GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION-CHANGING MORPHOLOGY, III

ANTI-PASSIVE & APPLICATIVES OF VARIOUS KINDS

Matthew A. Tucker

Linguistics 105: Morphology Fall 2012

November 9, 2012



MATTHEW A. TUCKER (LING 105)

GF-CHANGING, III

- 32

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- Do not stop working on your paper.
- Do you want me to have OH on Monday for HW # 6?

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- Stay tuned for updates about Marantz (1997).

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ANTI-PASSIVES

1 Anti-Passives

2 Applicatives

3 The Mirror Principle

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THE PASSIVE

- $[\alpha_{\text{NOM}} [V^0 \beta_{\text{ACC}}]] \longrightarrow [[V^0 \beta_{\text{NOM}}]]$
- \Rightarrow Passive is elimination of the **unmarked** case-bearing argument.
- Q: What would this process look like in an Erg~Abs language?

The Antipassive

- $[\alpha_{\text{ERG}} [V^0 \beta_{\text{ABS}}]] \longrightarrow [\alpha_{\text{ABS}} [V^0 _]]$
- ⇒ Anti-passive is elimination of the **absolutive** argument of a transitive.
- Underlying object variably realized as an oblique (PP).

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- a. Bala yuhu baŋgul yara-ŋgu **gunba-n** baŋgu barri-ŋgu. it.abs tree.abs he.erg man-erg **cut-tns** it.inst axe-inst "The man cut the tree with an axe."
- b. Bayi yara **gunba-l-ŋanyu** bagu yugu-gu baŋgu barri-ŋgu. he.abs man.abs **cut-antipass-tns** it.dat tree-dat it.inst axe-inst "The man was cutting the tree with an axe."
- (2) Greelandic Eskimo:
 - a. Miirqa-t **paar -ai**. child-лвз.рг. **take.care.of** -ind.3sg:Зрг. "She takes care of the children."
 - b. Miirqu-nik paara-fi -vuq. child-ואד. take.care.of-אאדוא.3sg "She takes care of the children."

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- a. **Ha-konne'** i peskadot i guihan. **AGR-**catch the fisherman the fish "The fisherman caught the fish."
- Mangonne' (guihan) i peskadot.
 ANTIPASS.catch (fish) the fisherman
 "The fisherman caught {something, a fish}."
- Other properties sometimes involved:
 - Semantic properties of the object trigger antipassive.
 - Certain tenses/aspects seem to require antipassive.
 - Some languages forbid expression of the internal argument.

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3 The Mirror Principle

MATTHEW A. TUCKER (LING 105)

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- *So far:* GF-changing that affects a *grammatical* case or structurally assigned θ -role.
- However, many of the world's languages have morphology which allows what would otherwise be an adjunct or oblique to be realized as an *argument*.

Applicatives

An APPLICATIVE adds an object as an argument expressing {an oblique, an indirect object}.

- (4) English Ditransitive Alternations, I Indirect Objects:
 - Shawn gave the flowers to Gus.
 - b. Shawn gave Gus the flowers.
- 5) English Ditransitive Alternations, II Benefactives:
 - Tesse baked something special for Walter-

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MATTHEW A. TUCKER (LING 105)

GF-CHANGING, III

Applicative Examples — Benefactives

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- a. Mavuto a-na-umb-a mtsuko. Mavuto Agr-TNS-mold-FV waterpot. "Mavuto molded the waterpot."
- b. Mavuto a-na-umb-ir-a mfumu mtsuko. Mavuto Agr-TNS-mold-APPL-FV chief waterpot "Mavuto molded the waterpot for the chief."
- (7) Indonesian:
 - a. Saya memanggang roti untuk Eric. I bake break for Eric "I baked bread for Eric."
 - b. Saya menanggang-kan Eric roti. I bake-APPL Eric bread "I baked Eric bread."

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Applicative Examples — Locatives

(8) Kinyarwanda (Bantu; Rwanda):

- a. Umwaana y-a-taa-ye igitabo **mu maazi**. child AGR-PAST-throw-ASP book **in water** "The child has thrown the book in the water."
- b. Umwaana y-a-taa-ye-mo amaazi igitabo.
 child AGR-PAST-throw-ASP-APPL water book
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- (10) Kinyarwanda:
 - a. Umugabo a-ra-andik-a ibaruwa n'-iikaramu. man AGR-PRES-write-ASP letter with-pen "The man is writing a letter with the pen."
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Applicative Examples — Instrumentals

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 - a. Mavuto a-na-umb-a mtsuko. Mavuto AGR-TNS-mold-FV waterpot. "Mavuto molded the waterpot."
 - b. Mavuto a-na-umb-ir-a **mpeni** mtsuko. Mavuto AGR-TNS-mold-APPL-FV knife waterpot "Mavuto molded the waterpot with a knife."
- (10) Kinyarwanda:
 - a. Umugabo a-ra-andik-a ibaruwa **n'-iikaramu**. man AGR-PRES-write-ASP letter **with-pen** "The man is writing a letter with the pen."
 - b. Umugabo a-ra-andik-iish-a ikaramu ibaruwa. man AGR-PRESWrite-APPL-ASP pen letter
 "The man is writing a letter with the pen."

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(11) Luganda:

- a. A-li-menya okugulu **kwa Kapere**. Agr-fut-break leg **of Kapere** "S/he will break Kapere's leg."
- b. A-li-menya **Kapere** okugulu. Agr-fut-break **Kapere** leg "She will break Kapere's leg."
- (12) Hebrew:
 - a. Gil higdil et ha-tmuna **fel Rina**. Gil elarged Acc the-picture of **Rina** "Gil enlarged Rina's picture"
 - b. Gil higdil le-Rina et ha-tmuna. Gil enlarged to-Rina Acc the-picture "Gil enlarged Rina's picture."

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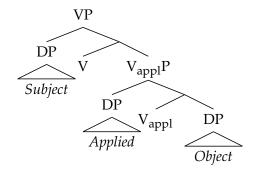
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THEORIZING THE APPLICATIVE

BASIC PREMISE

The applicative morpheme introduces a verbal head V which selects for the applied argument.



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1 Anti-Passives

2 Applicatives

3 The Mirror Principle

MATTHEW A. TUCKER (LING 105)

- 32

• Data like this *does* exist.

(13) Quechua (Isolate Family?; Andes Mountains):

a. Maqa-naku-ya-chi-n. beat-rectP-dur-cAus-3.sc

"He_i is causing them_j to beat [each other]_j."

- Maqa-chi-naku-rka-n.
 beat-cAUS-RECIP-PL-3.sG
 "They, let someone, beat [each other],."
- (14) Bemba (Bantu; Zambia):
 - a. Naa-mon-an-ya Mwape na Mutumba. 1.sc.subj-past-see-recip-caus Mwape and Mutumba "I made Mwape and Mutumba see each other."
 - b. Mwape na Chilufya baa-mon-eshy-ana Mutumba. Mwape and Chilufya 3.PL.SUBJ-See-CAUS-RECIP Mutumba. "Mwape and Chilfuya made each other see Mutumba."

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MATTHEW A. TUCKER (LING 105)

The Mirror Principle (Baker, 1985:375)

Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations and vice-versa.

• Ordering is, in a sense, "root out" or "bottom up" in the tree.

(15) Quechua, one more time:

- Maqa-naku-ya-chi-n.
 beat-recur-dur-caus-3.sc
 "He_i is causing them_i to beat [each other]_i
- b. Maqa-chi-naku-rka-n. beat-cʌus-ĸecip-pi-3.sc "They; let someone; beat [each other];.

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- (16) Cichewa:
 - a. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-a mpiringidzo kwa mtsikana. zebras AGR-PAST-hand-ASP crowbar to girl "The zebras handed the crowbar to the girl."
 - Mbidzi zi-na-perek-er-a mtsikana mpiringidzo.
 zebras AGR-PAST-hand-APPL-ASP girl crowbar
 "The zebras handed the girl the crowbar."
 - c. Mpiringidzo u-na-perek-edw-a kwa mtsikana ndi mbidzi. crowbar AGR-PAST-hand-PASS-ASP to girl by zebras "The crowbar was handed to the girl by the zebras."
 - d. Mtsikana a-na-perek-**er-edw**-a mpiringidzo ndi mbidzi. girl AGR-PAST-hand-**APPL-PASS**-ASP crowbar by zebras "The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras."
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As Promised

An Abazan (Caucasian; Russia/Turkey) applicative of an applicative of an applicative (What does it mean?!):

(17) y- lə- cə- r- zAbs.3.sg.Neut- Appl.3.sg.Fem- com- Appl.3.pl- bena- la- ħ- č^jpa -t'
Appl.3.sg.n- instr- erg.1.pl- do- dyn
"We did it with her for them with it."

As Promised

An Abazan (Caucasian; Russia/Turkey) applicative of an applicative of an applicative (What does it mean?!):

(17) y- lə- cə- f- z-ABS.3.SG.NEUT- APPL.3.SG.FEM- COM- APPL.3.PL- BENa- la- \hbar - $\check{c}^{j}pa$ -t' APPL.3.SG.N- INSTR- ERG.1.PL- do- DYN "We did it with her for them with it."

- 3