Case and Agreement in Generative Grammar

Part 1: History

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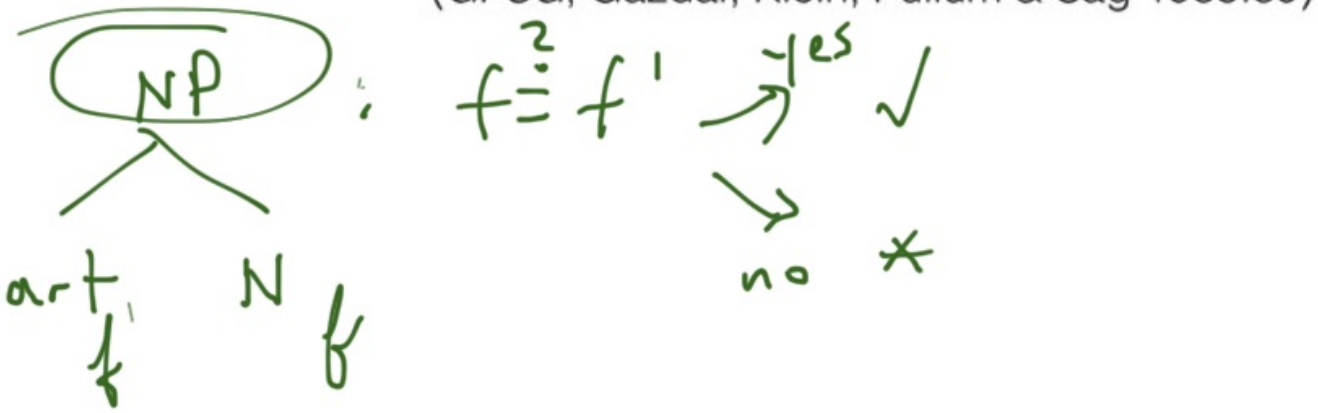
Definition 6: Control Agreement Principle (CAP)
Let Φ, be the set of projections from r, where $r = C_0 \rightarrow C_1, \ldots, C_n$.
Then $\phi \in \Phi$, *meets the CAP on* r if and only if

(i) if $\phi(C_j)$ controls $\phi(C_i)$, then $\phi(C_i)(f_i) = \chi(\phi(C_j)) \sqcup \phi(C_j)|\{f_i\}$, where f_i is the CONTROL feature of $\phi(C_i)$.[21]

(ii) if there is a $\phi(C_i)$ which is a predicative category with no controller, then $\phi(C_i)(f_i) = \phi(C_0)(f_0)$, where f_i and f_0 are the CONTROL features of $\phi(C_i)$ and $\phi(C_0)$, respectively.

(*GPSG*; Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag 1985:89)



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- Chomsky & Lasnik (1977): the **[* NP V_{inf}]** filter
  - there is a set of phenomena that look, at first glance, to be completely heterogeneous —
    - "Equi" (a.k.a. Control)
    - prepositional complementizers
    - Raising
    - a select group of exceptional predicates (*believe, expect, consider,* etc.)
  - but they can be unified when we observe that they are all repairs of the same potential violation
    - cf.: "conspiracies" in phonology (Kenstowicz & Kisseberth 1979)

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The *Case Filter* replaces the *[* NP V_{inf}] Filter*

- Vergnaud's suggestion is adopted —

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1. John ate the pasta.
2. * It is possible John to eat the pasta.
3. John attempted a dangerous maneuver.
4. * John attempted Bill to win.
5. * John attempted him(self) to win.

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⇒ There must be something particular to the structural relation between I^0 and the subject

- which enables the "transmission" of case

- Spec-Head?

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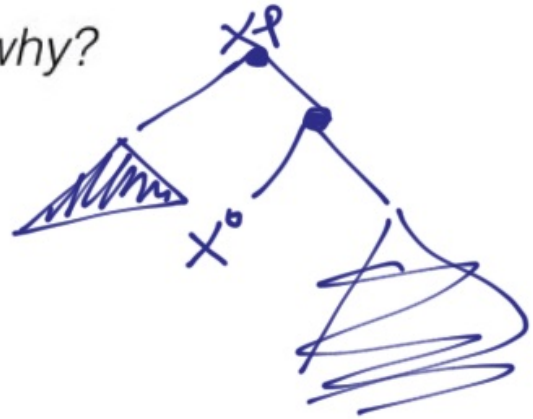
⇒ There must be something particular to the structural relation between I^0 and the subject

- which enables the "transmission" of case

- Spec-Head?
  1. That can't be the whole story — *why?*

- m-command?



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Government

- We need a structural relation that can capture:
  - finite subjects
  - direct objects
  - complements of prepositions
  - ...

⇒ enter *Government*

- Government can be thought of as **local m-command**
  - where the "local" part means "not interrupted by any maximal projection except TP"
  - ↦ *why "except TP"?*

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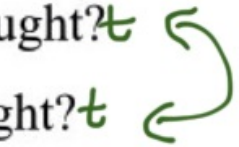
1. Who did Mary think bought what?
2. * What did Mary think who bought? t
3. What did Mary think John bought? t



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1. Who did Mary think bought what?
2. ~~* What did Mary think who bought?~~
3. What did Mary think John bought?

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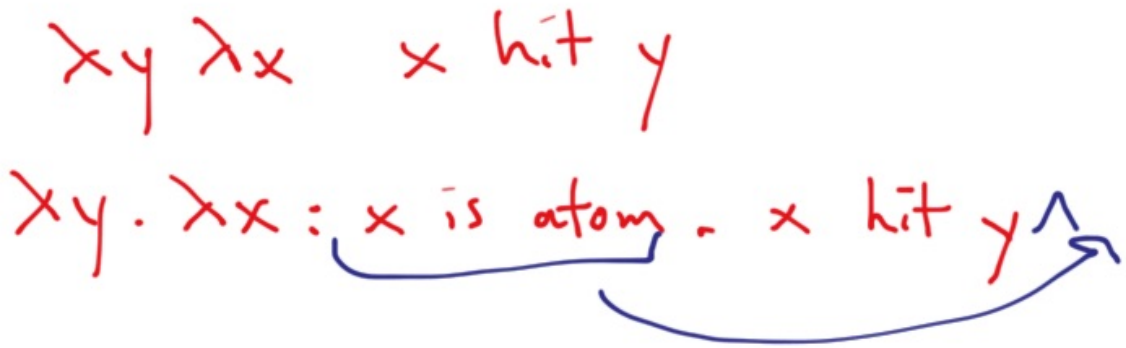
⇒ Thus, semantically/pragmatically speaking, I(nfl)^0 is indeed the "wrong" place for phi-features.

- Chomsky (1995:277–278) gives a slightly different – and, in my opinion, weaker – argument for the same point
  - PERSON, NUMBER, and GENDER/NOUN-CLASS make their semantic contribution on the nominal, not on the verb
    - and certainly not on I(nfl)^0/T(ense)^0



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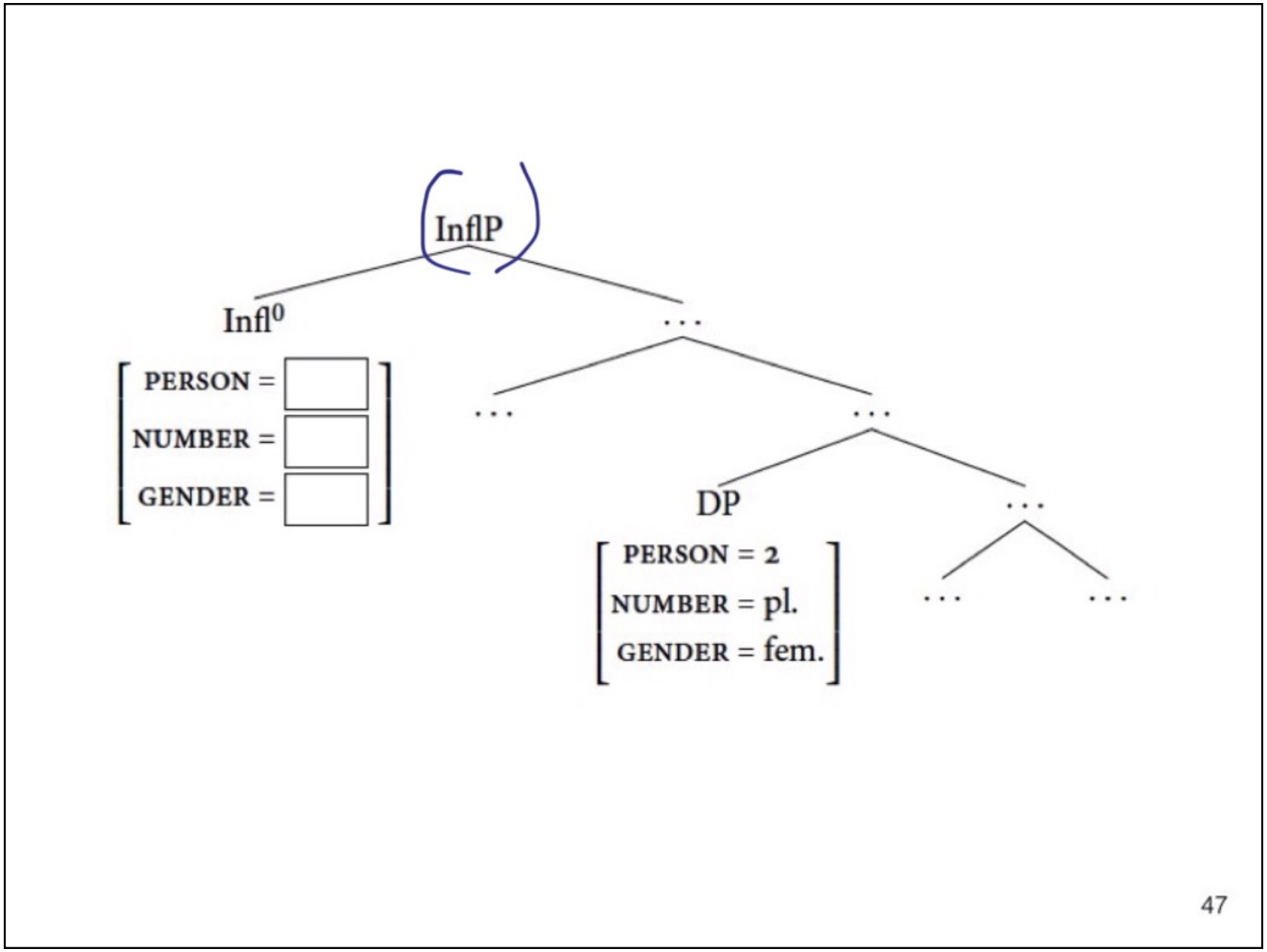
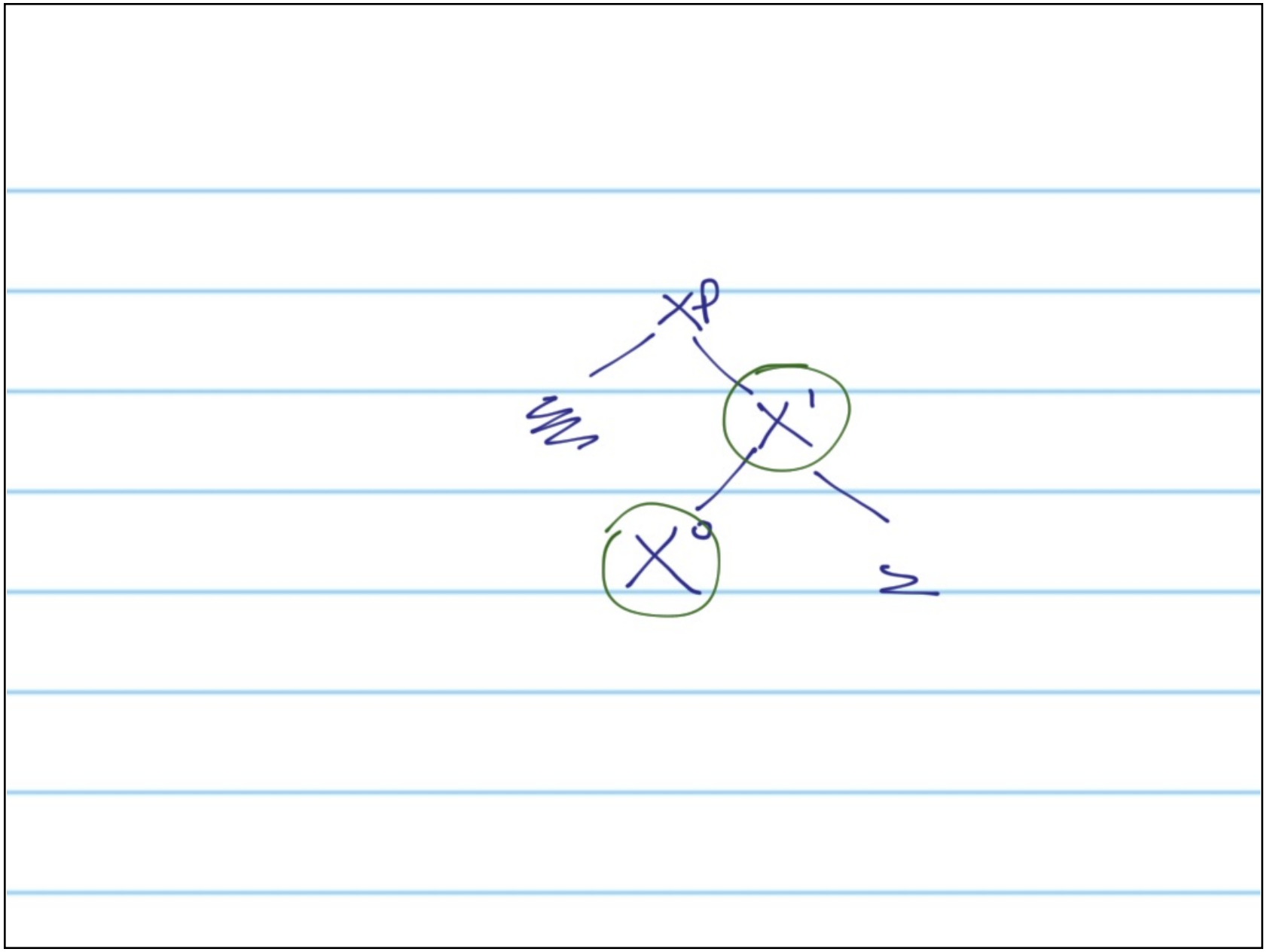
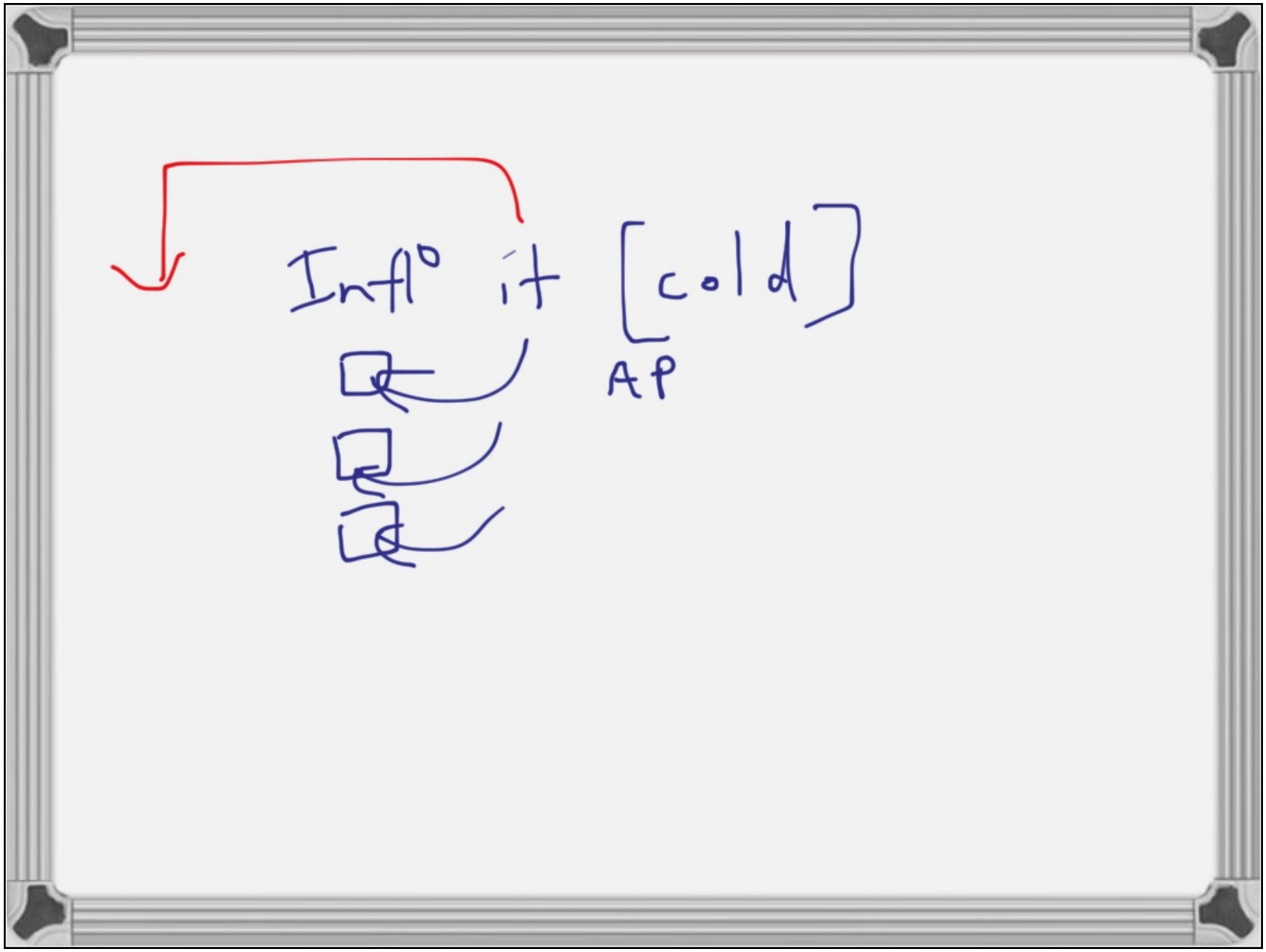

InflP
Infl⁰
PERSON =
NUMBER =
GENDER =
DP
PERSON = 2
NUMBER = pl.
GENDER = fem.
47


xp
x'
x°
z


Infl°
it
[cold]
AP

⇒ The process of *valuation*, then, consists of replacing these uninterpretable features on the probe – e.g. I(nfl)^0 – with their interpretable counterparts on the nominal

↦ This derives the obligatoriness of agreement —

1. * The children is here.
2. The children are here.

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uninterpretability & case

- Can *case* be modeled as a *probe-goal* relation?
- Yes and no.
  - case can certainly be modeled as something that happens immediately upon the merger of particular heads
    - e.g. the moment I(nfl)^0 is merged, it assigns NOM to the subject

      (remember: VPISH)

      

  - but case is not – or, at least, is not usually thought to be – a response to the needs of a just-merged head
    - though we could certainly entertain a theory in which heads that *can* assign case, *must* do so (see, e.g., Stowell 1981, Boskovic 1997)

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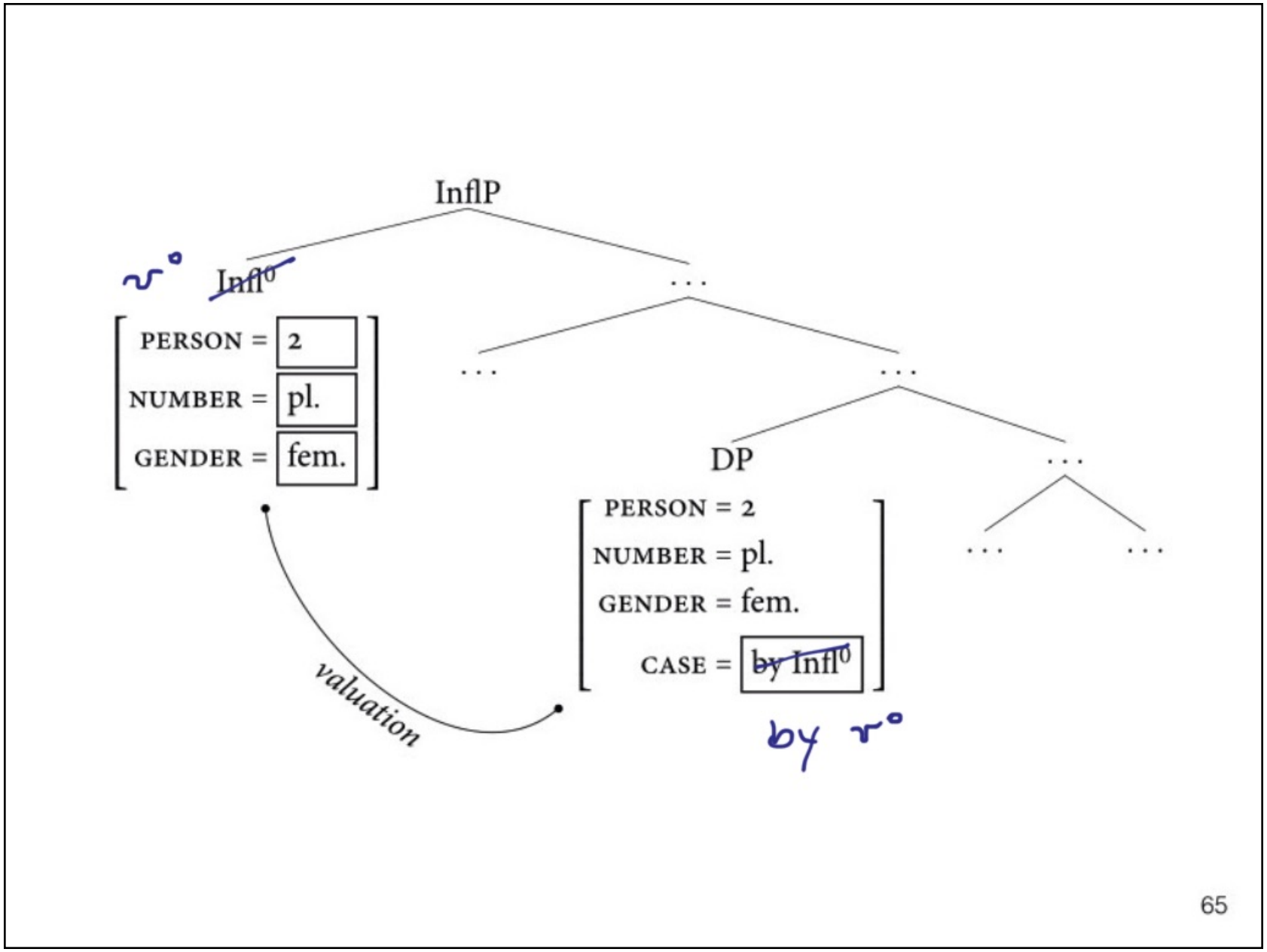
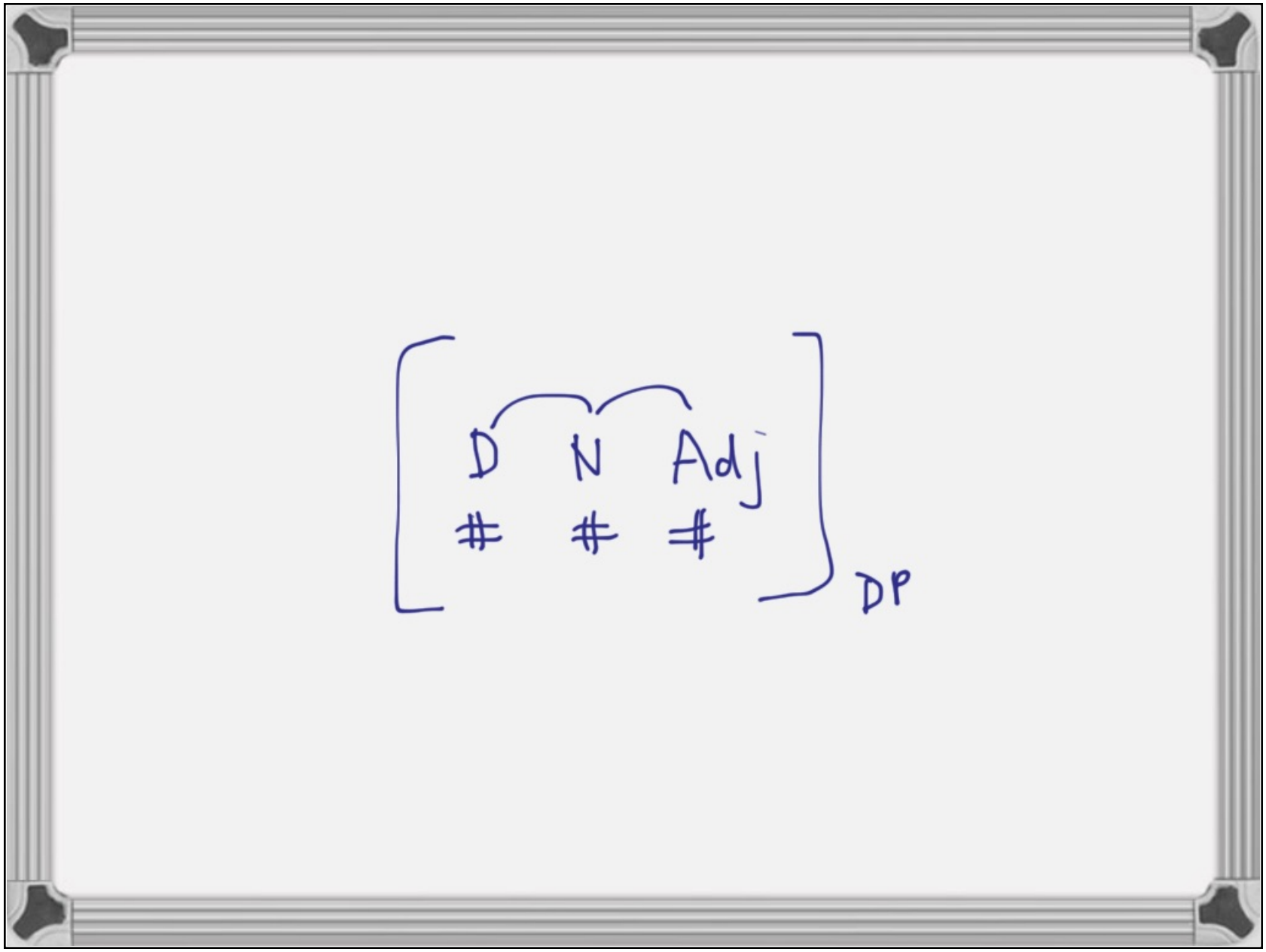

InflP
Infl⁰
PERSON = 2
NUMBER = pl.
GENDER = fem.
DP
PERSON = 2
NUMBER = pl.
GENDER = fem.
CASE = by Infl⁰
valuation
by v°
65


D N Adj
# # #
DP

The deconstruction of constructions

- Example:

1. John seemed to be a liar.
2. Mary believed John to be a liar.
3. John was believed to be a liar.

PASV

- PASSIVE(ECM) = RAISING
  - on the view that *constructions* are themselves primitives of grammar, this makes no sense...

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The basics

- Icelandic is a nominative-accusative language with rich case morphology
  - unlike some other Western European languages, it exhibits case distinctions even in lexical (i.e., non-pronominal) noun phrases

- So, as you might expect, subjects in Icelandic are typically marked with nominative case:

Ég hafði séð hana.
I.NOM had seen her.ACC
'I had seen her.'

(ZMT 1985)

Þeir seldu bókina.
they.PL.NOM sold.PL book.the.SG.ACC
'They sold the book.'

(Thráinsson 2007)

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- the Definiteness Effect: (Milsark '74)

það byður *stelpunum/sumum stelpum við setningafræði.
EXPL loathes girls.the.DAT/some.DAT girls.DAT against syntax.DAT
'Syntax makes some girls sick.'

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- the Definiteness Effect:

það byður *stelpunum/sumum stelpum við setningafræði.
EXPL loathes girls.the.DAT/some.DAT girls.DAT against syntax.DAT
'Syntax makes some girls sick.'

There seem to ___ to be ___ in the garden

some girls
the girls
every girl

a boy
* the boy
* every boy

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- Burzio's (1986) Generalization
  - traditionally formulated as —

    Ext. theta role ⇒ ACC case

    or —

    Ext. theta role ⇔ ACC case

  - Marantz (1991): it is better formulated as —

    DP_2 is not part of the same chain as subject DP ⇔

    ACC on DP_2

    - works better than the original formulation for, e.g., examples like:

a. ***It struck me that I should have used "Elmer" in this sentence.***
b. ***There struck me as being too many examples in his paper.***
c. ***Elmer$_i$ struck her as [t_i being too stubborn for the job].***

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Woodford '99: no raising to ERG / Artiagoitia 2001 / Rezac et al. (2014 NLLT)

- Marantz (1991), furthermore: there is an ergative counterpart to Burzio's Generalization

  DP_2 is not part of the same chain as object DP ⇔ *ERG on DP_2*

  ↓ ∃ raising-to-ERG in Basque

  - ... which amounts to:
    - "no ERG on derived subjects"

(Tsez; *Polinsky 2015*)

ƛ'iriku	agi-ł-si.
kerchief.ABS.IV	hole-ITR-PST.WIT

'The kerchief wore out (lit.: got holes in it).'

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- Let's see how this system derives some of the major case patterns in dyadic predicates

Subj	Obj
NOM	ACC
DAT	NOM
GEN	NOM
NOM	DAT

Subj	Obj
ERG	ABS
ABS	DAT
DAT	ABS

(1) lex/obl. → ∅

(2) dep. → "Acc" to Obj

(3) unm. → "NOM" to Subj

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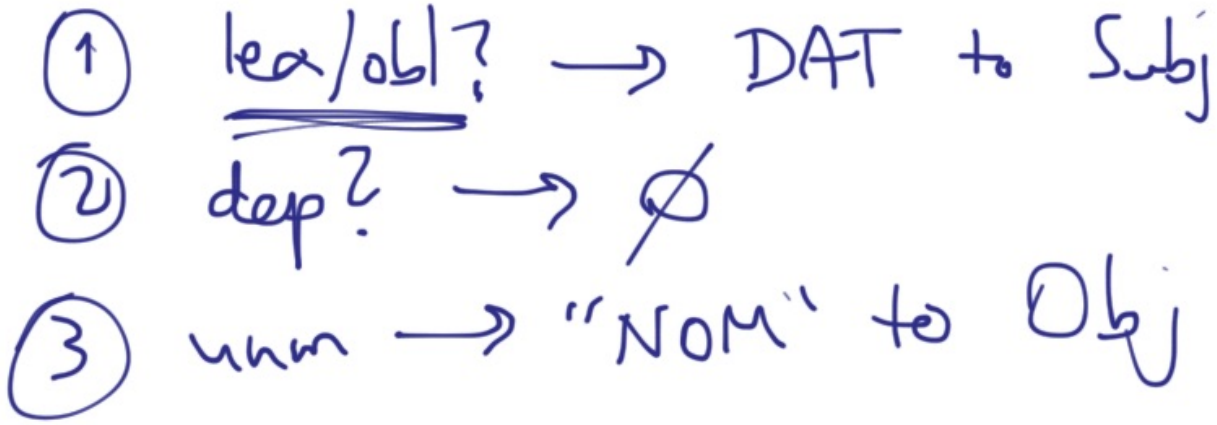
- Let's see how this system derives some of the major case patterns in dyadic predicates

Subj	Obj
NOM	ACC
DAT	NOM
GEN	NOM
NOM	DAT

Subj	Obj
ERG	ABS
ABS	DAT
DAT	ABS



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- Let's see how this system derives some of the major case patterns in dyadic predicates

Subj	Obj
NOM	ACC
DAT	NOM
GEN	NOM
NOM	DAT

Subj	Obj
ERG	ABS
ABS	DAT
DAT	ABS

① lex/obl? → "DAT" on Obj

② dep → ∅

③ nsubj → "NOM" on Subj

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- Let's see how this system derives some of the major case patterns in dyadic predicates

Subj	Obj
NOM	ACC
DAT	NOM
GEN	NOM
NOM	DAT

Subj	Obj
ERG	ABS
ABS	DAT
DAT	ABS

(1) lex lbl? → ∅

(2) dep? → "ERG" on Subj

(3) num. → "ABS" on Obj

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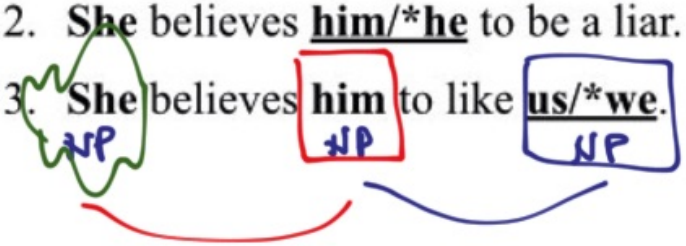
- As a side-note, dependent case also needs to be subject to a locality condition, so that:
  - the underlined noun phrases in (1), (2), and (3) receive dependent case

1. **She** saw **him/*he**.
2. **She** believes **him/*he** to be a liar.
3. **She** believes **him** to like **us/*we**.



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Back to *PASSIVE(ECM) = RAISING*

Back to *PASSIVE(ECM) = RAISING*

(Icelandic; *all data from Thráinsson 2007*)

a. þeir hafa étið fiskinn.
they.NOM have eaten fish.the.ACC
'They have eaten the fish.'

b. þeir hafa hent fiskinum.
they.NOM have discarded fish.the.DAT
'They have discarded the fish.'

a. Fiskurinn$_1$ hefur verið étinn t_1.
fish.the.NOM have been eaten
'The fish have been eaten.'

b. Fiskinum$_1$ hefur verið hent t_1.
fish.the.DAT have been discarded
'The fish have been discarded.'

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Interim conclusion

- Everything we used case to account for in English is operative in Icelandic as well
  - **but it is completely divorced from the actual case that a noun phrase bears**.
- We might need a theory of nominal licensing;

* [John to arrive] is suprising.

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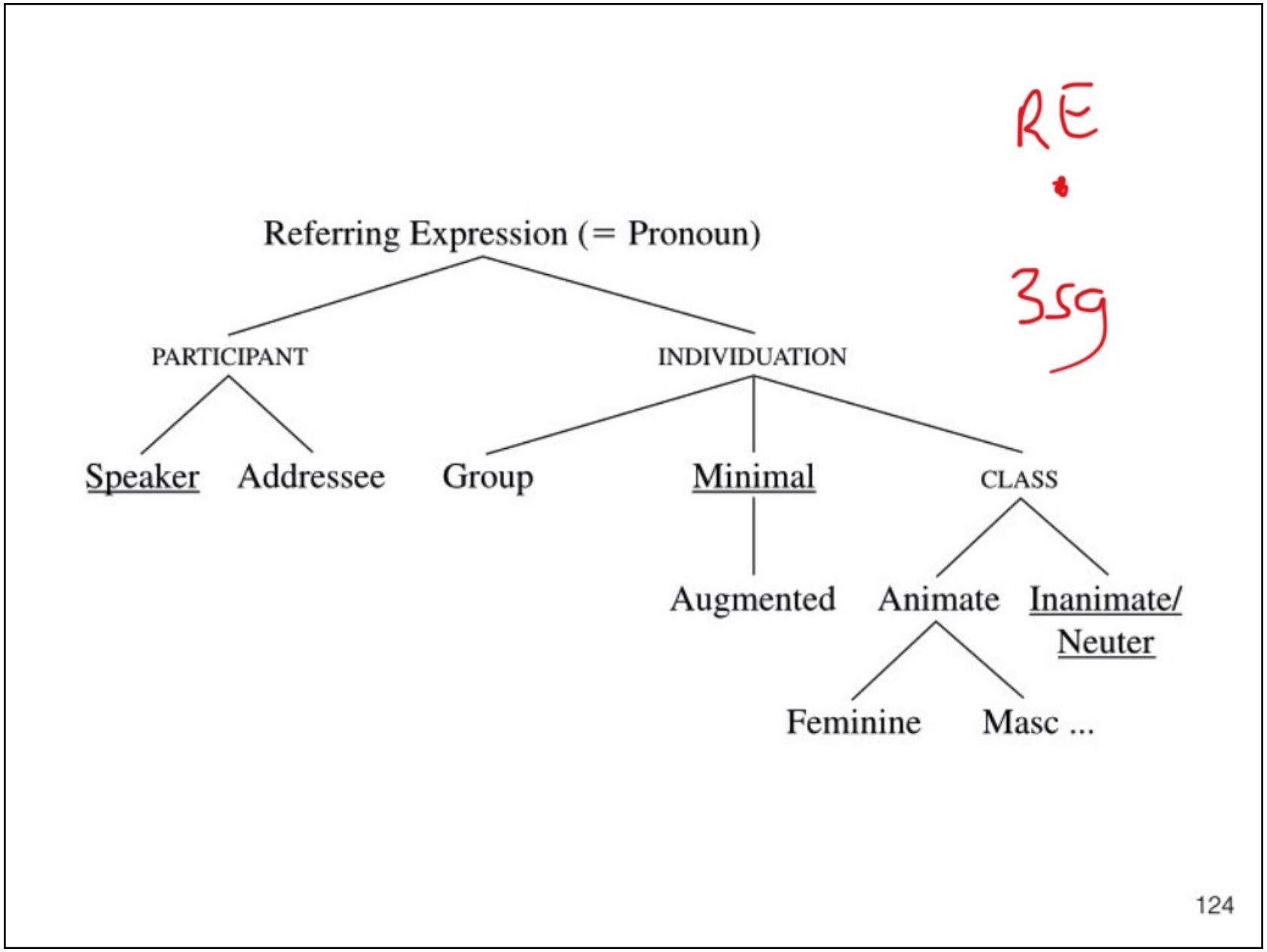
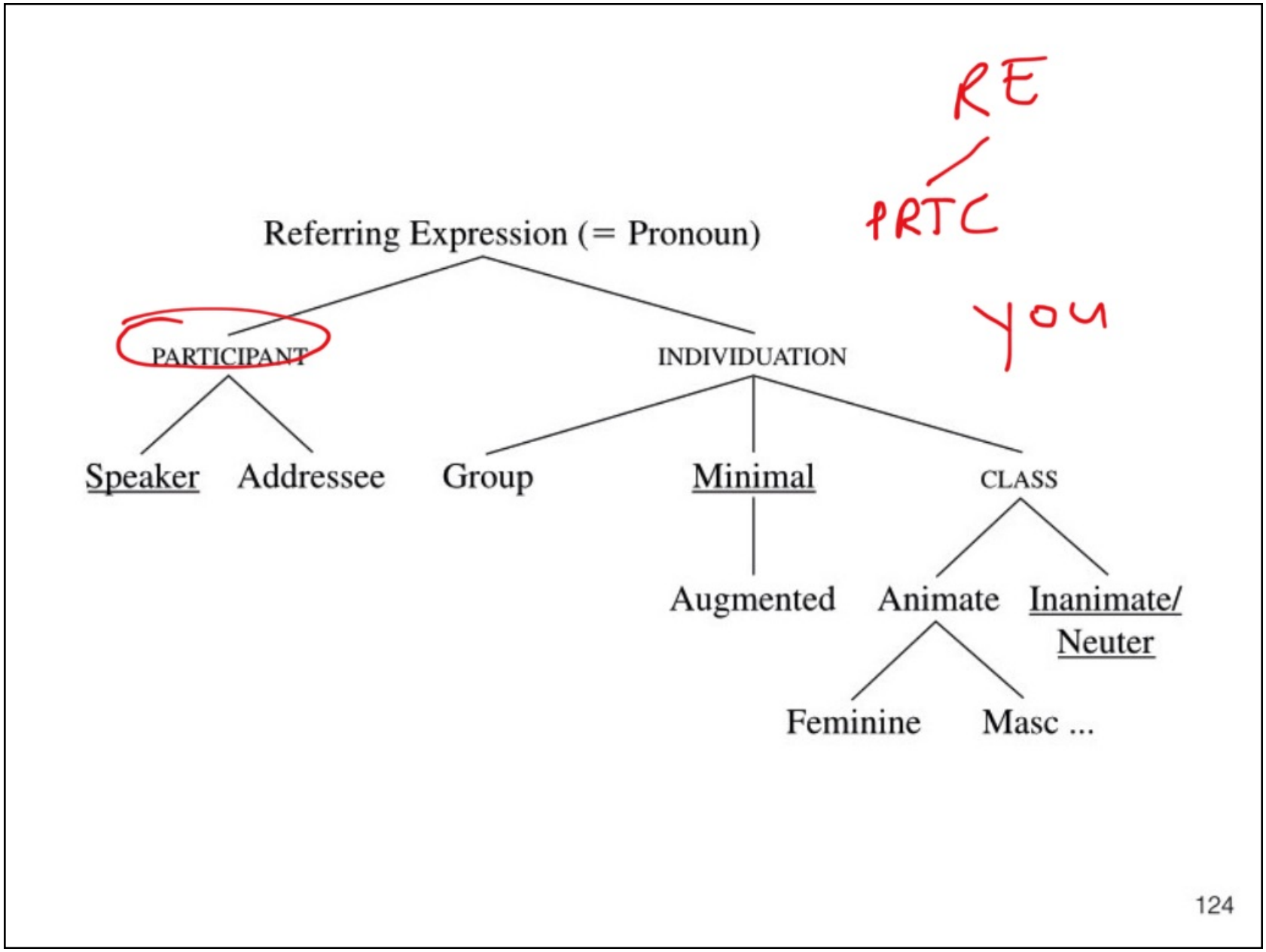
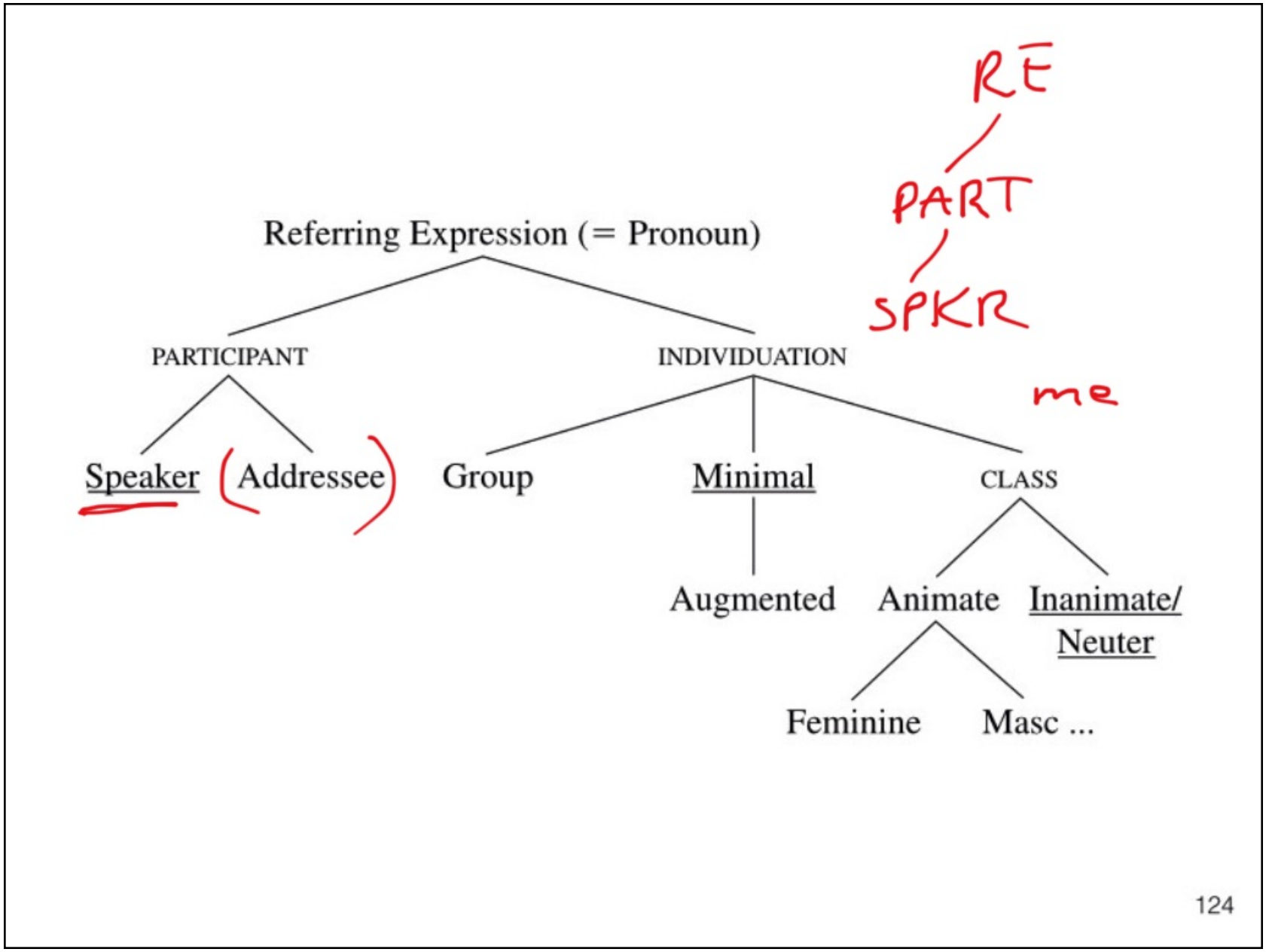
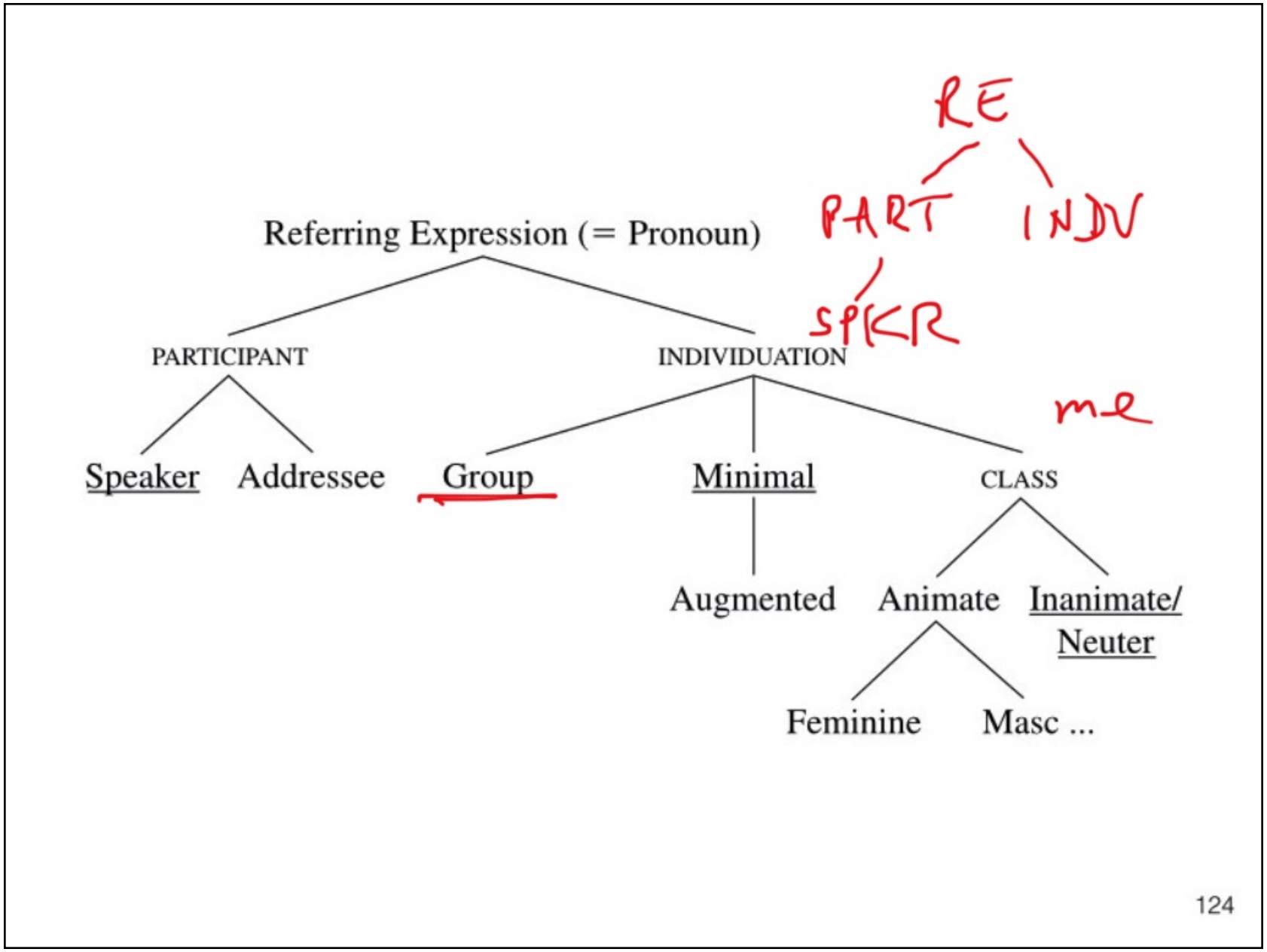
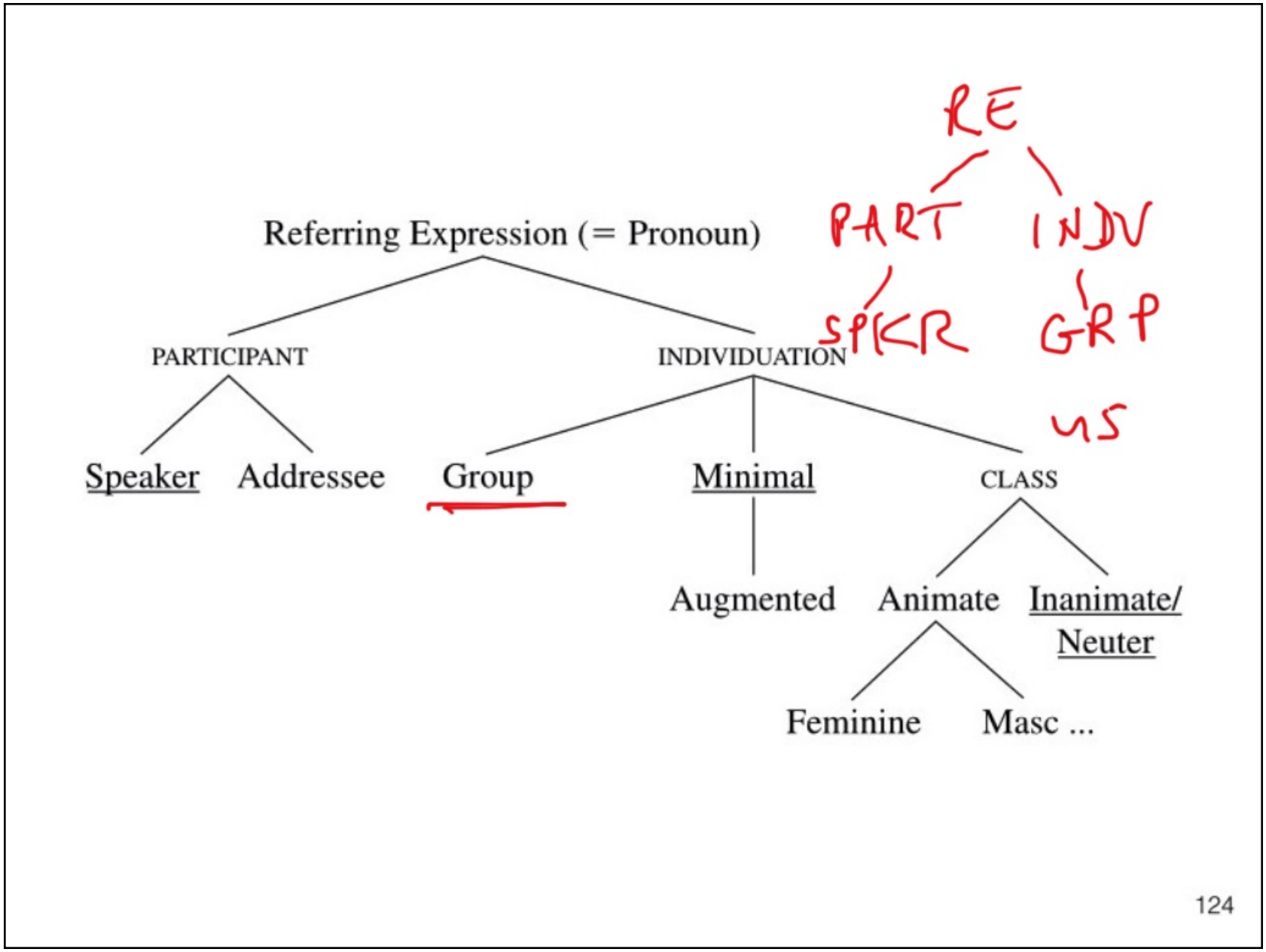

RE
3sg
Referring Expression (= Pronoun)
PARTICIPANT
INDIVIDUATION
Speaker
Addressee
Group
Minimal
CLASS
Augmented
Animate
Inanimate/
Neuter
Feminine
Masc ...
124


RE
PRTC
Referring Expression (= Pronoun)
YOU
PARTICIPANT
INDIVIDUATION
Speaker
Addressee
Group
Minimal
CLASS
Augmented
Animate
Inanimate/
Neuter
Feminine
Masc ...
124


RE
PART
SPKR
Referring Expression (= Pronoun)
PARTICIPANT
INDIVIDUATION
me
Speaker
Addressee
Group
Minimal
CLASS
Augmented
Animate
Inanimate/
Neuter
Feminine
Masc ...
124


RE
PART
INDV
SPKR
me
Referring Expression (= Pronoun)
PARTICIPANT
INDIVIDUATION
Speaker
Addressee
Group
Minimal
CLASS
Augmented
Animate
Inanimate/
Neuter
Feminine
Masc ...
124


Referring Expression (= Pronoun)
PARTICIPANT
INDIVIDUATION
Speaker
Addressee
Group
Minimal
CLASS
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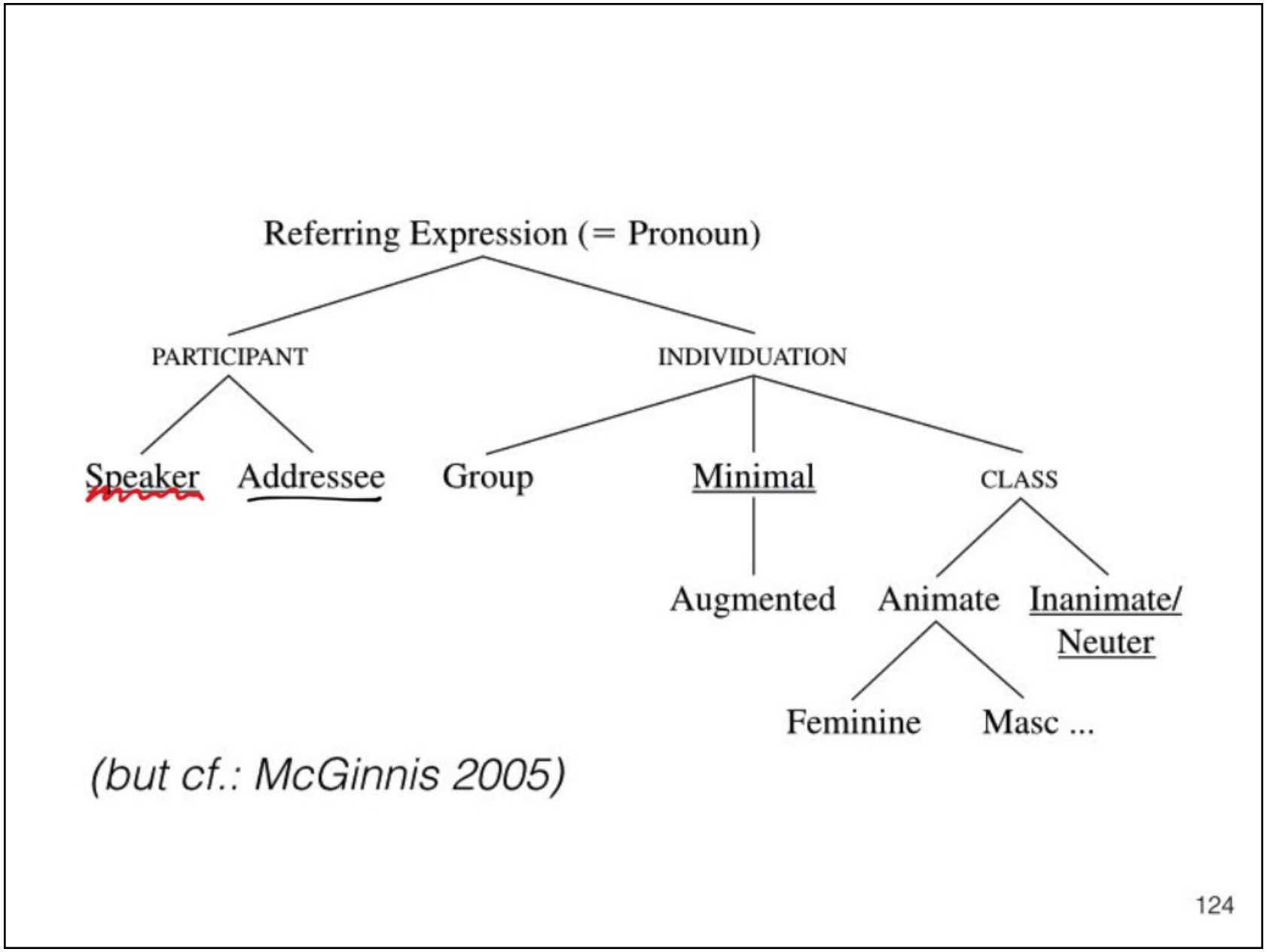
Animate
Inanimate/
Neuter
Feminine
Masc ...
124


Referring Expression (= Pronoun)
PARTICIPANT
INDIVIDUATION
Speaker
Addressee
Group
Minimal
CLASS
Augmented
Animate
Inanimate/
Neuter
Feminine
Masc ...
(but cf.: McGinnis 2005)
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	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1st ex	naika	ntaika	ntcaika
1st in		tχaika	lχaika
2nd	maika	mtaika	mcaika
3rd	áχka (f.)	ctáχka	táska

TABLE 6. Chinook pronouns (Boas 1911b:626).

"duality"

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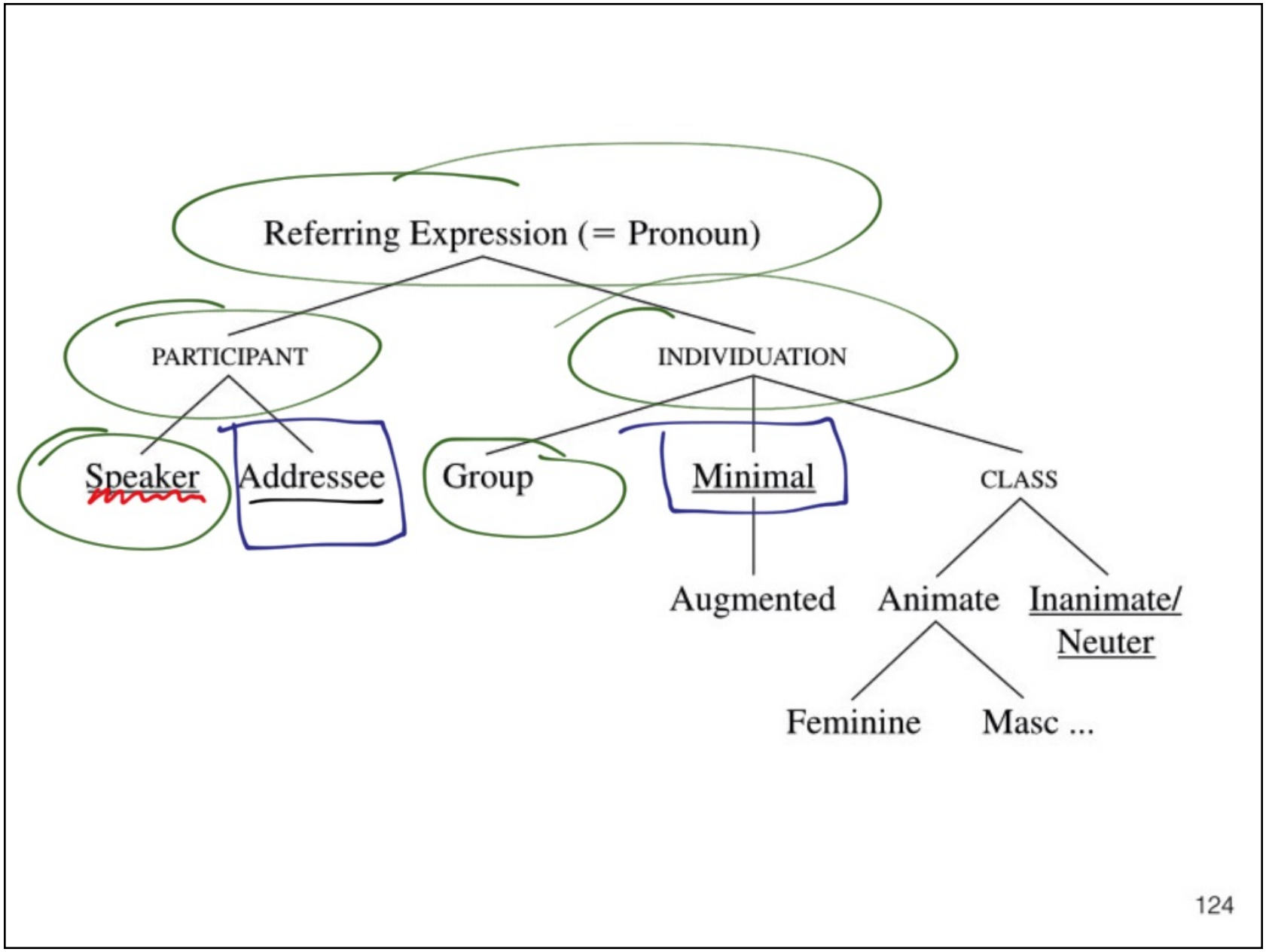
Referring Expression (= Pronoun)
PARTICIPANT
INDIVIDUATION
Speaker
Addressee
Group
Minimal
CLASS
Augmented
Animate
Inanimate/
Neuter
Feminine
Masc ...
124

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st ex	au	aʔna
1st in	kïxko	kïxka:ro
2nd	amo:ro	amïiyaro
3rd	moxko	moxka:ro

TABLE 4. Kalihna pronouns (Hoff 1968:277).

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	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st ex	au	aʔna
1st in	kïxko	kïxka:ro
2nd	amo:ro	amïiyaro
3rd	moxko	moxka:ro

TABLE 4. Kalihna pronouns (Hoff 1968:277).

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	min. SINGULAR	non-min. PLURAL
1st ex	au	aʔna
1st in	kïxko	kïxka:ro
2nd	amo:ro	amïiyaro
3rd	moxko	moxka:ro

TABLE 4. Kalihna pronouns (Hoff 1968:277).

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McGinnis' (2005) correction

	1ST PERSON	INCLUSIVE	2ND PERSON
a.	we		~~you~~ y'all
b.	X		Y

TABLE 2. Participant contrasts predicted if [Speaker] and [Addressee] are equivalent.

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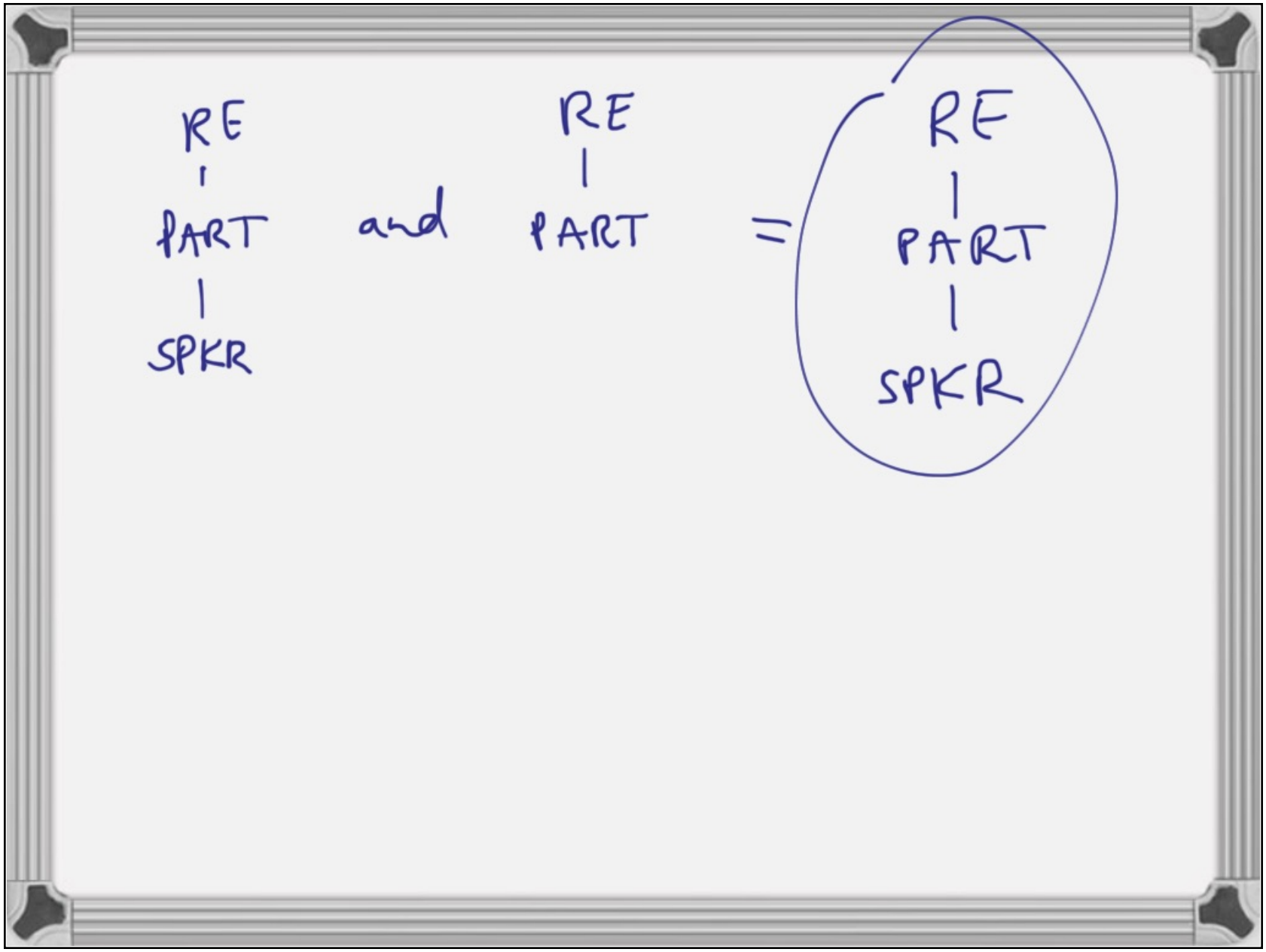
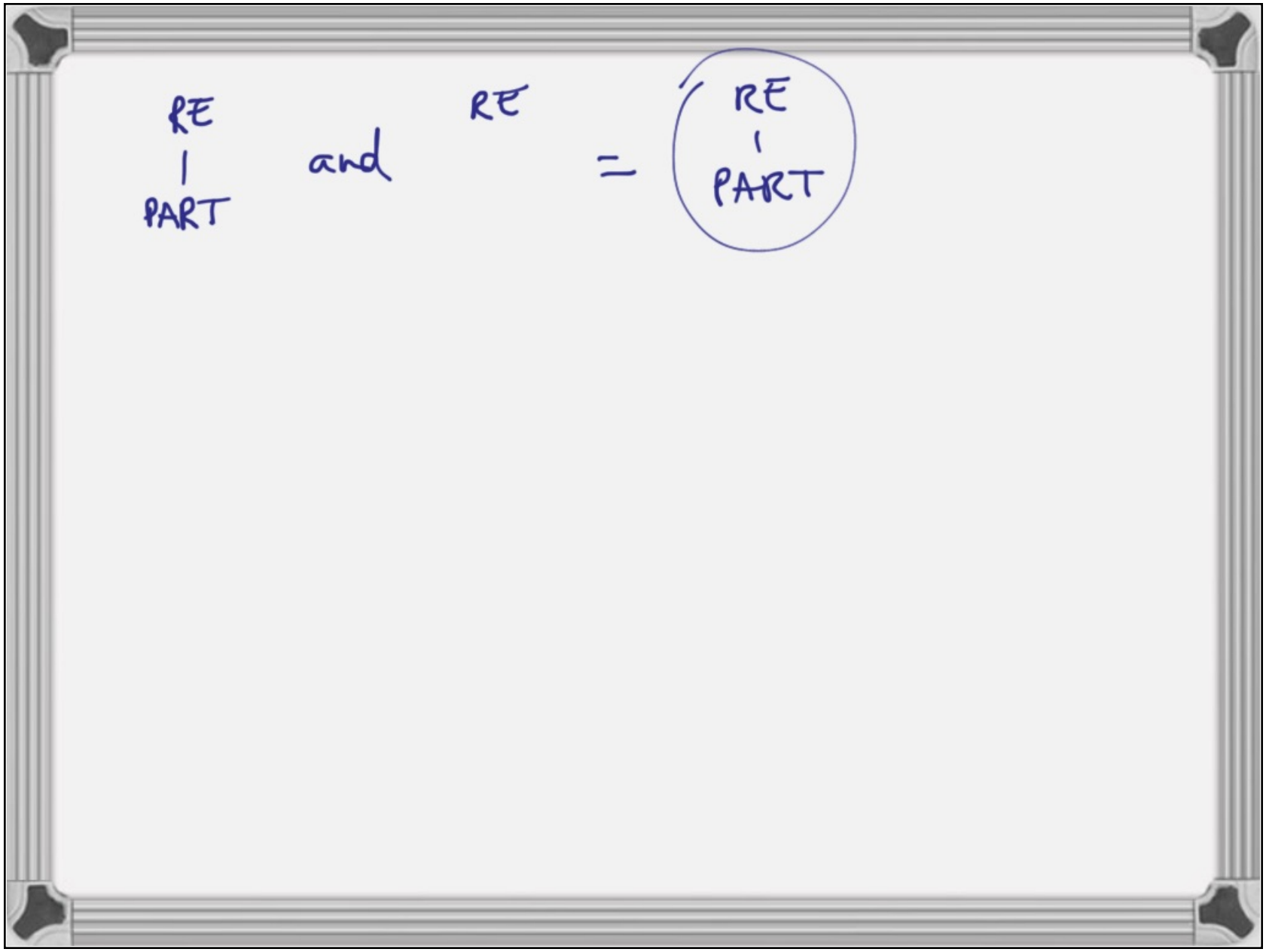

RE
PART
SPKR
and
RE
PART
=
RE
PART
SPKR


RE
|
PART
and
RE
=
RE
·
PART