

# When embedded C projects an argument

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## 1 Introduction

The standard assumption that Spec,CP is always an A-bar position has been questioned for several languages where embedded C<sup>0</sup> appears to be involved in agreement and case-assignment, thus suggesting that at least some C heads can have A-features in addition to A-bar features (see Wurmbrand 2019 for an overview of the problem and references therein). In addition to this, several papers suggest that the highest functional heads on the clausal spine introduce silent operators corresponding to the discourse participants (Baker 2008; Diercks 2013, i.a.).

The present paper contributes to these discussions by examining previously undescribed object control data from Meadow Mari<sup>1</sup> (Uralic; nominative, head final, SOV) and arguing that a particular type of C<sup>0</sup> is capable of thematically licensing an argument in Spec,CP. The sentences under consideration are exemplified in (1a), along with a more familiar case of object control (1b).

- (1) a. Maša mə-la-m tə-lan-et tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.<sup>2</sup>  
 Maša I-DAT-POSS.1SG you-DAT-POSS.2SG come-IMP COMP tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told me to tell you to come.’ // ‘Maša told me that you should come.’
- b. Maša mə-la-m tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.  
 Maša I-DAT-POSS.1SG come-IMP COMP tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told me to come.’

I demonstrate that in sentences similar to (1a) the first dative DP (here, *məlam*) is an argument of the matrix speech act predicate (similarly to the single dative DP in (1b)). The second dative DP (here, *təlanet*), which controls the embedded PRO subject, is an argument projected by the complementizer *manən* within the infinitival CP. I argue that this DP is externally merged in Spec,CP and is assigned the Addressee theta-role along with receiving dative Case from C<sup>0</sup>, as schematized in (2).

- (2) [VP DP<sub>DAT1</sub> [V' [CP DP<sub>DAT2i</sub> [C' [FinP PRO<sub>i</sub> [Fin' [TP t<sub>i</sub> infinitive] Fin<sup>0</sup> ] ] C<sup>0</sup> *manən* ] ] V<sup>0</sup> ] ]
- ↑  
licensing

I argue that this behavior of *manən* follows from its dual grammatical nature: it is a semi-grammaticalized speech act verb ‘say’ that retains some verbal characteristics, such as the

1 Unless explicitly specified otherwise, the data presented in this paper come from the Morkinsko-Sernur dialect of Meadow Mari (otherwise known as Eastern Mari) spoken in Mari El republic. Several examples marked “Hill Mari” come from the Kuznetsovo variety of Hill Mari (Western Mari) spoken in Mari El. The data have been collected during my field work in 2019 – 2020. The double dative constructions under consideration are attested in both languages and, so far, I have found no difference in their properties and distribution.

2 Glossing abbreviations: ACC = accusative, CONJ = conjunction, COMP = complementizer, CVB = converb, DAT = dative, EL = elative, GEN = genitive, IMP = imperative, IN = inessive, INF = infinitive, JUS = jussive, NEG = negative, NPST = non-past, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PST = past, PTCL = particle, SG = singular.

ability to project arguments. Furthermore, I propose that the dative DP is, essentially, an overtly realized ADDRESSEE participant; while usually, discourse coordinates in an embedded complement clause are variables, whose reference depends on that of the matrix elements, in the particular case of Mari the exceptional properties of the complementizer *manən* allows it to re-introduce the ADDRESSEE for the embedded proposition.

The proposed analysis continues the line of research on the structure of clausal complements of attitude predicates; it elaborates the logophoric control approach put forward by Landau (2015) and expands the range of CP-related phenomena adding overtly realized discourse participants to the picture.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of object control constructions with a speech act verb in Mari. Section 3 focuses on so called “double dative” sentences discussing in detail the distribution of each of the dative DPs. Section 4 outlines the analysis and explores properties of the semi-grammaticalized complementizer *manən*, while Section 5 presents structural representations for “mono-dative” and “double-dative” constructions, building upon and expanding the logophoric approach to control developed in Landau (2015).

## 2 Double dative constructions: Overview

### 2.1 Mandative verbs and object control

In Mari speech act verbs, such as *kalasaš* ‘say, tell’, *kutəraš* ‘say, speak’, *šüdəš* ‘ask, order’, etc.,<sup>3</sup> can serve as mandative predicates, also known as directives and verbs of order, when they embed an infinitival or subjunctive clause. For instance, in (3) the speech act verb *kalasaš* embeds a finite indicative clause as a complement and the sentence receives a standard declarative reading.

#### (3) *Speech act verb: No mandative interpretation*

Rveze-vlak kniga-m už-ən-ət manən, Maša mə-lan-na kalas-en.  
 boy-PL book-ACC see-PST-3PL COMP Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL tell-PST  
 ‘Mary told us that the boys had seen the book.’

In (4), the same verb selects an infinitival clause or a finite subjunctive clause as a complement, and the sentences must be interpreted as orders, i.e. involving deontic modality. Notice that an embedded non-finite clause can optionally be accompanied by the complementizer *manən*, which will be discussed in section 4.

#### (4) *Speech act verb: Mandative interpretation*

a. Maša mə-lan-na tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.  
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL come-INF COMP tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told us to come.’

b. Reveze-vlak kniga-m už-əšt manən  
 boy-PL book-ACC see-JUS COMP  
 Maša mə-lan-na kalas-en.  
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told us that the boys should see the book.’

Considering the mandative constructions in (4), they contain a dative DP (DP<sub>DAT</sub>) that simultaneously refers to the *Addressee* (the Goal of communication) – that is, the one who receives the message and can pass it on, – and the *mandee* – the one who should carry out the order. Even though the DP<sub>DAT</sub> does not have to be coreferent with the subject of the embedded finite clause (4b), the Addressee participant is always interpreted as being at least partially

3 In Mari, practically any verb of information transfer can be used as a mandative predicate, for instance, *kəčkəralaš* ‘cry out, shout’, *seraš* ‘write’, *pəžgəš/pəžgəltəš* ‘whisper’ (Hill Mari), etc.

responsible for the event that should happen: in this particular example, we must ensure that the boys will see the book.

The declarative/mandative ambiguity illustrated in (3) and (4) is not unusual; the same behavior is typical for speech act verbs in many Indo-European languages, including English, Russian, Spanish, among others. What makes the Mari case interesting is that in object control constructions with a mandative interpretation two non-coordinated dative nominal phrases can appear. This is illustrated in (5) for an embedded intransitive verb and in (6) for an embedded transitive verb.

- (5) a. Maša mə-la-m            tol-aš        (manən) kalas-en.  
 Maša I-DAT-POSS.1SG come-INF COMP tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told me to come.’
- b. Maša mə-la-m            tə-lan-et                    tol-aš        (manən)        kalas-en.  
 Maša I-DAT-POSS.1SG you-DAT-2SG            come-INF COMP            tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told me to tell you to come.’ = ‘Maša told me that you should come.’
- (6) a. Təj mə-lan-na            kapka-m            ačal-aš (manən) kalas-əš-əč.  
 you we-DAT-POSS.1PL fence-ACC    fix-INF COMP    tell-PST-2SG  
 ‘You told us to fix the fence.’
- b. Təj mə-lan-na            Petja-lan            kapka-m            ačal-aš (manən) kalas-əš-əč.  
 you we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-DAT    fence-ACC    fix-INF COMP    tell-PST-2SG  
 ‘You told us to tell Petja to fix the fence.’  
 = ‘You told us that Petja should fix the fence.’

The construction can be schematized as [DP<sub>DAT1</sub> + DP<sub>DAT2</sub> + infinitive + verb]. As demonstrated by the prose translation in (5) and (6), in such sentences the first dative DP (DP<sub>DAT1</sub>) refers to the immediate Addressee – an Intermediary that receives the message, – while the second dative DP (DP<sub>DAT2</sub>) denotes the *mandee*. Note that the intermediary may be responsible for controlling the task: in this case, (5b) receives the reading ‘Mary told me to ensure that you will come / to make you come’. However, this is not required, as (5b) can also be interpreted as ‘Mary told me to tell you to come’ or even ‘Mary told me that you should come’, with a plausible continuation along the lines of ‘... but I didn’t tell you’ or ‘... but you didn’t come’.

## 2.2 Partial vs. exhaustive control

In sentences with a single dative DP and an embedded non-finite clause, the DP<sub>DAT</sub> and the understood embedded subject must be co-indexed; the so called non-c-command control and long-distance control (Landau 2004) are prohibited (7).

- (7) a. Maša [Petja-n<sub>k</sub>    joltaš-əžə-vlak-lan]<sub>i</sub>  
 Maša Petja-GEN    friend-POSS.3SG-PL-DAT  
 [PRO<sub>i/\*k</sub>            təšəč                    kaj-aš    (manən)]        kalas-en.  
                           here.EL                    go-INF    COMP            tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told Petja’s friends to leave.’
- b. Maša<sub>k</sub> [təj Petja-lan<sub>i</sub>    [PRO<sub>i/\*k</sub>            təšəč            kaj-aš]  
 Maša you Petja-DAT            here.EL            go-INF  
 kalas-en-at manən]            pal-a.  
 tell-PST-2SG COMP            know-NPST.3SG  
 ‘Maša knows that you told Petja to leave.’

However, the coreference can be partial, which suggests that the embedded subject position is occupied by a controlled PRO (Wurmbrand 2002). This is illustrated in (8) where the *together*-type modifier *pərl'a*, which requires a plural antecedent (9), can be used in an embedded non-finite clause even when the controller is syntactically and semantically singular.

- (8) Maša t-lat təšəč pərl'a kaj-aš kalas-en.  
 Maša you-DAT.2SG here.ELtogether go-INF tell-PST  
 'Maša told you to leave together.' (= you and Maša should leave together)
- (9) a. Me təšeč pərl'a ka-en-na.  
 we here.EL together go-PST-1PL  
 'We left together.'
- b. Məj təšeč (\*pərl'a) ka-en-am.  
 I here.EL together go-PST-1SG  
 'I left.'

In sentences with two dative DPs, it is the  $DP_{DAT2}$  that obligatorily controls the embedded subject (10). Unlike in sentences with a single  $DP_{DAT}$ , partial coreference examples with two dative DPs are evaluated as degraded (11). It is important to keep in mind the difference between “mono-dative” and “double-dative” constructions with respect to the partial control and we will get back to it later in the paper.

- (10) a. Maša mə-lan-na [Petja-n<sub>k</sub> joltaš-əžə-vlak-lan]<sub>i</sub>  
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-GEN friend-POSS.3SG-PL-DAT  
 [PRO<sub>i/\*k</sub> təšəč kaj-aš (manən)] kalas-en.  
 here.ELgo-INF COMP tell-PST  
 'Maša told us that Petja's friends should leave.'
- b. Maša mə-lan-na<sub>k</sub> Petja-lan<sub>i</sub>  
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-DAT  
 [PRO<sub>i/\*k</sub> təšəč kaj-aš (manən)] kalas-en.  
 here.EL go-INF COMP tell-PST  
 'Maša told us that Petja should leave.'
- (11) \*Maša mə-la-m t-lat təšəč pərl'a kaj-aš kalas-en.  
 Maša I-DAT-POSS.1SG you-DAT.2SG here.ELtogether go-INF tell-PST  
 Intended: 'Maša told me to tell you to leave together.'

### 3 Examining the dative DPs

#### 3.1 $DP_{DAT1}$ : Properties

It might be tempting to analyze the  $DP_{DAT2}$  as a proper argument, similarly to the  $DP_{DAT}$  in single dative constructions, and the  $DP_{DAT1}$  as an optional adjunct characterizing the way or means of communication; this is schematized in (12), where a speech act verb is denoted as SAY.

- (12) a. *Mono-dative constructions*  
 [<sub>VP</sub>  $DP_{DAT}$  [<sub>V'</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> ... ] SAY ] ]
- b. *Double dative constructions: a dative adjunct (“Intermediary”) is present*  
 [<sub>VP</sub>  $DP_{DAT1}$  [<sub>VP</sub>  $DP_{DAT2}$  [<sub>V'</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> ... ] SAY ] ] ]

However, such an analysis would fail to capture the relevant data, as the  $DP_{DAT1}$  appears to be selected by a matrix predicate. Firstly, the  $DP_{DAT1}$  is restricted to [+Animate] (regularly [+Human]) intermediaries (13).

- (13) Maša {serəš-əšte / \*serəš-lan} mə-la-m tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.  
 Maša letter-IN letter-DAT I-DAT-POSS.1SG come-INF COMP tell-PST  
 ‘In a letter, Maša told me to come.’

Secondly, double datives are prohibited with embedded finite clauses (14). This is unexpected under the assumption that the  $DP_{DAT1}$  is merely an adjunct modifying the matrix event, as those are usually available regardless of the type of a clausal argument; cf. for instance, in English *I told her {on the phone} that Peter would go there / to go there.*

- (14) a. \*Rveze-vlak kniga-m už-ən-ət manən,  
 boy-PL book-ACC see-PST-3PL COMP  
 Maša mə-lan-na Petja-lan kalas-en.  
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-DAT tell-PST  
 Intended: ‘Maša told us to tell Petja that the boys had seen the book.’  
 or ‘Maša told Petja to tell us that the boys had seen the book.’

- b. \*Rveze-vlak kniga-m už-əšt manən,  
 boy-PL book-ACC see-JUS COMP  
 Maša mə-lan-na Petja-lan kalas-en.  
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-DAT tell-PST  
 Intended: ‘Maša told us to tell Petja that the boys should see the book.’  
 or ‘Maša told Petja to tell us that the boys should see the book.’

Thirdly, the  $DP_{DAT1}$  does not have to be dative. The case marking depends on the matrix predicate; for instance, the verb *sörvalaš* ‘beg’ requires an accusative Addressee (15a). This accusative DP can co-occur with an independent dative mandee (15b).

- (15) a. Maša jumə-m / \*jumə-lan tol-aš (manən) sörval-en.  
 Maša God-ACC God-DAT come-INF COMP beg-PST  
 ‘Maša begged God to come.’  
 b. Maša jumə-m mə-lan-na tol-aš (manən) sörval-en.  
 Maša God-ACC we-DAT-POSS.1PL come-INF COMP beg-PST  
 ‘Maša begged God to make us come.’

To summarize, in double dative constructions the  $DP_{DAT1}$  is an Addressee argument selected by the matrix speech act verb, similarly to the  $DP_{DAT}$  in single dative constructions.

### 3.2 $DP_{DAT2}$ : Properties

With regard to the  $DP_{DAT2}$ , it should first be noted that it forms a constituent with the embedded non-finite clause that excludes the  $DP_{DAT1}$  and the matrix predicate. For instance, the  $DP_{DAT2}$  and the infinitival clause cannot be separated by a matrix adverb (16) even though in Mari adjuncts can scramble relatively freely within a clause.

- (16) a. Təj mə-lan-na [Petja-lan *tače* kapka-m  
 you we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-DAT today fence-ACC  
*erla* ačal-aš (manən)] kalas-əš-əč.  
 tomorrow fix-INF COMP tell-PST-2SG  
 Intended: ‘Today you told us that tomorrow Petja should fix the fence.’

- b. Təj mə-lan-na *tače* Petja-lan kapka-m ačal-aš (manən) kalas-əš-əč.  
 you we-DAT-POSS.1PL today Petja-DAT fence-ACC fix-INF COMP tell-PST-2SG  
 (i) ‘Today you told us that Petja should fix the fence.’  
 (ii) ‘You told us that today Petja should fix the fence.’

Likewise, the DP<sub>DAT2</sub> and the non-finite clause can only be dislocated together under extraposition (17) or in fragment answers (18).

- (17) a. Təj mə-lan-na kalas-əš-əč [Petja-lan kapka-m ačal-aš (manən)].  
 you we-DAT-POSS.1PL tell-PST-2SG Petja-DAT fence-ACC fix-INF COMP  
 ‘You told us that Petja should fix the fence.’

- b. \*Təj mə-lan-na Petja-lan kalas-əš-əč [kapka-m ačal-aš (manən)].  
 you we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-DAT tell-PST-2SG fence-ACC fix-INF COMP  
 ‘You told us that Petja should fix the fence.’

- (18) a. A: Mo-m Maša tə-lan-et kalas-en?  
 what-ACC Maša you-DAT-POSS.2SG tell-PST

- B: Mə-lan-na təšeč kaj-aš (manən).  
 we-dat-POSS.1PL here.EL go-INF COMP  
 ‘What did Maša tell you? For us to leave.’

- b. A: \*Mo-m Maša tə-lan-et mə-lan-na kalas-en?  
 what-ACC Maša you-DAT-POSS.2SG we-DAT-POSS.1PL tell-PST

- B: Təšeč kaj-aš (manən).  
 here.EL go-INF COMP

- c. A: Mo-m Maša kalas-en?  
 what-ACC Maša tell-PST

- B: \*Tə-lan-et mə-lan-na təšeč kaj-aš (manən).  
 you-DAT-POSS.2SG we-DAT-POSS.1PL here.EL go-INF COMP

It might be suggested that the DP<sub>DAT2</sub> is the embedded subject itself; after all, overt embedded dative subjects are attested, for example, in Russian (a contact language; see Burukina 2020 for discussion) and in Hungarian (another Uralic language; see Tóth 2000). Recall that in double dative examples the DP<sub>DAT2</sub> and the embedded subject must be strictly coreferent (11), which can easily be explained if the two form a DP – trace chain. In addition to this, the second dative DP is incompatible with embedded finite clauses with an overt nominative subject (19); thus, we may suggest that dative is a special structural case available only for the subject in an infinitival clause.

- (19) a. Maša mə-lan-na Petja-lan tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.  
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-DAT come-INF COMP tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told us that Petja should come.’

- b. Maša mə-lan-na \*Petja-lan / Petja tol-žo manən kalas-en.  
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-DAT Petja come-JUS COMP tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told us that Petja should come.’

However, the following properties of the DP<sub>DAT2</sub> challenge the overt subject analysis outlined above. Firstly, the DP<sub>DAT2</sub> obeys the [+Human] restriction regardless of the embedded predicate (20a, 20b), even though, in principle, clauses with a [-Human] subject can be embedded under speech act verbs (20c).

- (20) a. \*Maša mā-län-nä [šəšer-län olicä-štə šənz-äš] keles-en. [Hill Mari]  
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL milk-DAT street-IN stay-INF tell-PST  
 Intended: ‘Maša told us that the milk should be outside.’
- b. #Maša mǝ-län-em [əškal-lan ške-ok tol-aš] keles-en. [Hill Mari]  
 Maša I-DAT-POSS.1SG cow-DAT self-PTCL come-INF tell-PST  
 Only: ‘Maša told me to go and fetch the cow myself.’  
 Not available: ‘Maša told me that the cow should come herself.’
- c. Maša mǝ-län-em [əškal ške-ok tol-žə manə̃n] keles-en. [Hill Mari]  
 Maša I-DAT-POSS.1SG cow self-PTCL come-JUS COMP tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told me that the cow should come herself.’

Secondly, double dative sentences do not pass the idiom chunk test. An expression can be interpreted idiomatically only when the DP under consideration has been initially merged as an argument of the embedded predicate; compare, for instance, English [*The cat*]<sub>i</sub> *seems* [*t<sub>i</sub> to be out of the bag*] (an idiomatic reading is available) and [*The cat*]<sub>i</sub> *decided* [*PRO<sub>i</sub> to be out of the bag*] (an idiomatic reading is not available). As demonstrated in (21), when a potentially idiomatic expression in Mari is embedded under a speech act verb as a non-finite clause and a dative DP it does not retain the idiomatic reading.

- (21) \*Maša (Petja-lan) koti-lan mā loškə-na vanž-aš keles-en. [Hill Mari]  
 Maša Petja-DAT cat-DAT we between-POSS.1PL run-INF tell-PST  
 Intended: ‘Maša told (Peter) that we should quarrel.’

Finally, it should be noted that the double dative constructions under consideration are restricted to speech act verbs. For example, modal and evaluative adjectival predicates also support obligatory control with a matrix dative controller (22a).<sup>4</sup> If it were possible for overt subjects in Mari to be licensed in non-finite clauses, we might expect to see a second dative DP appearing in such sentences as well; this prediction, however, is not borne out (22b) and such ungrammatical examples undermine the overt subject analysis.

- (22) a. Ač’a-ž-lan<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> təšeč kaj-aš] kül-eš.  
 father-DAT here.EL go-INF be.necessary-NPST.3SG  
 ‘For his/her father it is necessary to leave.’
- b. \*Ač’a-ž-lan [mǝ-lan-na təšeč kaj-aš] kül-eš.  
 father-DAT we-DAT-POSS.1PL here.EL go-INF be.necessary-NPST.3SG  
 Intended: ‘For his/her father it is necessary for us to leave.’

From these properties of the DP<sub>DAT2</sub> I conclude that it is not merged into a lower position within a non-finite clause as an argument of the embedded predicate; in other words, a raising analysis would go against the facts listed above, especially the results for the sentience and idiom chunk tests. It can further be inferred that there is an intermediate head that takes a non-finite clause as a complement and introduces the DP<sub>DAT2</sub> in its specifier position. This would explain how the DP<sub>DAT2</sub> forms a constituent with a non-finite clause, even though it is not the embedded subject itself. This intermediate head should also be able to impose selectional restrictions on the DP<sub>DAT2</sub>. Finally, a successful analysis must account for the incompatibility of the second dative with embedded finite clauses. In what follows I will argue that the head

4 A detailed discussion of the properties of *kül-eš* lies beyond the limits of the paper. At this point it suffices to say that sentences similar to (22) involve obligatory control established between the dative DP and the silent embedded subject and do not pass any raising diagnostics, such as the idiom chunks and sentience tests.

that introduces the  $DP_{DAT2}$  is a C head of a particular kind, overtly manifested as a semi-grammaticalized complementizer *manən*.

#### 4 Double dative constructions: the role of *manən*

##### 4.1 $DP_{DAT2}$ projected by the C head

In the double dative constructions under discussion the  $DP_{DAT1}$  appears to be a matrix Addressee, while the  $DP_{DAT2}$  is related to the non-finite clause but cannot be analyzed as an argument of the embedded predicate. This is schematized in (23), where the head relating the  $DP_{DAT2}$  and the clause is denoted as  $X^0$ .

(23) [ ...  $DP_{DAT1}$  ... [<sub>XP</sub>  $DP_{DAT2i}$  [<sub>X'</sub> [  $PRO_i$  infinitive ]  $X^0$  ] ... SAY ]

I argue that X here is a C head of a particular type: it is manifested as the complementizer *manən* or its null allomorph.

(24) Maša mə-lan-na [<sub>CP</sub> Petja-lan<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> tol-aš] (manən)] kalas-en.  
 Maša we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-DAT come-INF COMP tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told us that Petja should come.’

I propose that the complementizer *manən* not only selects a non-finite FinP as its complement, as will be discussed in more detail in section 5, but also exceptionally projects an argument in Spec,CP – the  $DP_{DAT2}$  – and assigns it the Addressee role together with licensing dative Case. This analysis accounts for all properties of the  $DP_{DAT2}$  listed above, including selectional restrictions. Furthermore, it straightforwardly captures the correlation: only those predicates that can embed a non-finite complement clause with the complementizer *manən* allow double dative. Thus, predicates that do not embed non-finite clauses with *manən* can never appear with two dative DPs; see the examples with modals and evaluative adjectives in (25).

(25) Ač’a-ž-lan<sub>i</sub> [( \*mə-lan-na) təšəč kaj-aš ( \*manən)] kül-eš / nele.  
 father-DAT we-DAT-POSS.1PL here.EL go-INF COMP be.necessary-NPST.3SG hard  
 ‘For his/her father it is necessary/hard to leave.’

The assumption that  $C^0$  can assign Case is not novel.<sup>5</sup> However, the ability to license thematic arguments is generally considered to be a property of lexical heads and Spec,CP is usually treated as an A-bar position suitable for internal merge of dislocated elements but not for external merge of brand-new participants. I argue that the exceptional status of *manən* as a complementizer that can license an argument results from its being a semi-grammaticalized element diachronically derived from the speech act verb *manaš* ‘say, tell’; see Savatkova 2002 and Toldova and Serdobolskaya 2014 for a discussion of the history of grammaticalization of *manən*. I propose that, in modern Mari, *manən* exhibits mixed behavior: in clausal complements of a speech act verb it retains some of its lexical properties and is still capable of

5 As argued in the present paper, *manən* is currently in the middle of the grammaticalization stage in a sense that several more/less functional instances of *manən* are used in Mari at the same time: thus, there is (i) a converb/past.3sg form of the lexical verb *manaš* ‘say, tell’, (ii) a semi-grammaticalized complementizer *manən* used in clauses embedded under a speech act verb, (iii) a complementizer *manən* found in complement clauses embedded under mental or emotive predicates and in adjunct purpose clauses. The latter behaves as a functional head and cannot project an argument, however, it appears to still be able to assign dative Case to the embedded subject (i).

(i) [Rveze-vlak-lan pur-aš(-əšt) manən] me kapka-m poč-en-na.  
 boy-PL-DAT enter-INF-POSS.3PL COMP we gate-ACC open-PST-1PL  
 ‘We opened the gates so that the boys could enter.’

It remains yet to be explored whether the embedded subject in examples similar to (i) moves to Spec,CP to get Case. At this point I assume that in the double dative constructions under consideration dative Case is assigned by C to  $DP_{DAT}$  in Spec,CP under the Spec-Head agreement. It may be possible that the same mechanism is at work in (i), however, it may also be the case that Case assignment in Mari is hybrid (Spec-Head and downward Head-Spec agreement co-existing) (cf. Chomsky 2001; Koopman 2006, i.a.).



projecting a (dative) Addressee (the goal of communication). In the next section I will discuss the properties of *manən* in more detail, demonstrating that it is in the middle of the grammaticalization process.

#### 4.2 The complementizer *manən*

The grammaticalization of the speech act verb *manaš* ‘say, tell’ into a complementizer *manən* is mentioned already in Timofeeva 1961, Isanbajev 1961, i.a.; cross-linguistically, similar phenomena in other languages are documented in Klamer 2000, Güldemann and von Roncador 2002, Heine and Kuteva 2002, Chappell 2008, i.a. Morphologically *manən* is identical to the non-agreeing converb/past.3sg form *man-ən*, which can still occasionally be used as a lexical predicate (26).

- (26) a. «Ala məj aza-t-əm onçal-am», – man-eš Marziva.  
 CONJ I child-POSS.2SG-ACC look-NPST.1SG tell-NPST.3SG Marziva  
 ‘Marziva said: ‘I will look at your child.’’
- b. «Ala virus?» – man-ən xirurg.  
 CONJ virus tell-PST surgeon  
 ‘‘And a virus?’’ – said the surgeon.’

When used as a complementizer in an embedded clause, similarly to lexical predicates and unlike, for instance, ‘proper’ complementizers, such as *što* ‘that’ and *štobê* ‘so that’ borrowed from Russian to Hill Mari,<sup>6</sup> *manən* always appears at the right edge.

- (27) a. Ävä ergä-žë-län keles-en [(štobê) tädë sêkêr-êm näl-žë]. [Hill Mari]  
 mother son-POSS.3SG-DAT tell-PST so that he bread-ACC take-JUS  
 ‘The mother told her son to take / buy bread.’
- b. Ävä ergä-žë-län keles-en [tädë sêkêr-êm näl-žë (manên)]. [Hill Mari]  
 mother son-POSS.3SG-DAT tell-PST he bread-ACC take-JUS COMP  
 ‘The mother told her son to take / buy bread.’

The question arises whether *manən* is a complementizer at all. It may be tempting to analyze double dative constructions as involving a non-finite clause embedded under a converb (*man-ən*) in a complex adjunct. Under such an analysis (24), for instance, would literally mean ‘Mary talked to us, saying to Peter to come.’ The following facts, however, provide evidence that *manən* in such constructions is a true complementizer, a C. Firstly, while converb clauses are usually adjuncts, the embedded clauses with *manən* under consideration are complements. They (i) cannot co-occur with a Theme DP argument, such as ‘fact’ or ‘joke’ ((28) vs. (29)) and (ii) allow sub-extraction ((30) vs. (31)).

- (28) Me Petja-lan tidë məskara-m kalas-en-na.  
 we Petja-DAT this joke-ACC tell-PST-1PL  
 ‘We told Petja this joke.’
- (29) \*Me Petja-lan tidë məskara-m [tud-lan tol-aš man-ən] kalas-en-na.  
 we Petja-DAT this joke-ACC he-DAT come-INF say-CVB tell-PST-1PL  
 Intended: ‘We told Petja this joke, saying to him to come.’
- (30) a. Nunə mə-lan-na [kö-m šel-aš (manən)] kalas-en-ət?  
 they we-DAT-POSS.1PL who-ACC hit-INF COMP tell-PST-3PL  
 ‘Who did they tell us to hit?’

6 The borrowed complementizers *što* ‘that’ and *štobê* ‘so that’ are not used in the variety of Meadow Mari under discussion.

- b. Kō-m<sub>i</sub> nunə mə-lan-na [t<sub>i</sub> šel-aš (manən)] kalas-en-ət?  
 who-ACC they we-DAT-POSS.1PL hit-INF COMP tell-PST-3PL  
 ‘Who did they tell us to hit?’
- (31) a. [Kō-m šel-ən] me kaj-əš-na?  
 who-ACC hit-CVB we go-PST-1PL  
 ‘Who did we leave having hit?’
- b. ??Kō-m<sub>i</sub> me [t<sub>i</sub> šel-ən] kaj-əš-na?  
 who-ACC we hit-CVB go-PST-1PL  
 ‘Who did we leave having hit?’

Secondly, the morphological form of *manən* here is fixed; for instance, a negative converb form derived with the suffix *-de* cannot be used.

- (32) a. Maša salam-əm kalas-ədə / man-de pur-əš.  
 Maša hello-ACC tell-CVB.NEG tell-CVB.NEG enter-PST  
 ‘Maša entered without saying hello.’
- b. \*Maša t-lat təšəč kaj-aš /kaj-Ø man-de kalas-en.  
 Masa you-DAT.2SG here.ELgo-INF go-IMP tell-CVB.NEG tell-PST  
 Intended: ‘Maša told you not to leave.’
- c. Maša t-lat təšəč {kaj-aš ogəl / it kaj} manən kalas-en.  
 Maša you-DAT.2SG here.ELgo-INF NEG PROH.2 go COMP tell-PST  
 ‘Maša told you not to leave.’

Thirdly, *manən* cannot be substituted by a converb form of a synonymous speech act verb.

- (33) \*Təj mə-lan-na təšəč kaj-aš {pop-ən / kutər-ən} kalas-əš-əč.  
 you we-DAT-POSS.1PL here.EL go-INF speak-CVB say-CVB tell-PST-2SG  
 Intended: ‘You told us to leave.’

Finally, *manən* as a complementizer is desemanticized. It is not restricted to speech-related contexts and appears in complement clauses embedded under mental and emotive predicates, such as ‘believe’ or ‘be afraid’; the examples in (34) are reproduced from Toldova and Serdobolskaya 2014 (T&S).

- (34) a. Iza üšan-a [šüžar-že ok šojəšt manən].  
 brother believe-NPST.3SG sister-POSS.3SG NEG.3SG lie COMP  
 ‘The brother believes that his sister will not lie to him.’ [T&S:120 (25)]
- b. [Iktaž-mo ən-že lij manən] lüd-am.  
 INDEF-what NEG-OPT.SG become COMP be.afraid-NPST.1SG  
 ‘I am afraid that something may happen.’ [T&S:124 (41)]

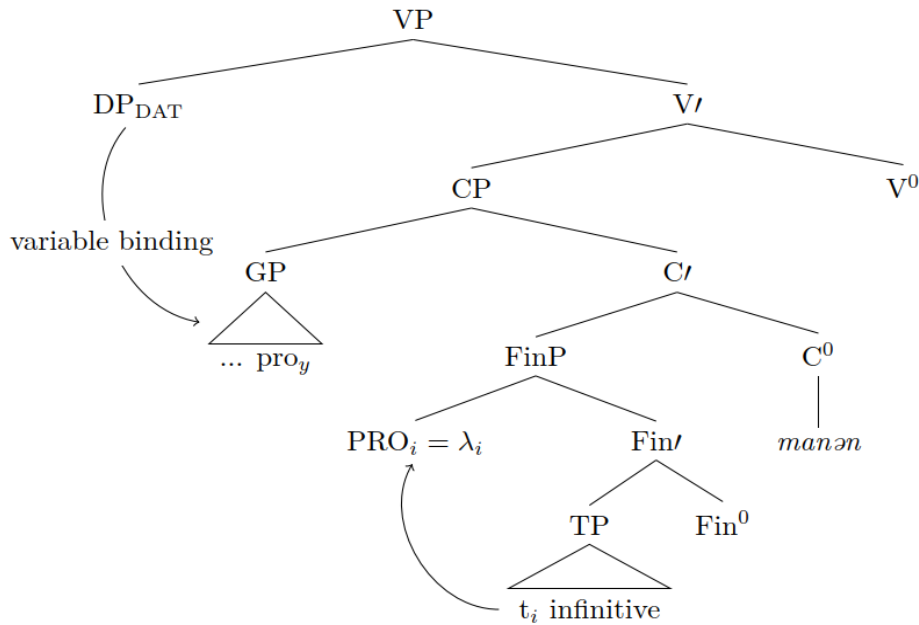
Taking these data into account, I follow Toldova and Serdobolskaya (2014) in that in modern Mari *manən* is being grammaticalized as a functional element, a complementizer. I further propose that its grammaticalization has not been complete yet: it may retain some properties of the lexical speech act verb *manaš*, such as the ability to combine with a non-finite clausal complement, to assign dative case, and, crucially, to license the Addressee argument.

- (35) [<sub>VP</sub> DP<sub>DAT1</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> DP<sub>DAT2i</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Fin'</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> infinitive] Fin<sup>0</sup> ] ] C<sup>0</sup> *manən* ] ] V<sup>0</sup> ] ]  
 ↑  
 licensing

## 5 Deriving double dative constructions: Logophoric control

For Mari object control constructions, I adopt Landau’s (2015) logophoric control analysis, which was developed for attitude predicates, including verbs of order (mandatives), and which accommodates partial control. The following (simplified) structure corresponds to sentences with a single  $DP_{DAT}$  (36).

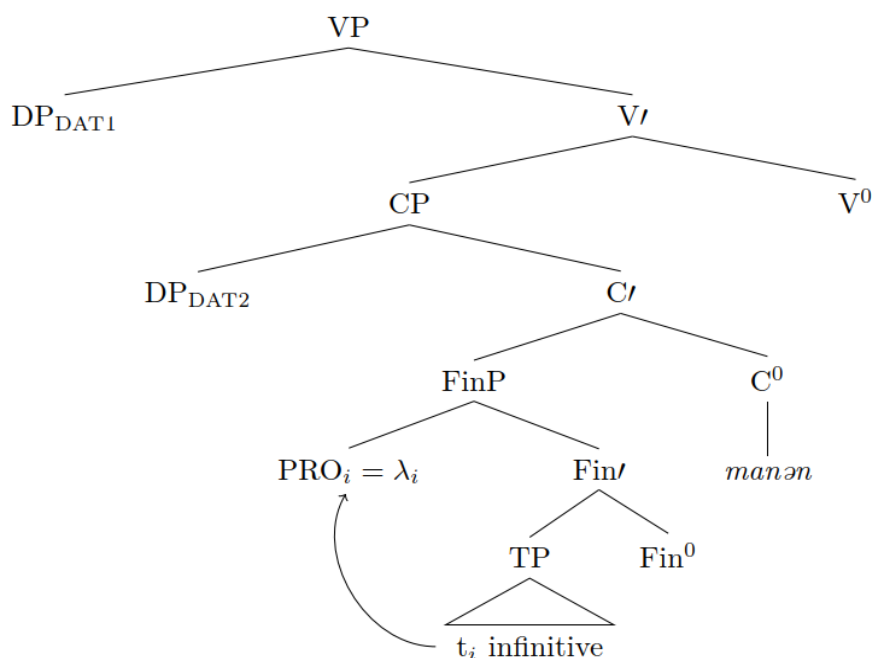
(36)



In (36) GP stands for the concept generator phrase. This component of the embedded Spec,CP introduces the AUTHOR, ADDRESSEE, TIME, and WORLD coordinates for the embedded proposition, whose values usually depend on the context (i.e. the matrix clause). In case of object control, the ADDRESSEE coordinate is syntactically projected as  $pro_y$  bound by the matrix object, typically an Addressee (Goal of communication) argument. Notice that the flexibility of the binding relation allows partial coreference.  $Pro_y$  further values the PRO variable via predication: it is established between  $pro_y$  (the subject of predication) and FinP (the predicate). The latter is turned into a predicate via the operator movement of PRO to Spec,FinP, which allows to merge a  $\lambda$ -abstractor. For a more detailed discussion of logophoric control see Landau 2015.

The structure for double dative sentences is straightforwardly derived from the structure in (36), the only difference being the  $DP_{DAT2}$  – that is, the (second) Addressee argument that ends up controlling the embedded PRO – being projected by  $C^0$ .

(37)



Similarly to *pro<sub>y</sub>* in (36), the DP<sub>DAT2</sub> in (37) and PRO in the non-finite clause are connected via predication. The contrast between variable binding in (36) and predication in (37) explains why in “double dative” sentences, unlike in “mono-dative” ones, partial control is no longer acceptable (cf. (11) in section 2.2). The proposed analysis further accounts for the incompatibility of double dative with finite clauses (19). Under assumption that the semi-grammaticalized *manən* should form a complex predicate with the embedded clause to introduce the DP<sub>DAT2</sub>, the FinP is expected not to be fully saturated, finite.

I further assume that the DP<sub>DAT2</sub> argument is, in fact, an overt ADDRESSEE coordinate, in the spirit of Baker 2008. In essence, Baker (2008) builds upon Schlenker (2003, 2005), Sigurðsson (2005), among others, and argues that “All matrix clauses and certain embedded clauses have two special null arguments generated within the CP projection, one designated S (for speaker) and the other A (for addressee)” (Baker 2008:125). I suggest that, based on the Mari data, this proposal can be further elaborated to include exceptional cases when such a ‘discourse-oriented’ argument (an Addressee in the cases under consideration) is overtly realized as an independent DP, being projected by the complementizer.

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper I presented and examined novel object control data from Mari arguing that, in this language, it is exceptionally possible for a complementizer in an embedded clause to project and license an Addressee argument. I proposed that this property of the complementizer stems from its semi-grammaticalized nature: it is a former verb of communication ‘say, tell’ currently undergoing grammaticalization into a functional category.

Using the logophoric control analysis developed in Landau 2015 as a basis, I demonstrated how it can further account for the so called double-dative constructions in Mari under discussion. Assuming after Baker (2008) that a CP embedded under an attitude predicate (e.g. a speech act verb interpreted as a verb of order) contains within its highest projection special arguments that correspond to the discourse participants – SPEAKER and ADDRESSEE, – I suggested that an Addressee projected by the special C head in Mari can be considered an overt realization of such a participant.

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