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| Item Type | article;article |
| Authors | Krause, Cornelia |
| Download date | 2024-08-04 11:46:17 |
| Link to Item | https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14394/37022 |

On an (in-)visible Property of Inherent Case^{*}

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0. Introduction

This paper aims to solve an interesting puzzle in German: DPs with prenominal possessors (PrePoss) cannot bear genitive case. It will be argued that this is due to a (PF) overttness condition on genitive case which PrePoss prevent their embedding DP from obeying. It will furthermore be argued that this overttness condition applies not only to the German genitive but to inherent case licensing in general. This proposal has two immediate consequences. First, the German dative, which can be assigned to DPs containing PrePoss, cannot be an inherent case. Since it is also not a structural case of the nominative/accusative type this will necessitate a case system which acknowledges three different basic types of case. Second, languages differ in how they fulfill the overttness requirement on inherent case. Unlike German which has to employ special mechanisms to do so, this condition is vacuously fulfilled in Hindi, Turkish, and Japanese. It is thus predicted that these languages differ from German w.r.t. the possibility of licensing inherent case on a DP containing PrePoss. This will be shown to be correct.

The paper is organized as follows: Section one introduces the puzzle. The second section provides a basic analysis for the German PrePoss construction. The following section discusses immediate effects of the overttness condition in German, Hindi, Turkish and Japanese. Sections four and five develop the analysis for the puzzle introduced in the first section. Sections six and seven discuss consequences and predictions of the proposal. The final section provides a summary and a brief discussion of further issues.

^{*} I would like to thank the following people for helpful discussions and comments on this paper: Rajesh Bhart, Andrew Carnie, David Embick, Kai von Fintel, Martin Hackl, Ken Hale, Heidi Harley, Meltem Kelepir, Alec Marantz, Cheryl Zoll, and the audiences at NELS 30 and the *Case and Agreement* seminar (Fall 1999) at U of A. Special thanks go to Sabine Iatridou and David Pesetsky for their advice, comments and suggestions on and discussion of earlier versions of this paper.

1. The Genitive Puzzle

German exhibits prenominal dative possessors of the form in (1)¹:

- (1) a dem Vater sein Onkel b Vater -s Onkel
 the-D father-D his uncle father-D his uncle
 'father's uncle'

Interestingly, a DP containing PrePoss is not able to bear genitive case, i.e., a DP with genitive case cannot contain PrePoss. This is exemplified for genitive case licensed by verbs in (3) but holds for genitive case licensing via nouns and prepositions as well.

(2) *[[Possessor] Possessee]-Genitive Case

- (3) a *Ich erinnere mich [[dem Vater] seines (jüngsten) Onkels].
 I-N remember me-A the-D father-D his-G (youngest-G) uncle-G
 b *Ich erinnere mich [[Vaters] (jüngsten) Onkels]
 I-N remember me-A father-D (youngest-G) uncle-G
 'I remember father's (youngest) uncle'

However, nominative, accusative and dative case can very well be licensed on a DP with PrePoss. Again, this is true irrespective of the source of case licensing. It is shown here with verbs licensing nominative in (4), accusative in (5), and dative in (6).

- (4) a [[Dem Vater] sein Onkel] hat mich gesehen.
 the-D father-D his-N uncle-N has me-A seen
 b [[Vater -s] Onkel] hat mich gesehen.
 father-D his uncle-N has me-A seen
 'Father's uncle has seen me'
- (5) a Ich habe [[dem Vater] seinen Onkel] gesehen.
 I-N have the-D father-D his-A uncle-A seen
 b Ich habe [[Vater -s] Onkel] gesehen.
 I-N have father-D his uncle-A seen
 'I've seen father's uncle'

¹ It has been assumed that the possessor in (1b) is a prenominal Genitive. Krause (1999) argues that this view is incorrect and that these possessors are properly analyzed as a variant of the prenominal dative (1a) differing only in the spell out of the possessive pronoun (affixal -s versus independent sein) which depends on the complexity of the prenominal possessor. We will adopt this analysis here.

- (6) a Ich habe [[dem Vater] seinem Onkel] ein Buch gegeben.
 I-N have the-D father-D his-D uncle-D a-A book-A give
- b Ich habe [[Vater -s] Onkel] ein Buch gegeben.
 I-N have father-D his uncle-D a-A book-A give
 'I've given a book to father's uncle'

This behavior of DPs containing PrePosss poses the following questions:

- Questions:** 1 Why do PrePoss affect the ability of possessed DPs to bear genitive case?
 2 Why do PrePoss have this effect only w.r.t. genitive case?

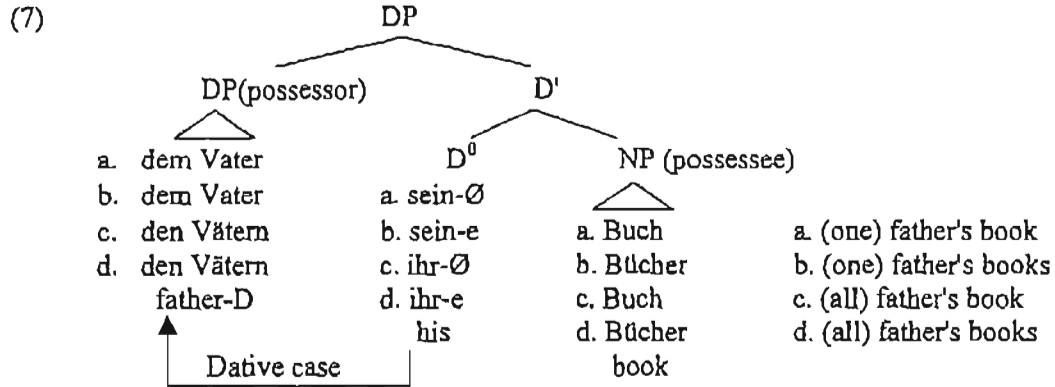
I argue that PrePoss prevent the possessed DP from obeying a condition that holds exclusively for genitive case licensing. I furthermore argue that this condition is a (PF) overtness (visibility) condition. Since the German genitive has been considered to be an inherent case this extends to the claim that it is inherent case licensing which is subjected to an overtness condition. However, before we go on to develop and defend this analysis it is first necessary to gain a basic understanding of the German PrePoss construction.

2. Prenominal Possessors: Basic Analysis

Prenominal possessive constructions in German typically involve a PrePoss with dative case followed by a possessive pronoun which in turn is followed by the head noun (possessee) of the construction. The possessive pronoun can appear either in its full form or as the affix *-s* depending on whether PrePoss contains a determiner and/or modifiers or not. If the possessive pronoun appears in its full form it agrees with the possessor in gender, person, and number. I take this as an indication of Spec-Head agreement between possessor and possessive pronoun. Various facts point to the conclusion that the XP whose specifier and head are occupied by the possessor and the possessive pronoun respectively must be DP, i.e., that the possessive pronoun occupies the D-position and that the possessor is located in SpecDP.

First, no other definite or indefinite determiner can co-occur with the possessive pronoun. Second, while the stem of the possessive pronoun agrees with the possessor, its inflectional endings agree in gender, number, and case with the head noun, like the inflectional endings of any other 'regular' definite or indefinite determiner. Third, these inflectional endings correspond to the 'regular' determiner endings. Finally, on par with all other determiners the possessive pronoun invariably precedes all modifiers of the head noun (possessee).

Therefore, I propose to analyze PrePosss as being located in SpecDP where dative case is licensed on them by the possessive pronoun in D.



Note that PrePosss cannot bear inherent case since its case licenser is a functional head (D). However, inherent case is licensed via selection by a lexical head.

3. Case and Overt Marking

Let us now proceed with our discussion of the *Genitive Puzzle*. I argue that a solution to this puzzle is related to an overtness condition on inherent case licensing. We will look at effects of this condition in Hindi, Turkish, Japanese, and German. We start with German.

Overtness effects that exclusively target the genitive are found in the bare plural paradigm. Bare plurals exist in the nominative (8a), accusative (8b), and dative (8c) case.

- (8) a. [_{DP}Studenten] geben den Professoren die Bücher
 students-Pl-N give the-Pl-D professors-Pl-D the-Pl-A books-Pl-A
 'Students give the books to the professors'
- b. Die Studenten geben den Professoren [_{DP}Bücher]
 the-Pl-N students-Pl-N give the-Pl-D professors-Pl-D books-Pl-A
 'The students give books to the professors'
- c. Die Studenten geben [_{DP}Professoren] die Bücher
 the-Pl-N students-Pl-N give professors-Pl-D the-Pl-A books-Pl-A
 'The students give books to the professors'

However, German has no genitive bare plurals. Genitive DPs must exhibit either an overt determiner or an adjective in the strong determiner-like declension.²

² German has three basic adjectival declension classes. If D is a strong quantifier the adjective follows the *weak declension*, if D is a weak quantifier the adjective follows the *mixed declension*, if D is non-overt, the adjective follows the *strong declension*. The inflectional endings of the strong declension are the determiner endings. I take this to be an indication for A-to-D movement in the case of non-overt D.

- (9) a *Ich erinnere mich [DP Professoren]
 I-N remember me-A professor-Pl-G
 'I remember (the) professors'
- b Ich erinnere mich [DP der/alter Professoren]
 I-N remember me-A the-Pl-G/old-Pl-G professor-Pl-G
 'I remember the/old professors'

Thus, the overtness condition on inherent case targets the determiner in German.

The situation is somewhat different in Hindi, Turkish, and Japanese. These languages realize case as an affix to DP whereas in German (a concord language) case is realized with specific category-determined inflectional endings on D as well as on N and any modifier thereof. Importantly, for structural cases such as accusative the case affix these languages use does not always need to be overt. It can alternatively be zero.³

- (10) Ram-ne phu:loN-ko/-Ø su:ngħ-aa
 Ram-Erg flower-Pl-Acc smell-perf.-Default (3-m-Sg)
 'Ram smelt the flowers' (Hindi; R. Bhatt, p.c.)
- (11) John-ga dare-o/-Ø nagutta no?
 John-N who-Acc hit
 'Who did John hit?' (Japanese; Bittner & Hale (1996a:5))

Furthermore, in some of these languages nominative case is realized as a zero affix, i.e., the case affix for nominative also does not need to be overt.

- (12) Toz-Ø ben-i ranatsız ed-i-yos
 dust-Nom I-Acc uncomfortable make-progr.
 'Dust annoys me' (Turkish; M. Kelepir, p.c.)
- (13) Hasan bugün [bir kız]-la/*-Ø konuşmuş
 Hasan today [a girl]-Commit. talk-evid.perf.-3-Sg
 'Hasan talked with a girl today' (Turkish; M. Kelepir, p.c.)
- (14) Ram-ne kita:b Sita-ko/*-Ø di-i
 Ram-Erg book-f Sita-Dat give-Pl-perf.
 'Ram gave Sita books' (Hindi; R. Bhatt, p.c.)

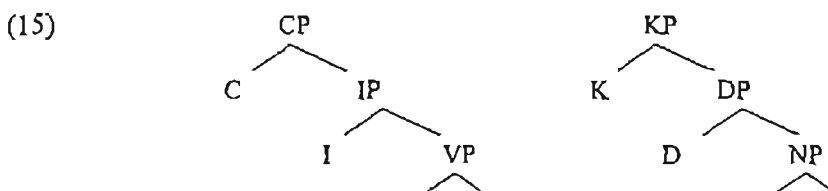
³ In most languages with case affixes their omission is used to express specificity or animacy. However, the option to overtly realize the affix or not and what it is used for are two separate issues.

To summarize, we observed effects of the overttness condition on inherent case in German, Hindi, Turkish and Japanese. In German this condition targets the determiner. In Hindi, Turkish, and Japanese it targets case affixes. Thus, in DPs with inherent case, it is the determiner (or adjective in the strong declension) that must be (phonetically) overt in German and the case affix that must be overt in Hindi, Turkish, and Japanese.

4. Analysis: Step 1

The first step towards a solution to the Genitive puzzle is to formalize the intuition that there is an overttness condition on inherent case. In other words, we have to give an answer to the questions of which position in DP has to be (phonetically) overt for the purposes of inherent case licensing and how this is achieved.

The question for the position in nominals that has to be overt for inherent case licensing requires certain assumptions about the structure of nominals. I will follow (among others) Bittner & Hale (1996a) in assuming that their structure parallels the structure of CPs, i.e., two functional layers are on top of NP, DP, the equivalent to IP, immediately dominating NP, and KP, immediately dominating DP, the equivalent to CP.⁴



Specifically, I follow Bittner & Hale in assuming that case affixes are the overt realization of the functional head K.⁵ The difference between Hindi, Turkish, Japanese and German is thus that the former overtly realize K whereas German does not. In the previous section we saw that in German it is the determiner that has to be overt under inherent case licensing whereas in Hindi, Turkish and Japanese it is the case affix. So which head in the structure in (15) has to be overt, K or D? Consider the example in (16).

- (16) Hasan bugün bir kitap-ı/Ø al-mış
 Hasan today a book buy-evid.perf.-3-Sgl
 'Hasan bought a (specific) book today' (Turkish, M. Kelepir, p.c.)

In (16) *bir kitap-ı*, 'a book', contains both an indefinite determiner and a case affix which can be overt or not. The fact that determiners and case affixes can co-occur and that it is the case affix that is subjected to the overttness condition on inherent case leads us to conclude that it must be K that has to be overt for inherent case licensing.

⁴ For arguments for the parallelism between CP and KP cf. Bittner & Hale (1996a).

⁵ Various orderings of K, D, and N are possible. Which of these realized in a given language depends, e.g., on the head-parameter, N-to-D movement (cf. Giorgi & Longobardi (1991)), and so forth.

How is overtness of K achieved? We saw that in Hindi, Turkish, and Japanese this is done by phonetically realizing K. German does not use case affixes. It must employ another strategy to *make* K overt. I suggest that this is done by D-to-K movement, i.e., in German K is phonetically overt if in the structure in (15) phonetically overt D raises to K.

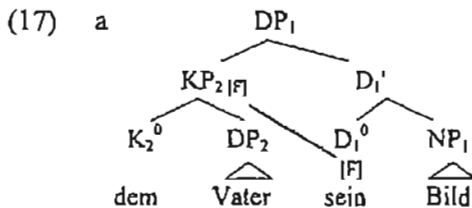
Reconsider the *Genitive Puzzle*. In German genitive case is illicit on KPs with PrePoss because they prevent this KP from obeying an overtness condition on inherent case. We found out that it is K that must be overt and that this requires D-to-K movement in German. This allows us to be more specific about the interference effect of PrePoss. It must be that PrePoss block D-to-K movement, which is necessary for K to be overt.

5. Analysis: Step 2

According to Chomsky (1995, 1998) syntactic movement is feature driven. Features can be either interpretable or uninterpretable the difference being that uninterpretable features must be checked in overt syntax and are deleted immediately upon checking.

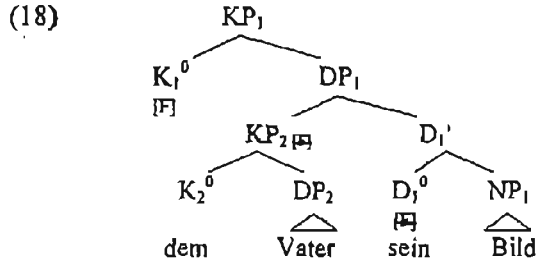
For D-to-K movement in German this means that movement is possible only if both D and K contain a feature [F]. If either D or K enters the derivation without [F] or is deprived of it via feature-checking movement is blocked. Recall that PrePoss prevent the possessed KP from obeying the overtness condition on inherent case by blocking D-to-K movement. From our discussion it follows that they can do so only by depriving either D or K of [F]. Since PrePoss occupy SpecDP and thus do not affect on K they must deprive D of [F]. They can do so by entering a feature checking relation with D. Because PrePoss are maximal projections (KPs) the only conceivable feature checking relation between D and PrePoss is one that serves the licensing of case and/or agreement on PrePoss.

This is the puzzle's solution. Recall that D licenses structural dative case on PrePoss. Unlike inherent structural case licensing relies on checking of an uninterpretable feature [F] in licensor and licensee. Since PrePoss enters such a feature checking relation with D, [F] in both PrePoss and D is deleted. Thus, D cannot move to K any longer, K remains non-overt and thereby fails to meet the overtness requirement on inherent case licensing.⁶ This account is summarized with the help of tree diagrams in (17)–(19).

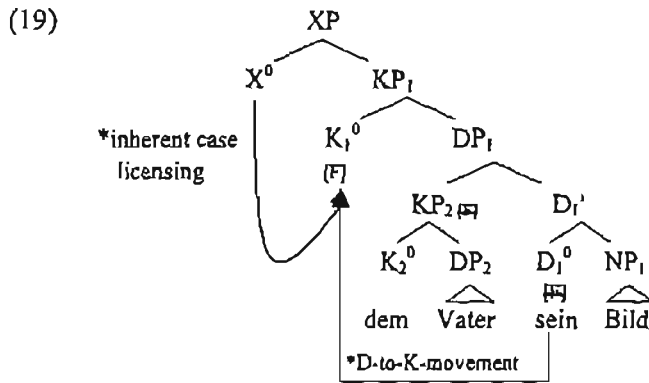


⁶ Note that D-to-K movement is not caused by the overtness condition. It is a PF condition (and as such cannot affect syntax proper) that is satisfied as a reflex of D-to-K movement. For now we will assume that this movement happens for independent reasons. What these reasons are is a topic for future research.

In (17) D_1 and NP_1 merge to yield DP_1 . D_1 has an $[F]$ feature it needs to check. In a second step PrePoss (KP_2) is merged with the existing DP_1 . The PrePoss KP has an $[F]$ feature of its own. It needs a head with the same feature that licenses structural case on it. In D_1 the possessor KP finds its match. Both need to check $[F]$, which they do by virtue of the Spec-Head relation they are in. As a result $[F]$ in both is deleted.



The next step in the derivation is the merger of K_1 with DP_1 (resulting in the formation of KP_1) as depicted in (18). K_1 comes with $[F]$ and needs to check this feature. However, this cannot be achieved in (18). All formerly available $[F]$ features have been deleted in the feature checking process between KP_2 and D_1 which served the licensing of structural case on PrePoss (KP_2). Thus D_1 cannot be attracted by and hence also cannot move to K_1 . Therefore K_1 remains phonetically covert with an undischarged $[F]$ feature. Accordingly K_1 violates the overtiness condition on inherent case licensing, i.e., since K_1 remains non-overt, KP_1 cannot bear inherent case (which in German is genitive case). This is shown in (19) where the lexical head X attempts to license inherent case on KP_1 .



The structure in (19) shows what happens when inherent (genitive) case licensing is attempted on a KP with PrePoss in German and why this is illicit. It is equally easy to infer from this structure why structural (nominative, accusative, dative) case licensing is possible on such a KP. Recall that structural case is licensed via feature checking of $[F]$ between licenser and licensee. Thus, in a configuration where structural case is licensed on KP_1 the licensing head X enters the derivation with the relevant feature $[F]$. So did K_1 in (19). Therefore, a feature checking relation between X and KP_1 (given that $[F]$ in K is passed on as a feature of KP) in (19) is possible. This relation grants structural case on KP_1 . Since structural case licensing is not subject to an overtiness condition this relation is successful independently of whether KP_1 contains PrePoss or not.

Our solution to the *Genitive Puzzle* has two immediate consequences. First, dative case in German can be licensed on KPs with PrePoss. Thus, we predict that dative case is licensed structurally, i.e., differs from the genitive in its licensing mechanisms. This is controversial since the German dative has traditionally been analyzed as an inherent case just like the German genitive.

Second, in German D-to-K movement is necessary for K to be overt. But, as we discussed above in languages that use case affixes (Hindi, Turkish, Japanese) K can be phonetically overt independent of D-to-K movement. Thus, feature checking between PrePoss and D, which deprives D of [F], has no effect on the overtness of K. Hence, K fulfills the overtness condition on inherent case whether PrePoss are present or not. Thus, our account predicts that inherent case licensing is possible in the presence of PrePoss in languages using case affixes. Both predictions will be tested in the next two sections.

6. The German Dative

The questions we have to answer now is in what ways the German dative differs from the genitive and whether this dative is indeed a structural case. We will begin by discussing the possibility that the German dative is a structural case.

PrePoss are a first example for structural dative case in German. As we discussed in section 2 they receive structural dative case from the functional head D. Further evidence for dative being structural comes from possessor raising. In possessor raising constructions a KP receives (dative) case from the verb but acts like a semantic argument of a possessee. Landau (1999) argues that these structures involve case driven movement. The dative KP starts out as a possessor and receives the corresponding θ -role within another KP. However, case assignment to the possessor fails within this KP. Thus, the possessor moves to a VP internal position to license its case. This is an instance of non- θ related case. Hence, it cannot be inherent case. Thus, if possessor raising exists in German this would support the claim that the German dative is a structural case.

Landau (1999:9) notes the following properties of possessor raising:

- (20) a. Possession or Creation interpretation is obligatory.⁷
 b. The possessed DP cannot be an external argument.
 c. The raised possessor must c-command the possessed DP (or its trace).
- (21) Man hat [_{KP} dem Peter]_i gestern [_{KP}[_{DP} t_i[_D[_D⁰die] [_{NP}Hose]]]] ruiniert.
 one-N has the-D Peter-D yesterday the-A pants-A ruined
 'Someone ruined Peter's pants yesterday.'

⁷ Landau (1999) focussed on Hebrew PrePoss, which can receive only a creation or author interpretation. Thus (20a) can be re-interpreted as: The possessor must receive one of the interpretations it can receive within KP.

An example for the German possessor raising construction is given in (21). In (21) the raised possessor, *dem Peter*, can only receive an interpretation that is available to a DP internal possessor, i.e., it must be interpreted as either the possessor or the creator of *die Hose*. Thus, condition (20a) is satisfied. Furthermore, this possessor is extracted out of a direct object DP. Thus it c-commands its trace (from SpecVP). Hence condition (20b) is also satisfied. As for condition (20c) consider the example in (22)

- (22) a *<sub>[KP_{DP} t_{[D: [D die] [NP Mutter]]]}] hat _{[KP dem Peter]_i} gestern eine Hose ruiniert.
 the-N mother-N has the-D Peter-D yesterday a pants ruined
 * 'Peters mother ruined a pair of pants yesterday'
 ok '(Someone's) mother ruined a pair of Peter's pants yesterday'</sub>

As (22) conveys, possessor raising out of an external argument is illicit. Hence, condition (20c) holds for German as well. Since all conditions in (20) are met we can conclude that German does have possessor raising, i.e., an instance of non- θ related dative case. This supports the claim that dative case in German is/can be structural case.

Genitive KPs cannot undergo possessor raising. This sets the genitive aside from the dative and indicates that there are crucial differences between them. In section 3 we observed another property that separates dative and genitive. There are dative but no genitive bare plurals. Furthermore, genitive but not dative case, is blocked by PrePoss.

A further construction that draws a distinction between genitives and datives is the passive, specifically passivization of reflexive verbs. Consider the examples in (23).

- (23) a Ich habe mich Peter anvertraut.
 I-N have me-A Peter-D trusted to
 'I gave myself into Peter's care.'
- b Ich wurde Peter anvertraut.
 I-N was Peter-D trusted to
 'I was given into Peter's care.'

The verb in (23) selects for a reflexive accusative object (DO) and a dative object (IO). This verb can be passivized without problems (23b). Consider now the data in (24).

- (24) a Ich erinnerte mich guter Zeiten
 I-N remembered me-A good-G times-G
 'I remembered good times'
- b *Ich wurde guter Zeiten erinnert
 I-N was good-G times-G remembered
 'I was reminded of good times'

(24) minimally differs from (23) in that a genitive instead of a dative IO is chosen. As (24b) shows, passivization of a reflexive verb selecting for genitive IO is ungrammatical. This is another instance where the choice of either genitive or dative makes a difference.

The last difference between genitives and datives we will consider here concerns constructions such as the one in (25).

- (25) a Mir graut vor der Prüfung.
 I-D dread of the-D exam-D
 'I am terrified by the exam/scared of the exam'
- b Es graut mir vor der Prüfung.
 It dread I-D of the-D exam-D
 'I am terrified by the exam/scared of the exam'

As (27a) shows, a certain class of German verbs selects for what could be a quirky dative subject. Alternatively it might be that the dative argument is topicalized and just happens to satisfy EPP on T on its way to SpecCP. This is supported by (27b) where merger of an expletive satisfies EPP on T. Since determining whether the dative KP in (27a) is indeed a quirky subject is beyond the scope of this paper we will refer to these datives as 'semiquirky' subjects. For us it is important that this construction cannot be found with genitives. Again we conclude that German genitives and datives are indeed different.⁸

Let us briefly summarize our discussion. At the beginning of this section we showed that in certain structures the German dative can be a structural case. Evidence for this claim came from PrePoss and possessor raising constructions. The second part of the discussion dealt with crucial differences between genitive and dative case. Genitive but not dative case licensing is blocked by PrePoss, there are dative but not genitive bare plurals, reflexive verbs can be passivized if they select for a dative but not if they select for a genitive IO. Finally, datives but not genitives can be semi-quirky subjects.

⁸ Passivization provides the context for yet another difference between genitives and datives. A passivized verb selecting for a dative argument allows for a by-phrase (1). However, 'insertion' of the by-phrase in a passivized sentence with a verb selecting for a genitive argument is considerably marked (2).

- | | | | |
|-------|--|-----|--|
| (1) a | Peter hat mir geholfen. Peter-N has I-D helped. 'Peter has helped me' | b | Mir wurde von Peter geholfen I-D was by Peter helped 'I was helped by Peter' (i.e., 'Peter helped me') |
| (2) a | Wir gedachten der Opfer I-N remembered the-G victims-G 'We remembered the victims' | b?? | Der Opfer wurde von uns gedacht the-G victims-G was by us remembered 'The victims were remembered by us' |

Is the German dative a structural case like nominative and accusative? No. There are important differences between them. Let us briefly consider two of them. As is well known under passivization the DO moves to subject position to receive nominative case, i.e., accusative case is not retained under passivization. However, as we saw in (25b), unlike the truly structural accusative case, dative case is retained under passivization.

Another contrast between structural nominative/accusative and dative case arises in secondary predication. As Bayer, Bader & Meng (1999) show, secondary predicates can be linked to a nominative or accusative (26a) but not to a dative argument (26b).

- (26) a Hans₁ hat den Rektor₂ schon dreimal betrunken_{1/2} getroffen
 Hans-N has the-A rector-A already three-times drunk met
 ok₁ Hans ran into the rector three times already when Hans was drunk.
 ok₂ Hans ran into the rector three times already when the rector was drunk
- b Hans₁ ist dem Rektor₂ schon dreimal betrunken_{1/*2} begegnet
 Hans-N is the-D rector-D already three-times drunk met
 ok₁ Hans ran into the rector three times already when Hans was drunk.
 *₂ Hans ran into the rector three times already when the rector was drunk

Thus, we are left with a dilemma. Dative clearly differs from genitive case but it also differs from the structural cases. How does this fit our view of a two-way distinction between inherent and structural cases? It does not. It necessitates a three-way distinction between structural, inherent and a 'weak structural' or 'oblique' case as this third case has been named by de Hoop (1992) or Hale & Bittner (1996a), who originally advanced the proposal of a three-way distinction. Specifically, I propose that dative differs from genitive regarding its licensing. Genitive case is inherent case. It must be lexically selected and obey the overttness condition. Dative case on the other hand is licensed like (structural) nominative and accusative via a process of feature checking between licenser and licensee. What other properties are connected to dative case licensing, i.e., the properties that set it aside from nominative and accusative case is yet another issue. One might hypothesize that although dative case is licensed in a structural manner it might have to be lexically selected like the genitive. I leave this question for future research.

To summarize the main points of this section: we first provided evidence for instances of structural dative case licensing. We then went on to uncover crucial differences between dative and genitive phrases. Finally we showed that dative is also different from nominative and accusative case. Thus, dative case seems to behave neither like the inherent case genitive nor like the 'proper' structural cases nominative and accusative. As a solution to this problem we suggested that the case system involves a three-way distinction between structural, inherent and a weak structural or oblique case. The German dative is the latter. It is licensed structurally but differs in yet undetermined ways from nominative and accusative. For our purposes it is important that dative case is licensed structurally, i.e., by virtue of a feature checking relation. This confirms our predictions from the end of the previous section. Although dative case is not one of the 'true' structural cases it employs the same licensing mechanism, i.e., it is licensed via feature checking. Therefore its licensing remains unaffected by PrePoss.

7. Possession in Hindi, Turkish, and Japanese

Recall that PrePoss block genitive case licensing in German by preventing the KP they are in from obeying the (PF) overtess condition on inherent case. They do so by entering a feature checking relation with D. This relation serves the licensing of structural (dative) case on PrePoss and deprives D of the feature [F], the prerequisite for D-to-K movement. Thus D cannot move to K, K remains non-overt and inherent case licensing fails.

As we discussed above, K is phonetically overt independent of D-to-K movement in languages that use case affixes to mark case on KP. This is because case affixes are the (phonetically) overt realization of K (cf. Bittner & Hale (1996a)). Hence, PrePoss in these languages have no influence on the overtess of K. Our analysis thus predicts that in these languages PrePoss should not block inherent case licensing, i.e., KPs with PrePoss should be able to bear inherent case. Consider now the data in (27) - (29).

- (27) a me-NE [Ram-kii chaabhii]-se taalaa kholaa
 I-Erg Ram-Gen-f key-f -with (Ins.) lock open-Pfv
 'I opened the lock with Ram's key'
- b me-NE [Ram-ke ghar] -me gaanaa gaa-yaa
 I-Erg Ram-Gen home -in (Loc.) song sing-Pfv
 'I sang a song in Ram's house' (Hindi; R.Bhatt, p.c.)
- (28) a [Hasan-ın odası]-nda oyna-dım
 Hasan-Gen room-3poss -Loc play-Pst.-1Sg
 'I played in Hasan's room'
- b [Hasan-ın oyuncakı]-yla oyna-dım
 Hasan-Gen toy-3poss -Inst. play-Pst.-1Sg
 'I played with Hasan's toy' (Turkish; M.Kelepir, p.c.)
- (29) a John-ga [Peter-no furui omocha]-de asonda
 John-Nom [Peter-Gen old toy]-Inst play-Pst
 'John played with Peter's old toy'
- b John-ga [Peter-no mukashino tomodachi]-ni omocha-o ageta
 John-Nom [Peter-Gen old friend] -Dat toy-Acc give-Pst
 'John gave the toy to Peter's old friend.' (Japanese; Mizuki Miyashita, p.c.)

As these examples convey, the prediction that inherently cased KPs can contain PrePoss in languages using case affixes is correct for Hindi, Turkish, and Japanese. Pending further investigation I expect this to be true for all languages using case affixes. Thus, our analysis makes an important (and correct) typological prediction: in languages using case affixes PrePoss do not interfere in inherent case licensing.

8. Conclusion

This paper aimed at providing a solution to the Genitive Puzzle in German: KPs with PrePoss cannot bear genitive case. It was argued that this is because PrePoss prevent their embedding KP from obeying a PF-condition that holds on inherent case licensing - the K

head of the inherently cased KP has to be phonetically overt. There are two ways for K to be overt. In Hindi, Turkish, and Japanese K is realized as a case affix. However, in German phonetically overt D must move to K for K to be overt. This movement is triggered by an uninterpretable feature [F], which must be present in both D, and K. Uninterpretable features are deleted immediately upon checking. The feature [F] is also necessary for the licensing of structural case on PrePoss. Structural case is licensed via a feature checking relation between D and PrePoss. Because this relation involves [F] it deprives D of this feature. Hence, D cannot move to K after licensing structural case on PrePoss for lack of [F]. Thus, K remains non-overt and fails to obey the (PF) overttness condition on inherent case licensing. Accordingly, a configuration with PrePoss in a KP requiring inherent case is ruled out in German.

This account has two immediate consequences. First, since dative case in German can be licensed on a KP containing PrePoss it follows that the German dative employs feature checking as its licensing mechanism. Second, since in languages that use case affixes K is phonetically overt independent of D-to-K movement, we predict that in these languages PrePoss do not block inherent case licensing. Both predictions are correct.

Further evidence for the claim that there is an overttness condition on inherent case, which was not discussed in this paper, can be found for instance in Miskitu, Russian, and Yaqui. Like, e.g., Hindi, Miskitu and Yaqui realize case as an affix to DP. As in Hindi, this affix does not need to be overt for the structural cases but it is obligatorily overt for inherent cases. Also on par with the Hindi findings, PrePoss do not block inherent case licensing. In Russian effects of the overttness condition can be found in relative clauses. While (masc.) relative pronouns marked for nominative, *kotorj*, and accusative case, *kotorju*, can be replaced by non-case marked *čto* the same is illicit for the relative pronoun in the instrumental case *kotorym* (cf. Pesetsky (1998)).

Furthermore, the proposal advanced above relates to a generalization established by Holmberg (1994). According to Holmberg, determiners and rich morphological case tend to be in complementary distribution across languages. He shows that at least in the Indo-European language family there is no language that has neither overt determiners nor overt case morphology. This is (in a somewhat weaker version) predicted by our analysis. Specifically, our proposal predicts that there should be no language such that it has inherent case like the German genitive and PrePoss and that has neither overt determiners nor case affixes nor other strategies to make inherent case visible. (Other strategies refers to, for example, particles in Chinese or pronominal agreement in polysynthetic languages.)

Finally one might wonder whether there are other languages that behave like German, i.e., languages in which inherent case licensing is blocked by PrePoss. I do not expect this. German is at a particular stage of its syntactic development right now. The genitive case is disappearing from the declension system, its function being 'taken over' by the dative case. To the same degree that the presence of the genitive weakens, pronominal dative possessors, which were doomed to be a dialectal or colloquial variant (but existed in Old High German already), gain ground. I take this relation to be causal. Presumably there existed a stage in German language history where genitive case could

be licensed structurally. However, in the process of its 'decay' this option has been lost leaving room only for inherent case licensing. Swedish confirms that this view is essentially correct. Old Swedish used postnominal possessors (N-poss constructions). However, postnominal possessors were replaced with prenominal possessors in the period from 1250-1350. This happens to be exactly the period in which the morphological case system of Swedish was weakened by the loss of genitive case.

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