

Patterns of Object Movement and the Object Agreement Cycle from Latin to Spanish

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Introduction

Main data → Spanish direct object (DO) clitics.

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>me</i>	<i>nos</i>
2	<i>te</i>	<i>os</i>
3	<i>lo</i> (M) / <i>la</i> (F)	<i>los</i> (M) / <i>las</i> (F)

(2) Juan *te* ama.
Juan you loves
'Juan loves you.'

(3) Juan *la* ama.
Juan her loves
'Juan loves her.'

- Accusative clitic doubling (ACD), as in (4), and object movement (5), whether object shift or scrambling are implicated in the reanalysis of object clitics.
- (4) Juan *la_i* abrazó a *ella_i*.
Juan her hugged DOM her
'Juan hugged her.'
- (5) Tod esto cuenta Moysen en este sobredicho libro.²
all this relates Moses in this aforementioned book
'Moses relates all of this in this aforementioned book.'
- Spanish DO clitics have been reanalyzed from DP to D to *v* due to the OAC.
 - The DO clitics throughout "standard" Modern Spanish (ModS) are more grammaticalized than their Latin ancestors.
 - Some non-standard varieties of Modern Spanish like Rioplatense, are closer to full grammaticalization.

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² Alfonso X, *Primera Crónica General*, p. 4; 1260-1284

Main claim: Reanalysis of Spanish object clitics has been encouraged by patterns of object movement which were frequent in Latin and Old Spanish (OldS) but are highly constrained in ModS; i.e., object movement feeds the OAC.

Analysis (preview):

- Following van Gelderen (2011), I adopt ACD as a diagnostic for evaluating different stages of the OAC.
- I adopt a mixed-analysis of ACD (Harizanov 2014, Kramer 2014). Object DP moves to Spec, v followed by m-merger, as in Matushansky (2006). This creates a complex D- v head with two copies of object.
- Latin and OldS had object movement to Spec, v and potentially higher. DO clitics become associated with v , leading to reanalysis as v .

Proposal: ACD can actually occur at different stages of the OAC, but early ACD is derivationally distinct from late ACD.

Consequences: The analysis accounts for why ACD starts with pronominal objects because only they are deficient enough to undergo m-merger.

Prediction: If a language allows object movement and has object clitics, those clitics will start to occur in clitic doubling constructions.

Presentation format:

- Section 1 – Background on grammaticalization and the OAC.
- Section 2 – Diagnosing the categorial status of the object pronouns/clitics.
- Section 3 – Analysis of Accusative Clitic Doubling.
- Section 4 – How object movement feeds the OAC.
- Section 5 – Conclusion.

1. Grammaticalization and Linguistic Cycles

1.1 Background

- Van Gelderen (2011) – language change is motivated by principles of economy.

(6) Head Preference Principle (HPP):
Be a head rather than a phrase.

- Examples of reanalysis due to the HPP: demonstrative pronoun *that* > complementizer, adverb > aspect marker, pronoun > agreement, etc.
- “Linguistic cycles” -- change is cyclic because once an element is reanalyzed as a head or features on a head, a new element can merge and restart the cycle.

(7) a. jeo **ne** dis (Old French)
 b. je **ne** dis **pas** (“Standard” Modern French)
 c. je dis **pas** (Colloquial Modern French)

1.2 Diagnostics

- Elements may be at different stages depending on their status; i.e., head or XP.
 - Tests to distinguish heads from phrases (Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Mithun 2003):³

	Phrase	Head
Phonological reduction	No	Yes
Coordination	Yes	No
Modification	Yes	No
Separation from verb	Yes	No

Table 1. Summary of van Gelderen’s (2011) Diagnostics

- What looks like a full pronoun can be an XP or an X, but if it still has interpretable φ-features it is a pronoun that receives a theta-role.
 - Agreement is always a head but may still have interpretable φ-features or it may have uninterpretable φ-features, as in polysynthetic languages.

1.3 Object Agreement Cycle

Object Agreement Cycle (OAC): Object pronouns become object agreement.

(8) zri-x-**t** **umcic.**⁴ (Taqbaylit Berber)
 saw-I-OBJ the-cat
 ‘I saw the cat.’

³ Data in this section are from van Gelderen (2011) and references therein.

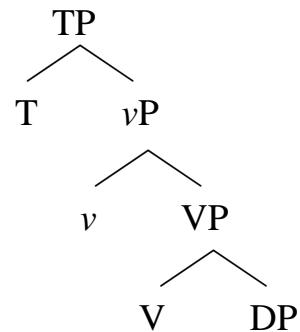
⁴ From van Gelderen (2011) and references therein.

- Object agreement morphology is absent from Latin to most varieties of modern Romance. Object clitics are currently undergoing this cycle.

STAGES OF THE OBJECT AGREEMENT CYCLE

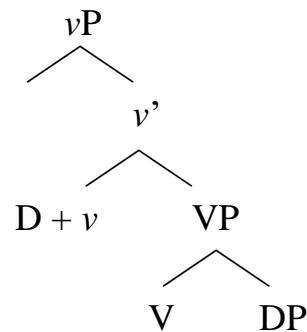
Stage (a) – Urdu, Hindi

Object pronoun = DP [i φ , uAsp]
 v [u φ , iAsp]



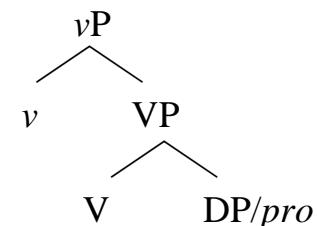
Stage (b) – Modern English, Arabic

Object pronoun/clitic = DP/D [i φ , uAsp]
 v [u φ , iAsp]



Stage (c) – Kambera, Southern Slavic

Object clitic = v [u φ , iAsp]
DP or *pro* merges as argument



- On van Gelderen's (2011) analysis, ACD only becomes possible at stage (c).

2. Categorial Status of Object Clitics/Pronouns from Latin to Spanish

Main point → Object pronouns/clitics in Latin and OldS were less grammaticalized than in ModS.

2.1 Application of van Gelderen's (2011) diagnostics

Diagnostics: coordination, modification, and movement.

- Latin accusative 1st- and 2nd-person determinative pronouns > Spanish 1st- and 2nd-person clitics
- Latin 3rd-person accusative demonstratives > Spanish 3rd person object clitics.

2.1.1 *Latin*

Coordination

(9) et **illum et me** vehementer ignoras.⁵
 both him and me vehemently not-know
 "Both him and me you vehemently do not know."

(10) Vidi, **et illam et hospitem**, complexam atque osculantem.⁶
 I-saw and her and guest embraced.FS and kissing.MS
 'I saw both her and the guest; her embraced and him kissing.'

Modification

(11) meus discipulus valde amat **illum** quem Brutus noster sauciavit.⁷
 my disciple greatly loves him whom.Acc.MS Brutus our has-wounded
 'But my disciple...greatly loves him whom our Brutus has wounded.'

Movement

(12) **illum** ego per flammas et mille sequentia tela eripui
 him I through flames and thousand falling spears rescued
 his umeris...⁸
 these shoulders
 'I rescued him on these shoulders through flames and a thousand falling
 spears...'

- Latin pronouns are DPs and might be weak pronouns but not clitic pronouns per Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) typology. They are DPs and not heads.

⁵ Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 33.2; 54 BCE

⁶ Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 533; c. 254-184 BCE

⁷ Cicero, *Epistulæ ad Atticum* 14.22.1.8; 68-44 BCE

⁸ Virgil, *Aeneis*, 6.110; 29-19 BCE

2.1.2 *Old Spanish*

- I found no examples of coordination or modification of object clitics in the CORDE, but movement of the clitic was less restricted than it is in ModS.

(13) Et que *lo* non podades vender nin camiar...⁹
and that it not you-can sell nor change
'And that you cannot sell it nor change it...'

(14) E priso *lo* el rei Nabuchodonosor...¹⁰
and took him the king Nabuchodonosor
'And King Nabuchodonosor took him...'

(15) ...puede *lo* muy bien guardar.¹¹
he-can him very well protect
'he can protect him very well.'

- Interpolation in OldS occurs with a variety of constituents, frequently negation.

(16) si **lo** non fiziere, non erede.¹²
if it not he-does not inherits
'If he does not do it, he does not inherit.'

(17) Busca todas buenas vias...para lo_i mejor complir que **lo_i** ella non
searches all good ways to it better accomplish than it she not
mando.¹³
ordered
'He looks for all the good ways...in order to accomplish it better than she
ordered it.'

- Both lexical DPs (18) and clitic pronouns (19) can occur pre- and post-verbally.
Both can also climb or raise above a modal verb (Rivero 1986).¹⁴

⁹ Anonymous, *Documentos [Documentos del Monasterio de Santa María de Trianos]*, para. 1; 1299

¹⁰ Anonymous, *Liber Regum [Documentos Lingüísticos Navarros]*, para. 27; 1194-1211

¹¹ Juan Manuel, *Libro de estados*, p. 304; 1327-1332

¹² Anonymous, *Fuero de Cuenca*, para. 100; 1284-1295

¹³ From Rivero (1986)

¹⁴ Data in this section are adapted from Rivero (1986).

(18) a. El infante ovo respuesta del rrey.
 the prince had answer from-the king
 'The prince had an answer from the king.'
 b. El infante **esta rrepuesta** ovo del rrey.
 the prince this answer had from-the king
 'The prince had this answer from the king.'

(19) a. El rrey recibio-lo muy bien.
 the king received-him very well
 'The king received him very well.'
 b. Ellos lo entendieron.
 they it understood
 'They understood it.'

- OldS exhibits putative examples of ACD. However, they are rare and have been analyzed by authors such as Eberenz (2000) as clitic-right dislocation.

(20) sy de otra guisa la_i matare a ella_i...¹⁵
 if of other fashion her he-kill DOM she
 'if in another way he should kill her...'

- ACD with pronominal DOs is optional; they occur most often without a clitic.¹⁶

(21) Otrosy, sy matare a él & non a la muger...¹⁷
 however if he-kill DOM he and not DOM the woman
 'However, if he shall kill him and not the woman...'

(22) quando mataron ami padre que llagaron a él de muerte.¹⁸
 when they-killed DOM-my father that they-wounded DOM he of death
 'when they killed my father that they injured him mortally.'

(23) y tomó a mí_i en la boca & llevó-me_i al monte.¹⁹
 and she-took DOM me in the mouth and took-me to-the mountain
 'and she (the lioness) took me in her mouth and took me to the mountain.'

¹⁵ Anonymous, *Fuero de Úbeda*; 1251-1285

¹⁶ ACD with pronominal objects does not become the majority pattern until the 16th century (Gabriel & Rinke 2010).

¹⁷ Anonymous, *Fuero de Úbeda*; 1251-1285

¹⁸ Anonymous, *Cuento muy fermoso de Otas de Roma*; c. 1300-1325

¹⁹ Anonymous, *Libro del cavallero Cifar*; 1300-1305

- These patterns support the status of OldS object clitics as full DPs.

2.1.3 *Modern Spanish*

- Coordination and modification are not allowed in ModS.

(24) *No *lo* y *me* abrazas.
 not him and me hug
 "You do not hug him and me."

- Movement restricted to a position immediately adjacent to the verb.

(25) María (**lo*) no *lo* quiere (**lo*) abrazar (*lo*). (26) María *lo* abrazó(**lo*).
 Maria him not him wants him to-hug him 'Maria hugged him.'
 'Maria does not want to hug him.'

2.2 Additional diagnostic: repetition/elision in VP conjuncts

- Culbertson (2010) -- subject clitics in Modern Colloquial French must be repeated in coordinated VPs, like subject agreement morphology.²⁰

(27) a. Juan canta y (Juan) baila. *Juan* = lexical DP
 'Juan sings and dances.'
 b. Juan cant-a y bail-*(a). *-a* = subject agreement morpheme
 c. Él canta y (él) baila. *él* = full DP pronoun (not a clitic)

2.2.1 Latin

(28) Refige illum et mitte ____ in senatum...²¹
 unloose him and send ____ to senate
 'Make him whole again and send him back to the senate...'

²⁰ Spencer & Luís (2012) give an overview of this phenomenon as it relates to the clitic vs. affix distinction. See also Kayne (1975) for French; Uriagereka (1995:104) for Galician.

²¹ Seneca the Younger, *Dialogi* 1.3.9.7; c. 64 CE. Translation by John W. Basore, *Seneca's Essays*, vol. I, Loeb.

(29) *quo(u)s nunc pudet me et miseret* ____ ...²²
 of-whom now shames me and grieves
 ‘on whose account it now shames me and grieves me...’

2.2.2 Old Spanish

(30) *assi como lo auemos & lo deuemos hauer...*²³
 thus as it we-have and it we-ought to-have
 ‘Thus as we have it and we ought to have it...’

(31) *Et desto son testigos que lo vieron & ____ odieron...*²⁴
 and of-this they-are witnesses who it saw and heard
 ‘And these are the witnesses of this who saw it and heard it.’

2.2.3 Modern Spanish

(32)a. *María me vio y *(me) abrazó.*
 Maria me saw and me hugged
 ‘Maria saw me and hugged me.’

b. *María lo vio y *(lo) abrazó.*

(33)a. *María lo besó y lo abrazó.*
 b. *María lo besó y ____ abrazó.*
 c. **María ____ besó y lo abrazó.*

2.3 Summary

Diagnostic	Latin	Old Spanish	Modern Spanish
Coordination	Yes	No	No
Modification	Yes	No	No
Movement	Unrestricted	More restricted	Most restricted
VP conjuncts	Elision	Elision	Repetition

Table 2. Summary of patterns discussed in Section 2.

INTERIM CONCLUSION: These patterns indicate that Latin was at stage (a) of the OAC with object pronouns as full DPs. OldS was at stage (a) moving towards stage (b). ModS appears to be at stage (b) moving toward stage (c).

²² Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos*, l. 260; 163 BCE

²³ Anonymous, *Carta de donación [Documentos del Reino de Castilla]*, para. 349; 1225-1228

²⁴ Anonymous, *Carta de venta [Documentos del Reino de Castilla]*, para. 371; 1224

3. Accusative Clitic Doubling

- Spanish exhibits doubling of direct objects (accusative clitic doubling/ACD), with some variation, as in (34) below, and indirect objects (35).

(34) Juan *la_i* abrazó a *ella_i*. (35) Juan *le_i* mandó un regalo a *María_i*.
Juan her hugged DOM her Juan to-her sent a gift to Maria
'Juan hugged her.' 'Juan sent Maria a gift.'

- Van Gelderen (2011) adopts ACD as an additional diagnostic for determining what stage of the OAC a language is at.
 - On van Gelderen's analysis, unrestricted ACD is only possible at stage (c), since this is when the complement position is open again.

Proposal: ACD occurs at both stages (b) and (c) but differs derivationally.

3.1 Patterns of ACD in Spanish²⁵

- Less restricted doubling correlates with greater level of grammaticalization.
 - Unrestricted doubling is characteristic of agreement/stage (c).
 - ModS shows restricted ACD; other varieties are unrestricted.

(36) a. *(*Lo_i*) vimos a *él_i*. ("standard" Modern Spanish)
him we-saw DOM he
'We saw him.'

b. (**La_i*) vimos la casa_i de *Maria*.
it we-saw the house of Maria
'We saw Maria's house.'

c. Pedro (**lo_i*) vio a *Juan_i*.
Pedro him saw DOM Juan
'Pedro saw Juan.'

d. ¿A quién_i (**lo_i*) viste?
DOM whom him you-saw
'Whom did you see?'

²⁵ The data in this section are adapted from van Gelderen (2011:102ff) and references therein, except where otherwise indicated.

(37) a. Pedro lo_i vio a él_i / a Juan_i. Rioplatense
Pedro him saw DOM him DOM Juan
'Pedro saw him / Juan.'

b. De repente la_i vio a Grimanesa_i ... Limeño
of sudden her saw DOM Grimanesa
'Suddenly s/he saw Grimanesa...'

c. Lo_i trae un chiquihuite_i. Malinche
it he-brings a basket
'He brings a basket.'

d. ¿A quién_i le_i viste? Basque Spanish/Argentinean
DOM whom him you-saw
'Whom did you see?'

- Non-standard varieties are already at stage (c) and clitics are object agreement. “Standard” Spanish is transitioning from stage (b) to stage (c).
- Van Gelderen does not address Latin or Old Spanish, but based on Section 2 above, the stages of the OAC from Latin to ModS can be represented as below:

Stages of the OAC from Latin to Spanish

Stage (a): Latin/Old Spanish; object pronoun = full DP

Stage (b): “standard” Modern Spanish; object pronoun = DP/D

Stage (c): Rioplatense Spanish; object pronoun = *v*

3.2 Formal Analysis of ACD

3.2.1 Previous studies (in brief)

- Harizanov (2014) – patterns of binding and quantifier stranding indicate Bulgarian ACD is A-movement.

Analysis:

- a) The complement is a KP with unvalued Case and φ -features. The KP merges as complement and probes for a goal to have its features valued; i.e., Agree.
- b) The v -head has an optional EPP-feature which can trigger movement of the KP object to Spec, v ; i.e., object shift.
- c) The K-head m-merges with v and the $K+v$ compound head is realized as a clitic. Both the clitic and its associate are pronounced in doubling via multiple spell-out.

- Kramer (2014) – the Amharic object marker is a clitic (D) not an agreement morpheme (*v*), as shown by optionality, number of marker per clause, etc.

Analysis:

- a) The “doubled” object merges as DP verbal complement where it is probed by *v* (Agree) and then the DP object moves to Spec,*v*, where it undergoes m-merger with *v*. Movement is triggered by an optional EPP-feature.
- b) In ACD, there are two copies of the DP object: one in argument position and the other in Spec,*v*. Both copies are pronounced because they are distinct at PF.

3.2.2 Extension to ACD in Spanish

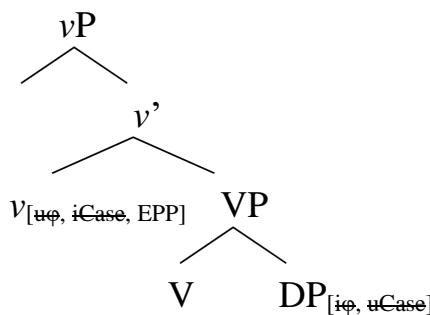
Question: Why adopt a Kramer-type of analysis for Spanish?

- It is a way of dealing with ACD while the clitic is still a D-head.
- It involves object movement.
- M-merger allows us to formalize what is meant by “reanalysis” of D to *v*.

- ACD occurs at both stage (b), as in ModS, and (c), as in Rioplatense. At stage (b) it is restricted to pronominal objects while at stage (c) it is not.
 - ACD at stage (b) -- DP object moves to Spec,*v* followed by m-merger.²⁶

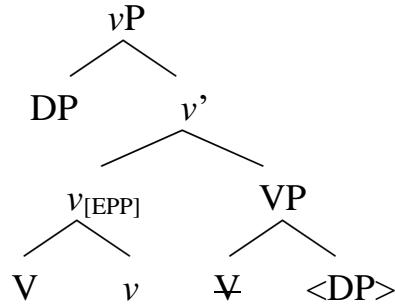
(38) ACD at Stage (b) – “standard” Modern Spanish

Step 1 → Object DP merges and Agrees with *v*.

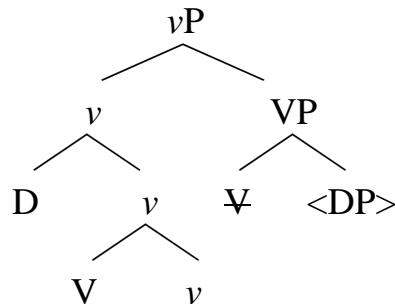


²⁶ See full discussion in Maddox (2019:98ff).

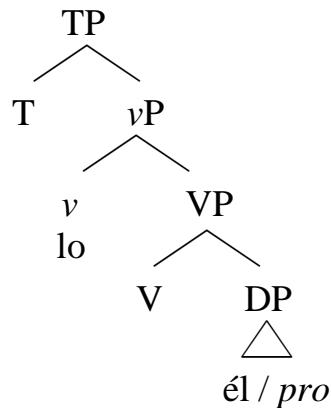
Step 2 → V moves to v ; Object DP moves to Spec, v .



Step 3 → M-merger between object DP and v .



(39) ACD/Agreement at stage (c) – Rioplatense Spanish



3.2.3 Independent evidence for Rioplatense at stage (c)

- ModS only allows canonical clitic-left dislocation (40) while Rioplatense allows clitic-left dislocation with epithets (41), as observed by Suñer (2006).

(40) Las flores_i las_i compré ayer.
 the flowers them I-bought yesterday
 'The flowers, I bought them yesterday.'

(41) [A mi mejor amiga]_i, la_i vi [a esa loca linda]_i el jueves.
 DOM my best friend her I-saw DOM that crazy beautiful the Thursday
 'I saw my best friend, that crazy beautiful girl, on Thursday.'

4. Object Movement (Object Shift/Scrambling) and the OAC

- An analysis involving object shift (OS) makes sense for an SOV language, but Spanish is SVO and is not conventionally considered an OS language.²⁷

Main claim: ModS has an EPP-feature in *v*; a historical remnant from Latin/OldS.

4.1 Background

- Object shift (OS): a syntactic operation in which an object is moved to the left of the verb, to Spec,*v*; e.g., Icelandic (42) and Danish (43) from Vikner (2006).

(42)a. Af hverju las Pétur aldrei [VP <las> [DP þessa bók]] ?
 why read Peter never this book
 b. Af hverju las Pétur [DP þessa bók] aldrei [VP <las> [DP <þessa bók>]] ?
 'Why did Peter never read this book?'

(43)a. *Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig [VP <læste> [DP den]] ?
 why read Peter never it
 b. Hvorfro læste Peter den aldrig [VP <læste> [DP <den>]] ?
 'Why did Peter never read it?'

- Scrambling: movement of a constituent (not limited to objects) left of the verb.
 - In German (44) and Dutch (45) below, the object has been scrambled from VP-internal position past negation.²⁸

(44) ...dass Jens die Bücher nicht <die Bücher> kauft. (German)
 that John the books not buys

²⁷ Ordóñez (1997, 1998) and Gallego (2012) analyze Spanish VOS as object shift or scrambling.

²⁸ These data adapted from Thráinsson (2001).

(45) ...dat Jan de boeken niet <de boeken> koopt. (Dutch)
 that John the books not buys
 ‘...that John does not buy the books.’

Object shift	Scrambling
Verb must evacuate VP before the object is allowed to shift (Holmberg’s Generalization). In auxiliary constructions OS is blocked because lexical verb does not move.	Does not require verb movement, Thus, auxiliary constructions do not block scrambling.
Clause-bound	Clause-bound (except for Japanese/Russian)
Optional with lexical DPs. Obligatory with pronominal objects.	Optional for most constituents. Obligatory with pronominal objects.
Can be blocked by prepositions, particles, and indirect objects.	Is not blocked by prepositions, particles, or indirect objects.
Cannot target a position between two adverbs.	Can move to a position between two adverbs
Moves DPs/NPs only.	Can move DPs/NPs, PPs, etc., but not APs.

Table 3. Object shift versus scrambling.²⁹

- Unification approaches → Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1997) and Suñer (2000) formally link either object shift or scrambling with clitic doubling.

4.2 Patterns of object movement in Old Spanish

Question: Was object movement in OldS object shift (OS), or scrambling, or both?

4.2.1 Previous studies

- Parodi (1995) – in OldS objects move to Spec,AgrO, which is an instantiation of object agreement. After this, the object can undergo subsequent scrambling.

(46) Dixol cuemo avia **su obra** acabada.³⁰
 he-told-them how had his work finished
 ‘He told them how he had finished his work.’

- Sitaridou (2011) – OldS object movement motivated by information structure.
 - ModS expresses focus to the right and topic to the left of the verb.
 - OldS expressed both focus and topic on the left of the verb.

²⁹ Based on discussion in Haider (2006), Thráinsson (2001), and Vikner (2006).

³⁰ Alfonso X, *Primera Crónica General de España*, 12.28^a; late 13th cent.

- MacKenzie & van der Wurff (2012) – four types of objects appear preverbally in Middle English and Medieval Spanish: quantified DPs (47), negative DPs (48), “given” objects (49), bare nouns in common V + N_{Obj} collocations (50).
 - Movement is triggered by an EPP feature that moves an object DP to Spec, v*P, where it may then move higher to CP.

(47) e si los huerfanos **algund pleyto** le fizieren.³¹
 and if the orphans some action to-him made
 ‘And if the orphans bring some action against him.’

(48) e no le quiso mostrar que **ninguna sospecha** havia d-el.³²
 and not to-him he-wanted show that not-any suspicion he-had of-he
 ‘And did not want to show him that he had any suspicion about him.’

(49) Quando la Inffante donna Urraca **estas razones** avie con los de Çamora.³³
 when the Infanta lady Urraca these reasons had with the of Zamora
 ‘When the Infanta doña Urraca had these words with the Zamorans.’

(50) si tu **verdat** dizes vengan sobre ti todas las bendiciones que...³⁴
 if you truth speak may-come upon you all the blessings that
 ‘If you speak true may all the blessings come upon you that...’

- None of these authors make a strong claim as to whether object movement in OldS should be considered object shift or scrambling.

4.2.2 Additional data³⁵

4.2.2.1 Preverbal objects with simple tense verbs

(51) **Tod esto** cuenta Moysen en este sobredicho libro.³⁶
 all this relates Moses in this aforementioned book
 ‘Moses relates all of this in this aforementioned book.’

³¹ Alfonso X, *Siete partidas*; 1256-1265. (109) to (112) are MacKenzie & van der Wurff’s data and so I cite them as they do; i.e., without line or page numbers.

³² Anonymous, *Gran conquista de Ultramar*; 1291-1295

³³ Alfonso X, *Estoria de España II*; 1260-1284

³⁴ Alfonso X, *Ordenamiento de las tafurerías*; 1276

³⁵ See Maddox (2019:113ff) for full discussion of the data in this section.

³⁶ Alfonso X, *Primera Crónica General*, p. 4; 1260-1284

(52) cuando **esto** sopo Berzebuey buscó aquellas escripturas.³⁷
 when this found-out Berzebuey he-looked those scriptures
 'When Berzebuey found this out he looked at those scriptures.'

- This is a very common pattern and is highly reminiscent of Scandinavian OS, but verb movement also occurs in when the object appears to remain in situ:

(53) poníale el padre una corona de oro...³⁸
 he-put-on-him the father a crown of gold
 'His father put a golden crown on him.'

(54) Non conosce el hombre la grandeza de Dios...³⁹
 not knows the man the greatness of God
 'Man does not know God's greatness...'

4.2.2.2 Object movement to CP

- OS is clause-bound. Scrambling may move a constituent outside of the clause. I found no evidence of clause-external scrambling in OldS.
 - The furthest an object moves is to CP, where one often finds an object clitic encliticized to a verb (55) or complementizer (56).

(55) e matolo el rey Artur ante la cibdad de Paris.⁴⁰
 and he-killed-him the king Arthur before the city of Paris
 'And King Arthur killed him before the city of Paris.'

(56) e los Obispos pusieron sentencia de descomulgamiento sobre todos
 and the bishops placed sentence of excommunication on all
 aquellos quelo non tovieren.⁴¹
 those that-it not held
 'And the bishops placed an excommunication sentence on all those who did not hold it (their mandate).'

³⁷ Anonymous, *Calila e Dimna*; 1251

³⁸ Anonymous, *Fazienda de Ultramar*; mid-13th century

³⁹ Anonymous, *Fazienda de Ultramar*; mid-13th century

⁴⁰ Anonymous, *La demanda del Sancto Grial*, p. 260; c. 1470

⁴¹ Anonymous, *Ordenamiento de las cortes celebradas en Valladolid*, p. 55; 1258

4.2.2.3 Object movement not blocked by indirect objects

- OS is blocked by an indirect object while scrambling is not. The data below appear then to be instances of scrambling and not OS.

(57) todas estas razones te cuento yo.⁴²
all these reasons you tell I
'I tell you all these reasons.'

(58) si acaeciese que otra desonra les feziesen...⁴³
if should-happen that other dishonor them they-made
'if it should happen that they made them another dishonor...'

Conclusion: OldS had both OS and scrambling. The extensive degree of object movement observed in OldS lends support to the presence of an EPP-feature in *v*.

4.3 Object movement feeds the OAC

- Main point → object movement feeds the OAC because it moves the object to a position (Spec, *v*) where it is associated with the *v* head.

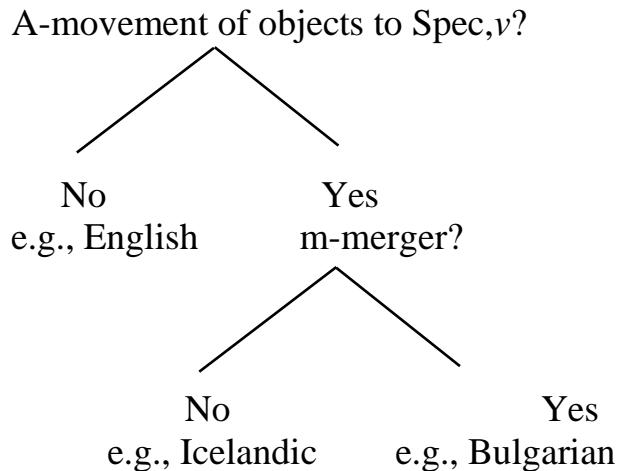
4.3.1 *Parametric variation in Harizanov (2014)*

- Since OS is A-movement to Spec, *v* and ACD also relies on A-movement of the object DP to Spec, *v* followed by m-merger, this explains the similarities exhibited by ACD and OS.
- An OS language is distinguished from an ACD language is by lack of m-merger and the presence/absence of EPP in *v*.
 - In a language like English which lacks OS, there is no EPP in *v*.
 - Icelandic has EPP in *v* and so it has OS but no m-merger.
 - Bulgarian has EPP in *v* and m-merger is allowed, so it has ACD rather than OS alone.

⁴² Abu al-Wafa' al-Mubashshir ibn Fatik, *Bocados de Oro*; mid-13th century

⁴³ Alfonso X, *El Espéculo*, p. 20; 1255-1260

(59) Parametric Variation of Object Shift and Clitic Doubling (Harizanov 2014)



4.3.2 Relation to the OAC

Proposal: The synchronic parametric variation in (59) also occurs diachronically.

- Languages may or may not have EPP in v and m-merger may or may not be allowed. EPP is satisfied by A-movement to Spec, v , so it targets XPs rather than heads. When the object pronoun is a DP, it can move to Spec, v for EPP.
 - Movement to Spec, v is OS and subsequent movement higher is scrambling. If a language has EPP and m-merger, the DP in Spec, v will form a complex head with v and will be spelled out as a D-clitic.
 - These languages have ACD on the Harizanov/Kramer-type analysis.

Questions:

- 1) Why do some languages allow A-movement to Spec, v ?
- 2) Why do only some languages exhibit m-merger?

Resolution → A-movement is allowed if v has EPP. M-merger is universally available, but only applies to a clitic/pronoun that is sufficiently deficient.

- Stage (b) -- the language still has EPP-in- v and the clitic/pronoun can still satisfy EPP but it is also deficient enough to be targeted by m-merger with v .
 - M-merger is synchronic reanalysis of the clitic as v . For one generation of speakers, m-merger is a regular synchronic operation in ACD.
 - Stage (c) -- the next generation of language learners analyze the string of ACD as signaling that the clitic is agreement.

4.3.3 *Predictions and patterns*

Prediction: In order to develop ACD a language will have to have object movement at an earlier stage.

4.3.3.1 ACD and object movement in Spanish

- Since ModS has stage (b) ACD so it must have had OS earlier.
 - OldS did have object shift and scrambling triggered by EPP in *v* and so the prediction holds at least for Spanish.

Problem: ModS no longer allows extensive object movement so how is there still an EPP-feature in *v* that licenses stage (b) type ACD?

- EPP is optional since it has effects on interpretation (or)
- EPP is a historical remnant from OldS. ModS only has OS in ACD.

4.3.3.2 Object movement in other Romance languages

- A consistent pattern in Romance → less constrained object movement in the older variety and more restricted object movement in the modern variety.
- Sitaridou (2012) -- word order in Old French, Old Portuguese, Old Spanish, and Old Occitan. Preverbal objects licensed that are topics or contrastive focus.
 - Discourse-motivated object movement in modern Romance is more constrained due to a change in information structure.
- Object movement in other varieties of Old Romance:
 - Martins (2002) -- scrambling in Old Portuguese
 - Poletto (2014) -- scrambling in Old Italian
 - Nicolae (2019) -- scrambling in Old Romanian
 - Zaring (1998), Mathieu (2009) – OS in Old French
- All these varieties had object movement; the first part of the prediction holds.

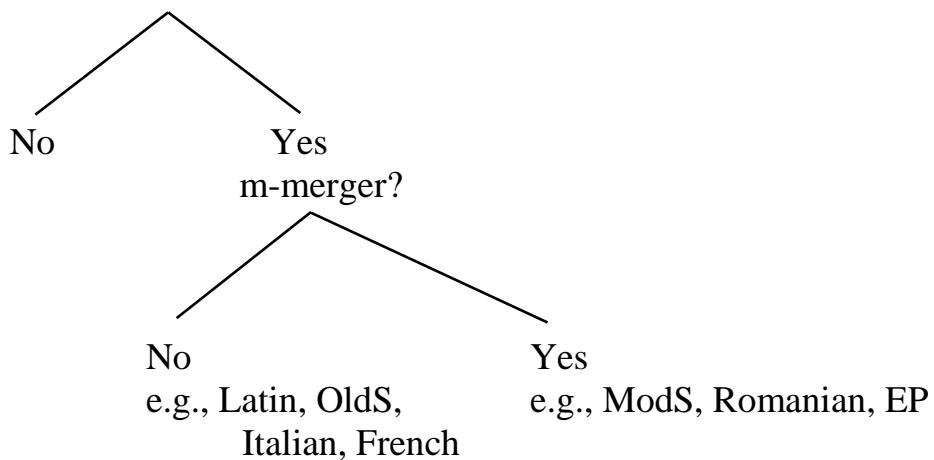
4.3.3.3 ACD in other Romance languages

- If object movement feeds reanalysis of clitics then those languages that had object movement should have clitics that are undergoing grammaticalization.
 - Modern Romance has object clitics but there is variation wrt the OAC.

- Standard French and Italian do not have ACD while Romanian does have ACD.
- European Portuguese (EP) differs from Brazilian (BP).
 - EP has restricted ACD (Dubert & Galves 2016).
 - BP lost ACD except one variety (Machado Rocha & Ramos 2016).
- All of these also allowed object movement and thus the prediction holds.⁴⁴

(60) Parametric Variation of object movement and clitic doubling in Romance

A-movement of objects to Spec, v ?



5. Conclusion

Summary –

- Latin/Spanish object pronouns have changed from phrases to heads.
- ACD at stage (b) of the OAC involves object movement to Spec, v followed by m-merger. ACD at stage (c) is agreement with the clitic as the spell-out of v .
- Less restricted object movement in Latin and older varieties of Romance fed the reanalysis of object clitics as object agreement because the object DP moved to a position where it was close enough to be associated with v .

- Next steps → Look outside Romance; e.g., Scandinavian, Germanic.
 - Mainland Scandinavian OS is restricted to pronominal objects.

⁴⁴ The situation is even more complicated than it appears. In Maddox (2019:Chapter 5), I revisit object clitics and I argue that the diachronic and synchronic distribution of object clitic-left dislocation, ACD, and null objects in Spanish and beyond are tied to the stages of the OAC.

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