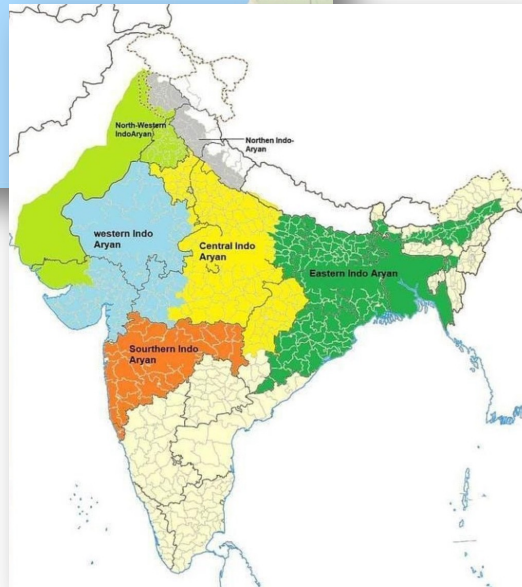
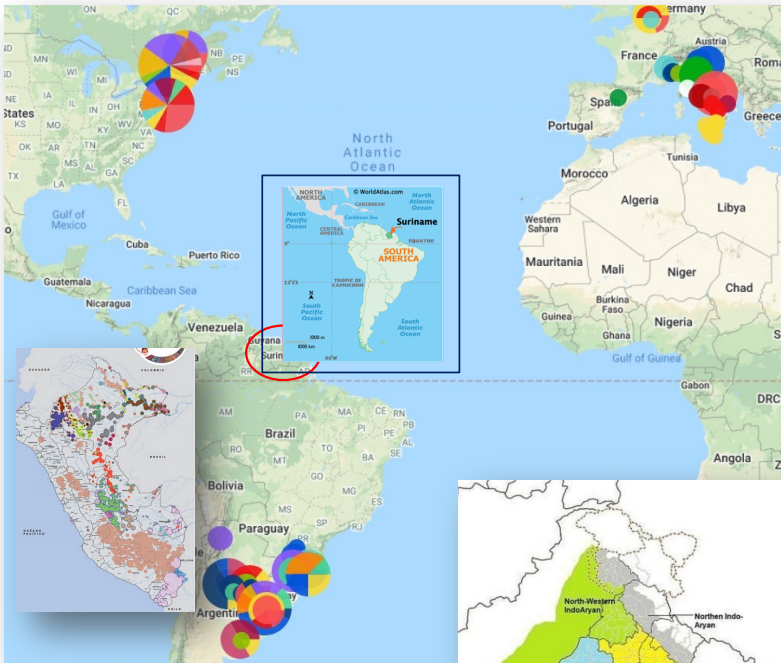


# (Micro)contact, microdiachrony microvariation The view on DOM



# Differential Object Marking

---

- Marking of the direct object when animate/definite/topical/”more prominent”

(1) Talia **a** ssu picciliddru [SICILIAN]  
look DOM this.2 little  
‘Look at this child’ (Iemmolo 2010: 344)

**DOM** (Bossong 1985, 1991, but already known in Romance as *prepositional accusative*, Diez 1874; Meyer-Lubke 1890-1895, Moravcsik 1978)



# Differential Object Marking

- a. “Differential case-assignment to subjects and direct objects serves the function of distinguishing subjects from direct objects... [Some] languages have differential case-assignment only where confusion between subject and direct object is particularly likely...” (Comrie 1977: 16)
- b. “it is those direct objects which are most in need of being distinguished from subjects that get overtly case-marked” (Aissen 2003: 437)
- c. “Many analyses of asymmetric differential object marking ... argue that those objects which look too much like prototypical subjects are marked in order to distinguish them from the subject.” (Malchukov and de Swart 2009: 348)

In Haspelmath (2019:329)

# Just a marker?

---

## DOM in motion

- Appearance / Extension (contact and diachrony)
- Disappearance

## DOM in the system

- Domains
- Alignment

# 1. DOM in motion

---

# Diachrony: Emergence of DOM

- Emergence in different syntactic environments (Irimia & Pineda 2021)
- Relevance of **TOPICALITY**

Iemmolo (2009, 2020): overview of > 100 languages  
Topics are DOM-ed

- (2) 14<sup>th</sup>-c. Neapolitan *Romanzo di Francia* (Ledgeway 2009:834-36)
- a E a **mene** me 'de volleva mandare in outramare (1SG, C-top)  
and DOM me me= hence want.PST.3SG send.INF in oversea  
'And he wanted to send me overseas'
- b vóy fare morire **mene** (1SG, v-top)  
want.PRS.2SG make.INF die me  
'you want to have me die'

# Contact: Weakening or disappearance



- In contact DOM tends to disappear (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Montrul 2004; Luján & Parodi 1996; Montrul & Bowles 2009; Montrul & Sánchez-Walker 2013; Montrul, Bhatt & Girju 2015) have shown that DOM weakens in Heritage Spanish spoken in the US.
- Italo-Romance in NYC: same (Andriani et al, 2021)

(3) Oh, salutə Ø **questo qqua**, salutə Ø **questa persona qqua**.  
hey greet.2SG DOM this here greet.2SG DOM this person here  
'hey, say hi to this one here, say hi to this person here.'

(4) Mi zio [...] portato Ø **tutta la famijja** là.  
my uncle brought DOM all the family there  
'my uncle [...] brought all his family there.'



# Contact / Reinforcement of DOM

---

- Things are rather different in microcontact: extension of DOM

(5) *Heritage Abruzzese in Argentina*

Lu lopə s'a magnatə **a nu gnillə.**  
the wolf SI=has eaten DOM a lamb  
'The wolf ate a lamb.'

Extended DOM

Emergent DOM

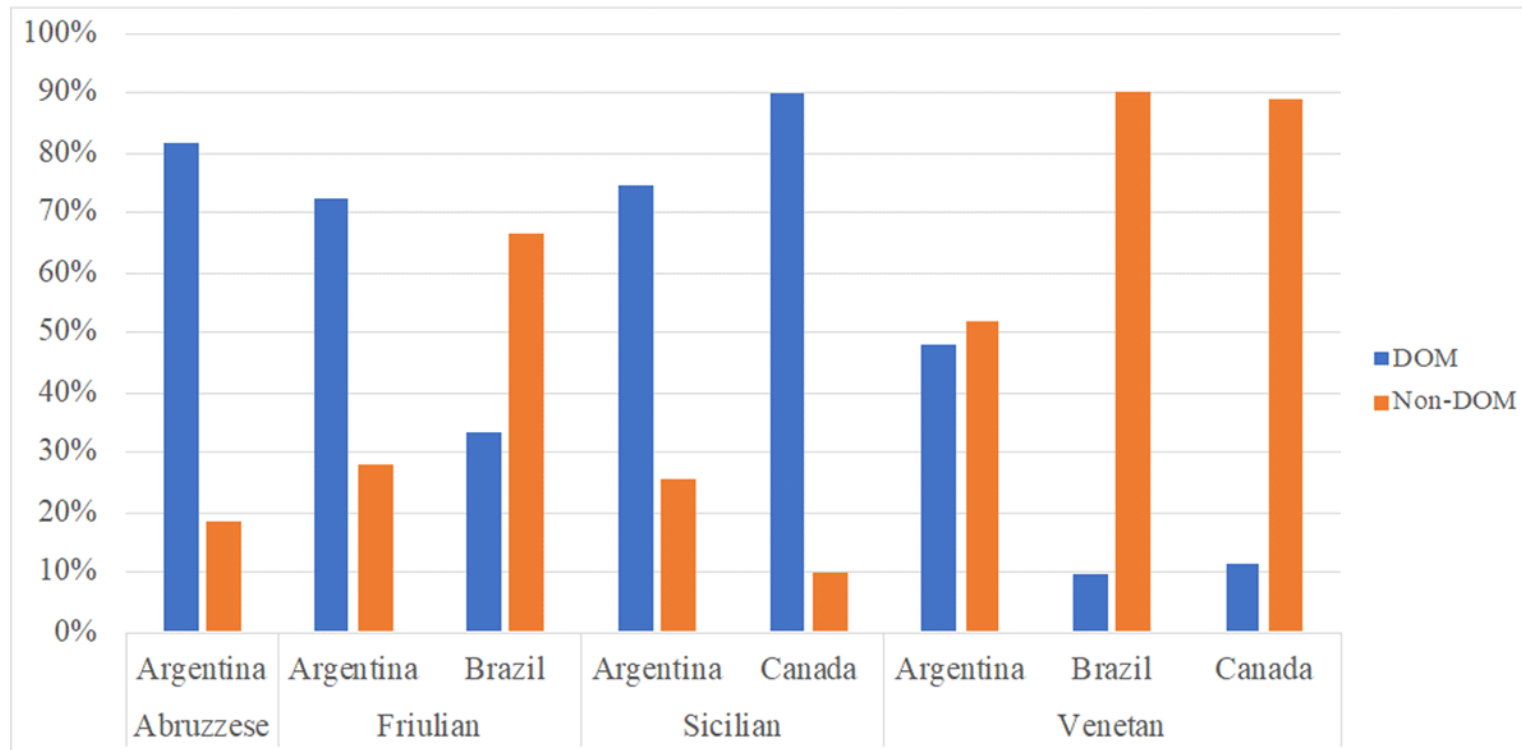
(6) *Heritage Friulian in Argentina*

Tu as fât un sium. Tu as bussât **a to fie.**  
you.SCL have made a dream you.SCL have kissed DOM your daughter  
'You had a dream. You kissed your daughter.'

See **Sorgini (in prep)**



# Microcontact



Heritage varieties,  
DOM in  
animacy/definiteness  
contexts

**Andriani et al (2022:19)**

## But of course...

---

- DOM in Southern Italian varieties in contact with Argentinean Spanish is obviously reinforced;
- Northern Italian varieties undergo transfer
- Is structural similarity what makes the difference?

## 2. Structural similarity vs extended structural similarity (perception)

---

# Structural similarity vs perception

---

What exactly must be similar?

For DOM  $VP_{L1} \equiv VP_{L2}$

- D'Alessandro (2021): SS is not enough - perception of the locus of variation is crucial
- Heritage speakers of languages in microcontact as well as CREOLE speakers can't identify the exact locus of variation > they don't map the grammars one on the other but resort to other (L1-type)cognitive strategies, like marking of the topic

# Structural similarity vs perception

	Structural similarity/mapping	SS expanded/perceived locus of variation
<b>L1=L2 (VP<math>\equiv</math>VP; alignment)</b>	DOM retained	DOM weakened
<b>L1=L2=L3=L4</b>	DOM retained	DOM retained/new DOM emerging
<b>L1 <math>\neq</math> L2</b>	DOM weakened/lost	DOM weakened/lost
<b>L1 = L2 <math>\neq</math> L3 <math>\neq</math> L4</b>	DOM weakened/lost	new DOM emerging

# A look from the outside world /Peru

Asháninka-Spanish > DOM is retained and expanded

**NOM/ACC**

- (7) *Lo bot-aron a la rana*  
CL.3.M.SG kick-PERF.3PL DOM DET.F.SG frog.F.SG  
'They kicked out the frog.'

Mayer & Sánchez (2021:108)

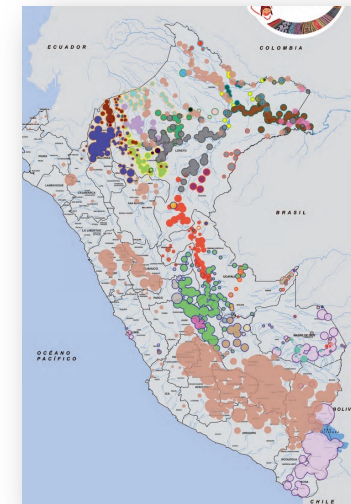
Asháninka-Spanish (Mayer Dataset 2016)

Shipibo-Spanish (ERG/ABS) > DOM is lost

- (8) *Le molest-a Ø el niño*  
CL.3SG bother-PRES.3SG Ø DET.M.SG child-M.SG  
'He bothers the child.'

**ERG/ABS**

Shipibo-Spanish (Sánchez Dataset 2002)





# A look from the outside world /Suriname

Surinamese Sarnami > DOM is retained and expanded

(9) U                      Dew ke                      már-e hai  
3SG.NOM.DIST      Dew DOM                      hit-3    PRS  
'She hits Dew'  
(Damsteegt & Narain. 1987:49 in Vinke 2023)

(10) Dewi am            (\*ke)      ná                      dekh-is                      hai  
Dewi mango    DOM    NEG                      see-3PRF                      PRS  
'Dewi sees no mango'  
(Vinke 2023)





# A look from the outside world /NL

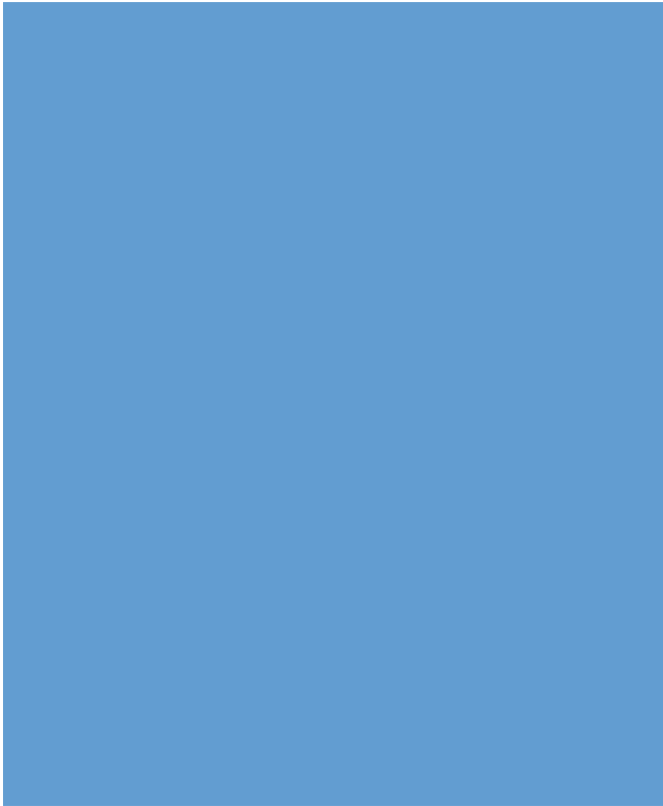
Heritage Sarnami in NL > DOM is retained

- (11) Mohan adhyápak \*(ke) ná dekh-e hai  
Mohan teacher DOM NEG see-3 PRS  
'Mohan sees no teacher'
- (12) Dewi buk-wá (ke) dekh-is hai  
Dewi book-DEF DOM see-3.PRF PRS  
'Dewi has seen the book'
- (13) Dewi am (\*ke) ná dekh-is hai  
Dewi mango DOM NEG see-3.PRF PRS  
'Dewi has seen no mango'



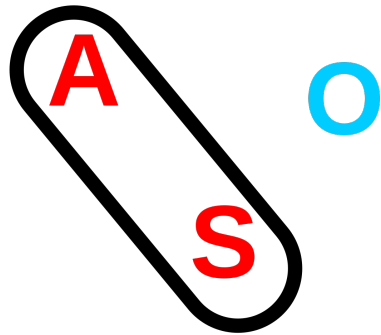
Vinke (2023)

# 3. Why alignment?

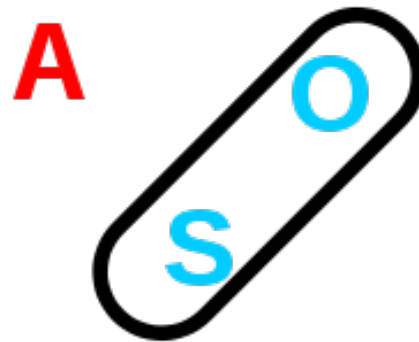


# 3 alignments

In short:



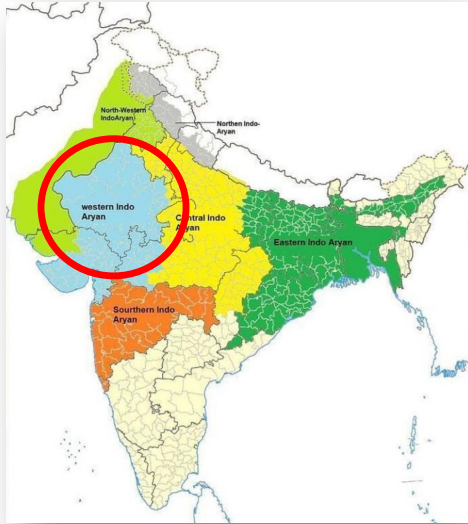
Nominative-Accusative



Ergative-Absolutive



Active-Stativity



***Aus dem räumlichen  
Nebeneinander ein zeitliches  
Nacheinander***

## Varieties examined

- Hindi
- Gujarati
- Kutchi Gujarati
- Marwari & Marwari dialects
- Mewari
- Harauti
- Ahirwati
- Shekhawati
- Haryanavi & Haryanavi dialects
- Kashmiri
- (Old Rajastani)
- (Epic Sanskrit)



# What we found

---

- When V starts agreeing with **DOM-marked O**, and T starts emerging as a separate head, **ergative case marking starts to disappear**
- We start seeing **a shift in ergative alignment** > the language moves towards NOM/ACC (though the final NOM/ACC alignment is not reached yet)

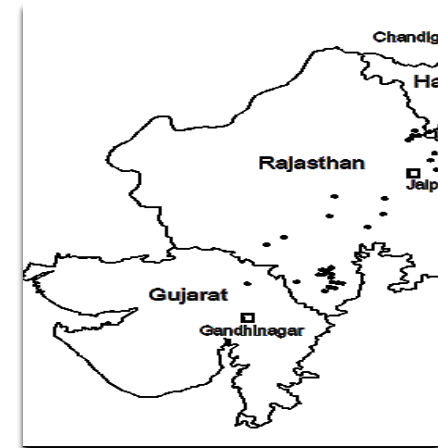


**DP-NOM DP-ACC V-obj T-subj**

# Kutchi Gujarati

(14) *Reena*            *kutro(-ne)*            *mar-y-o*  
 Reena.F            dog.M-(DOM)            hit-PFV-M  
 ‘Reena hit a/the dog’. (Grosz and Patel-Grosz 2014: 5b)

(15) *Hu*            *chokra-ne*    *jo-y-a*            *ha-is*  
 I            boys-DOM    see-PFV-PL    be-FUT.1.SG  
 ‘I will have seen the boys’ (Grosz and Patel-Grosz 2014: 9a); future perfective



<b>Subj</b>	<u>Obj (DOM)</u>	<u>V-obj</u>	<b>T-subj</b>
-------------	------------------	--------------	---------------

# Step 1. Gujarati

---

(16) *sita-e*            *kaagal*            *vaac-yo*  
Sita.F-ERG    letter.M            read-PFV.M.SG  
'Sita read the letter'

T-Aux

(17) *raj-e*            *sita-ne*            *payav-i*  
Raj.M-ERG    Sita.F-DOM        harass-PFV.F.SG  
'Raj harassed Sita'

(Wunderlich, 2012: 5)

Subj-ERG    **Obj (DOM)**    **V-obj**

# Marwari

---

(18) *mhaaai* *sita-ne* *dekhii* *hu*  
I Sita.F-DOM saw.F be.1.SG  
'I have seen Sita'

(19) *ap* *sita-ne* *dekhi* *ho*  
you(PL). Sita.F-DOM saw.F be.2.PL  
'You have seen Sita' (Magier 1983: 250); present perfect

<b>Subj</b>	<b><u>Obj (DOM)</u></b>	<b><u>V-obj.</u></b>	<b>T-subj</b>
-------------	-------------------------	----------------------	---------------



# Patterns

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Subj-ne

Obj-**DOM**

V-**obj**

(Gujarati)

>

**Subj**

Obj-DOM

V-obj

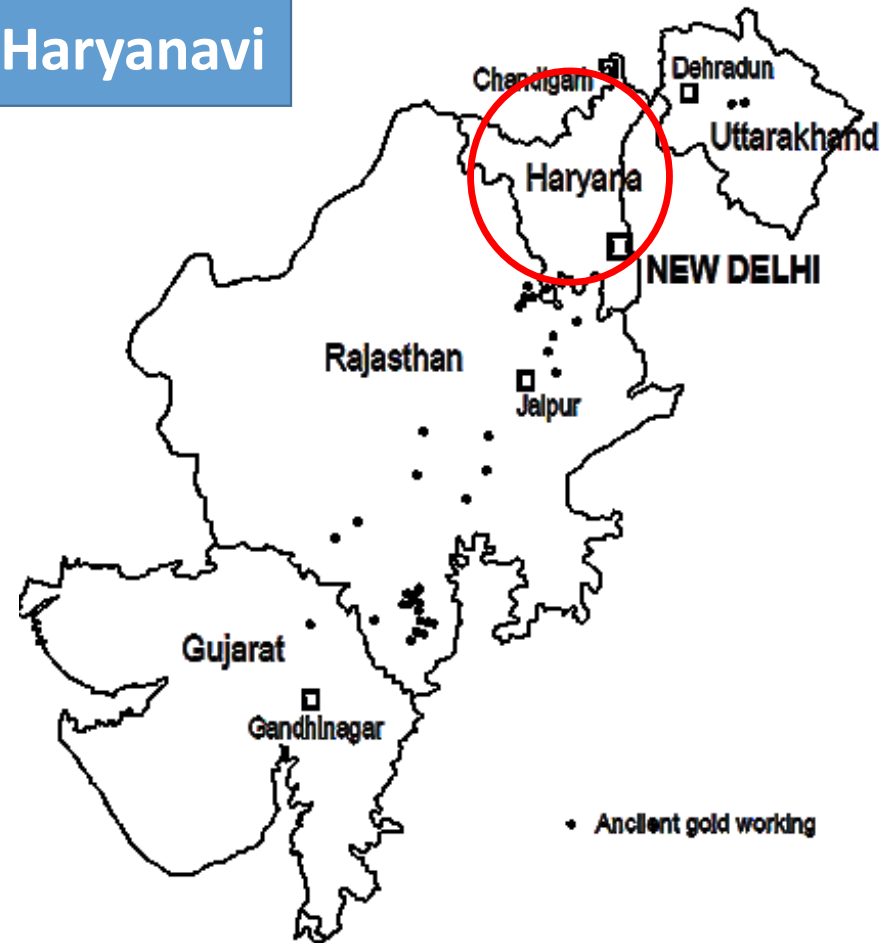
**T-subj**

(Kutchi Gujarati, Marwari)

No DOM  
in  
perfective,  
no shift!

---

## Haryanavi



# No DOM in perfective, no shift

(20) *John-ne Mary-(\*ke/\*ne) dekhii (thii)*  
John-ERG Mary-(\*DOM) see-F.SG (be.F.SG)  
'John had seen Mary'

Haryanavi

(21) *John Mary-ne dekhega*  
John Mary-DOM see-fut.M.SG  
'John will see Mary' (field notes. Chandra & D'Alessandro, 2023)

**Haryanavi disallows DOM in the perfective**, though DOM is allowed in the imperfective

**The auxiliary is optional** and is obligatorily dropped in some Haryanavi dialects

**Ergativity is quite robust** and patterns closely with Hindi

# Proto-Romance to Romance

- Proto-Romance had an active-stative (split intransitive) alignment (EA vs IA)
- DOM started emerging to separate subject IA from object IA
- The DOM marker attracted v-agreement > v-DP obj

**DP-NOM   T-subj   v-DPacc   DP-DOM**

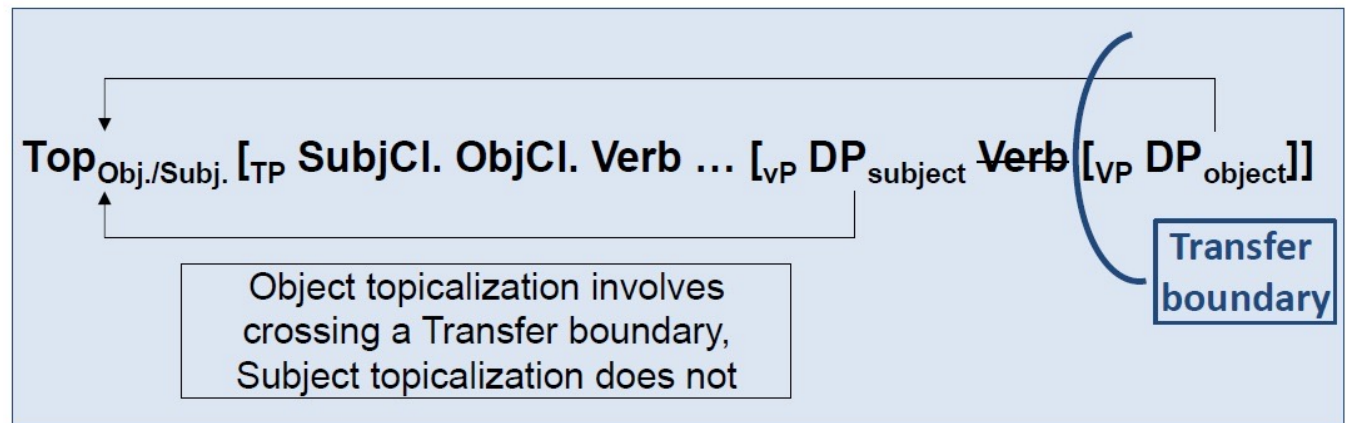
# 4. Extending domains

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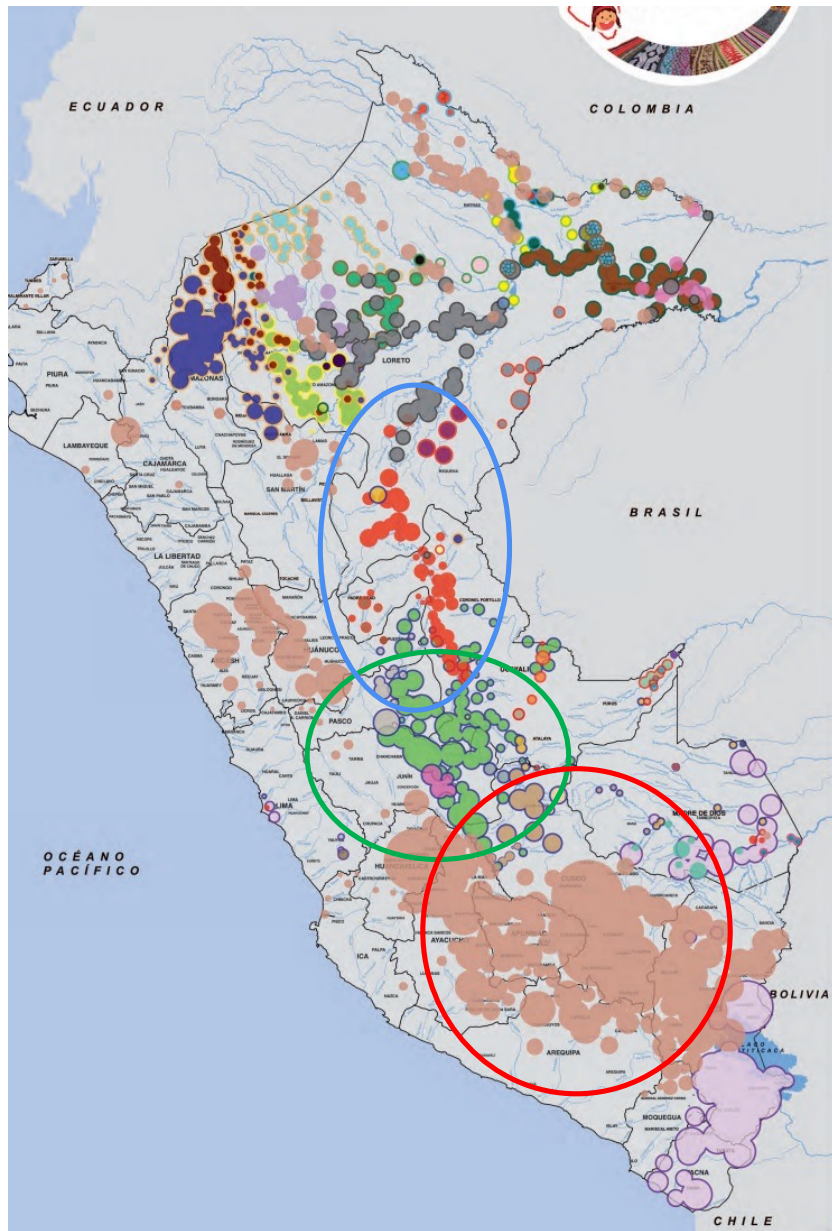
# Phases / PIC

(23)

Crossing PIC-induced boundaries requires resumption or a marker of the movement that has happened



Casalicchio, Ciconte & D'Alessandro (2018), D'Alessandro (2022)



# DOM and clitics

- Extending the domain
- DOM and clitic doubling (in CLLD) > often co-occur
- Either or (more DOM less CLLD)
- Meyer & Sánchez (2021) [Huánuco Quechua, Shipibo, Asháninka in contact with Peruvian Spanish)
- Same function: marking domain extension (D'Alessandro 2022)

# DOM and dislocation

---

Spoken Italian

(22) Hai visto me \\*a me  
have.2SG seen.M.SG me.1SG.ACC DOM me.1SG.ACC  
'You saw me'

(23) A me / \*me mi hai visto  
DOM me.1SG.ACC me.1SG.ACC have.2SG seen



# One more tile to the puzzle

---

**(MICRO-)VARIATION IS ALL!**

Thank you!

Reference list and  
questions/feedback:  
r.dalessandro@uu.nl

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# Ergativity (joint work with P.Chandra)



- Phi-agreement between V and argument does not **always** go hand in hand with ergative case marking

(9) *John-ne cidiyaa dekhii thii*  
John-ERG sparrow-F.SG see-PERF.F.SG. be.F.SG  
'John had seen a sparrow'

(Hindi)


(10) *Mai-le yas pasal-maa patrikaa kin-e*  
I-ERG dem.OBL store-LOC newspaper.NOM. Buy-1.SG.PERF  
'I bought the newspaper in this store'

(Nepali: Bickel and Yadav 2000)

# Analysis

- The perfect configuration for an ergative alignment in WIA is a participial form:

(22) [ .... [<sub>VP/PartP</sub> Subj-ERG [<sub>VP</sub> Obj V] v]]



- The phi-incomplete v triggers agreement with the (in-situ) object
- The subject is marked (dependent) ergative within the vP.

# Analysis

- When the object is DOM-marked, the structure is:

(23) [Subj [<sub>VP</sub> Obj-DOM [<sub>VP</sub> ~~Obj~~ V] v]]

- **The object moves to the specifier of vP**, which also explains the specific/definite readings often associated with DOM objects (Torrego 1998 *a.o.*)
- **A dependent ergative case cannot be assigned to another DP in another specifier of the same (v) head**
- **v is reanalyzed as ‘active’ v** (in line with Butt and Deo 2017)
- This prompts **the subject to seek a different head**

# Analysis

---

- Activating the T

(24) [<sub>TP</sub> **Subj** .... [<sub>VP</sub> Obj [<sub>VP</sub> V] v] **T**]

(recall: Kutchi Gujarati, Marwari)

**Subj**    Obj (DOM)    V-obj.    **T-subj**

# DOM is Accusative

✓ Surati Gujarati (Chandra & D'Alessandro, in prep)

(29) Raj-e bakri(-ne) joyi  
Raj-erg goat.fsg-DOM see.pfv.fsg  
'Raj saw a/the goat'

(30) ram-e raj-ne/\*(-ne) bakri aapi  
Ram.m.sg.-erg Raj.dat goat.fsg give.pfv.fsg  
'Ram gave Raj a goat'



# Dative or Accusative

Marwari

(31)john ek gaai/ bi gaai-ne kaal dekhi (hii)  
John one cow.fem/that cow.fem-DOM yesterday **see-fem** (be-fem)

‘John saw one cow/that cow yesterday’

(32)muhn kaal ek gaai/ ek kitaab john-ne di  
I yesterday one cow.fem./one book.fem John-dat give

‘I gave a cow/a book to John yesterday’

# 1 additional ingredient

- Definiteness/Specificity/person (in sync/in dia)
- Topicality

Overviews: Cennamo (2019), Cennamo et al. (in press), De Angelis (2019), Ledgeway (2019)...

## Agreement with DOM-objects

- A look from Italo-Romance, other Romance varieties in contact, Western Indo-Aryan

No DOM  
in  
perfective,  
no shift!

Kashmiri





# No DOM in perfective, no shift

(20) *tem chhes bl/\*me vichhmets*  
she.ERG has me.NOM/\*me.OBL seen

‘She has seen me’

Kashmiri

(21) *mohn-an chEl’ palav*  
mohan-ERG wash.PST.M.PL clothes.M.PL

‘Mohan washed the clothes’

(Hook and Kaul 1987)

**No DOM in the perfective  
Ergativity is retained**

# What we know about DOM

- DOM is a case marker (which case?)
- (DOM is a topic marker) > later
- DOM is both (e.g., *Akkudativ* in Berlinisch, Tyrchan 2021)
- ✓ It is in Narrow Syntax (especially as it has consequences for alignment, not just case)
- ✓ It is in Narrow Syntax (because it appears or disappears depending on structural similarity)

## 4. Which case is DOM?

---

# Dative or Accusative

---

- ✓ It looks like accusative (usually doubled by accusative clitics)

(25) tʃ            u (/ʔndʒə)            'kretə 'ccu            a 'kkɔddə [Barese]  
who            him/ACC (DAT)            believe.3SG more to that.M  
'and who believes him any longer?'

(Solfato 2008, 32, in Andriani, in press)

- ✓ It looks like dative (it has the same form, it is underlyingly very similar, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Bobaljik 2017, a.o.)

# DOM is Accusative

---

✓ Gujarati (Chandra & D'Alessandro, 2022)

(26) Kishor-e        Raaj-**ne** pajav-y-o  
Kishor-erg    Raj-acc harass-perf-m.sg  
'Kishor harassed Raj'        (Mistry 1997:4a)

(27) Raaj-**ne** potaane kaam gaamyun  
Raj-dat    self-dat work liked  
'Raj himself liked the work'

(28) ma-**re**    jAvuu joiee  
I-dat    go        needed  
'I want/need to go'        (Lambert 1971)



# Recycling DOM

---

- Heritage Russian speakers master the dative form Polinsky (2018)
- DOM in H Russian in the US tends to get lost (like in other contact situations)

Polinsky (2018:186)

(33) Ja vižu žuk-Ø/muxa/stol-Ø/ *Heritage Russian*  
1SG.NOM see bug-UNMARKED/fly.UNMARKED/table-UNMARKED/  
tarelka.  
plate.UNMARKED  
'I see a bug/fly/table/plate.'

# Recycling DOM

---

“the form that corresponds to the marked accusative case in the baseline is coopted as the dative of the recipient (indirect object) in the heritage language”

- (34)
- |    |           |            |                   |                         |
|----|-----------|------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | podarit   | syn-a      | gitara            | <i>Heritage Russian</i> |
|    | will.gift | son-MARKED | guitar.UNMARKED   |                         |
| b. | podarit   | syn-u      | gitar-u           | <i>Baseline Russian</i> |
|    | will.gift | son-DAT    | guitar-ACC.MARKED |                         |
- ‘will give the son a guitar as a present’

The dative “adopts a more indexical discourse function, forging a tighter connection between morphosyntax and semantic properties”

“an existing case form is recycled for new use”

(Yager et al. 2015 in Polinsky 2018)



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*All the syntactic functions of DOM (-1)*

# Verb movement in heritage languages

---

H Apulian/NYC

(24) Mammə **sembə è ffatte** la secretariə pə ppapà  
mum      always    is done the secretary for dad

Baseline: Mammə è (sembə) fattə (sembə)

(25) **Sembrə rispettava** quel gende qqui  
always    respected that people here

‘S/he always respected those people here’

(Andriani & D’Alessandro in prep.)

# Loss of DOM

---

(27) *Heritage Cilentano in New York City*

- a. Edda ha vvist'a **mme**.  
she has seen DOM me  
'she saw me.'
- b. Ajerə ho vvisto Ø **mi fijjə**.  
yesterday have.1SG seen DOM my son  
'yesterday I saw my son.'
- c. Oh, salutə Ø **questo qqua**, salutə Ø **questa persona qqua**.  
hey greet.2SG DOM this here greet.2SG DOM this person here  
'hey, say hi to this one here, say hi to this person here.'
- d. Mi zio [...] portato Ø **tutta la famijja** là.  
my uncle brought DOM all the family there  
'my uncle [...] brought all his family there.'
- e. Io conosciuto Ø **tuttəquandə**.  
I met DOM everyone  
'I've met everyone.'

Andriani et al (2021)

# Loss of V-mvt, loss of DOM

---

Loss of V-to-v

- Loss of DOM (Montrul)

Necessity to mark domain extension/dependency

- Emergence of DOM

**Verb movement extends domains** (Gallego 2005 ff, Phase sliding;  
D'Alessandro, Gallego & Putnam 2022)

# Wait a second!

---



Does DOM appear or disappear in microcontact?

# Both!

---

- If the domain of computation is reduced (because of the loss of V-movement) > DOM in situ/structural DOM disappears
- If a heritage/dialect/non-standardized variety speaker still needs to express long-distance dependency > DOM ex situ is inserted



# Both!

