

SALOS lectures

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The outline of the lectures

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1. Introduction to valency change: Differential argument marking
2. Introduction to valency change: decreasing and increasing valency
3. Causatives: Introduction and formal aspects
4. Causatives: Semantics
5. Causatives that are not $n+1$

Decreasing valency

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Preliminaries

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- ⌘ Valency decrease comprises cases, where some kind of (morphosyntactic) marking on the verb decreases the valency of the affected verb (by one)
- ⌘ Cross-linguistically, the typical argument structure alternations decreasing the valency of verbs are passive, antipassive, anticausative, reflexive, resultative, reciprocal and incorporation.
- ⌘ The attested constructions can be divided into semantically and pragmatically conditioned cases.

Passive

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- ✧ Passive decreases the valency of verbs by removing the Agent formally from the argument structure (semantically the Agent remains a part of the denoted event).
- ✧ The primary function of passive is Agent omission/demotion, but in so doing passive may also promote the Patient to subject function (the latter part not being universal).

Passive prototype (Shibatani 1985)

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a. Primary pragmatic function: agent demotion

b. Semantic properties:

(i) Semantic valency: predicate (agent, patient)

(ii) Subject is affected

c. Syntactic properties:

(i) Syntactic coding: agent $\rightarrow \emptyset$ (not expressed)

patient \rightarrow subject

(ii) Predicate's valency: active = P/n;

passive = P/n - 1

d. Morphological properties: active = P;

passive = P [+passive]

Another definition (Siewierska 2008)

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1. it contrasts with another construction, the active;
2. the subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overtly expressed;
3. the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active;
4. the construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active;
5. the construction displays some special morphological marking of the verb

Why is passive used?

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1. The agent is unknown
2. The agent is clear from the context
3. The speaker does not want to refer to the agent explicitly
4. The speaker's focus lies on the patient rather than the agent
5. Passive may have syntactic functions (such as co-ordination of clauses)

(Shibatani 1985:830)

Example

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Amharic (Amberber 2002: 16):

(17a) *anas'i-w* ***t'awla-w-en*** *fellet'-e*
carpenter-DEF plank-DEF-ACC split.PERF-3.MASC

'The carpenter split the plank'

(17b) ***t'awla-w*** *te-fellet'-e*
plank-DEF PASS-split.PERF-3.MASC

'The plank was split'

Example 2

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Finnish

(18a) *Mies* *tappo-i* *karhu-n*
man.NOM kill-3SG.PST bear-ACC

'The man killed the bear'

(18b) *karhu* *tape-ttiin*
bear.NOM kill-PASS.PST

'The bear was killed'

Passive-like constructions

- ⌘ As noted previously, passive is usually viewed as an operation that demotes the agent somehow, and where this is signalled also on the verb.
- ⌘ In addition, the function of passive can be expressed also by active-like constructions, such as the German and Swedish *man*-constructions and construction like *they say that...* (or the Finnish 'you-passive').

Inverse

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- ❧ Inverse is also an operation that demotes the agent, but in contrast to the passive, inverse constructions obligatorily have an agent.
- ❧ Inverse is used whenever the Agent ranks lower in the animacy hierarchies than the Patient (e.g. 'I saw you' is okay, but 'you saw me' is not, and the latter construction is inverse)

Example

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Nocte

(19a) *nga-maatehetho-ang*

I-ERGheteach-1SG

‘I will teach him’ (Agent > Patient → direct, unmarked)

(19b) *ate-manga-nanghetho-**h**-ang*

he-ERGI-ACCteach-**INV**-1SG

‘He will teach me’ (Agent < Patient → inverse)

Antipassive

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- ❧ Antipassive constitutes the mirror image of passive that is attested as a morphological process in many absolutive-ergative languages (especially in Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia).
- ❧ Antipassive promotes the ergatively coded A to the unmarked absolutive status and thus demotes the Patient.

Antipassive

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1. Antipassive applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive
2. The underlying A becomes S of the antipassive
3. The underlying O argument goes into a peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, adposition etc.; this argument can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it
4. There is some explicit formal marking of the antipassive constructions (same basic possibilities as for passive) (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000)

Example (Yidiñ, Dixon 1994: 59f)

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(20a) *waguja-ngu jugi-ø gunda-l (galba:n-da)*
man-ERG tree-ABS cut-PRES (axe-INSTR)

‘The man is cutting a tree (with an axe)’

(20b) *wagu:ja-ø gunda-:ji-n (jugi-:l)*
man-ABS cut-ANTIP-PRES (tree-LOC)

galba:n-da

axe-INSTR

‘The man is cutting a tree with an axe’

Example 2

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Hunzib (Van den Berg 1995: 110)

(21a) *olu-l* *bex* *koše*
that.OBL-ERG grass.ABS mow.PRES
'S/he mows the grass'

(21b) *eg* *koše-laa* (**bex-o-d*)
that mow-ANTIP (**grass-OBL-INSTR*)
'She is mowing (**the grass*)'

The antipassive of Hunzib is obligatorily patientless (cf. Finnish passive).

Antipassive

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- ❧ Antipassive is used when the identity of the Patient is not important (as in *I am eating*) or if the speaker does not want to or cannot mention it (its identity is either irrelevant or unknown).
- ❧ Moreover, antipassive has many transitivity-related functions, such as the expression of habitual actions (in which the patient is often indefinite as well). In this case, antipassive corresponds functionally to indefinite object deletion.

Passive and antipassive: a new look

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- ✎ One may say that the function of both passive and antipassive is to mark that the S argument of a derived intransitive bears an unexpected role.
- ✎ Both passive and antipassive can thus be described as follows:

X V (Intransitive clause)

X (Y+z) V (Transitive construction)

Y ((X+w)) V+q (de-transitive clause)

Evidence

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- ❧ Passive is attested primarily in NOM-ACC –languages, while antipassive appears typically in ABS-ERG –languages (see also Jacobsen 1985: 178).
- ❧ In both language types, the marked secondary argument (in accusative or ergative) can be omitted more freely.
- ❧ On the other hand, languages where both arguments are freely omissible (and where the marking of the arguments present always disambiguates their roles) usually lack both passive and antipassive.

Evidence

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- ✎ Only few languages have both passive and antipassive, and there are no languages that **only** have a morphologically coded mechanism for omission/further demotion of the originally secondary argument.
- ✎ If a given language lacks primary arguments, as, e.g. split intransitivity languages do, the language also lacks (anti)passive derivation (in these languages the coding of the sole argument always disambiguates its semantic role).

Evidence

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- ❧ (Anti)passive derivation does not affect the semantic roles of the derived clause in any drastic way. This is a clear contrast to, e.g., reflexive (and what is relevant here is that the occurrence of the reflexive is not determined by argument marking type in any way).
- ❧ Moreover, the derivation applies whenever the primary argument is omitted and the role of the promoted argument needs to be highlighted (the mere function does not suffice)
- ❧ Consequently, we are dealing with one basic alternation type whose exact function is determined by the argument marking pattern of the given languages

Evidence

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- ❧ The demoted argument, regardless of its semantic role, is typically marked by the same (semantic) cases including instrumental, locative cases and dative.
- ❧ In other words, the case forms used have lost their basic meaning and their function is just to underline the markedness of the construction in question.

Counter-evidence

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✎ The view proposed here is not equally applicable to languages that:

1. Have both passive and antipassive (see, e.g., Fortescue 1984 for West Greenlandic)
2. Can derive (anti)passives from intransitive clauses.
3. Have the 'wrong' kind of mechanism (not attested?)
4. Languages that have different kinds of (anti)passive

Reflexive

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- ❧ Reflexive refers to an event in which the agent targets an action at him/herself instead of another (external) participant, as in *er wäscht sich* (instead of *er wäscht das Kind*). Agent is thus also a Patient in the denoted event.
- ❧ The number of participants in the event decreases by one, but the number of semantic roles remains constant. This has direct consequences for the formal nature of reflexives across languages.

Example (Finnish)

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- (22a) *Isä pes-i lapse-n*
father wash-3SG.PAST child-ACC
'The father washed the child' (transitive clause)
- (22b) *Lapsi pes-i itse-n-sä*
child wash-3SG.PAST self-ACC-3POSS
'The child washed him/herself' (transitive reflexive)
- (22c) *Lapsi pese-yty-i (*itsensä)*
child wash-REFL-3SG.PAST
'The child washed (him/herself)' (intr. reflexive)

Example 2

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Uradhi (Crowley 1983: 340)

(23a) *ama-:luuntawuyuku-ηkuaru-m*

man-ERGwoman.ABSstick-INSTRhit-PAST

‘The man hit the woman with the stick’

(23b) *ama(uluma-uluma)yuku-ηku*

man.ABS(3SG-REFL)stick-INSTR

ari-:ni-n

hit-REFL-PAST

‘The man hit himself with a stick’

English: *he shaved me* → *he shaved*

Reciprocal

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- ❧ Reciprocal resembles reflexive in that in both the Agent is also a Patient. The rationale behind this, however, varies. In reciprocal, this follows because two Agents are targeting the same action at each other, as in *die Kinder haben einander gewaschen*.
- ❧ Reciprocal tends to be a transitive construction more often than the reflexive and it is often expressed by a reciprocal pronouns, such as *each other, einander, toisiaan*.

Example

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Kammu (Svantesson 1983: 112)

(24a) *tráaktikzòz*

buffalobuttI

‘The buffalo butted me’

(24b) *tráaktr-tikyò-tèe*

buffaloRECIP-butteach-othe

‘The buffalos butted each other’

Example 2

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Fijian (Lynch 1998: 145)

(25a) *eloma-nikoya*

helove-TRANSshe

‘He loves her’

(25b) *erauvei-loma-ni*

they:twoRECIP-love-TRANS

‘They two love each other’

Anticausative

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- ❧ Anticausative is the explicitly coded inchoative of a causative/inchoative pair (caused/non-caused change), such as *sich zerbrechen* (as opposed to *zerbrechen*) in German. Anticausative is thus the opposite of causative.
- ❧ Anticausative also removes the Agent from the verb's valency, but in contrast to the passive, the omission is complete (semantic and formal), not only formal as in passive.

Example (Kammu)

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Kammu (Svantesson 1983)

(26a) *Zòz pìr tóz*
I shake table
'I shake the table'

(26b) *Tóz hm-pìr*
table ANTIC-shake
'The table is shaking'

- The Finnish (and also German) reflexive can be used to express anticausatives as well (in Finnish only the verbal reflexive may have this function).

Resultative

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- ❧ Resultative codes the result of a (usually) transitive event, as in *the house has been built*.
- ❧ Also in the resultative, the Agent is removed from the verb's valency, but the motivation is different from that in the anticausative; the Agent is omitted, because it has already acted and it is therefore backgrounded (the focus is on the result).

Example

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Evenki (Nedjalkov & Nedjalkov 1988: 242)

(27a) *Nuŋan tadū **kalan-me** loko-d'oro-n*
he there pot-ACC hang-PRES-3SG

‘He is hanging a pot there’

(27b) *tadū **kalan** lokū-ča-d'ara-n*
there pot.NOM hang-STAT-PRES-3SG

‘A pot is hanging (hangs) there’

German Zustandpassiv: *das Fenster ist geöffnet*

Incorporation

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- ✎ Incorporation refers to a very dramatic Patient demotion (Agent incorporation is less frequent, even though it also occurs). Incorporation deprives the original object of its argument status, which also detransitivizes the given construction.
- ✎ Moreover, an originally referential object becomes non-referential (incorporated objects cannot usually be specified further in any way), which means that incorporation usually occurs when the identity of the Patient is not relevant.

Example

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Chukchi (Comrie 1973: 243f)

(28a) *tumg-e* *na-ntewat-en* ***kupre-n***
friends-ERG 3SG-set-TRANS net-ABS
'The friends set the net'

(28b) *tumg-et* ***kupra-ntewat-g'at***
friends-ABS net-set-INTR
'The friends set nets'

Increasing valency

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Preliminaries

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- ❧ Valency increase (expectedly) is the opposite of valency decrease, i.e. a morphological change on the verb introduces a core argument to the verb.
- ❧ The typical alternations increasing the valency of verbs are presented by causative and applicative. Causative adds an Agent to the valency of verbs (the introduced Agent occupies the subject/A slot), while applicative introduces other roles (such as Instrument, Beneficiary, Location) to the clause as direct objects (or promotes obliques to direct objects).

Preliminaries

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✎ In addition, dative shift and external possession can be seen alternations that increase the number of (core) arguments present (even though they are not marked on the verb).

Dative shift

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∞ Dative shift (dative alternation) refers to a morphosyntactic process that promotes the Recipient or Beneficiary to a primary object status, as in:

The parent gave a book to the child

The parent gave the child a book

This constitutes the most typical scenario, e.g. the Finnish illative/allative alternation is not viewed as dative shift.

Example (Malay)

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(29a) *dia beri buku itu kepada*

3SG give book DEF to

perempuan itu

woman DEF

‘S/he gave the book to the woman.’

(29b) *dia beri perempuan itu buku itu.*

3SG give woman DEF book DEF

‘S/he gave the woman the book.’

Dative shift

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- ❧ As noted earlier, dative shift is not signalled on the verb, and it does not affect the number of participants in the denoted event nor the number of clausal participants, but it does increase the number of core arguments.
- ❧ Dative shift (almost?) always changes the order of the objects from TH-REC to REC-TH.

Dative shift

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- ❧ The reasons for dative shift may be formal or semantic.
- ❧ For example, in some language dative shift applies when the denoted transfer is permanent, the Recipient is more affected, or it may signal perfective aspect.
- ❧ In many languages, only Recipient may undergo dative shift, inanimate Goals may not (e.g., ?/* *I sent Vilnius a book*).

External possession

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External possession refers to cases where the possessor of a genitive phrase is promoted to an individual clausal constituent, as in German

Der Vater hat die Hände des Kindes gewaschen

-> *Der Vater hat dem Kind die Hände gewaschen*

Example

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Finnish

(30a) *isä* *pes-i* *lapse-n* *käde-t*
father.NOM wash-3SG.PST child-GEN hand-PL

'The father washed the child's hands'

(30b) *isä* *pes-i* *lapse-lta* *käde-t*
father.NOM wash-3SG.PST child-ABL hand-PL

'The father washed the child's hands'

External possession

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- ✎ Similarly to dative shift, external possession does not increase the number of participants in the denoted event, but it only affects the number of clausal constituents present by dividing the original possessor phrase into two (the external possessor usually appears in a dative-like case, but in the ablative in Finnish).
- ✎ Functionally, EP may emphasize the higher degree of affectedness of the possessor.

Applicatives

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↻ Applicativization is a verbally marked process that promotes an original oblique to the direct object status (or introduces a similar argument):

↻ S V OBL - > A V+APPL O

↻ A V O OBL -> A V+APPL O O

German: *Er hat **darüber** geschwiegen -> er hat **das** verschwiegen.*

Examples

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Warembori (Donohue 1999: 9)

(31a) *make matin-do (nana ipa-yave)*
boy wash-IND (**OBL river-DEF**)

‘(The) boy is washing (in the river)’

(31b) *make matin-na ipa-yave*
boy wash-**APPL** **river-DEF**

‘(The) boy is washing in the river’

Examples (Hoava)

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(32a) *taveti-a* *mosi* *sa* *lose*
make.TR-3SG Mosi ART.SG room
'Mosi built the room'

(32b) *tavete-ni-a* ***kinahe*** *mosi* *sa*
make-APPL-3SG nipa.palm Mosi ART.SG
lose
room
'Mosi built the room with nipa palm'

Applicatives

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- ❧ As shown previously, applicatives differ from causatives in the nature of the argument they introduce. Moreover, the functions of applicatives are more pragmatic in nature, while causatives are more semantically motivated. The use of applicatives is related to, for example, topicality and topic continuity.
- ❧ Roles typically introduced via applicativization comprise Recipient, Beneficiary, Maleficiary, Instrument, Cause and Location.

Applicatives

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✂ Applicative constructions can further be classified according to their functional specificity. Peterson (2007) speaks of morphologically (non-)distinct applicative construction markers.

Data (morphologically distinct marker)

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Haka lai (Peterson 1997)

(33a) *tsewmanɿ=niz door=zaz za-ka-kal-piak*

Tsewmang=ERG market=ALL 3SG.S-1SG.O-go-BEN

‘Tsewmang went to the market for me’ (Beneficiary)

(33b) *thin za-ka-laak-tsezm*

wood 3SG.S-1SG.O-carry-ADD BEN

‘He carried wood for me (in addition to carrying wood for himself)’ (‘additional beneficiary’)

Data(morphologically distinct marker)

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(33c) *ka-law* *zan-ka-thloz-pii*
1SG.POSS-field 3PL.S-1SG.O-hoe-COM
'They hoed my field (together) with me'
(Comitative)

(33d) *rul=niz* *ka-zin=zaz*
snake=ERG 1SG.POSS-house=ALL/LOC
za-ka-luz-hnoz
3SG.S-1SG.O-enter-MAL
'A snake came into my house on me' (Maleficiary)

Data(morphologically distinct marker)

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(33e) *tiiloŋ khaa tivaa kan-∅-tan-naak*

boat TOP river 1SG.S-3SG.O-cross-**INSTR**

‘We used the boat to cross the river’ (Instrument)

Data (morphologically non-distinct marker)

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Tukang Besi

(34a) *no-mate-ako te buti*

3R-die-APPL CORE fall

‘They died in a fall’ (Circumstantial)

(34b) *no-hugu-ako te poda-no*

3R-chop-APPL CORE knife-3.POSS

‘They chopped with their knives’ (Instrument)

Data (morphologically non-distinct marker)

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Tukang Besi

(34c) *no-ala-ako* *te* *ina-su*
3R-fetch-APPL CORE mother-1SG.POSS

te *kau*

CORE wood

‘She fetched the wood as a favour for my mother’
(Beneficiary)

(34d) *No-lemba-ako* *te* *karia’a*
3R-carry-APPL CORE festival

‘They carried (something) for the festival’
(Purpose)