

TYPES OF DOM AND COMPLEX LICENSERS¹

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GOALS AND MAIN PROPOSAL

- discuss some problematic types of differential object marking (Uzbek, nonstandard Basque)
- best analyzed under the assumption that they involve the presence of more than one case assigner (licenser) acting on the same nominal

ROADMAP

1. *DOM: basic background and two main approaches*
2. *More complex types of DOM and their problems. A solution: complex licensors*
3. *Application: Uzbek (Turkic)*
4. *Application: nonstandard Basque*
5. *Conclusions*

1. DOM: BASIC BACKGROUND AND TWO MAIN APPROACHES

- Differential Object Marking (DOM): splits in the morpho-syntactic behavior of objects
- specifications at the higher end of animacy, specificity and definiteness scales trigger the presence of dedicated markers in many genetically-unrelated languages²
- Uzbek (Turkic)³: Levy-Forsythe and Kagan (L-F& K 2018), MacMillan (2020), a.o.
 - o unmarked object in (1)(a) receives an indefinite interpretation and is number neutral
 - o object in (1)(b) has the special (accusative) marker **-ni** and is interpreted as a definite

- (1) Uzbek DOM⁴ (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, ex. 2a, b)
- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (a) Anvar rasm chidzli. | (b) Anvar rasm- ni chidzli. |
| Anvar picture draw.PST.3SG | Anvar picture-DOM draw.PST.3SG |
| ‘Anvar drew (a) picture(s).’ | ‘Anvar drew the picture.’ |

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² Givón (1984), Comrie (1989), Bossong (1991, 1998), Lazard (2001), Aissen (2003), de Swart (2007), López (2012), Ormazabal and Romero (2013a, b, 2019), Bárány (2017, 2018), Kalin (2018), Levin (2019), a.o.

³ DOM is seen in other Turkic languages (Kornfilt 1984, Öztürk 2005, Johanson and Csató 2008, Guntsetseg 2016, a.o.)

⁴ Abbreviations: ABS = absolutive, ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, ADV = adverb(ial), ART = article, AUX = auxiliary, CAUS = causative, DAT = dative, DOM = differential object marking, ERG = ergative, F = feminine, NEG = negative, OBL = oblique, PST = past, SG = singular, 1/2/3 = person.

TWO MAIN APPROACHES IN MINIMALISM:

A. Case marked (DOM) vs. caseless nominals

- Uzbek non-specific nominal in (1)a linked to a process of (pseudo-)incorporation; generally assumed to be caseless NP when it comes to structural Case, as shown in (2)⁵
- the marked nominal in (1)(b) has a structural Case feature, which requires licensing/ valuation/ checking (depending on the particular analysis) in the syntax, as in (3) (Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, b, Preminger 2011, 2014, Kalin 2018, Bárány 2017, 2018, Levin 2019, a.o.)
 - o Case licensing after DP raising above VP or even above vP (Baker 2015, a.o.)

(2) [_vP...V⁰ [_{VP} V NP]]*Unmarked Objects*(3) [_vP...DP[_{uCase}] V⁰_{ACC} [_{VP} V <DP[_{uCase}>]]]*Marked Objects*B. DOM and dependent Case calculus

- the accusative Case feature on the marked objects forces their raising into a domain where they enter into a Case competition with a higher argument, as schematically shown in (4): (Marantz 1991, Baker and Vinokurova 2010, Levin and Preminger 2015, Baker 2015, a.o.)

(4) Dependent Case

Let DP1 and DP2 be two nominals in the same domain. If DP1 c-commands DP2:

a. mark DP1 [= in the clause, ERGATIVE] and/or

b. mark DP2 [= in the clause, ACCUSATIVE]

(Baker 2015, a.o.)

2. MORE COMPLEX TYPES OF DOM

- languages whose objects show a more refined picture (Irimia to appear, Baker 2015, a.o.)
- non-standard Basque varieties (Odría 2014, 2017, 2019, Fernández and Rezac 2016, a.o.)
- tripartite picture of object marking, in that direct objects can show up not only bare but also:
 - o i) with absolutive agreement (5)(a) or
 - o ii) if human, with dative morphology (*oblique* DOM), and dative agreement (5)(b)

(5) Non-standard Basque direct objects

(a) Ordenagailua ikusi

dut.

computer-ART.ABS see

AUX[3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG]

'I have seen the computer.'

(Odría 2017: 3a, p.11)

(b) Zu-k ni-ri ikusi

didazu.

you-ERG I-DAT=DOM see

AUX[1SG.DAT-2SG.ERG]

'You have seen me.'

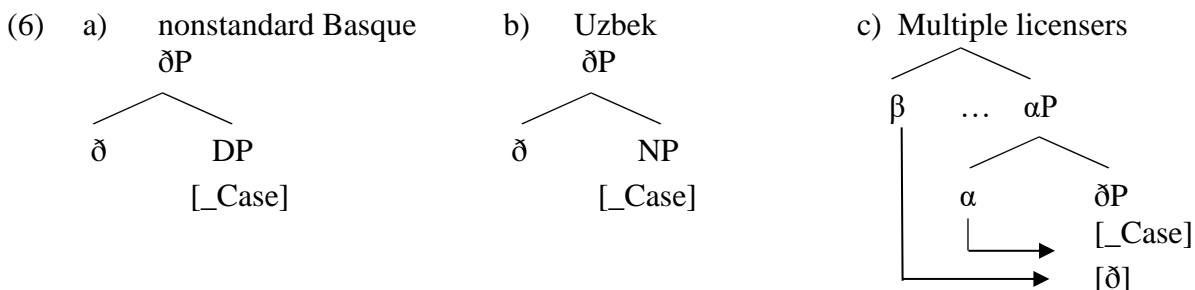
(Odría 2019: 1b, glosses adapted)

- How to set aside the agreeing absolutive in (5)(a) from oblique DOM in (5)(b)?
 - o not clear if these two types of objects are found in *distinct* positions (Odría 2017, a.o.)
 - o both the agreeing absolutive in (5)(a) and the 'dative' in (5)(b) show evidence that they undergo a licensing operation in syntax (PCC effects in Section 4)
- In fact, the Uzbek split in (1) is not as simple as it might seem either:
 - o nominals as those in (1)(a) appear to be *active* in syntax, and for the Case calculus
 - o not clear if the unmarked and the marked objects in (1) are found in *distinct* positions

⁵ Or it might only receive inherent or lexical marking (see for example Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007 for Spanish, a.o.).

SOLUTION

- oblique DOM in nonstandard Basque and Uzbek *-ni* signal a *separate licensing operation*, beyond Case, on complex nominals
- a functional layer with interpretable features (which we abbreviate δP for convenience) is generated above DP (non-standard Basque, etc.) or above NP (Uzbek, etc.), categories already containing a Case feature that requires valuation, as seen in (6)(a) and (6)(b)
- The initial licenser endowed with Accusative case features (v^0 , Asp, etc.) will value Case (6)c. The additional interpretable feature will need the contribution of an additional licenser (β).
- The recruitment of the additional licenser is possibly a last-resort operation (Jaeggli 1982, Vainikka and Brattico 2014, a.o.) in a given domain (Irimia to appear, a.o.)
- additional licensing mechanism relevant at the syntax-semantics-pragmatics interface.
 - o connected with the valuation of an interpretable feature tracking the role of animates (Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018, a.o.), how the speaker relates to other entities in the discourse (Ritter and Wiltschko 2019, a.o.)



3. APPLICATION: UZBEK (TURKIC)

- Öztürk (2005), Kamali (2015), a.o.: it is not the case that unmarked direct objects *always* show adjacency to V across Turkic (as they do in Sakha, Baker and Vinokurova 2010, a.o.)
- thus, it is not clear that raising or the dependent Case calculus is what sets DOM aside

Uzbek (Turkic)

- L-F & K (2018, ex. 2a and 1b): two types of bare nominals in Uzbek

- (7) a. Anvar *rasm* chidzli. b. Anvar mashq qildi.
 Anvar picture draw.PST.3SG Anvar exercise do.PST.3SG
 ‘Anvar drew a picture./Anvar drew pictures.’ ‘Anvar did exercises/exercised.’

(7)a: reduced NumP/NP structure → a type of *pseudo-incorporation* (PI)

(7)b: minimal N structure with light verbs → *true incorporation* (TI)

- PI nominals: a) have syntactic independence in the clause; e.g., can be separated from the verb by intervening adverbs⁶;
 b) have a Case feature which is *active* in the syntax, as seen in (9)

- (8) Anvar kuzda palto [_{ADV} **umuman/deyarli/hech**] kimadi.
 Anvar autumn coat whatsoever virtually at all wear.NEG.PST.3SG
 ‘Anvar did not wear a coat/coats whatsoever/virtually/at all in the autumn.’ (L-F & K 2018, 8c)

⁶ Levy-Forsythe and Kagan (2018) present many other diagnostics for syntactic independence, such as grammaticality of PIs under topicalization, rightward dislocation, fragment answers, etc.

Case activity: data from contexts that contain three arguments, for example causatives

Causer –	Causee-	Theme
	*Accusative=DOM/√ DATIVE	Accusative/DOM

- (9) Uzbek causatives (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018: ex. 12a, b, c, 37)
- (a) Madina **Anvar-ga/*-ni** *nok-ni/ bitta nok-ni* yer-dir-di.
 Madina Anvar-DAT/*-DOM pear-DOM/one pear-DOM eat-CAUS-PST.3SG
 ‘Madina made Anvar eat the pear/a pear.’
- (b) Madina **Anvar-ni/*-ga** yugur-tir-di.
 Madina Anvar-DOM/*-DAT run-CAUS-PST.3SG
 ‘Madina made Anvar run.’
- (c) Madina **Anvar-ga/*-ni** *nok* yer-dir-di.
 Madina Anvar-DAT/*-DOM pear eat-CAUS-PST.3SG
 ‘Madina made Anvar eat a pear/pears.’
- (d) Madina **Anvar-ni/*-ga** mexnat qil-dir-di.
 Madina Anvar-DOM/*-DAT labour do-CAUS-PST.3SG
 ‘Madina made Anvar work.’
- (e) Madina **Anvar-ni/*ga** nok-dan bez-dir-di.
 Madina Anvar-DOM/*DAT pear-ABL get.tired-CAUS-PST.3SG
 ‘Madina made Anvar get tired of pears.’ (Zarina Levy-Forsythe, p. c.)
- (f) Madina **Anvar-ga/*ni** *nok-dan* ye-dir-di.
 Madina Anvar-DAT/*-DOM pear-ABL eat-CAUS-PST.3SG
 ‘Madina made Anvar eat some of the pears.’ (Zarina Levy-Forsythe, p. c.)

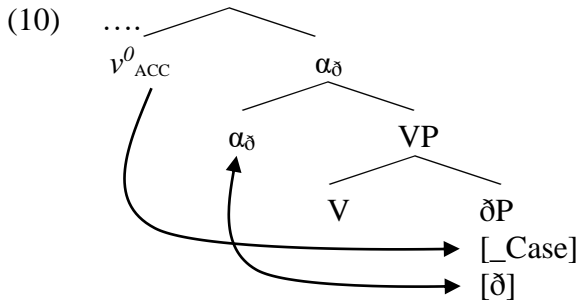
Taylan (1986) for Turkish: if the theme bears DOM the causee cannot be accusative (DOM). The theme and the causee compete for accusative insertion. The causee must instead be dative, as in (9)(a).

- That the causee is not inherently marked dative in causatives is demonstrated by (9)(b); the intransitive verb *run* does not have an internal object, therefore no competition with the accusative arises and the causee takes DOM
- Importantly, PI nominals behave like DOM, demonstrating that they *do have* an accusative Case feature. They trigger competition with the causee, which can only be *dative*, as (9)c.
- in (9)(d) a TI nominal does not give evidence of an ACC Case feature, thus ACC on causee
- (9)(e) the theme bears ablative case, lexically assigned by the predicate *get tired*, and it does not trigger competition with respect to the accusative; thus DOM is possible on the causee.
 → **PI nominal in (9)(c) has a structural accusative Case feature, just like DOM**

*What is the difference between unmarked and marked nominals, if both give indication of a structural Case feature, but no clear diagnostics indicating a distinct position?*⁷

- The contrast between (9)(e) and (9)f is given by the specificity/definiteness feature in partitives. This feature is active in syntax and requires adequate licensing, just like definiteness in DOM, which is similarly *active* in syntax.
- The hypothesis that DOM involves the *syntactic* licensing of a feature beyond the *syntactic licensing of Case* derives these patterns unproblematically.
 - o DOM shares characteristics with both PI nominals ((9)(a) and (9)(c)) and structural ablatives ((9)(a) and (9)(f) vs. (9)(e))
- An additional licenser, annotated here as α (López 2012) is recruited for the feature beyond Case in DOM.

⁷ Using data from coordination, MacMillan (2020) argues that DOM, but not unmarked objects, involves raising. This won't be problematic for the present account. However, coordination requires further investigation.



PF explanation? -

the absence of the definiteness feature triggers the deletion of the accusative marker in unmarked nominals via *Impoverishment* (Glushan 2010, Keine 2010, Keine and Müller 2008, a.o.)

4. APPLICATION: NONSTANDARD BASQUE

Non-standard varieties of Basque:

- animacy based DOM system (Fernández and Rezac 2016, Odria 2014, 2017, 2019, Mounole 2012, Austin 2006, Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2013, 2016, a.o.).
- direct objects at the higher end of the Animacy/Person hierarchy (1st/2nd person pronouns and human entities)⁸ must or can carry a special marker, which is homophonous with the dative.
- such objects also trigger dative agreement on the auxiliary, as seen in (11)(a) and in(11)(b).⁹

(11) Southern Basque differential objects

- (a) Zu-k ni-ri ikusi didazu.
 you-ERG I-DAT=DOM see AUX[1SG.DAT-2SG.ERG]
 ‘You have seen me.’ (Odria 2019: 1b, glosses adapted)
- (b) *Lekeitio Basque*
 (Nik) suri ikusi dotzut.
 I-ERG you.DAT=DOM see AUX[2SG.DAT-1SG.ERG]
 ‘I saw you.’ (Fernández and Rezac 2016; ex. 9, glosses adapted)

- direct objects in (nonstandard) Basque can show up with absolutive agreement on the verbal complex, as in (12)
- some speakers allow human DPs/pronouns without DOM; but with absolutive agreement (13)

(12) *Agreeing absolutive*

- Ordenagailua ikusi **dut.**
 computer.ABS see AUX[3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG]
 ‘I have seen the computer.’ (Odria 2017: 3a, p.11)

- (13) Zu-k ni ikusi **nauzu.**
 you.ERG I.ABS see AUX[1SG.ABS-2SG.ERG]
 ‘You have seen me.’ (Odria 2019: 1a, glosses adapted)

The puzzle: nonstandard Basque DOM: structurally similar to absolutives, despite its overt dative appearance. It does not seem to have the syntax of inherent dative nominals. For example:

⁸ Although there is dialectal variation (in some varieties only human objects being allowed), inanimates cannot be differentially marked (Fernández and Rezac 2016, Odria 2014, 2017, 2019, a.o.). Also, human direct objects have to be specific (Mounole 2012, Fernández and Rezac 2016, Odria 2017, 2019, a.o.).

⁹ (Non-standard) Basque is ergative-absolutive morphologically. The verbal complex shows agreement with the ergative argument. The absolutive and the indirect object dative argument can also trigger agreement on the verbal complex, as shown in the various examples illustrated in the paper.

- a) it allows depictive secondary predicates, unlike dative indirect objects (Odría 2014, Fernández and Rezac 2016, a.o.), as seen in (14);
- b) it can be used in Exceptional Case Marking (see Fernández and Rezac 2016, a.o.);
- d) is conditioned by clausal properties like tense¹⁰, a type of behavior datives do not show;
- e) it triggers PCC effects, just like agreeing absolutes, as shown in (15)

(14) Depictive secondary predicates

- (a)
- nonstandard Basque*
- : no depictives with inherent datives

Nik _i	amona-ri _j	umea _k	pozik <i>i/*j/k</i>	eraman
I.ERG	grandmother.ART-DAT	child.ART-ABS	happy	carry

diot.

AUX[3SG.DAT-1SG.ERG]

‘I have carried the child to his grandmother happy.’ (Odría 2014, ex. 4, adapted)

- (b)
- Elgoibar Basque*
- : depictives with DOM=DAT

Nik _i	umia-ri _j	oinutsik <i>ij</i>	ekarri	diot.
I.ERG	kid.ART-DAT=DOM	barefoot	carry	AUX[3SG.DAT-1SG.ERG]

‘I carried the kid barefoot.’ (Fernández and Rezac 2016)

PCC effects → oblique DOM signals a type of DO which is subject to a licensing constraint in syntax

- In (15)(a), there are two arguments that require licensing and obligatory agreement, namely the dative causee and the absolute. But the structure contains only one licenser (following Anagnostopoulou 2003, a.o.); therefore, absolute agreement must be removed.
- In (15)(b), either DOM must be removed or the goal must be marked allative.

(15) Absolutes, DOM and the PCC

- (a)
- Absolute Person and agreeing datives: PCC*

*Pellori	zu	ezagutaraziko	<u><i>zaituzte/</i></u>
Pello.DAT	you.ABS	carry.FUT	AUX[2PL.ABS-3PL.ERG]

diote/dute.

AUX[3.ABS-3SG.DAT-3PL.ERG]/ AUX[3SG.ABS-3PL.ERG]/

‘They will make Pello know you.’ (Fernández and Rezac 2016, ex. 38b)

- (b)
- DOM and agreeing datives: PCC*

*Martak	Ane-ri	eraman	<u><i>dio</i></u>	amona-ri.
Marta.ERG	Ane.DAT=DOM	carry	AUX[3SG.DAT-2SG.ERG]	gandma-DAT

‘Marta carried Ane to (her) grandma.’

(Albizu and Fernández 2006, Fernández and Rezac 2016, ex. 39b)

Fernández and Rezac (2016):

- an account which links oblique DOM to object shift.
- just like the absolute, oblique DOM reflects a structural Agree/Case relation with properties on high clausal heads, such as T or *v*.
- the absolute emerges when the conditions for oblique DOM are not met.
- The Agree/Case locus for absolute objects is a probe on *v*.
- The difference between the absolute and DOM is given by the presence of a P feature on *v*, which triggers object shift as in (16).
- object shift is motivated by theory internal reasons: animacy and specificity generally feed object shift cross-linguistically (Bhatt 2007, etc.).

¹⁰ For many speakers, it is either only possible or more robust in the past tense (see Odría 2017, 2019, Fernández and Rezac 2016, a.o.).

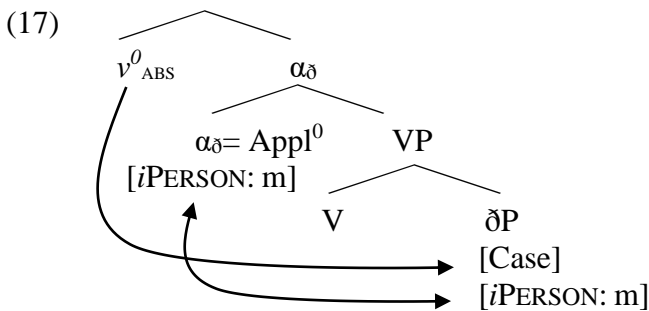
- (16) P is a trigger for object shift, associated with interpretive conditions in the way as it has been discussed for other types of object shift. (Fernández and Rezac 2016, iv)

The problem:

- while DOM as object shift is definitely correct for many languages, we do not know whether absolute arguments themselves do *not* raise (as Fernández and Rezac 2016 also notice)¹¹

Proposal:

- DOM linked to a feature specification beyond Case, which requires separate licensing.
- Following Cornilescu (2000), Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), or Richards (2008): grammaticalized animacy as the presence of a [PERSON] feature, merged in δP (above D).
- Thus, the nominal in contains both Case as well as [PERSON] which need licensing.
- The differential marker results from the impossibility of the main licenser to license the two features; thus, an additional licenser must be recruited (Jaeggli 1982, a.o.).
- We also follow Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2018) in assuming that the additional licenser is an Appl^0 head.
- For Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2018), notions such as animacy, which they collapse with perspectivization and viewpoint, are encoded as an interpretable feature in an Appl^0 head, situated above V^0 but below the EA. This explains the use of dative as DOM in Basque.



- Odria (2017) proposes a different analysis, according to which the oblique marker is inserted at PF to avoid a violation of the *Distinctiveness Condition* (Richards 2010) with the ergative
 - o As an explanation along these lines is harder to extend to Uzbek or other languages with refined types of object marking, while the hypothesis of complex licensing unifies these languages.
- at an abstract level, Uzbek and nonstandard Basque use the same complex licensing mechanism for DOM, which involves more than one licenser

5. CONCLUSIONS:

- types of differential object marking (Uzbek, nonstandard Basque) which cannot be easily reduced to the Case-marked/Case-licensed vs. caseless distinction or to the Dependent Case mechanism
- they are instead unified by the presence of more than one licenser acting on the same nominal
- this derives not only their *structural* similarities with other structural accusatives/absolutives, but also their differences
- several case assigners can affect the case realization at one case assignee (Nelson 1998, Brattico 2012, Matushansky 2012, Vainikka e Brattico 2014, a.o.)

¹¹ See also the discussion in Rezac, Albizu and Etxepare (2014) Vicente (2005), a. o.

THANK YOU!

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