DOM AND CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS IN ROMANCE: BEYOND CLITIC CLUSTERS
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SETTING THE STAGE. This work explores co-occurrence restrictions as in (1), induced by D(ifferential) O(bject) M(arking) on full nominals (generally human or animate DPs), with data from varieties of Spanish and Romanian. It shows that the narrow local domain where [PERSON] features are licensed is relevant to these patterns.

(1) Le enviaron (‘a) todos los enfermos a la doctora.
CL.3SG.DAT sent.3PL DOM all.PL DEF.M.PL patients DAT DEF.F.SG doctor.F
Intended: ‘They sent all the patients to the doctor.’ (Spanish, modeled after O&K 2013)

SOME PROBLEMS. Ormazabal and Romero (2007, et subseq.) unify the ungrammaticality of (1) with ‘classical’ P(erson)C(ase)C(onstraint): full DP DOM competes for Case licensing with the clitic-doubled dative. However, a previously ignored observation is that not all types of full DP DOM trigger restrictions. The sentence in (2) is grammatical although obligatory DOM co-occurs with a clitic doubled dative. Assuming that DOM on human Neg(ative) Q(uantifier) does not need (Case) licensing is untenable (NegQ DOM leads to ungrammaticality with medio-passive SE, indicating that it does need (Case) licensing, etc.).

(2) No le enviaron [‘a] nadie a la doctora.
NEG CL.3SG.DAT send.PST.3PL DOM nobody DAT DEF.F.SG doctor.
‘They haven’t sent anybody to the doctor.’ (Spanish)

Romanian shows similar problems. In (3) DOM cannot co-occur with a DAT clitic, interpreted as possessor (raising); the restriction is not seen with a goal dative (the quantifier blocks a possessor reading in (4)) or when DAT is a possessor on a different nominal than DOM. The AGREE/Case distinction (Ormazabal and Romero 2013) won’t work, because we see full nominal DOM (assumed to be licensed via Case) interacting with a clitic double dative (licensed via Agree).

(3) *Şi/#miposs-(l) ajută pe prietenPoss.
CL.3/1DAT-3SG.ACC helps DOM friend
Intended: ‘/s/he helps her/his/my friend.’

(4) ˘Is˘i Poss trimit pe cineva (in ajutorPoss).
CL.3DAT sends DOM somebody in help
‘He sends somebody and is affected by this.’
‘He sends somebody to his own help.’

PROPOSAL. We encode animacy-based DOM as a [PERSON] specification (see Cornilesco 2000, Rodríguez-Mondóvedo 2007, a.o.) beyond structural Case, connected instead with sentience (see also Zubizarreta and Pancheva 2017, a.o.). Assuming the presence of both Voice and v (Legate 2014, etc.), we individuate four loci of accusative licensing, as in (5): at v (structural ACC for inanimates), at α (for DOM, see especially López 2012), at Voice (for classes such as NegQ DOM), at CL-Person above Voice (for clitics, see Belletti 2004, Ciucivara 2009, a.o.). The problem in (6), and (8) is that two [PERSON] features need licensing from the same licensor in a narrow local domain, irrespectively of whether they are clitics or not. The other configurations discussed here are grammatical, as the problem of licensing from the same head is avoided.

(5) ...[Cl_Person]...[Voice [Sentience+AccCase] ...[α[Sentience]] [Appl[DatCase]...[v[AccCase]]...[VP DO]]]]]

(6) for (1): [PERSON] in full DOM and [PERSON] in Cl-doubled DAT need licensing from α (see O&K 2013 or Cornilesco 2020, a.o., for licensing of Cl-Double DAT in α)

(7) for (2): [PERSON] and CaseACC on NegQ get licensed by Voice (a plausible explanation is that emphatic-accent focus - see Giannakidou 2020, a.o.- in NegQ forces raising to VoiceP); [PERSON] in Cl-doubled DAT gets licensed by α

(8) for (3): two [PERSON] features too local in the same KP (Cl_DAT=POSS generated inside KP and then raising) - * [PossP PERSONPoss ...[KP PERSONDom ...[DP D ......]]]

(9) for (4), etc: [PERSON] in DOM licensed by α; [PERSON] in Cl_DAT licensed by Cl_Person
In conclusion, these (limited) data demonstrate that co-occurrence restrictions are not a matter of clitics. They allow us to start investigating the nature of full nominal DOM restrictions which are understudied both descriptively and formally, despite their pervasiveness.

References


