Case (mis)matching in fragment answers

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1 Introduction

- Fragment responses are often understood as a kind of ellipsis (Merchant 2004; Weir 2014).

(1) A: They hired Mary.

  B: ⟨T̶h̶e̶y̶ ̶h̶i̶r̶e̶d̶⟩ Jen too.

- However, there has been much debate as to how this should be derived…

  – Should there be silent syntactic structure, as indicated above?
  – Should ellipsis be subject to some kind of syntactic or semantic identity condition?
  – Should case-matching effects be derived or stipulated?

- With a few recent exceptions (E.F. Sigurðsson and Stefánsdóttir 2014; Örnólfsdóttir et al. 2017), Icelandic facts have not been discussed, and generally have not figured in the debate.

Today's Goal

- We will show how Icelandic facts shed light on the theory of ellipsis.

- In turn, we'll see how ellipsis facts have potentially far-reaching implications for our theory of case-marking.

Results Previewed

- **Case-matching effects must be derived**, as in "silent structure" approaches to ellipsis, and not stipulated, as in "interpretive approaches" to ellipsis.

- **The identity condition** on the silent syntactic structure is most likely syntactic, and not semantic (but see §6 for some attenuation).

- **Dative Substitution** alternations involve postsyntactic manipulation of case features, and do not reflect any syntactic distinctions.

- **Nominative/Accusative** variation may correspond to real syntactic distinctions, at least for some speakers.

Roadmap

2 Case matching

- Fragment responses in Icelandic generally require case-matching.

(2) A: Jón   aðstoðaði **mig**.
    John.NOM assisted   me.ACC
    'John assisted me.'

  B: { *Ég   / **mig**   / *mér   } líka.
    { *me.NOM / me.ACC / *me.DAT } too
    'Me too.'

(3) A: Jón   hjálpaði **mér**.
             John.NOM helped   me.DAT

             'John helped me.'

     B: { *Ég   / *mig   / **mér**   } líka.
             { *me.NOM / *me.ACC / me.DAT } too

             'Me too.'

– These facts follow from an ellipsis analysis of fragment responses along the lines of (4) and (5)...

    (4)   [me.ACC [~~assisted Jon.NOM~~ ⟨~~me.ACC~~⟩]]

    (5)   [me.DAT [~~helped Jon.NOM~~ ⟨~~me.DAT~~⟩]]

    – the short answer is moved to a high position (perhaps [Spec,CP])

    – the rest of the sentence is deleted under identity with the antecedent clause in the question (Merchant 2001, 2004).

→ If we assume, in addition to silent syntactic structure, that syntactic identity is required...

    – (5) cannot be used to derive dative case in (2B).

    – (4) cannot be used to derive dative case in (3B).

> It has long been noted that Icelandic has many pairs of verbs that mean more or less the same thing but assign different cases to their subjects or objects (Andrews 1982; Zaenen and Maling 1984). They all pattern like (2) and (3) in fragments.

- The verbs *aka* and *keyra*, both 'drive', take dative and accusative objects, respectively.

(6) a.   Ég   ók   bílnum.   b.   Ég   keyrði bílinn.
           I.NOM drove car.the.DAT   I.NOM drove car.the.ACC

           'I drove the car.'   'I drove the car.'

- The two verbs mean the same thing in that they are mutually entailing, so that examples like (7) are contradictions.

(7) a. # Ég   ók   **bílnum**,   en ég keyrði **hann** ekki.
           I.NOM $drove_1$ car.the.DAT, but I $drove_2$ it.ACC not
           'I $drove_1$ the car, but I didn't $drive_2$ it.'

     b. # Ég   keyrði **bílinn**,   en ég **ók**   honum ekki.
           I.NOM $drove_2$ car.the.ACC, but I $drove_1$ it.DAT   not
           'I $drove_2$ the car, but I didn't $drive_1$ it.'

- However, *aka* does not license case-mismatches, despite the existence of a synonymous verb that assigns a different case.

(8) A: María   ók   **bílnum**.
             Mary.NOM drove car.the.DAT

             'Mary drove the car.'

     B: { *Rútan   / *Rútuna   / **Rútunni**   } líka.
             { *coach.the.NOM / *coach.the.ACC / coach.the.DAT } too

             'The coach too.'

3 Case mismatching

- Ross (1969) pointed to similar case matching effects in German as an argument against an interpretivist approach to ellipsis, in support of a deletion transformation dubbed sluicing.

- Interpretivist approaches have responded by stipulating case matching as an anaphoric process in the resolution of bare argument ellipsis (Ginzburg and Sag 2000; Culicover and Jackendoff 2005; Nykiel and Sag 2012; Barker 2013; Jacobson 2013).

– Such approaches predict that mismatches should not be possible, because matching is fundamental, and part of the process used to identify the content of the missing material.

→ We will see, however, that in Icelandic **mismatches are possible** for many speakers.

– Moreover, they are possible only in a constrained way that makes reference to the specific identity of the elided predicate—that is, to structure 'inside' the ellipsis site.

• The first case we will discuss involves **Dative Substitution** (DS).[1]

– DS speakers allow verbs like *langa* 'want' or *vanta* 'need' to take either accusative or dative subjects, where ACC is prescriptively preferred.

(9) { Mig / Mér } langar að fara.
     { me.ACC / me.DAT } wants to go
     'I want to go.'

• For such speakers, mismatches such as (10)–(11) are possible.

(10) A: Mig   langar að fara.   (11) A: Mér   langar að fara.
        me.ACC wants to go   me.DAT wants to go
        'I want to go.'   'I want to go.'
     B: { Mig / Mér } líka.   B: { Mig / Mér } líka.
        { me.ACC / me.DAT } too   { me.ACC / me.DAT } too
        'Me too.'   'Me too.'

• Once again, the semantically similar *vilja* 'want' has a different case pattern, and does not license a mismatch.

(12) A: { Ég   vil / *Mig   vill / *Mér   vill } fara.
        { I.NOM want / *me.ACC want / *me.DAT want } go
        'I want to go.'
     B: { Ég   / *Mig   / *Mér   } líka.
        { I.NOM / *me.ACC / *me.DAT } too
        'Me too.'

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[1] Dative substitution is prescriptively dispreferred, and some speakers do not allow it; the facts in this section apply to speakers who allow dative substitution Svavarsdóttir 1982; Jónsson 2003; Barðdal 2001, 2011; Jónsson and Eythórsson 2003, 2005; Eythórsson and Jónsson 2009; Viðarsson 2009; Ingason 2010; Nowenstein 2012, 2014a,b, 2017.

• A similar mismatch can be found in object position. Some speakers allow *keyra* 'drive' to take either an accusative or dative object (Jónsson 2009:209).

(13) María   keyrði { bílinn   / bílnum   }.
     Mary.NOM drove { car.the.ACC / car.the.DAT }
     'Mary drove the car.'

• Such speakers allow mismatches of the expected sort.

(14) A: María   keyrði **bílinn**.
        Mary.NOM drove car.the.ACC
        'Mary drove the car.'
     B: { Rútuna   / Rútunni   } líka.
        { coach.the.ACC / coach.the.DAT } too
        'The coach too.'

> These facts show clearly that case matching is not a surface true generalization, and therefore cannot be stipulated as such.

4 Impossible mismatching

• So far, we might summarize the data as follows:

(15) **Case Mismatching Generalization** (first pass): case-mismatching is possible when the verb in the antecedent clause may assign more than one case.

• However, there is more to it than that. We will see several ways in which (15) overgenerates.

4.1 Object case makes a semantic difference

• Verbs like *klóra* 'scratch' can take either a dative or accusative object, but which is chosen makes a semantic difference (H.Á. Sigurðsson 1989; Barðdal 1993; Maling 2002; Svenonius 2002).

(16)   Hún   klóraði   { mig   / mér   }
        she.NOM scratched { me.ACC / me.DAT }
        ACCUSATIVE: 'She scratched me and it hurt/damaged me.'
        DATIVE: 'She scratched me and it felt good (like a back scratch).'

- Such verbs cannot license mismatches.

(17) A: Hún   klóraði   mig.
         she.NOM scratched me.ACC
         'She scratched me.'
      B: { *Ég   / Mig   / *Mér   } líka.
         { *I.NOM / me.ACC / *me.DAT } too
         'Me too.'

(18) A: Hún   klóraði   mér.
         she.NOM scratched me.DAT
         'She scratched me.'
      B: { *Ég   / *Mig   / Mér   } líka.
         { *I.NOM / *me.ACC / me.DAT } too
         'Me too.'

Note on microvariation: We found one speaker who judged accusative in (18B) as "?" rather than "*". The rest rejected mismatching here.

4.2 The verb *hlakka* 'look forward to'

- The verb *hlakka* 'look forward to' is interesting because it is a case where a traditionally nominative subject verb began to be used with accusative and/or dative for some speakers.

(19) a. Ég   hlakka   til að syngja.
          I.NOM look.forward for to sing
          'I look forward to singing.'

      b. { Mig   / Mér   } hlakkar   til að syngja.
         { me.ACC / me.DAT } look.forward for to sing
         'I look forward to singing.'

- There is a lot of variation here, even before we get to the question of case (mis)matching.

- One clear result so far: for speakers who allow dative or accusative, the mismatch is possible basically as indicated earlier.

(20) A: Mig   hlakkar   til að syngja.
         me.ACC look.forward for to sing
         'I look forward to singing.'
      B: { Mig   / Mér   } líka.
         { me.ACC / me.DAT } too
         'Me too.'

(21) A: Mér   hlakkar   til að syngja.
         me.DAT look.forward for to sing
         'I look forward to singing.'
      B: { Mig   / Mér   } líka.
         { me.ACC / me.DAT } too
         'Me too.'

- There more variation when the nominative is involved. Some speakers reject nominative in the response when dative or accusative are used initially.

(22) A: { Mig   / Mér   } hlakkar   til að syngja.
         { me.ACC / me.DAT } look.forward for to sing
         'I look forward to singing.'
      B: % Ég   líka.
           I.NOM too
           'Me too.'

- We find three kinds of speakers:

  - **Group A "True Anti-Mismatch"**: Speakers who accept dative/accusative/nominative in the first place, but reject mismatching as in (22).

  - **Group B "True Mismatch"**: Speakers who accept dative/accusative/nominative in the first place, and accept mismatching as in (22).

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– **Group C "Not My Grammar"**: Speakers who resist dative/accusative in the first place, and therefore accept mismatching nominative because their grammar doesn't allow anything else.

– We set Group C speakers aside, since this is probably a separate kind of mismatch, having to do with ellipsis licensing across distinct dialects.[2]

– Group A and B speakers raise interesting issues regarding the identity condition, discussed below. In short, the existence of Group A speakers seem to support a syntactic identity condition over a semantic one. We come back to this.

• What about when nominative is used initially?

(23) A: Ég   hlakka   til að syngja.
         I.NOM look.forward for to sing
         'I look forward to singing.'

      B: { Ég   / %Mig   / %Mér   } líka.
         { I.NOM / %me.ACC / %me.DAT } too
         'Me too.'

• Since most speakers accept (23A), the issues are slightly simpler. We have a similar set of three groups (mostly overlapping with the above):

– **Group A "True Anti-Mismatch"**: Speakers who accept dative/accusative/nominative in the first place, but reject mismatching as in (23).

– **Group B "True Mismatch"**: Speakers who accept dative/accusative/nominative in the first place, and accept mismatching as in (23).

– **Group C "Not My Grammar"**: Speakers who resist dative/accusative in the first place, and therefore resist all mismatching in this case.

• Everyone seems to allow case-matching.

• However, once again the Group A and Group B speakers are interesting; we might have expected them all to be Group B speakers (allowing mismatch). Some do, but some don't.

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[2] Some speakers report that they would repeat the whole sentence, to avoid the mismatch but use the case consistent with their grammar.

– We return to the implications of this point below.

4.3   Nominative Substitution

• Nominative Substitution describes verbs that historically took an oblique case—here, accusative—but began for many speakers to be possible in the nominative (Eythórsson 2000; Jónsson 2003; Jónsson and Eythórsson 2005; Eythórsson and Thráinsson 2017).

(24) { Skútan   mín   / Skútuna mína   } rak á land.
      { yacht.the my.NOM / yacht.the my.ACC } drove on land
      'My yacht ran ashore.'

(25) { Tröllskessan   / Tröllskessuna   } dagaði uppi rétt hjá
      { giantess.the.NOM / giantess.the.ACC } dawned up   right by
      bænum.
      farm.the
      'The giantess froze in the daylight right by the farm.'

• We find essentially the same results here—the same kinds of groups—as we found with *hlakka* 'look forward to'.

4.4   Case Mismatching Revised

• We have seen two kinds of counterexamples to our first pass "Case Mismatching Generalization" repeated below:

(26) **Case Mismatching Generalization** (first pass): case-mismatching is possible when the verb in the antecedent clause may assign more than one case.

   a. **Counterexample 1** When a difference in case assignment corresponds to a semantic difference, case-mismatching may not be possible.

   b. **Counterexample 2** For some speakers, mismatches involving nominative and oblique may not be possible.

• Note that for Counterexample 2, the difference in case assign has always been said—even by a reviewer of the abstract for this talk!—to make no semantic difference (Eythórsson 2000:33; H.Á. Sigurðsson 2009:266).

- We revise our generalization as follows:

(27) **Case Mismatching Generalization** (revised): case-mismatching is possible when the verb in the antecedent clause may assign more than one case without any syntactic or semantic difference.

- This will capture the above facts if we assume that nominative/accusative alternations correspond to syntactic distinctions (even when there is no semantic distinction).

- We will argue that in fact the semantic requirement stems from the syntactic one, and that the facts follow from a syntactic identity condition with silent syntactic structure.

5   A syntactic identity condition

- We propose that the constellation of fact presented above supports a syntactic identity condition on ellipsis.

- There is silent syntactic structure at the ellipsis site, and this structure must be identical, in the relevant respects, to the antecedent clause.

→ In this section we discuss how a syntactic identity condition derives the facts presented so far.

5.1   General Case Matching

- Case matching follows in the way that Ross (1969) anticipated.

- Since the silent structure must be identical to the antecedent, case assignment—which is dependent on that structure—must be identical as well.

5.2   Dative Substitution

- Mismatches with dative/accusative alternations suggest one of two things.

  (a) The case features involved in such alternations "don't count" for syntactic identity.

  (b) Such alternations are not encoded anywhere in the syntax, but are post-syntactic.

- We will suggest below that (b) is in fact on the right track.

5.3   Semantic Differences with Case Choice

- When case choice correlates with a semantic distinction, then there must be some syntactic difference that underlies both the case difference and the semantic difference.

- This difference could be. . .

  (a) Phrase structural, so that there is a different tree geometry for, say, dative vs. accusative (as in Jónsson 2013; E.F. Sigurðsson 2015, 2017).

  (b) Featural, where the structure is the same but the case features involved send the relevant "instructions" to PF and LF (as in Schäfer 2008; Wood 2015).

- Choice (b) of course entails that case-features do "count" for a syntactic identity condition.

- We will not choose between the options today, however.

5.4   Nominative / Accusative Alternations

- The impossibility of mismatch with nominatives for Group A speakers suggests that for such speakers, sentences with nominative subjects have a distinct syntax from those with oblique subjects.

- There is independent support for this.

  - Jónsson (2003) has argued that nominative subject experiencers are systematically distinct form oblique subject experiencers.

  - Oblique subject experiencers can never passivize, while nominative subject experiencers can at least sometimes.

  - Wood (2017) has proposed that accusative-subject constructions (and some dative subject constructions)—involve extra structure, a silent external argument weather clitic.

- Thus, we can propose that Group A speakers have a genuine syntactic difference correlating with the nominative/oblique distinction.

  – What about Group B? The simplest claim is that this is syntactic microvariation. Group B speakers do not make the syntactic distinction that Group A speakers do.

  – One could imagine several implementations of this idea; see Appendix A for one specific proposal based on Wood (2015, 2017).

6   A semantic identity condition

- Much of the data presented here would be compatible with a semantic identity condition instead of a syntactic one.[3]

  – That would say that the semantics of the ellipsis site must be identical, in the relevant respects, to the antecedent clause.

  – We would still assume silent structure, but it could be anything compatible with semantic identity.

- There are two potential problems with this.

#1 **Synonymous verbs** that select different cases might be expected to license different cases, as in (7)–(14) above, repeated here as (28)–(29).

(28) a. # Ég   ók   **bílnum**,   en ég keyrði **hann** ekki.
          I.NOM drove$_1$ car.the.DAT, but I   drove$_2$ it.ACC not
          'I drove$_1$ the car, but I didn't drive$_2$ it.'

      b. # Ég   keyrði **bílinn**,   en ég **ók**   honum ekki.
          I.NOM drove$_2$ car.the.ACC, but I   drove$_1$ it.DAT   not
          'I drove$_2$ the car, but I didn't drive$_1$ it.'

(29) A: María   ók   **bílnum**.
          Mary.NOM drove car.the.DAT
          'Mary drove the car.'

      B: { *Rútan   / *Rútuna   / **Rútunni**   } líka.
          { *coach.the.NOM / *coach.the.ACC / coach.the.DAT } too
          'The coach too.'

  – But perhaps entailment isn't the right kind of "semantics" for the identity condition.

#2 The nominative/accusative alternations discussed above reportedly have no semantic distinction.

  – Since they even have the same lexical items, one would expect them to show case mismatches—but many speakers reject them.

- For now, then, we find an account rooted in syntactic identity to be more promising.

In favor of semantic identity

- In contrast to the conclusion above, there are other phenomena cross-linguistically that speak in favor of a semantic identity condition.

  – Cases of pseudosluicing, for example, seem to involve deletion of (short) cleft that is obviously not syntactically identical to the antecedent (van Craenenbroeck 2012; Barros 2014; Barros et al. 2014).

(30)   Sally has a new boyfriend, guess who [~~it is~~]!

- One way of reconciling this approach with the Icelandic facts would be to argue that nominative/accusative alternations really are semantically distinct at some level, unlike what has been said in the Icelandic literature.

  – In addition, we could argue that there never are "truly synonymous" verbs.

  – For now, we set this possibility aside, since we don't know of any reason to think that nominative/accusative alternations generally correspond to a semantic distinction.

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[3] Even with a semantic identity condition, we still need silent syntactic structure.

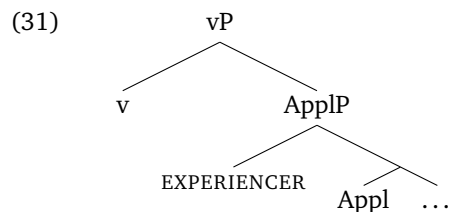# 7   Dative substitution as lack of impoverishment

- Recall that we suggested above that according to the current approach, one way of accounting for the facts would be to say that Dative Substitution alternations are not encoded in the syntax. In this section we flesh this out.

7.1   What drives Dative Substitution?

→ The central intuition in a long line of work is that DS involves "**thematic lexical** Dat case" replacing "**idiosyncratic lexical** Acc" (Eythórsson and Thráinsson 2017:61) (emphasis added).

  - **Accusative**: People have to memorize, word by word, which experiencer verbs want an accusative subject.
  - **Dative**: There is more regular pattern of assigning dative to experiencers of a certain sort. DS reflects that pattern.

- Let us first discuss how we derive "thematic lexical" dative, and then turn to "idiosyncratic lexical" accusative.

7.2   Thematic Lexical Dative

- In a syntactic theory of argument structure, experiencers are dative because they are merged in a syntactic position that then corresponds to dative, such as ApplP (Cuervo 2003; McFadden 2004; Wood 2015).

(31)

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              vP
             /  \
            v    ApplP
                /    \
         EXPERIENCER  \
                   Appl   …
```

- Dative could be assigned by the Appl head to its specifier in the syntax (E.F. Sigurðsson 2017).

- Alternatively, in the spirit of McFadden (2004, 2006) and H.Á. Sigurðsson (2012a,b), there could be a general post-syntactic rule to the effect that dative case is added to a DP base-generated in SpecApplP.

(32) $DP \rightarrow DP_{DAT}$ / $[_{ApplP}$ __ $[_{Appl'} \cdots]$ $]$

- The pattern that many experiencers are dative stems from the ability of Appl to assign an experiencer role, along with the general postsyntactic rule in (32).

→ This is the syntactic implementation of the "thematic lexical" dative intuition.

7.3   Idiosyncratic Lexical Accusative

- Accusative experiencer subjects are subject to a far less "regular" rule.[4] They must be memorized word by word.

- Suppose we assume that they have the same general syntactic structure as dative experiencers, namely (31).

- The accusative arises by a lexically specific impoverishment rule that applies after (32) in the morphology.

- This is exactly what McFadden (2004) proposes.

(33) $[+\text{INFERIOR}, +\text{OBLIQUE}] = $ "DATIVE"

(34) $[+\text{INFERIOR}] = $ "ACCUSATIVE"

(35)   **Impoverishment Rule**
       $[+\text{OBLIQUE}, +\text{INFERIOR}] \rightarrow [+\text{INFERIOR}]$ / __ {*langa* 'want', *vanta* 'need', etc. }

→ The lexically idiosyncratic nature of accusative subjects is captured by assuming that this impoverishment rule only applies to a specific, memorized list of verbs.

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[4] See Wood (2017) for a detailed analysis of accusative theme subjects.

7.4 Dative Substitution

- Dative Substitution makes sense in the following way: at a deeper morphological level, accusative experiencers want to be—or even *are*—dative.

- If or when the impoverishment rule does not apply, it is dative that will surface.

→ Thus, DS is not syntactic—it is morphological. This explains why dative/accusative alternations are no problem for a syntactic identity condition.

7.4.1 Support

- As a morphological phenomenon, DS is sensitive to very specific, somewhat idiosyncratic pressures.

- As documented by Nowenstein (2012, 2014a,b, 2017), whether DS applies is sensitive to person: 3rd person plural subjects are most likely to be dative, while 1st and 2nd person singular subjects are most likely to show up as accusative.

- Since masculine third person singular pronouns are syncretic for nominative and accusative, they are more likely to show up as dative (overtly "marking" their oblique status).

→ The role of these factors makes sense, given historical pressures and the "morphologically shallow" nature of DS alternations.

- Data discussed by Nowenstein (2012, 2014a,b, 2017) and Jónsson (2013) also make sense in terms of an impoverishment analysis.

- Consider the data in (36). Modifiers like *sjálf(ur)* 'self' typically agree with their subject in case, and this is what we see in (36).

(36) a. **Mig** **sjálfan** langar að vita það.
me.ACC self.ACC want to know that
'I myself want to know that.'

b. **Mér** **sjálfum** langar að vita það.
me.DAT self.DAT want to know that
'I myself want to know that.'

- However, we find certain mismatches—but generally only in one direction.

(37) a. **Mig** **sjálfum** langar að vita það.
me.ACC self.DAT want to know that
'I myself want to know that.'

b. ?? **Mér** **sjálfan** langar að vita það.
me.DAT self.ACC want to know that
'I myself want to know that.'

- An accusative subject can show up with a dative modifier.

- A dative subject cannot show up with an accusative modifier.

7.4.2 Why?

- If case is postsyntactic, agreement should be too (cf. Bobaljik 2008).

- But should modifier agreement take place before or after impoverishment?

- In fact there is no intrinsic need to order them—they could apply in either order. (The structural description of the agreement rule would be present both before and after impoverishment.)

- The variation is accounted for if we assume exactly this—agreement may apply in either order.

(38) a. **No Impoverishment**
dative on DP, dative on modifier (36b).

b. **Impoverishment before Agreement**
accusative on DP, accusative on modifier (36a).

c. **Impoverishment after Agreement**
accusative on DP, dative on modifier (37a).

→ *There is no natural way to derive dative on DP, accusative on modifier!*

- This kind of phenomenon is not restricted to *sjálf(ur)* 'self'—it applies to all kinds of secondary modifiers.

- The existence of, and nature of the mixing supports the view that DS is a morphological phenomenon.

- The impoverishment analysis accounts for both the lexically idiosyncratic nature of accusative subjects and the existence/directionality of Dative Substitution.

→ Returning to the main issue, we understand why case-mismatches are allowed with DS: it does not reflect a syntactic distinction, so it doesn't interfere with a syntactic identity condition.

8 Conclusion

- We have explored, and to varying degrees argued for, three related conclusions:
  - There is **silent structure** at the ellipsis site of fragment responses.
  - The **identity condition** on that structure seems to be **syntactic**.
  - **Dative Substitution** alternations are encoded post-syntactically, while **Nominative/Accusative** alternations may have syntactic correlates.

Silent Structure

- Case matching effects have been regarded as an argument for silent structure in ellipsis.
  - To maintain a purely interpretive analysis, case matching must be stipulated at a surface level, rather than derived from silent structure.
  - The case mismatches that can be found in Icelandic speak against such an approach.
  - Moreover, the nature of the case mismatches refers directly the deleted predicate, suggesting silent structure.

The identity condition

- The fact that mismatches are generally allowed only when case makes no semantic difference is consistent with either a syntactic or semantic identity condition.
- The fact that Nominative/Accusative mismatches are not possible for some speakers, however, suggests that semantic identity is not enough.
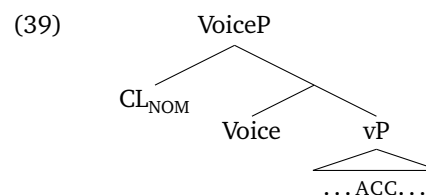
- Such facts are potentially compatible with a syntactic identity condition— see Appendix A for a specific proposal.
- There may be ways of saving the semantic identity condition.

Case Alternations

- We have argued in favor of a post-syntactic analysis of accusative/dative alternations in Dative Substitution.
  - Specifically, accusative experiencers are derived by post-syntactic impoverishment of an underlying dative.
  - Nominative/Accusative alternations are more complex; they may involve distinct syntactic structures, and there may be genuine speaker variation in how they are analyzed.
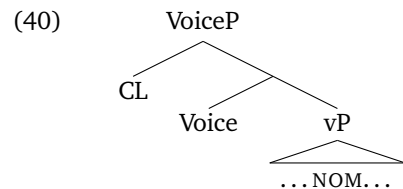
Appendix A

- In this appendix, we briefly outline a possible analysis of interspeaker variation with nominative/accusative substitution based on the theory in Wood (2015, 2017).
  - To begin, the analysis of accusative subjects in Wood (2017) takes them to involve a silent external argument weather clitic.[5]

(39)

```
              VoiceP
             /      \
        CL_NOM        \
               Voice    vP
                       /  \
                    . . . ACC . . .
```
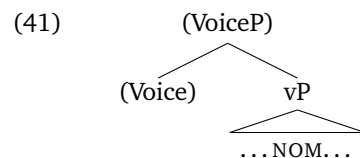
- The question, on this analysis, is what happens when nominative substitution occurs?
  - One way to get nominative would be for the external argument clitic to lose its NOM case property.

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[5] See also Haider (2001), Platzack (2006), and Schäfer (2008) for related proposals, as well as Sigurðardóttir and Eythórsson (2017) for possible supporting diachronic evidence.

(40)   VoiceP

CL
   Voice   vP

...NOM...

– It would, in this way, become more like the anticausative *-st* clitic as analyzed in Wood (2014, 2015).

– Assuming that case features are assigned post-syntactically, the syntactic structure would be the same and mismatches would be expected to arise.

• However, another option to get nominative is that the external argument is genuinely not present.[6]

(41)   (VoiceP)

(Voice)   vP

...NOM...

– In this case, the syntactic structure would be different, and we would expect mismatches to be impossible.

• The results from the text might be taken to suggest that speakers genuinely vary as to whether they internalize the first or the second option for accusative/nominative variation.

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[6] There may or may not be an intransitive, specifierless Voice head. It is also possible that some verbs, such as *hlakka* 'look forward to', would in this case project as the external argument. The text conclusion would be the same.

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