Haspelmath’s (1997) semantic map for indefinite pronouns: The view from Me'phaa

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Introduction

• Semantic maps have been extensively used by typologists and cognitive linguists (Anderson, 1974; van der Auwera & Plungia, 1998; Croft, 2003)

• Haspelmath’s (1997) map for indefinite pronouns has been empirically/quantitatively validated (Croft & Poole, 2008; Regier, Khetarpal, & Majid, 2013)
Introduction

• This work provides a new empirical test of Haspelmath’s map, based on data from Me'phaa (Otomanguean; Guerrero, MX)
  – Will the map be confirmed or disconfirmed?
  – What happens with a language that doesn’t behave?
Roadmap

• Haspelmath’s (1997) map
• The map revisited
• Me'phaa indefinite pronouns
• The map revisited, again
• Implications
• Conclusion
Hasepelmaph (1997)

• 3 Derivational bases
  – Interrogative-based
  – Generic-noun-based
  – ‘One’-based

• 9 Semantic functions
  – SK, SU, IR, QU, CD, IN, DN, CR, FC
Functional possibilities

- Conceptual space for indefinite pronouns
  (Haspelmath, 1997)
Additional principles

• Implicational universal
  – Adjacency requirement

• Principle 1
  – Middle of the map (4, 5, 6, 8) excludes combinations of fewer than three

• Principle 2
  – 9 & 8 never combine with 1
Language-specific trends

• Distributional schemas in 4 languages

 Turkish

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 qualsevol* | conditional | comparative | free-choice |

| free-choice |          |          |             |
|             |          |          |             |
Making distance matter

• The map, MDS-style (Croft & Poole, 2008)
Achieving parsimony

- Network inference algorithm (Regier et al., 2013)
How universal is the map?

• Will additional languages confirm or disconfirm the map as we know it?
Me'phaa indefinite pronouns

- The Me'phaa series (Duncan, 2013)
  - Bare WH
    - *wh*-expression
  - *mbá*
    - *mbá+(-AN/REL.AN/WH/N/ADV)*
  - *ni-*
    - *ni-+mbá+(-AN/WH/N)*
  - *(ajndo)*
Me'phaa indefinite pronouns

• Primarily ‘one’-based

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<th>ni-series</th>
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<td>nimbá (náá)</td>
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<td>mbá mi'tsún</td>
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<td>MANNER</td>
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Building the map

(1) Specific known (mbá-series; bare WH-series)

a. xtáa mbá-a tsí ní'-kha gá'ya ikhaa xtáa
   AFF:EXIST:AN INDF:AN REL:AN PFV:AFF-come:3SG run FOC EXIST:AN
   na-tyá-hun
   IPFV:AFF-2SG-work:2SG

   ‘Someone visited you while you were working.’

b. tsá ne-tse guma nakí rixí. ikháa dxáhwa
   who PFV:AFF-buy:3SG tortilla PST yesterday 3SG sister:2SG
   ‘Someone bought these tortillas yesterday. It was your sister.’
(2) Specific unknown (mbá-series)

a. marta ní'-thá mbá ajngáa xtílu péro
   marta PFV:AFF-say:3SG INDF:INAN word spanish but
   tá-fro'ó ndíne ní'-théen
   PFV:NEG-understand:1SG what PFV:AFF-say:3SG>1SG

   ‘Marta said something in Spanish, but I didn’t understand what she said.’

b. xtáa mbá-a tsí péro nanguá rmá'aan ákhuin' tsá
   AFF:EXIST:AN INDEF-AN REL:AN but NEG remember feeling:1SG who
   ñahun tsí ni-xní'
   be:3SG REL:AN PFV:AFF-give:3SG>1SG book

   ‘Someone, but I don’t remember who, gave me this book.’
Building the map

(3) Irrealis non-specific (*mbá-series; *ni-series)
   a. a-thá-ne mbá rí majan¹ a-tso

      mbá
      INDF:INAN

      ‘Please, eat something!’

   b. *ni-mbá-a magoo má-to'oo
      NEG-INDEF-AN can IRR:AFF-enter:3SG
      ‘No one can enter.’

   c. *ni-mbá rí mo'-thalo' ni-khee má' xkuá'ni
      NEG-INDEF:INAN REL:INAN IRR:AFF-say:3SG PFV:AFF-leave:3SG M* so
      ‘Without saying anything, she left.’
Building the map

(4) Question (*mbá-series)
   a. á ni'-tha [mbá-a tsí] /*ni-mbá-a
      Q PFV:AFF-tell:3SG:AN INDF:AN REL:AN /*NEG-INDF:AN
      ‘Did someone tell you?’

   b. áni-rathá mbá /*ni-mbá noxe xúge
      Q PFV:AFF-say:3SG INDF:INAN /*NEG-INDF:INAN new:INAN today
      ‘Has she said anything new today?’

   c. ná ma-rathán mbá /*ni-mbá noxe
      when IRR-say:3SG INDF:INAN /*NEG-INDF:INAN new:INAN
      ‘When will she say something new?’
Building the map

(5) Conditional (mbá-series)

a. xi' ikhaan na-t-iyá mbá /*ni-mbá
COND 2SG IPFV-2SG-see:2SG INDF:INAN /*NEG-INDF:INAN

a-rathón' nátxa mendá'kho'
IMP-tell:2SG>1SG quickly much

‘If you see something, tell me immediately.’
Building the map

(6) Comparative (*ni-series*)

a. catalina ikháa iiwá mbáyii rí ni-mbá-a /*[mbá-a tsí]*/tsá
catalina 3SG more large REL:INAN NEG-INDEF:AN/*INDEF:AN REL:AN/*who

náá gu'wá rí none gáhmaa
LOC house REL:INAN they.study with

‘Catalina is taller than anyone in her class.’

b. ikháa ríge khafé' ríphu ndaskó' ni-mbá /*mbá
FOC DEM:INAN coffee very delicious NEG-INDEF:INAN /*INDEF:INAN

rí ní-ña nakí
REL:AN PFV:AFF-taste:3SGPST

‘This coffee is more delicious than anything I’ve tasted before.’
(7) Indirect negation (*mbá*-series)

a. ndáa  mbá  rí  magó  má-mba=ló'
   EXIST:NEG:INAN  INDF:INAN  REL:INAN  can  IRR:AFF-finish:1PL=INCL

   mbá  mbi'i
   INDF:INAN  day

   ‘There is no way we can finish in a day.’

b. martha  tsí'-than  xí  ikhúún  na-ndo  mbá
   martha  IPFV:NEG-say:3SG  COND 1SG  IPFV:AFF-want:1SG  INDF:AFF:INAN

   ‘Martha isn’t saying that I want anything.’
Building the map

(8) Direct negation (ni-series)
   a. thá-yo      ni-mbá-a   tsí   ni'-tó'oo   gu'wá
      PFV:NEG-see:1SG    NEG-INDF-AN  REL:AN  PFV:AFF-enter:3SG  house
      ‘I didn’t see anyone who entered the house.’

   b. tú-niin      ni-mbá      mo-mbáyí'
      NEG:PFV:PL-do:3PL    NEG-INDF:INAN  IRR-help:3PL>1SG
      ‘They didn’t do anything to help me.’
Building the map

(9) Free choice (*ajndo*-series)
   a. *ajndo* tsa ni'-tha
      -ever who PFV:AFF-say:3SG
      ‘whoever has said’

   b. mago ma-gájna=lo' ando na
      can IRR:AFF-leave=1PL:INCL -ever when
      ‘We can leave whenever.’

   c. *ajndo* náa ma'-ga catalina ma-táanga nátxa
      -ever where IRR:AFF-go:3SG.AN catalina IRR:AFF-return:3SG quickly
      ‘Wherever Catalina goes, she will return quickly.’
The Me'phaa distribution

- WH
  - specific known
  - specific unknown
  - irrealis non-specific

- mbá
  - question
  - indirect negation
  - conditional
  - comparative

- ni-
  - direct negation

- ajndo
  - free-choice
The Me'phiaa distribution

• Principles from Haspelmath (1997)
  – Violates adjacency (~the semantic map connectivity hypothesis) (Croft, 2001)
  – Violates Principle 1
    • Middle section has no combinations for ni-
  – Upholds Principle 2
The view from Me'phaa

(1) specific known
(2) specific unknown
(3) irrealis non-specific
(4) question
(5) conditional
(6) indirect negation
(7) direct negation
(8) comparative
(9) free-choice
Implications

• Me'phaa could suggest the need for a more complex map
  – But, the absence of IR-CD still obtains

• Investigating more languages could yield substantial changes
  – Semantic relations not currently captured? (e.g., irrealis & negation)
Conclusion

• Me'phaa provides important insights into the typology of indefinites
  – Unique derivational base
  – Unique distribution of the 9 functions
  – Suggests further refining is necessary
References


Thank you!

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Appendix A
Appendix B

• Output from Alguin et al.’s (2010) network inference algorithm

Total number of edges: 11
Nodes and their direct neighbors:
DN: ['CR', 'IN']
IR: ['CR', 'SU', 'QN']
SU: ['SK', 'IR']
CD: ['CR', 'QN']
SK: ['SU']
FC: ['CR']
IN: ['DN', 'CR', 'QN']
CR: ['DN', 'FC', 'IN', 'IR', 'CD']
QN: ['IR', 'CD', 'IN']