

AN APPLICATIVE ANALYSIS OF DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS IN ROMANIAN*

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1. Introduction

This work has three general aims:

(A) The first aim is to add Romanian (Rom) to the languages with Double Object Constructions (DOCs), a novel task.

(B) The second aim is to show that in Rom, dative clitics and clitic-doubling signal DOC status, which provides additional support to three assumptions in the literature. The first assumption is that clitic-doubling is obligatory in doubling languages (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Cuervo 2003, Demonte 1995, among others). The second is that clitics can function as applicative heads (Cuervo 2003, McGinnis 2001). The third is that DOCs are applicative constructions in the general sense of Marantz (1993), and can be classified as low applicatives in the more precise sense of Pylkkänen (2002).

(C) The third aim is to identify variation in the inventory of DOCs in present Rom, and to discuss its formal consequences.

2. Romanian ditransitive constructions

We identify four types of ditransitive constructions in Rom respectively characterized by:

1. Bare morphological datives (Mdatives).
2. Clitic doubled MDatives.
3. Bare prepositional datives (Pdatives).
4. Clitic doubled Pdatives.

Let us introduce them in turn.

2.1 Bare morphological dative (Mdativ) constructions

In constructions with bare morphological datives, the Goal is morphologically marked with dative and the Theme is accusative, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) Mihaela trimite Mariei o scrisoare. (Rom)
 Mihaela sends Mary.DAT a letter
 ‘Mihaela sends a letter to Mary.’

There are close counterparts of this construction in Greek, with a genitive Goal corresponding to the Rom dative, as in (2).

- (2) O Gianis estile tis Marias to grama. (Greek)
 The Gianis.NOM sent.3sg the Maria.GEN the letter.ACC
 ‘John sent Mary the letter.’ (Anagnostopoulou 2003:9 ex. 7)

2.2 Clitic doubled MDative constructions

In clitic doubled MDative constructions, the Goal is doubled by a dative clitic and bears morphological dative, and the Theme appears in the accusative. As can be deduced from a comparison of (3a) and (3b), the Goal can either precede or follow the Theme, so word order is not crucial for the proposals in this paper.

- (3) a. Mihaela îi trimite Mariei o scrisoare.
 Mihaela DAT.CL sends Mary.DAT a letter
- b. Mihaela îi trimite o scrisoare Mariei.
 Mihaela DAT.CL sends a letter Mary.DAT
 ‘Mihaela sends Mary a letter.’

Close counterparts of (3) may also be found in Greek with a genitive clitic, as shown in (4).

- (4) Tu edhosa tu Giani to vivlio. (Greek)
 CL.GEN gave.1sg the Gianis.GEN the book.ACC
 ‘I gave John the book.’ (Anagnostopoulou 2003:15 ex. 18)

2.3 Bare prepositional dative (Pdative) constructions

In bare prepositional dative constructions, the Goal is preceded by the preposition *la* and the Theme is accusative, as in (5a-b). In addition, this preposition has locative uses that we do not illustrate.

- (5) a. Mihaela trimite la Maria o scrisoare.
 Mihaela sends to Mary a letter
- b. Mihaela trimite o scrisoare la Maria.
 Mihaela sends a letter to Mary
 ‘Mihaela sends a letter to Mary.’

Close counterparts of the construction in (5) may be found in Greek with the preposition *se*, (6a-b), and in Spanish with the preposition *a*, as in (7).

- (6) a. O Gianis estile to gramma s-tin Maria. (Greek)
 The Gianis.NOM sent.3sg the letter.ACC to.the Maria.ACC
 ‘John sent the letter to Mary.’ (Anagnostopoulou 2003:9 ex. 5)

- b. Edhosa s-ton Petro to vivlio.
 Gave.1sg to.the Peter.ACC the book.ACC
 ‘I gave Peter the book.’ (Anagnostopoulou 2003:166 ex. 240b)

- (7) Micaela envió una carta a María. (Spanish)
 Micaela.NOM sent.3SG a letter to Mary
 ‘Micaela sent a letter to Mary.’

2.4 Clitic doubled Pdativ constructions

Rom PDate constructions with a dative clitic doubling a *la*-phrase and an accusative Theme are illustrated in (8). They are prescriptively controversial, as discussed in more detail in section 4.

- (8) a. Mihaela îi trimite la Maria o scrisoare.
 Mihaela DAT.CL sends to Mary a letter
- b. Mihaela îi trimite o scrisoare la Maria.
 Mihaela DAT.CL sends a letter to Mary
 ‘Mihaela sends Mary a letter.’

Greek counterparts to (8) are ungrammatical, as in (9). That is, clitics cannot double *se*-phrases in Greek.

- (9) *Tu edhosa to vivlio s-ton Gianni. (Greek)
 CL.GEN gave.1sg the book.ACC to.the Gianis
 ‘I gave the book to John.’ (Anagnostopoulou 2003:17 ex. 22)

By contrast, it is well known that Spanish counterparts to (8) are fine as in (10).

- (10) Micaela le envió una carta a María. (Spanish)
 ‘Micaela sent Mary a letter.’

3. Analysis

In this paper we make five proposals concerning Rom ditransitive sentences.

(A) The first proposal is that Rom bare Mdativ constructions, as in (1), and Rom bare Pdativ constructions, as in (5), correspond to English prepositional ditransitive constructions (PDCs) of the type in (11a), and Spanish PDCs such as (7) and (11b) as argued by Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2003).

- (11) a. Michael sent a letter to Mary. English PDC
 b. Miguel envió una carta a María. Spanish PDC

(B) The second proposal is that clitic-doubled Mdatives constructions exemplified in (3) above, and clitic-doubled Pdatives constructions exemplified in (8) are parallel to English DOCs, as in (12a), and to Spanish DOCs, as in (10) and (12b) in the analysis of Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2003).

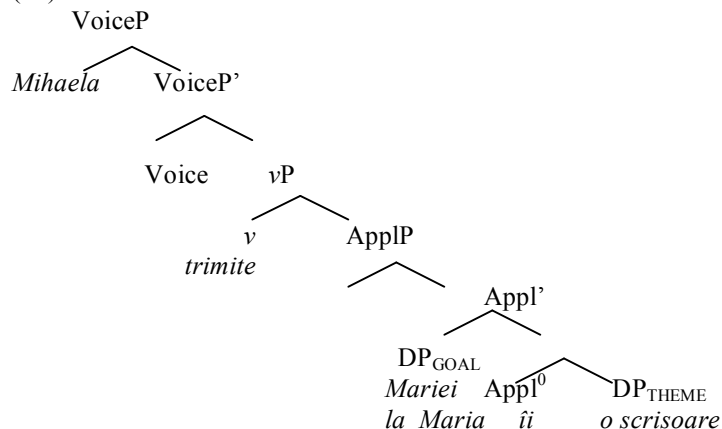
- (12) a. Michael sent Mary a letter. English DOC
 b. Miguel le envió una carta a María. Spanish DOC

(C) The third proposal closely connected to the second is that in Rom, DOCs are always characterized by the presence of dative clitics, while PDCs do not contain dative clitics

(D) The fourth proposal is that Rom DOCs are low applicative constructions (Pylkkänen 2002), with the Dative clitic as applicative head. Thus, we extend Cuervo's analysis (2003) of Spanish to Rom.

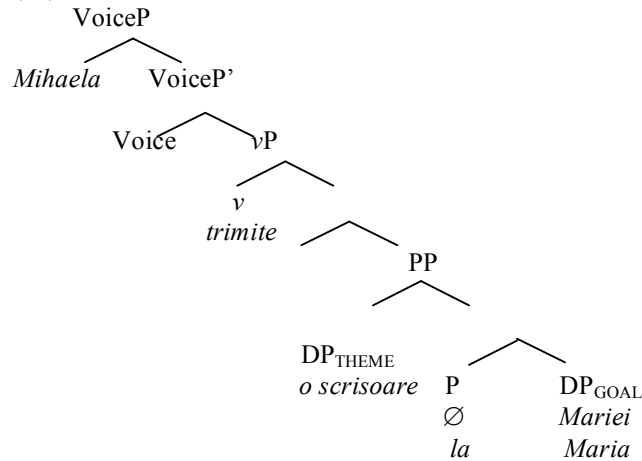
On this view, the underlying structure of (3a-b) and (8a-b) is as in (simplified) (13) with an applicative phrase embedded under little *v*. In (13), the Goal is in the SpecAppP position, and the accusative Theme is the complement of the applicative head, which is spelled out as a dative clitic. See Cuervo (2003) for more detailed discussion and justification.

(13) The Structure of DOCs in Rom



By contrast with (13), PDCs such as (1) and (5a-b) are as in (14), also along the lines of the analysis of Spanish in (Cuervo 2003). In (14), the accusative Theme is in the SpecP position. The P may be overt or not, and the Goal is the complement of such a P.

(14) The Structure of PDCs in Rom:



(E) The last proposal we make is based on speaker variation between clitic doubled Mdatives, which are considered standard, and clitic doubled Pdatives, which are considered nonstandard. We propose a formal explanation for this variation, which is that clitic-doubled Mdatives take part in the formation of DOCs in all varieties of Rom, while Pdatives take part in DOCs in some but not all varieties of Rom. Given this view, it follows that normative grammar accepts DOCs if they contain Mdatives, and bans those that contain Pdatives.

After we examine the social status of clitic doubled Pdatives in section 4, we provide arguments for the DOC status of Mdatives and Pdatives with dative clitic doubling in section 5.

4. The social status of DOCs with Pdatives

DOCs with prepositional datives are prescriptively controversial in Rom. However, (a) they are mentioned by traditional grammarians (Jordan 1978), (b) they are grammatical in familiar registers and in Banat and Transylvania, which are Northern regions of Romania, and (c) they are documented in oral corpora outside of those regions, including the South, as in (15-16).

(15) Le dai de furcă la doamne.
 DAT.CL give.2sg problems to ladies
 'You are giving problems to the ladies.'

(16) Dă -i la mama.
 Give.2sg DAT.CL to mother
 'Give (it) to mother!' (Rom Childes Corpora: Avram 2004)

To better assess the use of clitic doubled Pdatives, Diaconescu (2004) conducted a detailed grammaticality test on a large variety of sentences including DOCs with MDatives and Pdatives. This test was given to 18 native speakers of Rom, who judged sentences on the basis of a five-point scale. The highest score was reserved for sentences that speakers felt they would normally use themselves. The lowest score was for test sentences speakers did not consider possible in Romanian. Some test sentences relevant for the claims of this paper are reproduced in (17-21).

- (17) I -am dat la cineva scrisorile tale.
 DAT.CL have.1sg given to someone letters.the yours
 ‘I have given someone your letters.’
- (18) I -am dat la un om biletul meu.
 DAT.CL have.1sg given to a man ticket.the mine
 ‘I have given a man my ticket.’
- (19) Ion îi aduce la Elena flori.
 John DAT.CL brings to Helen flowers
 ‘John brings Helen flowers.’
- (20) a. Cui_i i -am dat cecul său_i?
 Whom.DAT DAT.CL have.1sg given check.the his
 ‘To whom did I give his own check?’
- b. La cine_i i am dat cecul său_i?
 To who DAT.CL have.1sg given check.the his
 ‘To whom did I give his own cheque?’
- (21) Mama i -a trimis bani la Ion.
 Mother DAT.CL has sent money to Ion
 ‘Mother sent money to John.’

The 18 speakers for the reported experiment are now residents of Canada, and had already participated in a related experiment on another topic conducted by Diaconescu and Goodluck (2004). They were divided into 3 groups based on age and geographical origin:

- (i) Group A comprised six older Northern speakers who lived in Banat/Transylvania for more than 35 years before coming to Canada.
- (ii) Group B comprised six younger Northern speakers who lived in Banat/Transylvania for less than 25 years before leaving Romania.
- (iii) Group C comprised six younger Southern speakers who lived in Muntenia, the South, for less than 25 years.

Table 1 shows the average results in percentages of the test for sentences (17-21). The perfect score is 100, and was given to those sentences that speakers considered totally ordinary, and of a type they would personally use. In a more

technical tone, this score represents a sentence that was judged fully grammatical, a label not used in the test.

Table 1.

Sentence:	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20a)	(20b)	(21)
A	90	100	100	93	80	100
B	80	73	73	60	60	87
C	87	80	83	80	80	80

From the above chart, we can conclude the following.

- (a) Older speakers from Banat and Transylvania - Group A - show the highest rate of acceptance for DOCs with Pdatives.
- (b) Processing seems to have an effect on judgments. To this effect, compare the results of Group A for (18) and (19) with those for (20a-b). Sentences (18) and (19) with nonstandard Pdatives are judged perfect, while (20a) with a standard Mdative receives a lower score, which can be attributed to the first being declaratives, and the last being a wh-question, with a heavier processing cost.
- (c) Northern and Southern younger speakers - Groups B and C - resemble one another in their rates of acceptance
- (d) However, Group B has the lowest rate of acceptance of the three groups and we may wonder why.

The results shown above raise at least two questions.

First, is the effect of normative grammar, which bans doubled Pdatives, to prevent them from participating in DOCs in the grammar of certain speakers? On this view, members of Group B - younger speakers from the North, where clitic-doubled Pdatives are in fact more common - would be more sensitive to their sociolinguistic status and reject them, while speakers from the South, where clitic-doubled Pdatives are in fact less common, would find them more acceptable.

Second, is there a change in progress? In our proposal, only Datives that are clitic-doubled can form DOCs. On this view, the effect of standardization could be that younger speakers are losing the option to form DOCs with Pdatives, restricting DOCs to Mdatives in tune with what school teachers prescribe.

5. DOC diagnostics in Romanian.

In this section, we apply classical tests in the literature to show that Rom is another language with DOCs. The general idea is that in DOCs the Goal asymmetrically c-commands the Theme, which is not the case in PDCs, and we establish that in Rom clitic-doubled Mdative constructions and clitic-doubled Pdative constructions are DOCs. While bare Mdative and Pdative constructions - that is, those without dative clitics - have different properties and resemble English and Spanish PDCs, we do not discuss them here, and refer the interested reader to (Diaconescu 2004).

5.1 Binding

Barss and Lasnik (1986), Larson (1988) and Pesetsky (1995) note binding asymmetries in English PDCs and DOCs. Let us briefly introduce the relevant English constructions, and show that similar asymmetries are found in Rom ditransitives.

5.1.1 Binding of anaphors

The Goal in English DOCs can bind an anaphor or a possessive in the Theme (22a-c), but the Theme cannot bind into the Goal (22b-d).

- (22) a. I showed John_i himself_i in the mirror.
 b. *I showed himself John in the mirror.
 c. I denied every worker_i his_i paycheck.
 d. *I denied its_i owner every paycheck_i. (Pesetsky 1995)

In Spanish, the same results apply when the Goal is clitic doubled, as discussed by Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2003). Likewise, in Rom dative clitic-doubled ditransitives, the Goal can bind an anaphor in the accusative Theme (23a), so it c-commands it, but the accusative Theme cannot bind into the dative Goal (23b).

- (23) a. ?Ioana i -a descriș [IO fetei]_i [DO pe ea însăși]_{i/j}.
 Ioana DAT.CL has described [girl.the.DAT] [on she herself]
 ‘Ioana has described herself to the girl.’
 b. *Ioana i -a descriș [IO ei înseseși]_i [DO fata]_i.
 Ioana DAT.CL has described [she.DAT herself] [girl.the]
 ‘Ioana has described the girl to herself.’

Sentence (23a) has a marginal status in Rom, which we attribute to the anaphor, which is an expression that is rarely used.

5.1.2 Binding of possessives

As in English or Spanish DOCs, in Rom, a possessive in the Theme can be bound by a dative Goal, as in (24a- a’). The reverse is not true, as in (24b- b’).

- (24) a. I -am dat muncitorului_i cecul său_i.
 DAT.CL have given worker.the.DAT check.the his
 ‘I gave his check to the worker.’
 a’. I -am dat la un muncitor_i cecul său_i.
 DAT.CL have given to a worker check.the his
 ‘I gave his check to a worker.’

- b. ??Poliția i -a dat tatălui, său, copilul.
Police.the DAT.CL has given father.the.DAT his child.the
'The police gave the child to his (respective) father.'
- b'. ?/*Poliția i -a dat la tatăl, său, copilul.
Police.the DAT.CL has given to father.the his child.the
'The police gave the child to his (respective) father.'

In conclusion, binding of anaphors and possessives provides evidence that in Rom, the Goal c-commands the Theme in both types of dative clitic-doubled configurations.

5.2 Frozen scope

Aoun & Li (1989) and Bruening (2001) show that in PDCs, scope between Theme and Goal is free, as in (25). By contrast, in DOCs scope is frozen, as Goals must take scope over Themes: (26).

(25) Mary gave a doll to each girl. $a > \text{each}; \text{each} > a$

(26) Mary gave a girl each doll. $a > \text{each}; * \text{each} > a$

Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2003) show that in Spanish, scope is frozen in Dative clitic-doubled ditransitives. In Rom DOCs (those with dative clitic-doubling), scope is also 'frozen'. This is shown in (27b-b') where *fiecare* 'each' in the Theme cannot take scope over the indefinite Goal.

- (27) a. *fiecare*>*un*
Profesoara i -a dat fiecărui copil un desen.
teacher.the DAT.CL has given each.DAT child a drawing
'The teacher gave a drawing to each child.'
- a'. *fiecare*>*un*
Profesoara i -a dat la fiecare copil un desen.
teacher.the DAT.CL has given to each child a drawing
'The teacher gave a drawing to each child.'
- b. **fiecare*>*un*
Profesoara i -a dat unui copil (*diferit) fiecare desen.
teacher.the DAT.CL has given a child (*distinct) each drawing
'The teacher gave each drawing to a (*distinct) child.'
- b'. **fiecare*>*un*
Profesoara i -a dat la un copil (*diferit) fiecare desen.
Teacher.the DAT.CL has given to a child (*distinct) each drawing
'The teacher gave each drawing to a (*distinct) child.'

On the one hand, in (27a- a') the quantified Goal takes scope over Theme, which results in a reading where several children can receive drawings. On the other hand, in (27b- b'), the quantified Theme cannot scope over Goal, so a single child must receive all drawings.

5.3 Weak crossover effects

In English DOCs there is a WCO effect, which is open to variation, when a possessive in the Goal is bound by a raised Theme (28b), not if the possessive is in the Theme and the Goal is raised (28a).

- (28) WCO in English DOCs
 a. Who_i did Mary give *t_i* his_i check?
 b. *What_i did Mary give its_i owner *t_i*?

Processing complexity affects grammaticality judgments in WCO constructions in Rom (see chart on p. 7), with questions contrasting with declaratives. Abstracting from such a complexity, however, judgments for Rom dative clitic-doubled ditransitives are also open to variation. For speakers representative of Group A, WCO effects approximate those reported for English DOCs, as can be deduced from the paradigm in (29).

- (29) a. Cui_i i -am dat *t_i* cecul său_i?
 Whom.DAT DAT.CL have.1sg given check.the his
 'To whom did I give his check?'
 a'. La cine_i i -am dat *t_i* cecul său_i?
 To whom.DAT DAT.CL have.1sg given check.the his
 'To whom did I give his check?'
 b. ?Ce (pământ)_i i -a fost redat proprietarului său_i *t_i*?
 What.ACC (land) DAT.CL has been returned owner.the.DAT his
 'What (land) has been given back to its owner?'
 b'. ?Ce (pământ)_i i -a fost redat la proprietarul său_i *t_i*?
 What.ACC (land) DAT.CL has been returned to owner.the his
 'What (land) has been given back to its owner?'

In sum, traditional tests for DOC status indicate that in Rom ditransitive constructions with Dative clitic doubling are DOCs.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, in this paper we have argued that:

- (A) Rom is to be added to the inventory of languages with Double Object Constructions (DOCs).
- (B) Rom Dative clitics in ditransitives signal DOC status.
- (C) There is variation as to whether Pdatives can form DOCs in present Rom, due to the effects of normative grammar and standardization.

*Work partially supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Standard Research Grant 410-2003-0167 to María Luisa Rivero, and MCRI Grant 412-2004-1002 to France Martineau).

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