

Dissociating Case and Agree

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Claims

- ▶ Case and Agree(ment) do not have to license NPs
- ▶ Case and Agree(ment) interact and determine each other
- ▶ Dependent case approaches need to see ϕ -features

Case and case

Abstract Case

- ▶ In GB, abstract Case plays an important role
- ▶ Case Filter determines the **distribution of noun phrases**: Vergnaud (1977), Chomsky (1981), Chomsky and Lasnik (1995)
 - ▶ Word order (raising, passivisation, adjacency, directionality)
 - ▶ Which noun phrases can get θ -roles (Visibility Condition)
 - ▶ Case licenses (overt) NPs and PRO
- ▶ Abstract Case does not equal morphological case
 - ▶ English has abstract Case, but mostly lacks morphological case
 - ▶ One-way implication: morphological case entails abstract case

Structural Case and inherent Case

- ▶ Structural Case:
 - ▶ Defined by the **position in the clause** (Chomsky 1981)
 - ▶ Related to T (NOM) and v (ACC) (Chomsky 2000, 2001)
 - ▶ **Dissociated from θ -roles** (passivisation, raising)
- ▶ Inherent Case:
 - ▶ Determined by **properties of the assigner**
 - ▶ Tied to a θ -role
 - ▶ Restricted passivisation?
- ▶ NB: these properties do not depend on a notion of Case
- ▶ Marantz (1991), McFadden (2004), Sheehan and van der Wal (2015): abstract Case not necessary

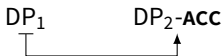
Abstract Case and morphological case (m-case)

- ▶ Marantz (1991), McFadden (2004) argue against a connection:
- ▶ Abstract Case **does not exist**
- ▶ Licensing through **semantic roles**
- ▶ Word order through **EPP**
- ▶ “Giving content to the theory of morphological case allows for the **elimination of abstract Case** theory from the theory of syntax.” (Marantz 1991: 3)

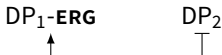
Dependent case

- ▶ Marantz (1991), Bittner and Hale (1996), McFadden (2004), Bobaljik (2008), Preminger (2014), Baker (2015)
- ▶ For two DPs, DP_1 asymmetrically c-commanding DP_2 :

- ▶ ACC on lower DP:



- ▶ ERG on higher DP:



- ▶ Tri-partite systems?



Interim summary and questions

- ▶ If abstract Case does not license NPs,
- ▶ Chomsky's (2000, 2001) Case/Agree is not tenable.
- ▶ Is there any relation?

Case and Agreement

Case and agreement

Bobaljik (2008)

- ▶ Follows Marantz (1991): morphological case is post-syntactic
- ▶ Morphological case determines ϕ -agreement, so
- ▶ ϕ -agreement is post-syntactic too!

(1) Unmarked Case > Dependent Case > Lexical/Oblique Case

(Bobaljik 2008: 303)

Case and agreement (cont.)

- ▶ Marathi agreement **based on m-case?**

(2) a. *mulii* *gaaNii* *mhaNtaat.*

girl.3PL.F.ABS song.3PL.N.ABS sing.PST. 3PL.F

‘Girls sing songs.’

b. *mulii-ne* *gaaNii* *mhaTlii.*

girl.3PL.F-ERG song.3PL.N.ABS sing.PST. 3PL.N

‘The girls sang songs.’

(Legate 2008: 94, via Pandharipande 1997)

Case and agreement (cont.)

- ▶ Legate (2008): no, **based on abstract Case**

(3) a. *mii / tuu gaaNii mhaTlii.*

I.ABS you.SG.ABS song.3PL.N.ABS sing.PST. 3PL.N
 'I/you sang songs.'

b. *tyaa-ne / ti-ne gaaNii mhaTlii.*

he-ERG she-ERG song.3PL.N.ABS sing.PST. 3PL.N
 'S/he sang songs.' (Keine 2010: 52, via Pandharipande 1997)

- ▶ Legate (2008): inherent ERG does not agree, abstract ABS does
- ▶ Keine (2010): Case features in syntax, interacting with Agree

Case and agreement (cont.)

Preminger (2014)

- ▶ Preminger (2014) dissociates Case/Agree:
- ▶ **Agree can fail**, does not license DPs or determine their case...
- ▶ dependent case does!

Baker (2015)

- ▶ Dependent case is one possibility, **Case/Agree another one**

Interim summary and questions

- ▶ **Abstraction is necessary:** “null” m-case in Marathi?
- ▶ Is there “abstract” dependent case?
- ▶ What can differential object marking tell us?

Case studies: differential object marking/agreement

Hungarian

(4) a. *Lát-ok egy gyerek-et.*

see-1SG.SBJ a child-ACC

'I see a child.'

b. *Lát-om a gyerek-et.*

see-1SG.OBJ the child-ACC

'I see the child.'

- ▶ Mismatch between case and agreement
- ▶ DO is marked ACC, object agreement is differential

Hungarian (cont.)

- ▶ **Global** phenomena suggest Case/Agree-connection?
- ▶ Hungarian “inverse” agreement: É. Kiss (2013), Bárány (2015)

(5) a. *Én lát-lak téged.*

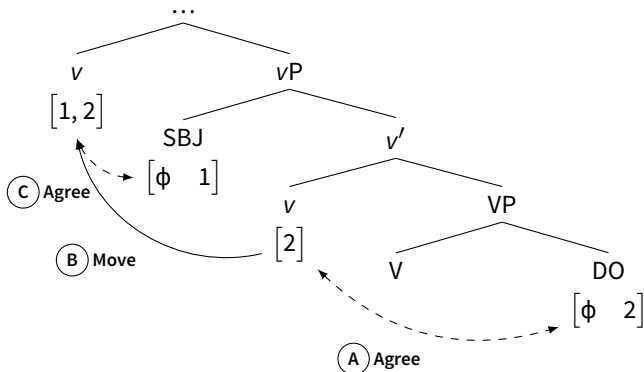
I see-1SG>2 you.SG.ACC
 ‘I see you.’

b. *Ő lát téged.*

s/he see.3SG. SBJ you.SG.ACC
 ‘S/he sees you.’

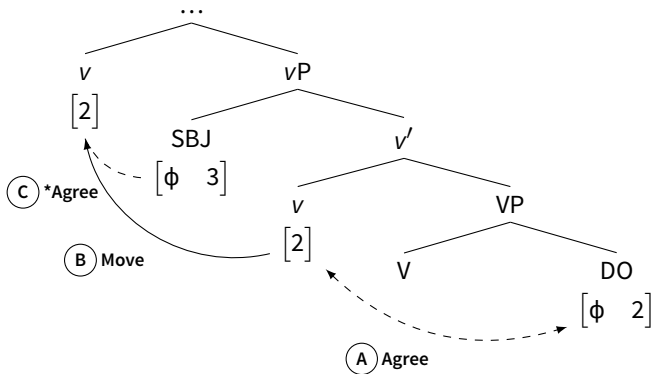
- ▶ 2nd person triggers agreement **when S is 1st person**
- ▶ “Hierarchical” effect: 1 > 2 > 3
- ▶ *v* can Agree several times if SBJ > DO (Béjar and Rizac 2009)

Hungarian: (5a) 'I see you.'



- ▶ SBJ's $[1] >$ DO's $[2]$, so v gets two sets of ϕ -features
- ▶ Bárányi (2015, in progress): object agreement if $v[\phi_1, \phi_2]$

Hungarian: (5b) 'S/he sees you.'



- ▶ SBJ's $[3] < \text{DO's } [2]$, *v* has a single value; **no object agreement!**
- ▶ SBJ and DO's ϕ determine different syntactic configurations

Global case splits

- ▶ Case comes into the picture in **global case splits**
- ▶ Close connection between ϕ -agreement and (m-)case
- ▶ Dependent case not enough: SBJ's and DO's ϕ -features matter
- ▶ Silverstein (1976), Aissen (1999), de Hoop and Malchukov (2008), Keine (2010), Georgi (2012), Barany (in progress)

Kashmiri

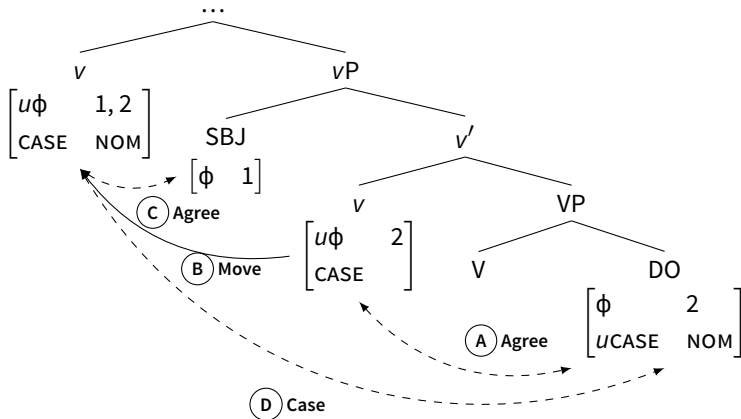
(6) a. *bʌ* *chu-s-ath* *tsʌ* *parɦna:va:n*
 I.NOM *be.M.SG-1.SG.SBJ-2.SG.OBJ* *you.NOM* teaching
 ‘I am teaching you.’

b. *su* *chu-y* *tse* *parɦna:va:n*
 he.NOM *be.M.SG-2.SG.OBJ* *you.DAT* teaching
 ‘He is teaching you.’

(Wali and Koul 1997: 155)

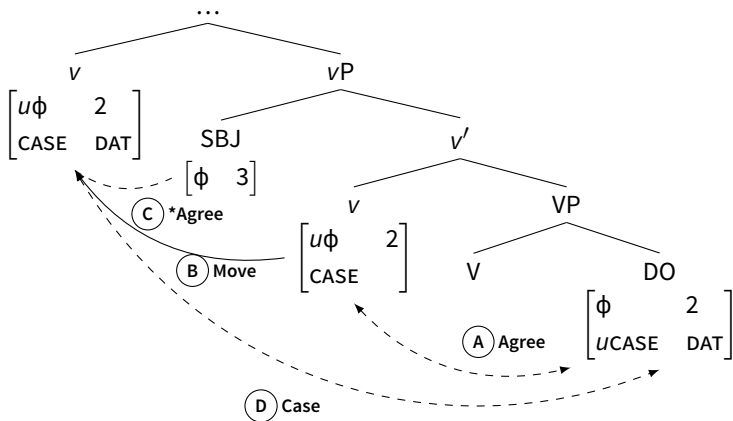
- ▶ DAT on the DO in **inverse configurations**
- ▶ DAT depends on properties of subject and object
- ▶ Simple solution: $v[\phi \prec \text{CASE}]$, v can agree more than once

Kashmiri: (6a) 'I am teaching you.'



- ▶ v assigns case **after** agreeing with SBJ and DO: $[\phi \prec \text{CASE}]$
- ▶ NOM with $v[\phi_1, \phi_2]$, DAT otherwise

Kashmiri: (6b) 'He is teaching you.'



- ▶ single ϕ -feature on v leads to **DAT**

Datives and DOM

- ▶ **DOM can resemble dative:** Kashmiri, Spanish, Hindi, Awtuw
- ▶ Are these DOs real datives? IOs?
 - ▶ Torrego (2010), Manzini and Franco (2015): yes
 - ▶ Béjar and Rezac (2009), Bárány (in progress): not quite clear

- (7) a. *su kariy tse me hava:l̩.*
 he.NOM do.FUT.2.SG.OBJ **YOU.DAT** I.DAT handover
 ‘He will hand you over to me.’
- b. *ts̩ yikh me hava:l̩ karn̩ t̩m’s̩ndi d̩s̩ʔ*
YOU.NOM come.PASS I.DAT handover do.INF.ABL he.GEN by
 ‘You will be handed over to me by him.’

(Wali and Koul 1997: 208)

- ▶ No IO-passives in Kashmiri and Spanish
- ▶ IO DAT not affected by ϕ -features

Conclusions

Conclusions

- ▶ **Abstraction necessary:** Marathi “null” ergative
- ▶ Case and Agree do not license NPs together, Agree can fail
- ▶ Case and agreement interact closely in **global case splits**
- ▶ Dependent case needs to be **sensitive to ϕ -features**

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