Syntax 1 Handout (with much taken from Horn 1990)   J. Merchant

Ergativity

Found in about 25% of the world's languages (Dixon's 1994 estimate), including in Basque, all Caucasian languages, Indic, Iranian, Burushaski, Tibeto-Burman, some Polynesian (Tongan, Samoan), some 'Papuan', most Pama-Nyungan, Paleo-Siberian, Eskimo-Aleut, Tsimshian, Chinook, Mayan, Jê, Awawak, Tupi-Guaraní, Carib, Chibchan, Päri (Western Nilotic)

(1)   Terminology **A**:   subject of transitive
                               S: subject of intransitive
                                           S$_a$: subject of unergative
                                           S$_o$: subject of unaccusative
                               O: object of transitive

Nominative-accusative languages: **S** is marked like **A**

(2)   A
nom =
        S   O   = acc

Latin
(3)   Puell-a femin-am audi-t.   'The girl hears the woman.'
           girl-NOM woman-ACC hear-3s.PRES
(4)   Puell-a veni-t.   'The girl is coming.'
           girl-NOM come-3s.PRES

(5)   **A/S   O**
On nominals:

                   -a   -am
                   "NOM" "ACC"
On verbs: *-t   --*
                   ("subject agreement")

Swahili
(6)   a.   tu-li-anguka   'We fell down.'
             1p-PAST-fall.down
       b.   m-li-anguka   'You all fell down.'
             2p-PAST-fall.down
(7)   a.   m-li-tu-ona   'You all saw us.'
             2p-PAST-1p-see
       b.   tu-li-wa-ona   'We saw you all.'
             1p-PAST-2p-see
(8)   **A/S   O**
       we   *tu-*   *-tu-*
       you all *m-*   *-wa-*

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Ergative-absolutive languages ("ergative"): **S** is marked like **O**

(9)   erg =   A
        S   O   = abs(olutive)

Dyirbal (north-east Australia)
(10)   n$_g$uma   yabu-n$_g$gu bura-n   'Mother saw father.'
        father(ABS) mother-ERG see-NONFUT

(11)   yabu   n$_g$uma-n$_g$gu bura-n   'Father saw mother.'
        mother(ABS) father-ERG   see-NONFUT

(12)   n$_g$uma   banaga-n^{y}u   'Father returned'
        father(ABS)   return-NONFUT

(13)   yabu   banaga-n^{y}u   'Mother returned'
        mother(ABS)   return-NONFUT

(14) *On nominals*
     A   S/O
     -n$_g$gu   --
     "ERG" "ABS"

Sacapultec Maya   (*sh-* marks 'completive aspect', *-ek/-ang* are transitivity markers)
(15)   a.   sh-at-ak-ek   'you(sg.) entered'
                ASP-2s-enter-INTRAN
        b.   sh-   -ak-ek   'he/she entered'
                ASP-3s-enter-INTRAN
(16)   a.   sh-   -a:-ch'iy-ang   'you(sg.) hit him/her'
                ASP-3s-2s-hit-TRAN
        b.   sh-at-ri-ch'iy-ang   'he/she hit you'
                ASP-2s-3s-hit-TRAN
(17) *On the verb*
                          A   S/O
        you(sg.)   -a:-   -at-
        he/she   -ri-   - -

Sapir's classification for Amerindian language (rev. of Uhlenbeck, *IJAL* 1:82-86, 1917)

Type	O	S	A	Example	[Comments]
1	A	A	B	Chinook	pure ERG/ABS
2	A	A B	A	Dakota	"split ergative" ("active-stative")
3	A	B	C	Takelma	fully differentiated
4	A	B	B	Paiute	pure NOM/ACC (Latin, Japanese, Korean)
5	A	A	A	Yana	undifferentiated (Eng. full NPs, Swahili, Chinese)

Split ergativity

Parameters of splits
 Tense/aspect (past tense or completive/perfective aspect erg/abs, others nom/acc) [e.g.
  Hindi-Urdu, Georgian]
 Semantics (agentive S erg, non-agentive S nom) [e.g., Chechen, Siouan languages]
 Syntax:
  Case marking (erg/abs) vs. verb agreement (nom/acc)
  Case marking and verb agreement (erg/abs) vs. Reflexivization, Relativization,
  Equi, Conjunction Reduction, etc. (at least some nom/acc)
  Clause union constructions (case marking for causee may be ERG => 3, ABS => 2)
  even when erverything else is nom/acc, e.g., French, Japanese, Turkish
 Category
  nouns ERG/ABS vs. pronouns NOM/ACC [e.g., Alsea (Mithun 1999:230)]
  nouns ERG/ABS vs. determiners NOM/ACC [e.g., Kalaallisut]
 Verb class [Georgian]

1.Tense/aspect split
(18) <u>Hindi-Urdu</u>
  a. Jamiil larkii ko jagaaegaa. 'Jamil will wake up the girl.'
   J(NOM) girl DAT wake.up.FUT
  b. Jamiil ne larkii ko jagaayaa. 'Jamil woke up the girl.'
   J. ERG/INST girl DAT wake.up.PAST
  c. Jamiil khaanaa khau:nga:. 'Jamil will eat up the food.'
   J(NOM) food(NOM) eat.up-FUT
  d. Jamiil ne khaanaa khaayaa. 'Jamil ate up the food.'
   J. ERG/INST food(ABS) eat.up-PAST

  A in NOM (unmarked) case (=ABS) with non-perfective verbs, in ERG/INST case with
  past/perfective verbs
  O in DAT with animate definite patients (cf. differential object marking in many
  languages: Spanish *a*, Rumanian *pe*, Farsi *ra*, Turkish *-I*), in nom (unmarked) case
  otherwise
  Verb agreement: Verb agrees with A if it's NOM (unmarked)
    If subject has *-ne* (ERG/INST) postposition, verb agrees with O...
    ...unless O is marked (with DAT postposition *-ko*), in which case
    the verb will not agree with either. Thus similarly, in...

  <u>Gujarati</u> (E = schwa)
(19) a. Ramesh*ᵢ* pen khErid-t-o*ᵢ* hE-t-o*ᵢ*. 'Ramesh was buying the pen.'
   R(M.) pen(F.) buy-IMPF-M AUX-IMPF-M
  b. Ramesh-e pen*ⱼ* khErid-y-i*ⱼ*. 'Ramesh bought the pen.'
   R(M.)-ERG pen(f.) buy-PRF-F

2. Semantic split
Wichita

(20) a.   ta-t-'i:y-s   'I saw (him).'
          NONFUT-1s-see-IMPF
      b.   ta-ki-'i:y-s   '(He) saw me.'
          NONFUT-1s-see-IMPF
      c.   ta-t-hisa   'I went.'
          NONFUT-1s-go
      d.   ta-ki-hiya:s   'I am hungry.' (Cf. German *Es   hungert   mich.*)
          NONFUT-1s-hunger   it(expletive) hunger.3s.PRES 1s.ACC

Manipuri (Tibeto-Burman) (E=schwa, N=engma) (cf. Central Pomo [Mithun 1999:218]
(21) a.   Ey-nE celli.   I(-nE) ran
      b.   Ey sawwi.   I got angry
      c.   Ey-nE ma-bu phuy.   I(-nE) beat him(-bu)
      d.   ma Ey-bu uy.   He saw me(-bu).
      e.   Ey-nE TombE-bu theNNi.   I(-nE) touched Tomba(-bu) intentionally.
      f.   Ey TombE-bu theNNi.   I touched Tomba(-bu) unintentionally.

3. Syntax (French clause union)
(22) a.   Georges lit le livre.   'George is reading the book'
          G. read.3s.pres the book
      b.   Georges pleure.   'George is crying.'
          G. cries
      c.   Marie donne le livre à Georges. 'Mary gives the book to Georges'
          M. gives the book DAT G.
      d.   Marie fait pleurer Georges.   'Mary makes George cry.'
          M. makes cry G.
      e.   Marie fait lire le livre à Georges. 'Mary makes George read the book.'
          M. makes read the book DAT G.

Three-way split
Nez Perce (Penutian: Oregon; Rude 1986, Bittner and Hale 1996; Mithun 1999:229)

(23) a.   xáxaas-nim   kitwekíixce.   'Grizzly is chasing me.'
          grizzly-ERG he.is.chasing
      b.   xáxaac   hiwéhyem.   'Gizzly has come.'
          grizzly(NOM) he.has.come
      c.   ?óykalo-m titóoqan-m páaqa?ancix   xáxaas-na.
          all-ERG   people-ERG they.respect.him grizzly-ACC
          'All people respect grizzly.'
(24) Háama-nm hi-néec-'wi-ye   wewúkiye-ne.   'The man shot (several) elk.'
      man-ERG   3-pl-shoot-PERF elk-ACC

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