LOVE IS POSSESSIVE: AN ALTERNATIVE WAY OF ENCODING ENDEARMENT

Andre Schwab
Advisor: Neil Myler
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ABSTRACT

I present novel data from Hawaiian, English, and Southern Bantu languages of isiXhosa, Setswana, TshiVenda. I identify a class of affection semantics AFF, a subclass of expressives (Fortin 2011; Potts 2007), which are spelled out through possession structure, particularly in alienability distinctions (Myler 2016). The semantics of this endearment are unidirectional, from an argument assumed to be an experiencer, towards a *beloved*, the head noun. These languages exhibit a yet undescribed crosslinguistic link between expressives and possession, adding another approach to expressive construction, which have been traditionally only linked to diminutives (Jurafsky 1996). This link to possession is used to form the framework for an argument-based approach at the nP level in which possessors are introduced immediately upon root adjunction with the *n* head. This is applied to explain the relationship between possession and endearment in Hawaiian, English, and Southern Bantu, and is predicted to explain the relationship between gender and affection in other languages, such as Fula (Fortin 2011), Amharic, Hebrew, and Norwegian (Aikhenvald 2019).

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I. INTRODUCTION

What are we communicating when we swear or use slurs? When we use pet names? When we use expressions like ‘ouch!’ or ‘oops!’ (Kratzer 1999)? The function and use of these types of meaning have long been the subject of discussion among linguists and psychologists, but the general consensus has centered on these terms not carrying descriptive semantics, but rather emotional, expressive semantics (see Elffers 2014 for a summary since the 1600s). *Expressives* functions as a term meant to unify linguistic phenomena that are largely dependent on emotional meaning. Work with aphasia patients, for example, shows that individuals who cannot create linguistic propositions can still curse well and curse often, leading to the conclusion that this process of producing emotion-based meaning must be occurring in a different part of the brain (Jay 2000). Expressive and descriptive (truth-conditional) meanings have often been described as parallel systems (Kratzer 1999; Sawada 2013; Hess 2020), and many morphemes, such as English *littl**e***, demonstrate simultaneous work on both fronts: *littl**e*** communicates smallness, and it can communicate endearment (Schneider 2003). Other examples of simultaneous meaning are slurs like *Kraut*, which simultaneously convey that a referent is German (descriptive) and that the speaker does not like Germans (expressive) (Gutzmann 2013). Despite occasional overlap with descriptive meaning, perhaps the most important aspect of expressives is that they are generally syntactically and semantically optional (Kratzer 1999; Fortin 2011: 68; Ponsonnet 2018[1]), and do not add descriptive meaning but rather flesh out perspectives in the context of the utterance (Flier 1975:2, Beard 1995). These traits apply not only to aforementioned words like ‘ouch’ and ‘oops’ (Kratzer 1999), but also some pragmatic particles in German (Gutzmann & Turgay 2012), Korean honorifics which seem to tolerate unexpected syntactic mismatches (Song, Choe & Oh 2019; Pak 2015), and binding problems with experiencer verbs (Pesetsky 1987).

[1] Ponsonnet’s work on Barunga Kriol (Australia) shows a stark contrast between a reduplication morpheme that is non-optional (telicity marker) and a separate reduplication morpheme that only provides expressive meaning of endearment, and which is completely optional.

Although expressives have often been argued to not yet have been addressed in a satisfying way by current syntactic and semantic theory (Beijer 2002; Elffers 2014; Fortin 2011, among many), Potts 2007 characterizes this class with the following features (2):

-Independence from regular descriptive content, meaning that the expressive content can be changed or removed without altering the descriptive content of the phrase. A good example of this is swearing, where the two utterances *I'm running late!* and *Fuck I'm running late!* are argued to hold the same truth-conditional semantics. This holds true of the /-i/ suffix of English, where non-expressive differences like scalar semantics are difficult to tease out between *I saw a dog* and *I saw a doggie*.

-Nondisplaceability, meaning that outside of direct quotation, expressive meaning is interpreted as simultaneous to the time of utterance. The swearing in a phrase like *Fuck, I ran late!* somehow does not get interpreted as a reflection of a past state of mind, but rather as one of current annoyance at the time of utterance. This is evidenced by some sort of pragmatic clash in the phrase #*I used to love the kitty but now I no longer find her cute nor do I love her*.

-Perspective Dependence, by which Potts argues that expressive content is evaluated from a particular perspective (typically from the speaker's, but not limited to that). The mere act of using the word *mommy* rather than *mother* typically illustrates affection from the speaker's perspective, but it is possible to change that perspective away from the speaker by using possession: *I'm not a fan of her, but I guess you really love your doggie, huh?*

-Descriptive ineffability, or that the expressive meaning is difficult to paraphrase descriptively. Although this characterization largely seems to hold true, the decision to use it as part of a theoretical backbone should be questioned for a couple reasons. First, there exist many types of non-expressive meanings which are equally difficult to paraphrase (define *the*, for example). Second, it should be expected that there are expressive meanings that are less difficult to explain, and that should not count as a theoretical strike against their inclusion in the class. This analysis will not be including this metric.

-Immediacy, where expressives are described as similar to performatives -- they achieve their intended act simply by being uttered. For example, the use of the term *kitty* rather than *cat* is not only communicating that the speaker has affection for the target feline, but is, in itself, an act of affection. This is certainly true for slurs, where regardless of intent or descriptive embedding "*I love ___s!*", use of a slur is usually inherently offensive, a phenomenon that has been described as Derogatory Autonomy (Hess 2020).

-Repeatability, where expressives can be repeated and this yields a strengthening of meaning rather than a redundant one. Potts (and later authors) make note that this definition is also applicable to some kinds of non-expressive meaning, namely size semantics, where repetition in *tiny tiny dog* versus *tiny dog* is not redundant, but in fact reliably strengthens the meaning. Repetition and redundancy are both prevalent crosslinguistically in a variety of domains, much of which is descriptive in nature (Travis 2001, Bazzanella 2011). There are additional problems with this parameter, namely that there are clear cases of overrepetition in honorific use that could be interpreted as disrespectful and sarcastic: suddenly starting to insert the word *sir* at every available syntactic opportunity in conversation with a superior is likely not going to have the intended reading of respect.

This list serves to show that the work for building an expressive framework has at this point been substantially developed since the early 2000s, but is still far from complete. Compelling typological work on emotion in African languages shows encoding at the lexical, phonological, morphological, and phrasal level, much of which has yet to be integrated into evaluative literature (Pawlak 2009). This paper aims to continue the theoretical development of expressives (Fortin 2011), and will focus specifically on endearment -- on affection -- and how certain crosslinguistic facts in English (section III), Hawaiian (section IV), and Southern Bantu languages (section VI)show that syntactic possession plays a role in spelling out this type of expressive meaning.

II. DIMINUTIVES AND ENDEARMENT

At first glance, *kitty* and *kitten* seem interchangeable -- in most utterances, both terms would render the sentence equally well-formed from a syntactic and semantic perspective. Common judgments are that using *kitty* is more child-like, that the feline under discussion is cute, and that the term is markedly informal in some sense. Many common terms can take this /-i/ suffix: *mommy*, *daddy*, *auntie*, *doggie*, *granny*, *grampie*, and *puppy*, for example. The consensus has overwhelmingly assumed that this construction is a diminutive (Schneider 2003; Fortin 2011; Jurafsky 1996; Strang 1968; Pinsker 1974; Marchand 1969; Bruening et al. 2012; among many). Diminutives, as the word's etymology suggests, typically deal with size. There exist several morphemes in English that are purely size-related, like *micro-* and *mini-*. Yet, is a *kitty* really a smaller version of a *kitten*, in the same way that a *minikitten* or *microkitten* is inarguably smaller? What about a *baby* versus a *babe*? Is an *auntie* necessarily an aunt who is short in physical or social stature? The meaning at play here seems at least partly emotion-based.

Size-referent diminutives form one small part of a larger field of degree semantics (Cresswell 1976 among many), and have been demonstrated to be encoded in various ways morphologically, crossing the span between derivation and inflectional morphology (Fortin 2011, Jurafsky 1996). On the other hand, the larger class of syntactically and semantically optional, register-based, emotion-based meanings described as exhibiting conversational cooperativity (Dabašinskienė & Voeikova 2015), endearment, affection, and close community is, as the previous section illustrated, *expressives*. Thus, based on distribution and emotional meaning, that English /-i/ should be reanalyzed as an expressive and, although it need not be taken it as a rule, there is some validity to the observation that Potts 2007 made when he noted that expressive meanings can be difficult to pinpoint.

A place to start is to examine the extent of its distribution: given *kitty*, *puppy*, and *doggie*, it stands to reason that other animals could take the form, like *horsey, froggie* and *mousie*. How about *sharky*? Let's say that a girl has a small stuffed shark that she absolutely adores. She carries it everywhere with her, and on one occasion her mother gently reminds her "Don't forget your *sharky*!". Presumably if *sharky* wasn't unambiguously licit at first, it becomes so in this context, lending evidence to some emotional and affectionate reading for this suffix. One possible explanation is that this term has been lexicalized as a name, much like *David* can be turned to *Davy*, *Andrew* to *Andy*, or *Liz* to *Lizzy*. However, hypocorism is still a productive process (Marchand 1969), and judgments about the names suffixed with /-i/ still systematically

encode informality, affection, and something vaguely child-like (Jurafsky 1996, Shields 2001; Jespersen 1933).

Another explanation is that this suffix, like hypocorism, is a feature of child-directed speech (Garnica 1977; Bellinger 1980; Menyuk 1963; among many), but a syntactic analysis would still be required given that child registers can be surprisingly complex in both syntax and phonology (Newport, Gleitman & Gleitman 1977; Foulkes, Docherty & Watt 2005). A complication is explaining usage of this /-i/ suffix among adults. If an adult friend sees a cute dog at the dog park and says “Look at that doggie!” with only adults in the vicinity, this utterance cannot be child-directed or -produced speech in the strictest sense. A case could be made from a pragmatic standpoint that the speaker is using features of childspeak to show excitement or emotion, and this argument might be able to explain adult usage of *auntie* or other kinship terms as ones inherited from childhood. Even users of hypocoristic names like *Andy* could be the result of a holdover from child-directed speech (Poynton 1990: 180), but then maintained usage in adult life brings the same analytical problems as before, namely that chronic usage among adults problematizes identifying this feature as only child-directed speech, and also does not negate the fact that this suffix must be doing some type of meaningful, systematic work regardless of register.

A possible explanation for the current assumption that this suffix is a diminutive is by analogy with languages where diminutives overtly perform a similar role of communicating affection. The pathway from diminutive to affection is well documented, having been argued to be universal and even biologically grounded given that children are both physically small as well as beloved (Jurafsky 1996; Strang 1968; Cinque 2007)[2]. The literature on usage of diminutives /-ito/ and /-ita/ in Spanish has noted them as a feature of child-directed speech (Melzi & King 2003), of politeness and pragmatic hedging (Mendoza 2005), and having a high degree of cooperativeness with low psychological distance (Dabašinskienė & Voeikova 2015). These additional emotional connotations of an otherwise scalar diminutive have been reported in Lithuanian and Russian (ibid.), as well as Italian (Dressler & Barbaresi 1994), Dutch (Shetter 1959:84), Romanian (Vrabie 2017), French (Marchand 1969), among many other Slavic, Germanic, and Romance languages (Jurafsky 1996). In all these languages, the suffix used for endearment is also a scalar diminutive, with words like Spanish *mamita* “little mother” being literally ambiguous in meaning “small mother” or “dear mother”.

This ambiguity in readings between size and emotion semantics is completely absent for English /-i/, with the reading for size nonexistent.[3] The lack of evidence for size semantics is apparent in Quirk et al.’s 1985 entry for their *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, which makes no mention of size semantics or diminutives, and instead defines the suffix as “a highly informal tone and a mode of referring that indicates close community with (together with familiar, and often affectionate, knowledge of) what is referred to” (1584). Poynton 1990 even makes a claim against calling this marker a diminutive, saying “It might be more accurate to refer to the -y suffix as a familiarity marker rather than using the somewhat

[2] Fortin 2009: 23 shows that the Chilean Spanish suffix *-oco* actually underwent the opposite trajectory, managing to move from a purely affection reading to a scale-based diminutive. He correctly notes that this poses problems for the unidirectionality hypothesis set out by Strang, and later Jurafsky.

[3] Xydopoulos 2009 makes the same remark about the Modern Greek prefix *psilo-*, which has been labeled a diminutive but has no size semantics at all.

misleading term depreciative" (180). The historical record makes no indication of systematic scalar diminutive meaning of smallness at any point for this morpheme, and no obvious etymology exists for this /-i/ suffix, which seems to have sprung out ex nihilo in Scotland in the 15th century; furthermore, the proposals that do exist stray far from a diminutive origin (Schneider 2003: 87, for a summary).

One way this theoretical problem has been addressed in the past by redefining the term *diminutives* to be the set of all morphemes that express smallness as well as all the set of morphemes that express endearment (Schneider 2003). The prototypical example for the intersection of these two is the word *little*, which is convincingly shown to demonstrate elements of both smallness and endearment, whereas *small* communicates a meaning about size only (ibid). Some authors go even further to claim that a pure meaning of endearment is the end stage of semantic bleaching, and is in fact the most ideal type of diminutive (Strang 1968). But if linguists decide to semantically bleach the term *diminutive* to mean both the set of morphemes that communicate smallness and the set of morphemes that communicate affection, as well as their intersection, a system remains with two distinct meaning classes which only occasionally overlap. This is additionally complicated by derogatory diminutives (Fortin 2011 for Fula; Xydopoulos 2009 for Greek), which should logically play the opposite role of endearment constructions. Furthermore, augmentatives have been convincingly shown to be able to hold both endearing and derogatory meanings, even language-internally (Jurafsky 1996; Böhmerová in Slovak). This four-way paradigm is illustrated below, where it becomes clear that size and emotional meanings must be considered as separate yet occasionally co-ocurring semantics (Ponsonnet 2018b).

Figure A: A table of scalar and attitude meanings, their intersection, and their independence

	Affection	Derogation	Unmarked for emotion
Diminutive	*-ito/-ita* (Spanish) *-úlis/-úla* (Greek)	*mikro-*, *xamo-* (Modern Greek)[4]	*micro-* (English), *-ana* (isiXhosa) -squinted eyes (Italian Sign)[5]
Augmentative	*-etón* (Spanish)[6]	*ili-* (IciNdali class 21)[7]	-teeth on lip, closening of hands (Italian Sign)
Unmarked for size	*-y* (English) *-ːn* (Even)[8] *-kuluk* (Inuktitut)[9] *-ē* (Amharic)[10] *-lip protrusion* (Italian Sign)	*-ndini* (isiXhosa) *-base*, *-madha* (Tacana)[11] *-lowered brow* (Italian Sign)	

The preliminary survey above, which demonstrates a complete paradigm of interaction between emotional (affection, derogation) and scalar (diminutive, augmentative) meanings, leads to the conclusion that these meanings must be separate, and that affection must constitute its own meaning class. Broad surveys of emotive meaning, specifically of affection, have noted that although these semantics can be encoded both inflectionally and derivationally, many cases seem to exist outside this morphological dichotomy (Fortin 2011), and can be spelled out in the lexicon (Pawlak 2009; Ortony, Clore & Foss 1987), in patterns of code-switching (Bock 2013) and in pragmatic usages such as greetings (Song Cen 1991), paralinguistic gesture (Firth 1972), and touch (Gregory 2011). With this wide range of types of spellouts for affection, let us narrow the survey to a series of morphological constructions hinging on possessive structure.

[4] Xydopoulos 2009.
[5] Fornasiero 1991, for all examples of Italian Sign Language (LIS) in the table
[6] Fortin 2011
[7] Kishindo 1998.
[8] Pakendorf 2016.
[9] Compton 2015.
[10] Beyene 1989.
[11] Guillaume 2018.

III. ENGLISH /-i/ AND PERSPECTIVE SHIFT

Returning to the English suffix /-i/, its meaning has been established as an expressive denoting affection. One of the traits of expressive meaning, perspective, becomes complicated by possession. Below are examples of this endearing suffix, but the perspective from which the endearment comes can be readily shifted towards the possessor rather than from the speaker. [12]

1. I called my mommy.
2. I called David's mommy.
3. I don't like David's mommy.
4. #I don't like my mommy.[13]
5. I don't get along with David's mommy.
6. His_i kitty hates him_i.

The first example (1) is the most straightforward, where the speaker is expressing endearment towards the speaker's mother. Reciprocation of affection from the mother's end is more likely than not, but it seems that the sentence is still licit in a world where the speaker's mother doesn't actually love the speaker. Switching the possessor to third person *David* changes the perspective of the expressive, and the affection reading in (2) is actually from the possessor *David*, not from the speaker. Pragmatically, this could be used in a variety of ways, such as mocking or sarcasm, but any of these uses crucially are closening the possessor with the possessee, an expressive equation in which the speaker has no role: the speaker in (2) could be fond of her, hate her, or be completely ambivalent towards her. This is evidenced by the ability to clarify the speaker's stance in (3) as one incompatible with endearment, where the speaker can make the assertion that they don't like this individual *mommy* while simultaneously using expressive content to show that someone else, *David*, does. Contrast this with (4), where the utterance is making mutually incompatible claims between the descriptive content (speaker does not like mother) and the expressive content which communicates the opposite. It is more than likely that a context can be created to license (4) using irony or humor, but the humor would arise from this pragmatic clash. A serious expression of the truth-conditional semantics in (4) would likely use a different word, like *mother*, which would not cause this clash in the meaning, as would shifting the perspective of the expressive content away from the speaker, as was shown in (3). In fact, (5) goes a step further and makes three claims: the speaker does not like this *mommy*; the *mommy* does not like the speaker; *David* likes the *mommy*. Again, we could argue that (5) makes the additional claim of reciprocity, where *mommy* likes *David* back, but (6) shows why this shouldn't be assumed, as we see a clear case of unrequited affection from the individual towards his cat with the descriptive claim that *kitty* hates *him*, and expressive claim that *he* likes *kitty*.

[12] It does not seem that all English speakers share these intuitions, as Hagstrom pointed out. A future experiment will spell out whether these intuitions have merit.

[13] This is presuming adult speech; as Myler correctly pointed out to me, the infelicity disappears in a child register where *mommy* is the primary lexical entry for that referent.

The unidirectionality of this affective structure implies two slots: someone who is experiencing the affection (an experiencer), and the object of that affection (perhaps a theme, or maybe a recipient). These argument slots seem to be non-verbal, as the expressive meaning denoted by them can be made to clash with the meaning of the verb and its arguments. The experiencer is often interpreted to be the speaker, but this argument can easily be shifted in possessive structure as was shown above; the theme is the head noun onto which the /-i/ morpheme attaches. This possessive structure seems to be deletable with enough context, shown below. There is definitely a difference in meaning recoverability, where (7) would be the most common, (8) less so, and (9) would probably need the most context.

7. Speaking of which, I spoke with (my) Auntie today.
   [[I went to see my aunt; we are close]]
8. Speaking of which, I spoke with (your) Auntie today.
   [[Addressee heard me on the phone with their aunt, and knows that I know they are emotionally close]]
9. Speaking of which, I spoke with (her) Auntie today.
   [[We are already gossiping about someone and their family, and we both know this person to be very close with their aunt, perhaps they live together.]]

This difference in perspective shiftability seems to reflect a person hierarchy { 1 > 2 > 3 }, a fact which will be further spelled out by data from other languages. This ability to shift perspectives differs from use of ethnic slurs, in which the utterer using the term is typically making a claim about their stance towards the ethnicity by the very act of using the slur (Gutzmann 2013). However, these two paradigms are unified by the inclusion of perspective dependence in the framework for expressive content (Potts 2007), which is argued to often be interpreted from the speaker's perspective, but can be shifted in the right conditions. The right condition for perspective shift in English /-i/ emerges in possessive constructions, but a crosslinguistic analysis within expressive meaning in possession will show that Potts' caution in describing restrictions in perspective shift is warranted.

IV.i HAWAIIAN AND ALIENABILITY

At a different corner of the world, Hawaiian (Oceanic, Austronesian) can utilize possessive structure to show affection, too. Hawaiian has a first-person singular possessor *ku'u*, and historically had a second-person singular possessor *kō* which imply a strong degree of *aloha* -- affection, compassion, closeness to what is being possessed. Pukui & Elbert (1979:116) make a brief note of these, explaining that they may be used with both alienable and inalienable words as a way of expressing affection, typically with names and kinship terms. They note that these possessors have been used with words such as *chief*, *lord*, *companion*, *younger brother*, *daughter*, *sister*, *brother*, *husband*, *friend*, *younger brother*, and *wife*. This work aims to expand on the exact meaning of this construction, which is a reading of extreme affection and pragmatic closeness from the possessor towards the possessee.

The data below (10) shows the typical, unmarked possession structure for *my grandparent*, which is possessed inalienably, marked by *o*. The alternative structure in (11) is judged to involve emotion, love, and affection towards the head noun (*grandparent*), and not only denotes affection but is, itself, an act of affection by the speaker. It is completely syntactically and semantically optional, and reflects *immediacy*, meaning that the affection is always interpreted at the time of utterance. It is also repeatable, as will be demonstrated shortly in poetry, and its meaning is somewhat difficult to paraphrase for speakers of Hawaiian. This all serves to show that the alternation below fulfills every trait of expressive meaning laid out by Potts 2007. When given the task of creating scenarios for licit use of (11), consultants replied that they recalled having heard *ku‘u kupuna* on multiple occasions, and that could be used referentially in a speech, like *I was taught by my beloved grandmother*. Other contexts could be a vocative usage, perhaps when the speaker is about to make a request of their grandparent and highlighting their closeness in order to receive a favorable reply.

10.	**ko‘u**	**kupuna**	11.	**ku‘u**	**kupuna**
	k-o-‘u	kupuna		k-u-‘u	kupuna
	D-Inal-1sg	grandparent		D-AFF-1sg	grandparent
	My grandparent			*My beloved grandparent*	

This structure can be productively applied to many other kinship terms, and is always only licensed by a strong feeling of love. A context which was given for (13) is in a scenario where the speaker is pleading with their obstinate father to get a necessary surgery, for example, and using this expressive structure would be a way of showing how much the speaker loves their father.

12.	**ko‘u**	**makua kāne**	13.	**ku‘u**	**makua kāne**
	k-o-‘u	makua kāne		k-u-‘u	makua kāne
	D-Inal-1sg	father		D-AFF-1sg	father
	My father			*My dear father*	

The gloss of (10) and (12) using *inal* (inalienable), as well as the introductory remarks about alienability deserve further explanation. Hawaiian, and its family of Oceanic languages more generally, have been the subject of long-standing syntactic interest due to their possession paradigms which show robust alternations in alienability (Alexander 1864; Clark 1973; Wilson 1976; Nichols 1988).

In Hawaiian, objects that are pragmatically close to a possessor (kinship, body parts, the home) are possessed with an inalienable *o*, and objects which are not pragmatically close to the possessor are possessed alienably with *a*. These two classes produce minimal pairs, as below:[14]

	Inalienable			Alienable	
14.	**ko‘u**	**lole**	15.	**ka‘u**	**lole**
	k-o-‘u	lole		k-a-‘u	lole
	D-Inalien-1sg	clothes		D-Alien-1sg	clothes
	My clothes (which I am wearing)			*My clothes* (which I am selling)	
16.	**ko‘u**	**pua**	17.	**ka‘u**	**pua**
	k-o-‘u	pua		k-a-‘u	pua
	D-Inalien-1sg	flower		D-Alien-1sg	flower
	My flower (which I am wearing behind my ear)			*My flower* (in the vase)	
18.	**ko‘u**	**wawai**	19.	**ka‘u**	**wawai**
	k-o-‘u	wawai		k-a-‘u	wawai
	D-Inalien-1sg	leg		D-Alien-1sg	leg
	My leg (unmarked)			*My prosthetic leg* (detachable)	

This slight productivity between the classes shows reliable distinction in ‘closeness’ to the possessor. For most lexical items, there is no ambiguity: many kinship terms cannot be possessed alienably under any circumstance, and the reverse holds true for most objects. Membership in the inalienable class follows general semantic trends, but ultimately seems to be lexical. Below, the term for *mother* is only grammatically possessible inalienably, while *fish* is only possessable alienably. Attempting to switch the possession structure for either is completely ungrammatical.

	Inalienable			Alienable	
20.	**ko‘u**	**makuahine**	21.	***ka‘u makuahine**	
	k-o-‘u	makuahine			
	D-Inalien-1sg	mother			
	My mother			intended: my mother	
22.	***ko‘u**	**i‘a**	23.	**ka‘u**	**i‘a**
				k-a-‘u	i‘a
				D-Alien-1sg	fish
	Intended: my fish			*My fish*	

[14] Wilson 1976:46, for 14-17; 18-19 are from my own fieldwork notes

This possessive paradigm extends across all possessors (1st, 2nd, 3rd person; singular, plural; inclusive, exclusive), and the entire lexicon falls into one of these two possession categories using *a* and *o*, with a handful occasionally able to take both types of possession to produce distinct meanings (Pukui & Elbert 1979). Within the inalienable *o* class are words for *grandparent*, *father*, *mother*, *father-in-law*, *older-sibling*, *younger-sibling*, one word for *friend*, *teacher*, *god/God*, *leg*, *hand*, *happiness*, *desire*, *opinion*, *anger*, *life*, and *pillow*. In the alienable *ka* class are words for *husband*, *wife*, *child*, a different word for *friend*, *book*, *telephone*, *dog*, *shark*, *candle*, *chair*, *spoon*, and *language*. Both the number of kinship terms in the alienable class, including *child*, as well as the appearance of interchangeable lexical items for *friend* in both classes makes a purely semantic model of this distribution here quite difficult, and is part of the reason that at least a partial explanation relying on the lexicon is appealing. This is not the case for the possessive structure that communicates affection, which can be used for both types of possessed nouns licitly, although (27) takes a bit of context to properly license pragmatically, namely that this speaker is obsessed about their fish.

24.

ko‘u	**makuahine**
k-o-‘u	makuahine
D-Inalien-1sg	mother
My mother	

25.

ku‘u	**makuahine**
k-u-‘u	makuahine
D-AFF-1sg	mother
My mommy	

26.

ka‘u	**i‘a**
k-a-‘u	i‘a
D-Alien-1sg	fish
My fish	

27.

ku‘u	**i‘a**
k-u-‘u	i‘a
D-AFF-1sg	fish
My beloved pet fishie	

Recalling the data from English (section III) on the lack of reciprocity of affection structures, the data above are unclear on whether this affection is reciprocal -- both a mother and a pet fish could presumably love the speaker back. The examples below serve to clarify why it must be assumed that the encoded affection reading is unidirectional. The context for (29) is that the speaker has a very specific spoon that fits perfectly in their hand -- perhaps it was a gift from a relative; everyone is gathered around to start working with taro, and the speaker thinks someone else took it to use. Here, the speaker is affirming their love for the spoon (which cannot love them back), as well as some pragmatic closeness, as an entity that they cannot go without, as a necessity. Thus, (29) validates the unidirectionality phenomenon for affection described for English.

28.

ka‘u	**puna**
k-a-‘u	puna
D-Alien-1sg	spoon
My spoon	

29.

ku‘u	**puna**
k-u-‘u	puna
D-AFF-1sg	spoon
My beloved spoon!	

This *ku‘u* possession structure is available in Modern Hawaiian with all kinship terms, all proper names, beloved pets, beloved objects like a lei[15] or a really important book (often meaning the Bible). Yet, its use is reported to be very uncommon in day-to-day speech. There seems to be no case where it would be strictly ungrammatical *not* to use *ku’u*, but the amount of emotion that the affective structure requires seems to have a high threshold, and learners of Hawaiian are explicitly taught to “save” the construction for special occasions. The most common usage by far seems to be for kinship, the home, and the only scenario which made this structure licit with body parts was in a fantasy tale where a character is mourning their lost body part (perhaps it was stolen, and they will undertake a journey to find it).

Like the English expressive /-i/ in *Andy*, the expressive possession of Hawaiian has been lexicalized into certain proper first names, like *Ku‘ualoha* (my love), *Ku‘u‘ipo* (my sweetheart), *Ku‘ulei* (my sweetheart), and *Ku‘u‘i‘ini* (my desire). This morpheme additionally shows up frequently in terms of address towards children: *ku‘u pua* (my flower == my child), *ku‘u keiki* (my child), *ku‘u kamalei* (my child). This usage is basically hypocoristic, as was *Andy* in English, and lends additional evidence towards comparing Hawaiian *ku’u* and English /-i/. However, unlike English, Modern Hawaiian is unable to perspective shift in any meaningful sense, as evidenced below. In fact, when faced with (30), one respondent countered by saying “How could I be certain about how they feel?”, noting that it would be presumptuous to assume to know someone else’s state of mind. Nonetheless, there were no contexts and no background knowledge about a non-speaker individual that were found which could license other possessors, so this restriction seems structural.

30.	***kuna**	**makua kāne**
	k-u-na	makua kāne
	D-AFF-3sg	father
	Intended: his beloved father	

Recall, however, that Hawaiian has been noted to have a version of this endearment possessor for the second person, *kō* (Pukui & Elber 1979). The second-person *kō* is absent in the Hawaiian of my consultants, and seems to have fallen completely out of use more generally. Thus, the affective paradigm in modern Hawaiian seems to be restricted to only the first-person singular.

Here, some history is warranted: the Hawaiian language (‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i) is spoken on the Hawaiian archipelago by around 30,000 speakers, the vast majority of whom are L2 speakers who largely learned the language from L2 speakers. The language was outlawed by missionaries for many years, alongside many aspects of Hawaiian culture and tradition; today, one L1 Hawaiian community exists on the small island of Ni‘ihau, while in the rest of the archipelago, almost all speakers of Hawaiian are L1 English-dominant speakers, including Hawaiian language teachers in schools who were the consultants in this research. This recent history has strongly impacted parts of the structure, vocabulary, and use of the language.[16]

[15] A necklace of flowers worn as an item of clothing, and has deep cultural meaning.

[16] Many thanks to my consultants, David Del Rocco and Kealohi Reppun, for sharing this history with me, as well as for the judgments in the section.

However, a vibrant written tradition, particularly in newspapers, allows some insight to the historical usage of the language across the archipelago, although the older, conservative variety of Hawaiian in these newspapers (1834-onwards) is sometimes sufficiently different from Modern Hawaiian to cause unintelligibility for most speakers today. Thus, a shift in the structure and usage of expressives over this kind of transmission break should be unsurprising, and in fact gives us two paradigms: Old Hawaiian and Modern Hawaiian.

Regarding the second person expressive *kō* (your beloved _), one consultant recalled a story told by his Hawaiian professor, who recalled that the professor's own teacher of Hawaiian, who was an L1 speaker, supposedly used this form to talk about students' assignments as he was returning them, *kō paper*, but this would have been many decades ago, and this third-hand report is the only example of this morpheme from fieldwork with the consultants. However, Pukui & Elber, citing the Fornander chants (Fornander 1917-18: 57), give the sentence below with its translation (1979:117).[17]

31. **'E'oe kū ka hauna lā'au a kāua i kō kāne, he kōlea kō kāne, he wāwae li'ili'i, he 'ūlili kō kāne, he holoholo kahakai** (FS 57)
. *Our war strokes are not suitable for your (fine) husband, your (fine) husband is a plover, a small legged [one]; your (fine) husband is a tattler, running along the beach.*

The context for (31) is a father addressing his daughter, discussing the weakness of his daughter's husband, Ka-welo. The father's opinion of his son-in-law is not a positive one, but he still encodes the endearment his daughter feels towards her husband in using this possessor. Pukui & Elber analyze this as irony, but this example crucially validates the analysis of English in section III, because (31) is making both a descriptive claim that the father does not like the son-in-law, as well as an expressive claim that the daughter does. Thus, older varieties of Hawaiian appear to have been able to perspective-shift the source of endearment away from the speaker, to the listener. Thus, we have the beginnings of a hierarchy, which will be further fleshed out by Southern Bantu:

Figure B: Preliminary Person Hierarchy

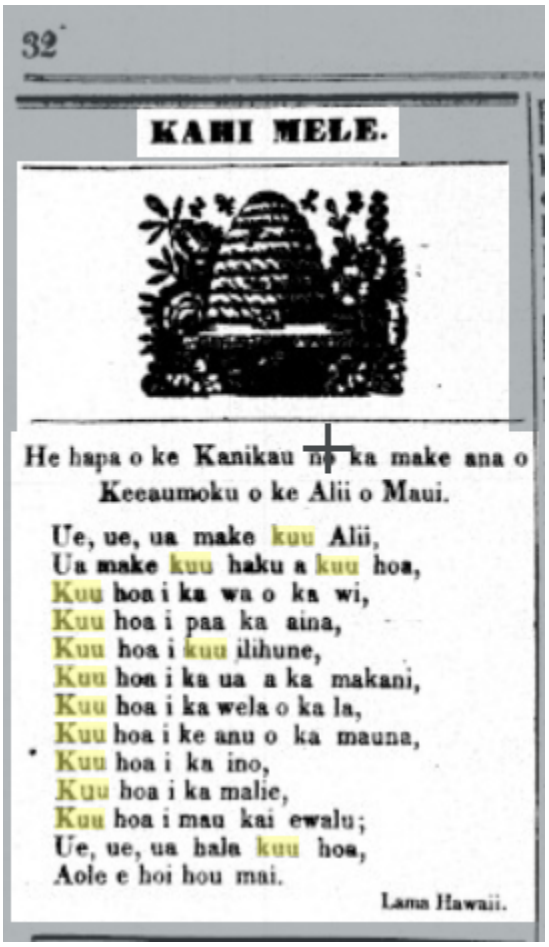
Speaker	Modern Hawaiian *ku'u*
Speaker & Addressee	Old Hawaiian *ku'u, kō*
All Referents (Speaker, Addressee, Third Party)	English

The data in the following segment will be a combination of modern speaker judgments supplemented by evidence gathered from a searchable newspaper archive (Papakilo 2021), in order to demonstrate that the usage of these endearment structures look to be the same in Old Hawaiian. Unfortunately, further examination of *kō* using the database has so far been limited

[17] No gloss was given by either Fornander or Pukui & Elber. I will not attempt to gloss this myself, and instead this is meant to show a merely contextual example of how *kō* seems to have been used in Old Hawaiian.

due to the lack of diacritic marking in the old transcription system, the huge number of *ko* homographs, and perhaps the relative rarity of this type of expressive morphology. Nonetheless, the second-person endearment marker must exist in the pages of this archive, and finding examples constitutes a future project. These problems disappear for *ku'u*, which used to be written *kuu*, and has no other homographs. Thus, poems like below are easily retrievable, and show that expressives can be rampant in poetic and song registers, and are used repeatedly to heighten their effect.

Figure C. Image of a poem entitled *Kahi Mele* 'A song', reprinted in 1834 in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* from a different newspaper, *Lama Hawaii*, the first Hawaiian newspaper, dating from the 1820s.



32

KAHI MELE.

He hapa o ke Kanikau no ka make ana o Keeaumoku o ke Alii o Maui.

Ue, ue, ua make kuu Alii,
Ua make kuu haku a kuu hoa,
Kuu hoa i ka wa o ka wi,
Kuu hoa i paa ka aina,
Kuu hoa i kuu ilihune,
Kuu hoa i ka ua a ka makani,
Kuu hoa i ka wela o ka la,
Kuu hoa i ke anu o ka mauna,
Kuu hoa i ka ino,
Kuu hoa i ka malie,
Kuu hoa i mau kai ewalu;
Ue, ue, ua hala kuu hoa,
Aole e hoi hou mai.

Lama Hawaii.

This transliteration and translation was developed with one of the consultants.[18]

<u>Kahi Mele</u>
A Song

A piece of a grief chant for the death of Keeaumoku, the Chief of Maui.

1 Cry, cry, my chief has died
2 My caretaker and my companion has died
3 My companion in the time of famine
4 ??My companion when the land is firm/hard
5 My companion in my poverty/poor spirit
6 My companion in the rain and the wind
7 My companion in the heat of the sun
8 My companion in the coolness of the mountains
9 My companion in evil/bad times
10 My companion in the calm
11 My companion in the eight seas (==eight major islands of archipelago; poetic register)
12 Cry, cry, my companion has passed away
13 He will never return again

[18] Ke Kumu Hawaii, Volume 1, Number 4, 24 December 1834, pg. 32. The image of a bee-hive (animals non-native to Hawaii) is minimally linked to the poem, and instead seems to be a recycling of woodcuts from a nature education series discussing the biodiversity of the world. Woodcuts are expensive to produce, and it tracks that a newspaper would want to reuse them when possible. The poetic significance that bees have in other traditions should not be overgeneralized to Hawaiian literature.

This heartbreaking funerary poem is dedicated to a *hoa*, which can be variously translated as a cousin, classmate, friend, and companion, and is possessed inalienably, *koʻu hoa*; it is ungrammatical to possess this term alienably, **ka'u hoa*. The marked repeated use of *kuʻu* fulfills one of the major qualifications of expressives by Potts, that of repeatability, where repetition of the expressive serves as an intensifier and is typically not viewed as redundant. A funeral is a time of great emotion and love for the departed, and sadly serves as an opportunity to license endearment. The stanza below originates from a different song, one which discusses the death of a child.[19]

33.	**...Wai huihui o uka**,	the cool waters from the uplands
	Hone ana i kuʻu manawa,	spreading sweetly to my time
	Lalau lima ke alona,	Love stretches out his hand
	Auwe kuʻu keiki!	Alas my child!

Note that the circumstances here basically coincide with the prior poem (Figure C), yet the recipient of this possession is the word for “child”, which as mentioned before, defies expectations in only grammatically possessed alienably, *kaʻu keiki*. This shows beyond a reasonable doubt that, like for Modern Hawaiian, *kuʻu* can truly be applied to both alienable and inalienable classes in Old Hawaiian, as was stated by Pukui & Elbert. Although fine-tuned judgments for Old Hawaiian are no longer possible, it seems clear that the endearment structure was used in much the same way as for Modern Hawaiian, and necessitates a high level of emotion and affection from the speaker towards the head noun. This analysis will assume that the structures in both varieties are the same, with the additional possibility for Old Hawaiian to perspective shift to the addressee.

IV.ii SYNTAX OF HAWAIIAN ENDEARMENT

In the universal functional head hierarchy (Rizzi & Cinque 2016:153), endearment is assigned a place right next to diminutives in the nP projection tree. Yet, Cinque based this assumption on the universality of the conflation of endearment with the diminutive (Cinque 2007). This does not predict or explain the use of possessive structure in English and Hawaiian to express this meaning. This non-trivial connection between endearment and possession will be expanded upon in the Southern Bantu languages (section V), which will further confirm that alienability semantics are relevant in this analysis. The Hawaiian data demonstrates alienability overtly, and a preliminary syntactic structure should be expanded upon here in an effort to begin building a unified analysis for how endearment can be possessive.

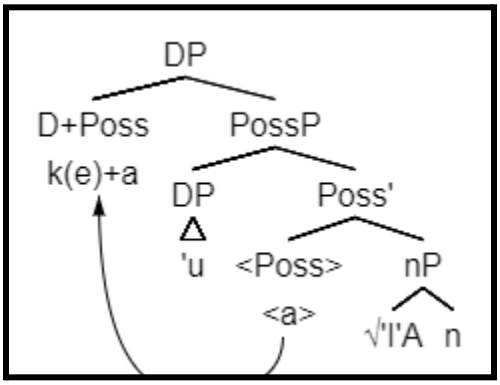
[19] Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Volume XI, Number 24, 15 June 1872, pg. 1. *Kanikau* ‘Chant for the deceased’. Author: Keikiʻole, ‘Childless’. The culture behind naming in Hawaiian is rich and fascinating. Many of the authors of hymns and poems in the archive have a single name, which was likely their entire name, and a Western separation of first and last name doesn’t seem to have always existed. Names additionally could be changed under various circumstances, including grief, so the relationship of a name like *Keikiʻole* to the author of this poem is likely complicated, but *probably* was not assigned at birth. I leave further explanation of this to the experts (Wizinowich 2020).

Comparative analysis with other Oceanic languages lends the possibility to analyze the *o* and *a* as classifiers or genders, meaning Hawaiian would have a total of two noun classes, also called genders (Song 1997; Adamson 2021). Palmer & Brown (2007:208) claim instead that the *o* and *a* are noun heads themselves, and take the root as its modifier. The syntax of *ku‘u* will largely depend on the syntactic analysis of *ko‘u* and *ka‘u*. Pukui & Elbert convincingely describe the *k-* as a definite article, which spells out as *ke* and can be phonologically conditioned to realize as *ka*, when not in possessive structure. They argue that *a* and *o* are both possessives, and prove that these possessives can surface without being prefixed by *k-* in indefinite DPs. Yet, the alienable Poss morpheme, *a*, is argued to be derived from prepositional morpheme meaning ‘at’ (Pukui & Elbert, 1979), while *o* is not linked to a preposition. The transformation from locative preposition to possession morpheme is attested crosslinguistically, and lends credibility to this claim (Freeze 1992). If the authors are correct in assuming this, and if they are both possessives, what distinguishes them syntactically?

The fundamental link forming inalienability as a natural class is that all the concepts are inherently possessed. A hand is fundamentally part of someone’s body, and cannot naturally exist outside of this context. Objects like trees and hammers can switch out possessors in a way that a leg or arm cannot: my hand could be chopped off and in legal possession of another person on the other side of the world, but there is still a core non-severable relationship where that hand is still *mine*. Kinship terms are inherently reciprocal, too, (Read 2007), and this is true for a term like *friend*: one cannot be a friend alone -- there is implicitly another person in this relation. Thus, it intuitively follows that there should be inherent arguments which are introduced instantaneously for these types of inalienable nouns. Thus, to deal with alienable structures, I adopt Myler 2016’s model that an inalienable root semantically introduces a possessor before it adjoins to *n*, which then introduces that argument as its complement, while roots without inherent possessor arguments must be possessed by an intervening Poss head taking the nP as its complement.

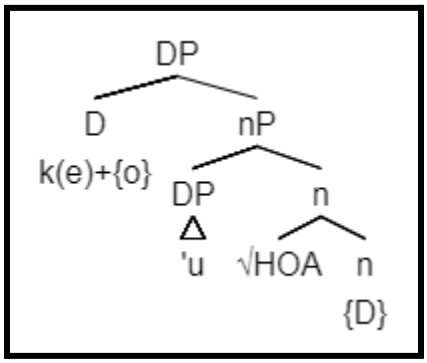
For Hawaiian, when a possessor is not introduced nP-internally (alienable possession), the derivation is fairly straightforward, although for correct spellout we need to assume Poss->D movement in Hawaiian.

34. **Ka‘u** **‘i‘a**
ke-a-‘u ‘i‘a
D-Poss-1sg fish
My fish



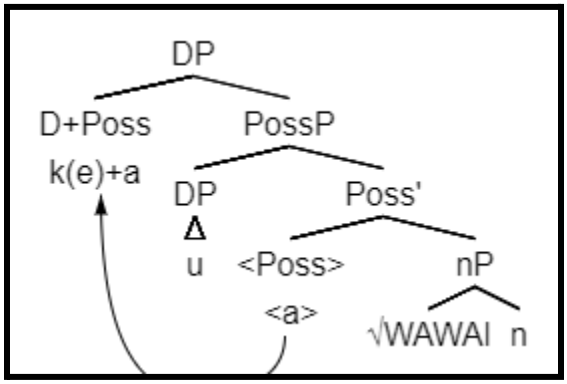
For inalienable structures, something must be occurring to switch the default *ke* to *ko*, without use of a Poss structure. Gender has been argued to be located at the *n* level (Kramer 2016, Lowenstamm 2008, Adamson and Šerekatiė 2019), and Adamson 2021 convincingly demonstrates for a related Oceanic language, Teop, that *n* heads can select gender depending on nP-internal selection of a possessor, which clarifies facts in Hawaiian. When this n-head does select an nP-internal possessor (-*‘u* 1sg), it gains an uninterpretable class/gender feature which must be spelled out on D, as below.

35. **ko‘u** **hoa**
ko-‘u hoa
D.CL-1sg friend
My friend

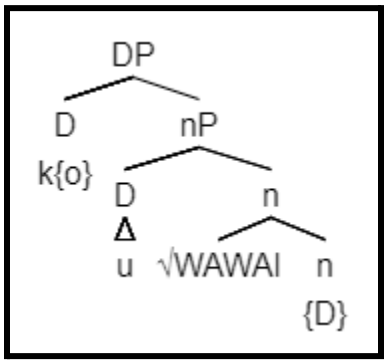


The inclusion of this extra syntactic argument is largely lexically based, meaning that some nominal roots have this extra slot for nP-internal possessors, and others do not. This feature attaches to the *n*, and spells out on the determiner (Adamson 2021). Let us return to the example of *leg*, where an atypical alienable possessive structure implies a prosthetic, while the typical structure implies the body part.

36. **kāu** **wawai**
ke-a-u wawai
D-Poss-2sg leg
Your (prosthetic) leg



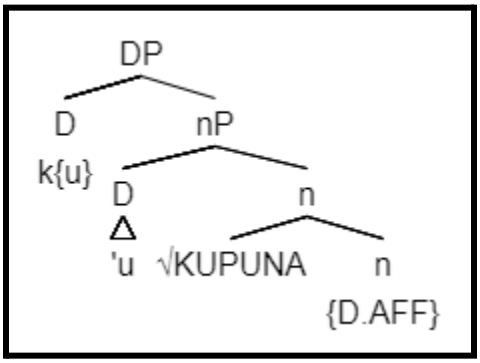
37. **kou** **wawai**
ko-u wawai
D.CL-2sg leg
Your leg



In (36) above, the lengthening of the *ā* is argued by Pukui & Elbert to be an effect of assimilation of the prior vowel in the determiner, without the loss of the moraic weight (the glottal stop in 1sg possession seems to interfere with this), and shows a clear phonological artifact of head combination. This is not so in the inalienable structure (37), and this hints that the appearance of the *o* is not the result of head movement, but instead of feature spell-out, validating the analysis in Myler 2016.

Somehow, an analysis for *ku‘u* needs to be able to handle both cases, which look quite different in structure. Let us recall that one of the main claims for inalienable possession is that the possessor is introduced immediately from the root through *n*. Adamson 2021 suggests applying this parameter to other features which may be inherent to a noun, such as plurality, where plurality must be introduced semantically at the *n* level instead of the higher Num level. What if we could apply this to expressives as well? It stands to reason that the speaker, when introducing a root like *grandparent*, has profound love towards the concept that could be analyzed as an already-existing semantic feature of the noun. The semantic representation of affection is inherently biargumental, just like kinship or body parts, where one is the belover and another is the beloved. An *n* head that is already sensitive to introduction of inherent possessor arguments by the root should be able to handle this.

37. **ku‘u** **kupuna**
k-‘u kupuna
D.CL-1sg grandparent
My beloved grandparent



If Hawaiian could spell out one type of gender marker on D, it follows that it could spell out two of them, where this addition of an expressive feature utilizes the existing architecture to spell out a different syntactic gender, one which additionally encodes affection, just like some types of determiner can encode plurality crosslinguistically. Encodement of expressives on D has been documented in Fula, although with perjoratives instead (Fortin 2011:52). I present that data below, where an added perjorative meaning changes the noun class agreement from 3 to 5:

Fula

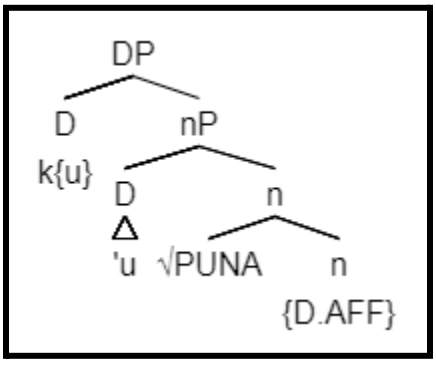
38. **gim- ɗo**
person-1
person

39. **gim- ŋgel**
person-3
little person

40. **gim- ŋgum**
person-5
worthless (little) person

Thus, it seems like *n* can spell out multiple types of features, *including expressives*, on determiners, and that Hawaiian has an overt spellout akin to Fula class 5. Following Adamson 2021, the default (alienable) items are part of Hawaiian class 1, which does not introduce an extra argument, and has no gender feature on *n*, meaning there is no spellout on D, corresponding to the structure of Gender II in Teop. Semantically inalienable terms introduce an extra argument, providing an uninterpretable gender feature on *n*, which then is spelled out on D as *o*. Roots which are specified with an affection feature {AFF} can spell this out on *n* as Class 3, leading to spell-out of *u*. Perspective is important, and the language seems to bar encoding endearment for non-speakers. Additionally, affection at its introduction requires two arguments, one of which is immediately satisfied by the root. If no other argument exists, it seems to be able to introduce one immediately, like inalienability. The same introduced argument can be used to feature check both the expressive and the inalienability semantics. Thus, below shows the possible structure of an introduced early argument for a root that does not introduce the extra argument from inalienability semantics.

41. **ku‘u** **puna**
ku-‘u puna
D.CL3-1sg spoon
My beloved spoon!

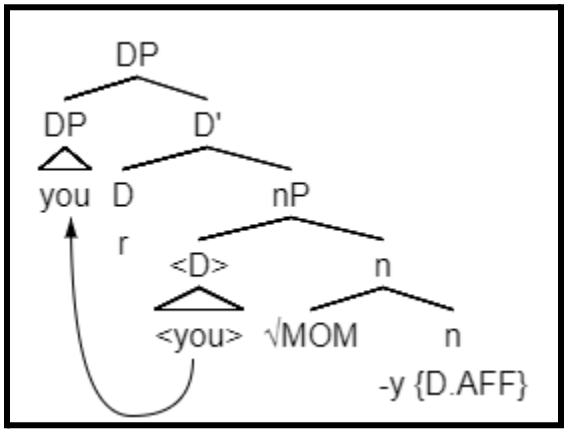


This analysis posits that expressive meaning, namely affective and possibly perjorative readings (Fortin 2011), can be introduced as semantic features brought in by the root before its nominalization with *n*, like is attested for plurality and inalienability. These expressives then immediately add an implicit argument to the structure to satisfy the need for an experiencer, and {AFF} remains as a feature on *n* which spells out gender/noun class on the determiner. This explanation is predicted to account for the gender switching attested in endearment forms of Amharic, Hebrew, and Norwegian (Aikhenvald 2019).

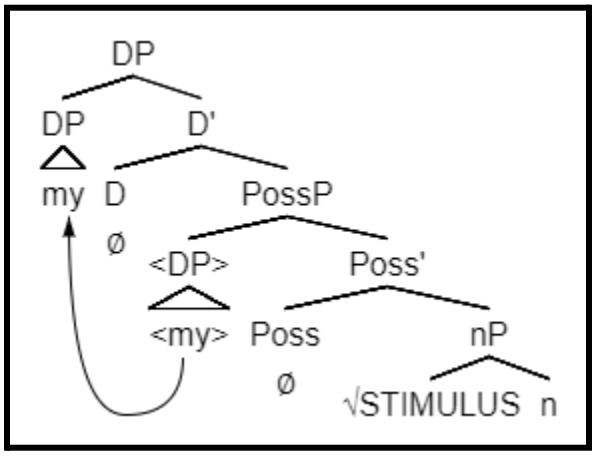
V. ENGLISH, TRUNCATION, ENDEARMENT

The syntactic structure outlined above in section IV.ii for Hawaiian also accounts for the English data, demonstrated below; here, the <-y> could be the overt spellout of *n* with the feature {AFF}. The inherent expressive semantics seem to also license the introduction of early arguments, even in alienable nouns. Below (42) is a representation of *your mommy*, which inherently already introduces an argument based on inalienability semantics (Myler 2016). Then, two derivations are shown for *my stimulus* and the affectionate form, *my stimmy*, which has come into circulation in early 2021, and likely originates on Twitter.

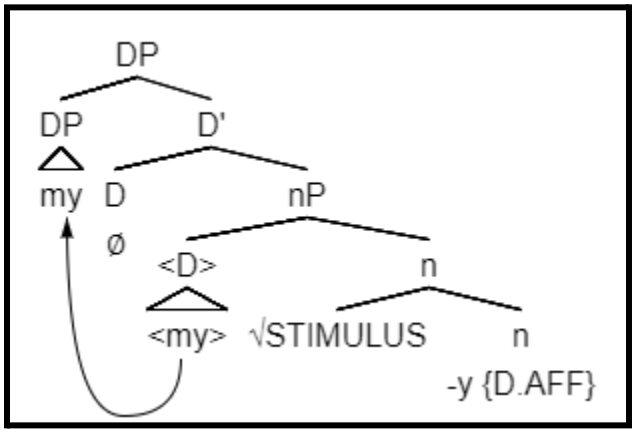
42. **Your mommy**
2sg-D mother-n.AFF



43. **My stimulus**
1sg-D stimulus-n



44. **My stimmy** (affectionate form of referring to stimulus check; recent usage)
1sg-D stimulus-n.AFF



Note in (42) that English has a well-known truncation phenomenon that accompanies /-i/ to reduce /stimulus+i/ to [stɪm+i]. Formalizing this truncation pattern is complicated, including factors such as stress, syllable number, etymology, and syllable shape (Schneider 2003: 86-89). Hawaiian does not seem to have any instance of this type of truncation, but we could posit additional phonological features on the English {AFF} morpheme which could force truncation with language-specific features right before spellout (Scher 2013; McCarthy & Prince 1986; Benua 1995). Particularly interesting is the crosslinguistic nature of this truncation phenomenon, evidenced below:

<u>English</u>

45. **Davey**
David-y
David-AFF
Dear David

<u>Japanese</u>

46. **Mitchan**[20]
Michiko-chan
Michiko-HON
Dear Michiko

<u>isiXhosa</u>

47. **Umhlobam**[21]
um-hlobo-w-a-m
1-friend-1-A-1sg
My dear friend

[20] Nakamatsu 1970: 15
[21] These glosses and this structure will be further explained in section VI.

Compare the truncation process and meanings in Japanese (46) with the previously-discussed English /-i/ (45) and the similarities abound, a fact which has previously been noted (Yamada 2019: 290). The namesake concept behind honorifics might be one of respect and deference to an authority, but honorifics perform a variety of pragmatic tasks, including affection. Japanese *-chan*, for example, explicitly does not have connotations of respect and deference, especially to some sort of social superior (Amri 2018). Although this intimate form is often used in address, it is regularly used about individuals who are neither the speaker nor the hearer, and has been described as having the same functions as nicknames[22] in English; it is often used to refer to children, but would be pragmatically improper towards adults or people of high social status (Nakamatsu 1970: 15). Crucially, in line with Potts' typologization of expressives, subject honorifics like *-chan* are syntactically and semantically optional.

Optionality has been a recurring puzzle in explaining the syntactic structure of subject honorifics across different languages (Miok 2015; Pollard & Sag 1994; Choe 2004), and for this reason honorific markers have been argued to have expressive meaning (Sells & Kim 2007). Honorifics tie well into the expressive framework provided by Potts 2007: they intuitively are optional at a syntactic level; their meaning largely depends on and influences the context of utterance rather than the proposition itself; the meaning typically indicates the stance of the speaker (or someone else) at the time of utterance and cannot be displaced to the past or future outside of quotation; they not only communicate but also *perform* respect or other expressive meaning; and they are often repeatable without being redundant.

Sawada discusses use of these endearment forms in Japanese, namely that use of *-chan* carries two implicatures: that the speaker has a "positive feeling" towards the noun, and that the speaker treating the noun it modifies "like a child" (2013). This type of additional meaning for words like *-chan*, which has some implication of childspeak, is not yet accounted for. Another common type of honorific used for referents in teacher roles, like Japanese *-sensei* and English *Professor*, transmit more meaning than simply their specifications for emotion, but also must include pragmatic distance and some information about the roles of the honorer and honoree. Positioning theory, as set forth by Van Langenhove & Harre (1999), might help with furthering the construction of this framework as a dynamic system meant to give agency to conversation participants in a referential grid system separate from the physical plane -- a conversational space of "stories" which are defined by people and acts. This referential system is maintained and created through performative conversation and narrative construction of storylines in speech acts (apologies, telling jokes, statements of affection, invitations). The authors explicitly refer to social identities and roles like "teacher" and "student" as positions in which "rights to make certain kinds of remarks will be differentially distributed between the conversants" (17). Such a system would allow for encoding interpersonal relationships like kinship, age difference, comparative social status, friendship, and every axis of identity into a formal pragmatic framework on top of the more basic meanings behind honorifics. I leave this as an avenue for future research.

The morphemes *-chan* and /-i/ in the examples above have a highly informal tone, are syntactically optional, indicate personal familiarity with the referent, and not only communicate affection but are displays of affection themselves. On all counts, then, these are all expressives, and likely the same type of expressive. Given that truncation in English is known to be complex

[22] Recall that many nicknames in English are formed with /-i/.

(Schneider 2003), it should be unsurprising to learn that the Japanese honorific *-chan*, too, has multiple phonological factors to take into account when truncating, like morae, feet, and shifts in vowel length (Poser 1990; Mester 1990; Petrulyté 2015). Investigation into this crosslinguistic phenomenon is warranted, and constitutes future research. For now, further proof of this link between truncation and affection was presented above with the isiXhosa data in (47). Southern Bantu languages like isiXhosa have their own truncation phenomenon for expressives, involving deletion of intervocalic glides and glottal stops in endearment structures.

VI.i ISIXHOSA (S40)

IsiXhosa is the southernmost Bantu language on the African continent, and forms the tail end of the Nguni dispersal southwards. There are well over 8 million native speakers of isiXhosa, almost all of which are in South Africa, and are traditionally centered in the Eastern Cape, but large communities of speakers can be found in most South African cities, like Cape Town, Johannesburg, and eThekwini (also known as Durban). It is largely mutually intelligible with isiZulu, which has 12 million speakers, and they display both a large number of inherited syntactic and lexical features as well as extensive borrowing due to the proximity of their homelands. IsiXhosa narrowly outranks Yeyi to be the Bantu language with the highest number of click consonants, inherited from influence from Cape Khoe, and it is estimated that around 10% of basic vocabulary has a click (Sands & Gunnink 2019).[23]

The alternation below is entirely syntactically and semantically optional, in almost the exact same way that *mother* and *mommy* are interchangeable. The truncation in (49) is argued to be a spellout of affectionate expressive semantics.

48.

Ndithethe	**nomama**	**wam**
ndi-theth-e	na-u-mama	u-a-m
1sg-speak-PST	with-1-mother	1-A-1sg

I spoke with my mother.

49.

Ndithethe	**nomamam.**
Ndi-theth-e	na-u-mama-a-m
1sg-speak-PST	with-1-mother-A-1sg

I spoke with my mom.

According to the consultant, the reduced possession form in (49) is much more affectionate, informal, close, and even child-like. This possession paradigm can be extended to other kinship terms, too, such as for *father*, *daughter*, *child*, *son*, *wife*, *husband*, *son-in-law*, *daughter-in-law*, *mother-in-law*, and *friend*. [24]

[23] Many thanks to my consultant, Dr. Zoliswa Mali, who is a native speaker of isiXhosa from the outskirts of eQonce [ɛ!’ɔnsɛ].

[24] Du Plessis & Visser 1992:332 explicitly state that the word for *wife* **umka** is used without possessive concord, but make no attempt at explanation for why this might be the case, or how this works. My consultant clarified that the word cannot stand on its own, but must be inherently possessed by a pronoun or name, as in **UmkaSipho** *Sipho’s wife***, Umkam** *my wife*, but ***umka.**

	Full			Truncated
50.	**Utata**	**wam**	51.	**Utatam**
	u-tata	u-a-m		u-tata-a-m
	1-father	1-A-1sg		1-father-A-1sg
	My father			*My dad*
52.	**Intombi**	**yam**	53.	**Intombam**
	in-tombi	i-a-m		in-tombi-a-m
	9-girl	9-A-1sg		9-girl-A-1sg
	My daughter			*My dear daughter*
54.	**Umntwana**	**wam**	55.	**Umntanam**
	um-ntu-ana	u-a-m		um-ntu-ana-a-m
	1-person-DIM	1-A-1sg		1-person-DIM-A-1sg
	My child			*My dear child*
56.	**Umkwenyana**	**wam**	57.	**Umkwenyanam**
	um-kwenyana	u-a-m		um-kwenyana-a-m
	1-son.in.law	1-A-1sg		1-son.in.law-A-1sg
	My son-in-law			*My dear son-in-law*
58.	**Unyana**	**wam**	59.	**Unyanam**
	u-nyana	u-a-m		u-nyana-a-m
	1-son	1-A-1sg		1-son-A-1sg
	My son			*My dear son*
60.	**Umhlobo**	**wam**	61.	**Umhlobam**
	1-friend	1-A-1sg		1-friend-A-1sg
	My friend			*My best friend*
62.	**Umyeni**	**wam**	63.	**Umyenam**
	1-husband	1-a-1SG		1-husband-A-1sg
	My husband			*My hubbie*

All of these examples again have expressive connotations of endearment, emotional closeness between the speaker and the relation, as well as having informal and almost child-like connotations.

This form is DP-internal and not predicative in any sense. For the sake of argument, the independence of this construction from DP-external forces such as the verb or prepositions is demonstrated below, by placing both the unmarked possession form and the truncated possession form in varying thematic roles.

Unergative

64. **Umama** **wam** **uncumile.**[25]
u-mama u-a-m u-ncum-ile
1-mother 1-A-1sg 1-smile-PST
My mother smiled.

65. **Umamam** **uncumile**.
u-mama-a-m u-ncum-ile
1-mother-A-1sg 1-smile-PST
My mom smiled.

Unaccusative

66. **Umama** **wam** **uwile**.
u-mama u-a-m u-w-ile
1-mother 1-A-1sg 1-fall-PST
My mother fell.

67. **Umamam** **uwile**.
u-mama-a-m u-w-ile
1-mother-A-1sg 1-fall-PST
My mom fell.

Theme

68. **Ndibone** **umama** **wam.**
ndi-bon-e u-mama u-a-m
1sg-see-PST 1-mother 1-A-1sg
I saw my mother.

69. **Ndibone** **umamam**.
ndi-bon-e u-mama-a-m
1sg-see-PST 1-mother-A-1sg
I saw my mom.

[25] This sentence is syntactically ambiguous between a present stative and a past tense, so (64) an (65) could also be interpreted as *My mother is smiling*. For the sake of clarity, we will take the completive past tense reading.

Transitive agent

70.	**Umama**	**wam**	**uthenge**	**imoto.**
	u-mama	u-a-m	u-theng-e	i-moto
	1-mother	1-A-1sg	1-buy-PST	9-car
	My mother bought a car.			

71.	**<u>Umamam</u>**	**uthengie**	**imoto.**
	u-mama-a-m	u-theng-e	i-moto
	1-mother-A-1sg	1-buy-PST	9-car
	My mom bought a car.		

Goal

72.	**Ndinike**	**umama**	**wam**	**imoto**.
	ndi-nik-e	u-mama	u-a-m	i-moto
	1sg-give-PST	1-mother	1-A-1sg	9-car
	I gave the car to my mother.			

73.	**Ndinike**	**<u>umamam</u>**	**imoto.**
	ndi-nik-e	u-mama-a-m	i-moto
	1sg-give-PST	1-mother-A-1sg	9-car
	I gave the car to my mom.		

Beneficiary

74.	**Ndiculele**	**umama**	**wam.**
	ndi-cul-el-e	u-mama	u-a-m
	1sg-sing-APPL-PST	1-mother	1-A-1sg
	I sang for my mother.		

75.	**Ndiculele**	**<u>umamam</u>.**
	ndi-cul-el-e	u-mama-a-m
	1sg-sing-APPL-PST	1-mother-A-1sg
	I sang for my mom.	

Object of Preposition

76.	**Ndihambe**	**nomama**	**wam.**
	ndi-hamb-e	na-u-mama	u-a-m
	1sg-walk-PST	with-1-mother	1-A-1sg
	I walked with my mother.		

77.	**Ndihambe**	**no<u>mamam</u>.**
	ndi-hamb-e	na-u-mama-a-m
	1sg-walk-PST	with-1-mother-A-1sg
	I walked with my mom.	

`

Possessor

78.	**Inja**	**kamama**	**wam**	**ityile.**
	in-ja	∅-ka-mama	u-a-m	i-ty-ile
	9-dog	9-1.A-mother	1-A-1sg	9-eat-PST
	My mother's dog ate.			

79.	**Inja**	**kamamam**	**ityile.**
	in-ja	∅-ka-mama-a-m	i-ty-ile
	9-dog	9-1.A-mother-A-1sg	9-eat-PST
	My mom's dog ate.		

This list, alongside further facts in the language, demonstrates that this alternation is entirely independent of case, theta role, and the verb more broadly, and this holds true for the cognate constructions in related languages. In other words, this process appears to be DP-internal, and cannot be predicative in any sense.

With this DP-internal parameter set, isiXhosa is able to switch the possessor of the kinship term away from the speaker productively, as demonstrated below, similar to what was shown for English. This construction can apply to all the personal pronouns of the language, as well as a different noun class agreement for *dogs*.

80. **Umama** **wam**
u-mama u-a-m
1-mother 1-A-1sg
My mother

81. **Umamam**
u-mama-a-m
1-mother-A-1sg
My mommy

82. **Umama** **wakhe**
u-mama u-a-khe
1-mother 1-A-2sg
Your mother

83. **Umamakhe**
u-mama-a-khe
1-mother-A-1sg
Your mommy

84. **Umama** **wakho**
u-mama u-a-kho
1-mother 1-A-3sg
His/her mother

85. **Umamakho**
u-mama-a-kho
1-mother-A-3sg
His/her mommy

86. **Umama** **wethu**
u-mama u-a-ithu
1-mother 1-A-1pl
Our mother

87. **Umamethu**
u-mama-a-ithu
1-mother-A-1pl
Our mommy

88. **Umama** **wenu**
u-mama u-a-inu
1-mother 1-A-2pl
Y'all's mother

89. **Umamenu**
u-mama-a-inu
1-mother-A-2pl
Y'all's mommy

90. **Umama** **wabo**
u-mama u-a-bo
1-mother 1-A-3pl
Their mother

91. **Umamabo**
u-mama-a-bo
1-mother-A-3pl
Their mommy

92. **Umama** **wazo**
u-mama u-a-zo
1-mother 1-A-10
Their mother (of dogs)

93. **Umamazo**
u-mama-a-zo
1-mother-10
Their mommy (of dogs)

Above, the experiencer of affection towards the possessee switches depending on the possessor. For example, in (91), the mother is unambiguously interpreted to be very close with *them*, and not the speaker. This does not stray far from the translated English counterpart, previously shown in section III. These examples above make clear that it is possible for parties that are not the speaker or the listener to be involved in this structure. Every noun capable of carrying this reduced construction can carry every type of possessor shown above.

The next question, then, is the extent of this paradigm. First, inanimate objects are almost categorically excluded from reduction. There are important exceptions which we will return to. Below are various non-human nouns possessed by the first person singular; the intervocalic glides here would reduce to (95, 97, 99) if this were a purely phonological phenomenon, yet doing so is completely ungrammatical. Worth noting is that my classmate researched sharks and loved them very much, and so by the end of the semester (95) playfully became licit, although this cannot be expected to be a typical grammatical judgment outside of this context.

94.	**Ukrebe**	**wam**	95.	?***Ukrebam**
	u-krebe	u-a-m		
	1-shark	1-A-1sg		
	My shark			*Intended: my dear shark
96.	**Umfula**	**wam**	97.	***Umfulam**
	um-fula	u-a-m		
	3-stream	3-A-1sg		
	My stream			*Intended: my dear stream
98.	**Ukhozi**	**lwam**	99.	****Ukhozam**
	ulu-khozi	lu-a-m		
	11-ear	11-A-1sg		
	My eagle			**Intended: my beloved eagle

Many kinship terms in isiXhosa are excluded from the reduced possession form, seemingly without semantic or phonological reason. Among these are a variety of types of kinship terms like the borrowed terms for *sister* and *brother*, the fully native terms for *cousin*, *uncle*, and *aunt*, and the morphologically complex terms for *grandfather* and *grandmother*, which are rooted in a combination of mother/father with a morpheme for large, like in English.

100.	**Umzala**	**wam**	101.	***Umzalam**
	um-zala	u-a-m		
	1-cousin	1-A-1sg		
	My cousin			*Intended: my dear cousin
102.	**Usisi**	**wam**	103.	***Usisam**[26]
	u-sisi	u-a-m		
	1b-sister	1-A-1sg		
	My sister			*Intended: my dear sister
104.	**Ubhuti**	**wam**	105.	***Ubhutam**
	u-bhuti	u-a-m		
	1b-brother	1-A-1sg		
	My brother			*Intended: my dear brother
106.	**Umalume**	**wam**	107.	***Umalumam**
	u-malume	u-a-m		
	1-uncle	1-A-1sg		
	My uncle			*Intended: my dear uncle
108.	**Utat'omkhulu**	**wam**	109.	***Utat'omkhulam/*Utat'omkhulwam**
	u-tat'omkhulu	u-a-m		
	1b-grandfather	1-A-1sg		
	My grandfather			*Intended: my dear grandfather
110.	**Umakazi**	**wam**	111.	***Umakazam**
	u-makazi	u-a-m		
	1b-aunt	1-A-1sg		
	My aunt			*Intended: my dear aunt
112.	**Uma'khulu**	**wam**	113.	***Umakhulam/*Umakhulwam**
	u-ma'khulu	u-a-m		
	1-grandmother	1-A-1sg		
	My grandmother			Intended: My dear grandmother

In summary, this truncated possessive construction has so far been demonstrated to be entirely DP-internal, somewhat lexically distributed, hinges on some sort of possession structure, and implicates emotional closeness between the possessor and the possessee. Let us dig into what exactly this final point means.

[26] The licit form of (103) and (105) would be **Usiswam** and **Ubhutwam** respectively. Calling this a truncation form is possible, but would maintain the possessive concord. More work is necessary to see if the different deletion patterns are the result of the same underlying (apparently complicated) deletion process, but the licensability of **abantabam** *my dear children* from **abantwana bam** *my children* later in the section hints that this would be the right direction for future analysis.

Context 1: Speaker's mother passed away a few years ago

114.	**Ndikhumbula**	**<u>umamam</u>.**
	ndi-khumbul-a	u-mama-a-m
	1sg-miss-IND	1-mother-A-1sg
	I miss my mom.	

115.	**Ndikhumbula**	**umama**	**wam.**
	ndi-khumbul-a	u-mama	u-a-m
	1sg-miss-IND	1-mother	1-A-1sg
	I miss my mother		

In this context, the speaker is explicitly expressing affection towards her mother, and the possession structure in (114) is an overt marker of this qualification of closeness, functioning similarly to Hawaiian *ku'u* of section IV.i. Although not syntactically incorrect, the context can pragmatically rule out the more neutral sentence (115). Discussion of psychological states of the deceased is a fascinating and delicate topic tightly intertwined with religious and social belief systems (Devereux 1981, Bering 2002, Huang et al. 2013), but what is clear is the existence at minimum of affection from the speaker towards her mother.

Context 2: A mother teasing her grown son after his wedding

116.	**Ngubani**	**oza kukhathalela**	**<u>umamakho</u>**	**ngoku?**
	ngu-bani	u-zaku-khathal-el-a	u-mama-a-kho	ngoku
	COP-wh	3sg-FUT-care-APPL-IND	1-mother-A-2sg	now
	Who will take care of your mommy now?			

117.	(#)**Ngubani**	**oza kukhathalela**	**umama**	**wakho**	**ngoku?**
	ngu-bani	u-zaku-khathal-el-a	u-mama	u-a-kho	ngoku
	COP-wh	3sg-FUT-care-APPL-IND	1-mother	1-A-2sg	now
	Who will take care of your mommy now?				

In a similar way, (116) and (117) are very close in meaning and are syntactically interchangeable. Yet, (117) does not explicitly encode conversational move being made by the mother here, one of affirmation of her closeness with her son. The affective form here implies teasing, which is a well-known form of cementing and reaffirming closeness (Blythe 2012; Haugh & Pillet-Shore 2018). The closeness is emphasized by the reduced possessive structure, and in fact for this speech act, its absence in (117) could be strange and could be a misinterpreted as distance or real concern about the matter. That is to say, using the construction in (116) explicitly rules out readings of pragmatic distance between the mother and her addressee.

Context 3: A woman babies her ugly dog, and we're being mean about it.

118. **Injakhe** **imbi!**
in-ja-a-khe i-m-bi
9-dog-A-3sg COP-9-ugly
Her little doggie is ugly!

119. **Inja** **yakhe** **imbi!**
in-ja i-a-khe i-m-bi
9-dog 9-A-3sg COP-9-ugly
Her dog is ugly!

We can recall that *dog* did not make the list in isiXhosa for terms that are generally eligible for this reduced possession structure, yet (118) becomes licit with this context. This statement crucially relies on making explicit the emotional closeness between *her* and *her dog*, only to turn around to mock this fact. From the speaker's intuition, (118) is almost an analogization of the *owner* and the *dog* into the roles of *parent* and *child*. For cultural context, some Xhosa people say that they generally would not baby their dogs "like in America", and that the use of the affectionate structure above is mean for the additional reason that it's frowned upon to treat dogs like children. In this case, it is not pragmatically wrong to pick one structure over the other, but there are solid pragmatic moves that the shorter affectionate structure in (118) makes overt. It is worth mentioning that like in context 3 above, other pets like **ikati** *cat* and **intaka** *bird* are also licit as **ikatam** *my kitty* and **intakam** *my birdie*, but animals which are not pets are illicit for the structure despite phonological environment, like the categorical ungrammaticality of **umkhaza** *tick* in ***umkhazam**. Despite not being literal kinship terms, a problem potentially also faced by *friend*, this context seems to license pets as part of the class anyway. The next context, however, more clearly breaks away from the kinship-centered paradigm thus-far.

Context 4: A man has just been hit by a car, and his leg broke. (Qubeka 2018)

120. **Umlenze** **wam!**
um-lenze u-a-m
3-leg 3-A-1sg
My leg!

121. **Umlenzam!**
um-lenze-a-m
3-leg-A-1sg
My (dear) leg!

In this fourth context, we see a positively inanimate possessee in this structure, *leg*. This utterance takes place in the 2018 movie *Sew the Winter to My Skin* in a scene where the South African police are firing into a crowd of protesters. One man is run over by the vehicle; his leg snaps grotesquely and he calls out with (121). Upon review with the consultant, this expression requires a context of loss, pain, and grief in a state of heightened emotion. A few other body parts can carry this structure with this context, reproduced below:

122.	**Umnwe**	**wam!**	123.	**Umnwam!**	
	um-nwe	u-a-m		um-nwe-a-m	
	3-finger	3-A-1sg		3-finger-A-1sg	
	My finger!			*My finger!*	
124.	**Amashiye**	**am!**	125.	**Amashiyam!**	
	ama-shiye	ʔ-a-m		ama-shiye-a-m	
	6-eyebrow	6-A-1sg		6-eyebrow-A-1sg	
	My eyebrows!			*My eyebrows!*	
126.	**Umzimba**	**wam!**	127.	**Umzimbam!**	
	um-zimba	u-a-m		um-zimba-a-m	
	3-body	3-A-1sg		3-body-A-1sg	
	My body!			*My body!*	
128.	**Umlomo**	**wam!**	129.	**Umlomam![27]**	
	um-lomo	w-a-m		um-lomo-a-m	
	3-mouth	3-A-1sg		3-mouth-A-1sg	
	My mouth!			*My mouth!*	
130.	**Intloko**	**yam!**	131.	**Intlokwam**	(***Intlokam)**
	iN-ɬoko	i-a-m		in-ɬoko-a-m	
	9-neck	9-A-1sg		9-neck-A-1sg	
	My neck!			*My neck!*	
132.	**Impumlo**	**yam!**	133.	**Impumlwam**	
	iN-pumlo	i-a-m		im-pumlo-a-m	
	9-nose	9-A-1sg		9-nose-A-1sg	
	My nose!			*My nose!*	
134.	**Ingqiniba**	**yam!**	135.	**Ingqinibam**	
	iN-ngqiniba	i-a-m		in-ngqiniba-a-m	
	9-elbow	9-A-1sg		9-elbow-A-1sg	
	My elbow!			*My elbow!*	

These are probably not expressions of affection towards the body parts, yet this usage, some extreme form of *ouch!*, has been described as lying within expressive semantics (Kratzer 1999). For example, (125) is licit to exclaim if one's eyebrows are burning off, or if they were largely removed by the aesthetician. Something like this usage exists in English, one can licitly scream *My leg!* when hit by a vehicle, or shout *My eyebrows!* if they were accidentally threaded off in a salon.

[27] One might be puzzled as to why the output is not [umlomwam] given the underlying final vowel of /umlomo/. This is due to a language-wide dispreference for adjacent labials resulting in deletion of the glide.

If this is the same truncated possession form as for kinship -- and I argue it is -- this must be accounted for in several ways. First, body parts are unambiguously inanimate, and thus any psychological reading must read from its possessor towards the body part, not the other way around, which verifies prior crosslinguistic trends. Second, the reason behind inclusion of these terms and not others seems to be phonologically grounded in part. Any body part whose class concord is not a glide or vowel is completely ineligible for this structure.

136.	**iliso**	**lam!**	137.	****iliswam // **ilisam // ** ilisom**
	ili-so	li-a-m		
	5-eye	5-A-1sg		
	My eye!			Intended: my eye!
138.	**isandla**	**sam!**	139.	****isandlam**
	isi-andla	si-a-m		
	7-hand	7-A-1sg		
	My hand!			Intended: my hand!
140.	**ubuso**	**bam!**	141.	****ubusam // **ubuswam**
	ubu-so	bu-a-m		
	14-face	14-A-1sg		
	My face!			Intended: my face!
142.	**unyawo**	**lwam!**	143.	****unyawam // **unyam**
	ulu-nyawo	lu-a-m		
	11-foot	11-A-1sg		
	My foot!			Intended: my foot!

Unlike kinship which is highly restricted in possible class, body parts fill out the class concord paradigm for isiXhosa, revealing an important phonological requirement: in order to be eligible for the truncated construction, the agreement prefix must be either a glide **y** or **w** or must be a glottal stop **ʔ**. Below is a table which summarizes the data so far by displaying a sample word possessed by the first person singular with the class concord prefix in bold; licit reduced forms are shaded in green, while illicit reduced forms are shaded in red. All unshaded forms are the licit realization of the regular, unmarked possession structure in the language.

Figure D. Table of noun classes where reduced possession is possible (green) and not possible (red) in isiXhosa

Class		Full	Reduced	Full	Reduced
		Singular		Plural	
1-2	child	umntwana **w**am	umntwanam	abantwana **b**am	*abant(w)anam
3-4	finger	umnwe **w**am	umnwam	iminwe **y**am	iminwam
5-6	eye	iliso **l**am	*ilisam	amehlo **ʔ**am	amehlam
7-8	hand	isandla **s**am	*isandlam	izandla **z**am	*izandlam
9-10	ear	indlebe **y**am	indlebam	iindlebe **z**am	*iindlebam
11-10	foot	unyawo **lw**am	*unyawam	iinyawo **z**am	*iinyawam
14	face	ubuso **b**am	*ubusam	--	
15	food	ukutya **kw**am	*ukutyam	--	

We cannot rule out the importance phonological factors completely: any purely semantic analysis should expect ***abantwanam** *my dear children* to be licit in Figure D, reproduced below in (147), as affection towards multiple sons and daughters could be expected to be semantically and pragmatically licensable given the contexts of use. Again, on the other hand, a purely phonological distribution would have included virtually all the class 1 kinship terms like *brother* and *uncle* which were shown not to take the form.

144.	**umntwana**	**wam**	145.	**Umntanam**
	um-ntwana	u-a-m		um-ntwana-a-m
	1-child	1-A-1sg		1-child-A-1sg
	my child			*my dear child*
146.	**abantwana**	**bam**	147.	****abantwanam**
	aba-ntwana	b-a-m		
	2-child	2-A-1sg		
	my children			intended: my dear children
148.	**intombi**	**yam**	149.	**Intombam**
	iN-ntombi	i-a-m		iN-ntombi-a-m
	9-girl	9-A-1sg		9-girl-A-1sg
	my girl			*my dear girl*
150.	**iintombi**	**zam**	151.	***iintombam**
	iziN-ntombi	z-a-m		
	10-girl	10-A-1sg		
	my girls			intended: my dear girls

An explanation for this restriction relying on plurality is ruled out by the grammaticality of (174) below, where *fingers* is as perfectly licit as *finger*, presumably because phonological conditions allow truncation.

152.	**umnwe**	**wam**	153.	**Umnwam**
	um-nwe	u-a-m		um-nwe-a-m
	3-finger	3-A-1sg		3-finger-A-1sg
	my finger			*my finger!!*
154.	**iminwe**	**yam**	155.	**Iminwam**
	imi-nwe	i-a-m		imi-nwe-a-m
	4-finger	4-A-1sg		4-finger-A-1sg
	my fingers			*my fingers!!*

The examples above solidify a phonological requirement for the reduced possession form, namely that this reduction can only occur when noun class prefixes are easily-deletable glides. Instead, possession of plural kinship, including terms like **abazali bam** (my parents) or **oomama**

bethu (our mothers) seem to carry the expressive reading without overt spellout, causing surface ambiguity in the expressive semantics. Fascinatingly, however, despite the ungrammaticality of ***abant(w)anam**, an alternative reduction **abantabam** seems to exist and is currently under study. This might render the formalization of Bantu reduction processes much more complex than the current analysis.

The consequences of the phonological requirements on the class concord prefix leads to the conclusion that downwards agreement with the possession phrase must occur first, *before* the expressive phonologization is spelled out with truncation. As we will see in all four Southern Bantu languages, this phonologization involves deletion of the noun class prefix when it is a glottal stop or a glide, and deletion of the vowel on the root preceding it. This truncation feature seems to be the only overt spellout for expressive meaning in these languages.

VI.ii AFFECTION IN TSHIVENḐA (S21)[28]

TshiVenḓa, alongside a few close language varieties like Xironga, form a divergent branch of Southern Bantu language in the extreme northeast of South Africa in the Limpopo state, as well as across the border in Zimbabwe. There are an estimated 1.3 million native speakers of this language (Gordon & Grimes 2015), and it is classified as its own node S20 in the Southern Bantu language group (Maho 2009), which makes it a cousin to isiXhosa of section V.i. Recalling the truncation pattern delineated for isiXhosa, the alternation below should look familiar:

TshiVenḓa S21[29]

156. **Ṋwana** **wánga**
nw-ana u-a-nga
1-child 1-A-1sg
My child

157. **Ṋwanánga**
nw-ana-a?-nga
1-child-A-1sg
My dear child

In spoken speech, this alternation is easy to miss, and could preliminarily be explained as a purely phonological process which deleted intervocalic **w**. The forms above are somewhat interchangeable -- there is no context which causes one to be exclusively grammatical and not the other. It also seems to be unique to this lexical item -- none of the other words beginning with this class prefix were able to shorten like this, in the judgment of this speaker. Example (157) has very specific connotations, however: it is almost child-like, it is informal, and it

[28] Many thanks to my consultant, Dr. Thindalei Tshiguvho, who speaks the Nzhelele TshiVhase dialect of TshiVenḓa (perhaps close to S21E).
[29] Stress is marked here with **á**

communicates love for the child, almost like a pet-name. This single-word form in can be used in several specific ways:

158. a. in addressing the child, or calling the child to come over, *Come here dearie!*
b. in introducing the child to someone else with affection *This is my beloved child.*
c. to assert authority and ownership of the child *This is MY dear child!*

This last point can and has been used in a scenario where a man is trying to claim his biological child, although he is not involved in the child's upbringing. In choosing this form, the father is explained to be affirming his love and closeness to the child by choosing the shorter possession form (157) over the unmarked possession form (156). It is tempting to call this a focus shift, but if that were simply the case, then the language should be able to focus other possessors, too, but that is not the case, demonstrated by below. The examples below are ineligible for a focus reading, just as they are ineligible in any sense for expressive meaning

159. **N̰wanánga**
nw-ana-a?-nga
1-child-A-1sg
My dear child

160. ***N̰wanashu**
*nw-ana-a-shu
intended: OUR child; our beloved child

161. ***N̰wanávho**
*nw-ana-a-vho
*1-child-A-2sg
intended: YOUR (sg) child;
your beloved child

162. ***N̰wanén̰u**
*nw-ana-a-inu
*1-child-A-2pl
intended: YOUR (pl) child;
your (pl) beloved child

163. ***N̰wanawe**
*nw-ana-a-we
*1-child-A-3sg
intended: HIS/HER child;
his/her beloved child

164. ***N̰wanavho**
*nw-ana-a-vho
1-child-A-3pl
intended: THEIR child;
their beloved child

Thus, the truncated construction in TshiVen̰da seems restricted to the first person singular, like was seen in Modern Hawaiian. This should be fatal for a focus-based account, and instead looks much more like first person subjectivity psych-predicates and evidentiality constructions that require speaker knowledge of a true internal state, especially when the meaning hinges on affection (Lee 2013).[30] Lee gives an example of this phenomenon in English, *dizzy*, where it is pragmatically difficult (but not impossible) to call someone else dizzy without some sort of evidentiality hedging or context, yet is categorically ungrammatical in Korean without the appropriate evidentiality marker. Recall that in Hawaiian, one consultant was puzzled at an

[30] This crosslinguistic subjectivity phenomenon motivates questions about restriction to the first person singular found in inalienable possession structures in the Bantu language of Forest Bila (D31), although expressive semantics remain unclear from its description (Nurse & Philippson 2003: 465).

attempt to apply the endearment marker outside of the first-person singular, stating that it's not possible to know someone else's true thoughts. These facts in both TshiVenḓa and isiXhosa allow us to expand the discussion of person hierarchy from section IV.ii in Table E:

Table E. Second iteration of the person hierarchy for endearment encoded by possession

Speaker	TshiVenḓa	Modern Hawaiian *kuʻu*
Speaker & Addressee		Old Hawaiian *kuʻu, kō*
All Referents (Speaker, Addressee, Third Party)	isiXhosa	English

With the parameter of person restriction set for TshiVenḓa, the question of extent of the paradigm remains. There exist other plausible constructions found in the literature on the TshiVhase dialect are listed below, but the nature of the null 1a agreement here makes it difficult to know the underlying structure (Mulawadzi 1996: 31).

165. **Mme** **(ʔ)anga**
m-me ∅-a-nga
1-mother 1a-A-1sg
My mother

166. **Gugu** **(ʔ)anga**
∅-gugu ∅-a-nga
1b-grandmother 1a-A-1sg
My grandmother

167. **Baba** **ʔanga**
∅-baba ∅-a-nga
1a-father 1a-A-1sg
My father

168. **Maḽumi** **ʔanga**
∅-maḽumi ∅-a-nga
1a-uncle 1a-A-1sg
My uncle

Unlike the word for *child*, which overtly dropped its agreement marker in the reduced form, here it is more difficult to show some overt distinction. Evidence against treating these similarly to **Ṋwanánga** is presented below with the speaker's judgments in (169) and (170), which show that (167) and (168) cannot be elided, and crucially do not have some sort of affectionate reading. Moreover, all possessors are possible in the unmarked possession form shown in (165)-(168), demonstrating another difference from the eligibility requirements for the affectionate form for *child*.

169. ***Babánga**
intended: my dear father

170. ***Maḽumánga**
intended: my dear uncle

Inability to distinguish between a shortened affectionate form and a longer unmarked form means a conservative analysis of these kinship terms cannot operationalize them productively, even though in all likelihood a construction like **Mmeanga** *my mother* might be undergoing the same process as **Ṋwanánga** *my child*. Thus, with a conservative analysis of exactly one noun

with exactly one type of possessor, TshiVenḓa shows the smallest distribution of an overt expressive structure in the languages sampled.

VI.iii SOWETO SETSWANA (S31)

Setswana forms part of a larger dialect continuum with Sotho varieties in the north (Ndebele) and the South (Sotho), and counts well over 8 million speakers (Gordon & Grimes 2015). The language forms one of the core pillars of the hyperdiverse Johannesburg-Soweto linguistic community, where language mixing and creolization forces are long attested (Nkadimeng & Makalela 2015). Setswana, alongside Afrikaans, formed a core substrate of Tsotsitaal, a creole spoken in the area until the 1980s, and again forms a core part of isiCamtho, the modern creole of the Johannesburg area which has undergone subsequent influence from isiZulu, English, and Sotho (Hurst 2015, Ntshangase 2002, Nkadimeng & Makalela 2015).[31] Keeping in mind the prior truncation pattern found in TshiVenḓa and isiXhosa, the alternation in possession of kinship terms below again looks familiar:

Setswana

171.	**Ngwana**	**wame**	172.	**Ngwaname**	
	ngw-ana	u-a-me		ngw-ana-a-me	
	1-child	1-A-1sg		1-child-A-1sg	
	My child			*My kiddy*	
173.	**Mma**	**wame**	174.	**Mmame**	
	mo-ma	u-a-me		mo-ma-a-me	
	1-mother	1-A-1sg		1-mother-A-1sg	
	My mother			*My mommy*	
175.	**Tsala**	**wame**	176.	**Tsalame**	
	∅-tsala	u-a-me		∅-tsala-a-me	
	1a-friend	1-A-1sg		1a-friend-A-1sg	
	My friend			*My best friend*	
177.	**Motswala**	**wame**	178.	**Motswalame**	
	Mo-tswala	u-a-me		mo-tswala-a-me	
	1-cousin	1-A-1sg		1-cousin-A-1sg	
	My cousin			*My dear cousin*	
179.	**Koko**	**wame**	180.	**Kokwame**	
	∅-koko	u-a-me		∅-koko-a-me	
	1a-grandma	1-A-1sg		1a-grandmother-A-1sg	
	My grandmother			*My granny*	
181.	**Monna**	**wame**	182.	**Monname**	
	Mo-nna	u-a-me		mo-nna-a-me	
	1-man	1-A-1sg		1-man-A-1sg	
	My husband			*My hubbie*	

[31] Many thanks to my consultant, Mrs. Tebogo Makhene, who is a native speaker of Setswana who grew up in Soweto.

The full form with two separate words is the unmarked possessive form which is the most standard way of speaking and writing; the truncation again gives connotations similar to a pet-name, and is judged to be child-like, affectionate, and informal. It was at first difficult to tell whether to include **koko** (179)-(180) given the ambiguous **w** that could originate either from the last letter of the lexical item for grandmother or be from the subject agreement on the possessive phrase. The judgment of the consultant clarifies that there is a definite meaning change between the two, and is exactly comparable with the other pairs. This was the extent of the terms found, and no construction not using the first person singular possessor was judged as licit, shown below.

182.	**Monna**	**wago**	183.	***Monnago**
	mo-nna	u-a-go		
	1-man	1-A-2sg		
	Your husband			Intended: Your hubbie

184.	**Monna**	**wage**	185.	***Monnage**
	mo-nna	u-a-ge		
	1-man	1-A-3sg		
	Her husband			Intended: Her hubbie

Note that there are several asymmetries here, specifically that *husband* is licit for this form but not *wife*, that *grandmother* is licit but not *grandfather*, and that *mother* is licit but not *father*, at least according to this speaker. Additionally, it is only this small list of terms that can carry this possession. For sake of clarity, (186) and (187) show an ungrammatical attempt at placing an inanimate object into this construction, despite the favorable phonological environment.

186.	**Nama**	**yame**	187.	**#*Namame**
	N-nama	y-a-me		
	9-meat	9-A-1sg		
	My meat			intended: my dear meat

This Setswana list is largely corroborated by work on Northern Sotho (Mojapelo 2007:123), a very close variety to Setswana, where the identical corresponding words for **Mma** *mother*, **Motswala** *cousin*, and **Koko** *grandmother* from above in Setswana as also being licit in a truncated possession structure, as well as **papa** *father*, **mmatswale** *mother-in-law*, **ratswale** *father-in-law*, **rakgolo** *grandfather*[32], and **motlogolo** *nephew/niece*. Mojapelo goes a step further than my consultant, however, and gives the example below:

[32] My speaker specifically judged this one as ungrammatical, which could come down to either a dialectal or individual difference. This is an area for future work.

188. **Ke** **rata** **[mmago]**
ke rata mma-a-ga-go
1sg love mother-A-Poss-2sg
I love [your mother]

Although the middle glosses here are mine, a footnote explicitly explains that "**[mmago]** is the contracted form of **[mma [wa gago]]**" (150). Note that this means that Mojapelo clearly allows for possessors outside of the first-person singular, specifically the second person. The analysis of these kinship terms is very brief, and Mojapelo does not explain whether there is a meaning difference between the longer and shorter versions, but uses this evidence to strengthen claims of inalienable semantics in the language, alongside evidence from body parts. This leaves the extent of eligible possessors in Northern Sotho an open question, but at minimum includes the speaker and addressee. We can tentatively place Northern Sotho in the hierarchy with Old Hawaiian, although future evidence may reclassify this as belonging with isiXhosa and English, if Northern Sotho speakers are able to say **?mmage** *her mother*.

Figure F: Full table of sampled languages with person hierarchy restrictions in experiencer arguments introduced by the feature {AFF}

Speaker	TshiVenḓa; Setswana Modern Hawaiian *ku'u*
Speaker & Addressee	?Northern Sotho Old Hawaiian *ku'u, kō*
All Referents (Speaker, Addresse, Third Party)	isiXhosa English

The brevity of Mojapelo's treatment of this specific construction in Northern Sotho leaves open questions about whether (188) actually has endearment in its meaning. The section below will demonstrate that Setswana clearly uses this truncation construction for the same set of expressive meaning as isiXhosa and TshiVenḓa, and we would expect a very close variety like Northern Sotho not to stray too far in this respect, although I concede this remains conjecture. Below, the consultant was tasked with coming up with the following scenarios as ones in which using the form **Ngwaname** *My kiddie* as appropriate:

189. Contexts for **Ngwaname**

a. Serious vocative: I need you to learn to pray before I die.
b. Exclamation: My child loves me!
Context: -He surprised me with a visit from far away
-He surprised me with a spa day
-He bought me groceries
c. Serious reference: My child did something which hurt me physically/emotionally.
Context: -asking for advice from a priest
-asking for advice from an elder
-talking to a friend or sister
d. Serious reference: My child is sick and I am scared.
e. Joyous reference: My child graduated!
Context: -maybe it's been a struggle
-I am so proud

This truncated affection form is not licit without a strong emotional component in Setswana, matching previous patterns. Using the truncated form gives the intention behind it "something extra", and is always a statement of love from the speaker's standpoint. Particularly important to this analysis is (189c) above, where it may be the case that the child does not love the parent uttering this sentence. Thus, to licence the shortened construction, only the *possessor* needs to have strong affection for the possessee, but the reverse does not need to hold true (although it usually probably would). Further evidence below solidifies this claim, in which the participant was tasked with coming up with scenarios to use for **Monname** *My hubbie*:

190. Contexts for **Monname**

a. Joy: It's my hubbie's birthday!
b. Serious reference: My husband is being crazy!
Context: -calling the police
-he may be beating her[33] or threatening himself

As before, there are clear uses of endearment for this form, such as a birthday or a surprise gift. Although (190b) does not necessarily entail unreciprocated affection, the consultant clarified that construction would only be licit in a scenario where the wife cares about the husband -- the state of the husband's affection towards her does not seem to impact usage here. The combination of these judgments make it clear that in Setswana, at least for this speaker, what is being communicated is affection from the side of the possessor towards the possessee, and contextually this can be reciprocated back to the possessor, or not. Thus, a small class of kinship terms in Setswana expand the possessive truncation phenomenon found in TshiVenḓa

[33] This is a rattling context, but the consultants, who are all women, have all brought up femicide and gender-based violence in Southern Africa on separate occasions, both in scenario-building and in more general conversation. For further information I encourage reading the 2020 report by Lebogang Ramafoko, Crystal Dicks, Andile Mthombeni, and Pontsho Pilane found in the references.

beyond the concept of *child*, but maintains person hierarchy restrictions in possessor which are less strict in Northern Sotho and isiXhosa.

VI.iv THE SOUTHERN BANTU LANGUAGES

The languages surveyed in section VI.i-iii (isiXhosa, TshiVenḓa, Setswana, Northern Sotho) are all closely related, and form a close genetic language family named Southern Bantu.The Southern Bantu languages are spoken by millions in the southeast of the African continent in a swath from Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique in the north, down to Botswana, South Africa, Lesotho, and ESwatini in the south. The Southern Bantu language branch includes varieties of ChiShona (S10s) of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, the TshiVenḓa cluster (S20) along the Zimbabwe-South African border along the Limpopo River, the Sotho-Tswana language continuum (S30s) from Botswana through South Africa down to Lesotho, the South African Nguni languages of isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sindebele, and Siswati (S40s), and smaller groups in Mozambique like the Tswa-Rhonga group (S50s), Cicopi (S60), and Gitonga (S62). These groups form the southernmost branch of a much larger Bantu language language family, spoken in much of Subsaharan Africa (Guthrie 1948). The Southern Bantu languages are the consequence of a series of relatively recent migrations (1000 BCE - 0 CE) in which groups gradually reached the tip of South Africa. They then gradually diverged from each other, in a similar time frame to Romance languages, and thus have inherited a massive number of shared cognate lexical items and grammatical structures (Nurse & Philippson 2003). It has long been known that Bantu syntax is comparatively highly systematic across the different subfamilies, and mutual intelligibility remains quite high even in languages thousands of kilometers apart.[34]

These similarities are compounded by both historical and recent horizontal language contact effects in the Southern African sprachbund (for a fuller summary, reference Mesthrie 2017). Every language in this region has heavily influenced and been influenced by the others, both Bantu and non-Bantu, for centuries; an extremely high rate of social and individual multilingualism reinforces these ongoing effects, with the strongest effects in urban centers like Johannesburg and Cape Town (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2020).[35] The end result of the close genetic and areal relationship these languages have with each other is a highly similar syntax and vocabulary.

Bantu languages as a whole are characterized by noun class prefixes (Bleek 1862), which have been surveyed crosslinguistically and initially numbered 1-22, although no individual language seems to have all of them (Meinhof 1906). With time, that number has had to expand beyond 22 classes to capture the full variation of these prefixes (Mulaudzi 1996, 2000 among others). Nonetheless, these prefixes are typically regular, and tend to be realized identically at the

[34] Two of my teachers from South Africa have stated that they *almost* understand KiSwahili, and will catch pieces of languages like Kinyarwanda (Rwanda) and Luganda (Uganda).

[35] The effect of these lateral forces make node-internal reconstruction for Southern Bantu quite tricky as, for example, it remains unclear whether lexical items with clicks were borrowed once into Proto-Nguni and passed down, borrowed repeatedly into daughter languages from Khoisan languages, or borrowed once across families and spread laterally Bantu-internally (Sands, p.c.). The reality is likely far more complicated than any single explanation.

surface as prefixes on NPs, as subject and object agreement slots on the verbs, and prefixed on all adjuncts which the head noun controls. Below is an example from the three languages consulted for this paper, which shows DP-internal downwards agreement of the head noun (Guthrie class 1) on possession phrases and numerals. The morpheme up until now glossed as A has been variously described as an associativizer ASS (Guldeman 1999) and a relativizer (Zeller 2004; Creissels & Guerois 2020). Thus, the literal gloss in all three languages for the phrase below is *The child which is mine which is the second*, although in English it would more likely be said *My second child*. Below, we can see the word for *child* is class 1, and prefixed by the class 1 marker; then, this prefixes every modifier phrase to this noun, shown by the **w-** on both the possessive phrase and the numeral phrase.

TshiVenḓa S21

191.

Ṋwana	**wanga**	**wavhuvhili**
nw-ana	u-a-nga	u-a-vhu-vhili
1-child	1-A-1sg	1-A-7-two
My second child		

Setswana S31

192.

Ngwana	**wame**	**walepedi**
ng-wana	u-a-me	u-a-le-pedi
1-child	1-A-1sg	1-A-3-two
My second child		

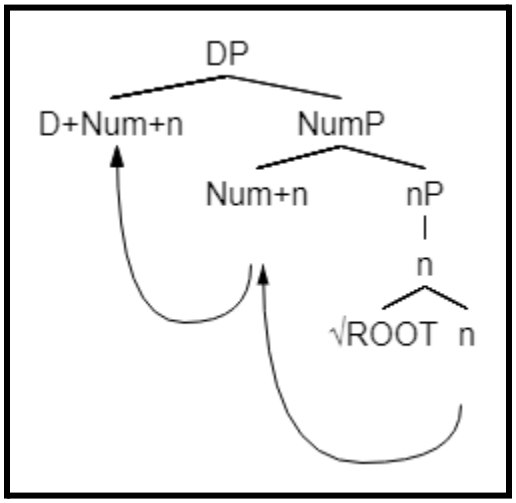
isiXhosa S41

193.

Umntwana	**wam**	**wesibini**
um-ntwana	u-a-m	u-a-isi-bini
1-child	1-A-1sg	1-A-7-two
My second child		

These syntactic similarities in class concord, prefixation, clear cognate morphemes, and the relativizing -A- morpheme demonstrate large crosslinguistic syntactic similarities in the DP of Bantu languages (as well as more similarities in the verbs) which often motivate analyses which treat the underlying structures as largely comparable (Bleek 1851, Meinhof 1906, Guldeman 1999, Zeller 2004, Carstens 1991 & 2008, among many). The analysis below will assume that class concord occurs after N-to-Num movement; the n+Num head then c-commands all the dependent modifiers by downwards prefixal agreement, roughly illustrated below (Carstens 2008). From there, it makes sense to additionally posit Num-to-D movement (Simpson 2005, Pesetsky 2013) given that the determiner in isiXhosa plays a role in stress assignment, and thus must form part of the morphological word by spellout. The numerals in (191)-(193) are probably not going to be located in the head hierarchy, as they are being introduced by relatives; the Num head instead is where specification of plurality will interact with the uninterpretable gender feature on *n* to spell-out the morphological syntactic noun classes of Bantu languages.

Figure G: a tree showing n-to-Num movement (Carstens 2008), and subsequent Num-to-D movement (Simpson 2005, Pesetsky 2013). These are assumed for the analysis.



Of these 22+ noun class markers specified at Num (Carstens 2008), some function as diminutives and augmentatives (Jurafsky 1996 for KiSwahili, Fortin 2011 for Shona, Mulaudzi 2000 for TshiVenḓa); Fortin convincingly shows that that diminutive class 13 in Shona communicates affection in the example below:

Shona S10

194.[36] a. **Vaswearasei** **vana** **venyu?**
va-swera-sei v-ana ve-nyu
2-spent.day-how 2-child 2-2SG.POSS
How has your children's day been?

b. **Twaswera** **tuvana** **tudiki** **twangu?**
twa-swera tu-v-ana tu-diki tu-angu
13-spent.day 13-2-child 13-small 13-1SG.POSS
How was your dear little children's day?

I was unable to find a corresponding example of a diminutive performing an affectionate function in TshiVenḓa, isiXhosa, or Setswana, which lack class 13. The other diminutivization strategy in Southern Bantu languages is a suffix **-ana** which has already been introduced in the word for *child* in all of these languages, and in fact this suffix is convincingly argued to originate from a semantically bleached word for *child* (Jurafsky 1996).

[36] Shona is sufficiently closely related to the three case studies in this paper that I suspect I would have glossed these possessive phrases as I did before:

v-a-inyu	and	**tu-a-ngu**
2-A-2sg		13-A-1sg
Your		*my*

195. Children, across different branches of Southern Bantu

Shona S10 (Fortin 2011)
a. **vana**
v-ana
2-child
Children
TshiVenḓa S20
b. **vhana**
vh-ana
2-child
Children
Setswana S30
c. **bana**
bana
2-child
Children
IsiXhosa S40
d. **abantwana**
aba-ntu-ana
2-person-DIM
Children

This *-ana* suffix does not seem to have any affective meaning for the speakers consulted for this paper -- in isiXhosa a tree *umthi* becomes a shrub *umthana* using this suffix, and communicates purely scalar semantics without any affection reading. This can additionally be demonstrated by its inability to attach to objects which are not literally small, patterning like English *micro-*, and contrasting with the behavior of Spanish diminutive *-ito* (Fortin 2011, among many). This renders any attempt to add this *-ana* diminutive to words for *mother* or *brother* entirely ungrammatical in isiXhosa, Setswana, and TshiVenḓa, and affection is instead shown in the truncated possession form, whose conditioning factors are listed below:

196. Conditioning factors for truncation in possessive forms with endearment
-class concord from the possessee must be an easily-deletable glide or glottal stop
-possessor must be animate
-possessor must have affection towards or care about the possessee
-register must not be formal
-possessee eligibility is in part lexically determined
-there is some middle ground in licensability
-possessor must be an inherent argument of the possessee

This last point merits explanation. Thus far, all Southern Bantu languages have largely applied the reduced possession structure to kinship terms and, in the case of isiXhosa, body parts. These form a semantic and syntactic natural class in alienability which was discussed for

Hawaiian in section IV. Descriptions of paradigms employing alienability semantics have been made many times in the Bantu family. Forest Bila (D31) has been described as having overt inalienable possession distinctions in the first person singular, specifically for kinship, body parts, and a handful of other nouns like *house* (Nurse & Phillippson 2003: 465). Certain analyses state that body parts are possessed inalienably in Swahili and Chichewa (Heine 1997: 169; Hinnebusch & Kirsner 1980), but the validity of these analyses are debated (Simango 2007). Northern Sotho has had recurring analyses of inalienability based on the fact that possessors of body parts can occur in a different position from typical possessors (Voeltz 1976), as can possessors of a restricted set of kinship terms (Mojapelo 2007). Again, recall that Mojapelo explicitly analyzes this truncated possession form under discussion as inalienability in syntax. These analyses, combined, show that Bantu languages broadly are able to utilize distinctions in alienability; whether individual languages do or not is another matter.

Crosslinguistically, the class of inalienability consists not only of body parts and kinship, but also a third category: the home (Heine 1997). As discussed in section II, inalienabile concepts are inherently possessed: a house can exist abandoned, but a home must have a dweller. The data for isiXhosa below captures this fact:

isiXhosa

196. **indlu** **yam**
i-n-dlu i-A-m
D-9-house 9-A-1sg
My house

197. ***indl(w)am**
intended: my dear house

198. **endl(w)ini** **yam**
e-i-n-dlu-ini i-A-1sg
E-9-house-LOC 9-A-1sg
At my house/home

199. **endlinam**
e-i-n-dlu-ini-a-m
P-D-9-house-LOC-A-1sg
At my home

200. ***endlam**
e-i-n-dlu-a-m
E-D-9-house-A-1sg
At my home

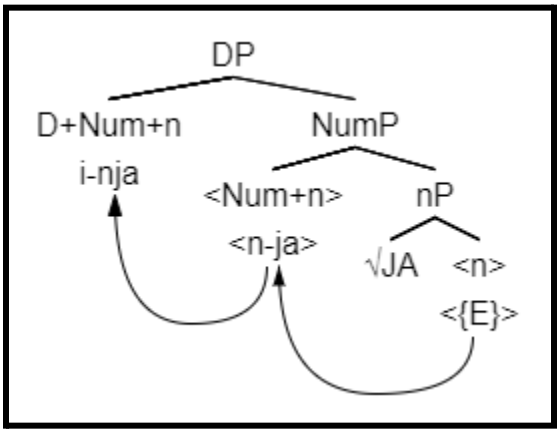
201. ***endlamini**
*e-i-n-dlu-a-m-ini
*E-D-9-house-A-1sg-LOC
Intended: (at) my dear home

The crucial pieces of data here are (199) and (200), which are licit despite the ungrammaticality of non-locative (197). The two examples (199) and (200) were not reliably distinguishable, and were both licit in contexts where the speaker was talking about how important the home was to them, and about going home to visit relatives that they miss. How can there be two competing structures? Explaining this would require integration with an in-depth analysis of the locative **-ini** and the prefix **e-** (Taraldsen 2020), which I leave to future research.

VI.v SOUTHERN BANTU SYNTAX

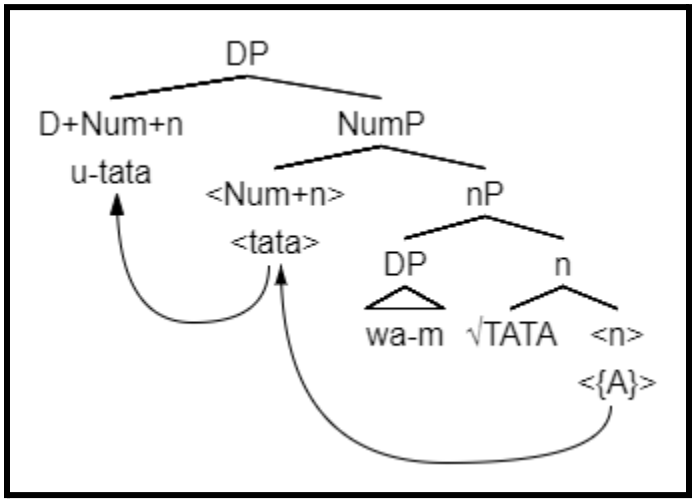
Carstens 2008 argues that Bantu gender (A, B, etc.) is brought in lexically from the root (Adamson 2021, Kramer 2016, Lowenstamm 2008, Adamson and Šerekatiė 2019). The gender feature sits uninterpretably on *n*, and only is spelled out once *n* has moved to Num and receives a specification for number. Recall that the isiXhosa data in section V.i made it clear that this spell-out must be occurring first before the truncation process of the reduced possession form. However, the crucial difference in Carstens' analysis is the movement of the *n* head, unlike what is argued for English or Hawaiian. This is sketched below, where the noun class E is introduced by the root, carried up by *n* to Num where it is spelled out with [n-], before moving up to D.

202. **Inja**
i-N-ja
D-9-dog
The dog

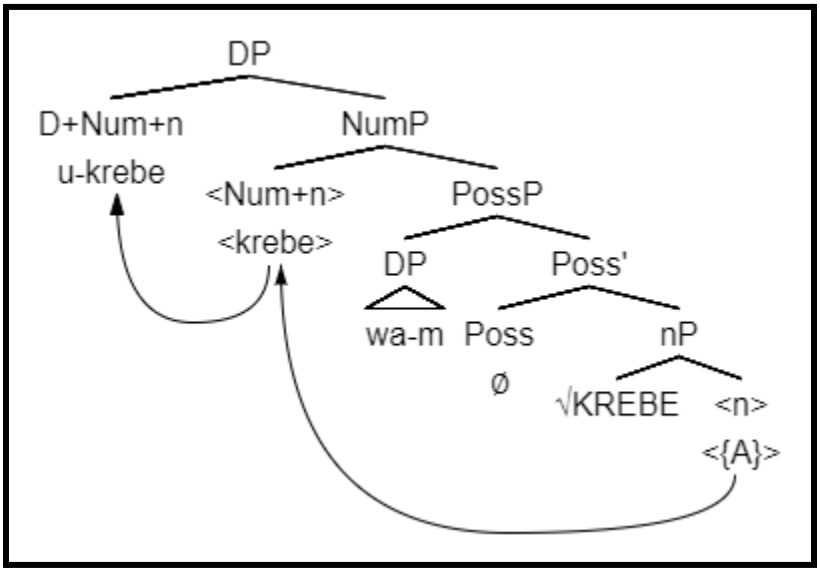


Let us sketch two possessed objects in isiXhosa (and assume that the structure is the same for the other Bantu languages). One of these will be for *father*, which has inalienable semantics, and one will be *shark*, which is alienable; these have the same gender class feature {A}. We will assume that the inalienable root introduces the possessor immediately (Myler 2016).

203. **Utata** **wam**
1-∅-tata 1-a-m
D-1b-father 1-A-1sg
My father

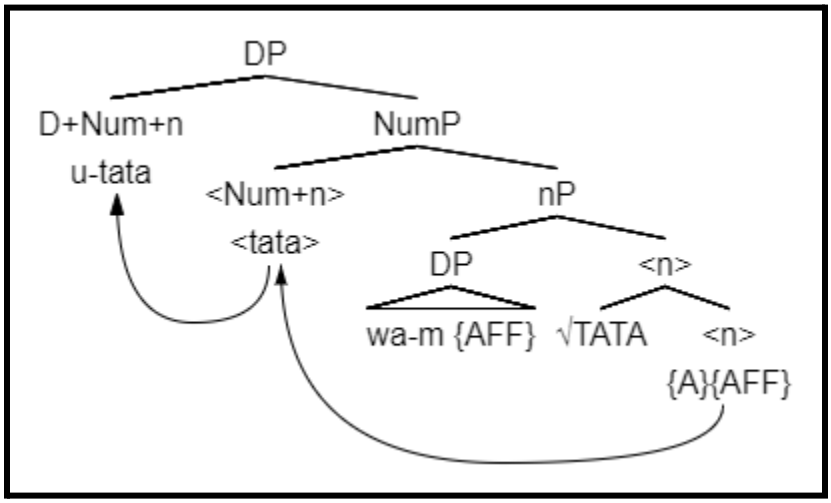


204. **Ukrebe** **wam**
u-∅-krebe u-a-m
D-1b-shark 1-A-1sg
My shark



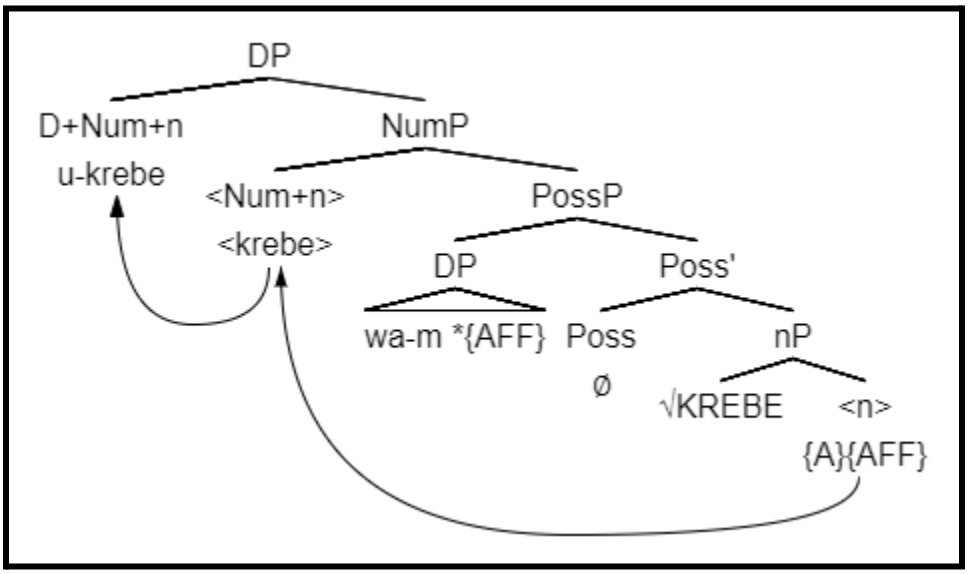
The difference arises with the expressive reading, in which an {AFF} feature is introduced by the root and attached to *n*. The possessor argument (1sg) is introduced by inalienability semantics below the nP level. Then, n moves up to Num and spells out gender {A}, which is null for this word. It was shown that full class concord needs to be spelled out, so it doesn't seem like {AFF} is affecting gender marking in some way. Downward agreement happens, and the **wa-** is prefixed to the nP-internal argument. If we only assume that {AFF} stays on the *n* and moves up to D from where it initiates truncation, then there is no theoretical explanation for why the truncation only ever happens on inalienable nouns, as it should be perfectly reasonable for {AFF} to appear on anything loved. The structural difference in the model, however allows for one crucial feature of the possessor in inalienable constructions: locality to *n*. We could assume that the possessor DP in (205) remains close enough to *n* to additionally take on the affection feature {AFF}. This feature on the possessor can then trigger leftwards truncation, as was shown for Japanese and English. This explanation crucially keeps alienable possessors (206) non-local and thus unable to receive this {AFF} feature from the root through *n*.

205. **Utatam** /utatawam+AFF/
u-∅-tata-a-m
D-1b-father-1-A-1sg
My dad



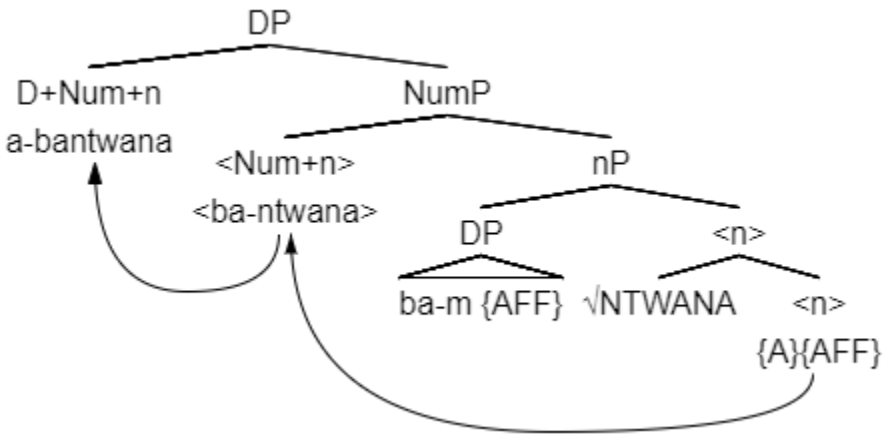
The non-locality of the possessor for *shark* in (206), specifically with the intervening null Poss head, seems to be crucial in barring the spread of this {AFF} feature onto the possessor DP. Thus, although it is completely possible to show affection towards a shark, the surface representation will be ambiguous in affection, and will be spelled out either elsewhere in discourse or be supplied by context. This non-locality condition crucially can explain the lexical distribution of the truncated possession form, as we can posit that, like Hawaiian, some roots simply do not introduce an extra argument at the onset.

206. **Ukrebe** **wam** (affectionate)
u-krebe u-a-m
1-shark 1-A-1sg
My (beloved) shark



The locality restriction for the spread of {AFF} is combined with a set of phonological truncation rules on {AFF} which could just be a simple deletion of [-consonant -vowel] to capture glides and the phonemically marginal glottal stop, which together constitute a phonological class. This rule importantly does not affect segments with [+consonant] and [+vowel], thus resulting in the correct surface form for (207), which still carries affection semantics without truncation spelling them out at the surface.

207. **abantwana** **bam**
a-ba-ntwana b-a-m
D-2-child 2-A-1sg
My beloved children



In summary, the structure of expressives in Bantu denoting affection is shown to crucially rely on inalienable syntax. The possessor must be introduced locally to gain the feature {AFF} from the introduced root, which then allows phonological reduction in a deletion rule which is narrow compared to the truncation rules for English and Japanese. This model allows for the feature {AFF} to be introduced on any noun, but can only be spelled out on a small class of inalienable nouns with the correct phonological features on the concord. Hawaiian showed that the introduction of {AFF} at the root level is most likely narrower though, and probably should not be posited as being introduced with roots like *shark*, although high productivity in English points in the other direction.

VII. CONCLUSION

Affective markers crosslinguistically show a strong emotional attachment from an experiencer of affection towards a recipient of that affection (perhaps a theme). The experiencer argument is often the speaker of the utterance, but need not be so in every language. Previous research has identified diminutives as often producing affectionate readings, which was overgeneralized to mean that all affection markers are diminutives (Schneider 2003, Jurafsky 1996). This paper shows an alternative strategy for marking affection, namely in possessive syntax, and that the {AFF} feature correlates with alienability syntax across a number of languages.

Drawing on Myler 2016 and subsequent work by Adamson 2021, I posit that when expressive meaning, including affection, is salient enough in the root, it is immediately introduced at root attachment to *n*, in a feature such as {AFF}. This feature is shown to spell out gender on the determiner in Hawaiian in line with previous analyses of Oceanic syntax, to be realized as an overt suffix in English, and to spread onto possessors in Southern Bantu languages which trigger truncation. This unification of the syntax underlying this crosslinguistic meaning shows an alternative strategy for endearment that does not rely on a diminutive head, and crucially is predicted to account for gender and class effects of expressive meaning crosslinguistically (Aikhenvald 2019; Fortin 2011). This does not mean that an endearment head cannot exist in the hierarchy, and can still be spelled out by DIM, in much the same way that plurality and possession can be introduced at more than one point in the derivation, either as semantic components of the root, or later on in the hierarchy.

The theoretical contributions of this paper are several: this paper introduces new arguments against considering the /-i/ in English as a diminutive, and instead argues to view it as an expressive. The alienability system in Hawaiian is reviewed and compared to other Oceanic languages and formalized in a modern syntactic framework. The model of inalienability presented in Myler 2016 is expanded upon to account for Southern Bantu data that demonstrates overt alienability effects but only in expressives. This survey yields a person hierarchy, where speakers seem most likely to be able to possess the target of affection, addressees are second likeliest, and third parties are the least common { 1 > 2 > 3 }. In its current state, the hierarchy predicts specifically that systems which can only place 3rd person experiencers into an expressive possession structure do not exist, if we draw on other person hierarchy paradigms (Dik 1997:36).

Table F (reproduced from section VI.iii)

Speaker	TshiVenḓa; Setswana Modern Hawaiian *kuʻu*
Speaker & Addressee	Northern Sotho Old Hawaiian *kuʻu, kō*
All Referents (Speaker, Addresse, Third Party)	isiXhosa English

Questions which remain to be answered are partly in the facts -- determining the origin and spread of the Southern Bantu reduced possession form will require a much larger sample of speakers from a larger variety of languages. The extent of the truncated possession form beyond Southern Bantu is unknown. Kraska-Szlenk reports a clearly similar *mwanangu* ‘my child’ for Kiswahili, but the description leaves unclear whether this has expressive meaning compared to its untruncated counterpart (2009:114). The same question applies to Hawaiian, specifically Old Hawaiian, which is the only current concrete case of possession restriction to speaker and hearer; detailed studies of often-overlooked expressive meaning in related Austronesian languages might expand the currently-attested hierarchy possibilities. At the very

least, the Old and New Hawaiian constitute a strong example of language change in expressives.

The final intriguing question for future research constitutes Aikhenvald's research on the use of gender in Amharic to express affection, which is predicted to be explainable by this paper's analysis of Hawaiian. On one hand, Amharic is additionally reported as having a first person possessor suffix *-ē* which seems to have the same semantics as {AFF} (Beyene 1989). On the other, the use of the feminine gender for affection is broader than Amharic, and is argued to be an areal feature of Ethiopia (Wołk 2009:135). This intersection of possession-based endearment with a seemingly separate gender spell-out makes Amharic the most promising direction for continued research on the topic of endearment in morphology.

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