Case marking in TB/ST
藏缅语及汉藏语言中的格标记

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Case marking patterns: Nominative-Accusative 格标记模式：主格-宾格型

- I saw him.我看见他了。
  - I = nominative case form of 1st singular　　我=第一人称单数主格标记形式
  - Him = accusative case form of 3rd singular　他=第三人称宾格标记形式
- English pronouns: we have the following pattern: 英语中的代词有以下模式
  - Subject: Nominative case　　主语：主格标记
  - Object: Accusative case　　宾语：宾格标记
- What is wrong with the following: 以下句子为何不符合语法规范？
  - *Me saw he.
  - *Us ate.

Transitivity 及物性

Class discussion 课堂讨论

- List 5 intransitive verbs 列出五个不及物动词

- List 5 transitive verbs 列出五个及物动词

- Compare characteristics of the two 对比两者的特点

Case marking patterns: Nominative Accusative
格标记模式：主宾格型

Here's an additional point about Nominative-Accusative systems

主宾格语言的另一特点：

The subject of an intransitive verb is marked with the same case as the subject of a transitive verb:

不及物动词的主语和及物动词的主语使用同样的标记。

She walked to school. 她走去学校了。

She broke a cup   她打碎了一个杯子。

She read a book. 她读了一本书。

Case marking patterns: Ergative –Absolutive

格标记模式：作通格型

作格指及物动词的主语（施事者）的格；通格指及物动词的宾语（也叫做承受着或受事者）和不及物动词的主语（也叫做不及物动词的核心论元）格形式一致。

及物动词的施事者、不及物动词的核心变元、不及物动词的受事者通常符号化为如下:

（1）A= 及物动词的施事者（agent），（2）S= 不及物动词的核心论元（subject），（3）O= 及物动词的宾语（object）

Dyirbal 迪尔巴尔语（澳大利亚的一种土著语言）

爸爸（不及物动词的核心论元）回来了。

(3)　a.　ŋuma bamaga-n'u
father returned
'Father(S) returned.'

b.　yabu　banaga-n'u
mother returned
'Mother(S) returned.'

妈妈（不及物动词的核心论元）回来了。

c.　ŋuma yabu-ŋgu bura-n
father mother　saw
'Mother(A) saw father(O).'

d.　yabu　ŋuma-ŋgu bura-n
mother father　　saw
'Father(A) saw mother(O).'

We see two forms: 有两种形式

'mother':
yabu　　　　(S or O)
yabu-ŋgu　　(A)

'father':
ŋuma　　　　(S or O)
ŋuma-ŋgu　　(A)

(Dyirbal: Cairns Rain For-
est, Australia)

妈妈（施事者）看见了爸爸（及物动词的受事者）。

爸爸（通）看见了妈妈（宾）。

Case marking patterns: Differential marking 格标记模式：受词异相标记

Differential marking refers 受词异相标记指的是：

- prominent arguments take overt marking 主要论元带语法标记
- non-prominent arguments in the same roles take zero marking 同一言语角色的非主要论元使用零标记（即不带标记）
- Prominence is determined by opposing values for animacy, definiteness, volitionality, and kinesis 论元是否主要取决于论元的生命度、是否有定（可识别的实体）、意愿度和动态性

- E.g., 例如：
  - expected to be less prominent = table '桌子'（无生命），一般不做主要论元
  - expected to be more prominent = dog '狗'（有生命），比'桌子'会更突出
  - expected to be most prominent = boy '男孩'（有生命），一般最突出的论元

Case marking in some ST languages
汉藏语言中的格标记

Burmese, Lhasa Tibetan, Meitei, Burmese, and Lamkang

缅语、拉萨藏语、曼尼普尔语、和印度曼尼普尔邦语

Tibetan 藏语

Western Archaic, Western Innovative, Central Tibetan, Southern, Northern Kham, Eastern Kham, and Eastern Amdo –

藏语西部保守方言、藏语西部创新方言、中部藏语、南部藏语、北部康方言、东部康方言、东部安多方言

Ladakhi case frames for 1-place, 2-place and 3-place predicates (from Zeisler (2012))

拉达克藏语中一价谓核动词、2价谓核动词、3价谓核动词的格标记系统

TYPE 类型		CASE MARKING COMBINATIONS 格标记组合			SEMANTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VERB 动词的语义特征
1-place predicate 第	01	--	PAT 受事		change and motion 变化和位移
2-place predicate	02	PAT 受事	PAT 受事		predication, transformation (reflexive agents) 谓述，变形（反身施事）
	03a	PAT 受事	~LOC 位格		affection, oriented motions, position, change into existence 情感、定向运动、位置、变为存在状态
	03b	~LOC=TOP 位格=话题	PAT 受事		get out, move away 出去、移开
	04	PAT 受事	ABL 夺格		contact, separation 接触、分离

	05	PAT	COM		possession
	07	EXP 经验体	PAT 受事		directional activity, focused attention 方向性行为、焦点行为？
	08	AGN 施事	DAT/ALL 与格/向格		non-directional activity, transformation 非方向性行为、变形
3-place predicate 第三人称谓语位置					
	09a	AGN 施事	DAT/ALL 与格/向格	PAT 受事	give, bring-type I 给、带来（类型一）
	09b	AGN 施事	PAT 受事	~LOC 位格	bring-type II, deposit, transformation into 带来（类型二）、沉淀、变形成为

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Ladakhi case frames for 1-place, 2-place and 3-place predicates (from Zeisler (2012))

	10a	AGN	ABL	PAT	take away-type 1
	10b	AGN 施事	PAT 受事	ABL 夺格	take away-type 2带走（类型二）
	11a	AGN 施事	PAT 受事	COM 伴随格	join, mix, separate, exchange, ('object' oriented)加入、混合、分开、交换（定向谓语）
	11b	AGN 施事	COM 伴随格	ABS	exchange ('subject-oriented comitative marker) 交换（定向主语伴随格标记）

Nonoccurrence of the 'ergative' marker when agent volitionality is weak

当施事的意愿性比较低时，"作格标记"消失。

palaŋ-(e)	*petse-a*	*bearak*
cow-(AGN)	calf-DAT/ALL	call.out-PRS

'The cow is calling out for its calf (as I hear).'
(Zeisler 2012: 90, Kenhat variety) 母牛正在叫它的小牛（我听见）。

Differential Marking in Lhasa Tibetan
拉萨藏语中的受词异相标记

Lopsang-(gis)   lug   cig   bsad-song
Lopsang-AGN   sheep   a   kill-PERF
'Lopsang killed a sheep.' 洛桑杀了一只羊。   (Saxena 1989: 426)

nga-(s)   stag   bsad-kyi-yin
I- AGN   tiger   kill-FUT/VOLUNTARY
'I will kill the tiger.' 我要杀了那只老虎。   (Saxena 1989: 427)

tshiring-(kyi)   chi   song
Tshiring- AGN   went   PERF
'It is Tshiring who went.' 去的那个是次仁。   (Agha 1990: 107)[4]

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A and S marking = contrastive focus reading
通格和主格标记=对比焦点

A: *su-s*   *dkar-yol*   *mthong*   *song*
    who-ERG/INST   cup-ABS/NOM   see   PERF
    'Who saw the cup?'   谁看见了杯子？

B: *bkra-shiṣ*   *dkar-yol*   *thong*   *song*
    proper.name- ERG/INST   cup-ABS/NOM   see   PERF
    'Tashi (is the one who) saw the cup.'   (Agha 1990: 69)
    那个杯子，是扎西看见的。

A and S marking = contrastive focus reading
通格和主格标记=对比焦点

pad-ma	*red-pas ...*	*alee...*
proper.name- ABS/NOM	auxiliary-yes.no.question	oh

khong	*spri-u*	*gdong-pa*	*dmar-po*	*sugu*	*ring-po*
he- ABS/NOM	monkey	face	red	tail	long

khetsha-po	*cik*	*thong*	*song*
strange	one	see	PERF

'[You mean] Pēēma? … Oh, [I see] … he saw a strange long tailed, red faced monkey.'

[你的意思是] 边玛？ … [哦我明白了]...他见了一只有奇怪的长尾巴的红脸猴子。

(Agha 1990: 70)

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DeLancey (2011) on TB case marking system
DeLancey 2011提出的藏缅语格标记系统

- Long standing problem in both synchronic description and historical reconstruction.
- 原始藏缅语的格系统是用什么模式，是共时描写和历时构拟中都存在许多悬而未决的问题。
- Early research characterizes the family, especially the Tibetan languages, as ergative.
- 早期研究把藏缅语，尤其是藏语视为作格型语言。

- Research over the last two decades:过去近20年的研究：
  - "Ergative" marker occurrence is predictable based on semantics and pragmatic factors
  - 基于语义和某些语用因素的"作格"标记是可预测的。
  - More like Differential Marking 更倾向于受词异相标记

"It is now clear that this grammatical phenomenon characterizes the family as a whole, although there are a few languages which show more familiar typological profiles."

Meitei 曼尼普尔语

Tibeto-Burman, State of Manipur, northeast India
藏缅语、曼尼普尔邦、印度东北部

Meitei: *-pu 'patient'* marks only specific NPs

曼尼普尔语：施事标记"-pu"只出现在NP中

niŋthəw-tu-nə   *jenrəl-tu*   *lan-mí-təgi*   *tók-hən-khi-rə-e.*

king-DDET-AGN   general-DDET   war-man-ABL   stop-CAUS-STILL-PERF-ASRT

With jenrəl-tu： 'The king had a general dismissed from the army.' (Doesn't identify a particular general but the existence of generals in this context is expected by speaker and hearer.)用*enrəl-tu*表示： 国王把将军从军队里开除了（并未指出是某位将军，但是谈话双方都能根据语境推测是谁。）

With jenrəl-tu-pu: 'The king had that general dismissed from the army.' (Refers to a particular general identifiable by both speaker and hearer)

用*jenrəl-tu-pu*表示：国王把将军从军队里开除了（指出具体是哪位将军，且对话双方都很确定。）

Meitei: *-pu 'patient'* marks only specific NPs

má-hák-nə   tebəl káw-í
he-here-AGN   table kick-NHYP

With *tebəl* 'table':
'He kicked a table/tables.'
他踢了一张桌子/几张桌子。

With *tebəlbu* 'table-PAT':
'He kicked a particular table.'
他踢了那张桌子（特定的某张）。

Meitei: *-nə* 'agentive'
marks agent's unexpected or noteworthy activity
曼尼普尔语中的作格标记 "*-nə*" 表示施事者在情境中有意料之外，或反常的行为

Tomba　　　čá　　čá-i.

Tomba　　　meat　eat-NHYP

'Tomba ate meat.' (Tomba is a not a vegetarian.)Tomba 吃了肉。(Tomba 是一个素食者)。

tomba-nə　　čá　　čá-i

Tomba-AGN　meat　eat-NHYP

'Tomba ate meat.' (A noteworthy activity, not expected for this vegetarian.) Tomba 吃了肉（反常的行为，想不到素食者会吃肉。）

Meitei:-*nə* 'agentive'

marks agent's unexpected or noteworthy activity

曼尼普尔语中的作格标记"-nə"表示施事者在情境中有意料之外，或反常的行为

polis-nə　　*mi*　*á-ni*　　　*hát-pə-ni-ko.*

police-AGN man ATT-two　　kill-NOM-COP-TAG

Agent *polis-nə* 'police-AGN':

'The policemen killed two people, didn't they?'

（吃惊！）警察杀了两个人，不是吗？（反常出乎意料的事）

Agent *polis-tu* 'police-DDET':

'Those policemen killed two people, didn't they?'

警察杀了两个人，不是吗？（预期的动作或状态）

Meitei-*nə* 'agentive'
marks agent's unexpected or noteworthy activity
曼尼普尔语中的作格标记"-nə"表示施事者在情境中有意料之外，或反常的行为

má   túm-khi-lə-e.

He   sleep-STILL-PERF-ASRT

'He's gone to bed.' 他去睡觉了。

má-nə   túm-khi-lə-e.

he-AGN   sleep-STILL-PERF-ASRT

'(How surprising,) he's gone to bed.'（吃惊！）他去睡觉了！

Agents can be marked by one of the following:
施事可以被以下词缀标记：

-tu /-si **'demonstrative'** 指示词 *-ti* **delimitative**时限

-su **'also'** 也 　　　　　　　　　　　**-nə 'agentive'** 施事格

Meitei-*nə* 'agentive' ONLY marks agent's unexpected or noteworthy activity

曼尼普尔语中的作格标记"*-nə*"只表示施事者在情境中有意料之外，或反常的行为

əy   ya   čéŋ-í.

I   tooth clean-NHYP

'I brushed my teeth.'我刷了牙了。

-nə 'agentinve' with states → noteworthiness
作格标记 "*-nə*" → 反常，引起注意

á-čaw-bə   *layrík-tu-nə*   *lum-í*

ATT-big-NOM   book-DDET-AGN heavy-NHYP

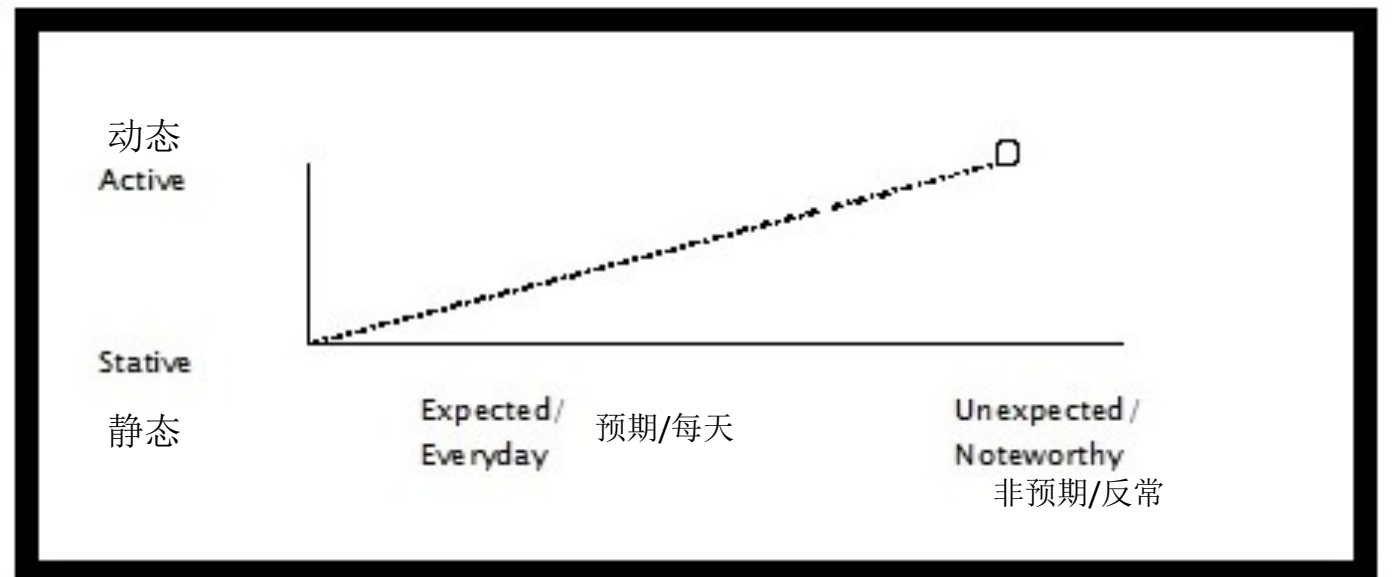'The big book is heavy (the others are not).'

这本大的书很沉（其他的书不沉）。

áy-nə   *á-phə-pə*   *nú-pá-ni.*

I-AGN   ATT-good-NOM person-male-COP

'I am a good boy (the others are not).'

我是个好男孩（别的都不是）。

Summary for the "agentive" marker
作格标记总结

- Expected action and state: lower incidence of -nə marking

- 预期的动作或状态： *-nə标记一般不出现*

- Unexpected action and state: higher incidence of -nə marking

- 非预期的、反常的动作或状态： -nə 标记出现频率更高

Tibeto-Burman languages characterized--Optional Case Marking, Pragmatic Ergative, Differential Subject Marking (Chelliah and Hyslop 2011, 2012)
选择性的格标记、语义因素控制的作格、受词异相标记的主语标记是藏缅语族语言的主要特征
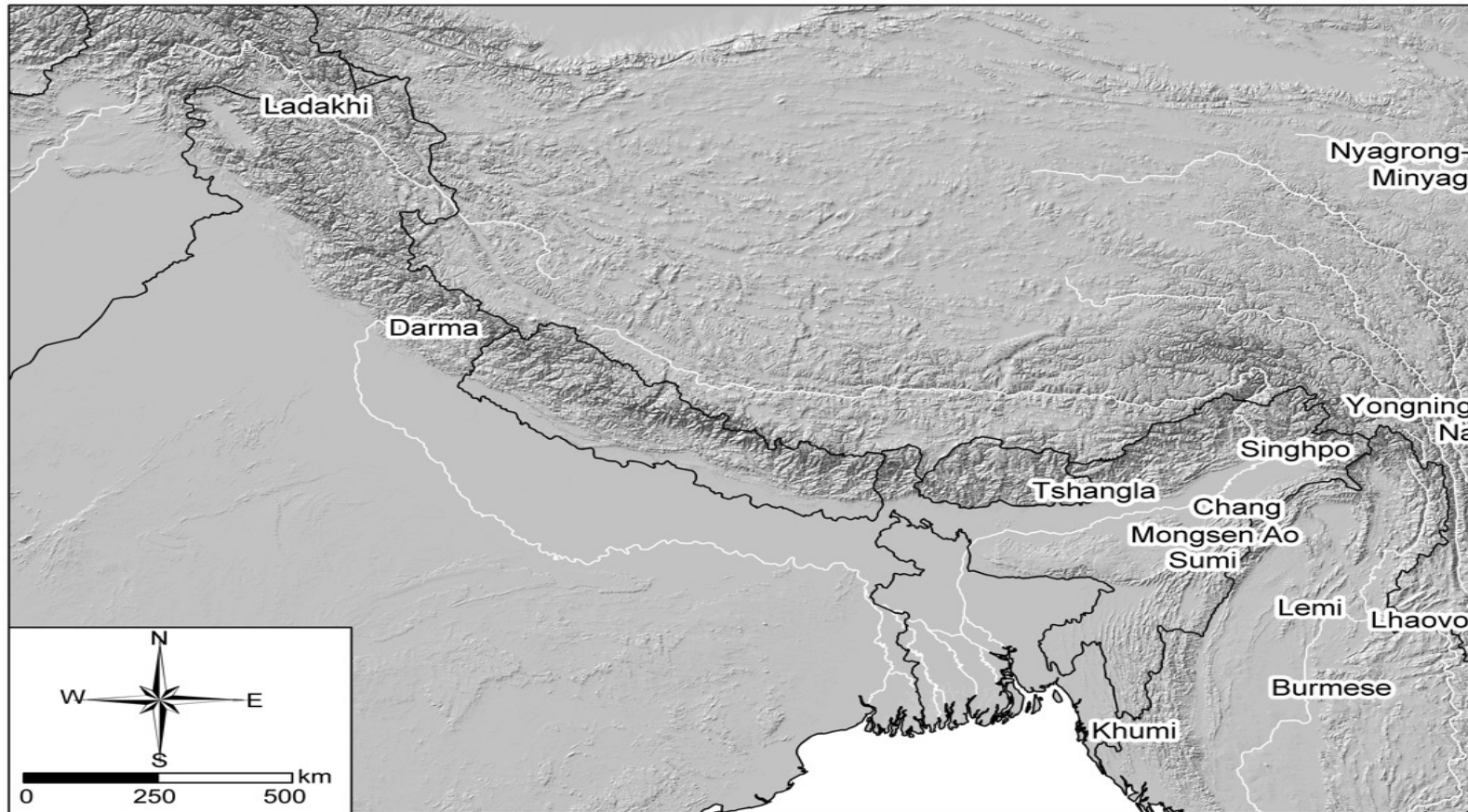
"Optional" ergative around the world
世界语言中的"选择性作格"

(McGregor 2010)

Areas/families区域/系属	Number of languages语言数量
Australia (Non-Pama-Nyungan, Pama Nyungan, Mixed)澳洲（Non-Pama-Nyungan, Pama Nyungan, Mixed等土著语）	41
Oceanic (Austronesian, Papuan)大洋洲（南岛语、巴布亚语）	22
Africa (Nilo-Saharan)非洲（尼罗河·撒哈拉语系）	1
Americas (Hokan, Penutian, Carib, Arawakan, Chibchan, Tacanan, Kawapanan)美洲（霍卡语族、佩纽蒂语系、加勒比语、阿拉瓦克语、奇布查语、塔卡纳语系）	9
Europe (Caucasian, Northeast Caucasian) 欧洲（高加索语、东北高加索诸语言）	4

Our expectations influence how we gather data
我们的预期目标会影响收集数据的方式

Expectations about the data 有关数据的预期

Language diversity and typology 语言多样性及类型学

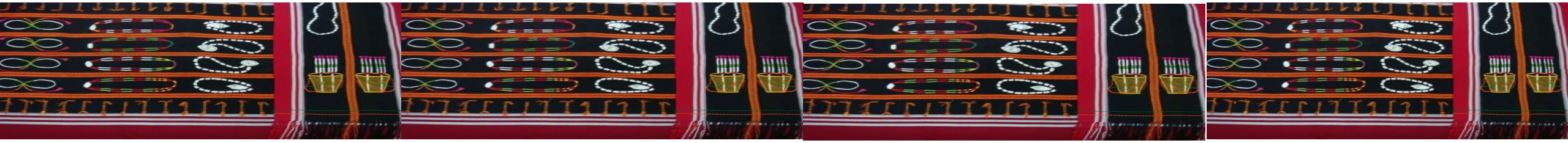Expectations about speaker responses 对说话者的回答预期

All facets of linguistic competence are accessed through elicitation

关于语言能力的所有内容都是通过引导获取的

Expectations of time involved in linguistic description 语言描写中的时间预期

A few speakers with careful targeted questioning

（针对）一些发音人，提问要有明确具体的目标

Burmese缅语

Nominative-Accusative with topicalizing function

主宾格型语言的话题化功能：将一个成分移至句首充当话题

Foregrounding function of nominative case
主格标记的前景功能：指在话语中相对突出某个成分

çé-sʰõu-ká   lu-ká …   nauʔ-ká   lu-n̥ə-jauʔ-ká …   sʰàu-tʰà-ṭa
front-most-GEN   man-SBJ   back-GEN   man-two-CLF-SBJ   cover-AUX-REAL.NMLZ

çé-sʰõu-ká   lu-ká   站在最前面的人。。。站在后面的两个人。。。站在他们前面的人
front-most-GEN   man-SBJ

'The one furthest to the front … the two men in the back … those covered ones furthest to the front, etc.'   (Wheatley 1982: 176)[10]

我叫做 Kou Nanda，他叫做 Kou Tin Maun

tçənɔ-ká   ko-nãdá=pa.   θu-ká   ko-fi.mãu=pa
1-SBJ   brother-proper.name=POL .   3-SBJ   brother-proper.name=POL
'My name is Kou Nanda, his name is Kou Tin Maun.'   (Wheatley 1982: 170)

Differential Marking in TB 藏缅语中的受词异相标记

- Disambiguation 消除歧义(是解释使用一词多义或多形词时作者的使用意图)
- Broad Focus 广焦点（从焦点标识对象看，"是"焦点化的对象分别是谓语和句子，文献中一般称为"广焦点"。）
- Main versus Subordinate 主句和从属句之间的区别
- Enumeration 列举
- Distance from V 和动词的距离

TB exhibits Unique Differential Marking
藏缅语中的语言呈现独特的受词异相标记

The more agent- like As are more likely to be marked but ultimately, information and discourse structure are central to whether marking is present or not.

通常情况下，具有实施者特征（如有生命等特征）的论元更可能带标记，但信息和篇章结构对是否需要标记具有决定性作用

- I will make a handout of the following sentences after they are corrected. Please disregard slides 35-48 for now.

- Thanks!
- Shobhana

Lamkang Case Marking

Not yet discovered – Let's work on it together!

Nao-'a klee('a).
'Boy'-Pat 'playing'
"The boy is playing."

Nao - 'a   moot   mchaak
'Boy'-Pat. 'banana'   'ate'
"The boy ate a banana."

Nao - vi   moot - ta   mchaak
'Boy'-Pat. 'banana'-Pat   'ate'
"The boy ate a banana."

Khuu   thung ki   lu   mo
'village' 'from'   it is   INT
"Is it from the village?"

ding   arnaa   rek-ka   ding   tun   ki   txhaal
thuh ktxuu (lu).
'tree' 'leaves' PL-Pat 'tree' 'from'   Gen
'Autumn' 'in'   'fall'
The leaves fall from trees in autumn.

Nei - yi   nao(a)   toom   hin   ki   ruung
nu.
1PP- Src   'child'(Pat) 'bear' 'from' Gen 'protected'
1APerf
 "I have protected the child from the bear."

Raam-(ma) mpooi   ktham.
'Ram' - Pat 'stomach' 'he feels'
"Ram is hungry."

ding   arnaa   rek-ka   ding   tun   ki   txhaal
thuh ktxuu (lu).
'tree' 'leaves' PL-Pat 'tree' 'from'   Gen
'Autumn' 'in'   'fall'
The leaves fall from trees in autumn.

Nei - ya   k-plung   ngam   meh.
1PP-Pat 'my'-'heart' 'is happy' NEG
"I am sad."

donaa   rek-ka   upuu tun thah mdo thiik.
'Clothes' PL-Pat 'box'
"Clothes are kept on the top of the box."

Nei - yi   nao(a)   toom   hin   ki   ruung
nu.
1PP- Src   'child'(Pat) 'bear' 'from' Gen 'protected'
1APerf
"I have protected the child from the bear."
Note: Here the [ngi] assimilates to [yi] per rule 2 above. There is an optional Patient marker here that we will discuss further later. The [ki] of [hinki] is a Genitive marker that we will discuss further later.

Ma ngi laikaa('a)   knpun   thuh sin   da.
3PP Src 'book'(Pat) 'meeting'   'to' 'bring' 3APerf
"She brought the book to the meeting."

Noom - mi   inn   bee   mtkhulla.
'Grass' Src 'house' 'beside' 'surrounds'
"Grass surrounds the house."
Note: [Ngi] assimilates to [mi].

Thung ki   thei   ∅-kyao va
'Then' Gen 'fruit' 3Src-'pluck'
"Then he plucked the fruit."

au   thung ki   boorkaang khat   ava   han lau
da,
'and' 'then' Gen 'basket'   'one' 'that' 'taking up'
3APerf
"And then he picked up the basket."

1) *Tunni Momo ngi laykaa   m-t-piik*

       Today   Momo   book   1S-INV-give

       Today Momo gives me a book.

1)   *m-t-pniim*

       1SG-INV-smell

       He smells me.

1) *Yanni **ngi** nei'**i** ava' laikaa'a kparcham dok.*

   Yesterday I   that   book   1SG-read COMP

   I read that book yesterday.

1) *Tombi **ngi** ava' laikaa'a mparcham dok.*

      Tombi   that book   3SG-read COMP

      Tombi read that book.

1) *Mmaan**'i** klas   thungki   rang**'i**   laikaa avah mparcham*

      dok'en.

      3PL   class (for/purpose) to be(?) book that   3PL-

      read   COMP-PL.

      They read that book for class.

vang bong thi da ngi ma ki mbuu mlikin ava
'go' 'awhile' 'after' 3APerf Src 3PP Gen 'cloth' 'scarf' 'that'
"After going awhile, his cloth, [that is,] his scarf"
{literally, "the cloth of his"}

Ding leen ki
'tree' 'on' GEN
"From on the tree." (From 03Pear 37)

lah mii lam ki vaari pii,
'faraway' 'other people's land' GEN 'story' 'it is'
"A story of a faraway land." (From 6Pear 2)

hai klin paa bul khat kchei'i,   arlei-'i   don da, hang kal da,

. 'ladder'-Src

"He leaned the ladder against the foot of a big fruit

tree. He climbed up."

1) *Yanni   nang **ngi** laykaa   a-t-piik*

   Yesterday   2SG   book 2SG-INV-give

   Yesterday you gave me a book.

hang loon da ngi, mdo yao pii,
'up' 'climb' 3APerf Src
he climbed and he plucked fruit (lit. "climbing, he picked fruit'

aryung txum da msut thungbi ngi,
'coming' 'down' 3APerf 'look' 'while' Src
"came down, while looking"

vang bong thi da ngi ma ki mbuu mlikin ava
'go' 'awhile' 'after' 3APerf Src 3PP Gen 'cloth' 'scarf' 'that'
"After going awhile, his cloth, [that is,] his scarf"

Koko ngi   Sang-sang   hin thah chithii - ya   p'hor da.

'Koko' Src 'Sang-Sang' 'to'   'letter'-Pat 'send' 3APerf

"Koko sent that letter to Sang-sang."

Note: [a] becomes [ya] following a glide, per rule 2 as discussed in Source Markings.

Tomba ngi ding - 'a teebal t - p - laan   da duul   da.

'Tomba' Src   'tree'-Pat 'table'   INV-CAUS-'cross' 3APerf 'slide' 3APerf

"Tomba slid the wood across the table."

Nei -yi   Jared(ta)   toom hin ki ruung nu.

1PP-Src 'Jared-(Pat) 'bear'

"I have protected Jared from the bear."