

Case in 2017: some thoughts

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Overview

What I have to say...

- (i) enough with Abstract Case already
- (ii) so-called “m-case” is syntactic
- (iii) nominative \equiv the absence of case
- (iv) only 2 kinds of real (\equiv non-nominative) case:
dependent case, and case assigned under closest-c-command by H^0

Abstract Case: what it's supposed to be

- A theory of the distribution of overt nominals
 - motivated by data like these:
 - (1) John tried (*Bill/*himself/him) to win.
 - (2) John is fond *(of) Mary.
 - (3) the destruction *(of) the city
 - (4) It is impossible *(for) Bill to win.

[Chomsky & Lasnik 1977, Vergnaud 1977, Chomsky 1981 et seq.]

- Abstract Case has nothing to say about data like the following:
 - (5) a. John is fond of */for Mary.
 - b. the destruction of */for the city
 - c. It is impossible for */of Bill to win.
 - these are typically handled by an appeal to **c-selection**

Abstract Case: what it's supposed to be *(cont.)*

➤ But c-selection is not only *necessary* to account for data like (6a–c) —

(6) a. John is fond { of/*for/* \emptyset } Mary.

b. the destruction { of/*for/* \emptyset } the city

c. It is impossible { for/*of/* \emptyset } Bill to win.

— it is also *sufficient* (Sundaresan & McFadden 2009).

⇒ That leaves (1):

(1) John tried (*Bill/*himself*/him) to win.

○ *but Abstract Case is not a particularly interesting or successful account of (1)...*

wager-verbs (Pesetsky 1991, Postal 1974)

- There is a class of verbs which take an infinitival complement —
 - for which having an “in situ” subject of that infinitive is impossible:
- (7) * John wagered Secretariat to win.
 - but passive($\equiv A$ -movement) allows this same noun phrase to be overt:
- (8) Secretariat was wagered *t* to win.
 - and, crucially, so does *A-bar movement*:
- (9) Which horse did John wager *t* to win?

wager-verbs (Pesetsky 1991, Postal 1974) (cont.)

- (7) * John wagered Secretariat to win.
- (8) Secretariat was wagered *t* to win.
- (9) Which horse did John wager *t* to win?
 - Importantly, the theory of Abstract Case must maintain that A-bar movement is “Case-neutral” —

(10) * Mary asked who John tried *t* to win.

- otherwise examples like (10) are predicted to be okay

NB: On the Abstract Case theory, both *ask* and *try* (or clauses where these are the main verbs) must be considered viable “Case assigners”:

(11) a. Mary asked [a question].

b. John tried [the pie].

⇒ the movement in (10) should, all else being equal, bring the moving phrase into the domain of Case assignment

wager-verbs (Pesetsky 1991, Postal 1974) (cont.)

- (7) * John wagered Secretariat to win.
- (8) Secretariat was wagered *t* to win.
- (9) Which horse did John wager *t* to win?
- Given that A-bar movement is Case-neutral, the contrast between (7) and (9) cannot be Case-theoretic;
- ⇒ There must be a separate constraint at play, ruling out (7).

Infinitives reconsidered

- The badness of (7) is a subcase of a broader pattern:

(12) *infinitival subjects...*

that are “in situ”	that have vacated by A-mvmt	that have vacated by A-bar mvmt	
✓	✓	✓	John expected Secretariat to win. Secretariat was expected <i>t</i> to win. Which horse did John expect <i>t</i> to win?
✗	✓	✓	* John wagered Secretariat to win. Secretariat was wagered <i>t</i> to win. Which horse did John wager <i>t</i> to win?
✗	✗	✗	* John tried Secretariat to win. * Secretariat was tried <i>t</i> to win. * Which horse did John try <i>t</i> to win?

- things marked with a ✗ cannot be accounted for with Abstract Case
- ➡ in terms of scientific method, inventing a *sui generis* explanation *just* for the boxed cell is just about the last thing we should entertain.

A note on the Case Filter

- In Chomsky (2000, 2001), the Case Filter is recapitulated as checking condition on ‘uninterpretable’ Case features located on D(P)
 - the idea being that you get the Case Filter “for free” from the assumption that Case is a feature — because:
 - (13) unchecked/unvalued/undeleted features cause a “crash”(=ungrammaticality) at the interfaces.
- Preminger 2014: (13) is demonstrably false
- ⇒ Whatever you want to say about the Case Filter, you certainly can no longer say it comes “for free” from the mechanisms of feature-checking/valuation.

What else does(n't) Abstract Case do?

- *Obligatory A-movement (as in passives & raising)?*
 - even if we were to adopt the theory of Abstract Case —
 - there are well-established cases of obligatory A-movement that cannot possibly be explained in terms of this theory
 - ex.: Object Shift (in Scandinavian)
 - involves obligatory A-movement from positions that Abstract Case theory would have to characterize as already-Case-marked (as evinced by the behavior of the shifted nominals' non-specific / non-pronominal / ... counterparts, which do not shift)
- ⇒ even Abstract Case theory must resort to an obligatory A-movement operation having nothing to do with “Case”; therefore —
- ➔ **obligatory A-movement in passives & raising is in no way an argument in favor of Abstract Case.**

What else does(n't) Abstract Case do? *(cont.)*

- *Determine (or help determine) morphological form?*
 - Abstract Case has nothing to do with overt case morphology
 - some would point out that Abstract Case *often* makes the right predictions concerning overt case
 - I actually think that's a gross idealization;
 - but even if we grant it, it's hardly redeeming
 - our criterion for a successful theory isn't, and shouldn't be, "X gets a lot of the facts right"
 - associationist/connectionist approaches to language get a lot of the facts right, too
 - but that doesn't lead us to adopt Google Translate as our theory of grammar

What else does(n't) Abstract Case do? *(cont.)*

- we generativists see a profundity in the kinds of errors that associationist/connectionist systems make
 - and we take these errors to be indicative that the logic of these systems is fundamentally off
- look no further than Icelandic to see that, when it comes to overt case morphology, the logic of Abstract Case is fundamentally off
 - an observation that has been around since the late-80s, by the way
 - Zaenen et al. (1985), Yip et al. (1987), Marantz (1991)

What else does(n't) Abstract Case do? *(cont.)*

- ◆ most importantly, if you look at what one does need to say to accurately predict case morphology —
 - (probably some version of configurational case assignment)
 - you get a system that:
 - (i) makes no reference to whatsoever to the primitives of Abstract Case
 - (ii) is (much) simpler than what you'd need to say to “fix” the morphological mispredictions that Abstract Case generates
 - cf. Legate 2008
- ⇒ and so I think I am entirely justified when I say that **Abstract Case is of no use whatsoever in predicting overt case morphology**

In closing...

Enough already with Abstract Case.

So-called “m-case”

- What it refers to:
 - an empirically adequate system that determines the case of nominals
 - **in a way that actually matches what we see** in languages with case morphology
 - includes *dependent case* \Rightarrow is (at least partially) configurational
 - what that means: case is assigned to (some) noun phrases by virtue of their structural relation to other noun phrases
 - not (just) by virtue of their structural relation to designated functional heads

So-called “m-case” (*cont.*)

- Marantz (1991): **m-case** is, well, morphological
 - what he means by this:
 - it is computed on the **PF branch**, after the PF-LF split
 - in the same part of the derivation where what we (pre-theoretically) call ‘morphology’ is
 - what he does **not** mean by this:
 - **m-case** only exists where it is morpho-phonologically visible (more on this shortly)

- This statement about the modular locus of **m-case** is justified in terms of the following claim:

(14) There are no properties that must be located in syntax proper and which make unambiguous reference to **m-case**. [Marantz 1991]

So-called “m-case” (*cont.*)

(14) There are no properties that must be located in syntax proper and which make unambiguous reference to m-case. [Marantz 1991]

↪ Claim (14) is **false**.

- Bobaljik (2008): agreement in φ -features (PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER/NOUN-CLASS) requires unambiguous reference to **m-case**
 - in a way that cannot be subsumed by ‘grammatical function’, ‘theta role’, ‘position’, etc.
 - Preminger 2014: movement to canonical subject position (in a subset of languages) requires unambiguous reference to **agreement in φ -features**
 - moreover, movement to canonical subject position has LF consequences (e.g. it is scope-expanding)
- ⇒ both **agreement in φ -features** and **m-case** must reside within syntax proper.

An all-too-frequent caricature of m-case

- In the literature, **m-case** is often simply interpreted as: “case you can see(=hear)”
- ➔ It is abundantly clear that this cannot be right; here’s why:
 - one of the crowning achievements of **m-case** is correctly predicting the distribution of nominative case in Icelandic
 - in particular, the fact that when the subject is exceptionally ACC/DAT/GEN —
 - the object gets marked with NOM instead of the usual ACC
 - as noted by Bobaljik (2008), finite agreement in Icelandic tracks NOM
 - now, several nominal paradigms (incl. pronouns) in Icelandic show various cross-case syncretisms
 - **but a (syntactically) non-NOM subject in Icelandic that happens to be (morphologically) syncretic with its NOM counterpart is not suddenly able to control agreement**

An all-too-frequent caricature of m-case *(cont.)*

- ⇒ In other words, **m-case** is itself an abstract system of categories
- that may or may not be expounded in a way that tracks every single syntactically-relevant distinction
 - Or, to put it in the form of a slogan: “m-case is abstract.”

‘Nominative’: the traditional view

- The traditional view of ‘nominative’ —
 - (no doubt inspired by older philological traditions, but largely persistent to this day)
 - takes ‘nominative’ to be an extant grammatical primitive.
 - One then finds various discussions in the literature about how & when nominative is “assigned”
 - see, e.g., Chomsky 1981 *et seq.*
- ➡ *I have argued that this is fundamentally mistaken...*

‘Nominative’ as caselessness

Preminger 2014, Kornfilt & Preminger 2015:

(i) Everything preempts nominative

Viewing (m-)case assignment as run-of-the-mill feature valuation, and ‘nominative’ as caselessness —

we derive the fact, which had to be stipulated in Marantz 1991, that nominative comes “last” in the case assignment hierarchy

- if ‘nominative’ \equiv “my case features have not been valued”:
 - \Rightarrow any contentful assignment of case to a nominal would make it impossible for that nominal to subsequently be ‘nominative’
 - this is precisely the kind of preemption that Marantz had to stipulate as part of his *disjunctive case hierarchy*
- \rightarrow and remember: we already know that features remaining unvalued through the end of the derivation is okay (Preminger 2014)

‘Nominative’ as caselessness (cont.)

(ii) Raising-to-ACC

(15) a. min ehigi₁-ni [бүгүн *t*₁ kyaj-yax-xyt] dien erem-mit-im
 I you-ACC today win-FUT-2pl.SUBJ that hope-PST-1sg.SUBJ
 ‘I hoped you would win today.’

b. ehigi bihigi₁-ni [*t*₁ kyajtar-dy-byt] dien xomoj-du-gut
 you we-ACC lose-PST-1pl.SUBJ that become.sad-PST-2pl.SUBJ
 ‘Y’all were disappointed that we lost.’ [Sakha (Turkic); V05:369]

- these are instances of **raising** per se (Baker & Vinokurova 2010)
 ⇒ the trigger for subject-agreement in the embedded clause is the very nominal that shows up bearing ACC in the matrix
- outside of this construction, subject agreement in Sakha adheres to a strict **NOM** ⇔ **finite agr** generalization
 ➔ *how and why is that generalization violated here?*

‘Nominative’ as caselessness (*cont.*)

(15) a. min ehigi₁-ni [бүгүн *t*₁ kyaj-yax-xyt] dien erem-mit-im
 I you-ACC today win-FUT-2pl.SUBJ that hope-PST-1sg.SUBJ
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- **A reasonable solution:** the relevant nominals go from being nominative (in the embedded clause) to being accusative (in the matrix)
 - Baker & Vinokurova (2010): they do so by means of “case-stacking”
 (16) [[[DP]-NOM]-ACC]
 - Kornfilt & Preminger (2015): Contrary what (16) requires, Sakha does not allow already-case-marked nominals to participate in subsequent *dependent case* relations

‘Nominative’ as caselessness (*cont.*)

- (15) a. min ehigi₁-ni [бүгүн *t*₁ kyaj-yax-xyt] dien erem-mit-im
 I you-ACC today win-FUT-2pl.SUBJ that hope-PST-1sg.SUBJ
 ‘I hoped you would win today.’
- b. ehigi bihigi₁-ni [*t*₁ kyajtar-dy-byt] dien xomoj-du-gut
 you we-ACC lose-PST-1pl.SUBJ that become.sad-PST-2pl.SUBJ
 ‘Y’all were disappointed that we lost.’ [Sakha (*Turkic*); V05:369]
- since ACC in Sakha is *dependent case*, the only way something can “become ACC” is if it was previously caseless
 - ➔ and that’s what being nominative is.

Other types of (m-)case

- So we've seen that so-called 'nominative' is just the absence of case;
- And we've mentioned *dependent case* —
 - case is assigned to a noun phrase by virtue of its structural proximity to another as-of-yet-caseless noun phrase

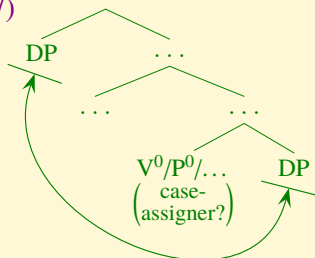
⇒ What else is there?

- For Marantz 1991, there is only one other category:
lexically governed case
 - which, for him, meant case assigned to a nominal by the head that selects it

Other types of (m-)case *(cont.)*

- For Marantz, *lexically governed case* must preempt *dependent case*
 - in Preminger 2014, I showed that viewing (m-)case assignment as run-of-the-mill valuation derives this instance of preemption, as well
- That's because, on a bottom-up model of structure building —

(17)



- the sisterhood relation in question will obtain before the necessary configuration for **DEPENDENT** case assignment

Other types of (m-)case *(cont.)*

- However, I no longer think this story is correct —
 - or rather, I don't think it is complete
 - For one thing, there are certain kinds of case that Marantz's (1991) system, as stated, is a very poor fit for
 - most notably, case associated with prepositional complementizers
 - which is a very poor fit for *dependent case*, but is assigned to a nominal not selected by the prepositional complementizer
- ⇒ As a result, I no longer think *lexical(ly governed) case* should be restricted to the sisterhood relation
- rather, it is case associated with the lexical identity of a particular head, **and assigned under closest-c-command**

Other types of (m-)case (*cont.*)

- When *lexical case* is discharged under sisterhood —
 - the earlier results (preemption of *dependent case*) still obtain
- But now we can account for case assigned by prepositional complementizers
- As well as... *case in English!*

(18) a. He_{c1} is here on time.

b. Her_{c2} and him_{c2} are here on time.

- I'm assuming, with Sobin (1997), that the other forms are just prescriptive (hyper)correction
 - that they exist doesn't mean we should shove them in the grammar
 - any more than the existence of "*Numeral NP do/does not a NP make*" means we should make the grammar of English verb-final

Other types of (m-)case *(cont.)*

(18) a. He_{c1} is here on time.

b. Her_{c2} and him_{c2} are here on time.

• Note, importantly, that $c1$ has nothing to do with agreement:

(19) a. I demand that he_{c1} be here on time.

b. I demand that her_{c2} and him_{c2} be here on time.

⇒ $c1$ is case assigned by T^0 under closest-c-command;

$c2$ is caselessness(≡ unmarked case)

- in other words, insofar as English has anything you'd want to call 'nominative' —
 - it's $c2$, i.e., the thing we've been calling 'accusative' or 'objective' case










Happy Birthday David!

And thank you all for listening!

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