Complex Predicates in Tiwa

Virginia Dawson
Australian National University
Outline

- Relevant Tiwa facts
- Defining complex predicates
- Complex predicates in Tiwa
  - What exactly are they?
- Conclusions
Quick Tiwa summary

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

- SOV (usually), agglutinative, suffixing
- Accusative alignment
- (Mostly) dependent marking
### Tiwa facts to keep in mind

- **Phonology**

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Tiwa facts to keep in mind

- **Phonology**
  - Voicing of unaspirated stops between voiced segments within a word
  - e.g. /hat-a/ market-DAT → [hada] *[hata]*
  - As opposed to /makʰa/ hill → [makʰa] *[maga]*
  - And /hut  anŋ-ko  nú-ka/ the judge saw me → [hutaŋgonuga] *[hudaŋgonuga]*
Tiwa facts to keep in mind

- **Words**
  - Take suffixal morphology
    - e.g. mis + -raw → misraw
      
      buffalo  PL  buffalos
    - e.g. núng + -o → núngo
      
      drink  NPST  will drink
Tiwa facts to keep in mind

• Words: compounds
  • tewsal  < tew + sal  god-place 'church'
  • hanjon-  < han + shon-  body-wash  'bathe'
  • Like other words
    • e.g. hanjon + -o  →  hanjono
      bathe  NPST  will bathe
Tiwa facts to keep in mind

• Words: compounds
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• Like other words
  • e.g.  hanjon + -o  →  hanjono
       bathe  NPST  will bathe
Tiwa facts to keep in mind

- Phonological voicing within a word
- Words take suffixes only
- Compounds behave like other words
Complex Predicates

- Multiheaded predicates
  (Encyclopedia of Languages and Linguistics)
- Minimally 2 predicates in 1 clause
  - e.g. English: I am sitting
  - e.g. English: I had a drink
Complex Predicates

- Grammatical functional structure is the same as for a simple predicate (Butt 1995: 2)
- Can't have more than one inflectional option
- e.g. *I am sat
  *I will have a drank
Complex Predicates

- ... are **not** relative clauses

- in Tiwa relative clauses are nominalisations
  - Líbing lí-ga.
    - person go-PST
    - 'The person went.'
  - Ang libíng-go nú-ga.
    - 1SG person-ACC see-PST
    - 'I saw the person.'
Complex Predicates

- ... are not relative clauses
- in Tiwa relative clauses are nominalisations
  - Ái nú-wa libíng lí-ga.
  - 'The man that I saw went.'
Complex Predicates

- ... are **not** purposive clauses
- in Tiwa purposive clauses are two clauses, with the subordinate in the infinitive

- Ang lí-ga. and Ang tú-go pre-ga.

  1SG go-PST 1SG chicken-ACC buy-PST

  'I went.' 'I bought a chicken.'
Complex Predicates

- Ang (tú-go pre-na) lí-ga.
  lSG (chicken-ACC buy-INF) go-PST
  'I went to buy a chicken.'

- Ang lí-ga. and Ang tú-go pre-ga.
  lSG go-PST lSG chicken-ACC buy-PST
  'I went.' 'I bought a chicken.'
Complex Predicates

• … are not co-ordination
• In Tiwa these are two clauses joined by a co-ordinator (and, but, etc.)
• e.g. \((\text{Ang lí-ga}) \text{ arô} (\text{tá-ga})\)
  
  \((\text{1SG go-PST}) \text{ and } (\text{stay-PST})\)

'I went and stayed.'
Complex Predicates

- … but they can be
  - serial verbs
- They are two predicates acting as one
Complex Predicates: Hindi, Urdu

- main verb and light verb
  (Poornima and Koenig 2009; Butt 1995)
- main verb provides semantic content
- light verb inflected and provides additional aspectual meaning
Complex Predicates: Hindi, Urdu

- Urdu example (Butt 1995:90):

  \[
  \text{Anjum=ne xat } \left[ \text{lik}^h \text{ li-yaa.} \right] \\
  \text{Anjum=ERG letter } \left[ \text{write take-PFV.M.SG} \right]
  \]

  'Anjum wrote a letter (completely).'
Complex Predicates: Sino-Tibetan

- Belhare verbal compounding (Bickel 2003: 560)
- Cama \( \text{ca-apt-he-i-ga} \) i??
  food \( \text{eat-bring.ACROSS-PAST-PL-2} \) Q
  'Did you come over here after you had your meal?'
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

V-i V-inflection
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

V-i V-inflection

V1 V2
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

V1  V2

Pe  lí  thá-ga.

3SG  go  stay-PST

'(S)he went/was going.'
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- V1 is any lexical verb
- V2 is from a subset of around 13 verbs, but not the same as V1
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- V2 can be (at least):

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>*ang 1SG</th>
<th>thá-i stay-I</th>
<th>thá-ga stay-PST</th>
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<td>'be tasty')</td>
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Simple Predicates: Tiwa

(don't) V-inflection(-pragmatics)
Simple Predicates: Tiwa

- /ta/ prohibitive is a separate word, as it does not cause voicing of initial unaspirated plosives
- e.g. Ta ting! [tatinŋ] *[tadinŋ]
don't stand
'Don't stand!'
Simple Predicates: Tiwa

- Predicate properties:
  - Inflection suffixed
  - Optional pragmatic suffixes
  - Prohibitive particle (don't) before verb
- e.g. Ang sa núng-ga-bo.
  1SG tea drink-PST-CERT
  'I definitely drank tea.'
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- e.g. Ang sa (núng thá-ga-bo.
  1SG tea (drink stay-PST-CERT
'I was definitely drinking tea.'
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- e.g.  *ang sa \( \text{nung-ga thá-bo} \)
  lSG tea \( \text{drink-PST stay-CERT} \)

- e.g.  Ang sa \( \text{núng thá-ga-bo.} \)
  lSG tea \( \text{drink stay-PST-CERT} \)
  'I was definitely drinking tea.'
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- As well as phonological voicing of V2 initial consonants
- e.g. Ang sa núng kar-ga.
  1SG tea drink leave-PST
  'I finished up the tea.'
  [aŋsanunŋgarga]
  *[aŋsanunŋkarga]
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- Combine this with the semantic bleaching of V2
- e.g. Lí thá-bo!
  go stay-CERT
  'Off you go!'
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- So are they compounds?
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- Examples like:  \texttt{Pe khúp ni thaw-o.}
  
  3SG very look be.tasty-NPST

  '(S)he is very beautiful.'

- And:  \texttt{Pe ni thaw-o-lo.}

  3SG look be.tasty-NPST-EMPH

  '(S)he is so beautiful.'
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- Too productive
  - V1 can be any lexical verb
  - (almost) any V1 can combine with any V2
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- So grammaticalised morphology?
- Could be, but...
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- Things can come between V1 and V2
  - Emphatic suffix /-lo/
  - Prohibitive word /ta/
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- e.g. Pe ni-lo thaw-o.
  3SG look-EMPH be.tasty-NPST
  '(S)he is so beautiful.'

- as well as: Pe ni thaw-o-lo.
  3SG look be.tasty-NPST-EMPH
  '(S)he is so beautiful.'
Complex Predicates: Tiwa

- e.g. 
  \[ \text{Núng ta thá!} \]
  drink don't stay
  'Don't keep drinking that!'

- as well as: 
  \[ \text{Ta núng thá!} \]
  don't drink stay
  'Don't keep drinking that!'
### Complex Predicates: Tiwa

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<th>Analysis</th>
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- No unique solution
References


