

‘Also’ in Ishkashimi: Additive Particle and Sentence Connector*

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The paper discusses the distribution and meaning of the additive particle *-məs* in Ishkashimi. *-məs* receives different semantic associations while staying in the same syntactic position. Thus, structurally combined with an object, it can semantically associate with the focused object or with the whole focused VP; similarly, combined with the subject it can semantically associate with the focused subject and with the whole focused sentence.

Keywords: Ishkashimi, focus, additive particle, bracketing paradox

1 Introduction

This paper deals with the interaction between information structure and word order in Ishkashimi¹. In particular the paper investigates the distribution and meaning of an additive particle *-məs*, comparable to English ‘also/even’. It appears that *-məs* is able to receive different semantic associates in one and the same syntactic position. When attached to the object, *-məs* can semantically associate with the focused object-DP, the whole focused VP, and in some cases even with the focused verb. Similarly *-məs* attached to the subject can semantically associate with the focused subject, the whole focused sentence, and the

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¹ The data were collected during fieldwork carried out in September 2011 for Project A5 of the SFB 632 “Information structure” in the Badakhshan Province of Tajikistan (the Pamirs). Example (14) stems from a manuscript of Ishkashimi stories collected by Zurbek Abibov.

focused VP. The ability of *-məs* to take wide scope over the VP or TP while being “inside” it presents a structural paradox. The broad VP or TP focus scope cannot be derived compositionally if we assume that in Ishkashimi *-məs* appears below the VP or TP in the structure. Furthermore, Ishkashimi exemplifies a crosslinguistic tendency for some focus particles to prefer nominal hosts, independently of their semantic scope. Similar problems have been attested in other languages: Tangale (Hartmann & Zimmermann 2007), Japanese (Kotani 2009), Vietnamese (Hole 2008), Turkish (Kamali & Karvovskaya in preparation) — they all raise the question as to what extent the focus association can be explained by the syntactic notions of scope and C-command.

The ability of focus particles to associate with focus (as defined in Krifka (2006), an operator associates with focus if its interpretation depends on focus) makes them useful tools for the investigation of syntax-information structure and semantic-information structure interfaces. The standard theories of information structure assume that an informative sentence answers an implicit or explicit question in the discourse. The most prominent part of the sentence (the actual answer) is the focus. The placement of the focus particles can be flexible, but the surface order plays an important role. A focus particle should (precede and) C-command the focus associate, so that the focused part would be in the scope of the operator (Krifka 2006; Zimmermann 2012). Focus indicates the presence of relevant contextually salient alternatives. Additive and additive-scalar particles indicate that at least one other alternative is true for the same sentence (König 1991; Krifka 2006). The sentence topic might be focused as well (contrastive topic); those sentences can answer questions like WHO *did* WHAT opening two sets of alternatives: different participants and different actions.

The following section discusses the language and additive particles in general. Section 2 discusses the distribution of *-məs* in Ishkashimi as well as its associational behavior and the structural mismatches. Section 3 discusses possible ways of dealing with the structural paradox without favoring any particular

one of them. Section 4 discusses the semantics of *-məs* as a sentence connector. Section 5 is the conclusion.

1.1 Language background and focus in Ishkashimi

Ishkashimi belongs to the eastern group of Iranian languages. It is spoken in the Tajik province Badakhshan and in adjacent Afghanistan (the current study is based on the Ishkashimi language of Tajikistan). UNESCO includes Ishkashimi in the “Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger” (Christopher 2010) — the number of speakers is estimated to be 1000. Ishkashimi is a non-written language; the dominant language of the area is Tajik.

The basic word order in Ishkashimi is SOV. As shown in (1) this word order is used in a broad focus context². There is no specific morphological marking for focus, but the word order might change depending on the information structure of the sentence (Pakhalina 1959).

- (1) Q: ‘What’s new?’
 A: Az-m mošin xərənd-ok
 1SG-1SG car bought-PERF
 ‘I bought a car.’³
 #Mošin-m az xərənd-ok
 #Mošin-m xərənd-ok az

Generally, all focused constituents in Ishkashimi can be in a position immediately preceding the verb. The narrow subject focus is compatible with both

² The following glosses are used: ACC accusative; COMPL complementizer; DAT dative; DEM demonstrative; DUR durative; EZ ezafe; GEN genitive; INF infinitive; M mood; OBJ object; PERF perfective; PL plural; PRT particle; REFL reflexive; SG singular.

³ Ishkashimi exhibits some interesting linguistic phenomena. One of these is the existence of **moving agreement particles** (MAPs) in the past tense (Payne 1980: 438). For example, in (1) the person-number marker appears after the subject and not after the verb. Most often MAPs attach to the first major constituent; they may also appear several times in the clause note. The third person singular marker can be omitted; thus there are no MAPs in (2).

S_FOV and OS_FV word orders, as shown in (2).

(2) Q: ‘Who cooked this food?’

A1: **Lena** ma awqot goxt
Lena DEM food made
‘LENA cooked the food.’

A2: Ma awqot **Lena** goxt
DEM food Lena made
‘LENA cooked this food.’

Narrow focus on the object is compatible with SO_FV word order; speakers occasionally also accept O_FSV .

(3) Q: What did the boy eat?

A1: Zoman **tarbəz** xұл.
boy watermelon ate
‘The boy ate watermelon.’

A2: **Tarbəz** zoman xұл.
watermelon boy ate
‘The boy ate watermelon.’

1.2 Additive and scalar particles

“Focus sensitive particle” is a general term for a “function word” like *only*, *even*, and *also* (König 1991: 10); those words have a large number of semantic and syntactic properties in common in different languages. One of them is association with focus. The contribution of those particles to the sentence meaning depends on the position of the focus in the sentence (Krifka 2006).

- (4) a. Jacob **also** watches FOOTBALL.
b. Jacob **also** WATCHES football.
c. Jacob **even** watches FOOTBALL.

Thus in (4) the presence of *also* changes the **felicity-conditions** of the sentences: (4-a) is FELICITOUS if Jacob watches football and watches something else (the alternatives are generated by the implicit questions in the discourse; thus possible alternatives to *football* in (4-a) are other sports: *volleyball*, *basketball*, etc.), and it is INFELICITOUS if Jacob watches only football. (4-b) is FELICITOUS if Jacob watches football and does something else related to foot-

ball (maybe plays football) and INFELICITOUS if Jacob only watches football. According to König (1991: 62) **additive particles** like ‘also’ entail the corresponding sentence without the particle and introduce a presupposition: at least one of the alternative values under consideration in the context must be true. **Scalar additive particles** like ‘even’ carry the same presupposition as the additive and also involve a scalar ‘conventional implicature’ (König 1991: 68). Thus (4-c) would be FELICITOUS if Jacob watches football and something else related to football and in the given context, football is extreme compared to the other alternatives.

2 The Particle *-məs* in Ishkashimi

A large percentage of Ishkashimi vocabulary has been borrowed from other languages due to intensive language contact. For example, another focus particle *faqat* ‘only’ was borrowed from Persian which in turn borrowed the word from Arabic. Interestingly, *-məs* is not a result of a borrowing. The etymology of *-məs* is Iranian; it is cognate with Avestian *masiiah* ‘bigger’, Middle Persian *meh* (Bartholomae 1904: 1156), and Sogdian *mas* ‘further’ (Durkin-Meisterernst, p.c.). In Ishkashimi, *məs* can be interpreted either as an additive or a scalar additive particle, depending on the context and prosody, cf (5). Some speakers of Ishkashimi use an additional particle *daže* (< Russian) or *hatto* (< Tajik) to stress scalar meaning.

- (5) Mə bibi pə da **koncert-məs** šed.
 1SG.GEN grandmother to DEM.ACC concert-PRT went
 ‘My grandmother **also/even** went to the CONCERT.’

A test for additivity in (6) (adopted from Berger & Höhle (2012)) confirms that *-məs* has the property of additivity⁴:

⁴ The test works as follows: in the context two objects are provided (such as the apple and the apricot in (6)). The question addresses one of the objects, *Did you eat the apple?*, and the answer mentions the other, *I ate the apricot!*, this could be a contradiction, but the addi-

- (6) ... The mother goes away and leaves the child an apple and an apricot. When she returns, she asks if the child ate the apple.
- Q: Did you eat the apple?
- A: Az-əm čwənd-**məs** xúl!
 1SG-1SG apricot-PRT ate
 ‘I ate an apricot as well.’ (meaning: I ate both)

The rest of this section discusses the distribution of *-məs* and its association behavior. I will argue that *-məs* can associate with a constituent (VP or TP) while being structurally inside it and that *-məs* can function both as an additive particle and as a conjunct, coordinating VPs or TPs.

2.1 The particle *-məs*: distribution

If a nominal expression is focused, *-məs* cliticizes to its associate NP, as illustrated in (5) and (6). Syntactically *-məs* can only combine with nominal expressions. It cannot appear after a finite verb. Note that infinitives in Ishkashimi are close to nouns syntactically (Pakhalina 1959: 57), and *-məs* is licensed after infinitives, cf. (7). Other Ishkashimi clitics, for example, the mood marker *-əs* and MAP-s, normally appear after *məs*, cf. (7).

- (7) Aw rənigi gap-du-k-**məs-əs** baisu
 DEM Ryni speak-hit-INF-PRT-M can.3SG
 (She can speak German and Russian.) ‘She/he⁵ can **also/even** speak Ryni (Ishkashimi).’

However, the alignment of *-məs* and MAP-s may vary; in (8) number-person markers appear before *-məs*. Similarly, the object marker *-i* can appear after *-məs* or before, as illustrated in (8)–(9).

tive particle in the answer, *I also ate the apricot!*, changes the semantics of the sentence. It becomes true for both objects (the contribution of the additive meaning component).

⁵ **Third person** pronouns in Ishkashimi are identical to demonstratives (DEM).

- (8) The teacher asked a question. I knew the answer ...
 ... mə amsinf-o-**n-məs** / amsinf-o-**məs-on** pəzind.
 1SG classmate-PL-3PL-PRT / classmate-PL-PRT knew.
 ‘MY CLASSMATES also knew the answer.’
- (9) Q: You bought tomatoes and onions, but you did not buy potatoes?
 A: Az-əm kartoš-**məs-i** / kartoš-**i-məs** xərnəd
 1SG-1SG potatoe-PRT-OBJ / potatoe-OBJ-PRT bought
 ‘I bought potatoes as well.’

2.2 A structural paradox

Example (10) demonstrates narrow object focus. *-məs* is attached to the object, this is similar to (6). A2 demonstrates that subject attachment would be infelicitous in this context.

- (10) Q: Salima is baking bread today. What else is she baking?
 A: Salima **kulča-məs** pacu
 Salima kulcha-PRT bake.3SG
 ‘Salima also bakes KULCHA (a sweet pie).’
 A2: #Salima-**məs kulča** pacu
 intended: ‘Salima also bakes KULCHA.’

Interestingly, (10) is structurally identical to (11), where the semantic associate of *-məs* is the whole VP ‘bakes kulcha’.

- (11) Q: Salima is washing the dishes. What else is she doing?
 A: Salima **kulča-məs pacu**
 Salima kulcha-PRT bake.3SG
 ‘Saima also BAKES KULCHA.’
 A2: *Salima **kulča pacu-məs**
 Intended: ‘Salima also BAKES KULCHA.’

So far we have seen that *-məs* appears to the right of its semantic associate, but this does not happen in (11); the whole VP is in focus, but *-məs* stays inside the VP, and it does not move to its right edge. The syntactic associate of *-məs* in (11) is only the object-NP ‘kulcha’; alignment such as V-*məs* is not possible. We are confronted with a structural paradox as illustrated in (12). The position of the particle is different in the semantic and the syntactic representation of the sentence.

- (12) PF: Salima [_{VP} kulcha_{DP}-*məs* bakes]
 LF: Salima [_{VP} kulcha bakes]-*məs*

2.3 *-məs* as sentence connector: structural paradox revisited

Similar to the VP level, there is a structural paradox at the sentence level. The subject can be the morphological and the semantic host of the additive (13). But attachment to the subject is also possible if the particle associates with the whole sentence focus, cf (14).

- (13) [Lena šir-čoy pəvu_{TP}], [məx-*məs* šir-čoy pəv-on_{TP}].
 Lena milk-tea drink.3SG 1PL-PRT milk-tea drink-2PL
 ‘**Lena** drinks milk tea, and (also) **we** drink milk tea.’
- (14) **Wai mol-*məs*** xi dust-o-i zənyu isu
 DEM husband-PRT REFL hand-PL-OBJ wash.3SG come.3SG
 ‘(One woman cooked pilau and called her husband to come and eat. . .)
and her husband goes to wash his hands.’

If one would just consider the structure of (14), taken without any context such a sentence could answer *QI: Who else went to wash his hands?* However, this is not compatible with the existing discourse. The woman did not go to wash her hands and there were no other people present (sentence (14) is taken from a story). There is no other salient participant who went to wash his hands with the husband; the predicate *went to wash his hands* would not be true for

any other alternative. If the associate of *-məs* is only the subject, the additive meaning component of *-məs* is missing. However, the discourse is well-formed if we translate *-məs* not as ‘also’, but as ‘and’. Let us consider the other possibility, that the associate of *-məs* is the whole TP; *Q2: What happened then?* If the semantic associate of *-məs* is not the subject but the whole sentence, the additive meaning of *-məs* establishes the connection between two things that happened: (i) *the woman invited her husband to eat* and (ii) *what happened after: the husband went to wash his hands*.

This usage of *-məs* is not that surprising if we consider the existing affinity between additives particles and conjunctions; this is noted for instance by König (1991: 65) for Latin, Greek, Russian, and other languages. This affinity is also confirmed by the works of Zeevat & Jasinskaja (2007) and Jacobs (1988), which show that at least in some of their usages English *and* and German *und* can function as additive particles. Jacobs (1988) differentiates between “non-focusing” and “focusing” coordinators (those that interact with Focus-Background alignment). Thus, “focusing” *und* coordinates phrases which must show parallels in their Focus-Background alignment. Zeevat & Jasinskaja (2007) explain the asymmetry between two conjuncts connected with *and* with the help of focus and the “current question in discourse”. The research in this area (including the recent work by Toosarvandani (2010) on ‘but’ in Persian as a two-place focus operator) indicates that the division between conjunctions and particles might not be that clear — in many cases the same item actually fulfills both functions.

(13) and (14) demonstrate the structural ambiguity on the TP level, where *-məs* can take scope over the whole clause and functions as a sentence connector. It is exactly parallel to the ambiguity in (12), where the particle attached to the object connected two VPs.

- (15) PF: [_{TP} Her husband_{DP}-**məs** goes to wash his hands]
 LF: [_{TP} Her husband goes to wash his hands]-**məs**

2.4 Coordinated structures: structural paradox reloaded.

Interestingly, the additive particle *-məs* can appear twice or more in coordinated structures (similar to English ‘both ... and’, ‘either ... or’). König (1991: 66) classifies such cases of “emphatic conjunction” as additional evidence of the affinity between additive particles and conjunctions. The placement of the coordinator seems to follow the rules observed for VP and TP focus association. In (16) the particle attached inside the VP marks **VP coordination**⁶.

- (16) Lena [anglisi-**məs** pəzinu]-t [rənigi-**məs**-s bexou pəzin-uk].
 Lena English-PRT know.3SG-and Ryni-PRT-M want.3SG know-INF
 ‘Lena knows **English**, she (also) wants to know **Ryni** (Ishkashimi).’

Note that the first usage of *-məs* is not additive in the strict sense of the word. It is reminiscent of cataphora as it only corefers with the later *-məs* but does not have an additive meaning component on its own.

2.5 *-məs* to the left of its associate.

There are puzzling cases where *-məs* appears to the left of its associate, in contrast to what has been observed in (10). Thus in (17) *-məs* is attached to the object; the context, however, is supposed to trigger narrow verb focus (note that in (17) the question is only targeting the action).

- (17) Q: What did Usuf do with the book?
 A: Aw **kitob** zughd-ət **kitob-i-məs** / **wani-məs** bəlavd
 DEM book took-and book-OBJ-PRT / DEM.ACC-PRT read
 ‘He took (bought) a book, he also READ this book.’

⁶ See also three occurrences of *-məs*:

- (i) Lena [gola-**məs**-i paced], [čogo-**məs**-i zənud], [auqot-**məs**-i goxt].
 Lena bread-PRT-3SG baked dishes-PRT-3SG washed food-PRT-3SG cooked
 ‘Lena baked the bread, washed the dishes, and cooked the food.’

The structural paradox appears “on two levels”, for the verb and for the VP: structures like (17), where *-məs* takes scope over the verb “from outside”, are parallel to the sentences where *-məs* appears after the subject and takes scope over the VP (18). The associate of *-məs* in (18) is a pronoun referring to the subject of the previous clause; it most probably belongs to the background. This presents a puzzle — an A2 which is exactly parallel in (10) is blocked.

- (18) **Ad čondor** oghad-uk Rən-bo. Ad-**məs** pəzind-uk za
 DEM goat came-PERF Ryn-to DEM-PRT knew-PERF COMPL
 Rənjeon tabjat-gol uk...
 Ryn.people nature-with one
 ‘**This mountain goat** came to Ryn. **And then he** found out that Ryni
 people love nature (are united with nature)...’

(19) is a summary of those cases where the semantic associate of *-məs* differs from its syntactic associate. (19-a) shows the VP association, (19-b) the TP association (sentence connector), (19-c) the coordinated structures, (19-d) and (19-e) are the cases where *-məs* appears to the left of its associate.

- (19) a. PF: SUBJ [_{VP} OBJ_{DP}-*məs* V]
 LF: SUBJ [_{VP} OBJ_{DP} V]-*məs*
 b. PF: [_{TP}SUBJ_{DP}-*məs* OBJ V]
 LF: [_{TP}SUBJ_{DP} OBJ V]-*məs*
 c. PF: SUBJ [_{VP} OBJ_{DP}-*məs* V], [_{VP} OBJ_{DP}-*məs* V]
 LF: SUBJ [_{VP} OBJ_{DP} V]-*məs*, [_{VP} OBJ_{DP} V]-*məs*
 d. PF: SUBJ [_{VP} OBJ_{DP}-*məs* V]
 LF: SUBJ OBJ_{DP} [V]-*məs*
 e. PF: [_{TP}SUBJ_{DP}-*məs* OBJ V]
 LF: SUBJ_{DP} [_{VP} OBJ V]-*məs*

3 Possible Analysis

The observed mismatches between semantic and syntactic association of the particle *-məs* are very interesting from a cross-linguistic perspective. There seems to be a tendency across languages for some focus particles to prefer nominal hosts, independently of their semantic scope. For example, the data strongly resemble the structural paradox in Tangale (Hartmann & Zimmermann 2007: 123), where different narrow foci (object, VP, V) come with identical syntactic surface structures, while the particle *núm* ‘only’ in Tangale can syntactically associate only with DPs. Note the similarity between these two unrelated languages: *-məs* in Ishkashimi shows strictly adnominal behavior, as does Tangale *núm*; similar to Tangale, the surface structure in Ishkashimi is identical for narrow object, VP-, and V-focus. In this case, it becomes problematic to explain the notion of the scope of the focus particles via C-command, at least on the surface. So far no general solution has been proposed to capture this lack of direct mapping between syntactic and semantic interfaces in some languages. In this chapter, I discuss three possible ways of approaching the problem: a phonological effect (without syntactic structure being involved), syntactic movement involving an EPP feature, and mapping between prosody and syntax (focus projection). I will review these approaches, but in this paper I will not adopt any single one of them.

3.1 Phonological process

One of the possible ways of explaining the placement of *-məs* in Ishkashimi is to assume that it is governed by phonological constraints. Thus, in many languages there is a phonological process which can flip the order of two words (Embick & Noyer 2001). A typical example is the Latin conjunction *que*, which does not appear between the conjuncts but embedded inside the conjunct (Embick & Noyer 2001: 575). In case *-məs* were one of these particles, it could be syntactically attached to the VP and could take scope over the VP, but phono-

logically it could be flipped with the object (Merger occurs in Morphology after the Vocabulary Insertion and exchanges structural relations between a clitic and a Morphological Word on the PF). This kind of analysis is assumed by Kotani (2009) for Japanese.

A good test case for this approach seems to be an object which consists of several morphological words. If the process is phonological in nature for the cases where the particle semantically scopes over the VP, one would expect *-məs* to appear inside the object when the object consists of more than one word. As far as my elicitations show this is not the case; cf. (20).

- (20) Lena kruš-i zənud-ət [tort-i bamaza-i ajoib-i_{Obj}]-məs paced.
 Lena dish-OBJ washed-and cake-EZ tasty-EZ great-EZ-PRT baked
 ‘Lena washed the dishes and also baked a wonderful, tasty cake.’

The object in (20)⁷ consists of a noun and two adjectives. However, even in this case, contrary to what the phonological analysis predicts, *-məs* does not appear embedded inside the object but appears after the object. The phonological approach does not make the right predictions for Ishkashimi.

3.2 EPP feature

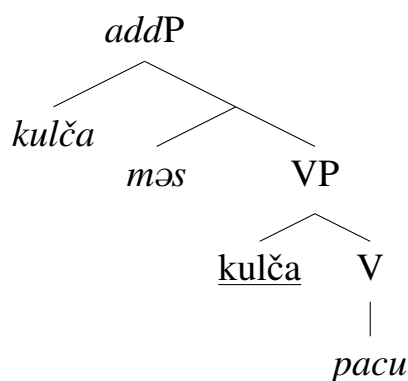
A syntactic analysis for the placement of *-məs* has been proposed by Kamali & Karvovskaya (in preparation); it is inspired by similar analyses by Bayer (1996), Kahnemuyipour & Megerdooian (2010), Kamali (2011). This analysis would assume two different syntactic structures: one for the narrow focus association

⁷ *-məs* appears after the object even when it contains a relative clause:

- (i) Lena kruš-i zənud-ət [tort-i bamaza-i za pə iw xon fri ce
 Lena dish-OBJ washed-and cake-EZ tasty-EZ that in DEM.GEN house COMPL good
 dir-on_{OBJ}] məs-i paced.
 see-3PL PRT-EZ baked.
 ‘Lena washed the dishes and also baked a tasty cake, which her family (in her house)
 loves (lit. good sees).’

and the other for the broad scope of the particle. For narrow object and subject focus, the particle is merged with its associate. In order to obtain VP scope, the particle appears above the VP as proposed by Bayer (1996). A head ‘add’ (*-məs*) merges with the v/VP. Importantly, the addP has an EPP feature which attracts the object NP, thus yielding the order Obj Additive V even in VP association. A parallel analysis is assumed for the TP association. An addP that merges with the TP provides the correct scope while causing the subject to superficially occur to its left.

(21)



There is a group of problems which pertain to differences between Turkish and Ishkashimi, which the analysis does not account for yet (see also Kamali & Karvovskaya (in preparation)). First, structures like (22) are marginally accepted in Ishkashimi. This is a modification of (14) with DOS_FV word order. The sentence appears to be marked but somewhat acceptable for the speakers. However it is ruled out by the analysis, which predicts when the object is scrambled to the beginning of the sentence, *-məs* appears immediately after it.

- (22) Xi dust-o-i **wai mōl-məs** zənyu isu
 REFL hand-PL-OBJ DEM husband-PRT wash.3SG come.3SG
 ‘**And** her husband goes to wash his hands.’

Second⁸, the “optional” object marker *-i* in Ishkashimi can appear after *-məs*, cf. (9). The analysis would have to explain why the case marker can follow the particle having VP scope. Ishkashimi allows both alignments: the object marker can appear after *məs* or precede *məs*. It is not clear if the object is being moved out of the VP after the case marking has been assigned or if the case marking is assigned after the movement and why Ishkashimi can choose between these two strategies (see the order of Merge and Agree application in Müller (2009)).

3.3 Focus projection: mapping IS and prosody

The third way to approach the problem could be to explain the placement of the particle via mapping between information structure and prosody. The way in which *-məs* receives a wider focus than one would predict from its syntactic placement resembles one of the notions of focus projection. It has been argued by Büring (2006) for English that any constituent (not only heads and arguments) can project focus. In certain contexts, for example, even the subject of a transitive verb can project focus, as illustrated in (23) from Büring (2006).

- (23) Q: Why did Helen buy bananas?
 A: [Because JOHN bought bananas_F]

⁸ Additionally one would need to explain some differences between Turkish and Ishkashimi which do not follow directly from the analysis. In Ishkashimi, *-məs* is exclusively adnominal and never appears on the verbs; in Turkish the additive particle can also appear in the post-verbal region. In Ishkashimi, the particle does not appear in sentences with focused intransitive verbs unless there is a ‘dummy’ object like ‘cry’ in (i) (note that this structure does not indicate verb focus; it is contingent on the presence of *-məs*, which requires a nominal host).

- (i) A: You always laugh.
 B: Yes, I do laugh a lot ...
 ... Noiza šid-uk-məs šid-əm.
 But cry-INF-PRT cry-1SG
 ‘...but I also cry.’

Thus the “positional” phenomena has additional “nominality” restriction.

Placement of pitch on JOHN in (23) resembles the sentences where *-məs* syntactically attaches to the subject but semantically receives TP scope. The semantic scope of *-məs* can be as wide as the focus projection can go. One could assume that placement of *-məs* functions similarly to English pitch: the constituent is either focused or is not focused and is new in the discourse (Büring 2006).

This explanation immediately runs into some problems with Ishkashimi. First, although this observation needs to be tested, in sentences like (14), the constituent which has more prosodic prominence seems to be the one before the verb (which would be a mismatch between pitch placement and *-məs* placement). Second, there are sentences like (18) in section 2.5, where *-məs* attaches to the given constituent (subject) instead of to the non-given one (VP). This contradicts the F-marking principles known from English.

A more detailed study of Ishkashimi prosody is needed to see if mapping between these two interfaces can help to explain the particle placement. It might turn out that in terms of sentence melodies, Ishkashimi is a *phrasal* language, similar to Turkish (Güneş to appear) or Hindi (Féry to appear). Thus Güneş (to appear) and Kamali (2011) note that in Turkish, information structure does not really affect the tone alignment. There are only phrasal tones and no tonal marking on the focus/topic. If Ishkashimi turns out to be similar to Turkish, one could argue that the placement of *-məs* is affected by the phrasing rules (for example, Güneş (to appear) claims the ordering of the verb in Turkish is constrained by prosodical phrasing).

4 Semantics of *-məs*: a “Real Focus Particle”

In this section I would like to discuss the properties of *-məs* in its sentence connector function. Note that the differences in the associational behavior of *-məs* in Ishkashimi and *also* in English provide an alternative explanation to some of the phenomena noticed by Matthewson (2006) for St’át’imcets. Thus, Matthewson (2006) explains some unexpected occurrences of *t’it* ‘also’ via cross-linguistic

variation of the presupposition status in the common ground (in St’át’imcets the presuppositions can be in the speaker’s knowledge only). The cases discussed are strongly reminiscent of Ishkashimi examples such as (14) and (16)⁹, where *-məs* attached to the subject takes scope over the whole TP and receives meaning similar to English *and*. The presupposition in this case is ‘something else took place’ which is very easy to accommodate. It is an interesting question if *t’it* in St’át’imcets can function as a sentence connector. The prediction is that *-məs*, being in-between an additive particle and a conjunction would not be infelicitous out of the blue as has been argued for *also* and *too* (Kripke 1999; Tonhauser et al. to appear).

One should not assume that all additives which can serve as sentence connectors have equal semantics. As shown in Kamali & Karvovskaya (in preparation), the sentence connector function of additive *-məs* is different from the very similar additive particle *dA* in Turkish. Crucially, *dA* can mark contrastive topics; as Göksel & Özsoy (2003: 1161) note, in sentences like (24-a) there are two sets of alternatives: people and places. I could not elicit such examples with Ishkashimi, as shown in (24-b):

- (24) a. [LENA_{CT} sinema-ya_F gidi-yor], [BESTE_{CT} **de** konser-e_F
Lena cinema-DAT go-DUR, Beste PRT concert-DAT
(gidi-yor)].
go-DUR
‘Lena is going to the movies **and** Beste is going to a concert.’
- b. #[FARZONA_{CT} teatr šed] [ZUHRO_{CT}-**məs** kino_F šed].
Farzona theater went Zuhro-PRT cinema went
Intended: ‘FARZONA went to the theater and ZUHRO went to the cinema.’
Comment: they should do the same thing if you want to use *-məs*, as in (24-c).

⁹ According to Matthewson (2006: 69), a sentence in St’át’imcets such as ‘Henry is **also** going to Paris at Christmas’ can be uttered in a situation where “[the] addressee has no knowledge of anyone planning a trip to Paris”.

- c. [Farzona oghad] [Zuhro-**məs** dəštärək oghad].
 Farzona came Zuhro-PRT later came
 ‘Farzona came, **and** Zuhro came later.’

It appears that *-məs* in Ishkashimi does not tolerate double contrast (different participants, different actions). This observation shows that there are significant differences between the members of the family of “additive particles” which also serve as sentence connectors (TP scope). We observe following groups of additives: (i) additives which can be used to conjoin sentences, *-məs*, (*also* in Zeevat & Jasinskaja (2007)); (ii) additives which can be used in contrastive topic contexts when the comment part is parallel (German stressed *auch*, English *too* (Krifka 1999)); (iii) Additives which can be used in contrastive topic contexts in which the comment is not parallel (Turkish *dA*, which simultaneously belongs to (i) and (ii)). The question would remain whether there is another group, (iv) additives which cannot be sentence connectors.

Note that the particles grouped in (i) do not behave exactly alike. On the one hand, (24-b) could be well-formed in English: *Q: So, how was the evening? Did the students go somewhere? A: Well, yes. Lena went to the cinema. Also, Beste went to the theater* (modification of Zeevat & Jasinskaja (2007)). On the other hand, (14) would not be well-formed with *also*. It seems that in the sentence-connector function, the additive particles undergo some rules of discourse organization which would also apply for conjunctions.

Zimmermann (2012) suggests that those cases where association with focus is strict and the additive gives a comment on the immediate question under discussion (QUD) (see also Beaver & Clark 2008, Roberts 2004) are special instances of the general pattern (Bole, Ngizim, Serbo-Croatian). In this sense, *-məs* in contrast to *dA* can be called a “real focus particle”: it can only give a direct answer to QUD; it can not refer to the higher structures in the discourse tree and show that the question under discussion has been only partially answered.

5 Conclusion

In this paper I have given an overview of some properties of the additive particle *-məs* in Ishkashimi. The main observation is that the semantic association of *-məs* does not correspond to its syntactic association. Crucially, *-məs* can have broader scope than one would predict from its syntactic placement. We have observed that the distribution of *-məs* is parallel at the VP and the TP level. *-məs* can appear inside the constituent and have semantic scope over it (attachment to the object inside the VP and to the subject inside the TP). *-məs* can appear in one sentence several times and coordinate VPs or TPs; in this case the first occurrence of *-məs* will be more like a cataphora than an additive. In some cases, *-məs* adjoined to the subject or to the object can scope to its “right” and take scope over the VP or V externally.

The differences in the associational behavior of *-məs* in Ishkashimi predict problems with elicitation including felicity judgments. While interpreting a sentence which contains *-məs*, the speaker chooses between different possible strategies. For example, if *məs* is adjacent to the subject, the consultant can choose between narrow-subject or whole-focus association. In the first case, the subject cannot be the only unique participant, but in the second case it can (see sentences like (14) in section 2). Thus, the “cancellation test” (Renans et al. 2011) is not really applicable for *-məs* when it is adjacent to the subject and the object. One more interesting property of *-məs* as a sentence connector is that it is blocked from occurring in partial answers to QUDs, in contrast to additive particles in Turkish or German. It turns out that in this function, *-məs* is more similar to English *also*. My paper does not provide a solution for the observed structural paradox. I give a preliminary overview of the theories which could explain the data. One could approach the problem as a phonological phenomena (Embick & Noyer 2001), a syntactic movement (Kamali & Karvovskaya in preparation) or maybe even a result of syntax-prosody mapping. Finding a solution will be the subject of future research.

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