

Domain Restriction *via* definite article and the expression *kar* in the Kaingang language.

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The aim of this speech is to present a semantic analysis of both (i) the phenomenon of domain restriction in the DP and (ii) the expression *kar*, which conveys the idea of totality, in the Kaingang language, a Brazilian language from the Macro-Jê Stock, Jê family, spoken in southern and southeastern Brazil. At first, the definite article in Kaingang seems to have a non-trivial distribution: it applies first to a universal quantifier, and via such combination restricts the domain of the quantifier, such as in Basque, Greek and St'át'imcets (Giannakidou 2003, Etxeberria 2005 and Etxeberria & Giannakidou 2009, Matthewson 2001):

1. *Kaingang*

gĩr kar ag [[NP]kar]ag]
child all D.pl
'all the children'

2. *Basco*

mutil guzti-ak [[NP]guzti]-ak]
boy all-D.pl
'all the boys'

(Etxeberria 2005:37a)

3. *Grego*

o kathe fititis [o[kathe[NP]]]
D.sg every student
'every student'

(Giannakidou 2004: 32b)

4. *Salish*

i tákem-a smúlhats [i...a[tákem[NP]]]
D.pl all-D mulher
'all the women'

(Matthewson 2001:5)

However, some semantic and syntactic data may point the analyses in another direction. For instance, the expression *kar* is neutral regarding the property of distributivity, and as such can co-occur with predicates called *collective* in Vendler's typology (Vendler 1967):

5. Gĩr kar ag vỹ escola gĩn Ø.
child all D.pl m.s school surround ASP
'All the children surrounded the school.'

6. Gĩr kar jagně hã nỹtĩ.
child all alike be
'All the children are alike.'

So much so that even with the so called *mixed predicates*, such as *to build a house*, the distributive readings are attributed to the sentences only in cases a distributive operator is introduced *via* verbal reduplication:

7. Kanhgág kar ag vỹ ĩn ũ han Ø.
kaingang all D.pl m.s house a do ASP
'All the kaingangs (together) built a house'

8. Kanhgág **kar** ag vỹ ĩn ũ hanhan he Ø.
 kaingang all D.pl m.s house a do-RED ASP
 ‘Each kaingang built a house’

Added to the semantic data above, which made us ask whether *kar* has quantificational force, there are some syntactic examples that may contribute to a different hypothesis regarding the semantic status of *kar*. Instead of a QP - such as in Basque – structures with **kar+ag** seem to create a DP. Contrary to Basque, thus, it is possible to conjoin in Kaingang two [NP + *kar*] sequences under the same definite article, in the same way that it is possible to conjoin two NPs under the same D:

9. a. [[**Proféso kar**] mré [gĩr] **kar**] ag] vỹ escola gĩn Ø.
 teacher and girl all D.pl m.s school surround ASP
 ‘All the teachers and all the children surrounded the school’

- b. [[**Proféso**] mré [gĩr] ag] vỹ escola gĩn Ø.
 teacher and girl D.pl m.s school surround ASP
 ‘The teachers and the children surrounded the school’

10. a. *[[Neska bakoitz] eta [mutil guzti]-**ek**] sari bat irabazi zuten
 girl each and boy all-D.pl.erg prize one win aux
 ‘Each girl and all the boys won a prize.’

(Etxeberria & Giannakidou 2009:22)

- b. **Ikasle** eta **irakasle-ak** azterketa garaian daude.
 student and teacher -D.pl.abs exam period-ines aux
 ‘The students and the teachers are in exams period.’

(Etxeberria 2005: 37a)

Thus, based on the above data and more data we intend to illustrate in the speech, we will advocate that the expression *kar* seems to be a modifier - à la Lasersohn (1999) -, instead of a quantifier, and as such it does not have a quantificational force of its own and its semantic function is to control pragmatic deviations from the truth conditions of the sentences. As a result of this analysis, the definite article in Kaingang would not operate on a quantificational expression, as in Basque and Greek, but on the NP. Such fact than suggests that the definite article *ag* in Kaingang, in contexts it co-occurs with *kar*, does not lose its *max* function in order to work merely as a type preserver and a domain restrictor combined with a quantificational expression, as proposed by Giannakidou 2003, Etxeberria (2005) e Etxeberria & Giannakidou (2009) for Basque, Greek and S’át’imcets. *Ag* supplies a contextual variable *C*., i.e., functions as a domain restrictor, but still is a definite article occupying the *head* of a DP projection, very much in the spirit of an earlier proposal by Westerståhl (1984) for definite determiners.

Key-words: Kaingang language, domain restriction, definite article, quantification, modifier, etc.