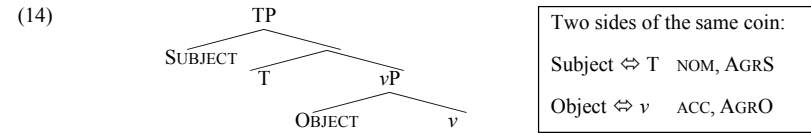


3. CASE AND AGREEMENT

“2 sides of the same coin” = agreement/case as head/dependent marking (Nichols 1986):



- (15) [POSSESSOR_{DEPENDENT} [NOUN_{HEAD}]]
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a. | the man- s | house | English, Russian, German (D) |
| b. | az ember
the man | ház- a
house-POSS | Hungarian
H only |
| c. | adam- ın
man-GEN | ev- ı
house-POSS | Turkish
H & D |
| d. | iNTi
house.Ø | gooDa
wall.Ø | Telugu
Ø (some noun classes) |

- (16) [SUBJECT_{DEPENDENT} OBJECT_{DEPENDENT} [PREDICATE_{HEAD}]]
- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | kodoma- ga
child-NOM | terebi- o
TV-ACC | mita
watched | Japanese (SOV)
D only |
| b. | A-ba-ntwana
AUG-2-child | ba -ya- si -thanda
SM2-DIS-OM7-likethis 7-school | lesi si-kole
7-school | Zulu (SVO)
H only |
| c. | Maš- a
Masha-NOM | čital- a
read-FEM | knjig- u
book-ACC | Russian
H&D |
| c' | yəm- nan
I-ERG | yət- Ø
you (ABS) | tə -lʔu- yət
1SG.SUB-see-2SG.OBJ | [Chukchi]
H&D |

Case and Agreement both ultimately depend on the syntax (like (14))

- (17)
- | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Syntax | [Arg-Str → GF → Scrambling → LF] |
| ↓ | |
| (M)-Case | feature-filling rules on NPs |
| ↓ | |
| Agreement | feature-copying rules |
| ↓ | |
| Exponence | assignment of phonological content to nodes (morphemes) |

4. DEPENDENT CASE THEORY

Two functions of case (Comrie 1978, 1981, Kibrik 1985, etc.)

- I. indexing – signals the role of the NP in the clause
- II. differentiating – differentiates the two NP actants in a transitive clause

Marantz 1991, McFadden 2004, Baker 2015;
 cf. Yip et al 1987, Bittner/Hale 1996; Kiparsky 2001, Wunderlich 1997 (LDG)
 cf. Müller 2008 (structural/checking implementation with main ingredients of DCT)
 cf. Functional approaches: Comrie, Kibrik, Haspelmath, Malchukov

- (18) a. If NP₁ c-commands NP₂ (where NP is a potential competitor) and both are contained in the same domain (clause, phase):
- i. Mark NP₁ [= ERGATIVE]
 - ii. Mark NP₂ [= ACCUSATIVE]
- b. Otherwise NP is NOMINATIVE/ABSOLUTIVE (possibly unmarked/caseless)

➤ Detailed refinements and extensions: McFadden 2004, Baker 2015

- (19) DEFAULT < UNMARKED < DEPENDENT < LEXICAL/OBLIQUE
 NOM=ABS ACC/ERG DAT ETC...

Four canonical types:
 Active/Split-S/Fluid-S noot defined as a basic alignment:
 3-way system is over-differentiated (so is case + agreement)

Quirky Case:

- (20) a. Strákarnir lásu bókina.
 boy.PL.DEF.NOM read.3PL book.DEF.ACC
 ‘The boys read the book.’
- b. Strákunum líkar / *líka bókin
 boy.PL.DEF.DAT like.3SG / *3PL book.DEF.NOM
 ‘The boys like the book.’

4.1 Domains: Infinitives, PRO, and ECM

- (21) NP1 verb [PRO to-V NP2]
- (22) a. Strákarnir vonast til [að _____ lesa þessa bók].
 the.boys.NOM hope for to PRO to.read this.ACC book
 ‘The boys hope to read this book.’
- b. Strákunum leiddist [að _____ lesa þessa bók].
 the.boys.DAT hope to PRO to.read this.ACC book
 ‘The boys were annoyed to read this book.’

- (23) a. María lofaði [að PRO lesa alltaf bókina]
 María promised to read always the.book
 ‘Maria promised to always read the book.’ (Sigurðsson 1991:340)
- b. Jón vonast til [að PRODAT líka þessi bók]
 J.N hopes for to like this book.N
 ‘Jon hopes to like this book.’ (JGJ 115)
- (24) a. Strákarnir vonast til [að PRO leiðast ekki öllum í skóla].
 the boys.NOM hope for to PRO.DAT to-get not all.DAT to school
 ‘The boys hope to not all be bored in school’
- b. ... [að PRO vanta ekki alla í skólann].
 ... to PRO.ACC to-lack not all.ACC in the school
 ‘The boys hope not to be all absent from school’
- c. ... [að PRO komast allir í skóla].
 ... to PRO.NOM to-lack not all.NOM in school
 ‘The boys hope to all get to school’ (Sigurðsson 1991)
- (25) a. Ég tel hanna hafa séð myndina
 I.NOM believe her.ACC have seen picture.DEF.ACC
 ‘I believe her to have seen the picture’
- b. Ég tel henna hafa leiðst bókin
 I.NOM believe her.DAT have bored book.DEF.NOM
 ‘I believe she found the book boring’ (Nomura 2005)
- (26) a. NP1 verb NP2 [t_{NP2} to-V NP3] ECM as RtO
- b. NP1 verb [^{PH} NP2 [^{SOD} to-V NP3]] ECM as PhaseEdge

4.2 Parametrization (competitor):

Icelandic (DAT-NOM) vs. Faroese (DAT-ACC); data from Jónsson 2009

- (27) a. Mær dām-ar føroyskan tónleik [Faroese]
 1SG.DAT like-3S Faroese.ACC music.ACC
 ‘I like Faroese music.’
- b. Eg dām-i føroyskan tónleik
 1SG.NOM like-1S Faroese.ACC music.ACC
 ‘I like Faroese music.’
- (28) a. Nógvum kvínum dām-ar mannfólk við eitt sindur av búki.
 24% Many women.DAT like-3S men.ACC with a bit of belly
 ‘Many women like men with a bit of a belly.’
- b. Nógvum kvínum dām-a mannfólk við eitt sindur av búki.
 49% Many women.DAT like-3PL men.ACC with a bit of belly
- c. Nógvar kvínnur dām-a mannfólk við eitt sindur av búki.
 93% Many women.NOM like-3PL men.ACC with a bit of belly

German: Dative NPs not part of case competition, can't be subjects
 Icelandic: Dative NPs not part of case competition, but can be subjects → NOM object
 Faroese: Dative NPs are part of case competition, DAT subjects → ACC object

Nez Perce (Deal 2010, Baker 2015, and references therein)

- (29) a. Háama-nm hi-néec-‘wi-ye wewúkiye-ne. [Nez Perce]
 man-ERG 3S-PL.O-shoot-ASP elk-ACC
 ‘The man shot the elk(PL).’ (Rude 1986:127, via Baker 2015)
- b. Háama hi-‘wi-ye wewúkiye. [Nez Perce]
 man.NOM 3S-shoot-ASP elk.NOM
 ‘The man shot an elk.’ (Rude 1986, via Baker 2015)

Properties of the object determine whether it participates in the case system, together with the subject; authors vary in details:

I: definite/non-specific objects in the subject's case domain; indef. lower
 More or less: Woolford, Carnie & Cash-Cash, Deal, Baker

Baker: [SUBJ OBJ-DEF [OBJ-unshifted]]

II: Rude, Deal: Object possessed by subject inaccessible
 Deal (2010): Possessor is agreement target, but AAAE
 (specific implementation incompatible with view here)

- (30) a. pit'iin-im páa-'yâx-na picpic-ne. [Nez Perce]
 girl-ERG 3>3-find-PERF cat-ACC
 ‘The girl found the cat.’ (Deal 2010)
- b. pit'iin hi-'yâx-na picpic. [Nez Perce]
 girl.Ø 3SUBJ-find-PERF cat.Ø
 ‘The girl found her cat.’ (Deal 2010)
- (31) háama-nm ciq'áamqal páa-'naxpay-ka pipís-ne. [Nez Perce]
 man-GEN dog.Ø 3>3-bring-PERF bone-ACC
 ‘The man's dog brought the bone.’ (Rude 1985:198, via Deal 2010)

Rude: the presence of genitive case within a nominal phrase blocks the expression of ergative and objective case on the head of the phrase (Deal optionally so), but evidently only possessor coreference bleeds transitivity.

4.3 Interim Summary:

DCT:	In terms of case:	ERG and ACC form a natural class
	In terms of syntax:	the natural class is (mostly) SUBJ vs. OBJ

Lacunae:

Ban on in A'-extraction of ergative in some languages (Polinsky 2016)

A'-movement/scrambling doesn't affect local (clause-mate) case/agreement

4.4 M-Case and exponence

Case distinctions relevant to morphosyntax may be not marked overtly.

- (i) Ø - English;
 (ii) syncretism: Icelandic – not all nouns mark all case contrasts
 [German: Nom vs. Acc only in Masc, Sg]

N	Höskuld-ur	Jón	Þór	Katrín
A	Höskuld	Jón	Þór	Katrín-u
D	Höskuld-i	Jón-i	Þór	Katrín-u

- (32) a. Þór og Sif lásu bókina.
 [Thor and Sif].NOM read.3PL book.THE.ACC
 ‘Thor and Sif read the book.’
 b. Þór og Sif líkar / *líka bókin
 [Thor and Sif].DAT like.3SG / *3PL book.THE.NOM
 ‘Thor and Sif like the book.’

- (iii) Inuit – ERG vs. ABS only marked in singular < Allen

(33)	DEM ‘this’ (= 3SG)	Nouns		
	SG DU PL	SG	DU	PL
ABS	una ukua ukua	Ø	-Vk	-it
ERG	uuma ukua ukua	-up	-Vk	-it
MODALIS	uminga ukuninga ukuninga	-mik	-Vnnik	-nik

(34)	1 ST (and 2 ND) person – no ERG/ABS contrast on pronouns (Dorais)
	SG DU PL
ABS	uvanga uvaguk uvagut
ERG	uvanga uvaguk uvagut
MODALIS	uvannik uvattinik uvattinik
ABLATIVE	uvannit uvattinitt uvattinitt
TRANSLATIVE	uvakkut uvattigut uvattigut etc...

- (35) Impoverishment: ERG → Ø / [{1,2} ___]_{PRON}
 ERG → Ø / [-SG ___]
 DU → Ø / [___ OBLIQUE]_{PRON}

- (iv) Person splits (Goddard, Legate; Baker)

Kugu Nganhcara: pronouns: nominative-accusative / nouns: ergative-absolutive

- (36) [Nhila pukpe-ng] [nhunha kuyu] [yuku muka-ng-nha] peka.
 3SG.NOM child-ERG 3SG.ACC woman.ABS thing stone-ERG-3SG.ACC throw.at
 ‘The child threw a stone at the woman.’ (Legate 2008: 79)

Pronouns:	ERG → Ø	Nouns:	ACC → Ø
[_{NP} 3SG.ERG child-ERG]-ERG		[_{NP} 3SG.ACC woman.ACC]-ACC ...	

Diyari (Austin 1981, via Baker 2015)

(37)	1/2	N	N (and pron)
	NSG	SG	NSG
ERG	Ø-li	-li	
NOM	ØØ	Ø	
ACC	-na	Ø	-na

- (38) a. Pinada-li kira anka-yi malka-li.
 old.man-ERG boomerang.ACC make-PRES mulga-ERG
 ‘The old man is making a boomerang from mulga.’
 b. [nawu kanku] dalki-yi nandi-ni.
 3.SG.NOM boy.ABS disobey-PRES mother-LOC
 ‘The boy disobeyed (his) mother.’
 c. Nali [ni-na-ya kanku] mani-yi.
 1.DU.NOM 3.SG-ACC-near boy.ABS get-PRES
 ‘We get the boy.’
 d. [Nayani waka-li] tana-na nayi-yi.
 we.PL.NOM small-ERG them-ACC see-PRES
 ‘We small ones watch them.’

4.4.1 Excursus – Kalin/Weisser [Mismatch DOM in coordination]

- (39) a. raam-le kitaab-(laai) Dekh-yo. Nepali
 Ram-ERG book-DAT see-3SG.PST (prelim)
 ‘Ram saw a/the book.’ (FM16:465-66)
 b. raam-le ma-laai Dekh-yo.
 Ram-ERG 1SG-DAT see-3SG.PST
 ‘Ram sees me.’ (FM16:181)
 c. raam-le [&P ma-laai ra mero kitaab] Dekh-yo.
 Ram-ERG 1SG-DAT and 1SG.GEN book see-3SG.PST
 ‘Ram saw me and my book.’ Kalin/Weisser
- (40) a. sitaa-le [raam-laai ra hari-laai] kitaab Di-ek-i thi-ii.
 S-ERG R-DAT and H-DAT book give-...3SGF
 ‘Sita gave Ram and Hari a/the book.’ (FM16:248)
 b. sitaa-le [raam ra hari-]-laai kitaab Di-ek-i thi-ii.
 S-ERG R and H-DAT book give-...3SGF
 ‘Sita gave Ram and Hari a/the book.’ (FM16:250)
 c. * sitaa-le [raam-laai ra hari] kitaab Di-ek-i thi-ii.
 S-ERG R-DAT and H book give-...3SGF
 ‘Sita gave Ram and Hari a/the book.’
- (41) a. [sittaa-le ra raam-le] hari-laai kitaab Di-ek-i thi-ee.
 S-ERG and R-ERG H-DAT book give-...3PL
 ‘Sita gave Ram and Hari a/the book.’ (FM16:243)
 b. [sittaa- ra raam-]-le hari-laai kitaab Di-ek-i thi-ee.
 S-ERG and R-ERG H-DAT book give-...3PL
 ‘Sita Ram and Hari a/the book.’ (FM16:244)
 c. * [sittaa-le ra raam] hari-laai kitaab Di-ek-i thi-ee.
 S-ERG and R H-DAT book give-...3PL
 ‘Sita Ram and Hari a/the book.’ (FM16:245)

4.5 Interim Conclusions

- DCT provides a straightforward account of the major Case alignments
- ... and a straightforward account of case in Icelandic – even in infinitives
- PRO counts as a case competitor, and has case (Sigurðsson)

5. CASE AND AGREEMENT

Hypothesis: Agreement (may) depend on M-Case, never the other way around.
 Bobaljik 2008, Baker 2008,2015; Sigurðsson 1993, Falk 1997

Language-specific: Icelandic, Chukchi, many others

Typological: Case:Agreement Tetrachoric relation

Challenges: Deal, Legate, Baker

Importance: Prima-facie argument against standard MP 2-sides view (Nichols)

5.1 Ergative Splits — A Typological Gap? (Bobaljik 2008, cf. Baker 2008)

(42) Case-Agreement Splits (Anderson 1977:330, Comrie 1978:340, 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) ...

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

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

- (44) 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)

- (45) 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)

- (46) 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.'

- (47) Transitive γəm-nan γət tə-ʔu-γət
 I-ERG you.SG(ABS) 1SG.SUB-see-2SG.OBJ
 'I saw you.' (Skorik 1977: 44)
- Intransitive γəm tə-kəʔγəntat-ʔʔak
 I (ABS) 1SG.SUB-run-1SG.SUBJ
 'I ran.' (Skorik 1977: 19)

➤ Bobaljik (2008) – account of this, with crucial reference to DCT (categories)
 ➤ Subsequent empirical challenges

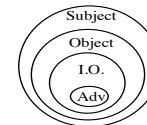
(48) Agreement is with the f-highest accessible NP in an agreement domain.

- a. Accessible: UNMARKED > DEPENDENT > OBLIQUE
 ≈ Agreement may be sensitive to case, or insensitive (Baker 2008's CDAP)
- b. "f-highest" = highest, ignoring scrambling, A'-movement etc.
 = in NP-structure (v. Riemsdijk/Williams), f-structure (LFG)
 ≈ if case distinctions are ignored: SUBJECT > OBJECT

Minimal theory: languages may impose additional restrictions (Corbett 2006)

5.2 Motivating the Accessibility Hierarchy

(49) 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

• Stated over **languages**, not sentences.

- (50) 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) |

- (51) The Agreement Hierarchy and Ergative languages: (Croft 1990, Woolford 1999)
- | | | | | |
|----|--------------|------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| a. | no agreement | Dyirbal, Lezgian | e. | * ERG only |
| 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] |

NB. (39e) is debated Woolford, Baker (2015):

Mayan, Coast Tsimshian: Ergative agreement + absolutive clitics
 Semelai, ergative clitics (Kruspe 2004: 87ff), no absolutive clitics or agreement.

- (52) 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:

(53)	UNMARKED <	DEPENDENT <	LEXICAL/OBLIQUE
------	------------	-------------	-----------------

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

- (54) *Morgum studentum líka verkið Dative subject doesn't agree
 many students.D like-PL job.N
 'Many students like the job.'
- (55) a. Jóni líkuðu þessir sokkar
 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 vetrinn 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)

(56) 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)

5.3 Motivating 'Highest'

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

- (58) 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

- (59) 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	kelaa	khaatii	thii
	S.-Ø (F)	banana-Ø (M)	eat.IMPERF.FEM	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)

L.D.A. = restructuring

- (60) Vivek-ne [kitaab paRh-nii] chaah-ii
 Vivek-Erg book.F read-Inf.F want-Pfv.FSg %M.Sg.
 'Vivek wanted to read the book.'

- (61) Predicted Agreement Alignments

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

- (62) **Nepali** (Bickel and Yādava 2000, 347)

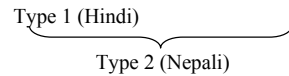
"Where there are two nominative NPs in a Nepali clause, agreement is with the higher argument, just as in Hindi. Unlike in Hindi, however, there is no agreement with nominative objects. Instead, the verb agrees with the ergative A-argument."

- (63) 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 p. 348:

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

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



Both languages: Highest accessible NP governs agreement.

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

Unresolved issue:

Nepali: hierarchy of accessibility: Abs, Erg // Dat ...

Semelai: parameters of accessibility: Erg only ? (no langs with acc only?)

5.3.1 Outstanding challenge:

How do complex agreement systems work, technically?

P1	[SUBJ	...	[OBJ]	
P2+P1	[SUBJ	...	[OBJ]	ignores whatever P1 took Freer than P1

Problems: Affix order?
 Communication?

5.4 Is the universal universal? Challenges from Deal 2015 & refs

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

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

- (66) 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]

5.4.2 Marwari (Magier 1983), Kutchi Gujarati (Deal < Patel-Grosz)?

Indo-Aryan (Deo & Sharma 2006, Bhatt 2007, 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 chimn.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! (#,gdr only, not person – Bhatt 2007)

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

Imperf.: c. **SUBJ-Ø** OBJ-Ø V
 d. **SUBJ-Ø** OBJ-ne V

- (68) 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, Marwari, Rajasthani etc:

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

Imperf.: c. **SUBJ-Ø** OBJ-Ø V
 d. **SUBJ-Ø** OBJ-DOM V

How reasonable is it to posit Ø-ERG in these languages?

Indo-Aryan: Layered Case [NP MOD* N]-(POSTPOSITION)

- (70) Hindi some good boy Case
 NOM/ABS [koi acchaa laRkaa]
 ERG [kisii acche laRke]-ne
 DAT/DOM [kisii acche laRke]-ko
 INST [kisii acche laRke]-se
- (71) Marwari NOM DAT GEN INST 3SG pro suppletion for CASE
 PROX.M o } in-ne in-rO in-sūū
 PROX.F ā }
 DIST.M vo } un-ne un-rO un-sūū
 DIST.F vā }
- (72) a. vo / un **rām-ne** pakariyo
 he / he.OBL **R.DOM** grabbed.PRF
 ‘He grabbed Ram.’ (Magier 1983 :315)
 b. vo / un **kāi** kariyo
 he / he.OBL **what** did.PRF
 ‘What did he do?’ (M. :312)
- (73) a. vo / *un ero pāānī **nī** pīve [Imperfective]
 he / he.OBL such water ont drink.IMPRF
 ‘He doesn’t drink such water.’ (M. :312)
 b. vo / *un **kāle** aṭhe pūggo [Intrans]
 he / he.OBL **here** yesterday arrived
 ‘He arrived here yesterday.’ (M. :312)

The postpositionless ergative is available only for 3 pronouns (Magier 1983:ch4)
 The grammar must reference the category A (transitive subject) to characterize it.

Case → Agreement → Vocabulary Insertion → ERG deletion → Readjustment
 Only Suppletion (thus only 3 pron) will be sensitive to ERG

Note on Gujarati DOM

Although DOM = DAT in morphology, DOM agrees (when the subject doesn’t get there first) but (true) DAT doesn’t (Mistry 2004), despite hierarchical position.

- (74) a. šilaa-ne copDi maL-y-i
 S-DAT book.F.NOM receive-PERF.F
 ‘Sheela received/found the book.’ (Mistry 2004:29)
 b. šilaa-thi **raaj-ne** (naa) jagaaD-aa-y-
 S-DAT **R.DOM** (not) wake-ABIL-PERF-M
 ‘Sheela could (not) wake Raj.’ (Mistry 2004:10)
 c. šilaa-thi **raaj-ne** (naa) maL-aa-y-
 S-DAT **R.DOM** (not) wake-ABIL-PERF-DF
 ‘Sheela could (not) meet Raj.’ (Mistry 2004:11)

5.5 An alternative? Legate (2008) [ABS=DEF]

- Ergative is an inherent case, assigned by *v/voice*
- ABS as Default: NOM is assigned by T to a subject that lacks inherent case, ACC by V to the object, but the morphology may be Ø for both.
- Basic: Agreement = NOM (2-sides) – only intransitive subjects agree
- Add-on (Hindi): “aggressive agreement” (cf. omnivorous agreement)

The Hindi/Tsez pattern is the common one.

(For L’s ABS=NOM the theories are indistinct; but see below for problems with the claim that ERG is always inherent.)

Contention: There are no non-aggressive ergative languages

“In an ABS_DEF language in which the inherent-Case-marked A may not trigger agreement, only S triggers subject agreement. This pattern is found in Niuean.” [71]

- (75) a. **Nofo** agaia nakai e matua fifine haau i Mutalau?
 live still Q ABS parent female your in Mutalau
 ‘Does your mother still live in Mutalau (village)?’
 b. **No-nofo** agaia nakai e tau ma-matua haau i Mutalau?
 PL-live still Q ABS PL PL-parent your in Mutalau
 ‘Do your parents still live in Mutalau (village)?’
 c. **Mate** tuai a ia. d. **Ma-mate** tuai a laua.
 die PERF ABS she PL-die PERF ABS they.DU
 ‘She’s dead.’ ‘They are dead.’ (Seiter 1980:62)
 e. To **fano** a au apogipogi ki Queen Street
 To **ō** a tautolu
 FUT go.SG/PL ABS I/we tomorrow to Q.S.

But Seiter: “Although Niuean has no productive morphological processes of agreement, there are a number of verbs with distinct plural forms, some of which agree with their subject, others with their direct object.” (1.4.1 Verb Agreement, pp 60 ff.)

- Lexically restricted. Exx given: motion/location/properties
- “[A few / several] transitive verbs in Niuean obligatorily agree in number with their direct objects.” Seiter 1.4.1.2 Direct Object-Verb Agreement

- (76) 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.’

“To summarize, however Verb Agreement is to be stated in Niuean grammar, it is triggered by a subject or direct object, depending on the verb.” [Seiter p.65]

“The verbs *nofo* ‘sit, stay’ and *mohe* ‘sleep’ are of special interest in terms of Verb Agreement. As intransitive verbs, agreement is triggered by the intransitive subject ... But these two verbs may also occur as syntactic transitives, featuring a location as absolutive direct object... [T]ransitive *mohe* and *nofo* agree in number obligatorily with the transitive [ERG] subject...”

- (77) 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 sit yet ERG they.DU ABS chair this
 ‘They’ve never sat in this chair.’

Conclusion: Pace Legate, I’m not aware of an Ergative language in which (all and) only intransitive subjects agree. The observed, robust pattern (ABS agreement) follows from an M-case approach but is not a natural class on the GF (“abstract case”) approach (cf. Legate’s aggressive agreement)

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.

6. EXCURSUS – WHAT’S AGREEMENT?

“The term agreement commonly refers to some systematic covariation between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another.” Steele (1978: 610)

Narrower: Features of argument on the main verbal predicate (aux+V complex)

Excludes: concord (NP-internal)
 anaphoric/pronominal agreement
 adjectival, nominal predicates

- Participant number marking (by reduplication and suppletion, Thornton 2016) – cross-linguistic very strong trend for “absolutives” arguably: internal arguments only (on suppletion: Durie 1986, Veselinova 2006; Bobaljik and Harley 2014 & refs)

Niuean (above)

Hiaki (Uto-Aztecan; Harley and co-authors)

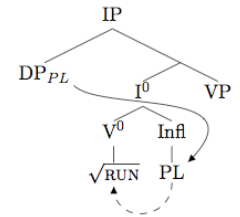
- (78) a. Aapo vuite. b. Vempo tenne
 3SG run.SG 3PL run.PL
 ‘S/he is running.’ ‘They are running.’
- (79) a. Aapo/Vempo uka koowi-ta me’a-k
 3SG/3PL the.SG pig-ACC.SG kill.SG-PRF
 ‘He/They killed the pig.’
 b. Aapo/Vempo ume kowi-m sua-k
 3SG/3PL the.PL pig-PL kill.PL-PRF
 ‘He/They killed the pigs.’
- (80) **Intransitive** (incomplete) **Transitive**
Sg. Subj. **Pl. Subj.** **Sg. Obj.** **Pl. Obj.**
 weye kaate ‘go, walk’ kecha ha’abwa ‘stand (sth) up’
 vuite tenne ‘run’ yecha hoa ‘put down, place’
 kivake kiimu ‘enter’ kivacha kiima ‘bring in’
 yepsa yaha ‘arrive’ me’a sua ‘kill’
 weche watte ‘fall down’

Durie 1986: “in every observed case of stem suppletion for number it is the number of the principally affected argument [i.e., object or intransitive subject] for which the verb suppletes” (1986: 356-7). (see Corbett 2000: 253-254; Hale, Jeanne and Pranka 1991; Veselinova ; and especially Durie 1986 < Boas 1911)

Challenges: Seri (isolate, Mexico); Marlett (2009: 622)
 Hiw (Oceanic); François 2012
 Ainu (isolate, Japan); Oseki (2015)
 N. Paiute (Uto-Aztecan); Toosarvandani (2015)

- (81) Vempo tenne-Ø
 3.PL run.PL-PL

Note: Hiaki has an overt NOM-ACC case pattern; if it were right to consider number suppletion agreement, this would be (one of a class of) counter-examples to Dixon’s generalization, above.



Huichol: number suppletion with apparent ABS alignment (S,O)
 agreement morphology: subjects and objects
 cf. Hopi (Hale, Jeanne and Pranka 1991: 266)

- (82) a. Wan Maria maa-ti me-neci-mieni.
 Juan Maria and-SUBJ 3.PL.SUBJ-1.SG.OBJ-kill.SG
 ‘Juan and Maria are killing me.’
 b. Nee Wan Maria maa-me ne-wa-qiini.
 1.SG Juan Maria and-N.SUBJ 1.SG.SUBJ-3.PL.OBJ-kill.PL
 ‘I am killing Juan and Maria.’ (Comrie via Corbett)
- (83) a. Nee waakana ne-mec-umi?ii-ri eeki.
 1.SG chicken 1.SG.SUBJ-2.SG.OBJ-kill.SG-BEN you
 ‘I killed you(SG) the chicken.’
 b. Nee waakana-ari ne-mec-uqi?ii-ri eeki.
 1.SG chicken 1.SG.SUBJ-2.SG.OBJ-kill.PL-BEN you
 ‘I killed you(SG) the chickens.’

Kolyma Yukagir: recipient governs verbal suppletion
 agreement: subject, and the direct object (theme), but not the recipient.

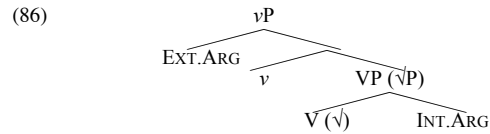
- (84) met-in er-če n’er-ek keĵ-ŋile.
 I-DAT [bad-ATTR] clothing-PRED give.1/2-OF:3SG
 ‘They gave me bad clothing.’ (Maslova 2002:353)

Georgian: Num + N; N singular,
 Suppletion: semantic number (plural)
 Agreement: formal number (singular)

- (85) Čem-i sam-i megobar-i še-mo-vid-a
 my-AG three-AG friend.SG- NOM PRV-PRV-enter-AOR-3SG
 da da-sxd-a.
 and PRV-sit.PL-AOR.3.SG
 ‘My three friends entered and sat down.’ (Aronson 1989)

6.1 Two approaches:

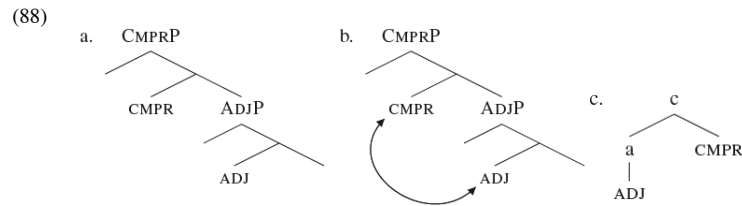
Bobaljik & Harley (in press):



(87) Locality for suppletion / contextual allomorphy (part I)

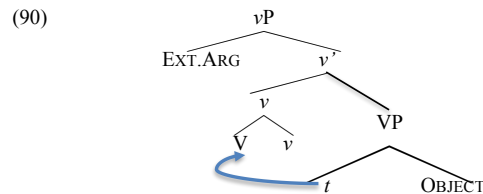
β may condition α in (a), not (b):

- a. $\alpha \dots]_X^0 \dots \beta$
- b. $*\alpha \dots]_{XP} \dots \beta$



- (89)
- a. kak-ós cheiró-ter-os
bad-INFL bad-CMPR-INFL
'bad' 'worse'
 - b. kak-ós pjo kak-ós
bad-INFL more bad-INFL
'bad' 'worse'

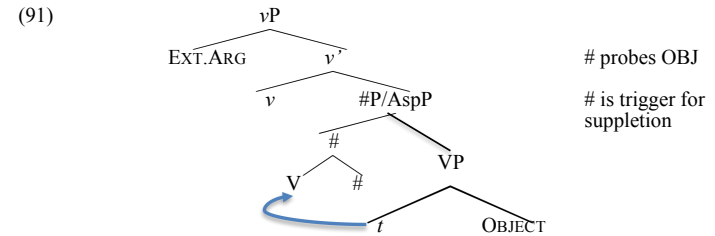
Prediction: Durie's generalization should be narrower: external vs. internal argument
For Hiaki, correct (see B&H); more or less right range of meanings in Veselinova's survey.



Does this make EXT.ARG available as a trigger?

- B&H: no, because only the sister of X satisfies locality
- or: no, because v qua phase head intervenes
- or: maybe (phase extension etc.) for exceptional EXT.ARG

Thornton (2016):



Evidence: overlap in distribution between participant-#-suppletion and participant-#-reduplication

- (92)
- a. Aapo/*Vempo koche **Hiaki**
3SG/*3PL sleep
'He is sleeping' / *'They're sleeping'
 - b. Vempo ko-koche
3PL RED-sleep
'They're sleeping' (Harley & Leyva 2009: 254)
- (93)
- Ne hiva woh mamnim-po tukaa-po **kok-koche**
1SG always two five-at night-at RED-sleep
'I always go to sleep at 10 PM' (Harley & Leyva 2009: 262)
- (94)
- a. Ne noko e ia e gutuhala Niuean
PAST knock ERG she ABS door
'She knocked on the door (probably once but not necessarily).'
 - b. Ne **nokonoko** e ia e gutuhala
PAST RED-knock ERG she ABS door
'She knocked on the door (many times)' (HMO 2002:483)

Take-home messages for today:

1. If number-suppletion / reduplication were agreement, there would be a class of potential problems for the tetrachoric universal – but it would be suspicious, since it always involves the same phenomenon – not with person (or gender/class) agreement.
2. Moreover, it's clear that the psn/number agreement and "ptcp #" can have a different alignment (and other differences) in one and the same language, and in one and the same word!
3. So, we will set aside participant number from the general theory of alignment, but acknowledge that a general theory of this marking is as yet incomplete. We await Thornton 2017+.

6.2 Interim Conclusion:

As far as I am aware, the Agreement-Case $\frac{3}{4}$ Universal remains unchallenged:

- If there is a mismatch in alignment between Case and Agreement, then Case is Erg-Abs and agreement is Subj-Obj. Or, more accurately:
- A subj-obj alignment for agreement is possible independent of the case alignment.
- An erg-abs alignment for agreement cannot co-occur with an overt nom-acc case alignment.

Ancillary:

There are “unmarked only” agreement systems, but no “intrans subj only” agreement systems (contra Legate)

Moravcsik/Gilligan/Croft on accessibility: unmarked < dependent < other

Challenge: Semelai

General problem: clitic vs. agreement

General issue: complex agreement systems

Many untouched issues:

Other alignments

Extraction asymmetries (Keenan / Comrie; Polinsky)

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