

DOM co-occurrence restrictions and their repair strategies: evidence from Galician & Romanian



Brian Gravely
The University of Georgia

Monica Alexandrina Irimia
Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia



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Introduction

- Ormazabal & Romero (2007, subseq.): co-occurrence restrictions with DOM and clitic-doubled datives in Spanish varieties:
- (1) Le enviaron (*a) todos los enfermos a la doctora van Tan.
CL3.DAT sent.3PL DAT=DOM all the sick people DAT the doctor.F van Tan
'They sent all the patients to doctor van Tan.'
(O & R 2013b, 2b)
- Galician and Romanian vs. Spanish: in certain configurations, suchco-occurrence restrictions can be repaired when DOM is clitic doubled (3, 5), using the accusative form of the clitic
- We relate this split to the existence of more extensive [PERSON] licensing positions in/above the vP periphery in Galician and Romanian, as opposed to Spanish

DOM and its licensing

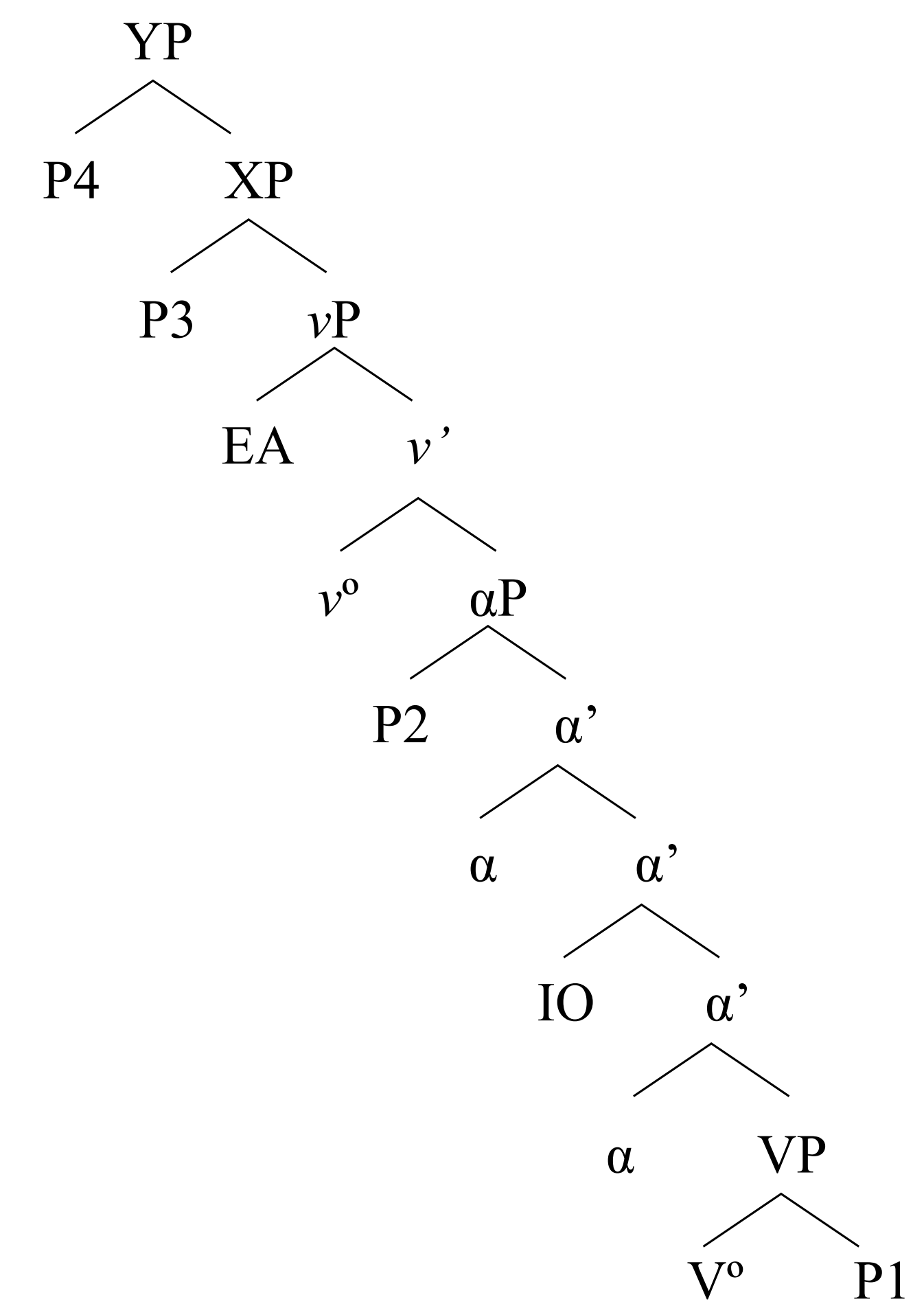
- DOM in Romance: split in object marking, generally regulated by animacy and specificity (Torrego 1998, López 2012, a.o.)
- O & R (2013a, 2013b): both clitic-doubled datives and DOM in (1) need licensing in terms of Case
 - However, only one licensing position available within vP (P2 in (11))
- López (2012): DOM licensed in a different position than unmarked objects, but crucially lower than E(external) A(rgument)s – P2 in (11)
 - no binding from DOM into the EA
- (8) Hoy vio su_i padre a cada_i niño.
today saw.3SG his father DOM each boy
'Today his father saw every boy.'
(López 2012, ex. 13, p. 37, adapted)

DOM licensing in Romanian

- As opposed to standard Spanish, Romanian DOM on full DPs can be doubled with the accusative clitic (Dobrovie Sorin 1994, Cornilescu 2000, Tigău 2011, 2020, Mardale 2015, Irimia 2020, Hill & Mardale in press, a.o.)
- Crucially, the accusative clitic doubled variant allows DOM binding into the EA, indicating a DOM position above the EA
- (9) Muzica lor_i plictisește pe mulți.
music.the their bore.3SG DOM many
'Their music annoys many people'.
- (10) Muzica lor_i îi plictisește.
music.the their CL_{3PL.M.ACC} bore.3SG
pe mulți.
DOM many
'Their own music bores many people.'
(Cornilescu 2020, ex. 24 and 25)

DOM and [PERSON] licensing positions

- Irimia (2020, building on Cornilescu (11) Modified from López (2012:45) 2000): Romanian DOM involves licensing of a [PERSON] feature beyond Case
- Non-clitic doubled DOM: [PERSON] licensed in the P2 position in Romanian & in the P3 position in Galician
- Irimia (2020), Cornilescu (2020): Romanian clitic-doubled DOM involves [PERSON] licensing in a position above vP
- Belletti (2004), Ciucivara (2009): [PERSON] licensing in P3
- Ex. (5) is grammatical as DOM and the clitic doubled dative are not licensed in the same position



Galician & Romanian DOM co-occurrence restrictions

Galician

- (2) *Mandáronlle a el ó medico.
send.PST.3PL-CL_{DAT.3SG} DOM he DAT-the doctor
- (3) Mandáronllo a el ó medico.
send. PST.3PL-CL_{DAT.3SG}-CL_{ACC.3SG.M} DOM he DAT-the doctor
Intended: 'They sent him to the doctor.'

Romanian

- (4) *Comisia le-a repartizat pe mai mulți
board.the CL_{DAT.3PL}-has assigned DOM more many
medici rezidenți unor foști profesori de-ai lor.
medical residents some_{DAT.3PL} former professors of-GEN theirs
'The committee assigned several residents to some former professors of theirs.'
- (5) Comisia i l-a repartizat pe fiecare rezident
board.the CL_{DAT.3SG} CL_{ACC.3SG.M}-has assigned DOM each resident
unei foste profesoare a lui
some_{DAT.3SG.F} former_F professor_F GEN his (Cornilescu 2020, ex. 4 and 5)
'The committee assigned every medica resident to some former professor of his.'

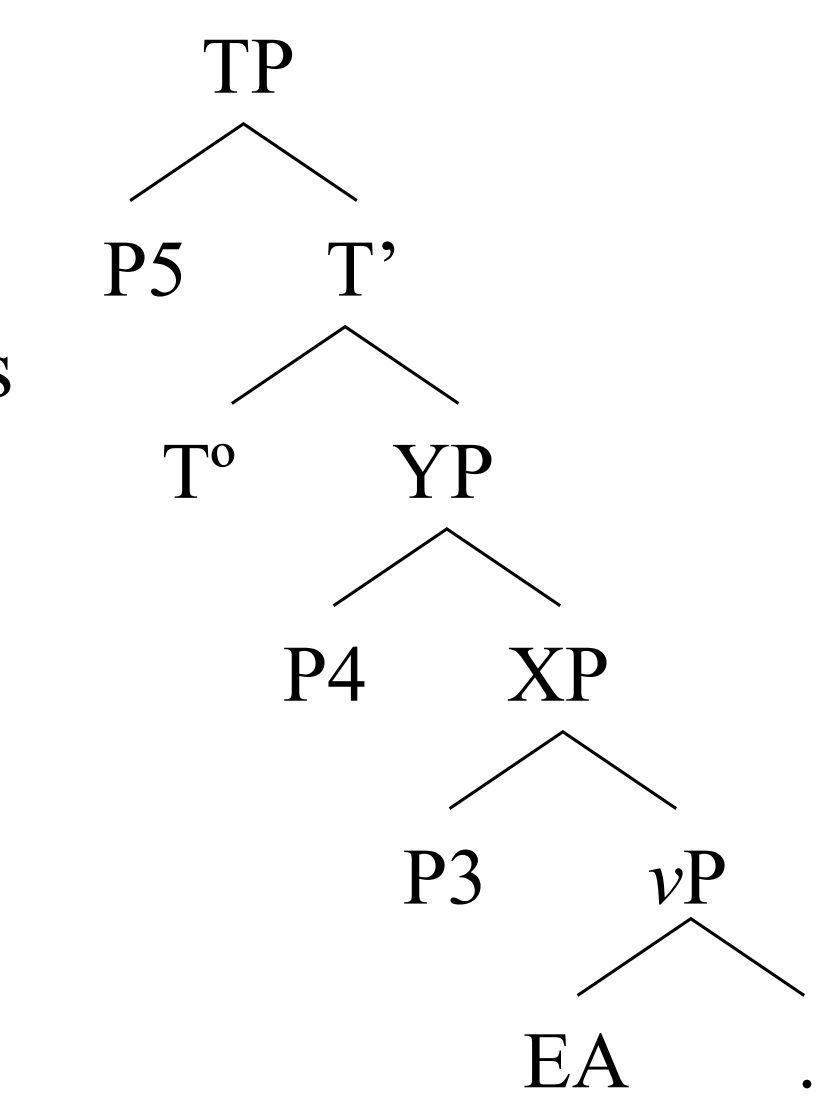
Standard Peninsular Spanish

- (6) Lo envié a él al medico.
CL_{M.SG} send.PST.1SG DOM he DAT-the doctor
- (7) *Se lo envié a él al medico.
CL_{DAT.3SG} CL_{ACC.3SG} send.PST.1SG DOM he DAT-the doctor

DOM licensing in Galician

- Unlike Romanian, Galician DOM is only seen in VOS configurations (Gravely 2021, in review)
 - Such marked objects are higher than the EA and bind into it (12)
- (12) Axudou a cada_i neno seu_i pai
help.PST.3SG DOM each child his parent
'His parent helped each child.'
- Gravely (2021, in review) identifies the DOM licensing position in Galician as López's (2012) P3 position; P2 is not a licensing position for the accusative argument
- As the non-doubled DOM position is P3, it must be the case that the clitic-doubled IO is also licensed in P3
 - However, in Galician clitic-doubled DOM must raise higher, possibly to P4 or P5 (15)
 - Thus, clitic doubling of DOM is a repair strategy

(15) vP-peripheral licensing in Galician



- (13) Mandaron xa a el ó medico.
send.PST.3PL already DOM he DAT-the doctor
- (14) Mandáronllo a el xa...
send.PST.3PL-CL_{DAT.3SG}-CL_{ACC.3SG.M} DOM he already
'They already sent him to the doctor.'

Conclusions

- The splits examined here are best accounted for in syntax, following analyses that link co-occurrence restrictions to competition for licensing by more than one category in the same position
- Difference in [PERSON] licensing positions across Romance
- Morphological explanations cannot easily derive these facts

Selected references and acknowledgments

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