Judeo-Spanish differential object marking and microvariation in Balkan Romance
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1. Overview This paper contributes to the growing literature on Balkan Romance by examining differential object marking (DOM) in a dialect of Balkan Judeo-Spanish (BJS). Balkan and Romance groups exhibit *(i)* synchronic and diachronic microvariation, and *(ii)* divergent typological possibilities for expressing DOM. Most Balkan Romance varieties behave according to the **Balkan type** (1a) except (Daco)-Romanian (1b), which displays a **mixed profile**, with typological and theoretical implications (Hill & Mardale 2019, 2021, henceforth H&M).

(1)a *(**L**)-am   vizut   Ø   {Petre / filmu /   un film}. (Megleno-Romanian)
     ACC=have.1SG seen   Petre   film-DEF / a   film
     'I've seen {Petre/the film/a *specific* [*non-specific*] film}' (from Tomić 2008:84)

   b (**L**)-am   văzut   **pe**   {Ion/ studentul   inteligent/ um bărbat}. (Daco-Rom)
     ACC=have.1SG seen   PA   Ion/ student-DEF intelligent a   man
     'I've seen Ion/the intelligent student/ a [± *specific*] man' (based on Irimia 2020:429,438)

   c Ciccìllə (la) aschənnì **(a)**   {jèddə/ Ggrazzièllə/ * la   bbəscəclèttə}. (Barese)
     Frankie   ACC= hid   PA   her/   Graziella   the   bicycle
     'Frankie hid her/Graziella/*the bicycle' (based on Andriani 2015:64-5,70)

Balkan DOM (1a) involves clitic doubling (CD) of the (indirect *or* direct) object, triggered by **definite**, **specific** and/or **discourse/givenness** properties of the object (Tomić 2006; Kallulli & Tasmowski 2008), and is *orthogonal* to animacy. The primary mechanism for Romance DOM (1c) is the 'prepositional accusative' (PA), which can *broadly* be characterized as an **animacy**-based strategy (H&M) that flags (highly-)referential, human/animate DOs to the general exclusion of inanimate arguments; Romance PA can also optionally co-occur with a co-referential clitic, although under different conditions from the Balkan pattern. (Daco-)Romanian (1b) DOM involves a dependency whereby iff a human DO is already marked by PA, then CD (in most cases, obligatorily) occurs. Although DOM is typologically characteristic of Spanish as a dialect group, BJS developed independently from Spanish from 1492 onwards. Preliminary investigation has established considerable microvariation, including loss of DOM, across BJS. Given this background, this paper reports a qualitative and quantitative study into the structural and typological profile of (Balkan) Judeo-Spanish DOM in relation to the syntactic-semantic properties of the DO in a single dialect, viz. that of Monastir (Bitola, North Macedonia), in a corpus of oral texts (Luria 1930; Crews 1935) collected 15 years prior to the decimation of Monastir's entire Jewish community in the Holocaust (Kolonomos 2006).

2. Data In Monastirli transitive structures with a postverbal DO, all demonstrative (2a) and strong quantifier expressions involving animate DOs **obligatorily** trigger PA, but **optionally** incur CD. With lexical definite DPs, PA is **obligatory** for DPs specified as [+human] (2b), but **optional** for [–human] animate DPs, whilst CD is **optional** for definite DOs, including inanimates (2c). CD correlates with 'givenness' of the DO in all cases except for non-dislocated personal pronouns (2d), where both PA and CD are **obligatory**. Indefinite DOs, however, never incur DOM, *irrespective* of triggering factors (e.g. humanness, specificity) that can license DOM in Spanish or Romanian, as with e.g., specific indefinite DPs (2e):

(2)a (**La**) mató   y   *(**an**) **este**   (**mujer**).   [+human, +PA, ±CD]
     her= killed   also   PA   this.FSG   woman

   b (**La**) buškó   *(**a**) **la novye** i   la tupó   asintade [+human, +PA, ±CD]
     her= looked.for PA   the fiancée and her=found sat.down.FSG

   c Tumó la pi̯edre y   (**lu**)   tapó   **il   podzu**   [–animate, –PA, ±CD]
     took the stone   and it.MSG= covered the well

   d para   *(**ti**) cumer *(**a**) **ti**   vini   [±human, +PA, +CD]
     in.order.to you= eat.INF PA   you   came.1SG

	e	Si	tumó	otre ves	**une mujer**	la	cuale	ere firmoze,	buene y	uneste
		REFL=	took	again	a	woman[+SPECIFIC]	the	which	was beautiful,	good and	honest

Focusing only on definite animate Art+NP and Poss+NP tokens (*n*=187) in our corpus, DOM is found in 92.76% of human DOs (141/152), 97.87% (138/141) of which involve PA and 66.67% (94/141) CD, i.e. DOM always incurs PA with human DOs in Monastirli, indicating an animacy requirement for PA. In non-human animate DOs, the occurrence of DOM drops to 62.86% (22/35), of which 86.36% (19/22) involve CD, and only 40.91% (9/22) involve PA. When these variables are combined, we find that Monastirli admits two possible conditions [+PA, ±CD] for licensing human DOs; two further (distinct) conditions [−PA, ±CD] for inanimate DOs; whereas *four* conditions [±PA, ±CD] are available for introducing non-human animate DOs.

3. Implications Monastirli exhibits a novel (undescribed) mixed Balkan-Romance typological type for DOM, unlike that of Romanian (and other Balkan Romance patterns as described in H&M 2021). While the animacy requirement for Monastirli PA aligns it with Romance, Monastirli diverges from Romance and Romanian DOM in that *(i)* CD can be decoupled from PA, and *(ii)* it displays the Balkan pattern in admitting CD-only DOM with non-human animates and inanimates. Unlike the predominant Balkan and Romance patterns, however, the overriding conditioning factor for Monastirli DOM is definiteness, such that indefinite DOs are excluded and specificity plays no role. Theoretically, the uncoupling of CD and PA in this variety challenges *Kayne's Generalization* (Jaeggli 1982:20), which states that an object NP can be clitic-doubled only if preceded by a preposition, a dependency that has been argued to hold in Romance even for apparent exceptions (e.g. Di Tullio *et al.* 2019).

4. Analysis To capture the empirical facts for Monastirli, and focusing on its nominal-internal licensing, we take up H&M's proposal to account for Romanian DOM in terms of the internal structure of the DP. We assume a double DP structure (e.g. Martín 2012) whose internal organization (3) is based on H&M, after Bernstein *et al.* (2018), but additionally incorporates a QP-layer between D-projections, following Kallulli & Rothmayr (2006):

(3)　　[KP K-*clitic*[+F] [DP1 D1-*PA* [QP Q [DP2 D[+DEF] [NP …]]]]]

The higher and lower D-layers are associated with individuation (D1) and definiteness (D2) respectively. H&M argue that, in Romanian, PA is a prenominal particle requiring an activated [PERSON] feature in D1, whilst CD involves a second trigger, viz. activation in K of a discourse feature, to license the doubling clitic. Since Monastirli DOM is only licensed with definite DOs, we propose that both PA and CD are contingent in Monastirli on an activated [DEFINITENESS] feature on D2, which we represent in (3) as D[+DEF]. In the spirit of Ledgeway *et al.* (2019), we further propose that 1/2 pronouns (which are [+human] by 'default', cf. Harley & Ritter 2002), 3 person pronouns referring to [+human] DOs, and other 3 person nominals that are *optionally* specified as [+human], involve the activation of [PERSON] and thus are able to trigger PA. In other words, [PERSON] corresponds to a humanness requirement (intrinsic to 1/2 person; optionally specified in other nominals) in Monastirli, as it does in Romanian. Since non-human animate lexical DPs can display PA in Monastirli, we assume that these DOs are specified [+human] when marked with PA, but do not carry this specification when unmarked. Like Romanian, Monastirli CD is triggered by an activated discourse feature [+F] on K, but, *unlike* Romanian, is uncoupled from PA (cf. (2d)), yielding the three overt DOM marking strategies summarized in TABLE 1.

We conclude with brief comment on the language contact scenario, noting that Monastirli's 'mixed' type exhibits structural **parallels** with, but is **non-identical** to, *(i)* CD of the Balkan (Macedonian; Greek) type; *(ii)* PA in pre-1492 Old Spanish.

Overt DOM strategies	**Features activated in KP/DP**		
	K	**D1**	**D2**
[+PA, −CD]		[+PERSON]	[+DEFINITE]
[+PA, +CD]	[+F]	[+PERSON]	[+DEFINITE]
[−PA, +CD]	[+F]		[+DEFINITE]

TABLE 1: *Licensing of DOM strategies in Monastirli*