



1978

## Goal advancement in Southern Tiwa

Barbara J. Allen  
*SIL-UND*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://commons.und.edu/sil-work-papers>

---

### Recommended Citation

Allen, Barbara J. (1978) "Goal advancement in Southern Tiwa," *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session*: Vol. 22 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://commons.und.edu/sil-work-papers/vol22/iss1/1>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by UND Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session by an authorized editor of UND Scholarly Commons. For more information, please contact [zeinebyousif@library.und.edu](mailto:zeinebyousif@library.und.edu).

# GOAL ADVANCEMENT IN SOUTHERN TIWA

Barbara J. Allen

0. Introduction
1. Verb agreement
2. Goal advancement
3. Evidence that initial Goal is final SU
  - 3.1 Verb agreement
  - 3.2 Nominal flagging and incorporation
  - 3.3 Evidence that initial SU is not final SU
    - 3.3.1 Incorporation
    - 3.3.2 Verb agreement
  - 3.4 Evidence that final SU is not initial SU
    - 3.4.1 Word order
    - 3.4.2 Verb agreement
    - 3.4.3 A 'hole' in the pattern

## 0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate within the relational grammar framework that certain intransitive verbs of motion in Southern Tiwa<sup>1</sup> sanction advancement of a Goal to SU,<sup>2</sup> and that there is verb agreement with both the initial and final SU. This hypothesis, in conjunction with various laws of relational grammar<sup>3</sup> and independently established facts and rules of Southern Tiwa, makes a number of predictions. These predictions are the evidence which is to follow.

First, putative cases of Goal-SU advancement will be presented. Evidence that the initial Goal is the final SU will include verb agreement and the impossibility of noun incorporation.

Constraints on noun incorporation and verb agreement will also be used to demonstrate that the initial SU is not the final SU, in accord with the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

Finally, I will argue that the final SU is not the initial SU by showing that there is agreement with the initial absolutive, just as there is in cases of IO-DO-SU agreement.

## 1. Verb agreement

As background, I will present evidence that Southern Tiwa verbs agree with a final animate subject. This agreement is indicated in the intransitive and transitive verb prefixes in the following examples:

- (1) te-mi-ban  
ls-go-pst  
*I went.*

- (2) a-mi-ban  
2s-go-pst  
*You went.*
- (3) in-mī-ban  
1d-go-pst  
*We (d) went.*
- (4) te-mū-che-ban  
1s-see-pass-pst  
*I was seen.*
- (5) men-mū-che-ban  
2d-see-pass-pst  
*You (d) were seen.*
- (6) i-mū-che-ban  
3p-see-pass-pst  
*They were seen.*
- (7) ti-mū-ban  
1s:3s-see-pst  
*I saw him.*
- (8) ∅-mū-ban  
3s:3s-see-pst  
*He saw him.*
- (9) ma-mū-ban  
2p:3s-see-pst  
*You (p) saw him.*

Notice that passive examples (4) through (6) show that it is the final SU with which verbs agree. Agreement with the final SU as illustrated by the two verbs above is characteristic of all transitive and intransitive verbs in Southern Tiwa. These facts will enter into the discussion of putative Goal advancement in the next two sections.

## 2. Goal advancement

Sentences which I claim involve Goal advancement will be present in this section.

Certain intransitive verbs of motion, like the one in (10) through (14) below, take a regular intransitive verb prefix which indicates only person and number of the initial SU (which is also the final SU). Notice that the verb does not agree with the Goal. This is to be expected, as the Agreement Law states that only nominals bearing term relations may trigger agreement. Observe also in (10) through (14) that to express Goal, a noun or pronoun is flagged by the postposition '-ay. (15) demonstrates that this flag must be present.

- (10) seuanide  $\phi$ -wan-ban na-'ay  
 man 3s-come-pst me-goal  
*The man came to me.*
- (11) a-wan-ban na-'ay  
 2s-come-pst me-goal  
*You came to me.*
- (12) seuanide  $\phi$ -wan-ban ɽ-'ay  
 man 3s-come-pst you-goal  
*The man came to you.*
- (13) te-wan-ban ɽ-'ay  
 1s-come-pst you-goal  
*I came to you.*
- (14) seuanide  $\phi$ -wan-ban liorade-'ay  
 man 3s-come-pst lady-goal  
*The man came to the lady.*
- (15) \*seuanide  $\phi$ -wan-ban liorade  
 man 3s-come-pst lady  
*The man came to the lady.*

Now I will present the sentences with putative Goal advancement. The English translations of (16)-(18) are the same as those for (10), (12) and (14); however, the arguments which follow will show that the English gloss does not reflect the final grammatical relations of the Southern Tiwa sentences.

- (16) in-seuan-wan-ban  
 1s-man-come-pst  
*The man came to me.*
- (17) ka-seuan-wan-ban  
 2s-man-come-pst  
*The man came to you.*
- (18) a-seuan-wan-ban liorade  
 3s-man-come-pst lady  
*The man came to the lady.*
- (19) ki-seuan-wan-ban  
 1p-man-come-pst  
*The man came to us.*
- (20) mam-seuan-wan-ban  
 2p-man-come-pst  
*The man came to you (pl).*
- (21) am seuan-wan-ban liora-n  
 3p-man-come-pst lady-pl  
*The man came to the ladies.*

### 3. Evidence that initial Goal is final SU

3.1 Verb agreement. By comparing examples (10)-(15) with (16)-(21), it will be argued that the initial Goal has advanced to SU in the latter set. Observe that the verb prefixes in the cases of putative Goal advancement, (16)-(21), are from a different set than those in (10)-(14). The reason for this will become apparent in section 3.5.2 when verb agreement is discussed further. Judging from the gloss of (16)-(21), it appears that the verb agrees with the Goal. However, according to the Agreement Law, a non-term, such as Goal, cannot trigger verb agreement. Therefore, I claim that the English translations of (16)-(21) do not reflect the final grammatical relations, which may be accounted for only by the Goal advancement hypothesis. Examples (16)-(18) demonstrate quite clearly that the verb prefixes indicate the person of the putative final SU. Compare (16)-(18) with (19)-(21) for evidence that the prefixes indicate number as person of the putative final SU.

3.2 Nominal flagging and incorporation. In all clear cases, when a nominal is not either a SU or a DO, it must either be flagged or incorporated in the verb complex. Note in sentences (16)-(18) that the putative final SU is no longer flagged by the postposition -'ay as it was in (10)-(14). In the case of liorade in (18), it is an unincorporated noun. Sentence (22), compared with (18), shows the postposition to be ungrammatical in cases of putative Goal advancement.

- (22) \*a-seuan-wan-ban liorade  
 3s-man-come-pst lady-to  
*The man came to the lady.*

The absence of the postposition in (18) and (21) and the non-incorporation of the unflagged initial Goal provides evidence that it is neither final SU or final DO. Previous analysis of noun incorporation (Allen and Gardiner, 1977) indicates that a final animate SU cannot be incorporated in the verb complex, as demonstrated by the follow data.

- (23) seuanide  $\phi$ -mi-ban  
 man 3s-go-pst  
*The man went.*
- (24) \* $\phi$ -seuan-mi-ban  
 3s-man-go-pst  
*The man went.*
- (25) liorade  $\phi$ -mu-che-ban seuanide-ba  
 lady 3s-see-pass-pst man-instr  
*The lady was seen by the man.*
- (26) \* $\phi$ -liora-mu-cheban seuanide-ba  
 3s-lady-see-pass-pst man-instr  
*The lady was seen by the man.*

In sentence (18), and in (27) below, the putative final SU is unincorporated. Observe that *liora-* cannot be incorporated without a change in logical relations.

(27) a-wan-ban liorade  
3s-come-pst lady  
*He came to the lady.*

(28) a-liora-wan-ban  
3s-lady-come-pst  
*The lady came to him*

*\*He came to the lady.*

Since *liorade* in (27) is unflagged and cannot be incorporated, I conclude that it is the final SU.

### 3.3 Evidence that initial SU is not final SU

According to the Stratal Uniqueness Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1977), no more than one nominal can bear a given term relation on a given stratum. This law, in conjunction with the Goal advancement hypothesis, predicts that the initial SU will not be the final SU in sentences such as (16)-(21). Evidence that bears out this prediction follows.

#### 3.3.1 Incorporation

Observe that the initial SU in (10), (11), and (14) is an independent word, as are all animate final SUs in Southern Tiwa. However, in (16)-(18), the English gloss is the same as for (10), (11) and (14), but the noun is incorporated into the verb complex. As was stated in section 3.2, examples (23)-(26), a final SU may not be incorporated. Therefore, the incorporation of the initial SU in (16)-(21) is evidence that it is not the final SU.<sup>4</sup> If it were, it would be unincorporated. Sentences (30) and (32) are ungrammatical however, because the initial SU is not incorporated.

(29) in-seuan-wan-ban  
1s-man-come-pst  
*The man came to me.*

(30) \*seuanide in-wan-ban  
man 1s-come-pst  
*The man came to me.*

(31) ka-seuan-wan-ban  
2s-man-come-pst  
*The man came to you.*

(32) \*seuanide ka-wan-ban  
man 2s-come-pst  
*The man came to you.*

### 3.3 Evidence that final SU is not initial SU

In this section, evidence will be presented to support the prediction that the final SU is not the initial SU in the putative advancement cases, i.e. that it would be incorrect to view these as having different initial relations than their non-advancements counterparts.

#### 3.4.1 Word order

In Southern Tiwa, a final SU which is also an initial SU always precedes the verb. The following data demonstrate this.

(33) seuanide  $\emptyset$ -wan-ban  
 man 3s-come-pst  
*The man came.*

(34) \* $\emptyset$ -wan-ban seuanide  
 3s-come-pst man  
*The man came.*

However, when the final SU is not the initial SU, it may either precede or follow the verb, as in the cases of DO-SU advancement below.

(35) liorade  $\emptyset$ -mu-che-ban seuanide-ba  
 lady 3s-see-pass-pst man-instr  
*The lady was seen by the man.*

(36) seuanide-ba  $\emptyset$ -mu-che-ban liorade  
 man-instr 3s-see-pass-pst lady  
*The lady was seen by the man.*

In the cases of putative Goal advancement also, the final subject may either precede or follow the verb. Compare (37) and (38).

(37) a-seuan-mi-ban liorade  
 3s-man-go-pst lady  
*The man went to the lady.*

(38) liorade a-seuan-mi-ban  
 lady 3s-man-go-pst  
*The man went to the lady.*

The fact that the final SU is not an initial SU provides a reason for this ordering option.

#### 3.4.2 Agreement

Even more convincing evidence is seen in examples (39)-(46) which demonstrate that the verb prefix indicates not only person and number of the final SU but also number<sup>5</sup> and noun class<sup>6</sup> of the initial SU. Compare the verb prefixes in (39)-(42) to see that they indicate number of the initial SU. (Prefixes are glossed final SU:initial SU.)

- (39) in-seuan-wan-ban  
1s:3si-man-come-pst  
*The man came to me.*
- (40) im-seuan-wan-ban  
1s:3pi-man-come-pst  
*The men came to me.*
- (41) ka-seuan-mī-ban  
2s:3si-man-go-pst  
*The man went to you.*
- (42) kam-seuan-mī-ban  
2s:3pi-go-pst  
*The men went to you.*

Examples (43)-(46) demonstrate that the verb prefix also indicates noun class of the initial SU.

- (43) in-natufu-wan-ban  
1s:3sii-letter-come-pst  
*The letter came to me.*
- (44) im-kahun-wan-ban  
1s:3siii-box-come-pst  
*The box came to me.*
- (45) yu-natufu-wan-ban  
1s:3pii-letter-come-pst  
*The letters came to me.*
- (46) yu-kahun-wan-ban  
1s:3piii-box-come-pst  
*The boxes came to me.*

Allen and Frantz (1978) have demonstrated that the same pattern of verb agreement with more than one stratum also occurs in cases of IO-DO advancement. When an IO advances to DO, the verb prefix indicates person and number of not only the final SU and final DO but also number and noun class of the initial DO. This is illustrated in (47)-(53). Compare the prefixes in (47)-(49) for evidence that the prefix indicates person and number of the final DO. (Prefixes are glossed final SU:final DO:initial DO.

- (47) ka-khwian-wia-ban  
1s:2s:3si-dog-give-pst  
*I gave you a dog.*



(48) ta-khwian-wia-ban  
 1s:3s:3si-dog-give-pst  
*I gave him a dog.*

(49) mim-khwian-wia-ban  
 1s:3p:3si-dog-give-pst  
*I gave them a dog.*

(49) and (50) show that number of the initial DO is also indicated in the verb prefix. Compare (49) with (51) for evidence that the prefix also indicates noun class of the initial DO.

(50) ben-shut-wia-ban  
 2s:1s:3sii-shirt-give-pst  
*You gave me the shirt.*

(51) bow-shut-wia-ban  
 2s:1s:3pii-shirt-give-pst  
*You gave me the shirts.*

(52) bem-kahun-wia-ban  
 2s:1s:3siii-box-give-pst  
*You gave me the box.*

(53) bow-kahun-wia-ban  
 2s:1s:3piii-box-give-pst  
*You gave me the boxes.*

Furthermore, Southern Tiwa sanctions advancement of DO-SU when the initial SU is third person and the initial DO is non-third person. Likewise when the initial SU is third person and the initial IO is non-third person, if the IO advances, it must advance all the way to SU. The resultant prefixes are a function of person and number of the final SU and number and noun class of the initial DO.

Stating the agreement rule in terms of an initial absolutive, the same pattern of agreement is seen in both GOAL-SU and in IO-DO-SU. In fact, the same verb prefixes are required in both cases. Compare the two columns below. In the left column, the prefixes indicate final SU and initial absolutive, which is initial DO. In the cases of Goal advancement, in the right column, the prefixes are a function of final SU and initial absolutive which is the initial SU.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (54) in-khwian-wia-che-ban    seuanide-ba<br>1s:3 <i>si</i> -dog-pass-pst    man-instr<br><i>I was given the dog by the man</i>            | (55) in-seuan-wan-ban<br>1s:3 <i>si</i> -man-come-pst<br><i>The man came to me.</i>                       |
| (56) ka-khwian-wia-che-ban    seuanide-ba<br>2s:3 <i>si</i> -dog-give-pass-pst    man-instr<br><i>You were given a dog by the man</i>      | (57) ka-seuan-liaw-ban<br>2s:3 <i>si</i> -man-go down-pst<br><i>The man went down to you.</i>             |
| (58) im-khwian-wia-che-ban    seuanide-ba<br>1s:3 <i>pi</i> -dog-give-pass-pst    man-instr<br><i>I was given the dogs by the man.</i>     | (59) im-seuan-wan-ban<br>1s:3 <i>pi</i> -man-come-pst<br><i>The men came to me.</i>                       |
| (60) im-kahun-wia-che-ban    seuanide-ba<br>1s:3 <i>siii</i> -box-give-pass-pst    man-instr<br><i>I was given the box by the man</i>      | (61) im-kahun-wan-ban<br>1s:3 <i>siii</i> -box-come-pst<br><i>The box came to me.</i>                     |
| (62) kow-kahun-wia-che-ban    seuanide-ba<br>2s:3 <i>pii</i> -box-give-pass-pst    man-instr<br><i>You were given the boxes by the man</i> | (63) kow-kahun-wan-ban<br>2s:3 <i>pii</i> -box-come-pst<br><i>The boxes came to you.</i>                  |
| (64) a-khwian-wia-che-ban    seuanide-ba<br>3s:3 <i>si</i> -give-pass-pst    man-instr<br><i>You were given the dogs by the man.</i>       | (65) a-seuan-liaw-ban    liorade<br>3s:3 <i>si</i> -man-go down lady<br><i>The man came to the lady.</i>  |
| (66) ow-shut-wia-che-ban    seuanide-ba<br>3s:3 <i>pii</i> -shirt-give-pass-pst    man-instr<br><i>He was given the shirts by the man.</i> | (67) ow-shut-wan-ban    liorade<br>3s:3 <i>pii</i> -come-past lady<br><i>The shirts came to the lady.</i> |

### 3.4.3 A 'hole' in the pattern

There are no cases of putative GOAL-SU sentences in which the initial SU is first or second person, as the following sentences illustrate.

- (68) te-liaw-ban    'i-'ay  
1s-go down-pst    you-goal  
*I went down to you.*
- (69) te-liaw-ban    'ãwa-'ay  
1s-go down-pst    him-goal  
*I went down to him.*
- (70) a-liaw-ban    na-'ay  
2s-go down-pst    me-goal  
*You went down to me.*
- (71) a-liaw-ban    'ãwa-'ay  
2s-go down-pst    him-goal  
*You went down to him.*

In fact, it is not even possible to posit verb prefixes involving such a combination of final SU and initial absolutive.

Previous analyses of both DO-SU and IO-DO-SU (Allen and Frantz, in press) observe that no rule may put first or second person en chomage. Thus the

following D0-SU sentences may be posited but are ungrammatical.

(72) \*te-mũ-che-ban 'ĩ-ba  
1s-see-pass-pst you-instr  
*I was seen by you.*

(73) \*ø-mũ-che-ban 'ĩ-ba  
3s-see-pass-pst you-instr  
*He was seen by you.*

(74) \*a-mũ-che-ban na-ba  
2s-see-pass-pst me-instr  
*You were seen by me.*

(75) \*ø-mũ-che-ban na-ba  
3s-see-pass-pst me-instr  
*He was seen by me.*

Likewise, in cases of IO-D0-SU, the following are ungrammatical because they put first or second person en chomage.

(76) \*ka-khwian-wia-che-ban na-ba  
2s:3s *i*-dog-give-pass-pst me-instr  
*You were given a dog by me.*

(77) \*a-khwian-wia-che-ban na-ba  
3s:3s *i*-dog-give-pass-pst me-instr  
*He was given a dog by me.*

(78) \*in-khwian-wia-che-ban ĩ-ba  
2 s:3s *i*-dog-give-pass-pst you instr  
*I was given a dog by you.*

(79) \*a-khwian-wia-che-ban ĩ-ba  
3s:3s *i*-dog-pass-pst you-instr  
*He was given a dog by you.*

The same constraint against putting first or second person enchomage predicts that GOAL-SU will be ungrammatical if the initial SU is first or second person. The impossibility of such form further supports my analysis. If the advancement analysis of sentences such as (16)-(21) were incorrect, there would be no reason to expect the lack of similar paraphrases for sentences such as (68)-(71).

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Southern Tiwa is a Tanoan language spoken at Isleta and Sandia Pueblos in New Mexico. Data for this paper are from Isleta Pueblo only, and were gathered in conjunction with my assignment with the Summer Institute of Linguistics from October 1973 to the present. I am grateful to Isleta friends for their patient and willing help in teaching me their language and to my partner, Donna Gardiner, for her helpful insights and encouragement.

<sup>2</sup>The glosses and abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: SU=subject; DO=direct object; IO=indirect object; d=dual; p=plural; pass=passive; pst=past; instr=instrument; 1=first person; 2=second person; 3=third person.

<sup>3</sup>I am most grateful to Donald G. Frantz for introducing me to relational grammar and for guiding me in the analysis of Southern Tiwa within that framework. Without his enthusiasm, patient encouragement and understanding, and brave presumption, this paper would never have been attempted. However, he is indirectly to blame for any misapplications of the theory as he doggedly refused to co-author the paper.

<sup>4</sup>According to the Chomeur Law, if any rule of grammar assigns a given term relation to a nominal in a given stratum ( $S_i$ ) which another nominal bears in the previous stratum ( $S_{i-1}$ ), the nominal must bear the chomeur relation in the final stratum ( $S_j$ ). This law predicts, then, that in cases of Goal advancement, the initial SU must bear the SU-chomeur relation in the final stratum.

Allen and Frantz (in press) indicated that DO-chomeurs are necessarily incorporated. The fact that the initial SU of the Goal advancement cases must be incorporated seems to indicate that the constraint should be stated in terms of initial absolutes which are put en chomage, rather than initial DOs.

<sup>5</sup>Although I have indicated person of the initial SU in the gloss, this will always be third person, due to a constraint against putting first and second person en chomage (see section 3.4.3).

<sup>6</sup>There are three noun classes in Southern Tiwa. Class *i* includes only animates. Classes *ii* and *iii* contain only inanimates but the basis for this categorization is not clear. Note that the prefix sets overlap in that *ip=iiis*; *iip=iiip*; and *is=iis*. Tanoan studies refer to this as number reversal.

## REFERENCES

- Allen, B. and D. Frantz. 1978. Verb Agreement in Southern Tiwa. Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- \_\_\_\_\_. In press. Advancements and Verb Agreement in Southern Tiwa. To appear in Studies in Relational Grammar I (or II), David Perlmutter, ed. (This paper is a revised version of Allen and Frantz, 1978.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. In preparation. Passive in Southern Tiwa.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and D. Gardiner. 1977. Noun Incorporation in Isleta. Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota. Vol. 21, ed. John P. Daly
- Perlmutter, D. and P. Postal. 1977. Toward a Universal Characterization of Passivization. Proceedings of the Third Annual Meetings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society.