



UNIMORE

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI
MODENA E REGGIO EMILIA

Oblique DOM and co-occurrence restrictions

How many types?

CSU Fullerton Linguistics Colloquium Series

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UniMoRe

Setting the stage

- Across varieties of Spanish, a human D(irect) O(bject) definite DP has to be introduced by a dative/locative preposition as in (1)/(3), as opposed to the inanimate DO in (2).

[Torrego 1998, López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, a.o.]

- (1) Vi *(a) la niña.
see.PST.1SG DAT/LOC=DOM the girl
'I saw the girl.'
- (2) Vi (*a) el libro.
see.PST.1SG DAT=DOM the book
'I saw the book.'
- (3) (Le) doy el libro a la niña.
CL.3DAT give.1SG the book DAT/LOC the girl
'I give the book to the girl.'

(SPANISH)

Setting the stage

A robust morpho-syntactic pattern of object splits cross-linguistically

- **Differential object marking (DOM)**, with sensitivity to animacy, specificity, definiteness, topicality, etc.
 - ▶ a common sub-type: DOM spelled-out via **oblique morphology** (oblique DOM), as seen across Romance, Indo-Aryan, Slavic, Guaraní, Arabic varieties, etc.

(Comrie 1989, Bossong 1991, 1998, Torrego 1998, Cornilescu 2000, Lazard 2001, Aissen 2003, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, 2007, Iemmolo 2010, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011, Tigău 2011, López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013a, Manzini and Franco 2016, Bárány 2017, 2018, Kalin 2018, Levin 2019, Hill and Mardale to appear, a.o.)

Setting the stage

- The split extends to DO clitics too, as documented for leísta Spanish, with the contrast in (4) and (5) (Ormazabal and Romero 2007, 2013a, 2013c, 2013b, a.o.)

(4) Lo vi.
CL.3M.SG.ACC see.PST.1SG
'I saw it/him.'

(5) **Le** vi.
CL.3M.SG.DAT=DOM see.PST.1SG
'I saw him.'

(LEÍSTA SPANISH)

Accusative syntax

⇒ Despite its oblique appearance, oblique DOM behaves like a structural accusative under a variety of syntactic diagnostics (such as passivization, relativization, etc.; see especially Bárány 2018, Irimia and Pineda 2019, a.o.)

Setting the stage

- Interest here: insights into this complex category that come from co-occurrence restrictions it gives rise to.
- Ormazabal and Romero (2007) have shown that $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ bans the presence of an I(ndirect) O(bject) dative clitic, as in (6-b).
[See also Ormazabal and Romero (2013a, 2013c, 2013b), Blears (2000), or Zdrojewski (2008), a.o.]

- (6) LEÍSTA SPANISH (Ormazabal and Romero 2007; ex.16a, b)
- a. ✓ Te lo di.
2CL.DAT 3CL.ACC give.PST.1SG
'I gave it to you.'
- b. *Te le di.
2CL.DAT CL.3M.SG.DAT=DOM give.PST.1SG
Intended: 'I gave him to you.'

Setting the stage

- Similar facts are seen in Romance (as well as elsewhere).
- Romanian: a robust oblique DOM language
- Romanian DOM builds on locative morphology and can/must be clitic doubled using the *accusative* form of the clitic.

(Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Cornilescu 2000, Hill 2017, 2013, Tigău, 2010 2011, Mardale 2015, Irimia 2020b, Onea and Mardale 2020, Hill and Mardale to appear, a.o.)

- (7) a. (Le)_i văd (pe)_i fete.
 CL.3ACC.F.PL see.1SG LOC=DOM girls
 'I see the girls.'
- b. (*Le)_i văd (*pe)_i case.
 CL.3ACC.F.PL see.1SG LOC=DOM houses
 'I see houses.'

(ROMANIAN)

Setting the stage

- Romanian $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ produces ungrammaticality if Cl_{DAT} interpreted as a possessor ($Cl_{DAT=POSS}$) is also present, as in (8-a).

[Onea 2018, Irimia 2020a, a.o.]

- (8) ROMANIAN $*Cl_{DAT=POSS} DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (DOM blocked under possessor Cl_{DAT})
- a. $*\text{Și}/*mi/*\text{ți}/*i_{POSS}-(l)_i$ ajută
 CL.DAT.3SG.REFL.DAT/1SG/2SG/3SG-CL.3M.SG.ACC help.3SG
pe_i prieten_{POSS}.
 LOC=DOM friend
 Intended: 'He helps his own/my/your/his friend.'
 (Intended Lit. 'Helps the friend to himself/to me/to you/to him...')
- b. $\checkmark \text{Și} / \checkmark mi / \checkmark \text{ți} / \checkmark i_{POSS}$ -ajută prietenu-l_{POSS}
 CL.DAT.3SG.REFL/1SG/2SG/3SG help.3SG friend-DEF.M.SG
 'He helps his own/my friend.'
 (Lit. 'Helps the friend to himself/to me/to you/to him...')

Goals and proposal

- What is the nature of these types of co-occurrence restrictions?
- What do they tell us about oblique DOM, its syntactic reflexes and the encoding of hummaness/animacy in the grammar?
- Empirical side: interest in the landscape of these phenomena, using (standard and leísta) Spanish and standard Romanian as background
 - ▶ A systematic investigation is needed in this domain
- Theoretical side: even a limited set of data reveals six types of puzzles
 - ▶ The divide Agree/Case (Ormazabal and Romero 2007, 2013a, et subseq.) is not enough the capture the data
 - ▶ These effects have a *syntactic* root
 - ▶ The *narrow local* domain where the relevant (PERSON) features are licensed is relevant

Roadmap



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- 1 Some problems
 - Six puzzles. Summary
- 2 Agree vs Case
 - Some more problems
- 3 DOM and licensing positions
 - DOM and the possessor dative
 - DOM and clitic doubled datives
 - DOM and NegQs
- 4 Concluding remarks

Some background info



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- In order to individuate oblique DOM on clitics (as in (5)) from oblique DOM on full nominals (as in (1)), we encode the former as $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ and the latter as $DP_{OBL=DOM}$.
- We also collapse the locative and the dative under the broader category 'oblique'.
- The data come from 20 native speaker consultants each for Spanish and Romanian, and 4 for leísta Spanish.

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1. Some problems

- Despite their pervasiveness, even a simpler look at these phenomena shows they are *not uniform*, and restrictions are *not absolute*....
- Some parameters investigated here (see also Irimia 2020a):
 - ▶ Differences between $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ and $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (1.1)
 - ▶ Differences triggered by $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ subtypes (1.2)
 - ▶ Differences triggered by Cl_{DAT} subtypes (1.3)
 - ▶ Differences in position of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (1.4)
 - ▶ Differences in accusative clitic doubling of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (1.5)

1.1. $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ vs $DP_{OBL=DOM}$

- $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ is well formed with Cl_{DAT} (irrespectively of the latter's person feature), as seen in (9-a).
- Contrasting with examples like (6-b), repeated in (9-b).

(9) SPANISH: Oblique DOM on full nominals vs. clitics

a. ✓ *Te/me* enviaron a todos los
 CL.2/1SG.DAT send.PST.3PL LOC/DAT=DOM all the
 enfermos.
 sick people.M.PL (LEÍSTA/STANDARD)
 'They have sent all the sick people to you/me.'

b. **Te/me* le di.
 2/1CL.DAT CL.3M.SG.DAT=DOM give.PST.1SG
 Intended: 'I gave him to you/me.' (LEÍSTA)

1.1. $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ vs $DP_{OBL=DOM}$

- $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ is also possible with an IO DP introduced by the (dative/locative) preposition *a*, as in (10-a).
- Crucially, in both *leísta* and standard Spanish $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ becomes *ungrammatical* with an IO DP which is also *doubled* by a dative clitic, as in (10-b). (based on Ormazabal and Romero 2013c, ex. 2a/b)

- (10) a. ✓ Envia**ron** a todos los enfermos
 send.PST.3PL DAT=DOM all.M.PL DEF.M.PL sick people.M.PL
a la doctora.
 DAT the doctor
 ‘They have sent all the sick people to the doctor.’
- b. *Le_i* enviaron (*a) todos los enfermos *a_i la doctora.*
 CL.3DAT send.PST.3PL LOC/DAT=DOM all.M.PL DEF.M.PL sick people.M.PL DAT DEF.F.SG doctor
 Intended: ‘They have sent all the sick people to the doctor.’

1.1. $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ vs $DP_{OBL=DOM}$

PUZZLE₁

(Ormazabal and Romero 2007, et subseq.)

Assuming that both $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ and $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ grammaticalize animacy, $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ should trigger a co-occurrence restriction with Cl_{DAT} , similarly to $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$. Why is this prediction not borne out? Why the contrast in (9)/(11)?

- (11) PUZZLE₁: * Cl_{DAT} ... $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ (LEÍSTA (6-b)) vs
 ✓ Cl_{DAT} ... $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (LEÍSTA/STANDARD (9-a))

PUZZLE₂

(Ormazabal and Romero 2007, 2013a, a.o.)

Why does Spanish $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ produce a co-occurrence restriction with an IO which is doubled by a dative clitic, as represented in (10)/(12)?

- (12) PUZZLE₂: * Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} ... $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (LEÍSTA/STANDARD (10-b))

1.2. Sub-types of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$

- Previously unaddressed data: it's not just the distinction $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ vs $DP_{OBL=DOM}$; the two examples in (13) both contain $DP_{OBL=DOM}$.
- A morphological explanation won't work (contra López 2012, Ordóñez and Treviño 2013, a.o.)

- (13) a. * Le_i enviaron a todos los
 CL.DAT3 send.PST.3PL DAT/LOC=DOM all.M.PL DEF.M.PL
 enfermos a_i *la* *doctora*.
 sick people.M.PL DAT DEF.F.SG doctor
 Intended: 'They have sent all the sick people to the doctor.'
- b. ✓ No le_i enviaron a nadie a_i *la*
 NEG CL.DAT3 send.PST.3PL DAT/LOC=DOM nobody DAT the
doctora.
 doctor
 'They haven't sent anybody to the doctor.' (SPANISH)
 (Anna Pineda, Alfredo García-Pardo, p.c., a.o.)

1.3. Sub-types of Cl_{DAT}

- Complex patterns are the norm in Romanian too.
- (8-a) as (14-a): $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ is ungrammatical with $Cl_{DAT=POSS}$
- BUT other types of dative clitics are OK
- The sentence in (15-a) contains a *goal* dative clitic and a $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ and is *grammatical*, irrespectively of the person of the former.

(14) ROMANIAN * $Cl_{DAT=POSS}$ $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (DOM blocked under possessor Cl_{DAT})

a. * $Mi/\check{t}i/i_{Poss-l_i}$ ajută/prezintă pe_i student_{Poss.}
CL.DAT.SG.1/2/3-CL.3M.SG.ACC help/introduce.3SG DOM student
Intended: 'He helps/introduces my/your_{sg}/his student.'

(15) ROMANIAN ✓ DOM with goal dative clitic

a. ✓ $Mi/\check{t}i/i-l_i$ prezintă pe_i student.
CL.DAT.SG.1/2/3-CL.3MSG.ACC introduce.3SG DOM student
'He introduces the student to me/you_{sg}/him.'

1.4. Position of DP_{OBL=DOM}

- In some contexts (16), Cl_{DAT}-doubled IO_{DAT} interpreted as a goal is possible with DP_{LOC=DOM}; difference from Spanish.
- BUT in others, such as (17), it leads to ungrammaticality, as in Spanish.

(16) I_j (I_i)-au prezentat pe_i student
 CL.3SG.DAT CL.3MSG.ACC-have.3PL introduced LOC=DOM student
profesorului_j.
 professor.DAT.DEF.M.SG
 ‘They have introduced the student to the professor.’ (ROMANIAN)

(17) ROMANIAN: *DP_{OBL=DOM} > Cl_{DAT,j}...DP_{DAT,j}
 Comisia le_j -a repartizat (*pe) mai mulți_x
 board.DEF.F.SG CL.3PL.DAT-has assigned LOC=DOM more many.M.PL
 medici rezidenți *unor_j* foști profesori de-ai lor_x.
 medical residents some.DAT.PL former.M professors of theirs
 Intended: ‘The board assigned several medical residents to some former professors of theirs.’ (Cornilescu 2020, ex. 4; glosses adapted)

1.4. Position of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$

- Problem in (17): $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ binds into $Cl_{DAT,j} \dots DP_{DAT,j}$.
- A repair strategy for (17): doubling $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ with the ACC form of the clitic, as in (19-a).
- BUT the problem is that accusative clitic doubling of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ is *not* a repair strategy with $Cl_{DAT=POSS}$, as seen in the contrast in (19).
- AND another problem: $Cl_{DAT=POSS}$ does not tolerate $NegQ_{OBL=DOM}$ either, as shown in (20-a) vs (20-b).

1.5. Cl_{DAT} and doubling of DOM

(18) ROMANIAN: DP_{OBL=DOM} and clitic doubled IOs

- ✓ Cl_{ACC_i} DP_{OBL=DOM_i} ... Cl_{DAT_j} DP_{DAT_j}
- * Cl_{DAT=POSS_j} (DP_{DAT_j}) ... Cl_{ACC_i} DP_{OBL=DOM_i} /
- * Cl_{ACC_i} DP_{OBL=DOM_i} ... Cl_{DAT=POSS_j} (DP_{DAT_j})

- (19) a. Comisia l_j l_i -a repartizat
board.DEF.F.SG CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.M.ACC-has assigned
board. DEF. F. SG CL. 3SG. DAT CL. 3SG. M. ACC-has assigned
pe_i fiecare_x rezident *unei_j* foste
LOC=DOM each resident some.DAT.SG.F former.F.DAT
profesoare a lui_x.
professor.F.DAT of his (Cornilescu 2020 ex.6; glosses adapted)
'The board assigned each resident to a former professor of his.'
- b. * l_j - l_i ajută pe_i prieten
CL.3SG.DAT-CL.3M.SG.ACC help.3SG LOC=DOM friend
(lui_j Ion).
DAT.3SG.M Ion
Intended: 'He helps his/Ion's friend.' (ROMANIAN)

1.3. Sub-types of Cl_{DAT}

- Cl_{DAT=POSS} does not tolerate NegQ_{OBL=DOM} either
(NegQ_{OBL=DOM} cannot be doubled using the accusative clitic)

(20) ROMANIAN

- a. Comisia nu i_j-a prezentat ***(pe)**
 board.DEF.F.SG NEG CL.3SG.DAT-has introduced LOC=DOM
 nimeni profesorului_j.
 nobody professor.DEF.DAT.M.SG
 ‘The board hasn’t introduced anybody to the professor.’
- b. */??? Nu și_{POSS}-a ajutat ***(pe)** nimeni_{POSS} dintre
 NEG CL.3SG.REFL.DAT-has helped LOC=DOM nobody from
 ai săi.
 LK=GEN.DEF.M.PL his.M.PL
 Intended: ‘He hasn’t helped anybody of his.’
- c. Nu (*îl) ajută ***(pe)** nimeni.
 NEG CL.3.M.ACC help.3SG LOC=DOM nobody

1. Summary

PUZZLE₃

Why does the restriction under PUZZLE₂ obtain in Romanian when DP_{OBL=DOM} binds into a Cl_{DAT}-doubled IO_{IO}, as summarized in (21)?

- (21) PUZZLE₃: * DP_{OBL=DOM_i} > Cl_{DAT_j} DP_{DAT_j} (ROMANIAN (17)) vs
 ✓ Cl_{DAT_j} DP_{DAT_j} ... DP_{OBL=DOM} (ROMANIAN (15-a))

PUZZLE₄

Why is Cl_{DAT=POSS} distinct from other dative clitics in that it triggers co-occurrence restrictions with DP_{OBL=DOM} in Romanian?

- (22) PUZZLE₄: *Cl_{DAT=POSS} ... DP_{OBL=DOM} (ROMANIAN (8-a), (14-a))
 vs
 ✓ Cl_{DAT=GOAL} ... DP_{OBL=DOM} (ROMANIAN (15-a))

1. Summary

PUZZLE₅

Why is the accusative clitic double of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ a repair strategy in contexts containing a clitic doubled IO goal, but not a possessor dative in Romanian, as summarized in (23)?

- (23) PUZZLE₅: * $Cl_{DAT=POSS} (DP_{DAT=POSS}) \dots Cl_{ACC} DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (ROMANIAN (8-a)) vs
 $\checkmark Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} \dots Cl_{ACC} DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (ROMANIAN (19-a))

PUZZLE₆

Why does $NegQ_{OBL=DOM}$ (more easily) escape co-occurrence restrictions in configurations involving clitic doubled IO_{DAT}, as summarized in (24)?

- (24) PUZZLE₆: $\checkmark Cl_{DAT_j} DP_{DAT_j} \dots NegQ_{OBL=DOM}$ (13-b) vs
 $*Cl_{DAT_j} DP_{DAT_j} \dots DP_{DOM}$ ((10-b), (17))

1. Summary. Six puzzles

Table 1: Six puzzles

	Content	Language	Repair
PUZZLE ₁	<p>No Cl_{Dom} with Cl_{Dat} *Cl_{DAT} ... Cl_{OBL=DOM} ((6-b), (9-b)) ✓Cl_{DAT} ... DP_{OBL=DOM} ((9-a), (15-a))</p>	Leísta	remove Cl _{DOM} / Cl _{DAT}
PUZZLE ₂	<p>No DP_{Dom} with Cl_{Dat}-doubled DP_{Dat} if DP_{Dom} > Cl_{Dat_j} DP_{Dat_j} *Cl_{DAT_j} DP_{DAT_j} ... DP_{DOM} ((10-b), (17))</p>	Spanish/ Romanian	remove DP _{DOM} / Cl _{DAT} /DP _{DAT} / Cl _{ACC} -double DP _{DOM} (Romanian)
PUZZLE ₃	<p>✓Cl_{Dat} DP_{Dat}... DP_{Dom} if no DP_{Dom} binding into IO (✓IO > DP_{Dom}) *DP_{OBL=DOM} > Cl_{DAT_j} DP_{DAT_j} (17) ✓Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} ... DP_{OBL=DOM} (15-a)</p>	Romanian	
PUZZLE ₄	<p>No Cl_{Dat=Poss} with DP_{Dom} *Cl_{DAT=POSS} ... DP_{OBL=DOM} ((8-a), (14-a)) ✓Cl_{DAT} ... DP_{DOM} ((15-a))</p>	Romanian	remove DP _{OBL=DOM}
PUZZLE ₅	<p>Cl_{Acc} of Dom not a repair with Cl_{Poss} *Cl_{DAT=POSS_j} (DP_{POSS_j}) ... Cl_{ACC_i} DP_{DOM_i} ((8-a), (14-a)) ✓Cl_{DAT_j} DP_{DAT_j} ... Cl_{ACC_i} DP_{DOM_i} (19-a)</p>	Romanian	remove DP _{DOM}
PUZZLE ₆	<p>Neg Q_{Dom} OK with Cl_{Dat_j} DP_{Dat_j} ✓Cl_{DAT_j} DP_{DAT_j} ... Neg Q_{DOM} (13-b) *Cl_{DAT_j} DP_{DAT_j} ... DP_{DOM} ((10-b), (17))</p>	Spanish/ Romanian	(excluding Cl _{Dat=Poss})

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2. Agree vs Case

- Previous work has mostly been concerned with PUZZLE₁ and PUZZLE₂

PUZZLE₁

(Ormazabal and Romero 2007, et subseq.)

Assuming that both $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ and $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ grammaticalize animacy, $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ should trigger a co-occurrence restriction with dative clitics, similarly to $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$. Why is this prediction not borne out? Why the contrast in (9)/(25)?

- (25) PUZZLE₁: * $Cl_{DAT} \dots Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ (LEÍSTA (6-b)) vs
 ✓ $Cl_{DAT} \dots DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (LEÍSTA/STANDARD (9-a))

PUZZLE₂

(Ormazabal and Romero 2007, 2013a, a.o.)

Why does Spanish $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ produce a co-occurrence restriction with an IO which is doubled by a dative clitic, as represented in (10)/(26)?

- (26) PUZZLE₂: * $Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} \dots DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (LEÍSTA/STANDARD (10-b))

2. Agree vs Case

(27) SPANISH: Oblique DOM on full nominals vs clitics

- a. ✓ *Te/me* enviaron a todos los
 CL.2/1SG.DAT send.PST.3PL LOC/DAT=DOM all the
 enfermos.
 sick people.M.PL ((9-a), LEÍSTA/STANDARD)
 'They have sent all the sick people to you/me.'
- b. **Te/me* le di.
 2/1CL.DAT CL.3M.SG.DAT=DOM give.PST.1SG
 Intended: 'I gave him to you/me.' ((6-b), LEÍSTA)
- c. *Le_i* enviaron (*a) todos los
 CL.3DAT send.PST.3PL LOC/DAT=DOM all.M.PL DEF.M.PL
 enfermos *a_i* *la* *doctora*.
 sick people.M.PL DAT DEF.F.SG doctor ((10-b), LEÍSTA/STANDARD)
 Intended: 'They have sent all the sick people to the doctor.'

2.1. O(bject) A(greement) C(onstraint)

- Ormazabal and Romero's (2007, et subseq.) pioneering analysis for (6-b)/(27-b): reduction to principles behind the better known P(erson) C(ase) C(onstraint) or *Me-Lui* phenomena.
 - ▶ PCC: regulating person hierarchies in transitive clauses, with a vast literature on clitic clusters (following seminal work by Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1971, see also Albizu 1997, Anagnostopoulou 2003b, Béjar and Riz 2003, Nevins 2007, Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2018, Yokoyama 2019, Coon and Keine 2020, Deal 2020, a.o.)
- Intervention-based syntactic account for PCC
- Differential morphology on the DO clitic signals grammaticalized animacy, which requires *obligatory licensing* via object agreement.
- The verb is prohibited from entering into other agreement operations, besides object agreement, leaving Cl_{DAT} unlicensed.

(28) OAC: *If the verbal complex encodes object agreement, no other argument can be licensed through verbal agreement.*
(Ormazabal and Romero 2007:50)

2.2. Case

- Ormazabal and Romero (2007, p. 338): ‘whatever rule or principle is involved in A-insertion (*in* $DP_{\text{OBL}=\text{DOM}}$, *our note*) it has to be independent of object agreement.’
- Later works: $Cl_{\text{OBL}=\text{DOM}}$ in (27-b) - licensing in terms of Agree, while $DP_{\text{OBL}=\text{DOM}}$ (i.e., prepositional *a*-DOM, as in (1) or (27-a) involves licensing in terms of Case.
- IO DP introduced by *a* (‘a la doctora’) does not have a Case feature (it is a lexical dative, instead); does not compete for Case
- In (10-b)/(27-c) instead, the IO DP_{DAT} is doubled by a dative clitic.
- The latter contains a Case feature, which competes for licensing with the Case feature in $DP_{\text{OBL}=\text{DOM}}$, introduced by the *a*-preposition.

2.3. Some more problems

- BUT - PUZZLE₆: NegQ_{OBL=DOM} can escape co-occurrence restrictions

- (29) a. **Le_j* enviaron a todos los
 CL.3DAT send.PST.3PL DAT=DOM all.M.PL DEF.M.PL
 enfermos *a_j* *la* *doctora*.
 sick people.M.PL DAT DEF.F.SG doctor
 Intended: 'They have sent all the sick people to the doctor.'
- b. No *le_j* enviaron a nadie *a_j* *la*
 NEG CL.3SG.DAT send.PST.3PL DAT=DOM nobody DAT the
doctora.
 doctor
 'They have sent nobody to the doctor.' (SPANISH)

2.3. Some more problems

- The explanation cannot be that NegQ_{DOM} is *not* active syntactically

(30) * DOM UNDER MEDIO-PASSIVE SE: SPANISH AND ROMANIAN

a. *No se encerró **a** nadie.
NEG SE_{MP} locked up.3SG LOC/DAT=DOM nobody
Intended: 'Nobody was/got locked up.'

b. No se encerró **a** ningunos ciudadanos.
NEG SE_{IMP} locked up.3SG DOM none.M.PL citizen.M.PL
'No citizens were/got locked up.'

c. *No se encerraron **a** ningunos ciudadanos.
NEG SE_{IMP} locked up.3PL DOM none.M.PL citizen.M.PL
Intended: 'Nobody was/got locked up.'

(SPANISH)¹

d. *Nu se invită **pe** nimeni.
NEG SE.ACC MP invites LOC=DOM nobody
Intended: 'Nobody is/gets invited.'

(ROMANIAN)

¹ In Spanish, (30-a) might be possible under an *impersonal* reading. See Mendikoetxea (2008), a.o. for further discussion regarding differences between medio-passive and impersonal readings.

2.3. Some more problems

- In order to explain such examples, $\text{NegQ}_{\text{OBL}=\text{DOM}}$ will need to be Case licensed in some contexts ((30), etc.), but caseless in others (29-b), etc.
- Romanian $\text{Cl}_{\text{DAT}=\text{POSS}}$ needs licensing in terms of Agree, while other dative clitics either stay unlicensed or require licensing in terms of Case (or the other way around). What type of independent empirical evidence motivates this assumption?
- Are datives *always* caseless, when not clitic doubled? (Pineda 2020, Tigău 2020, a.o.)
- Are all *unmarked* nominals caseless? (Irimia 2020b, a.o.)
- What to do with the positional restrictions in (1.4)?
- What about generalized $*\text{Cl}_{\text{DAT}}\text{-DP}_{\text{OBL}=\text{DOM}}$?

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3.1. DOM and the possessor dative

- (31) a. Comisia i_j l_i -a repartizat
board.DEF.F.SG CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.M.ACC-has assigned
pe_i fiecare_x rezident *unei_j* foste
LOC=DOM each resident some.DAT.SG.F former.F.DAT
profesoare a lui_x.
professor.F.DAT of his
'The board assigned each resident to a former professor of his.'
- b. $*l_{j, Poss} - l_i$ ajută **pe_i** prieten_{Poss}
CL.3SG.DAT-CL.3M.SG.ACC help.3SG LOC=DOM friend
(lui_{j, Poss} Ion).
DAT.3SG.M Ion
Intended: 'He helps his/Ion's friend.'

(ROMANIAN)

3.1. DOM and the possessor dative

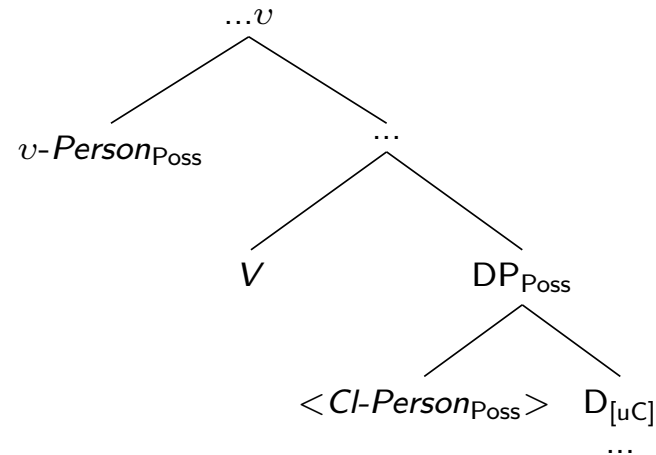
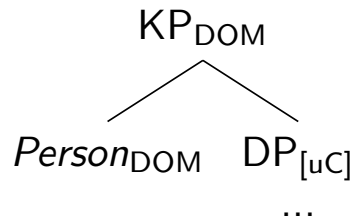
- The restriction *can* be lifted:
 - ▶ If $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ is left dislocated (32-b)
 - ▶ If $Cl_{DAT=POSS}$ is not interpreted on DOM (32-c)

- (32) a. **Şi*_{Poss}/**mi*_{Poss}-(I_i) ajută **pe**_i
CL.3SG.REFL.DAT/1SG.DAT-CL.3M.SG.ACC help.3SG LOC=DOM
prieten_{Poss}.
friend
Intended: ‘He is helping his own/my friend.’
- b. ? **Pe** prieteni_{Poss}, Ion *şi*_{Poss}-i ajută.
LOC=DOM friends, Ion CL.DAT.3SG.REFL-CL.3M.PL.ACC helps
‘His own friends, Ion helps them.’
- c. Nu *şi*_{Poss}-a trimis **pe** nimeni*_{Poss} în ajutor_{Poss}.
NEG CL.3SG.REFL.DAT-has sent LOC=DOM nobody in help
Lit. ‘He hasn’t sent anybody to/as his own aid.’
‘He hasn’t sent anybody of his as an aid.’ (ROMANIAN)

3.1. DOM and the possessor dative

(34)

(33)

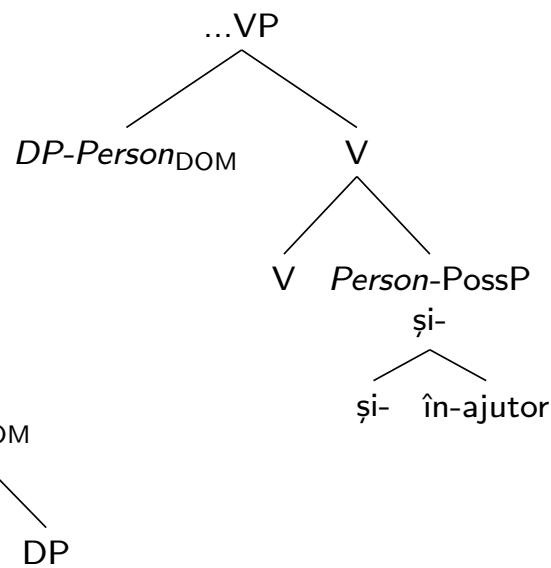
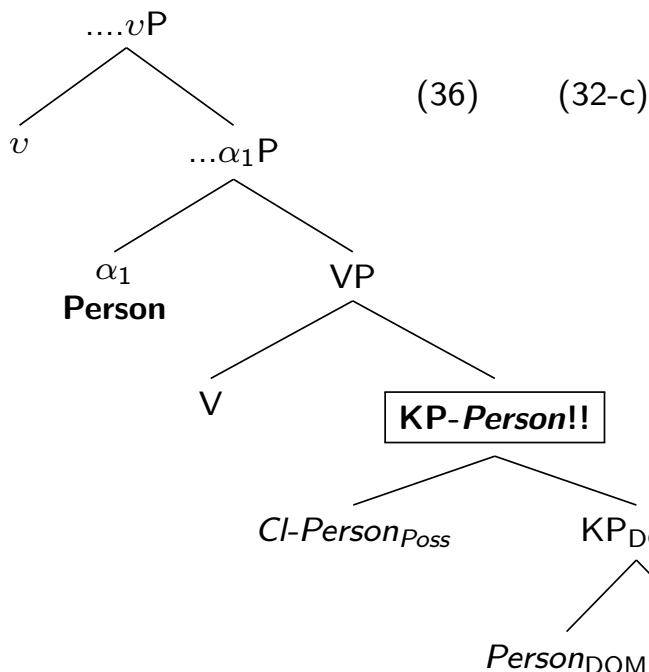


- Oblique DOM connected to a specification beyond Case.
- For simplicity, encoded as a [PERSON] feature (Cornilescu 2000, Richards 2008, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, a.o.), needing obligatory licensing in syntax.

- The dative possessor clitic a [PERSON] feature, which equally needs licensing
- A type of dative possessor clitic, generated DP-internally and then raising to its spell-out position (Landau (1999), Diaconescu (2004), a.o.)

3.1. DOM and the possessor dative

(35)

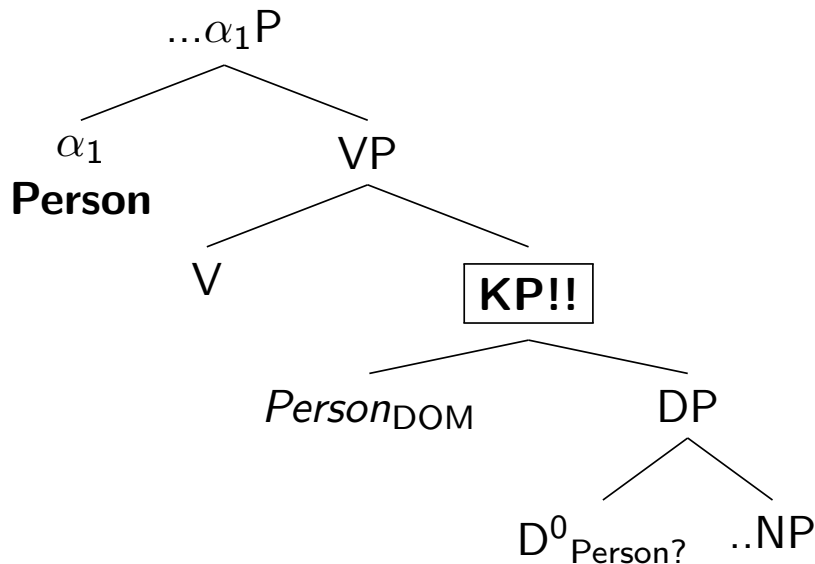


- (32-a)/(35): two very local [PERSON] features in KP!! What about (32-c)/(36)?

3.1. DOM and the possessor dative

- (37) Le-am văzut **pe** fet-e-(*le).
 CL.3F.PL.ACC-have.1SG seen LOC=DOM girl-F.PL-DEF.F.PL
 Intended: 'I saw the girls.' (ROMANIAN)

(38)



3.2. DOM and clitic doubled datives

- What are the DOM/animacy/PERSON licensing positions?
- López (2012): (oblique) DOM is licensed in an intermediate position between VP and v^0 (α_1).
- Belletti (2005), Ciucivara (2009), Stegovec (2020), a.o. have identified a [PERSON] (animacy) licensing field above vP , which is especially relevant for animate clitics (α_2).
- A third explicit proposal is that (some types of) oblique DOM on DPs have v^0 as a licenser (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, a.o.).

3.2. DOM and clitic doubled datives

- (39) *Le_j enviaron (*a) todos los enfermos a_j*
 CL.3DAT send.PST.3PL LOC/DAT=DOM all.M.PL DEF.M.PL sick people.M.PL DAT
la doctora.
 DEF.F.SG doctor
 Intended: 'They have sent all the sick people to the doctor.' (SPANISH)
- (40) *Comisia *le_j-a* repartizat (*pe) mai mulți_x medici rezidenți*
 board.DEF.F.SG CL.3PL.DAT-has assigned DOM more many.M medical residents
unor_j foști profesori de-ai lor_x.
 some.DAT.PL former.M professors of theirs
 Intended: 'The board assigned several medical residents to some former professors of theirs.' (ROMANIAN, Cornilescu 2020, ex. 4; glosses adapted)

PUZZLE₂ AND PUZZLE₃

(Ormazabal and Romero 2007 et subseq., Cornilescu 2020, a.o.)

Why does Spanish DP_{OBL=DOM}/Romanian DP_{OBL=DOM} binding into IO produce a PCC effect with an IO which is doubled by a dative clitic, as represented in (41)?

- (41) PUZZLE₂: * DP_{OBL=DOM} > Cl_{DAT, j} DP_{DAT, j} (10-b)/(39), (40), etc.)

3.2. DOM and clitic doubled datives

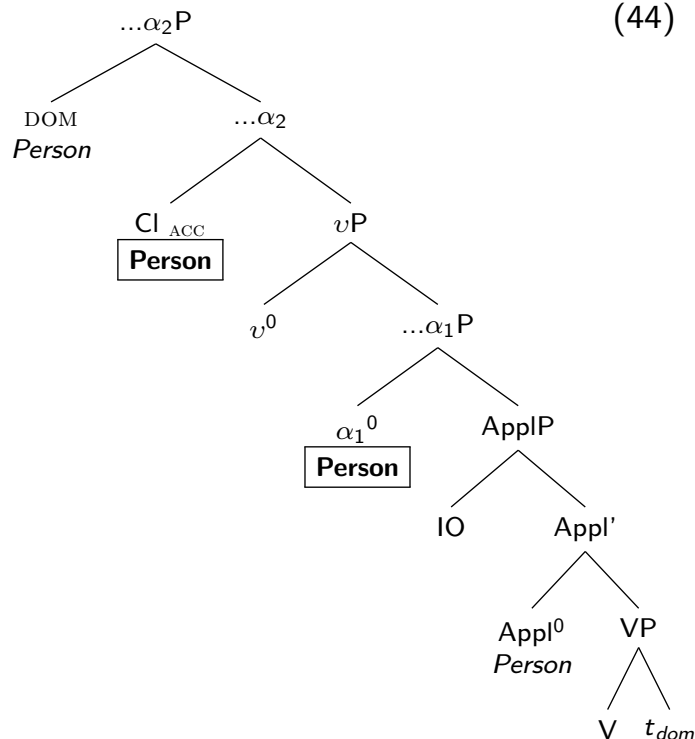
- López (2012): (oblique) DOM is licensed in an intermediate position between VP and v^0 (no binding effects from DOM into EA).
- López (2012): Spanish $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ c-commands datives.

- (42) a. Ayer vio su_{*x} padre **a** cada_x niño.
 yesterday saw his father DAT/LOC=DOM every boy
 ‘Yesterday his father saw every boy.’ (SPANISH, López 2012, ex. 13)
- b. Muzica lor_{*x} plictisește **pe** mulți_x.
 music.DEF.F.SG their bores LOC=DOM many.M.PL
 ‘Their music bores many people.’ (ROMANIAN, Cornilescu 2020, 24b)

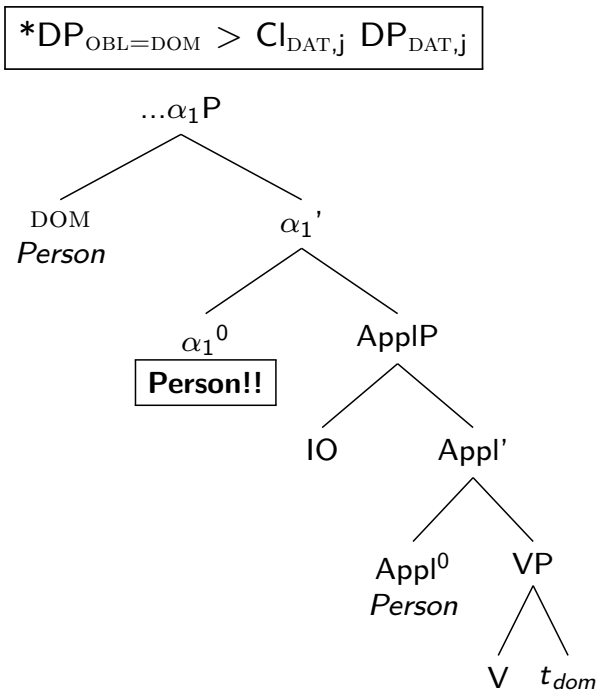
- Dative clitic doubling involves the introduction of a [PERSON] feature on the (low) Appl head, which equally needs licensing
- Only one licenser available, namely α_1^0

3.2. DOM and clitic doubled datives

(43)



(44)



3.2. DOM and clitic doubled datives

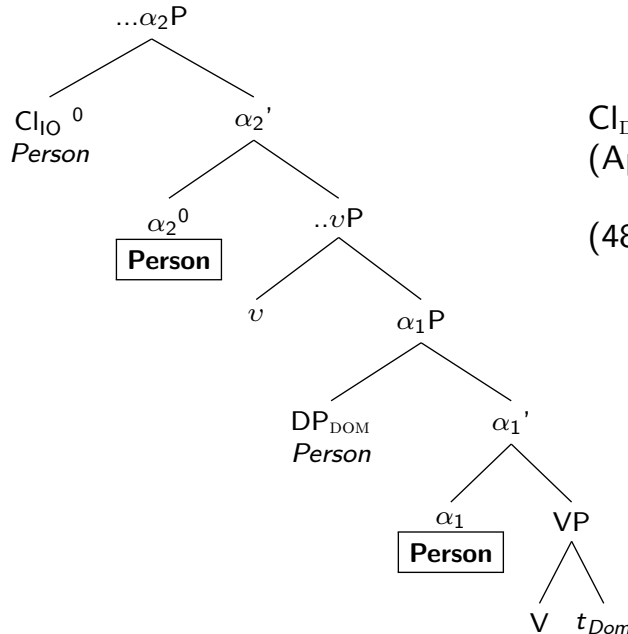
- In Romanian, a repair strategy is accusative clitic doubling of DOM
- Cl_{ACC} takes DOM out of α_1^0 domain; $Cl_{DAT}-DP_{IO}$ can be licensed, as in (43) (see also Cornilescu 2020, a.o.).
- Romanian $Cl_{ACC}-DP_{DOM}$ licensed in a position above v .

(45) Comisia i_j l_i -a repartizat **pe_i**
 board.DEF.F.SG CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.M.ACC-has assigned LOC=DOM
 fiecare rezident *unei_j* foste profesoare a lui_i.
 each resident some.DAT.SG.F former.F.DAT professor.F.DAT of his
 ‘The board assigned each resident to a former professor of his.’
 (ROMANIAN, Cornilescu 2020, ex.6; glosses adapted)

(46) Muzica lor_x $\hat{i}i$ plictisește **pe_i** mulți_x.
 music.DEF.F.SG their CL.3PL.M.ACC bores LOC=DOM many
 ‘Their own music bores many people.’ (ROMANIAN, Cornilescu 2020, ex.24a)

3.2. DOM and clitic doubled datives

(47)



$Cl_{DAT,j} DP_{DAT,j} > (Cl_{ACC,i}) DP_{OBL=DOM,i}$
(Appendix)

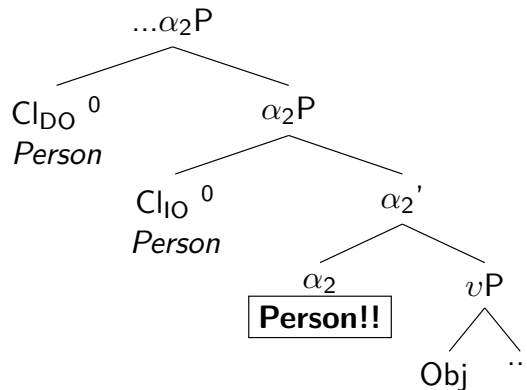
(48) / (I)-au
CL.3DAT CL.3MSG.ACC-have.3PL
prezentat **pe** student
introduced LOC=DOM student
profesorului.
professor.DAT.DEF.M.SG
'They have introduced the student to
the professor.'

3.2.1. DOM on clitics

- Hypothesis: Oblique DOM on clitics (6-b)/(49) involves licensing in α_2 domain (50)

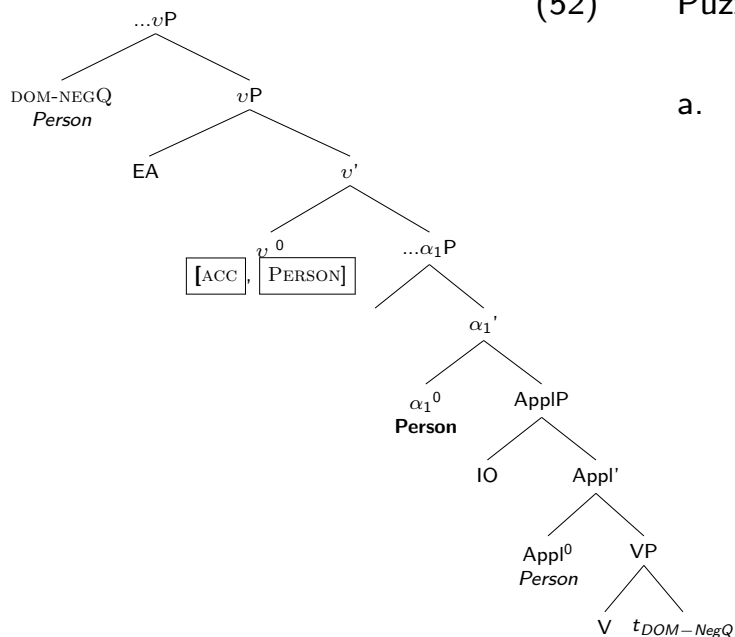
(49) *Te le di.
 2CL.DAT CL.3M.SG.DAT=DOM give.PST.1SG
 Intended: 'I gave him to you.'

(50)



3.3. DOM and NegQs

(51)



(52)

Puzzle₅: \checkmark Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} ... Neg Q_{DOM}
 $*$ Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT(i)} ... DP_{DOM(i)}

- a. No *le* enviaron
 NEG CL.3SG.DAT send.PST.3PL
 [a] nadie a la
 DAT=DOM nobody DAT DEF.F.SG
doctora.
 doctor
 'They haven't sent anybody to the
 doctor.' (SPANISH)
 emphatic accent in NegQ
 (Giannakidou 2020, a.o.), and a
 focus feature
 forcing raising (at least) to *v*

Roadmap



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- 1 Some problems
 - Six puzzles. Summary
- 2 Agree vs Case
 - Some more problems
- 3 DOM and licensing positions
 - DOM and the possessor dative
 - DOM and clitic doubled datives
 - DOM and NegQs
- 4 Concluding remarks

4. Concluding remarks

Table 2: Six puzzles and their explanations

	Content	Explanation
Puzzle ₁	no Cl_{dom} with Cl_{dat} *Cl _{DAT} ... Cl _{OBL=DOM} ((6-b), (9-b), (19-a))	both need licensing from α_2^0 (50)
Puzzle ₂	no DP_{dom} with Cl_{dat}-doubled DP_{dat} *Cl _{DAT} DP _{DAT_i} ... DP _{DOM_i} ((10-b), (17))	both need licensing from α_1^0 (44)
Puzzle ₃	✓ Cl_{dat} DP_{dat}... DP_{dom} if no DP_{dom} binding into IO *Cl _{DAT} DP _{DAT_i} ... DP _{OBL=DOM_i} ((17))	Cl _{DAT} DP _{DAT} above DP _{DOM} & Cl _{DAT} DP _{DAT} licensed independently (47)
Puzzle ₄	no Cl_{dat=poss} with DP_{dom} *Cl _{DAT=POSS} ... DP _{DOM} ((8-a), (14-a))	both too local in the same KP (35)
Puzzle ₅	Cl_{acc} of dom not a repair with Cl_{poss} *Cl _{DAT=POSS} ... Cl _{ACC} DP _{DOM} ((8-a), (14-a))	both too local in the same KP (35)
Puzzle ₆	Neg Q_{dom} OK with Cl_{dat} DP_{dat} ✓ Cl _{DAT} DP _{DAT} ... Neg Q _{DOM} (13-b)	NegQ _{DOM} licensed by v^0 (51)

4. Concluding remarks

- Person-related co-occurrence restrictions are not just a matter of clitics (see also recent work by Cornilescu 2020, Deal 2020, Sheehan 2020, a.o.)
- A variety of parameters come into play when it comes to co-occurrence restrictions involving oblique DOM
 - ▶ $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ vs $DP_{OBL=DOM}$
 - ▶ sub-types of dative clitics
 - ▶ sub-types of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$
 - ▶ positional restrictions of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$
- The divide Agree/Case is not enough to capture the patterns
- Question: do examples like (32-b) involve direct merge of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ in the CP periphery and PERSON licensing in the CP layer (the [PERSON] licensing field in the CP, for DOM that is only possible under dislocation - Belletti 2018 for Italian or Escandell-Vidal 2009 for Balearic Catalan)?

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Comments are highly appreciated: irimiamo@unimore.it

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- (53) Los enemigos no entregaron a su_x hijo a/∅ ningún_x prisionero.
the enemies NEG delivered.PL DAT his son DOM/∅ no prisoner
'The enemies did not deliver any prisoner to his son.' (López 2012, ex. 18, p. 41)
- (54) Inamicii nu (i-)au înmânat fiecărui_x fiu
enemies.the.M.PL not CL.3SG.DAT-have delivered every.DAT.M.SG son
pe tatăl său_x.
DOM father.DEF.M.SG his
Lit. 'The enemies did not deliver his father to every son.' ROMANIAN
- (55) Creditorii săi_x nu s-au adresat fiecărui_x
creditors.DEF.M.PL his not SE-have directed every.DAT.SG
deponent.
account holder
Lit. 'His creditors have not directed themselves to every account holder.'
ROMANIAN

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