Today’s topics and goals

• NOM/ACC vs. ERG/ABS alignment

• Two theories of ERG:
  1. ERG as inherent case assigned by $v$.
  2. ERG as upwards dependent case.

• Empirical basis and discussion: Koryak (Abramovitz 2020).
Languages with NOM/ACC alignment: subject of intransitive and subject of transitive verbs are marked with the same case (NOM), to the exclusion of object of a transitive verb (ACC).

Languages with ERG/ABS alignment: subject of intransitive verbs and object of transitive verbs are marked with the same case (ABS), to the exclusion of subject of transitive verbs (ERG).

(1)  
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<th>$S_{trans}$</th>
<th>ERG</th>
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<th>$S_{intrans}$</th>
<th>ABS</th>
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<td>NOM</td>
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<td>ACC</td>
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(2) \textit{nom/acc in Mongolian}

a. Tujaajav-san.
   TujaaNOMgo-PST
   ‘Tujaawent.’

b. BiBold-igkhar-san.
   I.NOMBold-ACCsee-PST
   ‘I saw Bold.’
(3) **ERG/ABS in Koryak**

a. ɣǝm-ǝm t-ǝ-nu-ne-w ǝvǝn?-u.
   ‘I ate berries.’

b. ʔətʔ-ǝ-n ʔ∅-viʔ-ı.
   ‘The dog died.’
ERG in each theory of case assignment

- Case assigned by dedicated heads:
  - NOM/ACC alignment: $T_{FIN}$ assigns NOM to the highest DP and $v$ assigns ACC to object.
  - ERG/ABS alignment: ERG is a type of inherent case assigned by $v$. ABS is assigned to the remainder DP.

- Configurational view:
  - ERG is upwards dependent case.
  - No association between ERG and $\theta$-role assignment.
ERG in each theory of case assignment

• Case assigned by dedicated heads:
  ▶ NOM/ACC alignment: $T_{FIN}$ assigns NOM to the highest DP and $v$ assigns ACC to object.
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• Configurational view:
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More on inherent/lexical case

- Case assigned along with a θ-role.
- Usually preserved (just like a θ-role), irrespective of the construction (e.g. ECM and raising).
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Inherent case in Icelandic

(4) a. **Hún** sá **myndina** sína.
   she.NOM saw the.picture.ACC self’s.ACC
   ‘She saw her (own) picture.’

   b. **Hún** virðist [ t hafa séð myndina ].
      she.NOM seems [ have seen the.picture.ACC ]
      ‘She seems to have seen the picture.’

   c. **Ég** tel [ **hana** hafa séð myndina ].
      I believe.1SG [ she.ACC have seen the.picture.ACC ]
      ‘I believe her to have seen the picture.’

   • **She**: always the external argument of **see**, but different cases according to construction.
Inherent case in Icelandic

(4) a. **Hún** só **myndina** **sína**.
    She.NOM saw the.picture.ACC self’s.ACC
    ‘She saw her (own) picture.’

b. **Hún** **virðist** [ **t hafa séð** **myndina** ].
    she.NOM seems [ have seen the.picture.ACC ]
    ‘She seems to have seen the picture.’

c. **Ég** **tel** [ **hana** **hafa séð** **myndina** ].
    I believe.1SG [ she.ACC have seen the.picture.ACC ]
    ‘I believe her to have seen the picture.’

*She*: always the external argument of *see*, but different cases according to construction.
(5)  
a. **Henni** leiðist bókin sín.
   she.DAT bores the.book.NOM self’s
   ‘She finds her (own) book boring.’

b. **Henni** virðist [t hafa leiðst bókin].
   she.DAT seems [have bored the.book.NOM]
   ‘She seems to find the book boring.’

c. **Ég** tel [**henni** hafa leiðst bókin].
   I believe.1SG [she.DAT have bored the.book.NOM]
   ‘I believe her to have found the book boring.’

• Lexical DAT on *she* (as well as its θ-role) is preserved throughout the constructions.
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    she.DAT bores the.book.NOM self’s
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    c. **Ég** tel [ **henni** hafa leiðst bókin ].
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    ‘I believe her to have found the book boring.’

- Lexical **DAT** on **she** (as well as it θ-role) is preserved throughout the constructions.
Another paradigm of the same type:

(6) a. Við hjálpum / björgum / heilsuðum henni. we helped / rescued / greeted she.DAT ‘We helped/rescued/greeted her.’

   b. Henni var hjálpað / bjargað / heilsað t. she.DAT was helped / rescued / greeted ‘She was helped/ rescued/greeted.’

Preservation of lexical DAT under passivization.
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a. Við hjálpuðum / björguðum / heilsuðum **henni**.  
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    she.DAT was helped / rescued / greeted  
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- Preservation of lexical DAT under passivization.
• The theories will vary on two axes:
  ▶ $\theta$-role of ERG DP.
  ▶ Presence/absence of another DP in the same domain.
The theories will vary on two axes:

- \(\theta\)-role of ERG DP.
- Presence/absence of another DP in the same domain.

1. **ERG as inherent case assigned by \(v\):** ERG should bear the same \(\theta\)-role; presence/absence of another DP is irrelevant.

2. **ERG as upwards dependent case:** ERG is not expected to bear the same \(\theta\)-role; presence/absence of another DP does matter.
[see handout]
