

英語における Case システムの通時的変化

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NP-preposing の導入によって ME 後期におきた変化を説明しようとする Lightfoot の案に代わり、“Move α ” をはじめから仮定し Case 理論に手を加えることによる代案を提案している。

In NE, the English grammar has only one transformational rule, “Move α ”, which takes care of the functions of both the WH-movement and the NP-preposing which were previously proposed. Lightfoot (1979), however, argues that in the history of English the NP-preposing rule was introduced at the late ME period, although the grammar has the WH-movement from the beginning. If the current GB theory, in which there is only one transformational rule, is correct, then we cannot formally distinguish the WH-movement and the NP-preposing as different rules and Lightfoot’s analysis of the historical change does not constitute a correct answer to the phenomenon. The purpose of the present paper is to propose an alternative account for the change in grammar without making use of the distinction of the WH-movement and the NP-preposing.

First, let us look at the reasons that Lightfoot proposes his analysis. He claims that there are simultaneous changes at the late ME period, like the emergence of non-lexical passives and Subject-to-Subject raising constructions. The properties of these newly introduced constructions can be subsumed under the NP-preposing rule. A change in language requires an explanation in terms of a change in grammar and also the simultaneity asks for an account. He also claims that the structure of COMP is quite similar to that in NE so that it is better to assume the WH-movement rather than the deletion on site for relatives and other expressions, assuming also that Subjacency obtains in OE and early ME. He further claims that the simultaneity of changes should be attributed to a single change in grammar, e. g. like the introduction

of a new rule.

In the GB theory, there is only one transformational rule, so that there is no way to account for the changes with the introduction of a new rule. Rather it should be interpreted as a change in other part of the grammar that brings about the same result.

The transformational rule "Move α " is a single rule, and the range of application is very general. But there is a difference in the traces which arise from its application. If it moves an element to an \bar{A} -position, the trace left behind is a variable or a WH-trace. If it moves an element to an A-position, the trace left behind is an anaphor or an NP-trace.

Assuming the data that Lightfoot describes is correct, the question can be stated in the following way: why is the NP-trace not allowed while the WH-trace is allowed? So the difference in rules can be reduced to the difference in the conditions on the properties of traces.

The difference between an NP-trace and a WH-trace is that the former is not Case-marked while the latter is Case-marked, in addition to the difference in binding relations. The Case theory gives us an insight into the problem.

The Case theory proposed in Chomsky (1981) consists of the Case Filter¹⁾:

(1) Case Filter

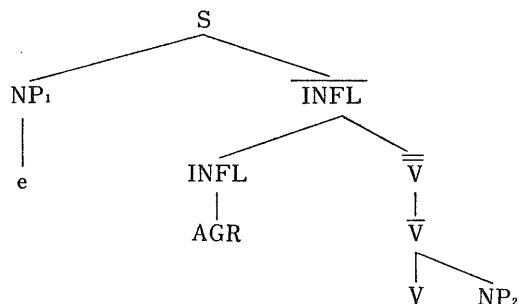
Every lexical NP is an element of a chain with Case.

and Case conflict is blocked by Case Assignment²⁾.

- (2) The chain $C=(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)$ has the Case K if and only if for some i , α_i occupies a position assigned K by β .

Now, consider the following D-structure.

(3)



This structure is grammatical in NE, if the lexical NP₂ is moved under NP₁ resulting in a passive construction. NP₁ and NP₂ form a chain and it receives a nominative Case from INFL. The Extended Projection Principle, which requires the existence of subject at any level, is satisfied at both D-structure and S-structure. Of course, NP₂ does not get a Case from V, or in other words, V cannot assign a Case because it is not a true verb but a participle. So Case conflict does not arise in this structure in NE and the grammatical sentence is generated.

On the other hand, the structure in ME cannot be mapped onto grammatical sentences. The Base rules of ME can generate this structure. That is, existence of an empty subject does not necessarily form an obstacle to the grammaticality of this structure, since it is natural to assume the Extended Projection Principle even in OE and ME²³. Therefore, the problem lies in the Case assignment of the NPs. The ungrammaticality arises from the fact either that the chain would have two conflicting Cases or that the chain cannot get a Case at all. On determining which is the right reason, we have to see carefully the Case assignment in NE again.

The Case assignment in (2) allows any element in a chain to receive a Case as long as the other elements do not get a Case. But in NE the Case assigner assigns a Case to the lexical NP and not to a trace except for WH-traces. That is, the element that receives a Case in a chain is always lexical except for WH-elements. So the following statement holds in NE descriptively:

- (4) A binder of a trace in A-position should receive a Case if it is lexical or \bar{A} -bound. If there is no A-binder, the trace which doesn't bind anything should receive a Case.

This means that Cases for non-WH NPs are determined by the surface GF rather than the deep GF in NE. In other words, the function of "Move α " in NE is: if an NP cannot get a Case it is moved to a position where it can get a Case.

In ME, on the contrary, the NP that precedes the verb does not have a nominative Case in an impersonal construction. There is no nominative NP at all in many impersonal sentences. This can be neatly accounted for inducing the movement analysis and further assuming Case assignment is different from that in NE. Adjacency is a crucial factor in Case assignment and the fact that the NP that precedes the INFL node doesn't have a nominative Case in impersonal constructions shows that Case assignment is not carried out at S-structure. This further suggests a solution in which

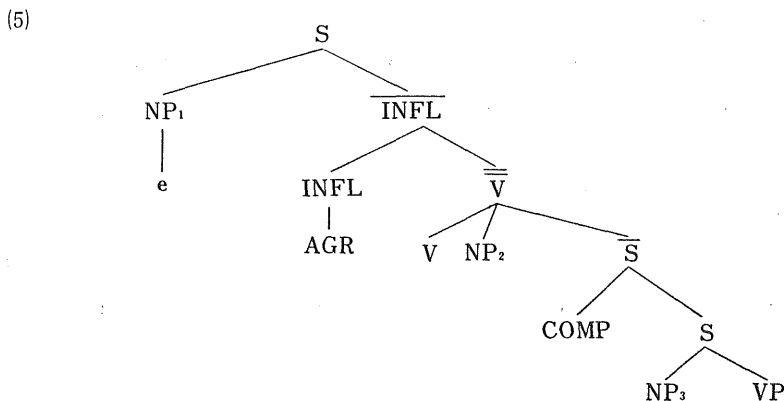
Cases are assigned at D-structure. So the passive sentences in ME are ungrammatical because the moved NP cannot get a Case.

This modification of Case theory in OE and EME does not cause any problem for WH-traces, since they are \bar{A} -bound and they get Cases from their D-structure Case assigners even in NE. The analysis allows the application of "Move α " with the consequences of NP-preposing, but before the application of the rule the NP which would be moved should have a Case already. This means that Cases reflect D-structure GFs rather than S-structure GFs in OE and ME.

The analysis is quite natural considering the fact that the Cases in OE and ME are not abstract but they are closely tied up with morphological inflections and further they are closely related to the thematic roles, which the D-structures determine.

Consider the structure (3) again. In D-structure, NP_1 cannot bear a Case because of the lack of phonological features³⁷. NP_2 cannot get a Case, either, because the past participle cannot assign a Case. Therefore the structure is blocked even if the movement rule applies and NP_2 is moved under NP_1 , because the moved NP does not have a Case. The passive construction is not grammatical at this stage in the history of English.

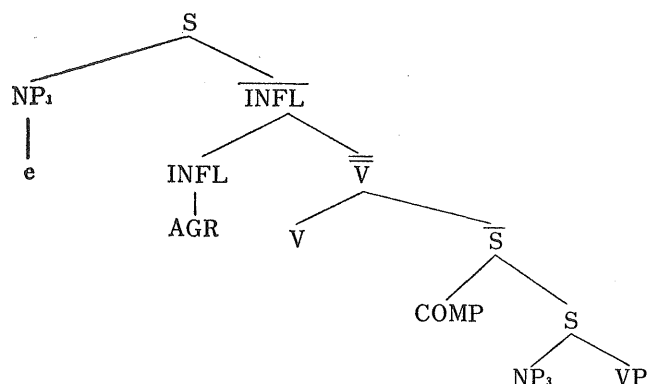
Consider next the structure of Subject-to-Subject raising construction in ME:



While NP_1 is not Case-marked because it is empty, all the other NPs should have Cases, if the sentence is grammatically generated. NP_2 could get a dative Case from the preceding verb³⁸, but NP_3 can get a Case only from the INFL node following it or from *for* COMP if there is one. Case assignment must be carried out within the

domain of \bar{S} . When there is no dative NP as in (6), the embedded subject NP_3 still cannot get a Case from the matrix verb.

(6)



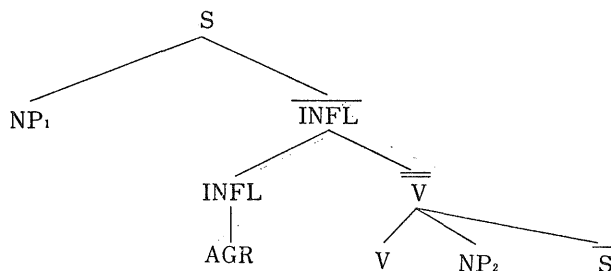
There are two possibilities of Case assignment for NP_3 either in (5) or (6): (i) the embedded S is tenseless and *for*-COMP assigns a Case to NP_3 , or (ii) the embedded S is tensed and its INFL node assigns a Case to NP_3 .

In (i), NP_3 cannot be moved firstly because it would violate the binding condition of a trace and secondly it would cause prepositional stranding of *for*. Stranded prepositions are not allowed in OE for an independent reason.

In (ii), it seems to be possible to move NP_3 up to NP_1 . But again the trace under NP_3 would violate the binding condition. So, the movement is not possible. Thus, the modified Case theory in addition to the binding theory accounts for the non-existence of Subject-to-Subject raising constructions in OE and ME, even if we assume "Move α " in the grammar.

The analysis lends support in solving the question of change in impersonal constructions in OE and ME. After the change of base order from SOV to SVO, the D-structure of impersonals looks like:

(7)



NP₂ receives the dative Case from the matrix verb and it is moved under NP₁, assuming that NP₁ is a $\bar{\theta}$ -position. We get:

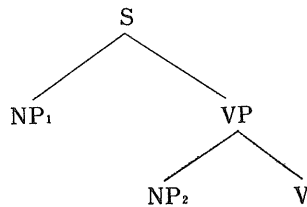
(8) me thynketh I heare

Note here that AGR determines the verb inflection as third person singular.

This kind of movement is not allowed in NE because of the Case conflict, while the modified Case theory makes it possible.

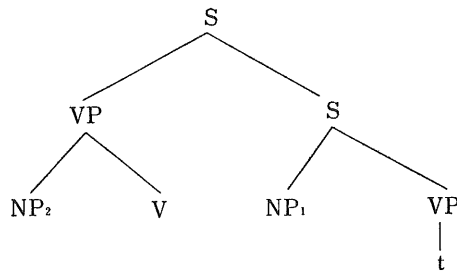
The behaviors of different types of impersonals like *like* can be explained in this analysis. The D-structure of the impersonal would look like the following before the SOV-to-SVO change took place.

(9)



This can be realized into an S-structure without a fundamental change or the VP is moved resulting in a sentence like⁵⁾:

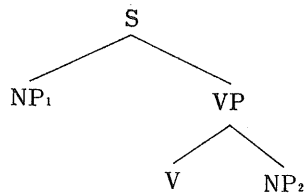
(10)



NP₂ is always marked with a dative Case and NP₁ with a nominative Case.

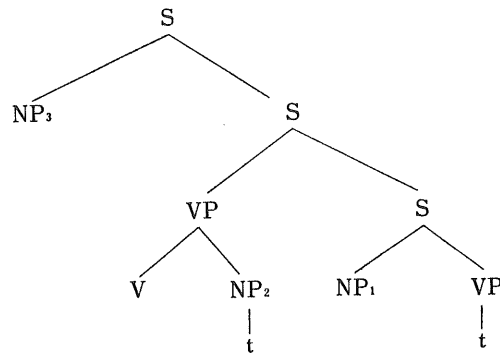
After the change of the canonical order from SOV to SVO the D-structure becomes like:

(11)



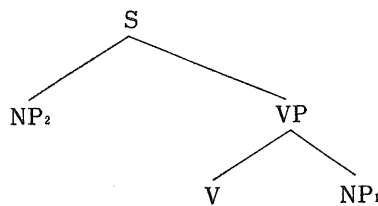
This structure is grammatical, but because of the definiteness of the experiencer NP₂ in most cases, the proposed structure would be preferred functionally⁶⁾. The structure would be something like⁷⁾:

(12)



Here the dative NP₂ is moved under NP₃ and the subject NP₁ retains the nominative Case. Later the reanalysis took place and the structure becomes:

(13)



where the experiencer NP₂ newly gains the status of subject instead of NP₁.

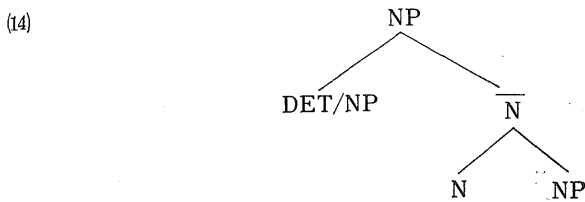
Let us consider other types of impersonal expressions. They are generally classified into three types: (i) zero argument type, e. g., *reġen* ('rain'), *snġwan* ('snow'), etc., (ii) simple argument structure type, e. g., *liċian* ('like'), etc., (iii) sentential complement type, e. g., *ġynċan* ('seem'), *happenen*, etc. In (i) there is no chance of the movement rule to change the structure, and later the grammar has changed to require the dummy *it* in the place of subject⁸⁾.

In (ii), as discussed above, preposing dative NPs becomes common perhaps because of the functional reasons. The prevailing order of OVS triggers the reanalysis that assigns different grammatical relations to different thematic roles. Note here that the preposing of NPs can be accounted for by utilization of "Move α ."

Type (iii) can be further divided into two groups. One is the verb that takes an NP argument other than the embedded sentence. This type triggers preposing of

the dative NP to the empty subject position, which later takes reanalysis because the surface order after preposing conforms to the new basic SVO order. The other group is the verb with only the embedded sentence. This type does not provoke movement because any element inside the embedded sentence cannot be moved outside of it because of the binding conditions. It takes dummy *it* later as the subject, or the embedded subject becomes able to be moved out after \bar{S} deletion", which results in a Subject-to-Subject raising construction.

Another argument given in Lightfoot (1979) to support his claim is that NP-preposing in nominalization such as *Rome's destruction* with the meaning of *the destruction of Rome* is also a late ME invention. This can be accounted for in the present approach. If the structure of an NP looks like:



“Move α ” could move the lower NP out of the complement position of the dominating NP to the position under DET. But the Case marking is done before the movement, and the complement position is not Case-marked. So, the moved NP could not get a genitive Case at all. When it is not moved out of the complement, a later rule will insert *of* to compensate the lack of Case to make the structure grammatical. Thus, even if we have “Move α ” in OE and EME, we still cannot generate preposed NP construction in nominalization because of the Case theory.

The Case marking before movement allows relatively free fronting of NPs in many instances, and this is quite preferable for the analysis of impersonals as we have seen. Except for zero argument impersonals either reanalysis or \bar{S} deletion took place at the end of ME period. The surface sequence before the reanalysis is quite similar to that with a more simple base structure, so that, for example, an NP-VP sequence is considered to be a subject-predicate sequence rather than a preposed NP construction. This preposing movement should be carried out coherently throughout the relevant structures to allow the reanalysis. Therefore the rule that creates this change in sequential order should have definite properties in terms of the resulting structures. The structure-preserving rule “Move α ” is the only candidate that we

have. This means that the grammar of English needs "Move α " even in OE and ME.

The analysis proposed here affects some other parts of the grammar. Consider the θ -role marking. It is carried out at D-structure either in OE or NE, so that if we assign a Case at the D-structure, a Case and a θ -role are closely associated into a pair which behaves inseparably. This means that a θ -role and a Case are different properties of an NP, one in semantics, the other in syntax, and that a Case is a realization of a θ -role in syntax. It is possible to define a chain, but it does not play a crucial role in the grammar at this stage. After the morphological inflection, or the morphological Case marking, is lost, Case becomes abstract and Case conflict is blocked through a chain. The distinction between the Case and the θ -role emerged at this point.

Now, why the Case assignment system has changed is a question that we have to answer. The first reason is the loss of morphological inflections. After the loss of inflections of NPs there is nothing that distinguishes the Cases formally, and the Case becomes an abstract marker to help to ensure the grammaticality of a sentence. At the same time, the Case loses its close relationship with thematic roles. And the Case becomes a purely syntactic notion. The Case marking is much more closely tied with the surface syntactic relations of NPs and the Cases stop reflecting the D-structure relations. This provokes the change of level of Case assignment from D-structure to S-structure.

The second reason is that because of the loss of inflections the linear order of NPs is rigidified to coincide with GFs, and another mechanism becomes necessary to increase the possibilities of other expressions to exhibit pragmatic factors like topic/comment distinction. Case assignment at S-structure makes it possible to move NPs without losing the track of θ -role relations and expands the range of grammatical structures greatly so that the transformational passives and the raising constructions appeared in the English language.

Let us formalize the present approach. The Case Filter will be:

- (15) Every lexical NP has a Case.

and Case Assignment is:

- (16) An NP has the Case K if and only if it occupies a position assigned K by β .

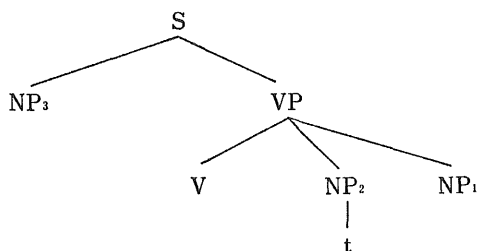
Case Filter applies at any level, but Case Assignment applies only at D-structure. This further suggests that there is no spell-out rule for the dummy *it* since the rule would generate a Caseless *it*.

In the GB framework, “Move α ” is considered to be a part of UG. But Case theory, although fundamental parts are included in UG, allows some parametric variations. The present analysis coincides with this or rather it constitutes a piece of evidence for the GB theory.

NOTES

- (1) Chomsky (1981). p. 334.
- (2) It may seem to be possible to discard the Extended Projection Principle, which creates the landing sites for movement. But note here that it only guarantees the existence of subject, empty or whatever. So it is possible to have an empty subject even though we might discard the principle. That is, the absence of the EPP would not block the generation of empty subjects.
If we might modify the θ -criterion and discard the EPP, then it would be possible to generate subjectless structures. But it would cause a serious problem in verb agreement. Therefore it would be correct to deal with sentences without surface subjects like a pro-drop language.
- (3) Phonological features of an NP seem to bear a Case and a θ -role. See Note 8.
- (4) There are at least three Cases in OE and ME. That is, nominative, dative, and accusative Cases. We tentatively assume that the verb assigns also the dative Case.
- (5) The structure may seem very awkward. But if we abandon rightward movement this is the only possibility. Of course, rightward movement is a possible answer to the structure. In most situations, however, NP₂ is definite and a topic, so it is natural to assume this kind of leftward movement, moving the whole VP the sentence initial \bar{A} -position.
- (6) Another reason for this movement is the status of subject. The subject NP₁ is not a full-fledged subject in terms of the semantics of the verb. (cf. Keenan (1976))
- (7) Here the rightward movement is not assumed again. Another possibility is to propose a structure like:

(i)



Here the subject NP₃ is empty at D-structure and NP₁ is generated under VP instead of S. As there is no category “modal” in OE, it may be the case the AGR is attached to V. So, nominative Case could be assigned to the following NP₁, if there is some mechanism.

- (8) OE does not seem to be a pro-drop language, because the lack of subject is only allowed for semantically empty subjects, i.e. $\bar{\theta}$ -subjects. The derivation involving this empty subject may be the following: The empty subject is governed by INFL at D-structure, and Case assignment takes place at D-structure, but Case is assigned to the phonological fea-

tures of the NP. As the NP is phonologically null, the Case fades away automatically. At next stage, INFL is attached to the V, so it stops governing the subject NP. The empty subject can survive as a PRO at S-structure.

- (9) The embedded sentence may be S and not \bar{S} from the beginning. But it doesn't affect the argument here.

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