

On the microvariation of Spanish Objects: A view on DOM, clitics and dativization

Romania Nova 2024 - Florianopolis, Brasil

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There are several phenomena related to the variation of Spanish DOs, for instance, ...

- the extension of Clitic Doubling,
- the form of the clitic system (i.e., *etymological. leismo, loismo, laismo, ...*), and
- in a lesser degree, the extension of Differential Object Marking (DOM),

In this talk...

- I focus on **DOM** and **leismo**, two phenomena that had been regarded as involving a sort of *dativization* process.

In Spanish, full DP objects has, basically, two realizations:

(1) /a/ $\Leftrightarrow$ DOM / DATIVE

a. María vio [/a/ una niña].

DOM

b. Le entregó un regalo [/a/ una niña].

DATIVE

(2) / $\emptyset$ / $\Leftrightarrow$ UNMARKED / NOMINATIVE

a. Juan vio [/ $\emptyset$ / una niña].

UNMARKED

b. [/ $\emptyset$ / Una niña] sonrió esta mañana.

NOMINATIVE

- *Leísmo* consist in the employment of the clitic *le*, commonly used with datives, instead of the corresponding accusative clitic pronoun *la/lo*.

(3) Etymological Pattern (BA Spanish, a. o.)

- A Pedro, *lo* vi.
- A María, *la* vi.
- A Pedro, *le* hablé.
- A María, *le* hablé.

(4) Basque Leista Spanish

- A Pedro, *le* vi.
- A María, *le* vi.
- A Pedro, *le* hablé.
- A María, *le* hablé.

Given these obvious similarities, it has been proposed ...

- that differentially marked object receive Dative Case, and
- that *leism* should be analyzed as an extension of DOM to the clitic system.

[...] el auténtico origen del leísmo fue la perduración del dativo con un grupo considerable de los verbos que en latín lo regían, y el contagio de tal construcción a otros verbos, hasta invadir toda el área del objeto directo personal. Este leísmo primero, el más extenso y arraigado, obedecía a iguales móviles que la propagación de a ante el nombre o pronombre tónico representativos de persona individuada en función de objeto directo: el uso de a era el sustituto histórico del dativo latino, y heredero suyo.
(Lapesa 1968, §14, 533)

- Different implementations of the dativization hypothesis can be found in the literature, for instance, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), Glushan (2010), Ormazabal and Romero (2013a,b,c, 2019), Company Company and Flores Dávila (2014), among many others.

Proposal

- There is no Dativization Process for DOM, the Differential Case Marker and the Dative Marker are just syncretic.
- There is no Dativization Process involved in *leista* clitic systems. Instead, etymological and leistas clitic systems arise as a result of how each dialect satisfy general restrictions that prohibits the co-occurrence of Person and Gender features on D-heads.

(5) $*[\alpha\text{PERSON}, \beta\text{FEMININE}]_{D^0}$

Outline

1 Agaisnt DOM as Dativization

2 Variation of clitic systems

3 Person and Gender

4 Concluding remarks

- The major syntactic argument for the dativization hypothesis comes from Across-The-Board (ATB) extraction of an IO and a DOM DP.

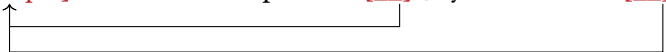
(6) No tenían ningún respeto por las mujeres, muchísimo menos por las jovencitas,
a las que levantaban las polleras y maltrataban con las injurias más ofensivas.

‘They had no respect for women, far less for the young ones, whom/to whom they lifted up their skirts and mistreated with the most offensive insults.’

(García 1975, p. 93 *apud* Laca 2006)

- The idea behind this argument is that ATB extraction can take place as long as extracted objects from both conjuncts are assigned the same Case. (see Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, Ormazabal and Romero 2019)

(7) ...[a las que] levantaban las polleras [__]_{IO} y maltrataban [__]_{DO} con las injurias ...



Discussion

- Spanish dialects that display an etymological clitic system and an extended clitic doubling pattern –as the dialect spoken in Buenos Aires–, provide direct counterexamples to the *dativization hypothesis*.

Table: Etymological Clitic System

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM
Accusative	lo	la	los	las
Dative	le	le	les	les

Kayne's Generalization (Jaeggli 1982)

(8) An object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition.

(9) a. Juan saludó a María.

b. Juan la saludó a María.

(10) a. Juan compró el auto.

b. *Juan lo compró el auto.

Observation

- Accusative clitic doubling in Buenos Aires Spanish obeys strictly Kayne's Generalization, namely, depends on the marker /a/. (Jaeggli 1986, Zdrojewski 2008, Saab and Zdrojewski 2012, and Di Tullio, Saab, and Zdrojewski 2019).

ATB extraction under the light of Accusative Clitic Doubling in BA Spanish

- (11) No tenían ningún respeto por las mujeres, muchísimo menos por las jovencitas,
- a. ...a las que **les** levantaban las polleras y **las** maltrataban con injurias.
 - b. ...a las que **las** maltrataban con injurias y **les** levantaban las polleras.
- (12) a. A JUAN **le** hablaron mal y **lo** insultaron sin razón, no a Pedro.
- b. ¿A cuál de los amigos de Pedro **le** hablaron mal y **lo** insultaron sin razón?

- The conclusion to be drawn from these examples is that ATB extraction cannot be considered an argument in favor of the dativization hypothesis.

In Zdrojewski (2013, 2018, 2023),

(13)	Nominative	[+CASE]	(McFadden, 2004)
	Accusative	[+CASE,+INFERIOR]	
	Dative	[+CASE,+INFERIOR,+OBLIQUE]	
	Genitive	[+CASE,+INFERIOR,+OBLIQUE,+GENITIVE]	

(14) Ítems de Vocabulario para K

- a. /a/ ⇔ K[+CASO,+INFERIOR]
- b. /∅/ ⇔ elsewhere

Leism as Dativization

- *Leismo* is commonly understood as the expansion of dative case into the domain of DO. (Company Company 2002, Company Company and Flores Dávila 2014, a. o.)
- Under such a view, *leismo*, in addition to DOM, is considered another manifestation of the reorganization of Spanish Case system.

A different view

- Across Spanish dialects, the case system is quite uniform, but the clitic system shows an important variation.
- Spanish dialects varies regarding how 3rd person clitics *lo(s)-la(s)-le(s)* are distributed.
 - Some dialects preserve a three way distinction.
 - Some dialects present a two way distinction.
 - Some dialects present a single clitic system.
- *Leísmo* is, just, one possible alternative in how the clitic system is reorganized.

Variation of clitic systems

Table: Etymological Clitic System

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM
Accusative	lo	la	los	las
Dative	le	le	les	les

Table: Colloquial Catalanian Spanish

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM
Accusative [– ANIM]	lo	la	los	las
Accusative [+ ANIM]	le	la	les	las
Dative	le	le	les	les

(15) a. A Juan, le vimos ayer.

Ordóñez and Roca, 2019, p. 52

b. A María, la vimos ayer.

Ordóñez and Roca, 2019, p. 52

Table: Basque Leista Spanish

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM
Accusative [– ANIM]	lo	la	los	las
Accusative [+ ANIM]	le	le	les	les
Dative	le	le	les	les

- (16) a. A la hija del rector, le han dado el título.
 b. A Pedro, le he visto.
 c. El libro, lo han vendido ayer.
 d. ¿Me abres la botella? Ya la estrené ayer y no tuve problemas en abrir ∅.
- (a y b Ormazabal and Romero 2013c, p. 10, c y d Landa 1995, 107 y 193)

Table: Andean Spanish I (Ecuador)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM
Accusative	le	le	les	les
Dative	le	le	les	les

- (17) a. Le voy a bañar a Gabriela. (Palacios 2006, p. 202)
- b. Le vi a Javier Ignacio hoy en la escuela. (Palacios 2006, p. 202)
- c. Ya le veo a la camioneta. (Suñer and Yépez 1988, p. 512)
- d. Le arrendé/vendí a mi casa. (Suñer and Yépez 1988, p. 512)

Table: Andean Spanish I (Ecuador)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM
Accusative	le	le	les	les
Dative	le	le	les	les

- (18) a. Le voy a bañar a Gabriela. (Palacios 2006, p. 202)
- b. Le vi a Javier Ignacio hoy en la escuela. (Palacios 2006, p. 202)
- c. Ya le veo a la camioneta. (Suñer and Yépez 1988, p. 512)
- d. Le arrendé/vendí a mi casa. (Suñer and Yépez 1988, p. 512)

Andean Spanish II (Perú, Bolivia, Northwest Argentina)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM
Accusative	lo	lo	lo	lo
Dative	le	le	le	le

- (19) a. El hombre campesino por ejemplo a la guitarra lo tiene como conciencia
(Godenizzi, 1986)
- b. A los de Huayranphue ...yo he ido a vacunarlo (Godenizzi, 1986)

Table: Referential System - Leon, Palencia, Burgos

	Discontinuous				Continuous
	Singular		Plural		
	Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem	
Accusative	le	la	les	las	lo
Dative	le	la	les	las	lo

Table: Leista Spanish

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM
Accusative	le	le	les	les
Dative	le	le	les	les

- When compared with the etymological system, it is possible to see that 3rd person clitic systems are either reordered or reduced.
- Against the dativization hypothesis for *leistic* patterns, I would like to explore the hypothesis according to which these patterns involve just the distribution of person and gender features.

- The dativization hypothesis misses an important empirical generalization of Spanish:

Generalization

(20) In Spanish, PERSON and GENDER features are *almost* in complementary distribution.

The statement of (20) is not only valid for Spanish, but also describes a generalized pattern among the world's languages (see, for instance, Noyer 1992 and Calabrese 2011, a.o).

Within the framework of Distributed Morphology, it has been extensively explored the hypothesis that such patterns are the result of restrictions on certain combinations of morphological features in the same terminal node X^0 at the output of the syntactic derivation. (see Noyer 1992, 1998, Calabrese 1998, 2008, 2011, Arregi and Nevins 2007 and Nevins 2007).

(21) * [bF, aG] $_{X^0}$

- (22) a. [+AUTH., +PART.] = 1st person
b. [-AUTH., +PART.] = 2nd person
c. [-AUTH., -PART.] = 3rd person
d. [+AUTH., -PART.] = logically impossible (with the exception of the plural)

- (23) a. [+FEMININE]
b. [-FEMININE]

Languages vary with respect to the combinations they sanction (Noyer 1992, 1998, Arregi and Nevins 2007 and Calabrese 2011, among others). I claim that the restrictions in (24c) and (24d) are active in different Spanish dialects.

- | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (24) | a. | $*[+AUTH., +FEM.]_{D^0}$ | Semitic languages |
| | b. | $*[+PART., +FEM.]_{D^0}$ | Germanic and Romance languages |
| | c. | $*[-PART., +FEM.]_{D^0}$ | Spanish single <i>lo</i> system |
| | d. | $*[-PART., -FEM.]_{D^0}$ | Spanish Extended leista systems |

These restrictions can be abbreviated as in (25):

- | | | |
|------|----|--------------------------------------|
| (25) | a. | $*[\alpha PERSON, +FEM.]_{D^0}$ |
| | b. | $*[\alpha PERSON, \beta FEM.]_{D^0}$ |

- The restrictions that applies to the clitic system also applies extends to unagreement patterns, which involve obligatory clitic doubling with full lexical DP bearing a 1st or 2nd plural reading. (see Ordóñez, 1997; Saab, 2008, 2013, a. o.)

- (26) a. *(Nos) castigaron a los profesores. [All Spanish dialects]
 b. *(Os) castigaron a los profesores. [Only Peninsular Spanish]

To avoid violations of the restrictions on feature co-occurrence, Morphology can employ different operations that alter/modify the feature composition of an abstract node.

- (27) Impoverishment: $[aF_1] \longrightarrow \emptyset \setminus __ [bF_2]$
 $\emptyset \longrightarrow -aF_1 \setminus __ [bF_2]$
Obliteration: $[aF_1, bF_2] \longrightarrow [__, bF_2]$

- In the etymological system, only 3rd person accusative clitic express gender contrasts.

(28)	a.	me	1sg acc dat refl	
	b.	te	2sg acc dat refl	
	c.	le/se	3sg dat/refl	
	d.	nos	1pl acc dat refl	
	e.	os	2pl acc dat refl	(PenSpa)
	f.	les	3pl dat	(2pl AmSpa)

(29)	a.	la	3Fsg acc
	b.	lo	3Msg acc
	c.	las	3Fsg acc
	d.	los	3Msg acc

Harris (1994, 1995, 1996) proposed an impoverishment rule that apply precisely in the context stated in (25a), to account for the lack of gender distinctions on 1pl and 2pl clitics *nos* and *os*, respectively.

$$(30) \quad [\quad \alpha\text{PERSON}, \quad +\text{FEM.} \quad]_{D^0}$$
$$\downarrow$$
$$\emptyset$$

- However, he didn't extended this rule to other clitics, which, in turn, are assigned to the nominal class III, whose exponent is *e*.
- My proposal is that the restriction behind this rule –namely, restriction (25)– is active in dialects with clitic system, and beyond.
- Spanish dialects varies with regard to the feature targeted by the impoverishment operation.

Vocabulary Items for clitics

(31) a. no- $\Leftrightarrow$ [+ AUT, + PL]

b. m- $\Leftrightarrow$ [+ AUT]

c. t- $\Leftrightarrow$ [+ PART]

d. l- $\Leftrightarrow$ [+ CASE]

e. s- $\Leftrightarrow$ *elsewhere*

(32) a. -a $\Leftrightarrow$ [+ fem]

b. -o $\Leftrightarrow$ [- fem]

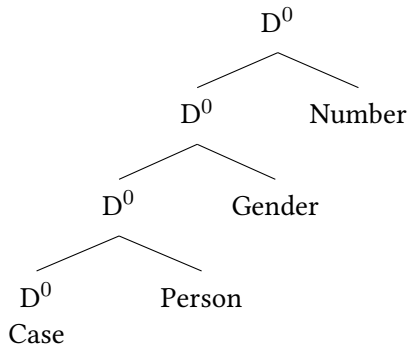
c. -e $\Leftrightarrow$

(33) a. -s $\Leftrightarrow$ [+ pl]

b. $\emptyset$ $\Leftrightarrow$ *elsewhere*

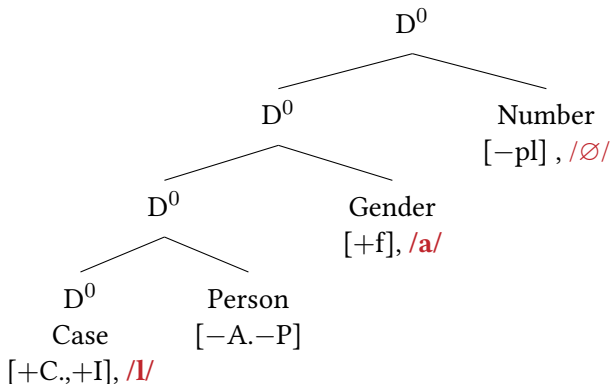
Clitic Structure

(34)



la/lo - 3 person singular | Etymological Clitic system

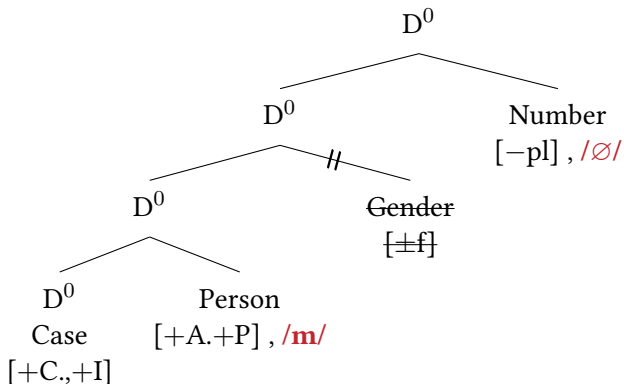
(35)



Person and Gender

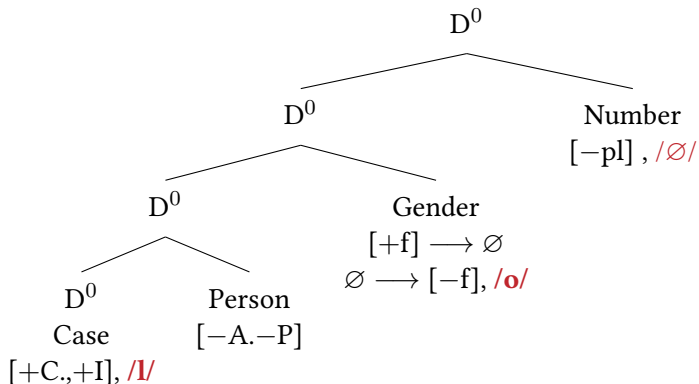
me - 1 person singular | Gender obliteration | All dialects

(36)



Invariable *lo* | Gender Impoverishment | Andean Spanish II

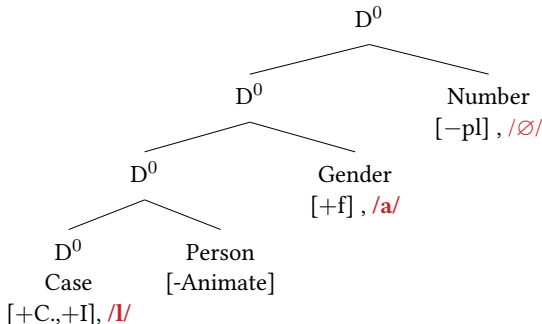
(37)



Person and Gender

la/lo | [-Animate] | Basque Leista Spanish

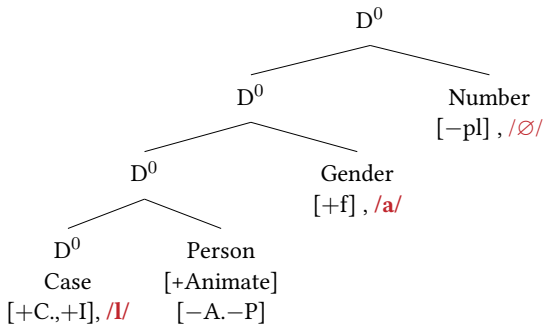
(38)



- (39) a. [Person, +Gender] → [__ [+Gender] / -Animate] Person Obliteration
 b. [Person, +Gender] → [__ / Person] Gender Obliteration

le | [+Animate] | Basque Leista Spanish

(40)

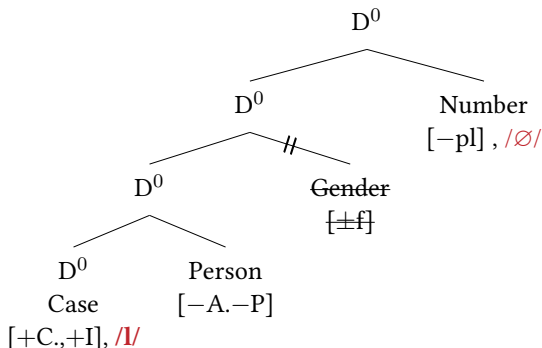


(41) [Person, +Gender] → [__ [+Gender] / -Animate]

Person Obliteration

le | Gender Obliteration | Andean Spanish I

(42)



(43) [Person, +Gender] → [__ / Person]

Gender Obliteration

Concluding remarks



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Leísmo is a highly complex multisystem, showing distinctions based on geographical variation, contact with non-gender marking languages, different usage in written and oral language and finally the actual use compared to the educated “standard” use