Homework

• Read chapter 11

• Final paper (graduate students)
Morphosyntax

• Inflectional morphology indicates relations between elements in a clause

• Argument structure is made up of semantic or thematic roles (agent, theme, etc.)

• Syntactic valence (or subcategorization) from is made up grammatical relations (subject, object, etc.)

• There is a canonical mapping between thematic roles and grammatical relations

• Canonical mapping links most agent-like argument to subject and most patient-like argument to object

• Valence alternations reflect non-canonical mappings
Grammatical relations

- Case and agreement marking helps identify grammatical relations
- Nominative case marks subjects, accusative case marks objects, dative case marks indirect objects
- Oblique cases mark other, non-core relations
Grammatical relations

• In most languages, the single argument of an intransitive verbs gets marked like the agent of a transitive verb

• In some languages, the single argument of an intransitive verbs gets marked like the \textit{patient} of a transitive verb

• nominative = \{ A, I \}
• accusative = \{ O \}

• absolutive = \{ O, I \}
• ergative = \{ A \}

• Other syntactic evidence (usually) identifies the absolutive argument as the subject
Agent demotions

- Valence changing morphology marks non-canonical mappings between thematic roles and grammatical relations

- Active voice

  *Pat ate the hot dog.*

  \[
  \begin{array}{llll}
  \text{eat} & \text{agent} & \text{Pat} & \text{Subject} \\
  \text{patient} & \text{hot dog} & \text{Direct object} \\
  \end{array}
  \]

- Passive voice

  *The hot dog was eaten by Pat.*

  \[
  \begin{array}{llll}
  \text{eat} & \text{patient} & \text{hot dog} & \text{Subject} \\
  \text{agent} & \text{Pat} & \text{Oblique (by)} \\
  \end{array}
  \]
Agent demotions

- Impersonal passives
  - *Pat painted the walls.*
  - *The walls were painted by Pat.*
  - *Walls like these paint easily.*

- Middle voice
  - *Chris walked through the door.*
  - *The door was walked through (by Chris).*

- Pseudo-passive
Agent demotions

- The anticausative voice removes the agent from the argument structure (Russian)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vera} & \quad \text{zakryla} \quad \text{dver'} \\
\text{Vera.NOM} & \quad \text{closed} \quad \text{door.ACC} \\
\text{‘Vera closed the door.’} \\
\text{Dver'} & \quad \text{zakryla-s’} \\
\text{door.NOM} & \quad \text{closed-ANTIC} \\
\text{‘The door closed.’}
\end{align*}
\]

- Unlike the passive, this also changes the meaning
  - CAUSE (Vera, BECOME (closed(door)))
  - BECOME (closed(door))
Agent demotions

- The *resultative* also removes the agent (Chicewa)
  
  *chitseko*  *chi-na-tsek-edwa*  *mwadala*
  *door*  *3SG-PAST-close-PASS*  deliberately
  ‘The door was closed deliberately.’

  *chitseko*  *chi-na-tsek-eka*
  *door*  *3SG-PAST-close-RES*
  ‘The door was closed (i.e., in a closed state).’

- Meaning change
  
  - CAUSE (X, BECOME (closed(door)))
  
  - closed(door)
Patient demotions

- The antipassive demotes the patient just like the passive demotes the agent (West Greenlandic)

\[
\text{Anjut-ip miirqa-t paar-ai} \\
\text{man-ERG child-PL(ABS) care-INDIC.3SG.3PL} \\
\text{‘The man takes care of the children.’}
\]

\[
\text{Anjut miirqa-nik paar-si-vuq} \\
\text{man.ABS children-INSTR care-ANTI-INDIC.3PL} \\
\text{‘The children were taken care of by the man.’}
\]
Patient demotions

- The reflexive voice identifies the agent and patient (Eastern Armenian)

Mayr-ə lvan-um e Seda-yi-n
mother-ART wash-PRES AUX Seda-DAT-ART
‘Mother is washing Seda.’

Seda-n lva-cv-um e Seda-ART wash-REFL-PRES AUX
‘Seda is washing herself.’
Patient demotions

- Some languages have *detransitivizing* markers that remove the patient completely (Tzotzil)

  $x$-$\emptyset$-$uu$-$ch$'$ey$
  \hspace{1cm} \text{PAST}-3\text{SG.OBJ}-3\text{SG.SBJ}-\text{hit}$
  \hspace{1cm} ‘He hit him.’

  $x$-$\emptyset$-$ch$'$ey$-$oon$-$i$
  \hspace{1cm} \text{PAST}-3\text{SG.SBJ}-\text{hit}$-$\text{DEOBJ}$-$\text{PAST}$
  \hspace{1cm} ‘He hit him.’
Argument additions

- **Causative** markers add a new agent to the argument structure (Japanese)

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  &\text{Hanako-ga arui-ta} \\
  &\text{H.-NOM walk-PAST} \\
  &\text{‘Hanako walked.’}
  \end{align*}
  \]

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  &\text{Taroo-ga Hanako-o aruk-ase-ta} \\
  &\text{T.-NOM H.-ACC walk-CAUSE-PAST} \\
  &\text{‘Taroo made Hanako walk.’}
  \end{align*}
  \]

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  &\text{Taroo-ga Hanako-ni aruk-ase-ta} \\
  &\text{T.-NOM H.-DAT walk-CAUSE-PAST} \\
  &\text{‘Taroo had Hanako walk.’}
  \end{align*}
  \]
Argument additions

- **Japanese causatives**

  \[\text{Taroo}-\text{ga} \quad \text{hon}-\text{o} \quad \text{yon}-\text{da}\]
  \[\text{T.}-\text{NOM} \quad \text{book-ACC} \quad \text{read-PAST}\]
  ‘Taroo read a book.’

  \[\text{Hahaoya}-\text{ga} \quad \text{Taroo}-\text{ni} \quad \text{hon}-\text{o} \quad \text{yom-ase}-\text{ta}\]
  \[\text{mother-NOM} \quad \text{T.}-\text{DAT} \quad \text{book-ACC} \quad \text{read-CAUSE-PAST}\]
  ‘His mother made/had Taroo read a book.’
Argument additions

• Japanese causatives

Ziroo-ga  Mitiko-ni  kodomo-o  home-sase-ta
Z.-NOM  M.-DAT  child-ACC  praise-CAUSE-PAST
‘Ziroo made Mitiko praise the child.’

Mitiko-ga  Ziroo-ni  kodomo-o  home-sase-rare-ta
M.-NOM  Z.-DAT  child-ACC  praise-CAUSE-PASS-PAST
‘Mitiko was made to praise the child by Ziroo.’

*Kodomo-ga  Ziroo-ni  Mitiko-ni  home-sase-rare-ta
child-NOM  Z.-DAT  M.-DAT  praise-CAUSE-PASS-PAST
‘The child was made praised by Mitiko by Ziroo.’
Voice

- Tagalog

*B-um-ili* ang bata ng tela sa palengke para sa Nanay
AV.PERF-buy ANG child DIR cloth OBL market P OBL mother
‘The child bought cloth at the market for mother.’ (Agent)

*B-in-ili* ng bata ang tela sa palengke para sa Nanay
TV.PERF-buy DIR child ANG cloth OBL market P OBL mother
‘The child bought cloth at the market for mother.’ (Theme)

*B-in-ilh-an* ng bata ng tela ang palengke para sa Nanay
DV.PERF-buy DIR child DIR cloth ANG market P OBL mother
‘The child bought cloth at the market for mother.’ (Dir)

*I-b-in-ili* ng bata ng tela sa palengke ang Nanay
BV.PERF-buy DIR child DIR cloth OBL market ANG mother
‘The child bought cloth at the market for mother.’ (Ben.)
Applicatives

- Applicatives add new arguments to a verb’s argument structure

- The English dative shift is a non-productive applicative

  Pat sent the book to Sandy.
  Pat sent Sandy the book.

- Which is the direct object?

  The book was sent to Sandy by Pat.
  *Sandy was sent the book to by Pat.

  Sandy was sent the book by Pat.
  *The book was sent Sandy by Pat.
Applicatives

- This ‘recipient applicative’ is more productive in German

IKEA liefert dem Nachbar-n die Möbel
IKEA delivers the neighbor-DAT the furniture-ACC
‘IKEA delivers furniture to the neighbor.’

IKEA be-liefert den Nachbar-n mit Möbeln
IKEA APPL-delivers the neighbor-ACC with furniture
Applicatives

- Locative applicative promotes a location from oblique to direct object
  
  *Pat loaded boxes onto the truck.*
  *Pat loaded the truck with boxes.*

- Chichewa
  
  *Kalúlú a-ku-phíká maûngu pa chulu*  
  1-hare 1S-PRES-cook 6-pumpkins 16-on 7-anthill  
  ‘The hare is cooking some pumpkins on the anthill.’

  *Kalúlú a-ku-phík-íra pa chulu maûngu*  
  1-hare 1S-PRES-cook-APPL 16-on 7-anthill 6-pumpkins
Applicatives

• Ainu

Akor kotan ta sirepa-an
my village to arrive-1SG.INTR
‘I arrived at my village.’

Akor kotan a-e-sirepa
my village 1SG.TR-APPL-arrive

• Kinyarwanda

Umwáana y-a-taa-yé-mo ámáazi igitabo
child he-PAST-throw-ASP-APPL water book
‘The child has thrown the book into the water.’
Applicatives

• The instrumental applicative promotes an instrument to be a core argument

• Chichewa

Kalúlú a-ku-phíká ma ūngu ndí mkóndo
1-hare 1S-PRES-cook 6-pumpkins with 3-spear
‘The hare is cooking pumpkins using a spear.’

Kalúlú a-ku-phík-íra mkóndoma ūngu
1-hare 1S-PRES-cook-APPL spear 6-pumpkins
Applicatives

• Bantu applicatives have a wide range of meanings, depending on context

• Kichaga

  na-i-lya  kelya
  3SUBJ-PROG-eat  food
  ‘He/she is eating food.’
Applicatives

- **Kichaga**

  na-i-lyi-ia mri-nyi kelya
  3SUBJ-PROG-eat-APPL homestead-LOC food
  ‘He/she is eating food at the homestead.’

  na-i-lyi-ia njaa kelya
  3SUBJ-PROG-eat-APPL hunger food
  ‘He/she is eating food because of hunger.’

  na-i-lyi-ia mawoko kelya
  3SUBJ-PROG-eat-APPL hands food
  ‘He/she is eating food with his/her hands.’

  na-i-lyi-ia mka kelya
  3SUBJ-PROG-eat-APPL wife food
  ‘He/she is eating food for/against the wife.’
Applicatives

• The benefactive applicative adds a new participant to the argument structure and promotes it to direct object

  *Pat baked a cake for Chris.*
  *Pat baked Chris a cake.*

• Chamorro

  *Ha hatsa i acho’*
  he.ERG lift ABS stone
  ‘He lifted the stone.’

  *Ha hatsa-yi si Pedro ni acho’*
  he.ERG lift-APPL ABS Pedro OBL stone
  ‘He lifted the stone for Pedro.’
Applicatives

- **Possessor raising**

  Pat hit Sandy’s arm.
  Pat hit Sandy in the arm.

- **Luganda**

  a-li-menya okugulu kwa Kapere
  3SG-FUT-break leg of K.
  ‘He/she will break Kapere’s leg.’

  a-li-menya Kapere okugulu
  3SG-FUT-break K. leg
Applicatives

• German

Tim hat der Nachbarin das Auto gewaschen
T. has the neighbor.DAT the car washed
‘Tim washed the neighbor’s car.’

• French

J’ai coupé les cheveux à Pierre
I-have cut the hair to Pierre
‘I cut Pierre’s hair.’

• Hebrew

ha-yalda kilkela le-Dan et ha-radio
the-girl broke DAT-Dan ACC the-radio
‘The girl broke Dan’s radio.’
Applicatives

• Not all applicatives create a new direct object

• Ethical datives

  Quid mihi Celsus agit?
  I baked myself a cake.
  I baked me a cake.

  Come, knock me at that door! (Romeo and Juliet)
  I’m going to play with me a cat.
  I jus’ like to look at me some goats.
  He needed him jus’ a little more sense.