

Spanish DOM as a case of lacking Case¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

Two empirical observations about Spanish DOM:

a. DOM objects are syncretic with *dative* DPs, non-DOM objects are syncretic with *nominative* DPs

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) DOM</p> <p>a. Saludó [a una niña]_{ACC}
greeted.3SG ACC a girl
'She greeted a girl.'</p> <p>non-DOM</p> <p>c. Vio [una niña]_{ACC}
saw.3SG a girl
'She saw a girl.'</p> | <p>DATIVE</p> <p>b. Le dio un regalo [a Gala]_{DAT}
cl.DAT gave.3SG a present DAT Gala
'She gave a present to Gala.'</p> <p>NOMINATIVE</p> <p>d. [Una niña]_{NOM} sonrió esta mañana
a girl smiled.3SG this morning
'A girl smiled this morning.'</p> |
|--|---|

b. López's (2012) Generalization

In the internal domain of vP, *ex-situ* DOs in an intermediate position between v° and √° are differentially marked, *in-situ* DOs are not differentially marked.

- o López provides a position for DOM and proposes four "arbitrariness", unrelated Vocabulary Insertion Rules (VIR) to account for the syncretism between datives and DOM –one for dative case and three for DOM. Each rule makes reference to a different property commonly associated with Spanish DOM, these are *animacy*, *telicity*, *affectedness*.

The aim of this presentation is twofold:

- ⇒ to motivate López's Generalization and dative/DOM and nominative/non-DOM syncretisms;
- ⇒ to provide evidence to a view of the grammar that keeps apart argument licensing and case.

The framework

¹ I would like to thank Mercedes Pujalte and Ángela Di Tullio for discussion on some of the ideas and data I present here. I especially want to thank Andrés Saab for deep discussion, observations and corrections made on the ideas of this paper. Also, thanks to Andrés Saab and Paco Ordóñez for sharing with me the discussion and elaboration of their paper on Spanish causative constructions, which inspired me to take up the complex problem that implies Spanish DOM. Finally, I want to thank Andrea Bohrn, Alicia Avellana and Javier Carol for their judgments. Usual disclaimers apply.

I follow, with minor technical modifications, the insight of Pujalte & Saab (2010) (henceforth P&S), Pujalte (2013), and Saab (in preparation) on Spanish SE constructions, IOs and *hacer* ['make'] causative constructions, which adopts Distributed Morphology's architecture of the grammar and Chomsky's (2007, 2008) feature inheritance system.

Two general assumptions:

1. *uP*-features of v° are inherited by selected categories in its complement domain.
2. *Agree* takes place at the last link of the inheritance chain, namely, √°

The approach to DOM in a nutshell:

If a DP moves out the √P before a probe is introduced in the derivation, it falls out the inheritance chain. Accordingly, it cannot participate in the *Agree* process. As a consequence, PF performs a repairing mechanism inserting a dissociated morpheme K°, which is realized by the DOM marker.

Organization: 1) a description of Spanish DOM; 2) the proposal; 3) conclusions

2. A BASIC DESCRIPTION OF SPANISH DOM

- (2) **Generalization I** (Bleam 2005)
- a. A-stripped nominals are weak = property-denoting (type <*e*,*t*>).
 - b. A-marked nominals are strong = A-type (type <*e*> or <<*e*,*t*>, *t*>).
- (3) **Generalization II** (Brugè & Brugger 1996, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, López 2012, a.o)
- a. A-stripped indefinites only have narrow scope.
 - b. A-marked indefinites can have middle and wide scope.
- (4) **Generalization III** (López 2012)
- In the internal domain of vP,
- a. A-stripped DOs are *in-situ*.
 - b. A-marked DOs are *ex-situ*, in an intermediate position between v° and √°.

- **Obligatory** with personal pronouns, proper names, definite descriptions, strong quantifiers.

- (5)
- a. La saludé *(a) ella.
cl.ACC greeted.1SG ACC her
'I greeted her.'
 - b. Saludé *(a) Gala.
greeted.1SG ACC Gala.
'I greeted Gala.'
 - c. Saludé *(a) la maestra.
Greeted.1SG ACC the.SG teacher.

'I greeted the teacher.'

- d. Saludé *(a) todas las maestras.
greeted.1SG ACC every the.PL teacher.PL
'I greeted every teacher.'

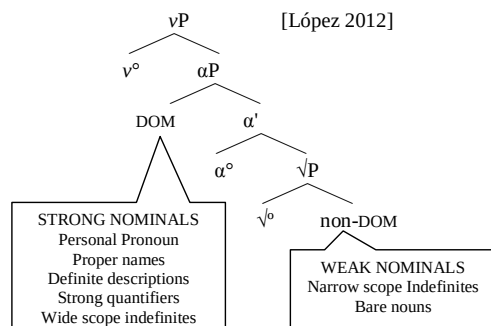
- **Optional** with indefinites.

- (6) a. Vio (a) un hombre.
saw.3SG ACC a man
'She saw a man.'
- b. Vio (a) dos hombres.
saw.3SG ACC two man
'She saw two men.'

- **Ungrammatical** with bare nouns

- (7) Vio *(a) hombres.
saw.3SG ACC men
'She saw men.'

- (8) [López 2012]



Remark:
There is no direct mapping
between formal type, scope
or position and DOM.

In addition to these generalizations, previous work on Spanish DOM has observed that DOM is restricted to animate DPs, witness that cases as (9) are ungrammatical. (See Bleam 2005, a.o.)

- (9) María escribió *(a) un poema
María wrote.3SG ACC a poem
'María wrote a poem.'

The ban of DOM with inanimate DPs is limited to some classes of verbs: mainly, consumption/creation verbs and "cognate" object verbs. Significantly, Diesing (1992) observes that the former class doesn't allow scrambling in German. Notice that if Generalization III is right, some kind of scrambling seems to be needed in Spanish DOM. Keeping these classes of verbs apart, there is no reason for an animacy condition.

- **Proper names** are type <e>, even when they denote an inanimate individual. The same can be said about names denoting unique referents as in (11).

- (10) a. Escondí *(a) Bárbara. (Barbara = a boat, a guitar, etc.)
hide.1SG ACC Bárbara
'I hide Barbara' [Torrego 1998]
- b. En Estocolmo, premiaron *(a) Cien años de soledad. (a novel)
In Stockholm awarded.3PL ACC Cien años de soledad
'In Stockholm, they awarded Cien años de soledad.'
- (11) Los pájaros saludan *(a) la aurora. [Gili Gaya 1973]
the birds greet.3PL ACC the aurora
'The birds greet the aurora'

- **Kind terms** behave as proper names. They are rigid designators (Kripke 1972, 1980).

- (12) El adjetivo modifica *(a)l sustantivo
the adjective modify.3SG ACC.the noun
'the adjective modifies the noun.'

- **Definite descriptions, Quantifiers, indefinites**

- (13) Volvió a mirar (a)l mantel, (a) sus manos, (a) las uñas sin pintura.
Came.3SG to watch ACC.the tablecloth ACC her hands ACC the nails without painting
'He watched again the tablecloth, her hands, the nails without painting' [CREA, 05/10/2013]
- (14) Este grupo incluye a todas las plantas terrestres.
this group include.3SG ACC all the plants terrestrial
'this group includes all the terrestrial plants.'
- (15) una hormiga obrera procede a mover a varias pupas que han quedado expuestas
a ant worker proceed.3SG to move ACC many pupas that have remained exposed
'a worker ant proceeds to move many pupas that have been exposed.'

[adapted www.flickr.com/photos/visrec01/sets/72157627852702143/detail/]

2.1 Some complex contexts

A. DOM is optional with subjects of secondary predicates. (16b) is ambiguous between an attributive and a predicative reading. (16b) only has a predicative reading.

- (16) a. Juan encontró al libro roto. b. Juan encontró el libro roto.
Juan found.3sg ACC.the book broken Juan found.3sg the book broken
broken
'Juan found the book broken' 'Juan found the broken book'

B. DOM is obligatory with ECM subjects when it is preverbal, but is optional when it is postverbal.

- (17) a. Vio *(a)l camión venir.
saw.3SG ACC,the truck coming
b. Vio venir (a)l camión.
saw.3SG coming ACC.the truck
'She saw the truck coming'

C. DOM is obligatory with preverbal subjects of non-finite clauses in causative *hacer* constructions.

- (18) a. La lluvia (lo) hizo *(a)l rosal florecer. [Ordóñez & Saab 2013]
the rain cl.ACC made.3SG ACC.the rosetree bloom.INF
b. La lluvia hizo florecer (a)l rosal.
the rain made.3SG bloom.INF ACC.the rosetree
'The rain made the rosetree bloom.'

D. DOM is mandatory in obligatory object control constructions.

- (19) Juan obligó *(a) un niño a limpiar las ventanas.
Juan forced.3SG ACC a kid to clean.INF the windows
'Juan forced Pedro to clean the windows'

2.2 Spanish A-marker Generalization

According to López, (8) includes an intermediate α^o projection, which stays for an applicative projection, an aspectual projection or both. However...

- (A) stative verbs seem to have only a root and a categorizer, anyway transitive states allow DOM.
(B) Spanish ditransitive verbs, such as *dar* 'give', don't project any applicative head (Pujalte 2009, 2013); nonetheless, the syncretic case marker appears with IOs and DOs.
(C) It is not obvious that complex contexts in (16)-(19) require an αP to derive DOM patterns.

These facts seem to indicate that something more systematic and less stipulative than a dedicated projection underlies DOM (*pace* López 2012). Let me propose the following generalization:

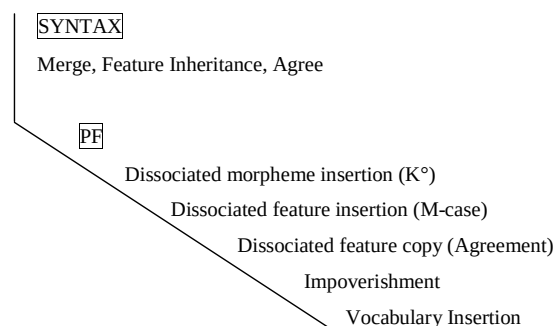
(20) Spanish A-marker Generalization

A-marked DPs lack Case –i.e. they are not licensed in the syntax.

López's Generalization together with the generalization in (20) is precisely what is predicted by Chomsky's (2007, 2008) ϕ -feature inheritance system as implemented by P&S.

3. THE PROPOSAL

1. Distributed Morphology architecture of the grammar (Halle & Marantz 1993)
2. SYNTAX
 - a. [$u\phi$] can be freely assigned to C^o and v^o –i.e. C^o and v^o can be fully defective (P&S 2010, Pujalte 2013, Saab (in preparation)). $C^o_{[u\phi]}$ or $C^o_{[]}$ / $v^o_{[u\phi]}$ or $v^o_{[]}$
 - b. Feature inheritance system (Chomsky 2007, 2008)
 - i. $u\phi$ -features of C^o are inherited by T^o .
 - ii. $u\phi$ -features of v^o are inherited by $\sqrt{o}$.
 - c. *Agree* process takes place at the last link of the inheritance chain. In other words, once the inheritance process takes place, the searching space is determined by the head that inherits the features.
 - d. *Agree* turns [uK] into [K], and [$u\phi$] into [ϕ]. Neither [K] nor [ϕ] has any other value; they may be understood as the default values for case (McFadden 2004) and agreement.
3. PF
 - a. Valuation of case and agreement takes place at PF
 - i. M-case is a composed category. (McFadden 2004, a.o.)
 - ii. Valuation is performed by dissociated feature insertion/copy into K or ϕ .

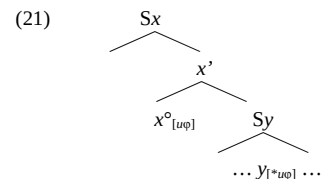


3.1 The system

Pujalte's Generalization

Given a configuration like $[x^\circ \dots Z \dots y^\circ]$, if x° and y° are cyclic heads of the same type, $Z \neq C$, and x° and y° are in a potential inheritance relation, then y° is fully ϕ -defective.

[adapted and translated from Pujalte 2013]

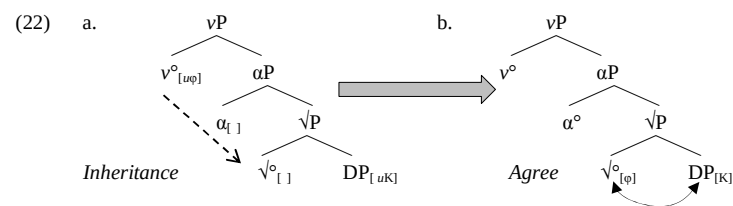


Consequences of the inheritance system:

1. A DP can be part of the *Agree* process at the last link of the inheritance chain, or
2. If a DP is (externally or internally) merged in an intermediate position, before the inheritance process takes place, it falls out the inheritance chain. Then, it cannot be part of the *Agree* process.

Consequence 1: non-DOM objects

Let x° to be $v^\circ_{[u\phi]}$, Z° any category distinct from C° —say α° or nothing at all— and y° the Root. Inheritance takes place from x° to y° , forming a x° -(Z)- y° complex. *Agree* applies between $\check{v}^\circ$ and the DP.

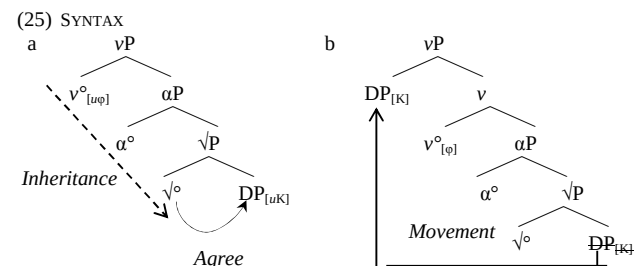


(23) Vio [una niñ_a]_{ACC}
saw.3SG a girl
'She saw a girl'

Clitic pronouns in Pronominalization structures

(24) a. María la vio b. María me vio.
María cl.ACC saw María cl.1SG.ACC saw
'María saw her' 'María saw me.'

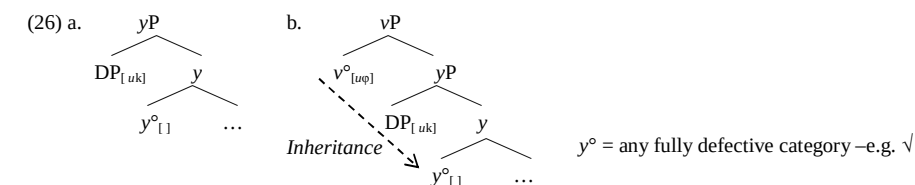
Clitic pronouns must move to v° . In (25a), the object $DP_{[uK]}$ is merged with the Root. Then α° and then $v^\circ_{[u\phi]}$ are merged. Then, the inheritance process and *Agree* take place. The DP gets the value [K]. Then, the $DP_{[K]}$ moves directly to Spec,vP (see 25b).



Notice that for Torrego (1998) Spec,vP is a DOM position. However, under this view, it cannot be so. DOM can never take place in that position, because when it moves there, its case is already valued. This is consistent with an observation made by López, according to which Spec,vP is irrelevant for DOM.

Consequence 2: IOs and DOM

Let x° to be $v^\circ_{[u\phi]}$ and y° to be a fully defective head—say $\alpha^\circ_{[]}$ or $\check{v}^\circ_{[]}$ —, as implied in *Pujalte's Generalization*. Suppose, now, that a $DP_{[uK]}$ is internally or externally merged with $y^\circ_{[]}$, before the probe is introduced in the derivation (26a). When the probe is introduced and the inheritance process takes place, pass “over” $DP_{[uK]}$, (26b). Then $DP_{[uK]}$ falls out of the inheritance chain. So, it cannot be probed and *Agree* doesn't apply.



(27) No $[uF]$ can survive at PF.

$[uF]$ repair strategies at PF:

- a. Dissociated morpheme insertion (e.g. K)
- b. Dissociated feature insertion (e.g. default agreement)
- c. Impoverishment / Deletion

(28) *Dissociated morpheme insertion principle* (McFadden 2004, pg. 239, (250))

A dissociated morpheme must be inserted as the sister of the node which triggers its insertion.

(29) [uK] repair: $DP_{[uK]} \rightarrow [_{KP} K^{\circ} DP]$

3.2 The syncretism

Back to the empirical observation in (1):

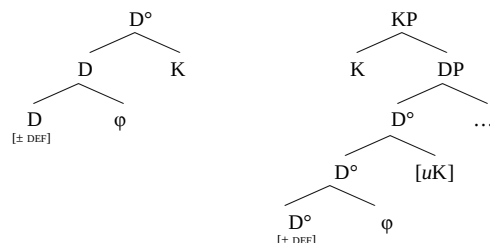
1. Non-DOM DPs and nominative DPs are syncretic.
2. DOM DPs and dative DPs are syncretic.

These syncretisms are reduced to the fact of being in or out of the inheritance chain.

Nominative DPs and non-DOM DPs participate of the Agree process -abstract licensing-, then no repair strategy is triggered at PF. Dative DPs and DOM DPs cannot be part of the Agree process, then a repair strategy inserting a dissociated morpheme K° is triggered.

Structures at PF

(30) a. non-DOM / nominative DPs b. DOM / Dative DPs



Not the whole story: Why is K° realized as /a/ in (30b)?

(31) Morphological case features (McFadden 2004)

Dative: [case, inferior, oblique]
Accusative: [case, inferior]
Nominative: [case]

Redundancy Rule

(32) $K^{\circ} \leftrightarrow [case]$ (Adapted McFadden 2004)

M-case Features Insertion Rules

(33) a. $K_{[case]} \rightarrow K_{[case, inferior]} / [V_{[D, u\phi]} [_ \dots]]$ (Adapted from McFadden 2007)

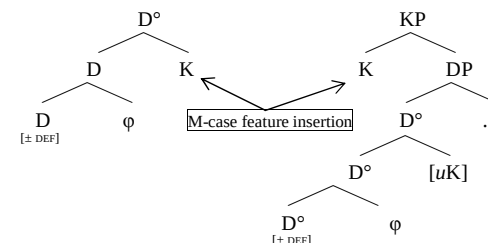
b. $K_{[case]} \rightarrow K_{[case, inferior, oblique]} / [xP _ [x^{\circ} [_ \dots]]]$

i. x° is any fully defective category that assigns θ to its

Spec.

ii. [case] feature has been assigned to another K.

(34) [M-case] features are introduced into K.



Vocabulary Insertion Rules

(35) /a/ $\leftrightarrow$ [case, inferior]

/a/ insertion is triggered by a subset of the m-case features shared by accusative and dative DPs.

Why K° doesn't have any special realization in (30a)?

There is no especial exponent for a [K] feature dominated by D° . Significantly, different behaviors arise if m-case features are introduced in a $D_{[K]}$ complement of $\sqrt{\circ}$ as in (22b) or Spec,vP as in (25b). The former can trigger agreement with T° as subjects do, but the latter cannot:

Long Distance Agreement

(36) a. me falta(n) corregir **estos exámenes.**

cl.1SG,DAT lack.3(PL) correct.INF these exams

'I need to grade these exams'

b. me falta(*n) corregir=**los.**

cl.1SG,DAT lack.3PL grade.INF=cl.ACC

Intended: 'I need grade them'

c. me falta(*n) reprobar **a los estudiantes.**

cl.1SG,DAT lack.3PL fail.INF ACC the students

Intended 'I have to fail the students'

In addition, m-case features on D° induce allomorphy in the domain of pronouns:

(37) /e/ $\leftrightarrow$ [3, M, SG | case]

/lo/ $\leftrightarrow$ [3, M, SG | case, inferior]

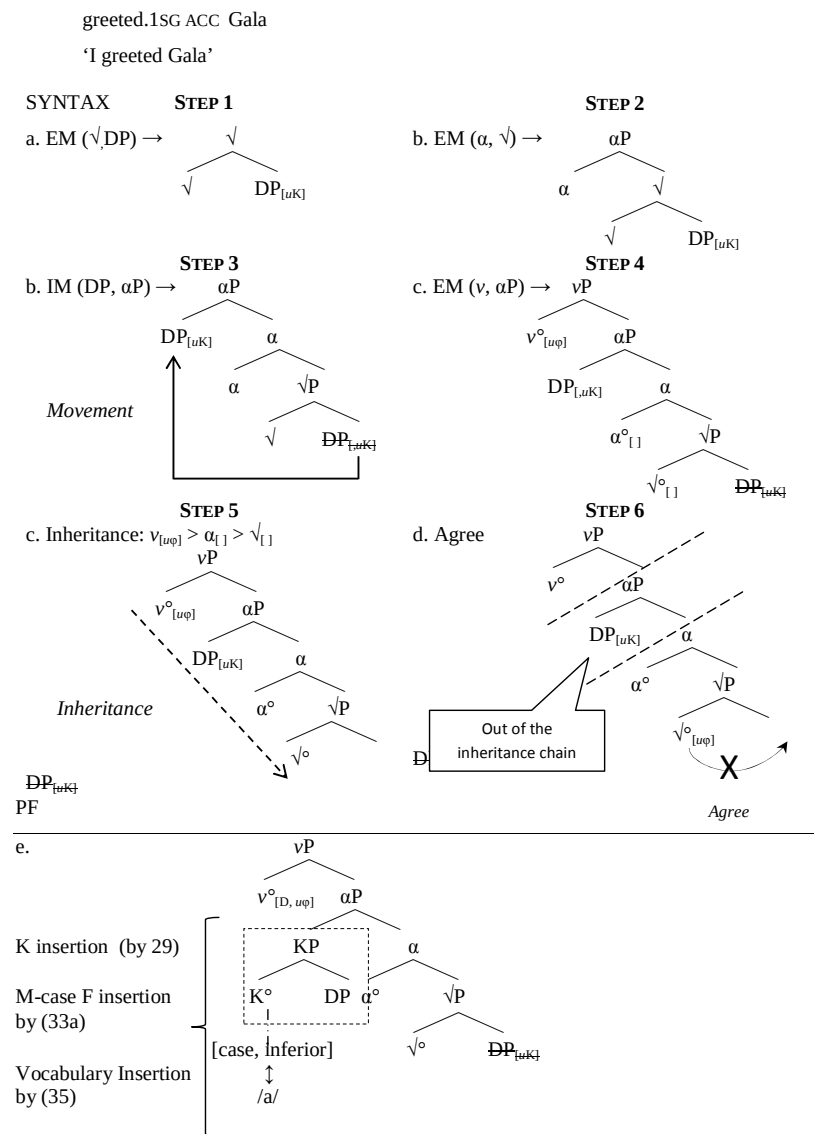
/le/ $\leftrightarrow$ [3, M, SG | case, inferior, oblique]

rules) (These are simplified

3.3 Accounting for the data

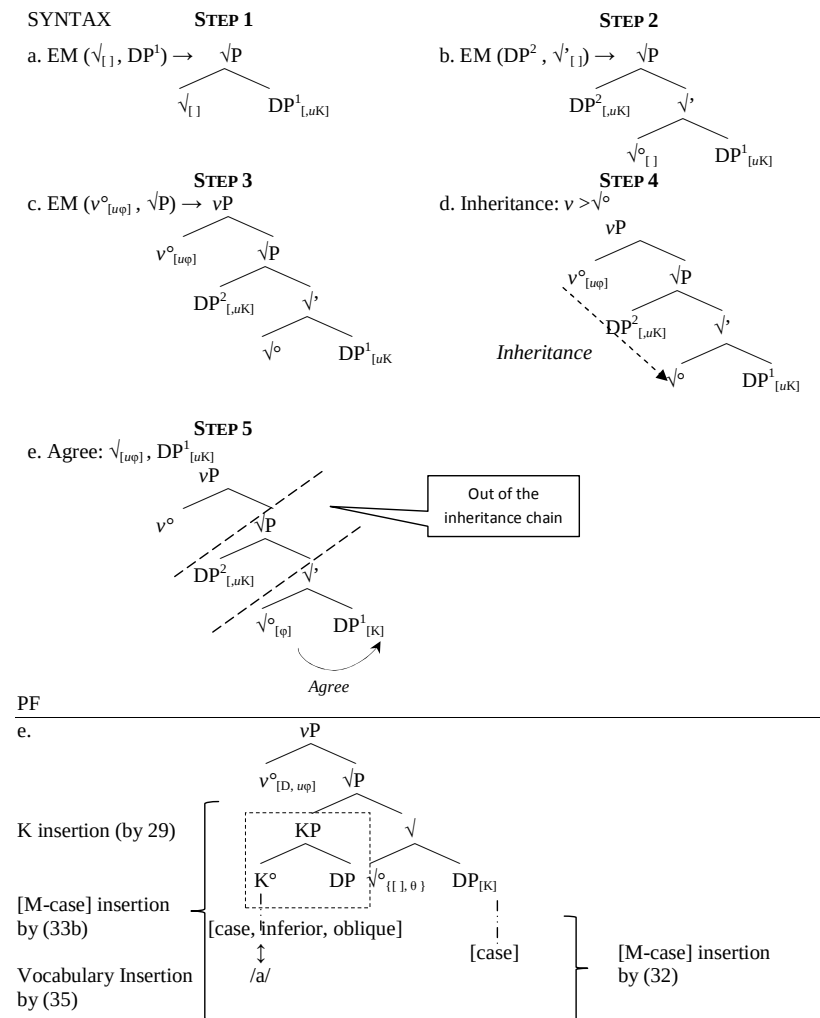
(38) **DOM in simple transitive clauses**

Saludé a Gala



(39) **IOs** – Pujalte's (2013) analysis with minor modifications on technical details

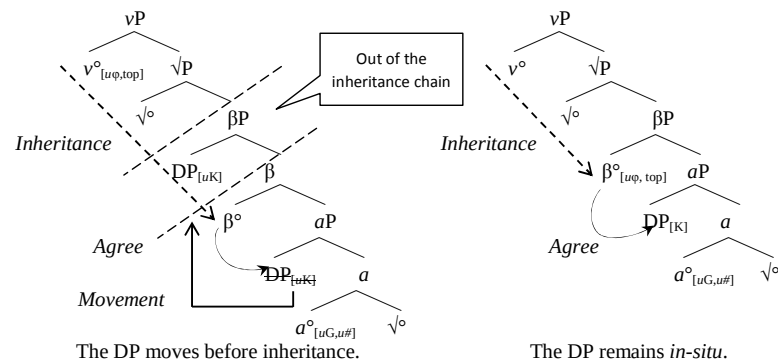
Le di a Gala un regalo.
cl.DAT gave.1SG DAT Gala a present
'I gave a present to gala.'



(40) **Optional DOM in secondary predicates (Zdrojewski 2008)**

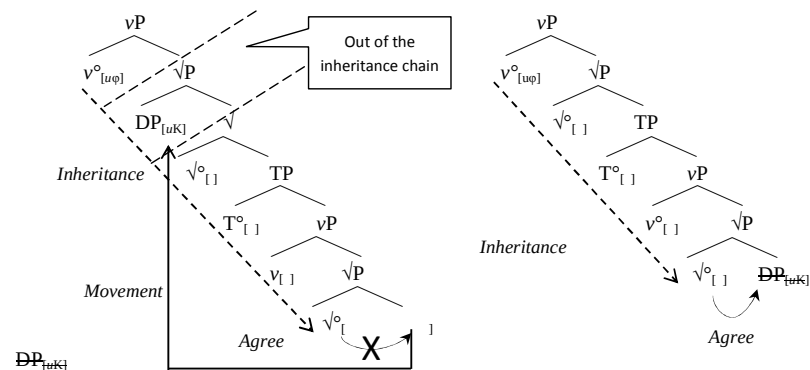
a. Juan encontró al libro roto. b. Juan encontró el libro roto.
Juan found.3sg ACC.the book broken Juan found.3sg the book broken
'Juan found the book broken' 'Juan found the broken book'

1. Small clauses have an extra Top position (Basilico 2006).
2. I extend to v° Miyagawa's (2010) feature inheritance proposal for C° . I name β° Miyagawa's α° to avoid confusions.
3. α° bears $[uG, u\#]$. Then, $[u\phi]$ features of v cannot be inherited neither by α° nor its complement.



(41) Obligatory DOM in ECM

- a. Vio al camión venir.
saw.3SG ACC,the truck coming
'She saw the truck coming'
- b. Vio venir el camión.
saw.3SG coming the truck
'She saw the truck coming'

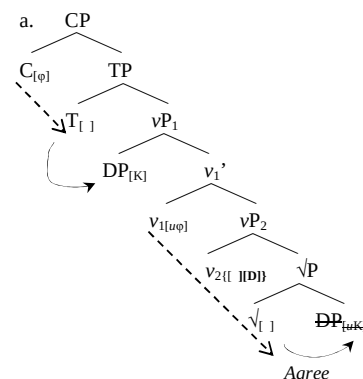


(42) DOM in causative *hacer* [make] constructions.

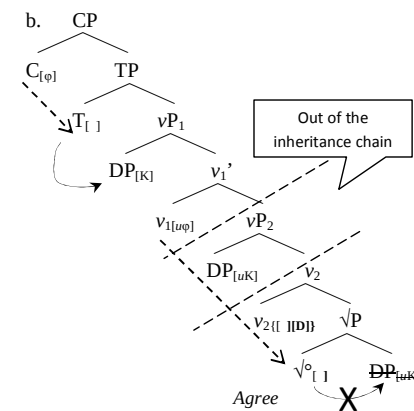
Pujalte (2013) and Saab's (in preparation) analyses with minor modifications on technical details.

La lluvia hizo florecer el rosál. La lluvia hizo *(a)l rosál florecer.

the rain made.3SG bloom.INF the rosetree
'The rain made the rosetree bloom.'

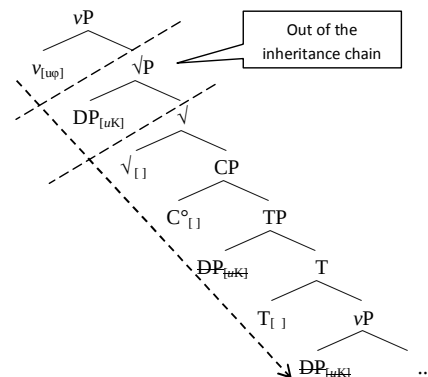


The rain made ACC.the rosetree bloom.INF
'The rain made the rosetree bloom.'



(43) DOM in obligatory control objects

Obligó *(a) Pedro a limpiar las ventanas.
Forced.3SG ACC Pedro to clean.INF the windows
'She sent Pedro to clean the windows.'



4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper, I intended to motivate two empirical observations regarding Spanish DOM:

1. DOM and dative DPs are syncretic. Non-DOM and nominative DPs are syncretic.
2. *ex-situ* DOs in an intermediate position in the vP are differentially case marked, *in-situ* Dos cannot be differentially case marked. (López's Generalization)

I have proposed that the motivation for these observations is related to the lack of formal licensing of DOM DPs.

- As long as DOM DPs scramble, they cannot participate of the *Agree* process. As a consequence a dissociated morpheme K° is inserted at PF and enriched with morphological case features.
- The syncretism between non-DOM DPs and nominative DPs is a direct consequence of the *Agree* mechanism. As long as non-DOM DPs are either at the end of the inheritance chain, or at the beginning; the insertion of the $[u\phi]$ probe and the object DP are concomitant
- The syncretism between DOM DPs and dative DPs is obtained simply by a VI rule that make reference to a subset of features that accusative and dative DPs share.

I have shown that animacy play no role in Spanish.

- There are animate DPs that are not marked and inanimate DPs that are marked.
- In complex contexts no animacy condition applies.

The general view proposed in this paper present an important empirical coverage: being in or out the inheritance chain determines morphological case and agreement patterns observed in a wide range of phenomena

- IOs
- DOM in simple transitive context
- Pronominalization
- DOM in complex contexts: Subject of secondary predicates; Subjects of ECM; Preverbal subjects of non-finite clauses in causative construction; Obligatory object control.

I hope that the approach presented here have contributed to the understanding of the relation between abstract licensing and case.

APPENDIX: Loose ends

1. What happens at PF with the $[u\phi]$ feature of v° in DOM cases?

- A. The DOM DP can move to Spec,vP after the inheritance process takes place. The complex head $v^{\circ}_{[u\phi]}$ raises to T. At PF, the DOM DP copies its $[\phi]$ features into $v^{\circ}_{[u\phi]}$. The effect of this mechanism is Clitic Doubling.

- (44) María la vio a ella.
María cl.ACC saw ACC her

‘María saw her’

- B. The DO remains in-situ in an intermediate position inside vP –i.e nothing moves to [Spec,vP]. So, $[u\phi]$ is deleted/impoverished.

- (45) $[u\phi] \rightarrow \emptyset$

2. What about the $[uK]$ feature of lower copies?

Lower copies are not a mayor problem, because they are not pronounced. One particular implementation of this idea is Saab’s (2010) proposal. He proposes that non pronunciation of lower copies resorts to the same mechanisms of ellipsis. As it is well known, ellipsis can repair syntactic failures.

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