

# DOM and datives in Uralic and beyond

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# Introduction: DOM and datives

# Observations and questions

- ▶ DOM objects, presumably accusative, **look or behave like dative** in some languages, like Spanish, Hindi, Kashmiri, Awtuw, Khanty, ...
- ▶ When DOM resembles dative, **is DOM dative**?
- ▶ Why is this not the case in **all** languages with DOM?

# Claims

- ▶ Dative-DOM-languages have “ditransitive” structures for monotransitives.
- ▶ These structures involve **ApplP**:
  - ▶ DOM is often sensitive to animacy
  - ▶ can force movement to its specifier
  - ▶ gives rise to competition with between the DO and the IO
- ▶ We don't have to find these effects in languages where DOM does not resemble datives.

## Examples: Spanish DOM

(1) a. *María busca* a *una gestora.*  
 M. seeks DOM a manager  
 ‘María is looking for a (specific) manager.’

b. *María busca una gestora.*  
 M. seeks a manager  
 ‘María is looking for a (non-specific) manager.’

(López 2012: 16)

## Examples: Spanish datives and DOM

- (2) *Los enemigos no entregaron*  $\boxed{a}$  *su<sub>i</sub> hijo*  $\boxed{a}$  *nadie<sub>i</sub>*.  
 the enemies NEG delivered.PL  $\boxed{\text{DAT}}$  his son  $\boxed{\text{DOM}}$  no.one  
 ‘The enemies delivered no one<sub>i</sub> to his<sub>i</sub> son.’ (López 2012: 41)

- ▶ DAT and DOM both surface as  $\boxed{a}$ .
- ▶ Two instances of  $a$  (López 2012).

## Examples: Hindi DOM

- (3) a. *Mina tum-ko dekh rahii thii.*  
 M.F you-ko see PROG.F be.PST.F.SG  
 ‘Mina was looking at you.’

- b. *Mina ek bacca/e-ko uṭhaa rahii hai.*  
 M.F a child(-ko) lift PROG.F be.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Mina is picking up a child / a particular child.’

(Bhatt 2007: 2)

- ▶ In Hindi, the animacy and the referentiality of the direct object determine DOM: Butt (1993), Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou (1996), Bhatt (2007).

## Examples: Hindi datives and DOM

- (4) a. *Ram-ne* [<sub>VP</sub> *Anita-ko* *chitthii bhej-ii* ]  
 R.ERG          A.-DAT          letter.F send-PFV.F

‘Ram sent a letter to Anita.’

- b. *Ram-ne chitthii-ko*<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *Anita-ko* *t<sub>i</sub> bhej-aa* ]  
 R.ERG          letter-KO          A.-DAT          send-PFV

‘Ram sent the letter to Anita.’

(Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996: 3)

- ▶ DAT and DOM both surface as **-ko**.
- ▶ Only some speakers of Hindi allow two instances of *-ko*.



## Examples: Northern Khanty DOM

(5) a. *(ma) tam kalaŋ we:l-s-əm*  
 I this reindeer kill-PST-1SG.SBJ  
 'I killed this reindeer.'

b. *(ma) tam kalaŋ we:l-s-∅-e:m*  
 I this reindeer kill-PST-SG.OBJ-1SG.SBJ  
 'I killed this reindeer.'

(Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011: 142)

- ▶ Object agreement depends on grammatical function (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011), indirectly on (secondary) topicality: Nikolaeva (1999), Nikolaeva (2001)

## Examples: Northern Khanty IOs and DOM

- (6) a. *ma a:n Pe:tra e:l̥ti ma-s-**e:m*** /  
 I cup P. to give-PST-**OBJ**.1SG.SBJ  
*ma-s-ə̃m*  
 give-PST-1SG.SBJ  
 'I gave a/the cup to Peter.'

- b. *ma Pe:tra a:n-na ma-s-**e:m*** /  
 I P. cup-LOC give-PST-**OBJ**.1SG.SUBJ  
 \**ma-s-ə̃m*  
 give-PST-1SG.SBJ  
 'I gave Peter a/the cup.' (D&N 2011: 142)

- ▶ IO also intervenes Amharic (Baker 2012), Sahaptin (Rigsby and Rude 1996), Eastern Mansi (Virtanen 2012)

## Examples: Eastern Mansi DOM

- (7) *ässyøkee! om loåw-øm jål=ääl-øs-løm.*  
 dear 1SG say-1SG PREF=kill-PST-SG<1SG  
 ‘Oh my dear, I thought I had killed you.’ (Virtanen 2015: 21)

- ▶ Object agreement in number with secondary topics (Virtanen 2015) — also second person (dropped in (7))!

## Examples: Eastern Mansi IOs and DOM

- (8) a. *om kurøm lyõx äk° näg-nöän tåt-s-ø̄m.*  
 1SG three message only 2SG-LAT bring-PST-1SG  
 ‘I brought three messages just for you.’

- b. ... *kõõp-posø̄m-ø̄t püw-ø̄tään tow-mø̄-s-**tø̄**.*  
 boat-stern-LOC son-LAT-3SG.SG PREF-give-PST-**SG<3SG**  
 ‘... gave it to his son at the stern of the boat.’  
 (Virtanen 2012: 126)

- c. *am nää-n tat-ø̄s-**lø̄m** nee-l.*  
 1SG 2SG-SG2SG bring-PST-**SG<1SG** woman-INSTR  
 ‘I brought you a wife.’  
 (Virtanen 2012: 125)

- (8a,b) show theme objects, (8c) shows a recipient object.

# Interim summary

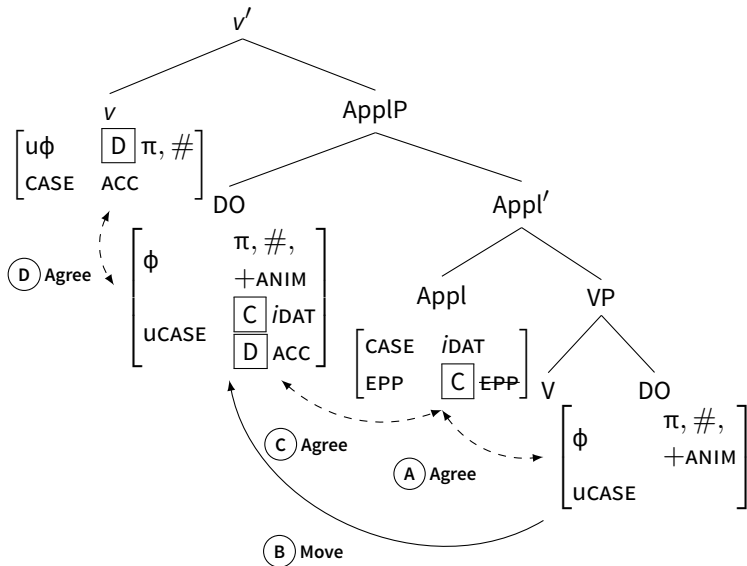
- ▶ In some languages, IOs and DOs are realised in similar ways: “dative” or object agreement.
- ▶ This correlates with a higher position of the DO with respect to:
  - ▶ unmarked DOs (move out of VP),
  - ▶ the dative (DO c-commands the IO).
- ▶ How can we account for this?

# Towards an analysis

# The basic idea

- ▶ In languages where the IO and the DO interact in DOM,
- ▶ monotransitives include an ApplP.
- ▶ This Appl does not select an argument, but can attract the DO **if** it has certain properties: animacy, referentiality, topicality.
- ▶ The DO can move to SpecApplP where it gets “dative” case.

## The basic structure



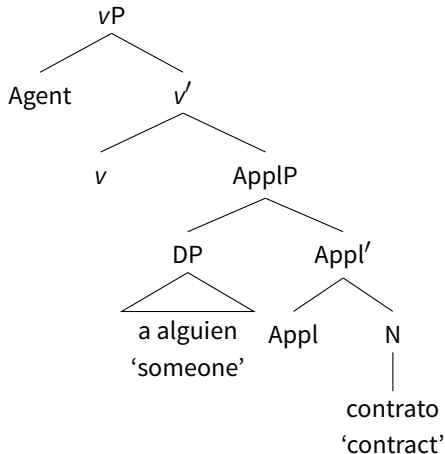


# The basic structure (cont.)

- ▶ Assumptions
  - ▶ Monotransitive structures include Appl.
  - ▶ Appl probes for an animate (or topical, ...) DO.
  - ▶ DO takes an inherent and a structural case: “stacking” (Richards 2012)
- ▶ Questions
  - ▶ “Real” dative? cf. Manzini and Franco (2013), Torrego (2010)
  - ▶ Grammatical function? cf. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011)
  - ▶ Just morphology?

## Syntactic (and semantic) motivation

- ▶ Torrego (2010) proposes the following structure for predicates like *contratar a alguien* ‘hire someone’.



- ▶ Torrego: N incorporates into  $v$  and *a alguien* “will always be marked with dative morphology, simply because it is dative.” (p. 462)
- ▶ But in passives, the logical object of *contratar* is nominative, even though Spanish lacks goal passives? Argument for structural Case?

## Identifying “datives”: inherent vs. structural?

- ▶ In Hindi passives, some speakers allow the subject to surface as “dative” — looks like inherent case.

(9) *Rina-ko baazaar-mē dekh-aa gayaa thaa.*  
 Rina-KO market-IN see-PFV.DEF PASS.PFG.DEF be.PST.DEF  
 ‘Rina had been seen in the market.’ (Bhatt 2007: 8)

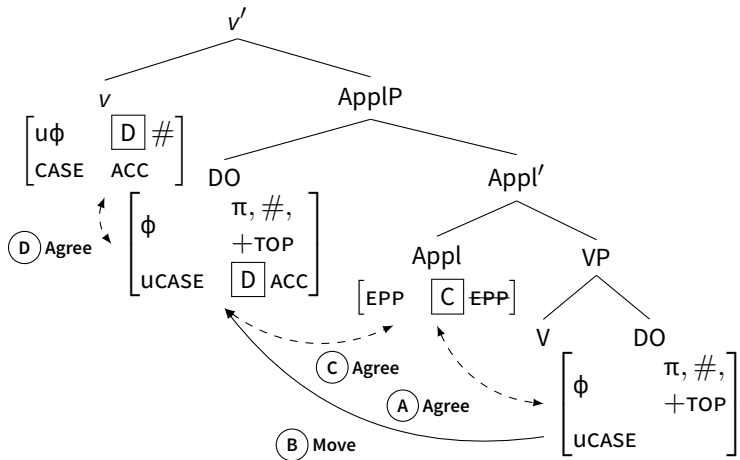
- ▶ Some speakers allow double *-ko* in Hindi: *-ko* does not correlate with a  $\theta$ -role — looks like structural case.
- ▶ This does not happen in Spanish — yet Torrego (2010), Manzini and Franco (2013) suggest that these are datives.

# Analysis and derivations

- ▶ “Case stacking” (Richards 2012): accusative assigned on top of dative in Hindi, Spanish, ...
- ▶ DOs have both inherent and structural properties.
- ▶ Difference in behaviour: DAT with selection vs. DAT to Spec.
- ▶ No dative morphology in Northern Khanty and Eastern Mansi: only one case available, only one argument in ApplP?

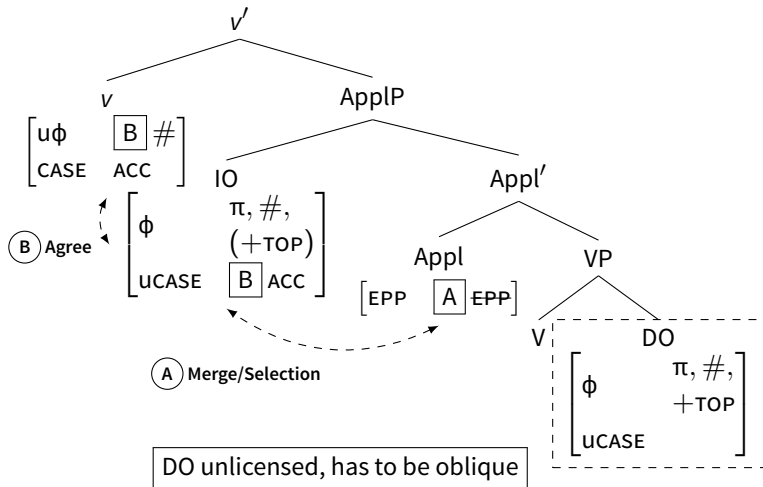
# Analysis and derivations (cont.)

- ▶ Northern Khanty/Eastern Mansi: topical DO, no IO



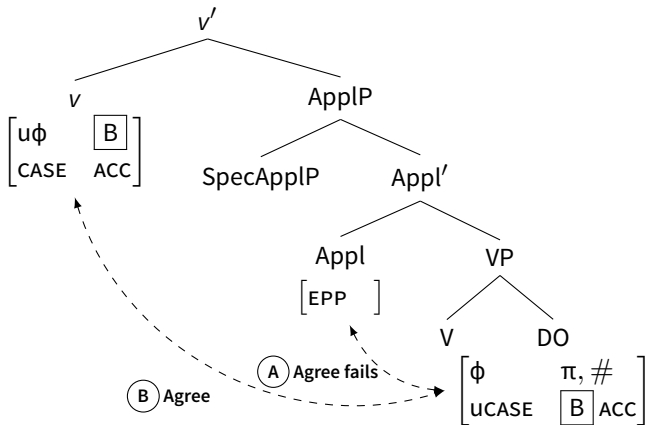
# Analysis and derivations (cont.)

- ▶ Northern Khanty/Eastern Mansi: (topical) DO, IO



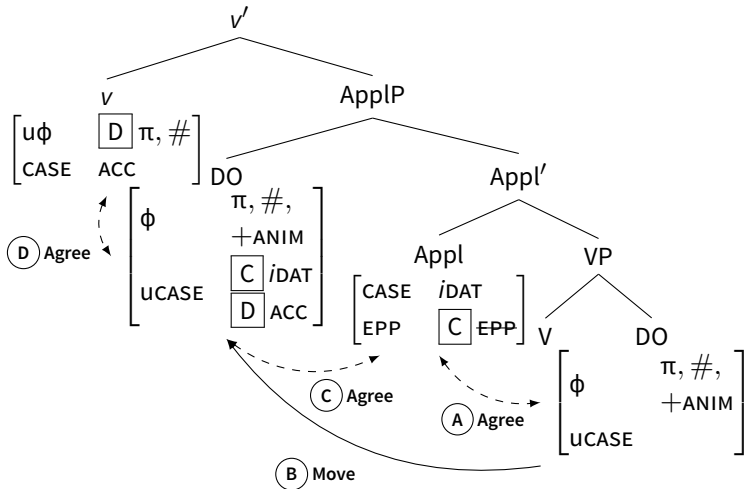
# Analysis and derivations (cont.)

- ▶ Northern Khanty/Eastern Mansi: non-topical DO, no IO



# Analysis and derivations (cont.)

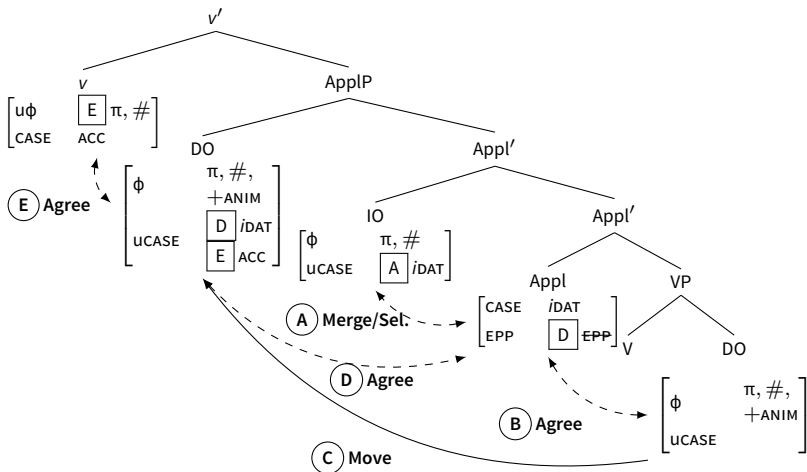
- ▶ Hindi, Spanish: overt DAT in SpecAppl, ACC from v





# Analysis and derivations (cont.)

- ▶ Hindi, Spanish: overt case licenses more than one argument in Appl?



# Summary

- ▶ Accusative in Hindi, Spanish, Khanty, Mansi is null.
- ▶ Dative is overt in Hindi, Spanish and accusative is “stacked”:

(10) *Rina-ko-∅*

Rina-DAT-ACC

- ▶ Explains the hybrid behaviour of DOM-objects: structural and inherent properties.
- ▶ Khanty, Mansi lack overt dative case, therefore IO also agrees with *v*.
- ▶ We should find the same with overt accusative: do we?

# Conclusions

# Conclusions

- ▶ By assuming that ApplP can appear in monotransitives,
- ▶ we capture a cluster of properties across languages:
  - ▶ some DOs move to SpecApplP,
  - ▶ DAT ~ DOM,
  - ▶ competition between DO and IO for agreement and case.
- ▶ Dative or accusative?
  - ▶ Both!
  - ▶ But not *actual* datives, contra Torrego (2010), Manzini and Franco (2013).

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