The development of a position-based DOM system: the case of Galician

In this investigation, I observe the development of differential object marking (DOM) of full DPs in Galician. I claim that the present-day DOM pattern developed by way of two factors: 1) the rise of frequently employed VOS order, which led to 2) the animacy specification of the probe on T^o. This development is unlike that of Modern Portuguese, which lost all DOM in full DPs from Old Galician-Portuguese (Gal-Port), as well as that of Spanish, which has more extensive DOM licensing specifications than Medieval Spanish.

The literature of Gal-Port syntax has focused primarily on the V2 properties, clitic placement, and left-peripheral scrambling (Galves & Sousa 2005, 2017; Antonelli 2011; Fiéis 2003; Galves & Sandalo 2012; *i.a.*). However, little has been said about the *v*P-peripheral edge. Edie (2010) notes that Gal-Port had a "topic-verb-XP structure," which has been shown to be typical of V2 languages (Wolfe 2018), compared to the SVO order of both modern-day Galician (Gupton 2014) and Portuguese (Costa 2000). The observations regarding postverbal positions of arguments are few, with Fiéis (2003) noting briefly that most postverbal subjects were those of unaccusative constructions. In addition, VSO strings were used when the subject was background information and the object new information (1a). This is not unlike V2 structures in which background information was fronted to the preverbal position in the C-domain, leaving the postverbal position (*v*P-periphery) to any newly focused constituent (1b).

What has not received adequate attention in the literature is the scarcity of VOS strings, synchronically a more common structure across Romance than the diachronically attested VSO (Gallego 2013). Although objects were frequently fronted to numerous preverbal positions in Gal-Port (Andrade & Galves 2019), their postverbal position either followed the postverbal subject in VSO order as described above or as the lone postverbal constituent (in SVO strings or those with a null-subject).

Although DOM does not exist with full DPs in Modern Portuguese, Author (2021) has shown that DOM is in fact attested in Galician, although it is restricted to VOS order (2). Moreover, there is a specific animacy scale (but no definiteness scale) with respect to the specification of both the object and subject in VOS order as stated in (3). The necessary specification in (3) can be seen when DOM is removed from the object under these circumstances, as VOS is never interpreted but instead gives way to the "assumed non-canonical" postverbal order VSO (Freixeiro 2006) (4). Following the claims in Author (2021), I maintain that DOM is a Last Resort strategy in Galician as has been proposed cross-linguistically (Kalin 2018, Levin 2019, *i.a.*) and that this has diachronic relevance for the development of DOM in this language.

While it has been widely attested that Gal-Port had several preverbal focus- and topic-related positions (Andrade & Galves 2019; Freixeiro et al. 2005), it seems to have lacked the assumed *v*P-peripheral position commonly associated with object shift in modern-day Romance (Gallego 2013, 2020) (5). I claim that as positions such as [Spec, T^o] became a restricted landing site for subjects only as in the present-day grammar (Gupton 2014), Galician developed an active *v*P-peripheral position above the subject, serving as an "information focus" position for shifted objects (Freixeiro 2006). Assuming as in Author (2021) that T^o is the lone derivational licenser in the clause, I claim that the need for DOM in the newly attested VOS order arose in order for T^o to agree with the in-situ subject. Assuming that DOMed objects are encased in a PP (Kalin 2018) or KP (López 2012; Irimia 2018, 2019, 2020), they are shielded from Agree with any probe seeking an 'active' goal (Chomsky 2000, 2001, *i.a.*).

Examples

(1) a. *Verb — Old information$_i$ — New information$_k$*

Chegado	a	Cabul,	tomou	[o Hamau]$_i$	[a rainha]$_k$	comsigo
arrive.PRTCP	to	Cabul	take.PST.3SG	the Hamau	the queen	with.him

'Having arrived to Cabul, Hamau took the queen with him'

b. *Old information$_i$ — Verb — New information$_k$*

E	[a outra mea]$_i$	levou	[elle]$_k$
and	the other half	carry.PST.3SG	he

'And he took the other half.'

(2) a. *SVO* (No DOM)

As enfermeiras	chamaron	os doentes
the nurses	call.PST.3PL	the hurt

b. *VSO* (No DOM)

Chamaron	as enfermeiras	os doentes
call.PST.3PL	the nurses	the hurt

c. *CLLD* (No DOM)

Os doentes$_i$,	chamaron-os$_i$	as enfermeiras
the hurt	call.PST.3PL-CL$_{M.PL}$	the nurses

c. *VOS* (Obligatory DOM)

Chamaron	**a**os	doentes	as enfermeiras
call.PST.3PL	DOM-the	hurt	the nurses

'The nurses called the sick (people).'

(3) GALICIAN DOM LICENSING: The object must be differentially marked in VOS order iff the object has the same animacy specification ([+ANIMATE] or [+HUMAN]) as the subject.

(4) a. *DOM — VOS reading*

Axudaron	**a**os	nenos	os pais
help.PST.3PL	**DOM**-the	kids	the parents

'The parents helped the children.'   (*'The children helped the parents.')

b. *No DOM — VSO reading*

Axudaron	os nenos	os pais
help.PST.3PL	the kids	the parents

'The children helped the parents.'   (*'The parents helped the children.')

(5) [$_{vP}$ **OBJECT**$_i$ [$_{vP}$ SUBJECT [$_{v°}$ V+v [$_{VP}$ (V) t_i]]]]

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