

## Inherent Case and locality requirement: Evidence from ditransitives and their nominalizations

Věra Dvořák, Rutgers University

**Background.** The distinction between structural and inherent Case introduced in Chomsky (1986) belongs nowadays to one of the well-established dichotomies in generative linguistics. Chomsky (1995, pg. 114) attributes the “structuralness” of Case to the observation that such Case is “assigned solely in terms of S-structure configuration” while Case “inherentness” is associated with  $\theta$ -marking. Interestingly, even though much attention is paid in the current minimalist syntax to the mechanism of structural Case checking/Case assignment, “non-prepositional” inherent Case is not so widely discussed (perhaps because there are not many reflexes of such Case in English).

**Thesis.** Based on data from the fully inflectional language (Czech) I examine whether the distinction between inherent and structural Case makes any sense at all, and if so, what lies at its core. I argue that the dichotomy can be defined solely in terms of structural configurations licensing the two types of Case and does not need to refer to  $\theta$ -roles.

**Analysis. 1.** I show that there are two types of (inherent) Dative in Czech but only one (structural) Accusative. On par with McFadden (2004) who argues for the existence of two distinct classes of ditransitives in German, I employ several tests (default word order, constituent fronting under topicalization, passivization, implicit argument quantification, the rate of productivity) to demonstrate that Czech ditransitives belong to two non-overlapping classes, both of which are base-generated. For example, both word orders Acc>>Dat as well as Dat>>Acc are grammatical in Czech for all ditransitives but in a neutral (all-new) context only the Acc>>Dat word order is unmarked for the verbs like (1-a) and only the Dat>>Acc word order is unmarked for the verbs in (1-b). I label them *Acc-Dat verbs* and *Dat-Acc verbs*, respectively. I analyze the former class as consisting of verbs that have a PP complement with a null P head that conflates into a verbal head (in the sense of Harley (2004)) and the latter one as containing a light applicative head (Marantz 1993), cf. (2-a) vs. (2-b). Even though  $v_{Appl}$  and the null P assign the same dative morphological case to their arguments, they are associated with distinct  $\theta$ -roles: recipient (high Dat) versus path (low Dat).

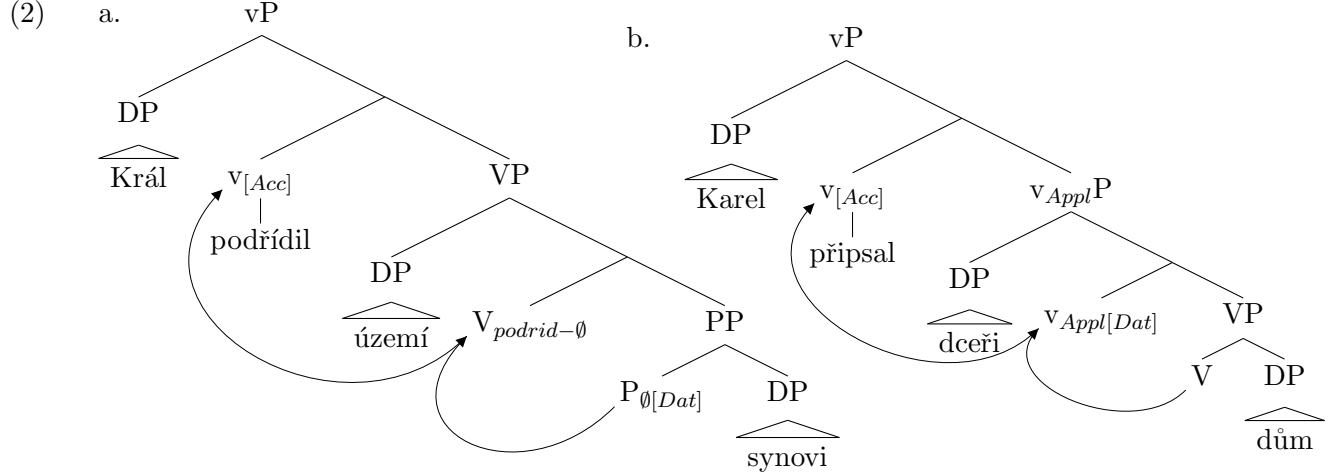
**2.** I provide evidence (based on the same tests as above) for the presence of these two Dative-checking heads outside of ditransitives: in unaccusative structures and in monotransitive structures with only a dative object. The intermediate conclusion is that non-prepositional Dative is different from non-prepositional Accusative in that the former can be checked only locally (under Merge) but possibly on different heads while the latter allows long-distance Agree (Chomsky 2000) but is associated with one particular structure. It is presumably this distinctiveness that makes the two Case features “different” enough not to undergo intervention effect in a structure like (2-b).

**3.** When ditransitives are nominalized, an underlying direct object always bears Genitive while an indirect object always retains its Dative. Interestingly enough, the arguments appear in the Gen>>Dat order for both Acc-Dat (3) as well as Dat-Acc verbs (4). Such behavior suggests that the same locality requirement that holds for Dative checking in the verbal domain holds for post-nominal Genitive in the nominal domain. Adverbial insertion (5) supports this observation. At the same time, both internal arguments keep identical thematic roles as in the verbal structure.

I propose that the same Dative-checking heads ( $v_{Appl}$  and  $P_\theta$ ) are present in verbal as well as in nominalized structures. On the other hand, the Accusative-checking little  $v$  introducing an external argument is missing in nominalizations. Assuming the refined version of UTAH (Baker 1997) accompanied by TRAP (Hornstein *et al.* 2005, pg. 68), I conclude that the thematic argument has to receive its object  $\theta$ -role under merge with V, but is Case-marked later – as a result of the movement that leads to the DP’s local relationship with Genitive-checking nominal head.

**Consequences.** Genitive does not behave like structural Case which can be checked under Agree at a distance. Rather, it is parallel to (inherent) Dative which is assigned only under Merge. However, in contrast to Dative, it can be assigned (after movement) to an argument that already has a  $\theta$ -role. This supports the view that not only structural Case but also inherent Case can be checked irrespective of  $\theta$ -marking.

- (1) a. Král podřídil území synovi. / #Král podřídil synovi území.  
king subordinated territory.ACC son.DAT / king subordinated son.DAT territory.ACC  
‘The king subordinated the territory to his son.’  
b. Karel připsal dceři dům. / #Karel připsal dům dceři.  
Charles assigned daughter.DAT house.ACC / Charles assigned house.ACC daughter.DAT  
‘Charles assigned the house to his daughter.’



- (3) a. Podřízení obyvatel synovi (se králi nevyplatilo.)  
subordinating.NOM.SG inhabitants.GEN son.DAT REFL king.DAT not-paid-off  
‘Subordinating the inhabitants to the son (didn’t pay off to the king.)’  
b. \*Podřízení synovi obyvatel (se králi nevyplatilo.)  
subordinating.NOM.SG son.DAT inhabitants.GEN REFL king.DAT not-paid-off
- (4) a. Připsání domu dceři (se Karlovi nevyplatilo.)  
assigning.NOM.SG house.GEN daughter.DAT REFL Charles.DAT not-paid-off  
‘Assigning the house to a daughter didn’t pay off to Charles.’  
b. \*Připsání dceři domu (se Karlovi nevyplatilo.)  
assigning.NOM.SG daughter.DAT house.GEN REFL Charles.DAT not-paid-off
- (5) darování (\*během oslav) knihy (během oslav) Marušce (během oslav)  
giving.NOM (during feast) book.GEN (during feast) Mary.DAT (during feast)  
‘giving a book to Mary during the feast’

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