

# A Nominal Licensing account of Differential Object Marking in Guarani



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## Differential Object Marking (DOM)

- **DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING** refers to the phenomenon in which a language will mark a discrete subset of objects with a special **CASE MARKER**. The marked objects always share some feature like **ANIMACY** and/or **DEFINITENESS** or **SPECIFICITY**.
- In Spanish, both **ANIMACY** and **SPECIFICITY** are required. In (1) Maria is specific and animate and is therefore marked. In (2) a/the city is (non)specific but inanimate and therefore is not marked:

- (1) Juan bes-ó      **\*(a)** María  
Juan kiss-PST.3SG DOM Maria  
'Juan kissed Maria' (adopted from Kalin and Weisser 2019)
- (2) Juan destroy-ó      **\*(a)** una/la ciudad  
Juan destroy-PST.3sg DOM a/the city  
'Juan destroyed a/the city.' (adopted from Kalin and Weisser 2019)

○ Guarani marks **ANIMATE OBJECTS** with DOM:

- (3) Miguel o-hecha Carolina-**\*(pe)**  
Miguel 3.SG-see Carolina-DOM  
'Miguel sees Carolina'
- (4) Miguel o-hecha ita-kuera-**\*(pe)**  
Miguel 3.SG-see rock-PL-DOM  
'Miguel sees (the) rocks'

## Movement accounts of DOM in Guarani

- Novel data from native speakers of Guarani suggests that **OBJECT MOVEMENT** is not required for DOM because the object can be marked even when the object has not moved:

- (9) **Adverb Data:**
  - a. a-mongaru **jagua-kuera-pe** pya'e  
1.SG-feed dog-PL-DOM quickly  
'I quickly feed the dogs' (marked in moved position)
  - b. a-mongaru pya'e **jagua-kuera-pe**  
1.SG-feed quickly dog-PL-DOM  
'I quickly feed the dogs' (marked in first-merge position)
- (10) **Negation and Adverb Data:**
  - a. Miguel nd-o-hetu-i **Carolina-pe** pya'e  
Miguel NEG-3.SG-kiss-NEG Carolina-DOM quickly  
'Miguel didn't quickly kiss Carolina' (marked in moved position)
  - b. Miguel nd-o-hetu-i pya'e **Carolina-pe**  
Miguel NEG-3.SG-kiss-NEG quickly Carolina-DOM  
'Miguel didn't quickly kiss Carolina' (marked in first-merge position)

## Guarani marks objects in first-merge and moved positions.

- Kalin and Weisser (2019) also suggest testing **ASYMMETRIC DOM**—when two objects in an &P are mismatched in terms of **ANIMACY/DEFINITENESS**/another DOM-triggering feature and only one object receives the marking:

- (11) (che) a-hecha Maria-**pe** ha petei ita parque-pe  
(I) 1SG.INACT-see Maria-DOM and a rock park-LOC  
'I saw Maria and a rock in the park' (asymmetric DOM)
- (12) (che) a-hecha Maria ha kuña-**pe** parque-pe  
(I) 1SG.INACT-see Maria and woman-DOM park-LOC  
'I saw Maria and a woman in the park' (DOM takes scope over entire &P)
- (13) **\*(che)** a-hecha Maria-**pe** ha kuña-**pe** parque-pe  
(I) 1SG.INACT-see Maria-DOM and woman-DOM park-LOC  
'I saw Maria and a woman in the park' (DOM on both, ungrammatical)
- (14) **\*(che)** a-hecha Maria ha kuña parque-pe  
(I) 1SG.INACT-see Maria and woman park-LOC  
'I saw Maria and a woman in the park' (No DOM, ungrammatical)

- Guarani allows for **ASYMMETRIC DOM**.
  - In order for (5) to hold, an object must move out of an &P, violating the **COORDINATE STRUCTURE CONSTRAINT** (Ross 1967, Kalin and Weisser 2019).
  - The CSC is one of the most robust cross-linguistic islands and says that you cannot extract from within an &P:
- (15) a. \*What did John eat pizza and  $t_{what}$ ?  
b. \*What did John eat  $t_{what}$  and pizza?
- Guarani speakers would need to violate the **CSC** in order to mark only Maria with DOM.
  - Object movement is not required for DOM in Guarani.
  - The **CSC** should disallow asymmetric DOM in Guarani.

## Guarani allows for asymmetric DOM.

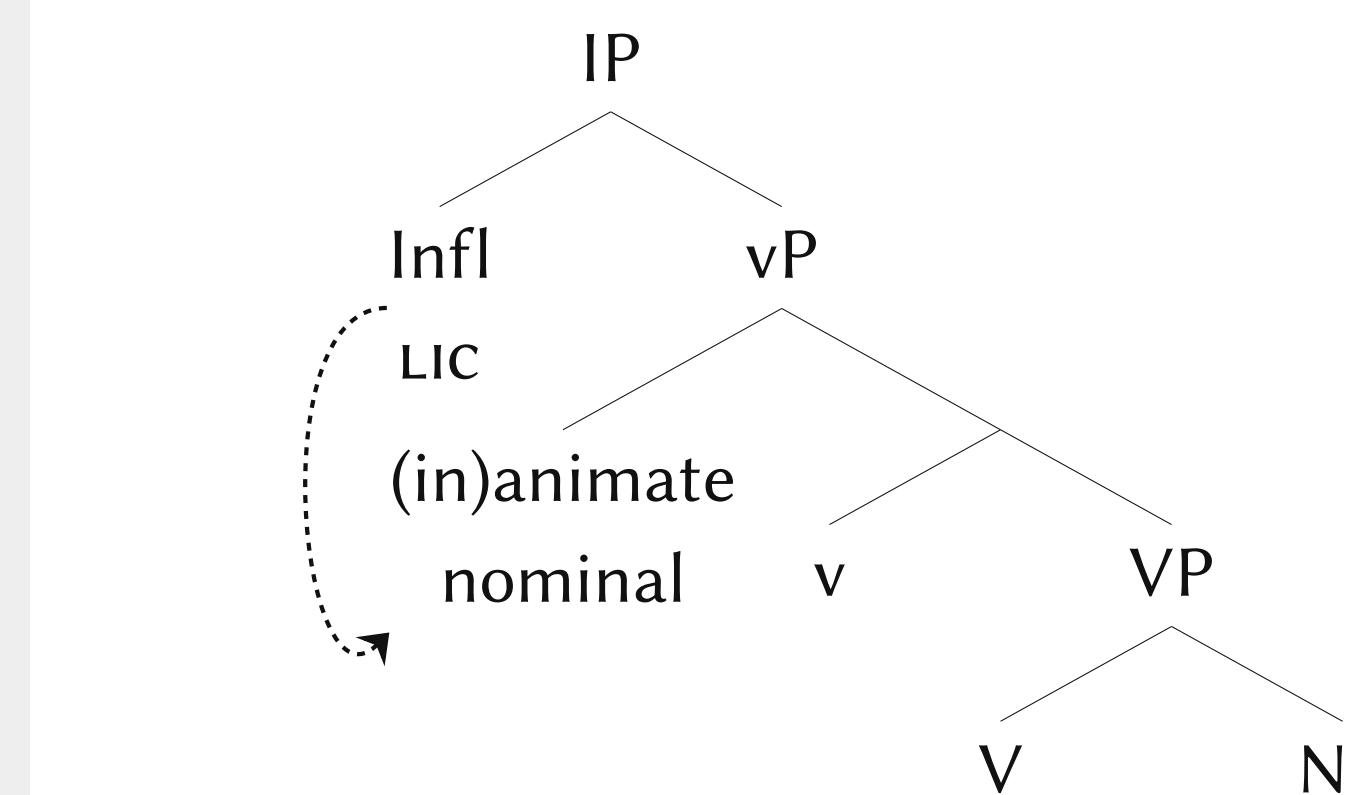
## References

Baker and Vinokurova (2010) Two modalities of case assignment: case in Sakha. Kalin (2017) Nominal licensing is driven by valued (phi)-features. Kalin (2018) Licensing and Differential Object Marking: The View from Neo-Aramaic. Kalin and Weisser (2019) Asymmetric DOM in Coordination: A problem for movement-based approaches. Marantz (1991) Case and licensing. Ross (1967) Constraints on variables in syntax.

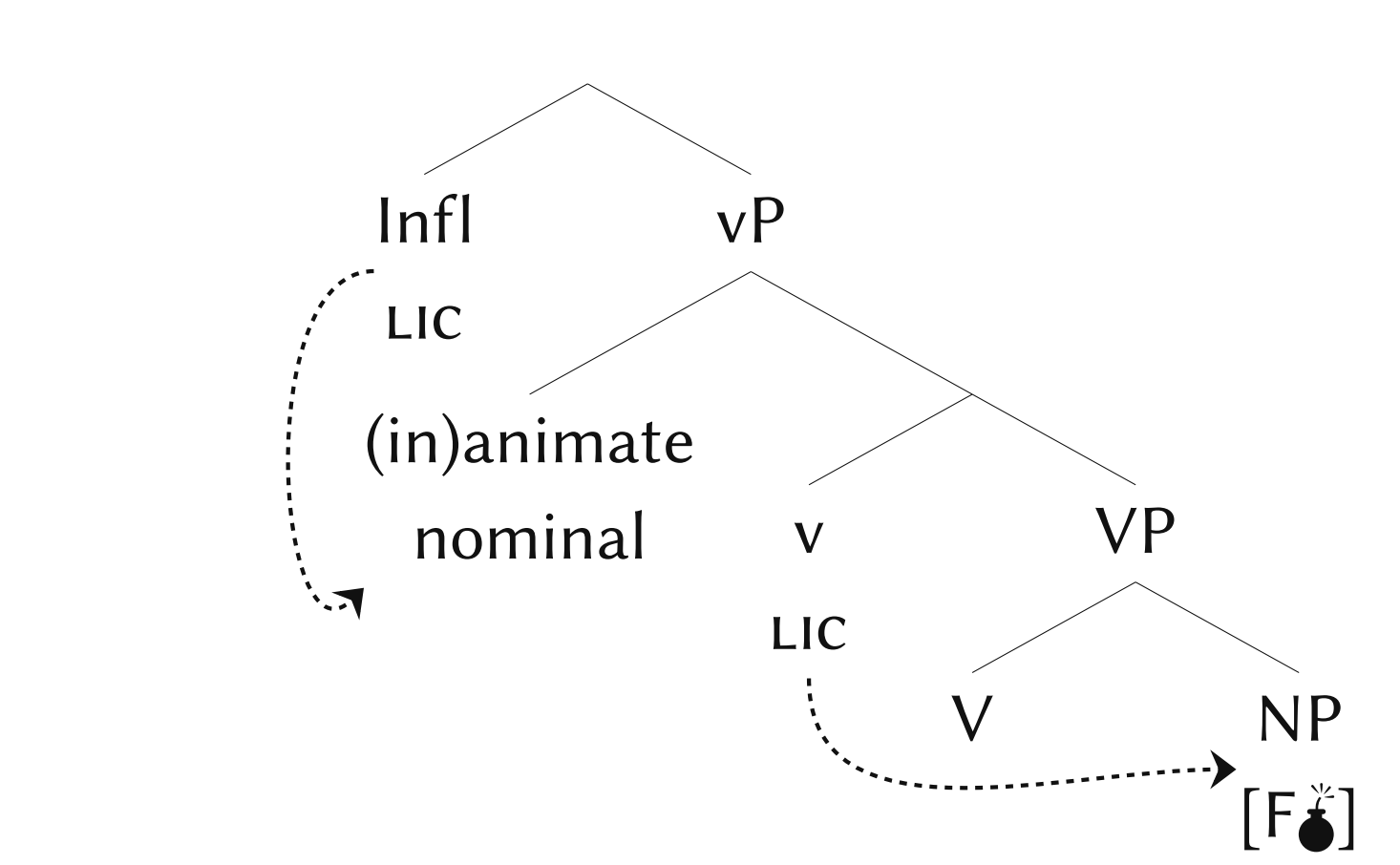
## Nominal Licensing and DOM, Kalin 2017, 2018

- All nominals have the potential to be licensed, but only nominals that carry an **UNINTERPRETABLE CASE FEATURE** require it.
  - **FUNCTIONAL HEADS** introduce  $uCase$  features  $[F_{\phi}]$  (i.e. Animate, Definite, Specific):
- (16) **Does NOT require licensing**
  - (17) **REQUIRES licensing:  $[F_{\phi}]$**
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- All clauses have an **OBLIGATORY LICENSER** that licenses the core arguments of intransitives, and the External Argument of transitives.
  - Some languages have a **SECONDARY LICENSER** which is activated by the presence of an  $[F_{\phi}]$  in order to defuse it:

### (18) Inanimate object, no DOM



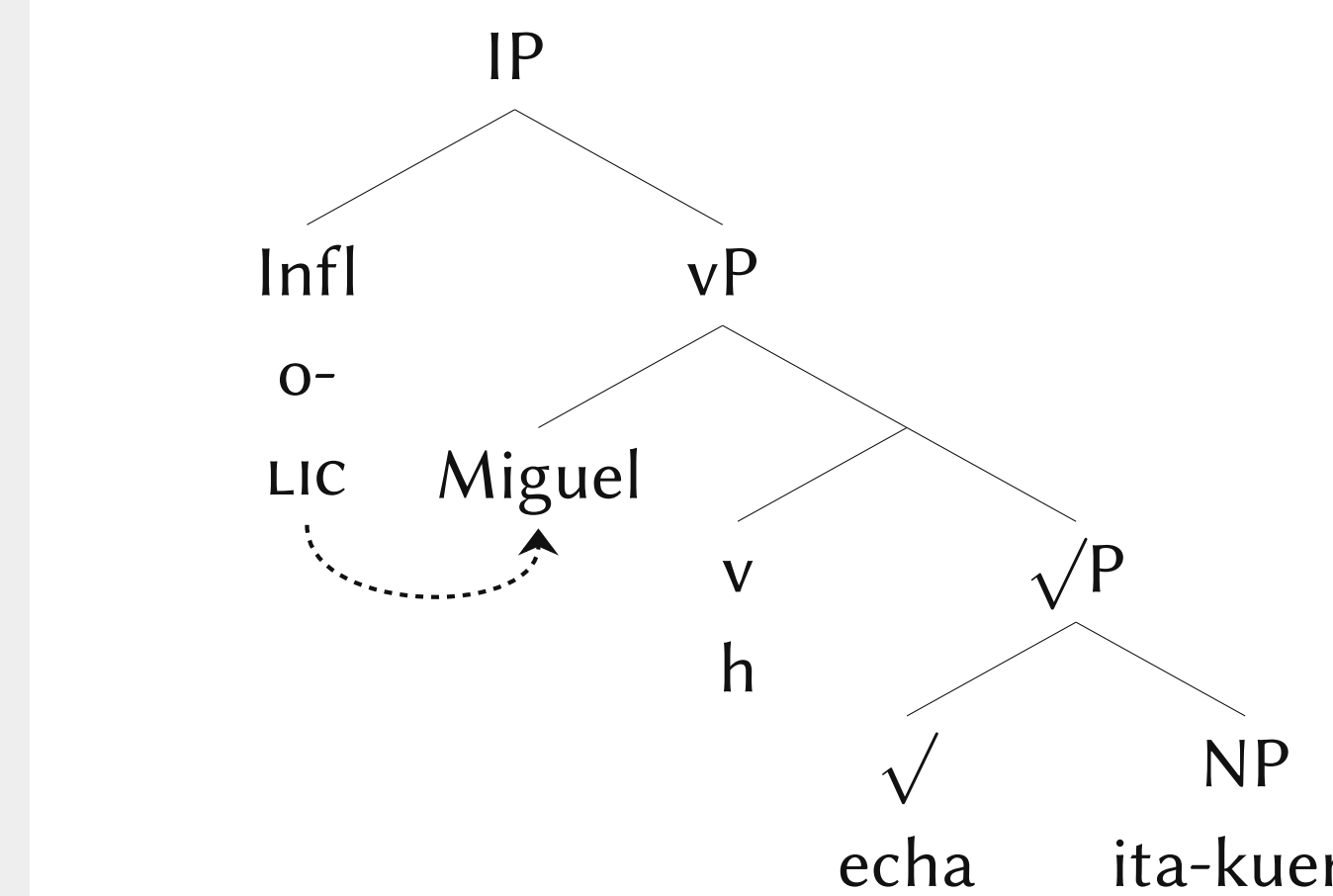
### (19) Animate object secondary licenser v activated



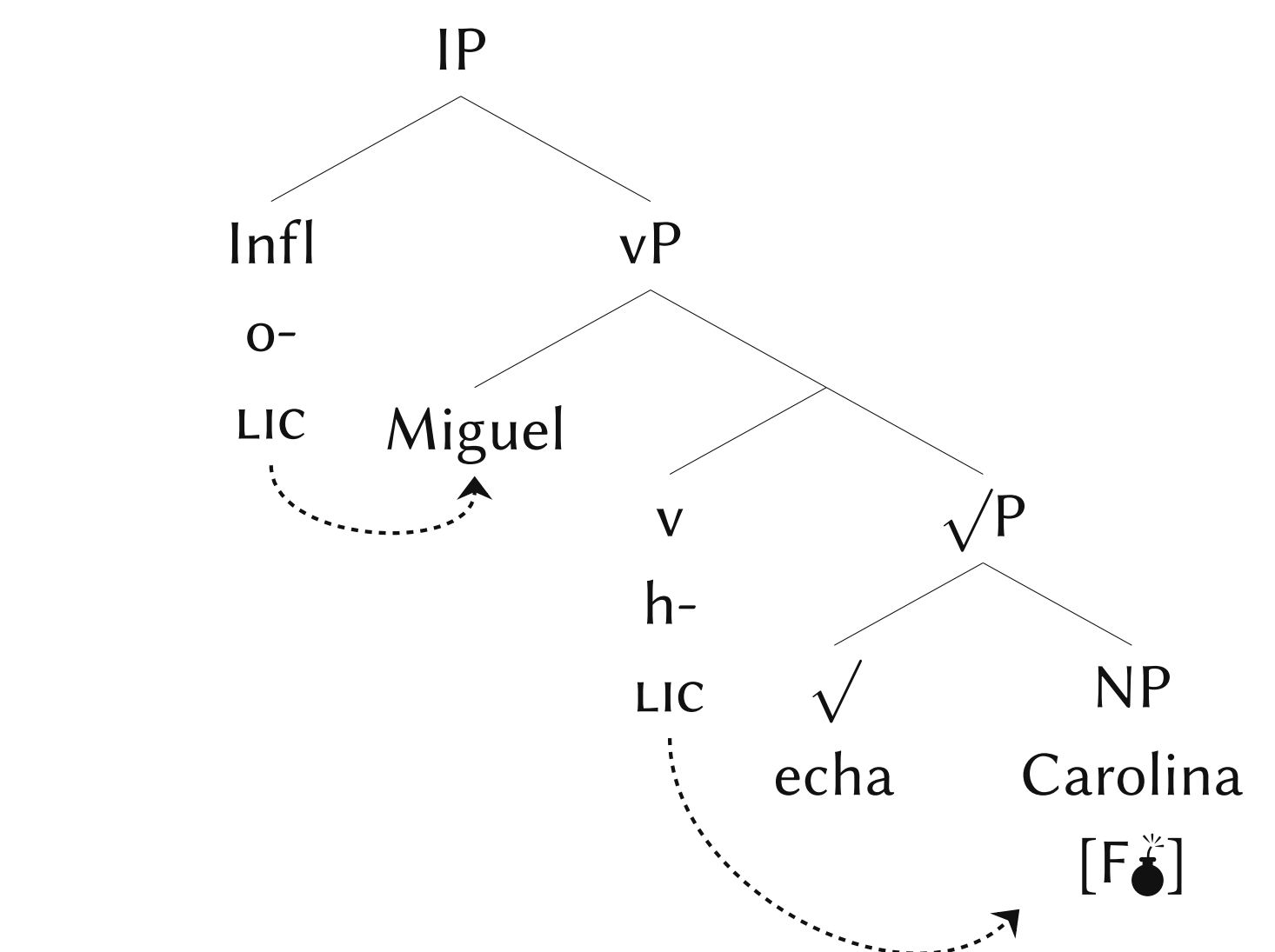
## Licensing in Guarani

- In Guarani, I propose that Infl is the obligatory licenser, v the secondary licenser:

### (20) Guarani (4) no DOM



### (21) Guarani (3) DOM



## Infl is the obligatory license in Guarani, v is the secondary Licensing can explain DOM in Guarani.

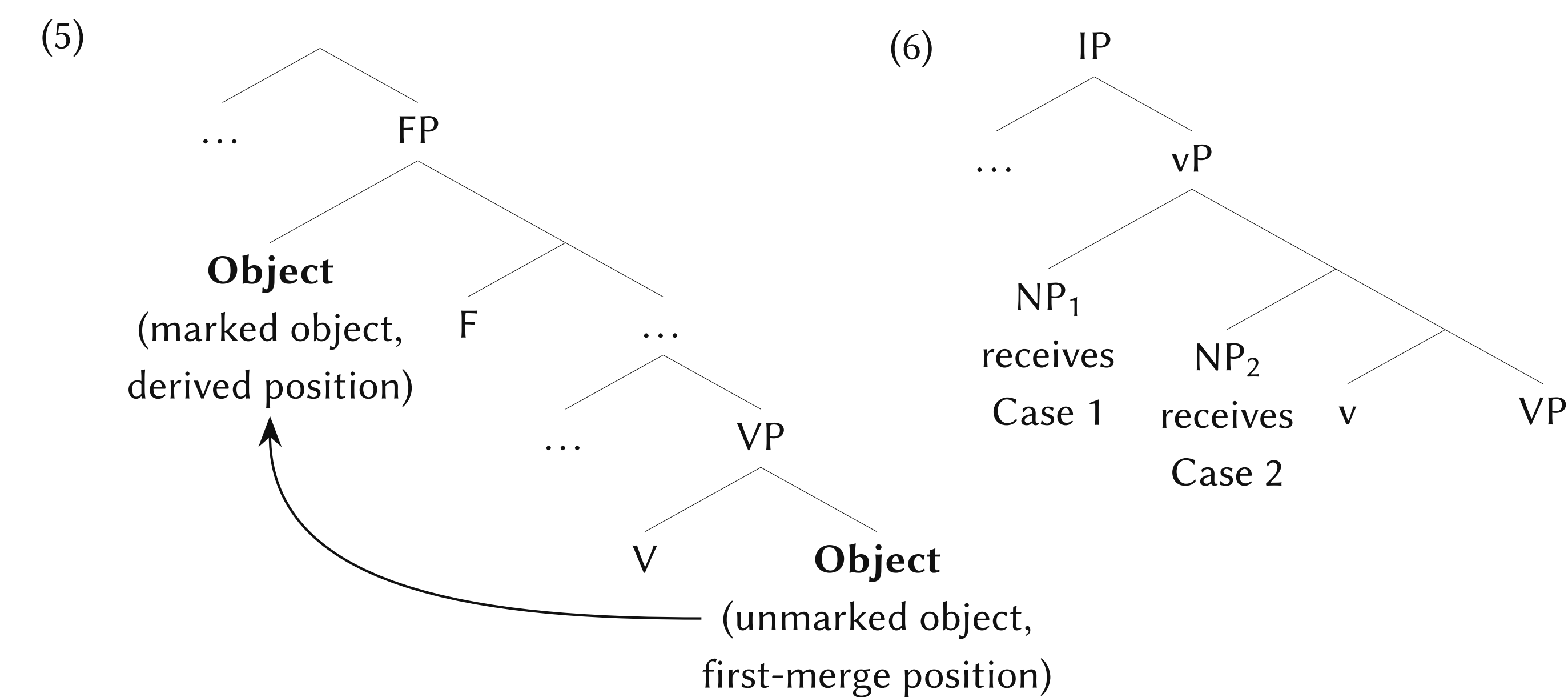
## Questions

- Is there a way to do away with licensing but still avoid appealing to object movement?
- This presentation deals primarily with the syntax of DOM but how can we explain the morphology?
- What other object-promotion phenomena can be explained with licensing? PCC? Inverse/Direct orders?

## Question: How do we explain DOM in Guarani?

## Movement-based account (Baker & Vinokurova 2010)

- Using the Turkic language Sakha as a case study B&V propose that DOM is the result of **CASE COMPETITION** that arises from **OBJECT MOVEMENT** triggered by a functional head F (5).
- **CASE COMPETITION** refers to when two NPs that lack case are in the same domain—the structurally higher NP will receive one case and the lower NP will receive another (6):



- Using adverb data, B&V show that unmoved objects cannot be marked, but moved objects must be marked:

- (7) Masha **salamaat-\*(y)** turgennik sie-te  
Masha porridge-\*(ACC) quickly eat-PST.3SS  
'Masha ate the porridge quickly.' moved object (B&V)
- (8) Masha turgennik **salamaat-\*(#y)** sie-te  
Masha quickly porridge-\*(ACC) eat-PST.3SS  
'Masha ate the porridge quickly.' unmoved object (B&V)

## B&V claim: Object movement is responsible for DOM. We can diagnose object movement based on adverb position.