Datives in Dependent Case Theory: Lexical, Dependent, or Unmarked?

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Introduction: What I will discuss

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case are assigned through four steps.

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	b.	Dependent case
	c.	Unmarked case
	d.	Default case (Marantz 1991:24; Baker 2015:48)

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Question: When are **datives** assigned?

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- a *dependent case*   (Baker and Vinokurova 2010; Puškar and Müller 2016)

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Mne budet ne sdat' ekzamen.
1SG.DAT be.FUT.N.SG NEG pass.INF exam.ACC

'It won't be (in the cards) for me to pass the exam.'

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(2) *Dative Infinitive Modal (DIE)*

Mne nečego skazať.
1SG.DAT no what.GEN say.INF

'There is nothing for me to say.'

Introduction: What I will discuss

Claim

- **Datives** assigned to a subject in an infinitival clause in Russian is a realization of *unmarked case*.

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- Datives assigned to a subject in an infinitival clause in Russian is a realization of *unmarked case*.
- The realization of the unmarked case is sensitive to the local domain in which the NP is found.

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Claim

- **Datives** assigned to a subject in an infinitival clause in Russian is a realization of *unmarked case*.

- The realization of the unmarked case is sensitive to the local domain in which the NP is found.

- For Russian, the unmarked case is realized as <u>nominative</u> in finite TP/CP and <u>dative</u> in non-finite TP/CP.

Introduction: What I will **not** discuss

- Is DCT a better model than the Agree model?

Theoretical Background: Dependent Case Theory (DCT)

- Result of the work of Marantz (1991); McFadden (2004); Baker and Vinokurova (2010); Baker (2012, 2015), among others, adopting similar ideas by Yip, Maling, and Jackendoff (1987); Bittner and Hale (1996); Kiparsky (1992, 2001); Wunderlich (1997).

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- Case assignment in DCT relies primarily on Marantz's (1991) disjunctive case hierarchy:

Case disjunctive hierarchy

(3) a. Lexical case
     b. Dependent case
     c. Unmarked case
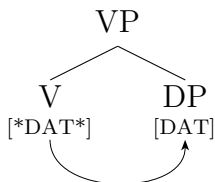   d. Default case   (Marantz 1991:24; Baker 2015:48)

Step 1: Lexical case

Theoretical Background: Dependent Case Theory (DCT)

Step 1: Lexical case

- All DPs selected by lexical items (verbs, prepositions, etc.) that idiosyncratically assign a particular case, receive the corresponding case from the lexical head upon c-selection.

Step 2: Dependent case

Theoretical Background: Dependent Case Theory (DCT)

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- Pairs of remaining caseless DPs are inspected in their local domains. Dependent case is assigned to them according to (a variation of) the following case assignment rules:

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(6) *Rules for dependent case assignment* (Baker 2015:48–49)

    a. If there are two distinct DPs in the same spell out domain such that DP1 c-commands DP2, then value the case feature of DP2 as <u>accusative</u> unless DP1 has already been marked for case (7a).

    b. If there are two distinct DPs in the same spell out domain such that DP1 c-commands DP2, then value the case feature of DP1 as <u>ergative</u> unless DP2 has already been marked for case (7b).
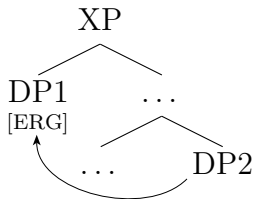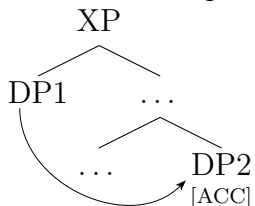
Step 2: Dependent case

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(7) Assignment of dependent case via case-competition
   a. nominative-accusative alignment   b. ergative-absolutive alignment

Step 3: Unmarked case

Theoretical Background: Dependent Case Theory (DCT)

Step 3: Unmarked case

- The remaining DPs that have not received case by means of competition with another DP, receive the unmarked case.
- Unmarked case depends on the local domain in which the DP is found (nominative or absolutive in TP/CP, genitive in DP)

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Default case

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- The remaining DPs that have not received case by means of competition with another DP, receive the unmarked case.
- Unmarked case depends on the local domain in which the DP is found (nominative or absolute in TP/CP, genitive in DP)

Default case

- Fragment answers and free-standing DPs usually get the default case ("Who bought the bread?" "Him./*He.")

Russian Dative Infinitive Modal (DIM) Construction

Basic structure

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Basic structure

- Dative + *byt'* + infinitival clause

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Basic structure

- Dative + *byt'* + infinitival clause

  (10) Mne   budet   ne   sdat'   ekzamen.
       1SG.DAT be.FUT.N.SG NEG pass.INF exam.ACC

       'It won't be (in the cards) for me to pass the exam'

Russian Dative Infinitive Modal (DIM) Construction

Basic structure

- Dative + *byt'* + infinitival clause

  (11) Mne   budet   ne   sdat'   ekzamen.
        1SG.DAT   be.FUT.N.SG   NEG pass.INF exam.ACC

        'It won't be (in the cards) for me to pass the exam'

- Usually conveys deontic modality, roughly translated into *in the cards*.

Russian Dative Infinitive Modal (DIM) Construction

Dative is structurally assigned in DIM

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- There is no thematic restriction in DIM. Unergative and unaccusative verbs are applicable as well, as in (54-13).

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- There is no thematic restriction in DIM. Unergative and unaccusative verbs are applicable as well, as in (54-13).

  (16) **Mne**   ne   rabotat'   odnomu.
        1SG.DAT NEG   work.INF   alone.DAT
        'It's not (in the cards) for me to work alone.'

  (17) **Toj popytke**   ne   uvencat'sja   uspexom.
        that attempt.DAT NEG   be crowned.INF   success.INST
        'It's not (in the cards) for that attempt to be crowned with success.'

Russian Dative Infinitive Modal (DIM) Construction

Dative is structurally assigned in DIM

- Compare with the Experiencer subjects of psychological verbs in (55-19).

  (18) **Emu**   zal'   etu devusku.
       3SG.M.DAT sorry that girl.ACC
       'He feels sorry for that girl.'

  (19) **Mne**   nravit'sja   Sasa.
       1SG.DAT like.3SG.REFL Sasha.NOM
       'I like Sasha.'

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- Secondary agreement with adjective predicate

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- Secondary agreement with adjective predicate

  (22) **Toj rukopisi**　　　　ne　byt'　**opublikovannoj**
  　　　 that manuscript.F.DAT　NEG　be.INF　**published.INST.F.SG**
  　　　 zarubezhnym　izdatel'stvom.
  　　　 foreign　　　　publishing house.INST

  　　　 'It's not (in the cards) for that manuscript to be published by a foreign
  　　　 publishing house.'

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- Ability to be Passivized

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  (25) a. **Drugu** ne obmanut' **Vasju**.
       friend.DAT NEG deceive.INF **Vasja.ACC**

       'It's not (in the cards) for a friend to deceive Vasja.'

  b. **Vasje** ne byt' obmanutym **drugom**.
     Vasja.DAT NEG be.INF deceived.INST **friend.INST**

     'It's not (in the cards) for Vasja to be deceived by a friend.'

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- Alteration with GenNeg in the subjects of unaccusatives

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Dative is structurally assigned in DIM

- Alteration with GenNeg in the subjects of unaccusatives

    (28)   a. Čtoby   ne   byt'   ètogo,   nado   očen' s
                  in order NEG be.INF that.GEN, necessary very from
                  detstva   sledit' …
                  childhood follow …
                  'In order that that not be, it is necessary from childhood to follow …'

          b. Destvovat' nužno bystro, čtoby   ne   suščestvovat' ètogo
              act.INF   need fast   in order NEG exist.INF   that
              ubljuka.
              bastard.GEN
              'One needs to act fast, in order that that bastard not exist.'

Russian Dative Infinitive Modal (DIM) Construction

DIM is bi-clausal raising

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DIM is bi-clausal raising

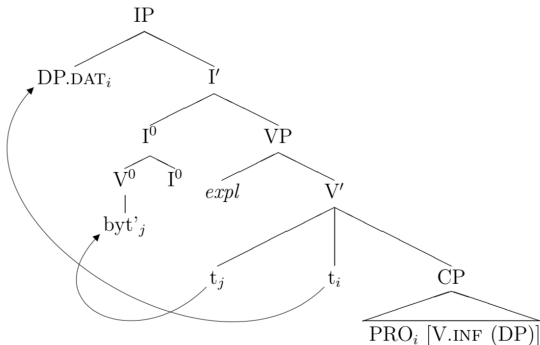- Fleisher (2006) argues that DIM is bi-clausal: *byt'* is a modal verb that selects a non-finite CP complement.

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- *byt'* precedes negation, while in the personal future imperfective it follows negation.

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- *byt'* precedes negation, while in the personal future imperfective it follows negation.

    (34) a. Mne   **budet**   **ne**   sdat'   ekzamen.
             1SG.DAT **be.FUT.N.SG** **NEG** pass.INF   exam.ACC
             'It won't be (in the cards) for me to pass the exam'

          b. Ja   **ne**   **budu**   sdat'   ekzamen.
             1SG.NOM   **NEG**   **be.1SG**   pass.INF-IMP   exam.ACC
             'I won't pass the exam'

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- Jung (2008) argues that DIM is a raising construction, observing that the subject in (35) can be interpreted below the null copula.

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    (37) **dvum   studentam**   iz   Ameriki   ∅ [rešiť   sledujuščuju
         two.DAT student.DAT from   America   *be* solve.INF next

         zadaču],   čtoby   amerikanskoj komande   ∅   vyigrat?
         problem.ACC in order American   team.DAT *be* win.INF

         (i) 'There are 2 students from America. Is each of them supposed to
         solve the next problem in order for the American team to win?'   2 > *be*
         (ii) 'Is it necessary that any 2 students from America solve the next
         problem in order for the American team to win?'   *be* > 2

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- Germain (2017) uses the scopal interaction between the universal
  quantifier and negation to support the raising construction.

(40) a. **Vsem**   ne   sdat'   ekzamen.
          everyone.DAT NEG   pass.INF   exam.ACC
          a. ???It's (in the cards) that everyone won't pass the exam.   Q > Neg
          b. It's not (in the cards) for everyone to pass the exam (but some
          will).   Neg > Q

      b. **Vsem**   ne   prijti'   vo   vremja.
          everyone.DAT NEG   arrive.INF on   time
          a. ???It's (in the cards) that everyone will not arrive on time. Q > Neg
          b. It's not (in the cards) for everyone to arrive on time (but some
          will).   Neg > Q

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DIM is bi-clausal raising

- Melnikova (2015) extends a bi-clausal raising analysis to dative subject with overt impersonal modals.

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- Melnikova (2015) extends a bi-clausal raising analysis to dative subject with overt impersonal modals.

  (43) **Vse čaše** Vovei nužno [t_i prinimať lekarstvo
       more often Vova.DAT need.N take.INF medicine.ACC
       reže].
       more rarely
       'More often Vova needs to take medicine more rarely.'

Russian Dative Infinitive Existential (DIE) Construction

Basic Structure

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Basic Structure

- Dative + *byt'* + infinitival clause

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Basic Structure

- Dative + *byt'* + infinitival clause

  (46) a. **Mne** nečego skazať.
     1SG.DAT no what.GEN say.INF
     'There is nothing for me to say.'

  b. **Mne** esť čto skazať.
     1SG.DAT be.PRES[-AGR] what.ACC say.INF
     'There is something for me to say.'

Russian Dative Infinitive Existential (DIE) Construction

Basic Structure

- Dative + *byt'* + infinitival clause

  (47) a. **Mne**   nečego   skazať.
            1SG.DAT   no what.GEN   say.INF
            'There is nothing for me to say.'

      b. **Mne**   esť   čto   skazať.
          1SG.DAT   be.PRES[-AGR]   what.ACC   say.INF
          'There is something for me to say.'

- The infinitive is always headed by a *wh*-word (Rappaport 1986; Babby 2000; Kondrashova 1994; Jung 2008)

- *byt'* 'be' is overt in the present tense (*esť*), which is typical of the existential copula in Russian.

Russian Dative Infinitive Existential (DIE) Construction

DIE and DIM have similar underlying structures

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- Jung (2011) suggests that DIE has the same underlying structure with DIM, as in (48–49).

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- Jung (2011) suggests that DIE has the same underlying structure with DIM, as in (48–49).

(52) DIE $[_{BeP}$ BE$_{EXIST}$ $[_{CP}$ RelPron P $[_{IP}$ DP$_{DAT2}$ V$_{INF}$ $t_1]$
            est'   *čto*   *mne*   *skazat'*

(53) DIM $[_{BeP}$ BE $[_{CP}$ P $[_{IP}$ DP$_{DAT2}$ V$_{INF}$ DP$_{ACC1}]$
            $\varnothing$ *mne*   *delat'* *eto*

   *1: Infinitival object   2: Infinitival subject   3: Existential theme

Dative as lexical case

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

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- According to this analysis, dative is evaluated by lexical items, at the first step of the case calculus.
  - (e.g. adpositions or quirky case-marking verbs)

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Dative as lexical case

- The dative has been regarded as a lexical case.
- According to this analysis, dative is evaluated by lexical items, at the first step of the case calculus.
  - (e.g. adpositions or quirky case-marking verbs)
- However, dative subjects in DIM and DIE **cannot** be considered to have received a lexical case for below reasons.

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as lexical case: Opposing evidence

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as lexical case: Opposing evidence

- The DIM and DIE constructions are **independent of the idiosyncratic selection** of specific verbs.

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as lexical case: Opposing evidence

- The DIM and DIE constructions are **independent of the idiosyncratic selection** of specific verbs.

    (58) **Mne** ne rabotat' odnomu.
          1SG.DAT NEG work.INF alone.DAT
          'It's not (in the cards) for me to work alone.'

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as lexical case: Opposing evidence

- The DIM and DIE constructions are **independent of the idiosyncratic selection** of specific verbs.

  (60) **Mne** ne rabotat' odnomu.
  1SG.DAT NEG work.INF alone.DAT
  'It's not (in the cards) for me to work alone.'

cf. Dative subjects of psych verbs with finite structure.

  (61) **Emu** zal' etu devusku.
  3SG.M.DAT sorry that girl.ACC
  'He feels sorry for that girl.'

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

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Dative as lexical case: Opposing evidence

- The dative case is **not restricted to certain semantics.**

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as lexical case: Opposing evidence

- The dative case is **not restricted to certain semantics.**
- Datives in DIM may be argued to share the thematic role of Experiencer of modality. But DIE cannot be argued in the same way.

    (64)   **Mne**   est'   čto   skazat'.
           1SG.DAT be.PRES what.ACC say.INF
           'There is something for me to say.'

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Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as lexical case: Opposing evidence

- Even if we assume a hypothetical null head that might license the dative case, **dative–accusative constructions** cannot be deducted from the DCT if dative is a lexical case.

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as lexical case: Opposing evidence

- Even if we assume a hypothetical null head that might license the dative case, **dative–accusative constructions** cannot be deducted from the DCT if dative is a lexical case.

  (67) Začem **mne** pokupať **sigarety?**
        for what **1SG.DAT** buy.INF **cigarette.ACC.PL**
        'For what I buy cigarettes?'

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as dependent case

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Dative as dependent case

- Baker and Vinokurova (2010) argue that some instances of the dative in Sakha are better understood as dependent cases.

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as dependent case

- Baker and Vinokurova (2010) argue that some instances of the dative in Sakha are better understood as dependent cases.

(70) *Sakha accusative and dative case assignment* (Baker and Vinokurova 2010)
   a. If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same **VP-phase** such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP1 as <u>dative</u> unless NP2 has already been marked for case.
   b. If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same **phase** such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP2 as <u>accusative</u> unless NP1 has already been marked for case.
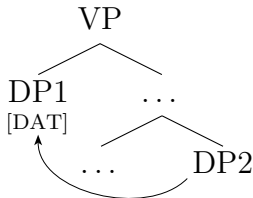
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Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as dependent case

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(73)   a. Sardaana **Aisen-y/*Aise-a** yta(a)-t-ta.
           Sardaana **Aisen-ACC/*DAT** cry-CAUS-PAST-3sS
           'Sardaana made Aisen cry.'

       b. Misha **Masha-qa miin-(i)** sie-t-te.
           Misha **Masha-DAT soup-(ACC)** eat-CAUS-PAST-3sS
           'Misha made Masha eat (the) soup.'

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

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Dative as dependent case

- This analysis of dative as dependent case can be applied to the instances of datives assigned to indirect objects.

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as dependent case

- This analysis of dative as dependent case can be applied to the instances of datives assigned to indirect objects.
- However, it is **not applicable** to datives in DIM and DIE.

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as dependent case: Opposing evidence

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Dative as dependent case: Opposing evidence

- DIM and DIE are compatible with **intransitive verbs.** The subject can be assigned a dative while it is the sole argument in the whole sentence.

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Dative as dependent case: Opposing evidence

- DIM and DIE are compatible with **intransitive verbs.** The subject can be assigned a dative while it is the sole argument in the whole sentence.

  (76) Gde   **mne**   spat'?
        where **1SG.DAT** sleep.INF
        'Where is there for me to sleep?'

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as dependent case: Opposing evidence

- DIM and DIE are compatible with **intransitive verbs.** The subject can be assigned a dative while it is the sole argument in the whole sentence.

    (77) Gde   **mne**   spat'?
          where **1SG.DAT** sleep.INF
          'Where is there for me to sleep?'

- An indirect object analysis on these datives is ruled out because the thematic role of indirect objects is most commonly restricted to the role of Goal.

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as unmarked case: Proposal

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Dative as unmarked case: Proposal

- The unmarked case is realized as nominative in finite clause and **dative in non-finite clause.**

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as unmarked case: Proposal

- The unmarked case is realized as nominative in finite clause and **dative in non-finite clause.**
- This proposal is a DCT version of the Russian-specific rule, discussed by Comrie (1974), proposed as below.

    (80)   *Russian morphosyntactic rule*
            Surface subjects of finite clauses are <u>nominative</u>;
            surface subjects of infinitival clauses are <u>dative</u>.

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as unmarked case: Supporting Evidence

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as unmarked case: Supporting Evidence

- The loss of ability to assign accusative case to object when passivized.

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as unmarked case: Supporting Evidence

- The loss of ability to assign accusative case to object when passivized.

  (83) a. **Drugu** ne obmanut' **Vasju.**
       friend.DAT NEG deceive.INF **Vasja.ACC**
       'It's not (in the cards) for a friend to deceive Vasja.'

  b. **Vasje** ne byt' obmanutym **drugom.**
     Vasja.DAT NEG be.INF deceived.INST **friend.INST**
     'It's not (in the cards) for Vasja to be deceived by a friend.'

Dative as unmarked case: Supporting Evidence

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

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  (88) *Revised Moravcsik Hierarchy*
        unmarked case $\gg$ dependent case $\gg$ lexical/oblique case

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  Since no verb agrees with accusative argument in Russian, only unmarked case is accessible for phi-feature agreement.

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    (92) *Revised Moravcsik Hierarchy*
    unmarked case ≫ dependent case ≫ lexical/oblique case

    Since no verb agrees with accusative argument in Russian, only unmarked case is accessible for phi-feature agreement.

    (93) Toj **rukopisi** ne byt' **opublikovannoj**
    that **manuscript.F.DAT** NEG be.INF **published.INST.F.SG**
    zarubezhnym izdatel'stvom.
    foreign publishing house.INST
    'It's not (in the cards) for that manuscript to be published by a foreign publishing house.'

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

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    (96) DIM

        a. **Ja**   ne   sdam   ekzamen.
           1SG.NOM NEG   pass.1SG   exam.ACC
           'I won't pass the exam'

        b. **Mne**   ne   sdat'   ekzamen.
           1SG.DAT NEG   pass.INF   exam.ACC
           'It's not (in the cards) for me to pass the exam'

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    (97) Purpose clauses

    a. [Čtoby **my** uexali na vokzal] …
       in order **1PL.NOM** go out.SUBJT to railway station
       'In order that we go out to the railway station, …'

    b. [Čtoby **nam** uexat' na vokzal] …
       in order **1PL.DAT** go out.INF to railway station
       'In order for us to go (out) to the railway station, …'

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

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  (98) Purpose clauses (2)

    a. [Čtoby **den'gi** im ne byli nužny] …
       in order **money.NOM** them.DAT NEG be.SUBJT need.pl
       'In order that they not need money, …'

    b. [Čtoby **den'gam** im ne byt' nužny] …
       in order **money.DAT** them.DAT NEG be.INF need.pl
       'In order for them not to need money, …'

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as unmarked case: Supporting Evidence

- There are nominative/dative alternations visible in contrasting finite/infinitival pairs.

  - (99) Temporal clauses
    - a. Do togo, kak **deti** ušli guljat' …
      before PRON COMP **children.NOM** went out.PL play.INF
      'Before the children went out to play, …'
    - b. Do togo, kak **detjam** ujti guljat' …
      before PRON COMP **children.DAT** go out.INF play.INF
      'Before the children went out to play, …'

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

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  (102) Conjoined main clauses

  Oni   zamečateľno živut   v   N'ju Jorke, a   **mne**
  3PL.NOM   wonderfully live.3PL in New York,   but **1SG.DAT**
  prozjabať'   na Aljaske
  live miserably.INF   in Alaska

  'They live wonderfully in New York, but it is my fate to live miserably in Alaska.'

Categorial nature of the dative in DIM and DIE

Dative as unmarked case: Supporting Evidence

- There exist other instances of infinitival clauses having dative as a subject

  (103) Imperative

      a. **Vse**   vstan'te
         all.NOM   stand up.2PL
         '(You) all stand up!'

      b. **Vsem**   vstat'!
         all.DAT   stand up.INF
         '(You) all stand up!'

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    - it loses of ability to assign accusative case when passivized
    - predicate agreement exists
    - datives are prevalent in other infinitival clauses

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- This proposal to amend the Russian case-assigning mechanism gives us insights that the case assignment in is not only sensitive to the category of the locality domains but also **depends on the other features** (e.g. finiteness) **of the domain.**

Thank you!

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