

Международное  
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**Дифференцированное  
маркирование актантов:  
синтаксис и иногда морфология?**

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# Differential Argument Marking

“The broad definition of DAM:

Any kind of situation where an argument of a predicate bearing the same generalized semantic role [...] may be coded in different ways, depending on factors other than the argument role itself” (Seržant, Witzlack-Makarevich forthcoming).

“It is tacitly assumed – and perhaps correctly for the many but not all instances of DAM – that concomitant to a shift in marking of an argument, the syntactic role and, hence, **the syntactic properties of that argument do not change**” (Seržant, Witzlack-Makarevich forthcoming).

In the talk I will explore how a shift in marking of an argument **involves** the change of syntactic properties. Moreover, there are systems where the only difference in marking is syntactic.

The asymmetric systems which involve the opposition *case marked* – *non-case marked verbal argument* and the same form of the predicate most readily lend themselves to this kind of analysis.

The most common semantic/referential property of noun phrases in this case is drawn along the lines

**non-specific** vs **specific**.

## Morphology.

**Non-specific** objects are not marked for case or number whereas **specific** objects are fully marked for both case and number

Turkish (Muravyova 2008: 342)

*Dolab-a*                      **kitap** *koy-uyor-um.*

bookcase-DAT              book put-PROG-1SG

“I am putting **books** into the bookcase”

**Kitap-lar-ı**                      *dolab-a*                      *koy-uyor-um.*

book-PL-ACC              bookcase-DAT              put-PROG-1SG

“I am putting **THE books** into the bookcase”.

# Syntax 1

**non-specific** objects are immediately preverbal  
whereas **specific** objects need not be immediately  
preverbal

*Dolab-a*                      **kitab** *koy-uyor-um.*

bookcase-DAT              book put-PROG-1SG

“I am putting **books** into the bookcase”.

**Kitap-lar-ı**                      *dolab-a*                      *koy-uyor-um.*

book-PL-ACC              bookcase-DAT              put-PROG-1SG

“I am putting **THE books** into the bookcase”.

# Syntax 2

**non-specific** objects cannot support discourse anaphora whereas **specific** objects can support discourse anaphora.

a non case marked direct object is not an acceptable antecedent for a pronoun in the next sentence

## Turkish (Öztürk 2009: 336)

Non-specific objects cannot support discourse anaphora:

*\*Ali kitap okudu. Reng-i kırmızı-ydı*

Ali book read color-3PS red-PST

‘Ali did book reading. It was red.’

Specific objects can support discourse anaphora:

*Ali kitab-ı okudu. Reng-i kırmızı-ydı*

Ali book-acc read. color-3PS red-PST

‘Ali read the book. It was red.’



Actually, DOM is only part of differential argument marking in Turkish. Differential marking is available in Turkish both for themes and for agents (Öztürk 2009).

# Turkish differential subject marking

(Öztürk 2009: 335)

Preverbal non-specific subject

Köy-e **doctor** geldi.

village-dat doctor came

‘Doctors came to the village.’

Not necessarily preverbal specific subject:

**Doktor** köy-e geldi.

doctor village-dat came

‘The doctor came to the village.’

The big difference between differential object and subject marking in Turkish is that only DOM fits into the definition of differential argument marking: specific objects are case marked whereas non-specific objects are not case marked.

Specific and non-specific subjects do not differ morphologically because in Turkish there is no overt nominative case marker. But they differ syntactically exactly like specific and non-specific objects.

The first syntactic difference between specific and non-specific subjects is the linear difference between the position of the subject in the clause – in case of non-specific subjects they are immediately preverbal, in case of specific subjects they are not necessarily so.

Other syntactic differences.

Non-specific NPs do not function as syntactic arguments, even though they have full NP status

When a typical transitive construction in Turkish where the object is marked accusative (a) is passivized as in (b) what we get is a personal passive, where the object is promoted to the subject position (Öztürk 2009: 340):

a. *Ali kitab-ı oda-da oku-du.*

Ali book-ACC room-LOC read-PAST

‘Ali read the book in the room.’

b. *Kitap oda-da oku-n-du.*

book room-LOC read-PASS-PAST

‘The book was read in the room.’

(Öztürk 2009: 341).

However, passivization of non case marked themes as in (a) yields an impersonal passive construction, which is typically associated with unergatives. This suggests that under passivization the sentence in (a) is not treated as transitive but as an unergative construction. Therefore non-case marked themes are not visible as syntactic objects, but are part of predicates, which are on a par with unergatives (Öztürk 2009: 341).

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- a. *Ali oda-da [NP kitap] okudu.*  
Ali room-LOC book read  
'Ali did book reading in the room.'
- b. *Oda-da kitap oku-n-du.*  
room-LOC book read-PASS-PAST  
'Book-reading was done in the room.'
- (Öztürk 2009: 341).

The same holds good for agent incorporation.



Further evidence for the non-argument status of bare nouns in Turkish. Both non case marked theme and agent are also opaque for binding. They cannot act as syntactic binders (Öztürk 2009: 343).

a. *Ali [ç erç eve-sin-ei]<sub>j</sub> resm-i<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> koy-du.*  
Ali picture-ACC frame-3PS-DAT put-PAST  
'Ali put the picture in its/his frame.'

b. *Ali ç erç eve-sin-e\*<sub>i</sub>/<sub>j</sub> resimi koy-du.*  
Ali frame-3PS-DAT picture put-PAST  
'Ali picture-put in his/\*its frame.'

The non-argument status of bare agents is further illustrated in control structures. As seen in (a) the referential subject *polis* can control PRO, whereas the non-specific agent in (b) fails to control into the purpose clause. Furthermore, non-specific agents are not compatible with adverbs oriented towards agentive external arguments (Öztürk 2009: 344):

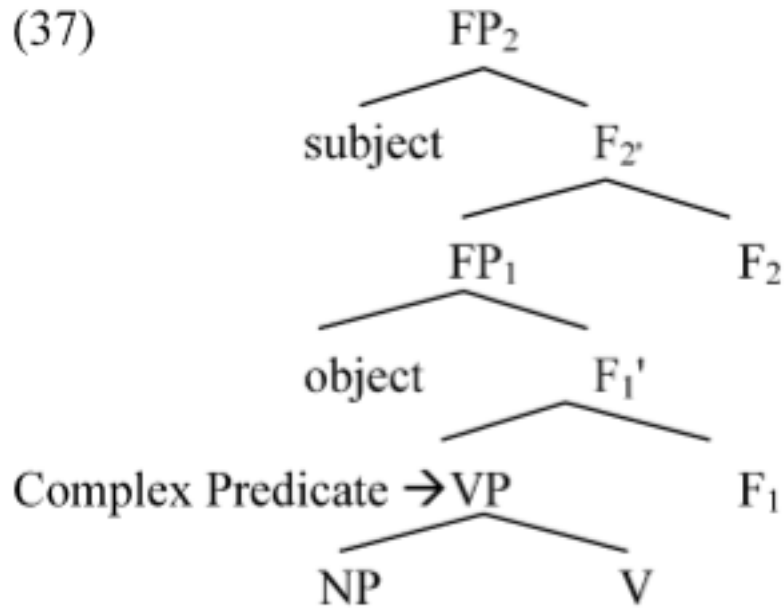
a.

*Polisi* Ali- $y_i$  kasıtlı olarak [PRO $_i$  sorgula-mak için] tutukla-dı.  
police Ali-ACC intentionally interrogate-TO for arrest-PST  
'The police arrested Ali to interrogate him.'

b.

\*Ali- $y_i$  [PRO $_i$  sorgula-mak için] kasıtlı olarak *polis*i tutukla-dı.  
Ali-ACC interrogate-to for intentionally police arrest-PST  
'Police-arresting happened to Ali to interrogate him.'

(37)



So, non-case marked NPs are a part of the complex predicate and do not function as arguments. To be interpreted as syntactic arguments, such as subjects or objects, NPs need to occur in the Spec of higher functional projections (FP) (Öztürk 2009: 346).

“We propose that case in true transitive constructions is strong and needs to be checked by merging an NP into the Spec’s of theta-role introducing functional projections. However, in pseudo-incorporation, the case feature is weak and is incompatible with referential NPs that are to be interpreted as arguments along the lines of de Hoop (1996). Thus, [Spec, ThemeP], which hosts true arguments, is not projected under pseudo-incorporation but the Theme head still bears a weak case feature to be checked. In (46) first the NP kitap “book” is merged as a sister to the lexical verb. At this point it is not associated with any theta-roles but is simply a part of the predicate. Then once the Theme head is merged, the bare noun within the verbal complex having the full NP status checks off the weak case via Agree as a Last Resort strategy, in the absence of a referential NP to be merged into [Spec, ThemeP]” (Öztürk 2009: 350).

So, what we have in Turkish is that non-specific and specific verbal arguments attest different syntactic properties irrespective of the fact whether they have different case marking or not.

The same in principle holds for other cases, e.g., Germanic object shift.

# Germanic object shift

## Same case marking different syntax

Icelandic (Bošković 2004: 717)

non-specific indefinite objects:

*Halldór	las	bækur	ekki.
Halldór	read	books	not

Halldór	las	ekki	bækur
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‘Halldór does not read books’

Specific definite objects:

Halldór	las	bækurnar	ekki.
Halldór	read	the.books	not

‘Halldór does not read the books’

In Icelandic and German non-specific direct objects are marked for case and number and are discourse transparent.

They differ only syntactically and referentially. E.g., in Icelandic “[...] ‘object shift’ in the clausal domain is accompanied by a specificity/definiteness effect. Clausal direct objects that undergo it receive a specific/definite interpretation, non-specific indefinite NPs not being able to undergo it at all.” (Bošković 2004: 717).

Case is not the feature triggering Object Shift. “Object Shift affects only a subcategory of nominal categories, namely definite, light, nonfocused nominals, and in the case of pronouns, only weak pronouns [...]. So the triggering feature seems to be a feature distinguishing between nonspecific, heavy, focused, and (for pronouns) strong nominals on the one hand, and specific, light, nonfocused, and (for pronouns) weak nominals on the other hand. I propose that the crucial feature is [ $\pm$ Foc]: Object Shift affects only nominal objects which are [-Foc]. This captures what I take to be common for Scandinavian Object Shift, Scrambling, and Clitic Movement: They move arguments which are not focused out of VP [...]” (Holmberg 1999).



So, if one defines the difference between specific and non-specific arguments in purely syntactic terms one will observe they behave to some extent similarly. Both Turkish subjects/objects and Germanic objects, if non-specific, stay low in the clause. But if they are specific, they raise out of the verbal phrase (vP). This happens irrespective of case marking.

But even in this case there are important differences: Turkish non-specific arguments are not full arguments of the verb, they are just part of the predicate.

As different from that, Germanic objects are case marked as objects and thus have to be both fully fledged verbal arguments.

A similar system is attested with symmetrical DAM in Circum-Baltic (Finnic and neighbouring Baltic and Slavic languages).

quantified object (independent partitive genitive) vs. not necessarily quantified object (accusative) in Lithuanian (Seržant 2015)

a.        *Jis iš-gėr-ė*                      *vanden-į*  
            he TELIC-drink-PST.3    water-ACC.SG  
'He drank (up) (<sup>ok</sup>the/<sup>ok</sup> some) water / water.'

b.        *Jis iš-gėr-ė*                      *vanden-s*  
            he TELIC-drink-PST.3    water.GEN.SG  
'He drank (\*the/<sup>ok</sup> some) water / water.'

“The verb ‘to drink’ subcategorizes for an accusative object in Lithuanian, as in (a), which is the default option in this language and may have both definite (or exhaustive) and indefinite (weak/‘some’) interpretation [...] However, the regular accusative marking may be overridden by the genitive case, as in (b) where the exhaustive or definite reading is no longer available. The genitive option found with indefinite-quantification reading in (b) is straightforwardly related to non-specificity, which is one of the prominent non-inherent parameters with differential object marking [...]” (Seržant, Witzlack-Makarevich forthcoming).

The later development of nominal quantification into predicate quantification (Kiparsky 1998; Seržant 2015: 357, 367-8 and passim) is of no interest to me here.

A more detailed study distinguished among the following functions of independent genitive (**Seržant 2015: 350-5**):

Decreased referentiality,  
Discourse backgroundness,  
Pseudo-partitive.

# Decreased referentiality

“Generally, a bare NP can readily have definite interpretation in these languages, as there are no grammaticalized means to mark the definiteness of an NP. However, the [independent genitive] marking blocks this interpretation, and the respective NP can only be interpreted as low referential (e.g. indefinite)” (Seržant 2015: 350).

# Discourse backgroundness

“The [independent genitive] marked argument may form with the verb a unified information-structure unit. More often than not, the whole vp is in the focus and not its [independent genitive] marked nominal. This has to do with the fact that the [independent genitives] usually do not introduce discourse topics but rather provide for background information” (**Seržant 2015: 352**).



# Pseudo-Partitive

“Pseudo-partitivity, in turn, is found when the superset does not encode a particular, discursively retrievable, delimited set but is rather extended to kind-referring NPs.” (Seržant 2015: 352).

“The [independent genitive] in Baltic and Slavic does not impose selectional restrictions on its NP such as required by the Partitive Constraint. In addition to the definite NPs it freely allows also for indefinite and non-specific, kind-referring NPs to occur in” (Seržant 2015: 354).

“The same loosening of selectional restrictions is found in Finnic. Even more, there is a tendency in this branch towards assuming only kind-referring NPs with the [independent genitive], while true partitivity (with definite supersets) tends to be encoded by means of the new partitivity marker, namely, the relative case” (Seržant 2015: 354-5).

In Finnish the objects of intrinsically bounded verbs such as *saada* “get” are partitive when they are **quantitatively indeterminate** (in particular, when they are indefinite bare plurals or mass nouns), otherwise accusative. Here the partitive in effect marks the indefiniteness of bare plural or mass noun objects (Kiparsky 1998: 3).

“The NP contrast at stake does not correspond exactly to definiteness or to any other familiar determiner feature. Formally indefinite bare plural or mass nouns do not always get assigned partitive case with verbs like “get” or “seek”. They do so only if they have a *quantitatively indeterminate* denotation” (Kiparsky 1998: 5-6).

Finnish (Kiparsky 1998: 5)

*Anu-lla on loistava-t oppilaa-t*

Anu-ADESS be-3SG brilliant-PL.ACC student-PL.ACC

“Anu has brilliant students”

*Anu-lla on loistav-i-a oppila-i-ta*

Anu-ADESS be-3SG brilliant-PL.PART student-PL.PART

“Anu has (some) brilliant students”

The first sentence means that all of Anu's students are brilliant, and implicates that everyone in some relevant comparison set has students. The second clause is indeterminate in both these respects. The contrast is approximately that of "Her students are brilliant" vs. "She has some brilliant students" (Kiparsky 1998: 5-6).

Conversely, a singular or definite NP gets the NP-related partitive if it is generic.

*Puutarhuri istutt-i*                      *kaikkialle tätä*  
gardener      plant-PST.3SG      everywhere **this.PART**  
*ruusu-a.*  
**rose-PART**

“The gardener planted **this rose** everywhere”

This rose is partitive because it means “roses of this particular kind”.

# Hittite

A pretty close parallel to the Circum-Baltic system is provided by Hittite.

Hittite is a dead Indo-European language, Anatolian group, spoken in 17–12 cc. BC on the territory of Modern day Turkey.



Hittite possesses two subsets of indefinite pronouns – existential quantifiers and NPIs:

<i>kuiški</i>	“someone”,
<i>kuitki</i>	“something”,
<i>kuwapikki</i>	“somewhere/some time”

Hittite *kuiški*-pronouns behave differently from all other verbal arguments:

they are very consistently preverbal.

(Luraghi 1990, Sidel'tsev 2002, Goedegebuure 2014, Sidel'tsev 2014, Luraghi to appear); cf. (Huggard 2014, 2015).

if the SUBJECT IS **NOT** A *kuiški*-pronoun

> CANONICAL **SOV** WORD ORDER

MH/NS (CTH 258.2) KUB 13.7 obv. i 1

[ <i>mān=ma=ašta</i>	<b><i>ant</i></b> <i>uwahḫa-š</i>	<u>LUGAL-u-n</u>
if=but=LOC	man-NOM.SG.C	king-ACC.SG.C

<i>*IŠTU*</i>	<i>DI*NI*</i>	<i>karap-[zi]</i>
from	case	raise-3SG.PRS

“[If, however], a [m]an *imped[es]* the king from (properly deciding) a law case”.

if the SUBJECT IS A *kuiški*-pronoun

> NON-CANONICAL **OSV** WORD ORDER

NH/OS (CTH 291.I.b.A) KBo 6.3+ obv. i 1

[*takku* LÚ-*an*                      *n*] *ašma*                      MUNUS-*an*  
if        man-ACC.SG.                      or                      woman-ACC.SG.C

š[*ulla*]nn[-*a*]z                      ***kuiški***                      *kuen-zi*  
quarrel-ABL                      smb.NOM.SG.C                      kill-3SG.PRS

“If **anyone** kills [a man] or a woman in a  
[quarr]el, ...”

OSV word order also appears when the subject is a contrastive focus (Goedegebuure 2003; 2009; 2014):

MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 13 obv. 3 – rev. 14

<i>nu=za</i>	<i>apēl</i>	<i>waštul</i>	<b><i>zik</i></b>
CONN=REFL his	sin.ACC.SG.N		<b>you.NOM.SG.C</b>
<i>dā-tti</i>			
take-2SG.PRS			

“**you** take upon yourself his ‘sin’”.

But even if there is a contrastive focus in a clause, the *kuiški*-pronoun is closer to the verb than the narrow focus (Goedegebuure 2014):

NH/INS (CTH 563.2) KUB 5.4 obv. i 33, 35

1. BAL andurza **kuiški** DÙ-zi ...  
rebellion inside someone.NOM.SG.C do-3SG.PRS

2. *nu* BAL *arahza=ma* **kuiški** DÙ-zi  
CONN rebellion outside=but smb.NOM.SG.C do-3SG.PRS

“(1) Will **someone** revolt inside? ... (2) Will **someone** revolt outside?”.

So the Hittite system is as follows:

An existential quantifier/NPI, or a quantifier phrase is closer to the verb than any other verbal argument, independently of its theta role or information structure status.

It has been suggested that Hittite existential quantifiers/NPIs are *in situ*, within vP, whereas all other verbal arguments raise out of vP (Huggard 2015).

I rather argue that Hittite existential quantifiers/NPIs are syntactic phasal clitics.

In Hittite existential quantifiers and NPIs are involved.

In Circum-Baltic “[independent genitive] induces an implicit quantifier ” (Seržant 2015: 368).

“[...] the morphotactic (paradigmatic) nature of the morphological marking of the implicit quantifier is the one of a case marking” (Seržant 2015: 368).

In Hittite morphology of quantifiers and other NPs is identical, it is their syntax which is different.

Now I will explore whether morphology of independent genitives/partitives vs. accusatives/nominatives correlates with differences in syntax.



# Circum-Baltic symmetric DAM system

Can the symmetric DAM system with both members of the opposition marked be accounted for along the same lines as asymmetric systems?

(de Hoop 1992): weak structural case like Finnish partitive is configurationally licensed at D-structure. Its special syntactic property is that it can only be licensed in their basic D-structure position. In consequence, NPs bearing weak structural case do not undergo scrambling. Semantically, weak structural case has the property that it induces an existential reading on the NP that bears it.

According to de Hoop, NPs that bear partitive case are predicate modifiers. NPs that bear nominative or accusative, on the other hand, are arguments, interpreted as generalized quantifiers.

de Hoop: a common construal for asymmetric systems like the Turkish one above and symmetric systems like the Finnish one. However:

(a) the Turkish system has to do with specificity, not quantitative indeterminacy;

(b) weak case in Turkish blocks scrambling, in Finnish partitive objects can scramble exactly like accusative objects;

(c) Turkish not case marked NPs are predicate modifiers whereas Finnish partitives are verbal arguments (Kiparsky 1998: 9).

Evidence for Finnish partitives being verbal arguments:

partitive objects can be conjoined with accusative objects:

*Ost-i-n lehde-n ja kirjo-j-a.*

buy-PST-1SG newspaper-**ACC.SG** and  
book-**PL-PART**

“I bought the/a newspaper and books”

(Kiparsky 1998: 9).

Siro's Law: a simple clause can have at most one object.

This generalization holds regardless of what the case of the object is. However, a clause can have an object (whether accusative or partitive) together with a predicate modifier or with any number of predicate modifiers. Thus, a partitive object is structurally parallel to an accusative object and not structurally parallel to a predicate modifier" (Kiparsky 1998: 9-10).

Partitive objects (like accusative objects) can be subjects of predication, predicate modifiers can't:

*Käytä-n      sohva-a              sänky-nä.*

use-1SG      sofa-**SG.PART**      bed-ESS

“I use the sofa as a bed.”

*\*Nuku-n      sohva-lla      sänky-nä.*

sleep-1SG      sofa-ADESS      bed-ESS

“I sleep on the sofa as a bed”.

(Kiparsky 1998: 10).

Partitive objects antecede bound anaphors under the same conditions as accusative objects. Predicate modifiers never do.

*Ve-i-n*            *vieraa-n*            *huonee-see-nsa.*  
bring-Pst-1Sg guest-SG.ACC<sub>i</sub>            room-ILLAT-3SG<sub>i</sub>  
'I brought the guest into his/her room.'

*Ve-i-n*            *viera-i-ta*            *huone-i-sii-nsa.*  
bring-PST-1SG guest-PL-PART<sub>i</sub>            room-PL-ILLAT-3PL<sub>i</sub>  
'I brought **guests** into **their** rooms.'

\**Roiskut-i-n*            *kylpyhuonee-ssa*            *seinä'-lle-en*  
splash-PST-1SG            bathroom-INESS<sub>i</sub>            wall-SG.ALL-3SG<sub>i</sub>  
"I splashed in the bathroom onto its walls" (Kiparsky 1998: 10)



So, “[s]tructurally, partitive objects are completely analogous to accusative objects, and different from adverbial modifiers or oblique objects” (Kiparsky 1998: 10).

Still, even Finnish displays syntactic difference between partitive subjects and nominative subjects.

The basic position of partitive subjects is VP-internal. They only occur with intransitive verbs, and only with the subclass of so-called PRESENTATIONAL VERBS (Kiparsky 1998: 29)

Non-presentational intransitives do not take partitive subjects, again whether they are telic, or atelic.

Syntactically, partitive subjects (and presentational subjects in general) differ from regular subjects in their word order. They appear either postverbally, or preverbally in Spec-VP position. If they are placed postverbally, and the sentence begins with a locative adverbial, the Spec-VP position can be occupied by a clitic pronoun *sitā* “it” in the partitive case (Kiparsky 1998: 30).

Cf. similarly “[...] the [partitive and independent genitive] marked subjects tend generally to occur in postverbal position in Finnish (Karlson, 1987: 77; Sands and Campbell, 2001: 257), North Russian and Lithuanian, which is an unusual position for subjects in these languages. Moreover, the [independent genitive] marked objects are almost never fronted” (Seržant 2015: 353).

These data can be accounted for as follows.

Partitive case is assigned only inside VP; NPs in Spec,IP get nominative case obligatorily. By the basic constraint of Finnish syntax that a VP can contain only a single direct internal NP argument (Siro's Law), VP-internal subjects occur only with intransitive verbs. Therefore, partitive subjects are restricted to intransitive verbs (Kiparsky 1998: 31).

“VP-internal subjects are licensed by locative arguments, which may be explicit or implicit. Verbs which have such locative arguments constitute the class of “presentational verbs”. Therefore, VP-internal subjects, and partitive subjects in particular, are restricted to presentational verbs, and can always co-occur with locatives” (Kiparsky 1998: 31).

So, again, quantificational semantics and the low position in the clause structure is what provides the common ground for the Finnish and Hittite examples, although the case marking remains different. Finnish is a prototypical case of DAM whereas Hittite is not unless we assess solely syntactic marking as relevant for DAM.