The puzzle: The dative case appears to show a mixture of properties. Dative resembles structural case in that it is often realized in grammatical positions where structural cases are also found, e.g., subject and object positions. Moreover, dative-marked phrases in these positions are often accessible to the same operations available to structurally case-marked expressions such as control (1). However, dative-marked phrases under these operations keep the dative case (2). Then, how should we account for dative case? Two natural options present themselves. We might treat dative case either as a kind of "hybrid case," one that somehow combines the properties of structural and inherent cases or as something genuinely different from both – something new.

Data: Although Romance languages like Spanish lack inflectional case on full nominals, case is realized morphologically on clitics. Spanish and Galician are particularly challenging because the range of meanings associated with dative clitics is extremely broad and moreover, datives can be argumental (3) and non-argumental (4), Ethical dative (4a) and Solidarity Allocutive dative (4b).

Previous Analysis: The Applicative Analysis by Cuervo (2003) is a hybrid analysis of datives in which the properties identified above are combined. Datives are distinct objects in the grammar introduced into the syntax as an "extra participant" through the mediation of an applicative head (Pylkkänen (2002)) and, as a class, are not licensed directly by the verb, and are not arguments of the verb. This applicative head, can be projected into different parts of the clause structure. The exact interpretation of its dative specifier can be derived from the nature of the complement the ApplP takes, and from the nature of the head that takes the ApplP as its complement in turn.

Problems: (i) App is a functional head assigning a thematic role. What then is the notion of selection appropriate to it? Where, and under what circumstances, can App and AppP be introduced into syntactic structure? Functional heads are introduced by functional selection of the kind, as T, Neg, asp and v. The App does not distribute this way; (ii) as is well-known, applicatives occur in other languages not only with dative constructions, but also with locatives and instrumentals (Baker 1988) (iii) this analysis also makes the distinction between 'argumental and non-argumental datives' obscure. It is not clear what it could differentiate argumental from non-argumental datives, if all are introduced by an Applicative Head. We might speculate that independent properties of the predicate might license the applicative head for non-argumental datives and make them different from argumental datives, i.e. goal datives,

Proposal: The dative marker is a "concordializing element" allowing phrase bearing it to obtain case by agreement. Consider the Icelandic nominal. The Nominative case in (5) is "real" on the nominal head *kennig**ar*** 'theories,' but present simply as agreement on the other elements. The unvalued source of Nominative case - T- is probing for a valued instance of NOM below it. "On the way" to the noun head, T's search encounters "concordial" elements (D, Dem, AP) that cannot provide a case value of their own but can agree with whatever case is ultimately found (6). Assuming that concordial elements must bear a case feature, it follows that they must position themselves between the probe (T) and the goal (N). Larson and Harada (2008) propose that this is also available in vP/VP as well. We have two possibilities for dative: the realization of true oblique case of the sort checked by a prepositional governor (7a), or it can be the realization of a concordializing element (7b). If we adopt this analysis, first, datives are not associated with a special functional head like App with specific thematic-semantic contribution. There is thus no a priori expectation that the presence of dative morphology will show consistent correlation with any bit of interpretation. This is appropriate for Spanish, where the range of meanings associated with dative clitics is extremely broad. Second, absence of the functional licensing head means that troubling questions of selection do not arise. The relevant phrases are projected into the argument or non-argument positions, in the usual way, with their final placement being determined by the conditions on agreement discussed above. The picture of dative-licensing is a flexible one: dative phrases are expected anywhere that appropriate probe-goal relations on structural case are found. They are expected in vP, between v and an accusative (8); they are expected in TP, between T and a nominative subject and between a higher functional head X and a vocative marked phrase, which I will suggest is also an instance of structural case licensing (8).

(1) Ne vidat' **tebe**ᵢ pokoja [vojdja ᵢ sjuda].
    not to see you-dat peace going-in-ger here
    "You will not have peace if you come in here."   (Control) (Russian)

(2) Borisu prodolzalo byt' stydno**.**
    Boris.Dat continue.Past.N. be.INF. shameful.N (Raising) (Russian)
    'Boris continued to feel ashamed'   (Perlmutter and Moore 2002:637)

(3) a. *A Susana*ᵢ **le**ᵢ gustan/apasionan/encantan las manzanas
       To Susana **her.cl.Dat** like/be passionate about/adore the apples SP
       'Susana likes/is passionate about/adores apples'   (Experiencer)

    b. Susana **les** preparó un té *a sus amigos*
       Susana **her.cl.Dat.** prepared a tea to her friends SP
       'Susana prepared a tea to her friends'   (Benefactive)

    c. Susana **le** mandó una carta *a Pablo*
       Susana **her.cl.Dat.** sent a letter to Pablo SP
       'Susana sent a letter to Paul'   (Goal)

    d. Susana **le** cortó el pelo *a Pablo*
       Susana **her.cl.Dat.** cut the hair to Pablo SP
       'Susana cut Pablo's hair'   (Possessive)

(4) a. **Me** le arruinaron la vida al niño.
       me.cl.dat him.cl.dat ruined the life of the child SP
       'They ruined the child life and <u>this has an adversative effect on me</u>' (Affected Dative)

    b. As mazás que merquei hoxe estan-**che** boísimas
       the apples that I-bought today are-**you. cl.dat** very good (Galician)
       'The apples that I bought today are very good, <u>you know</u>'   (Solid. Allo. Dat.)

(5) all**ar** pess**apr** prj**ár** nyj**u**
    all.FEM.PL.NOM these.FEM.PL.NOM three.FEM.PL.NOM new.FEM.PL.NOM
    kennig**ar**
    theories.FEM.PL.NOM
    'all these three new theories'   (Larson and Harada 2008)

(6)   *AGREE*   *SEARCH ENDS*
     T **D** **Dem** **AP** N-NOM

                  CHECK

(7) a. P DP-DAT

                    AGREE
    b, Probe DP-DAT XP

(8) a.   *AGREE*
       v DP-DAT DP-ACC

    b.   *AGREE*
       T DP-DAT DP-NOM

    c.   *AGREE*
       X DP-DAT DP-VOC

Partial References: BAKER, M. 1988. *Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function changing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. CUERVO, M.C. 2003. Datives at Large. PhD Dissertation. MIT. LARSON, R. & N. HARADA. 2008. Datives in Japanese. Unpublished manuscript. Stony Brook.