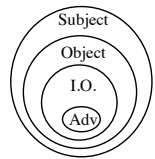


- Senaya progressives (Kalin 2014) specific object → agreement (L)-morpheme
L-morpheme need not agree with object

- (7) a. Aana oo ksuuta kasw-an-ee=laa
I that book write.IMPF-S.1FS-L.DFLT=AUX.3FS
'I am writing that book.'
- b. Aana ksuuta kasw-an =yan
I book write.IMPF-S.1FS =AUX.1FS
'I am writing a book.'

2.2 Ergative Splits — A Typological Gap? (Bobaljik 2008, also Baker 2008)

- (8) Moravcsik (1974) Universals:, (cf. revisions Moravcsik 1978)



If in a language the verb agrees with anything, it agrees with some or all (1978 intransitive) subjects.

If the verb agrees with anything other than subjects, it agrees with some or all direct objects

If the verb agrees with anything other than S, DO, it agrees with some or all indirect objects.

• Stated over *languages*, not sentences.

- (9) Gilligan's Survey (100 languages, Gilligan 1987)
- | | | | |
|---------------|----|--------------|-----|
| No Agreement: | 23 | IO only | 0 |
| S only: | 20 | DO only | 0 |
| S - DO: | 31 | IO, DO only | 0 |
| S - IO - DO: | 25 | S-IO, not DO | (1) |

- (10) The Agreement Hierarchy and Ergative languages:

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. no agreement | Dyirbal, Lezgian | e. * ERG only ¹ |
| b. ABS only | Tsez, Hindi | f. * ERG DAT, no ABS |
| c. ABS ERG | Inuit, Mayan | g. * DAT only |
| d. ABS ERG DAT | Basque, Abkhaz | h. (*ABS DAT, w/o ERG) [inferred] |

(Murasugi 1994:147, Croft 1990, Woolford 1999)

- (11) a. ziya b-ik'i-s [Tsez]
cow.III.ABS III-go-PST.EVID
'The cow left.'
- b. eniyā ziya b-išer-si
mother-ERG cow.III.ABS III-feed-PST.EVID
'The mother fed the cow.'
- (Polinsky and Potsdam 2001)

- (12) a. Juuna-p miiqqa-t atuakka-mik nassip-p-a-i [W. Greenlandic]
Juuna.ERG child-PL book-INS send-IND-TR-3SG>3PL
'Juuna sent the children a book.'
- b. Juuna-p atuagaq miiqqa-nut nassi-up-p-a-a
Juuna.ERG book.ABS child-PL.DAT send-APPL-IND-TR-3SG>3SG
'Juuna sent a book to the children.'
- (Bittner 1994:20)

¹ caveat: there appear to be languages with ERG agreement and ABS clitics (Mayan, Coast Tsimshian); Woolford, Baker treat these as instantiating (25e), thus rejecting (23a). Baker also includes Semelai, a language with ergative clitics (Kruspe 2004: 87ff) but no absolutive clitics or agreement.

The Agreement-Case Hierarchy of Accessibility (ACHA)

- (13) Ergativity: two hierarchies (Croft 1990; Moravcsik 1974, 1978 on b.):

- | | | | | |
|---------------|---|----------|---|------------------|
| a. ABSOLUTIVE | < | ERGATIVE | < | DATIVE / OBLIQUE |
| b. SUBJECT | < | OBJECT | < | INDIRECT OBJECT |

The two hierarchies can be collapsed, if we adopt a dependent case model:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------|---|-----------|---|-----------------|
| (14) | UNMARKED | < | DEPENDENT | < | LEXICAL/OBLIQUE |
|------|----------|---|-----------|---|-----------------|

Icelandic: Only nominative NPs agree, and agreeing nominatives need not be subjects

- (15) *Morgum studentum líka verkið Dative subject doesn't agree
many students.D like-PL job.N
'Many students like the job.'

- (16) a. Jóni líkuðu þessir sokkar (=Error! Bookmark not defined.a), also (Error! Bookmark not defined.c) and below)
Jon.D like.PL these socks.N
'Jon likes these socks.' (JGJ:143)

- b. Það líkuðu einhverjum þessir sokkar
EXPL liked.PL someone.D these socks.N
'Someone liked these socks.' (JGJ:153)

- c. Um veturinn voru konunginum gefnar ambáttir
In the.winter were.PL the.king.D given slaves.N
'In the winter, the king was given (female) slaves.' (ZMT:112)

- b&c show agreement with the NOM object in the presence of subject-diagnostics picking out the dative ([b] Expletive-associate pairing and [c] inversion / pre-participle position)

There are additional constraints on agreement with non-subject nominatives.

- | |
|--|
| (17) When case and GF diverge, it is morphological case, and not GF, that is the correct predictor of agreement in Icelandic. (Sigurðsson 1993, et seq., also Falk 1997) |
|--|

- Agreement is with the f-highest accessible NP.
"f-highest" = highest, ignoring scrambling, A'-movement etc.
= in NP-structure (v. Riemsdijk/Williams), f-structure (LFG)

- (18) -ne ⇔ "ERG" (subject of transitive [& some unergatives]) in the perfective
-ko ⇔ "DAT" (experiencers, goals)
and animate/specific OBJECT (whether "ABS" or "ACC")
-Ø ⇔ elsewhere "NOM"

- (19) Perfective: a. SUBJ-ne OBJ-Ø V
b. SUBJ-ne OBJ-ko V **default**
- Imperf.: c. SUBJ-Ø Obj-Ø V **highest**
d. SUBJ-Ø OBJ-ko V
- Psych: e. SUBJ-ko OBJ-Ø V

- (20) a. Raam-ne **RoTii** khaayii thii
 R.-ERG (M) **bread-Ø** (F) eat.PERF.FEM be.PAST.FEM
 ‘Ram had eaten bread.’
- b. siitaa-ne laRkii-ko dekhaa
 S.-ERG (F) girl-ACC (F) see.PERF.MASC
 ‘Sita saw the girl.’
- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| c. | siitaa
S.-Ø (F) | kelaa
banana-Ø (M) | khaatii
eat.IMPERF.FEM | thii
be.PAST.FEM |
|----|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
- ‘Sita (habitually) ate bananas.’
- d. **niina** bacce-ko ut^haayegii
N.-Ø (F) child-ACC lift.FUT.FEM
 ‘Nina will pick the child up.’
- e. siita-ko **larke** pasand the
 S.-DAT (F) **boys-Ø** like be.PAST.MASC.PL
 ‘Sita likes the boys.’ (Examples from Mahajan, Mohanan cited in Woolford 1999)

- qualification: differences between subject ABS and object ABS agreement emerge in certain circumstances, notably conjunct agreement (Bhatt and Walkow 2013)

(21) **Nepali** (Bickel and Yādava 2000, 347)

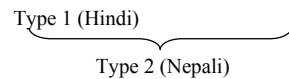
“Where there are two nominative NPs in a Nepali clause, agreement is with the higher argument, just as in Hindi. Unlike in Hindi, however, there is no agreement with nominative objects. Instead, the verb agrees with the ergative A-argument:”

- (22) a. ma yas pasal-mā patrikā kin-ch-u.
 1sNOM DEM:OBL store-LOC newspaper:NOM buy-NPT-1s
 ‘I buy the newspaper in this store.’
- b. maile yas pasal-mā patrikā kin-ē. (*kin- yo)
 1sERG DEM:OBL store-LOC newspaper:NOM buy-PT.1s buyPT3sM
 ‘I bought the newspaper in this store.’

But NOM objects do agree when the subject² is DATive (hence inaccessible)—B&Y offer this example to show that DAT subjects do not agree (p. 348):

- (23) malāi timī man par-ch-au. (*parch-u)
 1sDAT 2mhNOM liking occur-NPT-2mh occur-NPT-1s
 ‘I like you.’

(24) Unmarked Case > Dependent Case > Lexical/Oblique Case



Both languages: Highest accessible NP governs agreement.

2.3 Ergative Splits — A Typological Gap?

(25) Case-Agreement Splits (Dixon 1994)

Case Alignment	Agreement Alignment	
	ERG-ABS	NOM-ACC
ERG-ABS	Basque, Inuit, Tsez	Warlpiri, Chukchi, Nepali
NOM-ACC	** unattested **	Russian, Icelandic
(NO CASE)	Chol, ...	Itelmen, Bantu...

- For languages with Ergative-Absolutive Case systems, the most common Agreement pattern is Nominative-Accusative [=Subject-Object] Una (Indonesia) Warlpiri (Australia), Zoque (MesoAmerica), Hunzib (Caucasus) ...

(26) Agreement: Siewierska WALS (380) x NP Case: Comrie WALS (190) = 181.

Case Alignment	Agreement Alignment				
	ERG-ABS (19)	ACTIVE (26)	NOM-ACC (212)	OTHER (39) SPLIT	NONE (84)
ERG-ABS (32)	3	2	12	6	9
ACTIVE (4)	1		1		2
NOM-ACC (52)		2	34		14
TRIPARTITE (4)			1	2	
NO CASE (98)	5	9	52	5	21

- (27) a. Transitive: Subject-NOM ... Object-ACC ... V
 b. Intransitive: Subject-NOM V

Only 1 case accessible, it must be NOM → Nom = Subj agreement (English etc.)
 2 cases accessible = NOM and ACC → “highest accessible” still picks out “subject”

- (28) a. Transitive: Subject-ERG ... Object-ABS ... V
 b. Intransitive: Subject-ABS V

Only one case accessible = must be ABS → ABS agreement Hindi, Tsez
 Two cases accessible = ERG and ABS → “highest accessible” picks out “subject”
 = subject-oriented (“NOM”) agreement (Nepali, Chukchi)

- Under the accessibility hierarchy, only the attested case v. agreement “split” is possible.

(29) Predicted Agreement Alignments

Case Alignment	Accessible case(s)	
	Unmarked	Unmarked & Dependent
Erg-Abs	ABS	subject
Nom-Acc	NOM = subject →	subject

- Is the universal universal? Deal 2015: no.

2.3.1 Nominative-Absolutive Alignment? (Gildea & Castro Alves 2010)

Jê and Carib languages “are both counter to the expected universal patterns identified in the typological literature: no other cases have been identified in which case-marking is nominative while verbal cross-referencing is absolutive.”

Carib: “nominative” is marked by word order and agreement on auxiliaries, there is no nominal case marking. “Case marking” ≠ variation in the form of a nominal.

Jê (Canela): “nominative” is marked by word order and case on pronouns – by case, what is understood is that free pronouns can occur only as subjects (i.e., nominative); objects always bound. (Popjes and Popjes)

- (30) a. **wa** ha curi apê Intrans
1 FUT there work
‘I will work there.’
- b. po, **wa** i-te ih-curan Trans subj (fronted obj)
deer 1 1-PAST 3-kill
‘It was a deer that I killed.’ Deer – I killed it.
- c. wapo te i-xec Trans obj (prefix only)
knife PAST 1-cut
‘The knife cut me.’

➤ All the data in these papers is consistent with saying there is no case, but grammatical processes sensitive to ‘subject’ (we knew that.) [nearby Tupian languages may provide a more interesting challenge, and solution – ongoing work by Adam Singerman, Chicago]

2.3.2 Kutchi Gujarati (Deal < Patel-Grosz)?

Variation in Indo-Aryan (Deo & Sharma 2006, Wunderlich 2012) ~40-100 varieties; 6 types

- Hindi-Urdu (above) split ERG case, highest ABS agreement
- Nepali (above) split ERG case, “subject” agreement
- Bengali lost ERG case (still has DOM), “subject” agreement
- Marathi ‘losing’ ERG (neutralized in 1/2 pronouns), highest ABS agreement

- (5) a. **mī** sita-lā bagh-to
1SG.M.ABS=ERG Sita.F-ACC/DAT see-PRES.M.SG
‘I see Sita.’
- b. **mī** ek **chinn.ī** baghit-lī
1SG.M.ABS=ERG one sparrow.F.ABS see-PERF.F.SG
‘I saw a sparrow.’
- c. **mī** sita-lā baghit-la
1SG.M.ABS=ERG Sita.F-ACC/DAT see-PERF.N.SG
‘I saw Sita.’

✓ Underlying ERG vs. ABS/NOM contrast need not be overtly marked. (we knew that)

- Gujarati split ERG case (not all pronouns); marked objects agree!

- (31) Perfective: a. SUBJ-e **OBJ-Ø** V
b. SUBJ-e **OBJ-ne** V **agree w/ DOM object**
Imperf.: c. **SUBJ-Ø** OBJ-Ø V **highest**
d. **SUBJ-Ø** OBJ-ne V

- (32) a. sita-e **kāgal** vāc-yo
Sita.F-ERG **letter.M.NOM** read-PERF.M.SG
‘Sita read the letter.’
- b. sita-e **raj-ne** pajav-yo
Sita.F-ERG **Raj.M-DOM** harass-PERF.M.SG
‘Sita harassed Raj.’
- c. raj-e **sita-ne** pajav-i
Raj.M-ERG **Sita.F-DOM** harass-PERF.F.SG
‘Raj harassed Sita.’

✓ Parametrization in how DOM interacts with agreement (rule ordering?)

Marathi: abstract ERG not overtly marked
+ Gujarati: DOM does not bleed agreement
= Kutchi Gujarati, Rajasthani etc:

- (33) Perfective: a. SUBJ-Ø_{ERG} **OBJ-Ø** V
b. SUBJ-Ø_{ERG} **OBJ-DOM** V **agree w/ DOM object**
Imperf.: c. **SUBJ-Ø** OBJ-Ø V **highest**
d. **SUBJ-Ø** OBJ-DOM V

2.3.3 Niuean: what's agreement?

If ERG can't agree, then the expected agreement pattern is:

(Bobaljik): ABS agreement (Hindi, NW Caucasian, Nakh-Dagestian) etc.
(Legate): SUBJECT agreement, but intransitive subjects only (Niuean)

- (34) a. **Nofo** agaia nakai e matua fifine haau i Mutalau ?
live still Q ABS parent female your in M.
‘Does your mother still live in Mutalau?’
- b. **No-nofo** agaia nakai e tau ma-matua haau i Mutalau ?
PL-live still Q ABS PL PL-parent your in M.
‘Do your parents still live in Mutalau?’ (Seiter 1980:62, in Legate)

Legate contends that this process singles out intransitive subjects (acknowledging that it “is complicated by the existence of lexical exceptions”).

Contrast Seiter: “Although Niuean has no productive morphological process of agreement, there are a number of verbs with distinct plural forms, some of which agree with their subject, others with their direct object.” (Seiter 1980, 60-61)

- Lexically restricted (possibly Aktionsart, see Haji-Abdolhosseini, Massam & Oda)
- Reduplication or suppletion (see Thornton 2015)
- Participant number marking (by reduplication and suppletion) – cross-linguistic very strong trend for “absolutives” arguably: internal arguments only (on suppletion: Durie 1986, Veselinova 2006; Bobaljik and Harley 2014 for refs and discussion)

- (35) a. Kua **hala** e ia e lā akau.
 PERF cut ERG he ABS branch tree
 ‘He cut down the branch.’
 b. Kua **ha-hala** e ia e tau lā akau.
 PERF PL-cut ERG he ABS PL branch tree
 ‘He cut down the branches.’ (Seiter 1980:64)

ERG PLURAL: ‘sleep; sit/stay’: ERG subject + ABS location: ERG is plausibly internal.

- (36) a. Ai lā **nofo** ia e ia e nofoa nei.
 not yet sit yet ERG he ABS chair this.
 ‘He has never sat in this chair.’
 b. Ai lā **no-nofo** ia e laua e nofoa nei.
 not yet PL-sit yet ERG they ABS chair this.
 ‘They have never sat in this chair.’ (Seiter 1980: 63-64)

➤ Pace Legate, I’m not aware of an Ergative language in which (all and) only intransitive subjects agree. On participant-number governed suppletion and reduplication, see Bobaljik and Harley (to appear), Thornton (2015)

SUMMARY:
 The Dependent Theory of Case doesn’t lend itself well to “two sides of the same coin” view of the relationship between case and agreement. They often coincide, most notably when NOM-ACC case is coupled with subject-object agreement, but they can and routinely do diverge, but only up to the limits imposed by the system.

3. ANOTHER CASE AGREEMENT MISMATCH: ACTIVE ALIGNMENT
 joint work with Mark Baker

(37) A typological gap for dependent-marking:

NOM/ACC	vs.	‘active’ / ‘Split-S’ – not generated by (1)
ERG/ABS		
THREE-WAY		<i>Case in DCT is a relation among NPs</i>
NEUTRAL (No marking)		<i>not a relation between NPs and funct heads</i>

(38) Choctaw agreement (Baker 2015 < Broadwell 2006)

- a. **chi-pisa-li-h** transitive: II- obj; I-subj
 2sII-see-1sI-TNS
 ‘I see you’
 b. unerg: **lya-li-ttook** unacc: **sa-niya-h**
 go-1sI-DPAST 1sII-fat-TNS
 ‘I went’ ‘I am fat’

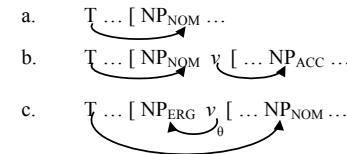
➤ Since DCT is about a relation among NPs, there is no easy way to describe an active system of case (as opposed to agreement)

cf. Mithun (1991): 5 “active” languages, only one (C. Pomo) has case-marking.

WALS:	Total	Neutral	Active	Ergative
Head marking (Siewierska)	380	84	26 (6.8%)	19 (5%)
Dept marking (Comrie)	190	98	4 (2%)	32 (16%)

3.1 An alternative? Ergative as “inherent” case?

(39) Ergative as inherent (θ) case (Mahajan 1993, Nash 1995, Woolford 1997, 2006 Anand & Nevins 2006, Legate 2008, Coon 2013) contra: Baker & Bobaljik 2015



3.2 Case Alternations – a transitivity restriction

Inherent (theta-related, lexical) case is normally preserved in case alternations (Ice. Dative) Ergative case generally alternates productively.

Antipassive:

- (40) a. ʔaaček-a kimitʔ-ən ne-nʔʔetət-ən [Chukchi]
 youth-ERG load-ABS 3.SUB(T)-carry-3SG.OBJ
 ‘(The) young men carried away the load.’
 b. ʔaaček-ət Ø-ine-nʔʔetət-ʔʔet kimitʔ-e
 youth-PL (ABS) 3.SUB(I)-AP-carry-3PL.SUB(I) load-INTRSTR
 ‘(The) young men carried away a load.’ (Kozinsky et al. 1988: 652)

Causative:

- (41) a. Jaani-up ipuittuq anmag-aa pilauti-mut [Inuit]
 John-ERG can.(ABS) open.3s>3s snow.knife-ALLATIVE
 ‘John opened the can with a snow knife.’
 b. Jaani-up Miuri-mut ipuittuq angmaq-ti-taa
 John-ERG Mary-ALL can.(ABS) open-CAUS-3s>3s
 ‘John made Mary open the can with a knife.’ (Johns 1987:12-13)

ECM in Basque:

- (17) a. Katu-ek sagu-ak harrapa-tu dituzte-la ikusi dut.
 Cat-PL.ERG mouse-PL.ABS catch AUX-that see AUX
 ‘I saw that the cats caught the mice.’
 b. Katu-ak sagu-ak harrapa-tzen ikusi ditut.
 cat-PL.ABS mouse-PL.ABS catch-ING seen AUX.1SG>3PL
 ‘I saw the cats catch mice.’ (Rezac et.al.: 8)

(42) Even when ergative case may go on the subject of an intransitive clause, ergative case will not appear on a derived subject. (Marantz 1991)

3.2.1 Niuean: Instrumental advancement

- (43) a. Ne tohitohi a Sione aki e pene [AGENT]
 PST writing ABS Sione with ABS pen
 ‘Sione was writing with a pen.’
 b. Ne tohitohi aki e/*a Sione e pene
 PST writing with ERG/*ABS Sione ABS pen
 ‘Sione was writing with a pen.’
- (44) Ne faka-kofu aki e vaka e tau lauaka [-AGENT]
 PST CAUS-cover with ABS canoe ABS PL leaf
 ‘The canoe was covered with leaves.’

but...

3.2.2 Chukchi: spray/load; experiencers

- (45) a. əʔtvʔet jərʔet-γʔi miml-e
 boat-ABS fill-3SG water-INSTR
 ‘The boat filled with water.’
 b. əʔtvʔet jərʔen-nin **miml-e**
 boat-ABS fill-3SG>3.SG **water-ERG**
 ‘Water filled the boat.’ (Nedjalkov 1976:195)
- (46) a. ətləg-e jərʔen-nin əʔtvʔet miml-e
 father-ERG fill-3SG>3.SG boat.ABS water-INSTR
 ‘Father filled the boat with water.’
 b. ətləg-e əʔtvʔet **iml-ə-jərʔen-nin**
 father-ERG boat.ABS **water-fill-3SG>3.SG**
 ‘Father filled the boat with water.’ (Nedjalkov 1976:208)
- (47) a. ətləg-in əʔtvʔet jərʔet-γʔi
 father-POSS boat-ABS fill-3SG
 ‘Father’s boat filled.’
 b. ətləgən əʔtvʔ-ə-jərʔet-γʔi
 father.ABS **boat-fill-3SG**
 ‘Father boat-filled’ = Father’s boat got filled.
- (48) a. ətləgən (pečγ-ətə) koryav-ərkən
 father.ABS food-DAT delight.in-PROG.3.SG
 ‘Father is happy about the food.’
 b. ətləg-e pičγə-pič kory-o ləŋ-ərkən-en
 father.ERG food-ABS.SG delight-U AUX-PROG-3.SG>3SG
 ‘Father is happy about the food.’ (Nedjalkov 1976:194, Dunn 1999:322 ff)

3.2.3 Shipibo – applicatives of unaccusatives (Baker 2014)

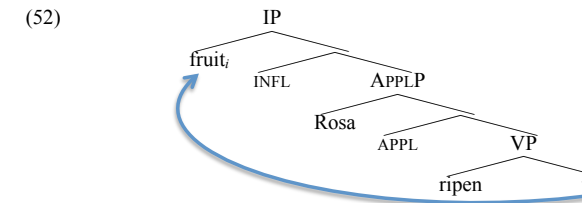
- (49) a. Maria-nin-ra ochiti noko-ke.
 Maria-ERG-PRT dog find-PRF
 ‘Maria found the dog.’ (Baker 2014: 342; cf Valenzuela 2003)

- b. Maria-ra ka-ke.
 Maria-PRT go-PRF
 ‘Maria went.’

(50) vP ApplP VP High Applicative
 VP happens for the benefit/detriment of Appl

- (51) a. Nokon shino-n-ra e-a mawa-xon-ke. (*shino-ra)
 my.GEN monkey-ERG-PRT me-ABS die-APPL-PRF monkey.ABS-PRT
 ‘My monkey died on me.’

- b. Bimi-n-ra Rosa joshin-xon-ke. (*bimi-ra)
 fruit-ERG-PRT Rosa ripen-APPL-PRF (*fruit-PRT)
 ‘The fruit ripened for Rosa.’



Baker: Benefactive/malefactive NP in Shipibo introduced by null P, n/a for EPP

Section conclusion: The Ergative Generalization is spurious, as expected under the DCT.

3.3 Putative active case systems I: Basque, Hindi (ergative unergatives)

- (53) a. ume-a etorri da. [Basque]
 kid-the.ABS arrive AUX.INTR.3A
 ‘The kid arrived.’ (Laka 1990:14)
 b. Nik hitz-egin dut.
 1SG.ERG “speak” AUX.TR.(3A).1E
 ‘I spoke.’ (Uribe-Etxebarria 1989:1)
- (54) a. kutte bhōke b. kuttō ne bhōkaa
 dogs.ABS barked.M.PL dogs ERG barked.M.SG (DFLT)
 ‘The dogs barked.’ same
- (55) siitaa (*ne) aayii
 Sita.ABS (*ERG) arrived
 ‘Sita arrived.’ (Mahajan 1990:74)
- Lexical idiosyncrasy (Hindi, Basque - even unaccusatives w/ ERG: LAST, BOIL)
- (56) Euskara-k noiz arte iraungo du?
 Basque-ERG when until last AUX.3SG>3SG
 ‘How long will Basque last?’ (DeRijk p.265; our gloss)

Even idiosyncratic, intrans. ERG undergoes case alternations (unlike canonical inherent case):

- (57) Norbaite-k eta zerbaite-k iraun-arazi dio hizkuntz-ari.
 Someone-ERG and something-ERG last-CAUS AUX.3SG>3SG.3SD language-DAT

‘Someone and something has caused the language to last.’ (DeRijk p.380; our gloss)

- (58) a. Ura-k irakin du.
water-ERG boil AUX
‘The water has boiled.’ (Preminger)
- b. Esnea/*esneak irakiten ikusi nuen.
milk.ABS/milk.ERG boil see AUX
‘I saw the milk boil/boiling.’ (K. Arregi, Ikuska Ansola-Badiola p.c)
[ERG → ABS in ECM, Rezac et al. 2014]

- Proposal: verbs may lexically select a null dummy internal argument.
Preminger 2012: arguments against this – invisible object invisible to agreement.
- Imonda (Seiler 1985): only 8 known verbs take non-agentive case marker on subject

3.4 Putative active case systems II: (N.) Pomo Hale/Bittner’s “Accusative active”

- (59) man mo:w-**al** čaxa
3SF.A 3SM-O⁺ cut
‘She cut him.’
- (60) man k’otama. { mo:w / mo:w-al } is-i.
3SF.A swim 3SM.A / 3SM-O⁺ sneeze-PRES
‘She is swimming.’ ‘He sneezed.’ (O’Connor 1987:196)
- (61) mo:w-**al** miboh.
3SM-O⁺ bloated
‘He bloated.’

“the A case is semantically *unmarked*, it does not convey any information about volition, control, agentivity, etc.” (O’Connor 1987:196). “agentive” incl: ‘die’, ‘sleep’, ‘misspeak’

- O⁺ marks goals (Dative):

- (62) ša dače nam mul mo:w ma:d-**al** hóh khémna
fish catch SPEC DEM 3SM.A 3SF-O⁺ give FUT
‘He will give her a fish he caught.’ (O’C 46)

- O⁺ marks some experiencer subjects (Dative):

- (63) a. ma:n kasili b. ma:d-al kasili
3SF be.cold 3SF-O⁺ be.cold
‘She’s cold.’ ‘She feels cold.’

- O⁺ in transitive clauses only marks human objects = DOM (Dative):

- (64) tho?o-nam-(*yačul) ?a: bida.
acorn.much-SPEC-(*O+) 1s.A dip
‘I ate/am eating the acorn mush.’ (O’C, p. 171)

- More challenging cases: Laz and Tsova-Tush/Batsbi (Baker and Bobaljik 2015), but even the most challenging examples are not ‘clean’ active case systems.

3.5 Active patterns without active case?

- Two ways in which an ergative case system could yield an active-looking pattern:

I. Concealed transitives again: a derivation that turns (a) into (b)?

- (65) a. I washed. → b. I washed ~~myself~~.

II. Layered Case (cf. agreeing DOM above):

- (66) a. Case: Subj-ERG Obj-Ø
Agreement: --- AGREE
DOM: Subj-ERG Obj-ko Agreeing ‘Dative’ (Rajasthani)
- (67) b. Case: Subj-Ø
Agreement: AGREE
DSM: Subj-ERG Ergative unergative (volitional)

Batsbi/Tsova-Tush (best case of an active case language, Holisky 1987)

- (68) a. bader dah dapx-dali. Intransitive
child-NOM PVB undress-AOR
‘The child got undressed.’
- b. k’nat-ev bader dah dapx-dië. Transitive
boy-ERG child-NOM PVB undress-AOR-3
‘The boy undressed the child.’
- c. surat ese qaic’-ũ. Intransitive
picture-NOM here hang-PRES
‘The picture is hanging here.’
- d. badr-ev surat qoc’-jië. Transitive
child-ERG picture-NOM hung-AOR
‘The child hung the picture.’
- (69) a. (as) dah japx-jail-n-as.
1SG-ERG PVB undress-AOR-1SG-ERG
‘I got undressed.’
- b. (so) xe-n-mak qac’-u-sõ.
1SG-NOM tree-DAT-on hang-PRES-1SG-NOM
‘I’m hanging in a tree.’
- (70) a. (as) vuiž-n-as.
1SG-ERG fell- AOR-1SG-ERG
‘I fell down, on purpose.’
- b. (so) vož-en-sõ.
1SG-NOM fell- AOR-1SG-NOM
‘I fell down, by accident.’

Person agreement (1/2 only) is for subject & object (Harris 09) (not both, Harris pc)
But gender/CM (class marking) agreement is absolutive:

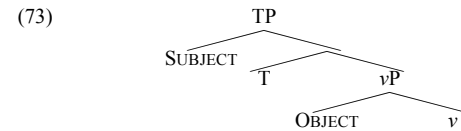
- (71) tišiⁿ c’a dah d-ex-d-o-d-an-iš
old house(d/d).ABS PVB CM-destroy-CM-PRES-CM-EVID-2PL.ERG
‘Y’all are evidently tearing down the old house.’ (Dict, via Harris 2009)

- (72) a. psare(h) oc'-v-al-in-es...
yesterday weigh.PFV-CM-INTR-AOR-1SG.ERG
'I (masculine) weighed yesterday [, and I had gained one kilo].'
- b. šobi-lō xširoš v-uyt'-v-aγ-o-s
Pšavs-ALLII often CM-go-CM-comes-PRES-L.SG.ERG
'I (masculine) often come and go among the PSavs.'
- (36) mič-iv-h b-uyt'-ayšī k'nat-i
where-DIR-LOC CM-go-2PL.ERG boy(v/b)-PL.ABS
'Where are you going, boys?' (Dict 493a via Harris 2009)

One other instance in which gender agreement with a (surface) non-absolutive: abilitative *mak'ar*: embedded subject expressed as DAT (Holisky and Gagua p.40)

- (36) a. ag J-apx-Jal-in
grandmother CM-undress-INTR-AOR
'Grandmother undressed.'
- b. ag-en co J-apx-Jal-mak'-e-r
grandmother-DAT not CM-undress-INTR-CAN-PRES-PAST
'Grandmother couldn't undress.'

3.6 TAKE-HOME POINTS:



Dependent Case Theory: Case is a relation among NPs
Agreement is a relation between NPs and heads

Case ≠ Agreement – better typological coverage; universal gap
Predicts: no active case systems – strong trend, possible universal

Also: 'Inherent' ERG = popular attempt to reconcile ERG with LGB case theory
Problematic (see Baker & Bobaljik 2015)

Invitation to reconsider evidence/arguments for Case Theory in general

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