

Varieties of structural objects and (multiple) licensing

Oblique DOM, PERSON and the PCC

Monica Alexandrina Irimia

Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia - irimiamo@unimore.it

GLOW 42 OSLO, MAY 10 2019

Setting the stage

- presence of *oblique morphology* on certain classes of direct objects, among which *animates*, *specific*, *definite* DPs or a combination thereof (Jaeggli 1982, 1986, Borer 1984, Bossong 1991, 1998, Torrego 1998, Lazard 2001, López 2012, Manzini and Franco 2016, Bárány 2018, a.o.)
- Main claim:** Oblique DOM connected to a distinct (discourse) licensing condition, beyond Case
- focus on two aspects:
 - interaction of oblique DOM with object agreement or, more generally, accusative morphology (complex DOM)
 - syntactic correlates of oblique DOM (oblique DOM in syntax)

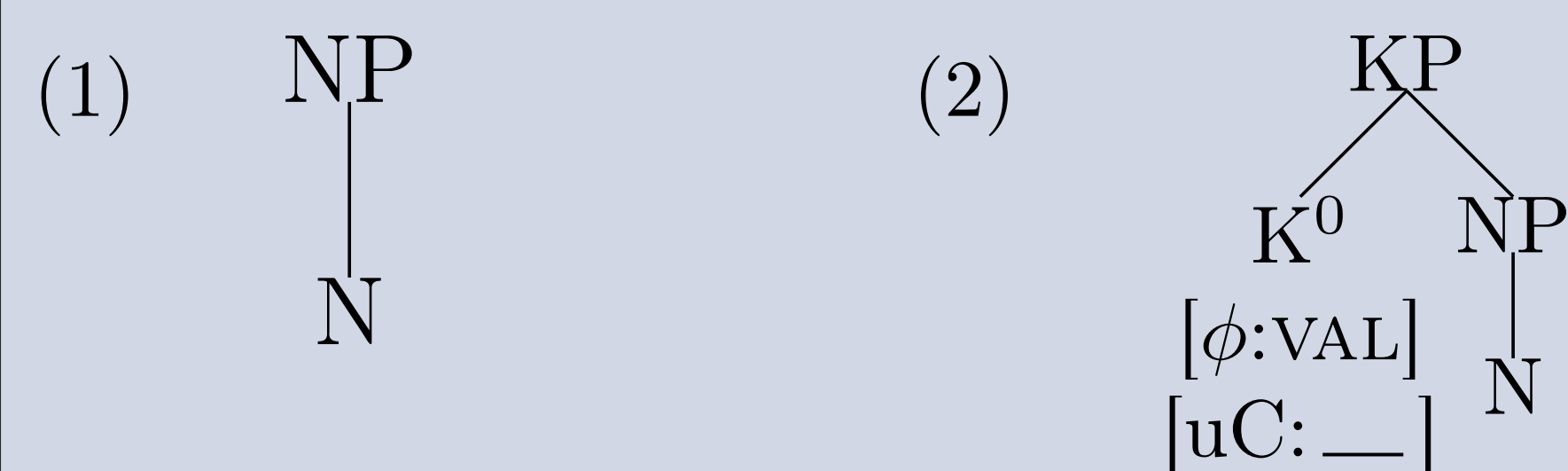
1. DOM and licensing

OBLIQUE DOM AND CASE

- adpositional ACC/ABS (Jaeggli 1982, a.o.)
- abstract licensing condition: a (ϕ -) relationship with functional heads (*v*, T, C, etc.; see López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, Kalin 2018, Levin 2019, a.o.)

Unlicensed objects

DOM licensing

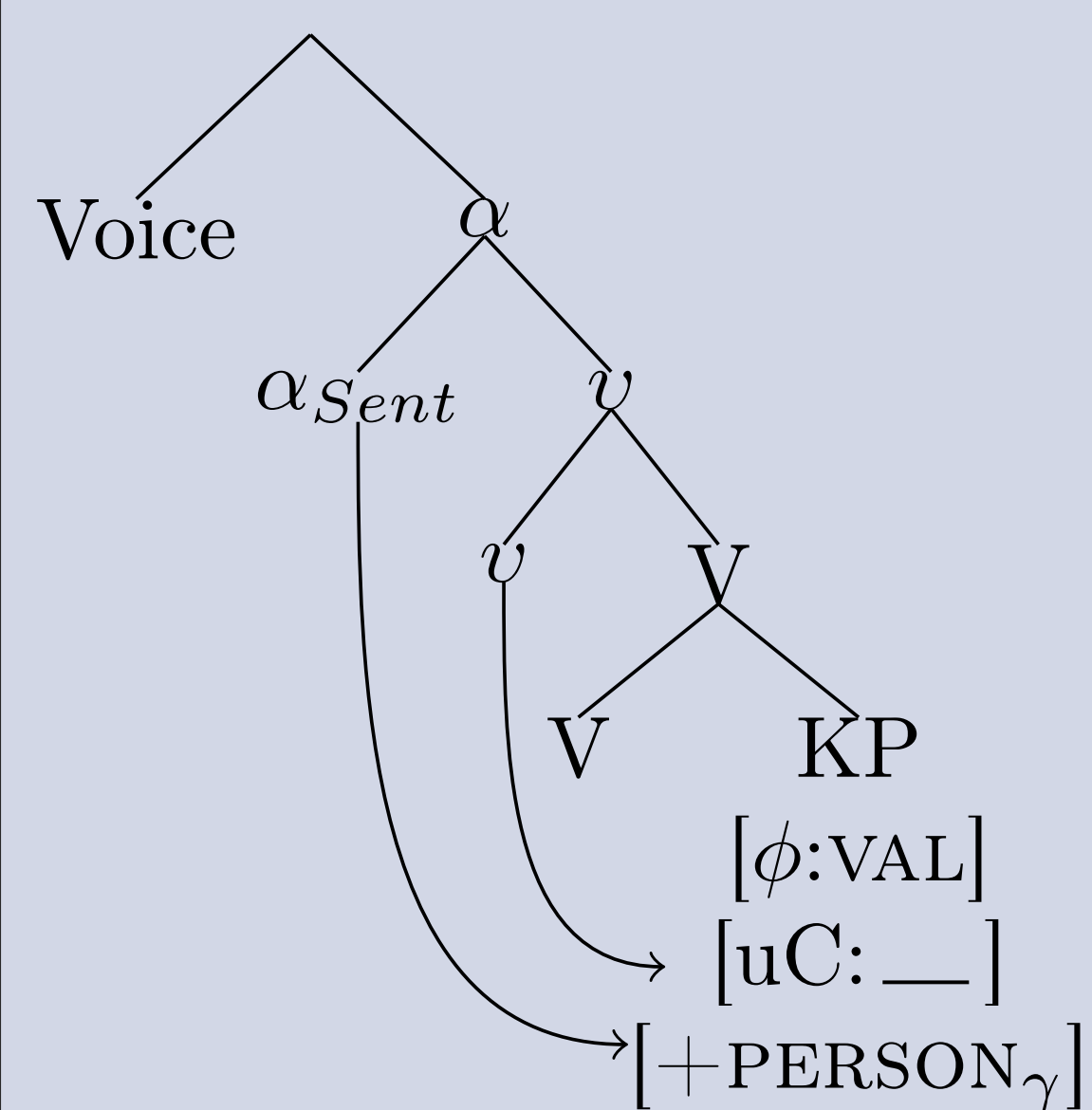


- how to distinguish DOM from other *structural objects* which also indicate licensing? (Gujarati, Neapolitan, Basque, etc.)
- what type of licensing condition does oblique DOM signal?

3. Additional licensing

PROPOSAL: oblique DOM signals an *additional, independent licensing operation* beyond the valuation of [uC] (building on Suñer 1988, a.o.)

(3) *Oblique* DOM



- oblique DOM: complex category, decomposed into basic features

- [+PERSON γ] (on gender) as **animacy** (Richards 2008, Cornilescu 2000, a.o.)

- v* might not license [+PERSON γ]

more than one licensing operation on the nominal (adapting Jaeggli 1982, 1986, a.o.)

3.1. Discourse licensing

- additional licenser in the *low* discourse-related periphery is recruited (Belletti 2004, Miyagawa 2010, 2017, Wiltschko 2014, a.o.)
- Sentience* locus: Appl head (Zubizarreta and Pancheva 2017, Sundaesan 2018, a.o.)
- this might also explain *oblique* morphology
- a characteristic of [+PERSON γ]? Must be licensed in the same domain as [uC]; oblique DOM - same position as agreeing (ACC/ABS) objects
- ACC/ABS profile (Bárány 2018, a.o.)

[uC] → object agreement (ACC/ABS)

[PERSON γ] → oblique DOM

- a nominal can enter into multiple valuation operations (Béjar and Rezac 2009, a.o.)

2. Data

(4) GUJARATI (INDO-ARYAN) (Wunderlich 2013, ex. 32a, b, adapted)

- a. sita-e kāgal vāc-**yo**. Sita.F-ERG letter.M read-PF.M.SG 'Sita read a (specific)/the letter.'
- b. raj-e sita-***(ne)** pajav-**i/*yo**. raj.M-ERG Sita.F-DAT=DOM harass-F.SG/M 'Raj harassed Sita.'

NEAPOLITAN (ROMANCE)

- (5) a. (L) -addʒə ***kwottə/√kəttə** **a** l'aragostə. CL.SG.ACC.F -have cooked.M.SG/cooked.F.SG DAT=DOM DEF.F.SG-lobster.F.SG 'I have cooked the lobster.' (Adam Ledgeway, Roberto Petrosino, p.c.)
- b. (L)-addʒə **√kwottə/*kəttə** (*a) ll'ove. CL.SG.ACC.F-have.1.SG cooked.M.SG/cooked.F.SG DAT=DOM DEF.M.SG-egg 'I have cooked the egg.' (adapted after Loporcaro 1998, 2010, a.o.)

(6) NON-STANDARD BASQUE (Odria 2017, ex.2b/p.114, ex. 3a/p.11)

- a. Zu-k ni-**ri** ikusi **didazu**. you-ERG I-DOM see DAT.1SG-ERG.2SG 'You have seen me.'
- b. Ordenagailua ikusi **dut**. computer.ABS see ABS.3.SG-ERG.1SG 'I have seen the computer.'

BASQUE - DAT *displacement* variety

- (7) Zu-k ni-**ri** ikusi **nauzu**. you-ERG I-DAT=DOM see AUX.ABS.1SG-ERG.2SG 'You have seen me.'

(Ane Odria, p.c.)

4. Oblique DOM in morphology

Another prominent line of approaches to oblique DOM is the morphological one

- oblique DOM and the bare objects have the same syntax. The only difference is morphological - oblique DOM gets an extra marker (López 2012, a.o.)
- oblique DOM as impoverishment in morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, Hale 2002, Bobaljik and Branigan 2006, Keine and Müller 2008, a.o.)
- agreeing objects undergo impoverishment (Keine 2010, a.o.)

⇒ Problematic prediction: **Agreeing objects and oblique DOM have the same syntax.**

5. Oblique DOM in syntax: PCC-effects

(8) Person Case Constraint (Bonet 1991, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Béjar and Rezac 2003, a.o.)

If DAT, then ACC/ABS = 3rd (Bonet 1994, 36)

the dative intervenes in the PERSON *v*-Agree relation of 1st/2nd (Anagnostopoulou 2003, a.o.)

- (9) *Zu-k harakina-ri ni saldu **na-i-o-zu**. you-ERG butcher-DAT I-ABS sell ABS.1SG-AUX-DAT.3SG-ERG.2SG 'You have sold me to the butcher.' BASQUE (Laka 1993)

PCC relativized to animacy (Ormazabal and Romero 2007)

generally ignored: PCC-like effects on full nominals, not just weak elements (Irimia 2018b)

- (10) (***ʃə**) (l)-addʒə ***kwottə/√kəttə** **a** l'aragostə. CL.DAT.3SG CL.F.ACC.3SG-have.1.SG cooked.M/cooked.F DAT=DOM DEF.F.SG-lobster.F.SG 'I have cooked the lobster (*for him).' NEAPOLITAN (Roberto Petrosino, p.c.)

- (11) *Zu-k harakina-ri **ni-ri** saldu **d-i-o-zu**. you-ERG butcher-DAT I-DAT=DOM sell DAT.1SG-AUX-DAT.3SG-ERG.2SG 'You have sold me to the butcher.' BASQUE (Odria, 2017)

Crucially: a syntactic condition beyond Case

- (12) **Le** enviaron **a** todos los enfermos (***a la doctora**). CL.DAT.3SG sent.3PL DAT=DOM all DEF patients DAT DEF doctor 'They sent all the patients to the doctor.' SPANISH (Ormazabal and Romero 2013b)

→ **clitic-doubled IO + Oblique DOM ⇒ PCC effect**

→ oblique DAT as [uC] incorrectly predicts ungrammaticality of (12) without the dative nominal

Acknowledgements

Parts of this work have been funded by the ERC Grant 295733 (LanGeLin, PI Giuseppe Longobardi), and a research grant from UniMoRe. Many thanks go to Julie Goncharov, Giuseppe Longobardi, Adam Ledgeway, Roberto Petrosino, Cristina Guardiano, Anna Pineda, Sonia Cyrino, Andrés Bárány, Laura Kalin, M. Rita Manzini, Sandhya Sundaesan. All errors are my own. *LaTeX template downloaded from www.overleaf.com*