experiential situations where the animate possessor is an experiencer of a bodily affection. Such situations are dealt with in Ch. 5.4.2.2.

situation contains an actor who controls the affliction of the possessum. He may or may not be identical with the possessor.

There are essentially two different ways in which such a situation may be represented structurally, which we may call associative and dissociative (cf. Lehmann 1998:9). In the associative construction, the possessor appears as a possessive attribute to the possessum, as in *I wash my hands*; in the dissociative construction, he appears as a verbal dependent in its own right. The dissociative construction is marked by phenomena which have been called possessive dative or *dativus sympatheticus*, later on possessor raising, as in French *je me lave les mains* ‘I wash my hands’, and possessum demotion, as in German *sie schlug mich auf den Kopf* instead of ‘she hit my head’. The associative strategy concentrates on the direct involvement of the possessum and, consequently, backgrounds the person. The dissociative strategy emphasizes the involvement of the possessor and, consequently, foregrounds the person. In the French example, the animate possessor is coded as an adjunct which reflects his **indirect involvement** in the situation. In the German example, the animate possessor takes the syntactic function of the direct object which reflects his **direct involvement** in the situation. The possessum is added as a local adjunct. In the associative construction, we may speak of the possessor’s **indirect participation** in the situation, while the dissociative construction is a case of his **direct participation** in the situation. In a given language, both strategies or just one of them may be represented syntactically.

YM (E87), Maori (E88), Lezgian (E89), and Samoan (E90) use the strategy of person backgrounding in the situation described. The animate possessor is coded as an attribute to the possessum. In the a-versions, the agent and the animate possessor are referentially identical whereas in the b-versions they differ from another. While YM<sup>32</sup>, Maori, and Lezgian do not reflect such a difference in syntactic structure, Samoan does in fact. Despite of having the role of an agent, the animate possessor is not coded as a verbal dependent (an ergative or absolutive argument, as might be expected) in E90.a. Instead, the possessum nominal appears as the subject of the intransitive verb, while the animate possessor is backgrounded into its attribute. In Samoan, this strategy is not restricted to situations with an inherent possessive relation between agent and patient but may also be used with established relations (cf. Mosel 1991[T]:183f).

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<sup>32</sup> In similar situations with reduced agency as in ‘he hit his head’ YM may only code the possessive role of the animate possessor (cf. Lehmann et al. 2000 for a more comprehensive analysis of the syntactic coding of the animate possessor in different semantic roles, such as agent, sympathetic patient, experiencer, recipient, beneficiary and diverse local roles).

- E87. a. P'o' a wich!  
 YM wash POSS.2 face  
 'Wash your face!'
- b. T-in k'op-ah u ho'l le máak-o'.  
 PST-SBJ.1.SG hit-CMPL POSS.3 head DEF person-D2  
 'I hit that man on the head.'
- E88. a. I horoi raaua i oo rauaa makawe.  
 MAO T/A wash 3.DU ACC [GEN 3.DU hair]  
 'They washed their hair.' (Bauer 1993:203)
- b. Ka paa tonu ki te rae o toona matua taane.  
 T/A touch still [to the forehead GEN SG:GEN:3.SG parent male]  
 '(It) hit his father on the forehead.' (Winifred Bauer, p.c.)
- E89. a. žuwa-n čin čüxü-x  
 LEZ self.OBL-GEN face wash-IMP  
 'wash your face' (Mt 6.17<sup>33</sup>)
- b. Sadlahana Il'ič-a ada-n qün q'u-na  
 suddenly Il'i-ERG 3.SG-GEN shoulder hold-AOR  
 wa ada-z Šuš' wac' qalur-nar.  
 and 3.SG-DAT Šuš' river show-AOR (Haspelmath 1993:337)  
 'Suddenly Il'ič touched his shoulder and showed him the Šuš' river.'
- E90. a. Na selu lo'u lulu.  
 SAM PST comb [my head]  
 'I combed my hair.' (Mosel 1991[T]:184)
- b. 'a 'ua miti=solo le lima o le tama e le fafine.  
 but PF suck=around [ART hand POSS ART boy] ERG ART woman  
 'but the woman licked the hand of the boy.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:449)

In Lezgian, the animate possessor may also appear as an adjunct to the verb to express his indirect involvement in the situation (E91). However, this type of construction seems to be marginal with regard to the focused situation. The mentioned body part is not affected but still has to come into existence. In situations similar to E89.a/b, the animate possessor does not appear as a verbal dependent (Elena Kalinina p.c.).

- E91. Q̃e=paka kwe-z spel-ar-ni aq̃eč'-da.  
 LEZ today=tomorrow 2.SG-DAT moustache-PL-too go.out-FUT  
 'soon moustaches will grow on you.'  
 (Ger.: Bald werden euch Schnurrbärte wachsen.) (o.c.:88)

<sup>33</sup> Elena Kalinina, p.c.

Tamil (E92) and Korean (E93), both use the person backgrounding and the person foregrounding strategy in the situation under investigation. In the a-versions of the following examples, the animate possessor is coded as an attribute to the affected body part, which itself occurs as a direct or local object, corresponding to the valency of the respective verb. In the b-versions, the possessor is foregrounded and appears as a verbal dependent to underline his indirect or direct involvement in the situation. For the Korean case, it has to be noted that this latter construction type is quite rare and only occurs in the spoken language.

- E92. a. *avan en(-uṭaiya) talai-il aṭi-tt-aan.*  
 STAM 3.SG.M 1.SG(-GEN) head-LOC hit-PST-3.SG.M  
 ‘He hit my head.’ (SK)
- b. *avan en-akku talai-il aṭi-tt-aan.*  
 3.SG.M 1.SG-DAT head-LOC hit-PST-3.SG.M  
 ‘He hit me on the head.’ (SK)
- E93. a. *nae-ka ku namca(-ui) mēli-lul ttaely-əss-ta.*  
 KOR 1.SG-NOM DET man(-GEN) head-ACC hit-PF-DECL  
 ‘I hit that man’s head.’
- b. *nae-ka ku namca-lul mēli-lul ttaely-əss-ta.*  
 1.SG-NOM DET man-ACC head-ACC hit-PF-DECL  
 ‘I hit that man on the head.’
- a’. *nae-ka suni(-ui) phal-e cusa-lul noh-ass-ta.*  
 1.SG-NOM Suni(-GEN) arm-LOC injection-ACC put-CMPL-DECL  
 ‘I gave an injection in Suni’s arm.’
- b’. *nae-ka suni-eke phal-e cusa-lul noh-ass-ta.*  
 1.SG-NOM Suni-DAT arm-LOC injection-ACC put-CMPL-DECL  
 ‘I gave Suni an injection in her arm.’

The Tamil and Korean cases differ with respect to the grammatical function of the animate possessor. While in Tamil he has the status of an adjunct, in Korean he must be analysed in both cases as a verbal complement, in E93.b as the direct object of the transitive verb *ttaelita* and in E93.b’ as the indirect object of the ditransitive verb *nohta*. The nominal denoting the body part changes its grammatical function from a to b and a’ to b’. In E93.a/a’ it has complement function, while in E93.b/b’ it is an adjunct. This can be deduced from the following facts: the NPs referring to the possessor can be topicalized and may appear as antecedent of the relative clause. This is not possible for the nominals denoting the possessum. Furthermore, the latter can be deleted without a semantic change of the basic situation. If, instead, the NP referring to the possessor is

possessor is deleted, then the subject NP is interpreted as the possessor of the affected body part.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, German and English both use person foregrounding constructions to emphasize the affection of the animate possessor. However, there are differences in the status of the relevant constructions. Both languages may reflect the direct or indirect involvement of the possessor in the situation. In German, there are some verbs of physical affection, that take animate as well as inanimate entities as direct objects. With these verbs, either the possessor (E94.a/c) or the possessum (E94.b/d) may be coded as a complement. If the possessor appears as a direct object, the body part is optionally added in a prepositional phrase which determines the affected location. Otherwise the possessor is coded as a dative adjunct. The valency of the verbs determines that in E94.b the body part is a direct object, while in E94.d it is a prepositional complement of the verb. English does not have the same possibility of variation. Affection verbs like *hit* in E94.c take the possessor as a direct object and add the possessum as a local adjunct.

- |      |    |                                       |                               |
|------|----|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| E94. | a. | Erna hat Erwin (am Kopf) tätowiert.   | ‘Erna tattooed Erwin’s head.’ |
| GER  | b. | Erna hat Erwin den Kopf tätowiert.    | ditto                         |
|      | c. | Er hat mich (auf den Kopf) geschlagen | ‘He hit me (on the head).’    |
|      | d. | Er hat mir auf den Kopf geschlagen.   | ditto                         |

Some verbs only select inanimate entities as complements (E95.a), others code the affected entity as a prepositional object (E95.b/c). In German, these verbs take the animate possessor as an adjunct in the dative case to express his indirect involvement regarding the affection. His presence is required because of the relationality of the possessum. The equivalent English construction in E95.b is not productive any more, but limited to a small number of verbs like *stare s.o. in the face* or *look s.o. in the eyes* (cf Haspelmath & König 1998). Instead, in English the person backgrounding construction is used in those cases where German expresses the indirect involvement of the animate possessor (E94.a / E95.a). In German, the person backgrounding construction is rarely used in the discussed situation. It generally does not express the affection of the possessor. Thus, E95.d is more natural in a situation where the possessor does not wear the blouse.

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<sup>34</sup> Note, additionally, that in Korean, a locative or temporal adverbial can be marked by the accusative case without a local preposition, as in German *ich habe den ganzen Tag gearbeitet*.

- E95. a. Erna brach Erwin den Arm. 'Erna broke Erwin's arm.'  
 GER b. Sie starrte mir ins Gesicht. 'She stared me in the face.'  
 c. Sie starrte mir auf die Bluse. 'She stared at my blouse.'  
 d. Sie starrte auf meine Bluse. ditto

The summary of the discussion is represented in T8.

T8. *Syntactic status of affected possessor*

language	GER	ENG	KOR	TAM	LEZ	MAO	SAM	YM
<b>an. possessor</b>								
<b>complement</b>	+	+	(+)	-	-	-	-	-
<b>adjunct</b>	+	(+)	-	+	(+)	-	-	-
<b>attribute</b>	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

The languages on the right side of the table, YM, Samoan, Maori, and Lezgian (with some limitation), only use the person backgrounding strategy which does not give structural expression to the mediate affection of the animate possessor in a situation of an affection of one of his intimate parts. In the languages in the left middle part of the table, Tamil, Korean, and English, there are alternative strategies to code the animate possessor. His direct or indirect involvement in the situation may be rendered by coding him as a verbal dependent or he may be backgrounded into an attribute of the possessor. German is the only language of the sample that clearly favours the person foregrounding construction in the expression of body part affection.

## 5.4. Mental, sensual, and emotional states and processes

### 5.4.1. Preliminaries

A situation may involve a human participant in touching his physical, psychic or cognitive state of being. Different kinds of affection may be distinguished in this area. The human participant may be affected through his senses, concerning his perception or his physical state. He may be affected in his feelings and emotions. Or, he may be affected in his mental state, where his memory or his knowledge are involved. The semantic role of the affected participant in all these contexts is that of an **experiencer**. An experiential situation may additionally contain a participant that provokes the experience or is its object (**theme** or stimulus) and an affected (material or immaterial) body part. The experiencer is generally not (very) sensitive to control relations (cf. F2), but his control may vary according to the experiential subtypes outlined above. The same is

true for the theme of the experience. In general, it may be more strongly controlled than it exerts control on its own.

There are various strategies of coding the human participant in situations of his mental, sensual or emotional affection. Many languages use experiential predicates that are traditionally called ‘verba sentiendi’ and ‘verba affectuum’. They either foreground the experiencer into subject position (*I like John*) or background him into an object function (*John pleases me*). Other experiential verbs may take the affected facet of the experiencer, either one of his body parts, his mind or one of his senses, as a subject. The experiencer himself appears as the possessive attribute of the latter (*My heart likes John*). Thus, experiencer coding ranges on a continuum extending from adverbial functions of a subject and an object to the adnominal function of a possessive attribute.

The structure of the current paragraph follows the above distinction in mental, sensual, and emotional states and processes. The investigation is not meant to be exhaustive, but does reflect a pertinent part of the experiencer coding in the languages of the sample.

## 5.4.2. Sensual states and processes

### 5.4.2.1. Perception

#### 5.4.2.1.1. Some general remarks

Perception predicates can be distinguished with regard to their orientation towards one of the participants of the situation (cf. Viberg 1984). **Experiencer-oriented** predicates are directed towards the experiencer as the primary participant. They may be further divided into **attentive perception** predicates (such as ‘look’, ‘listen’, ‘sniff’) and **inactive perception** predicates (such as ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘smell’, ‘taste’, ‘feel’). While the attentive perception verbs show a clear control incline between actor and undergoer, this is not the case for their inactive counterparts. The experiencer of an inactive perception verb may have little control, but he does not lack it altogether. At least his initiative, i.e. the direction of attention towards the theme, is necessary for the situation to come into existence/to occur. The **theme-oriented** perception predicates are directed towards the theme or stimulus of the perception. With these verbs, the theme occurs as the main participant and the experiencer appears — if at all — in some oblique syntactic function. Control relations do not play a role within this construction type.

We may assume that the different perception verbs constitute a continuum with respect to the parameter of control. The attentive perception verbs are located at the right pole

showing a clear control incline between the participants, the inactive perception verbs may be somewhere in the middle, being characterized by non-distinctive control relations and the theme-oriented perception verbs are at the left pole, bearing no control relations at all.

Due to these conditions, only the inactive perception verbs are supposed to show cross-linguistic variation and are investigated in the following section. The attentive perception verbs may — owing to the clear control-incline between actor and undergoer — universally appear in person foregrounding constructions, coding the experiencer in subject function and the theme of the perception as a direct object. They will only be marginally discussed — with respect to the inactive perception verbs. The theme-oriented perception verbs are supposed to appear cross-linguistically in person backgrounding constructions. In the SAE languages, the experiencer generally occurs as an indirect or prepositional object (Ger. *Das schmeckt mir gut.*, Eng. *That sounds good to me.*) or he may not be realized at all (Ger. *Das sieht gut aus.*, Eng. *This looks pretty.*). In YM, the perceptual quality is ascribed to a local NP which contains the body part of perception as a head, while the experiencer appears as a possessive attribute of the latter (cf. Ch. 5.4.3.2 for a discussion of these verbs in evaluative situations).

#### 5.4.2.1.2. Inactive perception

YM (E96), Tamil (E97), Maori (E98), and Korean (E99) use, as well as German and English (E100), transitive verbs for the expression of inactive perception. They take the experiencer in subject function and the theme as a direct object. Note that YM only possesses two lexemes in the relevant domain, *il* ‘see’ (E96.a) and *u’y* ‘hear, taste, smell, sense, feel’ (E96.b), covering at the same time all senses apart from sight.

E96. a. He’l túun behe’la’ k-a w-il-ik-e’x-a’.  
 YM PRSV then today IMPF-SBJ.2  $\emptyset$ -see-INCMPL-2.PL-D1  
 ‘Here it is now, you see it.’ (FCP 338)

b. Ts’o’k a w-u’y-ik-e’x.  
 TERM SBJ.2  $\emptyset$ -feel-INCMPL-2.PL  
 ‘You have heard it already.’ (FCP 005)

E97. Payyan paamp-e paakkale.  
 STAM boy.NOM snake-ACC see.NEG  
 ‘The boy didn’t see the snake.’ (Asher 1982:54)

E98. I kite ahau i te tangata paru ngaa ringa.  
 MAO T/A see 1.SG ACC the man dirty the(PL) hand  
 ‘I saw a man with dirty hands.’ (Bauer 1993:286)



E99. na-nūn/nae-ka pata-lūl po-ass-ta.  
 KOR 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM sea-ACC see-CMPL-DECL  
 ‘I have seen the sea.’

E100. Ich höre / sehe das Auto schon.  
 GER ‘I already hear / see the car.’

Samoan uses the non-ergative forms of the labile perception verbs *fa’alogo* ‘hear, feel’ and *va’ai* ‘see’ to express inactive perception. They take the experiencer in subject function. Audible and visible objects are taken as arguments introduced by the locative-directional particle or asyndetic adverbial clauses (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:616). Although this construction differs from those in E96 - E100, the experiencer is still foregrounded.

E101. a. Na va’ai le fafine i le tama.  
 SAM PST see ART woman LD ART boy  
 ‘The woman saw the boy.’ (o.c.:416)

b. Ou te faalogo atu o faapea le tamaitai  
 1.SG T/A/M hear thither PROG say ART lady  
 i l=a=na uo: (...)  
 LD ART=POSS=3.SG friend  
 ‘I heard the lady saying to her friend: (...)’ (o.c.:617)

The use of the ergative forms of these verbs implies control on the part of the experiencer so that e.g. *va’ai* bears the meaning ‘see on purpose, visit, look after’. Furthermore, there is a derived ergative form *va’ai=a* ‘catch sight of, spot, discover’. In contrast to the simple form *va’ai* it is explicitly punctual and shows a higher degree of transitivity. (cf. o.c.:733). For Samoan, we may thus conclude, that inactive perception is mainly expressed by non-ergative verbs that code the experiencer as an absolutive argument signaling in this way his reduced control.

It generally holds for Samoan discourse that persons tend to occur syntactically in the background (Mosel 1991[S]). This is also true for the expression of perception, as shown in the following example. The experiencer is represented as a possessive attribute to the body part nominals relevant in the act of perception.

- E102. Oo mai loa Tulua i le fale, faataga tepa ese mata  
 SAM come hither then Tulua LD ART house pretend look away eye(SPEC.PL)  
 o le tina a o taliga la e  
 POSS ART mother but PRSV ear(SPEC.PL) EMPH T/A/M  
 faalogologo ma maitau soo se pao.  
 hear and notice every noise  
 ‘When Tulua came home, the eyes of her mother pretended to look away,  
 but her ears listened and noticed every noise.’ (o.c.:300 zitiert nach Semau  
 1979:4)

In Lezgian, the experiencer of an inactive perception (*akun* ‘see’, *wan atun* ‘hear’) is expressed in the dative case and the theme occurs in the absolutive. As explained above, the dative argument has subject function in these so-called affective constructions.

- E103. Zamiradi-z Diana aku-na.  
 LEZ Zamira.OBL-DAT Diana see-AOR  
 ‘Zamira saw Diana.’ (Haspelmath 1993:270)

For the expression of attentive perception other verbs are used. These take the experiencer either as an ergative (*wil jagun* ‘look at’; *jab gun* ‘listen’) or an absolutive argument (*kiligun* ‘look at’).

We may conclude that most languages of the sample behave like English and German in having transitive perception verbs with the experiencer as the subject and the theme as the direct object. Samoan and Lezgian, however, reflect the reduced control incline syntactically. These languages favour less transitive constructions to express inactive perception. In Samoan, inactive perception verbs are non-ergative (= intransitive), coding the experiencer as an absolutive argument and the theme as a peripheral argument. In Lezgian, the experiencer of inactive perception appears as a dative subject, whereas the experiencer of attentive perception occurs, depending on the verb, with ergative or absolutive case marking.

#### 5.4.2.2. Bodily sensation

All the languages of the sample use person foregrounding as well as person backgrounding constructions to render a physical condition. All possess nominal or verbal predicates, usually monovalent, that either foreground the experiencer into subject po-

sition or attribute the sensation to the affected body part, thus backgrounding the experiencer into an attribute to the body part nominal.<sup>35</sup>

E104 until E110 are examples of experiencer foregrounding. In YM, there are adjectives and resultative participles to express concrete physical affections, like *ke'l* 'cold', *k'iilkab* 'sweaty', *ka'na'n* 'tired', *k'oha'n* 'ill' *wi'h* 'hungry', *uk'ah* 'thirsty'. They may take the human participant in subject function such as in E104. However, *ke'l* 'cold' and *k'iilkab* 'sweaty' are more usual in an impersonal construction. When talking about their physical condition concerning temperature the Mayans say *ke'l/k'iilkab* 'it is cold/sweaty'.

E104. a. Tèech-e' ke'l-ech t èen-e' k'iilkab-en.

YM you-TOP cold-ABS.2.SG me-TOP sweaty-ABS.1.SG  
'You're cold; me I'm sweaty.' (BVS 10.01.06)

b. Míin ma' hach k'oha'n-ech-i' chéen ka'n-a'n-ech.  
about NEG really sick-ABS.2.SG-NEGF just tire-PART.RSLTV-ABS.2.SG  
'I think you are not really sick, you're just tired.' (BVS 10.01.08)

c. Tèen-e' wi'h-en way-e'  
me-TOP hungry-ABS.1.SG here-D3  
táan in hàan-al y-éetel le k'éek'en-o'b-a'  
PROG SBJ.1.SG eat-INCMPL Ø-with DEF pig-PL-D1  
'Me, I am starving here; I am eating with these pigs.' (HIJO 102)

d. Uk'ah-ech? A k'áat uk'-ul?  
thirsty-ABS.2.SG POSS.2.SG wish drink-INCMPL  
'Are you thirsty? Would you like to drink?' (BVS 07.01.22)

Samoan uses noun-verb compounds like *isu mamafa* 'to have a heavy nose' to express physical conditions or states (E105.a). They are composed of nouns denoting a body part or some other part of a whole and verbs denoting some quality or state of that body part. The entire compound means 'to have a (body) part of the quality expressed by the modifying verb'. They behave like a non-ergative verb and take the experiencer as an absolute argument (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:300). The same is true for

<sup>35</sup> The case of the expression of physical sensation with the obligatory presence of a body part is investigated in more detail in Lehmann et al. 2000. There it is shown that languages such as German and Tamil display person foregrounding as well as person backgrounding constructions in such a situation (*Ich friere an den Händen* vs. *meine Hände frieren*) while in Samoan and Yucatec Maya, the experiencer always appears as possessive attribute to the body part. Korean favours - besides a possessive expression - constructions with the experiencer in topic function, bearing no grammatical relation regarding the verb.

E105.b, where the physical condition is directly attributed to the experiencer in subject function.

E105. a. E        isu    māmafa    le    teine.

SAM        T/A/M    nose    heavy        ART    girl

‘The girl has got a cold.’

lit.: ‘The girl has got a heavy nose.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:696)

b. ‘Ua        ‘ou        ma’alili.

PF        1.SG        cold

‘I am cold.’ (Ulrike Mosel, p.c.)

Maori (E106), Korean (E107), Tamil (E108), and Lezgian (E109) take the experiencer as a subject to a nominal or verbal(ized) predicate. The Lezgian experiencer subject of a bodily sensation is again dative-marked (cf. Haspelmath 1993:283).

E106. a. Tino ora    teenei    tamaiti.

MAO        very    well    this        child

‘This child is very healthy.’ (Bauer 1993:482)

b. E        hia.inu        ana    ahau.

T/A    desire.drink    T/A    1.SG

‘I am thirsty.’ (Winifred Bauer, p.c.)

E107.        na-nūn/nae-ka        chup-ta / aphū-ta.

KOR        1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM    cold-DECL / ill-DECL

‘I am / It's me who is cold / sick.’

E108.        nāṅ    paci-yāy        irukkīr-ēṅ.

LTAM        1.SG    hunger-ADVR    be:PRS-1.SG

‘I am hungry.’ (Lenk 1990:100)

E109. a. Za-z        meq’i-da

LEZ        1.SG-DAT    cold-PRED

‘I feel cold.’ (Haspelmath 1993:116)

b. Za-z        gisin-da.

1.SG-DAT    hungry-PRED

‘I am hungry.’ (o.c.:116)

German and English display different types of constructions with an experiencer-subject. In E110.a, the experiencer is subject of a possessive predication in which the possession of the sensation is ascribed to him as a direct object. E110.b/c/d contain adjectives and verbs of bodily sensation. German may add the affected body part as a local adjunct (E110.d).

- E110. a. Ich habe Kopfschmerzen / Durst / Hunger.  
 GER ‘I have a headache / I am thirsty / hungry.’
- b. Ich bin hungrig / durstig.  
 ‘I am hungry / thirsty.’
- c. Ich friere / schwitze / fühle mich unwohl.  
 ‘I feel cold / hot / sick.’
- d. Ich friere an den Händen.  
 ‘My hands are cold.’

The following examples in E111 until E117 show experiencer backgrounding into the position of an attribute to the body part nominal. The latter generally appears as subject to the predicate denoting physical affection, apart from Lezgian E115.a, where it is marked in a local case. In YM and Samoan, this seems to be the predominant construction type in the domain of bodily sensation.

- E111. a. Hach táan u chi'-bal in pòol.  
 YM really PROG SBJ.3 bite-DEAG POSS.1.SG head  
 ‘I have a bad headache.’ (BVS 05.01.44)
- b. Bèey xàan yah in nak'  
 thus also pain POSS.1.SG belly  
 astáah k-in hak'-pah-al.  
 Until IMPF-SBJ.1.SG choke-SPONT-INCMPL  
 ‘Also, my stomach aches till I choke.’ (BVS 16.01.03)
- c. Míin ma' tòoh in w-óol-i'.  
 about NEG straight POSS.1.SG  $\emptyset$ -mind-NEGF  
 ‘I think, I'm not well.’ (BVS 16.01.04)
- E112. a. Ua ma'alili o='u lima  
 SAM PF cold POSS=1.SG hand  
 ‘My hands are cold.’ (Ulrike Mosel, p.c.)
- b. Ua tīgā l=o'=u ulu  
 PF hurt ART=POSS=1.SG head  
 ‘I have a headache.’ (Ulrike Mosel, p.c.)
- E113. a. nae mom-i an-coh-ta.  
 KOR 1.SG body-NOM NEG-good-DECL  
 ‘I am not well.’
- b. nae pae-ka aphu-ta .  
 1.SG belly-NOM ill-DECL  
 ‘My belly hurts.’

- E114. a. Kei te ānini tooku maahunga.  
 MAO T/A ache SG:GEN:1.SG head  
 ‘I have a headache.’ (Winifred Bauer, p.c.)
- b. Kei te mamae taku ringa.  
 T/A hurt SG:GEN:1.SG hand  
 ‘My hand hurts.’ (Ngata Dictionary, s.v. *hurt*<sup>36</sup>)
- E115. a. Dymova-n bedendi-k meq’i-la zurzu-n akat-nawa-j.  
 LEZ Dymov.OBL-GEN body.OBL-SBESS cold-ADV shiver-MSD get-PRF-PST  
 ‘Dymov’s body was shivering from cold.’ lit.: ‘Shivering from cold had gotten under Dymov’s body.’ (Haspelmath 1993:144)
- b. zi q’il t’a-zwa  
 1.SG.GEN head hurt-IMPF  
 ‘My head is aching.’ (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)
- E116. a. en(-atu) kai virai-kinṭr-atu.  
 STAM 1.SG(-GEN) hand freeze-PRS-3.SG.NT  
 ‘My hand is cold.’ (SK)
- b. en(-atu) vayiru valikk-utu.  
 1.SG(-GEN) belly ache:PRS-3.SG.NT  
 ‘My belly aches.’ (SK)
- E117. a. Mein Kopf schmerzt / tut weh.  
 GER ‘My head aches.’
- b. Meine Hände frieren.  
 ‘My hands are freezing.’

For many languages of the sample, it holds that, whenever a body part is mentioned the experiencer, i.e. the possessor of the body part, is coded as its attribute. Tamil and German, however, have alternative expressions of E116 and E117 with the experiencer as a verbal dependent in the dative case. In Tamil E118.a/b/c, the body part nominal has subject function while the construction in E118.d has an impersonal subject marked by the verb suffix *-utu*.

- E118. a. en-akku kai virai-kinṭr-atu.  
 STAM 1.SG-DAT hand freeze-PRS-3.SG.NT  
 ‘My hand is cold.’ (SK)

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<sup>36</sup> Winifred Bauer, p.c.

- b. kuḷante-kku vayīru rompa-p pacikk-utu.  
 child-DAT stomach very-E hunger:PRS-3.SG.NT  
 ‘The baby is very hungry.’ (Lenk 1990:94)
- c. en-akku tale valikk-utu.  
 1.SG-DAT head ache:PRS-3.SG.NT  
 ‘I have a headache.’ (o.c.:95)
- d. en-akku tale-yai vali-kk-utu.  
 1.SG-DAT head-ACC ache-PRS-3.SG.NT  
 ‘I have a headache.’ (o.c.:44)

E119. a. Mir tut der Kopf weh.

GER ‘My head aches.’

b. Mir frieren die Hände.

‘My hands are freezing.’

Korean also has non-possessive variants of E113. The construction E120 with the experiencer marked as the topic and the clause expressing the ascription of the state to the body part as the comment is more natural and unmarked. If the experiencer is marked in the nominative case, he is focused. In both constructions, the body part nominal is subject to the experiential predicate which can be deduced from the fact that it cannot be dropped (cf. E83, Ch. 5.3.4 for a parallel construction expressing an ascription of a property to a body part in Korean).

E120. a. na-nūn/nae-ka mom-i an coh-ta.  
 KOR 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM body-NOM NEG good-DECL  
 ‘I am not well.’

b. na-nūn/nae-ka pae-ka kophu-ta.  
 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM belly-NOM hungry-DECL  
 ‘I am hungry.’

Finally, German (E121.a) and Tamil (E122.a) ascribe bodily sensation to a dative-marked experiencer. In these constructions the predicate appears in third person singular, having thus an impersonal subject. The same is true for the nowadays quite obsolete German construction in E121.b where the experiencer is accusative-marked. Tamil possesses a further impersonal construction which ascribes the sensation to the body as a whole, the respective nominal being dative-marked, while the experiencer remains implicit (E122.b).

E121. a. Mir ist übel / schlecht / kalt / heiß.

GER ‘I am sick / not well / cold / hot.’

- b. Mich friert / hungert / dürstet.  
‘I am cold / hungry / thirsty.’

E122. a. en-akku ippōtu kuḷir-kiṛ-atu.  
LTAM 1.SG-DAT jetzt be.cold-PRS-3.SG.NT  
‘I am cold now.’ (Lenk 1990:93)

- b. uṭamp-ukku nanrāy illai.  
body-DAT good be.NEG  
‘I am not well.’ (o.c.:91)

Summarizing the findings of the present chapter, we can note that all languages of the sample use both strategies. The person foregrounding strategy codes the experiencer as a subject of a nominal or verbal predicate rendering the bodily sensation, and the person backgrounding strategy ascribes the sensation to a possessed body (part) nominal. The first strategy is often used for a sensation concerning the person as a whole, the second is often chosen if the sensation only affects a body part. However, there are exceptions to this tendency concerning both strategies. YM (E111.c), Korean (E113.a), and Tamil ascribe a general physical condition concerning the person as a whole to *óol* ‘mind’, *mom* ‘body’, and *uṭampu* ‘body’, respectively, whereas German (E110.d) may take the experiencer as a subject even in cases where only one of his body parts is affected, the latter being added as a local adjunct. Moreover, in German and Tamil, constructions with the experiencer as a dative object are very common for the expression of a bodily sensation in both cases. In these constructions, the experiencer is also backgrounded with regard to the body part.

### 5.4.3. Emotional states and processes

#### 5.4.3.1. Feelings

A feeling may be attributed to the human participant or to his mind or his heart or whatever material or immaterial (body) part is appropriate in a language. The first strategy may lead to a person foregrounding construction with the experiencer as the subject or to a person backgrounding construction with the experiencer in indirect object function. In the second strategy, a possessed NP with a body part nominal as its head is the subject and the experiencer is backgrounded into the possessive attribute to the body part noun. The theme or stimulus of the feeling – if it is expressed – is generally coded as an object. However, the latter may also be conceptualized as causing the experience with respect to the experiencer or even as acting upon the experiencer. This



may be represented in constructions where the theme occupies the subject position and the experiencer has the function of a direct object

Constructions with the experiencer in subject function can be found in all languages of the sample, though with a different status, depending on the existence and status of other construction types available in the same domain. In English, German (E123),<sup>37</sup> Maori (E124),<sup>38</sup> and Lezgian (E129), person foregrounding constructions with an experiencer subject clearly prevail, while in Samoan (E125), Tamil (E126), YM<sup>39</sup> (E127), and Korean (E128), other construction types are equally distributed or even predominant. Depending on the verb type, the stimulus or theme of the experience – if it is expressed – is taken as a direct object or a prepositional phrase in the following examples.

E123. a. Ich bin glücklich.

GER 'I am happy.'

b. Ich schäme mich wegen dieser Sache.

'I am ashamed because of these things.'

c. Ich habe Angst vor ihm.

'I am afraid of him.'

E124. a. E matakū ana ia i te taniwha.

MAO T/A frightened T/A 3.SG AKK the taniwha  
'He is frightened of/by the taniwha.' (Bauer 1993:276)

b. Ka aahua pukuriri a Tamahae ki a Rewi.

T/A somewhat angry ART Tamahae to ART Rewi  
'Tamahae was somewhat angry with Rewi.' (o.c.:92)

c. Ka hari ia ki te haere mai.

T/A happy 3.SG to the move hither  
'He will be happy to come.' (o.c.:98)

E125. a. E fiafia tele le teine.

SAM T/A/M happy very ART girl  
'The girl is very happy.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:106)

<sup>37</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of the disappearance of subjectless experiential constructions in English and German cf. von Seeffranz-Montag 1983.

<sup>38</sup> Winifred Bauer, p.c. for the estimation concerning the predominant construction.

<sup>39</sup> This holds for Modern (MYM) as well as Colonial Yucatec Maya (CYM).

- b. Sā 'ou ita 'i l=o='u uso.  
 PST 1.SG angry LD ART=POSS=1.SG brother  
 'I was angry with my brother.' (o.c.:106)
- E126. a. avan̄ kōpam-āy iru-kkir-ān.  
 LTAM he anger-ADVR be-PRS-3.SG.M  
 'He is angry.' (Lenk 1990:107)
- b. mayil poramai-p-paṭṭ-atu.  
 peacock jealousy- $\emptyset$ -feel.PST-3.SG-NT  
 'The peacock was jealous.' (o.c.:108)
- E127. a. Sahak-en káa k'oha'n-ak-en.  
 YM afraid.of-ABS.1.SG CNJ sick-SUBJ-ABS.1.SG  
 'I fear I shall be ill.' (Tozzer 1921:93)
- b. Su'lak-en tsikbal ich ya'bkach máak-o'b.  
 ashamed-ABS.1.SG chat in many person-3.PL  
 'I am ashamed of talking to many people.'
- c. k'ùux-en t-in yùum  
 CYM angry-ABS.1.SG LOC-POSS.1.SG lord  
 'I am angry with my father.' (Motul apud Barrera Vásquez et al. (eds.)  
 1980: s.v. *k'ux*)

Korean possesses, apart from intransitive emotional verbs (E128.a/b), transitive dynamic emotional constructions with experiencer subjects, as in (E128.d). They are often derived from qualifying stative verbs that characterize the stimulus, as in E128.c. In the latter construction, the experiencer is marked as a topic and his emotional affection must be pragmatically inferred.

- E128. a. suni-nūn/-ka hwanass-ta.  
 KOR Suni-TOP/-NOM angry:CMPL-DECL  
 'Suni is angry.'
- b. na-nūn/nae-ka pukkūlōp-ta.  
 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM ashamed-DECL  
 'I am ashamed.'
- c. na-nūn ne-ka musep-ta.  
 1.SG-TOP 2.SG-NOM horrible-DECL  
 'I am afraid of you.'
- d. na-nūn/nae-ka nē-lūl muse-wē ha-n-ta.  
 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM 2.SG-ACC horrible-GER do-PRS-DECL  
 'I am afraid of you.'

The Lezgian experiencer of mono- and bivalent emotional predicates is generally a dative-marked subject (E129.a-d), but he may as well appear in the absolutive case (E129.e).

- E129. a. Šičanbikedi-z           gzaf    šad    xa-na.  
LEZ       Šičanbike.OBL-DAT   much   glad   be-AOR  
          ‘Šičanbike became very happy.’ (Haspelmath 1993:282)
- b. Za-z       wun       k’an-zawa.  
1.SG-DAT   ABS.2.SG   love-IMPF  
          ‘I love you.’ (o.c.:137)
- c. I       kardi-kaj           aslandi-z       gzaf    q<sup>h</sup>el    ata-na.  
this   thing.OBL-SBEL   lion.OBL-DAT   much   anger   come-AOR  
          ‘The lion became very angry about it.’ (o.c.:282)
- d. Za-z       wa-q<sup>h</sup>aj   kič’e-zwa.  
1.SG-DAT   2.SG-POEL   afraid-IMPF  
          ‘I’m afraid of you.’ (o.c.:138)
- e. Idris   qe   šad   tir.       Am       baxtlu   tir.  
Idris   today   glad   COP.PST   ABS.3.SG   happy   COP.PST  
          ‘Idris was glad today. He was happy.’ (o.c.:112)

In Tamil (E130) and German (E131.a/b), the experiencer of an emotional state may equally be marked by the dative. These constructions are often subjectless, as in E130.a/b and E131.a/b.

- E130. a. avan-ukku   payam-aa   iru-kku.  
STAM       3.SG.M-DAT   fear-ADVR   be-PRS.3.SG.NT  
          ‘He is frightened.’ (Lenk 1990:103)
- b. at-ukku       rompa   aanantam-aa   iru-kkum.  
STAM       3.SG.NT-DAT   very   happiness-ADVR   be-FUT.3.SG.NT  
          ‘It is very happy.’ (o.c.:103)
- c. tāy-kku       kulantai-kku   aṇṇu   iru-kkir-atu.  
LTAM       mother-DAT   child-DAT   love   be-PRS-3.SG.NT  
          ‘A mother loves her child.’ (o.c.:105)
- E131. a. Mir ist angst und bange.  
GER       ‘I feel scared.’
- b. Mir ist langweilig.  
          ‘I am bored.’

In German, English (E132.a), and YM (E132.b), there are a few emotional verbs that take the stimulus as a subject and, thus, background the experiencer into the position of

a direct object. In Korean and Tamil, these constructions are always causative derivations of experiencer-oriented verbs (compare E128.a with E132.d). Although for Maori, Lezgian, and Samoan stimulus-oriented constructions could not be verified, this does not mean that they do not exist in these languages.

E132. a. Seine Vorstellung hat uns sehr amüsiert / gelangweilt / geärgert / erschreckt.  
GER ‘His performance amused / bored / annoyed / scared / us very much’.

YM b. (...) wáah k-a top-ik-en-e’x-e’  
if IMPF-SBJ.2 annoy-INCMPL-ABS.1.SG-2.PL-CNTR  
k-in top-ik-e’x xan.  
IMPF-SBJ.1 annoy-INCMPL-ABS.2.PL also  
‘(...) if you are annoying me, I’ll annoy you too.’ (HNAZ 0066)

TAM c. plai-ka eṅka -ai santosa-paṭuti-n-arka .  
child-PL 1.PL-ACC glad-do-PST-3.HUM.PL  
‘The children amused us.’ (SK)

KOR d. suni-ka na-lul hwana-ke haess-ta.  
Suni-NOM 1.SG-ACC angry-ADVR do:CMPL-DECL  
‘Suni annoyed me.’

Additionally, YM (E133), Samoan (E134), Korean (E135), and Maori (E136) make use of a construction type in which the emotional affection or a sort of quality is attributed to an immaterial body part or some other abstract entity designating the emotional state or a feeling. The experiencer itself is coded as a possessive attribute to the former. In Modern as well as in Colonial Yucatec Maya the emotional affection or state is attributed to *óol* ‘mind’. Especially in Colonial YM, there is a large amount of psychocollocations with *óol* ‘mind’ or *puksi’k’al* ‘heart’, which belong to this type of construction.

E133. a. Ki’mak in w-óol.  
YM happy POSS.1.SG  $\emptyset$ -mind  
‘I am happy.’ (FCP 363)

CYM b. Léek-a’n y-óol Juan.  
set.in-RSLTV POSS.3-mind John  
‘John is angry / incensed.’ (Motul apud Barrera Vásquez et al. (eds.) 1980: s.v. *leka’an ol*)

CYM c. Ma’ kul-a’n w-óol.  
NEG sit-RSLTV POSS.1.SG-mind  
‘I am not satisfied.’

To render emotional situations in Samoan, the person backgrounding strategy is predominantly employed. The experiencer may not only appear as a possessive attribute to an appropriate body part noun (E134.a) but also to a noun denoting the experience itself (E134.b/c) (cf. Mosel 1991[S]:300).

- E134. a. ‘Ua *tīgā* *l=o=‘u* *loto* ‘*i* *a=na* ‘*upu*.  
 SAM PF hurt ART=POSS=1.SG heart LD POSS=3.SG word (SPEC.PL)  
 ‘I was hurt by his remarks.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:53)
- b. *Ua faanoanoa o=‘u lagona*.  
 PF sad POSS=1.SG feeling  
 ‘I am sad.’ lit.: ‘My feelings are sad.’ (o.c.:771)
- c. *Na lagona le faanoanoa o le taule‘ale‘a o Lama*  
 PST feel ART sad POSS ART untitled.man PRSVLama  
*ina ua tau atu l=a=na vaai i l=a=na teine*  
 CNJ PF reach thither ART=POSS=3.SG see LD ART=POSS=3.SG girl  
 ‘The untitled man Lama felt sad when he caught sight of his girl.’ lit.: ‘The being sad of the untitled man Lama was felt when his seeing reached the girl.’ (o.c.:774)

In Korean, a qualifying adjective is ascribed to *kipun* ‘mood’. The experiencer may appear either as a possessive attribute to *kipun* (E135.a), thus being clearly backgrounded, or, he may be marked by the topic or nominative marker (E135.a). Also, in this case, *kipun* clearly has subject function as has been shown for parallel cases, such as for E120.

- E135. a. *nae kipun-i coh-ta*.  
 KOR 1.SG mood-NOM good-DECL  
 ‘I am glad.’
- b. *na-nūn/ nae-ka kipun-i coh-ta*.  
 1.SG-TOP/ 1.SG-NOM mood-NOM good-DECL  
 ‘As for me, I am glad. / It’s me, who is glad.’

In Maori, the person backgrounding strategy is only used in a few cases where there is no verbal expression for an emotional state or process such as in E136.

- E136. *E nui taku whakamihi ki taku tamaiti*.  
 MAO T/A big SG.GEN.1.SG commend to SG:GEN:1.SG child  
 ‘I am proud of my child.’ (Bauer 1993:276).

As a conclusion we may summarize that all languages possess the possibility of attributing the emotional state or process directly to the experiencer, yielding person foregrounding constructions where the latter takes the function of the subject. In Tamil and

German, there are also dative experiencer constructions in subjectless constructions. Languages like YM, Samoan, Korean, and Maori to a small extent, may background the experiencer into an adnominal function, coding him as a possessive attribute to an immaterial (body) part nominal or to a noun denoting the feeling or emotional state. The stimulus-oriented construction type is supposed to be present in all the languages, though in languages like Korean and Tamil, these are always causative derivations of experiencer-oriented constructions.

### 5.4.3.2. Evaluation

In this section we are concerned with the expression of a positive evaluation of an entity or state of affairs. This evaluation may be based on emotional grounds but may equally involve some sensual or cognitive motivation. The one who holds the evaluation is taken to be the experiencer and may appear in adverbial function as a subject, direct or indirect object of an evaluative predicate. Or he may occur in adnominal function as a possessive attribute to a material or immaterial (body) part that is conceptualized as the locus of evaluation.

Again, all languages of the sample opt for a construction with the experiencer in subject function. Samoan (E137) uses an intransitive predicate that takes the theme of the evaluation as a peripheral argument, i.e. as an asyndetic adverbial clause. In Maori (E138), Korean (E139), YM (E140), Tamil (E141) English, and German (E142) the evaluative predicates are transitive taking the theme in direct object function. YM uses the perception verbs to convey an evaluation.

E137. E fiafia pālagi e feinu i niu.  
 SAM T/A/M like palagi(SPEC.PL) T/A/M drink(PL) LD coconut(SPEC.PL)  
 ‘Palagi like to drink coconuts.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:617)

E138. Kaaore ahau e pai ana ki te kai hikareti.  
 MAO NEG 1.SG T/A good T/A to the eat cigarettes  
 ‘I do not like smoking cigarettes.’ (Bauer 1993:424)

E139. na-nun/nae-ka ku kēs-ul cohaha-n-ta.  
 KOR 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM DET thing-ACC like-PRS-DECL  
 ‘I like it.’

E140. Bix a w-il-ik le way-a’?  
 YM how SBJ.2 Ø-see-INCMPL DEF here-D1  
 ‘How do you like it here?’ (BVS 03.01.01)

E141. naan anta kar-il aseī-patt-een.  
 STAM 1.SG that car-ACC adore-do:PST-1.SG  
 ‘I like that car very much.’ (SK)

E142. a. Ich finde es gut.  
 GER b. Ich mag es.  
 ‘I like it.’

In Lezgian, there are two predicates *k’an* ‘want/love’ (cf. Ch. 5.2.1.4 and Ch. E129.c) and *begenmiš xūn* ‘like’, to convey a positive evaluation towards a thing or a state of affairs. Both share the valency pattern with the dative experiencer as the subject and the theme as an absolutive argument (cf. Haspelmath 1993:280).

German and English possess alternative evaluative predicates with a converse valency pattern. They take the experiencer as an object, and the theme takes subject function.

E143. Es gefällt mir.  
 GER ‘It pleases me.’

In Tamil, the experiencer of an evaluation occurs very frequently as a dative complement, while the theme appears – corresponding to the valency pattern of the predicate – as a subject (E144.a/b) or object (E144.c).

E144. a. en-akku-p pāl piriyaṁ.  
 LTAM 1.SG.OBL-DAT-E milk taste  
 ‘I like milk.’ (Lenk 1990:105)

b. en-akku atil virupam / aseī.  
 STAM 1.SG-DAT this like adore  
 ‘I like it (very much).’ (SK)

c. en-akku avan-e rompa piṭikkum.  
 STAM 1.SG-DAT 3.SG.M-ACC very agreeable  
 ‘I like him very much.’ (Lenk 1990:106)

In YM, communicating one’s attitude is strongly related to the way or to the channel whereby the information has been attained, as already has been shown in E140. This concerns, above all, the senses involved in the perception of an entity or a state of affairs. The type of the relevant YM construction contains an evaluative expression, normally realized by an adjective, which appears with a local NP with the affected facet of the being as the head. The experiencer of the attitude occurs as a possessive attribute in adnominal function. If the speaker does not want to reveal anything about the channel of perception, he chooses the unmarked expression ‘evaluative adjective *t*-POSS *t’ān*’.

- E145. a. Uts t-in t'àan.  
 YM good LOC-POSS.1.SG speech  
 'I like it.'
- b. Rèey, ma'lòob, ki'mak k óol-al  
 king good happy POSS.1.PL mind-ABSTR  
 hach uts t-k t'àan.  
 really good LOC-POSS.1.PL speech (MUUCH 354)  
 'Allright, king, we are happy, we appreciate it very much.'

Otherwise he specifies the organ of perception of the source of information by replacing *t'àan* with *ich* 'eye', *xikin* 'ear', *chi* 'mouth' etc.

- E146. a. Uts t-in xikin a<sup>40</sup> tsikbal.  
 YM good LOC-POSS.1.SG ear POSS.2 story  
 'I like your conversation.' (Stefflre 1972:144)
- b. In w-uk'ul hach ki',  
 POSS.1.SG Ø-drink very delicious  
 ba'le' a hàanal mas ki' t-in chi'.  
 however POSS.2 food more delicious LOC-POSS.1.SG mouth  
 'My drink is sweet, but I like your food more.' (López Otero 1914:25)

A similar construction is also present in Korean, where *ma m* 'mind' is conceptualized as the locus of evaluation.

- E147. kũ-nũn nae maum-e tũn-ta.  
 KOR 3.SG-TOP 1.SG mind-LOK please:PRS-DECL  
 'He pleases me.'

As has been shown above, all the languages render an evaluation by a person foregrounding construction with the experiencer in subject function. In English, German, and Tamil, there are alternative person backgrounding expressions with the experiencer in object function. YM and Korean may background the experiencer into adnominal function, coding him as a possessive attribute to a relevant body part nominal, conceptualized as the locus of evaluation.

#### 5.4.4. Mental states and processes

In the area of mental states and processes we are concerned with the expression of a participant's memory or knowledge. The relevant concepts representing cognitive

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<sup>40</sup> The source gives the form *t-a* 'LOC-POSS.2', which does not make sense in the current context.



states, processes, and actions may be active or inactive. The active ones are likely to follow a person foregrounding construction in most of the languages, the experiencer appearing in subject function. Among the inactive ones there is assumed to be a variation between person foregrounding and person backgrounding constructions. The experiencer may obtain subject function, he may appear in some oblique syntactic function, notably as an indirect object, or he may even occur as a possessive attribute to some relevant material or immaterial (body) part, such as ‘heart’, ‘mind’ etc.

#### 5.4.4.1. Memory

Verbs such as ‘remember’ and ‘forget’ generally represent inactive cognitive events. In English, they foreground the experiencer into subject function. German, however, has two alternative verbs for each concept: *sich erinnern* vs. *einfallen* and *vergessen* vs. *entfallen*, where the experiencer may take subject function or indirect object function (cf. translations of E148.a/b). In YM, these constructions are both person backgrounding with the theme in subject function and the human participant as an indirect object.

E148. a. Bix ka'ch a k'àaba'-e'x te'x  
 YM how past POSS.2 name-2.PL you.all  
 ts'o'k u tu'b-ul tèn.  
 TERM SBJ.3 forget-INCMPL me  
 ‘What were your names again? I’ve forgotten.’ (BVS 17.01.03.02)  
 ‘Wie waren Ihre Namen noch gleich? Sie sind mir entfallen.’  
 ‘Wie waren Ihre Namen noch gleich? Ich habe sie vergessen.’

b. K-u k'a'h-al tèn.  
 IMPF-SBJ.3 remember-INCMPL me  
 ‘I remember it.’  
 ‘Ich erinnere mich daran.’ ‘Es fällt mir ein.’ (López Otero 1914:73)

The causative derivations of *tu'bul* ‘forget’ and *k'a'hal* ‘remember’ are supposed to involve some control on the part of the experiencer.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Croft 1993:65ff for a similar analysis of the Spanish verb *olvidar* ‘forget’, which occurs in active, reflexive or impersonal form corresponding to the involved control on the part of the experiencer.

- E149. a. T-in                      tu'bs-ah  
 YM           PST-SBJ.1.SG    forget:CAUS-CMPL  
 le    ba'x t-u                      y-a'l-ah            tèn-o'.
- DEF thing PST-SBJ.3.SG  $\emptyset$ -say-CMPL me-D2  
 'I forgot what he said to me.' (RMC 1259)
- b. K-in                      k'a'hs-ik-ech.  
 IMPF-SBJ.1.SG remember:CAUS-INCMPL-ABS.2.SG  
 'I remember you.'

While Korean chooses the person foregrounding strategy – as English – Tamil, Samoan, and Maori provide for both strategies – as German. The Korean verbs *kiəkhata* 'remember' and *icta* 'forget' are transitive verbs which code the experiencer in subject or topic function, while the theme appears as a direct object.

- E150. a. na-nūn/nae-ka            kə    kəs-əl            kiəkha-n-ta.  
 KOR           1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM    DET thing-ACC    remember-PRS-DECL  
 'I remember it.'
- b. na-nūn/nae-ka            kə    kəs-əl            ic-əss-ta.  
 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM    DET thing-ACC    forget-PF-DECL  
 'I have forgotten it.'

In Tamil, both concepts, 'remember' *niṇaiṇu iru-* / *ñāpakam iru-* and 'forget' *marantu pō-* may occur in a person backgrounding construction with a dative experiencer. This construction type is chosen if the experiencer does not have any control over the situation. In E151.a, e.g., the experiencer has forgotten the name, because a branch of a tree had fallen on his head.

- E151. a. āṇāl            avaṇ-ukku-t            tinpaṇaṭattin-ṭaiya    peyar  
 LTAM           but           3.SG.M-DAT- $\emptyset$     snack.OBL-GEN            name  
 mara-ntu-pōyirru.  
 forget-PST.PART-go.PST.3.SG.NT  
 'But he had forgotten the name of the snack.' (Paramasivan & Lindholm 1980, Vol.I:86)
- b. uṇ                      mūtta    maḱal    eṇ-akku    ñāpakam    illai.  
 2.SG.OBL    elder    daughter 1.SG-DAT    memory    is:not  
 'I do not remember your elder daughter.' (Jotimuttu 1970:122)

The verbal phrase *marantu pō-* 'forget' equally may occur with an experiencer subject (E152.a). Otherwise, without *pō-* 'go', *mar-* 'forget' always takes the experiencer in subject function, as in E152.b. In this case, some control on the part of the experiencer

seems to be included, because it can be inferred from the context that the experiencer did not give the tali intentionally to the speaker.

E152. a. illai, aiyā, nān mara-ntu pō-ŋ-ēŋ.  
 LTAM no sir 1.SG forget-PST.PART go-PST-1.SG  
 ‘No, Sir, I forgot to.’ (o.c.:122)

b. tāliy-ai mara-ntu-vitt-āy-ē!  
 tali-ACC forget-PST.PART-PST.CMPL-2.SG-EMPH  
 ‘You’ve forgotten your tali!’ (Paramasivan & Lindholm 1980, Vol.I:101)

Samoan uses a person backgrounding construction with the non-ergative verb *galo* ‘forget’ (E153.a/b) and a person foregrounding construction with the ergative verb *mānatua* ‘remember’ (E153.c/d). *Galo* ‘forget’ takes asyndetic clauses (E153.b) as well as *ona*-complement clauses (E153.a). In the first case, the meaning is ‘to forget a certain fact’, in the second case ‘to forget something to do’ (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:612). In both cases, the experiencer is expressed in a locative-directional phrase, while the theme takes subject function. *Mānatua* ‘remember’ takes the experiencer in a prominent syntactic function as an ergative argument and the theme as an absolutive argument.<sup>42</sup>

E153. a. Na galo iā ‘oe ona fa‘a=mau le pusa.  
 SAM PST forget LD 2.SG CNJ CAUS=fast ART box  
 ‘You forgot to secure the box.’ (o.c.:600)

b. Ua galo fo‘i ia te oe, o i=o=u aso fanau lenei?  
 PF forget also LD 2.SG PRSV ART=POSS=1.SG day birth this  
 ‘Did you also forget that this is my birthday?’ (o.c.:592)

c. (...), ua ou manatua ai nei fo‘i upu  
 PF 1.SG remember ANA now also word(SPEC.PL)  
 ‘(...), I now also remember the words.’ (o.c.:387)

d. ‘Ou te manatua ai pea ‘oe.  
 1.SG T/A/M remember ANA continually 2.SG  
 ‘Then I will still remember you.’ (o.c.:389)

In Maori, the experiencer of *maumahara* ‘remember’ appears in subject function (E154.a), while the verb *wareware* ‘forget’ possesses two different valency frames. It may be construed as a transitive verb with the experiencer in subject function and the theme in object function marked with the preposition *ki*, such as in the second line of E154.b. Or it may also be treated as an intransitive (possibly even a neuter) verb with

<sup>42</sup> Note that Samoan does not show a predominantly ergatively or accusatively organized syntax. S,

the stimulus as the subject and the experiencer as a prepositional object (Winifred Bauer, p.c.), such as in the first line of E154.b.

E154. a. E aumahara ana ahau i whiu-a koe  
 MAO T/A remember T/A 1.SG T/A punish-PASS 2.SG  
 moo te haehae i roto i too pukapuka.  
 INTD:GEN the scribble at inside at SG:GEN(2.SG)book  
 ‘I remember that you were punished for scribbling in your book.’  
 (Bauer 1993:40)

b. Teeraa raanei e wareware i te wahine tana hoohungahunga  
 there or T/A forget by the woman SG:GEN:3.SG infant  
 a (...) e kore ahau e wareware ki a koe  
 and T/A NEG 1.SG T/A forget to ART(PERS) 2.SG  
 ‘Can a woman forget her sucking child, (...) yet will I not forget thee’  
 (Isaiah, 49:15)<sup>43</sup>

In Lezgian, there are expressions for ‘remember’ and ‘forget’ that background the experiencer into adnominal function. With verbal idioms *rik’el atun* ‘come into one’s heart; remember’ and *rik’elaj alatun* ‘fall off one’s heart; forget sth. accidentally’ the experiencer appears in the genitive case as a possessive attribute to *rik’* ‘heart’. (Haspelmath 1993:280).

E155. a. Č’ul ĩaču-z ĩi rik’e-laj alat-na.  
 LEZ [belt take-INF] 1.PL.GEN heart.OBL-SREL fall.off-AOR  
 ‘We forgot to take a belt along.’ (o.c.:295)

b. tfeng bubadi-w gwa-j-di  
 [rifle father.OBL-ADESS be.at-PART-NR.SG]  
 zi rik’e-l xta<sup>44</sup>-na  
 1.SG.GEN heart.OBL-SRESS return-AOR  
 ‘I remembered that father had the gun.’ (Elena Kalinina, p.c.)

Both expressions have ‘causative’ derivations with an agentive interpretation of the experiencer which is coded in the ergative case in such constructions (*rik’el xkun* ‘bring back to the heart’, *rik’elaj aladun* ‘take off the heart, forget intentionally’ cf. Haspelmath 1993:164 and p.c.).

Summarizing the findings of the present chapter, we can conclude that some lan-

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A, and O are treated alike in most syntactic processes (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:717).

<sup>43</sup> Winifred Bauer, p.c.

<sup>44</sup> repetitive form of *atun* ‘come’ (cf. Haspelmath 1993:512)

guages, namely English and Korean, always foreground the experiencer in the expression of memory. Other languages, like German, Tamil, Samoan, and Maori possess both person foregrounding and person backgrounding constructions. In YM and Lezgian, the unmarked expression of memory backgrounds the experiencer into an indirect object or a possessive attribute. In these languages causative constructions may be derived which imply control on the part of the experiencer.

#### 5.4.4.2. Knowledge

The expression of knowledge frequently involves stative *verba sentiendi* that foreground the experiencer into subject position in many languages. German (E156), English, Maori, Korean, and Samoan have such transitive cognition verbs. Lezgian again uses the affective construction with a dative subject.

E156. a. Weißt du, warum ich dir das erzähle?

GER 'Do you know why I am telling you this?'

b. Ich kenne sie nicht.

'I do not know her.'

E157. Kua moohio kee mai ia

MAO T/A know contr hither 3.SG

ko te paa i runga i te aromaunga, too Te Aotaki.

TOP the pa at top at the mountain.face SG:GEN Te Aotaki

'But he already knew that the pa above on the mountain-face was that of Te Aotaki.' (Bauer 1993:40)

E158. a. na-nun/nae-ka ku namca-lul an-ta.

KOR 1.SG-TOP/1.SG-NOM DET man-ACC know:PRS-DECL

'I know the man.'

b. nae-ka wae ku kos-ul ha-nun-ci no-nun an-unya.

1.SG-NOM why DET thing-ACC do-PRS-INT 2.SG-TOP know:PRS-INT

'Do you know why I'm doing it?'

E159. a. 'Ua iloa e Tigilau 'ua sau Sina.

SAM PF know ERG Tigilau PF come Sina

'Tigilau knows that Sina has come.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:589)

b. E iloa uma lava pese e Seu.

T/A/M know all EMPH song(SPEC.PL)ERG Seu

'Seu knows all songs.' (o.c.:712)

- c. Fa‘apea ‘oe ‘ou e lē iloa ‘a‘au?  
 think 2.SG 1.SG T/A/M not know swim  
 ‘Do you think I do not know how to swim?’ (o.c.:603)

E160. a. Za-z či-zwa.  
 LEZ 1.SG-DAT know-IMPF  
 ‘I know.’ (Haspelmath 1993:139)

- b. Wa-z či-da-ni  
 2.SG-DAT know-FUT-INT  
 zun jifi-z wučiz elüq’-zawa-t’a?  
 [1.SG:ABS night.OBL-DAT why bark-IMPF-COND]  
 ‘Do you know why I bark at night?’ (o.c.:300)

In German, there are additional cognitive verbs with a different valency, backgrounding the experiencer into an oblique function, either in the dative or in the accusative case, the latter construction type being quite obsolete nowadays. In general, there is a clear tendency for such backgrounding constructions to disappear in the long run (cf. Von Steffens 1983, Bossong 1992).

- E161. a. Ist dir bewußt, warum ich dir das erzähle?  
 GER ‘Are you conscious of why I’m telling you this?’  
 b. Ihm schwante nichts Gutes.  
 ‘He had a sense of foreboding.’  
 c. Mich dünkt, er hat recht.  
 Me thinks he is right.’ (arch.)

In Tamil, however, the backgrounding of the experiencer with cognitive verbs seems to be the recurrent construction type. *Teri-* ‘know’ forms a subjectless construction with the experiencer in the dative case.

- E162. a. avar-e en-akku teri-yaatu  
 STAM 3.SG.M-ACC 1.SG-DAT know-FUT:NEG  
 ‘I do not know him.’ (Asher 1982:105)  
 b. avan vantatu-leruntu en-akku teri-yum.  
 3.SG.M come:PST:NR-ABL 1.SG-DAT know-FUT  
 ‘I know of it from ( the time of’ or the fact of’) his coming.’ (o.c.:21)

In YM, there is no simple transitive verb for ‘know’, but instead, the inalienable nouns *ohel* ‘knowledge’ (with an entity or a state of affairs as the theme) and *k’ahóol* ‘acquaintance’ (with a person as the theme) are used. They belong to the same class of abstract nouns as *k’áat* ‘wish’ in E29 and are, thus, only used as predicates (E163). As

explained above, a definite allocation on the hierarchy of syntactic functions is not possible. We therefore decide to allocate both values in the following summary in T9.

- E163. a. A w-ohel-e'x ba'xtéen in w-a'l-ik-e'x bèey-a'?
- YM POSS.2  $\emptyset$ -knowledge-2.PL why SBJ.1.SG  $\emptyset$ -say-INCMP-2.PL thus-D1  
 'Do you know why I am telling you this?' (FCP 081)
- b. Lel-o' ma' in k'ahóol-i'.
- it-D2 NEG POSS.1.SG acquaintance-NEGF  
 'I do not know her.' (MUUCH 321)

In sum, we can note that most languages of the sample, i.e. English, German, Korean, Maori, and Lezgian, favour person foregrounding constructions with experiencer subjects. Tamil follows the person backgrounding strategy in coding the experiencer as an indirect object. The relevant construction in YM codes the experiencer as a possessive attribute of an abstract relational noun that is only used as a predicate.

### 5.4.5. Conclusion

The results of the investigation concerning the coding of the experiencer in the different domains of affection are summarized in T9.

T9. *Syntactic status of experiencer in affective constructions*

language domains of affection	ENG	MAO	KOR	GER	SAM	LEZ	TAM	YM
perception	S	S	S	S	S	S <sub>D</sub>	S	S
knowledge	S	S	S	S/O	S	S <sub>D</sub>	O	S/P
memory	S	S/O	S	S/O	S/O	P	S/O	O
evaluation	S/O	S	S/P	S/O	S	S <sub>D</sub>	S/O	S/P
feelings	S/O	S*/P	S/P	S/O	S*/P	S*/S <sub>D</sub>	S/O	S/O/P
bodily sensation	S/P	S/P	S/P	S/O/P	S/P	S <sub>D</sub> /P	S/O/P	S/P
summary	6S/2O/ 1P	6S/1O/ 2P	6S/3P	6S/5O/ 1P	6S/1O/ 2P	1S/5S <sub>D</sub> / 2P	5S/5O/ 1P	5S/2O/ 4P

- S - experiencer is subject  
 S<sub>D</sub> - experiencer is dative subject  
 O - experiencer is object  
 P - experiencer is possessive attribute to the body part  
 \* - experiencer-object could not be verified

The arrangement of the domains of affection in the rows has been changed with regard to the above presentation which follows a semantic distinction according to the differ-

ent fields of affection: cognition, emotion, and sensation. Thus, it becomes clear that the syntactic structure in the different domains of affections does not really depend on these semantic distinctions.

In general, it has to be underlined that one cannot expect the highest degree of syntactic regularity in a semantic domain like affection of mind and senses. The allocation of several values per cell shows that predicates of different construction types belong to the same semantic type. Thus, within the current area, it seems to be recommended to look for the predominant construction type chosen by a language within an individual domain and within the field of affection as a whole. Therefore, the main constructions are highlighted in T9 if they could be identified as such.

Considering the distribution of the values in T9 altogether, it is conspicuous that in most cases an experiencer subject is possible. This is especially true for the languages on the left side and the middle of the table, namely English, Maori, Korean, German, and Samoan, which allow for experiencer subjects in all of the six affective domains.<sup>45</sup> In Lezgian, the basic expression of memory is person backgrounding whereas the person foregrounding construction is clearly derived. In most of the other five areas, experiencer subject constructions prevail, though these are mainly dative subjects, which are further down in F3 than the Lezgian ergative and absolutive subjects. YM and Tamil have four/five affective domains with predicates that may take experiencer subjects.

From the fact that experiencer subjects seem to be very common in all the languages, it may be concluded that this is the unmarked construction type in general. Therefore, in the analysis of the current situation type, emphasis has to be laid on the deviating constructions. These are predominant in the right area of the table, namely in Tamil and in YM. Tamil favours indirect object coding of the experiencer in five of the six affective domains. YM codes the experiencer as a possessive attribute in four of the six domains, while in one domain, it favours the coding as an indirect object. Thus, these two languages display person backgrounding constructions in many affective domains.

A further conclusion can be made from the distribution of the values in T9. In the three upper domains of affection, namely perception, knowledge, and memory, there is quite a clear tendency to assign subject function to the experiencer in the languages located on the left side of the table. The domains of feeling and physical affection allow a greater variation in these languages as well. This is partly due to the higher number of

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<sup>45</sup> The relative positioning of English and German is in line with the results of von Steffens (1983).



investigated predicates in these areas. But it can be further concluded that variation in these domains seems to be more likely, resulting from the fact that the experiencer is often presumed to have no control over the situation, but may – on the contrary – even be affected by it.

## 5.5. Benefactive

The **benefactive** (or beneficiary) is the semantic role of an empathic participant which is favoured by a situation, especially by the action of another animate being. The latter is called **beneficient**. A prototypical benefactive situation additionally requires an undergoer, i.e. the entity which is created or affected in favour of the beneficiary. This one is called **benefactum** and it is – contrary to the other two participants – prototypically inanimate. Benefactive situations without beneficiary or beneficient are considered to be less prototypical and are therefore left out in the following discussion.

In a transitive situation, the beneficiary prototypically exerts potential possessive control over the benefactum (cf. Shibatani 1996).<sup>46</sup> First, he can be the actual possessor of the benefactum (such as in *He repaired my bike (for me)*), second, he can be in a former relation to the benefactum (such as in *He stole his ring (from him)*), third, there can be an intended possessive relationship between the two entities (such as in *He built a house for me*). Languages may differ as to whether they manifest either the benefactive or the possessive role of the animate participant in syntactic structure or potentially both roles at the same time. In the first case, the beneficiary nominal appears as a verbal dependent and the construction is person foregrounding.<sup>47</sup> In the second case, the beneficiary is coded as a possessive attribute to the benefactum nominal and the construction is person backgrounding. The third variant is a combination of the first two.<sup>48</sup>

All the languages of the sample provide for constructions manifesting the beneficiary role syntactically, i.e. coding the animate participant as verbal dependent. Examples for each language are given in E164 - E170. They will be discussed in more detail for each language.

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. Shibatani 1996 also for a general overview and a typology of benefactive constructions.

<sup>47</sup> Note that here the term of person foregrounding is not chosen on the basis of the syntactic function of the beneficiary with respect to the other participants (cf. F4) but with respect to its possible coding as a possessive attribute to the benefactum nominal.

<sup>48</sup> A more comprehensive and detailed analysis of the syntactic constructions in beneficiary situations with regard to a partly different language sample is provided in Lehmann et al. 2000.

In YM, the beneficiary can be coded as a verbal adjunct represented by a weak pronoun such as *tèen* ‘me’ in E164 or by a prepositional phrase introduced by *ti*, the only grammatical preposition of the language (cf. E34).

E164. a. Káa t-u xok-ah tèen le íistòoryah-a'.

YM CNJ PST-SBJ.3 read-CMPL me DEF story-D1  
‘and he read this story to me.’ (HIJO 024)

b. Hwàan-e' t-u y-utskint-ah tèen le bisiklèetah-o'.

John-TOP PST-SBJ.3  $\emptyset$ -good:FACT-CMPL me DEF bicycle-D2  
‘John fixed the bicycle for me.’ (RMC 1640)

In Samoan, the beneficiary is rendered in the form of a prepositional phrase introduced with *ma/mo* or *i*. The prepositions *ma/mo* are benefactive in nature while the preposition *i* seems to be more grammaticalized indicating several (especially local) semantic roles such as place, source, origin, cause, direction, goal etc. (cf. Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:144, 145ff).

E165. a. Saka fa'a=malūlū le talo mā le ma'i

SAM boil CAUS=tender ART taro for ART ill  
‘Boil and mash the taro for the patient.’ (o.c.:146)

b. Sa faatau lole i ai l=o=na tama.

PST buy lolly LD ANAPH ART=POSS=3.SG father  
‘Her father bought her lollies.’ (o.c.:696)

Korean has two different strategies to code the beneficiary as a verbal dependent. First, he can be marked by the postpositional participle *wihae* ‘for, intended’<sup>49</sup> (= *wihay $\emptyset$* , *wihaes $\emptyset$* ) such as in E166.a. The beneficiary occurs with accusative case marking. The more common strategy, however, is exemplified in E166.b. The benefactive reading is rendered by the verb *cuta* ‘give’ which functions as an auxiliary, building a compound verbal form with the main verb marked by the gerundive *- $\emptyset$* . The beneficiary occurs as an indirect object with dative case marking. However, its occurrence as a possessive attribute to the benefactum nominal is more common in the spoken language (cf. E173.b). To emphasize the benefactive reading of E166.a, the auxiliary *cuta* ‘give’ can be added, such as in E166.c.

E166. a. minsu-ka uli-lul wihae cip-ul ci- $\emptyset$ ss-ta.

KOR Minsu-NOM [1.PL-ACC intended] house-ACC build-PF-DECL  
‘Minsu has built a house for us.’

<sup>49</sup> This is the gerundive form of the verb *wihata* ‘to do something for someone’, which requires a NP with accusative case marking.

- b. minsu-ka uli-eke cip-ul ciø cu-øss-ta.  
 Minsu-NOM 1.PL-DAT house-ACC build:GER give-PF-DECL  
 ‘Minsu has built us a house.’
- c. minsu-ka uli-lul wihae cip-ul ciø cu-øss-ta.  
 Minsu-NOM [1.PL-ACC intended] house-ACC build:GER give-PF-DECL  
 ‘Minsu has built a house for us.’

The Korean strategy of using a verb with the meaning ‘give’ to render benefactive meaning is quite recurrent in many languages, among them Japanese with *yaru* ‘give’ and Chinese with *gěi* ‘give’ (cf. also E168.c from Tamil).

In Maori, the beneficiary is generally coded in a prepositional phrase introduced by *moo/maa* ‘INTD:GEN’ (= ‘for’)<sup>50</sup> (E167). At the same time *maa/moo* forms imply intended possession (cf. Bauer 1993:209). E167.c is a point in favour of the adverbial status of the *maa/moo*-phrase which is not (structurally) clear in E167.a/b.<sup>51</sup>

E167. a. Kua mahi.a e Pani he kapu tii maa raatou.  
 MAO T/A make.PASS by Pani INDEF cup tea INTD:GEN 3.PL  
 ‘Pani has made them a cup of tea.’ (o.c.:272)

- b. Ka haere a Rona  
 T/A move ART Rona  
 ki te tiki wai moo ana tamariki.  
 to the fetch water INTD:GEN GEN:3.SG children  
 ‘Rona went to fetch water for her children.’ (o.c.:282)

- c. I hoatu ahau i te maaripi ki tana hoa  
 T/A give 1.SG ACC the knife to SG:GEN:3.SG friend  
 maa Hone.  
 INTD:GEN John.  
 ‘I gave the knife to John’s friend for John.’ (o.c.:272)

Tamil expresses benefactive meaning by postposing *-aaka* ‘BEN’ to a noun or pronoun in the dative case which has the syntactic function of an adjunct (E168.a/b). The dative-benefactive marking with *-ukk-aaka* makes no distinction between the benefactive and the substitutive reading (cf. Asher 1982:111). In E168.c/d, the human participant is

<sup>50</sup> For the distinction between *maa* and *moo*, cf. Bauer 1993:209f.

<sup>51</sup> Compare the following example from Bauer (1993:209) where the prepositional phrase follows its head (in relativization):

Kia tino nui te hooiho moo Pou  
 SUBJ very big the horse INTD:GEN Pou  
 ‘The horse for Pou should be very big.’

only dative-marked. In E168.c, the auxiliary verb *kuḥu-* ‘give’ marks the benefactive reading while in cases like E168.d it is inferred from the context.

- E168. a. naan miinaavukk-aaka ite vaṅka-n-een.  
 STAM 1.SG Meena:DAT-BEN this.ACC buy-PST-1.SG  
 ‘I bought this for Meena.’ (o.c.:111)
- b. naan avan-ukk-aaka ttuwisakaravaṅṅi-yai ttirutti-n-een.  
 1.SG 3.SG.M-DAT-BEN bicycle-ACC repair-PST-1.SG  
 ‘I fixed the bike for him.’ (SK)
- c. naan avan-ukku ttuwisakaravaṅṅi-yai ttirutti kuḥu-tt-een.  
 1.SG 3.SG.M-DAT bicycle-ACC repair give-PST-1.SG  
 ‘I fixed the bike for him.’ (SK)
- d. raman peter-ukku oru kati-yai vasitaan.  
 Raman Peter-DAT one fairy.tale-ACC read:PST:3.SG.M  
 ‘Raman read Peter a fairy-tale.’ (SK)

In Lezgian, the beneficiary can be expressed either with dative case marking (E169.a/b) or as a postpositional phrase with the superdirective or the postrelative form of *patal* ‘for’.

- E169. a. Za wa-z ada-n wiri simfoni-jar ja-da.  
 LEZ 1.SG:ERG 2.SG-DAT 3.SG-GEN all symphony-PL play-FUT  
 ‘I will play all his symphonies for you.’ (Haspelmath 1993:88)
- b. Isätä za wa-z sa q<sup>h</sup>san ḡarpuz at’u-da.  
 now 1.SG.ERG 2.SG-DAT one good melon cut-FUT  
 ‘I will open a good watermelon für you.’ (o.c.:448/451)
- c. Daḡustandi-n hukumati-di  
 Dagestan.OBL-GEN government-ERG  
 mualim-ar pataldi kurs-ar teškil-na.  
 teacher-PL for course-PL organize-AOR  
 ‘The Dagestania government organized courses for teachers.’ (o.c.:222)
- d. Četin i šart’-ar-a či ajal-ri-n pataq<sup>h</sup>aj  
 difficult this condition-PL-INESS 1.PL:GEN child-PL.OBL-GEN for  
 jeke ḡajḡudarwal awu-na.  
 great concern do-AOR  
 ‘Unter these difficult conditions great concern was displayed for our children.’ (o.c.:222)

German expresses the benefactive role generally as an adjunct to the main verb, either with a prepositional phrase with *für* ‘for’ (E170.a) or with a benefactive dative

(E170.b). The English benefactive is added with the preposition *for* (E170.a). In some cases, he can also be coded as a so-called ‘internal dative’ as in E170.b (cf. Wierzbicka 1988, Ch. 6).

E170. a. Peter hat für mich ein Haus gebaut.

GER ‘Peter has built a house for me.’

b. Peter hat mir ein Haus gebaut.

‘Peter has built me a house.’

Now, among the discussed languages, there are three, YM, Samoan, and Korean, that express the benefactive participant under certain circumstances solely as a possessive attribute to the benefactum nominal. The benefactive relation of the human participant to the verb is syntactically neglected and only his possessive relation to the benefactum nominal, let it be former, actual, or future (intended), is expressed overtly. Compare E171, E172 and E173 from YM, Samoan, and Korean.

E171. a. Hwàan-e' t-u y-utskint-ah in bisiklèetah.

YM John-TOP PST-SBJ.3 Ø-good:FACT-CMPL POSS.1.SG bicycle  
‘John fixed my bicycle.’ (RMC 1640)

b. Máantats' táan u t'ab-ik u kib kilí'ch Anton.  
constantly PROG SBJ.3 lighten-INCMP [POSS.3 candle saint Anton]  
‘Regularly he lightens candles for St. Anthony.’ (CM 13)

c. K-u lu's-ik u sahkil-il máak-o'b.  
IMPF-SBJ.3 leave:CAUS-INCMP POSS.3 afraid:ABSTR-REL person-PL  
‘He took the fear from the people.’ (CM 99)

E172. a. (...), fai l=o=u ofu e le isi uso o  
SAM do ART=POSS=1.SG dress ERG ART other sibling POSS

l=o=u tina. Selu vave l=o=u ulu  
ART=POSS=1.SG mother comb quick ART=POSS=1.SG hair

ma fai o=u seevae.

and do POSS=1.SG shoe(SPEC.PL)

‘(...). One of my aunts dressed me, combed my hair quickly and helped me put on my shoes.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:683)

b. E fia faatau se taavale

T/A/M want buy ART(NSPEC.SG) car

ma fau o tatou fale=papalagi;

and build POSS 1.PI house=papagali

‘(I) want to buy a car and build us a papagali house.’ (o.c.:752)

- E173. a. cø salam-i nae cacenkø-ləl kochi-ø cu-øss-ta.  
 KOR D3 person-NOM [1.SG bicycle-ACC] repair-GER geb-CMPL-DECL  
 ‘This person fixed my bicycle for me.’
- b. minsu-ka uli cip-əl ciø cu-øss-ta.  
 Minsu-NOM [1.PL house-ACC] build-GER give-PF-DECL  
 ‘Minsu has built us a house.’
- c. suni-ka nae cangkap-əl cca-ko iss-ta.  
 Suni-NOM [1.SG glove-ACC] knit-GER EXIST-DECL  
 ‘Suni is knitting a pair of gloves for me.’

In the a-versions of the examples, there is an actual possessive relationship between the beneficiary and the benefactum, i.e. between the bicycle and the first person in the YM E171 and the Korean E173 and between the dress/shoes and the first person in the Samoan E172.<sup>52</sup>

The b-versions (and E173.c) show intended or future possessive relations between the beneficiary and the benefactum. The latter is created for (in E172.b and E173b/c) or dedicated to the beneficiary and thus its future possession (at least virtually). In E171.c, a former possessive relation exists between the beneficiary and the benefactum, which is removed by the action. Thus, the three mentioned languages tend to express the potential possessive relation between the beneficiary and the benefactum. If there is no such relation, the human participant is coded as verbal dependent (E164.a). In YM, the syntactic expression of the possessive relation is generally preferred to the expression of the benefactive relation. E.g., informants prefer E171.a to E164.b.

It remains to be clarified in what way the benefactive meaning is conveyed in the above examples. In Korean, the benefactive reading is generally rendered by the auxiliary *cuta* ‘give’ and the beneficiary is conceptualized as recipient of the action. However, *cuta* is very grammaticalized so that the beneficiary need not be represented as an indirect object (E173.a/b). A sentence with a progressive *issta* (E173.c) is incompatible with *cuta*. In this case, such as in the other examples from YM and Samoan, the beneficiary role of the human participant must be inferred on pragmatical grounds.

In German, it is also possible to code the human participant in a benefactive situation as a possessive attribute to the benefactum such as in E174. However, in none of the

<sup>52</sup> In the Samoan example, there is additionally a further possessive relation, not systematically considered within the current chapter, that is the inalienable relation between the human participant and one of its body parts (hair) within a benefactive situation. In Samoan, it is construed in the same way as the actual possessive relation within the benefactive situation. Similar cases are dealt with in Ch. 5.3.5 and systematically within benefactive situations in Lehmann et al. 2000.

examples a benefactive reading is explicitly expressed. In E174.a, the benefactive interpretation ‘a book for me’ is excluded. In E174.b, it is neither excluded nor suggested. Only in E174.c, a benefactive reading can be inferred from the verbal and situational semantics. It is supported by the actual possessive relation between the beneficiary and the benefactum. The additional dative coding of the participant in E174.c suggests the benefactive reading. The second translation of E174.c shows that English does not use the ‘internal dative’-construction if there is an actual possessive relation between the beneficiary and the benefactum.<sup>53</sup>

- E174. a. Peter hat mein Buch gekauft.  
 GER ‘Peter has bought my book.’
- b. Peter hat mein Haus gebaut.  
 ‘Peter has built my house.’
- c. Peter hat (mir) mein Fahrrad repariert.  
 ‘Peter fixed my bicycle. / \*Peter fixed me my bicycle.’

German - and English to a lower degree - tend to autonomize the possessor in the syntax, thus actually or seemingly increasing the valency of the relevant verb, while YM, Samoan, and Korean display the opposite tendency of omitting the benefactive and even the indirect object whenever he may be construed as the possessor of the direct object.

A summary of the discussion is given in T10.

T10. *Syntactic status of beneficiary*

language	GER	ENG	LEZ	TAM	MAO	KOR	SAM	YM
<b>beneficiary</b>								
<b>verbal dependent</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<b>attribute</b>	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+

The table illustrates the possibilities of the beneficiary to appear as an attribute to the benefactum or as a verbal dependent. In all languages of the sample, the person foregrounding strategy can be used to express the benefactive role of a participant. However, YM, Samoan, and Korean additionally use the person backgrounding strategy if the beneficiary actually is the possessor of the benefactum or if he can be interpreted as an intended possessor. The person backgrounding strategy contributes to the expres-

<sup>53</sup> According to Croft 1983:92, the dative is only possible with beneficiaries that are future recipients of the benefactum as in E170.b.

sion of the possessive relation between two participants in the syntactic structure. In contrast, in languages like German, English, Lezgian, Tamil, and Maori, the beneficiary is consistently expressed by a verbal dependent, even if he can be construed as the possessor of the benefactum.



## 6. Relation prominence in YM: a historical-comparative perspective

In the current chapter, we will consider the relation-prominent syntactic structure of YM with respect to an earlier language stage, Colonial YM, and in comparison with two cognate languages, Jacaltec, a member of the Kanjobalan family, and Tzotzil, a member of the Tzeltalan family.

### 6.1. Colonial Yucatec Maya

#### 6.1.1. Preliminaries

Colonial YM (CYM) differs from Modern YM (MYM) both in morphological and in syntactic structure to a certain degree. In Colonial times the complex suffixal system of aspects and moods started to be renewed by several grammaticalization processes which led to the modern analytic system of aspectual and modal coding with clause-initial auxiliaries (cf. Ch. 5.2.2, Ch. 5.2.3). CYM displayed different morphological systems for verbs in plain and dependent status, which nowadays have become equalized as a result of the genesis of the auxiliary system.

There are some hints that in Colonial times YM was – at least to some degree – more person prominent than it is today. While in the area of possessive constructions and within the domain of affective constructions there seem to be no considerable differences, some of the higher predicates may also be constructed personally. In the current chapter, for the sake of comparison, we are going to discuss only the constructions and forms of CYM different from MYM in the relevant grammatical domains, leaving out a detailed description of all the grammatical means in all the areas discussed above.

#### 6.1.2. Modal predicates

Most of the obligative modal predicates of CYM are impersonal like in Modern YM (e.g. *yan wuil(al)* ‘it is necessary / advisable’, *k’abéet* ‘necessary’, *takitak* ‘need’), but there is also evidence of a construction *POSS nah* that appears both impersonally and with a personal possessor. According to Barrera Vásquez 1944:274 *nah* is a noun meaning ‘benefit’. Barrera Vásquez et al. (1980: s.v. *nah*) state the meaning ‘necessary’. In E175.a, the main participant only appears within the subordinated clause which is in subject function to the nominal predicate. The latter is a noun which is accompanied by a third person possessive pronoun. In E175.b, however, the main par-

participant manifests as a possessive attribute to the modal operator. This construction is to be regarded as less person backgrounding than the construction in E175.a, because the modal operator itself opens a slot for the main participant (for a similar desiderative MYM construction compare E29).

E175. a. U      nah      a      p'at-ik      a      keban.<sup>54</sup>  
 CYM      POSS.3 necessary    ERG.2 leave-INCMPL    POSS.2 sin  
 'It is necessary that you refrain from sinning.' (San Buenaventura 1684:30)

b. A      nah-e'x      a      w-u'b-ik<sup>55</sup>      u      t'àan    Dios.  
 POSS.2 necessary-2.PL    ERG.2 Ø-feel-INCMPL    POSS.3 speech    god  
 'You should hear the speech of god.' (Coronel 1620:69)

In CYM, potential modality is expressed by the auxiliaries *úuchak/úuchuk*<sup>56</sup> which normally appear in a person backgrounding construction with the modalized proposition in subject function.

E176.    Úchuk in      bèelt-ik      lo.  
 CYM      POT    ERG.1.SG do-INCMPL    D2  
 'I can do that.' (San Buenaventura 1684:18)

But there are also examples that show absolute inflection on the modal operator as in E177. This might be a copying process from the subordinated clause in order to give the main participant a more prominent position.<sup>57</sup> At the same time this process changes the aspectual inflection on the subordinated verb from incomplete to subjunctive. It should be noted that the syntactic relation between the two clauses in E177 is completely unclear. The construction reminds one of a contemporary Jacalteco construction with phase operators that will be discussed in Ch. 6.2.2.2.

E177.    Úchuk-en      in      bèelt-eh.  
 CYM      POT-ABS.1.SG    ERG.1.SG do-SUBJ  
 'I can do it.' (San Buenaventura 1684:18)

<sup>54</sup> The orthography of the CYM sources hides important phonological information. For this reason and in order to facilitate diachronic comparison to the non-specialist, the CYM examples – as well as the MYM examples – are represented in the standardized Bielefeld orthography, with morpheme boundaries added. The reader should note that this entails non-literal quotation from the colonial sources.

<sup>55</sup> Inferred from the original representation, which is *i*.

<sup>56</sup> According to Smailus (1989:87/88) these are fixed forms derived from the verb *úuch* 'to happen'.

<sup>57</sup> To prove the copying process it has to be further investigated if the personal form of *úuchuk* also occurs without a complement clause, e.g. in an answer to E177.



E179.	in	hop'-ah	ben-el	Kumk'al
CYM	SBJ.1.SG	begin-CMPL	go-INCMPL	Kumk'al
	'I started to go to Kumk'al.' (Motul apud Barrera Vásquez et al. (eds.) 1980: s.v. <i>hop'</i> )			

Colonial *hop'* seems to be the base of the MYM impersonal intransitive phase verb *ho'p'* (cf. E34.a) which is derived by passivization<sup>59</sup> from the former. In E178 we are also dealing with the passivized intransitive form (provided that the infixated glottal stop is not represented in the Colonial orthography, cf. footnote 54), but contrary to MYM it occurs both in an impersonal as well as in a personal construction.

A comparison of the construction of YM phase predicates reveals that in both language stages personal as well as impersonal forms occur. For MYM it has been shown in Ch. 5.2.2 that the transitive phase predicates are only used if the main participant has control over the situation while the intransitive forms are not sensitive to control relations. The Colonial data are in line with this interpretation. A difference between CYM and MYM can only be noted concerning the occurrence of one particular phase predicate *ho(')p'* 'begin', which appears in a personal transitive construction in CYM while in MYM only the impersonal intransitive form is used. In CYM the intransitive form is used both personally and impersonally.

#### 6.1.4. Aspect auxiliaries

In CYM, there is a number of auxiliaries with aspectual meaning, most of which are obsolete nowadays. They are all constructed as person backgrounding as the following examples show. Habitual meaning is expressed by *na'n*, *walak*, and *taach*. These auxiliaries are invariable as to person and number, being formally third person singular absolutive, which is generally zero.

E180. a.	Walak	xin	a	bèelt-ik	lo?
CYM	accustomed by.chance	ERG.2	do-INCMPL	D2	
	'Are you accustomed to do that?' (Smailus 1989:91)				
b.	Ma	taach	in	bèelt-ik.	
	NEG	accustomed(ABS.3.SG)	ERG.1.SG	do-INCMPL	
	'I am not accustomed to do it.' (Coronel 1620:67)				

<sup>59</sup> Passivization is morphologically marked by infixation of a glottal stop into the monosyllabic verb stem.

- c. Na'n y-il-ik-o'b u suk'in kuchi.  
 accustomed ERG.3-see-INCMPL-3.PL ERG.3 fast formerly  
 'They were accustomed to see him fast.' (Smailus 1989:91)

This becomes clear in E181 where *taach* is inflected for person if it occurs without a subordinate clause.

- E181. ma' taach-o'n waye'  
 CYM NEG accustomed-ABS.1.PL here  
 'We aren't accustomed to it here.' (Motul apud Barrera Vásquez et al. (eds.) 1980: s.v. *taach*)

Immediate future is expressed by the periphrastic construction *tàal(el) u ka'h* 'to be about to'. This construction is based on the focused incomplete construction where the first position is taken over by a focused full verb in the incomplete. *Ka'h* 'do' is a pro-verb in CYM which is used as an auxiliary for the formation of the focused incomplete. In the expression at hand, the motion verb *tàal* 'come' is grammaticalized in the focus position. It is a nominalized form without a subject position. The auxiliary *ka'h* is always in the third person singular, yielding thus a person backgrounding construction.

- E182. Tàal(-el) u ka'h in bo't-ik in p'àax.  
 CYM come-INCMPL ERG.3 do ERG.1.SG pay-DEP.SUBJ POSS.1.SG debt  
 'I am about to pay my debt.' (Coronel 1620:69)

### 6.1.5. Conclusion

In the preceding paragraphs we have discussed some CYM constructions belonging to the domain of higher predicates. Similarly to MYM, impersonal predicates prevail to express modal, phase, and aspectual meanings. However, it could be shown that CYM allows for a personal – or at least a more personal – construction of some of the higher predicates, namely the obligative Poss *nah*, the potential *uuchak*-ABS/*uuchuk*-ABS, and the phase predicate *ho'p'ol* 'begin'. This leads to the conclusion that within the light of the preceding colonial data, today YM is more committed to relation prominence than it has been in former times.

## 6.2. Cognate languages

### 6.2.1. Preliminaries

In this chapter two cognate languages of YM, Jacaltec and Tzotzil, are revised regarding their way of syntactic construction in the relevant domains. The general structure of the chapter corresponds to that of Ch. 5 (though in some parts it is less detailed because of the lack of data).

Jacaltec and Tzotzil are both ergative languages with person/number cross-reference markers for ergative and absolutive case on the verb. But while Tzotzil is entirely ergative, Jacaltec shows a split in verbal case marking between finite and main clauses on the one hand and aspectless embedded clauses on the other hand. The latter bear the nominative/accusative type. In both languages, there is no noun case marking system. (Temporal and) aspectual distinctions are coded in a verbal prefix. Similarly to YM, the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is represented on a grammatical level. There are different noun classes corresponding to the possessive features of a given noun. The syntactic structure is concentric, the head – verb, preposition, possessed noun – carries pronominal markers referring to the dependent. The system of fundamental relations is accusative. The word order is right-branching, the head generally precedes the dependent.

Jacaltec belongs to the Greater Kanjobalan branch of the Mayan languages and is spoken in the Highlands of Guatemala by approximately 15.000 people. Our analyses are mainly based on Craig 1977 and to a smaller degree on Datz 1980 and Day 1973. The orthography in all examples follows Craig 1977. Tzotzil belongs to the Greater Tzeltalan branch of the Mayan languages. Nowadays it is spoken by about 265.000 people in Chiapas / Mexico. In this paper, we consider Modern (mainly from Aissen 1987, 1994) as well as Colonial (Haviland 1988) data from the Zinacantec dialect. Additionally, some data from the Chamula dialect (Gast 1998) are taken into consideration.

### 6.2.2. Higher predicates

#### 6.2.2.1. Modal predicates

In Jacaltec, most of the modal concepts are expressed by higher predicates that appear sentence-initially and take an aspectless complement clause.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> There are the following three characteristics of the so called ‘aspectless embedded complement

In E183.a, b, c, and d the modal predicates themselves do not inflect for aspect or person. *Tiñan* ‘certain’ and *yilal* ‘necessary’ are adjectives, which also appear with the copula of manner *-eyi*, the former also with modal use (E183.c). The only inflected modal operator of Jacaltec is *-u-* ‘can’ with permissive reading, shown in E183.e. Its verbal nature is reflected by the preceding aspect-marker. *-u-* appears always in third person singular, taking a sentential subject.

- E183. a. yet ay cu-colwa y-iñ naj<sup>61</sup>  
 JAC should A1<sup>62</sup>.PL-help A3-with CLF/3.SG.M  
 ‘we should give him a hand’ (Craig 1977:88)
- b. tiñan-xa cu-sajch-oj<sup>63</sup> hecal an  
 certain-already A1.PL-play-IRR tomorrow 1.SG  
 ‘we are to play tomorrow’ (o.c.:85)
- c. tiñan y-e y-i’wa naj.  
 certain A3-COP A3-win CLF/3.SG.M  
 ‘he has to win’ (o.c.:89)
- d. yilal Ø ha-tohla-n ha-c’as  
 OBLG B3 A2.SG-pay-SUF<sup>64</sup> A2.SG-debt  
 ‘you absolutely have to pay your debt’ (o.c.:86)
- e. ch-Ø-u s-can naj beti’  
 INCMPL-B3-can A3-stay CLF/3.SG.M here  
 ‘he can/may stay here’ (o.c.:88)

Another modal *tita*’, expressing potential modality, is preceding a fully inflected main verb. It is the only completely grammaticalized modal because it does not require the embedding of the verb.

- E184. tita’ x-Ø-munla naj  
 JAC maybe CMPL-B3-work CLF/3.SG.M  
 ‘he may have worked’ (o.c.:87)

Desiderative modality is expressed by the verbal expression *ay* ERG-*ala*’ ‘want/desire’, which is a compound of the verb *hala* ‘to say’ and the copula of existence *ay*. The verb

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sentences’: a. lack of aspect marker, b. nominative/accusative type of case marking, c. suffixation of *-n(i)* or future tense agreement on the transitive verbs (Craig 1977:237).

<sup>61</sup> classifier for ‘non-respected, non-infant, male non-kin’ (Craig 1977:154); occurs also as independent pronoun

<sup>62</sup> For Jacaltec and Tzotzil, I choose within the morpheme glosses the label A for the ergative and genitive/possessive set of cross-reference markers and the label B for the set of absolutive markers.

<sup>63</sup> The suffix *-oj* has future and general irrealis meaning.

*hala'* is in the future form, marked by the final -V', which gives evidence for its being embedded under the copula *ay* (cf. o.c.:274). The modalized proposition on its part is a complement to the verb *hala'*. Thus, we are dealing with a double embedded structure. This modal construction is clearly personal, because the main participant is subject to *hala'*, while the proposition appears as a complement clause in direct object function.

E185.     *ay*     *w-ala'*     *ch-in*             *toyi*  
 JAC       EXIST A1.SG-say INCMPL-B1.SG go  
           'I would like to go.' (o.c.:261)

Inversion<sup>65</sup> may take place under the condition of coreferentiality between the subjects of both clauses. This process causes the loss of the copula *ay* and a stronger desire is expressed.

E186.     *ch-in*             *to*     *w-al-ni*  
 JAC       INCMPL-B1.SG go A1.SG-say-SUF  
           'I want to go.' (o.c.:261)

In Colonial Tzotzil, the habilitative modal is constructed impersonally while the volitive modal shows personal inflection. With the potential modal, the person is expressed using a possessed form of the preposition *u'un* 'on behalf of, by means of, due to'.

E187.     *E-j-k'an-e,*                     *mo*   *x-Hu*                     *k-u'un.*  
 CTZ       CMPL-A1.SG-want-CLIT NEG NEUT<sup>66</sup>-be.able A1.SG-due.to  
           'I wanted to, but I could not do it.'

lit.: 'I wanted it, but it was not possible for me.' (Haviland 1988:120)

For Modern Tzotzil, the situation is very similar. *K'an* 'want', *xu'* 'be possible' and *stak'* 'be able' are higher predicates that take complement clauses. The desiderative *k'an* (E188.a) takes the main participant in subject function while the complement clause takes object function. The potential predicates *xu'* (E188.b) and *stak'* (E188.c) only take complement clauses as their subject, thus being impersonal. The main participant is only marked on the predicate of the complement clause. The same is true for the expression of obligative modality. It is expressed by an impersonal use of the desiderative *-k'an-* 'want' (E188.d).

<sup>64</sup> The suffix *-n(i)* marks – among other things – subordination of transitive verbs.

<sup>65</sup> In an inverted construction the main verb appears in an embedded form after its complement clause. The latter must be viewed as the main clause in surface structure. (Craig 1977:259).

<sup>66</sup> unmarked aspect



- E188. a. Mu j-k'an t'anal-on.  
 MTZ NEG A1-want naked-B1.SG  
 'I don't want to be naked.' (Aissen 1987:14)
- b. Mu la xu' x-'och mas.  
 NEG QUOT<sup>67</sup> possible NEUT-enter more  
 'No more can come in.' (o.c.:15)
- c. Stak' ch-a-j-kolta.  
 can INCMPL-B2-A1-help  
 'I can help you.' (o.c.:15)
- d. t-s-k'an ta j-k'el ta j-tuk'ulantik  
 INCMPL-A3-want INCMPL A1-look.after INCMPL A1-take.care  
 ti k-osil j-banamiltik-e  
 DET A1-earth A1-country-DETF  
 'We have to look after the earth.' (Volker Gast p.c.)

When summarizing these facts, one can note that both Jacalteco and Tzotzil choose impersonal predicates for obligation and possibility, while the desiderative is constructed personally.

#### T11. Syntactic construction of modal operators in Mayan

language \ modal operator	TZO	JAC	YM
obligative	-	-	-
possibility	-	-	-
desiderative	+	+	-

+ modal operator takes individual subject

- modal operator takes propositional subject

This is in line with the distribution in T2, where both languages would be located next to Samoan, on the left side of YM, being a bit less relation prominent than YM in the domain of modal predicates.

#### 6.2.2.2. Phase predicates

In Jacalteco, there are both transitive and intransitive phase predicates. The transitives take an animate entity as a subject and either a nominal or a complement clause as an object. The latter is of the aspectless embedded type.

<sup>67</sup> The clitic *la* is a member of the so called clause-second clitics, that convey temporal, aspectual, modal, and evidential meaning.

- E189. a. ch- $\emptyset$ -aw-iche                      ha-munlayi  
 JAC        INCMPL-B3-A2.SG-begin    A2.SG-work  
             ‘you begin to work’ (Craig 1977:289)
- b. x- $\emptyset$ -cu-tucba                       $\emptyset$     cu-tzote-n  
             CMPL-B3-A1.PL-quit    B3    A1.PL-talk-SUF  
             ‘we quit talking our language’ (o.c.:289)

The intransitive phase predicates take the complement clause as their subject, as can be seen in the following examples:

- E190. a. x- $\emptyset$ -’ichi                      ha-munlayi  
 JAC        CMPL-B3-begin    A2.SG-work  
             ‘you began to work.’ (o.c.:295)
- b. x- $\emptyset$ -tuci                       $\emptyset$     cu-tzote-n                      j-abxubal  
             CMPL-B3-stop    B3    A1.PL-talk-SUF    A1.SG-language  
             ‘we stopped talking our language’  
             lit.: ‘it stopped, we talk our language’ (o.c.:291)

Additionally, the intransitive phase verbs also appear with an animate subject, which is coreferent with the subject of the embedded clause.

- E191. a. xc<sup>68</sup>-ach                      ichi    ha                      munlayi  
 JAC        CMPL-B2.SG    begin    A2.SG    work  
             ‘you began to work.’ (o.c.:290)
- b. xc-onj                      tuci     $\emptyset$     cu-tzote-n                      j-abxubal  
             CMPL-B1-PL    stop    B3    A1.PL-talk-SUF    A1.SG-language  
             ‘we stopped talking our language’  
             lit.: ‘we stopped, we talk our language’ (o.c.:291)

The syntactic relation between the two clauses seems to be unclear. Craig (1977:291ff) suggests that E191 is derived from E190 by a copying rule. This means that the subject of the embedded verb is copied onto the phase predicate, leaving at the same time the original animate NP in the embedded clause. One cannot speak of a raising process because in this case, the infinitive form *munlahoj* ‘to work’ would be the embedded form, leaving the verb with no NP. A similar process has been mentioned for the CYM potential modal *úuchuk/úuchak* (cf. Ch. 6.1.2) and the phase predicate *ho’p’ol* ‘begin’ (cf. Ch. 6.1.3).

<sup>68</sup> The completive markers *x-* and *(x)c-* are in complementary distribution, *x-* in front of the inaudible absolutive case marker of third person and *(x)c-* in front of the absolutive case marker of first or second person (Craig 1977:59).

A further phenomenon accounts for the relevance of animate entities in this context. The foregrounding of the embedded subject is only possible with persons; inanimate entities cannot be foregrounded in the same way, as can be seen in E192. This seems to be in favour of the fact that the copying rule applies only if the main participant has control over the situation.

- E192. a. x- $\emptyset$ -’ichi      s-tah    te’<sup>69</sup>      hubal  
 JAC      CMPL-B3-begin    A3-dry    CLF/3.SG    beans  
           ‘the beans began to dry’ (Craig 1977:299)
- b. \*x- $\emptyset$ -’ichi      te’      hubal    s-tah  
           CMPL-B3-begin    CLF/3.SG    beans    A3-dry  
           ‘the beans began to dry’ (o.c.:299)

In case the phase predicate itself is subordinated, the promotion of the animate subject of the embedded clause is obligatory.

- E193. a. ay      w-ala’      ch-in      ichi-coj    hin-munlayi  
 JAC      EXIST    A1.SG-say    CMPL-B1.SG    begin-DIR    A1.SG-work  
           ‘I would like to begin to work.’
- b. \*ay      w-ala’      ch- $\emptyset$ -’ichi-coj      hin-munlayi  
           EXIST    A1.SG-say    CMPL-B3-begin-DIR    A1.SG-work  
           ‘I would like to begin to work.’ (o.c.:302)

In Tzotzil there are the aspectual verbs *laj* ‘finish’ (E194.a) and *lik* ‘begin’ that occur in a special type of construction identical to the so-called ‘motion-cum-purpose’ construction (cf. Aissen 1987:16). This construction, consisting of two verbs, can only be separated by a second-position clitic. The first is an intransitive verb of motion which does not bear any cross-referencing morphology. The person/number inflection is solely carried by the second verb which appears in the subjunctive mood (E194.b). The construction with the aspectual verbs (E194.a) is completely identical with the latter. *Laj* ‘end’ does not carry any cross-reference markers. These appear only on the second verb which is also in the subjunctive form (the subjunctive marker of transitive verbs with first and third person subjects being generally  $\emptyset$ ).

- E194. a. Laj    j-maj-ot.  
 MTZ      end    A1-strike(SUBJ)-B2.SG  
           ‘I’m done hitting you.’ (o.c.:17)

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<sup>69</sup> classifier for ‘plant’ (Craig 1977:154)

- b. Tal chonolaj-ik-on.  
 come trade-SUBJ-B1.SG  
 ‘I came to trade.’ (o.c.:17)

Both, in Colonial Tzotzil and in Modern Tzotzil, the aspectual and the motion verbs (auxiliaries as Aissen (1994) puts it) may be marked by a preceding aspectual element as in the following examples. The lack of (overt) aspectual marking as in E194 only occurs in the completive aspect.

E195. Ch-ba chonolaj-ik-on.  
 MTZ INCMPL-go trade-SUBJ-B1.SG  
 ‘I’ll go to trade.’ (Aissen 1994:659)

E196. a. mu x-laj k-a’i  
 CTZ NEG NEUT-TERM A1.SG-hear  
 ‘I did not understand it very well’

- b. x-tal y-al-bey-on  
 NEUT-come A3-say-APPL-B1.SG  
 ‘he comes to say it to me’ (Haviland 1988:108/109)

Haviland underlines that in Colonial Tzotzil *laj* carries the meaning of ‘doing sth. completely, thoroughly, or many times’, underlining thus the grammatical meaning of terminativity. Aissen (1994:661) points out that *laj* functions as an aspect marker of completive meaning in some Tzotzil dialects.

The examples above show that the aspectual and agreement markers which occur in a simple clause on a single verb are distributed on the two verbs. In the construction above the second (main) verb carries the personal affixes, while the aspect marker is attached to the first verb (auxiliary). Aissen (1994:664ff) shows that the first verb does not have a syntactic or semantic argument structure. The subject must be inferred pragmatically. It even need not be a semantic or syntactic argument of the second verb. Thus, no hierarchical structure between first and second verb can be noticed anymore. Comparing these data with the YM case of the evolution of mood and aspect auxiliaries from full verbs (cf. Ch. 5.2.3) we can guess that such a construction is grammaticalized from one with an impersonal full verb that takes the complement clause as an absolutive argument.

The aspectual verbs *laj* ‘finish’ and *lik* ‘arise, start’ also occur as full verbs. E197 shows *laj* ‘finish’ in a ditransitive form with the main participant as an ergative argument. The subordinated verb appears in a nominalized form, the object of the complement clause is cross-referenced by the ergative/possessor affix (set A).

- E197. Ta j-lajes-be s-ti'-el.  
 MTZ INCMPL A1-finish-APPL<sup>70</sup> A3-eat-NR  
 'I'll finish eating it.' (Aissen 1987:15)

Furthermore, it has to be underlined that even motion verbs in Tzotzil do not carry personal affixes which is completely contrary to their semantics. Only when they occur as full verbs, they are marked both for aspect and person which is exemplified with the motion verb *muɣ* 'ascend' that also occurs in the auxiliary form.

- E198. L-i-muy-otikotik j-k'el-tikotik.  
 MTZ CMPL-B1-ascend-1.PE A1-see-1.PE  
 'We went up to see it.' (Aissen 1994:683)

Jacaltec likewise has a non-personal construction with motion verbs that may occur if the verb in the subordinated clause is transitive. In E199.a the motion verb *to* 'go' is accompanied by the second person absolutive marker, which is also the subject of the subordinated clause. In E199.b *to* 'go' does not carry overt personal agreement markers. It may thus be analysed as the Tzotzil case in E194.b without any argument structure or – as Craig seems to imply with her glosses – as an impersonal auxiliary that takes a complement clause in subject function.

- E199. a. Tzet ch-ach to ∅ haw-u-b.  
 JAC what CMPL-B2 go B3 A2-do-FUT  
 'What are you going to do?'  
 b. Tzet x-∅-to ∅ haw-u-b.  
 what CMPL-B3-go B3 A2-do-FUT  
 'What are you going to do?' (Craig 1977:324)

Note that also in YM there is a grammaticalized motion verb *biin* with future meaning that occurs in a similar construction (cf. E48). But contrary to Tzotzil and Jacaltec, it cannot carry aspectual markers itself being in a distribution class with the latter elements. According to Zavala 1993:77ff, in Tzotzil, the non-personal motion verb construction is strongly grammaticalized while in Jacaltec it is more restricted and less common.

In sum, we can note that Jacaltec sides with YM in having both, transitive and intransitive phase predicates. However, Jacaltec seems to be more sensitive to the promotion of persons in intransitive phase verb constructions, a phenomenon not found in YM. This kind of promotion is only possible with controlling participants so that it is in line with the semantics of agentivity.

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<sup>70</sup> suffix marking the verb as ditransitive

In some regards, the Tzotzil case comes close to the YM one, in others, it is quite different. Both Tzotzil and YM have transitive phase predicates which may be used if the main participant controls the situation and thus its starting and end point. And both languages use impersonal or – in the Tzotzil case – at least not person foregrounding phase verbs that are not sensitive to controlling properties on the part of the main participant. The difference lies in the different stages of grammaticalization the languages display. The YM construction is clearly impersonal while the Tzotzil phase predicates are already particle-like bearing no argument structure anymore.

As a summary, take T12:

T12. *Syntactic construction of phase operators in Mayan*

language	TZO	JAC	YM
‘begin’	n.c.	+/-	+/-
‘end’	+/n.c.	+/-	+/-

- + phase operator takes individual subject
- phase operator takes propositional subject
- n.c. not classifiable

### 6.2.2.3. Temporal and aspectual auxiliaries

Jacaltec has a progressive marker *laŋan*, which must be analysed as a higher predicate that requires an embedded clause to follow. Its predicate status can be proven in negative constructions where it receives the suffix *-oj*, which is a general suffix of irrealis and a characteristic of predicates. Furthermore, it combines with the two particles *to* ‘still’ and *xa* ‘already’, which are also only used with predicates. The embedded status of the following clause can be seen by the ergative marking of the subject with intransitive verbs (set A).

- E200. a. mat laŋan-*oj* ha-wayi  
 JAC NEG PROG-IRR A2-sleep  
 ‘you are not sleeping’ (Craig 1977:94)
- b. laŋan-*to* s-wa’ naj  
 PROG-still A3-eat CLF/3.SG.M  
 ‘he is still eating’ (o.c.:94)
- c. laŋan-*xa* s-*to* naj  
 PROG-already A3-go CLF/3.SG.M  
 ‘he is about to go’, lit.: ‘he is already going’ (o.c.:94)

These are clear cases of a person backgrounding construction, where only the subordinate verbs bear personal affixes, while the temporal operator *lanan* is impersonal.

In Ch. 6.2.2.2, we already saw that the Tzotzil aspectual verbs *laj* and *lik* are derived from person backgrounding constructions. The motion verb *ba(t)* ‘go’ occurs within the same construction in some contexts with a future interpretation as Haviland (1991:13) points out.

E201. Ch-ba tal-uk.  
 MTZ INCMPL-go come-SUBJ  
 ‘It’s going to come.’ (Haviland 1991:13)

In general, we can conclude that both, Jacaltec and Tzotzil, behave similarly to YM in having impersonal and grammaticalized particle-like aspectual auxiliaries.

### 6.2.3. Possessive constructions

#### 6.2.3.1. Ascription of possession

Jacaltec as well as Tzotzil use existence predications with the copulas *ay / mach* and ‘*oy / ch’abal*, respectively, to express the ascription of possession. The animate possessor is coded as a possessive attribute to the possessum nominal.

- E202. a. ay no<sup>71</sup> hin txitam  
 JAC EXIST CLF/3.SG A1.SG pig  
 ‘I have a pig’
- b. ay-xa cawaŋ y-unin ix<sup>72</sup>  
 EXIST-already two A3-child CLF/3.SG.F  
 ‘she already has two children’ (Craig 1977:20)
- c. mach hin melyu  
 NEG.EXIST A1.SG money  
 ‘I do not have money.’ (o.c.:27)
- E203. a. ‘oy s-vex.  
 MTZ EXIST A3-trousers  
 ‘They had their trousers.’ (Aissen 1987:7)
- b. Cha’bal y-ajnil-ik.  
 NEG.EXIST A3-wife-3.PL  
 ‘They had no wives.’ (o.c.:7)

<sup>71</sup> classifier for ‘animal’ (Craig 1977:154)

<sup>72</sup> classifier for ‘non-respected non-child, female non-kin’ (Craig 1977:154)

Both in Jacaltec and in Tzotzil there is – as far as we know – neither a verb meaning ‘have, own, possess’, nor is there a possibility to code the possessor as an indirect or oblique object in an existence predication (Colette Grinevald, p.c. and Volker Gast, p.c.). See T13 for a comparison with YM in the discussed domain.

T13. *Syntactic status of possessor in an ascription of possession in Mayan*

language	TZO	JAC	YM
possessor			
subject	-	-	-
indirect object / attribute	+	+	+

### 6.2.3.2. Part-whole relations

In Tzotzil and in Jacaltec, parts of wholes cannot be directly possessed by an animate possessor. The immediate superordinate whole has to be specified as the direct possessor of the part, while the animate possessor occurs as a secondary attribute.

E204. a. y-ut k-ok

CTZ A3-inside A1.SG-foot  
‘my sole’

b. s-jol j-na

A3-roof A1.SG-house  
‘my roof’ (Haviland 1988:103)

c. ’i-s-nap’an ta x-chak y-ok ti vinik ’une.

MTZ CMPL-A3-stick on A3-back A3-foot DET man CLIT  
‘The man stuck them on the back of his feet.’ (Aissen 1987:12)

d. I-k’ak’ li (x-)xik’ (s-)sat-e (...)

CMPL-burn DET A3-wing A3-eye-DETF  
‘He burned his lid, (...).’ (Volker Gast, p.c.)

E205. a. s-bak s-sat naj

JAC A3-pit A3-face CLF/3.SG.M  
‘his eye’ (Craig 1977:110)

b. Scabilxa s-nuk s-kab naj kahil.

both A3.wrist A3.hand CLF/3.SG.M broken  
‘Now both his wrists were broken.’ (Datz 1980:188)

c. C’uxanab x-∅-kahiltoj y-ajanil s-nuc’ naj.

somehow CMPL-B3-break A3-nape A3-neck CLF/3.SG.M  
‘Somehow the nape of his neck was broken.’ (o.c.:403/414)



For both languages, it seems to be of interest to investigate which peripheral body parts obligatorily occur in a construction with their superordinate whole and which ones are denoted by a single lexeme. For a comparison of the above results with YM see T14:

T14. *Syntactic status of possessor in periph. (body) part-whole relations in Mayan*

language	TZO	JAC	YM
animate possessor			
primary attribute	-	-	-

### 6.2.3.3. Affection of possessor

In Jacaltec – such as in YM – body part nouns belong to the class of inalienable nouns that are obligatorily possessed. The language does not reflect the direct or indirect affection of the possessor if one of his body parts is concerned as illustrated in the following examples. The animate possessor cannot be coded as a verbal dependent, i.e. as a direct complement or an adjunct to the verb.

E206. a. (...) s-tz'iqniltoj naj s-nuk naj.  
 JAC A3-knocked.off CLF/3.SG.M A3-head CLF/3.SG.M  
 '(...) he knocked off his head.' (o.c.:411/416)

b. (...) s-poknicoj ya'<sup>73</sup> y-iq sat heb ix yorona.  
 A3-threw CLF/3.SG A3-in A3:face PL CLF/3.SG.F lloronas  
 '(...) and threw it in the lloronas' faces.' (o.c.:86)

In Tzotzil however, there is a possessive construction that is analysed as possessor ascension by Aissen (1987:126ff). In an applicative construction the possessor of the patient may attain direct object function. He is cross-referenced on the verb as shown in E207.

E207. a. A-mil-b-on jutuk k-ol.  
 MTZ A2-kill-APPL-B1.SG one A1-child  
 'You killed one of my children.' (o.c.:126)

b. L-a-j-nup-be ta be l-a-tot-e.  
 CMPL-B2-A1-meet-APPL on road DET-A2-father-DETF  
 'I met your father on the road.' (ibid.)

Such a construction is very common in Tzotzil and often implies a benefactive / malefactive reading in a very broad sense (cf. also Ch. 6.2.5).

<sup>73</sup> classifier for 'respected non-deity, male or femal' (Craig 1977:154)

But, as becomes visible in the following example, it is also possible in a situation of bodily affection of the possessor.

- E208. 'i-j-k'as-be s-k'ob li vinik-e.  
 MTZ CMPL-A1-break-APPL A3-arm DET man-DETF  
 'I broke the man's arm.' (o.c.:165)

The applicative suffix indicates that the possessor must be in direct object function, which is not directly visible because the third person cross-reference marker of the absolutive set B is generally zero. In E208 the affected possessor appears at the same time as a possessive attribute and as a verbal dependent. Thus, we are dealing with a construction with person foregrounding and person backgrounding at the same time. E209 illustrates the unraised version where the affected possessor only appears as a possessive attribute to the body part noun.

- E209. 'i-tuch' li s-nuk'-e.  
 MTZ CMPL-cut DET A3-throat-DETF  
 'Its throat was cut.' (o.c.:92)

Possessor ascension seems to be a highly grammaticalized process in Tzotzil. It is obligatory if a third person pronoun refers to a possessor different from a third person subject referent. Thus it serves the disambiguation of the possessor. In such obligatory cases of possessor ascension, there is no semantic basis underlying this process.

T15 gives a summary of the syntactic construction of situations with an affected possessor:

T15. *Syntactic status of affected possessor in Mayan*

language	TZO	JAC	YM
<b>animate possessor</b>			
<b>direct complement</b>	+	-	-
<b>adjunct</b>	-	-	-
<b>attribute</b>	+	+	+

#### 6.2.4. Mental, sensual and emotional states and processes

Jacaltec has a set of idiomatic expressions in the field of mental and emotional states and processes that are composed of a verb and a body part. A very common body part noun for the expression of feelings is *-c'ule* 'stomach' which corresponds to 'heart' in English. It is considered to be the centre of affective life. Other words occurring in idiomatic expressions are *-anma* 'soul' which refers to the centre of intellectual activ-

ity, *-wi* ‘head’ and *ti* ‘mouth’ (cf. Craig 1977:274). The kind of construction they appear in, depends on the valency of the main verb. With intransitive verbs, the result is a person backgrounding construction with the possessed NP as the subject, with transitive verbs, there may be both person foregrounding and person backgrounding constructions depending on whether the experiencer or the possessed body part appear as the subject.

Colonial Tzotzil also has a set of body part expressions that are used in the domain of affections, namely *olonton* and *o'on*, both meaning ‘heart’.

#### 6.2.4.1. Sensual states and processes

In Jacaltec and Tzotzil, inattentive perception verbs take the experiencer as a subject, while the stimulus appears in direct object function. In E210.a and b for Jacaltec, the latter is realized as a complement clause.

E210. a. x- $\emptyset$ -(y)-il            ix            hin            ha-mak-ni  
 JAC            CMPL-B3-A3-see    CLF/3.SG.F    B1.SG    A2.SG-hit-SUF  
 ‘she saw you hit me’ (o.c.:237)

b. x-w-abe            y-ok    ix  
           CMPL-A1.SG-hear    A3-cry    CLF/3.SG.F  
 ‘I heard her cry’ (o.c.:241)

E211.            ‘a    li    Xun-e,            ‘i-k-il-be-ik            li    s-kremotik-e.  
 MTZ            TOP    DET    Xun-DETF<sup>74</sup>    CMPL-A1-see-APPL-PL    DET    A3-sons-DETF  
 ‘I saw Xun’s sons.’ (Aissen 1987:210)

In the construction of inattentive perception, Jacaltec and Tzotzil both follow thus the strategy of most of the other languages of the sample (cf.T9).

In the domain of bodily sensation both, Jacaltec and Tzotzil have person backgrounding as well as person foregrounding constructions. In E212.a and E213.a/b, the experiencer occurs as a possessive attribute to the affected body part which is subject to the affective predicate. In E212.b/c and E213.c/d, the experiencer itself is the subject to the adjectival or verbal predicate denoting the physical sensation.

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<sup>74</sup> discontinuous to the article

- E212. a. tx'oj y-e hin-c'ul  
 JAC bad A3-COP A1.SG-stomach  
 'I am sick' (Craig 1977:337)
- b. c'ul y-e ix  
 good A3-COP CLF/3.SG.F  
 'she is fine (she is in good health)' (o.c.:23)
- c. ab x-∅-ŋohchakan ya' xin<sup>75</sup>;  
 they.say CMPL-B3-get.hungry CLF/3.SG then  
 x-∅-watx'iloj ya'.  
 CMPL-B3-get.well CLF/3.SG  
 'He became hungry, and then he got well.' (Datz 1980:125)
- E213. a. Toj k'ux li s-tsutuk-e yu'un oy s-likum.  
 MTZ very painful DET A3-stomach-DETF because EXIST A3-worm  
 'He has stomach-ache because he has worms' (Gast 1998:99)
- b. ta x-∅-takij s-ti'  
 INCMPL NEUT-B3-parched A3-mouth  
 'he is thirsty' (Volker Gast, p.c.)
- c. ta x-∅-vi'naj  
 INCMPL NEUT-B3-be.hungry  
 'he is hungry' (Volker Gast, p.c.)
- d. K'alaluk i-∅-lubtsaj-ik  
 when CMPL-B3-tire-PL  
 ti j-tot-tik j-me'-tik ta vo'ne-e, (...)  
 DET A1-father-1.PI A1-mother-1.PI PREP long.ago-CLIT  
 'When our ancestors had become tired, (...)' (o.c.:109)

#### 6.2.4.2. Emotional states and processes

In Jacalteco and Colonial Tzotzil, emotions and emotive evaluations may be attributed to the experiencer as well as to an appropriate body part. In Jacalteco, body part expressions are recurrent in the field of emotions. In many of these, the body part NP is subject to an intransitive or transitive verb, denoting (sometimes metaphorically) the affection. The experiencer occurs as a possessive attribute to it while the stimulus takes adverbial or direct object function (cf. E214.a/b).

<sup>75</sup> The function of *xin* is not very clear; it marks, among other things, dependent elements (cf. Datz 1980:124ff).

In E214.c, the experiencer is marked twice, being the subject of the verb *cha* ‘give’ and the possessive attribute to the body part noun occurring as the prepositional object. In this case, the construction is person foregrounding and person backgrounding at the same time.

- E214. a.  $\zeta$ - $\emptyset$ -tz’a          hin          c’ul          s-to          naj  
 JAC          NEUT-B3-burn    A1.SG    stomach    A3-go    CLF/3.SG.M  
 ‘I am sad that he is going.’ (Craig 1977:252)
- b. ch- $\emptyset$ -(y)-al                  w-anma  
 INCMPL-B3-A3-say    A1.SG-heart  
 ta    mach    ch-ul-uj                  naj                  tina  
 that    NEG    INCMPL-come-FUT    CLF/3.SG.M    today  
 ‘I have the feeling that he will not come today’ (o.c.: 254)
- c. ch- $\emptyset$ -(y)-a’                  naj                  tet    y-anma    y-il-ni          sine  
 INCMPL-B3-A3-give    CLF/3.SG.M    to    A3-heart    A3-see-SUF    movie  
 ‘he delights in seeing movies’ (o.c.:254)

E215 shows two examples where the experiencer is subject to intransitive emotional predicates, the stimulus appearing as a complement clause in adverbial function. E215.c shows an adjectival predicate expressing an emotional state. It requires the use of the copula *ye*.

- E215. a. x- $\emptyset$ -tzala                  naj                  haw-ul          y-atut  
 JAC          CMPL-B3-rejoice    CLF/3.SG.M    A2.SG-come    A3-house  
 ‘he is happy that you came to his house’ (o.c.:237)
- b. ch- $\emptyset$ -iw                  naj                   $\emptyset$     hin-mak-ni          naj  
 INCMPL-B3-afraid    CLF/3.SG.M    B3    A1.SG-hit-SUF    CLF/3.SG.M  
 ‘he is afraid that I will hit him’ (o.c.:169)
- c. bisc’ulal    y-e          ix  
 sad                  A3-COP    CLF/3.SG.F  
 ‘She is sad.’ (Datz 1980:295)

The situation for Tzotzil seems to be quite similar. We also find both, person fore- and person backgrounding constructions in the field of emotional states and processes. While in E216.a/b and E217.a, the experiencer appears as a possessive attribute to the body part noun, in E216.c and E217.b/c, he is subject to the intransitive verbs *xi* ‘be afraid’/ *’ilin* ‘furious’ and to the nominal predicate *kapem* ‘angry’. In E217.d the experiencer is coded in a twofold manner, as the subject and as a possessive attribute to the body part noun *-o’on-* ‘heart’.

- E216. a. Jun k-o'on.  
 CTZ one A1.SG-heart  
 'I am happy.', lit.: 'My heart is one.' (Haviland 1988:87)
- b. Tzoj k-olonton y-u'un.  
 red A1.SG-heart A3-due.to  
 'I hate him.', lit.: 'My heart is red because of him.' (o.c.:90)
- c. 'ip x-a-xi' y-u'um.  
 great NEUT-B2.SG-be.afraid A3-due.to  
 'You are very frightened by him.' (o.c.:116)
- E217. a. ta Ø-sok s-jol  
 MTZ INCMPL B3-decompose A3-head  
 'he is furious.', lit.: 'his head decomposes' (Volker Gast, p.c)
- b. ta x-Ø-'ilin  
 INCMPL NEUT-B3-be.angry  
 'he is angry' (Volker Gast, p.c.)
- c. Kapem.  
 angry  
 'He/she/it/they is/are angry.' (Aissen 1987:59)
- d. Ch-k-at k-o'on yu'un i-Ø-lok' ech'el  
 INCMPL-A1-count A1-heart because CMPL-B3-exit away  
 ta j-na li j-ch'amal-e  
 PREP A1-house DET A1-son-DETF  
 'I am sad, because my son left my house.' (Volker Gast, p.c.)

A positive evaluation towards a state of affairs may be equally constructed both ways in Jacaltepec. In E218.a and b, the possessed NP is subject of the transitive verbs *je* and *cha'*. The experiencer occurs as a possessive attribute in the subject NP and the theme is a complement clause in direct object function. In E218.c however, the evaluation is expressed by the transitive verb *oche* 'like' with the experiencer in subject function.

- E218. a. chim s-je ha c'ul  
 JAC maybe A3-accept A2.SG stomach  
 tato ch-oŋ to paxyal y-ul ha' niman  
 that INCMPL-B1.PL go for.a.walk A3-in water big (Craig 1977:236)  
 'maybe that you would like for us to go for a walk by the river'
- b. x-Ø-s-cha' ha-wi' ha-way  
 CMPL-B3-A3-suit A2.SG-head A2.SG-sleep  
 'you would like to sleep all day long' (o.c.:113)

- c.  $\text{ç-}\emptyset\text{-w-oche}$                        $\text{ca}\eta\text{alw-oj}$   
 NEUT-B3-A1.SG-like    dance-IRR  
 ‘I like to dance’ (o.c.:247)

In Tzotzil, the perception verb *-a’i-* ‘feel’ together with a qualifying adverb is used to convey an evaluation of a thing or a state of affairs.

- E219.     $\text{toj}$      $\text{lek}$      $\text{x-k-a’i}$              $\text{li}$      $\text{manko-e}$   
 MTZ        very    good    NEUT-A1-feel    DET    mango-DETF  
 ‘I like mangos.’ (Volker Gast, p.c.)

### 6.2.4.3. Mental states and processes

In Jacaltec and Tzotzil, the expression of memory is realized with constructions containing a verb of movement or change of possession and a prepositional phrase with a relevant body part such as *-c’ule* ‘stomach’ in Jacaltec (E220) or *-jol* ‘head’ or *-o’on* ‘heart’ in Tzotzil (E221). In the Jacaltec constructions in E220 and in the Tzotzil case in E221.a, the motion verb is intransitive. The experiencer appears as a possessive attribute to the body part noun, while the theme of the mental state is coded as the subject. In Tzotzil E221.b, however, the verb is transitive and the experiencer has subject function while the theme is coded as a direct object. The latter construction with *-ch’ay* has an intransitive variant which appears in a construction corresponding to those of the a-example.

- E220. a.  $\text{x-}\emptyset\text{-tit}$                        $\text{naj}$                        $\text{y-i}\eta$              $\text{hin}$              $\text{c’ul}$   
 JAC        CMPL-B3-come    CLF/3.SG.M    A3-in            A1.SG    stomach  
 ‘I remembered him.’ (o.c.:250)

- b.  $\text{x-}\emptyset\text{-’ec’le}$              $\text{y-i}\eta$              $\text{hin}$              $\text{c’ul}$              $\text{chubil}$      $\text{ki}\eta$              $\text{hecal}$   
 CMPL-B3-cross    A3-in            A1.SG            stomach    that            fiesta tomorrow  
 ‘it crossed my mind that it is fiesta tomorrow’ (o.c.:251)

- E221. a.  $\text{Muk’}$      $\text{buch’u}$      $\text{x-}\emptyset\text{-jul}$                        $\text{ta}$      $\text{s-jol}$      $\text{ti}$      $\text{y-il-oj}$              $\text{li}$      $\text{taiv}$   
 MTZ        NEG        who        NEUT-B3-come            PREP A3-head    DET    A3-see-PF    DET    snow

$\text{jech}$      $\text{chak}$      $\text{k’u}$      $\text{cha’al}$              $\text{li}$              $\text{i-}\emptyset\text{-yal}$   
 so        similar    like                      DET            CMPL-B3-come.down

$\text{li}$          $\text{oy}$          $\text{xa}$          $\text{ta}$              $\text{yoxibal}$      $\text{jabil-e}$ .

DET    EXIST    already    PREP    third        year-DETF

‘Nobody remembers having seen a snowfall like the one that came down three years ago.’ (Volker Gast, p.c.)

- b. Li   ants-e           yakal   ta           s-ch'ay   ta   y-o'on  
 DET woman-DETF PROG INCMPL A3-lose PREP A3-heart  
 li   anima s-malal-e.  
 DET cadaver A3-husband-DETF (Volker Gast, p.c.)  
 'The woman is already forgetting the death of her husband.'

In Jacalteco, there are alternative expressions for 'remember' and 'forget' that also code the experiencer as a possessive attribute, i.e. as a complement of the preposition *-u* 'with'. *To nahul -u* 'forget' contains a movement verb *to* 'go', *nan -u* 'remember' contains a stative verb (o.c.:250).

Similarly to YM, Jacalteco has a nominal concept for 'know', *ohtaj*. We assume a similar analysis as for the YM case of *ohel* 'knowledge' and assign both values (for subject and possessor) in T16.

- E222.   w-ohtaj       hin       wax'en   kap<sup>76</sup>       camiçe  
 JAC       A1.SG-know A1.SG make       CLF/3.SG shirt  
 'I know how to make shirts' (o.c.:241)

In Tzotzil however, *na'* 'know' is a transitive verb which codes the experiencer in subject function and the theme in object function. The following examples clearly identify the verbal status of *na'* because only verb stems inflect for aspect. In E223.a the neutral aspect marker *x* which would be expected after the negator *mu* is suppressed because of the following consonant *j*. Moreover, nonverbal predicates following the negator would be suffixed with *-uk/ik*. (cf. Aissen 1987:13)

- E223. a. Mu j-na'       k'usi la       s-bi.  
 MTZ       NEG A1-know what QUOT A3-name  
 'I don't know what his name is.' (o.c.:15)
- b. x-∅-a-na'  
 NEUT-B3-A2-know  
 'You know it.' (Gast 1998:37)

For a summary of the syntactic coding within the domain of mental and sensual states and processes in the investigated Mayan languages compare T16:

<sup>76</sup> classifier for 'cloth' (Craig 1977:154)



## T16. Syntactic structure in affective constructions in Mayan

language	Tzo	JAC	YM
<b>domains of affection</b>			
<b>perception</b>	S	S	S
<b>knowledge</b>	S	S/P	S/P
<b>memory</b>	S/P <sup>77</sup>	P	O
<b>evaluation</b>	S	S/P	S/P
<b>feelings</b>	S/*/P	S/*/P	S/O/P
<b>bodily sensation</b>	S/P	S/P	S/P
<b>summary</b>	6S/3P	5S/5P	5S/2O/4P

S - experiencer is subject

O - experiencer is oblique complement

P - experiencer is possessive attribute to the body part

\* - experiencer-object could not be verified

### 6.2.5. Benefactive

In a benefactive situation, Jacaltec and Tzotzil both display person foregrounding as well as person backgrounding constructions. In the Jacaltec examples in E224, the beneficiary occurs as a possessive attribute to the benefactum, whereas in E225 he is coded as a verbal dependent. In the a-example, the beneficiary is connected with the preposition *tet* which is also used for recipients and goals. In the b-example, the preposition *yin* is used to add the beneficiary of an abstract benefactum.

E224 a. Ha' ch-Ø-(y)-ute heb naj,

JAC what INCMPL-B3-A3-do PL CLF/3.SG.M

s-watx'e heb naj s-kitala;

A3-made PL CLF/3.SG.M A3-guitar

s-watx'en heb naj s-pelota;

A3-made PL CLF/3.SG.M A3-ball

s-watx'en heb naj s-karro te'

A3-made PL CLF/3.SG.M A3-car wood

'What they did was, they made their guitars, they made their balls, they made their wooden cars; (...)' (Datz 1980:81)

<sup>77</sup> The predominant construction type has been highlighted.

- b. (...) ch-in-to w-ala' tet ix y-ahaw kusinahan  
 INCMPL-B1.SG-go A1.SG-talk to CLF/3.SG.F A3.mistress kitchen  
 ta s-watx'e ix ha-wan.  
 that A3-make CLF/3.SG.F A2.SG-medicine  
 '(...) I'm going to tell the cook to make medicine for you.' (o.c.:407/415)

E225 a. s-tz'isa ix hune' camiçe tet s-noh  
 JAC A3-sewed CLF/3.SG.F a shirt to A3-brother  
 'she sewed a shirt for her brother' (Craig 1977:165)

- b. ch-in to munil y-iṅ hin mam  
 INCMPL-B1.SG go work A3-for A1.SG father  
 'I'm going to work for my father' (o.c.:15)

In Tzotzil, the beneficiary may appear as a possessive attribute to the benefactum nominal and as a prepositional or promoted direct object. In the latter case, he may be additionally marked as a possessive attribute to the benefactum.

The following example shows a possessive construction with a benefactive reading. The possessum is explicitly marked by the possessive suffix *-al* to indicate a not strictly possessive relationship. Such kinds of possessive relations are semantically much broader than the typical possessive relations such as part-whole, kinship, body part etc. They refer to benefactive, location, use or function roles. To indicate such an "unusual" possessive relationship, the possessum is marked with the suffix *-VI* (cf. Aissen 1987:128ff).

E226 'i-s-man s-kajon-al ti s-malal-e.  
 MTZ CMPL-A3-buy A3-coffin-REL DET A3-husband-DETF  
 'She bought a coffin for her husband.' (o.c.:154)

In E227, two examples with applicative verbs are shown. These are derived from monotransitive verbs. This operation causes the promotion of the beneficiary to direct object function (cf. o.c.:104ff), which becomes visible in E227.b where the beneficiary is cross-referenced on the verb. In E227.a, this process is not obvious because the absolutive marker for third person is zero (cf. also Ch. 6.2.3.3. for the same construction within the domain of affection of the possessor).

E227. a. 'i-j-meltzan-be j-p'ej na li Xun-e.  
 MTZ CMPL-A1-make-APPL one-NUMCLF house DET Xun-DETF  
 'I made a house for Xun.' (o.c.:105)

- b. Meltzan-b-[o]-on lek i garafon-e.  
 fix-APPL-IMP-B1.SG good DET jug-DETF  
 'Fix the jugs carefully for me.' (o.c.:107)

In such a construction, the benefactive may be additionally expressed as the possessor to the benefactum. The following example shows that the possessor accompanies the possessum in spite of the latter being alienable. Inalienable possessa always occur in the possessed form in spite of being raised as a benefactive (cf. E207) while alienable possessa may occur with or without one (compare E227 and E228).

E228. Ch-i-s-na'-be tal j-nichim-al.  
 MTZ INCMPL-B1-A3-remember-APPL coming A1-flower-REL  
 'They remember to bring me my flowers. (i.e. the flowers intended for me)  
 (o.c.:130)

In this kind of construction, both strategies, the person backgrounding (beneficiary appearing as possessive attribute to the benefactum nominal) and the person foregrounding one (beneficiary as direct object marked on the verb) occur at the same time. Another way of expressing benefactivity with intransitive clauses is with the possessed relational noun stem *-u'un* functioning as a preposition (cf. Ch. 6.2.2.1). This is again a person foregrounding strategy, the benefactive occurring as verbal dependent.

E 229 'a li na le'-e, 'i-meltzaj xa y-u'un li Petul-e.  
 MTZ TOP DET house that-DETF CMPL-be.made already A3-for DET Petul-DETF  
 'That house was made for Petul.' (o.c.:115)

The data given above shows that both Tzotzil and Jacaltec – as YM – provide for the person foregrounding and the person backgrounding strategy to express a benefactive relation. Among the three languages, Tzotzil seems most person foregrounding in the discussed area for it displays two different strategies to code the beneficiary as a verbal dependent, namely the use off an applicative verb and its prepositional coding.

T17. *Syntactic status of beneficiary in Mayan*

language	TZO	JAC	YM
beneficiary			
verbal dependent	+	+	+
attribute	+	+	+

### 6.2.6. Conclusion

The discussion above is summarized in T18:

T18. *Person vs. relation prominence in Mayan*

parameter	feature	language		
		TZO	JAC	YM
ascription of possession	possessor is subject (+) vs. oblique complement (-)	-	-	-
relation between periph. (body) part and whole	animate possessor is primary (+) vs. secondary attribute (-)	-	-	-
affection of possessor	possessor is verbal dependent (+) vs. attribute (-)	+/-	-	-
modal predicates	modal op. takes indiv. (+) vs. propositional subject (-)	+/-	+/-	-
phase predicates	phase predicate takes indiv. (+) vs. propositional subject (-)	+/n.c.	+/-	+/-
beneficiary	beneficiary is verbal dependent (+) vs. attribute (-)	+/-	+/-	+/-
affects <sup>78</sup>	experiencer is subject (+) vs. oblique complement (-) or possessive attribute (-)	+/-	+/-	+/-
summary		5:6	4:7	3:7

Comparing the results in T18, it becomes clear that in many respects Jacalteco and Tzotzil behave similarly to YM, in others there are some differences, especially concerning Tzotzil. In the upper and lower part of the table, the results are identical for the three languages, while in the middle part, the languages behave differently to some degree.

In the possessive domains of an ascription of possession and the expression of the relation between a peripheral (body) part and its human possessor, all three languages only employ person backgrounding constructions. However, Tzotzil may code an affected possessor as a verbal dependent – contrary to YM and Jacalteco. Modal predicates are more likely to be person foregrounding in Tzotzil and Jacalteco than in YM. This is owed to the desiderative modal operators of Jacalteco and Tzotzil, which are both clearly person foregrounding, while in YM, all modal predicates appear in person backgrounding constructions.

The results in the construction of phase predicates are again very similar in the three languages. They all have person foregrounding constructions with transitive phase predicates in case the main participant controls the situation (and its beginning or end).

However, if there is no control on the part of the main participant, Jacaltec and YM use impersonal phase operators. However, Jacaltec is more committed to person foregrounding than YM for it additionally has intransitive phase operators with a personal subject. The Tzotzil phase predicates used in a non-controlled situation are more grammaticalized and particle-like than in the other two languages; they no longer bear any argument structure. Tzotzil is thus clearly non-person foregrounding in the construction of the phase predicates as well as in displaying a set of motion auxiliaries that do not carry personal agreement markers.

In the construction of benefactive situations, all three Mayan languages display both construction types. The possibility to code the beneficiary solely as a possessive attribute to the benefactum – thus not representing its semantic relation to the verb – seems to be connected to its necessary appearance as a possessor of the latter in inalienable relations. The experiencer of a mental or sensual affect is in Jacaltec – as in YM – predominantly expressed in person backgrounding constructions. Tzotzil also displays person backgrounding constructions but to a lower degree. With the expression of experiential situations, it is more committed to person foregrounding constructions.

Summarizing the results, it can be noted that the behaviour of Jacaltec comes very close to that of YM in most of the discussed domains. This behaviour of person backgrounding also covers additional areas that have not been investigated in this paper, namely the coding of different semantic roles (cf. Lehmann et al. 2000). In Jacaltec, as in YM, a recipient and an emittent can be solely coded as a possessor of the transferred entity without expressing the semantic relation to the transfer verb. This is especially true for inalienable relations between the two entities, but also possible with alienable ones. On the scale comprising all investigated languages (cf. T19), Jacaltec must be located directly to the left of YM. Note that in T18 the first two domains of T19 are missing, so that the numerical values in the last line are necessarily lower in T18.

Tzotzil is less person backgrounding than Jacaltec and YM, though the person backgrounding constructions prevail slightly in T18. Its different behaviour is especially owed to the possibility of foregrounding an affected person and coding it as a verbal complement such as the beneficiary and the affected possessor. On the scale of T19, Tzotzil would be located next to Lezgian, displaying a slight tendency towards person backgrounding constructions.

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<sup>78</sup> The predominant construction type has been highlighted.



## 7. Typology

### 7.1. Empirical generalizations

All of the constructions reviewed above contain a participant further up in F1 than some others. In each case, English and German possess constructions that assign it a higher syntactic function on F3 than would be suggested by a simple mapping of F2 onto F3. YM – on the contrary – assigns it a function derived from the syntactic manifestation of inherent semantic relations. English and German differ from each other in certain details. While German is generally more person foregrounding in constructions of indirect affection of the possessor and in an ascription of a property to a body part, English is more person foregrounding in affections of mind and senses (e.g. *I like it* vs. *mir gefällt es*). In general, however, both languages form a contrast to YM.

The other languages of the sample take intermediate stages on the continuum of person foregrounding and person backgrounding with respect to the reviewed grammatical contexts. T19 gives a summary of the results discussed in the preceding chapters.

T19. *Person vs. relation prominence*

parameter	feature	language	GER	ENG	TAM	KOR	MAO	LEZ	SAM	YM	
ascription of property to body part	possessor of modified body part is subject (+) vs. attribute (-)		+/-	+/-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+:8-
predication of belonging	possessor is oblique complement (+) vs. attribute to dummy possessum (-)		+/-	+/-	+/-	-	-	-	-	-	3+:8-
affection of possessor	possessor is verbal dependent (+) vs. attribute (-)		+	+/-	+/-	-	-	-	-	-	3+:7-
ascription of possession	possessor is subject (+) vs. oblique complement (incl. attribute) (-)		+	+	-	+/-	-	-	-	-	3+:6-
relation between peripheral part and whole	animate possessor is primary (+) vs. secondary attribute (-)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	7+:1-
modal predicates	modal operator takes individual (+) vs. propositional subject (-)		+	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	-	7+:5-
phase predicates	phase predicate takes individual (+) vs. propositional subject (-)		+	+	+	+	+	+/-	-	+/-	7+:3-
beneficiary	beneficiary is verbal dependent (+) vs. attribute (-)		+	+	+	+/-	+	+	+/-	+/-	8+:3-
affects	experiencer is subject (+) vs. oblique complement (-) or possessive attribute (-)		+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	8+:8-
summary			9+:3-	9+:4-	7+:6-	6+:7-	5+:5-	5+:7-	4+:8-	3+:9-	



T19 is a summary of the tables presented in Ch. 5. Marginal occurrence of a construction type was indicated above by bracketing the respective result. In the presentation of T19, such cases have not been noted down for the sake of greater clarity. The results in the penultimate line for the domain ‘affects’ arise from the last line in T9. The value for the predominant construction type has been highlighted.

The arrangement of the languages represents a continuum of increasing person backgrounding from left to right and, conversely, of increasing person foregrounding from right to left. The last line contains a numeral representation of the person foregrounding and person backgrounding constructions for each language. The results are obtained by adding the foregrounding (‘+’) and the backgrounding (‘-’) constructions that are possible in the different domains of investigation.<sup>79</sup> In the languages on the left side, including German and English, the person foregrounding constructions clearly prevail. For Tamil, Korean, Maori, and Lezgian the proportion is rather balanced, for Samoan and YM, the person backgrounding strategy clearly overrides the foregrounding one.

The grammatical domains investigated are ordered from top to bottom according to the proportion of fore- and backgrounding constructions possible in all the languages of the sample, noted in the rightmost row. The situation most likely to be construed person backgrounding is an ascription of a property to a body part and the construction of possessive relations in general. Conversely, the expression of participant roles like beneficiary and experiencer is most likely to be construed person foregrounding. However, for a given grammatical domain, there is not always only one function-based iconic syntactic representation, but there may be different functional motivations resulting in different constructions. Thus, if a language provides for variation within one domain, it may choose the appropriate syntactic representation according to functional needs.

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<sup>79</sup> The summary representation in T19 obliterates the degree to which a certain domain is structured by person foregrounding resp. person backgrounding constructions. Therefore we tried to represent the results of the investigation in alternative ways, e.g. with different positive and negative numeral values for person backgrounding and person foregrounding constructions. On the one hand, the overrepresentation of the possessive domain against the others could be adjusted in this way. But on the other hand, the allocation of different numeral values seems to be arbitrary in some cases, e.g. in cases of a non-binary choice of constructions as in the domain of the affection of mind and senses. It has to be noted that such a representation did not change the arrangement of the languages in T19 to a considerable degree.

The overall distribution of the values in T19 makes clear that there is no interrelation concerning foregrounding or backgrounding constructions between the different grammatical contexts, such as could be shown for the internal structure of the domain of modality in Ch. 5.2.1.

The following chapters summarize the findings for each domain investigated above.

### **7.1.1. The domain of possession**

Person backgrounding clearly prevails in the syntactic construction of possession. This holds as well for the four upper possessive subdomains in T19, however not for the expression of a relation between a peripheral part and the whole. The default construction backgrounds the animate possessor with respect to the possessum. It either codes him as a possessive attribute to the latter or assigns him the function of an oblique or indirect object in an existential predication. In the first case, the possessive relation is assumed, but not predicated. In the second case, the existence of the possessum is predicated with respect to the possessor.

The backgrounding strategy provides for an iconic representation of the possessive relation in those situations that are not primarily possessive, namely the ascription of a property to a body part and the indirect affection of the possessor. In both cases, the dissociation of possessor and possessum is generally impossible in YM, Samoan, Lezgian, and Maori. In Tamil and Korean, it is only impossible in an ascription of a property to a body part. These languages have to express the inherent relation between a body part or another intimate part and its whole. German and English, however, may give a syntactically preferential treatment to animate possessors and express an ascription of a property to a body part like an ascription of possession to the possessor by means of the possessive verb ‘have’. The ascribed entity is an inalienable item, the modified body part. Inalienable items are not freely used in possessive predications. They need to have a special property. Thus, it is obvious, that the use of this strategy in the discussed situation is rather far removed from its proper locus.

In situations of an indirect affection of the possessor, German, English, Korean, and Tamil may code the animate possessor as a verbal dependent, thus accounting for his relation to the situation core. At the same time, the inherent relation to the possessum is syntactically neglected. In German, this strategy is even obligatory. Thus, German – and English, Korean, and Tamil to a lower degree – express the affectedness of the empathic participant with regard to the situation core. Maori, Lezgian, Samoan, and

YM render the inherent possessive relation on a structural level. The unexpressed relation, obviously present at the same time, must be inferred on pragmatic grounds.

An ascription of possession and a predication of belonging differ from each other in the topicality of the possessor and the possessum, respectively. In a predication of belonging, the possessum is the topic and generally coded as a subject. The recurrent strategy in all the languages of the sample is the ascription of a dummy possessum. The possessor is backgrounded into a possessive attribute in the possessed NP. If languages lexicalize the discussed relation with verbs meaning ‘belong’, they create the possibility of coding the possessor as a verbal complement, thus providing for a more prominent position. Only German, English, and Tamil follow this principle.

In an ascription of possession, the possessor is the topic. Languages differ as to whether they use monovalent verbs predicating the existence of the possessum with respect to the possessor – or if they have bivalent possessive verbs which take the possessor as a subject and the possessum as an object. Most of the languages of our sample use the first strategy that backgrounds the animate possessor into an oblique object or an attribute of the possessum. Only German, English, and Korean possess bivalent possessive verbs that provide for a prominent coding of the animate possessor.

Solely the fifth possessive subdomain in T19, the relation between a peripheral part and the whole, is predominantly construed person foregrounding. Part-whole relations are transitive from a logical point of view. A marginal part of an internally complex whole is not only part of the immediate superordinate whole but also of all further superordinate wholes. Most of the languages of our sample use this logical connection and construe mediate superordinate wholes as direct possessors of peripheral parts. YM, on the contrary, represents the existence of an intermediate possessor syntactically and is, thus, the most precise language by rendering each existing relation structurally.

In sum, in the construction of possession, the languages on the right side of the table are clearly opposed to those on the left. YM represents the purest case of favouring person backgrounding while German and English clearly follow the principle of person foregrounding in all the possessive domains investigated.

### **7.1.2. Higher predicates**

From an overall conceptual perspective, higher predicates are relators between a proposition and the deictic centre. An iconic syntactic representation of these conceptual conditions would be person backgrounding, the empathic participant taking a syntactic function in the embedded clause which represents the proposition. However, the

diverse modal, phase, temporal, and aktionsart operators differ as to their specific semantics and may be more or less inclined to get into a semantic relation with respect to the empathic participant.

The languages investigated differ as to whether they reflect the control properties of a certain predicate or whether they ignore them following the general principle of either always foregrounding or always backgrounding the empathic participant.

The arrangement of the languages in T19 is based on their syntactic behaviour in all the grammatical contexts investigated. If we consider the distribution of the values in the two domains of higher predicates, the order has to be rearranged as in T20.

T20. *Syntactic construction of higher predicates*

languages	GER	ENG	MAO	KOR	TAM	LEZ	SAM	YM
<b>predicate types</b>								
<b>modal predicates</b>	+	+	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-
<b>phase predicates</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+/-	-	+/-

+ *predicate takes individual subject*

- *predicate takes propositional subject*

Above we have noted that the different domains investigated are not interrelated as to their syntactic construction. In a similar way there is no implicational relation between the construction of modal and phase operators. However, we may notice rather clear tendencies as to whether a language tends to use person foregrounding or person backgrounding constructions. In general, person foregrounding prevails in the construction of higher predicates, which is contrary to their basic conceptualization as relators between the deictic centre and the main proposition. The languages on the left side of the table, German, English, and Maori always foreground the empathic participant, regardless of the specific semantics of a given predicate. They, thus, generalize the principle of person foregrounding up to areas where there is no functional motivation, e.g. with epistemic and obligative modalities or with phase predicates modifying uncontrolled events. The languages on the right side of T20, Samoan and YM, clearly prefer person backgrounding constructions in the discussed domain. They may ignore the control properties of certain operators though they are not always forced to do so. YM may account for the agentivity of an empathic participant in a phase construction and Samoan possesses a person foregrounding volitive predicate. In general, however, they prefer the construction of higher predicates as one-place operators over a proposition and disregard at the same time the potential control of the empathic participant.

The languages in the middle of T20, Korean, Tamil, and Lezgian display a more heterogeneous behaviour within the construction of higher predicates. In the domain of modality, the three languages partly take into account the control properties of the empathic participant vis-à-vis the different operators and render them iconically. Korean and Tamil do so also in phase operator constructions while Lezgian may background the empathic participant in phase operator constructions with controlled situations.

### 7.1.3. Participant roles

As far as a participant role is inherent in the valency of a verb, it is expected that it will be rendered as a verbal complement. This is the case with most experiencer constructions investigated above. In every language of the sample, the experiencer may be coded as a subject, and most languages also provide for constructions, in which he takes the function of a direct or indirect object. In the subject construction, the experiencer is foregrounded due to his empathy which overrides the parameter of affectedness in those cases where the experiencer is clearly affected by the situation (emotional and bodily sensation). In the object construction, the affectedness of the experiencer is taken into account and rules out his empathy. The latter construction type is more rare in our sample.

Besides the central coding of the experiencer, all languages also provide for constructions where he is backgrounded into a possessed NP with a material or immaterial body part noun as its head. Such a construction is recurrent in all languages within the domain of bodily sensation. In other affective domains, it represents a deviant construction type, as far as our sample is concerned. Only YM and Samoan make considerable use of such a strategy of person backgrounding.

Corresponding to his marginality, the beneficiary can be coded as a verbal adjunct in every language of the sample. This is again the default case, and thus not extraordinary in any way. The deviant coding of the beneficiary as a possessive attribute to the benefactum in Korean, Samoan, and YM represents the remarkable strategy. In fact, the benefactive relation is not coded syntactically in these cases, but must be inferred from the context, i.e. the former, present, or future possessive relationship between the beneficiary and the benefactum. These languages clearly prefer the expression of the possessive relation to the detriment of the beneficiary relation.

Thus, it can be concluded, that the languages on the right of T19, YM and Samoan (and to a certain degree also Korean), attach much importance to the representation of (inherent) possessive relations, if necessary (and economic) to the detriment of the re-

flection of participant relations. The other languages primarily code participant relations and may ignore the syntactic representation of possessive relations. This observation is investigated in detail with respect to a more comprehensive set of semantic roles in Lehmann et al. 2000.

## 7.2. Grammatical correlations

The languages on the left side of T19, namely German and English, possess a strongly grammaticalized subject. Their behaviour in several of the investigated areas can be seen in this connection. In an ascription of possession they code the possessor as the subject of a bivalent verb and even apply this strategy in an ascription of a property to a body part, an area where it is no longer functionally motivated. All modal verbs are transitive independently of their proper semantics and the phase predicates even take non-controlling participants as their subject – a fact that does not hold for the bivalent phase predicates of the other languages.<sup>80</sup>

Furthermore, the grammatical relation of the indirect object as a means for the addition of a third valency-dependent argument is strongly developed in German. Here, the tri-valent construction type can be used as a pattern to put other non-valency-dependent participants in relation to the verbal core. This holds for the German dative adjuncts in situations of the indirect affection of the possessor and in benefactive situations. English distributes the realization of these functions on direct, indirect, and prepositional objects.

In general, the languages on the left of T19 tend to use verbal constructions where the languages on the right side use nominal constructions and they tend to use bivalent verbs where the languages on the right side use monovalent verbs.

In YM, most features shown in Ch. 5.3, Ch. 5.4, and Ch. 5.5, have to do with the fact that inalienable nouns must be accompanied by a possessive pronoun. Inherent possessive relations are obligatorily expressed in syntactic structure. Thus, YM codes the animate possessor as a nominal dependent not only in possessive but also in benefactive and experiential situations. The subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs are former possessors of nominalized constructions representing a *genitivus subjectivus*. Samoan shows a similar behaviour as YM, though it is not yet grammaticalized. Sa-

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<sup>80</sup> Cf. also von Steffens (1983) who explains the development of experiencer subjects in some Indo-European languages with the rise of a unified polyfunctional subject.

moan discourse prefers nominal constructions that relate the participants as grammatical possessors.

Most languages are located in the middle part of the continuum of T19. Some, like Tamil and Korean, display some traits of person foregrounding. Tamil e.g. uses the dative to express the indirect involvement or a lower degree of affectedness of a participant. Korean possesses a bivalent verb ‘have’ to express an ascription of possession. Maori and Lezgian behave in nearly all situations like the majority of the languages, representing possessive as well as participant relations rather iconically.<sup>81</sup>

### 7.3. Conclusion

Person foregrounding may well have the status of a general typological principle followed by a language. We have called it **person prominence**. Person backgrounding, on the other hand, is probably not anything positive pursued for its own sake. Instead of being striven against by YM, the principle of person prominence is probably just irrelevant to the language. It rather seems that an independent principle is operative here, according to which a semantic relation inherent in a lexical item must manifest itself directly in a corresponding syntactic relation. We have called this principle **relation prominence**. Giving priority to one such principle entails that conflicting principles lose out. This is clearly seen in Ch. 5.

Relation prominence is not the same as role domination. The latter principle provides for a distinct reflection of semantic relations by syntactic relations. This is not something that YM is particularly concerned with. What relation prominence does entail is that a semantic relation is reflected in a constant – but possibly highly formalized – way by a syntactic relation. For instance, YM conflates, in the valency of its transitive verbs, many distinct semantic roles, just like the typical reference-dominated languages, e.g. English and Dyirbal, do.

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<sup>81</sup> Both languages display a less iconic behaviour in one of the investigated domains. Maori construes all modal situations person foregrounding, although this outcome has to be relativized with regard to the lacking results concerning obligative and potential constructions. Lezgian uses intransitive phase verbs irrespective of the agency of the empathic participant.

The presence of a typological principle such as person prominence and relation prominence means that the language pays more attention, within its structure, to the associated function than other languages do. On the other hand, the pervasiveness of the structural correlates of such a principle in a language is not functionally motivated in all its consequences. As seen in Ch. 5.2.1, Ch. 5.3.4, Ch. 5.3.5, and Ch. 5.5, both English/German and YM/Samoan extend the use of the constructions entrenched in them beyond the range where they are functionally motivated. Where purely structural devices like ‘have’-constructions and possessive pronouns are involved, it seems methodologically advisable not to force a functional motivation of each and every of its uses.

There are, thus, two features that may be type-constitutive in such a framework. One is the consistent pursuit of a principle whenever its functional conditions are met, to the detriment of principles whose conditions may be met, too, but which are not heeded by the language. The other is the reliance on a certain structural device even outside the domain of its primary functional motivation. For any given structural device, this line will be pursued only by a minority of languages. The majority uses the structural device for such functions to which it bears an iconic relationship. In this, they obey a universal principle, and such obedience does not constitute any particular type. It is the stretching of a structural device beyond its iconic applicability which enhances arbitrariness in grammatical structure and, thus, peculiarness. Consequently, typology may characterize a language by those structural devices which it, so to speak, overuses. While this is not a novel idea – hints at it may already be found in Humboldt (1836, Ch. 19) –, we hope to have explicated and substantiated it.



# Indices

## Abbreviations

### Morpheme glosses & syntactic categories

∅	meaningless element	DE	dual exclusive
1	first person	DEAG	deagentive
2	second person	DEB	debitive
3	third person	DECL	declarative
ABL	ablative	DEF	definite
ABS	absolutive	DEP	dependent
ABSTR	abstract marker	DET	determiner
ACC	accusative	DETF	determiner final
ACT	actual	DIR	directional
ADEL	adelative	DIST	distal
ADESS	adessive	DU	dual
ADJ	adjective	EMPH	emphasizer
ADJR	adjectivalizer	EQT	equative
ADVR	adverbializer	ERG	ergative
AN	animate	ES	ergativizing suffix
ANA	anaphoric	EXIST	exist(ential)
AOR	aorist	F	feminine
APPL	applicative	FUT	future
ART	article	GEN	genitive
AT	attributor	GER	gerund
BEN	benefactive	HORT	hortative
CAUS	causative	HUM	human
CLF	classifier	IMMFUT	immediate future
CLIT	clitic	IMP	imperative
CMPL	completive	IMPF	imperfective
CNJ	conjunction	INAN	inanimate
CNTR	continuator	INCMPL	incompletive
COND	conditional	INDEF	indefinite
CONT	continuous	INESS	inessive
COP	copular	INF	infinitive marker
D1	first person deictic	INSTR	instrumental
D2	second person deictic	INT	interrogative
D3	third person deictic	INTD	intended
DAT	dative	INTROV	introversive

IRR	irrealis	PROC	processive
LD	locative-directional	PROG	progressive
LOC	locative	PROSP	prospective
M	masculine	PROX	proximal
MSD	masdar	PRS	present
N	noun	PRSV	presentative
NEG	negative	PST	past
NEGF	negative final	PTL	particle
NEUT	neutral aspect	QUOT	quotative
NOM	nominative	REL	relationalizer
NR	nominalizer	REM	remote
NSPEC	nonspecific	REP	repetitive
NUMCLF	numeral classifier	RSLTV	resultative
NT	neuter	S	clause
OBL	oblique	SBEL	subrelative
OBLG	obligative	SBESS	subessive
PART	participle marker	SBJ	subject
PASS	passive	SBSTR	substantivizer
PER	periphrasis form	SG	singular
PERS	personal	SPEC	specific
PF	perfect	SPONT	spontaneous
PFV	perfective	SRDIR	superdirective
PI	plural inclusive	SREL	superrelative
PL	plural	SUBJ	subjunctive
POEL	postelative	SUF	suffix
POESS	postessive	T/A(/M)	tense/aspect(/mood)
POSS	possessive	TERM	terminative
POT	potential	TOP	topic
PRED	predicative	TRR	transitivizer
PREP	preposition		

**Languages**

ENG	English	(L)TAM	(Literary) Tamil
CTZ	Colonial Tzotzil	MAO	Maori
CYM	Colonial Yucatec Maya	MTZ	Modern Tzotzil
FRE	French	(M)YM	(Modern) Yucatec Maya
GER	German	PORT	Portuguese
JAC	Jacaltec	SAM	Samoan
KOR	Korean	SPAN	Spanish
LAT	Latin	(S)TAM	(Spoken) Tamil
LEZ	Lezgian		

**Sources of data**

BVS	Blair, Robert W. & Vermont-Salas, Refugio 1965-7, <i>Spoken (Yucatec) Maya. 2 vols.</i> Chicago: University of Chicago, Dept. of Anthropology. Reprint: Columbia, Miss.: Lucas Brothers, 1979.
CHAAK	Tun, Bernardino 1931, <i>The Ch'á'cháak Ceremony</i> . Transcribed by Manuel J. Andrade. Chicago: University of Chicago Library (Microfilm Collections of Manuscripts on Cultural Anthropology, No. 262, Series XLIX, Text No. 35, pp. 211-215).
CM	Dzul Poot, Domingo 1985, <i>Cuentos mayas. Edición bilingüe español-maya</i> . Mérida: Maldonado (INAH-SEP, Colección Raíces).
FCP	Vivas Cámara, Gregorio 1989, <i>U tsikbalil u kuxtal Don Felipe Carrillo Puerto</i> . Recorded by Christian Lehmann in Yaxley.
HIJO	Vivas Cámara, Gregorio 1988, <i>El hijo pródigo</i> . Recorded by Christian Lehmann in Yaxley.
HNAZ	Bolio, Antonio 1930, "Hnazario". Andrade, Manuel J. & Máas Collí, Hilaria (eds.) 1991, <i>Cuentos Mayas Yucatecos</i> ; Tomo II, Mérida: Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán; 64-127.
MUUCH	Ppol Kaaw, Estéban 1989, <i>Xunáan miuch</i> . Recorded by Christian Lehmann in Yaxley.
NAH	Pool Kaaw, Estéban 1989, <i>How a traditional house is built</i> . Recorded by Christian Lehmann in Yaxley.
RMC	Ramón May Cupul, Yaxley, Quintana Roo, Mexiko

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