DOM AND COUNTEREXAMPLES TO SCALES: SOME INSIGHTS FROM ROMANCE DIACHRONY

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Background. Under an instantiation of *differential object marking* (DOM), Romance languages present a split in the morpho-syntactic encoding of objects, broadly regulated by *animacy* (1):

(1)   He   encontrado ***(a) la   niña** /   **(*a) el   libro.**   SPANISH
      have.1.SG found   DOM the   girl /   DOM the   book
      'I have found the girl / the book.'   (Ormazabal & Romero 2013, ex. 1a/b)

Functional-typological research connects DOM to hierarchical generalizations known as *Scales* (Aissen 2003, a.o.), as in (2). The implication is that the higher (>) an object is on a scale, the stronger DOM trigger it will be. It has also been claimed that, besides implicational universals, *Scales* can also account for patterns of language change (von Heusinger & al. 2008, Leonetti 2008, a.o.). Thus, Romance DOM is typically seen to have started with objects higher on the scale (e.g. $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ pronouns, proper names, etc.) and then progressively extended to those lower down (Berretta 1989, Sornicola 1997, a.o.). One prediction is that there should not be stages where what is overtly marked are lower DPs, to the exclusion of the higher ones.

(2)   *Animacy/person*: 1/2 > 3 > proper name > human > animate > inanimate
      Specificity/definiteness: pronoun > name > definite > specific indefinite > non-specific

Data and research goals. Here, we address a generally ignored counterexample to the *Scales*, starting from Old Catalan (OC) and Old Romanian (OR), as compared to Old Spanish (OS). Contrary to the hierarchies in (2), in OC and OR, 3rd person pronouns show DOM (ex. 3a, b), to the exclusion of (or to a higher degree than) $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ persons (ex. 4a, b).

Discussion. von Heusinger & Onea (H&O)'s (2008) analysis of the earliest Bible Translations in Romanian has noted 97% of 3rd person pronouns have DOM (33 out of 34), as opposed to 50% for $1^{st}/2^{nd}$. In 16th c. DÎ (also Mardale 2015), 3rd pronouns are still DOM-ed more frequently than $1^{st}/2^{nd}$. Similarly, in early OC, DOM does not appear to have first consolidated with $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ persons and then extended to 3rd person. Eg., in the knightly novel *Curial* (15th c.), 3rd person is 83% DOM-ed, while $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ only 55% (ex. 3 vs 4); similar percentages (or even much lower for $1^{st}/2^{nd}$, in some texts going down to 0%) obtain in many other works from the $14^{th}/15^{th}$ c. Such patterns need an explanation, as *Scales* predict $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person to be stronger DOM triggers. In OS, on the other hand, all pronouns show DOM (Company 2002, Laca 2006, a.o,).

(3) a. vós   havets   honrat **a ell**. b. e   solament de   mirar **a   ella**.
       you.2PL have.2PL   honoured DOM he   and only   of   watch   DOM her
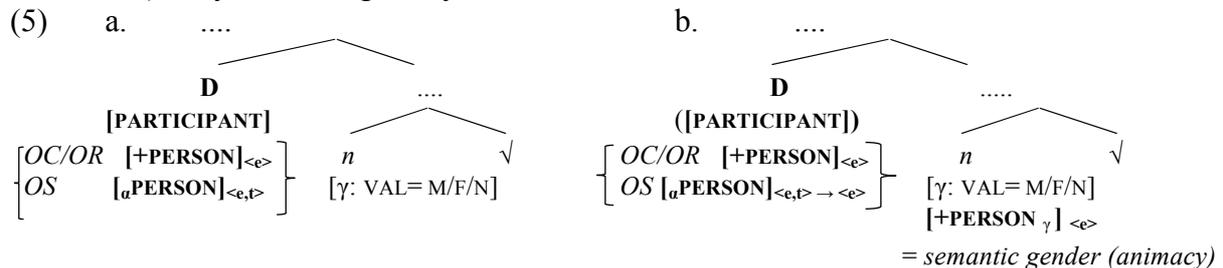(4) a. ¿què ha mogut **tu** e ton companyó a...? b. aquella senyora, qui mira **nosaltres**
       what has moved you and your companion to   that   lady   who watch.3SG we

	OC	OR	OS
3rd **person DOM to the exclusion of $1^{st}/2^{nd}$**	YES	YES	NO

Analysis. I. *The problem of accusative morphology*. H&O (2008) tentatively attribute the obligatoriness of DOM (a means of signaling ACC) with 3rd person in Romanian to NOM/ACC homomorphism - as opposed to $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ persons where morphology is still distinct for NOM versus ACC. However, there appear to be some counterarguments to this assumption: **i)** a closer examination of the OR data shows that in the 16th c., 3rd person could also exhibit distinct ACC morphology but still required DOM, for example the form *sine*; **ii)** even if we leave aside *sine* (as a potential reflexive), the NOM-ACC homomorphism only holds in the

singular, predicting that DOM should affect all pronouns in the plural, contrary to what the OR data show - 3rd person sg./pl. takes DOM, while 1st/2nd person pronouns might not have DOM; **iii)** In (O)C it is 2nd and 3rd person pronouns that show NOM/ACC homomorphism, predicting DOM obligatoriness also for 2nd person. However, as we have already illustrated (see ex. 4a), in many texts 3rd person is the *only* pronoun that shows DOM (ex. 3). <u>These systematic patterns indicate that what is at stake is 3rd person itself, and not the NOM/ACC homomorphism.</u>

II. *Distinct (Case) licensing strategies*. We propose that these patterns are straightforwardly derived once **i)** (micro-) parameters in the composition of Romance DPs are pinned down; **ii)** the consequences various types of D^0 have on licensing operations are examined (Nevins 2011, López 2012, Baker 2012, 2015, Levin 2015, a.o.). **A)** Following Richards (2008), Adger & Harbour (2010), a.o., we take nominals containing *grammaticalized animacy* to have an added **[+PERSON$_\gamma$]** feature, merged on a gender (γ)-introducing projection (Cornilescu 2000, Kučerova 2017, etc.); also, based on Ormazabal & Romero (2007, 2010, etc.), a.o., this feature is subject to *licensing* in narrow syntax (operation signaled by DOM) and *must escape* (semantic) incorporation. **B)** We connect the split between OC/OR and OS to micro-variation in D^0 across Romance. Contributions by Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), López (2012), Alcaraz (2018), a.o. conclusively show that D^0 of (European) Spanish is of type <e,t> (abbreviated here **[$_\alpha$PERSON]$_{<e,t>}$**), constructing a *predicative* category, found under (semantic) incorporation. **C)** However, as (Romance 1st/2nd person) pronouns normally entail linking to a [+PARTICIPANT] specification which must be visible at the CI interface due to its pragmatic import, they *cannot* normally undergo (semantic) incorporation (5a, see also Nichols 2001, Zubizarreta & Pancheva 2017 for licensing of interpretable [+PARTICIPANT] features). Assuming $D^0_{<e,t>}$ in OS too, an additional mechanism is needed in order to obtain a $D^0_{<e>}$ that will escape (semantic) incorporation so as to be interpreted [+PARTICIPANT]. The animacy licensing strategy saves the derivation, as **[+PERSON$_\gamma$]** triggers a shift from <e,t> to <e> in D^0 (5b). Thus, OS (1st/2nd) pronouns are obligatorily DOM-ed. In OR/OC, on the other hand, diagnostics for a default D^0 <e,t> do not hold; their D^0 can be of type <e>, can escape (semantic) incorporation and can be linked to [+PARTICIPANT] (see also Bernstein 2008, Longobardi 2008 for the connection between **[+PERSON/PARTICIPANT]** and $D^0_{<e>}$); therefore, OC/OR 1st/2nd pronouns did not need obligatory DOM (5a, DOM presumably extended due to their normally being animate). 3rd person is complicated in that it can indicate both animates and inanimates; as 3rd person pronouns got restricted just to *animacy* (Cardinaletti & Starke 1994/1998), they were obligatorily DOM-ed.

(5)   a.   ....   b.   ....

OC/OR: *participant (1st/2nd) possible without DOM*   OC/OR/OS: 3rd person ANIMATE needs DOM
OS: participant interpretation not possible   OS: participant interpretation possible with DOM

As a general **conclusion**, (what might look like exceptional) OC/OR data do not necessarily imply an abandonment of *Scales* as theoretical/descriptive tools (contra Carnie 2005, a.o); they instead indicate that generalizations as in (2) reveal non-trivial insights into how types of D^0 and varieties of [PERSON] are structurally manipulated in sentential syntax.

CORPORA: <u>Catalan</u> - the *Corpus informatitzat del català antic* (the first written texts up to the 16th c.); <u>Romanian</u> - *Documente şi însemnări româneşti (Romanian documents and notes,* DÎ)

– 16th c., and other 16th c. texts (also Mardale 2015, Avram & Zafiu 2017, H&O 2008, a.o.); Spanish - data from von Heusinger & Kaiser (2005), Company (2002), Laca (2006).

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