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MULTIPLE CASE MARKERS AND CASE ROLES IN ANGAMI : A RAISING SOLUTION¹

E. ANNAMALAI AND P.P. GIRIDHAR

There is apparent irregularity in case marking in Angami Naga², where the direct object has three different case markers and the subject has as many. One of the multiple case markers is common to both direct object and subject which results in its signifying two grammatical relations. This case marker also signifies the instrument case in causative sentences as illustrated below. This paper shows this irregularity to be superficial by an analysis of subject raising in a syntactic process of causation. This analysis accounts also for a semantic difference of volition as well as the systematic ambiguity between causation and permission in certain transitive sentences in Angami.

The three subject markers³ are :

(a) Zero (symbolised as \emptyset in the examples), which is the morphologically unmarked marker of the three.

1. *a za peletunyo*⁴
my name - sbj⁵(= \emptyset) peletunyo
'my name is Peletunyo'.

2. *puo lesaki nu vo-ya*
she-sbj (= \emptyset) school altv go-prt (= \emptyset)
-hab
'she goes to school'

(b) -e, which marks the topicalized subject.

3. *ravizo-e themie kevi*
ravizo-sbj man good
'Ravizo is (a) good man'

4. *puo-e puo-ni ba*
she-sbj she-happy prog
'she is buoyant'

(c) bu, which marks non-volitional subject (=non-instigative cause) in certain sentences.

5. *puo bu belho*
he sbj Belho-DO (= \emptyset)
dukhri-wa
kill-pst(= \emptyset)-vr
'he killed Belho' (non-volitional)

6. *puo bu thevo Puo*
he sbj pig one-DO (= \emptyset)
khra-lie
buy-pst (= \emptyset)-vr
'he bought a pig (non-volitional)'

7. *puo nyo bu lesaki nu*
his son sbj school altv
vo
go-pst (= \emptyset)
'his son went to school (non-volitional)'

Certain verbs, however (verbs like *rakrie* 'to be tall', *luo* 'to be fat, dumpy'), do not admit of this volitional/non-volitional opposition.

The three direct object markers are the following :

(a) It is zero in a simple surface sentence. When there are two surface NPs without any case marker, the first one in the temporal

order is the subject and the second one the direct object.

8. *savilie* *belho* *ŋu*
 savilie-sbj Belho-DO see-pst
 (=∅) (=∅) (=∅)
 'Savilie saw Belho'
9. *niliihu* *khutie* *tsa-lie-te*
 Niliihu-sbj cooked rice-DO eat-vr-prf
 (=∅) (=∅)
 'Niliihu has eaten rice'.
10. *tefa-u* *a* *re*
 dog-dfart-sbj I-DO (=∅) bark-pst (=∅)
 (=∅)
 'the dog barked at me'
11. *puo* *pfhe* *ba-lie*
 she-DO (=∅) wait prog-imp
 'wait for her!'

(b) When the verb is a communicative verb in a simple surface sentence, the marker is *pie*, which freely varies with *se*

12. *a puo keyu puo pie/se*
 My father-sbj joke one DO (instr?)
a ki pu
 I altv say-pst (=∅)
 'my father told me a joke'
13. *puo aomie dze pie/e a*
 he-sbj (=∅) Ao story DO (instr?) I
ki pu-sə
 altv say-pst (=∅)-vr
 'he spoke to me about Aos' or
 he told me Aos' story'

It must be noted that the marker *pie/se* in the above sentences is also the marker for the instrument case :

14. *uko umhi pie/se ŋu-ya*
 we (incl) eye instr see-hab
 -sbj(=∅) 'we see with eyes'
15. *a hau raka kenie*
 I-sbj (=∅) this-DO (=∅) rupee two
pie/se khra-lie
 instr buy-pst (=∅) vr
 'I bought this for two rupees'.

In point of fact, one could very well argue that in sentences like (12) and (13) also, where the noun with *pie/se* translates into

English as direct object, it is an Instrument in Angami.⁶ A comparable sentence in English would be 'Harlots amuse you with jokes'. The following syntactic fact in Angami supports this analysis : No instrument noun phrase with *pie/se* occurs in a sentence with a communicative verb. This is in agreement with the 'one-(case) present' principle.

16. **a puo puonukəŋə pie*
 my father-sbj (=∅) enthusiasm instr
keyu puo pie a ki pu
 joke one instr I altv say-pst (=∅)
 'My father told me a joke with enthusiasm'

The phrase 'with enthusiasm' should be realised as an adverb *puonurə sedi* 'enthusiastically' to give us the grammatical sentence 17 :

17. *a puo puonurə sedi keyu puo pie a ki pu*

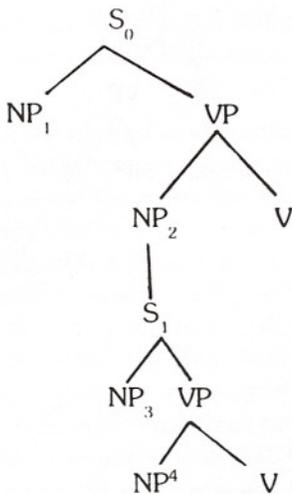
(c) The direct object in a complex surface sentence is marked by *bu* as in (18) and (19)⁷

18. *Vizolie jon bu belho*
 Vizolie-sbj (=∅) John DO Belho
ze kesetyo mera ba⁸
 cmtv meeting expect prog-pst (=∅)
 'Vizolie expected John to meet Belho'
19. *vizolie puo nyo bu lesaki*
 Vizolie-sbj (=∅) his son Do school
nu vo n ba
 altv go want prog-pst (=∅)

'Vizolie wanted his son to go to school'.

The underlying representation of (18) and (19) is Figure 1 where John or his son (NP₃) is the subject of sentence S₁ which is the object (NP₂) of the matrix sentence, S₀

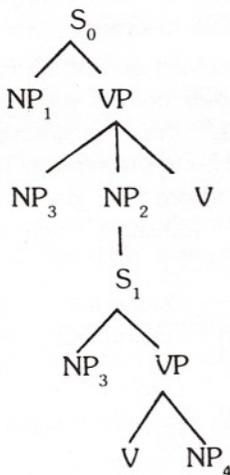
Fig.1



In these sentences where the direct object is marked by *bu*, it may be shown to be derived from the embedded subject.

20. *nia ravizo bu belho*
 Niu-sbj (=∅) Ravizo DO Belho
ze kese nusa pu-sa
 cmtv meet ? tell-pst
 'Niü told Ravizo to meet Belho'

Fig.2



The indirect object of the matrix sentence (NP₃) is deleted on identity with the subject of the embedded sentence. Then, this subject is raised to become the direct object of the matrix sentence as in Fig.1.

It is the matrix NP which is deleted and NOT the embedded NP because, if it were the latter, the matrix NP would have the indirect object (dative) case marker *ki*. Note that this case marker is present with the indirect object of the matrix sentence in (21), where there is no deletion because the indirect object of the matrix sentence and the subject of the embedded sentence are not coreferential. This case marker is present with the indirect object in simple sentences (like 21 and 22) also.

21. *krivatso atha themuo*
 krievatso-sbj (=∅) Atha meat-DO
tsa-lie-ta adi belho ki pu
 eat-vr-? qut Belho altv say-pst(=∅)
 'Khrievatso told Belho that Atha ate meat'
22. *belho thedze puo pie/se*
 Belho-sbj (=∅) story one instr
savilie ki pu⁹
 Savilie altv say-pst (=∅)
 'Belho told Savilie (with) a story'
23. *we ukepenyopfä ki cha-ya*
 we-sbj (=∅) God altv pray-hab
 'We (incl) pray to God'

The derived direct object case marker *bu* occurs also optionally with the subject in most matrix sentences.

There is, however, a semantic difference between the sentences whose subject is marked with *bu* and those whose subject is not. When the subject is marked by *bu*, the action depicted by the verb is performed by the referent of the subject without his volition. It precludes his control over the occurrence of the action (and hence his intention, responsibility, etc.). Note this contrast in examples (24) and (25) :

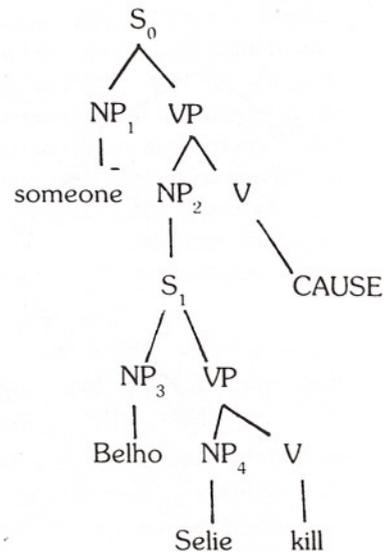
- 24a *belho selie*
 Belho-sbj (=∅) Selie-DO (=∅)
dukhri-wa
 kill-*vr-pst* (=∅)
 'Belho killed Selie (volitional)'
- 24b *belho bu selie dukhriwa*
 sbj
 'Belho killed Selie (non-volitional)'
- 25a *ravizo kijathu ginu ratou*
 Ravizo-sbj (=∅) hill abl roll
ke-ta
 come down-*vr-pst* (=∅)
 'Ravizo rolled (down) from the hill (volitional)'
- 25b *ravizo bukijathu ginu ratou keta*
 sbj
 'Ravizo rolled (down from the hill (non volitional)'

That the actions denoted by (a) sentences are volitional while those denoted by (b) sentences are non-volitional is corroborated by co-occurrence restrictions. The (b) sentences, with the non-volitional *bu* in them, cannot have adverbs like *unu kenala* 'volitionally'. That they are instigated or caused (and therefore not voluntary) is evidenced by the fact they do not take adverbs like *tsakekra ledi* 'accidentally':

- 25c **belho bu puonu kenala selie dukhriwa*
 'Belho killed Selie volitionally (of his own will)'
- 25d. **belho bu ts kekr ledi selie dukhriwa*
 'Belho killed Selie accidentally'

The occurrence of *bu* with the (surface) subject and its non-volitional meaning can both be accounted for when the (b) sentences are embedded under a causative verb whose subject has control over the caused event and therefore, by the principle of control distribution in causation (Givón 1975), the subject of the caused event has no control over it. Thus, (24b) will have the following structure (Fig.3). It may be glossed as 'someone caused Belho to kill Selie'.

Fig.3



The subject of the matrix sentence (NP₁) is unspecified; its predicate is the abstract verb CAUSE which controls the event represented in the embedded sentence. By the Subject Raising Rule mentioned above, the subject of the embedded sentence viz. NP₃ becomes the direct object of the matrix sentence. Then the unspecified subject NP and the abstract predicate are deleted by general principles, the former optionally and the latter obligatorily since there is no lexical item in Angami for CAUSE¹⁰. These operations result in (24b).

When the subject of CAUSE is a specified NP, it is realised on the surface giving 26. This analysis, thus, accounts for the occurrence of *bu* in the sense of instrumental (agent) case (from the point of view of English) in transitive sentences with causative verbs.¹¹:

26. *vizolie belho bu kelhupilie*
 Vizolie-sbj Belho DO Kelhoupilie
 (=∅) -DO (=∅)
dukhri-wa
 kill-*vr-pst* (=∅)

'Vizolie got Belho to kill Kelhoupilie'
i.e. Vizolie killed Kelhoupilie through
Belho.

Without this abstract analysis of a sentence like (26) where there is only one verb, one is forced to assign the grammatical relation of instrument to *bu*. A surface analysis will then have *bu* signifying three case relations, viz. direct object, subject and instrument in certain syntactic structures. It does not explain why only one noun with *bu* occurs in a simple sentence, although it is entirely possible to have all these three case relations expressed in a simple sentence. It does not predict which direct objects will be marked with *bu* and which ones will not be. It does not explain why the subject with *bu* has nonvolitional sense. All these facts receive a natural explanation in the abstract analysis where the noun with *bu* originates as the subject of the embedded sentence and is raised to become the derived object of the embedding sentence. In this analysis, *bu* marks the derived object.

Incidentally, this analysis presents evidence against the abstract analysis of lexical and morphological causatives argued for by generative semanticists (McCawley 1972). It supports the lexical analysis of these causatives. (Fodor 1970).

If the lexical and the morphological causative verb is derived from the abstract structure CAUSE (X do), where the subject of the embedded sentence becomes the surface object, it must be marked with *bu*. That is, in the following sentences, *nhicunyoyo* 'the child' must be followed by *bu* :

27. *ažuo* *nhicunyoyo* *dukhri-wa*
mother-sbj child-the-DO kill-pst
(=∅) (=∅) (=∅) -vr
'The mother killed the child'
28. *ažuo* *nhicunyoyo* *biepe-kra-sa*
mother-sbj child-the-DO cause-cry-pst
(=∅) (=∅) (=∅)-vr

'The mother made the child cry'.

Since it is not, (27) cannot be derived from 'the mother caused the child to die'. That is, *nhicunyoyo* 'the child' cannot be a derived object and must be the underlying object of its predicates viz., *dukhri* 'kill' and *biepekrasə* 'cause to cry'. In other words, the lexical and morphological causative verbs must be inserted as lexical items and not derived transformationally.

The case marker *bu* also occurs with the 'subject' in optative sentences. The sentences discussed above which express nonvolitional (caused) action are systematically ambiguous with permissive meaning. The same analysis, as the one suggested for causative sentences, for permissive sentences will account for this fact. Verbs of permission are three-place predicates like the verbs of communication discussed earlier except that their direct object is always a sentence and the direct object of the matrix, sentence and the subject of the embedded sentence are coreferential. The direct object of the verb of permission is deleted and the subject of the embedded sentence is raised to its place. Expectedly, it is marked with *bu* :

29. *selie* *khose bu* *themuo*
Selie-sbj(=∅) Khose DO meat
tsə-lie-te
eat-vr-pst (=∅) -?
'Selie let Khose eat meat'

When the subject of the permissive verb is the unspecified noun *mie huo* 'someone' as in (30) or the predictable *no* 'you' as in the optative (31), it is deleted, giving

30. *khose bu themuo tsə-lie-te*
Khose sbj meat eat-vr-pst(=∅-?)
'Khose was let or allowed to eat meat'
31. *khose bu themuo tsə-liecie*
Khose sbj meat eat-imp
'Let Khose eat meat'

Note that the abstract verb PERMIT is not

lexically realized in (29) through (31), just like the abstract verb CAUSE and, therefore, is not present in the surface. There is no morphological permissive either in Angami. A sentence like 'he permitted the girl two kisses' is realised as –

32. *puoe thenupfa bu va kenie puo*
 he-sbj girl DO nradvnr two her
mebo lyekevi khasa
 kiss ? give-pst (=Ø)
 'he allowed her to kiss him twice'

This renders the simple surface sentence whose subject is marked with *bu* ambiguous between the causative and permissive readings. That is, sentences (29) through (31) could also mean respectively 'Selie made Khose eat meat', 'Khose was made to eat meat' and 'Make Khose eat meat'.

The causative and permissive have identical structures in other languages also like Korean. The question is whether the causative and permissive readings have two underlying representations which have converged in the surface due to deletion transformations or there is only one abstract verb which subsumes both causative and permissive meanings. The possibility of the second alternative is enhanced in Angami since there is no wordsized surface unit or lexical item either for the verb of causation or of permission. Furthermore, both causation and permission may be said to hold the same logical relationship with the event : If not caused, the event would not have happened and similarly, if not permitted, the event would not have come about. In many languages, the occurrence of the event is a necessary entailment in causation (Shibatani (1976), but see McCawley (1976) for problems) but not so in permission. That is, a causative sentence like 'Joan caused John to eat veal' necessarily entails that John ate Veal, but the permissive sentence 'Joan let or permitted John to eat veal' does not.

If, in a particular language, permission also necessarily entails the occurrence of the event, as it does in Angami, then in that language, both causation and permission hold the same logical relationship with the event and the semantic difference between the verbs cause and permit is narrowed. As the second alternative is likely to be the cause in Angami, it is suggested that there is only ONE abstract verb meaning both cause and permit in Angami. That is to say, Angami Naga does not make a distinction between causation and permission, not only superficially, as the single linguistic realization of these two non-linguistic processes shows, but also underlyingly, as our analysis (hopefully) shows.

Given the proposed analysis with an abstract verb with no lexical or morphological realization, one runs into a rather serious problem: The proposed analysis allows infinite embedding of the abstract verb CAUSE/PERMIT which is deleted leaving a string of nouns with *bu*. That is, X_1 CAUSES X_2 CAUSES X_3 CAUSES CAUSES X_n to do Y $X_1 X_2$ -*bu* X_n - BU Y. But this does not (empirically) occur :

33. **vizolie bu savilie bu selie bu..*
 Vizolie DO Savilie DO Selie DO
dukhri-wa
 kill-*vr-pst* (=Ø)
 'Vizolie was made to make Savilie make
 Selie ... kill someone'

One must then constrain the abstract verb such that it does not allow more than one embedding.

A final point to note is that the proposed analysis has a raising rule which the Extended Standard Theory of Chomsky dispenses with to constrain the power of transformations (Chomsky 1973). An alternative analysis of the Angami data without the impugned raising rule would be to generate from the base the noun with *bu*.

This would clearly miss a generalization by requiring the noun with *bu* to be generated in three underlying phrase markers with different case relations of the noun. The

Angami data discussed in this paper, therefore, offers formidable evidence, we submit, for the existence of the raising rule in linguistic theory.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented to the First National Seminar on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics held in September, 1981 at the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, India. The authors are grateful for some constructive feedback they got from the audience there. This paper written in 1982 is published now without change though linguistic theory has undergone much change, because the data dealt with here are of relevance to the current work on case marking.
2. Angami Naga is a language belonging to the Naga group of the Tibeto-Burman family. It is spoken in Nagaland, a north-eastern State of India.
3. For an illustration of the range of functions/roles of the subject and a general account of Angami case, see Girdhar (1980: 37-50). No distinction is made in this study between case inflection and postposition.
4. Angami is a tone language. But tone is not marked in the examples here because of its irrelevance to the main thesis of the paper.
5. The abbreviations used in the paper with their expansions are :

?	gloss uncertain
abl	ablative case marker
altv	allative case marker
cmtv	comitative case marker
dfart	definite article
dat	dative
DO	direct object (marker)
hab	habitual aspect marker
imp	imperative mood marker
instr	instrumental case marker
nradvtr	numeral adverbializer
prf	perfective aspect marker
prt	present tense marker
prog	progressive aspect marker
pst	past tense marker
qut	quotative
vr	valency-role marker which indicates the number of 'players' a verb takes and also the nature of these players. For a brief sketch, see Girdhar (<i>ibid</i>)

6. It is interesting to note that verbs like *give* have different lexicalisations depending upon the number of players realized and when the number of players is two what is direct object in English is an instrumental NP in Angami :

<i>puo</i>	<i>lesada</i>	<i>puo</i>	<i>hasa</i>
he-sbj (=∅)	book	one-acc (=∅)	give-trs (=∅)

 'he gave a book'
 but

<i>puo</i>	<i>lesada</i>	<i>puo</i>	<i>pie</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>tsa</i>
he-sbj (=∅)	book	one	in-str	I-dat (=∅)	give-tns (=∅)

 'he gave me (with) a book'

7. *bu* is optional with some verbs like *se* 'to persuade', *kerjasha* 'to force; to do against one's will'. These verbs require that their direct object and the subject of their complement sentence be coreferential. In these cases, either one of them is deleted on identity. When the embedded subject is deleted, there is no *bu*. When the matrix object is deleted and the embedded subject is raised to its place; it takes *bu*.

<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>kerja</i>	<i>tsha</i>	<i>pie</i>
I-sbj (=∅)	my	son	against	one's	will	do ?

<i>puo</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>lesaki</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>vo</i>
he	DO	school	altv	go-pst (=∅)

 'I forced my son to go to school'.

<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>pie</i>	<i>(puo</i>	<i>bu)</i>
I-sbj (=∅)	my	son	persuade ?	(he	DO)	

<i>lesaki</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>vo</i>
school	altv	go-pst (=∅)

'I persuaded my son to go to school'

8. Certain verbs take the progressive aspect marker obligatorily in the non-future.
9. As exemplified earlier with linguistic performance verbs, the direct object-looking *thedze puo* 'a story' of (22) is marked with *pie/se*. But the similar *atha themuo tsalieta* '(that) Atha ate meat' of (21) is unmarked. This is because the direct object-looking NP in (21) is a sentence and sentential complements do not take any case markers in Angami and take only complementizers.

10. Angami, however, has morphological causatives, although almost all previous writers on Angami have denied their existence. An intransitive is made causative –

(a) by prefixing *pe-*

si 'to know' *pesi* 'to cause to know or inform'

te 'to fall' *pete* 'to cause to fall or drop'

vo 'to go' *pevo* 'to cause to go'

lhu 'to grow' *pelhu* 'to cause to grow'

(b) by replacing the intransitive marker by the causative marker.

rahou 'to bend (vi)' *kehau* 'to bend (vt)'

raue 'to spin (vi)' *keue* 'to spin (vt)'

11. It may be pointed out that the case hierarchy for causative constructions proposed by Comrie (1976) is violated in this case. The embedded subject becomes the direct object even though this position is already occupied.

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