**Goal and DOM datives**

## 1. Definite/animate objects and the morphological dative: empirical and theoretical outline of the work

The 'prepositional accusative' phenomenon of Romance languages entered the generative literature via clitic doubling in Spanish (Jaeggli 1981). Generative authors take the same approach to the phenomenon as implied by its traditional name – namely that some deep accusatives (depending on animacy and definiteness) are superficially preceded by a prepositional introducer. In most Romance varieties, this prepositional introducer is *a* and the surface realization of the prepositional accusative coincides with the dative. As far as we understand, this is taken to be a mere morphological matter, due for instance to the default nature of the preposition.

In (1) we illustrate an Italian variety, whose morphological properties will become useful in section 3. The traditional classification of (1a-b) as instances of prepositional accusative privileges the paradigmatic relation of these examples to (1c) where the same predicate takes a bare accusative. This means that the morphological identity of (1a-b) to the conventional dative (1d) is a matter of surface opacization. *Prima facie* empirical support for this systematization of the facts comes from passivization. Romance languages allow for the passivization of accusatives but not for the passivization of goal datives; prepositional accusatives pattern with accusatives in this respect and not with goal datives.

(1) a. camənə a mmi/tti/jiddə
they.call to me/you/him
'They call me/you/him'

b. camənə a kwedda femməna
they.call to that woman
'They call that woman'

c. annə piʎʎatə nu libbrə
they.have taken a book
'They took a/ that book'

d. u rainə a mmi/tti/jiddə
it they.give to me/you/him
'They give it to me/you/him'

*Sasso di Castalda (Italo-Romance)*

The prepositional accusative of Romance is parte of a large spectrum of Differential Object Marking (DOM) phenomena (Bossong 1985; Aissen 2003), which have formed the focus of much functional-typological literature. Consider Kashmiri. In the transitive sentence in (2), the inanimate internal argument, whether definite or indefinite, is in the direct case. In (3), the internal argument referring to a "sentient being" (Hook and Koul 2004: 216) triggers a dative – i.e. the same case found on the inherent locative directional 'to work'.[1]

(2) a. tim khe-n batı.
they eat-FUT-3PL food
'They will eat food.'

b. su ani kita:b.
he bring-FUT-3SG book
'He will bring the book.'

(Wali and Koul 1997: 227-228)

(3) swa sooz-yi jelyis kaamyi
she.NOM send-3SG.FUT Jol.DAT work.DAT
'She will send Jol off to work.'

*Kashmiri* (Hook and Koul 2004: 216)

In Indo-Aryan, the same passive facts concerning animacy datives and goal datives hold as in Romance. Kashmiri passives are formed combining the ablative form of the infinitive with the auxiliary verb *yun* 'to come'. Under passivisation, the internal argument takes the direct case and agrees with the auxiliary *yun* while the external argument is embedded under the postposition *zɨ́riyi* or *dɨ́s'* 'by' (Wali and Koul 1997: 208). As shown in (4), the animate internal argument that bears the dative in the transitive active, as in (4a), bears direct case and agrees with the verb in the corresponding passive, as in (4b).

(4) a. su kariy tse me hava:lı
he-NOM do-FUT-2SGPS you-DAT me-DAT handover
'He will handover you to me.'

[1] In this article, we have only occasionally tampered with the different glossing standards adopted by the various authors. For instance DAT in Indo-Aryan and OBL in Iranian have the same distribution, but are glossed differently because of their different connection to the overall case system (a two-case system direct-oblique in Iranian, a richer system in Indo-Aryan). Other glosses (e.g. ACC for the DOM case) are also found.

b. tsı yikh me hava:lı karnı
you-NOM come-FUT-2SGPS-PASS me-DAT handover do-INF-ABL
təm 'sındi dəs'
he-GEN- by
'You will be handed over to me by him.'

*Kashmiri* (Wali and Koul 1997: 208)

The data in (4) contrast with those in (5a-b), which show that the goal dative in the passive cannot surface in the direct case – nor can it control agreement. Wali and Koul (1997: 209) consider its extraction to the subject position ungrammatical, as shown in (5c). Specifically, they argue that "on the basis of these two criteria (i.e. dative case and agreement), some linguists have argued that the indirect object does not promote to the subject position".

(5) a. aslaman dits mohnas kəmi:z.
Aslam-ERG gave-FSG Mohan-DAT shirt
'Aslam gave a shirt to Mohan.'

b. kəmi:z a:yi aslam-ni zəriyi
shirt-FSG-NOM came-FSG-PASS Aslam-GEN-ABL by
mohnas dını
Mohan-DAT give-ABL.'
'The shirt was given by Aslam to Mohan.'

c. *mohnı aav aslamni zəriyi kəmi:z dını
Mohan-NOM come-MSG Aslam-GEN-ABL by shirt give-INF-ABL
'Mohan was given a shirt by Aslam.'

*Kashmiri* (Wali and Koul 1997:209)

The reason we exemplified Kashmiri is that the generative literature has paid attention to it in relation to certain distributional properties of the animacy dative, similar to the inverse agreement of Native American languages (see the Appendix). Most recently, Béjar and Rezac (2009: 64-67) label the superficial dative in examples like (3) as an "R-case" treating it as a specialized spell-out of "case assigned to the IA [internal argument] by *v*". They support their conclusion that "R-case is radically different from homophonous inherent case", i.e. dative, with the observation that "true inherent case on a DP … remains under passivization", unlike the homophonous R-case. In other words an uninterrupted line of generative theorizing, from Jaeggli (1981) on Spanish to Béjar and

Rezac (2009) on Kashmiri, applies different syntactic categories to animate/specific objects and goal datives – despite their identical Spell-Out.

The functional-typological literature is also not oblivious to the important differences between, say, Kashmiri (3) and (5a), though both examples involve the same morphological dative *Mohnas* 'to Mohan'. However in this tradition of studies there is a syntactic dative category coinciding with morphological dative, unproblematically. Where the different datives diverge is in having different functions.

> Two main functions of case marking have been identified: the indexing function, that is, cases are used to encode semantic roles, and the discriminating function, that is, the need to distinguish between the core arguments (subjects and objects) … The indexing approach provides a better account of case marking of oblique arguments … From a distinguishing perspective, preferential marking of animate Ps is understandable, as they are more likely to be confused with the subject (Malchukov 2008: 208; cf. also Iemmolo 2010).

In this article we embrace the notion of explanation in linguistics embedded in generative grammar, where external, function-based considerations have no place. At the same time it seems to us that questions of explanatory adequacy arise with respect to the empirical generalization briefly illustrated with Southern Italian and Kashmiri. As we will illustrate more extensively in section 2, in Indo-Iranian languages animate/definite objects appear in the inflectional dative/oblique. The Romance languages show the same alignment of animate/definite internal arguments with dative, though the latter is prepositional and eventually inflectional only in very small subsets of the pronominal system. We take it that the evidence is not compatible with the conclusion that there is either an accidental homophony/syncretism of goal and DOM dative across the Indo-European languages. Therefore goal and DOM datives form a natural class in morphosyntax – hence the theory must somehow define what this natural class consists in.

There are essentially two options for internal explanation – namely that the phenomenon is morphological or that it is syntactic. As far as we can tell, there is no extant formal proposal, in either sense. On the other hand, the formal morphological literature contains frameworks for dealing with 'absolute syncretism' in the terms of Calabrese (1998, 2008), whose work follows directly the morphological treatment of the Latin case system by Halle and Vaux (1997). Calabrese is interested in the fact that certain cases (or case oppositions) are missing altogether in some languages (specifically the Romance languages). For instance Romanian opposes direct case to oblique case (see section 3 for some data) – i.e. presents an absolute syncretism of nominative and accusative, as well as of all oblique (in particular genitive and dative). Calabrese works in the

Distributed Morphology framework, which means assuming that functional categories are represented by abstract feature clusters in the syntax, realized by actual exponents only at the PF interface. His key assumption is that there is a markedness hierarchy of cases (technically of the feature clusters corresponding to them) – so that lower cases in the hierarchy are more likely to be blocked. If they are, the corresponding feature cluster cannot surface at PF, but must be readjusted by the morphological component (by Impoverishment, etc.) yielding surface syncretism.

In principle the 'absolute syncretism' between goal and DOM datives can be captured by properly aligning the DOM case in the hierarchy; the block of either the DOM case or the goal dative can then lead to their surface syncretism. However, as far as we can tell, a solution along these lines (or in any event within the boundaries of Distributed Morphology or other formal models of morphology) has not been worked out in the literature. Here we are not interested in working one out, because of general concerns with Distributed Morphology (for a discussion of Calabrese, see for instance Manzini and Savoia 2011a, 2011b, 2013). The key issue is Late Insertion, which allows the syntax to contain an arbitrary amount of abstract structure never externalized at PF; worse, when syntactic structure is externalized, manipulations by the morphological component (Impoverishment, Fusion, Fission) may produce a surface result which is arbitrarily removed from its underlying source.[2]

Therefore what we want to pursue here is a syntax-internal model for the unification of goal and DOM datives. In effect, we aim at unifying datives that appear as internal arguments of predicates, which excludes a number of thematic datives (in particular the high Appl of Pylkkänen 2008) – as well as the oblique subjects that appear under ergativity splits in Indo-Iranian languages (see section 2.1). We are aware of the issues, but we must leave them for future work.[3] The main empirical difficulty in the way of such a syntactic unification of goal and DOM datives is that, as already illustrated in relation to Kashmiri, they show different behaviours under syntactic tests – in particular passivization. We will consider this difficulty contextually with our main proposal in section 3.

[2] Other formal morphology frameworks adopting Late Insertion aim to correct some of these issues, for instance nanosyntax as no underspecification (hence Impoverishment). However, it has other problems – for instance an exponent in DM resembles a conventional lexical item (up to underspecification), with a non-contradictory content; an exponents in nanosyntax is a set of all of the specifications it can in principle fill, including potentially contradictory ones. In other words, nanosyntax is much less restrictive than DM in this respect. More to the point, as far as we can tell, nanosyntactic treatments of case (Caha 2009) go no further than the empirical results of DM.

[3] In fact, exactly as here we claim that goal and DOM datives correspond to the same syntactic category, so it is tempting to see a potential unification between the higher thematic datives of the Appl literature and the dative external arguments found in ergativity splits (cf. Boneh and Nash 2012).

Preliminarily, let us note that in order to capture the generalization we are interested in (goal = DOM dative) we need not only a framework syntactic theory (provided here by current models of generative grammar, see especially Chomsky 1995, 2001, 2008) – but also a framework theory of case. Within the minimalist approach, properties such as gender (nominal class), number and person, which are intrinsically associated with nominal constituents, are features. However, relations, such as theta-roles, are not features, but correspond simply to syntactic configurations. From this perspective, it is potentially problematic to find that case is treated as a feature, i.e. as nominal class or number rather than as theta-roles. The fact that case is the only feature in Chomsky (1995) which is radically uninterpretable (i.e. which does not have an interpretable counterpart) is a reflex of the deeper difficulty in reconciling the traditionally relational core of this notion with its feature status. The solution at which Chomsky (2001, 2008) arrives is that the real underlying relation between case assigner and case assignee is an agreement relation, involving phi-features; case is but a reflex of this relation which appears on nominal constituents.

As far as we can tell, the empirical range of Chomsky's proposal only directly covers nominative and accusative (reflexes of phi-feature checking on T and *v* respectively).[4] If we ask ourselves how Chomsky's approach could be applied to obliques, the literature on the functional head Appl comes naturally to mind (Pylkkänen 2008; Cuervo 2003, on Romance). According to this literature a functional head Appl checks the descriptive dative. We could therefore say that dative is but the reflex of phi-feature agreement between Appl and a DP. Within this framework the question we are asking would then be the following: how come Appl (the low Appl of the literature) checks not only goals but also animate/definite themes?

There are indications that the agreement approach to case, though standard in minimalism, is not empirically adequate. In particular, Baker and Vinokurova (2010) argue that case cannot be reduced to phi-feature agreement. They suggest that Chomsky may be right for languages like English – and that therefore a macro-parameter may be envisaged depending on whether case is a reflex of agreement or not. But their examples from Sakha (Turkic) are largely replicated by familiar Indo-European languages like Latin (in fact they overlap with the notion of 'extended accusative', cf. Plank 1985; Cennamo 2011). For direct cases they suggest reverting to the dependent case algorithm of Marantz (2000 [1991]). Here we do not make any commitment as to this matter, since this article is concerned only with oblique.

[4] Other often quoted work on case, for instance Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004) is empirically equivalent to Chomsky's (2001, 2008), as far as we can tell; case is form of agreement (T agreement for them, where T must of course be abstract enough to encompass nominative, accusative and oblique). See section 3 for more on the 'tense/aspect' generative literature on case, specifically Svenonius (2002).

As for the latter, a fairly obvious intuition, originally formalized by Fillmore (1968), is that oblique cases are the inflectional equivalent of prepositions (English *to* = Latin dative, English *of* = Latin genitive etc.). If a preposition is a predicate introducing a relation between the argument it selects and another argument, so is oblique case. In section 3 we will try to address the empirical question we set out to solve (a unified model for goal and DOM datives) on the basis of a contentive and relational characterization of oblique case.

Abandoning the agreement model of case need not logically involve the uninterpretable status of case itself. For instance the dependent case algorithm revived by Baker and Vinokurova (2010) does not depend on the uninterpretability of case, but it is neutral with respect to it. On the other hand, if we say that (oblique) case has a relational content (it is effectively an inflectional counterpart of elementary predicates like Ps), then it is evident that we take the category case (at least, oblique case) to be interpretable. This does not necessarily impinge on other minimalist postulates – though we will take a more radical departure from them in section 4, in reassessing the relation of case to agreement.

At very many points in the logical path that we have outlined in this section we have met bifurcations where we could easily have gone the other way. Specifically, we could have chosen to look for a DM or an agreement analysis. We have tried to briefly motivate the reasons why we believed these directions to be problematic, compatible with the dimensions of this article and the fact that an ample discussion of the issues is independently available in the literature (including our own work). From now on, we will make our proposals within the framework of assumptions we just set up. This is fully compatible not only with mentalist, formal approaches but also specifically with minimalist ones (differing only on case as agreement).

We begin by presenting a survey of cross-linguistic data in section 2 which establish the empirical generalization in Eastern Indo-European languages (based on secondary literature), as well as in Romance and Albanian (based on primary evidence). This section is theory-neutral. Readers with a specific theoretical interest can jump directly to section 3, where we provide a characterization of a (goal) dative as an elementary predicate introducing a part-whole (hence possession) relation, including some history of the idea starting with Kayne (1984). We propose that the DOM dative represents an instance of this same elementary predicate. In section 4 we show that DOM datives can further pattern with goal datives with respect to agreement phenomena, and we provide an analysis of the parametrization observed. In the Appendix we briefly address the potential connection of Kashmiri DOM dative distribution with inverse agreement, concluding that it does not provide any (strong) evidence in favour of subsuming dative case under agreement.

## 2. Indo-European DOM: some evidence

In this section we illustrate a fact which is actually well-known, namely that both in Eastern and Western European languages (e.g. Hindi, Persian, Spanish) animate/definite objects have the same lexicalization as goal datives/obliques, whether by a dative inflection or by a prepositional/postpositional marker. Only language families where DOM datives are prominent are considered in this work – though see section 3 for some literature on ditransitives in English. The data face us with an alternative: either across the Indo-European family there is an accidental homophony/syncretism of goal and DOM datives (a conclusion normally rejected in linguistics, given the evidence) or else goal and DOM dative form a natural class in morphosyntax. The latter option, specifically that goal and DOM datives have the same syntax, is argued for in the rest of the paper.

### *2.1 Indo-Iranian languages*

Iranian and Indo-Aryan (Bossong 1985; Butt and Ahmed 2011) employ a DOM dative with nouns referring to subsets of [+specific; +definite; + animate], always including items very highly ranked in animacy/definiteness, i.e. 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns. In Hindi/Urdu, the marker *ko* appears on recipients/goals in ditransitives (6a), on experiencer subjects of psych verbs, as spatial/temporal markers (6d-e) (thematic datives/obliques), as well as on definite/specific objects (6b) (DOM datives).[5]

(6) a. anjum-ne saddaf-ko ciTThii dii *recipient*
anjum.F.SG-ERG saddaf.F.SG-DAT letter.F.SG give.PERF.F.SG
'Anjum gave the letter to Saddaf.'

b. anjum-ne saddaf-ko dekhaa *specific obj*
Anjum.F.SG-ERG Saddaf.F.SG-ACC see.PERF.M.SG
'Anjum saw Saddaf.

c. omair-ko iinaam milaa *experiencer*
Omair.M.SG-DAT prize.M.SG touch.PERF.M.SG
'Omair got the prize.'

d. chor raat-ko aayaa *temporal*
thief.M.SG night.F.SG-at come.PERF.M.SG

[5] The glosses in (6) highlight the function of the *–ko* morpheme (acc, dat, 'at' etc.). Our shading of portions of the text is meant to help readers to identify the relevant morphology. On our choice not to unify glosses, see fn. 1

'The thief came at night.'

e. saamaan ghar-ko pohoanch gayaa *spatial*
luggage.M.SG home.M.SG-at reach go.PERF.M.SG
'The luggage reached home.'

*Hindi* (Ahmed 2006: 3-4).

As Hook and Koul (2004: 215) point out, in Indo-Aryan languages normally "all nouns and pronouns that refer to specific human beings remain in the dative case when functioning as direct object, no matter what the tense, mood, or aspect", hence irrespective of the Tense/Aspect ergativity split. The examples in (7) for Hindi–Urdu, Gujarati, and Marathi involve a progressive tense, hence a nominative external argument, while those in (8) involve a perfect, hence an ergative external argument. In both sets, the 1st person internal argument undergoes DOM and is associated with dative case.[6]

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7) | a. | vo | mujhe | kahAA | bhej-egaa | *Hindi–Urdu* |
| | b. | te | mane | kyAA | mokal-ish | *Gujarati* |
| | c. | to | malaa | kuTha | paaThav-il | *Marathi* |
| | | he.NOM | me.DAT | where | send-3SG.FUT | |
| | | 'Where will he send me?' | | | | |
| (8) | a. | us-ne | mujhe | kahAA | bhej-aa | *Hindi–Urdu* |
| | b. | te-Ne | mane | kyAA | mokal-yo | *Gujarati* |
| | c. | tyaa-na | malaa | kuTha | paaThav-ala | *Marathi* |
| | | he-ERG | me.DAT | where | send-PST | |
| | | 'Where did he send me?' | | | | |

(Hook and Koul 2004: 215)

In some Indo-Aryan languages the same ***ï ne*** morphology lexicalizes both the ergative and the DOM marker. This leads to double oblique patterns of the type illustrated in (9) (cf. Malchukov 2008; Stroński 2009; Phillips 2012). Ergativity and hence double obliques are outside the scope of the present article.[7] What we are interested in is that in some language with the same ***ï ne***

[6] For reasons of space, we cannot exemplify a minimal pair of a goal dative and a DOM dative for every language quoted; we take the 'dative' or 'oblique' gloss provided by the literature for DOM objects to be evidence in itself. In any event, minimal pairs are provided for Hindi, for Vafsi (Western Iranian) and for Armenian (fn. 11).

[7] Dative/oblique external arguments are introduced here for the sake of comparison and will not be analyzed in what

morphology for both DOM and ergative, there is mutual exclusion between them, as illustrated in (10) for Harauti. The minimal pair in (10a-b) suggests that either the ergative marking can be missing as in (10a) or the definiteness/animacy marking on the theme as in (10b).[8] (10c) shows that the goal dative is also *–ne* marked; in the perfect, the presence of a *–ne* marked ergative subject, as in (10d), has the language resort to a periphrasis for the dative.

(9) a. bɑbbu-nɛ̃ tʃʰore-nɛ̃ gʰəəɳɑ piʈʈ-ɑ
father-ERG son-ACC very much beat-PF.MS
'The father beat the son very much.'
*Bangru* (Stroński 2009: 246)

b. məən-nɛ̃ sɑb-nɛ̃ mɑrjɔ
I-nɛ̃ master-nɛ̃ beat.PF.MS
'I beat the master.'
*Ahirvati* (Stroński 2009: 246)

c. ma-ne sahab-ne mar-a
I-ACC/DAT sahib.MS-ERG hit-PF.MS
'The Sahib hit me.'
*Haryanvi* (Butt 2007: 18)

(10) a. tʃhoro sɑ̃p-nɛ mɑr-j-o
boy snake.MS-nɛ kill-PF-MS
'A boy hit the snake.'

b. tʃhorɑ-nɛ sɑ̃p i mɑr-j-o
boy.OBL-nɛ snake.MS EMPH hit-PF-MS
'A boy hit the snake.'
(Stroński 2009: 245-246)

c. muŋ chora-nɛ photi duŋgo
I boy book will give
'I will give the boy a book'.

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follows, as indicated in section 1.

[8] What triggers one or the other pattern, as in the minimal pair in (10a-b) is certainly a very interesting question in itself – but one which is outside the scope of the present article. As for the varying glossing standards, some authors mark function (acc *vs.* erg), other give up glossing *–ne* altogether.

d. mha-nɛ chora-kə-taiŋ photi di chɛ
I boy book gave
'I have given the book to the boy'

*Harauti (*Allen 1964: 343, our glosses)

The double *–ne* constraint of Harauti is reminiscent of syntactic haplology phenomena, where the doubling of certain properties is excluded, even if their lexicalizations are not linearly adjacent or phonologically identical; in recent works, haplology in syntax covers a quite abstract range of phenomena. (Yip 1998; Neeleman and van de Koot 2006; van Riemsdijk 2008; Richards 2010; Manzini to appear).[9] Adopting a sufficiently abstract view, one of several complicating factors of Kashmiri, namely that DOM is found only in progressive tenses, making it unlike the other Indo-Aryan languages in (7)-(8), may be connected to the double *–ne* constraint in languages like Harauti. For instance, in the future tense sentence in (11a), the external argument *tsi* 'you' bears the nominative and the internal argument *mye* 'me' appears in the dative case. In the perfect in (11b), where the external argument takes the ergative form *tsye*, the 1st person internal argument takes the *bi* non-oblique form. This suggests that in Kashmiri, there is a single oblique per *v*P – and this determines the impossibility of DOM datives in ergative environments like (11b).

(11) a. tsi an-akh mye taalyi kiny
you-NOM bring-2SG.FUT me.DAT head.DAT toward
'You'll bring me to the end of my tether . . .'

b. tsye onu-th-as bi taalyi kiny
you.ERG brought-2SG.ERG.-1SG.NOM I.NOM head.DAT toward

[9] For Hindi, Mohanan (1994), Yip (1998) document mutual exclusion between two instances of the *–ko* oblique morphology, as in (ia). Haplology is syntactically conditioned to the extent that it is sensitive to whether the double-*ko* appears on arguments of the same core predicate, as in (ia), or rather on an argument and an adjunct, as in (ib), in which case it is acceptable. The closeness to the Harauti mutual exclusion is underscored by the fact that, as Yip (1998:235) comments, a "remedial strategy is to leave the accusative unmarked; this leaves it non-specific, but if the context allows, this may not matter".

(i) a. *Raam-ko bacco-ko samhaalna paaa
R-DAT children-ACC take.care.INF fall.PERF
'Ram took care of the children.'

c. Raam-ko raat-ko raavi milaa
Ram-DAT night-at Ravi meet-PERF
'Ram met Ravi at night'

‘You brought me to the end of my tether…’

*Kashmiri* (Hook and Koul 2004: 215)

Iranian languages bear a close resemblance to Indo-Aryan languages. Consider the data from Vafsi, a Northwest Iranian language which is characterized by a two case system (direct vs. oblique)[10] and a tense/aspect triggered split ergativity (cf. Arkadiev 2008; Haig 2008; Bickel and Witzlack-Makarevich 2008). In (12a) the definite internal argument is marked with a dative/oblique (the DOM-dative/oblique). (12b) shows an ergative construction, involving an indefinite internal argument in the direct case and an external argument in the dative/oblique case. (12c) shows a double oblique pattern in which both external argument and internal argument are marked with the dative/oblique in the perfect.

(12) a. tæ in xær-i næ-ruš-i
you(DIR) this donkey-OBL NEG-sell-2SG
‘Won’t you sell this donkey?’

b. in luti-an yey xær-esan æ-ruttæ
this wise.guy-OBL.PL one donkey(DIR)-3PL DUR-sell.PST
‘These wise guys were selling a donkey’.

c. luas-i kærg-e-s bæ-værdæ.
fox-OBL chicken-OBL-3SG PFV-take.PST
‘The fox took the chicken.’

*Vafsi* (Stilo 2004: 243-244)

Vafsi has dative/oblique-marked recipients/goal arguments embedded under

[10] See fn. 1 on alternating (dat, obl) glossing of different language families. Three case patterns closer to Indo-Aryan are not unknown in Iranian languages. In Yazgulyam, a South-Eastern Iranian language, subjects of intransitive clauses, and subjects and direct objects of transitive clauses in the perfect receive three different cases (albeit only in 1st/2nd person) (Payne 1980:173ff), as shown in (i).

(i) a. áz-əm mɔt mad
1S.ABS-1S tired become.PST
‘I am tired.’

b. mon š-tu wint
1S.OBL ACC-2S see-PST
‘I saw you.’

prepositional/postpositional phrases, including 'to' type environments and the benefactive *–ra*, as exemplified in (13). However oblique case also marks the indirect object of ditransitive constructions by itself, so that we may have instances of perfect sentences in which the external argument, the definite internal argument and the goal are all marked with the dative/oblique alike. An example is provided in (14).

(13) a. dæ tawan hic-es ná-wattæ.
to we.OBL nothing-3S-OBL NEG-said
'He didn't say anything to us. '

b. yey xærbozæ-san æ-day o tini.
one melon-3P2 PVB-gave to he.OBL
'They gave him a melon.'

c. kaqæ æn-nivis-om esdæ-ra.
paper DUR-write-1S-DIR you.OBL-BEN
'I'll write you a letter.'

*Vafsi* (Stilo 2010: 256-259).

(14) taemen kell-i-m hà-da haesaen-i
I.OBL daughter-OBL.F-1SG-OBL PVB-gave Hassan.OBL.M
'I gave my daughter to Hassan.'

*Vafsi* (Stilo 2010: 263)

In standard Persian, the ***i*** *ra* marker is attached to definite direct objects, as in (15a) (Ghomeshi 2003, Karimi 2003, 2005) – and appears also in temporal and spatial expressions, as in (15b-c). Thus *–ra* roughly appears to be the Persian counterpart of the Hindi *–ko* morphology reviewed at the beginning.[11] While all of the Indo-Iranian languages surveyed so far have some

[11] Note that this morphology is glossed with 'acc' in (15). More transparently, the same clustering is attested in Armenian with the morphological dative case. Armenian morphological dative corresponds to the goal of di-transitive constructions in (ia), to the animate/specific internal argument in (ib), and to spatial and temporal adverbials in (ic) and (id) respectively.

(i) a. Dasaxos-ě usanoł-i-n tvec' girk'-ě *goal*
Lecturer.NOM-the student-DAT-the give-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
'The lecturer gave the book to the student.'

b. Ašot-ě tes-av Aram-i-n. *animate/ specific IA*
Ašot.NOM-the see-AOR.3.SG Aram-DAT-the
'Ašot saw Aram.'

form of split ergativity, Persian is closer to more familiar European languages (and to Sanskrit) in lacking ergative case alignment in the perfect.

(15) a. bezar in æks-a*(-ro) beh-et nešun bedæm. *specific direct object*
leave this picture-PL-ACC to.you show-1S
'Let me show you these pictures'

b. do hæfte-ro kamel esterahæt kærd-æm *temporal adverbial*
two week-ACC complete rest did-1S
'I rested for a full two weeks'

c. [ta xune]-ro dovid-æm *space adverbial*
until house-ACC ran-1S
'I ran [all the way] till [I got] home'

*Persian* (Cagri 2007: 2)

### *2.2 Romance and a comparison with Albanian*

The Indo-Iranian data invite comparison with DOM phenomena in familiar European languages of the type introduced in (1). In the prepositional accusative phenomenon, observed in standard Spanish and in Italian dialects, the specific/animate internal argument of a transitive predicate is preceded by an *a* preposition, i.e. by the same preposition that introduces goals. Non-animate/non-specific arguments do not present the prepositional introducer. Taking a leaf from the survey of Indo-Iranian languages with inflectional case, one may describe the phenomenon by saying that depending on the animacy/definiteness of the internal argument, it will either be embedded as an accusative (i.e. as a bare DP) or as a dative (i.e. preceded by *a*).

A considerable amount of data is available from the literature on Spanish, including dialectal variation (Suñer 1988 on River Plate Spanish, Torrego 1998 on Castillan Spanish). A better controlled sample of dialectal variation is also available for Southern Italian dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2005: §4.9). Consider *Sasso di Castalda* (Lucania) in (1), repeated as (16) for ease of reference, where DOM extends to 1st/2nd and 3rd person pronouns, as in (16a), and to animate/

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c. Nrank' par°k-ac ēin get-i ap'-i-n. *spatial*
they.NOM lie-PTCP.RES they were river-DAT bank-DAT-the
'They were resting on the river's bank.'

d. Gar°nan-ĕ gnal-u enk' Moskva. *temporal*
spring-DAT-the go-PTCP.FUT. we are Moscow.NOM
'In spring we will go to Moscow.'

(Dum Tragutt 2009: 86-87)

specific noun phrases, as in (16b), to the exclusion of indefinites/ inanimate ones, as in (16c).

(16) a. camənə a mmi/tti/jiddə
they.call to me/you/him
'They call me/you/him'

b. camənə a kwedda femməna
they.call to that woman
'They call that woman'

c. annə piʎʎatə nu libbrə
they.have taken a book
'They took a/ that book'

d. u rainə a mmi/tti/jiddə
it they.give to me/you/him
'They give it to me/you/him'

*Sasso di Castalda*

Interestingly in this language (as in several other Romance varieties, cf. Loporcaro 2008, Manzini and Savoia 2010, 2011a), 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns present three or even four case inflections. Thus for 1st/2nd person singular, *Sasso* has a differentiated nominative form, as in (17a) and several objective forms. One specializes as the object of the *a* preposition; this includes both the goal dative in (16d) and the DOM dative in (16a). A further form (etymologically connected to the Latin postpositional phrases *me-cum, te-cum* 'lit: me-with, you-with') appears as the object of *ku* 'with' as in (17c) and of selected other prepositions, as in (17d). In most prepositional contexts, we find the *me/te* forms in (17b). The 1st/2nd person singular paradigm of *Sasso* is tabulated in (18) for ease of reference.

(17) a. ijə rərmə/tu ruərmə/jiddə rərmə
I sleep/you sleep/he sleeps

b. l a ffattə pə mme/tte/jiddə
it he.has done for me/you/him
'He has done it for me/you/him'

c. ku mmikə/ ttikə
with me/ you.sg

d. viənə addo mmikə/ttikə
he.comes to me/you
'He is coming to (see) me/you'

*Sasso di Castalda*

(18)

| | *Nom* | *P Obj* | *a Obj* | *ku Obj* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *1sg* | ji | me | mi | mmikə |
| *2sg* | tu | te | ti | ttikə |

The all purpose prepositional objects *me/te* in (18), inflected by the nominal class morphology *–e*, represent the accusative case of the system. By contrast, the *mi/ ti* forms embedded under *a* are morphologically dative (for cross-linguistic data, see for instance the discussion of Italian in (21)). In other words, even though the inflectional case system of Italo-Romance is mostly confined to pronouns, and in particular to 1st/ 2nd person pronouns – it is sufficient to reveal that so-called prepositional accusative involves an inflectional dative.

Case splits between the 3rd person system and the 1st/ 2nd person one are typologically common (cf. Yazgulyam in fn. 10). Albanian presents a particularly interesting pattern (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2011c). As illustrated herewith the Geg variety of *Shkodër*, the case system of 3rd person arguments distinguishes nominative, accusative and oblique, as in (19). By contrast, 1st and 2nd person (singular and plural) distinguish nominative, an objective case inclusive of accusative and dative, as well as the ablative, associated with some prepositional contexts, as in (20).

(19)

| | *Nom* | *Acc* | *Obl* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *3sg* | ai/aja 'he/she' | atɛ 'him/her' | atij 'to him/her' |
| *3pl* | ata 'they' | ata 'them' | asɑj 'to them' |

(20)

| | *Nom* | *Obj* | *Abl* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1sg* | un | mu | mej-ɛ-t |
| *2sg* | ti | ty | tej-ɛ-t |
| *1pl* | na | ne | ne-ʃ |
| *2pl* | ju | ju | ju-ʃ |

*Shkodër*

In traditional terms, the pattern in (19)-(20) is taken to mean that there are four underlying cases in Albanian, namely nominative, accusative, dative, and ablative – while 3rd person pronouns

display a syncretism between dative and ablative, and 1st and 2nd person display a different syncretism between accusative and dative. In present terms, the descriptive syncretism between accusative and dative in the 1st and 2nd person point to a different generalization, namely that Albanian has a split accusative (DOM) system, whereby 1st and 2nd person internal arguments are systematically raised to DOM datives. *Shkodër* is morphologically opaque in this respect – but there are morphologically more transparent varieties supporting our conclusion. For instance in the Arbëresh (Italo-Albanian) variety of *Vena di Maida*, the objective (goal and DOM dative) form of the 2nd singular is *ti-çə*, displaying the same *-çə* ending independently found on the 3rd person singular (goal) dative *at-i-çə*.

The Albanian data are reminiscent of the fact that all Romance varieties (as far as we can tell) present the same clitic form for the accusative and the dative in the 1st/2nd person, despite the fact that many of them distinguish accusative and dative clitics in the 3rd person. Italian provides a typical example; thus the same 1st/2nd person clitic lexicalizes both contexts in (21a), while an accusative and a dative form of the 3rd person clitic are involved in (21b) and (21c).

(21) a. Mi/ti ha telefonato/aiutato
(to.)me/you he.has telephoned/helped
'He phoned/ helped me/you'

b. Lo/*gli ha aiutato
him/ to him he.has helped
'He helped him/ her'

c. Gli/*lo ha telefonato
to.him/him he.has telephoned
'He phoned him'

*Italian*

The classical approach to the asymmetries in (21) is to postulate a single underlying case system – and to assume that a morphological process of syncretism in (21a) is responsible for surface differences. The alternative is that this supposed low-level syncretism reflects a genuine syntactic generalization. Morphologically, in (21a) the *mi, ti* 1st/ 2nd person forms have the same *-i* inflection as the 3rd person dative *gli* in (21c). This inflection contrasts with that of the accusative in (21b), corresponding to the nominal class morphology (e.g. *-o* for the masculine singular). Thus the overt morphology of *mi/ ti* suggests that the accusative/ dative descriptive syncretism of 1st/2nd person is on the dative, not the accusative. In present terms, the structure of embedding of *mi/ ti* in

(21a) remains constant, despite the fact that two different structures of embedding are implied by the predicates 'help' and 'telephone', in (21b) and (21c) respectively, when combining with 3rd person clitics. Specifically, 1st/2nd person are embedded as DOM datives.

## 3. Unifying goal and DOM dative: the core idea (based on Romance data)

### *3.1 Goal datives/obliques (in Romance): outline of the proposal and of its theoretical background*

For ease of discussion, we take as our starting point Romance languages, for which we have primary data. Consider Romanian, the only Romance language that displays a two-case declension throughout the nominal system. In (22a) we exemplify the dative plural masculine and feminine with an embedding under 'give'. In (22b) we show that the forms of the dative completely overlap with those of the genitive, illustrated by a nominal embedding. The syncretism between genitive and dative characterizes all nominal forms in Romanian, so that we may equally well speak of an oblique case. The oblique forms in (22) have three separate layers of inflection. The leftmost layer is the nominal class morphology ***ï i*** for the masculine plural and *–e* for the feminine plural. The second layer is an ***ï l*** definiteness specification; though Romanian is often described as a language with post-nominal articles, here we assume that the definiteness morphology is generated as an inflection within the noun (cf. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1998). Finally the *-or* ending is associated with oblique (dative/genitive) case.

(22) a. (I)-l am dat băieț-i-l-or / fet-e-l-or
him.it I.have given boy-MPL-DEF-OBL/ girl-FPL-DEF-OBL
'I gave it to two boys/ girls.'

b. pahar-ul băieț-i-l-or / fet-e-l-or
glass-msg.def boy-MPL-DEF-OBL/ girl-FPL-DEF-OBL
'the glass of the boys/ girls'

In minimalist approaches, ***ï or*** would be the lexicalization of an uninterpretable feature, which is either directly checked against a similar uninterpretable feature of the head of the construct (verb or noun), as in Chomsky (1995) or is checked as part of an independently defined Agree process (Chomsky 2001, 2008). In present terms, *–or* is the inflectional equivalent of a preposition like *to* or *of*, i.e. a predicate introducing a relation between the argument it selects and another

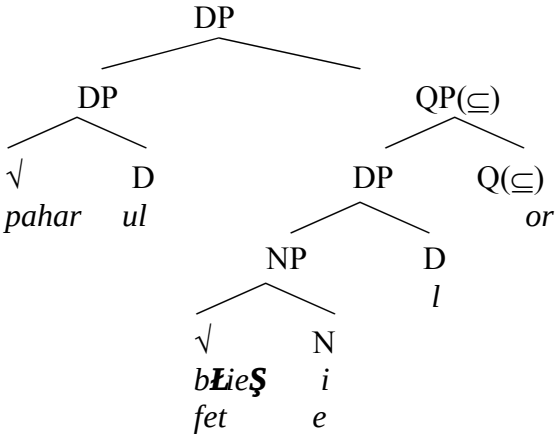
argument.

In this article, we concentrate on datives, disregarding genitives and the dative-genitive syncretism. However we begin our discussion with genitive (22b) because the view of dative we want to put forth is perhaps most intuitively apprehended starting from it. Thus in (22b) *–or* says that the noun that it attaches to (i.e. 'the boys' or 'the girls') bears the 'genitive' (roughly the 'possession') relation to the head noun.[12] An idea put forth in very similar terms by various strands of literature is that 'possession' is in fact a surface manifestation of the more elementary part-whole relation. Thus Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) propose that the Romance clitic *ne* (syncretic in some varieties between genitive and dative) introduces a pronominal set which is a 'superset-of' some other argument of the sentence (the internal argument, cf. Burzio 1986). Belvin and den Dikken (1997: 170) define the relation introduced by 'have' as 'zonal inclusion' in the following terms: "the 'meaning' of have … denotes a special kind of inclusion relation … dubbed 'zonal inclusion'… Entities have various zones associated with them, such that an object or eventuality may be included in a zone associated with an entity without being physically contained in that entity… The type of zones which may be associated with an entity will vary with the entity."

Formally, we notate the relevant relation with '⊆', though as indicated by the discussion that precedes, the inclusion relation is to be construed not mathematically but as a looser zonal inclusion one. Among DP-internal categories, we suggest that Q, given its relational core is closest to case morphology. Correspondingly, we label Romanian *–or* as Q(⊆) in (23). The Q(⊆) element takes as its complement its sister DP *bŁieŞl-/ fetel-* 'the boys/the girls' and as its external argument the sister DP to its projection, i.e. *paharul* 'the glass', and it says that 'the glass' is 'zonally included' by 'the boys' or 'the girls' (it is in their material possession, or in their vicinity, etc.).

[12] The dative-genitive syncretism is widely attested, characterizing also Iranian languages, Albanian, Greek, as well as in Middle Indo-Aryan (cf. Breunis, 1990). In Iranian, in Albanian and in Romanian (though not in the particular example we have chosen in (22b)), genitive embedding requires a pre-genitival introducer, namely the Ezafe of Iranian varieties, the article of Albanian or Greek descriptions etc. (Larson and Yamakido 2008, Haig 2011, Franco 2012a on Iranian, Manzini and Savoia 2011a,c on Albanian, Dobrovie-Sorin 2005 on Romanian). For a view of this phenomenon compatible with present ideas see Franco et al. (2013).

(23)




It is in relation with (goal) datives (rather than genitive) that the connection with the predicate 'have' (here 'inclusion' rather than 'possession') strongly emerges in the generative literature. The line of analysis of ditransitive verbs initiated by Kayne (1984), cf. also Kayne (1994), is characterized by the assumption that verbs like 'give' take a predication as their complement; the content of this predication is a possession relation between the accusative direct object (the possessum) and the dative (the possessor). It is difficult to properly represent the relevant literature in this article since it is basically concerned with Germanic languages (not considered here) and with the word order alternation known as Dative/Object Shift (not obviously present in Romance), see for instance Pesetsky (1995). However in many works in this tradition, the point is explicitly made that the head of the predication postulated by Kayne is (an abstract version of) the verb 'have'. For instance, for Harley (2002) the head of the predication in an English Object Shift sentence is an abstract preposition $P_{HAVE}$, as in (24a) (cf. 'give Mary a letter'); for Beck and Johnson (2004), even more clearly, the head of the predication is an abstract verb HAVE, as in (24b) ('send Satoshi the guide').

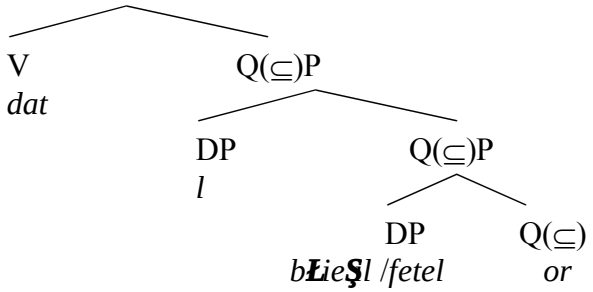
(24) a … CAUSE [$_{PP}$ Mary [$_{HAVE'}$ $P_{HAVE}$ a letter]] (Harley 2002)

b. … send [$_{HAVEP}$ Satoshi [$_{HAVE'}$HAVE the guide]] (Beck and Johnson 2004)

Consider then the present analysis of goal dative, as exemplified in (22a). The morphological structure remains unchanged with respect to the genitive in (23), and so does the content of the morphological categories involved. All that changes with respect to (23) is the structure of embedding. In (25) Q(⊆) takes as its internal argument its sister DP *bŁieŞl-* /*fetel-* and as its external argument the sister to its projection, i.e. the accusative clitic *l*, reconstructed in (25) in thematic position for simplicity. Correspondingly, the second internal argument of 'give', i.e. the traditional dative, participates in fixing the reference of the first internal argument, i.e. the

accusative, by denoting a superset including it.

(25)




The resemblance between (25), and proposals in the literature such as those in (24), would be even more evident if we chose different labels – say $Case_{HAVE}$ rather than Q(⊆)P. The reason why we chose (⊆) rather than HAVE as the content of the dative relation is that, whether this is intended by the authors or not, structures like (24) seem to imply an adhesion to some form of generative semantics, where all relations are verbs (or VERBS), etc. (cf. e.g. Ross 1969; McCawley 1976). On the contrary, our relational content (⊆) can associate to different categories, which we may choose to notate P(⊆) for a preposition like *to*, etc. Similarly, nothing prevents us from adopting the view that case (KASE, K) is a primitive category of grammar (cf. Bittner and Hale 1996; Travis 2005, Franco 2012b, among others). Yet there is at least a reason that militates against this, namely that the exact same relational content carried by case (e.g. (⊆)) can be carried by independently defined categories, notably P. Therefore we suggest that case is not a primitive category in DPs either, but rather corresponds to an independently defined category Q.[13]

More importantly, the contribution that we propose to make to the tradition of formal studies briefly reviewed does not consist in a new take on the same empirical basis. In other words, we will not discuss (Germanic) Object Shift further – though Manzini and Savoia (2013) treat Italian 'weak' pronoun *loro* '(to/of) them' as an instance of Object Shift and briefly illustrate how Object Shift works in terms of the Q(⊆) category. The direction we take here is different – namely look at a different phenomenon altogether (DOM datives) and see what these facts may have to say when taken in the context of a theory of goal dative as Q(⊆).

At the same time the possession/inclusion for datives is not necessarily adopted by all the generative literature, when addressing datives. Svenonius (2002) argues that case is in fact interpretable, as a property of predicates (though uninterpretable on nouns, a position closest to Pesetsky and Torrego's 2001, 2004). However, Svenonius suggests that dative case is associated

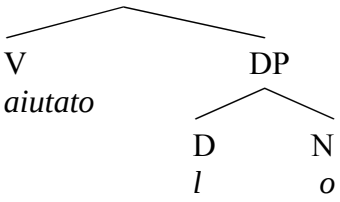
[13] Other scholars take the opposite path, including Fillmore (1968), namely that of identifying some PPs with KPs (Kase Phrases).

with predicates where V and v denote non perfectly overlapping events. He addresses yet another set of cross-linguistic facts about datives – namely that different languages present a different apportioning of dative and accusative to different lexical subclasses, e.g. 'verbs of ballistic motion' take dative in Icelandic, though accusative in English ('throw' etc.). For Svenonius (2002: 218), in ditransitive structures "the dative case on the goal might be licenced by a temporal mismatch between V and R", i.e. the Result head that introduces the dative.

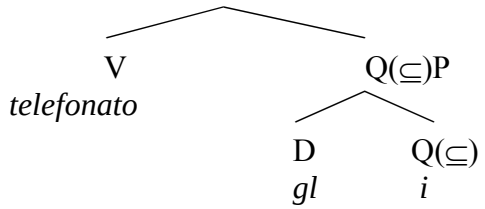
Svenonius does not discuss the possession/inclusion characterization of datives, not even in ditransitives. Presumably he considers that there is no possibility of extending it to single transitives – or *a fortiori* to the variation they display. Nevertheless, before moving on to DOM, we will complete our presentation of goal dative by analyzing simple transitive verbs taking datives in terms of Q(⊆). It seems to us that the results, starting from apparently different premises, turn out to be consonant with Svenonius', providing an important point of convergence between the possession/inclusion model we want to apply to DOM and the other major generative tradition in the study of (dative) case – roughly temporal/aspectual.

Again, for ease of reference, we start from a familiar Romance language, say Italian (21b-c), where two different case structures are implied by the predicates 'help' and 'telephone' in (21b) and (21c) respectively. These are overtly realized by 3rd person clitics, as illustrated in (26). In (26a) following Harris (1994), Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) we assume that Romance accusative clitics consist of a definiteness base *l-* (with allomorphs including *gl-* in (26b)) and of a nominal class inflection N (cf. also Kratzer 2009 for a semantic justification of a D-N structure for pronouns). Following our own hypothesis, the dative inflection of the clitic in (26b) introduces the Q(⊆) category.

(26) a.




b.




By hypothesis our analysis of (26b) yields the correct results at the morpholexical interface.

But what about the interpretive interface, specific? We have seen that with ditransitive verbs Q(⊆) establishes a relation between the argument to which it attaches and another argument present within the predicate (the VP). The question is what Q(⊆) does in (26b). We propose that in this instance the two arguments of Q(⊆) are the clitic (or rather its *(g)l-* definiteness segment) and – we assume – and an eventive constituent.

Intuitively, transitive predicates can be paraphrased by an elementary predicate associated with an eventive name. Hale and Keyser (1993), Chomsky (1995) formalize this intuition about the complex nature of transitive predicates by assuming that they result from the incorporation of an elementary state/ event into a transitivizing predicate (CAUSE). In minimalist syntax the transitivizing predicate is standardly built into the structure in the form of a *v* functional head.

Within such a conceptual framework it becomes clearer what we mean when we say that Q(⊆) takes as its arguments the (elementary) state/event and the pronoun. Thus (21a) can be informally rendered as 'He caused me to have a phone call' or more directly 'He caused me a phone call', as schematized in (27a). Complements of 'help' (or rather 'cause help') are embedded in a canonical transitive structure comprising a nominative agent and an accusative theme, as in (27b). Adapting Svenonius's ideas to this proposal, 'help' behaves a single predicate, its complementation structure displaying no sensitivity to the presence of (potential) subevents/states in it. The dative with 'phone' is simply a result of the sensitivity of argument structure to the finer event articulation of the predicate. In a way (27b) simply merges the generative tradition in characterizing dative as possession/inclusion with Svenonius' insight into the relevance of eventive splits for datives.

(27) a. EA [CAUSE/*v* [phone call [$_{Q(\subseteq)}$ him]]]
b. EA [CAUSE/*v* [help him]]

As is well-known, the alternation in (27) is lexically governed – yielding variation even in closely related languages; for instance Latin *adiuvo* 'I help' (transparently related to *aiutare* in Italian) selects dative, while English *phone* takes an accusative. Because of this, it cannot correspond to properties fixed by Universal Grammar, but must be learned by the child. If our reading is correct, we fully endorse his conclusions (Svenonius 2002: 222), namely that "there is no such thing as idiosyncratic lexical case; that is, to stipulate that a verb takes a dative object is to also stipulate something else about that verb so that the stipulation is not entirely independent of event structural properties". In other words, though it is in principle possible to approach data like (27) by coupling an a priori choice of universals with a stipulative morpholexical interface (case selection, case syncretism etc.) (see section 1), nothing in the data forces it. A potentially more

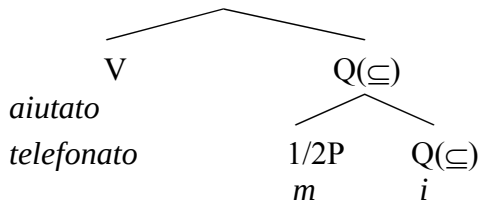
restrictive and revealing approach consists in using the morpholexical interface as a tool to uncover what the true underlying universals of natural languages are – and ultimately what deep parameters they define.

### *3.2 DOM datives*

Against the theoretical background provided by the review of goal datives in section 3.1, we are in a position to consider whether the coincidence of goal and DOM dative in many languages is a matter of mere morphological opacity (see the discussion in section 1 and immediately above) or rather depends on the syntax – as we will argue in what follows. Crucially, we need to show that the different behaviour of goal and DOM datives under syntactic texts is not problematic in this respect.

For ease of reference, we attack DOM datives starting with Italian (21a), given the assumption that the *mi, ti* 1st/ 2nd person forms are morphologically dative. The dative morphology of *mi/ ti* suggests that these forms are not directly embedded as the internal argument of the event. Rather, their embedding requires the presence of Q(⊆). In other words, the structure of embedding of *mi/ ti* in (21a) remains constant, as in (28), despite the fact that two different structures of embedding are implied by the predicates 'help' and 'telephone' with 3rd person clitics, as discussed in (26)-(27). More precisely, the structure in (28) parallels that in (26b). Therefore both with 'help' and with 'phone' the complex nature of the transitive event is relevant for the attachment of the internal argument. With both verbs the internal argument with Participant ('speaker', 'hearer' reference) is construed as a possessor of the embedded subevent, as in (29).

(28)




(29) a. EA [CAUSE [phone call [$_{Q(\subseteq)}$ me]]]

b. EA [CAUSE [help [$_{Q(\subseteq)}$ me]]]

By hypothesis the analysis in (28) yields the correct results at the morpholexical interface. But what about the interpretive interface? As already commented in section 1, we have essentially two ways to go. First, we could impose our interpretive templates (in the form of functional hierarchies etc.) on syntax – essentially along the lines of Uniformity Hypothesis of Culicover and Jackendoff (2005); any parametrization arises because of necessity a matter of opacization at the

lexical/morphological interface. For instance, we may want to impose on our syntax a uniform representation of event and argument structures (based on a neo-Davidsonian logic or other). If so, it is evident that the DOM dative realization of the Participant argument in (28) must be merely a matter of PF.

What we argue here is that a different approach is possible. Though any number of abstract logics can be imposed on natural languages (up to surface opacization), one of the few insights that we can have into their real underlying logic is provided precisely by lexicalization patterns. Thus as urged by Svenonius (2002) (see the end of last section), the presence of a dative, may imply the activation of a *split* eventive structure – though this may be possible and necessary only for some languages and predicates (cf. also Ramchand 2008; Luuk 2009, 2010). The same logic applies to (28). There is no *a priori* reason why an argumental frame including a Participant internal argument should reflect a complex organization of the event with verbs like 'help' – while the embedding a 3rd person argument does not. However the lexicalization patterns of the several languages reviewed in section 2 suggest that this may be exactly what happens. DOM datives are no morphological accident – nor do they reflect regularities stated at best on the morphological reflections of underlying syntactico-semantic categories. They arise in the syntax and they reflect a slightly different structuring of the event structure with participant internal arguments.

Now, before considering any other problem raised by this approach we need to consider its consistency with known syntactic facts. As stressed more than once, the parallel representations in (28) display very different properties when tested against standard syntactic rules, in particular passive. Consider first goal datives. In the terms of section 3.1 a goal dative in ditransitives is introduced by the properties of the verb (the event it denotes) – namely that of selecting a predication between a possessum and a possessor; Q(⊆) is the head of this predication. Matters are more complex with single transitives, which can in principle take an accusative or an oblique (dative) internal argument. The alternation ultimately depends on the verb (the event it denotes) again. In particular, given a cause-state articulation for transitive events, some require a Q(⊆) internal argument in that the latter is effectively construed as being a possessor-possessed relation with the stative subevent. What all goal datives have in common is that the presence of Q(⊆) is ultimately selected by the verb, in other words it depends on the shape of the event, not on the nature of its argument.

This ultimately explains why no goal dative can undergo passive raising, as illustrated in (30a). Italian is a language where 'phone' is always treated as a complex (bi-eventive) predicate, so that Q(⊆) is introduced by the predicate itself. In order to satisfy the selectional requirement of 'phone' a Q(⊆) internal argument must then be merged under passive as well, as in (30b). This

means that precisely because of its inherent case properties, this internal argument is not available for movement and hence for satisfaction of the EPP. In representational terms, only the head of a chain can be case marked (Chomsky 1981).

(30) a. *Io vengo/Lui viene telefonato
I am/he is phoned
'I am/he is phoned'
b. … telefonato [$_{Q(\subseteq)}$mi/gli]

Crucially, we must explain why the 1st/2nd person argument of 'help' raises to the nominative position in the passive, as in (31), exactly like the 3rd person. Indeed, under passive, the symmetry between 1st/2nd person and 3rd person is re-established.

(31) Io vengo/ lui viene aiutato
I am / he is helped
'I am/he is helped'

Making explicit what the discussion so far implicitly suggests, while a goal dative is a Q(⊆) constituent required by the event (the predicate) – the DOM dative is a Q(⊆) constituent required by the referential properties of the internal argument. Languages with DOM datives are those where an argument with certain referential properties (to which we will return in the next section) can never be inserted VP-internally except under Q(⊆). For Italian, where it is Participant referents that must be embedded under Q(⊆) when inserted as internal arguments, the constraint can be formulated as in (32). The constraint in (32) says that a Participant argument forces any complex predicate to be split into subevents for the purpose of argument attachment. For reasons that will becomes clearer in a movement we assume that (32) and similar constraints hold at LF.

(32) [V [1/2P *(Q(⊆))]], at LF

What happens in passives like (31) is particularly easy to state at the LF interface (Brody 2003). Assuming that bound copies ('traces') within a chain are read as variables (Fox 2002, cf. also Brody 2003, Manzini and Roussou 2012 for a representationalist discussion), the LF structure of the passive in (31) is as in (33). The constraint in (32) does not apply to the VP-internal argument in (33), since the latter is just a bound variable. In representational terms, only the head of the chain

is case marked/visible (Chomsky 1981) – no case embedding constraint applies to its non case marked/non visible traces/variables.

(33) [$_{1/2P}$ io] [$_{T}$ vengo [$_{V}$ aiutato [x]]]

It is perhaps worth stating explicitly that we take accusative to be the Elsewhere case for embedding within transitive predicates. In other words, in the absence of constraints like (32), or its counterparts in other languages, accusative embedding automatically prevails. What accusative embedding consists in is a separate issue (see the brief discussion in section 1).

### *3.3 Some points of cross-linguistic variation*

Summarizing so far, the core of the present discussion is simply an attempt to provide a unified syntactic characterization for goal datives and DOM datives. What they have in common is the nature of the attachment they define, in terms of a syntactic Q(⊆) category, implying an articulated structure of a transitive verb. Where they differ is that the eventive structure itself (the verb) requires the goal datives, which introduces all arguments, independently of their reference, while DOM datives are introduced because of the requirements of the arguments itself. Informally, 3$^{rd}$ persons in Italian can be introduced as themes – but Participants must be introduced as having a subevent in their zonal inclusion domains (i.e. as possessors of sorts).

Note that this is offered as an explanation as to why DOM morphology *can* coincide with goal dative. It does not predict that DOM morphology *must* coincide with goal dative. A case in point is Romanian. Romanian is one of the several Romance languages which has DOM with animate/definite internal arguments (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). As we saw in section 3.1, this language has a morphological oblique. However the DOM morphology does not coincide with the oblique. Rather, animate/definite internal arguments are introduced by the preposition *pe*, which, to the best of our knowledge, is independently attested in Romanian as a locative.

Given the discussion that precedes Romanian raises two issues. One is internal to the language, namely how come that in this language there is an overlapping of the DOM case with the morphological locative? Since we know that locatives cross-linguistically are one of the fundamental lexicalizations of possessors (Freeze 1992), it is natural to propose that in Romanian the same (⊆) content, expressing 'inclusion' enters into the oblique morphology in (22)-(23) and into the entry for *pe*. Keeping to the idea the basic (⊆) relation is that introduced by goal datives, we will tentatively assume that that *pe* is a lexicalization of Loc(⊆), i.e. a locatively restricted (⊆). If 'x (⊆) y' means that x is in the domain of inclusion of y, 'x Loc(⊆) y' means that x is in the domain of

inclusion of y, locally construed (the location of x is defined by inclusion in the location of y).[14]

What is relevant here is that the common realization of locatives and DOM objects by *pe* can be understood in terms of the same basic structures, involving ($\subseteq$) reviewed in section 3.2 – except that Romanian makes a (possibly marked) choice of the Loc($\subseteq$) relation. We assume that there is no predicting that Romanian will make this lexicalization choice, as opposed to Southern Italian varieties like (1) or Spanish – since we are aware of no major relevant independent parameters between them. Parameters are of course restricted by Universal Grammar, including the conceptual component it subsumes. In this respect all the evidence we have is compatible with the assertion that DOM case coincides with an oblique, involving the ($\subseteq$) relation. Different lexicons are compatible with this generalization, including that of Spanish and that of Romanian – within the range allowed by Universal Grammar, the child must learn what parametric values apply in his/her language.

We then come to the major issue concerning variation in DOM systems – hinted at, but never systematically considered so far, concerning the different subsets of arguments that in each language will undergo DOM. The basic facts are summarized by Aissen (2003: 468) who reports the following quote from Lazard (1984) "Persian and Hindi are languages in which both animacy and definiteness play a role in determining DOM, but … animacy is stronger than definiteness in Hindi, while in Persian, definiteness is stronger than animacy". In general, all DOM datives display sensitivity to definiteness/specificity or to animacy, with some language animacy oriented and others definiteness oriented and others yet sensitive to both properties (in different degrees, see e.g. von Heusinger and Kaiser 2011 for Spanish). The theoretical problem, then, splits into two: first, defining each relevant class (definiteness, animacy) and their possible subclasses (the UG problem); second, individuating what range of variation in the lexicon these categorial splits individuate. In a mentalist, minimalist framework one expects this to be possible without resorting to the functional hierarchies of typological studies or to the optimization devices of OT.

These problem are logically independent from the one we consider, since the same notions of definiteness and animacy interact not just with DOM, but also for instance with the ergativity split. Considering again our test case for DO here, namely Italian (21), it is easy to note that Participant arguments can be construed as having the highest ranking in both the definiteness and animacy hierarchies – and that correspondingly the two hierarchies coincide in their highest segment. In this sense the basic animacy/definiteness split is the person split, between $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person and all other referents (DeLancey 1981). Because of the importance of this point, it is worth

[14] Manzini and Savoia (2011a, 2011c, 2012) treat in this way the syncretism of oblique and locative ('ablative') case in Albanian.

illustrating the Participant *vs.* everything else split with a more canonical looking example of DOM in Romance, from a Southern Italian variety like (34) (see also Yazgulyam in fn. 10 for Iranian languages).

(34) a. a camatə a mme/nnu
he.has called to me/us
'He called me/us'

b. a camatə kwiʎʎə/frattə tiə
he.has called him/ brother yours
'He called him/your brother'

*Colledimacine*

In fact, animacy and definiteness go hand in hand for a larger set of referents, namely pronouns (deictic elements) which can in fact split away from other referents under DOM, as illustrated by the Southern Italian variety in (35).

(35) a. ji camə a ttɛ/a vvo/a kkullu
I call to you/to you.pl/to him
'I call you/him'

b. ji camə fratə-tə/killi fɛmmənə
I call brother-yours/those women
'I call you brother/those women'

*Canosa Sannita*

Apart from 1st/2nd person and the deictic class of pronouns), descriptive definiteness and animacy properties diverge. The definiteness scale is characterized by referential notions of deixis, (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity which are confidently manipulated by formal systems (but see Ramchand and Svenonius 2008 for the many complexities that this involves). The much murkier animacy scale is perhaps best understood not in terms of agentivity, i.e. potential control over the event (*pace* Dixon 1979), but in terms of control over discourse. This at least is what the primacy of the person split suggests. Human referents are a potential set of discourse participants (speakers and hearers), while inanimates are excluded from playing this role. In other words, definiteness and animacy seem to correspond to two different referential scales (not to a referential and an eventive one), defined in terms of individuation/famuiliarity etc. (definiteness) or of control over the flow of information (cf. the notion of 'view point' in DeLancey 1981).

The only aspect of definiteness/animacy scales problem that is directly relevant here is how it interacts with DOM datives. In section 3.2, we have seen that DOM datives in Italian (21) are to be seen as the result of a constraint imposed on the embedding in predicate internal position of arguments highest on the referential hierarchi(es). The intuitive content of this constraint, as stated in (32), is that Participant arguments cannot be embedded in an argument structure unless they have a role at least as high as that of possessor. This in turn implies a special treatment of transitive predicates by DOM languages.

We know that in principle, referential splits can oppose Participants to other arguments, or the deictic pronominal set to other referents, as in (35) and so on – opposing animates to inanimates and/or specific to non-specific arguments. The child who learns a language will have to fix whether a constraint of the family of (32), i.e. DOM holds in her/his language – and will have to fix where her/his language puts the boundary between referents that allow for bare accusative embedding (hence the unitary treatment of the accusative event) – and those that require the more complex dative embedding (being higher in the referential scale(s)). Of course languages that do not have any DOM phenomenon (English seems a good candidate) disactivate this entire area of (potential) parametrization. In other words, the child adds nothing to the Elsewhere settings of Universal Grammar.

Summing up this section, the different syntactic behaviours of goal and DOM dative depend on the conditions under which the dative category Q($\subseteq$) is inserted in the derivation/representation, because of the shape of the event (goal datives) or because of the referential properties of certain arguments (DOM datives). This has the advantage of respecting the evidence that goal and DOM datives are not accidentally homophonous or syncretic but genuinely define a morphosyntactic category.

## 4. The connection with agreement

Considering Italian clitics, as in (21), means considering perfect participle agreement.[15] (36a) shows that goal datives with a predicate like 'telephone' do not agree with the perfect participle,

[15] More canonical DOM datives in Romance, in particular the much studied prepositional accusative of Ibero-Romance varieties, presents complexities which cannot be given proper consideration here. Specifically, Torrego (1998) includes the agentivity of the subject, the telicity of the predicate and the affectedness of the object among the necessary by-products of what she calls the marked accusative. According to Torrego, all of these, as well as the animacy/ definiteness of the marked accusative, depend on movement of the internal argument to [Spec, *v*]. However the various properties are asserted of the [Spec, *v*] position, rather than truly explained by it. On Spanish clitic doubling, see below in the text.

independently of person (2nd or 3rd plural). With 'help' the 3rd person accusative obligatorily agrees with the perfect participle in (36b). 2nd person forms like *vi* '(to) you(pl)' are compatible both with a non-agreeing perfect participle and with an agreeing one, as in (36c). Evidently, the traditional view of *vi* and the like as neutralized between dative and accusative predicts them to agree in (36c), corresponding to a deep accusative – and must explain why lack of agreement is also possible. Vice versa here, if we take *vi* and the like to be datives (goal or DOM datives), we expect that they do not agree in (36c) – and must explain why they can.

(36) a. Vi/gli ha telefonato/*telefonati
You(pl)/them he.has telephoned-sg/telephoned-pl
'He phoned you/them'

b. Li ha *aiutato/aiutati
them he.has helped-sg/helped-pl
'He helped them'

c. Vi ha aiutato/aiutati
You(pl) he.has helped-sg/helped-pl
'He helped you'

Since a strictly finite number of entries are involved in the Italian paradigm in (36) (namely, four 1st/2nd person object clitics), the suspicion is strong that a very low-level morphological solution is involved. However, when the Italian micro-parametrization is projected onto the macro-parametric spectrum of Indo-Iranian languages, essentially the same range of variation emerges. As we saw in section 2, in the Hindi perfect, the external argument of a transitive verb displays the ergative case *-ne*. In such sentences, the verb agrees with the IA, as in (37a), but not if it bears the DOM dative/oblique case ***ï*** *ko*, as in (37b). In other words, Hindi looks a lot like the non-agreeing variant of Italian in (36c) – direct case IAs agree, while DOM dative internal arguments do not.

(37) a. Anil-ne kitaabẽ becĩ̃
Anil-ERG book-F.PL sell-PERF-F.PL
'Anil sold (the)books.'

(Mohanan 1995: 83)

b. anjum-ne saddaf-ko dekhaa
Anjum.F.SG-ERG Saddaf.F.SG-ACC see.PERF.M.SG
'Anjum saw Saddaf.'

(Ahmed 2006: 3)

Marwari, a Rajasthani language, does not display ergative marking on subjects, but consistently shows object agreement in the perfect (cf. Magier 1983: 321, Stroński 2009). In this language, the internal argument agrees with the perfect, independently of whether it surfaces as a direct case (inanimate) or as a DOM dative (animate), as in (38a) and (38b) respectively. Therefore Marwari looks like the agreeing variant of Italian (36c) – IAs agree independently of whether they bear direct case of DOM dative.

(38) a. Raam ghanii laapsii jiiml-ii hii
Ram lots wheat-gruel.F eat.PERF-F be.PAST.F
'Ram ate lots of wheat gruel.'

b. aap Siita-ne dekh-ii ho
you.PL Sita-ACC see.PERF-F be.PRES.2PL
'You have seen Sita.'

(Patel 2007:71)

In Kutchi Gujarati (cf. Deo and Sharma 2002: 9-10), agreement of the perfective verb with the animate/definite internal argument is optional, as in (39). In present terms, the agreeing and non agreeing patterns are equally possible with DOM datives, exactly as in standard Italian (36c).

(39) Reena chokra-ne mar-ya / mar-yu
Reena.F.NOM boys-ACC hit-PERF.M/N.PL / hit-PERF.N.SG
'Reena hit the boys' (object agreement or default)

(Patel 2007: 14)

Among Iranian languages, Balochi displays agreement with the internal argument in the perfect (Korn 2008), even when the latter is a DOM dative/oblique, as in (40).

(40) mā zahm-ā̄ ārθ-aɣ-ant *Eastern Baluchi*
I.OBL sword-OBL.PL bring-PERF-3PL
I brought the swords.'

(Gilbertson 1923:113 cited in Korn 2008: 262)

Mâsâli, a Northwest Iranian language, is reported to use a fossilised 3SG agreement morpheme in the double oblique forms of the perfect (glossed in (41) with #3SG).

(41) a. xərdan-i asb-un vel â-du-a
child-OBL.SG horse-OBL.PL loose ALL-give/PST-#3SG
'The child let the horses go'

b. xərdan-un asb-i vel â-du-a
child-OBL.PL horse-OBL loose ALL-give/PST-#3SG
'The children let the horse go'

(De Caro, 2008: 5).

The general descriptive conclusion is that, when it comes to DOM datives/obliques, the two logically possible agreement patterns are instantiated. Specifically, they may not enter perfect agreement, patterning like other obliques (Hindi (37), non agreeing version of Italian (36c)), or they may agree, patterning with direct case internal arguments (Marwari (38), agreeing version of Italian (36c)). The question is how best to model this variation.

### *4.1 Romance: clitic doubling*

Following the pattern that we have generally adopted in this article, we concentrate first on Romance languages. As it turns out, it is not only perfect participle agreement that provokes different agreement patterns with DOM datives, but also clitics, in constructions, such as standard Spanish clitic doubling, where they are agreeing doubles of fuller arguments. In standard Spanish, the prepositional accusative is doubled by an accusative clitic, as in (42a) – while an *a* phrase lexicalizing a goal dative is doubled by a dative clitic, as in (42b). Needless to say, this well-known pattern appears to favour the view that the *a* phrase in (42a) is an underlying accusative, determining doubling by an accusative clitic (via some form of agreement).

(42) a. Lo vio a Juan
him he.saw to Juan
'He saw Juan'

b. Le dio el libro a Juan
to.him he.gave the book to Juan
'He gave the book to Juan'

Yet consider the phenomenon of 'leismo' in Spanish varieties, as illustrated in (43). In

'leista' varieties the accusative clitic, e.g. *lo* in (43a), can pick up an inanimate referent, while the *le* clitic, identical to the goal dative, unambiguously picks an animate referent, as in (43b) (from Alvar 1996: 205). Within the present analysis, it is tempting to conclude that the clitics in (43) reflect the same case organization as their doubling DPs – hence goal and DOM datives coincide on the dative clitic *le*.

(43) a. La vi.
it/her I.saw
'I saw it/her'

b. (A la madre) le vimos llorando
to the mother to.her we.saw crying
'We saw mother crying'

Ormazabal and Romero (2007, cf. also Bonet 1995) explicitly reject the possibility that *le* in (43b) is a dative.[16] As it may be expected from our discussion of prepositional accusatives in previous sections, one of their objections is that (43a) and (43b) can both passivize, while goal datives cannot. In view of the discussion in section 3, this objection appears now superable. Therefore the main objection we are left with is that "unlike accusative *le*, dative *le* is not selective with respect to animacy". But this is simply the name of the problem to be explained – and the present explanation is that animate 3rd person clitics in *leista* varieties cannot be embedded as accusatives (direct case), but require the creation of a Q($\subseteq$) structure of embedding.

Interestingly, doubling of 1st/2nd person clitics in Italian confirms the treatment of these forms as DOM datives, proposed in the discussion surrounding (21). Their doubles are generally *a* prepositional phrases, as in (44b) even though in Italian no prepositional accusative occur with 3rd person DPs – and in fact even 1st/2nd person full pronouns in the absence of doubling are embedded as bare accusatives, as in (44a) (cf. Iemmolo 2010 for similar data).

(44) a. Prendo (*a) te
I.take to you
'I'll take you'

b. (a) te ti prendo
to you you I.take

[16] A half-way position is taken by Gallego (2013), who argues that *leismo* involves a process of dativization of an accusative via movement to a functional head X (no content provided).

'I'll take you'

The descriptive generalization about DOM datives (here prepositional accusatives) to be drawn from the clitic doubling data in (42)-(43) is not unlike the one we drew about their agreement with the perfect (participle) in (36)-(41). In essence DOM datives can pattern with direct case IAs in being doubled by an accusative clitic (standard Spanish (42)); or alternatively DOM datives can pattern with goal datives (*leismo* (43)). To the extent that *leismo* is tolerated in standard Spanish, the two possibilities may alternate for the same speaker, yielding surface optionality.

Let us begin with the simple observation that clitic doubling involves obligatory agreement (or non-distinctness) in phi-features. In a representational model, we may adopt the view that clitics and DPs are each separately merged in their relevant domains and then interpretively connected by a chain(-like) device at the LF interface. In such a model agreement (or non-distinctness) in phi-features is enforced by the fact that members of a chain must pick up the same referent. In a derivational model, phi-feature agreement can be implemented for instance through the postulation of a 'big DP' of which the clitic Cl is the head and the doubled DP is the Spec. Phi-features agreement is then a byproduct of the local head-Spec configuration, from which the final word order is derived via clitic movement, as schematized in (45).

(45) Cl … [ DP [ ~~Cl~~]]

On the other hand, the case patterns in (42)-(43) show that the clitic and the doubling DP do not necessarily agree in case (deep or superficial, if such a distinction is made). Specifically, all of the varieties considered have the same case pattern predicate internally, where internal arguments lexicalized by full DPs are in the direct case when inanimate/indefinite and in DOM dative otherwise. In *leista* languages like (43), clitics have the same case alignment as full DPs. In standard Spanish (42), clitic doubling displays a lack of isomorphism between clitic and DP case, since a DOM dative full DP is doubled by an accusative (direct case) clitic. The pattern in (43), schematized in (46a), is unproblematic, since it amounts to replicating for case embedding the agreement schema sketched in (45) for phi-features. Consider then (42), as schematized in (46b). In derivational terms, it amounts to saying that clitics are case active when they move away from their big DP in (45) – hence their case properties are fixed by their landing site. In representational terms, DPs and clitics represent two separate implementations of the argument structure of the sentence – and (46b) simply shows that each domain (the predicative domain and the inflectional domain) has its own specific case pattern.

(46) a. $[_{Q(\subseteq)}$ le] … $[_{Q(\subseteq)}$ [a DP] ~~le~~]

b. lo … $[[_{Q(\subseteq)}$ a DP] ~~lo~~]

Delving further into (46b), we note that mismatches that we have evidence for involve oblique vs. direct case.[17] Let us assume that direct case, as seen on the clitic, lexicalizes attachment through a simple λ operator. We may also assume that the Q(⊆) elementary predicate itself requires a λ operator to embed an argument. Doubling of a Q(⊆) argument by a direct argument, as in (46b), is possible to the extent that Q(⊆) is interpreted as applying to the whole chain. In other words, we expect that case mismatches will be restricted to direct-oblique; two different obliques cannot enter a chain(-like) relation.[18]

[17] It would be interesting to consider whether the third logical possibility implied in (46) is also found – namely an oblique clitic with a direct case DP. Perhaps Italian (44b) with the 2nd person clitic doubled by a bare full pronoun can be construed as an instance of this, as in (i).

[18] Since in present terms goal and DOM datives are identified, we predict that there are languages where the doubling structure in (46b) extends to goal datives. In fact, a somewhat specular phenomenon to *leismo* occurs in Spanish dialects (sometimes in the same that have *leismo*, Alvar 1996: 162), namely the generalization of accusative clitics to cover goal datives (*loismo/laismo*) This phenomenon is also found in Italo-Romance varieties with prepositional accusatives (Rohlfs 1969; Ledgeway 2000), as exemplified in (i)-(ii). The relevant varieties do not simply lack a morphologically dative clitic; on the contrary the latter is systematically inserted in ditransitive contexts, as in (ib). (ii) shows a point that cannot be tested with Ibero-Romance varieties, namely that the accusative clitic agrees with the perfect participle of verbs like 'speak' – behaving like the accusative clitic for instance in (36b).

(i) a. a mmarjə u parlə jɪ *S. Severo* (Apulia)
to Mario him speak I
'I speak to Mario'

b. a mmarjə li dɛŋgə nu lɪbbrə
to Mario to.him I.give a book
'I give a book to Mario'

(ii) (að iɖu/iɖa/iɖi) l aɟu parlatu/ parlata/ parlati *Zonza* (Corsica)
to him/her/them him/her/them I have spoken.m/f./pl.
'I spoke to him/her/them'

There are sporadic reports in the literature about the passivization of goal datives in Italian dialects, including ditransitive contexts, as in (iii) (cf. Loporcaro 1988: 290 ff. on the Apulian dialect of Altamura). This latter point counsels some caution in dealing with the varieties in (i)-(iii). In any event the evidence in favour of the parallel treatment for goal and DOM datives from (i)-(ii) remains.

(iii) pəppinə venə skrittə do lɛttərə
Peppino comes written two letters
'Peppino is being written two letters'

*4.2 Perfect participle agreement*

The systematization of clitic doubling in (46) leads us back to the issue of agreement with the perfect (participle) which we opened and then abandoned in (36)-(41). An explicit discussion of the variation in Indo-Aryan is provided by Anand and Nevins (2006). What they offer is simply a VIVA parameter (Visibility of Inherent case to Verbal Agreement), whereby "a language (sic) will differ as to whether the verb can agree with an inherently case marked DP". We take this to mean that in terms of the probe/Agree model that Anand and Nevins assume there are no obvious deeper explanations.

In fact, our task here is complicated by the fact that to our knowledge, and despite the overwhelming importance of Agree in current minimalist practice, no minimalist analysis is available for such classical patterns as the Italian/French perfect participle agreement. Since Kayne (1989), it is known that Italian/French, perfect participle agreement is governed by a generalization, whereby the participle displays an invariable ending when it is higher than the lexical internal arguments – while it agrees with the lexical internal argument when the latter is higher (unaccusatives or clitics). This is illustrated by the contrast between (36b), reproduced here as (47a), and (47b). The difficulty in modelling this asymmetry within minimalist models resides in the fact checking of the phi-features of *v* by the internal argument is a generalized operation. In other words, minimalist theory lacks a characterization for the invariable –o ending in (47b).

(47) a. Li ho *aiutato/ aiutati
them I.have helped.msg/mpl
'I helped them'

b. Ho aiutato/(*)aiutati gli studenti
I.have helped.msg/mpl the students
'I helped the students'

In the absence of obvious models for data like (36)-(41), or even (47), we feel entitled to take advantage of the insights we have now gained into agreement in clitic doubling in order to sketch our own model of perfect (participle) agreement, including the variation patterns it gives rise to. Classical generative theories of pro-drop hold the view that the finite inflection of Italian or Spanish is pronominal(-like) (Rizzi 1982) while some models treat it as satisfying the EPP, so that the *pro* empty category becomes redundant (Borer 1986, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2001 for expletive *pro*, Manzini and Savoia 2004, 2007 for all *pro*'s). The pronominal inflection together

with a cooccurring lexicalized EPP argument defines therefore a clitic doubling configuration.

Suppose we generalize our idea to all agreement inflections, taken to be (reduced) clitics and to all verb-argument agreement, taken to be a special instance of clitic doubling. The perfect participle inflection, seen in Italian (36) or (47) will then be construed as an elementary (clitic-like) lexicalization of the internal argument, while a lexical internal argument will define a clitic doubling configuration (of sorts) with this inflection. In this perspective, it is natural to propose that the invariable perfect (participle) inflection *–o* in (47b) is the equivalent of an expletive pronoun. Morphologically, *-o* displays masculine nominal class and singular number; these are the morphological properties generally associated with expletive pronouns as well (e.g. French *il*). Therefore in (47b), where the participial inflection is higher than its DP double, they form an expletive, associate chain. In (47a), where the clitic is higher than the inflection (having moved past it in derivational terms) they form an ordinary chain, predicated on agreement (or non-distinctness) of its various members. The fact that unergatives, for instance 'telephone' in (36a), present the invariable perfect participle inflection simply reflects the lack of referential internal arguments.

Much the same can be stated in a derivational framework, by adopting for instance Sportiche's (1996) assumption that all arguments are introduced as doubled by a clitic. Leftward movement of an overt clitic checks the agreement features of *v*. This is schematized in (48a) for example (47a) (=36b). Alternatively, the DP remains in situ and the phi-features of *v* are checked by the silent clitic. Assuming some kind of defectivity, expletive agreement emerges, as schematized in (48b) for examples (47b). Shadings in (48) indicate that the silent structure is redundant in a representational framework. [19]

(48) a. li … [~~li~~ [ aiutat [$_N$ i ]]

b. [Cl [ aiutat [$_N$ o ]] [gli studenti [~~Cl~~]]

Recall now that the Indo-Iranian languages exemplified in (37)-(41) split evenly between those where the DOM dative patterns with the goal dative in not agreeing with the perfect – and those where the DOM dative agrees with the perfect. The two options are illustrated in (49), cf. example (39) (the VO order in (49) is for ease of comparison). In (49a), the DOM dative *chokrane*

[19] The asymmetry embedded in (48) is not a deep property of grammar – or even of Romance languages. In many Italo-Romance varieties all IAs agree with the perfect participle, independently of their position, cf. Manzini and Savoia (2005: §5.1.2), D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008), recalling agreeing Indo-Aryan varieties in (37)-(41). On the one hand, this underscores the need for a model of variation. On the other hand, systematically agreeing varieties simply do not encode any right-left asymmetry via the notion of expletive inflection, defective silent clitic or other.

cooccurs with the invariable ***ï yu*** ending; in other words, the predicate is treated as unergative, given the Q(⊆) embedding of the argument. More problematically for us, in (49b) *chokrane* agrees with the *-ya* inflection. This is where our account of clitic doubling in standard Spanish becomes relevant. In the discussion surrounding (46b) we proposed that standard Spanish allows for a Q(⊆) argument to be doubled by an accusative clitic. We propose that the same holds in (49b) of the ending of the perfect (participle), which we take to be a morphological level lexicalization of the internal argument and of the DP realization of the internal argument itself – and for the same reason, namely that the Q(⊆) elementary predicate can be construed as applying to the chain.

(49) a. Cl [mar [$_N$ yu ]] [$_{Q(\subseteq)}$[chokrane] ~~Cl~~]

b. Cl [mar [$_N$ ya ]] [[$_{Q(\subseteq)}$ chokrane] ~~Cl~~]

In a derivational framework, we can adapt for (49) the notational device that we have introduced in (48), as indicated by the shaded part of the structure above. The internal argument *chokrane* in (49) is doubled by a silent clitic. The different agreement possibilities are a reflex of the possibilities that we independently know to be open for clitic doubling of DOM datives in Spanish. Either the silent clitic agrees in case with the DOM dative DP, in which case it is not case active, it does not check *v* and an invariable inflection shows up on the verb, as in (49a) – or the silent clitic is case active and moves to check *v*, triggering overt agreement, as in (49b).

In Italian (36c), the presence of a P clitic – which by hypothesis is a DOM dative also determines two different agreement possibilities, as schematized in (50). (50a), like (49a), is unproblematic from the present point of view. The predicate is simply treated as unergative, given the Q(⊆) embedding of the clitic. The more problematic alternative is schematized in (50b). The treatment is the same as for (49b), at least in representational terms at the LF interface. In derivational terms, for complete consistency with (49), one would have to say that even clitics are doubled by a silent phi-head.

(50) a. [$_{Q(\subseteq)}$ vi] … [ aiutato [$_N$ o ]]

b. [$_{Q(\subseteq)}$ vi] … [ aiutat [$_N$ i ]]

Summing up this section, DOM datives may pattern with goal datives with respect to agreement or diverge from them. We have provided an account for the observed variation, which maintains the conclusion that a single category dative underlies both. If we are correct, the burden of proof is on proponents of separate categorizations to explain why goal and DOM datives may

pattern alike with respect to agreement – and to motivate why two separate categorizations are necessary to explain their divergence, given the present unification.

## 5. Conclusions

The superficial identity of DOM internal arguments and of goal dative involves no accidental homophony or syncretism, but rather an underlyingly identical structure of embedding. Though passivization differentiates thematic and DOM datives, this can be explained by the independently needed assumption that thematic dative is selected by the predicate, but DOM dative is not. Other differences are more elusive. For instance, when it comes to agreement we have provided evidence that languages split into two: those that treat DOM datives like accusatives (potentially problematic for us) and those that treat them as datives (potentially problematic for proponents of an accusative status for DOM internal arguments). A parametric model is then needed in either instance, we have provided one in section 4.

The discussion of oblique case in section 3 and of verb-argumenta agreement in section 4 implies that case and agreement are separate theoretical constructs. Though in this instance we find ourselves on the same side as grammatical tradition (including many generative models), the point is worth stressing, in view of recent proposals by Chomsky (2001, 2008) that case (at least direct case) is a byproduct of agreement. In section 3 we have proposed a theory of oblique that makes case into an interpretable elementary predicate; feature checking can be added if required by the consistency of the theory – but redundantly so. The treatment of direct case that we further prospect here is that direct case is a lexicalization of the most elementary possible embedding of an argument, through a λ-operator. Thus case is a reflex of argument embedding. Agreement is a separate redundancy mechanism, whether agreement inflections correspond to unintepretable features – or as we prefer, to elementary morphological-level arguments (section 4).

## Appendix. Inverse agreement

A potential challenge to our conclusions regarding the independence of case and agreement (section 5) comes from recent studies (Nichols 2001, Bianchi 2006, Béjar and Rezac 2009) noting that in a language like Kashmiri the distribution of DOM case follows the same abstract patterns as the inverse agreement of, say, Algonquian languages. In the latter, the prefixed agreement morphology

of the verb always picks up the higher ranked person among direct arguments, independently of their thematic role (External Argument (EA) or Internal Argument (IA)). A distinct suffixal morphology varies between so-called direct forms, when the agreement prefix coincides with the EA, and so-called inverse forms, when the agreement prefix coincides with the IA. Similarly, in Kashmiri when the EA is 1st person, or it is 2nd person and the EA 3rd person, the IA appears in bare case, as in (52). When the EA is 3rd person or when it is 2nd person and the IA is 1st person then the IA appears in the (DOM) dative, as in (51).

(51) a. tsI chuk-kh me parInaavaan 2< 1
you be-CL(2) I-D teaching
'You are teaching me'

b. su chu-y tse parInaavaan 3< 2
he be-CL(2) you-D teaching
'He is teaching you'

c. su chu təmis parInaavaan 3≤ 3
he be he-D teaching
'He is teaching him'

(52) a. bI chu-s-ath tsI parInaavaan 1> 2
I be-CL(1)-CL(2) you teaching
'I am teaching you'

b. bI chu-s-an su parInaavaan 1> 3
I be-CL(1)-CL(3) he teaching
'I am teaching him'

c. tsI chi-h-an su parInaavaan 2> 3
you be-CL(2)-CL(3) he teaching
'You are teaching him'

(Wali and Koul 1997: 155-156)

Béjar and Rezac (2009) explicitly argue that (51)-(52) is an agreement pattern – indeed the same agreement patterns as in Algonquian. Much the same is proposed by Bianchi (2006), though she only indirectly addresses Kashmiri as part of her discussion of Nichols (2001). For these theorists Kashmiri like Algonquian has a single locus of agreement – which is *v* for Béjar and Rezac. In the 'cyclic agree' framework π-features are discharged as soon as possible in the derivation, namely by the IA, even if only partially. Take for instance 'You teach him' in (52c). The

IA checks the [person] feature of the probe; the [participant] feature remain active on a further projection of *v* (notated $v_{II}$) and is checked by the EA. The added complexity of 'He teaches you' in (51b) is that the IA checks all of the π-features of *v* so that the EA remain unlicensed by Agree. Therefore an added probe is inserted on $v_{II}$ and it is this added probe, checked by agreement with the EA, which is spelled out by the morphological dative on the IA.

As anticipated in section 1, Béjar and Rezac take this morphological dative to be an underlyingly different case from the goal dative, namely their R-case. As already mentioned, they support their conclusion that "R-case is radically different from homophonous inherent case" with the following observations: "true inherent case on a DP is introduced at base-generation, is not sensitive to the π-specifications of any other DP and remains under passivization". From the point of view of the present work, these motivations are insufficient, since we account for passive, sensitivity to the person split (animacy/definiteness) and selection by the predicate ('inherent' case) under independent assumptions. A glance at previous formal literature dealing with Kashmiri (51)-(52), in particular Nichols (2001), reveals a different reason why R-case is necessary in the economy of Béjar and Rezac's work. For Nichols, the locus of Kashmiri verbal agreement is T. Recall from our discussion of (11) that DOM case, and hence the alternations in (51)-(52), are only found in progressive tenses, with nominative-accusative alignment. The core of Nichols' analysis of (51)-(52) is that both the nominative and the highest ranking direct argument of the sentence agree with T. If the highest ranking argument and the nominative do not coincide an agreement conflict arises, which is resolved through raising of the accusative to the oblique – hence out of the set of direct arguments of the verb. Evidently, in this model, the DOM case in (51) is the same as the goal oblique. However the analysis is problematic from the point of view of minimalist syntax because it requires backtracking. First, an agreement conflict must arise in T; then, the conflict is resolved by repairing accusative to dative. R-case is then the price that Béjar and Rezac (2009) have to pay for maintaining a deterministic grammar.

The notion of R-case is not the only stipulation present in the analysis of Béjar and Rezac. First, as indicated in the discussion of Nichols (2001) above, the verb always agrees with the nominative (the EPP argument) in Kashmiri progressive tenses. This must be stipulated in a 'cyclic Agree' framework, which directly predicts only Algonquian, showing a surface alternation between EA and IA agreement. Furthermore, Béjar and Rezac ignore the fact that the Kashmiri pattern in (51)-(52) falls into the lager set of DOM phenomena. This has consequences in particular for 3rd person. In (51c) the clash of two animate 3rd persons is resolved by having the IA spelled out as a D-dative. But suppose the IA is inanimate. If the EA argument is animate we can reasonably expect that the IA is in the direct case, given an animate > inanimate ranking. If both EA and IA are

inanimate, the cyclic agree mechanism should predict repair by dative spell-out of the inanimate IA. Given that the literature clearly states that only animate/definite IAs are dative marked, we conclude that the prediction is wrong. Compatibility of the Kashmiri data with the cyclic Agree analysis requires some additional stipulation; for instance, since we assume that the dative (*qua* R-case) is a special spell-out of agreement with *v*, we can also state that this spell-out is confined to animates.[20]

The question at this point is what account we can provide for the Kashmiri within the present framework (if any). The fact that (according to statements in the literature) no DOM is observed with inanimate IAs leads us to doubt that an optimization device is actually involved in Kashmiri. As it turns out, the pattern in (51)-(52) is adequately described by two categorial statements – to be added to the basic DOM constraint proposed here, namely (32a), reproduced below as the first line of (53). First, as stated in (53a), a 1st person IA is always embedded as a dative. Second, as stated in (53b) a 3rd person EA applies to a VP with an animate/definite cause only if the latter is embedded under the dative. When these constraints do not apply, argument embedding in Kashmiri is governed by event structure. The two conditions in (53a-b) represent the relative weighing of IA and EA without actually implying any comparison (optimization) between the two arguments. In practice DOM dative is restricted to the highest ranking IA (1st person) or to an IA in the context of the lowest ranking EA (3rd person).

(53) V $[_{Q(\subseteq)}$ $DP_{anim/def}]$ if

a. DP = 1P (i.e. DP highest ranked) or

b. /3P ___ (i.e. DP in the context of lowest ranked)

There is no doubt that (53) lacks the deductive depth of Béjar and Rezac (2009). At the same time it is not obvious that the two stipulations in (53a) and (53b) are any more expensive than the various stipulations listed above for the cyclic Agree model. Needless to say, what we are looking for is deductive depth without extra (not independently motivated) stipulations. In other words, we cannot accept deductive depth *per se* as an argument in favour of an approach *à la* Béjar and Rezac.

A further and different question concerns whether the case facts of Kashmiri can be related

[20] Similarly, in Algonquian inverse agreement, as reported by Aissen (1997: fn. 13) "it is possible for the subject of a TI [Transitive with Inanimate object] to be inanimate. The apparatus set up so far would predict the possibility of both a direct and an inverse form in such cases, depending on which of the two arguments was selected as proximate. This expectation appears not to be realized, as there seems to be only one form, probably to be identified with the direct form".

at all to the agreement facts of Algonquian under (53). We begin by noting that Nichols (2001) chooses to compare Kashmiri not with Algonquian languages, but rather with Picurìs (Tanoan). In (54) we reproduce data from Klaiman (1993) which show how in the Picurìs inverse pattern, the EA argument is realized as an oblique, cf. (54b). Therefore in Tanoan inverse agreement corresponds to a case realignment (a 'passive'). In other words, there is evidence independent of Kashmiri that case realignment can be dictated by the relative prominence of the direct arguments of a predicate.

(54) a. Sənene ’ą- ’mọn- ’ąn
man you see past
'You saw the man'

b. ’ą- ’mọn- mia- ’ąn sənene- pa
you see inverse past man- by
'The man saw you'

Let us grant for the sake of the argument that prototypical inverse agreement, of the Algonquian type is a pure agreement alignment (possibly and instance of cyclic Agree). Descriptively, referential prominence according to discourse anchoring (animacy) and definiteness can cause either special case alignments (DOM, including the Kashmiri relative weighing of arguments in (53), or 'passive', as in Picurìs (54)) or special agreement alignments (Algonquian). In the perspective of Béjar and Rezac (2009), providing an explanation for this convergence means providing a common derivation for the two patterns, namely by reducing case to agreement. The problem is that, as discussed for Kashmiri above, this solution, though in principle very strong, ends up being weakened by a number of stipulations.

A weaker alternative is based on the observation that referential prominence (in the form of animacy or definiteness) is part of the conceptual interface, with which agreement and case, though independent syntactic processes, both interact. In other words, the convergence of case alignment according to animacy/definiteness (Kashmiri), and of agreement alignment according to the same notions (Algonquian), need not be determined by the computation, but may be determined directly at the LF interface. If we are right about the need to separate case from agreement, this solution may be the only empirically viable one.

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