

Stative-active systems: what's what, and what's not (?)

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Two (related) aims:

- to address the question of what, in terms of participant-marking, should be considered in a discussion of 'stative-active'
- to address the morphology/syntax dichotomy for 'stative-active' languages

1 Splits in alignment

The occasional rare language has all morphological and syntactic (constructional?) tests showing the same groupings. This is not usual. English, a strongly S,A vs. P language, has conflicting evidence:

- preposition choice when postnominal in a nominalised clause:

P *the consumption of too much alcohol*

S *the arrival of the guests*

A *the investigation by the police*

- eligibility for a nominal to be modified by a prenominal past participle verb:

P *the beaten protesters*

Sp *the fallen leaves*

Sa * *the sung choir* (for: the choir that sung)

A * *the eaten glutton* (for: the glutton who has eaten [something])

- ellipsis in gapping constructions:

P *I washed __ and you dried the dishes.*

S * *__ ran and I fell over.*

A * *__ washed and I dried the dishes.*

Do these facts 'count' for determining the alignment of the language? Does English have ergative case marking, or 'stative-active' syntax? Why not?

Discerning alignment: morphological behaviour ≠ syntactic behaviour

Table 1. Ways in which a difference between syntactic roles can be realised

'Morphological'		Syntactic
agreement	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• presence / form• position• location	adjunct clauses relative clauses conjoined clauses
case / adposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• presence / form• position• location	floating quantifiers imperatives valency-changing
position	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• pre/post verbal• pre/post oblique	secondary predication ... etc.

Examples of ‘morphological’ alignment determined by these different mechanisms are not hard to put together. Much has been written about the markedness relations that hold between different case or agreement patterns; all generalisations appear to be statistical, not universal.

- Head marking **Russian**: A+S vs (P) agreement, showing nominative-accusative alignment;
Kabardian: A vs S+P agreement, showing ergative-absolutive alignment;
Acehnese: A+Sa vs (P+Sp) agreement, showing stative-active alignment.
- Dependant ... **Yindjibarndi**: (A+S) vs P case marking, showing nominative-accusative alignment;
Jiwarli: A vs (S+P) case marking, showing ergative-absolutive alignment;
Tsova-Tush: A+Sa vs P+Sp case marking, showing stative-active alignment.
- word order **Thai**: AVP / SV order of NPs and V, showing nominative-accusative alignment;
Paumarí: AVP / VS order of NPs and V, showing ergative-absolutive alignment (also Tepehua, and PVA/SV for Mangarayi);
Ambonese Malay: AVP / S_AV & V_SP order of NPs and V, showing stative-active alignment.

Examples of grammatical constructions having ‘pivots’ that are more syntactically privileged than non-pivot terms are similarly easy to find in the literature. Some examples:

- adjunct clauses In **English** a [*While/After/Before* V-ing ...] clause is restricted to having an ellipsed S,A which must be coreferential with the S or A of the main clause.
- relative clauses In **Dyirbal** a [... V-*ngu* ...] clause, roughly non-complement subordination, is restricted to having an ellipsed S or P.
- conjoined clauses (If there are restrictions on control across coordinated clause boundaries, it seems to be universal that the pivot is S or A.)
- floating quantifiers The reference of a V-adjoined quantifier in **Japanese** is restricted to the S or P of the clause (Donohue 2004a).
- imperatives The addressee of an imperative in **English** can be any S or A. (Most language have an [agent] restriction as well, or instead, but English is surprisingly free in terms of causative construal.) This sounds a lot like a semantically restricted construction; but now and then we find clear evidence that it’s been syntacticised.
- valency changing The presence of valency-reduction processes proves the separation of grammatical functions from argument structure, and tells us something about alignment (though I don’t think anyone’s got a very convincingly conclusive idea about just what that something is).
- secondary predication often restricted to terms, or a particular set of terms. Typically resultatives are restricted to predicating Ps, while depictives can have a wider scope.

2 The ‘stative-active’ alignment: morphological and ordered

Examples of these systems (I’m using ‘stative-active’ simply to refer to the presence of *any* split in the marking of intransitives) have been rife over the last few days; just to push the point home:

By agreement: **Galela** (West Papuan, Indonesia; Shelden 1991)

- (1) *Wo-mi-sasano.*
3SG.M.A-3SG.F.P-ask
‘(Aweng) questioned her.’
- (2) *Wo-mau.*
3SG.M.A-want
‘He wants (to go).’
- (3) *Mi-sirangu.*
3SG.F.P-nose.drips
‘She has a runny nose.’

By case marking **Waris** (Border, Papua New Guinea; Brown 1988)

- (4) *Ka-va ye-m hévakomandha-v.*
1-TOP 2-DAT kill-PRES
‘I kill you.’
(-m only appears on animate or less-affected inanimate Ps)
- (5) *Ka-va mongla-na pró-na.*
1-TOP foot-GEN come-PAST
‘I came by foot.’
- (6) *He-m daha-v.*
3-DAT die-PRES
‘He is dying.’

By word order: **Ambonese Malay** (Austronesian, Indonesia)

- (7) *Dorang cari betang konco.*
3PL search.for my friend
‘They’re looking for my friend.’
- (8) *Betang konco su-bajaang.*
my friend PF-walk
‘My friend walked away.’
- (9) *Su-jato betang konco.*
PF-fall my friend
‘My friend has fallen over.’

Morphological splits in marked alignment

Common for systems with ergative components, while splits involving an S,A component tend to be restricted to S,A agreement, and different case marking. And they’re complicated.

- no reported cases of word order varying to show a split?

Head versus dependant

In **Warlpiri** (Pama-Nyungan, Australia) we can see that the presence of the ergative *-rlu* on *ngarrkajarra* in (10) does not affect its ability to show nominative agreement on the verb, just as is found with *ngarrkajarra* in (11).

- (10) *Ngarrka-jarra-rlu ka-pala-jana wawirri-patu nya-nyi.*
Man-DUAL-ERG PRES-3DU.NOM-3PL.ACC kangaroo-PLURAL see-NONPAST
‘The two men see the several kangaroos.’
- (11) *Ngarrka-jarra ka-pala parnka-mi.*
man-DUAL PRES-3DU.NOM run-NONPAST
‘The two men are running.’

Control clauses mark the kind of coreference shared with the main clause: S,A=S,A, P=S,A, or (else)=S,A.

Main versus subordinate

Mam (Mayan, Guatemala; England 1983) has an erg-abs agreement system in main clauses, and a neutral system in subordinate clauses. Other related languages use the agreement morphemes in a nominative-accusative pattern in subordinate clauses (England 1983: 262).

Table 2. Main/Subordinate splits in alignment in Mamic languages

Language		A	S	P
Ixil	main	ERG	ABS	ABS
	dependent	ERG	ERG	ABS
Aguacatec	main	ERG	ABS	ABS
	dependent ₁	ERG	ERG	ABS
	dependent ₂	ERG	ERG	ERG
Mam	main	ERG	ABS	ABS
	dependent	ERG	ERG	ERG

- (12) *Ma ch-ok t-b'iyo-7n Cheep kab' xiinaq.*
 REC 3PL.ABS-DIR 3SG.ERG-hit-DS José two man
 'José hit two men.'
- (13) *N-chi ooq' [t-poon ky-txuu7].*
 PROG-3PL.ABS cry 3SG.ERG-arrive 3PL-mother
 'They were crying when their mother arrived.'
- (14) *O tzaalaj xjaal t-i7j t-paa*
 PAST 3SG.ABS:be.happy person 3SG-about 3SG-bag
 [*aj t-kan-eet priim-x*].
 when 3SG.ERG-find-PASS early-ENCL
 'The person was happy about his bag when it was found early.'
- (15) *Ok go tzaalaj-al [ok t-q-il u7j t-e*
 POT 1PL.ABS be.happy-POT when 3SG.ERG-1PL.ERG-see book 2SG-POSS
yool t-e I7tzal].
 word 3SG-POSS Ixtahuacán
 'We will be happy when we see the Ixtahuacán dictionary.'

TAM-dependant

Sindhi (Indo-European, Pakistan) (and many other languages) shows an ergative pattern only in perfective or past clauses.

- (16) *Maa maani khaaiDu-le vaTha tho.*
 1SG.NOM chappati eat.INF-for buyFUT.MASC
 'I am going to buy the chappati to eat.'
- (17) *Moo maani khaiDu-le vartee.*
 1SG.OBL chappati eat.INF-for buy.PERF.FEM
 'I bought the chappati to eat.'

Person- and tense-dependant

Iha (West Bomberai, Indonesia) shows a split in case marking on local pronouns. In past tenses the singular pronouns, shown in table 1, can be used in a 'stative-active' way.

Table 3. Case distinctions in Iha past tenses

	A	Sa	Sp	P
1SG	<i>on</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>on/ni</i>	<i>ni</i>
2SG	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko/ki</i>	<i>ki</i>
3SG	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ndo</i>
1PL.EX: <i>mbi</i> , 1PL.IN: <i>in</i> , 2PL: <i>ki</i> , 3PL: <i>mi</i>	(invariant)			
Common nouns	<i>kabágat</i>	<i>kabágat</i>	<i>kabágat</i>	<i>kabágat</i>

Third person A

- (18) *Mi kalípan mɲgbréhe-bija.* (19) * *Ndo kalípan mɲgbréhe-bija.*
 3 mat weave.mat-PRES.3 3SG.P
 ‘He/She is weaving a mat.’

Bivalent clause

- (20) *Kpyémbot on ndo kpáke-bon.*
 yesterday 1SG 3SG.P fight-PAST.1SG
 ‘I fought her/him yesterday.’
- (21) *Kpyémbot on mi kpáke-bon.*
 yesterday 1SG 3 (PL only; *3SG) fight-PAST.1SG
 ‘I fought them/(her/him) yesterday.’

Agentive verb, past

- (22) *Kebér on on-ma kpéh néngak ha-wahá-ɲge.*
 just.then 1SG 1SG-POSS village towards climb-go-IRR
 ‘I wanted to go back up to my village just then.’
- (23) * *Kebér ni onma kpéh néngak hawaháɲge.*

Non-agentive verb, past

- (24) *Kpyémbot on mɲgbahúrmbon.* (25) *Kpyémbot ni mɲgbahúrmbon.*
 yesterday 1SG fall-PAST.1SG 1SG.P
 ‘Yesterday I fell over.’
- (25) *Kpyémbot mi mɲgbahúr-mbih.* (27) * *Kpyémbot ndo mɲgbahúrmbih.*
 yesterday 3 fall-PAST.3 3SG.P
 ‘Yesterday s/he fell over.’

Non-agentive verb, non-past

- (28) *On mɲgbahúrnten.* (29) * *Ni mɲgbahúrnten.*
 1SG fall-FUT.1SG 1SG.P
 ‘I’m going to fall over.’

3 Constructions, pivots, and alignment

Often a language that has an ergative morphological system will show a different alignment in terms of syntax (the opposite, morphological accusativity and syntactic ergativity, is also, but rarely, attested).

Commonly attested dimensions of morphology/syntax splits:

- coordination almost always (universally?) selects an **S,A** pivot as the unmarked case;

- constructions that are close to the verb syntactically or semantically (such as suppletive verb stems, resultatives, or potentially floating quantifiers) tend to have an **S,P** pivot;

Ergative morphology, accusative pivots

- Common; **Warlpiri**, seen earlier, has ergative case, but intraclausal syntax consistently marks S,A as being distinct from P.

Accusative morphology, ergative pivots

- Rarely attested; **Oirata**, from south-eastern Indonesia (de Josselin de Jong 1937, Donohue and Brown 1998).
- nominative-accusative alignment on the pronouns;
- a nominative-accusative/stative-active alignment in the switch-reference system;
- but relativisation applies only to the S or P argument.

- (30) *In-te ee asi.* (31) *Ee-te in asi-ho.*
 1PL.EX-NOM 2SG.POL see 2SG.POL-NOM 1PL.EX see-NEG
 ‘We saw you.’ ‘You didn’t see us.’
- (32) *An-te ete na’a ipa.* (33) *In-te Ahum na’a ma’u.*
 1SG-NOM roof OBL fall 1PL.EX-NOM Ambon OBL come
 ‘I fell off the roof.’ ‘We arrived from Ambon.’

The switch-reference morphology also monitors S,A in the first clause being coreferential or not to an (A+Sa) vs (Sp+P) in the second clause.

- (34) *In-te ihar asi-le — lalare.*
 1PL.EX-NOM dog see-SAME — walk
 ‘We_i saw a dog and then \emptyset _i walked (away).’
- (35) *In-te ihar asi-to — tipare.*
 1PL.EX-NOM dog see-DIFFERENT — flee
 ‘We_i saw a dog_j and then \emptyset _j ran off.’
 * ‘We_i saw a dog_j and then later \emptyset _i ran away.’
- (36) *In-te et e ia’a iamoi-le — ipa.*
 1PL.EX-NOM roof on climb-SAME — fall
 ‘We_i climbed onto the roof and straight away \emptyset fell off.’
- (37) *In-te ete ia’a iamoi-to — ipa.*
 1PL.EX-NOM roof on climb-DIFFERENT — fall
 ‘We_i climbed up onto the roof and (after a while) (when we were up there) fell off.’
- (38) *Ira eme modo ina-to tutu.*
 water take child give-DIFFERENT drink
 ‘Give the child some water to drink.’

Relative clause: suffix the verb with *-n*, and optionally mark the non-head core argument in the possessive case, if pronominal (1SG.POSS: *an*).

- (39) [NP *Ihar* [*an-te asi-n*]] *tipare.*
 dog 1SG-NOM see-REL flee
 ‘The dog that I saw left.’

- (40) *In-te* [NP *ihar* [*mara-n*]] *asi*.
1PL.EX-NOM dog go-REL see
'We saw the dog that had left.'
- (41) * *An-te* [NP *modo* [*ira* *tutu-n*]] *asi*.
1SG-NOM child water drink-REL see
'I saw the child that had drunk the water.'
- (42) *An-te modo asi-to ira tutu*.
1SG-NOM child see-DIFFERENT water drink
'I saw the child and he/she drank the water.'
'I saw the child drinking the water.'
'I saw the child who was drinking the water.'
- (43) * [*Ihar* [(*ani* / *an*) *asi-n*]] *mara*.
dog 1SG.ACC 1SG.POSS see-REL go
'The dog that saw me left.'
- (44) *Ihar ani asi-le mara*.
dog 1SG.ACC see-SR go
'The dog_i saw me_j and Ø_i left.'
(or, to give a discursively equally valid translation or two: 'Seeing me, the dog left.', or equally, 'The dog that saw me left.')

- **Eastern Pomo** McLendon (1978) describes the case marking and switch reference as having a 'stative-active' alignment.

- (45) *Há mí-pal ša-k'a*.
1SG.A 3SG.M.P killed
'I killed him.'
- (46) *Há wá-du-kìya*. (47) *Wí c'e-xélka*.
1SG.A going 1SG.P slipping
'I'm going.' 'I'm slipping.'
- (48) *Há káluhu-y, si-má mérqaki-hi*.
1SG.A went.home-SAME went.to.bed
'I went home and then went to bed.'
- (49) *Há káluhu-qan, mí-p' mérqaki-hi*.
1SG.A went.home-DIFFERENT 3SG.M.A went.to.bed
'I went home and then he went to bed.'
- (50) *Há xá qákki-qan, wi q'a-lál ɬa-la*.
1SG.A take.bath-DIFFERENT 1SG.A got.sick
'I went home and then I got sick.'

- *not* Central Pomo, which shows event-reference tracking, not (strictly) participant reference tracking (Mithun 1993); Lani, and probably other New Guinea languages, show shades of Central Pomo analysis, though while Central Pomo seems to favour SAME marking, the New Guinea languages favour DIFFERENT marking.
- **Aceh**. Durie (1988) reports that there are no reasons to group Sa and Sp together in terms of their behaviour in discourse.

Palu'e (Austronesian, Indonesia) has no case marking for core arguments. Active clausal order is AVP/SV, showing a nominative/accusative pattern, and there is an incipient 1SG.NOM clitic

agreement marker (though no others). The subject is the S,A argument in the clause (Donohue 2005). Adverbial clauses show ‘stative-active’ syntax.

- (51) *Konen lie-'u kau.* (52) *Kau konen lie-'u.*
 3PL see-PERF 2SG 2SG 3PL see-PERF
 ‘They have seen you.’ ‘You were seen by them.’
- (53) *Konen pana-'u.* (54) *Konen tuli-'u.*
 3PL go-PERF 1SG sleep-PERF
 ‘I have gone.’ ‘They have (fallen) asleep.’
- (55) *Ak-lie-'u kau.* (56) *Ak-pana-'u.* (57) **Kau lie-'u-ak.*
 1SG-see-PERF 2SG 1SG-go-PERF 2SG see-PERF-1SG
 ‘I have seen you.’ ‘I have gone.’ ‘You have seen me.’

There are two ways to mark adjunct clauses. One involves an separate lexical item preceding the verb, the other involves a proclitic; these are shown in (58) and (59). With **weather or natural force** predicates (the class of predicates which require the subject *ene*) either marker of subordination may be used.

- (58) *Oma ura, ene ngile.* (59) *Ene ngile ura-se.*
 while rain it lightning it lightning rain-PROX
 ‘While it was raining, lightning struck.’ ‘Lightning struck while it was raining.’

With subjects other than *ene* there are restrictions on the use of these two subordinators. If the subordinate verb is **bivalent**, the referent in the main clause is to the P; if the subordinate clause is clause-initial, it can also be interpreted as modifying the subject.

- (60) *Aku lie ana oma ka uwi kaju.*
 1SG see child while eat cassava
 ‘I_i saw the child; while Ø_j was eating cassava.’
- (61) *Aku lie ana ka-se uwi kaju.*
 1SG see child eat-PROX cassava
 ‘I_i saw the child; while Ø_j was eating cassava.’

When the subordinate clause is monovalent the enclitic can only appear on a controlled verb (that is, one with an Sa). The elided subject of a subordinate clause marked by *oma* can only be interpreted as the main clause object if the subordinate verb is **controlled**, but is ambiguous if the subordinate verb is **uncontrolled**.

- (62) *Aku lie ana oma nodo.* (63) *Aku lie ana oma putu.*
 1SG see child while sit 1SG see child while sick
 ‘I_i saw the child; while Ø_j was sitting.’ ‘I_i saw the child; while Ø_{i/j} (was) sick.’
- (64) *Aku lie an a nodo-se.* (65) **Aku lie ana putu-se.*
 1SG see child sit-PROX 1SG see child sick-PROX
 ‘I_i saw the child; while Ø_i sitting.’ ‘I_i saw the child; while being sick.’
 (Only interpretable if I am purposefully being sick)

Control by the **transitive subject of an uncontrolled predicate** is only possible with *oma* (passive subjects cannot control or be controlled).

- (66) *Aku tei cewo bata-mo oma pela ana.*
 1SG forget word-2GEN while watch child
 ‘I forgot what you said while watching the child.’

(67) * *aku tei cewo bata-mo oma pela-se ana*

4 Morphology, syntax, and stative-active phenomena

- being morphologically aligned one way does not tell you anything about ‘syntactic alignment’ (this is not news; Li and Lang 1979, Van Valin 1981 reach the same conclusions). Nor is there any implicational relationship between morphology and syntax.

Table 4. Morphology and syntax

	NOM-ACC syntax	non-[NOM-ACC] syntax
NOM-ACC morphology	very common	very, very uncommon
non-[NOM-ACC] morphology	common(ish)	very uncommon

- but what is this split thing?

(68) active Proto-Agent eventive unergative controlled Sa Initial-1 agentive unaffected external argument Actor	stative Proto-Patient stative unaccusative non-controlled / uncontrolled Sp Initial-2 nonagentive affected internal argument Undergoer	(cf., Hopper and Thompson: Participants Kinesis Aspect Punctuality Volitionality Affirmation Mode Agency Affectedness of O Individuation of O ...)
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5 Three-way splits (?), and beyond ...

The obvious way to have a three-way split: have three (or more) different ways of marking S. This probably precludes simple order-with-respect-to-verb, such as seen in Ambonese Malay earlier, from being a contender. Three-way splits tend to be head-marking, and tend to be split in terms of some other parameter.

Warekena

- a three-way split in S, but no semantic differences in the coding of As or Ps.

Warekena (Brazil, Maipuran: Aikhenvald 1998: 229-230)

Bivalent clause: AVP

Monovalent clauses: VS

- (69) *wa-hã wafi yut/jia-hã ema.* (70) *fupe-hẽ fiani-pe.*
 then-PAUSAL jaguar kill-PAUSAL tapir many-PAUSAL child-PL
 ‘Then the jaguar killed the tapir.’ ‘Children are many.’

SV

[pp S] V

- (71) *peya nu-yaʒitua wiyua.* (72) *nu-yue mawali.*
 One 1SG-brother die 1SG-forhungry (pro-drop of
 ‘One of my brothers dies.’ ‘I am hungry.’ a 3SG cause? See 6)

Muskogean and Yapen

Languages of the Muskogean family (Choctaw, Chickasaw, Mikasuki, Koasati, Alabama; USA, southeast), and at least Saweru of the Yapen family (Indonesia; Jones 1986, Donohue 2001, 2004) show a three-way distinction in Ss, but also have more than one way to mark an A or a P.

Table 5. Marking possibilities in Muskogean or Yapen languages

S can be:	If A is then P can be:
NOM	NOM	ACC, DAT
ACC	ACC	ACC, DAT
DAT	–	

Muskogean languages have optional (to various degrees) nominative case marking for S or A; Yapen languages have optional (to different degrees) ergative marking for A. Muskogean languages show a switch-reference system that monitors (according to majority opinion) identity of S,A.

Saweru: Transitive

- (73) a. *Mo=na-ba-i.*
3SG.F.NOM=2SG.GEN-hit-TNS
'She hit you.'
- b. *No=ra-ba-i.*
2SG.NOM=3SG.F.GEN-hit-TNS
'You hit her.'

Intransitive

- (74) a. *Mo=rayan-i.*
3SG.F.NOM=swim-TNS
'She swam.'
- b. *Ra-teson-i.*
3SG.F.GEN-diarrhoea-TNS
'She has diarrhoea.'

Optional case marking restricted to As

- (75) a. *Arian-o ruama mo=rama-e a-ba-i.*
child-DEP woman 3SG.F.NOM=man-DEF 3SG.M.GEN-hit-TNS
'The girl hit the man.'
- b. *Arian-o ruama mo=wo rama-e a-ba-i.*
child-DEP woman 3SG.F.NOM=ERG man-DEF 3SG.M.GEN-hit-TNS
'The girl hit the man.'
- c.* *arian-o ruama mo=wo raya(n)-man-i yawan=ai*
child-DEP woman 3SG.F.NOM=ERG swim-seaward-TNS reef=DAT
'The girl swam to the reef.'

Dative agreement

- (76) a. *Manano-inai.*
lonely-1SG.DAT
'I'm lonely.'
- b. *Mo=komi-inai.*
3SG.F.NOM=look.for-1SG.DAT
'She looked for me.'

Non-nominative verbs

- (77) a. *Ra-meme-inai.*
3SG.F.GEN-think.of-1SG.DAT
'She's thinking of me.'
- b. *Ra-ne-na-mari.*
3SG.F.GEN-forget-2SG.GEN-forget
'She forgot about you.'

Koasati: intransitive

- (78) a. *ał:ya-l*
go-1SG.NOM
'I go.'
- b. *ał-cí:y*
go<2SG.NOM>
'You go.'
- (*há:lon* 'hear', *ó:tin* 'gather', *í:sin* 'take one thing', etc.)
- (79) a. *ca-ficcák*
1SG.ACC-be.jealous
'I am jealous.'
- b. *ci-ficcák*
2SG.ACC-be.jealous
'You are jealous.'
- (*íllin* 'die', *okoyá:pan* 'be lonely', (*i*)*llhó:sin* 'be lost, forget', *támmin* 'fall down')
- (80) a. *am-aká:n*
1SG.DAT-be.hungry
'I am hungry.'
- b. *cim-aká:n*
2SG.DAT-be.hungry
'You are hungry.'
- (*hópan* 'be.hurt/be.sick', *ayóhkin* 'feel.acrophobia')
- (81) *mán haci-hí:ca-li-laho-∇*
again 2PL.ACC-see-1SG.NOM-IRR-phrase.final
'I will see you all again.'
- (82) *cim-há:lo-li-laho-∇*
2SG.DAT-hear/obey-1SG.NOM-IRR-phrase.final
'I will obey you.'

- **Nuaulu** (Austronesian, Indonesia; Bolton 1990: 36-42): prefixal agreement for A or S is obligatory; suffixal agreement for P or Sp is obligatory and optional for a third kind of S, an 'intradirective' argument, in which the S is both agent and theme.

Transitive

- (83) a. *U-sosa-i.*
1SG-rub-3SG
'I'm shining it.'
- b. *Ina-ku i-hita-ku.*
mother-1SG.POSS 3SG-hit-1SG
'My mother hit me.'

Intransitive: active, stative

Prefix for both Sa and Sp, suffix obligatory for Sp

- (84) a. *U-anamana.*
1SG-speak
'I'll speak.'
- b. *U-ampeta-ku.*
1SG-wet-1SG
'I am wet.'

Intransitive: intradirective

Prefix obligatory, suffix optional

- (85) a. *U-eu ria.*
1SG-go inland
'I'll go inland.'
- b. *Ia i-hoka-i tewa.*
3SG 3SG-go-3SG NEG
'He didn't come.'

Haida

- only two ways to code Ss, but some verbs alternate between the 'agentive' and 'objective' patterns. The same split is found with As (Enrico 2003).

Table 6. Haida singular free pronominal coding

	‘agentive’	‘objective’
1SG	<i>Hlaa</i>	<i>dii</i>
2SG	<i>Daa</i>	<i>dang</i>
1PL	<i>t'allng</i>	<i>7iitl'</i>
2PL	<i>dallng</i>	<i>dallng</i>
3	<i>7a</i>	<i>7aa</i>

Table 7. Haida three-way coding split

	Intransitive	Transitive
agentive subject	<i>rad</i> ‘run’, <i>srayhla</i> ‘cry’, <i>kusad</i> ‘fart’, <i>qaa</i> ‘come/go’,	<i>qing</i> ‘see, look at’, <i>da.a</i> ‘have, keep’, <i>qii.a</i> ‘find, receive’
objective subject	<i>skaak'shda</i> ‘hiccup’, <i>dladahlda</i> ‘fall down’, <i>sk'al.aaw</i> ‘have diarrhea’, <i>q'i.id</i> ‘remember PP’, <i>kaa.àyda</i> ‘feel and act playful’	<i>q'ala</i> ‘be unaquainted with’, <i>gyaa7alaa</i> ‘resemble’, <i>gu'laa</i> ‘like’
agentive/objective subject	<i>skin.ang</i> ‘keep waking up’, <i>hats'asaa</i> ‘sneeze’, <i>q'anda</i> ‘belch’, <i>7anngung</i> ‘be curious about PP’	<i>tlagang</i> ‘vomit up’

- (86) (*Daa/Dang*)-gu *rii* *q'i.id?*
 you.AGT/you.OBJ-Q (it-)PP remember
 ‘Do you remember it?’

Some verbs vary from Masset to Skidegate dialect:

Table 8. Haida three-way coding split

	Masset	Skidegate
<i>sk'al.aaw</i> ‘have diarrhea’	objective	agentive/objective
<i>q'anda</i> ‘belch’	agentive/objective	agentive
<i>q'usahlda</i> ‘cough’	agentive	agentive/objective

- These systems do *not* have one way to mark A, with some Ss marked in the same manner, and one way to mark P, with some other Ss marked in that manner. Rather, the marking system allows for a split in As and (in Muskogean and Yapen) a split in Ps. What we have is a coding system that is much more sensitive to semantic distinctions everywhere than is one that really cares about A, S and P.
- split-intransitivity, or simply semantically-explicit marking?
 is there a principled difference between the two labels?

and if that’s OK, then ...

Icelandic?

- empirically, there’s a four-way split in Ss in Icelandic, and a three-way split for As, four-way (though restricted by the A) for Ps, shown by case-marking on the nominals.

Table 8. Marking possibilities in Icelandic

S can be:	If A is then P can be:
NOM	NOM	ACC, ACC, DAT, GEN
ACC	ACC	NOM, ACC, DAT, (GEN)
DAT	DAT	NOM, ACC, GEN
GEN	–	(NOM)

- is this the same kind of thing as is found in, say, Warekena or Waris? Why (/not)?

Tagalog?

Verbs show one affix, which indexes the subject status of a particular participant in the clause. Ignoring, unmotivatedly, the fact that many of these same affixes are also used to index a D (the *in*).

Table 9. Verbal affixation and syntactic roles in Tagalog

A	S	P
<i>magluto</i> 'cook'	<i>magbus</i> 'catch a bus'	
<i>humuli</i> 'catch'	<i>dumating</i> 'arrive'	
<i>manganak</i> 'bear a child'	<i>mamundok</i> 'live in the mountains'	
<i>makalimot</i> 'forget'	<i>makaraos</i> 'be over'	
<i>matuto</i> 'learn'	<i>mabingi</i> 'become deaf'	<i>makita</i> 'see'
	<i>malamigan</i> 'feel cold'	<i>malimutan</i> 'forget'
	<i>pawisan</i> 'sweat'	<i>hawakan</i> 'hold'
	<i>ikaway</i> 'wave a hand'	<i>iluto</i> 'cook'
	<i>antukin</i> 'feel sleepy'	<i>hiniwa</i> 'cut'
		<i>ipagtiis</i> 'endure'
		<i>pakinggan</i> 'listen to'

6 A split in 'intransitives'? Why think it's an S?

- **Tanglapui:** a split in the intransitives by using the inverse marking on verbs with affected Ps or SpS (Donohue 1996).

Transitive: non-affected and affected P

- (87) a. *Ya-di-a.*
2SG-see-ASP
'You saw (her/him/it).'
- b. *Ya-baba.*
2SG-hit
'You hit (her/him/it).'

- (88) a. *Di-a.*
see-ASP
'(He/It/She) saw (you/her/him/it).'
- b. *Ya-na-baba.*
2SG-INVERSE-hit
'(He/It/She) hit you.'

Intransitive: non-affected and affected S

- (89) a. *Ya-ve*
2SG-go
'You went.'
- b. *Ya-na-tansi.*
2SG-INVERSE-fall
'You fell.'
(“it fell you” ?)

- and if that's allowed, then what about ...

Tobelo (West Papuan, Indonesia; Holton 2003)

- (90) a. *To-ni-gohara.*
1SG.A-2SG.P-hit
'I hit you.'
- b. *No-hi-gohara.*
2SG.A-1SG.P-hit
'You hit me.'
- (91) a. *Ngohi-o to-lio.*
1SG-also 1SG.A-return
'I also returned home.'
- b. *I-hi-pehaka.*
3-1SG.P-wet
'I am wet.'

Skou (Skou, Indonesia)

- (92) a. *Oe pe ke=láng.* b. *Ni lóengritue e tue.*
burp 3SG.F 3SG.NF=burp 1SG snot 3SG.F.do 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do
'She burped.' 'I'm full of snot.'
(Literally, '(A) burp burped her.'; verb very similar to 'hit (FEM.OBJ)')

Tauya (Papua New Guinea; Trans New Guinea, MacDonald 122, 199)

- (93) *Na-ra awa na-pi-pe na-ʔisafe-a-ʔa.*
2SG-TOP father 2SG-GEN-BEN 2SG.P-angry-3SG.S/A-IND
'You're angry at your father.'
- (94) *Ya-sepame-ti-a-ʔa.*
1SG.P-sick-INTENS-3SG.S/A-IND
'I am really sick.'

Warembori (Austronesian (?), Donohue 1999a: 41-42)

- (95) *Mongge-na ban-e-o.* (96) *Doro-pai-tan-e-o.*
snot-PL make-1SG.P-IND rain-affect-APPL-1SG.P-IND
'(My nose) is running with snot.' 'I got soaked by the rain.'
- (97) *A-vaitumban-e-o.*
1SG-tired-1SG.P-IND
'I'm tired.'

Tukang Besi (Austronesian, Central Indonesia: Donohue 1999b: 96, 134)

- (98) *No-motiti=aku te 'oloo s<um>io.*
3R-dry=1SG.P CORE sun afternoon.SI
'I dried in the afternoon sun.'
- (99) *No-raho=kami te wande.*
3R-affect=1PA.P CORE wind
'We were tossed about in the wind.'

- (100) *O-raho*=*'e te watu.* (101) *To-langke-nono'o-ngkita.*
 3R-affect=3P CORE stone 1PL.R-sail-be.six-1PL.NUM.P
 'He banged himself on a stone.' 'Six of us went sailing.'

Ndjébbana (Australia; MacKay 2000: 270, 272)

- (102) *Barakangka nga-nó-ra.* (103) *Mangúya ka-ddjúwa ka-nó-ra.*
 worn.out 1MIN.S-sit-CTP throat 3MIN.S-suffer 3MIN.S-sit-CTP
 'I'm worn out.' 'I'm really sad.'

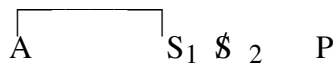
Dutch

- (104) *Het is mij te koud.* (105) *Ik voel me niet goed.*
 it is 1SG.ACC too cold 1SG.NOM feel 1SG.ACC not good
 'I'm cold.' 'I don't feel well.'
- (106) *Mij lijkt-t het niet gezellig.*
 1SG.ACC strike-2/3SG it not 'cozy'
 'I find it impersonal.'
 'It feels sterile to me.'

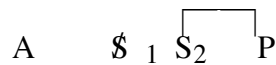
7 A split in 'intransitives'? Why think it's *just* an S?

Easy ways of splitting S, aligning with A or P

Only agentive marked



Only nonagentive marked

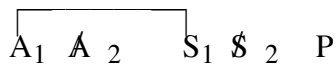


Both agentive and nonagentive marked

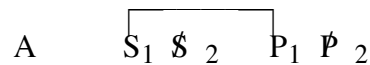


Some sneaky ways of splitting S

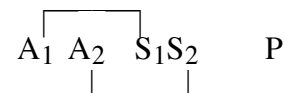
Only *some* nominative marked



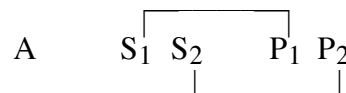
Only *some* absolutive marked



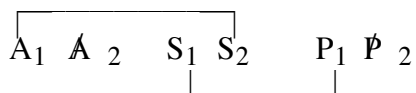
Two kinds of nominative marked



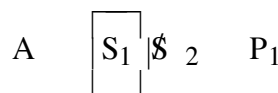
Two kinds of absolutive marked



Some nominative and some absolutive marked



Just some Ss marked, unlike A or P



- **Kolana**: three-way split in absolutive agreement on the verb, separate ergative pronouns (obligatory in any A NPs) (Donohue 2004b).

Transitive

Intransitive

- (107) a. *Neta g(a)-poin.* b. *N(a)-tati.*
 1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS.I-hit 1SG.ABS.I-stand
 'I hit her/him.' 'I stood up.'

- (108) a. *Neta gai-suai.*
1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS.II-stab
'I stabbed her/him.'
- b. *Nai-lalan*
1SG.ABS.II-fever
'I have a fever.'
- (109) a. *Neta gadi-modo.*
1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS.III-discard
'I discarded it.'
- b. *Nadi-wiri.*
1SG.ABS.III-cold
'I'm cold.'

The limits of 'split-intransitivity'

- **English:** not all Ps are encoded in the same manner
- (110) *The police shot at the robbers.* [+ agentive], [± affected]
 (111) *The police shot the robbers.* [± agentive], [+ affected]
 (112) *The police looked at the robbers.* [+ agentive]
 (113) *The police saw the robbers.* [- agentive]
- the semantic factors that underly the choice of transitive verb classes are the same as those that we find in 'stative-active' systems (Blume 1998, Testelec 1998, Tsunoda 1981, 1985, 1999, and in passing Donohue 1998).

Table 10. (Pseudo-)transitive verb types (adapted from Testelec 1998)

	Control	Affectedness	Examples
I	A, P	–	<i>speak to</i>
II	A, P	A, P	<i>fight with</i>
III	A > P	–	<i>ask, threaten</i> <i>follow, meet</i> <i>agree, resist</i>
IV	A	P	<i>make, write</i>
V	A	P > A	<i>pull, take</i>
VI	A	((A))	<i>praise, search</i>
VII	–	A, P	<i>stick to</i>
VIII	–	A (?)	<i>see, depend on</i>

- **Muna** (Austronesian, Indonesia; van den Berg 1989) has three sets of S,A agreement prefixes, *a ae* and *ao* class, which have strong correlations to verb type. The singular pronominal forms are:

Table 11. Pronominal sets in Muna

	S, A (realis set)			Free	P	P ₂	POSS
	A	AE	AO				
1SG	<i>a-</i>	<i>ae-</i>	<i>ao-</i>	<i>inodi</i>	<i>-kanau</i>	<i>-kanau</i>	<i>-ku</i>
2SG	<i>o-</i>	<i>ome-</i>	<i>omo-</i>	<i>inintu</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-angko</i>	<i>-mu</i>
3SG	<i>no-</i>	<i>ne-</i>	<i>no-</i>	<i>anoa</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-ane</i>	<i>-no</i>

'active S' 'bivalent' 'stative S'

- (114) a. *Ne-rabu nuhua*
3SG.R.AE-make pitcher
'She is making a pitcher.'
- b. *No-rabu-e*
3SG.R.A-make-3SG.P
'She is making it.'
- c. * *Ne-rabu-e*

Definiteness shift: *ae*-class verbs shift to *a*-class when the object is definite

- (115) a. *Ae-ghondo-hi doi* 1SG.R.AE-look-TR money
'I am looking for money.'
b. *A-ghondo-hi ihintu* 1SG.R.A-look-TR 2SG
'I am looking for you.'
- (116) a. *Ne-ala-mo kapulu* 3SG.R.AE-take-PF machete
'He took a machete.'
b. *No-ala-mo kapulu-no* 3SG.R.A-take-PF machete-3SG.POSS
'He took his machete.'
- (117) a. *Ae-gholi-angko pae* 1SG.R.AE-buy-2SG.DAT rice
'I buy rice for you.'
b. *A-gh<um>oli-angko-e* 1SG.I.A-buy-2SG.DAT-3SG.P
'I will buy it for you.'

Object incorporation: intransitivisation

- (118) a. *Ae-mooru bheta* 1SG.R.AE-weave sarong
'I am weaving a sarong.'
b. *A-mooru-bheta* 1SG.R.A-weave-sarong
'I am sarong-weaving.'
- (119) a. *De-hulo rusa* 3PL.R.AE-hunt deer
'They are hunting deer.'
b. *Do-hulo(-rusa)* 3PL.R.A-hunt(-deer)
'They are (deer-)hunting.'

- **Toba** (Argentina and Brazil, Guaykuruan: Manelis Klein 2001), has three prefixes that can mark an S or an A;
 - just as Kolana can be characterised as a three-way split *absolute*, Toba be thought of as behaving a three-way split-*nominative* system, but with complications:

Set II is the most common set; set III is only found with three verbs, 'be afraid', 'want to go', and 'reach for'. Set I is complex, and is used for predicates that involve some level of (loosely termed) 'centrifugal activity': 'direction inward toward the body', '**reflexivity, patient orientation**' or '**reciprocity**'

Table 12. Singular agreement prefixes in Toba

	I	II	III
1SG	<i>ña ñe ñi</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>ja ji</i>
2SG	<i>ʔan ʔana</i>	<i>ʔaw ʔawa ʔa(ri)</i>	<i>ʔar ʔara ʔari ʔana</i>
3SG	<i>n na</i>	<i>r ri Ø ya yi</i>	<i>na n</i>
± POSSESSIVE			

- (120) *ña-pilottak* 1SG.I-wash
'I'm washing (myself).'
- (121) *s-iyogon* 1SG.II-wash.feet
'I wash my feet.'
- (122) *ñi-waGataget so-širaGawa.* 1SG.I-am.fighting CL-several.people
'I was fighting with several people (and they were fighting with me).'
- (123) *so-waGataget* 1SG.II-am.fighting
'I'm hitting someone (with something like a whip, an outward motion).'

- (124) *hayem ña-paGana naraqšilaqtak*
 I 1SG.I-educate white.man's.tongue
 'I study Spanish.'
- (125) *hayem sa-paGanek naraqšilaqtak*
 I 1SG.II-educate white.man's.tongue
 'I speak Spanish.'

So 'stative-active' is ...

- something involving a split in the morphological encoding of arguments according to some feature of the lexical semantics of the verb.
 those somethings tend to involve something to do with *agency*, *affectedness*, or *lexical aspect*.
 monovalent verbs do not have an exclusive license on variation according to these parameters; and the way these parameters are marked is often identical for both monovalent and polyvalent predicates.
- degree of affectedness can be on the highest argument of a polyvalent verb just as well as it can be on the highest (= sole) argument of a monovalent verb.
- alternations such as the conative in English, or 'quirky case' objects (or subjects) are simply a special case of the same explicit semantic marking that is found with 'stative-active' languages.

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Languages cited:

by area, approximately north-to-south and west-to-east within each area.

Europe	Acehnese	Waris
Icelandic	Muna	Tauya
Dutch	Tukang Besi	Australian
English	Palu'e	Ndjébbana
Russian	Ambonese Malay	Yindjibarndi
Caucasus	Nuaulu	Jiwarli
Kabardian	Warembori	Warlpiri
Tsova-Tush	Insular 'Papuan' (all one family)	Dyirbal
South Asia	Tanglapui	American
Sindhi	Kolana	Haida
South-East Asia	Oirata	Pomo
Thai	Galela	Muskogean (Kosati)
East Asia	Tobelo	Mam
Japanese	Yapen (Saweru)	Warekena
Austronesian	New Guinea 'Papuan' (not related)	Paumarí
Tagalog	Iha	Toba
	Skou	