

The temporal presuppositions of Somali definite determiners
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1. Proposal. We propose that the contrast between the Somali definite determiners *-ka* and *-kii*, lies in a difference in their temporal presuppositions, which generate scalar implicatures based on the semantics of their NP complement. Our analysis captures the fact that these determiners do not obey known diagnostics of "nominal tense" (Tonhauser 2007), accounts for Lecarme's (1996) data, as well as for novel data challenging her more recent (2008, 2012) proposal that *-kii* and *-ka* track the (in)visibility of the DP. **2. Data.** Our data comes from original fieldwork conducted in 2015-2016 in Springfield, MA, with 5 native speakers of Somali.

3. Background. Nominal temporal markers (NTMs) locate the time at which the property or relation denoted by a nominal holds (Enç 1981). Some languages, (Nordlinger & Sadler 2004), feature overt NTMs. What distinguishes Somali from other languages with overt NTMs, is that these markers are also definite determiners. For Guarani, Tonhauser (2007) observes that the semantics of NTMs encodes three properties: *precedence*, *change of state*, and *existence*. The marker *kue* is similar in meaning but crucially distinct from an adjective like *former*. In Somali, a contrast in the nominal domain between past (*-kii*) and present (*-ka*) tense has been claimed to exist since Lecarme (1996). In (1a), *-ka* on the NP 'exhibition' implies that the exhibition is open at utterance time; *-kii* in (1b) implies that it is closed. More recently (Lecarme 2012) reduces the distinction to one between invisibility (*-kii*) and visibility (*-ka*). Novel data suggests that these two distinctions are relevant but cannot account for the full distribution of *-kii* and *-ka*.

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| <p>(1) a. <i>Bandhig-ga ma=ad daawatay?</i>
 exhibition-<i>ka</i> Q=2S see.2S.PAST
 ‘Have you seen the exhibition?’
 (open at UT)</p> | <p>b. <i>Bandhig-gii ma=ad daawatay?</i>
 exhibition-<i>kii</i> Q=2S see.2S.PAST
 ‘Did you see the exhibition?’
 (closed at UT)</p> |
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- Lecarme (1996)

3. Challenges for previous analyses. A. *-kii* is not ‘former’. Unlike Guarani *kue*, Somali *-kii* is felicitous in contexts where the NP does not undergo a change of state. In (2), *-kii* on the NP ‘bike’ implies that the bike is discourse-salient, *familiar* to the speaker and addressee.

- (2) *Baskiil-kii bari ba=an gadanaya.*
bike-*kii* tomorrow FOC=1S buy.FUT
‘I will buy the bike tomorrow.’ [2015-11-04]

In Guarani, Tonhauser reports that the equivalent of (2) with *kue*, implies that the bike is broken (a former bike). In (3), *madaxweynihii* (‘president-*kii*’) can refer to an individual who died a president. Guarani *kue* is felicitous in this context only if the predication ceased to be true of the individual *x* during *x*'s lifetime.

- (3) *Madaxweynihii wuu dhintay.*
president-*kii* FOC.3S.M die.3S.M.PAST
‘The president died.’ [2016-01-30]

Consequently, *-kii* neither has the change of state nor the existence properties, and does not mean ‘former’ like Guarani *kue*. However, *-kii* does encode the *precedence* of the predication relative to some past time. **B. *-kii* is not ‘invisible’.** Sentence (4), where *-kii* occurs on the NP ‘sun’, can be uttered when the sun is visible, shows that the use of *kii* does not necessarily entail that the referent of the DP is invisible.

- (4) *Qorrax-dii/*-da cirkay joogtaa.*
sun-*kii/-ka* sky be.at.PRES
‘The sun is in the sky.’ [2016-01-30]

