It not only looks like a dative, it also is.

Abstract

In this paper we will provide a formal characterization of the category Dative. Basing on data from a wide range of languages (Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Albanian, Romance), we will show that Dative is the superficial case normally associated with animacy/definiteness in Indo-European languages, independently of the particular morphology employed to spell out dative (for instance inflectional or prepositional). We will show that there is a syntactic category Dative coinciding with the morphological one and encompassing both thematic and D (i.e. definiteness/animacy) Dative. We will provide a characterization of thematic dative as an elementary predicate introducing a part-whole (i.e. possession) relation, arguing that there is no need to conceive the D-dative/oblique but as an instance of this same elementary predicate/ operator. (*120 words*)

1. Definite/animate objects and the morphological dative.

Quite early on, the 'prepositional accusative' phenomenon of Romance languages entered the generative literature via clitic doubling in Spanish (Jaeggli 1981). As far as we can tell, generative authors all 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. This is essentially taken to be an accident, or possibly a matter for morphology to explain in terms of syncretism.

In (1) we illustrate an Italian variety, whose morphological properties will be 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.

(1) a. camənə a mmi/tti/jiddə *Sasso di Castalda*
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'

There appears to be strong empirical support for this view of the facts. Romance languages allow for the passivization of accusatives but not for the passivization of datives; prepositional accusatives pattern with accusatives in this respect. Vice versa, the animacy and specificity constraints observed on the prepositional accusative are not observed on the dative. The matter would hardly seem worth a second glance. However, 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. If we make the double shift to this literature and to case inflected languages, for instance the Indo-Iranian languages, the descriptive bias changes. Consider Kashmiri (see the Appendix). In the transitive sentence in (2), the inanimate internal argument (IA), whether definite or indefinite, is in the direct case. In (3), the IA referring to a "sentient being" (Hook and Koul 2004: 216) triggers a dative – i.e. the same case found on the 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.'

(Hook and Koul 2004: 216)

In Indo-Aryan, the same generalizations concerning passive hold as in Romance. Kashmiri

[1] In this article, we have made no effort to uniform the different glossing standards adopted by the various authors.

passives are formed combining the ablative form of the infinitive with the auxiliary verb *yun* 'to come'. Under passivisation, the IA takes the direct case and agrees with the auxiliary *yun* while the external argument (EA) is embedded under the postposition *zþriyi* or *dþs'* 'by' (Wali and Koul 1997: 208). As shown in (4), the animate IA 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.'

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.'

(Wali and Koul 1997: 208)

The data in (4) contrast with those in (5a-b), which show that the dative corresponding to a goal argument retains its dative case in the passive and 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 dinı
Mohan-DAT give-ABL.'
'The shirt was given by Aslam to Mohan.'

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

(Wali and Koul 1997:209)

The generative literature has recently paid attention to Kashmiri in relation to certain distributional properties of the animacy dative, similar to the inverse agreement of native American languages (see the Appendix). Most recently, Bejar and Rezac (2009) 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 by *v*". They support their conclusion that "R-case is radically different from homophonous inherent case", i.e. dative, with the following observations: "true inherent case on a DP is introduced at base-generation, is not sensitive to the π- [i.e. Person-] specifications of any other DP" (on this see the Appendix) or any event to animacy/ definitness; furthermore it "remains under passivization".

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 morphological devices are taken to be transparent – i.e. 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 fully 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 opacization at the LF interface routinely assumed by generative accounts. Dative is the superficial case normally associated with animacy/definiteness in Indo-European languages, independently of the particular morphology employed to spell out dative (for instance inflectional or prepositional). Why is the phenomenon so stable if all that it involves is surface opacization of an underlyingly quite different syntax? One may want to argue that the feature structure of the thematic dative and of the animacy dative makes some form of morphological syncretism particularly natural. But even so, the matter cannot be simply dismissed offhand.

In this article, after presenting a survey of cross-linguistic data in section 2, we provide a characterization of thematic dative as an elementary predicate introducing a part-whole (hence

possession) relation, notated Q(⊆) (section 3). We propose that the animacy/definiteness dative (henceforth D-dative) represents an instance of this same elementary predicate. Different behaviors under passive are predicted under the natural assumption that Q(⊆) is slected by the predicate with thematic datives but not with D-dative. In section 4 we show that D-datives can further pattern with thematic datives with respect to agreement phenomena, and we provide an analysis of the parametrization observed in this respect. In the Appendix we briefly address the potential connection of Kashmiri D-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

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

(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
'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.'

(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 EA, while those in (8) involve a perfect, hence an ergative EA. In both sets, the 1st person IA undergoes DOM and is associated with dative case.

(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, Phillips 2012). Ergativity and hence double obliques are outside the scope of the present article, yet this type of data deserves to be mentioned because of its potential implications for the line of research pursued here. If thematic and D-dative/oblique correspond to the same syntactic case, will expect this to be true also of the ergative (*qua* dative/oblique). We briefly comment on dative/oblique EAs at the end of section 3.

(9)	a.	bɑbbu-nɛ̃	tʃʰore-nɛ̃	gʰəəɳɑ	pitt-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.'

Haryani (Butt 2007: 18)

In some language with the same ***ï ne*** 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). (10c) shows that the thematic 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.

(10) a. tʃhoro sɑp̃-nɛ mɑr-j-o

boy snake.MS-nɛ kill-PF-MS

'A boy hit the snake.'

b. tʃhorɑ-nɛ sɑp̃ 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'.

d. mha-nɛ chora-kə-taiŋ photi di chɛ

I boy book gave

'I have given the book to the boy'

(Allen 1964: 343)

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 (Yip 1998, Neeleman and van de Koot 2006, van Riemsdijk

2008).[2] In recent works, haplology in syntax covers a quite abstract range of phenomena. For Richards' (2010) any linearization statement involving two identical categories (typically two DPs) is sufficient to trigger Distincteness. For Manzini (to appear) certain properties in certain languages can be lexicalized only once per relevant domain including abstract LF properties (e.g. negative polarity, whence the Negative Concord parameter).

Adopting this abstract view, one of several complicating factors of Kashmiri, namely that DOM is found only in progressive tenses, may be connected to the double *–ne* constraint in languages like Harauti. For instance, in the future tense sentence in (11a), the EA *tsi* 'you' bears the nominative and the IA *mye* 'me' appears in the dative case. In the perfect in (11b), where the EA takes the ergative form *tsye*, the 1st person IA takes the *bi* non-oblique form. This suggests that in Kashmiri, there is a single OBL(ique) per *v*P – and this determines the impossibility of D-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
'You brought me to the end of my tether…'

(Hook and Koul 2004: 215)

Iranian languages bear a close family resemblance to Indo-Aryan languages. Consider the data from Vafsi, a Northwest Iranian language which is characterized by a two case system (direct

[2] For Hindi, Yip (1998) documents mutual exclusion between two instances of the *–ko* oblique morphology, as in (ia). Haplology is synctacally 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 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'

vs. oblique)[3] and a tense/aspect triggered split ergativity (cf. Arkadiev 2008, Haig 2008, Bickel and Witzlack-Makarevich 2008). In (12a) the definite IA is marked with a dative/oblique (here the D-dative/oblique). (12b) shows an ergative construction, involving an indefinite IA in the direct case and an EA in the dative/oblique case. (12c) shows a double oblique pattern in which both EA and IA 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.'

(Stilo 2004: 243-244)

Since in Vafsi, oblique case marking also appears on the indirect object of di-transitive constructions, i.e. as the thematic dative, we may have instances of perfect sentences in which EA, IA and goal are all marked with the dative/oblique, namely when the IA is animate/definite, and bears the D-dative/oblique case. An example is provided in (13).

(13) 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.'

[3] 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.'

(Stilo 2010: 263)

In fact, Vafsi also has dative/oblique-marked recipients/goals arguments embedded under prepositional/postpositional phrases, including 'to' type environments and the benefactive *–ra*, as exemplified in (14).

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

a. 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.'

(Stilo 2010: 256-259).

In standard Persian, the ***ï ra*** marker is attached to definite IAs, as in (15a) (Ghomeshi 2003, Karimi 2003, 2005) – and appears also in temporal and spatial expressions, as in (15b-c). Thus *–ra* appears to be the Persian counterpart of the Hindi *–ko* morphology reviewed at the beginning[4].

[4] The same clustering is also 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 IA 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.'

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-ě 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)

While all of the Indo-Iranian languages surveyed so far have some 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'

(Cagri 2007: 2)

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 IA 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 IA, 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 $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ and 3^{rd} person pronouns, as in (16a), and to animate/ specific noun phrases, as in (16b), to the exclusion of indefinites/ inanimate ones, as in (16c).

(16) a. camənə a mmi/tti/jiddə *Sasso di Castalda*
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'

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 thematic dative in (16d) and the D-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 *Sasso*

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'

(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. Yazguliam in fn.3). Albanian presents a particularly interesting pattern. 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*	*Shkodër*
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

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 IAs are systematically raised to D-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 (thematic and D-dative) form of the 2nd singular is *ti-çə*, displaying the same *-çə* ending independently found on the 3rd person singular (thematic) 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'

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 D-datives.

Let us take stock of the situation. In Indo-Iranian languages animate/definite objects appear in the inflectional dative/oblique. More familiar European languages, e.g. the Romance languages, show the same alignment of animate/definite IAs with dative, though the latter is non-inflectional or inflectional only in very small subsets of the pronominal system. At this point we face an alternative: across the Indo-European family, there is either an accidental homophony/syncretism of thematic and D-dative or else thematic and D-dative form a natural class in morphosyntax. The main empirical difficulty in the way of this latter, more desirable conclusion is the one already mentioned in section 1, namely that thematic dative and the D-dative show different sensitivity to

syntactic tests – in particular passivization.

A second difficulty is of an exquisitely theoretical nature, namely that current minimalist models do not include a theory of case, except as they reduce case to agreement. In the minimalist approach of Chomsky (1995), 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.

Some empirical problems with this view are discussed by Baker and Vinokurova (2010) for the direct cases (accusative and nominative).[5] Here our concern is dative, i.e. the only oblique case that many languages display (eventually syncretism with genitive, see section 3). While unifying thematic and D-dative may incur in the empirical problem of passivization, a much deeper problem is that current minimalist theories do not have a characterization even for thematic dative, except as Agree with an appropriate probe, presumably the Applicative head of Pylkkannen (2008), Cuervo (2003). However the content of Appl is that it agrees with the descriptive dative, creating an explanatory vicious circle.

In the next section we will establish a content for the descriptive thematic dative, independent of Agree – though implementable in an Agree model (redundantly) if such a model is desired. We will then show that it extends to D-datives. Finally we will argue that in the light of the categories that we introduce, the problem raised by the asymmetric behaviour of thematic and D-datives with respect to passivization need not stand in the way of their unification.

3. Unifying thematic and D-dative: the core model

[5] Baker and Vinokurova (2010: 610-614) 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 note that their examples from Sakha (Turkic) are largely replicated by, say, Latin (in fact they overlap with the notion of 'extended accusative', cf. Moravsik 1978, Plank 1985). On the reduction of case to agreement see also the Appendix.

For ease of reference, we take as our starting point Romance languages and in particular the only Romance language that displays a two-case declension throughout the nominal system (see fn. 7 on the special problems posed by the Romanian prepositional accusative). 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.'

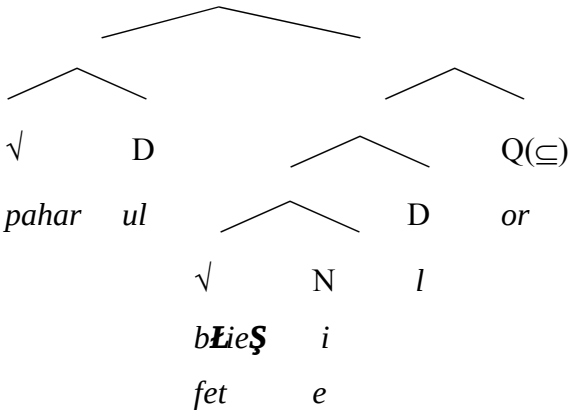
b. pahar-ul băieț-i-l-or / fet-e-l-or
glass-msg.def boy-MPL-DEF-OBL/ girl-FPL-DEF-OBL
'the glass of the boys/ girls'

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). Given the doubts we expressed above on both models (cf. also Baker and Vinokurova 2010), we are interested in exploring alternative analyses. A fairly obvious intuition about case, originally formalized by Fillmore (1968), is that *–or* in a language like Romanian is the inflectional equivalent of a preposition like *to* or *of* in English. If a preposition is a predicate introducing a relation between the argument it selects and another argument, so is case, or at least oblique case to which we limit our discussion here. 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.

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

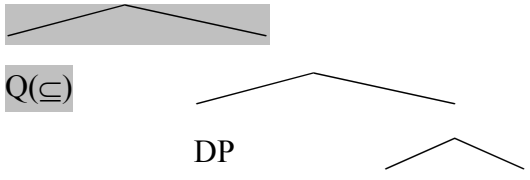
Savoia (2005, 2007) propose that the Romance clitic *ne* (syncretic in some varieties between genitive and dative) introduces a pronominal set which is a 'superset-of' some other argument of the sentence (the IA, cf. Burzio 1986). Belvin and den Dikken (1997:170) define the relation introduced by 'have' 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).

(23)



The structure in (23) is interpretable as is. The Q(⊆) element takes as its complement its sister DP *bŁieŞl-/ fetel-* and as its external argument the sister DP to its projection, i.e. *paharul*. One could nevertheless want to say that Q(⊆) is merged as a functional head as in (24). We could then speak of Q(⊆) as a probe and of its arguments as valuing the probe, where by valuation we mean saturation of an argument of Q(⊆). The shading is used to remind us that this mechanism is redundant, though compatible with our proposal.

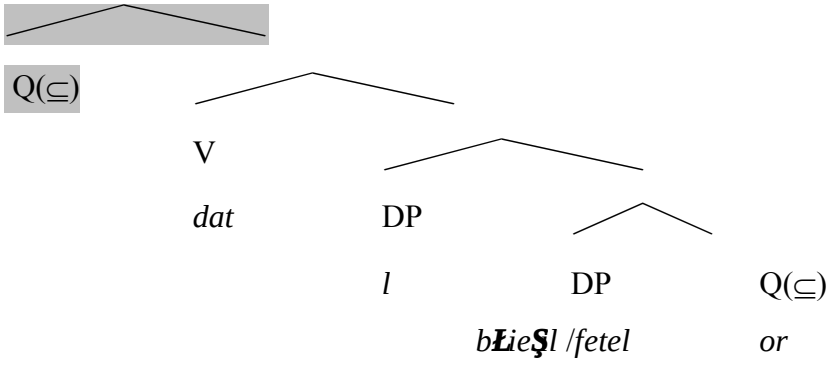
(24)



paharul	DP	Q(⊆)
	bŁieŞl	*or*
	fetel	

Consider dative, as exemplified in (22a). The morphological structure remains unchanged with respect to the genitive in (23)-(24), and so does the content of the morphological categories involved. In particular, the second internal argument of ditransitives has been argued to be connected to possession in generative literature at least since Kayne (1984). All that changes with respect to (23)-(24) 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. In this instance, an abstract Q(⊆) functional head built into the structure would have the same position as the low Appl head of Pylkännen (2008), Cuervo (2003) with which it could be taken to identify.

(25)



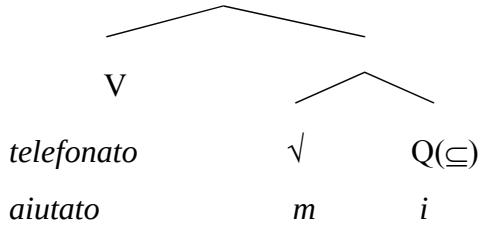
In this article, we concentrate on datives, i.e. on sentential rather than DP embeddings of the oblique, disregarding genitives and the dative-genitive syncretism. The reason why we began our discussion with genitive is that the view of dative we wanted to put forth is perhaps most intuitively apprehended starting from syncretic oblique realizations. The dative-genitive syncretism is widely attested, characterizing also Iranian languages, Albanian, Greek.[6] At the same time, languages

[6] In Iranian, in Albanian and in Romanian as well (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 2012 on Iranian, Manzini and Savoia 2011a, b on Albanian, Dobrovie-Sorin 2005 on Romanian). This is fairly obviously a unified phenomenon, which we leave for future work.

where no syncretism obtains are simply languages that lexically disambiguate between the two structures or readings in (23)-(24) and (25).

For ease of reference, we attack the D-dative starting from a familiar Romance language, say Italian (21a), assuming that the *mi, ti* 1st/ 2nd person forms are morphologically dative.[7] 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 (26), despite the fact that two different structures of embedding are implied by the predicates 'help' and 'telephone' in (21b) and (21c) respectively with 3rd person clitics.

(26)



By hypothesis our analysis yields the correct results at the morpholexical interface. But what about the interpretive interface? 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 (26). We propose that in this instance the two arguments of Q(⊆) are the 1st/ 2nd person clitic and – we assume – the event itself.

Intuitively, transitive predicates can be paraphrased by an elementary predicate associated with an eventive name. Thus *aiutare* 'to help' alternates with *dare aiuto a* 'give help to'. 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). 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.

[7] Here the interesting question arises why Romanian which possesses a morphological oblique, reserves it for the thematic dative. Animate/definite IAs are introduced by a preposition, which in Romanian is *pe*. Note that nothing in this article implies that thematic dative/oblique and DOM marker must coincide; the problem we address is simply why they can (and in fact normally do) coincide. Given our answer to this question, namely that they both are lexicalizations of Q(⊆) (see below in the text), we expect that all DOM markers are compatible with Q(⊆) denotation. Indeed, to the best of our knowledge *pe* is independently attested in Romanian as a locative – and locatives crosslinguistically are one of the fundamental lexicalizations of possessors (Freeze 1992).

Thus (21a) can be informally rendered as 'He caused me to have help/ a phone call' or more directly 'He caused me help/ a phone call', as schematized in (27). In minimalist syntax the transitivizing predicate is standardly built into the structure in the form of a *v* functional head.

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

3rd person complements of 'help' (or rather 'cause help') are embedded in a canonical transitive structure comprising a nominative agent and an accusative theme, as in (28b) – though not 3rd person arguments of 'telephone' in (28a). The alternation in (28) is lexically governed – yielding variation even in closely related languages (German *helfen* 'help' selects Q(⊆), while English *phone* takes an accusative). Because of this, it can hardly be predicted by the theory, but must be learned by the child.

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

At this point we have a theoretical construal of the notion of thematic and D-dative. Dative in general is the Q(⊆) elementary predicate/ operator. A thematic dative is a dative which is present in the structure in virtue of the requirements of the predicate; thus it remains constant in examples like (27a) and (28a). D-dative involves exactly the same elementary predicate/operator, except that the latter does not directly depend on event structure; what it directly depends on is the reference of the argument it attaches to, yielding the asymmetry between 1st/2nd vs. 3rd person in (27b) and (28b). We are then in a position to confront the basic objection to the identification of thematic and D-, namely their different behaviour under syntactic processes like passivization.

In (21a), granting that *mi/ ti* are dative, we must explain why the 1st/2nd person argument of 'help' raises to the nominative position in the passive – while that of 'telephone' does not, as shown in (29a). Under passive, the symmetry between 1st/2nd person and 3rd person is re-established, as in (29b).

(29) a. Sono stato aiutato/*telefonato
I.am been helped/telephoned
'I was helped/phoned'
b. E' stato aiutato/*telefonato

he.is been helped/telephoned
'He was helped/phoned'

According to the previous discussion, the difference between the two predicates in (29) is that *telefonato* 'telephoned' requires all objects to be embedded as datives; in other words, Q(⊆) is selected by the predicate. With *aiutato* 'helped', Q(⊆) is introduced in order to provide an embedding for the 1st/2nd person, but it is not selected by the predicate. Suppose then that a dative argument introduced by Q(⊆) is merged under passive, for instance *mi* in (30). This argument satisfies the selectional requirement of 'telephone', but precisely because of its inherent case properties, it is not available for movement and hence for satisfaction of the EPP (it is not an active goal in minimalist terminology). The passive cannot then be derived – or rather what can be derived is at best an impersonal passive.

(30) *telefonato]/*aiutato [m [$_{Q(\subseteq)}$ i]]

The other possibility is that a bare pronominal form is inserted, say *pro*, as in (31).[8] *pro* is available for satisfaction of the EPP, since it is not intrinsically case marked (it is an active goal in derivational, minimalist terms). The passive can be derived, but only with 'help' and not with 'telephone'. Indeed, precisely because *pro* is not introduced by Q(⊆), the selectional properties of 'telephone' are violated.

(31) aiutato/*telefonato *pro*

In a nutshell, if Q(⊆) is selected by a predicate, it will be selected independently of voice, preventing movement of its argument to the EPP position. If it is not selected by the predicate, then passive is impossible only if we insist on embedding the animate/definite IA under Q(⊆) (or rather only impersonal passive is possible). If we do not, passivization becomes possible. Crucially, the animate/specific DP, having vacated its VP-internal position, no longer requires embedding under Q(⊆).

This takes us to the final step in our discussion – namely the building of an explicit model as to why and how Q(⊆) embedding of animates/definites is required VP-internally by some

[8] *pro*, i.e. the empty pronominal of standard generative theory is used here as a descriptive category. In reality, we endorse the view that in null subject language the EPP is satisfied by the pronominal-like finite inflection of the verb (see the discussion in section 4).

languages. For simplicity of exposition, let us adopt a bare syntax model without uninterpretable Q(⊆)probes and Agree. Note that in fact Chomsky (1995 et seq.) doesn't have any probe/ Agree mechanism but for phi-features – which by hypothesis (i.e. by the impossibility of reducing (oblique) case to phi-agreement) are not involved here.

Our problem divides into two logically different questions, namely first, how is it possible at all to embed an animate/definite IA via Q(⊆) and second, what makes it necessary. The first question has been answered by the discussion surrounding in particular (27b) – namely, IAs introduced by Q(⊆) always correspond to a ditransitive structure. Either an IA is overtly present or they attach to an unergative that incorporates an (eventive) IA. As for the second question, thematic datives are selected by the predicate, as again discussed in connection with passives. What interests us at this point are D-datives. The relevant constraint is particularly easy to state in a representational model – i.e. a model where movement is an interpretation at LF (Brody 2003), hence arguments are generated in their surface position.[9] In such a model languages with D-datives are those where an animate/definite can never be inserted VP-internally except under Q(⊆), as in (32a). In passive the internal argument is merged in EPP position (binding a VP-internal variable), as schematized in (32b), removing the need for Q(⊆) embedding.

(32) a. V $[_{Q(\subseteq)}DP_{anim/def}]$

b. DP [T [V x]]

In probe/Agree terms we can assume that given the substructure [V DP], insertion of the Q(⊆) probe is required to check the animate/definite DP, as in (33a). Alternatively, in passive the DP can vacate the VP via the phase edge – so that Q(⊆) insertion becomes unnecessary and impossible, as in (33b).

(33) a. [v [Q(⊆) [V DP]]

b. DP … [v [V ~~DP~~]]

It is also important to clarify briefly what the descriptive notion of animacy/definiteness may ultimately amount to in a formal framework which only admits of discrete categorizations. The basic facts are summarized by Aissen (2003: 468) who reports the following quote from Lazard

[9] Representationalism has nothing to say about incremental construction of the tree – which is an entirely orthogonal issue.

(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 D-datives display sensitivity to definiteness/specificity or to animacy, with some language animacy oriented and others definitenss oriented and others yet sensitive to both properties (in different degrees). The theoretical problem, then, is defining each relevant class (definiteness, animacy) and individuating their point(s) of intersection, possibly without resorting to complex optimization devices of the OT kind.

While this is beyond the scope of the present article, it is easy to note that definiteness and animacy hierarchies share at least the property that 1st and 2nd person referents (speaker and hearer) have the highest position on both of them. In this sense the basic animacy/definiteness split is the person split, between 1st/2nd person and all other referents (DeLancey 1981). Indeed there are languages where the D-dative picks up just the 1st/2nd person, for instance the italian variety in (34) (cf. also Yazguliam in fn. 3).

(34) a. a camatə a mme/nnu *Colledimacine*
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’

Apart from 1st/2nd person (or possibly the deictic class of pronouns), descriptive definiteness and animacy properties diverge, yielding parametrization effects that depend on which category is prominent and on the cut-out point that each language adopts for a given scale. 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).

Finally, as yet another pointer to future work, we note that since in Iranian languages the ergativity split involves dative/oblique EAs, our expectation is that the EA is attached to the event though a Q(⊆) structure as well. The Applicative literature (Pylkkänen 2008, Cuervo 2003) argues that there must be at least two Appl functional heads in a sentence. The lowest one by and large corresponds to the datives that we have discussed so far. It is tempting to make the parallel between the higher datives of the Appl literature and oblique EAs (cf. Boneh and Nash 2012). In particular, a dative-ergative connection for Indo-Aryan has been explicitly motivated in the historical-typological literature (cf. Butt 2007). Formally an oblique EA would be one attached through the Q(⊆) elementary predicate at the sentential level – effectively a 'possessor' of the state of the situation denoted by the sentence.

Summing up this section, we have provided a formal characterization for the category dative. The different syntactic behaviours of thematic dative and D- dative depend on the conditions under which the dative category Q(⊆) is inserted in the derivation/representation. This has the advantage of respecting the evidence that thematic and D-datives are not accidentally homophonous or syncretic but genuinely instantiate the same morphosyntactic category. If we are correct, the alternative is not between a unified category dative and a mentalist, computational model of grammar – it is simply within different analyses of the descriptive dative within the latter framework.

4. The connection with agreement

Considering Italian clitics, as in (21), means considering perfect participle agreement.[10] (36a) shows that thematic datives with a predicate like 'telephone' do not agree with the perfect participle, 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),

[10] More canonical D-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 byproducts 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 IA 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.

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 (thematic or D-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 microparametrization is projected onto the macroparametric spectrum of Indo-Iranian languages, essentially the same range of variation emerges. As we saw in section 2, in the Hindi perfect, the EA 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 D-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 D-dative IAs do not.

(37) a. Anil-ne kitaabẽ becĩĩ
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 IA agrees with the perfect, independently of whether it surfaces as a direct case (inanimate) or as a D-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 D-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 IA is optional, as in (39). In present terms, the agreeing and non agreeing patterns are equally possible with D-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 IA in the perfect, even when the latter is a D-dative/oblique, as in (40).

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

(Gilbertson 1923:113 cited in Korn 2011: 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 D-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 IAs (Marwari (38), agreeing version of Italian (36c)). The question is how best to model this variation. In order to answer the question, we take a long detour into a different set of agreement facts and issues in Romance, arising from clitic doubling. In standard Spanish, the prepositional accusative is doubled by an accusative clitic, as in (42a) – while an *a* phrase lexicalizing a thematic 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 thematic 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 thematic and D-dative 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) explicitly reject the possibility that *le* in (43b) is a dative. 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 thematic 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(⊆) structure of embedding.

Interestingly, doubling of 1st/2nd person clitics in Italian confirms the treatment of these forms as D-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
'I'll take you'

The descriptive generalization about D-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 D-datives can pattern with direct case IAs in being doubled by an accusative clitic (standard Spanish (42)); or alternatively D-datives can pattern with thematic 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). Shading in (45) represents the redundancy of the derivational mechanism, as far as we are concerned.

(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 IAs lexicalized by full DPs are in the direct case when inanimate/indefinite and in D-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 D-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. [11] Let us assume that direct case, as seen on the clitic, lexicalizes attachment

[11] It would be interesting to consider whether the third logical possibility implied bu (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).

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 obliques cannot enter a chain(-like) relation.[12]

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

[12] Since in present terms thematic and D-datives are identified, we predict that there are languages where the doubling structure in (46b) extends to thematic 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 thematic 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 thematic 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 thematic and D-datives from (i)-(ii) remains.

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

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 IA – while it agrees with the lexical IA 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 IA 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 IA, while a lexical IA 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 IAs.

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. [13]

(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 D-dative patterns with the thematic dative in not agreeing with the perfect – and those where the D-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 D-dative *chokrane* 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 IA and of the DP realization of the IA 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~~]

[13] 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.

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 IA *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 D-datives in Spanish. Either the silent clitic agrees in case with the D-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 D-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, D-datives may pattern with thematic 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 thematic and D-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 IAs and goal dative involves no accidental homophony or syncretism, but rather an underlyingly identical structure of embedding. Though passivization differentiates thematic and D-datives, this can be explained by the independently needed assumption that thematic dative is selected by the predicate, but D-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 D-datives like accusatives (potentially problematic for us) and those that treat them as datives (potentially problematic for proponents of an accusative status for DOM IAs). 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, Bejar and Rezac 2009) noting that in a language like Kashmiri the distribution of DOM case folows 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 (EA or 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 D-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)

Bejar 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 is as part of her discussion of Nichols (2001). For these theorists Kashmiri like Algonquian has a single locus of agreement – which is *v* for Bejar 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, Bejar and Rezac take this morphological dative to be an underlyingly different case from the thematic 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 Bejar 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 thematic 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 Bejar 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 Bejar 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 tensens. This must be stipulated in a 'cyclic Agree' framework, which directly predicts only Algonquian, showing a surface alternation between EA and IA agreement. Furthermore, Bejar 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.[14]

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

[14] 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".

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 D-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 Bejar 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* Bejar and Rezac.

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