NPs are assigned Case by something (like θ-roles are assigned by verbs)

(1) Case Filter
(stated as a condition on PF)

*NP if NP has phonetic content and has no Case.

- Finite Inf can assign subjective Case to NPs “in its vicinity” (subject)
- (Transitive) V assigns objective Case to NPs “in its vicinity”
- P assigns objective Case to NPs “in its vicinity”

(2) IP VP

She I VP ... V′ NP I′ met NP me

(3) PP VP

P′ VP ... V′ NP me P to me

(4) CP

C′ me

In English, there appears to be an additional constraint: An NP can only receive Case if it is (string) adjacent to the Case-assigner.

(5) Government

α governs β iff
i) α is an X° category (that is, α is a head)
ii) α c-commands β
iii) Minimality is respected.

(6) C-command

α c-commands β iff
i) the first branching node dominating α also dominates β
ii) α does not dominate β.

(7) Minimality Condition

In the configuration [XP ... X ... [VP ... Y ... ZP ...] ...] X does not govern ZP.

(8) X YP X does not govern ZP. Spec Y′ Y does govern ZP (it’s closer). Y ZP ...

(9) a. * John makes frequently mistakes.
   b. John frequently makes mistakes.

(10) a. Mary gave the book to John.
     b. * Mary gave to John the book.

Subjective case and Spec-Head agreement

(11) IP

She I VP ...

...
Two approaches have been taken to this in the past:
  • Redefine c-command such that Infl c-commands the NP too.
  • Suppose that Infl assigns Case via a mechanism other than government.

(12) Spec-Head Agreement
A head (X°) and its specifier (SpecXP) must agree in relevant features.

Issues of Objective Case

(14) a. The boy relies [PP on the girl].
   b. * The boy relies.

Ouhalla uses the term *transitive* to refer to verbs which *assign Case*.

(15) a. I listened *(to) him.
   b. I heard him.

We also find examples where verbs assign Case to something which is not its argument at all: Exceptional Case Marking (ECM).

(16) a. Mary believes [John to be intelligent].
   b. Mary believes [him to be intelligent].
   c. * Mary believes [he to be intelligent].
   d. Mary sincerely believes [him to be intelligent].
   e. * Mary believes sincerely [him to be intelligent].

(17) [For him to leave suddenly] would be foolish.
Possessive Case and the DP hypothesis

(22) a. His house
    b. Mary’s translation of the book.

(23) DP
    D’
    D

D here is for Determiner; this is a Determiner Phrase. In a sense, we really expected this anyway, since determiners did not fit into X’-structures yet.

(24) DP
    D’
    D

subject
N
complement
V
object

Head-movement in DPs

(25) a. [Mary’s watching TV] annoys her roommates.
    b. Her roommates are against [Mary’s watching TV].

(26) DP
    D’
    D

Mary’s
watching TV

(27) DP
    D’
    D

we

(28) a. You politicians are all alike.
    b. We linguists know the truth.
    c. People trust us linguists.

(29) DP
    D’
    D

we

linguists

(30) I saw [DP Mary’s homework].

Case and movement

(31) a. The army totally destroyed the city.
    b. * The army destroyed totally the city.

(32) a. The army’s total destruction of the city
    b. * The army’s destruction total of the city
    c. John’s unfounded allegations
    d. * John’s allegations unfounded
    e. People’s continuous donations to the fund.
    f. * People’s donations continuous to the fund.

(33) a. John, seems [IP t, to be happy].
    b. It seems [CP that [IP John is happy]].
    c. * It seems [IP John to be happy].

Passive

(34) [The book], was written t,
(35) [The vase], broke t.
(36) **Burzio’s Generalization**
A verb (with an object) Case-marks its object
iff it θ-marks (i.e. assigns a θ-role to) its subject.

(37)  
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>All the travelers should drink from the well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>The travelers should <strong>all</strong> drink from the well.</td>
</tr>
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(38)  
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>IP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>QP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|   | Q
|   | all |
|   | DP |
|   | I |
|   | VP |
|   | t_i |
|   | V |
|   | V' |
|   | drink |
|   | PP |
|   | from the well |
| b. | IP |
|   | DP |
|   | the travelers |
|   | I |
|   | VP |
|   | should |
|   | QP |
|   | Q
|   | all |
|   | t_i |
|   | V |
|   | V' |
|   | drink |
|   | PP |
|   | from the well |

* V can only assign Case via government
* Infl can only assign Case via Spec-Head agreement.

(39) **Case Requirement**
A chain is Case-marked if it contains exactly one Case-marked position.

(40)  
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>* John seems is happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>* [John], seems [ t_i is happy].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(41)  
<p>| | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>What, did John see t_i?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>John suspects everyone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b’. LF:</td>
<td>[IP [everyone], [IP John suspects t_i]]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>