Case as Agree Marker*

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1. Introduction

In recent work, Sigurðsson (2003, 2005, 2006) has argued for a new view on morphological structural case, according to which Nominative is the first, independent case, whereas Accusative is the second, dependent case, serving the sole purpose of being distinct from Nominative. The Nom-Acc distinction, in turn, is a morphological translation of syntactic structure into the language of PF. In these papers Sigurðsson among other things discusses *Burzio's generalization* (Burzio 1986, 2000), see (1), and argues that it should be replaced by *The Sibling Correlation* (2):

(1) *Burzio's Generalization* Burzio (1986:178)
All and only the verbs that can assign a θ-role to the subject can assign accusative case to an object.

(2) *The Sibling Correlation* (Sigurðsson 2005:97)
A relational/'structural' accusative is possible only in the presence of a nominative, whereas the opposite does not hold true.

The Sibling Correlation differs from Burzio's Generalization in claiming that the true generalization is not between the external role and the internal case, but between the cases themselves. According to the Sibling Correlation, accusative is dependent on nominative being present or active in the structure. As Sigurðsson (e.g. 2005) notes, this leads to a look-ahead problem in the standard minimalist derivation of a sentence: a DP merged in the complement of V will be realized as accusative if a nominative is merged higher up in the structure (3a,c), but as nominative if this DP is the only argument present, (3b,d,e); examples from Sigurðsson (2005):

(3) a. They drowned her /*she.
b. She/*Her drowned.
c. They fired her/*she
d. She/*Her was fired.
e. She/*Her arrived late.

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To get rid of this look-ahead problem, Sigurðsson (2006) suggests that the nominative argument is merged lower and earlier than the accusative argument, and that it is raised later in the derivation across the accusative argument, to match subject number and subject person, yielding the normal surface order Nom-Acc.

As I will show in this paper, there is no need for any drastic reinterpretation of the structure to capture the fact that accusative is secondary in relation to nominative. Based on a feature driven derivation in line with recent work by Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004a), I will suggest a simple mechanism for case marking in Icelandic, called CAM (*Case as Agree Marker*) that will guarantee that DP is assigned the correct case value at PF, adhering to Sigurðsson's idea that case is a translation of structural properties into the language of PF.[1] The asymmetry between nominative and accusative can be shown to follow from a derivation of the traditional kind where the accusative argument is merged lower than the nominative argument, without any look-ahead problem. In the account presented here, the dependence of accusative on nomintive that constitutes the basis of the Sibling correlation is just a reflex of syntactic structure.

My paper is organized in the following way. The theoretical tools are presented in section 2. Section 3 introduces a first formulation of CAM, which is further modified in line with my application of it to various instances of accusative case, both Burzionian accusatives and non-Burzionian accusatives, to use the terminology of Sigurðsson (2005). Section 4 is about dative case, section 5 about nominative objects in ECM constructions, and section 6 is about Experiencers. Section 7 summarizes the paper.

2. Theoretical Tools

2.1. Introduction

The short presentation below of my theoretical tools is heavily dependent on insights presented in Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004a). In Pesetsky & Torrego (2004b), they have made their feature driven approach more fine graded, complicating the derivation but reaching a level of detail that does not seem to be needed for my relatively trivial purposes here.

2.2. A feature driven account of sentence structure

Syntax is a computational system (an algebra), mediating between form and meaning. Syntactic features have a central role to play in the computation. Fol-

[1] See also Bobaljik (2002) for an argument that morphology is dependent on syntax, not the other way around. This is also the underlying assumption in Distributed Morphology, see e.g. Embick & Marantz (2006).

lowing the implementation in Chomsky (2001) and Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004a), I will suggest a simple mechanism for sentence derivation, building mainly on two concepts: features and the operation Agree. These concepts are presented in the following two sections.

2.2.1 Features

A syntactic structure is the result of merging of lexical elements, where the lexical entries consist of features with semantic values. These features may come in two guises, interpretable and valued or uninterpretable and unvalued. Only interpretable features are allowed at the semantic interface, hence the syntactic computation must delete the uninterpretable instances for the derivation to converge. Example (4) illustrates a case where a feature is accompanied by morphology, the underlined number morphemes in the Swedish Noun Phrase:

(4) bruna hästar
brown.PL horses

Number is an interpretable feature on nouns but uninterpretable on adjectives; the word *horses* refers to several individuals of the category "horse", but there is no similar reading of "brown.PL". Hence only the plural affix in bold face on the noun in (4) corresponds to an interpretable/valued feature that is visible at the semantic interface.

In my discussion below, I will follow Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004a) and use two features, **tense** (τ), interpretable in T° and v°, and **person, gender** and **number** (φ-features), interpretable in DP.

2.2.2. The operation Agree

Uninterpretable features are deleted with the help of an operation called **Agree**, see Chomsky (2001). This operation proceeds in three steps:

Step 1: Select a **probe** i.e. a head with (at least) one uninterpretable feature uF.[2]

Step 2: Search the c-command domain of the probe for the closest **goal** with the same feature but with reversed value for interpretability, F.

Step 3: Value the uninterpretable feature of the probe in accordance with the value of the goal, and delete the uninterpretable feature.[3]

The relevant probes are v° and T°. I will assume that v°, in terms of the features τ and φ, has the same inherent feature set up for all types of verbs, contra Chom-

[2] uF is to be read "uninterpretable F", where F is a variable over features. For an interesting attempt to skip the restriction that the probe must be a head, see Heinat (2006a,b).

[3] Since uninterpretable features may have phonetic realization (see (4)), they cannot be deleted before transfer to the phonological component (Chomsky 2005).

sky (2001, 2005) but in line with Legate (2003). In particular, I will assume that all vP:s are phases.

2.2.3. EPP

Movement is forced by the presence of EPP on some uninterpretable feature. EPP is short for *Extended Projection Principle*, introduced by Chomsky (1982) to account for the fact that every sentence has a subject. In its present use, EPP indicates that the deletion of an uninterpretable feature must have visible effects. Why the Agree relation sometimes must be made visible is in many cases a mystery from the point of view of syntax; widening the proposal of this paper, EPP can be seen as a reflex in syntax of a morphological spell-out rule. See also Bobaljik (2002) and Chomsky (2005) for similar proposals.

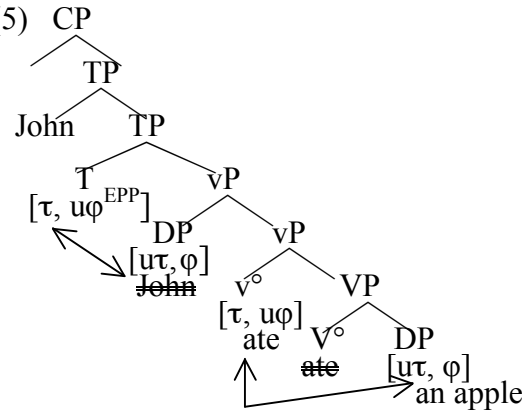
2.2.4. Universal Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)

In Baker (1997), UTAH is seen as a universal one-to-one correspondence between a DP-expressed thematic role (in a particular broad sense) and first merge: a DP with the role of Agent (Cause, Instrument) is first merged in Spec-vP, a DP being Benefactive, Goal, Recipient or Experiencer is first merged in Spec-VP, and a Patient or Theme DP is first merged in the complement of V.

2.2.5 The derivation of a transitive clause *John ate an apple*

The derivation of a simple transitive clause is outlined in (5). The agree-relations at hand are indicated by arrows. Note that there are two probes and two goals. *John* ends up in Spec-TP due to the EPP feature associated with the uninterpretable φ-feature in T ($u\varphi^{EPP}$).

(5)



3. Accusative and Nominative Case

3.1. Burzionian Accusatives

In this section I will show that the distribution of what is commonly known as structural cases, i.e. nominative and accusative, can be described as a simple instruction to PF how to spell out particular instances of Agree.[4] These cases are the ones directly captured by Burzio's generalization (see (1) above). In accordance with Sigurðsson (2003, 2005, 2006) I will assume that the Nom-Acc distinction is a morphological translation of syntactic structure into the language of PF. As a first attempt, I will suggest the following Spell-Out rule:

(6) ***Case as Agree Marker (CAM) – first attempt***
A DP which is in an agree relation with v° marked [τ, uφ] is spelled out with accusative case (in languages having the nominative–accusative distinction), and a DP which is in an agree relation with T° is spelled out with nominative case. If a DP is agreeing both with v° and T°, it is spelled out with nominative case. Other DPs are spelled out with dative or genitive case.

CAM is here and in the following formulated for nominative–accusative languages, especially for Icelandic. For ergative-absolutive languages, (6) could be reformulated as (7):

(7) ***CAM for Ergative-Absolutive Languages***
A DP which is in an agree-relation with v° marked [τ, uφ] is spelled out with absolutive case (in languages having the ergative–absolutive distinction) and a DP which is in an agree relation with T° is spelled out with ergative case. If a DP is agreeing with both v° and T°, it is spelled out with absolutive case.

Compared to (6), there is a minimal difference between nominative-accusative languages and ergative-absolutive languages: in the former type of languages, T is decisive, whereas in the latter type of languages, v° is. See Haider (2000) for a similar idea. In the following I will only consider nominative–accusative languages; first, however, a short note about Basque.

Levin (1989) has shown that verbs like *run* and *come* take different cases in Basque, an ergative-absolutive language.[5]

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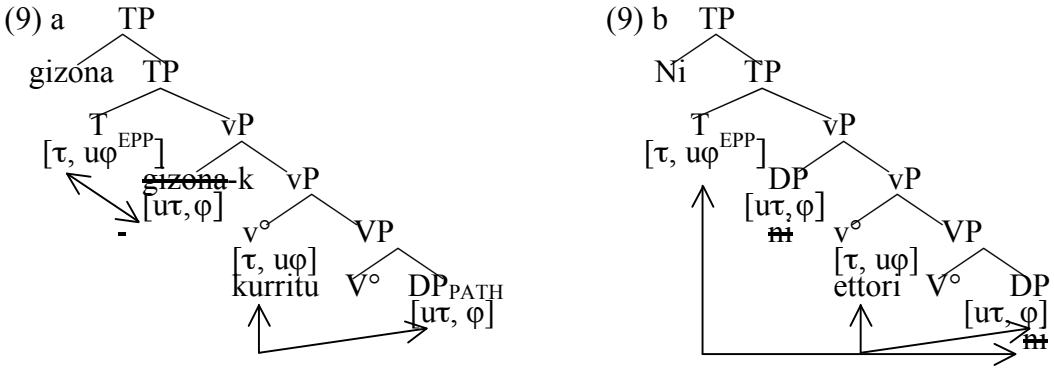
[4] See also Svenonius (2002) for a similar approach to capture more or less the same facts. Compare e.g. my account of accusative case in (6) with his licensing condition for accusative case ((9d), p. 202) which is formulated in terms of a total temporal overlap between the event variables introduced by v and V.

[5] Laka (2006) argues that case morphology in Basque is best explained as inherent, and that Basque, consequently, is not an ergative language.

(8) a. Gizona-k kurritu du. (Levin 1989, (33))
man.ERG ran Aux
The man ran.
b. Ni etorri naiz (Levin 1989, (8))
I-NOM come Aux
I came.

What Levin calls nominative here can be identified with absolutive, see Legate (submitted). Thus, to capture (8) by (7), we must assume that the nominative/absolutive subject in (8b) is probed both by T and by v, whereas the subject in (8a) is probed only by T. For this to be the case there must be an invisible DP within VP that v° may probe, presumably a DP corresponding to the distance, here called DP_{PATH}:



In other cases, DP_{PATH} may be realized as a path-adverbial, as in the Icelandic example in (11) below. As we will see, it is expressed by accusative in Icelandic, i.e. the case we expect, according to CAM, when a DP is probed by v°, as in (9a).

Returning to nominative-accusative languages, CAM as formulated in (6) obviously gives the correct result for ordinary transitives, unaccusatives, passives and unergatives:

(10) a. John kissed <u>her</u> /*she. (*her* is probed by v, i.e. accusative)
b. <u>She</u> / *her arrived late. (*She* is probed both by T and v, i.e. nominative)
c. <u>She</u> / *her was kissed. (*She* is probed both by T and v, i.e. nominative)
d. She/*her sang a song. (*She* is probed by T, i.e. nominative)

In the following sections we will see how CAM can be used to predict accusatives that are not normally considered to be structural (or relational) in nature. The underlying assumption is that all instances of accusative (and nominative) case can be subsumed under CAM, and hence in some way characterized as structural. As will be seen, this is possible only if we allow the structure to con-

tain unpronounced DPs, as in (9b), semantically detectable but without reflex in PF, partly in line with ideas presented in Hale & Keyser (2002).

3.2. Non-Burzionian Accusatives

3.2.1. Path adverbials in accusative and the New Passive

Some cases called "Non-Burzionian accusatives" by Sigurðsson (2005) and problematic to his Sibling correlation seem to be captured by CAM, e.g. local path readings of accusative in Icelandic:

(11) Hún synti heilan kilometra /*heill kilometri.
she swam whole.ACC kilometer.ACC/*NOM

As Sigurðsson notes, "[p]ath adverbials of this sort show up in the nominative in passives", indicating that they are in the complement of V (agreeing with v° like direct objects). However, Sigurðsson (2005) seems reluctant to take this as an indication that we have an instance of a Burzionian accusative here, since path accusatives may be retained in impersonal passives, as shown in (12); the example from Sigurðsson (2005):

(12) (?)Það er/var gengið þessa sömu leið til baka daginn eftir.
it is/was walked this same route.ACC back day.the after

According to CAM, the accusative *þessa sömu leið* in (12) cannot be probed by T, since it shows up in accusative. This is similar to what is observed for the so called "New Passive" in Icelandic; see Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir (2002), and the example in (13):

(13) Það var lamið stúlkuna.
it was hit.n.sg girl.the.ACC

In an ordinary passive, the DP must be in the nominative, indefinite, and agreeing with the past participle, as in (14):

(14) Það var lamin stúlka.
it was hit.f.NOM.sg girl.f.NOM

It follows from CAM that one important difference between (13) and (14) must be that the final DP is probed both by v and T in (14), but only by v in (13).[6]

[6] The Icelandic expletive *það* does not agree with the verb, and is restricted to first position in declaratives, i.e. it cannot appear in inverted position. These properties indicate that *það* is expressing some edge-feature in C (Chomsky 2005), and that it (presumably) lacks τ and φ-features, hence fall outside CAM.

According to Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir (2002), the New Passive in (13) is actually seen as an active construction, having an invisible external argument. Adopting this analysis CAM predicts the outcome in (13): the accusative *stúlkuna* 'girl.the.ACC' is probed by v°, and the invisible DP in Spec-vP is probed by T. Consequently, T cannot probe into vP, forcing accusative according to CAM.

Whatever prevents T from probing the DP in the complement of V in (13) must be present in (12) as well, hence we will assume an invisible DP in Spec-vP in (12). This predict that the arguments provided by Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir (2002) for an invisible DP in (13) can be applied to (12) as well.

According to Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir (2002), the presence of an invisible DP in Spec-vP in the New Passive is supported by two types of data: this invisible DP seems to be able to bind a reflexive in the construction (15a), and it can bind a participial adjunct (15b):[7]

(15) a. Svo var bara drifið sig á ball.
then was just hurried.n.sg. REFL.ACC to dance
b. Það var lesið minningargreinina grátandi.
it was read.n.sg. obituary.the.ACC crying.

Applying the same tests to constructions with path adverbials, we find a slight support for the hypothesis that there is an invisible DP in this construction as well: the invisible DP is able to bind a reflexive (16a) and a participial adjunct (16b).[8] The judgements are provided by Sigurðsson (p.c.):

(16) a. ??Það er/var alltaf gengið sína eigin leið.
it is/was always walked his.REFL.own route.ACC.
b. ?Það var gengið þessa sömu leið til baka í gær viljandi.
it was walked this same route.ACC back y'day on purpose

Summarizing, CAM seems to be superior to the Sibling correlation (2), according to which a problem with (12) and (13) is that both have an accusative DP in the absence of a nominative. The account based on CAM predicts an invisible DP in Spec-vP both in the case of constructions with accusative path adverbials,

[7] According to Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir (2002), 78% of their informants from outside inner Reykjavík accepted (15a), and 62% (15b). For adults, the corresponding figures were 40% for (15a) and 4% for (15b). See Eythórsson (forthcoming) for a critical review of these arguments.

[8] Following a suggestion by Sigurðsson (p.c.) we use *viljandi* 'intentionally'in stead of *grátandi* 'crying' in (16b).

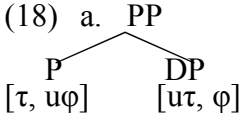
and in the New Passive. As we have seen, there are at least indications that this is correct, providing support for the analysis adopted here.

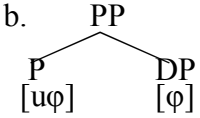
3.2.2. Accusative complements of prepositions

Another type of non-Burzionian accusative, easy to integrate under CAM but more difficult under the Sibling correlation, is accusative complements of prepositions. Pesetsky & Torrego (2004a) suggest that P like T and v may have the features [τ, uφ]. Adopting this idea, CAM must be generalized in the following way to capture prepositionally governed accusatives:

(17) ***Case as Agree Marker (CAM) – second attempt***
A DP which is in an agree relation with a probe (other than T) marked [τ, uφ] is spelled out with accusative case (in languages having the nominative – accusative distinction), and a DP which is in an agree relation with T° is spelled out with nominative case. If a DP is agreeing both with T and another probe marked [τ, uφ], it is spelled out with nominative case. Other DPs are spelled out with dative or genitive case.

According to (17), the DP in the PP in (18a) is spelled out with accusative case, and the one in (18b), which lacks a τ-featire, with dative or genitive case. We will not discuss the distinction dative-genitive case in this paper, being content with a negative characterization: these cases are not instances of spelled out Agree-relations based on the features τ and φ. We will not take a stand on the question whether they should be seen as purely lexical cases, or can be described as translations into PF of other syntactic relations.

(18) a.


b.


3.2.3. Accusative temporal adverbials

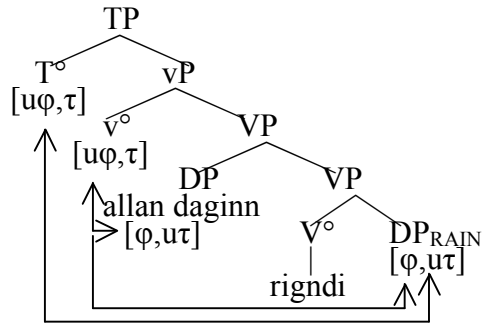
Consider next accusative temporal adverbial NPs:

(19) Þá rigndi allan daginn /*allur dagurinn.
then rained whole day.the.ACC / *NOM

For my purposes here it is enough to conclude that nothing seems to prevent v° from probing the adverbial NP, even if it is not obvious where this NP is merged. Since it measures the event, one possibility would be that it is in the complement of V°, another one that it is adjoined to VP (or pair merged, in the terms of Chomsky 2005). As a matter of fact, the first option is not open to us,

since we assume that the complement of the verb must be an invisible object, in line with ideas presented in Hale & Keyser (2002:88-94) that "the verb identifies the complement to some sufficient extent" (p. 92). Hence we will go for the adjunction analysis illustrated in (20):

(20)



As indicated by the arrows, v° agrees both with the accusative adverbial and the invisible object. Since the temporal adverbial is adjoined (pair merged) to VP, it is assumed that it cannot be the sole goal for the probe v° but must be parasitic on another Agree-relation, in this case the one between v° and the invisible DP in the complement of V. This is motivated by the fact that accusative temporal adverbials are found in all types of clauses, also in ordinary transitive ones, where the complement DP is visibly accusative, as shown in (5) above. Such an example is given in (21):

(21) Hann las bókina allan dagin.
he read book.the.ACC whole day.the.ACC

It follows from CAM that the adverbial DP in (21) will get accusative case. When T is merged and probes its c-command domain, it will only find the invisible object. We will assume that a situation like the one depicted in (20), where a pair merged adverbial is probed by v°, is possible only if v° also probes a DP in the complement of V, a kind of Multiple Agree (see Hiraiwa 2002). Both the adverbial and the complement of V have the feature specification [φ,uτ] in this case. Since the adverbial retains accusative and does not change to nominative in the passive of cases like (21), we assume that a pair merged goal cannot be probed a second time, like arguments can. This will correctly predict that there are no nominative adjuncts.

3.3. Quirky Accusatives

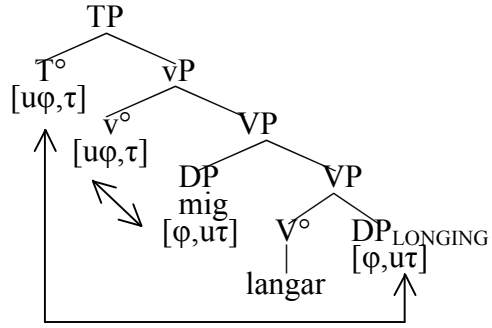
Quirky accusatives are accusatives usually analyzed as inherent or lexical case. As we will see in this section, these accusatives may be captured by CAM as well, hence indicating that they are not lexical but structural. A typical example is given in (22):

(22) Mig langar heim.
me.ACC long home
I want to go home.

If *mig* is an instance of structural case, accusative should be predicted by CAM. To obtain this, *mig* must be merged within VP, where it can be probed by v°. In a case like this, *mig* is an Experiencer, and thus UTAH predicts it is merged in Spec-VP.

Since *mig* retains accusative, it cannot be involved in the elimination of [uφ] in T°; hence we have to assume some empty DP within VP. An indication that such an empty DP exists is the fact that we may paraphrase (22) as "I have a longing for (going) home", see Hale & Keyser (2002) and compare (55) below.

(23)



This analysis does not account for the raising of *mig* to Spec-TP. Since Icelandic may have empty non-referential subjects, we do not want to assume an EPP feature associated with the uninterpretable φ-feature in T. More likely is the existence of some edge-feature on T that will force inherent merge of the closest element within the c-command domain of T with phonological material. This edge-feature will pick *mig* and front it to Spec-TP.

Cases with two accusatives are more complicated, but at least some of them can be subsumed under CAM. Consider the example in (24):

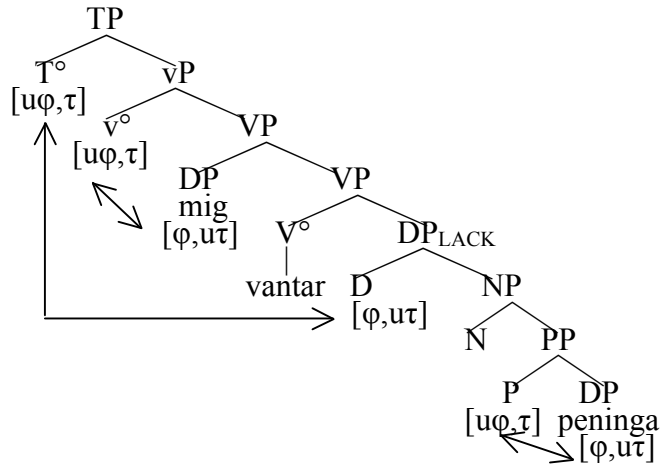
(24) Mig vantar peninga.
me.ACC lacks money.ACC

Since there is no nominative, CAM predicts that there is no visible DP in the structure that is probed by T; as in the previous example, *mig* is presumably moved to Spec-TP as a result of an edge-feature on T. Furthermore, since there are two accusative DPs, we expect one of the DPs to be probed by v° and the other by a preposition (see 3.2.2. above).[9] Using the mechanism of Hale & Keyser (2002), the invisible complement of the verb could be represented as

[9] An alternative that I have not investigated would be to assume Multiple Agree, as suggested e.g. by Hiraiwa (2002).

DP_{LACK}. With such an analysis, the DP expressing what we lack (money in this case) must be realized as a PP complement to *lack*, i.e. *lack of money*, with a possible paraphrase like "there is a lack of money at me". The representation of (24) is presented in (25):

(25)



In the examples of quirky accusative looked at so far, the quirky accusative subject is an Experiencer. As Sigurðsson (2005) notes, there is a second type of quirky accusative subjects in Icelandic, where the quirky subject is a Theme or a Patient, as illustrated in the following examples (Zaenen & Maling 1984):

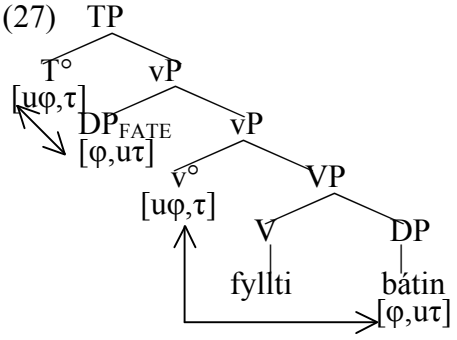
(26) a. Okkur rak að landi.
us.ACC drove to land
b. Bátinn fylltiá augabragði.
boat.the.ACC filled in flash
The boat swamped immediately
c. Mig tók út.
me.ACC took out
I was swept overboard.

Cases like these are tricky both for the Sibling correlation (2) and CAM; with respect to the Sibling correlation, we would expect to find a nominative in the structure, since accusative is dependent on nominative. For CAM, the problem is similar: the accusative object, presumably merged in the complement of V, will be probed by v° and hence assigned accusative according to the formulation of CAM in (17). The accusative form indicates that this argument is not probed by T. On the other hand, there must be something in the sentence for T to probe, otherwise T will not get rid of its uninterpretable φ-feature.

Sigurðsson (2005) observes that cases like (26) have an uncontrolled process or fate reading, often with a natural force as a kind of hidden Agent, see Ottósson (1988). Implementing this idea within my framework, these cases seem to

have an invisible Agent in Spec-vP which is probed by T. Compare the discussion of the New Passive and constructions with path adverbials in 3.2.1. above. We will represent this element as DP_{FATE}. With this analysis, (26b) is assigned the following structure:

(27)



Ordinary unaccusatives (and passives) in Icelandic have nominative subjects, sometimes corresponding to accusative in a related transitive construction, as pointed out already in Zaenen & Maling (1984) and Sigurðsson (1989). The following examples, taken from Sigurðsson (2005), illustrate the same verb used in an active transitive clause, a passive clause, and as an unaccusative:

(28) a. Hún stækkaði garðinn.
she enlarged garden.the.ACC
b. Garðurinn var stækkaður.
garden.the.NOM was enlarged
c. Garðurinn stækkaði.
garden.the.NOM enlarged

Example (28c) differs from the ones in (26) in not having any invisible DP_{FATE} in Spec-vP. Without this invisible DP, T has to probe the complement of V, i.e. *garðurinn* 'the garden' in (28c), and as a consequence of CAM, this DP is spelled out as nominative. In (26), on the other hand, where T probes $DP_{FATE,}$ the complement of the verb must be spelled out as accusative.

3.4. Summary

As I have shown in this section, both non-Burzionian accusatives and quirky accusatives can be subsumed under CAM, hence there is a structural account of these accusatives that usually are considered to be lexical or inherent. It is not obvious, given the discussion above, that the distinction between structural accusative and lexical accusative has any substantial value: both types of accusatives can be described as a single way to express a particular structural relation of a DP, namely that it is the goal for a probe other than T that has the features [uφ,τ]. Note in particular that this analysis presupposes that a quirky accusative,

i.e. a DP with accusative case that appears as the subject of the clause, is not probed by T, but forced to Spec-TP by virtue of some edge feature in T, similar to the one suggested by Holmberg (2000) to account for Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic.

4. Datives and Genitives

So far, little has been said about dative case and genitive case, apart from the claim that these cases do not spell out Agree-relations based on the features [φ] and [τ]. In this section we will see that this negative characterization will help us to analyze certain instances with dative case; from now on, nothing more will be said about genitive case. In section 4.1. we will consider the Icelandic double object constructions, and section 4.2. is about verbs taking dative as their only object. Section 4.3. discusses verbs that may occur either with a dative or an accusative object. Finally, section 4.4. is about quirky datives.

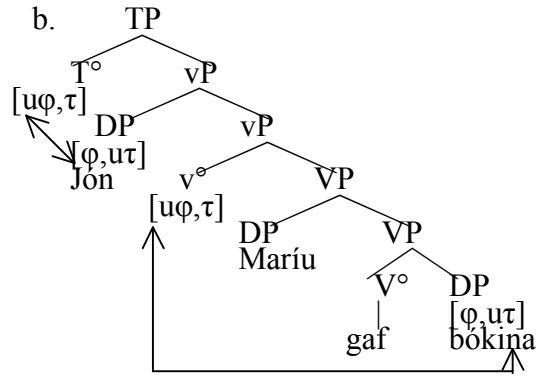
4.1. Ditransitive Verbs

Platzack (2005a) is an attempt to account for double object constructions and in particular passive of double object constructions within the framework set by Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004a). This account is here applied to ordinary DAT-ACC double objects in Icelandic. In (5) above the derivation of a simple transitive clause was outlined. When the verb is di-transitive, like *give*, there is an extra argument within VP. Since the number of probes is constant (T and v), the extra argument cannot have a full feature set up, or one uninterpretable feature will not be valued and eliminated. Platzack (2005a) suggests that the indirect object either lacks features visible to the probes T and v, or alternatively that it hosts an interpretable φ-feature but no τ-feature. We will only discuss the first case here. Lacking features, the dative will not be goal for any probe in the structure, at least not for a probe with only φ-features and τ-features. This indicates, correctly, that the indirect object is more loosely connected to the structure than the direct object, shown for instance by the fact that it is easier to leave out the indirect object than the direct one.

Consider first the derivation of an Icelandic DAT-ACC double object construction.

(29) a. Jón gaf Maríu bókina.
John.NOM gave Mary.DAT book.the.ACC

b.



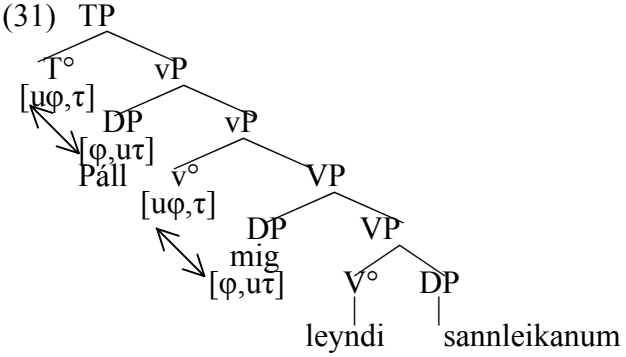
Given that the analysis in (29b) can be extended to all cases of dative, we could hypothesize that dative case (and genitive case) is a way to spell out a DP which is not probed by a probe with the features [uφ,τ].

Whereas DAT-ACC is the most common case distribution in Icelandic double object constructions, there are several other options, as shown e.g. in Sigurðsson (1989: 344). Disregarding the alternatives with genitive case, we have in addition to DAT-ACC also ACC-DAT (30a) and DAT-DAT (30b); the examples are taken from Sigurðsson (1989):

(30) a. Páll leyndi mig sannleikanum.
Paul.NOM concealed me.ACC truth.the.DAT
Paul concealed the truth from me.
b. Páll lofaði mér peningum.
Paul.NOM promised me.DAT money.DAT
Paul promised me the money.

In (30a), *mig* ‘me.ACC’ is the indirect object, expressing a thematic role that seems to be a Malefactor or Receiver, hence a role compatible with Spec-VP, given UTAH. The direct object in dative case, *sannleikanum* ‘the truth’, is the not transmitted theme. Hence, both syntax and semantics indicate the following structure, where CAM predicts the distribution of features:

(31)



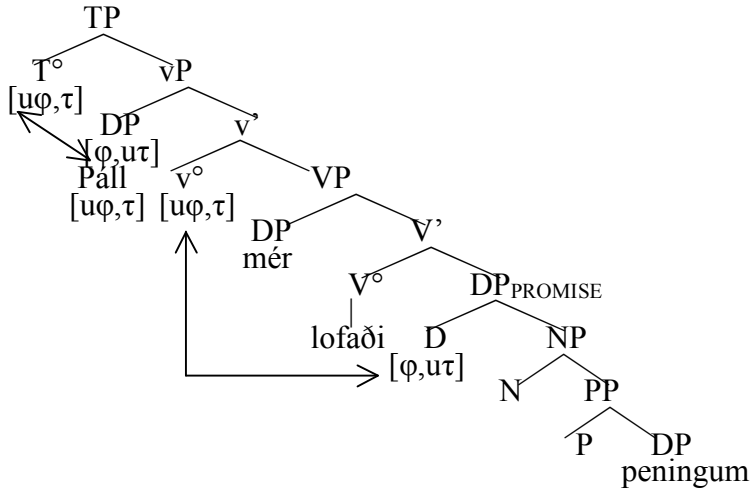
The analysis in (31) correctly predicts that the accusative indirect object will turn up in nominative in the corresponding passive; in (32) below the subject is assumed to be masculine (if feminine, there would be no *–ur* ending on the participle (Sigurðsson p.c.)):

(32) Ég /*Mig var leyndur sannleikanum
I me was concealed truth.the.DAT
The truth was concealed for me.

In passive, there is no DP in Spec-vP. Little v° will probe *mig*, deleting its own [uφ] and [uτ] on *mig*. When T is merged, it will probe into vP, finding *mig* with an interpretable φ-feature. Since there is no goal with [φ,uτ], T will probe the indirect object to get rid of its own uφ. It follows from CAM that the indirect object will be spelled out in nominative.

Consider next the case with two datives (30b). It follows from the discussion above that there must be a concealed argument for v° to probe. With *mér* 'me.DAT' in Spec-VP, this is most probable the complement of V, which we will represent as $DP_{PROMISE}$; see Hale & Keyser (2002). The promised object, in this case *peningum* 'money.DAT', must be part of this invisible DP in some way, as in the possible paraphrase "Paul gave me a promise about money".[10] The assumed structure is given in (33); compare the discussion of (24) above with two accusatives.

(33)



[10] Since Icelandic lacks prepositional passives (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 220), the proposed analysis correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of (i) (Sigurðsson p.c.)

(i) *Peningum var lofað mér.
mony.DAT was promised me

However, it does not account for the fact that *peningum* may be promoted to subject in the absence of *mér* (Sigurðsson p.c.):

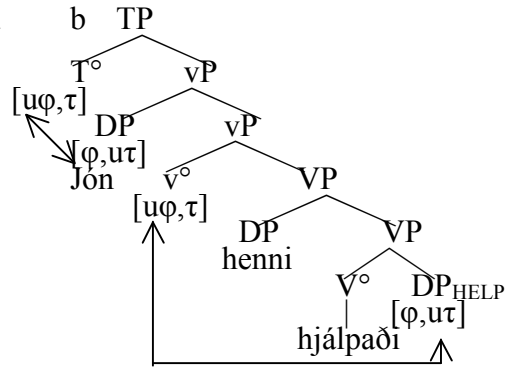
(ii) Peningum var lofað.

4.2. Verbs with Dative Objects

There is a group of transitive verbs in Icelandic where the internal argument is in the dative case, not in the prototypical accusative. For a detailed overview, see Maling (2002). It would be impossible in this context to consider all the different types that Maling discerns. In general, given CAM and the theoretical framework used here, we will predict that all mono-transitive verbs taking a dative object in addition must have an invisible object with the feature set up [φ,uτ], as we have already mentioned several times. In many cases, these verbs are of the type that supports the analysis in Hale & Keyser (2002), i.e. they seem to have a complement that is identified by the verb to a certain extent. Of this type is the verb *hjálpa* 'help', which Maling calls "[t]he prototypical transitive verb governing dative". The dative object of this verb is the Benefactor (the receiver of help), and thus according to UTAH represented in Spec-VP, and the invisible complement can be represented as DP_{HELP}, compare the synonymous *to help A = to give A help*. Hence, the structure assigned to a sentence like (34a) is the one given in (34b):

(34) a. Jón hjálpaði henni.
John.NOM helped her.DAT

. b



As Maling (2002:25) mentions, there are verbs with similar meanings that take accusative objects, like *aðstoða* 'help, assist'. Maling gives the example (35):

(35) Get ég aðstoðað þig?
may I assist you.ACC

The obvious solution, given CAM and the theoretical framework adopted here, would be to have the same structure as in (34), but with an accusative DP in Spec-VP; this is motivated by UTAH and the fact that the accusative object seems to be just as much of a Benefactor in this case as the dative object in (34). Being accusative, this DP must be probed by v°, hence in this case Spec-VP has the features [φ,uτ]. However, with this analysis the invisible complement, still

represented as DP_{HELP}, cannot have any features, since there is no available probe; see Platzack (2005b) for a related discussion of the status of the object to verbs like *help* in Icelandic and Swedish. Hence, the difference between *hjálpa* and *aðstoða* is purely lexical: *hjálpa*, but not *aðstoða* must take a complement with the feature set up [φ,uτ].

Empirically, this analysis is supported by the fact that the accusative object is promoted to nominative subject in passive, as shown in (36):

(36)	Þú/*Þig	varst	aðstoðuð / aðstoðaður.
	you.NOM/*ACC	were	assisted.FEM / MASK

Since the accusative lost its uninterpretable τ-feature when probed by v°, it only has an interpretable φ-feature when T is merged and probes into its c-command domain. If DP in the complement of V had had full feature set up, i.e. [φ,uτ], this DP would have been the goal for T. This is due to Starke's Anti Identity principle (Starke 2001:8), according to which $\alpha\beta...\alpha...\alpha\beta$, where α and β are variables over features, is a legal environment for establishing a relation between two instances of αβ. The fact that T probes the DP in Spec-VP in passive, shown by its nominative, is thus an argument for the analysis proposed here where the invisible DP in the complement of V lacks features.

As long as the difference between (34) and (35) can be linked to different verbs, there is no risk of a look-ahead analysis. However, a solution like the one just given should not be available when the same verb takes an object either in dative or in accusative; to claim that the invisible complement of the verb have features or not, depending on what appears higher up in the structure, would be a flagrant violation of the look-ahead restriction. Cases of this type will be discussed in the next section.

4.3. Verbs Taking Either a Dative or an Accusative Object

Barðdal (1993) mentions that some Icelandic verbs take either a dative or an accusative object, as illustrated in (37) – (39):

(37) a.	María	klóraði	Jón	í andlitið.
	Mary	scratched	John.ACC	in face.the
b.	María	klóraði	Jóni	á bakinu.
	Mary	scratched	John.DAT	on back.the

(38) a.	Kristín	þvoði	handklæðið.
	Christine	washed	towel.the.ACC
b.	Kristín	þvoði	barninu.
	Christine	washed	baby.the.DAT

(39) a. Hann mokar sand.
he shovels sand.ACC
b. Hann mokar sandinum burt.
he shovels sand.the.DAT away

According to Barðdal, these examples illustrate three different ways of using accusative or dative case. In all the cases the difference between dative and accusative seems to correspond to a difference with respect to thematic role. Example (37a) with accusative object indicates that Mary attacks John, whereas in (37b), where the object is dative, John is helped by being scratched, he is a benefactor. UTAH would predict an invisible complement related to scratch with the features [φ,uτ] in the dative case, whereas the object would be the complement of the verb in the accusative case.

With respect to the examples in (38), we see a case where Icelandic uses accusative for dead things and dative for living creatures, especially humans. Once again, a solution in terms of different positions of the dative and the accusative object lies near at hand, although Barðdal (1993:5), referring to Magnússon (1986), does not what to take this step.

Consider finally the examples in (39). In this case, Barðdal (1993) notes that the example with dative object emphasizes on the motion that the verb expresses, whereas in the example with accusative, the emphasis is merely on the action expressed by the verb. There is actually many verbs in Icelandic that refer to movement, taking the moved object in the dative. Consider such an example with the verb *kasta* 'throw':

(40) Kristján kastaði sleggjunni.
Kristján threw hammer.the.DAT

Hence, the dative in (39b) follows a well entranched pattern in Icelandic. As in (37b) and (38b), we will suggest an analysis where the dative object in (39b) is in Spec-VP with an invisible DP marked [φ,uτ] in the complement of the verb. Concerning the accusative object in (39a), this is presumably merged in the complement of the verb.

Summing up, the three cases discussed in (37) to (39) are all analyzed in the same way: the dative/accusative alternation corresponds to a thematic difference. In cases like these, there is no danger of a fatal look-ahead analysis.

4.4. Quirky Datives

In line with our analysis of quirky accusatives, we will suggest that quirky datives are DPs moved to Spec-TP due to some edge feature in T, following

Holmberg (2000). Being datives, these DPs are not probed, which means that there must be other DPs in the structure so that T and v can get rid of their uninterpretable features.

According to Holmberg (2000), the edge feature in T forces the closest element with phonological information to move to the edge of TP. Most dative arguments are first merged in Spec-VP, and as such they are closest to T when there is no subject in Spec-vP. Adverbials may interfere, however, as seen in (42) below, and it is not crystal clear according to which principles the fronting mechanism is working.

As first argued by Andrews (1976) and demonstrated by e.g. Thráinsson (1979, 462–476), Zaenen et al (1985) and Sigurðsson (1989, 204–209), Icelandic has many verbs taking dative subjects, i.e. dative arguments of the verb that meet all subject criteria except triggering agreement on the finite verb and having nominative case. Typical examples with quirky datives are passives of ditransitive verbs (41), where the dative is promoted to subject, and certain psych-verbs where the dative Experiencer is the subject (42).

(41) Stráknum voru gefnar gjafirnar.
boy.the.DAT were given.PL gifts.the.NOM

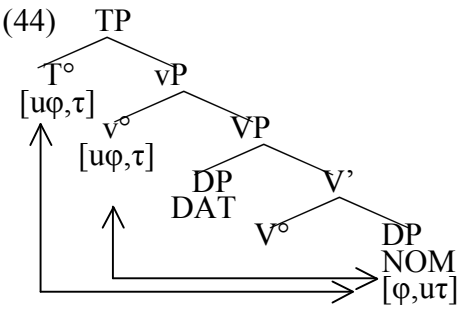
(42) Hefur þér alltaf líkað Guðmundur?
have you.DAT always liked Gudmund.NOM

In both cases there is a nominative object. A dative subject in the absence of a nominative object is e.g. found in passive of a verb like *hjálpa* ‘help’, see (34) for the active case.

(43) Henni var hjálpað.
she.DAT was helped

From the point of view of case, identical structures underlie all three cases: both v° and T° probes the nominative object (invisible DP_{HELP} in (43)), and the dative is fronted as a result of the edge feature on T. Schematically, the structure is the one given in (44):

(44)

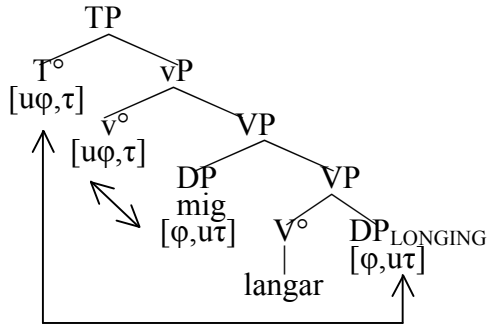


In connection with quirky datives, it is interesting to look at the so called "dative sickness", a process whereby accusative subjects change their case into dative. This phenomenon is observed and discussed by many linguists, including e.g. Svavarsdóttir (1982), Smith (1984) and Eythórsson (2000). To illustrate the phenomenon, consider the examples in (45), where (45a) has the historically appropriate quirky accusative subject, whereas (46b) has the more modern and partly substandard quirky dative subject.

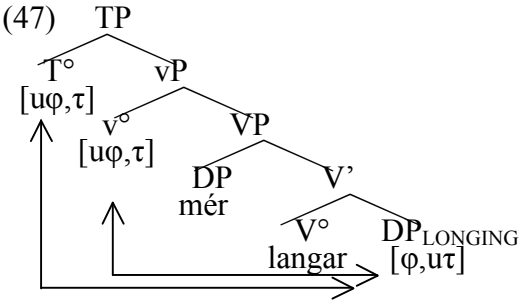
(45) a. Mig langar heim. (=22)
me.ACC long home
b. Mér langar heim.
me.DAT long home
I want to go home.

Given CAM and the structural assumptions used in this paper, the replacement of accusative subject with dative subject reflects a change from the structure given in (46) (identical to (23) above) to the structure given in (47), which is identical to the structure in (44) above.

(46)



(47)



Judging from this example, Dative Sickness can be seen as a structural adjustment of certain cases with quirky accusatives to a structure that typically underlies the more frequent cases with quirky datives.

5. Nominative Objects in ECM Constructions

In this section we will reformulate CAM, as it is presented in (17), to be able to cope with nominative objects in Icelandic ECM-constructions. The relevant phenomenon is illustrated in (48); the example is taken from Sigurðsson (2006):

(48) Við töldum henni hafa leiðst strákarnir.
we believed her.DAT have.INF found-boring boys.the.NOM

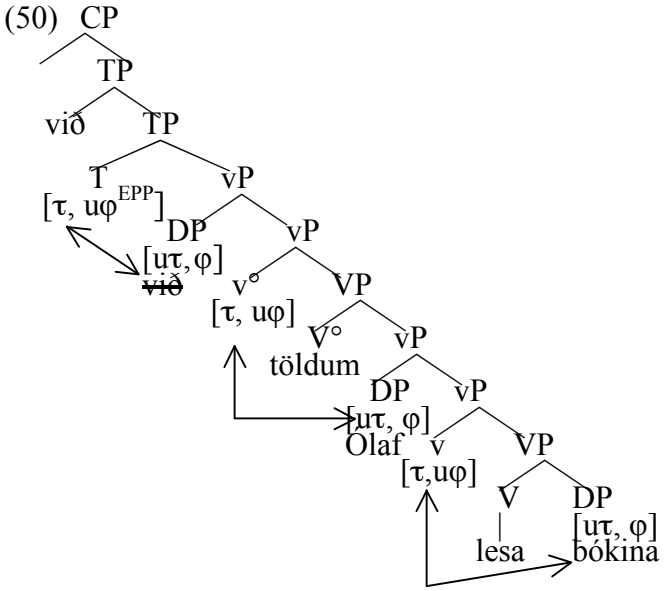
According to the formulation of CAM in (17), the nominative object *strákarnir* 'the boys' indicates the presence of a probe T in the ECM small clause; T in the matrix clause cannot be responsible for this instance of nominative case. How-

ever, if there is a T with the features [uφ,τ][11] in the ECM small clause, CAM would erroneously predict the presence of a nominative DP instead of the underlined accusative one in cases like (49):

(49) Við töldum Ólaf lesa bókina.
we believed Olaf.ACC read.INF book.the.ACC

In this case the ECM-clause corresponds to an ordinary transitive clause, where v probes the object *bókina*, spelled out as accustive according to CAM. In the corresponding finite clause, the "subject" in Spec-vP is probed by T and spelled out as nominative. Hence if the ECM small clause contains a T as well, CAM would lead us to expect that the "subject" of the ECM small clause is spelled out as nominative *Ólafur*, not as accusative *Ólaf*. The presence of an accusative here indicates that the ECM small clause does not contain any higher probe than vP, as argued for by e.g. Lundin (2003). According to such an analysis, the "subject" must be probed by the matrix v°, as indicated in (50).

(50)

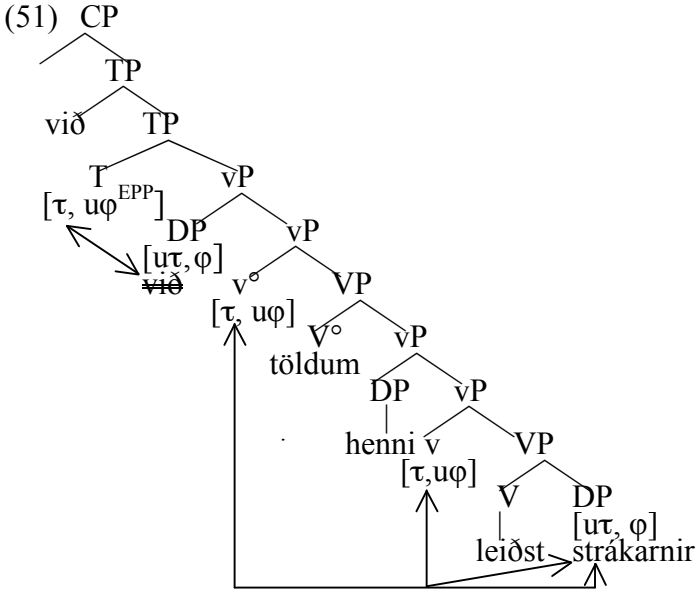


We will now return to the discussion of (48), where the ECM contains a dative subject and a nominative object. The discussion of (49)–(50) has indicated that there is no T within the ECM small clause. It follows that CAM in the form given in (17) cannot predict the fact that the object is nominative in (48). The small clause in this example corresponds to a main clause with the structure in (44) above, assuming as before that dative DPs lack relevant features. Thus, the structure of (48) is the one in (51). Just as in the finite case with nominative ob-

[11] According to Chomsky (2005), there is a deviant T but no C in the ECM small clause. However, since T according to Chomsky is assumed to inherit its features from C, it is not clear what such a deviant T may accomplish.

ject, the nominative object in the ECM-case is probed both by the local little v, and by a higher probe with the features [τ, uφ]. The difference is that this higher probe is T in the finite case, v in the ECM case.

(51)



To capture the situation in (51), we have to reformulate CAM as in (52):

(52) ***Case as Agree Marker (CAM) – final attempt***

A DP which is in an agree relation with a probe (other than T) marked [τ, uφ] is spelled out with accusative case (in languages having the nominative – accusative distinction), and a DP which is in an agree relation with T° is spelled out with nominative case. If a DP is agreeing with two probes marked [τ, uφ], it is spelled out with nominative case. Other DPs are spelled out with dative or genitive case.

The two versions of CAM, (17) and (52), differ with respect to the next to last sentence, which refers to "T and another probe marked [τ, uφ]" in (17), to "two probes marked [τ, uφ]" in (52). The reader should make sure that this rephrasing does not prevent (52) from accounting for all relevant cases that were subsumed under (17).

6. A Note on Experiencers

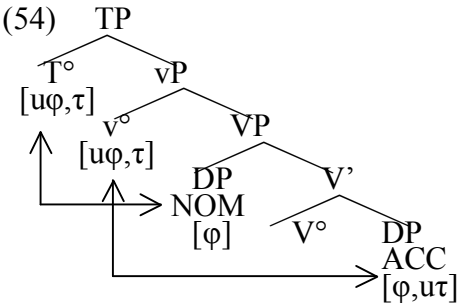
The behaviour of Experiencers has often been taken as a challenge or even refutation of UTAH, since Experiencers can be found both as subjects with theme objects, and as objects with theme subjects, as in *John fears dogs* and *Dogs frighten John*. As claimed by Belletti & Rizzi (1988), psych verbs fall into three main classes, here illustrated with Icelandic examples (Platzack 1999):

(53) a. *Nominative Experiencer, accusative Theme*
Jón elskar Maríu.
John.NOM loves Mary.ACC
b. *Nominative Theme, accusative Experiencer*
Hundarnir hræða mig.
dogs.the.NOM frighten me.ACC
c. *Nominative Theme, dative Experiencer*
Líkar þér Guðmundur? (cf. (42) above)
like you.DAT Gudmund.NOM
Do you like Gudmund?

The account developed in this paper immediately predicts the occurrence of these three classes of psych-verbs. It follows from UTAH that the Experiencer must be in Spec-VP, and in line with our discussion of dative case in section 4, dative DPs lack visible τ and φ-features.

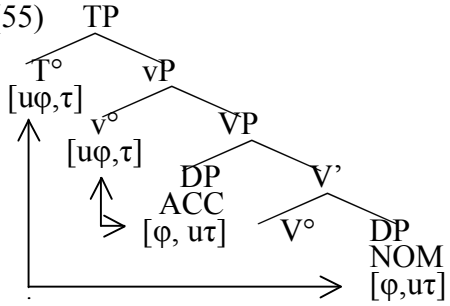
Consider first examples like (53a). Here the Experiencer is in the nominative case, hence probed by T, and the theme is accusative, hence probed by v°. To obtain this situation, the Experiencer must have a valued φ-feature, and the theme must have the features [uτ, φ]. With this distribution of features, v° will probe the theme in accordance with Starke (2001:8), see section 4.2., and T will probe the Experiencer; the edge feature of T will pick the first DP inside VP and force it to move to T (not illustrated below). The structure is outlined in (54):

(54)



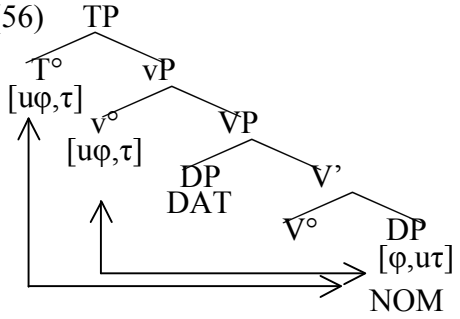
Consider next (53b), where the Experiencer is in the accusative, and the Theme (alternatively Agent) is in the nominative. In this case, both arguments have the full feature set up [φ,uτ], which according to CAM will force v° to probe the Experiencer, hence accusative, and T will probe the other argument, hence nominative. Note that two places are available for the non-Experiencer in this case: when placed in Spec-vP, it will be interpreted as an Agent-type role (the dogs frighten me on purpose), or it is placed in the complement of V, expressing a theme role. In (55) the last case is illustrated; once again we have not indicated movement to the edge of T.

(55)



Consider finally (53c), where the Experiencer is in the dative and the theme in the nominative. This distribution of case is obtained if the Experiencer lacks features visible to T, and the theme has [φ,uτ]. If so, the theme will be probed both by v° and T°, as depicted in (56):

(56)



Since the dative is the argument closest to T, it will be picked out by the edge-feature on T and promoted to (oblique) subject.

Concluding, the theory outlined here does not seem to face any problems with the main types of Experiencer constructions.

7. Summary and Conclusion

In this paper I have suggested a partly new way to look at morphological case. Inspired by Sigurðsson (2005, 2006), I see morphological case as a kind of morphological translation of syntactic structure into the language of PF. For Icelandic, the language I have investigated here, the final version of CAM, i.e. the "translation instruction" for nominative and accusative were given in (52).

The syntactic account presented here is an implementation of recent ideas within the Minimalist program (Chomsky 2001, Pesetsky & Torrego 2001, 2004a), according to which the syntactic derivation is driven by features with the help of the operation Agree. As indicated in the paper, I have used a very simple system of features, a tense feature τ that is interpretable in T and v and uninterpretable in DPs, and φ-features that are interpretable in DPs but uninterpretable in T and v. In addition, I assume UTAH (Baker 1997). Finally, in line with Hale & Keyser (2002) I assume that V always has a complement, sometimes visible but in other cases without phonological representation.

A first virtue of my account is that abstract Case can be dispensed with; as far as abstract Case is a way to determine where DPs are allowed to occur in a structure, this is replaced by the presence of an uninterpretable tense feature τ in DPs. If such a DP appears in a position where uτ cannot be eliminated, this DP cannot be licensed in that position.

A second virtue of my account is that it solves the question how abstract Case is related to morphological case: since abstract Case is eliminated, there is only one type of Case in the system.

A third virtue of my account is that the distinction between lexical and structural accusative is eliminated: both types can be described in terms of CAM.

A forth virtue of my account is that it enables me to show that neither Burzio's generalization nor Sigurðsson's Sibling correlation are necessary parts of syntax. Both attempt to account for an apparent asymmetry between nominative and accusative case (in Burzio's case, nominative is replaced by the external role). In my account, this asymmetry is not a property of case per se, but a reflex of the fact that T is a higher probe than v, hence it follows automatically from my structural assumptions.

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