New Insights into Linguistic Communicative Behaviour

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CHAPTER THREE

DOM BEYOND CASE:
SOME NOTES ON UZBEK

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This paper addresses discusses various aspects of the syntax of objects in Uzbek, a Turkic language. The main proposal is that differential object marking in the language is best analysed as signalling an additional licensing operation beyond [uC]. This hypothesis immediately explains the similarities between certain types of unmarked nominals, namely those that do not undergo incorporation with V at the head level, and the differentially marked ones. For example, both classes give evidence of the presence of an [uC] feature which is active for case competition at the sentential level, and adjacency to V is not required in either case. Analyses that link differential marking to an obligatory [uC] licensing operation, with unmarked nominals staying unlicensed as they lack [uC], are problematic for the Uzbek data.

Keywords: differential object marking, nominal licensing, Case, Uzbek, (pseudo-)incorporation

1. Introduction

Like many other linguistic families, Turkic languages show a split in the morpho-syntactic marking of their objects, under the broad umbrella of differential object marking (DOM). The regulating factors are generally definiteness and specificity (Kornfilt 1984, 1997, Bossong 1991, 1998, Enç 1991, von Heusinger and Kornfilt 2005, Öztürk 2005, Baker and Vinokurova 2010, Baker 2015, Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig 2015, Guntsetseg 2016, Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, MacMillan 2020, Jenkins 2021, a.o.). The two examples below come from Turkish; (1)a illustrates a direct object that is interpreted as non-specific, indefinite or

taking narrow scope, and which is left unmarked; a definite interpretation, as in (1)b, on the other hand, requires the obligatory presence of the differential marker -*yi*, traditionally known as the 'accusative case' (see especially Taylan 1986, Enç 1991, Kornfilt 1997, or Öztürk 2005, a.o.).

(1) Turkish object splits (examples from Kornfilt 1997, adapted)
      a.   Ben   kedi   gör-dü-m.
             I.NOM   cat   see-PST-1SG[1]
             "I saw a cat." (some cat or other)

      b.   Ben   kedi-**yi**   gör-dü-m.
             I.NOM   cat-DOM   see-PST-1SG
             "I saw the cat."

The same split unmarked-marked is illustrated with data from Uyghur, another Turkic language. As the examples in (2) show, the object that receives a specific interpretation has special marking, spelled out as *ni* (see (2)b), while the object in (2)a with a non-specific interpretation is left unmarked (Jenkins 2021, a.o.).

(2)   Uyghur object splits (Jenkins 2021, ex. 4a/b adapted)
      a.   Mehmet   mashina   xala-i-du.
             Mehmet.NOM   car   want-NPST-3SG
             "Mehmet wants a car". (some car or other)

      b.   Mehmet   mashina-**ni**   xala-i-du.
             Mehmet.NOM   car-DOM   want-NPST-3SG
             "Mehmet wants a specific car."

    Similar contrasts have been documented and discussed for other Turkic languages, such as Tatar (Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig 2015) or Sakha (Vinokurova 2005, Baker and Vinokurova 2010, Baker 2015, a.o.). From a formal perspective, unmarked nominals have been generally analyzed as predicates (of type <e,t>) which undergo a process of complex predicate formation with the verb (Kornfilt 1997, a.o.).

(3)   a. Unmarked nominals   b. Marked nominals

```
        ...V                                      ...V
       /    \                                    /    \
      V      NP/DP                              V      KP
                                                      /    \
                                                     K      NP/DP
                                                  [uC: __]  [φ: VAL]
```
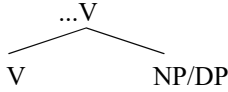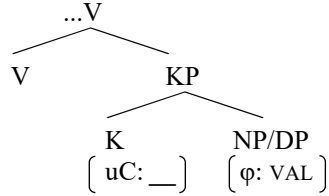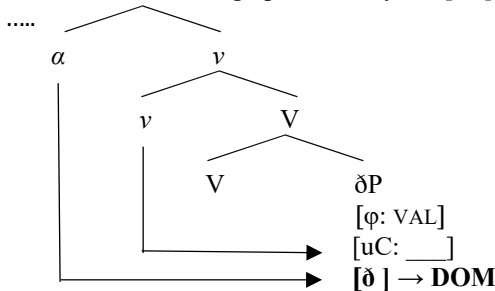
Marked nominals, instead, are assumed to contain an uninterpretable Case ([uC]) feature and presumably contain a KP layer. As a result, they must undergo adequate licensing in the syntax and thus must escape incorporation (Baker 2015, a.o.), as in the schematic representations in (3).

Building on and extending some observations in Irimia (2020), this paper focuses on similar splits involving differential object marking in Uzbek, which is less discussed in the literature. It points out numerous problems raised by the data when it comes to an analysis of DOM as signalling nominals containing a [uC] feature that must escape incorporation. We will show, first, that unmarked nominals in the language similarly give indication of the presence of a structural Case feature. This is especially clear in contexts that contain more than one internal nominal specified with case features, for example in synthetic causatives; additionally, not all unmarked nominals give indication of a process of (pseudo-) incorporation affecting them. The proposal we will make is that Uzbek DOM must be, in fact, equated with the presence of a licensing operation beyond [uC]. This licensing operation is connected with discourse (ð-) features, as schematically shown in (4).

(4)   DOM as a licensing operation beyond [uC]

```
        .....
           /    \
          α      v
                /    \
               v      V
               |     /    \
               V    V      ðP
                          [φ: VAL]
                          [uC: ___]
                          [ð ] → DOM
```

The structure of this paper is as follows. In section 2 a general overview of DOM in Uzbek is provided, against a cross-linguistic background, and some of its special characteristics are outlined. In Section

3 two prominent theoretical approaches to DOM are outlined, namely DOM as obligatory licensing on special classes of nominals (see especially Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, b) and, respectively DOM as 'dependent Case' (Baker 2015, Levin and Preminger 2015, a.o.). Section 4 demonstrates that the Uzbek facts raise problems for both these approaches; the focus is on three puzzles, which leave the difference between unmarked and differentially marked nominals unexplained: i) certain types of Uzbek unmarked nominals give indication of Case licensing; ii) they enter the dependent Case calculus; and iii) they can receive specific interpretations and do not impose struct adjacency to V, similarly to the marked ones. In Section 5 the analysis is spelled out according to which the difference between the marked and the unmarked nominals is not the absence of syntactic licensing on the latter, but the fact that marked nominals contain an additional licensing need, beyond licensing in terms of [uC]. This additional licensing mechanism is related to features in the discourse (ð) or the 'Anchoring' periphery in the nominal domain, above the projection hosting uninterpretable Case. Section 6 contains further cross-linguistic remarks, which support the same ternary split in the syntactic behaviour of objects (see also Irimia 2019, 2020, 2021): i) objects that are caseless; ii) objects that contain [uC] and need licensing in syntax; and iii) objects with a ð-licensing need, beyond [uC] and which get overt differential marking. Section 7 contains the conclusions.

2. Uzbek DOM from a cross-linguistic perspective. Three important characteristics

Uzbek is the second most widely spoken Turkic language after Turkish and belongs to the Eastern Turkic (Karluk) branch (Boeschoten 1998, Bodrogligeti 2003, Johanson and Csató 1998, Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, a.o.). According to Ehnologue,[2] Uzbek native speakers are found in Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, and other countries in Central Asia.

The grammatical property we are interested in examining here is a split in the morpho-syntactic behavior of objects, similarly to what we have seen above for Turkish in (1) and Uyghur in (2). A typical contrast from Uzbek is illustrated in (5). The unmarked object in (5)a can be interpreted as non specific or number neutral. In (5)b, instead, the object carries special marking and the presence of the additional morphology has interpretive consequences: the number neutral reading is not possible anymore and a definite interpretation obtains.

(5)   Object splits in Uzbek (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018: ex. 2a, b)
    a.   Anvar   rasm   chiz-di.
           Anvar picture   draw-PST.3SG
           "Anvar drew a picture/pictures."

    b.   Anvar   rasm-**ni**   chiz-di.
           Anvar picture-DOM draw-PST.3SG
           "Anvar drew the picture."

This morpho-syntactic strategy of object differentiation is very common cross-linguistically; it represents a typical instantiation of the broader phenomenon known as differential object marking (DOM), which has received extensive attention in both descriptive-typological approaches and formal ones (Comrie 1989, Bossong 1991, 1998, Torrego 1998, Cornilescu 2000, Lazard 2001, Aissen 2003, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, de Swart 2007, Iemmolo 2010, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011, López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, Bárány 2017, 2018, Levin 2019, Hill and Mardale 2021, a.o.). As remarked in various works, object splits can be regulated by a variety of factors, such as animacy, definiteness, specificity, topicality, etc., and in many instances conjunctive sets of features are necessary.

Various Romance languages provide typical exemplifications of DOM: objects at the higher end of the animacy scale and which are also specific (must) carry differential marking, generally in the form of an oblique preposition (the dative, the locative, etc.); inanimates cannot do so, and they normally stay unmarked. This is seen in the Spanish sentences below; the specific animate in (6)a needs obligatory differential marking in the form of a dative preposition, while the inanimate in (6)b cannot have the same marking, even if it receives a specific interpretation (Torrego 1998, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, 2007, López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, b, Fábregas 2013, a.o.).

(6)   Object splits in standard Spanish
      (Ormazabal and Romero 2013: ex. 1a, b)
    a.   He   encontrado ***(a)**   la   niña.
           have.1SG found   DAT=DOM   DEF.F.SG girl
           "I have found the girl."

    b.   He   encontrado **(*a)**   el   libro.
           have.1SG found   DAT=DOM   DEF.M.SG book
           "I have found the book."

As already mentioned, objects splits are very common across the Turkic languages too, the main regulating factors being definiteness or specificity. To the two examples above from Turkish (1) and Uyghur (2), we can add similar contexts from Sakha, Tatar or Mongolian. As we can see from all these examples, across Turkic, a common thread is that unmarked nominals can take or might be restricted to non-specific readings, while the marked nominals get interpreted either as definite or specific.

(7)   Sakha object splits (Vinokurova 2005: 322; Baker and Vinokurova 2010: ex. 10, 7b, adapted)
       a.   Erel   kinige   atyylas-ta.
             Erel   book   buy-PST.3SG
             "Erel bought a book/books."

       b.   Erel   kinige-**ni**   atyylas-ta.
             Erel   book-DOM   buy-PST.3SG
             "Erel bought the book."

(8)   Tatar object splits (Lyutikova and Perelstvaig 2015: ex. 27b, a; adapted)
       a.   Marat mašina   sat-ıp   al-dı.
             Marat car   sell-CONV   take-PST
             "Marat bought a car/cars."

       b.   Marat mašina-**nı** sat-ıp   al-dı.
             Marat car-DOM   sell-CONV   take-PST
             "Marat bought a specific car/the car."

(9)   Mongolian object splits (Guntsetseg 2008: ex. 19a, b, adapted)
       a.   Bold neg ohin   uns-seg.
             Bold a   girl   kiss-PST
             "Bold kisses a girl." (specific or non-specific)

       b.   Bold neg ohin-**ig** uns-seg.
             Bold a   girl-DOM kiss-PST
             "Bold kisses a certain girl."

Another observation commonly made about the behaviour of objects in Turkic languages regards their syntactic placement: unmarked objects tend to show stricter adjacency to the verb, as opposed to the marked ones. As

such, Lyutikova and Perelstvaig (2015) mention that Tatar unmarked objects cannot be separated from the verb by an intervening adverb, as in (10), or by an indirect object, as in (11).

(10) Tatar objects and adjacency: unmarked objects cannot be separated from the verb by VP adverbials
  a. Marat botka-**nı** tiz aša-dı.
    Marat porridge-DOM quickly eat-PST
    "Marat ate the porridge quickly."

  b. *Marat botka tiz aša-dı.
    Marat porridge quickly eat-PST
    "Marat ate porridge quickly."
    (Lyutikova and Perelstvaig 2015, ex. 28a, b; adapted)

(11) Tatar objects and adjacency: unmarked objects cannot precede indirect objects
  a. Marat ike kitap-**nı** bala-ga bir-de.
    Marat two book-DOM child-DAT give-PST
    "Marat gave two books to the/a child."

  b. *Marat ike kitap   bala-ga   bir-de.
    Marat two book-DOM child-DAT give-PST
    Intended: 'Marat gave two books to the/a child.'
    (Lyutikova and Perelstvaig 2015, ex. 29a, b; adapted)

Similar conclusions have been supported for other Turkic languages, such as Sakha or Turkish. In (12) we see that unmarked objects in Sakha cannot precede the adverbial *türgennik* ("quickly"). In turn, the picture in (13) and (14) we get from Turkish is very similar; the unmarked object follows low adverbs in broad focus, as in (13), and also indirect objects, as in (14).

(12) Sakha objects and adjacency: unmarked objects cannot be separated from the verb by intervening adverbs
  Masha salaamat-***(y)** türgennik sie-te.
  Masha porridge-DOM quickly   eat-PST.3SG
  "Masha quickly ate the porridge."
         (Baker and Vinokurova 2010, ex. 12a)

(13)   Turkish objects and adjacency: unmarked objects follow VP
        adverbials
        a.   Ali   yavaş   kitap   arı-yor.
                Ali   slow   book   search-IMPF
                "Ali's book searching was slow."

        b.   Ali kitab-**i**   yavaş   arı-yor.
                Ali book-DOM   slow   search-IMPF
                "Ali's searching for the book was slow."
                                            (Kamali 2015, ex. 5a, b; adapted)
(14)   Turkish objects and adjacency: unmarked objects follow indirect
        objects
        a.   Ali   çoguğ-a   kitap   arı-yor.
                Ali   child-DAT   book   give-IMPF
                "Ali is book giving to the child."

        b.   Ali   kitab-**i**   çoguğ-a   arı-yor
                Ali   book-DOM   child-DAT   give-IMPF
                "Ali is giving the book to the child."
                                            (Kamali 2015, ex. 4a, b; adapted)

2.1 Three properties of Uzbek DOM

    At the interpretive level, Uzbek marked objects appear to follow the
pattern noted for the other Turkish languages illustrated above. As
opposed to unmarked objects, they tend to be definite, as already seen in
(5)b vs (5)a. Moreover, as expected, the differential marker is obligatory
on certain categories, such as pronouns or nominals containing
demonstratives.

(15)   Uzbek DOM on pronouns (Guntsetseg et al. 2008, ex. 14a)
        U   me***(-ni)**   tani-ma-di.
        3SG 1SG-DOM   recognize-NEG-PST.3SG
        "He didn't recognize me."

(16)   Uzbek DOM on demonstratives (Guntsetseg et al. 2008, ex. 14c)
        Biz bu   kikoya*(-**ni**)   uqi-gaz-miz.
        1PL DEM   story-DOM   read-PST-1PL
        "We read those stories."

Just like for other languages, this observation can prompt an analysis according to which differentially marked objects are crucially distinct from the unmarked ones; the latter are presumably subject to the process of incorporation, do not undergo licensing in terms of Case and are thus restricted to non-specific readings.

However, Uzbek shows that the distinction between marked and unmarked objects is not that simple. Building on some facts briefly pointed out in Irimia (2020), here we focus on three characteristics of unmarked objects.

(17)   Uzbek unmarked objects and intervening adverbials (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, ex. 8c/8a, adapted)

    a.   Anvar kuzda   palto   [$_{ADV}$ **umuman/deyarli/hech**]
         Anvar autumn   coat   whatsoever/virtually/at all
         ki-ma-di**.**
         wear-NEG-PST.3SG
         "Anvar did not wear a coat/coats whatsoever/virtually/al all in the autumn."

    b.   Anvar nok [$_{ADV}$ **ham**]   ye-di.
         Anvar pear   also   eat-PST.3SG
         "Anvar also ate the pear."

First, they are not subject to a strict verb-adjacency requirement. In (17)a we see various modal adverbials intervening between the verb and an unmarked nominal; in (17)b, another adverbial separates the unmarked nominal *nok* ('pear') from the verb.

Secondly, unmarked objects give indication of the presence of a case feature. This is clearly seen in contexts containing more than one internal argument and where competition in terms of case is evident. Let's examine a context containing the synthetic causative of a transitive verb as in (18)a. The argument structure in this configuration contains three elements: i) the causer, which is realized as a subject with nominative case, ii) the causee, which receives dative case, and iii) the theme, which is differentially marked. The surprising fact is the presence of dative case on the causee, given that causees are not marked with dative case across the board. In (19) we can see, in fact, a causee that has differential marking, indicating that it has been licensed as an accusative.

(18)   Uzbek synthetic causative of a transitive verb
        (a, b, c examples adapted from Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018)
    a.   Madina   **Anvar-ga/*-ni**   nok-ni/ bitta   nok-ni
           Madina.NOM Anvar-DAT/*-DOM pear-DOM/one pear-DOM
           eat-CAUS-PST.3SG
           yer-dir-di.
           "Madina made Anvar eat the pear/a pear."

    b.   Madina   **Anvar-ga/*-ni**   nok/bitta   nok
           Madina.NOM Anvar-DAT/*-DOM   pear/a   pear
           yer-dir-di.
           eat-CAUS-PST.3SG
           "Madina made Anvar eat pears/a pear."

    c.   Madina   **Anvar-ni/*-ga**   mexnat qil-dir-di.
           Madina   Anvar-DOM/*-DAT labour   do-CAUS-PST.3SG
           "Madina made Anvar work."

    d.   Madina **Anvar-ni/*ga**   nok-dan bez-dir-di.
           Madina   Anvar-DOM/*DAT pear-ABL   get.tired-CAUS-
           PST.3SG
            "Madina made Anvar get tired of pears."
                     (Zarina Levy-Forsythe, p. c.)

    e.   Madina **Anvar-ga/*ni**   nok-dan   ye-dir-di.
           Madina   Anvar-DAT/*-DOM pear-ABL eat-CAUS-PST.3SG
           "Madina made Anvar eat some of the pears."
                     (Zarina Levy-Forsythe, p. c.)

(19)   Uzbek synthetic causative of an intransitive verb
        Madina   **Anvar-ni/*-ga**   yugur-tir-di.
        Madina   Anvar-DOM/*-DAT run-CAUS-PST.3SG
        "Madina made Anvar run."

Of course, we could hypothesize that the problem with (18)a is that the transitive causative structure already contains a differentially marked nominal which is thus licensed as an accusative. Therefore, there cannot be a second differentially marked argument (or a second accusative), presumably because each of these arguments competes for case licensing. However, the problem turns out to be more complicated than this. Crucially, (18)b illustrates a transitive causative in which the theme is, this

time, unmarked. Surprisingly, the causee still receives dative case, instead of the expected accusative, which would be spelled out as differential marking.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be to say that the causee is always spelled out as dative if the structure contains a nominal theme. The presence of the dative case on causee would presumably be needed on a functional basis: the causee is marked distinctly so that it would not be incorrectly interpreted as a theme. However, this hypothesis is problematic. For one, it would not explain why the synthetic causative in (18)c allows a causee with accusative case (spelled out as DOM), even though there is an unmarked theme – the object of the light verb *do*. Secondly, the DOM causee in (18)d too would remain unexplained. This structure also contains a third nominal, namely the ablative DP selected by the predicate *bez* ('get tired'). Also note that there are contexts in which the ablative *does* trigger competition with the causee, and the latter can only be marked dative; this is illustrated with the ablative interpreted as a partitive, as in (18)e.

These examples show, first, that unmarked nominals are not a uniform class syntactically. Unmarked nominals as complements to light verbs (*do*, etc.) do not trigger case competition with the causee, indicating that they are not visible to such process. Other types of unmarked nominals, on the other hand, are *visible* to case competition processes and behave just like nominals specified with an abstract Case feature, for example differentially marked nominals or partitives. As such the unmarked nominal in (18)b forces the presence of the dative on the causee, just like DOM in (18)a or the partitive in (18)d. Also, these unmarked nominals that are sensitive to case competition do not have the same syntax as nominals with inherent case marking. We see that there is a contrast between (18)d and (18)b; with the former, inherent case marking spelled out as the ablative does not interfere with the case assignment on the causee; in the latter case, however, the unmarked nominal triggers a case marking competition with the causee, which has to show up with dative morphology. The question is, thus: if unmarked nominals are similar to DOM when it comes to the presence of an abstract Case feature, what is the difference between these two classes? Why are they spelled out with different types of morphology?

A third characteristic looks at the interpretation. We have mentioned above that differentially marked arguments tend to be traditionally distinguished from the unmarked ones on the basis of interpretation. The received wisdom is that while marked arguments can get definite or specific interpretations, unmarked objects cannot do so. In a nutshell, this

is the contrast in (5). However, it is not the case that Uzbek unmarked nominals are restricted to non-specific readings across the board. The puzzle is that they can be interpreted as specific and they can also get wide scope. This is clearly seen in (20) which contains an unmarked indefinite, using one of the indefinite morphemes in the language. The unmarked indefinite can get the same range of readings as the marked indefinite in (21), which is similarly not restricted just to specific readings.

(20)   Uzbek – unmarked indefinites with specific readings
          Anvar   **bitta   maqola** õqishi   kerak.
          Anvar   one/a   article   must   read
          "Anvar must read an article."
          must > ∃x: Anvar must read an article or other
          ∃x > must: There is an article such that Anvar must read it
                              (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, ex.16a, adapted)
(21)   Uzbek – marked indefinites with non-specific readings
          Anvar   **bitta   maqola-ni**   õqishi   kerak.
          Anvar   one/a   article-DOM   must   read
          "Anvar must read an article."
          ∃x > must: There is an article such that Anvar must read it
          must > ∃x: Anvar must read an article or other
                              (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, ex.16b, adapted)

     To summarize these three properties, we see that Uzbek unmarked nominals are similar to the marked ones in that they do not need to be adjacent to the verb, give indication of the presence of a structural Case feature and can get specific readings. The question is how to best analyze them and how to formalize differential marking so that the empirical data be adequately accounted for. In the next section we present two prominent minimalist accounts for DOM, namely DOM as obligatory structural Case licensing, and DOM as dependent Case, respectively, showing in more detail that none can adequately account for the Uzbek facts.
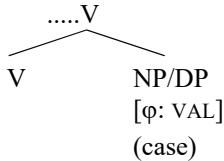
3. DOM in minimalism

3.1 DOM as obligatory Case licensing

In minimalism there are two main formal strategies to derive the splits illustrated above. A rich theoretical line generally takes unmarked objects such as the Spanish inanimate in (6)b, the Sakha non-specific one in (7)a,

the Tatar (8)a, the Mongolian (9)a or the Uzbek (5)a to lack the need of obligatory structural licensing in terms of Case.

This hypothesis has been implemented in various ways. For example, in some works, unmarked objects are seen as being unlicensed at all (Danon 2006, 2011, Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, 2013b, 2019, Bárány 2017, 2018, Kalin 2018, Levin 2019, a.o.). Other researchers might, instead, associate them to a process of (pseudo-) incorporation, which forces them to form a complex with the main verb (Massam 2001, Dayal 2011, a.o.). Yet in other discussions they are simply assumed to be invisible to the operation Agree or, more generally, licensing operations (see Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig 2015, for example). The unifying thread in all these accounts is the characterization of unmarked objects as caseless, when it comes to uninterpretable Case. In some discussions, there might be an implication that unmarked objects might contain a case feature; however, this is not seen as uninterpretable Case and is thus not abbreviated as [uC], but [case] (see fn. 8), as schematically represented in (22)a. A possibility explored in this direction is that unmarked objects might only receive inherent or lexical marking (see for example Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, a.o.).

(22)   a. Unmarked nominals   b. Marked nominals
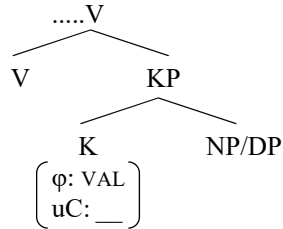
Marked objects such as the Spanish definite animate in (6)a, the Sakha specific object in (7)b, the nominals with specific interpretation in Tatar (8)b, Mongolian (9)b or Uzbek (5)b are, on the contrary, assumed to be specified with a structural Case feature; the latter is subject to obligatory licensing / valuation / checking (depending on the particular analysis) in the syntax (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, b, 2014, Kalin 2018, Bárány 2017, 2018, Levin 2019, a.o.). This structural Case feature is an uninterpretable one at the interfaces (in Chomsky's 2001 et subseq. system) and thus must be removed from the derivation, via adequate licensing. Additionally, the feature associated with [uC] is what imposes the special interpretations of the special objects. Also, in some

languages, Case licensing can only be implemented in a certain position, after raising above VP or even above *v*P (Baker 2015, a.o.).

The main problem with these analyses is that they cannot easily derive the behaviour of Uzbek objects. We have seen in the paradigms in (18) that unmarked nominals give indication of the existence of a Case feature and do not behave like inherently marked nominals. Secondly, it is not the case that marked nominals cannot have non-specific readings, as seen in (21). In fact, the observation that differential marking is not a specificity-inducing mechanism has been proven correct for other languages too – see, for example, the extensive discussion in López (2012) with respect to Spanish or other DOM languages.

3.2 DOM as Dependent Case

The second major theoretical stream connects differential object marking to the so-called Dependent Case algorithm (Marantz 1991, Baker and Vinokurova 2010, Preminger 2014, Levin and Preminger 2015, Baker 2015, a.o.). The general idea is that the accusative Case feature on the marked objects forces their raising into a domain where they enter into a Case competition with a higher argument. As a result of the Case competition process, the lower nominal can only be licensed with a Case that corresponds to the accusative; the accusative, taken to be spelled out as DOM in some languages, is the Case assigned when there is a higher c-commanding nominal with a structural Case. This is schematically represented in (23), which contains a higher nominal with structural Case, namely NP1, which c-commands a lower nominal with structural Case, namely NP2. Given that here we are dealing with nominative-accusative languages, the Case assignment algorithm, represented schematically in (24) assigns nominative to the higher c-commanding nominal with [_uC] (NP1) and then accusative, spelled out as DOM, to the lower nominal (NP2) specified with [_uC]. In many languages, the nominative does not have overt corresponding morphology, the subject being spelled out unmarked. This holds in Uzbek, too, as indicated in the annotated example in (23)b, which repeats sentence (5)b.

(23)   a.
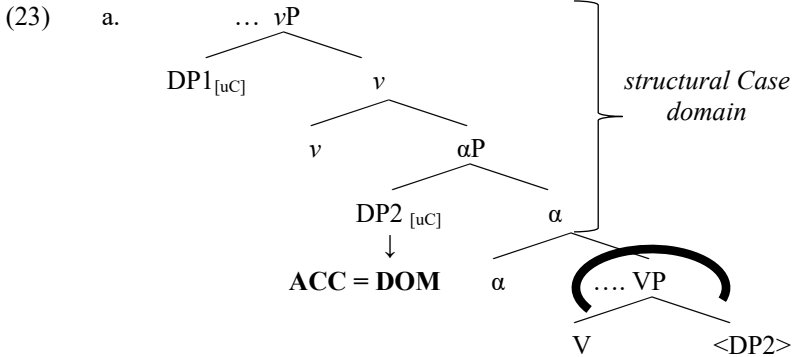
b.   Anvar   rasm-**ni**   chiz-di.
     Anvar.NOM=Ø   picture-ACC=DOM   draw-PST.3SG
     "Anvar drew the picture."

(24)   Dependent Case for nominative-accusative languages
     Let DP1and DP2 be two nominals in the same domain. If DP1 c-
     commands DP2:
     a. mark DP1[= in the clause, NOMINATIVE] and/or
     b. mark DP2[= in the clause, ACCUSATIVE]   (Baker 2015, a.o.)

    Baker and Vinokurova (2010) applied the dependent Case algorithm
to Sakha, a closely related Turkic language, which presents a similar
differential object marking system to Uzbek, as pointed out in Section 2.[3]
Remember that in Sakha direct objects with a definite interpretation must
carry special marking, and must be found in a VP external position.

(25)   Sakha direct objects
     a.   Masha **salamaat₁-*(y)** [$_{VP}$ türgennik t₁ sie-te].
          Masha porridge-DOM   quickly   eat-PST.3SG.SUBJ
          "Masha ate the porridge quickly."

     b.   Masha   [$_{VP}$ türgennik **salamaat₁-(#y)⁴**   sie-te].
          Masha   quickly   porridge-(#DOM) eat-PST.3SG.SUBJ
          "Masha ate the porridge quickly."

          (Baker and Vinokurova 2010, ex. 11a, b, 12a, b adapted;
          Coon and Preminger 2013, ex. 1a, b)

In (25)a we repeat a sentence showing that differentially marked arguments can precede adverbials such as *quickly* which signal the VP edge (according to Baker and Vinokurova 2010). The unmarked object in (25)b, on the other hand, cannot get a definite interpretation and cannot precede VP edge adverbials. In fact, it must be strictly adjacent to V.

Following the logic of Dependent Case in (24), Baker and Vinokurova (2010) explain the special morphology of the differentially marked argument in (25) as a result of a Case competition with a higher nominal in the same domain. After raising out of VP, the marked object is found in the same local configuration (the same Case domain) with the subject, as in (26). The latter is a nominal whose Case is yet to be licensed just 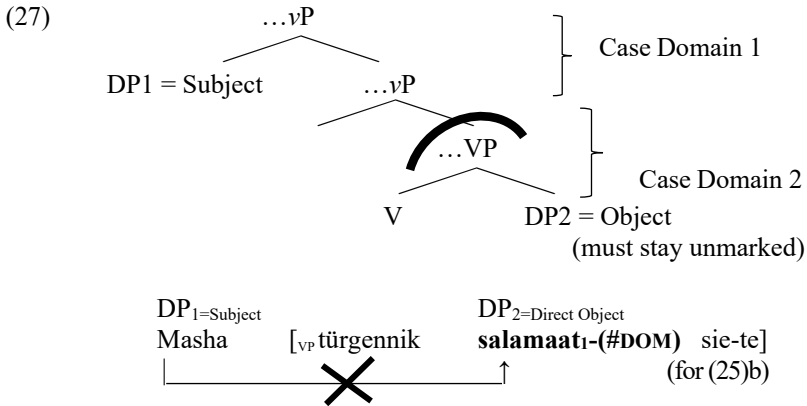like the subject, and thus the two nominals enter into Case competition (Marantz 1991, a. o.). As a result, the lower nominal in the domain will receive *dependent* Case, which will be spelled out as the *-y* marker.[5]

(26)

$$DP_{1=Subject} \quad DP_{2=Direct\ Object}$$
Masha   **salamaat₁-DOM** [VP türgennik   t₁ sie-te]
                                                         (for (25)a)
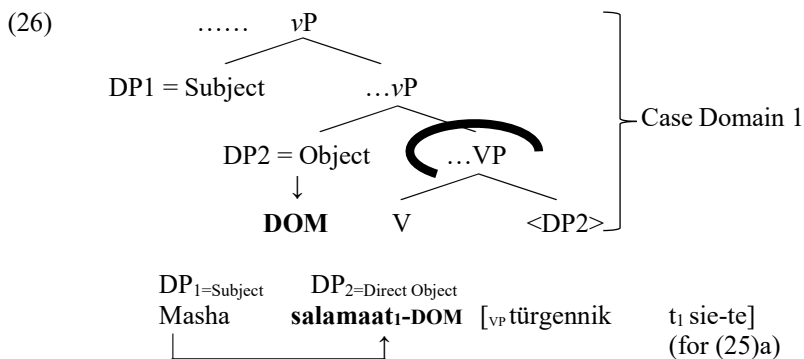
Unmarked nominals, which do not scramble out of VP, are not local enough to the subject and cannot enter the Case competition process, as shown in (27). Therefore, as they do not enter the Case licensing competition, they will not receive differential marking which indicates the presence of an accusative Case structural feature.

The configurational account derives the Sakha data. For one, as shown in (25)a vs (25)b, the conclusion that marked objects are found in a higher position than the unmarked one is motivated empirically - marked objects are grammatical if adverbials separate them from the verb, as opposed to the unmarked nominals, which do not have this possibility.

(27)

$$\ldots vP$$

DP1 = Subject $\ldots vP$ — Case Domain 1

$\ldots VP$ — Case Domain 2

V   DP2 = Object
(must stay unmarked)

DP$_{1=Subject}$ DP$_{2=Direct\ Object}$
Masha   [$_{VP}$ türgennik   **salamaat$_1$-(#DOM)** sie-te]
                                                                (for (25)b)

Additionally, as Baker and Vinokurova (2010) also show, the dependent Case analysis is motivated for Sakha from another point of view. More specifically differential marking is possible (in some cases, obligatory in fact) irrespective of the transitivity of the verb. Two illustrative examples are in (28); given that the verbs *xomoj* ('become sad') and *tönün* ('return') are both intransitive, it is highly improbable that the locus of accusative Case resides in their extended functional projection. A purely configurational mechanism, such as Case competition with the subject as in (26), is better grounded theoretically, and less stipulative.

(28)   Sakha: differential object marking with intransitive predicates
                                        (Bake and Vinokurova 2010, ex. 44 a, b)

a.   Keskil **Aisen-y**   kel-bet   dien
       Keskil Aisen-DOM come-NEG.AOR.3SG.SUBJ that
       xomoj-do.
       become sad-PST.3SG.SUBJ
       "Keskil became sad that Aisen is not coming."

b.   Masha **Misha-ni**   yald-ja   dien   tönün-
       Masha Misha-DOM   fall sick-3SG.SUBJ that   return-
       ne.
       PST.3SG.SUBJ
       "Masha returned (for fear) that Misha would fall sick."

However, if we try to transfer the Dependent Case analysis to Uzbek, various challenges are apparent. As we have seen, it is not the case that unmarked direct objects always show adjacency to V in Uzbek. In fact, unmarked nominals come in (at least) two types in the language. In (18)

we have contrasted the behaviour of the objects of certain types of light verbs (*do, give,* etc.) to other types of objects. The former do not trigger Case competition with higher nominals, thus the causee in example (18)c, repeated below in (29), will receive the expected differential marking and not the dative. Levy-Forsythe and Kagan (2018) have convincingly argued that these nominals pass diagnostics indicating *true incorporation* (TI). Moreover, they need to show adjacency to V, and thus any type of intervening material will lead to ungrammaticality, as in (30).

(29)   Uzbek unmarked objects undergoing true incorporation do not
        trigger Case competition (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, ex. 37)
        Madina   **Anvar-ni/*-ga**   mexnat   qil-dir-di.
        Madina   Anvar-DOM/*-DAT   labour   do-CAUS-PST.3SG
        "Madina made Anvar work."

(30)   Uzbek unmarked nominals undergoing true incorporation must be
        adjacent to V
        *Anvar   mexnat   [ADV **ham]** qil-di.
        Anvar   labour   also   do-PST.3SG
        Intended: 'Anvar also did work.'

Another class of unmarked nominals, on the contrary, triggers Case competition and does not show strict adjacency to V. In example (18)b, repeated in (31)(1)b, we see an unmarked object which does not allow differential marking on the causee; the dative must be used instead. These unmarked nominals are similar to the differentially marked ones in (18)a/ (31)a and crucially different from the TI ones, as in (29).

(31)   Uzbek unmarked nominals and DOM triggering Case competition
        with a c-commanding nominal
        a.   Madina   **Anvar-ga/*-ni**   nok-ni/bitta   nok-ni
              Madina.NOM Anvar-DAT/*-DOM pear-DOM/one   pear-DOM
              yer-dir-di.
               eat-CAUS-PST.3SG
              "Madina made Anvar eat the pear/a pear."

        b.   Madina   **Anvar-ga/*-ni**   nok/bitta nok
              Madina.NOM Anvar-DAT/*-DOM pear/a pear
              yer-dir-di.
              eat-CAUS-PST.3SG
              "Madina made Anvar eat pears/a pear."

Yet another property non-TI unmarked nominals have is that they do not need to be adjacent to V, as in the two examples repeated below:

(32)   Uzbek unmarked nominals do not show adjacency to V
                 (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, ex. 8c/8a, adapted)
   a.   Anvar   kuzda   palto   [ADV **umuman/deyarli/hech]**
            Anvar   autumn   coat   whatsoever/virtually/at all
            kimadi.
            wear.NEG.PST.3SG
            "Anvar did not wear a coat/coats whatsoever/virtually/al all
            in the autumn."

   b.   Anvar nok   [ADV **ham]**   ye-di.
             Anvar pear   also   eat-PST.3SG
             "Anvar also ate the pear."

These properties make an analysis *exclusively* in terms of Dependent Case more difficult to apply to Uzbek. Another challenge is that examples similar to (28) are not easy to come by in Uzbek and thus the connection between DOM and purely configurational specifications, irrespective of transitivity, is not as straightforward. This takes us back to the questions we raised at the beginning. First of all, how is differential marking to be analyzed in Uzbek? In the next section we discuss the causative data in more detail, showing that they are adequately addressed by an analysis under which the non-TI unmarked nominals are specified with a structural Case feature, similarly to DOM. This motivates the conclusion that the difference between these types of unmarked nominals and DOM is *not* the absence of a structural Case feature with the former.

4. Uzbek nominals and licensing in terms
in structural Case

As we have shown in the previous section, the two prominent accounts for DOM in minimalism, namely DOM as obligatory licensing and DOM as dependent Case, respectively, assume that differential marking on certain classes of nominals signals the presence of a structural Case feature. Various types of data indicate that this hypothesis is correct. Here we will address in more detail contexts involving causatives, starting from some aspects initially addressed in Irimia (2020). In these configurations, at least two arguments (the causer and the causee) can be found in the same local domain and, as a result, these arguments can exhibit various types of

interactions with reflexes on the morphological Case spell-out. The data
from causatives are important in another respect; it has been shown that
the causee has a special behaviour when it comes to its case marking in a
large number of languages. Crucially, the marking it receives is similar to
differential object marking in many language families (see, for example,
López 2012 for discussion and examples). In Uzbek the causee must show
differential object marking when the predicate is intransitive. To the
example we repeat in (33)a we add, in (33)b, a context in which the causee
is not a proper name, but a nominal which can be used without differential
marking outside causatives, as illustrated in (34). The dative case is not
possible on the causee in these contexts.

(33)   Uzbek causees need DOM: intransitive causatives
        a.   Madina   **Anvar-ni/*-ga**   yugur-tir-di.
                Madina   Anvar-DOM/*-DAT   run-CAUS-PST.3SG
                "Madina made Anvar run."
                (adapted from Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018)

        b.   Madina   **qiz-ni/*-ga**   yugur-tir-di.
                Madina   girl-DOM/*-DAT   run-CAUS-PST.3SG
                "Madina made the/a girl run."

(34)   Uzbek direct object – nominal which is not a proper name
        Yigit **bir**   **qiz(ni)**   chaqir-di.
        boy   a   girl(DOM)   call-PST.3SG
        "The boy called a (random) girl/the girl."

    The presence of obligatory differential marking on the causee can be
explained along the following lines (see especially López 2012 for
discussion on obligatory differential marking on causees in Spanish, with
some differences in the analysis): the causee cannot undergo complex
predicate formation with V, due to the presence of Voice_CAUS, which needs
to establish a syntactic relation between the causer and the causee.

(35)

$$\ldots \text{Voice}_{\text{CAUS}}\text{P}$$

DP1$_{[uC]}$ = CAUSER   Voice$_{\text{CAUS}}$

Voice$_{\text{CAUS}}$ αP

DP2 $_{[uC]}$ α
↓
ACC = DOM   α   ….VP

V   <DP2>
run

Case domain
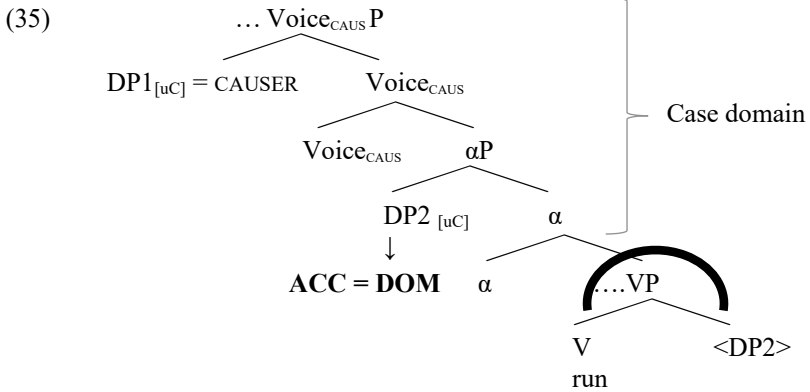
Thus, only a causee specified with a [uC] feature is possible in this context. The licensing of [uC] forces the raising of the causee to a domain where it is c-commanded by the DP1, the causer, which is also specified with an [uC] feature. As a result of Case competition, the lower nominal (the causee) will receive differential marking. This is illustrated in (35).

What if we needed to construct the causative of a transitive predicate, which contains a differentially marked theme (36)? Here, DOM is not possible anymore on the causee, which must use dative case instead. The impossibility of DOM on the causee indicates that the differentially marked nominal contains a [uC] feature, which needs obligatory licensing. The problem is that there are two other c-commanding nominals which also contain a [uC] feature: the subject which cannot be caseless, and the causee, which, as we saw in (35) cannot undergo complex predicate formation with V and must instead undergo licensing in terms of structural Case. Thus, we obtain a configuration with the three nominals with a [uC] feature (37).

(36)   Uzbek transitive causative with DOM theme
Madina   **Anvar-ga/*-ni**   nok-ni/ bitta   nok-ni
Madina.NOM   Anvar-DAT/*-DOM pear-DOM/one   pear-DOM
yer-dir-di.
eat-CAUS-PST.3SG
"Madina made Anvar eat the pear/a pear." (adapted from Levy Forsythe and Kagan 2018)

In this configuration, the licensing of [uC] forces the raising of the theme above VP. In that domain, however, it is c-commanded by a higher nominal, namely the causee, which is also specified with [uC]. As a result of the Dependent Case algorithm, the lower nominal in the Case domain,

namely the theme, will receive the case marking of a lower nominal, namely differentially object marking. The higher nominal will receive the case normally assigned to the higher, c-commanding nominal in the lower verbal periphery, namely the dative. Extensive discussion about the dative as the structural Case of higher c-commanding DPs in the lower verbal domain can be found in Baker (2015); in a nutshell, Baker's (2015) proposal extends the Case assignment algorithm in (24) to configurations that contain three nominals specified with a structural Case feature (for example contexts containing a causer, a causee, and a theme with [_uC] similar to the ones discussed here). As Baker (2015) shows, these configurations need two structural Case domains; the dative is the lower case in Case domain 1, while the higher case in Case domain 2 (the lower Case domain in the extended verbal functional projection).

(37)   … Voice$_{CAUS}$P

DP1$_{[uC]}$ = CAUSER   Voice$_{CAUS}$

                    Voice$_{CAUSE}$ αP

Case   DP2$_{[uC]}$ = CAUSEE   α   Case
competition   ↓   competition
(Case domain 1)   **DAT**   α   *v*P   (Case
                                     ACC = DOM   domain 2)

                                      DP3$_{[uC]}$ = THEME   *v*
                                                 ↓
                                     ACC = DOM   *v*   ….VP

                                                       V   <DP3$_{THEME}$>
                                                       eat
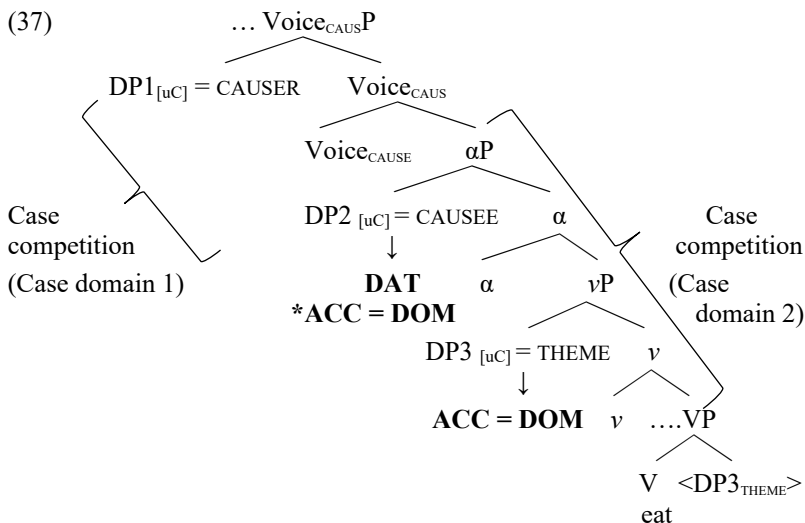
   We can now get to one of the puzzles with unmarked nominals, the one related to structural Case interactions. We have seen that those nominals which do not undergo true incorporation (TI) with the verb force the presence of the dative case on the causee, as opposed to the expected differential marking. A relevant example is repeated in (38).

(38)   Uzbek transitive causative with unmarked theme – no TI
       Madina   **Anvar-ga/*-ni**   nok/bitta nok yer-dir-di.
       Madina.NOM   Anvar-DAT/*-DOM   pear/a pear   eat-CAUS-
       PST.3SG
       "Madina made Anvar eat pears/a pear."

   In order to accurately account for the empirical facts, the only
possibility is that the unmarked nominal in (38) contains a structural Case
feature, which enters into Case competition with the case feature of the
higher c-commanding nominal, the causee. It is not clear if the unmarked
nominal with [uC] raises as high as the differentially marked one, although
the adverbial test indicates raising. If the unmarked nominal raises to the
same position as the marked one, we obtain the structure in (39). If the
unmarked nominal raises above VP, but to a position which is lower than
that of the marked object, one structural representation could be as in (40).
Here by ß we indicate a functional projection at the edge of VP, whose
nature we can leave for further investigation.

(39)

(40)   … Voice_CAUS P

```
             DP1[uC] = CAUSER        Voice_CAUS

                                Voice_CAUS        αP

                              DP2 [uC] = CAUSEE        α
      Case                         ↓
   competition                    DAT           α        vP      Case
                                *ACC = DOM                     competition
                                                    v

                                                v        ßP

                                              DP3 [uC]        ß
                                              =THEME
                                                         ß    ….VP

                                                        V    <DP_THEME>
                                                       eat
```
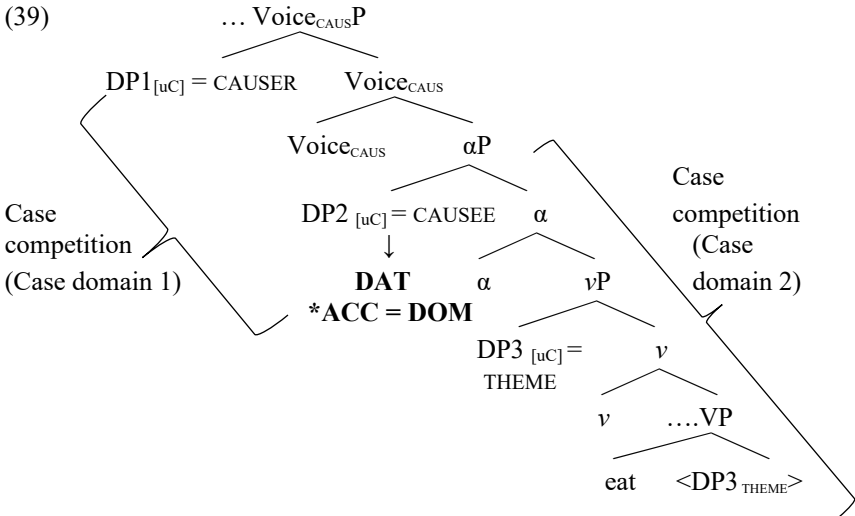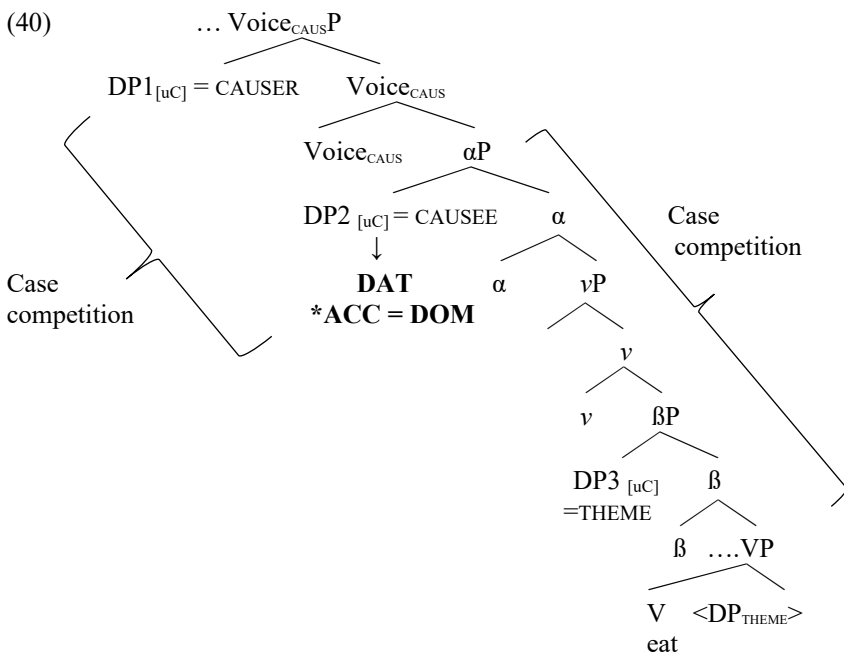
And yet, another possibility is that Case competition is established even in the absence of raising. The object specified with [uC] triggers the dative on the higher c-commanding nominal, more specifically the causee, even before raising. This is seen in (41), where the [uC] theme is the complement to V. In turn, this would indicate that Case competition is *not* a matter of raising. The objects specified with [uC] can raise, but not necessarily as a result of [uC]. This would entail that the objects which do not carry an inherent Case feature or which do not undergo complex predicate formation with V can be found in various positions in the clause, a conclusion that is borne out in Uzbek, as we have seen from examples such as (32). Also, this conclusion would not be surprising cross-linguistically. To give just one example, Hill and Mardale (2021) presented a very similar picture for Romanian, where what makes the difference between marked and unmarked objects is not the need of the former to be found in a higher position. Marked and unmarked objects instead can share various low and high positions.

(41)

```
                    … Voice_CAUS P
                   /            \
         DP1_[uC]            Voice_CAUS
         = CAUSER           /         \
                    Voice_CAUS        αP
                              /         \
                      DP2_[uC]          α
                      = CAUSEE        /   \
                         ↓          α      vP
                        DAT                /  \
         Case        *ACC = DOM          v
         competition                    / \        Case
                                       v   ßP       competition
                                          /  \
                                         ß   ….VP
                                             /    \
                                            V    DP3_[uC]
                                           eat    =THEME
```
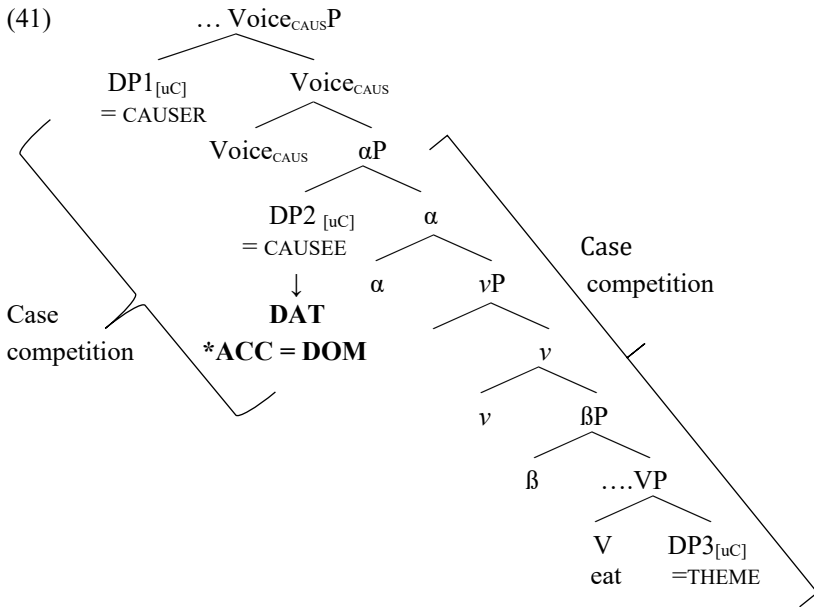
We have also seen that what matters for the Case competition is a *structural* Case feature. Themes that carry inherent or lexical case assigned by various predicates on the basis of their selectional restrictions do not interfere with the Case of the causee, the higher c-commanding nominal. The sentence in (42) repeats a relevant example. Here, as the ablative case feature of the theme is idiosyncratically assigned by V (the predicate *get tired*), it will not cause Case competition with the higher c-commanding nominal, the causee. The latter, however, enters into Case competition with a higher c-commanding nominal, the causer. As it is the lower nominal in a Case competition domain it will take the accusative, which is spelled out as differential marking. The representation is in (43).

(42)   Uzbek inherently marked objects and causees
        Madina   **Anvar-ni/*ga**   nok-dan bez-dir-di.
        Madina   Anvar-DOM/*DAT pear-ABL get.tired-CAUS-PST.3SG
        "Madina made Anvar get tired of pears."
                                        (Zarina Levy- Forsythe, p. c.)

(43)   … Voice_CAUS P

        DP1_[uC]   Voice_CAUS
        = CAUSER
                        Voice_CAUS   αP

                            DP2 _[uC]   α
                            = CAUSEE
Case   ↓   α   vP
competition   **ACC = DOM**   No case
                                          v   competition

                                      v   ßP

                                              ß

                                          ß   ….VP

                                              V   DP3_[ABL]
                                              bez   =THEME
                                          "get tired"
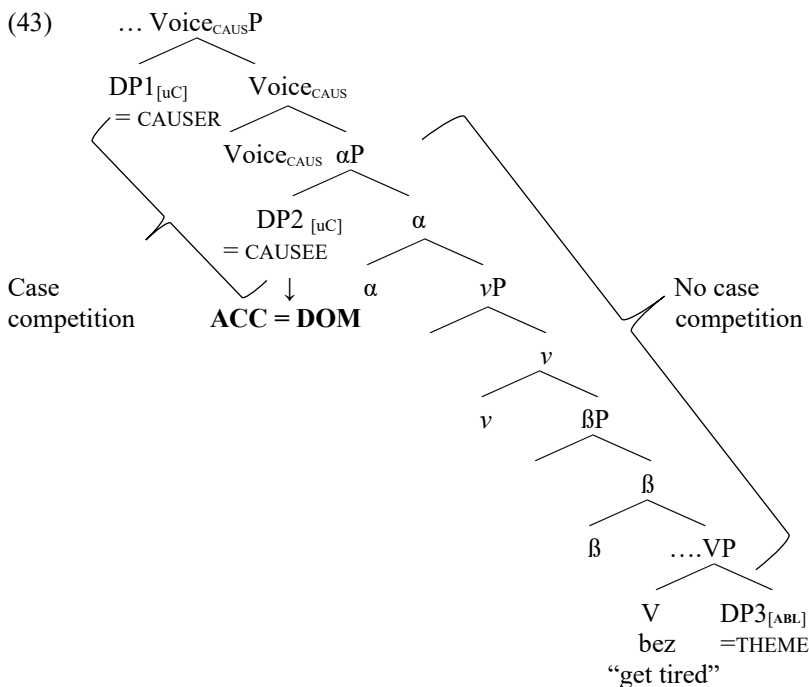
    Similarly, nominals that undergo True Incorporation (TI) with the verb
are invisible to Case Competition. An example is repeated in (44). These
NPs do not contain a [uC] feature which would need licensing in syntax,
and as a result they get licensed by complex predicate formation with V, as
schematically indicated in (45). The prediction is that in these
configurations the causee will receive differential marking, as a result of
Case Competition with the higher c-commanding nominal, the causer.
This is borne out.

(44)   Uzbek TI themes and causees
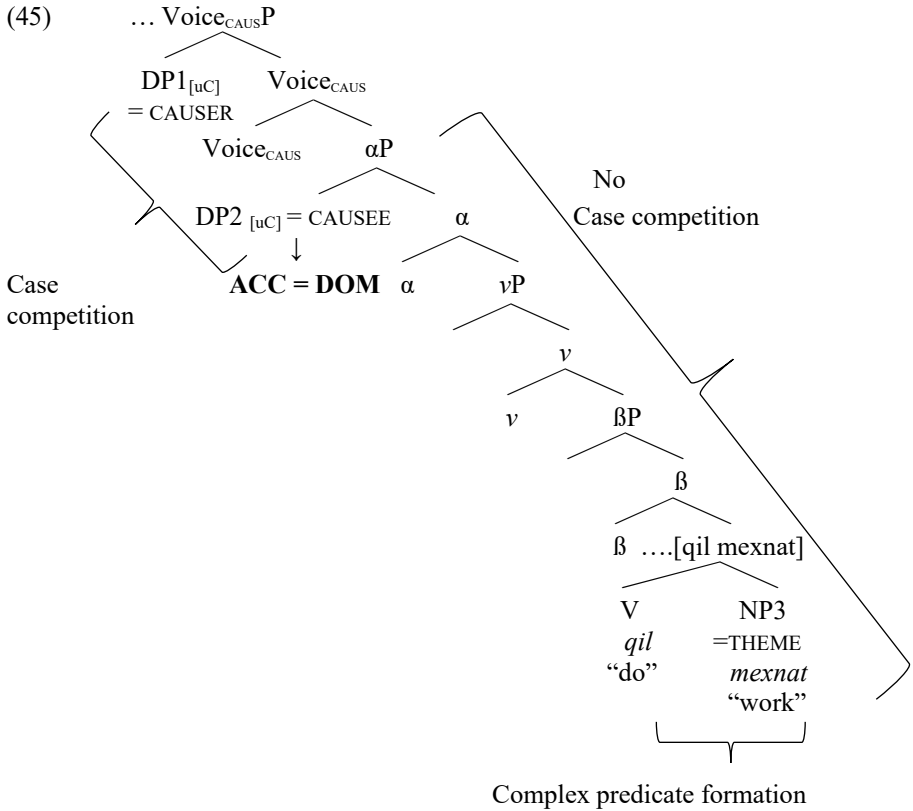   Madina   **Anvar-ni/*-ga**   mexnat   qil-dir-di.
        Madina   Anvar-DOM/*-DAT labour   do-CAUS-PST.3SG
        "Madina made Anvar work."
                                    (adapted from Levy- Forsythe and Kagan 2018)

(45)   … Voice$_{CAUS}$P

DP1$_{[uC]}$ Voice$_{CAUS}$
= CAUSER

Voice$_{CAUS}$ αP

No
Case competition

Case
competition

DP2 $_{[uC]}$ = CAUSEE   α

ACC = DOM   α   vP

v

v   ßP

ß

ß   ….[qil mexnat]

V   NP3
qil   =THEME
"do"   mexnat
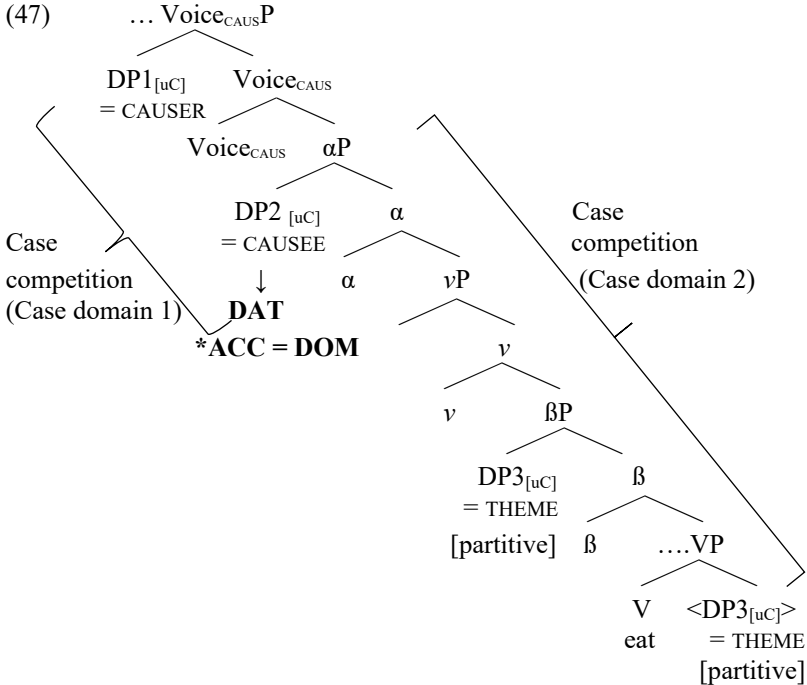   "work"

Complex predicate formation

That Case competition acts at an abstract syntactic level, and is not a matter of morphology is further proven by contexts involving ablatives that are interpreted as partitives. In these instances, the causee must switch to dative marking; for some speakers, differential marking on the causee is simply not grammatical. This is illustrated in (46). Examples of this type indicate that, despite their ablative surface morphology, partitives contain a structural [uC] feature. This fact is not surprising – it has been noticed for other languages that (at least certain types of) partitives behave like arguments with structural, as opposed to inherent case (see especially de Hoop 1996). Therefore, ablative partitives will cause Case Competition with the higher c-commanding nominal, the causee, as in (47). The latter, being the higher of two nominals with [uC] in the lower verbal periphery will be spelled out with dative case, as expected.

(46)   Uzbek ablative partitives and causees
        Madina   **Anvar-ga/*ni**   nok-dan   ye-dir-di.
        Madina   Anvar-DAT/*-DOM   pear-ABL   eat-CAUS-PST.3SG
        "Madina made Anvar eat some of the pears."
                                                (Zarina Levy-Forsythe, p. c.)

(47)   … Voice$_{CAUS}$P

        DP1$_{[uC]}$ Voice$_{CAUS}$
        = CAUSER

                    Voice$_{CAUS}$ αP

                          DP2 $_{[uC]}$ α   Case
                          = CAUSEE   competition
Case   ↓   α vP   (Case domain 2)
competition   **DAT**
(Case domain 1)   ***ACC = DOM** v

                                            v ßP

                                                DP3$_{[uC]}$ ß
                                                = THEME
                                                [partitive]   ß   ….VP

                                                                V   <DP3$_{[uC]}$>
                                                                eat   = THEME
                                                                        [partitive]

   A clear conclusion from the various causative patterns we have examined in this section is that Uzbek marked and unmarked nominals, which escape TI are not distinguished in terms of an [uC] feature. They both contain an [uC] feature. Therefore, they are both active for Case competition and force the presence of the dative on the causee. A similar result has, in fact, been obtained for Turkish too in Öztürk's (2005) work, when it comes to some types of unmarked nominals. Moreover, in Uzbek both marked and unmarked non-TI nominals can undergo raising. Thus, the two accounts introduced in Section 3 are not enough to derive Uzbek DOM. In the next section we spell out the analysis we propose according to which marked nominals contain a discourse-related feature beyond [uC] per se.

5. DOM beyond Case

Before spelling out the analysis we propose, let's also exclude another possible explanation for DOM. For example, we could hypothesize a PF analysis along these lines: both objects with special features (definiteness, higher level animacy, etc.) and those that are not subject to TI contain a [uC] feature (see for example Keine 2010). In turn, the absence of the definiteness feature triggers the deletion of the accusative marker in unmarked nominals as a result of a process applying in morphology, or at the interface between syntax and PF, such as *Impoverishment.*[6]

An account in this direction falls into the class of DOM as a PF phenomenon, a hypothesis entertained for various languages - see Keine (2010), Keine and Müller (2008) or Glushan (2010) for further discussion of object splits and their relevance at PF. An explanation along these lines can derive the observation that both classes of objects behave alike when it comes to the effects of [uC]; however, it won't explain the absence of DOM in causatives with an ablative theme, when the latter is interpreted as a partitive, as in (18)e or (46). The contrast between (46) and (42) is given by the specificity feature in partitives. This feature requires adequate licensing in the syntax, just like the definiteness feature in DOM – both these features are *active* in the syntax, although their reflexes at PF might be distinct. Moreover, we have seen in (20) and (21) that unmarked nominals do not necessarily lack specificity or definiteness features, and thus their difference from the marked nominals must reside somewhere else. All these facts imply that, for a PF account to go through, it will have to be formulated in different terms; it is, however, not clear how to implement it in an non-stipulative manner.[7]

5.1 DOM as additional licensing beyond [uC]

Following previous observations by Irimia (2019, 2020, 2021), the solution we propose here builds on the hypothesis that DOM involves the *syntactic* licensing of a feature beyond the *syntactic licensing of* Case. We will show in more detail that this hypothesis straightforwardly derives all the problematic patterns we have introduced above. In Section 6 we will provide additional remarks about how this analysis accounts for other facts related to DOM in Uzbek and other languages.

Irimia (2019, 2020, 2021) put forward the hypothesis that certain types of DOM must be linked to a feature specification beyond Case itself, which requires separate licensing. A starting point are observations by Cornilescu (2000), Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), or Richards (2008), a.o.

who have identified a connection between grammaticalized animacy and the presence of a [PERSON] feature. We follow Irimia (2019, 2020 and 2021) in assuming that this [PERSON] feature is merged in the functional projection we abbreviate as ð, a head with discourse (ð)-linking specifications which is found above the functional projection which introduces the [uC] feature. This is schematically represented in (48). Note that here we stay away from the debate on whether Uzbek contains the D projection or not, given that the language does not lexicalize definiteness.
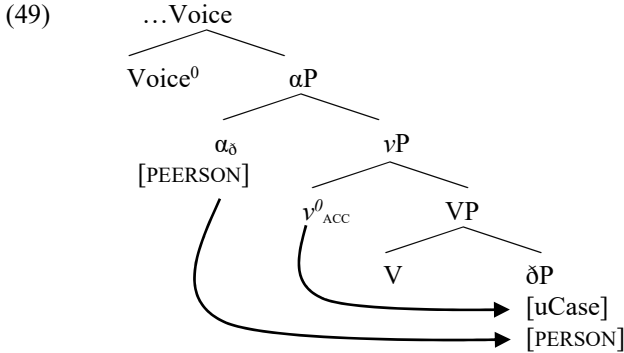
(48)   Discourse specification beyond [uC]

$$ \begin{array}{c} ðP \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ ð \qquad …NP \\ [\text{PERSON}] \quad [\_uC] \end{array} $$
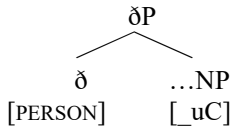
     The crucial point about the nominal in (48) is that it contains both Case as well as [PERSON], two formal features that need adequate licensing in the syntax. Irimia (2020, 2021) attributed the special morphology in differential object marking to the impossibility of the main verbal licenser to license both [uC] and [PERSON]. An additional licenser must be recruited, possibly as last resort (following Jaeggli 1982, a.o.), such that the remaining feature can be adequately licensed.

     For a more concrete illustration, we can look at the representation in (49). Here, the initial licenser endowed with Accusative case features is v^0, which values [uC]. This correctly derives the fact that both marked and non-TI unmarked nominals behave in the syntax as if a Case feature were active. With differentially marked objects, there is an additional [PERSON] feature which will need the contribution of an additional licenser.

     As Irimia (2019, 2020, 2021) has shown the location of this additional licenser can vary cross-linguistically. For Uzbek we can implement assumptions by López (2012) according to which grammaticalized animacy as well as viewpoint and aspectual boundedness are licensed by a functional projection situated above V^0 but below the EA. López (2012) abbreviated this functional projection as α, a notation we borrow here.

(49)

```
              …Voice
            /        \
      Voice⁰          αP
                    /     \
                  α_δ        vP
               [PEERSON]   /    \
                        v⁰_ACC    VP
                                /    \
                              V        ðP
                                     [uCase]
                                     [PERSON]
```

5.2 Objects: three-way splits (López 2012)

The present analysis is, thus, similar to accounts which motivate a three-way system for the licensing of nominals. We will briefly discuss here one salient analysis in this direction, namely López (2012); this will allow us to better illustrate how the present account avoids the various problems seen in three-way systems (see also Irimia 2021). López (2012) focuses on Spanish and other languages with similar DOM patterns. As we have shown in the introduction, Spanish exhibits differential object marking based on conjunctive features, normally affecting certain types of animate objects under additional conditions such as specificity. Relevant examples have been provided in the sentences in (6) which are repeated here.

(50) Object splits in standard Spanish

                    (Ormazabal and Romero 2013, ex. 1a, b)

    a.   He   encontrado **(a)**   la   niña.

        have.1SG found   DAT=DOM DEF.F.SG girl

        "I have found the girl."

    b.   He   encontrado **(*a)**   el   libro.

        have.1SG found   DAT=DOM DEF.M.SG book
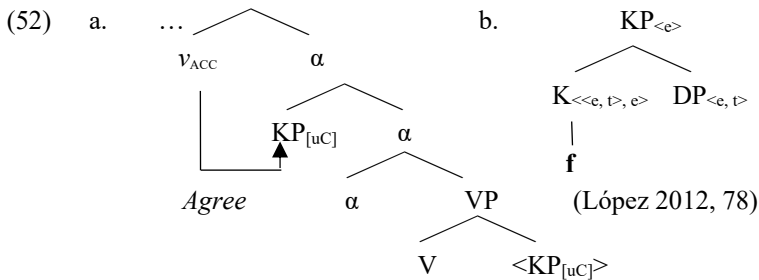
        "I have found the book."

The complexity of differential object marking in Spanish has been examined in numerous accounts, under a variety of theoretical frameworks (see Irimia 2021 for extensive bibliography). López' (2012) minimalist account is relevant for our purposes in that it does not follow the general trend which associates differential object marking simply to the split licensed vs. unlicensed. We have seen that this would be problematic for

Uzbek; López (2012) provides various remarks demonstrating that it would be problematic for Spanish too. Instead, López (2012) assumes that differentially marked objects are a sub-type of the Case licensed structural accusatives; what sets them apart from unmarked objects are two crucial properties: i) obligatory raising of DOM to a position above VP in order to have their [uCase] valued; ii) the presence of a Choice Function in the extended functional projection of differentially marked nominals, which derives the possibility of interpretations related to specificity. For López (2012), other (unmarked) objects with a structural [uCase] feature are licensed only by v^0. For example, in the case of unmarked definites as in (50)b, it is the definite functional head that incorporates into V and is licensed after V raising to v^0. [8] In turn, the Choice Function is absent with the unmarked nominals. Unmarked indefinites are assumed to be licensed via complex predicate formation with V. This also explains they cannot obtain specificity-related interpretations, according to López (2012).

　　Let's examine each of these two DOM-related characteristics in more detail. The main evidence López (2012) provides regarding the higher position of marked objects comes from binding. The crucial point is that marked nominals can bind into the indirect object (IO), a possibility unmarked nominals do not have (see López 2012 for various examples). An illustrative example is in (51)(1)b. Note that, although being found higher than unmarked nominals, the marked ones still cannot raise above the subject and thus they cannot bind into the subject. A coreferential interpretation between the subject and the object is out in (51)a.

(51)　Spanish DOM-ed nominals are below the EA but above the IO
　　a.　Ayer　　vio　　su$_{*i}$ padre **a**　　cada$_i$ niño.
　　　　yesterday saw.3SG his father DAT=DOM every boy
　　　　"Yesterday, his father saw every boy."
　　　　(López 2012, 41 adapted; no DOM binding into EA)

　　b.　[*What did the enemies do? The enemies delivered X to Y and Z to W, but…*]
　　　　Los　　　enemigos no　　entregaron　　a　　su$_i$ hijo
　　　　DEF.M.PL enemies　NEG　delivered.3PL　DAT his son
　　　　a　　　ningún$_i$ prisionero.
　　　　DAT=DOM no　　prisoner
　　　　"The enemies did not deliver any prisoner to his son."
　　　　(López 2012, 41 adapted; DOM binding into IO)

On the basis of these data, it is safe to assume that marked nominals are above the IO, but below the EA and their accusative [uCase] is valued in a position above VP but below the EA. López' representation is in (52)a - the DO raises to the specifier of an intermediate head α (which bundles aspectual and applicative features, as already mentioned); in that position it can be probed by v^0. This short scrambling operation straightforwardly derives DOM presence in a position c-commanding the IO, and thus binding from DO into IO.

(52)   a.   ...   b. $KP_{<e>}$

          v_{ACC} α $K_{<<e, t>, e>}$ $DP_{<e, t>}$

                  $KP_{[uC]}$ α   **f**

   Agree   α   VP   (López 2012, 78)

                    V $<KP_{[uC]}>$

The second characteristic of marked nominals is that they contain a KP layer, where the Case feature, associated with a choice function (**f**), is housed. This is shown in (52)b. The contribution of the choice function is fundamental - **f** switches the semantic type of the nominal to <e> (from <e, t> or a more complex type for quantifiers). López assumes that Choice Functions can only be interpreted in a position above VP.

We agree with López' (2012) conclusion according to which both marked and (certain types of) unmarked nominals contain an [uC] feature and thus need sentential licensing. Irimia (2019, 2020, 2021) has shown it to be correct for other languages with differential object marking, among which Basque, Romanian, Gujarati, Mandarin Chinese. However, we have not adopted this system in its entirety for Uzbek, mainly for two reasons. First, the more precise position of marked nominals is more difficult to ascertain in Uzbek; as we have mentioned in the previous section, in fact, it is not clear whether differential marking is obtained only after raising or, alternatively, is available even low in the complement position to V, as a result of [uC] licensing in-situ. On the other hand, it is also not clear whether both marked and unmarked nominals are licensed after raising to a position above VP. Binding tests do not give conclusive results either, indicating that the problem of the actual position of DOM cannot be set as straightforwardly as in Spanish.

The second problem revolves around the presence of a choice function with marked nominals only. For López (2012), the main motivation for postulating the choice function derives from the interpretive effects of marked nominals – generally, these need to be specific, as in the example (53)b containing an indefinite animate, although there are also instances in which differentially marked objects get non-specific readings (see the detailed discussion in López 2012). Additionally, there are also contexts where DOM appears to be necessary even in the absence of specificity, for example in many clause union configurations. Choice Functions are the best theoretical tools to explain this behaviour. Unmarked indefinite animates, on the other hand, can only be interpreted as non-specific, with narrow scope. López (2012) takes the contrast between (53)a and (53) to indicate that unmarked (indefinite) nominals lack the choice function, and can only be licensed via complex predicate formation with V (as also mentioned above).

(53)   Spanish indefinite animate objects
        a.   Busco   una   niña.
              look for/search.1SG a.F.SG   girl
              "I'm looking for a girl." (some girl or other)

        b.   Busco   **a**   una   niña.
              look for/search.1SG DAT=DOM a.F.SG   girl
              "I'm looking for a specific girl."

In Uzbek, however, the interpretive differences between unmarked and marked nominals are not that clear cut. This is particularly patent with nominals containing indefinite markers. As extensively discussed by von Heusinger and Klein (2013), Uzbek has two indefinite markers: *bir* (seen below in example (60)b) and *bitta*. As we have already shown, it is not the case that unmarked indefinites are always restricted to non-specific readings. In the examples we repeat here, we see instead that unmarked and marked indefinites can have the same range of interpretations, which do not exclude specificity.

(54)   Uzbek – unmarked indefinites with specific readings
        Anvar   **bitta   maqola** õqishi   kerak.
        Anvar   one/a   article   must   read
        "Anvar must read an article."
        must > ∃x: Anvar must read an article or other
        ∃x > must: There is an article such that Anvar must read it
                                  (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, ex.16a, adapted)

(55)   Uzbek – marked indefinites with non-specific readings
        Anvar   **bitta   maqola-ni**   õqishi   kerak.
        Anvar   one/a   article-DOM   must   read
        "Anvar must read an article."
        ∃x > must: There is an article such that Anvar must read it
        must > ∃x: Anvar must read an article or other
                                (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, ex.16b, adapted)

These unmarked indefinites are also different from the unmarked
nominals used with light verbs under TI. The latter cannot have a specific
interpretation – the example in (56) is simply ungrammatical with *'work'*
interpreted referentially. Moreover, overt indefinite markers are not
possible in this context, for many speakers.

(56)   Uzbek – TI nominals and lack of specificity
        Anvar   mexnat (*bir/bitta)   qil-di.
        Anvar   labour   a   do-PST.3SG
        *"Anvar did the specific work."

Levy-Forsythe and Kagan (2018) propose that TI nominals compose
with the verb via complex predicate formation at the head level. Unmarked
nominals that do not undergo TI are assumed to undergo pseudo-
incorporation with V. Therefore, for the two authors, a bare nominal as in
(57) which escapes TI is derived via the operation Restrict as illustrated in
(58), following Levy-Forsythe and Kagan (2018).

(57)   Uzbek – non TI bare nominals
        Anvar   **rasm**   chiz-di.
        Anvar   picture   draw-PST.3SG
        "Anvar drew a picture/pictures."
                                (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, ex. 2a)

(58)   Uzbek – bare non-TI nominals and the operation Restrict
        a combination of a property denoting bare nominal (type <e, t >)
        and a transitive verb (type <e, <e, t >>) realized via
        RESTRICT
        (λyλx [draw'(y)(x)], picture') = λyλx [draw'(y)(x) & picture'(y)]
                                (Levy-Forsythe and Kagan 2018, p.10)

As Levy-Forsythe and Kagan (2018) correctly point out, the same
RESTRICT analysis cannot be extended to unmarked nominals with overt

indefinites which receive specific interpretations as in (54). In fact, to best capture the interpretive flexibility of such example, modelling in terms choice functions appears to be the most adequate possibility. But this implies that the difference between unmarked and marked nominals is *not* that the latter contain choice functions while the former do not. We see that both these classes contain choice functions. The analysis we have proposed, according to which differentially marked nominals contain a discourse-linking specification beyond [uC], captures the facts. The analysis also predicts that there should be syntactic differences between non-TI unmarked nominals and the marked ones; this is borne out – as Levy-Forsythe and Kagan (2018) marked nominals can raise even higher than the non-TI unmarked nouns.

5.3 Unmarked nominals and pseudo-incorporation

Given Levy-Forsythe and Kagan's (2018) observations, it is necessary to also say a few words about pseudo-incorporation and why we do not assume it here as the analysis for unmarked nominals. The problem is not necessarily the fact that unmarked nominals give indication of the presence of a case feature. In some languages it has been observed that nominals which are overtly case marked can form a unit with the main verb, at least at a syntactic level.

One relevant example is Hungarian, as discussed by Kiefer (1990-1991), Farkas and de Swart (2003), or the various contributions to Borik and Gehrke eds. (2015), a.o. The objects in the two sentences in (59) must carry the overt accusative case; but, despite the presence of overt case marking, these objects are restricted to non-specific interpretations, narrowest scope, do not allow overt modification and cannot be separated from the verb.

(59)   Hungarian - case marked nominals under pseudo-incorporation
      a.   Jancsi   **házat**   epít.
              Johnny   house-ACC   build.PRES.3SG
              "Johhny is engaged in house building."

      b.   Pisti   **levelet**   ír.
              Steven   letter-ACC   write.PRES.3SG
              "Steven is engaged in letter writing."
                               (Kiefer 1990-1991, ex. 2a, b)

To explain the fact that this is not a matter of incorporation at the head level, the process of pseudo-incorporation (following Massam's 2001 pioneering observations) has been argued to best explain the Hungarian data.

Our observation is that pseudo-incorporation cannot be the answer for all unmarked objects in Uzbek. We have seen that the non-TI ones do not need to be strictly adjacent to V; in fact, various intervening elements are possible, as in (32). Then, unmarked indefinites allow specific and referential readings similarly to marked definites, as in (54) and (55). Moreover, Uzbek is exceptional among Turkic languages in that it presents classifiers. Beckwith (1998 et subseq.) contains extensive discussion and exemplification with respect to Uzbek classifiers. What is of interest to us is that classifiers are permitted on unmarked nominals. We include two examples below showing that classifiers are well formed with both unmarked (60)a and marked (60)b nominals. What is important to note is that the process of (pseudo-)incorporation generally excludes the presence of classifiers cross-linguistically (see the various contributions to Borik and Gehrke eds. (2015)). It is thus not clear how examples such as (60)a would be derived under pseudo-incorporation.

(60)   Uzbek – unmarked nominals and classifiers

    a.   Ozbek-lar   har   yil-i   bir neča miŋ
        Uzbek-PL   each   year-POSS   several   thousand
        tup   meva-li   daraxt
        CLS[+plant]   fruit-COM   tree
        ek-adi-lar
        plant-PRES-3PL
        "Every year, the Uzbek plant several thousand fruit trees."

    b.   Ertalab bâ̂ġ-imiz-da   bir   **gala**   quš-ni
        morning   garden-1PL-LOC   one/a   CLS[+avian]   flock-DOM
        kor-di-m.
        see-PST-1SG
        "In the morning I saw a flock of birds in our garden."
                           (Beckwith 1998, ex. 31, 34 adapted)

It is also not clear that examples such as (57) themselves involve pseudo-incorporation, after all. Their properties (narrow scope, number neutrality in some contexts, etc.) might simply be due to their reduced structure and not to the fact that they form a complex predicate with the verb. Actually, the presence of structural Case with syntactic correlates at

the sentential level (Case competition with higher nominals as in causatives, etc.) would be truly surprising if these categories were predicates of type <e,t> (as in (58)) undergoing complex predicate formation with V.

A non-negligeable issue is also that the process of pseudo-incorporation itself is problematic. Recently, there has been an increased tendency to assimilate pseudo-incorporation to an epi-phenomenon; the discussions by Barrie and Li (2015) or the various other contributions to Borik et Gehrke eds. (2015) are illustrative in this direction. In order to account for the Uzbek data a definition for pseudo-incorporation will have to be formulated which however will make it highly dissimilar to other, more canonical, kinds of pseudo-incorporation discussed for other languages. Such an ad-hoc characterization will simply end up restating the facts, without providing a deeper understanding of their nature. For all these reasons, we have left pseudo-incorporation aside here. Note that, in a similar line, Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2015) show that (pseudo-)incorporation is not easily tenable as an explanation of unmarked nominals in Tatar either.

To summarize, in this section we have provided additional motivation for the assumption (originally formulated by Irimia 2019, 2020, 2021) that what distinguishes marked nominals from the unmarked ones is the presence of a discourse linking feature that requires licensing beyond [uC] in the former. Thus, Uzbek DOM is not simply the presence of [uC], lack of pseudo-incorporation or raising to a position above VP.

6. Three-way object splits.
Towards the cross-linguistic picture

In this final section we make further remarks on the three-way split in the syntax of Uzbek objects we have argued for and further situate it in a wider cross-linguistic perspective.

The main conclusion we have supported in this paper is that objects in Uzbek are not simply to be divided in two classes: the unmarked ones, which lack a [uC] and the marked ones, which contain obligatory [uC]. Following Levy-Forsythe and Kagan (2018), we have shown instead that unmarked nominals come into two types: i) those that undergo TI incorporation with V; and ii) those that do not. We, however, diverge from Levy-Forsythe and Kagan (2018) who relate unmarked nominals escaping TI to a process of pseudo-incorporation. We have pointed out numerous theoretical and empirical problems with pseudo-incorporation. We have shown that unmarked nominals escaping TI are active at the sentential

level when it comes to [uC], do not need to be adjacent to V, and can receive referential and specific interpretations. Not all these properties are expected under pseudo-incorporation. In turn, a third class of objects, namely the differentially marked ones, contain additional discourse-linking features that require licensing beyond [uC]. A schematic representation of the internal structure of the three types of objects is summarized below:
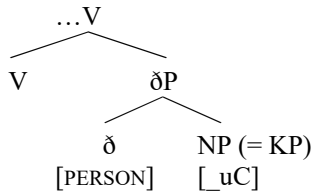
(61)   Uzbek objects
        a.   TI (True incorporation)   b.   Unmarked   nominals
                                                       escaping TI, containing [uC]
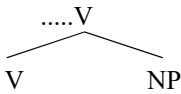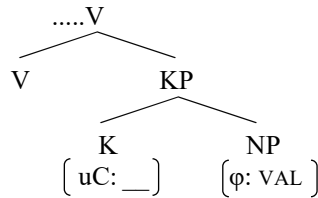
        c.   Marked nominals

    The three-way picture revealed by Uzbek objects goes against binary splits more canonically assumed in the literature, and which separate TI nominals from syntactically licensed nominals (see the references in Sections 1 and 2). What the Uzbek data show instead is that there are various classes of objects that need licensing in the syntax, as they contain a [uC] feature, even if they might not be differentially marked. This motivates the assumption that differential marking on objects is not simply the presence of a syntactic licensing need on certain types of objects.
    As surprising as the three-way split might seem, especially when assessed against the general background, Uzbek does not appear to be an exception when it comes to the organization and syntactic taxonomy of its objects. Irimia (2019, 2020, 2021) has discussed numerous other languages, from diverse families that behave in exactly the same way. The

data presented in these works pertain to Basque, Romance (Romanian, Spanish), Indo-Aryan (Gujarati), Mandarin Chinese, among others. In these languages, besides certain types of unmarked objects that create a complex predicate with V and are inert when it comes to sentential syntax, there are also unmarked objects with clear activity in sentential syntax and which give indication of the presence of a structural Case feature. The latter might force raising or associate with other effects of their relevance at the sentential syntax level. In turn, a third class of direct objects is set aside in that it receives special morphological marking and does show similar salience at the sentential syntax level.

   Another example of a three-way split in the morpho-syntactic behaviour of direct objects we can very briefly address here comes from Afrikaans. In this language, objects can be found in a position that follows negation, as in (62)a, or they can precede negation, as a result of the process known as Object Shift illustrated in (62)b (see especially Comradie 2007 for discussion on Afrikaans object shift). Regardless of the more specific and precise analysis used for object shift, the nominals undergoing this raising operation are generally assumed to be those categories which contain a large enough structure, with a [uC] feature. Importantly, Afrikaans nominals undergoing object shift are signalled by special syntax, i.e., their placement in a higher position, but they do not surface with dedicated morphology as would be characteristic to differential object marking.

(62)   Afrikaans objects
        a.   Ek het   nie   daardie man   geken   nie.
                I   have   NEG   that   man   known   F.NEG
                "I have not known that man."
        b.   Ek het   *daardie man*   <u>nie</u>   geken   nie.
                I   have   that   man   NEG   known   F.NEG
                "I have not known that man."

                                            (Comradie 2007, ex. 27a, b)

   The crucial point for us is that Afrikaans has also developed differential object marking, using a preposition which is homophonous with the dative (similarly to what we have seen for Spanish, in examples such as (6)a. In Afrikaans, this 'oblique' marking is sensitive to animacy, definiteness, affectedness, etc. (Molnárfi 2003, Abraham 2006, Biberauer 2018, a.o.), that is the typical categories seen elsewhere with DOM. In Afrikaans differentially marked have other characteristics. For example, they raise even higher; in (63)a we see the animate *wh*-quantifier (a

category that requires DOM, just like in many other languages) with differential marking in a position preceding even the auxiliary. That the dative is, in fact, the differential marker and not a 'regular' preposition is demonstrated by the impossibility of preposition stranding, a phenomenon otherwise common with all Afrikaans prepositions.

(63)   Afrikaans differential object marking
    a.   **Vir   wie** het   jy   gesien?
            DAT=DOM who have   you   seen
            "Who have you seen?"

    b.   *__Wie__ het **voor** jy   gesien?
            who have DAT=DOM   you   seen
             Intended: 'Who have you seen?'

                                (Abraham 2006, ex. 28a-b, adapted)

Just like for Uzbek, assuming that the nominals under object shift as in (62)b contain [uC] which needs obligatory licensing, it must be the case that the differential marker signals the application of a licensing operation beyond [uC]. Our proposal in terms of an additional operation related to discourse licensing captures these facts too.

Uzbek is thus similar to many other languages with three-way splits in the morpho-syntactic organization of its objects; differential object marking does not indicate just the difference between unlicensed and licensed nominals, but provides further motivation for the hypothesis that differential object marking is, in fact, an additional licensing operation beyond [uC].

Against this conclusion, one further remark is in place. A similar hypothesis, that severes DOM from Case licensing mechanisms is found in a well-defined line of accounts in both formal and descriptive orientations. Here, the special marking on objects is seen as the reflex of information-structure strategy beyond Case, which signals certain types of familiarity topics or, more generally, the so-called *secondary topics.* Extensive discussion in this direction can be found in Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011), Leonetti (2003, 2008), Iemmolo (2010), Belletti (2018) for western Romance, or Onea and Mardale's (2020) and Hill and Mardale (2021) for Old Romanian. As Irimia (2021) observes, topichood is a good candidate given that in many languages differentially marked objects can (only) be found in various configurations flagged by overt dislocation, and where focus might be excluded.

To very briefly illustrate one such case here, let's examine the following contrasts from Catalan. In (64) we notice that in-situ objects are not well-formed with differential object marking. The sentences in (65) instead illustrate contexts with clitic right dislocation (CLRD) and clitic left dislocation (CLLD). Here, the object is not found in its first merge position, but in a position which indicates overt movement to the high left periphery (with further raising of the verb complex under CLRD). As seen in (65)b, this raising operation makes available the presence of differential object marking on animate objects.

(64)   Catalan n-situ objects
    a.   No   conec   */? **a**   la   Marta.
          NEG know.PRS.1SG DAT=DOM DEF.F.SG   Marta
          Intended: "I don't know Marta."

    b.   No   necessito   *****a**   aquest llibre.
          NEG need.PRS.1SG   DAT=DOM this   book
          "I don't need this book."   (Kouja 2019: ex. 4a/b)

(65)   Catalan objects under CLRD / CLLD
    a.   No   la   conec,   **a**   la   Marta
          NEG CL.ACC.F know.PRS.1SG DAT=DOM   DEF.F.SG Marta
          / **A**   la   Marta, no la   conec.
          /DAT=DOM DEF.F.SG   Marta NEG CL.ACC.F know.PRS.1SG
          "Mart, I don't know."

    b.   No   el   necessito,   (*****a)**   aquest llibre
          NEG CL.ACC.M need.PRS.1SG DAT=DOM this   book
          / (*****A)**   aquest llibre, no   el   necessito
          DAT=DOM this   book NEG CL.ACC.M need.PRS.1SG
          "This book, I don't need."   (Kouja 2019: ex. 5a/b)

Despite the tight connection between information-structure mechanisms and differential object marking, an account along these lines is not easy to implement across-the-board, to all languages. Irimia (2021) underlines the challenges of DOM as topicalization in various languages, such as Spanish, Romanian, Gujarati or Mandarin Chinese. Similarly, this type of analysis is hard to extend to Uzbek too, as in the language DOM is not only possible in un-dislocated positions but also dislocated topics can be insensitive to the differential marker. Moreover, for various speakers, DOM does not have the same phonetic correlates of topics (lack of salient

intonation, etc.), and with certain classes of nominals (proper names, pronouns, etc.) is in fact obligatory irrespectively of focus or topic structure. This is exactly the picture we see in many other DOM languages which do not exhibit a connection between the special marking of objects and (overt dislocation) processes related to information structure.

Just like for other languages discussed by Irimia (2019 2020, 2021), what we observe instead is that the presence of generalized δ-features beyond [uCase] derives DOM insensitivity to topicality, as well as the differences between marked and unmarked nominals. While it is true that a much deeper understanding of δ-licensing is necessary, leaving it at a more abstract level is adequate for deriving the data. Hopefully, further work will make available a more precise formalization of the type of δ-licensing active in these types of DOM systems.

In any case, the ternary split argued for here (caseless, abstract Case licensing, ð licensing) and its correlation with various *nominal* sizes and distinct syntactic behaviours matches other recent observations about the nature and the syntactic behaviour of nominals. Irimia (2020) has presented some discussion by Ritter and Wiltscko's (2019) about a three-way structural taxonomy of pronominal categories in (Austrian) German, beyond differential object marking per se. We briefly summarize the facts here too, to better situate the Uzbek findings.

In a nutshell, Ritter and Wiltscko's (2019 motivate a complex organization in the construction of (Austrian) German pronouns, which are shown to come into three types. First, there is a form spelled out as *man,* which corresponds to an impersonal interpretation; *man* can be an antecedent for a plural reciprocal pronoun such as *einander,* but it cannot carry overt plural marking and cannot trigger plural agreement on the verb. This is shown in (66)(a). A second type of impersonal pronoun is homophonous with the second person personal pronoun *du*. It triggers 2nd person agreement on the verb but it cannot to the current addressee. Instead, in an example such as (66)(b), it makes a general statement about people in Austria. Thus, (66)(b) can be continued with a sentence in which *du* is can refer to the addressee, as seen in (66)(c).

(66)   German pronouns (Ritter and Wiltschko 2019, ex. 1a, b, 2a, b)

    (a)   *Impersonal man*

        In Österreich gib-t/*geb-en **man(*en) einander**   zu

        in Austria   give-3SG/PL   IMPERS(PL) RECP   to
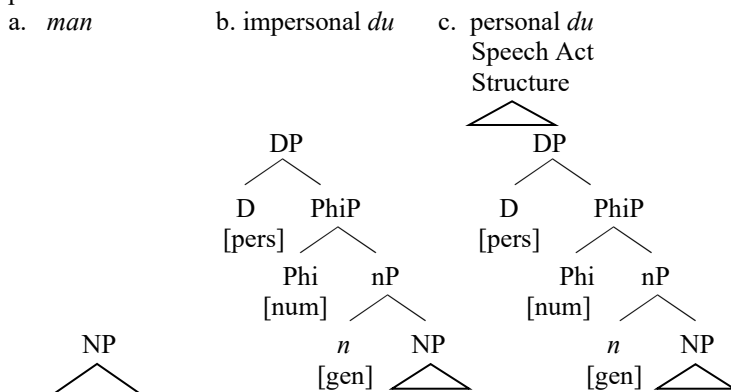
        Weihnachten Geschenke.

        Christmas   presents

        "In Austria people give each other gifts at Christmas."

(b)   *Impersonal du*
        In Österreich gib-st   **du**   deinen Freunden zu
        in Austria   give-2SG IMPERS.2SG   your   friends   to
        Weihnachten Geschenke.
        Christmas presents
        "In Austria people give their friends gifts at Christmas."

(c)   *Personal du*
        …Wenn **du** in Wien   bist,   sollt-est   **du** das
        when   you in Vienna be-2SG.PRES should-2SG you that
        also   auch tun.
        therefore also do
        "So, when you are in Vienna, you should do that too."

Importantly for the analysis entertained in this paper, Ritter and Wiltschko (2019) proposal is that the three forms of the pronoun must be associated with three types of structures. The most reduced structure is exhibited by impersonal *man*; the two authors provide evidence that it contains only the NP layer, as in (67)a. Gradual complexity is salient with impersonal *du*, which must not only encompass gender and number functional projections, but also a D layer, where a person feature is located, as in (67)b.

(67)   Ritter and Wiltschko (2019, ex. 4): three structural realizations for pronouns
        a. *man*   b. impersonal *du*   c. personal *du*
                                                      Speech Act
                                                      Structure

Despite its presence in the configuration, this *person* feature appears to be deficient; one reflex of this deficiency is that *impersonal du* cannot be

linked to the current discourse. This is, instead, an option permitted only by the personal pronoun *du*, as we have shown in (66)c. Ritter and Wiltschko (2019) assume that this interpretive possibility derives from the presence of Speech Act Structure with *personal du*, as in (67)c. Linking to the Speech Act opens the possibility of introducing and correctly identifying the current addressee.

It is not difficult to note that the difference between Uzbek non-TI unmarked objects and the differentially marked one comes very close to the difference between the structures of impersonal *du,* as in (67)b, and *personal du,* as (67)c. In turn, TI nominals, which have the most reduced structure in that they contain at most an NP, are very similar to *impersonal man*. For more discussion about Ritter and Wiltschko's (2019) data and their relevance to ternary object splits see Irimia (2020).

7. Conclusions

The main focus of this paper has been the phenomenon known as differential object marking, illustrated with less discussed data from Uzbek. We have demonstrated that two prominent accounts generally assumed in the theoretical literature with respect to DOM are problematic when it comes to the Uzbek facts. On the one hand, the marked nominals are not distinguished from the non-incorporating unmarked ones via the presence of an uninterpretable Case feature. Non-incorporating unmarked nominals equally give evidence of the presence of uninterpretable Case which is active in case competition operations at the sentential level, as seen with causatives, among others. On the other hand, the non-incorporating unmarked nominals are not restricted to strict adjacency to V and can obtain specific interpretations. This indicates that DOM is not necessarily a matter of raising or of features such as specificity. A more abstract condition is needed to derive it. The proposal put forward in this paper equates differential marking to an additional, discourse-linking licensing operation beyond uninterpretable Case. This implies that the syntax (and semantics) of Uzbek objects is not just a matter of the traditional split: unlicensed vs. licensed. A ternary differentiation is more adequate for internal objects, namely, unlicensed, licensed in terms of terms of [uC] and licensed in terms of both [uC] and additional discourse-linking. Differential marking affects only the latter type, but does not prevent other objects from undergoing abstract licensing in the syntax, even if overt morpho-syntactic effects might be missing, the object being spelled out unmarked. This ternary split is, in fact, a common pattern in many other languages from genetically unrelated families. In the light of

the results obtained here, continued research into differential object marking will help us make progress in the understanding of nominal structure and its interactions with sentential syntax.

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Notes

[1] Abbreviations = ACC: accusative, AOR: aorist, CAUS: causative, CL: clitic, CLS: classifier, COM: comitative, CONV: converb, DAT: dative, DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative, DOM: differential object marking, F: feminine, IMPF: imperfect, IMPERS: impersonal, IO: indirect object, LOC: locative, M: masculine, NEG: negation, NOM: nominative, NPST: non-past, N: neuter, PFV: perfective, PL: plural, POSS: possessive, PRES: present, PST: past, RECP: reciprocal, SG: singular, SUBJ: subject, 1/2/3: person.

[2] Ethnologue 2011-2014: http://www.ethnologue.com/18/language/uzb/

[3] See also Levin and Preminger (2014) or Coon and Preminger (2013), a.o.

[4] According to Baker and Vinokurova (2010, p. 602), in a position following the VP edge adverbial, the special marker would be possible on *salamaat* only under contrastive focus.

[5] As Sakha is not an ergative language, the higher nominal will receive default Case, namely the nominative.

[6] See also Keine (2010), Keine and Müller (2008) or Glushan (2008) for further discussion of object splits and PF.

[7] Odria (2017) proposes a different analysis, according to which the oblique marker is inserted at PF to avoid a a violation of the *Distinctiveness Condition* (Richards 2010) with the nominative or ergative higher nominal. As an explanation along these lines is harder to extend to Uzbek, especially given what we have seen in the causative data, where even unmarked non-TI nominals participate in Case Competition.

[8] López (2012) also discussed the possibility that nominals can contain a case feature introduced even lower in the structure. However, this is not uninterpretable Case (and might be abbreviated just as Case) and does not have a structural profile. We leave it aside here.