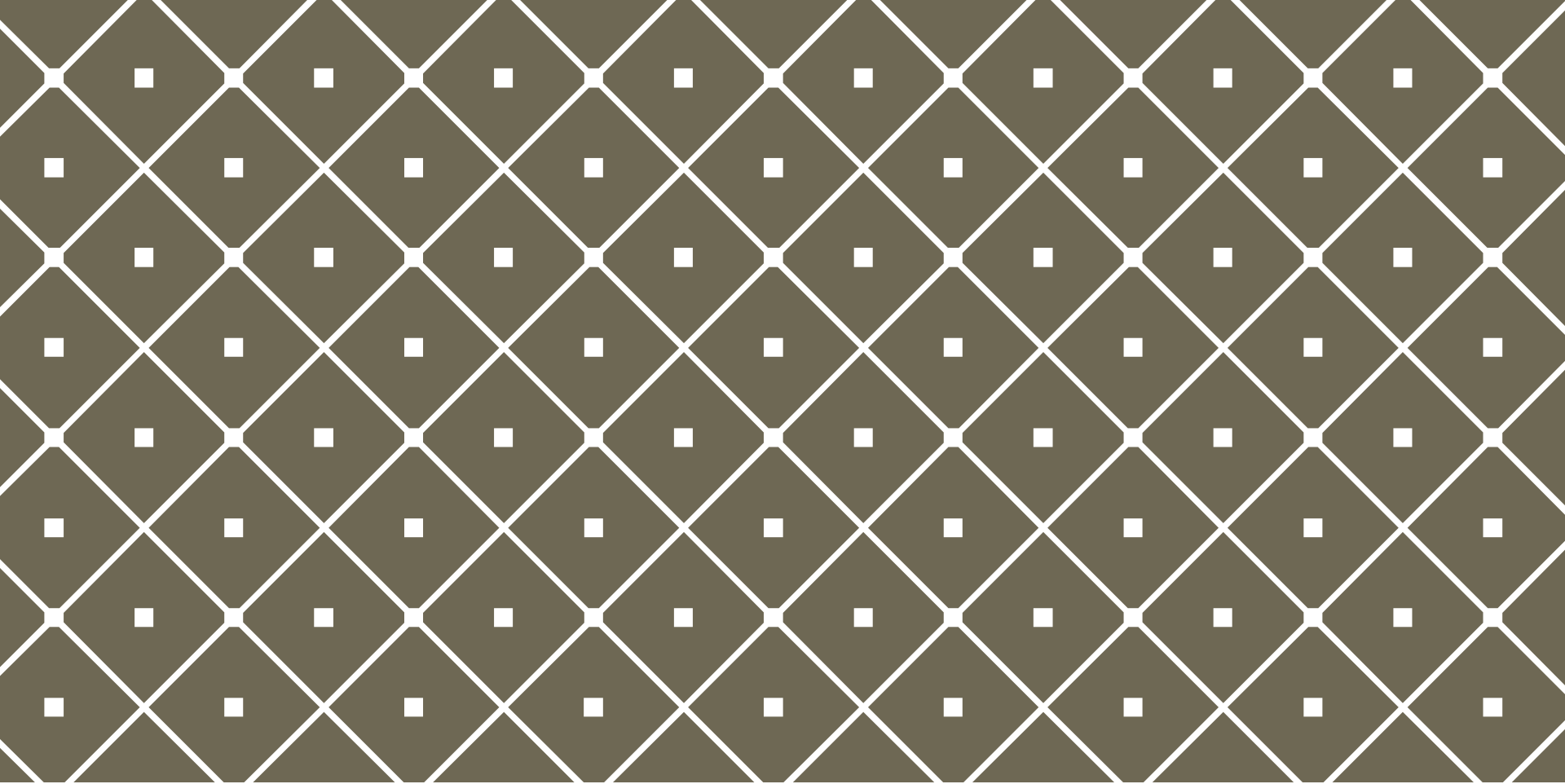# PARTICIPIAL ORIENTATION FROM A CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

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OUTLINE OF THE TALK

- Introduction
  - Defining participles
  - Data

- Participial orientation
  - Concept
  - Examples & analysis

- Summary and conclusions

INTRODUCTION

Part I

DEFINING PARTICIPLES

Non-finite verb forms that can be employed for adnominal modification:

RUSSIAN (Indo-European > Slavic, Russia; personal knowledge)

devočk-a   [*piš-ušč-aja*   *pis'm-o*]
girl(F)-NOM.SG   write-PTCP.PRS.ACT-F.NOM.SG   letter(N)-NOM.SG
'the girl [writing a letter]'

pis'm-o   [*na-pisa-nn-oe*   *devočk-oj*]
letter(N)-NOM.SG   PFV-write-PTCP.PST.PASS-N.NOM.SG   girl(F)-INS.SG
'the letter [written by the girl]'

DEFINITION IN MORE DETAIL

- Predicate of a relative clause
  - ability to have verbal valence

- Locus of subordination marking
  - no additional markers needed to introduce a relative clause

- Verb form
  - morphological (not phrasal) expression ⇒ selective markers
  - word-class-changing inflection (not derivation) ⇒ participle ≠ deverbal adjective

- Non-finite
  - deviation that a verb form exhibits from the prototypical predicate of an independent clause in a given language (≈ deranking, cf. Stassen 1985)

MULTIFUNCTIONAL FORMS

- "Non-finite verb forms that can be employed for adnominal modification"
  - *The note was addressed to the girl* [*sitting in the back row*]. ⇒ participle?
  - *During my first years in college, I mostly read comics* [*sitting in the back row*]. ⇒ converb?
  - *I hate* [*sitting in the back row*], *because I can't see anything from there.* ⇒ action nominal (nominalization)?

- Predicates of independent sentences (Kalinina 2001)

NANAI (Tungusic, Russia; fieldnotes)

[*si*	*niru-xə-si*]		*daŋsa-wa*	*mi*	*xola-xam-bi*
2SG	write-PTCP.PST-POSS.2SG		book-ACC	1SG	read-PTCP.PST-POSS.1SG

'I have read a book that you had written'

PARTICIPLES & NOMINALIZATIONS

CHANTYAL (Sino-Tibetan > Bodic, Nepal; Noonan 1997: 375–378)

[*gay-ye*   *sya*   *ca-si-wa*]   *mənchi*   (participle)
cow-GEN   meat   eat-ANT-NMZ   person
'the person who ate beef'

[*nɦi-i*   *tɦem-əŋ*   *pali-ri*   *mi*   *phur-si-wa*   *puttə*
we-GEN   house-LOC   veranda-LOC   fire   blow-ANT-NMZ   smoke+rising
dɦwãl   *wurə-wa*] *mãra-i*   (action nominalization)
smoke   fly-NMZ   see-PFV
'We saw a fire set and smoke rising on the veranda of our house.'

na-sə [*capa*   *ca-wa-ra*]   *kwi*   *pin-ji*   (participant nominalization)
I-ERG   meal   eat-NMZ-DAT   water   give-PFV
'I gave water to the one who was eating.'

THE CHICKEN OR THE EGG?

• Substantivized participle (headless relative clause) ⇒ participant nominalization

[*Toukokuussa syntyneet*] *ovat leikkisiä, huumorintajuisia ja hauskoja.*

'(Those) born in May are playful, enjoyable, and with a sense of humor.'

(fi.what-character-are-you.com)

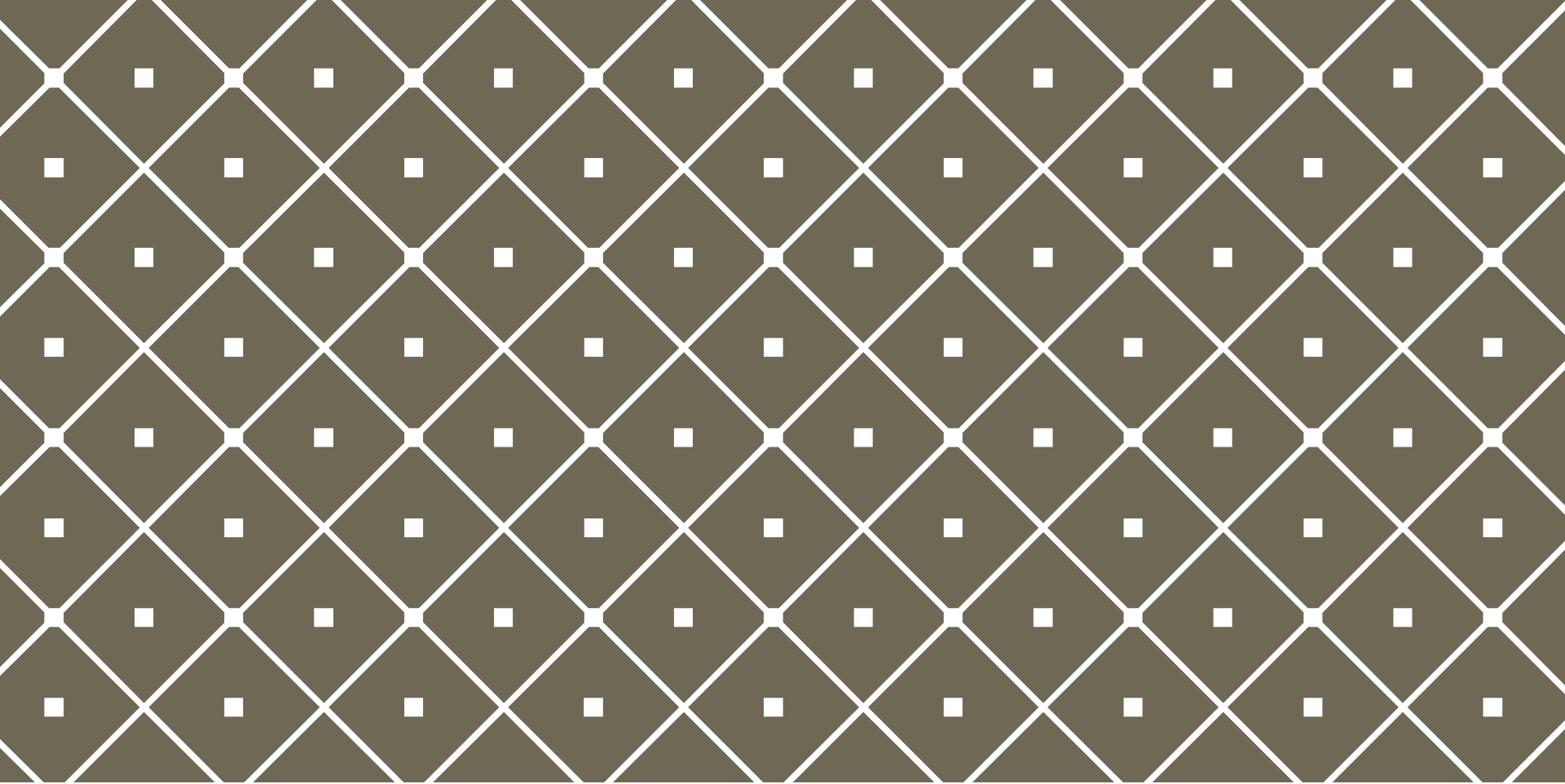• Action/participant nominalization juxtaposed to a noun ⇒ relative clause

GARO (Sino-Tibetan > Bodo-Garo, India; Burling 2004: 134)

[*pi·sa-ming   a·ti-cha   re·ang-gipa*]   *mande*
child-with   market-LOC   go-NMZ   person
'the man who went to the market with the child'

DATA

- At least one language per genus
  - genus = level of classification comparable in time depth (≈ 3500–4000) across language families all around the world (Dryer 1989, Dryer & Haspelmath 2013), e.g. Slavic, Finnic, Mongolic, Semitic

- Types of data
  - descriptive grammars
  - books and articles on participles or related phenomena in individual languages or language families
  - typological books and articles on relative clauses, nominalizations and non-finiteness
  - personal fieldwork data and help from language experts

- Sample: more than 150 languages that have participles

PARTICIPIAL ORIENTATION

Part II

PARTICIPIAL ORIENTATION

Inherent orientation

Contextual orientation

ACTIVE

PASSIVE

CONTEXTUALLY
ORIENTED

PARTICIPIAL ORIENTATION: INHERENT

RUSSIAN (Indo-European > Slavic, Russia)

devočk-a   [*piš-ušč-aja*   *pis'm-o*]
girl(F)-NOM.SG   write-PTCP.PRS.ACT-F.NOM.SG   letter(N)-NOM.SG
'the girl [**writing** a letter]' (Agent)

pis'm-o   [*na-pisa-nn-oe*   *devočk-oj*]
letter(N)-NOM.SG PFV-write-PTCP.PST.PASS-N.NOM.SG girl(F)-INS.SG
'the letter [**written** by the girl]' (Patient)

PARTICIPIAL ORIENTATION: CONTEXTUAL

KALMYK (Mongolic, Russia)

[*bičəg*   *bič-ǯä-sən*]   *küükə-n*
letter   write-PROG-PTCP.PST   girl-EXT
'the girl **who** is writing a letter' (Agent)

[*küük-n-ä*   *bič-ǯä-sən*]   *bičəg*
girl-EXT-GEN   write-PROG-PTCP.PST   letter
'the letter **which** the girl is writing' (Patient)

[*küük-n-ä*   *bičəg*   *bič-ǯä-sən*]   *širä*
girl-EXT-GEN   letter   write-PROG-PTCP.PST desk
'the desk **at which** the girl is writing a letter' (Locative)

PARTICIPIAL ORIENTATION: QUESTIONS

- Are active/passive participles similar across languages?

- Towards which participants can a participle be inherently oriented?

- What are the limits of contextual orientation?

- How can we explain different types of orientation?

ACTIVE & PASSIVE: ALWAYS TOGETHER?

• Active without passive

KOBON (Trans-New Guinea > Madang, Papua New Guinea; Davies 1989: 31)

Yad	*Hab*	*Hauɫamö*	[*sɨŋɨb*	*ñig*	*ñiŋ-eb*]	*bɨ.*
1SG	Hab	Hauɫamö	greens	water	eat-NMZ/ADJR	man

'I am a man from Hab Hauɫamö who drinks cabbage water.'

• Passive without active

NIAS (Austronesian > Northwest Sumatra-Barrier Islands, Indonesia; Brown 2001: 420)

U-fake	*zekhula*	[*ni-rökhi-nia*].
1SG.REAL-use	coconut:MUT	PTCP.PASS-grate-3SG.POSS

'I used the coconut she grated.'

HOW PASSIVE ARE PASSIVE PARTICIPLES?

• Prototypical passive: Agent is peripheral and may be omitted (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 7)

• Passive participles sometimes require the Agent to be expressed
  • Finnish (Passive participles vs. Agentive participle)
  • Nias (Human Agents have to be expressed)

AGENTIVE PARTICIPLES

URARINA (Urarina, Peru; Olawsky 2006: 162)
[*katɕa*   *rela-era*]   *eene*
man   teach-NMZ.A   woman
'a woman who teaches people'

MATSES (Panoan, Brazil, Fleck 2003: 317)
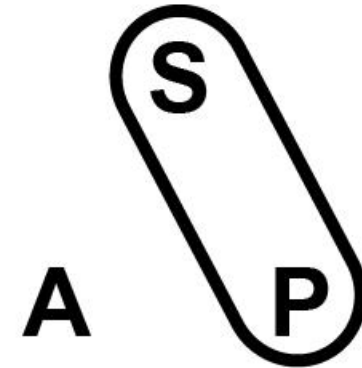
Tense-based ergativity split:

Present, future, generic → active participles (A, S)
Recent past → agentive participles (A)

S

(A)   P

ABSOLUTIVE PARTICIPLES

• Ergative languages

KORYAK (Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Russia; Kurebito 2011: 28–29)

əccaj-Ø   [jaja-k   ŋajqətva-jo-lqəl-Ø]
ant-ABS.SG   house-LOC   clean-NMZ-NOMFUT-ABS.SG
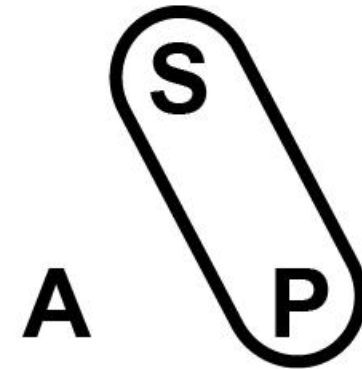pəce   ajm-e-Ø
first   go.to.fetch.water-PFV-3SG.S
'The ant who is supposed to clean at home has gone for water.'

kalikal   [akmec-co-lqəl-Ø]
book.ABS.SG   buy-NMZ-NOMFUT-ABS.SG
'the book which someone intends to buy'

ABSOLUTIVE PARTICIPLES

- Accusative languages

BENG (Eastern Mande; Côte d'Ivoire; Serdobolskaya & Paperno 2006: 6)

ŋ-ó   [zr̄ìŋ̀   kásíé-lɛ́]   lú.
1SG-STAT   corn   fry-NZR   buy
'I'll buy some fried corn.'

[ŋ̄   gā̰   wī-lɛ́]   ó   ŋ̄   sɛ̰̀
1SG   foot   swell-NZR   3SG:PST   1SG   ache
'My swollen foot ached.'

WHY ABSOLUTIVE?

- S/P orientation is attested in resultative participles (Haspelmath 1994)
  - *an apple eaten by John // a rotten apple, a fallen leaf*
  - **a danced boy* ('a boy who danced')

⇒ Absolutive participles are oriented towards the most affected participant

- Fox (1987): Absolutive Hypothesis
  - S/P relatives have a special discourse function of introducing new participants
  - most commonly relativized participants in a corpus of English texts (cf. also Krapivina 2007 for Russian)

- Absolutive participles are oriented towards the most relativizable participants

INSTRUMENTAL ORIENTATION

- Participle oriented towards an instrumental participant

NORTHERN QIANG (Sino-Tibetan > Qiangic, China; Huang 2008: 196)

tse:	[*pies*	*khukhu-s*]	*xtʂepi*	*ŋuə*
that:CL	meat	slice-NMZ	knife	COP

'That is the knife that is used to slice meat.'

LOCATIVE ORIENTATION

- Participle oriented towards a locative participant

WARIHIO (Uto-Aztecan > Tarahumaran, Mexico; Félix Armendáriz 2005: 97)

kahóni   [*no'ó*   *mačipa-ri-áči*   *anío*]
box   1SG.NS   take.out-PFV-NMZ.LOC   ring
'the box that I took the ring out of'

INHERENT ORIENTATION: SUMMARY

- Orientation towards core participants
  - Active participles (S/A)
  - Passive participles (P)
  - Absolutive participles (S/P)
  - Agentive participles (A)

- Orientation towards non-core participants
  - Instrumental participles
  - Locative participles

CONTEXTUAL ORIENTATION

- Orientation towards any participant up to a certain point:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Possessor

(Accessibility Hierarchy, originally Keenan & Comrie 1977)

- up to the Indirect Object
  - Coahuilteco (Coahuiltecan, Mexico; Troike 2010)

- up to the Oblique
  - Imbabura Quechua (Quechuan, Equador; Cole 1985)

- up to the Possessor
  - Savosavo (Solomons East Papuan, Solomon Islands; Wegener 2012)

RESUMPTIVE ELEMENTS

- Lower positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy

KALMYK (Mongolic, Russia; fieldnotes)

kuuxən^i-də   [*mini*   *suu-xə*]   *stul* *av-ad*   *irə-Ø*
kitchen-DAT   1SG.GEN   sit-PTCP.FUT   chair take-CNV.ANT come-IMP
'Bring the chair on which I am going to sit to the kitchen.'

[*dotrə-n^i*   *määčə kevt-sən*]   *avdər orə-n   dor   bää-nä*
inside-POSS.3 ball   lie-PTCP.PST   chest   bed-EXT   under   be-PRS
'The chest in which there is a ball is under the bed.'

RESTRICTED CONTEXTUAL ORIENTATION

Non-subject participles (orientation towards any non-subject participant):

- Modern Standard Arabic (Afro-Asiatic > Semitic; Doron & Reintges 2005)

- Tümpisa Shoshone (Uto-Aztecan > Numic, United States; Dayley 1989)

- Meadow Mari (Uralic > Mari, Russia; Brykina & Aralova 2012)

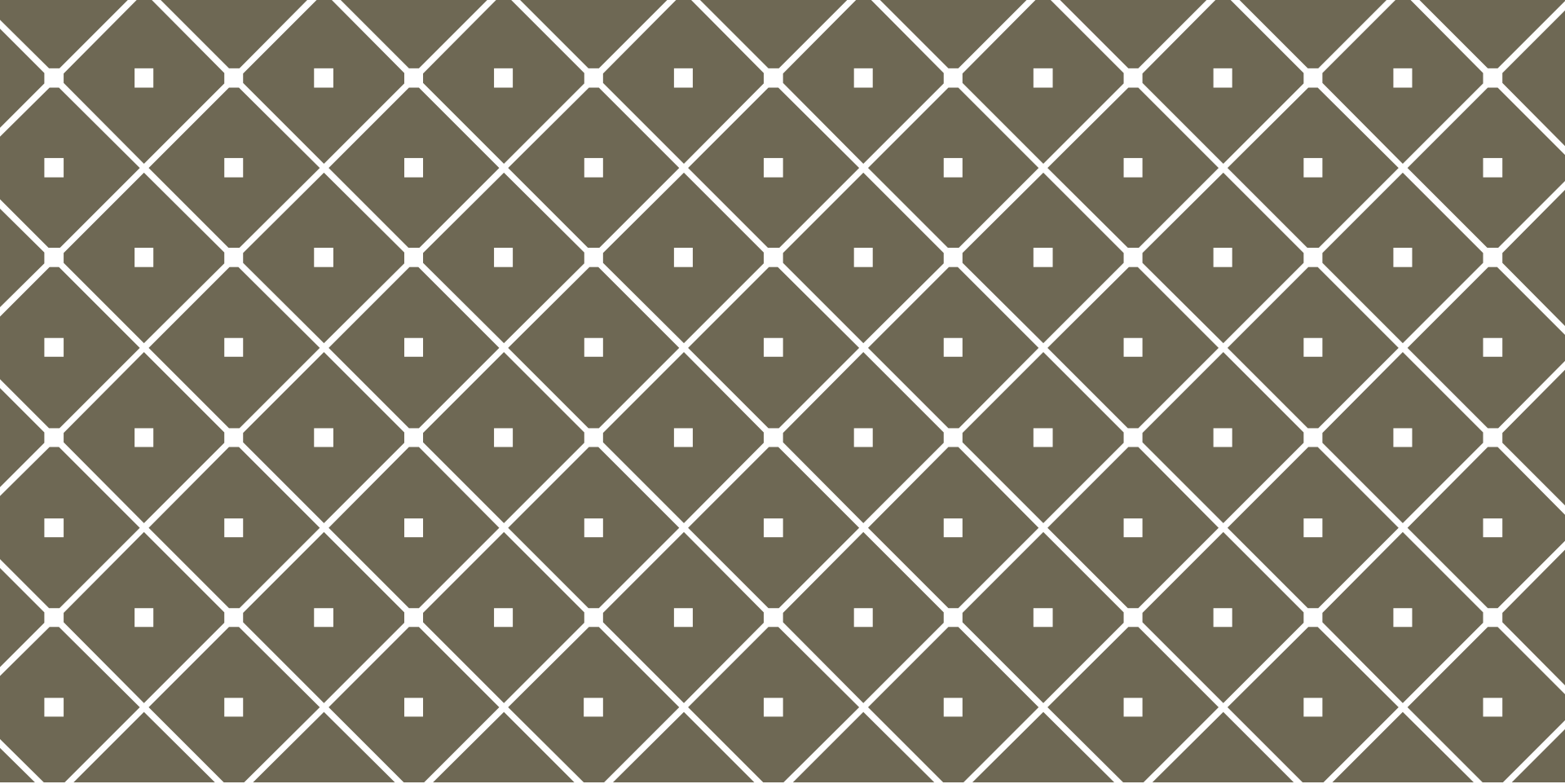# MEADOW MARI: S/A VS. OTHERS

Me [*korn-əm   sajən   pal-əše*]   *šoför   de-ne   mutlan-ena.*
we   way-ACC   well   know-PTCP.ACT driver   near-INESS   talk-PRS.1PL
'We are talking to the driver who knows the way well.'

[*Təj-ən   kuč'-əmo*]   *kugu   kol-et   peš   tamle.*
you(SG)-GEN   catch-NMZ   big   fish-POSS.2SG   very   delicious
'The big fish that you caught is very delicious.'

[*Saša-n   košt-mo*]   *pölem —   məj-ən   pört-em.*
Sasha-GEN   enter-NMZ   room   I-GEN   house-POSS.1SG
'The room into which Sasha entered is my home.'

[*Saša-n   ukš-əm   püč'k-ən   nal-me*]   *pušeŋge   košk-en.*
Sasha-GEN   branch-ACC   break-CNV   take-NMZ   tree   dry.up-PRT
'The tree whose branch Sasha broke has dried up.'

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Part III

SUMMARY: TYPES OF PARTICIPLES

- Contextually oriented

- Structurally oriented (inherently)
  - Active & Passive in Accusative languages
  - Absolutive & Agentive in Ergative languages

- Semantically oriented (inherently)
  - Agentive participles
  - Instrumental participles
  - Locative participles

- Pragmatically oriented (inherently)
  - Absolutive participles in Accusative languages

TYPES OF ORIENTATION

- Structural
  - Active participles
  - Passive participles

- Semantic: Free (contextual orientation)
  - Multifunctional participles (|| action nominalizations)

- Semantic: Fixed (inherent orientation)
  - Agentive participles (|| agent nominalizations)
  - Instrumental participles (|| instrumental nominalizations)
  - Locative participles (|| locative nominalizations)

- Pragmatic
  - Absolutive participles (structural orientation in Ergative languages?)

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EXTENDED ACTIVE ORIENTATION

• Subject + Possessor of the Subject

MARICOPA (Hokan > Yuman, United States; Gordon 1986: 259)

[*sny'ak*   *e'e*   *ku-hmaaly-sh*]   *ny-wik-k*
woman   hair   REL-white-SUBJ   3/1-help-REAL
'The woman with the white hair helped me.' (Possessor)

[*sny'ak*   *e'e*   *ku-hmaaly-sh*]   *sily-k*
woman   hair   REL-white-SUBJ   fall-REAL
'The woman's white hair is falling out.' (Subject)

EXTENDED PASSIVE ORIENTATION

- Passive participle + applicative marker

MUNA (Austronesian > Celebic, Indonesia; van den Berg 1989: 234, 176)

sau   [*ni-bhogha-mu*]   *no-wolo-mo*
wood   PTCP.PASS-chop-your   3SG.REAL-finish-PFV
'The wood that you have chopped has been used up.'

ae-ghome-ghoo   *sabo*
1SG.REAL-wash-IO   soap
'I wash with soap.'

aitu-ha-e-mo   *polulu*   [*ne-bhogha-ghoo-no*   *sau*]
that-HA-it-PFV   axe   PTCP.PASS-chop-IO-his   wood
'That is the axe with which he has chopped the wood.'