

those properties, by making them unvalued. Variation arises from differences in the argument that carries the feature, the case-assigning head, and the relationship between Voice and v .

This proposal accounts for IA-driven *differential object marking* (DOM) (1) through a slight modification of the movement approach discussed above, where movement of the IA is driven by valuation of the IA's interpretable feature ([iF]) by v , which results in ACC case (6) (underlining indicates a previously unvalued [iF] that has been valued). EA-driven *differential subject marking* (DSM) (2) is similar, except that the EA has the unvalued [iF] and Voice values it, which occurs in-situ and is realized as ERG (7). What both of these self-driven patterns have in common is that the arguments receive case when their unvalued [iF] is valued.

- (6) [_{VP} IA_i[ACC iF] v [~~ACC~~ uF] [_{VP} V t_i]] (7) [VoiceP EA[ERG iF] Voice[~~ERG~~ uF] ...]

Externally-driven patterns also involve valuation of [iF]s, but instead of being realized as case on that argument, valuation either feeds or bleeds case assignment to the other argument, depending on the relationship between the head that values the [iF], and the head that values case, which is a distinct, *uninterpretable* feature ([uK]). In IA-driven DSM (3), I propose a *selectional relationship between Voice and v*: Voice assigns ERG to the EA according to whether it selects for a v P where the IA has valued its [iF] on v , shown in (8). (3) can thus be derived through a combination of the previous two derivations, except the [iF] that drives movement of the IA is morphologically inert.

- (8) a. [VoiceP EA[ERG uK] Voice[~~ERG~~ uK] [_{VP} IA[val iF] v [~~val~~ uF...]]]
 b. [VoiceP EA[_uK] Voice [_{VP} v [val uF] [_{VP} V IA]]]

Most importantly, this framework can also derive the fourth DAM pattern. While in IA-driven DSM, valuation of the IA's [iF] feeds case assignment to the EA, in EA-driven DOM (4), I propose that valuation of the EA's [iF] bleeds case assignment to the IA by triggering deletion of v 's ACC feature. I argue that this is possible due to an even tighter relationship between Voice and v , specifically when *Voice and v are bundled* (cf. Pylkkänen 2008), which I represent as a single head, Voice+ v . I treat EAs in (4) as minimal pronouns (which I provide evidence for in the talk), which Stegovec (2019) argues have unvalued person features (which are interpretable, represented as [i π]). Voice+ v may have valued 1P or 2P features, or may lack person features, in which case the EA fails to agree and receives a 3P value by default. Successful valuation of the EA's [i π] deletes both the person *and* case feature on Voice+ v (I elaborate in the talk why valuation of the EA must always occur first, due to the bundling of Voice and v), so the IA cannot receive ACC (9a). However, when the EA receives a default 3P value, the case feature will not be deleted, so the IA will receive ACC (9b). Note that this pattern will only arise when both the EA is a minimal pronoun, and Voice and v are bundled, which could explain why (4) is so rare.

- (9) a. [Voice+ v P EA[1/2 i π] Voice+ v [1/2 u π , ~~ACC~~ uK] [_{VP} V IA[_uK]]]
 b. [Voice+ v P EA Voice+ v [ACC uK] [_{VP} V IA[ACC uK]]]

Conclusion All four logically possible DAM patterns are attested and can be accounted for through limited variation in (i) which argument carries the unvalued [iF] (the IA in IA-driven patterns, and the EA in EA-driven patterns), (ii) which head is the case-assigner (v in DOM, and Voice in DSM), and (iii) the relationship between Voice and v (independent in self-driven patterns, selectional in IA-driven DSM, and bundling in EA-driven DOM). This account can also be extended to *global case splits*, where interpretational properties of *both* the EA and IA affect case-marking. Given the role of semantic properties, global case splits can naturally be analyzed as another type of DAM through a slight modification of the analysis of (4), where both the EA *and* IA have unvalued [iF]s, which I will show in the talk. The proposed analysis therefore has the advantage of being able to

derive all DAM patterns, including the previously unaccounted for EA-driven DOM pattern in Ik, as well as global case splits, through the unified mechanism of valuation of interpretable features.