TOWARDS A FORMAL MODEL OF DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN TATAR

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PLAN OF THE TALK

1. Baker’s classification of Differential Object Marking
2. Object shift
3. Pseudo noun incorporation
4. Tatar unmarked DOs as Small Nominals
1. BAKER’S CLASSIFICATION OF DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING

(1) a. Ram-ne chitthi-ko Anita-ko ghejaa.
Ram-ERG letter-ACC Anita-DAT sent
‘Ram sent the letter to Anita.’

b. Ram-ne Anita-ko chitthi ghejii.
Ram-ERG Anita-DAT letter sent
‘Ram sent some/a letter(s) to Anita.’

(2) a. Maala veegamaa anda pustagatt-e vanganeen.
Mala quickly the book-ACC bought
‘Mala bought the book quickly.’

b. Maala veegamaa pustagam vanganeen.
Mala quickly book bought
‘Mala bought a book / books quickly.’

(3) a. Erel kinige-ni atyylasta.
Erel book-ACC bought
‘Erel bought the book.’

b. Erel kinige atyylasta.
Erel book bought
‘Erel bought a book/books.’
(4) a. Марат машина-ни сат-ıp ал-ди.  
   Марат car-ACC sell-CONV take-PST  
   ‘Марат bought a (specific)/the car.’  

b. Марат машина сат-ıp ал-ди.  
   Марат car sell-CONV take-PST  
   ‘Марат bought a car/cars.’
2. **OBJECT SHIFT**

(1) a. Ram-ne chitthi-ko Anita-ko ghejaa.  
Ram-ERG letter-ACC Anita-DAT sent  
‘Ram sent the letter to Anita.’

b. Ram-ne Anita-ko chitthi ghejii.  
Ram-ERG Anita-DAT letter sent  
‘Ram sent some/a letter(s) to Anita.’

(5)  
\[ \text{a. unmarked objects} \quad \text{b. accusative objects} \]

\[
\text{VP} \quad \text{VP}
\]

\[
\text{OBJECT} \quad \text{OBJECT-} \text{VP}
\]

\[
\Delta \quad \Delta
\]

\[
\text{V}^\circ \quad \text{V}^\circ
\]
(6) a. Sakha
Masha türğennik salamaat-(#y) sie-te.
Masha quickly porridge-ACC eat-PST.3
‘Masha ate porridge quickly.’

   b. Tatar
Marat tiz alma-nı aša-dı.
Marat quickly apple-ACC eat-PST
‘Marat ate the apple quickly.’
   every student Tukay-GEN two poem-3-ACC read-PST
   ‘Every student read two poems by Tukay.’
2 > ∀: ‘There are (certain) two poems by Tukay that every student read.’
∀ > 2: ‘Every student read (some) two poems by Tukay.’

b. Marat [Alsu-innitus ber fotografija-se-*\((n)\)] kür-mä-de.
   Marat Alsu-GEN one photo-3-ACC see-NEG-PST
   ‘Marat didn’t see a photo of Alsu.’
exists > Neg: ‘There is one photo of Alsu that Marat didn’t see.’
Neg > exists: ‘It is not the case that Marat saw any photo of Alsu.’
(8) Marat kabat-kabat kitab-ı-ı-nı ukı-dı.
    Marat again-again book-3-ACC read-PST
    ∃ > RE: ‘Marat read the book again and again.’ (same book, over and over)
    RE > ∃: ‘Marat read a book again and again.’ (a different book from a set)

(9) Marat här bala-ga ike kitap-nı bir-de.
    Marat every child-DAT two book-ACC give-PST
    2 > ∀: ‘Marat gave two books to every child.’ (same two books)
    ∀ > 2: ‘Marat gave every child two books.’ (different two books)
3. PSEUDO NOUN INCORPORATION

(2) a. Maala veegamaa anda pustagatt-e vanganeen. Tamil
   Mala quickly the book-ACC bought
   ‘Mala bought the book quickly.’

   b. Maala veegamaa pustagam vanganeen.
   Mala quickly book bought
   ‘Mala bought a book / books quickly.’
(10) Minike kız bel-ä-m.
I two girl know-PRS-1SG
‘I know (some) two girls.’

(11) Min kübesenčä et jarat-a-m.
I more dog like-PRS-1SG
‘I like {a dog/dogs} more.’
a. Marat kızıl alma aša-dı.
Marat red apple eat-PST
‘Marat ate {a red apple / red apples}.’

b. Marat kızıl alma-lar aša-dı.
Marat red apple-PL eat-PST
‘Marat ate {*a red apple / red apples}.’

c. Marat kızıl alma-nı aša-dı.
Marat red apple-ACC eat-PST
‘Marat ate {a / the red apple / *red apples}.’
(13) Här ukučı ike kitap ukı-dı.
    every student two book read-PST
    $\forall > 2$: ‘For every student, there are two books that (s)he read.’
    *2 > $\forall$: ‘There are (certain) two books that every student read.’

(14) Marat här bala-ga ike kitap bir-de.
    Marat every child-DAT two book give-PST
    $\forall > 2$: ‘Marat gave every child (different) two books.’
    *2 > $\forall$: ‘There are (certain) two books that Marat gave to every child.’
(15)  Marat ike kitap ukı-ma-di.
      Marat two book read-NEG-PST
Neg > 2: ‘It is not the case that Marat read two books.’
*2 > Neg: ‘There are (certain) two books that Marat didn’t read.’

(16)  Marat kabat-kabat kitap ukı-di.
      Marat again-again book read-PST
RE > ∃ ‘Marat read book(s) again and again.’ (a different book each time)
*∃ > RE: ‘Marat read (the) book again and again.’ (same book)
‘You can buy him a book. You can wrap it nicely and give it as a gift.’
(18) a. Marat tiz alma aša-dı.
   Marat quickly apple eat-PST
   ‘Marat quickly ate {an apple / apples}.’
   Marat apple quickly eat-PST
   intended: same as (a)

(19) *Marat ike kitap här bala-ga bir-de.
   Marat two book every child-DAT give-PST
   intended: same as (14)
(20) Marat kızıl alma-lar aša-dı.
Marat red apple-PL eat-PST
‘Marat ate red apples.’

Alsu woman-PL clothing-3 sell-CONV take-PST
‘Alsu bought women's clothing.’
(22) Äti-se Marat-ka mašina büläk it-te.
father-3 Marat-DAT car gift make-PST
‘His father gave Marat a car as a gift.’
    Marat child-DAT new book-EMPH read-PST
    ‘The only thing that Marat did is read the child a new book.’
    OR: ‘The only thing Marat read to the child is a new book.’

b. Äti-se Marat-ka jaŋa mašina büläk-kına it-te.
    father-3 Marat-DAT new car gift-EMPH make-PST
    ‘His father only GAVE Marat a new car as a gift.’
    NOT: #‘His father gave Marat a new car only as a gift.’
(24) Bu keše ukučı-nı üz-e-nä xezmät it-ter-de.
this man student-ACC self-3-DAT service do-CAUS-PST
#Ul bik awır eš i-de.
it very difficult matter be-PST
‘This man made the student serve him. It (*service) was very difficult.’

I Marat-ABL/*-ACC book take-CAUS-PST
‘I made Marat take a book.’

I Marat-ABL/*-ACC book-ACC take-CAUS-PST
‘I made Marat take the book.’

c. Däülät-kä xezmät it-mä, däülät-ne/*-tän xalık-ka
state-DAT service do-NEG state-ACC/*-ABL people-DAT
xezmät it-ter.
service do-CAUS
‘Do not serve the state, but make the state serve the people.’ (www.corpus.tatar)
4. TATAR UNMARKED DOs AS SMALL NOMINALS

(26) a. Marat a-lar-*(nı) čakır-dı.
   Marat he-PL-ACC invite-PST
   ‘Marat invited them.’

b. Alsu Marat-*(nı) čakır-dı.
   Alsu Marat-ACC invite-PST
   ‘Alsu invited Marat.’

c. Marat här bala-*(nı) čakır-dı.
   Marat every child-ACC invite-PST
   ‘Marat invited every child.’

d. Marat bu bala-*(nı) čakır-dı.
   Marat this child-ACC invite-PST
   ‘Marat invited this child.’
(12)  a. Marat kızıl alma aša-dı.
Marat red apple eat-PST
‘Marat ate {a red apple / red apples}.’
b. Marat kızıl alma-lar aša-dı.
Marat red apple-PL eat-PST
‘Marat ate {*a red apple / red apples}.’
c. Marat kızıl alma-nı aša-dı.
Marat red apple-ACC eat-PST
‘Marat ate {a / the red apple / *red apples}.’
Table 1. Unmarked objects as Small Nominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unmarked objects</th>
<th>Accusative objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individuated/specific/partitive/anaphoric interpretation</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wide scope wrt quantifiers/negation possible</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can control PRO</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be antecedent of reflexive/reciprocal</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(27)  a. Marat bala-lar-*{(nì) [PRO uk-ïrga]} ñibär-de.
    Marat child-PL-ACC study-INF send-PST
    ‘Marat sent children to study.’

   Marat study-INF child-PL-ACC send-PST
   ‘Marat sent children to study.’

c. Marat bala-lar-*{(nì) ñibär-de [PRO uk-ïrga].
   Marat child-PL-ACC send-PST study-INF
   ‘Marat sent children to study.’
(28)  a. Marat bala-lar-*({n})i üz-e-neņi tu-gan kön-e-neņ 
    Marat child-PL-ACC SELF-3-GEN be.born-PRT day-3-GEN 
    bäjräm-lär-e-nä ǯibär-de. 
    holiday-PL-3-DAT send-PST 
    ‘Marat sent children to their own birthday parties.’
  b. Marat bala-lar-*({n})i ǯibär-de üz-e-neņi tu-gan 
    Marat child-PL-ACC send-PST SELF-3-GEN be.born-PRT 
    kön-e-neņ  bäjräm-lär-e-nä. 
    day-3-GEN holiday-PL-3-DAT 
    ‘Marat sent children to their own birthday parties.’
   Marat car-ACC sell-CONV take-PST
   ‘Marat bought a (specific)/the car.’

   Marat car sell-CONV take-PST
   ‘Marat bought a car/cars.’