Proceedings of the 20th Meeting of the Texas Linguistics Society

March 5-6, 2021

Editors:
Caitie Coons
Gabriella Chronis
Sofia Pierson
Venkat Govindarajan

The 20th meeting of the Teas Linguistics Society (TLS 2021) was held on March 5-6, 2021, at the University of Texas at Austin. Presentations came from all areas of linguistics, but this year's conference placed a special focus on the role of language in perpetuating and dismantling social inequality.

Many thanks to our keynote speakers: Jeremy Calder (University of Colorado at Boulder), Jenny L. Davis (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), and Almeida Jaqueline Toribio (University of Texas at Austin). Many thanks also to our sponsors at the University of Texas at Austin: the Events Co-sponsorship Board, Department of Linguistics, Department of Asian Studies, Department of Germanic Studies, Department of French and Italian, Department of Middle Eastern Studies, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Department of Latin American Studies, Department of Native American and Indigenous Studies, Department of Women and Gender Studies, and College of Liberal Arts. Finally, thanks to our presenters and especially those who chose to include a paper in the proceedings; we hope this publication helps your research find an even wider audience.

For more information about the conference, including a listing of all presentations and abstracts, see the conference website at http://tls.ling.utexas.edu/2021/. To cite these proceedings, use: Coons, C., Chronis, G., Pierson, S., and Govindarajan, V. (Eds). (2021). *Proceedings of the 20th Meeting of the Texas Lingusitics Society.*

Signed, the editors:
Caitie Coons, Gabriella Chronis, Sofia Pierson, and Venkat Govindarajan
University of Texas at Austin, Department of Linguistics

Contents

"Because I've had these things I know I didn't do by myself": A case study of how one life storyteller constructs emergent spiritual identity through representations of agency

Katherine Arnold-Murray
University of Colorado Boulder
Katherine.Arnold-Murray@colorado.edu

Abstract

This is a case study of how one life storyteller constructs her emergent spiritual identity using attributions of agency in a life story interview. Drawing on Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework of identity as interactionally emergent and Linde's (1993) argument that life storytelling enables narrators to find and shape their identities, I examine the ways in which a life storyteller named Oceana constructs her spiritual identity in interaction. I rely on Ahearn's (2010) conception of agency as a form of control in social structures and Keane's (1997) work on expressions of agency in religious language, in conjunction with Stivers et al.'s (2011) notions of epistemic access, as I demonstrate the ways Oceana attributes agency and knowledge to herself, others, and larger, unseen phenomena, the *sacer* (Soltes 2009), to construct a coherent, meaningful spiritual identity.

I examine an hour-long life story interview that I conducted with Oceana, a 73-year-old woman who is a retired art teacher. I analyze four excerpts from Oceana's life story, which I chose to examine because Oceana makes direct or indirect references to the sacer in each one. I show that as Oceana tells her narrative, she constructs an agentive, knowing sacer which takes many forms and has the ability to influence the actions of Oceana and others, while she mitigates her own agency, ultimately constructing her own emergent spiritual identity as someone through whom the sacer acts, and whose actions and knowledge are guided and shaped by the sacer. I highlight the uses of meta-agentive discourse, negation, and passive and active verbs as strategies which accomplish attributions of agency and knowledge in the life story, and which serve to construct Oceana's spiritual identity. This study contributes to literature about how spiritual identity is constructed through representations of agency and epistemic access as well as in life storytelling overall, contributing to the dearth of linguistic research related to spirituality. In addition, my analysis poses challenges to and expands upon current conceptions of agency in discourse; while current theorizations of agency (Ahearn 2010; Sewell 1992) focus on control as something that can be exerted by humans on external entities, I find that spiritual discourse can simultaneously attribute agency to something that is external to humans as well as internal, influencing actions from the outside and within.

1   Introduction

Spirituality and religion comprise major aspects of human life—from the micro to the macro. Conducting linguistic research regarding how these identities emerge in interaction has the potential to shed light on some of the most basic, yet important conceptions of life

and social relations. Hill et al. (2000) argue that "every form of religious and spiritual expression occurs in some social context" (p. 64). In this paper, I examine the life story of a woman named Oceana, analyzing the ways in which her spiritual identity emerges through her discourse in the social context of life storytelling. I demonstrate the ways in which Oceana constructs her emergent spiritual identity through representations of agency and knowledge.

There is a lacuna in linguistic research devoted to the construction of spiritual identity through discourse. While some literature has addressed the ways in which religious or spiritual identity may be constructed through representations of agency (Keane 1997) and knowledge (Jousmäki 2011), there remains a gap in current understanding of how theorizations of agency and epistemics fit into linguistic expressions of human spirituality. Studying spiritual identity construction presents unique considerations of agency that are not able to be accounted for by Ahearn's (2010) and Sewell's (1992) notions of agency as a form of control in social structures. Discourse surrounding spirituality can simultaneously attribute agency to something that is external to humans as well as internal, influencing actions from outside and within. At the same time, spiritual identity construction inherently brings forth questions of epistemic access—who is able to possess what amount of knowledge about sacred powers; and how much do sacer powers know about human affairs? While epistemic research has addressed the role of belief in possessing knowledge (Chafe 1986), the ways spiritual and/or religious individuals represent their knowledge of sacred powers through discourse has been vastly understudied. Unlike previous research which has examined the ways in which humans compare their own religion/spirituality to others' as right or wrong (e.g., Jousmäki 2011), or reconcile their beliefs with other identities they hold (e.g., Peebles 2004), I focus instead on how spiritual identity can be constructed through by a narrator who is not explicitly making relevant other identities or beliefs of other people. Instead, this study focuses on representations of spiritual identity alone through narration of stories about the self.

In analyzing Oceana's construction of her spiritual identity, I rely on Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework of identity as interactionally emergent in combination with Linde's (1993) findings that life storytelling enables narrators to find and shape their identities. I also apply Ahearn's (2010) and Sewell's (1992) conceptions of agency, and Keane's (1997) work on how humans express agency in religious discourse. I adopt Stivers et al.'s (2011) conceptualization of epistemic access in my analysis of the ways in which knowledge is represented through discourse to construct spiritual identity. I analyze four extracts drawn from an hour-long life story I conducted with Oceana in 2019. Throughout her life story, Oceana, who is a 73-year-old artist living in Massachusetts, centers her telling around her spiritual beliefs. In one account, for example, she reports: "And I was gifted pretty [early] on with access to the unseen realms."

In my analysis, I answer three main research questions, guided by the overarching question: How can spiritual identity be constructed through representations of agency and knowledge, as displayed linguistically? First, what strategies does Oceana use to construct her spiritual identity in her life story? Second, how do attributions of agency to self, sacer (the Divine), and other humans serve to construct Oceana's spiritual identity? And third, how do attributions of knowledge to self and others (including the sacer) serve to construct her spiritual identity? I identify several linguistic strategies which Oceana uses throughout

her life story to construct a knowing and agentive sacer which takes many forms, as well as to mitigate her own agency and access to knowledge about the actions she carries out in the story world. These include: meta-agentive discourse, negation and passive verbs for Oceana's actions and states of knowing, and active verbs for the sacer's actions and states of knowing. I also highlight repetition, emphatic speech, and constructed dialogue as secondary strategies used in conjunction with those previously mentioned that evaluate and strengthen attributions of agency and knowledge. I find that Oceana ultimately constructs her own emergent spiritual identity as someone through whom the sacer acts, and whose actions and knowledge are guided and shaped by the sacer; she demonstrates in her life story that she believes the sacer can control the actions and knowledge of humans. At the crux of this analysis is the argument that Oceana's beliefs about and representations of agency for the self and the sacer are inextricably intertwined, as the sacer is a power which takes many forms, including the shape of her own actions.

To guide my analysis, I rely on Hill et al.'s (2000) discussion of the relationship between spirituality and religion, as both "occur in some social context" (p. 64) and involve a belief or involvement with the Sacred. The authors define the Sacred as a concept, person, or principle that transcends the self. As many people identify as both spiritual and religious, the two are not mutually exclusive; however, spirituality has come to be more closely associated with individual experience, while within religion, the Sacred tends to be defined through institutional mechanisms whereby actions are recommended for how people should engage with the sacer. I adopt Solte's (2009) term *sacer* in this paper to refer to the larger, unseen phenomena that Oceana describes and attributes agency and knowledge to in her life story. Soltes uses the term *sacer* to refer to the Sacred, the higher powers, that which cannot be accessed by humans. As the sacer takes many forms for Oceana—including a "force," a rock song, a psychic, and her "soul's code"—using the term *sacer* allows for me to use a consistent analytical term as I examine her life story.

As spirituality is an important aspect of human sensemaking, my ultimate aim in this paper is to expand upon discourse studies of identity to further include spirituality. I first briefly ground this work in previous literature about identity, agency, and epistemics (2). I then discuss how I collected my data as well as the methodological approach that I take (3). Next, I analyze the ways in which Oceana represents her own, others', and the sacer's agency and knowledge, and constructs her own spiritual identity (4), including the use of linguistic strategies of: meta-agentive discourse (4.1); negation and passive voice (4.2); and active voice (4.3). My discussion summarizes my findings about how Oceana uses linguistic strategies to create attributions of agency and epistemic access in her life story to construct her emergent spiritual identity, and situates this analysis within previous works related to agency and spiritual/religious identity construction.

2 Literature review

2.1 Agency and identity

Ahearn (2010) defines agency as the "socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (p. 28), while Sewell (1992) argues that agency entails "exerting some degree of control over the social relations in which one is enmeshed" (p. 20). Sewell argues that agency emerges from

an actor's ability to navigate the knowledge schemas that they hold about the world and the way that they employ "some measure of human and nonhuman resources" (p. 20) in order to act. I employ both Ahearn's and Sewell's conceptions of agency in this paper, while still contrasting their theorizations with what can be learned from examining spiritual discourse. In my work, I rely on Sewell's notion that the agency individuals exercise "differs enormously in both kind and extent" (p. 20) based on the set of identities and knowledge schemas that they hold, as I demonstrate that one's spiritual identity impacts one's notions of agency and knowledge, and vice versa.

The expression of agency through discourse is intertwined with interactants' constructions of identity. Rymes (1995) and Schiffrin (1996), among others, have demonstrated that representations of agency can be used in narrative to construct narrator identities. Rhymes (1995) analyzes three narratives told by "at-risk adolescents" (p. 500) in which they discuss taking part in some kind of violence, centering her analysis on how the narrators express their own agency in order to construct their identities as moral individuals. She demonstrates that the narrators use transitive sentences in which they are the subject to represent agency, as well as strategies that mitigate their actions and responsibility such as framing prosody, and discourse markers. Schiffrin (1996) explores the ways in which two Jewish-American women construct their own and others' identities and agency as they tell stories about younger women family members, finding that narrators give evaluation to provide for or deny others' autonomy and to demonstrate their own control over others' actions. Schiffrin demonstrates that such evaluation and ensuing negotiations of agency are accomplished through metaphor and constructed dialogue, which allow speakers to enact their own identities as mothers who hold specific ideological positions and familial roles. Al Zidjaly (2009) argues that while these studies give insight into "the discursive assignment and linguistic realization of personal agency in narrative discourse" (p. 177), they ignore the moment-by-moment construction and negotiation of agency in interaction. She uses Goffman's notion of production format to guide her analysis of agentive constructions in discourse throughout the joint writing of an official letter, finding that participants take up roles in conversation and use linguistic strategies such as speaking for another to create an emergent sense of agency that can be negotiated between participants and transformed during conversation.

Examining agentive language and religion, Keane (1997) argues that the "general properties of language allow otherwise nonperceptible beings to play a role in human societies" (p. 49-50). Keane reviews anthropological studies exploring the relationships between language and religious practices, and purports that religious practices assign various levels of agency to speakers as well as the sacer, in turn both influencing and constituting spiritual practices and beliefs. He finds that the ways humans communicate with the sacer construct the identities of and relations between the self, other humans, and the sacer. It is important to note that while Keane specifically explores what he calls "religious" language, much of his discussion expands beyond institutionalized religion into what Hill et al. (2000) might deem to be also spiritual.

2.2   Epistemics and identity

The study of epistemics has also been a fruitful domain for analyzing identity construction through discourse, although spiritual and religious identity construction through representations of knowledge to date remains understudied. Chafe (1986) defines knowledge as "the basic information whose status is qualified in one way or another by markers of evidentiality" (p. 262), and argues that attitudes toward knowledge, or evidentiality, are grammatically expressed through the use of auxiliaries, suffixes, adverbs, and so on. Chafe focuses on what he calls "modes of knowing" (p. 266), or the sources of knowledge, which imply something about the degree of reliability of such knowledge. He proposes that there are five modes of knowing, ranked from most to least reliable, which include: belief, or knowing based on something other than evidence alone; induction, which is knowledge based on some form of evidence; sensory knowledge acquired through the senses; hearsay, derived from what one is told by others; and deduction, knowledge derived from a hypothesis. Applying Chafe's discussion of belief as the most reliable mode of knowing, we can expect that narrators discussing spiritual or religious beliefs will use linguistic features expressing certainty/direct knowledge.

Stivers et al. (2011) discuss the morality of possessing and sharing knowledge, arguing that participants establish and interactionally determine their own and others' epistemic access, epistemic primacy, and epistemic responsibility, meaning that interactional resources govern how individuals navigate the kinds of knowledge, rights to knowledge, and responsibility to share knowledge that interactants have. The authors focus on epistemic access is especially relevant to this paper; because this life story involves tales revolving around spiritual beliefs, the narrator Oceana uses linguistic resources to present differing notions of epistemic access by herself, other humans, and the sacer. Stivers et al. present four aspects of access which are constituted through interaction and language: knowing versus not knowing, the degree of certainty a participant has in their knowledge, attribution of the knowledge source, and the directness of knowledge (whether the speaker holds this knowledge on their own or learned it through someone else).

While there exists a lack of linguistic literature on the intersection of epistemics and religion or spirituality, Jousmäki (2011) studies Finnish Christian metal bands' lyrics, finding that the lyrics construct me/you and us/them binaries to elevate their beliefs and devalue those who don't hold the same beliefs. This includes taking on the epistemic stance related to being right or wrong about God, as well as displaying knowledge of the truth about the afterlife. While this paper examines displays of knowledge related to spiritual identity, it does not examine the construction of identity through expressed opposition to others. I provide more information on this study's participant and life story in the next section.

3   Data and methods

I analyze the life story of Oceana, a 73-year-old woman I have known throughout my life, as she helped raise me during various parts of my childhood and adolescence. Oceana is a white cisgender lesbian who is a retired high school art teacher, and now teaches art to adults and leads spiritual workshops. Oceana resides in a small town outside of Boston,

Massachusetts and grew up in Ohio. On January 22, 2019, I interviewed Oceana for one hour and 11 minutes via Facetime to elicit her life story, which was audio-recorded. The general focus that organically emerged during the interview was Oceana's spirituality and the ways in which her spirituality and beliefs have shaped her life. As I spoke minimally and asked few questions, Oceana introduced her spiritual beliefs into the interview on her own and kept them flowing throughout. Within Oceana's life story interview, main themes included magic, story, healing, gifts (given and received), youth, and gender and sexuality. Her life story for the most part was not chronological and looped between topics.

My analysis focuses on four excerpts from Oceana's larger life story. I chose these specific excerpts to analyze because Oceana makes direct and/or indirect references to the sacer in each one, and constructs her spiritual identity in each through attributions of agency and/or knowledge. For clarity, I have given a title to each excerpt based on its content. Table 1 below provides information about each excerpt, showing its name, time stamp in the overall interview, and brief summary.[1]

Table 1

Excerpt Title	Time in interview	Summary of content
Finding Athena	26:50-31:42	Oceana tells the story of how she found her lost cat on Martha's Vineyard, despite almost impossible odds, by following a feeling that she had that guided her through the woods
Playing with Magic	19:25-24:15	Oceana recounts connected tales of playing with magic when she was in her twenties. She tells stories of using magic to control passengers on the subway, to hitchhike, and to halt the Boston Saint Patrick's Day Parade
Becoming an Artist	14:42-17:37	Oceana describes her vocation as an artist, saying that she also became a healer through the teaching of art
Remembering Childhood	42:20-49:03	Oceana details how she came to recover a traumatic memory of her childhood through her obsession with a rock song, meeting with a psychic, and talk with her brother

In the next section, I analyze examples from each of these four smaller narratives extracted from Oceana's life story, to demonstrate how she uses a variety of linguistic strategies throughout her narration to construct her spiritual identity and beliefs.

---

[1] I use transcription conventions from Tannen, Kendall, and Gordon (2007) for my transcription of Oceana's interview, and I begin each excerpt over with Line 1.

4 Analysis

I examine how Oceana constructs her spirituality and beliefs through her uses of meta-agentive discourse, negation, and passive and active voice to assign agency to something larger than herself, represented as a guiding force in her life. She also uses these linguistic strategies to represent who holds epistemic access related to her life and those of the sacer, which in turn mitigates her own sense of agency. These discourse strategies come together to construct Oceana's emergent spiritual identity as she depicts the sacer as an agent influencing and shaping the world and her life, and depicts herself as an individual influenced and shaped by a knowing sacer, representing herself as subject to larger powers which she is not able to fully understand.

4.1 "There's a force that is bigger than me": Meta-agentive discourse

In several instances in her interview, Oceana explicitly discusses her conception of the sacer using discourse constructions that serve as meta-agentive talk, which Ahearn (2010) defines as "talk about agency—how [people] talk about their own actions and others' actions, how they attribute responsibility for events, how they describe their own and others' decision-making processes" (p. 41). In Example 1 below, drawn from the end of "Finding Athena" when Oceana describes being guided by the sacer to find her lost cat, Oceana discusses her belief about the capabilities of larger forces.

Example 1:
112 Oceana: I was guided.
113   I don't know who guided me,
114   But I know I was led.
115   And- um to where I was.
116   So..
117   Those kinds of things,..
118   Have happened.
119   And for me those are **HUGE GIFTS**
120   Because..
121   You know?
122   **That there's a FORCE that is bigger than me,**
123   **That is- can make things,**

Here we see that Oceana uses emphatic speech to stress the role and agency of the sacer—emphasizing the words *huge gifts* (Line 119) referring to acts where she is led by the sacer, and the word *force* in the phrase *there's a force that is bigger than me that can make things* (Line 122-123). In both cases, she uses emphatic speech to refer to or describe the sacer. Oceana's statement that there is a force larger than her "that can make things" (Line 123) is strongly meta-agentive in the sense that it directly describes the capabilities of the sacer to "make things" using the *verb to be able* ("can"). She attributes a strong sense of agency to the sacer in this claim and throughout the story that precedes it—justifying her actions and guidance by the sacer by its ability to make things, to make things happen.

Oceana makes another explicit comment about the way that she views agency at the end of her discussion of how she played with magic in her twenties by putting people to sleep on the subway, pulling over cars to hitchhike, and stopping the Boston Saint Patrick's Day Parade. Example 2 comes at the very end of her account "Playing with Magic," as she says that she decided to stop using magic, and that she learned through these experiences that it's possible to make things happen.

Example 2:
103 Oceana: But I just said, you should- this isn't how this is meant to be used.
104   So I stopped,
105   **But I did know that it is possible um through the force of →**
106   **intention and will to make things happen, materialize.**

Oceana produces meta-agentive discourse as she states "it is possible through the force of intention and will to make things happen, materialize" (Lines 105-106). Her use of the infinitive *to make* without a subject in the sentence creates ambiguity, through which several possible meanings arise: Oceana may be describing that through the force of intention and will that she and/or people in general can make things happen. It is important to note that she uses the word *force* to describe the intention and will she says can be used to make things happen and materialize because it denotes that there is larger phenomenon at work, as seen Example 1, in which she refers to the sacer as a "force bigger than me" (Line 122). This indicates that the word *force* in the present example very likely also refers to the sacer. This analysis of her statement fits well into the context of the place in which it occurs in her life story—after she talks about practicing magic, engaging with the sacer and doing things "through" it (Line 105). She shares her conceptualization here that humans' agency and ability to make things happen depend on the sacer working through them.

The amount of repetition across these two examples of meta-agentive discourse is also notable. The repetition is most striking when the two lines are compared side by side, the first line occurring around minute 24 at the end of Oceana's "Playing with Magic" narrative:

Example 2 Extract:
105 Oceana: But I did know that it is possible um through the **force** of →
106   intention and will to **make things happen**, materialize.

And the second line occurring around minute 32 at the end of her story called "Finding Athena":

Example 1 Extract:
117 Oceana: Those kinds of things,..
118   Have **happened**.
119   And for me those are HUGE GIFTS
120   Because..
121   You know?
122   That there's a **FORCE** that is bigger than me,
123   That is- can **make things**,

As mentioned above, the word *force* is used in both of these parts of Oceana's life story (Lines 105 and 122) to describe a phenomenon larger than her. Oceana also repeats the phrase *make things* (Lines 106 and 123) to describe what can be done by or through the sacer, and in both examples, minutes apart in her life story, also uses the word *happen/happened* (Lines 106 and 118) to describe how actions have occurred or can be carried out by or through the sacer. As Tannen (2007) argues, repetition serves to augment the current frame of what's going on in interaction, and to emphasize the repeated words. Following Tannen, I argue here that Oceana uses of repetition of these phrases in order to strengthen the construction of her identity as a spiritual person and to solidify her representation of her beliefs about agency, with the repeated phrases becoming more salient each time they are used.

A final example of Oceana's pervasive use of meta-agentive discourse in her life story comes as she uses what Tannen (2007) would call constructed dialogue, as Oceana relates a quote by Carl Jung to the "Remembering Childhood" narrative that she tells about learning about a traumatic memory from her youth through the sacer:

Example 3:
126 Oceana: But um so **that's the piece where Jung says**,
127   You know, what's brought to us as consciousness-
128   **What isn't brought to us as consciousness comes to us as fate**.
129   So I think there are lots of way to getting to secrets,
130   But once you kind of understand what they are,
131   You're like oh?
132   Yeah?

Here Oceana constructs the dialogue of Carl Jung by sharing what she reports is a quote that "Jung says" (Line 126), attributing to him the line, "What isn't brough to us as consciousness comes to us as fate" (Line 128). Gordon (2009) describes that through double-voicing, or voicing another, a speaker is able to create and display a "range of evaluative stances" toward the previously spoken words of another (p. 117). Tannen (2007) argues that the use of constructed dialogue allows for speakers to perform the prior dialogue of others in specific ways that display ideas, characteristics, and/or identities. Drawing from this, I find that Oceana uses constructed dialogue to voice Jung and bring his words into her own spiritual beliefs, creating an emergent identity for herself through her words as someone who believes in fate and that the actions of the sacer in bringing about that fate. Ahearn argues that meta-agentive discourse "can provide insight into people's own theories of agency" (p. 41), which is certainly how Oceana uses such language in her life story. Oceana's uses of meta-agentive discourse shown above each occur at the end of a narrative or cluster of connected narratives that relate to the ways in which the sacer acts, allows for her actions, and makes events come to fruition.

4.2   "I don't know who guided me": Mitigating agency and knowledge of the self and others

Oceana uses linguistic constructions throughout her life story that mitigate her own and other humans' agency and knowledge as compared to that of the sacer, representing herself

and others as actors influenced and controlled by the sacer. Oceana's discursive mitigation of other humans' agency reflects that she believes that the sacer works through others as well as herself. This serves to construct her spiritual identity as someone who believes that the sacer can influence human knowledge, actions, and decisions, and her belief that the sacer works in ways that are inaccessible to humans. In the following subsections, I demonstrate that Oceana uses negation (4.2.1) and passive voice (4.2.2) to enact this mitigation.

4.2.1   "I NEVER pick up hitchhikers": Negation as mitigation

There are many instances in Oceana's life story in which she uses negation to denote a lack of agency for herself and other humans, and to also imply the existence of an agentive sacer that she is not able to fully understand. Many of her uses of negation involve negated verbs of knowing, such as *to know*, *to be sure*, and *to understand*. She uses negation to modify these verbs of knowing in order to simultaneously acknowledge that a sacer exists while stating that she does not have full access to or understanding of it. My analysis expand upon Rymes' (1995) finding that narrators use linguistic forms (e.g., discourse markers) in sentences in which they are they subject of the transitive verb to mitigate their own agency and the actions expressed by the verb, as I find that Oceana uses negation as such a mitigation strategy as well.

In Example 4 below, Oceana introduces her story "Finding Athena" by sharing that she understands that her actions in the story of finding her cat, as well as her actions in other events in her life, are not solely carried out by her.

Example 4:
2 Oceana: This is I feel so lucky,
3   Because I can..
4   Because I've had these things that **I know I didn't do by myself?**
5   And that allow me to know that it's possible.

Oceana claims that she has carried out actions in her life that she knows she did not perform by herself (Line 4), negating the verb *to do* (Line 4) in order to convey a lack of her own agency. This linguistic construction does not require that she name an agent responsible for her actions; however, given the context of these utterances within the larger speech event, it implies that she believes the sacer is responsible for helping her do things. It is important to note here that her statement *I've had these things that I know I didn't do by myself* (Line 4) is a general one—not specific to just one circumstance—and thus through this discourse segment Oceana is making a broad claim about agency. I elaborate on Oceana's display of knowledge in this excerpt later in Section 4.3.

In the next two brief examples drawn from Oceana's life story interview, Oceana discusses having a lack of understanding about how the sacer acts (both in the story world and in the here-and-now). I find that Oceana uses negation to modify verbs of knowing in order to simultaneously acknowledge that a sacer exists while stating that she does not have full access to or understanding of it.

In Example 5 below from "Finding Athena," Oceana's current self, the one who is telling the life story, is represented as lacking knowledge about the sacer. This example

occurs around the middle of the story when Oceana discusses her actions of walking through the wood to find her lost cat Athena.

Example 5:
42 Oceana: And.. **I'm not really sure** what- how I knew the direction,
43   But I just kept kinda going.
44   And eventually I came to a dirt road,

The second example of this occurs at the very end of the "Finding Athena" narrative, as Oceana discusses the conclusion she draws from the story: that she believes she was guided by the sacer to find her lost cat.

Example 6:
112 Oceana: I was guided.
113   **I don't know** who guided me,

In both of these examples, Oceana discusses a lack of knowledge about what was going on during the time she walked through the woods searching for her cat. In Line 42, she asserts that she was "not really sure what- how I knew the direction," implying that there may have been a higher power guiding her actions, creating and shaping her knowledge of what to do—pushing her actions and body forward. This uncertainty in how she knew which direction to walk partly drives her belief that she "was guided" (Line 112) to find Athena. While Oceana discusses at the end of her story that she was guided, she also says, "I don't know who guided me," (Line 113) using negation to report her lack of knowledge about who or what guided her. The use of negation here constructs the existence of a sacer who guides her but is not known to her, not accessible to her. Therefore, the use of negation to modify these verbs of knowing serves to construct Oceana's emergent identity as someone through whom the sacer works and as someone who knows it exists and works through her, but also as someone who cannot access knowledge about who or what the sacer actually is. These uses of negation thus mitigate Oceana's own agency, and instead attribute her actions and motivations to an agentive sacer.

While the other examples in this paper focus on Oceana telling stories about her own actions and how the sacer has guided and worked through her, there also instances in her life story in which she talks about how the sacer works through other humans as well. We see this in Example 7 below, extracted from "Playing with Magic," in which Oceana describes using magic to pull cars over so that she could hitchhike.

Example 7:
46 Oceana: And if they felt safe, I'd get in the car.
47   And the driver would be going ((*makes surprised face*))
48   And I would say, what is it?
49   **I can't figure out** why I stopped,
50   **I NEVER** pick up hitchhikers.

Here Oceana uses what Tannen (2007) would call constructed dialogue, to voice a typical driver who would pull over for her on the side of the road, imitating the surprised face they would make, and voicing them as saying, "I can't figure out why I stopped. I never pick up hitchhikers" (Lines 49-50). Oceana uses negation in the phrases *I can't* (Line 49) and *I*

never (Line 50) to voice and represent the feelings of disbelief of the drivers who picked her up on the side of the road. This constructed dialogue paired with the use of emphatic stress on the word *never* (Line 50) highlights that she was able to invoke the sacer to control the actions of others and to make them do things they normally wouldn't. Labov and Waletzsky (1967) and Gordon (2009) find that constructed dialogue allows for a narrator to evaluate the content of their story, casting their evaluation through the voicing of others. Schiffrin (1996) also analyzes constructed dialogue, or speaking for another, in narrative, finding that it can be used as a linguistic strategy to represent another's agency or autonomy and diminish that of the speaker. Relatedly, Oceana voices the driver as a way of discussing the driver's lack of agency, while this strategy also allows for her not to take responsibility or take claim of the driver's actions. It is important to note here that Oceana also uses negation of a verb of knowing attributed to a driver, voicing *I can't figure out why I stopped* (Line 49) to represent that others beside her also are not able to possess knowledge of how the sacer works and influences their own actions.

Oceana's use of negation to voice a driver pulling over, a typical human, provides a dramatic evaluation of how the sacer influenced their actions without their knowing or understanding. Here she constructs her identity as someone who is able to access the sacer and use its power as her own, while it is still not able to be understood, as her larger overall belief emerges that the sacer is agentive and can influence the actions of not just her, but anyone.

4.2.2 "I was guided": Passive voice as mitigation

In many cases in which Oceana does not negate verbs of her own actions/knowing, Oceana uses passive verbs throughout her life story to describe actions that happen to her rather than actions that she agentively carries out, as well as spiritual codes that she follows. This serves to mitigate expressions of her own agency and knowledge, constructing her overarching spiritual identity as someone whose actions are influenced by the sacer. Example 8 is drawn from the conclusion of "Finding Athena," as Oceana describes finding her lost cat by allowing herself to simply walk through the woods.

Example 8:
111 Oceana: But so I knew?
112   **I was guided**.
113   I don't know who guided me,
114   But I know **I was led**.
115   And- um to where I was.

Oceana's use of passive voice in the phrases *I was guided* (Line 112) and *I was led* (Line 114) convey a lack of her own agency, and instead assign it to an unnamed spiritual force guiding her. Therefore, her use of passive voice here allows for her to employ what Sewell (1992) terms "non-human resources" (p. 20) to conceptualize her own agency in relation to the sacer, and to construct an emergent identity as someone who can be controlled by spiritual forces.

Oceana also uses passive verbs for her own actions in order to describe her ability to connect with the sacer and manipulate it for her own use. Oceana does this in Example 9

below drawn from the very beginning of the "Playing with Magic" extract from her life story, as she begins discussing how she used magic when she was in her twenties, explaining that she was able to do so because she was able to "access" (Line 1) the sacer.

Example 9:
1 Oceana: And **I was gifted**.. pretty on with access to the unseen realms.
2   And then.. briefly, in my twenties,
3   I did sort of start to play around with magic?

In this example, Oceana uses the passive construction of the verb *to be gifted* to describe that she was given or granted "access to the unseen realms" (Line 1). Here the sacer takes on two forms: the unnamed entity which bestows a gift upon Oceana, and also the gift itself—access to the unseen realms. Oceana uses passive voice in this construction in order to signify that an external entity or power bestowed upon her the gift of using magic, establishing a source for her abilities other than herself, heightening the agency of the sacer while mitigating her own agency in being able to access the otherworldly. By using passive voice here, Oceana attributes her ability to use magic as originating from another unnamed source, implied to be the sacer. This construction thus enables her to give ownership of her actions—even highly agentive ones such as performing magic to control others—to the sacer rather than to herself; this attribution of agency constructs Oceana's identity as someone who is able to access the sacer and wield its powers, yet whose actions still belong to the sacer.

Oceana also uses passive voice in statements about herself to convey a set of rules or a code for how she should act according to her spiritual beliefs, shown in the next two examples. The first comes from the "Becoming an Artist" narrative, at the beginning of Oceana's discussion of her vocation as an art teacher and her fated career path.

Example 10:
10 Oceana: So that- those early wishes,
11   I think are what we might call the soul's code.
12   So my soul's code knew that **I was supposed to do** something with art,
13   And- but that **I was supposed to be** a healer,

In Oceana's use of the phrase *So my soul's code knew that I was supposed to do something with art, and- but that I was supposed to be a healer* (Lines 12-13), she uses the passive construction *to be supposed to* (Lines 12 and 13) with herself as the subject, denoting a lack of agency for her own being and attributing her career path to a larger sentient power. She thus constructs her belief that the sacer predestined her future path, and that she is an actor following its will (unknowingly or not). In addition to the repetition of the phrase *I was supposed to* in the example above (Lines 12 and 13), Oceana also repeats the phrase about nine minutes later in her life story interview, at the end of her account of her time playing with magic in her twenties:

Example 11:
95 Oceana: But I don't know.
96   At some point I sat down and I said, you know what?
97   This is **not stuff you're supposed to play** with.
98   And I st- and I stopped.

Here Oceana uses the passive construction *to be supposed to* (Line 97) to convey some form of rule, code, or intention of the sacer—not to play with magic—and uses it as the rationale for why she decided to stop. The repetition of the passive construction *to be supposed to* throughout Examples 10 and 11, and elsewhere in Oceana's life story, conveys the weight that Oceana places on intentions and/or rules of the sacer, both for what will happen and what should/should not be done. Relating my analysis to Tannen's (2007) work on repetition, I find that Oceana's use of repetition of this passive construction functions to emphasize her claims that there are actions/paths that she is or is not supposed to take according to the rules of the sacer/her spiritual beliefs.

Repetition is common in Oceana's use of many passivized verb constructions. One instance of this occurs in Example 12 below, in which Oceana discusses being "possessed" (Lines 50 and 55) by the song "Hymn to Her" by the Pretenders at the beginning of her story about learning about a traumatic childhood event of being locked in a closet. Oceana begins learning about the memory through her fascination with the song, and ultimately discovers why she held this fascination toward the end of the story. This occurs toward the beginning of "Remembering Childhood" extract.

Example 12:
50 Oceana: So the point of me telling this story is **I was POSSESSED by** →
51   **this song**.
52   And its Let me inside you,
53   Into the room,
54   Part.
55   And **I was POSSESSED**.
56   I mean I would play this song like 15 times.. an hour,

In this example, Oceana represents the sacer as being/working through a song, and claims that she "was possessed" (Lines 50 and 55) by it and listened to it repeatedly. Oceana expresses the power and magnitude of the sacer's influence on her here through the strong meaning of the verb *to possess*, especially when she also combines it with the repetition of the phrase *I was possessed* (Lines 50 and 55) and the emphatic stress placed both times on the passive verb itself. Oceana's repetition of not only the passivized verb phrase, but also of the emphatic stress, serves to signal to the listener that there is something significant about the overwhelming nature of the feelings that she was made to experience by the Pretenders song, by the sacer. Following Labov and Walletzsky (1967), I argue that Oceana uses this repetition to suspend the action of her story, conveying a strong evaluation of the force of the sacer on her during that time. She therefore uses the passive construction *to be possessed*, in conjunction with emphatic stress and repetition, to express an intense emotional/physical state that the song cast her into, as well as to justify why she listened to the song. Later in the story, Oceana finds the song to have been one of several agents which enabled her to learn this memory from childhood, which she ultimately describes as "fate."

Oceana uses passive verbs in constructions in which she is the subject in order to confer a high degree of agency to the sacer as a force that can act through/with her, dictate her life path, and control her emotional/physical state. Conversely, her use of passive voice also diminishes her own sense of agency as an individual. Oceana therefore uses passive voice to construct a meaningful identity in her life story of herself as a being who follows the

will of the sacer and whose emotional and physical actions can be attributed to it—an emergent self who believes that the sacer can work through humans and has guidelines for how they should live.

4.3 "My soul's code knew": Active voice to construct an agentive and knowing sacer

Oceana uses active voice in her interview to describe the actions of the sacer and its influences on her life. The assignment of active voice to verbs that take the sacer as their subject represents the sacer as an agentive entity which plays and has the ability to play a role in shaping Oceana's actions and life.

The first example I present illustrating this phenomenon comes from an instance of Oceana's meta-agentive talk (previously discussed in Section 4.1). When speaking meta-agentively, Oceana frequently uses active verbs forms for the actions of the sacer. Example 13 below (reproduced from Example 1 above) occurs at the very end of Oceana's story about being guided to find her lost cat on Martha's Vineyard (from "Finding Athena"), as Oceana attributes her actions, and those of others, to another actor—the sacer.

Example 13:
117 Oceana: Those kinds of things,..
118   Have **happened**.
119   And for me those are HUGE GIFTS
120   Because..
121   You know?
122   That there's a **FORCE** that is bigger than me,
123   That is- can **make things**,

Here Oceana refers to the sacer as "a force that is bigger than me" (Line 122), using this noun phrase as a subject coupled with the active form of the verb *to be able*, to say that the sacer "can make things" (Line 123). Oceana uses active voice here as a linguistic strategy to represent the sacer as a strongly agentive entity that can act on its own and influence the actions of her and others, diminishing her own agency. She relatedly constructs her spiritual identity as someone whose actions are shaped by a sacer that can make things happen and work through her.

Importantly, Oceana uses active voice for verbs that take the sacer as their subject in several cases related to the possession of knowledge throughout her interview. In Example 14 (reproduced from Example 10 previously discussed above), Oceana claims that the sacer knew what her vocation was supposed to be. This example comes toward the beginning of her discussion of her vocation as an art teacher in the story "Becoming an Artist," as she describes how she came to heal people through art.

Example 14:
10 Oceana: So that- those early wishes,
11   I think are what we might call the soul's code.
12   So **my soul's code knew** that I was supposed to do something with art,
13   And- but that I was supposed to be a healer,

Oceana refers to the sacer here as the "soul's code" (Lines 11 and 12), and also as "early wishes" (Line 10) that people have during childhood for their future. As Oceana says, "So my soul's code knew that I was supposed to do something with art, and-but that I was supposed to be a healer" (Lines 12-13), she uses the active form of the verb *to know* to construct the sacer as a knowledgeable entity that possesses information about her life that she is not necessarily able to access. Oceana states "my soul's code knew" (Line 12) to show that the sacer held knowledge about her before she did; that this knowledge was complete, as the sacer knew her fate; and that the knowledge came directly from the sacer. As she discusses the knowledge of the soul's code, or sacer, here, she indicates that she possesses knowledge about the knowledge the sacer holds, but does not indicate the source of her own knowledge—perhaps because it is, as Chafe (1986) would say, "belief."

For Oceana, the sacer can also take human form—she describes shamans and psychics as representations of the sacer as well, and uses active verbs for their actions in order to represent their agency as embodiments of the sacer. In "Remembering Childhood," Oceana recounts a tale of learning why she was claustrophobic—because she had been traumatically locked in a closet as a young child. This knowledge of her childhood is not directly accessed by Oceana, but rather by a psychic with whom she has a reading; Oceana represents the psychic's learning of this memory using active voice in the Example 15 below.

Example 15:
74 Oceana: I went to that same psychic who told me the Divine Mother →
75   was whatever.
76   And.. she- usually when you would go to her you'd have like an →
77   hour reading,
78   But this time..
79   **She had a memory** of me as a small child,
80   Pre-ver- pre-verbal,
81   Being locked in a closet.
82   And um..
83   And it was so: upsetting,
84   That **she stopped the reading**,

The psychic in this story, occupying the role of the sacer as she both accesses the sacer and is a conduit and representative of it, accesses a memory from Oceana's life during a reading with her. Oceana uses the active form of the verb *to have* (Line 79) to describe the psychic's retrieval of the memory, while she uses the active form of the verb *to stop* (Line 84) to illustrate that the psychic intentionally severed the connection between the sacer and Oceana by ending the reading when it became too "upsetting" (Line 83).

The use of these active verbs gives agency to the psychic—she had, or possessed, the memory herself; it was not given to her. This use of active voice contrasts with Oceana's description of her own ability to access the sacer, as she says earlier in Example 9 that she "was gifted…access to the unseen realms" (Line 1). As Oceana says the psychic "stopped" (Line 84) the reading in the present example, she gives a strong sense of agency to the woman (and the sacer), as she illustrates that the psychic is able to start or stop being or communicating with the sacer as she chooses. Thus these active verbs are used to reflect

an agentive being of the sacer who works with Oceana to help her understand her life, but who can choose to stop working with her when it becomes too much for Oceana to handle.

During the telling of "Remembering Childhood," Oceana never claims that she herself remembered this memory, but rather that she learned of it through the workings of the sacer—as it manifests in a song (as described earlier in Example 12) and a psychic. As shown above, the psychic is able to remember a traumatic part of Oceana's life and thus is able to access and possess knowledge that Oceana cannot on her own. The psychic, the sacer, is able to impart this knowledge upon Oceana, but in stopping the reading, is also able to limit and control how much Oceana can learn, even about herself. Oceana's epistemic access, then, is dependent on the will of the sacer. Thus Oceana attributes strong agency and, in a way, governing power to the sacer, while she portrays herself as someone who is allowed by the sacer to have certain knowledge, minimizing her agency and ability to access knowledge on her own. Similar to the prior examples of this subsection, the source of the psychic's, or sacer's, knowledge is not stated; throughout Oceana's life story, she does not state where the sacer's knowledge comes from, and in doing so, implies that knowledge originates within the sacer itself, not from any external entities feeding into it.

The above examples illustrate that Oceana's use of active verbs that take the sacer as their subject allows her to describe actions taken by the sacer as well as the knowledge that the sacer holds. This use of active voice is thus a linguistic strategy that Oceana employs in order to construct the sacer as agentive and knowing, as an entity, or set of entities, which can create and drive actions which can possess knowledge about her. She simultaneously constructs her own identity as someone whose life is shaped by the knowledge, will, and actions of the sacer.

5   Discussion

In this paper, I have demonstrated that a speaker can construct an emergent spiritual identity in the telling of a life story through the ways in which she constructs and represents her own agency and knowledge. In doing so, she portrays who is in charge of—and possesses knowledge about—her life. I have shown that the narrator Oceana uses a variety of linguistic strategies in conjunction with one another to represent her beliefs about agency and knowledge, and to construct her spiritual identity. I have demonstrated that Oceana uses meta-agentive discourse, negation, and passive and active voice as she constructs her spiritual beliefs about the sacer and the roles it plays in her life. I also find that repetition, constructed dialogue, and emphatic speech are secondary linguistic strategies used in combination with those aforementioned to evaluate and support the agentive representations that Oceana attributes to her story-world characters. The uses of these linguistic strategies allow Oceana to construct an agentive, knowing sacer that takes many forms and has the ability to control and guide the knowledge and actions of Oceana and other humans, and to possess knowledge about them. In contrast, Oceana casts herself as less agentive, as someone whose actions and knowledge are not fully her own, but rather controlled or influenced by the sacer. She also represents others, such as drivers she pulls over using magic, as being controlled by the sacer and lacking their own agency and

knowledge, which functions to construct her larger worldview/belief system encapsulating that the sacer works through everyone—not just her.

My analysis provides unique and nuanced views into the construction of agency in discourse—as Oceana attributes agency to a sacer that can occupy multiple spaces and take the form of several kinds of entities simultaneously, including those within the self (e.g., "my soul's code"). Unlike in many religious contexts in which there is a god or power acting external to humans, Oceana conceives of the sacer as something that exists both outside and inside her—the sacer is not only an external force that guides her, but is also embodied by her own actions. Thus Oceana's beliefs surrounding her own agency as well as that of the sacer are necessarily intertwined, and her attributions of agency to herself and the sacer are not only related, but emerge from one another. This analysis therefore extends beyond current linguistic analyses of agency, as the authors who have previously theorized and studied agency in discourse predominantly have not discussed entities which occupy multiple physical, emotional, and mental planes or realms simultaneously. My findings illustrate that further analysis of the relationship between attributions of agency and spiritual (and religious) identity construction can strengthen and extend current linguistic theorizations of agency.

This supports Keane's (1997) argument that religious individuals use linguistic constructions to assign agency to something in "other worlds" (p. 66). Although Keane's discussion uses the term *religious*, I expand it here to also apply to the *spiritual*, as Oceana does not convey her beliefs as belonging to any one system related to an institution. The very nature of the ways that she recounts her life story is personal and individualistic, sharing almost entirely her own experiences with the sacer rather than others'. Oceana's spiritual identity construction in her life story interview is thus different from religious identity construction previously examined in linguistic studies of agency and epistemics, but contributes to the small body of work as a whole, as spirituality and religion do share many similarities. My findings demonstrate that Stivers et al.'s (2011) framework of epistemic access is useful in exploring knowledge about and originating from the otherworldly, while my analysis also shows that voice can be significant in verbal constructions indicating belief in something, outside of specific verbs that might be used to indicate belief (as outlined by Chafe 1986). I illustrate that attributions of knowledge related to epistemic access (e.g., knowledge source, degree of certainty) can play a major role in spiritual identity construction. My aim in publishing this research is to share one of the first linguistic studies using discourse analysis to examine the construction of spiritual beliefs and knowledge about the sacer. In contrast to previous research which has examined how individuals construct spiritual/religious identities using language to contrast or reconcile their beliefs with others', this study examines how a narrator constructs spiritual identity not made explicitly relevant to other identities or other people's beliefs in the speech event.

Taking an interactional approach to the study of spiritual identity construction is key. In addition to conducting studies of a greater number of life stories which involve discussion of the sacer and/or spirituality/religion, everyday interaction would also be a fruitful site for the study of spiritual identity. Studying discussions of the sacer in everyday conversation could help expand our thinking of spirituality as something that emerges from intentional practices (e.g., prayer) to an aspect of humanity that emerges through discourse

and embodied communication in everyday talk as well. Ultimately, Oceana's construction of her spiritual identity through her life story narrative epitomizes Hill et al.'s (2000) argument that "every form of religious and spiritual expression emerges in some social context" (p. 64), as the interactional nature of Oceana's life storytelling allows for her identity to take shape and emerge. As many humans, social movements, and larger civilizations greatly value spiritual and religious beliefs, studying how individuals construct their beliefs and knowledge about the sacer, and in turn their identities, is key to understanding how beliefs emerge through discourse and fit into larger social structures.

6   References

Ahearn, Laura M. 2010. Agency and language. *Society and language use*, ed. by Jürgen Jaspers, Jan-Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren, 28-48. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bucholtz, Mary, and Kira Hall. 2005. Identity in interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4-5).585-614.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1986. Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing. *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology*, ed. by Wallace L. Chafe and Johanna Nichols, 261-272. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Gordon, Cynthia. 2009. *Marking meaning, creating family: Intertextuality and framing in family interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hill, Peter C; Kenneth I. Pargament; Ralph W. Hood, Jr.; Michael E. McCullough; James P. Swyers; David B. Larson; and Brian J. Zinnbauer. 2000. Conceptualizing religion and spirituality: Points of commonality, points of departure. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior* 30(1).51-77.

Jousmäki, Henna. 2011. Epistemic, interpersonal, and moral stances in the construction of us and them in Christian metal lyrics. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 6(2).53-66.

Keane, Webb. 1997. Religious language. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26.47-71.

Labov, William; and Joshua Waletzsky. 1967. Narrative analysis. In Essays on the verbal and visual arts, ed. by June Helm, 12-44. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Linde, Charlotte. 1993. *Life stories: The creation of coherence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peebles, Amy Eilene. 2004. *Sexual and spiritual identity transformation among ex-gays and ex-ex-gays: Narrating a new self*. Austin, TX: The University of Texas at Austin dissertation.

Rymes, Betsy. 1995. The construction of moral agency in the narratives of high-school drop-outs. *Discourse and Society* 6(4).495-516.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1996. Narrative as self-portrait: Sociolinguistic constructions of identity. *Language in Society* 25(2).167-203.

Sewell, William H., Jr. 1992. A theory of structure: Duality, agency, and transformation. *American Journal of Sociology* 98(1).1-29.

Soltes, Ori Z. 2009. *Mysticism in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: Searching for oneness*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Stivers, Tanya; Lorenza Mondada; and Jakob Steensig. 2011. Knowledge, morality and affiliation in social interaction. *The morality of knowledge in conversation*, ed. by Tanya Stivers, Lorenza Mondada and Jakob Steensig, 3-24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, Deborah. 2007. *Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, Deborah; Shari Kendall; and Cynthia Gordon. 2007. *Family talk: Discourse and identity in four American families*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Agent Hierarchy and Segmental Erosion: Allomorphy of dependent pronouns in Sà'án Savĭ ñà Yukúnanĭ[1,2]

Guillem Belmar Viernes, Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar, and Jeremías Salazar
University of California, Santa Barbara
gbelmarviernes@ucsb.edu, alonsovasquez@ucsb.edu, yavanix@gmail.com

Abstract

Highly frequent bound pronouns are very likely to undergo segmental erosion (Heine & Song 2011). These processes may, in turn, lead to the emergence of inflectional tone in tonal languages. To illustrate these processes, this paper analyzes allomorphy in dependent pronouns in Sà'án Sàvĭ ñà Yukúnanĭ. Among Mixtec languages, Sà'án Sàvĭ ñà Yukúnanĭ presents a particularly complex pronominal system: it distinguishes different degrees of formality, shows considerable allomorphy, and presents distinct sets of subject and object enclitics. This paper focuses on the grammaticalization processes of personal pronouns in Sà'án Sàvĭ ñà Yukúnanĭ, the extent to which they undergo segmental erosion and the use of tone as a person marking strategy. We note how the distribution of segmental erosion among personal pronouns in Sà'án Sàvĭ ñà Yukúnanĭ mirrors Silverstein's (1976) agent hierarchy.

Keywords: subjecthood; allomorphy; agentivity; segmental erosion; tonal inflection; person marking; Mixtec; Otomanguean

1 Introduction

Pronominal paradigms often present instances of allomorphy that can be explained by differences in the degrees of grammaticalization of different pronouns. These processes of grammaticalization, understood as the shift from less grammatical to a more grammatical status (Kuryłowicz 1965), can be motivated by frequency in discourse (Bybee 1985). This can also result into processes of segmental erosion, which are commonly attested for dependent pronouns (Heine & Song 2011). In some tonal languages, these processes can lead to the maintenance of the tone even when no segment remains. These "leftover" tones may modify the tonal melody of the stem to which they attach. When this occurs, person is only encoded via inflectional tone. Inflectional tone can be defined as changes in pitch contour that mark meaningful inflectional or derivational processes (see, for instance, Hyman 2016).

In Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ, the extent to which different pronouns undergo segmental erosion mirrors Silverstein's agent hierarchy (1976). Among Mixtec languages, Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ presents a particularly complex pronominal system: it distinguishes different degrees of formality, shows considerable allomorphy, and presents somewhat distinct sets of subject and object enclitics (see Table 1). This paper analyzes the allomorphy resulting from segmental erosion processes in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ (Mixtec), spoken by approximately 87 speakers (INEGI 2010) in the village of Yucunani in the municipality of San Juan Mixtepec, in Oaxaca, Mexico. The Mixtec variety spoken in Yucunani is classified as part of Mixtepec Mixtec (ISO639-3: mix), a Mixtec language belonging to the Mixtecan branch of the Amuzgo-Mixtecan, Eastern Otomanguean languages (INALI 2008; Campbell 2017).

This article is organized as follows. First, some information on the dependent pronouns of Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ is provided in section 2. Each case of allomorphy is described in depth in section 3, with attention to both subject and object pronouns and the processes of grammaticalization that led to the different allomorphs. This section also provides some information on how segmental erosion caused by grammaticalization may be the origin of inflectional tone as a person marking strategy in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ. Finally, section 4 presents the conclusions of the paper. The data used in this paper comes from different first-hand materials such as narratives, elicitations, working sessions, and free translations[3].

2   Dependent pronouns in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ

Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ presents a fairly complex pronominal system, with different degrees of formality, a pluralizer enclitic, and somewhat distinct sets of subject and object enclitics. The differences between these sets of enclitics, as well as the allomorphy present among some subject pronouns, is the main focus of this paper. Table 1 shows the surface realizations of the dependent pronouns in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ.

Subject pronouns present more elaborate patterns of allomorphy than the object pronouns. However, most of the third person pronouns do not present any allomorphy at all, with the exception of the generic, inanimate [4] and feminine pronouns. Formal distinctions between subject and object enclitics are not constant across the paradigms. These are distinguished for the first-person singular, for both non-formal and formal second persons, and for generic, inanimate and feminine third persons. In addition, the first and the third persons subject forms only differ from objects in their patterns of allomorphy, whereas the second persons differ more substantially in their forms.

---

[3] These materials are available online at: https://sites.google.com/view/saansavi-yucunani
[4] Note how the third person generic and the third person inanimate are only distinguished in the plural forms.

		SUBJECT PRONOUNS		OBJECT PRONOUNS	
		SINGULAR	**PLURAL**	**SINGULAR**	**PLURAL**
1st	EXC	*=yù / =^L*	*=kuê*	*=yù*	*=kuê*
	INCL	—	*=(kue-)kó / =^H*	—	*=kue-kó*
2nd	NFORM	*=kú / =^H*	*=kue-yú*	*=yô*	*=kue-yú*
	FORM	*=ní*	*=kue-ní*	*=nǐ*	*=kue-ní*
3rd	GNR	*=ì / =à(n) / =ñà*	*=kue-ì*	*=ñà / =à(n)*	*=kue-ì*
	INAN	*=ì / =à(n) / =ñà*	*=ñà / =à(n)*	*=ñà / =à(n)*	*=ñà / =à(n)*
	PL.HUM	—	*=nà*	—	*=nà / =kue-nà*
	CHILD	*=tsi*	*=kue-tsi*	*=tsi*	*=kue-tsi*
	M	*=rà*	*=kue-rà*	*=rà*	*=kue-rà*
	F	*=í / =á(n) / =ñá*	*=kue-ñá*	*=ñá*	*=kue-ñá*
	ZOO	*=tí*	*=kue-tí*	*=tí*	*=kue-tí*
	ROUND	*=tí*	*=kue-tí*	*=tí*	*=kue-tí*
	TRUNK	*=tú*	*=kue-tú*	*=tú*	*=kue-tú*
	LIQ	*=rá*	*=kue-rá*	*=rá*	*=kue-rá*
	DEITY	*=yà*	*=kue-yà*	*=yà*	*=kue-yà*

Table 1. Dependent pronouns in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ[5].

Another characteristic of pronominal system of the Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ is the use of a pluralizer enclitic preceding the dependent pronoun. The use of this pluralizer, however, is not necessary to convey a plural meaning; rather it seems to be pragmatically motivated. As we can see in example 1, the perfective form of the verb *sàvà'a* 'to prepare' is followed by the pluralizer *=kue*, the third-person generic *=ì* acting as the subject, and the pronoun for animals *=tí* acting as the object. However, the purposive form of the verb *katsí* 'to eat' appears with only a generic third person pronoun *=à*. This generic third person pronoun is, nonetheless, co-referential with the previous subject.

(1) *Sǎvà'a-**kue**-ì-tí katsí-à.*
     să-và'a=**kue**=ì=tí   katsí=à.
     PFV.CAUS-   PURP.eat=3GNR.S
     good=PLZ=3GNR.S=3ZOO.O

     'They prepared it (the animal) to eat.' [MYUC-1009, 01:45]

The second and third person pronouns indicate different degrees of formality. Speakers of Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ use *=kú* for second persons in non-formal settings, and *=ní* in formal settings. In the third person, however, the distinction lies on specificity: the generic

third person pronoun =*ñà* is used for all referents in non-formal settings, whereas a specific pronoun is required in formal situations (that is, for example, =*rà* when talking about a man or =*tí* when talking about an animal). It is worth noting here that this distinction in the third person is not exclusively one of formality, as speakers also use these resources to distinguish two third person referents. In example 2 there are two participants: a coyote and a hen. Both of these are third person referents, and they are both animals. In the perfective form of the verb *ntsà'ní* 'to kill' we can observe how the subject, the coyote, is encoded by the third-person generic =*à,* whereas the object, the hen, is encoded by the third person pronoun for animals =*tí*. The coyote is the main participant in the story and is therefore a continuing referent throughout and highly topicalized. The hen, on the other hand, is a circumstantial participant, and the speaker uses a different pronoun to distinguish the hen from the coyote. It is also possible that subject animal referents are more likely to be referred to with the third-person generic pronoun, as opposed to object animal referents.

(2) *Cha iinkàâ chùún-ka ra ntsà'ní-**à-tí**.*

cha	iinkàâ	chùún=ka	ra	ntsà'ní=**à=tí**.
and	another	hen=ANA	TOP	PFV.kill=3.GNR=3ZOO

'And the other hen, it (the coyote) killed it.' [MYUC-1009, 01:36]

3   Allomorphy in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ

The subject dependent pronouns in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ show some allomorphy, namely the first-person singular (=*yù* ~ =^{L}), the first-person plural inclusive (=*kó* ~ =^{H}), the second-person singular non-formal (=*kú* ~ =^{H}), the third-person generic and inanimate (=*ñà* ~ =*à(n)* ~ =*ì*), and the third-person feminine (=*ñá* ~ =*á(n)* ~ =*î*). Except for the allomorphs =*à(n)*/=*á(n)* for both the third-person generic and feminine, which have resulted from a regular sound change (Eric W. Campbell, p.c.), the other allomorphs are the result of grammaticalization that underwent segmental erosion.

Segmental erosion (Heine & Song 2011; see also Gordon 2016: 157) refers to a lenition process that consists of the loss of one or more phonological segments. One of the possible causes of segmental erosion is a process of grammaticalization, which we argue is the case for the phenomenon described in this paper. As Hyman points out, tone has a greater independence and ability to wander than segments (2016: 16), which explains why segmental erosion in tonal languages could lead to increased tonal complexity. In fact, processes of segmental erosion may well be one of the many factors behind inflectional tonogenesis (see Vydrin 2016; Léonard & Fulcrand 2016; Feist & Palancar 2016). Dwyer (1976) suggests a similar explanation for the floating low tone marking definiteness in Bambara (Mande), whereby an affix consisting of a vowel and a low tone eroded until only the tone remained. Some clitics in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ have undergone such erosion. For instance, in (3) we can see that the first-person singular dependent pronoun =*yù* has lost its segments and is realized as a floating low tone across word classes.

(3) *Vichi kú ntàkanì iin ñàà kuéntù ñàà ntsìntàkani mátsá'nù nùû tá luù.*

vichi	kúntàkani=$^{\text{L}}$	iin	ñàà	kuéntù	ñàà	ntsìntàkani
today	PROSP.tell=1SG	one	DISC	story	REL.GNR	HAB.PFV.tell

mátsá'nu=$^{\text{L}}$	nùú=$^{\text{L}}$	tá	luu=$^{\text{L}}$.
grandmother=1SG	OBL=1SG	when	small=1SG

'Today I am going to tell a story that my grandmother used to tell me when I was little.' [MYUC-1011, 00:37]

This process of segmental erosion is not exclusive to Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ, as many instances can be found in other Mixtec varieties. Many third person pronouns in Mixtec languages are descended from a set of clitics that have been often referred to as classifiers in the literature (see de León 1988; Small 1990; De Hollenbach 1995; Macaulay 1996; Ventayol-Boada 2020). These classifiers, in turn, originate from binomial constructions in which the first noun underwent segmental erosion. For some of them, the full form of the noun can still be easily recovered, such as the Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ word *ñà'a* 'thing' for the third-person generic *ñà*, and *kitǐ* 'animal' for the third person for animals *tí*.

Similarly, we can find segmental erosion between the free and the dependent forms of person pronouns in other Mixtec varieties. For example, the first person plural inclusive *yéé* and its dependent form *=é* in San Martín Peras Mixtec (Mendoza 2020: 13-16), or the first-person singular *júʔú* and its dependent form *=í* in Ixtayutla Mixtec (Penner 2019: 75). Finally, Yoloxóchitl Mixtec (Castillo García 2007: 139) and Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ are two varieties that present cases in which only the tone of the pronoun remains. In both cases, the first-person singular dependent pronoun *=juꞵ/=yù* is realized as a floating low tone (=^{2}/=$^{\text{L}}$) in certain environments. These dependent forms can be traced back to the Proto-Mixtec **yuʔu* (Josserand 1983), which seems to have fallen out of use in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ[6].

In fact, these processes in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ have grammaticalized mirroring the hierarchy proposed by Silverstein (1976) discussing the likelihood of different persons to become agents in ergative systems. Among other things, Silverstein (1976) explains that, in general, singular first persons tend to be more agent-like than singular second persons, which are more agent-like than plural first persons, and the latter tend to be more agent-like than third persons. This hierarchy is shown in Figure 1. In addition, according to Chafe (1994) first persons also tend to be more topical than second persons, and these tend to be more topical than third persons.

1s>2s>1pl>3

Figure 1. Agent hierarchy (adapted from Silverstein 1976).

3.1 First-person singular and first-person plural exclusive

In Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ, the first-person singular can be realized as *=yù* when the stem to which this element is attached already ends with a Low tone. The Low tone first-person

---

[6] Note that in these notations, both <j> and <y> represent the semi-vowel /j/.

singular can sometimes be realized as a Falling tone instead, depending on the tonal melody of the phrase. A stem ending with a Rising, or High tone, for example, will result in a Falling tone first-person marker. For stems ending with a Mid tone, the tonal melody of the whole stem seems to affect the realization of the first person (Belmar et al. 2020).

In contexts where the stem to which it is attached does not end with a Low tone, the first-person singular is realized as a floating Low tone affecting the last tone of the modified element. On the other hand, the first-person plural exclusive is always realized as the pluralizer clitic *kue* plus the floating Low tone, indicating the first-person singular. Thus, the first-person plural exclusive form is realized as *kuê* (this element is sometimes phonetically realized as [wê]).

Example (4) shows the two allomorphs of the first-person singular marker. The imperfective form of the verb *inkáà-yù* 'to have' ends with a Low tone, so the enclitic *=yù* is added. The same happens with the habitual perfective form of the verb *ntsìtsà'àn-yù* 'to go'. However the habitual perfective form of the verb *ntsìsáchuun* 'to work' ends with a Mid tone, so the floating Low tone is used instead.

(4) *Àhǎ tísaán kuàâ doce á trece kuìà ínkáá-yù tá ntsìtsà'àn-yù ntsìsáchuùn.*

Àhǎ	tísaán	kuàâ	doce	á	trece	kuìà	ínkáá=**yù**
yes	maybe	approximately	twelve	or	thirteen	year	IPFV.have=1SG

tá	ntsìtsà'àn=**yù**	ntsìsáchuun=**L**.
when	HAB.PFV.go=1SG	HAB.PFV.work=1SG

'Yes, I was about twelve or thirteen when I used to go to work.' [MYUC-1028, 01:14]

Example (5) shows instances of the first-person plural exclusive pronoun. The perfective form of the verb *ntsà'àn-kuê* 'to go' is modified by the pluralizer particle *=kue* and a floating Low tone. The same occurs with the perfective form of the intransitive verb *ntsìtsá'an-kuê* 'to eat something.' In contrast, the verb *ntsìtsá'àn* 'to eat' and the alternative form *ntsàtsî* 'to eat' are modified by a floating Low tone, which encodes first-person singular.

(5) *Sáná ntsà'àn-**kuê** ntsìtsá'an-**kuê** ra ñàà, nùú xina ñú'u ntsìtsá'àn kúu ñàà, McDonald's-ka ra ñàà, ntsàtsî iin hamburguesa.*

sáná	ntsà'àn=**kuê**	ntsìtsá'an=**kuê**	ra	ñàà	nùú	xina
then	PFV.go=1PL.EXCL	PFV.eat=1PL.EXCL	TOP	DISC	where	first

ñú'u	ntsìtsá'an=**L**	kúu	ñàà	McDonald's=ka	ra	ñàà
time	PFV.eat=1SG	COP	DISC	McDonald's=ANA	TOP	DISC

ntsàtsí=**L**	iin	hamburguesa.
PFV.eat=1SG	one	hamburger.

'After that, we went to eat, and where I ate for the first time was at McDonald's, I ate a burger.' [MYUC-1008, 02:06]

Importantly, this alternation is only observed when the pronoun refers to a subject referent. When the first person appears as an object instead, the full form =*yù* is used regardless of the phonological context. In example (6), the potential form of the verb *chinta'î-yù* 'to send' includes a first-person clitic =*yù*, encoding an object. In this context the form =*yù* would be expected by the phonological environment, as the stem to which the person marker is attached already ends with a Low tone.

(6) *Cha nìkǎchì-yù tsi-nà ñàà (…) cha a kúu chinta'î-yù sáchuùn tiéndà.*

cha	nìkǎchì=**yù**	tsi=nà	ñàà	(…)	cha	a	kúu
and	PFV.say=1SG.S	COM=3PL.HUM	COMP	(…)	and	Q	POT.be

chinta'á=ì=**yù**	sáchuun=^L	tiéndà.
POT.send=3GNR.S=1SG.O	IPFV.work=1SG.S	store.

'And I told them (…) if they could send me to work at the store.' [MYUC-1028, 06:57]

In example (7) the floating Low tone allomorph would be expected judging by the phonological context, as the stem to which the person marker is attached ends with a High tone. However, in the form *tukú-yù* 'again' we find the full form =*yù*, which would not occur if the referent was a subject.

(7) *¡Ntànè'ě tukú-yù!*

ntànè'ě	tuku=^H=**yù**
PFV.find	again=2SG.NFORM.S=1SG.O

'You found me again!' [MYUC-1034, page 22]

Nonetheless, in example (8) we can observe how the combination of the pluralizer *kue* with the first-person singular marker, which is used to express the first-person plural exclusive in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ, is still realized as =*kuê* as an object. This may be because the form =*kuê* has become conventionalized as the first-person plural exclusive.

(8) *A ná'a-kue-yú tá ntsìsǎ' ganâr-kue-yú-kuê?*

a	ná'a=kue=yú	tá
Q	IPFV.remember=PLZ=2SG.NFORM.S	when

ntsìsǎ'-ganâr=kue=yú=**kuê**?
HAB.PFV.do-win=PLZ=2SG.NFORM.S=1PL.EXCL.O

'Do you remember when you used to beat us (at something)?' [Elicitation]

Another question that may arise is why the first-person singular presents any allomorphy when encoding subjects. If this were frequent enough, one would expect it to undergo segmental erosion in all contexts and, in consequence, become just a floating Low tone. One possibility is that the first-person singular form never underwent segmental erosion when preceded by a Low or a Falling tone (see Paster 2010 on homophony

avoidance in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ). On the other hand, it is also possible that the first-person singular pronoun underwent segmental erosion in all contexts, in which case unmarked stems ending in a Low or Falling tone would be homophonous with those marked for the first-person singular. In fact, Paster (2010) notes how the neighboring San Juan Mixtepec Mixtec presents allomorphy between =*yù* and a floating Low tone, where the latter occurs with all words in informal contexts, regardless of the last tone of the stem. We hypothesize that Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ regularized the floating Low tone after the pronoun **yù'ù* had cliticized to =*yù* and then eroded to just a floating Low tone =$^\text{L}$. However, speakers started using the full pronoun **yù'ù* after those words which were homophonous with their uninflected forms, which then cliticized into =*yù* again (Belmar et al. 2020).

In fact, this strategy of adding some non-cliticized pronoun is still used in the language, for instance when speakers need to indicate contrast. In example (9) the possessors are encoded through the use of the topicalizer *meé*, rather than directly modifying the noun *ve'e* 'house'.

(9) *Ká'nu-kà ve'e meê suú saán ve'e meú.*

ká'nu=kà	ve'e	meé=$^\text{L}$	suúsaán	ve'e	meé=kú.
big=more	house	TOP=1SG	more.or.less	house	TOP=2SG.NFORM

'My house is bigger than your house.' [Offered]

3.2 Second-person singular non-formal

The second-person singular non-formal pronoun can be realized by the enclitic =*kú*, with a High tone. This is often phonetically realized as [ɣú] or without any consonant but with changing the last vowel of the element to which it attaches. Depending on the tonal melody of the stem, it may be realized as a Rising tone instead of a High tone. If the last vowel of the root to which this enclitic is attached is /u/, then it is realized as a floating High tone which interacts with the last tone of the modified stem.

(10) *Và'a nchuà'a vídà yéǔ rì meú ra kuě tsíní-ñú'ú sáchúún táná sáchuùn ra ñàà né'ǔ ñàà katsǔ káchà.*

và'a	nchuà'a	vídà	yéè=**kú**	rì	meé=**kú**
good	very	life	IPFV.exist=2SG.NFORM	because	TOP=2SG.NFORM

ra	kuě	tsíníñú'u=$^\text{H}$	sáchuun=$^\text{H}$	táná
TOP	NEG	PFV.have.to=2SG.NFORM	IPFV.work=2SG.NFORM	like

sáchuun=$^\text{L}$	ra	ñàà	né'ě=**kú**	ñàà
IPFV.work=1SG	TOP	DISC	IPFV.get=2SG.NFORM	REL.GNR

katsí=**kú**	káchì=à.
PURP.eat=2SG.NFORM	IPFV.say=3GNR

'You have a very good life because you don't have to work like I work to get things to eat, he says.' [MYUC-1006, 01:05]

Example (10) shows some instances with the imperfective form of the verb *yéŭ* 'to exist' in which this enclitic replaces the vowel and changes the tone of the last vowel of the verb (from *yéè*+*kú* to the surface form *yéŭ*). It also occurs with the imperfective forms of the verb *tsíní-ñú'ú* 'to need' and the verb *sáchúún* 'to work,' both of which have /u/ as their final vowel. Therefore, the floating High tone is attached to the last element of the stem. This example also shows two different persons of the imperfective form of the verb *sachuun* 'to work,' the first-person singular (*sáchuìn*) and the second-person singular non-formal (*sáchúún*). Notice that the two share the same segments, but the former ends with a Low tone and the latter with a High tone, clearly showing the person distinction.

This presents a lesser stage of segmental erosion than that of the first-person singular. Interestingly, the second-person singular non-formal is the only person to present a completely different clitic for object referents (see Table 1), namely the form *=yô*. However, it is still important to highlight the fact that this clitic does not present any alternative realizations, which mirrors the behavior of the first-person singular object clitic *=yù*.

(11) *Kuè'è coronavirus mà ntăya'ì-**yô** ratù ná katsí tìkuaín **yô**.*

kuè'è	coronavirus	mà	ntăya'a=ì=**yô**
illness	coronavirus	NEG.IRR	NEG.POT.transmit=3GNR.S=2SG.NFORM

ratù	ná	katsí	tìkuaín=**yô**.
if	IRR	POT.eat	mosquito=2SG.NFORM.O

'The coronavirus illness cannot be transmitted to you if a mosquito bites you.' [MYUC-1033, 8]

In example (11) we can see that the realization of the second-person singular non-formal as an object is consistently *=yô*, regardless of whether the subject appears as a lexical NP, as in *katsí tìkuaín yô* 'the mosquito bites you', or a pronoun, as is the case in the verb form *ntăya'ì-yô* 'transmit (to you)'. In example (12), the subject of the verb *kátsŭ* 'eat' is marked by replacing the last vowel of the stem and modifying the tone pattern. The object of the verb *kĭ'in* 'grab', however, appears attached to the lexical NP functioning as the subject, and is encoded by the clitic *=yô*.

(12) *Vásù ná kats**ŭ** ájù cha mà chĭnchiî ñàà mà kĭ'in coronavirus **yô**.*

vásù	ná	katsí=**kú**	ájù	cha	mà
even.if	IRR	POT.eat=2SG.NFORM.S	garlic	and	NEG.IRR

chĭncheé=ì	ñàà	mà	kĭ'in
NEG.POT.help=3GNR.S	COMP	NEG.IRR	NEG.POT.grab

coronavirus=**yô**.
coronavirus=2SG.NFORM.O

'Even if you ate garlic, that would not help you not get coronavirus.' [MYUC-1033, 13]

29

3.3 First-person plural inclusive

The first-person plural inclusive in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ works similar to the second-person singular non-formal described above. The first-person plural inclusive enclitic =*kó* (sometimes phonetically realized as [ɣó]) can also be realized changing the last vowel of the stem to which it attaches, especially when it is the vowel /u/. In fast speech, the first person inclusive can also be realized as a floating High tone, but this does not seem to be regular.

Example (13) shows instances of the first-person plural inclusive. Here it modifies the prospective form of the verb *kú să'a* 'to do,' and it surfaces as a High tone (*kú să'á*). Moreover, it is also present on the prospective form of the verb *kú nkò'ŏn* 'to go.' In this case, it not only modifies the tone of the last segment of the stem to which it is attached but also changes the quality of the vowel. The underlying form *kú nkù'ùn* then surfaces as *kú nkò'ŏn*.

(13) *Sua'a sua'a-ni kú să'**á** sua'à… sua'à kú nkòo nùú kú nk**ò'ŏ**n ra ñàà.*

sua'a-sua'a=ni	kúsă'a=**H**		sua'à	sua'à	kúnkòo	nùú
this-RDPL=EMPH	PROSP.do=1PL.INCL		thus	thus	PROSP.COP	where

kúnkù'ùn=**kó**	ra	ñàà.
PROSP.go=1PL.INCL	TOP	DISC

'We are kind of going to do this… then this is kind of where we are going to go.' [MYUC-1008, 01:17]

While the context for the floating High tone is clearly defined for the second-person singular non-formal, appearing only in cases where the modified element ends in an /u/ vowel, this realization of the first-person plural inclusive appears mostly in fast speech. In example (14) there are two instances of first-person plural inclusive pronouns as subjects: the verb form *ká'ǎn* 'speak', where it appears as a floating High tone that modifies the underlying low tone of *ká'àn* and surfaces as a Rising tone; and the verb form *vàtsǒ* 'come', in which it changes the last vowel segment of the stem and modifies the tone. The two different realizations cannot be explained by the phonological environment and may be due to speech rate or semantic specificities[7].

(14) *Kutù'va-nà ñàà ká'**ǎ**n Sà'án Sàvǐ cha vàts**ǒ** Ñuù Sàvǐ tsi-nà.*

kutù'va=nà	ñàà	ká'àn=**H**		Sà'án-Sàvǐ	cha
IPFV.learn=3PL.HUM	COMP	IPFV.speak=1PL.INCL		Mixtec	and

---

[7] Apart from fast speech, this realization seems to appear with certain words more than others. Perhaps the difference between nouns such as *tá'án* 'our relatives' and *sà'án-kó* 'our language' lies in an opposition of alienable vs. inalienable possession, but the nature of this distribution has not yet been systematically studied.

vàtsi=**kó**	Ñuù-Savǐ	tsi=nà.
PRG.IPFV.come=1PL.INCL	Mixtec.Nation	COM=3PL.HUM

'They (the Mixtec people) are learning that we speak Mixtec and we come from the Mixtec Nation together.' [MYUC-1034; 00:09]

The first-person plural inclusive presents a less grammaticalized stage of the person marking, with less segmental erosion, than those described for the first and second-person singular non-formal, in line with Silverstein's hierarchy (1976). In addition, and in accordance with both first and second-person singular non-formal, object instances of the first-person plural inclusive do not show allomorphy, as can be seen in example (15).

(15) *Ná'î tá skǎkì-kue-kó kuàâ tìtsi ùtsì órà.*

ná'a=ì		tá	s-kǎka=ì=kue=kó
IPFV.remember=3GNR		when	CAUS-PFV.walk=3GNR=PLZ=1PL.INCL

kuàâ	tìtsi	ùtsì	órà.
approximately	for	ten	hour

'He remembers when he made us walk for like ten hours.' [Elicitation]

3.4 Third-person generic and the third person feminine

Another case in which allomorphy can be found is the third-person generic and inanimate, which are often realized as =*ì*, with a Low tone. This enclitic often colors the last vowel of the stem to which it is attached, but if this stem already ends with an /i/ vowel, then the allomorph =*à(n)* is used instead. The Low tone is sometimes realized as a Falling tone.

It is necessary to briefly explain the phonological changes that led to the current allomorphs of the third-person generic and inanimate pronoun =*ñà* (that is, =*ì* and =*à(n)*) as well as the allomorphs of the third-person feminine pronoun =*ñá* (that is, =*í* and =*á(n)*). The Proto-Mixtec semi-vowel *y (/j/) was dropped in Sà'án Savǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ when preceded by a front vowel /e/ or /i/ (Eric W. Campbell, pc.). We can see this in the current reflexes of the Proto-Mixtec words[8] *weyi > *vèe* (heavy), *teye > *chàa* (man), and *xiyoˀ > *tsìó* (griddle). In addition to this, the semi-vowel *y (/j/) later changed in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ into a palatal nasal /ɲ/ when followed by a nasal vowel or a nasal consonant at the onset of the following syllable. This can be seen in the current reflexes of the Proto-Mixtec words *yuu > *ñuù* (village), *yeni > *ñanì* (brother of a male), and *yaˀaˀ > *ña'á* (woman). Therefore, with verbal roots ending in -*i*, the semi-vowel was dropped, resulting in the current allomorphs =*à(n)*/=*á(n)*, such as in the purposive form of the verb 'eat' *katsí-***à** in example (1). In other contexts, the semi-vowel was maintained until it was all that remained, resulting in the allomorphs =*ì*/=*í*, as in the perfective form of the verb 'prepare' *sǎvà'a-kue-**ì**-tí* in example (1).

Example (16) shows the possessive form of the noun *ñu'ú* 'land' (surfacing as *ñu'î* 'his/her/its land'). In this case, the last /u/ is replaced with the person marker =*ì*, which

---

[8] The Proto-Mixtec words presented here were drawn from Josserand (1983). Note that underlined vowels represent nasal vowels in her work.

surfaces with a Falling tone. Something similar occurs with the prospective form of the verb *kú nkìtsáì* 'to start' and the imperfective form of the verb *sáchuìn* 'to work'. In both cases, the final vowels of the roots are replaced with a Low tone *=ì*. However, the perfective form of the verb *ntsìnì-à* 'to see' uses the allomorph *=à* instead of *=ì*, because the stem already ends with the vowel /i/.

(16) *Nùú ñu'î ra ñàà kú nkìtsáì sáchuìn sara ñàà ntsìnì-à.*

nùú	ñu'ú=**ì**	ra	ñàà	kúnkìtsáá=**ì**	sáchuun=**ì**	sara
OBL	land=3GNR	TOP	DISC	PROSP.start=3GNR	IPF.work=3GNR	then

ñàà	ntsìnì=**à**.
DISC	PFV.see=3GNR

'On his land, he was going to start to work, then he saw.' [MYUC-1006, 00:35]

Finally, the third-person feminine also shows allomorphy in Sà'án Sàvĭ ñà Yukúnanĭ. This enclitic works similarly to the third-person generic. The segments are identical, but the tone is High instead of Low, giving us the alternation *=í ~ =á(n)*. This High tone may sometimes be realized as a Rising tone.

(17) *Ntàtsàìí ra ñàà sáná nìkĭtsi-kuê tsi-**án**.*

ntàtsàà=**í**	ra	ñàà	sáná	nìkĭtsi=kuê	tsi=**án**.
PFV.go.back=3FEM	TOP	DISC	then	PFV.come=1PL.EXCL	COM=3FEM

'She went back, and then we came with her.' [MYUC-1008, 00:59]

Example (17) shows the imperfective form of the verb *ntàtsàìí* 'to come back', in which the person marking enclitic replaces the last vowel of the stem and is then realized as a Low-Rise tone sequence *=ìí*. On the other hand, this enclitic also appears with the comitative particle *tsi*, which ends with an /i/, so the allomorph *=á(n)* is used instead.

In fact, of the eleven possible third person pronouns documented so far in Sà'án Sàvĭ ñà Yukúnanĭ, only two present cases of allomorphy: the generic and inanimate form (*=ñà, =ì, =à(n)*), and the feminine form (*=ñá, =í, =á(n)*). These forms present cases of allomorphy as a result of both a process of grammaticalization —whereby they are realized as *=ì* or *=í* respectively— and the historical loss of **y* after front vowels (Eric W. Campbell, p.c.) —whereby they are realized as *=à(n)* or *=á(n)* respectively. In example (18) we can see the common realization of the third-person generic pronoun (*=ì*) in the verb forms *nìkìtsáî* 'start', *ntávì* 'fly', *kuà'ìn* 'go' and *ntúkî* 'look for'; as well as the allomorph (*=à(n)*) in the verb forms *ntàki'àn* 'take' and *katsí-à* 'eat'. Example (19), on the other hand, shows the most common realization of the third-person feminine pronoun *(=í)*.

(18) *Ntàki'**àn** sà'mă lóchí-ka ra nìkìtsáî ntávì chó'o chiká-ni, cha ñàà kuà'ìn ntúkî ñàà katsí-**à**.*

ntàki'in=**à**	sà'mă	lóchí=ka	ra	nìkìtsáá=**ì**
PFV.take=3GNR	body	vulture=ANA	TOP	PFV.start=3GNR

ntáva=**ì**	chó'o	chiká=ni	cha	ñàà

IPFV.fly=3GNR	from.here	to.there=EMPH	and	DISC

kuà'àn=ì	ntúkú=ì	ñàà	katsí=à.
IPFV.PRG.go=3GNR	IPFV.look.for=3GNR	REL.GNR	PURP.eat=3GNR

'When he had taken the body of the vulture, he started flying around, and he was looking for something to eat.' [MYUC-1011, 02:31]

(19) *Ùtsì yòó á ùtsì iin yòó ntsìí yó'o sáná ntànchikuí.*

ùtsì	yòó	á	sáná	ùtsì.iin	yòó	ntsìo=í	yó'o	sáná
ten	month	or	then	eleven	month	PFV.stay=3FEM	here	then

ntànchikó=í.
PFV.go.back=3FEM

'She stayed here for ten or eleven months, then she went back.' [MYUC-1008, 01:06]

Interestingly, the allomorphs that resulted from historical sound changes may be found in both subject and object pronouns, whereas the allomorphs that resulted from grammaticalization are only found in subject pronouns. Example (20) shows how the third-person generic pronoun is realized as *=à* after /i/, even when encoding an object. In contrast, example (21) shows the third-person generic/inanimate pronoun encoding an object and realized as the full form *=ñà*.

(20) *Vásù ná ki'in kuè'è coronavirus nǐ kuě kúnì-à káchà ñàà ntèe nǐ'na kú ntò'o-ní-à.*

vásù	ná	ki'in	kuè'è	coronavirus=nǐ	kuě
even.if	IRR	POT.grab	illness	coronavirus=2SG.FORM.O	NEG

kúnì=à	káchì=à	ñàà	ntèe.nǐ'na
IPFV.want=3GNR.S	IPFV.say=3GNR.S	COMP	all.the.time

kúntò'o=ní=à.
PROSP.suffer=2SG.FORM.S=3GNR.O

'If you catch coronavirus it does not mean that you will suffer from it all your life.' [MYUC-1032, 2]

(21) *Sava-nà nìkìtsáá cháa-nà-ñà, sava-nà nìkìtsáá tsáchúun-nà-ñà nùú rádiù.*

sava=nà	nìkìtsáá	cháa=nà=ñà,	sava=nà
some=3PL.HUM	PFV.start	IPFV.write=3PL.HUM.S=3GNR.O	some=3PL.HUM

nìkìtsáá	tsáchúun=nà=ñà	nùú	rádiù.
PFV.start	IPFV.use=3PL.HUM.S=3GNR.O	OBL	radio

'Some started writing it (the language), some started using it on the radio.' [MYUC-1034; 00:24]

Similar to what happens with the first-person plural exclusive, when the pluralizer *kue* is used with the third-person generic, it is always realized as *=kue=ì*. This suggests a

lexicalization of the form *=kue=ì* to express the third-person generic animate, which contrasts with the form for inanimate referents, which stays as *=ñà*. In example (22), we can observe how the third-person generic pronoun is consistently realized as *=ì* after the pluralizer *=kue*, regardless of the referent being a subject or an object. Example (23) illustrates how *=ñà* refers to inanimate objects. We can also observe how *=ñà* appears in its full form as an object, rather than the reduced form *=ì* that commonly encodes subjects.

(22) *Nìkǎni-à mátsá'nù tavà ñàà nchìnchiǐ-**kue-ì** nixi sǎ'a-**kue-ì** ñàà távî chùún-ka.*

nìkǎni=à		mátsá'nu=ᴸ	tavà	ñàà
PFV.call=3GNR.S		grandmother=1SG	so.that	DISC

nchìncheé=í=**kue=ì**	nixi	sǎ'a=**kue=ì**		ñàà
PFV.help=3FEM.S=PLZ=3GNR.O	how	PFV.do=PLZ=3GNR.S		DISC

távǎ=ì	chùún=ka.
IPFV.take.out=3GNR.S	hen=ANA

'He called my grandma so she would help them get the hen out.' [MYUC-1009, 02:40]

(23) *A tsà nìxìkú kue chaì-kú? Tsà nìxìkô-**ñà** nùú máá-kú.*

a	tsà	nìxìko=kú	kue	chaì=kú?	Tsà
Q	already	PFV.sell=2SG.NFORM.S	PLZ	chair=2SG.NFORM	already

nìxìko=ᴸ=**ñà**	nùú	máá=kú.
PFV.sell=1SG.S=3GNR.O	OBL	mother=2SG.NFORM

'Did you already sell your chairs? I already sold them to your mother.' [Elicitation]

4 Conclusion

The present study investigated the allomorphy of dependent pronouns in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ. We established that allomorphy in dependent pronouns in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ is mostly caused by segmental erosion, which consists of the deletion of one or more segments. In these cases, the tone is maintained. Mirroring Silverstein's (1976) hierarchy, this allomorphy caused by segmental erosion can be found in the first-person singular and first-person plural exclusive, the second-person singular non-formal, and the first-person plural inclusive pronouns. In addition, we also find segmental erosion in the third-person generic, inanimate, and feminine forms.

However, based on Silverstein's agent hierarchy (1976) third person pronouns would not be predicted to undergo processes of segmental erosion. This is because third person referents appear less frequently as given information (Chafe 1994) and, therefore, are less frequently encoded with pronouns. In addition, Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ has eleven third person pronouns, which means that these pronouns, independently, are even less frequent and, therefore, are less likely to routinize and undergo segmental erosion. However, we

have established that both the third-person generic/inanimate pronoun and the third-person feminine pronoun exhibit allomorphy resulting from grammaticalization.

It is not a coincidence, however, that the third-person generic pronoun —rather than, say, the third-person masculine— underwent segmental erosion. In most contexts, this is the most common form used in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ to refer to any third person participant, be it singular or plural, human, animal, inanimate, etc. It works for all referents except in formal situations or when the speaker needs to disambiguate between two third person referents (as in example 2). Therefore, it is unsurprising that, of all the possible third person pronouns, the generic pronoun is the one form with allomorphy derived from grammaticalization.

However, this is not the only third person pronoun that underwent segmental erosion. As shown in examples (17) and (19), the third-person feminine pronoun also underwent segmental erosion. Yet, frequency does not seem to drive this process, as this is not a particularly frequent pronoun in our corpus. We hypothesize that the third-person feminine pronoun underwent segmental erosion by analogy with the third-person generic pronoun, since both pronouns have the same segments and are solely distinguished by tone. It seems that the third-person generic started undergoing segmental erosion as it was frequent enough to become routinized (see Bybee 1985), and the third-person feminine pronoun just mirrored that process by analogy. This can explain why these two pronouns, with different frequencies and used in different contexts, present the exact same allomorphs in the exact same contexts (see examples 16 and 17).

These processes of segmental erosion (Heine & Song 2011; see also Gordon 2016) led to personal inflection in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ to be expressed solely via tonal alternation in certain environments. Processes of segmental erosion as origins of inflectional tone have been observed in other languages, such as in Bambara (Mande) (see Dwyer 1976 and Vydrin 2016), Santa María Pápalo Cuicatec (Otomanguean) (Feist & Palancar 2016), and Soyaltepec Mazatec (Otomanguean) (see Léonard & Fulcrand 2016). Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ makes use of tonal alternation to express the first-person singular (in which a floating Low tone appears as an allomorph of the enclitic *=yù*) (examples 3, 4 and 5), the second-person singular non-formal (in which a floating High tone appears as an allomorph of the enclitic *=kú*) (examples 7 and 10), and the first-person plural inclusive (in which a floating High tone appears as an allomorph of the enclitic *=kó*) (examples 13 and 14).

Other Otomanguean languages also feature tonal inflection to mark person, for example Zenzontepec Chatino (Campbell 2016), San Miguel Huautepec Mazatec, Soyaltepec Mazatec (Léonard & Fulcrand 2016), Itunyoso Triqui (DiCanio 2016), Santa María Pápalo Cuicatec (Feist & Palancar 2016) and Yoloxóchitl Mixtec (Castillo García 2007; see also Palancar et al. 2016). In line with the observations in Sà'án Sàvǐ ñà Yukúnanǐ, these languages feature tonal inflection to mark first or second person, but they do not rely solely on tone to mark the third person. It seems that it is the high discourse frequency of first and second person subjects that leads to the emergence of inflectional tone as a person marking strategy. This high frequency facilitated the segmental erosion of affixes. Frequency-driven morphologization (see Bybee 1985), therefore, can explain why these cases, undergo segmental erosion and to what extent they do so and, consequently, can shed some light on the processes that lead to the use of tonal alternation to express grammatical relations.

5 References

Belmar, Guillem, Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar & Jeremías Salazar. 2020. *Alternancia tonal en el marcador de primera persona en / Tonal alternation in the first person singual marker of Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĭ*. Poster Presentation at the High Desert Linguistic Society Conference. University of New Mexico.

Bybee, Joan L. 1985. *Morphology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Campbell, Eric W. 2017. Otomanguean historical linguistics: past, present and prospects for the future. *Language & Linguistic Compass, 11*, e1224.

Campbell, Eric W. 2016. Tone and inflection in Zenzontepec Chatino. In In Enrique L. Palancar & Jean Léo Léonard (eds.), *Tone and inflection: new facts and new perspectives*, 141-162. Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Castillo García, Rey. 2007. *Descripción fonológica, segmental, y tonal del Mixteco de Yoloxóchitl, Guerrero.* Master's thesis, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), México, D.F.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1994. *Discourse, consciousness, and time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

De Hollenbach, Elena E. 1995. Cuatro Morfemas Funcionales en las Lenguas Mixtecanas. In Ramón Arzápalo Marín & Yolanda Lastra, *Vitalidad e Influencia de Las Lenguas Indígenas en Latinoamérica: II Coloquio Mauricio Swadesh*, 284-293. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

De León, Lourdes. 1988. *Noun and numeral classifiers in Mixtec and Tzotzil: A referential view*. UK: University of Sussex PhD Thesis.

DiCanio, Christian T. 2016. Abstract and concrete tonal classes in Itunyoso Triqui person morphology. In Enrique L. Palancar & Jean Léo Léonard (eds.), *Tone and inflection: new facts and new perspectives*, 225-266. Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Dwyer, David. 1976. The analysis of Bambara polarization. *Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 6,* 27-38.

Feist, Timothy & Enrique L. Palancar. 2016. Tracing the emergence of inflectional tone in Cuicatec. In Enrique L. Palancar & Jean Léo Léonard (eds.), *Tone and inflection: new facts and new perspectives*, 267-294. Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Gordon, Matthew. 2016. Phonological typology (Oxford Linguistics). First edition. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Kyung-An Song. 2011. On the Grammaticalization of Personal Pronouns. *Journal of Linguistics, 47*. 587-630.

Hyman, Larry M. 2016. Morphological tonal assignments in conflict: Who wins? In Enrique L. Palancar & Jean Léo Léonard (eds.), *Tone and inflection: new facts and new perspectives*, 15-40. Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

INALI. 2008. Catálogo de las lenguas indígenas nacionales: variantes lingüísticas de México con sus autodenominaciones y referencias geoestadísticas. Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas. Online version: https://www.inali.gob.mx/clin-inali/index.html

INEGI. 2010. Censo de Población y Vivenda 2010. Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía. https://www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/2010/default.html.

Josserand, Judy Kathryn. 1983. *Mixtec dialect history.* PhD Thesis. Tulane University.

Kuryłowicz, Jerzy. 1965. The evolution of grammatical categories. *Diogenes 51.* 55–71.

Léonard, Jean Léo & Julien Fulcrand. 2016. Tonal inflection and dialectal variation in Mazatec. In Enrique L. Palancar & Jean Léo Léonard (eds.), *Tone and inflection: new facts and new perspectives*, 163-190. Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Macaulay, Monica. 1996. A Grammar of Chalcatongo Mixtec. Berkeley / Los Angeles: University of California Press.Mendoza, Gabriel. *Syntactic Sketch of San Martín Peras Tu'un Savi.* Bachelor of Arts Honors Thesis. University of California, Santa Barbara.

Palancar, Enrique L., Jonathan D. Amith & Rey Castillo García. 2016. Verbal inflection in Yoloxóchitl Mixtec. In Enrique L. Palancar & Jean Léo Léonard (eds.), *Tone and inflection: new facts and new perspectives*, 295-336. Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Paster, Mary. 2010. The role of homophony avoidance in morphology: a case study from Mixtec. *Santa Barbara Papers in Linguistics*, *21.* 29–39.

Penner, Kevin. 2019. *Prosodic structure in Ixtayutla Mixtec: Evidence for the foot.* PhD thesis, University of Alberta.

Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity. In Robert M.W. Dixon (ed.), *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*, 112-171. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Small, Priscilla. 1990. A syntactic sketch of Coatzospan Mixtec. In Henry Bradley & Barbara Hollenbach (eds.), *Studies in the syntax of Mixtecan languages* (Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics, 90), vol. 2. Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics.

Ventayol-Boada, Albert, 2020. *From classifiers to subordination: Nominal origins of relativizers and subordinators in Tu'un na Ñuu Sá Mátxíí Ntxè'è (Mixtec).* Manuscript submitted for publication.

Vydrin, Valentin. 2016. Tonal inflection in Mande languages: the cases of Bamana and Dan-Gwɛɛtaa. In Enrique L. Palancar & Jean Léo Léonard (eds.), *Tone and inflection: new facts and new perspectives*, 83-105. Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Appendix: Abbreviations

ANA	anaphoric	O	object
CAUS	causative	OBL	oblique
COM	comitative	PFV	perfective
COMP	complementizer	PL	plural
COP	copula	PLZ	pluralizer
DISC	discourse marker	POT	potential
EMPH	emphatic	PRG	progressive

FEM	feminine	PROSP	prospective
FORM	formal	PURP	purposive
GNR	generic	Q	question
HAB	habitual	RDPL	reduplication
HUM	human	REL	relativizer
INCL	inclusive	S	subject
IPFV	imperfective	SG	singular
IRR	irrealis	TOP	topicalizer
NEG	negative	ZOO	zoic
NFORM	non-formal		

Whose indexical field is it?: the role of community epistemology in indexing social meaning

J Calder
University of Colorado Boulder
jeca9599@colorado.edu

Abstract

Indexicality is a concept used in sociolinguistics to theorize connections between linguistic signs and the social meanings they carry. In variationism, indexicality is conceptualized as a relationship between a particular linguistic variant and a social meaning, and the linguistic variant may have an indexical field, or a range of meanings with which the variant is able to connect. Social meanings and indexical fields are often conceptualized as belonging to linguistic variants in a dyadic manner, such that the linguistic sign is framed as having a meaning or range of meanings associated with it. However, it is rarely explicitly foregrounded that linguistic features can carry different social meanings, or different indexical fields entirely, for different populations. Here, I discuss the importance of the *interpretant* in discussions of the ways linguistic signs connect to social meanings. A part of the triadic sign proposed by Charles Sanders Peirce in his original formulation of indexicality (e.g., 1985), the interpretant represents the construal of a connection between a sign and an object (Gal & Irvine 2019) by a perceiver. And different perceivers may make different construals for the same sign-vehicle about what social meanings that sign-vehicle connects to. An exploration of the production patterns of the /s/ sound among marginalized communities illuminates the *ditransitive* nature of indexicality; that is, linguistic variants may carry different indexical fields for different perceiving populations, conditioned by the local epistemologies within which those perceiving populations are embedded.

1   Introduction

Indexicality has been widely used in sociolinguistics to theorize connections between linguistic signs and the social meanings they carry. A theoretical concept shared with linguistic anthropology and semiotic theory, indexicality represents a co-occurrence in time and space between a particular sign-vehicle and an object to which the sign-vehicle points. In linguistics, it has been argued that linguistic signs carry not only semantic referential meanings, but they also carry indexical meanings that illuminate something about a person's identity, the linguistic situation, or the stance a speaker is taking towards something. These indexical meanings are argued to come from connections between sign-vehicles and the identities, situations, and stances they co-occur with. In other words, when we hear linguistic signs, we may infer from those signs social meanings about the speaker using them, about the situations in which they are used, or about the stances a speaker is taking toward something they are talking about.

It has been argued that connections between signs and social meanings are not one-to-one, but a sign has the potential to index multiple social meanings (Eckert 2008), or to gain new social meanings over time (Silverstein 2003). The range of social meanings a sign acquires comprises that sign's *indexical field* (Eckert 2008). Theoretical conceptualizations of the ways that signs acquire and index social meanings have propagated throughout variationist sociolinguistics, with researchers exploring how

particular linguistic variables are indexical of populations, situations, and identities. However, discussions of connections between linguistic signs and objects in sociolinguistic research have rarely explicitly discussed the role of the specific populations and communities for whom connections between signs and objects are relevant. In other words, in sociolinguistics, social meanings are often thought of as belonging to signs; that is, a sign has a social meaning or a range of social meanings. But it is rarely discussed *for whom* signs carry social meanings. The fact that a particular sign can carry different sets of social meanings for different perceiving populations is rarely explored.

Here, I discuss the importance of the *interpretant* in discussions of the ways linguistic signs connect to social meanings. A part of the triadic sign proposed by Charles Sanders Peirce in his original formulation of indexicality (1895, 1903, 1909), and one that differentiates the Peircian conceptualization of the sign from the dyadic Saussurean (1966) conceptualization of the sign, the interpretant represents the construal of a connection between a sign and an object (Gal & Irvine 2019). Indexical connections between signs and objects don't exist in social vacuums, but connections between them must be construed by a perceiver (D'Onofrio 2021; Atkin 2013). And different perceivers may make different construals for the same sign-vehicle about what social meanings that sign-vehicle connects to. In other words, context is an inherent aspect of indexicality (Nakassis 2018), and not only must we attend to the objects that contextually co-occur with sign-vehicles, but we must attend to the epistemological and ideological systems under which those co-occurrences are observed, and how different epistemologies between different perceiving populations may lead to different construals connecting sign-vehicles and objects. Through a discussion of the production patterns of understudied communities, I aim to illuminate that production patterns of co-occurrence between sign-vehicles and objects vary from community to community, and thus, construals of connections between sign-vehicles and objects also differ. I argue that differing local epistemologies in particular communities about what linguistic signs index are shaped by observed patterns of co-occurrence in those communities, and these local epistemologies can then shape the indexical potential of a variable, such that a single sign-vehicle can carry different social meanings—or different indexical fields entirely— for different communities. Importantly, this insight is illuminated via an exploration of the differing linguistic practices of marginalized communities, when compared to the unmarked communities dominating much sociolinguistic research, underscoring the need for the representation of understudied speakers in shaping theoretical conceptualizations in sociolinguistics.

2   Indexicality in sociolinguistics

When sociolinguists talk about the ideological connections between particular linguistic variants and particular performances of gender, we are talking about indexicality. In variationism, indexicality is a relationship between a particular linguistic feature and a social meaning. This social meaning could be something about the speaker's identity, the speaker's emotions, or the situation in which the communicative exchange is unfolding. When we say a variant indexes a social meaning, we mean to say that when we hear a variant being used in someone's speech, it signals to us something about that person or about the situation. In sociolinguistics we often frame indexicality as a transitive phenomenon, a relationship between two parts: a sign-vehicle indexes an object. A linguistic variant indexes, for example, a particular population. Or a linguistic variant

indexes something about the speaker's identity. We talk about social meanings as belonging to variants or resulting from variants.

The concept of indexicality comes from Peircian semiotics (e.g., 1895), which defines indexicality as a co-occurrence type of relationship between a sign-vehicle and the object it points to. For example, if we observe a linguistic variant co-occurring with a particular population, when we later hear that variant, it conjures that population in our minds. It points, or indexes, to that population. So if we hear women saying something a certain way, when we hear that thing said in that certain way, it might later index women for us, or ideologically point to women. For sociolinguists, the sign-vehicle is often a linguistic variant, and the object is the social meaning the linguistic variant points to. For example, sociolinguistic studies of the (ING) variant have shown that men and boys use the [IN] variant more often than girls and women (e.g., Fischer 1958, Trudgill 1974, Tagliamonte 2004, Hazen 2008). Given that perceivers might encounter boys and men using the [IN] variant more than women, the [IN] variant might index maleness or masculinity when it is perceived in future situations.

As linguistic variants are used in more and more contexts, they can gain new social meanings over time, and these new meanings often build on previous meanings (Silverstein 2003; Johnstone, Andrus, & Danielson 2006; Johnstone & Kiesling 2008). Eventually, variants may be able to index multiple things, i.e. they may have multiple social meanings associated with them. Eckert calls this collection of social meanings for a variant that variant's indexical field (2008). In other words, a variant has an indexical field, a range of possible social meanings it might point to, any one of which might be specified in a particular interactional moment, depending upon the context the variant is situated within. For example, it goes without saying that variants like [IN] and [ING] can do much more than point to men and women. They might also point to thinks like formality, education, the geographic region someone comes from, the socioeconomic class someone has. There is a range of social meanings that each of these variants point to, and the specific meaning that is conjured in a particular moment is foregrounded based on the context the variant is situated within.

3   The status of /s/, gender, and sexuality in variationism

The remainder of this article will explore the indexical potential of a linguistic variable that has been incredibly robustly linked to gender identity in the sociolinguistic literature. The /s/ sound is perhaps the most studied phonetic variable in studies of language, gender, and sexuality. The voiceless anterior sibilant is articulated by placing the tongue against the alveolar ridge behind the top teeth and passing air over it, with the air hitting the top teeth creating a hiss sound. The closer the tongue is to the top teeth—i.e., the more fronted the tongue is in the mouth— the higher the frequency of the hiss sound that is created (Fuchs & Toda 2010). Conversely, the more retracted the tongue is, the larger the resonating cavity between the tongue and the teeth is, and the lower the frequency of the hissing sound. One measure that has been used to capture the frequency of this hiss is Center of Gravity (COG), the mean in Hz at which the spectral energy of the sound is focused. In other words, a higher COG corresponds with a more fronted articulation of /s/, and a lower COG corresponds with a more retracted articulation (Flipsen et al 1999). The frequency of this hiss has been shown to pattern with speaker gender, with women producing a fronter /s/ with a higher frequency than men in many studies (Stuart-Smith, Timmins, & Wrench

2003; Hazenberg 2012; Podesva & Van Hofwegen 2014, 2016). However, production studies have also shown how queer men and women differ from straight men and women with respect to /s/ production, with gay men often being found to produce fronter /s/ than straight men, and queer women being found to produce a more retracted /s/ than straight women (Podesva & Van Hofwegen 2014, 2016). In addition, the frequency of the /s/ sound has been shown to contribute to how gay male voices sound to listeners, with male voices with higher frequency /s/ being rated by listeners as sounding more gay (e.g., Munson 2007; Campbell-Kibler 2011; Mack & Munson 2012).

Given the co-occurrence between these variants and particular identities, it has been argued that fronted /s/, orthographically represented in research as [s+], can index women, femininity, and-– when coming from a voice perceived as male– gayness. It has also been argued that retracted /s/, orthographically represented as [s-], indexes men, masculinity, and-– when coming from a voice perceived as female– lesbians. However, in addition to these social meanings relating gender and sexual orientation, /s/ has been shown to correlate with things like social class (Stuart-Smith 2007), urbanity vs rurality (Podesva & Van Hofwegen 2016), and other social qualities. Needless to say, [s+] and [s-] have robust indexical fields, as illustrated in Figure 1. Despite this, gender (and relatedly, sexuality) is arguably the most talked about social meaning with respect to /s/ frontness.

The gendered linguistic patterns observed in research as co-occurring with particular identities feed into our social analyses as researchers, and they undoubtedly feed into how we interpret future analyses and the patterns we expect to see. Although much variationist study has observed robust gendered patterns with respect to /s/ frontness, it is important to consider from which populations these patterns have been observed. The vast majority of previous work on /s/ in English has examined realizations of the variable among White, cisgender speakers, with few exceptions. That is to say, sociolinguistic understandings of what /s/ indexes with respect to gender and sexuality are rooted in a White, cisgender perspective. However, given the unmarked position of this group, it is rarely qualified in the literature that these social meanings are social meanings that have been gained from White, cisgender communities, and it is rarely considered that other communities may not share these social meanings.
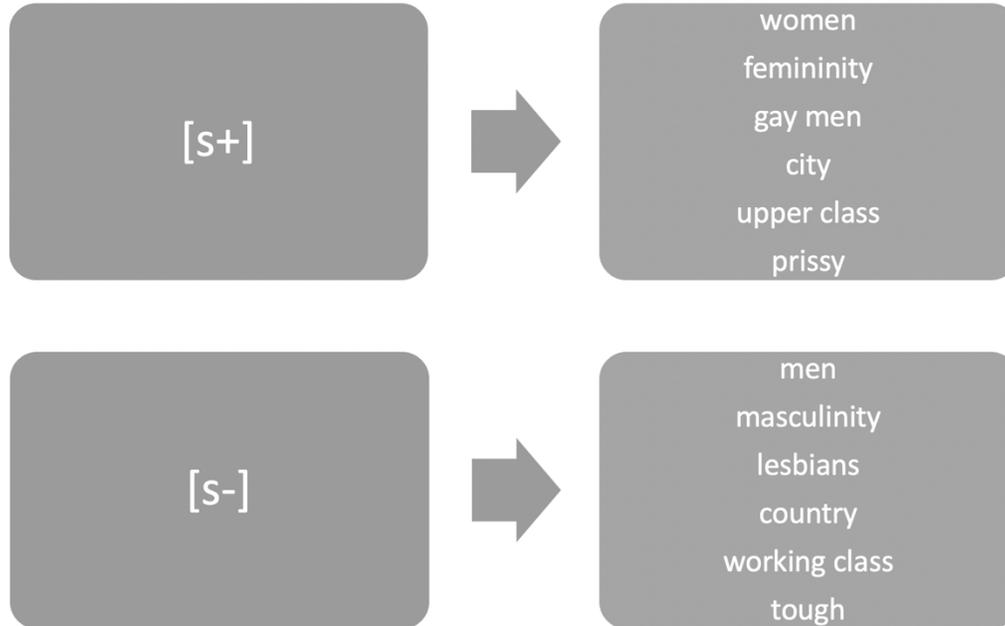
Figure 1: Indexical fields of fronted [s+] and retracted [s-], based on previous sociolinguistic research

This raises the question, who are we as linguists representing and reifying as the prototypical *gendered speaking subject*? From which vantage point do our social and analytical epistemologies come? Which *listening subject* (Inoue 2003, Flores & Rosa 2015) is being represented and reproduced in sociolinguistic analysis as the default way to interpret linguistic patterns? What about speaking and listening subjects outside of White and cisgender populations? What will our expectations as researchers for those groups be? How will we interpret those patterns based on the expectations we already hold based on the swaths of work that have already been conducted from a White, cisgender perspective? Will our analyses serve to facilitate epistemic justice (e.g., King 2020)? Will we accurately represent the social realities of the speakers we analyze, or will we interpret their patterns through the lens of what has already been established as the norm in the field? Some important work has started to examine these questions about epistemic justice with respect to race (King 2020) and transgender identity (Zimman 2020; miles-hercules & Zimman 2019; Steele 2021; Calder & Steele forthcoming). I continue this exploration by examining patterns of /s/ frontness in North American English, among two communities outside of the White, cisgender norm that has been established in the field.

4   /s/ in minoritized communities

4.1   Indexicality of /s/ beyond Whiteness

The first exploration focuses on the realization of /s/ in a non-White community, and whether this community exhibits the same patterns that have been robustly established for heterosexual White speakers: that women exhibit a significantly fronter /s/ with a significantly higher COG than men. One study (Calder & King 2020) explored the articulation of /s/ among African-Americans in Bakersfield, California, aiming to

investigate whether the production patterns so robustly found in the previous literature would hold in a community of an ethnicity that had not yet been examined with respect to the variable. The study found that there was no significant difference in the ways African American men and women produced /s/, a finding that stood in stark contrast to the previous literature. This stark contrast is illustrated in Figure 2, which plots the COG means for men and women from two previous production studies (Hazenberg 2012, Podesva & Van Hofwegen 2016) below the horizontal axis, and the COG means for Black men and women in Bakersfield above the axis. A later investigation (Calder & King forthcoming) explored the possibility that the lack of a gender split could be a pattern local to Bakersfield, rather than a pattern conditioned by the race of the speakers. An examination of the production of /s/ among White speakers in Bakersfield revealed that White Bakersfieldians exhibited the gender split consonant with previous studies. In other words, in Bakersfield, patterns illuminated that Black speakers exhibit different patterns from White speakers with respect to /s/ and gender. Thus, in acknowledging what /s/ indexes based on previous studies, how might we as sociolinguists be inclined to interpret these patterns?
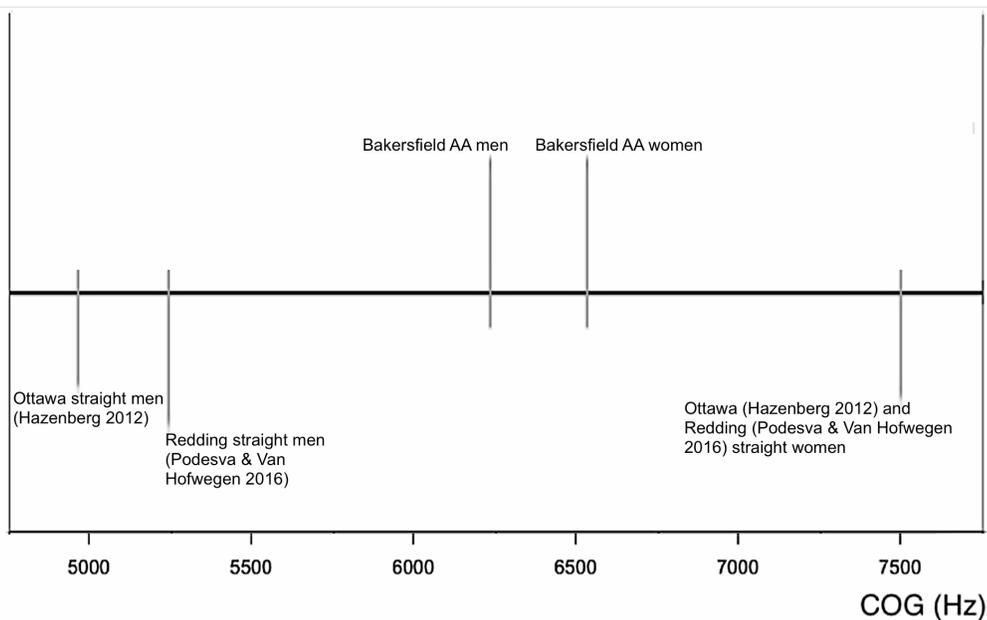

Figure 2: /s/ COG means for White men and women from previous research (Hazenberg 2012, Podesva & Van Hofwegen 2016) and Black men and women from Bakersfield (Calder & King 2020)

One production pattern we can observe is that Black women in Bakersfield produce a significantly more retracted /s/ than White women. An analyst may be tempted to situate this pattern within previous discussions about the variable's gendered indexical potential in the literature. To be specific, previous work robustly illustrates that a retracted /s/ indexes gendered social meanings like "men", "masculinity", and "lesbians", among other things. Therefore, it may be tempting to make arguments like "black women's linguistic performance is less feminine" or "black women are linguistically masculine compared to white women", if an analyst considers the indexical meanings of retracted /s/ illuminated by previous work to be universal, and neglects to consider the local epistemologies in the Black Bakersfield community that may not agree with these interpretations. From my

ethnography in this community with colleague Sharese King in conducting this work, the Black women we interviewed in Bakersfield embodied femininity and saw themselves as normatively gendered subjects. None of them came forward identifying with a gender other than female or as anything but heterosexual.

In Hall, Levon, and Milani's (2019) *Language in Society* issue on normativities, they posed the idea that, instead of a singular universal normativity that everyone orients to, there are multiple normativities that might be relevant to different subsets of people, each with their own relevant social epistemologies. If we contextualize this idea within Bakersfield, it becomes evident that there are multiple ways to be normatively feminine, multiple gender normativities that are each based at the intersections between gender and race. For White women, normative femininity might involve using a fronted /s/, but under specifically Black Bakersfieldian standards of gender normativity, this same linguistic variable may not be relevant for doing gendered work.

If we as researchers don't consider local normativities gained through ethnographic insights (a central goal of the second wave of variationist study, see Eckert 2005, 2012), what would then do the work of informing our sociolinguistic arguments? One possibility is that we would unwittingly reproduce controlling images about minoritized populations. Controlling images, discussed in Patricia Hill Collins' seminal work *Black Feminist Thought* (1990), are ideological figures of personhood that serve to reinforce problematic stereotypes about minoritized groups of people. They are often the backdrop against which marginalized communities' practices get interpreted, largely from the point of view of the dominant, unmarked White gaze. Controlling images often position Black femininity as inadequately feminine, when compared with unmarked White femininity. Sociolinguists run the risk of reproducing such problematic arguments if we are tempted to interpret the sociolinguistic practices of Black women, using the unmarked practices of White women as our frame of reference. If the indexical patterns of White women become the prescriptive benchmark against which the practices of Black women are compared, we risk framing Black women's linguistic practices as aberrant in comparison.

A second production pattern we can observe from these studies is that Black men in Bakersfield exhibit a significantly more fronted /s/ than White men. Conceptualizations of the gendered indexical potential of fronted /s/, gained through previous research, is that fronted /s/ indexes gendered social meanings like "women", "femininity", and "gay men" (e.g., Campbell-Kibler 2011; Calder 2019a, b; Podesva & Van Hofwegen 2016). Again, my and my colleague's ethnography in Bakersfield made abundantly clear to us that the black men we interviewed were anything but feminine and gay. Our sample included businessmen, agricultural workers, and boxers, who all saw themselves as normatively masculine, if we consider that standards of gender normativity can be intersectionally grounded within the Black Bakersfield epistemology. If we ground the production patterns within this local epistemology, it becomes apparent that interpretations that characterize the linguistic practices of Black men as oppositional to normative masculinity are at odds with the way the subjects see themselves (and are perceived by others) in the social world.

As researchers, when we see groups of people exhibiting patterns unlike those exhibited in large swaths of previous research, our goal is to be able to explain these differences. But what will be our frame of reference for explaining them? Should we use what we know from previous research to make sense of these patterns? What we know from previous research may tempt us to make arguments like "black men and black women are gender deviants". We might be tempted to assume that patterns repeatedly found in previous work are universal, without considering that those patterns were exhibited by

largely white and cisgender populations. But not considering the specifity of the population from which these insights come, runs the risk of reproducing the controlling images that problematically position men and women of color as "outside" normative gender, even if they don't see themselves as being gender anti-normative.

Local community epistemologies, gained through ethnographic insight, illuminate that Bakersfield black men are doing masculinity and Bakersfield black women are doing femininity. However, they are doing masculinity and femininity differently than white men and women. The performance of masculinity and femininity among Black men and women does not appear to involve the same semiotic resources as among White men and women. The same linguistic variables (i.e., fronted and retracted /s/) may not be doing the same social work across race, and there may be community-specific standards and pressures that lead to patterns emerging as different from what we might expect based on previous research (see Calder & King forthcoming for a discussion of these community-specific pressures in Bakersfield).

4.2   Indexicality of /s/ beyond the binary

The second case study examines the practices of a community who views themselves as outside of the normative male/female binary entirely. I'll be discussing some of the findings in my ethnographic study of drag queens in San Francisco, California (e.g., Calder 2019a, b, forthcoming). While traditionally, drag queens have been thought of as individuals who identify as male but perform a feminine persona on stage, at the time I was conducting this ethnography in the mid-2010s, a major shift was taking place in the queer community, in which many of the drag performers in San Francisco embraced anti-normative gender identities, not only on stage, but off stage as well. Many of the drag artists in San Francisco identify as nonbinary in their daily lives; in other words, they identify as neither male nor female, and many of them see their drag personae as extensions of their gender identities, rather than as alter egos.

In San Francisco, there are two large queer communities, one centered in the famous gay neighborhood of the Castro, and the other centered in the industrial South of Market (SoMa) neighborhood, each having its own particular style of drag performance. Castro drag is more akin to what one might typically think of when they think of drag queens. Castro queens overall strive for hyper-glamorous standards of femininity that are based in conventional conceptualizations of feminine beauty, not unlike the "glam queens" that have been described in Barrett's work (1999, 2017). Castro drag often involves expensive, intricately coiffed wigs, beauty makeup, and glamorous clothing. Castro queens often strive for a "fishier" style of drag. "Fishy" is a (now controversial) term that was used in the community at the time of my ethnography to describe drag queens whose visual performance of femininity more closely approximated that of a cisgender woman. In other words, many of them were seen as "fishy" or passable.

On the other hand, SoMa drag performers reject conventional standards of gender entirely, often visually embodying something more akin to a drag creature rather than a drag queen. Many SoMa performers, regardless of their sex assigned at birth, made little attempt to hide any visual signals that would betray their sex assigned at birth. Many embodied a more radical, punk rock style of drag that involved the juxtaposition of gendered signals in unexpected ways, and many had a grittier visual style. It wouldn't be uncommon to see breasts and a genital bulge as part of the same look, nor to see a beard

and hyper-feminine makeup on the same face. SoMa queens would rarely "pass" as cis females, and many do not intend to.

Given what we know about /s/ and gender performance, one hypothesis we might have is that individuals who visually embody a more "normative" type of femininity will also display a more "normative" linguistic performance of femininity, involving a fronter /s/. In an analysis comparing the articulation of /s/ among two drag hostesses in the Castro, who consider themselves as embodying a self-described "hypernormal" brand of femininity through their drag, and drag hostesses in SoMa, who visually rebel against the normative binary altogether (Calder forthcoming), it was actually the SoMa queens who exhibited much fronter articulations of /s/ than the Castro queens. SoMa queens' production of /s/ actually patterned on par with cis-women in the geographic region. Figure 3 plots /s/ COG against two styles of drag associated with the two neighborhoods, avant garde drag in SoMa (left) and "fishy" drag in the Castro (right). Queens rated each other with respect to these two drag styles and their aggregate ratings patterned with /s/ frontness in interesting and statistically significant ways. Avant Garde drag style correlated positively with /s/ COG and Fishy drag style correlated negatively with COG. In other words, more Avant Garde queens, associated with SoMa, used a fronter /s/, while "Fishier" queens, associated with the Castro, used a backer /s/.
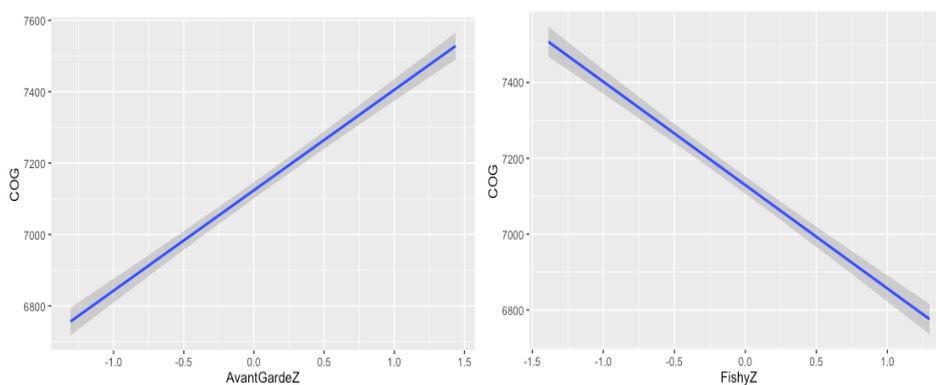

Figure 3: Correlations between /s/ COG and drag style ratings (Avant Garde, left and Fishy, right)

These production patterns might be contrary to expectations based on what we know about the indexical potential of /s/ in previous research. Again, since fronted /s/ indexes normative femininity, we might expect that queens whose visual style more closely approximates normative femininity would exhibit a fronter /s/. However, the Castro hosts exhibited a backer /s/ than both the SoMa queens and cis women in the geographic region. What does this say about their performance of gender? One tempting interpretation is that, since retracted /s/ indexes maleness and masculinity, Castro queens' linguistic performance of femininity is inadequate. We might argue that despite their visual styles, and the fact that they personally identify with femininity both on and off stage, they are linguistically performing masculinity, regardless of their efforts to project themselves as feminine. We might argue that their linguistic performances are betraying their sex assigned at birth, rather than signaling the gender they aim to project.

Production patterns for the SoMa queens, on the other hand, showed that they exhibit an /s/ frontness on par with cis-women. And previous research has illuminated that fronted /s/ can point to gendered identities like "women", "femininity", and "gay men". While the

SoMa queens identify with femininity, both through their drag and in their daily lives, many of them do not identify as women, would likely not visually pass as cisgender women, and would not intend to. Many of them also do not identify as "gay men", despite the fact that certain visual signals might lead perceivers to speculate as to their sex assigned at birth and interpret them as such.

So what do we do with the frames of reference that might lead to arguments like "Castro queens are not adequately doing femininity through their linguistic performance?" or that "SoMa queens are indexing binary gender identities like 'gay man' and 'woman' despite explicitly identifying as neither"? It goes without saying that such arguments come from a cisgender perspective, in which we measure gender performances against a backdrop of what is appropriately male, and what is appropriately female, and these standards of appropriateness are rooted in normative cisgender manifestations of these identities. In Butler's (1993) *Bodies That Matter*, she discusses that some bodies are cast to "abjection", are erased, stigmatized, and placed as "other" if they don't conform to heteronormative binary standards. From the majority cis-gender gaze, performances of gender that fail to live up to binary standards are seen as doing just that– "failing"– rather than succeeding at what subjects might be trying to do: place themselves outside of the binary entirely.

In the SoMa queer community, and many queer communities around the United States, nonbinary has become a legitimate and recognized identity. From the point of view of someone who shares these queer epistemologies, performances of gender that don't match binary expectations are legitimate. Rather than "failing" to perform maleness or femaleness from a majority gaze that expects maleness and femaleness to be packaged in certain ways, these individuals are using linguistic resources like /s/, in combination with other gendered semiotic resources, to take an anti-normative stance toward the gender binary entirely. The goal of many of these individuals is not to conform to binary norms of maleness and femaleness, thus from a community epistemology, they are not failing at all. They are succeeding at placing themselves as illegible within the binary and this tendency to buck binary trends through the use of linguistic variables is found in studies of nonbinary communities outside of SoMa as well (Steele 2019, 2021; Calder & Steele forthcoming).

5   Discussion: ditransitive indexicality

It is clear that if we really want to understand the linguistic practices of marginalized communities and the social aims behind them, we have to go deeper than saying "these speakers are failing at what they're trying to do in the eyes of the dominant population". We have to understand the local norms under which social actions are deployed and interpreted on the ground, from various perspectives, not just the dominant one. One way to do so is to be explicit about who is doing the interpreting and whose interpretations are being represented in sociolinguistic work.

Again, indexicality in sociolinguistics has often been framed as a transitive phenomenon, suggesting that there is a dyadic relationship between the sign-vehicle and object, between the linguistic sign and the social quality it points to. However, there is a third element of the sign in Peircian semiotics that tends to be less often explicitly discussed in variationist research: the interpretant. The interpretant is the construal of the connection between the sign-vehicle and the object (Gal & Irvine 2019). In other words, the connection between a sign-vehicle and object has to be perceived and noticed in order for that

connection to be meaningful. Someone has to do the perceiving and the noticing. And different populations aren't necessarily perceiving and noticing the same things, and they aren't necessarily making the same construals linking sign-vehicles and objects. Thus, in discussing the agentive moves speaking subjects are making on the ground, it is important to consider the local epistemologies under which they are perceived and interpreted, and the local practices that build up to those local epistemologies. These local epistemologies may result in different indexical construals depending on the community, individual, or population under analysis, and the patterns being exhibited and observed within those communities. In other words, while variationists have often conceptualized social meaning as belonging to variables in a dyadic, transitive way, we can also consider the role of the interpretant and think of social meaning as belonging to communities, individuals, and populations in a more ditransitive way. Instead of asking the question "What are the social meanings of this variable?," we can ask the question "What are the social meanings of this variable and for whom?" Within different communities, with different social norms, agents make linguistic moves that serve to accomplish social goals from the ground up. These social moves are recognized, interpreted, and taken up in different ways depending upon the epistemological norms of the particular community they are deployed in. In other words, indexicality isn't merely a transitive relationship between a sign-vehicle and the object it points to, but indexicality is *distransitive,* involving relationships between sign-vehicles and objects *for particular perceivers*.

In the White communities dominating previous research, and in the Black Bakersfield community, for example, there are different local norms and social epistemologies that community members use to interpret the practices of members within their communities. Men and women in both communities are doing social work to construct themselves as men and women. They are both doing masculinity and femininity, but the linguistic means they use to get there may differ. In the White communities represented in much sociolinguistic research, /s/ frontness patterns with binary gender, such that men exhibit a more retracted /s/ production and women exhibit a more fronted /s/ production. In other words, there is an observable co-occurrence between linguistic variants and the gender of the people deploying those linguistic variants. Within the community, this co-occurrence represented by the production patterns is noticed and construed– the interpretant is formed– and these recognizable connections between gender and linguistic performance feed into what normative masculinity and femininity are supposed to look and sound like in that community.

In Black Bakersfield, the same production patterns are not exhibited, so connections between retracted /s/ and masculinity, and between fronted /s/ and femininity are not construed, and thus do not feed into normative conceptualizations of Black masculinity and femininity in that local epistemology. In other words, as illustrated in Figure 4, the differing production patterns are interpreted within different local communities, and feed into local epistemologies different information as to what masculinity and femininity are supposed to look and sound like in those communities.
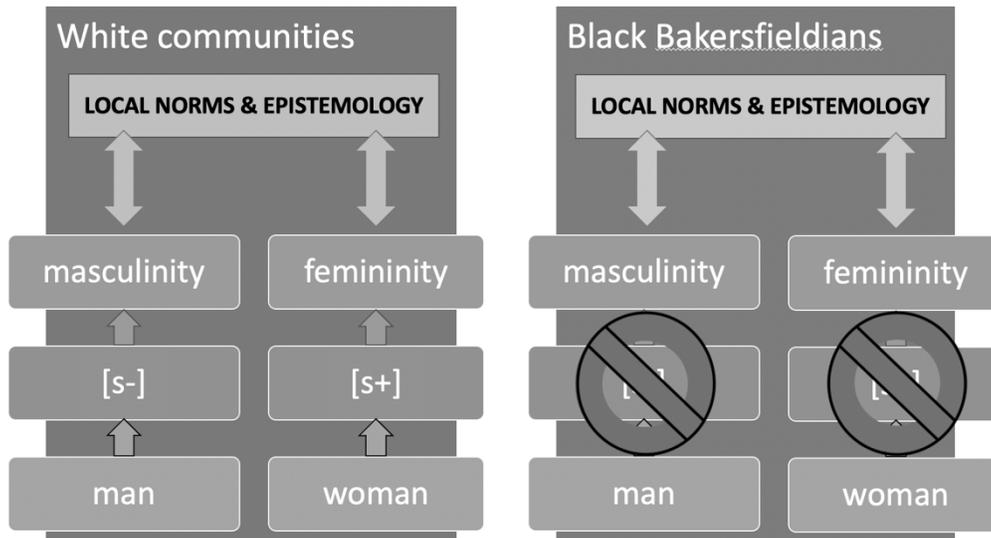
Figure 4: /s/ production patterns in White (left) and Black (right) communities feeding and being constrained by local epistemologies

Again, social moves on the ground get recognized as construals between the linguistic sign being deployed, and something social about the agent. This becomes part of the indexical potential of a linguistic variant in a particular community. Keep in mind that different communities may make different construals depending on the production patterns they encounter and produce. In a White community, observed co-occurrences between particular gender identities and particular realizations of /s/ contribute to the gendered indexical potential of /s/, such that fronted /s/, from a normative White perspective, indexes women and femininity, and a retracted /s/ indexes men and masculinity.

In Black Bakersfield, however, observed co-occurrences may be such that fronted /s/ is associated with White women in Bakersfield, and retracted /s/ is associated with White men. There is no indexical co-occurrence in Bakersfield between Black women and fronted /s/ and between Black men and retracted /s/, so if these variants index gender for Black Bakersfieldians at all, they arguably index explicitly White performances of gender, as White speakers in the region are those that have been observed using the variants in such ways. Put simply, Black and White speakers have different indexical fields for /s/ that are intersectionally grounded with respect to race, as illustrated in Figure 5.
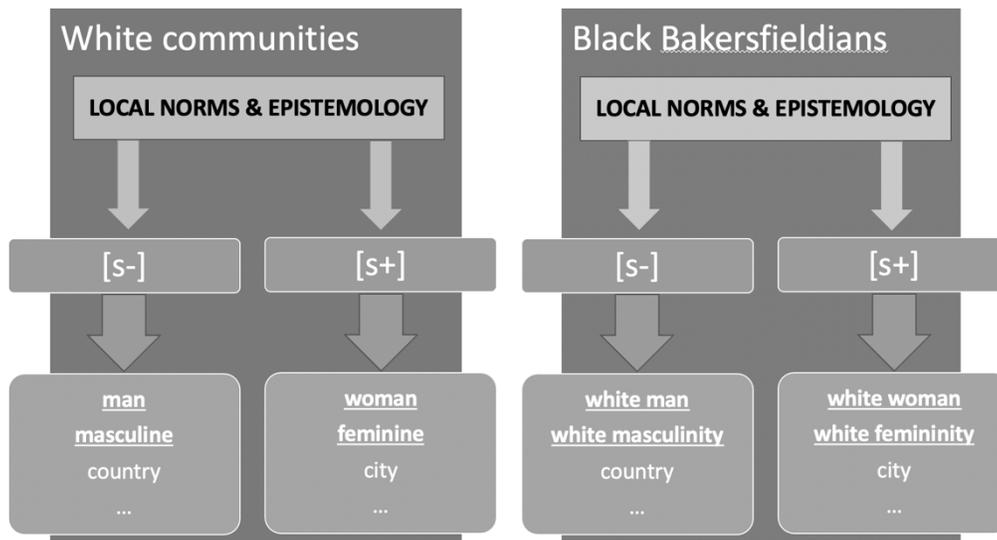
Figure 5: Indexical fields of fronted and retracted /s/ for White and Black communities, constrained by local epistemologies in each community

However, a speaker is never only perceived by people who share their own epistemological norms. Speakers move through the world and interact with people whose set of indexical norms may operate differently from theirs. At times these interpretations can be problematic, and from the vantage point of a particular community member, wrong. For example, a Black woman with a retracted /s/ may be indexing a particular kind of Black femininity from the vantage point of a member of her own community, but someone outside of her community might perceive a retracted /s/ variant as masculine. In other words, the same linguistic resource deployed by the same individual may index something different entirely, and have a different indexical field entirely, based not only on the linguistic context in which the variant is situated, but also on who the listener is, and what epistemology that listener carries with them. As sociolinguists, should take care to acknowledge the range of possibilities, and the social realities, that play out in the social landscape our subjects navigate. Without qualifying our representation of particular perspectives; without being specific about where those perspectives come from, we run the risk of inhabiting the role of the very same white, cisgender listening subject that renders the practices of many speakers invalid.

We can think about a similar situation with a nonbinary SoMa drag queen. The nonbinary SoMa queen is obviously not only going to be interpreted by queer, SoMa perceiving subjects. The linguistic variants they produce are undoubtedly going to be subject to evaluation by the cisgender perceivers as well, whose norms and epistemologies expect binary manifestations of gender, where people who "look like men" should "speak like men", and where people who "look like women" should "speak like women". At best, from this perspective the linguistic practices of a nonbinary speaking subject will be rendered illegible, and at worst, the linguistic practices could be interpreted in ways that serve to misgender the nonbinary speaking subject.

Overall, differing community epistemologies can result in different indexical construals for different perceivers. And the epistemologies and production patterns of the majority, unmarked population may not always provide the most complete—and socially

just— explanation for what other populations are trying to do with sociolinguistic variables, and what they view themselves as accomplishing with these variables. This doesn't mean the sociolinguistic enterprise should no longer be interested in the patterns and interpretations of the majority. However, it is important to be explicit in acknowledging the specific intersectional circumstances under which linguistic patterns get linked to certain interpretations. Though at times problematic, the indexical construals made from the vantage point of the white, cisgender perceiver are no less socially real than those of local, marginalized communities. In fact, they are so real that they have social consequences for those marginalized groups, consequences that keep them in marginalized positions.

But even the majority patterns and epistemologies often taken for granted in sociolinguistic research are intersectionally based, in the sense that they are dependent upon the ways in which whiteness, cisness, and normativity are co-constituted. The conceptualization of unmarked gender performance in sociolinguistic research in Western contexts like the United States is more specifically about the intersection between gender, whiteness, and cisness. And because the majority of previous work on gendered variables has been conducted at that intersection, it is important to not universalize beyond that point of view without qualifying the perspective from which understandings of the indexical potential of variables come.

6   References

Atkin, Albert. 2013. Peirce's theory of signs. In E. N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2013 Edition). http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2013/entries/ peirce-semiotics

Barrett, Rusty. 1999. Indexing polyphonous identity in the speech of African-American drag queens. In Mary Bucholtz, A. C Liang, and Laurel A. Sutton (eds.), *Reinventing Identities.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 313-30.

Barrett, Rusty. 2017. *From Drag Queens to Leathermen: Language, Gender, and Gay Male Subcultures.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex.* New York: Routledge.

Calder, Jeremy. 2019a. The fierceness of fronted /s/: linguistic rhematization through visual transformation. *Language in Society* 48(1). 31-64.

Calder, Jeremy. 2019b. From 'sissy' to 'sickening': the indexical landscape of /s/ in SoMa, San Francisco. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 29(3). 332-358.

Calder, Jeremy. Forthcoming. 'Harsh' SoMa and 'Beige' Castro: the cross-modal construction of queer femininity in two San Francisco neighborhoods. Unpublished manuscript.

Calder, Jeremy and Sharese King. 2020. Intersections between race, place, and gender in the production of /s/. *Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* 26(2).

Calder, Jeremy and Sharese King. Forthcoming. Whose gendered voices matter?: race and gender in the articulation of /s/ in Bakersfield, California. Unpublished manuscript.

Calder, Jeremy and Ariana Steele. Forthcoming. Accounting for the nonbinary speaking subject in sociolinguistic variationism. Unpublished manuscript.

Campbell-Kibler, Kathryn. 2011. Intersecting variables and perceived sexual orientation in men. *American Speech* 86(1). 52-68.

D'Onofrio, Annette. 2021. Sociolinguistic signs as cognitive representations. In Lauren Hall-Lew, Emma Moore, and Robert Podesva (eds.), *Social Meaning in Linguistic Variation: Theorizing the Third Wave.* Cambridge University Press. 153-175.

Eckert, Penelope. 2005. Variation, convention, and social meaning. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. Oakland, CA.

Eckert, Penelope. 2008. Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4). 453-476.

Eckert, Penelope. 2012. Three waves of variation study: the emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41. 87-100.

Fischer, John L. 1958. Social influences on the choice of a linguistic variant. *WORD* 14. 47-56.

Flipsen, Peter Jr., Lawrence Shriberg, Gary Weismer, Heather Karlsson, and Jane McSweeny. 1999. Acoustic characteristics of /s/ in adolescents. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research* 42(3). 663-677.

Flores, Nelson and Jonathan Rosa. 2015. Undoing appropriateness: raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review* 85(2). 149-171.

Fuchs, Susanne and Martine Toda. 2010. Do differences in male versus female /s/ reflect biological or sociophonetic factors? In Susanne Fuchs, Martine Toda, and Marzena Zygis (eds.), *An Interdisciplinary Guide to Turbulent Sounds.* Berlin: DeGruyter Mouton. 281-302.

Gal, Susan and Judith T. Irvine. 2019. *Signs of Difference: Language and Ideology in Social Life.* Cambridge University Press.

Hall, Kira, Erez Levon, and Tommaso Milani. 2019. Special issue: Navigating normativities: gender and sexuality in text and talk. *Language in Society* 48(4).

Hazen, Kirk. 2008. (ING): A vernacular baseline for English in Appalachia. *American Speech* 83. 116-140.

Hazenberg, Evan. 2012. *Language and Identity Practice: a Sociolinguistic Study of Gender in Ottawa, Canada.* MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Hill-Collins, Patricia. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment.* Routledge.

Inoue, Miyako. 2003. The listening subject of Japanese modernity and his auditory double: citing, sighting, and siting the modern Japanese woman. *Cultural Anthropology* 18(2). 156-193.

Johnstone, Barbara, Jennifer Andrus, and Andrew E. Danielson. 2006. Mobility, indexicality, and the enregisterment of "Pittsburghese". *Journal of English Linguistics* 34(2). 77-104.

Johnstone, Barbara and Scott Kiesling. 2008. Indexicality and experience: exploring the meanings of /aw/-monophthongization in Pittsburgh. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(1). 5-33.

King, Sharese. 2020. From African American Vernacular English to African American Language: rethinking the study of race and language in African Americans' speech. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 6. 285-300.

Mack, Sara and Benjamin Munson. 2012. The influence of /s/ quality on ratings of men's sexual orientation: explicit and implicit measures of the 'gay lisp' stereotype. *Journal of Phonetics* 40(1). 198-212.

miles-hercules, deandre and Lal Zimman. 2019. Normativity in normalization: methodological challenges in the (automated) analysis of vowels among nonbinary speakers. Paper presented at New Ways of Analyzing Variation 48. Eugene, OR.

Munson, Benjamin. 2007. The acoustic correlates of perceived masculinity, perceived femininity, and perceived sexual orientation. *Language and Speech* 50(1). 125-142.

Nakassis, Constantine. 2018. Indexicality's ambivalent ground. *Signs and Society* 6(1). 281-304.

Saussure, Ferdinand de. 1966. *Course in General Linguistics.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Silverstein, Michael. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication* 23(3). 193-229.

Peirce, Charles S. 1895. Of reasoning in general. Reprint in N. Houser, A. De Tienne, J. R. Eller, A. C. Lewis, C. L. Clark, and D. Bront Davis (eds.), *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings (1893-1913).* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998. 11-26.

Peirce, Charles S. 1903. Sundry logical conceptions. Reprint in N. Houser, A. De Tienne, J. R. Eller, A. C. Lewis, C. L. Clark, and D. Bront Davis (eds.), *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings (1893-1913).* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998. 267-288.

Peirce, Charles S. 1909. Excerpts from letters to William James. Reprint in N. Houser, A. De Tienne, J. R. Eller, A. C. Lewis, C. L. Clark, and D. Bront Davis (eds.), *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings (1893-1913).* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998. 492-502.

Podesva, Robert J. and Janneke Van Hofwegen. 2014. How conservatism and normative gender constrain variation in inland California: the case of /s/. Paper presented at New Ways of Analyzing Variation 42. Pittsburgh, PA.

Podesva, Robert J. and Janneke Van Hofwegen. 2016. /s/exuality in smalltown California: gender normativity and the acoustic realization of /s/. In Erez Levon and Ronald Beline Mendes (eds.), *Language, Sexuality, and Power.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 168-188.

Steele, Ariana. 2019. Nonbinary speech, race, and non-normative gender: sociolinguistic style beyond the binary. MA Thesis, The Ohio State University.

Steele, Ariana. 2021. Enacting new worlds of gender: nonbinary speakers, racialized gender, and anti-colonialism. In Kira Hall and Rusty Barrett (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Sexuality.* Oxford University Press.

Stuart-Smith, Jane. 2007. Empirical evidence for gendered speech production: /s/ in Glaswegian. In Jennifer S. Cole and Jose Ignacio Hualde (eds.), *Laboratory Phonology* 9. New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 65-86.

Stuart-Smith, Jane, Claire Timmins, and Alan Wrench. 2003. Sex and gender in /s/ in Glaswegian. *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* 3-9. 1851-1854.

Tagliamonte, Sali. 2004. Someth[in]'s go[ing] on!: variable ing at ground zero. In B. L. Gunnerson, L. Bergström, G. Eklund, S. Fidell, L. H. Hansen, A. Karstadt, B. Nordbergd, E. Sundergren, and M. Thelander (eds.), *Papers from the Second International Conference on Language Variation in Europe, ICLAVE 2.* 12-14.

Trudgill, Peter. 1974. *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zimman, Lal. 2020. Transgender language, transgender moment: toward a trans linguistics. In Kira Hall and Rusty Barrett (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Sexuality.* Oxford University Press.

The nature of preverbs in Modern Greek

Mina Giannoula
University of Chicago
minagian@uchicago.edu

Abstract

The study investigates the nature of preverbs in Modern Greek. Unlike previous works, this analysis is couched in a specific understanding of their place in a decomposed verb phrase. I argue that apparently distinct properties of preverbs can be unified under the basic division between *prefixes* and *adverbial preverbs*. I propose that prefixes are introduced as P[reposition]s in [Spec, VP] (cf. Svenonius 2004 for Slavic, Daskalaki & Mavrogiorgos 2016 for MG), while adverbial preverbs are generated as Adv[erb]s in [Spec, FPs].

1 Introduction

Modern Greek preverbs are heterogeneous:

(1) O Petros *ant*-egrapse   ena piima
     the Peter *instead.of*-wrote a   poem
     'Peter copied a poem.'

(2) O Petros *ksana*-egrapse ena piima.
     the Peter *again*-wrote   a   poem
     'Peter wrote a poem again.'

Given distinct properties, preverbs, like *ant(i)-*, belong to the category of *prefixes*, whereas preverbs, like *ksana-*, belong to the category of *adverbial preverbs*. I argue that the two types of preverbs occupy different positions in the syntactic derivation: prefixes are introduced inside the VP domain, i.e. in [Spec, VP], while adverbial preverbs are introduced outside the VP domain, i.e. in [Spec, FP]. However, both preverbs appear lower in the syntactic structure than the past augment *e-* that occupies the T node but ends up closer to the verb stem.

For the purposes of the current research, a corpus of more than 2,000 types of verbal complexes has been created. The verbal complexes are collected from the *Online Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek (Triantafyllides)*, as well as after various discussions with native speakers of Greek. The corpus is restricted to verbs formed by preverbs added a verbal base, excluding parasynthetic verbs (e.g. *kse-dond-jaz-o* 'to take one's teeth out', *kse-kokin-iz-o* 'un-redden')[1].

---

[1] *Parasynthetic verbs* are formed by an adjectival or nominal base and the presence of two derivational affixes, namely a prefix and a suffix added to the base (e.g. *apo-kefal-iz-o* 'to decapitate'). For more on the formation of parasynthetic verbs in Modern Greek, see

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, I discuss the distinction of preverbs in Modern Greek (2.1), present the distinct characteristics of Greek prefixes and adverbial preverbs (2.2) and the phenomenon of multiple preverbation in Modern Greek (2.3). In Section 3, I present my analysis for the base position of the prefixes and adverbial preverbs in Modern Greek (3.1) and show how this analysis captures their properties (3.2). The last section offers a summary of the main arguments.

2   Greek preverbs

2.1   Distinguishing between preverbs

Investigation into the nature of preverbs has long preoccupied the literature on Greek. Preverbs are elements which appear in front of the verb stem and together form a semantic unit. Based on their properties and morphological status, Greek distinguishes between two categories: *prefixes* and *adverbial preverbs*[2].

   Prefixes can be elements deriving from free morphemes. Ancient Greek prepositions, mainly those having spatial meaning, are the origin of the majority of prepositional preverbs (for analyses, see Philippaki-Warburton 1970, Sotiropoulos 1972, Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1989, Ralli 1992, Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1994, Xydopoulos 1996, Smirniotopoulos & Joseph 1998, Efthymiou 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, among others):

(3)   a. *anti-*   (*anti* 'instead of, in place of')   b. *apo-*   (*apo* 'from')
      c. *meta-*   (*meta* 'following')   d. *para-*   (*para* 'despite')
      e. *epi-*   (*epi* 'on, atop')   f. *dia-*   (*dia* 'through')
      g. *en-*   (*en* 'in, inside')   h. *ek-*   (*ek* 'from')
      i. *eis-*   (*eis* 'to, towards')   j. *peri-*   (*peri* 'around')
      k. *pros-*   (*pros* 'to, towards')   l. *ana-*   (*ana* 'on')
      m. *pro-*   (*pro* 'prior to, before')   n. *kata-*   (*kata* 'under')
      o. *hypo-*   (*hypo* 'under')   p. *syn-*   (*syn* 'with')
      q. *hyper-*   (*hyper* 'over')

   While some prefixes have free counterparts in Modern Greek, which can be used freely in the language (4a-b), some others have only free counterparts in Koine Greek or in Medieval Greek, appearing in fixed expressions (4c-d):

(4)   a. *apo-lamvano*   *apo   to   spiti*
         from-receive   from the house
         'to enjoy'   'from the house'
      b. *pros-lamvano*   *pros   ti   thalassa*
         towards-receive   towards the sea

Anastassiadis-Symeonidis & Masoura (2009, 2012), Efthymiou (2001a, 2015), Ralli (2004), Thomadaki (1996).

[2] Adverbial preverbs are also referred in the literature as *word preverbs* (Ralli 2004).

'to hire'	'towards the sea'
c. *eis-valo*	*is igian*
to-attack	to health
'to invade'	'cheers'
d. *syn-erxome*	*syn tis alis*
with-come	with the other
'to recover'	'furthermore'

Adverbial preverbs constitute the second category of Greek preverbs. They are bound elements deriving from adverbs that mainly have a degree or a repetitive function.

(5) a. *psilo-* (*psilá* 'thinly')   b. *poly-* (*poly* 'a lot/ much')
       DEGREE   DEGREE
     c. *para-* (*pára* 'very')   d. *kalo-* (*kala* 'well')
       DEGREE   DEGREE
     e. *ksana-* (*ksaná* 'again')   f. *syxno-* (*syxna* 'frequently')
       REPETITIVE   ASPECTUAL

Interestingly, other languages, like Germanic or Slavic, make a different, although corresponding, distinction splitting between *lexical prefixes* and *superlexical prefixes* (Svenonius 2004). The difference between Greek and the other languages is due to the morphological processes that participate into the formation of verbal complexes. More specifically, in Greek, prefixes require the process of prefixation, whereas adverbial preverbs require that of compounding, leading thus to different morphological status. To support their compound nature, Ralli (2003, 2004) points out that: a) adverbial preverbs have a specific grammatical category, i.e. they are adverbs, b) they have a delimited lexical meaning when attached to verbs, similar to that of their free counterparts, and c) most of them have a linking vowel -*o*, typical of the first constituent of compounds in Greek (Ralli 2002a, 2002b). Under these arguments, we assume that adverbial preverbs are first constituents in compounds and differ from prefixes.

2.2   Properties of Modern Greek preverbs

Several distinct properties of the two types of preverbs in Modern Greek lead to their distinction: (non-)compositional meaning, nominalization, and conjoinability. More specifically:

a.   (Non-)compositional meaning
Verbal complexes with prefixes tend to become idiomatized (Ralli 2004, 2005). This means that the meaning of a prefixed verb is not transparent, i.e. it does not derive from the meaning of its constituents:

(6) a. *apo-lamvano*
      from-receive
      'to enjoy'

b. *pros-lamvano*
  towards-receive
  'to hire'
c. *anti-gráfo*
  instead.of-write
  'to copy'

Although Greek prefixes are homophonous to prepositions, the meaning of a prefixed verb is not the same with that of a verb followed by the counterpart preposition. The meaning of prefixed verb structures contrasts with that of preposition-verb structures, as the comparison of the following sentences shows:

(7)   a. O   Giorgos ant-egrapse   to piima sto   tetradio.
        the George   instead.of-wrote.3SG the poet   to-the notebook
        'George copied the poet to the notebook.'
    b. O   Giorgos egrapse   to piima anti to tragudi sto   tetradio.
        the George wrote.3SG the poem instead-of the song   to-the notebook
        'George wrote the poem, instead of the song, to the notebook.'

In (7a), the verbal complex *antegrapse* 'copied' is formed by the prefix *anti-* 'instead of' attached to the verb e*grapse* 'wrote'. In (7b), the verb *egrapse* 'wrote' is followed by the nominal phrase *to piima* 'the poem' and the prepositional phrase *anti to tragudi* 'instead of the song'. However, although both grammatical, the two sentences have different meanings.

Furthermore, Greek prefixes have various meanings, as the following verbal complexes with the prefix *anti-* show:

(8)   a. *dro* 'to act'   *anti-dró* 'to react, to respond back'
    b. *gráfo* 'to write'   *anti-gráfo* 'to copy'
    c. *laló* 'to voice, to crow'   *anti-laló* 'to echo'
    d. *véno* 'to go, to step'   *anti-véno* 'to contradict'

In (8), the prefix *anti-* appears to the verb complexes *antidró*, *antigráfo*, *antikrízo* and *antivéno*, but each prefixed verb has an idiomatic meaning which is unique to each structure.

On the other hand, adverbially preverbed verbal complexes have compositional meanings. A verbal complex with an adverbial preverb attached to it has a systematic meaning, i.e. its meaning derives from the meaning of its parts:

(9)   a. *kimáme* 'to sleep'   *ksana-kimáme* 'to sleep again'
    b. *tróo* 'to eat'   *ksana-tróo* 'to eat again'
    c. *gráfo* 'to write'   *ksana-gráfo* 'to write again'
    d. *váfo* 'to dye'   *ksana-váfo* 'to dye again'

In addition, the variety of meanings which is clear to prefixed verbs cannot be found for verbal complexes with adverbial preverbs. The meaning of verbs, either in simple forms or with an adverbial preverb attached to them, does not change, but it is prevented when they attach to different verb stems:

(10)   a. *(den) poly-kimáme* 'sleep much'
       b. *(den) poly-tróo*   'eat much'

The adverbial preverb *poly-* 'much' has a degree/quantification function. In (10a), it quantifies over duration, while in (10b), it quantifies over quantity.

   It is possible that adverbial preverbs can have a different distribution with their free counterpart, that leads to a slightly different meaning. Delveroudi & Vassilaki (1999) first mention the restricted distribution of *poly-* 'much' occurring only in negative environments. In Giannoula (to appear), I argue that, under the framework of the *(Non)Veridicality Theory of Polarity* (Giannakidou 1994, 1997, 1998, 2001 *et seq.*), the bound morpheme *poly-* functions as a strong *Negative Polarity Item* (NPI) appearing only in antiveridical environments (negated and *without-*clauses), as opposed to its independent counterpart, the degree modifier *poly* 'a lot, much' which appears both in negative and affirmative contexts:

(11)   a. I   Ioanna dhen kimithike poly xthes vradi.
            the Joanne not   slept.3SG much last   night
            'Joanne didn't sleep much last night.'
       b. I   Ioanna kimithike poly xthes vradi.
            the Joanne slept.3SG a-lot last   night
            'Joanne slept a lot last night.'

(12)   a. I   Ioanna dhen poly-kimithike xthes vradi.
            the Joanne not   much-slept.3SG last   night
            'Joanne didn't sleep much last night.'
       b. *I   Ioanna poly-kimithike   xthes vradi.
             the Joanna much-slept.3SG last   night
            Lit: 'Joanna slept much last night.'

Both the free *poly* and the bound *poly-* are used as degree modifiers. However, unlike the free *poly* in (11), the distribution of the bound *poly-* is restricted only to negative contexts, as the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (12b) shows. Thus, this affects to the meaning of a *poly-*verb, which becomes slightly different from that of the construction [verb *poly*]: as suggested by the glosses in (11) and (12), the free adverb *poly* can have either the value of 'a lot' or the value of 'much', whereas the bound morpheme *poly-* assigns only the value of 'much' to the verbs it attaches (Giannoula *to appear*)[3].

---

[3] According to Ralli (2004:11), composite verbs with *poly-* get the value of 'not exactly', 'not particular' or 'almost'.

Therefore, we see that, unlike with prefixes, the meaning of a verb does not change when adverbial preverbs attached to it. And although the meanings of a free-stranding adverb and an adverbial preverb might be different (e.g. free *poly* vs. bound *poly-*), the meaning of the latter is fixed and does not change depending on what verb is attached to.

b. Nominalization

Greek can exhibit nominalization patterns with prefixed verbs providing the basis for nominalization.

(13)   a. *antigrafo* (v.)   →   *antigrafi* (n.)
            'to copy'   'copying'
        b. *paragrafo* (v.)   →   *paragrafi* (n.)
            'to ignore'   'ignoring, crossing out'
        c. *sympiezo* (v.)   →   *sympiesi* (n.)
            'to compress'   'compression'

In (13), the prefixed verbs *antigrafo*, *paragrafo* and *sympiezo* can nominalized forming the nouns *antigrafí*, *paragrafí* and *sympíesi*, respectively. The possibility of prefixed verbs to be nominalized can be captured by considering that prefixes are introduced lower in the syntactic derivation, where the categorial specifications for the stem have not been defined and the latter can be either verbal or nominal.

Unlike prefixes, adverbial preverbs are obligatorily excluded from nominalizations, as indicated below:

(14)   a. ksana-grafo (v.)   →   *ksana-grafi (n.)
            again-write
            'to write again'
        b. (den) poly-grafo (v.)   →   *poly-grafi (n.)
             not   much-write
            'not to write much'
        c. psilo-grafo (v.)   →   *psilo-grafi (n.)
            a.little-write
            'to write a little'
        d. para-grafo (v.)   →   *para-grafi (n.)[4]
            excessively-write
            'to write excessively'

Given this characteristic, a prediction that can be made is that the position of Greek adverbial preverbs should be outside the scope of morphological processes, in this case, outside the scope of nominalization. More specifically, the obligatory omission of Greek adverbial preverbs from nominalizations can be explained by assuming that they are

---

[4] Notice that the ungrammatical *paragrafi* where *para-* is an adverbial preverb and has the meaning 'excessively' is different form the grammatical *paragrafi* 'deletion' where *para-* is a prefix meaning 'instead of'.

generated higher in the syntactic derivation, where the categorial specifications for the stem have already defined to be non-nominal.

c.   Conjoinability
Conjoinability is a phenomenon in which two or more elements of the same type are linked together to form complex syntactic structures. The coordinated element then acts and has the same function with the coordinating elements. However, the conjoining of affixal morphemes is exceptional (Okada 1999, Yoon 2017). Bresnan & Mchombo (1995) use the Conjoinability test to show that productive coordination fails to be attested within words:

(15)   a. Suzanne out-lasted or out-played her mother.
       b. *Suzanne out-[lasted or played] her mother

The ungrammaticality of the sentence (15b) shows that word-internal constituents cannot conjunct under the scope of the prefix *out-*.
   Suppose now a sentence in Greek as in (16), where both verbal complexes *paretakse* and *paratirise* are formed by the same prefix, *para-*:

(16)   O   Petros par-etakse   ke   para-tirise   ta
       the Peter   instead.of-arrayed.3SG and instead.of-obeyed.3SG the.PL
       stratiotakia tu.
       toy-soldiers his
       'Peter lined up and observed his toy soldiers.'

The syntactic process of Conjoinability within words renders the sentence in (17) ungrammatical:

(17)   *O   Petros par-   [etakse   ke tirise]   ta   stratiotakia tu.
        the Peter   instead.of-arrayed.3SG and obeyed.3SG the.PL toy-soldiers his
        'Peter lined up and observed his toy soldiers.

In (17), the Greek prefix *para-* does not take scope over the verbs *etakse* and *tirise*, and so the two verbs cannot conjoin. Therefore, Greek prefixes, as sub-words, are opaque to the syntactic process of Conjoinability.
   Interesting, adverbial preverbs, as opposed to prefixes, are transparent to the syntactic process of Conjoinability. More specifically, a Greek verbal complex can coordinate with another one when the same adverbial preverb is attached to both verbs.

(18)   a. O Petros den ksana-efage   i den ksana-ipie   tipota   se parti.
          the Peter not again-ate.3SG or not again-drank.3SG nothing at party
          'Peter didn't eat again or didn't drink again anything at a party.'
       b. O Petros den ksana-[efage   i ipie]   tipota   se parti.
          the Peter not again- ate.3SG or drank.3SG nothing at party
          'Peter didn't eat or drink again anything at a party.'

The verbal complexes in (18) are formed by the adverbial preverb *ksana-*. In (18a), the conjugator *i* 'or' conjoins the verbal complexes *ksanaefage* 'ate again' and *ksanaipie* 'drank again'. Interesting though, in (18b), *ksana-* takes scope over the verbs *efage* 'ate' and *ipie* 'drank'. The two verbs can conjoin, and the grammatical sentence (18b) is equivalent to (18a).

Table 1 summarizes the properties of the two types of preverbs in Modern Greek. In Section 3, I present my analysis for the formation of prefixed and adverbially preverbed verbal complexes based on these properties.

	Prefixes	*Adverbial preverbs*
Compositional meaning	✓	✗
Nominalization	✗	✓
Conjoinability	✗	✓

Table 1: Properties of Greek preverbs

2.3   Multiple preverbation

Multiple preverbation is a phenomenon where more than one preverb attaches to a verb. Here, I argue that multiple preverbation is possible for both prefixes and adverbial preverbs in Greek, as opposed to other languages, like Slavic (Svenonius 2004, Gribanova 2013), where only the elements equivalent to the Greek adverbial preverbs can co-occur in a verbal complex. More specifically, multiple preverbation is possible between:

a) *preverbs of different categories*
It is a common phenomenon to have both a prefix and an adverbial preverb attached to a verb stem. However, preverbs cannot attach to a verb in a free order, but there is a restriction in their ordering: adverbial preverbs precede prefixes, but not vice versa.

(19)   a. *ksana-anti-grafo*
         again-instead.of-write
         'to copy again'
     b. *poly-dia-fero*
        much-through-carry
        'to differ much'
     c. **anti-ksana-grafo*
         instead.of-again-write
     d. **dia-poly-fero*
         through-much-write

In (19a), the Greek prefix *anti-* attaches to the verb *grafo* 'to write', and the adverbial preverb *ksana-* 'again' attaches to the already prefixed verb *antigrafo* 'to copy' having the repetition function to the action of copying. In (19b), the adverbial preverb *poly-* 'much' attaches to the prefixed verb *diafero* 'to differ'. Examples (19c) and (19d) show that shifting the order of preverbs leads to ungrammaticality.

b) preverbs of the same category

Working on prefixation in Slavic languages, Svenonius (2004) makes a distinction between *lexical* and *superlexical* prefixes. The former type is equivalent to the first class of Greek preverbs, namely prefixes, and the latter is equivalent to the second class of Greek preverbs, namely adverbial preverbs. Based on that split, Svenonius claims that multiple superlexical prefixes can co-occur in a verbal complex: a second superlexical prefix can attach to an already superlexically prefixed verb in Slavic[5]:

(20) a. po-na-razkaža
         DLMT-CMLT-narrate
         'to tell a little of many'
      b. iz-pre-razkaža
         CMPL-RPET-narrate
         'to renarrate completely'
      c. za-pre-razkaža
         INCP-RPET-narrate
         'to start renarrating'
      d. iz-po-razkaža
         CMPL-DSTR-narrate
         'to narrate completely one by one'
      e. iz-po-na-pre-razkaža
         CMPL-DSTR-CMLT-RPET-narrate
         'to renarrate completely one by one, of many'   (Bulgarian; Istratkova 2004)

Discussing the phenomenon of multiple preverbation in Modern Greek mentioning to it as accumulation of preverbs, Ralli (2004) points out that Greek adverbial preverbs are also productive and may co-occur in verbal complexes:

(21) ksana-poly-troo
      again-much-eat
      'to eat much again'

In (21), both the preverbs *poly-* and *ksana-* attach to the verb troo 'to eat'. *Poly-* is closer to the verb having the function of the low degree of the action described by the verb. *Ksana-* is expected to be added to the [*poly*-verb] complex to function as a modifier of repetition of the action that happens in a low degree. However, there are also cases with multiple preverbs that are ungrammatical:

(22) */?? (den)poly-para-troo
           not much-over-eat

---

[5] Abbreviations for example (19): DLMT (delimitative), CMLT (cumulative), CMPL (completive), RPET (repetitive), INCP (inceptive), DSTR (distributive).

I argue that the ungrammaticality in (22) is due to the fact that both *poly-* and *para-* have the same function, i.e. the degree function. Thus, it is unacceptable to have a verbal complex with two degree-adverbial preverbs, as it is also unacceptable to have a verb being modified by two adverbs of degree in a sentence:

(23) #O   Petros ipie   ligo   poly sto   parti.
        The Peter   drank.3sg a-little a-lot at-the party

Regarding multiple prefixation, i.e. the phenomenon where more than one prefix attaches to the verb stem, Svenonius points out that lexical prefixes cannot co-occur in Slavic, strongly arguing for the structural uniqueness of lexical prefixes. Since lexical prefixes are generated in the predicative position for resultative predicates, he indicates that they are unique, as the syntactic position for resultatives is unique. Further evidence for the uniqueness of lexical prefixes comes from Gribanova (2013), who demonstrates that multiple Russian prefixes of the category Preposition can co-occur under no circumstances:

(24) *Vasja za-v-bival   gvozdi/gvozdej   v   stenu.
         Vasja *behind-in*-hit.2IMPF.SG.M nails.ACC/nails.GEN in wall.ACC
   (from Tatevosov 2007)

The ungrammaticality of (24) proves that Russian lexical prefixes occupy only one morphological slot in the verbal complex, as Gribanova points out.

However, evidence from Greek shows that this restriction is not universal, and two prefixes of the category Preposition can surface in one word in Greek. A verbal complex can be formed by a verb and more than one prefix, as the verbal complexes in (25) show:

(25) a. *apo-sym-piezo*
          from-with-press
          'to decompress'
       b. *epi-syn-apto*
          to-with-touch
          'to attach'
       c. *en-dia-fero*
          in-through-carry
          'to interest'
       d. *pros-ypo-grafo*
          towards-under-write
          'to countersign'

The phenomenon of multiple preverbation in Greek has received some attention in the literature, mostly from a typological perspective. More specifically, Imbert (2008, 2010) explores multiple preverbation in Homeric Greek as a way of coding multiple portions of Path in one Motion event, focusing only on motion verbs and prefixes having a spatial meaning (example from Imbert (2010: 8)):

(26) xiphos   arguróe:lon   kouleô:i
      sword.ACC   silver-studded.ACC   ARG*i*/sheath.DAT
      en- kat-   épe:x'   (Od. 11.98)
      RelP*i*/in-   SatP/down   thrust.AOR.1SG
      [+PATH]   [+PATH]
      'I thrust my silver-studded sword down into its sheath.'

Thus, the phenomenon of multiple preverbation, i.e. the co-occurrence of more than one preverb in a verbal complex, is possible not only for adverbial preverbs, but also for prefixes: prefixes co-occur with already-prefixed verbs in Greek.

3 Analysis

In this section, I argue that prefixes are introduced as P[reposition]s in [Spec, VP], whereas adverbial preverbs are introduced as Adv[erb]s in [Spec, FP]. The analysis is based on the properties of Greek preverbs and the verbal complex they form.

3.1 Base position of Greek preverbs

I propose a unified analysis for Greek preverbed verbal complexes without focusing only on verbal complexes with motion verbs or prefixes having a spatial/directional meaning (see Imbert 2008, 2010; Daskalaki & Mavrogiorgos 2016).

Beginning with adverbial preverbs, I argue that they are generated as Adv[erb]s in the specifier position of functional phrases (Cinque 1999). For instance, the position of the prefix *ksana-* in the verbal complex *ksana-grafo* 'to write again' is depicted in (27):

(27)   Asp$_{rep}$P
          /   \
       Adv   Asp$_{rep}$'
      ksana-   /   \
              Asp$_{rep}$ AspP
                            /   \
                          Asp   *v*P
                                  /   \
                                 v   VP
                                        |
                                        V'
                                      graf-

In the emerged configuration, the adverbial preverb *ksana-* is introduced as adverb in the specifier position of Asp$_{rep}$P (see Cinque 1999).

Regarding prefixes, I propose that they are introduced as P[reposition]s in [Spec, VP] functioning as the argument of the verbal root[6]. This is because Modern Greek prefixes are reminiscent of Ancient Greek prepositions, in other words, the former derive from the latter. The syntactic derivation depicted in (28) shows the base position of the prefix *anti-* of the verbal complex *anti-grafo* 'to copy':

(28)

```
                    vP
                  /    \
                 v      VP
                       /   \
                      P     V'
                    anti-    |
                             V
                            graf-
```
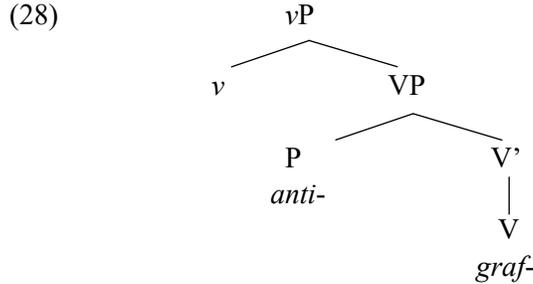
In (28), *anti-* of the category of prefixes is generated as P in the specifier of VP. This position shows that prefixes are arguments of the verbs they attached to. My analysis differs from that of Daskalaki & Mavrogiorgos (2016) who take Modern Greek prefixes attached to motion verbs as low applicative heads (in the sense of Pylkkänen 2008) licensing the addition of a locative DP argument (e.g. *iperíptame tis polis* 'fly over the city'). However, evidence that prefixes are in P comes from the observation that, given multiple prefixation, as in (29), not every prefix has to introduce an additional argument:

(29)   a. O   Petros syn-elege   gramatosima.
          the Peter   with-said.3SG stamps
          'Peter collected stamps.'
       b. I   naftiki peri-syn-eleksan   tus navagus.
          the naval   around-with-said.3SG the shipwrecked.PL
          'The navy collected around the shipwrecked people.'

3.2   Capturing the properties

Assuming the tree in (30) depicting both the position of prefixes and adverbial preverbs in the syntactic derivation, my analysis for preverbed verbal complexes accommodates the following properties of Modern Greek preverbs and the verbal complexes they attach to.

---

[6] See also Myler (2017) for Sanskrit verb forms with prefixal particles.

(30)

AsprepP
- Adv *ksana-*
- Asprep'
  - Asprep
  - AspP
    - Asp
    - vP
      - v
      - VP
        - P *anti-*
        - V'
          - V *graf-*
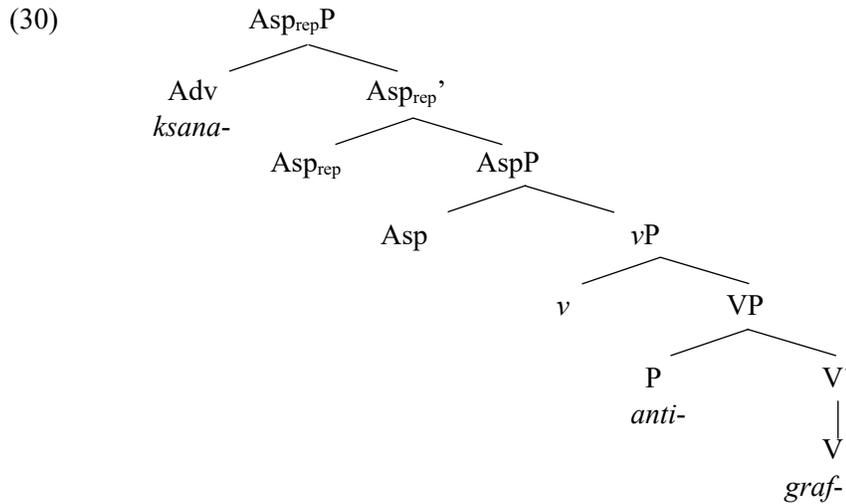
i. Multiple preverbation

In section 2.3, I have shown that, unlike other languages (Slavic, Germanic), Greek allows multiple preverbation where more than one prefix or adverbial preverb attaches to the verb stem. Introducing prefixes as specifiers of VP can explain multiple prefixation by adding additional specifiers into the derivation, as with the verb like *perisyllego* 'to collect around' having two prefixes, *peri-* and *syn-*[7]:

(31)

vP
- v
- VP
  - P$_1$ *peri-*
  - V'
    - P$_2$ *syn-*
    - V'
      - V *leg-*
      - …
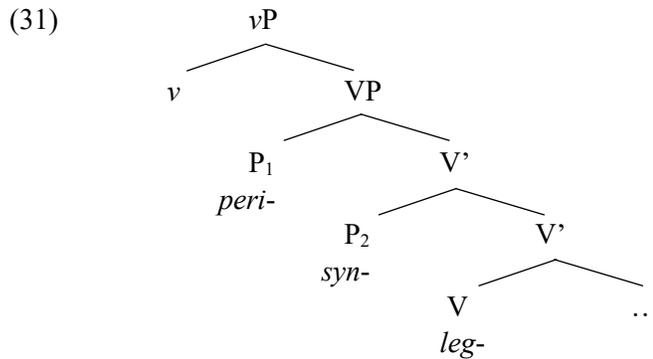
Moreover, introducing the prefixes as specifiers of VP allows the verb to select for its arguments (see Pesetsky 1991 for lexical selection), given that any other combination of prefixes attached to the verb leads to ungrammaticality, as shown in (33b-e):

(32) *leg-* [SEL: <D, P$_1$*syn*, P$_2$*peri*>]

(33) a. peri- syn- elege
       around-with-said.3SG
       'collected'

---

[7] The consonant [n] of the prefix *syn-* undergoes complete assimilation and changes to [l] after being attached to the verb.

b. *syn-peri-elege
   with-around-said.3SG
c. *apo-syn-elege
   from-with-said.3SG
d. *epi-syn-elege
   on-with-said.3SG
e. *ana-syn-elege
   on-with-said.3SG

Regarding adverbial preverbs, we saw that they are introduced as specifiers of functional heads following Cinque (1999). Moreover, the attachment of multiple adverbial preverbs to the verb under different combinations is also possible:

(34) a. (dhen) ksana-poly-dhiavazo
         not   again-much-study
         '(not) to study much again'
      b. (dhen) poly-ksana-dhiavazo
         not   much-again-study
         '(not) to study again much'

The different positions of *ksana-* 'again' proves specific scope positions. In (34a), the 'higher' *ksana-* takes scope over *poly-* qualifying over the event of studying much, i.e. over the degree of studying. In (34b), *poly-* takes scope over a 'lower' *ksana-* qualifying over the events of studying by restricting the number of the studying events. The different scope positions can be captured under Cinque's proposal for the hierarchies of adverbial specifiers and clausal functional heads. I assume that the 'higher' *ksana-* is in the specifier position of an Asp_rep[etitive](I)P, whereas the 'lower' *ksana-* is the specifier position of an Asp_rep[etitive](II)P at the immediate right of the adverbial *poly-* in the specifier position of Deg[ree]P.

(35) a.

b.

```
              DegP
           /        \
        Adv          Deg'
        poly-      /       \
               Deg          Asp_rep(I)P
                          /          \
                       Adv           Asp_rep(I)'
                       ksana-       /        \
                              Asp_rep(I)     vP
```
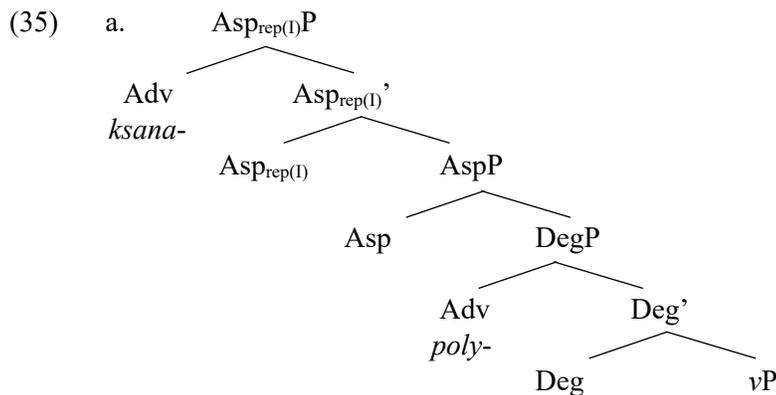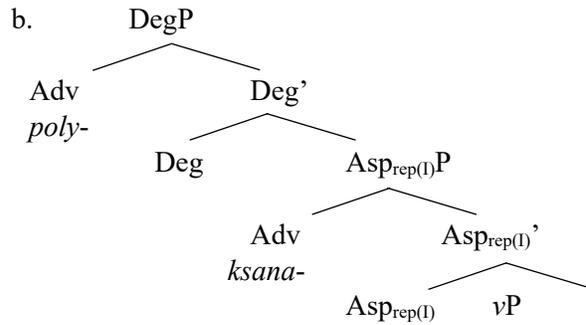
ii.   *(Non-) compositional meaning*

We saw that the specific and unique meaning contribution of prefixes to a single verb contradicts with the meaning of adverbial preverb which is transparent into a verbal complex. The tendency of a prefixed verb to become idiomatized is based on the fact that idioms are formed naturally inside VP domain (e.g. *hit the sack, miss the boat, pull someone's leg*) (Marantz 1984). Thus, the contradiction between the two classes of preverbs can be explained by the fact that non-compositional meanings are typical of elements forming constituents VP-internally: Greek prefixes forming verbal complexes with opaque meanings are introduced inside VP-domain, i.e. in [Spec, VP]. On the other hand, the failure of adverbially preverbed verbal complexes to form idiomatic combinations can be explained by the fact that Greek adverbial preverbs are introduced outside VP domains, e.g. *ksana-* 'again' in [Spec, Asp_repP] (see also Svenonius 2004 for Slavic superlexical prefixes).

iii.   *Nominalizations*

As we saw in Section 2.2, the morphological process of nominalization is possible for prefixed verbal complexes, as in (36) (repeated from (13)):

(36)   a. *antigrafo* (v.)   →   *antigrafi* (n.)
          'to copy'   'copying'
       b. *paragrafo* (v.)   →   *paragrafi* (n.)
          'to ignore'   'ignoring, crossing out'
       c. *sympiezo* (v.)   →   *sympiesi* (n.)
          'to compress'   'compression'

To explain it, I argue that nominalizations occur at the *v*P level (cf. Alexiadou 2001). Given that prefixes are inside the VP domain as arguments to the verb root, their position is lower in the syntactic derivation, and they can be part of nominalization.:

(37) nP

            /\
      n vP
      -i

         v VP

             P   V'
            syn- |
                    V
                   graf-
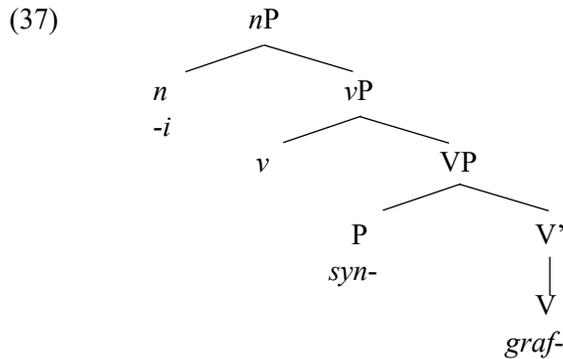
On the other hand, verbal complexes with adverbial preverbs are excluded from nominalizations (repeated from (14)):

(38)   a. ksana-grafo (v.)   →   *ksana-grafi (n.)
     again-write
     'to write again'
     b. (den) poly-grafo (v.)   →   *poly-grafi (n.)
      not much-write
      'not to write much'
     c. psilo-grafo (v.)   →   *psilo-grafi (n.)
      a.little-write
      'to write a little'
     d. para-grafo (v.)   →   *para-grafi (n.)[8]
      excessively-write
      'to write excessively'

This can be explained by the fact that adverbial preverbs are out the scope of derivational morphological process of nominalization[9]. Given, for instance, that *ksana-* is generated in [Spec, $Asp_{Arep(I)}$P], in other words, higher up in the syntactic derivation, the nominalizations of adverbially preverbed verbs are blocked, since the categorial specifications for the stem has already been defined. The following derivation is predicted to be impossible:

---

[8] Notice that the ungrammatical **paragrafi* where *para-* is an adverbial preverb and has the meaning 'excessively' is different form the grammatical *paragrafi* 'deletion' where *para-* is a prefix meaning 'instead of'.
[9] Similar to superlexical prefixes in Slavic (Svenonius 2004).

(39)

```
              * Asp_rep(I)P
             /            \
          Adv           Asp_rep(I)'
        ksana-          /         \
                   Asp_Arep(I)      nP
                                  /    \
                                 n      vP
                                -i     /   \
                                      v     V
                                          graf-
```
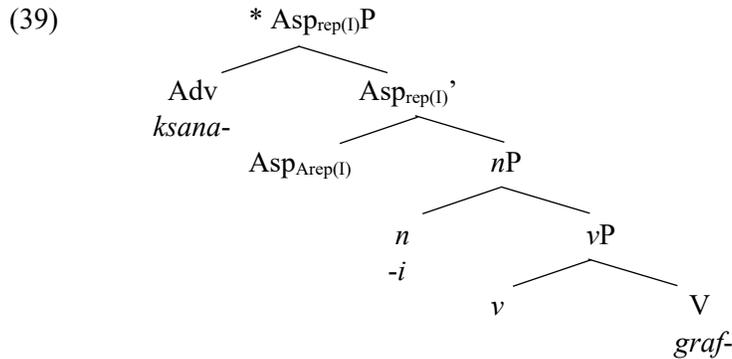
Thus, the position of preverbs in the syntactic derivation can explain why the nominalization of the adverbially verbal complex is rendered ungrammatical, e.g. *ksana-grafi*, as opposed to the nominalizations of verbal complexes with prefixes, e.g. *antigrafi* 'copying'.

iv. Conjoinability

In Section 2.2, we have already noted that the syntactic process of Conjoinability is a property of adverbial preverbs: two verb stems having the same adverbial preverb attached to them can be conjoined under the scope of the latter. On the other hand, a prefix that is attached to a verb stem of a single conjunct is expected to exert its influence only on the immediate verb stem to which it is attached, but not on the entire conjunct, i.e. the conjoined construction.

> (40) a. O Petros den ksana-[efage   i ipie]   tipota se parti.
>   the Peter   not again- ate.3SG or drank.3SG nothing at party
>   'Peter didn't eat or drink again anything at a party.'
>   b. *O Petros par-   [etakse   ke tirise]   ta   stratiotakia tu.
>   the Peter   instead.of-arrayed.3SG and obeyed.3SG the.PL toy-soldiers his
>   'Peter lined up and observed his toy soldiers.

Given the sentence in (40a) and the structure I propose in (30), what can be coordinated under *ksana-* are two VPs and not two Vs. In other words, the difference regarding the property of Conjoinability occurs between phrases and heads, or else between maximal and non-maximal projections, respectively. An adverbial preverb can c-commands two maximal projections dominating Vs; thus, it takes scope over the coordinated construction. On the other hand, with Vs being non-maximal projections, a prefix cannot take scope over them to form a conjoined construction, as seen in (40b). Since a prefix does not c-command any maximal projection that dominates the Vs, it is impossible to conjoin two Vs under a single instance of it. Therefore, the conjoined construction is always phrasal and only the type of preverbs which is attached to maximal projections can be the scope of two conjoined verb stems, in other words adverbial preverbs.

4   Conclusion

Although the nature of Greek preverbs has been discussed in the previous literature, it has continued to challenge theories. My aim in this paper has been to present a syntactic analysis for the base position of modern Greek preverbs that captures their distinct properties.

I have distinguished between prefixes and adverbial preverbs showing that this distinction reasonably relies on the properties of the two types of preverbs in Modern Greek, i.e. the (non-)compositional meaning, the morphological process of nominalization, and the syntactic process of conjoinability. Based also on the fact that adverbial preverbs always precede prefixes and that verbal complexes in Modern Greek can have more than one prefix or adverbial preverb attached to them, I have argued that prefixes are introduced as Ps in [Spec, VP], whereas adverbial preverbs are introduced as Advs in [Spec, FP].

Acknowledgements

References

Alexiadou, Artemis (2001). Functional structure in nominals: Nominalization and ergativity. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Anastassiadi-Symeonidi, A. & E. Masoura (2009). Ending-part and memory: A theoretical account. In G. Giannakis, M. Baltazani, G. Xydopoulos and A. Tsangalidis (eds), *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Greek Linguistics, University of Ioannina, 30 August- 2 September 2007, Ioannina*, 616–634 [in Greek].

Anastassiadi-Symeonidi, A. & E. Masoura (2012). Word ending-part and phonological memory: A theoretical approach. In T. Stolz, H. Otsuka, A. Urdze & J. van der Auwera (eds), *Irregularity in Morphology (and beyond)*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 127–140.

Bresnan, Joan & Sam Mchombo (1995). The lexical integrity principle: Evidence from Bantu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13, 181–252. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/ BF00992782

Cinque, Guglielmo (1999). *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Daskalaki, Evangelia & Marios Mavrogiorgos (2016). Two ways of encoding location in Greek: Locative applicatives and prepositions. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics 1(1)*: 16. 1–33, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.74

Delveroudi, R. & S. Vassilaki (1999). Les Opérations de Détermination, in A. Deschamps and J. Guillemin Flescher (éds.), *Actes du Colloque de Linguistique de l'UFE*, Université Paris 7, Paris, Ophrys. 149–167.

Drachman, G. & A. Malikouti-Drachman (1994). Stress and Greek Compounding, in W. Dressler, M, Prinzhorn and J. Rennison (eds.), *Phonologica* 1992, 55–64.

Efthymiou, A (2001). The Modern Greek prefix *kse-*. The concepts of move away and change of state. *Studies in Greek Linguistics*. 202–213 [in Greek].

Efthymiou, Angeliki (2002a). Semantic Considerations for the Modern Greek Prefixes kse-, ek-, apo-. Studies in Greek Linguistics. 199–209 [in Greek].

Efthymiou, Angeliki (2002b). Prefixes or First Members of Compounds Denoting Intensiveness in Modern Greek. Studies in Greek Linguistics 2002.

Giannakidou, Anastasia (1994). The semantic licensing of NPIs and the Modern Greek subjunctive. *Language and Cognition* 4, 55–68.

Giannakidou, Anastasia (1997). *The Landscape of Polarity Items.* Ph.D. dissertation. University of Groningen.

Giannakidou, Anastasia (1998). *Polarity Sensitivity as (Non)veridical Dependency*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Giannakidou, Anastasia (2001). The meaning of free choice. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 24.659–735.

Giannoula, Mina. To appear. POLY and a novel NPI analysis. *Proceedings of International Conference in Greek Linguistics 14*. University of Patras, Greece.

Gribanova, Vera (2013). Verb-stranding verb phrase ellipsis and the structure of the Russian verbal complex. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 31. 91–136.

Imbert, Caroline (2008). *Systems dynamics and functional motivations in Path coding. A typological description of Homeric Greek and Old English*. PhD Dissertation. CNRS Laboratory 'Dynamique du Langage', University of Lyon 2 [written in French].

Imbert, Caroline (2010). Multiple preverbation in Homeric Greek: A typological insight. *CogniTextes: Revue de l' Association Française de Linguistique Cognitive*. Volume 4.

Istratkova, Vyara (2004). On multiple prefixation in Bulgarian. In Peter Svenonius (ed.), *Special issues on Slavic prefixes*. Nordlyd 32.2, CASTL, Tromsø. 301–321.

Malikouti-Drachman, Angeliki & Gaberell Drachman (1989). Tonismos sta Nea Ellinika [Stress in Modern Greek]. *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 1988. 127–145.

Marantz, Alec (1984). On the Nature of Grammatical Relations, *Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 10*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Ma.

Myler, Neil (2017). Exceptions to the Mirror Principle and morphophonological 'action at a distance': The role of 'word'-internal phrasal movement and spell-out. In Heather Newell, Máire Noonan, Glyne Piggott & Lisa de Mena Travis (eds.), *The structure of words at the interfaces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 100–125.

Okada, Sadayuki (1999). On the Conjoinability of Affixal Morphemes in English, *Word* 50:3, 339–363.

Pesetsky, David (1991). Zero syntax: Vol. 2: *Infinitives*. Ms., MIT.

Philippaki-Warburton, Irene (1970). *On the Verb in Modern Greek*. The Hague: Mouton.

Pylkkänen, Lina (2008). *Introducing arguments*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Ralli, Angela (1992). Compounds in Modern Greek. *Rivista di Linguistica* 4:1, 143–174.

Ralli, Angela (2002a). Prefixation vs. Compounding. *Asymmetry in Grammar: Phonology, Morphology and Language Acquisition*. ed. by A.M. Di Sciullo. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 37–64.

Ralli, Angela (2002b). Prefixation vs. Compounding: The Case of KSE-, PARA-, KSANA. *Recherches en Linguistique Grecque*. ed. by Ch. Clairis. Paris: L' Harmattan. 203–206.

Ralli, Angela (2003). Review article: Morphology in Greek linguistics: The state of the art. Journal of Greek Linguistics 4: 77–129.

Ralli, Angela (2004). Stem-based versus Word-based Morphological Configurations: The Case of Modern Greek Preverbs, *Lingue e Linguaggio* 2: 241–275.

Ralli, Angela (2005). Morphologia. Athens: Patakis.

Smirniotopoulos, Jane & Brian D. Joseph (1998). Syntax versus the Lexicon: Incorporation and Compounding in Modern Greek. *Journal of Linguistics* 34. 447–488.

Sotiropoulos, Dimitris (1972). *Noun Morphology of Modern Demotic Greek*. The Hague: Mouton. Janua Linguarum Series 137.

Svenonius, Peter (2004). Slavic prefixes inside and outside VP. *Nordlyd* 32:205–253.

Thomadaki, E (1996). Derivatives in Modern Greek. In G. Katsimali & F. Kavoukopoulos (eds), *Issues of Modern Greek Language. A Didactic Approach*. Rethymnon: University of Crete. 69–96 [in Greek].

Xydopoulos, Georgios (1996). *Tense, Aspect and Adverbials in Modern Greek*. Ph.D. Dissertation. London: University College London.

Yoon, James Hye Suk (2017). Lexical integrity and suspended affixation in two types of denominal predicates in Korean. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 2(1): 45. 1–45.

A Critical Stylistic Analysis of the Construction of State Crimes in Sherko Bekas' Poem *The Small Mirrors*

Mahmood Kadir Ibrahim and Ulrike Tabbert
Imam Ja'afar Al Sadiq University, Iraq and University of Huddersfield, UK
mahmood.kadir@sadiq.edu.iq, ulritab@googlemail.com

Abstract

This paper explores the construction of political crimes in Iraqi Kurdish poet Sherko Bekas' collection of poems known under the title 'The Small Mirrors'. The selected passage that we will analyze by using the framework of Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010) has at its core the (Kurdish) victims of genocide as a state crime. Although the perpetrators that are responsible for the crimes are not mentioned, the construction of the victims sheds light on the respective offenders due to a binary opposition between victims and perpetrators. Furthermore, through exploring the text by means of the textual-conceptual functions Critical Stylistics offers, it becomes clear that the poem constructs a systematic and wide victimization and thus an attempt to erase an ethnic group.

Critical Stylistics is suited to detect ideological meaning in texts because it allows assertions about the values that are attached to world creation, which is the ideological meaning the text carries. Their linguistic presentation has an impact on the construction of those responsible for the atrocity without naming them explicitly.

1   Introduction

In this paper, we present a critical linguistic analysis of some selected passages from Sherko Bekas' collection of poems, known under the title 'The Small Mirrors'. We begin by briefly introducing Sherko Bekas to the reader before we present the framework of Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010) and an exemplary analysis of an extract from Bekas' poems. Readers interested in reading the full analysis from which only a part is presented in these proceedings are invited to follow up our chapter 'The Linguistic Construction of Political Crimes in Kurdish-Iraqi Sherko Bekas' Poem The Small Mirrors' in the edited collection 'The Linguistics of Crime'(Douthwaite & Tabbert 2022 (forthcoming)) For a more comprehensive analysis of 'The Small Mirrors' the reader is referred to one of the present author's PhD thesis (Ibrahim 2018).

Bekas was born in 1940 in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. He is a contemporary Kurdish poet, his father was Faiq Bekas (1905-1948), himself a well-known Kurdish poet. Sherko Bekas published his first book when he was 17 years old.

He lived in an era (from the inception of modern Iraq up until 1991) when the Kurds had been viewed as being second-class citizens. In the 1970s, Kurds were displaced, their areas arabized and destroyed in an attempt to demolish the Kurdish dream of having their own autonomous state. The situation further escalated in 1988 with the destructing of over

3,000 Kurdish villages, more than 40 chemical attacks, one even killed over 5,000 Kurds in Halabja (this will be an event referred to in the analysis), and 100,000 civilians buried after mass killings. The injustice painfully felt by the Kurdish people was the driving force behind Bekas' work and a recurring topic in his artistic expressions as we will see.

Bekas started his political activities at a very young age by enlisting in the Peshmerga and began his fight against the regime in 1964. He joined the Kurdish Liberation Movement in 1965 and also the second Kurdish Liberation movement in 1974. After the movement failed, the Baath regime exiled Bekas to Iraq where he stayed for three years. In 1986, he was again exiled by the Iraqi regime to Sweden where he published 'The Small Mirrors' in 1987. In this collection, he mourns the victims of Kurdistan. On 8th August 1987 in a speech at Folkore Hois (The Whole Sky of my Borders, 8th August 1987)[1] he stated that he considered himself the poet 'of all Kurdish nation, the poet of revolution and Peshmergas' and continued by saying 'I consider myself the mother poet of Kurdistan'.

Following the uprisings in Kurdistan in March 1991, Bekas returned to Iraqi Kurdistan but went into exile again and eventually died in exile in Sweden on 4th August 2013.

In his search for a new and individual voice of artistic expression for the Kurdish people, away from the heavily arabized Kurdish poetry, Bekas turned to internationally known texts, for example Hemmingway, and draw inspiration from their work. In 1970, together with other poets and writers of his generation, Bekas founded the Rwanga movement(Fahmi & Dizayi). Rwanga[2] poetry was a reaction to the social and political situation and is considered to be 'one of the fruitful consequences of the socio-political developments'(Fahmi & Dizayi: 72). Poets from the Rwanga movement tried to adjust poetry to real life (Naderi 2011: 32), thus, it breaks from the traditional rules of rhyme and rhythm to express many beautiful fantasies. This movement allows poets to express their vision accurately and overcome the boundaries of language. This was a radical change in Kurdish poetry (Bekas 1998) because Bekas identified 'new elements in the world literature' and utilized them in his own poetry(Fahmi & Dizayi). He stated in an interview that the movement aims to explain that their desire is to be 'free to discover what has not yet been discovered, to mix local and global languages in new and creative writings, and to support freedom all over the world' (Dhiab 2007b: 132).

The poets of Rwanga proclaimed in 1970 (Naderi 2011: 12):

[1]Speech at Folkore Hois, The Whole Sky of my Borders, 8/8/1987,
 https://www.rudaw.net/english/opinion/12092013

[2] Rawanga means 'immediate observation' in Kurdish

'-Our writing is full of suffering .... Thus we are fighting against suffering.
        - Beauty is the center of our writing .... Therefore, it is against ugliness.

-It is free and independent .... Hence it breaks boundaries.

-It is revolutionist ….'

Bekas' work is widespread and well-known beyond the borders of Iraqi-Kurdistan, it has been translated into many languages, among them Arabic, Italian, Swedish, French, German, and English.

2   A critical stylistic approach to 'The Small Mirrors'

The Small Mirrors/Awena buchkalakan is a collection of Bekas' poems published over a period of two years (1987-1988) in Kurdish and European magazines. Most of the poems now belonging to this collection were first published in 2006, namely in the second volume of Bekas' Diwan (2006/8). This collection is characterized by 'exceptional aesthetic value, unparalleled facility with words, a poetry that is emotionally, historically, cognitively, and existentially accessible to the public through its rich yet simple everyday language'(Sharifi & Ashouri 2013). In 'The Small Mirrors', Bekas depicts the war in Kurdistan and its victims. Victims of war (if the Kurdish victims are not even regarded as victims of genocide) can rightfully claim victimhood status (Van Wijk 2013), although in this case and viewed against the background of the Kurdish striving for national independence the sympathy margin (Kenney 2002: , p. 214) cannot fully be played out due to opposing interests and obstacles standing in the way of forming an independent Kurdish state.

How Bekas depicts the victims of the events in Halabja (see above) and the respective offenders, sheds light on Bekas' (if not even the Kurd's) ideological perspective on the atrocity. In order to present a Critical Stylistic analysis with the aim of detecting ideological meaning in Bekas' texts, we focus on the following extract from 'The Small Mirrors' (1987-1988) from which we chose some selected lines. In order to appreciate the analysis and for more contextual information, we present this lengthier extract with a translation into English, done by one of the present authors who is a native speaker of Kurdish.

Here is an extract from 'The Small Mirrors' (Bekas 2006: p. 651-652)

xanûyek juriyêkî liyê mird	A room of a house died
le prseda çawî giyêrrra	in the consolation it looked
bo jûrekanî drawsiyê	for the neighboring rooms
eweyi neydî	those whom it did not see
eweyi nehat	those who did not come
lenaw dlêyi pencereyda bû bergriyê!	

gerrrekî malêyêk kujra

le prseda çawî giyêrrra

bo rriyê û ban û ,

bo gerrrekî em law ula

eweyi neydî

eweyi nehat

le naw dlêyi ber heywan û serkolaên û

gorrrepaniya bû be griyê!

axir xo min kurdistanm

leyek tirûkeyi çawa bû

piyênc hezar kanîyi liyê kujra

piyênc hezar rezî liyê xinika

piyênc hezar şî'rî liyê kujra

piyênc, piyênc, piyênc, piyênc,..

wa şeş mange le prsedaye mewlewîm

dar be darm guyê helêexa

berd be berdm sorax ekaw

şax be şaxm çaw egiyêrrriyê

eweyi dûkelêyi cergmî nasî û nehat

eweyi nemdî

çon leber çawî em miyêjuwe sk
 sutawem

rreş, rreş, rreş, rreş

danagerrrriyê !

kotelê

became, in the heart of window, a
 knot!

A house of a neighborhood is killed

in the consolation

It looked for the roads

for this and that neighbourhod

those whom it did not see

those who did not come

in the heart of the courtyard and
 district!

became a knot

At the end I am Kurdistan

It was in a blink of an eye

Five thousand springs of it are killed

Five thousand fruits of it are
 suffocated

Five thousand poems of it are killed

Five five five five,…

It has been six months since my
 Malawe is in consolation

Tree eavesdrop for tree*

Stone search for stone*

Mountain look for mountain*

Those who recognize the smoke of my
 offspring and did not come, those I
 did not see

How for the sake of my abdomen-
 burnt history do not turn

black, black, black, black!

Sculpture

Bekas' poetry is foremost studied from a perspective of literary criticism(Darwish & Salih 2019; Dhiab 2007a; Essa 2009; Lateef Abdulqadir 2019; Mala 2012; Mohammad &

Mira 2018; Tabari et al. 2015) . One of the present authors (Ibrahim 2018) attempted a critical stylistic perspective to primarily reveal ideological meaning in Bekas' texts and is thus the first to apply Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010) to Kurdish poetry. Critical Stylistics is 'defined by the use of linguistic methodology so as to critically engage with the style of literary as well as non-literary texts' (Gregoriou et al. 2021)and was developed in response to a lack of a comprehensive and structured toolkit for conducting Critical Discourse Analysis.

Conceptual category/Textual function	Analytical Tool/Formal realizations
Naming and Describing	The choice of nouns to signify a referent; nominalisation; the construction of noun phrases with pre-/ post modification to identify a referent
Equating and Contrasting	Equivalence (parallel structure), antonymy, and opposition (Jeffries, 2010b)
Representing Actions/States and Events	Transitivity and verb voice
Enumerating and Exemplifying	Three-part lists to imply completeness, without being comprehensive (Jeffries 2010a: 73) and four-part lists (indicating hyponymous and meronymous sense relation), apposition
Prioritising	Transforming grammatical constructions: clefting, passive and active voice, subordination and syntactic structure
Negation	The construction of negated meaning (Nahajec, 2009)
Assuming and Implying	Presupposition and implicature
Hypothesising	Modality
Presenting Other's Speech and Thought	Speech and thought presentation
Constructing Time and Space	Choice of tense, adverb of time, deixis

Table 1: The tools of Critical Stylistics and their conceptual categories, adapted from Tabbert (2015: , p. 45f)

Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010) aims at identifying ideological meaning in texts by offering a framework of ten textual conceptual functions performed by texts (see Table 1). Under each of these functions Jeffries groups 'formal realisations' which can be looked for in texts in order to systematically analyse a text. This allows for rigour and replicability of

the analysis which is not only a principle of any stylistic analysis but particularly important when it comes to ideological meaning as it allows for the analyst to avoid bias and to prevent criticism that the analysis only proves pre-fabricated results.

Jeffries takes Halliday's (1971) three metafunctions of language (textual, ideational, interpersonal) as a starting point and argues that ideology 'enters the picture […] where these ideational processes in texts produce worlds which have values attached to them' (Jeffries 2015b: , p. 384). These values need to be explored and extracted in order to detect ideological meaning. Table 1 lists and explains the ten textual-conceptual functions from Critical Stylistics[3].

In the following section of these proceedings we analyze an extract from the above Example 1 from 'The Small Mirrors' by using the framework of Critical Stylistics to explain how victims are constructed and how their construction impacts on the construction of the not explicitly mentioned offenders. We do not use all of the ten textual-conceptual functions and again refer the reader to the more comprehensive analysis we did elsewhere (Douthwaite & Tabbert 2022 (forthcoming)).

3   Analysis

We focus on the of first half of the poem 'Sculpture' from 'The Small Mirrors' (presented above) until the line where the narrator 'I' explicitly reveals themselves in the line 'At the end I am Kurdistan'. There might be valid reason to assume that here Bekas includes himself in the scene and reveals himself as homodiegetic narrator (Genette 1980; Genette 1988).

It is striking at first glance that in a poem about the mass killings of human beings, no human entities are named but instead the nouns 'room' and 'house' metaphorically represent the victims of the atrocities whereas those responsible for the killings are not mentioned once. Furthermore, the subject slot in the first two sentences is filled with extended noun phrases:

(1) 'a room of a house'

'a house of a neighbourhood'.

Example (1) is postmodified noun phrases (the postmodification indicated by the preposition 'of') represent urban structure and symbolise human settlements, in fact, concrete structures people call their homes. In combination with the verb choices 'died' and 'is killed', these inanimate objects by being used metaphorically become animated. Bekas' innovative use of nouns naming inanimate objects in combination with verb choices used to describe the end of (human) life allows the reader to understand that Bekas uses

---

[3]For a more in-depth introduction to Critical Stylistics we refer to Jeffries (2010).

urban structures to name human beings, in fact, the Kurdish victims of genocide. We do look in vain for the perpetrators because those responsible for the killing and suffocating remain unmentioned. This does not mean that these lines provide no information about them at all. On the contrary, the construction of victims of crime always simultaneously constructs the respective offenders based on a binary opposition between victim and offender [the effect of which has been discussed by Jančaříková (2013) and Tabbert (2015; Tabbert 2016)].

In what follows we will show how we reach this and other conclusions by means of Critical Stylistics and how the analytical tools in the different conceptual categories work together to explain how the text means what it means. We will start with the first of the ten textual-conceptual functions, that is Naming and describing.

3.1 Naming and describing

In this section, we present the findings related to the textual-conceptual functions of Naming and Describing. Due to the complexity of even such a short passage like Example (1), we would like to zoom in on the following two lines to illustrate the importance of Bekas' naming strategies for the presentation of ideological meaning:

(2) A room of a house died

…

A house of a neighbourhood is killed

Example (2) is two clauses consisting exclusively of subject and predicator and show a parallel syntactic structure. Note, that these two lines do not appear next to each other in the poem but are separated by six lines. A house and a neighbourhood are man-made and serve not only to accommodate people but create a living space and structure. Here, families raise their children, friendships are built and nourished, acquaintances are made and maintained. Illness and other negative experiences are combatted, creating love and solidarity. Both noun phrases in their consecutive order zoom out from the smallest unit (a room in a house) to the larger unit (a neighbourhood). Bekas uses a metonymic relationship between the three nouns (room, house, neighbourhood) to broaden the dimension of destruction. By not mentioning any specifics about the neighbourhood, the reader is able to associate with it by drawing on schematic knowledge and thus bringing in the reader's own neighbourhood which increases immediacy and proximity of the killings as well as their devastating nature as it is not merely a killing of individuals.

3.2 Presenting actions, states and events

This section starts with a further exploration of Example (2), this time with a focus on verb choice. 'Died' and 'is killed' are two material actions (Simpson 1993) (arguably so in the case of 'died'), both factive verbs with the emphasis on the result. The verb 'died' might arguably be regarded as a supervention process in this context which means that an actor

and thus a culprit is not necessarily needed. If this argument is followed through, it underlines that 'room' is regarded an animate entity as the verb choices that follow in these six lines (Example 3) demonstrate:

(3) A room of a house died

in the consolation it looked

for the neighbouring rooms

those whom it did not see

those who did not come

became, in the heart of window, a nob!

The verbs 'looked for', 'did not see' and 'did not come' alongside 'died', all lead the reader to expect animate entities when instead we find 'a room' and 'the neighbouring rooms' in the noun slots. The verbs 'to look for' and 'see' are mental processes of perception, usually carried out by people. The verb 'to come' is material action intention, an act of movement and changing position which a room is usually incapable to do. In Example 3, however, 'a room' is carrying out these perception and action processes which deviate from the norm.

Further, this room is being described as in need of consolation which entails that 'a room' has human emotions. Such deviations are highly foregrounding and allow us to understand that 'a room' and 'neighbouring rooms' are naming choices for people, in fact victims of the killings. By naming them in relation to urban structure, Bekas achieves proximity in the perception of these atrocities and, furthermore, he is able to construct those affected as innocent victims which aligns with Christie's (1986) notion of ideal victims. Ideal victims are weak, sick, either very young or very old, were carrying out a respectable project at the time of crime, have no personal relationship with the offender and cannot be blamed for being attacked. Such an ideal victim, for example, is the character 'Little Red Riding Hood' from the same-named fairytale (Walklate 2007: , p. 28). Victims of international crimes, however, 'face much more difficulty in publicizing their fate and consequently 'benefiting' from their status as victim' (Van Wijk 2013: , p. 159). This is particularly relevant here as the Iraq-Kurdish conflict is a very complex one with no clearly carved good/bad dichotomy and thus goes against Van Wijk's (2013) criteria according to which 'potential [victim]-status givers' prefer 'comprehensible' conflicts that, have a unique selling point 'have a limited time span' and are 'well-timed'. Further, 'domestic policies, geopolitical interests, accessibility to the region and the possibility of donors identifying with the victims' (2013) are prerequisites for a conflict to attract public attention and for those victims to be perceived as 'ideal'. All this is absent from the Iraq-Kurdish conflict because at that time media coverage and human rights groups were not

allowed to watch and report the conflict and its results. Therefore, the conflict continues and left thousands of civilian victims who Bekas writes about.

3.3 Negating, implying and assuming

Negation raises the possibility of presence (Nahajec 2012: , p. 39; Nahajec 2014) and produces a 'hypothetical version of reality' (Jeffries 2010: , p. 107). This is particularly powerful as it allows for the construction of two alternative scenarios, one that is actually happening and another that could be happening. What could happen but does not is presented in the following two instances of negation, realised by means of a negative particle ('not'):

(4) those whom it did not see

those who did not come

Note that these two lines are repeated in the context of 'neighbouring rooms' looking for 'roads' who did not come.

We have already established in Section 3.2 that the two negated verbs 'see' and 'come' are processes of perception and action, usually assigned to animate entities. In Example 3 these processes are carried out by 'a room' and we have discussed how this deviation from expectation not only foregrounds the verbs but allows for the interpretation that 'a room' and 'neighbouring rooms' are in fact naming choices for victims.

This extends onto the second instance where the focus zooms out from 'a house of a neighbourhood' to 'neighbourhood' and 'roads', adding these nouns/noun phrase to the group of naming choices for victims.

In this section, we take the argument further by examining the role of negation in this context. Negation, as Nahajec (2012: , p. 35; 2021) argues, is presuppositional and produces implied meaning. We therefore discuss the two textual-conceptual functions of 'Negating' as well as 'Implying and assuming' here together. Whereas implicature arises from flouting cooperation maxims (Grice 1975), 'pragmatic presuppositions reside in the shared conventions of language use' (Simpson 1993: , p. 128).

Negation in Example 4 pragmatically presupposes that the reader as discourse participant expects the house/neighbourhood/roads to be there, to be visible and be able to 'come' when in fact they cannot anymore because they died/were killed. Negation then has a further, implied level of meaning that arises from deliberately not observing the cooperative principles (Grice 1975). To fully grasp the implied meaning here means to take the metaphorical naming choices for victims into account, based on the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE URBAN STRUCTURE. By using a man-made structure of a 'neighbourhood', the victims are no longer regarded as individual, separate casualties but are instead tied together structurally, through their relations with one another. They build a complex system of interrelations because of family relations, friendships and acquaintances like roads running through a neighbourhood, connecting one house and its rooms with another. The killing thus becomes not only meaningful in terms of the already

mentioned indirect victimization (where family and friends are affected when somebody falls victim to a crime) but gives rise to the notion of a systematic killing, a deliberate attempt to erase an ethnic group and thus constructs the crime close to the notion of genocide.

3.4 Hypothesising and presenting others' speech and thoughts

It can be argued whether modality is able to produce 'a hypothetical alternative reality' (Jeffries 2015a: , p. 165) comparable to negation as outlined in the previous section, or is rather related to point of view in that it expresses a speaker's/writer's opinion about or attitude towards a proposition (Simpson 1993, p. 47). Whichever argument is followed, a closer examination of the extract from 'The Small Mirrors' reveals no instance of modality. All sentences are categorical as the following example illustrates:

(5) At the end I am Kurdistan

Example (5) is of relevance not only to illustrate Bekas preference for categorical and unmodalised assertions in the extract from 'The Small Mirrors' but also provides the only evidence in this extract for the presence of a first-person narrator and thus speech presentation. It is arguably a presentation of speech rather than thought as the poet foremost writes these words to be published rather than merely inform the reader of what is going on in his head.

This sentence further illustrates that the entire passage is actually Direct Speech which enhances immediacy of what is being said and the passage, if not the entire poems, becomes Bekas' personalised and individual speech. As such Bekas acts as a contemporary witness to the crimes that happened in Kurdistan. In relation to crimes of the state, Cohen (2003: , p. 546f) acknowledges the problem 'that the state is not an actor and that individual criminal responsibility cannot be identified', leading to a common perception that, the resultant action is not '"really" crime'. Cohen goes as far as to state that 'the political discourse of the atrocity is […] designed to hide its presence from awareness'. Bekas' poem in its political background is written to resist hegemonic discourse and it apparently takes the weight of the author's own prominence to raise awareness to a counter-hegemonic narration of events. One means to achieve this is by means of Direct Speech. In a culture of denial, (Cohen 2003, p. 548) with regard to institutionalised crime, Bekas acknowledges the anonymity of the offenders by not mentioning them explicitly. However, the offenders are nevertheless present and are constructed by means of their binary opposition with the respective victims.

3.5   Representing time, space and society

We wish to dwell on Example 5 and talk about identification by means of deixis. Deixis is regarded as a linguistic pointer (Semino 1997: , p. 32), to time, space or social relations, among others. In Example 5, Bekas achieves immediacy not only by means of Direct Speech (see previous section) but also by means of temporal deixis (present tense) as well as personal deixis (personal pronoun 'I') and a relational process intensive. A closer

examination of the extract from 'The Small Mirrors' for such linguistic pointers reveals a repeated use of 'it' as a third person pronoun. This appears to be of relevance as we have established earlier that 'room' and 'house of a neighbourhood' are in fact naming choices for people, namely the victims.

As for pointers of temporal reference, it appears that Example 5 marks a shift from past to present tense which carries on throughout our extract. These time pointers by means of verb tense separate the killings in the past from the present impact they have on Kurdistan and thus the Kurds, as people spread across several countries (Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria) and without a yet internationally recognized state of their own. By means of spatial deixis ('Kurdistan') Bekas refers to a foremost geographical and cultural area but also brings in the notion of ongoing efforts for independence. This again underlines the importance of detecting values attached to ideational or world-building processes which are the carriers of ideological meaning.

4 Conclusion

The study confirmed the overall argument that the construction of the victims is due to a binary opposition between the victims and the perpetrators and the offenders are only implicitly represented.

Bekas avoids mentioning the offenders and does not state specific victims. By doing so, Bekas leaves the slot empty for the reader to fill in by drawing an image of the victims and the atrocities carried out by anonymous offenders under government order. The perpetrators are constructed too cruel and the victims as ideal victims tied together and having relations with one another. However, the victims face much more difficulty in receiving a global recognition of their fate and consequently the Iraq-Kurdish conflict is a very complex one with no clearly clear good/bad dichotomy.

Similarly, the textual conceptual functions Critical Stylistics offers are compatible in the construction of a systematic and wide victimisation in an attempt to erase an ethnic group. The victimization not only involves killing people but also destroying nature. It constructs this crime close to the notion of genocide.

The complexity of state crime is clear in the data where the offenders are not mentioned and Bekas resists hegemonic discourse manipulating his wide reputation to raise awareness to a counter-hegemonic narration of events. In addition The Small Mirrors shows that Bekas supports the strive for an independent state for the Kurds.

5 References

Bekas, Sherko. 1998. A journey Through Poetic Kurdistan, The Secret Diary of a Rose
        Suleimani: Khak Press.
—. 2006. Awena Buchkalakan (The Small Mirrors) in Dewane Sherko Bekas: Barge
        Dwam (The Divan of Sherko Bekas), 2nd volume Iraq: Kurdistan.
—. 2006/8. Awena Buchkalakan (The Small Mirrors) in Dewane Sherko Bekas: Barge
        Dwam (The Divan of Sherko Bekas), 2nd volume Iraq: Kurdistan.
Christie, Nils. 1986. The ideal victim. From crime policy to victim policy, ed. by E.A.
        Fattah, 17-30. Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press.

Cohen, Stanley. 2003. Human rights and crimes of the state: The culture of denial. Criminological perspectives: Essential Readings, ed. by E. McLaughlin, J. Muncie & G. Hughes, 542-60. London: Sage Publications.

Darwish, Nasrin O. & Salar Mahmud M. Salih. 2019. A Comparative Study of Soul's Alienation in Poe's "The

Raven" and Bekes's "The Cemetery of Lanterns". Journal of University of Garmian.

Dhiab, S. 2007a. Reality precedes Poetic Vision. In *Masarat*

Dhiab, S. 2007b. Reality precedes Poetic Vision (translated by Chenwa Hayek). Masarat Magazine.

Douthwaite, John & Urlike Tabbert (eds) 2022 (forthcoming). *The Linguistics of Crime: A Linguistic Con-tribution To The Study Of Crime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Essa, Hawzhen Slewa. 2009. The Structure of the Artistic Images of the Sherko Bekas's poetry Iraq: Sulaymanya.

Fahmi, Ismail M & Saman Dizayi. The Thematic presence of The Waste Land in Sherko Bekas' Jĭngl.

Genette, Gérard. 1980. Narrative Discourse: An essay in method Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

—. 1988. Narrative Discourse Revisited Ithaca/New York: Cornell University Press.

Gregoriou, Christiana, Ilse A Ras & Nina Muždeka. 2021. "Journey into hell [… where] migrants froze to death"; a critical stylistic analysis of European newspapers' first response to the 2019 Essex Lorry deaths. Trends in Organized Crime.1-20.

Grice, H.P. 1975. Logic and conversation. Syntax and semantics 3: Speech Acts, ed. by P. Cole & J. Morgan, 41-58. New York: Academic Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1971. Linguistic function and literary style: An inquiry into the language of William Golding's*The Inheritors*. Literary style: A symposium, ed. by S. Chatman, 330-68. London: Oxford University Press.

Ibrahim, Mahmood. 2018. The Construction of the Speaker and Fictional World in The Small Mirrors: Critical Stylistic Analysis: University of Huddersfield.

Jančaříková, Renata. 2013. Simplification in the British press: Binary oppositions in crime reports. Discourse and Interaction 6.15-28.

Jeffries, Lesley. 2010. Critical Stylistics. The power of English Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

—. 2015a. Critical Stylistics. A companion to Stylistics, ed. by V. Sotirova, 157-76. London/New York: Bloomsbury.

—. 2015b. Language and ideology. Introducing language and linguistics, ed. by L. Cummings & N. Braber, 379-405. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kenney, J. Scott. 2002. Victims of crime and labeling theory: A parallel process? Deviant Behavior: An interdisciplinary journal 23.235-65.

Lateef Abdulqadir, Botan. 2019. Alienation in Sherko Bekas's Poetry, "Chair Human" as a Model. Twejer.

Mala, A. 2012. binbest le şî'rî şêrku bêkesda û çend babetêkî tir (Bases in Bekas' poetry and some other subjects): Avda. Université de Castilla la Mancha-Espagne. .

Mohammad, Mohammad Dler Amin & Ahmad Mohammad Rashid Mira. 2018. Sherko Bekas's rebellion poetic language in the volume of: Now a girl is my

country. International Journal of Kurdish Studies 4.

Naderi, L. 2011. An Anthology of Modern Kurdish Literature: A Short Study of Modern Kurdish Poetry in Southern Kurdistan: University of Kurdistan.

Nahajec, Lisa. 2012. Evoking the possibility of presence: Textual and ideological effects of linguistic negation in written discourse. Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Doctoral thesis.

—. 2014. Negation, expectation and characterisation: Analysing the role of negation in character construction in *To kill a mockingbird* (Lee 1960) and *Stark* (Elton 1989). Pragmatic Literary Stylistics, ed. by S. Chapman & B. Clark, 111-31. London: Palgrave.

—. 2021. Negation, Expectation and Ideology in Written Texts: A textual and communicative perspective Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Semino, Elena. 1997. Language and world creation in poems and other texts Harlow: Longman.

Sharifi, Amir & Ali Ashouri. 2013. A Tribute to Sherko Bekas, The Kurdish Poet of the Century.

Simpson, Paul. 1993. Language, ideology and point of view London: Routledge.

Tabari, Payman, sayyed ahmad parsa & Mohammad Ali Gozashti. 2015. Humanism in Intellectual Style of Sherko Bekas, the Contemporary Poet from Iraqi Kurdistan. International Journal of Review in Life Sciences (IJRLS).

Tabbert, Ulrike. 2015. Crime and corpus: The linguistic representation of crime in the press Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

—. 2016. Language and crime: Constructing offenders and victims in newspaper reports London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Van Wijk, Joris. 2013. Who is the 'little old lady' of international crimes? Nils Christie's concept of the ideal victim reinterpreted. International Review of Victimology 19.159-79.

Walklate, Sandra. 2007. Imagining the victim of crime Maidenhead: Open University Press.