

Differential Object Marking and Nominal Licensing*

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ABSTRACT: This paper presents a novel account of Differential Object Marking as an instance of case assigned by a post-syntactic Agree-Case operation that transduces agreement relations established in the syntax by marking the goal rather than the probe. In this sense, it is a modern interpretation of Nichols' (1986) Head-Marking and Dependent Marking dichotomy. Analyzing the intricate details of Differential Object Marking in Kashmiri, I show that not all but some nominals need licensing under well-defined syntactic configurations. Building on Kalin's (2018) observation that Person Case Constraint (PCC) and Differential Object Marking occur in similar configurations, I argue that PCC is observed in languages that do not have an Agree-Case mechanism.

Keywords: differential object marking, nominal licensing, split ergativity

Değişken Nesne Belirleme ve Ad Lisanslama

ÖZ: Bu makale Değişken Nesne Belirlemeyi sözdizimde oluşturulmuş uyum ilişkilerinin sözdizim sonrası bir işlem olan Uyum-Durum tarafından prop yerine hedef üzerinde belirtilmesi sonucunda ortaya çıkan durum olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bu bakımdan Nichols'un (1986) Baş-Belirleme ve Bağımlı-Belirleme ikileminin güncel bir yorumlamasıdır. Keşmircedeki Değişken Nesne Belirlemenin karmaşık detayları analiz edilerek, sadece bazı ad öbeklerinin sınırlı durumlarda izne tabi oldukları gösterilmektedir. Kalin'in (2018) Kişi Uyum Kısıtlaması ve Değişken Nesne Belirlemenin benzer yapılar da ortaya çıktığı gözleminden hareketle, Kişi Uyum Kısıtlamasının Uyum-Durum göstermeyen dillerde ortaya çıktığı iddia edilmektedir.

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Anahtar sözcükler: deęişken nesne belirleme, ad lisanslama, bölünmüş özegeçişlilik

1 Introduction

Differential object marking (DOM) is a common phenomenon observed in a wide range of typologically unrelated languages including Hindi (Indo-Aryan), Turkish (Turkic), Spanish (Romance), Hebrew (Semitic), Malayalam (Dravidian), etc. and it comes in a variety of forms including case marking (Turkish, Kashmiri), clitic doubling (Macedonian), agreement (Swahili, Senaya), preposition (Italian, Spanish), and some others. Aissen (2003), citing Bossong (1985), highlights presence of DOM in three hundred languages (as observed in 1985). The pervasiveness of DOM phenomena along with the amount of variation it exhibits makes it a theoretically appealing topic and has interested many linguists including but not limited to Comrie (1979), Croft (1988) Bossong (1985, 1991), Aissen (2003), Kalin (2018). One relevant theoretical question that arises in the face of the pervasiveness of DOM and the variation it comes with is this: Is there a unified analysis of differential object marking? This question consists of at least three sub-questions: i) is there a common property among the differentially marked objects? ii) why are these objects differentially marked? and iii) how are they differentially marked?

The first question has a more or less agreed upon answer. Cross-linguistically, objects that are differentially marked have some marked discourse features related to definiteness, specificity, or animacy. Aissen (2003) shows that an object is more likely to be differentially marked if it is on the higher end of what might be called discourse prominence hierarchies. The two hierarchies that are often discussed are the animacy hierarchy and the definiteness hierarchy which have been proposed by Silverstein (1976), Comrie (1979), and Croft (1988) among others, with slight differences.

(1) Animacy Hierarchy

1/2 > 3 Pronoun > Name > Human > Animate > Inanimate

(2) Definiteness Hierarchy

Pronoun > Name > Definite > Specific > Nonspecific

On the hierarchies given in (1) and (2), the categories on the left end of the scale are more likely to be differentially marked than the ones on the right. Languages also vary in terms of the cut-off points on the scale and whether they make reference to one of the hierarchies or both. For example, Turkish differentially marks all definite objects as well as indefinite specific objects while in Hebrew DOM is restricted to definite objects (see Aissen 2003).

The questions regarding why and how objects are differentially marked in DOM languages have resulted in a diverse array of theories making a unified account of differential object marking a challenge. Some prominent analyses of DOM in the literature include a) feature identification based analyses (Næss 2004; de Hoop and Malchukov 2008; Enç 1991), b) dependent case analyses (Baker and Vinokurova 2010; Baker 2015) c) movement analyses (Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996), d) differentiation analyses (Aissen 2003; de Hoop and Malchukov 2008), and e) visibility based analyses (Massam 2001). In a recent paper, Kalin (2018) discusses shortcomings of the previous analyses of DOM in the literature and proposes a novel analysis based on nominal licensing. In Kalin's licensing model, differential object marking is analyzed as abstract case assigned to nominals that need licensing, via agreement by optional secondary licensors introduced as a last resort option. The main proposal is that not all nominals need licensing (through abstract case) and the ones that need licensing can be licensed only when they agree with a ϕ -probe.

Investigating the intricate details of differential object marking in Kashmiri, I propose a novel account of differential object marking within a licensing framework (Kalin 2018, Levin 2019, Barány 2017) and a syntactic model where agreement proceeds in two steps (Arregi and Nevins 2012; Bhatt and Walkow 2013; Marušič, Nevins, and Badecker 2015; Atlamaz 2019). The organization of the paper is as follows: Section 2 presents the details of Kashmiri case and agreement facts along with some basic assumptions about the Kashmiri case system. Section 3 lays out the core assumptions regarding the two-step Agree mechanism and its interaction with case and proposes a novel case mechanism based on agreement. Section 4 provides an account of the Kashmiri differential object marking facts within the proposed theory. Section 5 addresses the hierarchy effects observed in Kashmiri differential object marking. Section 6 concludes the discussion.

2 Differential Object Marking in Kashmiri

Kashmiri is a Dardic/Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Jammu and Kashmir state of India. It is an aspect-based split-ergative language with differential object marking sensitive to *specificity*, *animacy* and *person hierarchy*. DOM is realized as overt case marking on the differentially marked object and the DOM case is syncretic with the morpheme that appears on goal datives. In the following, I present the relevant case and agreement properties of the aspect split in Kashmiri and the DOM facts. The data in this paper mainly comes from earlier work on Kashmiri by Wali and Koul (1997), Verbeke (2013), and Bhatt (2013). Some crucial data has been elicited from my Kashmiri consultant.

The aspect-based split ergativity in Kashmiri works as follows: In perfective clauses, transitive subjects are marked with ergative case while objects are

morphologically unmarked (\emptyset). Agreement registers the object. In perfective clauses, differential object marking does not occur.

- (3) tse vich-i=th=as bi.¹
 2SG.ERG saw-F.SG=2SG=1SG 1SG. \emptyset
 ‘You saw me (female).’ (Wali and Koul 1997)

It is worth noting that Kashmiri employs both agreement and clitics to register ϕ -features of arguments on the verb. True agreement is obligatory and cross-references GENDER and NUMBER features of only one argument. Agreement shows up as some morphological change on the verb root and sometimes as an extra suffix. The extra suffix can be analyzed as part of the fusion of agreement and the verb. Clitics, on the other hand, cross-reference the PERSON and NUMBER features of arguments. Clitics follow the true agreement suffix. Every argument can be cross-referenced as a clitic on the verb. Thus, the verb has the template in (4) exemplified in (5).

The clitic system in Kashmiri is quite complex and worth studying. However, the clitics do not contribute to the analysis proposed in this paper. Therefore, I defer the analysis of clitics for future work and mention them only when they are relevant.

- (4) Kashmiri verbal template for agreement and clitics
 [Verb + Agreement] + Clitic + Clitic + Clitic

- (5) bi chu-s-an-ay su tse
 1SG. \emptyset be.PRES.M.SG=1SG=3SG=2SG 3SG. \emptyset 2SG.DAT
 hava:li kar-a:n.
 hand-over do-PTCP.PRES
 ‘I am handing him over to you.’ (Wali and Koul 1997)

In non-perfective clauses, transitive subjects are morphologically unmarked.² Agreement always registers the \emptyset -marked subject, but never the object. Specific animate objects receive dative case while inanimate or non-specific objects remain caseless.

- (6) az vuchan daaktar mariiz-as waarpaathyii.
 today see.FUT.3PL doctors patient-DAT carefully
 ‘Today, the doctors will examine the patient carefully. (Bhatt 2013, p. 176)

¹ The affix boundaries are indicated by ‘-’ whereas clitic boundaries are indicated by ‘=’.

² Except for some dative subject constructions where case assignment is thematic.

- (7) az vuchan daaktar waarpaathyii **mariiz**.
 today see.FUT.3PL doctors carefully patient
 ‘Today, the doctors will examine a patient carefully. (Bhatt 2013, p. 177)

In (6), the object is specific and animate. It precedes the manner adverb *waarpaathyii* ‘carefully’ and receives dative case. In contrast, the object in (7) remains caseless and follows the same adverb. The interpretation is non-specific. It should be noted that Kashmiri is a verb second language and the verb moves to the second place in the absence of an auxiliary. The data in (6)-(7) shows that specific objects in Kashmiri move above low adverbs like ‘carefully’ while non-specific ones remain in situ. Non-specific nouns cannot precede manner adverbs as shown in (8). Similarly, dative-marked specific objects cannot follow manner adverbs as in (9).

- (8) ???az vuchan daaktar **mariiz** waarpaathyii.
 today see.FUT.3PL doctors patient carefully
 ‘Today, the doctors will examine a patient carefully. (Bhatt 2013, p. 176)

- (9) ???az vuchan daaktar waarpaathyii **mariiz-as**.
 today see.FUT.3PL doctors carefully patient-DAT
 ‘Today, the doctors will examine a patient carefully. (Bhatt 2013, p. 177)

Besides specificity, DOM in Kashmiri is further constrained by animacy. Animate NPs receive dative case when specific ((11)) but inanimate ones do not ((10)).

- (10) hu ch-u **p’a:li** tul-a:n.
 3SG be.PRES-M.SG cup lift-PTCP.PRES
 ‘He is lifting the cup.’

- (11) hu ch-u **lødki-as** tul-a:n.
 3SG be.PRES-M.SG boy-DAT lift-PTCP.PRES
 ‘He is lifting the boy.’

A distinctive property of DOM in Kashmiri is that it is further constrained by Person Hierarchy effects. In addition to the animacy and specificity of the object, the properties of the subject play a role. In (11), the object is [ANIMATE, SPECIFIC] and receives dative case. However, the same object remains unmarked when the subject is a first or second person pronoun as in (12).

- (12) bi ch-u=s **lødki** tul-a:n.
 1SG.Ø be.PRES-M.SG=1SG boy.Ø lift-PTCP.PRES
 ‘I am lifting the boy.’

Example (13) shows that a second person pronominal object appears in dative form when the subject is third person and (14) illustrates that the same object remains unmarked when the subject is first person.

(13) **hu** ch-u **tse** / ***tsi** tul-a:n.
 he.Ø be.PRES-M.SG you.DAT / you.Ø lift-PTCP.PRES
 ‘He is lifting you.’

(14) **bi** ch-u=s **tsi** / ***tse** tul-a:n.
 I.Ø be.PRES-M.SG=1SG you.Ø / you.DAT lift-PTCP.PRES
 ‘I am lifting you.’

When both of the arguments are third person, the object appears in dative. This is illustrated in (15).

(15) **su** vuch-i **temis** / ***su**.
 3SG.Ø see-FUT 3SG.DAT / 3SG.Ø
 ‘He will see him.’ (Wali and Koul 1997)

The table in (16) shows the case marking on the object in all the possible combinations of pronouns.

(16)

Obj	1	2	3
1	--	Ø	Ø
2	DAT	--	Ø
3	DAT	DAT	DAT

The one thing that has not received much attention in Kashmiri is the fact that non-pronominal NPs behave like third person pronouns when they are specific and animate. The relevant examples were provided in (11) and (12) where animate specific NPs obey the person hierarchy effects just like the third person pronouns do. Based on these facts, one could imagine that non-pronominal NPs are treated as third persons and Kashmiri obeys the person hierarchy given in (17).

(17) *Person Hierarchy*
 1 > 2 > 3

However, inanimate NPs do not behave like third person pronouns as they never get dative regardless of the subject. This is illustrated in (18)-(19).

(18) **hu** ch-u **p'a:li** tul-a:n.
 he.Ø be.PRES-M.SG cup. Ø lift-PTCP.PRES
 'He is lifting the cup.'

(19) **bi** ch-u=s **p'a:li** tul-a:n.
 I.Ø be.PRES-M.SG=1SG cup. Ø lift-PTCP.PRES
 'I am lifting the cup.'

These facts indicate that Kashmiri obeys an Animacy Hierarchy with four components.

(20) *Kashmiri Animacy Hierarchy (KAH)*
 1 > 2 > Animate > Inanimate

The hierarchy in (20) makes reference to a subset of the features in the animacy hierarchy proposed by Silverstein (1976) given in (1). The Kashmiri Animacy Hierarchy provides a precise generalization capturing the differential object marking in Kashmiri. This is given in (21).

(21) *Kashmiri DOM Generalization*
 If NP1 c-commands NP2,
 if NP2 is animate and NP2 ≥ NP1 on the KAH,
 then NP2 is DATIVE.

The Kashmiri DOM Generalization in (21) is still incomplete as it does not make any reference to specificity. I argue that specificity does not play a role on the hierarchy. Instead, its contribution is restricted to moving the object outside the VP (in line with the proposals of Diesing (1992), Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou (1996), and Torrego (1998) and supported by the examples in (6)-(9)). This provides the necessary conditions for assigning Differential Object Marking.

To sum up the facts discussed in this section, DOM in Kashmiri is restricted to non-perfective clauses and is subject to the animacy hierarchy in (20). Specific animate objects that are c-commanded by a nominal that is at the same level as the object or lower on the animacy hierarchy receive differential object marking. Otherwise, they remain unmarked. A theory of Differential Object Marking needs to be able to capture the aspect dependency of DOM in Kashmiri as well as the animacy hierarchy effects. In the following sections, I develop a novel account of DOM that captures the Kashmiri facts.

3 Proposal

The three main ingredients of the proposal are case, agreement, and nominal licensing. In the following, I lay out my core assumptions regarding the three components and then propose an account of differential object marking as a residue of Agree relation established in the syntax.

3.1 Case

One dominant view on case in the literature has been the agreement-centric view of Chomsky (2000, 2001). In this model, structural case is assigned to a noun phrase as a result of agreement between a head F and the noun phrase. Structural case assigned via Agree satisfies the abstract requirement on the expression of nominals (first raised by Vergnaud in a 1977 letter, later published as Vergnaud (2008)). This model is based on the assumption that all nominals must be licensed through abstract case assignment.

Another view that has been gaining significant attention is Marantz's (1991), morphological case model. In this view, abstract case does not exist; hence, there is no abstract licensing requirement on nominals. Case is purely morphological and it is realized by morphological rules disjunctively ordered as in (22).

- (22) *Case Realization Disjunctive Hierarchy* (Marantz 1991)
- a. Lexically governed case
 - b. Dependent case
 - c. Unmarked case (environment sensitive)
 - d. Default case

In this model, lexically governed case takes precedence over everything else. Inherent case and quirky case can be considered as versions of lexically governed case. There is not much debate over the existence of lexically governed case. This is even acknowledged in Chomsky's original case theory.

There has been a growing amount of literature on Dependent case (Levin and Preminger 2015; Baker 2015; Bobaljik 2008; Baker and Vinokurova 2010). Dependent case is the case assigned to one of the two arguments in a case domain based on c-command relations between the two nominals. Dependent case theory has been quite successful in accounting for ergative languages.

A growing body of literature has been challenging the Agree-assigned case view and providing support for the Dependent Case view. One of the early challenges for the Agree assigned case view was presented by Bhatt (2005). Bhatt showed that in Hindi T can agree with objects that it does not assign case. Bobaljik (2008) showed a framework where agreement is dissociated from case assignment and case assignment precedes agreement accounts for the lack of agreement with overtly case marked nominals in a wide variety of languages.

This is supported by the fact that ergative subjects in Kashmiri are not agreed with. Instead, agreement tracks the unmarked nominal (i.e., the internal argument). This was shown in (3), where the agreement morpheme cross-references the gender and number features of the internal argument. Baker (2015) has shown that the dependent case view accounts for ergative, split ergative, and tripartite languages successfully. The Agree-assigned view is particularly problematic with split-ergative languages.³

Following the literature on dissociating agreement from case assignment, I adopt the view that the syntactic operation Agree does not assign case in the syntax because the Agree-assigned case view faces the serious challenges as discussed above. Following Marantz (1991), I assume case to be the morphological reflex of certain morpho-syntactic configurations and operations. In addition to the case rules argued by Marantz in (22), I argue that morphological case can sometimes be the overt realization of an agreement relation and I call this *Agree-Case*.

Agree-Case is in the spirit of Dependent Marking proposed by Nichols (1986) and distinct from the Chomskyan Agree-assigned Case in that Chomsky's treatment of Case is an abstract feature assigned in the syntax whereas Agree-Case is a purely morphological reflex of an agreement relation. The distinction becomes clear once I lay out my assumptions regarding Agree in the next section.

3.2 *Agree as a Two-step Operation*

A growing body of literature has shown that agreement happens in two steps: *Agree-Link* and *Agree-Copy* (van Koppen 2007, Arregi and Nevins 2012; Bhatt and Walkow 2013; Marušič, Nevins, and Badecker 2015, Atlamaz and Baker 2018, Kalin 2020). In broad terms, Agree-Link establishes a relation between a Probe and a Goal in the syntax whereas Agree-Copy copies the features on the goal to the probe in the morphological component.

The most precise definition of Agree-Copy and Agree-Link operations (to date and to my knowledge) have been defined in Atlamaz and Baker (2018) where they define Agree-Link as an operation that stores the address information of the goal by adding a *pointer* to the probe whereas Agree-Copy *dereferences* the pointer by replacing the pointers with the phi values of the goal. The definitions are given in (23)-(24).

(23) *Agree-Link*

(Atlamaz & Baker 2018, p. 211)

³ One successful account of ergativity (and split ergativity by extension) in an Agree-assigned Case system is Bobaljik's (1993) Obligatory Case Parameter.

Agree-Link is an operation that establishes a relation between a probe P and the closest goal G in the local c-command domain of P by adding a **pointer** (\rightarrow_G) from P to G.

(24) *Agree-Copy* (Atlamaz & Baker 2018, p. 211)

Agree-Copy takes as input a substructure of the form $P_{[\rightarrow_G]}$ and returns $P_{[\{\pi, \#, \gamma\}]}$ by replacing pointers associated with P with the φ -set at G.

In Nichols' (1986) terms, Agree-Link establishes a relation between a head (probe) and a dependent (goal). Agree-Copy realizes this relationship by copying the phi features of the goal on to the probe, resulting in *Head Marking*. I argue that the marking in the opposite direction is also possible in scenarios where Agree-Copy cannot dereference the pointer on the probe. Under such circumstances, Agree-Case can dereference the pointer by marking the relationship on the goal resulting in morphological case, an instance of *Dependent Marking* (Nichols 1986).

(25) *Agree-Case*

Agree-Case takes as input a substructure of the form $P_{[\rightarrow_G]}$ and returns G_{case} by replacing the pointer from P to G with case on G.

To put it in a concise way, an Agree-Link relation can be realized as agreement on the probe via Agree-Copy or as morphological case on the goal via Agree-Case. In the following sections, I argue that Differential Object Marking in Kashmiri is a matter of licensing via Agree-Link and the dative on the DOM arguments in Kashmiri is the output of Agree-Case.

3.3 Nominal Licensing

3.3.1 Defining Licensing

The notion of *licensing* has been used in various theories in Generative literature and it is an ambiguous term. Even within the domain of licensing nominals, the term has been used ambiguously. The original sense of nominal licensing was in the context of Abstract Case. The Government & Binding era view on nominal licensing was that nominals are licensed by Theta-roles and (abstract) Case (following Chomsky (1981)). In this view, all nominals need licensing. Marantz (1991) argued that abstract Case is unnecessary and nominals do not need licensing via abstract Case.

Licensing referred to in this paper is different from the notion of licensing used in abstract Case theories (Chomsky 2000, 2001). In this paper, licensing is used in the spirit of person licensing observed in *Person Case Constraint* (PCC) effects in languages like Basque. In Basque, first- or second-person pronoun

details of SCOPA effects are not relevant to the discussion here. The crucial point is that nominals with participant features must be licensed via agreement.

Ritter and Wiltschko (2014) make a similar observation and argue that discourse participants need to be “anchored” to the clausal spine for interpretation. More specifically, discourse participants need to be anchored to the speech act for interpretation. Kalin (2018) proposes that this anchoring is licensing through agreement. Assuming that speech acts are located in the left periphery, she argues that agreement copies these features to the clausal spine so that they can be interpreted along with the speech acts. In Kalin's model, features listed in (30) need licensing to be interpreted.

(30) Features that need licensing

- a. SPEAKER
- b. PARTICIPANT
- c. DEFINITE
- d. SPECIFIC
- e. ANIMATE

Features like SPEAKER and PARTICIPANT are clearly related to speech acts. DEFINITE and SPECIFIC are also discourse related. It is not clear how animacy is related to discourse, though. Building on Ritter and Wiltschko (2014), Kalin proposes that features like animate/specific increase the possibility of a nominal becoming a discourse participant and increases its likelihood to need licensing. “Licensing” in this paper refers to this type of licensing.

The main assumption is that not all but some nominals need licensing. This is the crucial difference between the notion of licensing pursued here and the traditional view that all argument nominals must be licensed through Abstract Case (and theta roles). It is not clear why certain features need licensing and the proposals have not gone beyond speculations or axiomatic statements. I do not offer any deep insights into this, either. In the remainder of this paper, I assume that features that have a “marked” status in the discourse (speaker, addressee, participant, animate, etc.) might need licensing under well-defined conditions. Languages differ in terms of what needs licensing by picking a cut-off point on what might be called discourse prominence hierarchies. The two hierarchies that are most often discussed are the animacy hierarchy and the definiteness hierarchy which have been proposed by Silverstein (1976), Comrie (1979), and Croft (1988) among others given in (1) – (2).

3.3.2 Conditions for Licensing

In the previous section, I defined licensing as the formal requirement only on some nominals that have particular features. In this section, I define the conditions under which licensing is required by generalizing Preminger's (2011,

2014) definition of Person Licensing Condition to capture the licensing of all “marked” nominals.

Béjar and Rezac (2003) argued that nominals with person features must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category. However, Preminger (2011) observes that first and second person pronouns can occur in environments where they are not agreed with. The presence of PCC effects is correlated with the existence of overt agreement morphology in the vicinity. In Basque, non-finite clauses do not display agreement. In this context, PCC effects disappear, as in (31).

- (31) Gaizki irudi-tzen φ -zai- φ -t zuk ni
 wrong look-IMPF 3.ABS- $\sqrt{\text{SG}}$.ABS-1SG.DAT you.ERG me.ABS
 harakin-ari al-tze-a.
 butcher-ARTSG.DAT sold-NMZ-ARTSG.ABS
 ‘It seems wrong to me for you to sell me to the butcher.’ (Laka 1996)

Based on the correlation between PCC effects and overt agreement, Preminger (2011) proposes the Person Licensing Condition in (32).

- (32) *Person Licensing Condition* (Preminger 2011)
 A [PARTICIPANT] feature on a DP that is a viable agreement target (as far as its case is concerned, etc.), and for which there is a clausemate person probe, must participate in a valuation relation.

The licensing condition given in (33) requires nominals with a [PARTICIPANT] feature to be licensed in some but not all contexts. A closer look at the PLC in (33) reveals that it consists of three conditional statements:

- (33) A nominal requires licensing if
 a. it has a specific feature (PARTICIPANT)
 b. it is in the same domain as an agreement probe (a PERSON probe)
 c. it is a viable agreement target, i.e., it has the right case (etc.)

If any of these conditions is not met, person licensing is not required and PCC effects disappear. For example, a third person pronoun lacks a [PARTICIPANT] feature and it is not subject to the PLC. This is why in Basque, an absolutive third person theme c-commanded by a dative goal is grammatical. Similarly, if (33-b) does not hold, then person licensing is not required. The lack of an agreement probe in the same domain as a nominal with person features removes the need for person licensing. Infinitival clauses in Basque like in (31) support this point. There is no agreement probe in the infinitival clause and PCC effects do not occur. Finally, if the condition in (33-c) is not met, person licensing is not required. For example, if an NP with a person feature is in oblique case in a

language where oblique case renders a nominal invisible for agreement, then person licensing is not required. In section 4, I argue that this is the reason why DOM is not observed in Kashmiri perfective clauses where the subject is ergative and invisible for agreement.

Extending Preminger’s PLC, I propose the following condition for licensing of nominals that bear a wider range of discourse related features.

(34) *Feature Licensing Condition*

A nominal N with a feature F ($N_{[F]}$) must enter an agreement relation with a probe P with a matching F ($P_{[F]}$) if N is visible to P.

(35) F is a feature drawn from animacy/specificity hierarchies and varies depending on the language.

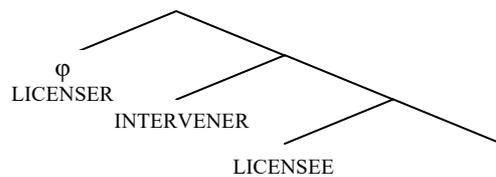
The Feature Licensing Condition in (34) predicts PCC effects when a language requires [PARTICIPANT] features to be licensed. It also predicts PCC-like effects with other features including [ANIMATE, SPECIFIC, DEFINITE], etc. If a language requires [ANIMATE] nominals to be licensed, then we should expect PCC like effects with [ANIMATE] nominals. Although rare, this is attested in Mohawk (Baker 1996) and Southern Tiwa (Richards 2008). Similarly, we also get the same constraint with [DEFINITE/SPECIFIC] nouns in Akan (Richards 2008). I argue that PCC-like effects with features other than [PARTICIPANT] are common but most of the time such effects are disguised by Differential Object Marking, which “repairs” the illegitimate structure that leads to PCC effects.

3.4 Licensing, PCC, and DOM

Kalin (2016) has observed that both PCC and DOM occur in configurations like (36), where a probe c-commands two goals.

(36) *PCC/DOM Configuration*

(Kalin’s observation)



The mainstream view (Béjar and Rezac 2003; Kalin 2017, 2018; Preminger 2011) has been that, in this configuration, the intervening nominal prevents the probe from seeing the lower nominal. When the lower nominal bears a feature that needs licensing, the configuration leads to ungrammaticality, resulting in a PCC effect. Kalin (2018) argues that, in such cases, if a language has a way of

introducing additional probes as a last resort mechanism, the added probe can license the lower nominal, which is realized as DOM.⁵ The added probe can be realized as extra agreement or overt case marking on the licensee.

Kalin’s proposal is based on the assumption that a noun phrase with a particular feature F always needs licensing. This predicts a static DOM where an object with F is always differentially marked. This, however, falls short of capturing the Kashmiri facts discussed in (13) and (14), where a second person object receives DOM only if the subject is third person but not when it is first person. The fact that a nominal with F does not always need licensing motivates the *visibility* requirement in the definition of the Feature Licensing Condition in (34). I argue that the difference between (13) and (14) follows from the difference in their visibility to an agreement probe. This is detailed in Section 4.

Preminger’s version of the PLC, which I adopt here, makes an implicit assumption about the nature of Agree. The condition is based on the premise that an agreement probe (licenser) and a person feature (licensee) must be in the same domain and *visible* to one another. This implies that the licensee in the configuration in (36) must go into the Agree calculus. However, the intervener should be blocking the Agree relation between the licenser and the licensee. Thus, the licenser should not be *visible* to the agreement probe and no violation of the PLC should incur. The only way for the agreement probe to see across an intervener is to assume Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2005). This means that that PCC/DOM occurs only under Multiple Agree scenarios, something independently proposed by Barány (2017). Thus, I define Multiple Agree within the two-step Agree system as follows.

- (37) Agree-Link_{Multiple}
 Agree-Link_{Multiple} establishes a relation between a probe P and all goals {G1, ..., Gn} within the local c-command domain of P by adding pointers (\rightarrow) from P to each of the Gs.

Schematically, given a probe P and goals {G1, ..., Gn}, Multiple Agree returns:

$$P \begin{matrix} \rightarrow & G1 \\ \rightarrow & Gn \end{matrix}$$

Earlier, I defined Agree-Copy as a post-syntactic operation that takes $P \begin{matrix} \rightarrow & G1 \\ \rightarrow & Gn \end{matrix}$ as input and replaces the pointers with the phi values of the goal. One thing that I did not discuss was the details of the operation of Agree-Copy. Does it replace all the pointers simultaneously or does it work cyclically? I now argue that

⁵ Béjar and Rezac (2009) make a similar proposal except that the extra probe is added to license the higher of the two goals rather than the lower one.

Agree-Copy works cyclically starting with the closest goal G1 and keeps copying features from lower goals Gn sequentially. PCC effects and DOM occur in cases when a multiply-linked probe can host only one set of ϕ -features. (This is the case in Kashmiri where T can host only one agreement morpheme). The remaining pointers (relations) cannot be interpreted at PF yielding a crash. More explicitly, Vocabulary Insertion cannot interpret the pointers on the probe. PCC effects occur when there is no other mechanism to interpret the pointers. Differential Object Marking occurs in languages with Agree-Case which can transduce the remaining pointers into case marking on the goal. The order of operations is given in (38).

(38) Agree-Link < Agree-Copy < Agree-Case

Differential Object Marking is then a way of expressing a syntactic Agree relation without overt agreement but through case marking. It should be noted that Agree-Case is not a last resort mechanism. It is a morphological operation that applies when conditions are met. Agree-Case is just like Agree-Copy in that it dereferences the pointers established by Agree-Link. The only difference is that it marks the relation on the goal but not the probe. This proposal operationalizes the idea of Head Marking and Dependent Marking (Nichols 1986). It also predicts that a language can have both Head Marking and Dependent Marking. In the next section, I show how the theory proposed here accounts for the Kashmiri facts discussed in Section 2.

4 Accounting for Kashmiri DOM

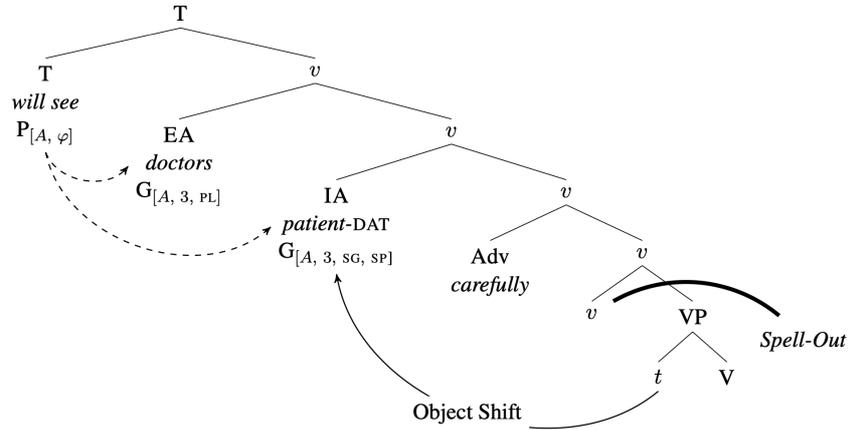
In this section, I show how the model presented in Section 3 accounts for the Kashmiri facts discussed in Section 2. I analyze the Kashmiri facts in two subsections. First, I provide an account of data where the arguments are non-pronominal. Next, I discuss the data where the arguments are pronouns and thus subject to the animacy hierarchy effects.

4.1 Accounting for the Specificity and the Aspect Split

As shown in Section 2, specific animate noun phrases in Kashmiri receive DOM in non-perfective aspect. This was shown in (6) repeated below as (6'). The relevant structure of (6') is given in (39).

(6') az vuchan daaktar **mariiz-as** waarpaathyii.
 today see.FUT.3PL doctors patient-DAT carefully
 'Today, the doctors will examine the patient carefully. (Bhatt 2013, p. 176)

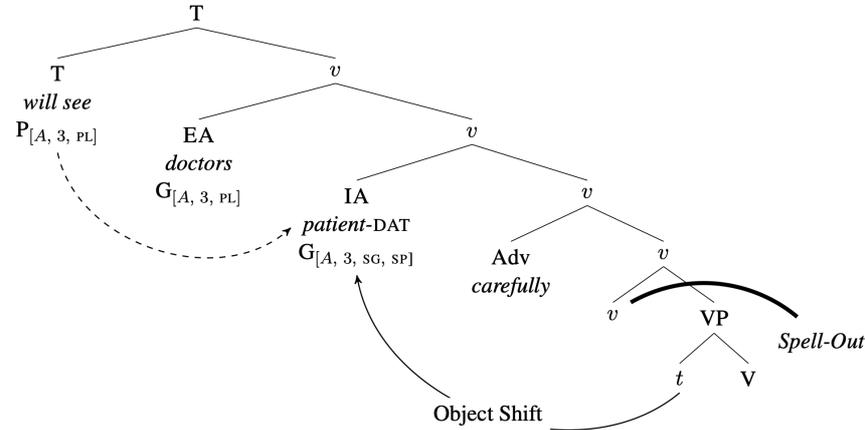
(39) Output of Agree-Link



In (39), the internal argument is specific and moves out of the VP and tucks in under the external argument (in Richards 1997 sense). This movement is supported by the fact that the specific object precedes the adverb *waarpaathyii* ‘carefully’. If the object is non-specific, it has to follow the adverb. Once the internal argument is in the same phase as the agreement probe on T, it becomes visible for agreement. Multiple Agree applies to satisfy the Feature Licensing Condition for [+ANIMATE] in this configuration. The agreement probe on T establishes Agree-Link relations with both the external argument and the internal argument. The relations established by Agree-Link are represented with pointers. Schematically, this is represented in (40).

$$(40) \quad P \begin{matrix} \rightarrow & G,EA \\ \rightarrow & G,IA \end{matrix}$$

Agree-Copy operates on the output of Agree-Link in a cyclic fashion. In Kashmiri, the agreement probe can host only one set of non-empty φ -values. Once the phi values of the subject are copied, there is no room for the φ -values of the probe. This leaves the probe with one set of φ -values and a pointer. The output of Agree-Copy is given in (41) and the schematic representation of the probe after Agree-Copy is given (42).

(41) *Output of Agree-Copy*(42) $P_{[A,3,PL]} \rightarrow G_{[A,3,SG,SP]}$

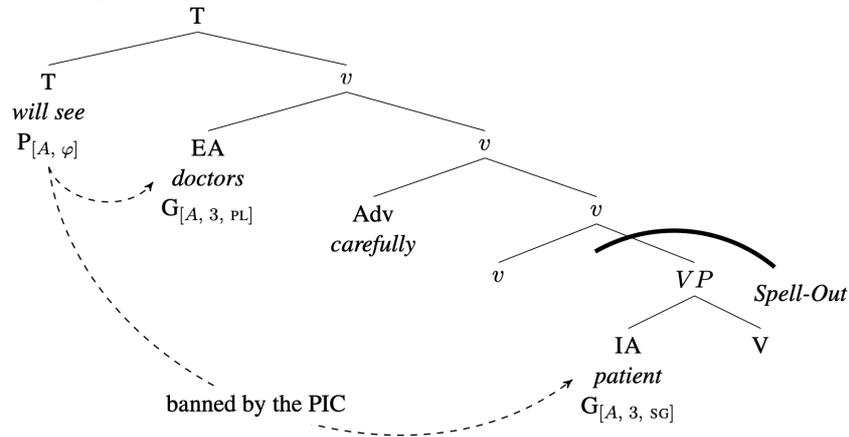
The unresolved pointer is an illegitimate object for Vocubular Insertion. Kashmiri resolves this issue by dereferencing the pointer through Agree-Case which marks the relationship on the goal rather than the probe. When the output of Agree-Copy is fed into Agree-Case, Agree-Case transduces the Agree-Link relation to dative case by removing the pointer and marking the object dative. Thus, the specific animate object receives dative case as it is agreed with in the syntax but this relation cannot be transduced into a valuation relation on T. Instead, the relation is transduced into case on the goal. This analysis also captures the fact that overtly agreed with nouns never get overt case in Kashmiri.

Next, let us consider a clause with an animate but non-specific common noun internal argument which is unmarked (not dative). This was shown in (7) which is repeated below as (7').

- (7') az vuchan daaktar waarpaathyii mariiz.
 today see.FUT.3PL doctors carefully patient
 'Today, the doctors will examine a patient carefully. (Bhatt 2013, p. 177)

The key difference between (6') and (7') is their position with respect to the adverb *waarpaathyii* 'carefully', which I take to be a vP adverb marking the phase boundary. The relevant structure of (7') is given in (43).

(43) *Output of Agree-Link*



In (43), the internal argument is not specific and thus remains inside the VP. This makes it invisible to the probe on T as they are in two distinct phases. Notice that this also obviates the need for feature licensing as the animate NP *mariz* ‘patient’ is invisible to the agreement probe. When Agree-Link applies, it only establishes a relation between T and the external argument, which is later transduced into overt agreement on T via Agree-Copy. Agree-Case does not apply as its conditions are not met. Thus, the internal argument remains caseless.

So far, I presented the account of DOM in non-perfective clauses. In perfective clauses, DOM is absent regardless of the feature compositions of the arguments. Consider the perfective example in (44).

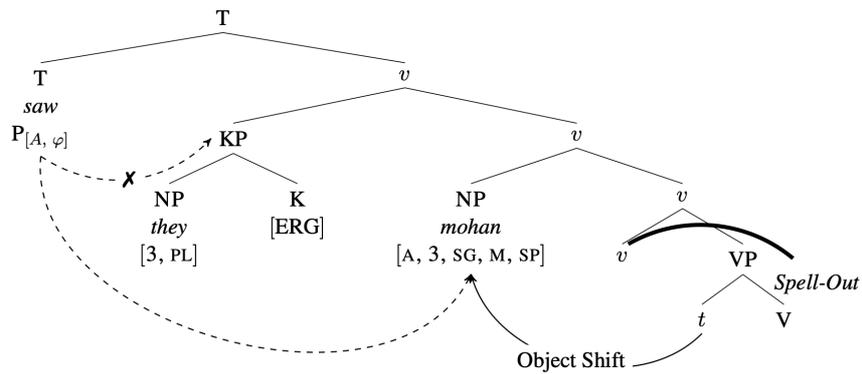
- (44) *timav vuch mohni ə:nas manz.*
 3PL.ERG saw.M.SG mohan mirror in
 ‘They saw Mohan in the mirror.’ (adapted from Wali and Koul 1997, p. 130)

In (44), the subject is ergative and the object is caseless despite being animate and specific. In Kashmiri, T does not agree with ergative subjects.⁶ Instead, it shows agreement with the caseless internal argument in number and gender. This is clearly seen in (44) where the agreement on the verb cross-references the

⁶ I remain agnostic as to whether the ergative on subjects is inherent or dependent case. The crucial assumption is that it must be assigned before Agree-Link to block agreement. In this, I follow Bobaljik (2008) who argues that case precedes Agree. I revise this slightly and argue that cases that make reference to lexical relations (inherent case) or syntactic configurations (dependent case) are assigned in the syntax before Agree applies. However, Agree-Case and others (e.g., default case) are assigned post-syntactically, specifically after Agree-Link and Agree-Copy.

masculine singular features of the internal argument *mohni*. The fact that the internal argument does not receive dative case despite being specific and animate simply follows from the fact that the agreement relation between T and the internal argument can be transduced into overt agreement on T via Agree-Copy. The relevant structure of (44) is given in (45).

(45) *Output of Agree-Link*



In (45), T can establish only one Agree-Link relation since ergative on the external argument renders it invisible to agreement. The sole Agree-Link relation is transduced into valuation on T via Agree-Copy. Since there are no pointers left on the probe, Agree-Case cannot apply and the internal argument remains caseless. This is why DOM is not observed in perfective clauses in Kashmiri.

4.2 Deriving the Entailment and Animacy Hierarchy Effects

Differential Object Marking has an implicational nature. Assuming a feature hierarchy (e.g., Animacy Hierarchy), differential marking of a lower ranking element implies the differential marking of a higher-ranking element. For example, if the feature HUMAN on the Animacy Hierarchy in (46) gets DOM, then all the objects ranking higher than HUMAN also get DOM.

(46) **Animacy Hierarchy**

1/2 > 3 Pronoun > Name > Human > Animate > Inanimate

Recent work on these implicational relations builds on the idea that various features are distributed across the extended nominal projection. Kalin (2018) proposes a set of heads introducing like specificity, definiteness, animacy, etc. without imposing any particular order of merge amongst themselves.

- (47) **Heads in the Extended Nominal Projection** (Kalin 2018, p. 31)
1. Participant (semantically encoding first/second person)
 2. Person (semantically encoding person)
 3. Human (semantically encoding humanness)
 4. Animate (semantically encoding animacy)
 5. Name (semantically encoding the property of being a proper name)
 6. Definite (semantically encoding definiteness)
 7. Specific (semantically encoding specificity)
 8. Number (semantically encoding number)

These heads are projected when the nominal has these meanings. In this model, the presence of certain features entails the presence of other features. For example, a [PARTICIPANT] feature entails the presence of [PERSON, ANIMATE, HUMAN] features. Hence, if a language employs Differential Object Marking for animacy, then Differential Object Marking for first and second person pronouns is entailed as they also have the feature [ANIMATE].

A similar idea has been proposed by Barány (2017). Focusing on person features, Barány (2017) argues that person features are in fact sets of features that consist of other features and the entailment relations among person features follow from the subset-superset relations among these sets. In this model, pronouns can consist of [SPEAKER], [PARTICIPANT], and [π] (person) features. This is illustrated in (48).

- (48) [1] = {SPEAKER, PARTICIPANT, π }
 [2] = { PARTICIPANT, π }
 [3] = { π }

The pronouns stand in a subset-superset relation and the entailment relations follow from such relations. For example, if a second person pronoun needs Differential Object Marking, then a first-person pronoun requires DOM because it has all the features possessed by the second person pronoun. In Barány's model, the hierarchies can be derived from the subset-superset relations among the elements on the hierarchy. An element A that is a proper subset of another element B ranks lower than B. This can be formulated as in (49).

- (49) $B > A$ if $A \subset B$

Following Kalin (2018) and Barány (2017), I assume that the entailment relations follow from the subset-superset relations among the nominals. In particular, I adopt Barány's abstract characterization of such subset-superset relations and represent the features on the Animacy Hierarchy as in (50).

- (50)
- | | | |
|--------------|---|---------------|
| a. 1 | = | {A,B,C,D,E,F} |
| b. 2 | = | {A,B,C,D,E} |
| c. 3 | = | {A,B,C,D} |
| d. NAME | = | {A,B,C} |
| e. HUMAN | = | {A,B} |
| f. ANIMATE | = | {A} |
| g. INANIMATE | = | \emptyset |

Given the subset-superset relations among nominals on this view, entailment relations can be accounted for straightforwardly. Regardless of the mechanism assigning DOM, if a language differentially marks a noun with the feature [B], which distinguishes a HUMAN object from non-HUMAN objects, then any noun that has the feature [B] gets DOM. This generalization works for many languages but it is too strong though in certain special cases like Kashmiri where the feature composition of the object is a necessary but not sufficient condition for DOM.

In Section 2, I showed that DOM in Kashmiri is subject to Animacy Hierarchy effects. In Kashmiri, DOM is sensitive to the features {SPEAKER, PARTICIPANT, ANIMATE, INANIMATE} which can be represented as in (51).

- (51) *Feature composition of Kashmiri NPs*
- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| a. 1 st person | = | {SPEAKER, PARTICIPANT, ANIMATE} |
| b. 2 nd person | = | {PARTICIPANT, ANIMATE} |
| c. ANIMATE | = | {ANIMATE} |
| d. INANIMATE | = | \emptyset |

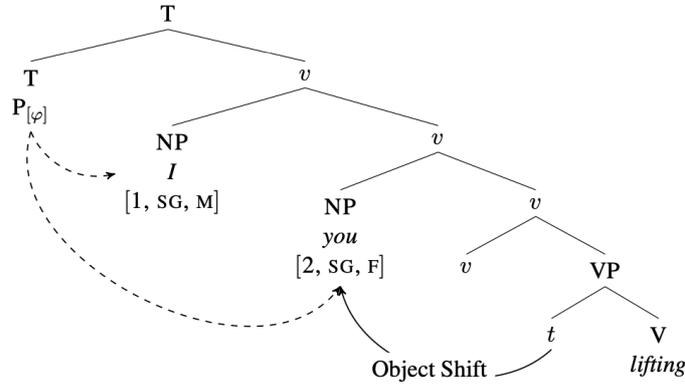
The feature composition in (51) results in the Kashmiri animacy hierarchy represented in (52), where hierarchy is built based on the subset-superset relations of features.

- (52) *Kashmiri Animacy Hierarchy*
 1st person > 2nd person > Animate NP > Inanimate NP

In the previous section, I argued that Kashmiri employs Multiple Agree and DOM is the result of an unresolved Agree-Link relation after the Agree-Copy operation applies and this is transduced into Agree-Case into case on the internal argument. This theory predicts that all the specific objects in Kashmiri must receive Differential Object Marking when the clause is non-perfective. Consider the following sentence, which is a counterexample:

- (53) **bi** ch-u=s **tsi** / *tse tul-a:n.
 I.Ø be.PRES-M.SG=1SG you.Ø / you.DAT lift-PTCP.PRES
 ‘I am lifting you.’

(54) *Expected Output of Agree-Link*



In this configuration, the verb should establish two Agree-Link relations in the syntax. At PF, Agree-Copy can remove the relation between the subject and the probe by transferring the features of the subject to the probe. Yet, the second relation cannot be turned into valuation since the probe already has a non-empty set of features. The remaining pointer should be transduced into dative case via Agree-Case. Yet, the object remains caseless. The same problem obtains in all the configurations where the object ranks lower than the subject on the Animacy Hierarchy discussed. Below, I illustrate other cases where the theory predicts DOM but the data points out otherwise.

(55) *bi ch-u=s lədkɪ tul-a:n.*
 1SG.Ø be.PRES-M.SG=1SG boy.Ø lift-PTCP.PRES
 ‘I am lifting the boy.’

(56) *tsi ch-u=kh yi tul-a:n.*
 you.Ø be.M.SG=2SG 3SG.Ø lift-PTCP.PRES
 ‘You are lifting him.’

(57) *tsi ch-u=kh lədkɪ tul-a:n.*
 you.Ø be.M.SG=2SG boy.Ø lift-PTCP.PRES
 ‘You are lifting the boy.’

When the subject is higher than the object on the animacy hierarchy, the object remains unmarked. In set theoretical terms, when the features of the object are a proper subset of the features of the subject, the object remains unmarked. This is expressed in (58).

(58) If $O_\phi \subset S_\phi$, then O is unmarked.

I propose that the facts discussed above can be explained by the Visibility Condition on the Feature Licensing Condition in (34) repeated below as (34') for convenience.

(34') *Feature Licensing Condition*
A nominal N with a feature F ($N_{[F]}$) must enter an agreement relation with a probe P with a matching F ($P_{[F]}$) **if N is visible to P**.

The Feature Licensing Condition, which enforces Multiple Agree in Kashmiri, applies only when a nominal is visible to an agreement probe. While movement of a nominal into the same phase as the agreement probe is a necessary condition for visibility, it is not sufficient. In Single Agree situations, Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990) ensures that the closest NP is agreed with. Extrapolating Relativized Minimality, I propose the Visibility Condition (on Multiple Agree) as in (59).

(59) *Visibility Condition (on Multiple Agree)*
A goal G is visible to a probe P across another goal G' only if ϕ -features of G' are a subset of G.

The Visibility Condition in (59) implies that when the subject is between the object and the agreement probe, the object is visible to the probe only if the object has the same features as the subject or more features than the subject. Otherwise, the object is invisible to the probe and the probe only agrees with the subject. The configurations in which an object is visible to the agreement probe ((60)) lead to PCC effects or Differential Object Marking while other configurations ((61)) do not lead to PCC effects or DOM because the object is not agreed with in the syntax.

(60) *PCC/DOM Configurations*

- a. 3>>⁷1
- b. 3>>2
- c. 3>>3
- d. 2>>1

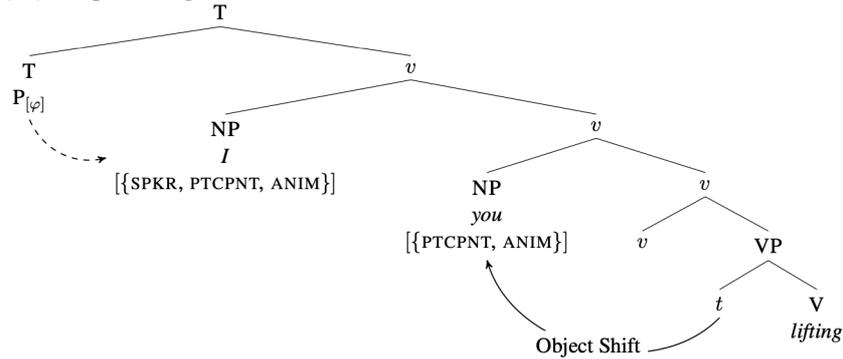
(61) *No PCC/DOM Configurations*

- a. 1>>2
- b. 1>>3
- c. 2>>3

⁷ >> indicates c-command.

Given the Visibility Condition, the lack of DOM in (53), which has the configuration in (60-a) is due to the invisibility of the object. The output of the Agree-Link is as in (62).

(62) Output of Agree-Link



In (62) the probe only agrees with the external argument but not with the internal argument since the internal argument is not visible to the agreement probe. When the output of Agree-Link is sent to Agree-Copy, it dereferences the only pointer on the probe by copying the features of the subject on the probe. There is no other pointer on the probe. The conditions for Agree-Case are not satisfied, and hence Agree-Case does not apply, resulting in no DOM on the internal argument. The same analysis holds for all the other cases in (55)-(57).

5 Previous Analyses of Kashmiri DOM

The animacy hierarchy effects in Kashmiri have drawn the interest of Nichols (2001), Béjar and Rezac (2009), and Barány (2017) among others. In this section, I briefly discuss these approaches and compare my analysis to them.

Nichols (2001) adopts a static view of referential hierarchy where nominals are externally ranked based on their referentiality/animacy. She argues that person hierarchy phenomena arise as a result of a contradiction between two competing constraints given in (63).

- (63) *Feature Hierarchy Constraint* (Nichols 2001)
- a. Highest ranking argument (person/referential) feature associates to Tense.
 - b. Nominative argument (person/referential) feature copies to Tense in spec-head agreement.

In this view, T can accommodate only one structural relationship. Nichols argues that (63-a) and (63-b) leads to a competition when the subject is not the highest-

ranking argument in the clause. In such cases, languages need to choose either (63-a) or (63-b) and resolve the need for the other constraint in some other way. She argues that in Kashmiri, (63-b) wins over (63-a). This means that the nominative argument must be associated with T via spec-head agreement and the remaining argument gets non-structural Dative case as a last resort. The non-structural Dative case, in a sense, “hides” the internal argument from T since an argument with non-structural case cannot establish any relation with T.

My analysis shares a similar intuition with Nichols’ analysis in that Differential Object Marking in Kashmiri arises as a result of a single probe with multiple goals. However, there are some significant differences. Unlike Nichols, I argue that the DOM marked argument establishes an Agree-Link relation with T to satisfy the licensing requirements of visible animate NPs.

Béjar and Rezac (2009), and Barány (2017) take a non-static approach to the hierarchy phenomena and derive the hierarchy effects in the syntax via agreement. This is a major improvement on Nichols’ proposal as hierarchy effects are derived rather than assumed to be universal constructs. Although they have some significant differences, they both derive hierarchy effects via Cyclic Agree (Béjar and Rezac 2009). In both approaches, the internal argument receives a special case (DOM) when the feature composition of the internal argument is a superset of the feature composition of the external argument. Under such circumstances, the external argument cannot value the probe on ν since it has already been valued by a richer goal. Another probe is required to agree with the external argument. For Béjar and Rezac (2009), an optional extra probe is added in such cases and the addition of the extra probe leads to special Dative marking on the internal argument. I do not adopt this view due to its counter-cyclic nature of adding new probes.

In Barány’s account, ν normally assigns Dative case to the internal argument when ν only agrees with the internal argument. In configurations when the external argument has a richer feature structure than the internal argument, the ν +T agrees with the external argument as well as the internal argument. Under such circumstances, an impoverishment rule deletes the Dative case feature on ν and the object is realized as nominative. I do not adopt this account as it presumes that Kashmiri has two probes (T and ν) while we never see the realization of the second probe. The agreement probe always appears on T. What is more, this theory does not immediately account for the fact that DOM is not observed in past tense clauses. In past tense clauses, subjects of transitive clauses are ergative and neither ν nor T can in principle agree with the subject. Thus, we expect the objects to be always dative in this account.

Although the particular implementation details of my proposal are different from (Béjar and Rezac 2009) and Barány (2017), my analysis can be considered in line with their overall framework in that hierarchy effects are derived through the interaction of agreement and marked nominals. The main difference is that I assume that Kashmiri has a single agreement probe on T that

can establish Multiple Agree relations with nominals that need licensing. The hierarchy effects are the result of the Visibility Condition on Agreement.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, I analyzed the workings of a particular type of Differential Object Marking in Kashmiri where the differentially marked nominals are subject to Animacy Hierarchy Effects. Extending Preminger's (2011, 2014) Person Licensing Condition and following Kalin's (2018) proposal that only certain marked NPs need licensing, I argued that a certain subset of NPs must be licensed via agreement. Analyzing the hierarchy effects in Kashmiri, I have argued that such effects follow from the Visibility Condition which regulates the licensing requirement on marked NPs in a Multiple Agree framework.

My proposal rests on the assumption that DOM is not a uniform phenomenon. In languages like Turkish, where all specific NPs are marked accusative, Dependent Case theoretic account of Baker and Vinokurova (2010) is likely to be on the right track. The Dependent Case view predicts DOM to be omnipresent regardless of Tense/Aspect, presence of an agreement probe, or the featural composition of the NP (except for specificity, which moves the internal argument into the same case domain as the external argument). The bare-bones Dependent Case view also makes no predictions about the hierarchy effects or PCC effects. None of these are observed in languages like Turkish, where DOM occurs in all tenses/aspects, infinitival clauses with no agreement morphology (potentially indicating the absence of an agreement probe), no PCC effects are observed, and no hierarchy effects are present. DOM only seems to correlate with the position of the internal argument.

In contrast, DOM in Kashmiri is a by-product of agreement required by the Feature Licensing Condition under well defined conditions. The licensing-based model adopted here predicts hierarchy effects in languages like Kashmiri as well as PCC effects in languages that do not employ Agree-Case. It also predicts PCC-like effects with features other than the PARTICIPANT, which has been observed for ANIMACY in Mohawk and Southern Tiwa and for DEFINITENESS in Akan. Further research will reveal whether the full range of predictions of the licensing account are borne out and whether different types of DOM can be accounted for by a uniform analysis.

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Data Use: The data in this work mainly comes from previous publications and proper citation is provided. A few sentences were elicited from a language consultant.

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