

## DOM AND OTHER OBJECT MARKING STRATEGIES - HOW MANY SYNTACTIC PROBES?

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**BACKGROUND.** The observation that that (C/case) licensing operations may apply to nominals more than once has been supported by several recent accounts (Baker and Vinokurova 2010, Richards 2013, Pesetsky 2014, Levin and Preminger 2015, Levin 2017, Preminger 2017, Chen 2018, a.o.). In this contribution we are examining object marking from genetically unrelated languages, motivating the following conclusions: i) multiple object licensing operations extend beyond (morphological) case stacking per se - as we show below, (many) languages use instead a combination of (oblique) differential marking (DOM), object agreement, inverse morphology and clitic doubling, with a similar effect; ii) there are *three* syntactic probes, with some languages using all of them simultaneously; iii) oblique DOM, a robust strategy cross-linguistically, is not a simple morphological operation (contra Halle and Marantz 1993, Keine and Müller 2008, Bány 2018, a.o.), but has clear syntactic correlates. This investigation allows us to make further steps towards a better understanding of the taxonomy of object marking strategies cross-linguistically and the possible interactions between them.

**THE DATA.** Guaraní shows subject and object agreement in transitive sentences guided by a 1>2>3 p(erson)-hierarchy, as well as inverse (INV) argument alignment marking. We analyze INV as spelling out the valuation of an [uC] feature on the object, as in (5). The canonical word-order for the direct alignment (that is constructions where subjects win out on the p-hierarchy) is VO, while the canonical word order for the inverse is OV. Object agreement is obligatory for 1P or 2P in case of inverse argument alignment; being animate, 1P/2P must also carry DOM, which is homophonous with the dative/locative. Hence, in the inverse alignment DOM and object agreement co-occur obligatorily (while in direct configurations higher animates are signaled by DOM). Additionally, argument alignment is signalled on the verb, thus 1/2 DOM co-occurs with direct and inverse morphology (a set of verbal prefixes - set B here) as well as object agreement, as in (1). The question is why DOM has to co-occur with object agreement and inverse marking, two morphological resources also associated to the licensing of internal arguments.

- (1) Ha'e che-\*(vy) che-r-echa.  
DEM.3SG PRON.1SG-DAT=DOM 1SG(B)-INV-see  
'He sees me.'

MBYÁ GUARANÍ (TUPÍ GUARANÍ)

That the animate oblique DOM feeds an additional higher object licensing operation has been noticed before, for example the interactions with (accusative) clitic-doubling in Romance, known under *Kayne's Generalization* (Jaeggli 1986, a.o.). An explanation for these effects is still needed; moreover, the Guaraní data clearly tell us that oblique DOM also interacts with yet another operation whose result is the INV marker (B set). In fact, although rarely noticed previously, we get the exact same picture in Romance (as well as other families). Thus, in Neapolitan (2), animate DOs (must) carry oblique DOM, once again homophonous with the dative (Ledgeway 2000, Loporcaro 1998, 2010, Vitolo 2005, a.o).

- (2) an'dɔnjə (\*tʃə) (l)-a \*kwottə/kottə a l'aragostə.  
Antonio CL.DAT CL.ACC.F-has cooked.M/cooked.F DAT=DOM DEF.F.SG-lobster.F.SG  
'Antonio has cooked the lobster (\*[for him/her]).' NEAPOLITAN (ROMANCE)

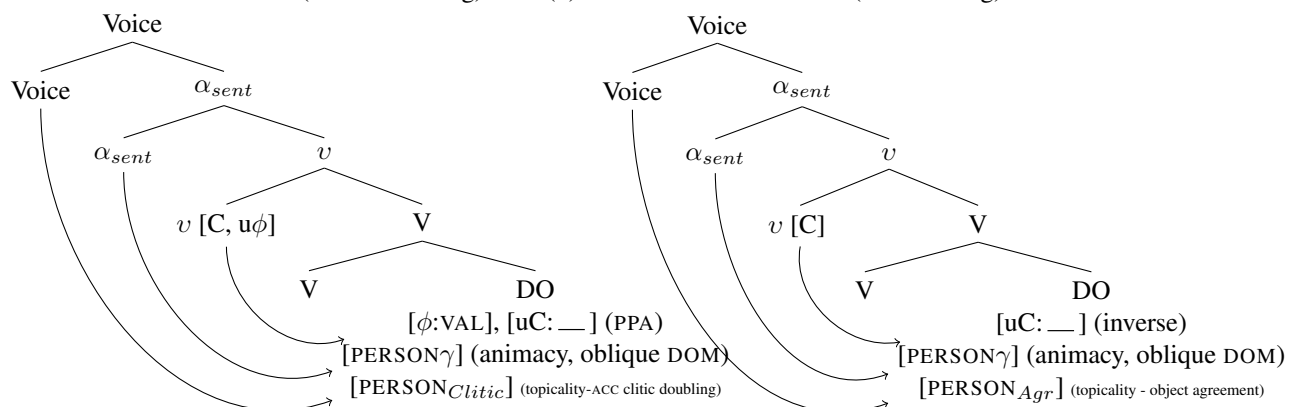
In Neapolitan (2), we also notice *object* past participle agreement (PPA), which is independent of DOM and only signals *direct objects*. Example (3), with a definite inanimate, cannot take DOM, but shows PPA. Also note the presence of higher clitic-doubling (obligatory in certain contexts). Co-occurrence of oblique DOM with independent strategies (object agreement/inverse/raising/clitic doubling, a.o.) is seen elsewhere (Indo-Aryan, Basque, Chinese, etc).

- (3) ma'riə (tʃə) (1)-a                      ✓kwottə/\*kottə                      ll'ove.  
 Maria CL.DAT CL.SG.ACC.F-has cooked.M.SG/cooked.F.SG the.M.SG-egg  
 'Maria has cooked the egg ([for him/her]).'                      NEAPOLITAN (ROMANCE)

**PROPOSAL.** We derive these complex marking patterns for objects by building on recent discussions identifying two major types of argument licensing cross-linguistically:  $\phi$  and  $\delta$ (iscourse) licensing (Miyagawa 2017, Mursell 2018, a.o.). The novel hypothesis we put forward is that oblique DOM can be associated with an additional  $\delta$  licensing strategy in the middle functional domain (below Voice, see also López 2012), irrespective of DP raising. Neapolitan and Guaraní exhibit the same *three-way* licensing need for objects, and the same ordering of strategies. The only distinction is that  $\delta$  licensing of DOM animates does not imply raising in Neapolitan-type languages, contrary to the Guaraní-type ones.

**MORE THAN ONE CASE ASSIGNMENT STRATEGY (irrespective of movement).** Starting from the initial licensing operation, this results in object PPA in Neapolitan and the inverse marker in Guaraní on a DP with an [uC]. Supplementary, a [PERSON] feature can be merged on a DP. If found on a gender ( $\gamma$ )-related projection, [PERSON] will be interpreted as *semantic gender* ([PERSON  $\gamma$ ]), giving the split between animates and inanimates. See also Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), Adger and Harbour (2007), Richards (2008), a.o. for animacy as [PERSON]. DPs can show yet another [PERSON], merged higher in the DP ('big DP' hypothesis, see Roberts 2010, a.o.); when licensed, it outputs clitic doubling ([PERSON<sub>Clitic</sub>]) in Neapolitan, see (2)/(3)/(4) or object agreement in Guaraní (1)/(5); it has distinct interpretive effects from [PERSON  $\gamma$ ] (topicality, no linking to animacy, and independent contexts of use from DOM). What unifies both [PERSON  $\gamma$ ] and [PERSON<sub>Clitic/Agr</sub>] is that their licensing *cannot* fail when merged. A recent proposal by Zubizarreta and Pancheva (2017) is that low Perspectivization/Sentience is encoded by Appl heads. We assume that a similar head ( $\alpha$ ) licenses oblique DOM as last resort in the low verbal domain (as the initial licenser in this domain licenses [uC]), explaining DAT morphology, but ACC agreement/ syntax (goal datives do not agree).

- (4) NEAPOLITAN PATTERN (no DOM raising)                      (5) GUARANÍ PATTERN (DOM raising)



**THE 3 SYNTACTIC PROBES ARE MOTIVATED. 1)** A prominent line of accounts connects both oblique DOM and agreeing objects to the same syntax, but sets them apart by a morphological impoverishment operation (see especially Halle and Marantz 1993, Keine and Müller 2008, a.o.). However, oblique DOM and the agreeing objects are distinct *syntactically*. As seen in (2) vs. (3), oblique DOM triggers PCC-like effects (banning IO-clitic) which cannot be derived in morphology (see also Ormazabal and Romero 2007, 2013b for Spanish, or Odria 2017 for Basque). Guaraní DOM targets a higher position than non-DOM. **2)** Another account, proposed for Basque (Odria 2017), in terms of the *Distinctiveness Condition* (oblique DOM added to differentiate two  $\phi$ -objects in a c-command relation) cannot be used unstipulatively for all DOM

patterns discussed here. **3)** Reducing DOM and DAT to a *larger structural* OBLIQUE category (Manzini and Franco 2016) cannot easily explain the systematic *accusative* behavior of these objects in the syntax (see also Bárány 2018 for similar observations). Here, the spell-out of [PERSON  $\gamma$ ] depends on the licenser(s) available in a given domain, and not on an intrinsic OBL structure in animates, correctly predicting the possibility of animacy licensing via other means.

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