

1985

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Levin, Juliette and Massam, Diane (1985) "Surface Ergativity: Case/Theta Relations Reexamined," *North East Linguistics Society*. Vol. 15 : Iss. 1 , Article 20.

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Surface Ergativity: Case/Theta Relations Reexamined*

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0.0 Introduction

In this paper, surface ergative Case systems such as that exhibited in Niuean, are shown to provide crucial evidence for assessing universal claims relating Case assignment to the assignment of thematic roles. In Niuean, a Polynesian language of the Tongic subgroup, verbs taking sentential complements, are shown to fall into two basic classes: those with ergative subjects, and those with absolutive subjects. Ergative Case marking on subjects of verbs taking sentential complements appears to be counterevidence to Safir's (1982) proposal that S's

(S'="S-bar") cannot receive Case. Whether directly or indirectly, such sentential complements must be viewed as receiving absolutive Case. The fact that such verbs are all able to also take NPs as direct objects supports this view. On the other hand, absolutive Case marking on the subjects of other verbs taking sentential complements, argues for a theory in which S's may, but need not receive Case, in apparent contradiction to Stowell's (1981) claim that they must.² This fact when viewed in light of Burzio's (1981) Generalization $T \leftarrow A$, given in (1) shows that $T \rightarrow A$ is a spurious generalization if intended to hold of NPs and S's.

(1) Burzio's Generalization (1981)

$T \leftarrow A$, where T=assignment of theta-role to subject,
A=accusative [absolutive] Case assignment [to object].

Such evidence strengthens the claim that $T \rightarrow A$ is derivable from the Case Filter if S's are viewed as being inherently [+Case]. The fact that the class of verbs taking absolutive subjects properly includes the class of Raising-to-subject verbs in Niuean lends further support to the second part of Burzio's Generalization, namely $A \rightarrow T$. The non-existence of ergative subjects in such constructions makes $A \rightarrow T$ appear to be not only a true generalization, but one which clearly must be derived from deeper principles, in particular, one limiting the number of Cases to not more than the number of thematic roles, and another ensuring that in every chain there is one and only one theta-position. This principle is further supported by the cross-linguistic absence of ergative expletives.

1.0 Basic Case Assignment

Before looking at sentential objects in Niuean and their significance for Case and Theta theory, we will present our proposals for Case theory and Case assignment. To be formalized is the difference in Case Assignment which results in the two surface patterns Nominative-Accusative (or N/A) and Ergative/Absolutive (or E/A) Case Assignment which are

CASE/THETA

illustrated in (2).

(2) Case-marking in Nominative/Accusative, Ergative/Absolute Languages

Structural position	N/A	E/A
a. NP/S of transitive Verb	NOM	ERG
b. NP/S of intransitive Verb	NOM	ABS
c. NP/VP (of transitive Verb)	ACC	ABS

We propose the following:

(3) Z^O a governor, then Z^O has associated with it C_z , where C = Abstract Case.³

Given current X' Theory, in which I^O is head of either S or S', every sentence will contain I^O and V^O . Just in case INFL is a governor, a sentence will be generated with C_I and C_V .

To capture the apparent generalization that in N/A languages, nominative Case is always assigned (cf. Safir, 1982) and in E/A languages absolute Case is always assigned, we invoke the preliminary conditions on Case assignment shown in (4):⁴

(4) Conditions on Case Assignment

- A. C must be assigned (see Note 4).
- B. C_x^y ($y \neq x$) can be assigned only under theta-government.⁵
(External theta-role assigned by VP via INFL.)
- C. Case is assigned only under government.

Given condition A., the N/A-E/A parameter is reduced to the value of x , as illustrated in (5):

(5) Case Parameter

- a. $x = I$ (Nominative/Accusative)
- b. $x = V$ (Ergative/Absolute)

This is in accord with the relations established by Marantz (1984) where Nominative Case is equivalent to Absolute Case.

LEVIN/MASSAM

Note that we have yet to explicate how Case is assigned. As we will show shortly, it is necessary to assume that all lexical governors have a feature [+CA] where CA refers to Case Assignment. If an element is [+CA] then it must assign its Case, that is, the Case determined by (3); if it is [-CA] then it cannot assign Case. We also adopt the conditions in (6) and (7).

- (6) $C = \alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n$ is a chain only if:
- A. α_1 is $^N[+N, -V]$ (i.e. S', NP)
 - B. $x_i = \alpha_i$ iff PRO or [+Case] (i.e. iff Case-linked; Brody, 1983)
 - C. Given an A-position, P_i , there is a chain C, such that C contains P_i and there exists in C some P_j to which a theta-role is assigned.⁶
- (cf. Chomsky, 1981; Rizzi, 1982; Brody, 1983)

(6A) extends the standard definition of A-chain to include those headed by S'. (6B) states that PRO or a Case-marked element must head a chain, and that all chains must be headed by PRO or a Case-marked element. (6C) states that every A-position must be in a chain, and that every chain must contain one position to which a theta-role is assigned.

- (7) A. S' is [+Case]
 B. Case is only visible under government. (Levin, 1984)

As mentioned above in (4c), Case is assigned under government. Furthermore, the feature C_x may percolate along the path $I^0 \dots V^0$. To illustrate the Case assignment system we are

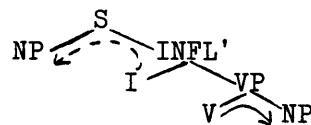
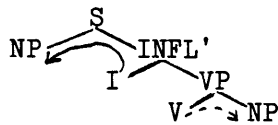
CASE/THETA

proposing, lets look at (8).

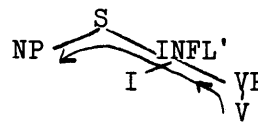
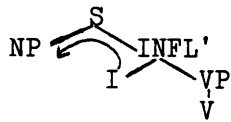
(8) N/A system (x=I)

E/A system (x=V)

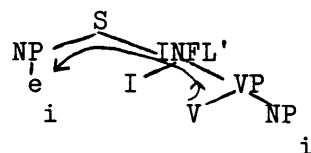
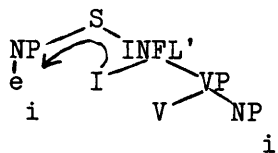
a. Transitive verb



b. Intransitive verb



c. "Unaccusative" verb



Restricting our attention for the moment to NPs, in (8.a) C_x must be assigned, where C is assigned under government. For $y \neq x$ C may be assigned under theta-government. Note here that we take external theta-roles to be assigned by VP via INFL. If C_y is not assigned in (8.a) a violation of the Case Filter (as rephrased in (6.B)) will result. In (8.b) where there is no internal argument, the CCA will be satisfied as in (8.a) for N/A languages. However, for E/A, since C_x (absolute Case) must be assigned, C_x must percolate from V to I. In (8.c), no external theta-role is assigned. By (6.C) co-indexing between the non-argument subject and the NP/VP is forced. Subsequently, by (6.B) C_x must be assigned to the head of the chain, i.e. to subject position. An alternative realization of the D-structure in (8.c) involves raising of the internal argument to the subject position, where it would be assigned C_x directly.

Replacing NP with an S' argument in (8.b) or (8.c) will result in exactly the same Case assignment, since although S's need not receive Case, C_x must be assigned, and thus, the chain containing the S' will have the feature [+Case]. Throughout, we allow the inherent Case in S's (see 7.A) to be compatible with Case assignment. However, in (8.a), if either of the NP's are replaced by S's a different scenario results. If only the internal argument is sentential, Case will be assigned to it only if the verb in question is +CA, i.e. a Case assigner. If

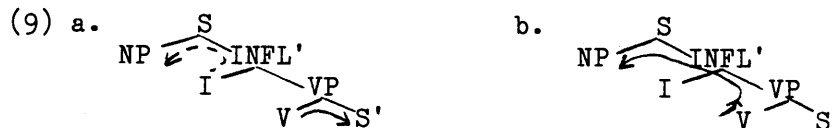
LEVIN/MASSAM

the verb is -CA, C_i will be assigned under government to NP/S, and the S' will not be assigned Case, but will satisfy the Case Filter (6.B) due to its inherent Case. If the external argument in (8.a) is an S', it will receive Nominative Case in the NA system, however in the EA system ergative Case may or may not be assigned to the S'.

We are now ready to illustrate how data from surface-ergative languages is at odds with the first part of Burzio's Generalization, T--->A, a fact predicted in our model where instances of T--->A are all the result of the Case Filter, (6.B). We will then present data which argues that the second half of Burzio's Generalization, A--->T be derived from a more general principle, as is the case in our model.

2.0 The Niuean Data

The Niuean data motivates an analysis in which both (9.a) and (9.b) are possible.



That is, transitive verbs with S' complements subdivide into two classes, one which appears with ergative subjects, and the other with absolutive subjects. In (10) and (11) the two classes of Niuean verbs are exemplified. It should be noted here that although surface word order in Niuean is VSO we assume SVO order underlying with a syntactic rule of V-fronting (cf. Sproat, 1985 to appear). At S-structure, then, trees like those in (9) do exist, though V dominates a trace and I^o and V^o are adjacent in an S-adjoined position.

(10) (Sbj = Subjunctive marker)

- a. Kua iloa e mutolu [ke mailonga e mahani he langi] (M,180)
 Perf know Erg you Sbj distinguish Abs signs of sky
 'You know how to distinguish the appearance of the sky.'
- b. Kua iloa nī e au [to tutupu e tau mena he pō ia] (S,125)
 Perf know Emph Erg I Fut grow Abs Pl thing on night that
 'I just knew that things (clouds) would gather that night.'

CASE/THETA

- (11) a. Kua lali a ia [ke vangahau] (M,146)
 Perf try Abs he Sbj talk
 'He is trying to talk.
- b. Piko e mangafaoa haaku [ne fano a koe ki Sāmoa] (S,125)
 believe Abs family my Pst go Abs you to Samoa
 'My family believed (mistakenly) that you were going to Samoa.

The class of verbs which pattern with *iloa* 'know' in (10) is quite small. A list of these verbs is given in (12).

- (12) +CA verbs taking sentential arguments:
iloa, 'know;know how'; *kamata*, 'begin'; *kitia*, 'see';
manatu, 'think,wonder'; *longona*, 'hear,feel'; *talahaua*, 'say'.

The examples in (10)a. and b. illustrate that such verbs occur with both finite and non-finite complements. Such data appears to be counterevidence to Safir's (1982) hypothesis that S's can never receive Case. Though absolutive Case does not surface morphologically on S's, the ergative subject indicates that absolutive has been assigned. Given the CCA, absolutive Case (or C) must be assigned, leading us to conclude that the S' involved has been Case-marked. The fact that these +CA verbs show up with both finite and non-finite complements argues against a weaker version of Safir's proposal where the subset of tensed S's cannot be Case-marked.

One might argue that the S's in question are immediately dominated by NP thus accounting for their absolutive Case-marking. In fact, all the +CA verbs listed in (12) can also take NP objects, as shown in (13):

- (13) a. Kua iloa tuai e lautolu oti a au. (S-248)
 Perf know Perf Erg they all Abs me
 'All of them know me.'
- b. Kua kitia e maua e pusi haau i loto he tau fiti.
 Perf see Erg 1st,Ex,Du Abs cat your Loc inside of Pl flower
 'We see your cat among the flowers.'

Arguing that such S' complements are in fact NP's with either of the structures shown in (14) would predict that extraction from such clauses would result in violations of

LEVIN/MASSAM

subjacency.

- (14) a. b.

However, extraction from such clauses is grammatical as shown by (15), where relativization or Ko-Clefting has occurred out of a complement S'.

- (15) a. e ika [ne iloa e koe [ke hī]]
 Abs fish Nft know Erg you Sbj catch
 'the fish which you know how to catch'
- b. Ko e tau mena nei [kua iloa e ia [to aonga ki a]]
 Pred Abs pl thing these Perf know Erg he Fut be useful to him
 'It is these things which he knows will be useful to him.'

The fact that all the verbs listed in (12) take both NPs and S's is explained by the fact that these are +CA verbs. In short, we have seen that the existence of +CA verbs in Niuean which take S' complements argues for a theory in which S's may receive Case. We now turn to data which indicates that S's need not receive Case, as they are inherently [+Case] by (7.A).

First, we will examine verbs taking S' complements and having absolutive subjects, such as lali 'try' in (11.a). A partial list of these -CA verbs is given in (16):

- (16) -CA verbs taking S' complements:
 manaki, 'hope'; fakaanga, 'attempt'; foli, 'decide'; lali, 'try';
 fakalata, 'think'; manako, 'want'; talifaki, 'expect'; amaamanakii,
 'hope'; piko, 'believe'

We have already seen in (11) that such verbs appear with both finite and non-finite complements. The class of -CA verbs illustrates the Case-marking schema shown in (9.b). Sentential arguments, being inherently [+Case] need not be assigned Case, and so, absolutive can, and in fact must, be transmitted to INFL and assigned to NP/S, given the CCA in conjunction with (6.B). We agree with Stowell(1981) that S's must be in Case-marked chains (see fn. 2), though given (7.A), S's need not be assigned Case.

CASE/THETA

Now let us investigate the implications of this data for Burzio's Generalization, (see (1)), $T \rightarrow A$, where T = assignment of theta-role to subject and A = Accusative Case assignment [to object]. Noting, as we have in (1), that accusative Case is defined as that Case assigned by a verb to its object, it is clear that in ergative languages A of Burzio's Generalization refers to Absolutive Case, i.e. the Case assigned by a verb to its object.

Given the class of -CA verbs taking sentential complements it is clear that $T \rightarrow A$ does not hold. -CA verbs do not assign absolutive Case to their S' complements and yet a theta role is assigned to the subject. (In this instance, C percolates from V to I , and is assigned under government by I .^x See discussion of (8.b) above.) It seems that we have found the evidence which Burzio himself hypothesized might exist in his discussion:

"...our framework will not require that the statement $[-A \rightarrow -T]$ should hold for verbs in other than the configuration in $[NP V(-A) \dots NP_i]$, where NP_i is governed by V and only by V]. For example, we would expect that in a base form "NP V S" where there is no NP to assign Case to, the verb could very well lack the capability to assign accusative... However, since we find no evidence that would ever falsify it, we will assume that $[-A \rightarrow -T]$ holds categorically." (Burzio, 1981; p.169)

With the Niuean data, it is clear that the Generalization $T \rightarrow A$ is a consequence of the Case Filter, as Burzio suspected it might be, combined with the fact that NPs, but not S's, must be assigned Case.

Let us now examine the second part of Burzio's Generalization $A \rightarrow T$. This Generalization receives further support from surface ergative Case-marking languages which exhibit Raising to subject. As exemplified in (17), the raised subject in such constructions always appears with absolutive Case:

- (17) a. Kua kamata [_{NP_e}] [ke hala he tama e akau] (S-3.4)
 Perf begin Sbj cut Erg child Abs tree
 'The child has begun to cut down the tree.'
- b. Kua kamata [e tama] [ke hala [_{NP_e}] e akau]
 Abs

LEVIN/MASSAM

A list of raising-to-subject verbs is given in (18). As one might expect, all such verbs take non-finite (ke-) complements.

- (18) Raising-to-Subject (-CA) Verbs:
 maeke, 'can, be possible'; kamata, 'begin'; fakaai, 'not';
 mahani, 'usual, customary'; teitei, 'almost'; fetamakina, 'nearly'.

The absence of Raising-to-subject verbs with ergative subjects suggests that ergative Case is assigned only under theta-government. Such a gap in verb types is predicted within a theory where $C_{\bar{V}}$ (y/x) is assigned only under theta government. Note that the prediction made in this theory is that surface-ergative languages will never exhibit ergative expletives, or an ergative-marked NP in a non-theta position (though, see fn. 13).

3.0 Implications

Let us now review the conditions on chains and Case assignment proposed here in an attempt to establish their nature. Conditions on chains such as those in (6) are central to a theory which incorporates the theta criterion. Though the innovations we have suggested appear minor, they have widespread implications, perhaps resulting in undesirable redundancy. We will first examine (6). The conditions on chains listed in (6) are essentially those adopted by Chomsky (1981), Rizzi (1982), and Brody (1983). In (6.A) we have included S's. This allows a unified theory of argument chains. (6.B) is a formalization of the Natural Chain Condition (or a subpart thereof) proposed by Chomsky (class notes, 1984) in his attempt to rid S-structure of internal conditions. This condition also appears in Brody (1983) as "Alpha is the head of a chain iff Case-linked", where a theory of Case-linking allows one to do away with intrinsic feature specification of empty categories as [+pronominal], [+anaphoric].¹² For us, this condition, in conjunction with others, explains the fact that all verbs taking single arguments, whether internal or external, are [-CA].¹³ Note also, that apart from its internal necessity in this theory, (6.B) is translatable into a chain location algorithm, that is, given that the only Case-marked elements in A-chains are the heads of A-chains, such chains can be identified by reference to Case-marked elements, at least for NP's. Moving now to (6.C) we see that, roughly speaking, it captures the isomorphism which

CASE/THETA

holds between chains and theta roles. The effect of this condition is to force the coindexation of expletives with arguments. Chomsky has recently argued for such coindexation in his discussion of the theoretical construct "CHAIN", which is unnecessary given the non-existence of expletives at LF.

We now turn to the Conditions on Case Assignment given in (4). Stating (4.A) as a condition rather than a generalization, allows us to account straightforwardly for the N/A E/A parameter by choosing a value for x , as shown in (5). (4.B), on the other hand, which predicts the non-existence of accusative, ergative or oblique expletives, need not be stated in the grammar. It is a direct consequence of the theory outlined herein, specifically of (4.A) and (6).

In summary, evidence demonstrating that S's may but need not receive Case, has led us to conclude that the first half of Burzio's Generalization $T \rightarrow A$, does not hold universally, but rather that where it does hold, and that it holds just there, is derivable in full from the Case Filter, as modified above. We have also examined data lending further support to $A \rightarrow T$, demonstrating the necessity of deriving $A \rightarrow T$. The theory of Case Assignment we have developed derives $A \rightarrow T$, accounts for the restricted surface Cases of expletives (to nominative and absolutive), as well as positing a single parameter accounting for the surface Case frames of nominative/accusative versus ergative/absolutive systems.

FOOTNOTES

* We are greatly indebted to Luigi Burzio for detailed comments and discussion of an earlier version of this paper. The more we examine his original Generalization, the more we appreciate its subtlety, and its far-reaching consequences. We have also benefited from discussions with Hyon-Sook Choe, Noam Chomsky, Ken Hale, Kyle Johnson, David Pesetsky, Tim Stowell, and Luigi Rizzi. We would also like to thank Jerry Malumaleuma for his work as a Niuean consultant. Sources for example sentences are given in parentheses after each example, where S=Seiter(1980), and M=McEwen(1970).

¹We follow Marantz(1984) in classifying languages with surface-ergative Case systems together with nominative/accusative languages. True, or deep ergative languages differ from nominative/accusative languages and surface-ergative systems in terms of the underlying correspondances between semantic roles

LEVIN/MASSAM

and grammatical relations. While in nominative/accusative and surface-ergative languages the subject of a transitive verb is semantic AGENT and object of transitive verb is semantic PATIENT/THEME, in deep-ergative languages these correspondances are reversed. Throughout this paper ergative will denote surface ergative. For more on deep/surface ergativity see Marantz(1984), Bok-Bennema and Groos(1982) and Levin(1983). Although Niuean has surface-ergative Case marking, it is clearly not a deep-ergative language, as is obvious from (i).

- (i) a. Ne fakifaki e ia e fua moli. (M.29)
 Pst pluck Erg he Abs fruit orange
 "He plucked an orange."
 b. Ne hapo he tama e fuapolo.
 Pst catch Erg child Abs ball
 "The boy caught the ball."

That is to say, in (i) the subject of each sentence has the semantic role of AGENT while the object has that of PATIENT/THEME, just as in the English glosses provided.

²Stowell(1981), while arguing that S's need Case, also argues that tensed S's may not appear in Case-marked positions, due to his Case Resistance Principle (CRP). Our analysis of S's (ke-clauses) as being inherently Case-marked is not necessarily incompatible with the CRP, given Stowell's analysis of infinitival clauses in English. For more on this see Koster(1978) and Stowell(1981).

³By "associated with" we mean that for all Z^0 where Z^0 is a governor, there exists a redundancy rule of the form $Z^0 \rightarrow Z^0, C$. C can be viewed as a feature which enters into the phrase structure at the point Z^0 , but need not be assigned by the particular lexical item inserted under this node (see following discussion for conditions on Case transmission).

⁴Note that in non-finite clauses in N/A languages, i.e. where I^0 is not a governor, I^0 will not be associated with any Case, and hence (4a) is inapplicable. As for the claim that nominative Case is always assigned in N/A languages, there are apparent exceptions. For instance, there is the well-known "quirky Case" in Icelandic. Since this appears to be due to a lexical property of a class of verbs, we assume that it is assigned at D-structure, and hence may not be overridden at S-structure, leaving no NP to which nominative Case may be assigned.

⁵This proposal differs from the Case theory outlined in Chomsky(1984), in which both nominative and accusative are "structural" Cases (i.e. assigned regardless of theta-relations)

CASE/THETA

and all other Cases observe our Condition 4B. In fact, nothing in Chomsky's framework requires accusative Case to be structural. Furthermore, 4B allows us to formulate the parameter given in (5) and, as we show below in the text, 4B can be deduced from more general principles. Note further, that the phenomenon of split-ergativity (cf. Plank, 1979) where the choice of E/A vs. N/A is dependant on such things as embedded versus matrix clauses, the tense/aspect features in INFL, or pronouns versus full NPs, is at least given a preliminary descriptive account within this system. The value of x in (5) can be set in relation to other values. Thus for instance we might have $x=I$ iff I is governed (embedded clauses in a framework where I is head of S'), elsewhere, $x=V$.

⁶ Impersonal passive constructions, such as those found in German and Dutch, appear on the surface to falsify condition (6.C). If one assumes that the subject of an impersonal passive is nominative, then this element consists in a chain in and of itself, though the chain does not obviously contain a position to which a theta-role is assigned. However, given a theory of passive (cf. Jaeggli, 1984) in which passive morphology is viewed as an argument, it would be possible for the expletive to form a chain with this morpheme, resulting in a chain which satisfies condition (6.C). Clearly, restrictions on linking of expletives to verbal morphology must be invoked, as the impersonal passive construction appears to be a marked option and does not occur in all languages containing passive morphology. The extent to which (6.C) is relevant to these constructions depends entirely on the status of the Extended Projection Principle (Chomsky, 1982), which states that all sentences have subjects (NP/S). See also fn. 13.

⁷ An apparent counter-example to the claim that C_y , $y \neq x$, is assigned only under theta-government, is exceptional Case-marking (ECM). For ECM verbs, we assume that Case is assigned to a complement S , and is realized on the subject NP due to S' -deletion. For a detailed analysis of Case realization under ECM verbs, see Massam (in prep.).

⁸ Recall that even though sentences are inherently Case-marked, they will never appear in ungoverned positions due to the Case Visibility Principle (7.B). Thus we rule out sentential subjects of non-finite clauses.

⁹ Note that S 's could still be analyzed as NP's if one were to redefine bounding nodes as obligatorily branching nodes, as pointed out to us by Luigi Burzio (p.c.). However, this would require an otherwise unnecessary stipulation, namely that all Case-assigning verbs in Niuean take NPs regardless of the verb's inherent semantic properties; or that Case may be assigned only

LEVIN/MASSAM

to NPs. We follow Pesetsky(1982) in assuming that the distribution of S's is free, subject to semantic constraints. Thus, there is no independent motivation for considering a verb like *iloa* 'to know (how)' as taking an NP complement rather than an \bar{S} ' complement.

¹⁰This correspondance between accusative and absolutive Case is on the surface a contradiction to the Case parallelisms developed in Marantz between Nominative and Absolutive, but notice this is purely a function of the two factors involved in Case assignment:(1) the cross-linguistic parameterized value of C_x and (2) the language internal constant C_V . If we talk of C_x , we will group nominative and absolutive Case (i.e. C_I and C_V), whereas reference to C_V , which is required in the statement of Burzio's Generalization, will pair accusative and absolutive.

¹¹These same verbs also allow raising to subject from object position:

Kua kamata e akau ke hala he tama [\bar{e}]. (S,158)

Perf begin Abs tree Sbj. cut Erg child

Notice that here, ergative Case is assigned to the subject of the embedded clause, forcing us to analyze [\bar{e}] as a Case-marked trace. This in turn forces us to consider raising from object as movement through an A-bar position. For motivation of this analysis and extensions of it to other constructions see Massam(in prep.).

¹²The definition of Case-linking taken from Brody(1983) is as follows:

- A. i. A lexical NP has Case.
- ii. An empty category has no Case.
- B. NP_α is Case-linked iff α is the head of a chain.
- C. NP_α is Case-linked (to B) iff α has Case iff α is governed (and governed by B).
- D. If α is Case-linked to B, then α must be Case-matched to B.

¹³There are two interesting possible exceptions to this, which if correct, serve to support our claim that A--->T is to be derived from deeper principles. First, if the extended Projection Principle is not adopted absolutely, constructions could be found in which A--->T is falsified, while the proposed conditions in 4B and (6) receive further support. In a sentence with no external argument position, i.e., no NP/S, there need be no expletive in subject position and thus linking would not be applicable, allowing the internal argument to be assigned Case directly by the verb. Kitagawa(1984) proposes such an analysis for Polish impersonal passives. These passives are formed from

CASE/THETA

transitive verbs where the object receives accusative Case, though there is no external theta-role assigned. Second, a verb with a single internal sentential argument, could assign Case to this argument, in satisfaction of 4B, and get out of a violation of 6B,C if and only if some other argument could be linked to subject position, i.e. moved to or coindexed with this position. If the sentential argument just happened to be a non-finite clause, raising from subject to subject could occur, without violating (4) or (6). Note however, that such a verb would always appear in a Raising construction, and would not be easily distinguished from a control counterpart. Also of interest here is that there is one clear counter-example to A--->T which is predicted by our theory. This is the occurrence of structures in which there are two internal arguments, with one or both being assigned accusative Case by the verb. Here, there may be a non-thematic subject position, just in case there is at least one non-Case-marked argument which can link or move to the subject position, leaving the other free to receive accusative Case without violating (4) or (6). An example of this is English dative movement, where one or the other of the internal arguments is free to appear in subject position under passivization. That is, accusative Case is assigned in the following sentence, though no theta role is assigned to subject position: Katy was given the book.

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LEVIN/MASSAM

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