

Polarity Emphasis in Kavalan*

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1. Introduction

1.1. Function of Polarity Emphasis

- “polarity emphasis arises when the polarity of the proposition conflicts with that of a background assumption” (Breitbarth, de Clercq, & Haegeman 2013: 1-2)

(1) The problem is that women are not standing. When they DO stand they have just the same chance of getting the post as a man, but they are not putting themselves forward.
(*Observer* 22.08.2010, from Breitbarth, de Clercq, & Haegeman 2013: 2)

(2) mai sazmaqen ti-utay qan-an-na ni buya ya Rusipan,
NEG believe NCM-Utay eat-PV-3ERG ERG Buya ABS scorpion
maqen=ti qan-an-na ni buya ya Rusipan
indeed=PFV eat-PFV-3ERG ERG Buya ABS scorpion
‘Utay doesn’t believe that Buya ate the scorpion, but Buya DID eat the scorpion.’¹

- as reassurance or confirmation

(3) He promised to eat the scorpion and he DID eat it. (Kandybowicz 2013: 53)

(4) s<m>anu ti-buya Rasa=pa=iku tu lepaw ta-banqiao-an,
<AV>say NCM-Buya buy=FUT=1SG.ABS OBL house LOC-Banqiao-LOC
maqen-an-na=ti m-Rasa lepaw ta-banqiao-an
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV AV-buy house LOC-Banqiao-LOC
‘Buya said, “I will buy a house in Banqiao”, and he DID buy the house in Banqiao.’

- polarity emphasis as “a function over proposition-denoting expressions that yields enriched assertions encoding the level of speaker commitment to those propositions” and “a vehicle for graded forceful assertions” (Kandybowicz 2013: 54)

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¹ Glossing conventions in this paper follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Additional glossing conventions are as follows: AV – Agent voice; EXIST – Existential; I – Inclusive; NCM – Non-common noun marker; PV – Patient voice; .

1.2. Syntax of Polarity Emphasis

- two types of emphatic polarity markers (EPM) with regard to syntactic distributions (Batllori & Hernanz 2013; Breitbarth, de Clercq, & Haegeman 2013; Danckaert & Haegeman 2012; Kandybowicz 2013)
 - ❖ high vs. low EPM
- high EPM
 - ❖ restricted to root/main clauses only
 - ❖ ungrammatical in (central) adverbial clauses, restrictive relative clauses, complements of factive verbs
 - ❖ Spanish *bien* and *sí* (Danckaert & Haegeman 2012; Hernanz 2007), Italian Veneto dialect *no* (Poletto 2009), Nupe *ni*: (Kandybowicz 2013)

(5) Spanish (Danckaert & Haegeman 2012: 158)

Si Pepe (**bien*) acaba a tiempo su tesis, ya te lo haré saber.
if Pepe well finish.3SG on time his thesis I you it let.FUT.1SG know
'If Pepe finishes his thesis on time, I'll let you know.'

(6) Nupe (Kandybowicz 2013: 57)

*Ebó na Musa gí kinkere na *ni*; Gana á zè ewùn bè
because COMP Musa eat scorpion PRT *ni*: Gana PRF turn anger with
wu:n yin.
3.SG PRT

'(I assure you) Because Musa DID eat the scorpion, Gana was mad at him.'

- ❖ high EPM as Main Clause Phenomenon (MCP)
 - syntactic operations restricted to root clauses and a subset of subordinate clauses (Danckaert & Haegeman 2012; Emonds 2004; Haegeman 2012; Heycock 2006)
 - e.g., argument fronting, locative inversion, and speaker-oriented adverbials

(7) (Danckaert & Haegeman 2012: 133-134)

- a. *If these exams you don't pass, you won't get the degree.
- b. *If upstairs live his parents, things will be much simpler.
- c. ??If frankly he's unable to cope, we'll have to replace him.

- ❖ high EPM in FocusP or EmphP of Rizzi's (1997) split CP (Batllori & Hernanz 2013; Kandybowicz 2013): "a designated left-peripheral functional projection encoding focus on the polarity of the sentence" (Breitbarth, de Clercq, & Haegeman 2013: 4)
 - ❖ The restrictions on the syntactic distributions of high EPM can be attributed to the same account of MCP: either truncation or intervention (Haegeman 2012)
- low EPM
 - ❖ not restricted to root/main clauses
 - ❖ grammatical in (central) adverbial clauses, restrictive relative clauses, complements of factive verbs
 - ❖ English emphatic *do*; Nupe verbal repetition (Kandybowicz 2013); Flemish particle *en* (Breitbarth & Haegeman 2014; Haegeman 2002)

(8) If he DOES win, I'll be the first to congratulate him. (Danckaert & Haegeman 2012: 160)

(9) Nupe (Kandybowicz 2013: 59)

A: wo labari gánán Musa gí kinkere gí.
3.PL hear news COMP Musa eat scorpion eat
'They heard the news that (apparently) Musa DID eat the scorpion.'

(10) West Flemish (Haegeman 2002: 181)

Oa-t nie en regent moe-j de blommen woater geven.
if/when-it NEG EN rains must-you the flowers water give
'If/when it DOESN'T rain, you have to water the plants.'

- ❖ low EPM in a TP-internal focus position: inner FocusP or EmphP (“vP-related”) (Batllori & Hernanz 2013; Breitbarth & Haegeman 2014; Kandybowicz 2013)²

1.3. Kavalan *maqen*

- Main claim of the present paper

★ Kavalan <i>maqen</i> as a low EPM

- Road map
 - ❖ Section 2. Morphology of *maqen* → *Maqen* as a verb
 - ❖ Section 3. Distributional Contrast between *maqen* and Other TP-internal Adverbials → *maqen* as a low EPM below functional projections of epistemic expressions
 - ❖ Section 4. High vs. Low EPM: Main Clause Phenomenon → *Maqen* not restricted to root clauses
 - ❖ Section 5. High vs. Low EPM: Interpretive Differences → *Maqen* as a low EMP associated with a weaker commitment to truth
 - ❖ Section 6. The Structural Position of Low EPM: A Puzzle → PV-marked vs. non-PV-marked *maqen*
 - ❖ Section 7. Conclusion

2. Morphology of *maqen*

- *Maqen* exhibits morphosyntactic properties of a verb.
 - ❖ clause-initial slot
 - ❖ aspect markers
 - ❖ voice affixes
 - ❖ imperative suffix

- (11) a. maqen=ti m-Rasa tu lepaw ti-imuy
indeed=PFV AV-buy OBL house NCM-Imuy
'Imuy DID buy a house.'
- b. maqen-an-na=ti ni imuy m-Rasa ya lepaw
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Imuy AV-buy ABS house
'Imuy DID buy the house.'

² For a pragmatic account of low EPM, please refer to Wilder (2013).

- c. maqen-ika m-liyam ya sudad
indeed-IMP AV-read ABS book
'DO read the book!'

- PV *-an* on *maqen* as verb-defining *v* or Voice, which can determine the argument structure of a sentence
 - ❖ PV *-an* (on "non-canonical verbs") is associated with a volitional external argument and an affected theme (Lin 2013, to appear).
 - ❖ incompatibility of PV-marked *maqen* (*maqen-an*) with intransitive or unaccusative verbs

- (12) a. maqen=ti m-laydaw ti-abas
indeed=PFV AV-sad NCM-Abas
'Abas WAS sad.'
- b. *maqen-an-na=ti ni abas m-laydaw
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Abas AV-sad

- (13) a. maqen=ti masuzeq ti-buya
indeed=PFV AV.arrive NCM-Buya
'Buya HAS arrived.'
- b. *maqen-an-na=ti ni buya masuzeq
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Buya AV.arrive

- The fact that *maqen* can be affixed with *-an* thus suggests that it is a head that is initially merged below *vP* or VoiceP.
 - ❖ low EPM (TP-internal, "vP-related") instead of high EPM (split CP)

3. Distributional Contrast between *maqen* and Other TP-internal Adverbials

- a comparison between *maqen* and adverbial verbs
 - ❖ Kavalan aspect-related and manner adverbials as verbs (Chang 2006, 2010; Lin 2014)

- (22) a. paqanas-an-ku=ti m-liyam ya sudad
slowly-PV-1SG.ERG=PFV AV-read ABS book
'I read the book slowly.'
- b. pataz-an-na ni utay m-qila ya sunis-na
often-PV-3ERG ERG Utay AV-scold ABS child-3SG.GEN
'Utay often scolds his children.'

- ❖ *Maqen* must precede aspect-related and manner adverbial verbs.
 - Within Cinque's (1999) framework of fine-grained IP, this suggests that the functional projection hosting *maqen* is structurally higher than aspect-related and manner adverbials.

- (23) a. maqen paqanas-an-na ni buya q<m>an ya baut
indeed slowly-PV-3ERG ERG Buya <AV>eat ABS fish
'Buya DID eat the fish slowly.'
- b. *paqanas-an-na ni buya maqen q<m>an ya baut
slowly-PV-3ERG ERG Buya indeed <AV>eat ABS fish

- (24) a. maqen pataz-an-na ni buya m-qila ya sunis
indeed often-PV-3ERG ERG Buya AV-scold ABS child
'Buya does scold the child often.'
- b. *pataz-an-na ni buya maqen m-qila ya sunis
often-PV-3ERG ERG Buya indeed <AV>scold ABS child

- distributional contrast between *maqen* and epistemic markers like *qawman* 'certainly'
- ❖ Unlike *maqen*, *qawman* cannot take voice affixes.
 - ❖ While *maqen* can be suffixed with the imperative marker, *qawman* is incompatible with imperative mood. The compatibility between *maqen* and the imperative mood indicates that it is truly an EPM instead of an epistemic marker.
 - ❖ When *maqen* and *qawman* co-occur in a clause, *qawman* must precede *maqen*

- (25) a. qawman Rasa-an-na=ti ni buya ya lepaw
certainly buy-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Buya ABS house
'Buya must have bought the house.'
- b. *qawman-an-na=ti ni buya m-Rasa ya lepaw
certainly-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Buya AV-buy ABS house

- (26) a. maqen-ika m-liyam ya sudad
indeed-IMP AV-read ABS book
'DO read the book!'
- b. *qawman-ika m-liyam ya sudad
certainly-IMP AV-read ABS book

- (27) a. qawman maqen-an-na ni utay m-qila ya sunis-na
certainly indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Utay AV-scold ABS child-3GEN
'Utay certainly WILL scold his child.'
- b. *maqen-an-na ni utay qawman m-qila ya sunis-na
indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Utay certainly AV-scold ABS child-3GEN

- epistemic >> *maqen* >> aspect-related, manner
- ❖ *maqen* as a low EPM below functional projections of epistemic expressions

4. High vs. Low EPM: Main Clause Phenomenon (MCP)

- high vs. low EPM
- ❖ high EPM (in split CP) as an MCP due to truncation or intervention (Haegeman 2012)
 - ❖ High EPM can occur in complement clauses of declarative or epistemic verbs, but not evaluative, directive, or volitive verbs.
 - ❖ High EPM cannot occur in restrictive relative clauses.
 - ❖ High EPM is incompatible with conditional clauses.

- (28) Spanish (Batllori & Hernanz 2013: 24)
- a. Otra persona [...] pensando que bien vale la Moncloa
another person thinking that indeed is.worth the Moncloa
una sonrisa...
a smile

- ‘Thinking that being in power is worth a smile indeed, anyone else [...]’
- b. *Los médicos han decidido/ordenado que el paciente bien
 the doctors have decided/ordered that the patient indeed
 tomara pastillas
 take pills

(29) Spanish (Batllori & Hernanz 2013: 24)

*El aria que sí ha cantado la soprano es muy bonita
 the aria that yes has sung the soprano is very beautiful

(30) Spanish (Batllori & Hernanz 2013: 25)

Si (*bien) canta la Caballé, el teatro se llenará
 if indeed sings the Caballé the theater CL will.be.full

➤ *Magen* is NOT restricted to main/root clauses.

❖ It can occur in subordinate clauses that resist MCP, e.g., complement clauses of evaluative/directive/volitive verbs, relative clauses, and conditional clauses.³

❖ *Magen* is low EPM.

- (31) qeRas-an-na ni buya ti-imuy pa-magen pa-qibasi
 require-PV-3ERG ERG Buya NCM-Imuy CAUS-indeed CAUS-wash
 tu qudus
 OBL clothes
 ‘Buya requires Imuy to really do the laundry.’

- (32) kelisiw-ku ya magen-an-na=ay ni utay qiRuziq
 money-1SG.GEN ABS indeed-PV-3ERG=REL ERG Utay steal
 ‘What Utay really stole was my money.’

- (33) anu magen-an-na ni utay qiRuziq kelisiw, qila-an-na
 if indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Utay steal money scold-PV-3ERG
 ni abas aizipna
 ERG Abas 3SG.ABS
 ‘If Utay DOES steal the money, Abas will scold him.’

5. High vs. Low EPM: Interpretive Differences

³ The following examples show that conditional clauses in Kavalan resist MCP, e.g., speaker-oriented adverbials and argument fronting.

- (i) *anu pasi uzan=pa, mai=ita qatiw sa taypak
 if perhaps rain=FUT NEG=1IPL.ABS go to Taipei
- (ii) *anu peliya m-uman, mai=ti=ita qatiw sa taypak
 if luckily AV-rain NEG=1IPL.ABS go to Taipei
- (iii) *anu baqian m-lawut ti-imuy, yau ta-paw-an ti-utay m-lingi
 if elder AV-visit NCM-Imuy EXIST LOC-house-LOC NCM-Utay AV-take.care.of
 tu sunis
 OBL child

- semantic differences between high and low EPM
 - ❖ Nupe *ni:* → in high EmphP above PolP → full commitment to truth/polarity (Kandybowicz 2013)
 - ❖ Nupe verbal reduplication → in low EmphP below PolP and TP → weaker commitment to truth (Kandybowicz 2013)
 - ❖ Low EPM emphasizes a proposition “without commitment to its truth-value” (Kandybowicz 2013: 67).
- High EPM, which encodes a full commitment to truth/polarity, is incompatible with ‘perhaps/probably’ and yes/no questions.
- Low EMP, which is associated with a weaker commitment to truth, is compatible with ‘perhaps/probably’ and yes/no questions.

(34) Nupe (Kandybowicz 2013: 60)

- a. #Wótákílà Musa gí kinkere ni:.
perhaps Musa eat scorpion ni:
‘(I assure you) Perhaps Musa DID eat the scorpion.’
- b. Wótákílà Musa gí kinkere gí.
perhaps Musa eat scorpion eat
‘Perhaps Musa DID (apparently) eat the scorpion.’
- c. #Ngba Musa gí kinkere ni:?
yes/no Musa eat scorpion ni:
- d. Ngba Musa gí kinkere gí?
yes/no Musa eat scorpion eat
‘Did Musa apparently/really eat the scorpion?’

- As *maqen* is a low EPM, it is predicted that it is associated with a weaker commitment to truth and is thus compatible with ‘perhaps/probably’ and yes/no questions.

- (35) a. pasi maqen ti-buya m-nubi tu kelisiw
perhaps indeed NCM-Buya AV-hide OBL money
‘Perhaps Buya DOES hide money.’
- b. maqen-an-na ni buya m-Rasa lepaw ta-banqiao-an ni?
indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Buya AV-buy house LOC-Banqiao-LOC Q
‘Did Buya really buy the house in Banqiao?’

6. The Structural Position of Low EPM: A Puzzle

- low EPM in inner FocusP or EmphP between TP and vP (Batllori & Hernanz 2013; Kandybowicz 2013)
- The contrast between PV-marked and non-PV-marked *maqen* presents a problem for a unified analysis of low EPM.
- PV-marked *maqen*
 - ❖ AV-restriction on the lexical verb
 - ❖ obligatory host of the perfective clitic =*ti*

- (36) a. maqen-an-na=ti ni imuy m-Rasa/*Rasa-an ya lepaw
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Imuy AV-buy/buy-PV ABS house
‘Imuy did buy the house.’

b. *maqen-an-na ni imuy m-Rasa=ti ya lepaw
indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Imuy AV-buy=PFV ABS house

- non-PV-marked *maqen*
 - ❖ no AV-restriction on the lexical verb
 - ❖ optional host of the perfective clitic =*ti*

- (37) a. maqen=ti m-Rasa tu lepaw ti-imuy
indeed=PFV AV-buy OBL house NCM-Imuy
‘Imuy did buy a house.’
- b. maqen=ti Rasa-an-na ni imuy ya lepaw
indeed=PFV buy-PV-3ERG ERG Imuy ABS house
‘Imuy did buy the house.’
- c. maqen Rasa-an-na=ti ni imuy ya lepaw
indeed buy-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Imuy ABS house
‘Imuy did buy the house.’

- PV-marked *maqen* imposes more grammatical restrictions on the lexical verb than its non-PV-marked counterpart does. (cf. frequency adverbial verbs (Chang 2006))
- Two potential explanations
 - ❖ *Maqen-an* and *maqen* are lexically different and thus select different complements.
 - ❖ Cinque’s syntactic account (Cinque 1999; Laenzlinger 2004): PV-marked *maqen* and its non-PV-marked counterpart are merged in two different functional projections in the fine-grained IP cartography.
 - PV-marked *maqen*: below *v/Voice* → different from low EPM in other languages
 - non-PV-marked *maqen*: above *v/Voice* → same as low EPM in other languages
 - problems: any subtle interpretive differences?; proliferation of functional projections

7. Conclusion

- *Maqen* is a low EPM.
 - ❖ morphologically a verb
 - ❖ structurally below projections of epistemic markers
 - ❖ not MCP
 - ❖ weak commitment to truth
- Future research
 - ❖ (interpretive) differences between PV-marked and non-PV-marked *maqen*
 - ❖ the structural position of low EPM in different languages

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