

# Extending the Range of Structural Case: Partitive in Sakha

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# Dependent Case

## Familiar Dependent Cases: (Marantz 1991, etc)

- If NP1 c-commands NP2 in TP, then assign ergative to NP1.
- If NP1 is c-commanded by NP2 in TP, then assign accusative to NP1.
- Otherwise NP in TP is nominative/absolutive

# Dependent and Unmarked Case

## Accusative case on Tr Objects: Sakha

Erel kinige-ni atyylas-ta.

Erel book-ACC buy-PAST.3sS

‘Erel bought the book.’

## Ergative case on Tr Subjects: Shipibo

E-n-ra ja jamá-ke.

1-ERG-EV 3:ABS kick-CMPL

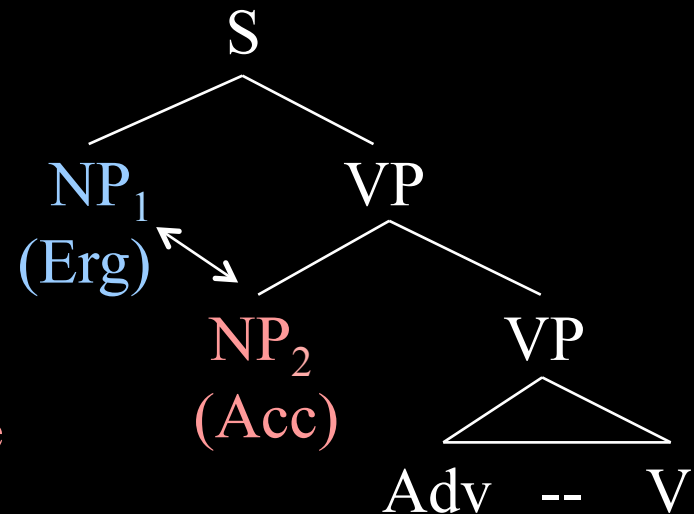
‘I kicked him / her / it.’

## Both cases: Nez Perce

Háama-nm hi-néec-‘wi-ye wewúkiye-ne

man-ERG 3S-pO-shoot-ASP elk-ACC

‘The man shot the elk(pl).’



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**Why is TP the relevant domain?**

Plausibly because TP is a Spell Out domain, triggered by phase head C.

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Why is TP the relevant domain? Plausibly because TP is a Spell Out domain, triggered by phase head C.

But VP is also a spell out domain, triggered by phase head v.

Does that also affect case theory?

# VP as a Distinct Case Domain

Sakha is a differential object marking language, where not all DOs get ACC. ACC is related to word order and definiteness.

Masha salamaat-y türgennik sie-te.

Masha porridge-ACC quickly eat-PAST.3sS

‘Masha ate the porridge quickly.’ (*Object is \* without ACC*)

Masha türgennik salamaat sie-te.

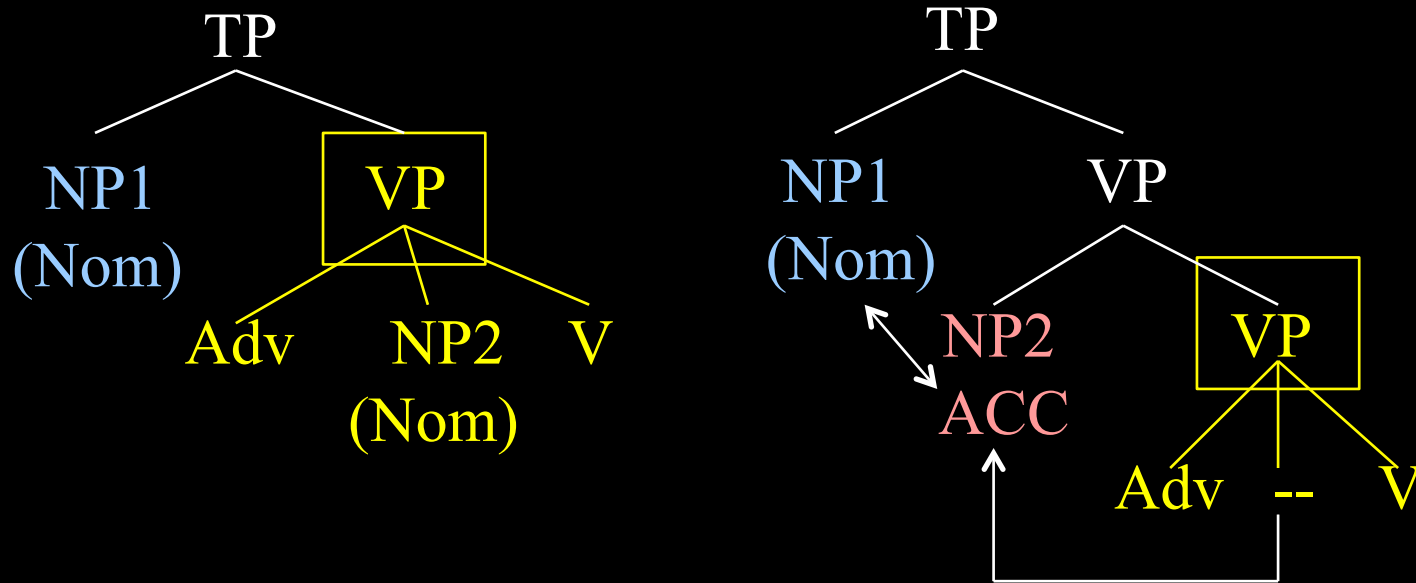
Masha quickly porridge eat-PAST.3sS

‘Masha ate porridge quickly.’ (*ACC marked only if object focus*)

**Conclusion: VP is also a domain, as expected.**

# VP as a Distinct Case Domain

Conclusion: VP is also a domain, a phase



(Not all languages are DOM languages, and DOM can have different sources: Acc spelled out on D in Amharic)

# VP as a Distinct Case Domain

This raises the possibility of there being a whole set of structural cases that are keyed to the VP domain rather than the CP domain

Familiar Dependent Case:

If NP1 c-commands NP2 in TP, then assign ergative to NP1.

If NP1 is c-commanded by ZP in TP, then assign accusative to NP1.

Otherwise NP in TP is nominative/absolute

Newer proposal (Baker 2015):

If NP1 c-commands NP2 in VP, then assign dative to NP1.

If NP1 is c-commanded by NP2 in VP, then assign oblique to NP1.

Otherwise NP in VP is partitive



# High Dependent Case in VP

If NP1 c-commands NP2 in VP, then assign dative to NP1. Sakha

Misha [<sub>VP</sub> Masha-qa miin-i sie-t-te ]. Caus of Trans

Misha Masha-DAT soup-ACC eat-CAUS-PAST.3sS

‘Misha made Masha eat the soup.’

Min [<sub>VP</sub> Masha-qa kinige-ni bier-di-m] Ditransitive

I Masha-DAT book-ACC give-PAST-1sS

‘I gave Masha the book.’

[ -- [<sub>VP</sub> Ejiexe massyyna tiij-bet ] ] Dyadic Unaccusative

you.DAT car reach-NEG.AOR.3sS

‘You lack a car.’

# Low Dependent Case in VP

If NP1 is c-commanded by NP2 in VP, assign oblique to NP1.

Ha na'-taitai häm i ma'estru ni esti na lebblu. Chamorro  
3s CAUS-read us the teacher OBL this LK book  
'The teacher made us read this book.' **Caus of Transitive**

Ha-na'i si nana-ña ni buteya-n ketchap. **Ditransitive**  
3s-give PN mother-3poss OBL bottle-LK soy sauce  
'He gave his mother the bottle of soy sauce.'

Maleffa yu' ni lebblok-ku **Dyadic Unaccusative**  
forget 1s OBL book-1sPOSS  
'I forgot my books.'

# Unmarked Case in VP

Otherwise, if NP is in VP, then assign it partitive. Finnish

On (some) indefinite objects:    On post verbal unacc subjects:

Tuo-n      karhu-t.  
bring-1sS bear-PL.ACC  
'I'll bring the bears.'

Tuo-n      karhu-j-a.  
bring-1sS bear-PL-PART  
'I'll bring (some) bears.'

Uutise-t              jatku-vat.  
news-PL.NOM continue-3PL  
'The news will continue.' (\*Part)

Nyt tule-e      uutis-i-a.  
Now come-3sS news-PL-PART  
Now there comes (some) news.'

# A New Extension: Partitive in Sakha

A special case found only on some objects of imperative verbs.

**Kiliep-te** sie.  
bread-PART eat.IMP  
'Eat some bread.'

**Kinige-te** atyylas.  
Book-PART buy.IMP  
'Buy any book.'

Note: Historically the partitive is a residue of the Turkic locative case, replaced by Dative in Sakha.

# Partitive in Sakha

This possibility *adds to*, doesn't replace, the other forms of object marking in Sakha.

|                   |         |                  |
|-------------------|---------|------------------|
| Kiliep-te         | sie.    | Partitive object |
| bread-PART        | eat.IMP |                  |
| 'Eat some bread.' |         |                  |

|                  |         |                   |
|------------------|---------|-------------------|
| Kiliep-i         | sie.    | Accusative object |
| Bread-ACC        | eat.IMP |                   |
| 'Eat the bread.' |         |                   |

|              |         |                |
|--------------|---------|----------------|
| Kiliep       | sie.    | Bare NP object |
| Bread        | eat.IMP |                |
| 'Eat bread.' |         |                |

# Partitive in Sakha

Partitive is possible also with an overt/3<sup>rd</sup> person subject.

Masha salamaat-ta sie.

Masha porridge-PART eat(IMP)

‘Masha (you) eat some porridge!’ (command addressed to Masha)

Masha salamaat-ta sit-tin.

Masha porridge-PART eat-IMP.3sS

‘Have Masha eat some porridge!’

(command addressed to someone other than Masha)

# A new puzzle: Partitive in Sakha

Partitive found only on NPs in VP not otherwise marked for case.

- Not on thematic subjects (even if narrow scope indefinites).

Oqo-(#to) yllaa-tin !  
child-(\*PART) sing-IMP.3sS.  
'Have a(ny) child sing!'

# Partitive in Sakha

Partitive found only on NPs in VP not otherwise marked for case.

- Not on shifted, wide(r) scope, specific objects

Kiliep-te sie-im-e.

Bread-PART eat-IMP.NEG-2sS

‘Do not eat any bread.’ [IMP [Neg [ $\exists$ x (bread (x) [you eat x]]]]

(Not: make sure there is some bread that you don’t eat.)

Contrast with accusative:

Kiliep-i sie-im-e.

Bread-ACC eat-IMP.NEG-2sS

‘Do not eat that bread.’ Bread (x) [IMP [Not [you eat x]]]

(There might be other bread which you eat, but not THAT bread.)



# Partitive in Sakha

Partitive found only on NPs in VP not otherwise marked for case.  
Not on shifted intrinsically definite objects.

\*Sargy-ta bul.

Sargy-PART find.IMP

‘Find Sargy!’

\*bu kinige-te bul.

this book-PART find.IMP

‘Find Sargy/this book!’

So it is very tempting to say that partitive is an unmarked case for NPs in VP. *But what then is the connection with imperative syntax?*

# Partitive in Sakha

Theories of imperatives have a special functional head—Jussive (Zanuttini 2008, etc)—but it is very high in the clause, above TP. This also seems valid for Sakha.

- Juss licenses second person subjects without phi-features on T.
- Juss has wide scope with respect to negation.

Kiliep-te sie-im-e.

Bread-PART eat-IMP.NEG-2sS

You have an obligation to not eat any bread.

(Not: make sure there is some bread that you don't eat.)

- Juss has wide scope with respect to future tense.

Kinige-te atyylas-aar.

book-PART buy-FUT.IMP.2S

'You have an obligation (now) to buy a book in the future.'

(Not: 'In the future, you will have an obligation to buy a book.')

# Partitive in Sakha

Jussive is very high in the clause, above TP.

But that doesn't seem to be in the right place to license a special case on VP-internal objects (vs subjects and shifted objects).

## Hypotheses:

- There are two special heads in Sakha: Juss and  $v_{Imp}$
- $v_{Imp}$  is licensed only in the semantic scope of Jussive (+).
- If NP is spelled out in the VP complement of  $v_{Imp}$  assign it **PARTITIVE**

# Partitive in Sakha

Evidence that imperatives in Sakha involve the v head (as well as Jussive, above T):

Imperative is incompatible with passive *-llin* in Sakha, the most obvious instance of an overt v head:

\*tal-ylyn!

choose-PASS.IMP

‘Be chosen!’ (e.g., for some honor or prize)

# Partitive in Sakha

Evidence that  $v_{IMP}$  is licensed in the semantic scope of Jussive (as opposed to direct syntactic selection).

Partitive, hence  $v_{IMP}$  is also possible in necessitive constructions:

**Kiliep-te**      ayal-yax-xa      naada.  
bread-PART    get-PROS.PTPL-DAT    necessary  
'It is necessary to get some bread.'

# Partitive in Sakha

Evidence that  $v_{IMP}$  is licensed in the semantic scope of Jussive.

Partitive, hence  $v_{IMP}$ , in embedded clause can be licensed by Jussive in the matrix clause.

Kiliep-te      si-ir- gin      umnu-ma!  
bread-PART    eat-AOR-2s.ACC    forget-NEG.IMP  
'Don't forget to eat some bread.'

Masha kiliep-(%te)    atyylah-ya    dien    eren-ime.  
Masha bread-PART    buy-FUT.3sS    that    hope-NEG.IMP  
'Don't hope that Masha will buy any bread.'

Masha-ny    byrdax-(\*da)    isty-axa    dien eren-ime.  
Masha-ACC mosquito-(\*PART) bite-FUT.3sS that hope-NEG.IMP  
'Don't hope that a(ny) mosquito bites Masha.'

# Partitive in Sakha: Summary

“Final answer”

Sakha has a special flavor of  $v$ ,  $v_{IMP}$ , which is licensed in the scope of Jussive (and some similar items)

Assign Partitive to NP inside the VP spell out domain of  $v_{IMP}$ .

(NB: not in the spell out domain of all  $v$ s, like Finnish (?), but only this particular flavor.)

So what?

# Partitive in Sakha

**So what?** (This is an example of how a certain framework for thinking about structural case can extend even to some of the quirkier corners of the case world.)

**It seems to bear on some questions that David has raised:**

What *are* case features *really*?



# Partitive in Sakha

What *are* case features *really*?

Very attractive answer (Pesetsky 2013): Case features are really category features copied onto the complement of a head:

- Genitive is N on NP
- (Dative can be P on NP)
- Accusative is V on NP
- Nominative is T on NP (cf. also P&T 2001, etc.)

# Partitive in Sakha

It seems at first glance that David's typology of cases (for Russian) might correspond well to the typology of unmarked cases in the configurational case approach.

David:

- Genitive is N on NP
- Accusative is V on NP
- Nominative is T on NP
- (Dative can be P on NP)

Mark (etc.):

- Genitive on NPs in NP compl of D
- Partitive on NPs in VP compl of v
- Nom/Abs on NPs in TP compl of C
- (Dative on NPs in compl of P)

So is David's proposal a more elegant and beautiful version of the (neo-)Marantzian view of unmarked case (vs. dependent, default)?

# Partitive in Sakha

Is David's proposal a more elegant and beautiful version of the (neo-)Marantzian view of unmarked case (vs. dependent, default)?

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- Nominative is T on NP
- (Dative can be P on NP)

Mark (etc.)

- Genitive on NPs in NP compl of D
- Partitive on NPs in VP compl of v
- Nom/Abs on NPs in TP compl of C
- (Dative on NPs in compl of P)

Sakha suggests NO, because:

- What to do about the fact that partitive and accusative are both present in Finnish and Sakha? They can't both be V on NP(?).
- Partitive in Sakha is VP-internal—but *only* in imperatives.

Assign partitive to NPs in the complement of v ( $\rightarrow v_{IMP}$ ).

# Partitive in Sakha

Is David's proposal a more elegant and beautiful version of the (neo-)Marantzian view of unmarked case (vs. dependent, default)?

Sakha *suggests* NO...

But I do not at all rule out David having a brilliant new idea here:

- Off the top of his head, in the discussion period, making a creative new connection. (No pressure!)
- In some new article he hasn't even planned yet. (Life begins at 60? I hope so too!)

*Happy birthday!!! (from one who doesn't do facebook)*

# Partitive in Sakha: Overview

