

## Case and Agreement

(without GB-style Abstract Case)

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### Part III

#### Ergative Active Typology (with Mark Baker)

#### 1. ANOTHER CASE AGREEMENT MISMATCH: ACTIVE ALIGNMENT

(1) A typological gap for dependent-marking:

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

(2) a. *Chi-pisa-li-h.* b. Has-**sa**-hichaali-h. [Choctaw]  
 2sII-see-1sI-TNS 2pI-1sII-hate-TNS  
 'I see you.' 'Y'all hate me.' (Broadwell 2006: 33)

(3) a. *Iya-li-ttook.* b. **Sa**-niya-h.  
 go-1sI-DPAST 1sO-fat-TNS  
 'I went.' 'I am fat.' (Broadwell 2006: 140,149)

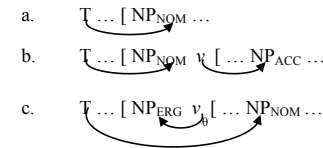
➤ Since DCT is about a relation among NPs, there is no easy way to describe an active system of case (as opposed to agreement)

WALS:	Total	Neutral	Active	Ergative
Head marking (Siewierska)	380	84	26 (7%)	19 (5%)
Dept marking (Comrie)	190	98	4 (2%)	32 (16%)

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

#### 1.1 Aside: An alternative? Ergative as inherent case?

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



##### 1.1.1 Case Alternations – a transitivity restriction

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

##### Antipassive:

(5) a. ʔaaček-a kimitʔ-ən ne-nʔetet-ən [Chukchi]  
 youth-ERG load-ABS 3.SUB(T)-carry-3SG.OBJ  
 '(The) young men carried away the load.'  
 b. ʔaaček-ət Ø-ine-nʔetet-ʔʔet kimitʔ-e  
 youth-PL (ABS) 3.SUB(1)-AP-carry-3PL.SUB(1) load-INST  
 '(The) young men carried away a load.' (Kozinsky et al. 1988: 652)

##### Raising:

(6) a. Ža ayi [ ko y-ac'-a ] b-içi-xosi yoł  
 DEM bird.ABS.III raspberry.ABS.II II-eat.INF.IV III-stay-PRSPTCT AUX  
 'The bird keeps eating the raspberries.'  
 b. [Nela ay-ā ko y-ac'-a ] r-içi-xosi yoł  
 DEM.NI bird.ERG raspberry.ABS.II II-eat.INF.IV IV-stay-PRSPTCT AUX  
 'The bird keeps eating the raspberries.' (impersonal) (Polinsky 2016)

##### Causative:

(7) a. Jaani-up ipuittuq angmag-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:**

- (17) a. Katu-ek sagu-ak harrapa-tu dituzte-la ikusi dut. Basque  
 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)

- Woolford, Legate: Transitivity condition on (inherent) ergative  
 (i) Why? (ii) not preserved in A-movement from underlying ERG.

1.1.2 *The Ergative Generalization (Marantz 1991, Legate 2008)*

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

**Niuean**

- (9) 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.'
- (10) 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 note CAUS – without CAUS, *aki* (applicative) impossible.

- (11) a. NOM ACC ACC (Baker 2015)  
 b. ERG ABS ABS

**vs. sprav/load alternations**

- (12) a. əʔtvʔet jərʔet-γʔi miml-e Chukchi  
 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)
- c. 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)

**Experiencer alternations**

- (13) a. əʔəγən (pečγ-ətə) koryav-ərkən Chukchi  
 father.ABS food-DAT delight.in-PROG.3.SG  
 'Father is happy about the food.'
- b. əʔəγ-e pičγə-pič kory-o ləŋ-ərkən-en  
 father.ERG food-ABS.SG delight-U AUX-PROG-3.SG>3.SG  
 'Father is happy about the food.' (Nedjalkov 1976:194, Dunn 1999:322 ff)

- Inuit: Applicative *-uti* adds an internal argument to otherwise intransitive verbs, promoting the original sole argument to transitive subject status where it receives Ergative case: (cf. Fortescue 1984: 89-90):

- (14) a. kamap-p-uq b. Arna-p angut kama-ap-p-aa  
 angry-INDIC-3S woman-ERG man.ABS be.angry-APPL-INDIC-3S>3S  
 'he/she is angry.' 'The woman is angry with the man.' (Fortescue, pe 2003)
- (15) a. unnuarur-p-uq → unnuaru-up-p-aa  
 become.night-INDIC-3S become.night-APPL-INDIC-3S>3S  
 'it became night.' 'it became night for him / while he...'

**Adversity Antipassive (Yup'ik, Woodbury 1981:286-287)**

- (16) a. Maklagaq kit'e-llru-uq  
 bearded.seal.ABS sink-PAST-INDIC.3SG  
 'The bearded seal sank.'
- b. Ing-um maklagaq kic-i-lq-aa  
 that.one-ERG bearded.seal.ABS sink-AP-PAST-INDIC.3S>3S  
 'The bearded seal sank on that guy.' (Woodbury 1981:332-3)

With certain intransitive and labile verbs of motion, the (otherwise regular, detransitivizing) antipassive affix derives a transitive verb adding an ergative NP with an adversative meaning. See adversity passives, next page.

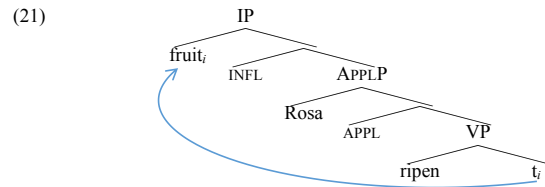
- (17) Compare Adversity Passive (a type of applicative). (Pylkkänen 2002, < Kubo 1992)
- a. Taro-ga Hanako-ni shinkoushukyo-o hajime-rare-ta [Japanese]  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT new.religion-ACC begin-PASS-PAST  
 'Taro was adversely affected by Hanako starting a new religion on him.'
- b. Hanako-ga dorobo-ni yubiwa-o to-rare-ta  
 Hanako-NOM thief-DAT ring-ACC steal-PASS-PAST  
 'Hanako was affected by the thief stealing her ring.' (Kubo 1992)

(18) Adversity antipassive in West Greenlandic (lexicalised?) (Fortescue 1984: 269)

- a. qajar-taa-va asirur-sima-v-uq  
kayak-new-his break-PERF-INDIC-3SG  
'His new kayak has been destroyed.'
- b. Taania-p qajar-taa-ni asiru-i-v-aa  
Taania-ERG kayak-new-his break-AP-INDIC-3S>3S  
'Taania has his new kayak destroyed (unintentionally).'

**Shipibo – applicatives of unaccusatives (Baker 2014)**

- (19) 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.'
- (20) 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

**Nez Perce – applicatives of unaccusatives (Deal 2016)**

- (22) a. Ha-'aayat hi-pa-pay-no'-kom.  
PL-woman.NOM 3SUBJ-S.PL-come-FUT-CIS  
'The women will come.'
- b. Ha-'aayat-om nuun-e hi-pa-naas-pay-noo-yo'-kom.  
PL-woman-ERG 1PL-ACC 3SUBJ-S.PL-O.PL-come-APPL-FUT-CIS  
'The women will come to us.'

- (23) **K'olalk'olal-nim** hi-'leese-nuu-Ø-ye.  
bell-ERG 3SUBJ-make.noise-APPL-P-REM.PAST  
'The bell rang at me.'

➤ -in participle formation as unaccusative vs. unergative diagnostic

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

**2. ACTIVE PATTERNS WITHOUT AN ACTIVE ALIGNMENT**

- |  |                         |   |                 |  |
|--|-------------------------|---|-----------------|--|
|  | Basque<br>Hindi<br>Pomo | Batsbi/Tsova-Tush<br>Lhasa Tibetan<br>Laz | Imonda<br>Drehu |  |
|--|-------------------------|---|-----------------|--|
- (24) 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)
- (25) a. siitaa (\*ne) aayii [Hindi]  
Sita.ABS (\*ERG) arrived  
'Sita arrived.' (Mahajan 1990:74)
- b. kutte bhōke c. kuttō ne bhōkaa  
dogs.ABS barked.M.PL dogs ERG barked.M.SG (DFLT)  
'The dogs barked.' Same
- (26) a. (as) dah j-apx-j-ail-n-as.  
1SG-ERG PVB CM-undress-CM-AOR-1SG-ERG  
'I got undressed.'
- b. (so) xe-n-mak qac'-u-sō.  
1SG-NOM tree-DAT-on hang-PRES-1SG-NOM  
'I'm hanging in a tree.'
- (27) a. (as) vuiž-n-as.  
1SG-ERG fell- AOR-1SG-ERG  
'I fell down, on purpose.'
- b. (so) voz-en-sō.  
1SG-NOM fell- AOR-1SG-NOM  
'I fell down, by accident.'

### 2.1.1 Deviations from the canon

Concealed Transitives (e.g., Hale & Keyser)

- (28) a. Type I [ NP V ]  
 b. Type II [ NP [ V Ø<sub>NP</sub> ] ] looks like: ERG intransitive

Hidden Structure (e.g., Coon 2013, Baker 2015)

- (29) a. Type I [ NP NP V ]  
 b. Type II [ NP [ DOMAIN NP V ] ] looks like: ABS ABS transitive

Nominalizations (Coon 2013 for Mayan)

- (30) [ NP AUX [ VP V ]-NMLZ ]

Is “ergative” always ergative?

### 2.1.2 Strategy I – concealed transitives (cf. Hale & Keyser; Bittner & Hale; Bobaljik 93)

- (31) a. Type I [ NP V ]  
 b. Type II [ NP [ V Ø<sub>NP</sub> ] ]

NOM-ACC alignment: innocuous

ERG-ABS alignment: apparent erg intransitives, typically external argument

- (32) a. Nik hitz egin dut. [Basque]  
 1SG.ERG word.ABS do AUX.TR.(3A).1E  
 ‘I spoke.’ (Uribe-Etxebarria 1989:1)
- b. Anup ne ( kaafii-zorkii chiik ) chiikii. [Hindi]  
 Anoop.ERG very-loud sneeze.ABS sneezed  
 ‘Anoop sneezed a very loud sneeze.’
- (33) a. Himu-k i-bgar-s. [Laz]  
 s/he-ERG VAL-cry-PRES.3SG  
 ‘S/he is crying.’
- b. Him ulu-n  
 s/he.NOM go-PRS.3SG  
 ‘S/he is going.’ (Öztürk and Pöchtrager 2011: 26)

Laz Ergative intransitives:

A: verbs of emission (cf. Hindi)

- (34) a. Ayna-k farfal-am-s. [Laz]  
 mirror-ERG shine-TS-PRS.3SG  
 ‘The mirror is shining.’
- b. Ntsa-k gurgul-am-s.  
 sky-ERG thunder-TS-PRS.3SG  
 ‘Thunder is clapping.’

- c. Ntsa-k gurgula ik’-um-s.  
 sky-ERG thunder make-TS-PRS.3SG  
 ‘The sky is making thunder claps.’ (Taylan & Öztürk 2014:284)

B: agentive intransitives: always have valency prefix *i-* (Taylan & Öztürk 2014)

- (35) a. Ma yali-s Ahmed b-dzir-i.. [Laz]  
 I mirror-DAT Ahmet 1P-see-PST.1SG  
 ‘I saw Ahmet in the mirror.’
- b. Ma yali-s v-ǰ-dzir-i.. [Laz]  
 I mirror-DAT 1P-VAL-SEE-PST.1SG  
 ‘I saw myself in the mirror.’

Not (always) thematically predictable:

- (36) a. Euskara-k noiz arte iraungo du? Basque  
 Basque-ERG when until last AUX.3SG>3SG  
 ‘How long will Basque last?’ (DeRijk p.265; our gloss)
- b. Ura-k irakin du.  
 water-ERG boil AUX  
 ‘The water has boiled.’ (Preminger)

But nevertheless structural: alternates in causative, ECM:

- (37) Norbaite-k eta zerbaite-k irau-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)
- (38) 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)

Representation: (pace Preminger 2012) – lexically select a null dummy internal argument

Preminger 2012 argues against the covert N analysis – the N doesn’t intervene for deeper agreement.

Representation? Deficient N (case-competitor, but invisible for agreement)

### 2.1.3 Strategy II – DSM/DOM/DAT: Hale & Bittner’s Accusative Active (Pomo, Imonda)

- (39) man mo:w-al čaxa [N. Pomo]  
 3SF.A 3SM-O<sup>+</sup> cut  
 ‘She cut him.’
- (40) man k’otama. { mo:w / mo:w-al } is-i.  
 3SF.A swim 3SM.A / 3SM-O<sup>+</sup> sneeze-PRES  
 ‘She is swimming.’ ‘He sneezed.’ (O’Connor 1987:196)

- (41) mo:w-al miboh.  
3SM-O<sup>+</sup> 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<sup>+</sup> marks goals (Dative):

- (42) ša dače nam mul mo:w ma:d-al hóh khémna  
fish catch SPEC DEM 3SM.A 3SF-O<sup>+</sup> give FUT  
'He will give her a fish he caught.' (O'C 46)

➤ O<sup>+</sup> marks some experiencer subjects (Dative):

- (43) a. ma:n kasili b. ma:d-al kasili  
3SF be.cold 3SF-O<sup>+</sup> be.cold  
'She's cold.' 'She feels cold.'

➤ O<sup>+</sup> in transitive clauses only marks human objects = DOM (Dative):

- (44) tho?o-nam-(\*yačul) ?a: bida.  
acorn.much-SPEC-(\*O+) 1s.A dip  
'I ate/am eating the acorn mush.' (O'C, p. 160)

➤ DOM is independent of alignment type.

- NOM = Ø
- DOM = DATIVE (Bossong 1985)
- DAT subjects for some intransitives = “Active Accusative” pattern

Seiler (1985:145-148) Imonda: only eight verbs take the nonagentive case marker

### 2.1.4 Strategy III – a (very) tentative analysis of Lhasa Tibetan

Classical Tibetan & Modern Literary Tibetan: “regular” Ergative pattern  
Spoken Lhasa Tibetan: competing descriptions

Transitive: Erg – Abs (Erg = gyi-s) may be omitted in some contexts  
(Abs = Ø) Erg as Subject Focus

Intransitive:

Intentional: Abs normal, Erg possible  
Unintentional: Abs only

Intentionality/Volitionality – only plays a role in intransitives

- (45) a. kho-s las.ka byas-song TRANS  
3SG-ERG work did-AUX  
'He did the work.'
- b. kho-s phyin-song INTRANS - INTENTIONAL  
3SG-ERG went  
'He went.'
- c. kho(-\*s) na-song INTRANS - UNINTENTIONAL  
3SG-(\*ERG) be.ill-AUX  
'He was ill.'

*Ergative = Instrumental (by phrase)*

“there is no formal distinction between an active and a passive in Tibetan”

- (46) a. yi.ge bris.shag TRANS  
letter wrote  
'He wrote the letter' or 'The letter was written.'
- b. (kho-s) yi.ge bris.shag TRANS  
3SG-ERG letter wrote  
'He wrote the letter.'
- c. yi.ge (smyug.gu-s) bris.shag TRANS  
letter pen-INSTR wrote  
'The letter was written with a pen.'
- (47) a. Es wurde (von Peter) getanzt. IMPERSONAL PASSIVE  
EXPL AUX by Peter danced Intentional  
'It was danced (by Peter).'
- b. # Es wurde (von Peter) gefallen. IMPERSONAL PASSIVE  
EXPL AUX by Peter fallen \*Unintentional  
'It was fallen (by Peter).'
- c. Es wurde (von dem Schauspieler) ... gefallen. IMPERSONAL PASSIVE  
EXPL AUX by the actor fallen Intentional  
'It was fallen (by the actor).'

### 2.1.5 Strategy IV – Concealed transitives again

Batsbi/Tsova-Tush (best case of an active case language, for ½ person only, exx: Holisky 1987)

- (48) a. (as) dah j-apx-j-ail-n-as.  
1SG-ERG PVB CM-undress-CM-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.'

(49) bader dah d-apx-d-alī.  
child-NOM PVB CM-undress-CM-AOR  
'The child got undressed.'

(50) a. (as) vuiž-n-as.  
1SG-ERG fell- AOR-1SG-ERG  
'I fell down, on purpose.'

b. (so) vož-en-sō.  
1SG-NOM fell- AOR-1SG-NOM  
'I fell down, by accident.'

(Optional) person agreement (clitics?) (1/2 only) is for subject & object (Harris 2009)  
(not both, Harris pc)

But gender/CM (class marking) agreement is absolutive:

(51) tiš<sup>n</sup> 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)

The 'unexpected' ergative subjects trigger class-agreement as if they were absolutives:

(52) 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 -come-PRES-L SG.ERG  
'I (masculine) often come and go among the Pšavs.'

(53) a. as v-uyt-iū-(as) Alni  
I.ERG CM-go-INFL-1SG.ERG Alvani  
'I am going to Alvani.'

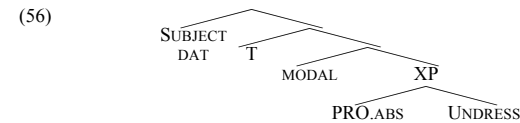
b. atxo b-uyt-iū-(atxo) Alni  
We.ERG CM-go-INFL-1PL.ERG Alvani  
'I am going to Alvani.' (Desheriev 1953:85)

(54) 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)

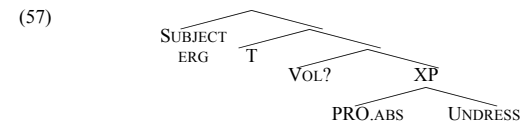
One other instance in which gender agreement with a (surface) non-absolutive: abilitative  
*mak'ar*: embedded subject expressed as DAT (Holisky and Gagau p.40)

(55) 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.'

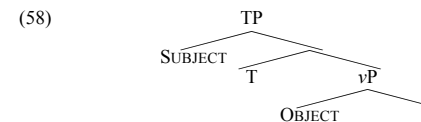


Technical implementation: A null volitional modal?



Conclusion: Even in one of the best cases of active case systems  
there is system-internal evidence that the ergatives behave as absolutives

## 2.2 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

Invitation to reconsider evidence/arguments for (L)GB/MP style Case Theory in general

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