Rara & Rarissima —
Collecting and interpreting unusual characteristics of human languages
Leipzig (Germany), 29 March - 1 April 2006

Invited speakers

Larry Hyman (University of California, Berkeley)
Frans Plank (Universität Konstanz)
Ian Maddieson (University of California, Berkeley)
**Daniel L. Everett** (University of Manchester)

Objective

Universals of language have been studied extensively for the last four decades, allowing fundamental insight into the principles and general properties of human language. Only incidentally have researchers looked at the other end of the scale. And even when they did, they mostly just noted peculiar facts as "quirks" or "unusual behavior", without making too much of an effort at explaining them beyond calling them "exceptions" to various rules or generalizations.

Rarissima and rara, features and properties found only in one or very few languages, tell us as much about the capacities and limits of human language(s) as do universals. Explaining the existence of such rare phenomena on the one hand, and the fact of their rareness or uniqueness on the other, should prove a reasonable and interesting challenge to any theory of how human language works.

Themes

A suggested (but not exhaustive) list of relevant themes is:

- examples of rara from various languages
- examples of rara from all subfields of linguistics
- distribution and areal patterning
- the meaning of rara for linguistic theory
- the importance of rara for historical linguistics
- the concept of rara and its role in the history of linguistics
- methods for establishing and finding rara
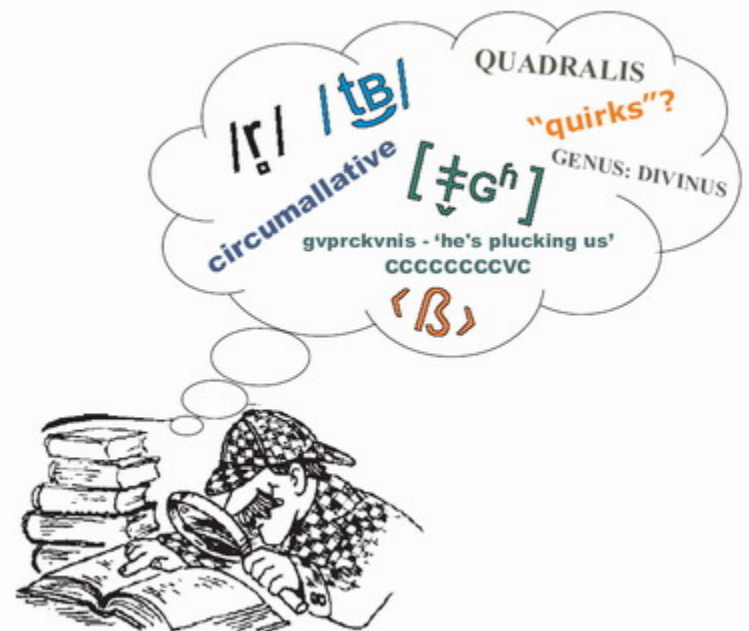
Local Organizers

Jan Wohlgemuth, Michael Cysouw, Orin Gensler, David Gil

The conference will be held in the lecture hall(s) of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig and adjacent buildings.

Registration and front desk will be at the Max Planck Institute.

Participants are required to make their own travel arrangements to and from Leipzig. Visitors from abroad should make sure to meet the entry requirements for Germany / the European Union and have a valid visa (the normal tourist visa is sufficient). [Check here to see whether you need a visa for Germany.]

Invited (plenary) speakers

Timeframe: 90 minutes of presentation and discussion.

Frans Plank: 3rd Person Plural in Distancing Pronominal Address for Individuals: Rare by Chance or Necessity?
Larry Hyman: Affixation by Place of Articulation: Rare and mysterious
Ian Maddieson: Phonetic Rara (lecture in memory of Peter Ladefoged)
Daniel L. Everett: Case studies of rara: the general vs the specific in the formation of American linguistics and philosophy

(abstracts see below)

Accepted papers

Timeframe: 30 minutes of presentation, plus 15 minutes of discussion.

This is a tentative schedule and subject to change.
Please don't forget to check back shortly before the conference for an up-to-date version.

Slot - Day Time	MPI EVA Lecture Hall		BioCity Lecture Hall	
	Name	Title	Name	Title
		Session: Number and Reduplication		Session: General Issues I
01 - 29/3 1400-1445	Jeff Good	Rarum begets rarum: A rare clitic and morphosyntactic reduplication in Chechen and Ingush. [pdf]	Jan Rijkhof	Rara and Linguistic Theory. [pdf]
02 - 29/3 1450-1535	Hein van der Voort	Reduplication of person suffixes in Kwaza (isolate, Brazil). [pdf]	Kaius Sinnemäki	Languages with SOV word order and no morphological marking of core arguments. [pdf]
03 - 29/3 1600-1645	Sebastian Nordhoff	The Subtractive Plural Morpheme in Sinhala. [pdf]	Matthew Baerman	Tracking the amphisbaenic paradigm: morphological polarity. [pdf]
PL - 29/3 1700-1830	Frans Plank	3rd Person Plural in Distancing Pronominal Address for Individuals: Rare by Chance or Necessity?		
		Session: Phonetics/Phonology I		Session: Negation
04 - 30/3 0900-	Didier Demolin &	Voiceless implosives: a comparison between South American and African	Christiane Pilot-Raichoor	The Dravidian zero negative : conceptualisation and diachronic context

0945	Marie Vuillermet	languages. [pdf]		of its morphogenesis. [pdf]
05- 30/3 0950-1035	Christian DiCanio	The Phonetics of Laryngealization in Takean Thong Chong. [pdf]	Matti Miestamo	Negatives without negators. [pdf]
	Session: Phonetics/Phonology II		*Session: Agreement/Tracking I*	
06 - 30/3 1100-1145	Pavel Iosad	Right at the Left Edge: Initial Consonant Mutations in the World's Languages. [pdf]	Anna Berge	Unexpected non-anaphoric marking in Aleut. [pdf]
07 - 30/3 1150-1235	Siri Tuttle	Syllabic obstruents in Ahtna Athabaskan. [pdf]	Peter Schmidt	Agreeing adverbials: rare but (mostly) areal. [pdf]
	Session: Lexical Classes		*Session: Agreement/Tracking II*	
08 - 30/3 1400-1445	Matthias Gerner & Walter Bisang	Classifiers in Weining Ahmao: a fully inflectual system in an isolating language. [pdf]	Gunther De Vogelaer & Johan van der Auwera	When typological rara become productive: the extension of grammatical agreement in Dutch dialects. [pdf]
09 - 30/3 1450-1535	Teresa McFarland (paper read by Christian DiCanio)	Ideophones and templatic morphology in Totonaco de Filomeno Mata. [pdf]	Ruth Singer	Mawng lexicalized agreement in typological perspective. [pdf]
	Session: Lexical Classes (cont.)		*Session: Agreement/Tracking II (cont.)*	
10 - 30/3 1600-1645	Dmitry Idiatov	Rare and nonexistent interrogative pro-word types: interrogative pro-verbs and Co. [pdf]	Tom Güldemann	"Janus-headed" nominals: the morphosyntax of agreement in Taa. [pdf]
PL - 30/3 1700-1830	Larry Hyman	Affixation by Place of Articulation: Rare and mysterious [pdf]		

	Session: Case & Roles I		Session: Phonetics/Phonology III	
11 - 31/3 0900-0945	Seppo Kittilä	Ablative as a marker of benefaction. [pdf]	Urmas Sutrop	Ternary oppositions, Estonian three-way quantity contrast, and the Baltic polytonic Sprachbund. [pdf]
12 - 31/3 0950-1035	Sylvie Voisin	An uncommon type of valency operator in Wolof. [pdf]	Johannes Helmbrecht	The accentual system of Hocank (Winnebago) - a typological rarity. [pdf]
	Session: Case & Roles II		Session: Phonetics/Phonology IV	
13 - 31/3 1100-1145	Søren Wichmann	A cross-linguistically rare case system in Tlapanec. [pdf]	Didier Demolin	The production of bilabial trills. [pdf]
14 - 31/3 1150-1235	Michael Daniel	Monotransitivity in 'give'-constructions (exploring the periphery of ditransitives). [pdf]	Maria Butskhrikidze	The nature of consonant sequences in Modern Georgian. [pdf]
	Session: Agreement/Tracking III		Session: Numerals	
15 - 31/3 1400-1445	Alice Harris	Explaining Exuberant Agreement. [pdf]	Harald Hammarström	Rarities in Numeral Systems. [pdf]
16 - 31/3 1450-1535	Denis Creissels	Person agreement in Akhvakh [pdf]	Thomas Hanke	The rarity scale of addition. [pdf]
	Session: Lexical Semantics		Session: General Issues II	
17 - 31/3 1600-	Mari Bogatkin-Uusküla &	The puzzle of two terms for red in Hungarian. [pdf]	Frederick Newmeyer	Accounting for Rare Typological Features in Formal Syntax: Three Strategies and

1645	Urmas Sutrop			Some General Remarks. [pdf]
PL - 31/3 1700-1830	Ian Maddieson	Phonetic rara *Lecture in memory of Peter Ladefoged*		
	Session: Case & Roles I		**Session: Verbs and Events I**	
18 - 01/4 0900-0945	Márcia Cançado	Talking about Agents and Beneficiaries in Brazilian Portuguese. [pdf]	Bernhard Wälchli	Positive and negative rarities in the cross-linguistic encoding of motion events. [pdf]
19 - 01/4 0950-1035	Andrej Malchukov	"Quirky case": cross-linguistically rare phenomena in case-marking. [pdf]	Marian Klamer & František Kratochvíl	Classifying events and referents: Rarissima in Abui verbs. [pdf]
	Session: Case & Roles II		**Session: Verbs and Events II**	
20 - 01/4 1100-1145	Richard Rhodes	A unique grammatical relation in Algonquian syntax. [pdf]	Katharina Haude	Nominal tense in Movima. [pdf]
21 - 01/4 1150-1235	Nicole Kruspe	Split marking in Semelai. [pdf]	Boštjan Dvořák & Ilse Zimmermann	Imperative Subordination in Slovenian. [pdf]
	Session: Historical Linguistics		**Session: Verbs and Events III**	
22 - 01/4 1400-1445	Orin Gensler	Shared quirks, ancient areality, and homelands: A case study from Afroasiatic. [pdf]	Valentin Goussev & Maria Brykina	Three Rara from Nganasan. [pdf]
23 - 01/4 1450-	Balthasar Bickel	What favors the development of rara? A Himalayan case study. [pdf]	Leena Kelkar-Stephan	Future to express habitual actions in the past or present, and past to express

1535				immediate future! [pdf]
	Session: General Issues III		**Session: General Issues IV**	
24 - 01/4 1600-1645	Michael Cysouw	The importance of rara for a theory of linguistics [pdf]	Jan Wohlgemuth	Rare today – gone tomorrow
PL - 01/4 1700-1830	Daniel L. Everett	Case studies of rara: the general vs the specific in the formation of American linguistics and philosophy *Lecture in memory of Peter Ladefoged*		

Alternates:

1. Ding, Picus: 'Nephew'='Grandson' and 'Brothers'='Sisters': Unusual kinship terms in two Sino-Tibetan languages [pdf]
2. Gil, David: Highly Associational Languages
3. Olesya Khanina: Rara in the desiderative domain: hints for the theory. [pdf]

Booklet of abstracts

Plenaries

Lecture in memory of Peter Ladefoged

Case studies of rara: the general vs the specific in the formation of American linguistics and philosophy

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In this presentation I will consider rare sounds and rare constructions from Amazonian languages, drawing from my own and others' field research. I present a case for a return to a Boasian and Jamesian view of science, a view at once complementary to and counterbalancing for the 'move away from Boas' that has led to modern theoretical linguistics, functional linguistics, and typology.

Early American linguistics was shaped by the concerns of Franz Boas and his students (e.g. Edward Sapir, Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict) to document minority cultures and languages, taking for granted their equality with European languages. To better establish their equality, a great deal of effort was expended on demonstrating what was unique to or distinctive about each language and culture studied. I understand this focus on the 'genius' of each language to be the essence of American Descriptivism. This concern for the particulars of cultures and languages was a direct outgrowth of the philosophy of American Pragmatism, which developed principally from the work of W. James, C.S. Peirce, and J. Dewey, Boas's colleague and friend at Columbia University. In its turn, American Pragmatism was an outgrowth of American Indian philosophy, joined with European philosophy and American 'pioneering spirit' (though far too much has been made of the latter's philosophical importance). Subsequent American philosophy and American linguistics abandoned their indigenous roots and returned with a vengeance to the logical positivism and Structuralism of Europe.

In this talk I examine the following cases of rara: (i) the discovery and treatment of onset-sensitive stress in Piraha; (ii) the discovery of object-initial languages in Carib; and (iii) the discovery of non-configurational languages in Australia contrasted with the non-recursive system I have claimed to exist for Piraha. I will argue that the 'culture of truth' cultivated in non-American Indian American and European philosophies has led to a curious state of ambivalence towards rara and that in general non-scientific considerations determine which rara make the scientific agenda and which do not. We want to know how they fit, but they don't fit. And their lack of fit bothers our desire for truth. This will help us understand why so many anthropologists have criticized Boas for collecting disjointed Kwakiutl texts.

Affixation by Place of Articulation: Rare and mysterious

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The Niger-Congo languages of Africa are well-known for the complexity of their verb extension systems. In subgroups as far apart as Bantu and Atlantic, a verb root may be extended by several derivational suffixes marking such notions as causative, applicative, reciprocal, and passive. There may also be suffixes marking middle voice, pluractionality, or various inflectional categories (tense, aspect, mood, polarity). A rather complex example comes from the Eastern Bantu language, Ciyao (Ngunga 2000):

| taam-uk-ul-igw-aasy-an-il-a | 'cause each other to be unseated for/at' | (cf. | /taam-/ | 'sit') |

sit-tr-rev-pass-cause-rec-appl-infl

The Ciyao example shows that multiple suffixes can combine to form derived stems with no apparent principled upper limit, many Northwest Bantu (NWB) and other more westerly Niger-Congo languages impose prosodic constraints on the stem. The most common such constraints involves an upper limit of syllables, e.g. four in Yaka, Punu (NWB); three in Koyo, Basaa (NWB); two in Mankon (Grassfields Bantu). In addition, whereas all consonants can appear in all positions in stem-unrestricted languages such as Ciyao, the same westerly languages tend to restrict the inventory and combinatorics of consonants in non-stem-initial position.

In this talk I will be concerned with the morphological consequences of such phonological constraints. Not surprisingly, if there is an upper limit on the number of syllables permitted, there may not be enough room for a suffix or suffixes to be added to certain verb bases. Much more surprising, however, is what happens when the sequence of non-initial consonants is constrained by place of articulation. In Tiene (NWB), for example, stems are maximally $C_1VC_2VC_3V$ (Ellington 1977). In addition, C_2 must be coronal (alveolar or palatal), while C_3 must be noncoronal (labial or velar). This works out fine in the following example, where the C_2 of the root is alveolar and the C_3 of the stative extension is velar:

faasa 'drive through' → fas-ak-a   'be driven through'

However, in the following example, the C_2 of the root is velar and the C_3 of the causative extension is alveolar:

lóka 'vomit' → lósek-ɛ 'cause to vomit'   (expected: *lók-es-ɛ)

As a result of the place restrictions, the /s/ of the causative occurs as C_2, i.e. preceding root /k/, which appears as C_3. In both examples, the stem has the shape CVsVk-V, but two outputs are obtained in different ways.

What this means is that an extension may be suffixed vs. infixed depending on its place of articulation and/or that of the base to which is affixed.

This is highly unusual – and mysterious – and yet I have found such phenomena in two separate Niger-Congo language clusters: (i) the Teke languages, including Tiene, spoken in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Congo-Brazzaville and Gabon; (ii) the Central Plateau group of Nigeria, e.g. Izere (Wolff & Meyer-Bahlburg 1979, Gerhardt 1984, Blench 2000) and Birom (Bouquiaux 1970, Blench 2005). Since these groups have independently innovated very similar distribution patterns and infixation by place of articulation, the questions that naturally arise are how did the coronal-noncoronal sequential constraint come into being-and why?

There seem to be two logical possibilities: (i) The sequential constraint is an historical "accident": Earlier statistically skewed distributions by place of articulation, which may have had to do with noncoronal consonants being more prevalent in outlying suffixes, have been regularized through analogy. (ii) The sequential constraint is principled: There is a phonological motivation for coronals to precede noncoronals in prosodic constituents.

In my talk I will show that the first hypothesis cannot be correct for several reasons. This leads me therefore to consider different explanations as to why coronals might tend to precede noncoronals in the way described.

Lecture in memory of Peter Ladefoged

Phonetic rara

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This talk, dedicated to the memory of Peter Ladefoged, will take up some of the issues raised by the occurrence of rare phonetic segments.

In Ladefoged & Everett's 1996 paper 'The status of phonetic rarities' the authors suggest that "two types of features, those required for widespread phonological processes, and those that specify phonetic rarities" should be distinguished. The implicit prediction here is that rare phonetic phenomena employ different resources from common ones (rather than unfamiliar combinations of familar features). This premise will be examined in the light of data from cross-language surveys and on individual languages, particularly the Chapakuran languages examined by L&E which exemplify the celebrated dental stop with bilabial trilled release. It will be shown that background assumptions about segmentation, contrast and phonetic classification play a role in creating the impression that rare segments use distinct resources. Further attention should also be given to the factor of variation in production. Small variations along familiar articulatory dimensions can produce quite different outputs corresponding to the 'same' segment. When such variability of production is taken into account all languages have phonetic rarities.

3rd Person Plural in Distancing Pronominal Address for Individuals:
Rare by Chance or Necessity?

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Given that something is humanly possible for homo sapiens sapiens loquens, i.e., is not proscribed by absolute linguistic or also cognitive universals, it may be found to be frequent or rare across languages, or of course also evenly distributed. Frequency and rarity can be due to chance or necessity. Something will be rare by chance, linguistically speaking, if a speech community is not successful, and something will be frequent if a speech community is successful, in surviving and spreading, or becoming so dominant as to be able to pass on their own speech peculiarities to other speech communities it is in contact with. Frequency and rarity by linguistic necessity are commonly accounted for in terms of structural complexity: what is more complex, in one way or another (relating to storage, production, or perception of forms and constructions), will supposedly be rarer than what is less complex. Something can also be frequent or rare by historical-linguistic necessity (rather than population-historical chance): what takes long to be innovated and/or is fast gotten rid of will, ceteris paribus, be encountered less frequently across languages, at any one time, than what is innovated fast and pertinaciously hangs on when grammars and lexicosn are passed on from generation to generation, even to new generations of other speech communities. The relationship between achronic and diachronic necessity is intriguingly conditional: it could be that achronic constraints, relating to structural complexity, are responsible for what is happening or is not happening, or is happening fast or slow, diachronically; or it could also be that constraints on how forms and constructions can be reanalysed diachronically, and are available for acquisition and subsequent reanalysis in the first place, are responsible for the grammars and lexicons that happen to be internalised (and socially shared) at any one time.

The phenomenon (or phenomena) that I would like to look at in this sort of context are pronominal terms of honorific, in particular distancing, address. If a distance contrast for 2nd person pronouns for addressing individuals is made at all, it is most frequently 2nd person plural or other non-singular pronouns that are used for honorific singular address (as if to aggrandise the addressee, and correspondingly humble the speaker). Less frequently, person is shifted rather than, or in addition to, number (as if to consider the addressee not involved in the speech act): pronouns of 3rd person singular, or also plural or other non-singular, can also be used for respectful, deferential, or at any rate distancing singular address. In terms of complexity, one would expect 3rd singular to be more frequent than 3rd non-singular for this purpose: it would only require one shift (2nd to 3rd person) as opposed to two (2nd to 3rd person, singular to non-singular number). This latter complexity-inspired expectation does not in fact seem to be borne out: among the languages that shift to 3rd person, more simultaneously also shift to non-singular than keep the 3rd person pronoun singular. (At least this is the frequency distribution in the convenience sample of some 100 languages of Head 1978: of 19 languages with 3rd-person-for-single-addressee, at least 13 have this 3rd person in the plural.)

What I would like to argue in particular is that looking at crosslinguistic frequency distributions of distancing through 3rd singular vs. non-singular pronouns for single addressees is misleading because it suggests that we are looking at a homogeneous set of phenomena. When one adopts a diachronic perspective, it is seen that such 3rd person distant addressing can come about in different ways — and some of them, in particular that of mere metaphorical person and perhaps number shifting, are easier and faster than others. The starting point of the other, slower way (or family of ways) of getting 3rd person distant addressee pronouns are nouns — nouns for social relationships on the one hand (such as 'master' and 'servant'), and nouns for abstract qualities of speech-act participants on the other (such as 'your highness/honour' and 'my lowliness/shame': pars pro toto, namely abstract quality for person). It is the diachronic scenarios of addressing through such abstract qualities, and of the syntactic constructions such terms of address form part of (in particular with respect to agreement), that are my central concern in this paper.

One thing that can happen to such nominal terms of metonymic address is that they are themselves reanalysed as (more and more) pronominal (cf. Spanish *usted*, Portuguese *você*, or also, though created somewhat differently, Dutch *U*); a question here is how such pronominalisations are accommodated in systems of person. The alternative for nominal terms of abstract-quality address is to remain nouns, but to be coreferenced by personal pronouns corresponding in person, number, and relevant other agreement categories (including in particular gender/class): 'your honour ... it'. The gaining of referential (addressing) autonomy of such originally only coreferential pronouns eventually leads to a new pronominal subcategory of distancing pronouns (cf. Italian *Lei*) — which again raises the question of how they are accommodated in systems of person. Given that abstract nouns ('honour, grace, highness ...'), the sources of such new distancing pronouns of singular address, will usually be singular, the other question is how such single-addressee pronouns can end up being morphologically plural (as with German *Sie*). There would seem to be two ways, not necessarily mutually exclusive: the more straightforward one is to manipulate number independently, provided metaphorical ('aggrandising') pluralisation is practised in the speech community anyhow; more intricately, it may need a conspiracy of morphological accidents (abstract nouns which are actually plural, and/or an inflectional system conducive to number reanalyses of relevant forms) to pave the way for anaphoric-pronouns-to-be-distancing-pronouns being plural. While its outcome — 3rd person plural for distancing address of individuals — is not forbiddingly complex, this latter diachronic story itself is so complex that it will rarely be seen to have run to completion.

abstracts of the talks

Tracking the amphisbænic paradigm: morphological polarity

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The term *polarity* was coined by Meinhof (1912) to describe patterns of morphological reversal, characterized as 'when A becomes B under certain conditions, B becomes A under the same conditions'. He contended it was a valid psychological principle, particularly characteristic of the 'Hamitic' peoples (e.g. among the Nandi, boys dress like girls before their puberty rites, and girls like boys). The most familiar example of polarity comes from Semitic, where the gender marking pattern with numerals is the reverse of that found with adjectives, e.g. Hebrew *šloš-a y   ladim* '3 boys' ~ *šaloš-Ø yaldot* '3 girls' vs. *yeled tov-Ø* 'good boy' ~ *yalda tov-a* 'good girls'. Over the last century the fortunes of polarity in linguistics have been mixed. On the one hand, it has been claimed that such a principle is psychologically implausible, and has no place in theory or description (Speiser 1938, Lecarme 2003). On the other hand it keeps resurfacing in different forms (e.g. as exchange rules (Chomsky and Halle 1968), markedness reversals (Smith 1979, Stoneham 1994), antifaithfulness (Alderete 2001) and toggle morphemes (Kihm 2005)).

One striking feature of the whole discussion is the extreme paucity of examples that have been adduced; what's more, of those, many are dubious (e.g. the often-cited consonant polarity of Luo can easily be shown to result from the accidental overlap of two distinct rules). Our questions are these: Are there even enough examples to warrant constructing elaborate mechanisms to account for it? Is polarity simply a chimera?

Convincing examples of morphological polarity *are* vanishingly rare, but the few convincing ones show that some systematic account of them must be given:

(i)   Semitic gender polarity.

(ii)   Number in Nehan (Oceanic), where singular and plural markers are reversed for count and non-count nouns (Corbett 2000), e.g. *me lo* 'a dog' ~ *mo lo* 'some dogs' vs. *mo iob* 'a knife' ~ *me iob* 'some knives' (Glennon and Glennon 1994). This reversal cannot be entirely attributed to inherent number semantics, as there is a morphological context in which number marking is identical for both classes.

(iii)   In Tübatulabal (Uto-Aztecan), all verbs distinguish between two aspectual stems, the imperfective, which is morphologically simple, and the perfective, which is formed through reduplication of the nucleus of the initial syllable, e.g. *tɨk-* IMPERFECTIVE ~ *ɨ-tɨk* PERFECTIVE 'eat'. In one (semantically heterogeneous) set of 30 verbs, this morphological correlation is reversed, *ɨ-tsɨxk-* IMPERFECTIVE ~ *tsɨxk* PERFECTIVE 'prick'.

(iv) Argument marking in the Neo-Aramaic of Amadiya (Hoberman 1989). Verbs take two series of pronominal suffixes, whose grammatical function switches across stem alternants, e.g. J-stem *qam-mpalt-ax-wa-lu* 'we had removed them' versus P-stem *mp←lt-ax-wa-lu* 'they had removed us' (n.b. grammatical roles stay constant across these forms).

Neo-Aramaic is especially instructive in that its diachronic development can be reconstructed on the basis of dialect variation. In the more archaic dialects, the J-stem forms have subject and object suffixes, while P-stem forms have only one suffix: a morphological object suffix which marks the subject. P-stem object suffixes were then innovated in some dialects, either by using the J-stem object suffixes, or by polarity, as in Amadiya. That is, Neo-Aramaic allows us to tease apart the two components of polarity: (i) 'when A becomes B under certain conditions' is a morphological mismatch, comparable to deponency (itself fairly infrequent), shared by all the dialects, and (ii) 'B becomes A under the same conditions' is the apodosis which yields polarity. This polarity principle is clearly a *possible* component of morphology; the question remains why it is so seldom applied.

Unexpected non-anaphoric marking in Aleut

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The Aleut reference-tracking system is well-known for its typologically unusual features. Some of these features include the marking of non-subject anaphoric constituent heads (e.g. non-overt direct object, possessor, etc., see Bergsland 1997, Fortescue 1985); In this famous example (Fortescue, 1985:108), the verbal inflection marks the possessor of the object, not the object itself:

(1) *ada-**ngis***   *kidu-ku-**ngis***
     father-3PL.ANAPH   help-IND-3PL.ANAPH
     'He is helping **their** father'

Other unusual features of this system include non-canonical number marking (e.g. mismatches innumber marking between argument and verb, see Bergsland 1997, Leer 1991, Sadock 2000); and the use of case marking for tracking anaphora rather than arguments on the verb. These three systems overlap in ways that makes their functions difficult to distinguish (Sadock 2000), not least because of the use of a limited set of morphemes for all of these functions.

The focus of work on the Aleut reference-tracking system has been on where anaphora is used; on the link between anaphora and the absense of an independent way of expressing pronominal 3rd person; and on the independence of number marking and anaphoric marking. Other important aspects of the system have escaped attention, including common instances of what Bergsland calls 'zero-anaphora.' 'Zeroanaphora' turns out to be as common as expected anaphoric marking. In the following examples (Bergsland 1997:174),

anaphoric marking would be expected in (2) because of the missing head of the postposition *ngaan*; in (3), the object of the second clause, *taangx̂* 'water', is anaphoric:

(2) *taanga-x̂*   *ngaan*   *sakaaĝa-ala-agiim*
     water-ABS   3SG.DAT   come.down-PASS.INST-ANT.4SG
     'when the water was brought down to him,'

     aman   *taanga-x̂*   *yu-qada-agiim*   *tunu-ku-x̂*   *awa*
     that.one.invisible.ABS.SG   water-ABS   pour.out-finish-ANT.4SG   speak-IND-3SG   that.one.ABS.SG

'he poured the water out and said'

(3)   *taanga-m*   *anĝaĝi-i*   *igiim*   *u-ula-angan*
       water-REL   person-3SG.POSS   4SG.DAT   go.to-PASS.INST-ANT.3SG
      'when the water was brought to him,'

      igiim   *ĝula-asa-qali-ku-x̂*   *awa*
      4SG.DAT   wash-INST-begin-IND-3SG   that.one.ABS.SG
      'he began to wash himself with it'

It has been noted that Aleut may mark topics rather than subjects between clauses (Bergsland 1997, Fortescue 1985); in examples (2) and (3), Bergsland notes that the number reference tracks the topic, and not the clausal subject. In fact, the reference system should be understood with respect to much larger entities than the sentence. There is little difference between these two examples to explain the lack of anaphoric marking or the different uses of third and fourth persons, without examining the greater context.

In this paper, I will present evidence from oral texts for the role of discourse in reference tracking in Aleut. Thus, the different number marking and lack of anaphora in sentences such as (2) and (3) may be related to the relative topical salience of the arguments; non-topics are less likely to be tracked with anaphoric marking. This holds true not just for anaphoric marking, but for other aspects of the reference tracking system as well, including switch-reference marking between clauses (which is also not always consistent with the linguistic literature). The reference system is not tied to verbal argument structure, and the reference morphology is somewhat independent of the head to which it attaches. The importance of marking person or subject is thus highly diminished. As such, reference-tracking has to be seen in the greater context, as a discourse-level feature, and ultimately, understanding how it functions will require an understanding of larger linguistic units.

The discussion of Aleut reference has wider implications. Aleut differs greatly in its reference system from the only other language group to which it is related, Eskimo. Although some features may be explained through areal diffusion (Leer 1991), the importance of topic tracking is shared with Eskimo and may be characteristic of other clause-chaining languages and/or ergative languages. Aleut may, therefore, merely reflect one end of a continuum of topic-tracking capabilities.

What favors the development of rara? A Himalayan case study

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The Himalayan and Caucasian regions host a number of relative rara, i.e. features that are rare relative to the surrounding Eurasian macro-area, but not relative to the world at large (Bickel & Nichols 2003, 2005a, 2005b, Nichols & Bickel 2005a, 2005b). Examples include, among others, high degrees of verb synthesis, radical doublemarking, possessive inflection classes, or inflectional optatives. In this paper I focus on absolute rara in the Himalayas, i.e. features that deviate from the worldwide (not just Eurasian) norm, such as, among others:

- Upside-down split ergativity: ergative alignment for first person, but not further down the referential hierarchy (Bickel 2000)

- Antipassives (instead of passives) used for first person patient reference

- Syntactic ergativity in complementation (Bickel & Nichols 2000)

- Free prefix ordering (Bickel et al. 2005)

- Endoclisis (Bickel et al. 2005)

- Conjunct person forms (where one form references the speaker in statements but the addressee in questions) (Bickel 2000, Curnow 2002)

- Spatial cases ('at the tree up there, 'at the tree down there', etc.) (Rai 1988, Bickel 1997)

- Triplication as a derivational process (Rai & Winter 1997, Rai et al. 2005)

- Breathy voiced stops derived from voiceless aspirates ($p^h \rightarrow b^h$/V_V)

All these features are found only in Tibeto-Burman (TB), specifically in the Kiranti, Newaric and Bodish branches of the family. Why do we find rara especially here, and not in the surrounding regions?

I propose that one key factor favoring the development and survival of rara is the absence of massive cross-family substrate interference over at least 2Ky. Such interference appears to threaten the survival of rara: the large language spreads that affected northern Eurasia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia over several millennia (Nichols 1992) resulted in a general decrease of rara on these regions. Much more recently (since about 150 years), a large cross-family shift (from TB to Indo-Aryan Nepali) affects the Himalayas, and again, it results in the loss of rara. By contrast, there is no evidence that the surviving, rara-sporting TB languages of the Himalayas were ever affected by large-scale substrates over the past 2Ky (while there may well have been shifts between typologically similar TB languages.)

The absence of large cross-family substrate effects does not mean isolation, and it does not preclude intense language contact for political, cultural and economic reasons. Indeed, some of the TB languages with rara (specifically, Kiranti languages spoken in the South, and Newar) show evidence for specific developments triggered by earlier contact with Indo-Aryan (especially politeness and ritual language strategies, calques and lexical borrowing). But these contact situations do not appear to have ever resulted in language shift and were typically limited to elite segments of the population.

There is tentative evidence that the model proposed for rara developments in the Himalayas carries over to other hotbeds of rara: at the western fringe of Eurasia for example, most rara surveyed by Haspelmath (1998) are only found in Indo-European languages, and while these received much within-family substrates, there is no evidence for massive between-family substrate interference over the past 2Ky.

As an additional factor favoring rara, Nettle (1999) suggests that nonstandard variants (rara) are more likely to stabilize in a smaller than in a larger community. At least one rarum found in the Himalayas is in conflict with the theory behind this: free prefix ordering crucially involves non-stabilization in a small community, yet is a rarum.

The puzzle of two terms for red in Hungarian

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In "Das Grammatische Raritätenkabinett" Frans Plank has included the Hungarian language among his rarities for being the only language with two basic colour terms for red – RED$_1$ and RED$_2$. According to that database this is a nonesuch trait found in no other language.

In their classical study "Basic color terms: their universality and evolution" (1969) Brent Berlin and Paul Kay argue that all languages (with a fully developed colour term system) have 11 basic colour terms at most. They also claim that Hungarian is an exception with 12 basic colour terms. In this tradition it is thus commonly believed that in Hungarian both *piros* 'RED$_1$' and *vörös* 'RED$_2$' are basic colour terms. Yet no profound empirical tests with a sufficient number of native speakers have, until recently, been conducted to support this claim.

In this paper we will present our empirical results of the relevant tests conducted in Hungary. On the one hand, we have relied on the hypothesis and theory of Berlin and Kay. On the other hand, we have used the field method of Ian Davies and Greville Corbett to collect our data. This method consists of two tasks – a list task and a colour naming task, where the subjects are shown 65 colour-squares, one square at a time, in a random sequence and asked how they would name each colour in their native language.

In 2002 and 2003 one of the authors of the present paper interviewed 125 native speakers of Hungarian in Budapest, Debrecen, Győr, Pécs, Dejtár, Ipolyvece, Balassagyarmat and Budaörs in Hungary. Of the 125 subjects, 66 were women and 59 were men. Their age ranged from 9 to 82, with a mean of 36 years.

Analysis of the collected data enabled us to conclude that in Hungarian only *piros* 'RED$_1$' is a basic colour term, which *vörös* 'RED$_2$' is not. In Hungarian there are just 11 basic colour terms: *fehér* 'white', *fekete* 'black', *piros* 'red', *zöld* 'green', *sárga* 'yellow', *kék* 'blue', *barna* 'brown', *lila* 'purple', *rózsaszín* 'pink', *narancssárga* 'orange', and *szürke* 'grey'. Thus, Hungarian is in line with the theory of Berlin and Kay and its colour system is linguistically not exceptional, at least not on the basic (term) level.

As for the puzzle of two terms for red it could be solved in terms of syntagmatic and paradigmatic collocations of John Lyons. Also, the phenomenon could well be an areal one. In the Czech language, for example, there are also two terms for red – *červený* and *rudý* – that behave similarly in collocations. To solve this areal and semantic puzzle of two reds we are currently planning extensive field work in the Czech Republic and its neighbouring Slavic countries.

The nature of consonant sequences in Modern Georgian

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Due to their length and constituency, the consonant sequences of Georgian (e.g. /prckvn/, /mc'vrtn/, /brt'χ'/ in words such as /prckvna/ 'to peel', /mc'vrtneli/ 'trainer', /brt'χ'eli/ 'flat') appear to be problematic.

We propose the Gradual Consonant Analysis (GCA) incorporating the following types of evidence: paradigmatic, syntagmatic, phonetic, historical and comparative. Examination of consonantal stems of Georgian and the application of the GCA shows that language-external and internal evidence provide a sound basis for exploring the nature of 'complex' structures of a language. In most cases, the long consonant sequences appear to be the result of a very productive vowel-reduction process and of complex segment formation. Georgian is an inflectional-agglutinative language and consonant sequences are generally derived from CVC stems when vowel-initial affixes are added. Thus, the phonological 'complexity' is primarily due to morphological complexity and the structures of the CCC type in Georgian appear to be the result of transformations of the structures of the CVCVCV type.

Several criteria are used to compare the GCA to the previous analyses: (i) simplicity or economy, (ii) generality or abstractness and (iii) adequacy (empirical and explanatory). The evaluation of previous analyses and the GCA against these criteria shows that the GCA provides a better understanding of Georgian consonant sequences as it provides a direct and clear link between empirical structures and theoretical constructs, and explains why consonants form complex structures in Georgian.

Talking about Agents and Beneficiaries in Brazilian Portuguese

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It is well known that the agent is the most prominent thematic role in relation to the others for fulfill the subject position. For instance, the verb *cut* has an agent and a patient in its argument structure and it is the agent that goes to the subject position. In most languages, it works like that:

(1)   The hairdresser cut John's hair.

Although, if we want to give prominence to the beneficiary inside the NP patient of this action, most languages have some strategies like using auxiliary verbs:

(2)   John had his hair cut. (English)

(3)   Jean s'est fait couper les cheveux. (French)

(4)   Gianni si è fatto tagliare i capelli. (Italian)

(5)   Ich lasse mir die Haare schneiden. (German)

However, in Brazilian Portuguese (hereafter BP), if we want to promote the beneficiary to subject position, we do not use the strategy pointed above. There is a thematic role phenomenon where we can extract the beneficiary inside the NP patient to the subject position and put the agent in the adjunct position or just exclude the agent, in a violation of the Principle of Thematic Hierarchy, a presupposed universal:

(6)   a.   O cabelereiro cortou o cabelo de João.
             'The hairdresser cut John's hair.'
        b.   João cortou o cabelo.[1]
             John cut the hair

In (6b), John is the beneficiary of the cut action, and it is in the subject position. This occurrence is very productive in BP and when the agent is not present in the sentence, the sentences below can be ambiguous between the agent and beneficiary readings. The sentences below can mean:

(7)   João xerocou o artigo.
        'João had his paper photocopied.'

(8)   Dr. João operou o nariz.
        'Dr. John had his nose operated.'

(9)   Maria lavou o carro ontem.
        'Maria had her car washed yesterday.'

Also, the sentences in (6) to (9) are not examples of some type of ergative alternations and those verbs cannot have this alternation. One interesting point of those sentences is that the beneficiaries that appear in subject positions must also have a kind of initiative or control over the process, as observed by Franchi (1997). See the example:

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[1] Maybe there are some few and specific examples like this in other languages; however, it is important to notice that this is a very productive phenomenon for BP.

(10)   Sansão cortou o cabelo com a Dalila.
        'Sanson had his hair cut by Dalila.'

The sentence in (10) is surely grammatical, but pragmatically it is unacceptable by the speakers. This is due exactly because we know that Sanson did not have any participation in the Dalila's action.

To conclude, I propose that these BP facts are evidence that there are no thematic roles such as agent, beneficiary, and so on. We can only think about thematic role as a set of semantic properties entailed by a relation between lexical items, following Dowty's idea, in part. And what are relevant for the linking between lexical semantic structure and syntactic structure are the semantic properties which compose the thematic roles, but not the thematic role *per se*. And for this linking, the control property is a very prominent one, even if it is not part of an agent.

Person agreement in Akhvakh

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This paper deals with the unusual typological features of person agreement in Akhvakh, and proposes to explain them as the result of grammaticalization processes different from those commonly assumed to be the origin of person agreement.

Akhvakh is a North East Caucasian language belonging to the Andic branch of the Avar-Andic-Tsezic family, spoken in a group of villages situated in the western part of Daghestan and in the village of Axax-därä near Zaqatala (Azerbaidjan), founded by migrants from Daghestan one century and a half ago. The data analyzed has been collected in Axax-därä. The variety of Akhvakh spoken in this village differs only slightly from the Northern Akhvakh dialect presented in Magomedbekova 1967.

Akhvakh has ergative case marking (A in the ergative case, P and S in the absolute case), and verb agreement in number and gender following also ergative alignment (verb morphology reflects the gender and number of the core argument in the absolute case, in transitive as well as intransitive clauses). But in addition to ergative gender-number agreement, Akhvakh has person agreement following accusative alignment, as illustrated by the sentence *waflode kitabi b-exa-ri* 'The boy bought the book', in which *waflode* is the ergative case of *wafla* 'boy', the prefix *b-* in the verb form *b-exa-ri* indicates that the absolutive term is singular non-human (compare with *waflode kitaba r-exa-ri* 'The boy bought the books'), and the suffix *-ri* indicates that the ergative term belongs to the third person (compare with *dede kitabi b-exa-da* 'I bought the book', *mede kitabi b-exa-da* 'You bought the book').

Person agreement is absent from Karata and Bagvalal, which are the closest neighbours of Akhvakh. More generally, person agreement is rare among the North East Caucasian languages, and is considered a recent and isolated innovation of the few languages which have it. In this context, if person marking in Akhvakh resulted from the grammaticalization of bound pronouns (which constitutes by far the commonest source of person agreement –see Siewierska 2004), verbal person should be a multi-valued feature closely reflecting the person-number distinctions expressed by independent pronouns, and person markers should still show some formal similarity with independent pronouns, as for example in Udi (Hewitt 2004). But this is not the case: in Akhvakh, verbal person is a strictly binary feature (1st/2nd person vs. 3rd person, without any distinction of number), and consequently, there would not be much sense in looking for similarities between the verb formatives involved in person agreement and the corresponding independent pronouns.

A diachronic explanation is suggested by the fact that the verb forms used with 1st/2nd person A/S are homonymous with participles (for example, 'the book bought by the boy' and 'the book bought by me' are rendered in Akhvakh resp. as *waflode b-exa-da kitabi* and *dede b-exa-da kitabi*, to compare with the sentences given above). Therefore, a plausible scenario is that Akhvakh first developed a contrast between finite verb forms and participles in predicate function. One can assume that, originally, this contrast was used to express aspectual distinctions, independently from person. Subsequently, the aspectual distinction between finite forms and predicative participles blurred, which is a very common development. Usually, such situations of synonymy lead to the elimination of one of the two competing forms. The peculiarity of Akhvakh is that the formal distinction

was maintained with a new function: one of the two competing forms (the participle in predicate function) specialized with 1st/2nd person A/S, and the other (the ancient finite form) specialized with 3rd person A/S.

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The importance of rara for a theory of linguistics

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In the typological study of the world-wide language diversity we regularly find structures that are widespread. Such common structures ask for an explanation, of which various kinds exist in current linguistic theory. However, we also normally find some languages that do not fit into any of the major types that are distinguished. I would even go as far to claim that there is probably something wrong with a typology without any rara. The existence of rara is a robust fact of the world-wide typological reality that has to be investigated in its own right. The first aspect to investigate is how robust a rarum is. If we find one language with a rare characteristic in a sample of 100 languages, this would theoretically extrapolate to about 70 examples among known languages in this world. Such an amount cannot be simply disregarded as 'exceptional'. The few cases in which this is investigated suggest that the existence of many rara can actually be extrapolated. More generally, these studies also show that the boundary between common and rare is a clear continuum. These two observations, first, taking rarity serious and, second, not distinguishing between common and rare on principled grounds, pose a challenge to any theory of linguistic structure. I will propose some ideas how we could deal with these challenges, but more importantly, I hope to entrench the importance of these issues in our thinking about linguistic structure – whatever each of us will do with them.

Monotransitivity in 'give'-constructions (exploring the periphery of ditransitives)

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When discovering a rare linguistic phenomenon, there are two important messages we must consider. The first is that something exists, although we might have not expected it to exist basing on our previous linguistic experience; the second that it occurs rarely. Hence follow immediately the two following questions /challenges.

a. How this unexpected, rare linguistic feature may be fit into our general view (model, theory) of the relevant linguistic domain?

b. What makes this feature rare? what drives it to the periphery of the typological variation of languages?

These are two questions that I am going to consider dealing with a rare pattern of 'give' verbs and, more generally, of prospective possession situations. I will use data from Nganasan; similar constructions are attested in the other two North-Samoyedic languages, Nenets and Enets. Nganasan has the so-called (pre)destinative declension, where the prospective possessum (PPm) is suffixed with a dedicated (pre)destinative suffix and a regular possessive suffix coreferencing the prospective possessor (PPr). The (pre)destinative suffix signals that the possessor coreferenced by the regular possessive marker is a prospective possessor rather than actual one. The nominal PPr may be present or absent from the context.

I claim there are at least some grounds to believe that the 'give'-construction in Nganasan is monotransitive rather than ditransitive, the PPr being morphosyntactically dependent on the PPm rather than directly on the predicate. The evidence includes:

(1) the fact that the absence of the nominal possessor is by far the most frequent construction, with the possessor only expressed as PPm-dependent (possessive suffix);

(2) the construction where the nominal possessor is present is structurally identical to the regular possessive construction, the presence of the (prospective) possessor ruling out the possibility of the possessive marking.

Note that the word order does not give any unambiguous evidence as to whether the PPr and the PPm form single PPm-headed NP; so, although the morphosyntactic connection between the PPr and the PPm is obvious, whether the PPr (recipient) does or does not preserve independent NP status is, at least to some extent, controversial.

The morphosyntactic dependence of the PPr on the PPm in 'give' constructions is a rare phenomenon; for instance, this 'give'-pattern is not discussed at all in the recent overview by Haspelmath (2005). There is a relatively considerable literature / discussion concerning possessive = beneficiary (recipient-like) syncretism, especially in Oceanic languages, including (Song 1998, Marguetts 2001, Lichteberk 2002, Song 2005).

However, one of the points of this discussion is exactly to show that the grammaticalization of the Oceanic possessive classifier into benefactive marker includes extraction of the possessor from the possessive NP. Lichtenberk (2002) also mentions cases where the PPr is indeed the NP-internal possessor, but it is not clear whether it is not a peripheral construction or interpretation of construction in the language in question. Now let us consider the monotransitive construction in its relation to the ditransitive 'give'-construction. Among distransitives, we distinguish three strategies - secondary object construction, double object construction and indirect object construction (for the terms cf., among other, Haspelmath 2005). These three possibilities are characterized by different relative hierarchization of the PPr and the PPm, with gradual decrease (demotion) of the PPr (PPm < PPr; PPm=PPr; PPm > PPr, respectively). The monotransitive construction is then simply the demotion of the PPr one step further, eliminating from the predicative argument structure (which may symbolically be described as PPm >> PPr) - cf. Croft's notion of the 'indirect object lowering' [Croft 1985]. However, the question of why the construction is so rare remains. To answer it, it is convenient to draw an analogy between the ditransitive vs. monotransitive 'give'-constructions and the well investigated opposition between external vs. internal possessive construction. It is generally claimed that the choice of the external possession construction correlates with the degree of affectedness of the Pr by a situation influencing its Pm. There is a competition between the benefactive relation (the situation indirectly affects the Pr) and possessive relation (the Pm is possessed by the Pr). If the language considers the sitation as not affecting the Pm strongly enough for the effect to be transmitted to the Pr, it codes the Pr as a dependent of the possessive NP (the possessive relation is overt, the benefactive relation is overt). When, however, the language considers the effect on the Pr as important, the Pr is expressed indepndently of the Pm (the possessive relation is covert, the benefactive relation is overt).

Similarly, the monotransitive 'give'-construction may be considered as the one where the prospective relation becomes overt, while the beneficiary relation remains covert; as opposed to the 'traditional' ditransitive give construction, where the distribution of covertness / overtness is opposite. However, unlike the external vs. internal possessor distinction, the prospective possession relation is much less strong in general by virtue of its non-actuality, prospectivity. Most languages consider it to be far too weak to win over the benefactive relation, always present strongly in the situations designated by 'give' or creation verbs. This makes languages where the monotransitive strategy is used so rare; and the use of this strategy in other languages peripheral.

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When typological rara become productive: the extension of grammatical agreement in Dutch dialects

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In a recent paper, Siewierska (1999) points out the typological rarity of so-called 'grammatical agreement' of verbs. That is the type of agreement in which an inflectional person marker is accompanied obligatorily by another person marker that carries a larger referential load, usually some anaphoric element. Most Germanic languages display grammatical agreement, but the phenomenon is unknown to the vast majority of the world's languages: in Siewierska's sample of 272 languages, only two examples are found. One of them is Standard Dutch, in which inflectional person markers always co-occur with pronouns or lexical NPs. The rarity of grammatical agreement is assumed to be due to a tendency to develop new agreement markers when the 'old' ones become non-referential.

Significantly, in some Dutch dialects the agreement system seems to extend to other classes than verbs, such as complementizers (Hoekstra & Smits 1997), and the answering particles *ja* ('yes') and *neen* ('no'). The second phenomenon is shown in (1):

(1)   A: Gaa-n   ze   morgen   naar   Gent?
          go-AGR   they   tomorrow   to   Ghent
          'Shall they go to Ghent tomorrow?'

      B: Jaa-n-s.
          yes-AGR-they$_{clitic}$
          'Yes, they do.'

The agreement marker in (1B) can only appear when it is followed by a clitic. This use of clitics following answering particles is a rarum in itself. Cross-linguistically, clitics do sometimes attach to other hosts than verbs, most notably to elements in the first or second position of the clause, but the restriction to *ja* ('yes') and *neen* ('no') seems unparalleled in the world's languages (cf. typological overviews such as Corbett 1991, 2000; Siewierska 2004).

In our talk, we will discuss the typological rarity of both grammatical agreement of non-verbal constituents and cliticisation to answering particles. In addition, we will provide an explanation for the fact that the agreement marker needs to co-occur with a clitic in the relevant dialects.

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The production of bilabial trills

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Bilabial trills belong to the normal inventory of some of the world's languages but remain quite rare in general. Such sounds have been signalized at different places on the globe. Ladefoged (1971) (quoting Pike 1963) has mentioned trills in Amuzgo and Zapotec, two languages spoken in Mexico. However Maddieson (1989: 112) claims that their distribution is very limited in these languages where their function is mainly ideophonic. Ladefoged, Cochran and Disner (1977) have also reported such sounds in Papua New-Guinea, among Austronesian languages spoken on Manaus and neighboring islands. Maddieson also signals them on Malekula Island in Vanuatu and in some western Malayo-Polynesian languages spoken at different places in Indonesia. In Africa, Tucker 1944), Tucker and Bryan (1966), Thomas (1981) and Pasch 1986) have mentioned bilabial trills in non-Bantu languages from the North-East of Congo. Thomas (1981: 261) uses the term vibrating bilabials for languages belonging to the Mangbetu-Asua group. Thomas equally mentions their existence in Bongo-Gberi and in Binga-Kara, two sub-groups of the eastern branch of Central Sudanic languages. In these sub-groups, Caprile (1981: 262) quotes bilabial trills in Kresh, Kara, Binga, Yulu, Baka, Bongo and Beli. Pasch (1986: 180) describes such sounds in Dongo, an Ubanguian language spoken in the Northeast of Congo. Ladefoged (1971: 53) has mentioned trills in Ngwe, a language spoken in West Africa and Maddieson (1989: 91) reports that such sounds can also be found in a small group of Bantoïd languages from the Cameroonian grassfields (Hyman 1980). Benko and Imre (1972: 318) have equally reported bilabial trills in the East and in the Northeast of Hungary. In addition to these observations, Ladefoged & Everett (1996) and Gabas Junior (p.c.) mention voiceless apico-dental plosives followed by voiceless labio-dental trills in Chapakuran and Tupi languages of Brazil.

The phonological bilabial trills (prenasalized, voiced and voiceless) that will be examined in this paper belong to the normal inventory of some Moru-Mangbetu languages. These languages allow discussing several important questions concerning these sounds. Why do prenasalized bilabial trills appear in these languages? Is it necessary to have a nasal in part of the environment to favor the development of a bilabial trill? Does a single voiceless bilabial trill exist and if so which are the phonetic characteristics which differentiate them from voiced bilabial trills? Maddieson (1989) claims that bilabial trills only develops in a well-defined phonetic environment, i.e. with prenasalized stops, in which the obstruent part is voiced, followed by a vowel involving a small lip opening (e.g. [u]). Maddieson hypothesizes that this particular environment contains the specific conditions for trills to develop spontaneously. However, Catford (1988) data in Nias (a language spoken in Sumatra) force him to consider that, at least for this language, bilabial trills are not conditioned by the following vowel, even if they develop with prenasalized bilabial stops. The experimental data presented in this paper show that the answer to these questions reveal important facts about the control of speech production mechanisms and its relation to cognitive aspects of speech. For example, the fact that high back vowels seem a favorable environment for bilabial trills is not as important as the lips relaxation in their production. This parameter is indeed essential to generate the Bernoulli effect on the lips and this explains why bilabial trills are possible before front vowels.

The Phonetics of Laryngealization in Takean Thong Chong

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Chong is a typologically interesting Mon-Khmer language, having a 4-way phonation-type contrast (Thongkum, 1987, 1991). Of the phonation types which contrast in language, only 2 or 3 usually contrast. In Chong, words occur with one of four phonation types. In this talk I will present both acoustic and laryngographic data from a previously

undescribed dialect of Chong, Takean Thong.[2] Data from 7 speakers (3 male, 4 female) are examined.

In contrast to previous phonetic descriptions of other Chong dialects, this dialect contains a 4-way register contrast involving modal, tense, breathy, and breathy-tense phonation. Of additional interest in this language is the cross-classification of pitch contours with laryngealization, the articulatory-timing of the phonation types, and the classification of this language with respect to other languages showing large degrees of laryngeal complexity. With respect to pitch, high pitch occurs with tense phonation while low pitch occurs with breathy phonation. Modal vowels have mid-level falling pitch contour while breathy-creaky vowels have a high-low falling pitch. Perceptually the pitch differences are quite small and the phonation type differences are quite noticeable.

While many languages have breathy or creaky phonation, "breathy-tense" phonation has not been described in the literature. This register involves increased medial tension of the vocal folds with a lax anterior adduction. Vocal fold tension occurs toward the word's onset, which is shown by a shorter open than closed glottal period length in the laryngographic data in (1). Breathiness is timed toward the end of the word, shown by the longer open than closed glottal period length in (2).

(1)   Breathy-Tense Phonation: Speaker 3: Vowel Onset (Open-Closed 0.84:1)
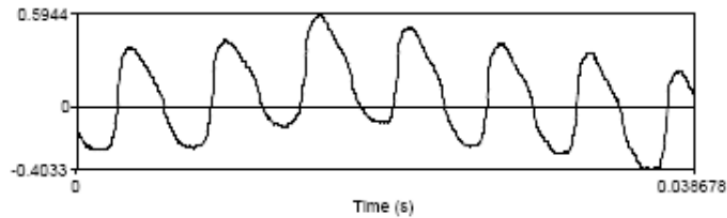
(2) Breathy-Tense Phonation: Speaker 3: Vowel Offset (Open-Closed 1.14:1)
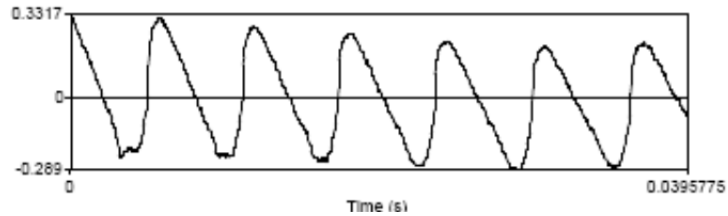
This preliminary data suggests that speakers may use a combination of voice qualities and time them in such a way as to create a phonatory contrast. Similar to tone languages, Chong has a "phonation" contour which contrasts with level breathy and tense phonation types and the modal falling-tone contour.

In the languages of the world, phonation type may or may not cross-classify with a tonal system. In Chong, it cross-classifies with some pitch differences to create a complex set of phonological contrasts that are tonally and laryngeally distinct. While it is rare for languages to contrast phonation type, those languages which have such contrasts usually limit them to a 2-way or 3-way contrast. A larger set of contrasts is extremely rare, occurring only in Chong and perhaps !Xóõ). Laryngeal complexity is not uncommon among Mon-Khmer languages (Huffman, 1976) and Otomanguean languages (Silverman, 1997). Research on languages involving such complex laryngeal patterns informs our knowledge of the behavior of vocal fold vibration, the phonetics of tone, and the range of possible laryngeal contrasts.

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Imperative Subordination in Slovenian

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One of the most typical syntactic properties of orders is their formal inability to persist in subordinate constructions; if syntactically embedded, imperative forms mostly show a change of mood, as soon as a conjunction appears, or they are replaced by an infinitival construction;

(1)   a)   Mum said: "Eat!"   b)   *Mum said <u>that </u>eat!
                                              b')   Mum said (that) You should eat.
                                              b'')   Mum said You to eat.

This is strikingly different in Slovenian, where imperatives can generally be embedded and are often found in subordinate clauses (2 (b)), even though speakers can replace them by using indicative mood instead of the imperative form (b');

(2)   a)   *Mama je rekla: "Jèj!"*   b)   *Mama je rekla, <u>da **jèj**</u>!*
              Mum aux ppaf: IMP2Sg   Mum aux ppaf, that IMP2Sg
              'Mum said : "Eat!"'   'Mum said, that You should eat.'
                                              b')   *Mama je rekla, <u>da jéš</u>!*
                                                     Mum aux ppaf, that IND2Sg
                                                     'Mum said, that You should eat.'

The most frequent cases of embedded imperatives in Slovenian are those after the conjunction *da* (that, see (2b)), followed by those licensed by interrogative (3) or relative (4) pronouns appending object (4a) or subject (4b) supplements, as further sources of their clausal subordination; the analysis of those forms, their use and occurrence is the aim of our presentation. The research includes spoken language as well as written sources.

(3)   *Mu*   *bo*   *povédala,*   <u>*kaj*</u>   **stòri**   *in*   <u>*kam*</u>   **pójdi***?*
Cl.3.Dat.Sg   aux3   tell ppaf   Q   do IMP2Sg   and   Q   go IMP2Sg
'Will she tell him what You should do and where You should go?'

(4) a)   *Tó*   *je*   *móž,*   <u>*ki*</u>   *se*   *ga*   **bój***!*
       Dem   be3   man   rel   refl   Cl.3.Gen.m   fear IMP2Sg
       'This is a man You should be afraid of.'

     b)   *Ti*   *si*   *móž,*   <u>*ki*</u>   *se*   **ožèni**   *z*   *mano!*
       You   be2   man,   rel   refl   marry IMP2Sg   prep   Pron1.Ins.Sg
       'You are the man who should marry me.'

Except in the *kajkavian* dialect of *Croatian* (which is closely related to *Slovenian*) embedded imperative clauses are missing in all other Slavonic languages as well. As the 2. person seems to rule out the optative particle *naj* in Slovenian, this fact could be interpreted as the primary origin of this typologically unusual ability and role of imperativesi n this language (5);

(5)   a)   Právi, (da) naj prídem. 'S/he says that I should come.'
         b)   *Právi, (da) naj prídeš. 'S/he says that You should come.'
         c)   Právi, (da) naj príde. 'S/he says that s/he should come.'

Shared quirks, ancient areality, and homelands: A case study from Afroasiatic

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One of the most useful ways that the notion of quirks or rara can contribute to linguistics is in language diachrony. Quirks can be useful in diachronic problems of all kinds, whether genetic or areal or — as in the present case — both. This paper, focusing by way of example on Afroasiatic and drawing in an essential way on quirky behavior, presents a new kind of plausibility argument for the location of protohomelands: an appeal to "ancient areality".

Several preconditions must hold for the argument to work. One is that an otherwise *rare* structural feature S is found across a geographically farflung language family F. Such a family-wide "shared quirk" is maximally unlikely to represent accidental parallel development in the individual branches, but rather points to a shared history (contact or genetic) of some kind. Because the family is farflung, inter-branch contact is not likely. Hence genetic reconstructibility to Proto-F becomes the most likely option.

A further precondition is that the feature S, though rare, does recur in a few languages (or language groups) outside of F, but geographically nearby. The feature S is thus synchronically an areal feature; and S also existed in Proto-F. The simplest scenario that integrates these two facts is that the present-day areality continues an ancient areality, and that Proto-F was itself spoken in the given area.

Thus far the abstract theory. In the concrete case of Afroasiatic (AA), two marked, quirky features can be reconstructed to early stages of AA: (1) a "Marked Nominative" (MkNom) case system, and (2) the 2nd-person feminine-singular marker *m*. Both have implications for AA homelands.

MkNom is extremely unusual worldwide, but is found in Cushitic, Omotic, and Berber, in traces in Semitic, and arguably in Egyptian — hence reconstructible to some early Afroasiatic stage AA′ (not necessarily Proto-Afroasiatic). MkNom also recurs elsewhere in Northeast Africa, in several Nilo-Saharan groups (Nilotic and Surmic). It is thus a presentday areal feature, centering on southern Ethiopia; on the present argument, it was also an ancient areal feature, so that AA′ was probably spoken near southern Ethiopia.

2nd-person markers in Afroasiatic usually involve *k*. But Egyptian, Berber, and Chadic have 2nd-fem-sg markers in *m*, arguably reconstructible to some early stage AA″ (not necessarily the same as AA′). Outside of AA, 2sg markers in *m* are common in the Pacific Rim but quite rare in Africa — in fact, areally restricted to an East-West sub-Sahel belt, with a hotbed in present-day Chad. This argues for an early AA″ homeland near present-day Chad.

The fact that two independent applications of the method yield homelands in roughly the same region (Northeast Africa) speaks well for its usefulness — especially since this is where Afroasiaticists (for totally different reasons) tend to locate Afroasiatic anyway. That the two homelands (Ethiopia, Chad) are not identical is unproblematical: different protostages are involved.

Classifiers in Weining Ahmao: a fully inflectual system in an isolating language

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Isolating or analytic languages are known for their scarcity of word forms and for their under-specification of grammatical categories (indeterminateness). Isolating languages in East and Southeast Asian languages involve classifiers – a word category used with numerals and, depending on the language, with functions like Number, Definiteness, Modification (marker of relative clause) or Contrast (cf. Thai). Similar to other parts of speech in these languages, the classifier generally constitutes a one-form word category with occasional sandhi-derivations. Weining Ahmao, a Miao language spoken in SW China, follows this general morphological pattern, but has developed a highly uncommon system of classifiers. Each of its ca. 50 classifiers can be declined in 12 forms expressing a complex cluster of meanings which can be broken down into 3-4 parameters: Number [Singular, Plural], Definiteness [Definite, Indefinite] and Size/Importance [Augmentative, Medial, Diminutive]. Moreover, gender register is attached to the parameter of Size/Importance. A classifier in the Augmentative form conveys a vague idea of greatness and is typically employed by men; that in the Medial form is size-neutral and typically used with women; the Diminutive version of a classifier attaches an idea of size reduction and correlates with speakers of lower social status, typically children. Concerning the sound structure of these inflections, a good part of the Ahmao classifiers follow the outline given in the subsequent chart (the Augmentative Definite Singular form is being taken as underlying):

Gender Register	Size/ Importance	Singular		Plural	
↓	↓	Definite	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite
Male	Augmentative	CVT	C*VT	$ti^{55}a^{11}CV^{11}$	$di^{31}a^{11}C*V^{11}$
Female	Medial	Cai^{55}	$C*ai^{213}$	$tiai^{55}a^{11}CV^{11}$	$diai^{213}a^{11}C*V^{11}$
Children	Diminutive	Ca^{53}	$C*a^{35}$	$tia^{55}a^{11}CV^{11}$	$dia^{55}a^{11}C*V^{11}$

Remarks: 1) C means "consonant" (simple, double, affricated, etc.)
2) V means "vowel" (simple, double)
3) T means "tone" using numbers 1-5 to indicate the pitch contours
4) * means "suprasegmental phenomenon" (e.g. aspiration, but possibly also an absence of sound change)

Historically, this system is derived from the merger of earlier classifier versions with the two adjectives or prefixes a[55] nie[53] 'female' and ŋa[11]'small'. Some weak tendencies of similar mergers can be observed in other Miao languages, although none of the other Miao classifier systems seems to exhibit inflectional features (as far as we know).

Rarum begets rarum: A rare clitic and morphosyntactic reduplication in Chechen and Ingush

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Data: A conjunctive clitic *'a* found in both Chechen and Ingush has been argued by Peterson (2001) to be an instance of a rare clitic type: a penultimate-position enclitic. Specifically, it is placed immediately before the verb in the (head-final) verb phrase. Among other things, this means that *'a* leans "the wrong way"—it is syntactically positioned with respect to the verb but leans phonologically away from it. A relevant example from Chechen is given in (1), where instances of the clitic are bolded. Strikingly, this enclitic appears to play a role in the appearance of another rarum: morphosyntactic reduplication (Conathan and Good 2001). An example, with reduplicants bolded, is given in (2), also from Chechen.

(1) *Maliika* [*loomax   hwal ='a jeelara,*]VP   [*ohwa   ='a joessara*]VP.
Malika mountain.LAT   up   and J.go.WP   down   and J.descend.WP
"Malika climbed up and down the mountain."

(2) *Maalik   [**viela**   ='a   viilara,*]VP   [***vialxa**   ='a   vilxara*]VP.
Malik   V.laugh.INF   and   V.laugh.WP   V.cry.INF   and   V.cry.WP
"Malik laughed and cried."

The bolded verbs in (2) are copies of the main verb of the clause with the form of morphologicalinfinitives. These copy verbs are associated with no special semantics or pragmatic force, and they appear in a predictable environment: immediately before *'a* when the verb it precedes is simplex and intransitive—in other words, when the verb phrase would otherwise consist of only one word.

Problem: Peterson (2001:149) suggests that *'a* actually triggers reduplication of the verb in order to allow it to have a host within the verb phrase. If Peterson's suggestion is correct, this raises the intriguing possibility that the appearance of one rarum (a typologically unusual clitic) is the driving force behind the appearance of another (morphosyntactic reduplication). This paper more fully develops Peterson's idea in order to arrive at a better understanding of how these two rara might be related to each other.

Analysis: Descriptively, we can analyze *'a* as being associated with a template like the one in (3), which stipulates that *'a* be preceded by some element in the verb phrase. The appearance of a copy verb can then be understood as a type of repair strategy—a "dummy" element used to satisfy the template.

(3)   [[. . . =*'a*]Word   [   ]V]VP

Taken in isolation, this analysis is not particularly insightful. However, it has parallels with phonological minimality phenomena well attested at the word-level. In Ndebele, for example, as seen in the second verb in (4), monosyllabic stems in imperative constructions appear with a dummy *yi-* prefix in order to fulfill a two-syllable minimal size restriction on surfacing verbs.

(4)   IMPERATIVE   GLOSS   TRANSLATION
       lima   'cultivate'   'cultivate!'
       yi-*dla (*dl-a)*   'YI-eat'   'eat!'   Hyman et al. (To appear)

Analogizing from the Ndebele case to the Chechen and Ingush case, we can understand the template associated with 'a to result from a comparable type of minimality constraint, applying at the level of the phonological phrase instead of the phonological word: A verb phrase containing 'a must consist of at least two phonological words. The "rare" aspect of the phenomenon, then, is not the general nature of the restriction but, rather, the level of constituency at which it occurs—the phonological phrase.

Analyzing the appearance of the reduplicant as being phonologically-driven allows us to develop in more detail Peterson's idea that that there is a connection 'a's positional requirements and the reduplication construction. As noted, 'a leans away from the element governing its syntactic position. Given this, we can view the proposed phonological minimality restriction as one which minimizes this phonologysyntax clash by ensuring that 'a will never lean on an element outside of the verb phrase—it will either lean on an element that is there "naturally" or on an inserted copy verb. The clitic's "wrong-way" leaning can, thus, be directly implicated in the appearance of morphosyntactic reduplication.

Implications: If the basic thrust of this analysis is correct, it suggests that the rarity of some phenomena may not be because they themselves are inherently "unusual". Rather, they are rare because their appearance is only triggered by the presence of other rara.

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Three Rara from Nganasan

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Nganasan (Uralic > Samoyedic) is already known as a source of unusual facts and counterexamples to typological universals — cf. Kozinsky (1980) on Nganasan as a language where personal pronouns do not inflect for case while nouns do; Helimski (1998) on its complicated morphophonological system; Daniel (2005) on the grammeme of "irreal destinative". Here we present three more Nganasan morphemes, one of which is interesting for the way it is attached to the stem (though its semantics, too, is not very common for an affix) and the others for their use.

1.   The Exclamative marker

The exclamative marker, very frequent both in colloquial speech and in narrative, can express any type of emotion — joy, grief, surprise etc., and can be used as well when addressing someone; in particular, it is frequent in imperatives. Though such an "emotional" meaning is not very typical for an affix, from the formal point of view this is a "full" suffix, which is also subject to the vowel harmony. The most interesting is the way it is attached: if the form ends with a vowel it is placed after it; if the form ends with a consonant the exclamative suffix is placed before this consonant, sometimes breaking another affix. Here are some examples:

(1) *nənsu-ŋa-ndi-**əi***
stand.up-IMP-2DU.S-**EXCL**
'stand up (you two)!'

(2) *d'ujkal-**əu-ʔ***
wrap.up-**EXCL**-IMP.2SG.S
'wrap (something) up!'

(3) *hursi̮-ŋi̮-ndi̮-**əi-ʔ***
turn-IMP-2PL.R-**EXCL**
'turn back (you all)'

(4) *mində-ti̮-mi̮-**əi-ʔ***
stand-PRAES-1PL.S-**EXCL**
'we are standing (are not wandering)'

We see that in the first example the Exclamative suffix *-əu/-əi* is attached after the personal ending, while in the second example it is placed before it. In the last two examples *-əi-* is inserted inside another affix (resp. *-ndi̮∕* '2Pl.r' and *-mi̮∕* '1Pl.s').

2.   The Interrogative Renarrative

Nganasan has a full set of affixes to express a reported information: there exist dedicated suffixes for declarative, imperative and interrogative Renarrative (or Reported, using the term from Aikhenvald 2004). Here we deal with the Interrogative Renarrative suffix -ha, which can be used in two ways: it either expresses the information source of the addressee (it is assumed that the questionnee himself knows about the fact from the hearsay) or is used to ask a question on behalf of another person. Cf. the following examples:

(5) *Kunini **ńili̮-bⁱa**?*   — *Moskva-tənu   nili̮-bⁱaŋhi̮.*
where **live-INTERRRENARR** — Moscow-LOC live-RENARR
'Where is he said to live? — He is said to live in Moscow'.

(6) [the truce envoy, which is sent to the insurgents, asks them:]
*Kaδⁱau, bəinair-mün-də   **kərbu-ba-ruʔ**?*
INTERJ   fight-VNTEMP-LAT   **want-RENARRINTERR-2PL**
'Hey, (I am sent to ask you) do you want to fight?'

(Naturally, the truce envoy acts on behalf of his commander.)

Aikhenvald in her survey of the typology of evidentials (Aikhenvald 2004: 244-249) mentions only the first type of use of reportative forms in questions — to reflect the information source of the addressee (or of the speaker or of the third party). Nganasan is an example of another type, where it is the illocutionary force that is reported. (Moreover, we are aware of no other language which would have a dedicated reportative interrogative affix.) Note, however, that for reportatives in commands, on the contrary, reporting the illocutionary force (i. e. someone else's order) is the most usual meaning (Aikhenvald 2004: 250-253), so we would expect to find a language with a similar use of reportatives in interrogatives clauses.

3.   The universal placeholder

There are several discourse strategies in Nganasan which the speaker follows when he is looking for the next topic to speak about or for the next word to say. Here we consider the word *ənti̮* (that could be translated into English as *sort of* or *how do you call it*), which the speaker uses when he can't find a better way to refer to a person, to an object or to an event. This word functions as a placeholder — it takes the syntactic position and the morphological encoding of the word it is substituting (in example (7) the word *ənti̮* is used instead of a noun and in example (8) instead of a verb). After having used this word, the speaker either finds an appropriate word to refer to the subject he is speaking about or leaves everything as it is (in the last case the meaning of the sentence is usually clear from the context — see example (9)).

(7) **Əntį-δi-čə,** kolį-δi-čə təδa-ʔa-m.
sort.of-**Dest-Pl.Acc2Pl** fish-Dest-Pl.Acc2Pl bring-Pf-1Sg.s
'I brought you… how do you call it… some fish'.

(8) *Mįŋ-gümü-nə* **əntį-gu-δ-əu-m,** babi-ʔ ďa basa-ku-δəm.
I-Emph-1Sg sort.of-**Imp-1Sg.s-Excl** reindeer-GenPl All go.to.hunt-Imp-1Sg.s
'I'll… how do you call it… go and hunt for reindeers.'

(9) *Susujkia* ńi-ni maa **əntį-mįmbⁱa-hi-ti?**
hummock[-Gen] on-LocAdv what sort.of-**Habit-InterrPraet-3Sg**
'What was she doing on this hummock?'

It is known that such placeholders can use the stem of the interrogative pronoun *what* (it is so, for example, in Besermyan (Uralic > Permic) and in Nanai (Altaic > Tungusic)), but this is not the case in Nganasan. The word *əntį* has no other uses and we can only suppose that it is somehow connected with one of the demonstrative pronouns (*əmtį*).

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"Janus-headed" nominals: the morphosyntax of agreement in Taa

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The Taa language complex of the Tuu family (a.k.a. "Southern Khoisan") is characterized by a gender system established by up to half a dozen agreement classes which index in addition to gender also a singular~plural distinction. These genders are reflected morphosyntactically by pronominal cross-reference and agreement. A particularly salient property in this respect is that different kinds of grammatical and lexical elements, inter alia adjectives, relative and possessive markers, prepositions, conjunctions, and transitive verbs, obligatorily index some nominal referent.

A typologically rare phenomenon is that agreement is triggered by linear adjacency, rather than syntactic configuration. That is, in case of cataphoric agreement, the concord is determined by the first possible nominal constituent, regardless of its syntactic function in the following material.

As an example, genitive constructions are head-final so that a preceding agreement host takes the concord of the modifying possessor, not of the possessee as the modified head. In case of agreement on both sides of such a construction, the noun phrase displays "ambidextrous" agreement: the cataphoric host indexes the initial modifier and the anaphoric host indexes the final head as shown in the following examples (class-1 agreement on the verb 'see' and class-3 agreement on the adjective 'big').

(1) n   si   n|ai |huun   n||aeh   !xae
     1S   IPFV see:1   white.1 house.3   big:3
     I see the white man's big house.

This also applies to nominals which would be expected to display a greater integrity of syntactic behavior like compounds and even nominal derivatives. While lexical units in semantic terms, such structures have thus a "janus-head"-like morphosyntax. This can be demonstrated with the lexeme for 'cloud' in (2) which is composed of the simplex nouns for 'rain' and 'house': it shows the same ambidextrous agreement as the genitive construction in (1).

(2) n   si   n|ae ||kx'oe   n||aeh   'oan
     1S   IPFV see:3   rain   house   one:2a
     I see one cloud.

Rarities in Numeral Systems

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We have surveyed the numeral systems from over 4000 first-hand descriptive sources (estimated to represent some 2500 languages) from all over the world. Space here permits a discussion only on the outermost features such as e.g base[3]. We will only consider numbering systems which can be used in an open class of social situations to count an open class of objects. In particular, body-tally systems [32, 31, 30] are disregarded. Nowadays, these only exist in the Papua New Guinea highlands, but it has been neglected for a century to mention that there are indisputable attestations also from the Torres Straits [25] and mainland Australia(!) [27, 28]. 'Rare' will be used here in the sense of "present in few geographical areas" rather than "present in few languages".

Absense of numerals, and thus of base, is argued for Pirahã [17, 16]. Many more cases are mentioned in passing for Amazonia: Nadëb [50], Mocovi [24], Jabutí [3, p. 358], Canela-Krahˆo [23, p. 181], Krenák [49, p. 125], Chiquitano [1]. These are all of the type one-many or one-few-many, and in no case does it seem possible, or normed, to say few+one, one+one or few+few to designate an exact number (because e.g. the word 'one' also means 'alone' or a word for 'twin' must be used which means something stronger than simply 'two'). A specific case for base-3 is given in Green [23] and there may be more cases. Base-4 is attested on four continents and there are a few more doubtful cases (whereas alleged cases like Huku, Nyali, Afudu, Welsh etc do not stand up to scrutiny). Bases 5, 10, and 20 are omnipresent. 25 as the next higher base for base-5 systems is only attested for Gumatj [26, 45]. This case is beyond all doubt genuine. However, *all* other claims of 5-25 systems lead nowhere. Three true base-6 systems from Frederik-Hendrik-Eiland are given in [15]. There are many attestations of bona-fide base-12 systems in the Plateau Area of Nigeria [44, 43, 35, 7, 6, 5, 29, 41, 47, 37, 46, 38, 36, 22, 20, 19, 2, 21], and Dhivehi of the Maldives may well have been another case [18]. The virtually unique cases of bases 15 [11, 51] and 24, 36 [48, 4] cannot be explained away as unsubstantiated. The next higher base after 20 in base-20 systems is more than rarely 40, 60 or 80 [13, 12, 39, 8, 9, 10, 14].

Other than base, the following are some remarkably sparse properties:

- Smaller-bigger order between additive units in numeral expressions > 100: Malagasy [40]. In our sample, the only parallel cases are alternative expressions in Classical Greek and Sanskrit.

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[3] Definition used here is: *n* is a base iff the morpheme(s) for n are used in a proper majority of the expressions for numbers between *n* and the next higher base (or the end of the normed expressions). Proper majority between *n* and next higher base *n'* is to be interpreted as: at least one and strictly more than half of the numbers $n < x \leq n'$.

- Unanalyzable forms for numerals up to 12: a bunch of base-12 languages e.g Jere and Janji. (Sharma's alleged 20 atoms for Kharia [42, p. 63] remain unsubstantiated). The pan-Germanic idiosyncratic formation around 12 is equally, if not more, rare.

- It is not crystal clear but there seems to be a decent case of a language with more ordinals than cardinals [33, 34, p. 100, p. 413].

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The rarity scale of addition

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This paper tackles the generally accepted classification of additive constructions. My sample is the first explicitly described worldwide one for this purpose (300+ languages, cf. HANKE 2005). The rarity scale of addition will be expanded and adjusted. By the way, numeralization gets back to recent methods of grammaticalization theory and typology.

The most common type of sums is unmarked like thirty-eight. GREENBERG (1978: 264f.) discusses the following marked types, recognized by the source of their simple links:

1. the second most common "comitative" type: 'and, with'
2. superessive links: 'on, over',
3. possessive links,
4. rare expressions for additional objects: 'extra', 'left'.

This classification and the ascending rarity are generally accepted, apparently without further research (cf. HURFORD 1987: 237, HEINE 1997: 33f., GREENBERG 2000: 777).

I present the following modifications:

1. Coordination – including verbal constructions – is common. But: comitative constructions occur only as an indirect source on the pathway 'with' – 'and' – 'plus'.

2. The superessive is frequent. But: other locative sources occur, including 'under' and movement expressions like 'to place' or 'come inside'.

3. Possessive sources include 'have' and 'get' constructions.

4. Greenberg's hypothesis, that augends are always unexpressed with 'left', is falsified. Its base was apparently only the first decade in Germanic and Baltic languages.

In addition, there are a range of other rare types, including overcounting and overtly bodily concepts. Independent from their complexity or rarity, asymmetric sources occur only in serial addition (+1, +2, +3 É), as predicted by Greenberg (1978: 265f.).

As a main conclusion, sums are not restricted to simple links. The rare and not-so-rare sources make up a new classification. The range of constructions shows that numeralization is a good example of complex conventionalizations. Previous accounts explain only the frequent parts of the scale or even a wrong range of sources.

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Explaining Exuberant Agreement

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Several languages of the Nakh-Daghestanian family (including Avar, Tsova-Tush, and Archi) have developed instances of multiple marking of agreement, including agreement closer to the root than expected, or "internal" agreement. An example from Tsova-Tush is shown in (1).

(1) (a) **v**-ux-**v**-erc'-**v**-ie   Tsova-Tush
          V-back-V-return-V-PAST
          'turn him back'

     (b) **y**-ux-**y**-erc'-**y**-ie   (Dešeriev 1967: 239)
          Y-back-Y-return-Y-PAST
          'turn her back'

In (1), V and Y are markers of gender-number agreement; as many as three such markers, together with a person-number suffix are attested. It is known, however, that when agreement markers that are trapped between other morphemes, they are normally lost (Faarlund and Harris 2005). Using examples from Tsova-Tush and other Nakh-Daghestanian languages, this paper addresses the question of why some languages would establish repeated ("exuberant") agreement, such as that in (1), while most do not.

The first agreement marker, from a chronological point of view, was inherited from Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian. Regarding the second, it is shown that the presence vs. absence of agreement in Tsova-Tush can distinguish one lexeme from another, and it is suggested that the loss of trapped agreement under these circumstances would render incomprehensible the former light verbs, which were later reanalyzed as affixes. There is no loss of the third and later identical markers because, once a language has established "internal" agreement and multiple agreement, language learners and users do not consider these types of agreement marked or incongruous, and they may not lose it.

The phenomenon of exuberant agreement is rare, it is argued here, because it requires that several changes and circumstances coincide; it is the coinciding that is rare, not the changes, which taken individually are quite common. Thus, it is a matter of probability that exuberant agreement will arise infrequently.

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Nominal tense in Movima

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Tense marking is generally thought of as a verbal, not as a nominal category. However, some languages productively mark tense on nominal constituents. In their cross-linguistic study of this phenomenon, Nordlinger and Sadler (2004) distinguish two types of nominal tense marking: "independent," where tense features of the nominal alone are specified, and "propositional," where tense marking on a dependent nominal provides the tense information for the entire proposition. The languages in their sample either mark independent or propositional tense, but none of them does both.

Movima (unclassified, Bolivia) not only has the unusual property of productively marking tense (past vs. nonpast) on noun phrases. In addition, it can be shown that while its nominal tense marking is basically of the independent type, it is also the main device of indicating propositional tense. Independent nominal tense is illustrated in (1). Here, the article form *os* signals that the referent of the NP has ceased to exist, while the TAM-particle *loy* ('intentional') implies future tense. The cooccurrence of a nominal tense marker with a deviating clausal tense marker is a clear signal of independent nominal tense.

(1) **loy**   *i⫟ajalo:maj*   **os**   *no:no*   *di' pa:*   *ko*
     ITN   1 speak_about   ART.n.pst   pet   REL   dog
     'I'm going to speak about my (deceased) pet dog.'

In (2), where no contrasting TAM-particle is present, the article *os* is automatically interpreted as marking propositional past tense. Here, the article does not necessarily imply that the referent of the NP has ceased to exist, but the entire proposition receives a past-tense interpretation.

(2) *iloni--y⫟i*   **n-os**   *cham_mo*   (-- external cliticization)
     walk--1pl   obl-ART.n.pst   forest
     'We walked in the forest.'

In my paper, I will illustrate this system in more detail and present a possible explanation which goes along the following lines. In Movima, both temporal (existence vs. ceased existence) and spatial (presence vs. absence) properties of a referent are expressed by one single system of reference markers (containing articles, pronouns, demonstratives). The lack of a strict separation between spatial and temporal deictic categories may explain the existence of nominal tense marking in the first place. The interpretation of basically independent nominal tense as propositional tense can be explained by taking two parameters into account: time stability and relevance. The lower the time stability of a referent, the more likely it is encoded by a past-tense NP in a past-tense context. Since subordination in Movima involves action nominalization, which means that non-time-stable concepts are frequently encoded by NPs, independent nominal tense marking can assume the function of indicating tense in discourse. Likewise, the less relevant the existence of a referent at the moment of speaking is, the more likely it is for this referent to be denoted by a past-tense NP in a pasttense context. Here, past-tense marking does not encode a property of the referent, but serves to indicate propositional tense alone (cf. (2) above).

Thus, while highly unusual from a cross-linguistic perspective, the Movima system can be shown to be straightforward when cognitive and pragmatic factors are taken into account.

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The accentual system of Hocank (Winnebago) - a typological rarity

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It is generally assumed that one of the main functions of placement of primary and secondary stress (if available) is to mark word boundaries. This function can be attributed in particular to so-called fixed stress systems. Languages with a fixed stress location place the primary word stress on the same syllable in each word. This location is independent of the weight of the syllables in the word and is determined with reference to the right or left edge of the word. Primary stress is then fixed either on the first, second, or third, or on the antepenultimate, penultimate, or ultimate syllable. According to Goedemans & van der Hulst (2005a), more than half of the languages of a 500 languages sample belong to this type of accent placement. Interestingly and in accordance with the main function of this type of accent placement, the majority of these languages places the main stress either on one of the first two or on one of the last two syllables of the word. There are only a few languages (n=12 (4%)) that place the main stress on the antepenultimate syllable, and there is only one language, Hocank (Winnebago), that places main accent on the third syllable from the left edge of the word. So, with regard to accent placement, it is justified to say that Hocank (Winnebago), a Siouan language of Wisconsin, is cross-linguistically highly unusual.

On the other hand, the typological classification of Hocank given in Goedemans & van der Hulst (2005) is somewhat misleading, since it is implied that syllable weight does not play a role in determining the location of primary stress. This is, however, not the case. If one of the first two syllables is a heavy syllable, the main stress falls on the second syllable (cf. Susman 1943; Miner 1979, 1981, 1990; Helmbrecht in prep.; Hale 1985). This property, however, does not allow classifying Hocank alternatively as language with weight-sensitive stress (cf. Goedemans & van der Hulst 2005b) either. In the proposed paper, I will give a more detailed description of the rules for the location of primary and secondary stress that allow a better typological understanding of the accentual system of Hocank. In addition, I will provide some evidence from other Siouan languages (none of them has main stress on the third syllable from the left) that allow some conclusions about the historical emergence of this still highly unusual accent pattern. As usual with rarissima, it is hard to find a functional explanation except that it is rare because it is functionally unfavorable.

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Rare and nonexistent interrogative pro-word types: interrogative pro-verbs and Co

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Certain interrogative pro-word types have been considered rare or even nonexistent (e.g., Katz & Postal 1964:99; Weinrich 1963:122; Ultan 1978; Donegan & Stampe 1983:339; Zaefferer 1990:227; Gil 2001; Hagège 2003). Particularly, this pertains to interrogative pro-verbs and interrogative pro-adpositions. Thus, Gil (2001) suggests that "question words can 'ask about' items belonging to major (or open) syntactic categories, but not minor (or closed) ones". This will allow for interrogative pro-verbs, but fails to account for the fact that interrogative pro-verbs are actually a rare phenomenon. As to their rarity, Hagège (2003) advocates a principle of linguistic economy: "it is much more economical to split the questions into an interrogative word 'who?' or 'what?' + one of the two verbs with a generic meaning, i.e. 'be' and 'do'". This cannot be a full answer either. Why would a two word construction be more economical than a one word construction? And even if it is, language is as much prone to redundancy as to economy.

This paper aims to further elucidate the issue of the rarity/ nonexistence of several types of interrogative pro-words against the background of a more general hypothesis on what constitutes a possible interrogative pro-word. The general hypothesis contains two ingredients: (i) a statement on the generality of the presupposition going with constituent questions, and (ii) a claim on the relevance of the endocentric vs. exocentric distinction. I claim that interrogative pro-words can be of endocentric phrase creating categories only – in the traditional sense of endocentricity.[4]

The main emphasis of the paper lies on interrogative pro-verbs. I argue for a distinction between interrogative pro-verbs proper, as in (1), and interrogative pro-"non-verbal predicates" (i.e. "nominal predicates" in a broad sense), as in (2). A study based on a sample of some three hundred fifty languages suggests that whereas the former type is indeed rare, the latter is not that uncommon and in languages that do not use copulas it even seems to be completely normal. Furthermore, the difference in frequency between the two types, as well as the subtypes of interrogative pro-verbs proper, also hangs together with the centricity parameter.

(1) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~spena/Chukchee)
     req-ərkən-əm   *igirqej*   *gə-nin*   *ekək?*
     do.what-PROG-EMPH   right.now   2sg-POS   son.ABS
     'What is your son doing right now?'

(2) Tuvaluan (Eastern Malayo-Polynesian; Besnier 2000: 425)
     Ne   *aa*   *taulua*   *olooga*   *ki motu?*
     NONPAST   what   your   go:NOMINALIZER   to islet
     'How did your trip to the islets go?' (lit.: 'What (was) your going to the islets').

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Right at the Left Edge: Initial Consonant Mutations in the World's Languages

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Initial consonant mutations (henceforth ICM) are commonly assumed to be a rare type of alternation: commonly cited are the Celtic ones ([Ball and Müller 1992], [Stewart 2004], [Green 2003]) and those which are found in the Atlantic languages of Western Africa (Fula [Arnott 1970]; Seereer [McLaughlin 2000]). However, a closer look at the problem reveals that they are somewhat more widespread: one has to include Nivkh (Gilyak; [Mattissen 2003]) and the Indonesian language Nias Selatan ([Brown 2001]), as well as other instances such as Italian ([Rohlfs 1966], [Loporcaro 1997]), the Viet-Muong language Ruc ([Solntsev et al. 2001]), the Mande languages of Africa such as Mende ([Crosby 1944]), the Papuan language Skou ([Donohue 2004]) and the Australian (non-Pama-Nyungan) Iwaidja ([Evans 1998]). This contribution presents a brief overview of ICM in the world's languages, sketches a few parameters for their typological classification and outlines some of the challenges (and solutions) they present for linguistic theory.

Before sketching the typology, a proper definition of ICM vis-à-vis, on the one hand, purely phonological sandhi which happen to cross a word's left boundary (such as the Italian gorgia toscana ([Nespor and Vogel 1986]), and on the other hand pure prefix allomorphy involving initial consonants, a situation which obtains, for instance, in Tagalog, is in order.

Different types of ICM appear to come into consideration. One dimension of the classification involves the origin of ICM: in most instances they go back to grammaticalization of sandhi phenomena, however, Ruc presents a case of ICM which stems from the inherently weak phonological position of the first syllable of polysyllabic words which is set against principles constraining "free" variation ([Solntsev et al. 2001]). The origin of the first kind of ICM is a puzzle in itself: how does the grammaticalization of ICM come about, and what are the principles which guide their development afterwards (cf. [Comrie 2000])? Even in well-studied phyla like Celtic and Romance this continues to present considerable problems. I suggest that this evolution may be due to emergent properties of ICM not necessarily in straightforward connection with their origins.

A second classification axis involves the nature of ICM's conditioning. While purely surface-phonological conditioning automatically precludes an alternation's being a true ICM, the role of phonology can be important. In languages like Italian, ICM is triggered phonologically in some contexts but by other components of grammar in others ([Rohlfs 1966], [Loporcaro 1997]). Nivkh presents a case of phonological and morphological conditions being *simultaneously* required for ICM to be triggered ([Mattissen 2003]). Welsh (and, to a lesser extent, Mende) shows examples of ICM triggered by, *inter alia*, lexical items and syntax along with morphosyntactic categories (sometimes conjunction of such triggers is also required) [Ball and Müller 1992], [Roberts 2005]). A clearer case of syntactic ICM is to be seen in Nias Selatan ([Brown 2001]). This raises problems relevant to both the theoretical status of the ICM themselves and the nature of triggering mechanisms active on different levels of grammar or between them.

The next point of interest is the phonological exponence of ICM. While some cases can be straightforwardly subsumed under the rubric of "featural affixation" ([Akinlabi 1996]) or addition of a consonantal mora, and some quirky theoretical devices can account for other instances ([Gnanadesikan 1997]), several ICM types remain quite difficult to account for under current phonological and/or morphological theories. Such ICM instances pose the question of the "naturalness" of the process, as well as another, already mentioned

problem: what level of representation do the ICM belong to? Most scholars end up considering them as phonology, with notable exceptions for Celtic in general ([Green 2003]) and Scottish Gaelic in particular ([Stewart 2004]), while others propose ICM as a purely syntactic phenomenon. However, each of these approaches poses its own problems, which are also reviewed in the contribution.

The proposed contribution gives a sketch of the data, discusses all of the aforementioned points, as well as some subsidiary ones, and finally proposes (admittedly, tentative) solutions for the problems presented by ICM, these exceptionally interesting rara.

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Future to express habitual actions in the past or present, and past to express immediate future!

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The rara presented below have their origin in the contact with Tamil, the most widespread **Dravidian** language today spoken in India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Mauritius, Reunion, Thailand and Singapore by approximately 74 million people. Tamil has a **Subject-Object-Verb** word order or more precisely a verb final order and an **agglutinating, postpositional** and **suffixal** morphology**. The rara to be dealt with here concern the interpretation of tense in Tamil.

Tamil verbs are conjugated for the three tenses: past, present and future. Verbs can thus be interpreted differently depending on the time reference and the context. However, there is not always a correlation between the morphological tense form and the corresponding time reference. Thus, for instance, the **past** tense forms of certain auxiliary verbs are used to express immediate **future**, as in the following situation *sānti inkē vā* [Shanti here come-imp.s.] 'Shanti come here'; *nān va-ntu-vit.t-ēn* [I come-vbp-leave-pst-1s.] 'I'm coming'. Further, in a situation of threatening or warning, a conditional clause followed by a verb **in the past tense** is used to refer to the **future** time, as in *nī it-ai.t tot.t-āl ce-tt-āy* [you this-acc touch-cond. die-pst-2s.] 'If you touch this, you will die'.

Likewise, the interpretation of tenses in Tamil in the **future** is striking since it can be used to express rather various conditions than simply referring to future time. For instance, the **future tense** is used to express **habitual or repeated actions** or events in the **past** as in *cinna vayat-il nān pamparam vilaiyātu-v-ēn* [small age-loc I top play-fut-1s] '[when] I was young, I used to play with tops' or **present** as in *kumār atikkati cinimā.v-ukku.p pō-v-ān* [Kumar often cinema-dat go-fut-3sm] 'Kumar often goes to the cinema'. Furthermore, **future** tense is also used in **generic** statements as in *mātu pil tin.n-um* [cow grass eat-fut-3sn] 'Cows eat grass'. Thus, a hearer in a given speech situation can distinguish the time being referred to solely on the context.

Intensive long-term contact between several languages leads to languages influencing each other, as is the case in the small enclave of Pondichery between Tamil, French, English and other regional languages. As a result, the special features of Tamil in the future discussed above have been observed even in French and English.[5] Descendants of mixed Indian and French parentage in Pondichery, called Creoles, who are native French speakers, overseas French nationals, and "balanced" Tamil-French bilinguals, have carried over this tendency into their French. Thus, for instance, a Pondicherien French speaker may say[6] *Tous les matins elle **ira** à l'église*[7] to express a habitual action in the present or *n'importe qui **aura** ciseau, je **prendrai** des longues tresses comme ça, **sera** lourde, je **garderai**, je **prendrai** le ciseau et **cassera** en deux*[8] to express a past habitual. Further, in a sentence like *il y **aura** une grotte, devant la grotte il faut chanter pour la Vierge*[9] usage of the future is even extended to include descriptions, which would normally require the *imparfait* in French. Thus, even in the French variety of Pondichery, the future clearly seems to convey habitual meaning, both past and present.

Rara in the desiderative domain: hints for the theory

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By desiderative domain I understand here a language system of means for expressing wanting. It can consist of desiderative lexemes (verbs (ex. 1) and nouns (ex. 2)), and/or desiderative affixes (ex. 3) and particles (ex. 4).

In a search for typological generalizations in the desiderative domain, I have encountered a number of quite unusual rare facts. They have been too few to cancel the universal tendencies, but too salient to be neglected. This talk will be devoted to their presentation and the description of their impact on the theory of desideratives I have built.

It is necessary to make the difference between two types of rare facts:

(a) so called "great that they exist (no matter rarely or not)" facts, i.e. the facts proving the logic of the theory prediciting that the combination of the parameters in question must be possible;

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[5] Here, however, the discussion is restricted to French alone.

[6] All quoted examples are taken from the recorded and analysed corpus of conversation which formed part of a research study on the language contact situation in Pondichery; cf. Kelkar-Stephan, 2005, *The French-Tamil Language Contact Situation in India*, Aachen: Shaker Verlag.

[7] She goes to the church every morning.

[8] It didn't matter who had a pair of scissors. I used to take them and cut the long, heavy braids [of some girls].

[9] There was a grotto and we had to sing for the Virgin Mother [standing] in front of it.

(b)   so called "great that they are rare" facts, i.e. the facts whose rarity proves unnaturalness of the combination of the parameters in question.

Among the first type could be named

❖   existence of desiderative constructions (in particular, when they are the only means a language has to express wanting);

❖   existence of subject-to-object raising for complement clauses of desiderative verbs;

❖   existence of desiderative means with more than two other meanings except 'to want' (e.g. 'to intent' and 'to love')

Among the second type could be named some combinations of the semantic type and the morphosyntactic type of a desiderative (e.g. desiderative affixes with emotive meaning).

At the same time, some facts belong to both types: their existence follows the logic of the system, but contradicts the logic of communication. Cf.

❖   possibility of marking of wanter-NP and wanted-NP as 'non-core' arguments of a desiderative verb

❖   inability of a desiderative verb to have a wanted-NP (only a wanted-clause).

Examples:

(1)   Imbabura Quechua, [Cole 1982:38]
        ñuka   **muna-ni**   kan   miku-chun.
        I   want-1   [you   eat-SUBJ.DS]
        "I want that you eat; I want you to eat."

(2)   Tukang Besi, [Donohue 1999:398]
        te   **hempo-no**   te   wila-'a.
        CORE   **desire-3POSS**   [CORE   go-NMN]
        "They want to go."

(3)   Shipibo-Konibo, [Valenzuela 2003: 576]
        e-a-ra   wame   **rete-kas-ai**.
        I-NOM-EV   paiche:NOM   kill-**DESID**-INC
        "I want to kill paiche."

(4)   Mapuche, [Smeets 1989: 301]
        küpá   amu-fu-y-iñ welu elu-ñma-nge-la-y-iñ.
        desire   go-IPD-IND-1NON_SG-PL but give-IO-PASS-NEG-IND-1NON_SG-PL
        "We(pl) wanted to go but were not allowed to."

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Ablative as a marker of benefaction

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Beneficiaries are coded in a number of ways in and across languages. Beneficiaries may, e.g., be marked with case affixes or adpositions, or they may be introduced to clauses via applicativization of the verb. As for case marking, dative or a similar case is usually is employed for coding Beneficiary. The Recipient also receives the same formal treatment in a number of languages. This kind of polysemous use of the dative is rather frequent cross-linguistically, which is not unduly surprising given the semantic features Beneficiaries and Recipients have in common. Also the polysemy of Beneficiary and Maleficiary is frequently attested. In the languages in which this occurs, the use of a Beneficiary marker seems to have extended to expressing Maleficiaries as well. This is not very surprising either, since benefaction and malefaction form a kind of continuum instead of being fully mutually exclusive notions. It is therefore possible to interpret a Beneficiary marker as a marker of Maleficiary in favourable conditions.

By contrast to the frequently attested polysemies noted above, languages in which Source and Recipient and/or Source and Beneficiary are lumped together are clearly less common. Especially infrequent are languages in which a marker originally used for Source coding (such as the ablative case) takes over beneficiary coding as well. One of the reasons for the rare occurrence of this polysemy is probably found in the clear semantic differences between the roles of Source and Beneficiary. There are, however, few languages in which this kind of polysemy is attested, even though these languages are clearly in the minority. Examples include Kuuk Thaayorre (Alice Gaby, p.c.), Gawwada (Mauro Tosco, p.c.), Mekeo (Alan Jones, p.c.) and Finnish.

My paper focusses on discussing the use of ablative in the function of coding benefaction in Finnish. Data from other languages is also occasionally used for making the argumentation more relevant cross-linguistically. First, I will discuss the contexts in which the ablative can be used for Beneficiary coding in Finnish (the use is far from being fully productive). Second, the paper discusses the reasons for the rare occurrence of the Beneficiary/Source polysemy. It will be shown that a grammaticalization path that produces this polysemy is less natural than the (rather frequent) grammaticalization process as a result of which the use of dative (or a similar case) extends to coding malefaction. Third, the paper also discusses some potential explanations for the emergence of the examined polysemy. The contexts in which this kind of polysemy is possible are less frequent than contexts in which dative can be used to code malefaction. At a more general level, the paper aims at making a contribution to our understanding of grammaticalization. The question it addresses in this respect is why certain kinds of grammaticalization processes are more likely to occur than others.

Classifying events and referents: Rarissima in Abui verbs

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In our paper, we discuss some unusual features of the Papuan languages Abui and Teiwa (spoken on Alor and Pantar, N of Timor island, Indonesia). The first issue relates to verbal classification in Abui, the second to the pronoun inventory of Teiwa.

1. Abui has a set of 19 verbs which combine a very generic semantics with a minimal form -- typically a single phoneme. Examples are the verbs *m* 'with', *l* 'affect', *r* 'complete', *ng* 'apply', *a* 'be' and *e* 'add'. In other languages, such "generic" verbs may be combined with co-verbs (e.g. Jaminjung, Schultze-Berndt 2000) or appear in verbal sequences (e.g. Kalam, Pawley 1966, 1993). In Abui, the generic verbs combine with each other to derive new verbs, as illustrated in (1). Two or more generic verbs may constitute a morphologically complex verb, and each of the composing verbs specifies a distinct semantic feature of the event denoted by the derived verb. For example, in the verb *ma* the generic verb *m* 'with' relates two entities as being with each other, the verb *a* classifies the event as a state; in *mar* the verb *r* marks the event as completed, in *mal* the verb *l* marks the argument as affected.

(1)

Verb	Morph.str.	Semantics	Translation
m	m	WITH	with
a	a	BE	be
ma	m-a	WITH-BE	exist, exist at the same place
mar	m-a-r	WITH-BE-COMPLETE	complete to be with > be prepared, cooked
mal	m-a-l	WITH-BE- AFFECT	affect to be with > prepare, cook, perform
mang	m-a-ng	WITH-BE-APPLY	be always with > possess, be domestic(ated)
me		WITH-ADD	add to, move to be with > come
meng		WITH-ADD-APPLY	add to be with > dress, put on to wear

In the paper, we describe the generic verbs of Abui, and present the restrictions that apply on number and types of generic verbs that combine into complex verbs. We analyse how the semantics of the complex verbs is derived, and propose how an Abui verb (generic or derived) is specified in the lexicon w.r.t. valency and thematic role of argument(s).

2. The second issue relates to pronouns in Teiwa. Teiwa makes distinctions in plural pronouns that are cross-linguistically rare. For example, it has a distinction between 3pl "they (unmarked)" (*iman*) and "they elsewhere (in time/space)" (*i'in*). This is illustrated in (2), where *ni'in* "we.excl" refers to two orphans who were not included in a count. In (2a) the counters are referred to with (unmarked) *iman* in (2b), however, the use of *i'in* makes explicit that the orphans were not counted because the counters were elsewhere (in time/space).

(2) a. Hala   ni' in   ma   **iman**   wan   tagan   man
        others   we.excl   come   they   be   count.Real   Neg
        'The others, they did not count us [E.g., because they didn' t want to].'

   b. Hala   ni' in   ma   **i' im**   wan   tagan   man.
        others   we.excl come   they (elsewhere)   be   count.Real   Neg
        'The   others,   they   (elsewhere)   did   not   count   us   [E.g.,   because   they   were   at   another
        location, or we arrived later].'

Teiwa also has special pronoun paradigms to specify the number of participants involved in an event, or the group they belong to. For example, there are pronouns for referents alone (*yi-qai* "2p-only" > "you alone"), for referents involving another group (*yi-qap* "2p-*qap* > "you and they"), or pronouns expressing numbers (*yi-man ut* " 2p-*man* four" > " the four of you").

In sum, the verbal system of Abui presents an unusual window on how events can be deconstructed into sub-events -- the latter being expressed as generic verbs out of which complex verbs are composed; and Teiwa pronouns show unusual distinctions in the classification of pronominal referents.

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Split marking in Semelai

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Semelai (Austroasiatic: Mon-Khmer: Aslian) is a morphologically ergative language which exhibits a peculiar semantically motivated split in its case marking system. The basis of the split, which gives rise to two marking possibilities for intransitive verbs, is to indicate involuntary compulsion resulting from external causation.

In the prototypical transitive clause in Semelai the core grammatical relation A is marked by a system of pronominal proclitics on the verb, and a proclitic *la*= 'A' on the external post-verbal NP. The grammatical relation O, which is not cross-referenced on the verb, may be optionally encoded by differential marking with the proclitic *hn*= 'O' on the NP. In the prototypical intransitive clause the S, like O, is not cross-referenced on the verb, and nor is the NP coded, except for third person pronominal forms which have special 'S'-forms fused with the enclitic = *hn*, e.g., *kəhn* '3S'.

The split in marking occurs with a subset of intransitive verbs expressing human activity, e.g., *jtɛk* 'to sleep', and verbs of emotion, e.g., *ŋren* 'to be angry', and occurs when the activity or state is instigated by an external source. Curiously, the S of the intransitive clause is encoded as if it were a prototypical A – cross-referenced by an ergative proclitic on the verb, and the external NP host to the proclitic *la*= 'A' – even though the clause is still monovalent and the 'A' displays low agentivity.

Cross-linguistically, contextually determined split-marking typically exhibits a correlation with the semantics of the situation: the grammatical marking of S as an A will reflect an increase in control or agentivity. The situation described for Semelai is counter to expectation. This paper will examine in detail this previously unattested and highly unusual case of split-marking.

"Quirky case": cross-linguistically rare phenomena in case-marking

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The talk addresses cross-linguistically rare phenomena in case-marking focussing on its distributional and functional aspects rather than on formal ones (an example of the latter is the "tonal case" as attested in a number of African languages). Starting from Blake's (2001) definition of case I address deviations from the case prototype. These deviations may concern morphological distribution of cases. Apart from better known phenomena, such as "double case" (Plank (ed.) 1995), these include "distributed case" where cases appear in different morphological slots (as in Koasati) or when cases can be alternatively marked on the noun, or on the verb (as in Abkhaz). Although it is common to speak of head-marking of grammatical relations or case functions (Nichols 1992), Abkhaz is unusual in that the same markers appear alternatively either as adpositions or as verbal directional prefixes. A deviant case of case distribution on the clausal level is found in Iraqw, where case suffixes may attach to a 'wrong' NP.

Turning to functional properties of cases, the paper discusses a number of cross-linguistically unusual functions, such as "presentational case" in Samoan, "background case" in Iraqw, "modal ablative" in a number of Australian languages, which cannot be readily assigned a better known case label. It also discusses languages where the use of a case is restricted to certain derived constructions, as the causee case in Nivkh or the second genitive in Yakut that is restricted to constructions with stacked possessors. The designative case, as found in some Tungusic languages, represents a deviation from the iconic form-function mapping, as the single case assigns two different grammatical functions, that of

Theme to its host NP, and of Beneficiary to the possessor of the host NP. Finally, I shall discuss the side-effects of case-marking pertaining to lexical categorization. It is not unusual that a case performs the nominalizing function, as for example, in Nahali, or the adjectivizing function, as genitive-like cases, involved in double case patterns. More rare are cases when application of case has the verbalizing effect, indeed Kayardild appears to be the only language with the phenomenon of "verbal case".

Finally, I shall address cross-linguistically unusual case-marking patterns, such as marked nominatives and absolutives (also discussed in the "Rara-collection" of the Universals Archives), pronominal ergatives (as found in some Iranian languages, discussed by Filimonova 2005, but also in some Mande languages), cases when differential object marking pattern extends to (intransitive) subjects (as in case of Central Pomo and Niuean), as well as cases of "global" case-marking that cannot be reduced to issues of distinguishability (as in Chepang, where only volitional As take the O in the objective case). It will be shown that many of these unusual patterns are the outcomes of different functional motivations, as familiar from the functional-typological literature, or result from interaction of functional motivations with universal grammaticalization processes.

Ideophones and templatic morphology in Totonaco de Filomeno Mata

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This paper introduces a new type of ideophone based on the author's field research on Totonaco de Filomeno Mata (TFM), an endangered, underdocumented language of eastern Mexico. TFM exhibits semantically linked morpho-phonological templates of a kind that has not previously been described in the literature on ideophones.

An early attempt to define ideophones describes them as "A vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity." (Doke 1935:118). Phonological characteristics discussed as typical of ideophones in prominent surveys such as Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz (2001) and Hinton, Nichols & Ohala (1994) include (a) reduplication, (b) sound symbolism, (c) violation of the phonotactic constraints of the language, and (d) use of 'wild' phonemes not found in the rest of the lexicon (Rhodes 1994).

Ideophones in TFM, which fall into the three main semantic areas of color terms, odor/flavor terms, and manner adverbials, illustrate a fifth type of phonological pattern. They conform to strict prosodic templates, which secondarily involve both sound symbolism and reduplication, and which are fully diagnostic of their semantic fields. The primary color terms provide an illustrative example:

Templatic		Non-templatic	
saqaqa	*white*	skayiw'a	*green*
tsitsiqi	*black*	ʃpinini	*red*
tsutsuqu	*red*		
snapapa	*white*		
smukuku	*yellow*		
spupuku	*gray*		
spupunqu	*blue*		
pupunqu	*purple*		

The color term template may be characterized as follows: it consists of three C(C)V syllables, two of which are identical; stress is medial; there is a single vowel melody throughout; the initial or final C must be a member of one of the three 'intensity' series – {s, ʃ, ɬ}, {t, tʃ ts, tl}, or {k,q} – while the remaining consonants are generally limited to labials. Aside from minor color terms derived from the above through alternations in the sound symbolic consonant, no other words in TFM follow this template.

Odor/flavor terms and manner adverbials are also templatic. Odor/flavor terms consist of a closed monosyllable beginning or ending with a member of one of the three sound symbolic series. Many of these terms end in a complex (n)C(C) coda, which is also a characteristic of manner of motion adverbials, and is found only rarely outside the ideophone stratum of the lexicon. Thus all ideophones are associated with a prosodic template; the templates vary by semantic field.

Although the association between prosodic templates and ideophones found in TFM has apparently not previously been documented in other languages, there is some evidence that it may exist in at least a handful of other cases. It is of course true that the individual elements that together comprise the complex TFM ideophonic templates are themselves not unique, occurring separately in ideophones, and in non-ideophonic templates, in other languages. A brief survey shows that languages which have ideophones in which sound symbolism and reduplicative templates co-occur may also exhibit the semantically-linked morpho-phonological templates presented here.

Negatives without negators
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The Raritätenkabinett at <http://ling.uni-konstanz.de:591/universals/introrara.html> features the following rarum concerning the expression of clausal negation (number 33): "negation expressed negatively, by omission of material present in affirmative clause". Well-known instances of this so-called zero-negative construction are found in some South and Central Dravidian languages. In these languages, negation can be signalled without an overt marker of negation by the mere absence of tense marking. Schematically, the affirmative verb forms can be rendered as ROOT-TENSE-PERSON and the negatives as ROOT-PERSON. Thus in Old Kannada, we find the affirmative-negative correspondences in (1).

(1) Old Kannada (Pilot-Raichoor 1997: 79)

a. *noːḍ*   b. *noːḍ-id-em*   c. *noːḍ-em*
    see-FUT-1SG   see-PST-1SG   see-1SG
    'I will see'   'I saw'   'I do/did/will not see'

It should be noted that this construction does not go against the well-established markedness pattern that negation as the marked category is expressed by at least as many morphemes as the unmarked affirmative – there are no languages where affirmation receives overt marking while negation is zero-marked; in Old Kannada it is tense, not affirmation, that is overtly marked.

In a recent study of clausal negation (Miestamo 2003), not a single language in an areally and genealogically representative sample of nearly 300 languges shows this type of construction. That tense marking is dropped in negatives, is by no means exceptional in the world's languages as shown by Miestamo's study, but the absence of an overt marker of negation in a negative construction is rare. Some African languages (e.g. Igbo and Degema) have verbal constructions where negation and other meanings relevant to the verb (e.g. person, tense, aspect, mood) are expressed with the interaction of tonal and segmental changes but no single element can be identified as the negative marker. These constructions are different from the Dravidian ones, but they both share the feature of lacking an overt, clearly identifiable negator. In this paper, I will take a closer look at the two rare types of negatives without a negator, discuss the functional motivations for the existence of these types, and make some observations on the diachronic developments behind them. Some other languages have also been claimed to possess a negative construction without an overt negator; the Raritätenkabinett mentions Achumawi and Malakmalak. I will discuss both cases, argue that they do not constitute parallels to the Dravidian zero-negatives, and show some problems in the analysis proposed for the Achumawi negative construction by Forest (1993). I will also briefly address the question what the rarity of a phenomenon tells us about its complexity.

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Accounting for Rare Typological Features in Formal Syntax: Three Strategies and Some General Remarks

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The purpose of this paper is to explore the treatment of rara and rarissima in formal syntax, in its mainstream Principles-and-Parameters (P-and-P) version. I present the three principal strategies for handling them, which I illustrate with case studies, followed by critical remarks. Rara present a particular challenge for P-and-P, given the central idea of this approach that seeming complexity and idiosyncrasy are purely epiphenomenal. The three strategies that have been employed to handle rara are the following:

(1)   **Reductionist**. The rare feature is derivable from the interaction of independently motivated UG parameter settings. Consider 'V2 languages', namely those in which the finite verb must occupy second position in the main clause. They seem confined primarily to Germanic languages and those in close contact with them. One popular account of V2, initiated by den Besten 1983, derives it from the movement of the inflected verb into C and the movement of the initial XP into CP. Each operation is quite common crosslinguistically.

(2)   **UG stipulation.** The theory is structured so that the rare feature is predicted to be rare. Consider Chinese, which has the unusual feature of being basically SVO, but with the order relative-noun. Travis 1989 develops a theory of markedness relations within UG in which Chinese manifests the most marked, and hence rarest, combinations of these two properties.

(3) **Language-particular stipulation.** Rare features are outside the domain of UG principles and parameters per se and are attributed to language-particular rules. Consider the very rare order OVS, manifested by Hixkaryana. Kayne 1994 and Baker 2001 argue that OVS languages are parametrically SOV, but have a movement rule fronting the VP, yielding OVS. They suggest that the more extra rules that need to be stipulated, the rarer the feature.

In my view, (2) is a priori the least desirable of the three strategies, in that it complicates the theory of UG without at the same time providing new insight about grammar. (1) and (3) each have their plusses and minuses. (1) has the advantage of being most in accord with the spirit of P-and-P, but with the seeming defect of failing to account for the rarity of the feature. Why, for example, should the conjunction of two common processes yield a rare feature? (3) is a move away from a 'pure' P-and-P theory toward a construction-based approach. Yet the idea that grammars 'pay' for rare features by needing extra rules is intuitively appealing.

I argue that of the three strategies, (1) should be appealed to whenever possible, precisely because of its reductionist nature. This strategy fails to explain *why* the feature is rare, but that is not a bad thing. As is argued in Newmeyer 2005, most typological generalizations fall out from a theory of performance, rather from a theory of UG (see also Hawkins 2004). Strategy (3) will be necessary for the residue of features not capturable by (1). The extent to which stipulated rules reflect typological rarity remains to be investigated.

The Subtractive Plural Morpheme in Sinhala

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Plural marking is considered a prime example for the principle of constructional iconicity (Mayerthaler 1988), which is accepted as the cause of some well-known universals by

different linguistic schools (Haiman 1985, Newmeyer 1998). This talk presents the subtractive plural morpheme used for Sinhala inanimates which consistently violates this principle. Subtractive plural marking has not been found in other languages so far.

Sinhala inanimates are divided into six classes. Five of them use a subtractive, countericonic morpheme for plural marking. The last segment of the singular form is stripped as can be seen in Table 1. Class *vi* behaves differently because of phonological constraints which do not permit a final ḍ, ṭ, or r.

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	
singular	-VCa	-Vya	-Vva	VCCa	eka	Xa	(X=ḍ,ṭ,r)
plural	-VC	-V	-V	VC{ü/i}	∅	Xaval	
segment lost	-a	-ya	-va	-C-	eka	gain of val	
examples:							
singular	pota	kuḍaya	vaartaava	kekka	bas eka	para	
plural	pot	kuḍa	vaartaa	keki	bas	paraval	
gloss	book(s)	basket(s)	report(s)	pole(s)	bus(ses)	street(s)	

Table 1: Plural marking on Sinhala inanimates (based on Jayawardena-Moser 2004, Karunatillake 2004)

The subtractive strategy for number marking is extremely rare cross-linguistically and only hypothetically mentioned in Corbett (2000). While having some superficial similarity to a singulative system, the Sinhala system cannot be analyzed as such and is fundamentally different from singulative systems like Imonda (Seiler 1985) or Arbore (Hayward 1984).

The principle of constructional iconicity would predict that an increase in semantic content, as in the plural, should be mirrored by an increase in phonetic substance (Mayerthaler 1988, Wurzel 1989, Dressler et al. 1987). While the majority of the world's languages comply, this is not the case in Sinhala, where an increase in semantic content is matched by a *loss* in phonetic substance. Sinhala plural marking shows that while cognitve motivations may shape number systems all over the world, systems in diametrical opposition to the standard cognitive explanations do also exist and supports the value of statistical universals compared to absolute universals (Dryer 1997).

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The Dravidian zero negative: conceptualisation and diachronic context of its morphogenesis

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The Dravidian 'zero negative', as Master (1946) called it, is a unique morphological construction which is stricking by its simplicity and the soundness of its logical conceptualization. Descriptively, it is a negative declarative paradigm which is devoid of any overt sign of negation, being built on the schema: verb root + person suffixes. Its negative meaning rests on a systematic opposition to the positive paradigms which are built on: verb + tense + persons. Therefore the negative exhibits a 'zero' structural morpheme in place of the 'tense' morphemes of the positive paradigms.

Its interpretation requires a proper evaluation of the semantic relationships between the elements that constitutes the system. The 'tenses' initially encoded in the basic Dravidian morphological system (past/non-past/negative) pertain to the internal temporal development of a process, more akin to different phasal 'aspects' of a verb than to its localisation in an external temporal frame. In this view, the absence of tense marker iconically signifies that the process has no temporal extension, i.e. that the process, which actually needs 'time' (of whatever extent be it) to get realized, does not occur.

In the proposed communication I will summarizes the principles of this conceptualisation which have been detailed in previous papers (see for instance Pilot-Raichoor 1998). To broaden the scope and assert that this building of negative meaning is not so unique, I will mention typological connections with similar processus of negation ('suspensive-réassertive', cf. Forest 1993) and other uses of a semantics of distanciation and/or void which are characteristic of the paradigmatic negation in Dravidian.

I will also precise the diachronical context which favour its development. The zero negative paradigm is an innovation which occurs only in the South subgroup of the Dravdian languages. Its development occurs in the wave of a major typological shift that can be traced in the very early stages of Tamil. The language change, from an earlier isolating type to an agglutinative one, allowed the development of a categorizing morphology in which the 'verb' –opposed to the 'noun'- become specified by the encoding of 'time' in its morphology.

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A unique grammatical relation in Algonquian syntax

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It is very probably the case that every human language contains some pattern of applicative syntax, i.e., that pairs of synonymous clauses can be found in which one contains an object that corresponds to an oblique nominal in the other. For example,

(1) (a) *He bought a latté for me.*   (unmarked syntax)
     (b) *He bought me a latté.*   (applicative syntax)

Most of the syntactic complexity in applicative constructions centers around the nature of the grammatical relation borne by the nominal corresponding to the object in the unmarked syntax, or that applicative syntax is obligatory, i.e., no unmarked syntax is possible with certain semantic classes of obliques.

Algonquian languages are no exception to this generalization. They all have garden variety applicative constructions, like the Ottawa (Ojibwe) example in (2).

(2)   *Wdoozhtamwaan waa-gwinid.*   'She is making it for her so she can wear it.'
      od$_i$=ozhit-amaw-aa$_j$-an$_j$ CHANGE-*wii-agwi-ini$_j$-d$_j$.*
      3ERGi =make-**APPL**-AN P OBJ$_j$-OBV$_j$ REL-FUT=wear-OBV$_j$-3SUBJ(C)$_j$

The syntactic questions in Algonquian languages for the type of construction exemplified in (2) are: 1) that the applicative construction is obligatory, i.e., there is no non-applicative construction, and 2) that the displaced object shows the syntax of a secondary object. (Algonquian languages are all primarysecondary object languages in the sense of Dryer [1986].)

What makes Algonquian languages unique is that they all have a second, and much more common, construction which brings notionally oblique nominals into a closer grammatical relation with the verb, but leaves original objects, if any, unchanged in grammatical relations. An Ottawa example is given in (3).

(3)   *Niniing-sh go naa wgii-naabmaan niwi mnidoon.*   'He saw <u>the spirit</u> **in the form of a man**.'

      aniniw$_i$-ing   =sh go naa   o-gii=**in$_i$**-aabam-<u>aa$_j$</u>-<u>an</u>   <u>niwi manidoo$_j$-an</u>.

      man$_i$-LOC   EMPH   3ERG-PAST=**like$_i$**-see-<u>AN P OBJ$_j$-OBV</u>   <u>this [OBV] spirit$_j$-OBV</u>

Algonquianists have a terminology for describing this phenomenon. The verbal morpheme involved is called a relative root. The nominal that fills the slot licensed by a relative root is called a relative root complement.

The bulk of this paper will be devoted to showing that relative root complements (RRCs) bear a

unique grammatical relation that is halfway between that of true obliques and that of secondary objects (sOBJ). The class of facts that I will address is summarized in Table I.

	Subj	pObj	sObj	RRC	Obl
Full verb agreement	+	+	-		- -
Allow 1/2 person pronominals	+	+	-	-	-
Gender/number agreement	+	+	+	-	-
Understood definite reading	+	+	+	+	-
Target of advancement	+	+	+	+	-
Accessible for relative clause formation	+	+	+	+	+/-

Table I Syntactic properties of Algonquian grammatical relations

The data will be drawn primarily form the Ottawa dialect of Ojibwe, but examples will be given from other Algonquian languages to show that the relative root phenomenon is family wide.

Rara and Linguistic Theory

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This paper investigates the relationship between Rara and Linguistic Theory. The first part discusses (a) the methodological significance of Rara for the confirmation and development of linguistic theory, and (b) how hypotheses formulated within the framework of a (functional-typological) theory of grammar can lead to the discovery of new (rare) categories. In the second part I will discuss some uncommon features which have recently played an important role in Linguistic Theory.

Part 1. The interaction of Rara and Linguistic Theory

It is one of the main tasks of linguistic typology to investigate the range of cross-linguistic variation, in particular the limits of linguistic diversity (i.e. to determine where the variation stops, as when certain logical possibilities are not attested). In such an investigation, frequency of occurrence is relatively unimportant. What counts most is the fact that some property (a sound, a meaning, a form, a construction, etc.) is attested one of the world's languages, not so much the number of languages that happen to share that property (which may be due to an historical accident). Since a general theory of grammar must provide a model for the grammar of **each** individual language, essentially all grammatical properties are equally relevant. One could even argue that Rara are particularly important, since "exceptional types test the theory" (Perkins 1988: 367).

Both linguistic theory and typology employ classifications, which are based on certain parameters. In a way each classification provides us with a categorization and a prediction (a theory of what is deemed possible). Ideally, a classification has no gaps and includes all attested possibilities defined by the parameters. If the classification is too restricted (as when there are more attested possibilities than provided for in the classification) or too wide (as when certain possibilities are not attested in any language), the theory or classification needs to be revised (e.g. by using other parameters).

There is, however, also the possibility that the theory is correct, but that the database or sample was not representative of the linguistic diversity. This is, of course, where Rara play a crucial role: they may fill a gap in a classification and confirm a theory that predicted the existence of some grammatical phenomenon.

Part 2. Case studies

I will discuss two cases of Rara that have played a crucial role in the confirmation of (part of) a theory of grammar. One involves languages with isomorphic expressions of *Definiteness* and *Realis* (e.g. FONGBE - Levebvre 1998) or *non-specific Indefiniteness* and *Irrealis* (JACALTEC - Craig 1977); another concerns a language with maximally underspecified nouns (YUCATEC MAYA - Lucy 1992).

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Agreeing adverbials: rare but (mostly) areal

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G[rammatical]A[greement] of adverbials with core arguments of the clause, although sporadically attested in diverse linguistic phyla, exhibits a conspicuous areal-genetic clustering, being comparatively widespread in (i) Australian Aboriginal languages (as part of the more general phenomenon of 'case stacking'), (ii) NE Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian), and (iii) Modern Indo-Aryan - while not being completely alien to the rest of IE, both classical and modern (Romance).

Cf. the following examples (GA controllers italicized, GA markers underlined, pertinent GA targets in boldface; (noun class) IV):

Jalangu-(**rlu**) ka-lu-jana puluku turnu-ma-ni *yapa-ngku*.
'today(-**ERG**) PRES-3.PL.SUBJ-3.PL.DO bullock.ABS muster-CAUS *man*-ERG'
"The people are mustering the cattle today."   (Warlpiri; SIMPSON 1991:208)

Reł ła-**r**   dede-**r**-e   ʕ*ičal*(-gi)   r-ošun r-oʔa.
she.ERG   here-**IV**   father-**IV**-DAT *apples*(IV).ABS(-PTC) IV-buy IV-AUX
'She was buying apples for father here.'   (Avar, Antsukh dialect; KIBRIK 1985:318)

Baabu tin-u kor-**u** go?
father(M).SG.NOM your-M.SG where-**M.SG** went
'Where did your father go?'   (Poguli; HOOK 1989)

The present paper concentrates on gender-number GA of adverbials in Nakh-Daghestanian and Modern Indo-Aryan, which has received less attention in the literature so far, compared to Australian 'case stacking'. It summarizes the results of the author's longer-term efforts of comprehensively documenting and analyzing the phenomenon in both groupings, by cataloguing its instances and extent in the languages under analysis, by examining, *inter alia,* grammatical functions and participant roles of GA controllers and targets, syntactic categories and lexical subclasses of targets, semantic liability to GA, functions of adverbial GA, and the interrelations of these properties, and by correlating the phenomena with the over-all grammatical architecture of the resp. languages.

Furthermore, the paper touches upon several questions of general theoretical significance, such as the implications of the phenomenon for the general theory and typology of GA, the syntactic and semantic viability of descriptively assimilating it to standard GA cases, esp. by means of a predicative (re-)interpretation (cf. SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004), and plausible/probable diachronic scenarios giving rise to adverbial GA; cf. e.g. HARRIS

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Mawng lexicalized agreement in typological perspective

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Lexicalized agreement is the exploitation of the verbal morphology usually used to crossreference core arguments to encode lexically-specified syntactic or semantic properties of the verb. Lexicalized agreement is not well known as a typological feature but occurs with small numbers of verbs in languages such as Navajo (Young et al. 1992), Ket (Vajda 2003), Gaagadju (Harvey 2002) and Limilngan (Harvey 2001). Less than thirty verbs have been described as having lexicalized agreement in these languages. This talk reports on recent research on the non-Pama-Nyungan Australian language Mawng in which lexicalized agreement can occur with a quarter of all verb roots. Canonical verbal agreement with third persons distinguishes five genders and it is this third person agreement which can become lexicalized.

Lexicalized agreement is the freezing of verbal agreement so that although a verb appears to cross-reference a third person argument of a particular gender there is in fact no corresponding participant. For example when the verb root -*arlukpa* means 'kick' it crossreferences two arguments in the expected fashion. When it is used to mean 'dance' it always inflects as if cross-referencing a third person masculine gender argument, which does not in fact exist.

Lexicalized agreement has been described as the encoding of *pseudo-actants* by Vajda (2003) and *pseudo-objects* or *pseudo-subjects* by Corbett *et. al.* (2005) but these terms are misleading when applied to Mawng. There is a cline between more and less argumentlike types of lexicalized agreement in Mawng (Evans 2004). Argument-like lexicalized agreement seems to encode a real argument but the agreement is not productive. In effect these verbs strictly subcategorize for a third person argument of a particular gender. At the other end of the cline, lexicalized agreement effectively introduces a dummy-argument.

There are morphosyntactic parallels to lexicalized agreement in Georgian version in which verbal morphemes also alternate between two very different functions (Gurevich and Anderson 2005). There are semantic parallels with the incorporation of generic nouns into verbs - this is is also a way to specify a particular sense of a verb root via the properties of a participant.

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Languages with SOV word order and no morphological marking of core arguments

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Languages with no free or bound morphological marking of core arguments (here isolating languages) typically employ linear order for distinguishing who is doing what to whom. The linear order in such languages is typically SVO. A sample of roughly 300 languages, based on the WALS database (Haspelmath et al. 2005) and my own studies, contained 21 isolating languages. Of these 21 languages, 17 (81 %) had SVO word order and 4 (19%) had SOV order (multiple languages from the same genera were not counted). Thus, the proportion of isolating languages with SOV word order may be around as low as 1 % in the world's languages despite an overall preference for SOV (Dryer 1992). Notably, it also seems that isolating languages disallow V- and O-initial orders.

In this presentation, I offer a functionally motivated explanation for the rarity of SOV word order in isolating languages. Evidence from language processing and functional principles suggest that SVO word order in isolating languages is functionally better motivated than SOV. Firstly, Gibson's (1998) parsing theory suggests that syntactic attachment occurs at the verbal head. Thus, in languages with SOV word order the parser would have to hold both S and O until it reaches the verb, instead of only S in languages with SVO word order, making the former type more difficult to process (see also Ueno and Polinsky 2005). Secondly, SVO is the most economic word order in isolating languages, because the core arguments are distinguished by the place of the verb alone and independent of the presence of the other argument. In SOV word order, on the contrary, correct identification of the role of S requires the presence of O as well. Thus, S could be misinterpreted as O if for some reason O is deleted. Thirdly, SVO word order represents more iconically the order initiator-act-target in the physical world.

Since isolating language with SVO word order seems to be functionally better-motivated type than isolating languages with non-SVO order, we could expect that the latter is unstable diachronically.

Evidence from language change seems to support this. Firstly, if a language with non-SVO word order lost its morphological marking of core arguments, we could expect it to change to SVO word order. This process is widely attested, especially in Creole languages. Secondly, if an isolating language with SVO word order changed its word order, we could expect it to develop case marking or agreement to escape the instability of the isolating non-SVO type. In fact, this change – which is a rarity in itself – is attested in Kamti Tai, a tonal and isolating language spoken in Myanmar. It has changed from SVO to SOV word order probably due to language contact, but as a consequence, has reanalyzed its definite marking particles as object marking particles (Khanittanan 1986). Thus, it seems that isolating non-SVO language type is diachronically unstable, and that poor functional motivation offers at least a partial explanation to the rarity of this type.

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Ternary oppositions, Estonian three-way quantity contrast, and the Baltic polytonic Sprachbund

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Although most linguists believe that everything in language is governed by dichotomy, linguistic ternary oppositions are quite common, e.g. 3 persons, locative cases in triads, oral stops (b, d, g; p, t, k; p^h, t^h, k^h), etc. Moreover, a stop itself may form a ternary quantity/tonal opposition, found, e.g. in Icelandic ($V^hC'C$, VC:, and $V{:}^hC$) and Nothern Swedish dialects (V:C, VC, and V^hC).

Frans Plank, in "Das Grammatische Raritätenkabinett", catalogues under *rarissimum* Estonian, Livonian, and Saami (all Uralic) as dubious cases for a three-way contrast of both vowels and consonants.

In this paper it will be argued that one should take a look on the ternary quantity opposition in two levels. On the one hand, a vowel or consonant (cluster) can occur in ternary oppositions, while on the other hand, such vowels or consonants or clusters with ternary oppositions behave as distinct sounds (phonemes) able to distinguish minimal pairs or minimal sets.

The Estonian language is famous for its three-way quantity oppositions – Q1, Q2, and Q3, or short, long, and overlong, respectively. It is important to note that minimal pairs with binary quantity oppositions are absolutely typical of Estonian. Ternary sets are occasional and very few, e.g.:

Q1	Q2	Q3
koli [koli] 'junk'	*kooli* [ko:li] 'school.GEN'	*kooli* [ko::li] 'school.PART/ADI'
löma [löma] 'squashed'	*lööma* [lö:ma] 'scrap'	*lööma* [lö::ma] 'to beat'

In Livonian, too, there exist ternary vowel patterns (V, V:, and V::) and ternary and even quaternary consonant clusters (C, CC, C·C, and stød+CC), but they are not distinctive for minimal sets. The same also applies, with some exceptions, to Saami languages (dialects), where there are three contrasting quantities in qualitatively identical consonant centres.

At the same time, one can find a three-way quantity contrast of vowels and corresponding minimal pairs and sets in German dialects (Hamburg and Cologne areas; in Cologne it is called the "rheinische Schärfung"), e.g. the Low German dialect of Hamburg-Geest: [vit] 'white', [vi:t] 'far, wide', and [vi::t] 'willow'. Sonorants (l, r) can also participate in this process, maybe as part of syllable nucleus.

In sum, it seems that the Estonian three-way quantity contrast is unique in that (1) both vowels and most consonants participate in it and (2) this contrast is phonological, serving as a basis for minimal pair discrimination. At the same time, the phenomenon is characteristic of a much larger area encompassing the Baltic polytonic Sprachbund, where the ternary quantity distinction has developed in different forms and ways.

Syllabic obstruents in Ahtna Athabaskan

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Syllabic sonorants are expected in most Athabaskan languages, and are capable of bearing high tone in some: Jicarilla Apache *ńyoł* 'It's windy,' Galice (Pacific Coast) *nkei* 'Your foot,' Ahtna *nlaen*, 'He/she is.'[10] However, syllabic obstruents are usually restricted to very particular morphological environments and occur only in a subset of the languages. (Galice *shkaa* 'for me,' Ahtna *łtsii*, 'It's windy.') In an even smaller subset, stops and affricates may occur in comparable environments. The Southern Alaskan Athabaskan languages, Ahtna and Dena'ina, seem to go farther than any others in their tolerance for syllabic obstruents. In Ahtna prefix sequences, fricatives and aspirated stops may occur word-initially before consonants, or sandwiched between other consonants, as in the following examples from Kari (1990):

(1)   Ahtna consonant clusters

	Underlying form	Surface form	Gloss
a	c'+t+d+n+z+gh+e+ł+ghuu'+e	i'.**t**n.zgheł.ghuu'e	'I won't snore'
b	d#ko+i+laak	**t.**ku.laak	'He fixed it (areal)'

Ahtna prefix phonology employs several strategies to reduce potential consonant sequences. (1a) shows lenition (in the derived *i'-* form of *c'-*) and cluster reduction (the deletion of *d-*, again in 1a). This suggests that Ahtna syllabification is not unconstrained, but that various strategies other than epenthesis are preferred in prefix sequences. One of these strategies, apparently, is to allow aspirated stops to stand alone as syllables (1b).

In the examples above, the letter *d* stands for an unaspirated voiceless stop, and the letter *t* for a strongly aspirated stop. Most curiously, unaspirated stops become more like their aspirated counterparts when stranded in such situations as shown in (1b) (Kari 1990). Supporting Kari's observation, acoustic measurement (Tuttle 2005) shows that prefixes with the underlying phonological shape *d* take on extra voice onset time preceding many consonants. These alternations are recognized in the writing system.

In effect, unaspirated *d* and aspirated *t* are neutralized in Ahtna prefix sequences. It is the direction of neutralization that is interesting here. It appears that there are three Ahtna strategies for reducing consonant sequences: lenition (1a), deletion (1a), and, for particular consonant types, fortition (1b). I propose that the additional aspiration in preconsonantal alveolar stops does two things: it carries place information for the singleconsonant prefix, and it provides continuancy to make the alveolar stop more like a voiceless fricative, which is an unmarked syllable peak for Ahtna.

Typological questions remain for Athabaskan syllabification, since the prosodic systems of these geographically dispersed languages can differ so greatly. The Ahtna and Dena'ina territories border on areas where Eyak, Tlingit and Alutiiq have been spoken. Future discussions of comparative Athabaskan prosody must take into account the prosodic structures of both Athabaskan and neighboring languages.

An uncommon type of valency operator in Wolof

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In addition to verbal suffixes encoding common types of valency changes (middle *–u*, causative *–e, –al, –lu, loo,* and *–le,* applicative *–e* and *–al*, co-participative and/or reciprocal *–andoo, –oo, –e,* and *–ante,* and antipassive *–e*) (see Voisin, 2002), Wolof uses a specialized and synchronically unanalyzable verbal suffix to code a type of valency change that

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[10] Examples are given in practical orthographies.

does not seem to be coded by means of an unanalyzable marker in any other language. This 'possessive' marker enlarges the argument structure of the verb, but differs from causative and applicative markers, which constitute the commonest types of valency-increasing operators. Starting from an intransitive verb, it derives a transitive verb with the following argument structure:

– an additional argument with the semantic role of possessor is introduced in subject function;
– the object of the derived possessive verb cumulates the role of possessum and the semantic role assigned to the subject in the construction of the non-derived verb.

(1) a. Woto bi gaaw na.
car DEF be.fast PFT3S
'The car is fast.'

b. Sàmba gaaw-le na woto.
Sàmba be.fast-POSS PFT3S car
'Sàmba has a fast car.'

This operation is possible with a limited class of intransitive verbs that can be characterized as unaccusative, since a feature common to all verbs compatible with possessive -*le* is the nonagentivity of the subject. However, if most unaccusative verbs accept this marker, it seems to be more productive with stative verbs, in particular with verbs of quality.

The construction of these derived 'possessive' verbs can be compared with so-called external possession, i.e. "constructions in which a semantic possessor-possessum relation is expressed by coding the possessor (PR) as a core grammatical relation of the verb and in a constituent separate from that which contains the possessum (PM)." (Payne et Barshi 1999: 3). In (1b), the possessor *Sàmba* (subject) and the possessum woto 'car' (object) are two distinct constituents, treated as nuclear arguments of the verb *gaawle*.

However, if the construction of Wolof possessive verbs shares some features with the possessor-possessum relation described by Payne & Barshi in EP constructions, it is nevertheless distinct from the different external possession strategies they describe.

Synchronically, the mere fact that Wolof does not have passive derivation makes it impossible to analyze the valency change encoded by the possessive suffix as a combination of applicative and passive, as for example in Tswana. A plausible diachronic explanation is however that Wolof possessive –*le* results from the grammaticalization of a complex marker, with applicative –*al* as its first formant, and with a second formant **-e*, at a stage of the evolution of Wolof when passive was coded by a suffix **-e*. An evidence supporting this hypothesis can be found in the related language Buy, which has a passive marker -*e* (Doneux 1991: 62).

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Reduplication of person suffixes in Kwaza (isolate, Brazil)

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The isolated Amazonian language Kwaza (Rondônia, Brazil) has a number of unique properties which may have consequences for our general assumptions about what is possible in languages. One of those special properties is the occurrence of morphologically based reduplication., which is not determined by phonotactic units, but by morpheme boundaries. In this type of reduplication, the repetition of bound elements is not a case of recursive application of a morphological operation. Instead, it represents a separate morphological process the result of which cannot be predicted on the basis of constituent operations. Apart from the usual kinds of reduplication in Kwaza, there are at least three

different types of reduplication of bound person markers: two of them indicating different sorts of past tense, and one indicating habitual aspect. So far such phenomena have not been attested unambiguously in any other language, not even in the most recent work on reduplication, such as Inkelas & Zoll (2004, *Reduplication: Doubling in* Morphology, Cambridge) and Hurch (ed. 2005, *Studies on Reduplication*, Mouton). In Kwaza, however, the phenomenon highly conspicuous and very productive.

Voiceless implosives: a comparison between South American and African languages

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Implosives that are voiced consonants are quite frequent in the world's languages but their voiceless counterpart is quite rare. Indeed only a few researchers have mentioned such sounds in the literature (e.g. Ladefoged 1964, Goyvaerts 1988, Kutsch Lojenga 1991& Demolin 1994). All of these languages (Igbo, Lendu and Sereer Singandum) are spoken in Africa. These sounds have sometimes been confused with preglottalized stops (e.g. Dimmendaal 1986). Therefore the number of languages accounting for such sounds might be greater than expected if more experimental evidence can be given to differentiate preglottalized stops and voiceless implosives. Recently Vuillermet found consonants that can be described as voiceless implosives in Ese Ejja a language spoken in the Bolivian part of the Amazon. This new finding is quite important because is allows to think that there might be some universal constraints on the production mechanisms accounting for these consonants. The paper focuses on a comparison between Ese Ejja and the known African languages. The paper also tries to establish the main features of these consonants that remain slightly controversial in their identification.

Positive and negative rarities in the cross-linguistic encoding of motion events

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Based on a typological investigation of the verbal (verbs, locative auxiliaries), adverbal (verb affixes, verb particles), and adnominal (adpositions, case) encoding of motion events in the clause in 150 languages from all continents, this paper discusses a number of salient rare phenomena in the cross-linguistic encoding of motion events.

In the first part, some positive rarities are discussed. Possitive rarities are such rare features which are lacking in the vast majorities of languages while negative rarities are rare missing features which are lacking only in a small minority of the languages of the world. Positive rare features in the domain of motion events include the following: the encoding of figure in the verb stem (e.g., Navajo), the encoding of ground in verb stems (e.g., Car Nicobarese), honorific motion verb stems (Samoan, Thai, Tibetan), a distinction of telic and atelic verb stems for 'go down(ward)' and 'go up(ward)' (e.g., Basque), deictic motion verbs derived from demonstrative adverbs (Austronesian), two equally unmarked verbs for 'come', 'come home' vs. 'come to other place', (Hmong), the distinction between 'in (empty space)' and 'in (full space)' in cases or adpositions (e.g., Avar), prepositions inflecting for person (e.g., Atoni), source marking by a sequence of two deictic verbs (Hmong), the domain of ENTER being expressed by either 'descend' or 'ascend' (Kâte).

While a large number of positive rare features in a certain functional domain are essential especially in testifying to the diversity of coding strategies of that domain—contrary to a widely hold belief a small number of large consistent types in a typology is no proof for a lack of crosslinguistic diversity—negative rare features are intriguing by themselves: why should the lack of a certain feature be rare? Positive features make languages more complex. Missing features, however, make languages simpler, at least at first glance.

In the second part of the paper, the following negative rare features will be discussed:

- Lack of a distinction between deictic or pseudo-deictic verb stems, such as Spanish *ir* vs. *venire* or English *go* vs. *come*. By far most languages make such a distinction in verb stems.

- Lack of a distinction between *go* and *walk* in verb stems.

- A complete lack of basic path verb stems, such as French *entrer* 'enter', *sortir* 'exit', *monter* 'ascend', and *descendre* 'descend'. Even if many Indo-European languages lack path verbs, this is rare cross-linguistically.

- Lack of motion events in motion event clauses. Even if clauses like *Out!* (instead of *Go out!*) are quite common cross-linguistically, there are only few languages which systematically lack motion verbs in clauses such as *He went to the town* and *They went after him*. Why should this be the case? From a functional point of view motion verbs are largely redundant in such contexts and *He to the town* and *They after him* would do as well. Equivalent structures occur in fact systematically, e.g., in Hopi, but are cross-linguistically rare.

The paper discusses possible reasons why the presence of a feature in these four cases is the winning strategy and by far outnumbers the lack of that feature cross-linguistically which seems to represent a less complex structure, at least at first glance. It is considered to what extent the four negative features require compensation in other parts of language structure and thus turn out to be positive rare features in a broader perspective. Put differently, it will be considered to what extent functional explanations can account for negative rarities in the domain of motion events.

A cross-linguistically rare case system in Tlapanec

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The Azoyú variety of Tlapanec (meʔ^M pa^H) has a system of four grammatical cases. Three of these behave much like cross-linguistically well-known cases: the Ergative, Absolutive, and the Dative. The fourth, however, is a novel grammatical case for which I have had to coin a neologism: the 'Pegative' (cf. Gr. pēgē 'fount, source, origin'). This encodes an actor involved in an event which also involves a Dative-like undergoer. So far I have not been able to identify a similar case system in any other language. In the larger context of a conference on typologically rare features it seems worthwhile to seek an explanation for the phenomenon and to throw out the question of whether the type of explanation proposed would be applicable to other *rarissime*. While rare, the Pegative case is not strange. It follows from the conspiracy of different features of Tlapanec that such a category could exist. First, the language prohibits more than one case-marked item per clause. This, in turn, relates to the structural make-up of the language by which cases are signalled on the predicate (rather than the noun) by means of suffixes of which there can only be one present at a time. Secondly, the language has a Dative category. Thirdly, only human undergoers may be case-marked. This means that if the Dative-like status of an inanimate undergoer (i.e., its status as recipient or mildly affected) is to be indicated, this must happen through a special case-marking of the actor. Fourthly, case marking of predicates involving a Dative-like undergoer operates on a split ergative basis where case is assigned to either non-third person undergoers or, when a third person undergoer is involved, to non-third person actors; in the first case the Dative is used, and in the second case its mirror category, the Pegative. From these structural facts a commonsensical motivation for the Pegative could be construed. The point about this type of explanation is that the rarity of the category in question is seen as a consequence of a conspiracy of structural features each of which are not rare. Possibly other *rarissime* may similarly be explained as the results of 'innocent' conspiracies.

Alternates

'Nephew'='Grandson' and 'Brothers'='Sisters': Unusual kinship terms in two Sino-Tibetan languages

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This paper addresses the kinship terms in Southern Min (also known as Hokkian/Taiwanese) and Prinmi, both Sino-Tibetan languages of China.

Although Sinitic languages have often been assumed of close affinity, kinship terms in Southern Min have unusual features not found in other Chinese languages such as Mandarin and Cantonese. These include homophones for 'nephew'–'grandson' and the lack of gender distinction in sibling terms. It is unclear whether the former reflects an original substratum in the kinship system of Southern Min or it has resulted simply from accidental events. Given the lack of gender distinction, 'son' is also used to refer to 'daughter'. When 'daughter' is called for, a term morphologically made up of 'girl'+'son' can be used unambiguously. Likewise, 'granddaughter' can be rendered as 'girl'+'grandson'.

Prinmi is a Tibeto-Burman language unique to China. The most remarkable feature in its kinship terms is the gender reference made to the speaker for addressing brothers and sisters. The gender feature is not determined by the biological sex of the brother/sister; instead, it depends on whether the brother/sister has the same biological sex as the speaker. Thus, a male speaker calls his older brother by the term *bai*, and his younger brother by the term *guen*. In parallel, a female speaker also calls her older sister by the term *bai*, and her younger sister by the term *guen*. Other terms are used for calling a brother/sister whose biological sex is different from the speaker.

The paper will present a basic kinship system in both Southern Min and Prinmi, and make comparison to that of other languages in various levels, starting from those in the same genetic groupings to cross linguistic families. It would be interesting to see to what extent unusual kinship terms in the two languages turn out to be rarissma, and how they may be accounted for.

Highly Associational Languages

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Rara come in variegated forms and guises. At one extreme we have the truly quirky and fantastic features, the bird of paradise in a flock of starlings. But at the other end of the spectrum one may define various scalar rankings, each of which logically entails the existence of record-holding end-points: the most flamboyant of all birds of paradise, or the smallest of all starlings. This paper is concerned with one such scalar ranking of languages, namely the degree to which they are *associational*; in particular, it focusses on those languages which exhibit an exceptionally high degree of aassociationality.

In a series of publications, it has been argued that Riau Indonesian is one such highly associational language. When two expressions X and Y with meanings P and Q respectively are combined, the meaning of the collocation X Y is derived from that of its constituent parts by means of the association operator, A (P, Q), which says that the meaning of X Y is associated in an unspecified way with the meanings of X and Y respectively. For example, if *ayam* means 'chicken' and *makan* means 'eat', *ayam makan* means A (CHICKEN, EAT), or anything that has to do in some way with 'chicken' and with 'eat'. In particular, the semantic representation A (CHICKEN, EAT) lacks any specification of thematic roles: the chicken could assume the role of agent, patient, or whatever might make sense in the context of the utterance.

This paper presents the results of an experiment designed to measure, objectively across a variety of languages, the availability of *apparently associational interpretations*: interpretations that appear to be obtainable from the association operator without reference to thematic roles or other semantic categories. Two kinds of apparently associational interpretations are sought: (a) those in which what looks like a bare noun preceding a bare verb is interpreted as the patient (rather than the agent); and (b) those in which what

looks like a bare noun in construction with a bare verb is interpreted as an oblique argument or even a non-argument (in the absence of prepositions or other such markings). The experiment presents subjects with a sentence in the target language and two pictures; subjects are asked which of the two pictures is best described by the sentence. The experiment is ongoing; as of October 2005, over 1000 subjects in a dozen languages had been tested.

While non-isolating languages have near-zero availability of apparently associational interpretations, isolating SVO languages generally allow apparently associational interpretations to some extent, thereby setting such languages apart from most others. However, amongst themselves, isolating SVO languages exhibit substantial cross-linguistic variation with respect to the availability of apparently associational interpretations. In this regard, the position of Riau Indonesian amongst isolating SVO languages is not exceptional: it falls in the mid range of Malayic languages, and in the mid-range of other isolating languages, in fact with substantially lower availability of apparently associational intepretations than other West Malayo-Polynesian languages such as Minangkabau and Sundanese. Thus, as suggested by the results of the experiment, there would appear to exist a Western Indonesian linguistic area containing the world's most highly associational languages.

Rare today – gone tomorrow

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Linguistic subsystems – like languages as a whole – are subject to change. Such change can lead to situations where a subsystem is progressively abandoned. COMRIE (in press) observes, for example, that there has been a "decrease in the worldwide incidence of pure vigesimal in favor of mixed decimal-vigesimal systems" and a general spread of decimalism as the predominant type of numeral system.

While language-internally motivated changes generally can occur without influence from outside, changes pertaining specifically to endangered subsystems usually tend to be either motivated or at least reinforced by other, external factors. On the one hand, speakers may adapt their language more or less consciously to another language if this facilitates social or commercial interaction. On the other hand, features of an external language might be regarded as "missing" in their own vernacular, so that categories, patterns or constructions are borrowed. The expansion of formerly restricted numeral systems e.g. in the Americas or New Guinea are examples for such a scenario.

In extreme cases the outcome of language contact will be assimilation and language shift. In less extreme cases – or in cases where there is no clearly superior party – the changes may be confined to particular subsystems.

In my talk, I want to demonstrate that the factors endangering languages can pose an extra threat to particular subsystems – even in languages which are themselves considered safe – and that the ongoing loss of languages and the increasing homogenization e.g. of numeral systems or writing systems, which affects even languages that are otherwise quite vital, has a direct impact on linguistic typology and theories of grammar.

Assumptions and generalizations about the rareness of features of human language may in fact be skewed and the result historical accidents. Linguists thus cannot be sure that unattested but possible features – or even features and categories thus far judged impossible – never existed, even in the languages we know of.