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AGREEMENT AND WORD ORDER:
A Case for Pragmatics in Haya

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O. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to show the extensive effects of pragmatics on Haya word order and agreement pronouns.

Initially, it appears that Haya, a Lake Bantu language, is a "free" word order language. All permutations of the verbal complex and the subject, indirect object, and direct object noun phrases are allowed with the relationships between the various syntactic roles remaining stable. However, a closer examination reveals that rather than having "free" word order, Haya has the underlying basic structure: subject--verbal complex--indirect object--direct object. All other syntactically possible permutations are the result of specific pragmatically conditioned processes such as : emphasis, topicalization, focusing and/or afterthought. The pragmatic conditioning is motivated by the tendency in this language to separate old and new information. In Haya, except in the case of a new subject, new information never precedes the verbal complex.

Markers in the verbal complex, which agree in noun class membership with their "antecedent" nouns, allow for this apparent "free" movement. The stability of the syntactic functions of the various noun phrases is maintained due to the rigid ordering of the agreement markers--they indicate old discourse information.

In this discussion, it will be necessary to differentiate between information and reference. A referent is the idea which is expressed by the noun, while old (or given) information deals with what is in the hearer's consciousness (Chafe 1976). In other words, the notion of reference must involve shared background knowledge, and information must be tightly bound with the state of the discourse at the time of the utterance. Therefore, any one of three possible situations may arise in discourse:

	reference	
	<u>old</u>	<u>new</u>
<u>information</u>	+	-
	<u>new</u>	+

If our hypothesis is valid, only sentences belonging to the class "old referent--old information" would include these morphemes.

1. Description

1.1 Nouns and Their Noun Classes

In Haya, as in other Bantu languages, nouns are grouped into classes. Each noun class has a corresponding prefix and pre-prefix (or initial vowel--IV) which is determined by the prefix. Nouns have the following structure:

pre-prefix < prefix - noun stem

Class membership indicates number and animacy.

1. a) o-mu-kâzi 'woman'
IV cl₁ stem
- b) a-ba-kâzi 'women'
IV cl₂ stem
- c) e-ki-tooke 'banana'
IV cl₇ stem
- d) e-bi-tooke 'bananas'
IV cl₈ stem

1.2 The Verbal Complex (VC)

For each specified noun in a given sentence, an affix, marked for class membership, may be attached to the verb in a rigid manner, indicating the grammatical function of the nouns. This order is: Subject--Direct Object--Indirect Object, and occurs prefixed to the verb radical. Other markers indicating tense and case may also be affixed to this unit. The verbal complex is the name given to the verb radical and all its possible affixes.

2. abakâzi ba-gi-mu-cumb-îl-a kakûlw' énkôko
 women they it him cook APP MD Kakulu chicken
 └──────────────────┘
 VERBAL COMPLEX
 'The women cook chicken for Kakulu.'

The verbal complex may occur as a sentence without any specified noun.

3. ba-gi-mu-cumb-îl-a APP=applicative
 they it him cook APP MD MD= mood
 'They cook it for him.'

Notice in example (3) that ba-, -gi-, and mu- function as pronouns in addition to indicating class membership. These markers will henceforth be called agreement pronouns.

The agreement pronoun corresponding to the subject is obligatorily present and will be referred to as the Subject-Agreement-Pronoun (SAP). The Object-Agreement-

Pronoun (both DO and IO--OAP) may be optionally present depending upon conditions that will be discussed in detail in Sections 2 and 3.

1.3 Basic Word Order

Upon examining the data (Appendix II), it appears that the only possible orders that can occur with merely the SAP are SVIO or VIOS. Since VIOS is in actuality VIO||S -- as can be detected tonally (see Section 3) -- we will therefore postulate that SVIO is the unmarked or basic order and that VIOS is actually the result of right dislocation--i.e. afterthought.

4. abakâzi ba-cumb-il-a kakûlw' énkôko
 women they cook APP MD Kakulu chicken
 'The women cook chicken for Kakulu.'
5. ba-cumb-il-a kakûlw' énkôk' || ábakâzi
 they cook APP MD Kakulu chicken women
 'They cook chicken for Kakulu, the women.'

By "unmarked", we mean the order one gets if everything in the sentence is new information--not previously mentioned in discourse, or if only the subject is old information.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{S, V I O} \\ \text{OLD NEW} \\ \text{ALL NEW} \end{array} \right\} = \text{UNMARKED}$$

This basic order then is found to have the following properties:

- a) sentence contains all new information or only the subject is old information
- b) no tonal peculiarities
- c) occurs without OAP's

This finding agrees with Givón (1976) who stated that there seems to be a universal tendency for the IO to be positioned closer to the verb than the DO when both DO and IO are equally marked/unmarked. It also helps explain the less acceptable judgment given to sentences of the form SVOI.

6. kakûlw' a-cumb-il-' énkók' émbwa
 Kakulu he cooks APP chicken dog
 'Kakulu cooks chicken for the dog.'

On first reading, one would expect énkôko to be the IO. But since this is semantically highly improbable, a second reading is attempted--making énkôko the DO.

It can therefore be hypothesized that example (4) cannot be considered ambiguous since word order disambiguates, and only when that fails do other semantic factors intervene (cf. Hawkinson and Hyman, 1974).

2. Left Dislocation

2.1 Presence of OAP's

In Haya, as in many other languages, there seems to be a fairly consistent separation between old and new information. This separation is the motivation for left dislocation which allows the old information to be placed to the left of the verbal complex.

In order for an object to become topicalized (the result of left dislocation), it must be old information, the morphological realization of which is the obligatory presence of its corresponding OAP in the verbal complex. It is at this point that we differ from previous analyses of the OAP's function. Rather than indicating definiteness (Givón, 1976), our findings, which took contextual considerations into account, reveal that the indication of definitization is a by-product of a more general function.

Old information is by definition an old referent which is, in turn, by definition definite. Generics can also be considered old referents. However, an old referent may be either old or new information. Therefore, one would expect generics to occur with or without their corresponding OAP's, dependent only upon whether the information is old or new. Similarly, one would not expect to find an OAP corresponding to any NP which is new to the discourse.

7. 'The women cook for Kakulu.'

[old info]

- a) abakázi kakúlu ba-mu-cumb-îl-a
 - b) *abakázi kakúlu ba-Ø-cumb-îl-a
 - c) ≠abakázi ba-mu-cumb-îl-a kakúlu
 - d) ≠abakázi ba-Ø-cumb-il-a kakúlu
- women they cook APP MD Kakulu

(7b) is ungrammatical because an object without its corresponding OAP in the VC was topicalized. The OAP is not present because the object is new information and therefore may not be topicalized.

(7c) is an example of afterthought (see Section 3).

(7d) is merely a declarative sentence. kakúlu in this case is taken as being new information.

Notice in (7d) that no OAP occurs in the VC even though a proper noun (kakúlu) must be definite. That implies that its presence in (7c) must be attributed to another function.

The fact that the absence of OAP's have no effect on definiteness may be further illustrated by the fact that if a Haya speaker wants to say "Kakulu cooks chicken for the children", the sentence in (8) will result.

8. kakulw' a-Ø-cumb-il-' ábáán' énkôko
 Kakulu he cook APP women chicken

Notice that enkôko is generic and does not have its corresponding OAP in the VC. Furthermore, in this situation, the speaker assumes that the hearer knows the particular children under discussion (Sentence (8) can of course also mean 'Kakulu cooks chicken for children'). The absence of the OAP implies that ábáana is new information. Obviously then, OAP does not cause definiteness nor does definiteness require the presence of OAP.

2.2 Topic Prominence

Either or both objects may be topicalized dependent only upon prior mention in discourse. In this type of situation, where more than one NP occurs to the left of the VC, the one in sentence-initial position receives greatest prominence--i.e. the NP on which the speaker is focusing or setting up as topic.

3. Afterthought

3.1 Tonal Change

Underlyingly, high tone in Haya has two surface realizations: falling in phrase penultimate position and high elsewhere.

9. / o-mu-kázi /
 IV cl 3 em
 omukâzi 'woman'
 omukâzi wange 'my woman'

Therefore, a falling tone in non-phrase-penultimate position indicates a pause signifying a syntactic break.

As mentioned in Section 1.3, the configuration VIOS is actually the result of right dislocation of the subject. In comparing the following examples, notice the difference in tone on abakâzi and enkôko.

10. abakâzi ba-cumb-' énkôko
 women they cook chicken
 'The women cook chicken.'
11. ba-cumb-' énkôk' ábakâzi
 they cook chicken women
 'They cook chicken, the women.'
12. abakâzi ba-cumb-' énkóko ge
 women they cook chicken well
 'The women cook chicken well.'

Whatever causes the falling tone on enkôko in examples (10) and (11) is not present in (12). Notice also that abakâzi has a falling tone in (11) but not in (10) or (12).

We claim, that in all cases, the falling tone is caused by the same factor--a syntactic break.

3.2 Right Dislocation

A syntactic break within a sentence is the result of afterthought. Imagine a situation in which the speaker begins a sentence without including the subject NP, in which case, the SAP functions as a pronoun. By the time he/she reaches the end of the sentence, he realizes that the reference of the SAP may not be in the conscious mind of the hearer. In such a situation, the speaker may choose to add the subject NP to the right of the VC as an afterthought. The speaker, knowing he changed the normal word order, places pause(s) separating the subject NP from the rest of the sentence. This phenomenon can be attested to tonally as seen in the following examples:

13. ba-cumb-' énkôk' || ábakâzi
 they cook chicken women
 'They cook chicken, the women.'
14. ba-cumb-il-a kakúlw' énkôk' || ábakâzi
 they cook APP MD Kakulu chicken women
 'They cook chicken for Kakulu, the women.'

Notice that in both of the above examples, everything to the left of the pause constitutes a complete sentence.

3.3 OAP Without Movement

Recall the presence of OAP's indicate that their respective NP's are old information and therefore the NP's will either be topicalized or not mentioned at all. In cases where both the OAP's and their NP's co-occur and no movement takes place, the NP's are interpreted as being afterthought. This can also be tonally verified.

15. ba-gi-cumb-il-a kakûlw' || énkôk' || ábakâzi
they ~~1~~ cook APP MD Kakulu chicken women
'They cook it for Kakulu, the chicken, the women.'
16. ba-gi-mu-cumb-îl-a || kakûlw' || énkôk' || ábakâzi
they ~~1~~ him cook APP MD Kakulu chicken women
'They cook it for him, Kakulu, the chicken, the women.'

Extending what was mentioned in connection with examples (13) and (14), everything to the left of any phrase boundary constitutes a complete sentence.

4. Conclusion

In view of the tonal behavior discussed above, we conclude that ANY NP TO THE RIGHT OF THE VC IS CONSIDERED AN AFTERTHOUGHT WHENEVER ITS CORRESPONDING AGREEMENT PRONOUN IS PRESENT. This finding is in accordance with our hypothesis that OAP's mark old information. Since the normal position for old information is to the left of the VC, its occurrence elsewhere in the sentence indicates an addition to what the speaker originally intended to say.

n! sentences may be generated, where n is equal to the number of NP's occurring to the right of the VC simultaneously with the presence of their corresponding agreement pronouns. The pragmatic conditioning of these various alternatives, as well as possible cases of ambiguity, will be discussed in Tenenbaum and Byarushengo (forthcoming).

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APPENDIX #1CLASS CONCORD SYSTEM

Class	Noun Prefix	Example	SAP	OAP
1.	mu-	mu-ntu (person)	a-	-mu-
2.	ba-	ba-ntu (persons)		ba-
3.	mu-	mu-kôno (hand)		gu-
4.	mi-	mi-kôno (hands)	e-	-gi-
5.	i-/li-	i-cûmu (spear) lí-ino (tooth)		li-
6.	ma-	ma-cûmu (spears)		ga-
7.	ki-	ki-ntu (thing)		ki-
8.	bi-	bi-ntu (things)		bi-
9.	N-	m-bógo (buffalo)	e-	-gi-
10.	N-	m-bógo (buffaloes)		zi-
11.	lu-	lú-go (fence)		lu-
12.	ka-	ka-húka (small insect)		ka-
13.	tu-	tu-húka (small insects)		tu-
14.	bu-	bu-húka (small insects)		bu-
15.	ku-	ku-gulu (leg)		ku-

APPENDIX #2

'The women cook chicken for Kakulu'

VSID

bagimucumbîl' ábakâzi kakûlw' énkôko
 *bagicumbîl' ábakâzi kakûlw' énkôko
 bamucumbîl' ábakâzi kakûlw' énkôko
 *bacumbîl' ábakâzi kakûlw' énkôko

VISD

bagimucumbîla kakûlw' ábakâzy' énkôko
 bagicumbîla kakûlw' ábakâzy' énkôko
 bamucumbîla kakûlw' ábakâzy' énkôko
 *bacumbîla kakûlw' ábakâzy' énkôko

VSDI

bagimucumbîl' ábakâzy' énkôko kakûlu
 *bagicumbîl' ábakâzy' énkôko kakûlu
 bamucumbîl' ábakâzy' énkôko kakûlu
 *bacumbîl' ábakâzy' énkôko kakûlu

VDSI

bagimucumbîl' énkôk' ábakâzi kakûlu
 *bagicumbîl' énkôk' ábakâzi kakûlu
 bamucumbîl' énkôk' ábakâzi kakûlu
 *bacumbîl' énkôk' ábakâzi kakûlu

VIDS

bagimucumbîl' énkôko kakûlw' ábakâzi
 *bagicumbîl' énkôko kakûlw' ábakâzi
 bamucumbîl' énkôko kakûlw' ábakâzi
 *bacumbîl' énkôko kakûlw' ábakâzi

VIDS

bagimucumbîla kakûlw' énkôk' ábakâzi
 bagicumbîla kakûlw' énkôk' ábakâzi
 bamucumbîla kakûlw' énkôk' ábakâzi
 bacumbîla kakûlw' énkôk' ábakâzi

SVID

abakâzi bagimucumbîla kakûlw' énkôko
 abakâzi bagicumbîla kakûlw' énkôko
 abakâzi bamucumbîla kakûlw' énkôko
 abakâzi bacumbîla kakûlw' énkôko

SVDI

abakâzi bagimucumbîl' énkôko kakûlu
 *abakâzi bagicumbîl' énkôko kakûlu
 abakâzi bamucumbîl' énkôko kakûlu
 abakâzi bacumbîl' énkôko kakûlu

Appendix #2 cont.

SIVD

abakázi	kakúlu	bagimucumbîl'	énkóko
*abakázi	kakúlu	bagicumbîl'	énkóko
abakázi	kakúlu	bamucumbîl'	énkóko
*abakázi	kakúlu	bacumbîl'	énkóko

SIDV

abakázi	kakúlw'	énkóko	bagimucumbîla
*abakázi	kakúlw'	énkóko	bagicumbîla
*abakázi	kakúlw'	énkóko	bamucumbîla
*abakázi	kakúlw'	enkoko	bacumbîla

SDIV

abakázy'	énkóko	kakúlu	bagimucumbîla
*abakázy'	énkóko	kakúlu	bagicumbîla
*abakázy'	énkóko	kakúlu	bamucumbîla
*abakázy'	énkóko	kakúlu	bacumbîla

SDVI

abakázy'	énkóko	bagimucumbîla	kakúlu
abakázy'	énkóko	bagicumbîla	kakúlu
*abakázy'	énkóko	bamucumbîla	kakúlu
*abakázy'	énkóko	bacumbîla	kakúlu

DVSI

enkóko	bagimucumbîl'	ábakázi	kakúlu
*enkóko	bagicumbîl'	ábakázi	kakúlu
*enkóko	bamucumbîl'	ábakázi	kakúlu
*enkóko	bacumbîl'	ábakázi	kakúlu

DVIS

enkóko	bagimucumbîla	kakúlw'	ábakázi
enkóko	bagicumbîla	kakúlw'	ábakázi
*enkóko	bamucumbîla	kakúlw'	ábakázi
*enkóko	bacumbîla	kakúlw'	ábakázi

DSIV

enkók'	ábakázi	kakúlu	bagimucumbîla
*enkók'	ábakázi	kakúlu	bagicumbîla
*enkók'	ábakázi	kakúlu	bamucumbîla
*enkók'	ábakázi	kakúlu	bacumbîla

DSVI

enkók'	ábakázi	bagimucumbîla	kakúlu
enkók'	ábakázi	bagicumbîla	kakúlu
*enkók'	ábakázi	bamucumbîla	kakúlu
*enkók'	ábakázi	bacumbîla	kakúlu

Appendix #2 cont.

DIVS

enkôko kakûlu bagimucumbîl' ábakâzi
 *enkôko kakûlu bagicumbîl' ábakâzi
 *enkôko kakûlu bamucumbîl' ábakâzi
 enkôko kakûlu bacumbîl' ábakâzi

DISV

enkôko kakûlw' ábakâzi bagimucumbîla
 *enkôko kakûlw' ábakâzi bagicumbîla
 *enkôko kakûlw' ábakâzi bamucumbîla
 *enkôko kakûlw' ábakâzi bacumbîla

IVDS

kakûlu bagimucumbîl' ênkôk' ábakâzi
 *kakûlu bagicumbîl' ênkôk' ábakâzi
 kakûlu bamucumbîl' ênkôk' ábakâzi
 *kakûlu bacumbîl' ênkôk' ábakâzi

IVSD

kakûlu bagimucumbîl' ábakâzy' ênkôko
 *kakûlu bagicumbîl' ábakâzy' ênkôko
 kakûlu bamucumbîl' ábakâzy' ênkôko
 *kakûlu bacumbîl' ábakâzy' ênkôko

ISVD

kakûlw' ábakâzi bagimucumbîl' ênkôko
 *kakûlw' ábakâzi bagicumbîl' ênkôko
 kakûlw' ábakâzi bamucumbîl' ênkôko
 *kakûlw' ábakâzi bacumbîl' ênkôko

ISDV

kakûlw' ábakâzy' ênkôko bagimucumbîla
 *kakûlw' ábakâzy' ênkôko bagicumbîla
 *kakûlw' ábakâzy' ênkôko bamucumbîla
 *kakûlw' ábakâzy' ênkôko bacumbîla

IVDS

kakûlw' ênkôko bagimucumbîl' ábakâzi
 *kakûlw' ênkôko bagicumbîl' ábakâzi
 *kakûlw' ênkôko bamucumbîl' ábakâzi
 *kakûlw' ênkôko bacumbîl' ábakâzi

ISDV

kakûlw' ênkôk' ábakâzi bagimucumbîla
 *kakûlw' ênkôk' ábakâzi bagicumbîla
 *kakûlw' ênkôk' ábakâzi bamucumbîla
 *kakûlw' ênkôk' ábakâzi bacumbîla