Accusative case marking in Tiwa
DOM or otherwise?

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Outline

- Background
  - Tiwa
  - Differential Object Marking (DOM)
- The data in Tiwa
- Applying DOM
- What else it might be
- Conclusions and implications
The Issue

• Ang mai chá-ga.
  lSG  rice   eat-PST
  ‘I ate rice.’

• Ang mai-go chá-ga
  lSG  rice-ACC eat-PST
  ‘I ate the rice.’
Quick Tiwa summary

- Tibeto-Burman, Bodo-Garo
- Karbi Anglong, Assam, Northeast India
Quick Tiwa summary

- SOV (usually), agglutinative, suffixing
- Accusative alignment
- (Mostly) dependent marking
## Case!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-go</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-re</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jing</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noun phrase

NP → (DET) (POSS) (RC) N (ADJ) (NUM) CASE
Phonological Voicing

- Unaspirated plosives (p t tʃ k) are voiced between sonorants within a word

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{sa} & + \text{-ko/} \quad \rightarrow \quad [\text{sago}] \quad *[\text{sako}] \\
\text{tea} & \quad \text{-ACC}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{sa} & \quad \text{kotʃá/} \quad \rightarrow \quad [\text{sakodʒá}] \quad *[\text{sagodʒá}]
\text{tea} & \quad \text{red}
\end{align*}
\]
## Tiwa facts to keep in mind

### Phonology

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- | p^h | t^h | k^h |
- | p  | t  | tʃ | k  |
- | s  | ʃ  | h  |    |
- | m  | n  | η  |    |
- | r  |    |    |    |
- | l  |    |    |    |
- | w  | j  |    |    |
Differential Object Marking

- Objects are not always marked in the same way
- Case choice
Differential Object Marking: Spanish

- Vi la casa.
  I.saw the house
  ‘I saw the house.’

- Vi (a la mujer.
  I.saw to the woman
  ‘I saw the woman.’
Differential Object Marking: Hindi

- **Ravii-ne kaccaaa kelaa kaataa.**
  Ravi-ERG unripe banana cut.PERF
  “Ravi cut the/an unripe banana.”

- **Ravii-ne (kacce kelaa-ko) kaataa.**
  Ravi-ERG (unripe banana-ACC) cut.PERF
  “Ravi cut the unripe banana.”

(Aissen 2003: 466)
Differential Object Marking

- We can see animacy and definiteness

- Spanish:

- Hindi:
Tiwa: accusative case marker

- go accusative case marker

Ang pe-go mare-ga
1sg 3sg-acc kill-pst
‘I killed him.’

*Ang pe mare-ga
1sg 3sg kill-pst
Distribution of -go

- So where do we see –go and where don’t we see it?
Distribution of -go

- **Ang** pe-go chá-ga.
  1SG 3SG-ACC eat-PST
  ‘I ate it.’

- ***Ang** pe chá-ga.
  1SG 3SG eat-PST

- Pronouns must take -go
Distribution of -go

- Ang sa núng-ga.
  lSG tea drink-PST
  ‘I drank tea.’

- Ang ne sa-go núng-ga.
  lSG 2SG GEN tea ACC drink-PST
  ‘I drank your tea.’

- *Ang ne sa núng-ga
  lSG 2SG GEN tea drink-PST

- Possessed nouns must take -go
 Distribution of -go

- Ang  
  1SG  2SG.GEN  buy-NMZ  rice-ACC  eat-PST  
  ‘I ate the rice that you bought.’

- *Ang  
  1SG  2SG.GEN  buy-NMZ  rice  eat-PST  

- Nouns modified by a ‘relative clause’ must take -go
Distribution of -go

- Ang libíng-go pre-ga.
  lSG person-ACC buy-PST
  ‘I bought the person.’

- *Ang libíng pre-ga.
  lSG person buy-PST

- Ang tú pre-ga.
  lsg chicken buy-pst
  ‘I bought a chicken.’

- Human nouns must take -go
Distribution of -go

• Ang mai-go lá-ga.
  1SG rice-ACC take-PST
  ‘I took the rice.’

• *Ang mai lá-ga.
  1SG rice take-PST

• Objects of certain verbs (take, see, kill, etc.)
## Distribution of -go

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obligatory -go</th>
<th>Alternation -go/Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td>bare nonhuman nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessed nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouns heading relative clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **-go**
  - human
  - pronoun
  - proper name
  - definite NP
- **-Ø**
  - animate
  - specific NP
  - non-specific NP
## Distribution of -go

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animacy scale</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite N</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specific N</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-specific N</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- : go
Differential –go marking

- Looks like perfect DOM
Except!

- Nothing intrudes between an unmarked O and the predicate
- Intensifier khúp, other arguments

*Ang mai khúp chá-ga.*
1SG rice INTS eat-PST
Except!

- Ang mai-go khúp chá-ga.
  lSG rice-ACC INTS eat-PST
  ‘I ate a lot of rice/ I really ate rice.’

- *Ang mai khúp chá-ga.
  lSG rice INTS eat-PST
Except!

- *Ang khúp mai-go chá-ga.
  lSG INTS rice-acc eat-PST

- Ang khúp mai chá-ga.
  lSG INTS rice eat-PST
  “I ate a lot/I really ate rice.”
Explanation

• Ang mai chá-ga.
  lsg rice eat-pst
  ‘I ate rice.’

• Ang mai-go chá-ga.
  lsg rice-acc eat-pst
  ‘I ate the rice.’
## Explanation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-go marked</th>
<th>unmarked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object can be modified</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>khúp</strong> interrupts OV</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**khúp** marks OV if the object can be modified.
Explaination

- Incorporation?
- But no phonological voicing, so not morphological
  - *Ang mai já-ga
    1SG rice eat-PST
- Compounding a different process
  - Ang khá-du-ga.
    1SG heart-rise-PST
    “I became happy.”
Syntax!

- Syntactic incorporation
- Noun is not part of V (word)
- But it is part of V’ (closer to V than a VP)
- Massam’s Pseudo-Noun Incorporation (2001)
Syntactic Incorporation

- -go marked

S
  NP
  VP
    NP -go
    N
    N
  V'
    Adv
    V
Syntactic Incorporation

- unmarked

```
S  
/   
NP  V'  
|    /   
N   Adv N   V
```
Syntactic Incorporation

- -go marked

```
S
 NP       VP
  NP      V'
  PN      Adv
   PN    N    V
  Ang   mai-go   chá-ga
   1SG  rice-ACC  eat-PST
```

‘I ate a lot of rice/really ate the rice.’
Syntactic Incorporation

- unmarked

```
S
   NP          V'
     /         /
    PN        Adv
      /        /
     Ang      khúp
       /      /
     1SG  INTS

V'
   /
  V
   /
 N   V
  mai  chá-ga
    rice  eat-PST

'I ate a lot/really ate rice.'
```
Syntactic Incorporation

- In the incorporated structure, the object can only be a bare noun
- Since case is assigned to the NP, then there is no case
- This is not regular incorporation, because it is not morphological
- The incorporation is conditioned by animacy and definiteness, just like in Differential Object Marking
Wider Implications?

- Just because a phenomenon fits an explanation, doesn’t mean we should stop investigating
- Elicitation not enough, need syntactic contexts and restrictions
References