

THE ADEQUACY OF THE DEFINITENESS SCALE TO DESCRIBE *A*-MARKED PRONOUNS IN PORTUGUESE

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Cases in which the direct object is marked by a dative preposition are classified as instances of differential object marking (henceforth DOM). In Portuguese and most of the Romance languages, DOM is marked by the preposition *a* (see 1). Hierarchical scales are usually used to describe the development of DOM, especially the Definiteness scale (see 2). According to it, the first stage of the development of DOM is the higher part of the scale, and its lower part represents the final stages of DOM. However, evidence from Old Romanian and Old Catalan show that this scale is not adequate to describe the DOM cases with personal pronouns (VON HEUSINGER; GÁSPAR, 2008; IRIMIA; PINEDA, 2019). These languages exhibit more cases of DOM with third-person pronouns than with first- and second-person pronouns. In the same vein, in this paper, we investigate the descriptive adequacy of the Definiteness scale to the *a*-marked pronouns (see 4) in data from the Portuguese of the centuries 16th to 19th. The feature [Person], which is related to animacy, can be used to distinguish the pronouns. The third-person pronoun is [-Person] and the first- and second-person pronouns are [+Person] (CYRINO, 2018). We analyzed data from European Portuguese, that were selected in 22 texts from The Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese (GALVES; ANDRADE; FARIA, 2017) and 7 letters of the Post Scriptum Project (CLUL, 2014). Normally the cases of DOM and clitic doubling (i.e., cases in which a complement occurs with a clitic, and both have the same syntactic function) are analyzed together (see 4). Nevertheless, in this paper, we separated the cases of both phenomena, and the results show that this split is relevant for the Portuguese case. Initially, we examined the occurrences of DOM and clitic doubling together: the first-person pronoun is the most frequent in the 17th and 19th centuries (36% and 43%), in turn, the third-person pronoun is the most frequent in the 16th century (38%) and the reflexive pronoun is the most frequent in the 18th century. However, when we separated the cases of DOM from those of clitic doubling, the cases of *a*-marked third-person pronoun are the most frequent in the 16th to the 18th centuries, and in the 19th century was found only one case of first-person pronoun and one of third-person pronoun. Our results show that, in the case of Portuguese, clitic doubling and DOM cannot be analyzed together, and the

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Definiteness scale is not adequate to describe the DOM cases with personal pronouns in the Portuguese from the 16th-19th century. Therefore, we propose that, in the first stages of DOM, the feature [+Person] could disfavor DOM.

(1) A Maria ama **a Deus e (a)o Pedro** com a mesma intensidade.

‘Mary loves God and Peter with the same strength’.

(2) Definiteness scale: 1st p/2nd p pronoun > 3rd p pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP

(3) Estes dois Capitães [...] o inquietavam, e excitavam **a ele** (17th c.).

‘These two Captains disturbed him, and excited him’.

(4) as riquezas **vos** enganaram **a vós** (16th c.).

‘The riches deceived you’.

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