On the non-existence of asymmetric DOM in Spanish

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Abstract

Kalin and Weisser (2019) observe that Spanish, among other DOM languages, allow for what they called *asymmetric DOM in coordination*, that is, a DP coordinate structure in which an unmarked DP and a marked DP are conjoined. Given that coordinate structures are islands, asymmetric DOM challenges movement analyses for DOM. Yet, we show that alleged cases of asymmetric DOM in Spanish don't involve DP coordination, but coordination of a larger structure plus TP-ellipsis. Evidence involves binding, extraction, fragment answers and association with focus. Our conclusion is that asymmetric DOM doesn't exist in Spanish, a fact in consonance with movement analyses.

Keywords: Asymmetric DOM, Ellipsis, Movement, Spanish

1 Introduction

Differential Object Marking (DOM) is a pervasive crosslinguistic phenomenon affecting the morphological realization of a subset of prominent direct objects. Across languages, object prominence is weighted up with respect to an alignment along three different semantic/pragmatic scales: animacy, referentiality and topicality (see Bossong 1991). Consider, for instance, the following specificity contrast in Spanish (DOM marker = *a*):

(1)   a.   Vi   a   un tigre.

        saw.1SG DOM a   tiger
        'I saw a tiger.' (specific)

    b.   Vi   un tigre.

        saw.1SG a   tiger
        'I saw a tiger.' (non-specific)

There is broad consensus in the recent literature about Spanish DOM regarding the epiphenomenal nature of this distribution. For many researchers, the common property behind DOM is not in the prominence scale but in the *ex-situ* nature of marked objects, that is, marked objects are derived by movement (Torrego 1998, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, among others). In fact, this type of approach has been adopted for other languages as well, such as Hindi and Sakha (see Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996, and Baker and Vinokurova 2010). Yet, many recent alternative analyses have also been proposed by Glushan (2010), Irimia (2018), Kalin (2018), and Bárány (2018), among others.

Kalin and Weisser (2019) present a novel argument against movement approaches for most languages for which such an analysis has been proposed. They observe that many DOM languages, including Spanish, allow for what they called *Asymmetric DOM in Coordination*, namely, a DP coordinate structure in which an unmarked DP and a marked DP are conjoined, as in (2).[1]

(2) Vi   una mujer y a   María juntas   en el parque.

    see.PST.1SG a   woman and DOM María together.F.PL in the park

    'I saw a (some) woman and Maria together in the park.'

[Kalin and Weisser 2019:4, 6]

In a few words, to the extent that asymmetric DOM allegedly involves DP coordination, movement-based approaches for DOM would rule out examples like (2) as violations of Ross' (1967) Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). However, in this squib, we show that asymmetric DOM is impossible in Spanish, in consonance with movement approaches. First, we argue that examples like (2) cannot be taken as conclusive evidence in favor of a DP coordination analysis and that an approach in terms of ellipsis, in which a full TP is deleted in the second conjunct deserves careful examination, in spite of Kalin and Weisser's considerations against similar ellipsis-based alternatives. Second, we demonstrate that, once properly controlled, there is robust evidence against the existence of asymmetric DOM in coordination at least in Spanish. This evidence involves binding, extraction, fragment answers and association with focus. Given that we restrict our attention exclusively to Spanish, future research should determine how other DOM languages behave with respect to the diagnostics discussed here.[2]

2 Asymmetric DOM and the CSC

To begin with, let us revise Kalin and Weisser's (2019) argument against movement analyses for DOM. Disregarding particular implementations, different approaches share the view that DOM objects vacate their first merge position, as in (3).

(3) [. . . DOM-DP . . . [$_{VP}$ . . . DP . . .]]

The analysis in (3) predicts that asymmetric DOM in coordination should be ruled out by the Coordinate Structure Constraint, which marks extractions from coordinate structures as illicit.

(4)   *[... DP$_2$ ... [$_{VP}$ ... [$_{\&P}$ ... DP$_1$ ... $\&^0$ ... ~~DP$_2$~~ ...]]]

Given that the sentence in (2) is grammatical, the conclusion to be drawn is that, although moved objects can receive a differential marker, differential marking cannot be seen as the surface reflex of movement. This reasoning seems to be impeccable, but it is based on a controversial premise, namely, that asymmetric DOM in coordination is indeed possible in Spanish. Put differently, it is crucial for this argument to hold that the coordination in (2) is a conjunction of DPs and not, say, a larger conjunction involving conjoined TPs or *v*Ps plus an additional process of ellipsis in the second conjunct. If some sort of conjunction reduction or an ellipsis process involving larger structures was at stake here, then the two objects in (2) would not form a constituent and Kalin and Weisser's argument simply would not hold. In order to sustain their analysis, they claim that the occurrence of a secondary predicate as *juntas* 'together' in (2) is enough to make such an alternative analysis implausible, given that *juntas* seems to require a plural antecedent (see Vicente (2010), who also uses '*juntas*' as a diagnostic for detecting plural antecedents).

In addition, the fact that such a predicate agrees with the feminine and plural features of the alleged DP conjunction is taken by Kalin and Weisser (2019) as conclusive evidence that an ellipsis analysis cannot be on the right track. Here is a couple of additional examples, in which a pseudo-relative (adapted from Kalin and Weisser 2019) and a gerund clause seem to require a unique DP antecedent:

(5)   a.   Vi   [una chica y   a   Ana] que jugaban   juntas   en el
           saw.1SG a   girl   and DOM Ana that played.3PL together.F.PL in the
           parque.
           park
           'I saw a girl and Ana that played together in the park.'

      b.   Vi   [una chica y   a   Ana] jugando juntas   en el parque.
           saw.1SG a   girl   and DOM Ana playing together.F.PL in the park

'I saw a girl and Ana playing together in the park.'

Yet, this evidence is largely inconclusive in view of the fact that the following sentences are regarded as grammatical by the vast majority of the speakers we have consulted:

(6) a. Vi   a   una chica y   vi   a   Ana juntas   en el parque.
saw.1SG DOM a   girl   and saw.1SG DOM Ana together.F.PL in the park
'I saw a girl and I saw Ana together in the park.'

  b. Vi   a   una chica y   vi   a   Ana que jugaban   juntas
saw.1SG DOM a   girl   and saw.1SG DOM Ana that played.3PL together.F.PL

en el   parque.

in the park
'I saw a girl and I saw Ana. They were playing together in the park.'

  c. Vi   a   una chica y   vi   a   Ana jugando juntas   en el
saw.1SG DOM a   girl   and saw.1SG DOM Ana playing together.F.PL in the

parque.

park
'I saw a girl and I saw Ana playing together in the park.'

Now, the examples in (7), in which a marked and a non-marked DP are involved, are also grammatical.

(7) a. Vi   una chica y   vi   a   Ana juntas   en el parque.
saw.1SG a   girl   and saw.1SG DOM Ana together.F.PL in the park
'I saw a girl and I saw Ana together in the park.'

  b. Vi   una chica y   vi   a   Ana que jugaban   juntas   en
saw.1SG a   girl   and saw.1SG DOM Ana that played.3PL together.F.PL in

el parque.

the park
'I saw a girl and I saw Ana. They were playing together in the park.'

> c. Vi una chica y vi a Ana jugando juntas en el
>
> saw.1SG a girl and saw.1SG DOM Ana playing together.F.PL in the
>
> parque.
>
> park
>
> 'I saw a girl and I saw Ana playing together in the park.'

The moral to be extracted from this pattern is that secondary predication, pseudo-relatives or gerund clauses are not good constituency tests. As for the concord facts in cases like (2), we are led to conclude that it is controlled by an empty null subject in the small clause that contains the secondary predicate, a reasonable assumption that would also account for the agreement pattern in examples like (6a). That there is some sort of empty category in subject position is, of course, much more evident in pseudo-relatives or gerund clauses.[3]

In principle, the basic patterns are compatible both with a DP coordination analysis and with an analysis according to which there is a larger coordination followed by some sort of ellipsis. Indeed, we can disambiguate in favor of an ellipsis parsing in the second conjunct just changing the second DP in Kalin and Weisser's type of examples for an NPI:[4]

(8) Vi un vecino y a nadie más.

    saw.1SG a neighbour and DOM nobody else
    'I saw a neighbour and nobody else.'

Here ellipsis in the second conjunct is the most plausible alternative since, as is well-known, NPI licensing requires the presence of negation in the syntactic derivation (cf. *Juan *(no) vio a nadie (más). *'Juan saw anybody (else)'*). A fragment-type of analysis in which the NPI moves to Pol(arity)P and the TP is deleted by ellipsis seems to be the best analytical option (see Merchant, 2004; $<\dots> $ = ellipsis site).

(9) Vi un vecino y [$_{\text{PolP}}$ [a nadie más] $\text{Pol}^0_{\text{[NEG]}}$ <[$_{\text{TP}}$ vi t]>]

    saw.1SG a neighbour and DOM nobody else saw.1SG

Importantly, there is no special intonation in examples like (8), a fact that casts doubt on the claim in Kalin and Weisser according to which the lack of a particular intonation is enough to reject an ellipsis analysis.[5]

So far, we have shown that Kalin and Weisser's argument against a movement approach to DOM is inconclusive and that such an approach is, indeed, compatible with the basic facts, at least under certain assumptions about TP-ellipsis.[6] Of course, we have not excluded a DP coordination analysis in the relevant examples. In order to confirm or refute such an analysis, it is crucial to look for robust constituent tests and see whether asymmetric DOM in coordination passes those tests. In the following section, we provide several new diagnostics that avoid the problems pointed out here with respect to Kalin and Weisser's tests. The result is that Spanish does not allow asymmetric DOM in coordination.

3 New evidence against asymmetric DOM in Spanish

In order to demonstrate that the coordination size involved in asymmetric DOM is larger than a DP coordination, we present several novel diagnostics involving anaphor binding, extraction, fragment answers and association with focus. Each of these tests indicates that symmetric and asymmetric DOM in coordination comprise different constituent structures. Crucially, whenever a DP conjunction is required, asymmetric DOM is systematically ruled out.

3.1 Binding

Perception verbs in Spanish such as *ver* 'to see' or *escuchar* 'to hear' license ECM subjects. Indefinite ECM subjects can optionally bear a differential case marker, in particular, in pre-infinitive position:[7]

(10) Ayer   escuché (a)   un autor criticar   a   Pedro.

yesterday heard.1SG DOM an author criticize.INF DOM Pedro

'Yesterday, I heard an author criticize Pedro.'

Now, the embedded non-finite sentence can contain an anaphor like *se* triggering a reflexive reading with the ECM subject as its antecedent:

(11) Ayer   escuché (a)   un autor criticar=**se**   (a sí mismo).

yesterday heard.1SG DOM an author criticize.INF=SE himself

'Yesterday, I heard an author criticize himself.'

If the antecedent of the embedded anaphor is a coordination of DPs, a reciprocal or reflexive interpretation is triggered. As expected, a symmetric coordination of two marked DPs (12a) or two unmarked DPs (12b) displays the same binding possibilities as their non-conjoined counterparts in (11).[8]

(12) a.   Ayer   escuché a   Pedro y a   Ana criticar=**se**

yesterday heard.1SG DOM Pedro and DOM Ana criticize.INF=SE

el uno al otro/a sí mismos.

one each other/themselves

'Yesterday, I heard Pedro and Ana criticize each other/themselves.'

b.   Ayer   escuché un chico y   una chica criticar=**se**

yesterday heard.1SG a boy   and a   girl   criticize.INF=SE

el uno al otro/a sí mismos.

one each other/themselves

'Yesterday, I heard a boy and a girl criticize each other/themselves.'

This type of environment allows for controlling constituency since the conjoined DPs must form a constituent in order to properly bind the reciprocal.[9] Crucially, asymmetric DOM in the same context is ungrammatical.[10]

(13) * Ayer   escuché   un chico y   a   Ana criticar=**se**

yesterday heard.1SG a   boy   and DOM Ana kiss.INF=SE

el uno al otro/a sí mismos.

one each other/themselves
Intended reading: 'Yesterday, I heard a boy and Ana criticize each other/themselves.'

3.2 Extraction tests

Extraction phenomena also provide relevant syntactic environments to test whether asymmetric DOM should be analyzed as a DP coordination or as a conjunction of a larger structure.

In Spanish, focus fronting (14), clitic left dislocation (15), and clitic right dislocation (16) configurations are perfectly licit with marked or unmarked objects.[11]

(14)   [(A) UN CHICO]$_{FOC}$ vi   ayer.   [*Focus Fronting*]

DOM a   boy   saw.1SG yesterday
'I saw A BOY yesterday.'

(15)   (A)l   muñeco, lo peiné.   [*Clitic Left Dislocation*]

DOM.the doll   CL combed.1SG
'The doll, I combed it.'

(16)   Lo peiné,   (a)l   muñeco.   [*Clitic Right Dislocation*]

CL combed.1SG DOM.the doll
'I combed it, the doll.'

Contrast now the behavior of symmetric and asymmetric coordination in these extraction environments:

(17) *Focus Fronting*

a.   [A   UN CHICO Y   A   ANA]$_{FOC}$ vi   ayer.

DOM a   boy   and DOM Ana   saw.1SG yesterday

'I saw A BOY AND ANA yesterday.'

b.   [UN CHICO Y   UNA CHICA]_{FOC} vi   ayer.

    a   boy   and a   girl   saw.1SG yesterday
    'I saw A BOY AND A GIRL yesterday.'

c. * [UN CHICO Y A   ANA]_{FOC} vi   ayer.

    a   boy   and DOM Ana   saw.1SG yesterday

(18) *Clitic Left Dislocation*

a.   Al   muñeco y   a   Pedro, ya   los peiné   ayer.
    DOM.the doll   and DOM Pedro already CL combed.1SG yesterday
    'The doll and Pedro, I already combed them yesterday.'

b.   El muñeco y el maniquí, ya   los peiné   ayer.
    the doll   and the mannequin already CL combed1SG yesterday
    'The doll and the mannequin, I already combed them yesterday.'

c. * El muñeco y a   Pedro, ya   los peiné   ayer.
    the doll   and DOM Pedro already CL combed.1SG yesterday

(19) *Clitic Right Dislocation*

a.   Ya   los peiné   ayer,   al   muñeco y   a   Pedro.
    already CL combed.1SG yesterday DOM.the doll   and DOM Pedro
    'I already combed them yesterday, the doll and Pedro.'

b.   Ya   los peiné   ayer,   el muñeco y el maniquí.
    already CL combed.1SG yesterday the doll   and the mannequin
    ' I already combed them yesterday, the doll and the mannequin.'

c. * Ya   los peiné   ayer,   el muñeco y a   Pedro.
    already CL combed.1SG yesterday the doll   and DOM Pedro

Examples (17c), (18c), and (19c) are, again, strongly ungrammatical. The main difference with respect to the examples in Kalin and Weisser (2019) is that here an ellipsis

analysis is not tenable.[12] Only constituents can be extracted.[13] The symmetric coordination structures in (17a-b), (18a-b), and (19a-b) comply with this requisite, but asymmetric DOM in (17c), (18c), and (19c) does not.

3.3 Fragment answers

Fragment answers can also be taken as a relevant diagnostic closely related to focus extraction. Following Merchant (2004), we assume that fragment answers involve remnant extraction plus TP-deletion (see section 2). When the fragment is an indefinite object, DOM is optional.

(20) a. ¿Querés entrevistar (a)   un guitarrista?

want.2SG interview.INF (DOM) a   guitarist
'Do you want to interview a guitarist?'

b. No, (a)   un pianista.

No, (DOM) a   pianist
'No, a pianist.'

If asymmetric DOM was DP coordination, then such a constituent would be a licit remnant of the ellipsis site. The following examples show that a symmetric coordination of unmarked (21) or marked objects (22) is grammatical as a fragment answer:

(21) a. ¿Querés entrevistar un guitarrista y un baterista?

want.2SG interview.INF a guitarist   and a   drummer
'Do you want to interview a guitarist and a drummer?'

b. No, un pianista y   un cantante.

No, a   pianist and a   singer

(22) a. ¿Querés entrevistar a   un guitarrista y a   Charlie Watts?

want.2SG interview.INF DOM a   guitarist   and DOM Charlie Watts
'Do you want to interview a guitarist and Charlie Watts?'

b.   No, a   un pianista y   a   Mick Jagger.

No, DOM a   pianist   and DOM Mick Jagger

'No, a pianist and Mick Jagger.'

Now, contrast (21)–(22) with (23), in which asymmetric DOM is used as a fragment answer. The result is ungrammatical, contradicting Kalin and Weisser's expectations.

(23)   a.   ¿Querés   entrevistar   un guitarrista y   a   Charlie Watts?

want.2SG interview.INF a   guitarist   and DOM Charlie Watts

'Do you want to interview a guitarist and Charlie Watts?'

b.   * No, un pianista y   a   Mick Jagger.

No, a   pianist   and DOM Mick Jagger

'No, a pianist and Mick Jagger.'

3.4 Association with focus

Association with focus constitutes another relevant scenario where the analyses in competition can be properly evaluated. In the abstract, the form of the argument is as follows. Given that, according to our assumptions, asymmetric DOM involves TP-ellipsis, a focal adverb that precedes both objects in the surface can only scopes over the first DP. In turn, in a symmetric DOM configuration, two scope alternatives are expected depending on whether the focal adverb modifies the entire coordination or just the first conjunct.

(24)   Asymmetric DOM

$[_{\&P} [_{PolP} \ldots [_{TP} \textit{Focal-adverb} \boxed{\ldots DP_1 \ldots}]] \&^0 [_{PolP} \text{DOM-DP}_2 <[_{TP} \ldots t \ldots]>]]$

(25)   Symmetric DOM

a. $[_{TP} [_{vP} \ldots \textit{Focal-adverb} \boxed{[_{\&P} \ldots \text{DOM-DP}_1 \ldots \&^0 \ldots \text{DOM-DP}_2 \ldots]} \ldots]]$

b. $[_{TP} [_{vP} \ldots [_{\&P} \ldots \textit{Focal-adverb} \boxed{\ldots \text{DOM-DP}_1 \ldots} \&^0 \ldots \text{DOM-DP}_2 \ldots]]]$

On the contrary, if, as claimed by Kalin and Weisser (2019), asymmetric DOM involves a DP coordination, we expect that association with focus triggers the same ambiguity as (25). This prediction is not borne out. For the sake of the argument, assume that the source of an asymmetric DOM configuration like (26a) is similar to (26b).

(26) a. Vi   un asesino y   a   tres abogados.
          saw.1SG a   murderer and DOM three lawyers
          'I saw a murderer and three lawyers.'

      b. Vi   un asesino y   vi   a   tres   abogados.
          saw.1SG a   murderer and saw.1SG DOM three lawyers
          'I saw a murderer and I saw three lawyers.'

As predicted, adding *solo* to the left of the first DP in both cases only triggers the reading where the focal adverb scopes over this DP.

(27) a. Vi   solo un asesino y   a   tres abogados.
          saw.1SG only a   murderer and DOM three lawyers
          'I saw only one murderer, not two, and three lawyers.'

      b. Vi   solo un asesino y   vi   a   tres abogados.
          saw.1SG only a   murderer and saw.1SG DOM tres lawyers
          'I saw only one murderer, not two, and I saw three lawyers.'

Instead, a symmetric DOM structure, unlike (27), is ambiguous between the two relevant readings, as predicted by (25).[14]

(28) Vi   solo a   un asesino y   a   tres abogados.
      saw.1SG only DOM a   murderer and DOM three lawyers
      Reading #1: 'I saw a murderer and three lawyers. I didn't see anyone else.'

      Reading #2: 'I saw only one murderer, not two, and three lawyers.'

Finally, note that the ambiguity observed in (28) is also obtained in coordinate structures that involve two unmarked objects:

(29)   Vi   solo un asesino y tres abogados.

           saw.1SG only a   murderer and three lawyers

           Reading #1: 'I saw a murderer and three lawyers. I didn't see anyone else.'

           Reading #2: 'I saw only one murderer, not two, and three lawyers.'

In sum, the variety of readings allowed under association with focus is inconsistent with an analysis of asymmetric DOM according to which the two objects are conjoined within the same DP.

4 Conclusion

In this squib, we have presented several diagnostics which demonstrate that alleged cases of asymmetric DOM in Spanish cannot be analyzed as a DP coordination structure, but as some sort of TP-ellipsis, against Kalin and Weisser's conclusion. Put differently, we showed that asymmetric DOM in coordination does not exist in this language. This is not a matter of a categorial conflict, because, as is well-known, asymmetric coordination is widely attested in Spanish (e.g., *un caballo* [AP *rojo*] *y* [PP *de madera*] 'Lit.: a wooden red horse'). Therefore, the non-existence of asymmetric DOM in Spanish strongly suggests that marked objects actually move. As expected, then, any attempt to extract a DOM object from a coordinate structure would violate the CSC.

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Notes

[1] As pointed out by an anonymous *LI* reviewer, other DOM languages, like Hindi and Sakha, seem to reject asymmetric DOM in coordination.

[2] As noted by an anonymous *LI* reviewer, Kalin and Weisser's (2019) study is based on 11 different languages from different families, one of which is precisely Spanish. We have decided to conduct a different type of methodological approach based on an in-depth analysis of one of the languages under consideration in Kalin and Weisser's original paper. We think that our conclusions regarding Spanish are quite robust, but, of course, this does not invalidate Kalin and Weisser's general argument. Methodologically, the next obvious step should be checking, then, how our constituent tests apply in other relevant DOM languages.

[3] Although the judgments are robust, there are some speakers who have problems to accommodate the mono-event reading that the modifiers in (7) require. The same difficulty doesn't arise with examples like (2). However, it is important to note that without modifiers like *juntas*, the result is always ambiguous between a mono and a multi-event reading. But this seems to be a matter of preference since, as an anonymous *LI* reviewer pointed out to us, the modifier *juntas* 'together' in (2) does not block the multi-event reading entirely. Although that interpretation is not the preferred one, it is still available. We thank the reviewer for having pointed out this fact to us.

[4] As suggested by the *LI* editors, a TP-ellipsis analysis can receive further support by the contrast in (i).

(i)   a.   Vi   a   Elena en el parque y   a   nadie   más.
           saw.1SG DOM Elena in the park   and DOM nobody else
           'I saw Elena in the park and nobody else.'   [*LI* editors' example]

      b. * Vi   a   Elena y   a   nadie   más en el parque.
           saw.1SG DOM Elena and DOM nobody else in the park
           Intended: 'In the park, I saw Elena and nobody else.'

The first conjunct in (ia) allows for a PP-modifier. In turn, in (ib), the same PP-modifier after the second conjunct is ungrammatical without any special intonation. The conclusion is that the coordination in (i) cannot be analyzed as DP coordination.

[5]Kalin and Weisser discuss and reject an analysis in terms of gapping. They claim that there is no gapping intonation in the relevant set of examples, which makes such an alternative implausible. We agree that gapping is not what is at stake here but for different reasons. First, their original examples do not meet the basic description of gapping and, second, gapping does not easily tolerate polarity mismatches.

(i) * Juan compró un auto y   Pedro nada.

    Juan bought a   car and Pedro nothing

There are other factors that ameliorate examples like this (e.g., changing *y* 'and' for *pero* 'but'), which crucially are absent in our example (8). For a detailed discussion on the interaction between gapping and negation, see Repp (2009).

[6]An anonymous *LI* reviewer highlighted that the ellipsis approach to asymmetric DOM provides a simple explanation of how coordinate objects get different case markers. In effect, on this analysis, there are different sources for each case assignment to the relevant objects. This hypothesis is further supported by multiple coordination structures. As observed by the reviewer, whenever more objects appear in a coordinate structure, it is easier to mix marked and unmarked objects, as shown in (i). We thank the reviewer for pointing out this fact to us.

(i) Besó   cruces, a   María, una pared y   a   la monja.

    kissed.3SG crosses, DOM María, a   wall, and DOM the nun

    'He/she kissed crosses, Maria, a wall, and the nun.'   [*LI* reviewer's example]

[7]López (2012) and Ormazabal and Romero (2013) claim that DOM is mandatory in ECM configurations. However, non-marked ECM subjects have been registered in the

literature, in particular, in pre-infinitival position, a fact consistent with our informants' judgements (see footnote 9).

(i)   Vi   varios borrachos tambalearse.

saw.1SG several drunkards wobble.INF.SE
'I saw several drunkards wobble.'   [Di Tullio 1998:206, 19d]

(ii) Siempre veo   gente cruzar   la calle descuidadamente.

always   see.1SG people cross.INF the street carelessly
'I always see people cross the street carelessly.'

(iii) Siempre oigo   vendedores ambulantes anunciar   sus   productos.

always   hear.1SG vendors   ambulatory advertise.INF POSS products
'I always hear street vendors advertise their products.' [Contreras 1996:149, 35a-b]

[8]As noted by an anonymous *LI* reviewer, Leonetti (2004) and López (2012) observed that unmarked DPs cannot be the antecedent of an anaphor or bound pronoun, whereas DOM DPs can. However, this restriction on unmarked DPs only applies to ditransitive configurations and should not be considered a general property, given the fact that unmarked DPs can bind SE anaphors in ECM configurations under the conditions commented in the main text (i.e., the relative position of the ECM subject).

[9]So as to confirm these data, we consulted eight informants. Their judgments are quite uniform. Each of them accepted unmarked antecedents for the anaphor in non-coordinate structures. Only two rejected anaphor binding in a coordination with unmarked DPs. No informant has accepted the reciprocal reading in asymmetric DOM configurations. Interestingly, our informants found the example perfectly grammatical when the infinitival clause is changed for a gerund clause.

(i) Ayer   escuché   un chico y   a   Ana criticándo=**se**

yesterday heard.1SG a   boy   and DOM Ana criticizing=SE

el uno al otro/a sí mismos.

one each other/themselves
'Yesterday, I heard a boy and Ana criticizing each other/themselves.'

As suggested by the LI editors, a possible explanation for the judgements in (i) could be that these structures are in fact reduced relatives. This could also explain the fact that they behave like pseudo-relatives, as shown in section 2.

[10]We are assuming that the infinitival clause of a given perception verb is in complement position, with the ECM subject base-generated inside the complement clause. In other words, ECM subjects are true subjects. This makes the underlying structure of sentences containing infinitival clauses different from those containing gerunds and secondary predicates (see section 2). In this respect, compare example (i), which presents an infinitival clause, with (ii), in which we have changed the infinitival clause for a gerund clause.

(i) ?* Escuché   (a)   un chico y   escuché   a   Ana criticar=se

heard.1SG DOM a   boy   and heard.1SG DOM Ana kiss.INF=SE

el uno al otro/a sí mismos.

one each other/themselves
Intended reading: 'I heard a boy and Ana criticize each other/themselves.'

(ii) Escuché   (a)   un chico y   escuché   a   Ana criticándo=se

heard.1SG DOM a   boy   and heard.1SG DOM Ana criticizing=SE

el uno al otro/a sí mismos.

one each other/themselves
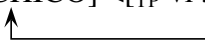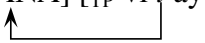'I heard a boy and Ana criticizing each other/themselves.'

This contrast provides further support for the idea that infinitival complements to perception verbs, and gerund clauses cannot receive the same analysis. See Di Tullio (1998)

for more diagnostics to differentiate gerund clauses from infinitival complements to perception verbs.

[11]The only difference between marked and unmarked alternatives in (14) is in the specific or non-specific nature of the extracted object. Instead, the interpretation of marked objects in (18) and (19) is identical to their unmarked counterparts.

[12]Given the fact that DOM is optional in (14), an anonymous *LI* reviewer raised the question about how a derivation such as (i) can be ruled out.

(i) $[_{\&P}[_{CP}$ [UN CHICO] $<[_{TP}$ vi t ayer]$>$] y $[_{CP}$ [A ANA] $[_{TP}$ vi t ayer]]]

This derivation involves focus fronting in both conjuncts plus backward ellipsis in the first conjunct, an option that would be ruled out as a violation of Langacker's (1969) Backward Anaphora Constraint (BAC), which prohibits backward ellipsis in coordinate structures. See the discussion in Vicente (2010), who reached the conclusion that preverbal subjects cannot be conjoined by *sino* 'corrective but', because it violates the BAC. This conclusion extends directly to the derivation in (i).

[13]Romance clitic left/right dislocacion has been analyzed in different ways in the literature: as base generation in a peripheral position (Cinque 1990, i.a.), as movement (Cecchetto 1999, 2000, i.a.), and even as ellipsis (Ott 2012, 2014, Ott and de Vries 2015). Note, however, that the particular analysis of these types of topic constructions is orthogonal to the present discussion.

[14]Of course, the parsing of (24) is also available. See the discussion in section 2.

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