

A thick black L-shaped frame surrounds the text. The top-left corner is a horizontal bar extending to the right, then a vertical bar extending downwards. The bottom-right corner is a vertical bar extending upwards, then a horizontal bar extending to the left.

OPTIONAL SUBJECT MARKING IN AN ACCUSATIVE LANGUAGE

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Tayatuk (PNG)

Example 1

Kavang dî pîtang ...

bee dî get.up:NF

‘Bee starting/standing up ...’ (080103-000.wav 371)

Example 2

Kavang Ø pîtang ...

bee Ø get.up:NF

‘Bee starting/standing up ...’ (080103-000.wav 166)

Differential Argument marking (DAM)

Any kind of situation where an argument of a predicate bearing the same generalized semantic argument role may be coded in different ways

Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant (2018:3)

Differential Argument marking: Local triggers

LOCAL = related to the argument

- **Semantics:** inherent properties (person; number; animacy)
 - see Silverstein 1976 hierarchy/scale
- **Morphology:** part of speech (pro. vs NP); noun class (gender)
- **Syntax/Discourse:** definiteness; specificity

(Adapted from Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018)

Differential Argument marking: Global triggers

GLOBAL = related to the event

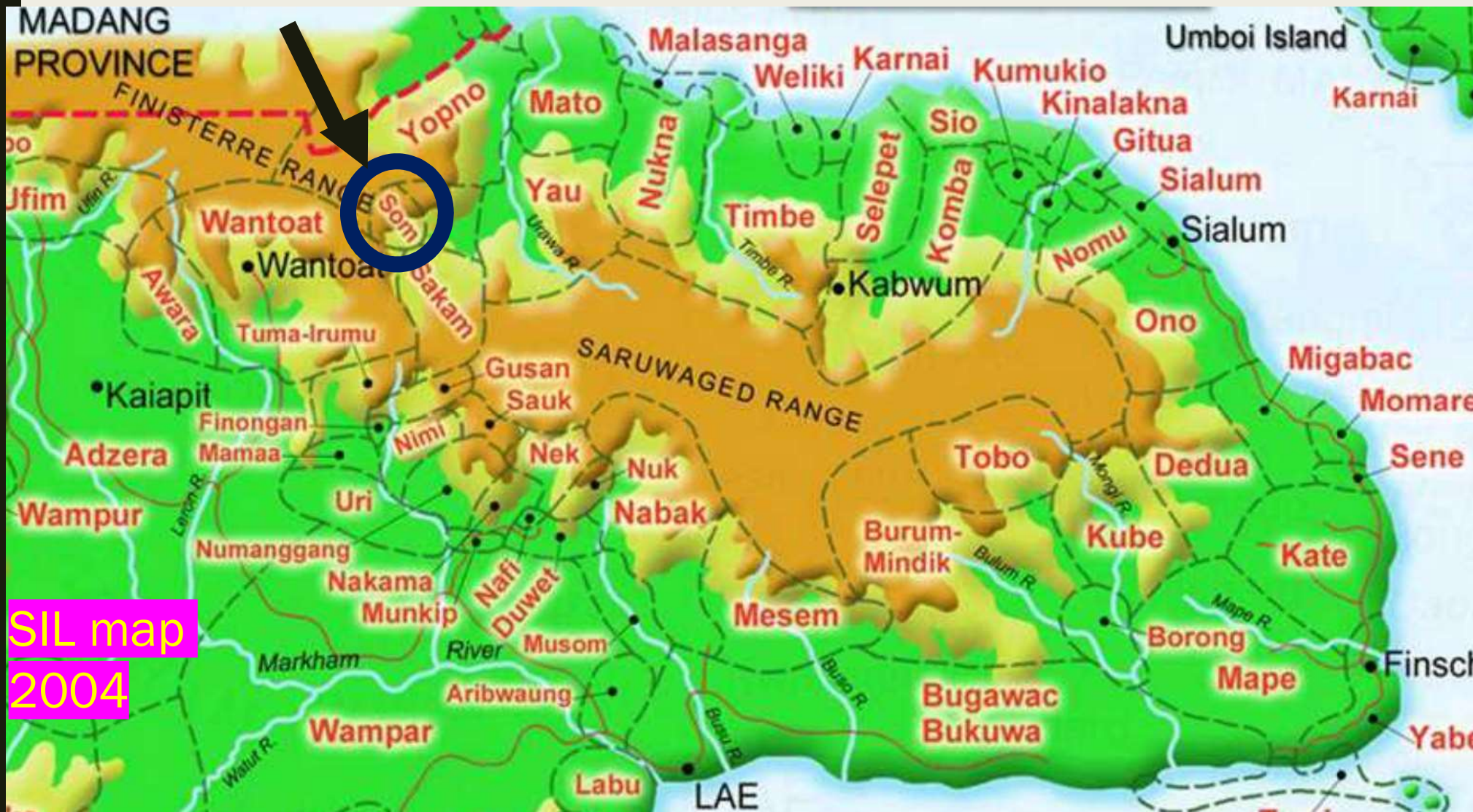
- **The predicate:** Number of arguments in the clause; Verb class; Telicity
- **The clause:** Main vs. dependent; Polarity; Degrees of transitivity; TAM
- **Discourse/Style:** Information status (topic, focus); unexpectedness; prominence

(Adapted from Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018)

Differential Argument marking: Obligatory vs. Optional

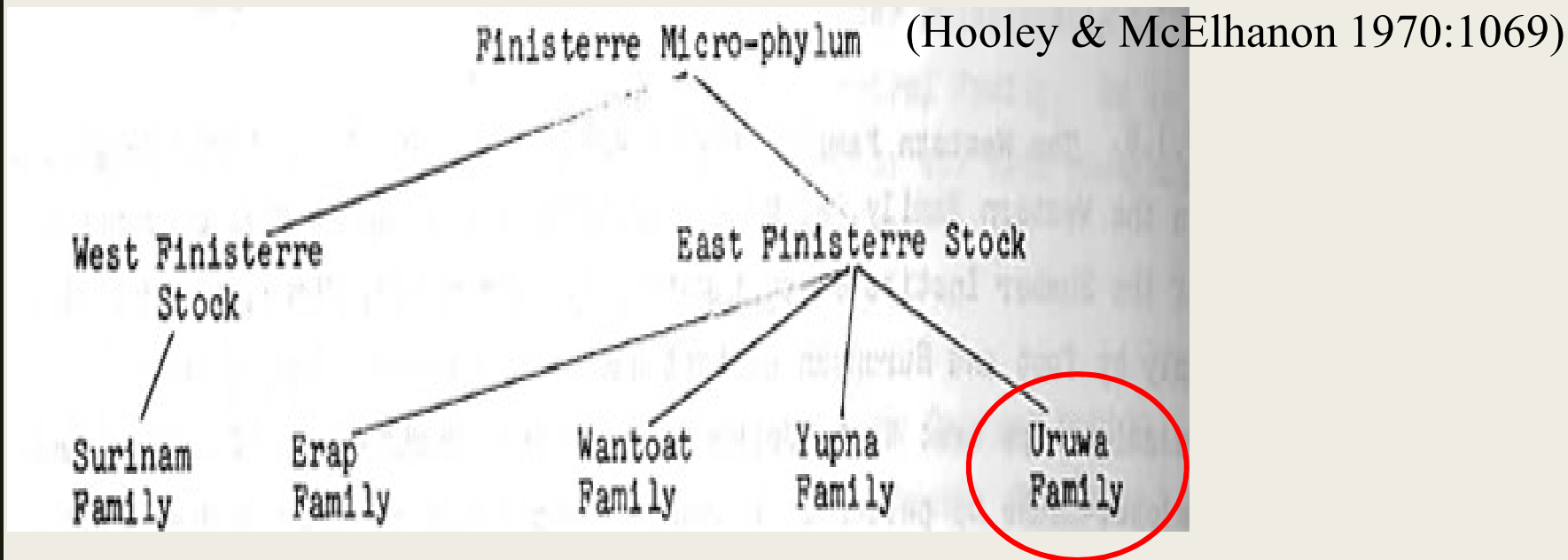
- Type 1: argument marking is obligatory, both markings are in complementary distribution
- Type 2: argument marking is optional
- Type 3: argument marking is obligatory in some contexts and optional in others

(Adapted from Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018)



SIL map
2004

Data: Tayatuk (ISO: smc)



- SV; AOV
- Switch reference
- Agreement
 - Nominative-accusative

Questions

1a. What argument markings are possible in Tayatuk?

– *S, A and O*

1b. What is the default marking for core arguments?

– *The default marking is the functionally unmarked form
(Koenig 2006)*

2a. Is differential marking optional or obligatory? What factors condition the marking?

2b. What role does differential marking play?

Data

- 2 field trips, 6 months total, 2014-2015
- Pilot study: 8 texts
 - 1 written
 - 7 oral
 - n= 558 clause/intonational units
- 6 speakers:
 - 3 women (early 20s - early 40s)
 - 3 men (mid 30s - mid 40s)
- Text genres:
 - 4: Historical account (life a few decades ago; events taking place in the village; personal history)
 - 1: Discussion in church
 - 3: Legend
- Coding
 - Only overt NPs
 - ~42% of all clauses / intonational units are coded
 - 235 out of 558 overt NPs are unambiguously S, A or O

1a. Possible argument marking -SV

Example 3

Kavang dî pîtang ...

bee dî get.up:NF

‘Bee starting/standing up ...’ (080103-000.wav 371)

Example 4

Kavang Ø pîtang ...

bee Ø get.up:NF

‘Bee starting/standing up ...’ (080103-000.wav 166)

1a. Possible argument marking - OV

Kavang \emptyset *înyitak...*

bee \emptyset 3SG.O:tell:3SG:PRS

‘s/he told Bee...’ (080103-000.wav 239)

(*‘Bee told him/her’ – based on context)

Example 5

Kavang *nîng* *înyitak...*

bee *nîng* 3SG.O:tell:3SG:PRS

‘s/he told Bee’ (080103-000.wav 389)

Example 6

1a. Possible argument marking - AOV

kavang dî gupa nîng înyitak...

bee dî frog nîng 3SG.0:tell:3SG:PRS

'Bee tells Frog...' (080103-000.wav 63)

Example 7

Example 8

ne ∅

Kising ∅

înyigum

1SG ∅

Kising ∅

3SG.0:tell:1SG:SG

'I told Kising...' (140313-000.wav 119)

Example 9

datnyi

gotip dî uyapnyi

bunga pîn pîn ∅ înyigut

young.sib :3SG:POSS gotip dî old.sib:3SG:POSS bunga pîn pîn ∅ 3SG.0:tell:3SG:PST

'Young brother Gotip told his older brother Bunga pîn pîn...' (VG2_2014_021.005)

■ Unattested: A ∅ O *nîng* V

1a. Possible core argument markings in Tayatuk

- S: *dî* or \emptyset
- A: *dî* or \emptyset
- O: *nîng* or \emptyset

1b. What is the default marking?

- The citation form / vocative
- Possessor in juxtaposed possession
- Nominal predicate
- Locational predicate
- Existential construction
- SV
- AOV
- OAV

See Koenig 2006, Handschuh 2014

1a. What is the default marking in Tayatuk?

- The citation form / vocative is \emptyset marked
- \emptyset is the form used in most contexts / with most constructions
 - Nominal predicate constructions, both NPs are \emptyset marked

<i>Mannyi</i>	<i>sogep</i>
mame:3SG:POSS	cassowary
‘its name is cassowary’	

Example 10

- Possessor in juxtaposed possession is \emptyset marked

<i>Kwakwasu</i>	<i>nok</i>
teacher	food
‘the teacher’s food’	

Example 11

1b. What is the preferred marking for 0?

	0 argument	
	<i>nîng</i>	∅
AOV	2	17
OAV	0	2
OV	10	65
Total	12	84

1b. What is the preferred marking for S?

	S argument	
	$d\hat{i}$	\emptyset
SV	27	26
SPPV	2	14
S + non-VP predicate	2	16
Total	31	56

1b. What is the preferred marking for A?

	A argument	
	$d\hat{i}$	\emptyset
AOV	10	9
OAV	2	0
Total	11	9

More data needed!

1. Argument marking in Tayatuk

Hypothesis 1 →

	Default	DAM
A	∅	<i>dî</i>
S	∅	<i>dî</i>
O	∅	<i>nîng</i>

Hypothesis 2 →

	Default	DAM
A	<i>dî</i>	∅
S	∅	<i>dî</i>
O	∅	<i>nîng</i>

2a. Is the DAM on **S/A** optional or obligatory?

- ~~Type 1: DAM is obligatory, both markings are in complementary distribution~~
- **Type 2**: DAM is optional
- **Type 3**: DAM is obligatory in some contexts and optional in others

Factors triggering DAM on S/A

- Semantic classes of verbs
 - die > see > talk > get up > go
 - No agentivity effect (control, volition)

Type 2

Example 12

datna *mareyi rî* *kumgut.*
elder.sib.ssx:1SG.POSS big *dî* die:3SG:PST
'my big brother died.' (UME-002.wav 181)

Factors triggering DAM on S/A (cont.)

- Polarity, TAM
- Clause types
 - Main clause
 - Dependent clause (time adverbial in (13), relative clause)
 - Medial clause
 - Final clause

Type 2

Example 13

Dî kîyi nan dî pang kuwak agut ken ...
SEQ finish dad dî get:NF garden do:3SG:PST LOC
'when dad was working here...' (140303-002.wav 139)

Factors triggering DAM on S/A (cont.)

■ Mood

- Declarative: optional marking **Type 2**
- Interrogative: optional marking
- (Exclamative)
- (Imperative: overt S/A rare, always \emptyset marked?) **Type 3?**

Example 14

Wase, ga ya!

Wase, 2SG say

‘Wase, you talk!’ ?’(140507.wav 28)

Factors triggering DAM on S/A (cont.)

- Information status: Optional with topic marker *ko*

Example 15

Type 2

amnara nin dî ko ko bîn tut bîn dî ko
men 1PL dî TOP TOP with boy with dî TOP

kîyi pompom pagumîng
finish wall make:1PL:PST

‘we men and boys then made the bamboo wall’ (140308-001.wav 128)

Factors triggering DAM on S/A (cont.)

- Information status: Optional in questions (focus)

Q: *namîn dî wamanggut?*
who *dî* break:3SG:PST
'who broke (up the soil)?'

Type 2

Example 16

A: *mingna rî bisak wamanggut.*
mother:1SG.POSS *dî* DUB break:3SG:PST
'I think my mother did.' (140408-000.513)

Factors triggering DAM on S/A (cont.)

- Optional with determiner *u* (definite) and with *bu* ‘one’ (indefinite)
- Optional with proper names, common names (animate, inanimate)
 - But so far no AOV with inanimate A

Type 2

Example 17

kenuk karîp u mak kung kung bîn mak
tree.SP wood DEM ground hot hot with ground

sorîp dîn pidying ken yiktak.
wind GEN middle LOC stay:3sg:PRS

‘Kenuk trees grow/live in between cold and hot places’ (2014-019.002)

Factors triggering DAM on S/A (cont.)

- **Not found** with pronouns 1SG and 2SG... yet?! **Type 3?**
 - Optional with *u* '3SG/PL'
 - Optional with *nin* '1PL', *dan* '2DU', *din* '2PL' **Type 2**
 - Side note: 2SG + *nîng*

Example 18

nin dî sak pukung, kap otang ken papîng,

1PL *dî* first go.down:NF song bed LOC bring.down:NF

'we going down first, we going down to the stage' (080116-002.wav 238)

2a. Is the marking optional or obligatory?

- **Type 2**: argument marking is optional in all contexts
- **Type 3**: argument marking is obligatory in some contexts and optional in others
 - *Not with pronouns: 1SG and 2SG*
 - *Optional with other pronouns*
 - Gap in the data?
 - *Not in imperative mood*
 - S/A in imperative mood is rare, in focus

2b. What is the function of $d\hat{i}$?

(based on single factor analysis)

NOT:

- Discriminative
 - *Rare to have A and O in a sentence*
 - *Optional with S too*
 - *50% chance to have S/A + $d\hat{i}$*
- Semantic property of the S/A
 - *Agentivity, volition, control*
 - *Animacy?*
- Information structure
 - *Optional with both topic and focus*

2b. What is the function of *dî*? (cont.)

Example 19

kangun dî godeng nangîkwîn, tut dî kangun nangîkwîn, nan dî tut nangîkwîn,
dog *dî* kumala eat:3SG:DS boy *dî* dog eat:3SG:DS dad *dî* boy eat:3SG:DS
'the dog eating the sweet potato, the boy eating the dog, the father eating the boy...'

Example 20

Kuwe Tetevik dî nagut, kuwe Bullet dî nagut.
one Tetevik *dî* eat:3SG:PST one Bullet *dî* eat:3SG:PST
'One, Tetevik bit it, one Bullet bit it.'

2b. What is the function of *dî*? (cont.)

Example 21

kîyi tunde ken ko namîn Nungga rî yuwîn tamîng bu pasîgut.
finish Tuesday LOC TOP who Nungga *dî* say:3SG.SS jungle one chop:3SG:PST
'then on Tuesday, whozat? Nungga said he had clearcut an area.'

Example 22

Contrast

Kuvîn uka ken engîk, tut naru nin dî gîn nannin bîn ing
die:3SG:DS this.one LOC put:NF boy girl 1PL *dî* only dad-1PL:POSS with come.up:NF
'(my mom) Having died, being buried there, only us kids, with our father coming...'

2b. What is the function of $d\hat{i}$? (cont.)

Contrast and...

- **Prominence:** “[...] singles out the NP and/or its referent for particular attention [...] The feature [prominent] is presumed to be an abstract one that can contextualise in different ways in different languages: it might contextualise as unexpectedness (prominence being naturally associated with what is unexpected), with contrastive focus, with definiteness, with agentivity or potency” (McGregor 2010:1625)
- See also **Discourse Prominence** in Light Warlpiri and Gurindji Kriol (Meakins and O’Shannessy 2010) and in Yali (Riesberg 2018); and **Foregrounding** (Jenny and Tun 2013; McGregor 2013)

Summary

- 1a. Tayatuk default argument marking:
 - S: \emptyset
 - O: \emptyset
 - A: $d\hat{i} / \emptyset ?$
- 1b. Differential argument marking
 - S: $d\hat{i}$
 - O: $n\hat{i}ng$
 - A: $d\hat{i} / \emptyset ?$
- 2a. Differential S and A marking is optional
 - *in all contexts*
- 2b. Differential S and A marking: function
 - *Contrast*

Remaining questions

- Differential marking DM and single factor analysis vs. combination of factors
 - *Isn't DM sensitive to the number of arguments in a sentence?*
 - If OV, unmarked O
 - If SV, marked S
 - If AOV, mark A if...
 - *Isn't DM sensitive to the number of arguments + animacy? + other features?*
 - If SV, and S is animate, then ...
 - If SV, and S is inanimate, then ...
 - ...
 - *How does DM interact with switch reference? (cf. Hynum 2010 on Numanggang); with possessive marking?*
 - *Does the frequency of overt marking vary with text genre? (cf. Jenny and Tun 2013 in Burmese)*
 - Is DM a stylistic feature?
- Differential marking = case marking
 - Are we dealing with case here?
- What is the function of DOM *nîng*?
 - *Triggering factors?*
- How many *dî* and *nîng* are there?
 - *dî* ablative and *nîng* instrumental
 - *dî* clause initial (SEQ?) and clause final (?)
- Origin of DM in Tayatuk
 - Borrowed from neighboring language Yopno?
 - Similar forms (*da* and *nang*) and similar functions (Reed 2003)

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