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Two types of morphologically expressed non-verbal predication

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Setting the scene

Sam is a doctor
[predicative noun]

Sam is tall
[predicative adjective]

The bike is in the garden
[predicative adverbial phrase]

Jim is that one
[predicative pronoun]

My friends are many
[predicative quantifier]

Three types of non-verbal predicative construction (Hengeveld 1992; Stassen 1997)

(I) COPULA CONSTRUCTION (frequently attested)

(II) JUXTAPOSITION CONSTRUCTION

(= Hengeveld's 'zero-2' format, relatively common).

Some languages have a mixed system depending on tense

(i)   Russian
  a. *Ivan doktor.* [Ø-marked copula construction]
       'Ivan is a/the doctor.'

  b. *Ivan byl doktor.* [copula-marked construction]
       'Ivan was a/the doctor.'

(III) PREDICATIVE INFLECTION CONSTRUCTION

(= Hengeveld's 'zero-1' format, comparatively much rarer);

but...

Two types of predicative inflection construction (type III)

Construction (III) **A** = Hengeveld 'zero-1' format

Construction (III) **B** = a so far barely described format

	CONSTRUCTION A	CONSTRUCTION B
LEXICAL CLASSES INVOLVED	nouns, adjectives, adverbs (pronouns, quantifiers)	nouns and adjectives
MORPHOLOGICAL MARKING ON …	non-verbal predicates	non-predicative elements in argument/attribute position
MORPHOLOGICAL EXPONENTS	person-sensitive affixes with TAM values	case-like affixes

Erzya Mordvin (Uralic) as example of Construction A

Examples adapted from Turunen (2010: 11-15)

a. *ton   komissar-at*
   2SG commissar-**2SG**
   'You are a commissar.'

b. *ton   kiš-at?*
   2SG dance-**2SG**
   'Do you dance?'

c. *ton t'e-s-at*
   2SG this-INES-**2SG**
   'You are here.'

d. *či-ś*   ***ul'*-ńe-ś**   *pek   mańej*
   day-DEF   **be**-FREQ-1RTR.3SG   very   bright
   'The day was very bright.'

Old Zamuco (Zamucoan) as example of Construction B (Chomé [ante 1745])

a. *Tupa-**de***   *uom=ipus*   *ɲari,*   *tɕ-iatɕ̃ere*   *ɲok*

   God-M.SG.**ARG**   good=ELAT.M.SG[**PRED**] COMP   3.RLS-punish   1PL

  'God punishes us, because he is so good.'

b. *t-oria*   *geda-**doe***

   3-steal   corn-M.PL.**ARG**

  'He/she/they steal(s)/stole/will steal corn.'

c. *a-ihotɕa* (1SG), *da-hotɕa* (2SG), *tɕ-ihotɕa* (3), *a-ihotɕa-go* (1PL),

    da-hotɕa-o (2PL) 'to dig, to make a hole'

d. *ge-**ti**=**us***

   rain-M.SG.**ARG**=**EXIST**

  'It rains.' (lit. 'there is rain')

Constructions A and B compared

Both constructions exploit an additive mechanism, but with opposite tendencies:

- Construction A adds copula-like inflections to generate any kind of non-verbal predicate

- Construction B adds morphological affixes to create the non-predicative form of nouns and adjectives (as arguments or attributes, respectively).

As compared with its non-predicative counterparts, the non-verbal predicate is morphologically richer in Construction A *vs* morphologically lighter in Construction B.

However, in both A and B there is complementary distribution of non-verbal predicative inflection and any kind of copula element.

The parameter of specificity

a. *Doctors are necessary.*   **[kind-level designation]**

b. *The doctor was in the office.*   **[referential specificity]**

c. *A doctor was in the office.*   **[preferred reading: non-specific]**

NB: no deterministic relationship between nature of the article (definite *vs* indefinite) and specificity value. "**Definiteness** expresses the pragmatic property of familiarity, while specificity mirrors a more finely grained referential structure of the items used in the discourse" (Heusinger 2002):

d. *John is looking for* a *pretty girl ...*

    ... whoever he will meet, and will take her to the movies. **[non-specific]**

    ... namely for Mary.   **[specific]**

e. *John is looking for* the *dean ...*

    ... whoever it might be.   **[non-specific]**

    ... namely for Smith, who happens to be the dean.   **[specific]**

Semantic features

Referential specificity is at stake in the main distinction concerning non-verbal predication:

a. *Sam is the doctor.*   [**IDENTITY PREDICATE**]
b. *Sam is (a) doctor.*   [**PROPER-INCLUSION PREDICATE**]

Although identity clauses differ from proper-inclusion clauses (Stassen 1997, Roy 2013), we consider both of them as instances of predicational structures; how languages deal with them is a relevant typological parameter.

Consider also **EXISTENTIAL** predicates:
  In the city park, there's a fountain.
Many languages have special existential constructions, but this is not always the case. They differ from **LOCATIONAL** clauses, for existentials contain non-specific referents, whereas locationals do not:
        The bike is in the garden.
Languages may or may not formally distinguish these two types of predication, which are also frequently combined with **POSSESSIVE** constructions.

Prototypical Construction A
(north-eastern Eurasia)

Uralic

Erzya and Moksha Mordvin (Finno-Volgaic); also used in **identity** clauses, while in **existential** clauses the copula is normally required (Zaicz 1998, Turunen 2009).

In Mari Construction A is limited to predicative adjectives.

Turkic

Tatar (*sin awïl-dan-sŋï* 'you are from the village'), Bashkir (*min Qazan-nan-mïn* 'I am from Kazan'), Turkish, Chuvash, Kazach, Khakas, Kirghiz ... (Wintschalek 1993; Berta 1998; Johanson 1998). Construction A is mostly less used in **past-referring contexts**.

Paleosiberian

Ket (*íkus-ka-du* [house-LOC-3.M.SG] 'he is in the house.'; Georg 2007)

Prototypical **Construction A** in Amazonian languages (Overall et al. 2018)...

Chicham (a.k.a. **Jivaroan**)

Aguaruna, Sikuani, Awajún, Wampis

In Wampis "[…] non-verbal predicates in Wampis may occur with a copula *a* or copula clitics *=aita ~ =ita* (for speech act participants) and *=aiti ~ =iti* (for third person)" (Peña 2015: 730). The two constructions are in complementary distribution, depending on syntactic structure.

a. *ɛ́ɛʃmaŋku=**itmɨ***
    man=**2SG.SBJ+DECL**
    'You are a man.'

b. *jɛ́ɛ=**tʲam***
    who=**2SG.SBJ**
    'Who are you?'

Still from Amazonia (as broadly intended) **...**

Secoya (Tucanoan), Nivaclé (Mataguayan), Mojeño Trinitario (Arawak), Movima (unclassified)

... and beyond:

Kapampangan (Philippines), Korku (Munda) (Stassen 2013), Beja (Cushitic) (Tucker & Bryan 1966)

Less-prototypical Construction A

Samoyedic languages implement a less prototypical usage of Construction A: the person inflections are restricted to nouns and adjectives (as in Construction B).

In Tundra Nenets Construction A is only used in past-referring clauses (Nikolaeva 2014); in Selkup and Nganasan only in present-referring clauses (Helimski 1998).

Construction B in Zamucoan

Zamucoan: a small language family located in the flatland between Bolivia and Paraguay, consisting of **Ayoreo** and **Chamacoco**, plus extinct **Old Zamuco**.

Zamucoan languages exhibit a threefold morphological distinction: **predicative form** (= PRED) *vs* **argument case** (= ARG) and **indeterminate form** (= IDF).

Examples of masculine and feminine Old Zamuco nouns

		PRED	**ARG**	**IDF**
'young man'	SG	nakar	nakaritie	nakanik
(M)	PL	nakajo	nakaronoe	nakanigo
'wife'	SG	akote	akotetae	akoterak
(F)	PL	akotej	akotejie	akoterigi

NB: not all nouns and adjectives mark these morphological differences, particularly so in Chamacoco.

Old Zamuco (Zamucoan) as example of Construction B (Chomé 1958 = ante 1745)

a. *Tupa-de*   *uom=ipus*   *ɲari,*   *tɕ-iatɕẽre*   *ɲok*

    God-M.SG.**ARG**   good=ELAT.M.SG[**PRED**] COMP   3.RLS-punish   1PL

    'God punishes us, because he is so good.'

b. *t-oria*   *geda-doe*

    3-steal   corn-M.PL.**ARG**

    'He/she/they steal(s)/stole/will steal corn.'

c. *nani-onoe*   *uom-io*

    indigenous_man-M.PL.**ARG**   good-**M.PL.PRED**

    'The indigenous people are good.'

e. *ge-ti=us*

    rain-M.SG.**ARG**=**EXIST**

    'It rains.' (lit. 'there is rain')

Construction B in spontaneous Ayoreo speech

(a)
uhopierake		*Hesus*	*te*	*gu*	*uhe*	*Dupa-de*
powerful[M.SG.**PRED**]	Jesus		this	ASSEV	COMP	God-M.SG.ARG

uṇakare,		*hekute*	*Dupa-de*	*uṇakar-i,*		*Hesus,*
son[M.SG.**PRED**]	therefore		God-M.SG.ARG	son-M.SG.**ARG**		Jesus

to	*pota*	*heta*	*tɕ-ataha*	*wa*
also	[3]want	COMP	3-help	2SG

'Jesus is indeed powerful, because He is the son of God. Therefore, the son of God, Jesus, wants to help you.' (Web preaches: Prayer)

(b)
a-mo-tɕo	*naiṇa-ne*		*ore,*	*he*	*naiṇa*		*ore*
2.IRR-see-PL	shaman-M.PL.**ARG**		3PL	MOD	shaman[M.PL.**PRED**]		3PL

ŋa	*ore*	*tɕ-imo*	*kutɕa-de*		*ihi*	*da-ke-ode*
COORD	3PL	3-see	GF.things-M.PL.**ARG**		ADP	REFL-in_front_of-M.PL.**ARG**

'Look at the shamans: [if/since they are] shaman, they know [see] (how to do) things for their goals [they see things before themselves].' (Ajiri: *Naiṇaj ute bagi*)

Identity and existential predication

In Zamucoan there is no structural difference between **identity** and **proper-inclusion** predication.

All Zamucoan languages have **existential markers** which directly convey the predicative function.   (hence ➜ <u>no room for PRED</u>)

Existential clauses can also express **possession**, with the subject of the clause, in **ARG**, designating the possessed referent.
Example from Higham *et al.* (2000):

(a) *suari-die*   *as-**i***   ***kuse***   *to*
     parrot-F.PL.ARG   down_plumage-M.SG.**ARG**   **EXIST**   also
     'Parrots also have down feathers.'
         (lit. 'there are also (the) down feathers of the parrots')

Ayoreo is the only Zamucoan language that developed a **true copula**: *(t)u*.

Predicative form vs. **argument case** in **Ayoreo**

Nominal predication with overt **copula** → **argument case**

(i) Ṇ̣ani   **katad-ab-i**   **dehi**   eṇa
     man[M.SG.PRED]   small-DIM.M.SG.ARG   3.there_is   COORD
     i-pis-i   **tu**   Tiritaj.
     3.name-ELAT-M.SG.ARG   COP   Tiritai
   'There was a very tiny man, whose nickname was Tiritai.'

(ii) Kahire   to!   Arokoṇa-**kedeṇa**!
     look   too   alligator.(M.SG.PRED)-different[M.SG.**PRED**]
     Arokoṇa-**kedeṇa-j**   **dehi**   ne!
     alligator.(M.SG.PRED)-different-M.SG.**ARG**   3.there_is   there
   'Look there! It's an alligator! There's an alligator right there!'

(iii) **Dita-j**   **tu**   ju   ŋa   **kutɕape**   ju   eee!
     killing_weapon-M.SG.**ARG**   COP 1SG   COORD big[M.SG.**PRED**] 1SG   EXCL
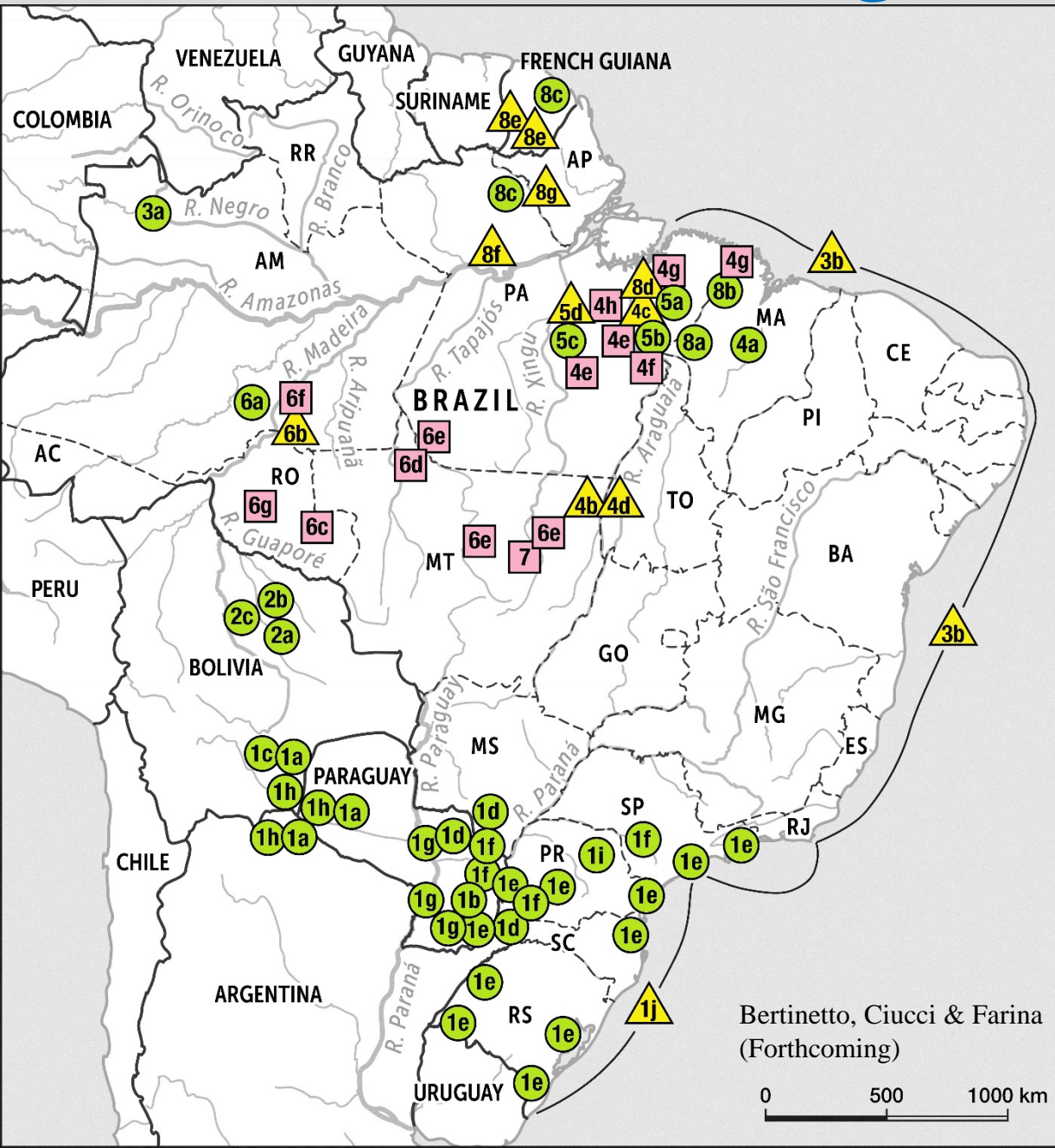   'I am the killing weapon and I am powerful!!!'

Construction B in Tupí-Guaraní

Several **Tupí-Guaraní** languages show a morphological contrast 'predicate *vs* argument' with nouns and adjectives
(to the extent that the latter exist in these languages).

The **predicative nouns and adjectives** take no affix (Ø-marking), while those in **argument role** have the so-called **argument case**, stemming from Proto-Tupí-Guaraní ***-a**
(Rodrigues 1996, Adelaar 1997, Queixalós 2001and 2006, Cabral *et al.* 2013, Dietrich 2018 a.o.)

Distribution of the argument case suffix *-a*

Legend:
- ☐ (pink) *-a* after both vowels and consonants
- △ (yellow) *-a* only after onsonant
- ● (green) Loss of *-a*
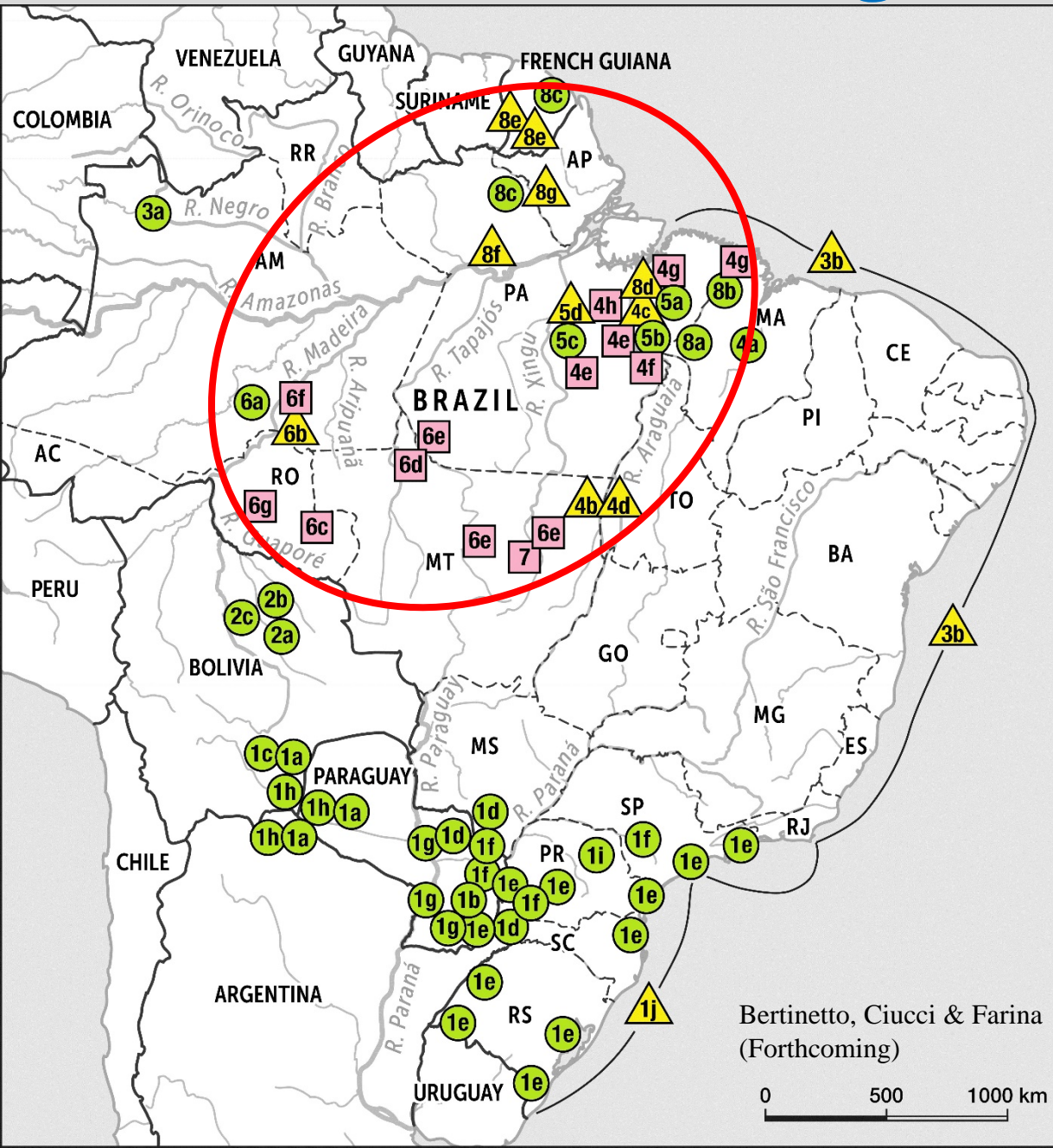
Bertinetto, Ciucci & Farina (Forthcoming)

0   500   1000 km

Abbreviations: Chiriguano (1a), Guayakí (1b), Izoceño (1c), Kaiwá (1d), Mbyá (1e), Ñandeva (1f), Paraguayan Guaraní (1g), Tapieté (1h), Xetá (1i), Old Guaraní (1j), Guaráyo (2a), Horá (2b), Sirionó (2c), Língua Geral Amazônica (3a), Tupinambá (3b), Guajajára (4a), Tapirapé (4b), Turiwára (4c), Avá-Canoeiro (4d), Parakanã (4e), Suruí (4f), Tembé (4g), Tocantins Asuriní (4h), Anambé of Cairarí (5a), Ararandewára (5b), Araweté (5c), Xingú Asuriní (5d), Júma (6a), Tenharim (6b), Amondáva (6c), Apiaká (6d), Kayabí (6e), Parintintín (6f), Uru-eu-uau-uau (6g), Kamayurá (7), Guajá (8a), Ka'apór (8b), Wajampí (Jarí dialect and French Guiana dialect) (8c), Anambé of Ehrenreich (8d), Emérillon (8e), Jo'é (8f), Wajampí (Amaparí dialect) (8g).

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Predication in Tupí-Guaraní

Tupinambá, Kamaiurá, Tocantins Asuriní, Avá-Canoeiro, Tapirapé
(Rodrigues 1996, Seki 2000, Praça 2007, Cabral *et al.* 2013).
Examples from Kamaiurá:

a. *kunu'um-**a***   *h-uwaj-**a***   *w-ekyj*   b. *jawat*
   boy-**ARG**   3-tail-**ARG**   3-pull   jaguar[**PRED**]
   'The boy is pulling its tail.'   'It is [a] jaguar.'

c. *jawar-**a***   *r-a'yt*   d. *kara'iw-**a***   *pe-**ko***
   jaguar-**ARG**   RP-son[**PRED**]   non_indigenous-**ARG**   2PL-**COP**
   'The whelp of the jaguar.'   'You are non-indigenous.'

Seki (2000: 112) writes that Kamaiurá nouns occur in predicative form when used as vocatives, dislocated constituents, predicates and citation forms; "[...] when enunciated in isolation, nominals occur in unmarked case [= PRED], corresponding to predicates which identify objects in the world".   Hence: 'house' = 'it is a house'.

Existential and possessive predication in Tupí-Guaraní

Lack of the copula is a typical feature of many **Amazonian languages** (Aikhenvald 2012) and this extends to "existential markers", although these are not copulae *stricto sensu*.

In many **Tupí-Guaraní** languages, existential predication is directly expressed by means of the predicative form.

Examples from Tapirapé (Praça 2007):

a. *miãr*
   deer[**PRED**]
   'Existe veado.' (lit. It is (a) deer)' = 'There exists (a) deer')

b. *tʃi=ɾ-etam*
   1=RP-house[**PRED**]
   'I have [a] house.' (lit: 'It is my house' = 'There is my house')

As Rose (2002) notes, the use of existential structures to express possession is typologically widespread, but it is "uncommon to have an existential predication without any existential verb or copula", as one observes in most Tupí-Guaraní languages.

Identity predication in Tupí-Guaraní

A major difference between **Tupí-Guaraní** and **Zamucoan** is the treatment of **identity predication**, which is dealt with by **juxtaposing two ARG noun phrases** (below: a-b *vs* c):

    a. Tapirapé (Praça 2007)
       xywãeri-Ø   *kãpitãw-a*
       Xywãeri-**ARG**   leader-**ARG**
       'Xywãeri was the chief (leader).'   [**identity**]

    b. Kamaiurá (Seki 2000)
       je=tutyr-a   *morerekwar-á*
       1SG=uncle-**ARG**   boss-**ARG**
       'My uncle is the boss.'   [**identity**]

          —————————

    c. Kamaiurá (Seki 2000)
       je=tutyr-a   *morerekwat*
       1SG=uncle-**ARG**   boss[**PRED**]
       'My uncle is [a] boss.'   [**proper-inclusion**]

Construction B in Semitic

Old **Semitic** languages had a relevant morphological contrast. In particular, Akkadian had the so-called 'predicative construction' (as contrasting with the 'status rectus'), a third millennium BC equivalent of the Zamucoan and Tupí-Guaraní predicative form:

a. *il-at-ni*   *ina*   *mātī-šunu*   *palḫ-**at***
   god-F-1PL   in   land-3.M.PL   fearsome-F[**PRED**]
   'Our goddess is fearsome in their land.' (Huehnergard 2005)

b. *šu*   *šarrāq*
   3.M.SG   thief[**PRED**]
   'He is a thief.' (Buccellati 1968)

This enabled Akkadian to express the opposition proper-inclusion *vs* identity predication (similar to the relevant Tupí-Guaraní languages).
Examples from Buccellati (1968):

c. *ul*   *mart-**u***   *attī*
   NEG   lady-**NOM.SG**   2.F.SG
   'You are not the mistress.'   (Old Babylonian, 1894-1595 BC)

d. *šarr-**u***   *atta*
   king-**NOM.SG**   2.M.SG
   'You are the king.'   (Middle Babylonian, 1595-1155 BC)

The decline of **Construction B** in Semitic

Old Aramaic had a **tripartite morphology** of noun forms, or 'states':
(i) **absolute state** (**ABSt**), unmarked for specificity and expressing predicativity;
(ii) **emphatic / determinate state** (**EMPH**), characterized by the definite marker *-ā*.
(iii) construct state, marking a noun used as first element of a genitival
construction. (cf. Wright 1871; García Martínez & Tigchelaar 1997/1998; Butts 2013)

Old Aramaic of Zakur   Qumran Aramaic

a. *'š   'nh   'nh*   b. *kāhen-**ā**   rabb-**ā***
   man[**ABSt**] humble[**ABSt**] 1SG   priest-**EMPH**   great-**EMPH**
   'I am a humble man .'   'the Great Priest.'

At the beginning of the New Era, the Old Aramaic system of states opposition
weakened and EMPH became the normal form of the noun, irrespective of
specificity. The domain in which ABSt more often preserved its original value was
that of predicative adjectives (Nöldeke 1898[1966]; Joosten 1989; Goldenberg
1991). Indeed, some modern Neo-Aramaic dialects, such as the Maʕlūla variety,
preserve the **ABSt** precisely in these contexts (Arnold 1989):

c. *hanna psōna rabb*   d. *ṯōle   psōna   rapp-**a***
   this   boy   big[**ABSt**]   come[3.M.SG] boy   big-**EMPH**
   'this boy is big.'   'the/a big boy came.'

Summing up

- Construction A is relatively more frequent than Construction B and has a larger geographic distribution. Although both orthogonal to the copula, Construction A and B differ in their essential properties:

  lexical classes involved

  A-languages = potentially unrestricted

  B-languages = nouns and adjectives

  type of morphological marking

  In **B-languages**, the copula was originally absent (**Tupí-Guaraní**) or limited to the existential function (**Zamucoan**). A true copula is a recent development (Ayoreo, Kamaiurá, Tapirapé).

  A-languages originally had, and in most cases still have, copula elements, which may be used as an alternative to the person-sensitive inflections of the dedicated non-verbal predicates conjugation.

- To sum up: **Construction A**'s inflections are PERSON-SENSITIVE AFFIXES added to the predicative elements, while those of **Construction B** are CASE-LIKE AFFIXES added to non-predicative nouns and adjectives.

The role of omnipredicativity

With **Zamucoan** and **Tupí-Guaraní**, the 'predicative form' may be related to the omnipredicative tendency of American Indian languages at large (Queixalós 2001, 2006).
An example from Cayuga (Sasse 1998):

a. *h-até:tse'-s*
   3SG-cure-PRS
   'He cures.' (= 'he is a shaman')

b. *k-ha't-á:thę-hs*
   1SG-throat-dry-PRS
   'I am thirsty.'

Indeed, in B-languages the predicative form coincides (or originally did) with the root: thus, nouns and adjectives emerge out of the lexical storage with inherent predicative import:
    e.g. 'house' = 'it is a house' (Seki 2000).
In the relevant **Tupí-Guaraní** languages, the citation form of the noun can have an **existential reading**:
    hence, 'it is a house' = 'there is a house'.

Identity predication and predicative adjectives

Identity predication presupposes referential specificity of both referents among which the correspondence is established.
By contrast, **proper-inclusion predication**, being **intensional** in nature, presupposes non-specificity of the copula complement or of the non-verbal predicate.

The relevant **Tupí-Guaraní** languages mark this difference by:
(i) argument case on both referents (identity clause)
(ii) argument case on subject and predicative form on non-verbal predicate (proper-inclusion clauses).
The **Zamucoan** languages, by contrast, can mark non-specificity via the indeterminate form of the noun, but treat identity and proper-inclusion predication alike.
Modern **Semitic** languages (Classical Arabic, Maltese) express this contrast via presence *vs* absence of the definite article.

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