

7. Alternatives for non-verbal predications

7.0. Introduction

In the preceding chapter I tried to determine the extent to which the different non-verbal predication types distinguished in chapter 5 are predicable in the languages of the sample. In this chapter I will concentrate on the alternatives that languages use for non-predicable predication types. In 7.1 I will first give a survey of these alternatives. In 7.2 I look at the distribution of the alternatives in non-presentative and presentative predications, respectively. The results are evaluated in 7.3.

7.1. Alternative predication types

7.1.1. The lexical predication type

7.1.1.0. Introduction. In many cases the alternative used for a non-predicable predication type is based on a lexical verb or verbalizing affix which captures the semantic relation that would have been expressed by the non-verbal predication type had it been available. There are two subtypes, depending on the nature of the lexical verb or verbalizing affix.

7.1.1.1. The true lexical predication type. In the first subtype (LEX1) the alternative predication type is based on a true lexical predicate, generally a verb. Thus, many languages use predications based on a possessive verb as an alternative for the presentative possessive predication type:

Pipil (Central Amerind; Campbell 1985: 119)

- (1) *Su datka ni-k-piya.*
NEG nothing 1.SG.SBJ-3.SG.OBJ-have
'I don't have anything.'

Similarly, positional rather than copular verbs may be used in the expression of locative meaning:

Yagaria (Trans New Guinea; Renck 1975: 19, 68)

- (2) *Ovu-da ma-lo' bei-d-u-e.*
Ovu-1.SG DEM-LOC sit-REAL-1.SG-INDV
'I, Ovu, am here.'
- (3) *Totoga yo' bogo hano-d-i-e.*
above house one exist-REAL-3.SG-INDV
'Up above there is a house.'

The choice of one of the positional verbs used in predications with locative meaning in Yagaria is determined by the animacy of the subject term: *bei* 'sit' is used for animate subjects, *hano* 'exist' is used for inanimate subjects (see also Haiman 1980: 343). Since this type of distribution can be seen as determined by the selection restrictions imposed by the two verbs, these verbs cannot be considered true copulas, which, like other auxiliaries, do not impose selection restrictions at all (see 3.4).

The situation in Dutch, Ngalakan, and Ngiyambaa is somewhat different from that obtaining in Yagaria: in these languages the selection of a particular positional verb does not depend on intrinsic properties of the located object, such as its animacy, but rather on its actual (horizontal, vertical, etc.) position. Consider the following examples (see also Rijkhoff 1992: chapter 2):

Dutch (Indo-Hittite)

- (4) **Het boek is op tafel /*
 DEF book COP.PRES.3.SG LOC table /
in de boekenkast.
 LOC DEF bookcase
 'The book is on the table/in the bookcase.'
- (5) *Het boek ligt op tafel.*
 DEF book lie-PRES.3.SG LOC table
 'The book is on the table.'
- (6) *Het boek staat in de boekenkast.*
 DEF book stand-PRES.3.SG LOC DEF bookcase
 'The book is in the bookcase.'

Verbalizing affixes rather than verbs are used in West Greenlandic, where non-presentative possession (7) and status (8) are regularly expressed in a true lexical predication using the verbalizing affix *-gi* 'have as':

West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Fortescue 1984: 173, 171)

- (7) *illu-gi-galua-ra.*
 house-have.as-previous-POSS.1.SG
 'the house I used to have.'
- (8) *ilinniartisisu-ra-arput.*
 teacher-have.as-INDV.1.PL.3.SG
 "We have him as a teacher"
 'He is our teacher'

In all these true lexical predications the main constituents of the corresponding non-predicable non-verbal predications are present, but their syntactic status is different.

By way of example, representations of the possessive non-verbal predication type and its true lexical alternative are given in (9) and (10), respectively:

- (9) Non-verbal predication:
 $(e_i: [(f_i: (x_i)_{\text{Poss}} (f_i)) (x_j)_{\theta}] (e_j))$
 "x_j is of x_i"
- (10) Alternative LEX1 predication:
 $(e_i: [(f_i: \text{pred}_V (f_i)) (x_i)_{\theta} (x_j)_{\theta}] (e_j))$
 "x_i has x_j"

In the non-verbal predication in (9) the predicate term (x_i) refers to the possessor, the argument term (x_j) to the possessed item. In the alternative true lexical predication in (10) both terms are arguments of a lexical verb (pred_V).

7.1.1.2. The pseudo-transitive predication type. The second subtype of lexical predication (LEX2) is formed by predications based on what might be called *pseudo-transitive verbs*, remnants of originally transitive verbs which have lost some of their lexical characteristics while retaining others. An example of this strategy can be found in Kpelle, where the verb used in predications with locative meaning is "a singular imperative of the verb meaning 'see'" (Welmers 1973: 315). It betrays this origin in the fact that it takes the entity located as its object:

Kpelle (Mande; Welmers 1973: 315)

- (11) *-Káa nāa.*
 3.SG.OBJ-see there
 "See him/her/it there."
 'He/she/it is there.'

The verb *káa* "must be interpreted as having a specialized, fossilized function in such locative expressions, since the plural imperative form is not used when speaking to more than one person" (Welmers 1973: 315). The construction can thus be seen as syntactically subjectless. Since the single remaining argument is treated as an object, the construction cannot be considered an instance of non-verbal predication.

Originally possessive verbs may show up in pseudo-transitive predications expressing locative and existential meaning:

Spanish (Indo-Hittite; Suñer 1982: 22)

- (12) *¿Hay un médico en este pueblo?*
 have.PRES.3.SG INDEF doctor LOC DEM town
 "Has it a doctor in this town?"
 'Is there a doctor in this town?'

The verb used in Spanish in predications expressing locative and existential meaning is related to the originally possessive verb *haber* 'have',¹ from which it differs slightly in its present tense form only. The single argument of this verb behaves as a Goal argument, as is shown by pronominalization:

Spanish (Indo-Hittite; Suñer 1982: 22)

- (13) *Si que lo hay.*
 yes CMPLR 3.SG.ACC.M have.PRES.3.SG
 "Of course it has one."
 'Of course there is one.'

The construction is syntactically subjectless: the verb always occurs in the third person singular, whether its single argument is singular or plural. It can therefore not be analyzed as a predication based on a one-place non-verbal predicate.

As in the case of LEX1, one might say that in LEX2 the same elements are involved as in the non-verbal predication type it replaces. This is shown for locative predications in (14) and (15):

- (14) Non-verbal predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: (x_i)_{Loc} (f_i)) (x_j)_G] (e_i))$
 "x_j is at x_i"
- (15) Alternative LEX2 predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: pred_V (f_i)) (x_j)_{Go} (x_i)_{Loc}] (e_i))$
 "It has x_j at x_i"
 "See x_j at x_i"

In the non-verbal predication in (14) the predicate term (x_i) refers to the location, the argument term (x_j) to the entity located. In the alternative pseudo-transitive predication in (15) the locative term (x_i) is added to a predication based on a pseudo-transitive verb ($pred_V$), which takes the entity located as its Goal-argument.

7.1.2. The equative predication type

Equative predications (EQ) are frequently encountered as alternatives for non-presentative ascriptive predications. Consider the following examples:

1. Interestingly, in the possessive construction itself this verb has been replaced by the verb *tener* 'have', which originally meant 'hold'.

Tamil (Elamo-Dravidian; Asher 1982: 50, 49, 92)

- (16) *Raaman nalla-van.*
 Raman good-NR
 "Raman is a good one"
 'Raman is good.'
- (17) *Avaru (oru) daktar.*
 he one doctor
 "He is one doctor"
 'He is doctor.'
- (18) *Inta pustakam raaman-atu.*
 DEM book Raman.POSS-NR
 "This book is the one of Raman."
 'This book is Raman's.'

In all three sentences (16)-(18) the predicate is a term phrase. Adjectival and possessive predicates are nominalized in order to allow them to occur in predicative position; nouns need not be nominalized, but some speakers prefer to provide them with the elsewhere entirely optional *oru* 'one', as if stressing the term-nature of the predicate.² In all these cases the predicative application of one of the three predicate types is avoided by reducing it to the status of head or attribute within a term used predicatively in an equative predication type.

Instead of nominalizing adjectives and possessive phrases, these may also be applied to a repeated head noun, as in Yagaria:

Yagaria (Indo-Pacific; Renck 1975: 201)

- (19) *Ma-yo-ba' eigava yo-pie.*
 DEM-house-SBJ new house-INT
 "Is this house a new house?"
 'Is this house new?'
- (20) *M-igopa gagae' igopa-vie.*
 DEM-land 2.SG land-INT
 "Is this land your land?"
 'Is this land yours?'

2. Asher (1982: 108) notes, with respect to the expression of nominal complements: "In these there is no distinction between defining, identity and role types, in the sense that the complement will in each case be a nominal form in the nominative case. For some, though by no means all, speakers there is, however, a difference between the defining and the role type, in that a noun in the latter can optionally be preceded by *oru* 'one' used as a marker of indefiniteness, while a noun in the former cannot."

The differences between EQ and the predication type for which it is used as an alternative is illustrated for predications based on an adjectival predicate in (21) and (22):

- (21) Non-verbal predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: \text{pred}_A(f_i)) (x_i)_\theta] (e_i))$
 "x_i has the property f_i"
- (22) Alternative EQ predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: (x_j: \dots (x_j): (f_i: \text{pred}_A(f_i)) (x_j)_\theta) (f_j)) (x_i)_\theta] (e_i))$
 "x_i is an x_j with the property f_i"

The adjectival predicate (f_i) and its argument (x_i) in the non-verbal predication in (21) both show up in the alternative equative predication in (22). The difference is that in (22) the adjectival predicate (f_i) is a restrictor within a term phrase (x_j) which is used predicatively, taking (x_i) as its argument, whereas in (21) the adjectival predicate is applied directly to this same argument term.

7.1.3. The locative predication type

Locative predications (LOC) may be found as alternatives for possessive predications:

Egyptian Arabic (Semitic; Olmsted Gary—Gamal-Eldin 1982: 49)

- (23) *?and-i ?arabijja.*
 LOC-1.SG car
 "A car is with me."
 'I have a car.'

Bambara (Mande; Brauner 1974: 46)

- (24) *So bè n'-fè.*
 house COP 1.SG-LOC
 "A house is at me."
 'I have a house.'

In this case the alternative predication has essentially the same structure as the one it replaces, but for the semantic function of the term used predicatively, as represented in (25) and (26):

- (25) Non-verbal predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: (x_j)_{\text{Poss}}(f_i)) (x_j)_\theta] (e_i))$
 "x_j is of x_i"
- (26) Alternative LOC predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: (x_j)_{\text{Loc}}(f_i)) (x_j)_\theta] (e_i))$
 "x_j is at x_i"

7.1.4. The existential predication type

7.1.4.0. Introduction. Existential predications (EX) are found very frequently as alternatives for possessive predications. Several subtypes can be recognized. The differences between these subtypes all concern the expression of the notional possessor.

7.1.4.1. Possessor as Experiencer. In the first subtype (EX1) the possessor is treated as the entity experiencing the existence of the possessed object (see Bolkestein 1983: 83-84), and is generally expressed as a dative:

Tamil (Elamo-Dravidian; Asher 1982: 91)

- (27) *Avarukku neraya panam irukkutu.*
 he.DAT plentiful money COP.PRES.3.SG
 "To him there is a lot of money."
 'He has a lot of money.'

Nasioi (East-Papuan; Rausch 1912: 610)

- (28) *Danko oto-deru-mauñ.*
 spear COP.3.SG-2.SG.DAT-PRES
 "A spear there-is-to-you?"
 'Do you have a spear?'

The differences between EX1 and the possessive predication for which it is used as an alternative are represented in (29) and (30):

- (29) Non-verbal predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: (x_j)_{\text{Poss}}(f_i)) (x_j)_\theta] (e_i))$
 "x_j is of x_i"
- (30) Alternative EX1 predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: (\emptyset)_{\text{Loc}}(f_i)) (x_j)_\theta (x_i)_{\text{Exp}}] (e_i))$
 "There is an x_j to x_i"

The possessive predicate term (x_i) of the possessive predication in (29) occurs as the experiencer (Exp) argument³ of an existential predicate in the alternative predication in (30).

7.1.4.2. Possessor as Restrictor. In the second subtype (EX2) the possessor is expressed as a restrictor within a term functioning as the single argument of the existential predicate:

Nasioi (East-Papuan; Rausch 1912: 610)

- (31) *Manikuma dakana oto-maun.*
 woman POSS.2.SG COP.3.SG-PRES
 "Is there your wife?/Does your wife exist?"
 'Do you have a wife?'

Although the literal translation *your wife* suggests a definite interpretation of the argument term in this example, it might perhaps equally well have been translated as *a wife of yours*. The same proviso holds for further examples of the EX2 predication type below.

The differences between EX2 and the possessive predication for which it is used as an alternative are represented in (32) and (33):

- (32) Non-verbal predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: (x_i)_{\text{Poss}} (f_i)) (x_i)_{\emptyset}] (e_i))$
 "x_i is of x_i"
- (33) Alternative EX2 predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: (\emptyset)_{\text{Loc}} (f_i)) (x_j: \dots (x_j): (f_i: (x_i)_{\text{Poss}} (f_i)) (x_i)_{\emptyset}] (e_i))$
 "There is x_i's x_j"

In (32) the possessive predicate (f_i) is used as a main predicate, whereas in (33) it is used attributively within a term (x_j). This term refers to the possessed item, and it itself an argument of the existential predicate (f_j).

7.1.4.3. Possessor as Theme. In the third subtype (EX3) the possessor is treated as a theme (see 1.4), with respect to which the ensuing existential predication is presented as relevant (see Hengeveld 1990c: 296-298):

Mandarin Chinese (Sino-Tibetan; Li—Thompson 1981: 513)

- (34) *Tā yǒu sān-ge háizi.*
 3.SG COP three-CLFR children
 "As regards him, there are three children."
 'He has three children.'

The differences between EX3 and the possessive predication for which it is used as an alternative are represented in (35) and (36):

- (35) Non-verbal predication
 $(e_i: [(f_i: (x_i)_{\text{Poss}} (f_i)) (x_j)_{\emptyset}] (e_i))$
 "x_j is of x_i"
- (36) Alternative EX3 predication
 $(x_i)_{\text{Theme}}, (e_i: [(f_i: (\emptyset)_{\text{Loc}} (f_i)) (x_j)_{\emptyset}] (e_i))$
 "As far as x_i is concerned, there is an x_j"

The possessive term (x_i) used predicatively in (35) occurs as a theme in (36). The term (x_j) referring to the possessed item in (35) occurs as an argument of an existential predicate within the predication following the theme in (36).

7.1.5. The proprietive/privative predication type

7.1.5.0. Introduction. In the proprietive/privative predication type (PROPR) a situation or person is characterized as having the property of being provided with or lacking something. It can be used as an alternative for localizing and possessive predications. In this type of construction the privative predication type serves as the regular negative counterpart of the proprietive predication type, leading to pairs of constructions such as 'She is with-child' versus 'She is child-less' and the like. There are two subtypes of PROPR. The difference between these subtypes concerns the nature of the proprietive/privative predicate.

7.1.5.1. Adjectival/Nominal. In the first subtype (PROPR1), which is characteristic of flexible languages, the proprietive/privative constituent can, apart from its predicative use, be used as a head or modifier at term level, i.e. the proprietive/privative predication behaves like an ascriptive predication based on an adjectival or bare nominal predicate. Consider the following examples from Ngalakan:

3. Perhaps the term with experiencer function should rather be treated as a satellite. Arguments for both possible analyses are given in Bolkestein (1983: 79-81).

Ngalakan (Gunwinyguan; Merlan 1983: 40)

- (37) *Buru-bata-gaka-yi?*
 3.NSG-PROPR-brother-PROPR
 "They are brother-having."
 'They have brothers.'
- (38) *Ŋu-may-ēi.*
 1.SG-vegetable.food-PRIV
 "I am foodless."
 'I have no food.'

In *Ngalakan* both the proprietive constituent, marked by the discontinuous *bata ... yi?* 'with', and the privative one can be used predicatively. The proprietive/privative constituent may also be used with nominal inflection (Merlan 1983: 39-40), as illustrated in:

Ngalakan (Gunwinyguan; Merlan 1983: 39)

- (39) *Añji bur-na?na nugu-bata-gundaroro-yi?*
 and 3.NSG/3.SG-see.PAST CL.M-PROPR-horn-PROPR
 "And they saw (one) having horns."
 'And they saw a cow.'

The adjectival/nominal status of the proprietive constituent is evident from this example.

The differences between PROPR1 and the non-verbal predications for which it is an alternative are illustrated for possessive predications in (40)-(41):

- (40) Non-verbal predication
 $(f_i: (x_j)_{\text{Poss}} (f_i)) (x_j)_O$
 "x_j is of x_i"
- (41) Alternative PROPR1 predication
 $(f_j: (x_j)_{\text{PROPR}} (f_i)) (x_i)_O$
 "x_i is x_j-having"

The argument term (x_j) in (40) corresponds with the term from which the nominal/adjectival proprietive predicate (f_i) in (41) is derived. The argument term (x_i) to which this derived predicate is applied in (41) corresponds with the possessor term in the non-verbal predication type in (40).

7.1.5.2. Adverbial. In the second subtype (PROPR2), which is characteristic of rigid languages, the proprietive/privative predicate is, apart from its predicative use, restricted to adverbial usage. Consider the following examples:

Hausa (Chadic; Schachter 1985: 15)

- (42) *Ya-na da doki.*
 3.SG-COP PROPR horse
 "He is with a horse"
 'He has a horse.'
- (43) *mutum mai doki.*
 person PROPR horse
 "a person with a horse."
 'a person having a horse.'

In *Hausa* the proprietive constituent that can be used predicatively cannot be used at term level, where a separate proprietive morpheme is employed. The proprietive morpheme *da* does have other uses at the level of the predication, in particular in the formation of different kinds of adverbial expressions, such as those in (44):

Hausa (Chadic; Smirnova 1982: 64)

- (44) a. *da sauri* b. *da gudu*
 PROPR speed PROPR run
 "with speed" "with running"
 'quickly' 'running'

On the basis of these facts it may be concluded that proprietive/privative predicates in *Hausa*, unlike their counterparts in *Ngalakan*, are of an adverbial rather than a nominal/adjectival nature. They should therefore be treated in the same way as locative predicates, with which they share this adverbial nature. PROPR2 then presents a mirror image of the corresponding non-verbal predication type: the predicative term of the non-verbal predication type is the argument term of the alternative predication type, and vice versa, as represented in (45) and (46):

- (45) Non-verbal predication
 $(f_i: (x_i)_{\text{Poss}} (f_i)) (x_j)_O$
 "x_j is of x_i"
- (46) Alternative PROPR2 predication
 $(f_j: (x_j)_{\text{PROPR}} (f_i)) (x_i)_O$
 "x_i is having x_j"

Note that the differences in the representations for PROPR1 and PROPR2 are intended to suggest that in the former the proprietive/privative morphemes are of a derivational nature, whereas in the latter they are means of expressing semantic functions, i.e. adpositions or case markers.

7.1.6. The predicative quantifier predication type

Predications based on a predicative quantifier (QUANT, see also 6.4) are used as an alternative for localizing and possessive predications. Consider the following examples:

Fijian (Austronesian; Churchward 1941: 43, Milner 1956: 14, 37)

- (47) *Sā tolu na koro e kē.*
EMPH three ART village LOC DEM
‘The villages are three there.’
‘There are three villages there.’
- (48) *Sā dua na waqa.*
EMPH one ART canoe
‘The canoe is one.’
‘There is a canoe (available).’
- (49) *Sā rua na nodra lawa.*
EMPH two ART their net
‘Their nets are two.’
‘They have two nets.’

This predication type can also be found with the number ‘zero’ (50) and with indefinite quantifiers (51):

Navaho (Na-Dene; Young—Morgan 1980 [1987]: II,18)

- (50) *Shi-béeso ’ádin.*
1.SG-money none/zero
‘My money is none/zero.’
‘I have no money’

Tagalog (Austronesian; Schachter—Otanés 1972: 142)

- (51) *Marami ang kape.*
a.lot TOP coffee
‘Coffee is a lot.’
‘There’s a lot of coffee.’

If compared with the non-predicable predication type for which it is an alternative, the most salient feature of this predication type is that the quantifier is separated from the term of which the quantity is predicated, as illustrated for predications expressing possessive meaning in (52) and (53).

- (52) Non-verbal predication
(f_i ; (x_i)_{POSS} (f_i)) (x_j ; ... (x_j): (f_j : Quant (f_j)) (x_j)_Ø)_Ø
‘ x_j with quantity Quant is of x_i ’
- (53) Alternative QUANT predication
(f_i : Quant (f_i)) (x_j ; ... (x_j): (f_j : (x_j)_{POSS} (f_j)) (x_j)_Ø)_Ø
‘ x_i ’s x_j is/are Quant’

Separation of the quantifier from the term on which it has a bearing is possible only if quantifiers constitute a class of lexical rather than grammatical elements (see 7.2.2.1).⁴

7.2. The distribution of alternative predication types

7.2.0. Introduction

Two preliminary points are relevant with respect to the question of to what extent the use of alternative predication types is systematic in the languages of the sample. First, there is an obvious but crucial difference between the lexical strategy on the one hand, and all other alternative strategies on the other. In the lexical strategy the semantic relation that would have been expressed by a non-verbal predication type had it been predicable is expressed through a lexical predicate. Since there is hardly any limit to what can be expressed by lexical means, the possibility to apply this strategy seems to be relatively unrestricted and does not appear to be systematic in the way the other strategies are. The situation is quite different in those cases in which another non-verbal predication type serves as an alternative for a non-predicable one. The semantic relation that would have been expressed by the avoided non-verbal predication type had it been predicable has to result from the particular configuration of elements in the alternative predication type. By way of example, consider again the following sentence, illustrating EX2:

Nasioi (East-Papuan; Rausch 1912: 610)

- (54) *Manikuma dakana oto-maui.*
woman your COP.3.SG-PRES
‘Is there your wife?/Does your wife exist?’
‘Do you have a wife?’

4. This means that not all quantifiers can be treated as term operators in Functional Grammar.

As the literal translation shows, (54) is primarily a question concerning the existence of a person. By applying a possessive predicate attributively within the single argument of the existential predicate a possessive interpretation may result, but this final interpretation cannot be traced back to a single main clause constituent. Thus, the possibility to encode the semantic relations that a language is unable to express in alternative non-verbal predication types is much more restricted than the possibility to express these semantic relations by lexical means. In what follows I will concentrate on non-lexical strategies and show that these are used in a highly systematic way in the languages of the sample.

Second, there is hardly any overlap in the use of alternative strategies between presentative and non-presentative constructions, the clearest exception being the use of positional verbs in both presentative and non-presentative locative predications. For that reason I have divided the material accordingly in the following sections.

7.2.1. Alternatives for non-presentative predications

The predication types that will be studied in this section can be represented schematically as in Figure 34, which is part of the map of the area of non-verbal predication presented in 6.2.3.

(x _i) _{Loc} /-Pres	A/-Pres	N/-Pres	(x _i) _{Poss} /-Pres
	(ix _i)		(dx _i)

Figure 34. Non-presentative predication types

Within this area the non-verbal predication types could in principle be compared horizontally, along the lines of the predicate hierarchies defined in 6.1, and vertically, along the lines of the predication hierarchy given in 6.2. A comparison involving equative predications is irrelevant, however, since, as has been shown in 6.1.2, there is only one example of a non-predicable equative predication type. In Abkhaz identifying predications are non-predicable. The alternative strategy followed in this language is a lexical one.

More can be said about the alternatives used within the class of non-presentative ascriptive predications. In Table 32 these alternatives are listed.

Table 32. Alternatives for non-presentative predications

Language	(x _i) _{Loc}	A	N	(x _i) _{Poss}
!Xū	+	EQ	EQ	EQ
Abkhaz	+	+	EQ	EQ
Arabic, Egyptian	+	+		EQ
Babungo	+	+ / EQ	EQ	EQ
Bambara	+	+	EQ	EQ
Basque	+	+	+	EQ
Burushaski	+	----- + -----		+
Chinese, Mandarin	+	EQ	EQ	EQ
Chukchee	+	+	+	+
Dutch	+ / LEX1	+	+	+
Gilyak	+	irr	EQ	EQ
Guaraní	+	+		EQ
Hausa	+	irr	EQ	EQ
Hixkaryana	+	irr		EQ
Hungarian	+	+	EQ	EQ
Jamaican Creole	+	+	+	+
Ket	+	----- + -----		+
Krongo	+	irr		
Lango	+	+		EX1
Mam	+	+		
Miao	+	irr		EQ
Nahali	+	+		+
Nasioi	+	+		EQ
Navaho	+	irr		EQ
Ngalakan	+ / LEX1	+	+	+
Ngiyambaa	+ / LEX1	----- + -----		+
Pipil	+	+		EQ
Quechua, Imbabura	+	----- + -----		+
Sumerian	+	+		+
Tagalog	+	----- + -----		+
Tamil	+	EQ	EQ	EQ
Thai	+	irr		EQ
Turkish	+	----- + -----		+
Vietnamese	+	irr	EQ	EQ
West Greenlandic	+	irr	LEX1	LEX1
Yagaria	LEX1	EQ	EQ	EQ
Yessan-Mayo	+	+	+	EQ

As in previous tables, a + in Table 32 indicates that a predication type is predicable, 'irr' in the column for adjectival predicates indicates that the language under consideration lacks a class of adjectival predicates, and a line connecting the columns for adjectival and nominal predicates indicates that the language under consideration combines the functions of adjectives and nouns in a single word class. The remaining abbreviations have been introduced in this chapter. In almost all cases the (non-lexical) alternative predication type is EQ.⁵ Table 33 illustrates the use of this predication type for a subset of the sample.

Table 33. The equative predication type as an alternative for non-presentative predications—some examples

Language	(x _i) _{Loc}	A	N	(x _i) _{Poss}
Tamil	+	EQ	EQ	EQ
Babungo	+	+EQ	EQ	EQ
Abkhaz	+	+	EQ	EQ
Basque	+	+	+	EQ

Tables 32 and 33 show that predicate hierarchy 1A, presented in 6.1.1.1, is not only relevant with respect to predicable predication types, but also with respect to the alternative strategies used for non-predicable predication types. If a non-lexical alternative is used at some point in the hierarchy, it is also used at subsequent points in the hierarchy.

There is a straightforward explanation for the predominance of EQ as an alternative for non-predicable predication types in this domain. This strategy enables the element whose predicative use is disallowed to be used in its distinguishing non-predicative function, as defined in chapters 4 and 5. Thus, adjectives and possessive phrases are applied as attributes within a term used predicatively, and nouns are applied as the heads of terms used predicatively. In each case the ascriptive predication type is replaced by an alternative in which the element that constitutes the non-verbal main predicate in the ascriptive predication occurs in its favoured position within a term used predicatively in the alternative equative

5. The only exception is Lango, which uses a construction with a dative experiencer for the expression of possession. This expression format is more typical of presentative possessive predications, as will be shown in 7.2.2.

predication. The result is that the adjectival, nominal, or possessive predicate that in the non-predicable predication type would have been applied to an argument term *directly*, is now applied to this argument term *indirectly*. This is represented schematically in (55)-(60):

- (55) Direct predication
(f_i: carpenter_N (f_i)) (x_i: John (x_i)_Ø)_Ø
"John is carpenter"
- (56) Indirect predication
(f_j: (ix_j: (f_i: carpenter_N (f_i)) (x_j)_Ø) (f_j)) (x_i: John (x_i)_Ø)_Ø
"John is a carpenter"
- (57) Direct predication
(f_i: nice_A (f_i)) (x_i: book_N (x_i)_Ø)_Ø
"The book is nice"
- (58) Indirect predication
(f_j: (ix_j: .. (x_j): (f_i: nice_A (f_i)) (x_j)_Ø) (f_j)) (x_i: book_N (x_i)_Ø)_Ø
"The book is a nice one"
- (59) Direct predication
(f_i: (x_j: John (x_j)_Ø)_{Poss} (f_i)) (x_i: book_N (x_i)_Ø)_Ø
"The book is of John"
- (60) Indirect predication
(f_j: (ix_j: .. (x_j): (f_i: (x_j: John (x_j)_Ø)_{Poss} (f_i)) (x_j)_Ø) (f_j)) (x_i: book_N (x_i)_Ø)_Ø
"The book is one of John"

That EQ is not used to replace non-predicable locative predications can be explained along the same lines. The distinguishing function of the locative phrase is adverbial. In this function it cannot be used at term level, hence the inappropriateness of the equative predication type as an alternative for the locative one. The lexical predication type, on the other hand, is appropriate, since in this predication type the locative phrase occupies a position at predication level.

In Figure 35 I once again give a representation of the area of non-presentative non-verbal predication types. As indicated by the arrow, the use of EQ as an alternative for non-presentative ascriptive predications can be viewed as the borrowing of a more easily predicable neighbouring predication type for the expression of a less easily predicable predication type, whereby the most easily predicable predication type from the set of equative predications, the classifying one, enters the domain of ascriptive predications, starting with the least easily predicable predication type, that based on a possessive predicate.

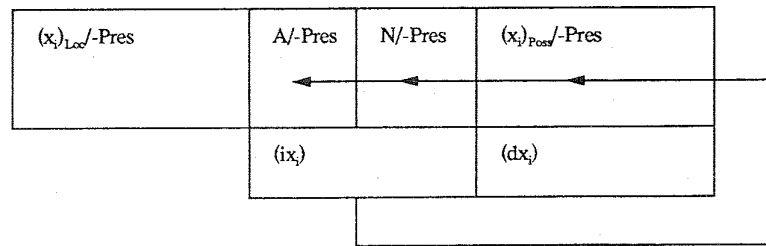


Figure 35. Alternatives for non-presentative ascriptive predications

7.2.2. Alternatives for presentative predications

Figure 36 gives a schematic representation of the presentative part of the area of non-verbal predication.

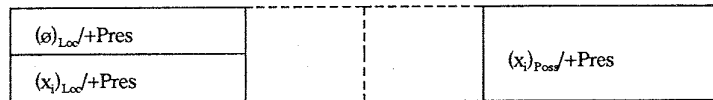


Figure 36. Presentative predications

Within this set of predications, localizing and possessive predicates allow for a horizontal comparison along the line of the predicate hierarchy given in 6.1. Furthermore, within the class of localizing predications, locative and existential predications can be compared vertically along the line of the predication hierarchy given in 6.2. Given that locative predications are more easily predicable than existential ones, and that both are more easily predicable than possessive ones, the full set of presentative predications may be compared as in Table 34.⁶

6. Since for Ngalakan I have not found an example of a construction with presentative locative meaning containing a quantifier I have not been able to ascertain whether in this context the predicative quantifier predication type would be used.

Table 34. Alternatives for presentative predications

Language	(x _i) _{Loc}	(ø) _{Loc}	(x _i) _{Poss}
!Xū	+	+	LEX1/EX2
Abkhaz	+	+	LOC
Arabic, Egyptian	+	+	LOC
Babungo	+	+	LEX1/EX2
Bambara	+	+	LOC
Basque	+	+	LEX1
Burushaski	+	+	+/LOC
Chinese, Mandarin	+	+	EX3
Chukchee	+	+	PROPR1
Dutch	+/LEX1	+/LEX1	LEX1
Gilyak	+		LEX1
Guaraní	+	+	LEX1
Hausa	LEX2	LEX2/PROPR2	PROPR2
Hixkaryana	+	+	PROPR2
Hungarian	+	+	EX2
Jamaican Creole	+	+	LEX1
Ket	+	+	LOC/PROPR1
Krongo	+	+	LEX1
Lango	+	+	EX2/PROPR2
Mam	+	+	EX2
Miao	+	+	EX3
Nahali			EX1
Nasioi	+	+	EX1/2/PROPR1/QUANT
Navaho	+/QUANT	+/QUANT	LOC/EX2/QUANT
Ngalakan	PROPR1/QUANT	PROPR1/QUANT	LEX1/PROPR1/QUANT
Ngiyambaa	+/LEX1	PROPR1	PROPR1
Pipil	+	+	LEX1
Quechua, Imbabura	+	+	LEX1,PROPR1
Sumerian	+	+	LEX1
Tagálog	+/QUANT	+/QUANT	+/QUANT
Tamil	+	+	EX1
Thai	LEX2	LEX2	LEX2
Turkish	+	+	EX2
Vietnamese	+	+	EX3
West Greenlandic	LEX2	LEX2	LEX2
Yagaria	LEX1	LEX1	EX2
Yessan-Mayo		+/QUANT	PROPR2/QUANT

Table 34 shows that, as in the case of non-presentative predications, the predicate hierarchy, as presented in 6.1.1.3, is not only relevant with respect to predicable predication types, but also with respect to the non-lexical alternatives used for non-predicable predication types. The same goes for the relevant part of the predication hierarchy presented in 6.2. This becomes even more clear from the selected subsets of languages using a particular alternative in Tables 35-37.

Table 35. The nominal/adjectival proprietive/privative predication type as an alternative for presentative predications—some examples

Language	(x) _{Loc}	(ø) _{Loc}	(x) _{Poss}
Ngalakan	PROPR1	PROPR1	PROPR1
Ngiyambaa		PROPR1	PROPR1
Chukchee			PROPR1

Table 36. The adverbial proprietive/privative predication type as an alternative for presentative predications—some examples

Language	(x) _{Loc}	(ø) _{Loc}	(x) _{Poss}
Hausa		PROPR2	PROPR2
Hixkaryana			PROPR2

Table 37. The predicative quantifier predication type as an alternative for presentative predications—some examples

Language	(x) _{Loc}	(ø) _{Loc}	(x) _{Poss}
Navaho	QUANT	QUANT	QUANT
Nasioi			QUANT

The generalization emerging from the facts presented here and in the previous section is that the use of non-lexical alternative predication types is governed by the degree of predicability, as established in chapter 6, of the non-verbal predication types they replace.

LOC and all subtypes of EX are found as alternatives for the possessive predication type only. This is not surprising, since (i) the locative predication type cannot, of course, be an alternative for itself and (ii) the predicability of the existential predication type implies the predicability of the locative predication type, as has been shown in 6.2.3. Furthermore, PROPR2 is not found as an alternative for locative predications. Again this is not surprising, since this predication type is structurally similar to locative predications, in the sense that it is based on a relational predicate with a primarily adverbial use (see 7.1.5). Therefore, if a language can express PROPR2, there is no reason why it should not be able to express the locative predication type as well.

Perhaps the most striking fact that emerges from Table 34 is the large number of alternatives used within the domain of presentative ascriptive predications. The widest range of variety is exhibited by Nasioi, where no fewer than four different alternatives are used for presentative possessive predications.

Nasioi (East Papuan; Rausch 1912: 610, 108)

- (61) *Danko oto-deru-maui.* (EX1)
 spear COP.3.SG-2.SG.DAT-PRES
 "Is.there.to.you a spear?"
 'Do you have a spear?'
- (62) *Manikuma dakana oto-maui.* (EX2)
 woman POSS.2.SG COP.3.SG-PRES
 "Does your wife exist?"
 'Do you have a wife?'
- (63) *Niñ tanuan-poq-nun.* (PROPR1)
 I soul-PROPR-M.SG
 "I am soul-having."
 'I have a soul.'
- (64) *N-üruka bēnaura.* (QUANT)
 POSS.1.SG-children three
 "My children are three."
 'I have three children.'

If one compares the situation in the domain of presentative predications with that obtaining in the domain of non-presentative predications, the question emerges as to what explains the existence of the large number of alternatives, particularly for possessive predications.

The line of reasoning followed in the previous section may prove useful in providing an explanation for the large variety of alternatives in the presentative domain. It was argued there that the high frequency of EQ as an alternative for non-presentative predications can be explained as a result of the fact that it allows the non-verbal predicates involved to be used in their distinguishing functions. Among the alternatives used for the presentative possessive predication type there are two that allow the possessive phrase to be used in its preferred attributive function: EX2 and QUANT. Consider again the representation of these predication types, which are illustrated by the Nasioi examples (62) and (64), in (65) and (66):

- (65) EX2:
 (e_i: [(f_i: (ø)_{Loc} (f_i)) (x_j: ... (x_j): (f_i: (x_i)_{Poss} (f_i)) (x_j)_{Ø/Ø}] (e_i))
 "There is x_i's x_j"
- (66) QUANT:
 (e_i: [(f_i: Quant (f_i)) (x_j: ... (x_j): (f_i: (x_i)_{Poss} (f_i)) (x_j)_{Ø/Ø}] (e_i))
 "x_i's x_j is/are Quant"

In both predication types the possessive predicate occupies an attributive position. Therefore, if the line of reasoning in the previous section is correct, one would expect these predication types to be used much more frequently than they actually are. This apparent contradiction is due to the fact that other factors block a more frequent application of these construction types.

With respect to EX2 consider (67):

Babungu (Niger-Congo Proper; Schaub 1985: 117)

- (67) *Zū wī liū shá*
 wife POSS.3.SG COP there
 "His wife is there/exists."
 'He has a wife.'

This predication type enables the possessive phrase to be used attributively. Schaub (1985: 117-118) notes, however, that sentences like (67) "may have different meanings in different contexts". If (67) is used as an answer to the question *Is his wife home?*, it is interpreted as meaning "his wife is present/at home", a locative rather than a possessive interpretation. This kind of ambiguity can be avoided in *Babungu* by using a lexical predication type, as in (68):

Babungu (Niger-Congo Proper; Schaub 1985: 117)

- (68) *Lámí kú bísá*
 Lambi have.PF goat
 'Lambi has goats.'

Thus, that EX2 is not used more frequently may be explained as a way of avoiding ambiguity.

This view is corroborated by the fact that there are only three languages in the sample in which the EX2 predication type is the only possibility: Hungarian, Mam, and Turkish. It is unclear how Mam copes with the problem of ambiguity, but in the other two languages there are additional means of avoiding it. In Hungarian the EX2 construction can be disambiguated by adding an appositional possessor in the dative case to the construction (see de Groot 1989: 188-190). Consider the following examples:

Hungarian (Uralic-Yukaghir; de Groot 1983: 95)

- (69) *(Péter-nek) van nyakkendő-je.*
 Peter-DAT COP.PRES.3.SG tie-POSS.3.SG
 "To Peter, there is his tie."
 'Peter has a tie.'

A particularly interesting example of the same phenomenon is provided by Turkish. Consider the following example:

Turkish (Altaic; Lewis 1967: 251)

- (70) *Mehmed'in parası var.*
 Mehmed-GEN money-POSS.3.SG COP.PRES.3.SG
 "Of Mehmed there is his money."
 'Mehmed has money.'

At first sight *Mehmed'in parası* seems to form one constituent meaning 'Mehmed's money', since in Turkish the regular way of expressing a lexical possessor within a term is to provide it with a genitive case-suffix. Lewis (1967: 251) convincingly shows, however, that the syntactical grouping in (70) is not *Mehmed'in parası / var* but *Mehmed'in / parası var*. Evidence for this second analysis comes from the following examples:

Turkish (Altaic; Lewis 1967: 251)

- (71) *Mehmed'in o banka-da-ki parası.*
 Mehmed-GEN DEM bank-LOC-ATTR money-POSS.3.SG
 'Mehmed's money in that bank.'
- (72) *Mehmed'in o banka-da parası var.*
 Mehmed-GEN DEM bank-LOC money-POSS.3.SG
 COP.PRES.3.SG
 'Mehmed has money in that bank.'

If in Turkish a locative phrase is applied as an attribute within a term, it has to be provided with the attributive suffix *-ki*, as in (71). The locative phrase in (72) lacks the attributive suffix, which shows that it is not an attribute within a term but a sentence-level constituent. Since terms may not be split up by other constituents in Turkish, the genitive constituent *Mehmed'in* 'of Mehmed' in (70) should be analyzed as a separate constituent as well. This constituent may then be analyzed as having an appositional or theme-like relationship to the possessed noun *parası* 'his money', thus disambiguating the EX2 predication type.

Thus, it may be concluded that, unless there are special disambiguation strategies available, EX2 is too sensitive to ambiguity to be used on a larger scale in the languages of the sample, even though it would enable the possessive predicate to be used in its preferred attributive position.

A second alternative predication type that would allow the possessive phrase to be used attributively is the predication type in which a quantifier is used predicatively. This predication type is once again illustrated in (73):

Tagalog (Austronesian; Schachter—Otanés 1972: 143)

- (73) *Marami ang kanila-ng pera.*
 a.lot TOP 3.PL-ATTR money
 "Their money is a lot."
 'They have lots of money.'

This alternative is subject to severe restrictions as well, as may be derived from some common properties of the languages that do make use of it.

Typical of these languages is that they have a large number of *set nouns*, defined by Rijkhoff (1991: 297) as nouns that can be used to refer to one or more individuals, without there being the need to mark this distinction. Rausch (1912: 115), for instance, notes that a Nasioi word like *káku* may mean either 'a pigeon' or 'pigeons', and Merlan (1983: 53) observes that in Ngalakan "... number is not highly developed as a category of the noun phrase". The presence of set nouns seems to be a precondition for a language to use predicative quantifiers. This is best illustrated by some Tagalog data. In this language most common nouns are set nouns. A plural marker may be used optionally if plurality has to be made explicit. This is shown in the following example:

Tagalog (Austronesian; Schachter—Otanés 1972: 111)

- (74) *mga libro-ng para.sa bata*
 PL book-CONN for child
 'books for the child/children.'

In (74) the unmarked noun *bata* 'child' may refer to one or more children, but the noun *libro* 'book', which is marked for plurality, can only be used to refer to more

than one book. In a construction with a predicative quantifier the subject cannot be marked for plurality, as illustrated in (75):

Tagalog (Austronesian; Schachter—Otanés 1972: 112)

- (75) *Sampu ang (*mga) anak niya.*
 ten TOP (PL) child 3.SG
 "His children are ten."
 'He has ten children.'

Thus, in a predication with a predicative quantifier, a quantifier is applied to an argument term which is headed by a set noun and therefore open to further specification. This further specification is given by the predicative quantifier.

A second characteristic of languages in which quantifiers may be applied predicatively is that the class of quantifiers does not constitute a separate (minor) word class, but rather is part of one of the major parts of speech. In Nasioi, for instance, numerals can be used as nouns, in Ngalakan they are adjectival in nature.

It seems, then, that in order for a quantifier to be used predicatively, it should be lexical rather than grammatical in nature and that in order for a quantifier to be dissociated from the term it quantifies, this term should not be specified for the category of number. The fact that QUANT is not used more often can now be explained as a result of the fact that the number of languages which meet these two requirements is limited.

Thus, the two alternatives that come closest to the requirements of possessive predicates are available to a limited extent only. It seems that, as a result, languages have to settle for less ideal alternatives from within and outside the presentative domain. This absence of straightforward alternatives is responsible for the large number of different alternative predication types. Figure 37 shows where the non-lexical alternatives come from. This figure shows most of all that there is a strong interaction between presentative possession on the one hand, and presentative localization on the other. This interaction manifests itself in two different ways:

- (i) Languages in which the existential and/or presentative locative predication types are predicable often use these as an alternative for the presentative possessive predication type.
- (ii) Languages in which the existential and/or presentative locative predication types are non-predicable borrow the predication type used as an alternative for the presentative possessive predication type.

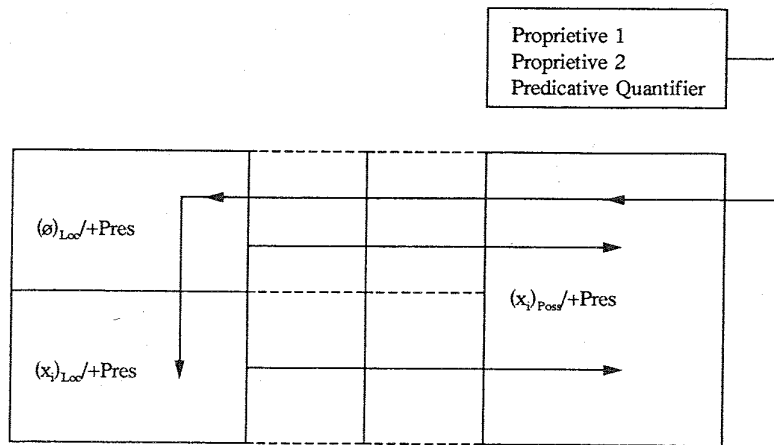


Figure 37. Alternatives for presentative predications

7.3. Summary

The findings of this chapter can now be summarized as in Figure 38. This figure provides further confirmation for some of the claims made in the previous chapter concerning the degrees of predicability of different types of non-verbal predication. First, within the domain of non-presentative predications the equative predication based on an indefinite referential predicate is not only the most easily predicable predication type, it is also the only non-lexical alternative used to replace non-predicable ascriptive predication types. Second, within the domain of non-presentative predications the reverse holds true: here the possessive predication type is not only the least easily predicable one, it is also the predication type that attracts the largest variety of alternatives, from within and outside its non-presentative domain. Third, in so far as alternative predication types are selected from within the set of non-verbal predication types under investigation, it is always a more easily predicable one that is selected as an alternative for a less easily predicable one.

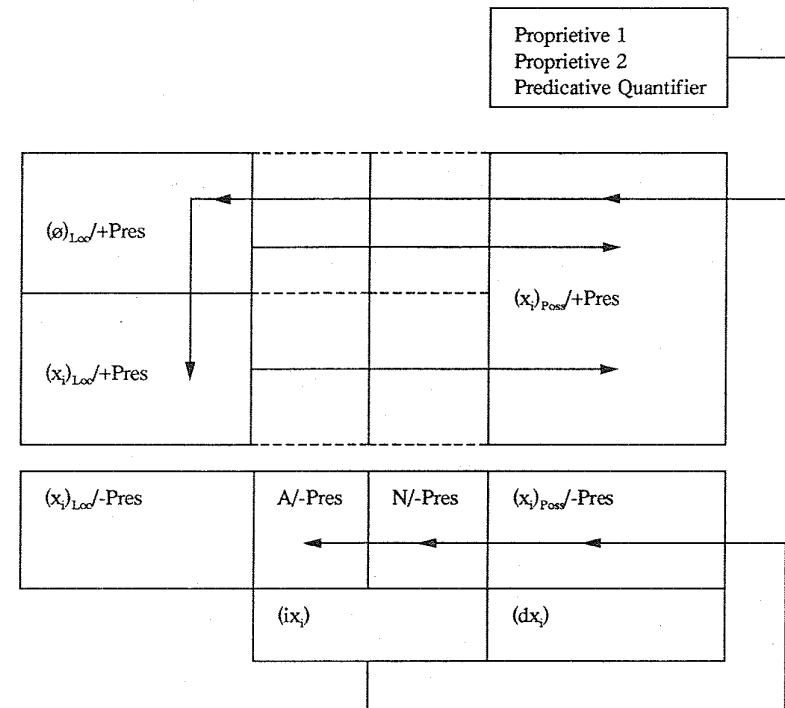


Figure 38. Alternatives for non-verbal predications

In relation to what has been said in previous chapters, it may be useful to return to a generalization that has been arrived at in this chapter. As illustrated in 7.2, the use of non-lexical alternative predication types is governed by the degree of predicability of the non-verbal predication types they replace. The predicability of predication types within individual languages is itself largely determined by their parts-of-speech systems. Thus, the extent to which languages make use of alternative predication types can be related to their parts-of-speech systems, as established in chapter 4, whereas the way in which the individual alternatives are used can be related to the degree of predicability of non-verbal predication types, as established in chapter 6.