Differential Object Marking in Catalan: Contexts of Appearance and Analysis

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACC: accusative Case
ClLD: Clitic Left Dislocation
ClRD: Clitic Right Dislocation
Compl: complement
DAT: dative Case
DO: Direct Object
DOM: Differential Object Marking
DSM: Differential Subject Marking
DP: Determiner Phrase
EA: External Argument
IA: Internal Argument
IO: Indirect Object
KP: Kase Phrase
NP: Nominal Phrase
QP: Quantificational Phrase
Spec: specifier
v: little Verb
vP: little Verbal Phrase
VP: Verbal Phrase

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1. INTRODUCTION

The present paper studies the nature of the phenomenon called Differential Object Marking (DOM hereafter), a device that distinguishes direct objects (DO) by a morphological marker (typically, a preposition). The study focuses on Catalan, paying special attention to the Barcelonese geolect, namely the Catalan variety spoken in the metropolitan area of Barcelona.

This paper has two aims. First, to characterize the contexts where a differential marker precedes direct objects in Substandard Catalan (see (1)). Few studies have focused on DOM in Catalan (Escandell-Vidal 2007, 2009; Khouja 2015; Bañeras & Gallego 2016), since it is usually considered a normative mistake as a consequence of Spanish's influence (Solà 1990, 1994; Moll 1991; Badia 1994; Bel 2002), a well-known DOM-language (Pensado 1995; Torrego 1998; López 2012). Thus, this paper studies if DOM in Catalan is a phenomenon that appears due to Spanish-attrition.

(1) En Joan estima **a** **la Maria**.   (Substandard Catalan)

  The Joan loves DOM the Maria

  'Joan loves Mary.'

Second, an analysis for DOM is put forward. The analysis takes into account those factors that have already been shown to be DOM-triggering (animacy, specificity, definiteness, topicalization) in other languages, especially for Spanish (cf. Torrego 1998; Leonetti 2004; Escandell-Vidal 2007, 2009; López 2012, 2016). Along the paper, it is examined if these factors are also relevant in Catalan.

This phenomenon is not of little importance in grammatical theory, since more than 300 languages deploy a DOM-marker (Bossong 1985) and many semantic properties seem to be closely related to DOM. This syntactic-semantic manifestation raises the following questions:

  1. Which are the factors that trigger a DOM-marker before an object?

  2. Which are the syntactic and semantic consequences of DOM?

  3. Is it a universal phenomenon that can be explained under the same syntactic analysis for all languages?

  4. What does DOM explain about the relationship between grammatical interfaces (syntax, semantics and morphology)?

  5. Is the internal structure of DOM-marked objects different from unmarked objects?

In order to answer question 1 on the basis of Catalan varieties, the paper is empirically backed-up by online linguistic questionnaires distributed via social networks. These questionnaires, together with data taken from the *Corpus de Català Contemporani de la Universitat de Barcelona (CCCUB)*, also provide us the degree of acceptance of a DOM-marker in each variety.

The length of this research does not allow us to answer explicitly questions 2-5, although they will be approached with a syntactic analysis.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews the differential marking of objects and subjects. In section 3, Differential Object Marking in Catalan is theoretically described. The description is complemented by the results of a questionnaire and a corpus analysis. In section 4, an analysis of DOM in Catalan is proposed, followed by the conclusions in section 5.

2. DIFFERENTIAL MARKING OF SUBJECTS AND OBJECTS: CHARACTERIZATION AND CROSSLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

This section exposes in what the Differential Object Marking phenomenon consists and reviews the properties of the object, the verb and the structure that are related to it, following this order. Before examining these factors, it must be taken into account that the features that trigger a DOM-marker may act in isolation or might be combined (Leonetti 2004). This means that, sometimes, one of the following factors needs always the presence of another one to trigger a DOM-marker (i.e. animacy is always obligatory in Spanish).

2.1. Differential Object Marking

Using a grammatical mechanism to distinguish certain types of DOs by a morphological marker or a syntactic displacement is a usual process in many languages not typologically related, such as Spanish in (2a) and Hindi in (2b). The marker, attached to the DO (as in Spanish) or to the lexical verb (as in Hindi), has consequences not only in syntax, but also in the interpretation of the object, as I will show along this section.

(2) a. He   visto ***(a) tu   madre.**   (Spanish)
     Have seen   DOM your   mother
     'I have seen your mother.'

b. Ravii ek **gaay-<u>ko</u>** k^{h}hariidnaa caahtaa hai. (Hindi)

Ravi one cow-DOM buy-NONFIN wish-IMPERF AUX

'Ravi wished to buy a particular cow.' [from Mohanan 1994: 80]

Following the seminal work of Bossong (1985), this phenomenon, so-called Differential Object Marking, has been widely studied for the last 20 years. Nevertheless, there is little agreement on which the exact conditions that trigger a marker are (Comrie 1989; Pensado 1995; Brugè & Brugger 1996; Torrego 1998; von Heusinger & Kaiser 2003; Leonetti 2004; López 2012, among others).

DOM is a well-known phenomenon of the syntax of Romance languages. Spanish (RAE-ASALE 2009) and Romanian (Gramatica limbii râne 2005) must generally insert a preposition (*a* 'to' in Spanish and *pe* 'on' in Romanian) before definite and animate objects, as shown in (3).

(3) a. He visto ***(a) tu hermana**. (Spanish)

'I have seen your sister.'

b. Îl caut **<u>pe</u> profesor**. (Romanian)

'I am looking for the professor.' [from Mišeka 2006: 285]

Such marker sometimes appears in Romance languages that are not considered DOM-languages, as in some Italian dialects (see (4a)), in some contexts in Portuguese (see (4b)) and even in substandard forms of French (see (4c)). What all these exceptions have in common is that the DO is [+animate], as in Spanish and Romanian. **§**3 will show that Catalan is also placed in an intermediate position within a scale of DOM-featuring languages.

(4) a. **<u>A</u> me**, mi aspettano alla stazione. (Italian)

'For me, they are waiting in the station.' [from Berretta 2002: 127]

b. Ronaldo não te odeia; ele odeia **<u>a</u> mim**. (Portuguese)

'Ronaldo does not hate you, he hates me.' [from Schwenter 2013: 9]

c. Il le va blesser, **<u>à</u> cet enfant**. (French)

'He is going to harm the child.' [from Rohlfs 1971: 68]

In Romance languages (cf. (3)-(4)), the DOM-marker is a morpheme that derives diachronically from a preposition. In other languages, however, it is derived from morphological case (as in Persian in (5) and Turkish in (6)), from suppletive determiners (as in Maori) (López 2016) or from agreement and clitics on the verb (as in the Bantu family in (7)).

(5) Ali **Sârâ-*(ro)** did. (Persian)

Ali Sara-RA   see-PST-3SG

'Ali saw Sara.' [from Hedberg et al. 2009: 11]

(6) (ben) **bir kitap** oku-du-m. (Turkish)

I   a   book read-PST-1SG

'I read a book.' [from Kornfilt 2007: 1050]

(7) Ni- li-***(mw)-ona**   Yassini. (Swahili)

SM1S-PAST- OM1-see 1Yassin.

'I saw Yassin.' [from Riedel 2009: 68]

It seems that the actual phonological realization of this marker depends on environmental conditions surrounding both the object and the verb (Fernández-Ramírez 1951). The main factors that determine the distribution of DOM-markers are two internal properties of the DO: animacy and specificity (cf. Aissen 2003; de Swart 2003). In addition, telicity (cf. Zakariasson 2013), topicalization (cf. Laca 1987; Leonetti 2004; Iemmolo 2010) and affectedness (cf. Naess 2004) have also been related to DOM.

In what follows, I present the DOM-triggering features proposed in the literature, divided in DO features, verb features and structure configuration, respectively.

2.1.1. Direct Object features

Some authors claim that DOM is a strategy to distinguish those subjects and objects with similar properties, specifically when the object is animate and/or definite, which are prototypical properties of subjects (usually, subjects are [+human] and objects are [-animate]).

The most known approach was made by Silverstein (1976). This author adopts a functional explanation based on semantics: subjects and objects need to be marked with morphological Case to distinguish themselves when they have atypical features, in order to not misidentify a subject for an object or *viceversa*. The features he proposes are based on the **Person/Animacy Hierarchy** in (8), in which first and second persons are more typical for subjects, and third person is more typical for objects. Remarkably, if a language has a DOM-marker on an item in the scale, it will also have the marker on all the items to the left (Silverstein 1976).

(8) 1pl >1sg >2pl >2sg >3hum.pl >3hum.sg >3anim.pl>3anim.sg>3inan.pl>3inan.sg

[from Silverstein 1976: 122]

Aissen (2003) slightly modifies Silverstein's approach and proposes the scales of Animacy in (9) and Definiteness in (10). Again, the higher in prominence a DO is in the scales of **Animacy and Definiteness**, the more likely it is to be overtly case-marked.

(9) Animacy hierarchy: Human > Animate > Inanimate

(10) Definiteness hierarchy: Personal Pronoun > Proper Name > Definite > Specific indefinite > Non-specific indefinite

[from Aissen 2003: 437]

With these scales, examples such as (11) and (12) can be explained. (11) has a [+human], [-specific] and [-definite] object and (12) has a [+human] object that, in spite of being [-definite], is [+specific].

(11) Ella vio <u>Ø</u> **un chico.**   (Spanish)

'Se saw a boy. '

(12) Tú asesinarías <u>**a/*Ø**</u> **un miembro del congreso.**   (Spanish)

'You would murder a member of congress.' [from López 2016: 248]

Torrego (1999) points out that the preposition does not always occur before indefinite DOs in Spanish, but it does with the definite ones (see (13)). As definiteness determines up to a point the presence of a marker and the division between definite and indefinite is directly related to the determiner class, this author claims that the determiner plays an important role in the selection of it.

(13) Detuvieron <u>**al/*Ø el**</u> narcotraficante.   (Spanish)

'The drug dealer was arrested.'

So far we could say that the closer an object is to the typical properties of subjects (referential autonomy, agentivity), the more likely it is to be overtly case-marked (Laca 1987; Torrego 1999). However, the examples in (14)-(16) are exceptions. First, (14) shows that an inanimate object may be marked in Spanish. In fact, it is for this reason that Torrego (1999) argues that the relevant semantic notion is not animacy but the notion of actor (Jackendoff 1983), which has autonomy and reaction capacity. Second, some verbs select for an obligatory human complement (*saludar* 'greet*', convencer* 'convince'*, asesinar* 'murder'), which can also appear with a marker with nonspecific indefinites, as in (15). Third, proper names do not always need a marker if they refer to inanimate objects (books, movies...), as exemplified in (16) (Fábregas 2013).

(14) a. El camino sigue **al río**. (Spanish)

'The road follows the river.' [from López 2016: 245]

b. La alegría vence **a la dificultad**.

'Happiness overcomes difficulty.'

c. El ácido afecta **(a) los metales**.

'Acid affects metals.' [from Torrego 1998: 55]

(15) Yo saludé **(a) un hombre de la calle**. (Spanish)

'I greeted a man of the street.'

(16) a. Hermione **a Harry Potter** en Hogwarts. (Spanish)

'Hermione saw Harry Potter in Hogwarts.'

b. Vi *Harry Potter* en el cine.

'I saw the film *Harry Potter* in the movies'.

Moreover, in Sardinian, the inherent properties of the DO do not systematically trigger DOM-markers, i.e. the objects that are on a high position both on the animacy and definiteness scale may not (or may optionally) trigger DOM (Mardale 2008). Moreover, the marker appears with inanimate proper nouns:

(17) Appo vistu **a/*Ø Napoli**. (Sardinian)

'I saw Naples.' [from Mardale 2008: 457]

In short, the scales of Animacy and Definiteness cannot completely explain the behavior of DOM (Comrie 1979; Croft 1988; Leonetti 2004; Laca 2006). As López (2016) suggests, "what is missing from the scales approach is syntax" (cf. §4).

On the other hand, Leonetti (2004) points out that **specificity** is often reflected in the morphological marker of DOs, i.e. DOM-markers appear with specific DPs (see (18)). Fábregas (2013) also claims that individuated DOs are more likely to appear with a marker. Thus, marked objects are associated to individual variables and non-marked objects to variables that denote classes, sets of properties, etc.

The verb *haber* ('to have') helps us to identify if there is a specific DP in (18). *Haber* takes only weak DPs, and specific indefinites are a type of strong DP. (18) shows that *haber* cannot be followed by DPs with a DOM-marker (Leonetti 2004).

(18) *Había **a un policía**. (Spanish)

'There was a police man.'

The mood of the subordinate verb in the relative clause reinforces also the effect of DOM in specific DOs: in Spanish, the object is preceded by *a* (which I assume to be

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[+specific]) whenever the verb is in the indicative mood. The subjunctive mood appears with the non-marked object, i.e. with [-specific] DPs.

(19) a. Ella necesita **a una enfermera** que pasa la mañana con ella.   (Spanish)

'She needs a nurse that spends the morning with her.'

b. Ella necesita Ø **una enfermera** que pase la mañana con ella.

'She needs a nurse to spend the morning with her.'

[from Leonetti 2004: 80]

The examples in (20), however, reject *a* as a specificity marker and support instead [+human] as the relevant semantic feature. In (20a), *a* precedes an indefinite pronoun (it happens also with *nadie* 'nobody', *quién* 'who', and *ninguno* 'none') and in (20b) *a* can follow a subjunctive relative clause which marks indefiniteness.

(20) a. Jon Snow está buscando **a alguien**.   (Spanish)

'Jon Snow is looking for someone.'

b. Necesitan **(a) un ayudante** que sepa Dothraki.

'They need an assistant that speaks Dothraki.'

To explain examples (18)-(20), Leonetti (2004) and López (2016) claim that a DOM-marker is a prerequisite for strong readings, but not for weak readings[1].

Finally, as the reader could have noticed in the previous examples, the absence of the morpheme makes specific reading impossible in Spanish. This fact does not only happen in Spanish, but also in other languages as Romanian:

(21) Caut **Ø un student**.   (Romanian)

'I am looking for a (non-specific) student.' [from Mišeka 2006: 285]

From these examples we can conclude that, although animacy, definiteness and specificity can explain many DOM examples, they are not enough.

2.1.2. Verb features

The type of verb is also relevant for DOM purposes. First, the grade of **affectedness** that the verb causes on the complement makes DOM-morphemes obligatory (Torrego 1999; López 2016). In other words, if the verb meaning affects the physical or psychological state of the DO or its localization, a DOM-marker becomes obligatory if the DO is animate:

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[1] Some phrases are often considered to be ambiguous between strong and weak readings. On their weak readings, the statement is less informative than the strong reading, which expresses a proportion of a set.

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(22) a. Golpearon **a/*Ø** **un fugitivo**.   (Spanish)

     'A fugitive was kicked.'

    b. Vieron **a/Ø** **un fugitivo**.

     'A fugitive was seen.'

Second, in Spanish psychological verbs prefer marked objects (despite specificity, definiteness, etc.):

(23) Tú **admirarías a/*Ø** una profesora.   (Spanish)

    'You would admire a professor.'

The aspect of the verb is also relevant: **telic** events always require a DOM-marker (Torrego 1999; López 2016), as (24) shows, while atelic verbs are only compatible with it, as the contrast in (25) exemplifies (López 2016).

(24) Me gané **al/*el** profesor **en pocos días**.   (Spanish)

    'I won the professor's respect in a few days.'

(25) a. Tú ayudarías **a** un refugiado **durante diez años**.   (Spanish)

    b. Tú ayudarías **Ø** un refugiado.

     'You would help a refugee for ten years.'

Fábregas (2013) also notices that a static distribution does not need a DOM-marker, but a dynamic situation does, as in (26) and (27). This fact coincides with Torrego's claim: DOM makes the predicate more agentive, i.e. the subject's participation in the action increases.

(26) a. Los policías **rodean el** president.   (Spanish)

     'The police surrounds the president.'

    b. Los policías **rodean al** ladrón.

    'The police encloses the thief.'

 (27) a. El pare **tapa al** nen amb una manta.   (Catalan)

     'The father covers the child with a blanket.'

    b. El pare **tapa el** nen, qui no veu el que està passant.

     'The father blocks the view of the child, who does not see what is happening.'

Therefore, the affectedness of the verb on DOs, the telicity and the dynamicity play also a relevant role on DOM.

2.1.3. Structure configuration

Apart from the arguments and the verb, DOM seems to be related also to the structure *per se*. The most relevant case is **topicality**. As Pensado (1985), Laca (1987), Melis (1995) and Rohlfs (1971) have pointed out, the preposition is highly present in clitic left-dislocation constructions (ClLD) [2], even when the non-topicalized counterpart does not allow a marked object:.

    (28) a. **A me**, non mi convence questo.   (Northern and Standard Italian)

        b. *Non mi convince **a me** questo.

        'This does not convince me.' [from Iemmolo 2011: 18]

Fábregas (2013) claims that when animate DOs refer to a part of a larger group that has already been discussed in the context, the *a*-marker is compulsory for most speakers, as in (29). This marked object is again a topic.

    (29) De los amigos que quería visitar, solo vi **a tres**.   (Spanish)

        'Out of the friends I wanted to visit, I only saw three.'

Another evidence of topicality as a triggering factor is found in the colloquial Italian variety spoken in the center and the south. According to Cardinaletti (2002), these varieties need a DOM-marker in [+human] objects if they are right dislocated:

    (30) *(L') abbiamo invitato noi, **a Gianni**.   (Italian)

        'We have invited him, Gianni.' [from Cardinaletti 2002: 185]

Furthermore, Sardinian accepts a DOM-marker before singular NPs consisting only of a definite article and a noun which function as a conventional title for particular individuals in a given social context. The use of a DOM-marker with such NPs tends to be more accepted when the NP is fronted or left-dislocated:

    (31) An assassinatu **(a) su re**.   (Sardinian)

        'They have assassinated the king.' [from Mardale 2011: 12]

    (32) a. **(A) su re** an assassinatu.

        b. **(A) su re**, l'an assassinatu.

        'The king, they have assassinated.' [from Mardale 2011: 12]

In fact, Niculescu (1959) and Rohlfs (1971) notice that ClLD and clitic doubling (two of the main signs of topicalization) were often used in the early examples of DOM. In the same line, Pensado (1995) argues that Clitic Right Dislocations (ClLD) with personal pronouns is the origin of *a* as a case-marker for objects in Spanish. Iemmolo (2011) also

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[2] I assume that dislocation is an indication of topicality (Laca 1995; Iemmolo 2011).

claims that DOM began as a morpheme associated with dislocations, which later spread to other uses. This is shown in (33).

(33) a. Escarniremos Ø **las fijas del Campeador.**   (*Cid* 2251)

  'We will make fun of Campeador' daughters.'

  b. **A las sus fijas** en braço las prendia   (*Cid* 275)

  'His daughters, he held in his arms.'

[Laca 2006: 455]

Finally, some specific syntactic configurations require the presence of DOM-markers, at least in Spanish. One of this cases are secondary predications (López 2016), as (34) shows. Remarkably, DOM appears in these examples even when the object has no [+human] or [+animate] feature, as in (35).

(34) a. Tú considerarías **a/*Ø un profesor inteligente**.   (Spanish)

  'You would consider a professor intelligent.'

  b. Encontré **a/*Ø un trabajador preocupado**.

  'I noticed that a worker was worried.'

  c. Hicieron **al/*Ø el pobre bebé llorar**.

  'They made the baby cry.'

(35) La tormenta dejó **a/*Ø treinta heridos y a muchos arruinados**.   (Spanish)

  'The tempest left thirty persons wounded and many ruined.'

So far we have seen that many semantic factors of the DO play a relevant role in DOM, as animacy, definiteness, specificity and topicality. Although the phenomenon under consideration seems to be solved with some semantic hierarchies, the presence of other triggers (such as the properties of the verb and the structure of the sentence) makes it difficult to cover all instances with them. From all of this one could reasonably guess that syntax lies behind this phenomenon. Let us see in the next subsection if syntax is also the cause of the Differential Subject Marking phenomenon.

2.2. Differential Subject Marking

A similar phenomenon to DOM is Differential Subject Marking (DSM hereafter). It consists in subjects that have a different Case, agree differently or occur in a different position than others (Woolford 2008).

One source of DSM effects is the use of dative or ergative Case on some subjects and nominative on others, as in Basque:

(36) a. **Ni-<u>ri</u>**   zure oinetako-a-k-Ø   gustatzen zaizkit.   (Basque)

      I-DAT your shoes-det-NOM   like   aux

      'I like your shoes.' [from Austin & López 1995: 12]

    b. **Gizona**-<u>k</u>   kurritu du.

      man-ERG   ran   aux

      'The man ran.' [from Levin 1989: 57]

Sometimes, the Case of the subject is determined by its syntactic environment. For example, in English a subject is nominative if the sentence is tensed and it is accusative if the sentence is in an ECM context and is tenseless:

(37) a. He expects that she will win.   (English)

    b. He expects **<u>her</u>** to win.

In Turkish the subject is marked with genitive Case if it is specific, while nonspecific subjects get no morphologically overt Case, as in (38). This parallels specificity marking of objects in this language. It seems that whatever the process is that produces DOM-effects, it does not exclusively target objects (Woolford 1995).

(38) a.[köy-ü   bir **haydut-<u>un</u>** bas-tiğ-ın-ı   duy-du-m   (Turkish)

      village-ACC a   robber-GEN raid-FN-3sg-ACC hear-pst-1sg

      'I heard that a (certain) robber raided the village.'

    b. [köy-ü   **haydut**   bas-tiğ-ın-ı   duy-du-m.

      village-ACC robber   raid-FN-3sg-ACC hear-pst-1sg

      'I heard that robbers raided the village.'

                                  [from Kornflit 2008: 26]

Some languages in which objects with features that are high on the person/animacy hierarchy (e.g. specific, human) move out of VP (and may also get a DOM-marker), change the subject Case from nominative to ergative:

(39) a. **arnaq**   anguti-mik   taku-juq.   (Inuktitut)

      woman-NOM   man-INST/ACC see-intr-3s

      'The woman sees the/a man.'

    b. **arna-<u>up</u>**   angut   taku-jaa.

       woman-ERG man-NOM   see-tr-3s/3s

      'The woman sees the man.'

                                  [from Johns 2001: 3]

DSM effects can be seen as features that are only morphologically marked towards the **lower** end of the Person/Animacy Hierarchy of Silverstein (third person, inanimate),

contrary to DOM-effects, which we have seen that are usually associated with features at the **higher** end of the Person/Animacy Hierarchy. For this reason, some authors consider that DSM is the mirror image of DOM. The study of Woolford (2008), however, argues that the mirror-image model is only due to PF effects (only spell-out of Case), in contrast to DOM-effects that appear to be syntactic (also object shift).

According to Leonetti (2004), the class of expressions that count as marked objects (i.e. human, animate, referential, definite) is the class of expressions that typically occur as unmarked subjects. And the type of subject that is most likely to be marked in DSM systems (i.e. inanimate, non referential, indefinite) is the same type of subject that is most likely to have grammatical or interpretive constraints in other systems. For instance, some languages show a tendency to exclude indefinite subjects, as Arabic and Chinese. However, although some DSM effects seem to be connected (up to a point) to DOM, this study will only focus on DOM, largely for reasons of space and simplicity.

Section 2 has revealed that many different languages alter the regular form of some subjects and objects under very specific situations which, moreover, seem to be stable across languages. These contexts will be taken into consideration along the study of DOM in Catalan.

3. DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN CATALAN

This section focuses on Differential Object Marking in Catalan. In §3.1.1., it is revealed what indicates the normative grammar about the use of a preposition before DOs, in order to make the reader understand the complex situation. I will refer to this variety as *Standard Catalan.* In §3.1.2. I present the Substandard Catalan and the extended use of the preposition in it. I understand as *Substandard Catalan* the variety that does not strictly follow the normative grammar. In §3.1.3., I briefly discuss some diachronic data to show that DOM is not something new. In §3.2., I go though the few proposals in the literature that explain the syntactic motivation of DOM in Catalan. Finally, §3.3. presents the field study based on the results of a questionnaire and an analysis corpus, which support the theoretical data presented before.

3.1. Catalan varieties and DOM

3.1.1. Standard Catalan

At first glance, Catalan occupies an intermediate position in the group of DOM-featuring languages. In Standard Catalan, NPs that function as DOs appear immediately after the verb and are **not** usually introduced by the preposition *a* ('to'), as (40a) shows (cf. Badia 1994; Solà 1994; GIEC 2016). Notice that this preposition is the same used for indirect objects (IOs), just like in Spanish:

(40) a. Vaig veure **(*a)** **la Maria**.

   AUX see DOM the Maria

   'I saw Maria.'

   b. Vaig donar un llibre **a** **la Maria**.

   AUX give   a   book to the Maria.

   'I gave Maria a book.'

Remarkably, there are exceptions to this DOM-constraint in Catalan. First, a DOM-marker is compulsory when the DO (an NP or a strong pronoun) is repeated by a weak pronoun (see (41)), which is [+animate] and [+specific]. This is further related to the definiteness scale in (10), repeated here as (43). In fact, a DOM-marker before strong pronouns is always obligatory. According to Badia (1994), the preposition is required by the strong pronoun and not by the situation of pleonasm with a weak pronoun, as (42) shows. This suggests, as Escandell-Vidal (2007, 2009) points out, that Catalan is sensitive to definiteness, since pronouns are at the beginning of Aissen' Definiteness scale.

(41) a. L'he   vist   ***(a)** **ell**.

   'I have seen him.'

   b. **Ens** volen convidar **a la gent de l'oficina.**

   'They want to invite us, the people of the office.'

(42) Qui han designat president? **A tu**.

   'Who has been chosen as president? You.'

(43) Personal pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Specific NP > Non-specific NP

Standard Catalan can also optionally mark those DOs that have a pronominal quantifier referring to a person (*tothom* 'everybody', *cadascú* 'each', *qualsevol* 'any', *ningú* 'nobody', *algú* 'someone'), as in (44). However, it marks obligatorily quantitative quantifiers in plural (*molts* 'many') in the sense of 'many people', as in (45).

(44) Ajudaré **(a) qualsevol dels companys de classe.**

'I will help any of the classmates.'

(45) Això afectarà **a molts**.

'This will affect many people. '

DOs with interrogative or exclamative pronouns (*qui* 'who', *quin* 'which', *quant* 'how many') that have been placed before a subject that coincides in person and number with the DO, causing ambiguity, need also a marker:

(46) **A quantes persones** atenen en aquest servei?

'How many people are attended in this service?'

Some relative pronouns are also an exception in Standard Catalan. The relative *qui* ('who') is DOM-marked in non-restrictive relatives (see (47a)). It contrasts with the alternative *que* ('that'), which is never preceded by the preposition *a* (either in Standard or Substandard Catalan) (see (47b)). Furthermore, the pronoun *qui* always needs a preposition with psychological verbs used in a causative sense (even if there is no ambiguity), as in (48). The same pronoun can be preceded by the preposition *a* in relatives without antecedent, preferably when it refers to a specific person (related to the specificity-triggering factor), as (49) shows.

(47) a. Hem parlat amb en Pau, **a qui** coneixeu tots en aquest poble.

b. Hem parlat amb en Pau, **(*a) que** coneixeu tots en aquest poble.

'I have talked with Pau, who/that is known by everybody in this town.'

(48) He rebut el suport dels companys **a qui** ha **disgustat** la noticia.

'I have received the support of colleagues to whom the news have disliked.'

(49) a. Has de trobar **qui** et va comprar el cotxe.

'You have to find whoever bought the car.'

b. Has de trobar **a qui** et va comprar el cotxe.

'You have to find the person who bought the car.'

The complex relative *el qual* ('which') is also marked with the preposition *a* to avoid ambiguity with the subject:

(50) Van jutjar els enemics, **a les quals** havien vençut.

'They judged the enemies, whom they had won.'

This phenomenology is compounded if situations in which the DOM-marker appears in contexts of dislocation are considered. The preposition is necessary when the object is doubled by a clitic (see (51)), which falls into place the moment DOM has been related to topicality (cf. Escandell-Vidal 2007; Khouja 2015). Nevertheless, it is also necessary when

we are dealing with a focalization (i.e. the object is not doubled by a clitic), as in (52). Both cases are only accepted by the normative grammar when there is a causative verb (as in (51)) or when the sentence could be ambiguous without preposition (as in (53)). In fact, Sancho (2002) points out that DOM in dislocations is an old phenomenon in Catalan which possibly was extended to other structures.

(51) **A molts** lingüistes això **els** molesta.

'Many linguists, this upsets.'

(52) **Als alumnes**, i no **al professorat**, han avisat.

'The students, and not the teaching staff, have been notified.'

(53) a. **A/*Ø la teva germana**, **l'**acompanyarà.

'With your sister, s/he will go.'

b. **Ø/*A la teva germana**, **l'**acompanyarem.

'With your sister, we will go.'

Similarly, when there is a postverbal subject contiguous to a DO with the same features, the preposition is necessary to avoid confusion:

(54) Rellevarà [**al alcalde] [una regidora]** del mateix partit.

'The mayor will be relieved by a councilor of the same party.'

(55) No hauria de poder vèncer mai [**a la raó] [la força bruta]**.

'The dirty force should never overcome reason.'

[NGLC 2016: 734]

A DOM-marker also appears when the subject is [-animate] and the object is [+animate], as in (56). This is because the subject and the object do not have their prototypical properties.

(56) És preocupant veure com ha enfonsat [**a l'assassí**] [**el teu testimoni**].

'It is disturbing to see how your statement has wrecked the murderer.'

When the object appears after a prepositional complement, the DOM-marker also appears:

(57) No va poder convéncer [**d'estudiar literatura**] [**a les seves filles**].

'S/he could not convince her/his daughters to study literature.'

Finally, Standard Catalan includes as exceptions sentences with syntactic parallelisms (as (58)) or without explicit verb (as (59)), since they would be (again) ambiguous without preposition.

(58) T'han convidat **a tu** i **a la teva família**.

'You and your family have been invited.'

(59) Les filles havien vist **les mares**, però les mares **a les filles** no.

'Daughters have seen their mothers, but mothers (have not seen) their daughters.'

Let us sum so far. This section has shown that Catalan, despite not being a DOM-language, is plenty of exceptions. Most of them are due to ambiguity, which could be related to the Distinctness Condition (cf. Richards 2010). According to it, two syntactic objects headed by the same label cannot appear together in the same domain, because the linearization algorithm would find a sequence of two identical elements (<X,X>), creating a PF conflict (one label would have to follow and precede itself). DOM would be then a repair strategy to prevent this problem of linearization. Nonetheless, other exceptions are due to the semantic factors of definiteness and topicality, reviewed in §2.

The next subsection shows that this is only one side of the coin, since DOM is in fact more extended than the recommendations of the normative grammar suggest.

3.1.2. Substandard Catalan

As Sancho (2002) explains, there is a clear divergence between oral and written Catalan. Around different Catalan-spoken areas the preposition *a* is often used (and its phonological variants /an/, /ana/, /amb/, cf. Albareda 2009) In Catalan oral conversations before definite and animate DOs, as in Spanish:

(60) a. Esperant **a la mare**.   (Substandard Catalan)

'Waiting for the mother.'

b. Coneixies **a la seva família**.

'You knew his/her family'

[Corpus Oral de Conversa Col·loquial]

Syntactic attrition, as stated in Bouba et *al.* (2002), "is a consequence of long-term contact of the native with the second language that could be described as a change in the steady-state of L1". Therefore, given that Catalan and Spanish are closely related languages, one can consider that DOM in Substandard Catalan is an attrition phenomenon with Spanish, a well-known DOM-language. In fact, DOM has been widely labeled as a *castellanisme*, which appears under Spanish's influence (Moll 1991; Badia 1994). Moll (1991), for instance, claims that DOM must be due to Spanish's influence, since (according to him) DOM was not frequent in old Catalan. This claim will be refuted in section §3.1.3.

Solà (1994) admits that spoken registers do not follow the normative grammar, which insists in avoiding the preposition *a* before DOs. Thus, according to him, the following exceptional cases should be included in the grammar: (i) cases of ambiguity, (ii) parallelisms and (iii) when the DO is a person and it has been displaced to the front. As the reader could have noticed, Solà points out cases that were later included in the normative grammar (cf. GIEC 2016), revised above. The interesting point here is that the third exception is, in fact, a case of topicalization, which has been considered the main triggering factor in Catalan (Escandell-Vidal 2007, 2009; Khouja 2015).

Bel (2002) also accepts that the preposition *a* usually appears in Substandard Catalan in Clitic Left Dislocations (ClLD) which contain animate entities. In fact, this preposition hardly ever appears when the DO is [-animate], as shown in (61). Surprisingly, there is at least one Catalan variety that marks inanimate NPs: the Balearic Catalan (see (48)) (cf. Moll 1975; Escandell-Vidal 2007, 2009). In addition, in this variety a DOM-marker is only possible if dislocation applies, as (62) shows.

(61) a. Vaig veure **a la nena**. (Substandard Catalan)

  'I saw the girl.'

  b. *Vaig veure **a la taula nova**.

  'I saw the new table.'

(62) a. Colliu -les, **a ses peres**, que ja són madures. (Balearic Catalan)

  b. *Colliu **a ses peres** que ja són madures

  'Harvest the pears, that are already ripened.'

[from Escandell-Vidal 2007: 10]

From examples as (62), Escandell-Vidal (2007, 2009) concludes that DOM in ClLDs is not the same phenomenon as in standard structures, since the same speakers that do not admit DOM in non-topicalized structures, need to spell-out DOM before objects in dislocations. I will discuss this assumption in §4.

This distribution in topicalizations is similar to Italian, which does not have so much Spanish-influence as Catalan. DOM in Northern Italian is fundamentally restricted to first and second-person pronouns in dislocated positions with an (optional) resumptive pronoun within the clause, as in (63). In addition, there are some cases in which the DO introduced by the preposition is a third person pronoun (both singular and plural, as in (64)).

(63) **A** **te**, non ti sopporto più! (Italian)

    'I cannot stand you any longer!' [Iemmolo 2010: 18]

(64) **A** **loro**, **le** aspettava Adone. (Italian)

    'Adone was waiting for them.' [Berretta 2002: 127]

Thus, as different authors admit, Substandard Catalan (not only the Barcelonese geolect) deploys a DOM-marker in different contexts, not only coinciding with Spanish but also with other Romance languages.

3.1.3. Diachronic data

DOM in Substandard Catalan has been considered a syntactic attrition manifestation with Spanish for many years, as explained previously. However, Escandell (2007, 2009) points out that this preposition was already in use in the 14th century (before *Renaixença*, when Catalan was standardized):

(65) Així sa prove si ames **a Jesuchrist**.

    'This is how you prove that you love Jesus.' [St. Vicent Ferrer S.XIV]

In old Catalan, DOM already appeared in contexts that have been later considered neither by the grammar nor by Solà (1994). For instance, a marker was used before proper nouns (see (66) from Meier 1948), which are at the beginning of the definiteness scale. It was also used at the 19th century to introduce definite and human objects (see (67) from Moll 1975).

(66) Faeren rey **a don Anrich**.

    'Anrich was made king.' [Jaume I s. XIII]

(67) a. Estimen **a la mare**.

    'They love their/the mother.' [Verdaguer s.XIX]

    b. No hi han trobat **al vicari**.

    'They did not find the vicar there.' [Vilanova s.XIX]

Solà (2000) claims that the marker is nowadays used mostly before strong pronouns (*qui* 'who') or in dislocations, but centuries ago the process must have had more extension, since in the Gazophylacium Catalano-Latinum (Lacavalleria 1696) one can find DOM-markers before inanimate objects in non-topicalized structures:

(68) Ell va traure del dit **à un anell**.

    'He removed a ring from the finger.'

(69) S'atura **al corrent de la aygua**.

    'The water flow stops.'

Therefore, diachronic data suggest that DOM is not an attrition manifestation with Spanish, because it appeared long before Spanish and Catalan were in as much contact as nowadays. Furthermore, I have also shown that the presence of DOM is also noticeable in other Romance languages that are not in contact with Spanish. For the punch line, both Standard and Substandard Catalan display a mandatory use of a marker in contexts that have been pointed out in the literature as the main triggering-factors of DOM: topicalizations and ambiguity with the subject.

3.2. Previous approaches

The phenomenon of DOM in Spanish has been addressed by numerous scholars from various perspectives (cf. Torrego 1998; Leonetti 2004; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; López 2012, among others). The studies point out that the insertion of the preposition *a* is usually presented as dependent on animacy and referentiality/specificity. Regarding Catalan, however, there are few studies focused on DOM (cf. Escandell-Vidal 2007, 2009; Khouja 2015; Bañeras & Gallego 2016).

According to Escandell-Vidal (2007, 2009), "topicality counts as an important parameter to trigger prepositional accusative and its extension", since the marker of topics appears in all spoken varieties, in spite of the differences among them. This author claims that the only real DO of sentences as (70) is the clitic; the accusative DP is just an outlying adjunct linked to the DO (which has been dubbed Kayne's Generalization in the literature). For this reason, she assumes that the DOM-marker for standard (rhematic) constructions is not the same as the DOM-marker for topic dislocations.

    (70) a. **A**[n] **en Joan**, no **l'estima.**　　　　　　　　　　　(Balearic Catalan)

        'Joan, s/he doesn't love.'

       b. No **l'estima**, **a na Maria.**

        'Maria, s/he doens't love.' [Escandell-Vidal 2007]

Khouja (2015) goes beyond Escandell's hypothesis and proposes a formal analysis for DOM in Catalan. She proposes, on the basis of Torrego (1998), Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) and López (2012), that a DO can occupy two different positions depending on whether or not it receives DOM[3]. Both objects are generated in an argumental position,

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[3] Khouja (2015) argues that the preposition *a* of DOM and the preposition *de* of clitic left dislocations could be related, since both appear only in dislocations.

but the marked object is displaced (see (71)) and the unmarked object stays *in situ* after receiving ACC directly from v (see (72)).

(71) [$_{vP}$ v [$_{αP}$ [(*a*)-DO [$_{α'}$ (IO) [$_{α'}$ α [$_{VP}$ V ~~DO~~]]]]]]]

(72) [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ V DO]]

Khouja assumes that DOM is the spell-out of a K head (López 2012), which always selects a DP if it receives marking. KP cannot incorporate into the VP and consequently it cannot be ruled by the vP to valuate the [uC] feature. If the object moves to an αP lower than v, it can receive DOM from the agreement between the object and v (see §4.1.3. for details about αP).

According to her, this would solve the problem of clitic doubling structures, in which an extra Case-marker is necessary. In her proposal, it would be the αP: the clitic receives ACC from v and the DP (which is doubled and selected by K) is licensed by the αP.

Khouja (2015) proposes that, in Balearic Catalan, the KP is only activated when the DO is [+topic] (and [+definite]). If it is [+topic], once it has licensed the Case in αP and has been displaced to the low periphery (VP) or left periphery (CP), DOM will be manifested in all cases independently of other semantic features as animacy.

Finally, Bañeras & Gallego (2016) argue that a movement-based analysis for DOM will fail because DOM-markers does not emerge with *wh*-movement and focus fronting. Therefore, mere dislocation is not behind the facts. Instead, they claim that the DOM-marker appears for the same reason a preposition appears in contexts associated to Kayne's Generalization. In particular, they propose (73)-(74). In (73), the preposition is inserted to associate ACC to the NP *Ana*, since the verb *ver* is already giving Case to the pronoun *la*, the real argument of the verb. The same happens in the dislocation in (74): the verb *veure* is giving Case to the pronoun *la*, so the preposition *a* appears to assign Case to the NP *la Maria*.

(73) **La** vi **<u>a</u> Ana**. (Spanish)

  'I saw Ana.'

(74) **<u>A</u> la Maria**$_i$ ~~vaig veure [[la pro] t$_i$]~~, **la** vaig veure [la pro]. (Catalan)

  'Maria, I saw her.'

However, to explain DOM in Substandard Catalan, the analysis in (74) does not work. For this reason, the analysis in (76) is proposed, in which the ill-fated outcome of (75) is 'rescued' by ellipsis.

(75) *La vaig veure [[t[pro]] a la Maria]

    'I saw Maria.'

(76) [pro] Vaig veure a la Maria.

    'I saw Maria.'

To sum up, the preposition *a* has been explained with two different analyses. On the one hand, Escandell (2007, 2009) and Khouja (2015) argue that the preposition is the consequence of the movement of the DO due to a [+topicalization] feature. On the other hand, Bañeras & Gallego (2016) are not satisfied with this *ad hoc* solution and claim that the preposition in dislocations appears for the same reason that it appears in other contexts, as the one associated to Kayne's Generalization.

3.3. Field study

3.3.1. Questionnaires

As repeated along this paper, it has often been argued that DOM arises by attrition with Spanish (Moll 1975; Badia 1994). Consequently, it is often related to the Catalan variety spoken in the metropolitan area of Barcelona, which is notably influenced by Spanish.

In order to test whether DOM in Catalan is an attrition phenomenon or not, a statistical approach was carried out. In particular, the study focuses on one of the main triggering-factors of DOM in Spanish: definiteness. 147 people were asked to participate in a questionnaire of 25 grammaticality judgments containing 5 definite DOs with *a*, 5 indefinite DOs with *a*, 5 definite DOs without *a*, 5 indefinite DOs without *a* and 5 distracters. On a scale from 1 to 4, participants judged the sentences where 1 (red in the graphics in the Appendix) means "it sounds very bad" and 4 (green in the graphics in the Appendix) means "it sounds very good". The participants also indicated their mother tongue(s), their town or city, and their age. In total, 61 people from the metropolitan area of Barcelona, 12 from the Balearic Islands and 74 from other Catalan regions participated in the study (see Appendix C for specific data).

To design the questionnaire, it was assumed that, on the one hand, DOs with definite articles, demonstratives, possessives or numeral adjectives, as well as proper names, are more definite. On the other hand, DOs accompanied by indefinite articles, quantifiers (*molts* 'many', *pocs* 'little', *algun* 'some', etc.), as well as generic nouns associated with animate entities (*gent* 'people', *nens* 'children') are 'less definite' (Balasch 2011). (77a)

is an example of a marked-definite token of the questionnaire and (77b) is an example of a marked-indefinite token. The full questionnaire can be checked in Appendix A.

(77) a. Veuran **a ḷ'actriu** a la nova temporada de la sèrie.

'They will see the actress in the new season of the TV series.'

b. Demà presentarem **a una noia d'intercanvi**.

'Tomorrow we will introduce an exchange girl.'

The tokens have been designed to avoid phonological ambiguities, i.e. to avoid verbs finishing with [a] or [ə] and DOs beginning with [a] or [ə], since they can be mistaken for the preposition *a*, the DOM-marker in Catalan. For this same reason, the demonstratives *aquest* ('this') and *aquell* ('that') and the indefinite *algun* ('some') have also been avoided.

Apart from testing whether or not DOM is used around Catalan-spoken areas, the questionnaire was focused on the definiteness scale proposed by Aissen (2003). The aim was to test if Catalan has a specific end-point within the scale or if it has been extended almost up to the end (to specific indefinite DOs). The animacy scale was put aside, since DOM-markers with inanimate objects are ungrammatical for most Catalan speakers. I also excluded personal pronouns and proper names because I assumed that if a language has DOM on an item in the scale, it will also have DOM on all the items to the left (Silverstein 1976).

Table 1 shows the acceptance and unacceptance of DOM depending on the mother tongue of the participants. There are three groups: more Catalan (the addition of the participants who spoke only Catalan or more Catalan than Spanish), more Spanish (the addition of the participants who spoke only Spanish or more Spanish than Catalan) and Catalan and Spanish alike (the participants who spoke the same amount of Catalan and Spanish). The results are calculated adding the percentage of the answers with 3 ("it sounds good") and 4 ("it sounds very good") of each type.

	LANGUAGE								
	Total			Definite			Indefinite		
	+Cat	+Sp	=Cat, Sp	+Cat	+Sp	=Cat, Sp	+Cat	+Sp	=Cat, Sp
DOM (*a*)	74	69	59	74	69	61	73	70	58
Ø	80	79	76	82	78	75	78	79	77

Table 1. Results of acceptance of DOM depending on the mother tongue(s)

The general data on Table 1 show that there is little difference if the participant speaks more Catalan or more Spanish: approximate the 70% of marked objects were judged as grammatically correct, but 80% of unmarked objects were judged as grammatically correct as well, regardless the mother tongue(s). However, it is true that the results without preposition are a bit higher.

The graphics (see Table 3 and 4 in Appendix B) show a little difference between Catalan and Spanish speakers: more than 50% of **DOs without a marker** were judged with a 4 by Catalan speakers, in front of the 30% of Spanish speakers. However, participants that speak more Spanish than Catalan or the same amount of Catalan and Spanish, the 50% of the time judged these sentences with a 4.

The results fluctuate between a 40-55% with **marked objects** judged with a 4 by participants that speak only Catalan or more Catalan than Spanish. In contrast, participants that speak only Spanish or more Spanish than Catalan show also a 40% of acceptability in these same sentences. Those participants that speak the same amount of Catalan and Spanish judged them with a 4 the 30% of the time.

Specifically, the data regarding **definite DOs** (see Table 7 and 8 in Appendix B), show that whatever it is the language(s) spoken at home, there is no big difference when judging objects if they are marked or unmarked. A noticeable contrast is perceived between the **unmarked definite DOs** judged with a 3 (30%) and the ones judged with a 4 (50%) in participants that speak only Catalan or more Catalan than Spanish. This could let to think that Spanish's influences the emergence of a DOM-marker. However, participants that speak more Spanish than Catalan show the same contrast. Moreover, less than 10% of unmarked DOs were judged with a 1 by both groups. In fact, the results of **marked definite DOs** are very similar.

The results of **indefinite DOs** (see Table 11 and 12 in Appendix B) are a bit different. There is a big contrast between the answers of Catalan speakers (50% of answers with 4) and Spanish speakers (20% of answers with 4) regarding indefinite **DOs without a DOM-marker**. Nonetheless, answers regarding **indefinite DOs with a DOM-marker** show that Catalan and Spanish speakers have similar results (40% of answers with 4).

The **first conclusion** up to this point is that the results are uncertain, although it seems that the mother tongue and definiteness have no important effect in DOM.

Table 2 shows the results depending on the **locality of the speakers**: metropolitan area of Barcelona, Balearic Islands and other Catalan-spoken areas. The percentage of acceptance is calculated in the same way than in Table 1.

	AREA								
	Total			Definite			Indefinite		
	BCN	Bal.	Others	BCN	Bal.	Others	BCN	Bal.	Others
DOM (*a*)	67	55	68	68	59	67	66	50	68
Ø	76	91	81	77	93	81	75	88	80

Table 2. Results of acceptance of DOM depending on the area

The results verify that the geographic area has no important effect in DOM neither: results with and without *a*-marker are similar in all the regions: 50-70% acceptance of marked DOs and 75-95% acceptance of unmarked DOs. Nevertheless, DOs without DOM are a bit more accepted among speakers of all regions. No significant difference can be seen neither between definite and indefinite DOs.

Surprisingly (or not), little difference is present between the results of Barcelonese speakers and the other Catalan-spoken areas, except from the Balearic Islands (see Table 6 in Appendix B). The most remarkably fact is that in the metropolitan area almost 50% of people judged **marked DOs** with a 4, contrary to the 20% of answers with 3 and 2. In the other areas, the difference is only of a 10%.

Regarding **unmarked DOs**, the situation changes in the Balearic Islands (see Table 5 in Appendix B): there is approximately 90% of acceptance and, in fact, the 70% of people judged them with a 4. Contradictorily, Balearic speakers accept marked DOs, which does not correspond to Escandell-Vidal (2007) hypothesis, who says that in Balearic is unacceptable to have DOs with preposition in sentences without dislocation. Nonetheless, marked DOs are a little bit less accepted than in the other areas (30% of sentences judged with 4 in the Balearic areas in front of 40-45% in the others).

In particular, the data of the **unmarked definite DOs** (see Table 9 in Appendix B) show that speakers of the metropolitan area of Barcelona accept a 50% with a 4 in front of the 20% of answers with a 3. In contrast, speakers of other areas (apart from Balearic Islands) judged 35-45% of these sentences with 3 and 4 (thus, there is not such a big contrast as in the metropolitan area). Moreover, the results in the Balearic Islands show again high acceptability. **Marked definite DOs** (see Table 10 in Appendix B) show a

very similar acceptability among all regions, although the results in the metropolitan area are a bit more noticeable (almost 50% of totally acceptability).

Finally, the results of **indefinite DOs** are very similar to the definite ones. **Marked indefinite DOs** (see Table 14 in Appendix B) are again more accepted in the metropolitan area of Barcelona (45% of answers with a 4 and 20% with a 3) than in the Balearic Islands (30% of answers with 4 and almost 20% with 3) and other regions (40% of answers with 4 and 30% with 3). The remarkable results are again regarding **unmarked indefinite DOs** (see Table 13 in Appendix B): in the Balearic Islands they are almost always absolutely accepted (70%). The results in the metropolitan area and the other areas are very similar: 45% of answers with a 4 and 30% with a 3.

The **second conclusion** is that the results are once again too diversified to extract the assumption that DOM in Catalan is due to Spanish attrition. Furthermore, definiteness has no important effect in DOM and the only area where DOM seems to have a special distribution are the Balearic Islands.

From the questionnaire we can draw the conclusion that DOM is not an isolated phenomenon of the Barcelonese geolect, since it appears in other Catalan-speaking areas, regardless of the languages spoken at home. Furthermore, results also show that while animacy triggers DOM in Catalan, definiteness does not have such a relevant weight. Said in other words, DOM has been (or is being) extended in all speakers and regions, and has achieved the end of the Definiteness scale for those speakers accepting DOM. Notice also that there is great variability in oral speech, since judgments about the grammaticality of certain sequences are not homogeneous across speakers with the same characteristics (mother tongue(s) and/or locality).

3.3.2. Corpus analysis

In order to complement the results from the questionnaire, data from the *Corpus de Català Contemporani de la Universitat de Barcelona* (CCCUB) has also been analyzed. It consists in a group of corpus of contemporary oral Catalan designed to study dialectal, social and functional variation. The data is transcribed phonetically and phono-ortografically.

The recorded Catalan speakers are from different regions, including Catalonia, País Valecià, the Balearic Islands and L'Alguer. Some recordings are fragments of free

dialogues, and their locality is specified. Besides free conversations at home, the corpus includes fragments of oral conversations of various areas, such as the civil, academic or politic field, among others. The locality of these speakers, however, is unknown.

In total, 37 examples with DOM have been found in the corpus (cf. Appendix D). Following Balasch (2011), it has been assumed that capturing and transcribing whether or not a speaker uttered the accusative *a* before a DO with an initial [a] or [ə] is highly error-prone. For this reason, 6 out of the 37 tokens found cannot be fully considered because they are cases in which the DO begins with an initial [a] or [ə].

Most of the examples of *a*-marking found in the corpus appear before animate DPs, as shown in (78)-(82). (82) is an outstanding example, since it is uttered by a Balearic speaker and does not follow the prediction of Escandell-Vidal (2007, 2009), Solà (1994) and Moll (1991), who say that in Balearic varieties marked DOs only appear in dislocations.

(78) [...] has d'anar coneixent **a la gent**, als- **als diferents grups de presió**.

'you have to get to know people, the various pressure groups.'

[Tremp, Pallars Jussà, Catalonia]

(79) [...] que obliguin **als seus fills** a estudiar català.

'that they force their children to study Catalan.'

[Tremp, Pallars Jussà, Catalonia]

(80) [...] aguantar al p- **al mestre.**

'to suffer the p-the theacher.'

[Llíria, Camp de Túria, País Valencià]

(81) [...] ja estan encauçant **a la gent** per a, per a muntar algun, una revolusió.

'they are already channeling people to stage a revolution.'

[La Vila Joiosa, Marina Baixa, País Valencià]

(82) Procuren, no ho sé, captar a sa, **a sa gent**.

'They are triying, I don't know, to attract people.'

[Palma, Illes Balears]

The surprising point here is that there are examples of DOM-markers before inanimate DOs which are not part of dislocations and are not uttered by Balearic speakers[4] (see (83)-(87)). This goes against any prediction made until now.

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[4] Remember that in Balearic Catalan marked objects are as much natural in animate NPs than in inanimate NPs, but only in dislocations.

(83) Va ser Ortega i Gasset que va definir **a la societat**.

'It was Ortega i Gasset who defined the society.'

[Benavarri, Osca, Aragó]

(84) [talking about trips] Sí, bueno, pues ací coneixes **a tot el món**.

'Yes, then, you must know all the world'.

[Benavarri, Osca, Aragó]

(85) El transport encareix molt **a la indústria** i no vol invertir ningú en un poble menut.

'Transport make expensive industry and no-one want to invest in a little town'.

[Morella, Castelló, País Valencià]

(86) Jo hi vaig (a)cabar de posar en aquest router que només respongués **a les trucades** de tal número.

'I finally indicate in this router that it only answered the calls of certain numbers'.

(87) Tinguérem que esquivar **a l'altre cotxe** perquè es clavava al mig, no?

'We had to evade the other car because it was driving to the middle, right?'.

[Valencia, País Valencià]

As expected, however, examples in dislocations have also been found (see (88-(91)). This fact verifies Escandell-Vidal (2007, 2009) and Khouja (2015) hypotheses, who claim that topicalized objects are always marked.

(88) Jo quan vaig fer el servei militar, **a mi** em pacta-, em tractaven de polaco.

'When I did the military service, I was treated as Polish'.

[Tremp, Pallars Jussà, Catalonia]

(89) Quan vaig tornar a Roma, **a la gent amiga**, dic: "Mira, ens ha passat això, tu què penses?

'When I came back to Rome, to my friends, I said: "Look, this happens to us, what do you think?"'.

[Valencia, País Valencià]

(90) Tant que l'estimes, **a la iaia,** li has de dir iaia.

'So much that you love her, nan, you have to call her *nan*'.

(91) Ja la conec, **a la Mariví**.

'I know her, Mariví'.

Remarkably, a marked atribute also appeared in the corpus, which has not been considered in the literature of DOM. As the example, (92), is found in L'Alguer (Italy), this type of DOM could be due to an Italian influence. However, as only one single example was found, it is possibly a slip of the tongue.

(92) Són **a italianismes**: de ara, reixentes, clar que aquellos no allora magari podem fer

riferiment al català estàndard.

'They are Italianisms: of nowadays, recent; obviously, those maybe cannot be

referred to as Standard Catalan.'

[L'Alguer, Sacer (Italy)]

Finally, examples with passive *es* are also present in the corpus. Notice, in addition, that in the following example we are dealing with an [-animate]:

(93) I es busca **a les entitats** aviam què és el que pot fer.

'The entities are sought to see what can be done.'

The conclusion we can draw from the corpus analysis is that, as expected from the questionnaire results, DOM-markers are used in regions that are not in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. It is true that many of the examples are from the País Valencià, which is in fact heavily influenced by Spanish. However, as the interviewee's mother tongue(s) is not specified, it cannot be verified that DOM is not a Spanish-attrition phenomenon. Moreover, examples in some other regions of Catalonia and Balearic Islands have also been found, which indicates that Spanish's influence is not the only factor.

Many examples follow the predictions presented in § 2.1.: DOM-markers are sensitive to dislocations and animate DOs. However, we have found examples in unexpected contexts, specifically in inanimate DOs. This could mean that DOM is being extended to the right of the animacy scale. Notice, moreover, that all the examples are definite DOs, which indicates that [+definite] objects are more likely to be Case-marked. This, however, does not match up with the results of the questionnaires.

4. THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

In this section a theoretical analysis for DOM in Catalan is put forward. First, previous analyses to DOM in Spanish are exposed, considering that Catalan and Spanish work similarly[5]. Second, following the analyses reviewed, some tests are presented to verify

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[5] Animacy, topicalization and dynamicity seem to have exactly the same role in Spanish and Catalan. The examples with definite and specific objects are more difficult to compare with Spanish, since Catalan accept both marked and unmarked objects in these cases. Possibly, once the speaker "activates" the DOM-variety, the behavior is quite the same as in Spanish.

if marked objects in Catalan undergo also a syntactic movement. Finally, an analysis for Catalan is presented.

4.1. Previous analyses

The nature of *a*-marking for DOM in Spanish has been subject to debate in the last decades. Some authors (Torrego 1998; López 2012; Ordóñéz & Roca 2017) argue that DOM is the spell-out of accusative Case. Some others (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, Ormazabal & Romero 2013), however, suggest that it is dative Case. In addition, which element assign Case to the object is not clear: López (2012) and Torrego (1998) argue that it is little v whereas Ordóñez & Roca (2017) argue that it is the preposition *a,* which allows licensing Case to these objects when little v is unable to (in particular, to [+animate, ±specific] objects).

Which seems to be undebatible from a purely syntactic approach is that *a*-marked objects undergo a movement transformation. The details of where a marked object moves are, nevertheless, controversial again. Torrego (1998) proposes that the object moves to [Spec, vP], Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) argues that the object moves to a projection outside the vP, and López (2012) suggests that the object moves inside the vP. In what follows I present in more detail these three analyses.

4.1.1. Torrego

In Torrego's (1998) approach marked objects raise overtly outside the VP. Specifically, *a*-marked objects occupy [Spec, vP], a position that introduces the external argument:

(94) [$_{vP}$ DOM [$_{v'}$ EA [$_{v'}$ v [$_{VP}$ V ~~DOM~~]]]]]

Marked objects must be animate and telic. Moreover, their agentivity and specificity is due to the position of second specifier of the vP, which is the locus of specificity (Diesing 1992) and gives a secondary agentive role to objects (Marantz 1984). Thus, the semantics of marked objects derives from this position. Furthermore, v has a D feature that attracts marked objects, since *a* also has a D feature to check against v.

Remarkably, two kinds of marked objects are distinguished. Following Baker (1998), she suggests that affected *a*-marked objects receive inherent Case of their verbs (in addition to the structural Case they check), whereas non-affected *a*-marked objects receive only structural Case. This assumption is based on the fact that some marked objects resemble datives, which are often assumed to have inherent Case and to add

more structure. However, both marked and unmarked objects check structural ACC against little v.

4.1.2. Rodríguez-Mondoñedo

In the proposal of Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), the main mechanism for DOM is the operation Agree and *a*-marking is the spell out of dative Case. Two movements are involved: Blind Movement and Checking Movement:

(95) Blind Movement: if a uK of a phrase XP is not valued/checked in a given linearization domain, XP must move to the edge to avoid been frozen from further movements.

(96) Checking Movement: if a Probe P matched the interpretable feature (iF) of a Goal G, G having a uK, G must move to the closes position c-commanding P to check/value its uK.

[taken from Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007: 163]

In this approach, the initial triggering-factor in Spanish is the animacy of the object, specifically the [+person] feature. Although animacy is a semantic property, it has been suggested in the literature that a correlation between animacy and Case/Agreement exists.

The vP is the projection of a head that only carries number features. Consequently, an unmarked object receives ACC in [Spec, vP] if it only carries number features. In Spanish, this is the case of inanimate and some nonspecific objects, which lack person features.

In contrast, marked objects need to check their person features, which can only be achieved in the dative projection (not in [Spec, vP]). This is the case of personal pronouns, definite animates and human indefinites like *nadie* 'nobody', *alguien* 'somebody' o *quién* 'who'. As with IOs, DAT spells out as *a*. This hypothesis is depicted in (97).

(97) [$_{DatP}$ *a*-nominal [$_{Dat'}$ Dat [$_{vP}$ ~~nominal~~ [$_v$ v [$_{VP}$ V ~~nominal~~]]]]]]

[*i*num: PLU]	[*u*num: PLU]	[*i*num: PLU]	[*u*num: PLU]	[*i*num: PLU]
[*i*pers: 3P]	[*u*pers: 3P]	[*u*pers: 3P]	[case: ACC]	CHEKING
[*u*case: DAT]	[case: DAT]	[*u*case:]		[*i*pers: 3P]
				MOVEMENT
				[*u*case:]
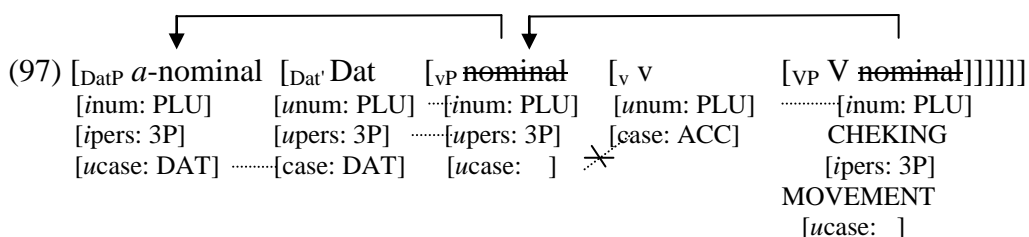
4.1.3. López

Various authors (cf. Travis 1992, 2010; Koizumi 1995; Baker and Collins 2006) have proposed that a functional category exists between v and V, and López (2012) adopts this assumption and dubs it as αP. However, its nature is controversial. One proposal is that it is an applicative function, which introduces affected IOs and may assign Case to the DO (see, e.g., Marantz 1993; Cuervo 2003; Pylkkänen 2006; Bruening 2010). Another proposal is that this category is related to inner aspect (telicity). López (2012) assumes that it has properties of both types, because in many languages DOM is morphologically identical to dative and, at the same time, in many languages DOM affects DOs in telic interpretations. Therefore, αP is the projection where marked objects are involved.

Thus, he proposed that those objects that need to check their Case feature but cannot do it *in situ* undergo a short scrambling to [Spec, αP] (a position sandwiched between vP and VP). In contrast, objects that remain *in situ* satisfy their Case by pseudo-incorporation into the lexical verb and by incorporation of the latter into *v*, the locus of ACC.

Again, DOs are classified into two classes: DPs selected by a head Num and DPs selected by a head K, as depicted in (98). This second class is the responsible for marked objects.

(98) a. D/N/NumP

b. $[_{KP} [K \ DP]]$

K blocks incorporation to the lexical verb and cannot remain in the VP because it needs to check [uK]. Thus, the KP has to check its Case in vP, merging in [Spec, αP]. Crucially, and using the same operation as Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), marked objects receive ACC through Agree with little v:

(99) $[_{vP} EA [_{v'} v_{[acc]} [_{\alpha P} [(a)\text{-}DO_{[uC]} [_{\alpha'} (IO) [_{\alpha'} \alpha [_{VP} V \ \text{DO}]]]]]]]$

Agree

Notice that in (99) the spell-out of the preposition *a* is optional. Animate and non-animate objects would move to [Spec, αP], but *a* will only spell out under appropriate conditions of the context of the KP.

Let us sum so far. We have seen that the three proposals consider in some way or other that DOM involves a movement operation due to Case requirements. In other words, the DO moves to a position where the Case feature is satisfied.

Nevertheless, they can be differentiated by the position and the projection where the marked object moves. On the one hand, in Torrego's proposal DOM-objects are placed in the second specifier of a vP, introducing the EA. López points out that DOM objects are between vP and VP, below the EA (see §4.2. for more details). Finally, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo argues that marked objects move outside the vP; moreover, he does not mention the position in relation to the EA. On the other hand, the projection that includes DOM in Torrego's account is the vP, López suggests an nonspecific projection (αP) dominated by the vP (being the structure with the most internal DOM) and Rodríguez-Mondoñedo opts for DatP.

4.2. Testing movement

In order to accommodate the facts reviewed so far, I adopt the fairly standard assumption that DOM is the side-effect of an object-movement operation (Torrego 1998; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; López 2012). The Balearic data reported by Escandell (2007, 2009) and Khouja (2015) may fall into place with this analysis, since movement for DOM could align with a very similar process for topicalizations.

In what follows, I present some tests to prove that, in Catalan, just like in Spanish, DOM involves a vP internal displacement. To this end, the tests I will be using are: (i) binding (in particular, variable and anaphor binding), (ii) subextraction and (iii) agreement[6].

Consider first the following sentences in Spanish:

(100) a. Los enemigos no entregaron **Ø ningún** prisionero$_{*i}$ a su$_i$ padre.

b. Los enemigos no entregaron **a ningún** prisionero$_i$ a su$_i$ padre.

'The enemies did not deliver any prisoners to his/her father.'

---

[6] The reader must be aware that contrasts in Catalan are less strong than in Spanish, since speakers may probably have two variants depending on the register, one with DOM (Substandard, in colloquial registers) and one without DOM (Standard, formal or written register).

(101) a. Los ladrones devolvieron **Ø cada** rehén*ᵢ a suᵢ familia.

　　 b. Los ladrones devolvieron **a cada** rehénᵢ a suᵢ familia.

　　 'The thieves returned each hostage to his/her family.'

[examples adapted from López (2012: 41)]

As it is well-known, pronouns can be bound by quantifiers if the latter c-commands the former. The sentences in (100) and (101) have different interpretations depending on the presence or absence of a marking. In (100a) the pronoun of the IO is not bound to the quantifier head of the DO. In (100b), however, the pronoun has the QP as antecedent. The same happens in (101).

We assume that ditransitive sentences have the structure in (102). The DO must be under the IO because of semantic reasons: the meaning of V always requires first a DO than an IO; it is the DO (not the IO) that receives Case of the verb, and the IO seems to be closer to v because the verb agrees first with the IO than the DO (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2006).

(102) [$_{vP}$ EA [$_{v'}$ v [IO [$_{VP}$ V DO]]]]

If the examples in (100) and (101) are correct, the structure in (102) cannot be applied to marked objects. For the time being, I adopt the structure of López (2012), depicted in (103). In this scenario, unmarked objects stay *in situ*, below the IO, where c-commanding is not possible. Nevertheless, marked objects are subject to an extra movement above the IO, where the QP is c-commanding the pronoun of the IO.

(103) [$_{vP}$ EA [$_{v'}$ v [$_{αP}$ [(*a*)-DO [$_{α'}$ [IO [$_{α'}$ α [$_{VP}$ V ~~DO~~]]]]]]]]

Let us see what happens in Catalan. In (104a) and (105a), the unmarked DOs headed by the quantifiers *cap* ('any') and *cada* ('each') are not c-commanding the pronoun of the IOs *al **seu** familiar* ('to his/her relative') and *a la **seva** familia* ('to their family'), indicating that the quantifier is not the antecedent of the IO, just like in Spanish. However, a quantifier-bound reading is possible in (104b) and (105b), in which the object is marked.

(104)　a. El metge no va tornar Ø **cap** pacient*ᵢ al seuᵢ familiar.

　　　 b. El metge no va tornar **a cap** pacientᵢ al seuᵢ familiar.

　　　 'The doctor did not bring back any patient to his/her relative.'

(105) a. Els enemics van enviar Ø **cada** presoner*ᵢ a la sevaᵢ familia.

　　　 b. Els enemics van enviar **a cada** presonerᵢ a la sevaᵢ familia.

　　　 'The enemies sent each prisoner to his/her family.'

It is worth noticing that these examples can be all grammatical for Catalan speakers. However, all the examples with DOM allow first the distributional reading.

Movement can also be supported by Principle A, which states that an anaphor must have a local antecedent. As exemplified in (106), the reflexive anaphor (IO) is not bound to the unmarked object, but it is to the marked object. This fact would be impossible if the marked DO had not moved above the IO during the derivation.

(106) [Context: Juan places the child in front of a mirror]   (Spanish)

    a. Juan enseñó a sí mismo$_{*i}$ **Ø un niño**$_i$ en el espejo.

    b. Juan enseñó a sí mismo$_i$ **a un niño**$_i$ en el espejo.

    'Juan showed a child to himself in the mirror.'

As far as I can tell, the behavior is similar in Catalan, as (107) shows. Although the correference is possible with and without the preposition before the object, the sentence with the marked object seems to be more grammatical.

(107) a. En Joan va mostrar **Ø un nen**$_i$ a si mateix$_i$ al mirall.   (Catalan)

    b. En Joan va mostrar **a un nen**$_i$ a si mateix$_i$ al mirall.

    'Joan showed a child to himself in the mirror.'

In what follows I present two other different tests that support movement assuming that, if marked objects are moved, they become islands (Boeckx 2008; Merchant 2001; Takahashi 1994).

First, the examples (108)-(110) confirm that *a*-marked objects make subextraction more difficult than their non-*a*-marked versions, both in Spanish and Catalan. In fact, (109) shows that subextraction with verbs that need obligatory *a*-marking is totally out. The first sentence of each example is the sentence from which subextraction is made.

(108) a. Conozco **(a)** varias hermanas del chico.   (Spanish)

    'I know several sisters of the guy.'

    b. El chico del que conozco **Ø varias hermanas**.

    c. ?El chico del que conozco **a varias hermanas**.

    'The guy from whom I know several sisters.' [from Torrego 1998: 37]

(109) a. Han **golpeado a** la hermana del chico.   (Spanish)

    'The sister of the guy has been beaten.'

    b. *El chico del que han **golpeado Ø** la hermana.

    c. *El chico del que han **golpeado a** la hermana.

    'The guy from whom his sister has been beaten.' [from Torrego 1998: 37]

(110) a. He vist **(a) les germanes** de Neymar.   (Catalan)

          'I have seen Neymar's sisters.'

    b. De quin famós has vist **Ø les germanes**?

    c. *De quin famós has vist **a les germanes**?

       'Of which celebrity have you seen the sisters?'

The position of the marked DO as specifier, which tend to be islands for extraction (Uriagereka 1999), could be the cause of the impossibility or difficulty of subextracting from them. This fits in the analysis of López (2012), in which the marked object occupies the position of [Spec, vP] and the unmarked object occupies the position of [V, Compl].

Second, SE impersonals (non-agreeing) sentences with DOM support the existence of an island. As shown in the examples (111)-(112), both in Catalan and Spanish, the verb fails to agree with the internal argument if it is Case-marked.

(111) a. **Se acogió a** los refugiados.   (Spanish)

    b. ***Se acogieron a** los refugiados.

    'Refugees were received.'

(112) a. **S'acollirà a les** refugiades.   (Catalan)

    b. * **S'acolliràn a les** refugiades.

    ' Refugees will be received.'

Recall, however, that Mexican and Argentinean varieties of Spanish may show agreement with a Case-marked internal argument, as (113) illustrates (cf. Ordóñez & Treviño 2007; Gallego 2016). These data pose a puzzle that cannot be discussed here due to space constraints.

(113) a. Finalmente, **se castigaron a** los culpables.   (Mexican Spanish)

     'At last, the culprits were punished.'

    b. **Se evacuaron a** más de 120.000 damnificados.   (Argentinian Spanish)

    'More than 120.000 damaged people were evacuated.'

                               [from Ordóñez & Treviño 2007: 12]

We have argued so far that marked objects do not stay *in situ*, but move above the IO. There is also the possibility that they move to [Spec, vP], above the EA. In fact, the configuration usually proposed for marked objects (Torrego 1998, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007) assumes this hypothesis:

(114) [$_{vP}$ DOM [$_{v'}$ EA [$_{v'}$ v [...]]]]   [from López 2012: 42]

On the contrary, as López (2012) claims, marked objects in Spanish possibly do not scramble above the EA because they do not c-command it (see (115))[7]. If marked objects were in [Spec, αP], they should allow a quantifier-variable reading.

    (115) Ayer no besó su$_{*i}$ padre a ningún$_i$ hijo.   (Spanish)

                                                    [examples adapted from López (2012: 43)]

We cannot adapt the sentence in (115) to Catalan, since Catalan (like Italian) cannot generate VSO sentences, unlike Spanish (and Galician and European Portuguese) (Gallego 2013). For this reason, I turn to examine VOS sentences.

Gallego (2013) points out a syntactic difference regarding VOS order between Western Romance languages (i.e. Galician, European Portuguese and Spanish) and Central-Eastern Romance languages (i.e. Catalan and Italian): Western Romance languages resort to object shift (see (116)), whereas Central-Eastern Romance languages resort to VP fronting (see (117)).

(116) [$_{TP}$ [$_{T'}$ [$_{vP}$ **v V**] T] [$_{vP}$ [**OBJECT** [$_{v'}$ [SUBJECT] [$_{v'}$**[t$_v$][$_{VP}$ [t$_v$] [t$_{OBJECT}$]]]]]]]]   (Spanish)

(117) [$_{vP}$ [$_{VP}$ **[V][OBJECT]**][$_{vP}$ [SUBJECT][$_{v'}$ [v][$_{VP}$ **[V][t$_{OBJECT}$]**]]]]   (Catalan)

                                                          [from Gallego 2013: 424]

Notice that (116) and (117) are similar to the analysis in (114), in which Case-marked objects move above the EA. The structure in (116) predicts that the object c-command the *in situ* subject only in languages that display object-shift-based VOS. On the other hand, VP fronting-based VOS languages will not allow their objects to c-command the subject, since the internal argument is not moving to [Spec, vP]. The following examples in (118)-(119) show that, as predicted, a bound reading is possible in Spanish, but not in Catalan. In fact, the unmarked object in Catalan makes the sentence in (119b) be totally out.

    (118) a. Recogió **Ø cada coche**$_i$ su$_i$ propietario.   (Spanish)

        'Each owner picked his car.'

       b. No regañó **a ningún niño**$_i$ su madre$_i$.

       'Each mother did not scold her child.'

---

[7] See López (2012) for the exceptions with ClRD and p-movement/scrambling.

(119) a. Va recollir **Ø cada cotxe**$_i$ el seu$_i$ propietari.　　　　　(Catalan)

'Each owner picked his car.'

b. *No va renyar **Ø cap nen**$_i$ la seva$_i$ mare.

c. ?No va renyar **a cap nen**$_i$ la seva$_i$ mare.

'Each mother did not scold her child.'

From these data we can conclude, first, that not all objects that undergo a movement spell-out a DOM-marker. Second, the fact that Spanish has more presence of DOM than Catalan could be due to the position of the object in [Spec, vP], which is more productive in Spanish, as seen in (116). Finally, the fact that (119c) (unexpectedly) is more grammatical for those speakers that use DOM in Catalan, may be because they are using the structure in (116) for Spanish instead of the one in (117) for Catalan.

Finally, notice that *a*-marking also appears in secondary predications. Consider sentences (120) and (121). If DOM is omitted, the secondary predication is more difficult to interpret[8]. This happens both in Spanish and Catalan, which indicates that they work similarly.

(120) a. El tigre mordió **Ø** el hombre **enfadado**.　　　　　(Spanish)

'The tiger bit the angry man.'

b. El tigre mordió **al** hombre **enfadado**.

'The tiger bit the man angrily.'

(121) a. Considero **Ø** l'estudiant **intel·ligent**.　　　　　(Catalan)

b. Considero **a** l'estudiant **intel·ligent**.

'I believe that a student is intelligent.'

In secondary predications, the grammatical object of the matrix predicate is not its complement. Adjectives in (120)-(121) cannot assign Case to the object. In addition, these arguments cannot incorporate into the lexical verb because only internal arguments of V can do so (Baker 1988). Since they cannot incorporate, their [uC] feature leads them to move above, making the preposition to spell out.

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[8] Notice, however, that the predicative reading is not omitted in unmarked objects (see (120b)) if the predicative is a PP:

(i) a. María tiene **Ø** un hermano **en la cárcel**.　　(Spanish)

b. María tiene **a** un hermano **en la cárcel**.

'María has a brother in prision.'

This derivation is similar to the structures with Case-marked objects analyzed in this paper: both structures have a complex vP. For this reason, it seems that those objects that had scrambled because they cannot incorporate into the lexical verb (for one reason or another) license their Case with a marker (Ordóñez & Roca 2017), which is the preposition *a* both in Catalan and Spanish.

From these tests we can conclude that marked objects undergo an internal vP movement in front of unmarked objects, which seem to stay *in situ*. The next question to answer is why some objects experience an internal displacement, whereas some others do not. I approach this question in the next and last section of this paper.

4.3. Analysis proposal

In this subsection I will propose an analysis for DOM in Catalan on the basis of the previous tests. I will mainly follow the ideas of López (2012, 2016), Khouja (2015) and Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007).

Following the mainstream syntactic approaches to DOM in the literature (Torrego 1998; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; López 2012), I assume that there are two different positions to assign Case. Given the empirical evidence presented in §4.2., I start from the point that unmarked objects are generated as complements of V and stay *in situ*.

Marked objects are generated as first-Merge dependents of V too, but for reasons I will comment immediately, they must move outside the VP projection. In particular, they merge as specifiers of a projection that I will dub, for the time being, αP, following López (2012). This hypothesis is depicted in (122) with an example. As seen previously, this would explain why marked objects c-command the IOs, but unmarked objects do not (see (130)). In this projection they can receive Case via the operation Agree (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; López 2012).

(122) [$_{vP}$ *nosaltres* [$_{v'}$ v [$_{αP}$ (*a*)-*la nena*$_{[uC]}$ [$_α$ α [$_{VP}$ [*veure*] [~~*la nena*~~]]]]]]

[adapted from López (2012: 33)]

We have also seen that topicality is one of the main DOM-triggering factors in Catalan, even with preference in front of animacy in Balearic Catalan. Modifying Khouja (2015), I propose that marked objects in topicalizations move first to αP to receive Case by Agree and then they move, again, above the vP:

(123) [$_{CP}$ [$_{ExtTopP}$ (*a*)-*la nena* [$_{ExtToP'}$ ExtTop [$_{IP}$ [...] [$_{IntTop}$ (*a*)-*la nena*

[$_{IntTop'}$ IntTop [$_{vP}$ *nosaltres* [$_{v'}$ [v [$_{\alpha P}$ ~~(*a*) *la nena*~~[uC] [$_\alpha$ α [$_{VP}$ [*veure*] [~~*la*~~

~~*nena*~~]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

Why do these objects need to move above? The explanation of López (2012), asummed in this paper, is that some objects have the structure of a KP, as shown in (124). K is the locus of [Case] feature (Bitnner & Hale 1996). In this approach, K has an uvalued Case feature that needs to be checked under Agree.

(124) [$_{KP}$ K[uC] [$_{DP}$ D[uC] [$_{NumP}$ Num[uC] [$_{NP}$ N[uC]]]]]

According to López (2012), KP cannot incorporate into V, which prevents it to receive ACC. KP cannot be incorporated into V because it is a prefix of D. Due to the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984), D cannot incorporate into V across K (see (125)). Then, KP cannot receive Case of v or any other higher Case assigner. Consequently, KP must move to the [Spec, α] to be probed by v and receive Case.

(125) [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ V [$_{KP}$ K[uC] [$_{DP}$ D[uC] [...]]]]]]

Case

It can be discussed whether this movement is independent from the syntactic operation Agree. An alternative proposal would be that the DO generated as Complement of V moves due to an additional semantic factor, for instance, a semantic trait that can only be checked in the position of [Spec, α].

Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), in an attempt to fall into place his analysis in the Agree system (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004), in which T and v have a set of uninterpretable φ-features (person, number, gender) that are unvalued, proposes that in Spanish DOM is driven by the uninterpretable feature [+person], which cannot be licensed in v. Thus, only [person] nominals move to an additional head, which assigns them DAT. However, recall that in Catalan many objects with [+person] feature can optionally bear *a* marking, but not obligatorily, and that some speakers allow inanimate marked objects.

On the contrary, unmarked objects are formed by a DP, a NumP or an NP (López 2012). Due to their structure (in (126)), they can stay *in situ* because their [uC] feature will be valued with Case when V incorporates into v (Baker 1988).

(126) [$_{DP}$ D[uC] [$_{NumP}$ Num[uC] [$_{NP}$[uC]]]]

Based on the field study of this paper (which shows that Catalan and Spanish behave similarly), my hypothesis is that the same objects that are a KP in Spanish, are also a KP in Catalan. Thus, only nonspecific DOs that take narrow scope are DPs/NPs/NumPs and, consequently, occupy the internal position (López 2012). The rest of objects have the structure of KPs and move to αP (which may turn them into marked objects). These objects may or may not be specific, can take narrow or wide scope and are incompatible with *haver* ('there is/are') and *tenir* ('to have') (López 2012). My conjecture is that all DOs in Catalan with these features have the structure of a KP, but only some will spell out the K head with *a* (see below for details).

Recall that I have adopted, until now, the αP projection of López (2012). After explaining the mechanism of the syntactic movement, I want to specify which the projection where KP moves is. I would like to relate this to a question that López leaves open: Why do marked objects receive the same marker as datives when they are displaced above VP?

Khouja (2015), López (2012) and Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) assume that the main mechanism for DOM is the operation Agree. However, there is a main difference between their hypotheses. Khouja (2015) and López (2012) assume that marked objects receive ACC, whereas Rodríguez-Mondoñedo proposes that it is DAT.

I propose to adapt López (2012) analysis and give a label to its αP: DatP[9]. The mechanism would be as follows: the head of DatP assigns DAT to KP objects and is sometimes manifested by the *a*-marker. An example is depicted in (127). Thus, the *a*-marker for direct objects is the same as the regular DAT for indirect objects. In fact, some diachronic studies support this assumption (cf. Pensado 1995), as well as the fact that the most common marker for DOM objects is the dative marker (Bossong 1985; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007).

    (127) Transitive construction:

        [$_{vP}$ *nosaltres* [$_{v'}$ v [$_{\textbf{DatP}}$ (*a*)-*la nena* [$_{Dat'}$ Dat [$_{VP}$ [*veure*] [*la nena*]]]]]]

---

[9] It is interesting to notice that DOM and *leísmo* might be related. Catalonian Spanish shows *leísmo* and Catalan is a restricted DOM-language.

Assuming the hypothesis of DatP, K will get DAT of the DAT head[10], licensed anyway by the syntactic operation Agree. In addition, following López (2012) and Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), we are still talking about structural Case, despite being in front of DAT. This claim has already been proposed in the literature (cf. Franks 1994; Bošković 2006), departing from traditional assumptions.

If *a*-marked objects are the realization of DAT, with ditransitive verbs construction we would be in front of double object constructions with DAT. This is not out of place, since double object constructions with accusative (as in English) and double subject constructions with nominative (as in Japanese and Korean) are well known in the literature (cf. Larson 1998; Kim 2000; Kumashiro & Langacker 2006; Im 2012).

As a consequence of these assumptions, marked direct objects and indirect objects seem to be in the same linearization domain, raising both between the vP and the VP. One prove is, as Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) notices, that *a* sometimes drops in clitic double constructions (see (128)), which may be due to the Distinctness Condition[11] (cf. Richards 2010). Recall from §3.1.1. that it states that "if a linearization statement $\langle \alpha, \alpha \rangle$ is generated, the derivation crashes".

    (128) La jefa le presentó **Ø la nueva empleada a Juan**.

        'The boss introduced Juan the new employee.'

Finally, recall that in the present proposal K is optional. When is then K spelled out? In terms of López (2012), K is a functional category with several features that are activated depending on the context. If the features of one of the items of the context and K coincide, K will be activated. Therefore, DOM depends on language-specific properties of the immediate local environment of K (in Catalan, the DO selected by K and the features of V).

In Standard Catalan, there is an item that always activates the spell out of K: strong pronouns. This goes against Escandell-Vidal (2007, 2009) and Khouja (2015), who claim that DOM is only activated in Catalan when the object has a [+topic] category. To

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[10] In another approach, it could also be considered that DatP is an interventor that makes the DO moving to [Spec, Dat].

[11] The Distinctness Condition has been repeatedly related to the DOM phenomenon. In fact, a different option to our proposal is that the DO moves to [Spec, Dat] to avoid two constituents with the same label in the saim domain. We leave open this option for future research.

cover their data, I propose that it is only in Balearic Catalan in which topicalization is also a compulsory prerequisite to activate K. This may be a case of microparametric variation.
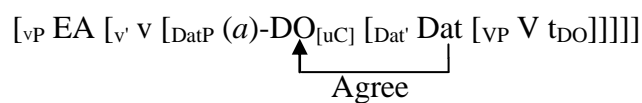
Moreover, the number of features that activate the K head are increasing in Substandard Catalan: animacy, definiteness, specificity, topicalization[12]. Accidentally or not, these properties are mainly the same as in Spanish. Furthermore, we have seen in §3 that speakers can optionally spell out Case in Substandard Catalan with these features. Maybe speakers still have these features as optional because they have not yet been anchored in K, as it had already happened in Spanish.

Thus, it seems that DOM is undergoing a progressive extension in Catalan. It would be worthy to investigate if all languages would experience the same progressive extension, but, due to space constraints, we cannot deal with this question in this paper.

Finally, there are other contexts where K can be activated in Catalan, namely when there is ambiguity between the subject and the object (as shown in the data reviewed in §3.1.1). In those cases, however, the DOM-marker does not depend on the context. It seems that it is just a formal marker to identify how a DO must be interpreted in relation to another DO. As commented before, it may be due to the Distinctness Condition. We leave open this issue for future studies.

All in all, I propose the following analyses:
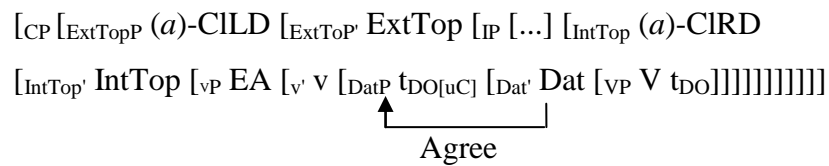
(129) Transitive construction:

$[_{vP}$ EA $[_{v'}$ v $[_{DatP}$ (*a*)-DO$_{[uC]}$ $[_{Dat'}$ Dat $[_{VP}$ V t$_{DO}]]]]]$

Agree

(130) Ditransitive construction:

$[_{vP}$ EA $[_{v'}$ v $[_{DatP}$ (*a*)-DO$_{[uC]}$ $[_{Dat'}$ [IO $[_{Dat'}$ Dat $[_{VP}$ V t$_{DO}]]]]]]]$

Agree

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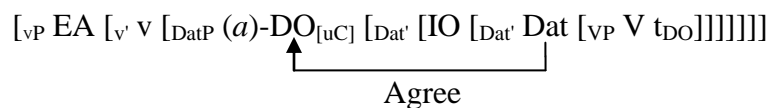
[12] A system that has to check so many features seems unplausible and perhaps a common feature behind them exists (maybe the responsible for receveing DAT instead of ACC). However, a more detailed study is needed.

(131) Topicalization (ClRD and ClLD):

$[_{CP} [_{ExtTopP} (a)\text{-ClLD} [_{ExtToP'} \text{ExtTop} [_{IP} [...] [_{IntTop} (a)\text{-ClRD}$

$[_{IntTop'} \text{IntTop} [_{vP} \text{EA} [_{v'} \text{v} [_{DatP} t_{DO[uC]} [_{Dat'} \text{Dat} [_{VP} \text{V} t_{DO}]]]]]]]]]]]]$

Agree

To sum up, I propose that a DO can occupy two different positions. DP/NumP/NP objects stay *in situ* as Complements of V and they are not marked because they can receive ACC in this position. KP objects, however, need to move above because they cannot incorporate into V. K gets DAT in [Spec, vP] from DAT head, instead of getting ACC in its *in situ* position. So, in some way, we are talking of quirky-like objects: marked objects, instead of receiving the expected ACC, receive DAT due to an uninterpretable [uK] feature. Finally, K will spell out as *a* depending on the context and the features of animacy, definiteness, specificity and topicalization.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have considered the so-called phenomenon Differential Object Marking. The study has shown that Case-marked objects are present both in Standard and Substandard Catalan. DOM in Standard Catalan is only present in contexts where a pronoun, a topicalization or an ambiguity with the subject are involved. These three cases fall into place with previous studies of DOM (Silverstein 1976; Aissen 2003; Escandell-Vidal 2007, 2009; Khouja 2015, among others).

This paper has also discussed whether or not DOM in Catalan is a Spanish-attrition phenomenon. It is true that the distribution of DOM in Substandard Catalan and its semantic consequences are virtually alike Spanish-DOM. Nonetheless, the diachronic data seem to point out that the opposite. Furthermore, from the field study carried out, it can be concluded that Case-marked DOs are used by speakers not so influenced by Spanish as those speakers living in Barcelona (and its surroundings). Then, DOM is not special of the Barcelonese geolect.

I have also argued, based on the questionnaire's results, that DOM in Catalan have achieved almost the end of the Definiteness scale (Aissen 2003), since definite and indefinite DOs had similar results in the questionnaire among all speakers when *a*-marked. Regarding the animacy scale (Aissen 2003), we have seen that a [+animate] feature is a triggering-factor for most of the speakers, although surprisingly some examples with inanimate objects have

been found. For this reason, we can conclude that DOM in Catalan is a phenomenon which is changing towards the end of both Aissen's scales. As a consequence, [±animacy] and [±definiteness] can activate K.

Finally, I have put forward an analysis where direct objects can occupy two positions. Unmarked objects are generated as Complements of V ans stay *in situ* after receiving accusative Case. Marked objects are the result of an internal vP movement to a DatP projection. The motivations of this movement are unclear, although in this paper it has been proposed that they move because of their internal structure as KPs, which cannot incorporate into V. The DatP, moreover, explains why the marker for DOs is the same as the marker for IOs.

Future studies should investigate why some objects are KPs and what makes that only some of them spell out the K head. We have seen that the features [animacy], [specificity], [definiteness] and [topicalization] are inherently related to the K head. However, it also remains open why some features are more sensitive than others when spelling out K. In other words, why do some features make *a*-marking compulsory and some others make it only optional? And why are these features changing with time (i.e. in Catalan, DOM is spreading towards the end of Animacy and Definiteness scales)? More studies on DOM need to be carried out to understand the nature of this phenomenon.

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APPENDIX

A. Questionnaire

|		
1	Veuran a l'actriu a la nova temporada de la sèrie.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
2	En Sheldon Cooper coneix molt bé una cambrera.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
3	Maria, atén la noia que acaba d'entrar!	[1] [2] [3] [4]
4	Ara mateix, escolten amb atenció a una professora.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
5	Si em toca la loteria, viatjaré per tot el món durant un any.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
6	Els cantants saludaran uns fans que els estaran esperant.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
7	Odia tant a les veïnes de dalt que no les saluda.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
8	Li ho donarà demà al matí, quan el vegi.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
9	Entrevistaré a un catedràtic de la universitat.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
10	Han detingut la persona acusada després del judici.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
11	L'àrbitre estava expulsant a la jugadora al minut 20.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
12	Felicitaran uns alumnes que s'havien portat molt bé.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
13	El cotxe necessita ser arreglat pel mecànic que tu i jo coneixem.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
14	Demà presentarem a una noia d'intercanvi.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
15	No destorbis la mare mentre està treballant.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
16	En Ted Mosby estima molt una amiga seva.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
17	Cada matí pentinaven a la seva filla.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
18	Li he dit de venir, però no m'ha contestat.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
19	Els rebels van desobeir la presidenta del país.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
20	Obsequiaran a un client amb una ampolla de cava.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
21	Crec que nominaran un actor desconegut als Oscar.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
22	Dalí va pintar la dona del quadre a una casa de Cadaqués.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
23	Els el trametré quan tingui cinc minuts per fer-ho.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
24	Els artistes fotografiaven a unes girafes durant les vacances.	[1] [2] [3] [4]
25	Mai trobo a les delegades quan les necessito.	[1] [2] [3] [4]

B. Graphics
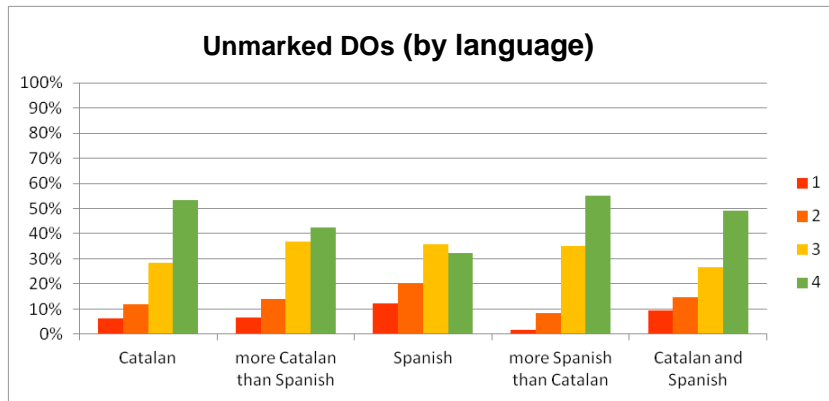
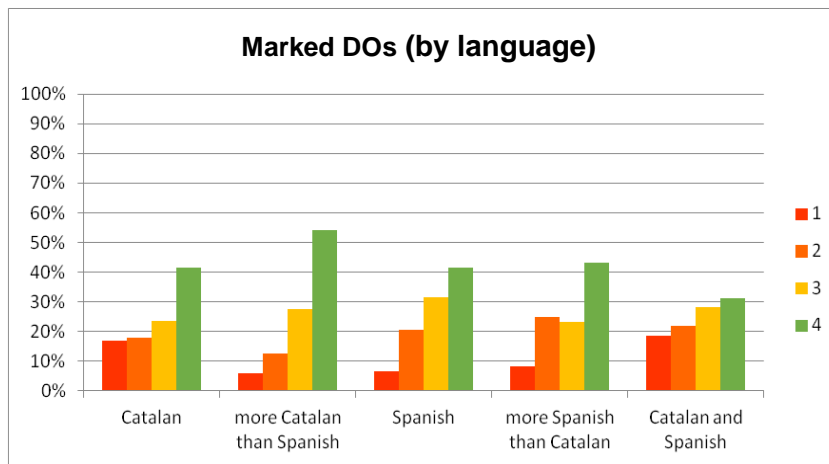Table 3. Results of DOs without DOM by mother tongue(s)

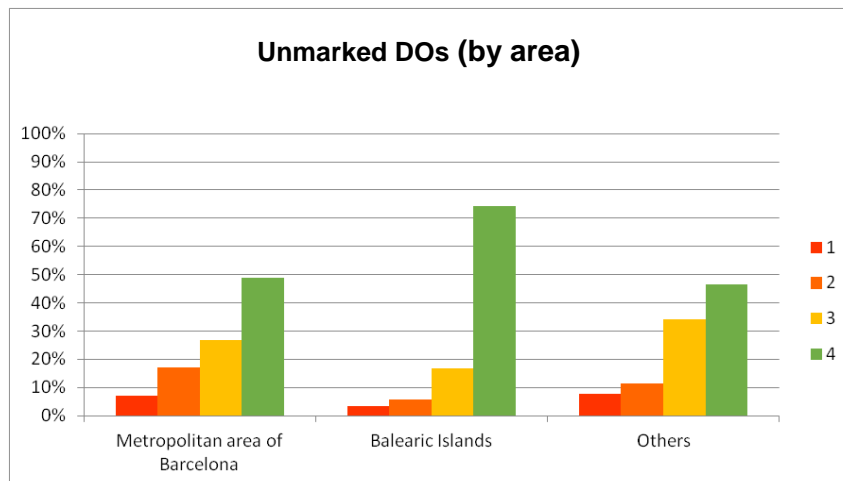Table 4. Results of DOs with DOM by mother tongue(s)

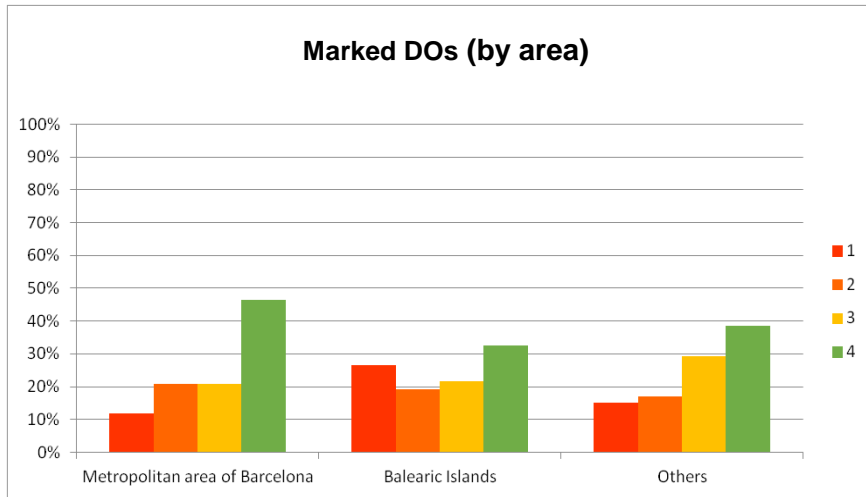Table 5. Results of DOs without DOM by area

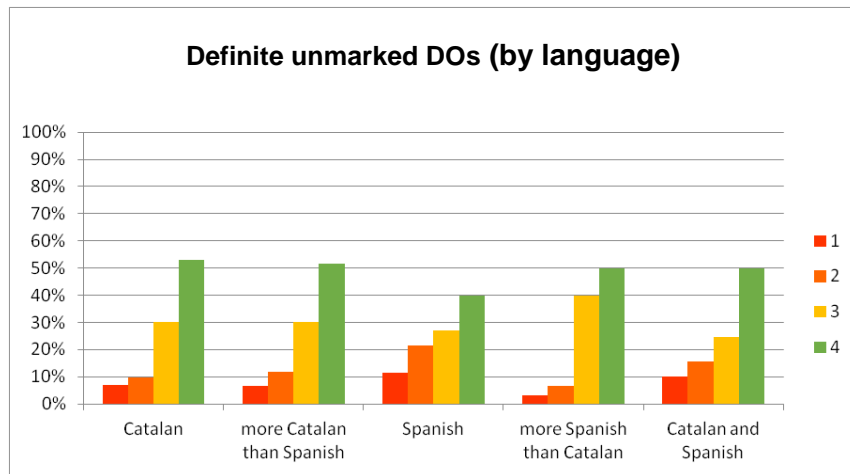Table 6. Results of DOs with DOM by area

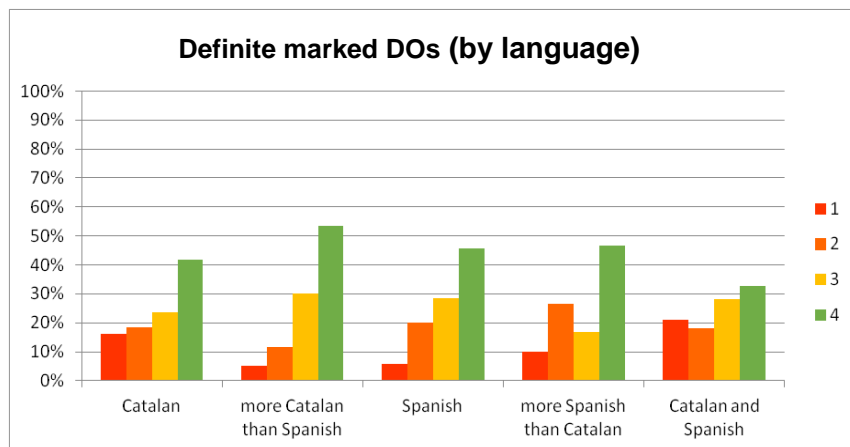Table 7. Results of definite DOs without DOM by mother tongue(s)

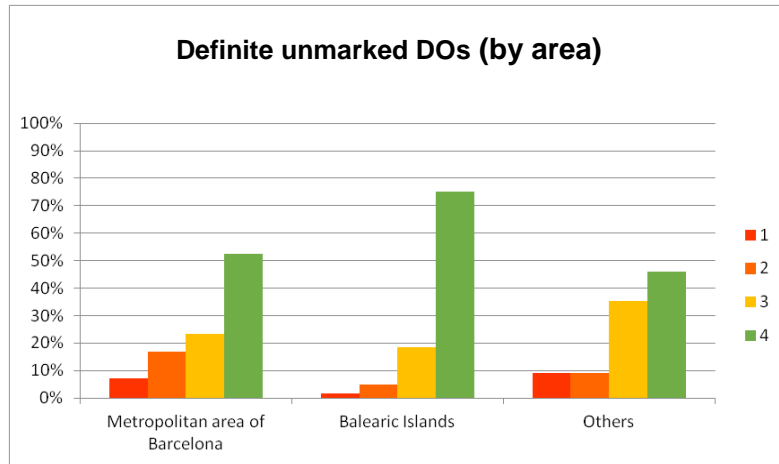Table 8. Results of definite DOs with DOM by mother tongue(s)

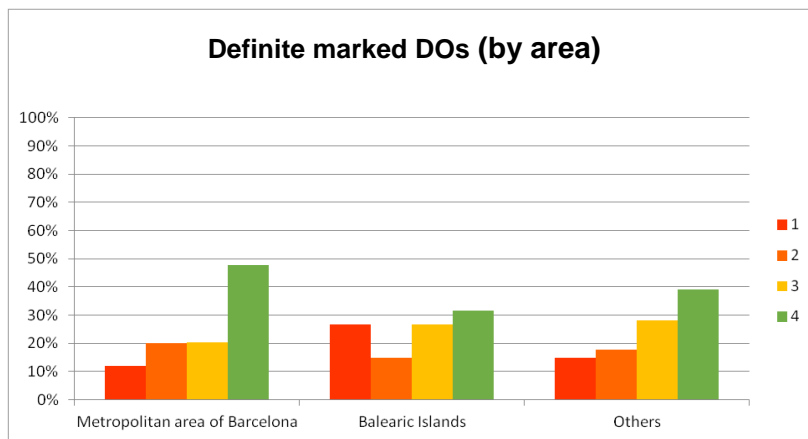Table 9. Results of definite DOs without DOM by area

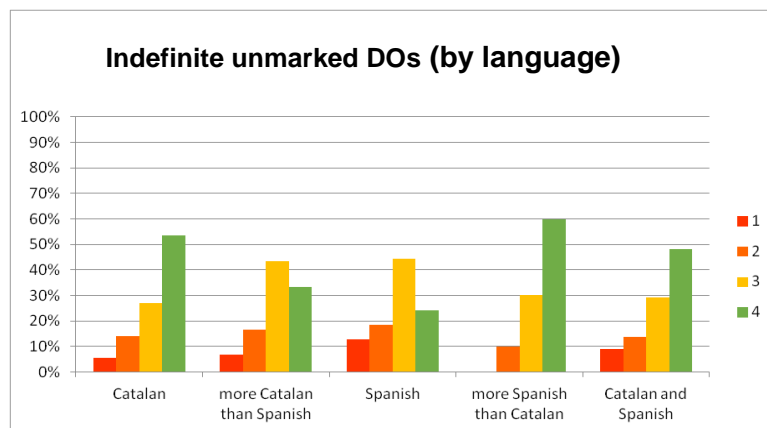Table 10. Results of definite DOs with DOM by area

Table 11. Results of indefinite DOs without DOM by mother tongue(s)
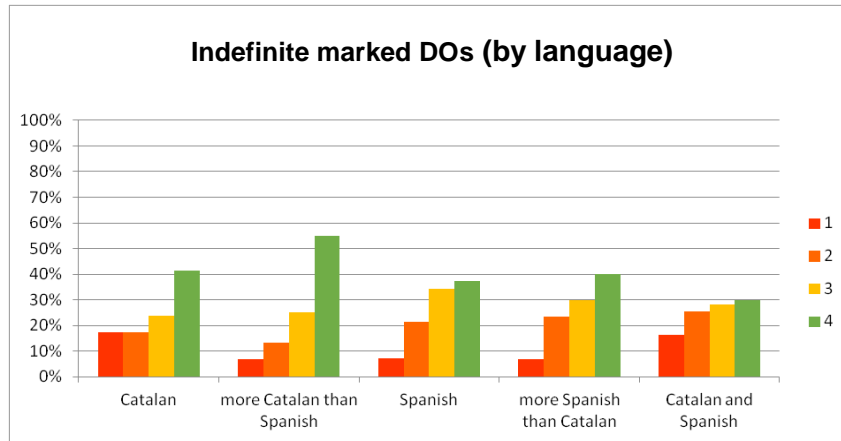
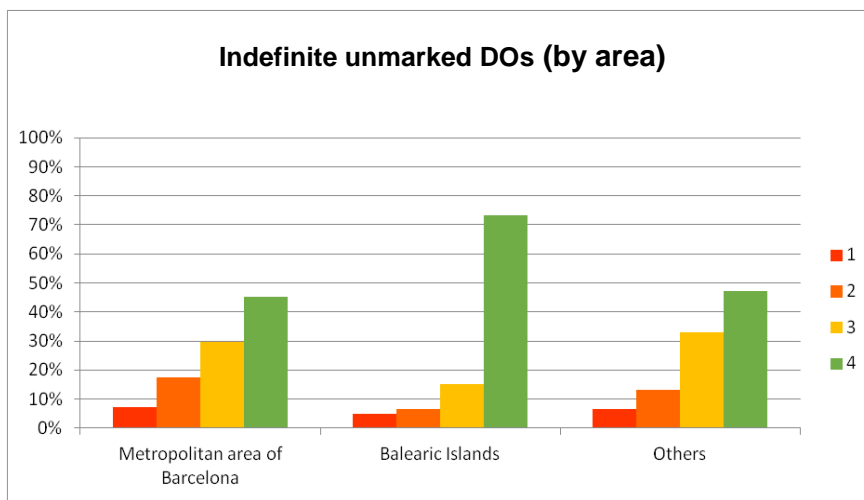Table 12. Results of indefinite DOs with DOM by mother tongue(s)

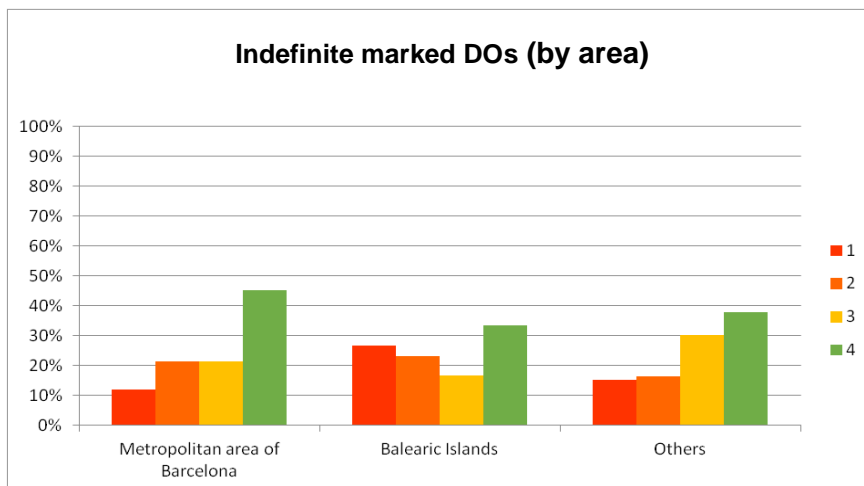Table 13. Results of indefinite DOs without DOM by area

Table 14. Results of indefinite DOs with DOM by area

C. Locality of the participants

Metropolitan area of Barcelona		Balearic Islands		Other Catalan regions	
Barcelonès	45	Eivissa	1	Alt Penedès	2
Baix Llobregat	6	Mallorca	9	Anoia	5
Vallès Occidental	10	Menorca	2	Bages	2
Total	**61**	**Total**	**12**	Baix Camp	4
				Baix Ebre	2
				País Valencià	29
				Gironès	3
				Itàlia	1
				La Garrotxa	1
				La Selva	5
				Maresme	4
				Montsià	1
				Osona	5
				Segrià	2
				Tarragonès	2
				Vallès Oriental	6
				Total	**74**

Table 15. Locality of the participants of the questionnaire

D. Examples from the CCCUB

BENAVARRI

- Aleshores, e..., jo crec que va ser Ortega i Gasset que va **definir a la societat** a, a La rebelión de las, de las masses, em sembla que, amb els ocupats i els preocupats, no?
- Sí, bueno, pues ací **coneixes a tot el món** i:...

TREMP

- És una mica difícil, però jo crec que t'has d'anar, t'has d'anar posant, a poc a poc, a mica a mica, has d'anar **coneixent a la gent**, als- **als diferents grups de pressió**, vull dir, per exemple, aquí un cas que va passar a Lleida, és que el, hi havia un altre polític, que el, no dic noms.
- Però, però també hi ha ja molta gent, per exemple, que es queixa, que, clar, ells sent castellans, que **obliguin als seus fills** a estudiar català, per exemple, a les escoles, hi ha gent que es queixa i, jo, doncs, jo no ho entenc
- Io quan vaig fer el servei militar, **a mi em pacta-, em tractaven** de polaco , però vull dir, això ho, ho dono amb una, ho interpreto com a, com no com a castellanoparlant sinó catalanoparlant, sinó com a...
- Mala educació o bona educació, a nivell de cultura, no?

MORELLA

- Cada u és el seu carrer, no **vol a ningú** d'un altre carrer que vaiga a marejar i els dels altres carrers, com no passa la Marededéu, pues tampoc no se preocupen, això és exclusiu dels carrers que passa la Marededéu.
- El transport **encareix molt a la indústria** i no vol invertir ningú en un poble menut.

LLÍRIA

- No, jo no sóc músic, jo comencí a estudiar música com tot el món, però com la meitat del món me vaig cansar i arribava un moment en què se me fea molt pesat això d'anar al, al solfeig i, i **aguantar al p- al mestre**, que tenia molt mala pata i sempre te xillaven,
- **Contant-me a mi** i tot, clar!
- Pa mosatros **era un a un acte** veritablement important, pos anar a... a... Holanda a fer un concurs.
- Una espécie de honor que nos **donaren al, als del Clarín** en este cas.

VALENCIA

- Bueno, tinguérem que **esquivar a l'altre cotxe** perquè es clavava al mig, no?
- Quan vaig tornar a Roma, **a la gent amiga, dic**: "Mira, ens ha passat això, tu què penses?

LA VILA JOIOSA

- Alguns moviments polítics en què ja estan **encauçant a la gent** per a, per a muntar algun, una revolució.

FELANITX

- Això de de que amb sos dobbers que **a tu te roba** hisenda, se'n van i contracten gent per matar altra gent, i no passa res.

PALMA DE MALLORCA
- Ara, jo veig que allà obrin, i procuren, no ho sé, **captar a sa, a sa gent.**

MÓRA D'EBRE
- Pero: hasta el punt de vista de que s-,del parc, **t'emportis al crio** al càmping i a donar una volta i, i no marxi el videojoc...

L'ALGUER
- **Són a italianismes** e: de ara, reixentes, clar que aquellos no allora magari podem fer riferiment al català estàndard.

SUECA
- Un poble en vint-i-cinc mil habitants, comptant platja i tot, que tinga set o vuit discoteques, i discoteques que **arrastren a molta gent**, ja.

COLLOQUIAL CONVERSATION 1
- El divendres **(es)perant a la mare** i em diu "què, com va tot?".

COLLOQUIAL CONVERSATION 2
- Quina suor el dia del de què vaig fer de padrí del Pere anar casa la Carme a recitar-li el vers que **coneixies a la seva família.**

COLLOQUIAL CONVERSATION 4
- Tant que **l'estimes a la iaia** li has de dir iaia "sí que el vull tastar la crema aquesta que has fet tu".

COLLOQUIAL CONVERSATION 7
- Ja **la conec a la Mariví**.
- Hi vaig anar a **acompanyar a la meva mare**.

CIVIL WEDDING
- I fins i tot va deixar **d'estimar a la noia**.
- Torno a **estimar a la noia**.

CONFERENCE
- La qüestió urbanística **condiciona molt a les persones** si no tenim una, alguna zona verda.
- Am(b) alguna cosa també s'ha de complementar la seva educació i es **busca a les entitats** aviam què és el que pot fer.

POLITICAL MEETING
- Han **respos(t) a la nostra candidata**.
- Ja heu **sentit a la Begoña**, heu **sentit a la Marta**, em **sentireu a mi**.

GUIDED TOUR
- Matta acaba d'arribar a París i quan ja porta dos anys a París decideix anar a **visitar a uns tiets** vells que té a Espanya.

REHEARSAL

- El drama de la vellesa és que només **afecta a la gent jove**.

SERMON

- És incapaç de: ser just o és incapaç de **saludar de bon cor a un veí**.

MASS

- A **uns els maltractaven**, a d'altres els mataven.

INTERVIEW

- I perquè és una manera de veure que com es **valora a la gent**.

TECHNICAL CONVERSATION

- Jo hi vaig (a)cabar de posar en aquest router que només **respongués a les trucades** de tal número, que no respongués a les seves.