

FROM SYNTAX TO EXPONENCE: SOME CHUKCHI EVIDENCE

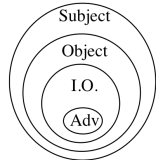
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- (1) Syntax Arg-Str → GF → LF
 ↓
 M-Case feature-filling rules on NPs
 ↓
 Agreement feature-copying rules
 ↓
 Exponence assignment of phonological content to nodes (morphemes)
- (2) Order of operations (mismatches: GF ≠ case; case ≠ agreement)
 Syntax as input to morphology: exponents spell out features at a position (morpheme)

1. CASE AND AGREEMENT

1.1 The Agreement Accessibility Hierarchy (Universal)

- (3) Moravcsik (1974) Universals:, (cf. revisions Moravcsik 1978)



If in a language the verb agrees with anything, it agrees with some or all (1978 intransitive) subjects.

If the verb agrees with anything other than subjects, it agrees with some or all direct objects

If the verb agrees with anything other than S, DO, it agrees with some or all indirect objects.

• Stated over *languages*, not sentences.

- (4) Gilligan's Survey (100 languages, Gilligan 1987)
- | | | | |
|---------------|----|--------------|-----|
| No Agreement: | 23 | IO only | 0 |
| S only: | 20 | DO only | 0 |
| S - DO: | 31 | IO, DO only | 0 |
| S - IO - DO: | 25 | S-IO, not DO | (1) |

- (5) The Agreement Hierarchy and Ergative languages:

a.	no agreement	Dyirbal, Lezgian	e.	* ERG only
b.	ABS only	Tsez, Hindi	f.	* ERG DAT, no ABS
c.	ABS ERG	Inuit, Mayan	g.	* DAT only
d.	ABS ERG DAT	Basque, Abkhaz, Chuk.	h.	(*ABS DAT, w/o ERG) [inferred]

(Murasugi 1994:147, Croft 1990, Woolford 1999)

- (6) a. ERG agreement → ABS agreement (*not encoded in (3)*) SUBJ → OBJ [!]
 b. OBJ agreement → SUBJ agreement (encoded in (3))

- (7) Ergativity: two hierarchies (Croft 1990):

a.	ABSOLUTIVE <	ERGATIVE <	DATIVE / OBLIQUE
b.	SUBJECT <	OBJECT <	INDIRECT OBJECT

- (8) The hierarchies restated (step 1: m-case)

a.	ABSOLUTIVE <	ERGATIVE <	DAT / OBLIQUE
b.	NOMINATIVE <	ACCUSATIVE <	DAT / OBLIQUE

= (7) if SUBJ = NOM; OBJ = ACC etc... (for non-ergative languages)

- (9) Case Realization Hierarchy (cf. Marantz 1991, cf. Bittner and Hale 1996)

DAT	Ditransitives, lexical case	LEXICAL
ERG = ACC	Assigned only in clauses with two eligible NPs	DEPENDENT
ABS = NOM	Assigned in clauses with only one eligible NP	UNMARKED

- (10) The Agreement Accessibility Hierarchy:

UNMARKED <	DEPENDENT <	LEXICAL/OBLIQUE
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- (11) Quirky case in support of (8b)

Non-nominative subjects (Andrews 1976, Zaenen et al. 1985, Sigurðsson 1989)
 Nominative objects (see a.o. Jónsson 1996)

Only nominative NPs agree, and agreeing nominatives need not be subjects

- (12) *Morgum studentum lífa verkið Dative subject doesn't agree
 many students.D like-PL job.N
 'Many students like the job.'

- (13) a. Jóni líkuðu þessir sokkar
 Jon.D like.PL these socks.N
 'Jon likes these socks.' (JGJ:143)
- b. Það líkuðu einhverjum þessir sokkar
 EXPL liked.PL someone.D these socks.N
 'Someone liked these socks.' (JGJ:153)
- c. Um vetrinn voru konunginum gefnar ambáttir
 In the winter were.PL the king.D given slaves.N
 'In the winter, the king was given (female) slaves.' (ZMT:112)

• b&c show agreement with the NOM object in the presence of subject-diagnostics picking out the dative ([b] Expletive-associate pairing and [c] inversion / pre-participle position)

There are additional constraints on agreement with non-subject nominatives, and variation.

(14) When case and GF diverge, it is morphological case, and not GF, that is the correct predictor of agreement in Icelandic. (Sigurðsson 1993, et seq., also Falk 1997)

Note: Icelandic on the Moravcsik (GF) hierarchy counts as an object-agreement language. It is consistent with the hierarchy, but only weakly so (must be supplemented with (14))
Bobaljik, in press: (14) is both necessary and sufficient.

Note: Two levels of m-case: syntagmatic (distribution) vs. paradigmatic (exponence)

Icelandic: Nom = “unmarked”

N	Höskuld-ur	Jón	Þór	Katrín
A	Höskuld	Jón	Þór	Katrín-u
D	Höskuld-i	Jón-i	Þór	Katrín-u

(15) a. Þór og Sif lásu bókina.
[Thor and Sif].NOM read.3PL book.THE.ACC
‘Thor and Sif read the book.’

b. Þór og Sif líkar / *líka bókin
[Thor and Sif].DAT like.3SG / *3PL book.THE.NOM
‘Thor and Sif like the book.’

(16) (Abstract Case = GF) ≠ M-Case ≠ Exponence

(17) Syntax (“Subjecthood” etc.)
↓
M-Case ← Quirky case = mismatch here
↓
Agreement if m-case is post-syntactic (Marantz 1991, McFadden 2004)
then so is agreement (Bobaljik, in press).

1.2 Aside: Accessibility + locality = Hindi-Urdu

(18) Hindi-Urdu (Mohan 1994, Kachru et al. 1976)
Agreement with the ‘highest nominative’ (else default)

(19) Aside: Agreement Domain: clausemate + object of restructuring infinitive
On Agreement Domains and Long-Distance Agreement, see Bhatt (2005), also Polinsky (2003), Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2005), Grosz and Patel (2006)

(20) -ne ⇔ “ERG” (subject of transitive [and unergative]) in the perfective
-ko ⇔ “DAT” (experiencers, goals)
and animate/specific OBJECT (whether “ABS” or “ACC”)
-Ø ⇔ elsewhere “NOM”

(21) Perfective:	a.	SUBJ-ne	OBJ-Ø	V	default
	b.	SUBJ-ne	OBJ-ko	V	
Imperf.:	c.	SUBJ-Ø	Obj-Ø	V	highest
	d.	SUBJ-Ø	OBJ-ko	V	
Psych:	e.	SUBJ-ko	OBJ-Ø	V	

(22) a. Raam-ne **RoTii** khaayii thii
R.-ERG (M) **bread-Ø (F)** eat.PERF.FEM be.PAST.FEM
‘Ram had eaten bread.’
b. siitaa-ne laRkii-ko dekhaa
S.-ERG (F) girl-ACC (F) see.PERF.MASC
‘Sita saw the girl.’

c. **siitaa** kelaa khaatii thii
S.-Ø (F) banana-Ø (M) eat.IMPERF.FEM be.PAST.FEM
‘Sita (habitually) ate bananas.’

d. **niina** bacce-ko ut^haayegii
N.-Ø (F) child-ACC lift.FUT.FEM
‘Nina will pick the child up.’

e. siita-ko **larke** pasand the
S.-DAT (F) **boys-Ø** like be.PAST.MASC.PL
‘Sita likes the boys.’ (Examples from Mahajan, Mohanan cited in Woolford 1999)

View in literature:

importance of surface case *in addition to* GF in determining possible agreement controllers (Corbett 2006, Bickel and Yādava 2000)

View here (cf. Falk 1997, Woolford 1999, others):

(like Icelandic and others) that accessibility is defined by m-case. No role for GF per se (not: subject, if nominative, instead: highest nominative).

- The question hinges in part on whether GFs like “subject” have any content beyond “highest” in the sense needed for (21c), e.g., “highest A-position.”

(23) Contrast: Agreement with subject (regardless of case);
NOM object never agree.

(24) Nepali (Bickel and Yādava 2000, 347)

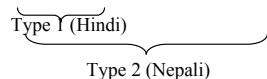
“Where there are two nominative NPs in a Nepali clause, agreement is with the higher argument, just as in Hindi. Unlike in Hindi, however, there is no agreement with nominative objects. Instead, the verb agrees with the ergative A-argument.”

(25) a. ma yas pasal-mā patrikā kin-ch-u
1sNOM DEM:OBL store-LOC newspaper:NOM buy-NPT-1s
‘I buy the newspaper in this store.’
b. maile yas pasal-mā patrikā kin-ē (*kin- yo)
1sERG DEM:OBL store-LOC newspaper:NOM buy-PT.1s buyPT3sM
‘I bought the newspaper in this store.’

But NOM objects do agree when the subject is DATive (hence inaccessible)—B&Y offer this example to show that DAT subjects do not agree (p. 348):

(26) malāt timī man par-ch-au (*parch-u)
1sDAT 2mhNOM liking occur-NPT-2mh occur-NPT-1s
‘I like you.’

- (27) Unmarked Case > Dependent Case > Lexical/Oblique Case



Both languages: Highest accessible NP governs agreement.

1.3 Ergative Splits — A Typological Gap?

- (28) Case-Agreement Splits (Dixon 1994)

Case Alignment	Agreement Alignment	
	Erg-Abs	Nom-Acc
Erg-Abs	Basque, Inuit, Tsez	Warlpiri, Chukchi
Nom-Acc	** unattested **	Russian, Icelandic

- (29) a. Transitive: Subject-ERG ... Object-ABS ... V
 b. Intransitive: Subject-ABS V

Only one case accessible = must be ABS → Abs agreement (5b)... Hindi, Tsez
 Two cases accessible = ERG and ABS → “highest accessible” picks out “subject”
 = subject-oriented (“nom”) agreement (Nepali, Chukchi)

- (30) a. Transitive: Subject-NOM ... Object-ACC ... V
 b. Intransitive: Subject-NOM V

Only one case is accessible, it must be NOM → Nom = Subj agreement English etc.
 Two cases accessible = NOM and ACC → “highest accessible” still picks out “subject”

• Under the accessibility hierarchy, only the attested case v. agreement “split” is possible.

- (31) Predicted Agreement Alignments

Case Alignment	Accessible case(s)	
	Unmarked	Unmarked & Dependent
Erg-Abs	absolutive	subject (vs. object)
Nom-Acc	subject (NOM) → → →	subject (vs. object)

Competing accounts on other assumptions: Legate 2005, cf. also Woolford 1999.

- (32) NB. I assume zero-case marking consistent with any “abstract” case pattern.
 See Woolford 1999 for one challenge to this (ABS-only vs. ERG-ABS agreement)

1.4 Interim summary

- (33) Syntax (“Subjecthood” etc.)
 ↓
 M-Case ← Quirky case = mismatch here
 ↓
 Agreement ← must be able to “see” output of m-case rules, and syntax
 ↓ but does not see exponents of case (Icelandic, above)
 Exponence

2. M-CASE ≠ AGREEMENT: THE CHUKCHI SPURIOUS ANTIPASSIVE

2.1 Outline of Chukchi (Chukotka-Kamchatkan) agreement (Dunn 1999)

- (34) Intransitive (3 moods x 2 aspects; ±future in realis mood = 8 active paradigms)

REALIS, NON-PROG IRREALIS, PROGR CONDITIONAL, NON-PROG

1sg	t-	-(yʔe)-k	m-	-rkən	mʔ-	-(yʔe)-k
1pl	mət-	-mək	mən-	-rkən	mənʔ-	-mək
2sg		-(yʔ)-i	q-	-rkən	nʔ-	-(yʔ)-i
2pl		-tək	q-	-rkəni-tək	nʔ-	-tək
3sg		-(yʔ)-i	n-	-rkən	nʔ-	-(yʔe)-n
3pl		-(yʔe)-t	n-	-rkən-et	nʔ-	-n-et

- double-agreement (pref + suff) — common property of all C-K langs
- 2sg = 3sg at suffix (realis): IMPOVERISHMENT
- (-yʔe) optional, “thematic”; see Dunn (1999:190) on distrib
- -i also treated as thematic by Dunn (1999:191), agreement is -Ø
- PROG does not co-occur w/ all agreement suffixes
- 2PL -tək peripheral (cf. progressive; cf. also Itelmen -sx)
- 3PL -(e)t also peripheral (FISSION)

- (35) Transitive (REALIS, NON-PROG)

A	O. 1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-√-γət	t-√-tək	t-√-(yʔe)-n	t-√-n-et
1PL	—	—	mət-√-γət	mət-√-tək	mət-√-(yʔe)-n	mət-√-n-et
2SG	ine-√-(yʔ)-i	√-tku-(yʔ)-i	—	—	√-(yʔe)-n	√-n-et
2PL	ine-√-tək	√-tku-tək	—	—	√-tkə	√-tkə
3SG	ine-√-(yʔ)-i	ne-√-mək	ne-√-γət	ne-√-tək	√-nin	√-nin-et
3PL	ne-√-γəm	ne-√-mək	ne-√-γət	ne-√-tək	ne-√-(yʔe)-n	ne-√-n-et

(36) Transitive (FUT, NON-PROG)

A	O. 1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-re-√-yət	t-re-√-tək	t-re-√-ŋə-n	t-re-√-ŋə-n-et
1PL	—	—	mət-re-√-yət	mət-re-√-tək	mət-re-√-ŋə-n	mət-re-√-ŋə-n-et
2SG	r-ine-√-yʔe	re-√-tku-yʔe	—	—	re-√-ŋə-n	√-ŋə-n-et
2PL	r-ine-√-n-tək	re-√-tku-n-tək	—	—	re-√-ŋə-ŋə	re-√-ŋə-ŋə
3SG	r-ine-√-yʔe	ne-re-√-mək	ne-re-√-yət	ne-re-√-tək	re-√-y-nin	re-√-y-nin-et
3PL	ne-re-√-yəm	ne-re-√-mək	ne-re-√-yət	ne-re-√-tək	ne-re-√-ŋə-n	ne-re-√-ŋə-n-et

Cells w/o shading:

- prefixes are subject agreement
- suffixes are generally object agreement
 - “extra” slot for 3PL *-et* (FISSION)
 - 2PL > 3 *-tkə*; not synchronically derivable from *-tək* (no 3PL *-et*)
 - portmanteau *-nin* for 3SG > 3
- additional thematic element in future /ŋ/
- PROG does not bleed suffixes (not shown)

Cells w/ shading: “Spurious Antipassive” (SAP) (Hale 2000)

- suffixes are subject agreement
- expected 1 psn object agreement (cf. 3pl /pronouns) missing
 - *-ine, -tku-* are antipassive markers (derived intransitive)
 - inflection looks intransitive (or: *ine/-tku* are object markers, exceptional prefix)

SAP is not antipassive; verb-word external morphosyntax (e.g., case) is transitive:

(37) Transitive	Subject ERG	Object ABS	Verb SubjAGR & ObjAGR
Intransitive	Subject ABS		Verb Intransitive Subj Agreement (x2)
Antipassive	Subject ABS	Object Oblique/PP	Verb Intransitive Agreement + AP morph
<i>Spurious AP</i>	Subject ERG	Object ABS	Verb Intransitive Agreement + AP morph
	Transitive Syntax		Intransitive Verbal Morphology

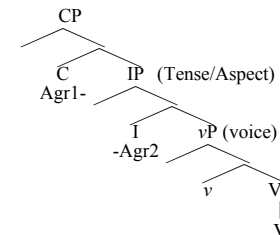
- (38) Transitive yəm-nan yət tə-ŋʔu-yət
 I-ERG you.SG(ABS) 1SG.SUB-see-2SG.OBJ
 ‘I saw you.’ (Skorik 1977: 44)
- Intransitive yəm tə-kətyəntat-yʔak
 I (ABS) 1SG.SUB-run-1SG.SUBJ
 ‘I ran.’ (Skorik 1977: 19)
- Antipassive əthəyən Ø-ine-ŋqərir-ərkə-n (akka-ytə)
 father (ABS) 3SG.SUB-AP-see-PROG-3SG.SUB (son-ALLATIVE)
 ‘Father was looking for his son.’ (Nedjalkov 1976: 201)
- Spurious AP* ə-nan yəm Ø-ine-ŋʔu-yʔi
 he-ERG I (ABS) 3SG.SUB-AP-see-3SG.SUBJ
 ‘He saw me.’ (Skorik 1977: 44)
- (39) Accounts: *ine-* as object agreement (requires flexible syntax:morphology mapping)
ine- as “inverse” marker (Comrie, Dunn)
ine- as “spurious antipassive” (Halle & Hale)
 rule of referral (Spencer)
 feature deletion (Bobaljik & Branigan), modified below

(Accounts: Spencer 2000, Halle and Hale 1997, Hale 2002; data: Skorik 1977, Dunn 1999)

Proposal: SAP arises from filters/constraints on agreement, under the architecture above
 operations on the terminal nodes (morphemes) prior to rules of exponence

2.2 Chukotko-Kamchatkan agreement basics

(40) The place of agreement morphemes.



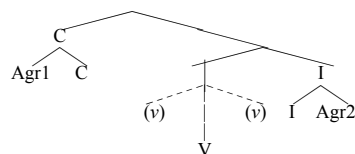
Agr1 – adjacent to Mood (some fusion)
 {indicative, conditional, irrealis}

Agr2 – adjacent to Tense/Aspect
 Ch: {progressive/neutral}

Voice: AP (Chukchi)

Further evidence:
 (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2001)

(41) Linearization, placement of agreement morphemes: cf. Spencer (2001), vs. Hale (2002)



(42) Prefixes:

- > The C-agreement (prefixes) are always and only the subject.
 - > Odd property of analysis: two obligatory agreement nodes, C and I
- ⇒ irreducible fact of C-K morphology that any theory must accommodate.
cf. well-documented Comp Agreement (doubling subj agr) in %Germanic:

... ob-st noch Minga kumm-st Bavarian
 whether-2sg to M. come-2sg
 'whether you're coming to M.' [pronoun = du/Ø] (Bayer, 1984)

2.3 The Chukotko-Kamchatkan Agreement Suffix

(43) The "standard" analysis: a unique type of ergative split:
 (see Nedjalkov 1979, Comrie 1979, 1981, Spencer 2000, Halle and Hale 1997)

Prefixes: nominative = subject
 Suffixes: absolutive (NB. Itelmen is not ergative)

NB. The suffixes may agree with a non-absolutive/object NP under a variety of conditions:

Chukchi: with Dative of 'give', where Dat > Abs = 1,2 > 3
 Itelmen: where Dative is more prominent (topical) than direct object
 (Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2002)

(44) Alternative (Bobaljik 1998, Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2002, cf. Volodin and Vakhtin 1986)

Basic alignment is subject / object (cf. section 1: Chukchi: Erg/Abs case; subj/obj Agr)
 + a quirk in the "object" agreement

(45) Assumptions:

Infl node (suffix): multiple agree: copies features from SUBJ and primary OBJ

Max one vocabulary item inserted (but: FISSION of 3PL.ABS -et)

If portmanteau avail: will win
 Else, only one NP will have features expressed: Object Preference

(46) Agr_{INFL} [X>Y] = [Subj > Obj] partial; illustrative only Chukchi

- a. -nin ⇔ [3SG>3]
 -tkə ⇔ [2PL>3] cf. 2PL -tək
- b. -yəm ⇔ [>1SG] pronoun: yəm
 -yət ⇔ [>2SG] pronoun: yət
 -n ⇔ [>3]
- c. -mək ⇔ [1PL] pronoun: muri
 -tək ⇔ [2PL] pronoun: turi
 -k ⇔ [1]
 -n ⇔ [3]
 -Ø ⇔ <else>
- d. Fission: 3PL.ABS → extra node -et
 Impoverish: 3PL → Ø / [2PL> _]
 [3(SG)>] → Ø / REALIS, INTRANS... 2SG = 3SG INTRANS
 [1>] → Ø / PROGRESSIVE
 etc...

(47) a. = portmanteaus
 b. = object agreement
 c. = object or subject NB. a mix of object and absolutive would simplify

(48) System clearer [?] in related Itelmen, which has more portmanteaus

ITELMEN AGREEMENT SUFFIXES: 3 PERSON DO		
SUBJECT	DIRECT OBJECT	
	3SG	3PL
1SG, PL & IMPERSONAL	-čən	-čəʔn
2SG REALIS	-(i)n	-(i)ʔn
IRREALIS	-x(č)	-(x)iʔn
2PL	-sx	-sxiʔn
3SG, PL	-nen	-neʔn

• Itelmen -ʔn = Chukchi -net < n + ?

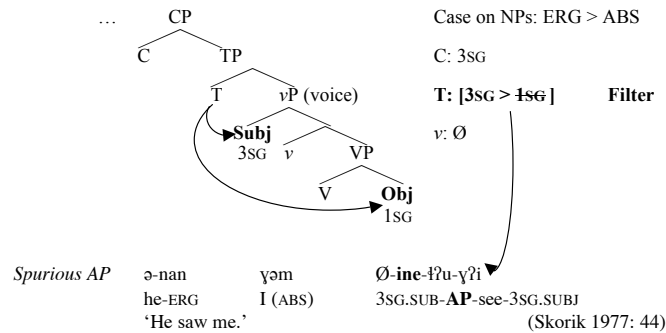
2.4 Sample Derivations

Transitive, with portmanteau

(49) Itel. (t)-tʰ-s-ki-čəʔn č'eβuzlaχ-aʔn kɪčl-eʔn
 1SG-bring-PRES-II-1>3PL tasty-PL rotten.heads-PL
 'I'm bringing them [= tasty rotten (mouse) heads]' [KL:25]

(50) Chuk. ɲelwəl γən-in murəγ-ɲelwəlʔ-e Ø-nə-tenti-cqəw-jəw-nin
 herd 2SG-POSS 1PL-herd-ERG 3SG-IRR-stamp-PURP-INTS-3SG>3SG
 'Our herd will stamp your herd flat.' (Dunn 1999:189)

(59) SAP: 'He saw me'



Important: SAP repairs generally involve deletion of feature bundle (psn + number)

Special type of impoverishment?

Contrast: obliteration (Arregi & Nevins 2007) – deletion of node

In SAP, node (suffix Agr) remains; evid: subj features expressed

2.6 SAP and Stative inflections:

- only Infl agreement 'slot' (suffix); no C agreement (prefix).
- different inventory of affixes (= non-verbal predicates = 1,2 = pronouns)

Thus, only one argument agrees –

expectation: object agreement except in SAP environment.

(60) Perfect (Dunn 1999:193)

A	O. 1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	ye-ʋ-iyət	ye-ʋ-turi	ye-ʋ-lin	ye-ʋ-lin-et
1PL	—	—	ye-ʋ-iyət	ye-ʋ-turi	ye-ʋ-lin	ye-ʋ-lin-et
2SG	ye-ine-ʋ-iyət	ye-ʋ-tku-iyət	—	—	ye-ʋ-lin	ye-ʋ-lin-et
2PL	ye-ine-ʋ-turi	ye-ʋ-tku-turi	—	—	ye-ʋ-lin	ye-ʋ-lin-et
3SG	ye-ine-ʋ-lin	ye-ʋ-muri	ye-ʋ-iyət	ye-ʋ-turi	ye-ʋ-lin	ye-ʋ-lin-et
3PL	ye-ʋ-iyəm	ye-ʋ-muri	ye-ʋ-iyət	ye-ʋ-turi	ye-ʋ-lin	ye-ʋ-lin-et
INTR	ye-ʋ-iyəm	ye-ʋ-muri	ye-ʋ-iyət	ye-ʋ-turi	ye-ʋ-lin	ye-ʋ-lin-et

(61) Habitual (Dunn 1999:194)

A	O. 1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	n-ine-ʋ-iyəm	n-ine-ʋ-iyəm	n-ine-ʋ-iyəm	n-ine-ʋ-iyəm
1PL	—	—	n-ine-ʋ-muri	n-ine-ʋ-muri	n-ine-ʋ-muri	n-ine-ʋ-muri
2SG	n-ine-ʋ-iyət	n-ʋ-tku-iyət	—	—	n-ine-ʋ-iyət	n-ine-ʋ-iyət
2PL	n-ine-ʋ-turi	n-ʋ-tku-turi	—	—	n-ine-ʋ-turi	n-ine-ʋ-turi
3SG	n-ine-ʋ-qin	n-ʋ-muri	n-ʋ-iyət	n-ʋ-turi	n-ine-ʋ-qin	n-ine-ʋ-qin-et
3PL	n-ʋ-iyəm	n-ʋ-muri	n-ʋ-iyət	n-ʋ-turi	n-ʋ-qin	n-ʋ-qin-et
INTR	n-ʋ-iyəm	n-ʋ-muri	n-ʋ-iyət	n-ʋ-turi	n-ʋ-qin	n-ʋ-qin-et

Expectation correct: SAP as intransitive, therefore only subject agrees

Non-SAP, only object agrees

One exception – interaction of SAP and fission 3sg>3pl Hab.

Note wider SAP in habitual

Key point: calculation requires access to features of both subject and object, even though only one actually agrees

Section summary:

- Distribution of SAP essentially stipulated (filters): *2>1
- (Most) properties follow if violations repaired by deletion of feature bundle.
- At or after agreement, but before rules exponence.
- [equivalent?: filters are constraints on feature-copying/agreement]
- Crucially after syntax, m-case assignment
- Special stipulation: AP morpheme as reflection, not cause, of syntax (Bobaljik/Branigan)
- NB. Why AP? Not spurious causative, progressive, future etc...

2.7 Against alternatives ...?

(62) SAP as "inverse" (Comrie, Dunn):

SAP occurs in direct configurations in habitual

(63) *ine-* (resp. *-tku*) as 1 person object agreement (Nedjalkov):

in habitual: *ine-* for all persons

homophony with AP unexplained

position: agreement+mood — (future) — AP ...

(64) Rule of referral (Spencer < Stump)

Re-statement of facts

2.8 Summary:

Conclusion:

(65)	Syntax	Arg-Str → GF → LF
	↓	
	M-Case	feature-filling rules on NPs (quirky; erg. Etc)
	↓	
	Agreement	feature-copying rules (filters and repairs)
	↓	
	Exponence	assignment of phonological content to nodes (morphemes)

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