

Implicating ignorance: Epistemic indefinites in Tiwa

Virginia Dawson · University of California, Berkeley

1 Cancelation and Reinforcement

- (1) *Cancelation with -khi*
 Ang **shar-khí-na-rê** phadé-w, thêbo ang sóng-ya
 1SG who-KHI-DAT-COM marry-NEUT but 1SG tell-NEG
 shar-a-re. [2017.1.84]
 who-DAT-COM
 ‘I will marry someone, but I won’t tell who.’
- (2) *Cancelation with -pha*
Shar-pha phi-do-m, ang si-w, thêbo ná si-ya.
 who-PHA come-IPFV-PST 1SG know-NEUT but 2SG know-NEG
 ‘Somebody came, I know him, but you don’t.’ [2016.2.41]
- (3) *Reinforcement with -khi*
 Maria **shar-khí-gô** lak mán-ga, thêbo shar-gô ang si-ya.
 Maria who-KHI-ACC meet-PFV but who-ACC 1SG know-NEG
 ‘Maria met someone, but I don’t know who.’ [2016.1.88]
- (4) *Reinforcement with -pha*
 Maria **shar-pha-gô** lak mán-ga, thêbo shar-gô ang si-ya.
 Maria who-PHA-ACC meet-PFV but who-ACC 1SG know-NEG
 ‘Maria met someone, but I don’t know who.’ [2016.1.88]

2 Scope

2.1 -khi takes obligatory widest scope

With respect to negation, \forall , attitude verbs, and modals:

- (5) Maria **inda-khí** kashóng pre-ya-m. [2016.1.130]
 Maria what-KHI dress buy-NEG-PST
 ‘Maria didn’t buy some dress.’
 \checkmark : There’s a particular dress Maria didn’t buy, the speaker doesn’t know what kind. $\exists > \neg$
 $\#$: Maria didn’t buy any dress, maybe there weren’t any. $* \neg > \exists$

- (6) Sogóllô **inda-khí** hat-a lí-ga. [2016.1.133]
 everyone what-KHI market-DAT go-PFV
 ‘Everyone went to some market.’
 \checkmark : Everyone went to a particular market, the speaker doesn’t know what kind. $\exists > \forall$
 $\#$: Each person went to a different market. $* \forall > \exists$
- (7) Ang [**shar-khí** Delhi-jíng shó-wa mewâ-go]_{DP} pháde-na
 1SG **who-KHI** Delhi-ALL arrive-NMLZ man-ACC marry-INF
 hal-do. [2016.2.120]
 want-IPFV
 ‘I want to marry some man that’s been to Delhi.’
 \checkmark : The speaker saw him the other day, but hasn’t actually met him. $\exists > \text{want}$
 $\#$: The speaker wants to marry any man that’s been to Delhi. $* \text{want} > \exists$
- (8) Maria **shar-khí** sister-go lak mán-a mán-o. [2016.2.52]
 Maria who-KHI sister-ACC meet-INF must-NEUT
 ‘Maria has to meet some nun.’
 \checkmark : There is a particular nun, unknown to the speaker, that Maria has to meet. $\exists > \square$
 $\#$: Maria needs to meet with any nun. $* \square > \exists$
- Out of scope islands, including conditionals, relative clauses, and finite embedded clauses.
- (9) Chidi **shar-khí** sister lak mán-a phi-gaido, Saldi khúp khâdu-gam.
 if who-KHI sister meet-INF come-COND Saldi very happy-CF
 ‘If Saldi meets some nun, she would be very happy.’ [2016.1.131]
 \checkmark : There is a particular nun, unknown to the speaker, that Saldi wants to meet. $\exists > \text{if}$
 $\#$: Meeting any nun will make Saldi happy. $* \text{if} > \exists$
- (10) Sogól margî-raw [mile kashóng [**inda-khí** desain tong-a]_{RC}
 every woman-PL every dress what-KHI design exist-NMLZ
 -go]_{DP} mona chi-w. [2016.2.56]
 -ACC love-NEUT
 ‘Everyone woman loves all the dresses that have a design.’
 \checkmark : There’s a design that the speaker isn’t familiar with that every woman loves. $\exists > \forall$
 $\#$: Each woman loves a different design. $* \forall > \exists$

- (11) [**Shar-khí** phi-do-m honmandé]_{CP} thángane cha.
 who-KHI come-IPFV-PST COMP correct NEG
 'It's not correct that someone came.' [2016.2.42]
 ✓: There's a particular person, who the speaker doesn't know, that
 didn't come. $\exists > \neg$
 #: Nobody came. $*\neg > \exists$

2.2 -pha obeys scope islands

- (12) Chidi **shar-pha** sister lak mán-a phi-gaido, Saldi khúp khâdu-gam.
 if who-PHA sister meet-INF come-COND Saldi very happy-CF
 'If Saldi meets some nun, she would be very happy.' [2016.1.131]
 ✓: Meeting any nun will make Saldi happy. $\text{if} > \exists$
 #: There is a particular nun that Saldi wants to meet. $*\exists > \text{if}$
- (13) Sogól margî-raw [mile kashóng [**inda-pha** desain tong-a]_{RC}
 every woman-PL every dress what-PHA design exist-NMLZ
 -go]_{DP} mona chi-w. [2016.2.56]
 -ACC love-NEUT
 'Everyone woman loves all the dresses that have a design.'
 ✓: Each woman loves a different design. $\forall > \exists$
 #: There's a particular design that every woman loves. $*\exists > \forall$
- (14) [**Shar-pha** phi-do-m honmandé]_{CP} thángane cha.
 who-PHA come-IPFV-PST COMP correct NEG
 'It's not correct that someone came.' [2016.2.42]
 ✓: Nobody came. $\neg > \exists$
 #: There's a particular person that didn't come. $*\exists > \neg$

3 -pha ranges over a non-singleton domain

- (15) a. Ang [**shar-khí** Jon-go] lak mán-a lí-do. [2016.2.80]
 1SG **who-KHI** John-ACC meet-INF go-IPFV
 'I'm going to meet some (guy named) John.'
- b. Ang [**shar-pha** Jon-go] lak mán-a lí-do. [2016.2.101]
 1SG **who-PHA** John-ACC meet-INF go-IPFV
 'I'm going to meet one of the Johns.'

4 -khi as an EI (further data)

- (16) Ang [ái chor-e **inda-khí** khugrí-gô] pishár-do.
 1SG 1SG.GEN friend-GEN what-KHI dog-ACC look.for-IPFV
 'I'm looking for some dog of my friend's.' [2017.2.5]
 ✓: ... "but I don't know where it is."
 ✓: ... "but I don't know what color it is. How will I find it for her?"
- (17) Ang **shar-khí** chor-go lak mán-a lí-do. [2017.2.6]
 1SG who-KHI friend-ACC meet-INF go-IPFV
 'I'm going to meet some friend (of mine).'
 #: ... "He's a good friend of mine."
 ✓: ... "He's a good friend of mine, but I forgot what color his hair is.
 (So I'm going to have trouble finding him.)"
 ✓: Speaker met him someone once and we talked, but I don't know her
 name.
- (18) Mukton **pajíng-khí** Zambia hon-a tes-a lí-ga.
 Mukton where-KHI Zambia say-NMLZ country-DAT go-PFV
 'Mukton went to some country called Zambia.' [2017.1.141]
 Context: Mukton went to Zambia. He told me, but I've never heard of
 Zambia before.
- (19) Context: The speaker's friends John, Tom and Saldi were meant to go
 to Guwahati, but one of them did not go. The speaker does not know
 which of them didn't go.
 Pibúr-e maje **shar-khí** Guwahati-jing lí-ya-m. [2016.2.45]
 3PL-GEN midst who-khi Guwahati-ALL go-NEG-PST
 'Someone from among them didn't go to Guwahati.'
- (20) Context: Maria has many kinds of plants in her garden, and I know she
 gave a plant to Saldi, but I don't know what kind.
 Maria **inda-khí** pháng-gô Saldi-na os-ga. [2016.1.125]
 Maria what-KHI plant-ACC Saldi-DAT give-PFV
 'Maria gave Saldi some plant.'