

[Person] intervention effects with Romanian ditransitive constructions

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1. Aims:

- to present the findings of three experiments carried out on Romanian ditransitives focusing on binding dependencies between the two internal arguments
- to discuss some acceptability problems uncovered for ditransitives containing binding dependencies between **DOMed DOs and CDed IOs**. These configurations are downgraded by respondents who otherwise accept the binding dependencies where the CDed IO gets bound by either unmarked DOs or CDed+DOMed DOs.
- to propose an account for this problematic configuration by building on the internal make-up of the two internal arguments: these facts arise as a consequence of the interaction between DOMed DOs and CDed IOs which have similar internal make-up (both carry a [Person] feature) and compete for the same probe, with the closer blocking agreement of the other.

2. Presentation Outline

- Background
- Experimental data on Romanian ditransitives
- One problematic configuration: binding dependencies between DOMed DOs CDed IOs
- The featural load of the two internal arguments
- An account for the problematic binding dependencies building on [Person]

3. Background

- Ditransitives: structures which allow two internal arguments
- Romance languages have been argued to evince two different configurations with ditransitive verbs (Demonte 1995, Cuervo 2003 for Spanish, Rivero and Diaconescu 2007 for Romanian):
 - One featuring a clitic doubled IO, where this IO is hierarchically superior to DO, c-commanding it
 - One containing a bare IO, where the DO is hierarchically superior to IO
 - > the presence of the dative clitic seems to have structural import

Anaphors

(1) DO c-commands bare IO

- a. El tratamiento devolvió [DO a María_i] [IO a sí misma_i].
The therapy gave-back prep_{DOM} Mary prep herself
'The therapy gave Mary back to herself.'

Spanish

- b. * El tratamiento devolvió [DO a sí misma_i] [IO a María_i].
The therapy gave-back prep_{DOM} herself prep Mary
'The therapy gave herself back to Mary.'

Demonte (1995): 10

(2) CDed IO c-commands DO

- a. *El tratamiento **le** devolvió [DO a María_i] [IO a la estima de sí misma_i]. Spanish
The therapy cl.DAT gave-back prep_{DOM} María to the esteem of herself
'The therapy gave the esteem of herself Mary back.'

- b. El tratamiento **le** devolvió [DO la estima de sí misma_i] [IO a María_i].
The therapy cl.DAT gave-back the esteem of herself prep Mary
'The therapy gave Mary the esteem of herself back.'

Possessives

(3) **DO c-commands bare IO**

- a. *La profesora entregó [DO su_i dibujo] [IO a cada niño]_i Spanish
The teacher gave his/her drawing prep each child
'The teacher gave his/her drawing to each child.'
- b. La profesora entregó [DO cada dibujo]_i [IO a su_i autor].
The teacher gave each drawing prep its author
'The teacher gave each drawing to its author.'

(4) **CDed IO c-commands DO**

- a. La profesora **le** pasó a limpio [DO su_i dibujo] [IO a cada niño]_i Spanish
The teacher cl. DAT cleaned-up his drawing prep each child
'The teacher cleaned each child his drawing up.'
- b. ?La profesora **le** pasó a limpio [DO cada dibujo]_i [IO a su_i autor].
The teacher cl. DAT cleaned-up each drawing prep its author
'The teacher cleaned its author each drawing up.'

Demonte (1995): 10-11

- **Romanian** has been argued to pattern with Spanish in this respect: Diaconescu and Rivero (2007) distinguish between ditransitives containing undoubled IOs (5a) and configurations where a dative clitic doubles IO (5b), which are argued to exhibit different c-commanding properties:

- (5) a. *Mihaela trimite **Mariei** o scrisoare.*
 Mihaela sends Mary.DAT a letter
 ‘Mihaela sends a letter to Mary.’
- b. *Mihaela **îi** trimite **Mariei** o scrisoare.*
 Mihaela CL.DAT.SG sends Mary.DAT a letter
 ‘Mihaela sends Mary a letter.’

Diaconescu and Rivero (2007: ex.1,2; p. 210)

- in (5a) the DO is argued to be hierarchically superior to the non-doubled IO, while (5b) is said to evince the opposite c-command dependency
- Two different hierarchical structures are triggered by the presence/absence of the clitic doubling IO (6):

- (6) a. **DO c-commands IO**
 [VoiceP DP_{Agent} Voice_[vPv] [PP DP_{DO} P DP_{IO}]]]
- b. **IO c-commands DO (IO clitic doubling)**
 [VoiceP DP_{Agent} Voice_[vPv] [AppIP DP_{IO}[cl_{Appl}] [VP V DP_{DO}]]]]]

Diaconescu and Rivero (2007: p. 219-220)

- The account in Diaconescu and Rivero (2007) makes a number of predictions: some configurations are discarded as ungrammatical, while others are predicted to be ungrammatical:
 - **DOs can only bind an undoubled IO**, given its low position within the PP (7a); DOs cannot bind CDed IOs since the latter DP merges in a c-commanding position (7b):

(7) a. *Poliția a dat tatălui său copilul pierdut.*
 Police.the has given father.DAT his child.the lost
 ‘The police gave the lost child to his father.’

b. ??*Poliția i-a dat tatălui său copilul pierdut.*
 Police.the CL.DAT.SG-has given father.DAT his child.the lost.
 Lit: ‘The police gave his father the lost child.’

Diaconescu and Rivero (2007): 28b, 30b, p. 223, 224

- an **undoubled IO is unable to bind into DO**, since the IO merges in a lower position (8a); the clitic-doubled IO is, on the other hand, able to bind into the IO (8b).

- (8)
- a. *? *Am* *dat* *muncitorului_i* *cecul* *său_i*.
 Have.I given worker.DAT cheque.the his
 Lit. ‘I gave the worker his cheque.’
- b. *I-am* *dat* *muncitorului_i* *cecul* *său_i*.
 CL.DAT.SG-have.I given worker.DAT cheque.the his
 ‘I have given the worker his cheque.’

Diaconescu and Rivero (2007): ex. 28a, 30a, p. 223 224)

➤ The same is expected with anaphors:

○ **IO (+cl) c-commands DO**

- (9) a. ?Ion **i-a** descriș **fetei_i** **pe ea însăși_i**.
Ion her. DAT -has described girl. DAT_i *pe* she herself_i
'John described the girl herself.'
- b. * Ion **i-a** descriș **ei înseseși_i** **fata_i**.
Ion her. DAT -has described her. DAT herself girl.the
'John described herself_i the girl_i.'

Diaconescu and Rivero (2007): 25, p. 222

○ **DO c-commands IO**

- (10) a. * Ion a descriș **fetei_i** **pe ea însăși_i**.
Ion has described girl. DAT *pe* her herself
'John described the girl herself.'
- b. Ion a descriș **ei înseseși_i** **fata_i**.
Ion has described her.DAT herself girl.the
'John described herself the girl.'

Diaconescu and Rivero (2007): 27, p. 223.



Problems:

- some of the sentences which are discarded by Diaconescu and Rivero (2007) as ungrammatical seem to us to only be infelicitous as a consequence of poor lexical choices, rather than because of ungrammatical structures: 8b, 10a seemed fine to us and to a number of naive native speakers we informally tested

- an IO may bind into a DO even when the it is not clitic doubled:

(11) Receptiōnera arătă camera lui; fiecărui turist; venit în concediu.

Receptionist.the showed his room every.Dat tourist come on holiday

‘The receptionist showed his room to every tourist who had come there on holiday.’

- More recent data for Spanish also seem to point that the two different configurations proposed for ditransitives in this language are problematic (Pineda 2012)
- Since our own intuitions occasionally disagreed with the data presented in D&R (2007), and since the analysis seemed to be ‘data driven’, we thought that the only reasonable course of action was to obtain a more complete picture experimentally

4. Experimental data on Romanian ditransitives

➤ Empirical survey exploring the binding properties of the internal arguments of ditransitive configurations

➤ In three grammaticality judgement tasks we manipulated:

- i) word order (*DO before IO vs. IO before DO*)
- ii) binding direction (*DO binds into IO vs. IO binds into DO*)
- iii) clitic doubling of the IO.

Thus, each experiment consisted of a 2x2x2 design.

DO before IO				IO before DO			
DO binds into IO		IO binds into DO		DO binds into IO		IO binds into DO	
-cl	+cl	-cl	+cl	-cl	+cl	-cl	+cl

➤ Between the three experiments we varied the layout of the direct object:

Experiment 1 (*DOMed* DOs; [+human])

Experiment 2 (unmarked DOs; [-animate])

Experiment 3 (CDed + *DOMed* DOs; [+human])

- 32 sentences were designed for each experiment and varied, changing word order, binding direction and presence/absence of the dative clitic \Rightarrow 256 items for each experiment; these were distributed into 8 lists using the Latin square method.
- 32 fillers were added to each list grouped into 8 expectedly unacceptable items, 8 completely acceptable items and 16 average items with respect to acceptability (the fillers were separately checked for acceptability in a smaller, informal experiment). Each questionnaire thus ended up having a number of 64 items.
- each list in each experiment was assessed by at least 20 native speakers: more than 160 people participated in each experiment.

5. Experimental results: *DO before IO, DO binds into IO*

- In this paper, we discuss only one part of the full results, namely the condition: *DO before IO and DO binds IO* and vary the clitic doubling of the IO and the layout of the DO, as in Table 1:

	<i>IO</i>	<i>CDed IO</i>
<i>unmarked DO</i>	4,57	3,64
<i>DOMed DO</i>	4,43	2,64
<i>CDed+DOMed DO</i>	4,51	3,52

Table 1: Mean values across the three experiments from 1 (very bad) to 7 (very good) for *DO before IO order*¹
The experimental items were identical in Exp 1 and Exp 3

Observations:

- i. DOs unproblematically bind a possessive contained in an undoubled IO, irrespective of DO type (i.e., unmarked, DOMed or CDed+DOMed).
- ii. Scores where the DO binds into a CDed IO are significantly lower, irrespective of the DO type
- iii. Cases where a DOMed DO binds into a doubled IO are significantly worse than those cases where the DO is either unmarked or CDed+DOMed

¹ Mean values of acceptability of binding configuration of *DO before IO* and *DO binds into IO* with different forms of DO and undoubled vs. CDed IO (see Tigău (2020) for full information).

The difference for DOMed DOs and undoubled IOs (4,43) vs. CDed IOs (2,64) is significant: Statistical analysis was conducted in R version 1.0.136 using the lme4 package (Bates et al., 2014) to perform linear mixed-effect models (LMEM) with the score as outcome variable. As fixed effects, we entered word order, Binding and Clitic Marking into the model. As random effects, we had intercepts for subjects and items. The word order *DO before IO* condition, Binding *DO binds into IO* condition and the Clitic Marking *no clitic* condition were mapped onto the intercept. To identify the best model fit we performed likelihood ratio tests. This revealed that the full model with a three-way interaction affected the acceptance rate ($\chi^2(4) = 36.21, p < .001$).

	<i>Unmarked DO</i>	<i>DOMed DO</i>	<i>CDed+DOMed DO</i>
<i>IO</i>	++ cf. (12a)	++ cf. (12b)	++ cf. (12c)
<i>CDed IO</i>	+ cf. (13a)	- cf. (13b)	+ cf. (13c)

Table 2: Acceptability (++ very good, + acceptable, - bad) of binding configuration in ditransitive constructions between DO (unmarked, DOMed, CDed and DOMed) and IO (undoubled, CDed) extracted from 3 questionnaires with 120 informants each

- (12) DO binding undoubled IO:

unmarked DO > undoubled IO

- a. *Editorii au trimis fiecare carte; autorului ei; pentru corecturile finale.*
 Editors.the have sent every book author.DAT its for corrections final
 ‘The editors send each book to its author for the final corrections.’

DOMed DO > undoubled IO

- b. *Comisia a repartizat pe fiecare medic rezident; unor foști profesori de-ai lui.*
 Board.the has assigned DOM every doctor resident some.DAT former professors of his
 ‘The board assigned every medical resident to some former professor of his.’

CDed+DOMed DO > undoubled IO

- c. *Comisia l-a repartizat pe fiecare medic rezident; unor foști profesori de-ai lui.*
 Board.the CL.ACC.SG.M-has assigned DOM every doctor resident some.DAT
 former professors of his
 ‘The board assigned every medical resident to some former professor of his.’

	<i>Unmarked DO</i>	<i>DOMed DO</i>	<i>CDed+DOMed DO</i>
<i>IO</i>	++ cf. (12a)	++ cf. (12b)	++ cf. (12c)
<i>CDed IO</i>	+ cf. (13a)	- cf. (13b)	+ cf. (13c)

Table 2: Acceptability (++ very good, + acceptable, - bad) of binding configuration in ditransitive constructions between DO (unmarked, DOMed, CDed and DOMed) and IO (undoubled, CDed) extracted from 3 questionnaires with 120 informants each

- (13) DO binding CDed IOs:

unmarked DO > CDed IO

- a. *Editorii i-au trimis fiecare carte; autorului ei* pentru corecturile finale.
 Editors.the CL.DAT.SG-have sent every book author.DAT its for corrections final
 ‘The editors send each book to its author for the final corrections.’

DOMed DO > CDed IO

- b. **Comisia le-a repartizat pe fiecare medic rezident; unor foști profesori*
 Board.the CL.DAT.PL-has assigned DOM every doctor resident some.DAT former professors
de-ai lui.
 of his
 ‘The board assigned every medical resident to a former professor of his.’

CDed+DOMed DO > CDed IO

- c. *Comisia li l-a repartizat pe*
 Board.the CL.DAT.PL CL.ACC.SG.M-has assigned DOM
fiecare medic rezident; unor foști profesori de-ai lui.
 every doctor resident some.DAT former professors of his
 ‘The board assigned every medical resident to some former professor of his.’

➤ The aim of this paper is to propose an account for the *incompatibility between DOMed DOs and CDed IOs*. More specifically, two questions will be addressed:

1. Why is the co-occurrence of DOMed DOs and CDed IOs assessed as unacceptable, while configurations containing unmarked DOs and CDed IOs fare quite well?

2. Why does CD of the DO improve the acceptability of configurations with DOMed DOs and CD IOs?

Note: One way to approach these facts would be to start by considering the following: given that configurations with unmarked DOs and CDed+DOMed DOs fare similarly with respect to acceptability scores and seem to be felicitous, **we should not hold the binding dependency itself to be responsible for the low acceptability of counterparts with DOMed DOs.**

➤ What seems to be the problem is **the co-occurrence of DOM and the dative clitic doubling the IO** and not the binding dependency itself. This might indicate that the lower acceptability of these instances has to do with the way in which these two DPs interact.

Our hypothesis: *the two object DPs have a very similar internal structure with respect to the syntactic features that they carry.* As a consequence, they will end up competing one with the other when it comes to the verification of these features against a suitable probe. Given that only one of the DPs may check its features against the probe, the other one will be left with unchecked features, which will cause the derivation to crash. The next sections will propose an account along these lines by going through the following steps:

1. We will build on the sensitivity to the animacy hierarchy that Romanian DOMed DOs (and CDed+DOMed DOs) have been shown to have by positing a syntactic [Person] feature for these DPs (Richards 2008)
2. We will show that dative DPs are also sensitive to the animacy hierarchy and propose a [Person] feature for these DPs too.
3. Both internal arguments will also have to carry an uninterpretable case feature in need of checking in agreement to the Case Filter (Chomsky 1981)
4. We will also posit an Applicative projection cf. Pylkkänen 2002, 2008 for ditransitives. The Appl head serves as a probe for case feature checking and will also carry a [Person] feature cf. Georgala et al. (2008), Georgala (2012)
5. The configuration containing CDed IOs and DOMed DOs will be shown to encounter problems when it comes to suitably verifying all the syntactic features in need of valuation.

NOTE The fact that the *DOMed DO + CDed IO configuration* is problematic due to other reasons and not necessarily because of the binding dependency holding between the two arguments may be seen from corresponding configurations where these binding dependencies no longer exist: (14a) is infelicitous but it becomes very good once the DO is clitic doubled, an effect which is also noticeable in our experimental items (where binding dependencies are present)

(14) a. **Delegații* *i-au* *lăudat* *pe* *secretară șefului.*
 Delegates.the CL.DAT.SG-have praised DOM secretary boss.DAT
 Lit. ‘The delegates have praised the secretary to the boss.’

b. *Delegații* *i-au* *lăudat-o* *pe* *secretară șefului.*
 Delegates.the CL.DAT.SG-have praised- CL.ACC.SG DOM secretary boss.DAT
 Lit. ‘The delegates have praised the secretary to the boss.’

6. The featural load of IOs and DOMed DOS

6.1 [*i*Person: val] for *DOMed* DOs

< Romanian DOM is sensitive to the animacy and the definiteness scales (Aissen 2003 a.o.)

< Cornilescu (2000): *pe* a mark of *personal* gender and *identification*: person denoting bare quantifiers vs. bare quantifiers referring to non-persons:

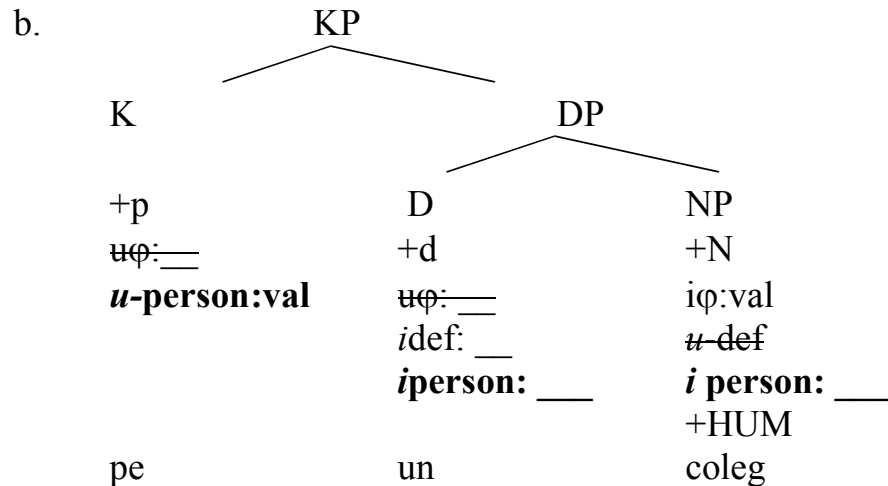
- (16) N-am văzut *(pe) nimeni/(*pe) nimic.
Not-have.I seen *pe* nobody/ *pe* nothing
'I haven't seen anybody.'

- Along the lines of Richards (2008), we consider [Person] to be the syntactic counterpart of animacy/definiteness at the (semantic) interface. Richards (2008) suggests that scalar concepts such as the animacy hierarchy may be incorporated into the discrete binary system of a minimalist grammar. These hierarchies are semantic and pragmatic in nature and should be conceived of as syntax-semantics interface phenomena. Nouns exhibiting sensitivity to the animacy and definiteness hierarchies should thus be specified for a binary grammatical feature [Person]. The [Person] feature triggers an interpretation of the respective DP along the animacy hierarchy. Building on Richards' account, we posit that nouns may come from the lexicon **carrying an unvalued [Person] feature**.

More technically:

< López (2012), Cornilescu and Tigău (2018): the internal make-up of marked DOs presupposes the existence of a KP layer; K is triggered by an unvalued syntactic [*i*Person] feature present in the NP which is then copied in D. The NP itself is a [+Human] denoting nominal and as such may incorporate the [*i*Person] feature. The presence of the syntactic unvalued [*i*Person] feature triggers the merger of K, bearing a valued [*u*Person], which verifies the unvalued feature on D². The entire KP ends up bearing a valued [*i*Person]:

- (17) a. Ajut pe un coleg.
 Help.I *pe* a colleague
 'I help a colleague.'

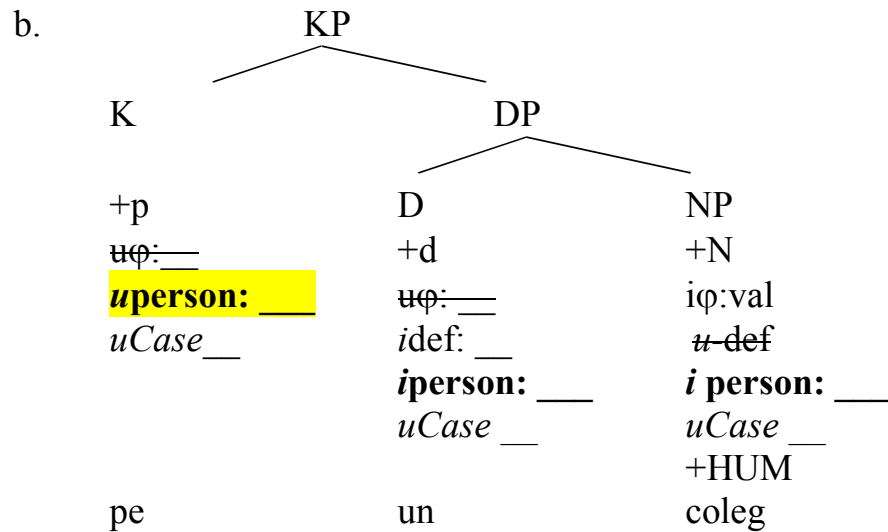


² We adopt Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) as a general framework for feature checking, where features may vary with respect to being +/- interpretable and +/- valued. Any expression with a combination of features which is not +interpretable, +value will be looking for a suitable head to check its features.

NOTE: the case of CD+DOMed DOs - [*i*Person: ____]

> *pe* is further bleached and is merely specified as **unvalued** [*i*Person:____] > its [Person] feature is in need of valuation, just like the one on the nominal it precedes. KP has the feature specification [***i*Person: ____**] and has to find a way whereby to value this feature.

(18) a. Îl ajut pe un coleg.
 Him.Acc help.I *pe* a colleague
 'I help a colleague.'



< Belletti (2004), Săvescu (2009): we posit a PersonP at the *vP* periphery: CDed+DOMed DOs undergo scrambling and have [*i*Person __] feature valued under agreement with Pers°.

6.2 A [Person] feature for Goal DPs

The essential property of DPs which may realize the dative theta roles is **sensitivity to the animacy hierarchy**: these roles denote human individuals so we will assume that these DPs are also marked for [Person]³:

Possessor - Goal

- (19) Profesorul le-a înapoiat tezele elevilor/la elevi.
Professor.the them.Dat-has returned theses.the pupils.Dat/to pupils
'The professor returned the theses to the pupils.'

Beneficiary

- (20) Mama i-a cusut rochia fetei/la fată.
Mother her.Dat-has sewn dress.the girl.Dat/to girl
'Mother has sewn the dress for the girl.'

Maleficiary

- (21) Copiii le-au furat vecinilor/la vecini cireșele din grădină.
Children them.Dat-have stolen neighbours.Dat/to neighbours cherries from garden
'The children stole the neighbours cherries from the garden.'

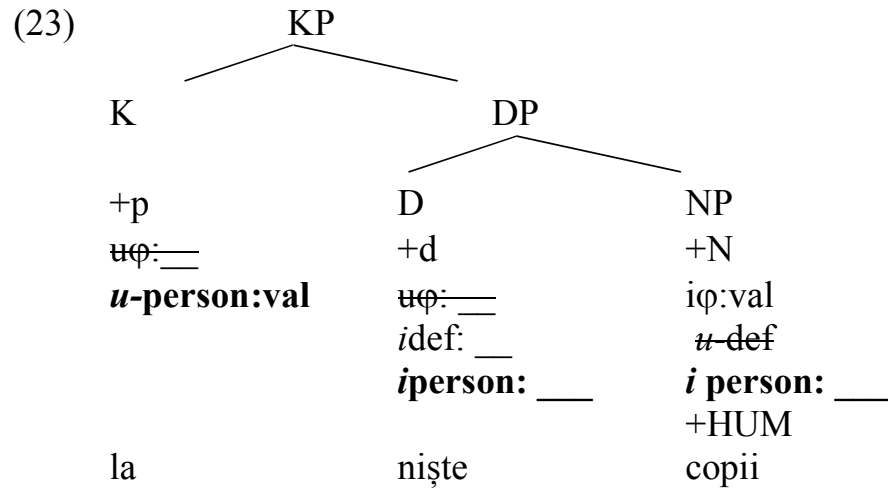
> IO does not usually denote inanimate referents, at least when used in the inflectional dative:

³ Romanian datives exhibit *inflectional* as well as *prepositional* case marking. Prepositional marking presupposes the use of the directional preposition *la* (*at/to*) and is used with DPs headed by invariable determiners e.g., *niște* (some), cardinals etc.

(22) Am dat apă florilor/la flori.
 Have.I given water flowers.dat/to flowers
 'I watered the flowers'



> We capture this sensitivity by positing that dative DPs carry a [**iPerson:val**] feature, just like DOMed DOs.

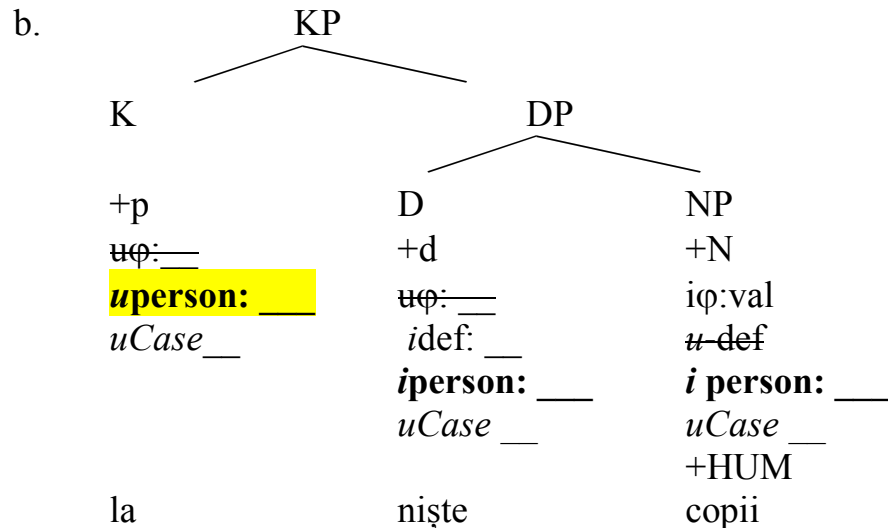


➤ Inflectional datives follow the same pattern of analysis and evince the same feature specifications as KP, possessing a silent K head.

NOTE: the case of CDed IOs

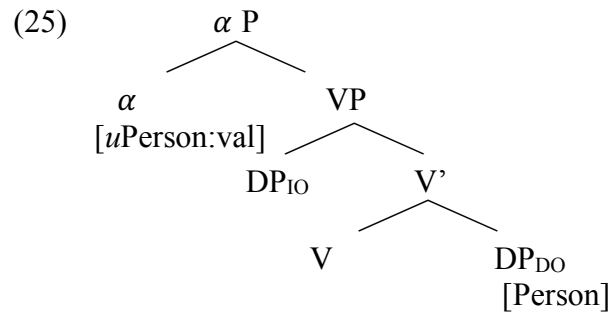
- K is further bleached and only carries an unvalued [*uPerson*] feature on the model of CDed+DOMed DOs. The entire KP ends up having the feature specification [*iPerson*: ____] and has to find a way whereby to value this feature:

(24) a. **Le-am** **dat cartea** **la niște colegi.**
 Them-have.I given book.the at some colleagues.
 'I gave the book to some colleagues.'



6.3 An applicative head for ditransitive configurations

- Drawing on Marantz (1993) and Pylkkänen (2002), we posit an Applicative projection for ditransitives. In line with Georgala et al. (2008), Georgala (2012), we envisage αP as a case assigner also introducing a [Person] feature thereby capturing the sensitivity of datives to the animacy hierarchy. The [Person] feature accounts for the variety of theta roles compatible with dative DPs within ditransitives given that all these roles presuppose the presence of a [+Human] feature (see above).
- αP takes VP as its complement and introduces a valued uninterpretable [Person] feature, which may be checked by way of agreement with the dative DP also carrying a [Person] feature.



Configuration	Feature load DO	Feature load IO	Assessment
Unmarked DO & undoubled IO	<i>uCase</i>	<i>uCase; [iPerson:val]</i>	ok
Unmarked DO & CDed IO	<i>uCase</i>	<i>uCase; [iPerson:----]</i>	ok
DOMed DO & undoubled IO	<i>uCase; [iPerson:val]</i>	<i>uCase; [iPerson:val]</i>	ok
DOMed DO & CDed IO	<i>uCase; [iPerson:val]</i>	<i>uCase; [iPerson:----]</i>	*
CDed + DOMed DO & undoubled IO	<i>uCase; [iPerson:----]</i>	<i>uCase; [iPerson:val]</i>	ok
CDed + DOMed DO & CDed IO	<i>uCase; [iPerson:----]</i>	<i>uCase; [iPerson:----]</i>	ok

7. A syntactic account of the experimental data

- **Goal:** to account for the experimentally noticed differences between unmarked and CDed+DOMed DOs on the one hand and DOMed DOs on the other, when co-occurring with CDed IOs
- we will try to answer these two questions by adopting a derivational account according to which dative DPs are merged within the VP as part of the verb's argument structure. In line with Larson (2010)'s view, IO is *actually part of the verb's θ -grid*. It is introduced by the lexical verb itself and composes inside VP in a syntax similar to that in Larson (1988). Under this view, Appl^o is required to have the lower lexical VP as complement.
- marked DOs and IOs bear a [Person] feature, which is further specified as *interpretable/uninterpretable* and as *valued/unvalued* function of various factors as described above: undoubled IO and DOMed DOs carry a **[iPerson: val]** feature specification, while CDed+DOMed DOs and CDed IOs are specified as **[iPerson: ____]**

➤ certain *priority criteria* for feature verification between the two objects⁴. **DO has general priority over IO.** Priority may, however, change function of the feature specification of the two objects. The following cases arise:

1. Unmarked DOs only bear [*u*C] and have no specification with respect to [Person] in syntax;

IOs always have both [*u*C] and [Person] > this latter feature is [*i*Person: val] for undoubled IOs and [*i*Person: ____] doubled IOs.

Given that DO has no [person] feature to verify, it will simply undergo scrambling first.

2. DOMed DOs bear [*u*C] and [*i*Person: val]. In this case, both DO and IO are sensitive to [Person] so a prioritization as to which of them values their [Person] feature first needs to occur. Two situations may arise:

a. undoubled IO: has the same feature specification i.e., [*u*C] and [*i*Person: val] > DO will be given priority for movement and will check its case first.

b. CDed IO: has more features to verify than the DO i.e., [*u*C] and [*i*Person: ____]: > IO will gain priority over the DO, which only needs to verify case.

3. CDed+DOMed DOs bear [*u*C] and [*i*Person: ____] and will always have priority over the IO:

a. if the IO is undoubled its feature specification is [*u*C] and [*i*Person: val] > DO has priority because of its DO status and also because it will have more features to verify.

b. if the IO is doubled, then it will have the same feature specification as the DO, i.e., [*u*C] and [*i*Person: ____] > DO has priority according to the initial criterion

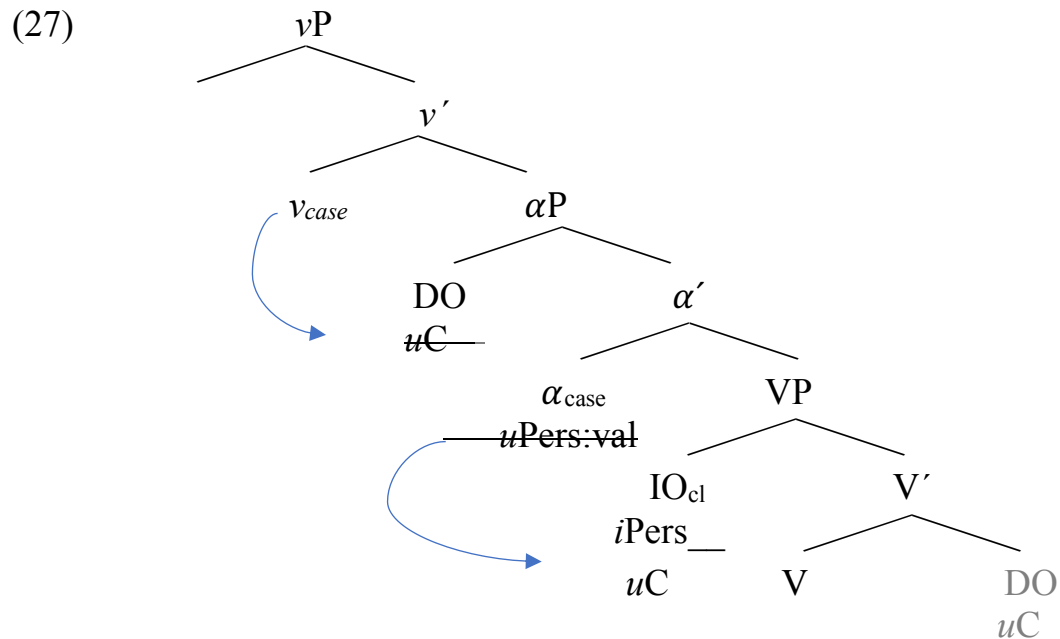
⁴ We found this priority requirement (springing from the need of feature valuation) crucial when considering the derivation of all the available tested configurations. See Tigău (2020) for further clarifications.

7.1 Unmarked DOs and CDed IOs ✔

- (26) *Editorii i-au trimis fiecare carte autorului ei pentru corecturile finale.*
 Editors.the CL.DAT.SG.-have sent every book author.DAT its for corrections final
 ‘The editors sent every book to its author for the final corrections.’

Configuration	Feature load DO	Feature load IO	Assessment
Unmarked DO & CDed IO	<i>uCase</i>	<i>uCase; [iPerson:----]</i>	ok

> DO has no [Person] specification and only needs to check case. According to the priority criteria above, DO enters the derivation first and moves to Spec α P where it values its case feature against *v*. IO verifies both case and [Person] against α^0 :



7.2 DOMed DOs and CDed IOs *

- According to the experimental findings, sentences such as (23) were granted very low acceptability scores by the respondents:

(28) **Delegații i-au lăudat pe fiecare secretară șefului ei.*
 Delegates.the CL.DAT.SG-have praised DOM everysecretary boss.DAT her
 Lit. ‘The delegates have praised every secretary to her boss.’

Featural load:

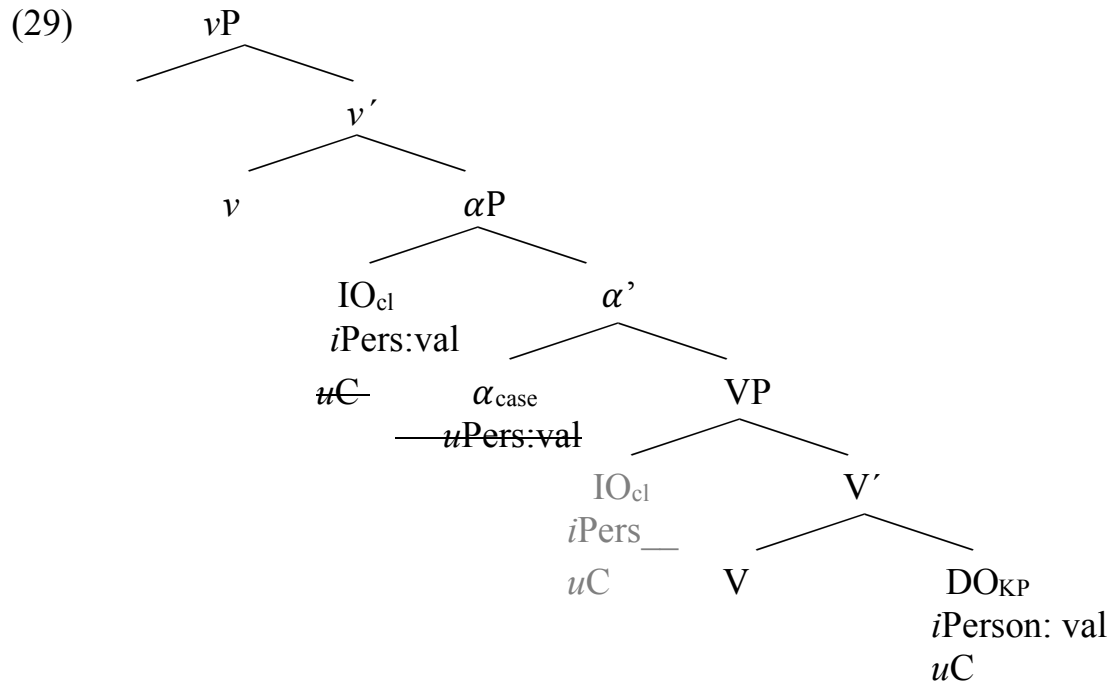
Configuration	Feature load DO	Feature load IO	Assessment
DOMed DO & CDed IO	<i>uCase</i> ; [<i>iPerson:val</i>]	<i>uCase</i> ; [<i>iPerson:----</i>]	*

Derivation:

- DO is merged in the VP complement position and has the feature specification: [*iPers: val*], [*uCase*]. DO thus only needs to verify its [*uCase*] feature, given that its [*Person*] feature is both interpretable and valued.
- IO carries an unvalued [*iPerson__*] feature along with [*uCase*] and will have to find a way to value both these features.
- Note that both objects are specified for *Person*, but that IO has more features to verify and will gain priority over DO. IO enters Agreement with α^0 (specified as [*uPerson:val*]) and checks both case and

[*i*Pers: __]. The [*u*Person:val] feature of α is EPP and IO moves to Spec αP . As such, it acts as an intervener for DO, which may no longer move to a Spec α in order to get its case valued by v (29). The derivation crashes.

- **Note:** This explains the low results in the *DO before IO* word order: DO may not leave the VP. One way to save the situation is by scrambling IO out of Spec αP , into a specifier of v . As a consequence, IO will no longer act as an intervener for DO, which may scramble to a specifier of α and get its case feature valued by v . This explains why the order IO before DO was found to be significantly better than its opposite.



7.3 CDed + DOMed DOs and CDed IOs

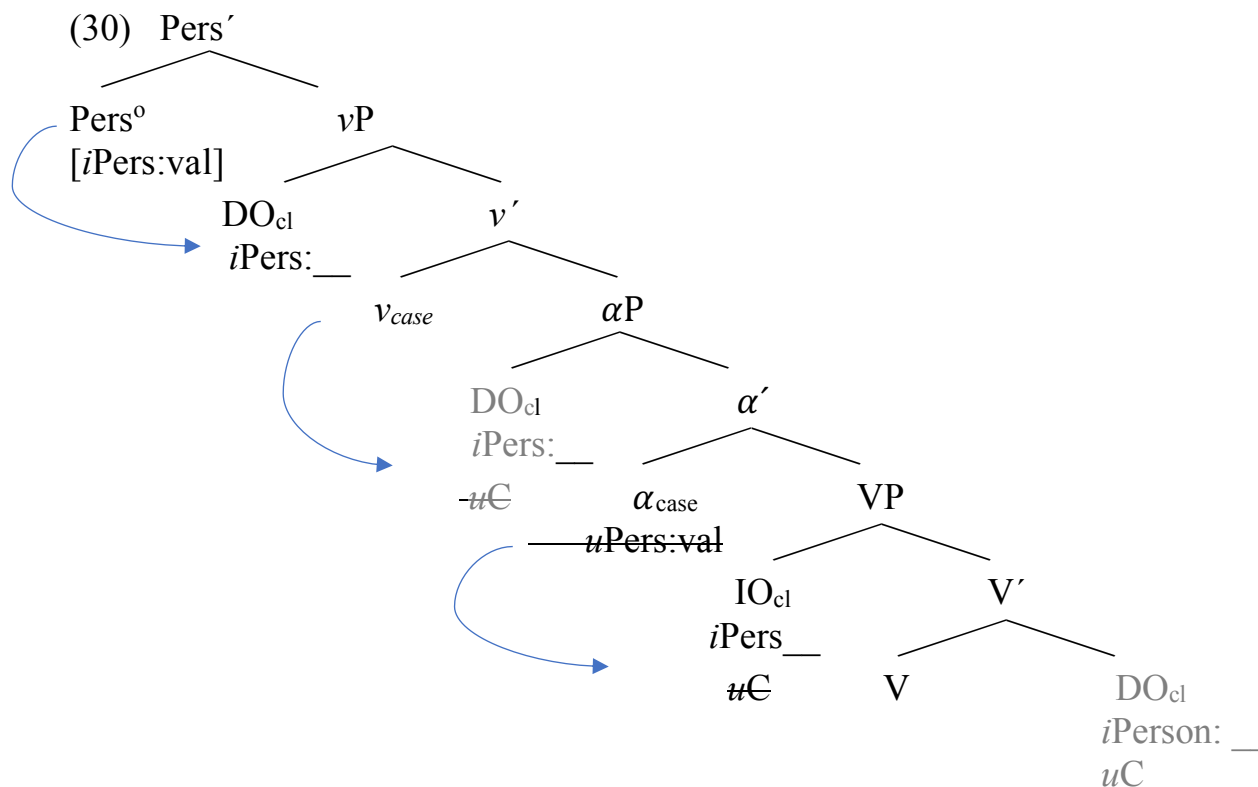
- these configurations fare much better with respect to acceptability judgements as opposed to their counterparts containing undoubled DOMed DOs which were assessed as thoroughly degraded:

(25) *Delegații i-au lăudat-o pe fiecare secretară; șefului ei.*
 Delegates.the CL.DAT.SG-have praised-CL.ACC.SG.F DOM every secretary
 boss.DAT her
 ‘The delegates have praised every secretary to her boss.’

Featural load:

Configuration	Feature load DO	Feature load IO	Assessment
CDed + DOMed DO & CDed IO	<i>uCase</i> ; [<i>iPerson</i> :----]	<i>uCase</i> ; [<i>iPerson</i> :----]	ok

Derivation: DO and IO have the same feature specification: [*iPerson*:__] and [*uCase*] and therefore DO has priority over IO. As a consequence, it will move to Spec α P and value its case feature against v . Given that DO also needs to value [*iPerson*:__], this KP moves further, to a specifier of v and enter agreement with the Person o . IO will be probed by the α^o and will have [*iPerson*:__] and case valued against this head. The [*uPerson*: val] of α will also be checked as a consequence:



- This derivation shows that both binding directions are possible, given that DO may occupy a position wherefrom it may c-command IO and the other way round. The IO before DO word order may be easily obtained by scrambling IO to a specifier of *v*.

5. Conclusions

The experimental data on binding dependencies with Romanian ditransitives presented here show that the ban on *DOMed DO & CDed IOs* configurations does not represent a binding problem but that it is connected to the similar internal structure of the two DPs and to the way in which they verify the features that they carry.

These data are in line with other accounts for Romance languages (see Pineda for Spanish) showing that all binding directions are allowed within ditransitives (contra Demonte 1995, Cuervo 2003) and that some configurations are frowned upon due to the internal structure of the internal arguments (see Mondoñedo 2007 for a discussion of the Spanish problematic configuration containing *a marked DOs & a marked IOs*)

We have proposed an answer to two questions arrived at experimentally:

1. Why is the co-occurrence of DOMed DOs and CDed IOs assessed as unacceptable, while configurations containing unmarked DOs and CDed IOs fare quite well?
 2. Why does CD of the DO improve the acceptability of configurations with DOMed DOs and CD IOs?
- With respect to question 1, it was argued that the interaction between DOMed DOs and CDed IOs boils down to a locality issue: VAppl, which may match both nominals in its c-commanding domain in what the valuation of its [*u*Person] feature is concerned, may only do so with the IO, which has priority for movement. The DO is blocked in-situ with its case feature unchecked.
 - As to question 2: the CDed DO takes priority over IO given its feature load and will leave the VP first and checking its case feature against *v*. It will move further into a position where it will be able to also check [Person] against Person^o. IO will enter agreement with Appl^o and thereby check case and Person.

Thank you

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