CASE

In *Case*, Mark Baker develops a unified theory of how the morphological case marking of noun phrases is determined by syntactic structure. Designed to work well for languages of all alignment types – accusative, ergative, tripartite, marked nominative, or marked absolutive – this theory has been developed and tested against unrelated languages of each type, and more than twenty non-Indo-European languages are considered in depth.

While affirming that case can be assigned to noun phrases by function words under agreement, the theory also develops in detail a second mode of case assignment: so-called dependent case.

Suitable for academic researchers and students, the book employs formalgenerative concepts, yet remains clear and accessible for a general linguistics readership.

MARK BAKER is a Distinguished Professor in the Department of Linguistics at Rutgers University.

#### In this series

- 112 PAUL DE LACY Markedness: Reduction and Preservation in Phonology
- 113 YEHUDA N. FALK Subjects and their Properties
- II4 P. H. MATTHEWS Syntactic Relations: A Critical Survey
- 115 MARK C. BAKER The Syntax of Agreement and Concord
- 116 GILLIAN CATRIONA RAMCHAND Verb Meaning and the Lexicon: A First Phase Syntax
- 117 PIETER MUYSKEN Functional Categories
- 118 JUAN URIAGEREKA Syntactic Anchors: On Semantic Structuring
- 119 D. ROBERT LADD Intonational Phonology Second edition
- 120 LEONARD H. BABBY The Syntax of Argument Structure
- 121 B. ELAN DRESHER The Contrastive Hierarchy in Phonology
- 122 DAVID ADGER, DANIEL HARBOUR and LAUREL J. WATKINS Mirrors and Microparameters: Phrase Structure beyond Free Word Order
- 123 NIINA NING ZHANG Coordination in Syntax
- 124 NEIL SMITH Acquiring Phonology
- 125 NINA TOPINTZI Onsets: Suprasegmental and Prosodic Behaviour
- 126 CEDRIC BOECKX, NORBERT HORNSTEIN and JAIRO NUNES Control as Movement
- 127 MICHAEL ISRAEL The Grammar of Polarity: Pragmatics, Sensitivity, and the Logic of Scales
- 128 M. RITA MANZINI and LEONARDO M. SAVOIA Grammatical Categories: Variation in Romance Languages
- 129 BARBARA CITKO Symmetry in Syntax: Merge, Move and Labels
- 130 RACHEL WALKER Vowel Patterns in Language
- 131 MARY DALRYMPLE and IRINA NIKOLAEVA Objects and Information Structure
- 132 JERROLD M. SADOCK The Modular Architecture of Grammar
- 133 DUNSTAN BROWN and ANDREW HIPPISLEY Network Morphology: A Defaults-Based Theory of Word Structure
- 134 BETTELOU LOS, CORRIEN BLOM, GEERT BOOUJ, MARION ELENBAAS and ANS VAN KEMENADE Morphosyntactic Change: A Comparative Study of Particles and Prefixes
- 135 STEPHEN CRAIN The Emergence of Meaning
- 136 HUBERT HAIDER Symmetry Breaking in Syntax137 JOSÉ A. CAMACHO Null Subjects
- 138 GREGORY STUMP and RAPHAEL A. FINKEL Morphological Typology: From Word to Paradigm
- 139 BRUCE TESAR Output-Driven Phonology: Theory and Learning
- 140 ASIER ALCÁZAR and MARIO SALTARELLI The Syntax of Imperatives
- 141 MISHA BECKER The Acquisition of Syntactic Structure: Animacy and Thematic Alignment
- 142 MARTINA WILTSCHKO The Universal Structure of Categories: Towards a Formal Typology
- 143 FAHAD RASHED AL-MUTAIRI The Minimalist Program: The Nature and Plausibility of Chomsky's Biolinguistics
- 144 CEDRIC BOECKX Elementary Syntactic Structures: Prospects of a Feature-Free Syntax
- 145 PHOEVOS PANAGIOTIDIS Categorial Features: A Generative Theory of Word Class Categories
- 146 MARK BAKER Case: Its Principles and its Parameters

Earlier titles not listed are also available

### CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS

General Editors: P. AUSTIN, J. BRESNAN, B. COMRIE, S. CRAIN, W. DRESSLER, C. J. EWEN, R. LASS, D. LIGHTFOOT, K. RICE, I. ROBERTS, S. ROMAINE, N. V. SMITH

Case: Its Principles and its Parameters

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-05522-3 - Case: Its Principles and its Parameters Mark C. Baker Frontmatter More information Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-05522-3 - Case: Its Principles and its Parameters Mark C. Baker Frontmatter More information

# CASE: ITS PRINCIPLES AND ITS PARAMETERS

MARK C. BAKER

Rutgers University







University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107690097

© Mark Baker 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-05522-3 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-69009-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

# Contents

	Ackno	owledgements	page x
	Abbre	eviations and conventions	xiii
	Map e	of principal languages investigated and their	
		systems	xviii
1	The i	ssue of structural case	1
1.1	Introdu	uction: Some challenges of structural case assignment	1
	1.1.1	The problem of language-particular detail	3
	1.1.2	The problem of crosslinguistic generality	6
	1.1.3	The goals of the inquiry	9
1.2	Relate	d topics to be identified and put aside	12
	1.2.1	More on inherent case and how to recognize it	12
	1.2.2	Morphological as opposed to syntactic factors in case	17
1.3	The st	ructure of the book	26
2	The v	variable relationship of case and agreement	28
2.1		imes case is assigned via agreement	29
2.2		imes case is not assigned by agreement	34
	2.2.1	Case in languages with no evidence of agreement	34
	2.2.2	Issues with accusative case and object agreement	35
	2.2.3	Issues with ergative case marking	39
	2.2.4	Robustness of case across different clausal domains	43
2.3	The al	ternative: Dependent case	47
	2.3.1	The leading idea	47
	2.3.2	Initial attractions of dependent case	50
	2.3.3	Comparison with some related ideas	53
2.4	Is accu	usative case ever assigned by agreement?	60
2.5		ensitive agreement	64
	2.5.1	Another way that agreement relates to case	64
	2.5.2	Integrating case-sensitive agreement into the picture	67
	2.5.3	Applying the idea: on the non-universality of case	74
2.6	Conclu		78

vii

3	C-cor	nmand factors in case assignment	79
3.1		ve c-command conditions	80
3.2	When	c-command does not hold: NP in PP	80
3.3	Negati	ive c-command conditions	89
	3.3.1 3.3.2	Negative c-command conditions versus markedness reversal Negative c-command conditions versus case assigned	93
		by agreement	98
	3.3.3	When c-command fails in languages with negative	
		c-command conditions	104
	3.3.4	Japanese and Korean as marked nominative languages	108
3.4	Conclu	usion	110
4	Doma	ains of dependent case assignment	111
4.1	CP-TF	P as a case domain	112
	4.1.1	Basics	112
	4.1.2	Edge effects	114
	4.1.3	Restructuring and dependent case assignment	118
4.2	VP as	a distinct domain for case	124
	4.2.1	VP inhibiting case: Differential object marking	
		and beyond	125
	4.2.2	Special structural cases assigned in VP: Dative,	
		oblique, partitive	131
	4.2.3	On the variability of VP domain effects	146
4.3	Aspec	t phrases as phases: Split ergativity (and accusativity)	155
4.4	Structu	ural case in DP and NP	163
	4.4.1	Genitive as unmarked case in DP	163
	4.4.2	Ergative as high dependent case in DP	166
	4.4.3	On the absence of structural accusative	
		case in nominals	171
4.5	Conclu	usion	181
5	Categ	gories involved in case interactions	183
5.1	NP, Pl	P, and oblique NP	184
	5.1.1	PPs are not case competitors	185
	5.1.2	PPs versus dative objects: Warlpiri and Burushaski	187
	5.1.3	PPs versus dative subjects: Tamil	188
	5.1.4	Parameterizing the status of oblique NPs	194
5.2	Embeo	dded clauses with and without nominalization	197
5.3	Phone	tically null NPs	201
5.4	Nomir	nal adverbs	213
5.5	Predic	ate nominals	221
5.6	Conclu	usion	227

			Contents	ix
6	On th	e timing of case assignment		229
6.1		e underapplication of dependent case in structures with	two	
		al arguments		230
	6.1.1	Dependent case in double object constructions		230
	6.1.2			
		dyadic verbs		240
	6.1.3	Derivation by phase in languages with negative		
		c-command conditions		246
6.2	Case-r	narked adverbs and cyclic derivation by phase		251
	6.2.1	Some immediate results		251
	6.2.2	Adverb-argument asymmetries due to the late spell		
		out of adverbs		256
6.3	On the interaction of movement and structural case assignment			263
	6.3.1	Movement before or after case assignment?		264
	6.3.2	Case, movement, and the late spell out of adjuncts		266
	6.3.3	On case inheritance in chains		272
	6.3.4	On NPs receiving multiple case values		281
6.4	Genera	al conclusion		285
7	Conc	lusion: Putting together the big picture		287
7.1	The ro	le of basic syntactic structure		287
7.2	The role of spell out		291	
7.3	The role of realization at PF		297	
7.4	The m	ore languages differ, the more they are the same		298
	Refere	ences		303
	Index			317

## Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed to the carrying out of this project, and in many ways. I want to thank them here, as best I can remember and reconstruct.

Nadya Vinokurova had a special role in initiating this line of research, and got me off to a great start on the topic through our productive and rewarding joint work on the Sakha language, carried out when she was at Rutgers University as a postdoc. In addition, I thank Professor Ivan Vinokurov of the Department of Sakha Philology of Yakut State University for discussing the Sakha examples and for checking the judgments with his students, the results being reported to me through Nadya.

My work on Amharic was able to begin in the context of a field methods class taught at Rutgers University in the spring of 2010. I thank the other participants of that class – Akin Akinlabi, Will Bennett, Carlo Linares Scarcerieau, and Teresa Torres Bustamante – for help and discussion, and especially to Yetnayet ("Mimi") Lemma for cheerfully sharing her native-speaker judgments with us. This work has been able to continue thanks to collaboration with Professor Ruth Kramer, who has been generous in sharing data, results, and insights, and even proofreading some of my examples. I also thank Mengistu Amberber for corresponding with me about Amharic matters.

For work on Tamil, I thank Nagarajan Selvanathan, for sharing his own judgments, for soliciting further judgments from his parents, and for his input as a native-speaker linguist. Several of the important observations about Tamil were originally made by him, as further reported in the text.

The opportunity to work directly on the Shipibo language was one of the special joys of the later phase of this project. My fieldtrip to Lima, Peru in the fall of 2012 to collect data on Shipibo was supported by a University Research Council grant from Rutgers University, which I gratefully acknowledge. Hearty thanks go to my three Shipibo consultants, members of the Shipibo community living in Lima, for their cheerful and insightful contribution to this research: Luz Franco Ahuanari (Benxo), Wilmer Ancón Lopez (Pekon Sani) and Nimia García Nunta (Jisbe Jabe). Just as essential to the project was my

CAMBRIDGE

Acknowledgements xi

research assistant, Teresa Torres Bustamante, who made arrangements, and helped with translation and communication, and with whom I discussed many of the data and ideas relevant to Shipibo. I also thank José Elias Ulloa, José Camacho, Carlo Linares Scarcerieau, and Liliana Sanchez for help and advice about conducting the research in Lima, and I thank the Pontificial Universidad Católica del Perú for allowing me to use their facilities.

I also thank Liliana Sanchez for discussions of Cuzco Quechua data, and for collecting some judgments for me from her contacts.

For input into this work and for generally providing a lively research environment, I thank my colleagues in the linguistics department at Rutgers University, especially the participants of the Syntactic Theory at Rutgers research group and the participants in two syntax seminars. These include Ken Safir, Viviane Déprez, José Camacho, Liliana Sanchez, Veneeta Dayal, and Jane Grimshaw, as well as many students. Mingming Liu's coursework on Finnish had a special impact, as mentioned in the text.

From the larger linguistics community, I thank the following for written comments and/or vigorous discussions of parts of this work or other projects that have led up to it: Jonathan Bobaljik, Julie Legate, David Pesetsky, Maria Polinsky, Peter Svenonius, Jen Seale, Livia Camargo, and Elly Van Gelderen. I also thank one anonymous reviewer of this book and many anonymous reviewers of articles that have fed into it for their input and suggestions.

Aspects of this research were presented at many places, including the 2008 meeting of the Linguistics Society of America, workshops at the University of Toronto and the University of Tromsø, a meeting of the Linguistic Association of Great Britain held at the University of Salford, and colloquium talks at SUNY Stony Brook, the University of Delaware, the University of Victoria, University of Wisconsin Madison, Arizona State University, San Marcos University, the Pontificial Universidad Católica del Perú, the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois-Chicago, the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, Yale University, Harvard University, the University of Connecticut, and MIT. I thank members of the audiences at these events (too numerous to name individually) for helpful comments and suggestions.

None of the above is to be held responsible for the views expressed here, and any mistakes of fact or interpretation are my responsibility.

I also thank my wife, Linda, for her companionship and for doing such a good job of keeping the infrastructure of our lives in order, so that I could give enough time and attention to a project like this. I also thank my now adult children for their encouragement and prayers.

#### xii Acknowledgements

Finally, I must remember to thank God, in whom I "live and move and have my being." I feel that he has given me much joy, strength, and a measure of understanding as I have pursued this work, and has provided opportunities for me to pursue it. I do not dare to claim that my work is better than that of those who may not feel like they have received divine help of this sort. But I can say with confidence that my own work is better than it would have been without these helps. I thus dedicate this work to the glory of God.

## Abbreviations and conventions

In this book, I cite examples from a large number of languages, many of them from other sources. This presents challenges for effective and truthful glossing. For the most part, I have tried to make the glosses of examples more uniform when I thought I could do this with reasonable accuracy, so as to make it easier to compare examples that should be compared. In some cases, this just means changing AP to APPL for applicative. But in other cases it may affect points in a theory-laden way: for example, I might use "absolutive" where my source uses "nominative" in describing an ergative language, or "dative" where the source uses "allative" for a case I believe to be structural. Reader beware. Where I did not feel I could change the gloss with tolerable accuracy, or where no relevant point of comparison is at stake, I have followed the original source, occasionally suppressing minor details (e.g. the different grades of verb stems in Choctaw).

Agreement morphemes are glossed by a complex symbol that begins with a number indicating the person of the agreed-with phrase (1, 2, or 3), then has a lower-case letter indicating the number or gender of the agreed-with phrase (s, singular; d, dual; p, plural; m, masculine; f, feminine; n, neuter), and then a capital letter indicating the grammatical function or case of the agreed-with phrase (S, subject; O, object; P, possessor; A, absolutive; D, dative; E, ergative). Thus, 1pS means first person plural subject agreement, 3mO means third masculine (singular) object agreeement, and so on. Sometimes one member of this triple is missing when the corresponding category is not marked – for example, when the agreement indicates person but not number, or vice versa. In Choctaw, I follow Broadwell (2006) in using I, II, and III rather than S, O, P, for reasons mentioned in the text. Please note also that WP, XP (as in, e.g., SpecXP – see below), YP, and ZP are variables, and can stand for TP, vP, VP, etc., and range over phrases of any category.

Other abbreviations used in the glosses of linguistic examples are as follows.

xiii

### xiv Abbreviations and conventions

ABL	ablative case
ABS	absolutive case
ACC	accusative case
ACCEL	accelerative aspect
ADESS	adessive case
ADMON	admonitive
ADV	adverbial
AF	affirmative
AG	agentive (nominalizer)
AOR	aorist tense/participle
APPL	applicative
ASP	aspect
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CIS	cislocative
COM	comitative case
COMPL	completive
COP	copula
CORE	"core" (unmarked) case (Tukang Besi)
CVSIM	simultaneous converb
DAT	dative case
DEC	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DEP	dependent
DIS	distal
DIST	distributive
DPAST	distant past
DS	different subject
DU	dual number
ERG	ergative case
EV	event nominal
EX	exclusive
F	feminine gender
FOC	focus
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive case
GER	gerund

CAMBRIDGE

Abbreviations and conventions xv

HAB	habitual tense/aspect
HON	honorific
	illative case
ILLAT	
IMPER	imperative
IMPF	imperfective aspect
IN	inclusive
IND	indicative mood
INEL	inelative case
INESS	inessive case
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental case
INTR	intransitive
IR	irrealis mood
ITER	iterative
LAT	lative case
LCA	Linear Correspondence Axiom
LK	linker
LOC	locative case
LV	light verb
Μ	masculine gender
MABS	marked absolutive case
MED	medial (Ika)
MID	middle
MNOM	marked nominative case
Ν	neuter
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative case
NOML	nominalizer
NPST	nonpast tense
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique case
PART	partitive case
PASS	passive voice
PAST	past tense (different kinds)
PERI	peripheral participant (Ika)
PL	plural number
PN	proper noun
PNI	pseudo-noun incorporation
POSS	possessive
1000	Possessive

### xvi Abbreviations and conventions

DDEC	
PRES	present tense
PRF	perfective aspect
PROG	progressive
PRT	particle (especially 2nd position evidential clitic in Shipibo)
PTPL	(past) participle
Q	question particle
REAL	realis mood
REC	reciprocal
REF	point of reference (Ika)
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
SG	singular number
SIM	simultaneous
SS	same subject
ST	stative
SUF	suffix
TNS	tense (unspecified)
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
UNM	unmarked case (Chamorro)
VBZR	verbalizer
VN	verbal noun
WIT	witness (Ika)

The following are abbreviations of the names of grammatical categories:

A, AP	adjective, adjective phrase
C, CP	complementizer, complementizer phrase
D, DP	determiner, determiner phrase
N, NP	noun, noun phrase
P, PP	adposition (preposition or postposition), adpositional phrase
SpecXP	Specifier of XP
T, TP	tense head, tense phrase
v, vP	light verb (abstract verbal element, assigner of external argument)
V, VP	verb, verb phrase

Other abbreviations used in the text include:

B&V	Baker and Vinokurova (2010)
CDAP	Case Dependency of Agreement Parameter
CQ	Cuzco Quechua

Abbreviations and conventions xvii

CT	Coast Tsimshian
DM	Distributed Morphology
DOC	double object construction
DOM	differential object marking
EPP	"Extended Projection Principle" feature (triggers the move-
	ment of a phrase to the category that bears it)
IE	Indo-European
L&M	Lefebvre and Muysken (1988)
LF	"Logical Form"
P&P	Polinsky and Potsdam (2012)
PF	phonological form
VSO, SOV,	Verb-subject-object word order; subject-object-verb order, etc.
etc.	
WALS	The world atlas of language structures

Finally, the following are some conventions used in presenting examples:

\*X The example is ungrammatical.

- (X) The example has the same grammatical status with or without X included.
- (\*X) The example is good without X, but bad when it is included.

In some cases, an agreement morpheme and the NP that it agrees with are both italicized.

# Map of principal languages investigated and their case systems



Map of Principal Languages Investigated and their Case Systems

Accusative Languages (■) CQ Cuzco Quecha Fn Finnish Am Amharic Ta Tamil Sa Sakha Ko Korean

Marked Nominative (□) Ma Maricopa Ch Choctaw Or Oromo TB Tukang Besi Ergative Languages (•) Sh Shipibo Gr Greenlandic (West)

- In Ingush
- Bu Burushaski
- Wa Wardaman Ck Chukchi
- Ck Chukch Tw Tewa
  - w Tewa

Marked Absolutive(O) Ni Nias Tripartite Languages (▲) CT Coast Tsimshian NP Nez Perce Sm Semelai Wp Warlpiri Di Diyari

xviii