Khoekhoe participant $\phi$-features:
evidence from allomorphy & possession

Naomi Lee

Department of Linguistics
New York University

PLC
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How is the “person” category represented?

Today, I want to show you that Khoekhoe (Nama-Damara, Central Khoisan) “person” comprises separate representations in distinct syntactic positions.
Pronouns as D elements

It has long been noticed that person-encoding elements (i.e. pronouns) are in complementary distribution with D elements:

(1)  a. neither of us professors is quitting (Postal 1966:(36f))
    b. neither of the professors is quitting

(2)  *[the she that I talked to] was nice (Abney 1987)

(3)  *the you (Ritter 1995:(18a))

(4)  *this he (Ritter 1995:(18b))
Pronouns as D elements

(5) Abney 1987’s (304)
   a. **possession**
      *[my she] has always been good to me
   b. **adjectives**
      *[dependable them] are hard to find
   c. **numerals/measure**
      *[two dozen us] signed the petition
What if diversity across the “person” values...

(6) Only 1st and 2nd person English pronouns can function as determiners (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002:(32), Postal 1966)

a. we linguists  
   us linguists
b. you linguists  
   you linguists

c. *they linguists  
   *them linguists

...is due to syntactic diversity?
Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002 proposed that pronouns come in three maximal syntactic sizes

(6) a. Pro-DP
   argument only

b. Pro-phiP
   argument or predicate

c. Pro-NP
   predicate only

```
DP
  \——/  \——/  \——/
D   \phiP \phiP  \\
we  you   they

∅ / linguists
```

```
∅ /
∅ / one
```
A compatible proposal: place “person” features on D

(6) a. Pro-DP  b. Pro-ϕP  c. Pro-NP
argument only  argument or predicate  predicate only

“D is specified for person…” (Ritter 1995:405)
“person features are generated on the D head…” (Danon 2011:303)
Two challenges

- Articulating the syntactic configuration of phi-features within the extended nominal projection (Ritter 1991, 1993, Alexiadou 2004, Kramer 2014, 2015, i.a.)
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- Articulating the syntactic configuration of phi-features within the extended nominal projection (Ritter 1991, 1993, Alexiadou 2004, Kramer 2014, 2015, i.a.)

- Khoekhoe (pro)nominals go beyond monomorphemic D syntax:

(7) a. possession
* [my she]

b. adjectives
* [dependable them]

c. numerals
* [two dozen us]

(8) a. tii saa -j|ho -ts
   my [2/adr] -friend -2.m.sg
   my you-friend

b. ||?i -j+isa -ku
   3 -proud -3.m.pl
   proud they

c. siith -haka -ke
   [1excl/adr] -four -1.m.pl
   four us
How is participant information in Khoekhoe represented?

- Khoekhoe’s (pronominal = argument nominal) phi-features are not exponed regularly: number values trigger gender allomorphs, **speaker value** triggers number allomorphs:
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    - **SPEAKER** ★ **NUMBER** ★ **GENDER**
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- Overt “person” morphemes in pronouns only track **addressee value**
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  \[\Rightarrow\text{Articulated}\phi\text{P layers with separate terminal nodes for}\]
  \[\text{SPEAKER} \gg \text{NUMBER} \gg \text{GENDER}\]
- Overt “person” morphemes in pronouns only track **addressee value**
  \[\Rightarrow\text{Separate ADDRESSEE feature}\]
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  - Articulated phiP layers with separate terminal nodes for
    - **SPEAKER** ⇒ **NUMBER** ⇒ **GENDER**
- Overt “person” morphemes in pronouns only track **addressee value**
  - **ADDRESSEE** feature
- Only 1st singular and 2nd singular possessive pronouns appear as their “person” morphemes alone
  - **SINGULAR** feature value, and so act as a phi-complete goal
Where is participant information in Khoekhoe located?

- “Person” morphemes linearly precede all adnominals, except that “3rd person” cannot co-occur with a demonstrative.
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  \Rightarrow Participant features in the left periphery
  \Rightarrow “3rd person” is the spell-out of a D head without “nearby” PARTICIPANT features
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- “Person” morphemes linearly precede all adnominals, except that “3rd person” cannot co-occur with a demonstrative.
- Though pronouns in all persons may be possessees, only 1st singular possessees can appear with their “person” morpheme:
  - \( \Rightarrow \) SPEAKER in Spec-NumP
  - \( \Rightarrow \) 3rd person in D
  - \( \Rightarrow \) ADDRESSEE in Spec-DP
Proposed internal structure for Khoekhoe (pro)nominals

Khoekhoe (Nama-Damara, Central Khoisan) “person” comprises separate representations in distinct syntactic positions.

Overview
Separate SPKR & ADDR features
1SG and 2SG
Participant in the nominal periphery
ADDR: Spec-DP, SPKR: Spec-Num

Diagram:
- DP
  - [PARTICIPANT]
  - [ADDRESSEE]
  - [PARTICIPANT] [SPEAKER]
    - u[ϕ]
    - NumP
      - Num’
        - Num
          - Num [±FEM]
          - Num [SG,DU,PL] [±FEM]
          - Num [n]
          - 〈n〉
          - 〈√Root〉
        - nP
          - NP
            - Root
              - Participant - Gender - Number
              - Root

Maps to:
- Participant
- √Root
- Gender
- Number
Roadmap

1. Separate **SPKR** & **ADDR** features
   - Speaker-conditioned allomorphy
   - Addressee exponence

2. **1SG** and **2SG**
   - Possessor forms

3. Participant in the nominal periphery
   - Adnominals: adjectives, numerals
   - Adnominals: demonstratives

4. **ADDR**: Spec-DP, **SPKR**: Spec-NumP
   - Possessees across the persons

5. Conclusion
Khoekhoe is spoken in Namibia, Botswana, & South Africa

Originally included with two other families as “Khoisan.”

**Some notation:**

- **Clicks:**
  - | dental
  - ! alveolar
  - † palatal
  - || lateral

- **Lexical tone:**
  - SL super-low ˘
  - L low ˘
  - H high ˘
  - SH super-high ˘
Phi-featural distinctions

- gender
  - masculine
  - feminine
  - common*
- number
  - singular
  - dual
  - plural
- person (incl. clusivity)
  - 1st exclusive
  - 1st inclusive
  - 2nd
  - 3rd
- full pronouns
- lexical nominals
- possessive pronouns
- subject clitics
- object clitics
### Full pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># ↓</th>
<th>π ↓</th>
<th>Gender → [PARTIC] ↓</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Common</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tiĩ-tā</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Second</td>
<td>SPKR ADDR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʔ̬ -p / -í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Third</td>
<td>SPKR ADDR</td>
<td>sIII-kʰ-m</td>
<td>sIII-m</td>
<td>sIII-m</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>sáá-m</td>
<td>sáá-m</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sáá-kʰ-ò</td>
<td>sáá-r-ò</td>
<td>sáá-r-ò</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʔ̬ -kʰ-à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>SPKR ADDR E</td>
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<td>sIII-s-é</td>
<td>sIII-t-à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SPKR ADDR I</td>
<td>sáá-k-e</td>
<td>sáá-s-é</td>
<td>sáá-t-à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>SPKR ADDR</td>
<td>sáá-k-ò</td>
<td>sáá-s-ò</td>
<td>sáá-t-ù/t-ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Third</td>
<td>SPKR ADDR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʔ̬ -k-ú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Pl  | First | SPKR ADDR E         | sIII-k-é | sIII-s-é | sIII-t-à |
|     |       | SPKR ADDR I         | sáá-k-é | sáá-s-é | sáá-t-à |
|     | Second| SPKR ADDR           | sáá-k-ò | sáá-s-ò | sáá-t-ù/t-ò |
|     | Third | SPKR ADDR           | ||ʔ̬ -k-ú ||ʔ̬ -t-ì ||ʔ̬ -ʔ̬ |
Khoekhoe has SOV word order

(9) khoë-p ké rá !hóe
person-M.SG DECL PRS run
The (male) person is running

(10) sâá-kʰ-ò ké ||ʔí-p kò mù
2-M-DU DECL 3-M.SG PST see
You (two guys) saw him
Argument nominals show gender distinctions

(9) khôè -p ké rá !hóe 
    person -M.SG DECL PRS run 
    The (male) person is running

(11) khôè -s ké rá !hóe 
     person -F.SG DECL PRS run 
     The (female) person is running
Argument nominals show number distinctions

(9) khøe -p ké rá !hóe
  person -M.SG DECL PRS run
  The (male) person is running

(12) khøe -kʰ -à ké rá !hóe
     person -M -DU DECL PRS run
     The (two male) people are running

(13) khøe -k -ú ké rá !hóe
     person -M -PL DECL PRS run
     The (many male) people are running
Lexical nominals and 3rd person pronouns

(9) khøe -p ké rá !hóe
   person -M.SG DECL PRS run
   The (m) person is running

(11) khøe -s ké rá !hóe
     person -F.SG DECL PRS run
     The (f) person is running

(13) khøe -k-ú ké rá !hóe
     person -M-PL DECL PRS run
     The (m) people are running

(14) ||ʔ-í -p ké rá !hóe
     3 -M.SG DECL PRS run
     He is running

(15) ||ʔ-í -s ké rá !hóe
     3 -F.SG DECL PRS run
     She is running

(16) ||ʔ-í -k-ú ké rá !hóe
     3 -M-PL DECL PRS run
     They (m) are running
Three “different” constructions with the same underlying structure

(17) \( ?^{i} - \emptyset - p \) ké ?á \( \eta \equiv \text{iisá} \)
3 \(-\sqrt{\text{pron}}\) -M.SG DECL COP proud
He is proud.

(18) \( ?^{i} - \text{nàmâ} - p \) ké ?á \( \eta \equiv \text{iisá} \)
3 \(-\sqrt{\text{Namea}}\) -M.SG DECL COP proud
He, Nama, is proud.

(19) \( \emptyset - \text{nàmâ} - p \) ké ?á \( \eta \equiv \text{iisá} \)
3 \(-\sqrt{\text{Namea}}\) -M.SG DECL COP proud
The Nama is proud.

Same underlying structure, same possible syntactic positions.
Three “different” constructions with the same underlying structure

(20) **tǐi-∅-tā** ké ?á ṣ̣i̲ [ī̲̃sá
1-√**pron**-SG DECL COP proud
I am proud

(21) **tǐi-nàmā-tā** ké ?á ṣ̣i̲ [ī̲̃sá
1-√**Nama**-SG DECL COP proud
I, Nama, am proud

(22) **∅-nàmā-tā** ké ?á ṣ̣i̲ [ī̲̃sá
1-√**Nama**-SG DECL COP proud
I, Nama, am proud

Same underlying structure, same possible syntactic positions.
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   - Addressee exponence

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   - Possessor forms

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   - Adnominals: demonstratives

   - Possessee across the persons

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Gender is exponed separately

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<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Person [participant]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>masc</td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>2nd [−spkr, +addr]</td>
<td>sáā - kʰ - è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
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.  

□ - GENDER - NUMBER
**Gender and number are exponed separately**

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- Gender
- Number
SPEAKER feature conditions number exponentence

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<td>dual</td>
<td>1st incl</td>
<td>sá̃a - kʰ - m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SPEAKER - GENDER - NUMBER
### The nature of spell-out & the directionality of allomorphy

- Root-outward insertion (cyclicity)
- Insertion “uses up” those features (rewriting)
- Inward phonology can condition allomorphy
- **Outward features can condition allomorphy**

(Bobaljik 2000)
PART \gg NUM \gg GENDER

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<tr>
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Fig 2. Relative ordering of phi VS. PART? - GENDER - NUMBER
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4 ADDR: Spec-DP, SPKR: Spec-NumP
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5 Conclusion
### SPEAKER feature conditions number exponence

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- **SPEAKER** - **GENDER** - **NUMBER**
Overt participant exponence depends solely on ADDRESSEE

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</table>

**Speaker** - **Gender** - **Number** - **Addressee?**
## Full pronouns: “person” morphemes highlighted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># ↓</th>
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<td>ADDR</td>
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<td>sāă-s</td>
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<td>Third</td>
<td>SPKR</td>
<td>ADDR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʔ-i-p / -í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>SPKR</td>
<td>ADDR E</td>
<td>sī́-kʰ-ìm</td>
<td>sī́-m</td>
<td>sī́-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SPKR</td>
<td>ADDR I</td>
<td>sāă-kʰ-ìm</td>
<td>sāă-ème</td>
<td>sāă-ème</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>SPKR</td>
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<td>sāă-kʰ-ò</td>
<td>sāă-r-ò</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ADDR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʔ-i-kʰ-à</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>SPKR</td>
<td>ADDR E</td>
<td>sī́-k-é</td>
<td>sī́-s-é</td>
<td>sī́-t-à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SPKR</td>
<td>ADDR I</td>
<td>sāă-k-é</td>
<td>sāă-s-é</td>
<td>sāă-t-à</td>
</tr>
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<td>SPKR</td>
<td>ADDR</td>
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<td>sāă-s-ò</td>
<td>sāă-t-ù/t-ò</td>
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<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>SPKR</td>
<td>ADDR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʔ-i-k-ú</td>
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Possessors occur before an optional possessive marker in prenominal position

(23)  a. mütání-s tìi ḫā-p
     Mutani-F.SG POSS friend-M.SG

b. mütání-s ḫā-p
     Mutani-F.SG friend-M.SG
     Mutani’s (male) friend
Nearly all possessive pronouns are identical to their full pronoun forms (3rd person singular)

(24) 3rd person, feminine singular possessor

a. mütání-s (tìì) η|hö-p
   Mutani-F.SG (POSS) friend-M.SG
   Mutani’s (male) friend

b. ||tì-s (tìì) η|hö-p
   3-F.SG (POSS) friend-M.SG
   her (male) friend
Nearly all possessive pronouns are identical to their full pronoun forms and behave alike (1st plural, 2nd dual)

(25) 1st person exclusive, feminine plural possessor

síiś-s-ē (tìi) ɲ|hô-p
[1EXCL/ADR]-F-PL (POSS) friend-M.SG

our (us ladies’) (male) friend

(26) 2nd person, feminine dual possessor

sáa-r-ò (tìi) ɲ|hô-p
[2/ADR]-F-DU (POSS) friend-M.SG

your (you two ladies’) (male) friend
Possessive D probes for phi-valued goal, moving it to Spec-DP
But the full 1st person singular pronoun **cannot** appear as a possessive pronoun

(27) *tĩi-tä  nj|hõ-p
    1-1.sg  friend-M.SG

(28) *tĩi-tä  tǐi  nj|hõ-p
    1-1.sg  D_{poss} friend-M.SG
    my friend
Only the “person” part of the 1st singular pronoun may appear

(29) *tĩĩ-tā ŋ|ʰö-p
1-1.sg friend-M.SG

(30) *tĩĩ-tā tìi ŋ|ʰö-p
1-1.sg D_{poss} friend-M.SG
1.sg D_{poss} friend-M.SG

(31) tĩĩ ŋ|ʰö-p
1.sg friend-M.SG
my friend

(32) tĩĩ tìi ||ore-ǹ
1.sg D_{poss} sin-MIX.PL
my sins
Could टीट टी spell-out the closest phi-complete goal?

(33) *टीट-टा ए|हो-प
1-1.SG friend-M.SG

(34) *टीट-टा टीट
1-1.SG D\_poss
ए|हो-प
friend-M.SG
1.SG D\_poss friend-M.SG

(35) टीट ए|हो-प
1.SG friend-M.SG
my friend

(36) टीट टीट ||वे-न
1.SG D\_poss sin-MIX.PL
my sins
The 2nd singular pronoun’s ADDRESSSEE-exponing “person” morpheme may appear as a possessive pronoun

(37) ?sáą-ts ŋ[hɔ]-p
[2/ADDR]-M.SG friend-M.SG

(38) sáą-ts tìï
[2/ADDR]-M.SG D\text{poss}
ŋ[hɔ]-p
friend-M.SG

(39) sáą ŋ[hɔ]-p
[2/ADDR.SG] friend-M.SG
your (sg) friend
*our (incl, du/pl) friend
*y’all’s (du/pl) friend
But the **full** 2nd singular pronoun may also appear as a possessive pronoun

(40) sáã-k-é (tìi)
     [2/ADDR]-M-PL D_{poss}
η| hô-p
friend-M.SG
our (us guys’) friend

(41) sáã-ts tiì
     [2/ADDR]-M.SG D_{poss}
η| hô-p
friend-M.SG

(42) sáã η| hô-p
     [2/ADDR.SG] friend-M.SG
your (sg) friend
*our (incl, du/pl) friend
*y’all’s (du/pl) friend
Interim summary

- Both **SPEAKER** and **ADDRESSEE** features are needed (for allomorphy conditioning and for exponing)
- The 1st and 2nd singular forms appear to (require / be able to) bundle a **SINGULAR** feature with their **PARTICIPANT** features
- **But do speaker and addressee occupy the same syntactic node?**
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Introducing adnominals

Recall that Root-containing pronouns as in (b) are happy in argument position:

\[(43)\]
\[\text{a. } \text{sáä} -\emptyset -\text{tù/tó} \]
\[2/\text{ADDR}] -\sqrt{\text{pron}} -\text{MIX.PL} \]
You (all) are proud.

\[\text{b. } \text{sáä-nàmä-tù/tó} \]
\[2/\text{ADDR}] -\sqrt{\text{Nama}} -\text{MIX.PL} \]
You Namas are proud.

\[\text{c. } \emptyset -\text{nàmä-tù/tó} \]
\[2/\text{ADDR}] -\sqrt{\text{Nama}} -\text{MIX.PL} \]
You Namas are proud.

\[(44)\]
\[\text{sáä } \text{-nàmä } -\text{t-ó } \text{ké } \text{käísè } \text{rá } !^h úa} \]
\[2/\text{ADDR}] -\sqrt{\text{Nama}} -\text{MIX-PL DECL too.much PRS speak} \]
You Namas talk a lot.
Adnominals: Adjectives follow the “person” morpheme

We can modify those arguments with **adjectives**:

(45) sáã -‡ʰǔpíxã-nàmã -t-ó ké kãíšë rã
[2/ADDR] -**loud** -√Nama -MIX-PL DECL too.much PRS

!ʰúa

You loud Namas talk a lot.

(46) ³-i -**kʰä-ʔái** -nàmã -k-ú ké ?á ŋãí
3 -**smart** -√Nama -M-PL DECL COP know

They smart Namas know.

(47) tíí Ṉ-ŋsá -nàmã -tā ké ?á ŋãí
1.SG -**proud** -√Nama -SG DECL COP know

I, proud Nama, know.

...and “person” stays linearly first
Adnominals: Adjectives, numerals

Adnominals: Numerals follow the “person” morpheme

We can modify those arguments with **numerals** and **adjectives**:

(48) sáä -hàkà -ǂuðipíxä -nàmä -t-ó ké
    \[2/ADDR\] -four -loud \(-\sqrt{Nama}\) -MIX-PL DECL
    káísè rá !húá
too.much PRS speak
You four loud Namas talk a lot.

(49) ||?í -nöñá -k-ú ké ?á ŋáŋ
    3 -three -M-PL DECL COP know
They three know.

...and “person” stays linearly first
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5 Conclusion
Khoekhoe demonstratives

(50) ɲǁà / nè -nàmã-p  ké  rá  !ʰóe
That / this \(-\sqrt{Nama}\)-M.SG DECL PRS run
That / this Nama is running

(51) ǁǂí -nàmã-p  ké  rá  !ʰóe
3 -\(\sqrt{Nama}\)-M.SG DECL PRS run
He Nama is running
Only the “3rd person” morpheme ||ⁿ́ cannot co-occur with demonstratives

(52) ŋ||ã / nè -nàmã-p ké rá !hóe
that / this -√Nama-M.SG DECL PRS run
That / this Nama is running

(53) ||ⁿ́ -nàmã-p ké rá !hóe
3 -√Nama-M.SG DECL PRS run
He Nama is running

(54) *||ⁿ́ -ŋ||ã -nàmã-p ké rá !hóe
3 that -√Nama-M.SG DECL PRS run
He that Nama is running

(55) sǐũ , -nè -nàmã-kʰ-Ì m ké ñá ñǎ́n
3 , that -√Nama-M-DU DECL COP know
We these Namas know (not that other group of Namas)
Co-occurrence restriction between $\text{I}'$ and demonstratives suggests it is the spell-out of PARTICIPANT-less D

$\text{D} \leftrightarrow \emptyset$
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5. Conclusion
If possessive tìì is in D, overt ||ʔí on possessees should be impossible…

(56) mütání-s (tìì) ʔàrí-p
Mutani-F.SG (POSS) dog-M.SG
Mutani’s (male) dog

(57) ||ʔí-ʔàrí-p
3-dog-M.SG
he (male) dog
If possessive tìì is in D, overt ||ʔí on possessees should be impossible...and it is

(58) mútání-s (tìì) ʔàrí-p
Mutani-F.SG (POSS) dog-M.SG
Mutani’s (male) dog

(59) ||ʔí-ʔàrí-p
3-dog-M.SG
he (male) dog

(60) *mùtání-s (tìì) ||ʔí-ʔàrí-p
Mutani-F.SG (POSS) 3-dog-M.SG
Mutani’s, he the dog

(61) *tìì ||ʔí-ʔàrí-p
my 3-dog-M.SG
my he the dog
More evidence: 1st and 2nd person participants can be possessed in Khoekhoe, too

(62) 3rd person possessee

mùtání-s  (tií) ṣhό-kʰ̀à
Mutani-F.SG D_{poss} friend-M-DU(3)

Mutani’s (two male) friends

(63) 1st person possessee

mùtání-s  (tií) ṣhό-kʰ̀m
Mutani-F.SG D_{poss} friend-M.DU(1)

we, Mutani’s (two male) friends

(64) 2nd person possessee

mùtání-s  (tií) ṣhό-kʰ̀ò
Mutani-F.SG D_{poss} friend-M.DU(2)

you, Mutani’s (two male) friends
A 1st singular possessees can be fully exposed

a. √ || ?í-p [ η|hö -tã ]...
   his [ friend -1.SG ]...

b. √ || ?í-p [ tíí -η|hö -tã ]...
   his [ 1.SG -friend -1.SG ]...

c. √ || ?í-p tíí [ η|hö -tã ]...
   his D_{poss} [ friend -1.SG ]...

d. * || ?í-p tíí [ tíí -η|hö -tã ]...
   his D_{poss} [ 1.SG -friend -1.SG ]...
   I, his friend, ...

...±áñ =pi -tã ?á
...know =M.SG.OBJ -1.SG.SUBJ COP
...know him
Possessees across the persons

Whereas 1.sg 提款 can coexist with $D_{poss}$ and a possessor in its filled specifier, no other “person” morpheme can:

1EXCL

a. ✓ ||提款-p [ ] η|$h$-ô -k$h$-m̀ ]...
   his [ ] friend -M-DU ]...

b. * ||提款-p [ siib ] η|$h$-ô -k$h$-m̀ ]...
   his [ [1,ADDR] friend -M-DU ]...

c. ✓ ||提款-p 提款 [ ] η|$h$-ô -k$h$-m̀ ]...
   his $D_{poss}$ [ ] friend -M-DU ]...

d. * ||提款-p 提款 [ siib ] η|$h$-ô -k$h$-m̀ ]...
   his $D_{poss}$ [ [1,ADDR] friend -M-DU ]...

   We, his friends, ...

   ...ᵐ án =pi --k$h$-m̀ ṭá
   ...know =M.SG.OBJ 1.SG.SUBJ COP
   ...know him
Whereas 1sg tǐi can coexist with D_{poss} and a possessor in its filled specifier, no other “person” morpheme can: 1INCL

a. ✓ ||ʔi-p [ ] η|hö -kʰ-m̩ ]...  
   his [ ] friend -M-DU ]...

b. * ||ʔi-p [ sāά ] η|hö -kʰ-m̩ ]...  
   his [ [11,ADDR] friend -M-DU ]...

c. ✓ ||ʔi-p tǐi [ ] η|hö -kʰ-m̩ ]...  
   his D_{poss} [ ] friend -M-DU ]...

d. * ||ʔi-p tǐi [ sāά ] η|hö -kʰ-m̩ ]...  
   his D_{poss} [ [11,ADDR] friend -M-DU ]...
   We, his friends, ...

...áń =pi --kʰ-m̩ ?á
...know =M.SG.OBJ 1.SG.SUBJ COP
...know him
Possession structures, which fill D and its specifier, are incompatible with D[−PART] and ADDRESSEE in Spec-DP.
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5. Conclusion
Separate ADDRESSSEE and SPEAKER features have:

- Allowed us to capture contexts for number allomorphy - thanks to PARTICIPANT features in the representation
- Given clear spell-out targets for overt “person” morphemes sǐī and sáā

Placing ADDRESSSEE in Spec-DP and SPEAKER in Spec-NumP has:

- Satisfied locality conditions for both number allomorphy conditioning, and 3rd person exponence
- Made both PARTICIPANT-bearing bundles accessible to a “3rd person” hosted in D, a story compatible with its distribution with demonstratives and possessors
- Explained their differential ability to be overtly exponed in possessive structures
Wrapping up

- Lexical Roots, adnominals, possessives possible in all pronominals - due to articulated DP-internal structure...
- ...revealed by locality of allomorphy conditioning, and ordering / co-occurrence relations between DP-internal elements
- Participant features spread through Spec-NumP & Spec-DP; “person” exponed in D too
Thank you!

Naomi Lee

NYU

Please reach out at naomilee@nyu.edu
Slides available at https://wp.nyu.edu/naomilee

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References


References


KALIN, LAURA 2018. “The Ins and Outs of Allomorphy in Turoyo (Neo-Aramaic).” Handout for talk (versions given at Morphology and Syntax Workshop - University of Chicago; University of Pennsylvania; Linguistics Universals Workshop - Harvard University; GLOW41)


Dechaine & Wiltschko 2002 proposed that pronouns come in three maximal syntactic sizes

(1) a. Pro-DP
   argument only
   . R-expression

   D
   we
   φ
   NP
   N
   ∅ / linguists

b. Pro-ϕP
   argument or predicate
   . variable

   ϕP
   they
   NP
   N

   NP
   one

c. Pro-NP
   predicate only
   . constant

   NP
   ∅
Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: the pronominal inventory of English: binding

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<td>*I_i know that John saw me_i, and Mary does too.</td>
<td>√ [Every candidate]; thinks that [he]; will win.</td>
<td>* [Everybody]; thinks [one]; is a genius.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Coreference (Cond C)  

Why not *?...  
√I_i think that John saw me_i  
√ [John]; thinks that [he]; will win.  
* [Mary]; thinks [one]; is a genius.  

(65) √ Mary_i-ga [kanozyo_i-ga tensai-da to] omotte-iru  
Mary-NOM she-NOM genius-COP COMP think-PRES  
Mary_i thinks that she; is a genius (Noguchi 1997:770,(2b) = (23b), D&W 2002:418)
Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: English third person pronouns can occur in predicative position

(66) postcopular predicate position = (48), D&W 2002:425
a. That’s \([\text{her}]_{pred}\).
b. *She’s \([\text{that}]_{pred}\).

(67) participation in word formation = (51), D&W 2002:426
a. \([\text{she}]\)-male  \([\text{she}]\)-society  \([\text{she}]\)-oak
b. \([\text{he}]\)-goat  \([\text{he}]\)-man  \([\text{him}]\)-bo (vs. bimbo)
c. The \([\text{hes}]\) would quarrel and fight with the females. (Jonathan Swift)
Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: English pro-DPs (1st and 2nd person pronouns) “make an overt NP subconstituent available”

(68) Pro-phiPs preceding nouns = (32) D&W 2002:421

a. *they linguists
b. you linguists
c. you linguists
d. us linguists
e. */? them linguists
An aside: clitics appear when Khoekhoe’s basic word order is scrambled

(9) khoè -p ké rá íhóé
   person -M.SG DECL PRS run
   The (male) person is running

(11) khoè -s ké rá íhóé
    person -F.SG DECL PRS run
    The (female) person is running
Clitics appear when Khoekhoe’s basic word order is scrambled: subject clitics

(9') \( ^h \text{o'ë = [p] } \text{ ké rá khoë } -p \ -àà \)
run -M.SG.SBJ DECL PRS person -M.SG -OBL

The (male) person is RUNNING

(11') \( ^h \text{o'ë = [s] } \text{ ké rá khoë } -s \ -àà \)
run -F.SG.SBJ DECL PRS person -F.SG -OBL

The (female) person is RUNNING
Clitics appear when Khoekhoe’s basic word order is scrambled: object clitics

(10) sáa-kʰ-ò ké ||ʔí-p kò mù
2-M-DU  DECL 3-M.SG PST see
You (two guys) saw him

(10’) sáa-kʰ-ò ké kò mù - pó
2-M-DU  DECL PST see -3.M.SG.OBJ
You (two guys) saw him
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**Clitics**

Having a Root-attached *n* bear gender has:

- allowed us to understand licensing restrictions between Roots and gender, minimizing superfluous lexical representations
- given an explanation for the partially regular, partially idiosyncratic (modifications to) meanings of gender-swapped inanimate nominals
- given an explanation for the gender imposed by nominalizations