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Case as denotation: variation in Romance

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1. CASE IN GENERATIVE THEORY

Generalizing, syncretism corresponds to the lack of isomorphism between interpretive categories, e.g. in (1) the cluster [accusative, 1, pl], and morphological categories, e. g. /-mun/, which is just [1 pl]. In Distributed Morphology, this lack of isomorphism is circumvented by assuming that at the syntactic level all semantic properties relevant for interpretation are abstractly represented while some categories to which syntactic computation applies do not have any

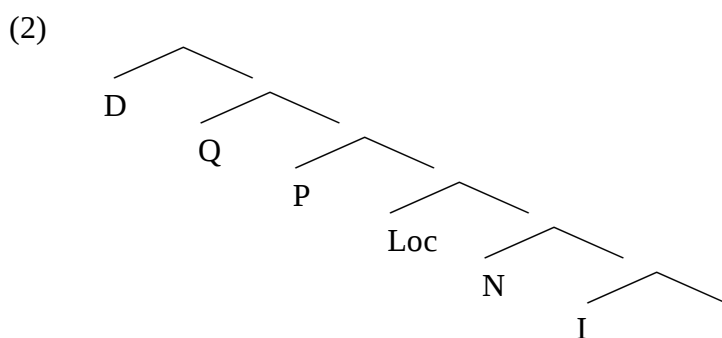
morphological expression. This result is achieved through a model crucially involving the assumption that lexical insertion applies after morphological rules, such as Impoverishment in (1), have operated on the abstract terminal nodes (*Late Insertion*).

What interests us here directly is that under the Distributed Morphology approach a morpheme traditionally associated with case, e.g. accusative, turns out not to have any such property, but only 1st person plural (õweõ) denotation. In general, in case-inflected languages, the presence of morphological entries associated with several case contexts (i.e. syncretic in traditional terms) leads to the conclusion that these case morphologies have a purely denotational content, devoid of case properties, and associated only with nominal class, number, possibly definiteness, etc.

We agree with Halle and Marantz on the content of actual case terminals ñ i.e. the fact that their intrinsic properties may be just nominal class etc. However we differ from them in that we assume a unified morphosyntactic component, where Late Insertion is replaced by projection of syntactic structure from lexical terminals (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2008). We take this to be the theoretical position implied by the minimalist program of Chomsky (1995). In such a framework, syncretism cannot be the result of the fact that morphological rules allow for radically underspecified lexical items to be inserted under richly detailed syntactic nodes. On the contrary, the denotational content that even conventional morphological models impute to terminals is all that is projected to the syntax and handled by the computational component. If therefore case is not a property of syntactic representation at all, we will have to show that syntactic and semantic composition can be successfully effected on the basis of this more restrictive approach.

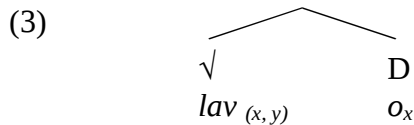
1.2. *The present model: nominal inflections in a language without case.*

Under present assumptions (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2008), predicative elements such as the verb in the sentence and the noun in the noun phrase project a set of referential contents (D, Q, P, Loc, N) which build a structure of the type in (2). In this, I(nflection) corresponds to the core position of the lexical item (the verb or the noun) and D, Q, P, Loc, N form its (projection) domain. D corresponds to the (in)definiteness properties which characterize the EPP argument of the sentence and its equivalent within the noun phrase; that is, the determiner. P(erson) ñ i.e. 1st and 2nd person ñ Q(uantifier) and Loc(ative) lexicalize referential properties of deixis (P, Loc) and quantification (Q), participating in the satisfaction of the argument slots of the predicate. N(oun) is the dedicated category for the internal argument of the predicate. We can think of the hierarchical order in (2) as a way to represent the relative scope of these elements. The D, Q, P, N sequence of positions is realized in the sentence for instance by pronominal clitics and in the noun phrase by determiners, quantifiers and other specifiers of the noun.

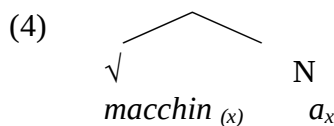


We assume that the same structural, categorial and interpretive organization underlies both syntactic and morphological constituents. At the syntactic level, predicative elements such as verbs and nouns, project a number of argumental positions. Similarly, at the morphological level, a lexical base, expressing predicative content, combines with inflectional elements, fixing the denotation of

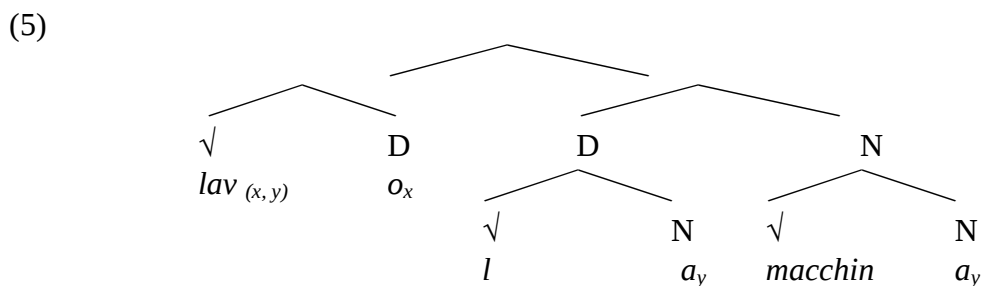
its arguments. In particular, the inflection of the verb can be construed as the verb internal realization of the EPP argument of the sentence, as illustrated in (3) with a simple Italian verb, *lavo* ɔ̃ washö. The verb internal EPP argument is notated as D, in keeping with Chomsky (1995); the predicative base is labelled with $\sqrt{}$ (root) as in Distributed Morphology. The D/ EPP argument saturates one of the arguments of the predicative base, here its external argument.



In turn, as illustrated in (4) for *macchina* ɔ̃carö of standard Italian, the internal argument of the noun corresponds to the *-a* nominal class inflection assigned to an N position. An immediate effect of structures like (4) is that the nominal character of *macchina* is not the result of intrinsically nominal properties of the root, nor a consequence of the Merge of this root with a dedicated functional projection *n* (Marantz 1997). Rather the nominal reading of the constituent in (4) depends on the presence of the N inflectional head.



In other words, in the simple structure in (4) the real nominal constituent is the inflection which provides an elementary closure of the internal (and sole) argument of the predicative base. In Romance this elementary lexicalization is not sufficient (at least not in the singular of count nouns), and must be supported by syntactic level operators, such as the determiner associated with the D position of the noun phrase, which introduces definiteness properties, in the standard way (Higginbotham 1985). In terms of this model, in a sentence like *lavo la macchina* in (5), the internal argument of the transitive verb *lavo* ɔ̃ washö is saturated by the ordered pair (D, N inflection). As already illustrated in (3), the *-o* inflection of the verb saturates the second argument of the predicative base *lav-* ɔ̃washö i.e. its external argument.



Note that since the finite verb inflection is not an interpretable bundle of features, but rather the verb-internal counterpart of a subject clitic, agreement cannot be construed as feature checking in the sense of Chomsky (1995). We do not see this as a great loss, given not only general restrictiveness considerations attaching to uninterpretability, but also empirical considerations. Even remaining within the framework of Chomsky (1995) there good reasons to say that within a noun phrase nominal class and number features are interpretable both on the head noun (which determines in particular nominal class), e.g. *macchina* in (4)-(5), and on the determiner (which is interpretable as a pronoun in the absence of a head noun), e.g. *la*. This means that agreement within the noun phrase cannot reasonably be construed as the matching of an interpretable ñ uninterpretable pair. Therefore we reconstruct agreement as an interpretive condition of referential identification between different arguments in the structure that share the same argumental slot ñ

such as for instance the two *-a* inflections in the noun phrase in (4)-(5), or the *-o* inflection in (5) and alexical subject if the latter was present.

1.3. Case inflections

Let us now consider the nominal inflection system of an (overtly) case marked language like Latin, with a view to studying its development in the Romance languages. An account of the Latin case systems is provided by Halle and Vaux (1997) within the Distributed Morphology framework. For the sake of the discussion we reproduce their morphemic analysis in (6) (Halle and Vaux 1997: table 14), as regards II and III nominal classes. Note that in instances where they would have a zero morpheme, we have just left a blank space in the relevant column of the paradigm.

(6)		Singular			Plural		
II.	Nom.	lup	-u	-s	lup	-i:	
	Gen.	lup		-i:	lup	-o:	-r-um
	Dat.	lup	-o:		lup	-i:	-s
	Acc.	lup	-u	-m	lup	-o:	-s
	Abl.	lup	-o:		lup	-i:	-s
III.	Nom.	can	-i	-s	can	-e:	-s
	Gen.	can	-i	-s	can		-um
	Dat.	can		-i:	can	-i	-bu-s
	Acc.	can	-e	-m	can	-e:	-s
	Abl.	can	-e		can	-i	-bu-s

Thus, for instance, in (7a) the form *canis* 'the dog' has an inflectional layer *can-i-* comparable to that of Italian *macchin-a* in (3), where the lexical base *can-* is closed by an N (nominal class) specification *-i*, satisfying the internal argument of the predicate *can-*. However *can-i-s* has a second inflectional layer, namely *-s*, conventionally corresponding to the nominative singular ending of the non-neuter III class. Just to limit ourselves to this class, *-s* also occurs in the genitive singular, as in (7b) and in the plural, both nominative and accusative, as in (7c). In this latter occurrence there appears to be a change of nominal class vowel, since *-s* attaches to *can-e*.

- (7) a. Canis currit
dog.sg.nom runs
øThe dog is runningö
- b. canis cauda
dogö tail
øhe dogö tailö
- c. Canes currunt/ video
dogs run/ I.see
ø(The) dogs are runningö/ øI see (the) dogsö

For Halle and Vaux (1997) the Latin case dictionary involves eight morphemes, including zero, for which they provide the lexical entries in (8). Cases are characterized by the features [$\pm$ structural], referring to whether the case is structural or not in Chomsky's (1986) sense, [$\pm$ superior], referring to whether the case is assigned under government (*-superior*) or not, and [$\pm$ oblique]. Halle and Vaux develop the view that the *-r-um* genitive plural of classes I, II and V depends on the combination of *-s* with *-um* morphology followed by rhotacism of *-s*. Similarly, the *-bu-s* dative/ablative plural of classes II, IV and V is derived by combining *-bu* with *-s*.

(8)	um	[+obl +struct	-sup +pl]		
	bu	[+obl	+sup +pl]	/	[III, IV, V]+ _____
	i:	[+obl +struct	-pl]		
	i:	[-obl	+sup +pl]	/	[-neut, I, II]+ _____
	a	[-obl	+pl]	/	[+neut] + _____
	m	[-obl	-pl]		
	Ø	[	-pl]		
	s	[	]		

As indicated in (8), Halle and Vaux assigns to -s a radically underspecified representation taking -s to be the default case morphology of Latin. This means that -s can automatically be inserted in any of the contexts in (7), since its features (or lack thereof) are compatible with all abstract terminal nodes. But the lexicalization of syntactic positions also obeys an *Elsewhere* criterion, under which insertion of a more richly specified lexical item takes precedence over that of a less specified one. Consider then the nominative singular, which in their model, is [-oblique, +superior, +structural, -plural] because it is an argument of the verb (ānon-obliqueō), it is non-governed (āsuperiorō) and āstructuralā. For independent reasons one must assume that there is a lexical entry in Latin, which is specialized for [-oblique, -plural], namely -m which occurs in the accusative singular of all nominal classes, as well as in the nominative of the neuter II class. By Elsewhere -m should take precedence over -s in the nominative singular. In order to avoid this unwelcome result an Impoverishment rule is postulated deleting the feature [-plural] in the nominative singular bundle, yielding a node which is only compatible with the -s default terminal. An extension of this rule is further envisaged to allow for the insertion of -s in the genitive singular.

In short, for the highly syncretic -s ending Halle and Vaux have recourse to the key mechanisms of underspecification and Impoverishment. The syncretism of -i is dealt with by distinguishing two different homophonous entries of -i, one for the nominative plural occurrences, and one for the genitive/dative occurrences. Indeed, a radical underspecification of -i would conflict with that of entries, including -s, making the grammar underdetermined.

Even within the limits of this presentation, a few points need to be stressed. First, the Impoverishment processes which justify the insertion of underspecified lexical items are fairly obviously ad hoc. Furthermore, it turns out that somewhat paradoxically, a default item like -s can fill a multiplicity of case slots, not in virtue of rich case properties, but in virtue of their absence¹. What is more, the account by Halle and Vaux (1997) is founded on relational features, such as [±superior] (i.e. governed), [±oblique] (i.e. argument-of) which should not enter in the definition of lexical entries at all under minimalist postulates.

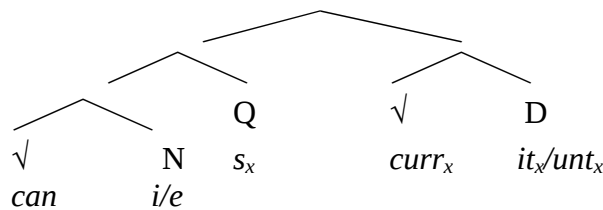
With a view to addressing these various problems, let us then continue with our analysis of (7). The N layer of inflections has already been taken to be entirely parallel to that of Italian. Now, a crucial fact about case, and the source of its relational characterization is the fact that case inflections vary according to the nature of the embedding of the DP. For instance, -s in (7a), the conventional nominative, would alternate with -m in contexts of embedding as the internal argument of a predicate (i.e. the conventional accusative) and so on. The analysis of Italian in (4) suggests a rephrasing of this traditional description; in a case marking language like Latin, while the N inflection, -i/-e in (7), is sufficient to satisfy the internal argument of the nominal base, the case layer is specialized for the satisfaction of argument roles (or other syntactic environments) defined by the superordinate predicate.

If so, we expect that the lexical entry for case endings cannot differ substantially from that of other elements in the sentence that concur to the satisfaction of superordinate predicate in languages without case, i.e. the functional categories Q, D etc. of the noun phrase. In particular, -s

¹ A response to this particular conceptual problem is provided by the model of Caha (2009), in which lexical insertion is governed by a Superset principle (i.e. the lexical item must contain all specifications of the node it lexicalizes). Caha (2009) and Distributed Morphology agree on Late Insertion, which is rejected here.

has a content which we tentatively identify with Q, as in (9). We base this hypothesis on the fact that -s shows up quite systematically as a plural, and plurality can be construed as a quantificational property.

(9)



We invoke the notion that Q elements in morphology, exactly as in syntax, have scope properties ñ a notion that ultimately goes back to Pesetsky (1985). In this perspective, we take the plural reading of the Q element -s in (7c) to correspond roughly to a noun internal scope of the quantification. In other words, the reading of -s in (9), with scope over *can-e*, is ñthe set of individuals having the property ñdogö i.e. the descriptive plural.

The singular readings of the same morphology correspond to a different scope of the same element, wider than the noun. Consider with the genitive singular (7b). Our idea is that the traditional genitive corresponds roughly to a (quantificational) inclusion relation. This is particularly obvious in the so-called partitive like *tre dei ragazzi* ñthree of the boysö where ñthe boysö specifies a larger set to which the ñthreeö singled out belong; inalienable possession and attribution of mental states are equally clear instances since in *il naso di Gianni* ñJohnö noseö or *la follia di Gianni* ñJohnö follyö the nose or fear are part of the collection of properties that we call ñJohnö It is worth noting that the same category of ñzonal) inclusionö is independently arrived at by Belvin and den Dikken (1997) as the interpretive content of the verb ñhaveö cf. ñhe se has three membersö ñJohn has a strange noseö ñJohn has a peculiar follyö etc. On this basis, we take that the scope of -s as a so-called genitive specification is the entire noun phrase; thus the genitive argument is interpreted as ñincludingö the head noun referent.

In the singular nominative configuration in (7a), in turn, we interpret the scope of -s as sentential. Despite the reservations that we had on the generalization of agreement (Chomsky) or T checking (Pesetsky and Torrego) to cover all case relations, it is certainly true that agreement with the finite verb inflection characterizes to so-called nominative context. We propose that quantificational specifications are required to satisfy this syntactic context, involving chain formation with the EPP argument. The latter is conceived of as a D closure of the sentence; -s as Q morphology is specialized for agreement with it, i.e. the satisfaction of the syntactic EPP (=D) environment. In short, there are intrinsic lexical properties of -s and there are syntactic environments that it can satisfy. One traditionally labels these environments as case configurations and the terminals such as -s as case terminals. Yet case has no reality; for, the real properties of argumental terminals are denotational, such as Q, and the real nature of the configurations they enter into is that of argument-predicate (thematic) structures, agreement structures etc.

Similarly, consider Latin -i, which can be both dative and/or genitive singular (according to inflectional class) and nominative plural. We propose that -i also has quantificational properties. When they take scope over the noun, they yield the plural reading (classes I and II, non-neuter). When they are construed as having wider (phrasal/ sentential) scope, they are read roughly as superset-of specifications ñ i.e. as genitive/dative (in classes I and V), as genitive (noun phrase

scope, in class II), or as dative (sentential scope in classes III and IV)². Thus, a class II form like *lup-i* is ambiguous between the reading *the wolves* (plural) and the reading *of the wolf* (genitive singular).

Under the present approach, we are then able to unify what for Halle and Vaux are two separate *-i* morphemes into a single lexical entry. It is evident therefore that the present analysis is at the very least not a notational variant of the more traditional approach represented by such works as Halle and Vaux (1997), since their respective dictionaries are clearly different.

2. ROMANCE CASE SYSTEMS

2.1. Case in Old French.

With this much background, we can return to the history of the *-s* and *-i* inflections in the passage from Latin to Romance languages. Modern Romance languages generally preserve a case system in the pronominal domain (section 3); however, nouns (and adjectives) display no case inflections, except for Romanian (section 2.2). Here we begin with the medieval Gallo-Romance languages, which preserve a reduced case system in the masculine, based on the distinction of nominative and objective case. In the singular an *-s* form, taken to derive from the masculine nominative singular of Latin, characterizes the nominative, while a form without *-s*, taken to continue an original accusative/oblique form, appears in non-nominative contexts. In the plural, the alternant with *-s*, corresponding to the plural accusative of Latin, characterizes objective contexts, while the alternant without *-s*, which continues non-sigmatic plurals, appears in nominative contexts. Relevant examples from Old French (Brunot & Bruneau 1969: 133 ff.) are provided in (10).

- (10) a. Dur sunt li colp e li caples est grefs
 Hard are the blows and the scuffle is hard
 (Chanson de Roland, 1678)
- b. Gardez le champ e le-s munz (munt-s)
 Watch over the field e and the mountains
 (Chanson de Roland, 2434)

This development from Latin to medieval Romance is treated by Calabrese (1998, 2008) within the framework of Distributed Morphology. The gist of his argument is that one should distinguish contextual from absolute syncretism, where the latter corresponds to lack of attestation in a given language for a particular feature opposition. Contextual syncretism is treated by the mechanisms of underspecification and default described above in relation to Halle and Vaux's (1997) analysis of Latin *-s*. However, absolute syncretism requires the postulation of a set of universal constraints disallowing certain feature combinations, ordered in a markedness hierarchy. In a language which has all possible case oppositions, none of the case constraints applies; languages that disallow certain cases activate one or more restrictions, in the order defined by the hierarchy. The activation of these constraints means that the relevant feature combinations are removed from the terminal nodes generated by the syntax; to be more precise, repair rules apply to reduce disallowed feature combinations into allowed ones.

What interests us here directly is the account that Calabrese (1998, 2008) proposes for the change from Latin to, say, Old French. In his terms, the reduction in case oppositions in Old French

² More precisely in the case of dative, *sentential* scope amounts to scope of the $Q(\supseteq)$ operator over the elementary event (the verb plus its internal argument(s)). Indeed, the $Q(\supseteq)$ operator to which we reduce the dative denotes a superset-of relation between the argument to which the dative morphology attaches and the internal argument of the superordinate predicate, excluding the external argument.

is due to the activation of feature constraints that were inactive in Latin, with repair rules responsible for the consequent reduction of certain cases to others. In particular according to Calabrese, the activation of constraints disallowing dative and ablative and the subsequent application of repair rules reduced the oblique to the [-location, +possessor] form, i.e. the genitive. This yielded the Proto-Romance three case system nominative-accusative-genitive reconstructed by the historical literature (De Dardel and Gaeng 1992; Zamboni 1990, 1998). From this system Old French was derived according to Calabrese through the activation of the *[-location, +possessor] constraint, disallowing genitive. This triggers the repair of the offending terminal nodes [-subject, -direct, +possessor, -location, *ë*] into [-subject, +direct, -possessor, -location, *ë*], so that genitive (the surviving oblique of the system) ends up coinciding with accusative.

Our take on the change from Latin to Old French is quite different. Recall that in the discussion surrounding (9) we have associated -s with a quantificational content, with three different scopal possibilities, namely over the word (plural), the noun phrase (genitive) and the sentence (nominative). We can describe Old French as preserving the same basic quantificational content for the -s morphology, while simplifying its distribution. Either -s takes scope over the word, hence we have the plural reading in (11b), or it takes sentential scope, hence we have the nominative reading in (11a). However the two do not combine.

- (11) a. [[*caple*] [_Q s]]
 b. [[*munt*] [_Q s]]

In short, in the account of Calabrese (1998, 2008), essentially placed within the framework of Distributed Morphology, what happens on the way from Latin to Old French is a restructuring of the morphological case system of the language, involving the activation of several constraints and the application of the corresponding repair rules. The paradoxical result is that a language with few case contrasts like Old French has a grammar as rich in case specifications as a language much richer in case contrasts like Latin; conversely, the richer language has fewer restrictions and fewer readjustments.

In our model, morphosyntactic structures are projected from lexical terminals. In turn, argumental lexical items are associated just with the denotational properties (nominal class, quantification, definiteness) that characterize them independently of the position of insertion; case is but the name given to lexical items which in virtue of these properties specialize for the satisfaction of certain syntactic environments. In this model there, is no abstract case system and no constraints and rules mapping it to the PF interface. Therefore the change from Latin to Old French cannot be a change in these constraints and rules. All that is affected is the lexicon of so-called case inflections *ñ* which in Old French is reduced to -s, maintaining its core characterization as a quantificational element. According to Calabrese (1998) the change from Latin to Old French cannot be accounted for by simply assuming that the default -s replaces more marked case endings. Indeed, this is not at all what we are proposing. We propose that a certain part of the case inflectional system is dropped (for instance consonantal specialized endings such as -*bus* for oblique plural, -*m* for accusative and neuter nominative, etc.). But what survives, i.e. -s, survives with the same basic properties it had in Latin.

Finally, in Modern French -s is only the plural ending, in all syntactic environments. In Calabrese's (1998, 2008) terms, a language without (overt) case like Modern French corresponds to a grammar in which all case constraints are activated. In present terms the restructuring from Old French to Modern French depends on the fact that the quantificational element -s is limited to take scope over lexical bases (adjectives, demonstratives, etc.), and is therefore interpreted only as a plural. All wider scope interpretations are absent *ñ* which means that it no longer is a case ending in traditional terms.

2.2 Romanian

The only modern Romance language which does have so-called case, is Romanian. Romanian is described as a language with post-nominal articles (Dobrovie-Sorin 1987). On the model of our analysis of Albanian (Manzini and Savoia to appear a, b, Savoia 2008), however, we will assume that the post-nominal article is generated as a nominal inflection within the noun *ñ* and in this sense we will simply refer to it as the definite declension of Romanian nouns. Romanian has an indefinite declension in the feminine, since the singular direct case (nominative/accusative) is *-Ń* while the oblique (dative/genitive) is *-e*. There are clearer case distinctions in the definite declension and on quantifiers preceding indefinite nouns. In (12) we exemplify the nominative/accusative singular, in (13) the oblique singular and in (14)-(15) their plural counterparts. The (a) examples involve indefinites and the (b) example definites. Note that the dative can also be expressed through the preposition *la*; we exemplify this in the indefinite plural in (15a).

(12) *Nominative/ accusative singular*

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|--------|--------|------|--------------|--------------|
| a. | A | venit/ | am | vŃut | un bŃat/ | o fat-Ń |
| | has | come/ | I.have | seen | a boy/ | a girl-fsg |
| | ð | There | came/ | I | saw a boy/ | girlö |
| b. | A | venit/ | am | vŃut | bŃat-ul/ | fat-a |
| | has | come/ | I.have | seen | boy-def.msg/ | girl-def.fsg |
| | ð | There | came/ | I | saw the boy/ | girlö |

(13) *Dative singular*

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------|--------|---------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| a. | (I)-l | am | dat | un-u-i bŃat/ | un-e-i fet-e |
| | him.it | I.have | given | a-msg-obl boy/ | a-fsg-obl girl-fsg.obl |
| | ð | I | gave it to a boy/ | girlö | |
| b. | (I)-l | am | dat | bŃat-ul-u-i/ | fet-e-i |
| | him.it | I.have | given | boy-def-msg-obl/ | girl-fsg-obl |
| | ð | I | gave it to the boy/ | girlö | |

(14) *Nominative/ accusative plural*

- | | | | | | | |
|----|------|-----------|--------|-------------------|-------------------|--------|
| a. | Au | venit /am | vŃut | do-i bŃeŠi/ | dou-Ńfet-e | |
| | have | come/ | I.have | seen two boy-mpl/ | two girl-fpl | |
| | ð | There | came/ | I | saw two boys/ | girlsö |
| b. | Au | venit/ | am | vŃut bŃeŠi-i/ | fet-e-l-e | |
| | have | come/ | I.have | seen boy-mpl-mpl/ | girls-fpl-def-fpl | |
| | ð | There | came/ | I | saw the boys/ | girlsö |

(15) *Dative plural*

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|--------|----------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| a. | (I)-l | am | dat | la | doi bŃeŠi / | dou-Ńfet-e |
| | him.it | I.have | given | to | two boy-mpl/ | two girl-fpl |
| | ð | I | gave it to two boys/ | girlsö | | |
| b. | (I)-l | am | dat | bŃeŠi-l-or / | fet-e-l-or | |
| | him.it | I.have | given | boy-mpl-def-obl/ | girl-fpl-def-obl | |
| | ð | I | gave it to two boys/ | girlsö | | |

So-called genitive and dative inflections are identical; however, genitives, i.e. obliques depending on a noun, are introduced by a (pre-nominal) determiner agreeing with the head noun, *al* (m.sg.), *a* (f.sg.), *ai* (m.pl.) or *ale* (f.pl.). The pre-genitival article can also take an invariant form *a* (which has the same form as the feminine singular) instead of the agreeing form. We provide some examples of predicative structures in (16) and inside a noun phrase in (17)-(18), where a pre-genitival article agreeing with the head noun is necessary if the head noun is indefinite, as in (17), although a definite head noun licenses the straight embedding of a genitive, as in (18)

(16) *Genitive*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|------|-----------|---------------|-------------|
| a. | ł | sta | e | al/a | om-ul-ui/ | oamini-l-or / | un-ei fet-e |
|----|---|-----|---|------|-----------|---------------|-------------|

- this.m is the.msg/the man-the-obl/ men-the-obl/ a-obl girl
 ðThis is (that) of the man/ the men/ a girlö
- b. Astea sînt ale/ a bŃNat-ul-ui/ un-ui bŃNat
 these.f are the.fpl/the of.the.boy/ a-obl boy
 ðThese belong to the/a boyö
- (17) a. Un pahar al/ a bŃNat-ul-ui/ un-ui bŃNat
 a glass the boy-the-obl/ a-obl boy
 ða glass of the/ a boyö
- b. DouŃkŃmŃŃ-i ale bŃNat-ul-ui / un-ui bŃNat
 two shirts-fpl the boy-the-obl/ a-obl boy
 ðtwo shirts of the/ a boyö
- (18) Pahar-ul bŃNat-ul-ui / fete-i / une-i fet-e
 glass-the boy-the-obl/ girl-obl/ a-obl girl-obl
 ðhe glass of the boy/ the girl/ a girlö

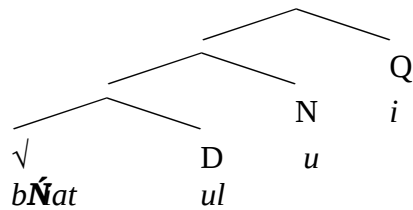
At least two of the Latin case endings tabulated in (8) survive in Romanian, namely *-(o)r* of the oblique plural and *-i* of both the oblique singular and the nominative plural (masculine). We assume that Romanian *-i* is to be characterized essentially like Latin *-i*, as a Q element (cf. section 2). As such, we predict that it will have the plural reading when taking scope over the words *Ń* or the possessive (dative/ genitive) reading when taking sentential scope. This is precisely what we find, leading us to conclude that Latin *-i* has essentially been preserved in the lexicon of Romanian. Latin *-r-um* in turn represented specialized oblique plural morphology *Ń* whose value is again preserved in Romanian *-(o)r*. The *-i* and *-or* endings exhaust the case morphology of the masculine nominal class; in the nominative/accusative singular, the *-l* morphology, to which we return immediately below, is either bare, as in *bŃNat-ul* ðhe boyö or followed by a nominal class inflection *-e*, as in *câine-le* ðhe dogö. The masculine and the feminine in turn are alike in the oblique. In the nominative/accusative, both singular and plural, they again display the pure nominal class endings *-a* and *-e*. We take it that plurality can simply correspond to a change in nominal class.

Next we take the *-l* morphology into account. In discussing Latin, we effectively assumed that so-called case inflections are sufficient to provide quantificational closures for the noun³. This means, among other things, that Latin does not need a system of determiners, which provide a quantificational/definite closure in syntax. By contrast, in Romanian, the introduction of *-l* morphology corresponds to the need for a specialized definiteness closure of the noun (phrase). In the singular, on the other hand, this morphology is present in the masculine, but not in the feminine; in the plural nominative/accusative, the relation between the two nominal classes is reversed in the sense that the *-e* feminine inflection is supported by *-l*, while *-i* suffices to determine a definiteness closure.

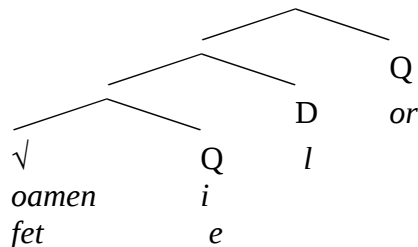
Let us illustrate the structural analysis of the definite nouns (noun phrases) of Romanian that results from the lexicon just reviewed. The particularly complex organization corresponds to the oblique singular (masculine) in (19a) and the oblique plural in (19b). These have three separate layers of inflection, including the quantificational specifications *-or* for the oblique plural in (19b) and *-i* for the oblique singular in (19a), as well as for the plural (masculine) in (19a). Note that when it represents the oblique, *-i* is attached above the *-l* definiteness ending, as in (19a), while when it represents the plural, it is attached below the *-l* definiteness morphology, as in (19b). The same *-i* entry is involved in both instances; only its position changes. The other type of inflection found in (19) is the nominal class vowel *-u* in (19a); this raises the question of whether *-ul* in (19a) should not be further decomposed. Here we chose to treat *-ul* as an allomorph of *-l* because there is no *-u* nominal class ending independently instantiated as the sister of a root.

³ We assume that when nouns are closed by thematic vowels, abstract closure at the interpretive interface is available; cf. the detailed discussion by Manzini and Savoia (to appear a, b).

(19) a.

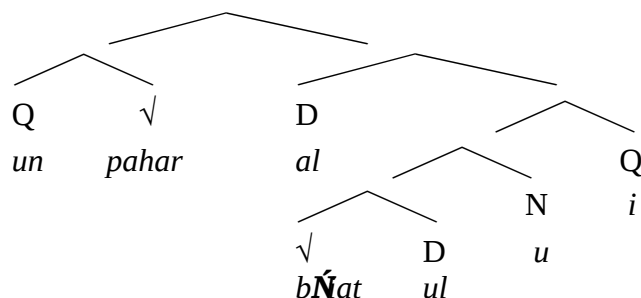


b.



The most notable structural property of genitives emerging from (16)-(17) is that they are introduced by a determiner agreeing with the noun of which they are a complement. Cornilescu (1995: 49) already concludes that the Gen assigning functional head AL is not a preposition, but a functional nominal, a D° in the same family of Gen-assigning morphemes with English -să. We also treat *al/a/ai/ale* as D elements ñ but not as genitive case assigners, but rather as heads of a predicative structure. We associate phrases like (17a) with structures of the type in (20), where the head noun *pahar* selects a determiner which in turn takes the genitive noun (phrase) *bNatului* as its complement. The fact that the embedded determiner does not agree with the genitive noun shows that it cannot be the determiner of the noun itself. Rather, the genitive, instead of being inserted directly as the complement of the head noun, is construed as the complement of a determiner predicated of the head noun.

(20)



There is at least one context in which the genitive is directly embedded under the head noun, namely when the head noun is definite and the genitive is adjacent to it, as in (18a). We propose that the lack of a pre-genitival determiner is due to a mutual exclusion of the type analyzed in the Romance literature for sequences of two *l-* clitics (in particular in Spurious *se* environments, cf. Halle and Marantz 1993). In the terms suggested by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2008), the lexicalization of one *l-* form succeeds in lexicalizing definiteness properties for the entire clitic domain, essentially by taking scope over it. Therefore, the lexicalization of the pre-genitival article agreeing with the head noun is excluded by the fact that it would be in the immediate scope of definite morphology.

As for the syncretism of the genitive inflection with the dative, in section 1 we argued that it is based on the fact that the relevant Q morphology has a superset-of/inclusion denotation ($Q(\supseteq)$). Thus, the second internal argument of *õgiveã* i.e. the traditional dative, in present terms participates in fixing the reference of the first internal argument, i.e. the accusative, by denoting a superset

including it. Similarly, the traditional genitive specifies a superset in terms of which the reference of the head noun is fixed. As we have just seen, in Romanian genitives are (typically) embedded under a determiner agreeing with the head noun *ñ* which is not true of datives. This difference straightforwardly correlates with the different points of merger of the genitive and dative. Merger within a noun phrase requires the predicative layer provided by the determiner agreeing with the head noun; in dative environments, the oblique merges directly as the complement of a verb.

In recent work, particularly Cuervo (2003) for Spanish, based on Pylkkänen (2002) (cf. Torres Morais and Salles (to appear) on European vs. Brazilian Portuguese), the dative interpretation depends on the presence of an Applicative head; Diaconescu and Rivero (2007) embrace this model for Romanian. In their conception, an Applicative head is a functional category which takes the internal argument of the predicate as its complement, and expresses a ‘possession’ or other (source, goal) relation between this argument and the argument in its Spec, i.e. the descriptive dative. Under these analyses, the Romance dative clitic is a lexicalization of the Applicative head. In the present proposal, we capture the relevant empirical generalizations without having recourse to the postulation of an Applicative head. Thus, oblique morphology is itself characterized as a dyadic (superset-of/inclusion) operator with scope over the elementary event, taking the descriptive dative and the internal argument of the verb as its arguments. To the extent that the sentential scope position of the $Q(\supseteq)$ operator is identified with that of the dative clitic, we also capture the connection between the latter and oblique case.

Let us summarize so far. In both ‘case-marked’ languages (Latin, Romanian, etc.) and ‘case-less’ languages (Italian, etc.) contentive lexical items correspond to properties, relations, etc. *ñ* i.e. to predicates. Thus, in Italian *macchin-* is the property of being a ‘machine/car’ in Romanian *pahar-* is the property of being a ‘glass’ etc. These properties can only denote individuals and sets of individuals, i.e. elements that can provide arguments for other predicates, if some semantic type-shifting occurs. In the classical semantic view (Higginbotham 1985, Chierchia 1998), this type-shifting is provided by the determiner system. Under the present conception (section 1), nominal morphology is sufficient to shift the predicative base to an argument (in our terms itself providing an argument capable of saturating both the nominal base and other superordinate predicates). In turn, nominal morphology may have different levels of complexity (this section), providing an argumental closure insensitive to context of embedding (‘case-less’ languages) or adding layers sensitive to such context (‘case-marked’ languages). In this perspective what characterizes the passage from Latin to Romance can simply be described as the change from a certain system of ‘type-shifter’ to another. Thus for instance in Latin inflectional specifications, including ‘case’ suffice for referential closure. In ‘case-less’ Italian, the argument closure of the predicative base (its shift from predicate to individual) requires the additional presence of determiners, specifically definite determiners.

3. ROMANCE PRONOUNS

In the preceding discussion, we have considered nominal inflection systems to the exclusion of pronouns. As is well-known, most modern Romance languages do in fact maintain a case system for pronouns. Italian is a good example of this. 3rd person full pronouns vary according to gender and number but not case, as illustrated in (21)⁴. On the other hand, in Italian as most Romance varieties a residual morphological contrast between subject and object forms shows up in the 1st / 2nd singular tonic pronouns, as in (22a,b).

- (21) a. Lui/lei viene
 He/she comes
 a. Loro vengono

⁴ Note that the *-ui*, *-ei*, *-oro* inflection attached to the *l-* base is the same as that found in the Romanian oblique.

- b. ðThey comeö
 Vedo lui/lei/loro
 ðI see him/her/themö
- c. Lo do a lui/lei/ loro
 it I.give to him/her/them
 ðI give it to him/ her/ themö
- (22) a. Io dormo / tu dormi
 ðI sleep / you sleepö
- b. Chiamano me / te
 ðThey call me / youö

Some Romance systems include two different 1st /2nd objective forms, specialized for different contexts (cf. Lausberg 1969). For example, in Romanian, the two-case system analyzed in section 2 holds for nouns, 3rd person and 1st/2nd plural person pronouns, where nominative/accusative *el/ea/ei/ele* 3rd person and 1st/2nd plural *noi/ voi* forms alternate with dative *lui/lei/lor* and *nou/voi* respectively (the genitive corresponds to a possessive form, with adjectival agreement, of the type familiar from other Romance languages). However, 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns display a three-case system, distinguishing nominative, as in (23a), from accusative, as in (23b), and dative, as in (23c).

- (23) a. Eu dorm/ tu dormi
 ðI sleep/ you sleepö
- b. El m-/t- a vñut pe mine/ tine
 he me/you has seen (for) me/ you
 ðHe saw me/youö
- c. Mi-/Ş- l au dat mie/ Şe
 me/you it they.have given to.me/ to.you
 ðThey gave it to me/ youö

The case systems of 1st /2nd singular in Southern Italian varieties like *Sasso di Castalda* (Lucania), Sardinian varieties like *Luras* and Romansh varieties like *Vella* all present two different objective forms (cf. Loporcaro 2008 for other relevant data), even though, as shown in (24), 3rd person pronouns and 1st /2nd person plural pronouns, like nouns, lack any case inflection (or distinction).

(24)	3sg	3pl	1pl	2pl
<i>Sasso</i>	iddə/ edda	lɔrə	nɔjə	vɔjə
<i>Luras</i>	isse	isseze	noizi	boizi
<i>Vella</i>	el / ɛ:la	els / ɛ:las	nu:s	vu:s

By contrast, 1st /2nd singular pronouns present three case distinctions/ inflections, as illustrated in (25)-(25ö) for *Sasso* and in (26)-(26ö) for *Luras*.

- (25) a. *Nom* 1sg 2sg *Sasso*
 b. a *Obj* mi ti
 c. rə/pə *Obj* me te
- (25ö) a. ijə rɔrmə / tu ruərmə / jiddə rɔrmə *Sasso*
 ðI sleep / you sleep / he sleepsö
 b. camənə a mmi / tti / jiddə

- * they.call to me / you / him
 ðThey call me/you/himö
- bä u rainə a mmi / tti / jiddə
 it they.give to me / you / him
 ðThey give it to me/you/himö
- c. l a ffattə pə mme / tte / jiddə
 it he.has done for me / you / him
 ðHe has done it for me/you/himö
- (26)
- | | | | | |
|----|------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| | | 1sg | 2sg | |
| a. | Nom | εɔ | tue | <i>Luras</i> |
| b. | a Obj | miε | tiε | |
| c. | dε/prɔ Obj | mε | tε | |
- (26ö)
- a. εɔ 'maŋɖiɣɔ / tue 'maŋɖiɣaza / isse 'maŋɖiɣaða *Luras*
 ðI eat / you eat / he eatsö
- b. ana iðu a mmie / tie / isse
 they.have seen to me / you / him
 ðThey sa me/ you/himö
- bä l ana daðu a mmie / tie / isse
 it they.have given to me / you / him
 ðThey gave it to me/you/himö
- c. l ana vattu prɔ mε / tte / isse
 it he.has done for me / you / him
 ðHe did it for me/you/himö

Actually, Lucanian and some Sardinian varieties present a fourth specialized case form selected in contexts introduced in particular by the preposition ðwithə, as in (27a,b). An interesting point is that in some Southern Italian dialects this form can occur in other prepositional contexts, as illustrated for Sasso in (27c).

- (27)
- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|--------------|
| a. | kun 'meyuzu / 'teyuzu | <i>Luras</i> |
| | ðwith me/ you.sgö | |
| b. | ku mmikə / ttikə | <i>Sasso</i> |
| | ðwith me/ you.sgö | |
| c. | viənə addo mmikə / ttikə | |
| | ðhe.comes to me / youö | |

The Romansh variety of *Vella* (Lumnezia Valley, Grisons) in (28)-(28ö) has a form of the 1st/ 2nd person pronoun occurring in accusative and in prepositional contexts, except the context introduced by the preposition *a*, where a specialized ðdativeö form occurs. 1st person has a dedicated form for the EPP argument, while in the 2nd person it is syncretic with the *a* object form. Thus *Vella* is like *Sasso* and *Luras* exemplified above in having three different 1st/ 2nd person forms, one of which specialized for the *a* context; the difference, which is now becoming apparent, is that *Vella* has ordinary accusatives as direct object (28öc), while *Sasso* and *Luras* have ðprepositional accusativesö introduced by *a*.

- (28)
- | | | | | |
|----|----------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| a. | Nom | jəu | ti | <i>Vella</i> |
| b. | a Obj | mi | ti | |
| c. | (pər / da) Obj | mai | tai | |

- (28ö) a. jεu diərməl / ti diərməs / el diərma
 ð sleep / you sleep / he sleepsö
 b. els datən a mi / ti / els
 they give to me / you.sg / them
 c. els klōman mai / tai / els
 they call me / you.sg / them
 cä els fan pər mai / tai / els
 they do for me / you.sg / them

In *Paulilatino* (Sardinia) in (29), 1st/2nd person singular display only two cases, nominative, (29a), and objective/ oblique, (29b); more precisely the objective/ oblique is systematically introduced by the preposition *a*, also in combination with a preceding preposition and as a ðprepositional accusativeö As the other varieties here considered, the 3rd person and the 1st/ 2nd plural in (30) display the same form in the different contexts.

- (29) a. *Nom* 1sg 2sg
 jεo tue *Paulilatino*
 b. (dε/po/ kun) a *Obj* mimme tie
 (29ö) a. jεo bendzo/ tue ^hbenizi / issu ^hbeniði *Paulilatino*
 ð come / you come / he comesö
 b. anta bistu a mmimme / ttie / issu
 they.have seen to me / you / him
 ðThey saw me/you/himö
 bä d anta jau a mmimme / ttie / issu
 it they.have given to me / you / him
 ðThey gave it to me/you/himö
 bō. d a fattu po a mmimme / tte / isse
 it he.has done for to me / you / him
 ðHe did it for me/you/himö
 (30) 3sg 3pl 1pl 2pl
 issu / issa issozo/ issaza nozo ozatozo

The three case system of *Sasso* and *Luras* in (25)-(26), *Vella* in (28), Romanian in (23) recalls that one reconstructed for proto-Romance (De Dardel and Gaeng 1992, Zamboni 1998): nominative, accusative, oblique. The two case system of standard Italian in (22) or *Paulilatino* in (29) recalls that of Medieval Gallo-Romance: nominative vs. objective/ oblique. This distribution, as well as that concerning 3rd person clitic pronouns below, leads us to wonder about the notion of ðabsoluteö syncretism in Calabreseö's (1998, 2008) terms ñ or about what it means to activate a case constraint. Calabrese seems to imply that an entire grammar is involved; but it must really be lexical classes which are involved ñ a fact which his theory is not best suited to capture.

This is not to say that case distinctions are necessarily present on 1st / 2nd person pronouns. Thus in French and in most Northern Italian varieties, all pronouns, including 1st/ 2nd singular, present a single form, undifferentiated for case. We illustrate this with the Northern Italian variety of *Passirano* (Lombardy) in (31)-(31ö). Note that in the 2nd singular example in (31ä) the stressed pronoun *te*, under consideration, further combines the subject clitic *ta*.

- (31) 1sg 2sg 3sg.m/f. 1pl 2pl 3pl.m./f.
 me te ly / le noter oter lur / lure *Passirano*

- (31ö) a. me dorme / te ta dormet
 I sleep / you, you sleep
 bā i tʃamə me / te
 they call me / you

3.1 An analysis of pronominal case systems

As discussed in previous paragraphs, what characterizes the present grammar is that a syntactic-semantic content is imputed directly to morphological entries. We assume the existence of lexical entries each specifying a mapping between sound and meaning, without any distinction between the so-called functional lexicon (including inflections) and the substantive lexicon. In particular we assume that the so-called *ācaseö* inflection corresponds to usual denotational properties, including nominal class, definiteness, quantification (plurality and other), and it is these properties that enter into the syntactic tree.

Let us analyse in this perspective the pronominal systems presented above, beginning with *Vella* in (28), which presents a three way distinction without the complication introduced by the *āprepositional accusativeö*. Accusative corresponds to the lexical base *m-* (speaker), *t-* (hearer) inflected by the N inflection *ñai*. If we assume that the notion of *āaccusativeö* is at best derivative on those of N inflection and of *āinternal argument of ö*, the N inflection *s* is sufficient (and necessary) to satisfy the internal argument of the superordinate predicate. *āDative/obliqueö* corresponds to the same lexical base *m-* (speaker), *t-* (hearer) inflected by the specialized *-i* morphology; in combination with *a*, this satisfies the second internal argument of ditransitives. According to the discussion on the quantificational nature of dative/ genitive and their syncretisms, the *Vella -i* inflection can be construed as continuing Latin *ñi* and treated as a Q element denoting *āinclusionö* i.e. $Q(\supseteq)$. Thus the speaker/ hearer (denoted by the lexical bases to which *-i* attaches) *āzonally includesö* the first internal argument of the verb (i.e. *āpossessesö* it etc.). In the 1st person (speaker) *ānominativeö* is represented by a specialized lexical base (*jɛu*), sufficient to satisfy the EPP environment. The 2nd person (hearer) syncretism between the *āobliqueö* and the *ānominativeö* can be given a treatment similar to that of Latin *-s* (cf. the discussion surrounding (9) above).

A notable property of the Q *mi*, *ti* forms is that their occurrences are embedded by the *a ātoö* preposition. This means that their Q property does not suffice to denote the inclusion relation but needs to be embedded under a further lexical layer represented roughly by the locative/ directional. The other prepositional contexts are treated as ordinary predicative embeddings; the 1st and 2nd person pronoun therefore takes the specialized N inflection *ñai* satisfying internal argument of configurations.

Languages like *Sasso* in (25) and *Luras* in (26) present a morphological distribution very similar to that reviewed for *Vella*, but with the important syntactic difference that 1st and 2nd person pronouns are systematically preceded by the *a* preposition not only as goals, possessors etc. but also as (first) internal arguments, corresponding to the traditional *āprepositional accusativeö* or to the phenomenon studied as Differential Object Marking (DOM) in typological literature (cf. Aissen 2003). In languages like *Sasso* this treatment extends not only to 1st 2nd pronouns but in general to animate/ specific noun phrases, as in (32a), to the exclusion of indefinites/ inanimates as in (32b).

- (32) *Sasso*
 a. camənə a kwedda femmənə
 they.call to that woman
 öThey call that womanö
 b. annə piʎʎatə nu / kwiru libbrə
 they.have taken a / that book
 öThey took a/ that bookö

The morphological analysis of *mi*, *ti* forms suggests a treatment of the DOM phenomenon whereby 1st/ 2nd person forms (as well as more generally noun phrases characterized by certain properties of animacy and specificity) cannot be embedded as the internal argument of an event. Rather, their embedding requires the presence of the dyadic operator $Q(\supseteq)$ (and of the attending lexical layer represented by the preposition *a*). In this instance the two arguments of the operator are the 1st/ 2nd person (or animate/ specific) referent and ñ we assume ñ the elementary event. Consider for instance *Sassoös* (25**öb**) as opposed to, say, (32b). In both examples, the agent slot of the verb is taken by the EPP argument. However only inanimate/ indefinite complements as in (32b) yield a canonical transitive event structure comprising an agent and a theme. In (25**öb**) the animate/ specific is on the contrary treated as a possessor, *özonally includingö* the event of *öcallingö*. The gist of DOM (as seen from the perspective of our data) is that certain types of referents (animate/ specific) are associated with certain roles in the event: agent, possessor, but not theme.

Other prepositional contexts select a different inflection, *m-e*, *t-e*. In these contexts the *m-e*, *t-e* forms can be seen as the lexicalization of the internal argument of the preposition. It is the preposition itself which introduces a dyadic relation between its complement and an argument controlled by some argument of the matrix predicate. Our analysis of DOM also accounts for a distribution like the one shown by *Paulilatino*, where 1st / 2nd, unless they are nominative, are introduced by *a* in all contexts. In other words, not only the complement of eventive verbs, but also the complement of prepositions, if 1st / 2nd person, must be introduced with $Q(\supseteq)$ morphosyntax.

DOM characterizes also Romanian, as exemplified in (23b), where the 1st / 2nd person direct object (like animates/ specifics in general, cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1987) is introduced by the preposition *pe*. However *pe* selects the same form of the 1st / 2nd person pronoun that appears in other prepositional contexts, namely *mine*, *tine*. In other words, the *pe* object is treated as a normal lexicalization of the internal argument of the preposition, differing from the dative, lexicalized by the bare specialized form *mie*, *Şe*. Suppose we reserve for the latter the $Q(\supseteq)$ characterization, independently proposed for dative noun phrases in section 2. The substance of our account of DOM need not change ñ namely that only inanimate/ indefinite complements yield a canonical transitive event structure comprising an agent and a theme. Animate/ specific referents are introduced not as themes, but apparently as *ölocativesö* if we take *pe* to be essentially a locative preposition (*öonö*). The conceptual closeness of the notions of possessor (here *özonalö* inclusion) and location is well-known in the literature (Freeze 1992).

The other major question raised by the examples in (22)-(29) is why 1st / 2nd person referents (speaker, hearer) are associated with a richer array of *öcasesö* than others (3rd person referents). This is of course a manifestation of the classical 1st / 2nd vs. 3rd split. The denotation of 1st and 2nd person is fixed in virtue of their being coordinates of the universe of discourse, without necessarily making reference to the structure of the event. By contrast, the reference of 3rd person lexical elements is not directly anchored at the universe of discourse ñ but rather is mediated by anchoring in the event structure (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2008 for the notions of discourse-anchoring and event-anchoring). The fact that 1st/2nd plural normally pattern with 3rd person can be related to fairly obvious considerations concerning their denotation. Thus, the 1st person plural does not necessarily denote a plurality of speakers (though it may), or the speaker and hearer only (though again it may); rather its denotation routinely involves a certain number of other individuals who are being referred to together with the speaker. The same is true for the 2nd person plural, which does not necessarily (or normally) denote a plurality of hearers but simply refers to the hearer taken together with a certain number of other individuals. This denotational properties of 1st/2nd plural persons may therefore lead to a common treatment for the plural, including 3rd person.

What we see with 1st/2nd singular is that their discourse-linked content requires the lexicalization of properties related to the different argumental contexts ñ so that specialized forms of the 1st / 2nd person lexicalize their role as EPP argument (through a dedicated uninflected base), as the internal argument in a dyadic relation (prepositional contexts), or finally as possessors in a *özonal inclusionö* relation (*a* contexts) (cf. Kiparsky 2008 on the inadequacy of an explication of the

1st / 2nd vs. 3rd split in purely functional terms). Then, the particular shape that the split takes has richer case specifications associated with the maximally specific denotation (ðhearerö and ðspeakerö).

The pattern of *Vella* in (28) displays a further split between the 1st singular, displaying three case differentiations and the 2nd singular, displaying only two. Similarly, a variety like *Tavullia* (Marche) has two different forms (nominative vs. object, as in Italian) for the 1st singular, but not for the 2nd singular, as illustrated in (33) - (33ö).

(33)		1sg	2sg	3sgm./f.	1pl	2pl	3pl	
	Nom.	je	tɛ	lu / lia	nuɛtre	vɛtre	lorje	<i>Tavullia</i>
	Obj.	mɛ	=	=	=	=	=	

(33ö)	a..	je	a dɔrme/	tɛ	t dɔrme
		I,	I sleep /	you,	you sleep
	b.	i	cɛma ma	mɛ / tɛ	
		They	call to	me / you	

The splitting of 1st from 2nd person ñ i.e. of the two members of the discourse-anchored set ñ is also a long-standing issue in the typological and formal literature. In typological approaches, where the discourse vs. non-discourse anchored split is taken to be a cut along an animacy/ agenthood hierarchy (Dixon 1994), the 1st singular is taken to precede the 2nd singular in the hierarchy in that óthe speaker is for him- or herself, the quintessential agentô (Dixon 1994: 90). Here, of course, our system does not contemplate the possibility of hierarchies, but only of discrete splits. In connection with auxiliary selection according to person, Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, to appear a) propose that the property that sets apart the 1st singular is one of pragmatic salience. This universal, in itself obvious, can easily yield the result of isolating 1st singular against 2nd and 3rd are plural, treated alike.

3.2 Case in clitic systems

Apparently, Romance clitic pronouns have a specular organization to that of stressed pronouns. Generally, Romance varieties present the same clitic form for the accusative and the oblique in the 1st/ 2nd person, while in the 3rd person clitics distinguish accusative and dative, at least where the latter belongs to the 3rd person paradigm. These conditions are exemplified in (34)-(34ö) with *Sasso* and in (35)-(35ö) with *Luras*.

(34)	a.	mə / tə	^l verənə		<i>Sasso</i>
		me/ you	they.see		
		ðThey see me / youö			
	b.	mə / tə	rainə	kwissə	
		me/ you	they.give	this	
		ðThey give this to me / youö			
(34ö)	a.	u / a	^l verənə		
		him / her	they.see		
		ðThey see him/ herö			
	aä	rə	v ^l verənə		
		them	they.see		
		ðThey see themö			
	b.	lə	rainə	kwissə	
		to.him/her/them	they.give	this	

- (35) a. ðThey give this to him/ her/ themö
 mi / ti / nɔl / bɔl ðana kustu *Luras*
 to.me/ to.you/ to.us/ to.you.pl they.give this
 ðThey give this to me/ you/ usö
 b. mi / ti / nɔl / bɔl ʰjamana
 me / you / us / you.pl they.call
 ðThey call me/you/usö
 (35ö) a. lu / la / lal jamana
 him / her / them they.call
 ðThey call him/ her/ themö
 b. li / lil ðana kustu
 to.him / to.them they.give this
 ðThey give this to him/themö

As briefly mentioned in introducing (2), clitics lexicalize the argumental D, Q, Loc, N positions in the inflectional domain of the sentence. Different 3rd person clitics lexicalize different specialized slots (Q, Loc, N) which correspond to the argumental coordinates of the event introduced by the verb. By contrast, once again, 1st /2nd singular clitics are interpreted in terms of the coordinates of the discourse, independently of their syntactic role (object vs. dative); correspondingly, they present a single form which, we propose, lexicalizes a P position, denotationally defined⁵.

Some Romance varieties also present a nominative clitic, which may coincide with the accusative or more rarely be specialized in turn. In (36ö), we illustrate the *Tavullia* 3rd person system, in which the nominative series in (36öa) overlaps with the accusative series in (36öb). The dative in (36öc) is in turn syncretic with the nominative/accusative masculine plural, though its reference extends to masculine and feminine and to singular and plural; so at least in the feminine and in the plural accusative and dative are clearly differentiated. The other side of the matter is that 1st and 2nd person clitics do not distinguish between accusative and dative, as exemplified in (36). In turn (36öb) shows that *t(e)* is also the 2nd person singular subject clitic, while the 1st person singular lacks a specialized form altogether (the *æxpletiveöa* shows up instead).

- (36) a. εl me/ te cεma *Tavullia*
 you me/you call
 ðHe calls me/youö
 b. me/ te da kwest
 me/you he.gives this
 ðHe gives this to me/youö
 (36ö) a. εl/la/i/le dɔrma
 he/she/they-m/they-f sleep(s)
 ðHe/she/they sleep/sö
 b. t εl/la/i/le cε:m
 you him/her/them-m/them-f call
 ðYou call him/her/themö
 c. i da kwest
 to.him/her/them he.gives this
 ðHe gives this to him/her/themö

⁵ In the 1st and 2nd plural, many grammars present a syncretic clitics, for instance *Sasso* has *tʃə* for the 1st plural (cf. standard Italian *ci*), syncretic with the locative; they have correspondingly been left out.

A point of interest for the present discussion concerns the syncretism observed with *i* in (36) between the nominative/accusative plural masculine and the dative. This is essentially the same observed with *-i* of class II in Latin: nominative plural and oblique (genitive) singular. Now, the Latin *-i* morphology, has been associated in section 2 with a Q denotation (cf. also the discussion of Romanian in section 2); it is this denotation that is evidently continued by the clitic system in *Tavullia*. The discussion of the syncretism between dative *-i* and masculine plural *-i*, as also seen in *li ãhemö* and *gli ão himö* in standard Italian, was one of the starting points for the common categorization (ãQö) of obliques and plurals that we proposed in Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2008). The conclusion reached in those works by inspecting the Romance clitic systems are now confirmed by the evidence from the case systems of Latin and Romance ã as well as by the historical development we are able to trace from Latin to Romance in terms of straightforward lexical continuity. Indeed, a key property in terms of which our approach differs from others reviewed is its uncompromisingly lexicalist stance, whereby structures are projected from actual lexical terminals. It is not abstract structures independent of the lexicon that determine the basic categorizations of natural languages and therefore design the basic ontology underlying them. It is the lexicon that does that.

Summary. Recent minimalist approaches have reduced case to independent primitives ã but without any connection to its morphological expression. To solve this dichotomy, we conclude that case inflections are associated with denotational, properties. These are briefly studied with reference to Latin, and more in detail for the two-case declension of medieval Gallo-Romance and for Romanian. Specifically we construe the oblique (genitive/ dative) as the inclusion operator, saying roughly that the argument to which it attaches ãincludesö (possesses, etc.) the head noun (genitive) or the internal argument of the verb (dative). The same quantificational properties can be read as the set forming operator yielding the plural; this explains the pervasive (and otherwise not explained) syncretism in the languages quoted between oblique singular and non-oblique plural (cf. especially *-s*, *-i* morphology). We conclude by examining pronominal systems, which preserve case differentiations in many more Romance varieties, especially in the 1st and 2nd person singular (stressed pronouns) and in the clitic series (3rd person).

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