Research Report
Project P3: Marked absolutive and marked nominative case systems in synchronic and diachronic perspective

1. General Information

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2. State of the art and goals

Marked-nominative, and even more so marked-absolutive, case systems are a typological oddity. Theories of alignment (e.g. Dixon; 1994) mostly treat them as something which should not really be there (in the case of marked-nominative) or does not even exist (marked-absolutive). The treatment of those types of alignment systems is usually limited to the one or two odd examples, statements on those systems being based on a small number of languages. One notable exception is the study of König (2006), which is, however, restricted to one area i.e. Eastern Africa. The aim of this project was to move on beyond the anecdotal stage of treatment of marked-nominative and marked-absolutive languages and provide a systematic study of this phenomenon.

The marked-nominative system does not differ from the standard nominative-accusative system in terms of the alignment of S (the single argument of an intransitive verb), A (the most agent-like argument of a transitive verb) and P (the most patient-like argument of a transitive verb). Like the more familiar ‘regular’ nominative system, a marked-nominative system treats S and A the same (e.g. in terms of case marking) and different from P. The point where marked-nominative differs from standard nominative-accusative is in terms of the overt marking relations. Whereas the S+A relation is considered the unmarked member in the opposition of Nominative and Accusative case marking in the standard system, this is often reflected in the amount of overt morphological marking the two forms receive. In the marked-nominative system it is the other way around. The form coding the P relation is the unmarked member of the opposition and usually morphologically zero-coded. This is illustrated in figure 1.

What marked-nominative is to the nominative-accusative system is the marked-absolutive to the ergative-absolutive system. The alignment relations are the same between ergative-absolutive and marked-absolutive. S and P are treated alike and distinct from A in both systems. The absolutive is the unmarked member of the opposition in ergative-absolutive
alignment, which is always reflected by zero-coding of the absolutive-marked nominals and overt marking of ergatives according to Dixon (1994). Yet, as is illustrated in figure 2, in marked-absolutive language overt marking behaves in the opposite way. The A-argument (Ergative) is zero-coded while the S+P relation (Absolutive) is encoded by overt material.

When talking about the phenomenon of marked-nominative and marked-absolutive alignment in general, we have adopted the term marked-S as covering both. This terminology is based on the fact that both types of language have an overtly coded form of the nominal to mark the S relation. When speaking of particular languages the terms marked-nominative and marked-absolutive will further be used.

Marked-S languages are of special interest for typology for several reasons. First of all they refute Greenberg’s Universal 38, which states that the case “which includes among its meaning that of the subject of the intransitive verb” is the only one which “ever has only zero allomorphs” (Greenberg; 1963: 75).
3. Results and their meaning

3.1. General course of the research – a brief overview

The goal of the project was to “study the geographical distribution, typology and diachrony of a rare case system, which we call ‘marked nominative/absolutive’.” The original research program suffered some modifications when one of the project members, Orin Gensler, whose main contribution would have been to the diachronic dimension of marked nominative/absolutive case systems and its manifestations in African languages, left Leipzig to take up a position in Ethiopia. To replace him a doctoral student, Corinna Handschuh, was hired.

To briefly summarize the work within the group, the PI, Michael Cysouw, has worked on quantitative approaches to the analysis of typological data, including their application to the current project, and has supervised the dissertation work of Corinna Handschuh; Søren Wichmann has analyzed the Tlapanec case system, investigated the areal and diachronic behavior of typological features, including case systems, and has (co-)edited and contributed to two volumes about issues of argument structure; finally, Corinna Handschuh has worked on a world-wide typology of marked nominative/absolutive languages, which will result in a Ph.D. dissertation on this topic.

3.2. Functional markedness

One hypothesis about Marked-S alignment is that the zero-coded form is the one used in a wider variety of contexts than the overtly coded S-case (either Nominative S+A or Absolutive S+P). This hypothesis is put forward most prominently by König (2006), where a variety of constructions and the case form employed therein is investigated for a number of African marked-nominative languages. A central role is played by the form used in citation of a noun. The functional-markedness hypothesis of Marked-S languages has a weak and a strong form. The weak form states that the overtly coded S-case (Nominative or Absolutive) is not used for any function beyond marking S and A arguments (for the marked nominative pattern; for marked-absolutive languages it marks S and P functions respectively). The strong hypothesis predicts that for those instances the zero-coded form (coding A or respectively P function) will be employed in marked-S languages.

In general the functional-markedness hypothesis seems to be true, however, there are notable exceptions (Handschuh; 2007). The North-American language Maidu uses the overtly coded Nominative case in a variety of contexts unusual for Marked-S languages, among them the citation form of a noun and the form of the predicate nominal (Shipley; 1964). This is a clear counterexample to the functional-markedness hypothesis even in its weak form since the functions of the Nominative case go beyond the encoding of S and A functions. Another possible counterexample – albeit only for the strong version of the hypothesis – is the Yuman language Mojave. Munro (1976: 129, footnote 3) notes that many speakers add a final -a or -o to words used in citation or isolation. Thus the zero-coded form of a noun covering P function is not the form used in citation (although not consistently across the speech community).

3.3. Constructions and functions

In order to test the claims on the functional unmarkedness of the zero-coded case form in marked-S languages we have been looking at a number of constructions in addition to the
prototypical intransitive and transitive sentences. For each construction we investigate the case-form employed for one or more functions. We studied the following functions:

- Subject of nominal predicates (identification and class membership)
- Predicate nominals
- Subjects of positive existential predication
- Subjects of negative existential predication
- Subjects of locational predication
- Emphatic subjects
- Subjects of valency-decreasing operations
- Subjects of valency-increasing operations
- Attributive possessors
- Citation form
- Form of address
- Base of inflection

The likelihood of these functions to be encoded with the overtly-coded S-case in a language or in the zero-coded form differs greatly between the functions studied (Handschuh; 2007). It ranges from almost always zero-coded (e.g. citation form) to hardly ever zero-coded (e.g. subject of positive existential predication).

One construction which shows a particularly interesting variation among Marked-S languages is nominal predication (Handschuh; 2006). The two functions we are interested in are the subject and the predicate nominal. This construction shows all possible combinations of zero-coded form and overtly coded S-case. From the perspective of the nominal predication it becomes obvious that the Eastern African marked-S languages are a special case of marked-S and not representative for all instances of this alignment system. While the picture in Eastern Africa is straightforward with subjects of nominal predication in the overtly coded nominative and predicate nominals in the zero-coded form (with a few exceptions for the predicate nominal), this is not the case for all marked-S languages. A number of Yuman languages show a different pattern. They use the zero-coded form for the subject in nominal predications, and also employ the zero-coded form of the noun for the predicate nominal. In contrast, the Penutian language Maidu marks both functions with the overtly coded Nominative case.
3.4. Split marked-S

Most marked-S languages do not exhibit this rare alignment-system throughout all domains of grammar – a phenomenon also true for languages of the ergative-type and discussed in much detail in the literature. Handschuh and Cysouw (2007b) find the following domains of splits for marked-S language: clause type, gender, number, positive vs. negative existential constructions.

One of the types of splits featuring most prominently in the discussion of ergative languages is the on the prominence-hierarchy of nominals (Silverstein; 1976). Handschuh (2008b) investigates the – altogether limited number of – this type of split found with marked-S languages. The setup of the marked-nominative system allows to unravel two possible explanations for the types of regularities found with the splits in ergative-absolutive languages, viz. whether it is the alignment or the markedness that matters. The common view, as formulated by Silverstein and others, is that the alignment itself is the central factor to explain the splits, with ergative-absolutive alignment is found on the lower end of the nominal hierarchy (full noun phrases, especially non-human/inanimate) while nominative-accusative alignment is found on the upper end (pronouns, especially 1st/2nd person).

However, a different way to look at this is to ask whether it is more important to mark entities low on the hierarchy as agents (i.e. overt marking is the crucial factor), or for entities low on the hierarchy S argument are more similar to P arguments than to A arguments (i.e. alignment is the crucial factor). Both are plausible hypotheses, and marked-S languages are an ideal test case since they combine the overt marking of one system with the alignment of another system. Handschuh’s study shows that both hypotheses are relevant. We find both situations, marked-nominative on the lower end of the hierarchy (a point speaking in favor of overt marking as the trigger for splits) and marked-nominative on the upper end of the hierarchy (speaking in favor of alignment as trigger).

3.5. Marked-S and discourse structure

In a number of languages the Split-S alignment system interacts with discourse structure information. This is manifested in two different types of systems. The first possibility is neutralization of Marked-S case in exposed position. This phenomenon is most prominently found with verb-initial languages, where topicalized or focused constituents are placed before the (otherwise initial) verb. In this position overt nominative or absolutive case marking is lost (Handschuh; 2008a).

The second possibility of interaction between discourse structure and Marked-S is found in a number of non-Austronesian languages of the Pacific. Here overt marking of S (and A) elements is non-obligatory. The conditions for the presence or absence of marking are not always clear from the descriptions, yet in all cases focused subjects are good candidates to receive overt case-marking. This is for example the case in Waskia where focused subjects account for a large proportion of overtly coded subjects according to Ross (1978). Handschuh will be investigating this phenomenon in more detail in the final stage of this project.
3.6. Marked absolutive in Tlapanec and the Tlapanec case system in general

Tlapanec is an Otomanguean language which operates with a system of verb-marked case roles where one of these, the ergative is morphologically unmarked (i.e. the system is marked-absolutive). Wichmann has devoted much of his research to elucidating this case system further. The basic facts, including the ‘marked absolutive’ feature of the system is laid out in Wichmann (in press), a contribution to the Malchukov and Spencer’s co-edited *The Handbook of Case*.

Another paper (Wichmann; forthcominga) treats Tlapanec ditransitives. A distinction is made between language-specifically defined Ditransitives and constructions that simply involve an agent (A), a recipient (R) and a theme (T), but do not comply with the language-specific definition. This definition requires a predicate assigning dative case to the R. It is shown that inanimates are morphosyntactically inert inasmuch as verbal indices cannot make reference to inanimates. Thus, the degree of transitivity in Tlapanec is to be equated with the valency of predicates with respect to animate participants. Ditransitives are formally similar to some other bipersonal predicates, such as the verbs meaning ‘to see someone’ or ‘to wait for someone’, which also assign dative case to the undergoer (here the O). The only difference is that an inanimate adjunct representing a semantic T may enter the Ditransitive construction. The theory of transitivity of Næss (2007) predicts that languages should exist which restricts transitivity to animate arguments, and Wichmann and Næss are currently collaborating on a conference presentation at the workshop on transitivity to take place in Köln, Nov. 14-15, 2008, on this issue.

Through discussions among project members we have arrived at the hypothesis that the exceptional marked absolutive in Tlapanec probably relates to the fact that cases are verb-marked in this consistently head-marking language. Thus, it needs to be investigated how Tlapanec behaves with respect to a typology of verb-marked case systems and how such case systems differ from nominal case systems. Impressionistically, it seems like verb-marked case systems have inverted typological preferences compared to nominal case systems. Since verb-marked case systems are often treated as agreement systems such a contrastive typology has not been made. We hope to address this issue during the remainder of the present project phase.

As regards the diachrony of the case marking system, the state of research on other Otomanguean languages has not reached a level where it is possible to make much advance. A recent dictionary of another Otomanguean language, Otomi, reviewed in Wichmann (forthcomingb), reveals the existence of verb classes that may very well turn out to really be a case system (the Tlapanec case system has similarly earlier been analyzed as a set of arbitrary verb classes).

3.7. The grammar of verbal arguments in general

A considerable proportion of Wichmann’s work has gone into issues not so much of relevance to the narrow issue of marked nominative/absolutive, but of high relevance to the theme of the Forschergruppe at large. He has co-edited and contributed to two volumes on issues of alignment, voice, and transitivity: Donohue and Wichmann (2008) and Estrada Fernández et al. (2007). The first volume is concerned with the typology of the type of alignment system variously called split-S, agent-patient, or active-stative. In his introduction to the
volume, Wichmann (2008b) proposes a new term, ‘semantic alignment’, opposing this to ‘syntactic alignment’, subsuming accusative, ergative, and inverse marking systems. Major questions addressed in the contributions are: (1) How can languages be typologized (using the case of semantic alignment as an example)? (2) What are the diachronic pathways for the development or loss of semantic alignment?

The first question is crucial to the undertaking of the entire Forschergruppe. It addresses the issue of whether certain argument structure configurations (alignment patterns) are characteristic of languages as a whole (and, if so, whether there are typological implications of alignment patterns for other areas of grammar) or whether alignment is something that pertains just to certain constructions or even just to certain predicates. Different contributions to the volume suggest different answers, but overall point in the direction that there is relatively little to be gained by a whole-language typologizing approach. As Wichmann (2008b) points out, “the discrepancy between whole-language typology and construction-specific typology may only be superficial: whole-language typology is construction-specific too, but it happens that the types of construction which it is concerned with includes the widest possible range of constructions in a given languages.” The construction-specific approach and a radicalized lexical semantic approach are demonstrated by contributions to the volume by Donohue (2008) and Nichols (2008), respectively. Nevertheless, there is at least one strong, statistical implication which supports a whole-language typologizing approach, namely the relation between the presence of semantic alignment and the absence of prototypical passives. This is discussed in Wichmann (2007), who proposes a distinction between event- and participant-oriented languages, and, in an attempt to explain why they correlate, suggests that passives and syntactic alignment are both participant-oriented features.

The second question, regarding diachrony, is addressed by several contributions to the volume edited by Donohue and Wichmann (2008). Through reanalysis of a trans impersonal construction (‘Ø sleeps me’) a syntactic object may be reanalyzed as the single, patientive argument of an intransitive construction, leading to the development of semantic alignment (Malchukov; 2008; Mithun; 2008). Such a development requires an accusative point of departure for the new patientive S to be marked differently from an ‘old’ S (Malchukov; 2008). A revealing contribution on the North Halmahera (Autronesian) languages shows that the presence of semantic alignment is prone to change, given that it is no more stable than the phonological shapes of its exponents. On the other hand, the semantic distinctions that underlie the differential treatment of pronominal arguments of intransitives may be stable even after the disruption of a semantic alignment system (Holton; 2008; Vajda; 2008) or be in place before such a system arises, such as appears to have been the case within the Austronesian family (Tsukida; 2008).

The other volume co-edited by Wichmann (Estrada Fernández et al.; 2007) is dedicated to the behavior of valency-affecting mechanisms such as passives, causatives, antipassives, resultatives, and middles. Of particular interest are the contributions by Comrie (2007) and Givón (2007), which present contrasting approaches to the characterization of passives. Comrie takes a synchronically oriented prototype approach, characterizing passives as a morphosyntactic category which contrasts with the active in markedness (formally and with respect to frequency) and in orientation towards the P rather than the A participant. In contrast, Givón uses a broader, functional definition allowing for many different clause types to be included and is interested in diachronic pathways linking these different clause types. The
contribution by Wichmann (2007), already mentioned above, investigates the notion of event-vs. participant-orientation.

3.8. Quantitative approaches to language comparison

Given the wealth of data that is currently collected in cross-linguistic typological surveys, one of the central research questions pursued by Cysouw is the problem of how to interpret such data. The general approach needed is to move away from simple n-ary classification of languages (as traditionally practiced by doing a typological classification into separate types) to a inherently gradual metrical approach to similarity between languages (Cysouw; 2007b; forthcominga). This same approach is also applicable to the relation between linguistic characteristics (Cysouw; forthcomingd) and to the establishment of typological scales (Cysouw; forthcomingb).

These approaches were applied to preliminary data as collected in the project (Cysouw; 2006a; Handschuh and Cysouw; 2007a; b). From these analyses, there seems to be a clear difference between the African type of marked-S and the American type of marked-S languages. The reasons for this grouping are not simply the effect of individual characteristics, but represent conglomerate estimates based on various aspects of case marking. Besides looking at similarity between language as measured by shared characteristics, one can also look at the similarity between characteristics, as measured by them being shared within languages. Just to point to a few interesting observations related to marked-S marking, it appears that citation forms and vocatives (which are often considered to be typically unmarked) are highly similar in marking to the transitive patient in marked-nominative languages. This fits in well with the proposal of König (2006) that the (formally unmarked) accusative in marked-nominative languages also codes for other (functionally unmarked) contexts. In contrast, the subject of existential clauses typically is marked alike to the (formally marked) nominative in marked-nominative languages.

Directly related to the current project, there is the problem of how to deal with cross-linguistically rare features. Marked-S systems are not very widespread among the world’s languages, though they are not clearly attested. This observation immediately raises the question how a theory of linguistic structure has to deal with such a phenomenon (Cysouw; forthcomingc; 2006c). The main gist of this work is that rare phenomena should be given a central place in linguistic theorizing. Although individually rare phenomena are of course rare, taking all rarities together results in a large collection of languages. Rare phenomena are an integral part of linguistic diversity that cannot easily be swept aside.

During the period of funding, Cysouw (co-)edited two special journal issues related to issues of quantitative approaches typological language comparison. One volume dealt with the prospects of using parallel texts to establish typological similarities (Cysouw and Wälchli; 2007) and the other (Cysouw; 2008) with using the data from the World Atlas of Language Structures (Haspelmath et al.; 2005). This second volume included some papers on the stability of typological features, another topic that was investigated within the current project, as detailed in the next section.
3.9. Stability and areality of typological features

In our original application we mentioned an interest in investigating the phenomenon of marked nominative/absolutive in a diachronic perspective, and we have pursued this question, but in a highly inclusive manner, developing frameworks for measuring the stability and areality of not only this, but all sorts of typological features. Wichmann and Kamholz (2008), Wichmann and Holman (under review) and Cysouw et al. (2008) develop various metrics for the stability of typological features. An even more general approach is proposed in Cysouw (2007a).

Wichmann and Kamholz (2008) base their metric on the assumption that the feature value which is most frequent among the languages in a given genealogically defined group (more specifically, a genus in the sense of Dryer (1992) can normally be reconstructed for that group, and then went on to assume that the stability of a given feature is inversely proportional to the average of the theoretical probabilities of the occurrence of the distributions of this best represented feature value throughout a sample of genera. Wichmann and Holman (under review) developed a different metric that assumes that if a given feature more often tends to have the same value for languages that are related than does another given features, then the first of the two may be considered to be more stable; moreover one should also take into account the tendency for traits to be similar among languages that are not related. This metric is briefly described in Holman et al. (2007). In Wichmann and Holman (under review) the performances of the different metrics were studied through computer simulations, by comparing preset rates of change to measurements of stabilities in the languages whose histories had been simulated arrived at through the different metrics. The Wichmann-Holman metric was found to be superior to the Wichmann-Kamholz metric.

Cysouw et al. (2008) take a completely different approach by comparing individual features to an overall similarity between languages. Taking WALS (Haspelmath et al.; 2005) as a reference point, the overall (typological) similarity between languages is established by comparing language on all available features. Then, various approaches are taken to correlate this overall similarity with individual features. The better an individual feature can ‘predict’ the overall similarity, the more central this feature is to the ‘typological profile’. It turns out that this approach to feature-importance is related to diachronic stability, probably because stable features will be better predictors for the overall structure. Cysouw (2007a) attempts to estimate transition probabilities for the change from one characteristic to another on the basis of typological data. Although there are still many question surrounding this approach, if it ends up as being viable, then stability will be a simple derivation of transition probability.

As an example of the results of applying the Wichmann-Holman metric to the data in Haspelmath et al. (2005) it is found that the feature called ‘Alignment of Case Marking of Full Noun Phrases’ is among the more stable features (scoring a stability index of 46.7 on a scale from -24.9 to 80.8. ‘Marked nominative’, which is one of the values of this feature, looks to be maximally stable, but when looked at in isolation there is not enough attestations for this feature value to bring statistical support to the measure. This result is corroborated by the Mantel-statistic as used by Cysouw et al. (2008) to measure stability. Various features from WALS related to case marking end up as being highly stable on this metric.

Cysouw (2006b); Cysouw and Comrie (2008) investigates areal patterns of typological features. On a continental scale, there appears to be strong geographical consistency for typological features, indicating a strong influence of diffusion of the typological profile of
a language. Holman et al. (2007) report on the lack of a correlation between stability and diffusability for typological features (and the same finding is presented in Holman et al. (in press), for the lexicon). Typological features are generally highly prone to diffusion and one should therefore be very careful when using them for establishing linguistic genealogies (Donohue and Wichmann; in press; Wichmann and Saunders; 2007; Cysouw; 2006b), but their diffusibility is contingent upon which languages happen to be in contact, whereas different stabilities are inherent in typological features as can be seen by the fact that measures of stabilities correlate across different areas. In Wichmann (2008a) some of these results are summarized and situated within a broader research perspective.

3.10. Cooperation within the Forschergruppe

Corinna Handschuh has closely collaborated with Alena Witzlack-Makarevich of project P1 (‘Typologische Varianz bei der Verarbeitung Grammatischer Relationen’) in preparation of a course jointly taught at the Leipzig Spring School on Linguistic Diversity in March 2008. The course entitled ‘Grammatical relations typology: beyond standard alignment’ focused on the ‘construction specific nature of grammatical relations’, which is a central aspect of both projects (P3 and P1). The broader view taken on this phenomenon by P1 has been complementary to our own research, which has been limited to the small subset of the worlds languages exhibiting marked-S alignment, and helped to put our results into a cross-linguistic perspective.

4. Current state of the project

We will focus the last year of funding – which is still ahead of us – to finish off the ongoing work and document the results. Corinna Handschuh will finish her dissertation on marked-S, to be submitted to the University of Leipzig. Also, the raw typological data that she collected will be made openly available on the Internet. We will spend some time on cleaning up the database and making it available on the web. Michael Cysouw and Søren Wichmann will spend some more time on the relation between marked-S and the verbal/nominal marking of arguments.

Being at the end of two years of research into the marking of marked-S systems, we feel that there is room for a few minor topics to be investigated, but we find that it is unlikely that many interesting new results will come about and therefore decided not to spend another three-year project phase on this topic. Through the discussions and contacts within the Forschergruppe a completely new project is planned (on subject/object portmanteau marking) in which Michael Cysouw and Corinna Handschuh will cooperate with Jochen Trommer. Søren Wichmann will cooperate with Martin Haspelmath, Bernard Comrie, and Andrej Malchukov as part of the planned continuation of the ditransitive project (which will extend its focus to verb classes).
5. Publications and other activities

5.1. Monographs and edited volumes


5.2. Papers in journals and edited volumes


5.3. Dissertations


5.4. Conference presentations


5.5. **Other Activities**


5.6. **References**


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