

**CLITICS ON THE MOVE: FROM DEPENDENT
MARKING TO SPLIT MARKING**

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Abstract

This paper examines differential object marking (DOM) in non-standard Limeño Spanish contact varieties (LSCV). It explores the multiple effects of DOM (Aissen 2003) in LSCV, more specifically its correlation with patterns of information packaging with respect to secondary topic (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2007) and transitivity marking (Alsina 1996, 2001, Andrews 2007). Starting with the fact that Spanish already shows mixed marking, it argues that in non-standard varieties grammaticized non-agreeing object clitics promote split marking even further suggesting a typological new development through a new accusative case marker (Bossong 1991, 2003, Company 2001).

1 Introduction

Standard Spanish requires DOM for human direct objects and optionally *a*-marks personified animate and inanimate direct objects (DO). Clitic doubling (CLD) of a pronominal DO is obligatory in all Spanish dialects as demonstrated in (1).

- (1) Pedro lo_i vió a él_i.
Peter DOCL.MSG saw.3SG OM PRO.MSG
Peter saw him.

Liberal CLD dialects not only push the scale for DOM to include inanimate DOs but also extend CLD to specific and topic DOs. The role of topicality in agreement systems and DOM is particularly evident in synchronic variation data, and can be seen as a source of historical change.¹ LSCV displays a principled distinction between grammatical agreement with non-agreeing clitics (non-Agr PRO) that have developed into TOP(icality) markers co-occurring with morphological object marking, and anaphoric agreement with mostly agreeing clitics. Synchronic variation of canonical and non-canonical object marking by cross-referencing clitics and syncretic morphological case marking of both the direct and the indirect object, produce conflicting analyses with regard to their syntactic distinction and classification. The conditions in LSCV are summarized below, the arrows represent the grammaticalization paths:

- Optionality of DOM → semantic marking based on specificity and animacy.
- Grammaticized non-agreeing contact direct object clitics (DOCL) devoid of referential information → decreased semantic marking → increased pragmatic marking → secondary topic marker (TOP2).

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¹See Morimoto 2002 for an OT analysis for Bantu agreement systems.

- Information structure role → move from DOM → a new accusative marker, or [DAT +] (Alsina 1996) → OBJ_θ.

The aim of this paper is to present and discuss the intrinsic relationship of object agreement by clitic doubling and DOM with regard to topic marking in non-standard variation data from Limeño Spanish contact varieties. It can be hypothesized that if DOM extends even further, it will make way for a new accusative marker denoting the direct object as the primary object and secondary topic in monotransitive clauses. This prediction is, in fact, borne out in the following analysis of the non-standard contact data.²

Section 2 argues for a split between grammatical and anaphoric agreement in LSCV. The transfer hypothesis in section 3 accounts for some diachronic facts and exposes object marking in the contact languages. Section 4 addresses briefly the concept of affectedness and shows that semantic based reasoning does not fully account for the variation. Section 5 clarifies the motivation for a TOP marker instead of FOC(us) marker. This leads up to a comparison of dative and accusative objects in Spanish in section 6 prompting the emergence of a new accusative marker. A short conclusion is given in 7.

2 Variation in Non-Standard Dialects

This section exposes the range of variation found in LSCV to show how exhaustive the variation patterns are and how they relate to argument marking in general. LSCV shows a hybrid clitic system with the reduced pronominal form *lo* grammaticalized to a TOP marker in grammatical agreement. This new development is not restricted to Peruvian contact varieties but can be found in Mexican contact varieties (Company 2003).

2.1 Grammatical Agreement vs. Anaphoric Agreement

Examples (2-4) represent a short discourse within a single context. In LSCV the gender agreeing DO CL *la* has been replaced by a grammaticalized clitic analyzed as TOP as shown in (2a). This leads to a failure of coindexing which produces ungrammatical results by failing the test for completeness and coherence. The strong PRO in (2b) is not affected by any change, always displaying overt gender.

- (2) a. Yo lo_i/*la_i ví a la chica_i.
 1PRO.SG TOP/DOCL.FSG saw.1SG OM DET.FSG girl
 I saw the girl.
- b. Allí estaban ellas_j.
 There were.3PL 3PRO.FPL
 They were there.

²All data if not acknowledged otherwise are from digitally recorded naturally occurring data from Fieldwork in Lima, Peru.

The non-agreeing anaphoric direct object clitic in (3) varies with agreeing clitics in a typical case of synchronic variation of the gender feature. However number is still present.

- (3) Los chicos los_j/las_j ignoraban.
 DET boys DOCL.MPL/DOCL.FPL ignored.3PL
 The boys ignored them.

The prediction following from example (2) that in utterances with *lo* as a TOP marker number must also be lost is borne out in (4). In accordance with Bresnan (2001a:134, fn 5)³ *lo* when analyzed as TOP has only a single, ‘marked’ value where TOP is a privative feature. Greenberg (1966:61) also noted that featurally unmarked forms ‘can act as a surrogate for the entire category’.

- (4) Y ahora en la mañana no $lo_i/*la(s)_i$ ví a
 And now PREP DET morning not TOP/DOCL.F(PL) saw.1SG OM
 ellas_j.
 3PRO.FPL
 And this morning I did not see them.

Whereas in Peninsular Spanish agreement of person 3 OBJ CLs is upheld with minor exceptions, in Basque regions due to a comparable contact situation,⁴ the emergence of non-agreeing person 3 clitics is found in the corresponding American Spanish contact situations despite normative educational efforts. However, in the short discourse example anaphoric recoverability seems to obtain for communicative purposes.

2.2 Anaphoric Agreement and Object Alternation in LSCV

Preposing seems to enhance agreement as demonstrated in (5). In this impersonal passive utterance, the left dislocated pronominal IO is not *a*-marked but taken up by a resumptive DOCL in the main clause. The sole inanimate goal object *a la barriga* of the transitive verb is *a*-marked, promoting it to secondary topic. Note the gender agreement in the direct anaphor.⁵ The external topic function, the primary topic here, is anaphorically linked to an integrated function in the clause; the extended coherence condition is met. In this particular case the pronominal dislocated topic *ella* shares not only the f-structure with the internal function, the DOCL *la*, but also the referential index of the discourse function; hence functional uniqueness is observed (Bresnan 2001:63).

³See section 3 for the grammaticalization path of clitics.

⁴The contact languages Basque in Spain and the Amerindian languages Quechua and Aymara in Peru are typologically similar. See Landa (1995) for Basque.

⁵There is synchronic variation of agreeing and non-agreeing clitics in direct anaphors but notable agreement in highly affected themes in continuing topics.

- (5) Cuando ella_i, la_i cortaban a la barriga para
 When PRO.FSG DOCL.FSG cut.3PL OM DET stomach PREP
 sacarla_i al bebe.
 take.out.DOCL.FSG OM.DET baby
 When they cut her stomach open to take out the baby.

The agreeing anaphoric pronoun *la* continues the relevance of the primary topic here in the text. In a minimalist account Zubizarreta (1998) analyses constructions like (5) as hanging topics which are not linked to any element in the IP and are base-generated at the left periphery. Hanging topics are different from preposed constructions as they shift the attention to a new topic taken up by a resumptive pronoun (clitic) in the matrix clause.

2.3 The Dative-Accusative Alternation in LSCV

LSCV simultaneously applies a double strategy to mark the single inanimate, specific object of transitive verbs that preferably require an active agent and a theme argument.

2.3.1 Leísmo

The first strategy involves replacing the accusative clitic with the dative, a well known phenomenon called leísmo. In this case the DO can be doubled and *a*-marked as in the examples in (6) producing apparent clitic doubled (CLD) IO constructions. Leísmo is ambiguous with regard to grammatical function; for Standard Spanish the features [+human] and/or [+affected] are required, goal arguments are optionally CLD.

Both examples in (6) show a non-standard IO CLD construction with the Ecuadorian Spanish example in (6b) representing a typical example for the extensive leísmo conditions in Ecuador having all but replaced the DOCL with the IOCL. The LSCV example in (6a) is symptomatic of the struggle of the IO and the DO for primary object status.

- (6) a. Pero ya no le_i/*la_i frito a la yuca_i.
 But again not IOCL.SG/DOCL.FSG fry.1SG OM DET cassava
 But I do not fry the cassava again.
- b. Ya le_i veo a la camioneta_i. Ecuadorian Sp
 Already IOCL.SG see.1SG DOM DET minibus
 I can already see the minibus.
 (Suñer and Yépez 1988)

In standard Peninsular and Limeño Spanish, leísmo constructions with theme arguments as in (6) above are considered ungrammatical, and only the non-doubled clause in (7a) would be possible. However, Standard Limeño for disambiguation purposes prefers liberal DO CLD with agreeing clitics as shown in (7b).

- (7) a. Pero ya no frío la yuca.
 but again not fry.1SG DET cassava
 But I do not fry the cassava again.
- b. ¿La_i frío a la yuca_i o solo la_i
 DOCL.FSG fry.1Sg OM DET cassava or only DOCL.FSG
 caliente?
 heat-up.1SG
 Do I fry the cassava or shall I only heat it up?

2.3.2 Extended DOM

The second strategy and innovation in LSCV is apparent liberal DO CLD with non-Agr PRO and DOM with inanimate topical objects as exemplified in (8a).⁶ Note the move from liberal DO CLD with Agr PRO in Standard Limeño in (8b), and the non-doubled and unmarked version in the Standard Spanish example in (8c).

- (8) a. Lo_i/*la_i frío a la cebolla_i. LSCV
 DOCL.MSG/DOCL.FSG fry.1SG OM DET onion
 I fry the onion.
- b. La_i frío a la cebolla_i. Standard Limeño
 DOCL.FSG fry OM DET.FSG onion
 I fry the onion.
- c. Frio la cebolla. Standard Spanish

Examples (6a) and (8a) demonstrate the syntactic motivation for the dative-accusative alternation in monotransitive clauses in LSCV. They show the semantic and pragmatic strategies non-standard dialects apply to make the accusative the primary object and secondary topic by extending DOM to inanimates and using non-Agr PRO as TOP marker and/or transitivity marker.⁷

3 Transfer Through Contact

Due to contact the synchronic variation in LSCV cannot be reduced to internal changes arising as a homogeneous development. Contact as an external factor together with internal factors, in particular with evidence of an inherently diachronically instable dative and accusative case paradigm since early Latin, is known to accelerate language change (Croft 2001). Linguistic change is motivated by an increase in pragmatic function in particular at the initial stage. An example for completed change would be the monocausal clitic system, extensive *leísmo* (Vincent 2001), in Ecuador and Paraguay.

⁶The featurally unmarked form *lo* surfaced as sole clitic in regions in contact with Amerindian languages mainly in Peru and to a lesser extent in Bolivia and Northwestern Argentine.

⁷Judging from my data I think that *lo* when co-occurring with DOM is in the process of evolving from TOP to transitivity marker, eventually giving rise to a new ACC case marker.

3.1 Grammaticalization

In Standard Spanish the dative clitic displays both agreement (number and person) and case in one morpheme whereas the accusative shows gender distinction instead of case. Both are clitics in the sense of Zwicky (1977) but have come to differ in pronominality through diachronic change. The grammaticalization path in LSCV starts with number incongruence, next clitics no longer carry gender information and finally become a specialized topic-anaphoric pronominal. The evolution and range of variation of pronominal content is illustrated in the markedness hierarchy reproduced in (9) (Bresnan 2001a:116). The dative is a bound pronominal grammatical agreement marker, whereas the accusative, stripped of its referential properties, is reduced to TOP, and has become ‘a specialized topic-anaphoric pronominal which lacks any agreement classifications’. According to Bresnan (1998:119) ‘Pronominals are reduced if and only if they are specialized for topic anaphoricity’.

$$(9) \begin{bmatrix} \text{TOP} \\ \text{AGR} \\ \text{PRO} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRO} \\ \text{AGR} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{TOP} \\ \text{PRO} \end{bmatrix} \dots$$

In Standard Spanish, object arguments are optionally cross-referenced on the verb with agreeing clitics, and marked with a syncretic case marker *a*⁸ for IO and DO, both internal arguments. DAT-ACC case syncretism is a very well known fact and is found in some Romance languages (Rumanian *pe* and others) and also in the Semitic languages. A striking parallel to Spanish *a* is Hindi/Urdu *ko* in marking specificity when appearing on DOs (Mohanan 1994). The correlation between specificity, topicality and i-structure is discussed in the next paragraph as well as in section 5. In the Romance languages the extension of the dative preposition to a new differential accusative is attributed to normal typological behavior (Bossong 1991:158). In Romance languages with grammaticized clitics (stage II), the ACC or second actant in Bossong’s terms, extends from unilateral marking or nominal marking to bilateral marking, resulting in nominal plus verbal marking.

Modern Spanish *a* is the result of a reanalysis of the locative preposition *ad* as a grammatical marker used originally to mark human direct objects and extended in LSCV to topical specific inanimates. Hindi *-ko* shares a common locative origin and similar evolution with Spanish *a*. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2007:38) analyze the spread of *-ko* marking to definite inanimates as not only optional but ‘determined by the topicality of the object’. Butt (2008) analyses *ko*-marked DOs as specific objects, the event is placed on a path showing a specific endpoint but no attainment.

The morphological change in the clitic paradigm is likely to trigger syntactic change. Grammaticized clitics evolve into topicality and transitivity markers and,

⁸In Mayer (2003) I called it the formative *a* due to its multiple roles: it can be a locative preposition with full semantic content, or an object marker to (a) case mark the IO and (b) optional DOM for the DO (personal *a*, broadly known as prepositional accusative).

when co-occurring with inanimate *a*-marked objects in transitive constructions, denote secondary topics.

3.2 Contact

Note that transfer in Peru flows from Quechua through Andean Spanish (AS) as the mediating language to Spanish giving rise to featureless forms and *a*-marking of inanimates.

3.2.1 Quechua *-ta*

Quechua is a left branching SOV language with free word order inside main clauses (Lefebvre and Muysken 1988), where arguments are extensively marked by case and agreement. Spanish on the other hand is a right branching (S)VO language that uses free word order to configure the information structure roles topic and focus (Zubizarreta 1998). The typological differences and even more the similarities between both languages are of particular importance with regard to argument marking and potential transfer through Andean Spanish to LSCV.

Quechua has a very complex postverbal agreement system. Subjects show case through agreement markers, and only special subjects receive case-marking (NOM, GEN by inflection). Objects are marked on the verb either in terms of the non-subject function, or according to the semantic roles theme, source and goal, or in relation with the subcategorization frame. The object marker *-ta* has a double function: it marks (a) the accusative (patient, theme), the dative (except recipients which are marked by prepositions), and goal and locative arguments and (b) it acts as a transitiviser. As Lefebvre and Muysken (1988:261) remark ‘object marking is sensitive to argument status: not only must the NP be a constituent of the matrix VP, it has to be an argument of the matrix verb.’ The verbal inflection shows morphological marking of DO and IO person 1 and 2; person 3 is not cross-referenced on the verb. The similar status of transitive and intransitive verbs is particularly interesting.

Primary topics in Quechua do not get dislocated but are obligatorily morphologically marked as in the example in (10). LSCV monotransitive clauses look very much the same in having extended DOM to topic inanimates, whereas Standard Spanish restricts DOM to specific and animate objects.⁹

- (10) Wasi hunt's-ta riku-ni.
house full.ACC see.1SG
I see a full house.
(Lefebvre and Muysken 1988:105)

Secondary topics can appear on the left or on the right periphery of the verb. The object marker *ta* and a co-indexed lexical pronoun can only co-occur in the same clause if the pronoun is in topic position as in (11) below.

⁹However personal *a*-marking can be extended to inanimate objects to topicalize them.

- (11) Hamu-q warma-(ta)-qa, Santiyagu riku-n.
 come.A girl.(ACC).TOP Santiago see.3
 Santiago sees the girl that is coming.
 (Lefebvre and Muysken 1988:138)

In Quechua double object constructions we find objective and dative case alternation with animate objects. In some varieties, such as Imbabura Quechua and Tarma Quechua absence of morphological marking of DOs is permitted under adjacency conditions, this is not the case for Cuzco Quechua. Lefebvre and Muysken analyze all elements marking case, number, tense and person on nominalized verbs as affixes and not clitics.

3.2.2 Andean Spanish

Andean Spanish (AS) is a non-discrete variety that emerged during 500 years of contact with indigenous languages, mainly Quechua and Aymara. We find a partial clitic inventory on a continuum based on case, leísmo and the TOP *lo* as given in (12). AS speakers have basically collapsed the person 3 clitic paradigm, and reanalyzed the gender, number and case discerning Spanish object agreement system as a unique category with free variation of all three possibilities. All Andean examples are borrowed from Pérez (1997).

- (12) Juan $le_i/lo_i/la_i$ conoce a mi mamá_i.
 Juan IOCL.SG/DOCL.MSG/DOCL.FSG knows.3SG OM POSS mother
 Juan knows my mother.

Pérez ascribes the absence of the obligatory DOCL in the preposed construction in Andean Spanish in (13b) to a direct transfer from the Quechua OV agreement system as in example (13a). In the Standard Spanish preposed construction in (13c) the clitic is obligatory.

- (13) a. Huwan-ta riqis-ni llaqta-y-manta. Quechua
 Huwan.ACC know.1SG town.POSS.1SG.from
 I know Huwan from my town.
 b. A Juan conozco de mi pueblo. AS
 OM Juan know-1.SG PREP POSS village
 I know Juan from my village.
 c. A Juan *(lo) conozco de mi pueblo. StaSp
 OM Juan DOCL.MSG know.1SG PREP POSS village
 I know Juan from my village.

I assume that the multiple grammaticalization processes and contact linked to discourse-pragmatic function are responsible for a typological change to primary object/secondary topic in LSCV monotransitive constructions.

4 The Affectedness Issue

Affectedness indirectly correlates with the semantic features animacy and definiteness of the object as these features in turn are strongly associated with individuation of the referent (Hopper and Thompson 1980, Naess 2004, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2007). Semantic based dative-accusative alternations can be found in many other languages. The Icelandic example in (14) exemplifies affectedness differences with the same verb where the accusative in (14a) marks an almost painful act with the intention to hurt; the dative marking in (14b) means that somebody helped out and scratched a place the person cannot reach on her own.

- (14) a. Hann klóraði mig.
he.NOM scratched me.ACC
He scratched me (ACC).
b. Hann klóraði mér.
he.NOM scratched me. DAT
He scratched me (DAT).
(Naess 2004:1205)

LSCV data in (15) corroborate the same, however with a slight but significant semantic difference in the verbal lexical semantics. LSCV marks the thematic role of the beneficiary with the dative and the goal/target with the accusative.

- (15) a. Y el doctor le sobaba, la sobaba y le
And DET doctor IOCL massage.3S, DOCL.F massage.3S and IOCL
calmaba los dolores.
soothed DET pain
And the doctor massaged her, massaged her some more and soothed
her pain.
b. ..que le rasque la cabeza, que le rasque la
..that IOCL scratch.1S DET head that IOCL scratch.1S DET
espalda, basta con que lo rasque.
back enough with that DOCL.M scratch.1S
..that I scratch his head, that I scratch his back, it is good as long as I
scratch him.

Some verbs change lexical meaning depending on selection of DO and IO. The relationship to *leísmo* here is not clear cut, however, I assume that the examples above do not represent a case of *leísmo*.

5 Correlation of Case-marking and I-Structure

Classical markedness theory (Hopper and Thompson 1980, Givón 1976) and affectedness as in the previous section fail to account fully for the range of variation

objects have in common, as Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2007:29) argue ‘objects are just as likely to be topics as to be in focus.’ As we can appreciate in the grammatical function hierarchy in (18), the object located in the middle of the hierarchy can be both, topic and focus. In general, focus tends to associate with lower ranking arguments, and topics with arguments high on the hierarchy scale. As clitic doubled examples as in (17) are highly topical arguments I associate them with TOP rather than FOC in accordance with the hierarchy.

- (18) SUBJ > OBJ > OBL
TOP > FOC

Consider the following examples in (19) from Ibizan (Balearic Catalan), where DOM consistently appears on all dislocated topical objects but not on focused objects; according to Escandell-Vidal (2007) they are never marked.

- (19) a. Vaig ficar (*an) es ganivets an es calaix.
have.1SG put OM DET knives PREP DET drawer
I put the knives into the drawer.
b. An es ganivets, els vaig ficar an es calaix.
OM DET knives them have.1SG put PREP DET drawer
The knives, I put them in the drawer.
c. Els vaig ficar an es calaix, an es ganivets.
them have.1SG put PREP DET drawer OM DET knives
I put them into the drawer, the knives.
Escandell-Vidal (2007:31)

Ibizan Spanish codes information structure roles by word order restructuring and DOM marking specifically topical objects. Further evidence comes from the Hindi-Urdu postposition *ko* which is strongly dispreferred in focus (wide and narrow), and preferably used ‘in contexts where the object is salient and the utterance updates the addressee’s knowledge about the relation that holds between the subject and the object referents’ (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2007:37).

The evidence from Ibizan, a closely related dialect of the same language family, as well as evidence from Hindi-Urdu, an unrelated and typologically different language, strengthen the hypothesis that it is not an unfounded assumption to make a similar case for DO CLD constructions with non-Agr PRO in LSCV.

5.2 TOP marker

Grammaticality judgments based on prescriptive standard grammars judge examples (20, 21) from non-standard dialects as sharply ungrammatical, however they seem to be pragmatically acceptable.

- (20) Lo_i vi a las chicas_i. [+anim] [+spec] → [top]
TOP saw.1SG OM DET.FPL girls
I saw the girls.

- (21) Lo_i frio a la cebolla $_i$. [-anim] [+spec]→[top]
 TOP fry.1SG OM DET.FSG onion
 I fry the onion.

These non-standard examples can be related to topicalization devices whereby a preverbal non-agreeing non referential clitic introduces the subsequent new information in the post-verbal object DP as the secondary topic. Such pragmatic marking strategies are typical of head-marking Amerindian languages LSCV is in contact with.¹¹ The *a*-marked inanimate object in (21) exemplifies nicely the typological restructuring through the combination of the topic marker ‘naming the topic referent in the discourse’ and the new accusative *a* expressing ‘a semantic relationship between a topic referent and a predicate’ (Lambrecht 1994:335). This is another example for DOM marking not only a specific object but also the agentive subject at the same time (Bossong 2003, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2007). Using the system of Dowty (1991) and Alsina (1996:41), the event in (21) is construed as a planned event with a volitional causer (SUBJ) P-A and a prototypical P-P undergoing some change of state. Another important factor in LSCV is identifiability of the object by both hearer and speaker.

Defining secondary topics is not straightforward, for one the information is not new but familiar and known to both speaker and hearer or at least identifiable from the context. In Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2007) secondary topics are marked, they must have been mentioned in the previous discourse and must be specific. Objects that have not been mentioned previously but can be specific and not *a*-marked are in the domain of wide focus which does not receive marking. This definition works fine for Standard Spanish where the agreeing clitic unifies with the direct object NP, and displays topicality inside the finite clause building on the ‘individuation-presuppositionality’ traits of the marked DO (Torrego 1999). Morimoto (2002) divides Bantu topics into external topics (preverbal dislocated objects in topic position) and internal topics (secondary topics in postverbal focus position). For contact Spanish however I propose tentatively that secondary topic marking refers only to monotransitive clauses triggering accusative marking.¹²

The non agreeing TOP2 marker resists a unifying analysis with the integrated function in the clause. Completeness and coherence as well as functional uniqueness would be violated unless we assume (a) the functional uncertainty equation in (22) which allows identification of TOP2 and OBJ and (b) an extended coherence condition such as Bresnan (2001:72) that allows for ‘looser constraints of discourse coherence’ for external or dislocated TOP or FOC functions. Otherwise in an incoherent f-structure the TOP2 could not be integrated. Kayne’s Generalization can be linked to TOP2 and primary object in contact Spanish as shown in (23). Note,

¹¹Further Quechua uses evidentiality markers to *witness* an activity. The TOP marker in the LSCV data points to a highly salient object undergoing an immediate action performed by the highly topical and agentive speaker-subject and to be witnessed by the hearer.

¹²I suspect that durative aspect or boundedness could also trigger accusative *a*. This is an avenue yet to be explored.

(22) and (23) are both existential requirements and not assigning ones.

(22) *lo*: CL, (TOP2↑)

(23) *a*: P, (TOP↑)

The verb phrase-structure rules in (24) account for LSCV and Standard Spanish CLD DO constructions. Selection between TOP and TOP2 here is covered by Morphological Blocking (Andrews 1990) in choosing the most compatible and specific candidate.

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 (24) \text{ VP} & \rightarrow & \bar{V} \quad \text{DP} \\
 & & \uparrow = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow \text{OBJ}) = \downarrow \\
 \bar{V} & \rightarrow & \text{CL} \quad \text{V} \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{TOP} | \text{TOP2}) = \downarrow \quad \uparrow = \downarrow \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{OBJ}_\theta) = \downarrow
 \end{array}$$

Non-agreeing clitics have been analyzed as marking TOP2 in LSCV showing more core grammatical functions as exemplified in (25) below.

(25) Default alignment (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2007:35)

i-structure	TOPIC	TOPIC2	FOCUS
f-structure	SUBJ	OBJ	OBJ _θ /OBL

The innovation in LSCV is after all not totally unexpected but can be seen as a natural consequence of extending DOM from specific (topical) animate objects to specific (topical) inanimate objects.

6 A New Accusative Marker?

Crosslinguistically the gradation of direct objecthood is based on a ‘well documented semantic and pragmatic overlap between the categories definite patient (Hebrew), dative and human patient (Spanish), dative and pronominal (Provençal), and dative and topical (Newari, Nepali) (Givón 1997:25). Recall, that in Spanish marking of the DO and the IO is morphologically undistinguishable due to syncretism of the formative *a*. As we have seen, in contact varieties pragmatic marking takes precedence over semantic marking. The featureless form *lo* has been analyzed as a TOP2 marker which seems to be a natural extension of diachronically well attested personal *a* marking human, animate and inanimate DOBJ arguments in specific/topical contexts.¹³ Extending DOM to specific topical objects can be seen as a natural consequence giving rise to a new accusative marker. In this case *lo* will have to be reanalyzed as a transitivity marker.¹⁴

¹³Another option would be to take object properties à la Deal (2005) into account and analyze unmarked DO as [-property], that is non specific, and marked DOs as [+property] which are specific.

¹⁴A. Andrews p.c. does not think that *lo* should be analyzed as TOP marker but as a transitivity marker instead.

6.1 Two Theories in Competition

6.1.1 The [DAT ±] hypothesis

Alsina (1996) proposes a binary case distinction [DAT ±] for Spanish and other Romance languages such as Catalan for example, where both objects are internal arguments, direct functions distinct from SUBJ and OBL. They are morphologically marked by presence and absence of a case marker, for Spanish *a*. He argues for the IO to be the [DAT +] marked member in this case opposition and analyses the DAT as a PP. The unmarked DO becomes the nondative or [DAT−]. Third person pronominal clitics show morphological case-marking [DAT +] in the dative (*le*) and gender [DAT−] for the accusative (*lo, la*). The distinction [DAT ±] would also allow for DOM for the accusative. However it does not explicitly accommodate a new accusative marker, that is it does not allow for typological change. In adopting this distinction, the marked DO becomes the secondary object or thematically restricted OBJ_θ.

6.1.2 Information Structure

DOM optionally marks direct objects ranked for their prominence on two scales, animacy and definiteness, or on a two-dimensional scale based on the interaction of both (Bossong 1991, Aissen 2003). DOM based on these semantic strategies is motivated by trying to disambiguate core arguments in transitive clauses. In Aissen's account information structure does not play an important role, she assumes that the prototypical role of a transitive object is in focus. This functional approach however does not account for languages that prefer pragmatic marking strategies over semantic marking. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2007) analyze the difference between marked and unmarked objects as different information structures expressed in syntactic terms representing two different grammatical functions. This allows for a gradual change in DOM from original marking of i-structure to incorporate partially or in some languages even completely the referential properties of the object.

The spread of DOM in LSCV to include topical inanimates co-occurring with a non-agreeing clitic is not an isolated occurrence. Hindi and Persian, for example, have extended DOM to incorporate specific elements that are topical. If we analyze the extension of DOM creating a new accusative marker through its information structure role, then the *a*-marked DO could be seen as a primary object/secondary topic based on the semantic roles theme/patient. Andrews (2007:43) proposes the option of semantic marking (animacy and definiteness) and pragmatic marking (information structure roles topic and focus) of patients for Spanish. DOM solely based on an animacy marking strategy is troubled by sustained evidence of marking of inanimate themes in Standard Spanish. Explaining the extension of DOM in contact varieties based on purely semantic role is troubled by the fact that, by extending marking to inanimate themes, any difference between themes and patients

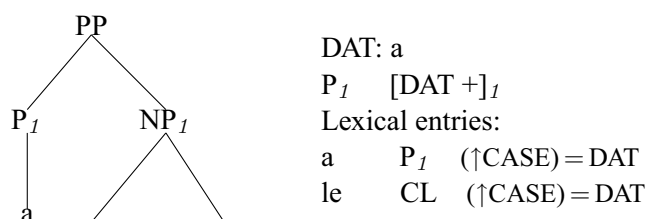
is obliterated.¹⁵

The next section applies Alsina's theory to the objects to highlight similarities and differences.

6.2 Dative and Accusative Objects

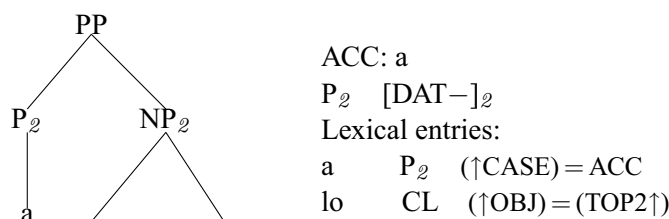
The skeletal c-structure representations below, borrowed from Alsina (1996:165), show that the IO in (26) and the DO in (27) are morphologically identical structures. The IOCL is a case marker, different from the DOCL below.

(26)



Accusative objects as shown in (27) below, or nondative in Alsina's terms, can be analyzed as a regular PP.¹⁶ However, different from the IO, the preposition here provided by the lexicon is tentatively analyzed as a new accusative case marker for the contact data. Case-marking is constrained to the DOCL as a TOP2 marker.

(27)



Next we look at differences and similarities in the syntactic behavior of these objects.

6.3 Object Behavior

Spanish codes syntactic functions through word order arrangements, such as preposing and left dislocation, DOM with specific DPs and clitics to cross-reference

¹⁵It is anyway very difficult if not impossible to draw a clear line between themes and patients (Miriam Butt, pc).

¹⁶See Bresnan 2001: 329 for such an analysis.

agreement and case. These different techniques can be used in almost any combination to mark grammatical relations and configure or signal pragmatic functions. We have already seen that objecthood is not clear cut but gradable. Alsina (1996:150) argues ‘that all that distinguishes direct from indirect objects is morphological case: indirect objects are objects marked with dative case, whereas direct objects are objects without dative case.’ However as Bossong (1991) notes, DOM is applied differentially and dative case not. The table below summarizes the apparent similar behavior of the DO and the IO in passing tests for objecthood.

SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES	DO	IO
passivization	yes	no
impersonal/middle passive	yes	yes
adjacency	yes	yes
agreement	yes	yes
personal <i>a</i>	yes	no
case and clitic doubling	_c TOP	yes
cliticization	yes	yes

Table 1: Syntactic properties of DO and IO in Spanish

Both objects can appear adjacent to the verb, can be cross-referenced on the verb with agreeing clitics and can be replaced by clitics. The major differences constitute the inability of IOs (and OBLs) to become the grammatical subject of a passive clause and the absence of personal *a*. The passive morpheme *se* which is homophonous with the reflexive clitic *se* produces superficially identical passives for all three passive forms. However, they can be distinguished (a) on argument structure where only the passive has an implicit agent and (b) through aspectual differences. The case and clitic doubling constraints on the DO are not a new development but have been extended to include inanimate specific (topical) arguments.¹⁷

6.4 Double Object Constructions

Alsina argues that in DOCs the DO is the primary object and the IO the restricted secondary object, co-occurrence is regulated by the Restricted Argument Parameter (RAP) ‘in an argument structure with two morphosyntactically distinct internal arguments, one must be [R]’ (Alsina 2001:670). This principle is active in asymmetrical languages, Spanish is one of them. In Spanish DOC, (SUBJ) V DO IO is considered the default word order with *a*-marking restricted to the [R] object. The constraint is due to the Linear Precedence Principle (Alsina 1993), the Spanish accusative patient is usually a bare NP while the dative recipient or goal is a PP. Restrictedness is represented at the level of a-structure and the concept of object is represented at f-structure. The external argument maps onto the subject function

¹⁷See Kittilä 2006 for a crosslinguistic survey of extended DOM: SDOM and EDOM.

indexed with 1, and both other arguments are assigned object function with the one adjacent to the verb being the unrestricted object and the restricted argument mapping onto the secondary object as shown in (28).

- (28) dar: 'give < []₁ []₂ [R]₃ >' a-structure
 [SUBJ₁ OBJ₂ OBJ₃] f-structure

The diagram in (29) below shows the mapping from c-structure to a-structure to f-structure. Optionality of presence and absence of the clitic is due to a contrast between the DOC and the locative alternation.¹⁸

- (29) c-structure (NP) (CL) V NP a NP
 a-structure THEME GOAL
 f-structure (SUBJ) OBJ OBJ_θ

DOCs are by and large not affected by the change we are seeing in monotransitive constructions, however the restructuring of word order into (SUBJ) V a NP NP is also considered 'grammatical' but pragmatically marked. This is a development similar to the one in various dialects of Chicheŵa where, according to Kanerva (in Alsina 2001:376), the order can be reversed and the restricted object would precede the unrestricted object as exemplified in (30).

- (30) (NP) CL V a NP NP
 GOAL THEME
 (SUBJ) OBJ_θ OBJ

The information structure role in ditransitives is marked through word order in accordance with the thematic hierarchy where the recipient precedes the theme and not through case-marking. The RAP remains active even with pragmatically motivated word order restructuring. This word order variation is often called the prepositional dative construction (Demonte 1995, Blears 2003 and Kayne 1975 for the French counterpart). In these IO DO constructions the IOCL is obligatory with the *a*-marked referential object. Note also that in DOC both objects can be replaced by a clitic cluster with the fixed order of IO>DO.

From the above discussion follows that both objects in Spanish are internal arguments, and that word order restructuring motivated by information packaging does not change object status or mapping relations.

7 Conclusion

In this paper I discuss the the intrinsic relationship of object agreement, DOM and secondary topic marking in non-standard variation data from Limeño Spanish contact varieties. The evolution of grammaticized non-agreeing direct object clitics

¹⁸In this construction the case marker *a* is replaced by a true preposition and the clitic is lost.

into a secondary topic marker has been ascribed to multiple co-occurring factors, namely, inherent diachronic variation of the clitic paradigm, transfer through contact and extended DOM regulated by pragmatic strategies. Based on these converging conditions I have argued that fierce competition between the dative and accusative for the same space in monotransitive clauses may give rise to a new accusative case, marking topical, individuated objects according to semantic roles and information structure role. It can be assumed that multiple grammaticalization processes and contact linked to discourse-pragmatic functions are responsible for a typological change to primary object/secondary topic in monotransitive constructions.

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