The Restriction Against Non-finite Transitivity

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Introduction

Today

- some Mayan languages restrict transitive verbs in non-finite contexts

(1) **Ch'ol:** *„know" remains transitive*
K-om   [j-käñ-ety]
ERG.1-want POSS.1-know-ABS.2
'I want to know you'   (Vázquez Álvarez 2011: 99)

(2) **Popti'** *„help" is detransitivized*
Ch-ach   to [col-**wa**-l   y-**iñ**   naj]
ASP-ABS.2SG go help-**ANTIP**-NMLZ POSS.3SG-**RN** 3SG
'You are going (there) to help him'   (Craig 1979: 5)

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- this restriction follows from the interaction of:
    - the locus of absolutive case assignment
    - the restriction that complements to n cannot assign ergative

Overview

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  - aspect
  - and how these are mapped onto the morpho-syntax

    Hopper & Thompson (1980), Næss (2007)

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    - and how these are mapped onto the morpho-syntax
                            Hopper & Thompson (1980), Næss (2007)

today:

- properties connected to **the number of a verb's arguments**
- specifically how these are anchored **in the verb stem**

Theoretical Framework

Minimalist Syntax

- *Y-Model* of grammar
- grammatical modules are connected via interfaces
- structure is built step-wise and bottom-up
  via the elementary operations:
  - **Merge**   combines two objects *A* and *B*
  - **Agree**   creates informational dependencies

    (Chomsky 1995, Chomsky 2000, Chomsky 2001)

Mayan morpho-syntax

Mayan morpho-syntax

general properties

- ergative
- agglutinating
- head-marking
- lexical arguments are often omitted

England (1991), Aissen (1992), Coon (2016), Aissen et al. (2017)

(3) **Tz'utujil**
X-oq-kee-ch'ey
ASP-ABS.1PL-ERG.3PL-hit
'They hit us' (Dayley 1985: 89)

Absolute assignment

the absolute parameter	(Bricker 1977, Tada 1993)

- in some languages, the absolute marker is pre-verbal (4)
  ⇒ ***high-absolute languages***   HIGH-ABS

(4)   **Tz'utujil:** HIGH-ABS
       X-**at**-nu-q'et-eej
       COMPL-**ABS.2SG**-ERG.1SG-hug-S.TRANS
       'I hugged **you**'

(own notes)

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Absolute assignment

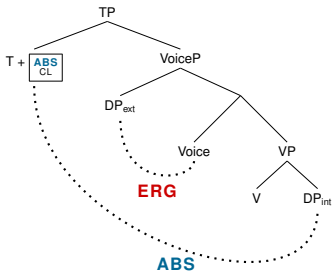| the absolute parameter	(Bricker 1977, Tada 1993)

- in some languages, the absolute marker is pre-verbal (4)
  ⇒ ***high-absolute languages***   HIGH-ABS
- in others, it is post-verbal (5)
  ⇒ ***low-absolute languages***   LOW-ABS

    (4)   **Tz'utujil:** HIGH-ABS
           X-**at**-nu-q'et-eej
           COMPL-**ABS.2SG**-ERG.1SG-hug-S.TRANS
           'I hugged **you**'

                                     (own notes)

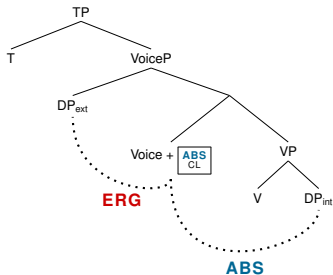   (5)   **Ch'ol:** LOW-ABS
           Tyi   k-mek'-e-**yety**
           PRFV ERG.1-hug-S.TRANS-**ABS.2**
           'I hugged **you**'

                                (Coon 2010: 33)

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HIGH-ABS language | LOW-ABS language

- absolutive markers undergo clitic-doubling to their licensing head, i.e. T / Voice

Woolford (2000), Mateo Toledo (2008), Coon (2010), Preminger (2014), Coon & Carolan (2017)

(6) **Tz'utujil**
X-**at**-nu-q'et-eej
COMPL-**ABS.2SG**-ERG.1SG-hug-S.TRANS
'I hugged **you**'

(7) **Ch'ol**
Tyi k-mek'-e-**yety**
PRFV ERG.1-hug-S.TRANS-**ABS.2**
'I hugged **you**'

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Absolute assignment

two linear positions ⟺ two licensing mechanisms

- following Coon et al. (2014) *et seq*:
  - HIGH-ABS languages: [ABS] is assigned by *T*
  - LOW-ABS languages: [ABS] is assigned by *Voice*
  - in both language types: [ERG] is assigned by *Voice*

  see also Legate (2008)

Absolutive assignment

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  - HIGH-ABS languages: [ABS] is assigned by *T*
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  - in both language types: [ERG] is assigned by *Voice*

  see also Legate (2008)

Clause structure   (Aissen 1992, Aissen 1996)

- **T**
  - encodes aspectual distinctions
- **Voice**   (Kratzer 1996)
  - assigns case + introduces external arguments
  - encodes voice alternations   (active / passive / anti-passive...)

The RANT

The RANT

a puzzle

- some Mayan languages freely allow transitive verb phrases in non-finite contexts (8)
- in others, the verb's transitivity must first be adjusted (9)

(8) **Ch'ol:** *"know" remains transitive*
K-om   [j-käñ-ety]
ERG.1-want POSS.1-know-ABS.2
'I want to know you'

(Vázquez Álvarez 2011: 99)

(9) **Popti'** *"help" is detransitivized*
Ch-ach   to [col-**wa**-l   y-**iñ**   naj]
ASP-ABS.2SG go help-**ANTIP**-NMLZ POSS.3SG-**RN** 3SG
'You are going (there) to help him'

(Craig 1979: 5)

The RANT

intransitive verbs

- both language types freely allow intransitive verbs to occur in non-finite contexts

(10) **Ch'ol**
Aj-Juan y-om   [wäy-el]
DET-J.   ERG.3-want sleep-NMLZ
'John wants to sleep'

(Coon 2010: 114)

(11) **Popti'**
Ch-in   oc   [way-oj]
ASP-ABS.1SG enter sleep-NMLZ
'I am falling asleep'

(Craig 1977: 244)

The RANT

Restriction Against Non-finite Transitivity

- fully transitive verb phrases cannot occur in non-finite contexts
- *fully transitive verb phrase:*
  1. transitive verb stem
  2. structural, full DP object

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  1. transitive verb stem
  2. structural, full DP object

from here on: *non-finite context = NFC*

The RANT

workaround strategies

- RANT languages employ various workarounds in order to satisfy the RANT:
  1. **verb-based strategies**   **via voice alternations**
  2. object-based strategies
  3. mixed strategies

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  1. **verb-based strategies**   **via voice alternations**
  2. object-based strategies
  3. mixed strategies

- **Observation:**   the RANT is only active in HIGH-ABS languages

  - other work has connected these properties (Coon et al. 2014: 26)
  - but from a purely Case-theoretic perspective, which is inadequate

Strategy I: anti-passive

anti-passive in finite contexts

- demotes direct objects (12-a) to optional obliques (12-b)
    - these are realized by a relational noun
- the intransitive subject is absolute (12-b) rather than ergative (12-a)

(12) **Popti'**

    a. *finite active:*   *transitive morpho-syntax*
        Xc-ach   s-col   naj
        ASP-ABS.2SG ERG.3SG-help he
        'He helped you'

    b. *finite anti-passive:*   *intransitive morph-syntax*
        X-∅-col-**wa**   naj (t-aw-**iñ**)
        ASP-ABS.3SG-help-**ANTIP** he AUG-POSS.2SG-**RN**
        'He helped (you)'   (Craig 1979: 2)

NB: relational nouns ≈ adpositions

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Strategy I: anti-passive

anti-passive in NFCs

- the verb is morphologically anti-passive
- the object is realized by a relational noun

(13) **Popti'**
Ch-ach   to [col-**wa**-l   y-**iñ**   naj]
ASP-ABS.2SG go help-**ANTIP**-NMLZ POSS.3SG-**RN** 3SG
'You are going (there) to help him'

(Craig 1979: 5)

also: Kaqchikel (García Matzar & Rodríguez Guaján 1997), K'ichee' (Can Pixabaj 2015), Sakapultek (DuBois 1981)

Strategy II: agent focus

agent focus in finite contexts

- used upon Ā-extraction of transitive subjects (14-a)
- there is only one agreement marker, which is absolute (14-b)

(14) **Chuj**

     a.   *finite active:*   *transitive morpho-syntax*
         Ix-ach-ko-chel-a'
         PFV-ABS.2-ERG.1PL-hug-S.TRANS
         'We hugged you'

     b.   *finite agent focus:*   *transitive syntax + intransitive morphology*
         Mach ix-ach-chel-**an**-i?
         who   PFV-ABS.2SG-hug-**AF**-S.INTR
         'Who hugged you?'

                                                (Coon & Royer 2021: 1, 5)

agent focus: Kaufman (1990), Quesada (1997), Stiebels (2006a), Pascual (2007), Erlewine (2016), Aissen (2017)

Strategy II: agent focus

agent focus in NFCs (AF)

- the verb carries the agent focus suffix
- the object is absolutive
- the subject is realized as grammatical possessor

(15) **Chuj**
Lan [hach=ko-chel-**an**-i]
PROG ABS.2=POSS.1PL-hug-**AF**-S.INTR
'We're hugging you' (Coon & Carolan 2017: 2)

NB: across Mayan, ergative and possessive are homophonous

also: Popti' (Craig 1977), Q'anjob'al (Mateo Toledo 2003)

Strategy III: pseudo-passive

passivization in finite contexts

- demotes ergative subjects (16-a) to optional obliques (16-b)
- the intransitive subject is absolutive (16-b)

(16)   **Tz'utujil**
   a.   *finites Aktiv:*   *transitive morpho-syntax*
        Atet x-in-a-ch'ey   nen
        2SG COMPL-ABS.1SG-ERG.2SG-hit 1SG
        'You hit me'
   b.   *finites Passiv:*   *intransitive morpho-syntax*
        Anen x-in-ch**a'a**y-a   (aw-maaq   tet)
        1SG COMPL-ABS.1SG-hit.**PASS**-S.INTR POSS.2SG-RN.BY 2SG
        'I was hit (by you)'

                                            (own notes)

Strategy III: pseudo-passive

psueodo-passivization in NFCs (PASS)

- the verb is morphologically passive
- but with an active meaning ⇒ *pseudo-passive*
- the object is realized as possessor

(17) **Tz'utujil**
Atet x-a-moj   [n-ch'**iy**-ik   nen]
2SG COMPL-ERG.2SG-start POSS.1SG-hit.**PASS**-NMLZ 1SG
'You started hitting me'

(own notes)

also: Achi (Sis Iboy 2007), K'ichee' (Can Pixabaj 2015), Sakapultek (DuBois 1981),
Sipakapense (Barrett 1999), Kaqchikel (Imanishi 2020)

The RANT

interim summary

- **RANT:** no fully transitive verb phrases in NFCs
- languages employ various **workaround strategies**
- these yield outputs with an **intransitive morpho-syntax**

Non-finiteness

What does non-finiteness mean in Mayan? ⟹ **nominalization**

- **NFCs have an internal verbal syntax**
  - allow voice alternations
  - retain verbal status suffixes
  - allow adverbial modification
- **NFCs have an external nominal syntax**
  - occur in nominal argument positions
  - condition case and agreement like nouns
  - may allow determiners
  - allow modification via quantifiers and adjectives
  - allow possessive morphology
  - condition agent focus like nouns

Norman & Campbell (1978), Larsen & Norman (1979), Robertson (1980), Bricker (1981), Dayley (1981), Law, Robertson & Houston (2006), Can Pixabaj (2009), Mateo Pedro (2010), Henderson (2012), Coon (2013), Mateo Toledo (2013), Can Pixabaj (2015), Can Pixabaj & Aissen (2021)

Non-finiteness

nominalization occurs at VoiceP

	finite		**non-finite**
	finite w/ COMP	finite w/out COMP	
aspect	✓	✓ (often concord)	✗
ϕ-marking	s-like	mostly s-like	not s-like
negation	✓	may be restricted	✗
focus	✓	may be restricted	✗
size	CP	TP	≤ VoiceP

Table 1: clause types in Mayan languages (Aissen 2017: 277)

- **VoiceP:** the minimal projection hosting all arguments
- **control clauses:** contain a null subject PRO

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Existing approaches

I. the case approach: the RANT follows from a case problem

- all nominals need case
- since NFCs lack TP, HIGH-ABS languages have no T that can assign [ABS]
- ⟹ internal arguments need an alternative case source
  - **anti-passive:**   via the relational noun
  - **agent focus:**   from the suffix itself
  - **pseudo-passive:**   via possession

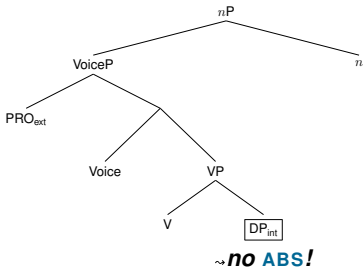 Coon et al. (2014), Coon et al. (2021), Jessica Coon p.c.
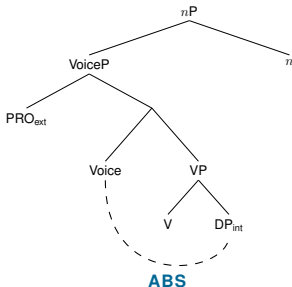
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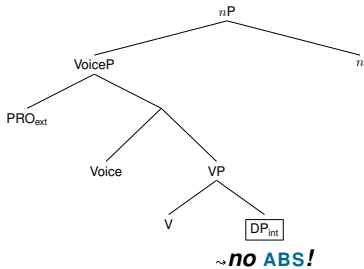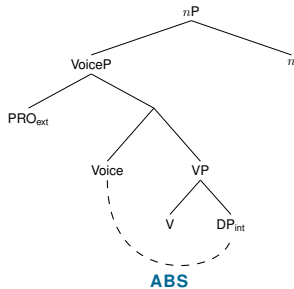
HIGH-ABS language | LOW-ABS language

Existing approaches

HIGH-ABS language | LOW-ABS language

the case approach makes a straightforward prediction:

- if no object is projected:
- → there's no need for an alternative case source
- ⇒ transitive verbs should be fine **without any workaround**

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Wrong!

- **observation:**
    - detransitivization must always occur – even without an object
    - this holds for all three workaround strategies

(18) **K'ichee':** *anti-passive*
      X-ø-r-eta'ma-j   [kuna-**n**-ik]
      COMPL-ABS.3SG-ERG.3SG-know-ACT cure-**ANTIP**-NMLZ
      '(S)he learned to cure'

                                                        (Can Pixabaj 2015: 107)

(19) **Chuj:** *agent focus*
      Ix-in-ya-moch   [hin-chel-**an**-i]
      COMPL-ERG.1-begin POSS.1-hug-**AF**-S.INTR
      'I began to hug'

(20) **Tz'utujil:** *pseudo-passive*
      X–a-moj   [ch'**iy**-ik]
      COMPL-ERG.2SG-begin hit.**PASS**-NMLZ
      'You started hitting'

                                                                  (own notes)

Existing approaches

II. the syntactic ergativity approach

- certain grammatical processes cannot target ergative subjects
  e.g. Polinsky (2017)
  - ✗ **observation:** makes wrong predictions

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III. the nominalization approach

- the nominalizer n selects complements which lack external arguments   (Imanishi 2020)
    - ✗ **observation:** the part about external arguments is wrong
    - ✓ **but nominalization is the key!**

Nominalization and the RANT

nominalization per se?   No.

⟹ many cases of nominalized, fully transitive verb phrases

Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993), Stiebels (2006b)

⟹ nominalization often interacts with event / argument structure and tense, such that transitivity effects may arise indirectly

Smith (1972), Grimshaw (1990), Pesetsky (1995),
Harley & Noyer (2000), Fabregas (2010), Sichel (2010) u.a.

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⇒ at most: effects on linking
⇒ non-RANT languages show that the level does not suffice

⇒ **Nothing here forces the verb stem to undergo detransitivization.**

Nominalization and the RANT

---

n selects defective complements

$\Rightarrow$ n imposes a **selectional requirement** on its complement

- a familiar property
    - Fabregas (2010), Sichel (2010), Kornfilt & Whitman (2011)
    - Alexiadou (2001), Bruening (2013), Borer (2021)

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n in Mayan languages

- **observation:** nominalizing morphology shows various kinds of sensitivities to transitivity

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n in Mayan languages

- **observation:** nominalizing morphology shows various kinds of sensitivities to transitivity
⇒ **What exactly does n restrict?**

The internal syntax of restricted NFCs

pseudo-passive, agent focus and anti-passive NFCs

- What do these strategies have in common?

The internal syntax of restricted NFCs

pseudo-passive, agent focus and anti-passive NFCs

- What do these strategies have in common?
⇒ **pseudo-passives pose a problem**
    - anti-passive + agent focus are active   ⇒ **external arguments**
    - but passives generally project **no external arguments**

(Bruening 2013)

Pseudo-passive NFCs

two kinds of languages

- **observation:**   languages differ!

Pseudo-passive NFCs

two kinds of languages

- **observation:**   languages differ!

    - **pseudo-passive NFCs:**

        passive morphology + active meaning (21)

(21) **Tz'utujil:** *pseudo-passive NFC*
Anen x-e-moj   [ch'**iy**-ik]
1SG   COMPL-ERG.1SG-start hit.**PASS**-NMLZ
'I started <u>to hit</u>'   [the subject performs an action]
(own notes)

Pseudo-passive NFCs

two kinds of languages

- **observation:**   languages differ!

    - **pseudo-passive NFCs:**

                                                    passive morphology + active meaning (21)

    - **true passive NFCs:**

                                                    passive morphology + passive meaning (22)

(21) **Tz'utujil:** *pseudo-passive NFC*
Anen x-e-moj   [ch'**iy**-ik]
1SG   COMPL-ERG.1SG-start hit.**PASS**-NMLZ
'I started <u>to hit</u>'   [the subject performs an action]
                                                                (own notes)

(22) **Q'eqchi':** *true passive NFC*
T-in-xic   chi   [ban-**e'**-c]
INCOMPL-ABS.1SG-go PREP cure-**PASS**-INF
'I will go <u>to be cured</u>'   [the subject undergoes an action]
                                                                (Berinstein 1985: 262)

Pseudo-passive NFCs

Why are these weird?   ⇒ passive agent control

- the agent argument of a passive is robustly inaccessible to control (23)

    Bach (1980), Keenan (1985), Williams (1987), Partee (1989), Bruening (2013)

(23)   *The journalist wants [to be interviewed]*

⇒ ✓ the journalist$_i$ wants that she$_i$ is interviewed   *patient control*

⇒ ✗ the journalist$_i$ wants that she$_i$ does the interview   *agent control*

Pseudo-passive NFCs

diagnostics:	pseudo-passive NFCs are syntactically active

- syntactic domains:
    - finiteness vs non-finiteness
    - nominalization over passivization

    (cf. Turkish; Furkan Atmaca p.c.)

- distribution of obligatory vs optional agreement

    Levin et al. (2020), Lyskawa & Ranero (2021)

- extraction profile of object
- omission of object
- omission of matrix controller
- distribution of agent *by*-phrases

    Can Pixabaj (2015), Imanishi (2020)

- **reflexives**

Reflexives in pseudo-passive NFCs

reflexives in finite active contexts

- **reflexives** must be bound by a **c-commanding antecedent**

(24)   **Tz'utujil**
       Anen$_i$ x-in-tz'at   **w-ii'**$_i$ chpaam
       1SG   COMPL-ERG.1SG-see   **POSS.1SG-RN.REFL** in
       tzetb'al
       mirror
       '**I** saw **myself** in the mirror'

       (own notes)

Reflexives in pseudo-passive NFCs

pseudo-passive NFCs license reflexives

- reflexives can occur in pseudo-passive NFCs (25)

  Larsen (1988), Can Pixabaj (2015)

(25) **Tz'utujil**
Anen ne-mjon [r-tz'**e**t-ik **w-ii'**
1SG INCOMPL-PROG POSS.3SG-see.**PASS**-NMLZ **POSS.1SG-RN.REFL**
chpaam tzetb'al]
in mirror
'**I** am seeing **myself** in the mirror'

(own notes)

NB: this is true even if there is no argument in the matrix clause

Reflexives in pseudo-passive NFCs

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true passive NFCs and finite Passive

- **observation:**
    - true passive NFCs do not license reflexives (26)

    (26) **Chuj**
    *Lan [hin-chel-**chaj** **hin-b'a**]
    PROG POSS.1SG-hug-**PASS** **POSS.1SG-RN.REFL**
    intended: 'I am hugging **myself**'

    (own notes)

NB: finite passives also disallow reflexives

Reflexives in pseudo-passive NFCs

pseudo-passive NFCs are syntactically active

	finite	non-finite
true passive	*	*
pseudo-passive	–	✓
active	✓	✓

Table 2: Distribution of reflexives

⟹ pseudo-passive NFCs host **external arguments** (PRO)

⟹ true passive NFCs lack **external arguments**

- confirms the intuition in Can Pixabaj (2015)

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pseudo-passive NFCs host external arguments

⇒ **the first analysis that captures all the empirical facts**

- contra Imanishi (2020):
    - assumption of a true passive structure
    - stipulation wrt the exceptional accessibility of the agent

see also: Stiebels (2007), Can Pixabaj & Aissen (2021)
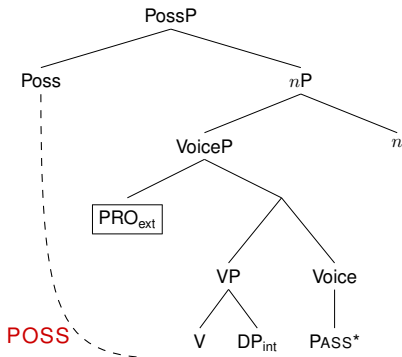
pseudo-passive NFCs

- structural external argument in Spec,VoiceP
- structural internal argument in Comp,V
  - gets case (= POSS) from POSS
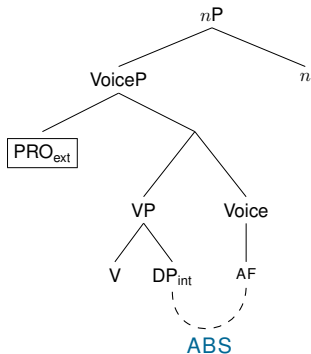
agent focus NFCs   (Coon et al. 2014, Coon et al. 2021)

- structural | external argument | in Spec,VoiceP
- structural internal argument in Comp,V
  - gets case (= ABS) from VOICE
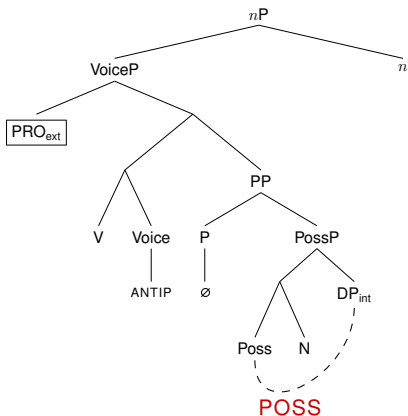
anti-passive NFCs   (Burukina 2021a, Burukina 2021b)

- structural external argument in Spec,VoiceP

- oblique internal argument

  - gets case (= POSS) from the relational noun

The internal syntax of restricted NFCs

interim summary:

- anti-passive, agent focus and pseudo-passive NFCs
  - all project structural external arguments
  - the internal argument projects as a function of the respective voice

Analysis

Analysis

ingredients

1. the RANT arises in VoiceP-nominalizations
2. workaround strategies: voice alternations with intransitive outputs
3. n selects defective verbal complements
4. the RANT is only active in HIGH-ABS languages

Analysis

proposal

- n selects a **VoiceP that does not assign [ERG]**

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Alexiadou (2001)

- nominalizations of transitive verbs involve defective VoicePs (27):
  1. no external argument in Spec,VoiceP
  2. no assignment of [ACC]

(27)   *The destruction of the city by the barbarians*

(Alexiadou 2019: 357)

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    (Alexiadou 2019: 357)

external arguments and dependent case

- **Proposal:** n allows external arguments, but selects against **dependent case**   [NOM] - **[ACC]** vs **[ERG]** - [ABS]

Analysis

in LOW-ABS languages

- Voice$_{\text{TRANS}}$ can assign [ABS]
- → it can occur in NFCs
- → it assigns [ABS]
- ⟹ **no RANT**

Analysis

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- Voice$_{\text{TRANS}}$ can assign [ABS]
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- → it assigns [ABS]
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in HIGH-ABS languages

- Voice$_{\text{TRANS}}$ cannot assign [ABS]
- → it may or may not occur in NFCs
- → if it occurs in NFCs, it does not assign [ABS]
- ⟹ **RANT**

Analysis

Argument	**LOW-ABS / non-RANT**		**HIGH-ABS / RANT**	
	finite	non-finite	finite	non-finite
external	[∗ERG∗]	PRO	[∗ERG∗]	PRO
internal	[∗ABS∗]	[∗ABS∗] ✓ **case!**	([∗ABS∗] from T)	↝ **no case!**
	LOW + FINITE	LOW + NON-FINITE	HIGH + FINITE	HIGH + NON-FINITE

Table 3: Typology of Voice$_{\text{TRANS}}$ heads

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Analysis

	LOW-ABS / non-RANT		**HIGH-ABS / RANT**	
Argument	finite	non-finite	finite	non-finite
external	[*ERG*]	PRO	[*ERG*]	PRO
internal	[*ABS*]	[*ABS*] ✓ **case!**	([*ABS*] from T)	↝ **no case!**
	LOW + FINITE	LOW + NON-FINITE	HIGH + FINITE	HIGH + NON-FINITE

Table 3: Typology of Voice$_{\text{TRANS}}$ heads

workaround strategies in RANT languages

⟹ **different solutions for the same resource problem**

Analysis

the selectional restriction

- **in finite contexts:**   Voice$_{TRANS}$ assigns [ERG] to its specifier
- **in NFCs:** n selects Voice heads with the feature [¬ERG]
- **[¬ERG]:**   Voice does not assign [ERG]

NB: PRO may be case-less

(Satık 2022)

Derivations

pseudo-passive NFCs

- **Proposal:**

  some RANT languages choose to realize case-neutral $Voice_{TRANS}$ in NFCs with **passive morphology**

- this results in the fewest deviations between:

    - the **syntactic structure** that has to be realized
    - the **morphological form** that realizes this structure

Derivations

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⟹ **deponency:**   a form-function mismatch

Derivations
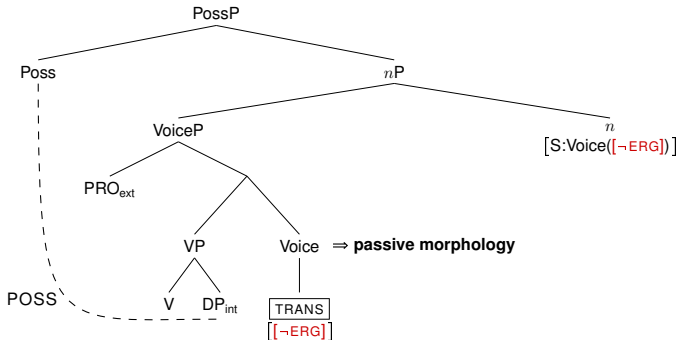
Figure 1: pseudo-passive NFC in RANT language (HIGH-ABS)

Derivations
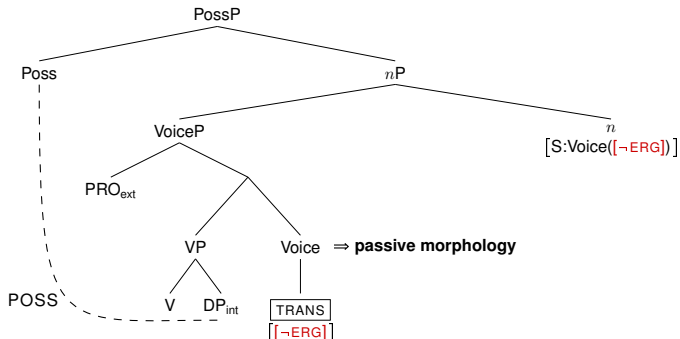
Figure 1: pseudo-passive NFC in RANT language (HIGH-ABS)

resort to unmarked passive forms

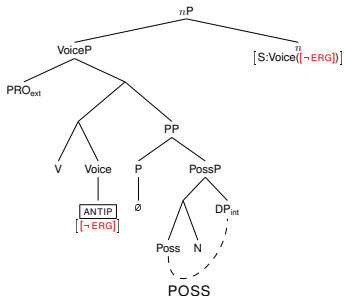- Mayan languages often have more specific passive sub-types, e.g. completive passives

  observation: **these forms never occur as pseudo-passives!**
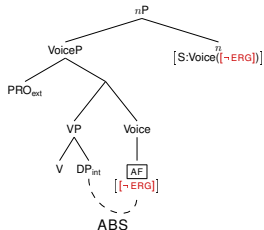
Derivations
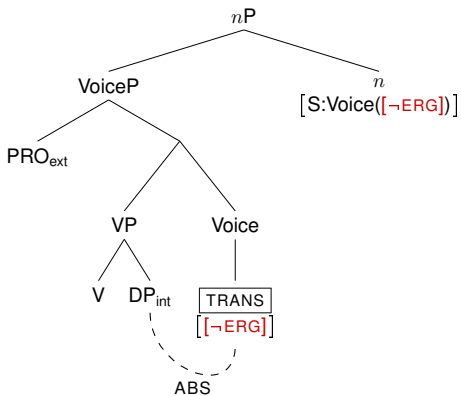
Tree 2: transitive NFC in non-RANT language (LOW-ABS)

Derivations

anti-passive NFC in RANT language | agent focus NFC in RANT language

Proposal:

- in other RANT languages, case-neutral Voice$_{TRANS}$ either does not exist or cannot be spelled out   (i.e. is morphologically ineffable)
- ⇒ these must resort to a distinct Voice head, i.e. anti-passive or agent focus

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Discussion

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the RANT and objects

- the selectional relationship holds between n and Voice

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the RANT and objects

- the selectional relationship holds between n and Voice
- ⇒ **we derive obligatory detransitivization even without objects**

the RANT and absolutive assignment

- ⇒ **we connect these two properties**
- ⇒ **we derive the absence of the RANT in LOW-ABS languages**

Discussion

further workaround strategies

- this analysis of verb-based workarounds to the RANT extends to
    - object-based workarounds
    - mixed workarounds

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advancement of Alexiadou (2001)

- some VoiceP-level nominalizations contain external arguments
- generalization of case restriction to dependent case

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  - object-based workarounds
  - mixed workarounds

advancement of Alexiadou (2001)

- some VoiceP-level nominalizations contain external arguments
- generalization of case restriction to dependent case
  - ⟹ **more adequate theory of nominalizations**

Discussion

Deponency as a lexically anchored property

- typically a yes-or-no property of single words / paradigms (28)

    Baerman et al. (2007), Müller (2013), Grestenberger (2018)

(28) **Latin**   *passive form + active meaning*
     hort-**or**
     exhort-PRS.1SG.**PASS**
     'I exhort'   (Embick 2000: 191)

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⇒ **Proposal:** *contextual deponency*

        deponency that is acquired morpho-syntactically

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pseudo-passive NFCs

⟹ **Proposal:** *contextual deponency*

  deponency that is acquired morpho-syntactically

  | avenue for future research! |

Conclusion

Conclusion

- in Mayan, HIGH-ABS languages exhibit the RANT
- the RANT follows from the interaction of:
    - the Mayan absolutive parameter
    - the restriction that Voice under n cannot assign **[ERG]**
- transitivity is no syntactic primitive
- fits with and supports the view that transitivity is at least partially constructed in syntax:

    Marantz (1984), Chomsky (1995), Kratzer (1996), Folli & Harley (2004), Pylkkänen (2008), Ramchand (2008), Alexiadou (2010) u.a.

Thank you!

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