DIFFERENTIAL MARKING IN KINANDE

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GOALS
- present previously undiscussed contexts of differential dependent marking in Kinande
- explore an account which places differential marking in the syntax

1. BACKGROUND

- differential marking: splits in the morpho-syntactic encoding of arguments regulated by features such as *animacy, definiteness, specificity, topicality*, etc. (Silverstein 1976, Aissen 2003, López 2012, a.o.)
- a typical example: animacy-based differential object marking (DOM) in Spanish (López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, a.o.), via a locative preposition

(1) DOM IN SPANISH – ANIMACY [DEPENDENT MARKING]

a.	He	encontrado	***(a)**	**la**	**niña**.
	have.1S	found	DAT/LOC=DOM[1]	DEF.F.SG	girl
	'I have found the girl.'				
b.	He	encontrado	**(*a)**	**el**	**libro**.
	have.1S	found	DAT/LOC=DOM	DEF.M.SG	book
	'I have found the book.'				

- another typical example: animacy & specificity based DOM in Swahili (Bantu; Riedel 2009: 42, 46—cited in Downing 2018, adapted here), via 'object agreement'

(2) DOM IN SWAHILI – ANIMACY (HUMANS) & DEFINITENESS [HEAD MARKING]

a.	Ni-li-**mw**-ona	mwana-we.
	1S-PST-**1OM**-see	1child-POSS.3S
	'I saw his child.'	
b.	*Ni-li-ona	mwana-we
	1S-PST-see	1child-POSS.3S
c.	Ni-li-(**zi**)-ona	picha hizo.
	1S-PST-(**10OM**)-see	10picture those
	'I saw those pictures.'	

[1] Abbreviations: ACC = accusative, AFF = affirmative, ANIM = animate, APPL = applied, ASSOC = associative, CL = clitic, DEF = definite, DIR = directional, DOM = differential object marking, F = feminine, FV = final vowel, LK = linker, LOC = locative, M = masculine, N = neuter, NOM = nominative, OM = object marker, PL = plural, PASS = passive, POSS = possessive, PST = past, REV = reversive, SG = singular, TAM = tense-aspect-mood, TRANS = transitivizer, 1s = first person, 3s = third person, 1 =class one, 2 = class two, 3 = class three, etc.

2. DIFFERENTIAL MARKING IN KINANDE

- **NEW OBSERVATION FOR BANTU LANGUAGES: DEPENDENT MARKING DIFFM**
- 3 patterns

PATTERN 1

- Marking of **goals**; [ANIMACY-BASED DIFFM: PRONOUNS & HUMANS]
- 17**LOC** augmented form ***oko*** (elsewhere), augmentless form ***uku*** (pronouns, humans)

(3) ANIMACY SCALE
1/2 >3>proper name >human >animate… (Aissen 2003, a.o.)

(4) a. Kandi omúgulu ba-hĩka **okó** ndeko, omundú mw-á-hĩka **uku** Yésu…
again 3time 2-arrive 17LOC 9crowd, 1person AFF-3s-arrive UKU 1Jesus
'When they came to the crowd, a man approached Jesus ….' (Matthew 17:14)

b. Neryo Yésu … mw-á-hika **oko** Yorodáni…
then 1Jesus AFF-3S-arrive 17LOC 19Jordan
'Then Jesus came …to the Jordan….' (Matthew 3:13) [Nande Bible 1980 edition]

c. Mw-á-hík-ir-a **ukú**/***oko** kákali.
AFF-3s-arrive-APPL-FV UKU/ 17LOC 12woman
'He arrived for a little woman (derisive diminutive).'

→ Common differential marking patterns with goals cross-linguistically

(5) ITALIAN DIFFERENTIAL MARKING OF GOALS - ANIMACY

a. Vado **in/*dalla** città.
go.1SG DIR/DIR=DOM.DEF.F.SG city
'I go to the city.'

b. Vado **dal/*in** dottore/mio amico.
go.1SG DIR=DOM.DEF.M.SG/DIR doctor/my friend.
'I go to the doctor/my friend.' (see Franco & Manzini 2017, a.o. for discussion)

(Augment-)Noun Class marker-Noun	
Augmented nouns	Augmentless nouns
o-mu-kali AUG-NC1-woman 'the/a woman'	mu-kali NC1-woman 'any woman'
e-ki-tabu AUG-NC7-book 'the/a book'	ki-tabu NC7-book 'any book'

Table 1. Nominal structure in Kinande

- **Augments in NPI contexts)**

(6) a. Maryá ***sy***-á-wíte **uku** kitábu.
1Marya NEG-3S-have UKU 7book
'Mary doesn't have **any** book.'

b. Maryá ***sy***-á-wíte **oko** kitábu.
1Marya NEG-3S-have 17LOC 7book
'Mary doesn't have **the** book.'

(7) a. Magulu mw-a-teta-hek-ekya omulume y' **uku** mbago.
1Magulu aff-3s- NEG-help-SOCI 1man LK UKU plank
'Magulu didn't help the man carry any planks.' (there were no planks)

b. Magulu mwatetahekekya omulume y' **oko** mbago.
1Magulu aff-3s- NEG-help-SOCI 1man LK 17LOC plank
'Magulu didn't help the man carry the planks.'

(8) a. omwana mwatetahuka riyi (ry') **umu** tsungu
1child aff-3s- NEG-cook 5egg LK UMU pan
'The child didn't cook any egg in any pan.' (He didn't cook at all.)

b. omwana mw-a-teta-huka riyi ry' omo tsungu
1child aff-3s- NEG-cook 5egg LK 18LOC pan
'The child didn't cook any egg in the pan.' (He cooked something else there.)

- Pattern summarized:

Augmented form	**Non-augmented form**
oko 17LOC + AUG	**uku** 17LOC (- AUG)
***oko**-e-*bi*-tabu [17LOC+AUG]-[AUG]-NC8-book 'to books'	***uku**- e-*bi*-tabu [17LOC-AUG]-[AUG]-NC8-book 'to (any) books'
oko-*bi*-tabu [17LOC+AUG]-NC8-book 'to books'	**uku**- *bi*-tabu [17LOC-AUG]-NC8-book 'to any books'

Table 2. Kinande locatives

PATTERN 2

- **Predicative possession** [POSSESSION VS. OWNERSHIP]
- See Schneider-Zioga (2019) for some discussion
  - 17**LOC** ***oko*** differentially marks the possessed object based on whether possessed or owned (with *possessed* being marked with *oko*). *Possession* general correlates with *holding*

(9) a. Kámbale a-wíte **(*oko)** enyúmba. [-hold, +see]
1Kambale 3S-have 17LOC 9house
'Kambale has a house.'

b. Kámbale a-wíte ***(oko)** kitábu. [+hold, +see]
1Kambale 3S-have 17 LOC 7book
'Kambale has a book.'

c. A-wíte esyofarángâ.
3S-have 10money
'He has money (in general).'
[-see]

d. A-wíte **oko** farángâ.
3S-have 17LOC 10money
'He has money (on him).'
[+hold, +see]

e. A-wíte ekitumaíni.
3S-have 7hope
'She has hope.'
[-see]

f. Maryá a-wíty' ámeso awûwéne.
1Marya 3S-have 6eye 6beautiful
'Mary has beautiful eyes.'
[-hold, +see]

- cf: I have a car with me/*I have a house with me

(10) Nyi-na-wite **oko** mutoka kw' eyihya.
1SG-VER.have 17LOC 3car 17LK 24outside
'I indeed have a car outside.'

(11) a. A-na-wite omutoka
3SG-VER -have 3car
'He has (owns) a car.'

b. A-na-wite **oko** mutoka
3SG-VER.have 17LOC 3car
'He has a car available.' (He might own it or just have it temporarily)

PATTERN 3

- **External possession—possessor raising**
  See Schneider-Zioga & Mutaka (2019) for discussion
  [SALIENCY-BASED DIFFM: OBJECTS HIGH IN PERCEPTUAL SALIENCE]
- *oko* marks inalienable possessum; alienable & part/whole possesums are bare

- **not internal possession!**

(12) [ezípe y-a Sárah] [*phrase-internal possession*]
9zipper 9-assoc Sarah
'Sarah's zipper'

- **inalienable possession:** 17**LOC** ***oko*** dependent-marks the inalienable possessum

(13) a. ná-kúrugut-a [omugóngo w-a Sárah] [*phrase-internal possession*]
1S-scrub-FV 3back 3-ASSOC 1Sarah
'I scrubbed Sarah's back.' (lit: I scrubbed the back of Sarah)

b. ná-kúrugut-a [Sáráh] y' [*(**oko**-)mugóngo] [*possessor raising*]
1S-scrubbed-FV 1Sarah LK' 17LOC-3back
'I scrubbed Sarah's back (Lit: I scrubbed Sarah on the back.)

- inalienable possessors are bare; *oko* marks alienable & part/whole possessors:

- **alienable possession:** 17**LOC** ***oko*** dependent-marks the animate possessor

(14) a. ná-mat-ul-a [ezípe y-a Sárah] [*phrase-internal possession*]
1S-fasten-REV-FV 9zipper 9-ASSOC 1Sarah
'I unfastened Sarah's zipper' (for example, on a dress she has, not nec. wearing)

b. ná-mat-ul-a [*(**oko**-)Sáráh] kw' [ezípe] [*possessor raising*]
1S-fasten-REV-FV 17LOC-1Sarah LK' 9zipper
'I unfastened Sarah's zipper.' (she is necessarily wearing the thing with the zipper)

- **part/whole possession:** 17**LOC** ***oko*** dependent-marks the possessor/whole

(15) a. mó-b-erír-y-e [ebíringó by-' omútoka] [*phrase-internal possession*]
AFF-2-clean-TRANS-FV 8wheel 8-ASSOC' 3car
'They cleaned the wheels of the car.' (the wheels could be separate from the car)

b. mó-b-erír-y-e [*(**okó**-)mútoká] kw' [ebíríngo] [*possessor-raising*]
AFF-2-clean-TRANS-FV 17LOC-3car LK' 8wheel
'They cleaned the wheels of the car.' (wheels are on the car)

Pattern 1 **uku/oko**	GOALS & SOURCES ▸ **pronouns, humans:** ▸ all others:	 UKU OKO
Pattern 2 **oko/Ø**	PREDICATIVE POSSESSION ▸ **possession**: ▸ ownership:	 OKO Ø
Pattern 3 **oko/Ø**	EXTERNAL POSSESSION ▸ inalienable **----possessum marked with OKO** ▸ non-inalienable • alienable • part/whole ----possessum marked with Ø ----possessor/whole marked with **OKO**	

TABLE 3. SUMMARY – DIFFERENTIAL MARKING PATTERNS IN KINANDE

3. DIFFM IN MORPHOLOGY OR SYNTAX?

- Morphological approaches: dedicated marking on certain objects does not have syntactic correlates
  - The special marking is the result of impoverishment phenomena in the morphology applying either to DIFFM or to non- DIFFM objects (Halle and Marantz 1993, Keine and Müller 1998, a.o.)
  - Or via the insertion of a special morpheme to signal certain specifications such as *animacy*, etc. (López 2012, a.o.)
  - Important prediction: the same syntactic configuration is exhibited by both differentially marked objects and the non-differentially marked ones, implying the same syntax
- What Kinande shows: differential objects are syntactically distinct

4. SYNTACTIC EFFECTS OF DIFFM

Animate/inanimate locative distinction

→ DISTRIBUTION OF OKO/UKU IS SENSITIVE TO SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE

- **Animate/inanimate locative distinction**

(16) a. Omundú mw-á-híka **uku** / ***oko** Yesu. [ANIMATE LOCATIVE: UKU]
1person AFF-3S-arrive (-AUG)17LOC/ *17LOC 1Jesus
'Someone came to Jesus.'

b. Omundú mw-á-híka **uku** /?**oko** Yésú k' omotututu.
1person AFF-3S-arrive (-AUG)17LOC/ 17LOC 1Jesus LK' 18morning
'Someone came to Jesus in the morning.'

(17) a. Omundú mw-á-híka ***uku** /ok: **oko** muyî. [INANIMATE LOCATIVE: OKO]
1person AFF-3S-arrive (-AUG)17LOC/ 17LOC 3village
'Someone came to the village.'

b. Omundú mw-á-híka ***uku** / ok: **oko** muyí kw'omotututu.
1person AFF-3S-arrive (-AUG)17LOC/ 17LOC 3village LK' 18morning
'Someone came to the village in the morning.'

(18) a. N-ibá-**ky**' **oko** / ***uku** Maryâ
1S-steal-7CL 17LOC/ (-AUG)17LOC 1Marya
'I stole it from Mary.'

verb] **enclitic**] ***oko*** / ****uku***

b. Ná-**ki**-iba ____ ***oko** /ok: **uku** Maryâ
1S-7OM-steal 17LOC/ (-AUG)17LOC 1Marya
'I stole it from Mary.'

proclitic$_j$-verb] ___$_j$ ***uku /*oko***

c. Ékihi$_j$ kyó w-ibá ___$_j$ ***oko** /ok: **uku** Marya
7what 7FOC 2S-steal 17LOC / (-AUG)17LOC 1Marya
'What did you steal from Mary?

WH$_J$…. verb] __ $_j$ ***uku /*oko***

- ***uku*** possible when next to verb, but it cares about syntactic structure it is in, too—we return to this in section

(19) **OKO** /***UKU** Maryá ko n-ibá ekigulíro.
17LOC (-AUG)17LOC 1Marya 17FOC 1S-steal 7necklace
'It is from Mary that I stole the necklace.'

Predicative possession (have)

→ ORDERING DIFFERENCES, POSSESSION VS. OWNERSHIP

(20) a. Tu-ná-wíty' **oko** mukátí kó hano.
1pl-indeed-have 17LOC 3bread LK 16here
'We do have bread here (with us).'

OKO POSSESSUM	ADVERB

b. Tu-ná-wíté hanó h' **oko** mukáti.
1pl-indeed-have 16here LK 17LOC 3bread
'We do have here (with us) bread'

ADVERB	OKO POSSESSUM

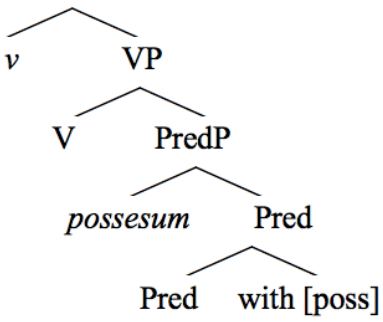
(21) a. Tu-ná-wíty' enyúmbá yó hano.
1pl-indeed-have 9house LK 16here
'We do indeed have a house here.'

POSSESSUM	ADVERB

b. *?Tu-ná-wíté hanó h' enyúmba.
1pl-indeed-have 16here LK 9house
'We do indeed have a house here.'

*ADVERB	POSSESSUM

- **Bare possessa must remain next to the verb; differentially oko-marked possessa need not**
- **Bare possessa sensitive to definiteness effects; differentially oko-marked possessa are not (e.g., (19a) cannot mean: We do indeed have the house here.**
- **Small clause structure: possession = have [POSSESUM [with POSSESOR]]**
(cf: She has a book on her)

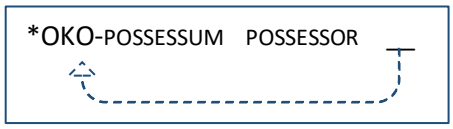


Possessor raising constructions

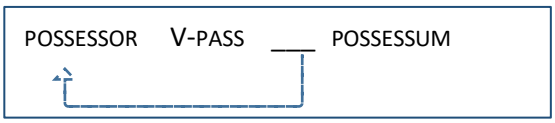
→ INALIENABLE POSSESSION: ORDERING, PASSIVIZATION

(22) a. mó-na-lak-ír-y-e [Kámbalé] y' [**okó** níndo]
AFF-1S-hit-TAM-TRANS 1Kambale LK' 17LOC 9nose
'I hit Kambale in the nose.'

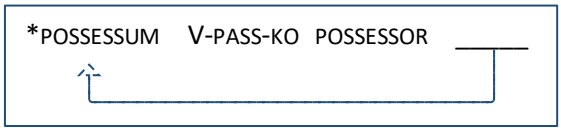
b. *mó-na-lak-ír-y-e [**okó** nindó] ko [Kámbale]
AFF-1S-hit-TAM-TRANS 17LOC 9nose LK 1Kambale



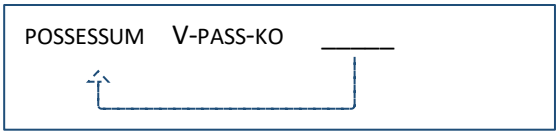
(23) a. Kámbale$_j$ a-lak-i-báwa ___$_j$ **okó** níndo
1Kambale 3S-hit-TRANS-PASS 17LOC 9nose
'Kambale was hit on the nose.'



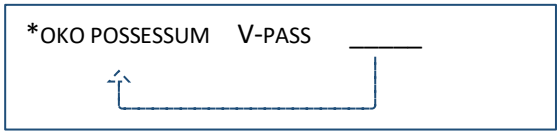
b. *énindó y-a-lak-i-báwá-**ko** Kámbale
9nose 9-TAM-hit-TRANS-PASS-KO 1Kambale



c. énindó y-a-lak-i-báwá-**kô**
9nose 9-TAM-hit-TRANS-PASS-KO
'(His) nose was hit.'

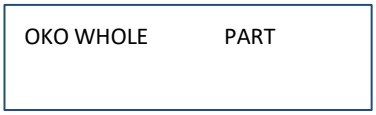


d. ***okó** nindo y-a-lak-i-bawâ
17LOC 9nose 9-TAM-hit-TRANS-PASS
'(His) nose was hit.

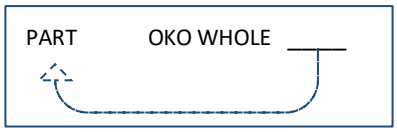


→ ALIENABLE POSSESSION & PART WHOLE

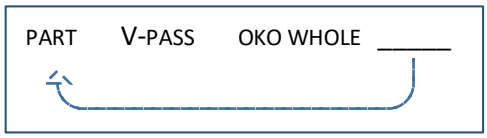
(24) a. Mónatulángire [oko nyúngú] kw' [omúkóno].
AFF-1S-broke-TAM 17LOC 9pot LK 3handle
'I broke the vessel's handle.'



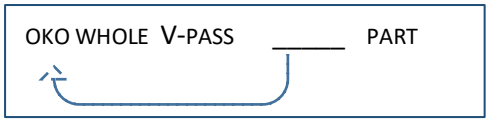
b. Mónatulángire [omúkonó] w' [oko nyúngu].
AFF-1S-broke-TAM 3handle LK 17LOC 9pot
'I broke the vessel's handle.'



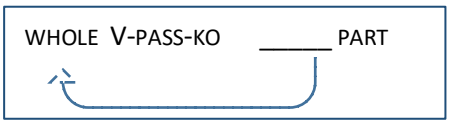
(25) a. Ebíringó by-éri-báwa okó mútoka.
8wheel 8-cleaned-PASS 17LOC 3car
'The wheels were cleaned on the car.'



b. Okó mútoka kw-éri-báwa ebíringo.
17LOC 3car 17-cleaned-PASS 8wheel
'On the car was cleaned the wheels.'



c. Omútoka éri-báwá-ko ebíringo.
3car 3cleaned-PASS-KO 8wheel
Literally: The car was cleaned-on the wheels.
'On the car was cleaned the wheels.'



- **(Alienable possessa behave like part/whole possessa)**

INALIENABLE POSSESSION **- oko possessum**	**WORD ORDER** ▸ **strict ordering:** POSSESSOR POSSESSUM
	PASSIVIZATION difficult for possessum; POSSESSUM V-PASS-KO
PART/WHOLE & ALIENABLE POSSESSION - **bare possessum**	▸ **free ordering** POSSESSOR POSSESSUM POSSESSUM POSSESSOR
	PASSIVIZATION easy for possessum; ▸ POSSESSUM V-PASS-KO ▸ OKO POSSESSUM V-PASS

TABLE 4. SUMMARY OF PROPERTIES OF DIFFERENTIALLY MARKED POSSESSA

5. DIFFM IN SYNTAX

- syntactic effects in Kinande → therefore, **DIFFM** is syntactic in Kinande (not just a morphological phenomenon)

- two main approaches: dependent Case (Baker 2015, a.o.) and Case licensing
  - common implementation for DOM: accusative Case feature on the marked objects forces their raising into a domain where they enter into a Case competition with a higher argument (Marantz 1991, Baker and Vinokurova 2010, Preminger 2011, 2014, Levin and Preminger 2015, Baker 2015, a.o.. This is schematically represented in (I):

    I. Dependent Case

    Let DP1and DP2be two nominals in the same domain. If DP1c-commands DP2:

    a. mark DP1[= in the clause, ERGATIVE] and/or

    b. mark DP2[= in the clause, ACCUSATIVE] (Baker 2015, a.o.)

  - Kinande data do not exhibit diagnostics of raising outside of vP, making difficult a dependent Case explanation, especially given that subjects are generated high (see Schneider-Zioga 2000, 2007)
  - Case licensing is the available account then

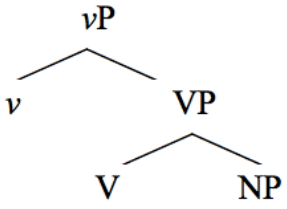
PATTERN 2—PREDICATIVE POSSESSION

(26) a. Kámbale a-wíte **(*oko)** enyúmba. [OWNERSHIP]
1Kambale 3S-have 17LOC 9house
'Kambale has a house.'

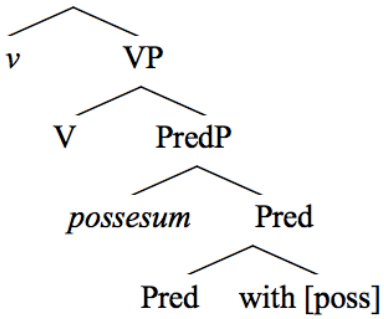
b. Kámbale a-wíte ***(oko)** kitábu. [POSSESSION]
1Kambale 3S-have 17 LOC 7book
'Kambale has a book.'

(27) **Predicative possession:**

a. ownership

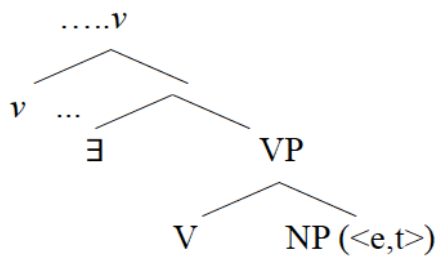


b. possession

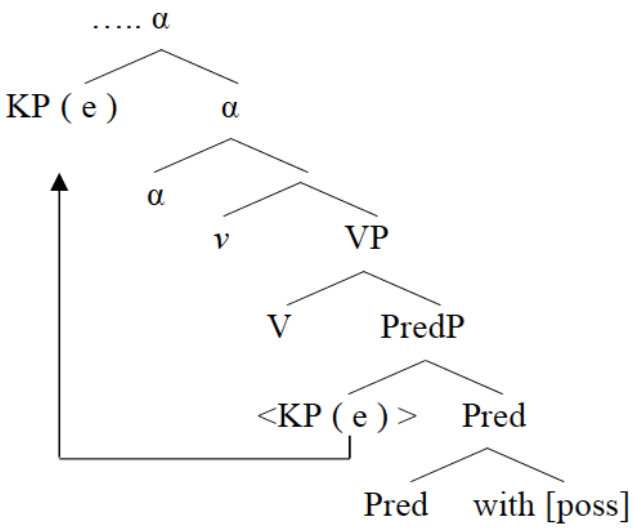


(28) **Predicative possession**

a.



b.



- **difference in passivization possibilities:**

(29) a. Ekitábu ki-wít-w-é-ko (na Kámbale) [DIFFM (possession) : yes]
7book 7-have-PASS-FV-17LOC (with Kambale)
Literally: 'The book was had by Kambale.'

b.*omútoka a-wít-w-e (na Kámbale) [not DIFFM (ownership): no]
3car 3-have- PASS-FV (with Kambale)
intended: 'The car was had (by Kambale).'

PATTERN 3—EXTERNAL POSSESSION (POSSESSOR RAISING)

(30) ná-kúrugut-a [Sáráh] y' [*(**oko**-)mugóngo] *Inalienable possession*
1S-scrubbed-FV 1Sarah LK' 17LOC-3back
'I scrubbed Sarah's back.'

(31) ná-mat-ul-a [*(**oko**-)Sáráh] kw' [ezípe] *Alienable/Part-whole possession*
1S-fasten-REV-FV 17LOC-1Sarah LK' 9zipper
'I unfastened Sarah's zipper.'
(where the raising construction is involved, Sarah is necessarily wearing the thing with the zipper)

- Locative predicative possession means approximately: "on X is Y," where X is the whole/possessor of something alienable. Here are illustrative examples:

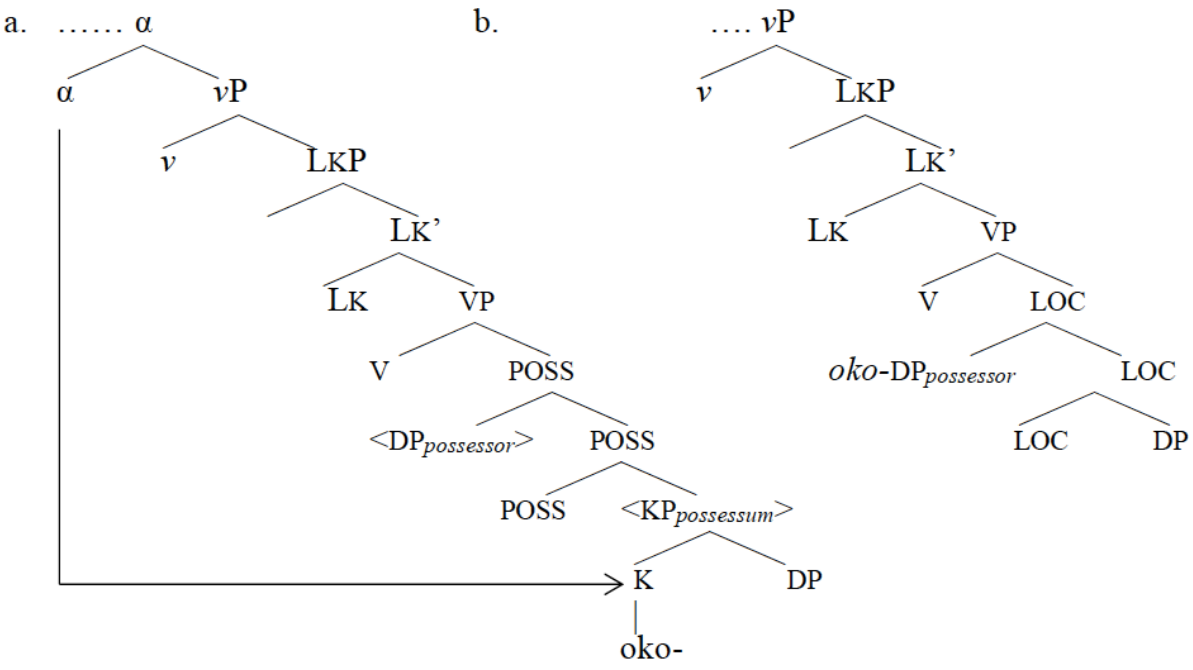
(32) a. omúti **a-né -** **kw'** ehinyúnyu
3tree 3-be(assertive) 17LOC 19bird
'The tree has birds (on it).'

b. etsúkudu yi-**rí-ko** ebíríngo
9cart 9be-17LOC 8wheel
'The cart has wheels (on it).'

PATTERN 3: *oko*-marked inalienable possessum [ex. (13)b, repeated in (30)]
oko-marked alienable possessor [ex. (14)b, repeated in (31)]

- **inalienable possession**
- **alienable/part-whole**

(33)



PATTERN 1: DIFFM & ADJACENCY

- more specifically, a certain type of DIFFM – connected to a licensing strategy beyond what is normally assumed for nominals (i.e., structural Case) (Irimia 2018, 2019, a.o.)
- higher animates linked to a [PERSON] specification (Richards 1998, a.o.)
- what needs further attention: the connection between [PERSON] and adjacency (see Van Urk 2020 for [PERSON] licensed under adjacency)
- we see that adjacency is needed for [PERSON] licensing in the examples below (**PATTERN 1:** marking of GOALS/SOURCES) with a structural twist as in (31)
- The twist is when the GOAL/SOURCE is in a specifier position (see 31): in this structure both oko and uku seem to be allowed

(34) a. N-ibá-**ky**' **oko** / ***uku** Maryâ
1S-steal-7CL 17LOC/ (-AUG)17LOC 1Marya
'I stole it from Mary.'

verb] **enclitic**] ***oko*** / ****uku***

b. Ná-**ki**-iba ____ ***oko** /ok: **uku** Maryâ
1S-7OM-steal 17LOC/ (-AUG)17LOC 1Marya
'I stole it from Mary.'

proclitic$_j$-verb] ___$_j$ ***uku /*oko***

c. Ékihi$_j$ kyó w-ibá ___$_j$ ***oko** /ok: **uku** Marya
7what 7FOC 2S-steal 17LOC / (-AUG)17LOC 1Marya
'What did you steal from Mary?

WH$_J$…. verb] __$_j$ ***uku /*oko***

(repeats (14b), but with bracketing)

(35) Omundú mw-á-híka [[**uku** /?**oko** Yésú [k' omotututu]]
1person AFF-3S-arrive (-AUG)17LOC/ 17LOC 1Jesus LK' 18morning
'Someone came to Jesus in the morning.'

(36) **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

- patterns of dependent marking in Kinande, similar to oblique DIFFM cross-linguistically
- licensing strategies to derive the *oko*-marked DIFFM in Kinande

THANK YOU!

Comments are highly appreciated

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