

Case and Agreement

(without GB-style Abstract Case)

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Part II

CONTROL, ABSTRACT CASE, and VERGNAUD'S CONJECTURE

Plan: Review Vergnaud's insight as an argument for Case Theory

Why it fails

... despite Legate's proposal regarding Abstract NOM

Control is about Subject, not case

... putative counter-example: Belhare (Bickel 2001, Malchukov 2014)

... Bickel's own analysis of the counter-example supports the universal

... Stiebels 2007: Austronesian, Mayan

... but there's still an apparent argument for abstract Case in restructuring (Wurmbrand)

1. (L)GB CASE THEORY: VERGNAUD'S CONJECTURE

Modern version: functional heads assign case to NPs in particular syntactic configurations.

core: T AGREES with Subject = Agreement (on T+V)
= Nominative case on Subject NP

NPs "need case" [uCase: ___] or the derivation "crashes" [Case Filter]

Origins: Chomsky & Lasnik (1978) + Vergnaud (1977) = Chomsky (1980, 1981)

- (1) * [α NP to VP], unless α is adjacent to and in the domain of Verb or *for* ([-N]) CL:78
- (2) a. *Leo decided/planned/attempted [Lina/himself to leave].
b. Leo decided/planned/attempted [_____ to leave].
c. Leo [?]decided/planned/*attempted [for Lina to leave].
- (3) Leo believed [Lina/himself to have left].
- (4) *NP if NP has phonetic content and has no Case (Chomsky 1981, 49)

- (5) English case assignment rules: (Chomsky 1981, 25)
abstract = exponents mostly \emptyset
 - b. nominative: governed by **finite** Tense (subject of a finite clause)
 - a. objective (accusative): governed by verb, or preposition (direct object)
 - c. oblique (gen., dative): other ...

Prediction: Variation in case systems will correlate with variation in overt vs. PRO subjects in infinitives.

1.1 Icelandic (Zaenen, Maling, and Thráinsson 1985, building on Andrews 1976, a.o.)

Icelandic shows all the syntactic properties attributed to Case Theory in LGB, including ECM under 'believe', but with one twist – you have to ignore case to see them!

- (6) Non-nominative subjects. (Andrews 1976, Zaenen et al. 1985, Sigurðsson 1989)
Nominative objects (see a.o. Jónsson 1996)

Raising to Object / ECM	Subject-Oriented Reflexives
Subject-Verb Inversion	Extraction
Subject Ellipsis in Coordination	Infinitive Complements (PRO)
Expletives	caution: not sentence initial position (V2)

- (7) a. Ég hjálpaði **honum**.
I.NOM helped him.DAT
'I helped them.' [ZMT 98]
- b. **Þeim / honum** var hjálpað.
them / him.DAT was.SG helped
'They/He were/was helped.' (ZMT, 99, 96)
- (8) a. Ég gaf **konungi** ambáttina sína
I.NOM gave king.DAT slave.ACC his
'I gave the king his maidservant.' [ZMT 118]
- b. **Konunginum** voru gefnar ambáttir
king.DAT were given.F.PL slave.NOM.PL
'The king was given maidservants.' [ZMT 112]
- (9) a. Um veturinn voru **konunginum** gefnar ambáttir
In the.winter were.PL the.king.D given slaves.N
'In the winter, the king was given (female) slaves.'
- b. **Það** voru **konungi** gefnar ambáttir í vettur
EXPL were.PL king.D given slaves.N in winter
'There was a king given maidservants this winter.' (Zaenen et al, 112-113)

- (10) a. **Jóni** líkuðu þessir sokkar
Jon.D like.PL these socks.N
 'Jon likes these socks.' (JGJ:143)
- b. **Það** líkuðu **einhverjum** þessir sokkar
 EXPL liked.PL **someone.DAT** these socks.NOM
 'Someone liked these socks.' (JGJ 153)

- c. Leo hofft [___ der Lina zu gefallen]
 Leo hopes **PRO.N** the.D Lina to like
 ≅ 'Leo hopes that Lina likes him / to be liked by Lina.'
- (15) *Leo hofft [___ geholfen zu werden]
 Leo hopes PRO.D helped to be
 'Leo hopes to be helped.'

Control (Icelandic) – the subject is PRO, even if it is DATIVE

- (11) a. Ég vonast til [að ___ verða hjálpað t_{DAT}]
 I hope for to PRO_{DAT} be helped
 'I hope to be helped'
- b. Jón vonast til [að ___ líka þessi bók]
 J.N hopes for to PRO_{DAT} like this book.N
 'Jon hopes to like this book.' (JGJ 115)
- c. *María vonast til [að ___ líka Jóni]
 M.N hopes for to PRONOM like Jon.D
 'Maria hopes that John likes her.' (JGJ 116)

Unless it is saved by ECM:

- (12) Ég tel [þeim hafa verið hjálpað] ...
 I believe [them.DAT to.have been helped.DFLT]
 'I believe them to have been helped.' (ZMT 455)
- (13) a. [Að ___ vera hjálpað] er erfitt
 [to PRO_{DAT} be helped] is difficult
 'To be helped is difficult.'
- b. *[(Að) Jóni vera hjálpað] er erfitt
 [(to) John.DAT be helped] is difficult

➤ The distribution of PRO is about Grammatical Function, not case.

Control: Subject → PRO (not a natural class in terms of case)
 NOM is retained in infinitives (see (0))

Control (German):

- (14) a. **Dem Leo** gefällt die Lina.
 the.D Leo likes the.N Lina
 ≅ 'Leo likes Lina.'
- b. *Leo hofft [___ die Lina zu gefallen]
 Leo hopes **PRO.D** the.N Lina to like
 'Leo hopes to like Lina.'

The Dative NP in German, unlike Icelandic, is not a (grammatical) subject.

Moreover, PRO has case (Sigurðsson 1991)

- (16) a. Strákarnir vonast til [að **PRO** leiðast ekki **öllum** í skóla].
 the boys.NOM hope for to PRO.DAT to-get not all.DAT to school
 'The boys hope to not all be bored in school'
- b. ... [að **PRO** vanta ekki **alla** í skólann].
 ... to PRO.ACC to-lack not all.ACC in the school
 'The boys hope not to be all absent from school'
- c. ... [að **PRO** komast **allir** í skóla].
 ... to PRO.NOM to-come all.NOM in school
 'The boys hope to all get to school.'

1.2 Ergative languages: same point.

Universal (Dixon, Givon, cf. Legate 2008)
 or strong trend (cf. Stiebels 2007, Bickel/Nichols 2001)

if there is a Control asymmetry (one argument obligatorily null), then that is the subject. This is not a natural class in terms of case.

Absolutives are excluded as subjects but permitted as objects. Conversely, subjects are treated specially, regardless of the case they would bear in a finite clause.

- (17) a. ... [PRO_{ABS} V-INFIN-INTRANS] ...
 b. ... [PRO_{ERG} NP_{ABS} V-INFIN-INTRANS] ...

Cavineña: Erg-Abs case marking on pronouns and nouns. Same-subject marker *-(a)tsu*. "The subject of a clause marked by *-(a)tsu* is always omitted."

- (18) a. ... [Ø_{ABS} kwaba=ju ani-bute-tsu] ...
 canoe-LOC sit-GO.DOWN-SS
 '... having sat down in their canoe...'
- b. ... [Ø_{ERG} tu-ke peta-tsu] ...
 it-ABS look.at-SS
 '... looking at it ...' [Cavineña: Guillaume 2010:114-115]

Tsez: (via Polinsky 2016:318ff: either the ergative or absolutive subject of an infinitival or masdar clause can be controlled):

- (19) a. pro_i [PRO_{ERG} $gulu$ $b-exad-a$] $r-eti-n$
 ISG.LAT horse.ABS.III III-slaughter-INF.IV IV-want-PAST.NWIT
 'I need to slaughter the horse.'
 b. $Dä-r_i$ [PRO_{iABS} $žek'u-de$ $kec-a$] $r-eti-n$
 ISG.LAT man-APUD.ESS sleep-INF.IV IV-want-PAST.NWIT
 'I needed to sleep with a man.'

PRO cannot be overt:

- (20) a. $Boc'-ä_i$ [PRO_{ERG} $keč'$ $q'ał-a$] $baybik$ $b-odi-n$
 wolf-ERG song.ABS.III sing-INF.IV beginning.ABS.III III-do-PST.NW
 'The wolf began to sing a song.'
 b. * $Boc'-ä_i$ [$neł-ä$ $keč'$ $q'ał-a$] $baybik$ $b-odi-n$
 wolf-ERG DEM.NI.ERG song.ABS.III sing-INF.IV beginning.ABS.III III-do-PST.NW
 'The wolf began to sing a song.'

► The distribution of PRO is about Grammatical Function, not case.

Control: Subject → PRO (not a natural class in terms of case)
 ABS is retained in infinitives

Note: Although ergative and absolutive subjects can be licensed inside infinitival or masdar clauses, these subjects cannot appear under control, doubling the controller in the matrix clause. [p.321]

Backwards control (Counter-EQUI) – case is available downstairs – upstairs agreement control is independent of case. Polinsky/Potsdam 2002.

- (21) a. e_i [$Beliqan-ä_i$ $kawu-bi$ $ser-a$] $Ø-iħu-n$
 ABS hunter-ERG gate.PL.ABS.NIPL unlock-INF.IV I-begin-PAST.NWIT
 'The hunter began to unlock the gates.'
 b. e_i [$Neł-ä_i$ bix $kos-a$] $Ø-yoq-no$
 ABS DEM.NI.ERG grass.ABS.III mow-INF II-begin-PAST.NWIT
 'She began to mow the grass.'

Control (≠obligatory coreference) without PRO/pro/deletion:

- (22) a. [$niviansiaq$ $sikkir-lu-ni$] $kiina-ŋju-a$ $nui-ratanŋuar-puq$
 [girl_i.ABS giggle-LLU-4S] face-little-3S_i appear-at.last-3S
 'The girl giggling, her little face appeared at last.'
 b. [$qaammaššuaq$ $uqaluaartuŋuar-lu-ni$] $niri-lir-put$
 moon.man_i.ABS tell.stories.continue-LLU-4S eat-start-3P_i
 'The moon man, continuing to tell stories, they_{i+} started to eat.'
 (W. Greenlandic, Bergsland 1955:23; see also Fortescue 1984, Bittner 1994)

1.3 Raising (including ECM as Raising to Object)

- (23) a. $Strákarnir$ $voru$ $kitlaðir$. [Icelandic]
 the.boys.M.PL.NOM were tickled.M.PL.NOM
 'The boys were tickled.'
 b. $Strákunum$ var $bjargað$
 the.boys.M.PL.DAT was rescued.DFLT
 'The boys were rescued.'
 (24) a. $Ég$ tel $strákana$ (hafa verið) $kitlaða$.
 I believe the.boys.M.PL.ACC to.have been tickled.M.PL.ACC
 'I believe the boys to have been tickled.'
 b. $Ég$ tel $strákunum$ (hafa verið) $bjargað$.
 I believe the.boys.M.PL.DAT to.have been rescued.DFLT
 'I believe the boys to have been rescued.'
 (25) a. $Strákarnir$ eru $taldir$ (hafa verið) $kitlaðir$.
 the.boys.M.PL.NOM are.PL believed.M.P.NOM to.have been tickled.M.PL.NOM
 'The boys are believed to have been tickled.'
 b. $Strákunum$ er $talið$ (hafa verið) $bjargað$.
 the.boys.M.PL.DAT is.SG believed.DFLT to.have been rescued.DFLT
 'The boys are believed to have been rescued.'

Tsez (Polinsky 2016:317)

- (26) a. $Ža$ ayi [ko $y-ac'-a$] $b-iči-xosi$ $yoł$
 DEM bird.ABS.III raspberry.ABS.II II-eat-INF.IV III-stay-PRSPCTCT AUX
 'The bird keeps eating the raspberries.'
 b. [$Nela$ $ay-ä$ ko $y-ac'-a$] $r-iči-xosi$ $yoł$
 DEM.NI bird.ERG raspberry.ABS.II II-eat-INF.IV IV-stay-PRSPCTCT AUX
 'The bird keeps eating the raspberries.' (impersonal)
 c. * ko $y-oq-si$ [$nela$ $ay-ä$ $y-ac'-a$]
 raspberry.ABS.II II-begin-PST.WIT DEM.NI bird.ERG II-eat-INF.IV
 'The bird began to eat the raspberries.'

Note: case alternation in raising; Erg is not inherent (contra Woolford, Legate)

- (27) $Ziru$ [$łuł-a$] $b-oq-xo$.
 fox.ABS.III give.birth-INF III-begin-PRS
 'A sun shower began.'

- The generalization that Vergnaud sought to explain was:
- There is something special about the subject of an infinitive. An overt NP is ‘unlicensed’ in that position. Only [PP, PRO or t]
 - But **case** (as a visible, tangible entity) is not the explanation
 - If anything is suppressed in an infinitive, it’s the subject
 - What’s lost is (or includes) subjects, not a natural class in terms of case
 - Subjects are prohibited regardless of the case they have
 - Case is assigned to the subject position (see also McFadden 2004 on *for*)

NB: The literature seems pretty consistent across frameworks on this, especially for control.

“Whenever [predicates like ‘can’, ‘might’, ‘not’, ‘begin’, ‘finish’, ‘continue’, ‘try’] are realized as lexical verbs, taking an object complement clause construction which involves another verb, the two verbs must have the same subject (S or A) irrespective of whether the language is accusative or ergative at morphological and/or syntactic levels.” (Dixon 1994:135 [...] via Bickel & Nichols)

“The control of Equi-NP-deletion (or coreference) in complement clauses is one of the least likely behavior-and-control feature to show ergative-absolutive control.” (Givón 1997:35)

But: Bickel 2011 on Belhare, Bickel/Nichols 2001 also Chechen (Malchukov 2014) Stiebels (2007, Friday) on Mayan and W. Austronesian

Claim: control follows an ergative alignment – the ABS argument is omitted:

- (28) a. *Khonj-ma nui-ka.* Belhare
 play-INF may.NPST-2S
 ‘You may play.’
- b. *Lu-ma nui-ka.*
 tell-INF may.NPST-2S
 ‘(They/someone) may tell you.’, not *‘You may tell someone.’ (Bickel 2011)

Intriguingly, while the coreference relation apparently targets ABS downstairs, there does not appear to be obligatory deletion:

- (29) *Unchikra han lu-ma nui-ka.*
 They.ERG you.NOM tell-INF may.NPST-2S
 ‘They may tell you.’ (Bickel 2011:423)

Bickel further references an apparently similar construction in Chechen and Ingush, discussed in Bickel & Nichols 2001, under the rubric “Agreement Climbing”.

- (30) a. *Muusaa [Ø c'a-v. agha] v. iezaa*
 Musa (V) [home-V.go.INF] V.should
 ‘Musa should go home.’
- b. *Musaas [Ø disertaacii jaaz-j.a~] j. iezaa*
 Musa.ERG diss.(J).NOM write-J.AUX.INF J.should
 ‘Musa should write (his) dissertation.’

But, on Bickel & Nichols’ analysis, these are not a violation of the universal! See below.

1.4 Legate 2008 – Abstract NOM despite PRO

Legate: [p.86-87]

“The concept of abstract Case has not, however, provided a satisfying explanation for the distribution of PRO. ... Let us take the Icelandic quirky Case data, and the three decades of struggle with PRO, to indicate that abstract Case does not neatly account for the distribution of PRO, at least on our present understanding.”

Claim: Even when we abstract away from control, ...

Since T licenses Abstract NOM,

Abstract-NOM is lost in infinitives (? even where control is not at stake)

But Abstract-NOM isn’t always the same as morphological NOM

- I. ABS as default: Hindi, Niuean, Enga, Warlpiri
- II. ABS = NOM: Georgian

I. Only S is suppressed in infinitives:

Niuean: all cases retained in non-finite clauses (subjunctives)

Hindi: non-finite clauses are nominalized, S.ABS → GEN, O.ABS retained

- (31) a. *[raam-ke baiThne]-par maa-ne usko khaanaa diyaa.*
 Ram-ERG sit.NFIN-LOC mother-ERG him.DAT food give.PERF
 ‘When Ram sat down, Mother gave him food.’ (Mohanan 1994:78)
- b. *ilaa-ne [raam-ke darvaazaa kholne]-par anu-ko DaaTaa..*
 Ila-ERG Ram-GEN door.ABS open.NFIN-LOC Anu-DAT scold.PERF
 ‘Ila scolded Anu on Ram’s opening the door.’ (Mohanan 1994:186)

ERG is also not retained: the subject (A/S) is GEN

[Perfectivity may play a role, but either way, this does not show S is special.]

Enga (Papuan): S.ABS → Ø, O.ABS retained;

- (32) a. *Namba-(mé) [Wapaka pa-a-nya] masi-ly-o.*
 I-ERG [Wabag go-IFIN-DESID] think-PRES-1SG
 ‘I want to go to Wabag.’ (Li and Lang 1979:317)
- b. *Baa-mé [yólé nyá-la-nya] kalái pi-ly-a-mó.*
 he-ERG [wages.ABS get-IFIN-DESID] work.ABS do-PRES-3SG.SUBJ-PART
 ‘He works to get wages.’ (Legate < Li and Lang 1979:317)
- c. *Akáli dokó-mé [dokosaa dokó kánj-a-nya] más-i-á*
 man DET-ERG [doctor DET.ABS see-IFIN-DESID] think-PAST-3SG.SUBJ
 ‘The man wanted to see the doctor.’ (Legate < Li and Lang 1979:319)

Legate: “However, absolutive is not available for S. To express an overt S, a finite complement clause must be used in place of the infinitival. Unfortunately, data are not available on overt A in nonfinite clauses.”

- d. Namba-mé [émba Wápaka pú-p-i lá-o] mási-ly-o.
 I-ERG [you.ABS Wabag go-PAST-2SG utter-COMP] think-PRES-1SG
 'I want you to go to Wabag.' (lit. 'I want that you go to Wabag.') L<LL

Li and Lang: "In Enga, only A and S can participate in the process of Equi-NP deletion. In other words, the controller of the Equi-NP deletion process must be A or S **and the deleted NP must also be A or S.**"

Warlpiri: S_{ABS} → DAT, O_{ABS} retained; variable behaviour of A

Warlpiri exhibits nonfinite contexts consisting of a nominalized verb phrase.

- (33) Ngarrka-patu-rlu ka-lu-jana puluku turnu-ma-ni
 man-PAUC-ERG PRES.IMPRF-3PLS-3PLO bullock.ABS group-CAUS-NPST
 'The men are mustering cattle...'
- a. * [kurdu parnka-nja-rlarni].
 [child.ABS run-NFIN-OBV.C]
 '... while the children are running.'
- b. [kurdu-ku parnka-nja-rlarni].
 [child-DAT run-NFIN-OBV.C]
 '... while the children are running.'
- c. [karnta-patu-ku/[%]rlu miyi(*-ku) purra-nja-puru].
 [woman-PAUC-DAT/[%]ERG food.ABS(*-DAT) cook-NFIN-OBV.C]
 '...while the women are cooking the food.'

Georgian:

Infinitive is a nominalization. ALL verbal structural case is lost.

All arguments get genitive and/or PP.

Sum: of the 5 languages considered in Legate 2008, all treat "subjects" as a natural class or fail to distinguish among arguments entirely. Only (some speakers of) Warlpiri have a distinction that singles out S, and even those speakers also have the "subject" pattern.

Note: many languages use nominalizations in contexts corresponding to English infinitives.

- (34) a. all arguments suppressed/genitive/PP Georgian
 b. no arguments (obligatorily) suppressed Niuean, Tamil, Ingush
 c. subject suppressed/genitive/oblique; object ABS Walrpiri, Hindi, Cavineña
 d. S-ABS suppressed; A-ERG, and O-ABS unaffected (maybe %Walrpiri)
 e. ABS suppressed/genitive/oblique, ERG unaffected n/a
 f. ERG suppressed/genitive/oblique, ABS unaffected n/a¹

¹ Bobaljik (1993) argued this for Inuit -llu-; (only) the ergative agreement is suppressed, but case is permitted

1.5 Back to Belhare (Kiranti)

1.5.1 Belhare modals:

- (35) a. Khoŋ-ma nui-ka. Belhare
 play-INF may.NPST-2S
 'You may play.'
- b. Lu-ma nui-ka.
 tell-INF may.NPST-2S
 '(They/someone) may tell you.', not *'You may tell someone.' (Bickel 2011)
- (36) [Unchik-ŋa han lu-ma] nui-ka.
 They-ERG you.NOM tell-INF may.NPST-2S
 'They may tell you.' (Bickel 2011:423)

Analysis by Bickel 2004, Bickel & Nichols 2001:

Restructuring/Clause Union + Long Object Movement + Deponence

End: Control is still subject – to – subject
 LOM via clause unification is entirely unobjectionable
 the odd step here is deponence, independently motivated as a lexical quirk

pace Bickel (& Nicols), these do not constitute "control of {S+O}"

➤ The phenomenon at issue is a lexical property of two modals: *nus-* and *khes-*

Control in Belhare: obligatorily missing argument, obligatorily coreferent = PRO
 PRO must be subject {S,A} (B04:146)

- (37) a. [(*un) khatd-e yuŋ-sa] mai-lur-he
 3 bed-LOC sit-SS/T 1sO-tell-PT
 'He told it to me while (*he) sitting on the bed.'
- b. [(*un-chik-ŋa) dhol teŋ-sa] la ŋŋ-us-e
 3-NSG-ERG drum.ABS beat-SS/T dance 3NS.S-dance-PT
 'They danced while (*they) beating the drum.'

p. 149 "Embedded non-finite clauses other than *-sa* or *-si* clauses are not subject to semantic or syntactic control and are not constrained as to what nominal they may contain."

1.5.2 Light Verbs (Restructuring; Wurmbrand 2001)

may, must, begin, stop, finish, can, forget, know, be about to, already, be able to, want, think

Labile: *transitivity of light verb depends on transitivity of infinitive (B's IIb)*

- (38) a. [khar-a] hi-yu / *hiu-t-u
 go-SUBJ be.able-NPT / be.able-NPT
 'She can go there.' *transitive 'be.able'
- b. [hit mett-a] ka-hiu-ka / *hiu-ka i?
 look CAUS-SUBJ 1SG.U-be.able-2 / be.able-2 Q
 'Can you show me [the way]?.' *intransitive 'be.able'

➤ Embedded verb can show no inflection; all inflection 'climbs' to the matrix verb.

- (39) a. kamma t'-utu-s-kičen [ɲekse-kaz] Itelmen
 I 1SG-unable-PRES-1SG.INTR sleep-*INFIN*
 'I can't sleep.' (SA6:A)
- b. pro t'-utu-z-in [əłčqu-ai-ii.]
 1SG 1SG -unable-PRES-2SG.OBJ see-FUTURE-*INF*
 'I can't see you.' (S3:19)

Just like Belhare, 'forget' in Itelmen is a verb that does this (optionally):

- (40) a. na ɔntxa-βum=nin [kma jeβna-s].
 he forget-1SG.OBJ=3.CL me meet-*INF*
 'He forgot to meet me.' (S6:8)
- b. na netxa-in [kma jeβna-s].
 he forget-3SG.SUBJ (INTRANS) me meet-*inf*
 'He forgot to meet me.' (S6:9)

cf. Clitic Climbing / Long Object Movement in Restructuring (Bickel/Nichols 2001)

- (41) a. (Lo=)quiero [ver a Juan].
 3SG.M.ACC=want.PRES.1SG see.*INF* ACC J.
 'I want to see Juan.'
- b. (*Lo=)quiero [dormir].
 3SG.M.ACC=want.PRES.1SG sleep.*INF*
 'I want to sleep.'

➤ Belhare light verbs have properties of restructuring predicates.²

Transitive: *light verb always transitive (B's IIa): begin/stop/finish/can/forget/know*

With embedded monovalent predicates, their O agreement references the embedded clause as a whole (i.e., fixed 3SG)

² Potential wrinkle: Bickel 2004: 1616 (45) – possible independent embedded A.

- (42) a. lu-ma n-tog-he-ga Belhare
 tell-*INFIN* 3A-can-PT-2
 'He had a chance to tell you.'
- b. un-chik ta-ma n-tou-t-u
 3-NS come-*INF* 3NS.A-can-NPT-3U
 'They can come.'

- (43) a. (Nik) liburu-a-k eros-i nahi ditut. Basque
 1SG.ERG book-DET-PL buy-PERF want 3PL.O:PRES:1SG.A
 'I want to buy the books'
- b. (Nik) etxe-ra etorr-i nahi dut.
 1SG.ERG house-ALL come-PERF want 3SG.O:PRES:1SG.A
 'I want to come home' Bickel & Nichols 2001

Intransitive: *light verb always intransitive, agrees with downstairs ABS (S/O)*
 two modals: *nus-* 'may' and *khes-* 'must' (latter also in other constructions)

- (44) a. (Han) Khoŋ-ma nui-ka.
 2.SG.NOM play-*INF* may.NPST-2s
 'You may play.'
- b. [Unchik-ɟa han lu-ma] nui-ka.
 They-ERG you.NOM tell-*INF* may.NPST-2s
 'They may tell you.' (Bickel 2011:423)

B/N 2001: These two verbs are deponent.

Latin deponent: passive morphology (intransitive); active syntax (transitive)

- (45) me=que hort-antur ut magn-o anim-o sim
 me.ACC=and exhort-3PL that great-ABL.SG spirit-ABL.SG be.1SG.SBJV
 '...and they exhort me to be of good courage'
 (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, book 11, letter 6; via Baerman 2007)

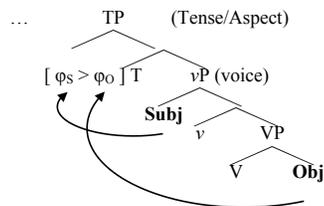
➤ 'Eccentric' agreement: Chukchi spurious antipassive

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| (46) Transitive | Subject
ERG | Object
ABS | Verb
SubjAGR & ObjAGR |
| Intransitive | Subject
ABS | | Verb
Intransitive Subj Agreement (x2) |
| Antipassive | Subject
ABS | Object
Oblique/PP | Verb
Intransitive Agreement + AP morph |
| Spurious AP | Subject
<u>ERG</u> | Object
<u>ABS</u> | Verb
<u>Intransitive Agreement + AP morph</u> |
| | Transitive Syntax | | Intransitive Verbal Morphology |

(47) Transitive	γəm-nan I-ERG 'I saw you.'	γət you.SG(ABS)	tə-ʔu-γət 1SG.SUB-see-2SG.OBJ (Skorik 1977: 44)
Intransitive	γəm I (ABS) 'I ran.'		tə-kəγəntat-γʔak 1SG.SUB-run-1SG.SUBJ (Skorik 1977: 19)
Antipassive	əθəγən father (ABS) 'Father was looking for his son.'	Ø-ine-ʔqərir-ərka-n 3SG.SUB-AP-look-3SG.SUB (SON-ALLATIVE)	(akka-γtə) (Nedjalkov 1976: 201)
Spurious AP	ə-nan he-ERG 'He saw me.'	γəm I (ABS)	Ø-ine-ʔu-γʔi 3SG.SUB-AP-see-3SG.SUBJ (Skorik 1977: 44)

- (48) Syntax [Arg-Str → GF → Scrambling → LF]
 ↓
 (M)-Case feature-filling rules on NPs
 ↓
 Agreement feature-copying rules
 ↓
 Exponence · DEPONENCE
 assignment of phonological content to nodes (morphemes)

(49) Transitive Agreement (Active, Ergative) [Bobaljik & Branigan 2006]



(50) subject-object agreement combinations requiring SAP (non-participial tenses)³

- a. * 3 SG > 1 SG requires SAP with *ine-*
- b. * 2 > 1 SG requires SAP with *ine-*
- c. * 2 > 1 PL requires SAP with *-tku*

Chukchi Impoverishment: φ_O → Ø [inverse environments just noted]
 Belhare Impoverishment: φ_A → Ø

³ In the Khatyrka dialect of Chukchi, 2SG/PL > 1PL forms are syncretic with 3 > 1PL, and are thus not SAP environments.

B&N:9 Ancillary evidence for this analysis is twofold.

- Case marking – syntax is transitive despite the intransitive morphology of the superlight verb: there is no other situation in Belhare where intransitively inflected verbs combine with an ERGATIVE-NOMINATIVE case frame.
- Deponence independently attested in Belhare and many of its sister languages. Experiential predicates like *khikma* 'taste bitter', for example, are all-intransitive deponents that have two syntactic actants
 - NB: these are ABS₁-ABS₂ arrays, but where ABS₁ has subject properties.

➤ Bickel & Nichols; Agreement Climbing in Chechen (also Ingush cf. Baker 2015)

Control: (Universal)	designated argument in non-finite clause obligatorily omitted obligatorily coreferent with upstairs controller
If a language has this, then the designated argument is the subject Not stable in terms of case when Case and GF diverge	

- (51) a. NP1 PRED [VERB-NFIN] VERB = Intrans
 b. NP1 PRED [NP2 VERB-NFIN] VERB = Trans

In (b), NP2 is universally the O argument, not the A argument of VERB-NFIN
 Unattested: NP2 is the A argument, with the O argument coreferential to NP1

He wants leave. = He wants he leave.
 He wants you see. = He wants you to see him.

➤ Whatever Belhare is, it isn't that.

1.6 Stiebels: Semantic/Actor Control

Sometimes, control seems to be about Agent/actor, not syntactic subjecthood (and also not case)

➤ (weaker universal): If control is syntactic, subject, not case, identifies the controllee.

Tagalog (Kroeger 1993, Mercado 2003, Wurmbrand 2013)

- (52) a. B<um>ili ang bata ng tela sa palengke para sa nanay
 buy<AV> ANG child DET cloth DAT market for DAT Mother
 'The child bought cloth at the market for Mother.' (Rackowski/Richards)
- b. B<in>ili-ø ng bata ang tela sa palengke para sa nanay
 buy<ASP>-PV DET child ANG cloth DAT market for DAT Mother
 'The child bought the cloth at the market for Mother.'
- c. B<in>ilh-an ng bata ng tela ang palengke para sa nanay
 buy<ASP>-DtV DET child DET cloth ANG market for DAT Mother
 'The child bought (the) cloth at the market for Mother.'

- d. *I-b<in>ili* ng bata ng tela sa palengke ang nanay
 OblV-buy<ASP> DET child DET cloth DAT market ANG Mother
 ‘The child bought (the) cloth at the market for Mother.’ (Wurmbrand 2013)

- View I: The *ang*-phrase is the syntactic subject (NOM)
 ➤ View II: The *ang*-phrase is a (type of) topic (A’)

- (53) binalak niya=ng ...
 PERF.plan.OV 3SG.GEN=COMP
 ‘He planned... to give money to Mother’ (Kroeger 1993:39 < Stiebels 2007)
- a. [mag-bigay ng=pera sa=Nanay _]
 AV-give GEN=money DAT=mother Ø.ANG
- b. [i-bigay _ sa=Nanay ang=pera]
 OblV-give Ø.GEN DAT=mother ANG=money
- c. [bigy-an ng=pera ang=Nanay]
 give-DtV Ø.GEN GEN=money ANG=mother

Control of the ANG-argument is obligatory in the non-volitive mood, marked by *ma-*:

- (54) in-utus-an ko si=Maria=ng ...
 PERF-order-DV 1SG.GEN NOM=M=COMP
 ‘I ordered Maria ...’
- a. * [ma-halik-an _ si=Pedro]
 NONVOL-kiss-DV Ø.GEN NOM=P
 ‘... to kiss Pedro.’
- b. [ma-halik-an ni=Pedro _]
 NONVOL-kiss-DV GEN=P Ø.NOM
 ‘... (to allow herself) to be kissed by Pedro’

- Balinese: TOPIC/PTT/ANG control; Madurese: Mixed, ...

Tojolabal (Mayan)

only intransitive verbs can be embedded under control verbs. Therefore, transitive verbs must be passivized in order to be embedded under a control verb. However, passivization does not change the control relation as it would, for instance, in English and most other languages; it is still the (implicit) agent that is controlled.

- (55) a. h-moh-t-ay-a [_ way-el]
 1SG.E-accompany-TR-TH-2SG.N sleep-NOML
 ‘I accompanied you to sleep’
- b. ha-kol-t-ay-on [_ y-ahn-a-he-el]
 2SG.E-help-TR-TH-1SG.N 3SG.E-cure-TH-PASS-NOML
 ‘you helped me cure him’ lit: ‘you helped me his being cured’

2. RESTRUCTURING AND CASE, POST-SCRIPT (WURMBRAND 2001, 2015)

German ‘long passive’ (also Long Unaccusative)

- (56) weil er den/*der Traktor versucht hat [toBJ zu reparieren]
 since he the.ACC/*NOM tractor tried has [toBJ to repair]
 ‘since he tried to repair the tractor’
- (57) a. Gestern wurde der Traktor zu reparieren versucht Impersonal
 yesterday was the.NOM tractor to repair tried
 ‘Someone tried to repair the tractor yesterday.’
- b. Gestern wurde den Traktor zu reparieren versucht Long Passive
 yesterday was the.ACC tractor to repair tried
 ‘Someone tried to repair the tractor yesterday.’
- (58) [tractor_i was tried [vp t_i to-repair]
- (59) [Zu reparieren]_{VP} wurde erst gestern ein blauer Wagen vergessen.
 to repair was just yesterday a.NOM blue car forgotten
 It just happened yesterday that they forgot to repair a blue car.
- (60) a. As casas foram acabadas de construir em 1950 European Portuguese
 the houses were finished to build in 1950
 ‘They finished to build the houses in 1950’ [SW] [Cinque 2002: 5, (7a)]
- b. Te melodije su se probale odsvirati Serbo-Croatian
 Those melodies.NOM are SE tried.PL play.INF
 ‘They tried to play these melodies.’ [Todorović and Wurmbrand 2015]
- (61) NRI [Ursula tried [vp PRO tractor to-repair]]
 [NOM] [NOM ACC] 2 domains
- (62) RI [Ursula tried [vp tractor to-repair]]
 [NOM ACC] 1 domain
- (63) a. NRI [was tried [vp PRO tractor to-repair]]
 [] [NOM ACC] 2 domains
 ‘Someone tried to repair the tractor.’
- b. RI [was tried [vp tractor to-repair]]
 [NOM] 1 domain
 ‘Someone tried to repair the tractor.’

Eppur si muove (Wurmbrand 2001, 2013; Bobałjik/Wurmbrand 2005; Keine/Bhatt 2016)

- (64) a. [Einen blauen Wagen zu reparieren]_{VP/VP} wurde erst gestern vergessen.
 a.ACC blue car to repair was just yesterday forgotten
 It just happened yesterday that they forgot to repair a blue car.

- b. *[Ein blauer Wagen zu reparieren]_{TP} wurde erst gestern vergessen.
a.NOM blue car to repair was just yesterday forgotten
 It just happened yesterday that they forgot to repair a blue car.
- c. [Zu reparieren]_{VP} wurde erst gestern ein blauer Wagen vergessen.
to repair was just yesterday a.NOM blue car forgotten
 It just happened yesterday that they forgot to repair a blue car.

Scope argument: Wurmbrand 2001, Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2005

- (65) a. Harry forgot to close all the windows.
 b. weil er alle Fenster zu schließen vergessen hat
since he all windows (ACC) to close forgotten has
 since he forgot to close all the windows
 c. forget » V':
 It was about to rain, and Harry decided to close all the windows in the apartment. He closed the windows in the kitchen and the living room but forgot the window in the bedroom, which thus remained open.
- (66) a. weil er alle Fenster vergessen hat [_{TOBJ} zu schließen]
since he all windows (ACC) forgotten has _{TOBJ} to close
 since he forgot to close all the windows V » forget; *forget » V
- b. weil [alle Fenster zu schließen]_{NRI} vergessen wurde
since all windows (ACC) to close forgotten was
 since they forgot to close all windows OK forget » V
 literally: since it was forgotten to close all windows
- c. weil alle Fenster zu schließen vergessen wurden
since all windows (NOM) to close forgotten were
 since they forgot to close all the windows V » forget; *forget » V
 literally: since all windows were forgotten to close
- (67) a. t'-əntxa-če?n [mit okno-?n sop-es].
1SG-forget-3PL.OBJ all window-PL close-INF
 I forgot to close all the windows. (S6:6-7) V » forget; *forget » V
- b. John-wa subeto-no ringo-o tabe-wasure-ta.
John-TOP all-GEN apple-ACC eat-forget-PAST
 John forgot to eat all the apples. V » forget; *forget » V

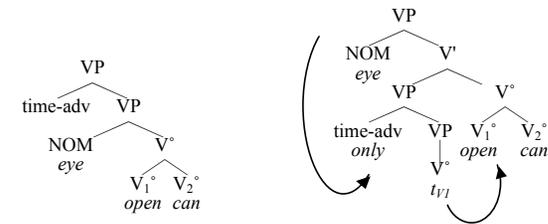
Scope facts part of a broader generalization, not due to case.
 Saito/Hoshi 1998, Nomura 2005, Takahashi 2010, Shimamura & Wurmbrand 2014, to appear, Wurmbrand 2015, Keine/Bhatt 2016

- (68) a. Taroo-wa hon-o Mary-dake-kara kari-wasure-ta
 Taroo-top book-acc Mary-only-from borrow-forget-past
 'Taro forgot to borrow books only from Mary.' (Takahashi 2011: 245; (56))
 only » forget; *forget » only
- b. Taroo-wa me-ga 0.001-byoo-dake ake-rare-ru
 Taroo-top eye-nom 0.001-second-only open-can-pres
 'Taroo can open his eyes only for 0.001 seconds.' (Saito 2000)

only » can; %can » only

only » can: He cannot open his eyes for long (e.g., because his eyes are very sensitive to ultraviolet rays)
 can » only: He has a special ability to move his eyelids very quickly

- (69) a. Complex Predicate b. VP-complement



But Wurmbrand's original argument for case-driven movement still stands:

- b. *[Ein blauer Wagen zu reparieren]_{TP} wurde erst gestern vergessen.
a.NOM blue car to repair was just yesterday forgotten
 It just happened yesterday that they forgot to repair a blue car.
- c. [Zu reparieren]_{VP} wurde erst gestern ein blauer Wagen vergessen.
to repair was just yesterday a.NOM blue car forgotten
 It just happened yesterday that they forgot to repair a blue car.

Not EPP (Wurmbrand 2006), also. Haider 2006, Meurers 1999, 2000

- (70) a. [Ein Außenseiter gewonnen]_{VP} hat hier noch nie.
an.NOM outsider won has here still never
 'An outsider has never won here.'
- b. [Ein Außenseiter zu gewinnen]_{VP} scheint hier eigentlich nie.
an.NOM outsider to win seems here actually never
 'It never seems to be the case that an outsider wins here.'
- c. [Ein Außenseiter gewinnen]_{VP} darf hier auf keinen Fall.
an.NOM outsider win may here on no case
 'Under no circumstances may an outsider win here.'

➤ (Abstract) Case seems to be the only motivation for movement of NOM-NP out of RIs. ☺

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