When arguments become adjuncts:
Split configurationality in Leggbó

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0 Introduction

Leggbó is an Upper Cross language of the Niger-Congo family spoken by about 60,000 people in southeastern Nigeria. In affirmative sentences, it shows SVO word order, but in negative sentences, it shows SOV order. Comparable word-order shifts have been documented in other West African languages (Koopman 1984, Baker and Kandybowicz 2002). However, the properties of this word-order shift in Leggbó, though superficially similar to these other reported cases, show that it is of a previously unattested type. The primary goal of this paper is to present evidence for an analysis of the syntax of negative sentences in the language wherein the arguments of negative verbs are preposed and adjoined to the left edge of their sentence. The primary support for this analysis will come from the fact that Leggbó affirmatives show syntactic behavior roughly akin to SVO sentences of the sort found in English, while negatives show such different syntactic behavior that not only is there no clear evidence for particular argument positions in them, but they also do not seem to contain a VP constituent at all.

An implication of this characterization of Leggbó syntax is that the language is exhibiting a typologically rare phenomenon which can usefully be labeled *split configurationality*. Affirmative sentences, on the one hand, appear to have configurational structure, insofar as the arguments of affirmative verbs will be seen to have specific, syntactically-defined positions. Negative sentences, on the other hand, appear to have non-configurational structure insofar as arguments of negative verbs will be shown to be placed in adjunct positions and, therefore, are not associated with any particular positions in the syntactic structure. The only other clear case I am aware of such an extreme split in configurationality is found in the Cariban languages of South America as described by Gildea (2000).

In section 1 of this paper, I give a brief overview of the phenomena to be discussed in later sections. In section 2, I discuss previously reported cases of comparable word-order alternations in other West African languages and show why the alternation found in Leggbó is of a different type. In section 3, I give an analysis of the Leggbó data in which I argue that the arguments of negative verbs are preposed and adjoined to the left edge of the sentence. In section 4, I discuss the affinity between negative sentences and gerund phrases in Leggbó and suggest that negative verbs in the language may be in the same morphosyntactic class as gerunds. Finally, in section 5, I will briefly discuss the notion of Leggbó as a split-configurational language and comment on the implications that the existence of such a language has for general models of non-configurationality.

1 An overview of Leggbó negation

The basic word order in affirmative sentences in Leggbó is SVO as indicated by the data in (1). The sentence in (1a) gives an example of a grammatical SVO affirmative, and the sentence in (1b) gives an example of a sentence which is ungrammatical in the affirmative due to its SOV order.[1]

(1)   a. *Wàdum sɛ́   e-dzi   lídzil.*
           man   the   3s-eat food
           "The man ate food."
        b. **Wàdum   sɛ́   lídzil   e-dzi*.
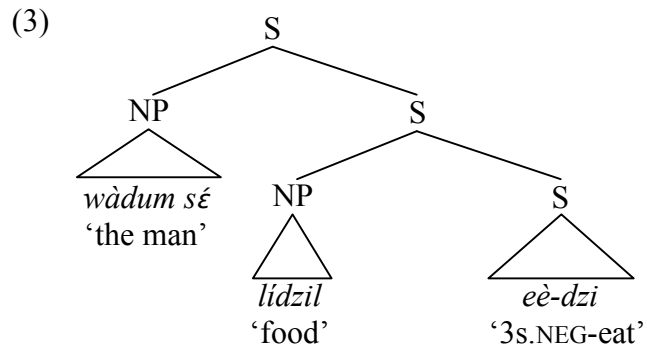   man   the   food   3s-eat

In negative sentences, however, surface word order is SOV as seen in (2). In addition, the verb takes on a special negative tone pattern. In the examples given in this paper, the most conspicuous feature of this tone pattern is a mid-to-low contour on the verbal subject-agreement prefix.

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[1] The glossing abbreviations which will be used in the examples given in this paper are as follows: 1,2,3 for first, second, and third persons; s,p for singular and plural; NEG for a negated verb; PERF for perfect; AUX for auxiliary; COMP for complementizer; GER for gerund; and HAB for habitual. Leggbó has a three-tone system. An acute accent marks high tone, a grave low tone, and unmarked tone-bearing units have mid tone.

(2) *Wàdum sɛ́ l̲í̲d̲z̲i̲l̲ **eè-dzi**.*
     man   the food   3s.NEG-eat
     "The man didn't eat food."

In subsequent sections, I will argue that negative sentences have a syntactic structure where verbal arguments are preposed and adjoined to the left edge of their sentence. Under such an analysis, the example in (2) would have a structure along the lines of the tree given in (3).

(3)

```
                    S
                   / \
                 /     \
               NP        S
              /\        / \
             /  \      /    \
        wàdum sɛ́   NP      S
        'the man'  /\      /\
                  /  \    /  \
               lídzil    eè-dzi
               'food'   '3s.NEG-eat'
```

Before I present data justifying the structure in (3), I will first discuss previous analyses of syntactically conditioned VO~OV alternations. In doing so, I will show that the Leggbó word order shift behaves differently from previously reported cases of such word order shifts.

2 Previous analyses of VO~OV word order shifts
2.1 Verb movement (Koopman 1984)

Koopman's (1984) study of the West African languages Vata and Gbadi appears to be the first formal treatment of VO~OV word order shifts comparable to those which are of interest to us here. The particular phenomena she studied are somewhat different from those found in Leggbó, at least on the surface, since they did not specifically involve SVO order alternating with SOV order. Rather, SVO order alternated with SAuxOV order. Sentences exhibiting

each of these orders are given in (4).[2] In (4a) the inflected verb is the main verb, and the basic word order of the sentence is SVO. In (4b) the inflected verb is an auxiliary, and the basic word order is SAuxOV.

(4) a. *ņ* ***lì*** <u>*sạká*</u>
        I   eat.PERF   rice
        "I ate rice."
     b. *wạ*   *l=a*   <u>***mÓ***</u> ***dlá***
        they   PERF.AUX   him   kill
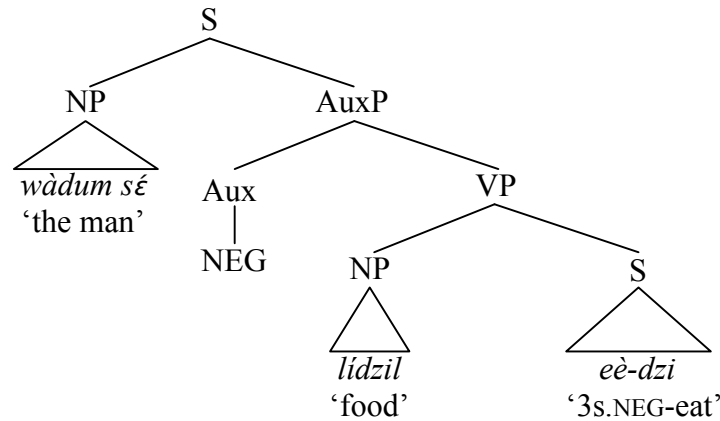   "They have killed him."   (Koopman 1984:28)

Koopman (1984) suggests a verb-movement analysis for data like that in (4). In sentences without auxiliary verbs, like the one in (4a), the verb is taken to move to a position preceding its object (specifically to "INFL"), while in (4b) the presence of an auxiliary blocks movement of the main verb.

It would be conceivable to extend such an analysis to Leggbó if we posited that negative sentences have a structure along the lines of the one given in (5), where "NEG" represents a null negative auxiliary. The presence of such an auxiliary could be taken to block movement of the main verb to a position before the object in negatives, while the lack of such an auxiliary in affirmatives would allow the movement. Under this type of verb-movement analysis, the basic word order for Leggbó would be SOV, and the SVO word order in affirmatives would represent a "derived" order.

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[2] For typographic reasons, I have replaced overstrike diacritics found in Koopman (1984) with understrikes in the examples in (4).

(5)

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                        S
                 ┌──────┴──────┐
                NP            AuxP
               /  \          /    \
           △           Aux          VP
      wàdum sɛ́         |          /    \
      'the man'       NEG       NP      S
                               △       △
                             lídzil    eè-dzi
                             'food'   '3s.NEG-eat'
```

A fact which makes the sort of analysis for Leggbó negatives schematized in (5) more plausible is that, in subordinate clauses, there is an overt negative auxiliary verb, as illustrated in (6), an example of a negated relative clause. Thus, if we adopted such an analysis, we would not have to posit that the negative auxiliary is always null—it would only be null in main clauses.

(6)   *lídzil   akɛ*   **m-bi**   *mm̀-dzi*
        food   which **1s-not** 1s.NEG-eat
        "the food which I didn't eat"

Data like that in (6) certainly makes an analysis along the lines of the one Koopman (1984) gave for Vata and Gbadi seem promising for Leggbó. However, when more complex structures are examined, it becomes untenable. The sentence in (7a) is an example of an affirmative sentence headed by the verb *vɔŋ* 'want', which takes a sentential complement. The sentence in (7b) shows that, when such a sentence is negated, an object of a verb within the complement clause can appear before the negative verb in the main clause.[3]

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[3] The negative sentence in (7b) does not represent the only possible negative variant of (7a). Two other variants have been elicited. In one of these, the whole complement clause precedes the negative verb, and, in the other, nothing precedes the negated verb.

(7)   a. *ɛ-vɔ́ŋi* [*tàa ɛ́-kaà lɛval ɛ̀-sɛŋ nkɛ ɛppya*].
       3s-want COMP 3s-carry race 3s-go at   market
      "He wants to run a race to the market."
   b. ***Lɛval*$_i$** *ɛɛ̀-vɔ́ŋi*   [*tàa ɛ́-kaà*   ***Ø*$_i$** *ɛ̀-sɛŋ*
      race   3s.NEG-want COMP 3s-carry   3s-go
      nkɛ ɛppya].
      at   market
      "He doesn't want to run a race to the market."

There is no way to derive the order in (7b) from simple verb movement. In fact, a sentence like (7b) makes it fairly clear that it is the object, and not the verb, which is "displaced" in negative sentences in Leggbó, and, therefore, Koopman's analysis of Vata and Gbadi cannot be extended to the data of interest to us here. In the next section, I will discuss Baker and Kandybowicz's (2002) analysis of Nupe, which makes use of object movement, instead of verb movement, and, as a result, could potentially be applied to Leggbó.
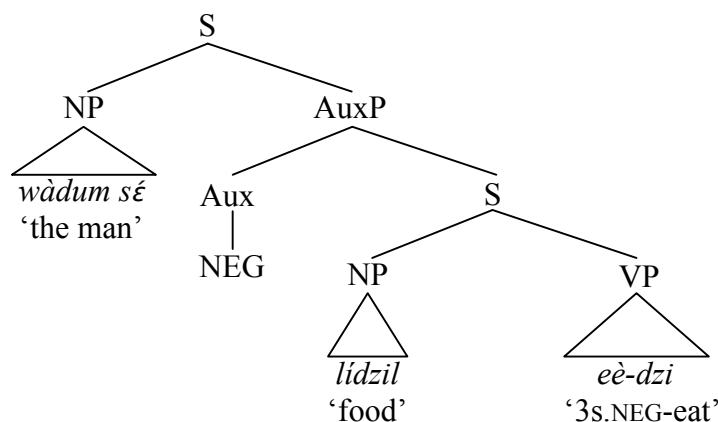
2.2 Object movement (Baker and Kandybowicz 2002)

I will not go through all the details of Baker and Kandybowicz's (2002) analysis of Nupe, another West African language, since it will turn out that it too will not be able to deal with all the facts of Leggbó negation. However, it is possible to get a basic grasp for their analysis, as it would be applied here, by examining the tree in (8). As with the analysis developed for Leggbó based on Koopman's (1984) work, this adaptation of Baker and Kandybowicz's analysis requires us to posit a null negative auxiliary in Leggbó negative sentences.

The core of Baker and Kandybowicz's analysis lies in the idea that the presence of an auxiliary verb in a sentence creates an available position (comparable to the subject position of a sentence) which the object of the main verb can move to. An important aspect of this treatment of auxiliaries is that it predicts that only one object of a ditransitive verb should move to preverbal position since the auxiliary only makes one "extra" preverbal position available in the structure. This makes the right prediction for Nupe but, as we will

see, makes the wrong prediction for Leggbó. The tree in (8) represents a derived structure where a postverbal object has moved out of a basic VO verb phrase to create a surface OV structure.

(8)

```
                          S
             _____/ _____
           NP                         AuxP
          /  \                   ____/    \____
     ____/____\                Aux              S
    wàdum sɛ́                   |          ____/   \____
    'the man'                 NEG       NP              VP
                                       / \             / \
                                  ____/___\        ____/___\
                                   lídzil            eè-dzi
                                   'food'          '3s.NEG-eat'
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In (9) I give examples of sentences headed by the ditransitive verb *nii* 'give'. The sentence in (9a) is an affirmative and (9b) is a negative. As can be seen in (9b), when a ditransitive verb is negated, both of its objects appear before the verb. Because of this, the sort of analysis schematized in (8), based on Baker and Kandybowicz's analysis of Nupe, is inadequate for Leggbó.

(9) a. *Wàdum sɛ́   e-nii   **wàɛ́ sɛ́**   <u>ntàà mi</u>.*
       man   the 3s-give child the   gift
     "The man gave the child a gift."
    b. *Wàdum sɛ́   **wàɛ́   sɛ́**   <u>ntàà mi</u>   eè-nii.*
       man   the   child   the   gift   3s.NEG-give
     "The man didn't give the child a gift."

Baker and Kandybowicz (2002) do, in fact, allow for the possibility that certain special verb forms, like infinitives, can force all of their objects to appear before the verb. It would seem promising to extend such an analysis to Leggbó negatives, as this could account for the data in (9b). However, in adopting such an analysis, Baker and Kandybowicz assume that such special verb forms could only trigger preposing of their own objects. As we saw in (7b), though, a negated verb in Leggbó does not need to necessarily be preceded by its own

object. Rather, it can also be preceded by an object of a verb within its complement. So, we also cannot apply this aspect of Baker and Kandybowicz's (2002) analysis to the data being examined here.

What we've seen, then, is that Leggbó does not conform to previous analyses of VO~OV alternations found in West African languages, and, therefore, it seems to be of a typologically different type. In the next section, I will develop an analysis of this word order alternation involving preposing and adjunction of arguments in negative sentences.

3 Preposing and adjunction analysis of Leggbó negatives
3.0 Introduction

In this section, I will present evidence for an analysis of Leggbó negatives where the preverbal arguments are preposed and adjoined to the left edge of the sentence. Data supporting the analysis will come from adverb placement, argument order, and the possibility for arguments to be repeated in negative sentences.

3.1 Adverb placement

Adverbs in affirmative sentences can appear between the subject and the verb phrase but not between a verb and its objects, as shown by the data in (10). In this respect, Leggbó exhibits behavior comparable to English.

(10) *Wàdum   sɛ́ (ŋwɔ̀ɔsɛ́)   e-dzi   (*ŋwɔ̀ɔsɛ́) lídzil.*
      man   the probably 3s-eat probably food
      "The man (probably) ate (*probably) food."

Negative sentences do not show any comparable asymmetry. Adverbs can appear between the subject and a preverbal object as well as between an object and the verb, as indicated by (11).

(11) *Wàdum   sɛ́ (ŋwɔ̀ɔsɛ́)   lídzil   (ŋwɔ̀ɔsɛ́) eè-dzi.*
      man   the probably food   probably 3s.NEG-eat
      "The man (probably) didn't eat food."

The data in (10) indicates that, in affirmative sentences, the verb and its object form a tight VP constituent which does not contain enough structure for an adverb to adjoin between the verb and the object. The data in (11), on the other hand, indicates that a preverbal object and a negative verb do not form a tight VP constituent. Rather, an extra layer of syntactic structure would seem to intervene between the two that an adverb can adjoin to. Since, presumably, the adverb must be adjoining to a VP or an S, I take the data in (11) to imply that the preverbal object in negative sentences also adjoins to a VP or an S.

3.2 Argument order

In affirmative ditransitive sentences, the order between the two objects is fixed—the beneficiary must precede the theme. This is shown in the data in (12).

(12)   a. *E-nii*   ***bɛ̀ɛ́***   *lídzil*.
        3s-give children   food
     "He gave children food."
    b. **E-nii*   *lídzil*   ***bɛ̀ɛ́***.
        3s-give   food   children

This same ordering restriction does not hold for the preverbal objects of negated ditransitive verbs, however, as seen in the sentences in (13).

(13)   a. ***Wàɛ́***   *n̄tààmi*   nn̄-nii.
      child   gift   1s.NEG-give
     "I didn't give a child gifts."

    b. *N̄tààmi*   ***wàɛ́***   nn̄-nii.
      gift   child   1s.NEG-give
     "I didn't give a child gifts."

Data like that in (12) and (13) suggests that, in affirmatives, objects occupy syntactically defined argument positions and, therefore, they must appear in a fixed order. Since the preverbal objects of negatives, however, do not need to appear in a fixed order, it would appear that

they are not occupying specific syntactic argument positions. I take this as further evidence that they are in adjunct positions.

3.3 Repeated arguments

The most striking evidence that arguments are realized as adjuncts in negative sentences in Leggbó is an interesting phenomenon involving argument repetition, a phenomenon which has never been observed in affirmatives. Specifically, arguments of a negative verb can be repeated by coreferential pronouns. An example is given in (14), a sentence containing two repeated arguments—one coreferential with the subject and one with an object. Sentences like the one in (14) constitute some particularly strong evidence that arguments of negative verbs are in adjunct positions because, if they occupied argument positions, there would be no obvious way to account for the appearance of multiple syntactic constituents referring to the same argument.

(14) [***Bàdum** **sɛ́***]$_i$ $y\underline{\varepsilon}_j$ ***bɛ̀***$_i$ $y\underline{\varepsilon}_j$ *aà-zee.*
       men   the   it   they   it   3p.NEG-see
   "The men (they) didn't see it (it)."

An important fact revealed by the repetition of the subject argument in (14) is that it shows that not only objects, but also subjects, behave differently in negatives as compared to affirmatives. In fact, there is also syntactically free ordering of subject and object arguments in negative sentences. For example, sentences with OSV surface order, like the one in (15), are possible—though this is somewhat atypical. The example in (15) also contains instances of argument repetition.

(15) [*Lídzil sɛ́*]$_j$ [***bàdum** **sɛ́***]$_i$ ***bɛ̀***$_i$ ($y\underline{\varepsilon}_j$) *aà-dzi.*
       food the   men   the   3p   3s   3p.NEG-eat
       "The men didn't eat the food."

Argument repetition is not limited to only two syntactic instantiations of a single logical argument. The sentence in (16) is an example with three separate constituents referring to the subject of the sentence appearing before the negative verb.

(16)   [***Dzè***   ***sɛ́***]*ᵢ*   ***bɛ̀ᵢ***   *yɛ*   ***bɛ̀ᵢ***   *aà-numi*   *b*   *anii*
         crocodiles the   they   it   they   3s.NEG-take   3p   3s.NEG-give
         ìtóbo.
         monkey
         "The crocodiles, they didn't give it to the monkey."

In (17) I give my proposed tree structure for the sentence in (14), which illustrates my analysis for the syntax of Leggbó negatives. All preverbal arguments in negatives, including the subject arguments, are adjoined to a core sentence consisting only of a negative verb. I label the core verb as S, rather than VP, because, as mentioned above, sentences like (15) clearly show that subjects, as well as objects, show different behavior in negatives as compared to affirmatives. Because of this, it would appear that all arguments, not only objects, are adjoined at some level of constituency above the verb. Since subject pronouns can appear immediately before the verb, as seen in (14) and (16), there is no clear evidence for a VP constituent to which objects must adjoin above the negated verb before subjects can adjoin. I believe the most straightforward account for this fact is to assume that all arguments adjoin to an S.

(17)
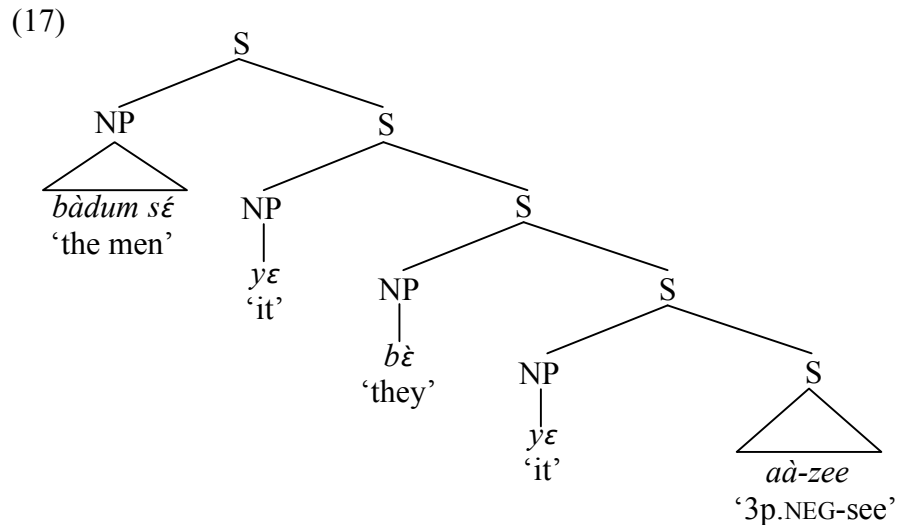
While I believe the data seen here indicates that an adjunction structure, along the line of the one given in (17), is the correct

analysis of the surface syntax of negative sentences in Leggbó, such an analysis leaves open the issue as to why arguments appear as adjuncts in negative sentences in the first place. I lack any conclusive answer to this question. However, I believe part of the solution to this problem lies with the fact that negative sentences share a number of properties with gerund phrases in Leggbó, which I discuss in the next section.

4 Gerund phrases in Leggbó

As just mentioned above, there are a number of similarities between negative sentences and gerund phrases in Leggbó. At the most basic level, like negatives, gerund phrases show OV word order, as can be seen in (18).

(18) *Lídzil* **gèdzìɛ̀** *nɛ̀ɛ̀-dàa*   *m.*
      food   eat.GER   3s.HAB-please   1s
      "I like eating food." (Literally: "Eating food pleases me.")

Also, like negative sentences, gerund phrases allow an adverb to appear between the object and gerund form of the verb. An example is given in (19), which can be compared with the negative sentence in (11).

(19) *Lídzil* (*vɛlɛvɛlɛ*)   *gèdzìɛ̀* *nɛ̀ɛ̀-dàa*   *m.*
      food   quickly   eat.GER   3s.HAB-please 1s
      "I like eating food (quickly)."

Similarly, there is some freedom in the order of arguments before gerunds. The sentences in (20) show that the two arguments of a ditransitive verb can be in either order before the gerund. These sentences parallel those in (13).

(20) a. ***Bɛ̀ɛ́*** *ǹtààmi* *gèniɛ̀*   *nɛ̀ɛ̀-dàa*   *m.*
        children   gift   give.GER   3s.HAB-please 1s
       "I like giving gifts to children."
      b. *Ǹtààmi* **bɛ̀ɛ́** *gèniɛ̀*   *nɛ̀ɛ̀-dàa*   *m.*
        gift   children give.GER   3s.HAB-please 1s
       "I like giving gifts to children."

Gerund phrases, however, do not show exactly the same behavior as negatives. As can be seen in (21), they do not allow for repeated arguments of the sort described in section 3.3.

(21) *_Lídzil_ᵢ _yɛ_ᵢ _gèniɛ̀_   _nɛɛ̀-dàa_   _m._
      food   it   eat.GER 3s.HAB-please 1s

Despite the fact that they do not show completely similar behavior, I believe that the properties that gerund phrases share with negative sentences suggests that the negative form of the verb in Leggbó is not a true verb but is of some other morphosyntactic category similar to that of the gerund. Under such an analysis, the fact that negative sentences show such different behavior from affirmatives would, at least partially, fall out from the fact that each is headed by an element of a different morphosyntactic type.

Such an analysis still leaves open two important questions. The first is why negative sentences and affirmative sentences should be headed by elements of different morphosyntactic types in the first place. I have no definitive answer to this question, and I take it to just be an idiosyncratic fact of the language. However, from a diachronic perspective, the presence of an overt negative auxiliary in subordinate clauses, as seen in (6), suggests that such an auxiliary may have once been present in main clause negatives as well but was lost for some reason. This auxiliary would have, presumably, subcategorized for a non-finite negative form of the verb, and, when it was lost, the special negative form would have been reanalyzed as the main verb of the sentence. A byproduct of this reanalysis would then have been that negative sentences acquired strikingly different syntax from affirmatives.

This diachronic analysis is, of course, speculative. However, some support for it comes from the fact that, in the present day language, the relevant type of reconstructed structure is not only found in subordinate-clause negatives. There is also at least one use of gerund phrases wherein they are the complements of finite main verbs, producing something like the SAuxOV structure found in negated subordinate clauses. This is in sentences headed by verbs meaning

'begin' and 'finish'. An example is given in (22), where a sentence headed by the verb *ttɔngɔ* 'begin' takes an OV gerund complement. The structure of the sentence in (22) directly parallels subordinate-clause negatives and is taken here to also parallel an earlier form of main-clause negatives. I take the existence of sentences like the one in (22) to strengthen the case that there is a close relationship between gerunds and the negative form of the verb—diachronically, I understand this relationship to be one where they are both verb forms which could be subcategorized for by finite verbs in a sentence.

(22) *B   a-ttɔngɔ   lídzil   gèdzìɛ̀.*
      3p   3p-begin   food   eat.GER
      "They began eating food."

There is an important difference between gerunds and negative verbs, however, which could affect the validity of this diachronic scenario. The gerund is a non-agreeing nominal form while the verb in negatives is an agreeing verbal form, which, in addition, shows tonal alternations, marking mood, consistent with more general patterns found for verbs in the language (for more on verbal tone marking in Leggbó see Hyman, et al. (2002)).

I am not sure what to make of the fact that negative verbs and gerunds have different morphological status despite showing such similar syntactic behavior. However, intriguingly, attempts to elicit a negative gerund form, or even a gerund directly negated syntactically, have failed. When I have attempted to elicit such structures, the consultant has produced sentences where negation is marked on the main verb of the sentence and never on the gerund itself. Furthermore, while the gerund can generally be productively formed, I have not been able to elicit a gerund form for the subordinate-clause negative auxiliary *bi* 'not' (an example of which was seen in the negated relative clause in (6)). So, while the negative form of the verb and the gerund differ morphologically, there is no attested "negative gerund" which we might otherwise expect to appear in negative sentences within this proposed diachronic scenario. I take the fact that the negative form of the verb and the

gerund appear to be in a sort of complementary distribution as further evidence that there is (and was) some syntactic connection between them despite their morphological differences.

This, of course, does not explain why the two forms are morphologically different in the first place. It does suggest, however, that these differences do not necessarily argue against the proposal being made here that, historically, the differences between affirmatives and negatives in Leggbó arose from the reanalysis of a gerund-like verb form used in negative sentences as a main verb due to the loss of a finite auxiliary in main-clause negatives. Though I deem this a plausible diachronic scenario, as mentioned above, I have no particular explanation for the observed synchronic state of affairs, other than it would appear to be an idiosyncrasy of the language's syntax.

The second question which comes out of this analysis of the negative verb in Leggbó is why a gerund-like form should show OV word order in a language which otherwise is VO. While I also have no definitive answer to this question, I would like to point out that such a phenomenon does not appear to be isolated to Leggbó. English, for example, shows comparable behavior.

(23)   *Hunting and <u>mushroom</u> **picking** are strictly prohibited in Crater Lake Park.*
        (Source: http://www.nps.gov/crla/brochures/mushrooms.htm.)

Data like that in (23) suggests that the situation in Leggbó could be tied to a more general cross-linguistic fact about gerund phrases. As such, while it still requires an explanation, it would not seem to require an explanation internal to Leggbó itself but, rather, requires a broad explanation regarding the syntax of gerunds generally.

5 Conclusion: Leggbó as a split-configurational language
5.1 Comparison of different clause types
The table in (24) gives an overview of the syntactic behavior of affirmatives, gerund phrases, and negatives in Leggbó.

(24)

	AFF	GER	NEG
BASIC WORD ORDER	VO	OV	OV
ADVERB PLACEMENT	*V-Adv-O	O-Adv-V	O-Adv-V
ARGUMENT ORDER	Fixed	Free	Free
ARGUMENT REPETITION	No	No	Yes

Putting gerund phrases aside, because they do not form main clauses, the table in (24) summarizes the strikingly different behavior of affirmative clauses and negative clauses which prompted the analysis given in this paper. While affirmative clauses behave very similarly to the SVO clauses of English, negative clauses do not merely show a different word order—rather, they seem to have a different syntax entirely. This suggests that Leggbó is an example of a language which exhibits a typologically rare phenomenon which can be labeled *split configurationality*. I discuss this idea in the next section.

5.2 Split configurationality in Leggbó

A simple way to capture the different syntax of affirmatives and negatives in Leggbó is to say that affirmatives are configurational in structure and negatives are non-configurational. That is, affirmative sentences show evidence for a VP constituent, and their arguments appear in syntactically defined positions, whereas negative sentences do not show evidence for a VP constituent and also do not seem to contain specific structural positions for arguments. To make the discussion clearer, in (25) I give a table which notes how Leggbó affirmatives and negatives fit in with some properties commonly associated with non-configurationality (see, e.g., Hale 1983, Jelinek 1984, Baker 1996, among many others).

(25)

NONCONFIG. PROPERTIES	AFF	NEG
NO ARGUMENT POSITIONS	No	Yes
"FREE" WORD ORDER	No	Free NP order, verb final
DISCONTINUOUS NP'S	No	Maybe (arg. repetition)
ZERO OBJECT ARGUMENTS	No	No

As can be seen in (25), Leggbó affirmatives clearly show behavior associated with prototypically configurational languages. While Leggbó negatives do not show all the types of behavior associated with non-configurationality, they show many of them. The only major property of non-configurational languages for which there appears to be no Leggbó analog at all is the possibility of having zero object arguments—that is, object arguments of a verb that are not overtly expressed syntactically.[4] Nevertheless, that there is a split between affirmatives and negatives, falling roughly along the lines of configurational versus non-configurational behavior, is clear.

Splits in major syntactic parameters are fairly well-attested phenomena (see, e.g., Comrie (1981:88–89) on word order splits and Payne (1997:144–62) on alignment splits). For example, there is a well-known fact of German where main clauses exhibit so-called verb-second order, while subordinate clauses are verb final. However, splits along the lines of configurationality have not been frequently attested. The only other examples I am aware of are found in the Cariban languages of South America. Gildea (2000:89–92) describes them as being generally configurational, but non-configurational in a particular tense/aspect, much like Leggbó.

The existence of apparently split-configurational languages calls into question some of the leading ideas behind many analyses of non-configurationality. Broadly speaking, most analyses can be classified into two types. The first posits a language-level "macroparameter" which, when set in a particular way, manifests itself as the various properties associated non-configurationality (see, e.g., Hale 1983, Jelinek 1984, Baker 1996). The second type of analysis is designed

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[4] The most common characterizations of non-configurationality do not separate the property of having zero object arguments from that of having zero subject arguments the way I have done here. However, sentences lacking an overt subject argument are pervasive in the language for both affirmatives and negatives (see, for example, the sentences in (7)), perhaps due to the presence of subject agreement prefixes on the verb. Because of this, in the table in (25), I specifically focused on object arguments to point out that there is no asymmetry between affirmatives and negatives as to whether or not they need to be expressed, which might otherwise be expected if affirmative sentences are configurational and negative sentences non-configurational.

to analyze clines in configurationality by positing multiple, relevant language-level parameters (see, e.g., Speas 1990:123–200, Austin and Bresnan 1996). Neither type of analysis, however, is designed to model splits in configurationality. Therefore, the data from Leggbó and the Cariban languages indicates that such analyses of non-configurational phenemona need to be revised in a way which allows particular constructions to be considered configurational or non-configurational rather than particular languages. Such a suggestion is not new to this work but was made by Hale (1989:294), "…nonconfigurationality is not a global property of languages; rather it is a property of constructions." However, no full formal treatment of non-configurationality that I am aware of has put this idea at the foundation of its analysis of the opposition between configurational and non-configurational structures in language.[5]

If split-configurationality is, in fact, a possible typological characteristic of languages, it would be worthwhile to know what the sources might be for it generally. To the extent that a link between Leggbó and Cariban split configurationality can be found, it appears that, in both cases, the languages are generally configurational, with their basic clauses clearly headed by true verbs, but they show non-configurational properties in particular constructions where clauses are not headed by true verbs. We saw in section 4 that there is an affinity between negative sentences and gerund phrases in Leggbó which suggests that negative sentences are headed by some sort of gerund-like verb form. In the Cariban case, Gildea (2000:89–92) argues that non-configurational clauses are headed by a verb form which is, etymologically at least, a participle.

What we seem to have, then, are two cases where a non-configurational subsystem has developed within a generally configurational system. In both cases, the pattern for the relevant languages is one where most clauses are headed by, what we could call, "argument-taking" verbs, while other clauses are headed by syntactically "inert" verbs. Importantly, in the Leggbó case, the fact

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[5] Hale (1989) outlines some aspects of a formal treatment of configurationality and non-configurationality making use of such an idea. However, this treatment is not as fully worked out as the other works cited above.

that the negative form of the verb itself is not argument-taking has not resulted in the non-configurational sentences losing the general language-level requirement that objects always be expressed—thus, as mentioned in (25) Leggbó negative sentences do not allow "zero object arguments".

With only two known examples, I am not in a position to comment with any certainty as to what the general typology of split-configurational languages should be. Nevertheless, the similarities between the Leggbó and Cariban cases are somewhat striking, and they might point the way to a more general understanding of split configurationality.

Acknowledgments

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