Differential Object Marking (DOM) and clitic subspecification in Catalonian Spanish[*]

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1. Introduction

Spanish, contrary to most other Romance languages except Romanian, must generally insert the preposition *a* before definite and animate objects (RAE-ASALE 2009: §34.8e, 34.8g):[1]

(1) a. Vi a Beatriz

   saw-1psg *a* Beatriz

 b. *Vi Beatriz

   saw-1psg Beatriz

(2) a. No obligaremos a nadie

   not force-fut.1psg *a* nobody

 b. *No obligaremos nadie

   not force-fut.1psg nobody

This phenomenon, named Differential Object Marking (DOM) has been the focus of much attention in the last few years in the literature in Spanish (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, López 2012, Gallego 2013, Zdrojewsky 2013). There have been various perspectives on DOM in the literature on Spanish. One perspective assumes that DOM is just due to a lexical property of the verb in Spanish that requires inherent/lexical case for certain type of object (Torrego 1998). Under this perspective the preposition is just a morphological manifestation of inherent case. Other authors (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, López 2012), on the other hand assume that DOM objects are licensed in a special projection outside vP. The insertion of the *a* is just a product of a post syntactic operation coded in Distributed Morphology (DM). In this paper we will take a different direction and we will argue that DOM indicates the fact that Spanish little v is unable to license case to the objects of certain kind (animate, specific) and therefore the preposition must appear as a consequence. For that we adopt a framework of prepositions as probes as in Kayne (2005). According to that proposal, *a* is just

[1] See Leonetti (2004) for a careful review of all the semantic requirements of objects that are marked with DOM. See also López (2012) for an interaction between DOM and specificity.

a mechanism available in the syntax of Spanish when no case is provided to it (see also Zdrojewsky 2013). The fact that the object is licensed by a preposition has important consequences for the understanding of the interaction of DOM and its clitic counterparts, namely it predicts that having two different probes for case for objects whether they are subject to DOM or not, we will find cases in which this difference is morphologically encoded. This is exactly what we claim is happening in the different clitic system in different Spanish varieties. In the dialects under study the clitic used for DOM counterparts is different from the clitic used in the non-DOM counterparts. There are two different paradigms we will discuss. The first one is the system used in Catalonia, which apparently uses the same clitic paradigm as the one used for dative clitics, but only in the masculine. The second system is the one used in the Quito Ecuador and the Basque Country, which uses the same clitic as the dative as well, but both in masculine and feminine. We provide an account of these different systems based on the theory of word markers of Harris (1991).

2. Clitic pronouns and DOM in Spanish: The paradigm

Even if the system of DOM is common in all dialects as illustrated in examples in (1). It is well known that clitic systems corresponding to the DOM objects differ across dialects. Thus, in Standard Peninsular Spanish (SPS) and most dialects of Latin-America clitics present a gender distinction when they correspond to the direct object (*lo, los, la, las*) but not when they correspond to indirect objects; in this case they only have a singular / plural distinction (*le, les)*. This is the so called case-distinguishing system, with *lo, los, la, las* for accusative and *le, les* for dative (Fernández Ordóñez 1999: §21.6; RAE-ASALE 2009: §16.3):

(3)a. El libro *lo* compramos ayer

the book cl-msg bought-1ppl yesterday

b. Los libros *los* compramos ayer

the books cl-mpl bought-1ppl yesterday

(4)a. La libreta *la* compramos ayer

the notebook cl-fsg bought-1ppl yesterday

b. Las libretas *las* compramos ayer

the notebooks cl-fpl bought yesterday

(5) a. A Juan *le* daremos un premio

to Juan cl-sg will give-1ppl a prize

b.　A los niños *les* daremos un premio

　　　　　to the boys cl-pl will give-1ppl a prize

　(6)a.　A María *le* daremos un premio

　　　　　to María cl-sg will give-1ppl a prize

　　　b.　A las niñas *les* daremos un premio

　　　　　to the girls cl-pl will give-1ppl a prize

However, Colloquial Catalonian Spanish (CCS)[2] differs from Standard or Latin American Spanish varieties with respect to the clitics corresponding to DOM objects. Only when the DO is masculine and [+anim] CCS uses the clitic used for the dative for the masculine. This contrasts with most Latin American and most peninsular dialects:

　(7)a.　A Juan l-*e* vimos ayer　　　　　　　　　　　　(CCS)

　　　　　a Juan cl saw-1ppl yesterday

　　　b.　*A Juan l-*o* vimos ayer[3]

　(8)a.　*A Juan l-*e* vimos ayer[4]　　　　　　　　　　(SPS)

　　　b.　A Juan l-*o* vimos ayer

　　　　　a Juan cl saw-1ppl yesterday

　　　　　"Juan, we saw him yesterday"

However, for the feminine DOM element, both dialects use the same clitic indicating feminine:

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[2] We use the term Colloquial Catalonian Spanish to indicate the variety of Spanish by Spanish dominant or bilingual speakers that is common in Catalonia and it is not a second language. It is commonly spoken in urban areas by generation 1.5 to 3 generation immigrants. It is also used by working class Catalan speakers in those areas.

[3] Other varieties of Peninsular Spanish, like the Madrid popular variety, have a similar alternation, but contrary to Catalonian Spanish, they use *l-a* also for datives (this is a case of *laísmo*). The use of *l-o* for masculine [+anim] DOs, as in (7b), may be found in Catalonian Spanish too. This is, probably, due to the influence of the standard normative system. Thus, speakers of Catalonian Spanish would have two distinct clitic forms (each one with its own feature specification) for this kind of DO. This could be similar to the cases of syntactic variation in English studied by Adger and Smith (2005). According to these authors, syntactic variation is due to the fact that the speaker has a lexicon with, for instance, two lexical items that differ very slightly in their grammatical features; the choice of one or another item, which may be subject to social factors, leads to variation (in the syntactic derivation).

[4] This use of *le*, known as *leísmo de persona*, is also found in several varieties of Peninsular Spanish, though, as Fernández Ordóñez (1999: §21-6) points out, it is less frequent than in Catalonian Spanish.

(9)a.   *A María l-*e* vimos ayer   (both CCS and SS)

  b.   A María l-*a* vimos ayer

    a María cl saw-1ppl yesterday

There is even a third system which does not show gender distinction and extends the use of *le* for feminine DOM objects. As indicated in Fernández Ordóñez (1999) and RAE-ASALE (2009: §16.9e), this corresponds to the dialects spoken in the Basque Country and also Ecuador[5]:

(10)   a.   A Juan l-*e* vimos ayer

             A Juan cl gave-1ppl yesterday

     b.   A María l-*e* vimos ayer

             A Maria cl give-1ppl yesterday

             A Maria we gave the book yesterday

One of the main questions we are going to explore in this paper is why dialects differ in clitic systems, while all of them are uniform with respect to DOM. Related to this point is to explain why some dialects use a partial system in terms of the CCS type, but others do not. That distinction must be found in the morphological specification of clitics in each dialect. Finally, we will explain why gender should be the feature that distinguishes the systems in question. Since this variation with respect to the clitic systems are only found in the objects that have DOM, we will discuss our perspective in DOM first.

3. Theoretical assumptions

3.1. DOM and little v

There have been various perspectives on the nature of DOM that range from purely morphological to syntactic. Thus, from a syntactic point of view as adopted by Rodríguez Mondoñedo (2007) and López (2012), DOM involves a structure in which the object has moved to a projection either outside the vP as in Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) or inside the vP as in López (2012). The crucial point is that contrary to non-DOM objects, DOM involves

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[5] Accoding to Súñer and Yépez (1988), Quiteño Spanish has extended the use of *le* to inanimate DO. It is unclear whether that extension of *le* correlates with any extension of DOM to inanimate DO in this dialect.

an extra functional projection. That extra projection is responsible from the extra checking relation that DOM objects must maintain We exemplify it with López's analysis, according to which the marked object in Spec,αP receives accusative through Agree with little v (López 2012: 49):

$$[_{vP} \ [_{v'} \ [\ v \ \text{[accusative]} \ [_{\alpha P} \ KP \ \text{[uCase]} \ [_{\alpha'} \ [\alpha \ ] \ [_{VP} \ V \ \sout{KP} \ ] \ ] \ ] \ ] \ ]$$

Agree

According to these views *a* is a by-product of the checking relation that DOM objects maintain in this projection. Thus, in the DM component *a* will be inserted in front of the DOM object in that configuration. Finally, once *a* is inserted, the derivation proceeds with extra steps and movements. In the same vein, Torrego (1998) proposes that *a* is just a morphological manifestation of inherent case. Thus, different authors assume that *a* exemplifies different type of case: for López '*a* + DOM' is accusative case and it is licensed as many other objects are by little v; for Torrego '*a* + DOM' is inherent case also assigned by v; and, finally, for Rodríguez-Mondoñedo '*a* + DOM' is purely dative case, the same case that is involved in Datives in double object constructions:

    (i)   v assigns dative case to DOM (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo)
    (ii) v assigns lexical-inherent case to DOM (Torrego)
    (iii) v assigns accusative case to DOM (López)

Thus, in all these proposals the factor responsible for DOM in these languages is that v assigns either case or an extra functional projection above vP. We will assume with previous approaches that little v must be the locus of syntactic variation for DOM versus non DOM (Gallego 2013, López 2012, D´Alessandro 2013). However, instead of proposing a different way for the verb to license DOM objects, we will propose that DOM objects are not licensed by v, contrary to English. From our perspective, little v induces (generalized) DOM in Spanish because little v does not license certain types of object. This is expressed below:

(11) a. 'Little v' licenses [-anim, ±spec][6] DPs in Spanish

      b. 'Little v' licenses [±anim, ±spec] DPs in English

According to this view, the following sequences are ungrammatical because they lack case for the direct object DP:

(12) a.   *Castigué los estudiantes

            punished-1psg the students

      b.   *Vi María

            saw-1psg María

      c.   *Vimos ella

            saw-1psg her

(13) $[_{TP}$ T $[_{vP}$ $[v]$ $[_{VP}$ $[_{v}$ vimos] $[_{DP}$ ella]]]]

(14) $[_{TP}$ T $[_{vP}$ $[v]$ $[_{VP}$ $[_{V}$ castigué] $[_{DP}$ los estudiantes]]]]

3.2. A as licenser of DOM

Since DOM objects are unable to be licensed by v, Spanish must adopt a different strategy to license this kind of object. The alternative licensing mechanism involves the crucial addition of *a* in the numeration. *A* will be the only licenser of the object in these constructions because little v is incapable of licensing that type of object.

The approach we will adopt is the one proposed by Kayne (2005) for the cases of dativization in *faire* causative constructions in French. As it is well known, causative verbs in French lack a source for case for the subject whenever the embedded infinitive is transitive. Thus, French does not allow the same ECM type of causative that English does as the contrasts in (16) show. French causatives instead insert the causee subject after the infinitive and the object of the infinitive, and the preposition *à* must be placed in front of this subject (16b). According to

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[6] This characterization in terms of features does not take into account broader issues discussed in the literature, but serve as an approximation. See Leonetti (2004) for further discussion.

Kayne (2005) the lack of ECM type of causative must be related to the lack of the double object construction in French in (17b):

(16)   a.   *Jean a fait Paul manger une tarte.
                    Jean has made Paul eat a cake
        b.   Jean a fait manger une tarte à Paul   (French)
                 Jean has made eat a cake to Paul
(17)   a.   Jean a donné le livre à Paul   (French)
                 Jean has given the book to Paul
        b.   *Jean a donné Paul le livre
                 Jean has given Paul the book

For this characterization of French, Kayne (2005) proposes that the insertion of the *à* should be integrated into the system of probes in French. As v is a licenser of objects and T is a licenser of subjects, the preposition *à* in French licenses the subject causee and one of the DPs in Double Object Constructions, which Kayne considers, following Collins and Thráinsson (1993), akin to causative constructions in the sense that they involve an abstract causative v. The initial structures would be (*Paul* is the DP that will be preceded and licensed by *à*):

(18)   a.   … à [VPcaus [Vcaus fait] [Paul manger une tarte]]
        b.   … à [VPcaus [Vcaus Ø] [vP donné Paul le livre]]

The way in which the derivation works is as follows (we illustrate it with causatives). First, the subject causee *Paul* starts, like in English, from a pre-infinitival position (19a). The preposition *à* attracts the subject causee to the specifier of the projection it heads (19b). This is followed by merge of a functional head W and by movement of the preposition *à* (19c) to this head (19d). Finally, there is remnant movement of the complement of *à* (the causative VP) to the specifier of the higher functional phrase (19e). In that way the final word order is obtained with the subject cause after the object:

(19)   a.   … à [VPcaus fait Paul manger une tarte]
        b.   Movement to Spec
                … [àP [Paul]i à [VPcaus fait manger [t]i une tarte]]

c.   Merge of W
… W [ₐP [Paul]ᵢ à [VPcaus fait manger [t]ᵢ une tarte]]

d.   Head raising
… [àⱼ+W] [ₐP [Paul]ᵢ tⱼ [VPcaus fait manger [t]ᵢ une tarte]]

e.   Remnant movement
… [WP [VPcaus fait manger [t]ᵢ une tarte]ₖ [àⱼ+W] [ₐP [Paul]ᵢ tⱼ tₖ]]

4. Derivation of DOM

Our proposal will follow the same line of argumentation as the case of causee subjects in French with an important modification. We propose that little v in Spanish restricts more than French or English the kind of object it can license.;Thus the lack of source for case is generalized from *v* cause to all *v in Spanish*. This restriction consist in that little v does not assign case to [+anim, ± spec] DPs as in (20a) shows. Or alternatively, Spanish v is only able to license [-anim, + or ± spec] DPs

(20)   a.   *Vimos María
            saw-1ppl María

b.   Vimos a María
            saw-1ppl a María

The preposition *a* merges above the vP, as in (18), and probes the object. The derivation will follow the same steps as the ones proposed for causatives in French. The only difference is that we are generalizing the analysis in French to all transitive constructions in Spanish when the object is animate or specific. In the derivation of DOM the *a* is merged in step (21b). In a parallel way to (19), this is followed by movement of the DP (21c), head movement of the preposition *a* (21e), and remnant movement of the vP to obtain the final order in (21f):

(21)   a.   … [vP *v* [VP vimos [DP María]]]   DP [+anim, +spec]

b.   Merge of *a*
            … a [vP *v* [VP vimos [DP María]]]

c.   Movement to Spec
            … [ₐP [María]ᵢ a [vP *v* [VP vimos [t]ᵢ]]]

d.   Merge of W
            … W [ₐP [María]ᵢ à [vP *v* [VP vimos [t]ᵢ]]]

e.   Head raising

     … [à$_j$+W] [$_{aP}$ [María]$_i$ t$_j$ [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ vimos [t]$_i$]]]

  f. Remnant movement
     … [$_{WP}$ [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ vimos [t]$_i$]]]$_k$ [a$_j$+W] [$_{aP}$ [María]$_i$ t$_j$ t$_k$

One crucial aspect of this analysis is that contrary to other proposals, *a* is simply a preposition and it has the same properties as other prepositions in the syntax. Thus, *a* is not a pure affix inserted in a different module of morphology (late insertion) in order to indicate DOM. The arguments that show that that preposition is relevant in the syntax are various. First, the preposition *a* affects the extraction of elements out of the [P DP] constituent. This clearly contrasts with the examples with extraction out of nominal constructions. Thus, constructions preceded by *a* are generally judged to be worse than the ones without:

(22) a. ¿De qué autor has leído los libros más representativos?

     of what author have-2psg read the books more representative

    Which author have you read the most representative books?

  b. * ¿De qué autor has visto a los representantes más obstinados?

     of what author have-2psg seen *a* the most obstinate representatives

    What author have you seen the most obstinate representatives?

(23) a. ¿De qué nacionalidad contrataste una secretaria?

     of which nationality hire-past.2ps a secretary

    Which nationality did you hire a secretary?

  b. */? ¿De qué nacionalidad contrataste a una secretaria?

     of which nationality hire-past.2ps P a secretary

    Which nationality did you hire P a secretary?

(24) a. ¿De qué nacionalidad quieres contratar una secretaria que sepa física?

     of what nationality want-2ps hire a secretary that know-subj physics

    Which nationality do you want to hire a secretary that knows physics?

  b. *¿De qué nacionalidad quieres contratar a una secretaria que sabe física?

     of what nationality want-2sg hire *a* a secretary that knows physics

    Of what nationality do you want to hire a secretary that knows physics?

The problems with extraction out of DP´s preceded by the preposition *a* mimic the examples with extraction of other prepositions. Extraction is clearly ungrammatical for these examples:

(25)   a. Me han hablado muy bien de los libros de Cortázar

           to me have spoken very well about the books of Cortázar.

         "The have spoken very well about the books of Cortázar"

        b. * ¿De quién$_i$ te han hablado muy bien de los libros t$_i$?

            of whom$_i$ to you have spoken very well about the books t$_i$

             "Who have they spoken very well about the books of?"

(26)   a. Le han dado el premio al hijo del vecino

            to him have given the prize to the son of the neighboor

         "They have given the prize to the son of the neighbor"

        b. * ¿De quién le han dado un premio al hijo?

          of whom$_i$ cl have given a prize to the son t$_i$

         "Who have they given a prize to the son of?"

(27)   a. He devuelto los libros a una biblioteca de la UdG

           have-1ps given back the books to a libray of the UdG

         "I have returned the book to the library of the UdG"

        b. * ¿De qué universidad has devuelto los libros a una biblioteca?

            of what university have-2ps given back the books to a library

              "Which university have you returned the book to the library of?

The ungrammaticality is due to the presence of the preposition rather than to the properties of the determiners. Observe that extraction out of DP preceded by definite article is grammatical:

(28)   a. Me gustan mucho los relatos cortos de Cortázar.

            to me like a lot the short stories of Cortázar

         "I like a lot of Cortázar´s short stories"

        b.¿De quién te gustan mucho los relatos cortos?

            Of whom you like a lot the short stories?

Moreover, with relative clauses, relativization of a PP with *a* out of an adjunct island is worse than relativization of a DP out of an adjunct island in colloquial Spanish:

(29)   a.   ??La conferencia que yo me dormí después de haber oído

                the presentation that I slept after to have listened to

"The presentation that I slept after having listened to it"

b.   *La persona a la que yo me dormí después de haber saludado

the person *a* the that I slept after to have greeted

"The person that I have slept after having greeted them"

Finally, in some cases, a focalizer like *sólo* 'only' on the verb can appear after the preposition *a* or before (30), in a parallel way in which *only* can appear before or after the preposition *to* (31). The correlation with the English examples makes quite obvious that the marker *a* is a preposition in the same way that *to* is a preposition in English (Kayne 1998). Kayne shows that there are no obvious scope differences in either case:

(30)   a.   Juan vio sólo a dos hombres

Juan saw only *a* two men

b.   Juan vio a sólo dos hombres.

Juan saw *a* only two men

(31)   a.   John spoke only to two men

b.   John spoke to only two men

All the above considerations clearly signal the fact that the preposition *a* in DOM is active in the syntax. That fact is clearly expressed in our analysis in which the preposition appears in the syntax and it probes the object, which otherwise would not have been licensed via *v*.

5. The analysis of clitics and DOM

As established in the previous section, our analysis of DOM assumes that this object moves out of the VP attracted by the preposition. This movement is followed by remnant movement of the vP. In this section we provide an analysis of direct object clitics based on the claim that the syntax of clitics interrelates with DOM configurations in Spanish. The main assumptions of our approach are the following ones:

(i)   pronominal clitics are determiners that project a complex DP (Torrego 1998, Uriagereka 1995);

(ii)   pronominal clitics do not encode animacy;

(iii)   there is dialectal variation in the association of clitics to DOM.

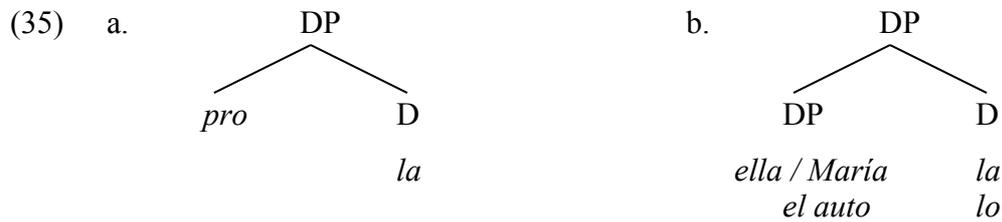The syntactic structure of the DP containing a pronominal clitic would be:

(32)   DP
         /\
      DP   D (= clitic)
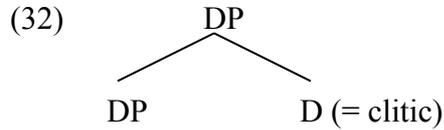
5.1. Clitic-DP doubling constructions

The above structure accounts for clitic-DP doubling constructions by considering that the clitic is the head D and that the doubled constituent appears in the Spec DP position. Standard Peninsular Spanish (SPS) and River Plate Spanish (RPS) differ in the kind of DP that can be doubled: whereas in Standard Spanish doubling is restricted to personal strong pronouns. In River Plate Spanish doubling is possible with any kind of referents [±pronominal] [±animate] The following examples show the coincidences and differences between the two variants (Fernández Soriano 1999: §19.4.2; RAE-ASALE 2009: §16.14r-s). :

(33) a.   Lo vimos   (SPS)
             cl saw-1ppl
      b.   Lo vimos a él
             cl saw-1ppl *a* him
      c.   *La vimos a Juan
              cl saw-1ppl *a* Juan
      d.   *Los puso sobre la mesa a los libros
              cl put-3psg on the table *a*-the books
(34) a.   Lo vimos   (RPS)
             cl saw-1ppl
      b.   Lo vimos a él
             cl saw-1ppl *a* him
      c.   Lo vimos a Juan
             cl saw *a* Juan
      d.   Los puso sobre la mesa a los libros
             cl put-3psg on the table *a*-the books

The non-doubling examples (33a) and (34a) can be assimilated to the doubling ones by considering that there is an empty category *pro* in the DP position:[7]

(35)   a.   DP   b.   DP

         pro   D   DP   D

                       la   *ella / María*   *la*
                                                      el auto   *lo*

As (35b) indicates, under this analysis the *a* is not part of the DP, so it has to be analyzed as an independent element.

The clitic-DP doubling configurations in (36b) and (37b-d) have in common the fact that the presence of *a* is required (see Di Tullio and Zdrojewsky 2009). Such a correlation between DOM and DP-clitic doubling is also found in languages like Catalan. Catalan does not systematically show DOM nor DO clitic doubling, but it behaves like Spanish when the DO is a personal pronoun:

(36)   a.   La vimos a ella   (Spanish)

              cl saw-1ppl *a* her

       b.   *Vimos a ella

                saw-1ppl *a* her

       c.   *La vimos ella

                cl saw her

(37)   a.   La vam veure *a* ella   (Catalan)

              cl aux-1ppl see-inf *a* her

       b.   *Vam veure a ella

                aux-1ppl see-Inf *a* her

       c.   *La vam veure ella

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[7] There is also an alternative to *pro*. We can assume that there is a counterpart *a+él* which gets deleted at PF in most dialects. This leave us with the important question of which parameter is responsible to allowing the overt versus covert counterpart of *a+él* in each dialect. We leave this question aside in this paper. We consider that the derivation with doubling or without doubling proceed in the same way, but one has obligatory deletion of the *a+él*, with a PF difference.
 (i) Lo vimos ~~a él~~

cl aux-1ppl see-Inf her

Therefore, we are claiming that clitics *per se* do not encode animacy, this leaves open the possibility that, contrary to DP animate objects, clitics might be able to be checked by v. This is so because they do not fall under the same restrictions of small v because of animacy. This is what we propose in this paper. The derivation of a doubling configuration like *La vimos a María* in RPS or *La vimos a ella* in both RPS and SPS would be as follows:

(38) a.   … [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ vimos [$_{DP*}$ [$_{DP}$ María] [$_{D*}$ la]]]]   D* = clitic pronoun

   b.   *v* probes D*

      … [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ vimos [$_{DP*}$ [$_{DP}$ María] [$_{D*}$ la]]]]
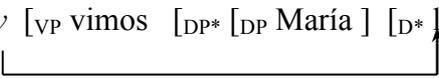
   c.   Merge of *a*
      … a [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ *la* vimos [$_{DP}$ María]]]

   d.   Movement to Spec
      … [$_{aP}$ [María]$_i$ a [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ *la* vimos [t]$_i$]]]

   e.   Merge of W
      … W [$_{aP}$ [María]$_i$ a [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ *la* vimos [t]$_i$]]]

   f.   Head raising
       … [a$_j$+W] [$_{aP}$ [María]$_i$ t$_j$ [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ *la* vimos [t]$_i$]]]

   g.   Remnant movement
       … [$_{WP}$ [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ *la* vimos [t]$_i$]]]$_k$ [a$_j$+W] [$_{aP}$ [María]$_i$ t$_j$ t$_k$

The complex DP contains the DO clitic *la* and the DP (the proper noun *María* or the personal pronoun *ella*) and it is merged as the DO of the verb *vimos*. Little *v* probes the clitic *la* and assigns accusative case to it (later, the clitic will move to a position next to the verb; for convenience, from (38c) on we place the clitic next to the verb with no explicit indication of this movement), but it cannot probe the DP because of the restriction against [+animate] referents. Then *a* is merged (38c). This *a* probes the DP, which moves to Spec,*a* (38d). Steps (38e-g) are parallel to any instance of DOM: merge of W, raising of *a* to W and remnant movement to Spec,WP. In case we have only the clitic (33a, 34a) (i.e. no explicit DP is contained in the complex DP: (35a)), this clitic will be able to just be probed by v.

5.2. Clitics and animacy
A crucial aspect of this analysis is that the clitic cannot encode animacy in order to be probed by little *v*. Evidence for the fact that DO clitics do not encode animacy is provided by the

following data from Catalan. Catalan, contrary to Spanish, has a more restrictive DOM: Catalan does not have DOM for all animates, but only for strong pronouns, as shown in the above example (37b). In this sense the DO clitic pronoun clearly differs from the strong pronoun, which is interpreted only as [+anim, +animate]:

(39)   a.   Demà visitarem [DP el claustre]   DP [–anim]   (Catalan)
              tomorrow will visit the cloister
       b.   Demà visitarem [DP l'avi]   DP [+anim, +hum]
              tomorrow will visit the granny
       c.   Demà visitarem [DP en Joan]   DP [+anim, +hum]
              tomorrow will visit the Joan

The clitic *el* may pronominalize any of the DPs in (39), but the strong pronoun *ell* cannot pronominalize the [–anim, –hum] DP *el claustre*:

(40)   a.   Demà el visitarem   [= (39a-c)]   *el* = [±anim, ±hum]
              tomorrow cl will visit
       b.   Demà el visitarem a ell   [= (39b,c), ≠ (39a)] *ell* = [+anim, +hum]
              tomorrow cl will visit *a* him

This indicates that the clitic pronoun does not have the same features as the strong pronoun. Another difference between Spanish and Catalan is the existence of a determiner *en* only used for [+animate] proper names. This form is used in all varieties of Catalan in the masculine, but the feminine version *na* is only used in colloquial Catalan in the Balearic Islands and in literary Peninsular Catalan. The remarkable fact is that, contrary to the set of determiners with *l*, these determiners with *n* are not used in the clitic system.

(41)   a.   Veig en Joan   (Catalan)
              see-1ppl *en* Joan
       b.   Veig na Maria
              see-1ppl *na* Maria
(42)   a.   El veig / *En veig
       b.   La veig / *Na veig

If we take these *n*-determiners to be an instantiation of [+anim] proper names, then we have further evidence for the idea that animacy is not necessarily encoded in the clitic system, which is formed by *l*-forms. We are advocating for the representation in (43) for *l*-clitics.

(43)　　　　　　　DP*
　　　　　　　　／＼
　　　DP　　　　　D*
　　　[+anim]　　　[0 anim]
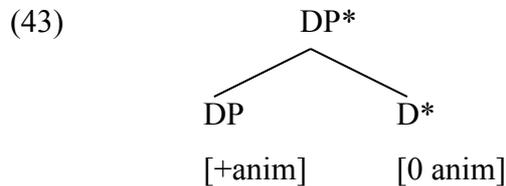
Thus, the impossibility of v to assign case to [+anim, +spec] objects and the lack of animacy in clitics allow us to derive Kayne's generalization because clitic doubling is only possible in languages where an extra case marker is available, namely the preposition *a.* One crucial aspect in our proposal is that the lack of assignment of case to DP and the possibility of probing of the preposition is what explain this generalization, more than the feature [± animate]. For instance, in some dialects, not only animates, but inanimates are unable to be licensed for case by v. This is the case of Mexican Spanish or some varieties of Peninsular Spanish in the context of impersonal SE construction. Under those circumstances the probing preposition can save the construction as in (44):

(44)　　a.　　　A los libros se les vendió a buen precio　　　　　(Mexican Spanish)
　　　　　　　　a the books SE cl sold at a good price
　　　　　　　　"these book have been sold at a good price"
　　　　b.　　　A los coches se les ha dotado de una nueva barra　　(Peninsular Spanish)
　　　　　　　　a the cars   SE cl have been endowed with a new bar
　　　　　　　　"These cars have been given a new bar"

Again, Kayne´s generalization is derived, but no animacy is involved.

6. Clitics and dialectal variation

In this section we will examine several cases of dialectal variation under the view of the analysis of Spanish pronominal clitics we have proposed above. We will focus on the paradigm of pronominal clitics and the possibility of doubling constructions.

6.1. The paradigm of clitic pronouns

In section 2 we have already advanced some of the aspects in which Spanish dialects vary concerning the use of direct object clitic pronouns. In fact, there is a huge variation that leads to several systems that differ both in the form of the clitics and the kind of referent they can denote (see, for instance, Fernández Ordóñez 1993, 1999). Among these varieties we pay attention now to Colloquial Catalonian Spanish and Standard Latin American Spanish (SLS). One of the differences between the two dialects is that CCS shows a certain degree of *leísmo*. We can characterize CCS as follows:

(45) Colloquial Catalonian Spanish – DO clitics

	Animate referents		Inanimate referents	
	singular	plural	singular	Plural
masculine	*le*	*les*	*lo*	*los*
feminine	*la*	*las*	*la*	*las*

(46) Standard Latin American Spanish – DO clitics

	Animate referents		Inanimate referents	
	singular	plural	singular	Plural
masculine	*lo*	*los*	*lo*	*los*
feminine	*la*	*las*	*la*	*las*

The two paradigms differ in the clitic used for animate referents: *le/la* in CCS and *lo/la* in SLS. Remember that, according to section 5, pronominal clitics do not encode animacy. Instead, these clitics enter in a spec-head relation with DPs, which do not get case from v (animate or not, as we saw previously). Thus, the set of clitics used for DP that get probed by *a* can be different from the set of clitics that are used for DPs that are not probed by v. Since there are two ways to probe DP´s via *v* or via preposition, the system allows for two different sets of clitics associated with each probe. We consider that this situation in which clitics are different depending on whether they are probed by *a,* corresponds to what we may call Differential Clitic Marking. Differential Clitic Marking can be found in CCS and other peninsular varieties[8]. Below are the clitics that are differentially used for CCS as in (48),

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[8] This does not imply that there must be always a different set of clitics per probe. The system allows for such possibility, but it does not preclude having the same set of clitic in

and SLS which is not differential as in (49):

(47) a.   CCS DO clitics for DOM

              le [0 gender], [0 anim]
              la [fem], [0 anim]

      b.   SLS DO clitics for DOM

              lo [masc], [0 anim]
              la [fem], [0 anim]

(48) a.   A Juan le vimos ayer   (CCS)
              a Juan   cl saw-1ppl yesterday
      b.   A María la vimos ayer
              a Maria   cl saw-1ppl yesterday
(49) a.   A Juan lo vimos ayer   (SLS)
      b.   A María la vimos ayer

The difference is that CCS uses a pronominal clitic not specified for gender for masculine
referents whereas SLS uses a clitic specified as masculine. This means that CCS has a DO
clitic *le* not specified for gender, but SLS doesn't. In SLS only two DO clitic forms are
found: one specified as feminine (*la*) and another one specified for masculine (*lo*). The fact
that *le* is used for masculine referents in CCS is consistent with the analysis of masculine as
the unmarked morphological gender form in Spanish, as opposed to feminine, which is
expressed through the feminine suffix *-a*. We base this idea on some aspects of Harris (1991)
analysis and theory of word markers. Harris (1991) studies how gender is expressed
morphologically in Spanish. The final vowels of nouns in many occasions can serve a clue to
the grammatical gender of the word. Thus final *-o* usually indicates masculine, final *-a*
usually marks feminine; final *-e* can go either way:

(50) a.   libr-o, 'book', escritori-o 'desk', cer-o 'zero', hues-o 'bone' (masculine
names)

      b.   cas-a 'house', mes-a 'table', tierr-a 'land', piedr-a 'stone' (feminine names)

      c.   coch-e 'car' (masculine), noch-e 'night' (feminine), padr-e 'father' (m),
      madre 'mother' (f), amante 'lover' (m / f)

What is important for us is what Harris calls the mating or pairing problem. Thus, when there

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both probes.This is for instance the case of standard varieties of Spanish in wich each probe
presents the same set of clitics for DOM and non DOM objects.

is a biological gender involved, the normal pairing usually involved the alternation *-o / -a*. However, it is possible to find the alternation in which there is no explicit specification for masculine gender and only specification for feminine. According to Harris this is the case because the only marked gender in Spanish is feminine, and masculine can either use the *-o* or *-e* as shown in the matings in (51a) and (51b)

(51) a. niñ-o / niñ-a 'boy / girl', gat-o / gat-a 'cat'
      b. nen-e / nen-a 'boy / girl' , president-e / president-a 'president', sirvient-e / sirvient-a 'servant'

We will not follow all the exact specifics of Harris hypothesis. However, we will assume with him that the marked gender is feminine and that masculine generally goes with the word marker *-o* and alternatively can go with word marker *-e* (which is his zero class declension in Harris system   This brings us to the issue of the form of the clitic in the different Spanish dialects. In differential clitic system DOM for masculine might be different. According to this proposal, clitics in Spanish contain an *l,* which indicate definiteness and different dialects pair gender in a different way. Example (52a) corresponds to SPS and SLS, and (52b) corresponds to CCS:

(52) a. l-o (masculine, ±DOM) , l-a (feminine, ±DOM)
      b. l-e (masculine, +DOM), l-o (masculine, -DOM). l-a (feminine, ±DOM).

From this perspective, the difference *-e* and *-o* is not just marking case (dative versus accusative), but word marker in Harris sense. The system, thus, makes sense of an odd fact that would not be easily explained with *le* being a different case for only masculine. Moreover, the analysis makes various interesting predictions with respect to the alternation available in the different dialects.

Thus, we predict that there will be no systems with the "inverted" paradigm (*le* as a form just for feminine and *lo* specified for masculine). The reason why this cannot exist is similar to the one we cannot have nouns in gender mating with *-e* for feminine and *-o* for masculine. The reason for this gap is explained because the only marked gender is feminine and not masculine. Both *-o* and *-e* are in complementary distribution for the non-feminine gender in both the clitic system and the nominal system.

(53) a. * l-o (masculine) / l-e (feminine)

      b. * sirvient-o (masculine) / sirvient-e (feminine), *nen-o (masculine) / nen-e (feminine)

Our system therefore, explains why we have this gender distinction in both forms. This does not preclude the possibility that, like in the nominal system, *-e* marker could be used for both masculine and feminine. In the nominal system we can find examples like (54a):

(54) a. el suplent-e (masc.) / la suplent-e (fem.) 'subtitute', el agent-e (masc.) / la agent-e
         (fem.) 'agent', el intérprete (masc.) / la intérpret-e (fem.) 'interpreter'
     b. l-e (masculine) / l-e (feminine)

This is exactly what we find in the so called *leísta* dialects in which *l-e* is referring to DOM objects independently of the gender specification that they have. In other words, it presupposes the extension of the use of the unmarked form *le* to feminine; this is found in dialects like Basque Spanish (55) or Ecuadorian Spanish (56) (examples from Fernández Ordóñez 1999: 1350, 1342):[9]

(55) a. Y a la madrugada les tienes todavía sin venir a casa [a los jóvenes]
          and in the dawn cl have-2psg still without come-inf to home *a* the young
          "In the daw, you have them without coming home"
      b. … tan hermosa estaba, como para mirarle [a la mujer]
            so beautiful was-3psg like for look at-inf-cl *a* the woman
          "This woman was so beautiful, you would not dare to look at her"

(56) a. Les van a matar [a ellos]
          cl go-3ppl to kill-inf *a* them
          "They are going to kill them"
      b. ¡Le conoció a mamá!
           cl met-3psg *a* mom
          "s/he met mom"

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[9] In both dialects *le-les* is used preferably for [+animate] referents, [–animate] DOs are omitted, and doubling of the [+animate] DO with the clitic *le-les* is possible (see Fernández Ordóñez 1999, Landa 1995).

In addition, this analysis is consistent with the existence of dialects of transition between the etymological system and the referential system in Castilian Spanish (see Fernández Ordóñez 1993, Lapesa 1968, Keniston 1937). In fact, bearing in mind the extension of *le* from masculine to feminine, we can also reach the generalization that *le* may be used for both masculine and feminine, but if *lo* is used for masculine, then *la* is used for feminine. Our analysis covers these facts and predicts that such extension is, actually, the only possibility given the morphological properties of Spanish grammar.

One important claim we are making is that we are assuming that *l-e* is not necessarily taken to be the dative clitic per se, or that it has no morphological marking for dative. This brings us into an important assumption made so far. The so called *leísmo* is not a phenomenon of dativization per se, but an example in which the unmarked form *l-e* applies both for DO and IO. For DO it is restricted to masculine DOM objects in CCS, but it is not in Basque Spanish or Equadorian Spanish.

This perspective also helps us understand why the phenomenon of *leísmo* is so idiosyncratic to Spanish. Two factors enter into play: a language with DOM and a language with a differential use of its word markers for DOM. Catalan partially fits the picture since DOM is available with object pronouns. However it lacks the alternative word markers *-e* or *-o* alltogether. Since we are claiming that this is not a product of dativization it makes sense therefore that the clitic *l-i* (dative) will not be available either:

(57)   a.   *li veig a ell   (Catalan)
               cl-dat see *a* him

       b.   *li estimo a ella
               cl-dat see *a* her

The reason is that even if there is DOM with pronouns, *li* is not an alternative clitic choice because the final *-i i*s not a word marker. Bonet (1991) and Martín (2012) have assimilated this final *-i* to a locative particle found in the locative clitic *hi*. Thus, we do not find any cases of transfer in bilingual speakers because *-i* in *l-i* corresponds to a locative particle while *-e* in *l-e* corresponds to a word marker. Strictly speaking we are claiming that *leísmo* is not necessarily dativization.

6.2. Doubling constructions

In Spanish, IO clitics can be doubled by any kind of noun phrase ([±definite], [±specific], etc.), but doubling of DO clitics is much more restricted. Constructions with DO clitic doubling are systematically allowed in River Plate Spanish (see Jaeggli 1993, Suñer 1988, Zdrojewsky 2008, Di Tullio and Zdrojewsky 2009), but not in Peninsular Spanish varieties and several Latin American Spanish dialects, where this kind of doubling is found only with pronominal DOs (and in this case it is compulsory). The following examples illustrate the difference between DO and IO clitic doubling in both Standard Spanish and Colloquial Catalonian Spanish:

(58)   a.   *Lo vimos a Juan   (DO)   (SS)

                cl saw-1ppl *a* Juan

       b.   *La vimos a María

                cl saw-1ppl *a* María

(59)   Le dimos un libro a Juan / María   (IO)

       cl gave-1ppl a book to Juan / María

(60)   a.   *Le vimos a Juan   (DO)   (CCS)

       b.   *La vimos a María

                cl saw-1ppl *a* María

(61)   Le dimos un libro a Juan / María   (IO)

       cl gave-1ppl a book to Juan / María

DO clitic doubling is ungrammatical in both varieties. This suggests that the forms *le* and *la* of Colloquial Catalonian Spanish are DO clitics exactly as the forms *lo* and *la* of Standard Spanish are. Both varieties have also a form *le* used indistinctly for masculine and feminine that is an IO clitic and that can be doubled. Thus, we have three different DO object clitics *lo, le, la* which cannot be doubled by a DP and one IO clitic *le* which can be doubled:

(62)   a.   *Lo vimos a Juan   (Peninsular Spanish)

       b.   *Le vimos a Juan

       c.   *La vimos a María

                cl saw-1ppl *a* María

(63)   Le dimos un libro a Juan / María

        cl gave-1ppl a book to Juan / María

In River Plate Spanish DO clitics allow doubling, but there is no DO *le* form equivalent to (64b):

(64)   a.   Lo vimos a Juan   (DO)   (RPS)

        b.   *Le vimos a Juan

        c.   La vimos a María

(65)   Le dimos un libro a Juan / María   (IO)

        cl gave-1ppl a book to Juan / María

To sum up, the three variants of Spanish (Colloquial Catalonian Spanish, Standard Peninsular Spanish and River Plate Spanish) differ in the type of DO clitic pronouns integrated in their pronominal systems. In CCS we have three different forms that pronominalize a direct object: *le, lo* and *la*. The feminine form *la* is used for any feminine referent, as in SPS and RPS. *Lo* and *le* are both used for masculine referents, but only *lo* is specified as masculine (*le* is not specified for gender and it can be used with masculine referents). A very relevant difference between *lo* and *le* in CCS is that *le* is used in cases that imply DOM. Thus, we can say that CCS show differential clitic marking for masculine DOM referents. The DO clitics of Standard Spanish and River Plate Spanish are only *lo* (masculine) and *la* (feminine). In these dialects these forms are used for DOM and non-DOM objects, but the difference between River Plate Spanish and Peninsular Spanish dialects is that DO clitic doubling is systematically allowed only in the first one.

7. Conclusions

We have proposed an analysis of DOM in terms of syntactic variation in little v and in terms of the preposition *a* as a probe that licenses DOM objects. This analysis is correlative with the non-existence of neither ECM nor DOC constructions in Romance (Kayne's analysis for French with *à* as a probe). The analysis of *l*-clitics as elements that do not encode animacy together with the parametric variation in *v* (constraint against assigning case to DOM

referents) allows us to derive Kayne's generalization that relates clitic doubling to the presence of *a*. This extra-Case marker is needed in clitic doubling constructions and it is also related to the use of the differential clitic *le* for DOs. This allows us to capture some microparametric differences among several Spanish dialects focusing on the properties of Colloquial Catalonian Spanish. We have crucially linked the phenomenon of *leísmo* in CCS Spanish with the use of the vowels *–e, -o* and *–a* as word markers in the nominal system. This explains why the use of *le* only occurs in the masculine in CCS. This limitation is correlated with the fact that *–e* can be not specified with gender and masculine is the unmarked gender in Spanish according to Harris (1991).

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