

The Syntax and Semantics of Universal Quantification in Karitiana
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Our goal in this presentation is to give syntactic and semantic evidence that in Karitiana (Tupian) noun phrases with universal readings are in fact adverbial clauses. The new evidence to be presented here in favour of this hypothesis is that it is possible to front the universal clause in the same way that it is possible to front other types of adjunct adverbial clauses.

Muller, Storto & Coutinho-Silva (2006) have argued that Karitiana is a language without articles, demonstratives, quantifiers (D-quantifiers) or classifiers, in which there is no plurality whatsoever in the noun phrase. In this paper, we will refer to a language with such typological profile as a bare noun language. Furthermore, the authors suggested that both demonstrative and universally quantified noun phrases in Karitiana are clauses headed by a copular verb. Two masters dissertations defended at Universidade de São Paulo gave further evidence for the hypothesis that Karitiana lacks D-quantification: Sanchez-Mendes (2009) argued that all quantifiers in the language are adverbs (A-quantification), and Coutinho-Silva (2009) gave an analysis of noun phrases translated with universal quantification as maximalizing relative clauses.

Storto has recently given arguments against Coutinho-Silva's analysis, suggesting a syntactic account of these phrases as adverbial clauses (Storto 2011) introduced by a subordinating head *tyym* that is also present in regular temporal adverbial clauses:

1. Taso akatyym nasokõĩt eremby
 [Taso aka-tyym] ø-na-sokõĩ-t eremby
 man cop sub 3-decl-tie.up-nfut hammock
 'Every man tied up the hammock'

The author offers two types of evidence in support of her analysis: (1) relative clauses are never introduced by subordinating heads in Karitiana (Storto 2012), whereas universally quantified clauses must invariably occur with the subordinator *tyym*, also used in temporal adverbial subordinate clauses and translated roughly as 'when the event is complete', (2) the universally quantified clause may be fronted as an adjunct embedded clause whose subject is anaphoric with the subject or object of the main clause in sentences such as (2) and (3) respectively:

2. [Ta-aka-tyym] ø-na-sokõĩ-t eremby taso
 3subj.anaph-cop-sub 3-decl-tie.up.nfut hammock man
 'Every man tied up the hammock'

(Literally: Man_i tied up the hammock [when it_i was complete])

3. [I-aka-tyym] ø-na-sokõĩ-t eremby taso
 3-cop-sub 3-decl-tie.up.nfut hammock man

'The man tied up every hammock'
 (Literally: Man tied up the hammock_j [when it_j was complete])

In this paper we explore this second type of evidence, showing the syntactic and semantic parallels between regular temporal adverbial clauses and universal clauses in Karitiana. More precisely, we discuss the semantic analysis of universal clauses given by Storto & Thomas (2012) in face of examples of temporal adverbial clauses such as (4) and (5):

4. [Ta-tat takit] taso ø-na-oky-t sojxa
 3subj.anaph-go before man 3-decl-kill-nfut pig
 ‘The man_i killed the pig_j before he_i / *_j left (he = man, not pig)

5. [I-tat takit] taso ø-na-oky-t sojxa
 3-go before man 3-decl-kill-nfut pig
 ‘The man_i killed the pig_j before he_j / *_i left (he = pig, not man)

The conclusion we reach is that A-quantification is expressed in Karitiana either through the use of adverbs or adverbial clauses.

References

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