External Merge to Specifier of CP: Complementizers Projecting an Argument[1]

Abstract: The standard assumption that Spec,CP is always an A-bar position has been questioned for several languages where embedded C heads are involved in agreement and case-assignment; however, the idea that no XP can be introduced in Spec,CP by external merge has remained unchallenged. The paper presents novel object control data from Mari (Uralic; nominative, SOV) and argues that, in this language, a particular type of C head is capable of thematically licensing an overt argument externally merged in Spec,CP: the complementizer *manən* used in infinitival complement clauses projects a dative Goal of communication. This behavior of *manən* follows from its dual nature: it is a semi-grammaticalized verb 'say' that retains some lexical characteristics. I further suggest that the dative Goal can be considered an overt realization of the ADDRESSEE discourse variable, in line with the recent work on the presence of SPEAKER, ADDRESSEE, and logophoric center in syntax.

Keywords: logophoric control, complementizer, CP, discourse arguments, A/A-bar distinction, grammaticalization.

1 Introduction

The standard assumption that Spec,CP is always an A-bar position has been questioned for several languages, including Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Nez Perce,[2] i.a., where an embedded C head is involved in agreement and Case-assignment. This confirms that at least some C heads can have A-features in addition to A-bar features; see Wurmbrand (2019) for an overview of the problem and references therein. However, the idea that no XP can be

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[2] See Tanaka (2004), Horn (2008), and Yoon (2007) on ECM in embedded CPs in Japanese and Korean, Fong (2019) on hyper raising in Mongolian, and Deal (2017) on matrix verbs agreeing with an embedded argument in Nez Perce.

introduced in Spec,CP by external merge, put forward by Chomsky (2000:102), has remained unchallenged. In this paper I argue that a C head can thematically license a DP in Spec,CP. Presenting previously undescribed data from Mari,[3] a Uralic language, I demonstrate that a particular type of embedded C head projects a Goal argument.

The discussion is centered on object control sentences with a matrix speech act verb. In Mari speech act verbs serve as mandative predicates (also known as directives and verbs of order) when they embed an infinitival/subjunctive clause.

(1) a. Maša mə-la-m tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.[4]
Maša I-DAT-POS.1SG come-INF COMP tell-PST2
'Maša told me to come.'

b. Maša mə-la-m tə-lan-et tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.
Maša I-DAT-POS.1SG you-DAT-2SG come-INF COMP tell-PST2

[3] Unless specified otherwise, the data presented in the paper come from the Morkinsko-Sernur dialect of Meadow Mari (Eastern Mari) spoken in the Mari El republic, Russia. Several examples come from the Kuznetsovo variety of Hill Mari (Western Mari) spoken in the Kuznetsovo village, Mari El. The data have been collected during my field work in 2019 – 2020. The double-dative construction under discussion is attested in both varieties and I have found no differences in the distribution.

[4] Glossing abbreviations: ACC = accusative, COMP = complementizer, CONJ = conjunction, CVB = converb, DAT = dative, EL = elative, GEN = genitive, IMP = imperative, IN = inessive, INF = infinitive, JUS = jussive, NEG = negation, NPST = non-past, PL = plural, POS = possessive, PROG = progressive, PST = past (aorist), PST2 = past (perfective), SG = singular.

'Maša told me for you to come.'[5]

The question arises of how to analyze (1b), keeping in mind that in Mari it is usually prohibited to have two dative dependents in a single clause and that double-datives are not attested, for instance, in Hungarian (another Uralic language) or in Russian (a contact language). I argue that, while the first dative DP (*məlam*) in (1b) is a matrix Goal of communication, in parallel to (1a), the second dative DP (*təlanet*) is base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP and is thematically licensed by the C head manifested as the complementizer *manən*/null allomorph.

(2) $[_{VP}\ DP_{DAT1}\ [_{V'}\ [_{CP}\ DP_{DAT2i}\ [_{C'}\ [_{FinP}\ PRO_i\ [_{Fin'}\ [_{TP}\ t_i$ infinitive] Fin^0]] C^0 *manən*]] V^0]]

This exceptional property of *manən* follows from its semi-grammaticalized status: it is derived from the verb of communication *manaš* 'say, tell' and retains some of its lexical properties, including the ability to introduce a Goal of communication; see Heine & Kuteva (2002) for a discussion of grammaticalization of 'say' into complementizers in the world's languages.

The paper contributes to the discussion of the properties of CPs by expanding the range of A-type phenomena that an embedded C head can be involved in. Furthermore, I will suggest that the second dative DP projected by the embedded C head in Mari can be considered an overt realization of the ADDRESSEE discourse variable; cf. Speas (2004), Baker (2008), Sundaresan (2018), Spadine (2018, 2019), i.a., on the presence of (overt or covert) SPEAKER, ADDRESSEE, and logophoric center in syntax.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 describes the relevant syntactic properties of the double-dative construction. Section 3 focuses on the complementizer *manən* and its behavior. Section 4 presents a formal analysis for the mandative sentences and dismisses alternative approaches. Section 5 concludes the paper by discussing directions for future research.

[5] Throughout the paper I accompany the double-dative examples with neutral translations; see Section 2 for a detailed discussion of interpretation of such sentences.

2 Double-dative constructions

2.1 Speech act verbs used as mandative predicates

Mari verbs of communication, such as *kalasaš* 'say, tell', *kutəraš* 'say, speak', *šüdaš* 'ask, order', etc., [6] are interpreted either as plain speech act predicates or as mandatives depending on the type of the clausal complement. In (3) the verb *kalasaš* 'say, tell' embeds a finite indicative clause and the sentence receives a standard declarative reading.

(3) Rveze-vlak kniga-m už-ən-ət manən, Maša mə-lan-na kalas-en.
boy-PL book-ACC see-PST2-3PL COMP Maša we-DAT-POS.1PL tell-PST2
'Mary told us that the boys had seen the book.'

In (4), the same verb selects a finite subjunctive clause or an infinitival clause as its complement and the sentences must be interpreted as orders. The embedded non-finite clause can optionally be accompanied by the complementizer *manən*, which will be discussed in detail in Section 3.

(4) a. Reveze-vlak kniga-m už-əšt manən Maša mə-lan-na kalas-en.
boy-PL book-ACC see-JUS COMP Maša we-DAT-POS.1PL tell-PST2
'Maša told us that the boys should see the book.'

b. Maša mə-lan-na tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.
Maša we-DAT-POS.1PL come-INF COMP tell-PST2
'Maša told us to come.'

Let us focus on mandative constructions in (4). They contain a dative DP (DP_{DAT}) that simultaneously refers to the Goal of communication (the one who receives the message and can pass it on) and the obligation holder (the one who should carry out the order). Even though the DP_{DAT} in (4a) does not have to be coreferent with the subject of the embedded finite clause,

[6] In Mari, any verb of information transfer can be used as a mandative predicate, for instance, *kəčkəraš* 'shout', *seraš* 'write', *pəžgältäš* 'whisper' (Hill Mari), etc.

the Goal participant is understood to be at least partially responsible for the event that should happen: we are supposed to make sure that the boys will see the book. In (4b) the DP_{DAT} and the understood embedded subject must be co-indexed; non-c-command control and long-distance control (Landau 2004) are prohibited (5).

(5) Maša$_k$ [təj [Petja-n$_m$ joltaš-əžə-vlak-lan]$_i$ [PRO$_{i/*k/*m}$ təšeč kaj-aš]
Maša you Petja-GEN friend-POS.3SG-PL-DAT here.EL go-INF
kalas-en-at manən] pal-a.
tell-PST2-2SG COMP know-NPST.3SG
'Maša knows that you told Petja's friends to come.'

2.2 Double datives: overview

The declarative/mandative ambiguity is typical for speech act verbs in many languages, including English, Russian, Spanish, among others. What makes the Mari case interesting is that in object control sentences with a mandative interpretation two non-coordinated dative nominal phrases can appear. This is illustrated in (6) for an embedded intransitive verb and in (7) for an embedded transitive verb.

(6) a. Maša mə-la-m tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.
Maša I-DAT-POS.1SG come-INF COMP tell-PST2
'Maša told me to come.'

b. Maša mə-la-m tə-lan-et tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.
Maša I-DAT-POS.1SG you-DAT-2SG come-INF COMP tell-PST2
'Maša told me for you to come.'

(7) a. Təj mə-lan-na kapka-m ačal-aš (manən) kalas-əš-əč.
you we-DAT-POS.1PL fence-ACC fix-INF COMP tell-PST-2SG
'You told us to fix the fence.'

b. Təj mə-lan-na Petja-lan kapka-m ačal-aš (manən) kalas-əš-əč.

you we-DAT-POS.1PL Petja-DAT fence-ACC fix-INF COMP tell-PST-2SG

'You told us for Petja to fix the fence.'

The construction is schematized in (8). The DP_{DAT2} obligatorily controls PRO (9).

(8) $[DP_{DAT1}\ [DP_{DAT2i}\ [PRO_i$ infinitive]] verb]

(9) Maša mə-lan-na_k [Petja-n_m joltaš-əžə-vlak-lan]$_i$

Maša we-DAT-POS.1PL Petja-GEN friend-POS.3SG-PL-DAT

[$PRO_{i/*k/*m}$ təšeč kaj-aš (manən)] kalas-en.

here.EL go-INF COMP tell-PST2

'Maša told us for Petja's friends to come.'

As captured by the prose translation in (6) and (7), the first dative DP (DP_{DAT1}) refers to the immediate Goal of communication, i.e. the intermediary that receives the original message.[7] Thus, it is restricted to [+Human] referents; for example, an inanimate means of communication – a letter or a message – cannot be marked dative (10).[8]

(10) Maša serəš-əšte / *serəš-lan mə-lam tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.

Maša letter-IN letter-DAT I-DAT.1SG come-INF comp tell-PST2

[7] The intermediary may be responsible for controlling the task: in this case, (6b) receives the reading 'Mary told me to ensure that you will come'. However, this is not required, as (6b) can also be interpreted as 'Mary told me to tell you to come', with a plausible continuation along the line '… but I didn't tell you' or '… but you didn't come'. As I will show in Section 2.3, the semantic properties of an obligation holder and a Goal of communication are blended in the DP_{DAT2} and this participant is best described as the ultimate recipient of the order.

[8] A Goal of communication can be [-Human] but [+Animate] if the context allows animals to become appropriate addressees: in a fairy tale, etc.

'In a letter, Maša told me to come.'

The DP_{DAT1} is structurally equivalent to the DP_{DAT} in the single-dative construction, which becomes evident in sentences with idiosyncratic case-marking. For instance, the verb *sörvalaš* 'beg' requires an accusative Goal (11a). The DP_{ACC} can co-occur with an independent DP_{DAT2} (11b) and such sentences receive interpretations parallel to those in (6) and (7).

(11) a. Maša jumə-m / *jumə-lan tol-aš (manən) sörval-en.
Maša God-ACC God-DAT come-INF COMP beg-PST2
'Maša begged God to come.'

b. Maša jumə-m mə-lan-na tol-aš (manən) sörval-en.
Maša God-ACC we-DAT-POS.1PL come-INF COMP beg-PST2
'Maša begged God for us to come.'

2.3 DP_{DAT2} as a Goal/obligation holder

Let us take a closer look at the DP_{DAT2}. As schematized in (8), it forms a constituent with the embedded non-finite clause that excludes the DP_{DAT1} and the matrix predicate. Thus, the two cannot be separated by a matrix adverb (12), even though in Mari adjuncts scramble freely within a clause.

(12) (Tače) təj (tače) mə-lan-na [Petja-lan (*tače) kapka-m erla
today you today we-DAT-POS.1PL Petja-DAT today fence-ACC tomorrow
ačal-aš (manən)] kalas-əš-əč.
fix-INF COMP tell-PST-2SG
'Today you told us for Petja to fix the fence tomorrow.'

Likewise, the DP_{DAT2} and the non-finite clause must be dislocated together under extraposition (13) and in fragment answers (14).

(13) a. Təj mə-lan-na kalas-əš-əč [Petja-lan kapka-m ačal-aš (manən)].
you we-DAT-POS.1PL tell-PST-2SG Petja-DAT fence-ACC fix-INF COMP

'You told us for Petja to fix the fence.'

b. *Təj mə-lan-na Petja-lan kalas-əš-əč [kapka-m ačal-aš (manən)].
you we-DAT-POS.1PL Petja-DAT tell-PST-2SG fence-ACC fix-INF COMP

(14) a. A: Mo-m Maša tə-lan-et kalas-en?
what-ACC Maša you-DAT-POS.2SG tell-PST2
B: Mə-lan-na təšeč kaj-aš (manən).
we-DAT-POS.1PL here.EL go-INF COMP
'What did Maša tell you? For us to come.'

b. A: *Mo-m Maša tə-lan-et mə-lan-na kalas-en?
what-ACC Maša you-DAT-POS.2SG we-DAT-POS.1PL tell-PST2
B: Təšeč kaj-aš (manən).
here.EL go-INF COMP

c. A: Mo-m Maša kalas-en?
what-ACC Maša tell-PST2
B: *Tə-lan-et mə-lan-na təšeč kaj-aš (manən).
you-DAT-POS.2SG we-DAT-POS.1PL here.EL go-INF COMP

It might be suggested that the DP_{DAT2} is the embedded subject itself. Overt embedded dative subjects are found, for example, in Russian (Burukina 2019) and in Hungarian (Toth 2000). However, the following property of the DP_{DAT2} are incompatible with its being an argument of the embedded predicate: it obeys the [+Human] restriction. A subjunctive clause with the [-Human] subject can be embedded under a speech act verb (15a); however, it is only possible to substitute it with an infinitival clause if the DP_{DAT2} is a proper Goal of communication. Thus, (15b) would receive a nonsensical reading 'Maša asked us to talk to the milk'.

(15) a. Maša mə-lan-na [šör tünö lij-že manən] kalas-əš.
Maša we-DAT-POS.1PL milk outside be-JUS COMP tell-PST

‘Maša told us that the milk should be outside.’

b. #Maša mə-lan-na [šör-lan tünö lij-aš (manən)] kalas-əš.
Maša we-DAT-POS.1PL milk-DAT outside be-INF COMP tell-PST
Intended: ‘Maša told us for the milk to be outside.’

The DP_{DAT2} is further restricted to referring to a conscious addressee that can, potentially, receive the message.[9] Consider the following scenario. The children are already asleep and they should sleep until the evening. The doctor has talked to me and asked to check on them. In this situation (16a), which contains a finite subjunctive clause, is perfectly acceptable as an order/recommendation. In contrast, (16b), where an embedded non-finite clause is accompanied by a dative DP, is infelicitous: since the children are already asleep, it would not make sense for me to talk to them and to tell them to continue sleeping until the evening.

(16) a. Vrač mə-lan-em [joča-vlak kas marte mal-əšt manən] kalas-en.
doctor I-DAT-1SG child-PL evening until sleep-JUS.PL COMP tell-PST2
‘The doctor told me that the children should sleep until the evening.’

b. #Vrač mə-lan-em joča-vlak-lan kas marte mal-aš (manən) kalas-en.
doctor I-DAT-POS.1SG child-PL-DAT evening until sleep-INF COMP tell-PST2
Intended: ‘The doctor told me for the children to sleep until the evening.’

The same restriction applies to the DP_{DAT} in single-dative sentences: (17) is only felicitous if the doctor could have addressed the children directly, i.e. if they were awake at that moment.

[9] This restriction undermines a potential analysis whereby the DP_{DAT2} is purely an obligation holder and not a Goal of communication; cf. Landau’s (2020) proposal that the notional addressees in such English sentences as *Dad said to take care of ourselves no matter what we do.* are understood but not selected as Goal participants of the speech act event encoded my the matrix verb.

(17) Vrač joča-vlak-lan kas marte mal-aš (manən) kalas-en.
doctor child-PL-DAT evening until sleep-INF COMP tell-PST2
'The doctor told the children to sleep until the evening.'

In addition to this, double-dative sentences do not pass the idiom chunk test, typically used to distinguish control from raising. In (18a) the expression *šem pərəs koklaštəna kudal ertəš,* literally 'the black cat ran between us', is embedded under a speech act verb as a combination of a non-finite clause and a dative DP. It does not retain the idiomatic reading 'we bickered/broke up' even though it is possible to say non-periphrastically 'Maša told Peter for us to quarrel' (18b).

(18) a. #Maša Petja-lan [šem pərəs-lan koklaštə-na kudal ert-aš (manən)] kalas-əš.
Maša Petja-DAT black cat-DAT between-POS.1PL run-INF COMP tell-PST
'Maša told Petja to tell the cat to run between us.'
Not available: 'Maša told Petja for us to quarrel.'

b. Maša Petja-lan mə-lan-na vursedəl-aš kalas-əš.
Maša Petja-DAT we-DAT-POS.1PL quarrel-INF tell-PST
'Maša told Petja for us to quarrel.'

The properties of the DP_{DAT2} discussed above are straightforwardly explained under the assumption that there is an intermediate head that takes a non-finite clause as its complement and introduces the DP_{DAT2} assigning to it the Goal of communication role. [10] In what follows I argue that this head is the C head manifested as a semi-grammaticalized complementizer *manən*.

[10] It might be suggested that the DP_{DAT2} is base-generated as an argument of the embedded predicate and later undergoes A-movement to a position at the left periphery where it receives a second thematic role. However, the results of preliminary investigation show

3 Double-dative constructions: the role of *manən*

3.1 DP_{DAT2} is projected by the C head

In double-dative constructions under discussion the DP_{DAT1} is a matrix Goal and the DP_{DAT2} is related to the non-finite clause but is not an argument of the embedded predicate. This is schematized in (19), where X^0 is the head that connects the DP_{DAT2} and the embedded clause.

(19) [… DP_{DAT1} … [$_{XP}$ DP_{DAT2i} [$_{X'}$ [PRO_i infinitive] X^0] … SAY]

I argue that the X head is a C head of a particular type: its exponent is the complementizer *manən* or its null allomorph.

(20) Maša mə-lan-na [$_{CP}$ Petja-lan$_i$ [$_{FinP}$ PRO_i tol-aš] (manən)] kalas-en.

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that, unlike ordinary subjects (i), the DP_{DAT2} cannot reconstruct under the embedded negation (iii), which suggests that it is externally merged higher in the structure.

(i) Čəla rveze-vlak em-əm jü-ən ogətəl.
all boy-PL medicine-ACC drink-CVB NEG.PST.3PL
'All the boys didn't drink the medicine.' / 'Not all boys drank the medicine.'

(ii) Petja čəla rveze-vlak-lan em-əm jü-aš ogəl manən kalas-en.
Petja all boy-PL-DAT medicine-ACC drink-INF NEG COMP tell-PST2
Only: 'Petja told all the boys that they should not drink the medicine.'

(iii) Maša mə-lan-na čəla rveze-vlak-lan em-əm jü-aš ogəl manən kalas-en.
Maša we-DAT-1PL all boy-PL-DAT medicine-ACC drink-INFNEG COMP tell-PST2
Strongly preferred: 'Maša told us that all the boys should not drink the medicine.'

More data need to be gathered and I leave the issue for future research. I am grateful to Susi Wurmbrand and Idan Landau (p.c.) for suggesting to me this alternative approach.

Maša we-DAT-POS.1PL Petja-DAT come-INF COMP tell-PST2

'Maša told us for Petja to come.'

I propose that the complementizer *manən* not only selects a non-finite FinP as its complement but also exceptionally projects an argument in Spec,CP – the DP_{DAT2} – and assigns to it the Goal role. This analysis accounts for all properties of the DP_{DAT2} listed above including the selectional restriction. Furthermore, it straightforwardly captures the correlation: only those predicates that can embed a non-finite complement clause with the complementizer *manən* allow double datives; for instance, evaluative adjectives, which can never appear with two dative DPs, do not embed non-finite clauses with *manən* (21). [11]

(21) Ač'a-ž-lan [(*mə-lan-na) təšeč kaj-aš (*manən)] nele.

father-DAT we-DAT-POS.1PL here.EL go-INF COMP hard

'For his/her father it is hard to leave.'

The ability to assign a thematic role is considered to be a property of lexical heads and Spec,CP has been traditionally described as an A-bar position suitable for internal merge of dislocated elements but not for external merge of brand-new participants (Chomsky 2000). I argue that the exceptional status of *manən* as a complementizer that can project an argument results from

[11] Sentences with *nele* 'hard, difficult, heavy' show negative results for the standard raising diagnostics, including the selection test (i).

(i) #Kogəl'-lan kü-aš(-əžə) nele.

pie-DAT cook-INF-POS.3SG hard

Intended (infelicitous): 'It is difficult for the pie to cook.'

its being a semi-grammaticalized[12] element derived from the verb *manaš* 'say, tell'; see Savatkova (2002), Toldova & Serdobolskaya (2014) for a discussion of the history of *manən*. I propose that, in modern Mari, the following entries for *manən* coexist (22).

(22) Entries of manən:

a) a lexical verb,

b) a semi-functional complementizer that appears in clausal complements of speech act verbs (i.e. in 'speech act' contexts) and is capable of projecting a Goal of communication,

c) a 'pure' complementizer that is used in CP complements of other types of predicates and in adjunct purpose clauses.

[12] Complementizers that are traced back to 'say' verbs are attested in many language families, including, for instance, Indo-Iranian, Austronesian, and Nakh-Daghestanian languages (Hock 1982, Klamer 2000, Heine & Kuteva 2002, Daniel 2007). Among the Uralic languages 'say'-based functional items are present in Mari and Udmurt (Serdobolskaya & Toldova 2011). The grammaticalization of speech act verbs typically proceeds along the following path: quotative markers > complementizers under speech act verbs > complementizers under {cognition and perception verbs > emotion verbs > modals > factive verbs} (Chappell 2008). Throughout the paper I use the term „semi-grammaticalized" to indicate that, in modern Mari, *manən* has not yet become an exclusively functional item void of any lexical properties and that several entries of *manən* corresponding to different grammaticalization stages are used in parallel. The term is also used to refer to those complementizers whose distribution is restricted to a particular type of embedded clauses; cf. for instance, so-called semi-complementizers in Cantonese Yue and Hakka discussed by Chappell (2008).

In the next section I will discuss properties of the complementizer *manən* in more detail.

3.2 The complementizer *manən*

That *manən* appears in embedded indicative, subjunctive, and non-finite[13] clauses is first reported in Isanbaev (1961), Timofeeva (1961), Galkin (1964), Kovedyaeva (1976), i.a., where *manən* is described as subordination/quotative marker; no formal analysis has been proposed. Morphologically *manən* is identical to the non-agreeing converb/PST.3SG form of the verb *manaš* 'say, tell', which can still occasionally be used as a lexical predicate (23).

(23) "Ala virus?"– man-ən xirurg.
CONJ virus tell-PST2 surgeon
''And a virus?' – said the surgeon.'

When used in an embedded clause, similarly to lexical predicates and unlike, for instance, complementizers *što* 'that' and *štobə̑* 'so that' borrowed from Russian to Hill Mari,[14] *manən* always appears at the right edge.

(24) a. Ävä ergə-žə-län keles-en [štobə̑ tədə sə̑kə̑r-əm näl-žə (*štobə̑)]
mother son-POS.3SG-DAT tell-PST2 so that he bread-ACC take-JUS.3SG so that
b. Ävä ergə-žə-län keles-en [(*manə̑n) tədə sə̑kə̑r-əm näl-žə manə̑n].
mother son-POS.3SG-DAT tell-PST2 COMP he bread-ACC take-JUS.3SG COMP
'The mother told her son to take/buy bread.' (a = b)

[13] As for non-finite clauses, *manən* is allowed only in purpose adjuncts and complements of verbs of information transfer.

[14] As in Russian, in Hill Mari *što* 'that' is used in embedded indicative clauses and *štobə̑* 'so that' is used in subjunctive clauses; neither of them can co-occur with *manə̑n*. There are no borrowed complementizers in the variety of Meadow Mari under discussion.

At the same time, *manən* as a complementizer is desemanticized. It is not confined to speech act contexts and also appears in complement clauses embedded under mental and emotive predicates, such as 'believe', 'know', or 'be afraid' (25). Furthermore, it can be used in adjunct purpose clauses where it clearly does not contribute any 'speech act' semantics (26).

(25) Iza üšan-a [šüžar-že ok šojəšt manən].
brother believe-NPST.3SG sister-POS.3SG NEG.3SG lie COMP
'The brother believes that his sister will not lie to him.'
[Toldova & Serdobolskaya 2014]

(26) [Rveze-vlak pur-əšt manən] me kapka-m poč-en-na.
boy-PL-DAT enter-JUS.PL COMP we gate-ACC open-PST2-1PL
'We opened the gate so that the boys could enter.'

Despite the fact that in some contexts *manən* is used as a functional item, it may still be tempting to analyze double-dative constructions with a matrix speech act/mandative verb as involving a lexical *manən*: namely, a converb embedding a non-finite clause in a complex adjunct.[15] Under such an analysis (20) would literally mean 'Mary told us something, saying to Peter to come'. The following facts, however, provide evidence that *manən* is a true complementizer, a C head.

[15] Languages where 'say'-based complementizers are re-analyzed as Vs instead of Cs include Abe (Koopman & Sportiche 1989), Turkish (Özyıldız et al. 2018), Kipsigis (Driemel & Kouneli 2020), among others. For the reasons listed in this section of the paper, I believe such a re-analysis to be untenable when applied to the Mari data. It is also challenged by the two empirical observations discussed in Section 4: the incompatibility of double datives with finite clauses and the contrast between partial control in single-dative sentences and exhaustive control in double-dative sentences.

First, embedded clauses with *manən* under consideration are complements, while converb clauses are usually adjuncts.[16] Clausal complements of speech act verbs cannot co-occur with an internal DP argument, such as 'fact' or 'joke' (27), as this would violate the Theta Criterion.

(27) a. Me Petja-lan tidə məskara-m kalas-en-na.
we Petja-DAT this joke-ACC tell-PST2-1PL
'We told Petja this joke.'

b. *Me Petja-lan tidə məskara-m [tud-lan tol-aš man-ən] kalas-en-na.
we Petja-DAT this joke-ACC she/he-DAT come-INF say-CVB tell-PST2-1PL
Intended: 'We told Petja this joke, saying to her/him to come.'

In addition to this, unlike clausal adjunct, clausal complements allow sub-extraction (28).

(28) a. Nuno mə-lan-na [kö-m šel-aš (manən)] kalas-en-ət?
they we-DAT-POS.1PL who-ACC hit-INF COMP tell-PST2-3PL
'Who did they tell us to hit?'

b. Kö-m$_i$ nuno mə-lan-na [t$_i$ šel-aš (manən)] kalas-en-ət?
who-ACC they we-DAT-POS.1PL hit-INF COMP tell-PST2-3PL
'Who did they tell us to hit?'

c. [Kö-m šel-ən] me kaj-əš-na?
who-ACC hit-CVB we go-PST-1PL

[16] The only two lexical predicates that select a converbial clause are *kertaš* and *moštaš* 'be capable of' (i); note that these verbs cannot embed infinitival or finite CPs.

(i) Me mur-en / *mur-aš mošt-ena/ kert-əna.
we sing-CVB sing-INF be.capable-NPST.1PL can-NPST.1PL
'We can sing.'

'Who did we leave having hit?'

d. ??Kö-m_i me [t_i šel-ən] kaj-əš-na?
who-ACC we hit-CVB go-PST-1PL
Intended: 'Who did we leave having hit?'

Second, the morphological form of *manən* in speech act verb constructions is fixed. For instance, a negative *–de* form can be derived out of a converb (29a); however, *-de* forms are never used in the sentences under discussion (29b).[17]

(29) a. Maša salam-əm kalas-əde / man-de pur-əš.
Maša hello-ACC tell-CVB.NEG tell-CVB.NEG enter-PST
'Maša entered without saying hello.'

b. *Maša t-lat [təšeč kaj-aš / kaj-Ø man-de] kalas-en.
Masa you-DAT.2SG here.EL go-INF go-IMP tell-CVB.NEG tell-PST2
Intended: 'Maša told you not to leave.' or 'Maša did not tell you to leave.'

Third, *manən* used as a complementizer cannot be substituted by a converb form of a synonymous speech act verb. This is not expected if *manən* is a lexical predicate, since the verbs *manaš, popaš*, and *kalasaš* 'tell, say' have similar semantic and syntactic distribution.

(30) *Təj mə-lan-na təšeč kaj-aš pop-ən / kutər-ən kalas-əš-əč.
you we-DAT-POS.1PL here.EL go-INF speak-CVB say-CVB tell-PST-2SG
Intended: 'You told us to leave.'

Taking these data into account, I argue that *manən* is being grammaticalized as a functional element. Its grammaticalization has not been complete yet: in speech act contexts it retains

[17] Compare this, for instance, to the behavior of the say-type complementizer *le* in Kipsigis, which, as argued by Driemel & Kouneli (2020), should be analyzed as a lexical verb: it is inflected in the subjunctive mood and can be marked for Aspect.

some properties of the lexical verb *manaš*, such as the ability to combine with a non-finite clausal complement and to license the Goal argument.[18]

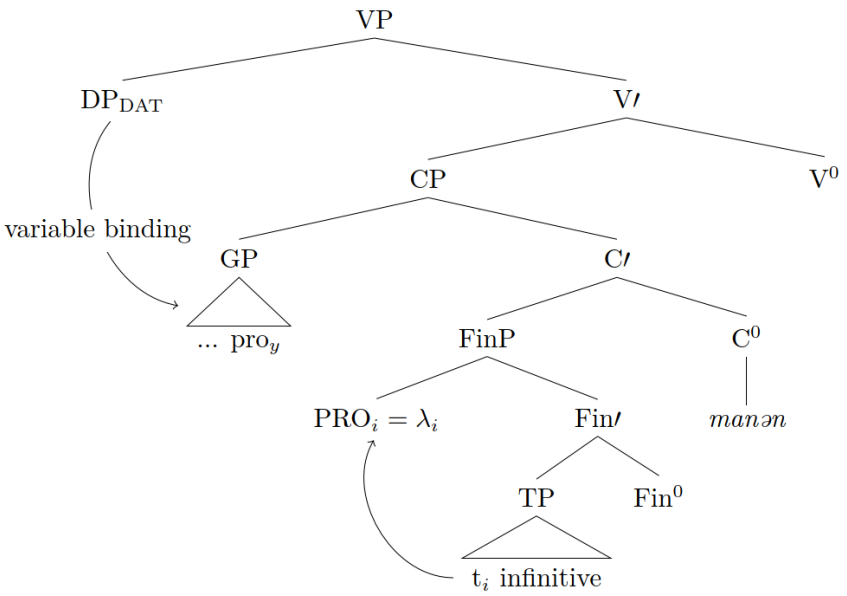
4 Deriving double-dative constructions:

4.1 Logophoric control

To derive the structure of the single- and double-dative sentences under discussion, I adopt Landau's (2015) logophoric control analysis for attitude predicates, including verbs of order. The following structure corresponds to sentences with a single DP_{DAT} (31).

[18] The general question remains about the source of dative case in Mari. On the one hand, it can be analyzed as a lexical case assigned to Goals of communciation. On the other hand, at least in some varieties of Mari, overt dative subjects are available in infinitival purpose clauses with the complementizer *manən* (i), which suggests that dative is a structural case assigned by embedded C/T; see Andrews (1971), Comrie (1974), Sigurðsson (1991), i.a., for particular examples of case-marked subjects of infinitives in Ancient Greek, Icelandic, and Russian and Sundaresan & McFadden (2009) and Landau (2013) for overviews of the problem. Both of these approaches could explain why DP_{DAT2} in double-dative sentences is marked dative and thorough examination of more data is required to decide between them.

(i) %[Kogəl'-lan kü-aš manən] me duxovka-m čükt-əš-na.
pie-DAT cook-INF COMP we oven-ACC turn.on-PST-1PL
'We turned on the oven for the pie to cook.'



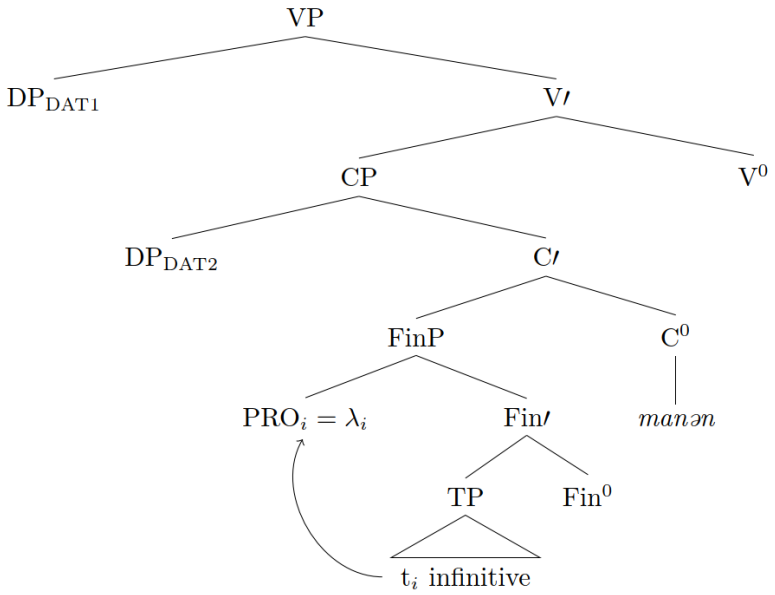
(31)

A crucial component of the structure in (31) is the concept generator phrase (GP). Landau (2015) argues that CP complements of attitude predicates are propositional and thus must include AUTHOR (SPEAKER), ADDRESSEE, TIME, and WORLD coordinates that relate them to the context. These coordinates can be introduced syntactically by the GP in Spec,CP and their values are determined by elements in the matrix clause; cf. Baker (2008), Zanuttini (2008), Diercks (2013), i.a., on the structural presence of discourse-related operators. In sentences with logophoric control, the AUTHOR and ADDRESSEE coordinates mediate the relation between the matrix controller and the embedded PRO. In object control control sentences the ADDRESSEE coordinate is syntactically projected as *pro*$_y$ bound by the matrix object, typically a Goal of communication. *Pro*$_y$ further values the embedded PRO variable via predication, where *pro*$_y$ is the subject and the embedded FinP is the predicate.[19]

[19] The FinP is turned into a predicate via the operator movement of PRO to Spec,FinP; the assumption can be traced back to Chomsky (1980), Williams (1980), Hendrick (1988), and Clark (1990). For a more detailed discussion of logophoric control see Landau (2015).

I propose to derive the structural representation for double-dative sentences from the structure in (31). The only difference between the two is that in (32) the embedded C head projects the DP_{DAT2} – that is, the ultimate Goal/obligation holder.

(32)



Being a referential expression, the DP_{DAT2} in (32) cannot be bound by the matrix Goal. Aside from that, it essentially plays the role of *pro*$_y$ in (31) and is the subject of the complex predicate formed by the embedded FinP and *manən*.

4.2 Additional support for the proposed analysis

The analysis presented in Section 4.1 makes several predictions regarding the distribution of double datives that are borne out. First, in control sentences with a single DP_{DAT} flexible binding relation is established between the DP_{DAT} (the controller) and *pro*$_y$ in the embedded clause, hence we expect partial coreference between the controller and *pro*$_y$ (and, consequently, PRO) to be allowed. In contrast, in sentences with two dative DPs the relation between the DP_{DAT2} and RPO is that of predication, which only leaves a possibility for exhaustive control. This pattern is observed in Mari: while partial control is possible in single-dative sentences

(33a), in double-dative sentences strict coreference between the controller and PRO is required (33b).[20]

(33) a. Maša t-lat$_i$ [PRO$_{i+}$ təšeč pərl'a kaj-aš (manən)] kalas-en.
Maša you-DAT.2SG here.EL together go-INF COMP tell-PST2
'Maša told you to leave together.' (= you and Maša should leave together)

b. *Maša mə-la-m t-lat$_i$ [PRO$_{i+}$ təšeč pərl'a kaj-aš (manən)] kalas-en.
Maša I-DAT-POS.1SG you-DAT.2SG here.EL together go-INF COMP tell-PST2
Intended: 'Maša told me for you to leave together.'

Second, for the embedded FinP to be predicated of the embedded *pro$_y$* or DP$_{DAT2}$ it must contain a PRO variable (31, 32) and double-dative sentences with fully saturated finite FinPs are expected to be ungrammatical. This is true for Mari: as shown in (34), double-datives are incompatible with finite embedded clauses even though, in principle, speech act verbs can select finite subjunctive/indicative clausal complements.

(34) a. Maša mə-lan-na (*Petja-lan) [rveze-vlak kniga-m už-əšt manən] kalas-en.
Maša we-DAT-POS.1PL Petja-DAT boy-PL book-ACC see-JUS COMP tell-PST2
'Maša told us that the boys should see the book.'

b. Maša mə-lan-na [*Petja-lan / Petja tol-žo manən] kalas-en.
Maša we-DAT-POS.1PL Petja-DAT Petja come-JUS COMP tell-PST2

[20] Similarly to its translation equivalent in English, the modifier *pərla* 'together' must be linked to a semantically plural nominal phrase (i). For (33a) to be grammatical, the embedded PRO subject must be plural, even though the controller is singular.

(i) a. Me təšeč pərl'a ka-en-na.
we here.EL together go-PST2-1PL
'We left together.'

b. Məj təšeč (*pərl'a) ka-en-am.
I here.EL together go-PST2-1SG
'I left.'

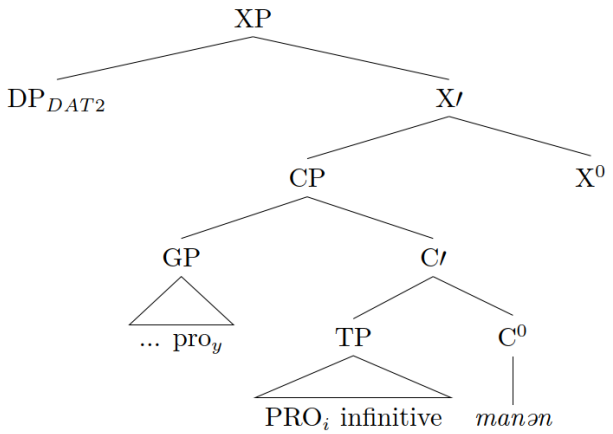
'Maša told us that Petja should come.'

These properties of double-dative constructions are straightforwardly accounted for by the proposed analysis and posit a problem for alternative silent predicate approaches outlined in Section 4.3.

4.3 Against alternative silent predicate analyses

Instead of placing the DP_{DAT2} immediately in Spec,CP, it might be suggested that it is one of the arguments of a silent dyadic predicate (X^0), the second one being the embedded clause. This is schematized in (35); the XP is later selected by the matrix speech act verb.

(35)



A plausible candidate for X^0 would be a silent deontic modal, a counterpart of lexical modal verbs *külaš* 'be necessary' and *liaš* 'be allowed'. The latter require a dative obligation/permission holder and an embedded clause; the Holder obligatorily controls the embedded PRO subject.

(36) Ač'a-ž-lan$_i$ [PRO$_i$ təšeč kaj-aš] kül-eš.
father-DAT here.EL go-INF be.necessary-NPST.3SG
'For his/her father it is necessary to leave.'

However, the silent modal analysis is questioned by the following empirical observations. First, as discussed in Section 2, the DP_{DAT2} is a Goal and must comply with the [+Human] restriction. In contrast, the obligation holder restriction is merely [+ Animate] (37).

(37) a. Uškal-lan$_i$ [PRO$_i$ šudo-m kočk-aš] kül-eš.

cow-DAT grass-ACC eat-INF be.necessary-NPST.3SG

'For the cow it is necessary to eat grass.'

b. *Krovat'-vlak-lan pərd-əž vokten šog-aš kül-eš.

bed-PL-DAT wall near stand-INF be.necessary-NPST.3SG

Intended: 'For the beds it is necessary to be near to the wall.'

Second, examples with a matrix deontic modal and an embedded non-finite clause with *manən* are degraded (38).

(38) *Ač'a-ž-lan$_i$ [PRO$_i$ təšeč kaj-aš manən] kül-eš.

father-DAT here.EL go-INF COMP be.necessary-NPST.3SG

'For his/her father it is necessary to leave.'

Third, *külaš* and *liaš* are compatible with finite subjunctive clauses (39).

(39) [Kogəl'o vaškerak kü-žo manən] mə-lan-na kül-eš.

pie quickly cook-JUS COMP we-DAT-POS.1PL be.necessary-NPST.3SG

'It is necessary for us for the pie to cook quickly.'

A plausible assumption would be that a silent modal is present in sentences with a matrix speech act verb whenever a mandative interpretation appears, i.e. when a non-finite or a subjunctive clause is embedded. However, recall from Section 4.2 that double datives are incompatible with finite complements. Thus, to adopt (35), we would have to dissociate the presence of a modal and the availability of a mandative reading and to stipulate that a silent deontic modal is strikingly different in its distribution from its overt counterparts. Conversely, the analysis outlined in this paper does not require any such accommodations.

5 Implications and concluding remarks

This paper has attempted to demonstrate that in Mari in sentences with a matrix speech act verb and a non-finite clausal complement the embedded C head is capable of thematically licensing an argument projected in Spec,CP. This becomes possible due to the semi-grammaticalized

status of the complementizer: it is a hybrid derived from a verb 'say' that already has a distribution of a functional item but still retains some properties of a lexical predicate. I have further adopted Landau's (2015) logophoric control analysis to provide a structural representation for the constructions under discussion that fully accounts for their properties.

Evidence that Spec,CP can be an A-position comes from many languages where cross-clausal A-dependencies, such as hyper raising, ECM, and long-distance agreement, are possible in embedded finite clauses over a CP boundary. Examples include hyper raising in Brazilian Portuguese (Nunes 2009), ECM into finite clausal complements in Japanese (Horn 2008), hyper agreement in Nez Perce (Deal 2017), to name a few; see Wurmbrand (2019) for a general discussion. In all these cases Spec,CP serves as an landing side to which an embedded argument can move to be further probed by a matrix head or the C head itself. The present paper elaborates this discussion by showing that Spec,CP as an A-position can be suitable not only for internal merge and Agree but also for external merge and theta-role assignment.[21]

[21] In some languages a C head maintains its A-bar properties and is involved in A-operations at the same time; this has been reported, for instance, for Japanese by Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2020). In Japanese embedded subjects can exceptionally be assigned accusative case by a matrix v across a CP boundary; the standard analysis assumes subject-movement to the embedded Spec,CP, an A-position (Tanaka 2004, Horn 2008). This, however, does not preclude A-bar scrambling of an embedded item into the matrix clause (i).

(i) [Nissan-to Honda-ni]$_i$ Toyota-no supai-ga [$_{CP}$ John-o hoka-no
Nissan-and Honda-with Toyota-'s spy-NOM John-ACC other-'s
dono-meekaa-yori t_i kuwasii-to] omot-teiru.
whichever-maker-more.than familiar-COMP think-PROG

The proposed analysis opens up several directions for future research. First, it would be worth looking at other languages where speech act verbs are being grammaticalized into complementizers. The question would be whether the so-called semi-complementizers found, for instance, in Cantonese Yue and Hakka (Chappell 2008) exhibit mixed behavior similar to that of *manən* and can be analyzed as complementizers with 'remnant' lexical properties.

Second, the assumption that there are several coexisting lexical entries for *manən* used in different environments – the semi-complementizer appears in so-called speech act contexts and the fully grammaticalized *manən* heads clauses embedded under factive predicates, – leaves open the following question: How could this distribution be explained? Although I do not have an answer, one way to address the problem would be to consider in more detail semantic

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'Toyota's spy thinks of John as more familiar with Nissan and Honda than any other manufacturers.' [Tanaka 2004]

A similar phenomenon is attested in Mari. Mari is a *wh*-in-situ language (iia) but the interrogative pronoun undergoes optional A-bar movement into a matrix position (iib). Importantly, such interclausal A-bar scrambling is not obstructed by the presence of the DP_{DAT2} in Spec,CP in double-dative sentences. The precise mechanism of *wh*-movement in Mari is understudied and I leave detailed examination of these data for future research.

(ii) a. Nuno mə-lan-na [tə-lat [kö-m šel-aš (manən)]] kalas-en-ət?
they we-DAT-POS.1SG you-DAT.2SG who-ACC hit-INF COMP tell-PST2-3PL

b. (Kö-m_i) nuno mə-lan-na [(kö-m_i) tə-lat
who-ACC they we-DAT-POS.1SG who-ACC you-DAT.2SG
[t_i šel-aš (manən)]] kalas-en-ət?
hit-INF COMP tell-PST2-3PL
'Who did they tell us for you to hit?' (a = b)

properties of matrix predicates focusing on the attitude/non-attitude distinction. Proposals along this line have been made by Yoon (2007), Horn (2008), Wurmbrand (2019), Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2020) to account for the (im)possibility of ECM in Korean and Japanese. Thus, Yoon (2007) suggests that the exceptionally marked DP moved to an A-position at the very left periphery of the embedded clause enters a predication relation with the embedded clause itself. Horn (2008) shares this intuition and proposes that ECM is allowed when "the proposition expressed by an accusative-quotative complement [is] a property ascription on the referent of the accusative subject when evaluated with respect to the belief world of the agent of attitude." Mari C heads that behave exceptionally in mandative sentences, i.e. in attitude contexts, appears to follow a similar pattern.

Third, as noted at the end of Section 4.1, in double-dative sentences the DP_{DAT2}, i.e. the Goal argument projected by *manən*, plays the role of pro_y in single-dative sentences – a syntactically projected ADDRESSEE coordinate. I tentatively propose that the DP_{DAT2} is an overtly introduced ADDRESSEE itself, in the spirit of Baker 2008: "All matrix clauses and certain embedded clauses have two special null arguments generated within the CP projection, one designated S (for SPEAKER) and the other A (for ADDRESSEE)" (Baker 2008:125). Taking the Mari data into account, Baker's proposal can be elaborated to include exceptional cases when a discourse-oriented argument is overtly realized as an independent DP projected by the complementizer. A similar idea has recently been put forward by Spadine (2018) for English and Spadine (2019) for Tigrinya. In English, the syntactic presence of (covert) speaker and addressee in the left periphery of a clause is indicated by control into speech act modifying adjuncts, as in *$Mary_i$ told $John_j$ that, $PRO_{i/*j}$ as a film critic, this movie deserves an Oscar*. In Tigriniya a special functional head (*ʔil*) arguably introduces an overt perspectival nominal at the left edge of a matrix or embedded clause. Unlike Baker (2008) and following Speas (2004), Sundaresan (2018), i.a., Spadine separates the speaker/addressee containing saP in English and the *ʔil-*

headed Perspectival Projection in Tigrinya from CP. Thus, another direction for future research would be to examine in more detail the (covert) left periphery in Mari to bring together various existing approaches to structurally present discourse-oriented items.

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