Session 3A Abstracts

Nominal case and clitic case: Evidence from Choctaw and Yimas

1. Summary. Yimas (data from Foley 1991) and Choctaw (data from author) display a NOM/ACC case alignment pattern on nominals. The nominals are cross-referenced by *doubled clitics*, which in both languages display a distinct alignment pattern (Yimas: ERG/ABS; Choctaw: split-S). To account for the mismatch between nominal and clitic case, we argue for **two rounds of case computation**, targeting nominals and clitics individually. Assuming that nominal case is computed when TP is built, the order of the two operations is determined by the relative height of clitic-doubling on the clausal spine. Clitic-doubling in Yimas targets C^0 and thus follows nominal case computation, while clitic-doubling in Choctaw targets v^0 and so precedes it. As a result, the NOM/ACC featural distinction is copied onto the argument-doubling clitics in Yimas, but not in Choctaw.

2. NOM/ACC nominal case. Choctaw's NOM/ACC case system is morphologically overt, (1). In Yimas, core arguments are morphologically unmarked; however, its NOM/ACC alignment is nonetheless evident from various subject/object asymmetries. One asymmetry, given in (2), concerns how wh-clitics are exponed—*m-* (subj) vs. Ø (obj). Following Baker (2015), we assume for simplicity that NOM/ACC case is assigned configurationally when TP is merged.

(1) a. alikchi-**t** nokshoopa-tok
doctor-NOM be.scared-PST
'The doctor was scared.'

b. alikchi-**t** ofi(-**yã**) habli-tok
doctor-NOM dog(-ACC) kick-PST
'The doctor kicked the dog.' *(Choctaw)*

(2) a. nawn **m**-na-ya-n
who.SG WH-DEF-come-PRS
'Who is coming?'

b. nawn **Ø**-pu-tpul
who.SG WH-3PL.ABS-hit
'Who did they hit?' *(Yimas)*

3. Clitic-doubling. The argument-referencing morphemes in both languages are pronominal clitics, not ϕ-agreement (see Tyler 2017, Yuan 2016 for evidence). We assume that clitics are pronominal (D^0) copies of argument DPs, which adjoin to functional heads on the clausal spine (e.g. Arregi & Nevins 2012). Despite their NOM/ACC nominal alignment systems, Choctaw's clitic system displays split-S alignment, (3), while Yimas's clitic system is ERG/ABS, (4).

(3) a. **ii**-baliili-tok
1PL.ERG-run-PST
'We ran.'

b. **chi**-nokshoopa-tok
2SG.ABS-be.scared-PST
'You were scared.'

c. **ii**-**chi**-habli-tok
1PL.ERG-2SG.ABS-kick-PST
'We kicked you.' *(Choctaw)*

(4) a. **pu**-wa-t
3S.ABS-go-PERF
'They went.'

b. **pu**-**n**-tay
3SG.ABS-3PL.ERG-see
'He saw them.' *(Yimas)*

4. Yimas: Clitic-doubling after nominal case computation. Yimas clitics adjoin at C^0 (Yuan 2016): they are unavailable on non-finite verbs (omitted), and morphologically interact with various complementizers/mood markers, exemplified in (5) (e.g. Phillips 1993, 1995).

(5) a. **na**-kay-cay
3SG.ABS-1PL.ERG-see
'We saw him.'

b. **ta**-kay-cay-c-**ak**
NEG-1PL.ERG-see-PERF-SG
'We didn't see him.'

Because nominal case is computed at TP, nominal case features are copied along with ϕ-features in clitic-doubling at C^0. We argue that Yimas's ERG/ABS clitic case system directly references its NOM/ACC nominal case system. To show this, we first establish that ERG clitic case is *dependent*,

calculated internal to the clitic complex. (i) Unaccusative subject clitics are ERG in the presence of an ABS applied argument clitic (6b) and ABS otherwise (6a) (cf. Baker 2014). (ii) Clitic-doubling in Yimas is moreover optional, sensitive to discourse; in (7a-b), the transitive subject clitic is ERG in the presence of the object clitic, but ABS when the object is not clitic-doubled.

(6) a. impan kantk **na**-kwalcat
3DL with 3SG.ABS-rise
'He got up with them.'

b. **impa**-**n**-taŋ-kwalcat
3DL.ABS-3SG.ERG-APPL-rise
'He got up with them.'

(7) a. [pay-cumpwi] **pia**-**n**-kacapal
carry-NFN C.ABS-3SG.ERG-forget
'**He** forgot to carry (the basket).'

b. [pay-cumpwi] **na**-kacapal
carry-NFN 3SG.ABS-forget
'**He** forgot to carry (the basket).'

The clitic case system is captured by the rules in (8). The [ACC] nominal case feature always corresponds to an ABS clitic, and the [NOM] nominal case feature corresponds to an ABS *or* ERG clitic. When a [NOM]-bearing (subject) clitic co-occurs with another clitic, it receives a [DEP] feature; the [NOM,DEP] feature bundle is spelled out as ERG. Crucially, dependent ERG clitic case requires the presence of a [NOM] feature.

(8) a. [ACC] → ABS b. [NOM] → ABS c. [NOM,DEP] → ERG

5. Choctaw: clitic-doubling before nominal case computation. Choctaw clitics adjoin at v^0. This is a reasonable assertion given that they index the thematic role (i.e. base-generation site) of arguments rather than whether or not they end up the subject. Evidence for their low adjunction site comes from the fact that they may show up in participial clauses (9a) and clauses marked with *-cha/-na* switch-reference markers (9b). Both of these clause types must be structurally truncated, since they reject tense and mood morphology.

(9) a. [**ii**-baliili(*-tok)-t] tahli-tok
1PL.ERG-run(*-PST)-PRT finish-PST
'We finished running.'

b. ... [**ii**-hopooni(*-tok)-cha]
... 1PL.ERG-cook(*-PST)-SAME.SUBJ
'(We ate the meat) after we cooked it.'

Since nominal case is computed when TP is built, DP arguments lack NOM/ACC case features at the point of clitic-doubling at v^0. Therefore these features are not copied onto the clitics, and, in contrast to Yimas, we should find *no* evidence of NOM/ACC asymmetries in the clitic system. This is hard to show (we could always say the NOM/ACC features are present on the clitics but have no morphosyntactic consequences), but we *can* show that NOM/ACC case-assignment relies on structure above vP, implying that it is computed after clitic-doubling at v^0. Firstly, reduced relative clauses, insults and exclamatives, all of which lack tense marking, disallow NOM case (Broadwell 1990). Furthermore, (10) shows that case-marking is optional on both NOM and ACC objects, but it is obligatory on subjects (11a) and arguments in A'-positions (11b). This shows that arguments arguments which do not leave the vP (as in (10)) can be exempted from case computation.

(10) a. aayĩpa**(-t)** ã-hikĩyah
table(-NOM) 1SG.DAT-have
'I have a table.'

b. alikchi**(-yã)** ish-iya-tok
doctor(-ACC) 2SG.ERG-go-PST
'You went to the doctor.'

(11) a. Bill-***(at)** ĩ-hikĩyah
Bill-*(NOM) 3.DAT-have
'Bill has one.'

b. ish-iya-tok, alikchi-***(yã)**
2SG.ERG-go-PST doctor-*(ACC)
'You went there, to the doctor.'

The dual face of dependent case: On Lithuanian genitive of negation

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1. Background: This paper analyzes genitive of negation (GN) in Lithuanian. GN is a type of case that prima facie tracks and overwrites structural accusative case, when the verb is negated as in (2). However, GN does not affect inherent case, e.g., dative (3).

(1) Jonas perskaitė laišką.
J.NOM read.PST letter.ACC
'Jonas didn't read a letter.'

(2) Jonas ne-perskaitė laiško/*laišką.
J.NOM NG-read.PST letter.**GEN**/ACC
'J. didn't read a letter.' (Arkadiev 2016)

(3) Jis ne-padėjo tėvui/*tėvo.
he.NOM NG-help.PST father.**DAT**/GEN
'He didn't help the father.'

These data naturally raise important questions regarding where and how case is determined in environments where multiple cases can be realized on a single element. We argue that GN is a realization of dependent case, which, in turn, is a translation of structural case.

2. Previous approaches: Lithuanian GN is a syntactic phenomenon (Arkadiev 2016) in contrast to Russian GN, whose realization can be influenced by semantic factors (Kagan 2013). Syntactic approaches to Russian GN analyze it through covert case stacking (Pesetsky 2013)/replacement (Richards 2013): GN is stacked on the structural nominative and accusative cases, but is eliminated in the context of inherent case. For Richards (2013), GN is assigned syntactically and is a subject to timing: it applies to nominative subjects of passives and unaccusatives suggesting that movement to SpecTP takes place after GN assignment. While Lithuanian GN patterns like Russian in not alternating with inherent case (3), it poses problems to case-stacking approaches. **First**, GN cannot replace a structural nominative DP, e.g., a subject of passives (4). **Second**, GN is not sensitive to timing: the passive subject is never genitive regardless of whether it is in SpecTP (4) or in situ (5).

(4) Laiškas/*laiško ne-buvo skaitoma
Letter.**NOM**/*GEN NG-be.PST read.PRT-F.SG
tėvo.
father.GEN
'A letter was not read by the father.'

(5) Tėvo ne-buvo skaitomas
father.GEN NEG-be.PST read.PRT-M.SG
laiškas/*laiško.
letter.**NOM**/GEN
'A letter was not read by the father.'

3. Proposal: We offer a new account of GN, arguing that it is a reflection of dependent case on a case realization disjunctive hierarchy (Marantz 1991). On such an algorithm (e.g., McFadden 2004, Preminger 2014), dependent case is accusative and unmarked case is nominative (in nom-acc languages). For Lithuanian we argue that unmarked case is realized as nominative whereas dependent case has two realizations: either as accusative or as genitive under c-commanding negation. This proposal accounts for the problematic cases in (4–5).

4. Genitive as a realization of dependent case: Lithuanian GN tracks dependent case which in our account has two realizations. First, it is realized in environments where the structural accusative would otherwise surface. When a DP bearing unmarked case (nominative) is visible to a lower DP, also marked for structural case, its structural case will be translated as dependent case. At Vocabulary Insertion, dependent case is realized as morphologically accusative case; see (1). However, when dependent case is c-commanded by negation, its realization at Vocabulary Insertion is genitive case; see (2). Second, genitive is not realized under negation where unmarked case is found, such as in passives (4–5), unaccusatives (6) and unergatives (7).

(6) Traukinys/*traukinio ne-atvažuoja.
train.**NOM**/GEN NEG-arrive.PRS
'The train doesn't arrive.'

(7) Jonas/*Jono ne-dirba.
Jonas.**NOM**/GEN NEG-work.PRS
'Jonas does not work.'

This difference becomes particularly clear in dat-nom (8–9) vs. dat-acc structures (10–11):

(8) Man patinka muzika.
me.DAT like.PRS music.NOM
'I like music.'

(9) Man ne-patinka muzika/*muzikos.
me.DAT NG-like.PRS music.**NOM**/*GEN
'I don't like music.'

(10) Man skauda galvą.
me.DAT ache.PRS head.ACC
'I have a headache.'

(11) Man ne-skauda galvos/*galvą.
me.DAT NG-ache.PRS head.**GEN**/ACC
'I don't have a headache.'

In the 'like'-class (8–9), the argument in direct object position is realized in the nominative in clauses with or without negation. This shows that unmarked case is realized as nominative, even under negation, unlike in Russian. In the 'ache'-class, the direct object is realized in the accusative when it is not c-commanded by negation. This suggests that the direct object is in dependent case even though there is no unmarked case visible (we do not give an analysis of this structure here). When negation is present, dependent case is realized as genitive.

5. Realizing accusative and genitive: We argue that structural case is assigned in syntax resulting in other arguments than those that bear lexical case to bear structural case, [STR]. At the Morphological Component (on the PF branch), [STR] on subjects and objects is translated to either unmarked case, [UNM], or dependent case, [DEP], according to a disjunctive case hierarchy. These are in turn realized at Vocabulary Insertion according to the elsewhere principle, [UNM] as nominative and [DEP] as genitive (12a) or accusative (12b).

(12) ***Realization of dependent case***
a. $DP_{[DEP]} \rightarrow DP_{[GEN]}$ / Neg ___
b. $DP_{[DEP]} \rightarrow DP_{[ACC]}$ / elsewhere

6. Implications: We make a clear distinction between unmarked and dependent case, on the one hand, and their realization, on the other (as nom, acc, etc.). On our approach, GN in Lithuanian is a realization of dependent case. Our analysis predicts that we should find more than one realization of unmarked or dependent case in special environments cross-linguistically. Indeed, Marantz (1991) argues that the genitive case inside a DP is the realization of unmarked case; Baker (2015) argues for an account of Finnish partitive as unmarked case; and Greek dative and genitive case objects have also been argued to qualify as dependent cases (Anagnostopoulou & Sevdali 2017).

References: •Anagnostopoulou&Sevdali 2017.From Lexical to Dependent: the Case of the Greek Dative •Arkadiev 2016: Long-distance genitive of negation in Lithuanian • Kagan 2013: Semantics of Genitive Objects in Russian • Marantz 1991: Case and Licensing • McFadden 2004: The position of morphological case in the derivation • Pesetsky 2013: Russian Case Morphology and the Syntactic Categories • Preminger 2014: Agreement and Its Failures • Richards 2013: Lardil "Case Stacking" and the Timing of Case Assignment

Case syncretism in Russian numeral constructions

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1. Problem: It has been widely noted that in Russian numeral constructions containing lower numerals [2, 3, 4] the adjective appears in genitive plural while the noun appears in genitive singular (1). This number mismatch doesn't occur with higher numerals [5+] (2).

1) tri krasn-yx stul-a
three-NOM red-GEN.PL chair-GEN.**SG**
'three red chairs'

2) pjat' krasn-yx stul-ev
five-NOM red-GEN.PL chair-GEN.PL
'five red chairs'

This apparent number mismatch pattern disappears in lexical case environments (3) and in animate accusative environments (4).

3) K tr-jem malen'k-im mal'čik-am
to$_{DAT}$ three-DAT young-DAT.PL boy-DAT.PL
'to two/three/four young boys'

4) Sasha videl tr-jox malčik-ov /*tri malčik-a
Sasha saw three-ACC boy-ACC.PL /*three boy-GEN.SG
'Sasha saw three boys.

A common solution regards the pattern, like example 1, to be the realization of *nominative paucal* on both the adjective and noun, and not genitive singular/plural as it is regularly glossed (Bailyn & Nevins 2008, Rakhlin 2003). Such analyses assert that the nominative paucal morpheme is syncretic with the genitive singular for all nouns, due to a suppression of gender features. A well-known counterexample to this account is the segmental stress change pattern, which appear to differentiate between a genitive singular segment (5a) and a paucal segment (5b).

5) a. s perv-ogo šág-**a**
since first-GEN.SG step-GEN.SG
'since the first step'

b. dva šag-**á**
two step-GEN.PC
'two steps'

Additionally, the suppression of gender features discounts other idiosyncrasies to the broader problem, as feminine nouns after lower numerals can allow a *nominative* plural **or** *genitive* plural adjective after lower numerals (6, Pesetsky 2013).

6) dv-e krasiv -yx / -ye lamp-y
two-F beautiful-GEN.PL/NOM.PL lamp-F.GEN.SG
'two beautiful lamps'

Previous analyses have tried to explain the various idiosyncrasies of this complicated problem but cannot completely encapsulate all aspects of it. Pesetsky's (2013) analysis attributes segmental stress changes (5) to an inherent *numberless* feature of nouns after lower numerals. Bailyn and Nevins (2008) do not address the segmental stress change pattern, the animacy effect, or the feminine case patterns, the latter of which is an impossibility given their analysis.

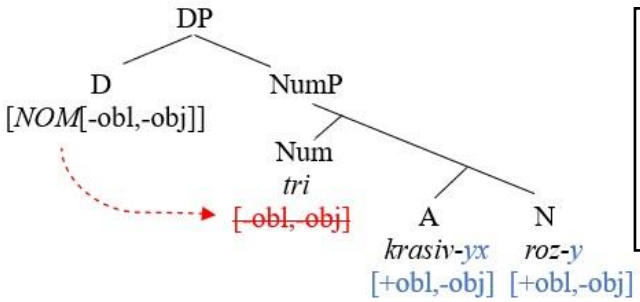
Previous analyses fail to explain:

- Adjective – noun number mismatch only after lower numerals
- Complete homogenous morphosyntax in lexical case environments
- Lower numeral constructions' sensitivity to animacy
- Words that exhibit a stress shift between lower numerals and genitive case environments
- Adjective – noun number *and* case mismatch with feminine nouns

2. Analysis: I base my analysis on 3 main assumptions. Firstly, paucal number co-occurs with the lower numerals in Russian. Secondly, I adopt Pesetsky's analysis (2013) that Russian nouns realize default genitive if they fail to receive case features. Finally, I posit that

a structural feature set of [±oblique,±object] and the lexical feature set of [±f,±g] percolate through the NP differently (Assmann et. al 2014).[i] Namely, I argue that numerals in Russian are unable to value structural case features without a lexical feature set. Within this analysis, a noun would enter the derivation without case and merge with a Num head. When D merges ahead of Num, its structural case features [-obl,-obj] cannot be carried by Num, and are prevented from continuing through the phrase, resulting in something like a 'failure-to-agree' mechanism (Preminger 2011). With no case being assigned, the noun violates the Case Filter and realizes default genitive case morphology, indicated by [+obl,-obj] (7).

7)



Selected References: Assman et.al. 2014 *Case stacking below the surface* • Bailyn & Nevins 2008. *Russian genitive plurals are imposters* • Pesetsky 2013, *Russian case morphology and syntactic categories* • Preminger 2011, *Agreement as a fallible operation* • Rakhlin 2003, *Genitive of quantification in Russian* •

I posit that the default genitive case after lower numerals is a result of structural case blocking. The numeral blocks percolation of nominative case, so that the lower adjectives and the noun appear in default genitive, as per the complement domain restriction on case feature percolation. To explain the blocking effect, I adopt a condition on feature percolation, which restricts percolation only to elements that can carry the relevant features. Numerals allow percolation of lexical case and show overt morphology for lexical case, as they can carry a semantic feature set of [±f,±g]. Since these features are valued on Num, they continue to percolate through the rest of the phrase, allowing for homogenous morphosyntax.

3. Morphology: I present evidence to show that there is a morphophonological difference between default genitive case (N_{GEN}) and lexical genitive case. These case patterns only appear to differ in lower numeral constructions. From a morphological perspective, the existence of a default genitive and a lexical genitive is more viable with regard to insertion rules, than a nominative case morpheme being remarkably syncretic to genitive case morphemes (cf. Bailyn & Nevins 2008). I contrast these morphemes with paucal number realization in lexical and animate accusative case environments.

I propose that paucal number in default N_{GEN} is largely syncretic with genitive singular, which shares the feature of [-augmented]. To explain the various patterns, I posit that the feature of [singular] on nouns is deleted by Impoverishment after lower numerals. To demonstrate this effect, for the stress change patterns in 5, an unstressed *-a* would differ from the stressed morpheme in its [singular] feature (8).

8) -a → [-fem, +masc, +obl, -obj, **+sing**, -aug]
-á → [-fem, +masc, +obl, -obj, **-sing**, -aug]

However, if the noun carries [±f,±g], [augmented] is deleted, resulting in the homogenous realization of lexical case seen in (3). Since adjectives do not appear to realize paucal number, I posit that Russian adjectives can't carry [augmented]. This results in plural morphology on adjectives after lower numerals. I demonstrate that the various patterns, notably segmental stress change patterns in feminine nouns and monosyllabic masculine nouns, are evidence in favor of default genitive case and paucal number in lower numeral constructions.

[i] The features [±f,±g] are simply representative values for lexical case features.