Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali- QULSO
Working papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies

Firenze University Press
https://oajournals.fupress.net/index.php/bsfm-qulso

Citation: M Moreno Marchis, L. Franco (2020) Intervention in agreement and case assignment: the role of doubling. *Qulso* 6: pp. 125-159. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/QULSO-2421-7220-9696

Data Availability Statement: All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

Competing Interests: The Author(s) declare(s) no conflict of interest.

Intervention in agreement and case assignment: the role of doubling

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Abstract:

In this paper we will show that there are two types of languages which involve different mechanisms in obviating Minimality Violations/Defective Intervention and Case opacity: Agreement languages of Punjabi/Icelandic-type with default agreement and Movement languages of Romanian/Spanish-type with phi-feature movement in form of cliticization. On the basis of rich empirical data we show that Case Opacity represents a case of defective intervention in agreement as the features of the phases introducing the oblique arguments block the agreement with the verb. Potential counterexamples can be accounted for by assuming that (oblique) clitics, in some languages, do not always move to T, so that the phi-features of the arguments they introduce still intervene and give rise to default agreement (as in Vafsi and some other Western Iranian varieties). Our approach has theoretical implications for the theory of case, cliticization and linear order.

Keywords: *applicative, clitic doubling, defective intervention, Indo-Iranian, romance*

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of intervention is a core topic of investigation in the recent minimalist literature starting with Chomsky (2000). The basic mechanism of intervention is that a finite T seeks a matching NP to agree, like in languages with subjects *in situ* for instance, or to attract like in languages with a strict SVO word order, but some other NP intervenes either in the agreement or the movement of a DP to a T. Dative/oblique DPs/PPs, for example, are interveners blocking subject-to-subject movement (see McGinnis 1998 for French, Torrego 1998 for Spanish, Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003 for Icelandic, Rizzi 1986, Boeckx 2008 for Italian).

(1) *Jean a semblé à Maria avoir du talent *French*
Jean has seemed to Mary to.have of talent
'Jean seemed to Mary to have talent.'

(2) *Gianni sembra a Piero fare il suo dovere *Italian*
Gianni seems to Piero to.do the his duty
'Gianni seems to Piero to do his duty.' (McGinnis 1998: 93)

According to Chomsky (2000) and Preminger (2008), defective intervention in agreement might trigger default agreement in languages such as Icelandic, as shown in (3) (see Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003).

(3) a. það finnst(/*finnast) [mörgum stúdentum] *Icelandic*
EXPL find.SG/*find.PL many students.PL.DAT
[$_{SC}$ tölvan ljótar].
the.computer.SG.NOM ugly
'Many students find the computer ugly.'

b. það finnst(/*finnast) [einhverjum stúdent]
EXPL find.SG/*find.PL some stúdent.SG.DAT
[$_{SC}$ tölvurnar ljótar]
the.computers.PL.NOM ugly
'Some student finds the computers ugly.' (Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003: 1000)

Yet, there are some languages that seem to obviate defective intervention: Romanian and Spanish are interesting with respect to intervention because in these languages the clitics of the experiencers do not seem to intervene (see also Marchis and Petersen 2014). Indeed, contrary to what was reported in Torrego (2002), most of our informants considered grammatical the raising construction with experiencer clitics in (4):[1]

(4) a. Ese taxista me parece estar cansado. *Spanish*
That taxi-driver CL.1SG seems to.be tired
'That taxi-driver seems to me to be tired.'

b. Taximetristul acela îmi pare să fie/a fi obosit *Romanian*
Taxi-driver.the that CL.1SG seems SUBJ be/to be tired
'That taxi-driver seems to me to be tired.'

Nonetheless, in this paper, we will show that not only an experiencer oblique DP causes defective intervention and, hence, default agreement like in Icelandic but also the oblique case of the arguments. Specifically, two apparently independent phenomena such as defective intervention and case opacity trigger the same surface results across languages, namely default agreement. This is precisely what happens in many Indo-Iranian languages with 'exotic' double oblique patterns and related alignment variants (cf. Malchukov 2008; Comrie 2013; Haig 2008, for a typological survey). Consider the Punjabi examples in (5), adapted from Manzini, Savoia and Franco (2015).

[1] Also Italian allows raising constructions with experiencer/dative clitics, as in (i):

(i) Quel tassista mi/ti/gli pare (essere) intelligente *Italian*
'That taxi-driver seems to me/you/him to be smart.'

(5) a. muɳɖ-e-ne roʈʈ-i khadd-i *Punjabi*
boy-OBL.M.SG-ERG bread-F.SG eat.PRF-F.SG
'The boy ate some bread.'

b. kuɾ-i-ne roʈʈ-i-nu khadd-a
girl-F.SG-ERG bread-FSG-OBL eat.PRF-MSG(default)
'The boy ate the bread'

c. muɳɖ-e dərvaddʒ-a khol-d-e
boy-ABS.M.PL door-abs.M.SG open-PROG-M.PL
'the boy/boys is/are opening the/a door' (Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015)

Under a Tense/Aspect/Mood (TAM) based ergativity split (cf. Coon 2013 for a recent theoretically informed typological survey on the topic), in the Punjabi perfect the external argument of a transitive verb displays the ergative case *-ne*, while the verb, which is a perfect participle, agrees with the (absolutive) internal argument, as in (5a). When in the perfective a specific/definite internal argument bears the DOM case/postposition *–nu*, the DOM object does not agree with the perfect participle, which shows up in the default masculine singular, as illustrated in (5b). Namely, the agreement with the internal argument is blocked when it bears a DOM/dative inflection.[2] In the imperfective, as in (5c), Punjabi displays a canonical nominative-accusative alignment.

Interestingly, there are also Indo-Iranian languages which may display a sort of agreement-like pattern in which objects agree with oblique (ergative) inflected arguments via (fronted) oblique clitics matching the phi-features of those arguments (e.g. experiencers in all TAM, agents in the perfective), as shown with the Vafsi (a Northwest Iranian language spoken ca. 200kms Southwest of Tehran) examples in (6a,b), taken from Stilo (2009: 707). In these cases the verb shows up with a default inflection. With transitive imperfectives, as in (6c) alignment is nominative-accusative and the verb agrees with the external argument.

(6) a. tini_i kelj-i-s_i bæ-girætæ. *Vafsi*
he.OBL girl-DOM.F-CL.OBL.3SG PFV-took(default)
'He married/took that girl.'

b. taemen_i ane-m_i ær-gó
I.OBL that.PL-CL.OBL.1SG DUR-like(default)
'I like that'

c. az_i in leyle-y æt-æsbir-om_i o esdæ
I.DIR this boy-DOM DUR-entrust-CL.DIR.1SG to you.OBL
'I am entrusting this boy to you.'

Vafsi allows double oblique alignment in perfective sentences, as represented in (6a). In such cases the object bears a DOM oblique inflection. The pattern of agreement displays an

[2] In this paper, we follow Manzini and Franco (2016) in assuming that there is a syntactic category Dative coinciding with the morphological one and encompassing both thematic (goal) and DOM Dative in Indo-European languages. In Punjabi, as in many other languages, the same *–nu* inflection lexicalizes both DOM and Goal datives, as shown in (i).

(i) tu: kəmidʒə o-nu pe:dʒ-d-a/-i a
you.ABS(M/F) shirt.ABS-FSG he-OBL send-PROGR-MSG/-FSG be.PRES
'You are sending a shirt to him.'

oblique clitic doubling the phi-features of the (oblique/ergative) external argument and the verb surfacing with a default/expletive inflection. Another example of this kind of alignment pattern is provided in (7), where it is also possible to see that DOM exponence is sensitive to gender (*-i* for the feminine, *e-* for the masculine).

(7) luas-i kærg-e-s bæ-værdæ *Vafsi*
fox-OBL chicken-DOM.M-CL.OBL.3SG. PFV-take.PST(default)
'The fox took the chicken.' (Stilo 2004; cf. Arkadiev 2009: 156)

Nonetheless, also in Iranian, as in Indo-Aryan, there are varieties that display double oblique alignment, without the presence of oblique pronominal clitics doubling the features of the external argument (e.g. in some Northern Kurdish varieties, cf. Baker and Atlamaz 2013, Karimi 2013, Matras 1997, Haig 2008). In such cases agreement is usually set to *default* just like in the Punjabi examples given in (5), as shown in the Kurmanji Kurdish examples below, taken from Matras (1997).[3]

(8) a. min te dit *Kurmanji Kurdish*
I.OBL you.OBL saw(default)
'I saw you.'
b. te min dit
you.OBL I.OBL saw(default)
'You saw me.'
c. min ewana dit
I.OBL they.OBL saw(default)
'I saw them'
d. ewana min dit
they.OBL I.OBL saw(default)
'They saw me.'

So, one of the main questions to answer in this paper is what triggers default agreement and what the doubling strategy is.

1.1 The Aim of the paper

Our research question is to find an answer why some languages are sensitive to defective intervention and/or oblique cases while others not. On the basis of rich empirical data we show that Case Opacity, as defined below in this paragraph, represents a case of defective intervention in agreement as the features of the phases introducing the oblique arguments block the agreement with the verb. Typologically, there are two types of languages, which involve different mechanisms in obviating defective intervention/Case Opacity: Agreement languages of Punjabi/Icelandic-type with default agreement and Movement languages of Romanian/Spanish-type with phi-feature movement in form of cliticization.

[3] Dorleijn (1996) argues for instance that the double oblique alignment illustrated in (8) is the predominant pattern for Kurdish spoken in the Diyarbakir regions.

Following current theoretical assumptions, we argue that the pattern of (default) verbal agreement in Indo-Iranian languages follows from a general constraint. In many languages, it is not possible to agree in phi-features with a DP that bears inherent case, or case assigned with a theta-role (Chomsky 1986: 193). Rezac (2008: 83) precisely labels this constraint *Case Opacity* (cf. also Preminger 2011; Toosarvandani and Van Urk 2012). We argue that Indo-Iranian oblique/ergative subjects are embedded under a PP/KP phase domain just like DOM/dative arguments (see Manzini and Franco 2016; Boeckx 2007; Gallego 2010: 71; Karimi 2011, among others, cf. fn. 2) that introduces a barrier that makes the DP inside invisible to agreement outside the PP/KP. When both the subject and the object bear oblique case in type 1 **agreement** languages, then – given that the T probes downward without finding accessible goals – the agreement on the verb is set to default just like in the cases with defective intervention in Icelandic. Preminger (2014) recently highlights the importance of default inflections for a theory of agreement. He basically argues that standard minimalist (un)interpretability should be abandoned in favour of mere valuation of features. Lack of valuation by a given goal does not lead to the crashing of the derivation but to mechanical assignment of default values to the probe. When an inflectional head does not find an accessible target – for instance in the double oblique structures exemplified above for Punjabi perfects in (5b) the derivation does not crash; rather the morpho-syntax insures that the relevant inflection surfaces in the default form.

Hence, the default agreement in e.g. Punjabi in (5) and Kurdish in (8) is basically due to Case Opacity. We assume that Case Opacity represents a case of defective intervention in agreement as the features introducing the oblique arguments block the agreement with the verb. Crucially, in line with Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2007), Preminger (2008) and Marchis and Alexiadou (2013) we assume that some languages such as Greek, Romanian, Basque, Spanish develop a special mechanism to obviate defective intervention such as phi-features matching by clitic doubling and, hence, they do not display default agreement. In more specific terms, one possible way to go is to assume that when the Vocabulary Insertion takes place, the Subset Principle (Halle 1997) imposes that the spell-out element must match at least a subset of the features specified for that position. Hence, the insertion of default agreement on the verb in Icelandic and Punjabi is a case of underspecification due to defective intervention/Case Opacity and it takes place post-syntactically as the result of failed Agree in the syntax (cf. Chomsky 2000; Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003; Preminger 2011). Clitics, however, are the result of Move and they are syntactic objects fully specified for phi-features that obviate defective intervention. This is precisely the mechanism available in type 2 languages: **movement** languages. In line with Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2007) Pylkkänen (2008), Demonte (1995), Marchis and Alexiadou (2013), we will assume that clitics realize the Applicative head, which possibly triggers an inclusion relation of sort (cf. Marchis and Alexiadou 2013, Manzini and Franco 2016). Furthermore, we will also try to account for the puzzling behaviour of those Iranian languages (of the type of Vafsi), which display oblique clitic matching and still surface with default agreement. Last but not least, we show in line with Chomsky (2000) and Boeckx and Gallego (2008) that both Move *vs*. Agree are sensitive to the Minimal Link Constraint and are regulated by a phase-based locality condition (the Phase Impenetrability Condition).

2. Defective Intervention

The general explanation for defective intervention follows from a Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995: 311) or a Relativized Minimality (RM) (Rizzi 1990) violation: an element α may enter into a relation with an element β if there is no γ that meets the requirement(s) of α and γ c-commands β (9). The illicit relation is sketched in (10).

(9) [α ... [... γ ...[... β ...]]] (γ c-commands β and α c-commands γ)

(10) [$_{TP}$ the students seem [$_{DP}$ to-the teacher] [$_{CP}$ that [$_{TP}$ ~~the students~~ studied for the test]]

If Romance [*a* DP] experiencers are not PPs but are DPs with *a* considered to be actually a morphological realization of inherent (oblique) Case (cf. Torrego 1998, 2002) experiencers DPs should block A-movement. But why do we have then variation within Romance languages? If we look closer to languages that allow agreement with oblique cases and obviate defective intervention, we realize that those languages that seem to violate Case Opacity and Minimal Link Constraint/Relativized Minimality, have an additional mechanism to save the derivation, namely cliticization.

The oblique agreement in Basque has been identified by Preminger (2011) also as a case of clitic doubling that obviates defective intervention just like in Romanian, Greek and Spanish (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2007; Marchis and Alexiadou 2013; Marchis and Petersen 2014). Anagnostopoulou (2003) points out that in Greek, cliticization of indirect objects systematically licenses A-movement of themes, an operation that is blocked in the absence of clitics in (11) due to the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) violation. However, note that the cliticization of the genitive object in (11b) is not obligatory in active constructions:[4]

(11) a. [To vivlio]$_i$ *(tis) charistike ti Marias t$_i$apo ton Petro. *Greek*
The book CL.GEN awarded the Mary.GEN from the Peter.
'The book was awarded to Mary by Peter.'

b. O Gianis to edhose tis Marias.
Gianis CL.ACC gave.3SG the Mary.GEN
'John have introduced her to Mary.'

In (11) when the indirect object clitic is realized in preverbal position, movement of the DP *to vivlio* is allowed as the intervening features of the indirect object have been removed through cliticization. Unlike in Greek dative/oblique DPs/PPs in other languages block subject-to-subject movement, as shown in (1), repeated below in (12) for ease of reference.

(12) a. *Jean a semblé à Maria avoir du talent *French*
Jean has seemed to Mary to.have of talent
'Jean seemed to Mary to have talent.'

b. *Gianni sembra a Piero fare il suo dovere *Italian*
Gianni seems to Piero to.do the his duty
'Gianni seems to Piero to do his duty.' (McGinnis 1998: 93)

Analogically, Marchis and Petersen (2014) show that in Brazilian Portuguese the A-movement of the subject is not possible when there is a full experiencer DP (cf. (13a)). The sentence is fine, however, with clitic experiencers (13b) (cf. also fn.1 for analogous facts from Italian).

[4] In contrast to Greek, Romanian does not obligatorily need a clitic in passives with datives as Marchis (to appear) shows that ditransitive constructions in Romanian are ambiguous between double object constructions (where the clitic realizes the appl head) and prepositional constructions (without cliticization).

(13) a. *Os alunos parecem *pro* professor que estudaram para a prova *Br. Port.*
the students seem.3PL [to the teacher]$_{EXP}$ that studied.3PL for the exam
b. Os alunos me parecem que estão cansados.
the students CL.DAT.1SG seem.3PL that are tired
'The students seem to me to be tired.'

To sum up, we have illustrated so far that defective intervention can trigger either default agreement like in Icelandic, ungrammaticality like in French or clitic doubling like in Greek, Romanian and Spanish. As follows, we regard another type of intervention, e.g. Case Opacity, also triggered by oblique arguments.

3. Case Opacity

3.1 (Double) obliques and morphological default agreement in Indo-Iranian

In this section (focussing on Indo-Iranian varieties),[5] we show that oblique arguments trigger patterns of default agreement as expected in case of (defective) intervention. Many Indo-Iranian languages, in particular, display a double oblique alignment pattern in perfective transitive sentences. We have already seen some examples from Punjabi (5), Vafsi (6-7) and Northern Kurdish varieties (8). The term double oblique has been restricted in the typological literature (Malchukov 2008; Stroński 2009; Phillips 2012; Comrie 2013) to those languages displaying the same (oblique) inflection for both the agent and the (highly ranked in animacy/definiteness/specificity) patient/theme. Examples from Indo-Aryan micro-variation include Rajastani varieties, such as Bangru (14) (cf. Stronsky 2009; Manzini and Franco 2016). The doubled *ne* inflection below is indeed the all-purpose oblique inflection in these languages, encompassing ergative, DOM and (proper) dative morphology.

(14) bɑbbu-nɛ̃ ʧʰore-nɛ̃ gʰəəɳɑ piʈʈɑ *Bangru*
father-ERG son-DOM very much beat.PRF(default)
'The father beat the son very much.' (Khaṇḍelval 1980: 220; cf. Stronski 2009)

Nevertheless, once we assume that DOM object bears an inherent case (Manzini and Franco 2016; cf. Ormazabal and Romero 2013), also examples from Hindi can be reduced to the same pattern of Bangru, with two (differently shaped/context sensitive) inherent cases blocking agreement and the verb which shows up as a default form, normally corresponding to an 'expletive' 3rd person singular/a perfect participle (cf. Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015). Just consider an example from Hindi (15), where the external argument bears the ergative inflection *ne* and the internal argument the DOM/dative inflection *ko*.

[5] Another language family that displays Case Opacity and, hence, default agreement is Slavic. For instance, in Polish, there is subject-verb agreement in person, number and gender with subject quantified by lower numerals (less than 5), while phrases with higher numerals and numeral quantifiers exceptionally force default agreement (3.sg, Neut). Interestingly, higher numerals that subcategorize oblique/genitive case are good candidates as elements triggering defective intervention in terms of Case Opacity. Due to space reasons, we do not present Slavic data and their analysis, as this is part of our forthcoming work.

(15) sita-ne radha-ko piti-a *Hindi*
sita.F.SG-ERG radha.F.SG-DOM hit-PRF-M.SG (default)
'Sita hit Radha.'

In (15) both the ergative subject and the DOM object are feminine, but the verb bears a default masculine inflection. In the Hindi perfective agreement is consistently with the (unmarked) patient/theme internal argument. Evidence that the *ko* morpheme lexicalizing DOM objects is hosted by an oblique argument is given by the fact that the same ending *ko* appears on recipients/goals in ditransitives (16a), and on experiencer subjects of psych verbs (16b) (cf. Butt and Ahmed 2011; Butt and King 2004; Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996).

(16) a. anjum-ne saddaf-ko ciT'Thii dii *recipient*
Anjum.F.SG-ERG Saddaf.F.SG-KO letter.F.SG give.PERF.F.SG
'Anjum gave the letter to Saddaf.'
b. omair-ko iinaam milaa *experiencer*
Omair.M.SG-KO prize.M.SG touch.PERF.M.SG
'Omair got the prize.' (Ahmed 2006: 3-4)

In our characterization of the Hindi ergative morpheme *ne* assigned to the agent in the examples above, we assume – following a quite standard picture – that, at least in Indo-Iranian languages considered here, it is an inherent/oblique case (Woolford 1997, 2006; Legate 2008; Coon 2013; Karimi 2013; Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015).

At this regard, striking empirical evidence comes from the cognate language Punjabi (cf. (5)) above. In this language a subset of masculine nouns present the inflection *–a* in the absolutive form singular (17a), while *-e* inflects the absolute form plural, but also the oblique (non-absolute) singular, as in (17b); the oblique plural is *-ea* as in (17c). The *-ne* ergative suffix attaches not to the absolutive stem, but to the oblique-inflected stem, exactly like the *-nu* suffix (dative, DOM, cf. (5) above) and the *-de* suffix (genitive) – as exemplified in (17d–f) taken from Manzini, Savoia and Franco (2015). Morphologically, the paradigm in (17) leaves little doubt that absolutive forms, endowed with a specialized stem inflection, and not followed by any case postposition, are set apart from other forms, bearing a different stem inflection and followed by a (inherent) case postposition.

(17) a. muɳḍ- a *Punjabi*
boy- M.SG.ABS
b. muɳḍ- e
boy- M.SG.OBL/M.PL.ABS
c. muɳḍ- ea
boy- MPL.OBL
d. muɳḍ- e- nu
boy- M.SG.OBL- OBL
e. muɳḍ- e- de
boy- M.SG.OBL- GEN
f. muɳḍ- e- ne
boy- M.SG.OBL- ERG (Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015: 312)

The same double oblique pattern illustrated above for Indo-Aryan is widespread among Iranian languages (Comrie 2013). Indeed, many Iranian languages (though not Persian) are characterized by the same contrast between a nominative alignment in the imperfective and an ergative alignment in the perfect. Consider the Zazaki (North-Western Iranian) examples below, taken from Toosarvandani and Van Urk 2012, cf. Franco, Manzini and Savoia 2015).

(18) a. Kutik-i ez guret-a *Zazaki*
dog(M)-OBL.M.SG 1SG.DIR bite.PST-1SG
'The dog bit me.'

b. Ez layik-i vinen-a
1sg.dir boy(m)-obl.m.sg see.prs-1sg
'I see the boy.'

In Zazaki DOM/oblique inflections do not ever surface in the past/perfective, allowing the internal argument to agree with the verb in such contexts. In some Iranian languages, however, the internal argument bearing DOM dative/oblique case inflection is not sensitive to the ergative alignment in the perfect (namely it shows up in all TAMs). This precisely leads to a double oblique alignment pattern, where languages are often reported to use a 'fossilised' 3rd person singular agreement morpheme (default/expletive) in the perfect. Consider the Masali (Western Iranian) and Roshani (Eastern Iranian) examples in (19)-(20) that illustrate this pattern (cf. also the Northern Kurdish examples reported in (8)).

(19) a. xərdan-i asb-un vel â-du-a *Mâsâli*
child-OBL.SG horse-OBL.PL loose ALL-give.PST-DEFAULT
'The child let the horses go.'

b. xərdan-un asb-i vel â-du-a
child-OBL.PL horse-OBL loose ALL-give.PST-DEFAULT
'The children let the horse go.' (De Caro 2008: 5)

(20) mu tā wunt *Roshani*
I.OBL you.OBL see.PST (default)
'I saw you.' (Payne 1980: 154)

Hence, default agreement is a widespread device when double oblique patterns arise in Iranian as in Indo-Aryan. Nevertheless, there is another pattern, to our knowledge previously unexplored in formal literature (with the sole exception of Karimi 2013) that deserves to be illustrated in what follows. Some Iranian languages display a system in which default agreement is accompanied by a clitic doubling strategy, namely by obligatorily cross-referencing the oblique subject with an oblique pronominal clitic, usually a floating clitic which may be attached in front of the verb (less frequently) but also to other hosts in the clause (more frequently). We will illustrate here the case of Vafsi, based on the detailed account of Stilo (2004, 2010) and Sorani Kurdish, based on our primary data (reported also in Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015).

3.2 Vafsi oblique doubling

Vafsi belongs to the Tatic family of Northwest Iranian and has been extensively documented in Stilo (2004, 2009, 2010). As shown in (21), Vafsi is characterized by a TAM split in case

assignment. More precisely, Vafsi alignment is characterized by three factors: (i) a TAM-based split ergativity (21a vs. b,c,d) (and its 'Double Oblique' variant), (ii) the presence of a DOM pattern insensitive to the alignment split (again 21a vs. b,c,d), (iii) doubling of core arguments with two different sets of (direct vs. oblique) clitics, with the oblique ones characterized by an accentuated mobility (Stilo 2010). Note that in a ditransitive structure (21d) all the arguments in the past/perfective may turn out to be expressed as obliques/with oblique inflections.

(21) a. tæ in xær-i næ-ruš-i *Vafsi*
you 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)-CL.3PL.OBL DUR-sell.PST(default)
'These wise guys were selling a donkey.'

c. luas-i kærg-e-s bæ-værdæ
fox-OBL chicken-OBL-CL.3SG.OBL PFV-take.PST(default)
'The fox took the chicken.'

d. taemen kell-i-m hà-da hæsaen-i
I.OBL daughter-OBL.F-CL.1SG-OBL PVB-gave(default) Hassan.OBL.M
'I gave my daughter to Hassan.' (Stilo 2004: 243-244, 2010: 263)

In (21a) the definite internal argument is marked with a DOM/oblique (cf. (21d)), and agreement is with the (unmarked/direct) external argument. (21b) shows an ergative-like construction, involving an indefinite internal argument in the direct case and an external argument in the dative/oblique case. (21c) repeating (7) for ease of reference shows a double oblique pattern in which both external argument and the DOM internal argument are marked with the dative/oblique in the perfect. In both (21b) and (21c) the verb is set to default and an oblique clitic matching the phi-features of the external argument shows up. The double object construction in (21d) basically shows the same pattern of (21c).

Regarding the clitic doubling of core arguments, note that in Vafsi there are two clitic series represented in Table 1, from Stilo (2010: 244).

			Set$_1$		Set$_2$	
Person/ Number	Direct Case	Oblique Case	Suffix	Enclitic (Copula)	Enclitic	Prefix
1st sg	æz	tæ-mén	-om(e)	=im(e)	=om	im-
2nd sg	tæ	es-dáe	-i	=i	=i	i-
3rd sg	an, in	t-an-í, t-in-í	-e (comm. gender)	=e (m.) =oæ (f.)	=es	is-
1st pl	awán	t-awán	-ám(e)	=ám(e)	=oan	oan-
2nd pl	soán	soán	-a	=a	=ian	ian-
3rd pl	án-e, ín-e	t-an-án, t-in-án	-énd(e)	=énd(e)	=esan	isan-
'who'	ke	te-gé				

Table 1. Pronouns in Vafsi

Vafsi (contra e.g. standard Persian) is an Iranian language, which preserves both gender (masculine vs. feminine) and case (direct vs. oblique). Arguments, as we have seen in the discussion that precedes, are normally co-indexed by two sets (labelled Set 1-2, in the table) of clitics in the verbal domain. Their rough distribution is illustrated in the examples in (22).

(22) a. isan-ær-vend-am *Vafsi*
3PL.OBL-DUR-find-1PL.DIR
'We will find them.'
b. isan-ær-venda-yam
3PL.OBL-DUR-find.PERF-1PL.DIR
'They used to find us.'

(22) precisely illustrates an ergative split of sort. As argued in Stilo (2010: 248) "the flip-flop of functions" of direct and oblique clitics between the present and past tenses is a reflection of the TAM split between (fully canonical) Nominative-Accusative alignment in the present tenses *vs*. Ergative alignment in the past tenses in DP case marking.

Oblique clitics (so called Set 2) co-index salient patients/themes in the present and direct clitics (so called Set 1) co-index non-salient (inanimate/unspecific) patients in the past. The mirror pattern is available with the external argument. It is obligatory matched by a direct clitic (agreement marker) in the present and by an oblique clitic in the past. In this latter case the verb invariantly shows up as a default form.[6] Experiencers, as already illustrated in (6) are matched in phi-features by an oblique clitic form in all tenses and the verbal element is again set to default. DOM is available independently of the presence of the oblique subject clitic, as shown with the minimal pairs below illustrating an ergative-like pattern (23a) and a double oblique alignment (23b), respectively. Namely, the host noun/pronoun can be in the direct or oblique case forms.[7]

(23) a. tæmen æsbǽ-m bǽ-diæ *Vafsi*
I.OBL dog.DIR-CL.1SG.OBL PFV-saw(default)
'I saw a dog.'

[6] Yarshater (2003) shows that other Tatic varieties (e.g. Xo'ini) share the basic pattern of Vafsi, as described in this section.

[7] On the contrary consider the Central Kurdish variety of Mukiryāni illustrated in Karimi (2013). Here object DPs are case marked by a suffix –i, distinguishing them from the bare subject DPs in imperfective clauses.

(i) Mindāl-ak-ān kiteb-i da-xwen-in
boy-DEF-PL book-OBL IMPRF-study-3.PL.NOM
'The boys are reading a book.'

However, in the past transitive structures, the presence of the case-marker –i on the direct object DP gives rise to ungrammaticality. In the past transitive construction, the object DP appears in its bare form which is nominative. The contrast is significant because it shows that the oblique inflection (+/- optionally) appearing on the internal argument can be sensitive to the TAM based shift of alignment (cf. also the data from Zazaki in (22). The pattern in the Mukiryāni perfective replicates Vafsi with an oblique clitic co-indexing the oblique external argument and default inflection on the verb:

(ii) Mindāl-ak-ān kiteb-yān/*kiteb-i-yān xwend
Boy-DEF-PL book-3.PL.DAT/*book-ACC-3.PL.DAT read.PST
'The boys read a book.'

b. tæmen æsbǽ-y-m bǽ-diæ
I.OBL dog-DOM(OBL)-CL.1SG.OBL PFV-saw(default)
'I saw the dog.'

Further consider that oblique clitics are fronted and attached to a noun, pronoun, adverb or PP within the VP while direct clitics are invariantly suffixed.

(24) a. hæzíri tani-m bǽ-diæ *Vafsi*
yesterday he.OBL-CL.OBL.1SG PFV-saw.default
b. tani hæzíri-m bǽ-diæ
he.OBL yesterday-CL.OBL.1SG PFV-saw.default
'I saw him yesterday.'

Also unergatives in the perfective present the same doubling effect and the external argument is co-indexed by an oblique clitic, as in (25).

(25) Tani há-s kærd *Vafsi*
He.OBL run-CL.3SG.OBL do.PST(default)
'He ran away'

In contrast, perfective unaccusatives display direct enclitics (i.e. agreement), as in (26). Interestingly similar contrasts can be observed in other Indo-Iranian languages.[8]

(26) bæ-ss-e yey xær ha-gir-e
PFV-went-3SG.DIR one donkey(DIR) PVB-take-3SG
'He went to buy a donkey.' (Stilo 2004: 243; cf. Arkadiev 2008: 155)

Finally note that in Vafsi there exists also one particular, textually quite rare construction, termed by Stilo the "OSV Ergative"- construction represented below.

(27) æz æhmæd-i yédieym
1SG.DIR ahmed-OBL see.PST.1SG
'Ahmed saw me.'

In this case, the external argument bears the oblique case, but it is not doubled by an oblique clitic and the verb agrees with the internal argument (showing up as direct enclitic/ set1 inflection).

Let's turn now to consider with primary data the case of Sorani Kurdish, a language showing ergativity splits (and double oblique) without overt case marking on full arguments.

[8] In Punjabi, for instance, unaccusative verbs in the perfective take their sole (internal) arguments in the absolutive form and agree with them. By contrast, with unergatives, the sole argument of the predicate is the external argument introduced by ergative case and the perfect turns up in an invariable, non-agreeing form (cf. Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015).

3.3 Sorani Kurdish: caseless DP – oblique clitics

In Sorani Kurdish (Thackston 2006, cf. Dabir-Moghaddam 2012, Karimi 2013, Manzini, Savoia and Franco 2015, from which the following discussion is based) lexical DPs and pronouns lack case inflections. Nevertheless, an ergativity split of sort is still present in this variety and it is associated with the agreement inflections hosted by the verb and in the clitic system. The latter have a distinctive morphological shape (*-m/-t/-i/-man/-yan/-tan*) that matches that of possessive clitics within DPs, as illustrated in (28). Based on their occurrence in (28) we can call these forms oblique clitics.[9]

(28) ktjeb-akæ-i/-m/-n (M)
book-DEF-3SG/-1SG/-3PL
'his/her/ my/ their-book'

In the imperfective, the verb inflection agrees with the external argument of transitives, as in (29a-c) and with the sole argument of intransitives, as in (29d). The oblique clitics in (29a-c) pick up the internal argument of transitives. In (29) the oblique clitic seems to be placed immediately to the left of the verb stem, where it is preceded by the *a-/e-* aspectual morphology. In (29c) we may also observe a *–t* clitic after a preposition, which is consistent with its oblique status.

(29) a. kor-ak-æ a-i/-m/-t bin-et (M)
boy-DEF-LNK PROGR-3SG.OBL/-1SG.OBL/-2SG.OBL see-3SG
'The boy sees him/me/you.'

b. ema e-i/ a-t ʃor-in (S)
we PROGR-3SG/PROGR-2SG wash-1PL
'We are washing it/you'

c. mən e-i a-m pe:-t (ɔu krasa) (S)
I PROGR-3SG give-1SG to-2SG the shirt
'I am giving it to you (the shirt)'

d. korakɛ a-χɛw-et (M)
the boy PROGR-sleep-3SG
'the boy is sleeping.'

Thus, in the imperfective Sorani shows a canonical nominative-accusative pattern. In the perfective, on the contrary, oblique clitics lexicalize the external argument of transitives, as in (30a-c), revealing the existence in Sorani of an ergative alignment parallel to that of Vafsi.[10] As expected, the verb inflection agrees with the internal argument of transitives, as for instance in (30c), or with the sole argument of intransitives, as in (30e). Distributionally, the clitic appears before the verb stem, matching again the behaviour of Vafsi; the oblique clitic attaches to the closest argument, in (30a-b). There also appears to be a descriptive constraint against sentence-initial clitics or clitics attaching to the subject, forcing the clitic to follow the verb in (30c).

[9] The labels (M) and (S) specify the data from our Mariwan informant and those from our Sanandaj one, respectively.

[10] Karimi (2013), precisely working within an Appl framework, argues that the oblique clitic of the perfect corresponds to a high Appl head (cf. section 4.1).

(30) a. du ʒəd-du bini (M)
two woman -CL.OBL.1SG see.PERF(default)
'I saw two women.'

b. to qalam-aka-t grt(-ue) (M)
you pen-DEF-CL.OBL.2SG take.PERF-(3sg)
'You took the pen.'

c. mən da-m pe:-t a'ma (S)
I give.PERF-CL.OBL.1SG to-CL.OBL.2SG this
'I gave you this.'

d. hat-i (M)
come.PERF-2SG
'You came.'

e. korakɛ χaut (M)
boy sleep.PERF.3SG
'The boy slept.'

A further pattern emerges in transitive perfects, for our Sanandaj speaker, involving two oblique clitics, as in (31), one picking up the internal argument and the other the external argument. The realization of two obliques, one for the internal argument and one for the external one, creates again a double oblique structure. In clusters of two object clitics, the internal argument clitic always precedes the external argument clitics (i.e. it is lower than it, according to a mirror analysis à *la* Baker 1988).[11]

(31) a. ema di- t-man (S)
we see.PERF 2SG 1PL
'We saw you.'

b. ema na- t- man- di (S)
we NEG 2SG 1PL see.PRF(default)
'We did not see you.'

4. A unified analysis of default agreement and clitic doubling

On the basis of our data, languages seem to involve two types of mechanisms in obviating defective intervention/Case Opacity: **default agreement** and/or **clitic doubling.** If defective intervention and Case Opacity trigger a similar syntactic behaviour, then they might involve one and the same phenomenon. But how can we provide a unified analysis to Case Opacity and Defective Intervention?

Case Opacity represents a case of defective intervention in agreement as the phases introducing the oblique arguments block the agreement with the verb. Following Toosarvandani and Van Urk (2012), Pesetsky (2013), among others (cf. Citko 2014), we assume that prepositions (P) (and their inflectional/templatic counterparts in the verbal domain, namely applicatives (Appl), cf. Pylkkänen 2008) may introduce a phase boundary. Whenever such condition is realized, the DP embedded within the P/K phase is invisible to agreement mechanics. The

[11] Note that a pattern similar to that of Sorani Kurdish is described for Davani, a South-Western Iranian language spoken in Southern Iran, by Dabir Moghaddam (2012: 65-68).

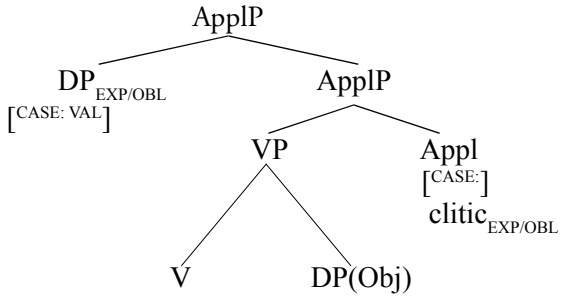
head of such a phase may be pronounced or not, but in any case it acts as an (oblique) case assister in its minimal domain (cf. Rezac 2008). Moreover, both defective intervention and Case Opacity involve a uniform pattern to save the derivation within a language and across languages: either default agreement or cliticization. The technicality with respect to head intervention in Case Opacity and DP intervention in Defective Intervention/Minimal Link Constraint can be overcome if we assume a Featural Relativized Minimality in line with Starke (2001), Rizzi (2004) and Franks (2014) who all argue that both movement and intervention are feature-driven phenomena[12] rather than minimality violations due to DP interveners (for more details, see Franks 2014). This approach goes hand in hand with Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) who shows that intervention is obviated by clitics, which remove intervening features. Cliticization of indirect objects systematically licenses A-movement of themes, an operation that is blocked in the absence of clitics due to the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) violation (cf. (11) above for Greek).

Another strategy is drawing upon default agreement just like in cases with double oblique alignment, as e.g. in Northern Kurmanji (cf. examples in (8)):

(32) min te dit *Northern Kurmanji*
I.OBL you.OBL saw.default
'I saw you.'

We argue that the clitic doubled dative/oblique DP/PP[13] in both Spanish/Romanian and the Iranian varieties described in section 3.2-3.3 is introduced by an applicative head,[14] and c-commands the theme creating, hence, a new minimal domain, as roughly represented in (33) (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2005; Diaconescu and Rivero 2005; Marchis and Alexiadou 2013; Marchis and Petersen 2014):

(33) a. DOCs-like pattern[15] (Romance)



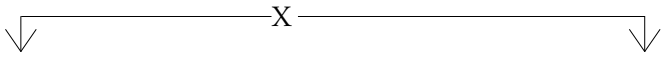
[12] We extend Franks' analysis of multi-attachment in Wh movement to defective intervention by assuming that phrases are feature sets. Their features (or their feature) cause agreement, movement/multi-attachment or intervention.

[13] Crucially, Romance experiencers function as a DP (the preposition is a realization of inherent Case, Torrego 1998, 2002) while in English they are PPs that do not c-command the embedded arguments. That is the reason why English experiencers do not cause defective intervention (Boeckx 2008 and Kitahara 1997 for detailed discussion)

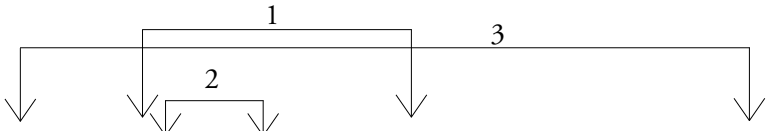
[14] The main structural distinction between Romance and English experiencers is that the latter is not introduced by an applicative head and presumably does not strictly c-command the embedded clause.

[15] Constructions with oblique arguments are regarded on a par with Double Object Constructions (DOC) while the ones with prepositional experiencers like in English are similar to Prepositional Construction (PC) in Larson's (1988) terms.

Since all the oblique arguments both in Romance and in Indo-Iranian are introducted by an applicative head, the difference in defective intervention is made only by cliticization. cobsidere for instance the Spanish pair in (34)-(35), respectively involving an intervening lexical D and an oblique clitic:



(34) *[$_{TP}$ [Los niños]]] [$_{T'}$ parecen [al profesor] [$_{vP}$ estudiar] [los niños]]]
children seem-3PL to professor study children
'The children seem to the professor to study.'



(35) [$_{TP}$ [[Los niños]]] [$_{TP}$ le$_i$ parecen-T [al profesor$_i$] [$_{vP}$ estudiar] [los niños]]]]]
Children cl-DAT seem-3PL to professor study children
'The children seem to the professor to study.'

According to Marchis and Petersen (2014), the derivation in (34) crashes because the embedded subject DP cannot agree and/or move since the features of the dative experiencer intervene (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Preminger 2008),[16] while the one in (35) is saved because:

i. the experiencer is doubled by a clitic that hosts the φ-features of the A-chain, rendering the φ-features in the DP inert for derivation (Anagnostopoulou 2003).

ii. the clitic head Cl (Sportiche 1999) moves to T and its features are no longer in the probe domain of T (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003, Marchis to appear).

iii. T is allowed to agree with the embedded subject DP and the embedded subject is allowed to move since there are no longer features that intervene.[17]

In contrast to Romanian/Spanish, dative experiencers in Italian and French are also oblique arguments introduced by an Applicative head, but since they are not clitic-doubled, their intervening features have not been removed and create minimality effects (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2007; cf. Cuervo 2003).

On the basis of the discussion that precedes, we take that ergative/oblique external arguments in Indo-Iranian are also introduced by an Applicative head which assigns them oblique case. This is in line with Rezac (2008: 106-111) who, as we have already seen, assumes that Case Opacity results from a PP structure/phase whose features intervene and block phi-agreement between T and the embedded argument. In Indo-Iranian an adposition (normally a postposition) assigns oblique case to its argument, in conjunction with a theta-role. All in all, we go for a unified analysis of oblique arguments in Romanian-type and Punjabi-type languages. However, the distinction between clitic doubling languages of Romanian/Spanish-type and default

[16] Note that the experiencer must also obligatorily occur with the dative clitic in order to have its φ-feature and Case valued. Hence, 'seem' + experiencers seem to be similar to the quirky constructions of the type *gustar* 'like' in Romance where the dative clitics are obligatorily and the experience have structural quirky case (Rivero 2004).

[17] Similarly, Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Wurmbrand (2014) assume that the clitic obviates defective intervention due to the fact that the clitic extends the phase of the matrix verb.

agreement languages of the Punjabi/Northern Kurmanji-type is that the former are *Movement languages* involving phi-feature movement to an applicative head disguised as cliticization (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003) while the latter are *Agreement languages* just like Icelandic: in the case of Case Opacity and/or defective intervention, they trigger default agreement.

Vafsi and Central Kurdish varieties like Sorani complicate the overall picture and they are apparently problematic for our analysis based on the distinction between Agreement and Movement languages. Recall that like Punjabi, Vafsi verbs also involve default agreement in cases with double oblique arguments despite that the oblique external argument is cliticized just like in Romanian and Spanish. The same pattern shows up when the direct object does not display a DOM inflection. The puzzle to solve is why the clitic in Vafsi/Sorani does not obviate defective intervention like in Romance.

4.1 Towards an analysis of (doubling) oblique arguments in Vafsi (and Sorani Kurdish)

As we have seen in section 3.2, Vafsi alignment may trigger default agreement and oblique clitic doubling. A similar pattern is replicated in Central Kurdish varieties (as in Sorani, cf. section 3.3.), where nevertheless full DP arguments are not overtly case marked. Vafsi experiencers trigger default and clitic doubling irrespectively of TAM.

Cross-linguistically, we may see many instances of "doubled experiencers", where the agreement on the verb targets the DP object. Consider the case of experiencer constructions in Romance. They may display oblique clitic doubling, which still do not disrupt the internal argument agreement with T. Consider for instance the Italian sentence in (36). Here, the dative experiencer is doubled by an oblique clitic. Contra what happens in the aforementioned Iranian varieties, verbal agreement is not set to default but targets the DP object (*i gelati*):[18]

(36) A Gianni (gli) piacciono i gelati. *Italian*
to Gianni CL.OBL.3SG like.3PL the.PL ice-cream.PL
'Gianni likes ice-creams.'

Apart from the different verbal agreement pattern, Vafsi displays the same syntax, as shown in (37) reapeating (6b) for ease of reference:

(37) taemen ane-m ær-gó
I.OBL that.pl-CL.OBL.1SG DUR-like(default)
'I like those (things)' (Stilo 2010)

If default agreement in presence of an oblique clitic has to be ascribed to defective intervention, as we argue, it is suspicious to find that languages may choose to agree or not in the presence of an intervener. Namely, if defective intervention is part of UG it is unwelcome to find that languages may choose to obviate or not intervention in the presence of the very same syntactic pattern, as we have seen below with the oblique clitic doubling patterns of Vafsi *vs*. Romance experiencers.

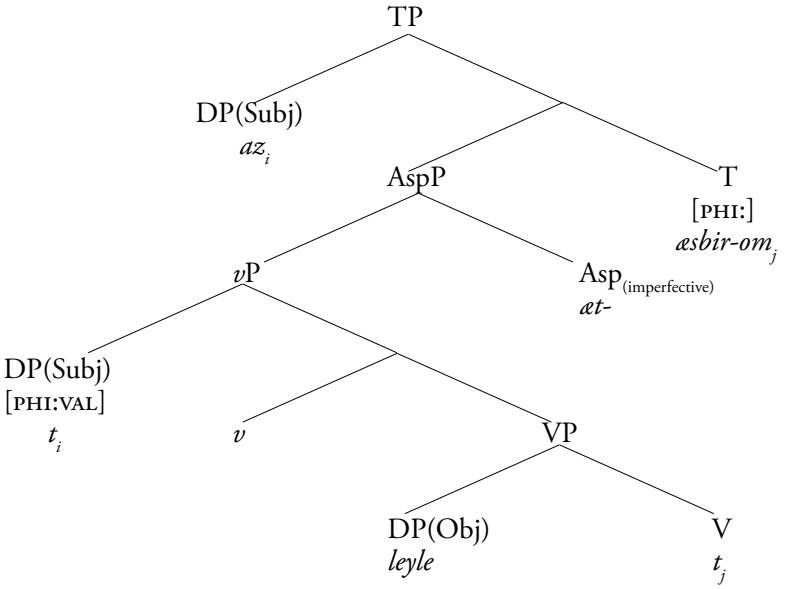
[18] Notice however that in some sub-standard varieties of Italian default agreement may be acceptable in the presence of oblique clitic doubling, as in (i).

(i) Ai bambini gli piace i gelati
To.the.PL children CL.OBL.3PL like.PRS(default) the.PL ice-cream.PL
'Children like ice-creams.'

In this work we aim at explaining linguistic variation in terms of (a quite conservative) Chomskyan perspective on the (parasitic) relation of case with respect to agreement where the head acting as a probe is searching for a target in its agreement domain.

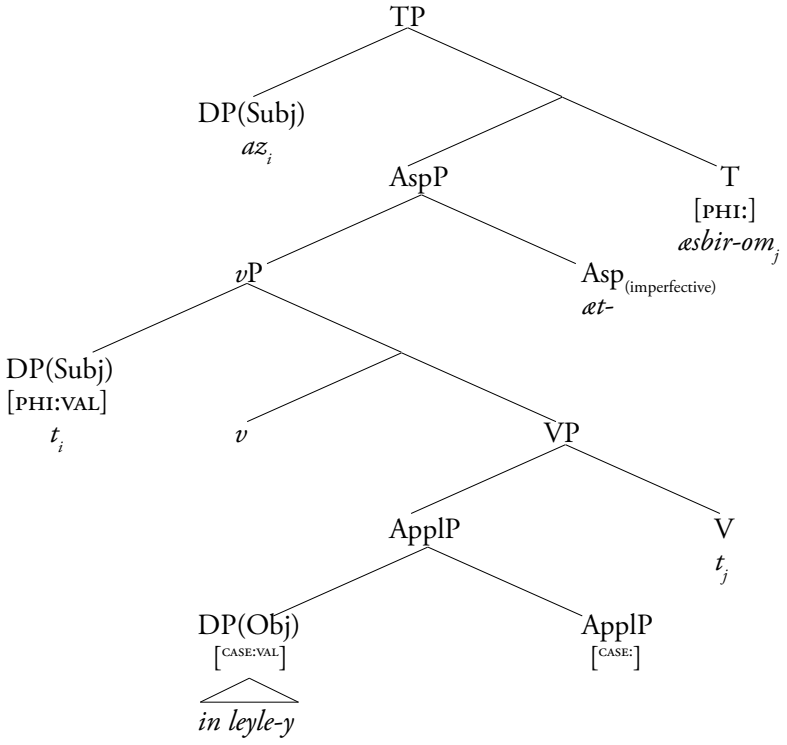
Given this basic picture, we may try to address Vafsi (and Sorani) agreement paradigm. We may assume that in the imperfective/present, T probes onto its domain with respect to its φ-set. The imperfective/present external argument is always targeted by the phi-probe on T, being the highest argument and being un-embedded under a phasal node (Appl/P). If an oblique case is attached to the internal argument because of DOM, we assume that this is licensed by a low Appl head (roughly along the lines of Manzini and Franco 2016, who label such head (⊆)).[19] The relevant rough patterns are represented respectively in (38a) (direct object) and (38b) (oblique object) below.

(38) a. *Vafsi imperfective [direct Subj - direct Obj]*



[19] In Vafsi such Appl postposition is phonologically unrealized, but such a device is overtly displayed in many Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Punjabi, Hindi, cf. the discussion above).

b. *Vafsi imperfective [direct Subj – oblique Obj]*



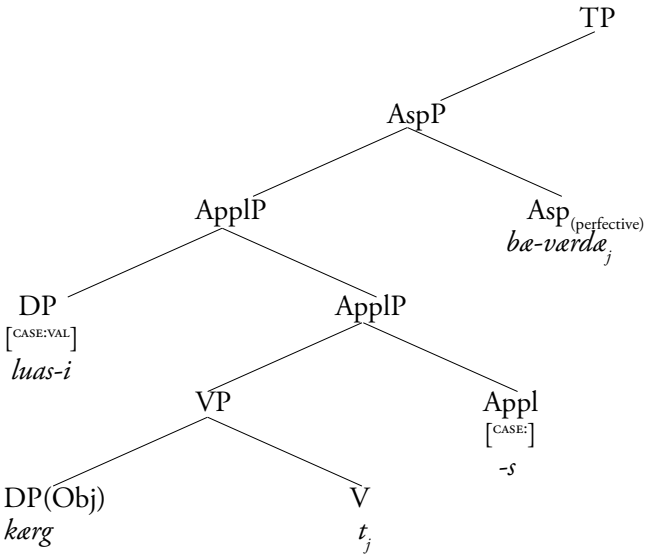
We may assume that in the perfective the external argument is introduced by the same Appl head introducing the salient internal argument, irrespectively of TAM specifications. Such head may be assumed to be a high Appl head, following insight by Pylkannen (2008), Cuervo (2003).

The Appl that introduces the perfective external argument not only assigns it oblique case but also causes it to be clitic-doubled, so that the perfective subject is doubled by an oblique-clitic, precisely hosted in the Appl head, matching its phi-features. The motivation for this machinery may be ascribed to the fact that the external argument is assigned oblique case and the probe cannot see inside a Appl phase) (cf. Abels 2003, 2012; Citko 2014). Hence, the features of the oblique external argument are copied to be accessible for the T probe. In our view, in Vafsi the direct clitics (Set1) are the realisation of true agreement with the grammatical subject, while oblique clitics (set 2) are the realisation of the Appl head.[20]

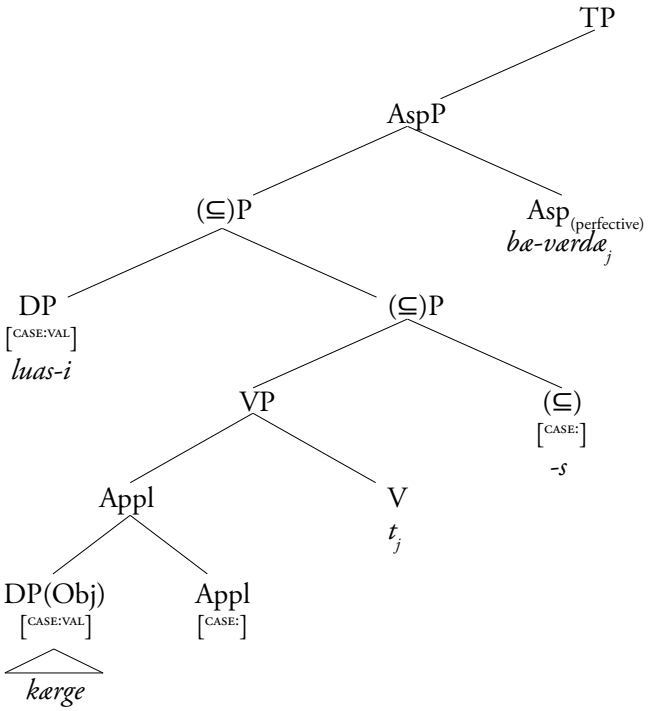
[20] Our Applicative analysis of the experiencer dative/oblique perfective subject in Vafsi introduces it by means of what corresponds to a high Appl head, establishing a relation between it and the VP sub-event/state. We expect that the latter will be interpreted as saying that the V-Theme complex is an elementary event/state in the 'zonal inclusion/possession' domain of the experiencer (Manzini and Franco 2016; cf. Belvin and Den Dikken 1997). The experiencer is perceived as such simply in that the event/state described in the VP predicate is a mental one (cf. also Boneh and Nash 2011). Further note that the standard Applicative literature (Pylkkänen 2008), takes it as not coincidental that the same dative/oblique morphology found to express goals also introduces experiencers. For the Appl literature, indeed, this corresponds to the fact that the same Appl head (externalized by dative/oblique) can attach at different points in the syntactic tree. The low Appl head establishes a relation between two arguments (namely the goal and the theme), while the high Appl head introduces relation between an argument (e.g. the experiencer) and an event (the VP).

The rough representations of the alignment taking place in Vafsi perfective (clitic doubling feature matching with or without DOM internal arguments leading to a double oblique alignment) are illustrated below in (39a, b)).

(39) a. *Vafsi perfective [oblique Subj-direct Obj]*



b. *Vafsi perfective [oblique Subj-oblique Obj]*



Our main concern is now why T is impeded to agree when an overt clitic morphologically marked with phi-features realizes the Appl head in Vafsi (contra what happens in Spanish/Romanian subject-to-subject raising constructions). We argue that the oblique clitic does not obviate defective intervention in Vafsi, because the clitic does not move to T so that the features of the embedded argument are still intervening, blocking agreement (see (37) where the clitic is attached to the closest argument rather than to T).

As already pointed out, in subject-to-subject raising constructions in Spanish/Romanian the clitic head Cl (Sportiche 1999) moves to T and its features are no longer in the probe domain of T (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003; Marchis to appear). Thus, T is allowed to agree with the embedded DP, whence intervening material has been removed from its domain. We will consider the data supporting our idea in what follows. Before that, we will introduce some other recent analyses have been proposed in the literature for the patterns of agreement in Western Iranian Languages.

Baker and Atlamaz (2013) specifically address Kurmanji Kurdish varieties. They assume that the perfect is passive-like and differs from the imperfective in that it involves a non-phasal *v* and that the oblique subjects surfacing in the perfect are simply defaults. Specifically, they propose an analysis based not on the category T, but on the category Voice. They construct the present (imperfective) form as bearing active voice and implying a phasal vP; vice versa the past (perfective) form is passive and corresponds to a non-phasal vP. Their idea that oblique arguments are default is, in particular, problematic. According to Baker and Atlamaz (2013), the distribution of direct/nominative forms is strictly governed by agreement and they treat the oblique (or objective, in their terms) case as default morphology.

There are reasons both interpretive and morphological why the oblique case cannot be a default. Interpretively, as shown with primary data from the Bahdini dialect of Kurmanji Kurdish by Manzini, Savoia and Franco (2015), the oblique case introduces a possession (dative, genitive) relation between the head predicate and a complement. In other words, if there is a default case interpretively, this must surely be the nominative/absolutive. Morphology matches interpretation – since it is the oblique that is morphologically instantiated, while the nominative/absolute corresponds to the bare nominal base. Furthermore, briefly addressing central Kurdish clitic doubling in the perfective (cf. fn. 10 with examples from Mukiryāni) Baker and Atlamaz assume that they are just default clitic forms and not oblique items. Their idea is clearly undermined by the facts illustrated from Vafsi, where we have two different clitic series (cf. Table 1), a direct one and an oblique one. Oblique clitics (Set 2) only cross-reference the external argument in the perfective.

On the contrary, our analysis, in line with the main assumptions in Manzini, Savoia and Franco (2015), is somewhat compatible with Karimi's (2013) account of Northern (i.e. Kurmanji) and Central (i.e. Sorani) Kurdish dialects. For him, the subject clitic in Sorani is a manifestation of an agreeing applicative head, and this is perfectly fitting our proposal. Specifically, Karimi assumes that oblique subject in perfective structures in Sorani, as illustrated by our own data in 3.3, is licensed as the specifier of a high applicative (Appl) phrase and, thus, agrees with the head Appl. We endorse the view that oblique cases attached to external arguments signal a high applicative projection. The oblique clitic doubling, in accordance with our view, is assumed by Karimi to be an instantiation of the Appl° *head which has entered into Agree with the Oblique subject. For Karimi, in Sorani Kurdish default agreement on the verb arises given the following facts. "The subject having satisfied the EPP on T°, the uninterpretable φ-features on T° search for a goal. The only available goal is the object DP; however, the matching of φ-features between T° and the object DP is hindered owing to the Defective Intervention induced by the inactive* Appl° *head which is associated with a full complement of φ-features." (Karimi 2013: 53-54)*

In our view, Sorani (more broadly Central Kurdish and sporadically Southern Kurdish varieties, cf. Fattah 2000) displays exactly the same pattern like Vafsi, despite for the fact that case is not overtly marked on the DP and its reflex is only visible via the agreement path. We take, nevertheless, a view different from that of Karimi. We have seen that oblique arguments/experiencers still allow T to agree with the lower (direct) argument in Romance (cf. (36) vs. (37)). The appearance of an oblique clitic (e.g. *gli* in (36)) in Romance experiencer constructions should invariantly block agreement with the internal argument, if we follow Karimi's way of reasoning. Actually, that prediction is not borne out by the data.

We assume that the different behaviour of Vafsi *vs*. Romance has to be ascribed to clitic movement. Vafsi oblique clitics do not obviate defective intervention because the Appl head does not move to T, so that the features of the experiencer/oblique inflected agent are still intervening. On the contrary, in Romance the Appl head moves to T (cf. Sportiche 1999) and its features are no longer in the probe domain of T. Thus T is allowed to target the internal argument of the verb. As a piece of evidence that Vafsi oblique clitic hosted in (⊆) do not move to T we may consider the fact that they can be attached to other constituents, such as preposition, adverb etc., unlike in Romance where, as well known, it either precedes or follows the verb. Consider for instance the example in (24b), reported also in (40) for ease of reference.

(40) tani hæzíri-m bǽ-diæ *Vafsi*
he.OBL yesterday-CL.OBL.1SG PFV-saw.default
'I saw him yesterday.'

Moreover, it is interesting to consider the data we have reported in (27) that show that there is a rare construction in Vafsi where there is "direct" enclitic (i.e. full) agreement on the verb in the presence of a 'non-doubled' oblique external argument. The example is repeated in (41) for ease of reference:

(41) æz æhmæd-i yédieym *Vafsi*
1SG.DIR ahmed-OBL see.PST.1SG
'Ahmed saw me.'

Examples like (41) apparently show that the clitic is responsible for blocking the agreement in Vafsi, contrary to Romance. Here we have a (quite standard) ergative construction like the one represented in (18) for Zazaki, with T picking up the internal argument for agreement purposes. The simplest explanation is to say that in (41), given the absence of the clitic there is no applicative head to block T to probe, so there are structural differences between constructions with clitics in Vafsi, which involve an Appl head and those without clitics that do not have an Appl head and, hence, do not intervene. The latter are similar to English raising-over-experiencers constructions where experiencers never intervene because the experiencer is not introduced by an Appl head in *John seems to Mary to be intelligent.*[21] That we are on the right track is

[21] There is crosslinguistic variation in the realization of Appl head. Greek genitives/obliques always realize the Applicative head independently of the realization of clitics similar to Italian, French, Brazilian Portuguese, so an oblique argument in these languages always intervenes (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2007; Diaconescu and Rivero 2005; Alexiadou *et al.* 2011, 2012). Romanian and Spanish, on the hand, realize Appl head only in the presence of dative clitics (the clitic doubling of indirect objects is optional while the clitic doubling of oblique experiencers is mandatory). So the clitic always obviates the defective intervention of experiencers (Diaconescu and Rivero 2005;

confirmed by the different behaviour of unaccusatives/unergatives in the past/perfective. We have seen that perfective unaccusatives in Vafsi trigger direct agreement and no oblique clitics (i.e. the same pattern as with present/imperfective) while perfective unergatives adopt the clitic doubling strategy (cf. (25) vs. (26)).

How to explain this split-intransitivity contrast in agreement? We assume that unaccusatives take as their only argument their sister DP and do not have the need of a further argumental slot between T and V (at least a set of pure unaccusatives behave like that and do not require a *v-like* projection in their derivation, cf. Deal 2009). T finds no intervention in probing onto its domain and triggers 'direct agreement' (Vafsi Set 1 enclitics).[22] Following Hale and Keyser's (1993) original intuition we assume that on the contrary, unergatives have the shape of hidden/concealed transitives, involving (at least) a two-tiered structure, e.g. *v*-V according to Chomsky (1995). In such case we have an added projection between T and V (just like standard transitives in the perfective).[23] We assume that Vafsi realized this projection as High Appl (and not as *v*), leading to a clitic doubling pattern. Given the constraint on clitic movement illustrated above, T cannot probe and the agreement on the verb is set to default. Hence, data from experiencers and split-intransitivity patterns in West-Iranian languages are particularly useful in showing that in such varieties there are two heads (T and Appl)) that do not join 'their' forces to obviate defective intervention: due to the defective intervention of the Appl head, T can probe only defectively – so it triggers default/underspecified agreement while Appl probes full phi-features in form of the oblique clitic. In Romance, the Appl and the T head join – so that we have a complex head that jointly probes obviating defective intervention. The oblique clitics in Romance are the manifestation of an agreeing Appl head, then they move to T, allowing it to further probe downwards without encountering intervention.

5. Theoretical Implications for the proposed analysis

Our analysis has several theoretical implications and it provides evidence or counter-evidence for different approaches of case assignment, the analysis of clitics and of the defective intervention.

Marchis to appear). Vafsi is similar to the latter type of languages as it uses the clitic as the hallmark of the Appl head. It is also similar to English whose experiencers/oblique arguments in raising constructions are not introduced by an Appl head and, hence, do not intervene.

[22] Interestingly in the Tatic dialect Dānesfāni (Yar-Shater 1969: 204), a cognate language of Vafsi, the past participle agrees with the unaccusative theme (also) in gender, but this does not happen with constituents of a transitive perfective sentence, where the pattern is the same as in Central Kurdish (Sorani). Consider the examples below:

(i)	Hasan	buma.		
	Hasan-(M)	came.M		
	'Hasan came.'			
(ii)	Zeynaba	bumia.		
	Zeynaba-(F)	came.F		
	'Zeynaba came.'			
(iii)	Hasan /Zeynaba	šet-eš		uxa
	Hasan-(M) /Zeynaba-(F)	milk-(M).CL.OBL.3SG		drank
	'Hasan/Zeynaba drank the milk.'			

[23] An alternative approach on the issue of default agreement, explored in Manzini, Savoia and Franco (2015), is to assume the idea that all agreement inflections have an interpretable content (or are checked by an interpretable content). We will not explore this challenging path any further in this paper.

5.1 Dependent Case vs. Parasitic Case

Bobaljik (2008) and Preminger (2011) offer accounts for agreement failure. Their idea is in a way the opposite of Chomsky's (2001) – namely that case is primitive with respect to agreement. Which DP agrees with a given head is determined by an accessibility hierarchy of cases, where unmarked cases are maximally accessible, followed by dependent cases and finally, by inherent cases (in a fashion similar to the implicational hierarchy assumed in the typological literature, cf. Moravcsik 1978). When an inflectional head does not find an accessible target – for instance in the double oblique structures exemplified above for Punjabi/Masali perfects, the derivation does not crash; rather the morphology insures that the relevant inflection surfaces in the default form.

Despite these welcome results in accounting for linguistic variation, there does not seem to be any special advantage in the accessibility hierarchy of cases with respect to a naked stipulation of the facts, like the VIVA (Visibility of Inherent-Case to Verbal Agreement) parameter of Anand and Nevins (2006), namely languages will differ as to whether their verbs can agree with an inherently case-marked DP.

Another way to go would be to consider that certain morphemes such as Agreement (AGR) nodes or Case features are added after syntax as they are demanded by language-specific requirements and are never essential to semantic interpretation (see Marchis Moreno 2015). This could explain the mismatch or the split between direct/unmarked and indirect/marked cases in the discussed varieties. In the spirit of Embick and Noyer (2006), we could argue that the direct Case is relevant only at PF while indirect Case, such as the oblique one, bears semantic content and, hence, it is introduced by the applicative head in the syntax, conditioning the choice of Vocabulary Items. But how does the mechanism of Vocabulary Insertion know how to make the right choice between the two Vocabulary Items, marked or unmarked cases, full versus default agreement? The Subset Principle (cf. (42)) resolves this case of competition.

(42) **Subset Principle:**

The phonological exponent of a Vocabulary Item is inserted into a position if the item matches all or a subset of the features specified in that position. Where several Vocabulary Items meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal node must be chosen. (Halle 1997: 428)

By the virtue of the fact that the phonological exponent of a Vocabulary Item is inserted into a position only if the item matches all or a subset of the features specified in that position, unmarked items cannot be inserted into an Appl head. Specifically, oblique cases come as a free rider with the semantic content of the applicative head[24] while unmarked/direct cases are realized post-syntactically since they do not trigger interpretable information at LF. Analogically, default agreement (like in Icelandic and Punjabi) is a case of underspecification due to defective intervention/Case Opacity and it takes place post-syntactically as the result of failed Agree in the syntax (cf. Chomsky 2000; Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003; Preminger 2011). Clitics,

[24] Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2007) and Marchis and Alexiadou (2013) have shown that in Greek and Romance languages clitics as the heads of applicative head trigger semantic content such as familiarity (like Greek clitics), specificity (like Romanian and Spanisch clitics) or possession (like Romanian clitics). This implies that in line with the Subset Principle, semantic content (or interpretability) comes as a free rider with oblique cases while unmarked cases (like direct cases of clitics and default agreement) are the result of post-syntactic information as the result of failed agreement and underspecificity.

however, are the result of Move and they are syntactic objects fully specified for phi-features and semantic content (specificity, familiarity see Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2007) and they can obviate defective intervention (cf. Marchis and Petersen 2014). The advantage of this approach would be that one could make a clear distinction between clitics and agreement markers based on their syntactic role and their semantic content. However, as we will see below there is no agreement in the literature on their status.

5.2 A defragmented view on clitics

In the literature there are two divergent perspectives: clitics were either argued to be base generated in their surface position (Rivas 1977; Jaeggli 1982, 1986; Borer 1984; Suñer 1988; Sportiche 1999) or to be generated in an argument position and to undergo movement to their surface position, (e.g. Kayne 1975; Torrego 1988; Uriagereka 1995; Anagnostopoulou 2003).

This paper regards only dative/oblique clitics which are analyzed *a la* Anagnostopoulou as the reflex of phi-feature movement in order to obviate defective intervention. However, we have shown that they realize the applicative head, triggering, hence, a rich(er) semantic content. Thus, we have provided evidence that oblique clitics are not agreement markers like default verbal agreement and, hence, they are real syntactic objects. The empirical facts from Vafsi clearly point to such an interpretation: direct clitics are agreement markers while oblique clitics are syntactic objects that realize the Appl head interpreted as inclusion/possession at LF.[25] Crucially, the idea that clitics realize the Applhead is not new, it has been proven from by several scholars (see Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2007; Diaconescu and Rivero 2005; Marchis and Alexiadou 2013 among others) but these same scholars have also shown that clitics come in different guises. One way to distinguish between clitics and agreement markers would be to show that they occur at different stages in derivation: syntax *vs*. PF and that they are outcome of two different processes: Move vs. Agree. Moreover, Preminger (2011) proposed on the basis of Basque a diagnostic to distinguish between agreement markers triggered by Agree and clitics as a reflex of Move. Interestingly, he showed that defective intervention/failed Agreement triggers default agreement or in our terms "underspecified" agreement markers which can be obviated by clitic doubling. However, failed Movement or the absence of clitic doubling triggers ungrammaticality. Our data showed that Preminger's account is on the right track and it can be further explored in our future work on the differences between direct and oblique clitics in Vafsi.

5.3 A linear view on defective intervention: Bruening (2014)

A potential counter-argument for our approach comes from Bruening (2014) who debates the status of defective intervention as a real syntactic phenomenon. Bruening (2014) argues that both experienceres and adverbs do not syntactically intervene but rather disrupt the linear order of the constituents.

[25] The idea that clitics realize the Appl head is not new, it has been proven from by several scholars (see Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2007; Diaconescu and Rivero 2005; Marchis and Alexiadou 2013 among others) but these same scholars have also shown that clitics come in different guises. One way to distinguish between clitics and agreement markers would be to show that they occur at different stages in derivation: syntax *vs*. PF and that they are outcome of two different processes: Move vs. Agree.

(43) *Jean a semblé [au cours de la réunion] avoir du talent. *French*
John has seemed during the meeting to have talent.
'John seemed during the meeting to have talent.' (Bruening 2014: 714)

Marchis and Petersen (2014) show that Bruening's (2014) potential counterexamples to the existence of syntactic defective intervention in the case of experiencers are only apparent. Based on Haider's (2004) fine-grained analysis of adverbs/adjuncts, they show that experiencers and adverbs occupy completely different positions in the architecture of the clause and, hence, create different locality effects in A movement.

Haider's (2004) analysis of preverbal and postverbal adverbs can explain why high adverbs in Cinque's (1999) terminology – or "simple" adverbs, such as *easily or yesterday*, are allowed between the raising verb and the embedded domain, while Bruening's phrasal adverbs, such as *without any difficulties,* are illicit in that same position. See the contrast in English below:

(44) He will easily/soon/*without any difficulties find an appropriate solution

In brief, Haider (2004) shows that some adverbials are adjoined or embedded, depending on the relation to the head of the containing phrase. Only adverbs that are adjoined precede the head of the containing phrase such as simple adverbs like *easily* or *soon* in (44) while the embedded adverbs like *without any difficulties* follow the head of the phrase in which it is contained. He derives this analysis of adverbs from a general projection restriction, namely that adjunction is possible only to the left, but not to the right (cf. (45a)). Consequently, post-head adverbials are embedded, i.e., they are the most deeply embedded element in V projection consisting of VP-shells (cf. (45b)).

(45) a. [John$_2$ [$_{XP}$ often [$_{XP}$ … [$_{VP}$ t$_2$ talks$_1$ [$_{VP}$ t$_1$ to Mary]
b. [$_{TP}$ Ana$_2$ [$_{VP}$ t$_2$ saw [$_{VP}$ Peter [$_{V'}$ t$_1$ [at the meeting]]]

This analysis is compatible with the empirical data that show a distinction between simple adverbs such as manner and time adverbs, and phrasal adverbs that, according to Bruening (2014), intervene on a par with experiencer DPs. However, their different behavior is even more visible in languages like English where adverbs can occur either preverbally or postverbally.

According to Haider (2004), the unacceptability of postverbal adverbs in the preverbal position is a consequence of the edge effect, namely the reflex of a constraint against post-head material in a phrase that serves as a preverbal adverbial constituent. This is known as "head final constraint", or "head final filter", a ban on pre-head adjuncts that do not end in a (lexical) head (Williams 1981). Below in (46) there is an example of this constraint in English:

(46) He has [(much less) often (*than I (thought))] rehearsed it. (Haider 2004: 782)

Specifically, a preverbal adverb c-commands the finite verb while VP-internal, post-verbal adverbial phrases do not c-command the surface head position of the VP head, and they cannot c-command the finite verb. That is: any adverbial that c-commands the finite verb is preverbal in English and adjoined (somewhere to the left of) the VP while strictly VP-internal adverbials cannot precede the finite auxiliary in English. Larson (1988) and Stroik (1990) analyze postverbal adverbs as structural complements, and assign them to the most deeply embedded positions in the VP shells.

(47) $[_{Vmax} \ldots [_{V0}$ V Adv] (adapted from Haider 2004: 789)

Based on Larson's (1988) analysis of postverbal adverbs, Haider (2004) shows that postverbal adverbials are "extraposed" and the "extraposition zone" is a non-compositional subconstituent of the V-projection, so its order relations are not determined by the head; the order relations for adverbials in the extraposition zone are interface effects, that is, they are semantically driven. Note that in contrast to postverbal adverbs in (48), preverbal adverbs cannot be topicalized without a strong focus stress (cf. (49)). Moreover, unlike postverbal adverbs, preverbal adverbs can occur naturally between the verb and its complement (compare (48b) with (49b)):

Extraposed postverbal adverbs:

(48) a. He talked to me at the meeting.
b. ?He talked at the meeting to me. (only when "to me" is stressed)
c. At the meeting he talked to me. (no stress is necessary)

Non-extraposed preverbal adverbs:

(49) a. He often talked to me.
b. He talked often to me. (no stress on *often* is needed)
c. Often he talked to me. (strong stress on *often* is needed)

However, in VO languages like English, Romanian, and Spanish, adverbials (like manner adverbs in English and all other core adverbs in Romance) may be postverbal without being extraposed (they become postverbal through verb movement). To show that there are non-extraposable postverbal adverbs in English, note that some postverbal adverbs precede prepositional objects and extraposed material (50a). Moreover, they are obligatorily fronted with VP-topicalization (50b,c). Cross-linguistic evidence from German (50d) confirms that manner adverbs do not extrapose.

(50) a. He talked gently to everyone
b. *. . . and talk he will gently to everyone
c. . . . and [talked gently to everyone] he has
d. Er hat protestiert, dagegen/*lautstark *German*
'He has protested, against loudly.' (Haider 2004: 804)

Therefore, postverbal adverbs may be extraposed or not, depending on their base generated position and their syntactic behavior (compare (51) to (63)). Non-extraposed ones are non-phrasal (e.g. manner adverb *gently*). Let us look at Romanian adverbs in more details.

Unlike English that makes a distinction between post- and preverbal high (or "simple") adverbs, high adverbs in Romanian are postverbal in general. But there are several adverbs such as *adesea* 'often' that can be used both preverbally and postverbally and, as we saw in the previous section, they are grammatical in the position where non-clitic doubled experiencers cause defective intervention (51):

(51) Fata (adesea) învață (adesea) pentru examen. *Romanian*
Girls sometime learn-3SG sometimes for the exam
'The girls often learns for the exam.'

Importantly, in line with Haider's (2004) analysis, these high adverbs are structurally different from the phrasal adverbs presented in Bruening (2014). In biclausal sentences, note that phrasal adverbs can be extraposed to the left periphery of the matrix domain since this is the position for topicalized phrases (cf. (52a)) (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990, 1994; Motapanyane 1995; Rizzi 1997; Alboiu 2000; Cornilescu 2000)[26] and focalized phrases (Alboiu 2000) in Romanian.

As discussed before, Bruening's (2014) data showed that the same phrasal adverbs are illicit in Romance languages when preposed between the matrix verb and the embedded domain like in (52c). However, phrasal adverbs are not illicit in that position due to linear intervention, but rather because not all languages have a topic position available in the left periphery of the non-finite embedded domain.[27] Note that in (52b), the adverb is licit in that position only if it is introduced by *ca* which is a subjunctive complementizer. Alboiu (2000) claims that *ca* co-occurs with *să* when a topicalized element is present. In these cases, the order is *ca – topicalized phrase – să,* where *ca* must occupy the left-most position.

(52) a. De această ocazie e probabil să nu fi lipsit Maria de la ore.
On this occasion is probable subj not be missed Mary the classes.
'It is probable that on this occasion Mary has not missed the classes.'
b. E probabil *ca* de această ocazie să nu fi lipsit Maria de la ore.
Is probable that on this occasion subj not be missed Mary the classes.
'It is probable that on this occasion Mary has not missed the classes.'
c. ??E probabil de această ocazie să nu fi lipsit Maria de la ore.
Is probable on this occasion subj not be missed Mary the classes
'It is probable that on this occasion Mary has not missed the classes.'

The availability of an overt topic marker in non-finite/subjunctive clauses in Romanian can bring us a crucial piece of evidence that experiencers and Bruening's phrasal adverbs do not occupy the same position and, hence, cannot create the same type of intervention. Note that unlike with phrasal adverbs in (52b), *ca* can introduce neither doubled nor undoubled experiencers in Romanian:

(53) a. *Maria îi pare ca lui Ion să fie inteligentă.
Mary CL seems that dat-art John subj be intelligent.
b. *Maria pare ca lui Ion să fie inteligentă.
Mary seems that dat-art John subj be intelligent.
'Mary seems to John to be intelligent.'

[26] However, these scholars share different opinions where a TopicP is available in Romanian left periphery. If Romanian lacks a TopP projection, topicalised elements can be analysed in two possible way: they are either base-generated as adjuncts in the Romanian left periphery (Motapanyane 1995), or they involve movement from an IP-internal base-generated position to the left periphery (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994).

[27] Like Alboiu, Motapanyane (2002) shows that the presence of *ca* in the *ca-să* constructions is strictly linked to the presence of a maximal projection, usually a topicalized item, which follows it. In the absence of a topicalized phrase *ca* is excluded; viceversa, in the absence of *ca* no lexical material can appear in front of *să:*
(i). Zicea (*numai mâine) că/ca numai mâine să nu se ducă la câmp.
said only tomorrow-FOC that only tomorrow-FOC să not SE go to field
'She said it's only tomorrow that he should not go to the field.' from Motapanyane (2002: 6)

We conclude that defective intervention is a syntactic phenomenon, and not a linear order mechanism. However, a fine-grained analysis of adverbs within a language and across languages is necessary to understand Bruening's (2014) puzzling data (for a more detailed analysis see Marchis Moreno and Petersen 2015). We have learned so far that high ('simple') adverbs and Bruenings' phrasal adverbs are structurally different: the former are adjoined, while the latter are embedded within the VP across all languages while experiencers are the only ones that create defective intervention as they are introduced by an applicative head.

6. Conclusion

There are two types of languages which involve different mechanisms in obviating minimality violations and Case opacity: Agreement languages of Punjabi/Icelandic-type with default agreement and Movement languages of Spanish/Romanian-type with phi-feature movement in form of cliticization (cf. Marchis to appear). Rich empirical data clearly show that two apparent distinct phenomena such as Case Opacity and defective intervention are actually one and the same: Case Opacity represents a case of defective intervention in agreement as the features of the phases introducing the oblique arguments block the agreement with the verb. Across languages there is, however, a mechanism to obviate defective intervention, namely cliticization. Languages like French or Italian do not have means to obviate defective intervention when the experiencer is present (e.g. they lack clitic doubling) so that the derivation crashes when the movement of a DP crosses an experiencer that is realized in a higher Spec of an applicative head. However, the clitic alone does not suffice to obviate the defective intervention of the oblique – Vafsi teaches us that defective intervention can be overcome only if the clitic moves to T so that there are no longer phi-features in the probe domain of T that intervene. Hence, clitics repair defective intervention only in languages where the Appl head and T join their forces and build a complex head via the climbing of the clitic to T as in Romanian and Spanish. Moreover, we have seen that clitics do not always signal the presence of the Appl[28] head: in languages like Italian and French, oblique experiencer DPs are introduced by an Appl head in the absence of clitics, and, therefore, they always intervene in raising constructions. In contrast, English experiencers are not oblique but rather PPs never introduced by an Appl head; therefore, they do not intervene similar to Vafsi non-doubled oblique. The assumptions of this paper have crucial implications for Case Theory (dependent vs. Marked and syntactic vs. Post-syntactic case assignment), for a defragmentated analysis of the clitics and for Bruening's proposal against syntactic intervention and in favour of linear intervention (cf. Marchis and Petersen 2014).

Appendix: Romance se constructions

Our unified analysis of defective intervention and case opacity can explain also the Person constraint in passives *se* in Romance. It has long been recognized that sentences with passive *se* obey a Person constraint: the internal argument (IA) cannot be 1st or 2nd person (Burzio 1986; Cinque 1988; Cornilescu 1998; D'Alessandro 2007; Mendikoetxea 2008; Rezac 2011; MacDonald 2016, among others). Cornilescu (1998) noticed that also some 3rd person subjects are excluded:

[28] Note that in Greek applicatives introduce oblique arguments also in the absense of clitics.

(i) a. La noi întotdeauna se întâmpină {musafirii / *Ion/*el} la gară *Romanian*
at us always SE welcome.3SG guests-the / Ion he at station
'In our family/department/... guests/*Ion/*he are/is always welcomed at the station.'
a′. Am întâmpinat musafirii / *Ion / *el
have.1PL welcomed guests-the / Ion / he
'We welcomed the guests / *Ion / *him'. (Cornilescu 1998: ex.16)

Giurgea (2016) argues that all these cases can be subsumed under a Person constraint of the following form:

(ii) DPs that bear [Person] are banned as IAs of *se*-passives

He proposes that these DPs, which are high on the Person/Animacy scale, have a Person feature (manifested by clitic doubling when they are case-licensed by v*), whereas those that can occur as subjects of *se*-passives lack the Person feature completely. The ban on +Person internal arguments in *se*-passives is due to the intervention of the Person feature associated with the external argument (EA). We argue that the element saturating the EA is differently projected in *se*-passives vs. participial passives, which explains the lack of an intervention effect in the latter case. According to our analysis, the EA in *se* passive would be projected in an Applicative head just like in cases with double datives in Indo-Iranian languages. Hence, our analysis of default agreement in terms of defective intervention and case opacity receives support also from the dichotomous behaviour of impersonal *se* constructions in Spanish and Italian, on a one hand, and Romanian, on the other hand. First, impersonal *se* can occur in transitive configurations, manifested by default agreement between the verb and the IA (iiia) and oblique marking on the IA (iva), 0) in Spanish and Italian and verb agreement with IA and the lack of oblique agreement in Romanian:

(iii) a. In questa università si insegna le materie letterarie *It.*
In this university SE teaches the humanities
'Humanities are taught in this university.' (Dobrovie-Sorin forth: ex. 31c)
b. În această universitate se predau /*predă ştiinţele umane *Ro.*
in this university SE teach.3PL/ teaches sciences-the human (*ibidem*, ex. 32c)

(iv) a. (Le materie letterarie) le si insegna in questa università. *It.*
(the humanities) CL.3FPL.ACC SE teaches in this university
'(The humanities,) one teaches them in this university.' (*ibidem*, ex. 31d)
b. *(*Ştiinţele umane) le se predă / se le predă în această
(the humanities) CL.3FPL.ACC SE teaches/ SE CL.3FPL.ACC teaches in this
universitate. (Ro.)
university (*ibidem*, ex. 32d)

(v) En esta escuela se castiga a los alumnos. *Sp.*
in this school SE punishes DOM the students
'In this school they punish the students.' (Dobrovie-Sorin forth.: ex. 33)

Specifically, we argue that default agreement in Spanish and Italian with impersonal *se* is due to the intervention feature of person available in the phase introduced by the oblique PP. This is a complete phase that has complete features including person, but this phrase is opaque to agreement because it has inherent case and the intervening feature person. In contrast, Romanian

does not allow + person IA in impersonal agreement, so there is neither default agreement nor inherent case in impersonal *se* in Romanian and the verb agrees with the the IA. The observed dichotomy in Spanish/Italian *vs*. Romanian is similar to the ergative/oblique agreement pattern vs. absolutive agreement in Indo-Iranian languages and, hence, confirms our analysis that the defective intervention of a feature triggers case opacity and default agreement or the movement of the intervening feature to the probe in form of cliticization across languages.

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