Dependent Case*

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1 Two views of case: licensing and/or morphology?

- What we've told you so far about case:
  - Some languages have overt case marking: Russian, Latin, …
  - Classic Chomsky/Vergnaud idea: English (and others) have it too, it's just (mostly) phonologically null. Why would we want this at all?
  - **Case as a way to account for *licensing of nominals***. Case is the part of the grammar that tells us "if you're a DP, you can be here and here but not here".
  - Case is assigned to a DP by **dedicated lexical heads**:
    - $T_{[+FIN]}$ assigns NOM to its specifier
    - V/v assigns ACC to its complement

(1) **Ordinary case assignment**:

$[_{TP}$ *Magdiel* $T_{[+FIN]}$ $[_{VP}$ *bought* $[_{DP}$ *new shoes*$]]]$

(NOM: *Magdiel* $T_{[+FIN]}$; ACC: *bought* … *shoes*)

  - $T_{[-FIN]}$ can't assign any case and that's why you can't have an ordinary subject in non-finite clauses…
  - Unless you can get that subject case-licensed elsely, like ECM (2)
  - … Or unless that subject is PRO, which doesn't need Case (3)

(2) **Exceptional Case Marking (ECM)**:

$[_{TP}$ *I* $[_{VP}$ *believe* $[_{TP}$ *them* *to*$_{T_{[-FIN]}}$ *be the best candidate*$]]]$

(ACC: *believe* … *them*; ✗: *them* … *to*$_{T_{[-FIN]}}$)

(3) **PRO doesn't need Case licensing**:

$[_{TP}$ *Imani wants* $[_{TP}$ PRO *to*$_{T_{[-FIN]}}$ *win the lottery*$]]$

(✗: PRO … *to*$_{T_{[-FIN]}}$)

  - If you're not assigned Case, you **don't pass the Case Filter**, and you cause disaster and terror.

* Most of this hand-out is *heavily* based on slides by Suzana Fong.

- Traditional Minimalist model (Chomsky 2000, 2001): Case and Agree are two facets of the same phenomenon (will become relevant later)
  - ▷ Finite T agrees with subject AND assigns it case
  - ▷ *v* assigns case to the object… and agrees with it, but in English it's null
- Easy to forget if you look at English, easier to remember if you look at Russian, but: case is also a **morphological phenomenon**.
  - ▷ What morphological material a DP surfaces with depending on its larger syntactic environment.
- Does **Case morphology** correlate with/map onto **nominal licensing**?
  - ▷ Traditional Chomsky/Vergnaud answer: yes!
    - ▷ Because they are the same thing. Case morphology *is* nominal licensing.
  - ▷ Today's answer: **no**!
    - ▷ They're two different systems altogether, and shouldn't be reconciled.
    - ▷ We'll poke at corners of grammars where the two come hopelessly apart
    - ▷ If they are two different things, you need two theories: one of morphological case, and one of licensing
- **Dependent case**: a theory of *morphological case*
  - ▷ Doesn't account for nominal licensing, *by design:*
    - ▷ There are phenomena where nominal licensing and morphological case come apart, so you *don't* want them to be handled by the same system
  - ▷ How do Dependent case people handle nominal licensing?
    - ▷ Not today's problem!
- Today's game: we'll contrast two theories
  - ▷ **Case-as-licensing (CaL)**: the traditional view, where Case is the signal of nominal licensing, and is assigned by dedicated functional heads (by Agree)[1]
  - ▷ **Dependent case (DepC)**: a configurational theory of case assignment, that explicitly says morphological case has nothing to do with nominal licensing

2 Dependent case: bird-eye overview

- … *A configurational theory of case assignment.* What does this mean?
- Case is *not* assigned by dedicated functional heads.

1 In theory, these two things don't need to go together. You could imagine a theory where morphological case is *not* the same as nominal licensing, it's its own thing, but it's still assigned by dedicated functional heads via Agree instead of by the DepC algorithm. Not for today. See **barany.sheehan2022**.

- Rather, it's a function of the relationship between DPs within a syntactic domain.
  - A DP's case doesn't depend on what head it's close to, but on *the presence/absence of other DPs in its domain.*

(4) **Case assignment algorithm**:
1. Assign idiosyncratic **lexical/inherent cases**.
2. **Case Competition**. For every two as-of-yet caseless DPs in a given domain, if DP1 c-commands DP2, assign **dependent case** …
   (a) … to DP1: "upward dependent case" (ERG), *or*
   (b) … to DP2: "downward dependent case" (ACC)
3. If a DP still was not assigned case in the previous two steps, then assign it **unmarked case** (ABS or NOM).

- A couple notes:
  - The DPs in the smallest domain that have not been assigned any case are said to be **case competitors**.
  - For convenience, I am glossing over *v*P/VP (a potential domain of case assignment) and the VP-internal subject hypothesis.

2.1 Practical illustration

(5) **Step 1**: assign idiosyncratic **lexical/inherent cases**

ABL
ex *silv-īs* (Latin)
PREP forest-ABL.PL
'From/out of the woods'

- Also applies to verbs that assign a particular case to their objects, etc.

(6) **Step 2**: **Dependent case**, assigned by **Case Competition**. Domain: here, $TP_{[+FIN]}$

$[_{TP}$ DP1 $_{[Case: \_]}$ $T_{[+FIN]}$ V DP2 $_{[Case: \_]}]$
↔ COMPETITION ↔

a. Assign dependent case **downward**, to DP2: (NOM/ACC languages)
$[_{TP}$ [*Magdiel*]$_{[Case: \_]}$ $T_{[+FIN]}$ *bought* [*new shoes*]$_{[Case: ACC]}]$
→ → →

b. Or: assign dependent case **upward**, to DP1: (ERG/ABS languages)
$[_{TP}$ [*Magdiel*]$_{[Case: ERG]}$ $T_{[+FIN]}$ *bought* [*new shoes*]$_{[Case: \_]}]$
← ← ←

(7) **Step 3:** assign **unmarked case** to the remaining DPs. ("fill in the gaps")
   a. $[_{TP}$ [*Magdiel*]$_{[\text{Case: NOM}]}$ $T_{[+FIN]}$ *bought* [*new shoes*]$_{[\text{Case: ACC}]}]$
   b. $[_{TP}$ [*Magdiel*]$_{[\text{Case: ERG}]}$ $T_{[+FIN]}$ *bought* [*new shoes*]$_{[\text{Case: ABS}]}]$

- What happens with ECM? Remember our case competition domain was *finite* TPs
- Since the lower non-finite TP doesn't count as a boundary, there's still case competition between the matrix subject and the embedded one, and that one gets assigned dependent case

(8) $[_{TP}$ *I believe* $[_{TP}$ *them* *to* $T_{[-FIN]}$ *be the best candidate*$]]$
   ⟶ ACC

2.2 Interim summary: CaL vs DepC

- **Case-as-Licensing**: case is both responsible for licensing DPs *and* it's what gets spelled out as morphological case
  - ▷ Case Filter: if a DP does not get assigned case by a dedicated functional head, the derivation crashes
- **Dependent Case**: case is *only* the morphology that a DP appears with, depending on the syntactic configuration it's in, and, crucially, the presence/absence of other case competitors
  - ▷ Case is *not* responsible for licensing

3 A problem for CaL: Icelandic nom objects

3.1 Description of the data

- Certain verbs idiosyncratically assign **lexical DAT** to their **subject**:

(9) ***henni*** / **hún* *leiðist* *bók-in* *sín*
   she.DAT she.NOM bores book-DEF.NOM.SG self's
   'She finds her (own) book boring.'

- Correlated property: the **object** is **NOM**, and is **agreed with** by the verb

(10) *Jóni* **líkað-i* / ***líkuð-u*** [*þess-**ir*** *sokk-**ar***]$_O$
   Jón.DAT liked-3SG **liked-3PL** these-**NOM.PL** socks-**NOM.PL**
   'Jón liked these socks'

  - ▷ Traditional CaL view: good! We keep a correlation between NOM case and agreement with finite T.
  - ▷ Me pointing this out should be an omen of warning

- Wait a minute: how do we know that the DAT argument is really the subject, when it's not nominative and the verb doesn't agree with it?
  - ▷ Raising and control target subjects.
  - ▷ The DAT argument of *leiðast* is targeted by raising and control.

(11) **Raising**:
henni$_i$ *virðist* [—$_i$ *hafa leiðst bókin*]
she.DAT seems have bored book.DEF.NOM.SG
'She seems to have found the book boring.'

(12) **Control**:
hún$_i$ *vonast til* [*að* PRO$_i$ *leiðast ekki bókin*]
she.NOM hopes PREP to PRO$_{DAT}$ bore.INF not book.DEF.NOM.SG
'She hopes not to find the book boring.'

3.2 Two different accounts

- How to account for the DAT/NOM pattern in (13)=(9)?

(13) *henni leiðist bókin sín*
she.DAT bores book.DEF.NOM.SG self's
'She finds her (own) book boring.'

- **CaL**: finite T in Icelandic might be exceptionally able to assign NOM to an object; after all, it agrees with it too

(14) [$_{TP}$ *she* T$_{[+FIN]}$ *bores* [*book self's*]]
NOM
DAT

- **DepC**: remember that NOM is *unmarked case*. Let's go through the algorithm:
  - ▷ **Step 1**: lexical/inherent case. This particular verb assigns DAT to its subject:

(15) [$_{TP}$ *she* T$_{[+FIN]}$ *bores* [*book self's*]$_{[Case: \_\_]}$]
DAT

  - ▷ **Step 2**: case competition? We only have *one* DP that's caseless, so **no**. Dependent case is *not* assigned.
    - ▷ So far this explains why the object is not ACC
  - ▷ **Step 3**: assign unmarked case. We have one DP that's still caseless, so we assign it unmarked case = NOM:

(16) [$_{TP}$ *she*.DAT T$_{[+FIN]}$ *bores* [*book self's*]$_{[Case: \textbf{NOM}]}$]

3.3 Testing the predictions

- **So far**: DepC and CaL seem equivalent, but propose very different sources for NOM:
  - ▷ CaL: finite T (via Agree).
  - ▷ DepC: unmarked case.
- How do we test who's right? **Predictions**. What would happen to the object of *leiðast* in a **non-finite** environment (an embedded TP)?
  - ▷ **CaL**: no agreement with T, because it's non-finite, so **no nominative**.
  - ▷ **DepC**: as long as there is no case competitor, **should be nominative**.

(17) *Ég tel* [*henni hafa leiðst* ***bókin***]
I believe.1SG she.DAT have bored **book.DEF.NOM.SG**
'I believe her to have found the book boring.'

- **CaL struggles here**: the object is still nominative even without agreement with T
- **DepC**: if we assume slightly different case competition domains than English, this works just fine.
  - ▷ Say that all TPs in Icelandic are a domain for case competition, both finite and non-finite
  - ▷ Case assignment works cyclically and bottom up (from smaller to larger domains); for every domain, do the algorithm.
- **Domain 1**: embedded TP. **Domain 2**: matrix TP. Derivation step by step:

(18) **Starting point**: no case anywhere
$I_{[\text{Case: }\_]}$ believe.1SG [she$_{[\text{Case: }_]}$ have bored the.book$_{[\text{Case: }_]}$]

(19) **Domain 1**:
  a. **Step 1**: assign inherent case
  $I_{[\text{Case: }\_]}$ believe.1SG [she$_{[\text{Case: DAT}]}$ have bored the.book$_{[\text{Case: }_]}$]
  (DAT)
  b. **Step 2**: no case competition *within this domain* = no dependent case.
  c. **Step 3**: unmarked case to the one caseless DP left.
  $I_{[\text{Case: }\_]}$ believe.1SG [she$_{[\text{Case: DAT}]}$ have bored the.book$_{[\text{Case: NOM}]}$]

(20) **Domain 2**:
  a. **Step 1**: no inherent case to assign
  b. **Step 2**: only one caseless DP = no case competition = no dependent case
  c. **Step 3**: the only caseless DP left gets unmarked case
  $I_{[\text{Case: NOM}]}$ believe.1SG [she$_{[\text{Case: DAT}]}$ have bored the.book$_{[\text{Case: NOM}]}$]

- **Making sure**: can our step-by-step algorithm handle the basic NOM/ACC pattern? Yes, in the same way.

(21) a. *Hún sá* ***myndina*** *sína.*
she.NOM saw **the.picture.ACC** self's.ACC
'She saw her (own) picture.'

b. *Ég tel* [***hana*** *hafa séð* ***myndina***]
I believe.1SG **she.ACC** have seen **the.picture.ACC**
'I believe her to have seen the picture.'

- Exercise: do the step by step derivation of (21b).

4 Erg and Acc: dependent cases

4.1 A natural class?

- We've been grouping together ERG and ACC as kinda two versions of the same thing:
  - ▷ You have DP1 c-commanding DP2: either you mark the lower one (= ACC) or you mark the higher one (= ERG).
- Other than being neat, does this actually hold?
- Let's remember **Burzio's generalization**: if you don't assign a θ-role to a subject, you can't assign ACC

(22) a. *Charlie pet the dog*
b. *The dog was pet*
c. * *It was petted the dog*

(23) a. *The student arrived*
b. * *It arrived the student*

- We can have a similar generalization about ERG: if you don't assign a θ-role to an object, you can't have ERG.

(24) **Hindi**: ERG/ABS alignment in perfective aspect
a. *Raam-**ne** RoTii khaayii thii*
Ram.M-**ERG** bread.F.ABS eat.PERF.F be.PST.F
'Ram had eaten bread'

b. *Siita(*-**ne**) aayii*
Sita.F-ERG arrived.PERF.F
'Sita arrived'

- It seems that both ACC and ERG are *dependent* on the presence of another argument.

4.2 Dissociating agents and ergative

- Influential proposal about ergative case in a case-by-dedicated-heads theory: it's always **inherent case**, assigned by v_{AGENT} to its specifier
- It makes sense: you get ERG on transitive subjects, which presumably (?) are introduced in a position different from that of intransitive subjects
- Two different proposals side by side:
  - ▷ **Dedicated heads**: "v_{AGENT} assigns inherent ERG to its specifier"
  - ▷ **Pure DepC**: "if you have DP1 c-commanding DP2, assign ERG to DP1"
- How to tell these apart?
- We'd need a situation where we have two DPs, one c-commanding the other, but none of these are in spec,vP_{AGENT} = none of these are the external arguments
  - ▷ We'd also want to avoid ditransitive structures, to avoid complications
- Can we have this? Yes! **Applicatives of unaccusatives** (Baker 2014, Deal 2019)
  - ▷ **Unaccusatives**: only one argument, and it's internal.
  - ▷ **Applicatives**: add one argument, but it's not the external argument.
- **Nez Perce**: tripartite system.
  - ▷ Subjects of intransitives: NOM
  - ▷ Subjects of transitive verbs: ERG
  - ▷ Objects of transitive verbs: ACC

(25) *Angel-**Ø*** *hi-pnip-se*
Angel-**NOM** 3SBJ-sleep-IMPERF
'Angel is sleeping'

(26) *Angel-**nim*** *hi-naas-wapayata-ca* *ma-may'as-**na***
Angel-**ERG** 3SBJ-PL.OBJ-help-IMPERF PL-child-**ACC**
'Angel is helping the children'

- **Identifying unaccusatives**: they form a passive participle-ish; unergatives can't.

(27) *pro* *lilooy-**nin'*** / **tiy'-**iin'*** *wee-s*
2SG be.happy-**PART** laugh-**PART** be-PRES
'You are happy / *laughed'

(28) *pro* *hii-we-s* *paay-**nin'*** / **kuu-**yiin'***
3SG 3SBJ-be-PRES come-**PART** go-**PART**
'He is come / *gone'

- **Verbs with three arguments**:
  - ▷ Goal higher than theme. ACC only on goal, and unmarked case (NOM) on theme.

(29) *'aayat-**onm*** *pe-'eny-∅-e* *haacwal-**a*** *tam'aamiin-**∅***
woman-**ERG** 3/3-give-PERF-REM.PST boy-**ACC** cake.NOM
'The lady gave the boy cake'

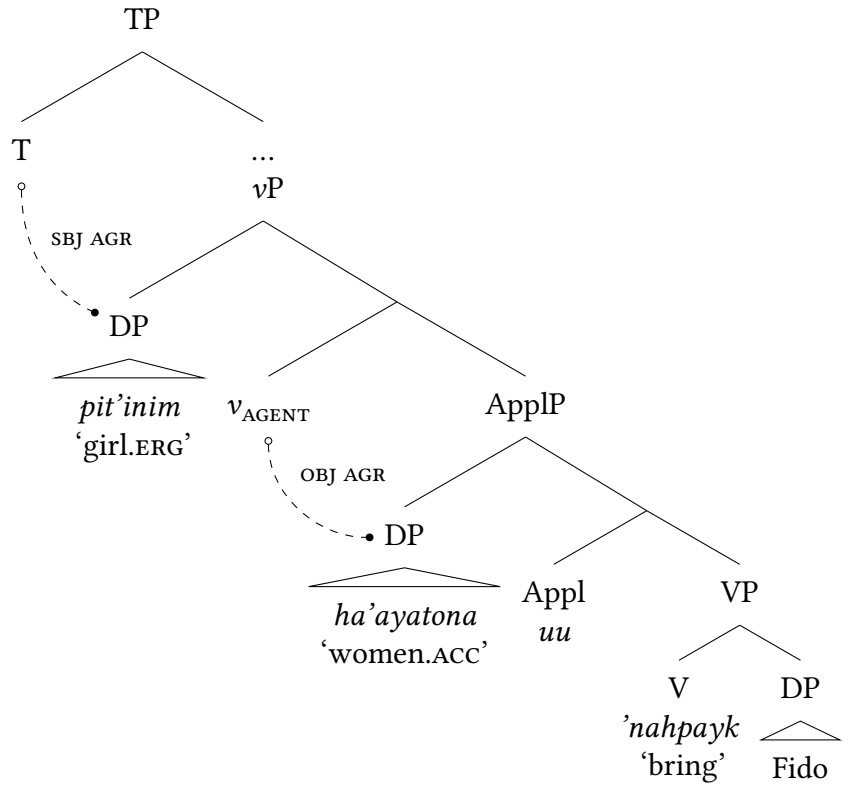
  - ▷ Think for yourself: how to account for these with DepC?

- **Applicatives**: add one argument, lower than external argument and higher than internal argument.

(30) **Applicative on unergative ⟹ 2-place predicate**:
  a. *Kit'ic-**∅*** *hi-wii-qa-na*
  Kit'ic.NOM 3SBJ-cry-HAB.PAST-REM.PAST
  'Kit'ic used to meow'
  b. *Kit'ic-**nim*** *pee-wii-**nuu**-qa-na* *Besi-**ne***
  Kit'ic-**ERG** 3/3-cry-**APPL**-HAB.PAST-REM.PAST Bessie-**ACC**
  'Kit'ic used to meow at Bessie'

(31) **Applicative on transitive ⟹ 3-place predicate**:
  a. *pro* *paa-'nahpayk-∅-a* *Fido-**ne***
  3SG.(**ERG**) 3/3-bring-PERF-REM.PAST Fido-**ACC**
  'She brought Fido'
  b. *Pit'in-**im*** *ha-'ayato-**na*** *hi-naac-'nahpayk-oo-∅-ya* *Fido-**∅***
  girl-**ERG** PL-woman-**ACC** 3SBJ-PL.OBJ-bring-**APPL**-PERF-REM.PAST Fido.NOM
  'The girl brought Fido to the women'

(32)



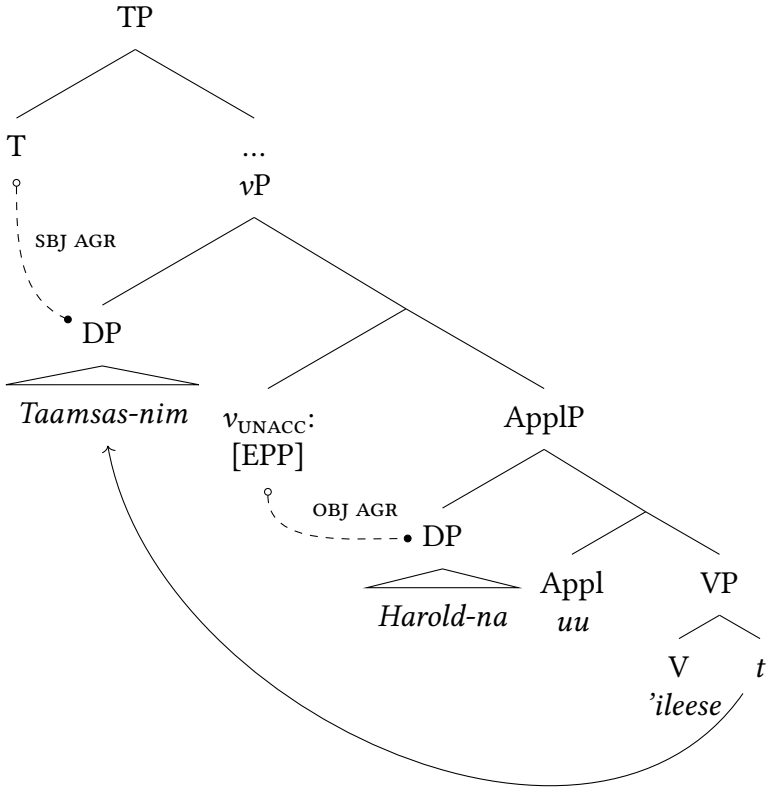
- Unergatives: same thing, but no complement of VP
- **Applicatives of unaccusatives**: What do our theories predict?
  - **Ergative as inherent case**: the applied argument shouldn't count at all. Ergative is assigned by *v* to the argument in its specifier. In an applicativized unaccusative, there's no such thing, so, **no ergative**.
  - **Ergative as dependent case**: ergative is assigned to the higher of two DPs in a given domain. Applicatives might create such a configuration, so, possibly **yes ergative**.
- **Applicatives of unaccusatives**: What do we find?
  - The original theme becomes **ergative**, the applied argument is accusative (free word order)

(33) ***Taamsas-nim*** *pee-'leese-nuu-∅-ye* *Harold-ne*
Taamsas-ERG 3/3-make.noise-APPL-PERF-REM.PAST Harold-ACC
'**Taamsas** made noise at Harold'

(34) *Angel-na* *pa-pay-noo-∅-ya* ***sik'eem-nim***
Angel-ACC 3/3-come-APPL-PERF-PAST.REM **horse-ERG**
'**The horse** came to Angel'

- … Kinda surprising. There's arguments from agreement and condition C to say that the theme does move across the applied argument (not reproduced here):

(35)



- If this movement really does happen (and we have good reasons to believe that it does), this creates precisely the configuration we were looking for:
- DP1 c-commanding DP2; *neither* is in spec,$v\text{P}_{\text{AGENT}}$.
- Remember our predictions:
  - ▷ **Ergative as inherent case**: the applied argument shouldn't count at all. Ergative is assigned by v to the argument in its specifier. In an applicativized unaccusative, there's no such thing, so, **no ergative**.
  - ▷ **Ergative as dependent case**: ergative is assigned to the higher of two DPs in a given domain. Applicatives might create such a configuration, so, possibly **yes ergative**.
- **DepC** has the right predictions. The theme, despite not being an external argument, raises to a position where it couldn't possibly be assigned an agentive θ-role, but it c-commands another DP = triggers **upward dependent case**.

4.3 Koryak: neat dependent case

- Another clear example where for a DP to have ERG, it just needs to c-command another DP.
- Certain verbs can either assign lexical case (DAT) to their objects, or they can also not do that:

(36) *kajŋ-**a*** *∅-peŋŋ-ə-nen* *ʔəlve-**ʔəl***
bear-**ERG** 3.SBJ-attack-EP-3SG.A>3.O wild.reindeer-**ABS.SG**
'The bear attacked the wild reindeer'

(37) *kajŋ-ə-**n*** *∅-peŋŋ-e* *ʔəlva-**ŋ***
bear-EP-**ABS.SG** 3.SBJ-attack-AOR wild.reindeer-**DAT**
'The bear attacked the wild reindeer'

(38) * *kajŋ-**a*** *∅-peŋŋ-ə-nen* *ʔəlva-**ŋ***
bear-**ERG** 3.SBJ-attack-EP-3SG.A>3.O wild.reindeer-**DAT**

- If you don't assign lexical case:
  - ▷ Case competition: upward dependent case, subject gets ERG
  - ▷ Object is left caseless: unmarked case = ABS
- If you *do* assign lexical case:
  - ▷ Object gets DAT
  - ▷ No case competition = no ERG on subject
  - ▷ Subject is left caseless: unmarked case = ABS
- (38) can't be generated: to get ERG, you need a c-commanded caseless DP.
- Same argument can be done with **incorporation**:
  - ▷ If you have a full object DP, you get ERG/ABS (39a)
  - ▷ If you incorporate the object, the subject must be ABS and not ERG (39b)

(39) a. *jejɣutc͡ewŋəlʔ-ə-**jək*** *na-ko-jəlŋ-ə-ŋ-na-w* *kali-**w***
student-EP-**NSG.ERG** INV-PRS-read-EP-PRS-3.O-3PL book-**ABS.PL**
'The students are reading books'

b. *jejɣutc͡ewŋəlʔ-**u*** *∅-ko-**kale**-jəlŋ-al-la-ŋ-∅*
student-**ABS.PL** 3.SBJ-PRS-**book**-read-VBLZ-PL-PRS-3.SBJ
'The students are reading books'

- Even more excitingly: ***wh*-movement triggers case competition**, in a successive-cyclic way (Abramovitz 2020).
  - ▷ **Disclaimer**: Rafael's analysis is actually more complex, with the wh-word moving through every intermediate phase boundary, so every spec,*v*P and every spec,CP. I present a rather simplified version that keeps the spirit of the story intact.
- **Successive cyclicity**: movement proceeds through every landing site, not in one go:

(40) [$_{CP}$ Who did Bill hear [$_{CP}$ __ that Mary said [$_{CP}$ __ that John saw __]]]?

- As you can imagine, this might *do things* to our case competition domains, and wreak some havoc.
- To check this, you need wh-fronting. Koryak has wh-fronting.
- If a verb has a clausal object, that doesn't count as a case competitor: the subject takes absolutive (41)
  - ▷ Schematized in (42): to get case competition you need two DPs, not just a DP and something else.

(41) ***ɣəmmo*** *t-ə-valom-ə-k* [$_{CP}$ *ənо* *ʔewŋəto-na-**k***
1SG.ABS 1SG.SBJ-EP-hear-EP-1SG.SBJ that Hewngyto-OBL.SG-**ERG**
∅-j-ə-t͡ɕim-aw-nin *kojŋ-**o***]
3.SBJ-CS-EP-break-VBLZ-3SG.A>3.O cup-**ABS.PL**
'I heard that Hewngyto broke cups'

(42) I$_{ABS}$ heard [$_{OBJ=CP}$ that Hewngyto$_{ERG}$ broke cups$_{ABS}$]
✗ COMPETITION ✓ COMPETITION

- What happens with **long-distance wh-extraction**? Different predictions depending on how the movement goes.
- **If the wh-word moves in one fell swoop**: (43)
  - ▷ It starts off as caseless: case-competition with embedded subject, which c-commands it, so it gets ergative.
  - ▷ The wh-word is still caseless. It moves right to the matrix spec,CP: triggers case competition with matrix subject, which *it c-commands*; therefore, the wh-word should get ergative and the subject absolutive

(43) What$_{ERG}$ you$_{ABS}$ heard [$_{OBJ=CP}$ that Hewngyto$_{ERG}$ broke __]
⟵ ERG ⟵ ERG

- **If the wh-word indeed does stop over at every intermediate landing site**: (44)
  - ▷ It starts off as caseless: case-competition with embedded subject, which c-commands it, so it gets ergative.
  - ▷ Then it moves to the embedded spec,CP. Here, it's c-commanded by the matrix subject, and it's local enough to it that it triggers case competition. Therefore, the matrix subject gets **ergative**, not absolutive.
  - ▷ Then, it moves further to the matrix spec,CP. At this point, the matrix subject is not caseless (it's ergative), so it doesn't count as a case competitor. The wh-word remains caseless = unmarked case = absolutive.

(44) What$_{\text{ABS}}$ you$_{\text{ERG}}$ heard [$_{\text{CP}}$ —] that Hewngyto$_{\text{ERG}}$ broke —]
✗COMPET ⟵ ERG ⟵ ERG

- So what's right then? (44). The wh-word moves successive cyclically and triggers dependent case at every step.

(45) *jej-**u**$_i$* {*ɣə-**nan*** / **ɣətɕtɕi*} *∅-valom-na-w* [$_{\text{CP}}$ —$_i$ *ənɔ*
what-**ABS.PL** 2SG-**ERG** **2SG.ABS** 2.SBJ-hear-3.O-3PL that
ʔewŋəto-na-k *∅-j-ə-t͡ɕim-aw-nin* —$_i$]
Hewngyto-OBL.SG-ERG 3.SBJ-CS-EP-break-VBLZ-3SG.A>3.O
'What all did you hear that Hewngyto broke?'

5 Taking stock

- A different theory of case, divorcing morphological case form nominal licensing.
- Dissociation between case and licensing:
  - ▷ Objects can be nominative even when the verb doesn't agree with them (Icelandic) = impossible in a CaL world.
  - ▷ Do we still need nominal licensing? Probably, possibly, but case is not that
- Why are ERG and ACC grouped together?
  - ▷ They are *dependent* on the presence of another DP.
  - ▷ They are *not* connected to theta-roles: you can get the morphology even in the "wrong" structural positions, as long as the right conditions are created.
- Do we need *both* DepC *and* (morphological) case assigned by functional heads via Agree? Some say yes, some say no…
  - ▷ We'd need to see both phenomena that Case-by-Agree can't account for (e.g., applicatives of unaccusatives), *and* phenomena that DepC can't account for