

## Differential object marking and Scales: Insights from Romance diachrony

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**Abstract.** This paper addresses a generally ignored counterexample to the *Scales*, comparing Old Catalan and Old Romanian on the one hand to Old Spanish on the other hand. Contrary to widely assumed marking hierarchies, Old Catalan/Old Romanian 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns show differential object marking, to the exclusion of or to a higher degree than 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> persons. We propose these patterns can be straightforwardly derived once we pin down micro-parameters in the composition of Romance DPs and the consequences various types of perspectival/sentience features have on the syntactic licensing of arguments.

**Keywords.** differential object marking; Romance languages; (Old) Romanian; (Old) Catalan; (Old) Spanish; animacy; personal pronouns

**1. Introduction.** Differential object marking (DOM) is a split in the morpho-syntactic marking of objects based on animacy, specificity, topicality, etc. (Comrie 1989, Bossong 1991, Aissen 2003, López 2012, a.o.). In several Romance languages, animacy is the broad regulating factor (Torrego 1998, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, a.o.). As we see in (1)a vs. (1)b, (definite) animate direct objects in modern Spanish need special marking in the form of the locative/dative preposition *a*:

- (1) Modern Standard Spanish
- |    |                          |            |                  |          |        |
|----|--------------------------|------------|------------------|----------|--------|
| a. | He                       | encontrado | *(a)             | la       | niña.  |
|    | have.1SG                 | found      | DOM <sup>1</sup> | DEF.F.SG | girl   |
|    | 'I have found the girl.' |            |                  |          |        |
| b. | He                       | encontrado | (*a)             | el       | libro. |
|    | have.1SG                 | found      | DOM              | DEF.M.SG | book   |
|    | 'I have found the book.' |            |                  |          |        |
- (Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, ex.1 a, b)

Based on cross-linguistic regularities, it can be safely concluded that certain specifications on a nominal are more likely to be signalled via dedicated morphology. For example, pronouns or proper names normally require special marking in a wide variety of genetically unrelated languages. Building on the pioneering observations in Silverstein (1976), and their subsequent formalization in Aissen (2003), a.o., recent research has put forward well-defined hierarchies, also known as *Scales*, of the type schematically illustrated in (2). Within these accounts, the higher an

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: ACC = accusative, AOR = aorist, CL = clitic, COND = conditional, DAT = dative, DEF = definite, DOM = differential object marking, F = feminine, FUT = future, IMP = imperative, IMPF = imperfect, INF = infinitive, M = masculine, N = neuter, NOM = nominative, PL = plural, PRT = participle, PST = past, REFL = reflexive, REL = relative, SG = singular, SBJV = subjunctive, 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person.

object is on the *Scale* (e.g., 1/2 person pronoun), the higher the differential marking probability (Silverstein 1976, Aissen 2003, Næss 2004, Darlymple and Nikolaeva 2011, a.o.). In this paper, we will mostly focus on the *Animacy/person Scale* and the *Specificity/definiteness Scale*.

- (2) TYPES OF SCALES (based on Silverstein 1976, Aissen 2003, a.o.)
- (a) *Animacy/person*: 1/2 > 3 > proper name > human > animate > inanimate
  - (b) *Specificity/definiteness*: pronoun > name > definite > specific indefinite > non-specific
  - (c) *Topic accessibility scale*: active > accessible > unused > brand-new anchored > brand – new unanchored (Darlymple & Nikolaeva 2011)
  - (d) *High transitivity*: proper name > person denoting noun > animate DP > concrete DP > DP in the singular > countable DP > referential/definite DP (Næss 2004, a.o.)
  - (e) *Affectedness* more affected > affected > less affected (Næss 2004, a.o.)

A common explanation for this state of affairs is the functionalist one, stemming from Comrie (1989). Generally, animate DPs or 1/2 persons are more canonical agents than patients. If an object, on the other hand, bears these specifications in a (di)transitive frame, it must be signaled overtly so that it can be distinguished from the subject (agent) of a clause. The objects that bear differential marking are, in a sense, upgraded or re-ranked, becoming more similar to prototypical subjects; thus, they need to be signaled by special morphology so they can be correctly interpreted as objects, and not as subjects.

The diachronic study of Romance DOM has overwhelmingly shown that the special prepositional marking has started with objects higher on the *Scales* (e.g. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> personal pronouns, proper names, human DPs, etc.) and then progressively extended to those lower down. With respect to personal pronouns, 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> persons are systematically claimed to be the strongest DOM triggers (Rohlf's 1971, Roegiest 1979, Sornicola 1997, Bossong 1991, a.o.). In this paper we present some counterexamples to this generalization. We start from previously unexplored differences between Old Spanish (OS), on the one hand, and Old Catalan (OC)/ Old Romanian (OR), on the other hand. In OC/OR, classes lower down on the *Scales* show DOM to the exclusion of higher ones, contrary to what the *Scales* would predict. In particular, in OC/OR, 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns show DOM to the exclusion of 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> persons<sup>2</sup>.

**2. DOM in Old Romance.** In this section we will present in more detail the problems OC and OR pose to accounts based on the above-mentioned *Scales*. In order to better frame the discussion, we will introduce first OS, a language where DOM respects the *Scales*. Diachronic studies performed on OS corpora have claimed that personal pronouns have been differentially marked from the very beginning, systematically, and with no exception. Some examples are illustrated in (3)-(4); relevant data and analysis can be found in contributions such as Pensado (1995: 19), Company (2002: 207-208), von Heusinger & Kaiser (2005: 35-36, 41), Laca (2006: 426, 469), a.o.

(3) Old Spanish

- a. e ssi fuéredes vençidos, non rebtede a nós  
 and if be.COND.2PL defeated not blame.IMP.2PL DOM us  
 ‘But if you are defeated you are not to blame us.’

(12<sup>th</sup> c., *Cid*, 3566, apud von Heusinger and Kaiser 2005)

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<sup>2</sup> OC and OR texts show other counterexamples to *Scales*, for example animate nouns or proper names carrying differential object marking to the exclusion of (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person) pronouns. For lack of space, we only discuss the problem of 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns here.

- b. Dios salve **a** **nuestros amigos** e **a** **vós** más señor,  
 God save.SBJV.3SG DOM our friends and DOM you more lord  
 ‘May God save our friends and you above all, my lord.’  
 (12<sup>th</sup> c., *Cid*, 3038, apud Ramsden 1961: 49)
- (4) a. ellos comdes gallizanos **a** **él** tienen por señor.  
 they counts Galicians DOM he have.3PL as lord  
 ‘They, Galician counts, have him as lord.’  
 (12<sup>th</sup> c., *Cid*, 2926, apud Ramsden 1961: 48)
- b. todos **a** **él** guardavan.  
 all DOM he observe.IPFV.3PL  
 ‘They all observed him.’  
 (13<sup>th</sup> c., *Poema de Fernán González* 553b, apud Ramsden 1961: 48)

In OC (from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries), however, it does not seem to be the case that DOM consolidated first with 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person and then extended to 3<sup>rd</sup> person. In (5) we provide some examples from the chivalry novel *Curial e Güelfa*, where several 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns show DOM (5)a-b, whereas 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pronouns tend to lack it (5)c-d:

- (5) Old Catalan - *Curial e Güelfa*, 15<sup>th</sup> c.
- a. vós havets honrat **a** **ell**.  
 you.2PL have.2PL honoured DOM he  
 ‘You have honored him.’
- b. ell e un companyó seu combatrían **a** **ell**.  
 he and a companion his fight.COND.3PL DOM he  
 ‘You and a mate of his would fight him.’
- c. ¿què ha mogut **tu** e ton companyó a...?  
 what has moved you and your companion to  
 ‘What compelled you and your mate to...’
- d. aquella senyora, qui mira **nosaltres**...  
 that lady who look.3SG we  
 ‘That lady, who watches us...’

An overview of the occurrences of DOM in this novel shows that the contrast is quite robust:

	NO DOM	DOM
1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> sg/pl	4 (44,4%)	5 (55,5%)
3 <sup>rd</sup> sg/pl	1 (16,7%)	5 (83,3%)

Table 1. *Curial e Güelfa*, 15<sup>th</sup> century. First 30.000 words.

A similar pattern is found in other works from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Tables 2-5); later corpora show that from the late 15<sup>th</sup> c. onwards, DOM is becoming systematic with all strong (personal) pronouns, mirroring the picture seen in Modern Catalan, as well as in most modern Romance varieties. A similar observation holds for the transition from Old Romanian to Modern Romanian (MR), as we discuss in the next subsection.

	NO DOM	DOM
1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> sg/pl	2 (100%)	0
3 <sup>rd</sup> sg/pl	6 (66,7%)	3 <b>(33,3%)</b>

Table 2. *Novel-letes Hongria*, 14th century.  
Entire text [9.000 words]

	NO DOM	DOM
1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> sg/pl	3 (100%)	0
3 <sup>rd</sup> sg/pl	0	2 <b>(100%)</b>

Table 3. *Clams i crims*, 14th century.  
First 30.000 words.

	NO DOM	DOM
1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> sg/pl	9 (64,3%)	5 (35,8%)
3 <sup>rd</sup> sg/pl	1 (20%)	4 <b>(80%)</b>

Table 4. *Epistolari*, 14th century.  
First 30.000 words.

	NO DOM	DOM
1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> sg/pl	9 (75%)	3 (25%)
3 <sup>rd</sup> sg/pl	0	2 <b>(100%)</b>

Table 5. *Epistolari*, 15th century.  
First 30.000 words.

The data above pose several problems to accounts in terms of *Scales*. The latter would predict 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns to be stronger DOM triggers than 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns; we see exactly the opposite in OC. Therefore, an explanation is required. More importantly, the Catalan situation is replicated by OR, where the prominence of 3<sup>rd</sup> person is seen in various texts, as discussed below.

2.1. DOM IN OLD ROMANIAN. Differential object marking is robust in OR texts (Mardale 2015, Avram and Zafiu 2017, Nicula Paraschiv 2017, Hill and Mardale 2017, a.o.), with animacy being a relevant factor at various stages. The most important difference from other Romance varieties is morphological. Although DOM uses a prepositional strategy, the marker is not homophonous with the dative; the locative preposition *pe* ('on') or *spre* ('towards')<sup>3</sup> with various allomorphs is used instead, as illustrated in the example below:

- (6) Old Romanian  
 Înteptulu soare (...) toți-i veade, ce mai vârtosu  
 wise.DEF.M.SG sun all-CL.ACC.M.3PL see.3SG but more strong  
**pre** cari-i prevescu **pre** elu.  
 DOM REL.M.PL-DEF.M.PL look/watch.3PL DOM he  
*Lit:* 'The wise sun sees everyone, especially those who watch him.'  
 'The wise sun sees everyone, especially the ones who look at it.'  
 (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581:439, see also Nicula Paraschiv 2016)

The data we are concerned with come from texts dating from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, and probably indicating patterns from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. The attentive reader might have noticed that these texts are dated later than the OC ones; this is due to the fact that the first available written documents in OR are only seen in the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup>. In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century texts it appears that

<sup>3</sup> There are significant differences between the use of *pe* in the first part of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., and in texts written at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. (after 1580). There also differences between translations and original OR texts (Rosetti 1978, Mardale 2015, Pană-Dindelegan 2016, Avram and Zafiu 2017, a.o.).

<sup>4</sup> Agreed-upon parametrization of OR: i) first period of OR: the period of the earliest texts available (1500-1640); ii) second period of OR, characterized by increase in the number and stylistic range of texts (1640-1780); see especially Pană-Dindelegan (2016) for more details.

3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns show DOM, which is optional with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns. von Heusinger and Onea (2008) have observed the same patterns, and the data in Table 6 below come from their paper. The two authors have examined a corpus formed of religious texts, mainly Bible translations<sup>5</sup>. The puzzling fact revealed by the data is that DOM is more robust with 3<sup>rd</sup> person, as opposed to 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person. von Heusinger and Onea's (2008) results are included in Table 6 below; as we can see there, 3<sup>rd</sup> person is differentially marked 97% of the times, while with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person only 50% of the instances show the expected marking. Note that the two authors have only analyzed [+human] DPs in the class of 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns (and nouns). The transition to MR has seen a regularization of obligatory differential marking to all pronouns.

	NO DOM	DOM
1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> sg/pl	5 (50%)	<b>5</b> (50%)
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sg/pl</b>	1 (3%)	<b>33</b> ( <b>97%</b> )

Table 6. Direct object marking with *p(r)e* in 16<sup>th</sup> c. Romanian (adapted from von Heusinger and Onea 2008, Table 1, page 77)

In conclusion, data from both OC and OR pose a problem to equating DOM to a *Animacy/Person Scale* of the type in (2)(a), repeated here under (7). The problem is that this *Scale* predicts 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person to be stronger triggers for the special marking than the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. More simply put, the *Scale* predicts that if there is DOM, it should be more frequent with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person than with 3<sup>rd</sup> person. OR and OC show instead that 3<sup>rd</sup> person, unexpectedly, appears to be more robust.

(7) *Animacy/person*: 1/2 > 3 > proper name > human > animate > inanimate

A simple explanation according to which these facts might be some exceptions that have to receive an independent explanation (i.e, errors in the data that have to be attributed to extra-linguistic factors) is weakened from a variety of points of view. First, it is not clear why languages that have not been in close contact show precisely this pattern<sup>6</sup>. Second, other Old Romance varieties appear to lead to a similar conclusion, for example Old Sardinian. And third, the prominence of 3<sup>rd</sup> person to the exclusion of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person has also been documented for non-Romance varieties, as well as languages that are not Indo-European. As a simple illustration, in Kashmiri (Indo-Aryan), an animacy-based adpositional DOM is seen with 3<sup>rd</sup> person, but not with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons<sup>7</sup> (see especially Keine 2010). Outside Indo-European, Nikolaeva (2014) has noticed a similar problem for Tundra Nenets, and Darlymple and Nikolaeva (2011) for varieties of Khanty. Given this systematicity, the question is how such apparent exceptions are to be explained and what they tell us about the nature of DOM. In the next section, we examine the hypothesis put forward by von Heusinger and Onea (2008), who connected the obligatoriness of DOM with 3<sup>rd</sup> person to the need of signaling accusative case in the absence of dedicated inflectional morphology for the accusative case. We show that this assumption is problematic from several points of view.

<sup>5</sup> Bible A: *Noul Testament de la Bălgrad (The New Testament from Bălgrad)* - 1648, Transylvania; Bible B: *Biblie V.T.N.T (Bible Old Testament and New Testament)* - 1688, Walachia (Bucharest). See the Appendix for more details about the corpus.

<sup>6</sup> Romanian is a Southern Romance variety, while Catalan belongs to Western Romance; the two varieties are geographically separated by vast areas that contain other Romance varieties, as well as non-Romance languages.

<sup>7</sup> The latter trigger a special type of object agreement (under certain conditions).

**3. An analysis in terms of accusative case doesn't work.** von Heusinger and Onea (2008, p.79) have preliminarily proposed that the puzzling presence of DOM with 3<sup>rd</sup> person could have a straightforward explanation if we look at the case morphology shown by the pronouns in (Old) Romanian. As seen in Table 7, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons show distinct inflectional morphology for the nominative and the accusative<sup>8</sup>. The reasoning is as follows: given that for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person case morphology clearly signals the accusative, DOM would not be necessary. The opposite holds for 3<sup>rd</sup> person – here, the accusative and the nominative are homophonous. Thus, an independent morphological means is needed in order to signal the accusative use. This is precisely the function of the differential marking preposition, which disambiguates the accusative.

This explanation is appealing. However, there are several counterarguments to it. First, note that Table 7 only gives the MR patterns. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun could also take distinct accusative morphology, the form *sine*, as seen in Table 8.

	Singular			Plural		
	NOM	ACC	DAT	NOM	ACC	DAT
1 <sup>st</sup> person	eu	<b>mine</b>	<i>mie</i>	noi	noi	<i>nouă</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	tu	<b>tine</b>	<i>ție</i>	voi	voi	<i>voiă</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	M el	el	<i>lui</i>	ei	ei	<i>lor</i>
	F ea	ea	<i>ei</i>	ele	ele	<i>lor</i>

Table 7. Morphology of personal pronouns in modern Romanian

	Singular		Plural	
	NOM	ACC	NOM	ACC
1 <sup>st</sup> person	eu	<b>mene/menre</b>	noi	noi
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	tu	<b>tine</b>	voi	voi
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	M elu	elu, <b>sine</b>	ei	ei
	F ea	ea, <b>sine</b>	ele/eale	ele

Table 8. Morphology of personal pronouns in OR (16<sup>th</sup> century)

This morphology appears in OR texts with the DOM preposition, just like *elu*, which is homophonous between the nominative and the accusative. Excluding the form *sine* as a reflexive does not account for its behavior in OR texts, as this morphology does not seem to *always* carry a reflexive interpretation<sup>9</sup>. The contrasting examples in (8) from OR and (9), from (MR), show the difference.

(8) ca să poată hrăni **pe sine**.  
 such SBJV can.SBJV.3SG feed.INF DOM he  
 ‘in order to be able to feed him.’ (OR, DÎ.1593: XCV)

(9) ca să \*(se) poată hrăni (\*pe) **sine**.  
 such SBJV CL.REFL.ACC.3SG can.SBJV.3SG feed.INF DOM self.ACC  
 ‘in order to be able to feed himself.’ (MR)

Second, distinct accusative morphology is *only* seen in the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person *singular*. DOM as a case disambiguating strategy would predict that 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person plural should uniformly show DOM (just

<sup>8</sup> As well as the dative. Romanian is a Romance variety that has preserved the inflectional dative case seen in Latin.

<sup>9</sup> Note nevertheless that the presence of obligatory differential marking with the third person reflexive would be problematic in itself under the *Scales* mentioned.

like 3<sup>rd</sup> person) due to the NOM-ACC syncretism. But this is *not* what we get in the corpora. As we can see in the examples in (10), the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural *voi* is used without differential marking as a direct object<sup>10</sup>. The same holds with 1<sup>st</sup> person plural. 3<sup>rd</sup> person, on the other hand, shows up with differential object marking in the same texts:

(10) Object pronouns in OR texts

- a. Nemica **voi** să vatăme.  
nothing.NOM you.PL SBJV hurt.SBJV.3.SG  
‘Let nothing hurt you.’ (CT. 1560 – 1:140<sup>v</sup>)
- b. Lumea **pre elu** nu cunosc.  
people.NOM DOM he not recognize.PST.3SG  
‘People did not recognize him.’ (CT. 1560 – 1:1<sup>v</sup>)
- c. Va vindeca **noi**.  
FUT.3SG heal we  
‘He will heal us.’ (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 20)
- d. Surpa-*l*-va **pre elu**.  
destroy-CL.ACC.M.3SG-FUT.3SG DOM he  
‘He will destroy him.’ (CC<sup>2</sup>.1581: 23)

Examples like (10)d raise a third type of problem. (Old) Romanian is one of the Romance varieties that show accusative clitic doubling with certain types of DOM<sup>11</sup>, as we see in example (10)d. Table 9 shows that clitics have both accusative and dative morphology. There are no nominative clitics. The crucial point is that the accusative function of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person nominal is clearly signaled by the accusative clitic, as an indirect object DPs will automatically carry dative case inflection. Given this, *it is not clear why differential marking would still be necessary*<sup>12</sup>.

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1 <sup>st</sup> person sg	eu	mine, mă, m-	mie, îmi, mi-
2 <sup>nd</sup> person sg	tu	tine, te, te-	ție, îți, ți-
3 <sup>rd</sup> person sg	M <b>el</b>	<b>el, îl, -l, l-</b>	<b>lui, îi, i-</b>
	F <b>ea</b>	<b>ea, o, -o, o-, -o-</b>	<b>ei, îi, i-</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> person pl	noi	noi, ne, -ne, -ne-	nouă, ne, ne-, -ne
2 <sup>nd</sup> person pl	voi	voi, vă, v-	vouă, vă, v-
3 <sup>rd</sup> person pl	<b>ei</b>	<b>ei, îi, i-, -i, -i-</b>	<b>lor, le, -le, -le</b>
	<b>ele</b>	<b>ele, le, -le, -le-</b>	<b>lor, le, -le, -le</b>

Table 9. Morphology of tonic pronouns and clitics in Romanian

Similar problems are apparent in OC, where tonic pronouns only show distinct accusative morphology in the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular. Table 10 presents the full paradigm. The disambiguation hypothesis would predict the obligatoriness of DOM with 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons. However, this is not what the data show. In the examples in (5) we have illustrated 3<sup>rd</sup> person with DOM, but 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons without DOM, despite the fact that NOM-ACC syncretism holds for 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

<sup>10</sup> The verb tracks subject agreement in OR. Thus, in examples (10)a and (10)c the second person plural pronoun and respectively, the first person plural pronoun have a direct object function, despite the lack of differential morphology.

<sup>11</sup> In MR, clitic doubling of direct objects is obligatory in a variety of contexts, which include tonic forms of personal pronouns. The clitic double can only show accusative morphology, and is possible if DOM is also present.

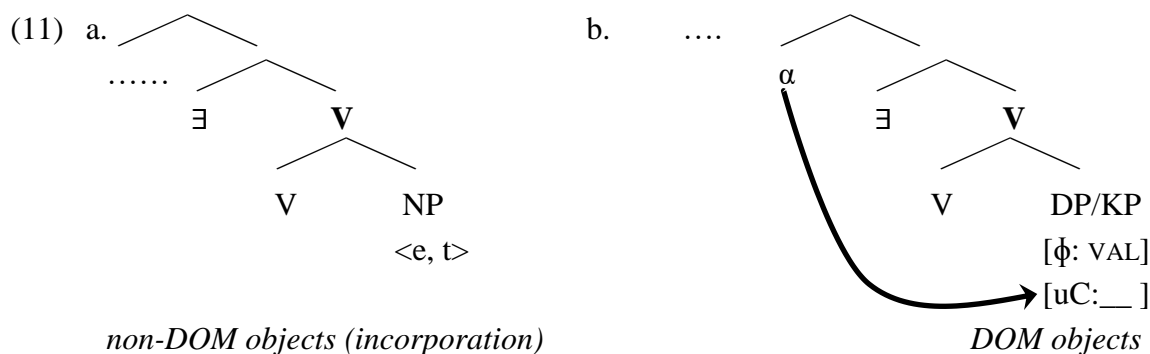
<sup>12</sup> The opposite is also relevant. As DOM signals ACC case, it is not clear why ACC clitic doubling would be necessary.

	Singular		Plural	
	NOM	ACC	NOM	ACC
1 <sup>st</sup> person	jo	<b>mi</b>	nós/nosaltres	nós/nosaltres
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	tu	tu	vós/vosaltres	vós/vosaltres
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	M	ell	ells	ells
	F	ella	elles	elles

Table 10. Morphology of personal pronouns in Old Catalan

In conclusion, it seems that the problem is rather 3<sup>rd</sup> person itself, and not the NOM/ACC homomorphism, with the need of DOM to disambiguate between subjects and objects. Importantly, despite the fact that 3<sup>rd</sup> person objects can be disambiguated by clitic-doubling with dedicated accusative morphology (in OR), DOM is still needed. Thus, both OR and OC require an explanation, as Scales predict 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person to be stronger DOM triggers than 3<sup>rd</sup> person. We sketch an analysis in the next section.

**4. Steps towards an analysis.** Under recent accounts, DOM is equated with structural Case/licensing. Objects that cannot show DOM are assumed to undergo (pseudo-)incorporation, as predicates (López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, b, Kalin 2018, Levin 2019, a.o.). A simple representation is given below:

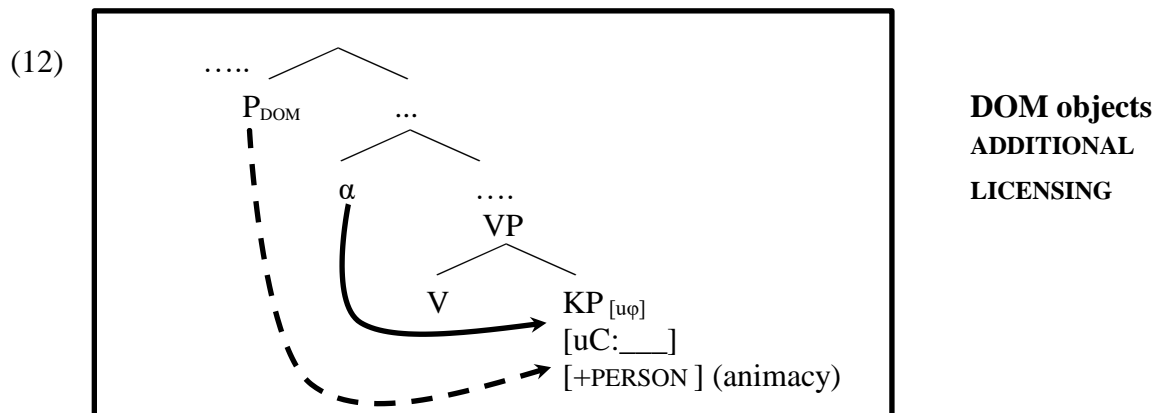


We build on these lines of research, as among the various formalizations for DOM they have the potential to explain the puzzle we are concerned with here; however, our claim is that DOM does not simply signal the difference between objects that undergo (pseudo-) incorporation (DOM-less ones) and objects that must be licensed in the syntax (DOM-ed). OR and OC provide evidence that the differential marker tracks *an additional licensing* operation on objects that have independent argumental status (and escape incorporation). More simply put, the differential marker is rather an argument licensing operation beyond Case (see also Cornilescu and Tigău 2017, Irimia 2018, a.o.). Thus, the typology of direct objects in OC and OR is a three-way one: a) objects that are not subject to licensing (11)a; b) objects that undergo licensing<sup>13</sup> (11)b; c) objects that contain an

<sup>13</sup> OC provides further evidence for a three-way split in the marking of direct objects. A difference is made in the language between objects that can show up with no object agreement, objects that show object agreement (in number and gender on the participle in analytic past tenses), as well as objects that show differential marking, which is independent of object agreement. An example of object agreement without DOM is illustrated below; note that object agreement is not sensitive to animacy (the object in the example below is inanimate and cannot take DOM):

(i) Old Catalan – Matrimoni (14<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 ell ... hac **menjada** la dita vianda  
 he...had eaten.F.SG DEF.F.S G said.F.SG meat.F.SG  
 ‘He has eaten the above-mentioned meat.’

extra specification beyond [uC], as in (12). It is the latter objects that are differentially marked via the preposition.



4.1. ASSUMPTIONS. The diagram in (12) indicates that we connect the additional licensing operation to the presence of a [+PERSON] feature. In this we follow and adjust accounts where animacy is seen as the reflex of [+PERSON] specification (Cornilescu 2000, Adger and Harbour 2007, Nevins 2007, Richards 2008, a.o.). As we have mentioned above, the correlation between animacy and adpositional differential marking is clear in both Old and modern Romance varieties that have differential marking<sup>14</sup>. The connection between animacy and [+PERSON] is represented in Table (11). We model this geometry after Harley and Ritter (2003), Nevins (2007) and Anagnostopoulou (2003)<sup>15</sup>, a.o.:

PERSON/ANIMACY	FEATURES
1 <sup>st</sup> person	[+PERSON] (= [+PARTICIPANT]) speaker
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	[+PERSON] (= [+PARTICIPANT]) addressee
3 <sup>rd</sup> person [+human, +animate]	[+PERSON] (= [+PARTICIPANT])

Table 11. Person and animacy (building on Harley and Ritter 2002, Anagnostopoulou 2003)

One important piece of evidence supporting the presence of a [+PERSON] specification in the composition of differentially marked objects is related to PCC-type interactions they give rise to. The pioneering discussion in Ormazabal and Romero (2007) has demonstrated that certain contexts where combinations of two clitics are banned can be reduced to the need of *animate* pronominal elements to enter into an object agreement relationship with the relevant verbal material. A typical contrast from a Spanish leísta variety is illustrated below. As we see in (13)b, in these varieties, the direct object clitic must take differential morphology, in the form of dative marking, if it refers to an animate entity. Inanimate clitics take regular accusative morphology (13)a. What is further relevant to us are typical PCC (Person Case Constraint) configurations, where a dative clitic precedes an accusative clitic. The contrast in (14)b shows that configurations in which the differentially marked animate direct clitic and the indirect object clitic co-occur are ungrammatical. On the other hand, the example in (14)a contains a direct object with its regular accusative morphology and which can also be interpreted as an inanimate. This latter example is

<sup>14</sup> Although there are certain classes of inanimates which must be differentially marked, especially in modern Romance varieties. For simplicity and lack of space, we leave aside a detailed discussion of these classes.

<sup>15</sup> Note that not all accounts mentioned above assume a binary specification for [PERSON]. We use this feature notation for convenience, but nothing hinges on it.

grammatical, although it equally contains two clitics, one corresponding to the indirect object and the other one to the direct object. This indicates that animacy plays an important role in licensing operations; assuming that the relevant dative clitics contain a [+PERSON] feature which requires licensing (Anagnostopoulou 2003), the problem with (14)b could reduce to a configuration that contains two [+PERSON] features which require licensing, one corresponding to the dative clitic and the other one to the differentially marked animate clitic. As the structure contains only one relevant licenser, [+PERSON] of the higher argument (the indirect object dative) will undergo licensing; the lower [+PERSON] feature in the composition of the animate direct object clitic will remain unlicensed, leading to crash.

(13) Leísta Spanish

- |    |                   |     |    |                       |     |
|----|-------------------|-----|----|-----------------------|-----|
| a. | Lo                | vi. | b. | <b>Le</b>             | vi. |
|    | CL.3ACC[-Animate] | saw |    | CL.3DAT=DOM[+Animate] | saw |
|    | 'I saw it.'       |     |    | 'I saw him.'          |     |

(14) PCC and animacy - Leísta Spanish

- |    |                                       |             |          |
|----|---------------------------------------|-------------|----------|
| a. | Te                                    | lo          | di.      |
|    | CL.2DAT                               | CL.3ACC     | gave-1SG |
|    | 'I gave it/him to you.'               |             |          |
| b. | <b>*Te</b>                            | <b>le</b>   | di.      |
|    | CL.2DAT                               | CL.3DAT=DOM | gave-1SG |
|    | <i>Intended:</i> 'I gave him to you.' |             |          |

(Ormazabal and Romero 2007: 15/16)

One question we might raise about these examples is the following – the example in (14)b contains two clitics. The presence of a [+PERSON] feature is not surprising, at least for dative clitics. But the problematic issues we are addressing contain full pronouns for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person (or full nominal DPs) which show overt adpositional differential morphology. The question is whether the latter cases also give rise to ungrammaticality. Given the restrictions in the corpora (that do not contain ungrammatical examples), we can test the data in the modern varieties. The full pronoun test gives the same results as the clitic contexts. In most Romance varieties that show DOM, full pronouns in direct object position must carry differential marking (as well as clitic doubling). Moreover, the overt form of the tonic pronoun for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is only possible if the referent is animate (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999, a.o.). Thus, the tonic pronoun configurations that would correspond to the contexts of the type in (14)b are ungrammatical in the relevant leísta Spanish dialects, as expected and as shown in (15):

(15) Leísta Spanish

- |                                       |             |          |          |            |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|----------|----------|------------|
| <b>*Te</b>                            | <b>le</b>   | di       | <b>a</b> | <b>él.</b> |
| CL.2DAT                               | CL.3DAT=DOM | gave.1SG | DAT=DOM  | he         |
| <i>Intended:</i> 'I gave him to you.' |             |          |          |            |

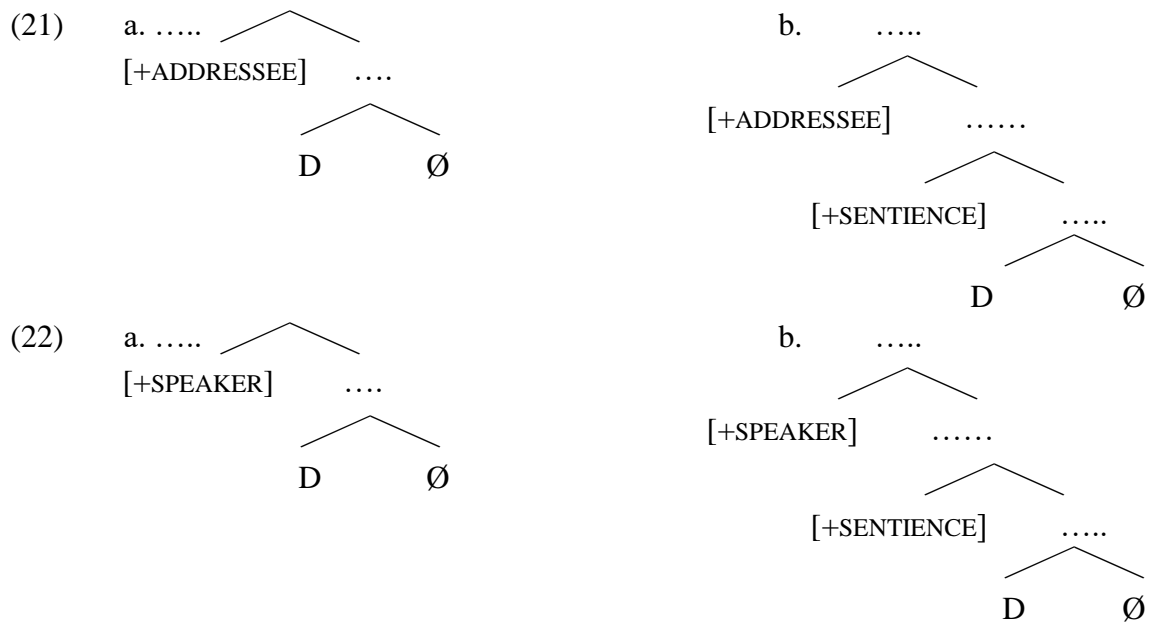
In Romanian, the clitic PCC illustrates a *me-first* type. Thus, IO-DO clitic clusters only lead to ungrammaticality if the accusative clitic is first person<sup>16</sup>; also, (modern) Romanian does not exhibit dedicated morphology for animate clitics. Lack of relevant differentially marked

<sup>16</sup> See the contrast between (i) and (ii):

- |                 |  |                |       |      |  |                |        |
|-----------------|--|----------------|-------|------|--|----------------|--------|
| Modern Romanian |  |                |       |      |  |                |        |
| (i)             | <b>*Ți</b>                                 | <b>m-a</b>     | dat.  | (ii) | <b>Mi</b>                                  | <b>te-a</b>    | dat.   |
|                 | CL.2SG.DAT                                 | CL.1SG.ACC-has | given |      | CL.1SG.DAT                                 | CL.1SG.ACC-has | given. |
|                 | <i>Intended:</i> 'He has given me to you.' |                |       |      | <i>Intended:</i> 'He has given you to me.' |                |        |



the exclusion of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person. We have seen that such examples constitute a violation of the *Animacy and Referentiality Scales*. We believe that the crucial answer hinges on understanding what the precise composition of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns is. The fundamental question is whether 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are constructed on material which is characteristic to 3<sup>rd</sup> person animates, or can have an independent structure, which requires an independent type of licensing. We believe that a system under which 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns can be associated to more than one type of configurations is on the right track and allows us to model and better understand the Old Romance data we started with. More specifically, we propose that both the configurations in (21)/(22)(a) and (b) are possible for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns. Following standard assumptions in the literature, we take 2<sup>nd</sup> person to be signalled by an [+ADDRESSEE] feature, while 1<sup>st</sup> person is flagged by a [+SPEAKER] feature.



What we see in modern Romance as opposed to old Romance is a shift from a structure of type (a) to a structure of type (b). Initially, the adpositional [DOM] was a marker of *animacy*, and not signaling Speaker and Hearer. The shift is from a pattern where the Speaker and Hearer specifications got merged with a structure which did not contain structural specification for *animacy* (Sentience) to a pattern where Speaker and Hearer could get added only to configurations that already contained the Animacy feature. This shift is motivated by a pragmatic constraint that can become grammaticalized in certain languages: Speaker and Hearer can only be animate.

**6. Conclusions and some remarks on the status of Scales.** The diachronic data we have analyzed in this short paper show a reversal of *Scales*, in the sense that categories lower down on the *Animacy/Referentiality Scale* tend to carry DOM to the exclusion of higher ones. We have shown that the data can be explained under a model with assumes the following: i) DOM as a licensing operation beyond [uC]; ii) a fine-grained decomposition of Sentience/Perspectival features, their interaction, and their consequences on syntactic licensing of arguments. Counterarguments to *Scales* of the type discussed here, as well as of many other types, have led to renewed debates about the nature of such hierarchical generalizations (see especially the discussion in Næss 2004 or Carnie 2005, the latter describing them as ‘merely post-factum descriptive statements of grammatical tendencies’, a.o.). We believe the lesson we get from the

data under discussion here is that *Scales* do not operate in a static system; instead, their interaction with narrow syntax (López 2012, a.o.), nominal licensing strategies, and categorial feature composition is crucial. Moreover, various languages show strong evidence that more than one differential marking strategy is available inside one linguistic system at one given moment. All these interactions might give rise to what look like violations of the *Scales*.

## Corpora

### OLD CATALAN

*Corpus Informatizat del Català Antic (CICA)*, J. Torruella (dir.), junt amb Manel Pérez Saldanya i Josep Martines. [www.cica.cat](http://www.cica.cat)

### OLD ROMANIAN

- Bible A: *Noul Testament de la Bălgrad (The New Testament from Bălgrad)* - 1648, Transylvania
- Bible A: *Biblie V.T.N.T (The Bible. The Old Testament and the New Testament)* – 1688, Walachia (Bucharest)
- CC<sup>1</sup>.1567 Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor (The meaning of the Gospels)*. Ed.: Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangheliilor și molitvenic românesc*, ed. V. Drimba, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române 31-187 (Transylvania, Wallachian Subdialect; Gheție and Mareș 2001: 115)
- CC<sup>2</sup>.1567 Coresi, *Evanghelie cu învățătură*. Ed.: Diaconul Coresi, *Carte cu învățătură* (1581), vol. 1, *Textul*, ed. S. Pușcariu, Al. Procopovici, Bucharest: Socec, 1914. (Brașov)
- CT.1560-1 Coresi, *Tetraevanghel*. Ed. *Tetraevanghelul tipărit de Coresi. Brașov 1560-1561*, comparat cu *Evangheliarul lui Radu de la Mănăcești 1574*. Ed. Florica Dimitriu. Bucharest, Editura Academiei. 1963. (Wallachian subdialect, Brașov).
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- Ev.1642 *Evanghelie învățătoare*. Ed. A.-M. Gherman, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2011, 153-480. (Oltenia: Govora Monastery)
- MI~1630 *Manuscrisul de la Ieud (The Ieud Manuscript)*. M. Teodorescu, I. Gheție (eds.). Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1977, 153-170. (North Transylvania, Maramureș)

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