

# Parameters of Structural (Dependent) Case

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# Introduction: Types of Structural Case

## Nominative – Accusative ... and Dative

Masha Misha-qa at-y bier-de.

Masha(NOM) Misha-DAT horse-ACC give-PAST.3sS

‘Masha gave Misha a horse.’ *Sakha*

## Ergative – Absolutive .... and Oblique

Piita-up Niisi aningaasa-nik tuni-vaa

Pitta-ERG Niisi(ABS) money-OBL give-IND.3s.3s

Piita gave money to Niisi. *WG Eskimo*

## Marked nominative .... and nothing else

Heather-sh Pam kwnho aay-m.

Heather-NOM Pam basket give-real

‘Heather gave a basket to Pam.’ *Maricopa*

# Is Case Related to Agreement?

Sometimes (apparently) Yes: Sakha nominative

Erel kinige-ni atyylas-ta.

Erel book-ACC buy-PAST.3sS

‘Erel bought the book.’

(Masha) cej ih-er caakky-(ta)

Masha tea drink-AOR cup-3sP

‘a cup (for Masha) to drink tea from’

Overt subject only  
if agreement on

N—and then GEN

Oqo-lor-go üüt naada-(\*1ar)

child-PL-DAT milk need-(\*3pS)

‘The children need milk.’

No agreement if the  
subject is Dat or Acc

# Is Case Related to Agreement?

## But sometimes No

- Languages with structural case but no agreement (Japanese, Lezgian, Shipibo, Mongolian, etc.).
- Languages with structural case but not enough agreement (Sakha, Tamil, etc., Baker and Vinokurova 2010).
- Languages with object agreement that does not match accusative case (Amharic, etc. Baker 2012).
- Languages with subject agreement that doesn't match ergative-absolutive case (Kewa, Burushaski, B 2008).
- Languages where case does not depend on nature of the functional categories (Sakha, Burushaski, etc.).

Cf. **The Case Dependency of Agreement Parameter** (B 2008).

# Dependent Case Assignment: Origins

*Case realization disjunctive hierarchy:* (Marantz 1991:24)

- a. Lexically governed case (i.e., quirky case assigned by particular verbs in Icelandic, adpositions, etc.).
- b. *Dependent case* (accusative case and ergative case)
- c. Unmarked case (NOM or ABS in clause, GEN in DP)
- d. Default case (assigned to any NP not otherwise marked)

*Dependent case* is assigned by V+I to a position governed by V+I when a distinct position governed by V+I is:

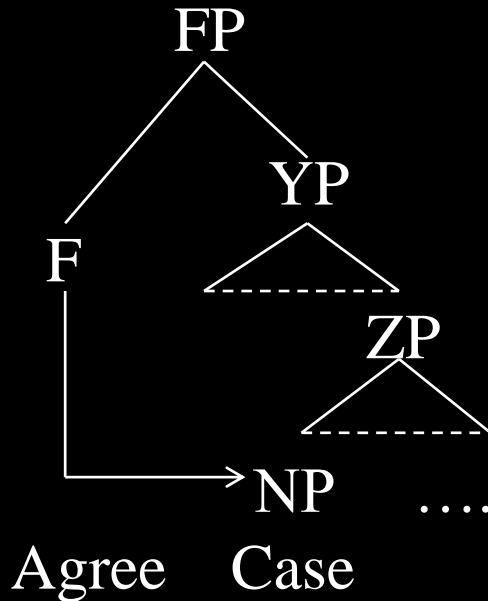
- a. not 'marked' (does not have lexically governed case)
- b. distinct from the chain being assigned dependent case.

Dependent case assigned up to subject: **ergative**

Dependent case assigned down to object: **accusative**

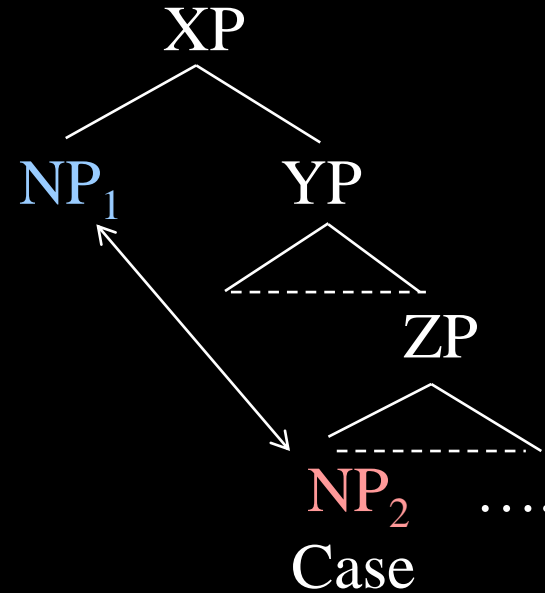
# Dependent Case Assignment: Idea

*Case by Agreement:*  
(Chomsky 2000)



Crucial: Which F is near?  
Incidental: Other NPs

*Case by Configuration:*  
(Marantz 1991)



Crucial: Another NP? Where?  
Incidental: What Fs are around

# Dependent Case Assignment: Recent Formulations

Baker and Vinokurova 2010

a. If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same phase such that **NP1 c-commands NP2**, then value the case feature of **NP2 as accusative** unless NP1 has already been marked for case.

b. If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same phase such that **NP1 c-commands NP2**, then value the case feature of **NP1 as ergative** unless NP2 has already been marked for case. (extension)

# Dependent Case Assignment: Schema

If **XP** bears **c-command relationship R** to **ZP** in local domain **WP**, then assign case **V** to **XP**.

Parameters for variation:

- Which particular **c-command relationship R** is used?
- Which local domain **WP** must **XP** and **ZP** both be in?
- What conditions are there on **XP** (the case-bearer) and **ZP** (the case competitor)?



# Method: The Middle Way

The study of will be anchored in some 20 unrelated languages analyzed in significant detail. This is the “Middle Way” of Formal Generative Typology.

Accusative languages:

Sakha (Turkic), Tamil, Amharic, Quechua, (Finnish) ....

Ergative languages:

Shipibo, Burushaski, Lezgian, Chukchi, (Greenlandic) ...

Tripartite languages:

Nez Perce, Coast Tsimshian, Semelai, Diyari (and Warlpiri)

Marked nominative languages:

Choctaw, Maricopa, Oromo, Tukang Besi

Neutral languages:

Lubukusu (as example), Chamorro (direct vs. oblique)

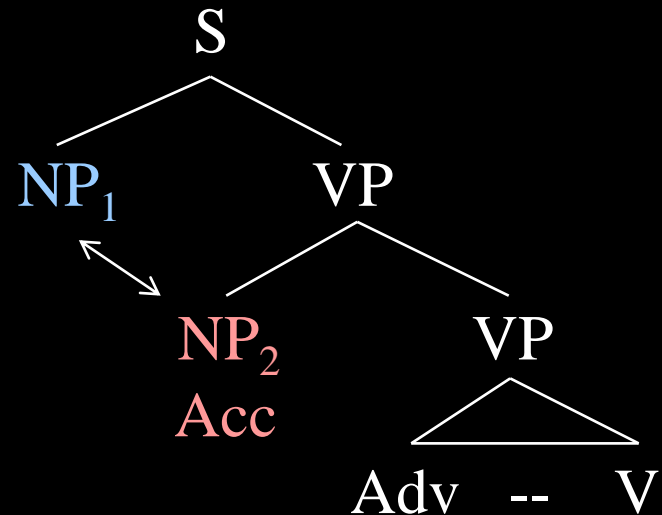
# C-command Relations: Down

If XP is c-commanded by ZP in local domain WP, then assign accusative to XP.

Min ülel-ii-bin. (Sakha)  
I.NOM work-AOR-1sS  
'I worked.'

Erel kinige-ni atyylas-ta.  
Erel book-ACC buy-PAST.3sS  
'Erel bought the book.'

(Also Tamil, Amharic, Quechua,  
Hopi—24.2% of languages)



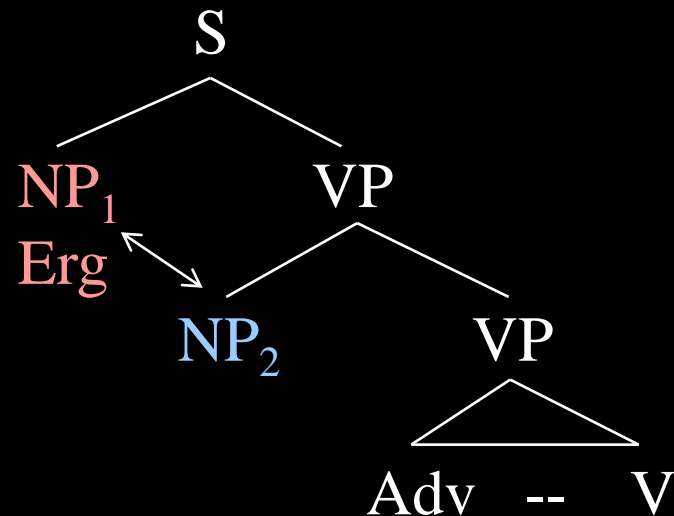
# C-command Relations: Up

If XP **c-commands** ZP in local domain WP, then assign **ergative** to XP.

E-a-ra        chixot-ai.        (Shipibo)  
1-ABS-EV have.diarrhea-INC  
'I have diarrhea.'

E-n-ra        ja        jamá-ke.  
1-ERG-EV 3:ABS kick-CMPL  
'I kicked him / her / it.'

(Also Burushaski, Lezgian, Chuchi,  
Greenlandic—16.8% of languages)



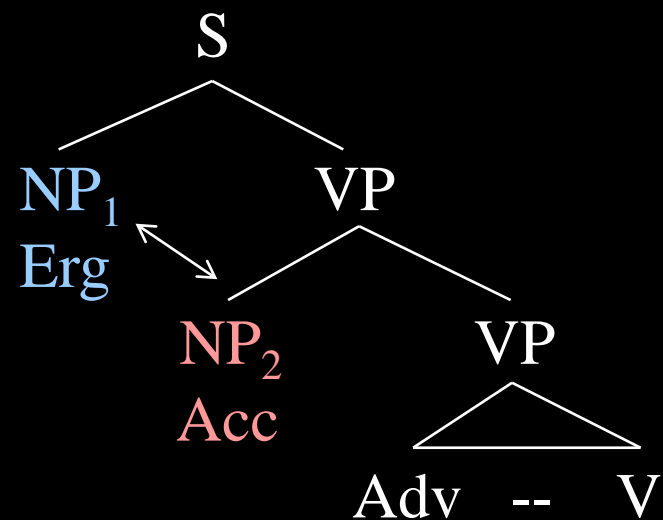
# C-command Relations: Up and Down

If XP **c-commands** ZP in local domain WP, then assign ergative to XP and **accusative** to ZP.

Hi-páay-na háama. (Nez Perce )  
3S-arrive-ASP man  
'The man arrived.'

Háama-nm hi-néec-'wi-ye wewúkiye-ne  
man-ERG 3S-pO-shoot-ASP elk-ACC  
'The man shot the elk(pl).'

(Also Coast Tsimshian, Semelai, Diyari—  
2.1% of languages ... but undercounted?)



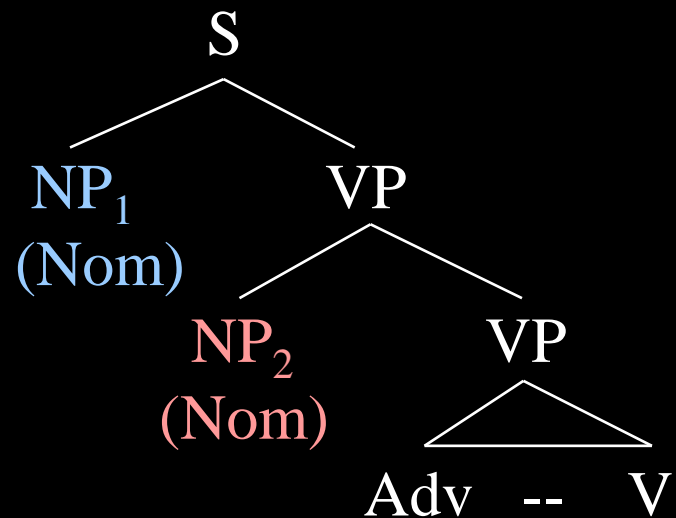
# C-command Relations: Neither

[If XP **c-commands** ZP in local domain WP, then [do nothing]]  
Otherwise assign default case to NP.

Wafula a-cha (engo). (Lubukusu)  
Wafula 1S-go home  
'Wafula went (home).'

Wanjala a-nywa ka-malwa  
Wanjala 1S-T-drink 6-beer  
Wanjala drank beer.

(Also 51.6% of languages)



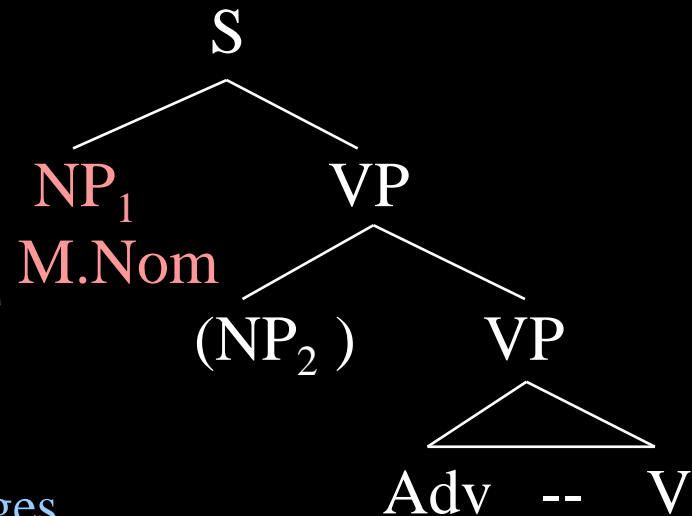
# C-command Relations: Negative

If XP is not c-commanded by any ZP in local domain WP, then assign marked nominative to XP.

Hattak-at taloowa-tok (Choctaw)  
Man-NOM sing-PAST  
'The man sang.'

Ópah tíkchi-it alla i-paya-ttook.  
Owl wife-NOM child III-call-DPAST  
'The owl's wife called the children.'

(Also Oromo, Maricopa—4.7% of languages  
... but also tukang besi, Korean, Japanese)



# When there is no c-command I: PPs

Ləmma Aster-*in* gənzəb-u-n sərrək'-at. *Amharic*

Lemma Aster-ACC money-DEF-ACC rob-(3mS)-3fO

‘Lemma robbed Aster of the money.’ *Active source*

Ləmma almaz-*in* tarikk-u-n nəggər-at.

Lemma Aster-ACC story-DEF-ACC tell-(3mS)-3fO

‘Lemma told Almaz the story/his story.’ *Active goal*

*Aster* fant'a-wa-n tə-sərrək'-*itf*.

Aster suitcase-3fP-ACC PASS-rob-3fS

‘Aster was robbed of her suitcase.’

*Passive source*

Source=subject

*Almaz* tarikk-u tə-nnəgr-*ow*-at nəbbər. *Passive goal*

Almaz story-DEF PASS-tell-3mS.GER-3fO AUX *Goal not subject!*

‘Almaz was told the story.’

# When there is no c-command I: PPs

**Baker 2012: Goals are embedded in a null headed PP; sources aren't.** *Plus* a (null-headed) PP cannot be the subject of TP (Landau 2007), therefore it cannot agree with T.

[<sub>TP</sub> (Lemma) [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> Ø Almaz ] [<sub>V'</sub> story tell-(PASS) ]]]

*Consequence: theme is ACC in source passive, but not goal passive*

**Aster** ʃant'a-wa-n                      tə-sərrək'-itʃ.                      **Passive source**

Aster suitcase-3fP-ACC PASS-rob-3fS

'Aster was robbed of her suitcase.'

**Almaz** tarikk-u                      tə-nnəgr-ow-at                      nəbbər.                      **Passive goal**

Almaz story-DEF PASS-tell-3mS.GER-3fO AUX

'Almaz was told the story.'



# When there is no c-command I: PPs

Like the passives of goal verbs are simple verbs with an experiencer-possessor and a theme (“dyadic unaccusatives”)

[<sub>TP</sub> -- [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> Ø Lemma ] [<sub>V'</sub> child lost/have ]]]

Ləmma sejt lidʒ-u t'əffa-tʃ-əw  
Lemma female child-DEF lose-3fS-3mO  
'Lemma lost his daughter.'

Ləmma wiʃfa-w all-ə-w  
Lemma dog-DEF exist-3mS-3mO  
'Lemma has the dog.'

# When there is no c-command I: PPs

Dyadic Unaccusatives in an Ergative Language:  
A double absolutive structure (*underapplication* of case)

Hilés-e dasin mu-yeéts-imi. Normal transitive  
boy-ERG girl.ABS FsO-see-PAST.MsS (Burushaski)  
'The boy saw the girl.'

jé káman peesá d-á-can-abaa. Abs-Abs verb  
1s/ABS some money.x/ABS d-1s-need-1s/PRES  
'I need some money.'

# When there is no c-command I: PPs

Dyadic Unaccusatives in a Marked Nominative Language:  
A double nominative structure (*overapplication* of case)

Ópah tíkchi-it alla ì-paya-ttook. (Choctaw)

Owl wife-NOM child III-call-DPAST

‘The owl’s wife called the children.’ **Normal Transitive**

John-at iskali-yat im-ásha-h.

John-NOM money-NOM 3III-be:PLUR:N-TNS

John has money.

**Dyadic unaccusative**

# No c-command II: Bound Possessors

**Tripartite Nez Perce:** Both Ergative and Accusative case are suppressed when the Subject binds the possessor of the object.

Pit'íin-im páa-‘yáaX-na picpíc-ne. (Nez Perce)

Girl-ERG 3/3-find-PERF cat-ACC

The girl found the cat.

Pit'íin hi-‘yáaX-na [ -- picpíc].

Girl 3S-find-PERF [ *self's* cat ]

The girl found her cat.

**This would follow if c-command doesn't hold in Sentence 2**

# No c-command II: Bound Possessors

## Normal informal c-command:

X c-commands Y if the first category that properly contains X also contains Y.

## Normal more precise c-command:

X c-commands Y if the first category that properly contains X also contains Y, and X does not contain Y. (e.g. Chomsky 1981:166)

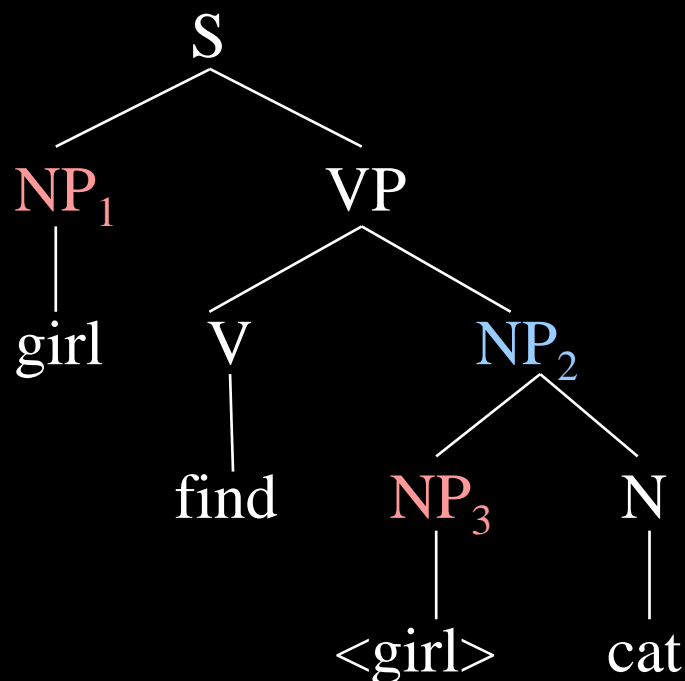
## Further proposal:

X c-commands Y if the first category that properly contains X also contains Y, and X does not contain Y or Y contain X.  
= Y does not contain a copy of X

# No c-command II: Bound Possessors

X c-commands Y if the first category that properly contains X also contains Y, and X does not contain Y or Y contain X.

= ... Y does not contain *a copy of X*



NP<sub>1</sub> does not c-command NP<sub>2</sub> here, by the second clause of c-command.

... so NP<sub>1</sub> is not ergative.

... so NP<sub>2</sub> is not accusative ("under-application")

# No c-command II: Bound Possessors

**Marked Nominative Choctaw:** Double nominative arises when an External NP is understood as binding the possessor of the theme. (“Overapplication”)

John-at ofi-yat im-ik-ill-o-h.

John-NOM dog-NOM 3III-N-die:L-NEG-TNS

John’s dog didn’t die. (also Oromo, Korean, Japanese)

[<sub>Clause</sub> John+NOM ... [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> <John> dog]+NOM die ]]

NB: This effect only holds if possessor is a copy, not a bound pronoun or anaphor that is a distinct lexical item.

# Domain Conditions on Dependent Case

If XP bears c-command relationship Y to ZP *in local domain WP*, then assign case V to XP.

Parameters for variation:

- Which particular c-command relationship Y is used?
- *Which local domain WP must XP and ZP both be in?*
- What conditions are there on XP (the case-bearer) and ZP (the case competitor)?



# Domain Conditions on Dependent Case

**Baseline: Case is normally restricted to the clause** (Marantz 1991: “Government domain of V+I”).

**In contemporary terms: CP is phase** (chunk of derivation)

Min [sarsyn ehigi-(\*ni) kel-iex-xit dien] ihit-ti-m.  
I(NOM) tomorrow you-(\*ACC) come-FUT-2pS that hear-PAST-1sS  
‘I heard that tomorrow you will come.’ (Sakha)

Čun [(PRO) a k’walax iji-z ] hazur ja.  
We.ABS that job(ABS) do-INF ready COP  
‘We are ready to do that job.’ (Lezgian)

# Domain Conditions on Case: CPs

**A Rule-Proving Exception:** lower subject can be accusative in Sakha if and only if it gets to the edge of the CP phase.

Min [sarsyn ehigi-(\*ni) kel-iex-xit dien] ihit-ti-m.  
I(NOM) tomorrow you-(\*ACC) come-FUT-2pS that hear-PAST-1sS  
'I heard that tomorrow you will come.'

Min [ehigi-ni [bügün -- kyaj-yax-xyt dien]] erem-mit-im.  
I you-ACC today win-FUT-2pS that hope-PTPL-1sS  
'I hoped that you would win today.'

# Domain Conditions on Case: VPs

Sakha is a differential object marking language, where not all DOs get ACC. It is correlated with word order and definiteness.

Masha salamaat-y turgennik sie-te.

Masha porridge-ACC quickly eat-PAST.3sS

‘Masha ate the porridge quickly.’ (*Object is \* without ACC*)

Masha turgennik salamaat sie-te.

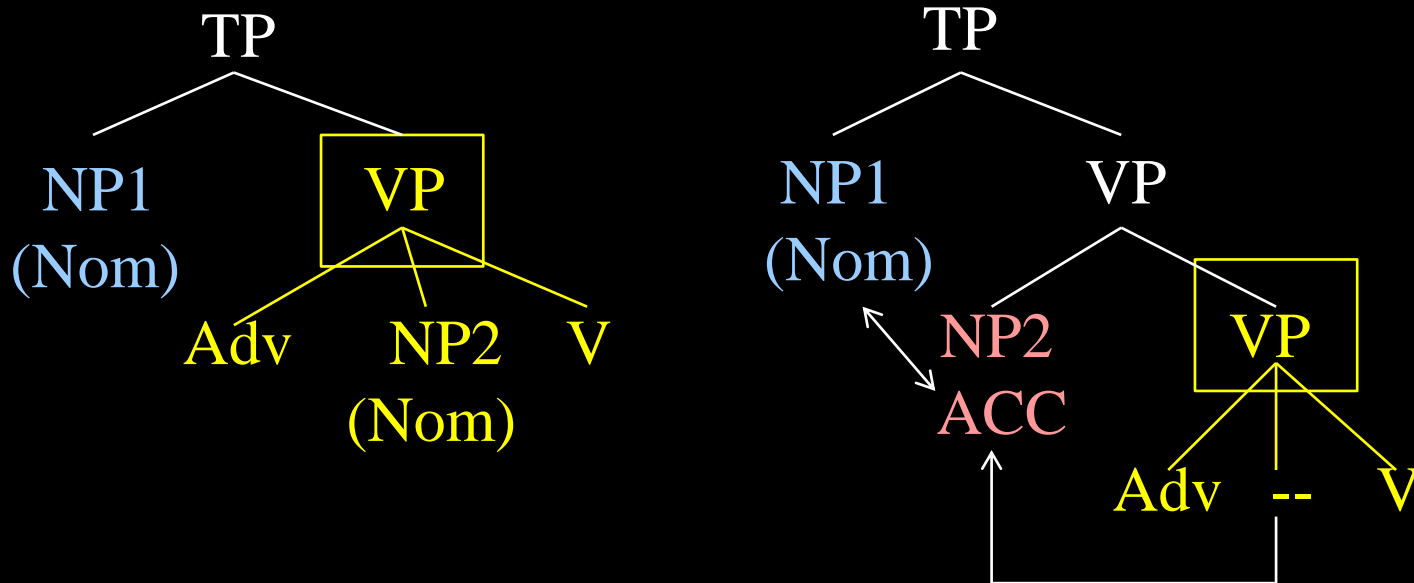
Masha quickly porridge eat-PAST.3sS

‘Masha ate porridge quickly.’ (*ACC marked only if object focus*)

**Conclusion: VP is also a domain, a phase**

# Domain Conditions on Case: VPs

Conclusion: VP is also a domain, a phase



(Not all languages are DOM languages, and DOM can have different sources: Acc spelled out on D in Amharic; Acc removed on PNI'ed objects in Tamil.)

# Domain Conditions on Case: VPs

**Prediction:** there should be ergative languages in which ergative case on the subject depends on the position/definiteness of the object. **Correct! Eastern Ostyak.**

mä [t'əkäjəylämnä ula mənɣäləm].

We.dual(nom) younger.sister-COM berry pick-PAST-1pS

‘I went to pick berries with my younger sister.’

mə-ŋən ləɣə [əllə juɣ kanɲa -- aməɣaloy].

We-ERG them large tree beside put-PAST-3pO/1pS

‘We put them (pots of berries) beside a big tree.’

Also Ika (Columbia) and Kanuri (Africa)

# Domain Conditions on Case: VPs

And there are tripartite languages in which both ergative case on the subject and accusative case on the object depends on the position/definiteness of the object. *Also correct! Nez Perce*

Háama [hi-‘wí-ye wewúkiye]. (Rude 1988:552)  
man.NOM 3S-shoot-ASP elk.NOM  
‘The man shot an elk.’

Háama-nm [hi-néec-‘wi-ye -- ] wewúkiye-ne.  
man-ERG 3S-PL.O-shoot-ASP elk-ACC  
‘The man shot the elk(pl).’

# Dependent Case in VP

If VP is a phase with one NP in it, it has unmarked/default case.

Are there special dependent cases for two NPs in VP, possibly distinct from ergative and accusative assigned in CP?

So far:

If XP c-commands ZP in CP, then assign *ergative* to XP.

If XP is c-commanded by ZP in CP, then assign *accusative* to XP.

New proposal:

If XP c-commands ZP in VP, then assign *dative* to XP.

If XP is c-commanded by ZP in VP, then assign *oblique* to XP.

# Dependent Case in VP

If XP c-commands ZP in VP, then assign **dative** to XP.

## Morphological causatives in Sakha:

Sardaana [<sub>VP</sub> Aisen-y yta(a)-t-ta ].

Sardaana Aisen-ACC cry-CAUS-PAST.3sS

‘Sardaana made Aisen cry.’

Misha [<sub>VP</sub> Masha-qa miin-i sie-t-te ].

Misha Masha-DAT soup-ACC eat-CAUS-PAST.3sS

‘Misha made Masha eat the soup.’



# Dependent Case in VP

If XP c-commands ZP in VP, then assign **dative** to XP.

**Also ditransitive verbs in Sakha:** (never ACC+ACC)

Min [<sub>VP</sub> Masha-qa kinige-ni bier-di-m]

I Masha-DAT book-ACC give-PAST-1sS

‘I gave Masha the book.’

**Also “Dyadic unaccusatives” in Sakha:** (higher NP is not in PP)

[ -- [<sub>VP</sub> Ejiexe massyyna tiij-bet ]]

you.DAT car reach-NEG.AOR.3sS

‘You lack a car.’

# Dependent Case in VP

If XP is c-commanded by ZP in VP, then assign **oblique** to XP.

## Morphological causatives in Chamorro:

Hu na'-poddung i bola.

1s CAUS-fall the ball

'I dropped the ball.'

Ha na'-taitai häm i ma'estru ni esti na lebblu.

3s CAUS-read us the teacher OBL this LK book

'The teacher made us read this book.'

# Dependent Case in VP

If XP is c-commanded by ZP in VP, then assign **oblique** to XP.

**Also ditransitive verbs in Chamorro:** (never two direct objects)

Ha-na'i si nana-ña **ni** buteya-n ketchap.

3s-give PN mother-3poss OBL bottle-LK soy sauce

'He gave his mother the bottle of soy sauce.'

**Also "Dyadic unaccusatives" in Chamorro:** (higher NP is not PP).

Maleffa yu' **ni** lebblok-ku

forget 1s OBL book-1sPOSS

'I forgot my books.'

(There also exist languages in which Erg=Dat (Ika) and in which Acc=Oblique (Amharic), suggesting these are natural classes.)

# What about VP in uniform languages?

There are plenty of languages in which dependent case marking *does not* depend on the position/definiteness of the object.

Quechua: Accusative even when the object is indefinite (vs. Sakha)

Juzi [Marya-man muti-ta kara-rka].

José María-to mote-ACC give-PAST.3sS

‘José gave/served mote María.’

Lezgian: Subject is Erg even when object is indefinite (vs. Ostyak)

Gada.di [wiči-n žibin.da-j c’akul aqud-na].

Boy.ERG self-GEN pocket-INEL feather take.out-AOR

‘The boy took a feather out of his pocket.’

# What about VP in Uniform Languages?

**Option 1:** All objects shift out of the VP phase, regardless of definiteness. *But unmarked word orders do not bear this out.*

**Option 2:** VP is a phase in some languages but not in others. *But we want VP to suppress CP cases in some languages that do not have differential object marking (e.g. Korean).*

**Option 3:** In some languages only the edge of VP is later incorporated into the CP phase for case marking (Sakha, Ostyak, Nez Perce). In other languages, everything in in VP is later incorporated into the CP phase for case marking (Quechua, Lezgian Shipibo, Diyari)

# Conditions on Givers and Receivers of Dependent Case

If **XP** bears c-command relationship **Y** to **ZP** in local domain **WP**, then assign case **V** to **XP**.

Parameters for variation:

- Which particular c-command relationship **Y** is used?
- Which local domain **WP** must **XP** and **ZP** both be in?
- What conditions are there on **XP** (the case-bearer) and **ZP** (the case competitor)?

# Case Competitors: PP versus NP

Core notion: *XP* and *ZP* are both NP/DP. This might extend to oblique NPs being case competitors, but not PPs. (*Warlpiri*)

Ngarrka-ngku ka-rla karli-ki warri.  
man-ERG PRES-3DAT boomerang-DAT seek-NPST  
A man is seeking a boomerang. Warlpiri Erg+Dat V

Karnta ka-jana kurdu-patu-ku wangka-mi.  
woman.ABS PRES-3pO child-PL-DAT talk-NPST  
'The woman is talking to the children.' Warlpiri Abs+Dat V

# Case Competitors: PP versus NP

Similarly some dative “subjects” trigger Acc on object in Tamil; others don’t. These are oblique NPs versus PPs.

Jenne-**kku** anda puttagatt-**e** piri-kkum.

I-DAT the book-ACC like-3nS

‘I like the book.’

Tamil: Dat + Acc verb

en-ga|**ukku** anda puttagam teveppatt-utu.

we-PL-DAT that book need-3nS

‘We need the book.’

Tamil: Dat +Nom verb



# Case Competitors: PP versus NP

Upshot: Some languages distinguish PPs from oblique NPs, which count as case competitors. (Warlpiri, Tamil, etc.)

But other languages apparently do not:

Ana pirki- a wara-yi a-ya.

3plS play-PART AUX-PRES stone-DAT

‘They were playing for money.’ *Diyari: Only Abs+Dat*

Tanna taayi-ge Soomanu tumba iSTu

self.GEN mother-DAT Soma.NOM much like

‘Her mother likes Soma very much.’ *Kannada: Dat+Nom*

Parameter: In some languages, NPs with oblique case are case competitors, in other languages not (cf. Marantz 1991)

# Case Competitors: CP versus NP

Sakha: true CP headed by *dien* does not undergo Acc or trigger Dat; gerund-like NP does both.

Sargy [<sub>VP</sub> Keskil-i [<sub>CP</sub> Aisen kel-le **dien**] erenner-de ].  
Sargy Keskil-ACC Aisen come-FUT.3sS that promise-PAST.3sS  
'Sargy promised Keskil that Aisen will come.' (finite CP)

Sargy [<sub>VP</sub> Keskil-ge [<sub>NP</sub> Aisen kel-er-in] erenner-de ].  
Sargy Keskil-DAT Aisen come-AOR-3sP.ACC promise-PAST  
'Sargy promised Keskil that Aisen will come.' (gerund DP)

# Case Competitors: CP versus NP

Lezgian: “Mazdar” triggers Ergative, “Infinitive” doesn’t

Cun [CP (PRO) a k’walax iji-z ] hazur ja.  
We.ABS that job(ABS) do-INF ready COP  
‘We are ready to do that job.’ (infinitive)

Ada [NP (PRO) jarG-ar.i-z kilig-un ] dawamar-na.  
He.ERG far-PL-DAT look-MSD continue-AOR  
‘He kept looking into the distance.’ (masdar)

(Even among CPs, whether the C itself is verbal (Sakha) or nominal (Quechua) can affect CPs behavior for case.)

# Case Competitors: Null NPs

Null pronouns trigger dependent case in most languages:

Tuo-**n**      karhu-**n**.      (Finnish)

bring-1sS   bear-ACC(GEN)

‘I’ll bring the/a bear.’

But not in Coast Tsimshian:

La-**n**-wil      niidz-**as**      Meli      (Coast Tsimshian)

T-1sE-then   see-ABS.PN   Mary

I’ve just now seen Mary.

Similarly for traces/variables of wh-movement

# Case Competitors: Null NPs

Covert agents of passive mostly do not trigger dependent case:

näh-tiin-kö                      Matti                                      (Finnish)

see-PAST.PASS-Q   Matti.NOM

Was Matti seen?

But they do in in Sakha:

Caakky-ny sorujan                      ötüje-nen                      aldjat-yn-na.

cup-ACC    intentionally    hammer-INST    break-PASS-PAST.3sS

‘The cup was intentionally broken.’                      (Sakha)

Similarly for covert agent in a nominalization

# Case Competitors: Null NPs

PRO triggers dependent case in many languages (e.g. Sakha)

But not in Cuzco Quechua:

T'anta ruwa-q hamu-ni  
bread make-AG come-1sS  
'I came to make bread.'

In Finnish if and only if it is controlled (“Jahnsson’s rule”)

Näh-dä Napoli ja kuol-la.  
see-INF Naples.NOM and die-INF  
'To see Naples and to die !'

Halus-i-mme yrittä-ä juos-ta kilometri-n kahde-ssa minuuti-ssa.  
Want-PAST-1sS try-INF run-INF kilometer-ACC two-IN minute-INESS  
'We wanted to try to run a kilometer in two minutes.'

# Case Competitors: Null NPs

Full NP > pro > PRO > PRO<sub>arb</sub> > implicit agent  
*More features* *Fewer features*

If an XP is in c-command relationship R to ZP and XP & ZP have feature set A, assign dependent case to XP.

- ZP must have many features: Coast Tsimshian
- ZP need only have a few features: Sakha
- ZP must have an intermediate number of features (phi-features): Finnish, Quechua

# Case Competitors: Nonargumental NPs

If an XP is in c-command relationship R to ZP, *ZP an argument*, assign dependent case to XP.

- Expletive pronouns do not trigger dependent case.
- NP adverbs do not trigger dependent case.
- Predicate nominals do not trigger dependent case.



# Case Competitors: Nonargumental NPs

Expletive pronouns (if they exist) don't trigger dependent case:  
Sakha subject raising.

Keskil [Aisen-y [kel-bet dien]] xomoj-do.  
Keskil Aisen-ACC come-NEG.AOR.3sS that become.sad-PAST.3sS  
'Keskil became sad that Aisen is not coming.' (Thematic matrix subject)

(EXPL) [Aisen-(\*y) [massyyna atyylah-ar-a]] naada buol-la.  
Aisen-(\*ACC) car buy-AOR-3sS need become-3sS  
'It became necessary for Aisen to buy a car.' (Expletive matrix subject)

(See also dyadic unaccusatives in which neither argument moves to Spec,  
TP in Amharic: expletive does not trigger ACC on either internal argument.  
(Baker 2012))

# Case Competitors: Nonargumental NPs

Nominal adverbs do not trigger dependent case, *although they may undergo it*. Diyari adverbs (also Warlpiri)

Wata yini parapara piṯi-ya.  
Not 2sgS energetic fart-IMP  
'Don't fart loudly!'

ṇulu a-li kira parapara-li wara-yi.  
3sgA person-ERG boomerang energetic-ERG throw-PRES  
'The man throws the boomerang energetically

ṇaṇi ṇiṇa-ya yawada yaṯa-yi.  
1sgS 3sgnFO-near language-ACC speak-PRES  
I speak in this language. ("this languagely")

# Case Competitors: Nonargumental NPs

Nominal adverbs do not trigger dependent case, *although they may undergo it.* (Finnish, also Quechua, Korean)

Opiskel-i-n	vuode-n.	Opiskel-tiin	vuosi.
Study-PAST-1sS	year-ACC	Study-PAST.PASS	year(NOM)
I studied a year.		People (we) studied a year.	

Lapse-n	täytyy	lukea	kirja	kolmannen	kerra-n.
child-GEN	must	read	book(NOM)	third	time-ACC
The child must read the book for a third time.					

If an XP is in c-command relationship R to ZP, *ZP an argument*, assign dependent case to XP.

# Case Competitors: Nonargumental NPs

Predicate nominals do not trigger dependent case:

Ino-ra                onsá                yoina iki.                (Shipibo)

jaguar:ABS-EV dangerous animal COP

The jaguar is a dangerous animal.

*...although they may undergo it. (Cl. Arabic; but this is rare)*

Yakun    ‘ar-rasul-u                ‘alay-kum shahid-an.

Be.PRES the-prophet-NOM on-you                witness-ACC

The prophet is going to be a witness on you. (Ch2:143)

If an XP is in c-command relationship R to ZP, *ZP an argument*, assign dependent case to XP.

# Summary: Dependent Case Marking

If *XP* bears c-command relation *Y* to *ZP* in local domain *WP*, then assign case *V* to *XP*. (Supplements case assigned by Agr)

- Types of c-command relationship:
  - c-command (accusative); is c-commanded by (ergative); both (tripartite); neither (neutral); is not c-commanded by (marked nominative).
- Types of domain
  - CP: ergative and accusative, clause bound
  - VP: differential case marking, dative, “oblique”  
(also AspP, for aspect based split ergativity *and split accusativity*)
- Types of participants
  - NP (possibly oblique) versus PP and CP
  - NP with full features versus null NP with fewer features
  - Arguments vs. nonarguments: expletives, adverbs, predicates