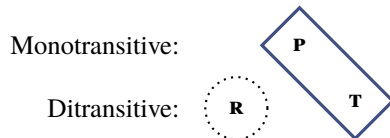


A typological gap in ditransitive alignment: No secundative case/indirective agreement

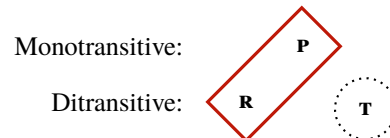
András Bárány (Leiden University)

Ditransitive constructions can be characterised in terms of case-marking and agreement alignment. This is determined by checking whether the expression of the single object of a monotransitive (P) matches that of the theme-like (T) argument, as in (1), or the recipient-like (R) argument of a ditransitive, as in (2). (In “neutral” alignment, P, R, and T are marked alike.)

(1) Indirective or direct object alignment



(2) Secundative or primary object alignment



Combining (1) and (2) for both case and agreement (with one object) results in four possible types, one of which is not attested (Haspelmath 2005, 2013, Bárány 2017; Table 1). I provide a syntactic explanation for the typological gap and address apparent counterexamples as well as a parallel in (in)transitive alignment, the absence of languages with ACC case and ERG agreement.

Data Hungarian, (3), has indirective case and agreement alignment (ICIA). T in a ditransitive, like P in a monotransitive, surfaces with ACC case and controls object agreement.

- (3) a. *Lát-ja* [_P *a kutyá-t*]. b. [_R *Neked*] *ad-ja* [_T *a kutyá-t*].
 see-3SG.SBJ>3.OBJ the dog-ACC you.SG.DAT give-3SG.SBJ>3.OBJ the dog-ACC
 ‘S/he sees the dog.’ ‘S/he gives you the dog.’

Kalaallisut, (4), shows secundative case and agreement alignment (SCSA). P and R are both marked ABS, while T is INS. The ABS arguments control object agreement.

- (4) a. [_P *tuttu*] *taku-aa* b. [_R *N.*] [_T *aningaasa-nik*] *tuni-vaa*
 caribou.ABS see-3SG.SBJ>3SG.OBJ N.ABS money-INS.PL give-3SG.SBJ>3SG.OBJ
 ‘He saw the caribou.’ ‘He gave money to Niisi.’ (Fortescue 1984: 86, 89)

Alignment can also be mixed, as in Amharic in (5), where case-marking is indirective as in Hungarian, but agreement is secundative as in Kalaallisut (ICSA).

- (5) a. *almaz* [_P *məs'haf-u-n*] *wəssəd-əčč-(#w)*
 Almaz.F book-DEF.M-ACC take.PRF-3.F.SBJ-3.M.OBJ
 ‘Almaz took the book.’ (Amberber 2005: 302)
- b. *ləmma* [_R *l-Almaz*] [_T *məs'əhaf-u-n*] *sət't'-at*
 Lemma.M DAT-Almaz.F book-DEF-ACC give(-3.M.SBJ)-3.F.OBJ
 ‘Lemma gave the book to Almaz.’ (Baker 2012: 258)

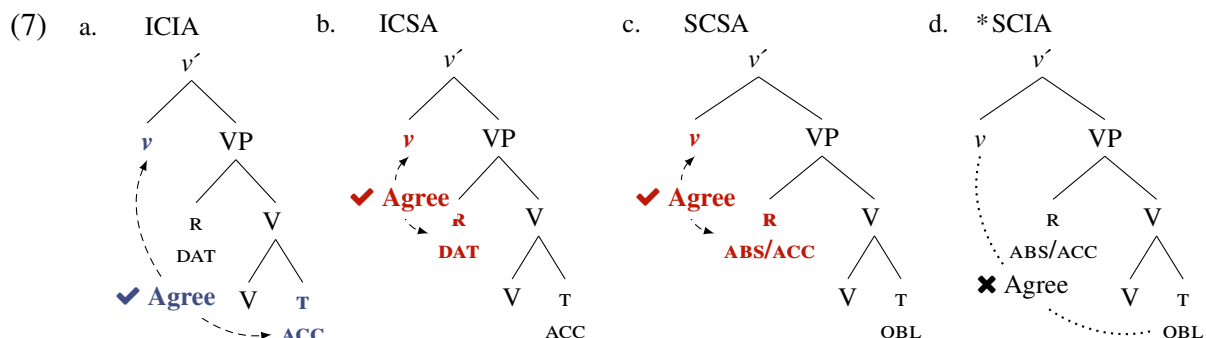
	Secundative (or neutral) case-marking	Indirective case-marking
Indirective agreement	✗	✓ (e.g. Hungarian)
Secundative agreement	✓ (e.g. Kalaallisut)	✓ (e.g. Amharic)

Table 1 Distribution of case and agreement alignment in ditransitives (based on 65 genera)

Analysis I rely on the following assumptions. First, *v* c-commands both R and T. Second, R c-commands T. Third, agreement is sensitive to a “case hierarchy” (Blake 2001, Bobaljik 2008, Caha 2009) such that if an NP with case κ can control agreement in a given language, NPs with case κ' higher on the hierarchy must also be able to control agreement in that language:

(6) NOM/ABS > ACC/ERG > DAT > OBL > ...

These assumptions derive the gap in Table 1. In Hungarian, DAT NPs can never control agreement with the verb. Thus, even though R is more local to *v*, it cannot control agreement and *v* agrees with T, (7a). In Amharic, DAT is accessible for agreement, so *v* targets the more local R rather than T, (7b). In Kalaallisut, R is ABS, a case that *must* be accessible for agreement, since the single ABS object in a monotransitive (P) can control agreement, (4a); (7c). This logic rules out (7d): since R's case must be accessible for agreement, agreeing with T would violate locality. The unattested pattern in in Table 1 **cannot be derived because agreeing with T rather than R violates locality**. In contrast, locality does not rule out (7a) because certain m(orphological)-cases are *not* accessible for agreement, as governed by (6).



Information structure (IS) and person Some languages allow circumventing locality in agreement independently of m-case. These are only *apparent* exceptions to the typological gap, however. First, one of the **regular agreement** types in (7) is **always an option**. Second, there is always an **additional factor**. In Bembe (Bantu; Iorio 2015), (8), the agreement controller must be given in discourse. Similarly, in Chukchi and Alutor (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Mel'čuk 1988, Dunn 1999, Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2002; not shown), the controller's person must be higher than the other object's (1 > 2 > 3). These agreement patterns can be captured by satisfaction features on probes (Deal 2015). In Bembe, *v* carries a δ -probe that will only be satisfied by a topical object; in Chukchi, a φ -probe will not be satisfied by a non-1st person R and continue probing.

(8) a. *twa-bo-h-ile* [_R *batu*] b. *twa-ba-h-ile* [_T *bokyo*]
 1PL-14.OM-give-PST 2.person 1PL-2.OM-give-PST 14.money
 'We gave **it [the money]** to people.' 'We gave **them [the people]** money.' (Iorio 2015: 105f.)

Supporting evidence Moravcsik (1978), Bobaljik (2008), *i.a.*, show that no languages have ACC (or neutral) case alignment but ERG agreement alignment: in no language with a NOM subject will the verb only agree with the ACC object. This parallels the typological gap in ditransitives. There are *apparent* exceptions to this generalisation as well. In Algonquin (Oxford 2019), T/INFL agrees with the subject *or* the object based on their person (cf. Chukchi). In Dzamba theme inversion (Henderson 2011), the verb can agree with a topical object instead of the subject (cf. Bembe). In addition to the correct prediction that no language *only* shows SCIA, the existence of the typological gap in the T domain, sensitive to case, IS, and person, further supports the analysis of the parallel gap in the *v* domain that is sensitive to the same factors.

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