An enclitic coordinator in Christian Urmi NENA

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Context

- Project *Prosodically determined dislocation of coordinators* $\rightarrow$ investigating coordinators that are not placed between the two conjuncts but inside the second or both
- Case study of enclitic coordinator =*da* in Northeastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) variety spoken by Christians from Urmi (Iran)

The coordinator

=da:

- with focal host: additive ('also', 'even')
- with topical host: contrastive, "onset of a distinct section of discourse" (Khan 2016: 406)
- prosodic differences between two uses: usually nuclear stress vs. non-nuclear stress
- syntactic differences: focal host can be anywhere in the clause, topical host rather towards the beginning
- borrowed from Azerbaijani, where it has the same two uses, enclitic particle with the same functions and probably similar syntactic behaviour seems to be areally common (also found in other NENA varieties, Armenian, Kurdish, Turkish (Göksel/Kerslake: 441-442; Khan 2008: 347-349; Matras 2022: 384, 387))

Data

- Collection of 73 orally narrated texts in the grammar of Khan (2016), transcribed and basic prosodic annotation (intonation group and stress (nuclear vs. non-nuclear))
- Took into account all occurrences of $=da$ cliticized to element with non-nuclear stress $\rightarrow$ 344 occurrences

Topic marker or coordinator?

Topic marker?

- Marker on topical element of every conjunct? → no, only last conjunct

(1) *[tre dan-ə   ṭuyatə   vade=la]   [tre dan-ə   ɟu=məšxa*
two DET.PART-PL grilled_meat.PL do.PROG=COP.3SG.F two DET.PART-PL in=oil(M)

    kaluye=la]   [tre dan-ə=da   bə-švaḳe=la   nayə]
fry.PROG=COP.3SG.F two DET.PART-PL=PART PROG-leave.INF=COP.3SG.F raw.PL

'She grills two of them. She fries two in oil. She leaves two raw.'

- Only used with topical elements? → no

(2) *'ayba-xina=da   fur'un   bitayə=lə*
side(F)-other=PART pharaoh(M) come.PROG=COP.3SG.M

'(He musters all the army when he receives this letter. He musters the army.) On the other side Pharaoh approaches.'

Topic marker or coordinator?

Coordinator?
- Cannot occur together with other (monosyndetic) coordinator? $\rightarrow$ no (but only found with *'u=*)

(3) **'u=**+*'Axiḳar=**da** ḳošun +jumme-lə*
and=Axiqar=PART army(F) gather.PST.3PL.DO-3SG.M.SU

   'and Axiqar has mustered the army.'

- Gapping possible? $\rightarrow$ yes

(4) *['at ḳa=diyy-i pisuyta p̌ṯ=od-ət] ['ana=**da** ḳa=diyy-ux]*
2SG to=GEN-1SG badness(F) FUT=do.PRS-2SG.M 1SG=PART to=GEN-2SG.M

   'You will do me harm, and I to you.'

Position in the clause

- Annotated occurrences for position relative to beginning of sentence and beginning of intonation group, counted in words and constituents, as well as type of host
- Results:
    - Attaches to adverbs, NPs, numerals, particles, PPs, predicates, pronouns
    - 253 of 344 occurrences ($=$ 74%) after first constituent of intonation group ($\approx$ first constituent of clause) $\rightarrow$ but what about the rest?

(5)   *[xacma   mən=dan=cačal-ə]=**da**   bərrəxšə=na*
       some   from=DEM.PL.OBL=bald-PL=COORD   go.PROG=COP.3PL

       'Some of the bald men go off.'

(6)   *['é   húri#pári   xíta]=**da**   +šadùr-o-lə*
       DEM.F   fairy(F)   other.F=COORD   send.PROG-3SG.F.OBJ-3SG.M.SUBJ

       'and he sends the other nymph.'

Position in the clause: not after first constituent

1. Translated as 'also' or 'even' or added to *ham* **'also' for emphasis (27 occurrences)**
$\rightarrow$ does not have the function of a coordinator

Position in the clause: not after first constituent

2. After one constituent and some other element

a) Conjunction + one constituent (17 occurrences)

→ =*da* never attaches to conjunctions

(7) *hal*　　*[nob-ət*　　　*diyy-i]*=**da**　　　*+maṭə-Ø*　　　*xina*　*xəšca*
　　 until　 turn(M)-EZ　 GEN-1SG=COORD　 arrive.PRS-3SG.M　 PART　 darkness(M)

　　　 vayə=lə
　　　 be.PROG=COP.3SG.M

　　 'Before my turn arrives, it will be dark.'

b) Discourse particle + one constituent (10 occurrences)

→ =*da* can only attach to the particles *hi* 'yes' and *la* 'no'

(8) *+yanə*　*[kalya]*=**da**　　　*c=at-i-va*　　　*'atxa*
　　 PART　 meat_fat=COORD　 HAB-come-3PL?-PC　 so

　　 '(So meat was cooked in a saucepan with meat fat.) That is to say, the meat fat was
　　 produced thus.'

Position in the clause: not after first constituent

c) Adverb + one constituent (4 occurrences)
→ =da generally does not seem to attach to *balcət* 'perhaps' and *adi(yya)* 'now'

(9) 'adiyya [rīš-šita]=**da**   bitayə-la
     now   head-year=COORD   come.PROG-3SG.F

     'Now, New Year is approaching.'

Position in the clause: not after first constituent

3. Inside of complement clause (11 occurrences)
→ mostly with 'say' (direct speech?), but also 'know' and 'want'

(10) *mərr-a*   *['annə=**da***   *nay-ə=na]*
      say.PRS-3SG.F   DEM.3PL=COORD   raw-PL=COP.3PL

      'She said "These are raw."'

(11) *+byayə=na*   *[nura=**da***   *tap-i-lə*
      want.PROG=COP.3PL   fire(M)=COORD   light-3PL.SUBJ-3SG.M.OBJ

      xut='aḳl-u]
      under=leg(F)-POSS.3SG.M

      'They want to light the fire under his legs'

Position in the clause: not after first constituent

4. Inside constituent (17 occurrences)

- Concerns only NPs
- Most cases after (complex) quantifier

(12) *xa=p̌ərça*   *xurrac* *dəryə=na* *ḳat-o*
  one=small_quantity(M) food(F) put.RES.M=COP.3PL to-3SG.F

  *[xa=p̌ərça=**da***   *laxma]*
  one=small_quantity(M)=COORD bread(M)

'They have laid for her a tiny amount of food and a tiny piece of bread.'

$\rightarrow$ Does =*da* attach not to the first constituent but the first phrase?

Position in the clause: not after first constituent

Hypothesis: =da attaches to the first phrase

- Compatible with most occurrences
- Counterexamples:
    - simple quantifiers heterogeneous behaviour, generally do not take
      =*da* themselves:

(13) a. *cullə*=**da**   *'an*=+*sarbaz-ə*   *ṱ*=*iva*   *mənn-u*
          all=COORD DEM=soldier-PL REL=COP.3PL.PST with-3SG.M

          'All the soldiers who were with him'

      b. *cullə naš-ə-t*   *dunyə*=**da**   +*jmitə*=*la*
          all   man(M)-PL-EZ   world(F)=COORD gather.RES=COP.3SG.

          'Everybody (lit. all people of the world) is gathered.'

Position in the clause: not after first constituent

- Counterexamples:
  - one occurrence between demonstrative and noun, while in all other occurrences of demonstrative + noun after noun

(14) a. *['annə=da   'axun-vay] le=na   praša   m=+uydalə*
DEM.PL=COORD brother-PL NEG=COP.3PL separate.INF from=RECP

'These brothers could not be distinguished from one another.'

b. *['annə   vard-ə]=da   +ǯmiǯə=na.*
DEM.PL flower-PL   wither.RES=COP.3PL

'And the flowers have withered.'

Position in the clause: not after first constituent

- Counterexamples:
    - between noun and adjective (2 occurrences)

(15) *['a=yala=**da**   zdaroviy   šaṗir-a   +ram-a]   har   +tarra   +'av*
     DEM.PROX=boy(M)=COORD   healthy   beautiful-M   high-M   just   door(M)   DEM.M

      ɟu=ptaxt-u
      in=open.NMLZ-POSS.3SG

     'When that healthy, handsome and tall youth opened the door.'

Summary

- =*da* can have the function of an additive particle also when host does not bear nuclear stress
- As a coordinator, =*da* attaches to first constituent/phrase of intonation group → if first constituent: 33 occurrences do not fit; if first phrase: ≈ 20 occurrences do not fit
- Conjunctions, discourse particles and some adverbs do not count as constituents or phrases
- Can appear inside complement clause

→ Shows that coordinator is primarily sensitive to syntactic structure
→ 4,7% of occurrences cannot be explained neither as being the first constituent nor being the first phrase → Other function? Errors in spontaneous speech?

Conclusion

- $=da$ as a coordinator is edge-oriented (as one would expect) and sensitive to syntactic structure
- Polyfunctionality makes clear-cut analysis difficult
- Would be interesting to compare the behaviour of the coordinator with the source language Azerbaijani and other languages of the area

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