# Universal and definite WHEN-clauses in Indo-European and beyond

A study in token-based typology

Dag Haug (based on joint work with Oleg Belyaev and Nilo Pedrazzini)

University of Oslo

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- No semantics!
- Is the semantics of RCs just too boring? No...



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In Ossetic, no indefinite interpretation of NPs (Belyaev & Haug, 2014):

(3) didinǯ-ətɜ sə čəžg-ən balɜvar kodtaj, wəj fedton flowers what to.girl you.presented her I.saw ≈ which girl you gave flowers, I saw her 'I saw the girl which you gave flowers to.'



Dayal (1995): maximality can be definiteness or universality

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  - Belyaev & Haug (2020) tried to track these meanings across correlative constructions

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English examples after (Hinrichs, 1986):

- (5) a. When John saw Mary, he crossed the street.
  - b. When John wrecked the Pinto, he broke his arm.
  - c. When the Smiths threw a party, they invited all their friends.

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This distinction is lexicalised in e.g. German (and Norwegian):

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  - Noted in the formal semantic literature (Hinterwimmer, 2008; Sæbø, 2011)
  - To my knowledge, not much discussed in the typological literature except Kortmann (1997)
  - Yet we will see that it exists in many languages



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- (8) Asla:m a:v tami sa:tɨ, yemi sa:tɨ ...
  Aslam come.PST REL time CORR time
  ≈ 'which time Aslam came, that time ...'

'At the time Aslam came, (Mohan was running)'

(Kashmiri, Indo-European, Koul & Wali 2006, 159)

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- Can we apply what we know about the universal/definite contrast in the domain of relative clauses to WHEN-clauses?
- In particular, Belyaev & Haug 2020 demonstrated a correlation between the morphology of correlativizers and the universal/definite distinction
- Does something similar hold for WHEN-clauses?

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- ② A *dem*-based correlative always has a definite reading; it may also have a universal reading, which may be morphologically marked

# Examples classified

(9) [ce min ye muru san], n ye o ye man REL PST knife buy | PST him see 'The man who bought the knife, | saw him.'

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Bambara (Mande > Niger-Congo): [dem-based, definite]

(10) [Akit szeret Mari], azt meghívta a buliba. who:ACC.SG loves Mari that:ACC.SG invited the party:ILL 'Who(ever) Mari loves, she invited to the party.'

Hungarian (Finno-Ugric > Uralic) : [wh-based, universal]

### Two typological generalizations...

A *wh*-based correlative always has a universal reading; it may also have a definite reading, which may be morphologically marked.

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A *dem*-based correlative always has a definite reading; it may also have a universal reading, which may (or must?) be morphologically marked

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & \text{Univ} & \neg \text{ Univ} \\ \text{Def} & 0 & 12 \\ \neg \text{ Def} & 0 & - \end{array}$$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Tamil and Dargwa have multiple WH-correlative constructions → ← ≥ → ← ≥ → ≥ | = → へ ○

dem-based correlatives originate in parataxis (Givón 2009 and others):

(11) That man bought the knife. I saw him.  $\rightarrow$  The man who bought the knife, I saw him.

Predicts that the definite reading is primary for dem-correlatives

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Already Delbrück (1900, 390) for Slavic:

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- Hence, we argue, the marking asymmetries

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Hard to come up with a useful comparative concept or gram type!

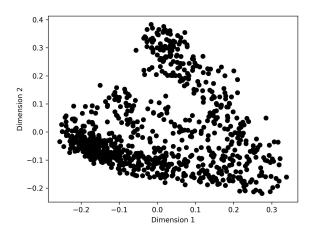
### WHEN in massive parallel corpora

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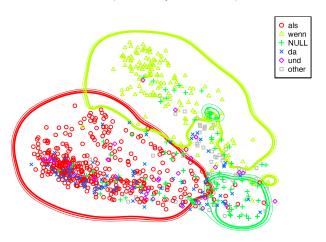
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- Basic assumption (following Hartmann et al. 2014): if two instances of when tend to correspond to the same word across languages, those two instances are close in meaning
- When we reduce dimensionality with multi-dimensional scaling, we get a two-dimensional semantic map
- For more details on the methods, go to our talk at 11:30!

# Raw semantic map of when



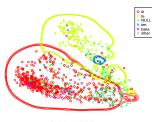
# Using labels from German

#### German (Indo-European, Eurasia)



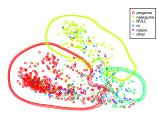
Levels drawn at 29-32-35%

#### Sranan Tongo (Indo-European, South America)

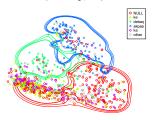




Ticuna (Ticuna-Yuri, South America)

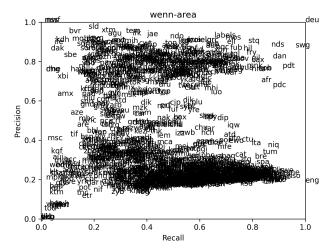


Delo (Atlantic-Congo, Africa)

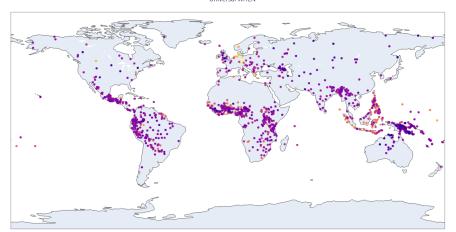


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#### Precision and recall for wenn



Universal WHEN



# Connecting RCs and WHEN

- Widespread definite/universal meaning distinction in WHEN-clauses
- In correlatives, the distinction is morphologically motivated
- Also in WHEN-clauses?

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- Widespread definite/universal meaning distinction in WHEN-clauses
- In correlatives, the distinction is morphologically motivated
- Also in WHEN-clauses?
- The generalization of Belyaev & Haug (2020) applied to temporal clauses:
  - If the subordinator is based on an indefinite/interrogative stem, it can always express universal WHEN; and it may also express definite WHEN, which may require special marking
  - ② If the subordinator is based on a demonstrative stem, it can always express definite WHEN; and it may also express universal WHEN, which may (must?) require special marking

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- Other languages (e.g. English) satisfy the generalization more trivially by making no distinction
- Most languages won't have WHEN-clauses related to relatives at all

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  - instead, a data-driven approach based on parallel corpora

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  - Often express definite WHEN (Hermann, 1912)
  - But can express definite WHEN (cf. the German)
  - Part of the bigger picture, but will be ignored here

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- It is commonly accepted that subordinate structures in Indo-European arose from correlative structures (Kiparsky, 1995)
- Also temporal adverbial clauses, as we see directly e.g. in Vedic
- $\bullet$  Connection  $\mathrm{WHEN}/\mathrm{relative}$  stem also in languages without correlatives
- But the relative stem varies! Both dem- (so/to or yo-) and  $k^w$  are found.

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- Both Greek and Vedic form their WHEN-subjunction from the dem-stem \*ye/o-: hote and yadā
- Greek has a very well developed "indefinite construction", which requires the modal particle *an* and the subjunctive
- Vedic also tends to use the subjunctive in universal contexts (Hettrich, 1988, 217,351ff.), though the habitual present is also an option
- This is the exact same pattern as we see in Vedic and Homeric correlative clauses, which have an definite reading and require special morphology to get the universal reading

## Definite WHEN in Ancient Greek

o-wi-de pu2-ke-qi-ri

hōs-wide pu2-ke-qi-ri

```
thus-saw Phugegwrīns(?).NOM when king.NOM

te-ke au-ke-wa da-mo-ko-ro

theke au-ke-wa da-mo-ko-ro
appointed.AOR.IND Augēwās(?).ACC dāmokoros(?).ACC

'Thus witnessed Phugegwrīns when the king appointed Augēwās as dāmokoros' (PY Ta711)
```

o-te wa-na-ka

hote wanax

(17)

### Universal WHEN in Ancient Greek

The universal reading requires the modal particle an plus the subjunctive in

(18) tòn d' oú pote kúmata leípei that.ACC PTC not ever waves.NOM.PL leave.PRES.3S pantoíōn anémōn, hot' àn énth ē enha génōntai mainfold.GEN.PL winds.GEN.PL, when modal here or here become 'that one the waves of all kinds of winds never leave, when they arise here or there' (Iliad 2.397)

# The further development

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- ullet The subordinator  $h \acute{o}te+$  the modal particle an 
  ightarrow subordinator  $h \acute{o}tan$
- Lexicalized distinction hôte vs. hôtan, detectible in our semantic map
- Starting in Hellenistic times, hótan replaces hóte even in single past event contexts
- However, the archaizing Modern Greek in our Bible translation preserves the distinction

#### Latin

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- In sum, the picture for WHEN-clauses in Vedic, Greek and Latin is similar to that of correlatives
  - Vedic and Greek has a dem-based stem and require special marking for the universal reading
  - Latin has a k<sup>w</sup>-based stem and does not require special marking for either reading

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- Latin *cum* is derived from the  $k^w$ -stem but not homonymous with the interrogative
- Interrogative quando is more recent (not Sabellic)
- Has developed a use as a subordinator and as an indefinite ('somewhen') within Latin

# Another WHEN: quando

- Latin cum is derived from the  $k^w$ -stem but not homonymous with the interrogative
- Interrogative quando is more recent (not Sabellic)
- Has developed a use as a subordinator and as an indefinite ('somewhen') within Latin
- It is predominantly but not exclusively universal in early Latin (Pinkster, 2021, 249)
- Rare in Latin post-Plautus, but resurfaces in Romance, now with both universal and definite readings

### Hittite

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- In Middle and New Hittite mān develops into conditional 'if'
- For WHEN, we find mahhan and kuwapi
- Interestingly, Daues (2012) shows that kuwapi is the subordinator of choice used in generic temporal clauses with a conditional nuance (although it can also be used with past events)

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- Delbrück pointed to the crucial role of the indefinite use for this development in the nominal domain
- Also for the temporal subordinator?
- Would predict a predilection for universal WHEN in the earlier stages of replacement, but I am not aware of studies of this

### **Baltic**

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  - 'als' is instead expressed with kaip 'how' and kad 'that'
- Clear evidence for the priority of universal WHEN

### Old Irish

In Old Irish we find "when" expressed with the word for time (tan) plus a nasalizing relative clause

McQuillan 2002, 225

"in non-specific contexts, 'when' clauses approach the force of the type of indefinite concessive or conditional that was discussed in both Chapters 5 and 6. Therefore, it may be possible to subsume these various constructions, along with the subjunctive in relative clauses, under some more general heading such as 'indefinite' or 'non-specific reference'.

The Celtic relative forms likely involve the demonstrative stem *yo*-(Fortson, 2011, 277), so they fall under the same pattern as Greek and Vedic

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- Basically the story is the same in German, except the wh-word never generalized to definite contexts

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  - But also part of a larger shift of the  $k^w$ -system to subordinating functions (Truswell & Gisborne, 2019)
  - hwonne actually leads the way in Old English according to Mitchell (1985)

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- No good way to identify dem-based subordinators
- But for *wh*-ones:
  - ullet based on interrogative stem o corresponds to wann

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Atlantic-Congo 50
Indo-European 47
Sino-Tibetan 19
Austronesian 14
Others 21
t=1
```

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```
Atlantic-Congo
                 50
                       Indo-European
                                            5
Indo-European
                 47
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```
Atlantic-Congo
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                                                Indo-European
                                                                 28
                 50
                                           5
Indo-European
                 47
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                                                Sino-Tibetan
                                                                 12
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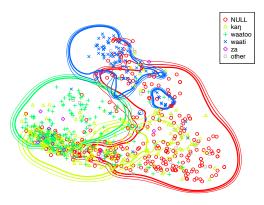
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- The kind of numbers we would like to see, but ...
- 7 of the 21 critical languages are Indo-European
- Not always clear that we pick the best wenn-equivalent
- But some convincing cases, e.g. Koyraboro Senni



## Koyraboro Senni, Songhay, Mali

#### Koyraboro Senni Songhai (Songhay, Africa)



Levels drawn at 29-32-35%

#### A counter-example

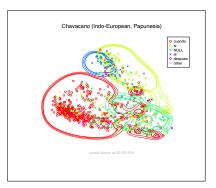
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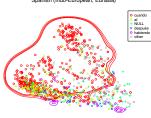
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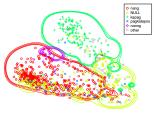
- Our data suggests one-counter example, the Spanish-based creole Chavacano (Philipines):
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- Maybe not a case of an interrogative grammaticalizing into a subordinator but rather the creole recruiting words from the lexifier language to express distinctions that are salient in the substrate languages?



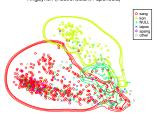
#### Spanish (Indo-European, Eurasia)



#### Tagalog (Austronesian, Papunesia)



Hiligaynon (Austronesian, Papunesia)



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- Also, we should have a better way of constructing interpretable concepts without resorting to single, arbitary languages
- Token-based typology is still useful for discovery and tentative generalizations!

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- Are there languages where the existential/universal contrast is made in the future tense, or is this always expressed by universal WHEN?

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van der Meer, Jaime Montova Samamé, Michael Müller, Saliha Muradoglu, Kelsey Neely, Johanna Nickel, Miina Norvik, Cheryl Akinyi Oluoch, Jesse Peacock, India O. C. Pearey, Naomi Peck, Stephanie Petit, Sören Pieper, Mariana Poblete, Daniel Prestipino, Linda Raabe, Amna Raja, Janis Reimringer, Sydney C. Rey, Julia Rizaew, Eloisa Ruppert, Kim K. Salmon, Jill Sammet, Rhiannon Schembri, Lars Schlabbach, Frederick W. P. Schmidt, Amalia Skilton, Wikaliler Daniel Smith, Hilário de Sousa, Kristin Sverredal, Daniel Valle, Javier Vera, Judith Voß, Tim Witte, Henry Wu, Stephanie Yam, Jingting Ye, Maisie Yong, Tessa Yuditha, Roberto Zariquiey, Robert Forkel, Nicholas Evans, Stephen C. Levinson, Martin Haspelmath, Simon J. Greenhill, Quentin D. Atkinson & Russell D. Gray. 2023. Grambank reveals the importance of genealogical constraints on linguistic diversity and highlights the impact of language loss. Science Advances 9(16). eadg6175. doi:10.1126/sciadv.adg6175.

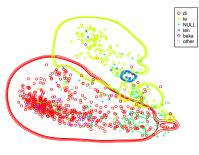
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# Sranan Tongo, English-based creole (Suriname)

#### Sranan Tongo (Indo-European, South America)



Levels drawn at 29-32-35

- Semantic map similar to German
  - di similar to German als
  - te to wenn
- Old Sranan in addition has datem

# Early Sranan temporal clauses

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- Grammaticalized as a clearly dem-based relativizer, possibly in correlative structures (Bruyn, 1995, 185)

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- Possible influence from Ewe substrate, which also has a proximal demonstrative as relativizer
- Extended to the temporal domain, but only definite contexts
- Universal WHEN is te, which is tantalizingly similar to the interrogative (o)ten, but not related according to Bruyn
- Still, a clear case of a relativizer turned temporal subordinator that is based on a demonstrative stem and only has a definite reading
- The literature reports a new trend of creating relativizers from interrogatives in Sranan, though not (yet?) for time