Looking for the governor, or the problem of argument status in double-marking languages. A Construction Grammar perspective

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So-called "double-marking" languages pose a notorious problem with respect to a fundamental assumptions in most treatments of argument structure, that verbal arguments can only be expressed once. This assumption by necessity leads to a fundamental dichotomy between languages with and without "pronominal arguments" (as opposed to agreement markers) and correspondingly a fundamentally different status of the coreferential NPs (or DPs) as either arguments or non-arguments. Diachronic and typological investigations of double marking, on the other hand, have shown that there exists a continuum between free pronouns and agreement markers, with so-called "pronominal arguments" sharing properties of both, to language-specific degrees.

In this paper, I will adopt a Construction Grammar approach to argument structure according to which there is no unidirectional relationship of government between verbs and their arguments, but rather a bidirectional relationship of selectional restrictions between argument structure constructions and verbs. Consequently, arguments can be encoded more than once (with no difference in status) as long as the constructions involved have different functions, i.e. as long as the multiple encoding does not lead to mere repetition. Applied to an Australian language with double marking, Jaminjung, it will be shown that this approach allows for an elegant account of a number of different phenomena, all of which are relevant for a wider set of languages. These include syncretism of ergative and instrumental case, ergative marking with intransitive verbs, the inclusory construction, split and variable case marking based on referential and/or information structure properties of the argument, as well as clitic doubling based on referential properties of the argument.