

Ergative Case in Burushaski: A Dependent Case Analysis¹

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Abstract: This chapter analyzes ergative case in the Burushaski language as a strictly structural case, not subject to arbitrary lexical variation. More specifically, ergative is a *dependent* case: an NP is ergative if and if it c-commands another NP in the same local domain (phase). Three apparent deviations from canonical ergativity are considered: verbs that take two absolutive arguments and no ergative, verbs that take an ergative NP and a dative NP but no absolutive, and clauses in future tense in which the transitive subject can be absolutive. In each instance, it turns out that the syntactic structure is more complex than it appears, as shown by independent tests such as agreement. Once the structures in question are properly understood, ergative case can be assigned purely structurally, with no direct sensitivity to semantic nuances or idiosyncratic lexical properties.

Key words: ergative case, Burushaski, dependent case, structural case, unaccusatives, split ergativity, phases, agreement

X.1 Introduction

Burushaski, spoken in a mountainous region of Northern Pakistan, is traditionally categorized as an isolate (although recently there have been claims that it is of Indo-European stock). As such, it has received a fair amount of attention from descriptive and typological linguists: see Lorimer (1935), Berger (1974), Tiffou and Pesot (1989), Willson (1996), Grune (1998), Munshi (2006,

Indeed, I have one particular theory that I am interested in testing and replicating: a version of the so-called dependent case theory of Marantz (1991), as developed by Baker (2014, 2015) (see also Baker and Bobaljik this volume). According to this theory, ergative case is not assigned by a functional head: it is neither a standard structural case assigned by a functional head like T under Agree, nor an inherent case assigned by a theta-marking head like *v*. Rather, ergative and absolutive case are assigned by the simple configurational rules in (2).

- (2) a. If NP₁ c-commands NP₂ and both are contained in the same domain (say, clause), then value the case feature of NP₁ as ergative.
- b. Otherwise NP is absolutive.

This dependent case theory is attractive in that it can account for both ergative and accusative languages with pleasing simplicity and symmetry; an accusative language is simply one that chooses to value the case feature of NP₂ rather than NP₁ in its version of (2a). (2) easily accounts for the basic data in (1): in (1b), the subject c-commands another NP (the object) in the same clause (see (8)), so it is marked ergative, whereas the object in (1b) and the subject in (1a) c-command no other NP, and are thus left to be absolutive.

One can, however, worry that (2) is too simple a theory of ergative case assignment, given that real live ergative languages present complications and apparent exceptions when one takes a closer look. This is certainly true of Burushaski. In particular, case marking in Burushaski seems to vary somewhat depending on what verb heads the clause. This is most evident in Willson (1996), which I make heavy use of here, because his framework (Relational Grammar) leads him to attend to these differences, and he presents them in an accessible way. However, the major variations are also attested in Lorimer (1935) and Munshi (n.d.). For example, although

most two-argument verbs have ergative subjects, as in (1b), there are a few for which both arguments are absolutive, as in (3) (Willson 1996:43).

- (3) Jé káman peesá d-á-can-abaa.
I.ABS some money.x.ABS D-1sO-need-1sS.PRES
'I need some money.'

There is also lexical variation among verbs that take a complement in dative case. The majority of such verbs have absolutive subjects, as expected (Willson, 1996:36, see also Munshi 2006:142):

- (4) Zamindáar [tshíl yál-as-e gáne] mál-e-r ni-imi.
farmer.ABS water apply-INF-OBL for field-OBL-DAT go-3mS.PST
'The farmer went to the field to water (it).'

However, a few such verbs have ergative subjects, resulting in an ergative-dative pattern in which absolutive case is apparently not assigned.⁴

- (5) Hilés-e dasín-mo-r barén-imi. (Willson 1996:4)
boy-ERG girl-OBL-DAT look.at-3mS.PST
'The boy observed the girl.'

Because of data like this, it is often said in descriptive terms that different case frames need to be stipulated in the lexical entries of different verbs. In contrast, a dependent case theory built around (2) leads to the strong expectation that ergative case assignment is purely structural. I argue that the dependent case theory is correct in this, despite appearances. The verbs in (3) and (5) do not call for special case assignment directly; rather, their thematic properties cause special clause structures to be projected, and those clause structures determine how case assignment happens in purely structural terms. In this, I pursue a common analytical strategy within

Chomskian structure-based theories. I also extend the account to cover one additional seeming anomaly in Burushaski's ergativity: the fact that clauses in future tense may have absolutive case subjects even if they are transitive.

X.2 Agreement in Burushaski

Before facing these puzzles about ergative case marking, it is worthwhile to review a major resource that Burushaski offers to linguists investigating its grammatical structure: its rich agreement system, which has attracted significant attention from all general descriptive sources, as well as more specialized studies like Anderson and Eggert (2001:237-238) and Baker (2008). Although nothing is known about c-command tests like variable binding, anaphora, and quantifier scope in Burushaski, agreement can be used to test structural hypotheses.

Burushaski agreement is rich in that it has both subject agreement and object agreement, as all sources agree. Both can be seen in (1b), and the similar example in (6) (Munshi n.d.:16; see also Lorimer 1935:63-67, 219).

- (6) *In-e* **hiles** *i-del-umo*.
she-ERG boy.ABS 3mO-hit-3fS
‘She hit the boy.’

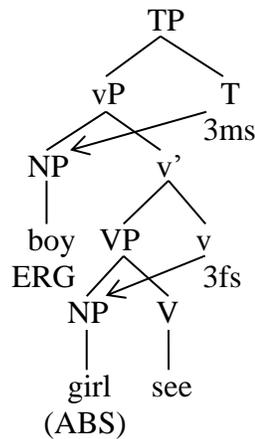
Subject agreement and object agreement show up in quite different places within the verbal morphology: subject agreement is a suffix, as is the tense inflection with which it varies, whereas object agreement is a prefix and is independent of tense inflection. It is thus reasonable to say that these two forms of agreement are the result of two different functional heads, each agreeing with the closest NP. T agrees with the subject, whereas v agrees with the object, as in Chomsky (2000, 2001) and related work. Confirmation for this comes from the fact that in infinitival

clauses subject agreement is absent, whereas object agreement is unperturbed, as shown in (7) (Willson 1996:30, see also Grune 1998:13 and Munshi n.d.: ex (64a)).⁵

- (7) Ú-e [dasin-ants **mi-e-r** **mi-ú-as**] rái a-é-t-c-aan.
 3p-ERG girl-PL.ABS 1p-OBL-DAT 1pO-give-INF want NEG-3yS-do-NPST-3pS
 ‘They do not want to give girls to us (in marriage).’

This is what we expect if subject agreement is a property of finite T, whereas object agreement is a property of a distinct syntactic head. The structure of a clause like (6) is thus roughly (8).

(8)



We may then tentatively assume that the inflected verb is built by head movement, which right-adjoins the verb root to v, and then left-adjoins the v+V complex to T. The result is that the object agreement in v ends up as a prefix,⁶ and tense morphology together with subject agreement ends up as a suffix to the verb stem (although alternatives exist; the details are not crucial).

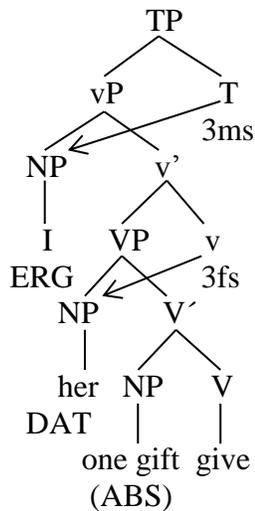
We need to bear in mind, however, is that there is some lexical variability concerning object agreement in Burushaski. Some verbs simply prohibit it, some permit it with countable nouns (gender x) but not mass nouns (gender y) (Willson 1996:13. 26-27, 33), and some use it

only with human nouns (Yoshioka 2012: ch 9, who refers also to Berger). This variation complicates somewhat one point made below.

Another useful property of agreement in Burushaski is that both subject and object agreement are insensitive to the case of the agreed-with NP, as recognized by all sources, and emphasized in Baker (2008). Thus T agrees with the subject in the same way regardless of whether it is ergative (in transitive sentences) or absolutive (in intransitives), as shown by underlining in (1a,b). Likewise, v agrees with the highest NP inside VP in the same way regardless of whether it is or absolutive, as in monotransitives like (6), or dative, as in ditransitives like (9) (and (7)) (Willson 1996:35; see also Lorimer 1935:219, Anderson and Eggert 2001:239, Grune 1998:13, Munshi 2006:138-139, Munshi n.d.: 30, Yoshioka 2012:242). (9) has clear object agreement (*mu-*) with the feminine singular dative object, but no sign of object agreement with its x gender theme (*i-*); indeed verbs never bear agreement with more than one object in Burushaski.

- (9) a. Ja-a **in-mo-r** hán tofá-an **mu-ú-abayam.**
 I-ERG her-OBL-DAT one gift.x-INDEF.ABS 3fO-give-1sS
 ‘I have given her a gift.

b.



Therefore, agreement provides a window into the structure of the clause that is independent of morphological case.

Finally, Burushaski is quite unusual in that the sole argument of an unaccusative verb—a verb that selects a theme argument but no agent—triggers *both* object agreement and subject agreement on the verb. This can be seen in (10); contrast the unergative examples in (1a) and (11), where the sole argument triggers only subject agreement (see also Lorimer 1935:218-219, etc.).

(10) a. Acaanák **hilés** **i-ír-imi.** (Willson 1996:19)

suddenly boy 3mO-die-3mS.PST

‘Suddenly the boy died.’

b. Uwe **hilešo** **u-waal-uman.** (Munshi n.d.:15)

DEM boy.PL 3pO-lost-3pS

‘Those boys [got] lost.’

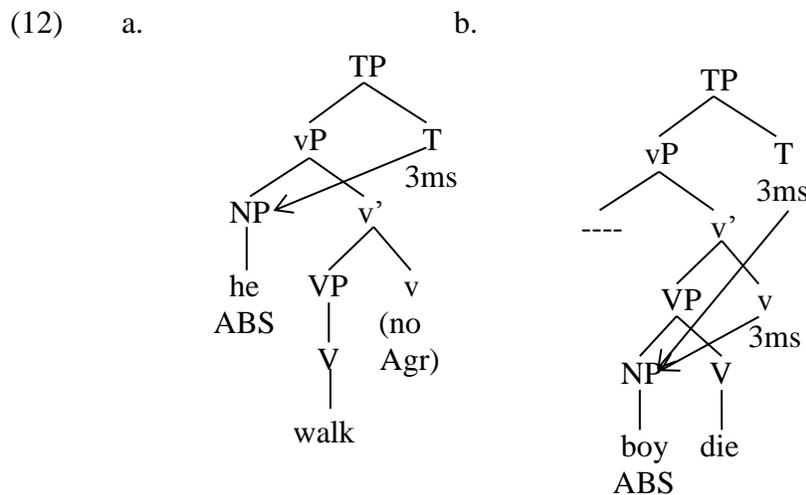
(11) a. Síruf hir-i girát-c-aan akhóle. (Willson 1996:19)

only man-PL.ABS dance-NPST-3pS here

‘Only men dance here.’

Willson (1996:19-21) describes this explicitly as a difference between unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs; others present what I take to be the same generalization in more semantically-oriented terms. For example, Munshi (2006:130-132) says that verbs with double agreement have subjects that are experiencers or undergoers of the action, whereas verbs with single agreement involve some kind of volition on part of the subject. See also Grune (1998:13), Anderson and Eggert (2001:241-242), and Yoshioka (2012:250-252) for similar observations.

The standard Chomskian treatment of unaccusative verbs is that their theme arguments are generated in the same position as direct objects are, but then may move to the subject position to fulfill the need for a clause to have a subject (Burzio, 1986). It is significant, then, that both these grammatical functions are recorded in Burushaski by the two kinds of agreement. A possible syntactic structure is shown in (12b), compared with the unergative structure in (12a); note that *v* must agree strictly downward in this language to account for the contrast (see Baker 2008:216).



This crosslinguistically rare property depends on at least two more basic properties of Burushaski. First, the fact that agreement is not related to case assignment in Burushaski is a precondition for having this double agreement, since if the two agreeing heads put incompatible case requirements on the NP that they agreed with, then they could not both agree with the same NP. However, double agreement on unaccusative verbs is even more restricted than this; it is not found in Bantu languages, for example. We may describe this by saying that many languages impose a requirement such that a single morphological form cannot manifest more than one agreement with the same NP at PF (see Carstens (2005), who follows Kinyalolo (1991)), whereas Burushaski clearly does not. However, the precise details of why most languages do not

show this theoretically very useful form of double agreement are not crucial here. What is important is that object agreement in Burushaski gives us a good independent test for whether a given NP is internal to VP (inside the domain of *v*) or not: if it is, it should trigger object agreement, regardless of its case properties or whether it subsequently moves to the subject position. This is important below.

X.3. Absolutive-absolutive verbs

I turn now to the first major puzzle for a structural account of ergativity in Burushaski: the fact that a small number of verbs take two absolutive arguments and no ergative argument, as in (3). Another example from Willson (1996:44) is (13a); (13b) is from Munshi (n.d.:41) (note that the second argument is a nominalized clause); more are found in Lorimer (1935:220).

- (13) a. *Jé ué tsum búT peesá a-yá-am.*⁷
 I.ABS DEM.PL from much money.x.ABS 1sO-obtain-PST.1sS
 ‘I obtained much money from them.’
- b. *Je [un d-uko-Sqalt-a nu-se] d-a-yal-a bayam.*⁸
 I.ABS you.ABS D-2sO-arrive-1sS PTCP-say D-1sO-listen-1sS be.PST.1sS
 ‘I heard that you arrived.’

Other verbs that behave like this include ‘find’, and ‘perceive’ (Willson 1996: 44, 54 n.81). Why are these verbs special in this way?

In Baker (2014, 2015), I studied an analogous phenomenon in Shipibo, an ergative language of Eastern Peru. I related the fact that some dyadic verbs in Shipibo have two absolutive arguments to the robust fact that all triadic verbs in Shipibo have two absolutive arguments: the theme and the goal. Indeed, Burushaski also has triadic verbs with two absolutive

arguments, as shown in (14) (Willson 1996:33, 61)—although the way that three-argument verbs are realized is more variable in Burushaski than in Shipibo, because of Burushaski’s lexical dative case (compare (9); also Munshi 2006:197).

- (14) a. Hilés-e dasín taswír móo-ltir-imi.
 boy-ERG girl.ABS picture.y.ABS 3fO-show-3mS.PST
 ‘The boy showed the girl the picture.’
- b. BúT sis-e hamíd sawáal-iN d-é-Garus-uman.
 many people-ERG Hamid.ABS question.y-PL.ABS D-3mO-ask-3pS.PST
 ‘Many people asked Hamid questions.’

Even unremarkable-seeming examples like (14) present a challenge to the simplest version of dependent case assignment, since the goal argument c-commands the theme argument, as revealed by the fact that *v* agrees with the goal, not the theme (the structure is identical to (9b), except that the higher object is not marked dative). Why then doesn’t the goal argument receive ergative case, in accordance with (2a)? The hope is once the puzzle posed by (14) has been addressed, the same solution will work for (3) and (13) in Burushaski, as in Shipibo.

My account is as follows. The theme does not trigger ergative on the goal in (14) because both NPs are contained in VP, and ergative case does not apply when VP domains are spelled out, but only when TP domains are. The theoretical infrastructure for this is Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) notion of derivation by phase. According to phase theory, *v* is a phase head that triggers the spell out of its VP complement, and *C* is a distinct phase head that triggers the spell out of its TP complement. Suppose further that dependent case is assigned to c-command pairs (NP_x , NP_y) at Spell Out, just as linear order is fixed at Spell Out by such pairs in Chomsky’s (1995) version of Kayne’s (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom. Now what kind of spell out domain do NP_x

and NP_y need to be in in order for NP_x to receive ergative case? The answer, apparently, is that they must be in a TP domain. In Baker (2014), I observe that the kind of dependent case that is assigned to the higher of two NPs in a single domain can vary across the domains: it can be ergative in TPs, genitive in NPs, and structural dative in VPs. In addition, these distinctions can be neutralized, completely or in part,⁹ and some of these domains may simply lack a rule of dependent case assignment. What (14) shows us, then, is that VP domains in Burushaski (like Shipibo) do not have high dependent case assigned: they do not have their own distinctive case (the goal is not consistently dative), nor do they use the same case that is assigned in another domain (the goal is not ergative or genitive). We can also infer that when there is dative case on the goal argument, as in (9), that must be a lexical case, assigned idiosyncratically by some verbs but not others, given that the gross structures of (9) and (14) are the same, as evidenced by the similar patterns of verb-agreement. Dative in Burushaski is different in this respect from structural dative in Sakha, as analyzed by Baker and Vinokurova (2010).¹⁰

In addition to these assumptions about domains, we also need to appeal to a kind of strict cycle condition. Burushaski is a uniformly ergative language, not a differential case marking language in which case marking depends on whether the object undergoes object shift out of VP or not (contrast Baker (2015:sec. 4.2.1) on Ika and Ostyak). Therefore, the object is always part of the representation of the clause when TP is spelled out, even though it was already spelled out with VP. In other words, *v* in Burushaski is what Baker (2015) calls a *soft* phase head: it triggers the spell out of its VP complement, including the fixing of word order and structural case properties, but the contents of VP are still carried forward into the representation of TP. When there are two arguments inside VP, as in (14), both are carried forward. We thus need to ask why the c-command pair (girl, picture) in (14a) does not result in ‘girl’ receiving ergative when TP is

spelled out, even though it does not receive ergative (or dative) when VP is spelled out. The reason for this, I claim, is because that pair was already considered for case at the spell out of VP, and only new c-command pairs are considered at the spell out of TP—only pairs that include the agent ‘boy’, which was not present when VP was spelled out. This is reminiscent of the Strict Cycle Condition of Mascaro (1976) and Kiparsky (1982), where phonological rules apply only in environments which are created for the first time on the relevant cycle. If we assume the same thing for how structural case is derived by phases, then the case properties of (14) are accounted for. The derivation goes as in (15).

(15) <u>Structure spelled out</u>	<u>New c-c pairs</u>	<u>Case assigned</u>
a. [_{VP} [_{VP} girl [picture see] v]	(girl, picture)	girl: --, picture: --
b. [_{CP} [_{TP} [_{VP} boy [_{VP} girl [picture see] v] T] C]	(boy, girl)	boy: ERG
	(boy, picture)	girl: --, picture: --
c. After default case assignment: boy: ERG, girl: ABS, picture: ABS		

This analysis also applies to dyadic clauses with two absolutive arguments, like those in (3) and (13), as long as we assume that their verbs are dyadic unaccusative verbs—verbs with two internal arguments and no external argument. In Baker (2014), I claimed that this assumption was thematically plausible for Shipibo, because the relevant verbs do not have agentive subjects, but rather subjects that are experiencers or possessors, thematic roles that can be closely aligned with the goal role. For example, experiencer verbs often have dative subjects in languages like Icelandic, the same case that marks goal arguments in ditransitives. It is reasonable to assume that the experiencers are projected in the same syntactic position as goal arguments (cf. the UTAH of Baker 1988)—in SpecVP rather than SpecvP. Indeed, ABS-ABS verbs have nonagentive experiencer/possessor subjects in Burushaksi as well. Given this, the

derivation is in (16). The pair (I, money) is considered for case when VP is spelled out, but there is no high dependent case for this domain in Burushaski. Both NPs are forwarded to TP, and TP is spelled out. Now ergative case is available in principle, but the only c-command pair is (I, money) and that is not considered on this cycle, because it was already considered at the spell out of VP. Therefore, ergative case does not apply, and both arguments get default absolutive case.

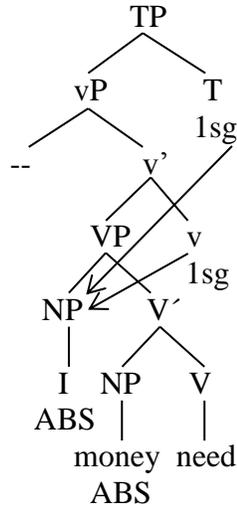
(16) <u>Structure spelled out</u>	<u>New c-c pairs</u>	<u>Case assigned</u>
a. [_{VP} [_{VP} I [<u>money need</u>] v]	(I, money)	I : --, money : --
b. [_{CP} [_{TP} [_{VP} [_{VP} I [<u>money need</u>] v] T] C]	none	I : --, money : --
c. After default case assignment :	I : ABS, money : ABS	

Agreement in Burushaski provides strong independent confirmation for this analysis.

Recall that monadic unaccusative verbs have special agreement behavior, in that their arguments trigger both prefixal (v) agreement and suffixal (T) agreement on the same verb. It so happens that ABS-ABS verbs in Burushaski show the same kind of double agreement with their experiencer arguments as ordinary unaccusative verbs do with their theme arguments, whereas the second arguments of these verbs are not agreed with at all. Willson (1996:43-44) is explicit about this generalization; it is also visible in (13b) from Munshi (n.d.), and the double agreement is what leads Lorimer (1935:220) to notice these verbs as a special class. ABS-ABS verbs differ from ERG-ABS verbs in this respect, the latter showing prefixal agreement with the absolutive argument and suffixal agreement with the ergative argument. Now this special agreement behavior is just what we should expect when we combine the analysis of agreement in section 2 with the analysis of ABS-ABS verbs based on Baker (2014). My account of why the higher argument lacks ergative case depends crucially on it already being present inside VP when VP is initially spelled out. If it is inside VP, then v should agree with it. Moreover, it blocks v from

agreeing with the other argument (the theme) by the intervention condition on Agree, given that the experiencer is the closer target to v. T also agrees with its closest target, which is the experiencer again, resulting in double agreement with the experiencer. The structure of (3) is (17), with the agreements marked.

(17)



In contrast, ordinary agentive transitive verbs have one argument inside VP where v agrees with it and the other argument in SpecvP where T agrees with it ((8)). Burushaski's agreement patterns thus give us independent evidence that verbs like 'need' and 'hear' appear in clauses with a different syntactic structure than verbs like 'see' and 'hit'. This difference in structure induces a difference in how dependent case assignment applies within a cyclic derivation. A descriptive theory that is content to stipulate that verbs can have idiosyncratic case frames without appealing to structure does not explain this correlation between special case marking and special agreement. This sort of independent evidence was not available in Shipibo, which has a very limited agreement system. Therefore, Burushaski makes a distinctive contribution to the theory of ergativity in this respect.¹¹

It also is worth noting that there is no sign of Burushaski having dyadic verbs that take two ergative arguments and no absolutive argument in any of the sources. If lexical items could stipulate special case frames, it is not clear why there could not be such verbs: why should the frame [ERG ERG V] be banned but [ABS ABS V] allowed? But this gap follows from a dependent-case view based on (2), where lexical items project certain syntactic structures, and those structures are the proximal causes of structural case marking. On this view, a single clause could only have two ergative arguments if it had two NPs such that NP_x c-commands NP_y and NP_y c-commands NP_x . But there can be no such configuration under current theories of clause structure, which bar mutual c-command between two arguments of the same predicate.

Not all ergative languages allow dyadic clauses with an ABS-ABS case pattern, the way Shipibo and Burushaski do. For example, Kalaallisut, Chukchi, and Ingush (Nichols, 2011:sec 21.2) do not. In Baker (2015), I tacitly assumed that this was because languages could lack the relevant structures; they simply might not have verbs with two VP-internal arguments and no external argument. However, new data from Baker and Bobaljik (this volume) (B&B) suggests that this assumption might not be general enough. For example, the Yup'ik example in (18a) has ergative case on the malefactive argument, even though that seems to be an internal argument, based on comparison with the similar applicative with an agent argument in (18b).

- (18) a. Ing-um maklagaq kic-i-lq-aa.
 that.one-ERG bearded.seal.ABS sink-APPL-PST-3SO.3SS
 ‘The bearded seal sank on that guy.’
- b. Qimugte-m ner-i-a angun akuta-mek.
 dog-ERG eat-APPL-3SO.3SS man.ABS mixture-ABL
 ‘The dog ate some ‘akutaq’ on the man.’

Where then does this crosslinguistic variation come from? Similar questions may be posed by B&B's example (10) from Chukchi.

It would be very strange to say that derivations in some languages obey a strict cycle condition, whereas those in another language do not (and my hard phase/soft phase distinction is no help here). Rather, the best thing to say might be that in Yup'ik ergative case applies when VP is spelled out as well as when TP is—an option Baker (2015:sec. 4.2) uses for Ika and Ubykh. In other words, ergative case assignment happens already at the stage equivalent to (16a) in Yup'ik. The potential problem with this proposal is that it predicts that ergative case assignment should also happen at the (15a) stage in the derivation of a ditransitive construction in Yup'ik, with the result that the goal argument of the ditransitive verbs should also have ergative case. This is true for Ika and Ubykh, but not for Yup'ik or Chukchi. However, this is not an actual problem if Yup'ik happens to lack ditransitive constructions of the relevant kind—if no transitive verbs have the subcategorization frame [__NP NP], but only [__NP PP]. (This seems to be true in Finnish, for example; see Kiparsky (2001:341).) Then the problematic-looking prediction turns out to be vacuous. And indeed that seems to be true for Yup'ik and Chukchi: they have no verbs that appear with an ERG-ABS-ABS case frame; rather, all triadic verbs appear with an ERG-ABS-OBL pattern, including some kind of oblique case (e.g. allative, instrumental) that can be analyzed as a PP (Nedjalkov 1976, Jonathan Bobaljik, p.c.). My tentative prediction, then, is that any language that has ergative case on the higher of two NPs in a dyadic unaccusative construction will also lack a ditransitive construction with two absolutive arguments. Niuean illustrates the other side of the predicted correlation: like Burushaski, it has ABS-ABS case patterns with (derived) dyadic unaccusatives (see B&B's example (13)), and like Burushaski it has ERG-ABS-ABS case patterns in ditransitive constructions (Massam,

2006:33).¹² Preliminary results are thus consistent with my prediction, although it should be investigated more fully in future research.

X.4 Ergative-dative verbs

The second major wrinkle to ergativity in Burushaski is the fact that some dyadic verbs that take a dative complement have an absolutive subject, whereas others have an ergative subject, as shown in (5). The ABS-DAT pattern seen in (4) is the normal one, whereas the ERG-DAT pattern is restricted to a handful of verbs. Another example from Willson (1996: 37) is (19a); (19b) is one from Munshi (n.d.: 37); see also Lorimer (1935:78).¹³

- (19) a. *Ín-e hilés-e-r Garí-c-ubo.*
she-ERG boy-OBL-DAT talk.badly-NPST-3fS.PRES
'She scolds the boy.'
- b. *...daa hurmat-e mal basiy-ar barey bay.*
and Hurmat-ERG field garden-DAT look.after be.PRES.3mS
'...and Hurmat looks after the garden and field.'

What then accounts for this seemingly lexical difference?

This issue does not arise in Shipibo, but it does in Warlpiri, and Baker (2015) discusses it from the perspective of dependent case theory. In particular, I claim that the dative phrases that go with absolutive subjects are really PPs, whereas the dative phrases that go with ergative subjects are NPs with oblique (lexical) case.¹⁴ This distinction seems semantically plausible, in that the dative expression in (4) is more of a canonical directional argument than the datives in (19), which are on the borderline between themes and goals. It is also morphologically plausible, in that the overt expression of what I am calling dative case is somewhat ambiguous between

what one would expect of a true PP and what one would expect of a case suffix. For example, Willson (1996) writes *r* as a separate postposition, glossed ‘to’, which assigns oblique case to its NP complement, but he remarks (1996:10) that *r* is not a phonologically independent word. In contrast, Munshi (n.d.) writes noun+*r* as one word and uses the gloss ‘DAT’.

The distinction between PP and NP is highly relevant because PPs do not trigger ergative case on their coarguments: the PP itself does not bear the right kind of nominal features, and its NP complement is rendered invisible by P being a (hard) phase head that causes the NP to be spelled out and thus removed from the representation. The inertness of PPs for dependent case can be seen for uncontroversial PPs in Burushaski in (20), where the subjects are absolutive.

(20) a. Dasín há-e le hurút-umo. (Willson 1996:3)

girl.ABS house-OBL in sit-PST.3fS

‘The girl sat in the house.’

b. Huk bel-e yoondal hal del-imi (Munshi n.d.: (18))

dog.x.ABS wall-OBL above jump hit-3xS

‘The dog jumped above the wall.’

(4) can be analyzed in the same way.

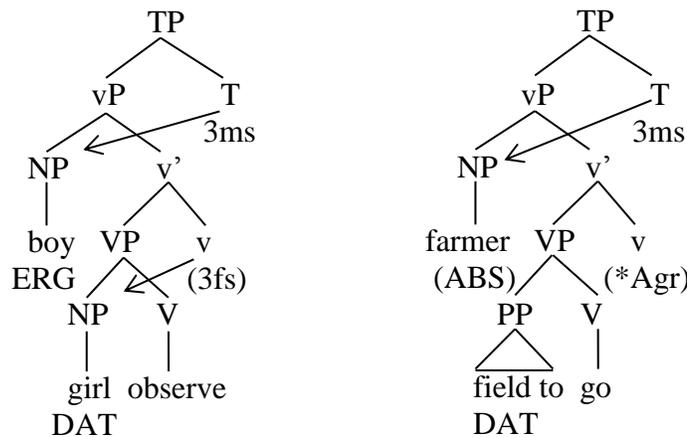
In contrast, NPs with oblique case are potential triggers of ergative case, as far as category features and structure are concerned. Marantz (1991) said that NPs with oblique case do not trigger dependent case on another nearby NP, thinking of Icelandic, but Baker (2015:sec. 5.1) claims that this is parameterized. Burushaski then would have the same parameter setting as Warlpiri rather than Icelandic in this respect. Indeed, the sense that it is the dative NP that triggers ergative case on the subject is strengthened by Willson’s (1996:37) observation that the

verb ‘curse’ in (19a) can be used without a dative complement, and then the subject is absolutive, not ergative.¹⁵

- (21) In búT Gar’-c-ubo.
 she.ABS much talk.badly-NPST-3fs.PRES
 ‘She curses a lot.’

This strongly suggests that it is the dative NP that triggers ergative on the subject, rather than the verb stipulating in its lexical entry that its subject must be ergative, or ergative being triggered by some kind of covert theme argument. So (19) is support for a dependent case view, but it requires that some dative expressions count as NPs rather than PPs. The contrasting structures are in (22).

(22)



Once again, we can look to Burushaski’s agreement system for independent support for the crucial assumption. We saw in section 2 that agreement in Burushaski is insensitive to case features. Therefore, it is possible that functional heads in this language could agree with an NP with oblique dative case. In contrast, we expect agreement to be ruled out with PPs in Burushaski, as in most other languages: the PP itself does not have the relevant phi-features, and it is a phase head that renders its NP complement invisible to the outside world. Indeed, v does

not agree with (the objects of) uncontroversial PPs like those in (20) (nor does T). We predict, then, that dative expressions should vary in their agreement properties in Burushaski: some should participate in agreement and some should not, depending on their underlying category. This is true. (7) and (9) already gave examples in which *v* agrees with the dative argument of a three-argument verb. But Willson (1996:17, 36) shows that there are other ‘give’-type verbs where *v* does not agree with the dative, but must agree with the theme. (23) gives two examples (see also Lorimer (1935:77-78) and Anderson and Eggert (2001:239)).¹⁶

- (23) a. Hilés-e dasín-mo-r **toofá-muts** pífish o-t-imi.
 boy-ERG girl-OBL-DAT gift.x-PL.ABS present 3pO-do-3mS.PST
 ‘The boy presented gifts to the girl.’
- b. Jé-e gó-e-r **cái** tayáar é-t-am.¹⁷
 I-ERG you-OBL-DAT tea.y.ABS prepare 3yO-do-1sS.PST
 ‘I prepared tea for you.’

Agreement on T can also reveal the NP/PP distinction. ‘Find’ in (24) is a “dative subject” verb in which T agrees with the dative NP; ‘memorize’ in (25) is a comparable two-argument verb in which T agrees not with the dative argument, but with the absolutive NP, which acts like the subject in (at least) this sense.

- (24) ó-Italik dish-míN ulo ín-e-r sawáabkuSh d-ée-Gurk-c-ai.
 3p-both place.y-PL.ABS in he-DAT reward.y.ABS D-3mO-find-NPST-3mS
 ‘In both places he will find reward.’ (Willson 1996: 42)
- (25) Tók gitáap jé-e-r záp b-ilúm.
 entire book.y.ABS I-OBL-DAT memorize be-3yS.PST
 ‘I memorized the entire book.’

(Willson 1996: 40, see also Lorimer 1935:78, Munshi 2006:133-134, Yoshioka 2012:58)

Note that in (24), *v* also agrees with the argument that *T* agrees with, as expected given that both are VP-internal arguments. (Similar double agreement might be expected in (25), but here the agreeing verb is the copula ‘be’, and this verb idiosyncratically fails to show object agreement in Burushaski.)

We see, then, that dative expressions in Burushaski do vary in their agreement behavior, just as we expect if some of them are NPs and others are PPs. This confirms an important assumption of the dependent case view. Again, there is no reason to say that verbs directly stipulate case frames; rather they project certain structures in accordance with their lexical semantic properties, and those structures determine how dependent case applies. Other syntactic processes are sensitive to the same structural differences, including agreement.

This argument is, however, somewhat indirect, because the predicates used to investigate the agreement properties of dative expressions are different from the ones used to see their dependent case properties. It would be nice to close the gap by showing that the very verbs that take an ABS-DAT case pattern block object agreement with the dative, whereas the ones that take an ERG-DAT case pattern permit object agreement with the dative. The first side of this prediction is true: there is no prefixal agreement with the goal in (4), even though the agent subject triggers only subject agreement, not object agreement (‘go’ counts as unergative in Burushaski). But the second side of this prediction is unfortunately not true: Willson (1996:38) states that *barénas* ‘look.at’ also does not show object agreement with its dative object (see (5), (19b)). Here we need to recall that object agreement is not entirely regular and uniform in Burushaski, as mentioned in section 2; even some ordinary transitive verbs fail to show agreement with their objects for no obvious syntactic reason. I must say, then, that *barénas*

happens to be one of these morphologically defective verbs that does not manifest object agreement, even though it would be permitted syntactically (and so is *Garis* ‘scold’, apparently). One might hope that some other verb in this class would show the predicted object agreement, but that may not be true. Since only a small number of dyadic verbs take dative objects in the first place (Willson mentions only two), it is possible that all of them have this same morphological defect—especially if historical factors play a role.¹⁸ Despite this failure to connect all the dots, I consider it significant that, looking at Burushaski as a whole, dative expressions vary in whether they behave like PPs or like NPs for both agreement and dependent case assignment.¹⁹

X.5 Absolutive subjects in future tense

There is one further wrinkle to straightforward ergativity in Burushaski that is worth discussing. This is the fact that clauses in the future tense sometimes have absolutive subjects even when the verb is transitive. Willson (1996:17) gives the following contrasting pair:

- (26) a. Hilés-e dasin mu-yeéts-imi.
 boy-ERG girl.ABS 3fO-see-PST.3mS
 ‘The boy saw the girl.’
- b. Hilés dasín mu-yeéts-c-i(mi).
 boy.ABS girl.ABS 3fO-see-NPST-3mS.FUT
 ‘The boy will see the girl.’

There has been some confusion in the descriptive literature about the scope of this phenomenon. Lorimer (1935:64-67) claimed that past/perfective clauses had ergative subjects and nonpast/imperfective clauses did not in Burushaski, as in Hindi and some other South Asian

languages. However, Tiffou and Morin (1982) argue that Lorimer was misled in this because of difficulties in transcribing stress and vowel length. They claim that the phenomenon is much more narrow: only first and second person pronouns in future tense (and perhaps imperatives) are absolutive where one would expect ergative on the basis of transitivity; see also Munshi (2006:143-144) and Yoshioka (2012:247). Willson (1996) agrees with Tiffou and Morin that the transitive subject is absolutive only in the future, but he does not limit this to local pronouns; (26b) has a third person subject in absolutive case. So there seems to be some variation regarding this phenomenon, which I cannot get to the bottom of here. Nevertheless, there is enough data to make it worth asking what is different about future clauses, such that ergative case is used less reliably in them. This is another instance of one particular lexical item (a T?) apparently putting an idiosyncratic condition on the case of a nearby NP. Can it also be seen as being at bottom a difference in syntactic structure, as a pure dependent case theory suggests?

In Baker (2015), I discussed two instances of tense-aspect governed split ergativity of this general sort, in Coast Tsimshian and Semelai. Both languages provide good evidence that something structural is at work, since clauses with an ABS-ABS case pattern differ from clauses with an ERG-ACC case pattern not only in their tense-aspect, but also in the positions of the NPs inside the clause. Therefore, I argued that certain tense-aspect heads can be specified as being phase heads, in addition to the universal phase heads C and v. As such, they induce an additional phase boundary in the clause (see also Coon and Preminger (this volume) for a closely related idea). If the subject is very high (as subjects are in SVO order in Semelai) and T or Asp is a phase head, then the subject is in a different domain from the object at Spell Out. The result is that the subject does not see the object for purposes of (2), and ergative case marking does not happen. In contrast, if the subject is lower (as it is in VSO order in Semelai) and/or if T or Asp is

not a phase head, then the subject and the object are in the same spell out domain, and ergative case assignment happens as usual.

How might this apply to Burushaski? Since Burushaski is a verb-final language, we cannot expect to tell how high the subject is from simple facts about surface word order; we expect SOV order regardless of whether the subject is relatively high or relatively low (cf. Baker 2001:136-137). Nevertheless, on the dependent case view, we might expect to observe some structural way in which future tense is different from other tense-aspect combinations that underlies the difference in case.

Indeed, inspection of Burushaski's verb paradigms reveals that there is something structurally special about the future tense: it is the only tense-aspect that is based on the present form of the stem and does not use the auxiliary 'be'. The future tense is thus special in having a sequence of tense-aspect markers affixed to the same stem: $V+c+m+AGR$. Willson (1996) does not give a full paradigm, but other descriptions agree on this point. (27) is based on Tiffou and Pesot (1989); see also Grune (1998):10-11), Munshi (n.d.: (84)), and Yoshioka (2012:248).

- (27)
- | | | | |
|----|------------|-------------------|---|
| a. | Future: | $root+c+m+Agr$ | |
| b. | Present: | $Root+c+a/u(m)$ | $be+Agr$ (Present, Present progressive) |
| c. | Imperfect: | $Root+c+a/u(m)$ | $be+m+Agr$ (--, past progressive) |
| d. | Aorist 1: | $Root+Agr$ | (Past, --) |
| e. | Aorist 2: | $Root+m+Agr$ | (Past II, simple past) |
| f. | Perfect: | $Root+a/u(m)$ | $be+Agr$ (--, present perfect) |
| g. | Pluperfect | $Root+a/u(m)$ | $be+m+Agr$ (--, past perfect) |
| h. | Past | $Root+aasc+m+Agr$ | (past III, --) |
| i. | Past | $Root\ Root$ | $be+m+Agr$ (--, --) |

j. -- Root-*c-ume* be+Agr (--, present perfect continuous)

Munshi's (n.d.) forms are a bit different from Tiffou and Pesot's, in that they lack the final /m/ on the past and present participles and (therefore?) the participle contracts with the auxiliary 'be' in some parts of the paradigm (see also Yoshioka 2012). However, there is no substantive disagreement about the overall structure of the tense-aspect system. It is notable that the future is the only nonperiphrastic tense built from the present/continuous stem, the only one in which the main verb bears both the present/continuous affix *-c* and the agreement morpheme. In contrast, past tense verbs are simplex and bear agreement but have no analog of *-c*, and progressive forms (both present and past) contain the morpheme *-c* but are periphrastic, with primary agreement showing up on the auxiliary rather than the main verb. Therefore there is room to say that having both *-c* and agreement on the same stem creates a domain boundary that hides the object from the subject.

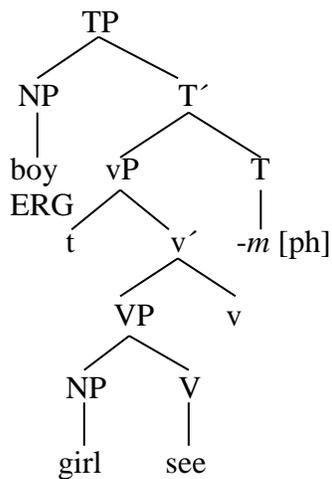
This situation is interestingly different from the one I discussed for Coast Tsimshian and Semelai because there is no one morpheme that can be blamed for the lack of ergative marking; neither *-c* by itself (in the present) nor Agr by itself (in the past) disrupts ergativity, but only the combination of the two. However, the effect can be captured rather nicely if we adopt the Phase Impenetrability Condition of Chomsky (2001:14) rather than that of Chomsky (2000). This can be stated as in (28).

(28) If H is a phase head, and Z is the next higher phase head, then no element higher than Z can access anything inside the complement of H.

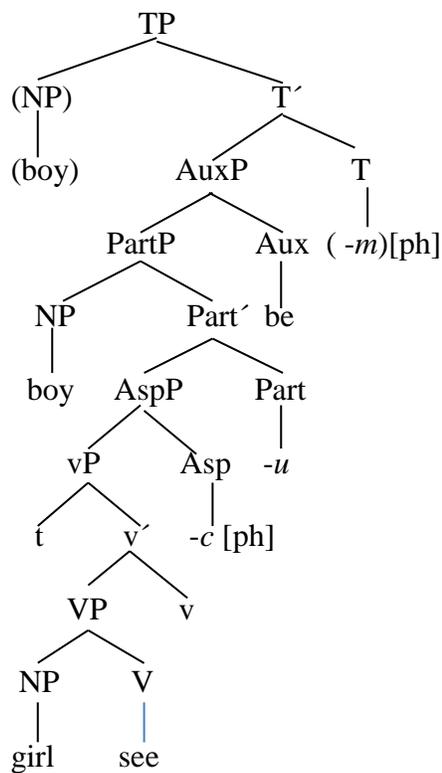
This version holds that material in the complement of one phase head remains visible until the next phase head is reached, and only then is it removed from the representation. Suppose, then, that *-c* is an Aspect head (for concreteness; the exact label does not matter), the principal

agreement-bearing head is T, and both count as phase heads. Suppose further that there is an intermediate position (SpecPartP) for the subject to raise to that is above AspP but below the auxiliary in a complex tense,²⁰ but there is no intermediate landing site for the subject in a simplex tense; in those clauses the subject raises straight from its thematic position inside vP to SpecTP. Then we have representations like the following, assuming that morpheme order is a good guide to syntactic structure here (Baker 1985). (I ignore v as a phase head, assuming that it is a soft phase head in the sense of Baker (2015).)

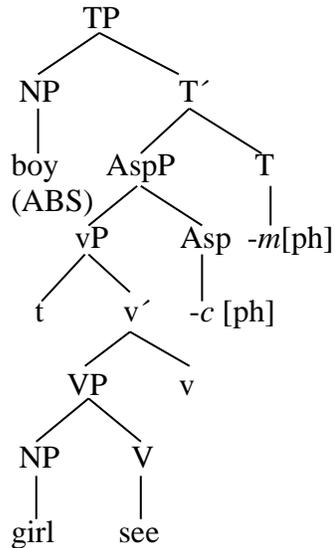
(29) a. Simple past



b. Periphrastic present or past progressive



c. future tense



In the simple past structure in (29a), T is the first relevant phase head, but its complement remains visible until the next phase head (C) is reached, so the subject in SpecTP sees the object in VP and is marked ergative. In contrast, in the future structure in (29c), Aspect is a phase head and Tense is a second phase head. Therefore, the object inside the vP complement of Aspect is not visible to the subject, which is higher than the second phase head T. Therefore, the object does not trigger ergative on the subject in (29b). This explains Willson's contrast between (26a) and (26b).²¹ Finally, Aspect is a phase head in (29c) also, but here the subject lands in SpecPartP, below the next phase head T. The complement of Aspect is thus still visible to the subject in SpecPartP, and the subject is marked ergative (perhaps later raising to SpecTP). In this way, we can use a known grammatical principle to relate the fact that the future can allow absolutive subjects to its unique morphosyntactic structure within the Burushaski paradigm.²²

I do not want to oversell this analysis. It is fragile in that it depends both on the idiosyncratic phase status of certain heads (T, Asp) and on a crucial assumption about clause

structure (subjects can land in SpecPartP but not in, say, SpecAspP). The empirical facts are also fragile, in that other sources report more ergative subjects in the future tense than Willson does, and in that the distinction between periphrastic tenses and simplex tenses may be breaking down as auxiliaries undergo contraction with participles into a single word (Munshi n.d.: (85)).

Nevertheless, I have shown that it is possible in principle to explain why a complex tense-aspect combination might fail to have ergative subjects whereas simpler tense-aspect combinations do have ergative subjects. Whether this tendency is found in other ergative languages remains to be seen.

X.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have considered three apparent deviations from canonical ergativity in Burushaski: clauses with experiencer verbs that have two absolutive arguments, clauses that have an ergative subject and a dative complement, and future tense clauses that have an absolutive subject as well as an absolutive object. In each situation, I found evidence from the morphological characteristics of the verb—either its agreement properties or its sequence of tense-aspect morphemes—that the structure of the clause is different from the structure of ordinary transitive sentences in a simple tense. This confirms that we can have a straightforward, structure-based theory of ergative case assignment in which ergative is assigned to the higher of two NPs in the same local domain (dependent case). There is no need to say that lexical items can stipulate directly which NPs are ergative and which are absolutive. This replicates the results of Baker (2014, 2015) for Shipibo and other ergative languages.

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Notes

¹ For helpful comments on this chapter, I thank Jonathan Bobaljik, Miriam Butt, and Jessica Coon. For contributions to the larger project of which this is a part, see the acknowledgments in Baker (2015).

² When I say for convenience that “all sources agree” about a certain grammatical point, I have in mind these sources, except for Berger (1974), which I do not have the language skills to read for myself. I take illustrative examples primarily from Willson (1996) and Munshi (n.d.), as the two modern sources that best cover the range of phenomena under consideration here. I also cite pages from Lorimer (1935) as the first comprehensive source on Burushaski, but do not present examples from that work because I would have to construct my own fallible glosses, and later authors express some concern about Lorimer’s phonetic transcriptions.

³ I have harmonized the glosses of examples taken from different sources. Abbreviations used in this effort include: ABL, ablative; ABS, absolutive; APPL, applicative; D, idiosyncratic verbal prefix (see note 8); DAT, dative; DEM, demonstrative; FUT, future; INF, infinitive; NEG, negative; NPST, nonpast; OBL, oblique; PL, plural; PRES, present; PST, past; PTCP, participle. Agreement morphemes are glossed with a triple consisting of a roman numeral indicating person (1,2,3), a lower case letter indicating gender or number (m, f, x, y, p), and an upper case letter indicating the grammatical function (S, O) of the agreed with NP. x and y are special genders in Burushaski, distinguishing roughly concrete count nouns (x) and abstract or mass nouns (y). I have made no attempt to harmonize phonological transcription practices.

⁴ This particular verb crucially always takes a dative object, even when the observed thing is inanimate, as seen in (19b). In contrast, verbs like ‘hit’ never take a dative object, even when the

object is animate and definite, as seen in (6). Therefore, Burushaski is not a so-called differential object marking language, the way Urdu and many other languages of the region are.

⁵ Miriam Butt and Maria Polinsky both ask if what I call “object agreement” could really be a type of incorporated (cliticized) pronoun, and if so, how the analysis would be affected. The issue is interesting, and I cannot fully resolve it here. The position and in some cases the form of the object marker might indeed suggest a clitic analysis (see Grune (1998:5-6) for a comparison of the forms). But there are some good reasons to adopt an agreement analysis, as in fact all the descriptive sources do. First, object marking on the verb is required (depending on the lexical properties of the verb) even if the object is a nonspecific indefinite (Munshi n.d.: ex (118)) or a nominal without independent referential power, like a reflexive anaphor (Willson 1996:18 ex (36)). Second, assuming that the putative incorporated pronouns have absolutive case, then they disagree in case with the overt nominal that doubles them in examples like (9). Such case mismatches are not common in the clitic-doubling literature. Third, it is not clear how a clitic-doubling approach would explain the presence of clitics doubling the subjects of unaccusative verbs but not unergative verbs (see (10) and (11)).

Even if object markers do turn out to be cliticized pronouns, they can still provide a test for syntactic structure, as long as Chomsky’s Agree is a precondition for cliticization, as in the theory of Kramer (2014).

⁶ One might wonder whether *v* ever has an overt morphological realization in Burushaski beyond object agreement, as Tense does. Possible candidates are the *d*- and *u*- prefixes found on intransitives in some anticausative pairs (Willson 1996:12, 27-29), and *s*-, a transitivizer/causativizer found only with unaccusative roots (Willson 1996: 57-58, Munshi n.d.: (97)). Indeed, all three show up as prefixes near the verb root, as object agreement does.

⁷ Note that ‘money’ has gender x, not y, the gender that most often fails to trigger object agreement in Burushaski. Hence the absence of object agreement with ‘money’ in (13a) is not due to its lexical properties.

⁸ The prefix *d-* here is a kind of preverb, which appears on a large number of verbs in Burushaski, as a semi-idiosyncratic lexical property. It can appear on verbs of any argument structure (Grune 1998:13), although with some roots it has a detransitivizing effect (Willson 1996:12, citing Berger). It appears on some ABS-ABS verbs, but not all.

I do not know why ‘arrive’ in this example is glossed as having a 1sS suffix rather than 2sS; this could be a typo in the source.

⁹ Indeed, Burushaski itself partially neutralizes the distinction between ergative and genitive: the two cases are homophonous except on nouns with feminine gender, where ergative is *-e* but genitive/oblique is *-mo*. See Baker (2015: sect 4.4) for an analysis of partial syncretisms like this within a theory in which ergative is high dependent case assigned within TPs and genitive can be high dependent case assigned within DPs.

¹⁰ Similarly, lexical dative case is assigned to the internal argument of a dyadic verb in (5) but not in (1b), and to the experiencer subject in (24) but not in (13). Additional evidence that dative is not structural dependent case assigned to the higher NP in VP in Burushaski is that it is never assigned to the causee of a productive causative construction, as happens in Sakha (see, e.g., Willson 1996:59-60).

¹¹ These agreement facts also tell against an analysis of examples like (13) in which they have the structure of ordinary transitive clauses but the verb assigns lexical absolutive case to its subject (a possibility raised by Miriam Butt).

¹² Another factor within my theory that influences whether a dyadic unaccusative verb heads an ERG-ABS clause or an ABS-ABS clause is which of the two arguments moves to SpecTP to fill the subject role. If for some reason the lower theme argument does this rather than the experiencer argument, then a new c-command pair (theme, experiencer) is present at the spell out of TP, triggering ergative on the theme. This is why in Shipibo applicatives of unaccusatives have an ergative argument, but reciprocals of ditransitives do not (Baker 2014, 2015). There is, however, no apparent reversal of the arguments in (18a) from Yup'ik, so ergative on the malefatee probably cannot be attributed to this.

¹³ Lorimer mentions explicitly that ‘look at’ in Burushaski is special in taking a dative complement, but his examples have null subjects, so it is not clear that the subject is ergative.

¹⁴ Miriam Butt points out that essentially the same distinction, made in less structural terms, exists in Lexical Functional Grammar as the difference between the grammatical functions OBJ(ect) and OBL(ique).

¹⁵ Note that we must say that the internal argument that is present in (19a) is completely absent in (21), not present as an empty category, since the indefinite null objects of verbs like ‘eat’ still trigger ergative case on the subject, judging by (i) from Munshi (n.d.: (59b)) (see Baker (2015:sec. 5.3) on this as a point of crosslinguistic variation in ergative languages). This seems reasonable semantically, since the gloss of (21) is not equivalent to ‘She scolded someone.’

(i) yuul i-xoliş xaa hurmat-e şi-mi.
 3-stomach 3-pain until Hurmat-ERG eat-3mS
 ‘Hurmat ate until it hurt his stomach.’

¹⁶ Another reason why some dative expressions might trigger agreement in Burushaski and others not could be that some are generated lower than the theme argument, whereas others are

generated above the theme. The higher sort of dative would be the closest target for *v* to agree with, as in (9), but the lower sort would not be; since the theme intervenes between it and *v*. This may well also be a factor in some examples—(24) versus (25), for example. However, this possibility would not render the NP/PP distinction superfluous. For example, sentences like (4) have a dative expression but no theme argument at all, so it cannot be the position of the dative relative to the theme that blocks agreement, but rather the presence of PP structure.

¹⁷ The examples in (23) (and (25)) are instances of a light verb construction (LVC), where a complex predicate is formed from a combination of noun and semantically bleached verb, as is common in South Asian languages and beyond. Sometimes nouns in such constructions count as direct objects, and sometimes they do not but are simply adjoined to the verb and inert for morphosyntax. (23a) and (23b) look like instances of the later type, because ‘present’ and ‘prepare’ do not trigger object agreement on ‘do’, nor do they prevent ‘gift’ and ‘tea’ from doing so. If so, the internal structure of the predicate can be ignored for current purposes. However, a general study of LVCs in Burushaski needs to be done, and it is conceivable that some clause types of interest either require or forbid the predicate to have an LVC structure, for reasons that would need to be discovered.

¹⁸ For example, it is very possible that dative-object verbs evolved historically from dative-PP verbs, the PP being reanalyzed as an NP. Then the older version of the verb would not have had object agreement for grammatical reasons, and acquirers of the new version could have interpreted it as being one of the defective verbs, lacking object agreement for morphological reasons.

¹⁹ Similar issues may arise for some source/malefactive arguments. Willson mentions that source/malefactive nominals marked with oblique case trigger an ergative subject with two verbs

(‘bite’ and ‘arrest’; 1996:39), and also that source/malefactive arguments sometimes trigger object agreement on the verb (e.g. with ‘snatch’, 1996:4). I thus tentatively say that the source/malefactive arguments selected by certain verbs can also count as oblique NPs rather than PPs for case and agreement.

²⁰ Some corroborating evidence for this assumption is that there is a modicum of person agreement on participles in Burushaski: the participle uses /a/ in (27b,c,f,g) if the subject is first person, but /u/ otherwise. According to the principles in Baker (2008), this implies that the subject merges with a projection of the participle head. In contrast, no lower person agreement is seen in the simplex tenses, only the outermost agreement associated with T.

²¹ Willson (1992:17 n.32) gives (i) as an exceptional example in which the subject of a future tense clause has ergative case, unlike (26b). I could potentially analyze this as an example in which the object, a likely bearer of focus, scrambles out of VP and thus escapes being spelled out with the complement of Asp, with the result that it does trigger ergative on the subject in SpecTP. Possible evidence in favor of the object being scrambled in (i) (but not (26b)) is that it appears before the adverb ‘also’.

- (i) Ún-e maasuum qaum ké o-sqan-c-uma.
 you-ERG innocent nation also 3pS-kill-NPST-2sS.FUT
 ‘Will you also kill the innocent nation?’

²² However, Baker (2015) uses Chomsky’s (2000) version of the PIC, so a unified version needs to be worked out—a task that goes beyond what I can attempt here.