

## Polarity Emphasis in Kavalan\*

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### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1. Function of Polarity Emphasis

- “polarity emphasis arises when the polarity of the proposition conflicts with that of a background assumption” (Breitbarth, de Clercq, & Haegeman 2013: 1-2)

(1) The problem is that women are not standing. When they DO stand they have just the same chance of getting the post as a man, but they are not putting themselves forward.  
(*Observer* 22.08.2010, from Breitbarth, de Clercq, & Haegeman 2013: 2)

(2) mai sazmaqen ti-utay qan-an-na ni buya ya Rusipan,  
NEG believe NCM-Utay eat-PV-3ERG ERG Buya ABS scorpion  
maqen=ti qan-an-na ni buya ya Rusipan  
indeed=PFV eat-PFV-3ERG ERG Buya ABS scorpion  
‘Utay doesn’t believe that Buya ate the scorpion, but Buya DID eat the scorpion.’<sup>1</sup>

- as reassurance or confirmation

(3) He promised to eat the scorpion and he DID eat it. (Kandybowicz 2013: 53)

(4) s<m>anu ti-buya Rasa=pa=iku tu lepaw ta-banqiao-an,  
<AV>say NCM-Buya buy=FUT=1SG.ABS OBL house LOC-Banqiao-LOC  
maqen-an-na=ti m-Rasa lepaw ta-banqiao-an  
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV AV-buy house LOC-Banqiao-LOC  
‘Buya said, “I will buy a house in Banqiao”, and he DID buy the house in Banqiao.’

- polarity emphasis as “a function over proposition-denoting expressions that yields enriched assertions encoding the level of speaker commitment to those propositions” and “a vehicle for graded forceful assertions” (Kandybowicz 2013: 54)

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\* This research is funded by Fonds Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (FWO: 2009-Odyseus-Haegeman-G091409). I’d like to thank Abas and Ngengi for teaching me their language.

<sup>1</sup> Glossing conventions in this paper follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Additional glossing conventions are as follows: AV – Agent voice; EXIST – Existential; I – Inclusive; NCM – Non-common noun marker; PV – Patient voice; .

## 1.2. Syntax of Polarity Emphasis

- two types of emphatic polarity markers (EPM) with regard to syntactic distributions (Batllori & Hernanz 2013; Breitbarth, de Clercq, & Haegeman 2013; Danckaert & Haegeman 2012; Kandybowicz 2013)
  - ❖ high vs. low EPM
- high EPM
  - ❖ restricted to root/main clauses only
  - ❖ ungrammatical in (central) adverbial clauses, restrictive relative clauses, complements of factive verbs
  - ❖ Spanish *bien* and *sí* (Danckaert & Haegeman 2012; Hernanz 2007), Italian Veneto dialect *no* (Poletto 2009), Nupe *ni*: (Kandybowicz 2013)

### (5) Spanish (Danckaert & Haegeman 2012: 158)

Si Pepe (*\*bien*) acaba a tiempo su tesis, ya te lo haré saber.  
if Pepe well finish.3SG on time his thesis I you it let.FUT.1SG know  
'If Pepe finishes his thesis on time, I'll let you know.'

### (6) Nupe (Kandybowicz 2013: 57)

\*Ebó na Musa gí kinkere na ni: Gana á zè ewùn bè  
because COMP Musa eat scorpion PRT ni: Gana PRF turn anger with  
wu:n yin.  
3.SG PRT  
'(I assure you) Because Musa DID eat the scorpion, Gana was mad at him.'

- ❖ high EPM as Main Clause Phenomenon (MCP)
  - syntactic operations restricted to root clauses and a subset of subordinate clauses (Danckaert & Haegeman 2012; Emonds 2004; Haegeman 2012; Heycock 2006)
  - e.g., argument fronting, locative inversion, and speaker-oriented adverbials

### (7) (Danckaert & Haegeman 2012: 133-134)

- a. \*If these exams you don't pass, you won't get the degree.
- b. \*If upstairs live his parents, things will be much simpler.
- c. ??If frankly he's unable to cope, we'll have to replace him.

- ❖ high EPM in FocusP or EmphP of Rizzi's (1997) split CP (Batllori & Hernanz 2013; Kandybowicz 2013): "a designated left-peripheral functional projection encoding focus on the polarity of the sentence" (Breitbarth, de Clercq, & Haegeman 2013: 4)
  - ❖ The restrictions on the syntactic distributions of high EPM can be attributed to the same account of MCP: either truncation or intervention (Haegeman 2012)
- low EPM
    - ❖ not restricted to root/main clauses
    - ❖ grammatical in (central) adverbial clauses, restrictive relative clauses, complements of factive verbs
    - ❖ English emphatic *do*; Nupe verbal repetition (Kandybowicz 2013); Flemish particle *en* (Breitbarth & Haegeman 2014; Haegeman 2002)

(8) If he DOES win, I'll be the first to congratulate him. (Danckaert & Haegeman 2012: 160)

(9) Nupe (Kandybowicz 2013: 59)

A: wo labari gánán Musa gí kinkere gí.  
3.PL hear news COMP Musa eat scorpion eat  
'They heard the news that (apparently) Musa DID eat the scorpion.'

(10) West Flemish (Haegeman 2002: 181)

Oa-t nie en regent moe-j de blommen woater geven.  
if/when-it NEG EN rains must-you the flowers water give  
'If/when it DOESN'T rain, you have to water the plants.'

- ❖ low EPM in a TP-internal focus position: inner FocusP or EmphP (“vP-related”) (Batllori & Hernanz 2013; Breitbarth & Haegeman 2014; Kandybowicz 2013)<sup>2</sup>

### 1.3. Kavalan *maqen*

- Main claim of the present paper

★ Kavalan <i>maqen</i> as a low EPM
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- Road map
  - ❖ Section 2. Morphology of *maqen* → *Maqen* as a verb
  - ❖ Section 3. Distributional Contrast between *maqen* and Other TP-internal Adverbials → *maqen* as a low EPM below functional projections of epistemic expressions
  - ❖ Section 4. High vs. Low EPM: Main Clause Phenomenon → *Maqen* not restricted to root clauses
  - ❖ Section 5. High vs. Low EPM: Interpretive Differences → *Maqen* as a low EMP associated with a weaker commitment to truth
  - ❖ Section 6. The Structural Position of Low EPM: A Puzzle → PV-marked vs. non-PV-marked *maqen*
  - ❖ Section 7. Conclusion

## 2. Morphology of *maqen*

- *Maqen* exhibits morphosyntactic properties of a verb.
  - ❖ clause-initial slot
  - ❖ aspect markers
  - ❖ voice affixes
  - ❖ imperative suffix

- (11) a. maqen=ti m-Rasa tu lepaw ti-imuy  
indeed=PFV AV-buy OBL house NCM-Imuy  
'Imuy DID buy a house.'
- b. maqen-an-na=ti ni imuy m-Rasa ya lepaw  
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Imuy AV-buy ABS house  
'Imuy DID buy the house.'

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<sup>2</sup> For a pragmatic account of low EPM, please refer to Wilder (2013).

c. maqen-ika m-liyam ya sudad  
indeed-IMP AV-read ABS book  
'DO read the book!'

- PV *-an* on *maqen* as verb-defining *v* or Voice, which can determine the argument structure of a sentence
  - ❖ PV *-an* (on "non-canonical verbs") is associated with a volitional external argument and an affected theme (Lin 2013, to appear).
  - ❖ incompatibility of PV-marked *maqen* (*maqen-an*) with intransitive or unaccusative verbs

(12) a. maqen=ti m-laydaw ti-abas  
indeed=PFV AV-sad NCM-Abas  
'Abas WAS sad.'

b. \*maqen-an-na=ti ni abas m-laydaw  
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Abas AV-sad

(13) a. maqen=ti masuzeq ti-buya  
indeed=PFV AV.arrive NCM-Buya  
'Buya HAS arrived.'

b. \*maqen-an-na=ti ni buya masuzeq  
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Buya AV.arrive

- The fact that *maqen* can be affixed with *-an* thus suggests that it is a head that is initially merged below *vP* or VoiceP.
  - ❖ low EPM (TP-internal, "vP-related") instead of high EPM (split CP)

### 3. Distributional Contrast between *maqen* and Other TP-internal Adverbials

- a comparison between *maqen* and adverbial verbs
  - ❖ Kavalan aspect-related and manner adverbials as verbs (Chang 2006, 2010; Lin 2014)

(22) a. paqanas-an-ku=ti m-liyam ya sudad  
slowly-PV-1SG.ERG=PFV AV-read ABS book  
'I read the book slowly.'

b. pataz-an-na ni utay m-qila ya sunis-na  
often-PV-3ERG ERG Utay AV-scold ABS child-3SG.GEN  
'Utay often scolds his children.'

- ❖ *Maqen* must precede aspect-related and manner adverbial verbs.
  - Within Cinque's (1999) framework of fine-grained IP, this suggests that the functional projection hosting *maqen* is structurally higher than aspect-related and manner adverbials.

(23) a. maqen paqanas-an-na ni buya q<m>an ya baut  
indeed slowly-PV-3ERG ERG Buya <AV>eat ABS fish  
'Buya DID eat the fish slowly.'

b. \*paqanas-an-na ni buya maqen q<m>an ya baut  
slowly-PV-3ERG ERG Buya indeed <AV>eat ABS fish

- (24) a. maqen pataz-an-na ni buya m-qila ya sunis  
indeed often-PV-3ERG ERG Buya AV-scold ABS child  
'Buya does scold the child often.'
- b. \*pataz-an-na ni buya maqen m-qila ya sunis  
often-PV-3ERG ERG Buya indeed <AV>scold ABS child

- distributional contrast between *maqen* and epistemic markers like *qawman* 'certainly'
- ❖ Unlike *maqen*, *qawman* cannot take voice affixes.
  - ❖ While *maqen* can be suffixed with the imperative marker, *qawman* is incompatible with imperative mood. The compatibility between *maqen* and the imperative mood indicates that it is truly an EPM instead of an epistemic marker.
  - ❖ When *maqen* and *qawman* co-occur in a clause, *qawman* must precede *maqen*

- (25) a. qawman Rasa-an-na=ti ni buya ya lepaw  
certainly buy-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Buya ABS house  
'Buya must have bought the house.'
- b. \*qawman-an-na=ti ni buya m-Rasa ya lepaw  
certainly-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Buya AV-buy ABS house

- (26) a. maqen-ika m-liyam ya sudad  
indeed-IMP AV-read ABS book  
'DO read the book!'
- b. \*qawman-ika m-liyam ya sudad  
certainly-IMP AV-read ABS book

- (27) a. qawman maqen-an-na ni utay m-qila ya sunis-na  
certainly indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Utay AV-scold ABS child-3GEN  
'Utay certainly WILL scold his child.'
- b. \*maqen-an-na ni utay qawman m-qila ya sunis-na  
indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Utay certainly AV-scold ABS child-3GEN

- epistemic >> *maqen* >> aspect-related, manner
- ❖ *maqen* as a low EPM below functional projections of epistemic expressions

#### 4. High vs. Low EPM: Main Clause Phenomenon (MCP)

- high vs. low EPM
- ❖ high EPM (in split CP) as an MCP due to truncation or intervention (Haegeman 2012)
  - ❖ High EPM can occur in complement clauses of declarative or epistemic verbs, but not evaluative, directive, or volitive verbs.
  - ❖ High EPM cannot occur in restrictive relative clauses.
  - ❖ High EPM is incompatible with conditional clauses.

- (28) Spanish (Batllori & Hernanz 2013: 24)
- a. Otra persona [...] pensando que bien vale la Moncloa  
another person thinking that indeed is.worth the Moncloa  
una sonrisa...  
a smile

- ‘Thinking that being in power is worth a smile indeed, anyone else [...]’
- b. \*Los médicos han decidido/ordenado que el paciente bien  
 the doctors have decided/ordered that the patient indeed  
 tomara pastillas  
 take pills

(29) Spanish (Batllori & Hernanz 2013: 24)  
 \*El aria que sí ha cantado la soprano es muy bonita  
 the aria that yes has sung the soprano is very beautiful

(30) Spanish (Batllori & Hernanz 2013: 25)  
 Si (\*bien) canta la Caballé, el teatro se llenará  
 if indeed sings the Caballé the theater CL will.be.full

- *Magen* is NOT restricted to main/root clauses.
- ❖ It can occur in subordinate clauses that resist MCP, e.g., complement clauses of evaluative/directive/volitive verbs, relative clauses, and conditional clauses.<sup>3</sup>
  - ❖ *Magen* is low EPM.

(31) qeRas-an-na ni buya ti-imuy pa-magen pa-qibasi  
 require-PV-3ERG ERG Buya NCM-Imuy CAUS-indeed CAUS-wash  
 tu qudus  
 OBL clothes  
 ‘Buya requires Imuy to really do the laundry.’

(32) kelisiw-ku ya magen-an-na=ay ni utay qiRuziq  
 money-1SG.GEN ABS indeed-PV-3ERG=REL ERG Utay steal  
 ‘What Utay really stole was my money.’

(33) anu magen-an-na ni utay qiRuziq kelisiw, qila-an-na  
 if indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Utay steal money scold-PV-3ERG  
 ni abas aizipna  
 ERG Abas 3SG.ABS  
 ‘If Utay DOES steal the money, Abas will scold him.’

## 5. High vs. Low EPM: Interpretive Differences

<sup>3</sup> The following examples show that conditional clauses in Kavalan resist MCP, e.g., speaker-oriented adverbials and argument fronting.

- (i) \*anu pasi uzan=pa, mai=ita qatiw sa taypak  
 if perhaps rain=FUT NEG=1IPL.ABS go to Taipei
- (ii) \*anu peliya m-uman, mai=ti=ita qatiw sa taypak  
 if luckily AV-rain NEG=1IPL.ABS go to Taipei
- (iii) \*anu baqian m-lawut ti-imuy, yau ta-paw-an ti-utay m-lingi  
 if elder AV-visit NCM-Imuy EXIST LOC-house-LOC NCM-Utay AV-take.care.of  
 tu sunis  
 OBL child

- semantic differences between high and low EPM
  - ❖ Nupe *ni:* → in high EmphP above PolP → full commitment to truth/polarity (Kandybowicz 2013)
  - ❖ Nupe verbal reduplication → in low EmphP below PolP and TP → weaker commitment to truth (Kandybowicz 2013)
  - ❖ Low EPM emphasizes a proposition “without commitment to its truth-value” (Kandybowicz 2013: 67).
- High EPM, which encodes a full commitment to truth/polarity, is incompatible with ‘perhaps/probably’ and yes/no questions.
- Low EMP, which is associated with a weaker commitment to truth, is compatible with ‘perhaps/probably’ and yes/no questions.

(34) Nupe (Kandybowicz 2013: 60)

- a. #Wótákílà Musa gí kinkere ni:.  
perhaps Musa eat scorpion ni:  
‘(I assure you) Perhaps Musa DID eat the scorpion.’
- b. Wótákílà Musa gí kinkere gí.  
perhaps Musa eat scorpion eat  
‘Perhaps Musa DID (apparently) eat the scorpion.’
- c. #Ngba Musa gí kinkere ni:?  
yes/no Musa eat scorpion ni:
- d. Ngba Musa gí kinkere gí?  
yes/no Musa eat scorpion eat  
‘Did Musa apparently/really eat the scorpion?’

- As *maqen* is a low EPM, it is predicted that it is associated with a weaker commitment to truth and is thus compatible with ‘perhaps/probably’ and yes/no questions.

- (35) a. pasi maqen ti-buya m-nubi tu kelisiw  
perhaps indeed NCM-Buya AV-hide OBL money  
‘Perhaps Buya DOES hide money.’
- b. maqen-an-na ni buya m-Rasa lepaw ta-banqiao-an ni?  
indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Buya AV-buy house LOC-Banqiao-LOC Q  
‘Did Buya really buy the house in Banqiao?’

## 6. The Structural Position of Low EPM: A Puzzle

- low EPM in inner FocusP or EmphP between TP and vP (Batllori & Hernanz 2013; Kandybowicz 2013)
- The contrast between PV-marked and non-PV-marked *maqen* presents a problem for a unified analysis of low EPM.
- PV-marked *maqen*
  - ❖ AV-restriction on the lexical verb
  - ❖ obligatory host of the perfective clitic =*ti*

- (36) a. maqen-an-na=ti ni imuy m-Rasa/\*Rasa-an ya lepaw  
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Imuy AV-buy/buy-PV ABS house  
‘Imuy did buy the house.’

b. \**maqen-an-na* ni imuy m-Rasa=ti ya lepaw  
indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Imuy AV-buy=PFV ABS house

- non-PV-marked *maqen*
  - ❖ no AV-restriction on the lexical verb
  - ❖ optional host of the perfective clitic =*ti*

- (37) a. maqen=ti m-Rasa tu lepaw ti-imuy  
indeed=PFV AV-buy OBL house NCM-Imuy  
‘Imuy did buy a house.’
- b. maqen=ti Rasa-an-na ni imuy ya lepaw  
indeed=PFV buy-PV-3ERG ERG Imuy ABS house  
‘Imuy did buy the house.’
- c. *maqen* *Rasa-an-na=ti* ni imuy ya lepaw  
indeed buy-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Imuy ABS house  
‘Imuy did buy the house.’

- PV-marked *maqen* imposes more grammatical restrictions on the lexical verb than its non-PV-marked counterpart does. (cf. frequency adverbial verbs (Chang 2006))
- Two potential explanations
  - ❖ *Maqen-an* and *maqen* are lexically different and thus select different complements.
  - ❖ Cinque’s syntactic account (Cinque 1999; Laenzlinger 2004): PV-marked *maqen* and its non-PV-marked counterpart are merged in two different functional projections in the fine-grained IP cartography.
    - PV-marked *maqen*: below *v/Voice* → different from low EPM in other languages
    - non-PV-marked *maqen*: above *v/Voice* → same as low EPM in other languages
    - problems: any subtle interpretive differences?; proliferation of functional projections

## 7. Conclusion

- *Maqen* is a low EPM.
  - ❖ morphologically a verb
  - ❖ structurally below projections of epistemic markers
  - ❖ not MCP
  - ❖ weak commitment to truth
- Future research
  - ❖ (interpretive) differences between PV-marked and non-PV-marked *maqen*
  - ❖ the structural position of low EPM in different languages

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Kavalan Whiskies differ greatly, having various cask profiles such as Sherry, ex-Bourbon, Fino, and Vinho Barrique. They are highly awarded and quite elusive. In 2015, Kavalan Solist Vinho Barrique was crowned the "World's Best Single Malt Whisky" at the World Whiskies Awards in 2015. Kavalan -- named after the earliest tribe that inhabited Yilan, Taiwan -- produces nine million bottles annually at its facility with mountain views. The upstart brand managed to beat British labels at a blind tasting in January during Burns Night festivities, which celebrates the poet Robert Burns. Kavalan (Kebalan/kbalan) was formerly spoken in the Northeast coast area of Taiwan by the Kavalan people (𐀓𐀆𐀗𐀂). It is an East Formosan language of the Austronesian family. Kavalan is no longer spoken in its original area. As of 1930, it was used only as a home language. As of 1987, it was still spoken in Atayal territories. In 2000, this language was still reported to be spoken by 24 speakers but considered moribund. In 2017, a study using the EDGE metric from species conservation found that Kavalan, although critically endangered, was among the most lexically distinct of Austronesian language...<sup>1</sup> In Kavalan, Proto-Austronesian phonemes have merged as follows:[5]. \*n, \*N, \*j, \*É² as n. \*t, \*T, \*c as t. We focus particularly on the Par pathway and the actin-driven cytoplasmic flows that accompany it.<sup>2</sup> Figure 1 Polarity in *C. elegans*, *Drosophila* and mouse oocytes and embryos. Polarized distribution of PAR proteins and accompanying factors in *C. elegans*. zygote and 8-cell stage embryo (A), *Drosophila* oocyte, neuroblast and epithelium (B), and mouse oocyte and 16-cell stage embryo (C). In (A) and (B). This is because of the presence of additional dipole-dipole interactions due to the polarity of the carbon-chlorine bonds. Chlorine is more electronegative than carbon, and so attracts the electrons in the bond towards itself. That makes the chlorine atoms slightly negative and the carbons slightly positive. These permanent dipoles add to the attractions due to the temporary dipoles which produce the dispersion forces. Note: If you aren't happy about the various sorts of intermolecular forces, it is important to follow this link. If you don't understand about electronegativity and po... Established in 2005, Kavalan is Taiwan's first whiskymaker and the nation's only family-owned whisky See More. CommunitySee All. 267 people like this. 280 people follow this. AboutSee All. +357 22 612121. Contact Kavalan Cyprus on Messenger. www.kavalancyprus.com. Wine/Spirits. Impressum. Page TransparencySee More. Facebook is showing information to help you better understand the purpose of a Page. See actions taken by the people who manage and post content.