Differential Argument Realisation in Tiwa

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1. **Tiwa background**

Accusative case marker: -go

NP $\rightarrow$ DET POSS RC N ADJ NUM -CASE

Voiceless plosives become voiced word medially between sonorants:

/khotéja/ $\rightarrow$ [khodéja] ‘seedling’
/hat-na/ $\rightarrow$ [hada] ‘market-DAT’
/láp-ka/ $\rightarrow$ [lápka] ‘bring+PAST’
/láp-na/ $\rightarrow$ [lába] ‘bring+INF’
/li-ka/ $\rightarrow$ [liga] ‘go+PAST’
/li-na/ $\rightarrow$ [lina] ‘go+INF’

2. **Accusative case marking variation**

1) Ang mai chá-ga.¹
   1SG rice eat-PST
   “I ate rice.”

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

3. **Distribution of accusative case marking**

3) Ang pe-go chá-ga.
   1SG 3SG-ACC eat-PST
   “I ate it.”

4) *Ang pe chá-ga
   1SG 3SG eat-PST

5) Ang sa núng-ga.
   1SG tea drink-PST
   “I drank tea.”

6) Ang ne sa-go núng-ga.
   1SG 2SG.GEN tea-ACC drink-PST
   “I drank your tea.”

¹ Examples given in Tiwa orthography, where phonetic voicing of consonants are written distinctively.

Other deviations from IPA conventions are: <ng> is /ŋ/, <ch> is /ʧ/, <j> is [dʒ] and <sh> is /ʃ/. 
7) *Ang ne sa núng-ga
   1SG 2SG.GEN tea drink-PST

8) Ang ne pre-wa mai-go chá-ga.
   1SG 2SG.GEN buy-NMZ rice-ACC eat-PST
   “I ate the rice that you bought.”

9) *Ang ne pre-wa mai chá-ga
   1SG 2SG.GEN buy-NMZ rice eat-PST

10) Ang libíng-go pre-ga.
    1SG person-ACC buy-PST
    “I bought a person.”

11) *Ang libíng pre-ga.
    1SG person buy-PST

12) Ang tú pre-ga.
    1SG chicken buy-PST
    “I bought a chicken.”

<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>
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<tr>
<td>human nouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Distribution of -go

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

Table 2. Distribution of -go in terms of animacy and definiteness

4. Syntax

13) *Ang mai khúp chá-ga
    1SG rice INTS eat-PST

14) Ang mai-go khúp chá-ga.
    1SG rice-ACC INTS eat-PST
    “I ate a lot of (that) rice//really ate (that) rice.”
15) *Ang khúp mai-go chá-ga
   1SG INTS rice-ACC eat-PST

16) Ang khúp mai chá-ga.
   1SG INTS rice eat-PST
   “I ate a lot of rice/*really ate rice.”

<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>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustable constituency</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Syntactic properties of cased NP and bare N

5. **Syntactic Incorporation**

[I ate a lot of rice/*really ate rice.’

[I ate a lot/*really ate rice.’

![Map of India and neighboring countries](image)