The purpose of the paper

DOUBLE MARKING OF SYNTACTIC FUNCTION

ALFRED X. AHNHEID

IN TARANA

11
Table 1 shows the system of core case marking. There are different sets of morphemes for nouns and for personal pronouns (which include first, second person and impersonal pronouns and third person pronouns with animate referents). The morphemes used with nouns can also mark complement and subordinate clauses (which are nominalizations: see Aikhenvald forthcoming).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical function</th>
<th>Discourse status</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject (A/S)</td>
<td>non-focussed</td>
<td>-θ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focussed</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-subject (Non A/S)</td>
<td>non-topical</td>
<td>-θ</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>topical</td>
<td>-nuka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Grammatical relations and core cases in Tariana

Non-subject constituents can be in O function, or in any oblique function. Table 1 shows that Tariana is basically nominative-accusative, with overt case-marking dependent on discourse properties of constituents.

Table 2 shows oblique cases. While nouns distinguish two oblique cases, pronouns have only one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental-comitative</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Oblique cases in Tariana

All the case markers appear only once per NP. They go onto the last constituent of an NP.

A non-focussed subject with zero marking is exemplified in (1).

1) pa-ita /it/i?i di- kapi-pidana di- piia
   one-CL:ANIM man 3sg-nf-hand-REM.P:INFN 3sg-nf-cut
   One man cut his hand.

The subject is marked with a clitic -ne if it refers to a key participant in contrastive focus to another argument. The subject can be marked with -ne only if it is definite or referential (that is, it cannot have a non-referential.

In (2) the A argument, nawiki ‘person’ (in boldface), is marked with -ne since this key participant of the story is being contrasted to another key participant — evil spirit who kept coming and eating the fruit the man was collecting.

2) kiye-ku /hit/ hitiri di- hwa-ka di- ka di-niwa
   strong-PERSIST ‘ukulki’ fruit 3sg-nf-fall- SEQ 3sg-nf-see 3sg-nf-collect
   di- wa-ha da yuh- ni-pidana dihwa nawiki-ne
   3sg-nf-join+CAUS 3sg-nf-say-ANT-REM.P:INFN he man- FOCA/S
   The man saw that the ukulki fruit was falling down a lot (and) was collecting them (while the evil spirit was trying to steal the fruit).

3) a. di- waw-ka di- a di- sape- pidana /diha neiri
   3sg-nf-jump-AWAY 3sg-nf-go 3sg-nf-say-REM.P:INFN he deer
   The deer jumped away (from the arrow) and spoke.

b. mhuwa wi:nu- ka kwe-bothaka di- a pi-na di- a- pidana
   1 hit.target-SEQ what-COND 3sg-nf-go 2sg-OBJ 3sg-nf-say-REM.P:INFN
   diha nawiki-ne
   he man- FOCA/S
   If I hit the target, what would happen, said the man.

c. ikasu-bothaka pi- na: ak phiia di- a-pidana di-ha neiri-ne
   now- COND 2sg-disappear you 3sg-nf-say-REM.P:INFN he deer-FOCA/S
   Now you would have disappeared, said the deer.

Non-topical pronominal constituents in a non-subject function are marked with the suffix -na, as is shown in (4). The non-subject functions cover direct objects, address, gift, beneficiary — see Aikhenvald (1994b).

4) di- na di- na di- hwa- pidana
   3sg-nf-OBJ 3sg-nf-OBJ 3sg-nf-see+CAUS-REM.P:INFN
   He showed her to him (or: him to her).

Non-topical pronominal constituents in a non-subject function are unmarked — see (5). The O (‘canoe’) in (5), from a story about a bride-price for women, refers to canoes in general; canoes are not what this story is about.

5) ita- whya rthea naka
   canoe-CL:CANOE 3pl+bring 3pl+arrive
   They bring canoes [as bride-price, among other things].

A pronominal, or a non-pronominal constituent in a non-subject function which is the topic of a narrative gets marked with a clitic -naku. In (6) the addressee, ‘women’, is topical; this example comes from a story about women who lost their hair.

6) hit /hit/ ita kado di- nay- na hanuse
   DEM:ANIM man Kadawa 3sg-nf-see+CAUS-REM.P:VIS much
   woman:PL-TOP:NONA/S
   This man Kadawa lied a lot to these women.

The oblique locative case marked with a suffix -se is illustrated in (7).

7) na- pidana uni- se
   3pl-go-REM.P:INFN water-LOC
   They went into water.

8) the instrumental-comitative case, marked with -ne, is shown in (8).

9) ne ita- whya- ne di- uka di- rahaa
   then canoe-CL:CANOE-INS 3sg-nf-arrive 3sg-nf-sail
   Then he arrived on a canoe.

The instrumental-comitative case marker differs from the focussed subject marker in two ways. First, the focussed subject marker is an enclitic (it receives a secondary
4. Double meaning of single function
5. Double marking of agreement

Double marking of syntactic function in Tariana is also found within a noun phrase. Tariana has an extensive system of noun classes and classifiers [Alkhovenvald 1994b]. Noun class markers can be used on any word in a modifier function to mark agreement with the head noun. In (17) a noun class marker is used on the adjective 'good'.

(17) pani-si maffia-dopana
    house-NPOSS  good-CLHAB
    a good house

In (18), the noun class marker -puna 'STRETCH' is used on a connective kapi 'like, thus' (in boldface).

(18) di-a-pidana di-muau-kha di-a
    3sgnt-go-REM.P.INFR  3sgnt-go.out-AWAY  3sgnt-go
    he-  puna  i-thirikuna kapi-puna
    DEMIN-CL.STRETCH IND-near  like-CL.STRETCH
    i-  thirikuna-nuku
    IND-near  TOP.NON.AS

He went and came out near this [stretch of road], near something which looked like a road.

Now, if a noun phrase is used as a modifier to a noun, a noun class marker is attached to the last word of the noun phrase to mark agreement with the head noun. In (19), the possessive noun phrase 'medicine for diarrhoea' (in square brackets) is used to modify the head noun, 'chestnut tree'; the classifier -na 'CL.VERTICAL', which marks the agreement with the head noun, 'tree', is attached to the end of the modifying noun phrase.

(19) puai-na [nunu i-topa] -na
    chest-nut.tree-CL.VERTICAL  [diarrhoea IND-medicine]-CL.VERTICAL
    chest nut tree, [which is] a medicine for diarrhoea

If the last noun of a modifying noun phrase already contains a noun class marker to agree with its own head, the noun class marker which marks agreement with the head of the embedding noun phrase will simply follow it. In (20), the modifier within the modifying noun phrase, 'flowering' in 'flowering like a curved vine', contains the noun class agreement marker -kha 'CL.CURVED'; it also takes the noun class agreement marker -na 'CL.VERTICAL', to agree with the head of the embedding noun phrase, heka-na (tree-CL.VERTICAL) 'tree' (noun class markers also appear on the head nouns, as derivational suffixes: see [Alkhovenvald 1994b]). The modifying noun phrase is in square brackets.

(20) heka-na [babi-kha kayu kawii-kha] - na
    tree-CL.VERTICAL  vine-CL.CURVED  like  REL.flower-CL.CURVED-CL.VERTICAL

A tree flowering like a curved vine.

Thus, agreement in noun class is marked twice: once with the head of an embedded noun phrase, and once with the head of the 'embedding' noun phrase of a higher level.

6. Discussion

I have shown that Tariana has two distinct phenomena whereby two morphemes of the same class cooccur. One is marking more than one syntactic function on one noun phrase. This covers

(a) marking two clausal functions of a constituent: the function it has within a lower (embedded) clause and the function of the lower clause within a higher (embedding) clause; and

(b) marking two functions within a noun phrase: if a noun phrase contains another noun phrase (consisting of a head and a modifier) as a modifier, the agreement in noun class with both heads gets marked on a modifier in the end of the modifying noun phrase; there is agreement with the head of the embedded noun phrase, and also with the head of the 'embedding' noun phrase.

The other phenomenon involves combining two modifiers to refer to the same syntactic function of a noun phrase: one, a locative or an instrumental-possessive case marker, provides a specific meaning, while the other, -nuka 'topical non-subject', indicates the generic 'non-subjecthood' combined with the indication of the discourse status of the noun phrase.

The principle of 'double' marking of syntactic function — that within a lower clause, or an embedded noun phrase, and that within a higher clause, or an embedding noun phrase — appears to be applied consistently in Tariana. The 'multiple-layered' marking of syntactic function and of agreement parallels the 'multiple-layered' case marking found in some Australian languages. It also shows the inflectional complexity of nouns and their modifiers in Tariana, which mirrors syntactic structure in morphological structure and allows inflections (both case markers and noun class agreement markers) to specify their syntactic environments simultaneously at different levels. Thus, Tariana provides another exception to Nichols's [1986: 104–105] statement that while 'many languages have polysynthetic verbs, there are no polysynthetic nouns'.

REFERENCES
