

## Differential Object Marking and Clitic Doubling in Spanish across the contact continuum

Liliana Sánchez  
University of Illinois Chicago

Differential Object Marking (DOM) and Clitic Doubling (CLD) exhibit great levels of variation across different varieties of Spanish. Typically, in most varieties of Spanish, DOM is constrained by animacy and definiteness, as shown in [1] and CLD is restricted to personal pronouns, and although some dialects of Spanish allow for doubling of definite noun phrases, doubling of indefinites is not allowed in many varieties, as shown in [2]:

- [1] Vimos a la persona indicada/\* un libro  
 See.1.PL DOM the person right a book  
 'We saw the right person.'
- [2] La/lo/le vimos a ella/él/elle/ la persona indicada/\*un libro  
 DEF.F.S/M.S/S See.1.PL DOM DEF.F.S/M.S/S/ the person right/ a book  
 'We saw her/him/them/the right person/a book.'

Both phenomena have been shown to be sensitive to a combination of features that include, but are not restricted to, animacy and definiteness (Aissen 2003; Bossong 1991, 2003; Leonetti 2008; Lopez 2012, Mayer 2017; Torrego 1998; Zdrojewski & Sánchez 2014, i.a.). DOM in particular has been reported as sensitive to the animacy hierarchy proposed by Aissen (2003). Variation in DOM across Spanish dialects ranges from an adherence to DOM being triggered by the higher levels of animacy in the hierarchy to the extension of DOM to inanimate objects in varieties such as Buenos Aires Spanish (Sánchez, Mayer & Zdrojewski [3] or Mexican Spanish as in [4] (Arechabaleta Regulez & Montrul 2021). Variation in CLD also includes the possibility in some dialects to double inanimate or indefinite noun phrases (Luján 1987), as in [5]:

- [3] A la mejor muestra de democracia,  
 DOM DEF.F.S best example of democracy  
 la dimos Cristina y yo  
 CL.DEF.M.S give.1.PL.PST Cristina and I  
 'Cristina and I gave the best example of democracy.'
- [4] El leñador metió a las piedras en el estomago  
 the woodcutter put DOM the rocks in the stomach  
 del lobo  
 of.DEF.M.S wolf  
 'The woodcutter put the rocks in the wolf's stomach.'
- [5] Se lo llev-ó una caja  
 CL.3.S CL.3.M.S take-PST-3.S INDEF.F.S box.F.S  
 '(S)/He took a box (with her/him).'

While several constraints over DOM and the doubled DP in CLD structures have been studied extensively, the effects of language contact between Spanish and languages that exhibit typological differences in case marking has been less explored. In this talk, I focus on CLD and DOM in Buenos Aires Spanish and Peruvian varieties of Spanish with different levels of contact with Quechua, a nominative-accusative language, and Shipibo, a language with ergative alignments. Based on work by Sánchez, Mayer & Zdrojewski (2021), I present an account of the expansion of DOM in Buenos Aires Spanish to inanimate definite direct objects and of CLD to inanimate definite and indefinite noun phrases in Peruvian varieties in contact with Quechua and Shipibo. The analysis of the gradual loss of animacy constraints is centered on the possible combinations of generalized object marking as an expression of Agree in the verbal domain (VP), in the case of clitic doubling structures, in the nominal domain (DP), in the case of DOM, or in both domains when DOM and CLD lose sensitivity to animacy. Regarding definiteness, the loss of animacy marking progresses in the following order: i) definites (clitics in the low contact Lima variety and DOM in Buenos Aires) > ii) indefinites (clitics in the Peruvian varieties in contact).