Locatives and biclausal progressives in Wolof

Martina Martinović[1] & Marie-Luise Schwarzer[2]
University of Florida[1], Universität Leipzig[2]

28 Oct 2017

1 Overview

- Wolof has a special clause type for locative predication and progressive structures:

(1) *Locative predication*
     Ma-**a-ngi** ci biir   néeg bi.
     1SG-C-LCL in stomach room the.SG
     "I am in the room."

(2) *Progressive*
     Ma-**a-ngi** di (> maangiy) ñew.
     1SG-C-LCL IMPF   come
     "I am coming."

- We discuss the syntax of constructions in Wolof which contain the element ***a-ngi***, most commonly interpreted as a progressive marker.

> **Main Claims**
> - Progressive sentences in Wolof are biclausal, with a locative matrix clause and an imperfective infinitival clause.
>
> - The element *a-ngi*, which occurs both in locative and progressive clauses, is not a progressive marker, but a bimorphemic element consisting of the A′-complementizer *a* and a locative clitic *ngi*.

2 Biclausal progressives

- Progressive constructions are often biclausal, consisting of a locative clause with a nominalized clausal complement/adjunct (Bybee et al. 1994; Fontanals and Simon 1999; Laka 2006; Salanova 2007; Coon 2010).

(3) *Basque (Western varieties)*
     a. Emakume-a   [$_{PP}$ Bilbo-n   ] **dago**.
         woman-DET.ABS   Bilbao-at   is
         'The woman is in Bilbao.'

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b. Emakume-a   [$_{PP}$ ogi-a   ja-te-n   ] **dago**.
    woman-DET.ABS   bread-DET.ABS eat-NML-at   is
    'The woman is eating bread.'   (Laka 2006:182)

How Wolof is similar:

– two predicates in progressive clauses

– the complement clause has adverbial properties

How Wolof is different:

– the predicate in the locative clause is not overt

– the complement clause is not nominalized, but has the form of an infinitival imperfective clause

3 The marker *a-ngi*

Background:

- All finite clauses in Wolof contain an overt C.

- Martinović (2015): syntactically, there are only two clause types, one with verb movement to C, and one with A′-movement to Spec,CP

(4) *Neutral sentence*
     Lekk-**na**-a   ceebujën.
     eat-C$_V$-SCL.1SG ceebujën
     'I ate ceebujën.'

(5) *Wh-question*
     Lan **la**-ñu   lekk?
     what C$_{Wh}$-SCL.3PL eat
     'What did they eat?'

3.1 Distribution

***a-ngi* in progressive clauses:**

- One of the elements that occupy the C position is *a-ngi*, commonly considered to be a progressive marker (e.g. Torrence (2005, 2012)), as it occurs in default progressive clauses like (6).

  (6) Ma-**a-ngi**   di (>maangiy) lëkk.
       1SG-C$_{Wh}$-LCL IMPF   eat
       'I am eating.'

***a-ngi* in locative clauses:**

- *a-ngi* also occurs in verbless locative clauses (7)

(7) Téeré b(i)-a-ngi (*di) ci taabal bi.
book the-C$_{\text{Wh}}$-LCL (*IMPF) on table the
'The book is on the table.'

*Statives

(8) *Ma-a-ngi njool.
1SG-C$_{\text{Wh}}$-LCL tall
intended: *'I am tall.'*

(9) *Ma-a-ngi sonn.
1SG-C$_{\text{Wh}}$-LCL tired
intended: *'I am tired.'*

- The imperfective *di* can be added to these sentences, in which case they are grammatical and the meaning is *become X*.

⇒ ***a-ngi* is not a progressive marker but a bimorphemic element, consisting of a C and a locative clitic**

⇒ **Progressive sentences are biclausal structures, consisting of a locative clause and an infinitival imperfective clause.**

3.2 *a-ngi* is bimorphemic

We argue that:

- *a-ngi* contains the A′-movement complementizer *(l)a*

- *ngi* is a locative clitic (LCL)

3.2.1 Complementizer *(l)a*

- *Wh*-constructions in Wolof contain an obligatory complementizer that exhibits a subject/non-subject asymmetry (Torrence (2005, 2012); Martinović (2013, 2015, 2017)):

  – local subject extraction: ***a***, otherwise: ***la***

- *(L)a* is obligatory in any long-distance A′-movement, and occurs in all intermediate C positions (Dunigan 1994).

(10) Demba wax-na-∅ ni lekk-**na**-ñu ceeb.
Demba say-C$_{\text{v}}$-3SG that eat-C$_{\text{v}}$-3PL rice
'Demba said that they ate rice.'

(11) a. Kan$_i$ **la** Demba wax mu-**a** t_i lëkk ceeb?
who C$_{\text{Wh}}$ Demba say 3SG-C$_{\text{Wh}}$ eat rice
'Who did Demba say ate rice?'

b. *Kan$_i$ **la** Demba wax lekk-**na** t_i ceeb?
   what C$_{Wh}$ Demba say eat-C$_v$ rice

(Note: every long-distance subject extraction involves a subject resumptive pronoun in the local Spec,CP.)

- When embedded, the subject from sentences with *a-ngi* can be extracted.

(12) Lan **la** Demba wax ni mu-**a**-ngi ci taabal bi?
     what C$_{Wh}$ Demba say that 3SG-C$_{wh}$-LCL on table the.SG
     'What did Demba say was on the table?'

⇒*a* in *a-ngi* is the A′-movement complementizer

3.2.2 *ngi*

- We propose that *-ngi* is a locative clitic, on a par with similar elements in locative existentials in Romance languages (French *y* 'there', Spanish *-y*, Catalan *hi*; Freeze (1992)).

(13) Il **y** a un livre sur le table.
     EXPL LCL has a book on the table
     'There is a book on the table.'

- Locative clitics in existentials in Romance seem to be redundant elements, cooccurring with other locative pronouns or PPs.

- *ngi* occurs immediately to the right of C, where all Wolof pronominal clitics cluster (Russell (2006))

- pronouns and determiners encode proximity in Wolof

(14) a. Gis-na-a-ko-**fi**.
        see-C$_V$-SCL.1SG-OCL.3SG-LCL.PROX
        'I saw it here.'
     b. Gis-na-a-ko-**fa**.
        see-C$_V$-SCL.1SG-OCL.3SG-LCL.DIST
        'I saw it there.'

- *ngi* also encodes proximity

(15) a. M(u)-a-**ngi** fii.
        s/he-C$_{Wh}$-LCL here
        'S/He is here.'

     b.   M(u)-a-**nga**   faa.
            s/he-C_{Wh}-LCL there
            'S/He is there.'

4   Wolof Progressives

Two types of sentences with *a-ngi*:

- Locative clauses: **subject + *a-ngi* + locative adverbial**

(16)   Ma-a-ngi   ci biir   néeg bi.
        1SG-C_{Wh}-LCL in stomach room the
        'I am in the room.'

- Progressive clauses: **subject + *a-ngi* + *di* + verb**

(17)   Ma-a-ngi   di (> maangiy) ñew.
        1SG-C_{Wh}-LCL IMPF   come
        'I am coming.'

> **Our claim**
>
> Progressive clauses contain two clauses:
>
> - The locative clause (SBJ-*angi* + null locative predicate)
>
> - A reduced complement clause: (*di* + verb)
>
> ⇒ **There are two predicates in progressive clauses: the one in the locative clause, and the one in the complement clause.**

4.1   PP modifiers

- PP verbal modifiers (e.g. 'in fear') only follow and never precede the verb

(18)   a.   Da-ma   lekk ci tiitange.
            do.C_V-SCL.1SG eat   in fear
            'I ATE in fear.'
        b. *Da-ma   ci tiitange lekk.
            do.C_V-SCL.1SG in fear   eat

- In progressives, the PP either follows the verb or precedes *di*

(19)   a.   Ma-a-ngi   **ci tiitange** [di   lekk].
            1SG-C_{Wh}-LCL in fear   [IMPF eat]
            'I am in fear, eating.'
       b.   Ma-a-ngi   [di   lekk **ci tiitange**].
            1SG-C_{Wh}-LCL [IMPF eat   in fear   ]
            'I am eating in fear.'

⇒ **When the PP modifier precedes the progressive verb, it modifies a higher verb – the locative predicate.**

⇒ **The verb** *lekk* **is contained in a separate VP.**

4.2   Extraction out of the progressive

- Progressives can be extracted out of

(21)   Lan   la   Musaa nee ma-**a**-ngi   di (> maangiy) lekk?
       what C_{Wh} Moussa say 1SG-C_{Wh}-LCL IMPF   eat
       'What did Moussa say I am eating?"

4.3   Clitic climbing

- Wolof clitics cluster immediately next to C in all finite clauses

- Clitic climbing in embedded infinitival clauses:

(22)   Faatu jéem-na-∅-**ko**   toggu.
       Fatou try-C_V-SCL.3SG-OCL.3SG cook
       'Fatou tried to cook it.'

- Clitic climbing in progressives:

(23)   Ma-a-ngi-**ko**   di (> maangikoy) lekk.
       1SG-C_{Wh}-LCL-OCL.3SG IMPF   eat
       'I am eating it.'

4.4   Negation

- Clauses with *a-ngi* cannot be negated.

- Verbless clauses with nominal predicates also cannot contain negation:

(24) a. Man ndongo la-a.
          1SG student C-SCL.1SG
          'I am a student.'
      b. Man d(i)-u(l)-∅-ma   ndongo.
          1SG COP-NEG-C$_v$-SCL.1SG student
          'I am not a student.'

- Clauses with *a-ngi* also do not contain a verbal element – negation is not possible.

- Infinitival clauses also cannot contain negation:

(25) a. *Faatu jéem-na-∅   togg-ul   ceebujën.
          Fatou try-C$_v$-SCL.3SG-OCL.3SG cook-NEG ceebujën
      b. Faatu jéem-na-∅   bañ-a-togg   ceebujën.
          Fatou try-C$_v$-SCL.3SG-OCL.3SG refuse-LINK-cook ceebujën
          'Fatou tried to refuse to cook ceebujën.'

- Assumption: negation in Wolof is above the TP, and inifinitival clauses are smaller

Structure of a progressive clause:

(26)
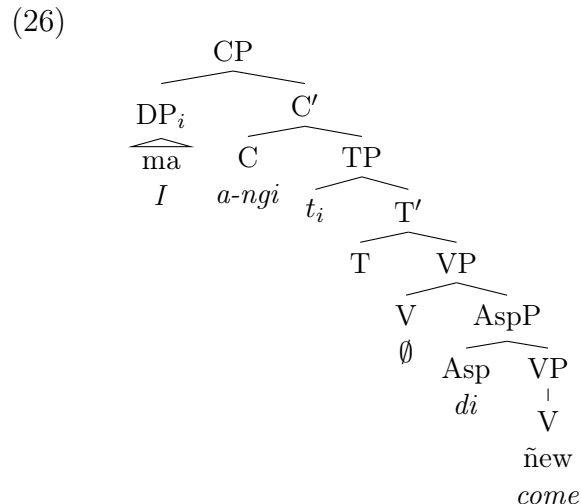
5   Conclusion

- The Wolof marker *a-ngi* as a bimorphemic element, consisting of C and a locative clitic, and not a progressive marker

- Progressive sentences are biclausal constructions, containing locative clauses which take imperfective infinitival complement/adjunct clauses

- Further cross-linguistic support for the biclausality of progressive structures

- Enriches the typology by uncovering variation in the type of adjunct/complement a locative clause can take

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