

BACKGROUND. The vast literature on *differential object marking* (DOM) has unveiled a non-trivial property of such objects in many genetically-unrelated languages - they need to use obligatory morphology which is homophonous with the dative or more generally, an oblique (Givón 1984, Comrie 1989, Bossong 1991, Lazard 2001, Aissen 2003, López 2012, Manzini and Franco 2016, a.o.). This aspect has received renewed attention in recent studies, under two main lines of inquiry: i) oblique syntax for DOM (Manzini and Franco 2016); ii) DAT DOM as morphological syncretism (see especially Bány 2018). We discuss here some case studies of DOM DAT which cannot be easily accommodated under any of these accounts, when taken individually. We show instead that dative morphology results from an *additional licensing* operation on certain classes of DPs. The additional, last-resort licenser recruited for convergence is precisely a functional head encoding *Perspectival* linking in the syntax. Under this hypothesis, we also predict ‘PCC-like’ interactions differential objects enter into.

THE DATA. Neapolitan (1) animates, when used as direct objects, (must) take an obligatory preposition, which is homophonous with the dative (Ledgeway 2000, Loporcaro 1998, 2010, Vitolo 2005, a.o.). In non-standard Basque (2), the same classes require dative case as well as dative agreement (Odria 2014, 2017, Fernández and Rezac 2016, a.o.).

- (1) (*fə) (l)-addʒə *kwottə/kottə a l’aragostə.
 CL.DAT CL.ACC.F-have.1.SG cooked.M/cooked.F DAT=DOM DEF.F.SG-lobster.F.SG
 ‘I have cooked the lobster (*[for him]).’ NEAPOLITAN
- (2) Zu-k ni-ri ikusi didazu. NON-STANDARD BASQUE
 you-ERG I-DAT=DOM see AUX.ABS-DAT.1SG-ERG.2.SG
 ‘You have seen me.’ (Odria 2017, p.214, ex. 2b; glosses adapted)

SOME PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS. I. DOM AS STRUCTURAL CASE. In recent *licensing* analyses, this type of DOM encodes a split between Case-checked/licensed nominals (DOM-ed) and Caseless/unlicensed nominals (e.g., DOM-less inanimates - Ormazabal and Romero 2013, Kalin 2018, Levin 2018, a.o.).

II. SIMPLE LICENSING IS NOT ENOUGH. However, cross-linguistic data show that these classes are *not* the only ones that need a licensing account. In the Neapolitan (1), 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:

- (3) (fə) (l)-addʒə *kwottə/√kottə a pastə.
 CL.DAT CL.SG.ACC.F-have.1.SG cooked.M.SG/cooked.F.SG the.F.SG pasta.F.SG
 ‘I have cooked the pasta ([for him]).’ NEAPOLITAN

Connecting PPA to some type of lexical/inherent case assignment (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007 on non-standard Spanish, a.o.) does not solve the problem. We still need to explain how *accusative* clitic doubling, a structural operation, comes about in (3). Equally problematic are data from languages like non-standard Basque, which also exhibit *agreeing* absolutive arguments, independently of DOM, as in (4). As ERG is a dependent case in the language, derived when another *structural* DP is present in the same case domain, a *lexical* analysis of the agreeing absolutive would leave the ERG unexplained.

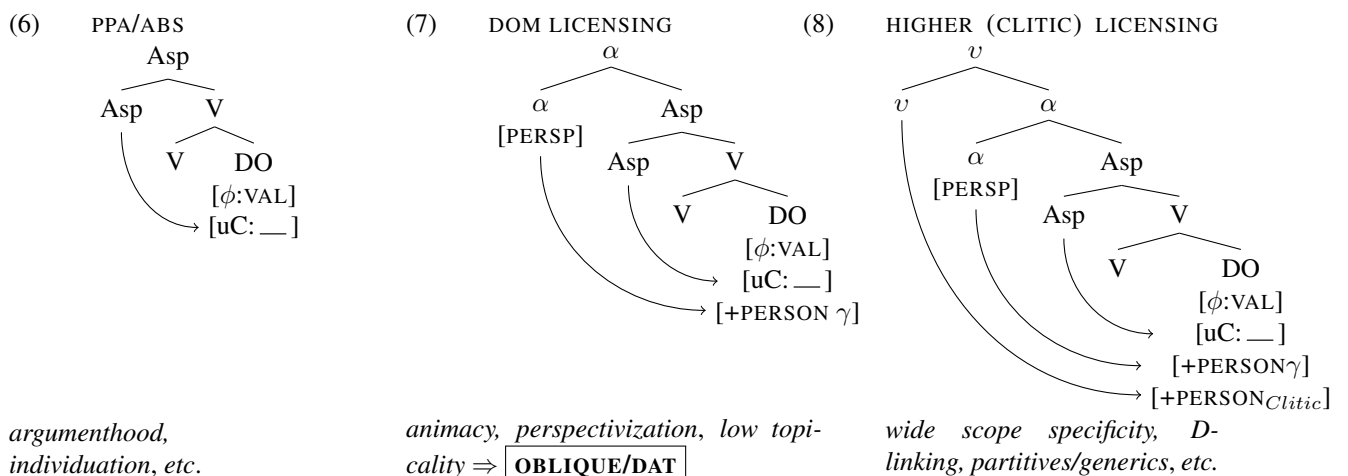
- (4) Ordenagailua ikusi dut. NON-STANDARD BASQUE
 computer.ABS see AUX.ABS.3.SG-ERG.1SG
 ‘I have seen the computer.’ (Odria 2017, ex.3a, p.11)

We run into the same problem in Indo-Aryan varieties that have *object* PPA, split-ergativity, and adpositional DOM. In Gujarati-type varieties, dative DOM must show PPA (5-b), just like other absolutive arguments (5-a), but unlike datives or lexical cases which do not show PPA (Mistry (1997, Woolford 2006, Wunderlich 2012, also Grosz and Patel-Grosz 2014 for Kutchi Gujarati, a.o.):

- (5) GUJARATI (Wunderlich 2012, ex. 32a, b, adapted)
- a. sita-e kāgal vāc-yo. b. raj-e sita-*(ne) pajav-i/*yo.
 sita.F-ERG letter.M.ABS read-PF.M.SG raj.M-ERG Sita.F-DOM harass-F.SG/M.SG
 ‘Sita read a (specific)/the letter.’ ‘Raj harassed Sita.’

PROPOSAL. To summarize, these data illustrate the issue of *multiple structural object cases*. Surprisingly, although such languages might have object PPA, as well as (accusative) clitic-doubling, OBL/DAT morphology is also needed for certain classes of DPs. The novel hypothesis explored here is that oblique, non-canonical morphology of this type is connected to a *secondary licensing operation* on a DP in the same *local* domain, connected to a [+PERSON] feature (adapting remarks in Suñer 1988, Béjar and Rezac 2009, Baker 2011, a.o.).

MORE THAN ONE CASE ASSIGNMENT STRATEGY *irrespective of movement*. Starting from overt object agreement as in (3), this morphology signals either a low licenser (below *v*, (6)) or configurational case assignment (Marantz 1991) on an DP with an [uC]. Supplementary, a [+PERSON] feature can be merged on a DP *argument*. If found on a gender (γ)-related projection, [+PERSON] will be interpreted as *semantic gender* ([+PERSON γ] in (7)), giving the split between animates and inanimates. See also Cornilescu (2000), Ormazabal and Romero (2007), Adger and Harbour (2007), Richards (2008), a.o. for animacy as [+PERSON], as well as P(erson)C(ase)C(onstraint)-like effects DOM triggers in the presence of another [+PERSON] in the same local domain, as observed in (1). Argument DPs can show yet another [+PERSON_{Clitic}], merged higher in the DP, which, when licensed outputs clitic doubling ((1), or (3)); it has distinct interpretive effects from [+PERSON γ] (no linking to animacy, see (3), and independent contexts of use from DOM). What unifies both [+PERSON γ] and [+PERSON_{Clitic}] is that their licensing *cannot* fail when merged and they are dependent on a previous licensing operation, as they act on *arguments* (see also Preminger 2017 for similar remarks about [+PERSON]). However, [+PERSON_{Clitic}] is distinct in that it requires *raising* for licensing. In Neapolitan (eg.), ACC clitic doubled arguments take wide scope with respect to EAs, indicating that they are interpreted above *v*P. DOM (with [+PERSON γ]), on the other hand, are licensed *in-situ* and cannot take scope over the EA under various tests. In fact, in the languages examined here, DOM DPs have the same position as agreeing objects of the type in (3), (4), (5-a) and are not interpreted above EAs. This *special* behavior can be best captured if they undergo an *additional licensing operation in the same local licensing domain* (7). As the initial licenser is used up for [uC], an additional last-resort licenser is recruited to avoid crash in the derivation (PERSON requires licensing). This additional licenser is specified with a δ (iscourse)-licensing (Miyagawa 2017) property - only a δ (iscourse) head is available as an *additional* licenser in this configuration. More specifically, it encodes syntactic linking to *Perspectival Center*. Oblique morphology spells-out exactly this additional licenser, found in the same domain as other obliques (datives, locatives, etc.). As certain IOs also require linking to the *Perspectival Center*, the derivation might crash when they co-occur with DOM (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Ormazabal and Romero 2007, Béjar and Rezac 2009, a.o.), depending on the syntactic consequences of linking to the *Perspectival-Center* (Zubizarreta and Pancheva 2017, a.o). This is exactly what we see in (1), as opposed to (3), a cross-linguistically robust contrast. In conclusion, the additional δ -licensing hypothesis can capture the discourse-linking nature of these differential objects, their oblique morphology, as well as their *accusative syntax*, as indicated by agreement characteristic to *structural* direct objects. The account can also be extended to languages without overt object agreement, once other licensing conflicts adpositional DOM enters into are specified.



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