CASE AND AGREEMENT AS DEPENDENT MARKING

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1. Head marking vs. dependent marking (Nichols 1986, 1992)

CONSTRUCTION	HEAD	DEPENDENT
possessive	possessum	possessor
attributive	noun	adjective
adpositional	adposition	complement
clausal	verb	arguments

TABLE 1

(1) *possessive*

		DEPENDENT	HEAD		
	a.	**az** **ember**	**haz-*a***		Hungarian
		the man	house-3SG		
		'the man's house'			
	b.	**the** **man*'s***	**house**		English

(2) *attributive*

		DEPENDENT	HEAD	
	a.	**wist**	***t*-citx°**	Shuswap
		high	REL-house	
		'tall house'		
	b.	**zelen-*yj***	**dom**	Russian
		green-NOM.MASC.SG	house$_{MASC}$	
		'green house'		

(3) *adpositional*

		HEAD	DEPENDENT	
	a.	**bez**	**brat-*a***	Russian
		without	brother-GEN	
	b.	***r*-umaal**	**aa Yaax**	Tz'utujil
		3SG-by	CL Yaax	
		'by Yaax'		

(4) *clausal*

		.............DEPENDENTS...................			HEAD	
	a.	**a-xàc'a**	**a-pħ°ə̀s**	**a-š°q'ə̀**	**∅-l ə̀-y-te-yt'**	Abkhaz
		the-man	the-woman	the-book	it-to.her-he-gave-FIN	
		'The man gave the woman the book.'				
	b.	**boku-*ga***	**tomodati-*ni***	**hana-*o***	**ageta**	Japanese
		1SG-NOM	friend-DAT	flower-OBJ	gave	
		'I gave my friend flowers.'				

(5) *Phrase structural definition of dependency (Nichols 1986:57)*
a. a head determines the presence and properties of other material within the phrase (selection)
b. a head determines the features of the phrase as a whole (projection)

2. The expression of dependency

(6) Dependency is   a. a *semantic* relation   e.g. predication
    which must be   b. *syntactically* realized,   in phrase structure
    can be   c. *morphologically* marked,   by agreement
    and   d. *phonologically* expressed.   via cliticization

(7) The relations   (((SEM ➜ SYN) ➜ MORPH) ➜ PHON)   need not be homomorphic.

I   SEM ➜ SYN

(8) a.   *subject*   *predicate*
              Jij   **eet**   **vlees**   [NP] [VP]   Dutch
              you   eat   meat
    b. **Eet   jij**   **vlees ?**   [V]   [NP] [NP]
       'Do you eat meat?'

II   ((SEM ➜ SYN) ➜ MORPH)

(9)   *verb*   *complement......................*
              Ich   **liebe**   **mein-en**   **Gartenzwerg**   German
              I   love:1SG   my-ACC.SG   garden-gnome
              'I love my garden gnome.'

(10) *incomplete dependency marking (standard)*
      A dependency relation between α and β may be marked on γ, a term of β

(11) *dependent head-marking*
      A dependency relation between α and β may be marked on γ, the head of β

(12) A marking on a head does not signify head marking

III (((SEM ➜ SYN) ➜ MORPH) ➜ PHON)

(13) *head*   *dependent*
      nəp'idi-da **gənanəm** **χa**   **guk**ʷ **sa**   **t'isəm**   Kwakwala
      throw-DEIC   child   OBJ   house   OBL   rock
      'The child hit the house with a rock (by throwing).'

(14) *phonological expression on an outsider (the subject)*
      nəp'idi-da **gənanəm=χa** gukw sa t'isəm

(15)   *head* *dependent*
           a   cup   of coffee   >   a cup=of [*cuppa*] coffee

(16) cliticization onto a head does not signify head marking

3. The nature of subject-verb agreement

(17) *semantic relation*   predication
      syntactic realization   NP, XP
      morphological marking   head of XP (unmarked case)

(18)   *other morphological markings*

a.   *multiple marking*
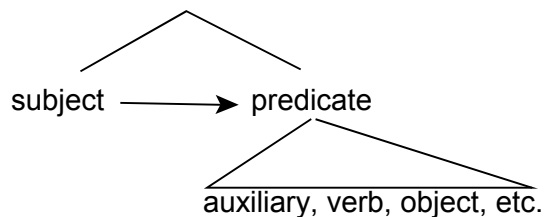   **Juma a-li-kuwa a-ngali   a-ki-fanya   kazi**   Swahili
      Juma₁ 1-PAST-be 1-still   1-PROG-do   work
      'Juma was still working.'

b.   *agreement on object*
  i. **Dios   tupoˑ-*n***   **naxo-xt'eˑwal**   **wakoˑ**   Coahuilteco
      god   DEM-1AGRS   1PL:SU-annoy   CAUS
      'We annoyed god.'
  ii. **Dios   tupoˑ-*m***   **xa-kaˑwa xo**   **e ?**
      god   DEM-2AGRS   2SU-love   AUX   Q
      'Do you love god?'

(19)

(20)   Relation not between *head-dependent* but between *dependent-nondependent*

(21)   Subject-verb agreement is an instantiation of *dependent head-marking* (11).

(22)   *Other considerations*
a.   Consistent dependent-marking languages commonly show subject-verb agreement
b.   The subject is not directly related to the verb (arguments are—a subject can be any type
      of argument and even a nonargument)

(23)   *Question*: how much *nondependent-marking* is there in the languages of the world?

4.   Review of Nichols' (1986, 1992) observations
4.1   Possessive constructions

(23)   CONSTRUCTION   SEMANTIC RELATION
a.   **Jan's   boek**   *subject-predicate*   Dutch
      John-POSS   book
b.   **het   boek van   Jan**   *head-complement*
      the   book of   John

(24)   NONDEPENDENT   DEPENDENT   *MARKING*
a.   **az   ember   haz-*a***   *dependent*   Hungarian
      the   man   house-3SG
      'the man's house'
b.   **the   man*'s***   **house**   *nondependent?*   English
c.   **het   boek**   **van   Jan**   *dependent*   Dutch
      the   book   of   John

(25)   the man   his house   (cf. Dutch   *de man z'n [<zijn] huis*)
      the man=   ='s house

(26)   *the izafet construction: dependent marking + cliticization*

	NONDEPENDENT	DEPENDENT		*MARKING*	
a.	**asb=**	**=é mard**		*dependent*	Persian
	horse	EZ man			
	'the horse of the man'				
b. i.	**ki-tabu**	**ch-a**	**Juma**	*dependent*	Swahili
	7-book	7-EZ	Juma		
	'the book of Juma'				
ii.	**vi-tabu**	**vy-a**	**Juma**		
	8-book	8-EZ	Juma		
	'the books of Juma'				

(27)   *genitive case: unclear*

	NONDEPENDENT	DEPENDENT	*MARKING*	
a.	**kniga**	**Ivan-a**	*dependent?*	Russian
	book	Ivan-GEN		
	'John's book'			
b.	**Ahmeda-n**	**wan**	*nondependent?*	Lezgian
	Ahmed-GEN	voice		
	'Ahmed's voice'			

4.2   Attributive constructions

(28)   the [new [students of linguistics]]

(29)

adjective ⟷ NP

noun   complements

(30)
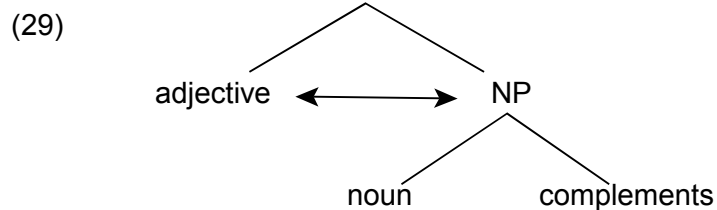
	NONDEPENDENT	DEPENDENT	*MARKING*	
a.	**zelen-*yj***	**dom**	*nondependent?*	Russian
	green-NOM.MASC.SG	house_MASC		
	'green house'			
b.	**wist**	***t*-citx°**	*dependent*	Shuswap
	high	REL-house		
	'tall house'			

(31)

				Karbi (Mikir)
a.	**calay**	**a-monit**		
	funny	REL-person		
b.	**monit**	**calay**		
	person	funny		

(32)

				Dutch
a.	**het**	**boek-ø**		
	the:NTR.SG.DEF	book_NTR-SG		
	'the book'			
b.	**de**	**boek-en**		
	the:PL.DEF	book_NTR-PL		
	'the books'			

(33)   NONDEPENDENT   DEPENDENTS............
        de   **oud-e boek-en**
        the:PL.DEF   old-PL   book_{NTR}-PL
        'the old books'

(34)   Case and number are not inherent features of N, so dependent marking. Gender...?

(35)   *the izafet construction*
        NONDEPENDENT   DEPENDENT   *MARKING*
a.   **küh=**   **=e boländ**   *dependent*   Persian
        mountain   EZ high
        'high mountain'
b.   **ki-ti**   **ch-a   m-ti**   *dependent*   Swahili
        7-chair   7-REL 3-wood
        'wooden chair'

4.3   Adposition constructions

(36)   NONDEPENDENT   DEPENDENT   *MARKING*
a.   **bez**   **brat-*a***   *dependent*   Russian
        without   brother-GEN
b.   ***r*-umaal**   **aa Yaax**   *nondependent?*   Tz'utujil
        3SG-by   CL Yaax
        'by Yaax'

(37)   'head marking' adpositions are 'relational nouns' (Nichols 1992:58), marked by
       possessor agreement

(38)   NONDEPENDENT   DEPENDENT   *MARKING*
a.   **ja**   **a-pʌči**   *dependent*   Burushaski
        1SG:OBL   1SG-side
        'with me, beside me'
b.   **Lʌŋa Brumo**   **mo-pʌči**
        L.B.:NOM   3SG-side
        'with Langa Brumo'

(39)   Tz'utujil: a. noun raising ?
                    b. dependent precedes nondependent ?

(40)   *spurious cases of head-marked adpositions*
a. i. **i'-ma**   ii. **tɛ'-ma**   iii. **pɔ'lɛ-ma**   Wappo
       1SG-for   3SG-for   boy-for
       'for me'   'for him'   'for the boy'
b. i. **'ab   t-wui**   ii. **'am   'em-wui**   Papago
       TOWARD   1PL-to   AWAY   2PL-to
       'toward us'   'toward you'
c. i. **Waraka hyaye k-omok-no**   Hixkaryana
       Waraka   from   1SG-come-IMM.PAST
       'I have come from Waraka.'
   ii. **ɨ-hyaye   k-omok-no**
       3SG-from   1SG-come-IMM.PAST
       'I have come from him.'

5. A theory of dependency

(51)   a. head-complement
   b. subject-predicate   NB predicate = the phrase that is the sister to the subject, not V

(52)   *common property*: sisterhood

(53)   *sisterhood is a function of Merge*
        Merge α and β yielding γ = {α,β}

(54)   *asymmetry between sisters*
a. labeling (Chomsky 1995):   { δ {α,β} }
b. ordered pair (Zwart 2003):   <α,β>

(55)   Merge transfers elements one at a time from a resource (the pool of elements eligible
        for inclusion in the derivation) to a work space (the current derivation)

(56)   *step 1*

WORK SPACE   RESOURCE

step 2

WORK SPACE   RESOURCE
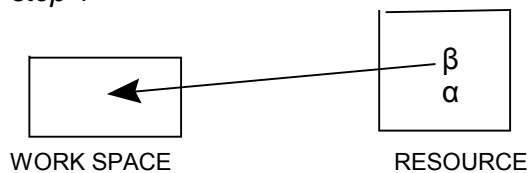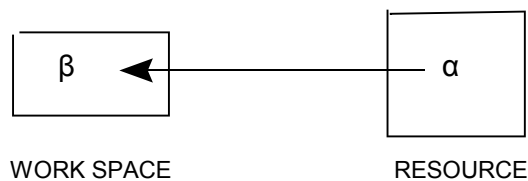
(57)   In step 2, α is new to the derivation, β is the 'elder sister'

(58)   *Dependency relations*
a. α is in a dependency relation with β iff α is merged to β
b. when α is merged to β, β is the dependent of α (α is the 'nondependent')

(59)   *The core dependency relations*
a. head-complement: the complement is the dependent of the head
b. subject-predicate: the predicate is the dependent of the subject

	SUBJECT/HEAD		PREDICATE/COMPLEMENT	
prosody	weak	(√subject/√head)	strong	(√predicate/√complement)
order	'left'	(√subject/?head)	'right'	(√predicate/?complement)
merge	new	(√subject/?head)	old	(√predicate/?complement)
dependency	nondependent	(?subject/√head)	dependent	(?predicate/√complement)

TABLE 2

6. Case

(60) *Object is not a direct dependent of the verb in many cases:*
      ..dat   **ik**   **hem**   **niet**   **zag**   (Dutch)
      that   1SG:NOM   3SG:MASC:OBJ not   saw
      '..that I did not see him'

(61)
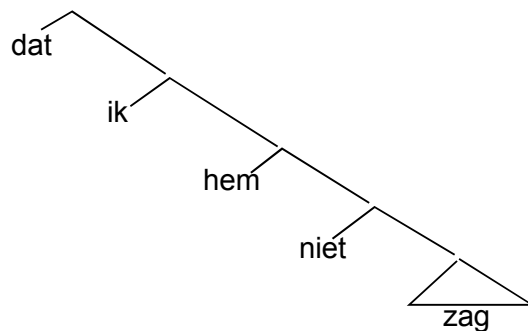
(62) Objective case is the marking of the predicate's dependency of the subject on a (grammatical function expressing) noun phrase contained within the predicate (i.e. dependent-marking)

(63) opposition NOMINATIVE (unmarked, null case) — OBJECTIVE (marked, dependent case)
as in Jakobson 1935, except that the object is not dependent of the verb, but (in a way) of the subject

a. ergativity

(64) the opposition in (63) is absent in ergative languages, where the ergative subject is marked with inherent case (instrumental, possessive, etc.; cf. Nash 1995)

(65) ergative case-marking: the object surfaces in the unmarked case (object case cannot be used to mark the dependency of the predicate w.r.t. the subject)

(66) *ergative case combined with subject-verb agreement*
a. **ngaju**   ka-**rna**   wangka-mi   Warlpiri
    I:ABS   AUX:PRES-1SG:SU speak-NONPAST
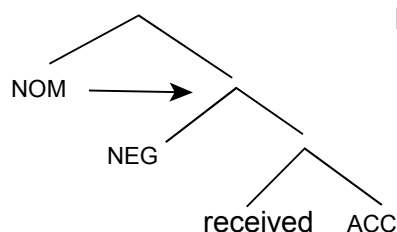   'I am speaking.'
b. **ngajulu-rlu**   ka-**rna**-ngku   nyuntu   nya-nyi
    I-ERG   AUX:PRES-1SG-2OB   you:ABS   see-NONPAST
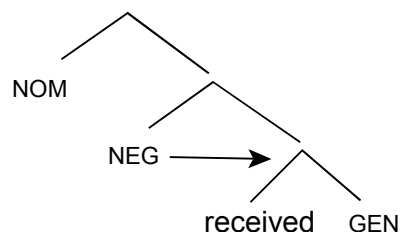   'I see you.'

b. genitive of negation

(67) **ja**   **ne**   **polučal**   **pis'ma / pisem**   Russian
    I:NOM   NEG   received   letter:ACC.PL / GEN.PL
    'I didn't receive any letters.'

(68) a.   b.

c. microparametric variation

SUBJECT-PREDICATE DEPENDENCY	MARKED ON VERB	MARKED ON OBJECT
German	+	+
Dutch	+	–
Swedish	–	–

7. Conclusion

1. Dependencies are relations between sisters
2. Participants are *dependents* and *nondependents*
3. Case and agreement are both instances of *dependent marking*
4. Clear examples of nondependent marking are few

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