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#### ABSTRACT

It is usually assumed that animate direct objects are generally not marked in Brazilian Portuguese. Several diachronic studies have nevertheless concluded that *a*-marking on direct objects, which is homophonous to the dative (just like Differential Object Marking in other Romance varieties), was possible from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and then it was lost. Based on synchronic Brazilian Portuguese data we observe that, in fact, the decay is not complete and there is variation in the use of that *a* before direct objects, the marking being obligatory before [+animate] complements in certain constructions, among which coordination and comparatives. We then situate Brazilian Portuguese within the larger Romance Differential Object Marking picture. Theoretically, we approach the Brazilian Portuguese data by considering an analysis that connects Differential Object Marking to a licensing condition beyond Case: an independent licensing condition will be shown to be necessary for certain classes of direct objects.

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Keywords: differential object marking, internal argument licensing, Brazilian Portuguese.

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Objetos diretos animados normalmente não são diferencialmente marcados em português brasileiro. Vários estudos diacrônicos têm, no entanto, concluído que a marcação por *a* em objetos diretos, que é homófona ao Caso dativo (justamente como ocorre com a Marcação Diferencial do Objeto em outras línguas românicas), era possível entre os séculos XVI e XVIII e, posteriormente, foi perdida. Baseando-nos em dados sincrônicos do português brasileiro, neste trabalho observamos que, na realidade, a perda não foi completa e, além disso, há variação no uso de *a* com objetos diretos, a marca sendo obrigatória antes de complementos [+animado] em certas construções, entre as quais figuram as coordenações e comparativas. Assim, situamos o português brasileiro no quadro maior de Marcação Diferencial do Objeto das línguas românicas. Nossa proposta teórica enfoca os dados do português brasileiro considerando uma análise que atrela a Marcação Diferencial do Objeto a uma condição de licenciamento que vai além de Caso: mostramos que uma condição de licenciamento independente é necessária para certas classes de objeto.

Palavras-chave: Marcação Diferencial do Objeto, licenciamento de argumento interno, português brasileiro.

## 1. Introduction

In some languages, certain direct objects, the ones said to stand high in referential hierarchies (animate, specific, definite)<sup>1</sup>, receive special marking. Within Romance, Spanish and Romanian show a Differential Object Marking (henceforth, DOM) strategy of this type, animacy being the main regulating factor. Spanish uses the prepositional marker *a* (1), which is homophonous with the dative, while in Romanian the preposition *pe*, homophonous with a locative marker ('on'), is necessary (2):

- (1)
- a. He            visto    \*(a)            tu    padre.        [Spanish]  
         have.1SG<sup>2</sup> seen    DAT=DOM    your   father  
         'I saw your father.'

1 See especially the hierarchies known under the name of scales (AISSEN, 2003, p. 437, a.o.):

- (a) **Animacy/person:** 1/2 > 3 > proper name > human > animate > inanimate  
(b) **Definiteness/specificity:** personal pronoun > proper name > definite > specific indefinite > non specific

2 Abbreviations: ACC = accusative, AUX = auxiliary, CL = clitic, DAT = dative, DEF = definite, DOM = differential object marking, M = masculine, PL = plural, N = neuter, SG = singular.

- b. He visto (\*a) tu coche.  
 have.1SG seen DAT=DOM your car  
 ‘I saw your car.’

(2)

- a. (L)<sup>3</sup>-am văzut \*(pe) tatăl tău. [Romanian]  
 CL.3SG.M.ACC-have.1SG seen DOM father.DEF your  
 ‘I have seen your father.’
- b. Am văzut (\*pe) mașina ta.  
 have.1SG seen DOM car.DEF your  
 ‘I have seen your car.’

In other Romance languages, such as European and Brazilian Portuguese, however, animate direct objects are not generally marked, as seen in the sentences in (3) from Brazilian Portuguese (BP):

(3)

- a. Pedro viu (\*a)o menino. [Brazilian Portuguese]  
 Pedro saw DOM-the boy.  
 ‘Pedro saw the boy.’
- b. Pedro viu o carro.  
 Pedro saw the car.  
 ‘Pedro saw the car.’

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However, diachronic studies (RAMOS, 1992; GIBRAIL, 2003; PIRES, 2017, a.o.) have shown that direct objects marked by *a* were common in (Brazilian) Portuguese from the 16th to the 18th century in certain contexts. An example is provided in (4); note that such marking has weakened through time:

- (4) ...e o pirata, depois de render ao capitão... [Portuguese]  
 and the pirate after of subdue DOM-THE captain  
 ‘and the pirate, after subduing the captain...’ (16th c.)

Interestingly, what has been less discussed is that Brazilian Portuguese still exhibits some contexts where *a*-marking is necessary, as in (5). Note that this sentence is possible without the *a* marker, but it has a different meaning (6):

- (5) Eu vi o menino e ao professor também. [Brazilian Portuguese]  
 I saw the boy and DOM-the teacher too  
 ‘I saw the boy and (I saw) the teacher too.’

- (6) Eu vi o menino e o professor também.  
 I saw the boy and the teacher too  
 ‘I saw the boy and the teacher did too.’

<sup>3</sup> Romanian is one of the languages where (certain classes of) differentially marked objects can also be clitic-doubled, using the accusative form of the clitic.

In this paper, we will focus on DOM in BP. Our interest is two-fold: one of our main goals is empirical, more specifically to present a taxonomy of DOM contexts that have been preserved, and how they fit into the diachrony of differential marking in the language. This will also allow us to better situate BP within the larger Romance DOM picture. Our second goal is theoretical: we will support an analysis that connects DOM to a licensing condition beyond Case. More specifically, we will discuss evidence against the connection of DOM *a*-marking to Dative Case morphology and we will propose an independent licensing condition for certain classes of direct objects.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In Section 2, we present a diachronic picture of DOM in BP. In section 3, we evaluate the (syntactic) connection between DOM and dative case and we put forward numerous counterexamples. In section 4, we present the basics of an analysis that equates the differential morphology to an independent licensing condition and show that it gives better results for BP. Section 5 contains the conclusion.

## 2. DOM in Brazilian Portuguese: diachronic studies

Within a generative framework, the first study on the ‘prepositional accusative’ in BP is Ramos (1992). The author follows Chomsky (1989) and assumes structural Case is checked by Agr-O. She then proposes that *a* is a last-resort Case mechanism, occurring in contexts where canonical accusative Case is not available, for example, in VS word order, and in the presence of an accusative clitic. With the loss of both contexts, BP, in Ramos’s account, also lost accusative *a*-marking. Her data demonstrate, interestingly, that *a*-marking of accusatives appeared most frequently with proper names and forms of address, and she shows that *a*-marking in these contexts decline in frequency over time.

Another diachronic study about the phenomenon is Gibrail (2003). The author focuses on European Portuguese, through a survey of the Tycho Brahe Corpus (GALVES; ANDRADE; FARIA, 2017) from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Her results show that *a*-marked direct objects are most frequently [+specific], and she notices that in certain contexts this morphology seems to be obligatory: (i) word orders VSO, VOS and OV(S); (ii) proper names with no determiners; (iii) proper names preceded by the nobility title *Dom*; (iii) forms of address; (iv) the DPs *Deus* ‘God’ and *Cristo* ‘Christ’; and (v) presence of the modifier *todos* ‘everyone’. Her results also show that *a*-marking on the object was most frequent during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, when it occurred in a wider range of contexts.

Döhla (2014) investigates Old Portuguese and points out various syntactic contexts that would trigger *a*-marking: the presence of parallelism, that is, contexts where two direct objects were marked simultaneously (7), topicalization (8), and the VSO order (9):

- (7) ...tendes em vossa ajuda muy certos a mym e  
 have.2PL in your help very certain to me and  
**ao** Conde d'Ourem... [Old Portuguese]  
 DOM-the Conde d'Ourem  
 'You have me and Conde d'Ourem for your help for sure'.  
 (*D. Alfonso V*, 245; DELILLE, 1970, p. 36, apud DÖHLA, 2014, p. 274)
- (8) ...**aos** proues e mjnguados sostinha. [Old Portuguese]  
 DOM-the.PL poor.PL and needy sustained  
 '... and (he) sustained the poor and the needy'.  
 (*Sete Reis II*, 4; DELILLE, 1970, p. 39, apud DÖHLA, 2014, p. 274)
- (9) ...amando mais as maes **a** seos filhos... [Old Portuguese]  
 loving more the.PL mothers DOM their children  
 '...the mothers loving more their children'.  
 (*Jeronimo*; DELILLE, 1970, p. 42, apud DÖHLA, 2014, p. 275)

The author hypothesizes that 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese was influenced by Spanish since that was the period when the two crowns were unified (1580-1640) in the *União Ibérica* 'Iberian Union'. This hypothesis was further examined by Pires (2017), who investigated the Corpus Post Scriptum (CLUL, 2014) along with Tycho Brahe (16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries). The author shows that, despite the arguable influence of Spanish on Portuguese, the *a*-marking contexts do not coincide in the two languages. In Portuguese, *a*-marking only appears with certain classes of nouns (proper names and forms of address), not with animates in general, and not all the time. Given the loss of *a*-marking even with these nouns, her conclusion is that DOM was never obligatory in Portuguese as it still is for Spanish. Therefore, the question remains: why did Old Portuguese and BP allow/require *a*-marking in some contexts but not in others? In the next section, we will discuss some recent proposals for DOM and its relation to Case morphology.

### 3. DOM and loss of Case morphology

Ramos' (1992) study presented in the previous section has connected the decay of DOM to the decay of dative morphology, given the homophony of the two markers. As we show in more detail below, this connection could be supported by the observation that the use of the preposition *a* in dative contexts has decreased in BP (BERLINCK, 1997; OLIVEIRA, 2004; TORRES MORAIS; SALLES, 2010; a.o.).

Dative morphology as a strategy to signal differential marking on the object is very common cross-linguistically (BOSSONG, 1991; MANZINI; FRANCO, 2016; a.o.); it is thus not implausible to assume that the two phenomena, i.e., the same (dative) morpheme appearing as a marker of both indirect objects and DOM, have a



Another line of syntactic accounts connects dative morphology and the differential marking to the same syntactic position. These analyses take the objects which show differential morphology to be interpreted in a higher position, as a result of raising. Such objects contain an uninterpretable Case feature which can only be valued in a locus outside V. For example, López (2012) assumes that differentially marked animates occupy a position between V and  $\nu$ , in the specifier of a functional projection ( $\alpha$ ) which collapses applicative and aspectual features. The same position is targeted by indirect objects which take dative morphology. A schematic representation is in (14) below.

Syntactic accounts for the homomorphism are, however, not without problems. On the one hand, in many languages datives and differentially marked objects are subject to distinct syntactic constraints and do not pass the same structural diagnostics (see especially the discussion in BÁRÁNY, 2018; a.o.). On the other hand, raising of differentially marked objects is difficult to diagnose in many languages (among which BP). For these reasons, another research stream has investigated a second logical path, namely that the homomorphism between these two classes indicates mere surface opacity.

Generally, in the morphological accounts, the DOM – DAT homophony is seen as deriving from these categories being specified with case features, as opposed to the zero-marked/other accusatives. Under the general idea that cases are not atomic entities, but rather decompose into more primitive, hierarchically organized features (BLAKE, 2001; CAHA, 2009; HARÐARSON, 2016; a.o), syncretism boils down to underspecification in a model like Distributed Morphology (see KEINE, 2010, for DOM in DM; a.o.).

For example, in an analysis addressing the DOM-DAT homomorphism, Bárány (2018) assumes the Hierarchy of case features in (11), where ACC and DAT are contiguous, but DAT is more specified than ACC, as in (12); it shares some features with ACC, but also has distinct features (represented here with highly abstract labels like A, B, C):

(11) NOM > ACC > DAT > GEN > LOC > ABL/INS > .... (HARÐARSON, 2016)

(12) Case features: ACC = [A, B] DAT = [A, B, C] (BÁRÁNY, 2018, ex. 42)

A possibility is for each case marker to be spelled-out by distinct rules, as in (13)a, resulting in distinct case morphology on the surface. Syncretism implies that both cases are spelled-out by the *same* spell-out rule, which makes the structural differences between them opaque on the surface. Crucially, this rule does not prevent the cases from having a *distinct syntactic* behavior.

(13)

a. Spell-out rules for distinct case markers

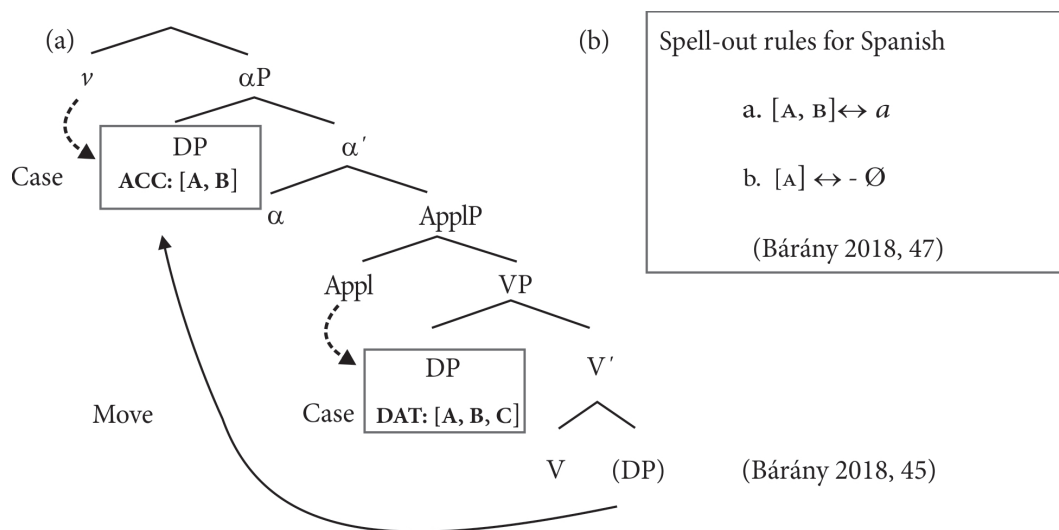
[A, B]  $\leftrightarrow$  /-w/      [A, B, C]  $\leftrightarrow$  /-x/



b. Syncretic spell-out rule  
 $[A, B] \leftrightarrow /-y/$  (BÁRÁNY, 2018, 43/44)

Bárány (2018) follows López (2012) in the assumption that DOM is assigned accusative case (abstractly labeled  $[A, B]$ ) when the object raises to a position above VP, namely to the specifier of  $\alpha$ , as we mentioned above. Non-DOM arguments are left caseless, as they (pseudo-) incorporate into V. IOs, on the other hand, are assigned dative case (abstractly labeled  $[A, B, C]$ ) by Appl. As ACC and DAT are the only internal argument categories that carry case features, a single spell-out rule applies to both, as illustrated in (14)b:

(14) Bárány (2018) – a morphological account for the DOM-DAT homomorphism



Keine (2010) and Keine and Müller (2008), on the other hand, have a slightly different morphological take on DOM-DAT syncretism. They see both non-differentially marked objects and DOM as structural accusatives, having been assigned Case. The surface difference results from DOM case morphology being spelled-out, while an impoverishment rule deletes the accusative case features on the non-DOM objects. Thus, the latter are predicted to be spelled out with morphology homophonous to the nominative.

3.1 DOM and the dative case

The theoretical observations presented above support a connection between differential object marking and the morphology of the dative. Thus, it comes as no surprise that this link has also been maintained for BP. Some authors also propose that this relation holds in diachrony as well. One salient hypothesis is that the decay of DOM is related to the general loss of the dative preposition *a*. This idea is justified by the observation that in BP there was a replacement of this preposition in ditransitive structures by other prepositions such as *de* ‘of’ and *para* ‘to’ (BERLINCK, 1997; OLIVEIRA, 2004). Some examples are illustrated in (15):

(15)

- a. Leo comprou o livro ao Rui > do Rui. [Brazilian Portuguese]  
Leo bought the book to-the Rui of-the Rui  
'Leo bought the book from Rui.'
- b. O Rui deu o livro ao Ivo > para o Ivo.  
the Rui gave the book to-the Ivo to the Ivo  
'Rui gave the book to Ivo.'

(TORRES MORAIS; SALLES, 2010, ex. 8 a,b)

Therefore, it seems that dative *a* has lost its place in BP, and that could be the reason why DOM has also decreased in frequency and contexts. However, this correlation faces two problems:

(i) the preposition *a* has not been completely lost in BP. Calindro (2015) finds 80% of *a* vs. *para* with all kinds of dative verbs (except with verbs of creation) in all periods of the 20th century;

(ii) as seen in the introduction, DO *a*-marking is still possible (or optional) in some restricted contexts. Most importantly, this DO *a* cannot be replaced by a different preposition as was the case for the dative preposition. We discuss some of these contexts below in subsection 3.2.

### 3.2 Obligatory differential object marking in BP

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Surprisingly under a hypothesis that connects DOM and dative case in BP, in BP there are several contexts where DOM has been maintained and, in fact, is obligatory. One important context is coordination structures. DOM *a* is necessary in coordination structures where there is a clitic in the first conjunct and an animate in the second conjunct. See the contrast in (16):

(16)

- a. Eu o vi e \*(a)o irmão também<sup>6,7</sup>. [Brazilian Portuguese]  
I CL.3.SG.ACC saw and DOM-the brother too  
'I saw him and I saw his brother too.' (RAMOS, 1992)
- b. \*Eu o vi e ao caderno também.  
I CL.3.SG.ACC saw and DOM-the notebook too  
'I saw the book and I saw the notebook too.'

Moreover, under coordination, the presence of *a*-marking before the second animate DP, as in (5)-(6) above, repeated in (17), induces a coordination of objects, whereas its absence induces a coordination of subjects. Both structures, however, involve ellipsis, as we discuss later in the paper. Note that in (17)b, DOM is optional on the first conjunct, but obligatory on the second conjunct.

<sup>6</sup> Note that the clitic can only be interpreted as animate in this example due to the context. Structures with inanimate clitics on the first conjunct are grammatical with animate DPs on the second conjunct only if the latter have DOM, as expected.

<sup>7</sup> These examples are also fine without *também*.

- (17)
- a. Eu vi o menino e o professor também. [Brazilian Portuguese]  
 I saw the boy and the teacher too  
 'I saw the boy and the teacher did <see the boy> too.'
  - b. Eu vi (a) o menino e \*(a)o professor também.  
 I saw DOM-the boy and DOM-the teacher too  
 'I saw the boy and <I did see> the teacher too.'

Another context where DOM is necessary is comparatives: the unmarked object in (18)a means that Pedro loves Rita as a woman loves Rita, whereas the *a*-marked object in (18)b allows the comparative reading of the object in which Pedro loves Rita in the same way that he loves a woman:

- (18)
- a. Pedro ama Rita como uma mulher. [Brazilian Portuguese]  
 Pedro loves Rita as a woman  
 'Pedro loves Rita as a woman does <love Rita>.'
  - b. Pedro ama Rita como a uma mulher.  
 Pedro loves Rita as DOM a woman  
 'Pedro loves Rita as <he loves> a woman.'

Additionally, and interestingly, DOM *a* is also seen before animate quantifiers. The contrast in (19) is relevant:

- (19)
- a. Ele visitou todos. (todos = [ $\pm$  animate]) [Brazilian Portuguese]  
 he visited all  
 'He visited everyone/everything.'
  - b. Ele visitou a todos. (todos = [+animate])  
 he visited DOM all  
 'He visited everyone.'
  - c. Ele viu (a) alguns homens/\*a algumas escolas  
 he saw DOM some men DOM some schools  
 'He saw some men/ some schools.'

BP traditional grammars prescribe that some verbs as *ajudar* 'help', *obedecer* 'obey', *satisfazer* 'satisfy' should have an *a*-marked complement. However, the real picture for BP is that the language illustrates variation in the use of *a* in that context, as shown in (20):

- (20)
- a. O Pedro ajudou (a)o amigo. [Brazilian Portuguese]  
 the Pedro helped DOM-the friend  
 'Pedro helped his friend.'

- b. A explicação satisfez (a)o Pedro  
 the explanation satisfied DOM-the Pedro  
 ‘The explanation satisfied Pedro.’

Interestingly, the only case where *a* is possible is before [+animate]. The sentence in (21) is ungrammatical with *a*. We summarize these contexts in Table 1 below.

- (21) O julgamento satisfez (\*a)os requisitos da lei. [Brazilian Portuguese]  
 the trial satisfied DOM-the requirements of-the law  
 ‘The trial was in accordance to the law requirements.’

<i>DOM in BP</i>	
Obligatory contexts	Optional contexts
Coordinate structures with clitics in the first conjunct and animate DPs in the second conjunct, as in (16)a	Animate DP objects of certain verbs, as in (20)
Coordinate structures with animate objects in the second conjunct and full DP in the first conjunct, as in (17)b	Animate objects with existential quantifiers, as in (19)c
Comparatives with animate DPs on the pivot, as in (18)b	
Animate objects containing universal quantifiers, as in (19)b	

Table 1: DOM contexts in BP

Source: own elaboration.

The data support two important conclusions: i) there are contexts where the differential marker has been preserved and is obligatory; ii) these contexts are robust and only allow *a*, even if the dative marker, which used to have a homophonous form, has been replaced by distinct morphology. Another interesting observation is that these contexts appear to be preferred DOM configurations in many other languages. For example, Irimia (2018) has shown that in several other Romance languages the pivot of comparatives requires differential object marking, even in the absence of otherwise canonical features. These observations also indicate that the BP contexts are not a simple quirk of the languages; they thus require detailed investigation.

Another important conclusion is that if *a*-marking has been lost for accusatives in BP, the process cannot be related to a general loss of *a* in BP. In other words, dative *a* was replaced by another preposition (*para* ‘to’), but this was not the case of differential object marking *a*. In the (residual) cases of DOM in BP seen above, the only possible mark is *a*.

Therefore, it is safe to say that the connection DOM-DAT does not hold, at least at a syntactic level. In view of the facts we saw above, we want to propose that BP has DOM, but this phenomenon occurs much more restrictively than in more robust DOM languages like Spanish and Romanian. However, when it comes to the taxonomy of contexts, BP shows more complexity than other Romance varieties where DOM has only been preserved with objects overtly displaced under topicalization. Given the

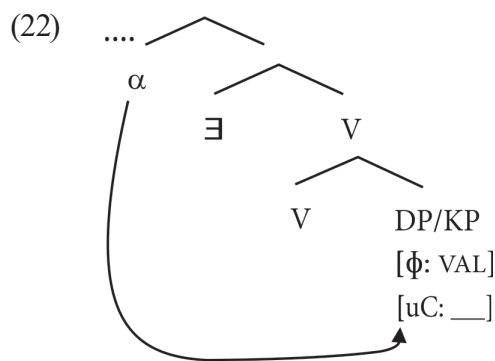
problems related to the DOM-DAT connection, in the next section we will present another hypothesis that will be able to capture the BP data.

#### 4. An independent licensing condition

We propose an analysis which is based on the idea of licensing. But, crucially, we build on this idea and show that differential object marking involves a licensing operation beyond Case (see also CORNILESCU; TIGĂU, 2017; IRIMIA; CYRINO, 2017; the literature on DOM as topicalization, a.o.). More precisely, differentially marked objects contain an additional feature ([+PERSON]; see also RODRÍGUEZ-MONDOÑEDO, 2007, a.o.) which requires an additional licensing operation (an additional application of an Agree operation) in order to be licensed. This additional [+PERSON] specification, as well as the additional licensing operation, can be connected not only to phi-features, but also to  $\delta$  (discourse, MIYAGAWA, 2010, 2017) features. The structure of this section is as follows. In subsection 4.1, we provide some background on licensing accounts for differential object marking. In subsection 4.2, we present accounts which connect differential marking to a [+PERSON] specification. In subsection 4.3, we introduce the additional licensing mechanism. And, in subsection 4.4, we show how our analysis captures the contexts where DOM is still obligatory in BP.

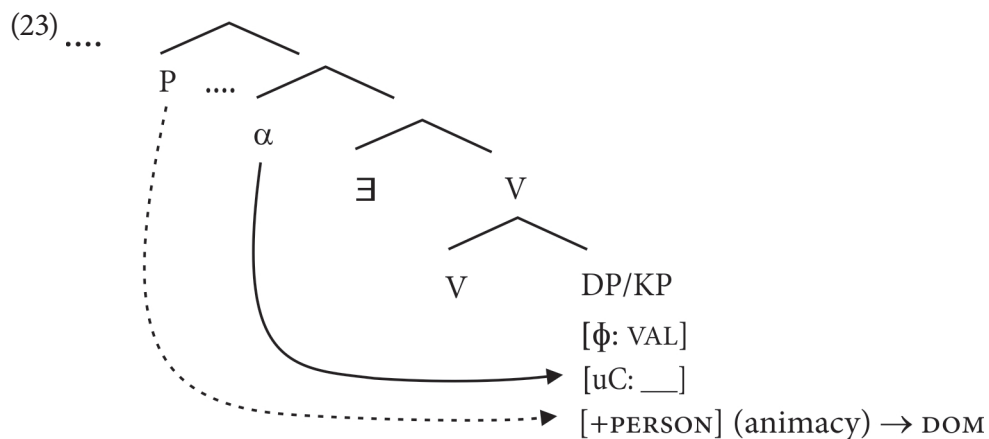
##### 4.1 DOM and licensing

Under recent accounts, DOM is equated with structural Case/licensing. Leaving aside minor differences between the various implementations, the general idea is that there is a major split in the syntactic nature of direct objects. On the one hand, there are objects that cannot show DOM; these objects are assumed to undergo (pseudo)-incorporation, as predicates (LÓPEZ, 2012; ORMAZABAL; ROMERO, 2007, 2013a, 2013b; KALIN, 2018; LEVIN, 2019; a.o.). On the other hand, differentially marked objects contain uninterpretable features which translate into a Case specification. The result of the licensing of this feature is the overt differential object marking morphology, as in (22).



*Objects undergoing licensing*

Our proposal is that differential object marking does not simply signal the difference between unlicensed and licensed DPs. When it comes to licensing, there is a three-way split. Besides objects that undergo incorporation and those specified with [uC] that require licensing, there are also objects which have an additional [+PERSON] feature, independent of [uC]. This [+PERSON] feature requires an independent licensing operation, as we discuss in more detail below. We show that the result of this operation is the prepositional differential object marking (23). This implies that there can be objects that undergo licensing but do not receive differential object marking.



## 4.2 Person and animacy

190 In order to implement our account, we build on a rich line of research which has investigated the grammatical reflexes of animacy. An important conclusion has been reached in several studies, namely that the marking animates receive in languages like BP is not a simple morphological means, but has a deeper syntactic nature. In accounts put forward by Rodriguez-Mondoñedo (2007), Cornilescu (2010), Adger and Harbour (2007), Nevins (2007), Richards (2008), Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2018), a.o., animacy is seen as a reflex of a [+PERSON]<sup>8</sup> feature. We include a featural geometry, adapted after Harley and Ritter (2002) and Nevins (2007)<sup>9</sup>.

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

Table 2: Person and animacy

Source: building on HARLEY; RITTER, 2002; NEVINS, 2007.

<sup>8</sup> We use a feature notation [+/-PERSON] for convenience. Not all accounts mentioned above assume a binary specification for this feature.

<sup>9</sup> As predicted by this analysis, animate pronouns also require DOM in the obligatory contexts we are discussing here. See (i), for example:

(i) Eu a vi e \*(a) ele também.  
 I CL.3.SG.FEM.ACC saw and DOM him too  
 'I saw her and (I saw) him too.'

The presence of a [+PERSON] feature on animate objects is also motivated by various grammatical processes, interactions and splits triggered by differentially marked objects. As has been discussed by Ormazabal and Romero (2007), clitics specified for animacy enter into PCC-type interactions. The data the two authors discuss come from Spanish *leísta* varieties, where direct object clitics that are animate must take dative morphology. Direct object clitics that are not restricted to animacy preserve regular accusative morphology, as seen in the contrast in (24) below:

- (24)
- a. Lo vi.  
 CL.3ACC<sub>[-Animate]</sub> saw  
 'I saw it.'
- b. Le vi. [*leísta* Spanish]  
 CL.3DAT=DOM<sub>[+Animate]</sub> saw  
 'I saw him.'

The important observation is that the animate direct object clitics with dative morphology cannot co-occur with an indirect object clitic. This is seen in the two examples below. The sentence in (25)a is grammatical, as it contains an accusative direct object clitic and a dative indirect object clitic. The example in (25) b, on the other hand, is ungrammatical. It contains an animate direct object clitic which takes dative morphology and which cannot co-occur with an indirect object clitic. As Ormazabal and Romero (2007) discuss, these patterns are reminiscent of typical P(erson) C(ase) C(onstraint) contexts, like those in (25)c. Here, a first person direct object clitic cannot co-occur with a third person IO clitic.

- (25)
- a. Te lo di. [*leísta* Spanish]  
 CL.2DAT CL.3ACC<sub>[-Animate]</sub> gave-1SG  
 'I gave it to you.'
- b. \*Te le di.  
 CL.2DAT CL.3DAT=DOM<sub>[+Animate]</sub> gave-1SG  
 Intended: 'I gave him to you.' (ORMAZABAL; ROMERO, 2007, EX. 15/16)
- c. \*Le me dio.  
 CL.3DAT CL.1ACC gave-3SG  
 Intended: 'He gave me to him.'

Ormazabal and Romero (2007) have analyzed these effects as arising from an Object Agreement Constraint, specified as in (26). Their hypothesis is that both the animate direct object (showing dative differential morphology), as well as the indirect object require licensing. However, only one licensing operation is possible, and thus differential marking precludes the presence of the indirect object clitic.



(26) *Object Agreement Constraint* (OAC – ORMAZABAL; ROMERO, 2007, ex. 50)

If the verbal complex encodes object agreement, no other argument can be licensed through verbal agreement.

Irimia (2018), among others, has discussed some problematic examples with respect to the OAC. For example, in several Romance varieties, direct objects show overt object agreement. However, this does not block the presence of an indirect object clitic (27)b. Two examples are presented below from Neapolitan, a Southern Italy Romance variety (see also LEDGEWAY, 2010, or LOPORCARO, 1998, p. 68-69). As we can see here, the direct object triggers object agreement irrespective of animacy. Agreement varies in gender and number under the process known as metaphony. Also note that in Neapolitan, animate DP objects can or must take differential marking, which is homophonous with the dative:

(27) Neapolitan direct object agreement

- a. (\*tʃə) (l')addʒə \*kwottə/ √ kottə (a) l'aragostə  
CL.3.SG.DAT CL.3.F.SG.ACC-have.1 cooked.M.SG/F.SG DOM the.F.SG -lobster  
'I have cooked the lobster.'
- b. (tʃə) addʒə \*kwottə/ √ kottə a<sup>10</sup> pastə  
CL.3.SG.DAT have.1 cooked.M.SG/F.SG the.F.SG pasta  
'I have cooked the pasta (for him).'

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Thus, what is relevant for our purposes is that object agreement by itself does not block the presence of an indirect object clitic. Objects that are differentially marked can however result in ungrammaticality if a dative clitic is added, as in (27) a. This latter point brings us to another fact. As Ormazabal and Romero (2007) themselves notice, OAC would also predict PCC-type interactions with differentially marked full DPs. However, the Spanish data are not so simple. Differentially marked full DPs trigger PCC-type interactions only when the structure also contains a full DP indirect object which is also dative clitic doubled. Thus, for the structure in (28) a to be grammatical, the differential marker must be removed. Neither the presence of a non-clitic doubled indirect object nor the presence of an indirect object dative clitic prohibit co-occurrence with the differentially marked full DPs. We see this in the grammatical sentence in (28)b, which contains a differentially marked full DP and an indirect object dative clitic. OAC cannot easily explain the contrast between examples like (28)a and (28)b or the Neapolitan data. The BP facts are also problematic.

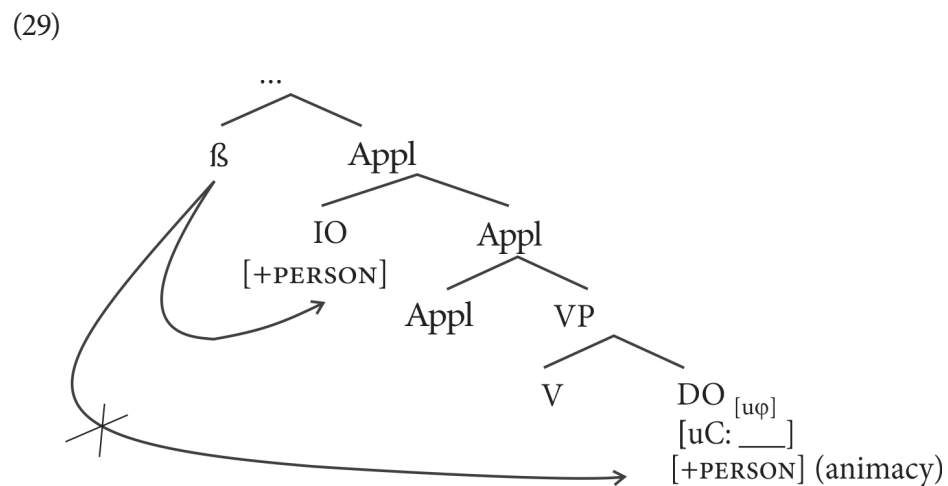
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10 The differential marker and the feminine definite article are homophonous in Neapolitan nominal roots that start with a consonant.



- (28)
- a. Le            enviaron    (\*a)    todos los            enfermos    a  
                  CL.DAT.SG sent.3.PL DOM all        DEF.M.PL sick people to  
                  la            doctora        van    Tan.  
                  DEF.F.SG doctor.F.SG van    Tan  
                  ‘They sent all the sick people to doctor van Tan.’
- b. Le            enviaron    a            todos los            enfermos.  
                  CL.DAT.SG sent.3.PL DOM all        DEF.M.PL sick people  
                  ‘They sent him/her all the sick people.’ [Spanish; ORMAZABAL;  
                  ROMERO, 2013a]

We propose instead that these data can be better captured under the assumption that DOM is connected to an additional licensing mechanism, beyond Case/(one layer of) Agree. The additional licensing mechanism we propose can also be extended to BP. Restricting our attention to the PCC for now, we can explain the problematic configurations in (28)a by following an Intervention based account in the line proposed by Anagnostopoulou (2003) or Béjar and Rizac (2003). Following Anagnostopoulou (2003), the dative person clitic, when doubling a full DP indirect object, signals the presence of [+PERSON], which requires licensing in the syntax, by entering into a checking relationship with a relevant licenser endowed with a [+PERSON] probe. The fact that [DOM] is also specified with a [+PERSON] feature (interpreted as animacy) which also needs licensing will create a clash. As a given domain typically contains only one licenser with a [+PERSON] probe (ANAGNOSTOPOULOU, 2003: a.o.), the ungrammaticality of both [+DOM] and a clitic doubled indirect object can be straightforwardly derived: they both compete for the same licenser. The derivation is schematized below:



In the next subsection we show how the Additional licensing analysis can explain the BP data.

### 4.3 Differential object marking in Brazilian Portuguese

Taking stock of the remarks made in the previous sections, we are now in a position to address the configurations in which differential object marking has been preserved in BP. As a reminder, there are several relevant contexts, included in Table 1, which we repeat here. Out of these contexts, the case of optionality, namely the presence of differential object marking with objects of certain verbs is the most straightforward. The differential marker restricts the reference to animates; we assume that it is present in those instances in which the speaker intends to emphasize the animacy of the referent.

DOM in BP	
Obligatory contexts	Optional context
Coordinate structures with clitics in the first conjunct and animate DPs in the second conjunct, as in (16)a	Animate DP objects of certain verbs, as in (20)
Coordinate structures with animate objects in the second conjunct and full DP in the first conjunct, as in (17)b	Animate objects with existential quantifiers, as in (19)c
Comparatives with animate DPs on the pivot, as in (18)b	
Animate objects containing universal quantifiers, as in (19)b	

Table 1: DOM contexts in BP

Source: own elaboration.

Much more interesting are the obligatory contexts. These are of two types: i) the presence of differential marking on the consequent of coordinate structures, and in comparatives that have an animate DP on the pivot; ii) DOM on the universal quantifier. The latter context is easy to derive under the assumption that the special marking indicates the licensing of a feature beyond Case. It seems plausible to assume that the case feature is in  $D^0$ ; universal quantifiers are special across most of Romance in that they require definiteness morphology. This indicates that the universal quantifier is always added to a category beyond Case; when it is restricted to animacy (which introduces the PERSON specification), it will require additional licensing.

We can turn now to the other obligatory contexts. The presence of DOM on comparatives of the type in (18)b is not rare cross-linguistically. For one, that comparative pivots can or must be signaled by differential morphology is clearly seen in other Romance languages, although these facts are rarely discussed in either descriptive or theoretical studies. As Irimia (2018) has shown, in a language like Romanian, differential object marking is needed on the pivot of comparatives, irrespective of animacy. An example is provided below; note that this example is ungrammatical without DOM, even if the object is inanimate.

- (30)L-a                      prețuit              ca              \*(pe)      un              dar.  
                                  CL.ACC.3SG-have    treasured        as              DOM      a              gift  
                                  ‘He treasured it as (one would treasure) a gift.’    ROMANIAN

The analysis Irimia (2018) proposes builds on the special properties these comparatives have. In a nutshell, as she observes, these types of comparatives have a *clausal* nature, thus they do not instantiate the so-called lexical comparatives where the pivot receives an inherent type of marking. The clausal nature can be detected through a variety of diagnostics, such as grammatical function tracking. As we have shown in (18)b or (30), the differential marker only shows up when the pivot is a direct object, and not when it is a subject (or an indirect object, in Romanian). This clearly indicates that these comparatives involve an ellipsis structure. However, despite their clausal nature, the internal structure of the comparative is reduced and lacks the full array of relevant functional projections. Thus, the structure in the comparative is probably a type of a Small Clause, as in (31):

$$(31) [ \text{as} [ \text{Top}_{[\text{CaseAcc}]} \text{Obj} \{ \nu_{\text{VP}} \nu_{\text{VP}} \text{V} \langle \text{Obj} \rangle \} ] ]$$

But this is where a problematic aspect comes into play. As has been discussed in the literature, Case homomorphism must be *strictly* obeyed in certain ellipsis configurations. As early as Ross (1969), numerous examples have been provided as an argument that *ellipsis must respect a syntactic isomorphism condition*, presumably due to information recoverability (see also LOBECK, 1995). We follow the adjusted Non-Strict Case Condition in (32) from Irimia (2018):

(32) *Non-Strict Case Condition*

Case licensing is necessary in ellipsis structures but does not need to respect a strict *identity* requirement. Similarity is imposed as to permit the calculation of entailments necessary for the implementation of ellipsis.

We assume that this relaxed condition is enough because relevant semantic isomorphism can be obtained even in the absence of strict identity. We further propose that the limitation imposed by the lack of adequate functional structure can be overridden by the recruitment of a low Topic head which can serve as the licenser<sup>11</sup>. In (31) there are no C/T projections, and probably the case licensing ability of  $\nu$  is reduced, see Chomsky (2000, et subseq.). In (31) Case licensers are absent. The low Topic head saves the derivation<sup>12</sup> as it inherits/copies a Case assigning capacity from the Case licenser in the antecedent/first conjunct. Thus, if the antecedent contains an object, the standard will be specified as [Accusative], to respect the Homomorphism Condition necessary for the licensing of ellipsis. However, as the

11 Building on many recent discussions about the presence of low Topic heads and their role in the licensing of ellipsis (see especially BELLETTI, 2004, and AELBRECHT; HAEGEMAN, 2012, for more extensive discussion and references).

12 A relevant question can be raised here about its connection to *default* Case. It is important to note however that these contexts do not match other instances where default Case has been assumed to apply in Romance (subject infinitives, stranded small clauses, etc.), and where the morphology is rather that of the nominative. For lack of space we cannot go into a full-fledged discussion about various types of default Case and their relevance to our data.

Topic head contains discourse specifications, the only type of accusative it can license is the *differential* one. This captures a long-standing intuition at the core of most accounts on DOM (formal or descriptive), namely the interaction with discourse specifications. Our intuition that *discourse-related heads* can license Case in the absence of relevant formal *phi*-licensing heads (like T, *v*, etc.) finds a correlate in recent discussions by Miyagawa (2010, 2017). The Case licensing strategy we have made use of here is similar to his *δ*-licensing: agreement with heads which do not contain phi-features, but rather discourse features (related to information structure processes)<sup>13</sup>. A crucial insight in Miyagawa is that the *δ*-strategy can co-occur with the phi-strategy (even in the same language), and they basically have the same role. In more informal terms they can also be taken to encode two modalities to license Case.

A similar type of reasoning can be extended to the coordination contexts. These can equally be reduced to ellipsis. The structure for the sentence in (16)a, which contains a clitic in the first conjunct and an animate DOM in the second conjunct, is as in (33); similarly, the structure for the sentence in (17)b, where the first conjunct has a full DP while the second conjunct has a DOM animate DP is as in (34). In both these structures, as a result of clausal ellipsis, the animate DP which contains a [+PERSON] feature is licensed as a last resort by a Topic head.

(33) Eu o vi e [<sub>TOP</sub> a[o professor] também [<sub>TP</sub> eu vi [<sub>VP</sub> ... [o professor]]]]

(34) Eu vi o menino e [<sub>TOP</sub> a[o professor] também [<sub>TP</sub> eu vi [<sub>VP</sub> ... [o professor]]]]

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Evidence for the existence of ellipsis comes from a variety of contexts, such as the impossibility of secondary predication modifying both conjuncts, as in (35) vs. (17)b, or the ungrammaticality of ECM construals involving a coordination of objects, as in (36) vs. (17)b<sup>14</sup>.

(35) \*Eu vi (a)o menino<sub>i</sub> e ao professor<sub>i</sub> juntos<sub>i</sub>.  
 I saw DOM-the boy and DOM-the teacher together.M.PL.  
 Intended: 'I saw the boy and the teacher together.'

(36) \*Eu vi (a)o menino<sub>i</sub> e ao professor<sub>i</sub> sair(em)<sub>i</sub>.  
 I saw DOM-the boy and DOM-the teacher leave.3PL  
 Intended: 'I saw the boy and the teacher leave.'

13 Another possibility to derive the facts could have been to assume that the comparative head selects for a KP. This builds on a common assumption, namely that differentially marked objects are KP entities (CORNILESCU, 2010; LÓPEZ, 2012; etc.). But simply saying that the comparative selects for KPs does not have a strong explanatory basis and might simply amount to restating the facts.

14 The examples with clitics on the first conjunct (constructed on the basis of (16)a) seem to be a bit better; however, some speakers still consider them grammatical.

As the two objects do not result from a coordination of objects found in the same position, these results are expected.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper has put forward two important conclusions. On the one hand, we have shown that Brazilian Portuguese has preserved residual instances of differential object splits broadly regulated by animacy, a condition that is similar to robust differential object marking languages like Romanian and Spanish. On the other hand, it is clear that Case could hardly be a motivation for *a*-marking for animate DPs in Brazilian Portuguese. Diachronically, *a*-marking has never been generalized to all animate DPs; instead it has always been restricted to certain types of animate DPs (titles, proper names, quantified DPs, as shown in GIBRAIL, 2003; PIRES, 2017). Synchronically, the marking is similarly restricted to certain structures. Therefore, it looks like animacy is the relevant trigger for *a*-marking in Brazilian Portuguese, and Case or agreement may be a parallel requirement in different languages (see also MANZINI; FRANCO, 2016; IRIMIA, 2018).

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