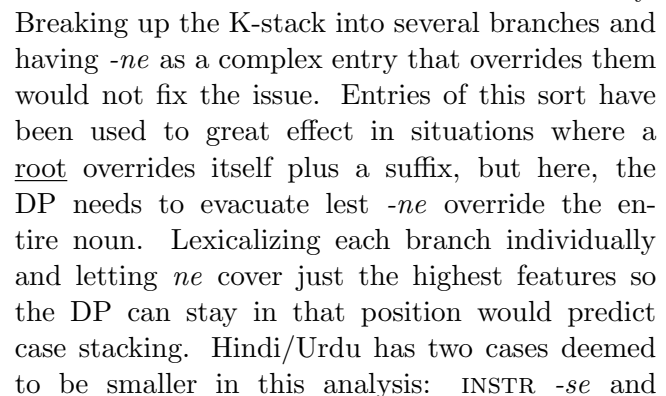


Carmen Savu (UiT, cfsavu@yahoo.com)

1. Introduction. This abstract discusses issues that arise when structures involving arguments meet the Lexicalization Algorithm, and suggests a step towards a possible solution.

3. Problem with lexicalization: the DP must re-

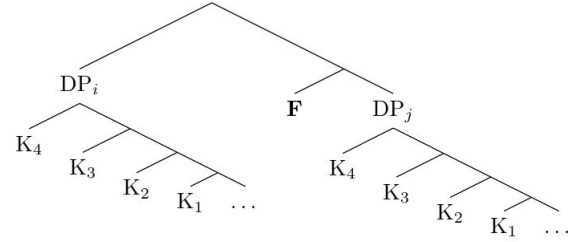
the K-layers, which are left behind. There is no way to evacuate DP+K₁₁₋₁ in this configuration short of allowing remnant movement, in which case two movements would be necessary.



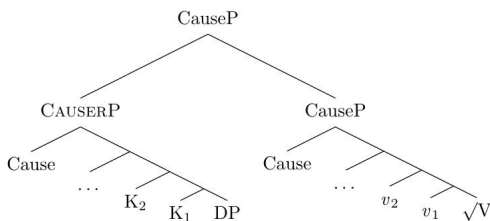
ACC/DOM/DAT *-ko*. If each branch is lexicalized separately, it would predict that ergative case would be marked *-ko-se-ne*, contrary to fact. The DP must therefore remain low, which means the lexicalization of the K stack must be delayed.

4. Towards a solution: the K/*v* sequence.

The structure as presented in Starke (2014) may pose an argument-linking problem. An Agent could potentially be merged in complement position, and a Patient in the specifier position. Even taking into account that F stands for eventive features (among others), how do we make sure each argument is merged in the right place? Without dedicated rules, how does the system match the right θ -role to the appropriate event structure component?



Given the two issues, I suggest some changes regarding the content of the structures, while remaining faithful to the core of Starke's proposal regarding hooks. I propose merging copies of K/ θ features in tandem (the same cycle) in both the verbal spine and the nominal spine(s). On the verb, these features form what we traditionally call the *v* and possibly Voice zone(s), and are lexicalized by items like applicatives, causative morphemes, transitivizers, light verbs, etc. In the nominal domain, they form part of the case sequence, in the sense that they surface lexicalized by case suffixes or prepositions. The current proposal is that they are, in fact, identical. Evidence for identity comes from the similarity in their semantic content, as well as the same type of syncretism occurring in this area of the verbal spine that we observe in case. For example, Jerro (2017) discusses a causative/instrumental applicative syncretism in Kinyarwanda, which parallels the ERG/INSTR syncretism in the case domain. A clue for the doubling can be found in examples like the one below from Hindi/Urdu (Bhatia 2016). *-ne* can signal volitionality on its own, as shown by verbs that allow both ERG and unmarked EAs depending on volitionality. However, the unaccusative verb requires both a causativizer and ERG case to take an external argument.



- (1) zamindaar-**ne** makaan
 landlord-**ERG** house
 jal-**aa**-yaa
 burn-**CAUS**-PFV.M.SG

‘The landlord burned the house’

5. Welcomed consequences. A K_x P can only be merged as a specifier of v_x (meaning all arguments are introduced as specifiers). For instance, a Causer argument is a participant in an event that includes a CAUSE sub-event (illustrated above). Being identical and merged in the same cycle, K and *v* track each other, and when K grows as agentivity level increases, so will *v*. The verbal spine starts at the same time as the K stack, and each argument grows appropriately to its role (Patients smaller than Agents) before first merge with the verb. This ensures that Agents will never be merged lower than Patients. Agents originating higher than Patients can itself be seen as evidence for the directionality of the case/theta hierarchy. The doubled sequence also opens up a plausible way to keep the DP low. Each v_x feature can be lexicalized in the verbal spine, and parasitic on that, postpone lexicalizing K_x in the nominal workspace(s) until later in the derivation. This avenue is only open if K_x and v_x are identical.

Selected References. Savu, Carmen (2025). *The gauntlet of hooks: a nanosyntactic analysis of Hindi/Urdu split ergativity*. Talk given at NanoDays II, Brussels, 30-31 October. • Starke, Michal (2014). Cleaning up the lexicon. *Linguistic Analysis* 39(1-2), 245-256.