Chapter 8

Oblique DOM and co-occurrence restrictions: How many types?

Monica Alexandrina Irimia[a]

[a]University of Modena and Reggio Emilia

This paper examines co-occurrence restrictions involving oblique DOM in (standard and leísta) Spanish and Romanian. Even a limited set of data reveals at least six puzzles, some of which are novel, ranging from differences in the syntactic behavior of oblique DOM on clitics as opposed to full DPs to unsystematicity of repair strategies. It is shown that the *narrow local* domain where the relevant ([PERSON]) features are licensed plays a role in these patterns, beyond the split Agree/Case.

1 Oblique DOM and co-occurrence restrictions

A defining trait of several Romance languages is the presence of object splits, under the broader phenomenon known as *differential object marking* (DOM). The particular DOM subtype we are concerned with here uses oblique morphology (henceforth *oblique* DOM).[1] For example, in (standard) Spanish (1) or Romanian (3) a human D(irect) O(bject) DP needs to be introduced by a preposition, as opposed to the inanimate DOs in (2) or (4). The split extends to DO clitics too, as documented for leísta Spanish, with the contrast in (5) vs. (6) from Ormazabal & Romero (2007; ex. 15a, b, adapted).

(1) Vi   [*(a)]   la niña.
    see.PST.1SG DAT=DOM   the girl

    'I saw the girl.'

---

[1]See Bossong (1991, 1998), Torrego (1998), Cornilescu (2000), Aissen (2003), Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), Tigău (2011), López (2012), Ormazabal & Romero (2013a), Manzini & Franco (2016), Hill & Mardale (2021), a.o. We assume an accusative syntax for oblique DOM.

(2) Vi   (*a)   el libro.   (Spanish)
     see.PST.1SG DAT=DOM the book
     'I saw the book.'

(3) Nu văd | *(pe) | nimeni.
     NEG see.1SG LOC=DOM nobody
     'I can't see anybody.'

(4) Nu văd   (*pe)   copaci.   (Romanian)
     NEG see.1SG LOC=DOM trees
     'I can't see trees.'

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

(6) | Le | vi.   (Leísta Spanish)
     CL.3M.SG.DAT=DOM see.PST.1SG
     'I saw him.'

A salient, although less discussed, property of oblique DOM are the co-occur-rence restrictions it gives rise to. For example, Ormazabal & Romero (2007)[2] have shown that $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$[3] bans the presence of an I(ndirect) O(bject) dative clitic, as in (7b).

(7) Leísta Spanish (Ormazabal & Romero 2007; ex. 16a, b, glosses adapted)
     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.'

---

[2]See also Bleam (2000), Zdrojewki (2008), Ormazabal & Romero (2013a, 2013b, 2013c) among others.

[3]In order to individuate oblique DOM on clitics (as in (6)) from oblique DOM on full nominals (as in (1) or (3)), 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'.

Co-occurrence restrictions provide important insights into the nature of DOM. However, even in the initial, pioneering observations, it became immediately clear that they are not uniform. This paper touches on precisely this issue. The contribution is two-fold; on the empirical side, it is interested in the landscape of these phenomena, using (standard and leísta) Spanish and standard Romanian.[4] Even a limited set of data reveals at least six puzzles, some of which are novel. Besides the differences between (leísta) Spanish Cl$_{OBL=DOM}$ and DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ (Ormazabal & Romero 2007, §2 and §3), we touch on other problems such as: i) differences in the behavior of possessor vs. goal dative clitics with Romanian DOM (§3); ii) splits between DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ and DOM negative quantifiers (§4); iii) lack of systematicity of accusative clitic doubling as a repair strategy on Romanian DOM (§4). On the theoretical side, §3 and §4 also show that the split Agree/Case is not sufficient to derive the data. §5 explores the proposal that the *narrow local* domain where the relevant ([PERSON]) features need to be licensed plays a role in these types of co-occurrence restrictions. §6 contains the conclusions.

2 Oblique DOM and the PCC

In a pioneering analysis of co-occurrence restrictions triggered by oblique DOM, Ormazabal & Romero (2007) reduced the ungrammaticality of examples such as (7b) to principles behind the better known P(erson) C(ase) C(onstraint) or *Me-Lui* phenomena. Across Romance, the latter have been extensively discussed for clitic clusters, following seminal work by Perlmutter (1971) and Bonet (1991).[5]

The standard Spanish examples below illustrate the so-called *strong* PCC. The ungrammaticality of (9a) is triggered by the DO (direct object) clitic that has a person feature (1st) which is hierarchically higher than the person feature of the IO clitic (3rd), as schematically summarized in (8). The ungrammaticality is avoided in (9b), as this time the DO is 3rd person, while the IO is 1st person.

(8)   Strong PCC: If DATIVE, then ACC = 3rd person

(9)   Standard Spanish strong PCC (Ormazabal & Romero 2007)

    a.   * Pedro **le/se**　　**me**　　envía.
        Pedro CL.3SG.DAT CL.1SG.ACC send.3SG.SUBJ
        Intended: 'Pedro sends me to him.'

---

[4]The data come from native speaker judgments, and from 20 native speaker consultants each for Spanish and Romanian, and 3 for leísta Spanish.

[5]See also Albizu (1997), Anagnostopoulou (2003), Béjar & Rezac (2003), among others.

b. Pedro **me**   **lo**   envía.
    Pedro CL.1SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC send.3SG.SUBJ
    'Pedro sends him/it to me.'

Although initial accounts investigated a morphological explanation for the (strong) PCC, subsequent research (Albizu 1997, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Béjar & Rezac 2003, Preminger 2019, among others.) underpinned its clear *syntactic* source. A general idea in syntactic accounts has been that the PCC involves more than one category which requires *licensing* in the syntax, in a local configuration containing just one relevant licenser. To briefly cite two analyses, for Anagnostopoulou (2003) 1st and 2nd persons contain a [PERSON] feature, which requires licensing just like the [PERSON] feature introduced by all (inflectional) datives. Béjar & Rezac (2003) similarly assume an obligatory PERSON LICENSING CONDITION affecting speaker and hearer-related categories.

Ormazabal & Romero (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c) follow the premises of intervention based syntactic accounts for PCC to explain co-occurrence restrictions induced by Cl$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ as in (7b). The reasoning goes as follows: Differential morphology on the DO clitic in (7b) signals grammaticalized animacy, which requires *obligatory licensing* via object agreement. A constraint is active which prohibits the verb from entering into other agreement operations, besides object agreement. This is formalized as the O(bject) A(greement) C(onstraint) in (10):

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

In fact, for Ormazabal & Romero (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c), the OAC is the unifying factor behind all types of PCC. In oblique DOM, grammaticalized animacy requires obligatory licensing but is relevant on all persons (including 3rd person), and thus will block *any* type of inflectional dative (clitic), which equally requires licensing. Moreover, the hypothesis that grammaticalized animacy, signalled by oblique DOM, requires special syntactic licensing appears to find support elsewhere. For example, in Romanian a DP$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ results in ungrammaticality (for all the consultants in this study) in a context which also contains a Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$ interpreted as a possessor, irrespective of the person specification of the latter, as in (11a). Grammaticality is restored if oblique DOM is removed (11b).

(11) Romanian: *Cl$_{\text{DAT=POSS}}$ DP$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ (DOM blocked under possessor Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$)

a. * *Şi/*mi*-(l)   ajută | **pe** | prieten.

    CL.3SG.REFL.DAT/1SG.DAT-CL.3M.SG.ACC help.3SG LOC=DOM friend

    Intended: 'He helps his own/my friend.' ('helps the friend to me')

b. ✓ *Îşi* /✓ *îmi*   ajută   prieten-u-l.

    CL.3SG.REFL.DAT/CL.1SG.DAT help.3SG friend-M.SG-DEF.M.SG

    'He helps his own/my friend.' (i.e.,'helps the friend to himself/me') [6]

3 Some problems

However, several problems immediately became apparent. If grammaticalized animacy, which requires obligatory licensing, is what triggers oblique DOM, one reasonable assumption is that DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ in (1) (from standard or leísta Spanish) should also trigger PCC effects. But this expectation is *not* (fully) borne out.

In (12a) we see that DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ is well formed with Cl$_{DAT}$ (irrespectively of the latter's person feature). This contrasts with examples like (7b), repeated in (12b).

(12)   Spanish: Oblique DOM PCC on full nominals vs. clitics

a. ✓ *Te/me*   enviaron | **a** | todos los enfermos.

    CL.2/1SG.DAT send.PST.3PL DAT=DOM all   DEF sick people.M.PL

                                                 (Leísta/Standard)

    'They have sent all the sick people to you/me.'

b. * *Te/me* | **le** | di.   (Leísta)

    2/1CL.DAT CL.3M.SG.DAT=DOM give.PST.1SG

    7

    Intended: 'I gave him to you/me.'

DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ is also possible with an IO DP introduced by the (dative/locative) preposition *a*,[8] as in (13a) from Ormazabal & Romero (2013a). Crucially, in both leísta and standard Spanish, DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ becomes *ungrammatical* with an IO DP which is also *doubled* by a dative clitic. Thus, the example in (13b) is grammatical (to the speakers tested here) only if the differential marker is removed.

(13)   a. ✓ Enviaron | **a** | todos los enfermos   *a   la doctora*

        send.PST.3PL DAT=DOM all   the sick people.M.PL DAT the doctor

        'They have sent all the sick people to the doctor.'

---

[6]Cl$_{ACC}$ (-*l*) doubling the DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ in (11a) triggers alternation in the shape of Cl$_{DAT=POSS}$ in (11).

[7]In standard Spanish (and Romanian) 3rd person DO clitics only allow accusative morphology; thus, they do not grammaticalize animacy. Leísta varieties allow both DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ and Cl$_{OBL=DOM}$.

[8]Thus, indicating that the effect is not due to haplology (the need to avoid two *a*- sequences).

b. *Le* enviaro‌n (**a*) todos los
CL.3DAT send.PST.3PL LOC/DAT=DOM all.M.PL DEF.M.PL

enfermos *a* *la* *doctora.*
sick people.M.PL DAT DEF.F.SG doctor

Intended: 'They have sent all the sick people to the doctor.'

Complex problems are the norm in Romanian, too. In (11a) $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ is ungrammatical with a $Cl_{DAT=POSS}$. But there are (at least) two twists in the data. On the one hand, other types of dative clitics are tolerated by $DP_{OBL=DOM}$. The sentence in (14) contains a *goal* dative clitic and a $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ and is *grammatical*, irrespectively of the person of the former:

(14) Romanian – ✓ oblique DOM with goal dative clitic
✓ *Mi/ţi/i* (l)-au prezentat pe student.
CL.1/2/3SG.DAT CL.3MSG.ACC-have introduced LOC=DOM student

'They have introduced the student to me/you_{SG}/him.'[9] (cf. 11a)

On the other hand, there are also configurations where a Cl_{DAT}-doubled IO_{DAT} *outputs ungrammaticality* with $DP_{OBL=DOM}$, even if the former is interpreted as a goal. In (15) we present a relevant example from Cornilescu (2020). In a sense, such sentences mirror the Spanish one in (13b), with *a difference*: In Romanian, "PCC effects" arise when $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ *binds into* the Cl_{DAT} doubled IO (cf. 14/fn.9).

(15) Romanian (Cornilescu 2020, ex. 4; glosses adapted)
Comisia (**le*)-a repartizat pe mai mulţi_i medici
board.DEF.F.SG CL.3PL.DAT-has assigned LOC=DOM more many.M medical

rezidenţi *unor* *foşti* *profesori* *de-ai lor*_i.
residents some.DAT.PL former.M professors of theirs

Intended: 'The board assigned several medical residents to some former professors of theirs.'

Besides the removal of DOM (a repair strategy equally available in standard and/or leísta Spanish), Romanian provides a second repair strategy for examples such as (15), namely accusative clitic doubling of DP_{DOM}.[10] This is seen in the *grammatical* sentence (16a), which contains a Cl_{DAT}-doubled IO, and a $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ which is *clitic doubled* using the accusative form of the clitic (cf. 15). A puzzle, however, is that Cl_{ACC}-doubling of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ is *not* a repair strategy in contexts

---

[9]In these contexts a DP_{DAT} is also possible: *I_i (l)-au prezentat pe student profesorului*_{i[professor.DAT]}).
[10]Not all varieties of Spanish allow clitic doubling of $DP_{OBL=DOM}$. See further remarks in §5.

that contain a dative clitic interpreted as a possessor, no matter whether a possesor dative DP is also present or not. Example (11a) is adapted here as (16b).

(16) Romanian: $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ and clitic doubled IOs

    a. ✓ Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT_i} … Cl_{ACC} $DP_{OBL=DOM_i}$ (Cornilescu 2020, ex. 6; adapted)

      Comisia i̱ ḻ-a repartizat pe

      board.DEF.F.SG CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.M.ACC-has assigned $_{LOC=DOM}$

      fiecare$_i$ rezident *unei* foste profesoare a lui$_i$.

      each resident some.DAT.SG.F former.F.DAT professor.F.DAT LK his

      'The board assigned each resident to a former professor of his.'

    b. * $Cl_{DAT=POSS}$ (DP_{DAT}) … Cl_{ACC} $DP_{OBL=DOM}$

      * *I-ḻ* ajută pe prieten (lui Ion).

      CL.3SG.DAT-CL.3M.SG.ACC help.3SG $_{LOC=DOM}$ friend DAT.3SG.M Ion

      Intended: 'He helps his/Ion's friend.'

In general, as we can see from these limited sets of data, the co-occurrence restrictions on oblique DOM are extremely complex and still uncharted. A modest goal here is, first of all, empirical - trying to map which domains are relevant, and where the cross-linguistic similarities and differences are to be found. Let us first summarize the five (related) puzzles we have identified (see also Table 1):

(17) Oblique DOM and co-occurrence restrictions: Five puzzles

- Puzzle$_1$: Assuming that $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ grammaticalizes animacy, it should trigger a PCC effect with dative clitics, similarly to $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$. Why is this prediction not borne out? What is the reason for this contrast, which we repeat in (18)?

(18) Puzzle$_1$: * Cl_{DAT} … $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ (Leísta Spanish 7b, 12b) vs.
               ✓Cl_{DAT} … $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (Spanish, Romanian 12a, 14)

- Puzzle$_2$: Why does Spanish $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ produce a PCC effect with an IO which is doubled by a dative clitic, as represented in (19)?

(19) Puzzle$_2$: * Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} … $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (Leísta/Standard 13b)

- Puzzle$_3$: Why does the restriction under Puzzle$_2$ obtain in Romanian (only) when $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ binds into a Cl_{DAT}-doubled IO_{IO}, as summarized in (20)?

(20)   Puzzle$_3$: * Cl$_{DAT}$ DP$_{DAT_i}$ ... DP$_{OBL=DOM_i}$ (Romanian 15) vs.
       ✓Cl$_{DAT}$ DP$_{DAT}$ ... DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ (Romanian 14)

- Puzzle$_4$: Why is Cl$_{DAT=POSS}$ distinct from other dative clitics in that it triggers PCC effects in interaction with DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ in Romanian?

(21)   Puzzle$_4$: *Cl$_{DAT=POSS}$ ... DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ (Romanian 11a, 16b) vs.
       ✓Cl$_{DAT=GOAL}$ ... DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ (Romanian 14)

- Puzzle$_5$: 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? This is summarized in (22).

(22)   Puzzle$_5$: *Cl$_{DAT=POSS}$ (DP$_{DAT=POSS}$) ... Cl$_{ACC}$ DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ (Romanian 11a, 16b)
       ✓Cl$_{DAT}$ DP$_{DAT}$ ... Cl$_{ACC}$ DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ (Romanian 16a)

4 Agree vs. Case

Previous work has mostly been concerned with Puzzle$_1$, namely the contrast between Cl$_{OBL=DOM}$ which gives rise to PCC effects with Cl$_{DAT}$ in 7b (12b), and DP$_{OBL=DOM}$, which does not (12a, 14). As mentioned in §2 and §3, Ormazabal & Romero (2007, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, et subseq.) attribute the ungrammaticality of examples like 7b (12b) to the OAC in (10). Grammaticalized animacy spelled out by Cl$_{OBL=DOM}$ in 7b (12b) requires obligatory object agreement on the verb, blocking the licensing of any other argument through verbal agreement. Thus, Cl$_{DAT}$, which equally needs licensing, remains unlicensed causing ungrammaticality.

But, then, what is the status of grammaticalized animacy on full nominal DOM (DP$_{OBL=DOM}$), which is equally signaled via oblique morphology? Ormazabal & Romero (2007: 338) provide the following explanation for this contrast: "whatever rule or principle is involved in A-insertion (*in DP$_{OBL=DOM}$, our note*) it has to be independent of object agreement." In later works, Ormazabal & Romero (2013a) associate Cl$_{OBL=DOM}$ in (12b) with licensing in terms of Agree, while DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ (i.e., prepositional *a*-DOM, as in 1 or 12a) involves licensing in terms of Case.

The Agree/Case divide can also, potentially, explain why examples such as (13a) are *grammatical*. The intuition is that the IO DP introduced by the preposition *a* ('a la doctora') does not have a Case feature (it is a lexical dative, instead). Thus, it cannot compete for Case licensing with the Case feature in oblique DOM on full nominals. In (13b), 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$_{OBL=DOM}$, introduced by the *a*-preposition. This is puzzle$_2$.

In §2 and §3 we have also seen the data are truly complex and refined. The question is whether we can extend the split Agree/Case to all the patterns examined here. One problem is Puzzle$_4$ from Romanian, which sets aside the dative possessor clitic from other types of dative clitics, as repeated in (23).

(23) Puzzle$_4$: *Cl$_{\text{DAT=POSS}}$ ... DP$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ (Romanian 11a, 16b) vs.
       ✓Cl$_{\text{DAT=GOAL}}$ ... DP$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ (Romanian 14)

Here, the explanation would have to be that Cl$_{\text{DAT=POSS}}$ 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). The non-trivial question is what independent evidence would motivate this assumption. Similarly problematic is the contrast between (14) and (15). In what sense is this a matter of Case vs. Agree?

There is yet another complex issue regarding the licensing of DP$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ in terms of Case. A less discussed fact is that not all types of DP$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ trigger co-occurrence restrictions. For example, DOM-ed *Neg(ative) Q(uantifier)s* (more easily) escape them. This is clearly seen in the contrast in (24) from Spanish. In Romanian, the data are even more subtle. If NegQ$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ might be problematic to some speakers with *assign/distribute*-type predicates (Class A), irrespectively of binding, as in (25b), *introduce*-type predicates (Class B) seem to be fine in (25c), as expected. But then, if oblique DOM and clitic doubled datives compete for Case, leading to PCC in (24a) and (25a), why is the PCC avoided in (24b)?

(24) a. * *Le*   enviaron   [a]   todos   los   enfermos
         CL.3DAT send.PST.3PL DAT=DOM all.M.PL DEF.M.PL sick people.M.PL
         a   la   doctora.
         DAT DEF.F.SG doctor
         Intended: 'They have sent all the sick people to the doctor.'

      b. No *le*   enviaron   [a]   nadie   *a   la doctora.*
         NEG CL.3SG.DAT send.PST.3PL DAT=DOM nobody DAT the doctor
         'They haven't sent anybody to the doctor.'   (Spanish)

(25) a. * Comisia   *le*-a   repartizat [pe]   mai   mulţi$_i$
         board.DEF.F.SG CL.3PL.DAT-has assigned LOC=DOM more many.M
         medici rezidenţi *unor*   foşti   profesori de-ai lor$_i$.
         medical residents some.DAT.PL former.M professors of-LK theirs
         Intended: 'The board assigned several medical residents to some
         former professors of theirs.' (Cornilescu 2020, ex. 4; adapted)[11]

---

[11]As Cornilescu (2020) also notices, the problem is not the putative absence of clitic doubling on
   DP$_{\text{DOM}}$. DP$_{\text{DOM}}$ is grammatical without clitic doubling for all the speakers consulted here.

b. $^{?}$ Comisia nu *i*-a repartizat | pe | nimeni
board.DEF NEG CL.3SG.DAT-has assigned LOC=DOM nobody

profesorului.
professor.DEF.DAT

'The board hasn't assigned anybody to the professor.'[12]

c. Comisia nu *i*-a prezentat | pe | nimeni
board.DEF NEG CL.3SG.DAT-has introduced LOC=DOM nobody

profesorului.
professor.DEF.DAT

'The board hasn't introduced anybody to the professor.' (Romanian)

Assuming that differential marking on NegQs is not active syntactically is a non-starter. NegQ$_{OBL=DOM}$ *is* blocked under other configurations which do *not* permit differential marking. One such case is the medio-passive SE. The two examples below are ungrammatical in both Spanish (26a) and Romanian (26b).

(26) DOM under medio-passive *se*: Spanish and Romanian

a. No se encerró | (*a) | nadie. (Spanish)[13]
NEG SE locked up.3SG DAT=DOM nobody

Intended: 'Nobody was/got locked up.'

b. Nu se invită | (*pe) | nimeni. (Romanian)
NEG SE invite.3SG LOC=DOM nobody

Intended: 'Nobody is/gets invited.'

Moreover, in Romanian, NegQ$_{OBL=DOM}$ is still ungrammatical in a structure which contains a dative clitic interpreted as a possessor. In (27), we have forced a possessor reading of the dative clitic (i.e., *he didn't help anybody of his*). The consultants judge this example ungrammatical/degraded, contrary to (25c).

(27) */?? Nu *şi*-a ajutat | pe | nimeni dintre ai
NEG CL.3SG.DAT-has helped LOC=DOM nobody from LK.DEF.M.PL

săi.
his.PL

Intended: 'He hasn't helped anybody of his.' (Romanian)

---

[12]As DOM is obligatory on *nimeni*, the only repair here is the removal of Cl$_{DAT}$ double (-*i*). Also, (25a) and (25b) show that these co-occurrence restrictions are not simply a matter of DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ binding into Cl$_{DAT}$-doubled IO; NegQ$_{OBL=DOM}$ is not involved in such operation in (25b).

In order to explain such examples, $NegQ_{OBL=DOM}$ will need to be Case licensed in some contexts (26, etc.), but caseless in others (24b, etc.). We thus have yet another problem, as summarized under $Puzzle_6$:

- $Puzzle_6$: Why does $NegQ_{OBL=DOM}$ (more easily) escape the PCC in configurations involving clitic doubled IO_{DAT}, as summarized in (28)?

(28) $Puzzle_6$: ✓Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} ... Neg Q_{DOM} (24b, 25c)
           *Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} ... DP_{DOM} (13b, 25a)

In Table 1 we summarize the six puzzles. In §5 we explore a solution which (also) takes into account the *position* in which a certain category needs licensing.

Table 1: Six puzzles

	Content	Language	Repair
$Puzzle_1$	**no Cl_{DOM} with Cl_{DAT}** *Cl_{DAT} ... $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$ (7b, 12b) ✓Cl_{DAT} ... $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (12a, 14)	leísta	remove Cl_{DOM}/ Cl_{DAT}
$Puzzle_2$	**no DP_{DOM} with Cl_{DAT}-doubled** *Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} ... DP_{DOM} (13b, 15)	Spanish/ Romanian (binding)	remove DP_{DOM}/DP_{DAT} Cl_{DAT}/DP_{DAT}/ Cl_{ACC}-double DP_{DOM} (latter – Romanian)
$Puzzle_3$	✓Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT}... DP_{DOM} **if no DP_{DOM} binding into IO** *Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT_i} ... $DP_{OBL=DOM_i}$ (15) ✓Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} ... $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (14)	Romanian	clitic-double$_{ACC}$ DP_{DOM}/ remove $Cl_{OBL=DOM}$
$Puzzle_4$	**no $Cl_{DAT=POSS}$ with DP_{DOM}** *$Cl_{DAT=POSS}$... $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ (11a,16b) ✓Cl_{DAT} ... DP_{DOM} (14)	Romanian	remove $DP_{OBL=DOM}$
$Puzzle_5$	**Cl_{ACC} of DOM not a repair with Cl_{POSS}** *$Cl_{DAT=POSS}$ ... Cl_{ACC} DP_{DOM} (11a,16b) ✓Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} ... Cl_{ACC} DP_{DOM} (16a)	Romanian	remove DP_{DOM}
$Puzzle_6$	**Neg Q_{DOM} OK with Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT}** ✓Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT} ... Neg Q_{DOM} (24b, 25c) *Cl_{DAT} DP_{DAT_i} ... DP_{DOM_i} (13b, 15)	Spanish/ Romanian – class B verbs	

5 Oblique DOM and licensing positions

5.1 Oblique DOM and the possessor dative

As the facts are clearer, let's start with the problems involving the possessor clitic. Puzzle$_4$ showed that oblique $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ is ungrammatical in configurations which contain a $Cl_{DAT=POSS}$, as in (11a), repeated in (29a). However, there are further quirks in the data. For all speakers, such structures significantly improve or are perfectly grammatical if $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ is dislocated to the left periphery, as in (29b). Moreover, if Cl_{DAT} is not interpreted as a possessor on $DP_{OBL=DOM}$, the structure is again grammatical. This is illustrated in (29c), where the possessor is interpreted on the PP-adjunct.[14] In fact, a possessor reading on $DP_{OBL=DOM}$ would be ungrammatical, as already shown in (27).

(29) Puzzle$_4$: *$Cl_{DAT=POSS_i}$ … DP_{DOM_i} (11a, 29a) vs.

  ✓$[_{CP}$ DP_{DOM_i} … $[_{C^0}$… $[Cl_{DAT=POSS_i}$ … $]$ $]$ $]$ (29b)
  ✓$Cl_{DAT=POSS_i}$ … DP_{DOM_j} … XP_i (29c)

  a. *$Și_i$/*mi_i-(l) ajută **pe** prieten$_i$.
      CL.3SG.REFL.DAT/1SG.DAT-CL.3M.SG.ACC help.3SG LOC=DOM friend

      Intended: 'He is helping his own/my friend.'

  b. **Pe** prieten$_i$, Ion și$_i$-i ajută.
      LOC=DOM friends, Ion CL.DAT.3SG.REFL-CL.3M.PL.ACC helps

      'His own friends, Ion helps them.'

  c. Nu și$_i$-a trimis **pe** nimeni$_{*i}$ în ajutor$_i$.
      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)

This also implies that local, narrow domains *do* matter. As mentioned, we follow accounts which link oblique DOM to a specification beyond Case. For simplicity, we encode it as a [PERSON] feature (Cornilescu 2000, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, Richards 2008), which needs obligatory licensing in the syntax. The dative possessor clitic also encodes a [PERSON] feature, which equally needs licensing. The data also indicate that this is a type of dative possessor clitic which is generated DP-internally and then raises to its spell-out position.[15]

---

[14]For lack of a more adequate notation, we indicate this connectedness via a subscript index.
[15]Landau (1999), Diaconescu (2004), a.o.

The more specific problem with examples such as (29a) is that the two [PERSON] features are *too local* in the same KP, as represented in Figure 1. Additionally, in the local domain that contains these two [PERSON] features, there is only one [PERSON] licenser, on the functional projection we label here α (following López 2012). Crash can be avoided, if one of the [PERSON] features can be removed from this local domain, for example via dislocation to/direct merge in the left periphery, as in (29b). Here, the [PERSON] feature can be licensed by a [PERSON]-related functional projection in the C^0 domain, while the [PERSON]-related specification in the possessor clitic is licensed by α_1 head. Another possibility is to have the two [PERSON] features on different categories, as in (29c); here, as schematically shown in Figure 2, the *Possessor*-related [PERSON] feature is generated inside the PP, while the object DP contains a separate [PERSON] feature. As we show in §5.3 and §5.4, depending on the narrow domain in which each of these [PERSON] features is checked, crash can be avoided.[16]
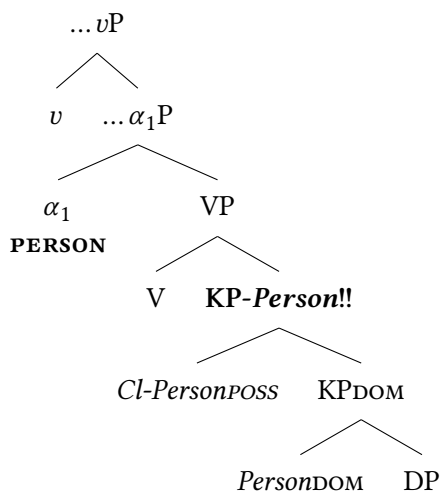

Figure 1: [PERSON] categories too local

---

[16]Onea & Hole (2017) and Onea (2018) derive ungrammaticality in examples like (29a) on the hypothesis that both oblique DOM and the possessor clitic need licensing in a position above VP. As we see in this paper, this seems to be too coarse; there are instances (e.g., 29c in the relevant interpretation) where these two categories do not produce ungrammaticality, indicating that some other factor is at play too.
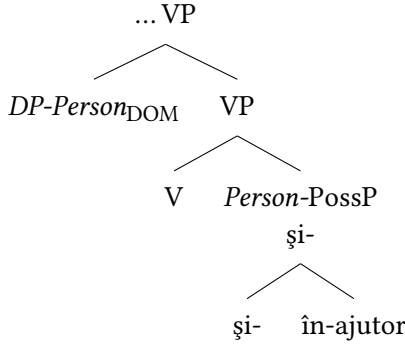
Figure 2: [PERSON] categories in separate domains

5.2 Puzzle$_1$: Oblique DOM on clitics and interaction with IO clitics

Thus, the *position* in which [PERSON] features are licensed is relevant. But this begs the question about possible [PERSON]-licensing positions. The literature contains a variety of proposals. As already mentioned above, López (2012) assumes that (oblique) DOM is licensed[17] in an intermediate position between VP and v^0,[18] which we denote by $\alpha_1{}^0$. Yet, Belletti (2005), Ciucivara (2009), and Stegovec (2020), among others, have identified a [PERSON] (animacy) licensing field above vP, which is especially relevant for clitics. A third explicit proposal is that oblique DOM on DPs has v^0 as a licenser (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, a.o.).[19] The three [PERSON] licensers are illustrated in Figure 3. Importantly, what the data at hand show is that *all* these positions and licensers are relevant in their own way.

Let's turn now to the [PERSON] field above vP. We assume that this area is involved in the licensing of oblique DOM on clitics, as seen in leísta varieties of Spanish. Puzzle$_1$ is precisely concerned with the ungrammaticality of an oblique DOM clitic in the context of an IO clitic. Crucially, this effect does not arise when a full nominal is differentially marked. We repeat the relevant examples in (30):

---

[17]Note that for López (2012), oblique DOM involves licensing in terms of Case. As we have outlined some shortcomings of this hypothesis, we take DOM to involve the licensing of a ([PERSON]) feature beyond Case. This way we obtain better results both empirically and formally.

[18]One important piece of evidence for a licensing position below v^0 comes from the absence of binding effects into the EA from DP$_{OBL=DOM}$ (see López 2012: 41–46 for exemplification).

[19]Of course, a [PERSON]-licensing field is also available in the CP. In fact, there are Romance varieties where DP$_{DOM}$ is only possible on XPs that are overtly dislocated to the left periphery. See especially Belletti (2018) for Italian or Escandell-Vidal (2009, et subseq.) for Balearic Catalan.

(30) PUZZLE₁: * Cl_DAT … Cl_OBL=DOM (Leísta Spanish 7b, 12b) *vs*
  ✓ Cl_DAT … DP_OBL=DOM (Spanish, Romanian 12a, 14)

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

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

As the PCC effects induced by Cl_OBL=DOM are different from those of DP_OBL=DOM and given the problems with an analysis under the split Case/Agree, let's see what we obtain as a result of licensing position. As DP_OBL=DOM gets licensed in α_1, it must be the case that Cl_OBL=DOM is licensed in a different position. We propose that this is the [PERSON] domain above vP, what we abbreviate as $\alpha_2{}^0$ (see the tree in Figure 3).[20] The problem with (30a) is that the same local α_2 domain also hosts the dative clitic encoding a [PERSON] feature equally needing licensing. As there is only one [PERSON] licenser available, namely $\alpha_2{}^0$, the derivation will crash, as in Figure 6. On the other hand, the two [PERSON] features in (30b) can be licensed by two licensers found in different domains, as in Figure 4: α_2 for the [PERSON] feature in the dative clitic, and α_1 for the [PERSON] feature in DP_OBL=DOM. This latter structure is also seen with Romanian ditransitives as in (14) (remember that these are either Class B verbs or configurations in which DP_OBL=DOM does not bind into the IO_DAT).[21] Therefore, we also have part of the answer to Puzzle₃.

5.3 Oblique DOM and clitic doubled datives

Let's see now the explanation to Puzzle₂ which involves ungrammaticality of DP_OBL=DOM with a dative IO which is clitic doubled by dative clitic (in Spanish and in Romanian configurations where DP_OBL=DOM binds into the clitic doubled dative, see Table 1). In these structures Figure 8, DP_OBL=DOM contains a [PERSON] feature needing licensing. Dative clitic doubling involves the introduction of a [PERSON] feature on the (low) Appl head,[22] which equally needs licensing. As there is only one licenser available, namely $\alpha_1{}^0$, the derivation will crash.

---

[20]Tests similar to the ones alluded to in fn. (16) actually show that Cl_OBL=DOM can be found above the EA, as opposed to DP_OBL=DOM, which is found below v^0.

[21]As expected, binding from the IO into DP_OBL=DOM *is* possible, indicating that in these configurations the IO is higher (and if containing a [PERSON] feature, it has an independent licenser for it, which does not interact with oblique DOM).

[22]The evidence discussed by López (2012: 41–46) indicates that DP_OBL=DOM binds into the IO, and not the other way around. Thus here the DP_OBL=DOM is (interpreted) higher than the IO.
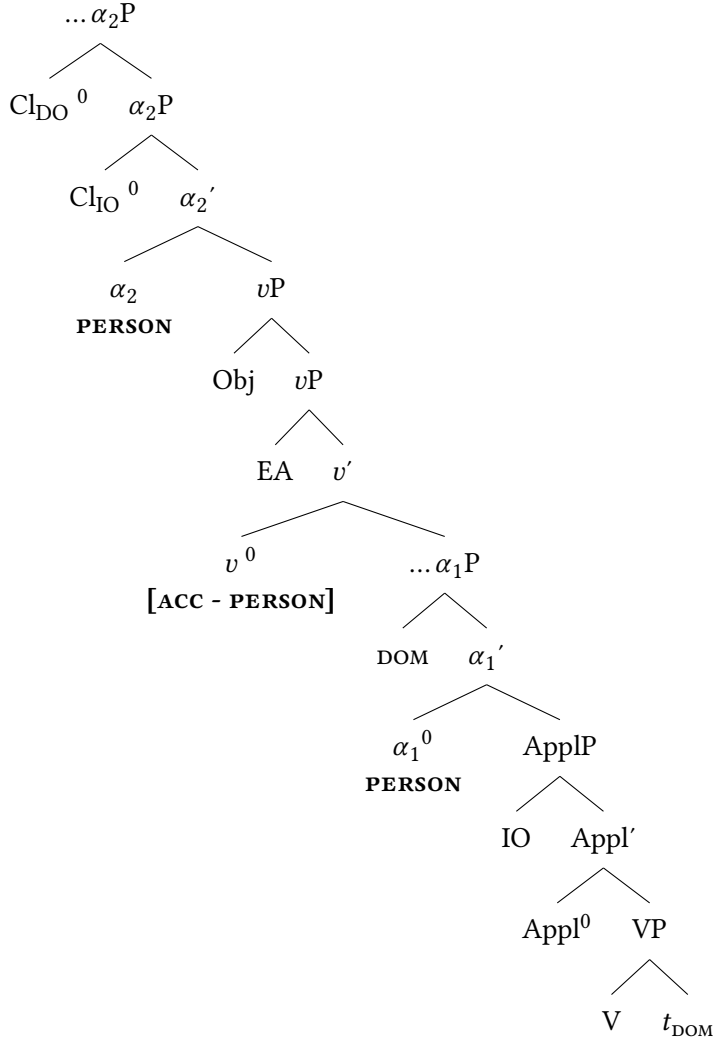
Figure 3: [PERSON] licensing positions

In Romanian such configurations have a repair strategy which consists in accusative clitic doubling of DP_{DOM}, as in (16a), part of $Puzzle_5$. The PCC effect is avoided as accusative clitic doubling, which involves the licensing of a [PERSON] feature in α_2, removes oblique DOM from the domain of α_1 (see also Cornilescu 2020).[23] Thus α_1^0 can license the [PERSON] feature on the clitic doubled dative,

_____

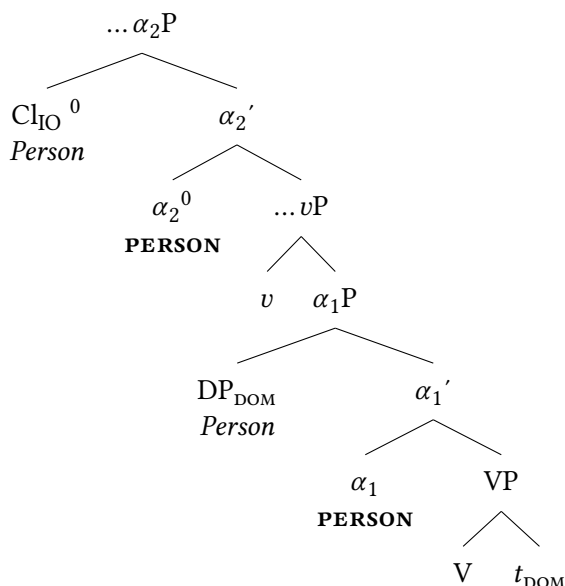[23]Clitic doubled DOM allows binding into the EA (as opposed to DP_{DOM} which is not clitic doubled),

Figure 4: [PERSON] licensing above vP

as shown in Figure 5. As in dative possessor contexts, nominal DOM and the dative clitic are *too* local in the KP on first merge,[24] accusative clitic is not a repair strategy, and examples like (16b) are ungrammatical.

5.4 DOM on negative quantifiers

Let's turn now to Puzzle$_6$. The question is why NegQ$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ can avoid a PCC effect with clitic doubled datives as opposed to DP$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ in examples like (31):

(31) Puzzle$_6$: ✓Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$ DP$_{\text{DAT}}$ ... Neg Q$_{\text{DOM}}$ (24b, 25c)   vs
        *Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$ DP$_{\text{DAT(i)}}$ ... DP$_{\text{DOM(i)}}$ (13b, 15)

No *le*   enviaron $\boxed{a}$ nadie   *a*   *la*   *doctora.*
NEG CL.3SG.DAT send.PST.3PL DAT=DOM nobody DAT DEF.F.SG doctor
                                                                    (Spanish)

'They haven't sent anybody to the doctor.'

---

indicating a position above vP. See also Hill & Mardale (2021), a.o., for discussion.

[24]Only movement/direct merge in the CP (29b) can break this too local relationship. This indicates that C^0 introduces its own [PERSON] zone, separate from the [PERSON] zone below it.
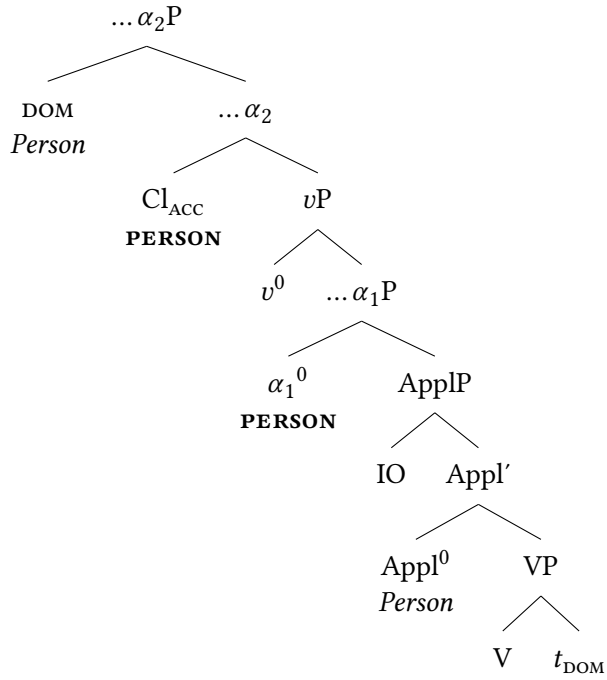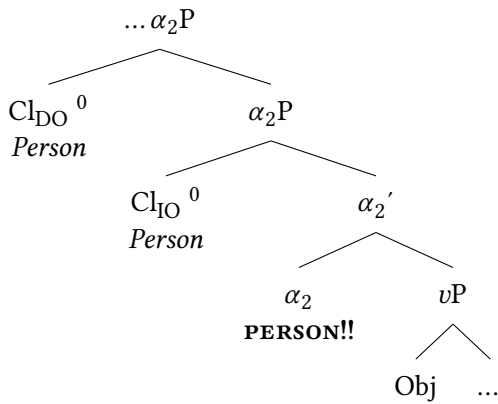
Figure 5: DOM doubling by accusative clitic above vP

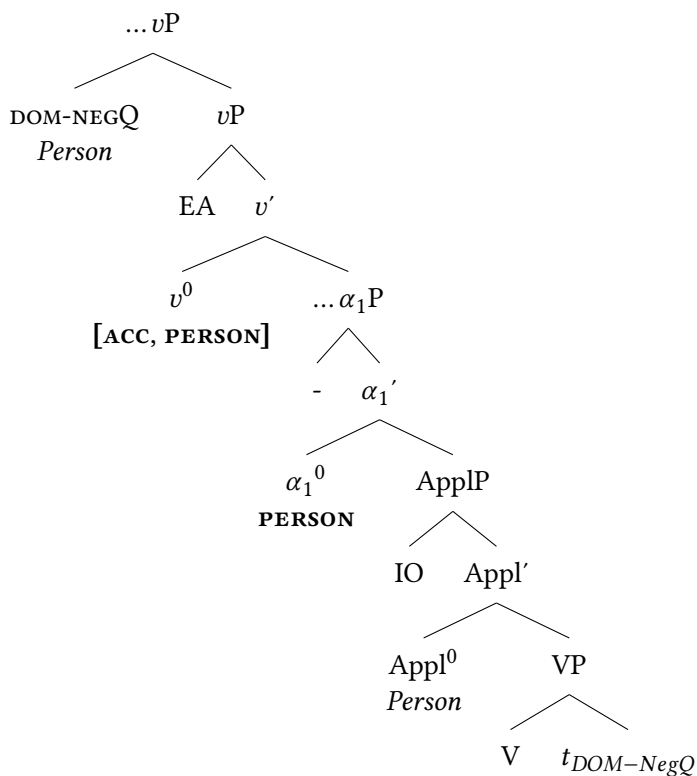Figure 6: Two [PERSON] categories to be licensed by α_2 – clash

Figure 7: Licensing of DOM animate negative quantifiers

Although the explanation is more tentative, one possibility is to relate this to intrinsic properties of $\text{NegQ}_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$, which trigger raising higher than v^0. For one, $\text{NegQ}_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ carries emphatic accent, related to a focus feature,[25] which forces raising. Therefore, animate NegQ has its accusative Case (and subsequently its [PERSON] feature) licensed by v^0; [PERSON] on clitic-doubled datives is licensed by $\alpha_1{}^0$, as shown in Figure 7. This, however, would predict that examples like (25b) should always be grammatical. Although none of the consultants judged (25b) as ungrammatical as (25a), for some speakers these examples were not fully perfect either. Therefore, further research is clearly needed into this point, as well as into the more precise difference between Class A and Class B verbs (25b vs. 25c) and the effect of binding.

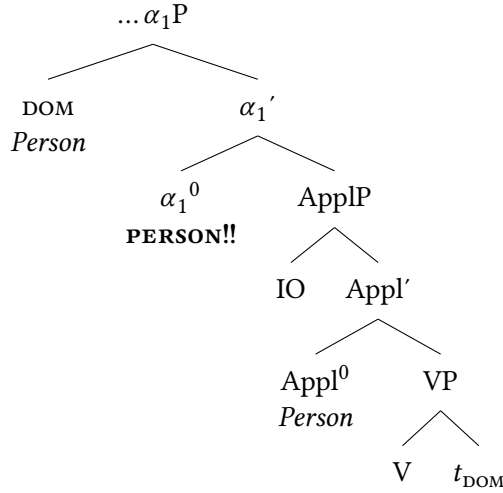[25]See Giannakidou (2020), a.o., for discussion.

Figure 8: Two [PERSON] categories to be licensed by α_1 – clash

Finally, raising to Spec, v^0 is not a repair strategy in contexts such as (27) for the same reasons mentioned above. And it does not work under medio-passive SE in (24a) or (24b) either; SE_{MP} involves the removal of structural *accusative* case.

In Table 2 we summarize the results obtained in this section.

6 Conclusions

This short paper has examined co-occurrence restrictions with oblique DOM from (leísta and standard) Spanish and Romanian. The complexity and richness of an otherwise rather limited set of data give rise to six puzzles, which prove hard to reduce just to the split Agree/Case. We have found that an important factor behind these patterns is also the *narrow local* domain where the relevant [PERSON] features are licensed. Obviously, oblique DOM is part of many other co-occurrence restrictions, for example with variants of the Pan-Romance SE, begging the question of how all these effects can be further unified.

Table 2: Six puzzles and their explanations

	Content	Explanation
Puzzle$_1$	**no Cl$_{\text{DOM}}$ with Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$**	both need licensing from $\alpha_2{}^0$
	*Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$ … Cl$_{\text{OBL=DOM}}$ (7b, 12b)	Figure 6 in §5.2
Puzzle$_2$	**no DP$_{\text{DOM}}$ with Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$-doubled DP$_{\text{DAT}}$**	both need licensing from $\alpha_1{}^0$
	*Cl$_{\text{DAT}_i}$ DP$_{\text{DAT}_i}$ … DP$_{\text{DOM}}$ (13b, 15)	Figure 8 in §5.3
Puzzle$_3$	✓ **Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$ DP$_{\text{DAT}}$… DP$_{\text{DOM}}$ if no DP$_{\text{DOM}}$ binding into IO**	Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$ DP$_{\text{DAT}}$ above DP$_{\text{DOM}}$ & Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$DP$_{\text{DAT}}$ licensed independently
	*Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$ DP$_{\text{DAT}_i}$ … DP$_{\text{OBL=DOM}_i}$ (15)	Figure 4 in §5.3
Puzzle$_4$	**no Cl$_{\text{DAT=POSS}}$ with DP$_{\text{DOM}}$**	both too local in the same KP
	*Cl$_{\text{DAT=POSS}}$ … DP$_{\text{DOM}}$ (11a, 16b)	Figure 1 in §5.1
Puzzle$_5$	**Cl$_{\text{ACC}}$ of DOM not a repair with Cl$_{\text{POSS}}$**	both too local in the same KP
	*Cl$_{\text{DAT=POSS}}$ … Cl$_{\text{ACC}}$ DP$_{\text{DOM}}$ (11a, 16b)	discussion in §5.2 and §5.3
Puzzle$_6$	**Neg Q$_{\text{DOM}}$ OK with Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$ DP$_{\text{DAT}}$**	NegQ$_{\text{DOM}}$ licensed by v^0
	✓ Cl$_{\text{DAT}}$ DP$_{\text{DAT}}$ … Neg Q$_{\text{DOM}}$ (24b, 25c)	Figure 7 in §5.3 and §5.4

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
CL	clitic	M	masculine
DAT	dative	NEG	negative
DEF	definite	OBL	oblique
DO	direct object	PL	plural
DOM	differential object marking	PST	past
F	feminine	REFL	reflexive
IO	indirect object	SG	singular
LK	linker	SUBJ	subject

Acknowledgements

References

Aissen, Judith. 2003. Differential object marking: Iconicity vs. economy. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 21(3). 435–483.

Albizu, Pablo. 1997. *The syntax of person agreement.* Los Angeles, CA: University of Southern California. (Doctoral dissertation).

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2003. *The syntax of ditransitives: Evidence from clitics.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Béjar, Susana & Milan Rezac. 2003. Person licensing and the derivation of PCC effects. In Anna T. Pérez-Leroux & Yves Roberge (eds.), *Romance linguistics: Theory and acquisition* (Selected papers from the 32nd Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages), 49–63. Amsterdam/New York: John Benjamins.

Belletti, Adriana. 2005. Extended doubling and the VP periphery. *Probus* 17(1). 1–35.

Belletti, Adriana. 2018. On the *a*-marking of object topics in the Italian left periphery. In Roberto Petrosino, Pietro Cerrone & Harry van der Hulst (eds.), *From sounds to structures: Beyond the veil of Maya*, 445–466. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Bleam, Tonia. 2000. *Leísta Spanish and the syntax of clitic doubling.* Delaware: University of Delaware. (Doctoral dissertation).

Bonet, Eulàlia. 1991. *Morphology after syntax: Pronominal clitics in Romance.* Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Doctoral dissertation).

Bossong, Georg. 1991. Differential object marking in Romance and beyond. In Dieter Wanner & Douglas A. Kibbee (eds.), *New analyses in Romance linguistics*, 143–170. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bossong, Georg. 1998. Le marquage différentiel dans les langues de l'Europe. In Jacques Feuillet (ed.), *Actance et valence dans les langues d'Europe*, 193–259. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ciucivara, Oana. 2009. *A syntactic analysis of pronominal clitic clusters in Romance.* New York, NY: New York University. (Doctoral dissertation).

Cornilescu, Alexandra. 2000. On the interpretation of the prepositional accusative in Romanian. *Bucharest Working Wapers in Linguistics* 2. 91–106.

Cornilescu, Alexandra. 2020. Ditransitive constructions with differentially marked direct objects in Romanian. In Anna Pineda & Jaune Mateu (eds.), *Dative constructions in Romance and beyond*, 117–142. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Diaconescu, Rodica. 2004. *Romanian applicative constructions.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa. (Doctoral dissertation).

Escandell-Vidal, Victoria. 2009. Differential object marking and topicality: The case of Balearic Catalan. *Studies in Language* 33(4). 832–885.

Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2020. Negative concord and the nature of negative concord items. In Vivianne Déprez & M. Teresa Espinal (eds.), *Oxford handbook of negation* (Oxford Handbooks), 458–479. Oxford: John Benjamins.

Hill, Virginia & Alexandru Mardale. 2021. *The diachrony of differential object marking in Romanian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Landau, Idan. 1999. Possessor raising and the syntax of VP. *Lingua* 107. 1–37.

López, Luis. 2012. *Indefinite objects: Scrambling, choice functions and differential marking*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Manzini, M. Rita & Ludovico Franco. 2016. Goal and DOM datives. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 34. 197–240.

Mendikoetxea, Amaya. 2008. Clitic impersonal constructions in Romance: Syntactic features and semantic interpretation. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 106(2). 290–336.

Onea, Edgar. 2018. DOM and dative arguments in Romanian. Oral presentation at the Datives in Discourse Workshop, Cologne, Oct. 26, 2018.

Onea, Edgar & Daniel Hole. 2017. Differential object marking of human definite direct objects in Romanian. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* LXII(4). 359–376.

Ormazabal, Javier & Juan Romero. 2007. The object agreement constraint. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 25(2). 315–347.

Ormazabal, Javier & Juan Romero. 2013a. Differential object marking, case and agreement. *Borealis* 2(2). 221–239.

Ormazabal, Javier & Juan Romero. 2013b. Non accusative objects. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 12. 155–173.

Ormazabal, Javier & Juan Romero. 2013c. Object clitics, agreement and dialectal variation. *Probus* 25. 301–344.

Perlmutter, David. 1971. *Deep and surface structure constraints in syntax*. New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston.

Preminger, Omer. 2019. What the PCC can tell us about "abstract" agreement, head movement, and locality. *Glossa* 4(1.13). 1–42. DOI: 10.5334/gjgl.315.

Richards, Marc. 2008. Defective agree: Case alternations, and the prominence of person. In Marc Richards & Andrej L. Malchukov (eds.), *Scales* (Linguistische Arbeits Berichte 86), 137–161. Leipzig: Universität Leipzig.

Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, John. 2007. *The syntax of objects: Agree and differential object marking*. Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut. (Doctoral dissertation).

Stegovec, Adrian. 2020. Extended doubling and the VP periphery. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 38(1). 261–311.

Tigău, Alina M. 2011. *Syntax and interpretation of the direct object in Romance and Germanic languages.* Bucureşti: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti.

Torrego, Esther. 1998. *The dependencies of objects.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Zdrojewki, Pablo. 2008. *Por quién doblan los cliticos?* Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional del Comahue. (MA thesis).