

**TOWARDS A FORMAL MODEL OF DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING
IN TATAR**

Ekaterina Lyutikova
Asya Pereltsvaig

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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. **Hindi**
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. **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.'
- (3) a. Erel kinige-ni atyylasta. **Sakha**
Erel book-ACC bought
'Erel bought the book.'
- b. Erel kinige atyylasta.
Erel book bought
'Erel bought a book/books.'

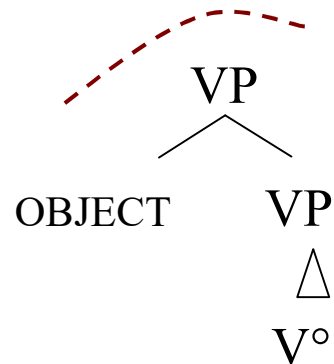
- (4) a. Marat mašina-**ni** sat-**1p** al-**d1**.
Marat car-**ACC** sell-**CONV** take-**PST**
'Marat bought a (specific)/the car.'
- b. Marat mašina sat-**1p** al-**d1**.
Marat car sell-**CONV** take-**PST**
'Marat bought a car/cars.'

Tatar

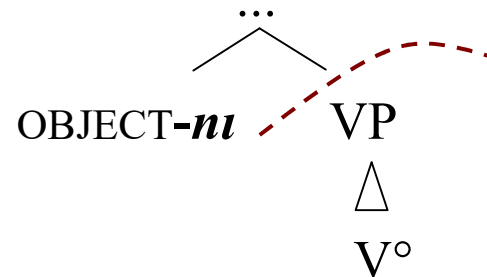
2. OBJECT SHIFT

- (1) a. Ram-ne chitthi-ko Anita-ko ghejaa. **Hindi**
 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) a. unmarked objects



- b. accusative objects



(6) a. Sakha

Masha **türgennik** 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.'

- (7) a. Här ukučı [Tukaj-nıŋ ike ŝıgır-e-*(n)] ukı-dı.
 every student Tukay-GEN two poem-3-ACC read-PST
 ‘Every student read two poems by Tukay.’
 $2 > \forall$: ‘There are (certain) two poems by Tukay that every student read.’
 $\forall > 2$: ‘Every student read (some) two poems by Tukay.’
- b. Marat [Alsu-nıŋ ber fotografijä-se-*(n)] kür-mä-de.
 Marat Alsu-GEN one photo-3-ACC see-NEG-PST
 ‘Marat didn’t see a photo of Alsu.’
 $\exists > \text{Neg}$: ‘There is one photo of Alsu that Marat didn’t see.’
 $\text{Neg} > \exists$: ‘It is not the case that Marat saw any photo of Alsu.’

- (8) Marat kabat-kabat kitab-1-n uk1-d1.
 Marat again-again book-3-ACC read-PST
 $\exists > RE$: ‘Marat read the book again and again.’ (same book, over and over)
 $RE > \exists$: ‘Marat read a book again and again.’ (a different book from a set)
- (9) Marat här bala-ga ike kitap-n1 bir-de.
 Marat every child-DAT two book-ACC give-PST
 $2 > \forall$: ‘Marat gave two books to every child.’ (same two books)
 $\forall > 2$: ‘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.'

- (12)
- a. Marat kızı1 alma aša-d1.
Marat red apple eat-PST
'Marat ate {a red apple / red apples}.'
 - b. Marat kızı1 alma-lar aša-d1.
Marat red apple-PL eat-PST
'Marat ate {*a red apple / red apples}.'
 - c. Marat kızı1 alma-n1 aša-d1.
Marat red apple-ACC eat-PST
'Marat ate {a / the red apple / *red apples}.'

- (13) Hār 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 hār 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 uk1-ma-d1.
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 uk1-d1.
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)

(17) Sin anarga kitap ala ala-sın, häm a-nı
 you that.DAT book take.IPFV can.PRS-2SG and that-ACC
 matur it-ep tör-ep büläk it-ergä bula.
 nicely make-CONV wrap-CONV gift make-INF be.PRS
 ‘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}.'
- b. *Marat alma tiz aša-dı.
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.'
- (21) Alsu xatın-nar kijem-e sat-ıp al-dı.
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.'

(23) a. Marat bala-ga jaña kitap-**kına** ukı-dı.
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 jaña 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 keşe ukuçı-nı üz-e-nä **xezmät** it-ter-de.
 this man student-ACC self-3-DAT service do-CAUS-PST
 #UI bik awır eš i-de.
 it very difficult matter be-PST
 ‘This man made the student serve him. It (*service) was very difficult.’

(25) a. Min Marat-tan/*-nı **kitap** al-dır-dı.
 I Marat-ABL/*-ACC book take-CAUS-PST
 ‘I made Marat take a book.’

b. Min Marat-tan/*-nı **kitap-nı** al-dır-dı.
 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-*(n1) čakır-d1.
Marat he-PL-ACC invite-PST
'Marat invited them.'
 - b. Alsu Marat-*(n1) čakır-d1.
Alsu Marat-ACC invite-PST
'Alsu invited Marat.'
 - c. Marat här bala-*(n1) čakır-d1.
Marat every child-ACC invite-PST
'Marat invited every child.'
 - d. Marat bu bala-*(n1) čakır-d1.
Marat this child-ACC invite-PST
'Marat invited this child.'

- (12)
- a. Marat kızı1 alma aša-d1.
Marat red apple eat-PST
'Marat ate {a red apple / red apples}.'
 - b. Marat kızı1 alma-lar aša-d1.
Marat red apple-PL eat-PST
'Marat ate {*a red apple / red apples}.'
 - c. Marat kızı1 alma-n1 aša-d1.
Marat red apple-ACC eat-PST
'Marat ate {a / the red apple / *red apples}.'

Table 1. Unmarked objects as Small Nominals

	Unmarked objects	Accusative objects
Individuated/specific/partitive/anaphoric interpretation	No	Yes
Wide scope wrt quantifiers/negation possible	No	Yes
Can control PRO	No	Yes
Can be antecedent of reflexive/reciprocal	No	Yes

- (27)
- a. Marat bala-lar-*(n1) [PRO uk-ırga] žibär-de.
 Marat child-PL-ACC study-INF send-PST
 ‘Marat sent children to study.’
- b. Marat [PRO uk-ırga] bala-lar-*(n1) žibär-de.
 Marat study-INF child-PL-ACC send-PST
 ‘Marat sent children to study.’
- c. Marat bala-lar-*(n1) žibär-de [PRO uk-ırga].
 Marat child-PL-ACC send-PST study-INF
 ‘Marat sent children to study.’

- (28) a. Marat bala-lar-*(ni)_i üz-e-neŋ_i tu-gan kön-e-neŋ
 Marat child-PL-ACC SELF-3-GEN be.born-PRT day-3-GEN
 bəjräm-lär-e-nä žibär-de.
 holiday-PL-3-DAT send-PST
 ‘Marat sent children to their own birthday parties.’
- b. Marat bala-lar-*(ni)_i žibär-de üz-e-neŋ_i tu-gan
 Marat child-PL-ACC send-PST SELF-3-GEN be.born-PRT
 kön-e-neŋ bəjräm-lär-e-nä.
 day-3-GEN holiday-PL-3-DAT
 ‘Marat sent children to their own birthday parties.’

- (29) a. Marat [_{DP} mašina-**ni**] sat-1p al-d1.
Marat car-**ACC** sell-CONV take-PST
'Marat bought a (specific)/the car.'
- b. Marat [_{SN} mašina] sat-1p al-d1.
Marat car sell-CONV take-PST
'Marat bought a car/cars.'