Poor things: The expressive *anga* in Paraguayan Guarani

Expressive meaning refers to the "affective coloring of linguistic expressions" (Corver 2016). Although significant strides have been made in deepening our understanding of its characteristics and how it is encoded in particular languages (Gutzmann 2015; McCready 2010; Potts 2005; a.o.), it still remains a poorly-studied area, especially non-European languages (cf. Tonhauser et al. 2013). This presentation focuses on the Paraguayan Guarani *anga*, which "expresses speaker commiseration for an event participant" (Estigarribia 2020:188), as shown in (1).

(1) *Jairo heta **anga** o-sufri o-kakuaa aja.*
     J.   a.lot ANGA   3AC-suffer 3AC-grow.up while
     'Jairo suffered a lot growing up, poor thing.'   (Estigarribia 2020, p. 188)

Our hypothesis is that *anga* is a satellite item both in the syntax and semantics of the propositions where it's included. In order to prove it, we collected and analysed data to evaluate the morphosyntactic properties and semantic contribution of *anga*. The data was obtained through controlled elicitation (Matthewson 2004) with four native speakers of Paraguayan Guarani residing in Buenos Aires.

Morphosyntactically, we find that *anga* is an interjection (Guasch 1996) since (i) it does not admit derivative or inflectional morphology, (ii) it does not behave as a referential expression, (iii) it does not take a fixed position in the sentence (although it cannot interrupt a constituent), (iv) it does not intervene in the computation of the order the constituents of the sentence in any way, (v) it can be used both multiple times in a sentence and as an isolated utterance, and (vi) it cannot be interpreted inside elliptic sites.

Regarding the semantics of *anga*, we conducted Potts's (2005) tests to check if it is a *pure* expressive (i.e., if its semantic contribution impacts on a parallel dimension to that of the truth conditions). The evidence shows that, regardless of its position in the sentence, *anga* is consistently speaker oriented—cf. (2a-b), where the commiseration feeling is always the speaker's and not the main clause subject's.

(2a) *Juan he'i chéve Pedro **anga** o-perde-hague hembiapo.*
     J   3.say to.me P   ANGA   3AC-lose-NMLZ   3POS.job
     'Juan told me that Pedro lost his job, poor thing.'
(2b) *Juan oi-mo'ã iñ-akỹ-mba-hague Pédro **anga**.*
     J   3AC-believe 3IN-get.wet-NMLZ.PAS P   ANGA
     'Juan believes Pedro, poor thing, got wet.'   (Own data)

Furthermore, *anga* lies out of the scope of operators such as negation:

(3) A: *Juan rembireko o-heja ichupe **anga**.*
        J.   3POS.wife   3AC-leave him   ANGA
        'Juan's wife left him, poor thing.'

     B: a. *Nahániri! Nd-o-hejá-i ichupe.*
           no   NEG-3AC-leave-NEG   him.
           '¡No! She didn't leave him.'
        b. *#Nda-**ha'é**-i-te upéicha! Juan i-ñaña-iterei=ko!*
           NEG-be-NEG-SUP   that.way J.   3IN-bad-SUP=EMPH

'¡That's not the case, Juan is really mean!' (Own data)

Our research supports the hypothesis that *anga* is indeed an expressive item, albeit with some noteworthy peculiarities. First, *anga* doesn't allow the speaker to express pity over an entire event: it is always directed towards a certain participant involved in the event—regardless of whether they are explicitly mentioned or only implied.

(4) *O-ĩ-ta   kuri   peteĩ fárra guasu katu o-ky   hatã   **anga**.*
     3AC-exist-FUT PAS   one   party big   but   3AC-rain   hard   ANGA.
     'There was going to be a big party but it rained hard, poor thing.'
     (Speaker comment: 'it sounds like we're taking pity on the unmentioned guest of honor, who lost the chance to have their party.')   (Own data)

Second, the target of *anga* is not necessarily human, but it must apparently be affectively connected to speaker, as the plants in (5b).

(5a) # *O-jeka   ra'e   ovetã   **anga***.
       3AC-break MIR   window   ANGA
     'The window broke, poor thing.'   (Own data)

(5b) [Context: I love plants and I take good care of my garden, but the draught has withered them]
     *Che-ka'avo   i-piru-pa   **anga***.
     1SG.POS-plant   3IN-wither-COMPL   ANGA
     'My plants have withered, poor things.'   (Own data)

Thus, we propose that *anga* is not functionally applied to any argument of the proposition, but rather that its application is resolved pragmatically. This explains why its target can be a referent previously introduced or even merely evoked. The lexical entry of *anga* would then specify that the speaker is in an empathetic emotional state towards an entity with whom they hold an affective connection.

Syntactically, we argue that *anga* is superfluous, so it is introduced either by late insertion (Saab 2022) or by a parallel derivation. Semantically, the evidence in (4) and (5a-b), among much other data, prompts us to claim that *anga* has argument extension (Gutzmann 2019): it "scopes out" of its syntactic location and affects a syntactic constituent other than the one it seems to directly modify. As we mentioned, we propose that *anga* has no scope whatsoever, since the target of the commiseration can be omitted. Accordingly, we suggest that *anga* is induced by the rule of Isolated Conventional Implicatures application (Potts 2005; Lo Guercio y Orlando 2022). This induction accounts for lack of at-issue meaning and the saturated nature of its non-at-issue meaning—namely, the emotional state of the speaker.

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