

Table of Contents, “Pronouns, Presuppositions and Hierarchies: Papers by Eloise Jelinek”, with notes on content of each paper.

**Preface and Acknowledgments** (Andrew Carnie & Heidi Harley)

**Introduction** (Andrew Carnie & Heidi Harley)

## **I. PART I: Configurationality and the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis**

The papers in this section draw together a rich body of work with data from Warlpiri, Navajo, Apache, Lummi, Yaqui and others, arguing that languages which are non-configurational (in the sense described by Hale 1983), are best explained by the view that they, to one degree or another, parametrically lack full DP arguments. Argument positions in these languages are occupied by pronouns, pronominal clitics, or rich agreement that indexes the pronominal arguments. Full DPs are adjuncts and don't participate in traditional argument relations.

### **I.1 Jelinek, Eloise (1984). Empty Categories, Case and Configurationality. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 2: 39-76**

In this paper, Jelinek argues against the configurationality parameter by Hale (1983) and introduces the influential and important **Pronominal Argument Hypothesis** (PAH). Using data from Warlpiri, she hypothesizes that non-configurational languages differ from configurational ones in that they lack full DP arguments. Arguments in Pronominal Argument (PA) languages are always pronouns (which can be null and indexed only by verbal agreement). Any DPs in the sentence function as adjuncts. This explains a range of properties whereby non-configurational languages exhibit some configurational properties, such as principle B and certain patterns of case marking, due to the pronominal status of the arguments, but not others, such as principle C, since DPs are adjuncts. This approach is highly influential and underlies the view put forward in Baker's seminal book *The Polysynthesis Parameter*.

### **I.2 Sandoval, Merton and Eloise Jelinek (1989) The *bi*-construction and pronominal arguments in Apachean. In Keren Rice and Ed Cook (eds) *Athapaskan Linguistics: Current Perspectives on a Language Family*. Berlin: Mouton. pp. 335-377**

This paper explains the famous *yi/bi* alternation in Apachean languages, with a focus on Jicarilla Apache. The paper argues that this alternation is not a passive, but simply indicates an inverse relationship coded on the verb. This coding is reflective of the PA status of the language. DPs in Apache are adjuncts and as such are ordered by considerations other than grammatical relations (they are ordered by an animacy hierarchy). The adjuncts are linked to the pronominal argument via a set of linking principles. This article is important because it sets out the first non-Australian application of the PAH.

### **I.3 Jelinek, Eloise and Richard Demers (1994) Predicates and Pronominal Arguments in Straits Salish. *Language* 70: 697-736.**

This paper is perhaps the most well-known paper on the PAH. It provides an analysis of Lummi (Straits Salish). It argues that Salish lacks a noun/verb contrast, and instead has simply an open class of predicates. Arguments are pronominal affixes and clitics and DPs are really adjunctive predicate headed clauses marked with a complementizer/determiner. Evidence comes from word order, morphology, and scope of quantification. In particular, it's shown that Lummi lacks determiner quantification that would be expected if DPs were arguments.

- I.4 Willie, Mary Ann and **Eloise Jelinek** (2000) Navajo as a Discourse Configurational Language. In Theodore Fernald and Paul Platero, eds., *Athabaskan Syntax: Perspectives on a Language Family*. Oxford. pp. 252-278

This paper details the how many unique grammatical properties of Navajo, such as animacy-based ordering, argument indexing in the verbal morphology, as well as restrictions on the number and type of arguments, follow directly from the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis, and the idea that DPs in the language are adjuncts. Like Jelinek and Demers, it is a rich empirical implementation of the PAH.

- I.5 **Jelinek, Eloise** (2006) The pronominal argument parameter. In Peter Ackema (ed) *Arguments and Agreement*. Oxford Oxford University Press. pp 261-288

This paper argues for a distinction between the set of pro-drop languages in the world and the subset of those languages that are pronominal argument (PA) languages. In particular it presents 3 syntactic characteristics that differentiate PA languages from pro-drop languages: (1) The absence of pro-drop agreement/syntax in PA languages (2) DPs in PA languages may only be marked with lexical, not grammatical, Case and (3) PA languages totally lack determiner quantification effects. It concludes by pointing out that the 3 syntactic characteristics of PA languages are bundled together and occur in a wide range of genetically unrelated languages: This is taken as conclusive evidence for a PA parameter.

## II. PART II: Hierarchies, information structure and semantic mapping

While many of the papers in this section also deal with PA languages, the focus in this section is on the relationship between hierarchical syntactic structure and semantics. In particular, it builds upon Jelinek's claim that semantic hierarchies (including those dealing with information structure) correlate systematically to the hierarchical structure of the clause. Person Hierarchies, Animacy Hierarchies, Specificity Hierarchies, Voice Hierarchies and Topic/Focus splits all correlate directly to the architecture of the clause, where hierarchy-prominent relations are also structurally more prominent.

- II.1 **Jelinek, Eloise** (1987) Auxiliaries and Ergative Splits: A Typological Parameter. in Harris, Martin and Ramat, Paolo (eds.). *Historical Development of Auxiliaries*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 85-108.

and

- Jelinek, Eloise** (1989). "The Case Split and Argument Type in Choctaw." In Maracz, Lazlo K. and Pieter Muysken (eds.), *Configurationality: The Typology of Asymmetries*. Dordrecht: Foris. pp 117-141

These two papers are best taken as a pair. Jelinek (1987) is primarily about Ergative/Absolutive Splits in Australian languages; Jelinek (1989) is about case splits in the completely unrelated language Choctaw. However, they demonstrate the strength of the PAH as a means of explaining case splits. In both papers, a distinction between DPs (which are adjoined high up in the sentence) express different Case relations from the actual argument pronouns in the clause. They are early attempts to demonstrate that case splits follow directly from parametric typological differences among languages and from the architecture of the clause more generally.

II.2 **Jelinek, Eloise** (1993) Ergative Splits and Argument Type. *Papers on Case and Agreement. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 18: 15 – 42.

This paper expresses for the first time the hypothesis that relational hierarchies -- like those found in the person hierarchies that dominate ergative case splits in Salish -- are a direct consequence of the architecture of the clause, paired with Diesing's (1992) mapping hypothesis. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person arguments along with 3<sup>rd</sup> person arguments linked to DP adjuncts are construed as definite and presupposed. They thus can't serve as variables and must move to case positions (Nom/Acc/Absolute) outside the VP. 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns marked with lexical ergative case, by contrast, are allowed to be bound by existential closure, and thus remain VP internal. Evidence for the proposal comes from morphology, the (un)availability of determiner quantification and the way in which sentences with one DP are interpreted.

II.3 Deising, Molly and **Eloise Jelinek** (1995) Distributing Arguments. *Natural Language Semantics* 3: 123-176.

This paper argues that object movement in several languages corresponds to semantic considerations of interpretation. In particular, objects move to establish relative scope and repair type mismatch. Specific objects shift out of VPs, in accordance with Diesing's (1992) mapping hypothesis, while NPs inside the VP are closed under Existential closure at LF. Pronouns must shift because they are variables, which explains why they cliticize in Egyptian Arabic. A similar account is given of pronominal object shift in Scandinavian languages. The importance of this paper lies in the fact that it establishes the strict correspondence between argument type, syntactic position and (hierarchy driven) semantic interpretation.

II.4 **Eloise Jelinek** and Andrew Carnie (2003) Argument Hierarchies and the Mapping Principle. in Carnie, Harley and Willie, *Formal Approaches to Function in Grammar*. John Benjamins. 265-296

This paper extends the empirical range of the hypothesis explored in Jelinek (1993) and Deising & Jelinek (1995), proposing that all argument hierarchies are the direct morphosyntactic registration of the presuppositionality scale. In particular the paper provides evidence from ergativity splits, object shift, differential object marking, dative accusative marking, clitic placement and voice alternations, all of which are claimed to follow from the restrictions on arguments that can appear with in the VP (only non-presuppositional potential variables). Elements that appear high on relational hierarchies (animacy, specificity, definiteness, topicality, presuppositionality) are mapped high in the clausal tree, and those that are low appear within the VP. This paper provides the most detailed exemplification of the idea that relational hierarchies are epiphenomena derivable from syntactic ones.

### III. PART III: Yaqui Morphosyntax

While Jelinek worked extensively on languages of Australia, Salish Languages, Semitic languages, and Apachean languages, the majority of her own field work lay in the study of the Uto-Aztecan Language Yaqui (also known as Hiaki or Yoëme), which is spoken near Tucson where Jelinek spent the last 40 years of her life. Jelinek worked closely with the Yaqui community in Arizona, helping them to develop pedagogical materials for teachers and language students. She also did significant work on the morphosyntax of the language. We present here four of her papers on the language, one that is reasonably accessible (Jelinek 1998), two that appeared in less accessible venues (Jelinek and Escalante 1989 and Jelinek 2003), and one that was in the course of being

written when Eloise passed away in 2007 and appears here in print for the first time. The papers here focus on argument realization, scope, voice and transitivity in the language.

III.1 **Jelinek, Eloise** and Fernando Escalante (1989) Double Accusative Constructions in Yaqui. *Proceedings of the Pacific Linguistics Conference*, University of Oregon, Eugene. 120-132

This short paper -- which is an important empirical contribution, but not widely available -- presents new data from Yaqui on the equivalent of double object constructions in the language. The authors argue that unlike English and other more commonly spoken languages, the double accusative construction in Yaqui is determined purely lexically. There are no 'dative' shift type alternations; the presence or absence of the construction is determined by which verb is used. They show however, that like the English construction, the accusative goal argument functions as the direct object for processes of passivization and causativization. The data and analysis in this paper are particularly important because it shines new light on the question of the relationship between (quirky) case and grammatical function changing operations.

III.2 **Jelinek, Eloise** (1998) Voice and transitivity as functional projections in Yaqui. In Miriam Butt and Wilhelm Geuder (eds) *The projection of arguments: Lexical and compositional factors*. Stanford: CSLI Productions. Pp 195-225.

This paper expands on a notion introduced by Grimshaw (1990) and Hale & Keyser (1993) in which argument structure itself is a structured domain, not merely a collection of features. Jelinek argues that the Inflectional component (INFL) of Universal Grammar is where argument structure is established. Arguments are introduced at various heads structurally beneath INFL. These arguments must agree with the entailments that go hand in hand with "thematic proto-roles", as defined by Dowty (1989, 1991). The array of arguments selected for in the INFL complex must agree with these entailments, or a crashed derivation results. Jelinek looks at data from Yaqui, which has "strong" (i.e., overt in the syntax) heads for VOICE and TRANSITIVITY that introduce arguments in certain clause types. She concludes by establishing that the configuration of functional projections establishes the voice and valence of clauses in Yaqui, and that parametric settings make it possible for certain projections to be "strong" in some languages, and "weak" in others.

III.3 **Jelinek, Eloise** (2003) Quantification in Yaqui Possessive Sentences. *MIT Working Papers in Endangered and Less Familiar Languages* 5. 201-214

A rich set of new data about Yaqui bahuvrihi possession (where the possessed noun is marked with a Tense/Aspect marker, and there is no overt verb) is the primary contribution of this paper. Using data from different types of quantification (weak, strong, determiner, adverbial), Jelinek shows that these structures are a heterogeneous class of phenomena, which include nominal movement into T for morphological reasons, and nominal copying. She also shows that these constructions do not behave like noun incorporation in the language. This draws attention to important data on the nature of possession and its interaction with quantification, and to variation in the typology of incorporation cross-linguistically.

III.4 Heidi Harley and **Eloise Jelinek** (2007) The Yaqui Impersonal as an Existential Verb. Previously unpublished.

This paper proposes that the Yaqui 'passive' suffix *-wa* is a non-active Voice head, which can usefully be glossed as an existential auxiliary verb EXIST. In contrast to a simple copula, the *-wa* EXIST verb has overt existential force. Langacker (1976) identifies *-wa* with Uto-Aztecan *-tiwa*, 'be'. This paper surveys the environments in which *-wa* occurs, and situates it within the clausal architecture. It then shows that *-wa* constructions truly lack a syntactically realized external argument. Finally, it argues in support of the claim that *-wa* is an existential verb, and discuss its ability to expressthetic judgments. This paper provides the first in-depth discussion of the morphosyntax and semantics of the Yaqui impersonal. The resulting analysis sheds light on the role of Voice in the verbal architecture crosslinguistically and the syntactic status of the 'suppressed' argument in impersonal constructions.

**Jelinek Curriculum Vitae**