# THE NOUN-MODIFYING CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION IN WIRU
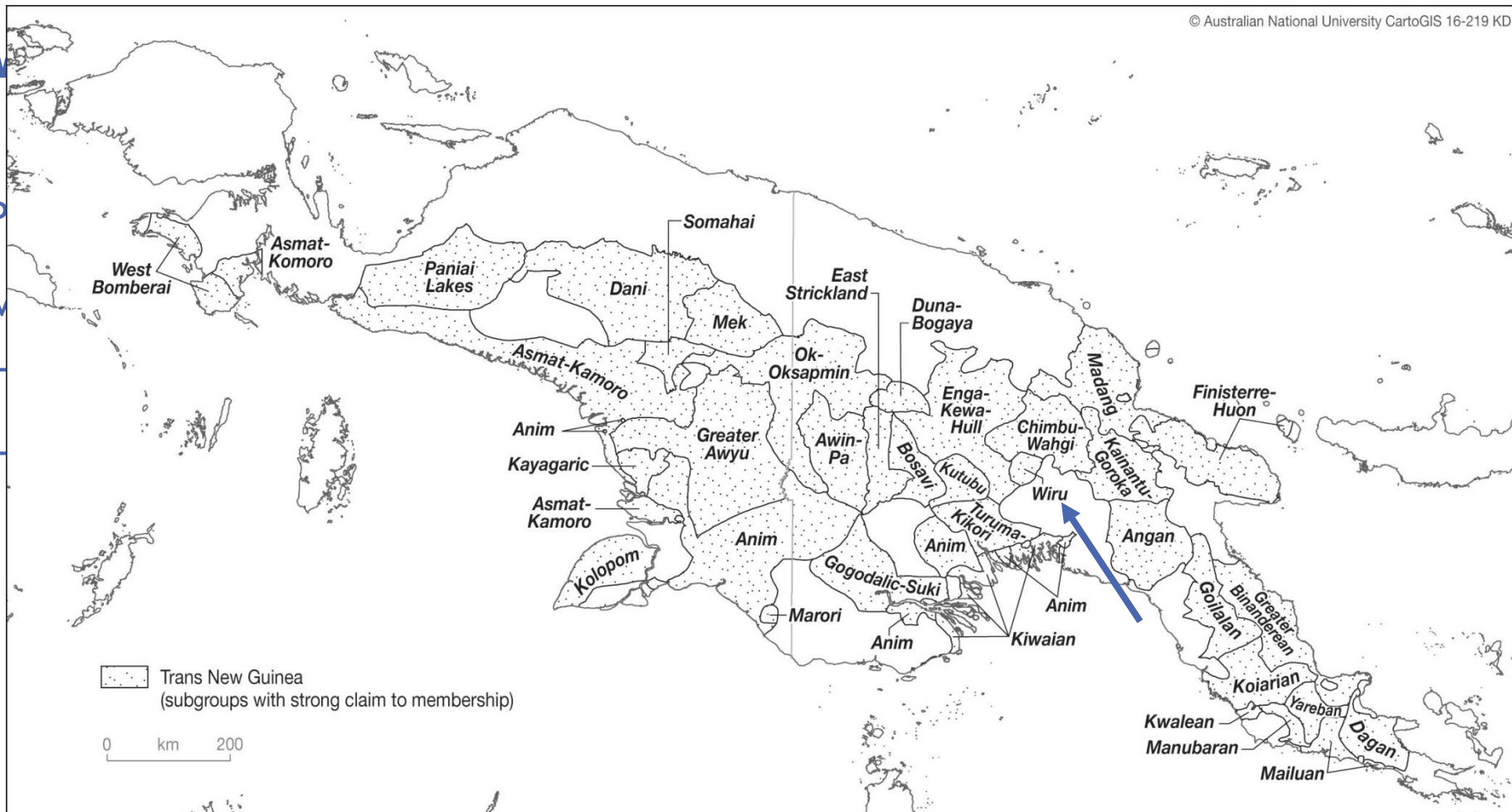
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Pawley & Hammarström 2017

# Outline

- Introduction to GNMCCs

- Wiru GNMCCs
  - Subordinate clause
  - Head noun
  - Agreement
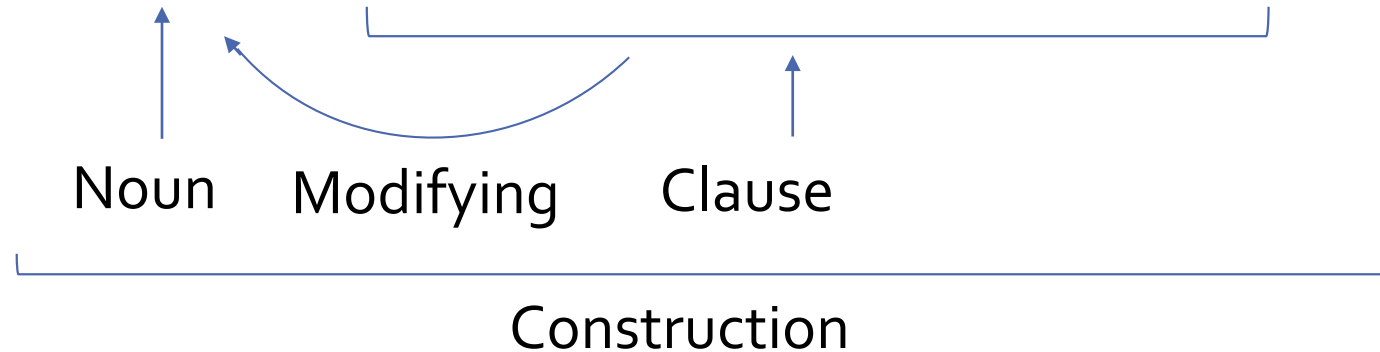  - Tone

- Typological comparisons

# GENERALIZED NOUN-MODIFYING CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons

# What is a Noun-Modifying Clause Construction?

Pombo$_i$ went to the river.

Pombo$_i$, [who ___$_i$ went to the river], …

Noun    Modifying    Clause

Construction

# Parameters of a GNMCC

- A GNMCC is "a single construction that covers all or a significant part of the NMCCs of a language. In particular, a GNMCC must cover a range of argument and/or adjunct NMCCs, and must go beyond that range to include at least some extended NMCCs." (Matsumoto, 2017, p. 6)

# The General Noun-Modifying Clause Construction - GNMCC

The man who went to the river...

The fact that she went to the river...

The story where she talks about going to the river...

# Japanese GNMCC

[[**hon-o    katta**]   *gakusei*] *wa   doko   desu   ka.*
**book-ACC  bought**   student   TOP   where   is           QUES.PART
'Where is the student who bought a book?'

(Matsumoto, 1988, p. 166)


[[**te-o       araw-anaku   temo       ii**]        *oyatu*]
**hand-ACC   wash-not                 O.K.**        snack
'the snack (in order to eat) which you do not have to wash
your hands'                                                  (p. 169)

# General Noun-Modifying Clause Construction Background

- First proposed for Japanese by Matsumoto (1988, 1997)

- Subsequently proposed for several languages of Asia by Comrie (1998) including
  - Mandarin
  - Korean
  - Khmer
  - Turkic language Karachay-Balkar

- Recent publication explores *Noun-Modifying Clause Constructions in Languages of Eurasia* (Matsumoto, Comrie & Sells (Eds.), 2017)

- Not until now been thoroughly investigated in a Papuan language

# THE WIRU GNMCC

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons

# Argument NMCC in Wiru

*Anume*     *mairakoma*     *pade=ya*     *meri-k-u-na.*
1SG.AGT     children     some=ONMZ     give-PRS-1SG-CPL
'I gave the children something.'

[[***Anume***     ***pade=ya***     ***meri-k-u-na***]     *mairakoma*]     *wene*     *meka-k-u.*
**1SG.AGT**     **some=ONMZ**     **give-PRS-1SG-CPL**     children     thought     sit-TR-PRS-1SG
'I like the children to whom I gave something.'

*Anume*     *pade=ya*     *meri-k-u-na.*
1SG.AGT     some=ONMZ     give-PRS-1SG-CPL
'I gave someone something.'

# Adjunct NMCC

*No tono wane ka-k-u.*
1SG mountain on stand-PRS-1SG
'I am on the mountain.'


[[**No ka-k-u**] *tono*] *tubea.*
**1SG stand-PRS-1SG** mountain big
'The mountain I am on top of is big.'

# Extended NMCCs

[[*Kenbra*     *namolo*     *no-k-o*]         *ko*]
**Canberra**     **first**     **come-PRS-1SG**     story
'The story about the first time we came to Canberra' (Children_7)

[[*Toro pea skuul*     *ke*     *po-a-rok-o*]     *oi*]     *no-ka-l-e*
**1PL**  **all**     **school**     **LOC**     **go-LNK-OPT-2/3SG**  time  come-PST-DS-2/3SG
'The time for all of us to go to school has arrived' (Children_40)

[[*Ue*     *na-k-i*]         *mere*     *yarene*] *paru*
**water**  **consume-PRS-2/3PL**     container     group     maybe
'Drink cans and stuff' (Holidays_51)

# PROPERTIES OF THE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons

# Subordinate clause properties

- Subordinate clauses are structurally quite similar to matrix clauses. They allow:
  - Transitive or intransitive
  - Clause chaining
  - Verb serialization
  - Nonverbal predicates
  - GNMCCs within GNMCCs

[[[*No*       *mari*]    *pere*     *ulu*     *to-ko-u*]     *ta*]
 1SG         small     time     game     do-PST-1SG     place
'the place where I played when I was small'                            (Elicited)

# Difference from matrix clause

- But there are some differences
  - Future tense marked by optative
  - Habitual suffix disallowed
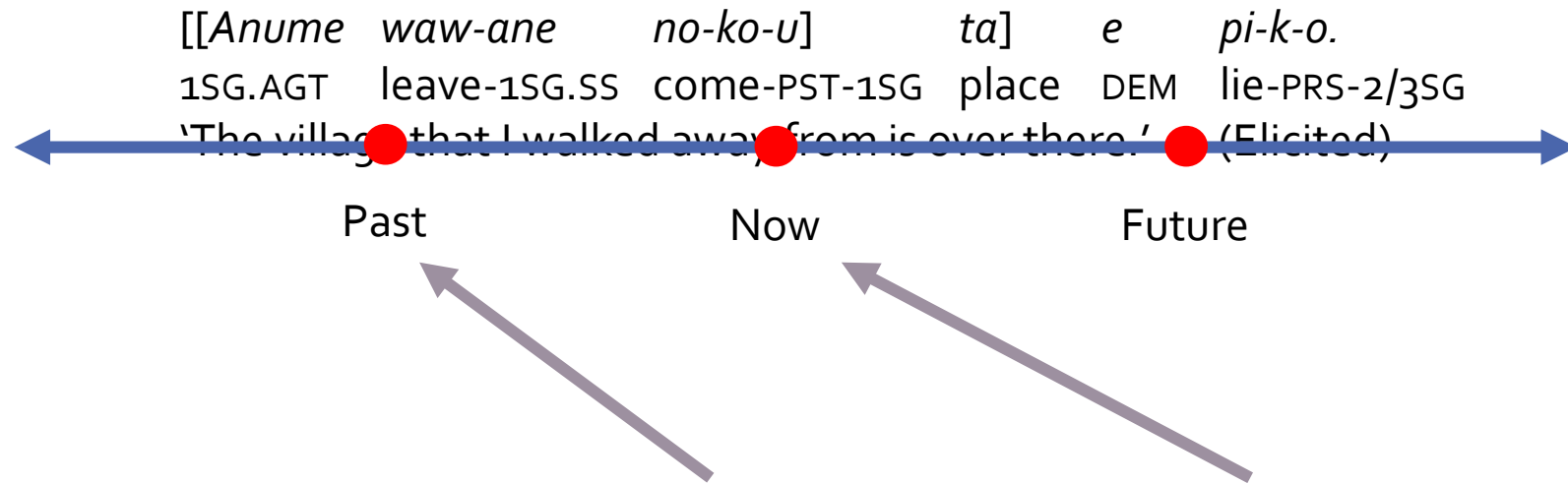  - Preference for anterior aspect

# Future tense

[[**Kori-a      ka-wa-rik-u]**          *yomo*] *ke   tuku-mene.*
**pick-LNK    stand-LNK-OPT-1SG**  tree      LOC  hang-must
'You must hang it on the tree where I will pick (fruit).'

*[[**Kori-a          ka-o-u]**          *yomo*] *ke   tuku-mene.*
  **pick-LNK    stand-FUT-1SG**    tree      LOC  hang-must
'*You must hang it on the tree where I will pick (fruit).'

*I      mari  dedea  pere,  namolo  ta-koa   po-a-rok-o.*
PROX  son    small   time    first       do-TR     go-LNK-OPT-2/3SG
'This shows the child is still small so it should go first.'

# Aspect

- Simple past

[[*Anume*   *waw-ane*     *no-ko-u*]        *ta*]      *e*      *pi-k-o.*
1SG.AGT   leave-1SG.SS   come-PST-1SG   place   DEM   lie-PRS-2/3SG
'The village that I walked away from is over there.'   (Elicited)

Past                    Now                    Future

# Aspect

- Simple past

[[*Pade     ta          ke    e-ni       wira-kome      ene-ka*]        *pere*],
some       place        LOC   DEM-DEF   arrive-3SG.SS   see-2/3SG.PST  time

*dauwa          yarene     odene    i         ta         ke    mea-de-ko-i.*
flying.fox     group      only      PROX     place      LOC  sit-EVID-PST-2/3PL
'(When) she came to some place and she looked she saw that the place was only occupied by flying foxes.'
(Fox_59)

Past                Now             Future

# Aspect

- Simple past

- Anterior perfect suffix *-na*

[*Onee-na,*         *namolo*    *ue*       *noa yawa*      *ka-k-i-na*]
3SG   DEM-ANAPH      first         water     eat   walk        stand-PRS-2/3PL-ANT

*yarene,*    *ue*          *noa ka-ke-re* ...
group       water       eat   stand-SS-PL.SS
'That group of people that he had drunk around with before was drinking and ...' (Susan_100-101)

# Aspect

[*A=ka*      *no-a-de-me*         *to-ka*]      *pere*     *poyo*     *ago=me*
high=LOC come-STF-MFUT-2/3SG.SS      do-2/3SG.PST   time       bow        man=AGT

*wa*       *one*       *kawa*     *yaku*     *kiri*   *pue*      *yarene*     *kiri,*   [*korokoa*
again     3SG       leg      cover     PL    clothes    group       PL    remove

*mere-k-o-na*]         *yarene,*   *mere-ko-i*       *wa.*
give-PRS-2/3SG-ANT group     give-PST-2/3PL again
'When it was time to come out, the policeman (lit. 'bow man') gave him back his shoes, clothes, and the stuff he had taken off and given (them).'     (Susan_74-76)

# PROPERTIES OF THE HEAD NOUN

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons

# Head noun properties

- The head noun can recapitulate an overt nominal in the subordinate clause

[[*Anume*   *mairakoma*   *pade=ya*   *meri-k-u-na]*   *mairakoma*]
**1SG.AGT**   **children**   **some=ONMZ**   **give-PRS-1SG-CPL**   children

*wene*   *me-ka-k-u.*
thought   sit-TR-PRS-1SG
'I like the children to whom I gave something.'

# No gap!

Anume    mairakoma    pade=ya      meri-k-u-na.
1SG.AGT   children        some=ONMZ     give-PRS-1SG-CPL
'I gave the children something.'

**[[Anume pade=ya    meri-k-u-na]**      mairakoma] wene     me-ka-k-u.
**1SG.AGT   some=ONMZ give-PRS-1SG- CPL**    children       thought    sit-TR-PRS-1SG
'I like the children to whom I gave something.'

Anume    pade=ya       meri-k-u-na.
1SG.AGT   some=ONMZ give-PRS-1SG-CPL
'I gave someone something.'

# Headless GNMCCs

- Because the overt nominal can be in the subordinate clause,
  - And because optative and anterior verb forms are associated with subordinate clauses,
  - The head noun can sometimes be omitted

**[*Anume ko o-a-rik-u*]** ~~wo~~*ne me-ka-k-u.*
**1SG.AGT story say-LNK-OPT-SG** thought sit-TR-PRS-1SG
'I like the story that I will be telling.'

# Headless GNMCCs

[[*Anume tu-k-u-na*]     ∅]    *to-k-o.*
**1SG.AGT do-PRS-1SG-CPL**     do-PRS-2|3SG
'He is doing what I did.'


*[[*Anume tu-ko-u*]    ∅]  *to-k-o.*
**1SG.AGT do-PST-1SG**    do-PRS-2|3SG
*'He is doing what I did.'

# Headless GNMCCs

\*[[***Anume tu-k-u***]     Ø]    *to-k-o.*
**1SG.AGT  do-PRS-1SG**         do-PRS-2/3SG
\*'He is doing what I am doing.'

[[***Anume   meri-k-u***]      Ø]     *me-o.*
**1SG.AGT   give-PRS-1SG**          give-2/3SG.FUT
'He will give what I am giving.'

# AGREEMENT PROPERTIES

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons

# Coreferential nouns

- GNMCCs can have first or second person reference
  - In these cases, the subordinate clause contains a pronoun and the head noun is a common noun
  - Agreement is with the referent of the construction, not its structural head

[[**No** skuul   wene    meka mu-k-u]      aroa]
1SG  school thought wear   NEG-PRS-1SG woman
'I (female), who don't like school'


[Ne anu        mari    wiri-ka-na]         ipono,  agale    oa  me-a.
2SG 1SG.POSS     son     hit-2/3SG.PST-ANT       spirit    speech  say  NEG-2SG.IMP
'You, the spirit who attacked my son, don't speak!'    (Elicited)

# Agreement

[[***No skuul    wene    meka mu-k-u]***       *aroa*]      *skuul    ke    **pu-k-u.***
**1SG   school thought wear   NEG-PRS-1SG**   woman  school  LOC   go-PRS-1SG
'I (female), who don't like school, am going to school.'


*[[***No skuul    wene   meka mu-k-u]***       *aroa*]      *skuul    ke    **po-k-o.***
**1SG   school thoughtwear   NEG-PRS-1SG**    woman  school  LOC  go-PRS-2/3SG
*'I (female), who don't like school, am going to school.'

# TONAL PROPERTIES

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons

# Tone

*One   tono        piri    moro-ka.*
3SG    mountain  fear   get-2/3SG.PST
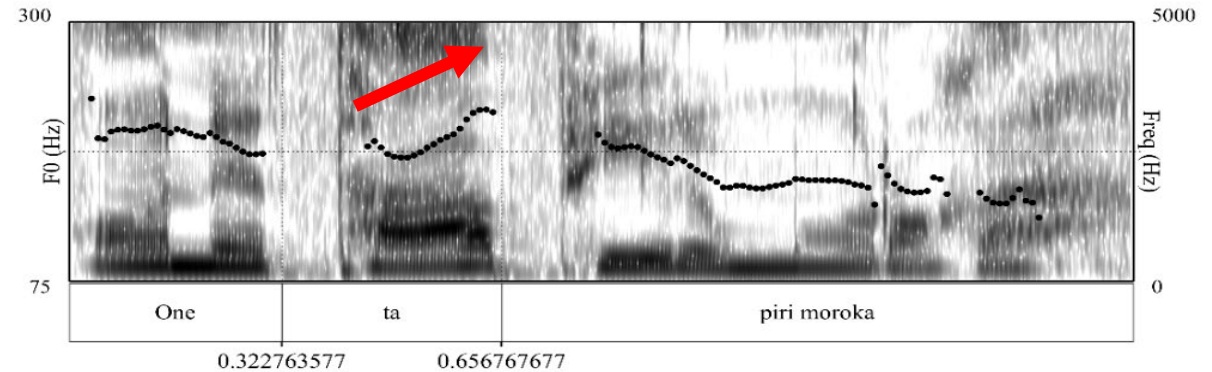'He's afraid of the mountain.' (Elicited)
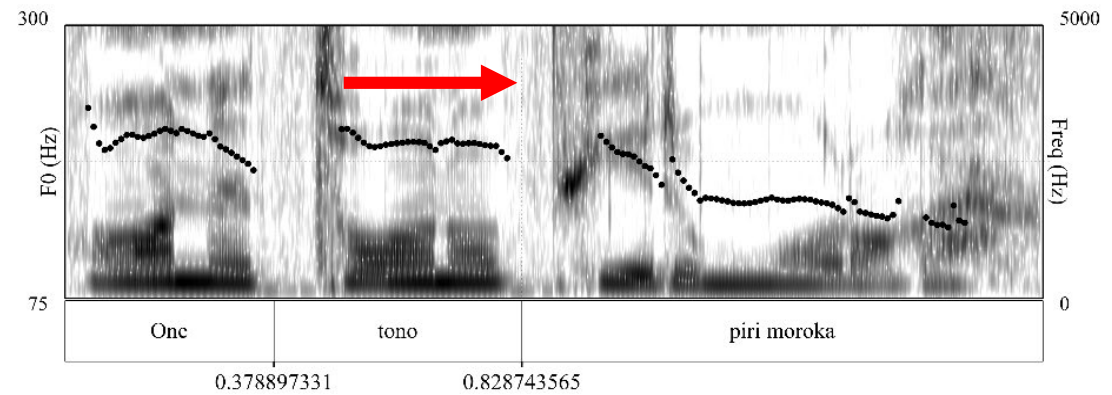


[*Piri   moro-ka*]          *tono*          *ku*    *ka-k-o*
fear   get-2/3SG.PST   mountain   DIST   stand-PRS-2/3SG
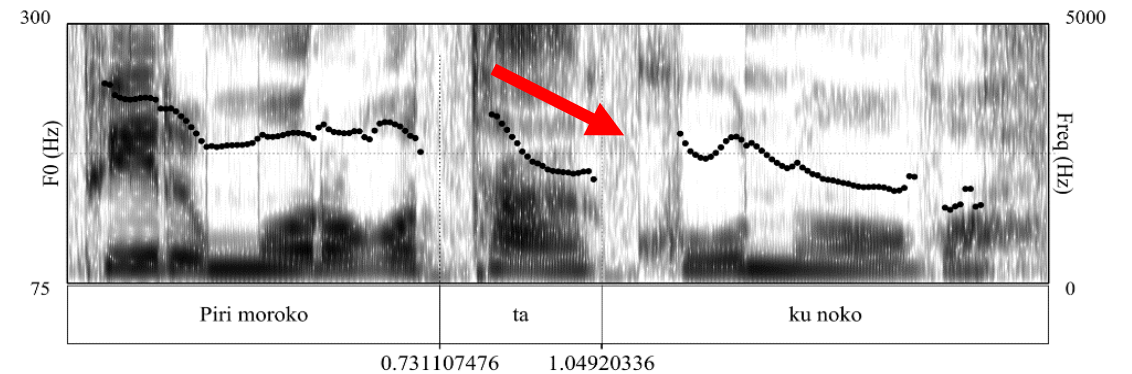'The mountain he's afraid of is there.'   (Elicited)
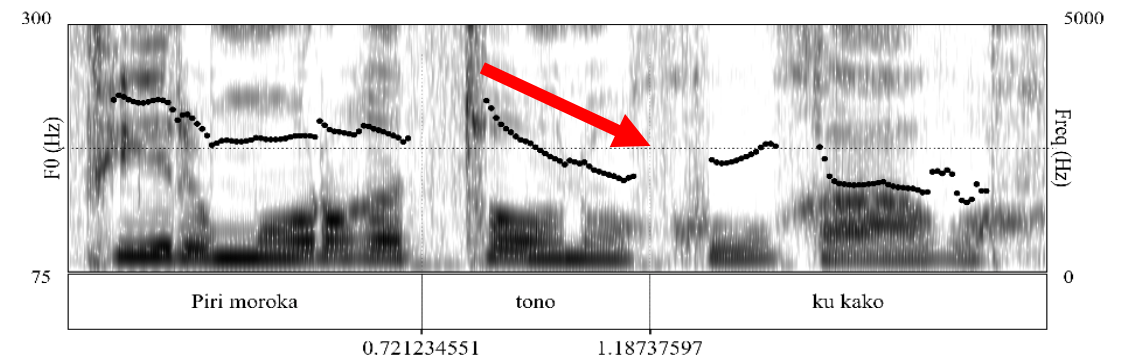
# Intonation

*One ta piri moro-ka.*
3SG rain fear get-2/3SG.PST
'He's afraid of the rain.' (Elicited)



[*Piri moro-k-o*] *ta ku no-k-o.*
fear get-PRS-2/3SG rain DIST come-PRS-2/3SG
'The rain he's afraid of is falling there.' (Elicited)

# TYPOLOGICAL COMPARISONS

GNMCCs • Wiru GNMCC • Clause • Noun • Agreement • Tone • Comparisons

# Typological comparisons

- Some of these features are shared by other TNG languages

- Coreferential nouns inside and outside the modifying clause
  - Allowed in:
    - Kombai        TNG, Greater Awyu      (de Vries 1993)
    - Usan          TNG, Madang           (Reesink 1983, 1987)
  - Disallowed in:
    - Kewapi        TNG, Engan             (Yarapea 2005)
    - Oksapmin    TNG, Ok-Oksapmin   (Loughnane 2009)
    - Mian          TNG, Ok-Oksapmin   (Fedden 2011)
    - Mauwake     TNG, Madang           (Berghäll 2015)

# Typological comparisons

- Headless relative clauses
  - Allowed in:
    - Kombai      TNG, Greater Awyu      (de Vries 1993)
    - Korowai     TNG, Greater Awyu      (van Enk & de Vries 1997)
    - Oksapmin    TNG, Ok-Oksapmin      (Loughnane 2009)
    - Mian        TNG, Ok-Oksapmin      (Fedden 2011)
    - Usan        TNG, Madang           (Reesink 1983, 1987)
    - Nggem       TNG, Dani             (Etherington 2002)
  - Disallowed in:
    - None?

# Typological comparisons

- We're unsure about:
  - Semantic vs structural agreement
  - Tonal properties
  - Prevalence of GNMCCs versus relative clauses

# Typological comparisons

**Resumptive pronouns**

**Cantonese:**
*[ngo5dei6      soeng6ci3      tung4      keoi5      jat1cai4   sik6   faan6]    go2   go3   jan4*
we          last.time       with       **3SG**      together   eat   rice      **that** CL   **person**
'the person we ate with last time'  (Matthews & Yip 2017:111)

- Bezhta (Comrie, Forker and Khalilova, 2017)
- Hinuq (Comrie et al., 2017)
- Tundra Nenets (Nikolaeva, 2017)

# Typological comparisons

Co-referential nouns

**Kombai**
[[*Yare*    *gamo*    *kheraja*    *bogi-n-o*]                    *rumu*]...
old.man  join.ss    work        DUR.do.3SG.NF-TR-CONN  person
'The old man, who is joining the work...'  (de Vries 1993:77)


**Japanese**
[[*watakusi-ga* *sono*    *ito-no*          *namae-o*      *wasurete-simatta*]    *okyaku-san*]
  I-NOM          that      person-GEN   name-ACC    forget-TE-close-PST    guest
'half of the amount (of money) that Taro earns'    (Inada 2009:94)

# Typological comparisons

Headless

**Kombai**
[*Baju    rakhumade*]   *emukhe.*
shirt    buy.1SG.NF    lost
'The shirt I bought is lost.'        (de Vries 1993:78)


**Korowai**
[*Wa   gol   ülme-tél-e*]-*kha-fè*        *nokhu-gol.*
that   pig   kill-3PL.R-TR-CONN-TOP    our-pig
'The pig that they killed is our pig.'        (van Enk & de Vries 1997:114)

# Thank you!
*Ke wane oko!*

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