

ON THE SETTING OF SCALES IN THE DIACHRONY OF DOM

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SETTING THE STAGE

DOM: *split* in morpho-syntactic *marking* of objects based on animacy, specificity, topicality, etc.
(Comrie 1989, Bossong 1991, Torrego 1998, Aissen 2003, Lazard 2001, López 2012, a.o.)

→ Romance languages: an animacy-based split, as illustrated by Modern Spanish (1)

- (1) ROMANCE – MODERN STANDARD SPANISH (Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, ex.1 a, b)
- a. He encontrado *(a) **la niña.**
have.1.SG found DOM² DEF.F.SG girl
'I have found the girl.'
 - b. He encontrado (*a) **el libro.**
have.1.SG found DOM DEF.M.SG book
'I have found the book.'

ROADMAP

- I. SCALES
- II. ROMANCE DOM IN DIACHRONY- the problem of 3rd person pronouns
 - a. OLD SPANISH
 - b. OLD CATALAN
 - c. OLD ROMANIAN
- III. DOM VERSUS INCORPORATION – THE SPANISH PATTERN
- IV. ADDITIONAL LICENSING OF DOM – OLD CATALAN AND OLD ROMANIAN
- V. BRIEF REMARKS ON THE NATURE OF SCALES

- I. **SCALES:** the higher an object is on the *Scale* the higher the differential marking probability (Silverstein 1976, Comrie 1979, Lambrecht 1994, Lazard 2001, Aissen 2003, Næss 2004, 2006, 2007, Darlymple and Nikolaeva 2011, a.o.)

Animacy/person: 1/2 > 3 > proper name > human > animate > inanimate

Specificity/definiteness: pronoun >name > definite > specific indefinite > non-specific

¹ Acknowledgments at the end.

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

II. ROMANCE DOM IN DIACHRONY: the general idea seems to be that DOM started with objects higher on the *Scales* (e.g. 1st and 2nd personal pronouns, proper names, human DPs, etc.) and then progressively extended to those lower down

- With respect to pronouns: 1st/2nd personal pronouns are systematically claimed to be the strongest DOM triggers (Rohlfs 1971, 1973, Roegiest 1979, Sornicola 1997, 1998, Bossong 1998, Leonetti 2003, 2008, a.o.)

A COUNTEREXAMPLE DISCUSSED HERE:

- important differences between Old Spanish (OS), on the one hand, and Old Catalan (OC)/Old Romanian (OR), on the other hand
- OC/OR: classes lower down on the *Scales* show DOM to the exclusion of higher ones, contrary to what the *Scales* would predict

- OC/OR - 3rd person pronouns show DOM to the exclusion of 1st/2nd person
 - OC/OR - pronouns are possible without DOM, while other DPs show DOM (see the Appendix)

II. a. OLD SPANISH DOM

- in OS, personal pronouns were systematically DOM-ed from the very beginning, with no exception (Pensado 1995: 19, Company 2002: 207-208, von Heusinger & Kaiser 2005: 35-36, 41, Laca 2006: 426, 469).

- (2) 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'
(12th c., *Cid*, 3566, apud von Heusinger and Kaiser 2005)
- b. Dios salve a nuestros amigos e a vos más, señor
God save.SUBJ.3SG DOM our friends and DOM you more lord
'May God save our friends and you above all, my lord'
(12th c., *Cid*, 3038, apud Ramsden 1961: 49)

- (3) 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.'
(12th c., *Cid*, 2926, apud Ramsden 1961: 48)
- b. todos a él guardavan.
all DOM he observe.IMPF.3PL
'They all observed him.'
(13th c., *Poema de Fernán González*, 553b, apud Ramsden 1961: 48)

II. b. OLD CATALAN DOM

- OC texts (11 to 16 c) - it does not seem to be the case that DOM consolidated first with 1st/2nd person and then extended to 3rd person (see also Pineda forthc.):

- (4) *Curial e Güelfa*, 15th 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...'

Actually, an overview of the occurrences of DOM in this novel shows that the contrast is quite robust:

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

Table 1. *Curial e Güelfa*, 15th century. First 30.000 words.

A similar pattern is found in other works from the 14th and 15th centuries³

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

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

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

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

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

Table 4. *Epistolari*, 14th century. First 30.000 words. Table 5. *Epistolari*, 15th century. First 30.000 words.

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

→ OC requires an explanation; Scales predict 1st/2nd person to be stronger DOM triggers than 3rd

³ From the late 15th c. onwards, DOM becomes systematic with all strong (personal) pronouns, as in Modern Catalan.

II. c. OLD ROMANIAN DOM

- differential objects are preceded by the locative preposition *pe/pre/piră* ('on'), or its directional counterpart *spre* ('towards')⁴

(5)	Înțeleptulu	soare (...)	toți-i	veade,	ce	mai	vârtoșu
	wise.DEF.M.SG	sun	all-CL.ACC.M.3PL	see.3SG	but	more	strong
	pre	cari-i	prevescu	pre	elu.	(CC ² .1581:439)	
	DOM	REL.M.PL-DEF.M.PL	look/watch	DOM	he		

Lit: 'The wise sun sees everyone, especially those who watch him.' (*agreement tracks subject*)
'The wise sun sees everyone, especially the ones who look at it.'

Early 16th century – possibly indicating patterns from the late 15th century⁵

- 3rd person pronouns show DOM, which is optional with 1st and 2nd person pronouns (von Heusinger and Onea Gáspár 2008, Nicula Paraschiv 2016, etc.)
- von Heusinger and Onea Gáspár (2008), Table 6 (their Table 1, page 77)⁶; we supplemented the examination with other corpora: CT, CC, Ev, DÎ, MI^{7,8}
- von Heusinger and Onea Gáspár (2008) examined only [+ human] DPs

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

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

- von Heusinger and Onea Gáspár (2008 p.79) - the prominence of 3rd person DOM connected to distinct ACC in the 1st/2nd person in Old and Modern Romanian tonic pronouns

	Singular			Plural		
	NOM	ACC	DAT	NOM	ACC	DAT
1 st person	eu	mine	<i>mie</i>	noi	noi	<i>nouă</i>
2 nd person	tu	tine	<i>tie</i>	voi	voi	<i>vouă</i>
3 rd 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

⁴ There are significant differences between the use of *pe* in the first part of the 16th c., and in texts written at the end of the 16th c. (after 1580). There also differences between translations and original OR texts (Pușcariu 1921/1922, Rosetti 1978, Hill 2004, Mardale 2015, Pană-Dindelegan 2016, Avram and Zafiu 2017, a.o.). See also the Appendix.

⁵ Agreed-upon parametrization of OR: i) first period of OR: the period of the earliest texts available (1500-1640); ii) second period of OR: increase in the number and stylistic range of texts (1640-1780), see also Pană-Dindelegan (2016).

⁶ Data based on a limited corpus from:

Bible A: *Noul Testament de la Bălgrad* (*The New Testament from Bălgrad*) - 1648, Transylvania
Bible A: *Biblie V.T.N.T* (*Bible Old Testament and New Testament*) – 1688, Wallachia (Bucharest)

⁷ Corpus label abbreviation conventions from Pană-Dindelegan (ed., 2016).

⁸ See also Tigău (2011), Nicula Paraschiv (2016), Avram and Zafiu (2017), Hill and Mardale (2017), a.o.

Some questions:

1. Note however that Table 7 only gives MR patterns. In the 16th century, the 3rd person pronoun could also take distinct accusative morphology (the form *sine*):

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

Table 8. Morphology of personal pronouns in OR (16th century)

- *sine* appears in OR texts with the DOM preposition, just like (NOM homophonous) *elu*⁹

2. Distinct accusative morphology is *only* seen in the 1st/2nd person *singular* - 1st/2nd person plural should uniformly show DOM (just like 3rd person) due to the NOM-ACC syncretism

 - but this is *not* what we get in the corpora

(6) Object pronouns in OR texts

→ the problem is rather 3rd person itself, and not the NOM/ACC homomorphism (with the need of DOM to disambiguate between subjects and objects)

→ the exact same issue as in OC, where there is NOM/ACC homomorphism too except in the 1st person singular (*jo* 'I' vs. *a mi* 'me').

Thus, both OR and OC require an explanation, as Scales predict 1st/2nd person to be stronger DOM triggers than 3rd person

⁹ 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:

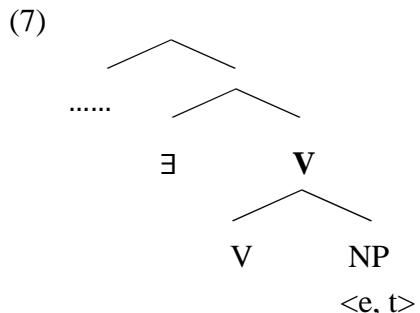
- (i) ca să poată hrăni pe sine. (D^î.1593: XCV)
 such SUBJ can.SUBJ.3SG feed.INF DOM he
 ‘In order to be able to feed him.’

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

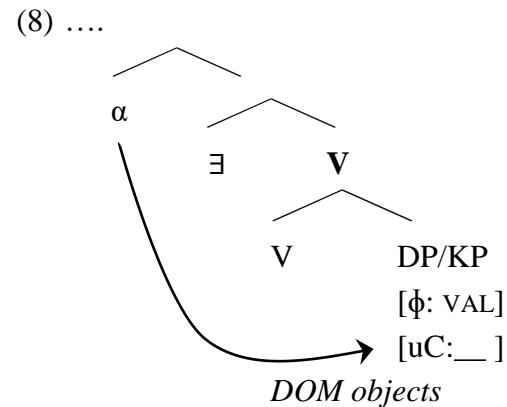
III. DOM VERSUS INCORPORATION

Preliminary analysis in a nutshell:

- 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, Levin 2018, Kalin to appear, a.o.)¹⁰

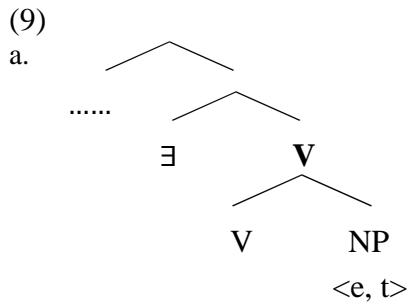


non-DOM objects (incorporation)

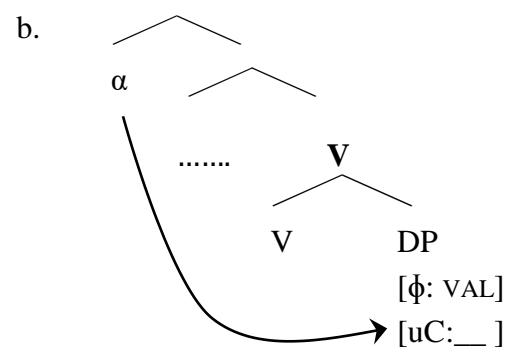


Our Claim: the prepositional accusative does not simply signal the difference between objects that undergo (pseudo-)incorporation (DOM-less ones) and DOM that must be licensed in the syntax

- OR and OC: the differential marker tracks *an additional licensing* operation on objects that have independent argumental status (and escape incorporation)
 - o the differential marker is rather an argument licensing operation beyond Case



non-DOM objects (pseudo-)incorporation



non-DOM objects (licensing)

¹⁰ Two major strategies of nominal integration (Baker 1988, Chung and Ladusaw 2003, Legate 2014, Levin 2015, a.o.): RESTRICT (Chung and Ladusaw 2003): the nominal behaves like a predicate, of type <e,t>. It cannot saturate the predicate it is a syntactic argument of. The nominal will be interpreted as a restricted modifier under Restrict.

- the result is semantic (*pseudo-*)incorporation; the object might escape case marking; no DOM

(i) If a is of type <e <e,t>> and b is of <e,t>

$[[a\ b]] = \lambda x. \lambda e. [[a]] \& [[a]](x)$

a. $[_v^{\cdot} \text{XP(students)} + v^0]_{v^0} [v^0 \text{V} [NP \text{ students}]$

(for the VP *hire students*)

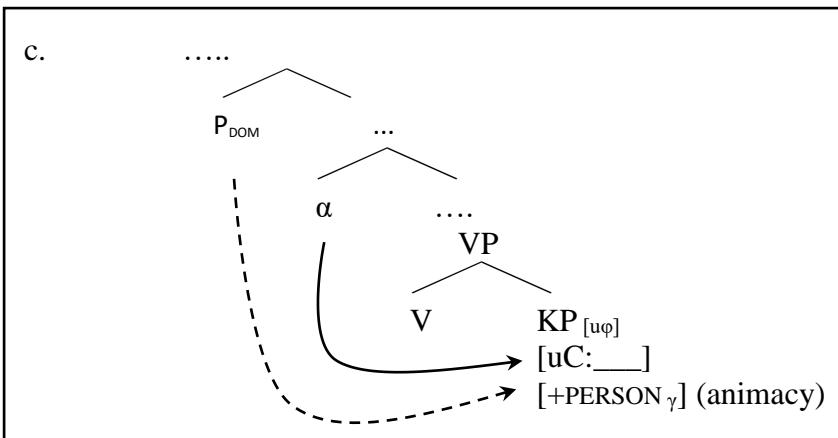
b. $\lambda x. \lambda e. [\text{hire}'(e)(x) \& \text{students}'(x)]$

$\lambda x. \lambda e. [\text{hire}'(e)(x)]_{<e <e,t>>}$

$\lambda y. [\text{students}'(y)]_{<e,t>}$

FUNCTION APPLICATION (Heim and Kratzer 1998: 129)

If a is a bracketing node and {b, c} the set of its daughters, then for any assignment g, a is in the domain of $[[\]]^g$ iff both b and c are, and $[[b]]^g$ is a function whose domain contains $[[c]]^g$. In this case, $[[a]]^g = [[b]]^g ([c]]^g)$



DOM objects
ADDITIONAL
LICENSING

III.1 Assumptions:

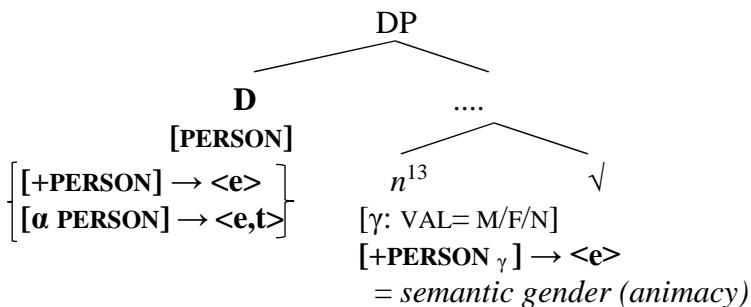
- animacy as a reflex of a grammaticalized [+PERSON]¹¹ feature (Richards 1998, Cornilescu 2000, Adger and Harbour 2007, Ormazabal and Romero 2007, Kučerová 2017, a.o.)

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

Table 9. Person and animacy (building on Harley and Ritter 2002)

- Other reflections of the [+PERSON] feature
 - o Bernstein (2008), Longobardi (2008) - the D head hosts a [PERSON] specification, which is responsible for *argumenthood*, interpreted as [+PARTICIPANT]
 - o [+PERSON] specification in more than one locus in the DPs
 - o (micro-)variation with respect to the setting of [PERSON] in D
 - o definites (whose morphology is largely homophonous with that of 3rd pronoun):
 - referential definites: carry a [+PERSON] specification in D
 - non-referential definites: only specified as a weak, [α PERSON] feature in D; **treated as predicates, lacking argumental status**¹²

(10)



¹¹ Assumption also supported by the observation that *differentially marked objects* appear to trigger PCC-like effects (Ormazabal and Romero 2007, Cornilescu and Tigău 2017, Irimia 2018a, b, etc.).

¹² See Espinal and Cyrino (2017) for recent discussion, and relevant references.

¹³ For convenience, we assume gender features are introduced on n, but nothing hinges on this.

- due to their pragmatic import, certain categories must be *visible* at the CI interface (Nichols 2001, Wiltshchko 2014, Zubizarreta and Pancheva 2017, a.o.). Among these:
 - o [+PARTICIPANT]
 - o [+PERSON γ]
- as said above: the relevant structural nominals ensure CI visibility by entering into a (phi-) *relationship* with functional heads in the clausal spine (v , T, C, etc.) \rightarrow *licensing*
- given this Visibility Condition:
 - o [+PERSON γ] cannot be subject to incorporation
 - o [+PERSON γ] must be *licensed* – by entering into an obligatory relation with a licenser in the clausal structure
 - o [+PERSON γ] can **only** be interpreted on a nominal that escapes incorporation

III.2 The problem of Spanish definites

- (non-DOM) D is of the (semantically) weak type, undergoing incorporation (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, López 2012, Ormazabal & Romero 2013a, Alcaraz 2018, a.o.)¹⁴

- (11) SPANISH NON REFERENTIAL DEFINITES (interpreted as $\langle e, t \rangle$)¹⁵
- a. Juan busca **la mujer perfecta.** (Quine definite)
Juan seeks DEF.F.SG woman perfect.F.SG
'Juan is looking for the perfect woman.'
 - b. Le enviaron (*a) **todos los enfermos** a
CL.DAT.SG sent.3.PL DOM all DEF.M.PL sick people to
la doctora van Tan.
DEF.F.SG doctor.F.SG van Tan
'They sent all the sick people to doctor van Tan.' (Ormazabal and Romero 2013b)

'the availability of (11b – O&R's 2b) is extremely restricted. Sentences like (11b – O&R's 2b) are only grammatical with nouns such as sick people, soldiers, slaves, kids, etc.; nouns whose referents are regularly treated as entities lacking free will. The range of animate nouns that can appear without DOM in this context is, more or less, the same one that allows incorporation in polysynthetic languages (see Baker 1996 for details)' (Ormazabal and Romero 2013b)

¹⁴ Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) - (some) Spanish D must be analyzed as being subject to incorporation, even as a clitic; in Spanish varieties accusative clitics can even resume predicates in existential sentences

(i) DIALECTAL SPANISH – CLITICS IN EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

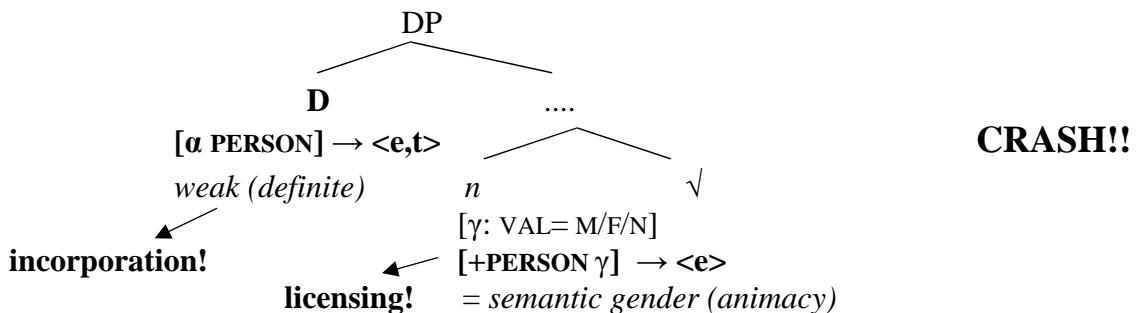
- a. Hubieron dos estudiantes en la fiesta.
be.PST.3PL two students at DEF.F.SG party
'There were two students at the party.'
- b. **Los hubieron.**
CL.ACC.3PL be.PST.3PL
'They were.' (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, ex.2)

Alcaraz (2018) for Northern Castilian Spanish - definites are subject to incorporation (unless DOM-ed), the accusative clitic *lo* doubles an NP (not a DP) and is subject to incorporation.

¹⁵ Other examples:

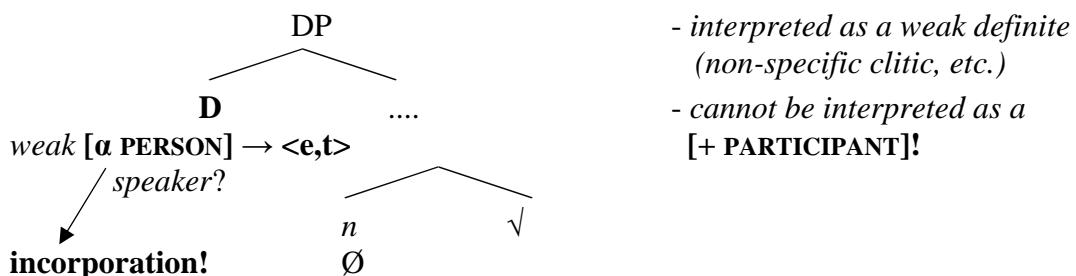
- a. He encontrado *(a) **la niña.**
have.1.SG found DOM DEF.F.SG girl
'I have found the girl.' (Ormazabal and Romero 2013a)
- b. He encontrado **la niña.**
have.1.SG found DEF.F.SG girl
'I have found the type of girl (you were looking for).'

(12)



Spanish pronouns:

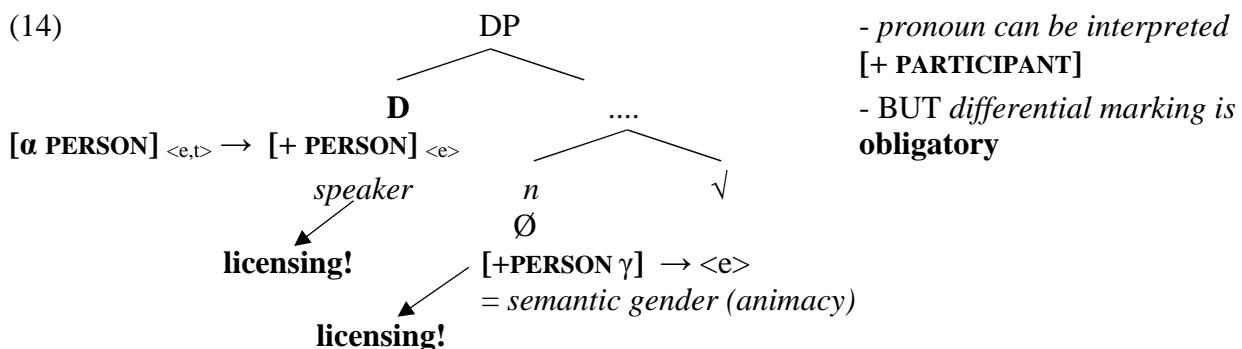
(13)



The animacy licensing strategy saves the derivation:

- [+PERSON γ] triggers a shift (strengthening) from [α PERSON] to [+ PERSON]¹⁶

(14)

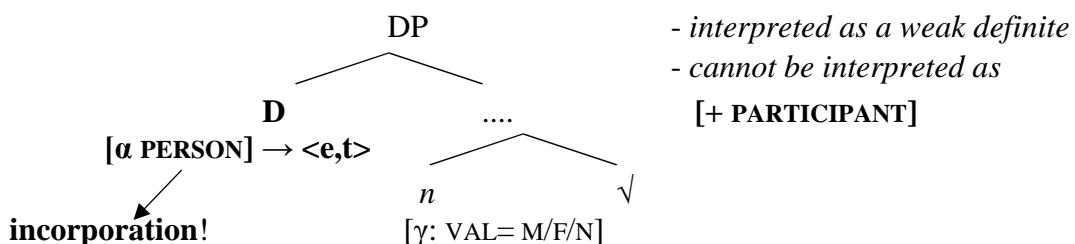


(15) e ssi fuéredes vençidos, non rebtede a nós
 and if be.COND.2PL defeated not blame.IMP.2PL DOM us
 'but if you are defeated you are not to blame us.' (also other examples in Section IIa)

III.3 Additional licensing of DOM - Old Catalan and Old Romanian

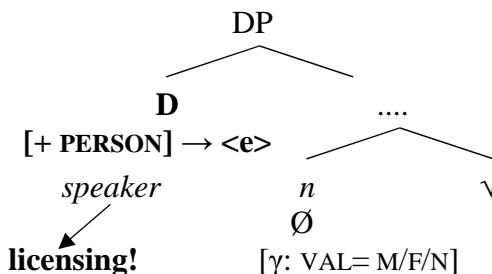
- the crucial difference between OS and OC/OR is that in the latter two languages, D can be specified as [+PERSON]

(16)



¹⁶ See also Cornilescu (1992), Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), Kučerová (2017), etc.

(17)



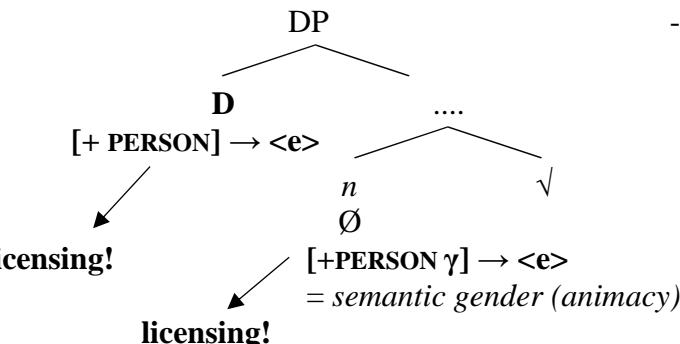
- pronoun can be interpreted
[+ PARTICIPANT]
- differential marking is not necessary

- a. aquella senyora, qui mira **nosaltres...** (OC, *Curiel e Güelfa*, 15th c.)
 that lady who look.3SG we
 'That lady, who watches us...'
- b. Va vindeca **noi.** (OR, CC².1581: 20)
 FUT.3SG heal we
 'He will heal us.'

(verb tracks subject agreement in OR)

- 3rd person is more complicated; such entities can be both animate or inanimate
- as the [+PERSON γ] strategy extended, it *obligatorily* affected 3rd p. animates, which also had a pronominal structure with [+ PERSON] in D
- independent change: 3rd p. tonic pronouns become restricted only to animate entities¹⁷

(18)



- tonic pronoun can be interpreted as [+ PARTICIPANT]
- BUT must be animate
- differential marking is obligatory on 3rd p. animates

- a. vós havets honrat **a ell.**
 you.2PL have.2PL honoured DOM he
 'You have honored him.'
- b. Surpa-l-va **pre elu.**
 destroy-CL.ACC.M.3SG-FUT DOM he
 'He will destroy him.'

IV. 1. Old Romanian – referential (definite) DPs can be clitic doubled without DOM

- in OR referential DPs can appear clitic-doubled without DOM irrespective of animacy
- clitic licensing: referentiality, familiarity, specificity, etc., irrespective of animacy
 - o some Romanian varieties still preserve clitic-doubling with no DOM¹⁸ (see Mišeska-Tomić 2006, a.o.)

(20) AROMANIAN

- Lu** vidzu Belgradu(**lu**).
 CL.ACC.M.3SG see.AOR.3SG Belgrade(DEF.M.3SG)
 'S/he has seen Belgrade.'

(Mišeska-Tomić 2006, ex.272b)

¹⁷ See Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) for further discussion, as well as the examples in the Appendix (III).

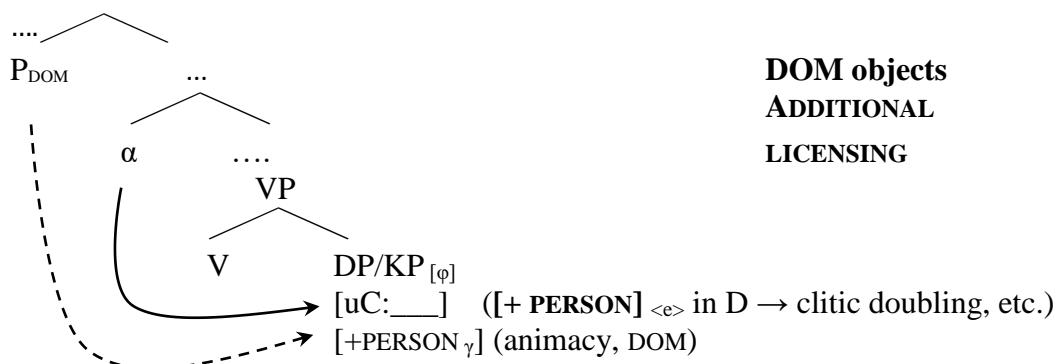
¹⁸ Note that these are not clitic left-dislocated structures.

- non-prepositional clitic doubling seen in parallel with the prepositional accusative strategy (Mardale 2015, Hill and Mardale 2017, a.o.)

(21) OLD ROMANIAN

- a. Rugăm **tine**.... (PO 9, Hill and Mardale 2017, ex.9a)
beg.1PL you.ACC.SG
'We beg you...'
- b. **Te** cunosc **tine.** (PO 9, Hill and Mardale 2017, ex.9b)
CL.ACC.2.SG know.1SG you.ACC.SG
'I know you.'
- c. **Te** voi aduce **pre tine** de acolo.
CL.ACC.2SG FUT.1SG bring DOM you.ACC.SG from there
'I will bring you from there.' (PO 9, Hill and Mardale 2017, ex.9d)

(22)



- connecting DOM to a secondary licensing operation (Irimia 2018a, b, c; see also Ledgeway et al. 2017) might also derive another fact that has resisted explanation – the presence, in Romanian, of both clitic doubling and DOM¹⁹
- clitic doubling with non-pronominal DOM is not allowed in (standard) Spanish

(23) STABILIZATION OF DOM AND MODERN ROMANIAN

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| Am | văzut- o | pe | femeie. |
| have.1 | seen-CL.ACC.F.3SG | DOM | woman |
| 'I have seen the woman.' | | | (see also Dobrovie-Sorin 1994) |

IV. 2. Old Catalan – past participle agreement (PPA) facts

(24) OLD CATALAN: Participial agreement with DOM

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|-----|--------|--------------|------------|-----|-------|
| Jo | crech | que | a[u]rà | vists | [a] | mos | fills |
| I think that have.FUT.3SG seen.PST.PRT.M.PL DOM my children | | | | | | | |
| 'I think that (s)he will have seen my kids.' (<i>Cartes Hipòlita - Estefania</i> , 16 th c.) | | | | | | | |

¹⁹ As is well known, explaining these patterns in terms of *Kayne's Generalization* is problematic.

(25) OLD CATALAN: Participial agreement without DOM

ella en aquest camí havia she in this way had.3SG 'She had found the apostles in this way.'	encontrats found.PST.PRT.M.PL	los apòstols ²⁰ DEF.M.PL apostles <i>(Memorial pecador, 15th c.)</i>
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- patterns of this type can be straightforwardly derived under additional licensing
- in both OC and OR, as well as MC and MR, non-DOM animate definites can have referential interpretations (as shown in the Appendix, II)

TO CONCLUDE

- D is subject to incorporation in OS – pronouns not possible without DOM
- some Ds do **not** undergo incorporation in OC, OR. Pronouns possible without DOM

	OBLIGATORY INCORPORATION of (non-DOM) D	NON-INCORPORATION
Spanish	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOM
Romanian		DOM/CLITIC DOUBLING/Ø
Catalan		DOM/PPA/Ø

Table 10. Non-DOM definites and incorporation

V. SOME REMARKS ON THE STATUS OF SCALES

- These problems, as well as many others, have led to renewed debates about the nature of *Scales* (discussion in Næss 2004, Kiparsky 2008, von Heusinger et al. 2008, Carnie 2005 – ‘merely post-factum descriptive statements of grammatical tendencies’, a.o.)
- Lesson from our data: *Scales* do not operate in a static system; their interaction with narrow syntax (López 2012, a.o.), nominal integration strategies, and categorial feature composition is crucial

THANK YOU!

Comments are highly appreciated

²⁰ Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007): PPA can also signal *lexical Case*. While it is true that PPA is seen in existential clauses (EC) in OC (i), the data also clearly show that these ECs also allow overt definites. This indicates that they are more similar to the Italian-type existentials (Zamparelli 2000) or ECs that show accusative structural Case (as opposed to lexical cases like the partitive). But such ECs contain a richer structure that makes available licensing.

(i) ve[n]gren al loch on era **estada** la **bataya** (damont dita)
 come.PST.3PL to.DEF.M.SG place where be.IMPF be.PST.PRT.F.SG DEF.F.SG battle above said
 ‘They arrived to the place where there had been the battle.’ (*Versió catalana de la crònica de Jaume I*, 14th c.)
 DOM co-occurrence with (independent) PPA is also seen in other Romance varieties, as well as outside Romance.

CORPORA

OLD CATALAN

Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic (CICA), J. Torruella (dir.), junt amb Manel Pérez Saldanya i Josep Martínez. 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)
- CC¹.1567 Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangeliilor (The meaning of the Gospels)*. Ed.: Coresi, *Tâlcul Evangeliilor și molitvenic românesc*, ed. V. Drimba, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române 31-187 (Transylvania, Wallachian Subdialect; Gheție and Mareș 2001: 115)
- CC².1567 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 Mănicești 1574*. Ed. Florica Dimitriu. Bucharest, Editura Academiei. 1963. (Wallachian subdialect, Brașov).
- DÎ *Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea (Romanian documents and notes from the 16th c)*. Gh. Chivu, M. Georgescu, M. Ioniță, Al. Mareș, Al. Roman-Moraru (eds.), Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1979.
- 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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APPENDIX

I. An instantiation of the other counterexample to the *Scales* is that *OC DPs show DOM to the exclusion of personal pronouns*. The earliest Catalan texts also show that the *a*-marking did not necessarily consolidate first with strong pronouns and then appeared in DPs. See the contrast in (1):

- (1) [NB: proper nouns in Old Catalan take a “definite” article]

- a. darem a aquells [l]icènsia de peynorar **vós**
give.FUT.1PL to them permit to fine.INF you.2PL.HONORIFIC(=SG)
‘We will give them permit to fine you.’
- b. com en Ca[ste]let, saig, volgués peynorar **a• n**
since the Castelet, executioner, want.SBJV.PST.3SG fine.INF DOM the
Ramon Sanç, lo dit Ramon dix a quel que
Ramon Sanç the mentioned Ramon tell.PST.3SG to that.one that
no·1 peynoràs
no him.ACC fine.SBJV.PST.3SG (Clams e crims, 13th c.)
‘Since Castelet, executioner, wanted to fine Ramon Sanç, the above-mentioned Ramon told to that one not to fine him.’

We do not provide a full formal analysis for this counterexample here, as we focus more on the issue with 3rd person pronouns. However, we believe that the account proposed for 3rd person pronouns can be extended to the other classes.

II. In Catalan and Romanian, the equivalents of (11b) do not necessarily have an incorporated-like reading:

- (2) He trobat la nena. *Modern Catalan*
have.1SG found the girl
= ‘I’ve found the specific girl.’
? ‘I have found the type of girl you were was looking for.’

- (3) Am găsit fata. *Modern Romanian*
have.1 found girl.DEF.F.SG
= ‘I have found the specific girl.’
? ‘I have found the girl.’

III. 3RD PERSON TONIC PRONOUNS RESTRICTED TO ANIMACY (AS OBJECTS)

- (4) L-am văzut **pe el.** *Modern Romanian*
CL.ACC.M.3SG-have.1 seen DOM he.ACC
= ‘I have seen him.’
* ‘I have seen it.’
- (5) L’he vist **a ell.** *Modern Catalan*
CL.ACC.M.3SG-have.1 seen DOM he
= ‘I have seen him.’
* ‘I have seen it.’