

Case, Scrambling and Default Word Order —Case Introduction—

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Outline

1 Motivation

2 Case

3 Scrambling

4 German

- “Free Word Order” languages: major arguments of a clause can be scrambled quite freely.
- Scrambling generally related to presence of a case marking system and some means of verb-argument agreement.
- But also, semantic/discourse/world knowledge effects.
- *Word Order Freezing*
- *Default Word Order*
- (*Case OCP*)

Question Posed in Course: What can be observed from empirical data (corpus- and psycholinguistics) and how does this fit in with theoretical perspectives?

Perspectives from:

- Theoretical Linguistics
- Corpus and Psycholinguistics

Languages (both Indo-European):

- German (Germanic, West European)
- Urdu (Indic, South Asian)

An Example

(1) Die Kiste sieht der Hans.
the.F.Sg.**Nom/Acc** box.F.Sg.Nom/Acc see.Pres.3.Sg the.M.Sg.**Nom** Hans.M.Sg
'Hans sees the box.'

- Examples like this show a **STRONG** preference for the nominative subject in initial position.
- The more likely reading is secondary and is based on world-knowledge.

Outline of the course

- 1 Today
 - **Introduction to Case, Scrambling and Word Order**
- 2 Tuesday
 - **Case Theory and Linking**
- 3 Wednesday
 - **Introduction to Corpora**
- 4 Thursday
 - **Corpus Studies and Psycholinguistic Evidence**
- 5 Friday
 - **Corpus Studies and Psycholinguistic Evidence (cont'd)**
 - **Conclusion**

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What is Case?

Most basic/central use of case: identify the arguments of a clause.

Definition

Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. [Blake 2001:1]

- (2) a. puella portam videt
girl.F.Nom door.F.Acc see.Pres.3.Sg
'The girl sees the door.' Latin
- b. portam puella videt
door.F.Acc girl.F.Nom see.Pres.3.Sg
'The girl sees the door.' Latin

What is Case?

But beyond this, case does the following work:

- identifies spatial and temporal relations
- expresses contrasting semantic information (Differential Case Marking) — specificity, modality, agentivity, boundedness
- marks discourse relations (topic/focus)
- interacts with aspect (telicity)

Types of Case Marking

- Dependent-Marking

- (3) puella portam videt
girl.F.Nom door.F.Acc see.Pres.3.Sg
'The girl sees the door.'

Latin

- Head-Marking

- (4) At'ééd ashkii yiyiit'sá
girl boy 3Acc.3Nom.saw
'The girl saw the boy.' (Jelinek 1987:89)

Navajo

Types of Marking — Schematized

Dependent-marked: (as in Latin)

Noun+Case Noun+Case Noun+Case Verb

Head-marked: (as in Navajo)

Noun₁ Noun₂ Noun₃ Verb+Aff₁+Aff₂+Aff₃

What is Case?

Case can be marked *inflectionally*, in terms of *clitics*, or *adpositions*.

Case via Inflection: Latin

(5)

<i>porta</i> 'door'		
Case Name	Singular	Plural
Nominative	porta	portae
Genitive	portae	portārum
Dative	portae	portīs
Accusative	portam	portās
Ablative	portā	portīs
Vocative	porta	portae

German also works like this, though most of the marking is on the determiners/demonstratives, not the nouns.

What is Case?

Case can also be marked adpositionally, as in English.

(6) Kim gave a book **to** Sandy.

- It is difficult to draw the boundaries between case marking and adpositional adjunct marking.
- Generally people would deny that English *to* is a “real” case marker (since there is a school of thought that only sees inflectional case as “real” case).

What is Case?

Case can also be marked via *clitics*. Urdu works like this.

- (7) a. ram=ne **xat=ko** **lik^ha** (hε)
Ram.M.Sg=Erg letter.M.Sg=Acc write-Perf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Ram wrote the letter'
- b. ram=ne **xat=hi=ko** **lik^ha** (hε)
Ram.M.Sg=Erg letter.M.Sg=Foc=Acc write-Perf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Ram wrote just that letter'

Case Marking a Temporal Expression

(8) a. Ich habe gearbeitet.
I.Nom have.Pres.1.Sg work.PastP
'I worked.'

German

b. Ich habe [den ganzen Tag] gearbeitet.
I.Nom have.Pres.1.Sg the.M.Acc whole.M.Acc day work.PastP
'I worked the whole day.'

German

Case Interacting With Tense/Mood/Aspect

- (9) a. ngada warra-ja ngarn-kir
1.Sg.Nom go-Act beach-All
'I am going/have gone to the beach.' Kayardild
- b. ngada warra-ju ngarn-kiring-ku
1.Sg.Nom go-Pot beach-All-MProp
'I will go to the beach.' Kayardild
- c. ngada warra-jarra ngarn-kiring-kina
1.Sg.Nom go-Pst beach-All-MAbl
'I went to the beach.' Kayardild
- d. ngada warra-da ngarn-kiring-inj
1.Sg.Nom go-Des beach-All-MObl
'I would like to go to the beach.' Kayardild

(data from Evans, see Butt 2006)

Case Marking Spatial Relations

- (10) rōmam īre
Rome.Acc go
'To go to Rome.'

Latin

- (11) us manzıl=ko kab pāūc-o-ge
that.3.Sg destination=at when reach-2.Sg-Fut
'When will (you) reach that destination?' (Dehalvi 1804)

Old Urdu

Differential Case Marking

- (14) a. Ali bir **piyano** kivalamak istiyor.
A. one piano to.rent wants
'Ali wants to rent one (some) piano.' (Enç 1991) Turkish
- b. Ali bir **piyano-yu** kivalamak istiyor.
A. one piano-Acc to.rent wants
'Ali wants to rent a certain piano.' (Enç 1991) Turkish
- (15) a. ram **gari** xarid-e-g-a
Ram.M.Sg.Nom car.F.Sg.Nom buy-3.Sg-Fut-M.Sg
'Ram will buy a/the car.' **Nom**→**No Information** Urdu
- b. ram **gari=ko** xarid-e-g-a
Ram.M.Sg.Nom car.F.Sg=Acc buy-3.Sg-Fut-M.Sg
'Ram will buy the car (a specific car).' **Acc**→**Specific Object** Urdu

Stage vs. Individual Level Predication (Poudel 2008)

- (16) a. **hasan=le** gaari chalaun-cha
Hassan=Erg car.Nom drive-NonPast.3.Sg
'Hassan drives cars (that's what he does).' Nepali (Individual-Level)
- b. **hasan** gaari chalaun-cha
Hassan.Nom car.Nom drive-NonPast.3.Sg
'Hassan is driving a car/cars.' Nepali (Stage-Level)

Case and Modality (Must vs. Want)

- (17) a. **nadya=ko** zu ja-na hε
Nadya.F.Sg=Dat zoo.M.Sg.Loc go-Inf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya has/wants to go to the zoo.' **Dat**→**Goal** Urdu
- b. **nadya=ne** zu ja-na hε
Nadya.F.Sg=Erg zoo.M.Sg.Loc go-Inf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
'Nadya wants to go to the zoo.' **Erg**→**Control** Urdu

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Languages which allow reordering of elements in the sentence usually have case marking (allows identification of participants).

(18) a.

puella portam videt
girl.F.Nom door.F.Acc see.Pres.3.Sg
'The girl sees the door.'

Latin

b. portam puella videt
door.F.Acc girl.F.Nom see.Pres.3.Sg
'The girl sees the door.'

Latin

Languages differ in what kind of scrambling is allowed.

There are basically three strategies for the identification of participant arguments of a verb (Kiparsky):

- 1 Position (English)
- 2 Case Marking (Latin, German, Urdu)
- 3 Agreement (Latin, German, Urdu)

Most languages employ a mixture of all three strategies.

Questions for this Course

- How do these strategies interact? — “Freezing Effects”, Preferences, etc.
- What is the empirical evidence and how does it relate to theoretical linguistic ideas?

Case Studies: German and Urdu

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Case marking in German

- Nominative, accusative, dative, genitive
- morphological case marking of noun phrases (NPs)
 - inflected forms of pronouns, articles, attributive adjectives
 - residual marking of nouns

Nominative, feminine, singular

die	kleine	Gabel
the _{Nom.F.Sg}	small _{Nom.F.Sg}	fork _{Nom.F.Sg}
'the small fork'		

Genitive, masculine, singular

des	kleinen	Löffels
the _{Gen.M.Sg}	small _{Gen.M.Sg}	spoon _{Gen.M.Sg}
'the small spoon's'		

Case and the pronominal system

Personal pronouns

	Nom	Acc	Dat	Gen
1 sg	ich	mich	mir	meiner
2 sg	du	dich	dir	deiner
1 pl	wir	uns		euer
2 pl	ihr	euch		
3 sg masc	er	ihn	ihm	seiner
3 sg neutr	es			
3 sg fem	sie		ihr	ihrer
3 pl			ihnen	

- cells with white characters: case syncretisms

Demonstrative article *dies-* 'this': 5 forms

	Nom	Acc	Gen	Dat
Masc (dies..Löffel 'spoon')	dieser	diesen		diesem
Neut (dies..Messer 'knife')			dieses	
Fem (dies Gabel 'fork')	diese		dieser	
Plural (dies..Dinge 'things')				diesen

Three declension types

- 'strong': like articles and pronouns
 - e.g. without article: *kleines Messer (zu verkaufen)*
- 'weak': endings *-e* and *-en*
 - e.g. with definite article: *das kleine Messer*
- 'mixed'

Four declension classes

	Singular				Plural
	Uninflect'd	Strong	PNs*	Weak	
Nom	die Zahl	der Raum	Anna	der Prinz	die Leute
Acc	die Zahl	den Raum	Anna	den Prinz	die Leute
Dat	der Zahl	dem Raum(e)	Anna	dem Prinzen	den Leuten
Gen	der Zahl	des Raum(e)s	Annas	des Prinzen	der Leute

- Residual marking of dative and genitive

*) PNs = "proper names"

- The finite verb agrees with the (nominative) subject in Person and Number—not in Gender and Case
- There are ‘unpersonal’ passives without a subject

Unpersonal passives

- (1) Hier wird gerade getanzt.
here was at_the_moment danced
‘People are dancing here.’
- (2) Am Freitag wurde Fisch gegessen.
on Friday was fish eaten
‘They ate fish on Fridays.’

Declarative main clause: finite Verb in second position

- (1) Max **schrieb** einen Brief.
Max wrote a letter.

Embedded clause: finite verb in verb-phrase final position

- (2) Sie erklärte, dass Max einen Brief **schrieb**.
She explained that Max a letter wrote.
'She explained that Max wrote a letter.'

Sentence structure: OV base order

Main clause: analytic tenses: non-finite verbs in final position

(1) Max **hat** einen Brief **geschrieben**.

Max has a letter written

'Max wrote a letter.'

(2) Max **wird** einen Brief **geschrieben haben**.

Max will a letter written have.

'Max will have written a letter.'

Main clause: separable verb prefix in final position

(3) Max **hat** einen Brief **abgeschickt**

Max has a letter off_send

'Max sent off a letter.'

(4) Max **schickte** einen Brief **ab**.

Max sent a letter off

'Max sent off a letter.'

Clause-initial position is underspecified

(19)

Max hat gestern einen Brief geschrieben.

Max has yesterday a letter written

'Max wrote a letter yesterday.'

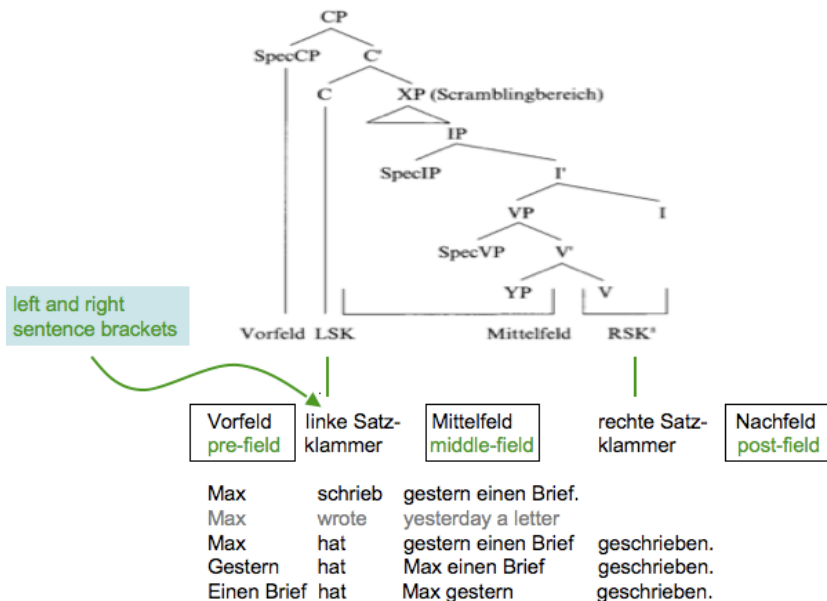
(20) **Gestern hat** Max einen Brief geschrieben.

Adverbial

(21) **Einen Brief hat** Max gestern geschrieben.

Direct object

Tentative sentence structure and field model



Reordering phenomena

- Weak pronouns
- Scrambling
- Topicalization (not presented today)

Weak pronouns

- unstressed personal pronouns
- strong (stressed) pronouns and clitical pronouns (phonological clitics) behave differently

Fixed order: Nom>ACC>DAT

(22)

dass es ihm / * ihm es der Fritz gegeben hat

dass es ihm / * ihm es der Fritz gegönnt hat

dass es ihm / * ihm es der Fritz entzogen hat

“Wackernagel” domain

a middle-field-initial domain π for weak pronouns (cf. Müller 1999, p.2)

Free constituent order in the middle-field

- (1) ...dass der Max dem Jan einen Brief geschrieben hat.
...that ART Max_{Nom} ART Jan_{Dat} a letter_{Acc} written has
'...that Max wrote a letter to Jan.'
- (2) ...dass dem Jan der Max einen Brief geschrieben hat.
- (3) ...dass einen Brief der Max dem Jan geschrieben hat.
- (4) ...dass einen Brief dem Jan der Max geschrieben hat.

Evidence against base generation

- clause-internal movement is motivated independently by movement of non-arguments
- split of *damit* 'with_it': postposition stranding

(1) dass der Fritz [_{NP} da]₁ wahrscheinlich nicht [_{PP} t₁ mit] gerechnet hat
that ART Fritz there probably not with counted has
'that probably Fritz has not expected that.'

- PP extraction from NP

(2) dass Maria [_{PP} über die Liebe]₁ gestern [_{NP} ein Buch t₁] gelesen hat
that Maria about the love yesterday a book read has
'that Maria read a book about love yesterday.'

(Müller 1999, p.3)

Hypothesis: derived order

- The D-structure order of arguments is the unmarked one
- Clause-internal order changing movement operations create markedness

Hypothesis: competition

- There is a base order
- Different derived orders are possible
- Competing constraints rank the candidates

Focus projection

- (1) Who arrived? [Peter]_F arrived.
- (2) What happened? [Peter arrived]_F

.

Focus projection

- Focus is the 'new' information in a clause
- Focus is marked by intonation
- Focus is syntactically marked: focus feature F
- Projection of feature F to the relevant constituent
- Projection is possible only if there are no traces, i.e. if base order is given
- Maximal focus projection is maximal focus spreading, i.e. the whole sentence can be in focus
- Hypothesis: Sentences in focus are unmarked sentences

Base order tests

lexically determined: Acc > Dat

- (1) dass man die Kinder diesem Einfluss ausgesetzt hat
that one the children_{Acc} this influence_{Dat} exposed has
'that one has exposed the children to this influence.'
- (2) ?dass man diesem Einfluss die Kinder ausgesetzt hat
that one this influence_{Dat} the children_{Acc} exposed has

lexically determined: Dat > Acc

- (3) dass er der Maria den Erfolg gönnt
that he ART Maria_{Dat} the success_{Acc} not_begrudges
'that he does not begrudge the success of Maria.'
- (4) ?dass er den Erfolg der Maria gönnt
that he the success_{Acc} ART Maria_{Dat} not_begrudges

(adapted from Müller1999, p.6,7, cf. Haider1992/2000)

Anaphoric binding

- assumption: binding principle A (requires D-structure c-command)
- ACC can bind DAT reflexive/reciprocal pronoun but not vice versa

(1) dass man die Gäste₁ einander₁ vorstellte.
that one the guests_{ACC} each other_{Dat} introduced

(2) *dass man den Gäste₁ einander₁ vorstellte.
that one the guests_{Dat} each other_{ACC} introduced

Acc > Dat

(2') *dass man den Gäste₁ einander₁ t₁ vorstellte.

(adapted from Müller 1999, p.4)

Number of contexts

- The more context types a given sentence can occur in, the less marked it is
- Formalisation of speakers' intuitions
- A candidate α is less marked than a candidate β if α, β are in the same candidate set, and α can have more foci than β (i.e., can occur in more context types), given appropriate stress assignment (Müller 1999, p.5)
- Two candidates are in the same candidate set if they differ only with respect to word order and/or stress assignment (Höhle 1982)

Methods to determine relative markedness

- Statistical frequency (in texts, discourses, etc.)
- Native speakers' intuitions
- Number of possible contexts
- Psycholinguistic tests

- Case
- Thematic role
- Information structure (topic, focus)
- Weight
- Definiteness
- Animacy
- Anti-permutation

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