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DOM and dative in (Italo-)Romance

Abstract: We aim at showing that the superficial identity of DOM internal arguments and of goal dative involves no accidental homophony or syncretism, but rather an underlying identical structure of embedding. Specifically, we conclude that DOM arguments are syntactically oblique (Section 2). We introduce the matter by detailing referential/animacy splits in Italo-Romance microvariation (Section 1.1). We show that in Italian varieties goal arguments can be introduced by prepositions different from *a*; the same oblique morphology is then associated with animate/definite (DOM) objects (Section 1.2). In Section 5, the existence of both *leísta* varieties (Ibero-Romance) and *loísta* varieties (in Italo- and Ibero-Romance) in clitic doubling provide further evidence in favour of a common treatment for goal and DOM datives.

Keywords: differential object marking, dative, locative, clitic doubling, Italo-Romance

1 DOM in Italian varieties

This section details microvariation in differential object marking (DOM) in Central and Southern Italian varieties, in Sardinian, in the dialects of Romagna and Montefeltro, in Corsican and in Romansh.[1] In Section 1.1 we order our data according to the categories of animacy and definiteness/specificity that are generally held to be descriptively relevant for the distribution of DOM. In Section 1.2 we address the nature of the preposition that lexicalizes DOM in the relevant languages and its relation to the preposition lexicalizing dative. This latter issue is directly relevant for the analysis of DOM as obliquization in Section 2 and for the subsequent discussion of the issues this proposal raises (Sections 2 to 5).

1 The data collected here are mainly taken from the corpus of Manzini & ~~Leonardo M~~. Savoia (2005), and are made available for non-Italian speaking scholars. The IPA transcription is simplified by the elimination of stress diacritics.

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1.1 Animacy and definiteness splits

As is well-known from both the historical-typological and the formal literature, the set of DPs undergoing DOM crosslinguistically may be characterized in terms of a hierarchy on whose descriptive content there is considerable agreement, though it is not obvious what exactly orders it: whether classical notions of animacy and/or definiteness (Aissen 2003) or more abstract notions (Kiparsky 2008). It is not an aim of the present contribution to advance new proposals in this respect. However it is convenient to introduce the morphosyntactic microvariation of Central and Southern Italian varieties in this way. This also allows us to make a general point on the nature of microvariation.

To begin with, in the varieties in (1), the presence of (obligatory) DOM is limited to 1/2 personal pronouns (Loporcaro 1988: 269 for the Altamura dialect). While DOM is generally restricted to noun phrases characterized by a high position in the animacy hierarchy, the maximum of animacy in such a hierarchy is attributed to the discourse participants (henceforth 1/2P). 1/2P elements admit of a straightforward denotational characterization as the speaker, hearer coordinates of the universe of discourse. In (1) the (a), (b) examples illustrate DOM; the (a′), (b′) examples set up the contrast with object DPs (including 3P personal pronouns) not undergoing DOM.

(1) Colledimacine (Abruzzi)

a. *a* *camatə* *a* *mme* / *a* *nnu*
he.has called DOM me DOM us
'He has called me/us.'

a′. *a* *camatə* *frattə* *tiə* / *kwiʎʎə*
he.has called brother mine him
'He has called my brother/him.'

Cagnano Amiterno (Abruzzi)

b. *camanu* *a* *tti* / *a* *mmi* / *a* *nnu* / *a* *vvu*
they.call DOM you DOM me DOM us DOM you.PL
'They call you/me/us/you.PL'

b′. *camanu* *frate* *tu/* *issi/* *issu*
they.call brother yours/ them/ him
'They call your brother/them/him.'

In other dialects, DOM is restricted to personal pronouns (1/2/3P), as in (2).

(2) Torricella Peligna (Abruzzi)

a. *kwillə vaitə a mmɛjə / a nniəwə / (a) kkwillə*
he sees DOM me DOM us DOM him
'He sees me / us / him.'

a′. *so camætə frʊt-tə / kellə femənə*
I.have called brother-yours that woman
'I have called your brother / that woman.'

Canosa Sannita (Abruzzi)

b. *ji camə a ttɛ / a vvo / (a) kkullu*
I call DOM you DOM you.PL DOM him
'I call you / him.'

b′. *ji camə fratə-tə*
I call brother-yours
'I call your brother.'

Several varieties differentiate pronouns and kinship terms, which are obligatorily introduced by the DOM preposition, from other DPs, including human animate ones. This split, privileging kinship terms, evokes the fact that kinship terms have a number of properties more reminiscent of proper names than of other DPs.[2] Therefore the languages in (3) correspond to a high cut of the animacy hierarchy, namely proper name–like DPs as opposed to other human/animate DPs.

(3) Accettura (Lucania)

(addʒə camə:tə) ...
I.have called

a. *a jeddə / a tta feɟɟə*
DOM him DOM your son

a′. *(a) kɛdda: fɛmənə*
DOM that woman

'I have called him / your son / that woman.'

2 Specifically, Longobardi (1994) argues that proper names in a language like Italian raise from N to the D position, so that they are in complementary distribution with D elements. While singular count nouns in Italian require an overt D, kinship terms exclude it – which is also true in the varieties in (3). In this respect, kinship terms are formally (not just cognitively) close to proper names.

Celle di Bulgheria (Campania)

(camu) ...
I.call

b. *a iddu* / *a ffrati-tu*
DOM him DOM brother-yours

b′. *(a) dd ɔmu*
DOM the man

'I call him / your brother / the man.'

Nocara (Calabria)

(addʒə camə:tə) ...
I.have called

c. *a ɟellə* / *a ffrɜ:tə tujə*
DOM him DOM brother yours

c′. *(a) kkiəlla fiəmmənа*
DOM that woman

'I have called him / your brother / that woman.'

Ittiri (Sardinia)

(appɔ ʒamaru) ...
I.have called

d. *a issu* / *a bbabbu rou*
DOM him DOM father yours

d′. *(ai) kussa femina*
DOM that woman

'I have called him / your father / that woman.'

Paulilatino (Sardinia)

(appɔ bbistu) ...
I.have seen

e. *a issu* / *a ffiddzu ðu*
DOM him DOM son yours

e′. *(ai) ɣuɖɖ ommine*
DOM that man

'I have called him / your son / that man.'

Tempio Pausania (Sardinia)

(camu) ...
I.call

f. *a iɖɖu* / *a ttɔ vraeɖɖu*
DOM him DOM your brother

f′. *(a) kissa vɛmina*
DOM that woman

'I call him / your brother / that woman.'

Munacia d'Auddè (Corsica)

(aɟɟu istu) ...
I.have seen

g. *a kkwiḍḍu / a to sureḍḍa*
DOM him DOM your sister

g′. *(a) kwiḍḍa fɛmmina*
DOM that woman

'I have seen him / your sister / that woman.'

In many varieties a DP is, or may be, introduced by the DOM preposition if it has a human denotation, regardless of its definite/indefinite status, as illustrated in (4). The first example of each pair presents DOM with an indefinite human object — while the second example contrasts it with a non-human definite, establishing that definiteness does not enter in the equation.

(4) Scuol (Engadine)

(klɔma) ...
call

a. *(ad) yn om*
DOM a man

a′. *il tʃaŋ*
the dog

'Call a man / the dog!'

S. Vittore (Lazio)

(addʒə camatə) ...
I.have called

b. *a nnu kriturə*
DOM a child

b′. *ʎu ka:nə*
the dog

'I have called a child / the dog!'

Gallo Matese (Campania)

(ɣɛ cɔ:mə) ...
I call

c. *a nə ɣwaʎʎo:nə*
DOM a boy

c′. *ru kuɔnə*
the dog

'I call a boy / the dog!'

Giovinazzo (Apulia)

(sɔ came:tə) ...
I.have called

d. *(a) nu mənɪ:nə*
DOM a boy

d′. *u ke:nə*
the dog

'I have called a boy / the dog!'

Orroli (Sardinia)

(appu tserriau) ...
I.have called

e. *(a) un ommini*
DOM a man

e′. *su ɣani*
the dog

'I have called a man/the dog'

Alimena (Sicily)

(ji camu) ...
I call

f. *a un uəmʊ*
DOM a man

f′. *u kanɪ*
the dog

'I call a man/the dog'

In other varieties, DOM is triggered by definiteness/specificity. The data in (5) present systematic contrasts between definite noun phrases in the left-hand column, which are introduced by the DOM preposition, and indefinite ones in the right-hand column, which are not introduced by the DOM morpheme or only optionally so. Definite inanimates are associated with DOM in the (b"), (c"), (e") examples, establishing the fact that definiteness is paramount in these instances.[3] The optionality effect in the right-hand column, can be attributed to the fact that so-called indefinites have at least two readings: a properly indefinite reading by which they represent true variables, and a specific one.[4]

3 The possibility for inanimates to be DOM objects is pointed out by Rohlfs (1971).

4 Some of the varieties exemplified in (5), namely Nocara, also appear in the set of examples in (3). They make a three-way distinction: kinship terms (obligatory DOM), definite human DPs (possible DOM), indefinites (no DOM).

(5) Minervino Murge (Apulia)

(jaɟɟə camæ:tə) ...
I.have called

a. *a kkwɛra: fɛmənə*
DOM that woman
'I have called that / a woman'

a′. *na fɛmənə*
a woman

Gorgoglione (Lucania)

(addʒə camɛ:tə) ...
I.have called

b. *ɔ kriatu:rə*
DOM the
'I have called the / a child'

b′. *nu kriatu:rə*
a child

(miəttə) ...
put

b″. *a kkeistə*
DOM this
'Put this in!'

Guardia Perticara (Calabria)

(addʒə cama:tə) ...
I.have called

c. *ɔ ɣwaʎʎo:nə*
DOM the
'I have called the / a child'

c′. *nu kriatu:rə*
a child

(miəttə) ...
put

c″. *a kkwestə kkwa*
DOM this here
'Put this one in!'

Nocara (Calabria)

(ɛddʒə camɜ:tə) ...
I.have called

d. *(a) kkiəlla fiəmməna*
DOM that woman
'I have called that / a woman'

d′. *nu fiəmməna*
a woman

Camerota (Campania)

(addʒ_ vistu) ...
I.have called

e. *a kkilli waʌʌuni*
DOM that boy
'I have seen that / a boy'

e′. *(a) nu waʌʌuni*
DOM a boy

(ndʒi lɛvu) ...
there I.take.away

e″. *a kkistu*
DOM this
'I take this away from it'

Làconi (Sardinia)

(a βiu) ...
he.has seen

f. *(ai) kussas feminaza*
DOM those women
'He has seen those women / a woman'

f′. *una vemina*
DOM a

Modina (Sicily)

(vitti) ...
I.saw

g. *ɔ kani*
DOM the
'I saw the dog / a man'

g′. *n uommənu*
a man

Some varieties associate DOM with definite/specific human referents – while both definite non-humans and indefinite humans are not introduced by DOM. Some examples are in (6).

(6) Albidona (Calabria)

(ddʒə vistə) ...
I.have seen

a. *a kwəllu krəstia:nə*
DOM that person
'I have seen that / a person / the dog'

a′. *u kuanə / nu krwestia:nə*
the dog a person

Cirò Marina (Calabria)

(ɛ camate) ...
I.have called

b. *a kkira fimmәna* / *a n ɔmәnә ɛ kirә*
DOM that woman DOM a man of those

b′. *nu ɔmәnә* / *u kanu tɔjә*
a man the dog yours

'I have called that woman / one of those men / a man / your dog'

Ittiri (Sardinia)

(appɔ ʒamaru) ...
I.saw

c. *(ai) kussa femina*
DOM that woman

c′. *un omine* / *zu ɣanɛ*
a man the dog

'I saw the dog / a man'

Further restrictions have been suggested by the literature to be relevant for the distribution of DOM, such as a notion of affected object for Spanish (Torrego 1998). Nevertheless, according to the corpus study of von Heusinger & Kaiser (2011) all definite animate internal arguments in Spanish are associated with DOM, independently of the nature (affecting/non affecting) of the predicate. In addition, in Spanish, DOM with indefinite animate arguments is in fact more systematic with verbs classes such as perception verbs or psych verbs that have non-affected objects. One of the core verbs used in the Italo-Romance examples in (1)–(6) is *see*, which takes a non-affected object.

The description of splits along the so-called animacy/definiteness hierarchy would not be complete without mentioning the fact that quantifiers such *no one*, *someone*, *who* are usually introduced by the DOM preposition. Of particular relevance in this respect are the varieties that display sensitivity to a high cut in the hierarchy, such as Munacia or Paulilatino in (3). As shown in (7b), (7c) DOM is not merely possible, but obligatory with *nobody* and with *who*. In the variety of Celle di Bulgheria in (7a) *somebody* also behaves in the same way.

(7) Celle di Bulgheria

a. *nu ccamu a nniʃʃuni*
not I.call DOM nobody
'I do not call anybody.'

a′. *a kki cami*
DOM who you.call
'Who do you call?'

a″. *camu a kkwakkunu*
I.call DOM somebody
'I call somebody.'

Paulilatino

b. *nɔ appɔ bbistu a nnɛmmɔzɔ*
not I.have seen DOM nobody
'I haven't seen anybody.'

b′. *a kkiɛ a βistu*
DOM who he.has seen
'Who has he seen?'

Munacia

c. *un aɟɟu istu a nnimu*
not I.have seen DOM nobody
'I haven't seen anybody.'

c′. *a kkwali cammani*
DOM who they.call
'Who do they call?'

Other varieties of special interest are those in (5) that display sensitivity to definiteness. The data in (8) shows that they also introduce DOM in front of quantifiers like *nobody* and *who*.

(8) Gallo

a. *nə ca:mə a nnəʃʃu:nə*
not I.call DOM nobody
'I do not call anybody.'

a′. *a kki camə*
DOM who you.call
'Who do you call?'

Minervino Murge

b. *nan aɟɟə cammætə a nnəʃʃɛunə*
not I.have called DOM nobody
'I haven't called anybody.'

b′. *(a) tʃə a cammætə*
DOM who you.have called
'Who did you call?'

Nocara

c. *ɔnn ɛddʒə camɜ:tə a nnəʃʃunə*
not I.have called DOM nobody
'I haven't called anybody.'

c′. *a kkɪ ɛi βɪstə*
DOM who you.have seen
'Who did you see?'

Làconi

d. *nɔ βiaɾa a nnɛmmɔzɔ*
not he.sees DOM nobody
'He hasn't seen anybody.'

d′. *a ttʃinni tserriaza*
DOM who you.call
'Who do you call?'

Modica

e. *n tʃamai a nnuɖɖu*
not I.called DOM nobody
'I didn't call anybody.'

e′. *a kku ʃamaʃti*
DOM who you.called
'Who did you call?'

It is true that the quantifiers in (7)–(8) have human referents and they may be attributed to the same D category as personal pronouns. As animate pronouns they may therefore jump to the top of the hierarchy. Alternatively, however, the data in (7)–(8) may suggest that a correct understanding of the referential scale governing the distribution of DOM requires its interaction with information flow

at the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) interface to be considered, hence a notion of topicality (É. Kiss 2017). As indicated at the beginning, these themes are largely beyond the scope of the present work.

At the same time, the detailed evidence we presented allows us to make an important point on the nature of parameterization, since in the dialectological domain of Italian varieties we can see displayed all (and only) the parameters normally arising between different language families. Thus Aissen (2003) reviews well-known facts about DOM privileging a definiteness cut in Iranian but an animacy cut in Indo-Aryan. As for Spanish, Aissen takes it to exemplify a language where animacy and definiteness are both relevant. In the microcosm of Italian dialects we find replicated the same variation found in the macrocosm of the Indo-European family, it would appear that this variation is hardly dictated by areal or other external considerations, but is endemic to grammatical systems.

In the next section we will get closer to our theoretical aims, by presenting a further data set, which illustrate Italian varieties, where the preposition that introduces DOM is not *a* 'to'. Crucially we will find that despite different prepositions may be involved, if they externalize DOM, they also externalize goal datives. This sets the stage for the theoretical discussion in Section 2, where we argue that DOM (in Romance and Indo-European languages) is indeed obliquization.

1.2 DOM = dative

From the point of view adopted in this paper, as it will come more explicit from the analysis that we will provide in Section 2, the most notable syntactic property of the Romance DOM is its morphological coincidence with the dative, introduced by the preposition *a* (Jaeggli 1981, Torrego 1998, Manzini & Franco 2016). Our idea is that this coincidence reflects a real underlying (syntactic and interpretative) identity. Prima facie evidence for such a claim comes from variation in prepositional systems. Some varieties from the Montefeltro use the prepositional morpheme *ma* for the DOM argument, while Gallo-Italic dialects of Sicily use the preposition *da* (Rohlfs 1969 [1954]: §632). Crucially, dative arguments are consistently introduced by the same morphemes. Hence, there is systematic co-variation between the preposition used to introduce the descriptive dative and the descriptive DOM.

Relevant data from some Montefeltro varieties are reproduced in (9)–(11). The preposition *ma* introduces the DOM internal argument, as in (a), and the goal dative argument, as in (b) — as well as locatives, with a restricted set of lexical items, as in (c). Importantly, it is not just the case that the *a* preposition is not available

in these languages; rather it is found with locatives and as the prepositional introducer of infinitival control complements, as in (d)–(d′).[5]

(9) Mercato Saraceno (Romagna)

a. *a tʃəm m(a) e tu fradɛl*
I call DOM the your brother
'I call your brother.'

b. *a l dɛg ma lu*
I it say to him
'I say it to him.'

c. *l ɛ ma kəza / ma la təvla / ma la porta*
he is at home/ at the table/at the door
'He is at home/at the table/at the door.'

d. *a sɔ: a maɲɲa / a tʃezəna*
I am at eat in Cesena
'I am eating/in Cesena.'

d′. *a veg a kəza / a maɲɲa / a tʃezəna*
I go to home to eat to Cesena
'I go home/to eat/to Cesena.'

(10) Sant'Agata Feltria (Marche)

a. *cɛma ma la tu surɛla*
call DOM the your sister
'Call your sister!'

b. *u n da ɲint ma niʃoŋ*
he of.it gives nothing to no one
'He doesn't give anything to anyone.'

c. *l ɛ ma la porta / la tɜvla / kɛza*
he is at the door the table home
'He is at at the door / at the table / at home.'

5 In the Manzini & ~~Leonardo M.~~ Savoia (2005) corpus, similar data are reported for the varieties of Urbania, Piobbico, Tavullia (Marche) and Rontagnano (Romagna). According to Rohlfs (1969 [1954]: §639), the *ma* preposition is etymologically connected to Lat. *in medio ad* 'into the middle of'.

d. *l ɛ a maɲe:*
he is at eat
'He is eating.'

d′. *a vag a le / a la so / a roma*
I go to there to there above to Rome
'I go there / over there / to Rome.'

(11) Mercatello sul Metauro (Marche)

a. *ɔ vist ma l tu fratɛl*
I.have seen DOM the your brother
'I have seen your brother.'

b. *l ɔ dat ma lʊ*
it I.have given to him
'I have given it to him.'

c. *lʊ ɛ ma kɛza / ma la tavla / ma la pɔrta*
he is home at the table at the door
'He is at home / at the table / at the door.'

d. *lʊ ɛ a urbiŋ*
he is in Urbino
'He is in Urbino.'

d′. *va a kɛza / a urbiŋ / a veda*
go to home to Urbino to see
'Go home / to Urbino / to see!'

In Italian, the same lexicalization space is uniformly taken by *a* 'at/to' as in (12).

(12) Italian

a. *Ho dato il libro a Gianni*
I.have given the book to Gianni
'I have given the book to Gianni.'

b. *Sono a casa / a tavola / alla porta / a Firenze*
I.am at home at table at the door in Florence
'I am at home / the table / at the door / in Florence.'

c. *Vado a casa / a tavola / alla porta / a Firenze*
I.go to home to table to the door to Florence
'I go home to the table to the door to Florence.'

In the variety of Avigliano Umbro ~~in (13)~~, *da* lexicalizes goals, as in (13b) and DOM, as in (13a) — further strengthening the conclusion that the coincidence of goal and DOM arguments is not a matter of accidental syncretism.[6] Importantly, the language does have the *a* preposition, lexicalizing locative state, or motion to, as in (f). In (c)-(d), locations at deictic or human referents are expressed by *da*, independently of whether it is a state as in (d) or a motion to, as in (c). Otherwise *da* specializes for motion from, in (e).

(13) Avigliano Umbro (Umbria)

a. *camo da esso*
I.call DOM him
'I call him.'

b. *lo ɾajo da mmi fratɛllo*
it I.give to my brother
'I give it to my brother.'

c. *vajo lla da esso*
I.go there to him
'I go to him there.'

d. *stɔnno lla da esso*
they.are there by him
'They are by him.'

e. *vɛŋgo da su / ju kkasa*
I.come from up down home
'I come from up/down home.'

f. *vajo a ttɔdi*
I.go to Todi
'I go to Todi.'

6 Similar data are reported by Manzini & ~~Leonardo M~~. Savoia (2005) for Macchie Amelia (Umbria).

The occurrence of *da* with highly ranked locations may not be irrelevant for its occurrence in DOM/dative contexts in (13). However, there is no causal connection between the two, since thedistribution of *da* in Avigliano Umbro is as in Italian (14), covering location-at and motion-to with highly ranked referents, and all motion-from.

(14) Italian

a. *Vengo da casa / Firenze*
I.come from home Florence
'I come from home / Florence.'

b. *Sono / vado da lui / Maria*
I.am I.go by/to him Maria
'I am by/go to him / Maria.'

In Gallo-Italic varieties of Sicily, the preposition *da* also introduces goal datives, as in (15b), and DOM, as in (15a). However with ablatives we find the preposition *ɾə/ðə* 'of' as in (15c), which also introduces genitives. As for the preposition introducing locatives with highly ranked referents, in Aidone we find the item *nnə*, as in (15d-e) which does not have independent prepositional uses, but rather occurs as the wh-pronoun for 'where'. Thus the data of Aidone strengthen the generalizations that we have been drawing so far — essentially that dative and DOM are interrelated.

(15) Aidone (Sicily)

a. *stawə tʃamannə ɾa iwə / ɾa ti / ɾa tta fra / ɾa dḍa fumənа*
I.was calling DOM him DOM you DOM your brother DOM the woman
'I was calling him/you/your brother/the woman.'

b. *u stawə ðaʒinnə ða tta fra / ð ɛ karoʒə*
it I.was giving to your brother to the children
'I was giving it to your brother/to the children.'

c. *stawə vəninnə ɾə n kazə mijə / ðə məssinə / ðə ŋ kambaŋŋə*
I.was coming from in house mine from Messina from in countryside
'I was coming from home/Messina/the countryside.'

d. *iwə vɛŋə nnə / ndə mi*
he comes to me
'He comes to me.'

e. *jɛ nn / nd iwə*
he.is by him
'He is by him.'

In short, though prepositions introducing goal datives vary, the same preposition as introduces datives introduces DOM arguments in Romance. Eastern Romance is an exception to this generalization, but still falls under a slightly broader generalization to the effect that DOM arguments are introduced by oblique prepositions (see footnote 13). The DOM/dative connection is generally true in Indo-European languages (and Basque, Odria 2014),[7] suggesting that DOM arguments may be not just accidentally or superficially connected to datives – but they may really be obliques (Manzini & Franco 2016).[8] This is the analysis we will develop in Section 2 — in contrast both with traditional, descriptive approaches which treat DOM as a special accusative ('prepositional accusative') and to generative treatments (Jaeggli 1981, Torrego 1998) which adopt the same accusative view. The analysis of systems, including the connection between dative/DOM and locative, is the object of a separate study (Franco et al. to appear).

7 An anonymous reviewer enquires whether DOM in Basque may be triggered by language contact with Spanish. This may well be so, but it is hardly relevant, given that DOM=Dative syncretism is a widespread feature of natural languages, independently of areal considerations. Just to give an example, Amharic (Afro-Asiatic, Amberber 2012) is one of the many non-Indo-European languages displaying DOM=Dative. Furthermore, one cannot really invoke genetic continuity for the Indo-European spread of the phenomenon, since no morphological continuity is involved. Thus Italian *a* for dative is a neo-formation entirely independent of the other neo-formation, as e.g. *-ko* of Hindi. The same point holds of the *a* of Italian vs. *ma* of (9)–(11). Finally one may want to raise the question whether grammaticalization can provide an alternative account for the link between datives and DOM (in terms of a semantic shift from dative to accusative, or vice versa). The point is that grammaticalization is a weaker explanation than the one entertained here, namely actual identity. Therefore compelling empirical reasons are required to retreat to it.

8 See Manzini & Franco (2016: 228-230) for discussion of some languages (Turkish, Finnish) in which DOM does not seem to take the form of obliquization of highly ranked referents. Franco & Manzini (2017a), take into consideration languages (Slavic, Eastern Iranian) and Finnic in which a genitive=DOM syncretism applies (cf. also Kaiser *et al.* this volume).

2 DOM as an oblique Case

In Section 2.1 we provide a characterization of the dative Case/preposition as an elementary predicate introducing a part-whole (possession) relation; we further propose that DOM instantiates the same elementary predicate. Therefore, DOM applies to highly ranked referents within the VP raising them to the role of possessor. This approach faces potential problems whenever DOM arguments pattern with direct objects rather than indirect objects in a number of respects; in Section 3, we consider passivization. In Section 4 we provide a brief outline of how the micro-variation presented in Section 1 fits in with the proposed analysis.

2.1 The nature of oblique Case and of DOM

Our framework is defined by current minimalist models of generative grammar (Chomsky 1995, 2001), which in part also provide a framework theory of Case. We take a view under which the lexicon precedes syntax, and in fact projects it, in keeping with the minimalist postulate of Inclusiveness (Chomsky 1995). Within the minimalist approach, properties such as gender (nominal class), number and person, which are intrinsically associated with nominal constituents, are features. However, relations, such as theta-roles, are not features, but correspond simply to syntactic configurations. From this perspective, it is potentially problematic to find that Case is treated as a feature, i.e. as nominal class or number rather than as theta-roles. The fact that Case is the only feature in Chomsky (1995) which is radically uninterpretable (i.e. which does not have an interpretable counterpart) is a reflex of the deeper difficulty in reconciling the traditionally relational core of this notion with its feature status. The solution to which Chomsky (2001) arrives is that the real underlying relation between Case assigner and Case assignee is an agreement relation, involving phi-features; Case is but a reflex of this relation which appears on nominal constituents.[9]

As far as we can tell, the empirical range of Chomsky's proposal only directly covers nominative and accusative (reflexes of phi-feature checking on T and *v* respectively). If we ask ourselves how Chomsky's approach could be applied to obliques, the literature on the functional head Appl comes naturally to mind

9 Baker & Vinokurova (2010), writing on Sakha (Turkic), argue that Case cannot be reduced *in toto* to phi-feature agreement; for accusative they suggest reverting to the dependent Case algorithm of Marantz (2000). This matter is orthogonal to the present discussion, which is concerned with obliques — assuming that DOM is an oblique as well.

(Pylkkänen 2008, Cuervo 2003, Pineda 2016). According to this literature a functional head Appl checks the descriptive dative. We could therefore say that dative is but the reflex of phi-feature agreement between Appl and a DP. However, in the languages we are considering there is no evidence for applicative verbal affixes – on the contrary, there is abundant evidence of adnominal morphology (Case, prepositions). We therefore avoid taking the circuitous route of attributing such overt morphology to feature checking with an abstract Appl.

A fairly obvious intuition on oblique Cases, originally formalized by Fillmore (1968), is that they are the inflectional equivalent of prepositions (English *to* = dative, English *of* = genitive, etc.). If a preposition is a predicate introducing a relation between the argument it selects and another argument, so therefore is oblique Case. If we say that (oblique) Case has a relational content (it is effectively an inflectional counterpart of elementary predicates like Ps), then it is evident that we take the category Case, or to be more precise oblique Case, to be interpretable – i.e. endowed with some interpretive content, albeit elementary. Based on these considerations, Manzini & Leonardo M. Savoia (2011), Manzini & Franco (2016) propose an analysis of dative and genitive Case as elementary relators, extended then to DOM.

Genitive Case, or the preposition *of*, are canonically taken to introduce the possession relation. An idea put forth in very similar terms by various strands of literature is that possession is in fact a surface manifestation of the more elementary part-whole, inclusion relation. Belvin (1996) argues that the predicate *have* does not denote possession or ownership, but rather it means *include*. Inclusion, as defined by Belvin, is not concerned with the member-set relation, but rather with the concept of zonal inclusion, where the notion of zone refers to "a region of space-time". Belvin assumes there is only one *have* with a fixed inclusion meaning, and semantic variation arises from the context. Belvin & den Dikken (1997: 170) define the relation introduced by *have* as zonal inclusion in the following terms: "Entities have various zones associated with them, such that an object or eventuality may be included in a zone associated with an entity without being physically contained in that entity... The type of zones which may be associated with an entity will vary with the entity". Manzini & Leonardo M. Savoia (2005, 2007) propose that the Romance genitive/partitive clitic *ne* introduces a pronominal set which is a "superset-of" some other argument of the sentence (the internal argument).[10]

10 In many languages the ablative lexicalizes partitives (e.g. in Turkic languages, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2009); this is also true of the *ne* clitic, which can convey motion-from. As already mentioned, the connection between possession/inclusion obliques and obliques is left for a separate

On the basis of this construal of possession, let us consider datives. The line of analysis of ditransitive verbs initiated by Kayne (1984) is characterized by the assumption that verbs like *give* take a predication as their complement; the content of this predication is a possession relation between the accusative direct object (the possessum) and the dative (the possessor). For Pesetsky (1995) the predicate head is *to*, as in (16a). The same is true for Harley (2002) who takes English *to* to be a P_{LOC} as in (16b).[11] Beck & Johnson (2004) follow Larson (1988) in adopting a variant of the same fundamental structure where the DP and *to*-DP complements occupy the Spec and sister position of V respectively, as in (16c).

(16) a. ... give a letter [$_{PP}$ to Sue] (Pesetsky 1995)

b. ... CAUSE [$_{PP}$ a letter [[$_{P\text{-}LOC}$ to] Mary]] (Harley 2002)

c. ... [$_{VP}$ the guide [$_{V'}$ send to Satoshi]] (Beck & Johnson 2004)

---

study. Our idea goes against the grain of classical assumptions about the primitive nature of the spatial system, in proposing that eventualmeanings are derived from inclusion (Franco et al. to appear). Thus the ablative meaning 'y out of x' is dependent on inclusion, i.e. 'y in x'; note that English also uses *out of* in partitive expressions.

11 Here we reject thecharacterization in favour of an inclusion one (see the discussion below). Miyagawa & Tsujioka (2004) argue that, in Japanese, there are two distinct goal positions, a possessor goal and agoal, though both are encoded by the *ni* morpheme. Their evidence includes the fact that when both goals appear in the same sentence, the word order is quite rigid and the low goal cannot precede the high goal as in (i)–(ii); note that the goal can independently precede the theme, though it need not to.

(i) Japanese

Taroo-ga Hanako-ni Tokyo-ni nimotu-o okutta.
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT Tokyo-to package-ACC sent
'Taro sent Hanako a package to Tokyo.'

(ii) Japanese

* *Taroo-ga Tokyo-ni Hanako-ni nimotu-o okutta.*
Taro-NOM Tokyo-to Hanako-DAT package-ACC sent
'Taro sent Hanako a package to Tokyo.'

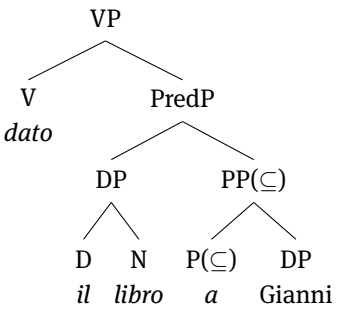
In the terms of footnote 10, the basis for the syncretism between goal dative and motion-to in Japanese (as in English *to*, Romance *a* etc.) is the common notion of inclusion (Franco et al., to appear). At the same time the two arguments differ in that the inclusion relation is locatively restricted in motion-to contexts. It is thisrestriction that implies different attachments; recall that in English dative *to* but not*to* undergoes dative shift.

In present terms, if the *to* preposition (or dative Case) heads a possession predication, then it is associated with the inclusion (part-whole) content. We notate inclusion with (⊆), though as indicated by the discussion that precedes, the inclusion relation is to be construed not mathematically but as a looser zonal inclusion one. Prepositions like English *to* or Italian *a* that have (⊆) content are notated P(⊆), as in the structure of Italian (17) in (18). In (18), P(⊆) takes as its internal argument its sister DP *Gianni* and as its external argument the sister to its projection, i.e. the DP *il libro* 'the book'. Correspondingly, the second internal argument of *dare* 'give', i.e. the traditional dative, participates in fixing the reference of the first internal argument, i.e. the accusative, by denoting a superset/domain/zone including it.

(17) Italian

Ho dato il libro a Gianni
I.have given the book to Gianni
'I have given the book to Gianni.'

(18)



An issue arises in connection with datives that are complements of unergative verbs. Evidently, in the absence of an internal argument, we cannot run the analysis in (18) for examples like Italian (19a); conversely, we need an analysis capable of differentiating the dative internal argument in (19a) from the accusative (direct object) in (19b).

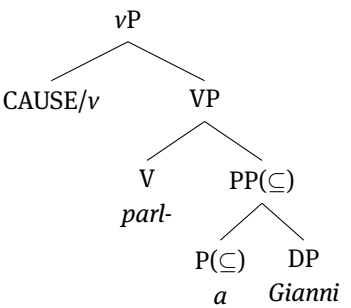
(19) Italian

a. *Parla a Gianni*
he.talks to Gianni
'He talks to Gianni.'

b. *Chiama Gianni*
he.calls Gianni
'He calls Gianni.'

We propose that in (19a) the two arguments of P(⊆) are again the DP embedded under it and, as we propose, an eventive constituent, adapting the characterization of so-called high Appls.[12] Intuitively, transitive predicates can be paraphrased as consisting of an elementary predicate associated with an eventive name. Hale & Keyser (1993), Chomsky (1995) formalize this intuition about the complex nature of transitive predicates by assuming that they result from the incorporation of an elementary state/event into a transitivizing predicate (CAUSE). In minimalist syntax the transitivizing predicate is standardly built into the structure in the form of a *v* functional head. Within such a conceptual framework, (19a) can be informally rendered as 'He causes him to be on the receiving end of some talk', or more directly 'He causes him talk (i.e. to be talked to)', corresponding to the *v*-V organization of the predicate in structure (20).

(20)



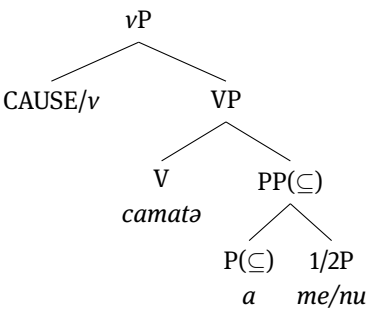
By contrast, despite the causative, two-layered organization of the predicate, complements of *chiamare* 'call' (or rather 'cause call'), as in (19b), are embedded in a canonical transitive structure comprising a nominative agent and an accusative theme. In other words, in Italian, *chiamare* 'call' behaves as a single predicate, its complementation structure displaying no sensitivity to the presence of (potential) subevents/states in it. Vice versa the dative with *parlare* 'talk' is a result of the sensitivity of argument structure to the finer event articulation of the predicate. In this respect we agree with Svenonius (2002: 202) that that "there is no such thing as idiosyncratic lexical Case; that is, … that a verb takes a dative object is … not entirely independent of event structural properties". At the same time, we also expect a certain amount of crosslinguistic variation in the externalization of complements as either direct objects or obliques (see Manzini & Franco 2016: 217–218 on *help*, Svenonius 2002 on Icelandic vs. English).

12 See Boneh & Nash (2012) for a review of problems arising in classifying French datives according to the categories low and high Appl, as understood by Pylkkänen (2008).

Summarizing so far, we take a fairly classical possession approach to dative goals, as schematized in (18). We extend this treatment to non-ditransitive contexts — where we propose that the oblique Case/preposition introduces a possession/part-whole relations involving a (sub)event, as in (20). These are the fundamental ingredients that we need for our analysis of DOM as an oblique. Let us start with the varieties where DOM has a particularly restricted distribution, namely 1/2P elements, as in (1a), repeated below in (21a) for ease of reference. We take the syncretism of DOM and dative in Italian varieties to point to a common underlying structure. So the structure in (21b) must parallel that provided in (20) for dative complements – which is also the fundamental insight of Torrego (2010), Pineda (2014). Specifically, following the interpretation that we have imputed to structures like (20), we will say that the internal argument with Participant (speaker, hearer) reference in (21) is construed as a possessor/locator of the VP subevent.

(21) a. *a* *camatə* *a* *mme* / *a* *nnu* (=(1a))
he.has called DOM me DOM us
'He called me/us.'

b.



The question is whether this extension of the treatment of datives to DOM provides an adequate, or eventually revealing, match to known empirical evidence. It is worth noticing that though any number of abstract logics can be imposed on natural languages, one of the few insights that we can have into their real underlying logic is provided by lexicalization patterns. In Section 2.1 dative complements imply sensitivity to the two-layered structure of transitive/unergative complements, while direct objects imply insensitivity to it. Similarly according to Svenonius (2002), the presence of a dative complement implies the activation of a split eventive structure — though only in some languages and for some predicates. dative complements are clues to underlying structural and interpretive differences, albeit subtle ones. The same logic applies to (21). There is no *a priori* rea-

son why an argumental frame including a Participant internal argument should reflect a complex organization of the event with verbs like *call* in (21) — and one where the Participant plays the role of possessor (locator) of the VP event. However, the lexicalization patterns of the dialects reviewed in Section 1 suggest that this is what happens. In other words, the surfacing of highly ranked (DOM) internal arguments as datives is no morphological accident — nor does it reflect a merely morphological regularity. DOM arises in the syntax, reflecting a slightly different structuring of the event with Participant internal arguments.

At the same time there is a profound difference between dative arguments, e.g. in (20), and DOM arguments in (21). With goal datives, the P(⊆) constituent is required by the predicate — it is in effect what Chomsky (1986) calls an inherent Case, i.e. a Case required by the verb (or perhaps at the interpretive level by the eventive content). By contrast, making explicit what the discussion so far merely suggests, the DOM dative is a P(⊆) headed constituent required by the referential properties of the internal argument. Languages with DOM datives are those where an argument with certain referential properties can never be inserted VP-internally except under P(⊆).[13] In (21), it is Participant arguments that must be embedded under P(⊆) when inserted as internal arguments. The constraint can be formulated as in (22), leaving for the time being open the range of DPs that can undergo DOM beyond 1/2P.

(22) DOM
$[_{VP}$ V [*P(⊆) DP]] where DP=1/2P etc.

The constraint in (22) says that a Participant argument cannot be embedded under VP as a theme object; rather it can be embedded in VP only as long as it is construed as entailing a possessor (locator, etc.) relation to the event. This is not a translation in structural terms of commonly held views about DOM. Specifically, (22) does not connect to the idea that DOM is a way of providing a "differential marking" for an accusative object – notably for reasons of distinctiveness, as implied by functionalist approaches. On the contrary, DOM consists in the obliquization of a direct object – consequent to the fact that in some languages only a suit-

13 In Romanian, animate/definite internal arguments are introduced by the preposition *pe*, which is independently attested in Romanian as a(generally rendered as 'on') (see Irimia, this volume). We have already suggested in footnote 10 that locatives (for instance *a* locatives) can be construed in terms of a restriction on the (⊆) relation, namely 'x included by y, y a location'. Suppose we apply this general suggestion to Romanian *pe*. The realization of DOM arguments by *pe* will involve the basic predicate (⊆) minus the locative restriction.

ably low ranked referent can be a bare object, while a highly ranked referent is interpreted as the possessor/locus of the event.[14]

3 The passive issue

The reason that is often put forth in the descriptive and theoretical literature in favour of a characterization of DOM as a special accusative morphology, is the fact that it can be passivized. This contrasts with the behaviour of datives, which cannot be promoted to subject at all, in Romance languages. Before proceeding to the analysis (following Manzini & Franco 2016: 219–222), we briefly illustrate passivization in Italian dialects with DOM using examples with Middle-Passive (MP) clitic *si*. We break our examples in three sets, but the facts are identical throughout (23)-(25).[15] (23) illustrates passivization in dialects with a high cut in the animacy/definiteness hierarchy — namely just deictic arguments (Canosa Sannita) or proper names/kinship terms. In the relevant languages, the 3P pronoun found in the subject position of the passive would obligatorily undergo DOM in object position. In this sense, DOM object passivize in these languages.

(23) a. Canosa Sannita

kwillə tsi vedə sɛmbrə a ppasˈsa
they MP see.3SG always to pass.by
'They are always seen passing by.'

b. Celle di Bulgheria

iddu si viði / lɔru si viðinu sɛmbi pasˈsa
he MP see.3SG they MP see.3PL always pass.by
'He is / they are always seen passing by.'

14 This conceptualization is not found in other formal literature. From a cognitive viewpoint similar considerations are advanced by Enghels (2007) (cf. Enghels & Vanderschueren 2009), who argues that dative-marked internal argument are semantically interpreted as owners/subjects of an embedded sub-event, based on a series of quantitative studies on perception verbs in Spanish.
15 We report the data in some detail because Fábregas (2013), following Spanish-speaking literature, mentions comparable examples in Spanish as being ill-formed. The Italian data show that the Spanish phenomenon does not have any deep connections to DOM or other pan-Romance parameters.

c. Ittiri

issu s iðɛ / issɔs s iðɛnɛ ssɛmprɛ ßassɛndɛ
he MP see.3SG they MP see.3PL always passing.by
'He is / they are always seen passing by.'

d. Tempio

iḍḍu s iði / iḍḍi s iðini zɛmpri passɛndi
he MP see.3SG they MP see.3PL always passing.by
'He is / they are always seen passing by.'

e. Munacia d'Auddè

iḍḍu zi iði / iḍḍi zi iðini zɛmpri pasˈsa
he MP see.3SG they MP see.3PL always pass.by
'He is / they are always seen passing by.'

Passivization is possible along the same lines in varieties which have a rather lower cut of acceptance of DOM, namely with human and/or definite referents, selectively illustrated in (24).

(24) a. S. Vittore

issə sə verə / verənə ʃpissə
he/they MP see.3SG see.3PL often
'He is / they are often seen.'

b. Camerota

jissu si viri / lɔru si virənu sɛmbə pasˈsa
he MP see.3SG they MP see.3PL always pass.by
'He is / they are always seen passing by.'

c. Minervino Murge

luərə sə vɛrənə sɛmbə də passæ
they MP see.3PL always of pass.by
'They are always seen passing by.'

d. Albidona

jillə sə ßiðə / ɣuərə sə ßiðənə ssɛmbə
he MP see.3SG they MP see.3PL always
'He is / they are always seen.'

e. Cirò Marina

sə viða/ viðənə ssɛmpə passarə ɛ kka
MP see.3SG see.3PL always pass this way
'He is / they are always seen pass this way.'

f. Modica

iḍḍu si viri / iḍḍi si virunu sɛmpri
he MP see.3SG they MP see.3PL always
'He is / they are always seen.'

g. Làconi

si bbiara/bbianta zɛmpra βassandu
MP see.3SG see.3PL always
'He is / they are always seen passing by.'

In (25) we illustrate passive in some of the varieties displaying parameterization in the prepositional system, reported in Section 1.2.

(25) a. Mercatello sul Metauro

sə vedə / vedənə sɛmpr a paˈsɛ
MP see.3SG see.3PL always to pass.by
'He is / they are always seen passing by.'

b. Avigliano Umbro

loro se verono sɛmpre pasˈsa
they MP see.3PL always pass.by
'They are always seen passing by.'

c. Aidone

kuḍḍə sə virənə simbrə a pasˈsɛ
they MP see.3PL always to pass.by
'They are always seen passing by.'

By contrast, passives (*si* passives or others) involving the promotion of a goal dative to subject are generally not attested. Thus the passivization of Italian (24a) in (26) is ill-formed.

(26) Italian

**Gianni viene parlato*
Gianni is talked
'John is talked (to).'

If the structure of goal dative in (20) and that of DOM in (21b) are the same — how come (20) cannot passivize, but (21b) can? Let us begin with (20). Given an underlying cause-result articulation of the event, P(⊆) introduces an argument construed as being a possessor-possessed relation with the result sub-event. Crucially, this dative is selected by the predicate, i.e. it depends on the shape of the event, not on the referential properties of the argument which P(⊆) embeds. We use this property of goal datives to explain why they cannot undergo passivization, raising to the Spec, IP/nominative position. Italian is a language where *parlare* 'talk' is always treated as a complex bi-eventive predicate, and P(⊆) is required by the predicate itself. In order to satisfy this selectional requirement, a P(⊆) internal argument must be merged under passive as well, as in (27). This means that precisely because of its inherent Case properties/embedding under PP, this internal argument is not available for movement.

(27) a. $[_{VP}$ parlato $[_{P(\subseteq)}$ a Gianni]]
b. *$[_{VP}$ parlato $[_{DP}$ Gianni]]

On the contrary, we predict that there is nothing wrong with a passive structure where the goal dative is not raised to nominative. In other words, we correctly allow an impersonal passive where only arbitrarization of the external argument takes place, as in (28).

(28) Italian

È stato parlato (di questo) a Gianni
it.is been talked of this to Gianni
'Gianni has been talked to about this.'

At this point, we must explain why any internal argument of *see* raises to the Spec,IP/nominative position in the *si* passives in (23)–(25) — so that under passive, highly ranked referents, undergoing DOM behave just like lower ranked referents embedded as bare objects. Consider for instance the passivization in (29), from the Corsican variety of Munacia. The derivation of (29b) proceeds as in (29c). In passive, there is no *v*P phase (Chomsky 1995), the external argument is either

not realized (and interpreted by existential closure) or demoted to oblique, and the extended projection principle (EPP) position is satisfied by the internal argument (*iḍḍu*) which receives nominative Case.[16] The DOM constraint in (22) does not apply to (29c) insofar as the relevant configuration is not defined, i.e. there is no referentially high ranked internal argument in VP that requires to be lexicalized as possessor/locus of the event. Had the DOM constraint been applied at First Merge, assigning oblique to the internal argument *iḍḍu*, the latter would not have been available for movement, blocking passive.

(29) Munacia d'Auddè (Corsica)

a. *aɲɲu istu a kkwiḍḍu* (=(3g))
I.have seen DOM him
'I have seen him.'

b. *iḍḍu zi iði* (=(23f))
he MP see.3SG
'He is seen.'

c. [$_{IP}$ iḍḍu [$_{I}$ si iri [$_{VP}$ iði [iḍḍ...]]]

As shown by the data in (7)-(8) in Section 1, DOM is also assigned to wh-phrases; a relevant example for Munacia is reproduced in (30a), with the derivation in (30b). Therefore DOM Case is preserved under wh-movement in (30b) though not under passivization in (30). This is because in (30) Case must be satisfied in the VP and cannot be satisfied at any other point in the derivation. Hence the DOM constraint in (22) is activated and oblique assigned.

(30) Munacia

a. *a kkwali cammani*
DOM who they.call
'Who do they call?'

b. [$_{CP}$ a kkwali [$_{IP}$ cammani [$_{vP}$ [$_{VP}$ cammani a kkw...]]]

In short, goal obliques are selected by certain predicates (or events); this requirement cannot be circumvented derivationally. On the contrary, DOM obliques are

16 In (29c) we omit various details, such as the precise structure of the clitic *si*, which are of great importance in themselves, but irrelevant in the context of the present discussion (Manzini et al. 2016: see).

enforced by (22), i.e. by a requirement on VP-internal high ranked referents; this constraint can be circumvented derivationally, i.e. by extracting the highly ranked referent to a VP-external position. Therefore, it is not necessary to hold that DOM objects are deep accusatives, or to deny that they are obliques, as they superficially appear to be, in order to predict that inherent obliques, but not DOM, interfere with passivization. An independently postulated distinction is sufficient, namely that, goal obliques are inherently Case marked (Chomsky 1986), while DOM arguments are assigned oblique Case structurally.

Importantly, some variation is also possible, in the sense that some languages treat the two types of obliques, DOM internal arguments and goal datives, in a unified way. This is the case at least for Apulian varieties, as illustrated in (31), where the goal argument of the verb *write* passivizes.[17]

(31) Minervino Murge

a. *jaɟɟə skrittə a jiddə*
I.have written to him
'I have written to him.'

b. *jiddə jɛ statə skrittə (da la suərə)*
he is been written (by the sister)
'He has been written (by the sister)'

It is tempting to interpret the data in (31) as implying that in these varieties goals are treated like DOMs. So, there are languages in which goal and DOM datives are identified as internal arguments, independently of the different eventive structure. In other words, goal dative is dealt with as a type of DOM. If so, the data potentially reinforce our case in favour of the underlying similarity of DOM and goal datives, perhaps pointing to the generalization of the treatment of dative as a structural Case.

17 The possibility of passivizing indirect objects in Apulian varieties with DOM is reported in the literature, as in (i)–(ii).

(i) Bari, Apulia (Pineda 2014)
Maríjə ha státə tələfonátə dò marítə
'Maria has been phoned by the husband'

(ii) Altamura, Apulia (Loporcaro 1988: 290ff)
pəppinə venə skrittə do lɛttərə
'Peppino is written two letters'

4 Further issues: referential ranking, predicate classes

In Section 1 we displayed a number of finely parameterized properties characterizing DOM. In this section, we briefly indicate how the relevant parameters fit it with the present account of DOM. The first issue that faces us is defining the classes of DPs that undergo DOM. Under (22), Participant clitics cannot be embedded in a predicate unless they are part of a possessor substructure. Languages without DOM are simply languages for which (22) holds of the empty set of referents, hence is void/undefined. On the other hand we know that referential splits can oppose not only Participants to other arguments, but also personal pronouns to other referents; or personal pronouns and proper names/kinship terms to other referents. We may further define a value in the parametric scale defined by the conjunction of human and definite properties. After this, descriptive definiteness and animacy properties diverge. In other words, the distribution of DOM may be determined by animacy or by definiteness disjunctively (Aissen 2003). These largely shared assumptions (see Kiparsky's 2008 D-hierarchy) are represented in what we label the Referential Hierarchy in (32b).

(32) a. DOM Constraint
$[_{VP}$ V [*(P$\subseteq$) DP]]

b. Referential Hierarchy
DP = (1/2P (& D pronoun (& name/kinship DP (& human definite DP (& human DP or definite DP)))))

Universal Grammar defines the Referential Hierarchy; however there is no prediction as to where a language will cut it. Evidently, the child who learns a language will have to fix where her/his language puts the boundary between lower ranked referents that allow for bare accusative embedding — and higher ranked referents that require the more complex oblique embedding. A number of issues are left open by the descriptive systematization in (32) — for instance why human and definite properties, in principle distinct, enter into the same scale of higher and lower ranked referents. As already mentioned, the definition of the hierarchy is outside the scope of the present contribution. Our aim was simply to show that parametric variation can be written into our account of DOM by providing a DP scale, as in (32b), feeding the DOM constraint in (32a).

Next, a gradation between different types of predicates, favouring/requiring or disfavouring/disallowing DOM has often been argued for. Von Heusinger & Kaiser (2011: 611) observe such a gradation with indefinite animate objects in

Spanish. As already mentioned in Section 1, all definite animate objects in their corpus are attached via DOM irrespective of the nature of the predicate. Furthermore, with indefinite human objects, verb classes that display DOM attachment include non affecting verbs (perception verbs, psych verbs). Therefore, affectedness does not seem to play a role. Our examples from Italian varieties in Section 1.1 confirm this conclusion, since one of the core verbs we used is non-affecting *see*.

The issue of verbal classes, like that of the Referential Hierarchy, is outside the scope of the present contribution. At the same time, it is worth pointing out that our analysis makes certain predictions. In essence, DOM amounts to the fact that highly ranked DPs enforce an attachment where they have an oblique/possession relation to the VP sub-event/state. Therefore we may surmise that in situations where the ranking of the argument makes it possible but not necessary for DOM attachment to take place, the likelihood of DOM depends on the accessibility of the two-layered v-V structure required by P(⊆) attachment. Thus our analysis implies that in Spanish action predicates, psychological predicates and perception predicates have more transparent v-V structures than, say, non-psychological stative predicates.

In fact, some predicates exclude DOM independently of the definite/human nature of the object, specifically verbs of possession/ownership like *avere* or *tenere* 'have'. In the Romansh variety of Müstair in (33a–a′), we contrast a core stative, non-affecting verb (*know*), still displaying a DOM object, with *have*. In the Southern Italian variety of Cirò Marina, *tenere* 'have' excludes DOM, while *tenere* 'hold' displays DOM with definite human objects in (33b–b′).

(33) Müstair (Grisons)

a. *jau kano:ʃ a kwe:s omants*
I know DOM those men
'I know those men.'

a′. *jau na trai filts/kwe:s kindɛlts*
I have three sons/those children
'I have three sons/those children.'

Cirò Marina

b. *tɛnənə a kkirə ɣwaɲɲunə*
they.hold DOM those boys
'They are holding those boys.'

b′. *tɛnənə kirə ɣwaɲɲunə*
they.have those boys
'Those boys are their sons.'

It is natural to surmise that the pattern in (33) depends on the fact that the content of the verb *have* is the reverse of the content of the dative preposition/Case. Since we notated the latter as (⊆) we may suggest (⊇) as the content of *have*, as in (34).[18] It would appear therefore the grammar avoids duplication of the possession structure – or perhaps specifically the combination of the dative inclusion relator and its reverse.

(34) $[_{VP\supseteq}$ tɛnənə [(*P⊆) kirə ɣwaɲɲunə]]

In conclusion, the questions briefly noted in this section (referential hierarchy, predicate gradation) are amply discussed in the literature. The presentation here merely scratches the surface. At the same time, it was important to indicate that the proposal put forth here does not interfere with known approaches to referential hierarchies and may actually contribute to an understanding of predicate gradation.

5 Cliticization of DOM arguments

The main aim of the present article is to show that the morphological coincidence of goal datives with the DOM in many languages should be building it into the syntax, implying that DOM arguments are not differentially marked accusatives, but rather obliques. In Section 3 we have considered perhaps the most important difficulty with this conclusion, concerning movement. As anticipated there, another notable computational processes with which our hypothesis potentially interacts is agreement. Relevant languages for observing this interaction are those that display overt agreement of the verb with the accusative object – or in ergative languages (e.g. the Indo-Aryan languages) with the absolutive object. In principle two configurations may arise, as indicated in (35).

(35) Possible (object) agreement configurations with DOM and goal arguments

a. DOM arguments agree with the verb, inherent dative arguments do not

b. DOM and inherent dative arguments do not agree with the verb

18 According to Franco & Manzini (2017b), (⊇) is also the content of instrumentals and comitatives, as externalized by the preposition *with* (Italian *con*). Most transparently, *the girl with a hat* expresses the same relation between the two arguments as *the girl has a hat* — which reverses the dative (or genitive) relation: *(give) a hat to the girl* or *the hat of the girl*.

Indo-Aryan languages verify the existence of both pattern (35b), which is expected under the present approach, and pattern (35a), which is expected under the assumption that DOM is a deep accusative. For instance, lack of agreement of both DOM and inherent datives characterizes Hindi and Punjabi, which therefore instantiate patterns (35b). Indo-Aryan languages which implement the scenario in (35a) include Rajasthani, where DOM and absolutive objects agree, though goal datives do not (Manzini & Franco 2016 and references quoted there).

When it comes to Romance, a number of reasons conspire to restrict the range of Romance data bearing on this research question. First, Ibero-Romance does not display object agreement at all. Italian varieties do display object agreement, but normally only with elements that have moved to the left of the perfect participle (either to the Spec, IP position or cliticized), as indicated by Kayne (1989). Therefore, testable varieties are restricted to a set of Central and Southern Italian varieties displaying agreement with the object *in situ* (including those in D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010). Many of these varieties phonologically reduce final vowels (to schwa) so that agreement can only be seen by the presence of metaphony (Ablaut) on the tonic vowel of strong (rhizotonic) participles. This conspiracy of factors means that Romance data on the agreement question as formulated in (35) are not readily available.[19]

We will therefore move our research to the domain of Romance cliticization, and ask the following variant of the agreement question: to the extent that doubling is possible/required with DOM objects, which clitics surface in doubling structures – accusative or dative ones? In general, which clitics pronominalize DOM objects? Recall that in the third person, Romance varieties generally distinguish an accusative clitic (inflected for number and gender) from a dative clitic. For instance the accusative series of Italian is *lo/la/li/le* 'him/her/them(M)/them(F), while the dative clitic is' *gli/le* 'to him/to her' (plural *loro* 'to them' is not a clitic). In Spanish the accusative series is *lo/la/los/las* 'him/her/them(M)/them(F)', while dative comes in a SG/PL pair *le/les* 'to him/to her, to them'.

19 Central-South Italian varieties in the Manzini & ~~Leonardo M.~~ Savoia (2005) corpus where DOM and agreement with the object in situ both occur include at least Gallo Matese, S. Vittore, Colledimacine, Torricella Peligna, Roccasicura. The corpus includes no evidence as to the interaction of the two phenomena. According to Manzini & Franco (2016), Manzini & ~~Leonard M.~~ Savoia (to appear) there is independent evidence that Romance displays the same alternations as Indo-Aryan. They argue that 1/2P object clitics in Italian (and most other Romance languages, though not in Romanian) are subject to DOM. They further observe that 3P accusatives always trigger agreement with the perfect participle, while 1/2P objects (DOM by hypothesis) may or may not trigger it. They argue that this optionality is a reflex of the parameter in (35) seen on a larger scale in Indo-Aryan.

Traditional approaches hold that DOM objects are deep accusatives; therefore the prediction is that they are doubled/pronominalized by accusative clitics, even though goal datives are doubled/pronominalized by dative clitics, as in (36a). However, if DOM arguments share deep morphosyntactic properties with inherent datives, as assumed here, we predict that both are doubled (or more generally pronominalized) by the same clitics, as in (36b). In turn, the option in (36b) may be taken to imply either (i) that both DOM and goal datives correspond to dative clitics or (ii) that both correspond to accusative clitics. Perhaps surprisingly, all three possibilities in (36) are attested by the data.

(36) Possible cliticization configurations with DOM and goal arguments

a. Clitics doubling/pronominalizing DOM arguments belong to the accusative series, clitics doubling/pronominalizing goal datives belong to the dative series;

b. Clitics doubling/pronominalizing DOM and goal datives belong to the same series:
   (i) both belong to the dative series
   (ii) both belong to the accusative series.

We review the data instantiating the various possibilities in (36) in Section 5.1. In Section 5.2, we provide a preliminary analysis for them.

5.1 Cliticization and doubling

We begin our review of the interactions between DOM and cliticization by considering clitic doubling contexts. Early formal studies within the generative framework theorize that DOM enables clitic doubling in Spanish and its dialects, as both the clitic and the argument that doubles it independently receive Case (Jaeggli 1981), namely the clitic receive accusative, while DOM is introduced by the Case marker *a* — so clitic doubling implies DOM. A different correlation is suggested by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994: 235), who notes that DOM is necessarily doubled by a clitic in Modern Romanian — so DOM implies clitic doubling. Already Suñer (1988) however highlights Spanish contexts in which clitic doubling is possible without the presence of DOM. Vice versa the situation depicted by our examples of Italian varieties is one where without exception DOM is attested in the absence of clitic doubling. Therefore, the first important empirical conclusion to be retained is that, considering the entire spectrum of Romance variation, the two phenomena overlap but are not in an implicational relation.

Next, while Spanish and Romanian are uncontroversially taken to instantiate clitic doubling, Italian is normally taken to be a non-clitic doubling language. Actually, this is true at best of normative Italian. All Italian varieties, including the colloquial standard, display clitic doubling with the dative of highly ranked referents, as shown in (37) with Central and Southern Italian varieties that have been used to illustrate DOM in previous sections. Clitic doubling is favoured with pronouns, and is generally possible with definite human referents, in line with the referential hierarchy.

(37) a. Italian (non-normative)

Dammelo a me!
give-to.me-it to me
'Give it to me!'

b. Sant'Agata Feltria

u j / m el da m el tu fradɛl / mu mɛ
he him me it gives to the you brother to me
'He gives it to me/to your brother.'

c. Colledimacine

kwiʎʎə jə / ʎə da a nnu / a ddissə
he us him gives to us to him
'He gives it to us/to him.'

d. Torricella Peligna

jə lə dæ a kkwissə
him it he.gives to him
'He gives it to him.'

e. Minervino Murge

nə la dɔnnə a jeddə
him it he.gives to him
'He gives it to him.'

f. Aidone

ɟ u da a iwə
him it he.gives to him
'He gives it to him.'

g. Làconi

(si) / (mi) ɖɖu anti a ffrari ɾua / a mmimmi
him me it they.give to brother yours to me
'They give it to me/to your brother.'

h. Paulilatino

(si) / ti ɖu jattsɔ a ffardɛ ɾu / a ttiɛ
him/you it I.give to brother yours to you
'I give it to you/to your brother.'

i. Munacia

da-ɖɖi-lu a iɖɖu
give-him-it to him
'Give it to him!'

Doubling with the dative of highly ranked referents characterizes Northern Italian dialects as well. In fact, in contexts involving pronouns, and in particular those pronouns denoting discourse participants (speaker, hearer), DOM prepositions can also surface in Northern Italian. Such examples are reported from the Trieste dialect in Ursini (1988: 548), e.g. *el te ga bastonado a ti,* lit. 'he you has beaten DOM you'; in (38a) we reproduce just an example from Modena. (38b) shows clitic doubling with human referents in the dative, as anticipated.

(38) Modena (Emilia)

a. *i m tʃamen sɛmper a mɛ*
they me call always DOM me
'They always call me.'

b. *a g al dag a lo/a pirein*
I to.him it give to him/to Peter
'I give it to him/to Peter.'

Clitic doubling with DOM objects is systematically attested in our data by varieties from the Montefeltro (with the DOM argument introduced by the preposition *ma*), as in (39). Clitic doubling with 1/2P pronouns is preferred in the variety of Rontagnano, though 3P referent display DOM and no clitic doubling. In the variety of Mercato Saraceno doubling is allowed with a specific human DOM object, though the non-specific reading of the same DP is incompatible with both DOM and doubling.

(39) Rontagnano (Romagna)

a. *ʧame-m mu me*
call-me DOM me
'Call me!'

a′. *a t ɔ ʧaˈmɜ ma teə*
I you have called DOM you
'I have called you.'

a″. *aj ɔ ʧaˈmɜ ma lu / m e tu fraɾɛl*
I have called DOM him DOM the your brother
'I have called him/your brother.'

Mercato Saraceno

b. *a l ɔ ʧˈama m un operai*
I him have called DOM a worker
'I have called a worker.'

b′. *a ɔ ʧaˈma un operai*
I have called a worker
'I have called a worker.'

What precedes however is sufficient to depict a picture of Italian varieties making them much more similar to Spanish than it is usually assumed. In essence, Standard Spanish has clitic doubling with pronouns, whether direct or indirect objects, and with indirect objects, while it excludes doubling with direct object — albeit highly ranked in the animacy hierarchy and therefore lexicalized by DOM. Most Italian varieties pattern with standard Spanish in presenting doubling with dative objects and with pronouns. This contrasts with the situation depicted for Rio de la Plata Spanish (Jaeggli 1981, Suñer 1988), where highly ranked referents that undergo DOM also undergo clitic doubling. Some Italian varieties (here Mercato Saraceno) seem to display an extension of doubling comparable to less restrictive varieties of Spanish.

With this much background we are now ready to consider the data that directly address the variation schema in (36) in Italo- and Ibero-Romance. The pattern in (36bii), whereby accusative clitics lexicalize both theme and goal arguments is robust in Central and Southern Italian varieties (Rohlfs 1969 [1954]: §633, Formentin 1998 on Old Neapolitan, Ledgeway 2000, 2009). Examples of this pattern from some of the varieties used here to exemplify DOM are reported in (40), covering Central and Southern Italy and Sardinia. In (b)-(f) we show that exactly

the same clitics are lexicalized with the transitive verbs *see*, *call* and with the intransitive verb *speak* (which requires a *to* object in English as well). The data in (a) show the free alternation of dative and accusative clitics with *speak* in the dialect of S. Vittore. For Làconi in (g) we display both the lexicalization of the accusative with *speak* and *see*, and the possible alternative lexicalization of the dative with *speak*. The accusative clitic can be doubled by an *a* phrase, as shown in particular in (b). What is particularly worth noting about the parallelism between *call/see* and *speak* is that in perfect participle contexts in Sardinian, such as (f)-(g), both verbs can be seen to fully Agree with the clitic. For the reasons seen earlier, namely the phonological neutralization of final vowels to schwa, these data are simply difficult or impossible to see in Central and Southern varieties.

(40) S. Vittore

a. *ʎə / la parlə*
to.her her I.speak
'I speak to her.'

a′. *ʎ / l addʒə parla:tə*
to.him/him I.have spoken
'I have spoken to him.'

Celle di Bulgheria

b. *u parlanu / virinu (a iddu)*
him they.speak they.see (to/DOM him)
'They speak to/they see him.'

Camerota

c. *nunn u / a / i: parlu / viɣu*
not him her them I.speak I.see
'I do not speak to / I see him/her/them.'

Nocara

d. *u / a / i parlə / viɣə*
him her them I.speak I.see
'I speak to / I see him/her/them.'

Guardia Perticara

e. *u / a / lə parlə / cæ:mə*
him her them I.speak I.call
'I speak to / I call him/her/them.'

Tempio Pausania

f. *lu* / *la* / *li* *vaeḍḍu* / *iku*
him her them I.speak I.see
'I speak to / I see him/her/them.'

f′. *l* *aɲu* *vaiḍḍatu* /
him/her/them I.have spoken.M.SGspoken.F.SGspoken.PL
vaiḍḍata / *vaiḍḍati vistu* / *vista* / *visti*
seen.M.SGseen.F.SGseen.PL
'I have spoken to / seen him/her/them.'

Làconi

g. *ḍḍu* / *ḍḍa* / *ḍḍus* / *ḍḍas* *ɣistjɔnnɔ* / *bbiu*
him her them.M them.F I.speak I.see
'I speak to / I see him/her/them.'

g′. *ḍḍ* *appu kistjɔnnau* / *kistjɔnnaɾa*
him her I.have spoken.M.SG
'I have spoken to him/her.'

g″. *ḍḍi* *ɣistjɔnnɔ*
to.him her
'I speak to him/her.'

The phenomenon illustrated in (40), namely the extension of accusative clitics to the complements of dative verbs, is known as *loísmo* in the Spanish literature, robustly attested in some varieties (Alvar 1996: 162, Fernández-Soriano 1999, Zdrojewski & Sanchez 2014). Henceforth we adopt the label *loísmo* to refer to the pattern in (36bii). The data in (40), especially in (40f) and (40g) allow us to check how clitic behave with respect to agreement with the perfect participle – a phenomenon absent from Ibero-Romance. The answer is that accusative clitics trigger agreement on both transitive and inherent dative participles. In other words, the relevant clitics do not just have the morphological form of accusatives – they behave like accusatives syntactically (D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010).

The conclusion that we are not witnessing a surface morphological phenomenon is further supported by dialects where a morphologically dative form is also possible, for instance S. Vittore in (a) or Làconi in (g); in other words, the accusative clitic is not merely repairing the absence of a specialized dative. In fact, dialects in (40) generally have a morphological dative clitic, which regularly shows up in ditransitive contexts. Some examples are provided in (41). Specifically, we display another couple of minimal pairs, in Celle di Bulgheria (a) and

in Gorgoglione in (b), showing the contrast between intransitive *write* with an accusative goal and transitive *write* with a dative goal. The example of Guardia Perticara in (c) forms a minimal pair with that displayed in (40).

(41) Celle di Bulgheria

a. *u / a ʃkrivu (a iddu / a issa)*
him her I.write to him to her
'I write him/her a letter.'

a′. *li ʃkrivu na littira*
to.him I.write a letter
'I write him a letter.'

Gorgoglione

b. *u / a / ɔ skrivə*
him her them he.writes
'He writes him/her/them.'

b′. *lə skrivə na lɛittərə*
to.him I.write a letter
'I write him a letter.'

Guardia Perticara

c. *lə rannə kwestə*
to.him they.give this
'They gave him this.'

Làconi

d. *ɖɖi a kkustu*
to.him he.gives this
'He gives him this.'

Recall that we have proposed a uniform treatment for all the noun phrases introduced by the preposition *a* in Italo-Romance, namely for both traditional datives and DOM. Under this treatment, one can expect that there are clitic systems in which both DOM and dative are doubled/pronominalized by the same clitic series. This prediction finds important support from the *loísmo* varieties reviewed so far, where both clitics show up in the accusative and Agree with the perfect participle. Importantly, the relevant varieties have also dative clitics, which are however constrained to ditransitive contexts, with a lexicalized accusative theme.

We will return to the syntactic analysis of *loísmo* in Section 5.2. Before doing so, however, other predictions regarding (36) need to be checked, beginning with (36bi). Are there languages where both inherent datives and DOM objects are lexicalized by dative clitics? Relevant examples of this pattern are not found in Italo-Romance, but are robustly documented in Spanish dialects, under the label *leísmo*; the phenomenon is widespread in Spanish varieties spoken in Central and South America (Alvar 1996: 63, 108, 205) and in Central Spanish and Basque varieties (Fernández-Soriano 1999, Ormazabal & Romero 2013). In *leismo* varieties, the accusative clitic, e.g. *lo* in (42a), picks up an inanimate referent and does not enter doubling, while the *le* clitic, identical to the goal dative, picks an animate referent, eventually doubling a DOM object, as in (42b).

(42) Spanish (Basque Leísta Dialect, Ormazabal & Romero 2013: 316)

a. *Lo vi / *lo vi el libro*
it I.saw it I.saw the book
'I saw it / the book.'

b. *Le vi (al niño / a la niña)*
to.him/her I.saw DOM.the boy DOM the girl
'I saw him/her/the boy/the girl.'

Within the present analysis, it is natural to conclude that the clitics in (42) reflect the same Case organization as their doubled DPs — hence goal and DOM datives coincide on the dative clitic *le*. Ormazabal & Romero (2007) reject the possibility that *le* in (42b) is a dative. One of their objections is that (42a) and (42b) can both passivize, while goal datives cannot. In view of the discussion in Section 3, this objection can be overcome. The main objection we are left with is that "unlike accusative *le*, dative *le* is not selective with respect to animacy". For instance examples like (43) are attested in Spanish, where the dative clitic doubles an inanimate goal.

(43) Spanish

Le puse el azúcar al café
To.it I.put the sugar to.the coffee
'I put the sugar in(to) the coffee.'

But what seems a problem to Ormazabal & Romero is the predicted outcome under present assumptions. Inherent datives such as the one in (43) are selected by

the verb, and are assigned to arguments irrespective of their position in the Referential Hierarchy, hence to animates and inanimates alike. On the other hand only animate 3P clitics are embedded as DOM structural datives, on a par with their lexical DP counterparts in (42b); inanimates correspond to ordinary accusatives, as in (42a).[20]

Let us return to the schema in (36) once more. We have now seen that the pronominalization/doubling of DOM arguments by the same clitics as inherent datives is robustly attested — whether accusative clitics (*loísmo*) or dative clitics (*leísmo*) are involved. We must now consider the possibility that the two sets of elements have a different clitic counterpart or clitic doubling, as in (36a). This possibility is instantiated in some of the best known varieties of Spanish, namely the Standard – and the earliest of the dialects to be studied in the formal literature, namely Rioplatense Spanish (cf. also Leonetti 2008). In standard Spanish, animate and inanimate internal arguments are pronominalized by an accusative clitic, though doubling is not allowed, as in (44a); a DP lexicalizing a goal dative is doubled by a dative clitic, as in (44b). In Rioplatense Spanish, what changes is simply the possibility for the accusative clitic to double a DOM object, as in (45).

(44) Spanish (standard)

a. *Lo vio (*a Juan)*
him he.saw DOM Juan
'He saw him / Juan.'

b. *Le dio el libro (a Juan)*
to.him he.gave the book to Juan
'He gave him the book (to John).'

(45) Spanish (Rioplatense)

Lo vio (a Juan)
him he.saw DOM Juan
'He saw him / Juan.'

20 Gallego (2013) strikes an intermediate position. He argues that *leísmo* involves a process of dative (as here), but derived from an accusative via movement to a functional head. However dativization *en route* seems to require a violation of Inclusiveness and in any event a realizational morphology. As an anonymous reviewer points out, there exists Spanish varieties (e.g. Basque Country Spanish) involving so-called *leísmo de cosa*, namely *leísmo* extended to inanimate participants. This is reminiscent of the fact that in more relaxed varieties of Romance, including Rioplatense Spanish (Suñer 1988), as well as the Southern Italian varieties in (5), an inanimate object can undergo DOM if it is definite/specific enough.

This well-known pattern appears to favour the view that the *a* phrase in (44a) is an underlying accusative, determining doubling by an accusative clitic. But the overall picture presents equally strong *prima facie* evidence in favour of the view supported here, namely that DOM results from the promotion of a highly ranked internal argument from theme to possessor, via merger of the (⊆) content — coming from *loismo* and *leísmo* dialects. We will now briefly outline a way of incorporating the parametric variation just observed into the present account.

5.2 Analysis

Let us begin with the simple observation that clitic doubling involves obligatory agreement (or non-distinctness) in phi-features. We may adopt the view that clitics and DPs are each separately merged in their relevant domains (Sportiche 1996), and then connected by Agree; the clitic in the inflectional domain serves as a probe for the DP in situ.[21] At the same time, the clitic and the doubled DP do not necessarily Agree in Case.

Consider first the *leísmo* pattern, exemplified in (42) above. From the present point of view, this pattern is one where the clitic and the DP it doubles/pronominalizes Agree in Case, namely in dative Case. It is therefore a fully expected pattern. More formally, they share the (⊆) property, lexicalized by P in front of the lexical DP and by dative Case on the clitic, as schematized in (46). What needs to be said in order to capture varieties like (46) is simply that in the relevant varieties the conditions attaching to VP-internal embedding of full DPs, also hold for the insertion of D heads in the clitic domain. So (*contra* Ormazabal & Romero 2013) there is no formal Agree relation with respect to Case — but it so happens that the same lexicalization conditions prevail in the predicative domain (full DP arguments) and in the inflectional domain (clitic D arguments).

(46) Spanish (Leísmo dialects)
$[_{IP}\ [_{D(\subseteq)}$ le$]\ [_{I}$ vi $[_{VP}$ ~~vi~~ $[_{PP(\subseteq)}$ a la niña$]]$

Let us then consider the mismatch of an accusative clitic with a dative argument (*loísmo*), schematized in (47) for Celle di Bugheria's example in (40b). In present

21 In conventional minimalist terms this implies that the phi-features of the clitic are uninterpretable/unvalued (Roberts 2010) — so that something more should be said about instances where the same clitics occur alone with referential import. In reality it is far from obvious why agreement, *qua* identity, could not hold of two identical sets of valued/interpreted features (Manzini & ~~Leonardo M.~~ Savoia 2007, 2011); see Manzini & ~~Leonard M.~~ Savoia (to appear) for a recent implementation of this idea.

terms, there is a (⊆) Case mismatch not only when the DP argument corresponds to an inherent dative (with the verb *speak (to)*) but also when it corresponds to a DOM dative (with the verb *see*). Recall that inherent dative and DOM arguments can be distinguished among others on the basis of passivization; DOM datives passivize, while inherent datives with *speak (to)* do not passivize. The parallel behavior of goal and DOM *a* phrases under *loísmo* tendentially supports their unification.

(47) Celle di Bulgheria
[$_{IP}$ [$_{D}$ u] [$_{I}$ parlanu/viðinu [$_{VP}$ ~~parlanu/viðinu~~ [$_{PP(\subseteq)}$ a iddu]]

The discussion above suggests that DPs and clitics represent two separate implementations of the argument structure of the sentence. If so, (47) simply shows that each domain (the predicative domain and the inflectional domain) may have its own specific case pattern. To be more precise, in the clitic domain in (47) all internal arguments are simply lexicalized by Ds, bearing nominal class (gender) and number properties — but no oblique (⊆) property, irrespective of whether such a property is selected by the verb within VP or it is not.[22] One may wonder why the reverse asymmetry (i.e. bare DP arguments in VP and oblique clitics) does not seem to be attested. Ultimately, the answer must be that clitics have referential properties partially different from those of lexical elements. More precisely, P(⊆) is required by the high referential ranking/goal status of lexical DPs; in the clitic domain no such requirement is present, insofar as 3P clitics do not reflect or codify any referential ranking.[23]

There is an important exception to the generalization that in languages like Celle di Bulgheria any internal argument is lexicalized by a bare D clitic (i.e. a so-called accusative). This is that in ditransitive configurations, goal clitics surface in the dative, as in structure (48), corresponding to example (41a′). In a functionalist vein, one may of course be tempted to invoke the need for disambiguation. There are formal means to implement the same basic idea. For instance, assuming the clitic to act as a probe for phi-features Agree in (48), we may consider that its closest goal is the direct object, yielding a reading different from the intended one. In other words, the right reading can be achieved only by having recourse to the specialized dative clitic. Economy considerations privilege the simpler lexicalization in (47) where possible.

(48) [$_{IP}$ [$_{D(\subseteq)}$ li] [$_{I}$ ʃkrivu [$_{VP}$ ~~ʃkrivu~~ na littira [$_{PP(\subseteq)}$ a iddu]]

22 Phi-feature Agree takes place between the D clitic and the DP argument embedded under the (⊆) oblique layer, which is therefore structurally transparent.

23 On the contrary, 1/2P clitics necessarily codify DOM, if footnote 16 is correct.

The apparently most problematic configuration from the present point of view arises in the standard variety of Spanish or in Rioplatense dialects, where DOM obliques are doubled by accusative clitics, while goal datives are doubled by dative clitics, along the lines of (49), corresponding to examples (44)–(45).

(49) Spanish (standard/Rio de la Plata)

a. $[_{IP}\ [_{D}$ lo$]\ [_{I}$ vio $[_{VP}$ ~~vio~~ $[_{PP(\subseteq)}$ a Juan$]]$

b. $[_{IP}\ [_{D(\subseteq)}$ le$]\ [_{I}$ dio $[_{VP}$ ~~dio~~ el libro $[_{PP(\subseteq)}$ a Juan$]]$

It is a fact that in languages like (49) cliticization distinguishes lexical datives and DOM objects, while the present approach to DOM predicts a unified treatment for them. On the other hand, nothing we have said so far is incompatible with the conclusion that in the clitic domain, themes and goals are assigned accusative and dative respectively, and no DOM applies – even though DOM applies to lexical DPs in the predicative domain. This is simply another consequence of the assumption made at the outset, that the case array of clitics in the inflectional domain does not necessarily match the case array of lexical DPs in the predicative domain.

In short, the complex Standard Spanish vs. *loísmo* vs. *leísmo* parameter can be expressed within the present approach. Some additional assumptions may be involved in capturing the range of observed variation, but this is true of any approach. For instance, Ormazabal & Romero (2013) invoke the distinction between clitics *qua* D heads and clitics *qua* pure agreement heads (*leísmo*). The choice between the account we offered and alternative accounts is empirical; for instance one would need to evaluate present conclusions against other accounts drawing in not only *leísmo* but also *loísmo*.

6 Conclusions

We have argued that the superficial identity of DOM internal arguments and of goal datives involves no accidental homophony or syncretism, but rather an underlyingly identical syntactic structure of embedding. We have shown that in each Italo-Romance variety considered the same oblique morphology is consistently associated both with indirect objects and with animate/definite direct objects, though the particular preposition chosen may vary from language to language (Section 1.2). We have analyzed DOM arguments as syntactically datives, linking them to possession (Section 3) and further reducing possession to a surface manifestation of a more elementary part-whole relation (Section 2.1). We have addressed the main difficulties raised by the formal and traditional literature

against the structural identification of DOM and dative, dealing with passive in Section 3. In Section 5, we have considered cliticization and clitic doubling, reviewing different possible Case matches between clitics and direct objects, DOM objects, goal datives (the Standard Spanish pattern, *loísmo*, *leísmo*), showing how they can be made consistent with the present proposals.

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