

Mixed-Subject, p. 1

Syntactic ergativity is poorly named, because the Case marking is not necessarily directly related to subjecthood. In fact, a language could have the syntactic properties of “syntactic ergativity” without having any Case marking. We will therefore use different terminology. Languages in which the same element (S or A) has all the subject properties will be called **uniform-subject** languages. Languages in which subject properties are split will be called **mixed-subject** languages. This includes syntactically ergative languages and Philippine-type languages.

West Greenlandic Inuit

Anaphora (S/A)

- (1) a. Ataata- ni Juuna- p tativ(i- v)aa.
 father- REFL.POSS Juuna- ERG trust- IND.TR.3SG.3SG
 ‘Juuna_i trusts his_i father.’
- b. Aani illu- mi- nut ingerla- vo- q.
 Anne house- REFL.POSS- DAT go- IND.INTR- 3SG
 ‘Anne_i is going to her_i house.’
- c. *Anaana- mi Piita nagligi- jaña.
 mother- REFL.POSS(ERG) Piita love- 3SG.3SG
 ‘His_i mother loves Piita_i.’
 [example from Inuktutit]

Controllee (“PRO”) (S/A)

- (2) a. Miiqqat [Juuna ikiu- ssa- llu- gu] niriursui- pp- u- t.
 children Juuna help- FUT- INF- 3SG promise- IND- INTR- 3PL
 ‘The children promised to help Juuna.’
- b. Miiqqat [qiti- ssa- llu- tik] niriursui- pp- u- t.
 children dance- FUT- INF- REFL.PL promise- IND- INTR- 3PL
 ‘The children promised to dance.’

Wh movement (in relative clause) (S/P)

- (3) a. nanuq [Piita- p tuqu- ta- a]
 polar.bear Peter- ERG kill- TR.PART- 3SG
 ‘a polar bear that Peter killed’
- b. miirraq [kamat- tu- q]
 child.ABS angry- REL.INTR- SG
 ‘the child who is angry’
- c. *angut [aallaat tigu- sima- sa- a]
 man.ABS gun.ABS take- PRF- REL.TR- 3SG
 ‘the man who took the gun’

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Wide scope (S/P)

- (4) a. Atuartu- p ataasi- p Juuna uqaluqatigi- sima- nngi- la- a.
 student- ERG one- ERG Juuna talk.to- PERF- NEG- IND- 3SG.3SG
 (i) 'No student has talked to Juuna (yet).'
 (ii) 'One student hasn't talked to Juuna (yet).'
 b. Atuagaq ataasiq tikis- sima- nngi- la- q.
 book one come- PERF- NEG- IND- 3SG
 'One book hasn't come (yet).'
 c. Juuna- p atuagaq ataasiq tigu- sima- nngi- la- a.
 Juuna- ERG book one get- PERF- NEG- IND- 3SG3SG
 'There is a book which Juuna hasn't got (yet).'

Tagalog

Anaphora (S/A)

- (5) a. Sinakt- an ng babae ang kaniyang sarili.
 hurt- IO ERG woman NOM her self
 'A/The woman hurt herself.'
 b. Iniisip nila ang kanilang sarili.
 think.about.DO they.ERG NOM their self
 'They think about themselves.'
 c. Nag- iisip sila sa kanilang sarili.
 ACT- think.about they.NOM DAT their self
 'They think about themselves.'

Addressee of imperative (S/A)

- (6) a. Mag- alis ka ng bigas sa sako.
 ACT.INF- take.out you.NOM ACC rice DAT sack
 'Take some rice out of the/a sack.'
 b. Basah- in mo nga ang libro- ng ito.
 read- DO.INF you.ERG please NOM book- LNK this
 'Please read this book.'

Wh Movement (nominative)

- (7) a. Sino ang bumili ng damit para sa bata?
 who COMP ACT.bought ACC dress for DAT child
 b. *Sino ang binili para sa bata' ang damit?
 who COMP DO.bought for DAT child NOM dress
 c. *Sino ang ibinili ng damit ang bata'?
 who COMP BEN.bought ACC dress NOM child
 'Who bought the dress for the child?'
- (8) a. *Ano ang bumili para sa bata ang tao?
 what COMP ACT.bought for DAT child NOM man

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- b. Ano ang binili ng tao para sa bata?
what COMP DO.bought ERG man for DAT child
- c. *Ano ang ibinili ng tao ang bata?
what COMP BEN.bought ERG man NOM child
'What was bought for the child by the man?'
- (9) a. *Sino ang bumili ng damit ang tao?
who COMP ACT.bought ACC dress NOM man
- b. *Sino ang binili ng tao ang damit?
who COMP DO.bought ERG man NOM dress
- c. Sino ang ibinili ng tao ng damit?
who COMP BEN.bought ERG man ACC dress
'Who was bought the dress (for) by the man?'

Controllee (raised element) in raising constructions (nominative)

- (10) a. Pinang- aakalaan si Fidel [na makakagawa
IMPERF- think.IO NOM Fidel COMP ACT.NONVOL.FUT.do
ng mabute].
ACC good
'Fidel is thought to be able to do something good.'
- b. Malapit na si Manuel [na hulihin ng polis].
STAT.close already NOM Manuel COMP catch.DO ERG police
'Manuel is about to be arrested by the police.'

Definiteness (nominative)

- (11) a. Mag- aalis ang tindero ng bigas sa sako para sa babae.
ACT- take.out NOM storekeeper ACC rice DAT sack for DAT woman
'The storekeeper will take some rice out of a/the sack for a/the woman.'
- b. Aalis- in ng tindero ang bigas sa sako para sa babae.
take.out- DO ERG storekeeper NOM rice DAT sack for DAT woman
'A/the storekeeper will take the rice out of a/the sack for a/the woman.'
- c. Aalis- an ng tindero ng bigas ang sako para sa babae
take.out- IO ERG storekeeper ACC rice NOM sack for DAT woman
'A/the storekeeper will take some rice out of the sack for a/the woman.'
- d. Ipag- aalis ng tindero ng bigas sa sako ang babae.
BEN- take.out ERG storekeeper ACC rice DAT sack NOM woman
'A/the storekeeper will take some rice out of a/the sack for the woman.'
- e. Ipang- aalis ng tindero ng bigas sa sako ang sandok.
INS- take.out ERG storekeeper ACC rice DAT sack NOM scoop
'A/the storekeeper will take some rice out of a/the sack with the scoop.'

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A survey of mixed subject languages reveals that subject properties split as follows:

Group I

Agent, if there is one
addressee of imperative
Binding Theory prominence
Switch-reference controller and controllee
most likely to be realized as a zero pronominal (including controllee (PRO) in some languages)
subject is usually the discourse topic

Group II

deleted under coreference across coordination
controllee (PRO) in subordinate clause (some languages)
undergo Raising
most likely to “undergo *wh* movement”
“Indispensability” (obligatoriness)
strong preference for the subject to be definite
wide scope
“external” structural position
usually leftmost

Group I is associated with S/A in all languages.

Group II is associated with S/P in syntactically ergative languages and with the nominative in Philippine-type languages.