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## CASE AS A COMPLEX OF FEATURES

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

There exists a growing body of research (Béjar and Massam 1999, Merchant 2006, Caha 2007, Richards 2007, Matushansky 2008, 2010, 2012, Pesetsky 2013) showing that more than one case can be assigned to (as well as realized on) the same NP

Which case wins?

- unresolved (everything wins): Merchant 2006, Richards 2007
- outermost: Béjar and Massam 1999, Caha 2007, Pesetsky 2013
- morphological resolution: Brattico 2011, Matushansky 2008, 2010, 2012

This presentation: a number of test cases:

- genitive of negation
- numeral NPs
- directional PPs
- Russian complex prepositions
- Albanian pseudo-partitives

**Tentative conclusion:** morphological resolution throughout or language-specific algorithms including morphological resolution

## 2. GENITIVE OF NEGATION

**The phenomenon:** the accusative case assigned by the verb and the nominative case changes under negation to genitive (Babby 1980, Pesetsky 1982, etc., etc.):

- (1) a. Moroz            ne    čuvstvovalsja. Babby 1980:59  
          frost-NOM.M.SG NEG be.felt-M.SG  
          *The frost was not felt.*
- b. Moroza            ne    čuvstvovalos'.  
          frost-GEN.M.SG NEG be.felt-N.SG  
          *No frost was felt (there was no frost).*

It is generally believed that genitive of negation happens only to underlying objects; there are some exceptions to this generalization

Quirky objects retain their case

Extension: accusative-marked duration NPs:

- (2) a. My rabotali dva        časa.  
          we worked two.ACC hour.PAUC  
          *We worked for two hours.*
- b. My ne    rabotali i        dvux        časov.  
          we NEG worked EMPH two.GEN hour.PL.GEN  
          *We didn't work even for two hours.*
- (3) a. My myli    posudu        dva        časa.  
          we washed dishes.ACC two.ACC hour.PAUC  
          *We washed dishes for two hours.*

- b. My ne myli posudu i dvux časov.  
we NEG washed dishes.ACC EMPH two.GEN hour.PL.GEN  
*We didn't wash the dishes even for two hours.*

The same effects can be observed in Estonian (Miljan and Cann 2013)

Problems for the standard theory of case:

- How does genitive of negation interact with structural case? (Activity Condition)
- Why does it not override inherent case?
- What's with the adverbial NPs?

Answers have been proposed to these questions, but they are, to my mind, unsatisfactory

### 3. RUSSIAN NUMERAL NPs

Two case-marking patterns in numeral NPs: the homogenous one and the heterogeneous one (Babby 1987):

- (4) a. pjat' knig  
five.NOM=ACC book.PL.GEN  
*five books*
- b. s pjat'ju ✓knigami/\*knig  
with five.INS book.PL.INS/PL.GEN  
*with five books*
- c. k pjati ✓knigam/\*knig  
to five.DAT book.PL.DAT/PL.GEN  
*to five books*

The same effect is observed in Finnish (Brattico 2008) and Estonian (Miljan and Cann 2013):

- (5) a. Minä näin [kaksi sukka-a.]<sub>ACC</sub> Brattico 2011  
I saw two sock-PRT  
*I saw two socks.*
- b. Minä asuin [kahde-ssa talo-ssa.]<sub>INE</sub>  
I lived two-INE house-INE  
*I lived in two houses.*

Babby 1987, Franks 1994, 1995, Rappaport 2002, etc.: cardinals assign *structural* genitive case, while other nouns assign *inherent* genitive case. Inherent case overrides structural case, though not another inherent case.

Problem: non-structural accusative case:

- (6) a. pro pjat' knig  
about five.NOM=ACC book.PL.GEN  
*about/on five books*
- b. za četyre dnja  
for four.NOM=ACC day.PAUC=SG.GEN  
*before/in four days*

Possible (highly stipulative) solution: accusative is always a structural case

Issue: the directional accusative

#### 4. THE DIRECTIONAL ACCUSATIVE CASE IN INDO-EUROPEAN

Bierwisch 1988, den Dikken 2003, 2010, Zwarts 2005, 2006, Caha 2010: with prepositions that allow both directional and locative interpretation, the two can be distinguished by case

German: locative interpretation → dative on the NP, directional interpretation → accusative:

- (7) a. Alex tanzte in das Zimmer. German (Zwarts 2006)  
Alex dance.PST in the.ACC room  
*Alex danced into the room.*
- b. Alex tanzte in dem Zimmer.  
Alex dance.PST in the.DAT room  
*Alex danced in the room.*

**Latin:** locative = ablative, directional = accusative

- (8) a. Sub imperium Romanum Gallia cecidit. Latin  
under rule.ACC Roman.ACC Gaul fall.PRET  
*Gaul fell under the Roman rule.*
- b. Multos annos Gallia sub imperio Romano fuit.  
many years Gaul under rule.LOC Roman.LOC be.PRET  
*For many years Gaul was under Roman rule.*

**Russian:** locative = instrumental or locative (prepositional), directional = accusative

- (9) a. Marina sprjatala knigu pod stol. Russian  
Marina hid book under table.ACC  
*Marina hid the book under the (surface of the) table.*
- b. Marina sprjatala knigu pod stolom.  
Marina hid book under table.INS  
*Marina hid the book (somewhere) under the table.*
- (10) a. Marina bežit v gorod. Russian  
Marina runs in city.ACC  
*Marina is running to the city.*
- b. Marina bežit v gorode.  
Marina runs in city.LOC  
*Marina is running in the city.*

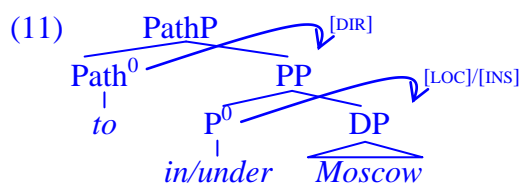
Crucial: the directional accusative wins over more than one locative case

The compositional semantics of directionality requires accusative assignment by a constituent that is external to a structure that already contains the assignment of a locative case

Koopman 2000: a locative PP must be contained in the functional projection PathP

Zwarts 2005: directional PPs contain a Path function, in addition to the location

So it makes sense to assume that the two cases are assigned:



The use of accusative for the directional interpretation (extent and goal) originated in Proto-Indo-European and was independently augmented with prepositions later (Zwarts 2005)

Latin: accusative as directional for a subset of toponyms and some common nouns:

- (12) Romam venit.  
Rome.ACC go.3SG  
*S/he comes to Rome.*

If the source of this accusative is a higher head with the semantics of Jackendoff's (1983) GO (cf. Zwarts 2005, 2006), it can clearly override the case assigned by a preposition

That means it is not a structural case (Zwarts 2005, 2006)

Caha 2010: a peeling account: the oblique inner case corresponds to a larger KP (licensed by a locative  $P^0$ ), whose sub-constituent (accusative) NP raises to the specifier of a higher PathP, where it is licensed

## 5. RUSSIAN COMPLEX PREPOSITIONS

Not to be considered: complex collocations with a nominal core, even if it is synchronically undetectable, as in (13c), where *radi* 'for the sake of' is an independent preposition in modern literary Russian:

- (13) a. v tečenie genitive  
in flow  
*in the course of, during*
- b. v.mesto genitive  
in.place  
*instead*
- c. za-/dlja- radi genitive  
behind/for sake  
*for the sake of*

Modern Russian has six complex prepositions, of which only the first two are widespread:

- (14) case determined by the outer preposition (outer preposition assigns genitive)

- a. iz-za genitive+accusative/instrumental  $\Rightarrow$  genitive  
out-behind
- b. iz-pod genitive+accusative/instrumental  $\Rightarrow$  genitive  
out-under
- c. s-pod genitive+accusative/instrumental  $\Rightarrow$  genitive  
from-under

- (15) case determined by the inner preposition (outer preposition assigns dative)

- a. po-pod dative +accusative/instrumental  $\Rightarrow$  instrumental  
along-under
- b. po-za dative +accusative/instrumental  $\Rightarrow$  accusative/instrumental  
along-behind
- c. po-nad dative +accusative/instrumental  $\Rightarrow$  instrumental  
along-above

- (16) **Po-pod** snegom ruč'i pobežali.  
along-under snow-INS brooks ran  
*Brooks ran under the snow.* (Ožegov dictionary)

- (17) samosval, mirno stojavšij na prigorke **po-nad** očered'ju...  
dump-truck peacefully standing on hillock along-above queue-INS  
*a dump-truck standing peacefully on hillock above the queue* (Strugackie, *Xromaja sud'ba*)

- (18) a. Ja, konečno, otošel v storonu, sprjataljsja **po-za** korčmu i stoju.  
I of.course moved in side hid along-behind tavern.ACC and stand  
*I moved aside of course, hid behind the tavern and stood waiting.* (Kuprin, *Konokradj*)
- b. **Po-za** uvalami začerneli vsadniki belo boevoj razvedki.  
along-behind hill-PL-INS appeared.black riders white military scouting-GEN  
*Behind the hills White Army horsed scouts appeared darkly.* (Pervencev, *Kočubej*)

Empirically:

- the same inner prepositions (*pod* 'under' and *za* 'behind') appear in both lists
- the outer genitive wins, the outer dative loses
- the directional/locative alternation is preserved (15)

**It's exactly the same semantic structure in both cases:** path + location

It is always a combination of **two non-structural cases**

The hypothesis that the outermost case overrides inner cases does not explain the facts. In the peeling approach, however, it can be claimed that some prepositions do not trigger movement to a higher Spec (*po* 'along' wouldn't, though somehow only as part of a complex preposition)

## 6. ALBANIAN PSEUDO-PARTITIVES

Albanian **direct pseudo-partitives** (Giusti and Turano 2004)

(19) Direct cases: no marking (or matching)

- a. një shishe verë është mbi bankë  
a bottle.NOM=ACC wine.NOM=ACC is on table  
*A bottle of wine is on the table.*
- b. piva një shishe verë  
drank.1SG a bottle.ACC=NOM wine.ACC=NOM  
*I drank a bottle of wine.*

(20) Oblique cases: matching *and* no marking?

- a. shija e një shisheje verë/vere  
flavor of a bottle.GEN wine.DAT=GEN=ABL/NOM=ACC  
*the flavor of a bottle of wine*
- b. vë çdo gotë pranë një shisheje vere/\*verë  
put every glass near a bottle.DAT wine.DAT=GEN=ABL/NOM=ACC  
*I put every glass near a bottle of wine.*

Ablative and genitive/dative are distinguished in the plural:

- (21) a. \*shija e një shisheje bizeleve  
flavor.DEF a.GEN bottle.GEN peas.DAT=GEN
- b. shija e një shisheje bizelesh  
flavor.DEF a.GEN bottle.GEN peas.ABL  
*the flavor of a bottle of peas*

Confusing factor: **ablative pseudo-partitives**:

- (22) a. Mblodha një tufë lulësh.  
picked a bunch.ACC=NOM flowers.ABL  
*I picked a bunch of flowers.*

- b. I shtie ujë një tufe lulesh.  
CL.DAT put water a bunch.DAT flowers.ABL  
*I watered a bunch of flowers.*

This is the case pattern of nominal modifiers:

- (23) a. një sallatë domatesh  
a salad tomatos.ABL  
*a tomato salad*
- b. një triko leshi  
a sweater wool.ABL  
*a woolen sweater*

Giusti and Turano 2004: there are no direct pseudo-partitives in oblique cases; only ablative pseudo-partitives are allowed there (the reasons given are stipulative)

Alternative: what is seen in oblique cases is the **combination of the case features assigned by the head of the pseudo-partitive and the case features assigned to the NP as a whole.**

The ablative surfaces because it realizes a bundle of case features that is more complex than what is realized by the dative/genitive case marker. In direct cases this extra case feature does not affect the realization of the bundle

## 7. CONCLUSION

For a number of cases the outer case is clearly more complex/marked then the inner case and both approaches make the same prediction

**Divergence:**

- Indo-European directional PPs: the outer accusative case is less morphologically marked than the oblique inner cases
- Russian complex prepositions: the outer genitive wins over the inner (locative or) instrumental, the outer dative loses
- Albanian pseudo-partitives: the combination of case features may give rise to the surface case that cannot be attributed to either of the outer or is the inner assigner

However, the hypothesis that the most marked case wins makes wrong predictions for Niuean raising (Béjar and Massam 1999):

- (24) a. Manako a Sione ke kai [he tau tama] [e tau apala].  
want ABS Sione SBJNCT eat ERG PL child ABS PL apple  
*Sione wants for the children to eat the apples.*
- b. Manako a Sione [he tau tama]<sub>i</sub> ke kai t<sub>i</sub> [e tau apala].  
want ABS Sione MID PL child SUBJNCT eat ABS PL apple  
*Sione wants the children to eat the apples.*
- (25) a. Teitei ke fakatau e sione taha fale.  
nearly SUBJNCT buy ERG Sione one house  
*It nearly happened that Sione bought a house.*
- b. Teitei [a Sione]<sub>i</sub> ke fakatau t<sub>i</sub> taha fale.  
nearly ABS Sione SUBJNCT buy one house  
*Sione nearly bought a house.*

In Icelandic raising, on the other hand, it is the downstairs quirky case that wins.

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