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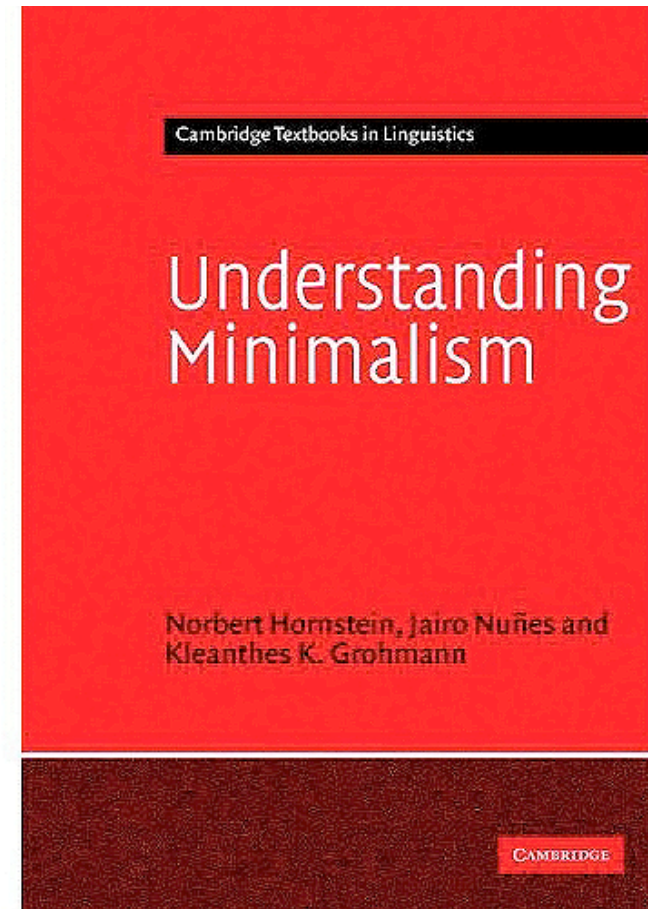
# ENG 235: MASC

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## BLOCK 4



# UNDERSTANDING MINIMALISM

# BLOCK 4: CASE

## This block's menu:

[from HNG: chap. 4]

- Case-assignment vs checking in Spec-Head
- accusative & VP-shells



# CASE LICENSING RELATIONS (GB)

- ***Government (final version)***

An element  $\alpha$  governs an element  $\beta$  iff

- (i)  $\alpha$  m-commands  $\beta$  ;
- (ii)  $\beta$  m-commands  $\alpha$  ; and
- (iii)  $\alpha$  is a governor.

- ***M-Command (popular version)***

An element  $\alpha$  m-commands an element  $\beta$  iff

- (i)  $\alpha$  does not dominate  $\beta$  ;
- (ii)  $\beta$  does not dominate  $\alpha$  ;
- (iii) the first maximal projection dominating  $\alpha$  also dominates  $\beta$  ;
- (iv) and  $\alpha$  does not equal.



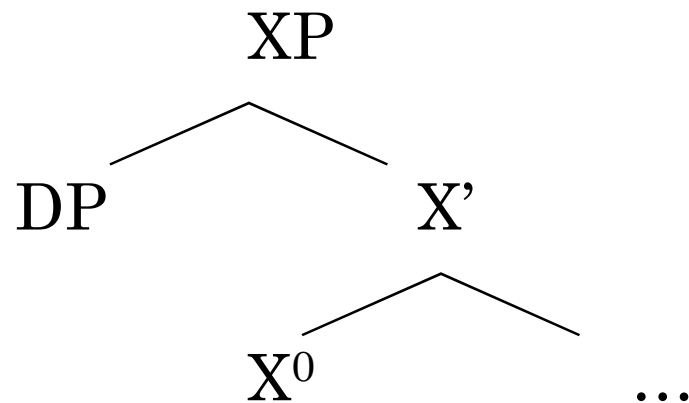
# CASE LICENSING ENVIRONMENTS

- And also to recap, the **syntactic environments** for **structural case** are the following (exhaustive list):

- (1) a. *transitive V: ACC to DP (DO)*  
[<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> **V DP** ] ]
- b. *P: ACC to DP-complement*  
[<sub>PP</sub> [<sub>P'</sub> **P DP** ] ]
- c. *ECM-V: ACC to DP in SpecIP*  
[<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> **V** [<sub>IP</sub> **DP** [<sub>I'</sub> **I<sub>-FIN</sub>** **VP** ] ] ] ] ]
- d. *finite I: NOM to DP-specifier*  
[<sub>IP</sub> **DP** [<sub>I'</sub> **I<sub>+FIN</sub>** **VP** ] ]
- e. *possessive D: GEN to DP-specifier*  
[<sub>DP</sub> **DP** [<sub>D'</sub> **D<sub>POSS</sub>** **NP** ] ]



# A UNIFIED SPEC-HEAD APPROACH



- NOM by  $X = I_{\text{FIN}}$  (T / Agr<sub>S</sub>)
- ACC by  $X = \text{Agr}$  (Agr<sub>DO</sub>, Agr<sub>IO</sub>)
  - also ECM (DP-raising...?)
- ACC by  $X = \text{P}$  (Agr<sub>P</sub>)
  - where does DP move to?



# CASE IN AGR-PROJECTION

## ○ *Basque*

(2) Gizon-ek eskutitza-k Amaia-ri darama-**zki-o**-te.

*man-ERG.PL letter-ABS.PL Amaia-DAT bring-3.PL.ABS-3.SG.  
DAT-3.PL.ERG*

‘The men bring the letters to Amaia.’

Case licenser: **Agr** (AgrSP, AgrIOP, AgrDOP)

[ CP [ AgrSP [ TP [ AgrIOP [ AgrDOP [ *v*P [ VP ]]]]]]]

# VERB POSITION I

- the relation between **verb position and adverbs/negation** in French

- (3)
- |    |                                 |                     |               |                |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|----------------|
| a. | Pierre                          | <b>parle</b>        | à peine       | l'italien.     |
| b. | * Pierre                        | à peine             | <b>parle</b>  | l'italien.     |
|    | <i>Pierre</i>                   | <i>hardly</i>       | <i>speaks</i> | <i>Italian</i> |
|    | 'Pierre hardly speaks Italian.' |                     |               |                |
| c. | Pierre                          | ne <b>parle</b>     | pas           | l'italien.     |
| d. | * Pierre                        | ne pas <b>parle</b> |               | l'italien.     |
|    | <i>Pierre</i>                   | <i>CL not</i>       | <i>speaks</i> | <i>Italian</i> |
|    | 'Pierre doesn't speak Italian.' |                     |               |                |

- (4)
- |    |                                |
|----|--------------------------------|
| a. | [ V <sub>FIN</sub> à peine ]   |
| b. | * [ à peine V <sub>FIN</sub> ] |
| c. | [ V <sub>FIN</sub> pas ]       |
| d. | * [ pas V <sub>FIN</sub> ]     |



# VERB POSITION II

- the relation between **verb position and adverbs/negation** in French

- (5)
- |    |                              |               |                  |                |
|----|------------------------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| a. | <b>Parle</b>                 | à peine       |                  | l'italien...   |
| b. | À peine                      | <b>parler</b> |                  | l'italien...   |
|    | <i>hardly</i>                |               | <i>Speak-INF</i> | <i>Italian</i> |
|    | 'To hardly speak Italian...' |               |                  |                |
| c. | * Ne                         | <b>parler</b> | pas              | l'italien...   |
| d. | Ne                           | pas           | <b>parler</b>    | l'italien...   |
|    | <i>CL</i>                    | <i>not</i>    | <i>Speak-INF</i> | <i>Italian</i> |
|    | 'Not to speak Italian...'    |               |                  |                |

- (6)
- |    |                              |
|----|------------------------------|
| a. | [ V <sub>INF</sub> à peine ] |
| b. | [ à peine V <sub>INF</sub> ] |
| c. | * [ V <sub>INF</sub> pas ]   |
| d. | [ pas V <sub>INF</sub> ]     |



# CASE CHECKING

- (7) a.  $[\text{TP} \text{---} \mathbf{T}^0 [\text{AgrSP} \text{---} \mathbf{AgrS}^0 [\text{VP} \dots ]]]$   
 b.  $[\text{AgrSP} \text{---} \mathbf{AgrS}^0 [\text{TP} \text{---} \mathbf{T}^0 [\text{AgrOP} \text{---} \mathbf{AgrO}^0 [\text{vP} \dots ]]]]$
- (8) a. He saw her.  
 b.  $[\text{AgrSP} \mathbf{he}_s [\text{AgrS}' \mathbf{T}_i + \mathbf{AgrS} [\text{TP} \mathbf{t}_i [\text{AgrOP} \mathbf{her}_o [\text{AgrO}' \mathbf{saw}_v + \mathbf{AgrO} [\text{VP} \mathbf{t}_s [\text{V}' \mathbf{t}_v \mathbf{t}_o ]]]]]]]]$
- (9) a. John expects her to win.  
 b. LF:  $[\text{John} [\text{AgrOP} \mathbf{her}_i [\text{AgrO}' \mathbf{expects}_v + \mathbf{AgrO} [\text{VP} \mathbf{t}_v [\text{IP} \mathbf{t}_i \text{ to win } ]]]]]]$
- (10)  $[\text{vP} \mathbf{OB}_o [\text{v}' \mathbf{SU} [\text{v}' \mathbf{V}_v + \mathbf{v} [\text{VP} \mathbf{t}_v \mathbf{t}_o ]]]]$
- (11) a. John expects her to win.  
 b. LF:  $[\text{John}_k [\text{vP} \mathbf{her}_i [\text{v}' \mathbf{t}_k [\text{v}' \mathbf{expects}_v + \mathbf{v} [\text{VP} \mathbf{t}_v [\mathbf{t}_i \text{ to win } ]]]]]]$

# EXTENSION CONDITION

## *Extension Condition* (preliminary version)

Overt applications of the operations Merge and Move can only target root syntactic objects.

- extension to Case-checking with **prepositions**?

$$[_{AgrP} \mathbf{DP}_k [_{Agr'} P_i + Agr [_{PP} t_i t_k ]]]$$


# CONTROL AND BIG PRO I

## *PRO Theorem*

PRO must not be governed.

## *PROPERTIES*

PRO: [+an, +pro]

## *Binding Theory*

### a. *Principle A*

An anaphor must be A-bound in its governing category.

### b. *Principle B*

A pronoun must not be A-bound in its governing category.

## *Governing Category*

$\alpha$  is a governing category for  $\beta$  iff

- (i)  $\alpha$  is the minimal XP that dominates  $\beta$  and
- (ii)  $\alpha$  is a governor for  $\beta$ .



## CONTROL AND BIG PRO II

- (12) a. [ it is rare [ **PRO**<sub>i</sub> to be elected **t**<sub>i</sub> in  
these circumstances ] ]  
b. \* [ it is rare [ **PRO**<sub>i</sub> to seem to **t**<sub>i</sub> that  
the problems are insoluble ] ]
- (13) a. \* [ it is rare [ for **John**<sub>i</sub> to seem to **t**<sub>i</sub>  
that the problems are insoluble ] ]  
b. [ it is rare [ for **it** to seem to **John**  
that the problems are insoluble ] ]



# EMPIRICAL CONSEQUENCES I

- (14) a.       **The men** entertained Mary during  
              *each other's* vacations.
- b. \*       **The men's** mother entertained Mary  
              during *each other's* vacations.



# EMPIRICAL CONSEQUENCES II


- **binding** and ECM

- (15) a. The DA proved **the defendants<sub>i</sub>** to be guilty during ***each other<sub>i</sub>***'s trials.
  - b. \* Joan believes **him<sub>i</sub>** to be a genius even more fervently than ***Bob<sub>i</sub>***'s mother does.
  - c. The DA proved **none** of the defendants to be guilty during ***any*** of the trials.
- 
- (16) a. The DA proved **the defendants<sub>i</sub>** were guilty during ***each other<sub>i</sub>***'s trials.
  - b. Joan believes **he<sub>i</sub>** is a genius even more fervently than ***Bob<sub>i</sub>***'s mother does.
  - c. The DA proved **none** of the defendants were guilty during ***any*** of the trials.



# EMPIRICAL CONSEQUENCES III

- **pseudogapping** and ditransitives

- (17) a. John **gave** a bagel **to Mary** and Susan *did* a knish.  
b. John **expected Mary** to eat a bagel and Susan *did Sam*.
- (18) a. John gave a bagel to Mary and Susan did ~~give~~ a knish ~~to Mary~~.  
b. John expected Mary to eat a bagel and Susan did ~~expect~~ Sam ~~to eat~~  
~~a bagel~~.
- (19) a. John gave a bagel to Mary and Susan did ~~give~~ a knish to Sam.  
b. John expected Mary to eat a bagel and Susan did ~~expect~~ Sam to eat a knish.
- (20) a. ??John gave a bagel to Mary and Susan did a knish **to Sam**.  
b. \*John expected Mary to eat a bagel and Susan did Sam to eat **a knish**.
- 

# EMPIRICAL CONSEQUENCES IV

- (21) a. [ Susan did [<sub>AgrOP</sub> [ a knish ]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> give t<sub>i</sub> to Sam ]]]  
b. [ Peter did [<sub>AgrOP</sub> Sam<sub>k</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> expect t<sub>i</sub> to eat a bagel ]]]

- (21) a. [ Susan did [<sub>AgrOP</sub> [ a knish ]<sub>i</sub> [~~VP give t<sub>i</sub> to Sam~~]]]  
b. [ Peter did [<sub>AgrOP</sub> Sam<sub>k</sub> [~~VP expect t<sub>i</sub> to eat a bagel~~]]]

- (21)a. \* John gave a bagel to Mary and Susan did a knish  
give to Sam.  
b. \* John expected Mary to eat a bagel and Susan did  
Sam expect to eat a bagel.

- (22) [<sub>IP</sub> John [<sub>XP</sub> ate<sub>i</sub>+X<sup>0</sup> [<sub>AgrOP</sub> [ a bagel ]<sub>k</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub> ]]]]



# EMPIRICAL CONSEQUENCES V

- **adverbial modification** in ECM

(25) a. # John believes that Mary **very sincerely** is the best candidate.

(26) John believes Mary **very sincerely** to be the best candidate.

(27) [ John believes [<sub>IP</sub> Mary [<sub>I'</sub> **very sincerely**  
[ to be the best candidate ]]]

(28) [<sub>IP</sub> John [<sub>XP</sub> believes<sub>i</sub>+X<sup>0</sup> [<sub>Agrop</sub> Mary<sub>k</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> **very sincerely**  
[<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> t<sub>k</sub> to be the best candidate ]]]]]]]

# NEXT BLOCK

We'll deal with **Minimality**:

- the **displacement** property (**movement**)
- develop an account of **locality** (**minimality**)

Specifically, we will look at Relativized Minimality in GB and possible interpretations of it in MP. By so doing we'll develop an account of minimality effects in terms of equidistance and economy.

