

OPTIONAL DIRECT OBJECT CLITIC DOUBLING
IN LIMEÑO SPANISH

Elisabeth Mayer
Australian National University

Proceedings of the LFG06 Conference
Universität Konstanz
Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (Editors)

2006

CSLI Publications

<http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/>

Abstract

In some Spanish dialects, direct object arguments of transitive clauses under certain conditions allow co-occurrence of a pronominal clitic with a coindexed lexical NP (direct object clitic doubling). In Limeño, as well as in Standard Spanish, in accordance with Kayne's Generalization, direct object clitic doubling obtains only under *a*-marking, by conveying animacy and specificity on direct objects. This paper explores the motivations and mechanisms of *a*-marking based on these referential categories with an emphasis on optional marking. It focuses on the resulting morphosyntactic reflexes: mood in relative clause, *a*-marking DOM, and clitic doubling. This analysis links Kayne's Generalization to topic marking in Spanish, which mostly seems to hold, by associating the semantic feature specificity with the discourse roles TOP and FOC. The evolution of clitics from marking agreement to marking a secondary topic is ascribed to a known grammaticalization process of the formative *a*.

1 Introduction*

Standard Spanish requires pronominal objects to be expressed by a clitic, allows optional doubling by a pronoun and rejects doubling of full NPs. All dialects require obligatory doubling of a pronominal direct object (DO) as demonstrated in (1).

- (1) Pedro **lo** vió *a* él. All dialects
Peter DOCLMascSg saw-3Sg OM PROMasc3Sg
Peter saw him.

Standard Spanish rejects doubling of full lexical NPs as in (2a). All dialects abide by the principle of economy of expression¹ as in (2b): the referential PRO is supplied by anaphoric control.

- (2) a. Invitaron *a* Beto y Carlos. Standard Spanish
They invited Beto and Carlos.
- b. **Los** invitaron (*a* ellos). All dialects
DOCLMascPl invited-3P (OM PROMasc3Pl)
They invited them.

Direct object clitic doubling (DOCLD) is much more restricted than indirect object clitic doubling showing considerable cross-dialectal variation. In River Plate (RP) doubling extends optionally to animate full NP objects (Suñer 1988) and in Limeño to proper names and topics (Mayer 2003).

* I would like to thank all participants at the LFG06 conference who provided me with stimulating questions and constructive feedback. I am particularly grateful to Mary Dalrymple for pointing out to me the connection to FOC and TOP as well as to Miriam Butt and Tracy H. King for valuable comments on editing. I owe special thanks to Avery Andrews for extended discussions and insightful advice. All blunders are mine. Unless otherwise noted, the data discussed are drawn from fill-in questionnaires, interviews, and Limeño newspapers for my MLing thesis; the non Agr PRO contact data at the end are taken from my fieldwork in Lima for my ongoing PhD research.

¹ Economy of expression (Bresnan 2001b): the DO argument in cases like (2b) can be left out when it only supplies redundant information and when it is not needed for semantic expressivity.

Therefore the entry for the DOclitics l(a/o)(s) in Standard Spanish is $\text{PRED} = \text{c 'PRO'}$. MB then forces the clitic to be present when it can. For LS, the constraint on the clitic loosens to allow objects that are topics and an OPTIONAL feature when the DO is not a pronoun. This is illustrated in (6a). For RP the only constraint is optionality as in (6b), where the OPTIONAL here means that the entry does not trigger MB and thereby does not prevent a less specified form from being produced (Andrews 1990:543).

(6) a Limeño

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{GEND MASC|FEM} \\ \text{NUM SG|PL} \\ \text{PRED} = \text{c 'PRO'} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{(TOP}\uparrow\text{)} \\ \text{OPTIONAL} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

(6) b River Plate

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{GEND MASC|FEM} \\ \text{NUM SG|PL} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} = \text{c 'PRO'} \\ \text{OPTIONAL} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

2 Theoretical background

This proposal builds on “caseless” approaches such as Suñer’s (1988) agreement approach which is based on the requirement of the “Matching Principle” and on the apparent loss of accusative case in favor of a binary [+DAT] and [-DAT] distinction as described in Alsina (1996). Spanish as a pro-drop language has only object clitics.³ DO clitics as overt Agr PROs are inherently specified for person, gender and number, whereas IO clitics only show case and number. The case requirements imposed by the predicate on the f-structure will select the appropriate clitic as to ensure completeness and coherence. Subjects in Romance obey the Nondative Subject Constraint. Internal and external argument functions are not marked through abstract case distinctions but through a clear distinction of syntactic functions. For more evidence refer to Company (2001) arguing for a language shift in Spanish through multiple grammaticalization processes reinforcing dative marking and incorporating it into the clause as the prime object.

Consequently direct object clitics in clitic-doubled constructions are understood as caseless object markers obeying DOM as described in Bossong (1985) and Aissen (2003). Specificity is understood as intrasentential referential anchoring of an NP to another discourse object in the spirit of von Stechow (2002). The definition of definiteness as a discourse pragmatic property, ensuring anaphoric linking, is based on Heim’s Familiarity Principle (1988). Doubling of proper names will be analyzed relying on scopal specificity by Farkas (2002).

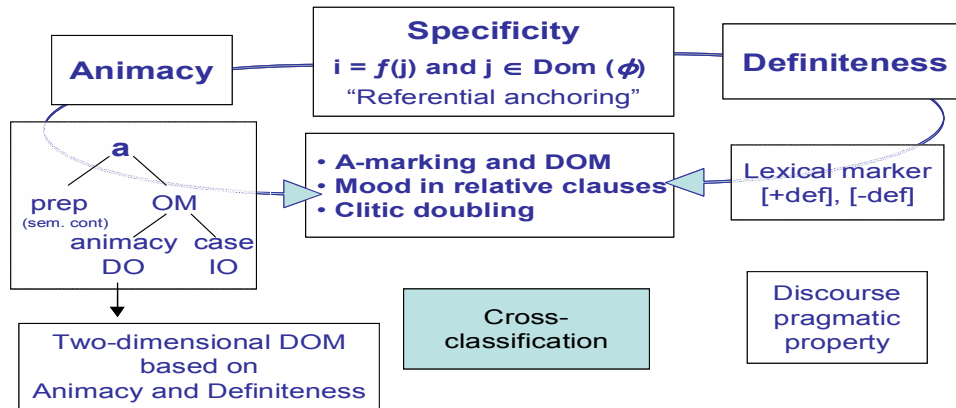
The aim of this paper is to show how the referential categories animacy, definiteness and specificity interact to license optional DOCLD in LS, a dialect that still exhibits agreeing clitics, as opposed to Limeño contact varieties, where clitics seem to have shifted from an agreement marker to a transitivity marker and/or topicality marker.

The paper is organized as follows: In section 3, I will proceed to define and show the scope of the three referential categories animacy, specificity and definiteness and provide a rather detailed analysis of the multifunctional formative *a*. Section 4 demonstrates the importance of *a*-marking DOM for specificity and discusses an interesting case of optional *a*. In section 5, I present various specificity effects on DO clitic doubling and link them to topic marking. In section 6, the role of a sole clitic in non Agr PRO Limeño contact clitics is analyzed as a topic marker. A short conclusion is given in section 7.

³ The only SUBJ CL would be impersonal *se* (‘one’). It cannot double an overt SUBJ.

3 Definition and scope of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors involved in DOCLD

The diagram in (7) shows the interaction of the three referential categories animacy, specificity and definiteness.



Animacy, definiteness and specificity are referential categories of different semantic and pragmatic natures, reflected in various morphosyntactic phenomena. In Spanish, animacy is encoded in the overt morphosyntactic marker *a* giving rise to DOM. Objects are marked for prominence on a “culture sensitive animacy Hierarchy” (Mohan 1994), where Human > Animate > Inanimate. Definiteness is overtly encoded in a lexical marker; Spanish has a pair of number and gender distinctive definite and indefinite articles. Specificity in turn lacks such a lexical marker; it uses the formative *a* in its virtue as DOM, affecting definite as well as indefinite NPs. This gives rise to the assumption that specificity is not only a subcategory of indefinite NPs but an independent category that “can therefore form a cross-classification” (von Stechow 2002:248). The term specificity corresponds roughly to identifiability as used by Bossong (1985). Specificity as a referential category shows the following morphosyntactic reflexes: i) mood in relative clause (with [+def] and [-def] nouns), ii) *a*-marking and DOM and iii) CLD.

3.1 Animacy

In Spanish animacy is encoded in the overt morphosyntactic marker *a*, broadly known as prepositional accusative. However, the multiple roles of the formative *a*⁴ in Spanish resists a unified analysis in terms of a mere animacy marker. The one form **a** has three homophonously expressed functions. *A* is homophonous with a) the preposition **a** having semantic content (8); in this case **a** can be replaced by another preposition; with b) the dative case marker for indirect objects (9), and finally with c) the object marker (OM) marker for direct objects (10).

(8) Pasó el río con el agua **a** (hasta) la cintura.
crossed-3Sg DET river with DET water PREP (PREP) DET waist
 He/she crossed the river with the water reaching to his/her waist.

(9) Les ofrecieron entradas gratis *a los* visitantes del hipódromo.
IOCLPl offered-3Pl tickets free to DET visitors of-DET racetrack
 They offered free tickets to the visitors of the racetrack.

⁴ In all examples the preposition **a** is marked bold and *a* as Case and object marker in italic.

Example (10) illustrates the complex use of the OM; it includes personal *a*⁵ to mark human objects and DOM to mark personifying animal objects (pets) and inanimate and specific objects (as in examples (24-26) in section 5.1). Thus multifunctional *a* resists a unified account.

- (10) Juan estima *a* Pedro.
Juan appreciates-3Sg OM Pedro
 Juan appreciates Pedro.

3.1.1 True Animacy marker vs. specificity marker with quantified phrases

Relevance of *a* as an animacy marker is particularly obvious with quantified phrases. Example (11a) is understood as animate whereas (11b) is inanimate. Note that both can be CLD in LS. This is possible as *todas* in these examples is a quantification over a set, each *todas* refers to an imaginable subset of a superset, which can be *muchos* or *pocos*, a case of partitive specificity in the sense of Enç (1991).

- (11) a. Ya **las** lavé *a* todas. [+animate]
Already DOCLFemPl washed-1Sg A all-(FemPl)
 I already washed them all. (for example: the girls)
- b. Ya **las** lavé todas. [-animate]
Already DOCIFemPl washed-1Sg all-(FemPl)
 I already washed everything. (for example: all dolls)
 (Suñer1988:401)

3.1.2 Personal *a* versus specific indefinites

Definite articles presuppose that the common noun they modify is a singleton. Indefinite articles on the other hand, do not trigger presuppositionality even with a specific reading. Leonetti (1999) claims that *a* in example (12) is a true animacy marker and does not convey specificity to the indefinite, animate NP as in the mood example (13b) below.

- (12) a. Vimos **(a)* unas mujeres en la plaza. [personal *a*]
saw-1Pl (A) DETindef women PREP DET market place*
 We saw some women in the market place.
 (Leonetti 1999:866)

From the previous examples it has become clear that the presence or absence of personifying *a* signals degree of animacy and/or distinctness. What is the difference then between (12a) and (13b)? Why is (13b) not simply another case of personal *a*-marking of an indefinite NP?

According to Luján (1987), Rivero (1975), and Torrego (1998) among others, there is a known correlation between subjunctive mood⁶ and definiteness, and specificity. Despite the human DO, the use of the subjunctive in sentence (13a) is already enough to render the sentence unspecific, thus no *a*-marking.

⁵ Personal *a* is relatively unknown in other Romance languages except for Sicilian and some other Southern Italian dialects.

⁶ The aspect problem is another factor in CLD dealing with the impossibility of iteration of the VP predicate with DOCLD constructions. It does not seem to vary cross-dialectally.

- (13) a. Fueron **a** buscar un médico experimentado que conociera bien las enfermedades del país.
went-3Pl PREP look-inf for DETindef doctor experienced that know-3SgSubj well DET diseases of-DET country
 They went to look for an experienced doctor, who would know about the prevalent diseases in the country.

Version (13b) on the contrary, receives a specific reading through *a*-marking, which is indicated with the indicative in the subordinate clause. Specific in (13b) here means ‘implied’ existence, the doctor is known to the speaker. There is clearly established referential identity of the NP with a familiar entity in the sense of background information and the fact, that the doctor is well known, entails the existence of such a person.

- (13) b. Fueron **a** buscar *a* un médico extranjero que gozaba de una gran reputación.
went-3Pl PREP find-INF OM DETindef doctor foreign that enjoyed-3Sg of DETindef great reputation
 They went to look for a foreign doctor who enjoyed a great reputation.
 (Bello 1984: 268)

Leonetti (1999:862) calls this an extensional argument. This is in contrast to example (13a) where novel information has been introduced; it is a purely intensional object: it does not relate to a fact or an accomplished situation. Intensional objects generally reject *a*-marking.

3.1.3 Word order

As Spanish, a pro-drop language, has relatively free word order,⁷ *a*-marking is useful under certain conditions to distinguish between grammatical functions. Zubizarreta (1999) claims that Spanish, in contrast to Italian, shows overt morphological case that distinguishes objects from subjects. (14a) shows two postverbal inherently identical arguments, an overt lexical post verbal subject and object in canonical object position, both [+human]. The inflectional morphology of the sentence-initial verb would agree with either. As you can see in (14b) and (14c), a [+human] DO being highest on the Animacy scale must be *a*-marked to disambiguate the sentence.

- (14) a. *Abrazó Juan María.
embraced-3Sg John Mary
 He/she embraced Juan María. (Double name)
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>b. Abrazó Juan <i>a</i> María.
 <i>embraced-3Sg John OM Mary</i>
 John embraced Mary.</p> | <p>b'. Juan abrazó <i>a</i> María.
 <i>John embraced-3Sg OM Mary</i>
 John embraced Mary</p> |
| <p>c. Abrazó <i>a</i> Juan María.
 <i>embraced-3Sg OM John Mary</i>
 Mary embraced Juan.</p> | <p>c'. María abrazó <i>a</i> Juan.
 <i>Mary embraced-3Sg OM John</i>
 Mary embraced John</p> |

Note that personal *a* will be omitted in ditransitive constructions. A possible reason is that the topicality properties are being monopolized. Inanimate NPs in VSO and SVO constructions (15)

⁷ As Spanish exhibits a well defined set of constraints on verbal complements, Demonte (1994) compares Spanish to English, German and Hindi in regard to object asymmetries and scrambling.

do not need personal *a*-marking for disambiguation, however, they can enter specificity relations by optional *a*-marking as we shall see in example (20) among others to come.

- (15) a. Abrazó Juan el árbol.
 embraced-3Sg John DET tree
 John embraced the tree.
- b. Juan abrazó el árbol.
 John embrace-3Sg DET tree
 John embraced the tree.

So far we can state that *a*-marking is a complex and multifunctional issue. Spanish uses the formative *a* as an obligatory animacy marker for [+human] DOs (personal *a*) and for [+animate] DOs for disambiguation. Optional *a*-marking as in (13b) allows for specificity effects on the DO argument. NPs without *a*-marking seem to have no or only the lowest form of specificity.

3.2 Specificity vs. definiteness

In the late 1960s the term specificity⁸ was introduced to further describe a general phenomenon that attributes value to variables in a variety of ways. Indefinite and definite NPs can be distinguished semantically by the uniqueness condition. Some languages mark these differences morphologically or lexically, others don't. As we have seen, Spanish uses the animacy marker *a* as a morphosyntactic marker for specificity. The literature deals mainly with specific indefinite NPs and categorises them in various ways. The different kinds of specificity can be analysed from two main focus points: scope (Farkas 2002) and referentiality (Fodor & Sag 1982). See also Enç (1991) for another important distinction between relational and partitive specificity.

In the following I adopt von Heusinger's 'referential anchoring approach' meaning that specificity should be analysed in terms of the 'referential structure' of the text. The Specificity Condition (16) (von Heusinger 2002:269) restricts the linking of reference indices internally to the sentence, referentiality is thus sentence bound.

- (16) An NP_i in a sentence ϕ with respect to a File *F* and the Domain of filenames
 DOM ϕ is [+specific] if there is a contextual salient function *f* such that $i = f(j)$
 and $j \in \text{DOM}(\phi)$

In other words, the specificity of an NP is given if its file name (index) can be described as a contextually salient function of the file name of another NP within the same sentence (Domain of file names) or in short:

- (17) $i = f(j)$ and $j \in \text{DOM}(\phi)$

The definition of definiteness on the other hand is a contentious issue. Givón (1979) defines a definite as an identifiable or referentially accessible existence within the Domain of the relevant discourse. Von Heusinger though claims that definiteness cannot solely be defined in terms of identifiability. Factors such as uniqueness, saliency, familiarity, functionality and many more play an important role and their importance is theory dependent. Definiteness always shows the functional connection of the new referent with a previously introduced item in the discourse. Thus definiteness is a discourse feature; its function crosses sentence boundaries. He defines definiteness after Heim's Familiarity Condition (in von Heusinger 2002:268) as follows:

⁸ A. Martinet (1960) and G. Lakoff (1968) were probably among the first to mention specificity.

- (18) An NP_i in a sentence ϕ with respect to a File F and the Domain of filenames $\text{DOM}(F)$ is
- i [+definite] if $i \in \text{DOM}(F)$, and it is
 - ii [-definite] if $i \notin \text{DOM}(F)$

Meaning that any indexed NP that is part of the discourse is definite, but how exactly is the Domain F defined? Heim (1988:302) gives the following instructions for File-keeping: “For every indefinite, start a new card; for every definite, update a suitable old card.” The Domain F is defined as “the set that contains every number which is the number of some card in F ” (Heim 1988:304).

For my claim, that specificity and not definiteness is the licensing factor in DOCLD, it is fundamental to state that indefinites introduce a novelty into the Domain of discourse, whereas definite NPs must denote an entity familiar to the addressee. The chain of events is used to determine whether novelty has been brought into the Domain of discourse or not.

4 A-marking and DOM

As we have seen for Spanish, the semantic and pragmatic features of the DO decide whether it gets overtly marked for “case” or not. DOM (Bossong 1985, Aissen 2003) can account for cross-linguistic variation of these object alternations. “The higher in prominence a direct object, the more likely it is to be overtly case-marked.” (Aissen 2003:436). Prominence⁹ is determined by animacy and definiteness. Most languages use two-dimensional DOM, based on animacy and definiteness. Some languages change the scales to animacy and specificity. Persian and Turkish for example, case-mark all specific objects. In Turkish specificity marking includes cases where the speaker has a specific referent in mind, a parallel situation to Limeño Spanish and also River Plate.

Urdu and Spanish use the same case marker (*ko* in Urdu/*a* in Spanish)¹⁰ for IO and DO. On DOs as in (19b) *ko* marks specificity/definiteness.

- (19) a. *nadya=ne jiraf dek^h-na he*
Nadya.F.Sg=Erg giraffe.M.Sg.Nom see-Inf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
 ‘Nadya wants to see a giraffe/giraffes.’
- b. *nadya=ne jiraf=ko dek^h-na he*
Nadya.F.Sg=Erg giraffe.M.Sg=Acc see-Inf.M.Sg be.Pres.3.Sg
 ‘Nadya wants to see the giraffe.’
 (Butt 2005:143)

According to Butt, the speaker must have a specific giraffe in mind in (19b). The argument is considered to be a direct object in accusative case but on the level of s-structure, the NP should be interpreted as specific.

⁹ Other factors like person (Silverstein 1976, Comrie 1989) and Topicality and Aspect (Kiparsky 1998 for Finnish and Torrego 1998 for Spanish) may also play a role cross-linguistically.

¹⁰ The common genesis of Urdu *ko* and Spanish *a* as locative postposition and preposition respectively is also striking.

4.1 Optional *a*-marking with inherently identical arguments

The often cited controversially *a*-marked double inanimate sentence in (20) is a good example to show that optionality is a privative opposition. In *a*-marking this sentence, two interconnected issues have to be taken into account. A third issue, namely, disambiguation of subject and object, can be disregarded as the non *a*-marked version is equally accepted.

- (20) El interruptor controla (a) la máquina. Limeño Spanish
DETMascSg switch controls-3Sg OM DETFemSg machine
 The switch controls the machine.

The first issue deals with verbal preference for selecting a direct rather than indirect object. If this were the case, we could not have optional *a*-marking. However, we know that in contact varieties the distinction between DO and IO is fuzzy at times due to a known grammaticalization process of the formative *a*. Yet this seems to be far fetched. That leaves us with the last option: DOM to mark animacy and specificity.

I propose to call the *a*-marked version a familiar definite reference, in the sense of Enç (1991) “Having a specific referent in mind”. The fact that a switch controls a machine is part of our daily life. The *a*-marked version reportedly sounds specific to a Limeño speaker. The marked version yields a marked meaning and allows identification of a certain machine.

Wh-questions show clearly the distribution of animacy: as expected animate subjects (21a) are felicitous with animate and inanimate objects. Question (21b) shows the optional *a*-marking. Inanimate subjects as in (21c) are not felicitous without personal *a* for animate/specific objects. (21d) allows for inherently identical inanimate objects without *a*-marking.

- (21) a. ¿Quién controla a quién? *¿Quién controla quién?
Who controls-3Sg OM whom
- b. ¿Quién controla qué? ¿Quién controla a qué?
Who controls-3Sg what
- c. ¿Qué controla a quién? *¿Qué controla quién?
- d. ¿Qué controla qué?

Contrary to Jaeggli’s argument, that strong PROs are favorably interpreted as animate and thus cannot refer to inanimate DOs as in example (22), there was no objection to the strong PRO *ella* for the inanimate object in the clitic doubled version. The doubled argument in (22) is considered redundant by most informants; it falls under the economy principle.

- (22) El interruptor **la** controla (**a ella**). Limeño Spanish
DETMascSg switch DOCLFemSg controls-3Sg (OM PROFem3Sg)
 (Montalbetti in Andrews 1990 :541)

Aissen’s analysis predicts that if strong personal pronouns occurred in direct object position in lieu of an inanimate object, they would be case-marked. (Aissen 2003:462-463).

For an analysis of *a*-marking with inanimate SUBJ and inanimate OBJ in bi-directional OT see de Swart (2003). For another account of *a*-marking the DO argument in the case of inherently identical arguments see Hanssen (1945).¹¹

¹¹ In his analysis of the double inanimate sentence “El adjetivo modifica al sustantivo” (The adjective modifies the noun) *a*-marking is analyzed as marking the unique DO argument.

5 Clitic doubling and specificity effects

Cross-linguistic evidence for the participation of a formativ in CLD is an observable fact not only in Romance languages, mainly in Spanish and Romanian (23), but also in genetically unrelated languages, such as Hebrew, Swahili and Chicheŵa as described by Bresnan (1987), similar to the effects of the Animacy Hierarchy.

- (23) L- am vizitat pe bunicul nostru.
DOCLMascSg-TM visited-1Pl prep grandfather-DetMascAcc POSS1PlMasc
 We visited our grandfather.
 (Daniliuc & Daniliuc 2000:282)

In Limeño as well as in Standard Spanish, DOCLD obtains only under *a*-marking, observing Kayne’s Generalization, by conveying specificity and animacy on DOs. It is generally assumed that CLD is related to referential problems of small clauses. Specifics, definites, demonstratives and possessives can take the position of head of a doubled NP, non-specific NPs, such as bare plurals, cannot and are therefore excluded from CLD. Obligatory DOCLD in all Spanish dialects only holds for pronominal arguments, all others are disallowed in Standard Spanish. Optionality in turn is a privative opposition and varies cross-dialectally.

5.1 Preposed arguments

In regard to CLD I distinguish between left dislocation and preposing. Left dislocation involves a pause, an intonational break and *a*-marking is optional. Left dislocated topicalized arguments cannot ‘move’ back into the original object position whereas preposed elements can. Left dislocated arguments will not be treated here.

In preposing, *a*-marking for DOs is subject to specificity and animacy restrictions. Preposed CLD objects are not argument functions but discourse functions in topic position (TOP) assuming simultaneously the in-clause function object and the discourse function TOP. The discourse function (preposed object) as well as the in-clause function (clitic) must be co-referential and show the same *f*-structure values. Fronted elements must have an appropriate relationship to a PRED, which means that if interpreted as FOC or TOP they have to be anaphorically linked with an integrated function and Functional Uniqueness has to be obeyed.¹² Focus arguments are usually associated with new, non- presupposed information, whereas topical arguments express what the sentence is “about”, they are associated with presupposed material. CLD of preposed DOs is subject to specificity constraints in the first place and only secondly to animacy. If appearing in focus position, CLD preposed DOs have to be *a*-marked and are considered to be topics.

The examples (24)-(26) show various degrees of animacy, on “a culture sensitive animacy Hierarchy scale” as already mentioned in section 3. The proper name in (24) is “scopeless’ like demonstratives, i.e. proper names always show widest scope, and are therefore assumed to be existentially presupposed.

- (24) *A Pablo lo escogieron para representar al¹³ colegio.*
OM Pablo DOCLMascSg chose-3Pl for represent-INF OM-DET school
 Pablo got chosen to represent the school. [+human, +spec]

¹² See Bresnan 1987 for a detailed analysis.

¹³ Note that *a* + *el* (definite article, masculine) contracts to *al*.

The animal in (25) is a specific and definite ‘pet’ and the fish in (26) are definite animals with no emphatic value but specific through the demonstrative *esos* which allows referential identification in situ.

(25) *Al* perro de mi vecino **lo** atropelló un carro.
OM-DET dog of POSS neighbour DOCLMascSg hit-3Sg DETIndef car
 My neighbor’s dog got hit by a car. [+anim, +spec]

(26) *A* esos peces hay que pescar**los** con anzuelos.
OM DEM fish have-impersonal that catch-Inf-DOCLMascPl with hooks
 Those fish have to be caught with hooks. [+anim, +spec]

The non *a*-marked inanimate definite and specific NP in (27) is a case of a topicalized left dislocation with a resumptive pronoun.

(27) El compromiso de escribir, **lo** asumo totalmente.¹⁴ [-anim,+def,+spec]
Det commitment of write-Inf DOCLMascSg assume-1Sg completely
 I fully embrace the duty of writing.

Examples (28) and (29) show a semantic difference in meaning due to the verb’s selection for direct or indirect object (dative-accusative alternation). Note in particular that (29) is **not** an instance of *léismo* as described in (4a).

(28) No es malo que *a* un escritor **lo** silben de vez en cuando.
not is-3Sg bad that OM DETIndef writer DOCLMascSg whistle-3Pl of time in time
 It is not bad that a writer gets booed from time to time. [+anim,-def,+spec]

(29) No es malo que *a* un escritor **le** silben de vez en cuando.
not is-3Sg bad that OM DETIndef writer IOCLSg whistle-3Pl of time in time
 It is not bad that a writer gets whistled at from time to time. [+anim,-def,+spec]

Fodor and Sag (1982) distinguish between “speaker intent to refer” and reliance on other parts of the context for interpretation. That is the distinction is referential vs. non referential. The proposed transitive clauses (30d) and (30e) are obligatorily doubled and *a*-marked. But why is *a*-marking in the impersonal sentence in (30a) optional?

(30) a. (*A*) esa silla hay que poner**la** en otro sitio. [-anim,-spec,+def]
(OM) THAT chair has that put-Inf-DOCLFemSg in other place
 That chair has to be put somewhere else.

b. Hay que poner esa silla en otro sitio. [-anim,+spec,+def]
 That chair has to be put in another place.

c. *A* esta silla hay que poner**la** en otro sitio. [-anim,+spec,+def]
OM THIS chair must-impers put-Inf-DOCLFemSg in other place

¹⁴ Examples (27)-(29) are taken from Mario Vargas Llosa, ‘Sólo miento en mis novelas’ (my translation: I only lie in my novels). Interview in *El Tiempo*, May 6, 2003.

- d. *A esa silla la* pongo en otro sitio. [-anim,+spec,+def]
OM DEM silla DOCLFemSg put-1Sg in other place.
 I'll put that chair somewhere else.
- e. *A esa silla la* quiero poner en otro sitio. [-anim,+spec,+def]
 I want to put that chair somewhere else.

I propose to categorize specificity into ordinary and contrastive specificity in this case. Ordinary specificity would be the unmarked topic position (30a without *a*) and contrastive specificity the *a*-marked versions, showing a somewhat stronger form of specificity. This stronger form of specificity is directly dependent on the demonstrative denoting a specific chair the speaker has in mind in the sense of Fodor & Sag and on agentivity of the SUBJ (30d). Yet, there seem to be subtle differences as less doubt would even arise in (30c) with the demonstrative *esta*. No *a*-marking would be possible with a definite or indefinite determiner. In this corpus, it appears also that other inanimate preposed DOs of the patient type semantic role rejected *a*-marking as well, whereas all experiencer types were *a*-marked. The parallel to DOM and IO marking here is striking.

We have seen that the discourse functions FOC and TOP in preposed CLD objects carry a specific information load which is central to information structure. While topics are generally associated with non-focal and presupposed material, the focus position is the place for new non-presupposed information. The canonical direct object position is the preferred place for the latter.

The following analysis of three specificity effects on DOCLD in canonical position will shed more light on the previous discussion.

5.2. Scopal specificity

Proper names, as demonstratives, are 'scopeless' (Farkas 2002), i.e. they show widest scope as they introduce a new referent whose existence is presupposed. They do not depend on the context for reference like definite pronouns do. They introduce a unique reference and in this regard definite descriptions (definite lexical NPs) are closely related. In (31a and b) Mara gets singled out, is chosen above other candidates in a context where she is known by both speaker and hearer, and so Mara is the topic of the clause.

- (31) a. *La* nombraron *a* Mara. (en especial) (LS)
DOCLFemSg called-3Pl OM Mara
 They nominated Mara.

- b. *La* nombraron *a* ella. (specifically her-instead of someone else)

Focus examples (31c and d) mention casually that a person called Mara got nominated. (31d) is puzzling in all dialects: a pronominal is required to be doubled by a clitic. The lack of the clitic is possibly due to the following complement.

- (31) c. *Nombraron a* Mara. (como jefa del grupo – as group leader)
- d. *Nombraron a* ella. (como gerente general – as general manager)
 She got nominated.

In the example (32) below the clitic marks the proper name as the TOP of the clause ; without the clitic, *Grimanesa* is in FOC position.

- (32) De repente (**la**) vió a Grimanesa bajando las escaleras.
Suddenly (DOCLFemSg) saw-3Sg OM Grimanesa coming down DET stairs
 Suddenly he/she saw Grimanesa coming down the stairs.

The use of the definite article together with a proper name is redundant as the value condition contributed by the NP already satisfies the requirements. Some languages, e.g. German, allow co-occurrence of the definite article and a proper name under certain conditions. *Die Johanna hat angerufen* (The Johanna called). The person *Johanna* must be known to both the speaker and the addressee, it must be part of their known world or at least part of the discourse context. In Spanish the above-mentioned co-occurrence of article and proper name is also possible (*La Johanna que yo conozco* (The Johanna I know)) giving more evidence to the discussion above. In any case the naming function of N of a proper name is a fixed value (by convention) and cannot be modified by any other value function.

5.3 Partitive specificity

In Limeño, all indefinite, nonspecific and nonpronominal NPs are still barred from doubling despite the animate feature of the object. A specific clitic such as **lo** in (33b) and (33c) cannot co-occur with an unspecific argument in a reference chain, violating completeness and coherence. The indefinite *nadie* has no antecedent, *nadie* cannot be linked to another referent in the clause, so it cannot denote its topic. But in our world we know that expressions like *nadie*, *alguien* and *ninguno* (nobody, somebody and nobody (as adjective)) refer to a group of human beings.

- (33) a. No veó a nadie. [+anim, -spec, -def]
Not see-1Sg OM nobody
 I do not see anybody.
- b. No ***lo** veó a nadie.
*Not*DOCLMascSg see-1Sg OM nobody*
- c. No ***lo** vieron a nadie en la playa. [+anim, -spec,-def]
*Not *DOCLMascSg saw-3Pl OM nobody in DET beach*
 They did not see anybody on the beach.
- d. No **lo** vieron a nadie en esta playa. [+anim, +spec,-def]
Not DOCLMascSg saw-3Pl OM nobody in DEM beach
 They did not see anybody on this beach.

Example (33d) has become marginally grammatical by adding the demonstrative *esta* to the locative PP, thus allowing a truth reading of the predicate argument. “The lexically specified evaluation parameter will ensure that the noun phrase will denote the individual the speaker has in mind.”(Farkas 2002:5)

5.4 Referential anchoring

The definite, inanimate and unspecific argument in (34) is unavailable to clitic doubling. Clauses like (35) constitute clear evidence for the specificity effect: for the fact, that the

interaction of animacy plus specificity, that is two-dimensional DOM, licenses DO clitic doubling in Latin American Spanish dialects with agreeing clitics.

- (34) a. *No **lo** vimos el bus. All dialects
*Not *it saw-1Pl Det bus.* [-anim, -spec, +def]
 We did not see the bus.
- b. ***Lo** vimos el bus.
**it saw-1Pl Det bus*
 We saw the bus.
- (35) (No) **lo** vimos al bus (de la línea 38). Limeño Spanish
(no) DOCLMascSg saw-1Pl OM-DET car (of DET line 38) [-anim, +spec, +def]
 We did not see the (route 38) bus.

This a classic example of Kayne’s Generalization and argument for CLD clauses to be topics. The direct object position is the natural FOC position of a sentence and also the preferred place to introduce new referents or information. However, applying DOM to (35) scopal specificity is conveyed onto the inanimate NP leading to a specific interpretation by ensuring successful sentence-internal referential identification in Heusinger’s sense. CLD obtains even in the scope of negation. The clitic is not redundant; it is needed for “semantic expressivity” as expressed in Bresnan (2001b). I assume that the clitic here in the CLD clause is marking a topical object and could be formalized in LFG as follows in (36).

The clitic **lo** has the (TOP↑) restriction. If a DO is a value of TOP then it must be *a*-marked.

- (36) VP → V NP PP
 ↑= ↓ (↑OBJ)=↓ (↑OBJ)=↓
 ¬(TOP↑)

a: P, (TOP↑)

This formalization would account for the data presented in (34) as long as the non *a*-marked DO is not a topic and for the CLD argument in (35) as long as the absence of **lo** does not mean the NP is not a topic.

6 Clitics on the move

Limeño contact varieties display a hybrid clitic system showing either case or gender with an almost total lack of number agreement and also null direct objects.

According to Greenberg (1966:61) featurally unmarked forms can “act as a surrogate for the entire category.” This seems to be the case in the archmorpheme **lo** as illustrated in the short discourse example (37) and the DOCLD example in (38), also called ‘strange **lo**’. This is a well documented phenomenon apparently only in Peruvian contact varieties.¹⁵

- (37) a. Yo **lo** ví a la **chica**. Allí estaban **ellas**.
PRO1Sg DOCLMascSg saw-1Sg OM DETFem girl. There were-3Pl PROFem3Pl
 I saw the girl. They were there.

¹⁵ cf. Camacho and Sanchez (2002), Cerrón-Palomino (2003).

- b. Los chicos **los** ignoraban.
DET boys DOCLMascPl ignored-3Pl.
 The boys ignored them.
- c. Y ahora en la mañana no **lo** ví a ella.
And now in the morning not DOCLMascSg saw-1Sg OM PROFem3Sg
 And this morning I did not see her.

(38) **Lo** frío a la **cebolla**.
DOCLMascSg fry-1Sg OM DETFemSg onion
 I fry the onion.

In Limeño contact non Agr PRO – as in this strange **lo** – occurs parallel with leísmo. Similar case paradigm variations can be found in Basque Spanish contact varieties.¹⁶ It has also been reported for L2 English speakers of Hispanic background in the United States.¹⁷ In Quiteño the strange **lo** is inexistent and the merging process of DO clitics and IO clitics has been almost completed in favor of the IO. Vincent (2001) calls this an extreme case of leísmo and argues that this loss may have given rise to null direct objects. Null direct objects as in (39b) seem to be constrained by definiteness and recoverability constraints.

(39) a. Recogiste **los** documentos?
picked up-2Sg DETMascPl documents
 Did you pick up the documents?

b. Ayer mismo \emptyset recogí.
Yesterday exactly \emptyset picked up-1Sg
 I picked them up yesterday.

(Data from 2nd fieldwork, LS contact)

The present analysis of specificity seen as referential anchoring and found to be licensing CLD in non-contact varieties is a small clause phenomenon and cannot be applied to contact varieties where a failure of coindexing produces ungrammatical results by failing the test for completeness and coherence as exemplified in (38). However, DOM in contact varieties seems to undergo a process of evolution due to contact and other factors like, for example, grammaticalization of the formative *a*. The evidence from examples (37)-(39) suggests that the reduction of the clitic paradigm and the loss of agreement features of clitics in contact varieties point towards a shift from an agreement marker to a transitivity marker and possibly discourse referent marking topicality as in (40) below. Following Bresnan (2001a) the evolution of Agr PRO to Non AgrPRO could be shown in the partial f-structures in (41).

(40) lo = (TOP↑) (41) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{PRO} \\ \text{AGR} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{TOP} \\ \text{PRO} \end{array} \right]$

7 Conclusion

In this paper I discuss the complexity of optional DOCLD in Limeño Spanish. My primary concern here has been to show how the interaction of the referential categories animacy, definiteness and specificity accounts for optional DOCLD in LS. In a detailed discussion of the

¹⁶ See Fernández Ordoñez 1994, Suñer 1989.

¹⁷ See Luján and Parodi 1996.

formative *a*, I have argued against the simple term prepositional accusative and for DOM instead. The Limeño data showed that the scale for DOM has been pushed to include inanimate DOs for a specific reason. With the analysis presented here it is possible to link Kayne's Generalization (and DOCLD) to topic marking in Spanish. New data from contact Spanish corroborate the hypothesis that the clitic *lo* is shifting from an agreement marker to a secondary topic marker in the spirit of Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006). A plausible reason for this evolution process would be a known grammaticalization process of the formative *a*.

References

- Aissen, Judith. 2003. 'Differential Object Marking: Iconicity vs. Economy'. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 21:435-483
- Alsina, Alex. 1996. *The Role of Argument Structure in Grammar. Evidence from Romance*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications
- Andrews, Avery. 1990. 'Unification and Morphological Blocking'. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 8:507-557
- Bello, Andrés. 1984. *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*. Madrid: EDAF, Ediciones-Distribuciones, S.A.
- Bosson, Georg. 1985. *Empirische Universalienforschung, Differentielle Objekt –markierung in den neuiranischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Narr
- Bresnan, Joan. 2001a. The emergence of the unmarked pronoun. In *Optimality-Theoretic Syntax*. G. Legendre, J. Grimshaw and S. Vikner (eds). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 113-142
- Bresnan, Joan. 2001b. *Lexical Functional Syntax*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Bresnan, Joan and Sam Mchombo. 1987. Topic, pronoun and agreement in Chicheŵa. *Language* 63:741-782
- Butt, Miriam. 2005. *Theories of Case*. Cambridge: University Press
- Camacho, José and Liliana Sanchez. 2002. Explaining Clitic Variation in Spanish. In *Language Universals and Variation*. M. Amberber and P. Collins (eds). Praeger Publishers: 21-41
- Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo. 2003. *Castellano Andino. Aspectos sociolingüísticos, pedagógicos y gramaticales*. Lima: PUCP Fondo Editorial.
- Company, Concepción. 2001. Multiple dative-marking grammaticalization. Spanish as a special kind of primary object language. *Studies in Language* 25 (1): 1-47
- Comrie, Bernard. 1989. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Dalrymple, Mary and Irina Nikolaeva. 2006. Topicality and nonsubject marking: Agreement, casemarking and grammatical function. Ms. Oxford University
- Daniliuc, Laura and Radu Daniliuc. 2000. *Descriptive Romanian Grammar*. München: Lincom Europa
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2005. *Pro-drop, topic-drop, and the functional lexicon. A constructional account of null arguments*. Honors Thesis. Brandeis University
- Demonte, Violeta. 1994. On certain asymmetries between DOs and IOs. In *Paths Towards Universal Grammar: Studies in Honour of Richard S. Kayne*. G. Cinque, B. Koster, J.-Y. Pollock, L. Rizzi, R. Zanuttini (eds). Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press: 111-120
- de Swarts, Peter. 2003. The Case Mirror. MA thesis. University of Nijmegen
- Enç, Mürvet. 1991. 'The Semantics of Specificity'. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22(1):1-27
- Farkas, Donka. 2002. 'Specificity Distinctions'. *Journal of Semantics* 19(3):213-145
- Fernández-Ordoñez. 1994. Isoglosas internas del castellano. El sistema referencial del pronombre átono de tercera persona. *Revista de Filología Española* 74:71-125
- Fodor, Janet & Ivan Sag. 1982. 'Referential and Quantificational Indefinites'. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 5:355-398

- García, Erica. 1990. 'Bilingüismo e interferencia sintáctica'. *Lexis* **14**:151-195
- Givón, Talmy. 1979. *On Understanding Grammar*. New York: Academic Press
- Greenberg, Joseph. 1966. *Language Universals. With Special Reference to Feature Hierarchies*. The Hague: Mouton
- Hanssen, Federico. 1945. *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana*. Buenos Aires: Librería y Editorial "el Ateneo"
- Heim, Irene. 1988. *The Semantics of Definite and Indefinite Noun Phrases*. New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc.
- Kiparsky, Paul. 1998. Aspect and event structure in Vedic. *Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*. 29-61
- Lakoff, George. 1968. *Pronouns and Reference*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club
- Leonetti, Manuel. 1999. El Artículo. *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*. I. B. Muñoz and V. Demonte Barreto (eds). Madrid: Espasa Calpe 2:787-890
- Jaeggli, Osvaldo. 1982. *Topics in Romance Syntax*. Holland: Dordrecht. Foris
- Luján, Marta. 1987. Clitic doubling in Andean Spanish and the theory of case absorption. *Language and Language Use. Studies in Spanish*. T. A. Morgan, J. F. Lee and B. van Patten (eds). Lanham: University Press of America. 109-121
- Luján, Marta and Teresa Parodi. 1996. Clitic doubling and the acquisition of agreement in Spanish. In *Perspectives on Spanish Linguistics*. J. Gutiérrez-Rexach and L. Silva-Villar (eds). Los Angeles: UCLA .119-138
- Martinet, André. 1960. *Éléments de linguistique générale*. Paris: Armand Colin
- Mayer, Elisabeth. 2003. *Clitic Doubling in Limeño. A Case Study in LFG*. unpubl. Mling thesis. Canberra: Australian National University (<http://anu.edu.au/languages/postgraduates/elisabeth-mayer.asp>)
- Mohanan, Tara. 1994. *Argument Structure in Hindi*. Stanford: CSLI Publications
- Rivero, María Luisa. 1975. 'Referential properties of Spanish Noun Phrases'. *Language* **51**: 32- 48
- Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of features and ergativity. In *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*. R.M.W Dixon (ed). Canberra: Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies. 112-171
- Suñer, Margarita. 1988. 'The Role of Agreement in Clitic-Doubled Constructions'. *Natural Language and Linguistics Theory* **6** (3): 391-434
- Suñer, Margarita. 1989. Dialectal Variation and Clitic-Doubled Direct Objects. In *Studies in Romance Linguistics*. C. Kirscher and J. Decesaris (eds). 377-397
- Torrego, Esther. 1998. *The Dependencies of Objects*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press
- Vincent, Nigel. 2001. LFG as a Model of Syntactic Change. In *Time over Matter: perspectives on morphosyntax*. M. Butt and T. King (eds). Stanford: CSLI Publications. 1-42
- von Stechow, Klaus. 2002. 'Specificity and Definiteness in Sentence and Discourse Structure'. *Journal of Semantics* **19**(3):245-275
- Yépez, María. 1986. *Direct Object Clitics in Quiteño*. MA thesis. Cornell: Ithaca New York
- Zubizarreta, María L. 1999. Word order in Spanish and the Nature of Nominative Case. In *Beyond Principles and Parameters. Essays in Memory of Osvaldo Jaeggli*. K. Johnson and I. Roberts (eds). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. 45:223-251