Differential Argument Realisation in Tiwa

Virginia Dawson
Australian National University
The Point

- When arguments vary in their realisation (e.g. morphological) we invoke constructions

  but

- different constructions are not always so distinct when examined in detail

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>DOM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Ø-marked incorporation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>‘normal’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Point

- When arguments vary in their realisation (e.g. morphological) we invoke constructions.

*but*

- different constructions are not always so distinct when examined in detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Object Ø-marked incorporation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DOM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Object Accusative ‘normal’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Outline

● Background

● Tiwa

● Differential argument realisation:
  Differential Object Marking (DOM)
  (morphological) Noun Incorporation (NI)

● The data in Tiwa

● Syntactic incorporation

● Summary and conclusion
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.’
Outline

- Background
- **Tiwa**
  - Differential argument realisation:
    - Differential Object Marking (DOM)
    - (morphological) Noun Incorporation (NI)
- The data in Tiwa
- Syntactic incorporation
- Summary and conclusion
Quick Tiwa summary

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

- Ang mai-go krai-o chá-ga-ng
  lSG rice-ACC village-LOC eat-PST-lSG
  ‘I ate the rice in the village.’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Description</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

- ái nanâw
  my little.sister

- né shóng-a mai
  your cook-NMZ rice

- nanâw tokhat
  little.sister naughty

- mai shari posta
  rice four bag.CLF
Phonological Voicing

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

- /sa + -ko/ $\rightarrow$ [sago] *[sako]
  - tea -ACC

- /sa kotʃá/ $\rightarrow$ [sakodʒá] *[sagodʒá]
  - tea red

- /nanâw tokʰat/ $\rightarrow$ [nanâwtokʰat]
  - little.sister naughty *[nanâwdokʰat]
Noun phrase

NP \(\rightarrow\) det poss RC N adj num -case

- ái nanâw
  my little.sister

- né shóng-a mai
  your cook-NMZ rice

- nanâw tokhat
  little.sister naughty

- mai shari posta
  rice four bag.CLF
## Tiwa facts to keep in mind

### Phonology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pʰ</th>
<th>tʰ</th>
<th>kʰ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Outline

- Background
  - Tiwa

- Differential argument realisation:
  - Differential Object Marking (DOM)
  - (morphological) Noun Incorporation (NI)

- The data in Tiwa
- Syntactic incorporation
- Summary and conclusion
Differential argument realisation

- Differential Object Marking
  (DOM; Bossong 1983-4, Aissen 2003)

- (Morphological) Noun Incorporation
  (NI; Mithun 1984, Baker 1988,
   van Geenhoven 1998)
Differential Object Marking

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

- Vi a la mujer.
  I.saw to the woman
  ‘I saw the woman.’

- Objects are not always marked in the same way
Differential Object Marking: Hindi

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

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

- Objects are not always marked in the same way
Differential Object Marking

- We can see animacy and definiteness
- Spanish:

  - a
  - Ø
  - human
  - animate
  - inanimate

- Hindi:

  - -ko
  - -ko/-Ø
  - pronoun
  - proper name
  - definite NP
  - specific NP
  - non-specific NP
Noun Incorporation

- Tkʷəʔúʔt  wíčis  ṭiʔe  čłq’əlíʔ.
  they.walked  they.saw  a  lake
  ‘They walked and saw a lake.’
  (Spokane)

- Hayó  čłʔayuʔtékʷ  ḥuʔ  k’əsíxʷ.
  oh  they.were.water.sitting.on  the  goose
  ‘Oh geese were sitting on the lake.’

- Discourse conditioning: newly introduced arguments not incorporated, but subsequently can be.
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
Outline

- Background
  - Tiwa
- Differential argument realisation:
  Differential Object Marking (DOM)
  (morphological) Noun Incorporation (NI)
- The data in Tiwa
- Syntactic incorporation
- Summary and conclusion
Distribution of -go

• 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.’
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 (né pre-wa mai-go) chá-ga.
  1SG 2SG GEN buy-NMZ rice-ACC eat-PST
  ‘I ate the rice that you bought.’

- *Ang (né pre-wa mai) chá-ga.
  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.
  1SG person-ACC buy-PST
  ‘I bought the person.’
- *Ang libíng pre-ga.
  1SG person buy-PST
- Ang tú pre-ga.
  1sg chicken buy-pst
  ‘I bought a chicken.’
- Human nouns must take -go
Distribution of -go

- **Ang** mai-go *lá-ga.*
  lSG rice-ACC take-PST
  ‘I took the rice.’

- ***Ang** mai *lá-ga.*
  lSG rice take-PST

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Obligatory -go</strong></th>
<th><strong>Alternation -go/Ø</strong></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>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-go</th>
<th>-Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-go</th>
<th>-Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>human</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Distribution of -go

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animacy scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite N</td>
<td>-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specific N</td>
<td>-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-specific N</td>
<td>-go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Differential – go marking

• Distribution on the basis of DOM factors
• But also discourse, like Incorporation…
Differential –go marking

• When the rain falls, we kneel down there (and)

• khodéya-go sal-o-bo.
  seedling-ACC sow-NPST-CERT
  plant the seedlings.

• Khodéya-Ø sal chón-a durî-do,
  seedling sow finish-NMZ after-TOP
  After planting seedlings,

• we begin to dig the fields. (lax-paddy:43-46)
Differential –go marking

• So we have resemblances to the DOM phenomenon and resemblance to NI
• How do you decide between them?
• We have to look at the syntax
Syntax

- Nothing intrudes between a bare-NP object and the verb.
- Intensifier *khúp*, other NPs... nothing!

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

- **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
Syntax

• *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.”
Syntax

- Also for intransitives

- Ang Umswai-jing lí-ga.
  1SG Umswai-ALL go-PST
  ‘I went to Umswai.’

- Ang Umswai-jing khúp lí-ga.
  1SG Umswai-ALL INTS go-PST
  ‘I really went to Umswai.’

- *Ang khúp Umswai-jing lí-ga
Syntax

NP-case  Adv  N  V
Positional variation

- Only case marked objects can occur after the verb

- Ang chá-ga mai-go.
  1SG eat-PST rice-ACC
  I ate the rice.

- *Ang chá-ga mai
  1SG eat-PST rice
Syntactic variation

- 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.’
## Syntax

<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>
<tr>
<td>Pragmatic reordering allowed</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>cased NP</th>
<th>bare N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N projects full NP</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N forms tight constituent with V</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustable constituency</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Explanation

- So are we looking at Incorporation with DOM conditioning factors?
- 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 a V’ (closer to V than a VP)
- Massam’s Pseudo-Noun Incorporation (2001)
Outline

- Background
  - Tiwa
  - Differential argument realisation:
    - Differential Object Marking (DOM)
    - (morphological) Noun Incorporation (NI)
- The data in Tiwa
- Syntactic incorporation
- Summary and conclusion
Syntactic Incorporation

- -go marked

```
( S 
  ( NP N ) 
  ( VP NP -go V' ) 
    ( N N Adv V )
)```

```latex
\begin{itemize}
\item -go marked
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{S}
\item \textbf{NP}
\item \textbf{VP}
\item \textbf{N}
\item \textbf{Adv}
\item \textbf{V}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{S} \\
\textbf{NP} \\
\textbf{VP} \\
\textbf{N} \\
\textbf{Adv} \\
\textbf{V}
Syntactic Incorporation

- unmarked

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

- -go marked

```
S
|-- NP
   |-- PN
   |   Ang
   |   1SG
   |   rice-ACC
   |   mai-go
   |   chá-ga eat-PST
   |   khúp INTS
   |   really
   |   V
   |   V'
   |   VP
   |   'I ate a lot of rice/really ate the rice.'

NP

VP

```

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

- unmarked

```
S
  NP
    PN
      Ang
        lSG
    Adv
      khúp
        INTS
  V'
    V'
      N
        mai
          rice
      V
        chá-ga
          eat-PST
```

‘I ate a lot/really ate rice.’
Outline

• Background
  • Tiwa
    • Differential argument realisation:
      Differential Object Marking (DOM)
      (morphological) Noun Incorporation (NI)
  • The data in Tiwa
  • Syntactic incorporation
• Summary and conclusion
Wider Implications?

- Ways an argument can show variation in morphological marking:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case 1</td>
<td>Case 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 1</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Case 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


Thank you!
‘I ate a lot of rice/really ate the rice.’
‘I ate a lot/really ate rice.’