Ditransitives, applicatives, and gaps in Thulung verb paradigms

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Outline

• Basics of case-marking and verbal agreement
• Three-argument verbs: ditransitives and applicative-marked verbs
• Paradigm gaps: 2<>INCL
Thulung Rai

- one of 30-odd Kiranti languages
- Tibeto-Burman (Eastern Nepal)
- ca. 2000 speakers

- case-marking: person-based split ergative system
- indexation of both subject and object on verb
Split ergative system:

- ka (ERG) on 2PL and 3rd pronouns, and all nouns
- ø on other pronouns
- lai (DAT) on human primary objects ("indirect object in a ditransitive clause or a direct object in a monotransitive clause")
1. go ʌŋ-ŋu
   1sg sleep-1sg
   I sleep

2. gu ʌm
   3sg sleep
   He sleeps

3. go khlea jal-u
   1sg dog strike-1sg>3sg
   I strike the dog

4. gu-ka khlea jal-ʉ
   3sg-erg dog strike-3sg>3sg
   He strikes the dog

5. go gu-lai jal-u
   1sg 3sg-dat strike-1sg>3sg
   I strike him

6. gu-ka go-lai jal-ɳi
   3sg-erg 1sg-dat strike-3sg>1sg
   He strikes me
Basics: verbal agreement suffixes

- Distinct non-past and past forms
- A and P both indexed via suffixes (A in vertical axis, P in horizontal)
- No explicit inverse marking (when P is higher in animacy hierarchy than A, according to 1>2>3), but order of morphs always has higher-ranked role first
- Presence of gaps
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Ditransitive verbs

A    G
7. go  khotle-lai
dzam
1SG everyone-DAT

T
pheṭ-pu
food
serve-1SG>3SG

ma
CONJ
gwak-pumi
give-1SG>3PL

I serve food to everyone and give it to them.

pheṭ-pu
serve-1SG>3SG (A>T)
‘indirective’

gwak-pumi
give-1SG>3PL (A>G)
‘secundative’

NB. G: most goal-like; T: other most patient-like
Ditransitive verbs: indirectives

Verb agreement: A>T
Case marking: G marked with –lai and obligatorily present and marked; T generally unmarked

inanimate T:
8. go gana-lai tsəŋra thyr-pu
   1SG 2SG-DAT letter send-1SG>3SG
   I send you a letter

animate T:
9. go gana-lai kuţyma thyr-pu
   1SG 2SG-DAT puppy send -1SG>3SG
   I send you a puppy
BUT if human T it is marked with –lai (and G is not), and G is marked via a circumlocution involving a locative.

gana, 2sg, as G:

10. *go gana-lai martin-lai thyr-pu
   1sg 2sg-dat martin-dat send-1sg>3sg
   intended: I send Martin to you

11. go i:ma-ra martin-lai thyr-pu
   1sg 2sg.poss-loc martin-dat send-1sg>3sg
   I send Martin to your place
Case marking possibilities for indirectives

A    G  (T)
ERG/NOM  DAT  NOM
ERG/NOM  LOC  DAT

G must be present and case-marked, T optional and unmarked

T is marked on verb, G is not
Given the primary object marking, with G and P ‘sharing’ the marker -lai, indirective verbs and their agreement marking serve to distinguish P from G:

12. oram gana-lai ghrok-pu  
    this 2SG-DAT throw-1SG>3SG  
    I throw this at/to you

13. go gana-lai ghro:-ni  
    1SG 2SG-DAT throw-1SG>2SG  
    I throw you
Ditransitive verbs: secundatives

Verb agreement: A>G
Case marking: G not necessarily overt, and not obligatorily case-marked with –lai; T unmarked

14. go (gana-(lai)) sātso gwa:-ni
   1SG (2SG-(DAT)) key give-1SG>2SG
I give you a key
G is marked through verbal agreement, and can occur without case-marking:

15. gu-ka u:ma tsəttse-mim(-lai) tsəkleṭ gwak-təmi
   3SG-ERG 3SG.POSS child-PLU(-DAT) chocolate give-3SG>3PL.PST

16. go ŋa:waŋa:mi(-lai) rja:-mu si:-pumi
   1SG elder(-DAT) write-INF teach-1SG>3PL
I teach the elders to write
If $G$ is animate but of low status, it tends not to be marked; speakers even resort to creating a compound (essentially incorporating $G$ into the $T$) more naturally than using a the case marker -lai

17. go  bwa-dzam  gwak-pu  
   1SG  pig-food  give-1SG>3SG  
I give pig-food  
intended: I give the pig food
T is typically inanimate, but animate, even human, T’s are possible. T is unmarked in those scenarios (no competition for –lai as there was with indirectives):

18. go gana-lai kuṭyma gwa:-ni
   1SG 2SG-DAT puppy give-1SG>2SG
   I give you a puppy

19. go aːma dzaumotsœ hanum mytsy-lai gwak-pu
   1SG 1SG.POSS daughter other person-DAT give-1SG>3SG
   I give my daughter to that person (eg. in marriage)
Case-marking possibilities for secundative verbs:

A  G  T
ERG/NOM  (DAT)  NOM
ERG/NOM  (NOM)  NOM
ERG/NOM  incorporated  NOM
Verb agreement: A>G
Ditransitive verbs: variation in agreement

Complicating division between secundatives and indirectives is that in reality many speakers fail to index all the categories—most notably, the number of the P (or G or T)—of the arguments → both secundative and indirective verbs look the same

20. gu-ka u:ma tsettsë-mim-lai tsækleŋ gwak-tʊ(mi) 3SG-ERG 3SG.POSS child-PLU-DAT chocolate give-3SG>3(PL).PST
He gave his children chocolate

Suggestive of blurring of the contrast between these verb types for some speakers.
Applicative-marked verbs

Applicative suffix -sa, used to add argument to verb

21. tsəttse-ka saŋ khʌl-lu
    child-ERG wood fetch-3SG>3SG.PST
    The child fetched wood.

22. tsəttse-ka saŋ uːma mam-lai khʌl-saṭ-ɖu
    child-ERG wood 3SG.POSS mother-DAT fetch-3SG>3SG.PST
    The child fetched wood for his mother

Verb agreement marks A and the additional argument
Can be used with some ditransitive verbs, without the semantic distinction between 'simplex' and applicative being clear:

**ditransitive**
23. tsɛttse-ka mam-lai pap kor-ʁûmi
    child-ERG mother-DAT father fetch-3SG>3PL.PST
    The child fetched father for mother

**ditransitive plus applicative**
24. tsɛttse-ka mam-lai pap kor-saṭ-ɖûmi
    child-ERG mother-DAT father fetch-APPL-3SG>3PL.PST
    The child fetched father for mother
Possibility for case-marking of additional argument:

a) not overtly expressed
b) genitive -ku (+/- pronominal possessive marking)
c) 'dative' –lai (only available for transfer verbs; cf ditransitives)

a) not overtly expressed:

25. gu-ka me tukisa:le-ŋa tsar-saṭ-ɖʉ
   3SG-ERG that spool.thread-INT throw-APPL-3SG>3SG.PST
   She threw that spool of thread (for/to someone)
b) through possessive marking

26. u:ma səŋ khotle-ka phar-saṭ-toko
   We all share the work of carrying back his wood (for him)

27. go i-se:r sen-sa-ni
   I will kill your lice for you
Possessive marking as means of encoding additional argument when -lai is used for P, making it inaccessible for G:

28. go inima tsọtṣe-lai ṭuḷuṁtsa-ka jal-sa-nini
   1SG 2SG.POSS child-DAT stick-INST hit-APPL-1SG>2PL
   I hit your child for you with a stick

Similar to indirective verbs which used locative marking when –lai was needed for animate T
c) through dative marker -lai:

29. mam-ka tsøttse ŋtel-ka klʌ:-mi
    mother-ERG child oil-INSTR rub-3PL>3SG
    The mother rubs her child with oil.

30. mam-ka tsøttse-lai ŋtel klʌm-sa-mi
    mother-ERG child-DAT oil rub-APPL-3PL>3SG
    The mother rubs her child with oil.
Case marking of additional argument is sensitive to semantics of verb: -lai only used for G when there is a transfer (mental or physical)

31. *mam-ka tse-lai khlusikhop bʌ-ṣaṭ-ɖʉ
   mother-ERG child-DAT shoe tie-APPL-3SG>3SG.PST
   intended: Mother tied the shoes for the child

32. mam-ka tse-ku khlusikhop bʌ-ṣaṭ-ɖʉ
    mother-ERG child-GEN shoe tie-APPL-3SG>3SG.PST
    Mother tied its shoes for the child.
Verb agreement issues:
As with ditransitives, variation in marking of additional argument on verb

33. gu-ka ŋa:mi-tsip-lai tukisa:le-ŋa tsar-saṭ-ɖʉtsimi
   3SG-ERG old.woman-DU-DAT spool.thread-INT throw-APPL-3SG>3DU.FORM.PST
   She threw the thread to the two elder women

A: -ɖʉ  G: -tsi (dual) -mi (plural = formal)

Possible verb forms for 33:
tsarsaṭɖʉtsimi
tsarsaṭɖʊmi → not marking number of G
tsarsaṭɖʊtsi → not marking formality of G
Gaps in 2<>INCL slots of verbal paradigm

Reflexive forms 1>1, 2>2: reflexive paradigm with different suffixes

Not the case for 2<>INCL, which are empty slots in paradigms of all Kiranti languages: 1st person non-singular <> 2nd person which is part of that entity
(Very) difficult to elicit: pragmatically utterable scenarios not easy to come by
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Different strategies to ‘get around’ the gap

a) –ku la:gi, 'for the sake of'

34. gana i:tsima la:gi kamso ɖym-na
    2SG 1DI.POSS sake song play-2sg>3sg
You will play a song for us
b) Reflexive forms

35. gutsi ko: hopmam-ɳa je phʌ-sin-tsi
    1Di one such.as-INT clothes dress-REFL-1Di
Lit. We dress ourselves in the same clothes
Intended: Dress us in the same clothes

36. gutsi chatta-ka rim-sin-tsi
    1Di umbrella-INSTR cover-REFL-1Di
We cover ourselves with the umbrella
Intended: you covered us both with the umbrella
c) changing the reference to $2\times1_{SG}$:

37. \textit{gana} \textit{golai} \textit{wakha} \textit{lamdi-beṭ-ɲi}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
2SG & 1SG-DAT & slowly & walk-CAUS-2SG$>$1SG.PST \\
\end{tabular}

You made me walk slowly

intended: you slowed us down
d) intransitive verb which is semantically related

38. *gana gui-lai sen-ki
   2SG 1PI-DAT kill-2SG>1PI
intended: You will kill us all
(scenario: driver driving dangerously)

→ 39. gana me-dzepa gari then-na ma:la gui si-i
   2SG NEG-good car drive-2SG>3SG.PST COND 1PI die-1PI
If you drive the car so badly, we will die
Sometimes, examples look like they generate the intended form:

40. gana gutsi-lai phet-na

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\text{serve-2SG}>\text{3G.PST} \\
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You served us (food).

But actually indirective verb, with the T (which could be dzam, 'food'), unexpressed and the agreement on verb 2SG>3SG as opposed to 2SG>1DI
In verb suffix paradigm, the column for inclusive P's has 3\textsuperscript{>\textsc{INCL}} forms which feature morpheme -sa (no other Kiranti language has -sa here)

Originally an applicative?
Synchronically clearly not: APPL + sa on same verb:

41. gu-ka naŋlo-ra gutsi-lai ritsi hʌm-sa-sa
3SG-ERG winnow-LOC 1DI-DAT sour.fruit spread-APPL-3SG\textsuperscript{>1DI}
She spreads fruit on the basket for us.
Very hypothetical proposal for mechanism of APPL → 3>INCL: inverse forms tend to be the same whether A is 2 or 3; for scenarios where the A=2 slots (ie 2>INCL) are empty, a form is created using applicative
Thank-you!

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