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# **Romanian Applicative Constructions**

**Constanta Rodica Diaconescu**

Thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements  
For the PhD degree in Linguistics

Department of Linguistics  
Faculty of Arts  
University of Ottawa

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# Romanian Applicative Constructions

Constanta Rodica Diaconescu

## ABSTRACT

The aim of this work is the investigation of the syntactic and semantic properties of Romanian clitic doubled *la*/real dative arguments. The proposal of this thesis is that clitic doubled *la*/real dative arguments are applicative arguments. The premise of assuming the existence of applicative constructions in Romanian is the alternation of clitic doubled/non clitic doubled dative arguments. Traditional grammar assumes that Romanian dative arguments are optionally clitic doubled. This thesis argues that this optionality is only apparent, and that the dative clitic is the morphological spell-out of an applicative head which licenses the dative argument as its specifier and relates it to the structure it takes as a complement. Applicative arguments are morphologically marked, can appear with both transitive and intransitive verbs, and have a wide range of meanings. The series of meanings of Romanian applicative (i.e., clitic doubled dative) arguments are foreseen by the series of the complements an applicative head may take or by the series of applicatives of which a phrase can be a complement. This proposal provides the set of positions into which an applicative head can merge and license a dative argument, as well as the set of interpretations the argument can obtain in each position. The set of positions may be verified cross-linguistically, but languages can differ with respect to the positions into which an applicative head is allowed to merge. These assumptions generalize to applied arguments in languages in which they are not marked by dative case (e.g., Greek, English and Bantu languages). To the best of the thesis author's knowledge, this is the first attempt both to propose the existence of applicative constructions in Romanian and to investigate *la* datives.

**Dissertation Adviser:**  
**María Luisa Rivero**

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I am dedicating this thesis to my dearly loved husband Dan.

**List of abbreviations:**

ABL = Ablative  
 ACC= Accusative  
 AGR = Agreement  
 ALL = Allative  
 AO = Applied Object  
 AOR = Aorist  
 APPL= Applicative  
 APPLE = Event Applicative  
 APPLI = Individual Applicative  
 APPLH =High Applicatives  
 APPLL =Low Applicatives  
 APPLP = Applicative Phrase  
 ASP = Aspect  
 BEN = Benefactive  
 C = Complementizer  
 CONJ = Conjunction  
 CP = Complementizer Phrase  
 DAT = Dative  
 D = Determiner  
 DO = Direct Object  
 DOC = Double Object Construction  
 DP = Determiner Phrase  
 ECM = Exceptional Case Marking  
 ERG = Ergative  
 FEM = Feminine  
 FOC = Focus  
 FUT =Future  
 FV = Final Vowel  
 G = Null Preposition  
 GEN = Genitive  
 IO = Indirect Object  
 K = Case  
 LOC = Locative  
 MASC = Masculine  
 NACT = Non-Active  
 N = Neuter  
 NACT = Non active  
 NOM = Nominative  
 NP = Noun Phrase  
 Obj = Object  
 OBL = Oblique  
 OP = Object prefix  
 P = Phrase  
 PASS = Passive  
 PDC = Prepositional Dative Construction  
 PO = Prepositional Object

PL = Plural  
 PRO = covert pronoun, subject of infinitivals  
*pro* = pronoun without phonetic properties  
 PRON = Pronoun  
 QR = Quantifier raising  
 SC = Small Clause  
 SG = Singular  
 SP = Subject Prefix  
 SPEC = Specifier  
 SUBJ = Subject  
*t* = trace  
 TP = Tense Phrase  
*v* = 'little' *verb*  
 VP = Verb Phrase  
 1,2,3... = Bantu noun class numbers  
 θ = theta  
 PRES = Present  
 PP = Prepositional Phrase

**Romanian symbols not found in IPA:**

[ǎ] = accentuated schwa  
 [î] and [â] = back unrounded vowel  
 [ș] = voiceless postalveolar fricative  
 [ț] = voiceless alveolar affricate

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## CHAPTER 1. Introduction

The aim of this work is the investigation of the syntactic and semantic properties of Romanian clitic doubled *la*/real dative arguments. The proposal of this thesis is that clitic doubled *la*/real dative arguments are applicative arguments and that the dative clitic is the morphological spell-out of an applicative head.

The premise of assuming the existence of Applicative constructions in Romanian is the alternation of clitic doubled/non clitic doubled dative arguments. Traditional grammar assumes that Romanian dative arguments are optionally clitic doubled when they are:

(i) marked with dative case<sup>1</sup>:

(1) a. *Mihaela* (i) *trimite* *Mariei* *o scrisoare*

Mihaela her.CL.DAT sends Mary.DAT a letter.ACC

‘Mihaela sends Mary a letter’

(ii) preceded by the preposition *la*<sup>2</sup> (in a familiar, regional register, used mostly in Transylvania and Banat):

b. *Mihaela* (ii) *trimite* *la Maria* *o scrisoare*

Mihaela her.CL.DAT sends to Mary.DAT a letter.ACC

‘Mihaela sends Mary a letter’

---

<sup>1</sup> I will call these constructions from now on real datives.

<sup>2</sup> I will call these constructions from now on *la* datives.

## 1.1 Linguistic data evaluation

The Romanian data investigated in this work have been evaluated against native speakers' intuition, have been paralleled with data extracted from written sources and have been tested with a grammaticality test.

Written sources show that dative clitic doubling is a phenomenon which is slowly developing in the last centuries [in Romanian], and it continues to develop right now (in old Romanian clitic doubling was obligatory in less cases than today). In the cases when clitic doubling is not obligatory, it appears mostly in colloquial Romanian (where it is its origin) and in texts whose authors are writing using colloquial Romanian” (see *Academy Grammar* 1963, vol I, p146-147). Because the clitic doubling of dative arguments marked with dative case (see 1a) is a widespread and wellknown phenomenon in Romanian, it was necessary to confirm the use of *la* datives (see 1b). Written sources endorse that *la* datives are similar to datives in most cases, and are used “in most cases in colloquial Romanian, in a familiar register and in the language of the folk literature. [...]. The construction formed by an accusative with *la* replacing a dative is due to imitation of a prepositional construction in a foreign language, usually French or German. [...] It is possible that some of these constructions [with *la*] represent an analytical tendency of the Romanian language”. (*Academy Grammar* 1963 vol II, p.164-165). Morphologically, *la* datives are “used with nouns or pronouns preceded or not by cardinal numerals or indefinite adjectives”. The semantic interpretation of *la* datives is similar to the one of real datives: “The preposition *la* introduces the indirect object which expresses: the person or the being who is the goal or the possessor of the action of the verb”. (*Academy Grammar* 1963 vol I, p.367-368)

Written sources show examples of *la* datives:

(2) a. *cum îi spui la iepuraș*

how him.CL.DAT call to rabbit.DAT

‘how do you call the rabbit?’

b. *așa’i spune la scaun*

so CL.DAT calls to chair.DAT

‘you call to the chair like this...’

c. *le dai de furcă la doamne*

them.CL.DAT give problems to ladies.DAT

‘[you] give problems to the ladies’

d. *cum îi spui tu la iaurt*

how him. CL.DAT call you to yogurt.DAT

‘how do you call the yogurt’

e. *ea la canapea îi spune bancă*

she to armchair.DAT her.CL.DAT tells bench

‘she calls bench the armchair’

f. *dă -i la mama*

[you] give her.CL.DAT to mother-the.DAT

‘give it to your mother’

(Avram 2004, *Romanian Childes corpora*)

As (2) show, *la* datives are used with indefinites (2a,b,c,d) and with definite nouns (2e,f).

The example (3) employs a dative marked noun with the same verb used with *la* datives in (2a-e).

- (3) *cum îi spui tu vîntului*  
how him.CL.DAT call you wind-the.DAT  
'how do you call the wind'

The optionality of clitic doubling of *la* datives is also endorsed by written sources:

- (4) (*vă*) *sunt dator la toți*  
CL.DAT (I) am owner to all  
'(I) am owing to you all' (Jordan, 1978 :659)

For a better assessment of the grammaticality of the constructions used in this work, a grammaticality test for the optionality of dative clitic doubling and clitic doubled *la* datives was employed.

The test was a written questionnaire task, in which subjects responded to sentences followed by an evaluation grid the subject checked a box next to the answer s/he chose.

Sample materials for this experiment are given in (5).

- (5) a. *Doina îi ia la Elena/Elenei bicicleta*  
Doina her.CL.DAT takes-away to Elena.DAT/Elena.DAT bicycle-the.ACC  
'Doina takes away the bicycle from Elena'

b. *Mihaela îi pune cafelei zahăr*

Michaela her/it.CL.DAT puts coffee-the.DAT sugar

‘Michaela puts sugar in the coffee’ (Lit. ‘Michaela puts the coffee sugar’)

- 1 - means that the sentence is a perfect sentence in Romanian and that you would use it without hesitation;
- 2 - means that it is an acceptable sentence in Romanian and that you might use it yourself;
- 3 - means that the sentence is a sentence in Romanian and that probably you heard it used by other speakers in Romanian;
- 4 - means that the sentence is not acceptable for you, but possible;
- 5 - means that the sentence is ungrammatical;

Overall, the 12 native speakers of Romanian judged the test sentences<sup>3</sup> as being grammatical (i.e., 83%). The subjects have been naturally divided in 3 groups, as to the number of years lived in Romania and to the region of Romania they lived in.

Table 1. Average percentage of grammaticality judgments by Romanian native speakers:

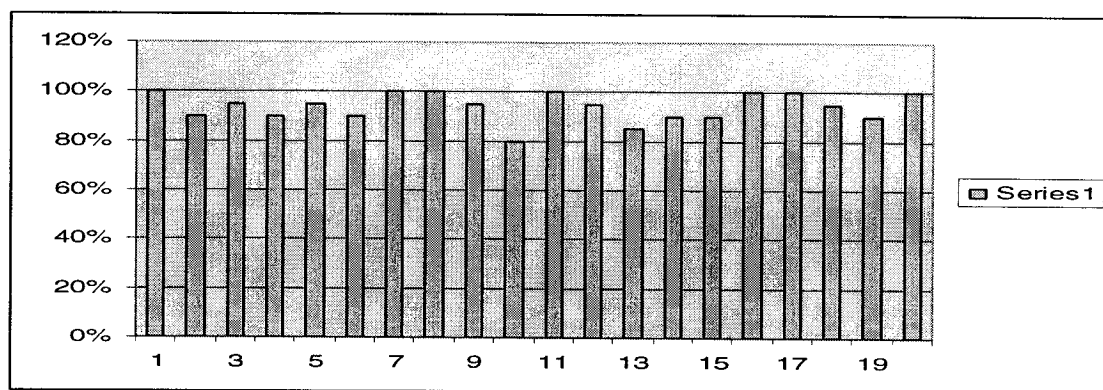
1. <u>Over 35 years lived in Transylvania/Banat</u>	<u>94%</u>
2. <u>Less than 25 years lived in Transylvania/Banat</u>	<u>79%</u>
3. <u>Less than 25 years lived in Muntenia</u>	<u>75%</u>
<u>Overall grammaticality average</u>	<u>83%</u>

---

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 1.

First, the group who lived more than 35 years in Romania (i.e., in Transylvania and Banat, where *la* datives are used in a colloquial register) showed the highest percentage of judging the sentences as being grammatical (see Table 2 below).

Table 2. Percentage of grammaticality for native Rom speakers with > 35 years lived in Transylvania/Banat



Second, the group with less than 25 years lived in Transylvania and Banat has shown almost the same percentage (i.e., 79%) as the group who lived less than 25 years in the south of Romania, i.e., Muntenia region, where *la* datives are sparely used (i.e., 75%). The comparative results of the groups who lived less than 25 years in Romania are shown below in Table 3 and Table 4 below.

Table 3. Percentage of grammaticality of native Romanian speakers with < 25 years lived in Transylvania/Banat

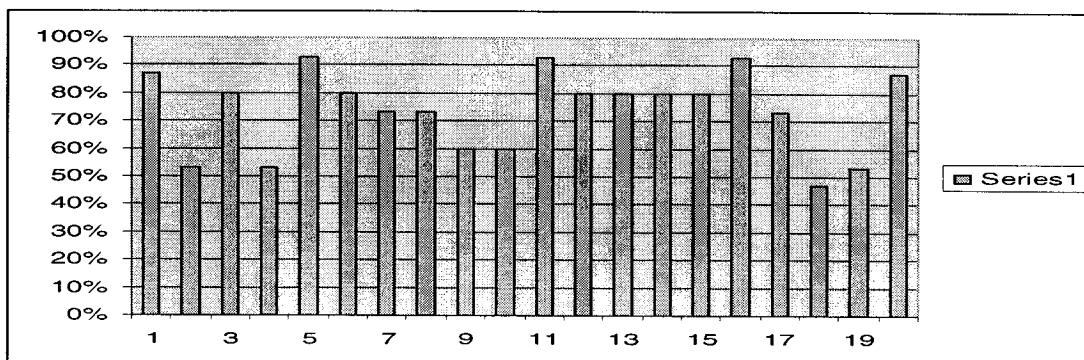
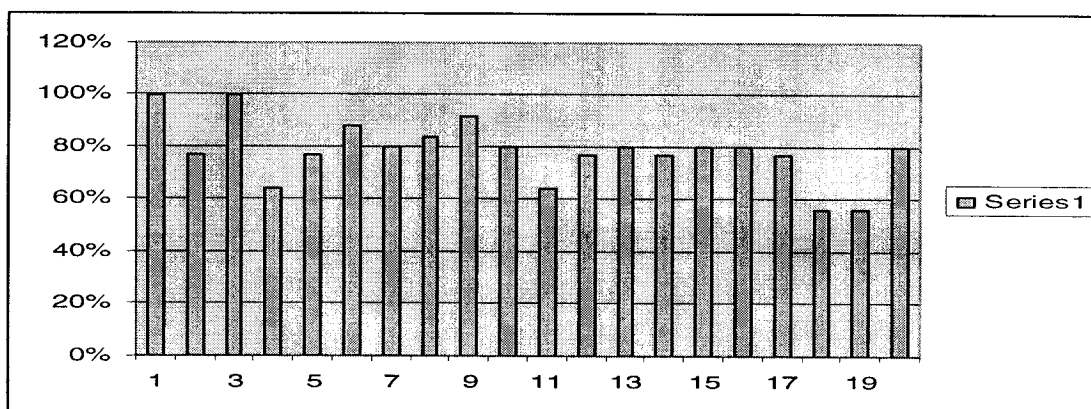


Table 4. Grammaticality judgments of Rom native speakers with < 25 years lived in Muntenia



The differences in grammaticality judgments are assumed to be due in my opinion, to normative grammar, which bans *la* datives in standard Romanian. Therefore, the native speakers who lived less than 25 years in Romania and who just have finished their education (they are all graduate students in Canada), have been less exposed to colloquial Romanian, which uses *la* datives.

## **1.2 Organisation of the thesis**

This thesis deals with clitic doubled dative arguments in Romanian and is organized as follows. The answer to the question of how such dative arguments, which are in a sense ‘non-core’ verbal arguments (i.e., benefactives, malefactives, possessors) are hosted by the verbal argument structure is the focus of Chapter 2. After discussing cross-linguistic similarities and dissimilarities with regards to the expression of verb argument structure in Section 2.2, a theoretical overview of research on representing the structure of the verb and its arguments is provided in Section 2.3. Two main positions are outlined: the lexicalist approach (Chomsky 1970, Chomsky 1981, Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995, Jackendoff 1990, Baker 1988, among others), based on a classification of verbs in terms of the aspectual structure they encode and the constructionalist approach (Pustejovsky 1988, Borer 1994, 1998, Travis 1994, Kratzer 1996, Marantz 1997, Ritter and Rosen 1998, Harley and Noyer 2000, among others), based on a classification of verbs in terms of the argument structure(s) they allow. In the spirit of the constructionalist approach, I assume that at least part of the interpretation of individual arguments in the clause is dependent upon the syntax of the entire predicate. I argue that dative arguments have structural meanings, which are predictable from the configuration in which the dative DP is licensed. Because the framework of the theory of argument structure used in this dissertation includes elements of event structure and event semantics, a review of verb structure as event structure (see Hale & Keyser 1993, 1997, 2002, Borer 1994, Harley 1995, Marantz 1997, Travis 2000, Cuervo 2003, Pylkkänen 2002, and Folli & Harley 2003) is provided in Section 2.5. I take for granted that arguments are licensed on the basis of the event structures possible given the two basic syntactic relations of

complement and specifier and the three types of heads: (i) little  $v$  (i.e., event introducers), (ii) Voice and Appl(icative) (i.e., argument introducers), and (iii) Roots. Then, these three types of argument introducers are discussed. First, the distinct properties of little  $v$ , which depend on the character of the event they introduce and on the kinds of arguments they license, are discussed. In the spirit of Harley (1995), Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), and Cuervo (2003), three types of little  $v$  (*ACT*, *CHANGE*, *BE*<sup>4</sup>) corresponding one-to-one to three basic types of events are adopted (see Section 2.5). Second, because the main assertion of this dissertation is that dative arguments are syntactically and semantically licensed by a specialized head, similar to the Voice head (see Kratzer 1996), the functional head applicative as argument introducer is discussed in Section 2.5.1. Following Pylkkänen (2002), two main types of possible dative arguments are predicted: low applicatives and high applicatives. Third, adopting Levin (1999), I assume in Section 2.5.2 that the third type of argument introducers (i.e., Roots) can also license an argument semantically: namely a root can take a complement matching its lexical meaning. The wide range of meanings dative arguments may have derives from the position of the dative DP in the structure in which it is licensed.

Since my proposal for a theory of Romanian dative arguments as being licensed by applicative heads is based on similarities between English Double Object Constructions and Romanian data, in Chapter 3 I will present the main theoretical approaches to the English dative alternation. In Section 3.1.1 three main proposals to the lexical underpinning of the dative alternation are discussed: (A) the monosemy approach, which assumes that dative verbs have the same meaning for both variants (i.e.,

---

<sup>4</sup> Cuervo (2003) labels the verbs as *DO*, *GO*, *BE*.

D(ouble)O(bject)C(onstruction) and P(repositional)D(itransitive)C(onstruction); (B) the polysemy approach which assumes that the verb in the PDC and DOC has systematically different meanings; and (C) the information structure approach, which states that the two structures differ in their information structure. A cross-linguistic overview of the Double Object Construction with examples taken from Dutch, German, Finnish, Icelandic, Japanese, Greek, and Spanish is made available in section 3.1.2. Based on similarities with Romance (e.g., Spanish<sup>5</sup>) and Balkan languages (e.g., Albanian, Greek<sup>6</sup>), I argue that Romanian exhibits applicative constructions. In order to have the efficient tools for such an assumption, a survey of morphosyntactic properties and a cross-linguistic overview of applicative constructions will be provided in Chapter 3. This valence-increasing construction that occurs in many languages of the world, including Bantu and indigenous languages of the Americas,<sup>7</sup> is discussed in section 3.2. First, I present a cross-linguistic survey of the morphosyntactic and typological variety of applicative constructions. After discussing the presence of a distinct applicative marker in Bantu, Peruvian<sup>8</sup> languages and Albanian<sup>9</sup>, the possession relation between the direct object and the applicative object and the transitivity of the base verb are examined. Subsequent to examining the passivization of applicative constructions, two types of applicatives are cross-linguistically identified, e.g. symmetric and asymmetric applicative constructions.

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<sup>5</sup> See Cuervo (2003).

<sup>6</sup> See Anagnostopoulou (2003).

<sup>7</sup> See Gary and Keenan (1977), Baker (1988, 1992), Bresnan and Moshi (1993), and Alsina and Mchombo (1993) *inter alia*.

<sup>8</sup> See Payne (1990).

<sup>9</sup> See McGinnis (2001) who does not account for the clitic to be the head the Applicative projection in Albanian.

Traditionally called asymmetric and symmetric applicatives are examined in Section 3.2.6. Theoretical approaches dealing with applicative construction are discussed in Section 3.2.7.

In Chapter 4 I argue that Romanian clitic doubled dative arguments are low applicative structures based on the syntactic properties similar to the English DOC. Low and high applicative constructions are the focus of the two subsequent chapters. In Chapter 5, the semantic properties of Romanian low applicatives are discussed and contrasted with the properties of prepositional ditransitive constructions (PDC) and the D(ouble)O(object)C(onstruction) in English. I argue that similar to Spanish (see Cuervo 2003), in Romanian, the dative doubling clitic is the morphological spell-out of the applicative head. In the same way, a new subtype of low applicative, low applicative-AT is introduced.

In Chapter 6 I discuss the structure of high applicatives both with activity and causative predicates<sup>10</sup>. High applicatives may license a dative DP or may be defective in Romanian<sup>11</sup>, similar to Spanish (see Cuervo 2003), in the sense that the applicative head is spelled out by a dative clitic but does not license a full DP in its specifier. Ethical datives are viewed as high applicatives that take a TP as their complement, adopting Rivero (2003).

In conclusion, I assume an event structure for the verb instead of the classical VP structure. I also adopt three types of argument introducers: Voice for the external

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<sup>10</sup> In this work I do not examine applicative constructions with reflexive, inchoative and psychological verbs, nor with raising verbs.

<sup>11</sup> According to Cuervo (2003), ethical datives are also defective in Spanish.

argument, low/high applicative for the argument situated below  $\nu P$  internally or  $\nu P$  externally, and roots for the internal argument.

The possible types of dative arguments are summarized in the table below with reference to the section in which they are discussed. The verbs are in English but stand for the corresponding Romanian verbs.

(1) Types of Romanian dative arguments

1st Argum of ApplP	DP (LowAppl)			$\nu P$ (High Appl)	
	Dynamic		Static	Dynamic	
	TO	FROM	AT	High Appl	
Meaning/ $\nu$	Recipient	Source	Possessor	Beneff/Malef	
$\nu$ ACT	<i>send, bake</i> Chapter 5	<i>steal</i> Chapter 5	<i>wash</i> Chapter 5	<i>break, close</i> Chapter 6	<i>hold, walk, run</i> Chapter 6
$\nu$ BE	<i>owe</i> Chapter 5	<i>save</i> Chapter 5	<i>envy, lack</i> Chapter 5		
TP				TP embedding Chapter 6	

## CHAPTER 2. Argument structure of the verb

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the licensing of non-core verbal arguments. After presenting a theoretical overview of prior research on representing the structure of the verb and its arguments, I examine the lexicalist approach (Chomsky 1970, Chomsky 1981, Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995, Jackendoff 1990, Baker 1988, among others) and the constructionalist approach (Pustejovsky 1988, Borer 1994, 1998, Travis 1994, Kratzer 1996, van Hout 1996, Marantz 1997, Ritter and Rosen 1998, Harley and Noyer 2000, among others). In line with the constructionalist approach, I assume that the interpretation of individual arguments in the clause is dependent upon the syntax of the entire predicate. Since the theory of argument structure used in this dissertation includes elements of event structure and event semantics, I provide a review of approaches to verb structure as event structure. In line with Hale and Keyser (1993, 1997), I assume that the relation between heads and their arguments is established by two possible relations: of complement and specifier. The properties of the head that licenses the argument determine if an argument is projected as a complement or a specifier. Assuming verb structure as event structure, I examine event introducers (i.e., little *v*), argument introducers (i.e. Voice and Applicative) and Roots. Further on, these three types of argument introducers are discussed. First, three types of little *v* (*ACT*, *CHANGE*, *BE*) corresponding one-to-one to three basic types of events are assumed in the spirit of Harley (1995), Levin and Rappaport (1995), Rappaport and Levin (2003), and Cuervo (2003). The distinct properties of little *v* depend on the character of the event they introduce and on the kinds of arguments they license

(see Section 2.5). Since this dissertation claims that clitic doubled dative arguments are syntactically and semantically licensed by a functional head which licenses its arguments the same way Voice licenses external arguments (see Kratzer 1996), the functional head applicative as an argument introducer is examined. Third, following Levin (1999), I assume that a root can take a complement matching its lexical meaning. The wide range of meanings clitic doubled dative arguments may have derives from the position of the dative DP in the structure in which they are licensed.

## **2.2 Verbs and their arguments**

In order to comprehend the meaning of a sentence, listeners and readers need to access the lexicon containing the individual words of which the sentence is made and to know which techniques are used to combine these words structurally in order to form a particular sentence. That is, to comprehend the sense of a sentence requires to be acquainted with both the lexical entries of the sentence and with the methods used to combine those entries. One of the central tasks for linguists is to make explicit theories of what the relevant parts of a sentence are available and to explain by what mechanisms they combine into grammatical structures. Since the communicative functions of the language are central to its structure, one function of the language is to represent things that happen in the world and the participants involved in these situations, that is, mostly verbs and their arguments. In the domain of verbal meanings, the task includes identifying the aspects of meaning that are grammatically relevant and the pieces that are responsible for the licensing of arguments.

Essential to this work is the domain of verbal argument structure, centering on the question of how non-core arguments are hosted by the verb argument structure. For instance, a verb like *boil* may need to combine with only one argument depicting an entity undergoing the boiling in (1a), or with two arguments, like in (1b), where the entity that boils is the object of boiling and the subject position is filled with a noun depicting a causer of the boiling event. It could be stated that the verb *boil* (default) may have one or two arguments, which are ‘core’ arguments (i.e., subject and object). However, some process (e.g. applicativization) may change the core status of an argument. Consequently, if another argument is attached to this configuration (1c), it is realized as an indirect object and is inferred to be a beneficiary of the boiling event.

- (1) a. *The water is boiling*  
 b. *Mary boiled the potatoes*  
 c. *Mary boiled me some potatoes<sup>12</sup>*

Most languages of the world have verbs that behave in the way presented in (1). If we consider (2), we see that the Romanian verb *a fierbe* ‘boil’ may emerge in the same environments as its English counterpart.

- (2) a. *Apa fierbe* ROMANIAN  
 water-the boil.3Sg  
 ‘The water boils’

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<sup>12</sup> In this section the indirect non-core object is typed in bold characters.

b. *Maria a fiert cartofii*

Mary has boiled potatoes-the

‘Mary boiled the potatoes’

c. *Maria mi -a fiert niște cartofi*

Mary me.DAT.CL has boiled some potatoes

‘Mary boiled me some potatoes’

The correspondence between (1) and (2) may be accounted for by an assumption stating that the same grammatical elements are responsible for the variation in (1a,b,c) and (2a,b,c). Nevertheless, this assumption does not account for the differences exhibited by the English and Romanian verbs allowing the addition of a benefactive argument typed in bold in (1) and (2). For example, Venda (i.e., a Bantu language, spoken in South Africa) and Romanian unergative verbs allow the addition of these categories of arguments as shown in (3) and (4a,b). These constructions are not allowed in English (5). The sentences in (4) are completely correct without the additional arguments, as indicated by the parentheses.

(3) *Ndi-Øo-shum-el -a musadzi*

VENDA

I -FUT-work-APPL-FV lady

‘I will work for the lady’

(Pylkkänen 2002:25)

(4) a. *Maria îi lucrează (patronului) toată ziua* ROMANIAN

Mary him.CL.DAT work.3SG boss-the.DAT all day

‘Mary works all day long for the boss’

b. *Maria îi fuge (mamei) de acasă*

Mary her.CL.DAT run.3.SG mother-the.DAT from home

‘Mary runs from my mother’s home’

c. \**Maria lucrează patronului toată ziua*

Mary work.3SG boss-the.DAT all day

‘Mary works all day long for the boss’

d. \**Maria fuge mamei de acasă*

Mary run.3.SG mother-the.DAT from home

‘Mary runs from my mother’s home’

(5) a. \**Mary works the owner* (meaning: ‘Mary works for the owner’)

b. \**Mary runs my mother from home* (meaning: ‘Mary runs from my mother’s home’)

There are two pairs of dissimilarities to be accounted for in the above examples. On the one hand, the disparity between Romanian examples (4a,b) and (4c,d) can be explained by an additional flavor added by the clitic in the grammatical (4a,b), opposite to the cliticless (4c,d), which are ungrammatical.

On the other hand, the disparity between (3), (4a,b) and (5) may be accounted for by two distinct possibilities. One can first deduce that despite apparent correspondences, the additional arguments are introduced by different elements with different distributions.

Meaning, *lady* in (3) and the dative *the boss* and *the mother* (4) in unergative sentences are introduced by a specific marker, which is not present in English (5), where the accusative objects *the owner*, *my mother* are employed instead. Second, it can be inferred that the elements setting up the addition of new arguments in these three languages are the same, and some other factors are responsible for the distributional differences.

This work will try to argue that elements setting up the addition of new (i.e., non-core) arguments such as the ones typed in bold in (3) and (4a,b) in different languages are the same, and languages differ with respect to employing one or more such elements. This answer will also elaborate on the question whether dative clitic doubling indeed adds a special flavour to dative arguments in Romanian (see the contrast between 4a,b and 4c,d). The focus of this thesis will be the investigation of the properties of elements able to introduce verbal arguments such as the ones underlined in (3) and (4a,b).

### **2.3 Approaches to the argument structure of the verb**

The investigation of the elements able to allow non-core arguments of the verb to emerge in argument structures would not be possible without introducing some basic assumptions about representing verbs and their arguments.

Different proposals have placed the burden of making generalizations about verb classes and their syntactic structure either on the lexicon (Chomsky 1970, Chomsky 1981, Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995, Jackendoff 1990, Baker 1988, among others) or on the computational system (Pustejovsky 1988, Borer 1994, 1998, Travis 1994, Kratzer 1996, van Hout 1996, Marantz 1997, Ritter and Rosen 1998, Harley and Noyer 2000,

among others). The lexicalist and the constructionalist positions agree in trying to make a correlation between the meaning of a verb and the structure it appears in, but how this correlation is visualized is quite distinct in each approach. The two positions are based on the two fundamental classifications of verbs: a classification of verbs in terms of the aspectual structure they encode and a classification of verbs in terms of the argument structure(s) they allow. On the one hand, the lexicalist approach argues that the semantic complexity of verbs determines the representation of the argument structure of verbs. Because in many languages verbs can display great flexibility in argument structure, (see (6) and (7) below) it could be inferred that in the lexicon of a language there are five different entries for each of the below verbs (i.e., *clean1*, *clean2*, *clean3*, etc. or *walk1*, *walk2* and so on); therefore the syntactic computation is working with one of the possible entries each time. Or, if we want to maintain the ideal of a maximally limited lexicon, we would have to make the derivation of the different forms in (6) and (7) a matter of syntactic computation.

(6) a. *Mary cleaned*

b. *Mary cleaned the table*

c. *Mary cleaned the crumbs off the table*

d. *Mary cleaned the table spotless*

e. *Mary cleaned out her savings*

(7) a. *John walked*

b. *John walked home*

- c. *John walked Mary home*
- d. *John walked himself breathless*
- e. *John walked the morning away along the beach* (Folli 2001: 11)

On the other hand, computational, syntax-driven, or Predicate-based approaches (see Hoekstra and Mulder (1990), Hale and Keyser (1993, 1997, 2002)<sup>13</sup>, Borer (1994, 2001), Arad (1998) and Pylkkänen (2002)<sup>14</sup>) assume that at least part of the interpretation of individual arguments in the clause is dependent upon the syntax of the entire predicate. Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) define the project of a theory of argument structure as investigating how structure determines possible meanings of verbs and arguments. Their analysis is based on the asymmetry between possible meanings of external arguments and possible meanings of objects. The number of possible meanings for an external argument (i.e., the subject of a transitive verb or of an intransitive action verb) is very limited.

- (8) a. *John rides a white horse*
- b. *John danced*
- c. *The sun melted the butter*
- d. *John loves apples*
- e. *John had a dream*
- f. *John has a new car*
- g. *The rose has four buds* (Folli 2001:ex.1)

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<sup>13</sup> Hale and Keyser (1993) argue that lexical argument structure is purely syntactic. They deny the existence of thematic roles, and assume that argument structure is just configurational structure expressing predicational relations.

<sup>14</sup> I will present Pylkkänen's (2002) proposal in Section 3.2.7.5 in more detail.

The subjects in (8) are interpreted as agent (a-b), causer (c), experiencer (d-e), and possessor (f-g). By collapsing agents and causers into ‘doers’ of an event and grouping experiencers and possessors as ‘possessors’ of a state or individual, there are just two possible meanings derived for external arguments. Objects, in contrast, can have a much wider variety of meanings.

- (9) a. *The engineer cracked the bridge* (patient)  
b. *The engineer destroyed the bridge* (patient/consumed object)  
c. *The engineer painted the bridge* (incremental theme)  
d. *The engineer moved the bridge* (theme)  
e. *The engineer built the bridge* (affected object)  
f. *The engineer washed the bridge* (location/surface)  
g. *The engineer hit the bridge* (location)  
h. *The engineer crossed the bridge* (path)  
i. *The engineer reached the bridge* (goal)  
j. *The engineer left the bridge* (source)  
k. *The engineer saw the bridge* (stimulus/object of perception)  
l. *The engineer hated the bridge* (stimulus/target or object of emotion) (Levin 1999)

Additionally, many objects ‘cannot be readily assigned roles from the most common semantic role inventories’ (Levin 1999).

(11) a. *The engineer praised the bridge*

b. *The engineer touched the bridge*

c. *The engineer avoided the bridge*

d. *The engineer owned the bridge*

e. *The engineer imagined the bridge*

f. *The engineer studied the bridge*

(Levin 1999 ex 2,3).

Marantz (1984) defines the asymmetry between possible meanings of external arguments and possible meanings of objects as being an asymmetry rooted in the licensing of objects as opposed to the licensing of subjects: while objects are arguments of the verb, licensed within the domain of the VP, subjects are not. Kratzer (1996) developed this insight into a theory of Voice, a syntactic head responsible for licensing the external argument syntactically and semantically: the external argument is projected as the specifier of Voice, which takes the verbal phrase as its complement. The semantic import of Voice is to relate the external argument to the event described by the verbal phrase. If the event complement of Voice is an action, the external argument is interpreted as an agent; if the event is causative, the external argument is interpreted as a causer. The meaning of the external argument is thereby derived structurally. Since Voice always occupies the same position in the structure, i.e., above the highest verbal projection, the only possible variation in the meaning of the external argument is determined by properties of the verbal phrase. Objects, alternatively, are said to be true arguments of the verb; their interpretation depends heavily on the characteristic meaning of the verb (i.e., the lexical root) that they are complements of, as noticeably illustrated by Levin's examples above.

In sum, because there are few types of external arguments, their meaning is entirely predictable from their position in the structure. Conversely, the meaning of objects depends on the lexical content of the root rather than on the structure; since there are many roots with different meanings, the interpretation of objects is not predictable from the structure alone. Objects and subjects are not the only kinds of arguments. In many languages there is a third kind of argument identified by special case marking: dative arguments. Dative arguments may appear with verbs of different types (e.g., transitive activities (12), psychological predicates (13), causatives and inchoatives (14), existentials (15)), as illustrated with examples from different languages below.

- (12) a. *Izakaya-no mama-ga (Shin-ni) basashi-o dasita* JAPANESE  
 bar.GEN mom.NOM Shin.DAT basashi.ACC served  
 ‘The bartender served Shin basashi’ (Cuervo 2003:13)
- b. *Valentine (lui) a coupé les cheveux* FRENCH  
 Valentine.NOM CL.DAT has cut the hairs.ACC  
 ‘Valentine cut his hair’ (Lit. ‘Valentine cut him the hair’) (Cuervo 2003:14)
- c. *Ion (îi) aduce flori Elenei.* ROMANIAN  
 John her.CL.DAT brings flowers Helen.DAT  
 ‘John brings flowers to Helen’
- (13) a. *A Elena piaceno molto i filmi francesi* ITALIAN  
 Elena.DAT like.PL a-lot the movies French.NOM  
 ‘To Elena appeal the French movies a lot’ (Cuervo 2003:13)

- b. *Ravi-ko seema-par gussaa a-yaa* HINDI  
 Ravi.DAT Seema.on anger.M come.PERF.M  
 ‘To Ravi came anger at Seema’ (Cuervo 2003:13)
- c. *Elenei îi plac mult filmele franceze* ROMANIAN  
 Elena.DAT like.PL a-lot movies-the French.NOM  
 ‘Elena likes French movies a lot’ (Lit. ‘To Elena appeal the French movies a lot’)
- (15) a. *...daß Michael (dem Hans) die Gläser zerbrach* GERMAN  
 that Michael.NOM the Hans.DAT the glasses.ACC broke  
 ‘Michael broke Hans the glasses’ (Cuervo 2003:14)
- b. *Ha-radio nišbar (le-Roni)* HEBREW  
 the radio broke Roni.DAT  
 ‘The radio broke to Roni’ (Cuervo 2003:14)
- c. *(Lui Ion i) se sparg ochelarii* ROMANIAN  
 John.DAT him.CL.DAT break. PL glasses-the  
 ‘John’s glasses are breaking’
- (16) a. *(A Laura le) sobraron veinte pesos* SPANISH  
 Laura.DAT CL.DAT were-extra.PL twenty pesos  
 ‘To Laura were extra twenty pesos’ (Cuervo 2003:14)
- b. *(Elenei îi) lipsesc ceva bani* ROMANIAN  
 Elena.DAT her.CL.DAT miss.PL some money.NOM  
 ‘Elena is missing some money’

In some cases, datives are optional, as indicated by parentheses above. This could imply that they are added as 'extra' or non-core participants in the events described by the verb. Following this reasoning, dative arguments seem to imitate subjects and differ from objects, possibly being licensed by a specialized head. If they pattern with subjects, their meaning should then be structural and predictable. However, unlike subjects, dative arguments can have many different meanings: in informal terms, the range of possible meanings includes goal, possessor, location, experiencer, benefactive, malefactive, dative of interest, or ethical dative (see Chapter 6). There are many questions to be answered with regards to dative objects. One may begin by wondering if this morphologically defined class (marked with dative case) reflects a distinct structural or semantic class. Another question would be about the way dative arguments are licensed into syntactic structures, (i.e., what are they arguments of). Then, one may wonder if dative arguments have structural meanings, like external arguments, or if their meanings are idiosyncratic and unpredictable, like the meanings of objects. And, if none of the above is true, it can be asked if they represent a third option. Providing answers to these questions as they apply to Romanian is one of the goals of this dissertation. A correct theory of dative arguments has to be capable of explaining both what they have in common and in what semantic and syntactic properties they differ, accounting for the varied properties of dative arguments described above. Additionally, this theory has to be able to predict areas of possible cross-linguistic variation. This work will argue that dative arguments have structural meanings, which are predictable from the configuration in which the dative DP is licensed. Consequently, clitic doubled dative arguments behave like subjects: they are

not direct arguments of the verb, because they are syntactically and semantically licensed by a specialized head. Building on work in Bantu linguistics (see Baker 1988, 1996; Bresnan & Moshi 1993; Marantz 1984, 1993) and recent work on dative DPs (Pykkänen 1999-2002, McGinnis 2001, Cuervo 2003), I will call this head applicative. Semantically, the applicative head relates the individual expressed by the dative DP licensed in its specifier to the structure it takes as a complement. The variety of possible interpretations of the clitic doubled dative DP will be derived by both the variety of possible complements an applicative head can take and the range of heads of which the applicative phrase (ApplP) can be a complement. An articulated theory of possible argument structures is necessary as a foundation for this proposal. When combined with the properties and requirements of applicative heads, such a theory would be able to predict the syntactic and semantic properties of dative arguments. These predictions generalize to applied arguments in languages where they are not marked by dative case (e.g., English, Bantu languages) and to languages where they are marked with dative case (e.g., Spanish, Romanian) and genitive case (e.g., Greek). This theory provides a set of positions where an applicative head can merge and license an argument DP, as well as the interpretation the argument can get in each position. Distinct languages may select all, some or none of these positions from this universal set. Preferably, it should be possible to derive particular selections from independent morphosyntactic properties of each language; for example, from the morphological properties of the applicative head and mechanisms of case checking. Because the framework of the theory of argument structure employed in this dissertation includes elements of event structure and event semantics, a review of verb structure as event structure will be provided below.

## 2.4 Verbs and events

Intuitively speaking, verbs in sentences express events and arguments express participants in the events. Much work in this field has converged on the idea that systematic relations between meaning and syntactic behavior of verbs and arguments are the product of event structures. The first to notice that verbs divide between states and events, and that only a subset of the verbs in the latter category include in their meaning the idea of end or culmination point was Aristotle. He differentiates between an **actuality**, expressing the existence of a thing or a state; a **movement**, giving an incomplete process; and an **action** for a process followed by an end. A large amount of work by philosophers and linguists has attempted to classify verbs (Ryle 1949, Kenny 1963, Dowty 1979, Verkuyl 1972, *inter alia*). The most significant approach for the generative tradition is due to Vendler (1967), who singled out four classes of verbs, according to the kinds of events they describe:

- (i) **states**: non-actions that hold for some period of time but lack continuous tenses;
- (ii) **activities**: events that go on for a time but do not necessarily terminate at any given point;
- (iii) **accomplishments**: events that proceed towards a logically necessary terminus; and
- (iv) **achievements**: events that occur at a single moment and therefore lack continuous tenses (e.g. the progressive) (see Rosen, 1999:39).

In Vendler's opinion, only verbs belong to one class or another, not entire verbal predicates or clauses. He makes a distinction inside the class of telic (i.e., with an end

point) dynamic events between accomplishments and achievements. This distinction was missing in previous classifications (e.g, as for example in Kenny 1963). Furthermore, the question is how these classifications relate and help to investigate the question of how events are represented in the grammar. One can ask where the distinction between different kinds of eventualities is crucially encoded: in the lexicon or in the syntactic structure in which the verb denoting the event is inserted.

Another classification that has played a role in the investigation of the lexicon-syntax interface is the one between unergative and unaccusative verbs. It is now very well known that verbs divide into two fundamental classes depending on the number of arguments present in their theta-grid, namely transitive and intransitive, and since the work of Perlmutter (1978) into three classes: **transitive**, **unergative**, and **unaccusative**, depending on whether the single argument of the verb is an internal or an external argument. Again, the fundamental issue seems to be whether unaccusativity is semantically determined and only in consequence of that syntactically represented (van Valin 1990, Dowty 1991, Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 2001) or the other way around (Rosen 1984, Borer and Grodzinsky 1986, and Hoekstra and Mulder 1990, among others). The question again is how the distinction is set in the grammar, that is to say whether the classification of a verb as unergative or unaccusative is listed in the lexicon, possibly by means of thematic labels on the verb single argument<sup>15</sup>, or whether it is the syntactic realization of the argument in a specific syntactic position that determines its interpretation. Once more, this work will argue for the second position, showing that it is

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<sup>15</sup> The thematic hierarchy hypotheses are an extreme example of this kind of approach. See Jackendoff (1972), Grimshaw (1990), Pesetsky (1995).

the projection of an argument in a given specifier position that determines the interpretation.

The framework of the theory of argument structure employed for the analysis of dative arguments developed in this dissertation comprises elements of event structure<sup>16</sup> and event semantics proposed and developed in the spirit of Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002), Borer (1994), Harley (1995), Marantz (1997), Travis (2000), Pylkkänen (2002), Cuervo (2003), and Folli & Harley (2003). Within this framework, syntactic pieces (e.g., functional heads and DPs) correspond to elements of the event structure (e.g., event predicates, participants in the event), which are interpreted compositionally by semantics. For that reason, the syntactic positions in which arguments are realized determine their interpretation. That is, argument structure is built on the basis of the event types or predicates that verbs express. Arguments and adjuncts are structured as different kinds of participants or modifiers of events. For instance, in (16) the subject *the witch* is understood as the agent of a dancing event, and the phrase *all night* adds duration to the event. Sentence (17) expresses two events: a causing event related to the subject *the kid*, and a caused event described by the verb of which the object *the window* is an argument.

(16) *The witch danced all night*

(17) *The kid broke the window*

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<sup>16</sup> See Göbbel (2001:139) who also assumes a VP shell structure in the analysis of Romanian DOC. However, he adopts a preposition incorporation analysis of Romanian ditransitive sentences in the spirit of Baker (1988, 1996).

Verbs may easily participate in what is usually called ‘argument structure alternations’ involving the same number of arguments but different semantic roles (18b-c), a different number of arguments (18)-(19), or the same number and similar semantic roles of arguments but with the arguments appearing in different word order and/or requiring a certain preposition (18b-c)-(19).

(18) a. *John drove fast*

b. *John drove the truck to the store*

c. *John drove his friends to the store*

(19) a. *The wind closed the gate*

b. *The gate closed*

(20) a. *John bought some cake*

b. *Willow bought his friends some cake*

c. *John bought some cake for his friends*

(21) a. *They loaded the boxes on the truck*

b. *They loaded the truck with boxes*

The sentences above show the fact that not only extra or non-core arguments (e.g., the benefactive *his friends* in (20) and (21)) are optional. Objects and external arguments can also be omitted, as illustrated in (18) and (19) respectively. Considered from a broad

enough perspective, similar questions are raised by the licensing of ordinary/core arguments and that of extra/non-core arguments. Both issues of what elements of grammar are responsible for the syntactic and semantic licensing of arguments and what underlies the observed alternations in argument structure have to be solved. These issues would be easier to solve if the notion of event structure was taken into account as an organizing principle. If arguments are licensed as participants in events, then their licensing crucially depends on the type of event expressed by a verb. In this work, a constructionalist-type explanation of the alternations presented above is adopted. Both theoretical and empirical reasons argue for the pursuit of this kind of line of attack. First, the theoretical strength of a syntax-based approach would account for a number of syntactic phenomena that a lexicalist approach has difficulty explaining.<sup>17</sup> Second, from an empirical standpoint, this approach is supported by the robustness of the syntactic bootstrapping<sup>18</sup> account compared to the semantic bootstrapping account as regards with the problem of language acquisition (Gleitman 1991, Borer 2001, van Hout 1998) and from the hypothesis that event structure is accessed before argument structure in the process of sentence comprehension.

For these theories, the *construction* of functional event structure on the top of the predicate merging into a derivation is responsible for the assignment of event roles to the participants in the event; accordingly, because we can hypothesize construction of

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<sup>17</sup> For example see Rosen (1984) for a discussion of the phenomenon of unstable valency of unaccusative/unergative verbs or Hoekstra and Mulder (1990) on the alternating behaviour of motion verbs in Italian and Dutch).

<sup>18</sup> According to the theory of Syntactic Bootstrapping: (Landau & Gleitman, 1985; Fisher & Gleitman, 2002), the sentence structure surrounding a novel verb provides clues to its meaning. In this sense, syntax acts as a kind of linguistic zoom lens, helping the learner determine the verb's perspective on an event.

different event structures on top of the single verbal entry, we have the phenomenon of verb alternation.

However, if alternations are one-half of the problem that theories of the lexicon-syntax interface have to solve, the other is the absence of alternations that an unconstrained constructionalist position would predict to occur. Precisely, if it is true that a verb can have different event/argument structures simply because it is inserted in different syntactic structures, and if we want to maintain that no lexical specification is present, we should expect to find maximal flexibility, i.e. we should expect all verbs to appear in all structures. But this is not the case (see Section 2.5, 2.6).

This work deals with this issue by assuming that something is indeed specified in the lexicon and by trying to establish what the lexical information adds to the syntactic structure.

## **2.5 Verb structure as event structure**

Hale and Keyser (1993, 1997) note that in a view of the lexicon in which verbs have  $\theta$ -roles to assign listed in their lexical entry, there seems to be no explanation for the curious paucity of  $\theta$ -roles. Presumably,  $\theta$ -roles could be just as idiosyncratic as any information that must be listed in the lexicon as underivable from independent properties of the verb. In such a view, they argue, there is no obvious reason why there should not be twenty different  $\theta$ -roles, or two hundred, rather than the five or six that are usually assumed. Apparently  $\theta$ -roles are the result of arguments entering into structural relations with these primitives (specifier of, complement of), which combine to form the lexical

verb that appears to assign  $\theta$ -roles. For Hale and Keyser, argument structure is intended as the syntactic configuration projected by a lexical item: ‘there there are no thematic roles. Instead, there are just the relations determined by the categories and their projections, and these are limited by the small inventory of lexical categories and Unambiguous projection’ (Hale & Keyser, 1993:68). They propose an account of this fact that relies on decomposing verbs into component primitives, suggesting that the number of  $\theta$ -roles is limited because the number of primitives is limited.

This work adopts the view that these primitives are the heads of the various shells labeled ‘*v*,’ in line with Pylkkänen (2002) and Cuervo (2003) *inter alia*. I will take for granted that arguments are licensed on the basis of the event structures possible given these two basic syntactic relations and the three types of heads in (22). Whether an argument is projected as a complement or a specifier is determined by the properties of the head that licenses the argument.

(22) Three types of heads:

- a. Event introducers: little *v*
- b. Argument introducers: Voice and Appl(icative)
- c. Roots

I will assume, following Marantz 1997, that verbs are formed in the syntax by the combination of a lexical *root* and a verbalizing head ‘little *v*.’ Arguments are licensed as participants or modifiers of the event either by the event predicate or by using a specialized argument host (i.e., Voice or applicative). An event predicate is built from the

combination of a verbal functional head little  $\nu$  and a root. This is not the first approach to Romanian verb structure as an event structure. Ștefănescu (1997) assumes a VP shell structure for the Romanian verb *a plăcea* ‘like’ headed by a higher V containing the bundle of features [+ECM] assigning dative case and [+STATE], and a root. Since I think this proposal should be more finely tuned, in line with Harley (1995), and Cuervo (2003), I assume three subtypes or flavors of little  $\nu$ <sup>19</sup> that correspond to three different types of simple events (throughout the dissertation I will use the term *event* in a sense that also covers stative eventualities). The three types of little  $\nu$  are distinct:

- (i) by the character of the event they introduce and
- (ii) by the type of arguments they license, as summarized in the table below.

(23) Types of  $\nu$  by the character of the event

Three types of little $\nu$	Three types of simple events	Examples
a. $\nu$ ACT	ACTIVITIES	<i>dance, sweep, run</i>
b. $\nu$ CHANGE	CHANGES	<i>fall, go, die, grow</i>
c. $\nu$ BE	STATES	<i>like, admire, lack</i>

The distinct properties of little  $\nu$  rely on the character of the event they introduce and on the kinds of arguments they introduce, as summarized below.

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<sup>19</sup> Remember that in Cuervo’s proposal the labels were  $\nu$ DO,  $\nu$ GO and  $\nu$ BE. Because  $\nu$ DO corresponds to activities and  $\nu$ GO corresponds to verbs of change/happening. From now on I will label them  $\nu$ ACT and  $\nu$ CHANGE respectively.

(24) Properties of the three event introducers

	$\nu$ ACT	$\nu$ CHANGE	$\nu$ BE
character of event	dynamic, agentive	dynamic	Stative
can take subject DP?	via Voice	no	yes (+root)
can take object DP?	yes (via root)	yes	yes
can embed a $\nu$ P?	yes, all types	yes, $\nu$ PBE	no

Both  $\nu$ ACT and  $\nu$ CHANGE are dynamic events, as opposed to  $\nu$ BE, which is the head that creates stative verbs. Within dynamic events,  $\nu$ ACT creates action verbs, where the root expresses some manner of acting. Typically,  $\nu$ ACTP merges with Voice, which licenses the external argument, interpreted as the ‘doer’ of the action<sup>20</sup>. A suitable object DP can be licensed based on the lexical meaning of the root (e.g., *I swept the kitchen floor*). In the same group of dynamic events,  $\nu$ CHANGEP typically express manners of non-volitional change and select for an object DP interpreted as the individual that undergoes the change (e.g., *fall* and *die*). This little  $\nu$  does not license an external argument either directly or indirectly via Voice. Verbs built from the combination of a root and  $\nu$ CHANGE are typically unaccusative. The event introducer  $\nu$ CHANGE can also combine with predicates that express the end state that results from the change or the path along which the theme moves (see Jackendoff 1983, 1990; Cuervo 2003). Finally, the stative  $\nu$ BE

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<sup>20</sup> Given that  $\nu$ ACT is defined as ‘agentive’ in opposition to  $\nu$ CHANGE, an alternative to consider would be that the external argument is licensed directly as a specifier of  $\nu$ ACT rather than being licensed by Voice. It will be assumed in this work that there are both  $\nu$ ACT and Voice, and that the external argument is truly projected outside the verbal domain. The distinction between these two heads is of relevance for the discussion of ethical datives in Chapter 6.

combines with roots that express a state and licenses a subject DP in its specifier. Unaccusative existential verbs such as Romanian *a lipsi* ‘miss/lack’, *a prisosi* ‘be extra,’ *a rămâne* ‘be left’ arise from the combination of the root with vBE and the selection of a complement DP and (possibly) a location.

In addition to simple event structures, a sentence can express a complex event, namely, an event that consists of two sub-events. Complex or bi-eventive structures are obtained by the combination of two event predicates<sup>21</sup>.

(25) Possible combinations	Types of complex events	Examples
a. vACT + vACT	CAUSATIVES	<i>make wash, make laugh</i>
b. vACT + vCHANGE	CAUSATIVES	<i>make grow, make fall</i>
c. vACT + vBE	CAUSATIVES	<i>break, burn, close</i>
d. vCHANGE + vBE	INCHOATIVES	INTRANSITIVE <i>break, burn, close</i> <sup>22</sup>

Similar to Spanish and English (see Cuervo 2003:19), in Romanian, causatives and inchoatives embed a static event under a dynamic/change event and are expressed by two separate verbs, (25a-b). While complex inchoative predicates will not be discussed in this work, the representation of causatives (25c) is presented in Section 6.2. There are two important properties of causatives for the analysis of dative arguments as being introduced by an applicative head. First, no special predicate CAUSE is needed; the

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<sup>21</sup> Arguably, vBE cannot embed anything dynamic, so \*vBE + vACT and \*vBE + vCHANGE (events have to become states before they can combine with vBE). Predicates of change can embed a final state but not a dynamic event, therefore \*vCHANGE+ vCHANGE and \*vCHANGE + vACT. Complex events can also be built by an event predicate that embeds a small clause (SC).

<sup>22</sup> The analysis of applicative constructions in inchoative contexts is not the aim of this work.

property of being causative is one of the configuration as a whole. Second, the meaning of causatives is the result of the syntactic configuration where a dynamic event projected as a  $\nu$ ACT takes a stative  $\nu$ BEP as its complement. Accordingly, since an individual (or name of event) is interpreted as causer when it is licensed as the external argument, there is no special theta-role causer of a  $\nu$ ACTP in which there is no manner of acting specified (i.e., no lexical content) and  $\nu$ ACT takes a  $\nu$ P as its complement. The structure of causatives and its consequences for the licensing of dative arguments are the focus of Section 6.3. In line with Rivero (2003a) and Rivero and Geber 2004, I will assume that dative arguments in inchoatives are quirky subjects (see Section 6.3.1).

### **2.5.1 Functional heads in verb structure**

In addition to event introducers, there are functional heads responsible for the syntactic and semantic licensing of arguments that do not add an event predicate. Voice and Applicative correspond to this type. Functional heads in verb structure license an argument DP as their specifier and relate it to the configuration in which they appear. First, Voice<sup>23</sup> relates the external argument (projected as its specifier) to the event described by the verbal phrase that Voice takes as its complement. Voice combines with its complement  $\nu$ P via a semantic rule called Event Identification and adds the external argument as a participant of the event (Kratzer 1996). Another type of syntactic head is the applicative head, whose function is to license an argument DP.

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<sup>23</sup> See Göbbel (2001) who also assumes a VoiceP for Romanian. But see also Dobrovie Sorin (1994), Cornilescu (1997), Motapanyane (1994), and Alboiu (2000) who assume the subject to be generated VP internally in Romanian.

Building on Marantz's (1993), Pylkkänen (2002) argues that applicative constructions cross-linguistically divide into two different types: high applicatives (26c), where the applicative head denotes a thematic relation between an individual and an event; and low applicatives (26a,b), where the applicative head denotes a transfer of possession relation between the direct and the indirect object. These two different types of applicative heads can be identified semantically and syntactically by the type of complement they take (see, among others, Baker 1988, 1996; Bresnan & Moshi 1993; Marantz 1984, 1993; Pesetsky 1995).

(26) Pylkkänen's (2002) Low and High applicatives

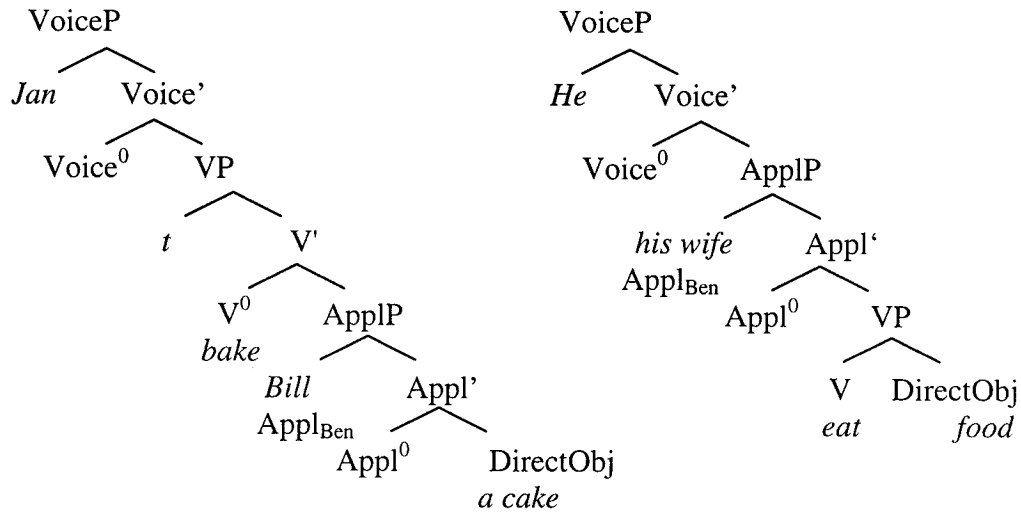
<i>Low applicative</i>	<i>High applicative</i>
(a) <i>Jane baked Bill a cake</i>	(c) <i>N -ä -i -lyì -í -à - m-kà k-élyá</i>
(b) <i>Man hat ihm seine Frau getötet</i>	FOC-1S-PRES-eat-APPL-FV1-wife 7-food
one has him.CL.DAT his wife killed	'He is eating food for his wife'
'They killed his wife on him'	
GERMAN	CHAGA

Pylkkänen analyzes the double object construction (DOC) as a low applicative construction. She argues that the low applicative head denotes a dynamic relation of transfer of possession where the higher DP can be either the recipient or the source of the lower theme DP. These two meanings correspond to two subtypes of low applicative heads, LowAppl-TO (26a) and LowAppl-FROM (26b) respectively.

(27) Structure of Pykkänen's (2002) Low and High applicatives

*Low applicative*

*High applicative*



According to Pykkänen, these kinds of applicative heads belong to a universal inventory of functional heads from which individual languages can select.

In the spirit of Pykkänen (2002), I will assume in this work that Romanian clitic doubled dative arguments are always licensed by an applicative head, and not by the verb. Building on Pykkänen's distinction between low and high applicatives, and on Cuervo's (2003) event structure analysis of Spanish applicatives, I will demonstrate that applicative heads are responsive not only to the category of their complements (i.e., whether they take a DP or a  $\nu$ P) but importantly also to (i) the position where the object DP is licensed (i.e., as a complement of the root or as a specifier) and (ii) the type of event expressed by the  $\nu$ P (e.g., dynamic or stative, action, or causative). Following Cuervo (2003), I will assume a third subtype of low applicative, which expresses a stative relation of possession between two individuals, which is introduced in Section 5.4.3.

Another characteristic of verbal functional heads<sup>24</sup> is that they can be defective, i.e., the head can be present in the structure and license its semantics but not be able to license a DP in its specifier. I will assume in Chapter 6 that Romanian ethical datives are licensed by high applicatives, adopting the high applicative embedding a TP structure of Rivero (2003a). When the dative argument is a clitic, I will adopt Cuervo's (2003:22) proposal for the existence of a defective applicative head in Spanish for Romanian: the applicative head is present and spelled out by a clitic but cannot license a full dative DP in its specifier.

### **2.5.2 Roots**

In the spirit of Hale and Keyser (1993) and Marantz (1997), I take for granted that a verb is formed by the combination of a root and a verbal host (the verbalizing head  $\nu$ ). In informal semantic terms, roots can express a property or state (e.g., *red-*, *wide-*, *open-*), a manner of acting or moving (e.g., *dance-*, *fall-*, *laugh-*), or a thing or substance (*air-*, *cat-*, *shelf-*). Some roots combine without difficulty with a verbalizing head to express an event (e.g., *swim-*); others do not frequently make verbs but instead become nouns (e.g., *cat-*). The combination of a root with the three different types of  $\nu$  introduced in Section 2.4.1 is made on the basis of semantic compatibility between the lexical meaning of the root and the type of event little  $\nu$  expresses. Therefore, a root like *dance-* for example is compatible only with a dynamic event  $\nu$ ACT. On the contrary, a root like *open-* is compatible with all three types of events and can therefore participate in activities

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<sup>24</sup> Voice and Applicative heads are considered to be argument introducers, as opposed to  $\nu$ ACT,  $\nu$ CHANGE and  $\nu$ BE (i.e., corresponding to  $\nu$ Do,  $\nu$ GO and  $\nu$ BE in Cuervo 2003: 23), which are event introducers.

combining with *v*ACT (*I was opening beers all night*), in causative and inchoative structures combining with *v*BE (*That experience opened my mind* and *The door opened*, respectively), and in events of change by combining with *v*CHANGE (*That window doesn't open*). Even though the meaning of the root *open-* is constant, the verb *open* has three different meanings, consistent with the type of event it describes. Arguments are licensed syntactically and semantically in accordance with the type of verb formed (i.e., the type of event).

Following Levin (1999), I assume that verbs (*v*+Root) are also argument introducers. Roots can license an argument semantically, namely a root can take a complement matching its lexical meaning. This complement is not required or licensed by the event structure expressed by the verb. This is the case of *the floor* in (28) and, in general, of all the objects of verbs that express activities, i.e., verbs that appear in a simple non-causative transitive structure (what Levin calls 'non-core transitive verbs,' NCTVs).

(28) *Leslie swept the floor*

(Levin 1999: ex.10)

Objects that do not match the meaning of the root can still appear as direct objects of an action verb (29b) providing they are licensed by a predicate other than the root or the verb. Sentences (29c-d) demonstrate that in (29b) the predicate *silly*, rather than the root, licenses the reflexive *himself* although it appears in the surface to be the direct object of *laugh*. In (29b), *himself* is licensed as the subject of the resultative small clause *silly* that combines with the verb as its complement.

(29) a. *Sean laughed*

b. *Sean laughed himself silly*

c. \**Sean laughed himself*

d. \**Sean laughed silly*

(Cuervo 2003: ex 21)

Roots license arguments as their complements but never as subjects. Assuming that roots do not take subjects, I underline that subjects can be projected only by words (or predicates formed by more than one word) of a certain type, e.g., adjectives, stative predicative verbs.

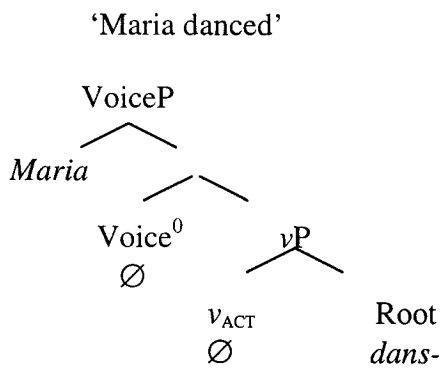
## 2.6 Types of events

In the spirit of Cuervo (2003), I present the structural representation of the five types of events introduced in Section 2.5 on the basis of which I will predict and test the way licensing of dative arguments is done. The structures are illustrated by Romanian sentences. Support for these structures will be presented throughout the dissertation. There are two important types of events: (i) simple mono-eventive structures (activities, changes, and states), and (ii) complex, bi-eventive structures types (causatives and inchoatives).

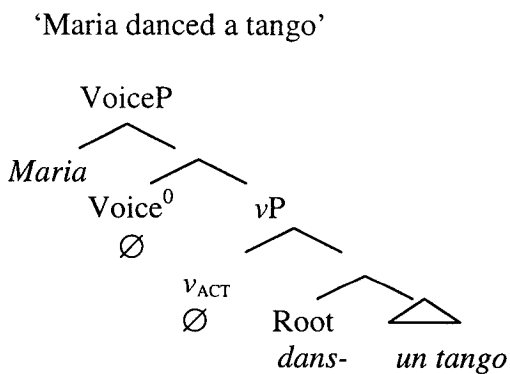
### 2.6.1 Activities: $v$ ACT

Action verbs (i. e., *a dansa* ‘dance’) are formed by the combination of a root and  $v$ ACT. The root is usually a manner root that describes the type of ‘doing’ or action. The functional head Voice takes the  $v$ P as its complement and projects a specifier, interpreted as the agent (i.e., ‘doer’ of the action, see Section 2.5.1). The root may license an object DP which should be consistent with the meaning of the root in the context of  $v$ ACT.

(30) a. *Maria dansa*



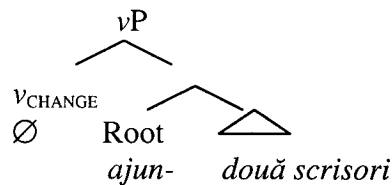
b. *Maria dansa un tango*



### 2.6.2 Predicates of change: vCHANGE

Predicates of change (i.e., *a ajunge*, *a sosi* ‘arrive’) are simple dynamic unaccusative verbs formed by the combination of a root and *v*. This type of predicate licenses as a minimum<sup>25</sup> an object DP, which is interpreted as the theme, i.e., the individual that moves or undergoes the change. Voice and the projection of an external argument are semantically incompatible with simple predicates of change.

- (31) *Au ajuns două scrisori*  
have arrived.PL two letters.NOM.PL  
‘Two letters arrived’



### 2.6.3 Statives: vBE

#### 2.6.3.1 Existentials

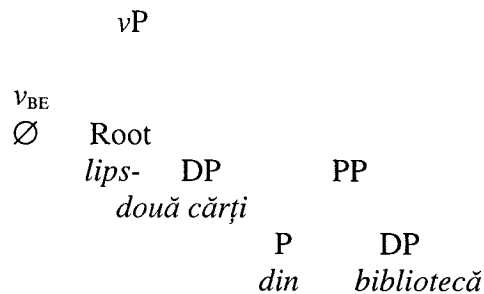
An existential verb (i.e., *a lipsi* ‘lack,’ *a prisosi* ‘be extra’) is formed by the combination of a root with vBE. These verbs typically take an object DP, i.e., the theme and a locative PP. If their stative character is not taken into account, the structure of existentials is very similar to the structure of verbs of change (31). Existentials are simple unaccusative verbs which are unable to combine with an external argument licensed by Voice.

<sup>25</sup> Semantically, predicates of change and movement license a theme and a state or path described by the movement or change (see Jackendoff 1983, 1990).

(32) *Lipsesc două cărți din bibliotecă*

lack.PL two books.NOM.PL from library

‘Two books are missing from the library’



### 2.6.3.2 Predicationals

A predicative root (a root that expresses a property, i.e., *a folosi* “be-useful”) can merge with  $v_{BE}$  to form a stative verb. The verb formed in this way projects a specifier where the DP is merged. These verbs are unaccusatives and they are not compatible with Voice. A stative predicate can also be formed by combining a copular verb with an adjective.<sup>26</sup>

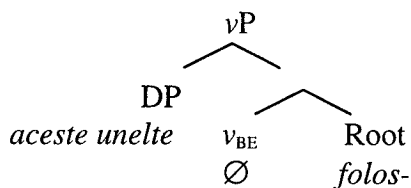
(33) *Aceste unelte nu folosesc*

those tools.NOM.PL not be-useful.PL

‘Those tools are not useful at all’

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<sup>26</sup> Transitive stative verbs such as *admire*, *love*, and *envy* are taken into account in this class. Later on, I will assume that their structure is similar to that of activities (see section 2.5.1) but where the  $vP$  is stative (i.e., headed by  $v_{BE}$  rather than  $v_{ACT}$ ).



#### 2.6.3.4 Causatives: *vACT + vBE*

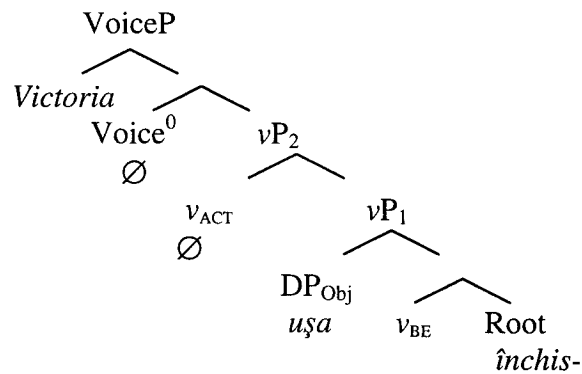
Causatives are neither a particular kind of structure nor a particular kind of verb. Following Levin (1999) and Cuervo (2003), I assume that the causative structure is built of two distinct verbal heads *v*: one corresponding to the causing event and another corresponding to the caused event. The object DP is licensed as the specifier of the lower verb as it is the subject of the end result: see Section 6.3 for discussion.

The surface subject is the external argument licensed by Voice. In the absence of a manner root combined with *vACT* (action), the specifier of Voice is interpreted as causer ('doer' of an event). I do not assume the presence of a special CAUSE head in causative verb structure. The causative reading arises from the interpretation of the complex structure, that is, there is a causative reading when there is an event or result embedded under *vACT*.

(34) *Victoria închise ușa*

Victoria.NOM closed door-the.ACC

'Victoria closed the door'



One might ask what evidence exists that there are two little *v*'s, precisely why the lower subevent is headed by a verb, rather than having just the root. Remember that I have stated that roots never take subjects, only words can (e.g., adjectives, some verbs, and some particles, see Section 2.5.2). Therefore, if there were not a *v* head in (34), a special rule would be required for the explanation of this particular case of a root taking a subject. Thus, I will assume that causative structures are formed by the *v*BE and the root. The same account is available for the inchoative structure presented below. Roots that enter the structure of causatives can appear as inchoatives or as activities with an agent (human, animate, or anthropomorphized), as in the case of *open-* discussed in Section 2.5.2.

### 2.6.3.5 Inchoatives: *vCHANGE* + *vBE*

Inchoatives<sup>27</sup> consist of a complex event as they are formed by a subevent of change (*vCHANGE*<sup>28</sup>) and an end result (*vBE*). The root combines with the lower little *v* and

<sup>27</sup> I will not discuss the inchoative structure further, as I do not examine applicative constructions in inchoative contexts.

<sup>28</sup> In Cuervo's proposal, it corresponds to *vGO*.

licenses an argument DP in its specifier, just as in causatives. The stative  $\nu$ BEP then combines with the dynamic  $\nu$ CHANGE as its complement, as in Spanish (see Cuervo 2003). The reflexive clitic *se* agrees with the DP argument in person and number<sup>29</sup>.

(35) a. *Se închise ușa*

CL.REFL closed door-the.NOM

'The door closed'

Inchoatives share the structure of the lower event with causatives (the argument DP is licensed as the specifier of the lower stative verb), and both are bi-eventive. What is different between them is the type of dynamic event that embeds the end result.

In contrast to Cuervo (2003) who assumes that in inchoative contexts dative arguments are applicative arguments, I assume that clitic doubled dative arguments function as quirky subjects in Romanian, adopting Rivero (2003a) and Rivero and Geber 2004. A detailed analysis of dative arguments in inchoative sentences will be postponed to future research.

## 2.7 Dative arguments – an overview

The main assertion of this dissertation is that dative arguments have structural meanings. Dative DPs are not licensed as arguments of the verb, as they are syntactically and semantically licensed by a specialized head: the argument introducer (i.e., functional

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<sup>29</sup> See Folli & Harley (2003) for a related proposal for some resultative constructions in Italian.

head) applicative. The wide range of meanings dative arguments may have derives from the position of the dative DP in the structure in which it is licensed. I will assume that applicative heads are sensitive to the following: (i) the category of their complement (i.e., whether they take a DP or a  $\nu$ P, that is a low versus a high applicative head); (ii) the position where the object DP is licensed (i.e., as a complement of the root or as a specifier); and (iii) the type of event expressed by the  $\nu$ P (e.g., dynamic or stative, action or causative).

I assume the existence of two main types of possible dative arguments in Romanian: high and low applicative arguments. My claim is distinct from Cuervo (2003), who argues for the existence in Spanish of a third type of applicative construction, namely the affected applicative<sup>30</sup>.

(36) Types of possible dative arguments licensed by Appl<sup>0</sup>

	<b>Low Appl</b>	<b>High Appl</b>
Complement of Appl is	DP	VP
ApplP is complement of	Root	nothing; Voice

More distinctions in the interpretation of applied arguments appear when the two types of applicatives are combined with different types of event introducers (i.e., little  $\nu$ ). Especially, the distinct meanings of dative arguments licensed by a high applicative

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<sup>30</sup> Cuervo defines the affected applicative as taking  $\nu$ BEP as its complement and being embedded by a dynamic event introducer, i.e.,  $\nu$ ACT for causative predicates or of  $\nu$ CHANGE for inchoative predicates.

depend on the kind of  $\nu$ P the applicative head takes as its complement<sup>31</sup> (i.e., the  $\nu$ P is headed by  $\nu$ ACT,  $\nu$ CHANGE or  $\nu$ BE). In other words, languages with high applicatives may differ with respect to which type of  $\nu$ P the applicative can take as its complement. Low applicatives express a possession relation between two individuals. Pylkkänen (2002) argues that this relation is a dynamic and directional relation of transfer of possession by which the applied argument (here the dative DP) is interpreted as the recipient or the source of the theme DP. In the spirit of Cuervo (2003), I argue that this relation is not necessarily dynamic and that a low applicative can also express a stative relation between two individuals by which the dative DP is interpreted as the possessor of the theme. As I will discuss in Chapter 3, whether or not a low applied argument is interpreted as the recipient, the source or the possessor of the theme depends to some extent on the meaning of the verb and to some extent on pragmatic factors.

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<sup>31</sup> In Chapter 6 I will examine only high applicatives in activity and causative sentences and ethical datives.

## CHAPTER 3. DOC and Applicative constructions

Since my proposal for a theory of Romanian clitic doubled dative arguments as being licensed by applicative heads is partially based on similarities between English Double Object Construction (i.e., DOC) and Romanian data, in this chapter, theoretical approaches to the English DOC and a cross-linguistic overview will be presented. Next, approaches to the existence of applicative constructions, first in Bantu linguistics and then cross-linguistically, will be examined.

### 3.1 The Double Object Construction

#### 3.1.1 Theoretical approaches

In this section I will present three main proposals to the lexical underpinning of the dative alternation. The dative alternation involves a variation between the prepositional ditransitive construction (PDC) and the double object construction (DOC), where the dative object is shifted in front of the direct object (i.e., dative shift). The linear order of the arguments is (V IO DO) for the latter (see 3a) and (V DO IO) for the former (i.e., 3b).

(3) a. PDC:

*John gave the cake to Beth*

b. DOC:

*John gave Beth the cake*

There are three main approaches<sup>32</sup> to the lexical view of the dative alternation. First, (A) the monosemy approach states that Dative verbs have the same meaning for both variants (i.e., DOC and PDC). Conversely, (B) the polysemy approach assumes that the verb in PDC and DOC has systematically different meanings. A third view would be (C) the information structure approach, which states that the two constructions differ in their information structure.

(A) The monosemy approach

The proponents of the monosemy approach assume that (i) DOC and PDC are related by syntactic transformations (see Aoun and Li's 1989 and Larson 1988) or (ii) that D(irect)O(bject) and P(repositional)O(bject) are possible argument expressions of the same verb meaning (see Butt, Dalrymple & Frank 1997). If (i) is considered, two divergent analyses naturally follow.

(i.a) The opinion that the *to* variant (i.e., DOC) is basic is sustained by Baker (1988), Bresnan (1982), den Dikken (1995), Dowty (1977, 1991), Emonds (1976), Larson (1988). For example, for Larson, *Beth* is promoted to embedded subject and *the cake* is demoted to adjunct.

(4)  $[_V \text{give}_1 [_{VP} \text{the cake} [_V \text{e } t_1 [_{PP} \text{to Beth}]]]] \Rightarrow [_V \text{give}_1 [_{VP} \text{Beth}_2 [_V [_V t_1 t_2] \text{the cake}]]]$

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<sup>32</sup> See Krifka (2001), Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2001), a.o.

(i.b) On the other hand, the opinion that the double object construction is basic and the prepositional object construction is derived like a passive is sustained by Aoun and Li (1989), Dryer (1986), and Kiparsky (1987). Aoun and Li's (1989) analysis is presented below.

(5)  $[_{VP} \textit{give} [_{SC} \textit{Beth} [_{VP} \textit{e the cake}]]] \Rightarrow [_{VP} \textit{give} [_{SC} \textit{the cake}_I [_{VP} [_{VP} \textit{e t}_I] \textit{to Beth}]]]$

(ii) Within the monosemy view, the non-derivational approach (see Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2001) assumes that DO and the prepositional IO are possible argument expressions of the same verb meaning (see also Butt, Dalrymple & Frank 1997). The  $\theta$ -roles of the verb *give* are Agent, Theme, Goal.

(6) *John gave a letter to Mary*

AGENT            THEME    GOAL

The possible realization of the THEME  $\theta$ -role could be both OBJ[ECT], (i.e., the immediately following argument of the verb in linear order) and OBJ<sub>THEME</sub>. On the other hand, the GOAL  $\theta$ -role could be realized as OBJ, or OBL[IQUE]<sub>GOAL</sub>.

(7)  $\theta$ -roles of verb: *give* (AGENT, THEME, and GOAL)

Possible realization of  $\theta$ -roles: THEME: (SUBJ), OBJ, OBJ<sub>THEME</sub>;

GOAL: (SUBJ), OBJ, OBL<sub>GOAL</sub>

Ranking of grammatical functions: (SUBJ) > OBJ > {OBJ <sub>$\theta$</sub> , OBL <sub>$\theta$</sub> }

The grammatical functions in DOC and PDC structures are ranked equal, as OBJ<sub>θ</sub> and OBL<sub>θ</sub> are ranked equal.

(8) *send* [Mary]<sub>OBJ</sub> [*a letter*]<sub>OBJ THEME</sub> = *send* [*a letter*]<sub>OBJ</sub> [*to Mary*]<sub>OBL GOAL</sub>

In sum, all proponents of the monosemy approach assume that DOC and PDC variants do not involve any difference in truth conditional meaning<sup>33</sup>. The two variants are derivationally related syntactic structures. This analysis is syntactically rather than semantically motivated.

There are numerous problems to the monosemy approach. First, there are numerous lexical restrictions (cf. Green 1974, Oehrle 1976, Gropen, Pinker 1991, Levin 1993, Pesetsky 1995). Some verbs admit the PDC (9a) but not the DOC, and other verbs admit DOC but not PDC (see 9b).

(9) a. PDC, but not DOC:

*Ann pulled the cart to Beth* / \**Ann pulled Beth the cart*

b. DOC, but not PDC:

*Ann denied Beth the ice cream* / \**Ann denied the ice cream to Beth*

Second, there are meaning differences between both constructions:

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<sup>33</sup> The truth-conditionality criterion: Let sentence S1 entail sentence S2. Then whenever the theory takes S1 to denote *true*, it also takes S2 to denote *true* and vice versa.

(10) *Ann sent a package to London / \*Ann sent London a package*

The dative alternation was also discussed extensively as a model problem of language acquisition, the problem being how children learn the various restrictions to this construction (Braine 1971, Gropen et al. 1989, Snyder & Stromswold 1997).

As support for the monosemy approach, Levin and Rappaport (2001) argue that apparently lexical semantic effects arise from Gricean implicatures<sup>34</sup>, heavy constituents, and information structure considerations. Levin and Rappaport observe that the dative alternation is not about alternate choices for the direct object but alternate expressions for the recipients (i.e., animate goals).

**(B):** The polysemy approach

This approach argues that the verb in DOC and PDC has systematically different meanings (see the above and Green 1974, Jackendoff 1990, Speas 1990, Goldberg 1995, Hale and Keyser 1996, Harley 1997, Arad 1998, Krifka 2001). This proposal is motivated by lexical semantic considerations.

Alternation verbs have two core meanings compatible with two event structures. Distinct arguments satisfy the semantic conditions for mapping to direct object in each

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<sup>34</sup> In a series of influential and controversial papers Grice (1957, 1968, 1969) has argued that the meaning of a word (or non-natural sign) in general is a derivative function of what speakers mean by that word in individual instances of uttering it. That is, the universal 'type' meaning, or set of such meanings, for a given word is an abstraction from the 'token' meanings that speakers mean for the word in specific instances of use.

variant. More generally, distinct arguments are analyzed as affected arguments or causees.

- (11) a. 'x cause y to have z'; gives rise to the DOC variant  
b. 'x cause z to be at y'; gives rise to the PDC (i.e., *to*) variant

There are slight differences in the above-mentioned analyses. So, Pinker (1989) assumes that *give* means 'have' in DOC and 'go...to' in PDC:

- (12) DOC:[<sub>EVENT</sub> *give* [*Ann Beth* [<sub>STATE HAVE</sub> *Beth the cake*]]]  
PDC:[<sub>EVENT</sub> *give* [*Ann the cake* [<sub>EVENT GO</sub> *the cake* [<sub>PATH TO</sub> [<sub>PLACE</sub> *Beth*]]]]]

Speas (1990) assumes a simple causative *give* for PDC and a double causative *give* for DOC.

- (13) PDC: *Ann* CAUSE [the cake TO COME TO BE AT (POSSESSION) *Beth*]  
DOC: *Ann* CAUSE [*Beth* TO COME TO BE IN STATE (OF POSSESSION)] BY MEANS OF [*Ann* CAUSE  
[ *the cake* TO COME TO BE AT (POSS) *Beth*]]

A hypothetical null preposition G incorporated into the verb for DOC alternating with *to* in PDC is assumed by Pesetsky (1995).

- (14) DOC: [*give* [NP *Beth*] GOAL [PP G [*the cake*]THEME]

PDC: [*give* [<sub>NP</sub> *the cake*]<sub>THEME</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> *to [Beth]*]<sub>GOAL</sub>]

Goldberg (1995) assumes a constructional version of the polysemy approach. The author states that dative verbs are monosemous but their core meaning is compatible with two structures.

In sum, because the truth conditions of many verbs are similar in both DOC and PDC, the apparent alternation is fully explained. But in certain contexts meaning differences appear, and certain verbs may be compatible with only one of the constructions, due to their inherent meanings.

(C) The information structure approach

This is the view that argues that two constructions differ in their information structure. The DOC/PDC-alternation allows for shift of focused or heavy constituents to the right, satisfying a universal, functionally motivated tendency (cf. Erteschik-Shir 1979, Arnold, Wasow, Losongco, & Ginstrom 2000). To question (15a), the preferred answer would be (15b), which shifts the focused constituent to the right. The heavy constituent in (16b) is also shifted to the right.

(15) a. *Who did he give the book?*

b. *He gave the book to Beth*

c. *He gave Beth the book* (dispreferred)

(16) a. *Chris gave a bowl of Mom's traditional cranberry sauce to Terry* (dispreferred)

b. *Chris gave Terry a bowl of Mom's traditional cranberry sauce*

This view is easily compatible with the monosemy approach (**A**), which specifies possible ways of how word-order differences come about and also with the polysemy approach (**B**), which states that many verbs allow for both constructions with little if any truth-conditional difference. This possibility can be taken advantage of by universal principles of information structure.

More recently, Pykkänen (2002) proposes the existence of applicative heads introducing applicative (i.e., ‘affected’ arguments) not only in Bantu languages, but also in Finnish and Icelandic. Her proposal is built on the assumptions that: (i) in Bantu<sup>35</sup> languages there is an overt morpheme which signals the introduction of an affected argument of the verb, and (ii) there is a semantic contrast in English double object construction (which involves a directional possessive relation between the two objects) and prepositional object construction. Pykkänen’s (2002) proposal was also assumed for Albanian (see McGinnis 2001) and for Spanish (see Cuervo 2003), a.o.

### **3.1.2 A cross-linguistic overview of the dative alternation**

There is a relatively small number of languages that allow the systematic variation known as dative alternation or dative shift (see 17a,b,c). Remember that in English a verb like *give* may project its arguments either in a [V DO IO] or in a [V IO DO] order. Both direct object and indirect object have accusative case.

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<sup>35</sup> I will present a list of languages with an overt morpheme introducing those affected arguments in Section 3.2.2.

- (17) a. *Bob gives his young girlfriends a lot of expensive presents*  
 b. *George sends Al a congratulation telegram*  
 c. *Mary gave me her suitcase*

As Germanic languages, in German and Dutch when the non-theme object of ditransitive verb is [+animate] or [+human], it is preferably realized as a dative object (18a,b), (19a,b,c) preceding the direct object.

- (18) a. *...dat Jan Marie het boek gegeven heeft* DUTCH  
 that John Mary.DAT the book given has  
 'that John gave Mary the book' (Zwart 1996: 123)
- b. *...dat Jan 'r het boek gegeven heeft*  
 that John her they book given has  
 'that John gave her.DAT the book' (Zwart 1996:124)
- (19) a. *...weil sie einem Mann ein Buch schickte/stahl* GERMAN  
 since she a mandat a bookacc sent/stole  
 'since she sent a man a book/stole a book from a man'
- b. *...weil sie dem Mann den Rücken massierte*  
 since she the man.DAT the back.ACC massaged  
 'since she massaged the man's back'
- c. *....weil dem Mann der Hund weggelaufen/gestorben ist*  
 since the man DAT the dog.NOM away.run/died is  
 'since the man's dog ran away/died' (McIntyre 2003:1)

On the other hand, when the object is not animate or human, it is likely to follow the DO (see 20a,b,c), or to be expressed in a directional PP (see 20d).

(20) a. *..weil der Arzt einen Privatpatienten einer Operation unterzog* GERMAN

since the doctor.NOM a private.patient.ACC an operation.DAT subjected

'since the doctor subjected a privately insured patient to an operation'

b. *..weil sie ein Kind einer Gefahr aussetzte*

since she.NOM a child.ACC a danger.DAT exposed

'since she exposed a child to a danger'

c. *..weil sie Musiker Priestern gleichsetzt*

since she.NOM musicians.ACC priests.DAT likens

'since she likens musicians to priests' (McIntyre 2003:1)

d. *Ik heb dat boek aan een van mijn collega's gegeven* DUTCH

I have the book.ACC to one of my colleagues.DAT given

'I gave that book to one of my colleagues' (Colleman 2002:12)

A similar alternation between the prepositional object construction (21a) and the double object construction with the indirect object in genitive case (21b) may be observed in Greek.

(21) a. *O Jannis estile to gramma s-tin Artemi / stin Gallia* GREEK

the Jannis.NOM sent the letter.ACC to-the Artemis.ACC / to France

‘John sent the letter to Artemis /to France’

b. *O Jannis estile tis Artemis /\*tis Gallias to gramma*

the Jannis.NOM sent the Artemis.GEN /the France the letter.ACC

‘John sent the letter to Artemis /to France’ (Anagnostopoulou, 1999:4)

The IO DO order where IO c-commands DO may also be observed in Japanese (21b) and in Finnish (22b) which no obvious morphological marking change observed for the prepositional (DO IO) order (21a, 22a).

(21) a. *Bugs-ga Daffy-ni pizza-o age-ta* JAPANESE

Bugs.NOM Daffy.DAT pizza.ACC give.PAST

‘Bugs gave Daffy a pizza’

b. *Bugs-ga pizza-o Daffy-ni age-ta*

Bugs.NOM pizza.ACC Daffy.DAT give.PAST

‘Bugs gave a pizza to Daffy’ (Harley 2000:22)

(22) a. *Min- annoin miehelle kirjan* FINNISH

I.NOM gave man.ALLATIVE book.ACC

‘I gave a/the man a/the book’

b. *Min- annoin kirjan miehelle*

I.NOM gave book.ACC man.ALLATIVE

‘I gave a/the book to a/the man’

(Kaiser 2000:3)

Double object construction structures may also exist in Icelandic:

(23) *Samningurinn opnar fyrirtækinu nýja möguleika* ICELANDIC

the contract.NOM opens the company.DAT new possibilities.ACC

‘The contract opens new possibilities for the company’

(Jónsson 2000:9)

(24) *Ólafur bakaði henni köku*

Ólafur.NOM baked her.DAT cake.ACC

‘Ólafur cooked her a cake’

(McGinnis 2001:3)

As for Romance, Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2003) assume that ditransitive Spanish sentences with clitic doubling correspond to DOC<sup>36</sup>, while sentences without a clitic correspond to a structure formed with a DP-Theme that asymmetrically c-commands a prepositional goal or locative (i.e., prepositional object construction, see Section 4.5)

(25) *Pablo (le) mandó una carta a Andreína* SPANISH

Pablo her.Cl.DAT sent a letter.ACC (to) Andreína.DAT

‘Pablo sent a letter to Andreína’

(Cuervo 2003:19)

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<sup>36</sup> Demonte (1995) assumes a parallel between clitic doubled dative arguments in Spanish and DOC.

In sum, there are double object constructions in Dutch, German, Finnish, Icelandic, Japanese, and Greek. Spanish ditransitives with clitic doubling are analyzed as Romance DOC's.

### ***3.1.3 An applicative analysis of DOC***

In the spirit of Hale & Keyser (1993), Marantz (1993), McGinnis (1998), Anagnostopoulou (1999), and Pytkänen (2002) *inter alia*, in double object constructions, the indirect object is introduced by an applicative head, while the external argument is introduced by a higher functional head. The applicative head assigns morphological dative or genitive case to the argument it introduces; therefore the indirect object surfaces with dative case morphology. It is for this reason that the second part of this chapter will be dedicated to applicative constructions. This part provides proposals made with regards to the syntactic structure of DOC as an applicative construction and presents theoretical approaches to the syntax of applicative constructions.

## **3.2 Applicative Constructions**

### ***3.2.1 Introducing applicatives***

The applicative is usually understood as a construction in which a verb bears a specific morpheme which licenses an oblique, or non-core, argument that would not otherwise be considered a part of the verb's argument structure. The term 'applicative' originated as early as the 17th century when missionary grammars of Uto-Aztecan languages

designated as ‘verbos applicativos’ a verbal form which indicated that the verb was intended towards another person (Carochi 1645/1983: 63). Later, the terms ‘applicative’ or ‘applied’ (Marantz 1993:119) were used in Bantuist studies<sup>37</sup> to refer to a special verbal inflection adding an extra, ‘affected’ object to the argument structure of the verb (see 26, 27)<sup>38</sup>.

(26) *N -ä -i -lyì -à k-élyá* CHAGA

FOC-1SUBJ-PRES-eat-FV 7-food

‘He/She is eating food’

(27) *N -ä -i -lyì -í -à m-kà k-élyá*

FOC-1SUBJ-PRES-eat-APPL-FV **1-wife** 7-food

‘He is eating food for his **wife**’

b. *N -ä -i -zrìc -í -à mbùyà*

FOC-1S-PRES-run-APPL-FV **9-friend**

‘He is running for a **friend**’<sup>39</sup>

(Bresnan and Moshi 1990:49)

If the base verb is transitive (26), the applicative marker may ‘supertransitive’ it, (i.e., a double object construction, such as 27a). On the other hand, if the base verb is intransitive the applicative marker may end up transitivityizing it (see 27b).

<sup>37</sup> The study of Bantu languages in generative grammar began with Trithart (1976) for Chichewa, Gary (1976) for Luyia and Mashi, Gary and Keenan for Kinyarwanda (1977) and continued with Marantz (1983) and Baker (1988), among many others. For more recent approaches, also see Section 4.5.

<sup>38</sup> The applicative markers and the extra/oblique arguments, i.e., the applied/applicative objects are bold typed.

By extension, the term applicative can be used in relation to oblique/indirect arguments of the verb that precedes the direct object in languages even without an overt applicative marker.<sup>40</sup> Marantz (1993) assumes that the English DOC (28c) already introduced in Section 3.1 and constructions with dative/accusative/objective affected arguments in a wide variety of languages are applicative constructions with a non-overt applicative marker.

(28) a. *I read a letter*

b. *I read a letter to Mary*

c. *I read **Mary** a letter*

The applicative construction<sup>41</sup> was referred to elsewhere by words such as prepositional, benefactive, indirective, and instrumental (depending on the type of applicative).

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<sup>40</sup> See Pykkänen (2002) for English, Finnish, and Japanese and McGinnis (2001) for Albanian, Icelandic, Italian among many others. For a detailed account, see Section 3.2.5.

<sup>41</sup> A wide range of languages which exhibit an overt applicative marker are cited in the bibliography. Following Peterson (1999), Legate (2001), a.o., this is a (in)complete list:

(i) Africa: Amharic (Semitic), Chichewa (Bantu), Chisona (Zimbabwe), Ika (Niger), Kanuri (Saharan), Kinarawnda, Maasai (Kenya, Tanzania), Nama (Namibia), Sandawe (Tanzania), Swahili, Wolof (West Atlantic Africa)

(ii) South America: Secoya (Ecuador), Shipibo (Peru), Epena Pedee (Chocó, Colombia), Caquinte (Peru), Nadëb (Brazil), Yagua (Peru), Paumarí (Brazil), Urubu-Kaapor (Brazil), Quechua (Incas language, Peru) Tzotzil (Mayan), Tepehua (Totonac- Tepehua), Zoque (Mixe-Zoquean)

(iii) North America: Chitimacha (Louisiana, isolate), Mohawk (Iroquoian Eastern Canada and Northeastern United States), Mutsun (California), Shasta (isolate, Northern California adjacent to the State of Oregon), Shoshone (Uto-Aztecan, Nevada), Yavapai (western Arizona), Zuni (isolate, New Mexico), Choctaw (Western Mississippi), Eskimo (Eskimo-Aleut), Halkomelem (Central West Coast) Karok (California), Nez Perce (Idaho), Takelma (Southern Oregon), Wintu (California), Yokuts (Northern California), Yuchi (Oklahoma)

(iv) Asia: Ainu (isolated indigenous people of Japan), Japanese, Alambak (Sepik Hill), Awtuw (Ram), Chukchi (Chukoto-Kamchatkan), Kharia (India), Haka Lai (Tibeto-Burman), Motuna (Buin), Namia (Sepik-Ramu), Tukang Besi (Austronesian), Yimas (Lower Sepik).

(v) Europe: Abaza (Caucas), Albanian, Italian, Romanian, Spanish, Finnish, Icelandic, German, Dutch.

(vi) Australia: Ngalkan, Nunggubuyu, Dyirbal, Kalkatungu, Warlpiri.

The term ‘applicative’ designates a valence-increasing construction that occurs in many languages of the world, including indigenous languages of the Americas.

‘Standard’ applicative constructions are those in which an affix is attached to the verb, allowing a nominal to appear in the VP in addition to those inherently selected by the verb root. Baker (1988), Bresnan and Moshi (1990), and Alsina and Mchombo (1993) assume that such arguments are typically interpreted as benefactive or instrumental. The applicative construction can also be associated with other thematic roles such as the malefactive (29,33), instrumental (30), goal (31), locative (32), and source (33).

(29) *Nd-áká -úray-ír -á nyoká pa-dombó* CHAGA

I- PAST-steal-APPL-FV 1 -**mother** 9- money

‘I stole money from my **mother**’

(Harford 1993:96)

(30) *Mavuto a -na -umb -ir -a mpeni mtsuko* CHICHEWA

Mavuto SP-PAST-mold-APPL-ASP **knife** waterpot

‘Mavuto molded the waterpot with a **knife**’

(Baker 1988:230)

(31) *M-chawi a -li -wa -tup -ia ma-pande ma-kubwa* SWAHILI

1-wizard 1-PAST-**them**-throw-APPL 6-block 6-big

‘The wizard hurled great blocks at **them**’

(Marantz 1993:127)

(32) *poro cise e-horari*

AINU

**big house** APPL-live

‘He lives in a **big house**’

(Peterson, 1999:33)

(33) *Bvut -ir -a mw-ana banga*

CHISONA

PRES-snatch-APPL-FV **1-child** 5-knife

‘Snatch the knife from the child.’

(Mabugu 2000)

In conclusion, the applicative construction adds the semantic role of benefactive/malefactive/instrumental/goal/location/source to a verb. Applicatives increase the numerical valency of the verb by one.

### **3.2.2 The morphology of applicatives**

In a prototypical applicative construction, the verb takes a special marking that indicates that its case frame includes a direct object, even if there is no such direct object in the case frame of the base verb. If the case frame of the base verb does include a direct object, the applicative construction displaces it with an applicative object bearing a different semantic role.

It is evident that the verbal compound formed by the verbal stem and an applicative marker is transitivized. For example, the Haka Lai (Tibet) verb *thi* ‘to die’ is intransitive (34a) and it cannot take an object marker in its basic form (34b). When the applicative marker is added (i.e., *piak*), the derived verb may easily take an object (34b):

(34) a. \* *ʔa -ka -thiʔ*

HAKA LAI

3SG.S-1SG.Obj-die

\* 'He died me.'

b. *ʔa -ka -thiʔ-piak*

3SG.S-1SG.Obj-die-APPL/BEN

'He died for me.'

(Peterson 1999:14)

Because of its additive nature, Machobane (1989) assumed that the applicative suffix is transitivity-increasing in nature.

In the case of transitive verbs, a typical applicative adds an extra noun phrase interpreted as a benefactive, malefactive, locative, source, or instrumental (Bresnan & Moshi 1990, Baker 1988). Evidently, the ensuing construction will have an increased predicate valency, because the resultative complex verb has a surface syntactic valency of two. The extra argument added by the applicative suffix to a transitive verb construction is interpreted most often as a beneficiary/maleficiary/location/source of the eventuality denoted by the verb stem. It can be stated that the applicative verb becomes even more transitive or ditransitive such as in (35).

(35) *N -ä -i -lyì -í -à m-kà k-élyá*

CHAGA

FOC-1SUBJ-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food

'He is eating food for his wife'

(Bresnan and Moshi 1990:49 ff)

In Chaga/Kichaga (36a) and Haka Lai (36b) verbal object markers are incorporated pronouns in complementary distribution with the lexical noun objects.

(36) a. *N -ä -i -'m -ly -í -à k-élyá* CHAGA

FOC-1SUBJ-PRES-1Obj-eat-APPL-FV 7-food

'He is eating food for him/her' (Bresnan and Moshi 1990:49)

b. *ka -law ʔan -ka -thlo? -piak* HAKA LAI

1SUBJ -POSS-field 3PL SUBJ-1SG OBJ-hoe-APPL/BEN

'They hoed my field for me' (Peterson, 1999:16)

In (36a,b) the object agreement of the verb is with the applicative object (i.e., *him/her* and *me*), not with the direct object (i.e., *food, field*).

The object agreement pattern is different in Chichewa, where only benefactive applicative constructions (37a) may trigger agreement of the verb with the applied object. The theme (37b) does not show agreement (see Marantz, 1993:127).

(37) a. *Chitsiru chi -na -wa-gul -ir -a mpatso* CHICHEWA

fool SP -PAST-OP -buy-APPL -FV gift

'The fool bought them a gift'

b. \**Chitsiru chi -na -i-gul -ir -a atsikana*

fool SP -PAST-OP -buy-APPL -FV gift

'The fool bought the girls it' (Marantz, 1993:127)

In Bantu languages both applied objects and direct objects are morphologically unmarked (see Marantz, 1993: 114). This is similar to English double object constructions, but it differs from dative constructions in languages without an overt applicative marker.

The applicative constructions are characterized by the addition of an extra argument marked with 'direct' case to the framework of a verb. Languages vary with regards to the morphological marking of applied arguments.

There are cases when each applicative construction is marked by a distinct infix. For example, in Nomatsisiguenga (Peru) there is an entire range of applicative markers, as cited in Payne (1990):

(38) a. *pablo i -pë -ne -ri ariberito tiapa singi* (Benefactive)

Paul he-give-APPL.BEN-MASC Albert chicken corn

'Paul gave the chickens corn for Albert'

b. *pablo i -kenga -mo -ta -hi -ri ariberito* (Locative)

Paul he-narrate-APPL.LOC-again-TENSE-MASC Albert

'Paul narrated it in Albert's presence'

c. *juan i-komota -ka -k -e-ri pablo otsegoho* (Associative)

John he-dam.stream-APPL.ASSOC- IND-TENSE-MASC Paul river.branch

'John dammed the river branch with Paul'

d. *ni- ganta -si -t -ë -ri hompiki* (Goal)

I -send - APPL.GOAL-PRON- INDIC -MASC pills

'I sent him for pills'

e. *ora pi -nets -an -t -i -ma -ri hitatsia negativo* (Instrumental)

that you-look.at- APPL.INSTR-PRON-FUT-REFL-MASC name negative

'Look at it (solar eclipse) with that which is called a negative'

(Payne 1990:222-223)

The phenomenon of the occurrence of multiple applicative markers characterizes many languages: Salishan (North-West of US), Nez Perce (North-West US, Canada), Tepehua (Mexico).<sup>42</sup>

On the other hand, in many Bantu languages, the applicative marker *-i* remains constant in sentences with applied objects bearing a variety of thematic roles (see 39).

(39) a. *N -ä -i -lyì -í -à m-kà k-élyá* (Benefactive)

FOC-1S-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food

'He is eating food for his wife'

b. *N -ä -i -lyì -í -à m-ri-nyi k-élyá* (Locative)

FOC-1S-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 3-homestead 7-food

'He is eating food at the homestead'

c. *N -ä -i -lyì -í -à ma-woko k-élyá* (Instrumental)

FOC-1S-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 6-hand 7-food

'He is eating food for with his hands.' (Bresnan and Moshi 1990:49 ff)

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<sup>42</sup> As cited by Peterson (1999:40).

When the applicative marker is an overt morpheme, some languages have multiple applicative markers; other languages have a constant applicative marker.

### 3.2.3 Possession and applicatives

The English double-object applicative construction involves a directional/possessive relation between the two objects (40).

(40) *Jane baked Bill a cake*

In this statement, it is clear that Bill will have the cake Jane is baking. This directional/possessive relation applies to benefactives in English (40) and Icelandic (41) but not in Chaga (42) and Albanian (43).

(41) a. *Ólafur bakaði henni köku* ICELANDIC

Olafur.NOM baked her.DAT cake.ACC

‘Olafur baked her a cake’

b. \**Höskuldur heldur henni töskunni*

Höskuldur.NOM hold her.DAT bag.ACC

‘Höskuldur is holding her bag for her’

(Mc Ginnis 2001:3)

In (41a), *Ólafur* baked *a cake* which will be in *her* possession. On the other hand, in (41b), for a static verb (i.e., *hold*), *Höskuldur* cannot hold a *bag* which is not in *her* possession (for a similar opinion, also see Pytkänen 2002).

(42)a. *N -ä -i -lyì -í -à m-kà k-élyá* CHAGA

FOC-1SUBJ-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food

‘He is eating food for his wife’

(Marantz, 1993:126)

b. *Agimi i mban Dritës çanten time* ALBANIAN

Agimi.NOM CL holds Drita.DAT bag.ACC my

‘Agim holds my bag for Drita.’

(McGinnis, 2001:3)

In (42a) it is clear that after eating the food, the wife would be no more in its possession, and (42b) asserts that *Agim* is holding a bag just for *Drita* to put something in it.

Cross-linguistically, applicatives may or may not involve a possessional relation between the direct object and the applied object.

### 3.2.4 Transitivity

Transitivity of the base verb is another parameter along which applicative constructions may vary cross linguistically. For given languages, it was assumed it is impossible to form applicative on a intransitive base verb (see Baker 1988 for Chichewa), or it is impossible to form bitransitives from a base transitive verb (see Machobane 1989 for Sesotho). In sum, there are the following possibilities:

- (i) applicative constructions possible only with transitive verbs
- (ii) applicative constructions possible with both transitive and intransitive verbs

Benefactives used with agentive intransitives are possible in Chaga (see 42), and (43a), Haka Lai (68b), and Albanian (43c) but not in English (44a,b) and Icelandic (44c).

- (43) a. *Umugabo a -rá -som -er -a umugóre* KINYARWANDA  
 Man SP-PRES-read-APPL-ASP woman  
 ‘The man is reading for the woman’ (Kimenyi 1980 cited by McGinnis 2001:4)
- b. *ʔa -ka -Than -piak* HAKA LAI  
 3SG SUBJ -1SG Obj-grow.up-APPL/BEN  
 ‘He grew up for me’ (Peterson, 1999:14)
- c. *Drita i pjek Agimit (rrepat)* ALBANIAN  
 Drita.NOM CL bake Agim.DAT (turnips.ACC)  
 ‘Drita bakes (turnips) for Agim’ (McGinnis, 2001:6)
- (44) a. *Jane baked Bill\*(a cake)*
- b. *\*I ran him.*
- c. *Ólafur bakaði henni \*(köku)* ICELANDIC  
 Olafur-NOM baked her.DAT cake.ACC  
 ‘Olafur baked her \*(a cake)’ (McGinnis 2001:3)

There are also languages which cannot have a third argument added to the bitransitive frame of the verb using an applicative construction, such as Sesotho (45).

(45) a. *ntate o -f -a bana lijo* SESOTHO

father AGR.gives-FV children food

'My father gives food to the children'

b. *\*ntata o -f -el -a morena bana lijo*

father AGR.gives-APPL-FV chief children food

'My father gives food to the children for the chief' (Machobane 1999:109)

But Sesotho (46) can also applicativize an intransitive verb. In this construction, the locative argument is oblique and does not make the verb base transitive.

(46) *banana ba- Ø -el -a nkhono selibeng* SESOTHO

girls AGR-go-APPL-FV grandmother well.LOC

'The girls are going to the well for my grandmother' (Machobane 1999:110)

On the other hand, Kinyarwanda benefactives can add an extra argument to the bitransitive argument structure of an applicative construction (47).

(47) *Umugóre a -ra -hé -er - a umugabo ímbwa ibíryo* KINYARWANDA

woman she-PRES.give -APPL.BEN -ASP man dog food

'The woman is giving food to the dog for the man.' (McGinnis 2001:6)

In conclusion, one can distinguish four distinct situations: (i) there are languages which disallow the formation of applicative constructions from intransitive verbs (i.e.,

English); (ii) there are languages which allow the formation of applicative constructions from intransitive verbs (e.g., Albanian, Chaga, Romanian, see Chapter 6); (iii) there are other languages which may exhibit a limit to the number of objects a verb may have (i.e., Spanish, Romanian, see Chapter 3); and (iv) there is another set of languages that allow the addition of an extra object to the applicative construction (i.e., Kinyarwanda).

### 3.2.5 Passivization

There are languages that allow any of the multiple objects of an applicative construction to raise to the subject position such as Chaga (48b,c) and Albanian (49a,b,c) where both the direct object (78b, 49a) and the applied object (48b, 49b) can passivize.

- (48) a. *N -ä -i -lyì -í -à m-kà k-élyá* CHAGA  
 FOC-1SUBJ-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food  
 'He is eating food for his wife'
- b. *K-èly k -i -lyì -í -ò 'm-kà t*  
 7-food 7SUBJ-PRES-eat-APPL-PASS 1-wife  
 'The food is being eaten for the wife'
- c. *M-kà n -ä -i -lyì -í -ó t k-èlyâ.*  
 1-wife FOC-1SUBJ-PRES-eat-APPL-PASS 7-food  
 'The wife is having the food eaten for her' (Bresnan and Moshi 1990:51)

(49) a. *Secili libër iu kthye autorit të tij t* ALBANIAN

each book.NOM CL returned.NACT author.DAT its

‘Each book was returned to its author’

b. *Secilit djalë iu dha t paga i tij.*

each boy.DAT CL gave.NACT pay.NOM his

‘Each boy was given his pay’

(McGinnis 2001:6)

On the other hand, in English and Icelandic, the direct object cannot raise to subject position in the passive alternation of the applicative construction (50b; 51b).

(50) a. *Bill was baked t a cake*

b. \* *A cake was baked Bill t*

(51) a. *Honum var gefin t bókin.* ICELANDIC

him.DAT was given.NOM the book.NOM

‘He was given the book’

b.\* *Bókin var gefin honum t*

the book.NOM was given.NOM him.DAT

‘The book was given to him.’

(McGinnis 2001:5)

In sum, another dimension according to which applicative constructions vary, is the possibility of raising to subject in passives of both the applied and the direct object, versus the possibility of raising only for the applied object.

### 3.2.6 Types of applicatives

Two types of applicatives have been identified cross-linguistically (esp. Baker 1988, Bresnan & Moshi 1990), which are traditionally called ‘asymmetric’ and ‘symmetric’. Interestingly, there are languages that exhibit both constructions (i.e., Kinyarwanda, see McGinnis 2001)<sup>43</sup>.

Asymmetric applicatives are characterized by asymmetric behaviour between the verbal object (i.e., the direct object) and the applied object. In asymmetric applicatives, only the applied object shows primary object properties: agreement with the verb and raising to subject position in passive alternative constructions. They also present a transitivity restriction on the base verb (see 52).

(52) Asymmetric applicatives: Chichewa and English:

CHICHEWA

a. *Ndi-na -tumiz-ir-a mfumu chipanda cha mowa*

1SG -PAST-send-APPL-ASP chief calabash of beer

‘I sent the chief a calabash of beer’

(Baker 1988:230)

b. *Mary cooked Bill a cake*

In contrast, both the applied object and direct object show primary object properties in symmetric applicatives: the applied object may agree with the verb and can raise to subject position in the passive alternation (see 53).

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<sup>43</sup> For a more detailed account of McGinnis (2001) see Section 3.2.7.6.

(53) Symmetric applicatives: Chaga

*N -ä -i -lyì -í -à m-kà k-élyá*

CHAGA

FOC-1SUBJ-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food

‘He is eating food for his wife’

(Marantz, 1993:126)

Glossing over some interesting complications that arise within particular languages, the cluster of properties of symmetric and asymmetric applicatives are summarized in the following table.

Asymmetric

Symmetric

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| • applied object does not show object properties (agreement, passives) | • both direct and applied object show object properties (agreement, passives) |
| • applied object related to direct object (potential -possessor)       | • applied object related to the event   |
| • transitivity restriction on verb                                     | • no transitivity restriction on verb   |

**3.2.7 Theoretical approaches to applicative constructions**

The following section outlines accounts of applicative constructions, trying to maintain a rough chronological order.

**3.2.7.1 Relational Grammar**

Current work on applicative constructions owes a lot to relational grammar approaches from the mid seventies and early eighties. Relational grammarians (i.e., D. M. Perlmutter, P. M. Postal, and others in the 1970s), have taken grammatical relations as primitives.

For example, in the construction of *Bill writes a letter to Mary*, *Bill* and *Mary* are 'terms' which bear distinct 'term relations' (i.e., 'subject of'=(1), 'direct object of'=(2), 'oblique object of'=(3)) to the verb. In the corresponding dative shift (*Mary writes Bill a letter*), the oblique object term (*Bill*, (3)) is promoted to direct object.

Relational Grammarians argue that an applicative process makes a benefactive oblique into a direct object (BEN-to-2-ADVANCEMENT in Relational Grammar terminology, see Chung 1976, Aissen 1983). Many accounts of functional syntax have their origin, in part, in Relational Grammar.

Chung (1976) has first accounted of Indonesian applicatives in the framework of Relational Grammar. Machobane (1989) assumes that the applicative suffix is transitivity in nature because the applicative affix attaches in the lexicon and adds an NP argument of some sort to the argument structure of the base verb.

Relational Grammar does not account for (non)homophony of the applicative marker or for the symmetry observed in Chaga and Kinwiarwanda where, at first glance, (see Gary and Keenan 1976), there appear to be two nouns which bear the role of direct object (see Section 2.6), or for the possibility of intransitives to occur in applicative constructions<sup>44</sup> (but see Chaga, in Section 3.2.2).

### 3.2.7.2 Government and Binding

In the history of work on English double object constructions considered as non-overt morpheme applicative constructions, there are two main points of view with regards to

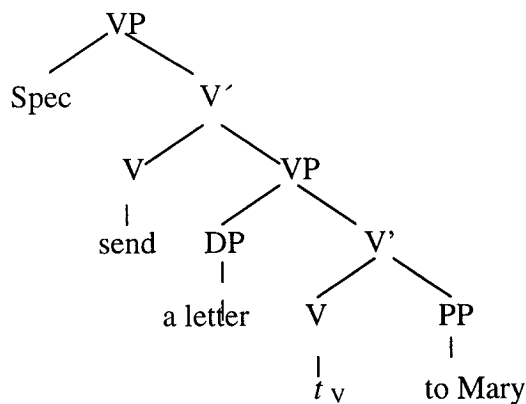
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<sup>44</sup> For more recent approaches about the possibility of applicatives appearing with intransitive verbs, see section 3.2.7.4.

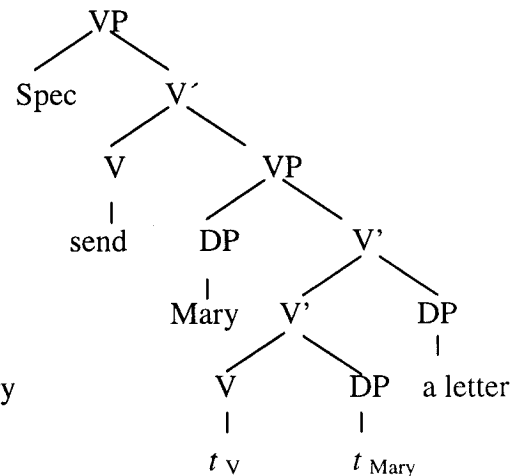
their derivation: (i) via Prepositional Merge by Marantz (1984)<sup>45</sup>, (ii) or by Preposition Incorporation by Baker (1988). Based on Larson (1988), Marantz (1993) assumes that applicative constructions are complex predicates.

Larson (1988) treats the well-known syntactic asymmetries of the dative alternation by positing a hierarchical structure for the VP, involving two VP-shells. In his analysis, the theme is generated as the specifier of the lower VP, and the goal (plus the preposition *to*) as its complement (54a).

(54) a. *send a letter to Mary*



b. *send Mary a letter*



The English dative shift alternation results when a passive-like operation applies to this lower VP, moving the goal to the specifier position and generating the theme in an adjunct position, analogous to the position of the *by*-phrase in a passive (54b). For

<sup>45</sup> Marantz (1993) accounts for the applicative constructions' properties by feature percolation conventions which assume that an affix always take precedence over the properties of a root in determining the properties of the combination and by the assumption that verbs, simple or derived, may each assign only one semantic role.

Larson, then, *send a letter to Mary* is basic and *send Mary a letter* is derived by a purely syntactic operation.

### 3.2.7.3 Baker (1988, 1992, 1996)

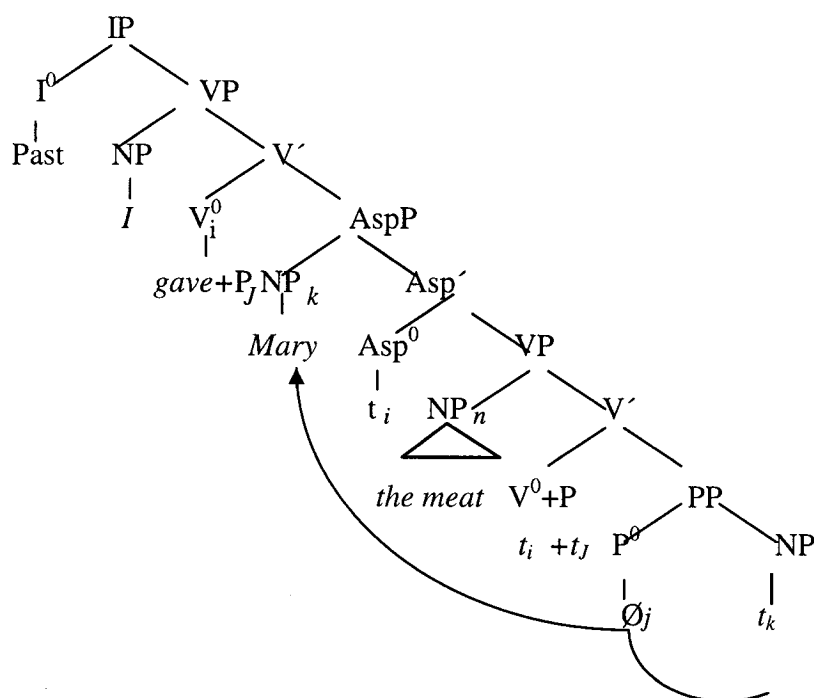
Government and Binding first accounts of overt morpheme applicative constructions owe much to Baker's work in numerous studies in which the morphosyntax of applicatives figures prominently (1988 and 1996). Baker (1988) distinguishes between the benefactive applicative markers in languages like Chichewa, which assign inherent case (and not structural case), and the benefactive applicative markers in Kinyarwanda, which assign structural case and not inherent case. So, for Baker (1988) there are two types of languages:

- (i) Chichewa-type languages, where only one object of applicative verbs may display object properties; and
- (ii) Kinyarwanda-type languages, where both objects display object properties.

Baker analyzes the applicative construction as the incorporation of a preposition into the verb (by head movement). The object of the incorporated preposition is licensed in the way the direct object would normally be licensed. This object receives the case that would otherwise be assigned to the direct object, while the underlying direct object becomes an oblique because it is no longer licensed by the verb. Baker also claims applicative marking is allowed for transitive verbs and is generally prohibited with intransitive verbs. This is a natural result of his analysis since intransitive verbs generally have no Case to assign, so the applied object could not be licensed.

Baker (1996) derives the English dative shift as in Larson (1988), with the minor difference that what Larson calls ‘dative-case absorption’ is treated as an instance of Preposition Incorporation. When the preposition is incorporated, it can no longer license case on its object; therefore the goal must move to a position outside the inner VP to receive/check structural accusative case. Following Travis (1991) he assumes this position is the specifier of an Aspect Phrase. As a result of this movement, the goal comes to be before the theme and asymmetrically c-commands it, as shown in (55). In contrast, the theme NP is generated as the specifier of VP and remains there.

(55) *I gave Mary the meat*



For Baker, the most salient property of applicative constructions is the rearrangement of argument structure such that the applied object takes precedence over the properties of a direct object, while the direct object is demoted to an oblique.

### 3.2.7.4 Lexical Functional Grammar

Lexical Functional Grammar treats applicative constructions as resulting from a morpholexical operation on argument structure, which inserts an internal object argument. Promoting the Lexical Mapping Theory, Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) and Bresnan and Moshi (1990) assume a wide variety of relation-affecting phenomena, such as passives, causatives, statives, and so forth.

Assuming the Lexical Mapping Theory, argument structure is organized along an independently motivated hierarchy (see 56).

(56) agent>beneficiary>goal>instrument>patient/theme>locative

Grammatical functions may have two basic properties:  $\pm$  restricted (i.e., whether a function can (-) or cannot (+) be associated with any kind of thematic role; and  $\pm$  objective (i.e., whether a function is a complement to a transitive verb (+) or not (-)). With this distinction, there are four basic grammatical functions, as in (57).

(57) [-restricted, -objective]	SUBJ 'subject'
[-restricted, +objective]	OBJ 'unrestricted object'
[+restricted, -objective]	OBL <sub>θ</sub> 'restricted object'
[+restricted, +objective]	OBL <sub>θ</sub> 'oblique object'

The third and fourth functions are abbreviations for goals, instruments, locatives, and so on.

In Lexical Functional Grammar's account, applicative constructions arise from a derived verb form which introduces a new object argument to the base verb.

### 3.2.7.5 Pykkänen's lexical semantic approach

Recent approaches to the applicative constructions build on Chomsky (1994, 1999, 2000). Using a lexical semantic method, Pykkänen (1999-2002) assumes a distinction between high and low applicatives (earlier dubbed 'symmetric' and 'asymmetric' applicatives) and observes that applicative constructions exhibit similar meanings across languages, but they have different syntactic properties. For example, English (58a) and Chaga (59a) have a double object construction with an applied, benefactive argument, but only in Chaga the benefactive can a participant be added to an unergative verb (59b).

(58) a. *Jane baked Bill a cake*

b. *\*I ran him*

c. *\*He ate the wife food*

d. *\*John held Mary the bag*

(59) a. *N -ä -i -lyì -í -à m-kà k-élyá*

CHAGA

FOC-1SUBJ-PRES-eat-APPL-FV1-wife 7-food

'He is eating food for his wife'

b. *N -ä -i -zrìc -í -à mbùyà*

FOC-1SUBJ-PRES-run-APPL-FV 9-friend

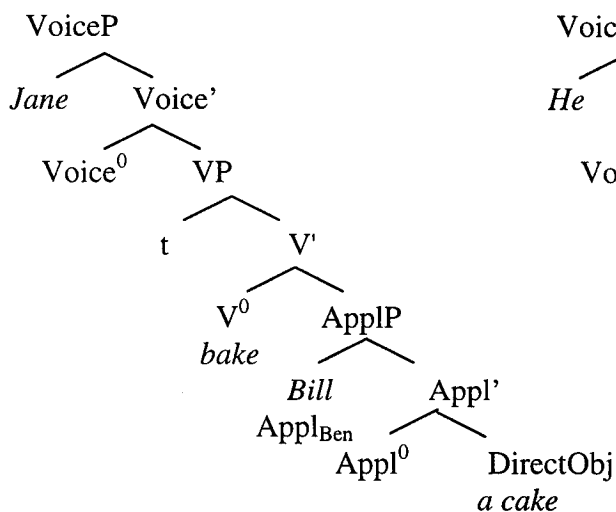
‘He is running for a friend.’

(Pylkkänen 2002:17)

Pylkkänen (2002) proposes that applicative constructions cross-linguistically divide into two different types: high applicatives, where the applicative head denotes a thematic relation between an individual and an event; and low applicatives, where the applicative head denotes a transfer of possession relation between the direct and the indirect object.<sup>46</sup> This typology corresponds to the earlier distinction between ‘symmetric’ (i.e., high, in Pylkkänen’s approach) and ‘asymmetric’ (i.e., low) applicative constructions. The proposed syntactic structure for (58a) and (59a) is illustrated below (see also Section 5.3).

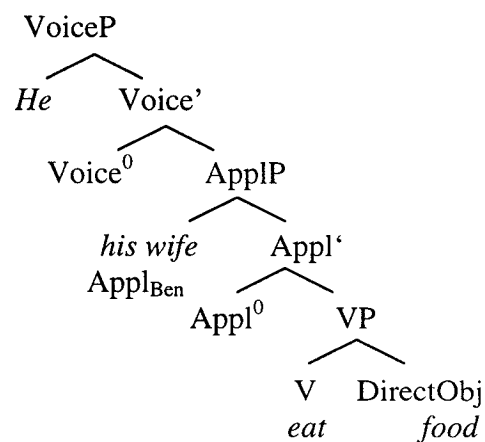
(60) a. **Low applicative** (English)

*Jane baked Bill a cake*



b. **High applicative** (Chaga)

‘*He is eating food for his wife*’



<sup>46</sup> Pylkkänen (2002) builds on Marantz’s (1993) hypothesis that applicative affixes are elements which take an event as their argument and introduce an individual which is thematically related to that event.

(61) Semantics High and Low applicatives

a. **High Appl** (Chaga):

$\lambda x. \lambda e. \text{APPL}(e, x)$

b. **Low-AppI-TO** (Recipient applicative, i.e., English DOC):

$\lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda f_{\langle e \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}. \lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{to-the-possession}(x, y)$

c. **Low-AppI- FROM** (Source applicative, i.e., German DOC):

$\lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda f_{\langle e \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}. \lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{from-the-possession}(x, y)$

(Pylkkänen 2002:18, ff)

Pylkkänen notices that an interpretation where the applied argument bears no relation to the direct object is impossible in the English double object construction (see 63a). The sentence *Jane baked Bill a cake* means Jane did the baking for Bill so that he would have (at least in her intention) the cake. On the other hand, for Chaga applicative constructions, the wife in (59a) stands in a benefactive relation to the event of eating but bears no relation to the object of eating, i.e. the food. Because the wife cannot become the possessor of the food as a result of somebody else eating it, this seems to be the case. The same holds for the Chichewa instrumental construction (62a), where *the knife* bears an instrumental relation to the event of molding but no relation to the waterpot or for Albanian applicative construction with a static verb (62b) below:

- (62)a. *Mavuto a-na-umb-ir –a mpeni mtsuko* CHICHEWA  
 Mavuto SP-PAST-mold-APPL-ASP knife waterpot  
 ‘Mavuto molded the waterpot with a knife’ (Baker 1988: 354)
- b. *Agimi i mban Dritës çanten time* ALBANIAN  
 Agimi.NOM CL holds D.DAT bag.ACC my  
 ‘Agim holds my bag for Drita.’  
 (e.g., so that Drita can put something in it) (McGinnis 2001:5)

The high/low applicative distinction predicts the following:

- (i) Only high applicative heads should be able to combine with unergatives. Since low applicative heads denote a relation between the direct and indirect object, they cannot appear in structures that lack a direct object. Pylkkänen (2002) assumes that high applicative heads are interpreted in the same way as the external argument introducing Voice (Kratzer 1996), i.e. via Event Identification with the VP. High applicatives have no problem combining with static verbs such as *hold* as all they require is a predicate of events.
- (ii) Low applicatives are VP internal. Since low applicatives imply transfer of possession, they cannot combine with verbs that are completely static: for example, an event of holding a bag does not plausibly result in the bag ending up in somebody’s possession.

Since a relationship between the applied object and the direct object is obligatory in English, examples where no such relationship can be construed are ungrammatical. Hence the Chaga benefactive in (59a) cannot be expressed as an English double object

construction: it is not possible for the food to enter into a possessive-like relationship with the wife as a result of the husband is eating it. Similarly in (58d), John's holding a bag does not plausibly result in a relationship between *Mary*, the applied argument, and *the bag* and therefore the sentence is ungrammatical.

In Pylkkänen's opinion, there are languages exhibiting only high applicative constructions (i.e., Chaga), languages where only low applicative constructions are allowed (i.e., English, Finnish, and Icelandic), and languages where both constructions are allowed (i.e., Chichewa)

In conclusion, Pylkkänen (2002) notices that deriving a low applicative from an unergative should be impossible since the low applicative relation is a relation between the direct object and an applied argument. On the other hand, high applicatives should have no problem combining with an unergative since high applicative heads simply relate another participant to the event described by the base verb. Thus she predicts that English and Finnish double object constructions should not be possible with unergatives while Chaga benefactives and Chichewa instrumentals should be possible<sup>47</sup>. The proposed

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<sup>47</sup> Further examples illustrating Pylkkänen's (2002) typology are below:

(i) **English (low)**

- a. *I baked him a cake*  
 b. \*UNERGATIVE VERB

\**I ran him*

c. \*STATIC VERB

\**I held him the bag*

(ii) **Japanese (low)**

- a. *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni tegami-o kaita.*  
 Taroo-NOM Hanako-DAT letter-ACC wrote  
 'Taro wrote Hanako a letter'

b. \*UNERGATIVE VERB

\**Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hasitta*

Taroo-NOM Hanako-DAT run-PAST

'Taro ran for Hanako'

(iv) **Korean (low)**

- a. *John-i Mary-hanthey pyunci-lul sse-ess-ta*  
 John-NOM Mary-DAT letter-ACC wrote-PAST-PLAIN  
 'John wrote Mary a letter'

b. \*UNERGATIVE VERB

\**Mary-ka John-hanthey talli-essta*

Mary-NOM John-DAT run-PAST

'Mary ran to/from John'

c. \*STATIC VERB

\**John-i Mary-hanthey kabang-ul cap-ass-ta*

John-NOM Mary-DAT bag-ACC hold-PAST-PLAIN

'John held Mary her bag'

(v) **Albanian (high)**

a. UNERGATIVE VERB

*I vrapova*

him(DAT.CL) ran-I

'I ran for him'

syntactic distinction between low/high applicatives fairly accounts for at least 2 parameters of the variation in applicative constructions: the possession relation between the applied object and the direct object (see Section 3.2.3) and transitivity of the base verb (see Section 3.2.4).

### 3.2.7.6 McGinnis's minimalist approach

McGinnis (2001) adopts Pykkänen's dichotomy between high and low applicative constructions and expands on it with regards to Chomsky's 'Derivation by Phase'. She observes that high and low applicatives apparently cannot be reliably distinguished according to applicative marking or morphological case. For example, applicatives marked by an overt applicative morpheme may be high, as in the Kinyarwanda (63a) and Georgian (63c) benefactives, or low, as in the Kinyarwanda locative (63b).

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c. \*STATIC VERB

\**Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kanojo-no kaban-o motta*  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT she-GEN bag-ACC held  
 'Taro held Hanako her bag'

(iii) **Venda (high) South Africa**

a. UNERGATIVE VERB

*Ndi-ŋo-shum-el -a musadzi*  
 I -FUT-work-APPL-FV lady  
 'I will work for the lady'

b. STATIC VERB

*Nd-o far-el -a Mukasa khali*  
 1sg-PAST hold-APPL-FV Mukasa pot  
 'I held the pot for Mukasa'

b. STATIC VERB

*Agimi i mban Driŋs çanten time*  
 Agim.NOM CL holds D.DAT bag.ACC my  
 'Agim holds my bag'

vi) **Luganda (high) Equator**

a. UNERGATIVE VERB

*Mukasa ya-tambu-le-dde Katonga*  
 Mukasa past-walk-APPL-past Katonga  
 'Mukasa walked for Katonga'

b. STATIC VERB

*Katonga ya-kwaant-i-dde Mukasa ensawo*  
 Katonga past-hold-APPL-Past Mukasa bag  
 'Katonga held the pot for Mukasa'

- (63) a. *Umugabo a-rá-som-er-a umugóre* KINYARWANDA  
 man SP-PRES-read-APPL-ASP woman  
 'The man is reading for the woman'
- b. *Umuhuûngu á-r-ûg-ir -á-ho ishuûri \*(imibáre)* KINYARWANDA  
 boy SP-PR-study-ASP-LOC school (mathematics)  
 'The boy is studying (mathematics) at school.'
- c. *Nino-m vano-s surat-i da-u-xata* GEORGIAN  
 Nino-ERG vano-DAT picture-NOM PREV-BEN-draw.AOR  
 'Nino drew a picture for Vano' (McGinnis 2001:5, ff)

Moreover, applicatives not marked by an overt applicative morpheme may also be high, as in the Italian experiencer construction (64), or low, as in the English benefactive (65).

- (64) *Gianni<sub>i</sub> non gli sembra [t<sub>i</sub> fare il suo dovere]* ITALIAN  
 Gianni not him.DAT seems [to do the his duty]  
 'Gianni does not seem to him to do his duty' (McGinnis 2001:6)

- (65) *Mary baked Alicia \*(a cake)*

With regards to case marking, applicatives whose applied object has Dative morphological case may be high, as in Albanian benefactives (66), or low, as in Icelandic benefactives (67).

(66) *Drita i pjek Agimi.* ALBANIAN

Drita.NOM CL bake Agimi.DAT

'Drita bakes for Agim'

(67) *Ólafur bakaði henni \*(köku)* ICELANDIC

Ólafur.NOM baked her.DAT \*(cake.ACC)

'Ólafur baked her \*(a cake)' (McGinnis 2001:7)

Likewise, applicatives in which the applied object lacks dative morphological case may be high, as in Kinyarwanda (68) benefactives, or low, as in English benefactives (68b).

(68) a. *Umuhuûngu á-r-ûg-ir-á-ho ishuûri \*(imibáre)* KINYARWANDA

boy SP-PR-study-ASP-LOC school mathematics

'The boy is studying mathematics at school' (McGinnis 2001:6)

b. *Jane cooked Bill a cake*

Adopting Pylkkänen's proposals concerning the phrase structure and semantics of the two types of applicatives and the framework of Chomsky's (1999, 2000) recent proposal that syntactic derivations undergo semantic and phonological interpretation in incremental chunks or phases, McGinnis makes the distinction between E(vent) Applicatives and I(ndividual) Applicatives (i.e., high versus low applicatives in Pylkkänen's proposal).<sup>48</sup> In McGinnis's approach, ApplE heads a phase since it is the

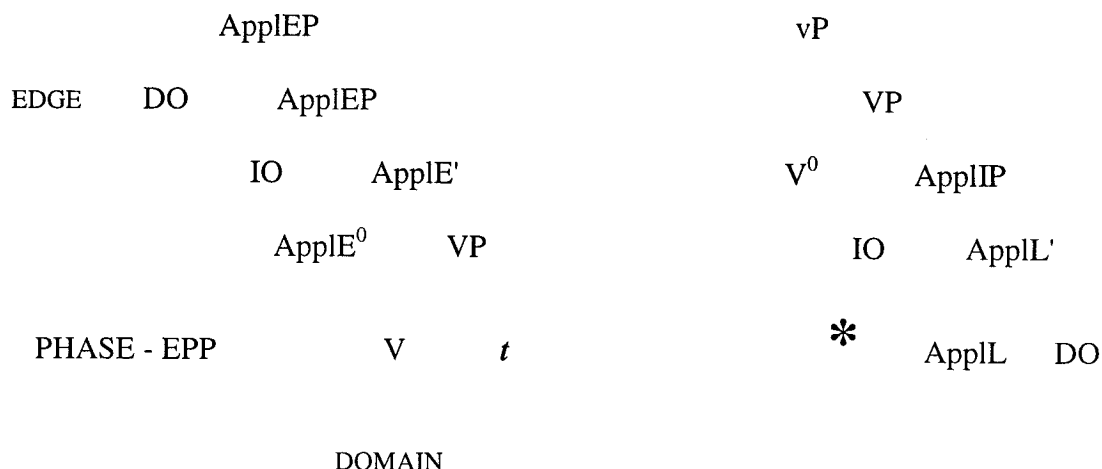
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<sup>48</sup> Chomsky's (1999, 2000) proposal is that syntactic derivations undergo semantic and phonological interpretation in incremental chunks or *phases*. Phases (i.e., "strong" phases) can be headed by a

sister of VP and assigns a theta-role to the applied argument. By contrast, ApplI is not a sister of VP, so it does not head a phase. This account explains how in a passive E-applicative, both the DO and the applied object can raise to the subject position.

(69) a. Event Applicatives (AppIE)

b. Individual Applicatives (AppII)



In an E-applicative (69a), only the lower object (the DO) is embedded within the domain of the AppIEP phase, so it can check an EPP feature which is added to this phase by rising to an additional (Spec,AppIEP). On the other hand, in an I-applicative (69b), both objects (i.e., the applied object and the DO) are within the domain of the vP phase, so if only one phase-EPP feature is added for the passive construction, it can be checked only by the higher, applied object.

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Complementizer (C), Determiner (D), and a light verb (*v*) which carries active voice features and projects an external argument in its specifier. This *v* can also license an object via structural case. Once a phase is complete, movement and agreement operations can target its head and constituents in its *edge* (i.e., adjuncts and specifiers) but cannot target constituents in its *domain* (complement). In some cases, however, EPP features can be added to a phase before it is complete, allowing a constituent in its domain to move to the edge. The domain of a phase is inaccessible to syntactic operations as soon as the phase is complete.

### 3.2.7.7 Cuervo's event structure approach

Building on Pykkänen's proposal for the existence of high and low applicative constructions, Cuervo (2003) argues that Spanish clitic doubled dative arguments are applicative constructions. The applicative head assigns inherent dative case to the argument it licenses, and the dative clitic is the spell-out of the applicative head. The possible meanings of dative arguments are predicted by taking into account the details of the syntactic configuration, which include the properties of the head that licenses the dative DP (i.e., the applicative head) and of the functional heads that construct the event structure (e.g., Voice, Applicative and little  $\nu$ ). She assumes that verbs are formed in the syntax by the combination of a lexical *root* and a verbalizing head "little  $\nu$ ". In her opinion, verbs may be decomposed into three types of primitives:  $\nu$ DO,  $\nu$ GO,  $\nu$ BE. Cuervo adds to Pykkänen's (2002) high and low applicatives a new type of applicative, called Affected Applicative. This applicative is defined as taking  $\nu$ BEP as its complement and embeds it under a dynamic event introducer, i.e., the ApplP is the complement of  $\nu$ DO (70a) or  $\nu$ GO (70b). Thus, the dative DP is at the same time external to the lower event and internal to the higher event.

(70) a. *Emilio le rompió la radio a Valeria*

Emilio CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria .DAT

'Emilio broke the radio on Valeria' (Lit. 'Emilio broke Valeria the radio')

b. *A Emilio se le quemaron las tostadas*

Emilio.DAT *se* CL.DAT burned.PL the toasts

'The toast burned on Emilio' (Lit. 'To Emilio burned the toast')

In Cuervo's proposal, dative subject experiencers and ethical datives are analyzed as high applicatives that embed a stative predicational  $\nu$ P, while dative arguments which appear as the preverbal argument in clauses with existential predicates such as *faltar* 'lack, miss', *quedar* 'be left', *sobrar* 'be extra' are low applicative constructions<sup>49</sup>.

(71) a. *A Laura le falta la birome*

Laura.DAT CL.DAT lacks the pen

'Laura is missing her pen'

b. *A nadie le sobraba nada*

nobody.DAT CL.DAT was-extra nothing

'Nobody had anything extra'

(Cuervo 2003:178)

The structure and possible meanings of dative DPs with predicates of change ( $\nu$ GO) are discussed and analyzed in terms of the contrast between high and low applicatives. Dative subject experiencers (72) and ethical datives (73) are accounted for as high applicatives that take a dynamic  $\nu$ DOP as their complements.

(72) *De repente, a Daniela le vinieron ganas de bailar*

suddenly Daniela.DAT CL.DAT came.PL cravings of to-dance

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<sup>49</sup> Rivero 2003 and Rivero and Geber 2003 assume that such datives are in high applicatives, projected above TP.

'Suddenly, Daniela felt like dancing'

(73) *Juanita ya le camina*

Juanita already CL.DAT walks

'Juanita can already walk on him/her'

(Cuervo 2003:190)

Cuervo (2003) argues that ethical high applicatives are defective in Spanish, in the sense that the applicative head is spelled out by a dative clitic but does not license a full DP in its specifier.

### 3.3 Concluding remarks

There is a general consensus that universally there are two different types of applicative constructions: symmetric/high/Event applicatives, which denote a relation between an event and an individual; and asymmetric/low/Individual applicatives, which denote a relation between two individuals. High applicatives (adopting Pylkkänen's (2002) labeling) may combine with any constituent that describes an event. On the other hand, low applicatives relate an additional participant to the direct object and require transitivity from their base predicate. Low applicatives also imply transfer of possession and therefore do not combine with predicates that are fully static (such as *hold a bag*). The syntactic phase account of McGinnis (2001) enriches Pylkkänen's account, insofar that high applicatives head a phase as D, C, and  $\nu$  do. Low applicatives do not head a phase. If the detailed approach of Cuervo (2003) is adopted, the relevant differences among applied arguments derive from three sources:

- (i) the category and type of complement the dative argument is related to by the applicative head (i.e., a DP or a  $\nu$ P; a stative  $\nu$ P or a dynamic  $\nu$ P; an agentive or nonagentive dynamic  $\nu$ P).
- (ii) whether the applicative phrase is embedded under a root, between two event predicates, or is not embedded (i.e., low, affected, and high applicatives).
- (iii) whether the applicative head is syntactically and semantically complete or it is semantically complete but syntactically defective (i.e., whether it projects a specifier or just the head is present).

In the next chapter I assume Pylkkänen's analysis of the DOC as a low Applicative construction. Based on similarities of Romanian clitic doubled dative arguments in ditransitive sentences with English DOC, I argue that similar to Albanian (McGinnis 2001), Chichewa (Pylkkänen 2002), and Spanish (Cuervo 2003), in Romanian there is a low applicative construction. In chapter 5 I look at the semantics of low applicatives and in Chapter 6 I turn to some high applicatives in Romanian.

## CHAPTER 4. Romanian ditransitive constructions as low applicatives

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, after discussing the morphology of Romanian dative objects, I examine Romanian ditransitive constructions. I propose that the clitic doubled ditransitive configuration is a double object construction (DOC), which shares the fundamental syntactic properties of the English DOC: the goal/recipient is structurally higher than the theme object. After introducing the basic data on Romanian ditransitives and clitic doubling, I argue, following Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2000, 2003) in the case of Spanish, that the presence or absence of a clitic that doubles the indirect object in ditransitives (i.e., 1 versus 2) correlates with systematic semantic and syntactic differences.

(1) *Ion îi aduce Elenei flori*<sup>50</sup> ROMANIAN

John her.CL.DAT brings Helen.DAT flowers

'John brings flowers to Helen'

(2) *Ion aduce Elenei flori*

John brings Helen.DAT flowers

'John brings flowers to Helen'

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<sup>50</sup> From now on, Romanian examples are not identified with a language label.

I will show that in the clitic doubled pattern (1) binding, weak crossover, and scope indicate that the dative is higher than the accusative. In the non-doubled pattern (2), the same syntactic tests show that the theme is higher than the dative DP. These contrasts are accounted for by analyzing the alternates with and without clitic as corresponding to the two structures of the dative alternation. The structure with a clitic corresponds to the DOC. The clitic doubled dative c-commands the direct object, as revealed by binding, scope, and weak crossover. In the non-doubled structure, the dative argument is a prepositional phrase (an overt/covert prepositional ditransitive construction, PDC). In the PDC, the goal is merged lower than the theme object, as the complement of special Romanian overt/covert prepositions (see Section 4.4.1 for a detailed account).

If the Romanian clitic doubled dative argument construction is similar to DOC, then, in the spirit of Pylkkänen (2002), I argue this is a low applicative construction. Following this path, the clitic doubled dative is not an argument of the verb but is introduced by a specialized head, an applicative head, which merges below the verb and relates the dative to the direct object.

## **4.2 Romanian dative arguments**

For a better understanding of the morphology and syntax of Romanian dative objects, I first provide an overview of Romanian noun inflection. Then, I discuss different constructions where dative arguments are used.

Romanian noun inflections have in most cases distinct genitive/dative case forms for both indefinite and definite nouns. It is important to distinguish between the indefinite and definite inflection of Romanian nouns. Within the indefinite noun inflection (see 3), singular and plural masculine nouns exhibit the same genitive/dative forms as their nominative/accusative counterparts (i.e., as an exception to the above rule). Feminine singular nouns present the plural form for genitive/dative, and feminine plural nouns have similar forms for nominative/accusative and genitive/dative. Within the indefinite inflection, the indefinite preposed article (*un*, 'a-MASC,' *o* 'a-FEM,' and *niște* 'some-MASC/FEM') exhibits distinct forms for nominative/accusative and genitive/dative (see below).

(3) Romanian indefinite noun inflection: (*un*) *băiat* '(a) boy,' (*o*) *fată* '(a) girl'

Number	Case	Masculin		Feminine	
Singular	Nom/Acc	<i>un</i>	<i>băiat</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>fată</i>
	Gen/Dat	<i>unui</i>	<i>băiat</i>	<i>unei</i>	<i>fete</i>
Plural	Nom/Acc	<i>niște</i>	<i>băieți</i>	<i>niște</i>	<i>fete</i>
	Gen/Dat	<i>unor</i>	<i>băieți</i>	<i>unor</i>	<i>fete</i>

Within the definite noun inflection, the definite article is inflected for case, number and gender (see 4). The definite article is unique among the Romanian noun modifiers being attached to the noun as a suffix (i.e., *băiat-(u)l* 'boy-the,' where the vowel 'u' links the noun and the definite article, *fata* 'girl-the').

(4) The Romanian definite noun inflection (the definite article is typed with bold characters)

Number	Case	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	Nom/Acc	<i>băiatul</i>	<i>fata</i>
	Gen/Dat	<i>băiatului</i>	<i>fetei</i>
Plural	Nom/Acc	<i>băieții</i>	<i>fetele</i>
	Gen/Dat	<i>băieților</i>	<i>fetelor</i>

Traditional grammars assume that Romanian dative arguments are used

- (i) following special prepositions (i.e., *conform* ‘because of,’ *potrivit* ‘due to,’ *contrar* ‘contrary to,’ *datorită* ‘due to,’ *grație* ‘due to,’ *mulțumită* ‘thanks to’ (see 5a,b);
- (ii) following nouns expressing family relations (see 6);
- (iii) following ditransitive verbs;
- (iv) in a colloquial register, following the preposition *la* “to”;
- (v) following intransitive verbs.

Dative objects may or may not be doubled by a dative clitic preceding the verb. Next I will present in more detail the situations where dative objects are used in Romanian and their morphological properties.

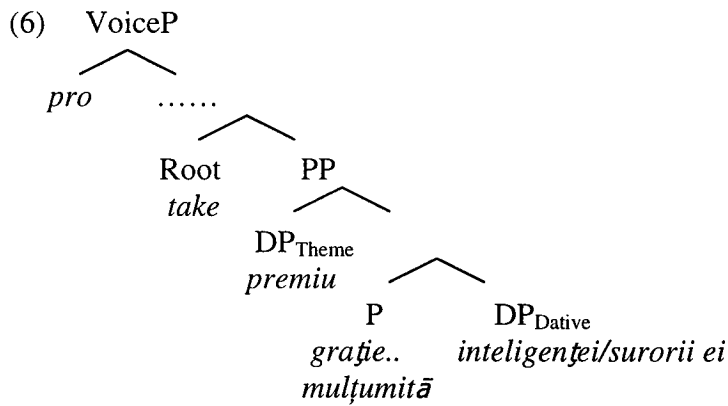
- (i) When dative objects follow the special prepositions *conform* ‘because of,’ *potrivit* ‘due to,’ *contrar* ‘contrary to,’ *datorită* ‘due to,’ *grație* ‘due to,’ *mulțumită* ‘thanks to,’

they are never clitic doubled. The semantic value of this dative is an “explanatory dative” (see Irimia 2000:68 and ff).

(5) a. *A venit aici potrivit/conform/contrar ordinului dat*  
 (he)<sup>51</sup> has come here because of/due to/contrary to order-the.DAT given  
 ‘He came here because of/due to/contrary to the given order’

b. *A luat premiu grație/mulțumită inteligenței/surorii ei*  
 (she)has took prize thanks to/due to intelligence-the.DAT/sister-the.DAT her  
 ‘She took the prize thanks to/due to her intelligence/sister’

The proposed structure for Romanian overt prepositional datives is given below.



I assume these datives to be overt prepositional datives; therefore they will not be the subject of further research in this dissertation.

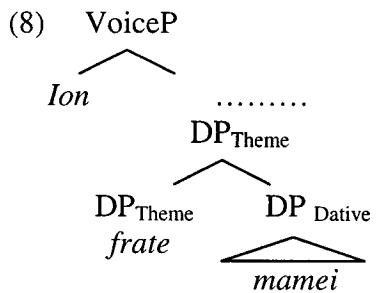
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<sup>51</sup> Romanian is a *pro*-drop language, and the subject is included in the verbal desinence.

(ii) Second, dative objects may follow nouns expressing a family relation (i.e., *brother*).

- (7) *Ion e frate mamei mele.*  
 Ion is brother mother-the.DAT mine  
 ‘Ion is the brother of my mother’

The structure for these dative arguments is given below.



Because they follow only DPs expressing family relations, I assume these datives to be arguments of the noun (i.e., *brother, sister, mother*), and therefore they will not constitute the object of research in this dissertation.

(iii) Dative arguments following the preposition *la* ‘to’<sup>52</sup> are used in a familiar register and in Transylvania (GA I:163). Traditional grammars assume that *la* datives are

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<sup>52</sup> In old Romanian (16<sup>th</sup> century), dative objects were preceded by two preposition: *a* (similar to Spanish, Portuguese and French) and *la* (Jordan 1979: 491 ff):

(i) *scriem dumiitale...si a tot cinstit svatul dumiitale*  
 (we) write you.DAT and to very honoured wisdom.DAT yours  
 ‘we write to you and to your very honoured wisdom’  
 (ii) *la împăratul*

constructions equivalent to regular datives (GA II:165) in standard Romanian. *La* datives are also optionally doubled by clitics. The preposition *la* 'to' is part of the DP dative (9a) in this situation and the DP is not a PP, as it is in (9b).

(9) a. *Mama îi trimite la un băiat<sup>53</sup> al ei bani*

Mother-the him.CL.DAT sends to a boy.DAT of her money

'Mother sends money to one of her boys'

b. *Maria merge la școală*

Maria.NOM goes to school.ACC

'Maria goes to school'

Based on Cuervo's (2003) proposal for a dual role of the Spanish preposition *a* (i.e., dative case assigner and directional preposition), I assume that Romanian *la* may be both a dative case assigner and a directional preposition. The ability of Romanian *la* and Spanish *a* to function as either a preposition or a case marker (or a complementizer, in the case of Spanish) is not an isolated phenomenon. Miyagawa (1997)<sup>54</sup> argues that Japanese *ni* exhibits a similar ambiguity between being a (directional) preposition and a dative case marker. These cross-linguistic facts suggest that ambiguity of prepositional-like elements

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to emperor-the.DAT  
'to the emperor'

I will later assume that *la* constructions are dative arguments when clitic doubled.

<sup>53</sup> The morphology of the indefinite article shows that it is the case for Accusative *un*, as the genitive/dative form would have been *unui* (see table 3).

<sup>54</sup> See below the use of *ni* as dative case marker:

*Taroo-ga gakusei-ni futari kaado-o okutta.*

Taro-NOM students-DAT CL card-Acc sent

'Taro sent two students a card.'

(Miyagawa 1997)

is not uncommon. From this point I will assume that dative *la*-phrases are DPs, not PPs, and that *la* in a clitic doubled dative is a case marker, while it is a preposition when it provides a directional meaning.

The whole range of *la* datives will be presented in (iv) and (v). Because *la* datives<sup>55</sup> in ditransitive and intransitive sentences have no exact counterpart in other Romance languages, I will examine their properties and I will propose that, when clitic doubled, they are also similar to English DOC (see Section 4.5).

(iv) In ditransitive sentences, Romanian dative arguments can appear in the context of all types of verbs and have many different meanings, as illustrated below. The structural and systematic explanation of the syntactic licensing and interpretation of Romanian dative arguments is a demanding task.

(9) Directional ('to') transitive action verbs (Recipient object)

a. *Mihaela (îi) trimite la Maria/Mariei o scrisoare*

Mihaela her.CL.DAT sends to Mary.DAT/ Mary.DAT a letter

'Mihaela sends Mary a letter'

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<sup>55</sup> Anagnostopoulou (2003:164 and ff) discusses *se* goal PPs in Greek. The author considers *se* goal PPs to be prepositional datives (i), not applicative objects as Greek clitic doubled genitives are (ii).

(i) *Edhosa to vivlio ston Petros*  
gave1SG. the book to-the Petros  
'I gave the book to Peter'

Anagnostopoulou (2003:166)

(ii) *Tu edhosa to Giani to vivlio*  
CL.GEN gave1SG. Giani.GEN the book  
'I gave the book Giani'

Anagnostopoulou (2003:15)

b. *Mihaela* (îi) *pune* (\*?la *cafea*)/*cafelei*<sup>56</sup> *zahăr*

Michaela her/it.CL.DAT puts to coffeee.DAT/coffee-the.DAT sugar

‘Michaela puts sugar in the coffee’ (Lit. ‘Michaela puts the coffee sugar’)

(10) Creation verbs (Benefactive)

*Dorina* (ne) *pregătește* *la toți/tuturor* *prăjituri*

Dorina us.CL.DAT prepares to all.DAT/all.DAT cookies

‘Dorina fixed us all cookies’

(11) Directional (‘from’) transitive action verbs (Source)

*Doina* *îi* *ia* *la Elena/Elenei* *bicicleta*

Doina her.CL.DAT takes-away to Elena.DAT/Elena.DAT bicycle-the

‘Doina takes away the bicycle from Elena’

(Lit. ‘Doina takes away Elena the bicycle’)

(12) Non-directional transitive action verbs (Possessor)

*Ion* *îi* *spală* *la Valeria/Valeriei* *mașina*

Ion her.CL.DAT washes to Valeria.DAT/Valeria.DAT car-the

‘Ion washes Valeria’s car’ (Lit. ‘Ion washes Valeria the car’)

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<sup>56</sup> When the *la* dative is inanimate, clitic doubling is felt to be deviant by some speakers.

(13) Stative transitive verbs (Possessor)

*Ion îi admiră la Diana/Dianeî bluza/răbdarea*

Ion her.CL.DAT admires to Diana.DAT/Diana.DAT blouse-the/patience-the

‘Ion admires Diana’s blouse/patience’ (Lit. ‘Ion admires Diana the blouse/patience’)

(14) Causative verbs (Benefactive)

*Emil îi sparge la Suzana/Suzanei ochelarii*

Emil her.CL.DAT broke to Suzana.DAT/Suzana.DAT glasses-the.ACC

‘Emilio broke the glasses on Susan’ (Lit. ‘Emil broke Susan the glasses’)

Notice that in ditransitive sentences, there are cases where the dative object is optionally doubled: recipient datives (see 9a,b), benefactive datives (see 10), and source datives (see 11). There are also cases where doubling is obligatory: possessor datives following non-directional transitive verbs (see 12), stative transitive verbs (see 13), and high datives with causative verbs (see 14). The problem of the optionality of clitic doubling and a detailed account for the structures of dative arguments in ditransitive sentences is presented in Section 4.3.

(v) Real and *la* datives can appear in sentences with intransitive verbs: unergatives, causatives, inchoatives, psychological unaccusatives, and existential unaccusatives.

(15) Unaccusative verbs of change or movement

*La Gabriela/Gabrielei            îi            sosesc    două vederi din Paris*<sup>57</sup>

To Gabriela.DAT/Gabriela.DAT   her.CL.DAT   arrive.PL two   cards from Paris

‘Two cards from Paris arrive to Gabriela’

(16) Inchoative verbs

*La Suzana/Suzanei            i            se            sparseră ochelarii*

To Suzana.DAT/Suzana.DAT   her.CL.DAT   se.REFL broke    glasses-the.NOM

‘The glasses broke on Susan’    (Lit. ‘To Susan broke the glasses’)

(17) Unaccusative psychological predicates<sup>58</sup>

*La Daniela/Danielei            nu îi            plac câinii*

To Daniela.DAT/Daniela.DAT not   her.CL.DAT like.PL dogs-the.ACC

‘Daniela doesn’t like dogs’    (Lit. ‘To Daniela don’t appeal the dogs’)

(18) Unaccusative existentials

*La Laura/Laurei            îi            prisosesc    ceva bani*

to Laura.DAT/Laura.DAT her.CL.DAT were-extra.PL some money

‘Laura had some money left’ (Lit. ‘To Laura were extra some money’)

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<sup>57</sup> It is not the aim of this work to discuss preverbal dative arguments in Romanian.

<sup>58</sup> I will not examine the structure of *la*/real dative arguments in inchoative contexts or experiencer datives in this work.

(19) Unergatives (intransitives) (Benefactive)

a. *Anca îi lucrează la/lui Ion doar dimineața*

Anca him.CL.DAT work.3.SG. to Ion.DAT/Ion.DAT only morning-the

'Anca works for Ion only in the morning'

b. *Alexandra ?(îi) muncește la un/unui patron toată ziua*

Alexandra him.CL.DAT works to one.DAT/one.DAT boss all day

'Alexandra works for some boss all day long'

(Lit. 'Alexandra works to some boss all day long')

(20) Ethical datives

*...unde mi -ai umblat?*

where me.CL.DAT have (you) walked

'where did you walk on me?'

In intransitive sentences, Romanian *la* dative and real dative objects are obligatorily clitic doubled. I examine in detail the structure and properties of *la*/real dative objects in intransitive sentences in Chapter 6.

Because our proposal for Romanian applicative constructions states that the clitic is the spell-out head of the Applicative Phrase, in the next section Romanian clitic doubling is examined.

### 4.3 Clitic doubling in Romanian

Traditional grammars (GA II: 168, Irimia, 2000: 107) observe that clitic doubling presents the indirect object as being a ‘cognate object’. There are two main directions in the analysis of Romanian clitic pronominals. First, within the generative tradition (see Rizzi 1982, Burzio 1986, Sportiche 1993), it is assumed that clitics are syntactically independent elements, hence *words*, whose properties should be accounted for in syntax. Following this path, Gierling (1997) assumes that clitics head a functional projection outside VP, whose Specifier is the landing site for the doubled DP. Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994) assumes that clitics are generated adjoined to IP, and clitic doubling is tied to a case-absorbing property of the doubling clitic and to the presence of a case marker on the doubled NP. Alboiu (2000) argues for a CliticP situated above TP in Romanian where the preverbal clitic raises. Conversely, in a morphophonological approach, Ortmann and Popescu (2002), Monachesi (2000), and Legendre (2000) assume that Romanian clitics are not lexical items, as they are *affixal elements*. Thus, cliticization is a lexical operation and clitics are the ‘spell-out’ of certain morphosyntactic features of the verb. In this work, I assume that dative clitics are the spell-out of the applicative projection in the Romanian clausal structure.

Romanian dative and accusative objects may or may not be doubled by accusative and dative clitics preceding the verb. Dative and accusative clitics mark the person and number features of the dative or accusative argument (see 21 below).

(21) Clitic Pronouns in Romanian<sup>59</sup>

CASE	1st		2nd		3rd (Masc)		3rd(Fem)		Reflexive	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
ACC	<i>m(ă)</i>	<i>Ne</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>v(ă)</i>	<i>(î)l</i>	<i>(î)i</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>s(e)</i>	<i>s(e)</i>
DAT	<i>(î)mi</i>	<i>ne, ni</i>	<i>ți</i>	<i>v(ă), vi</i>	<i>(î)i</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>(î)i</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>(î)și</i>	<i>(î)și</i>

There is nevertheless a contrast between accusative and dative clitic doubling. Accusative clitic doubling is restricted to arguments which have to be [+ANIMATE] and preceded by the preposition *pe* ‘on’ (Irimia 2000:107, Gierling 1997). In (22a) the direct object *pe portarul școlii/pe Dan* ‘school porter/Dan’ has all the three conditions. It is in contrast with (22b) which does not exhibit the preposition, and (22c) which is inanimate.

(22) a. (L)                    *-am văzut pe portarul școlii /peDan*

him.CL.ACC (I) have seen on porter-the school-the.GEN/Dan

‘I have seen the school porter/Dan’

b. \*(L)                    *-am chemat portarul școlii /Dan*

him.CL.ACC (I) have called porter-the school-the.GEN/Dan

‘I have called the school porter/Dan’

<sup>59</sup> For phonological reasons, before auxiliaries (in Romanian there is not a diphthong [ăa], accusative (i) and dative (ii) clitics lose the first or the last vowel as indicated by the brackets in the pronominal forms listed in (21):

- (i) *Fetele m /v /l /i /s -au văzut*  
 girls-the me.ACC/you.ACC/ he.ACC/they.ACC/they.REFL.ACC have seen  
 ‘The girls have seen me/you/him/them/themselves’
- (ii) *Fetele mi /v /i /i /și -au scris*  
 girls-the me.DAT/you.DAT/ he.DAT/they.DAT/they.REFL.DAT have seen  
 ‘The girls have seen me/you/him/them/themselves’

- c. \*(*L*)                    -*am luat pe scaun(ul)*  
 him.CL.ACC (I) have taken on chair-the  
 ‘I have seen the chair’

Dative clitic doubling optionality contrasts with the constraints on the doubling of accusatives. Doubling of dative arguments is not restricted by animacy for real datives (see 23a), specificity (see 23b), or definiteness (see 23c). *La* datives have nevertheless an animacy constraint, which may be overridden in some cases.

- (23) a. (*I*)                    -*am donat (\*la muzeul de artă)/ muzeului de artă*  
 it.CL.DAT.SG have donated to museum-the/DAT museum of art-the/DAT  
*toate tablourile mele*  
 all paintings-the mine  
 ‘I have donated all my paintings to the art museum’

- b. (*I*)                    -*am dat la cineva/cuiva scrisorile tale*  
 it.CL.DAT.SG have given to someone.DAT/someone.DAT letters-the yours  
 ‘I have given someone your letters’

- c. (*I*)                    -*am dat la un om/unui om biletul meu*  
 him.CL.DAT.SG have given to a man.DAT/a.DAT man ticket mine  
 ‘I have given a man my ticket’

Even if the optionality of clitic doubling of *la*/real datives has sometimes been shown to be a general phenomenon, the option *not* to double such an argument is restricted to non-

pronominal dative goals with ditransitive predicates, as exemplified in recipient (9), benefactive (10), and source (11) which are repeated below in (24), (25), and (26).

(24) Recipient

a. *Mihaela (îi) trimite la Maria/Mariei o scrisoare*

Michaela her.CL.DAT sends to Mary.DAT/ Mary.DAT a letter

‘Michaela sends Mary a letter’

b. *Mihaela (îi) pune (?la cafea)/cafelei zahăr*

Michaela her/it.CL.DAT puts to coffeee.DAT/coffee-the.DAT sugar

‘Michaela puts sugar in the coffee’ (Lit. ‘Michaela puts the coffee sugar’)

(25) Creation verbs (Benefactive)

*Dorina (ne) pregătește la toți/ tuturor prăjituri*

Dorina us.CL.DAT prepares to all.DAT/all.DAT cookies

‘Dorina fixed us all cookies’

(26) Directional (‘from’) transitive action verbs (Source)

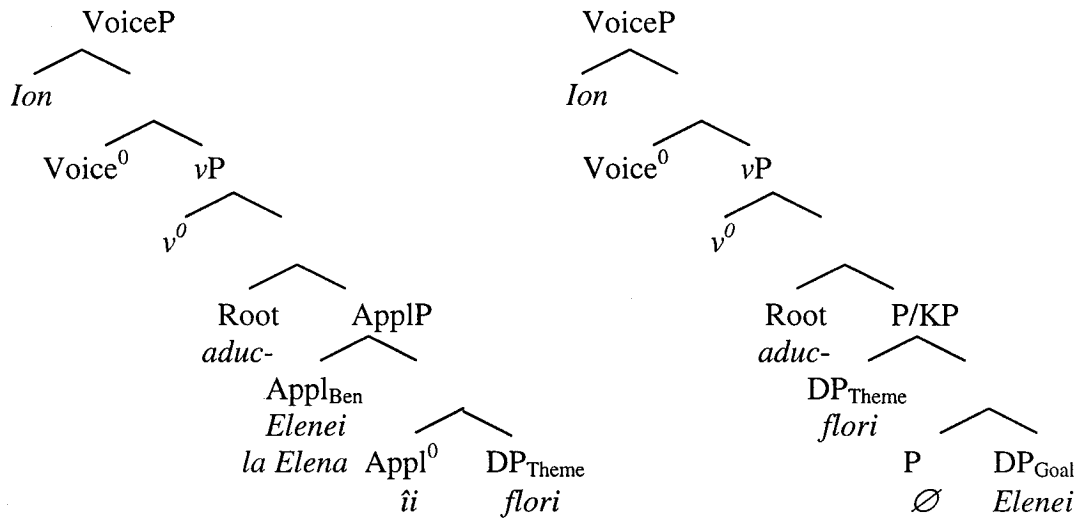
*Doina îi ia la Elena/Elenei bicicleta*

Doina her.CL.DAT takes-away Elena.DAT/Elena.DAT bicycle-the

‘Doina takes away the bicycle from Elena’ (Lit. ‘Doina takes away Elena the car’)



(27)' a. Clitic doubled ditransitive (27)' b. Non doubled datives



The analysis developed in this dissertation assumes that there is no optionality of dative clitic doubling, not even in ditransitive sentences, as it offers an account of the presence of the clitic. Clitic doubled *la* and ‘real’ datives in ditransitive sentences are licensed by a low applicative head. Essential to this work is the assertion that the clitic is the morphological spell-out of the applicative licensing head. Subsequently, I assume that the applicative head in Romanian is not null, as in English (see Marantz 1993, Pytkkanen 2002 inter alia), but similar to Spanish (see Cuervo 2003) and Haka Lai (Tibet) (i.e., *piak* see Section 3.2.2.2), it has the dative clitic as a spell-out.

In sum, there are two important factors to account for the obligatoriness of clitic doubling: the obligatory co-occurrence of a *la*/real dative argument and dative clitic, and the fact that there is no true optionality between the configuration with clitic and the configuration with an overt/covert preposition and without a clitic. The proposal developed in this dissertation has the advantage of showing in a principled way how

*la*/real dative arguments are licensed in ditransitive sentences and of broadening the explanation for the similarities and contrasts in the licensing and doubling of dative arguments in other configurations (i.e., in unaccusative sentences). Consequently, the varied syntactic and semantic characteristics of dative arguments are accounted for by a principled, unified approach.

#### 4.4 The dative alternation in Romanian

In this section I present some preliminary arguments for the assertion that the optionality of the clitic in a sentence like (28a) versus (28b) is only apparent. I bring evidence for the contrasts between the sentence with a clitic and the sentence without it.

(28) a. *Mihaela îi trimite la Maria/Mariei o scrisoare*

Mihaela her.CL.DAT sends to Mary.DAT/Mary.DAT a letter

‘Mihaela sends Mary a letter’

b. *Mihaela trimite \*la Maria/Mariei o scrisoare*

Mihaela sends to Mary.DAT/Mary.DAT a letter

‘Mihaela sends a letter to Mary’

If a locative phrase is added to these sentences, the variant with clitic doubling (29a) is more acceptable than the one without the clitic (29b).

(29) a. *Mihaela îi trimite (la Maria)/Mariei o scrisoare la birou.*

Mihaela her.CL.DAT sends to Mary.DAT/ Mary.DAT a letter to office

‘Mihaela sends Mary a letter to the office’

b. ??*Mihaela trimite o scrisoare (\*la Maria)/Mariei la birou*

Mihaela sends a letter to Mary.DAT/Mary.DAT to office

‘Mihaela sends Mary a letter to the office’

Notice that the variant with the *la* dative (i.e., *la Maria*) is deviant because of two objects preceded by the preposition *la*. The contrast between (29a) and (29b) parallels a similar contrast in English, where double objects behave like the clitic doubled Romanian datives, and the dative PP parallels the sentence without a clitic with respect to the effects of adding a locative PP (see 30a-b).

(30) a. *Stephanie sent Daniel a letter to his office*

b. \**Stephanie sent a letter to Daniel to his office*

These preliminary data easily suggest a syntactic alternation. It has to be noticed that there is no difference in word order between the two alternates in Romanian: in both cases, the doubled dative and the non-doubled one, (i.e., the one corresponding to a P(repositional)P(hrase) headed by a covert preposition) may appear both before and after the direct object in a sentence that can have wide focus (that expresses all new information) and receives normal nuclear stress. Clitic doubled datives may also appear before the direct object.

(31) a. *Mihaela îi trimite (la Maria/Mariei) o scrisoare*

Mihaela her.CL.DAT sends (to Mary.DAT/Mary.DAT) a letter

*la Maria/Mariei*

to Mary.DAT/Mary.DAT

‘Mihaela sends Mary a letter’

b. *Mihaela trimite (\*la Maria/Mariei) o scrisoare (\*la Maria) Mariei*

Mihaela sends to Mary.DAT Mary.DAT a letter to Mary.DAT Mary.DAT

‘Mihaela sends a letter to Mary’

Together with de Pedro (2004) for Spanish, I assume that the base word order in ditransitive sentences with *la*/real dative arguments is V IO DO. This word order mirrors the syntactic framework for those constructions proposed in this dissertation. When the word order is V DO IO, I assume it is a case of object shift in Romanian. Thus, I do not agree with Göbbel (2003:412 ff) who assumes that when IO precedes DO in ditransitive sentences, it is a case of dative shift triggered by the Nuclear Stress Rule.

In the next section, I will present the structure of the covert/overt prepositional non-doubled datives in ditransitive sentences.

#### **4.4.1 Romanian ditransitive structures without Dative clitics (PDCs)**

I assume that Romanian sentences without a dative clitic (i.e., 32a,b,c) have a basic representation similar to (33) where the DO asymmetrically c-commands the IO.

(32) a. *Mihaela trimite o scrisoare Elenei*  
 Mihaela sends a letter Helen.DAT

‘Mihaela sends Helen a letter’

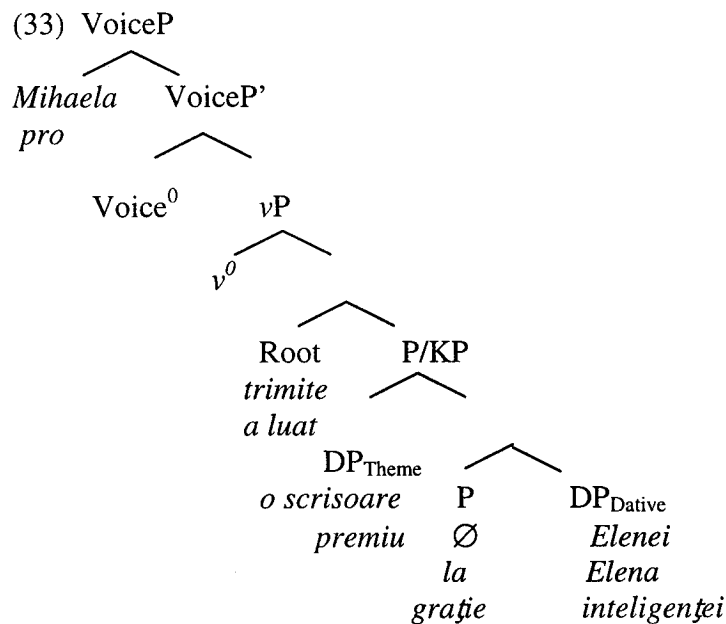
b. *Mihaela trimite la Elena o scrisoare*  
 Mihaela sends to Helen.ACC/?DAT<sup>63</sup> a letter

‘Mihaela sends a letter to Helen’

c. *A luat premiu grație/mulțumită inteligenței/ surorii ei*  
 (she)has took prize thanks to/due to intelligence-the.DAT/sister-the.DAT her

‘She took the prize thanks to/due to her intelligence/sister’

The proposed configuration for (32a,b,c) is shown below.



<sup>63</sup> I assume that because of the absence of the clitic doubling, *la Elena* is rather a PP in accusative case.

In configuration (33), the direct object *o scrisoare/premiu* asymmetrically c-commands the indirect object *Elenei/inteligenței*. As in all standard analyses, the IO *Elenei* receives structural dative case from the covert/overt preposition under government. In non-clitic doubled configurations, there are two cases depending on the presence versus the absence of a special dative preposition:

(i) On the one hand, in non-prepositional dative structures, a covert prepositional head or an abstract dative case assigner<sup>64</sup> head structurally assigns dative case to the indirect object (ie., to the dative object *Elenei* in 32a).

(ii) On the other hand, in overt prepositional datives or in *la* forms there are two situations:

- when indirect objects follow *la* in the familiar register, the accusative form is used with an accusative interpretation due to the directional preposition *la* (see 32b)
- when indirect objects follow the specialized dative prepositions *conform*, ‘due to’, *potrivit* ‘similar to’, *contrar* ‘contrary to’, etc, (see 32c).

In sum, I assume non-doubled indirect objects to be assigned case by an overt/covert preposition or by a functional projection KP assigning dative case, or by *la*, which assigns accusative case.

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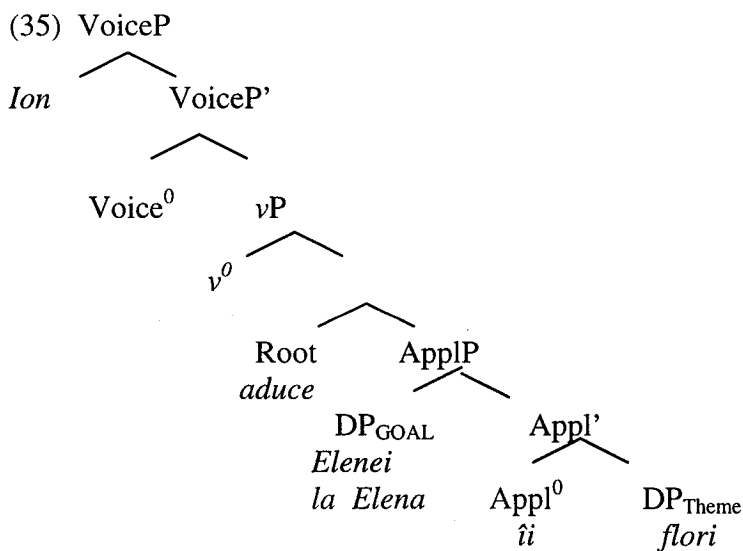
<sup>64</sup> In line with Cornilescu’s (1995) proposal for Romanian genitives, I may assume a functional K(case assigner)P(hrase) in this configuration instead of a PP with a null head which assigns dative case. Grosu (1994) also assumes that a functional head but with *-L* as a spell-out assigning genitive case in Romanian.

#### 4.4.2 Clitic doubled datives: Romanian DOC

In the following section I will propose that the presence of the dative clitic in ditransitive sentences is related to the cluster of syntactic properties which define Dative Shift in English. I assume the existence of an applicative projection in Romanian DOCs (i.e., clitic doubled *la*/real datives in ditransitive sentences) which parallels the low applicative projection proposed by Pykkänen (2002) for English DOC. In the configuration below, the low applicative head licenses the *la*/real dative argument semantically and syntactically and relates it to the theme DP. Then, the applicative phrase as a whole combines with the root.

- (34) *Ion îi aduce la Elena/Elenei/\*Parisului flori*  
 John her.CL.DAT brings toHelen.DATHelen.DAT/\*Paris.DAT flowers  
 'John brings flowers to Helen/\*Paris'

The proposed structure for the above sentence is below.



I assume the clitic doubled configuration to be similar to the English DOC. The syntactic support for this claim will be provided in section 4.5. In Romanian DOC, the goal DP is higher than the theme DP. The crucial difference is that in the PDC, the theme DP is the specifier of the preposition, while in the clitic doubled DOC this relation is reversed. The goal DP is related to the lower theme DP through the applicative head. In this case the *la/real* dative DP is the specifier and the theme DP is the complement of the applicative head. In Romanian the applicative head is not null, as in English, but it has a spell-out: the dative clitic<sup>65</sup>.

Romanian, on a par with Spanish, is also similar to languages where there is an overt applicative marker, but differs from them in that the applicative head varies according to the phi-features of the DP it licenses in its specifier. The *la/real* dative argument is semantically and syntactically licensed by the low applicative head and it relates to the theme DP. Then, the applicative phrase as a whole combines with the root.

#### 4.5 Syntactic support for the asymmetry between DOC and PDC

I assumed two different underlying structures for the doubled and the non-doubled alternates of the Romanian dative alternation. Essentially, the hierarchical relation

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<sup>65</sup> Remember that in most studied languages where the applicative head is spelled-out as a morpheme, the morpheme is a verbal affix as in Bantu (36a) and Indonesian (36b).

<p>(i) a. <i>Umugabo a -rá -som-er -a umugóre</i>          Man SP-PRES-read-APPL-ASP woman          'The man is reading for the woman.'</p> <p>b. <i>ʔa -ka -Than -piak</i>          3.SG S -1SG Obj-grow.up-APPL/BEN          'He grew up for me.'</p>	<p>KINYARWANDA          (Kimenyi 1980 cited by McGinnis 2001:4)          HAKA LAI          (Peterson, 1999:14)</p>
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between the two DPs is reversed. In the overt/non-overt prepositional structure, PDC, the theme is higher than the *la*/real dative DP. In the clitic doubled configuration, DOC, the dative DP is higher than the theme. If there is indeed a structural difference between constructions with and without clitic, and the difference is related to different syntactic positions of the arguments, it should be possible to find contrasts that involve asymmetries in c-command relations. In the discussion about English DOC, it is generally claimed that the following asymmetries are exhibited: binding, passivization, and the possessive relation between IO and DO<sup>66</sup>. In the next section I will examine these syntactic asymmetries for four kinds of Romanian dative arguments in ditransitive sentences:

(A) PDCs (non clitic doubled dative arguments with two distinct cases:

- covert prepositional datives (the (a,b) version) and
- *la* 'to' datives (the a',b' version), and

(B) DOCs (i.e., clitic doubled datives), also with two distinct cases:

- real DOCs datives (the (a,b) version) and
- *la* 'to' clitic doubled datives (the (a',b') version)

I will conclude that Romanian PDCs behave on a par with English PDCs and that clitic doubled *la*/real datives have the same syntactic properties English DOCs have.

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<sup>66</sup> See Demonte (1995) for the same observations for Spanish.

## 4.5.1 Binding

### 4.5.1.1 Binding of anaphors

Facts from binding will be evidence for the c-command relation between the clitic doubled dative and the direct object.

Barss and Lasnik (1986) observed that the two structures in the English dative alternation exhibit c-command asymmetries. Larson (1988) discusses binding asymmetries in the PDC. In the PDC, the direct object can bind an anaphor in the PP (36a), but the PP cannot bind into the direct object (36b).

(36) a. *I showed* [<sub>DO</sub> John]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IO</sub> to himself]<sub>i</sub> in the mirror

b. \**I showed* [<sub>DO</sub> himself]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IO</sub> to John]<sub>i</sub> in the mirror (Barss & Lasnik 1986)

Pesetsky (1995) analyzes asymmetries in the DOC that parallel those observed in the PDC alternative.

(37) a. *I showed* John<sub>i</sub> himself<sub>i</sub> in the mirror

b. \**I showed* himself John in the mirror

c. *I denied* every worker<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> paycheck

d. \**I denied* its<sub>i</sub> owner every paycheck<sub>i</sub> (Pesetsky 1995)

In DOC, the first object (the dative) can bind an anaphor (37a) or a possessive (37c) in the direct object, but the direct object cannot bind into the dative, as illustrated in (37b) and (37d).

In spite of the identical surface word order in the two constructions, parallel asymmetries in binding relations can also be observed in Romanian between the doubled DOC and the non-doubled PDC. In the construction without the clitic (i.e., PDC), the direct object may bind an anaphor in (38a) but not vice versa (38b).

(38) PDC

a. *Ioana a descris* [IO ei înseși]<sub>i</sub> [DO pe fată]<sub>i</sub>

Ioana has described her.DAT herself.DAT on girl.ACC

'Ioana has described the girl to herself'

b.\* *Ioana<sub>j</sub> a descris* [IO fetei]<sub>i</sub> [DO pe ea înșăși]<sub>\*i/j</sub>

Ioana has described girl-the.DAT on she.ACC herself.ACC

'Ioana has described herself to the girl.'

a'.\* *Ioana a descris* [IO la ea înșăși]<sub>i</sub> [DO pe fată]<sub>i</sub>

Ioana has described to she herself.DAT on girl.ACC

'Ioana has described the girl to herself.'

b'.\* *Ioana a descris* [IO la fată]<sub>i</sub> [DO pe ea înșăși]<sub>i</sub>

Ioana has described girl-the.DAT on she.ACC herself.ACC

'Ioana has described herself to the girl.'

It is not an easy task to build clitic doubled variants of (38). However, there is a contrast between the ungrammaticality of binding of the anaphor by the direct object (38a) and the deviance of (39b) where the clitic doubled dative binds the anaphor. The deviance of (39b) does not arise from binding but from the presence of the anaphor itself, which is rarely used in contemporary Romanian. The essential contrast here is between the grammatical (38a), the questionable ungrammaticality of (38a') and the ungrammatical (39a,a').

(39) DOC

a. \**Ioana i -a descriș [IO ei însesi]<sub>i</sub> [DO fata]<sub>i</sub>*

Ioana her.CL.DAT has described [she.DAT herself] [girl-the.ACC]

'Ioana has described the girl to herself'

b. ?*Ioana i - a descriș [IO fetei]<sub>i</sub> [DO pe ea însăși]<sub>i,j</sub>*

Ioana her.CL.DAT has described [girl-the.DAT] [on she.ACC herself.ACC ]

'Ioana has described herself to the girl'

a'. \**Ioana i -a descriș [IO la ea însăși]<sub>i</sub> [DO fata]<sub>i</sub>*

Ioana her.CL.DAT has described [ to she herself.DAT] [girl-the.ACC]

'Ioana has described the girl to herself'

b'. \**Ioana i - a descriș [IO la fată]<sub>i</sub> [DO pe ea însăși]<sub>i</sub>*

Ioana her.CL.DAT has described [to girl.DAT] [on she.ACC herself.ACC]

'Ioana has described herself to the girl'

Demonte (1995) provides clear evidence that in Spanish the clitic doubled dative can bind an anaphor in the direct object.

(40) *El tratamiento psicoanalítico le devolvió la estima de sí misma a María*

the therapy psychoanalytic CL.DAT gave-back the esteem of herself María.DAT

'The psychoanalytic therapy gave back Mary her self-esteem' (Demonte 1995: 10)

As it is easy to observe, Romanian DOCs (i.e., clitic doubled 'real' datives) behave in the same way as clitic doubled *la* datives. In both constructions, the clitic doubled argument may bind an anaphor in the direct object, which proves that the IO c-commands the DO in both 'real' and *la* clitic doubled dative constructions.

#### 4.5.1.2 *Binding of possessives*

As stated in the previous section, in non-doubled sentences (i.e., PDCs), a direct object can bind an anaphor in the indirect object but not vice versa. The reverse is true for the clitic doubled configuration (i.e., DOCs, both 'real' datives and *la* datives), which strongly suggests that the dative is higher than the accusative object. This implies that word order (Dative>Accusative) in the Romanian DOC reflects the hierarchical relationship between object and dative. If this is so, we expect other syntactic phenomena to confirm this order.

If the structures presented in (33), which is the PDC syntactic structure, and (35), which is the DOC structure, are taken into account, the following predictions arise with respect

to the binding of possessives. In every case, the third person possessive *său* 'his' will be used.

(41) Predictions for binding of possessive *său*

A. In the PDC: (i) the string *său* > DP will be ungrammatical

(ii) the string DP.DAT > *său* will be grammatical

B. In the DOC: (i) the string *său* > DP.DAT will be grammatical

(ii) the string DP.DAT > *său* will be ungrammatical

Observe that the predictions for the DOC follow from a structure where the dative DP is higher than the theme. The predictions will be checked with regards to real and *la* datives in both PDCs and DOCs.

A. Possessives in the PDCs

(i) The possessive *său* in the direct object (42a, a') cannot be bound by the *la*/real dative, as expected.

(42) a. \*???*Am dat cecul său<sub>?i/j</sub> muncitorului<sub>i</sub>*

we-gave check-the.ACC his worker-the.DAT

'\*???We gave his check to the worker'

a'. ?*Am dat la un muncitor<sub>i</sub> cecul său<sub>?i/j</sub>*

we-gave to a worker.ACC/DAT check-the.ACC his

'?We gave his check to a worker'

b. *Poliția a dat tatălui<sub>i</sub> său<sub>i</sub> copilul<sub>i</sub> (tatălui<sub>i</sub> său<sub>i</sub>)*<sup>67</sup>

police-the has given father-the.DAT his the child.ACC (father-the.DAT his)

‘The police gave the child to his (respective) father’

b’. *Poliția a dat la tatăl<sub>i</sub> său<sub>i</sub> copilul<sub>i</sub>*

police-the has given to father-the.DAT his child-the.ACC

‘The police gave the child to his (respective) father’

(ii) In contrast, if possessive *său* belongs to the *la/dative*DP, the sentences are grammatical in the reading where the DP binds the possessive, as illustrated in (43b,b’) above.

Notice that *la* datives behave on a par with real datives, as both the strings *său* >DP.DAT and *său* >*la* dative are ungrammatical, and the strings DP.DAT > *său* and *la* dative > *său* are grammatical in non doubled ditransitive sentences.

#### B. Possessives in DOC

(i) As in the English DOC, a possessive in the theme object can be bound by a clitic doubled dative (43), especially because in Romanian the dative may appear both to the left and to the right of the direct object. This strongly suggests a higher position for both the real dative *muncitorului* (43a) and the *la* dative *la un muncitor* (43a’) below.

(43) a. *I - am dat muncitorului<sub>i</sub> cecul său<sub>i</sub>*

him.CL.DAT we-gave worker-the.DAT check-the.ACC his

‘We gave his check to the worker’

---

<sup>67</sup> The order V DO IO is preferred by some native speakers in this sentence.

a'. *I -am dat la un muncitor<sub>i</sub> cecul său<sub>i</sub>*

him.CL.DAT we-gave to a worker.DAT check-the.ACC his

'We gave his check to a worker'

b. ??*Poliția i -a dat tatălui<sub>i</sub> său<sub>i</sub> copilul<sub>i</sub>*

police-the him.CL.DAT has given father-the.DAT his child-the.ACC

'The police gave the child to his (respective) father'

b'. ?/\**Poliția i -a dat la tatăl<sub>i</sub> său<sub>i</sub> copilul<sub>i</sub>*

police-the him.CL.DAT has given to father-the.DAT his child-the.ACC

'The police gave the child to his (respective) father'

There is a sharp contrast between the grammaticality of sentences in (43a,a') and the unacceptability of the sentences in (43b,b'). In (43b,b'), *său* in the dative DP is bound by the theme DP, which would have accounted for a higher position for the theme DP. Remember that my proposal is that in clitic doubled constructions (ie., DOCs), the indirect object c-commands the direct object DP.

To sum up, binding of a possessive pronoun and binding of anaphors provide evidence that in the clitic doubled configuration the dative argument and the clitic doubled *la* argument c-command the theme DP. These facts cannot be captured by a theory that does not make reference to hierarchical structures nor by a theory that assumes that the linear order Acc > Dat is the direct reflection of the hierarchical position of the arguments.

#### 4.5.1.3 Weak crossover

The structures assigned to the PDC and the DOC make clear predictions with respect to weak crossover effects (WCO). WCO effects take place when a possessive pronoun is coindexed with a lower constituent that undergoes *wh*-movement, as represented below.

#### (44) WCO

\*[ *wh*<sub>-i</sub> ... [ *her*<sub>i</sub> ... ] ... *t*<sub>i</sub> ... ]

In the English PDC construction, WCO effects are produced when the *wh*-dative DP moves across a theme DP that contains a possessive coindexed with the dative DP. No problems arise when the possessive is in the prepositional phrase (45b).

#### (45) WCO in English PDC

- a. \**Who*<sub>i</sub> *did Mary give his*<sub>i</sub> *check to t*<sub>i</sub> ?
- b. *What*<sub>i</sub> *did Mary give t*<sub>i</sub> *to its*<sub>i</sub> *owner?*

In the DOC, the effects are reversed: WCO arises when there is a possessive pronoun in the dative bound by a raised *wh*- theme object (46a). The effect does not arise if the possessive is in the direct object and the dative is a *wh*-word (46b)<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>68</sup> Some English speakers do not like *wh*-extraction of a dative from the double object construction.

(46) WCO in DOC

- a. *Who<sub>i</sub> did Mary give t<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> check<sup>69</sup>?*
- b. *\*What<sub>i</sub> did Mary give its<sub>i</sub> owner t<sub>i</sub> ?*

The assertion that the Romanian clitic doubled ditransitive (both in real datives and in *la* datives) is a DOC, while the non-doubled ditransitive corresponds to the PDC foresees that WCO in Romanian will reproduce the English WCO effects. The predictions are true only if sentences are compared structure to structure, not in terms of linear order of arguments.

(A) WCO in PDC

As expected, the sentences in (47) show that WCO effects are induced if the possessive is bound by a raised *wh*-PP (47a,a') but not when the possessive is contained in the PP (47b,b').

(47) PDC

a. *\*???Cui<sub>i</sub> am dat cecul său<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub>?*

whom.DAT (we) have given check-the.ACC his

'To whom did we give his cheque?'

a'. *\*???La cine<sub>i</sub> am dat cecul său<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub>?*

to whom.ACC (we) have given check-the.ACC his

'To whom did we give his cheque?'

---

<sup>69</sup> Though, for those who accept English (47b), there is no contrast with (i), where there is no pronoun:  
(i) *Who did Mary give the check?*

b. *Ce (pământ)<sub>i</sub> a fost redat t<sub>i</sub> proprietarului său<sub>i</sub>?*

what.ACC (land) has been given-back owner-the.DAT his

‘What (land) has been given back to its owner?’

b’. *Ce (pământ)<sub>i</sub> a fost redat t<sub>i</sub> la proprietarul său<sub>i</sub>?*

what.ACC (land) has been given-back to owner-the.DAT his

‘What (land) has been given back to its owner?’

In PDC structures (i.e., not clitic doubled dative configurations), in both ‘real’ dative structures and *la* dative structures, a *wh-* *la*/real dative DP cannot move across a theme DP that contains a possessive coindexed with the *la*/real dative DP, similar to English PDC in (46a). When the possessive is in the real dative or in the *la* dative, the *wh* can easily move across the theme DP (see 48a’,b’ which parallel the English PDC in 46b).

(B) WCO in DOC

If we take for granted that the clitic doubled dative is higher than the direct object, in spite of its appearance to its right, WCO effects should be reversed in DOC with respect to the effects in the PDC and parallel those found in English DOC (see 48).

(48) DOC

a. *Cui<sub>i</sub> i -am dat t<sub>i</sub> cecul său<sub>i</sub>?*

whom.DAT him.CL.DAT (we) have given check-the.ACC his

‘To whom did we give his cheque?’

a'. *La cine<sub>i</sub> i -am dat t<sub>i</sub> cecul său<sub>i</sub> ?*

to whom.DAT him.CL.DAT (we)have given check-the.ACC his

'To whom did we give his cheque?'

b. *?Ce (pământ)<sub>i</sub> i -a fost redat proprietarului său<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ?*

what.ACC (land) him.CL.DAT has been given-back owner-the.DAT his

'What (land) has been given back to its owner?'

b. *?Ce (pământ)<sub>i</sub> i -a fost redat la proprietarul său<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ?*

what.ACC (land) him.CL.DAT has been given-bac to owner-the.DAT his

'What (land) has been given back to its owner?'

In order to give an explanation for the facts in (49), we have to assume that the trace of the *wh*- dative object in (49a,a') is higher than the position of the theme object DP; in contrast, in (49b,b') being felt as deviant, the trace of the *wh*-theme object *ce (pământ)* 'what land' must be lower to the position of the dative object. The deviance in (49b,b') means that the possessive pronoun in the dative is bound by the raised *wh* underlyingly lower object and WCO arises. Notice that in WCO the *la* datives behave on a par with real datives, and on a par with English DOC. This fact reinforces the assertion that the Romanian clitic doubled *la*/real dative construction in ditransitive context is a DOC.

#### 4.5.1.4 Synopsis of binding

In PDCs, (i.e., Romanian non-clitic doubled constructions), we have seen that the theme DP can bind an anaphor or a possessive pronoun both in the dative and in the *la* dative

DP (i.e., in the *la/real* dative DP). There are no WCO effects if a possessive contained in the *la/real* dative DP is bound by a theme DP that *wh-* moves. In contrast, an anaphor or possessive pronoun in the theme DP cannot be bound by the *la/real* dative DP, and WCO effects are induced if the *la/real* dative DP *wh-* moves across a theme DP that contains a possessive coindexed with it. Consequently, binding data in PDC shows that the theme DP asymmetrically c-commands the *la/real* dative DP, exactly as in the English *to*-PP (i.e., PDC) construction.

Binding facts in the clitic doubled construction containing real datives and *la* datives (i.e., Romanian DOC) are the opposite of those found in PDC. The theme DP cannot bind an anaphor or a possessive pronoun in the *la/real* dative DP. WCO effects arise when the possessive is in the *la/real* dative DP and the theme DP *wh-* moves. In contrast, the *la/real* dative DP can bind into the theme DP. These facts clearly argue for a structure where the *la/real* dative DP asymmetrically c-commands the theme DP, as in (35). The possible neutral word order Accusative > *la/real* Dative must be, therefore, derived by movement, a kind of movement that does not create new binding possibilities. Romanian binding facts are parallel to facts in English if we assume that the Romanian clitic doubled constructions have the same syntax (in the relevant sense) as the English DOC.

#### **4.5.2 Scope**

Aoun & Li (1989) noticed that the possible scopal relations between theme DP and dative DP are different in the two constructions of the English dative alternation. They observe that in PDC (49a) there is free scope between the theme DP and the *to*-dative. In contrast,

in the double object construction (49b), the dative DP can take scope over the theme DP but not vice versa. In the double object construction scope is frozen.

- (49) a. *Mary gave some book to everyone*      *some > every; every > some*  
       b. *Mary gave someone every book*      *some > every; \*every > some*
- (Aoun & Li 1989: ex.61 and 59)

Bruening (2001) made similar observations for the relative scope of *a* and *each*.

- (51) *Mary gave a doll to each girl*      *a > each; each > a*  
 (52) *Mary gave a girl each doll*      *a > each; \*each > a*

Similar frozen scope has been shown to occur in other languages as well, including Spanish (see Demonte 1995 and Cuervo 2003)<sup>70</sup>. Both authors show that scope is free in the PDC. In contrast, frozen scope occurs in clitic doubled ditransitives

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<sup>70</sup> Cuervo (2003:61) gives the following examples for Spanish:

(A) PDC:

- (i) *Andrés mandó cada cuadro a un museo (distinto)*      *cada > un*  
 Andrés sent each painting.ACC to a museum different  
 'Andrés sent each painting to a (different) museum'  
 (ii) *Carolina llevó un artículo (distinto) a cada revista*      *cada > un*  
 Carolina took an article.ACC different to each magazine  
 'Carolina took a (different) article to each magazine'

(B) DOC

- (iii) *Andrés le mandó cada cuadro a un museo (#distinto)*      *\*cada > un*  
 Andrés CL.DAT sent each painting.ACC a museum.DAT different  
 'Andrés sent a (different) museum each painting'  
 (iv) *Carolina le llevó un artículo (distinto) a cada revista*      *cada > un*  
 Carolina CL.DAT took an article.ACC (different) each magazine.DAT  
 'Carolina took each magazine a (different) article'

The same observations may be made for Romanian PDC and DOC.

(52) PDC

a. *Profesoara a dat fiecărui copil un desen fiecare>un*  
teacher-the has given each.DAT child a drawing  
'The teacher gave a drawing to each child'

a' *Profesoara a dat la fiecare copil un desen fiecare>un*  
teacher-the has given to each.DAT child a drawing  
'The teacher gave a drawing to each child'

b. *Profesoara a dat unui copil fiecare desen fiecare>un*  
teacher-the has given a.DAT child each drawing  
'The teacher gave each drawing to a child'

b.' *Profesoara a dat la un copil fiecare desen fiecare>un*  
teacher-the has given to a.DAT child each drawing  
'The teacher gave each drawing to a child'

In (52) we see that *fiecare* 'each' can take scope over the indefinite *un* 'a' independently of whether it is in the theme DP or in the *la*/real dative DP. Notice also the similar behaviour of real datives in (a,b) variants and *la* datives in (a',b') variants. In the double object construction, in contrast, *fiecare* 'each' cannot take scope over the indefinite when it is in the direct object position (53b,b').

(53) DOC

a. *Profesoara i -a dat fiecărui copil un desen (diferit) fiecare>un*

teacher-the him.CL.DAT has given each.DAT child a drawing (distinct)

'The teacher gave a drawing to each child'

a'. *Profesoara i -a dat la fiecare copil un desen (diferit) fiecare>un*

teacher-the him.CL.DAT has given to each.DAT child a drawing (distinct)

'The teacher gave a drawing to each child'

b. *Profesoara i -a dat unui copil (diferit) fiecare desen \*fieceare>un*

teacher-the him.CL.DAT has given a.DAT child (distinct) each drawing

'The teacher gave each drawing to a child'

b' *Profesoara i -a dat la un copil (diferit) fiecare desen \*fieceare>un*

teacher-the him.CL.DAT has given to a.DAT child each drawing

'The teacher gave each drawing to a child'

We can see in (53) that the scope is frozen in a mode that is consistent with word order: the theme DP cannot take scope over the *la*/real dative DP.

Bruening (2001) shows that frozen scope facts in the English DOC are not the result of the theme DP being frozen in place. Rather, he argues that both internal DPs can move for scope, but quantifier raising (QR) obeys superiority, i.e., QR cannot alter the relative hierarchical relation between the two objects that share some local domain.

The data just presented is consistent with the initial position of the arguments. Even if the accusative DP moves<sup>71</sup>, such that the DP can be interpreted there for scope, when the dative DP has to undergo QR, it would move to a specifier position *above* the accusative, obeying superiority. In any case, scope facts of the Romanian DOC can be better captured by the structure in (35) than by a proposal in which the accusative is higher than the dative, as in the PDC.

In sum, scope facts show that that word order V IO DO is a direct reflection of the hierarchical relation between the objects.

#### 4.6 Concluding remarks

Facts from binding and weak crossover have been shown to support the proposal that the non-doubled *la/real* dative construction is a PDC and the clitic doubled *la/real* dative construction corresponds to the Romanian version of the DOC, where the indirect object is higher than the theme object.

In PDC, the DO asymmetrically c-commands the IO (see 54 repeating 32)

- (54) a. *Mihaela trimite la Elena/Elenei o scrisoare*  
Mihaela sends to Helen.DAT/Helen.DAT a letter  
'Mihaela sends a letter to Helen'

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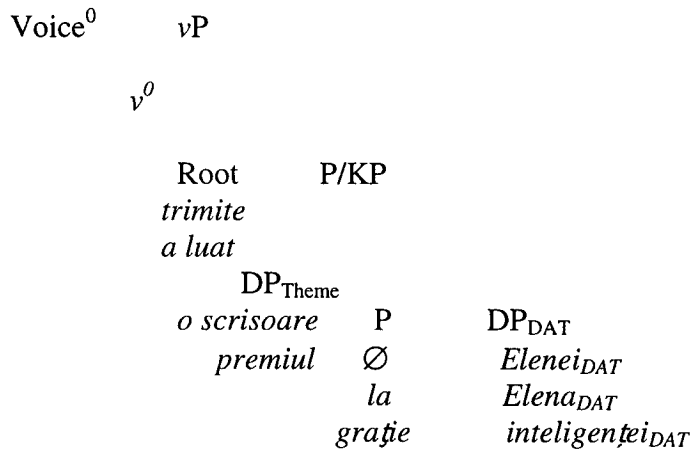
<sup>71</sup> Remember, the word order V DO IO is also possible and considered 'unmarked' by Göbbel (2003).

- b. *A luat premiu grație/mulțumită inteligenței/surorii ei*  
 (she) took the prize thanks to/due to intelligence-the.DAT/sister-the.DAT her  
 ‘She took the prize thanks to/due to her intelligence/sister’

The proposed configuration for (54a,b) is given below.

(55) VoiceP

*Mihaela* VoiceP’  
*pro*



In (55), the direct object *o scrisoare/premiu* asymmetrically c-commands the indirect object *Elenei/la Elena/inteligenței*, which receives or checks structural dative case from the covert dative preposition or overt dative preposition *la* under government.

In non-clitic doubled configurations, there are two cases depending on the presence versus the absence of a special dative preposition:

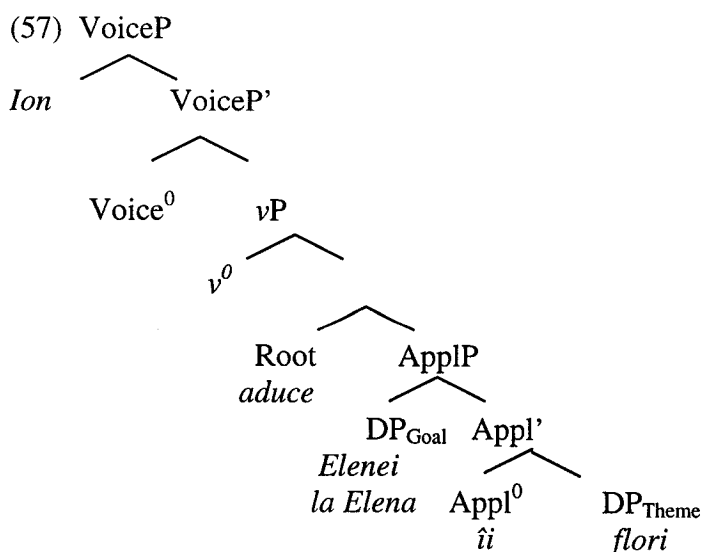
- (i) In non-prepositional dative structures, the indirect object is assigned dative case by a covert/overt prepositional head or an abstract dative case assigner.

(ii) In overt prepositional datives (i.e., preceded by *conform*, ‘due to’, *potrivit* ‘similar to’, *contrar* ‘contrary to’, etc) and in *la* ‘datives’, (preceded by *la* in the familiar register), the case assigner is the specialized preposition (dative preposition/*la* accusative preposition, see 32b).

In sum, I assume non-doubled indirect objects to be assigned dative case by an overt/covert preposition, by a functional projection KP, or by *la*.

Romanian sentences with *la*/real dative arguments doubled by dative clitics are correlated with syntactic and semantic properties exhibited by the English DOC. In clitic doubled configurations the *la*/real dative DP c-commands the theme DP. In the Romanian DOC, the *la*/real dative DP is the specifier and the theme DP is the complement of the applicative head. The proposed structure for (56) is given in (57).

- (56) *Ion îi aduce la Elena/Elenei flori*  
 John her.CL.DAT brings to Helen.DAT/Helen.DAT flowers  
 ‘John brings Helen flowers’



In the next chapter, I will argue that Romanian DOCs (i.e., clitic doubled *la*/real datives) are, following Pylkkänen (2002) and Cuervo (2003), low applicative constructions. On a par with Spanish (see Cuervo 2003) and Bantu languages (see Baker 1988, 1996), in Romanian the applicative head is not null, as in English, but it has a spell-out: the dative clitic. The low applicative head licenses the indirect object semantically and syntactically and relates it to the theme DP. Then, the applicative phrase as a whole combines with the root.

## CHAPTER 5. The semantics of low applicatives in Romanian

### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present a more detailed analysis of the meanings of Romanian DOCs. First, I discuss the diagnostics of low applicative constructions. In Section 5.2, I assume that in the Romanian low applicative construction the relation between a *la/* real dative argument and the theme DP may be dynamic or static in the spirit of Pylkkänen (2002) and Cuervo (2003). The dynamic relation is expressed by both the low applicative-TO head, which licenses a recipient applied argument (see 1a) and by the low applicative-FROM head, which licenses a source applied argument (1b).

(1) a. Recipient

*Mama*      *îi*      *dădu* *la Maria/Mariei*      *o brățară*

mother-the her.CL.DAT gave to Mary.DAT/Mary.DAT a bracelet

‘Mother gave Mary a bracelet (as a gift)’

b. Source

*Doina* (*îi*)      *ia înapoi*      (*la Elena/Elenei*)      *bicicleta*

Doina her.CL.DAT takes-away to Elena.DAT/Elena.DAT bicycle-the

‘Doina takes away the bicycle from Elena’ (‘Doina takes away Elena the bicycle’)

In Section 5.4, I discuss the static relation expressed by the low applicative-AT (see Cuervo 2003), which licenses a possessor dative in Romanian. In (2a,b), *Maria* is the

inalienable possessor of the forehead and the possessor of the dress. The action expressed by the verb is directed to the *forehead/dress* (i.e., the theme object) and, in virtue of the possessive relation, to Maria (i.e., the applied argument).

(2) a. *Ion îi sărută la Maria/Mariei fruntea*

Ion her.CL.DAT kisses to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT forehead-the

‘Ion kisses Maria’s forehead’ (Lit. ‘Ion kisses Maria the forehead’)

b. *Dan îi admiră la Maria/Mariei rochia*

Dan her.CL.DAT admires to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT dress-the

‘Dan admires Maria’s dress’ (Lit. ‘Dan admires Maria the dress’)

Some treat possessor datives as a case of *possessor raising*, with literal raising (Demonte 1995, Landau 1999), control (Borer & Grodzinsky 1986), or abstract incorporation (Masullo 1992). Pylkkänen (2002) assumes that (Hebrew) possessor datives are an expression of the dynamic source low applicative. Following Cuervo (2003), I assume that possessor datives are better analyzed as low applicatives-AT, taking into account the verb that embeds them, as follows.

(A) possessor datives under a stative predicate (e.g. *a admira* ‘admire,’ *a cunoaște* ‘know,’ *a invidia* ‘envy’)

(B) possessor datives under a non-directional action verb (e.g. *a privi* ‘look at,’ *a săruta* ‘kiss,’ *a spăla* ‘wash’). In the above cases, the *la/dative* argument is also an applied argument licensed by a low applicative head with a static meaning. Like all datives in the DOC, these arguments are related to the theme object and bear no direct relation to the

verb or event. In contrast to recipients and sources, the *la/real* datives in (A) and (B) are basically interpreted as the possessor of the theme object<sup>72</sup>. In line with Cuervo (2003), I propose that in Romanian also the low applicative-AT establishes a static relation of possession rather than a dynamic one. The *la/real* dative argument is the possessor of the theme DP, being simply a participant in the event.

In section 5.5, I give an overview of the syntactic properties of *la/real* datives in Romanian. In the hierarchical structure of DOC, the applied object is higher than the theme object, which is mirrored by the linear order (i.e., V IO DO). Symmetries between the English DOC and Romanian ditransitive constructions with clitic doubling were discussed in Chapter 4. In Section 5.5.2, I point to dissimilarities concerning the passivization of the DOC in these languages. Because my proposal for applicative constructions in Romanian relies on the similarity between the English DOC and clitic doubled Romanian ditransitive constructions, I also discuss restrictions on dative objects (i.e., animacy, inalienable possession) and verb semantics for English and Romanian DOC.

## 5.2. The semantics of low applicatives

Chapter 3 showed that Pykkänen (2002) develops a typology of applied arguments based on the structural semantics of the applicative construction. Thus, high applicatives are characterized as expressing the relation between an individual (the applied argument) and

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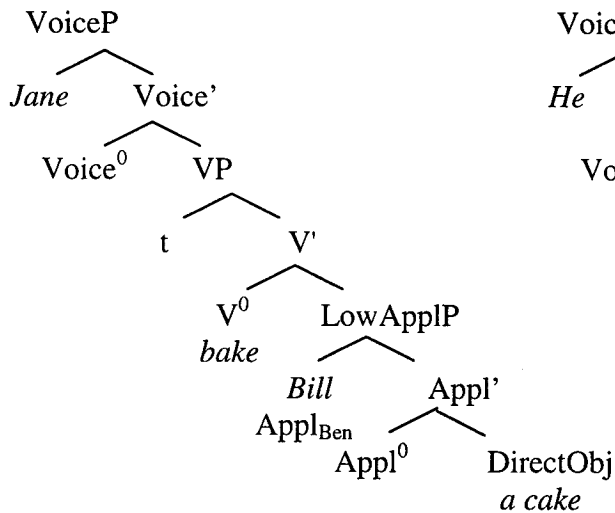
<sup>72</sup> Datives which appear with causative verbs (e.g. *a arde* 'burn,' *a rupe* 'break,' *a șifona* 'wrinkle') match the transitive or the inchoative variant of the predicate. In this pattern, the *la/real* dative is not directly related to the object DP but to the whole predicate. This different kind of applicative construction, which I assume to be high applicatives is the topic of Section 6.3.

an event. This relation is expressed structurally by having the applicative head merged above the verb as in (4b). Low applicatives, in contrast, express a relation between two individuals (the direct and the indirect object) inside the event and merge below the verb (as in 4a).

(4) Structure of high and low applicatives

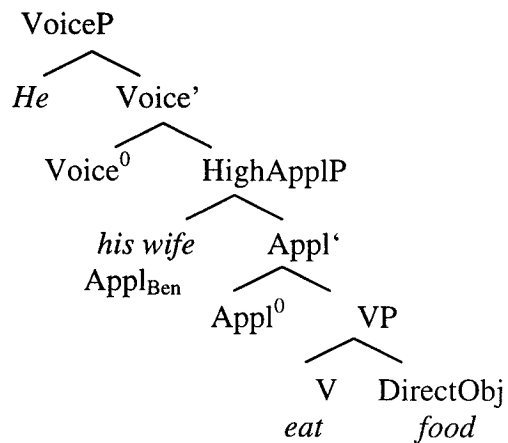
a. **Low applicative** (English)

*Jane baked Bill a cake*



b. **High applicative** (Chaga)

*'He is eating food for his wife'*



Recall that these definitions and their associated structures provide two diagnostics<sup>73</sup> of the distinction between the two kinds of applicatives. One diagnostic in (5) concerns the semantics of the low applicative head, and the other in (7) refers to the structural environment for the applicatives. Based on these diagnostics, Pykkänen (2002:26) finds a 'tight correlation between transitivity restrictions and verbal semantics'.

<sup>73</sup> For a detailed account see Section 3.2.4.5.

(5) Because they imply a transfer of possession, the semantics of low applicatives does not allow a combination with static verbs, such as *hold* (see 6a). Conversely, high applicatives (see 6b) may combine with such verbs.

(6) a. *\*I held him the bag*

b. *Katonga ya-kwaant-i-dde Mukasa ensawo*

LUGANDA

Katonga PAST-hold-APPL-PAST Mukasa bag

‘Katonga held the bag for Mukasa’

(Pylkkänen 2002:ex. 28b; 31b)

In English for example, which lacks high applicatives, sentence (6a) is ungrammatical; while it is natural in Luganda (6b), a language with high applicatives.

(7) Given that a low applicative head denotes a relation between the direct and indirect object, it cannot appear in a structure that lacks a direct object; subsequently low applicatives do not combine with unergative verbs (see 6a). Only high applicative heads should be able to combine with unergatives (see 6b).

(8) a. *\*I ran him*

(Pylkkänen 2002:ex. 28a)

b. *Mukasa ya-tambu-le-dde Katonga*

Mukasa PAST-walk-APPL-PAST Katonga

‘Mukasa walked for Katonga’

(Pylkkänen 2002:ex. 31a)

As low applicatives imply a dynamic transfer of possession in Pylkkänen's proposal, there are two low applicative heads: LOW-APPL-TO and LOW-APPL-FROM, which respectively correspond to a beneficiary/goal and to a source/malefactive applied argument.

Cuervo (2003:90 ff) proposes that Pylkkänen's semantics for low applicatives has to be widened, as in Spanish low applicatives may combine with the static verb *(sost)ener* 'hold' and also with other non-directional action verbs such as *wash*, *look at*, *kiss*, and also with static verbs such as *admire*, *envy*, *imagine*. In contrast to the situation in Luganda (6b), the Spanish constructions in (9) imply a relation of (static) possession, not a benefactive relation. Nevertheless, I show in Section 6.2 that the Romanian verb *hold* may also combine with a high applicative construction.

(9) a. *Pablo le sostuvo la valija a Andreína*

Pablo CL.DAT held the suitcase Andreína.DAT

'Pablo held Andreína's suitcase'

b. *Pablo le admira la paciencia a Valeria*

Pablo CL.DAT admires the patience.ACC Valeria.DAT

'Pablo admires Valeria's patience' (Lit: 'Pablo admires Valeria the patience')

c. *Pablo le besó la frente a Valeria*

Pablo CL.DAT kissed the forehead.ACC Valeria.DAT

'Pablo kissed Valeria on the forehead' (Lit: 'Pablo kissed Valeria the forehead')

(Cuervo 2003: ex 121)

In (9a) the dative *a Andreína* is the *possessor* of the suitcase, not the benefactive of the event of somebody holding a random suitcase. The same situation holds for (9b) and (9c). The dative argument *a Valeria* is the possessor of the characteristic of being patient (9b) and is the inalienable possessor of the forehead in (9). Semantically, the above dative arguments are related directly to the theme object and not to the verb. Structurally, they are expressed in Cuervo's (2003:73, ff) proposal as being licensed by a low applicative construction expressing a static possessive relation (i.e., the low applicative AT head). In a low applicative AT construction, the dative does not get or lose the theme object, as happens in low applicatives TO or FROM: it is just understood as the possessor (or location) of the theme object (see 9,a,b,c).

In the spirit of Pylkkänen (2002) and Cuervo (2003), in the next sections, I will demonstrate that in Romanian DOC there exists both a dynamic and a static relation between the theme and dative object. The dynamic transfer of possession is expressed by the low applicative-TO construction, which licenses a recipient applied argument and by the low applicative-FROM construction, which licenses a source applied argument. The static relation is expressed by the low applicative-AT construction, which licenses the possessor dative.

### **5.3 Dynamic relations: Recipient and Source Applicatives (TO and FROM)**

Pylkkänen (2002) assumes that low applicatives relate the applied argument to the internal argument of the verb through a dynamic relation of transfer. She proposes two types of low applicative heads that specify either a transfer TO or a transfer FROM.

Depending on which head licenses the applied argument, this argument is interpreted as the recipient or the source of the theme object.

(10) Dynamic Low applicatives

a. **Low-AppI-TO** (Recipient applicative, i.e., English DOC):

$\lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda f_{\langle e, s, t \rangle}. \lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{to-the-possession}(x, y)$

*I wrote John a letter*

(‘I wrote a letter and the letter was to the possession of John’)

b. **Low-AppI- FROM** (Source applicative, i.e., Korean DOC):

$\lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda f_{\langle e, s, t \rangle}. \lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{from-the-possession}(x, y)$

*Totuk-i Mary-hanthey panci-lul humci-ess-ta*

thief.NOM Mary.DAT ring.ACC steal.PAST-PLAIN

‘The thief stole a ring from Mary’

(‘The thief stole a ring and it was from Mary’s possession’) (Pylkkänen 2002:18, ff)

The semantic interpretation is computed directly from the syntactic structure. The applicative head combines first with the theme object (x), then with the applied argument (y), and finally with the verb. A language can select one or both of these heads from the universal inventory of functional elements. English, for instance, has only the TO applicative head, while Spanish (see Cuervo 2003) has both. Here I argue that Romanian is another language with TO and FROM applicatives.

(11) **Low-Applicative-TO**: Applied argument as a Recipient

a. English

*Daniel handed Stephanie the magazine*

b. Romanian

*Mihaela îi trimite la Maria/Mariei o scrisoare*

Mihaela her.CL.DAT sends to Mary.DAT/Mary.DAT a letter

‘Mihaela sends Mary a letter’

c. Spanish

*Pablo le pasó la bicicleta a Andreína*

Pablo CL.DAT passed the bicycle.ACC Andreína.DAT

‘Pablo handed Andreína the bicycle’ (Cuervo 2003:ex 73)

(12) **Low-Applicative-FROM:** Applied argument as a Source

a. English

\**Daniel stole Stephanie a magazine* (‘Daniel stole a magazine from Stephanie’)

b. Romanian

*Doina îi ia la Elena/Elenei bicicleta*

Doina her.CL.DAT takes-away to Elena.DAT/Elena.DAT bicycle-the

‘Doina takes away the bicycle from Elena’ (‘Doina takes away Elena the bicycle’)

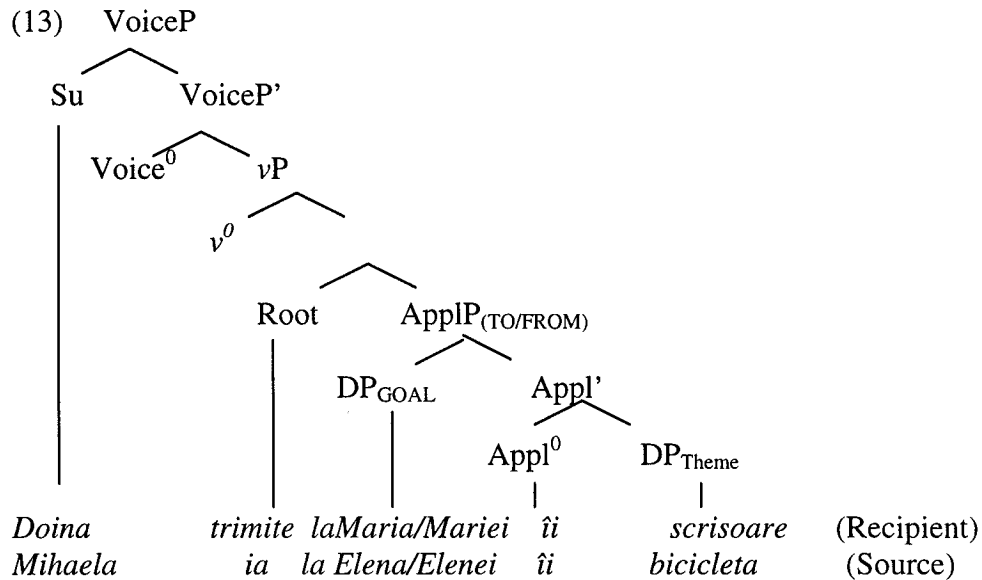
c. Spanish

*Pablo le robó la bicicleta a Andreína*

Pablo CL.DAT stole the bicycle.ACC Andreína.DAT

‘Pablo stole the bicycle from Andreína’ (Cuervo 2003:ex 77)

The structure below illustrates (11b) and (12b).



From the above examples, the source of the difference in interpretation of the dative as recipient/goal or source is not obvious. It could be that there are two distinct heads, as Pylkkänen proposes, or it could be that the directionality of the applicative is underspecified, and the semantics of the verb determines whether the applied argument is recipient or source. Since Pylkkänen claims that low applicatives are limited to dynamic (directional) verbs, it can be deduced that English does not ‘lack’ one of the heads, but that the applicative is only well-matched with ‘transfer to’ predicates. Pylkkänen also presents data from Finnish, which she assumes to have both types of low applicatives. In Finnish the case of the applied argument correlates with the meaning: recipients have allative case (14a), while sources have ablative (14b).

(14) Finnish

a. *Liisa kirjoitti Matti-le kirje-e-n*

Liisa.NOMwrote Matti-.ALL letter.ACC

‘Liisa wrote Matti a letter’

b. *Liisa myi Matti-lta talo-n*

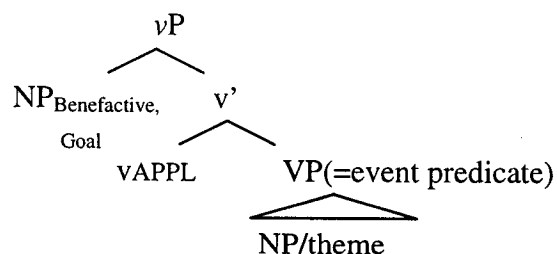
Liisa.NOMsold Matti-.ABL house.ACC

‘Liisa sold Matti’s house’

(Pylkkänen 2002: ex 66a,c)

Previous proposals for DOCs (i.e., Marantz 1993, Demonte 1995, and Anagnostopoulou 2003) state the correct hierarchical relations among the arguments but do not capture the correct semantic relations. In the structures proposed or assumed by these authors, the dative argument (in general, the higher argument in the DOC) is combined above the verb and, therefore, it has a relation with the event but no direct relation with the theme object. According to Marantz (1993), the head  $v$ APPL is a light verb which takes an event denoting VP as its complement and introduces the indirect object at the same time.

(15)



Moreover, the structure in (13) does not express the difference between a DOC and a high benefactive construction (where the applied argument is benefited by the event) in

structural terms. The singular properties of Pylkkänen’s low applicatives will prove fundamental to an account of possessor datives in Romanian and across languages.

### 5.3.1 Applied Recipients

As noticed above, with a predicate that conveys the transfer of a theme towards a goal, the *la/real* dative under is understood as the (intended) recipient; that is, Romanian has the low applicative-TO. This is the case of predicates such as *a arunca* ‘throw,’ *a da* ‘give,’ *a dona* ‘donate,’ *a trimite* ‘send,’ that usually take two internal arguments and participate in the DOC of the English type.

- (16) *Dan îi trimite/dă/aruncă la Maria/Mariei o floare*  
Dan her.CL.DAT sends/gives/throws to Mary.DAT/Mary.DAT a flower  
‘Dan sends/gives/throws Mary a flower’

This configuration is also available for the DOC embedded under verbs of construction (e.g. *a construi* ‘build,’ *a desena* ‘draw,’ *a găti* ‘cook/bake’). Although these action verbs are not transfer verbs, the *la/real* dative is applied to (related to) the theme DP and is usually referred to as *benefactive*. Nevertheless, the benefactive *la/real* dative does not actually contrast in meaning with the *la/real* dative under transfer verbs and is interpreted as the (intended) recipient of the theme DP.

(17) *Doina îi desenă la Elena/Elenei o rochie*

Doina her.CL.DAT designed to Elena.DAT/Elena.DAT a dress

‘Doina designed a dress to Elena’ (⇒ Elena has (the design of) a dress’)

A characteristic property of Romanian recipients and datives in the low applicative construction in general is that they are not restricted to animates. More precisely, the necessity is that the real dative must be able to ‘get’ the theme in some sense. Thus, the dative can be an inanimate object in so far as the theme can be(come) part of it, as is shown below.

(18) a. *Îi fixă ?la masă<sup>74</sup>/mesei un picior*

it.CL.DAT fixed to table.DAT/table-the.DAT a leg

‘(He) fixed a leg to the table’

b. *\*Îi puse la masă/mesei farfuriile*

it.CL.DAT put to table.DAT/table-the.DAT plates-the

‘(He) put the plates to the table’

Sentence (18b) is unacceptable due to semantics more than to syntax; it is clear what the parsing is and what it means, but the meaning is inappropriate.

The semantic characteristics of Romanian sources are discussed in the next section.

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<sup>74</sup> As it is difficult to use a familiar register in connection with inanimates, the use of *la* datives with inanimates is restricted.

### 5.3.2 Applied Sources

A *la/real* dative argument can also emerge in Romanian under a transfer predicate with reverse directionality, such as *a fura* ‘steal,’ *a lua* ‘take from,’ *a scoate* ‘take out from.’ In this case, the *la/real* dative is understood as the (possessive) source of the theme object, rather than the recipient.

(19) *Doina îi ia la Elena/Elenei bicicleta*

Doina her.CL.DAT takes-away to Elena.DAT/Elena.DAT bicycle-the

‘Doina takes away the bicycle from Elena’ (‘Doina takes away Elena the bicycle’)

Observe that a source applied argument appears in *la/real* dative case and that the applicative head is spelled-out as a dative clitic, i.e., the same morphosyntactic properties of a recipient applicative. It is predicted, therefore, that in a sentence with a verb with underspecified directionality, the *la/real* dative should be ambiguous between a recipient and a source.<sup>75</sup> The prediction is confirmed, as exemplified with *a vinde* ‘sell’ (see 20).

(20) *Maria îi vându ?la fratele ei/fratelui ei mașina*

Maria him.CL.DAT sold to brother-the.DAT/ brother-the.DAT car-the.ACC

1. ‘Maria sold the/her car to her brother’
2. ‘Maria sold the car from her brother’
3. ‘Maria sold her brother’s car’ (e.g. Maria is a car dealer)

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<sup>75</sup> Ambiguity of directionality for the indirect object usually correlates with ambiguity for the ‘extra’ role of the subject as a source or a goal/recipient (besides being the agent).

In (20), the *la*/real dative *la fratele ei/fratelui ei* could be the person to whom Maria sold a car or the person from whom she sold a car to somebody else (or whose car she sold). The interpretation of the low applied argument as a source usually requires a directional dynamic verb although this directionality can be metaphorical, as in (21).

- (21) *I -am cerut la angajat/angajatului o explicație*  
 him.CL.DAT have demanded to employee.DAT/employee-the.DAT an explanation.ACC  
 ‘(I) demanded an explanation from the employee’

If the predicate is dynamic but not directional (i.e., not a transfer predicate) or if it is stative, the *la*/real dative is usually interpreted as a possessor rather than a source. In some cases, however, it seems possible to interpret a *la*/real dative as a source in the context of a stative predicate such as *a ușura* ‘ease,’ *a economisi* ‘save.’

- (22) a. *Acest medicament i- a ușurat \*la Dan<sup>76</sup>/luiDan durerea*  
 this medicine him.CL.DAT has eased to Dan.DAT/Dan.DAT pain-the.ACC  
 ‘This medicine has eased Dan the pain’
- b. *Hotărârea luată i -a economisit la Maria/Mariei ceva bani*  
 decision-the taken her.CL.DAT has saved to Maria. DAT/Maria.DAT some money  
 ‘The decision taken saved Maria money’

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<sup>76</sup> The *la* dative seems to be deviant for some native speakers, probably because the preposed dative article *lui* has a similar spell-out.

The meaning of sentence (22b) could be that *Maria* is the potential source of the money that did not get spent. This metaphorical directionality ('orientation' in Jackendoff 1990) is also found with recipients with stative verbs like *a datora* 'owe,' as illustrated below.

(23) a. *Paul îi datorează la Maria/Mariei o scuză/bani*

Paul her.CL.DAT owes an apology.ACC/money.ACC to MariaDAT/Maria.DAT

'Pablo owes Maria an apology/money'

b. *Îmi datorez (mie) o vacanță la mare*

me.CL.1SG.REF owe.1SG (me.DAT)a holiday.ACC at sea

'I owe myself a holiday by the sea'

In sum, in the Romanian DOC, the dynamic relation of transfer of possession may be expressed by both low applicative AT and FROM constructions similar to English and Spanish.

#### 5. 4 Static relations: possessor datives AT

A *la/real* dative argument can be related to a theme object in Romanian also in the context of a predicate that does not express a transfer relation, not even in a metaphorical way.

(24) a. *Ion îi sărută la Maria/Mariei fruntea*

Ion her.CL.DAT kisses to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT forehead-the

‘Ion kisses Maria’s forehead’ (Lit. ‘Ion kisses Maria the forehead’)

b. *Dan îi admiră la Maria/Mariei rochia*

Dan her.CL.DAT admires to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT dress-the

‘Dan admires Maria’s dress’ (Lit. ‘Dan admires Maria the dress’)

The non-transfer predicate can in itself be either stative (e.g. as *a admira* ‘admire,’ *a invidia* ‘envy,’ *a vedea* ‘see’) or dynamic (e.g. action verbs such as *a atinge* ‘touch,’ *a săruta* ‘kiss,’ *a spăla* ‘wash’). Essential for the meaning of these constructions is that the *la*/real dative argument does not ‘get’ or ‘lose’ the theme object: it is just understood as the possessor (or location) of it. Because I assume that, like in Spanish, Romanian possessor datives are low applicatives AT constructions, I first review prior analyses of the possessor datives.

#### **5.4.1 Prior analyses of possessor datives**

Possessor datives have been a challenge in argument structure research mostly because of the dative dual behavior: on the one hand, seeming to be a semantic argument of the theme object as a possessor, and on the other hand, seeming to be a syntactic argument of the verb. Nearly all studies concentrate on possessor datives with predicates such as *admire*, *envy*, *know*. Following Cuervo (2003) on Spanish, I assume that in Romanian such cases should receive the same analysis as *la*/real datives in the context of static

verbs such as *a arde* ‘burn,’ *a fura* ‘steal,’ *a murdări* ‘dirty,’ *a privi* ‘look at,’ *a rupe* ‘break,’ *a vedea* ‘see.’

- (25) a. *Dan îi admiră la Maria/Mariei răbdarea*  
Dan her.CL.DAT admires to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT patience-the  
‘Dan admires Maria’s patience’ (Lit. ‘Dan admires Maria the patience’)
- b. *Dan îi invidiază la Maria/Mariei mașina*  
Dan her.CL.DAT envies to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the  
‘Dan envies Maria’s car’ (Lit. ‘Dan envies Maria the car’)

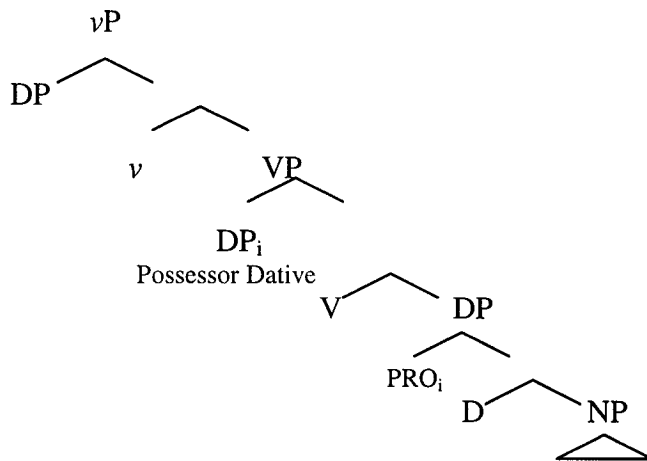
Prior analyses of possessor datives have focused on explaining the double nature of the dative argument as a semantic argument of the theme object and as a syntactic argument of the verb. It has been also claimed that semantically the dative behaves as an affected argument of the event. Previous research can be divided into three main groups: (1) control analyses (Borer & Grodzinsky 1986 Tellier 1991, Kempchinsky 1992); (2) raising analyses (Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Landau 1999), and (3) low applicative analyses (Pylkkänen 2002, Cuervo 2003).

The essential questions on possessor datives are why they are restricted to objects, but not to subjects, and how they are projected.

1. Control theories (i.e., Borer and Grodzinky 1986, Tellier 1991, Kempchinsky 1992) assume that the possessed DP contains an anaphoric element, an Agr(eement) feature–bundle or PRO, which is bound by the possessor dative element. Control analyses account for the ‘dual’ semantics of possessor datives by assuming that the dative bears

two semantic roles: one is the role of the possessor, since the dative controls a PRO in the possessor position of the object DP. The other semantic role of the dative is generally assumed to be an affected role, i.e., malefactive or benefactive.

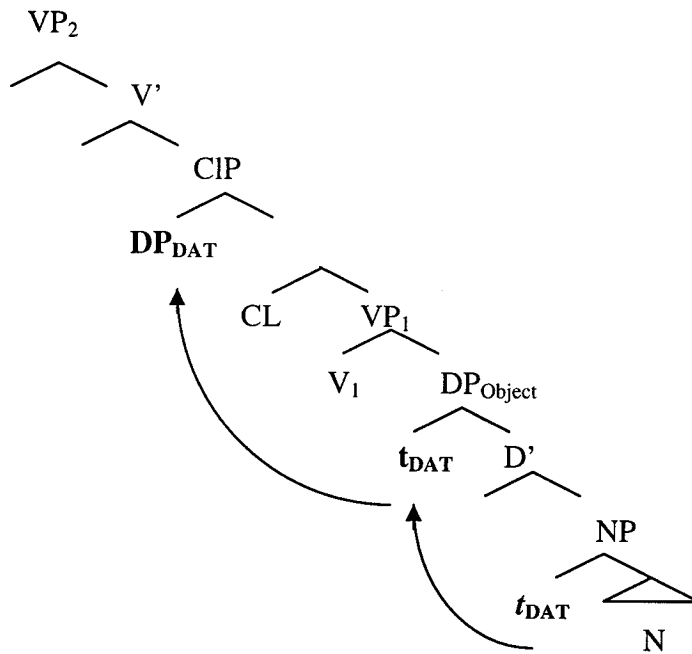
(26) A control analysis of possessor datives



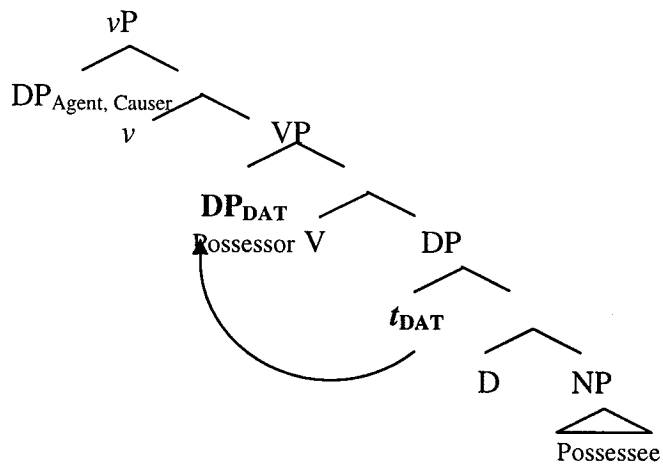
In this approach, it is not clear how the possessor dative may bear two semantic roles since it is licensed in just one position. Under this view, the possessor dative is licensed independently of the possessed DP in the clause. We conclude that the relation between the possessor dative and the theme object is not captured by the above structure.

2. Raising analyses. In Demonte's (1995:20, ff) analysis, the possessor DP originates in the specifier of the theme object. The specifier is a position where the possessor cannot receive case, so it moves above the verb to the specifier of a Clitic Phrase.

(27) A possessor raising analysis (Demonte 1995:17)



(28) Another possessor raising analysis (Landau 1999:8ff)



Within the Minimalist framework, Landau (1999) provides an account, illustrated in (28), of possessor raising in Hebrew, French, and Spanish. Landau discounts the notion that

raised possessors receive a theta role even though he argues that they raise to Spec,VP. Landau contends that possessor raising is licensed by verbs which assign an 'Agent' theta role. Such verbs project *v*P and the subject resides in its Specifier. Landau argues that a possessor generated with dative case mandatorily raises to Spec,VP in order to check its case features.

For both Demonte and Landau, arguments do not generally receive additional theta roles by movement and meanings are structural. They both argue that the possessor originates inside the DP object in a different position than genitive complements, with movement out of the DP for case reasons only. The reason possessor datives are restricted to external arguments, (i.e., to subjects), is also derived from case checking. If a possessor originates inside the subject DP (as in Demonte 1995), it does not get case, knowing that the subject is projected above the position where dative case is checked (see 27, 28).

It is not clear what justifies the Clitic Phrase in Demonte's proposal, neither how to restrict it to appear just when needed. I do not adopt Landau's proposal that the dative argument moves out for case purposes. Since the meaning of datives is related to their structural position and all datives are licensed in the same position, this proposal cannot capture the different interpretations of dative arguments. Yet, I adopt Landau's (1999:3), idea that the possessor dative is interpreted as 'affected'<sup>77</sup>, in a manner the genitive possessor is not, as I argue that all the arguments licensed by an applicative head are.

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<sup>77</sup> This assertion contrasts with Cuervo (2003) who assumes that dative arguments are affected only in causative and inchoative contexts.

3. The low applicative analysis also assumes that the dative argument is related to the theme object. Pylkkänen (2002) proposes that the meaning of dative possessors derives from their special original position as specifiers of the Low-applicative-FROM head<sup>78</sup>. Pylkkänen does not discuss case checking, but nothing in her approach forbids or forces the possessor to move for case. It can be argued that Pylkkänen’s analysis of dative possessors as Low-applicative-FROM is problematic semantically. As Cuervo (2003) shows, the dynamic reading of low applicatives cannot cover possession under stative predicates like *a admira* ‘admire,’ *a invidia* ‘envy’ (29), nor under non-directional, non-creational action verbs like *a spăla* ‘wash’ or *a privi* ‘look at’ (30), where it would be extremely far-fetched to assume some transfer of possession as a result of the event.

(29) *Dan îi invidiază la Maria/Mariei mașina*

Dan her.CL.DAT envies to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the

‘Dan envies Maria’s car’ (Note: ‘Dan loses or receives Maria’s car’)

Inspired by Rivero (2003a), and Cuervo (2003), I will assume that dative case is inherent case in Romanian<sup>79</sup> (see Section 5.5.1). As a result, there is no reason for the dative phrase to move from its original position, which makes the low applicative analysis more appealing.

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<sup>78</sup> See Landau (1999) for arguments against Kempchinsky’s control analysis; see Pylkkänen (2002) for arguments against the possessor raising analysis of datives in Hebrew.

<sup>79</sup> See also Alboiu (2000: 105) for a similar claim, within a different structure for the Romanian clause.

- (30) a. \**Dan îi spăla la Maria/Mariei [mașina vecinei]*  
 Dan her.CL.DAT washed to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the of the neighbor.GEN  
 Lit. ‘Dan washed Maria the car of the neighbor’
- b. *Dan îi fură [mașina vecinei] la Maria/Mariei*  
 Dan her.CL.DAT stole car-the of the neighbor.GEN to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT  
 Lit. ‘Dan stole Maria the car of the neighbor’

Sentences (30a,b) show a contrast in the acceptability of a dative argument in the context of the verbs *a spăla* ‘wash’ and *a fura* ‘steal’ whose theme object contains a genitive possessor<sup>80</sup>. One may wonder why (a) is not as natural as (b) if the genitive possessor has a different meaning from the dative possessor, as in previous analyses, and also if the dative possessor is a static possessor in both cases, why is (b) acceptable at all? The account should consist of assuming both dynamic source applicatives *and* static possessor applicatives and their possibilities for combination with different kinds of verbs. In (30a), *a spăla* ‘wash’ is a non-directional, non-creational verb, matching only a static low applicative, namely, a possessor. The sentence clearly states that the car belongs to somebody else, which generates a contradiction or the need to interpret the dative not as relating to the theme object but to the event of the neighbor’s car being washed<sup>81</sup>. In contrast, the verb *a fura* ‘steal’ in (30b) is a directional verb, which is compatible with a dynamic source applicative. The sentence is understood as expressing a situation where, for instance, Dan or Maria’s neighbor (a woman) lent Maria her car and Dan stole it

<sup>80</sup> Both sentences are grammatical if there is no dative argument. More important, both sentences are also grammatical if there is a dative argument but no genitive possessor.

<sup>81</sup> I leave aside here the possibility of a high-applicative, benefactive reading for the dative argument. See Section 6.2 for discussion of dative arguments as benefactives/malefactives.

during the time that Maria had it. Sentence (30b) is perfectly natural because *la Maria/Mariei* may be interpreted as a source (of the theme's 'path' that an event of stealing implies) while the neighbor is the owner. In the absence of a genitive possessor, *Maria/Mariei* in (30b) can be interpreted both as source and a possessor. The interpretation of a dative as a source is not available with a verb like 'wash', which does not imply a path, i.e., a transfer of possession. The contrast in (30a-b), however, is not a structural contrast; both low applicatives have the same structure. Another case analyzed in the literature (see also Cuervo 2003) on possessor datives involves causative verbs such as *break*.

(31) a. *Pablo le rompió la radio de la vecina a Valeria*

Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio of the neighbor Valeria.DAT

'Pablo broke the neighbor's radio on Valeria' (Cuervo 2003, ex 111)

b. *Dan îi sparse la Maria/Mariei [radioul vecinei]*

Dan her.CL.DAT broke to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT radio-the.ACC neighbor-the.GEN

Lit. 'Dan broke Maria the radio of the neighbor'

Since *break* is not a directional verb, it should then be matching a static low applicative-AT, not a dynamic low applicative FROM. The assumption is that it should pattern with *wash* in (30a), as it will not allow a static low applicative or a genitive possessor. Sentences (31a-b) show that this prediction is not confirmed. An explanation for sentences in (31) is provided in Chapter 6 on the basis of the different structure projected for applicative constructions with causative predicates. I will show that dative arguments

in causative contexts have distinctive semantic and syntactic properties that can be accounted for by their licensing position above a bi-eventive structure.

Theories on possessor datives have tried to answer the question as to why they are restricted to objects, why they are not available with subjects, and how they are projected. Control theories assume a dual semantics of possessor datives, while possessor raising analyses assume dative case checking by movement. An analysis where all dative arguments are licensed in the same position and would get case inherently would be more appealing. This analysis may be derived from Pylkkänen's proposal for low applicatives.

#### **5.4.2 Affectedness**

There is a widespread opinion that datives in ditransitive constructions are affected arguments (see Jaeggli 1982, Demonte 1995, Landau 1999, Cuervo 1999 etc.). I will demonstrate below that affectedness is a part of the meaning of possessor datives. The data presented will make it obvious that affectedness is an indirect effect of the lexical meaning of the verb, blended with the possessive relation between the theme object and the dative argument existing in the low applicative construction. Recall that in the case of stative verbs, a dative is understood as the possessor, and affectedness is implied due to the possession relation, as illustrated below (32 =24).

- (32) *Dan îi admiră la Maria/Mariei răbdarea*  
Dan her.CL.DAT admires to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT patience-the.ACC  
'Dan admires Maria's patience' (Lit. 'Dan admires Maria the patience')

When combined with perception verbs, such as *a auzi* ‘hear,’ *a vedea* ‘see’ dative possessors exhibit the same behavior.

The situation with action verbs, such as *a observa* ‘observe,’ *a privi* ‘look at,’ *a studia* ‘study,’ is the same.

- (33) *Dan îi observă/privește/studiază la Maria/Mariei picioarele*  
Dan her.CL.DAT observes/looks at/studies to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT legs-the.ACC  
‘Dan observes/looks at/studies Maria’s feet’

There are other cases when the dative argument is more clearly interpreted as affected. These situations can be divided in two groups: agentive action verbs that affect the theme object (34,35) and causative verbs (see Section 6.3).

- (34) *Dan îi spală la Maria/Mariei părul*  
Dan her.CL.DAT washes to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT hair-the.ACC  
‘Dan washes Maria’s hair’

- (35) *Dan îi operează la Maria/Maria genunchiul*  
Dan her.CL.DAT operates to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT knee-the.ACC  
‘Dan operates Maria’s knee’

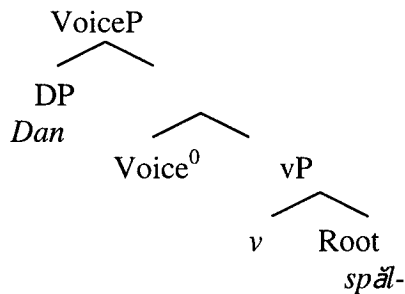
It is clear that *Maria* is affected in (34) and (35). The notion of affectedness relies on the meaning of the verb; particularly, the verb communicates an action that affects the theme

object. During the washing/operating of the hair/knee, *Maria* (i.e., the dative possessor) is also affected. The meaning of affectedness is stronger in the case of inalienable possession (35) because then there is no way of affecting the theme without affecting the possessor (see the interpretation of dative inalienable possessors with verbs like *kiss* discussed in Section 5.4.3.2).

Because a low applicative phrase merges with the verb as a constituent (the ApplPhrase is a sister of the verb), it occupies the same position as an object DP would if there were no dative argument. The pertinent sections of the structures matching the intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive alternates of *a spăla* ‘wash’ inspired from Cuervo (2003) are shown below.

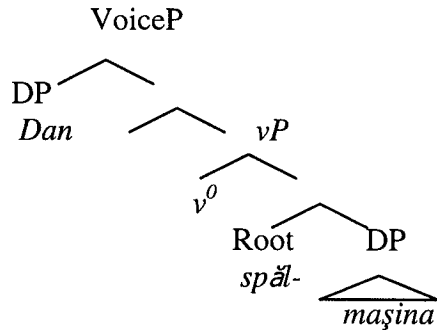
(36) *Dan a spălat toată ziua*

‘Dan was washing all day long’



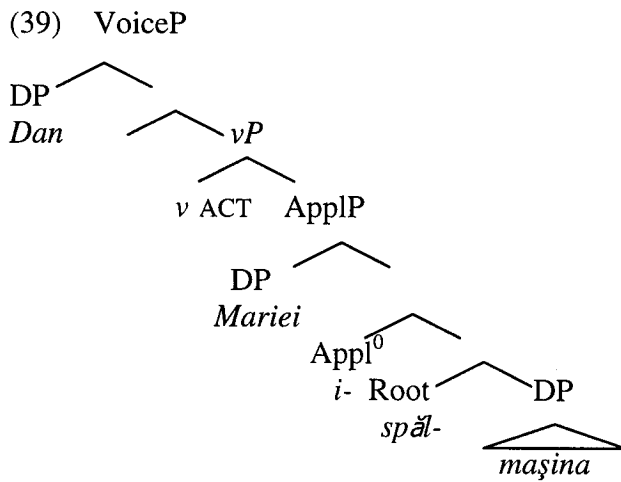
(37) *Dan a spălat mașina*

‘Dan washed the car’



(38) *Dan i - a spălat Mariei mașina*

Lit. 'Dan washed Maria the car'



*La*/real datives are arguments affected by the event with action verbs, as they are not obligatorily possessors of the DP object. In the above sentence, Dan could wash a car other than Maria's for using it, for example the one belonging to her neighbor. This prediction is true, as shown below.

(40) a. *Dan îi spălă la Maria/Mariei [ mașina vecinei]*

Dan her.CL.DAT washed to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the of the neighbor.GEN

Lit. 'Dan washed Maria the car of the neighbor'

b. *Dan îi fură la Maria/Mariei [mașina vecinei]*

Dan her.CL.DAT stole to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the.ACC of the neighbor.GEN

Lit. 'Dan stole Maria the car of the neighbor'

Since (40a) explicitly states that the car belongs to the neighbor, *la Maria/Mariei* cannot be taken to mean only the possessor of the car, which makes the sentence sound anomalous. The only reading the sentence can have is that *la Maria/Mariei* is an argument related to the event of somebody washing the car, that is a benefactive high applicative, which is available in Romanian with full DP datives, contrary to Spanish (see Section 6.2). In (40b), *Maria* is interpreted as a source, and she is affected by the action of stealing.

#### **5.4.3 Romanian possessor datives as low applicatives AT**

I assume the following characteristics of Romanian low applicative 'at' constructions:

(41) Static Low applicatives AT:

- the dative argument is a static possessor
- the dative possessor is a participant in the event described by the verb (as opposed to genitive possessors, which are not participants)
- affectedness is entailed in the structural meaning of the applicative projection<sup>82</sup>

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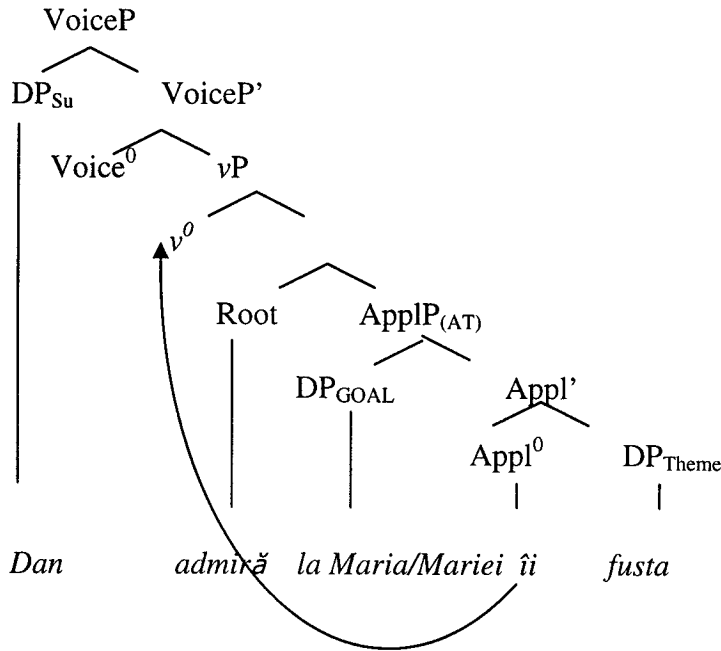
<sup>82</sup> As opposed to Cuervo's (2003) proposal who assumes that 'affected' applicatives exist only in causative and inchoative contexts.

- the dative argument construction favors the affectedness reading in the alternation with a genitive possessor (because the dative is a participant)

Romanian *la*/real dative possessors are expressed syntactically and morphologically in the same way recipients and sources are: they show the same properties with regards to case, hierarchical position, word order, and spell-out of the head. Semantically, the *la*/real clitic doubled dative argument is related directly to the object and not to the verb. Consequently, we may assume that they have the same basic structure as low applicatives, that is, that they *are* low applicatives. In the spirit of Cuervo (2003), I present in this section the appropriate data from Romanian demonstrating that the meaning of these constructions is not compatible with a dynamic relation of transfer of possession. In Romanian, this particular kind of applicative construction is a third type of low applicative head, which relates an individual to the theme object as its possessor. The semantics of this head is similar to the other low applicative heads but instead of having a TO or FROM meaning, it has an AT meaning. Its proposed structure is shown below.

- (42) a. *Dan îi admiră la Maria/Mariei fusta*  
 Dan her.CL.DAT admires to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT skirt-the.ACC  
 ‘Dan admires Maria’s skirt’ (Lit: ‘Dan admires Maria the skirt’)

b. Syntactic Structure



c. Semantic Structure

**Low-APPL-AT** (Possessor applicative):

$\lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda f_{\langle e \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}. \lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{in-the-possession}(x, y)$

The semantics of static applicative heads emphasizes the fact that structurally this kind of possessor dative is expressed as other low applicatives; in other words, possessor datives *are* an instance of the DOC. Its syntactic structure is similar to the dynamic low applicative constructions.

Next, I will demonstrate the existence of Romanian low applicatives AT, following the diagnostics stated in (41).

### 5.4.3.1 *La/real datives are static possessors and participants in the event*

Romanian low applicatives AT may be embedded in Romanian under static and action verbs.

#### Stative verbs

A *la/real* dative argument can appear with a stative verb in Romanian, such as *a admira* ‘admire,’ *a invidia* ‘envy,’ *a ști* ‘know,’ *a vedea* ‘see’, etc. The structure with a dative argument (4a) seems to have an alternative expression with a genitive (42b). What is the nature of this alternation? What is the difference in meaning, if any, between the expressions?

- (43) a. *Dan îi admiră la Maria/Mariei răbdarea*  
Dan her.CL.DAT admires to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT patience-the  
‘Dan admires Maria’s patience’ (Lit. ‘Dan admires Maria the patience’)
- b. *Dan admiră răbdarea Mariei*  
Dan admires patience-the Maria.GEN  
‘Dan admires Maria’s patience’

The *la/real* dative *la Maria/Mariei* in (43a) is understood as the possessor of the patience, the person whose patience Dan admires. Sentence (43b) also means that Dan admires Maria’s patience. Nevertheless, there is a slight difference between the two, in terms rather difficult to express. It might be inferred that there is a different center of the admiration, that is, a distinction in the object of admiration. A potential paraphrase of (43a) would be that Dan admires Maria for her patience. There is a connotation in (46a)

that Dan feels admiration both for Maria and for patience in general, which is absent in (43b). In (43b), the focus of the admiration is just patience, which is embodied in Maria. The difference is also somewhat of a temporal type. Sentence (43a) can be felicitously uttered even in the case of Maria is not being particularly patient but behaving so in a certain occasion or under certain circumstances. In contrast, for (43b) to be accurate there is a condition that Maria be a patient person. A similar contrast arises with another stative verb, *a invidia* ‘envy,’ where a *la/real* dative is also possible.

(44) a. *Dan îi invidiază la Maria/Mariei mașina*

Dan her.CL.DAT envies to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the.ACC

‘Dan envies Maria’s car’ (Lit. ‘Dan envies Maria the car’)

b *Dan invidiază mașina Mariei*<sup>83</sup>

Dan envies car-the.ACC Maria.GEN

‘Dan envies Maria’s car’

Imagine that Maria has an extraordinary car, for instance a Porsche. Then, both sentences can be appropriate. Now, if Maria has an untidy, unappealing car, sentence (44b) might be odd, but (44a) sounds more natural as expressing some emotion towards an inanimate entity. It could mean that Dan has a sort of aversion to the fact that Maria has a car, regardless of the type of the car. For some speakers of English, *envy* can alternate between a genitive construction and a DOC, as below.

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<sup>83</sup> In this sentence, the meaning of the verb is stretched somehow towards meaning ‘be jealous of’, in the sense of ‘wanting to have’.

(45) a. *Daniel envies Linnaea her talent*

b. *Daniel envies Linnaea's talent*

(Cuervo 2003:ex 88)

For those who admit the grammaticality of sentence (45a), the contrast in meaning is, as expected, reported to be similar to the contrast in Romanian. In (45a), Daniel is concerned by the fact that Linnaea has a certain talent; in (45b), Daniel wishes he had some particular talent, which Linnaea has. In (45a), Daniel cannot resent the talent without resenting Linnaea; in (45b) it is likely to believe that Daniel does not resent Linnaea at all. A sharp contrast between the two variants arises when the theme object is also animate.

(46) a. *Stephanie envies Daniel his father*

b. *Stephanie envies Daniel's father*

(Cuervo 2003: ex 89)

In contrast to the sentences in (45) which are not accepted by all speakers, the sentences in (46) are accepted by most speakers, but they are not paraphrases<sup>84</sup>. In (46b), *Stephanie* envies a man, who is identified as *Daniel's father*. In (46a), *Stephanie* does not envy a person (*Daniel's father* or just *Daniel*) but rather a situation or relationship. The semantics of the DOC variant emphasizes, again, that there is a direct relationship between the two objects and that the whole constituent [*Daniel the father*] combines with

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<sup>84</sup> See Cuervo (2003:75).

the verb (the two DPs are nevertheless interpreted as separate participants in the event).

The same difference occurs in Romanian:

(47) a. *Dana îi invidiază ?la Maria<sup>85</sup>/Mariei fiica*

Dan her.CL.DAT envies to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT daughter-the

‘Dan envies Maria’s daughter’ (Lit. ‘Dan envies Maria the daughter’)

b. *Dana o invidiază pe<sup>86</sup> fiica Mariei*

Dan her. CL.ACC envies on daughter-the Maria.GEN<sup>87</sup>

‘Dan envies Maria’s daughter’ (Lit. ‘Dan envies Maria the daughter’)

In both patterns *Maria* is related to the theme object. The fundamental difference is in the relation between *Maria* and the verb. In the genitive construction (47b), *Maria* is part of the theme object and it is not related to the verb by any means. In the *la*/real dative construction (47a), quite the opposite, *Maria* is one of the arguments that, after combining with the theme object, relates to the verb as its complement. The structure of low applicatives I assumed clearly states that the Applicative Phrase expresses a relation between two arguments embedded under the verb. On the one hand, in the semantic interpretation of the low applicative AT, there are two variables for the arguments that

<sup>85</sup> The *la* dative is deviant for some Romanian speakers because of the neologic status of the word *envy*.

<sup>86</sup> Remember that accusative animate nouns are preceded by the preposition *pe* in Romanian (see Section 4.3)

<sup>87</sup> Ortmann and Popescu (2002) assume Genitive case is inexistent in Romanian due to the morphological similarity exhibited by the two forms:

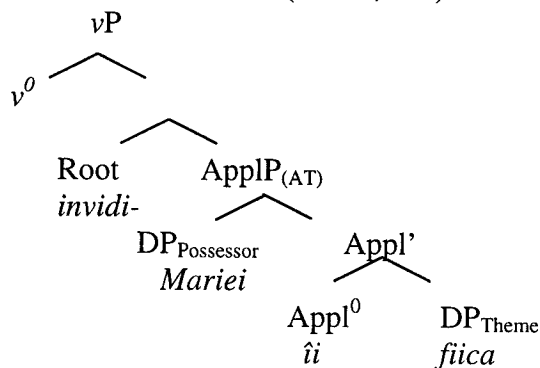
(i) *castel- ul alb al baiat- ul -ui*  
 castle-DEF.M white POSS.SG.M boy-DEF.M-DAT.M  
 ‘the boy’s white castle’

(ii) *I - l dă băiat- ul- ui*  
 3SG.DAT 3SG.M.ACC give.3SG boy-DEF-DAT  
 ‘he gives it to the boy’

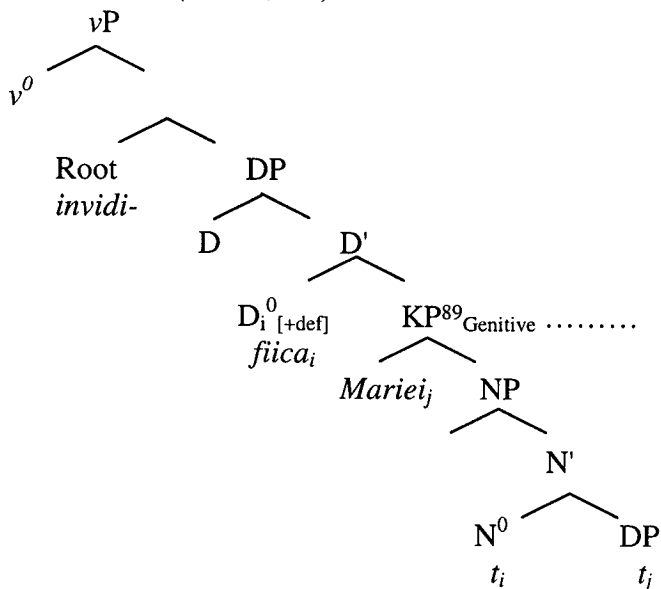
(Ortmann and Popescu 2002: ex 7,8)

relate to the verb: the theme and the possessor. On the other hand, in the interpretation of the genitive construction there would be only one for the theme DP. The pertinent structure of the sentences in (44a, 47a) and (44b,47b) are shown below.

(48) a. Possessor dative construction (cf 41a, 43a)



(49) Genitive construction<sup>88</sup> (cf 41b,43b)



<sup>88</sup> See Pylkkänen (2002), Cuervo (2003), Cornilescu (1995), and Diaconescu (1999).

<sup>89</sup> Remember that Cornilescu (1995:26) and Grosu (1994:162) assume a functional projection in the Romanian DP assigning genitive case.

Observe that the notion of inalienability or transfer of possession was not involved in explaining in simple terms the difference in meaning between the *la/real* dative construction and the genitive construction. In fact, this notion is not important here. In both (41a) and (47a) Maria is affected as being the possessor of the applied object (the same applies to the first object in the English sentences with *envy* in 46a). Example (43a) shows that the *la/real* dative construction is not restricted to inalienable possession. As a final point, we have observed that there is no sense in which Maria gets or loses anything, but she is positively/negatively affected. Other stative verbs that appear with possessor low applicatives are *a dori* ‘expect/hope,’ *a ghici* ‘guess,’ *a închipui* ‘imagine’ (e.g. *îi doream un soț bun prietenei mele* ‘I expected my girlfriend would have a good husband’, and *Iți ghicește visele (ție)?* ‘Does s/he interpret your dreams?’).

#### Action verbs

*La/real* datives may also emerge in ditransitive structures with verbs that express motion. We have already observed in Section 5.3.1 that when an action verb is a ‘construction’ verb (e.g., *a cânta* ‘sing’, *a construi* ‘build’, *a desena* ‘draw’, *a găti* ‘cook, bake’), that takes a theme object and a dative, the *la/real* dative argument is usually interpreted as a benefactive or intended recipient of the created object. The DOC with this kind of activity verb (usually referred to as accomplishments) is also possible in English as long as the object is overtly expressed.

Many other action verbs which are not directional or construction verbs, but that can take a theme object, are generally not compatible with the English DOC. In

Romanian, in contrast, we do find *la*/real dative arguments licensed with these predicates, as illustrated below<sup>90</sup>.

(50) *Ion îi sărută la Maria/Mariei fruntea*

Ion her.CL.DAT kisses to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT forehead-the.ACC

‘Ion kisses Maria on the forehead’ (Lit. ‘Ion kisses Maria the forehead’)

Semantically, the *la*/real dative is understood as the (static) possessor of the theme object: there is no transfer of possession, literal or metaphorical. An activity verb like *kiss* can take a surface (i.e., a forehead) as its object. In (50) the meaning is that Ion kissed both a forehead and Maria and that he did that *at the same time* in virtue of the inalienable possession relationship between the forehead and Maria. Another expression of a similar meaning would involve *Maria* as the direct object and a locative PP that specifies a location ‘on’ Maria (51a).

(51) a. *Ion o<sup>91</sup> sărută pe Maria pe frunte*

Ion her.CL.ACC kisses on Maria.ACC on forehead

‘Ion kisses Maria on the forehead’

b. *?Ion sărută fruntea Mariei*

Ion kisses forehead-the.ACC Maria.GEN

‘Ion kisses the forehead of Maria/Maria’s forehead’

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<sup>90</sup> There are many verbs that belong to this class. Just to name a few, *a atinge* ‘touch,’ *a cur*

The variant with a genitive phrase (51b) is slightly questionable due to the inalienable possession; in (53b) Maria is not presented as a participant in the event but just a possessor (see Section 5.4.1). Nevertheless, it is a grammatical sentence. In the English translation of (51b) the same peculiarity seems to take place. Observe that the relation of inalienable possession is expressed in English only through the prepositional construction with *on*, as reflected in the same translation given to the Romanian alternatives (52) and (51a). The possession relation between the *la*/real dative argument and the theme can be inalienable, as above, or alienable as is shown below.

(52) *Dan îi spală la Maria/Mariei mașina*

Dan her.CL.DAT washes to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the.ACC

'Dan washes Maria's car'

As in the dynamic low applicative constructions, the *la*/real dative argument may be animate or inanimate. If the *la*/real dative is inanimate, there must be a whole-part relation between the dative (the whole) and the accusative (the part).

(53) a. *Dan îi curăță la o masă/unei mese tăblia*

Dan it.CL.DAT cleans to a table.DAT/a table.DAT surface-the

'Dan cleans the table's surface'

b. \**Dan îi curăță la o masă/unei mese furculițe*

Dan it.CL.DAT cleans to a table.DAT/a table.DAT forks

‘Dan cleans the table’s forks’

The possibility of inanimate entities to appear in static low applicative constructions is associated with their possibility of merging with the verb *a avea* ‘have’<sup>92</sup> (see 54 below).

(54) a. *Masa are tăblie* (cf 53a)

table-the has surface

‘The table has a surface’

b. \**Masa are furculițe*

table-the has forks

‘The table has forks’

In sum, I assume that Romanian is similar to Spanish and has low applicative AT constructions embedded under static and action verbs. They express a static relation of possession, and their structural and semantic properties are similar to the low applicatives which express a dynamic transfer of possession (i.e., low applicatives TO and FROM).

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<sup>92</sup> For a similar opinion, see Cuervo (2003:79).

#### 5.4.3.2 *Affectedness favored in DOC*

I assume that the notion of ‘affected’ is implied in the semantics of the applicative head, as theoretical work beginning with Carochi 1645 claims, and also Bantu studies (see Section 3.2.1 and ff)<sup>93</sup>. The problem if affectedness is part of the meaning of possessor datives looks a lot like the debate of whether the meaning of the English DOC is ‘cause to have’, i.e., whether successful transfer of possession is a structural meaning. It has been stated (among others by Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2001) that whether there is successful transfer of possession depends on the individual verb. Thus, that the recipient *has* something is part of the meaning of *give* (both in the DOC and the *to*-PP construction), but it is not always contained in the meaning of *bake*, *send*, *throw*, or *write*, for instance (see 54b,c).

(54) a. *She gave him the money, but he never got it* (contradiction)

b. *I threw John the ball, but it didn't reach him because of the strong wind.*

(Baker 1996:ex. 20b)

c. *I wrote Sue a letter but she never got it.*

(Pylkkänen 2002: 20)

Though the real transfer of possession meaning does not seem to be present in all cases, it has been assumed that it is not entailed by the DOC construction (see Baker 1996 above). Nevertheless, in an alternation between the DOC and the PP variants, the DOC seems to

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<sup>93</sup> I differ from Cuervo's (2003) proposal where it is argued that applicative arguments are ‘affected’ arguments only in inchoative and causative contexts.

support a real transfer reading. The data and the assumptions I have made until this point are enough to make similar claims with respect to *affectedness* in the possessor dative DOC, as illustrated below.

(55) a. *Au furat cartea Mariei*

(they) have stolen book-the.ACC María.GEN

‘They stole Maria’s book’

b. *I -au furat [la Maria/Mariei] [cartea]*

her.CL.DAT (they) have stolen [to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT] [book-the.ACC]

‘They have stolen Maria’s book’

‘They stole the book from Maria’

In both sentences in (55) *Maria* can be interpreted as a possessor of the book that was stolen; but only in (55b) is *Maria* interpreted as a *participant* in the event, as the individual who had the book at the time of the robbery or the individual that is left without her book. When possession is inalienable, only the dative option is acceptable.

(56) a. *I -au operat [?la Maria<sup>94</sup>/Mariei] [stomacul]*

her.CL.DAT (they) have operated [to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT] [stomach-the.ACC ]

‘They have operated on Maria’s stomach’ (Lit. ‘They operated Maria the stomach)

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<sup>94</sup> Once more, this sentence does not belong to the familiar register; therefore the *la* dative is felt to be deviant.

b ?Au        operat    stomacul        Mariei

(they) have operated    stomach-the.ACC    Maria.GEN

'They operated on the stomach of Maria /on Maria 's stomach'

One may anticipate the ungrammaticality in (56b) because an operation on someone's stomach includes the presence of that person as a participant at the event. In sum, the affectedness is included in low applicative AT construction, and exists by the possession of an affected object. In alternation with a genitive possessor, the dative argument construction clearly favors the affectedness reading (because the dative is a participant) in the event.

## 5.5 Structural properties of low applicatives: an overview

In this section, I provide a synopsis of the syntactic properties of the low applicative construction (i.e., *la*/real dative in ditransitive sentences) in Romanian.

### 5.5.1 Dative case assignment

Remember, the *la*/real dative argument is higher than the theme object. This is correct for all recipients, sources, and possessors. As was shown in Section 4.5, facts of binding, weak crossover, and scope parallel those of the English double object construction. The dative argument may appear before or after the accusative object in linear order.

(57) *Mihaela îi trimite la Maria/Mariei o scrisoare*

Mihaela her.CL.DAT sends to Mary.DAT/Mary.DAT a letter.ACC to

(*la Maria/Mariei*)

(Mary.DAT/Mary.DAT)

'Mihaela sends a letter'

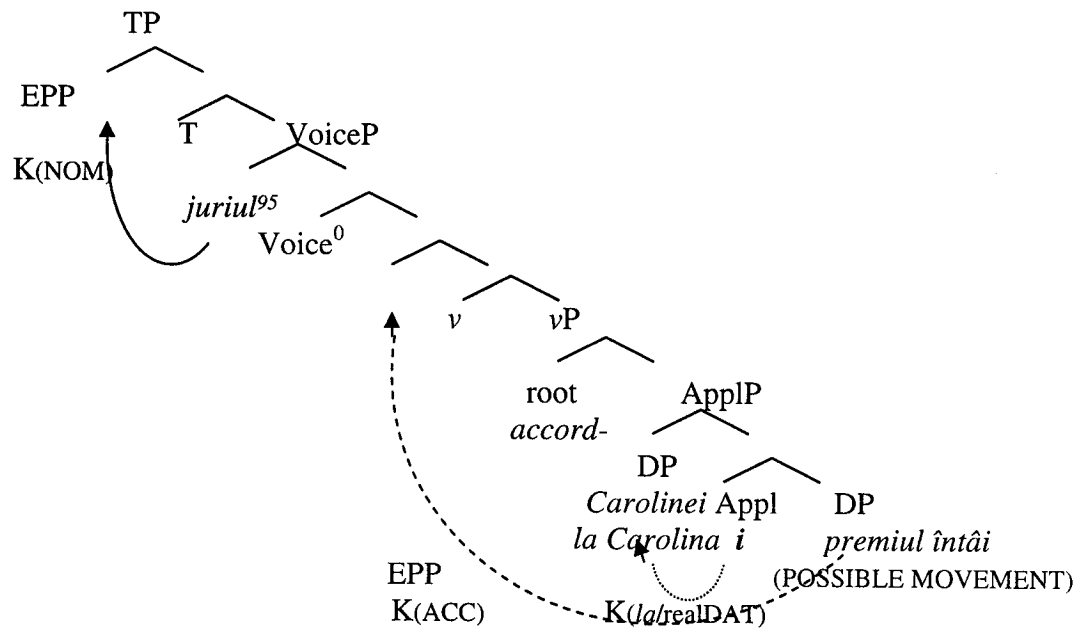
The problem is how dative case is assigned in (57). Adopting Rivero (2003a,b) and Cuervo (2003), I assume that dative case in active DOCs is inherent, while accusative is structural. In descriptive terms, it appears that if the dative moves to a preverbal position, it enables nominative case checking and agreement between Tense and the verb to be done 'downwards' as in the sentence (58). Interestingly enough, because the base order is V IO DO in Romanian (see 59), we may assume that this is the 'in situ' order of the arguments. In this case, accusative case (K in Cuervo's (2003) and Cornilescu's (1995) notation) percolates to the theme object, and no movement of the theme object is necessary. This would contradict Göbbel's (2003) proposal that the V IO DO is an object shift situation due to the Nuclear Stress Rule. This problem is left for further research.

(58) *Juriul i -a acordat la Carolina/Carolinei premiul întâi*

jury-the her.CL.DAT has awarded to C.DAT/Carolina.DAT prize.SG.ACC first

'The jury awarded Carolina the first prize'

(59) A structure for active Romanian DOC



As for *la* datives, I assume they have the same structure, except that the morphological spell-out is distinct. Remember, I assumed that the preposition *la* ‘to’ is part of the dative DP in this situation and the DP is not a PP, as in the structure presented in (59).

To sum up, dative case assignment is inherent in Romanian ditransitive constructions. Accusative is assigned in situ, by percolation or covert movement, or through movement of the theme object over the dative object, depending on the linear order (i.e., V IO DO versus V DO IO). Both variants are available in Romanian under a broad focus perspective (see Göbbel 2003), but I assume that V IO DO is the base structure (see also de Pedro 2004 for a similar proposal for Spanish).

<sup>95</sup> Alboiu’s (2000) proposal inspired by Chomsky (1998:38) may also be adopted. She assumes that nominative case in Romanian is obtained by Agree between the uninterpretable features of a Probe (uninterpretable phi features of the verb in  $I^0$ ) and a Goal (i.e., structural nominative case on the subject). When the operation Agree applies both the uninterpretable phi-features of the Probe ( $I^0$ ), as well as the uninterpretable case feature of the Goal (subject NP), are eliminated.

### 5.5.2 Dissimilarities between English and Romanian DOC

In English passives, the recipient (i.e., *Stephanie*) acts like an underlying direct object: it gets nominative case, moves to subject position, and the verb agrees with it (see 60b).

(60) a. *The university awarded Stephanie a prize*

b. *Stephanie was awarded a/the prize*

c. *\*A prize was awarded Stephanie*

In contrast, in Romanian it is always the theme object (61b) which gets nominative case and triggers verb agreement (and may move to subject position).

(61) a. *Juriul i -a acordat premiul întâi la Carolina/Carolinei*

jury-the her.CL.DAT has awarded prize.N<sup>96</sup>.SG.ACC first to C.DAT/Carolina. DAT

‘The jury awarded Carolina the first prize’

b. *Premiul întâi i -a fost acordat la Carolina/Carolinei*

prize-the.N.NOM first her.CL.DAT has been awarded.N.SG to C.DAT /Carolina.DAT

‘The first prize was awarded to Carolina’

<sup>96</sup> In Romanian many inanimates exhibit neuter gender. For singular, neuter forms are similar to masculine forms. For plural, they are like feminine forms (see *scaun* ‘chair’ compared with masculine *om* ‘man’ and feminine *fata* ‘girl’ below).

SG: <i>un scaun; scaunul; scaun.</i>	=	<i>un om; omul; om.</i>
a.N chair; chair-the.N; chair.N	=	a.MASC man; man-the.MASC; man.MASC
PL: <i>niște scaune; scaunele; scaune</i>	=	<i>niște fete; fetele; fete</i>
Some.N chairs chairs.N; chairs-the.N	=	some.FEM girls; girls-the.FEM; girls.FEM

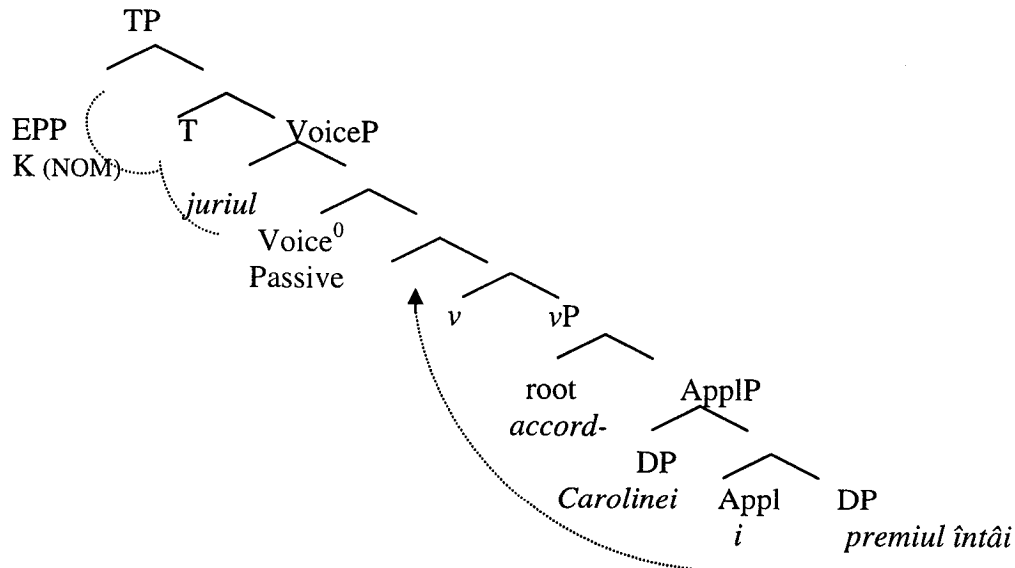
c. \**Carolina* *i* *-a fost acordat/ă* *premiul/ui întâi*

Carolina.NOM her.CL.DAT has been awarded.N/FEM prize-the first. ACC/DAT

'Carolina was awarded the first prize'

Sentence (61c) shows that the dative recipient cannot get nominative in passives, no matter what case the theme is assigned or whether or not there is gender or number agreement on the participle. If we consider the passivization of Romanian ditransitive constructions (61b), we will notice that, in contrast with English, it is not the dative argument, but the theme object which moves first to Spec $\nu$ P and from there to subject position, the Specifier of Tense, as shown below.

(62) Passivization of DOC



In Romanian passivization of a clitic doubled ditransitive construction (i.e., a low applicative construction) is possible with all low applied arguments: recipient (63a), source (63b), and static possessor (63c).

(63) a. *Premiul Nobel i -a fost dat la Elena/Elenei anul trecut*  
 prize-the.NOM Nobel her.CL.DAT has been given to Elena.DAT./Elena.DAT year last  
 ‘The Nobel prize was awarded to Elena last year’

b. *Bicicleta i -a fost furată la Ion/ lui Ion anul trecut*  
 bicycle -the.NOM him.CL.DAT has been stolen to Ion.DAT/Ion.DAT last year  
 ‘The bicycle was stolen from Ion last year’

c. *Casa i -a fost admirată la Ion/ lui Ion doar o zi*  
 house-the.NOM CL.DAT has been admired to Ion.DAT/Ion.DAT just a day  
 ‘The house was admired for Ion just for a day’

The dative can, however, appear preverbally but always as a dative; in this case the participle agrees with the postverbal nominative theme, as shown below. The participle agrees in gender and number with the nominative argument, the underlying theme (64).

(64) *La Carolina/Carolinei i -a fost acordat premiul întâi*  
 Carolina.DAT CL.DAT her.CL.DAT has been awarded.N the first prize.N.NOM  
 ‘Carolina was awarded the first prize’

In sum, Romanian dative ditransitives contrast with English DOC in the coding properties of the recipient, that is, of the higher argument. Similar to Spanish, the theme object raises to subject position in the passive variant of the Romanian DOC.

### ***5.5.3 Object properties in Romanian DOC***

Similar to Spanish (see Cuervo 2003:99 ff), the dative argument in the Romanian DOC does not take over any of the object properties that theme objects have. This is subject to cross-linguistic variation, as illustrated in the comparison with English. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) argue that the object properties that are related to theta-role assignment always choose the theme.

The object properties that ‘stay with the theme’ include the ability to appear in nominalizations, compound formation, and secondary predication<sup>97</sup>. English recipients cannot participate in these processes. This means that these properties should not be subject to cross-linguistic variation and, under standard assumptions, one should not expect to find any contrast between the impossibility of English and Romanian recipients of participating in nominalizations, compound formation and secondary predication. This is true but probably in a trivial way. Given that the recipient in Romanian does not usurp any of the direct object properties, there are no reasons to believe that datives would suddenly behave as direct objects with respect to nominalizations or secondary

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<sup>97</sup> For a description and analysis of these facts, see Pesetsky (1995), Baker (1996), Maling (2001), Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2001) etc. For a different, structural analysis of incompatibility of secondary predication for the higher object in DOC, see Pylkkänen (2002).

predication<sup>98</sup>. I therefore leave this matter aside and present a comparison of Romanian and English with respect to the several restrictions to which the English DOC is subject.

#### **5.5.4 Restrictions in Romanian DOC**

##### **5.5.4.1 Restrictions on the dative**

###### Locatives

It was noticed that pure locatives cannot participate in the DOC in English, nor in Romanian and Spanish, as has been repeatedly observed for many other languages.

(65) a. *Stephanie mailed Taylor /\*Toronto an invitation*

b. *Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi/ \*a Barcelona*

‘Pablo sent Gabi/ Barcelona a dictionary’ (Cuervo 2003: ex 137)

c. *Ion i -a trimis la Carolina/Carolinei/\*Parisului flori*

Ion her.CL.DAT has sent to Carolina.DAT /Carolina.DAT/\*Paris.DAT flowers.ACC

‘Ion has sent Carolina/\*Paris flowers’

There is nevertheless a metaphoric use of pure locatives expressed by real datives in Romanian, as shown below.

(66) *I -a trimis țării lui un salut*

it.CL.DAT has sent country-the.DAT his a greeting

‘(S/he) has sent greetings to his country’

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<sup>98</sup> Similar to Spanish, Romanian does not have a productive compounding mechanism that would be relevant here.

In sum, pure locatives (except for a metaphoric use) do not take a part in Romanian DOC, similar to English and Spanish.

### Animacy

Despite the fact that it was generally argued that only animates can be the first object of the DOC, I assume, together with Cuervo (2003) for Spanish, that the restriction in Romanian is not so much in animacy but in the possibility of receiving and/or possessing the object as is shown below.

- (67) *Dan îi trimite/cere \*la școală/școlii diploma lui*  
Dan it.CL.DAT sends/asks to school-the.DAT/school-the.DAT diploma-the his  
'Dan sends asks his diploma to/from the school'

An argument to maintain that the restriction is on animacy (even if metaphoric or by synecdoche), would be the fact that an example such as (70) above is possible because a school is deemed to be a group of people that runs it. Animacy restrictions exist just with *la* datives, and even in these cases the opinions of speakers do not converge, as is shown below (ex 9, Chapter 2 repeated below). Romanian shows that the relevant restriction is not animacy. The general condition for a real dative goal is the possibility of characterizing it as a recipient or intended possessor.

- (68) a. *Mihaela îi pune (\*?la cafea)/cafelei zahăr*  
 Michaela it.CL.DAT puts to coffeee-the.DAT/coffee-the.DAT sugar.ACC  
 ‘Michaela puts sugar in the coffee’ (Lit. ‘Michaela puts the coffee sugar’)
- b. *Mihaela pune zahăr in cafea/pe masă*  
 Mihaela puts sugar in the coffeee/on the table
- c. \**Mihaela îi pune zahăr mesei*  
 Michaela it.CL.DAT puts sugar table-the.DAT  
 ‘Michaela puts sugar on the table’

In the examples above, an inanimate object can be a clitic doubled dative in the DOC (68a) on condition that the theme object is or becomes an inherent part of the dative DP. The sugar becomes part of the coffee when added to it, and therefore the DOC is acceptable. The sugar, in contrast, does not become part of a table, and the DOC is not acceptable<sup>99</sup>.

Remember the interesting correspondence between the pairs of objects that can appear in the DOC and the pairs that can appear as the arguments with *a avea* ‘have.’

- (69) a. *Dan i -a donat la acel muzeu/muzeului toate tablourile*  
 Dan it.CL.DAT has donated to that museum.DAT/museum-the.DAT all paintings-the  
 ‘Dan has donated all paintings to (that) museum’  
 (⇒the museum has the paintings)

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<sup>99</sup> The restrictions *as such* have more of a flavor of semantic irregularity than that of ungrammaticality.

b. *Mihaela îi pune (\*?la cafea)/cafelei zahăr*  
Michaela it.CL.DAT puts to coffeee.DAT/coffee-the.DAT sugar

‘Michaela puts sugar in the coffee’

(⇒ the coffee has sugar)

c. \**Mihaela îi pune zahăr mesei*  
Michaela it.CL.DAT puts sugar table-the.DAT

‘Michaela puts sugar on the table’

(⇒ the table has sugar)

Although the restriction for datives in DOC is better expressed as a restriction on recipients or possessors, in some languages the restriction might result in having the same effect as a restriction on animacy (e.g. in English, *The coffee has sugar \*(in it)*).

### Inalienability

Romanian does not necessitate that the possession expressed in the DOC be inalienable. We may not compare Romanian with English since there is no static possession with the English DOC. Dissimilarities may be found in comparison with French (73a), where the restriction is stronger: possession has to be inalienable for a possessor to be expressed as a dative argument.

(70) a. *Je lui ai regardé les chaussures.*

I him.CL.DAT looked the shoes

‘I looked at his shoes’

(Landau 1999: ex 50)

b. *I -au dat la Maria/Mariei cartea Elenei*

her.CL.DAT (they) have given to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT book-the.ACC Elena.GEN

‘They have given Elena’s book to Maria’

In sentence (70b) I assume it is the case of a high applicative construction, which will be discussed in Section 6.2.

As was discussed in Section 5.4.2, in Romanian inalienability (a whole-part relationship) is required of inanimate datives but is not necessary for animates (although it is preferred).

#### 5.5.4.2 Restrictions on the verb

It has been assumed that English DOC has to be very restricted with respect to the verbs with which it can appear. I will briefly mention some of these restrictions and show how the Romanian construction compares. The English DOC prefers a verb that expresses an ‘instantaneous causation of ballistic motion’<sup>100</sup> such as *throw*, *kick*, etc.; it is degraded with verbs of ‘continuous imparting of force’<sup>101</sup>, such as *pull*, *drag*, *push*, *ride*. In contrast, the low applicative construction in Romanian is acceptable with these verbs.

(71) *Dan îi împinse /trase ?la Maria/Mariei ușa*

Dan her.CL.DAT pushed/dragged to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT door-the

‘Dan pushed/dragged the door to Maria’ Lit. ‘Dan pushed/dragged Maria the door’

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<sup>100</sup> See Krifka (2001:6).

<sup>101</sup> See Krifka (2001:7)

In cases like (71), the dative argument is not usually interpreted as the recipient or final possessor of the theme but rather as a possessor or benefactive. However, the recipient or goal reading is possible in the right context. Interestingly, Baker (1992) makes similar observations for English. In the context of soccer, a DOC with *push* becomes acceptable:

(72) a. *Pelé pushed the ball to Maradonna*

b. *Pelé pushed Maradonna the ball*

Arguably, here by *push* is meant here something like *kick*, an action verb which defines a path by a starting point whose goal can be defined by the first object of a DOC. In Romanian, the DOC construction is also possible with verbs of transfer or movement where the dative argument defines the source (as discussed in Section 5.3).

(73) *Mihai îi luă la Ioana/Ioanei eșarfa*

Michael her.CL.DAT took to Ioana.DAT/Ioana.DAT shawl-the.ACC

‘Michael took the shawl from Ioana’

While in general this is not possible in English (73a), a similar construction, with all the flavor of the DOC, is acceptable with some similar verbs (compare *steal* and *rob*), where the first object is the source and the theme is introduced by the overt preposition *of*.

- (74) a. \**Daniel stole Stephanie her magazine*  
 b. *Daniel robbed Stephanie of \$10*

Finally, a dative in a ditransitive sentence in Romanian can specify a static possessor of the theme (75). As we saw in detail in Section 5.4.3.2, this (alienable and inalienable) possessor construction is extremely productive in Romanian.

- (75) a. *Dan îi observă/privește/studiază la Maria/Mariei picioarele*  
 Dan her.CL.DAT observes/looks at/studies to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT legs-the  
 ‘Dan observes/looks at/studies Maria’s feet’
- b. *Ion îi spală la Maria/Mariei mașina vecinei*  
 Ion her.CL.DAT washes to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the.ACC neighbor-the.GEN  
 ‘Ion washes the neighbor’s car’ for Maria’  
 (Lit: ‘Ion washes Maria the neighbor’s car’)

I assume that (75b) is also a case of a high applicative construction, similar to the one in (70b), which will be discussed in Section 6.2.

Even when this meaning is very restricted in English, a few stative verbs allow for a DOC where the first object is a static possessor.

- (76) a. *Daniel envies Stephanie her culinary abilities*  
 b. *Daniel forgave Stephanie her rough words*

In sum, the differences between English and Romanian with respect to the verbs with which the DOC is possible go in the same direction: every type of verb that can appear with DOC in English can also do so in Romanian, but the reverse is not true. This contrast does not imply any structural difference; it can naturally be attributed to the two meanings the low applicative can have in Romanian (i.e., source and static possessor) but that are only rarely found in English.

### 5.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I adopted Pylkkänen's (2002) and Cuervo's (2003) proposals and I argued that a low applicative head might denote both a dynamic (i.e., a transfer of possession) and a static relation of possession in Romanian (see Section 5.2). Building on similarities with Spanish (Cuervo 2003), I consider the Romanian low applied argument (i.e., the *la*/real dative object) to have three kinds of meanings: it can be a recipient, a source, or a possessor. Within the dynamic transfer of possession relation, the higher DP (i.e., the applied argument) can be either the recipient or the source of the lower theme DP. These two meanings correspond to two subtypes of low applicative heads, LowAppl-TO (Recipient Applicative, see (77a) and LowAppl-FROM (Source Applicative, see (77b), respectively.

(77) a. *Mama       îi               coase la Maria /Mariei       bluza*

mother-the her.CL.DAT makes a to Maria.DAT/ Maria. DAT blouse-the.ACC

'Mother is making Maria a blouse'

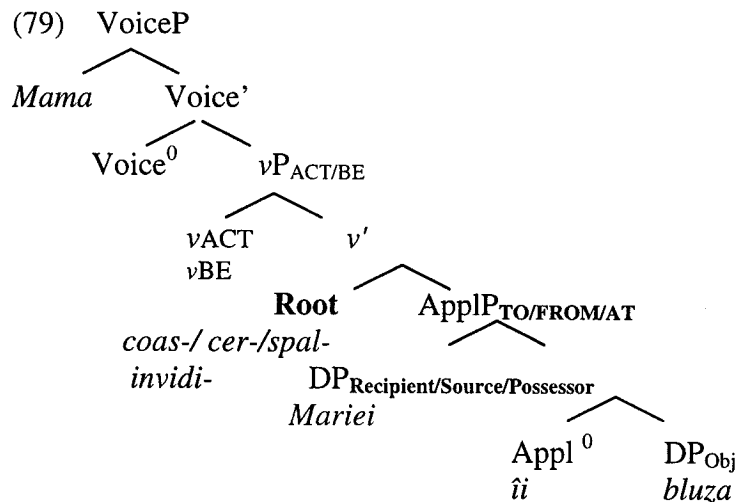
- b. *Mama îi cere la Maria/Mariei bluza*  
 mother-the her.CL.DAT asks to Maria.DAT/Mary.DAT blouse-the.ACC  
 ‘Mother asks the blouse from Mary’

A third type of low applicative head, LowAppl-AT, which expresses a static relation of possession (see Cuervo 2003), is deemed to also exist in Romanian, similar to Spanish. The static low applicative (78a,b) is compatible with verbs that do not imply any directionality, both activity (e.g., *wash*) and static (e.g., *envy*, *admire*) verbs.

- (78) a. *Mama îi spală la Maria/Mariei bluza*  
 mother-the her.CL.DAT washes to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT blouse-the  
 ‘Mother washes Maria’s blouse’

- b. *Mama îi invidiază la Maria/Mariei bluza*  
 Mother her.CL.DAT envies blouse-the to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT  
 ‘Mother envies the blouse to Maria’

The proposed structure for a Romanian low Applicative construction (e.g., (77), (78)), with a compositional insight for the *vP* configuration is represented below.



The applied argument is higher in the structure and, in contrast to English, it is the theme DP which raises to the subject position in passive variants of Romanian DOCs (see Section 5.5). Dative case assignment of the applied argument is inherent in Romanian ditransitive constructions (see Section 5.5.1). Accusative case of the theme DP is assigned through percolation from the root of the theme object over the dative object, in situ, or by movement of the theme object, depending on the linear order (i.e., V IO DO versus V DO IO). Both variants are available in Romanian under a broad focus perspective (see Göbbel 2003). As for the restrictions on Romanian DOCs (see Section 5.5.4), we have noticed that

- parallel to Spanish and English, in Romanian pure locative DPs do not play a role in the DOC;
- in contrast with English and parallel to Spanish, there is no restriction in Romanian on the animacy of the applied argument. An inanimate *la/real* dative object can be a clitic-doubled dative in the DOC;

- in contrast with English and parallel to Spanish, low applicative construction in Romanian are acceptable with verbs of ‘continuous imparting of force’, such as *pull, drag, push, ride*;
- in contrast with English and parallel to Spanish, the Romanian low applicative construction is productive with verbs of transfer or movement where the dative argument defines the source (as discussed in Section 5.3); and
- even when this meaning is very restricted in English, a few stative verbs allow for a DOC where the first object is a static possessor.

Table 2 below illustrates the possible combinations of the three low Applicatives with the different types of verbs as classified by the three types of little *v* described in Table 1.

TABLE 2 Possible combination of primitive verbs and low Applicative constructions

Type of ApplP/ Type of Verb	Appl-TO Recipient	Appl-FROM Source	Appl-AT Possessor
<i>v ACT</i>	<i>send, bake (5.3.1)</i>	<i>steal, take away(5.3.2)</i>	<i>wash, kiss(5.4)</i>
<i>v BE</i>	-	<i>owe, save(5.3.2)</i>	<i>Envy, admire (5.4)</i>

As we shall see in detail in Chapters 6, a low applicative cannot relate to an argument licensed in a specifier position. This stops low applicatives from being related to external arguments. It also stops them from relating to objects of causatives and psychological predicates, which are licensed as the subject of stative verbs formed by the combination of a root and *vBE*. Furthermore, a low applicative cannot relate to any object that is in a

predicational relation even if the predicate is not a verb but an adjective, an adverb, or a particle in the context of a small clause. Cross-linguistically, it is not possible to know *a priori* which of the three kinds of low applicative heads a language will have. Structurally, a low applicative head can only take objects licensed below the verb, as complements of the root. The root can form a transitive verb; that is, there must be an object DP, but no structure with an external argument is required. It will be shown later (Chapter 6) that this requirement prevents low applicatives from applying to objects in the context of causative verbs since these objects are licensed as the subject (specifier) of the lower verbal projection. The cross-linguistic contrasts are derived from either differences in morphosyntactic properties (e.g. presence/absence of dative case and related phenomena) or from the two kinds of meanings that Romanian datives in the DOC can have but English first objects normally cannot: source and possessor. This chapter offers both a detailed structural account for low applicatives and the basis for an explicit and detailed theory of possible cross-linguistic variation in DOCs.

## CHAPTER 6. High Applicatives

### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss *la/real* dative arguments that relate to an event, that is, high applicatives. Remember, the essential syntactic test to differentiate high and low applicatives that Pylkkänen (2002) employs is whether an applicative may/may not project in an unergative context. If it is possible the dative argument introduced is applied to an event and the applicative is a high applicative. From the inventory of possible high applicative projections available in Romanian, in this work I discuss two kinds of high *la/real* dative arguments, namely the *la/real* dative arguments related to an activity predicate and to a causative predicate<sup>102</sup>.

First, the high applicative arguments related to an activity unergative verb (*vACT*) will be examined. Similar to Kinyarwanda and Luganda (i.e., Bantu languages), in Romanian there are benefactive applied (i.e., *la/real* dative) arguments applied to an agentive dynamic event (*vPACT*) headed by an unergative activity verb (i.e., *a munci* ‘work,’ *a lucra* ‘work,’ *a fugi* ‘run,’ *a citi* ‘read,’ *a râde* ‘laugh,’ *a zâmbi* ‘smile.’

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<sup>102</sup> It is not the aim of this work to scrutinize applicative constructions with inchoative verbs, (i.e., *a se arde* ‘burn,’ *a se deschide* ‘open,’ *a se rupe* ‘break,’ *a se sparge* ‘break’).

(i) *La/lui Ion i se pierde copiii/ei.*  
to John.DAT him.DAT CL.REFL. lose3.PL children-the/they.NOM  
‘John loses {the children/them}’ (Rivero and Geber 2004: ex7a)

Following Rivero 2003, these dative arguments are directly merged in the Spec of a high Applicative Phrase which is external to the clause and takes the finite TP as its complement:

(ii) [AppIP Dative [AppI’ Appl [TP]]] (Rivero 2003: ex16)

Also, I will not examine *la/real* dative arguments in sentence initial position with psychological verbs, which are deemed to be quirky subjects in Romanian by Rivero 2003 and Rivero and Geber 2004.

(iii) *La Ion/lui Ion îi plac ei.*  
John.DAT/John.DAT Dat.CL like.3PL they.NOM  
‘John likes them’ (Rivero and Geber 2004: ex 3b)

I leave the detailed analysis of these constructions for later research.

- (1) a. *Umugabo a-rá -som -er -a umugóre* KINYARWANDA  
 man SP-PRES-read-APPL-ASP woman  
 ‘The man is reading for **the woman**’ (McGinnis 2001: ex2b)
- b. *Bărbatul îi citește la femeie/femeii* (*o carte*)  
 man-the her.CL.DAT reads to woman.DAT/women-the.DAT (a book)  
 ‘The man is reading for **the woman** (a book)’
- c. *Bărbatul îi citește*  
 man-the him/her.CL.DAT reads  
 ‘The man is reading for **him/her**’

Similar to Bantu languages, this kind of high applicative is shown to be available in Romanian either projecting an DP *la*/real dative argument (1b) or only in a ‘defective’ or ‘passive’ variety, (i.e., with the clitic as a head) that introduces the semantics of an argument but does not project a specifier (1c).

Next, I examine in this chapter *la*/real dative arguments which relate to a causative predicate with a nominative Agent (e.g. with *a arde* ‘burn,’ *a deschide* ‘open,’ *a rupe* ‘break,’ *a sparge* ‘break.’)

- (2) *Ion îi sparse la Cristina/Cristinei ochelarii*  
 John her.CL.DAT broke to Cristina.DAT/Cristina.DAT glasses-the  
 ‘John broke the glasses on Cristina’ (Lit. ‘John broke Cristina the glasses’)

In my opinion, these arguments are also licensed by high applicative projections, embedding a bi-eventive predicate (i.e.,  $\nu$ ACT embedding  $\nu$ BE<sup>103</sup>). My proposal differs twofold from Cuervo's (2003) assertion that applicatives in causative and inchoative contexts are 'affected' applicatives sandwiched between  $\nu$ ACT/ $\nu$ CHANGE. First, I assume that the notion of 'affected' is implied in the semantics of the applicative head, in the same way the Complementizer head is the host of illocutionary force. Subsequently, I assume that all applicative arguments are 'affected'. Second, I assume that applicatives in causative contexts are high applicative constructions projected above a bi-eventive predicate. Applicative constructions in inchoative contexts are also high applicative constructions, in the spirit of Rivero (2003a) and Rivero and Geber (2004). As stated before, I leave the analysis of high applicative constructions in inchoative contexts for further research. In conclusion, I follow Pylkkänen (1999-2002) and McGinnis (2001) in assuming that there are only low and high applicative constructions a language may choose from. Romanian, similar to Chichewa (see Baker 1992 and Pylkkänen 2002), exhibits both low and high applicative constructions.

## **6.2 *La/real* datives with activity verbs ( $\nu$ ACT)**

In this section I will examine high applicative constructions in Romanian. First I present evidence for high applicatives; then, in order to account for their position above the event (see Pylkkänen 1999-2002 and McGinnis 2001), I will present their behavior with regards to binding and scope facts.

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<sup>103</sup> I adopt the bi-eventive  $\nu$ P shell proposed by Cuervo (2003) for causative predicates.

The essential syntactic test to differentiate low and high applicatives that Pylkkänen employs is whether an applicative can introduce an argument to an unergative verb. If the dative argument introduced is applied to an event, the applicative is a high applicative. As seen in the previous chapter; in Romanian there are low applicatives that can apply a *la/real* dative argument to a DP object and which are embedded under the *vP*. Conversely, high applicatives relate the *la/real* dative argument to an event. One would be led to expect that Romanian also has benefactive applicatives as those found in Luganda (3) that is, arguments applied to an agentive dynamic event (*vPACT*) headed by an unergative activity verb.

- (3) *Mukasa ya-tambu-le-dde Katonga* LUGANDA  
 Mukasa PAST.walk.APPL.PAST Katonga  
 ‘Mukasa walked for Katonga’ (Pylkkänen 2002:25)

The Romanian equivalent of the Luganda sentence is grammatical with a temporal adverb<sup>104</sup>.

- (4) *Mihaela îi alergă la antrenor/antrenorului o jumătate de oră*  
 Mihaela him.CL.DAT ran to trainer.DAT/ trainer-the.DAT a half of hour  
 ‘Mihaela ran a half of hour for the trainer’

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<sup>104</sup> I assume that adverbs are either adjoined to the (higher) *vP* or that they head their own functional projection, in the spirit of Cinque (1999).

I assume that (4) is a case of a high applicative construction.

I argue that similar to Bantu languages (i.e., Luganda, Kinwarwanda, Chichewa a.o.; see Pytkkanen 2002) and Albanian (see McGinnis 2001), Romanian exhibits a high applicative construction with activity verbs such as *a cânta* ‘sing’, *a citi* ‘read’, *a dansa* ‘dance’, *a desena* ‘draw’, *a fugi* ‘run’ *a munci* ‘work’ etc, and also with ‘stative’ verbs (i.e., *a ține* ‘hold’). In their intransitive<sup>105</sup> use, the activity verbs do not take an implicit object. For instance, *to run* is to move your legs in a certain way. Essentially, one does not have to do any particular kind of running. Thus, a *la/real* dative argument can only be applied to the event, that is, the structure is a high applicative related to the activity since there is no overt or implicit object to apply to. In Romanian, these high applicatives can be expressed by both a clitic doubled *la/real* dative DP (5a) and by a clitic alone (5b).

(5) a. *Mihaela îi alergă la antrenor/antrenorului o jumătate de oră*  
 Mihaela him.CL.DATran to trainer.DAT/ trainer-the.DAT a half of hour

‘Mihaela ran a half of hour for the trainer’

b. *Mihaela îi alergă o jumătate de oră*

Mihaela him.CL.DATran a half of hour

‘Mihaela ran a half of hour for him’

c. *Mihaela îmi/îți alergă mie/ție o jumătate de oră*<sup>106</sup>

Mihaela me/you.CL.DAT ran me.DAT/you.DAT a half of hour

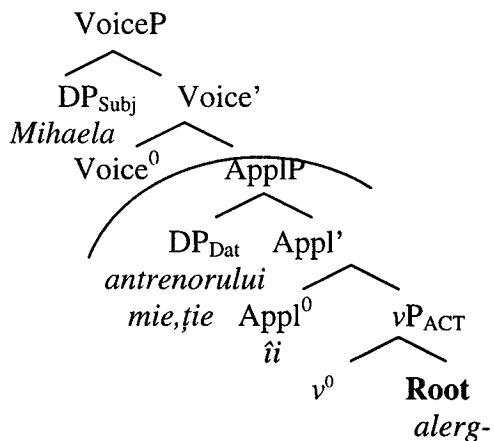
‘Mihaela ran a half of hour for the trainer’

<sup>105</sup> These verbs may have a transitive use with an implicit object.

<sup>106</sup> *La* datives are possible only with full DPs, not with full pronouns. I leave the explanation of this problem for further research.

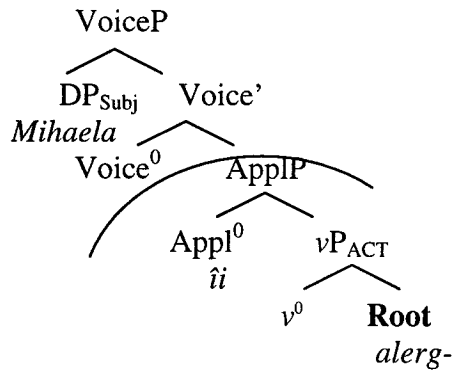
In (5a) which repeats (4), the *la*/real dative argument *la antrenor/antrenorului* is related to the event of running; it is a true that a high applicative argument is interpreted as related to the event as a benefactive or malefactive. The proposed structure for the construction in (5a,c) is given below.

(6) Structure of high applicatives with activity verbs and full DP/pronoun dative argument



When the dative argument related to activity verbs is merely a clitic (7b), I argue that the applicative construction is ‘defective’, in the sense that it does not project a specifier, following Cuervo (2003) for Spanish. In this particular case, the clitic is the spell-out of high applicative heads that take a dynamic *vP* (i.e., a *vP* headed by *vACT*) as their complement, as shown below.

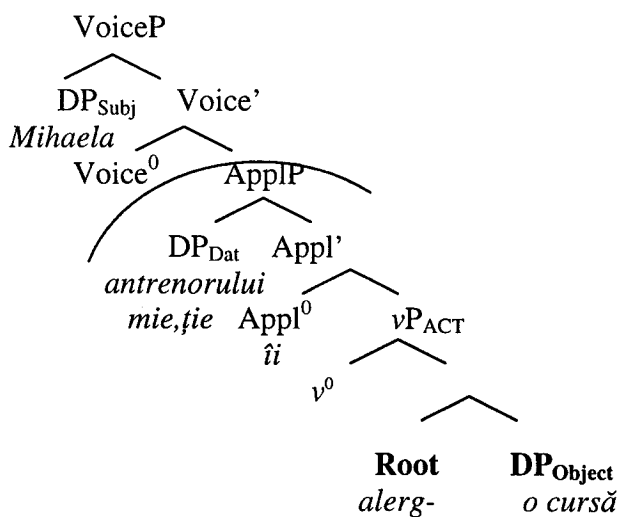
(7) Structure of ‘defective’ high applicatives (activity verbs and clitic *la*/real dative argument)



Even if the activity verb takes an implicit DP object, I assume that it is an object of the root, and the structure would be as follows.

(8) a. *Mihaela îi alergă (la antrenor/antrenorului) o cursă întreagă*  
 Mihaela him.CL.DATran to trainer.DAT/ trainer-the.DAT a race full  
 ‘Mihaela ran a full race for the trainer’

(9) Proposed syntactic structure



In (9), there is no possession relation between the dative argument and the DP object, which is the main relation in the low applicative construction. Normally, the trainer could not possess a race made by Michaela. A clearer interpretation is the one which asserts that Michaela ran a whole race for the benefit of the trainer. In this case, the trainer is (positively) affected by the event of running. In another context, the impossibility of the possession relation between the *la*/real dative argument and the theme DP is even clearer, as shown below.

- (10) *Mihaela îi citi la mama/mamei ei poeziile*  
 Mihaela her.CL.DAT read to mother.DAT/mother-the.DAT her poems-the.ACC  
*lui Byron*  
 of Byron.GEN  
 ‘Mihaela read the poems of Byron for her mother’

It is evident that in (10) a possession relation exists between the poems and Byron. Another case of high applicative construction in Romanian is the high applicative construction related to stative verbs (i.e., *a ține* ‘hold’). In this case, Romanian behaves like Albanian<sup>107</sup>. It is clear that John does not hold Mary’s bag, but somebody’s else in (11a), on a par with the Albanian example in (11b).

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<sup>107</sup> See McGinnis (2001) and Pylkkänen (2002) for the claim that this is a high applicative.

(11) a. *Ion îi ține la Maria/Mariei geanta mea*

Ion her.CL.DAT holds to Mary.DAT Mary.DAT bag-the mine

‘John holds my bag for Maria’ (i.e., to take something from it)

b. *Agimi i mban Dritës çanten time*

ALBANIAN

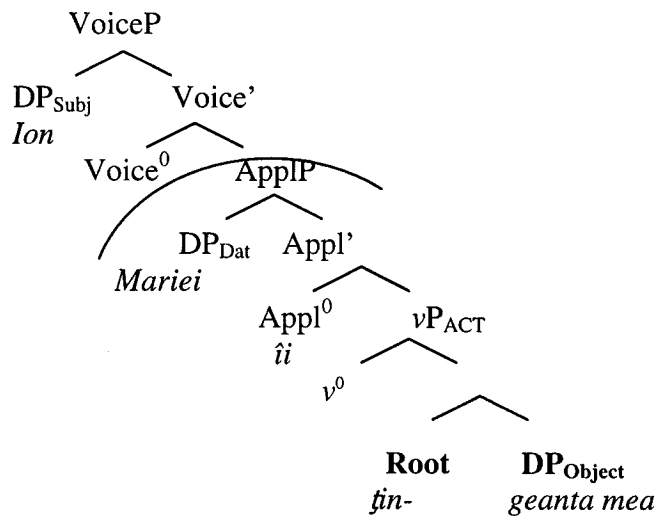
Agimi.NOM CL holds Drita.DAT bag.ACC my

‘Agim holds my bag for Drita.’

(McGinnis, 2001)

The structure proposed for the sentence in (11) is as follows<sup>108</sup>:

(12) Structure for high applicative construction with the verb *a ține* ‘hold.’



Remember that in Section 5.5.4.2, there was the same situation for another activity verb (see 13 below, which repeats ex 78b).

<sup>108</sup> I assume, in line with Cuervo (2003), that the verb *hold* is a non-directional action verb, similar to *wash*, rather than purely stative verb.

(13) *Ion îi spală la Maria/Mariei mașina vecinei*

Ion her.CL.DAT washes to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the.ACC neighbor-the.GEN

‘Ion washes the neighbor’s car for Maria’

(Lit: ‘Ion washes Maria the neighbor’s car’)

There is no possession relation in (13) between the *la*/real dative argument and the DP object (i.e., the car is clearly possessed by the neighbor), and we cannot interpret the DP object as a source or a beneficiary of the car either. It is intuitively obvious that the *la*/real dative argument (i.e., *Mariei*) is (positively) affected by the activity of washing in (13) or by the activity of holding in (11).

In a different situation, when the DP object of *a ține* ‘hold’ is in a possession relation with the *la*/real dative argument, it is the case of a low applicative construction (14a). This construction parallels the low applicative construction of sentence (54) presented in Section 5.4.3.1 (repeated here in 14b).

(14) a. *Ion îi ține la Maria/Mariei geanta*

Ion her.CL.DAT holds to Mary.DAT/ Mary.DAT bag-the

‘John holds Maria’s bag’

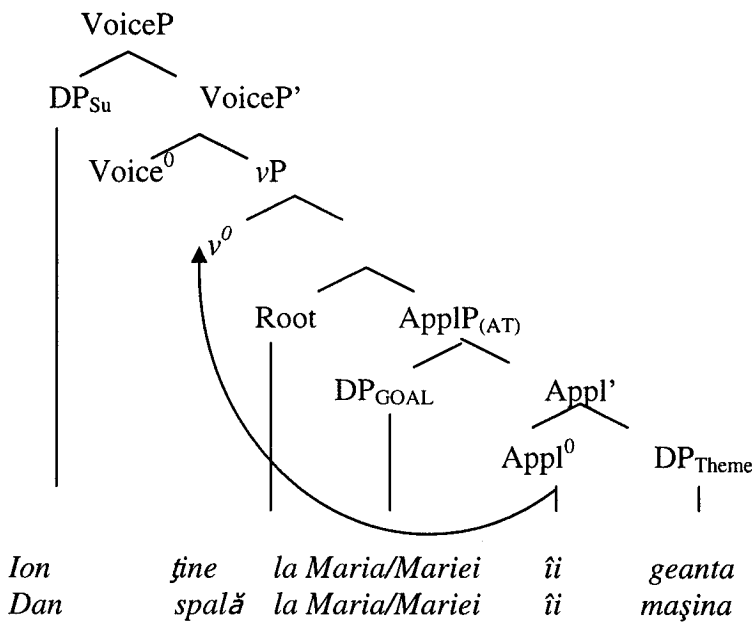
b. *Dan îi spală la Maria/Mariei mașina*

Dan her.CL.DAT washes to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the

‘Dan washes Maria’s car’

In the above sentences, the *la/real* dative argument possesses the DP object, and it is the case of a low applicative ‘at’ construction, as discussed in Section 5.4.3.

(15) Syntactic Structure for low applicative AT construction with activity verbs



In sum, activity verbs may combine in Romanian with both low and high applicatives, depending on the pragmatic (im)possibility of the possession relation between the *la/real* dative argument and the DP object. In the next section I will draw a parallel between low and high applicative arguments in activity contexts.

### 6.2.1 *La/real dative arguments in low/high applicatives in activity contexts*

In Section 5.4.2 we noticed that activity verbs may embed a static low applicative when they appear with an overt direct object (see 15 above), where the dative argument is interpreted as the possessor of the theme object. The direct object is assigned the lexical

meaning by the verb (root). The root lexicalizes a manner of acting, i.e., an activity. The external argument licensed by Voice is involved in the activity of washing, as an agent. In order to establish a comparison of *la/real* datives within low versus high applicative constructions in activity sentences, recall the morphosyntax and identify the main aspects of the syntactic structure of the low applicative structures in ditransitive (activity) sentences.

#### (16) Morphosyntax of Romanian low applicative constructions

- Word order: dative > accusative;
- Case: inherent dative case for applied argument; accusative for the theme;
- Doubling: the dative DP is obligatorily doubled by a clitic.

#### (17) Structure of Romanian low applicative constructions

- the dative DP asymmetrically c-commands the accusative DP;
- ApplPhrase merges below the verb; it combines with the root;
- there is no predication between the dative DP and the object DP; nor predication between the verb and the applicative phrase, or any of its arguments.

The question is if the properties of applicative arguments, (i.e., *la/real* datives), in the context of activity verbs (i.e., *a fugi* ‘run’, *a munci* ‘work’, *a citi* ‘read’, *a zâmbi* ‘smile’, *a râde* ‘laugh’) for high applicatives (18a,b,c) are the same or not as in low applicative activity contexts..

(18) a. *Mihaela îi alergă (la antrenor/antrenorului) o cursă întreagă*

Mihaela him.CL.DATran to trainer.DAT/ trainer-the.DAT a race full

‘Mihaela ran a full race for the trainer’

b. *Mihaela îi alergă la antrenor/antrenorului o jumătate de oră*

Mihaela him.CL.DATran to trainer.DAT/ trainer-the.DAT a half of hour

‘Mihaela ran a half of hour for the trainer’

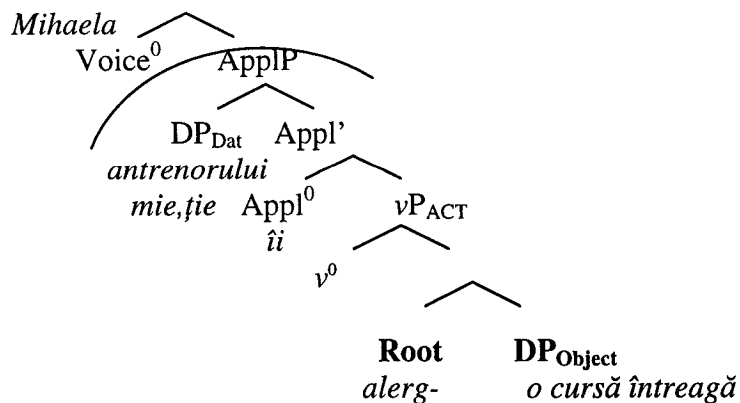
c. *Mihaela îi alergă o jumătate de oră*

Mihaela him.CL.DAT ran a half of hour

‘Mihaela ran a half of hour to him’

Because high applicatives are projected above the verb, and the object DP, whenever present, (see 18a) is not in the same domain with the *la*/dative argument, we may anticipate no relation between the applied object and the DP object. No differences are anticipated in the morphosyntactic properties. Recall the structure of high applicatives in the spirit of Marantz (1993), McGinnis (2001), and Pykkänen (2002).

(19) A structure of high applicatives



The object *o cursă întreagă* 'a whole race' is licensed as the object of the root, in the same way DP objects in low applicative constructions are licensed. The difference is that it does not have any possession relation with the applied argument (i.e., *la/real* dative argument) because they are in different domains. This is obvious, as *the trainer* could not possess *a race* made by *Michaela*.

There are specific predictions with respect to the syntax and semantics of the *la/real* dative argument in activity contexts (i.e., presented in (20) in comparison to the properties of low applicatives (DOCs):

(20) Properties of high applicative arguments in activity contexts:

- (i) Morphosyntax: - differences only when the *la/real* dative argument is absent
- (ii) Binding/WCO: - the dative DP asymmetrically c-commands the DP object
  - same facts of binding and weak crossover as in DOCs
- (iii) Scope: - *la/real* dative DP and DP object in different domains
  - (might anticipate free scope between dative and object DPs)
- (iv) Semantics: - the *la/real* dative DP is applied to the event; no possession of the DP object should be entailed
  - it is in a benefactive relation to the event

In the next section I will discuss the evidence for these predictions.

### 6.2.1.1 Morphosyntax

As can be seen, the morphosyntactic properties of (18) are the same as those of low applicatives (see 14). Sentences (18a,b,c) above can be articulated with normal intonation. Like in the DOC, the basic word order is Dat >Acc. The *la/real* dative argument is obligatorily doubled by a clitic. The only differences relate to the presence versus the absence of the DP *la/real* dative argument whenever the high applicative projection is defective (see 18b).

### 6.2.1.2 Binding

Evidence from binding of anaphors and possessives and from weak crossover effects indicate that the dative argument asymmetrically c-commands the theme object.

#### Binding of anaphors

Binding facts duplicate the facts of binding in the low applicative construction presented in Section 4.5.1.1.

(21) *Mihaela* *îi* *citi* *la Maria/Mariei<sub>i</sub>* *un raport despre ea însăși<sub>i</sub>*

Michaela her.CL.DAT read to María.DAT/Maria.DAT a report about she herself

‘Michaela read a report about her herself to Maria’

An anaphor in the accusative object DP can be bound by the dative argument even when the dative DP appears to the left of the binder<sup>109</sup>.

### Binding of Possessive *său*

In the same way as in the DOC/low applicative construction, the *la*/real dative argument in the high applicative activity sentence may bind a possessive pronoun in the theme object (22a), but the theme object cannot bind a possessive in the dative argument (22b).

(22) a. ?*Polițistul* *îi* *citi* [*la hoț/ hoțului*]<sub>i</sub> [*drepturile sale*]<sub>i/j</sub>  
 policeman-the him.CL.DAT read [to thief.DAT/thief -the.DAT]<sub>i</sub> [rights-the.ACC his]<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘The police read his rights to the thief’

b. \**Șeful* *îi* *citi* [*la angajat/angajatului său*]<sub>i</sub> [*dosarul*]<sub>i</sub>  
 boss-the him.CL.DAT read [to employee.DAT/employee-the.DAT his]<sub>i</sub> [file-the]<sub>i</sub>  
 \*‘The boss read the file on his employee’

a'. ?*Polițistul* *îi*<sub>i</sub> *citi* *drepturile sale*<sub>i</sub>  
 policeman-the him.CL.DAT read [rights-the.ACC his]<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘The police read his rights to him’

As presented above, the *la*/real dative argument in the high applicative activity sentence may not bind a possessive pronoun in the theme object in activity contexts even with applicative projection (i.e., which does not project in its specifier a *la*/real dative

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<sup>109</sup> Remember, in Romanian both word orders are accepted. Nevertheless V IO DO is considered as the base order.

argument (see 22c), contrary to DOCs. We leave the explication for this situation for further research.

### 6.2.1.3 Weak crossover

Since the dative asymmetrically c-commands the theme, we anticipate weak crossover effects when a possessive pronoun in the dative is coindexed with a theme object that undergoes *wh*-movement (23a). Contrastingly, when the possessive is in the theme object, *wh*-movement of the dative should be acceptable (23b).

(23) a. \**Ce<sub>i</sub>            îi            citești la autorul/autorului            său<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ?*

what.ACC him.CL.DAT read.2.SG to author.DAT/author-the.DAT its

\*‘What do you read to its author?’

b. *Cui<sub>i</sub>            i<sub>i</sub>            -ai            citit    t<sub>i</sub> romanul            său<sub>i</sub> ?*

who.DAT him.CL.DAT have.2.SG read            novel-the.ACC his

‘Whom did you read his novel?’

In sum, binding and weak crossover facts are the same as in DOC, demonstrating that the *la*/real dative DP argument in high applicative constructions in activity contexts asymmetrically c-commands the DP object.

### 6.2.1.4 Scope

Remember, it was seen in Section 4.5.2 that in the Romanian DOC, as in English, an indefinite dative argument must scope over *fiecare* ‘each’ or *toți* ‘every’ in the direct

object. When the direct object is an indefinite and *fiecare* or *toți* is in the dative, *fiecare* or *toți* can scope over the indefinite. This is exemplified with *toți* below.

(24) DOC

a. \**toți* > *un*

*Vrei să<sup>110</sup> îi recomanzi la un/unui profesor bun pe toți candidații*  
want CONJ him.CL.DAT recommend to a/a.DAT professor good on every candidates-the  
'You want to recommend every candidate to a good professor'

b. *toți* > *un*

*Vrei să le recomanzi la toți/tuturor profesorilor buni*  
Want CONJ them.CL.DAT recommend to every.DAT/every.DAT professors-the.DAT good  
*un candidat*  
some candidate  
'You want to recommend some candidate to every good professor'

Remember that in the DOC the *la*/real dative was in the same minimal domain as the theme DP. On the contrary, in the high applicative construction in activity context, the dative DP is external to the *v*P where the DP is the object of the root. Following Bruening (2001), I assume that quantifier raising (QR) obeys superiority and that QR cannot disrupt the hierarchical order of two arguments that do not share the same domain.

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<sup>110</sup> The subordination marker is the conjunction *să* which is also the marker for the conjunctive mood in Romanian.

Subsequently, it might be anticipated that there is no dissimilarity between scope in DOC and scope in the high applicative construction.

(25) a. *\*fiecare>un*

*\*Maria i -a citit la un/unui copil (diferit) fiecare lucrare*

Maria him.CL.DAT has read to one.DAT/one.DAT child (distinct) every work

‘Maria has read every work to a child(distinct)’

b. *fiecare>un*

*Maria i -a citit la fiecare/fiecărui copil o lucrare (diferită)*

Maria him.CL.DAT has read to every .DAT/one.DAT child a work (distinct)

‘Maria has read every child a work(distinct)’

As shown above, *la un/unui copil* in (25a) is interpreted under the scope of *fiecare*. In (25b), the opposite is true. Scope facts seem to be similar in DOC and high applicative constructions. I will therefore leave the matter open at this point, pending future research.

#### 6.2.1.5 Semantics

Because in the structure presented in (22), the applicative phrase takes a stative  $\nu$ P (i.e., a predication structure) as its complement, one may anticipate that the *la/real* datives in high applicative constructions might not have the same meaning as *la/real* datives (which are related to the theme DP) in DOCs. A *la/real* dative in a dynamic/static low applicative, which is taken to denote the acquisition/loss/possession of the DP object, is interpreted in a different way with regards to the *la/real* dative in a high applicative

construction, which does not acquire/lose/possess something. In (26) below, which repeats (18), the trainer does not acquire/lose/possess the race.

(26) a. *Mihaela îi alergă (la antrenor/antrenorului) o cursă întreagă*

Mihaela him.CL.DATran to trainer.DAT/ trainer-the.DAT a race full

‘Mihaela ran a full race for the trainer’

b. *Mihaela îi alergă la antrenor/antrenorului o jumătate de oră*

Mihaela him.CL.DATran to trainer.DAT/ trainer-the.DAT a half of hour

‘Mihaela ran a half of hour for the trainer’

c. *Mihaela îi alergă o jumătate de oră*

Mihaela him.CL.DAT ran a half of hour

‘Mihaela ran a half of hour for him’

The essential fact here is that it is not the case that the trainer does not get, does not have, or does not lose *an object*. The *la/real* dative in (26a,b,c), (i.e., *la antrenor/antrenorului*) is (positively) *affected*<sup>111</sup> by the event of running which is made for him. The applied argument is in a benefactive relation with the event. Following Pykkänen’s (2002), the semantics of the applicative head is as below.

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<sup>111</sup> Remember that I assume that affectedness of a *la/real* dative argument is a structural meaning of applicative constructions and encoded in the head of the applicative projection.

(27) Semantics of high applicative construction (inspired by Pykkänen 2002)

### **High Applicative**

$\lambda x. \lambda e. \text{APPL}(e, x)$

I assume that high applicatives in Romanian are projected above the verb structure, which they take as a complement. High applicatives may or may not project a full DP in the specifier position. The applied argument and the *la*/real dative argument are not related, and the applied argument is the beneficiary of the event.

### **6.3 Datives of interest or ethical datives**

As has been seen, a dative clitic can appear with predicates of many different kinds. In this section I examine those clitics that cannot be interpreted as corresponding to a dative argument of the kind I have discussed so far and can only be interpreted as a dative of the kind called 'dative of interest' or 'ethical dative'. In traditional grammar accounts (see Irimia 2000:108), ethical datives are a characteristic of the familiar, regional, and colloquial register. They can appear with predicates of all types and, as a result, a dative clitic can be ambiguous between an ethical dative or some other type of dative. In order to avoid this problem, I will assume that ethical datives are 1st and 2nd person datives which express the interest of person who narrates (by uttering them or in writing) or datives which are soliciting the interest of the person who reads/listens to the events. Two unambiguous contexts are dative clitics that appear with unergative predicates (intransitive activity verbs such as *a umbla* walk,' that do not have a null or implied

object (28a) or in a configuration where there is another dative clitic that corefers to a dative argument DP (28b):

(28) a. ...*unde mi*        *-ai*        *umblat?*

where me.CL.DAT have (you) walked

‘where did you walk on me?’

b. ...*și mi*        *-ți*        *ucidea ursul*        *în*        *luptă...*

and me.CL.DAT you.CL.DAT killed bear-the.ACC in struggle

‘and (he) killed the bear (on me on you) in a struggle...’

Delbecque & Lamiroy (1996:106-107) define these datives in the case of Spanish as ‘non-actantial’ datives (i.e., not part of the valency of the verb), as having an expressive function, and as grounding ‘the event structure in relation to the speech participants’. Together with a particular meaning, ethical datives also have some syntactic properties that differentiate them from other datives. A full pronominal DP corresponding to the benefactive clitic is ungrammatical, similar to Spanish (29c, see Cuervo 2003:195).

(29) a. ...*unde mi*        *-ai*        *umblat (\*mie)?*

where me.CL.DAT have (you) walked to me

‘where did you walk on me (\*to me)?’

b. ...*și mi*        *(\*mie) -ți*        *(\*ție) ucidea ursul*        *în*        *luptă...*

and me.CL.DAT to me you.CL.DAT to you killed bear-the.ACC in struggle

‘and (he) killed the bear (on me to me on you to you) in a fight..’

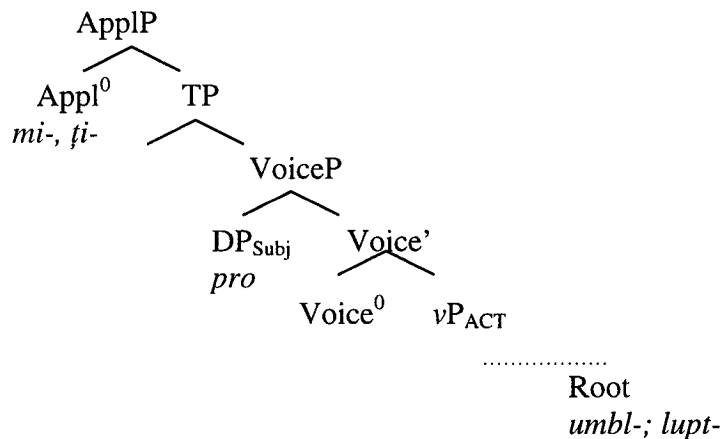
c. *Me le<sub>i</sub> dieron un helado al niño<sub>i</sub> (\*a mí)*

SPANISH

‘They gave the kid an ice-cream on me’

I do not agree with Cuervo’s proposal that ethical dative clitics are similar to high applicative clitics, because they differ in a two critical situations: ethical datives cannot double a full pronominal DP, whereas a high applicative clitic may be doubled, and ethical datives are 1st and 2nd person clitics, whereas high applicative clitics may also be 3rd person clitics. In line with Rivero (2003a) I assume that ethical datives head a high applicative projection above T(ense)P(hrase), as follows:

(30) A structure for ethical datives



The structure above conveys the observation that this subtype of high applicative need not project a specifier in the same way ‘usual’ high applicatives expressed only by a dative clitic do. Jaeggli (1982:1.15) presents ethical or benefactive clitics as a case of clitics that are not generated in object position. Arguing against Kayne’s (1975) movement theory of clitics (i.e., that clitics are generated in NP position and cliticized to

the verb by an obligatory movement rule), Jaeggli argues that since ethical clitics do “not alternate with any other post-verbal object position, we can use this as strong evidence that the clitic is generated by the base in clitic position” (Jaeggli 1982:18). I assume Jaeggli’s proposal that the ethical dative is not in argument position. Because ethical datives do not bear any relation to the subject or the activity/state expressed by the verb, I assume they are generated in the higher part of the syntactic structure of a sentence to check the [+Focus] feature of the upper part of the sentence. I adopt here Rizzi’s (1997:283;ff) proposal that the C(omplementizer) layer is deemed to host the ‘left periphery’ of the clause. In his analysis, ‘the fine structure of the left periphery’ of the clause contains the Topic-Focus system ‘sandwiched’ between force (C) and finiteness (IP/TP), and present only when needed. A clausal constituent endowed with Focus or Topic features ends up in a Spec-Head configuration with a Topic or Focus head. This is the case for Romanian ethical datives, which are uttered with a special intonation. Cross-linguistically, ethical ‘defective’ dative heads also exist in French (31a), Italian (31b) or Spanish (31c).

(31) a. *Je t’acheterais un cadeau à Pierre*

I tell ya, I would buy Peter a present (Sportiche 1993:18)

b. *Figlio, chi me t’ ha morto?*

son who me.CL 1SG you.CL.2SG has killed

‘Son, who killed you?’ (Jacopone da Todi, *Laude XCIII* cited by Cuervo 2003)

c. *Sin mi permiso, te me compraste la moto*

‘Without my permission, you bought (yourself) the motorcycle’

(Jaeggli 1982:1.16a cited by Cuervo 2003:195)

Sportiche (1993:18) argues that ethical clitics are not related to the verb and that they may be generated in a theta-less XP headed by the dative clitic. This proposal offers support for the assumption that they are generated high, in the ‘left periphery’ of the sentence in order to access and check the Focus/Topic projection of the sentence. A more detailed analysis of these constructions is postponed for later research.

#### 6.4 *La/real datives in causatives*

In this section, I discuss *la/real* Romanian dative arguments surfacing with causative verbs and nominative agents (e.g. with *a arde* ‘burn,’ *a deschide* ‘open,’ *a rupe* ‘break,’ *a sparge*<sup>112</sup> ‘break’). Recall that high applicatives license dative arguments which are related to an event and no possession/loss relation exists between the dative/applied argument and the DP object.

(32) *Ion îi sparse la Cristina/Cristinei ochelarii*

John her.CL.DAT broke to Cristina.DAT/Cristina.DAT glasses-the.ACC

‘John broke the glasses on Cristina’ (Lit. ‘John broke Cristina the glasses’)

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<sup>112</sup> I assumed, following Rivero 2003, that dative arguments with inchoative verbs (i.e., *a se arde* ‘burn’, *a se deschide* ‘open’, *a se rupe* ‘break’, *a se sparge* ‘break’ are directly merged in the Spec of a high Applicative Phrase which is external to the clause and takes the finite TP as its complement:

(i) [ApplP Dative [Appl’ Appl [TP]]]

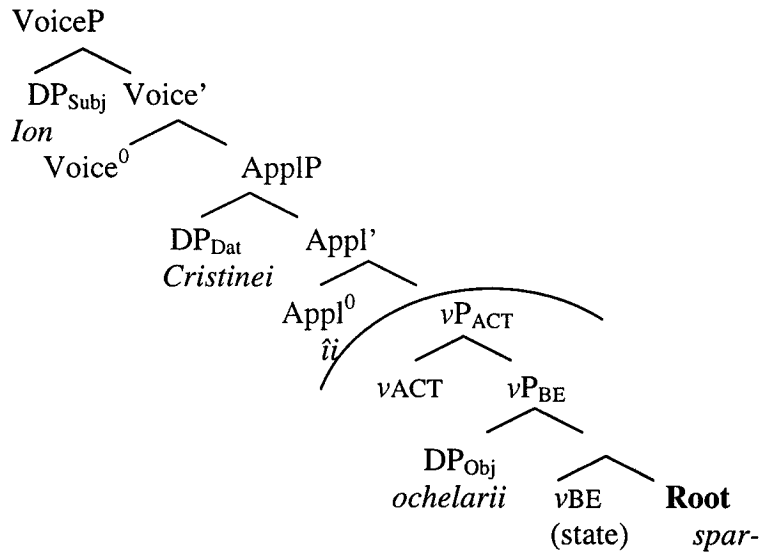
(Rivero 2003, ex.16)

On the one hand, *la/real* dative arguments that combine with causative verbs materialize in the same way datives in low and high applicatives do: they are doubled by a dative clitic, they are preceded by the preposition *la* in the case of *la* datives, and they precede the DP object in normal word order. On the other hand, the meaning of the construction, and in particular the role of the dative argument in the situation expressed by the sentence, parallels only a high applicative argument. The *la/real* dative argument *la Cristina/Cristinei* is not directly related to the theme object as a recipient, source, or possessor. Rather, it is understood as the individual *affected* by the (change of) state of the theme object, which is the beneficiary of the event whose end state is the breaking of the glasses. Despite their outer surface, *la/real* datives with causatives associate with syntactic properties of the sentences they are a part of (e.g. the theme object cannot be a bare noun, ambiguity of interpretation of adverbs like *aproape* ‘almost’). These high *la/real* dative arguments should be differentiated both semantically and structurally from datives in DOCs, as they are a particular case of high applicative constructions.

First, in line with Cuervo (2003), I provide facts for an investigation of causative constructions as bi-eventive structures where a resulting state (predicated of the theme DP) is embedded under a dynamic event predicate *vACT*. The external argument (i.e., the causer) is projected by VoiceP in causatives. My proposal differs from Cuervo (2003), who assumes these *la/real* datives in causative (and inchoative) contexts are the only ‘affected’ arguments. I assume that the *la/real* dative arguments in causative contexts relate to the whole event, in the same way high applied arguments with activity verbs do.

In line with Marantz (1993), McGinnis (2001), Pylkkänen (2002), and Cuervo (2003), the structure for the sentence in (32) is shown below.

(33) A structure for high applicative constructions with agentive causative verbs



I assume that *la/real* datives in causative contexts are arguments applied to a bi-eventive structure which is comprised of an activity verb embedding a (resulting) state. This state is consecutively embedded under a dynamic event predicate where an external argument is projected (i.e., the *of* **v<sub>ACT</sub>**). Thus, the high applied arguments are licensed by an applicative head which takes the complex **v<sub>ACT</sub>** and **vP<sub>BE</sub>** as a complement. The *la/real* dative DP is related to the whole event and bears no relation to the object DP.

#### 6.4.1 The contrast causative/non-causative

Since the literature on causative constructions is extensive, I will necessarily have to focus here only on the relevant aspects for the licensing of applicatives within the general

approach to argument structure introduced in Section 2.6.3.4. Recall that I assume three types of  $v$  (event introducers), as shown below.

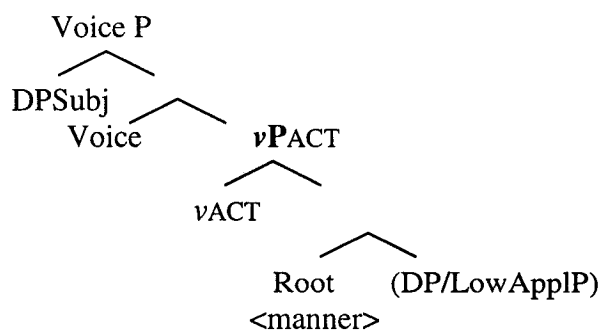
(34) (i) Types of  $v$  (i. e., event introducers) and their corresponding simple activities

- a.  $v$ ACT            Activities
- b.  $v$ CHANGE        Verbs of change/happening
- c.  $v$ BE              States/Existentials

(ii) Causatives:  $v$ ACT +  $v$ BE

Adopting this view, causatives constructions express two events: a causing event, to which the external argument is related, and a caused event, the end state of the object (see 34b). Recall the basic structure of activity verbs (i.e., non-causative predicates) as shown below.

(35) Non-causative activities  $v$ ACT:

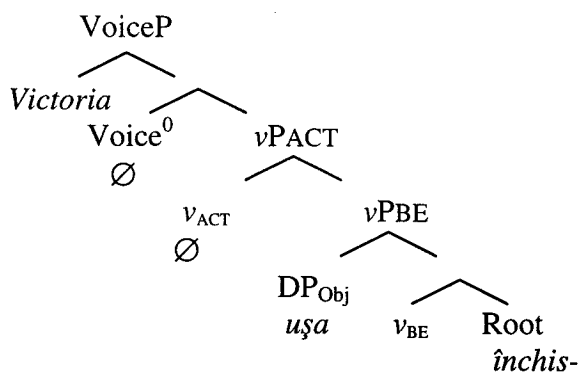


In this structure, it is easy to observe that (i) there is a single event, the one of ‘doing’ or ‘acting’ (see also Jackendoff 1990, Levin and Rappaport 1999, Rappaport and Levin

2003); (ii) the verbal root combines with the verbalizing head by specifying a ‘manner’ of acting; (iii) the agent is introduced by the Voice head, which in turn is licensed by  $v_{ACT}+Manner$  root; (iv) the complement of the root can be a DP, a low Applicative Phrase, a PP, etc.; (v) there can be no object in the case of an unergative verb; and (vi) there is no predication relation between the verb and the object<sup>113</sup>.

In contrast, in causatives, the verb lexicalizes a state of the object. The object is introduced as the specifier of the stative verb: it is the subject of the lower  $vP$ . Crucially, there is a predication relation between the object and the verb. The object cannot be omitted. The external argument is introduced in a similar way as in activity verbs, as the ‘agent’ of the doing. However, the manner of acting is not specified, and the external argument is interpreted just as the ‘doer’ of the causing event, that is, as its initiator or causer.

(36) A structure for causatives:



<sup>113</sup> Recall that I am only referring to complex structures that can be expressed with *one* lexical verb in Romanian. The analysis of causation of dynamic events from the perspective developed in this work ( $v_{ACT}+v_{CHANGE}$ , e.g. *make grow*, and  $v_{ACT}+v_{ACT}$  e.g., *make wash*) is left for future research.

In (36) the lower event (i.e., the state) is represented as a  $\nu$ P headed by a  $\nu$ BE. This is the proposal for causative structures where the object is licensed as the specifier of a stative verbal head that combines with the root. As will be seen in Section 6.3, the category of the lower predicate is not crucial for the general proposal, (e.g. a resulting state can be expressed by a predication relation between a DP and an adjective or a particle). Together with Cuervo (2003), I do not assume a specialized Cause head, as opposed to  $\nu$ ACT<sup>114</sup>. For concreteness, I will continue to assume that the higher  $\nu$  is  $\nu$ ACT ('act' with no manner specified), and the causative meaning is read off the structure  $\nu$ ACT+Predication (e.g. *do [something be open]*).

Below I will present evidence from Romanian that supports two crucial properties of the structure of causatives represented in (36). First, I present evidence that the argument that appears as the direct object with causative verbs like *a arde* 'burn,' *a rupe* 'break,' etc. is indeed licensed as an inner subject. I show that objects of causative verbs pattern with subjects with respect to a restriction on bare NPs. Second, I present some evidence for the bi-eventive analysis of causative constructions.

#### 6.4.1.1 *The object of causatives is an inner subject*

Romanian subjects, when in nominative case, agree in person and number with the verbal form<sup>115</sup>. Preverbal DPs are constrained by a *specificity* requirement unless contrastively focused. Specific DPs comprise both definite (37a) and indefinite DPs with either a referential (37b), a partitive (37c), or a generic collective (37d) reading. Following de Hoop (1996), the above indefinites may be termed as 'strong'.

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<sup>114</sup> See Pykkänen (2002) for a different opinion.

<sup>115</sup> See Alboiu (2000) and Dobrovie Sorin (1995) for a similar opinion.

- (37) a. *Prietena mea a obținut o bursă în Franța*  
 friend-the.NOM my has obtained a fellowship in France  
 ‘My friend obtained a fellowship in France’
- b. *O prietenă de-a mea e lingvistă*  
 a friend.FEM of-GEN.ART my is linguist.FEM  
 ‘A friend of mine is a linguist’
- c. *Doi pești sunt negri (, al treilea roșu)*  
 two fishes are black (, the third red)  
 ‘Two fish are black (the third is red)’
- d. *Trei pești sunt mai scumpi decât doi*  
 three fish are more expensive than two  
 ‘Three fish are more expensive than two’

The same restriction holds for post-verbal subjects. On the other hand, post-verbal objects are not semantically constrained. Keeping this in mind, a few relevant positions where bare nouns are not licensed will be presented below.

- (38) a. \**Citesc băieți*  
 read.3.PL boys  
 ‘Boys read’
- b. \**Băieți citesc*  
 ‘Boys read’

c. \**Vin*        *este bun pentru sănătate*

wine.NOM is good for health

‘Wine is good for the health’

(39) a. \**Prieteni râd*

friends.NOM laugh

‘Friends laugh’

b. *Sosesc prieteni*

arrive friends.NOM

‘Friends arrive’

c. *Prietenii tăi au cumpărat vin/prăjituri*

friends-the.NOM yours have bought wine.ACC /cakes.ACC

‘Your friends bought wine/cakes’

In (38a) and (39a), the only argument is nominative and the verb agrees with it. The contrast between (38b) and (39b) shows that the restriction is not a restriction on nominative arguments in general nor only on preverbal subjects. In (38a-b) the argument is licensed as the external argument (i.e., a subject) of the activity verb, and a bare NP is ungrammatical whether it appears preverbally or postverbally. In (39a-b), in contrast, the NP is licensed as a theme object of the unaccusative predicate. In postverbal (39b), the bare NP is in object position; the sentence is interpreted as a ‘presentational sentence’ and there is no predication relation between the NP and verb (see also Masullo 1992 for Spanish). The restriction on bare NPs applies to arguments that are in a subject position,

be it an initial or a derived position. The relevant notion of subject should include subjects of predication in small clauses.

(40) *Prietena ta consideră interesante filme\*(le)*

friend your consideres interesting movies-the.ACC

‘Your friend used to consider the movies to be interesting’

Although they emerge in the sentence as accusative objects, subjects of small clauses cannot be bare nouns. If *filme* ‘movies’ is bare in (40) the sentence is ungrammatical; if definite, the DP *filmele* ‘the movies’ in (40) can have a specific or a generic reading.

From the structure in (32) we may foresee that the direct objects of causatives which are licensed as subjects of the lower  $\nu$ P— should be subject to the restrictions on bare NPs, whereas such restrictions will not be imposed on the object of activities. It is essential to remember that ‘subject position’ is a configurational notion, as it is not directly connected with a particular verb or kind of verb. In the same way, internal subjects are subjects of a predicate built in the syntax. In general, this allows for lexical roots to be inserted in diverse configurations. Nevertheless, there is a possibility for a verb that can appear in a causative configuration to be used as an activity verb, with immediate consequences for the restrictions on the accusative argument. The verb *a arde* ‘burn’ can be used, as a transitive, both as an activity verb, (i.e., when the external argument is actively involved) or as a causative (i.e., when the external argument might burn something (cause it to burn) by doing something else, e.g. having accidentally thrown it in a fire. If the causative/non-causative readings are represented syntactically,

and in the causative construction the direct object is licensed as the subject of the lower predicate, it is predicted that the object of the causative cannot be a bare noun. With an animate subject, as in (41), the prediction is that (41a) is ambiguous while (41b) can have only an activity reading.

(41) a. *Dan ardea lemnele.*

Dan.NOM burned woods-the.ACC

‘Dan burned the wood’

b. *Dan ardea lemne*

Dan.NOM burned woods.ACC

‘Dan burned wood’

Instead of setting up contexts, however, a simpler and clearer test would be possible by replacing the subject in (41a) and (41b) with an inanimate object. Inanimate subjects can be causees (subjects in a causative configuration) but cannot be the agentive subject of activity verbs. A bare noun as the object should be incompatible with an inanimate subject since the latter forces a causative, non-activity reading.

(42) a. *Focul ardea lemnele*

fire-the.NOM burned woods-the.ACC

‘The fire burned the wood’

b. \**Focul ardea lemne*

fire-the.NOM burned woods.ACC

'The fire burned wood'

The dissimilarity above may be explained by a theory which syntactically distinguishes the objects of causatives from the objects of activities. Assume that sentence (36a) is the ambiguous expression of two different underlying structures: a causative and an (agentive) activity. It is the agentive activity reading (where Dan is actively and directly manipulating wood) that allows for a bare noun object since there is no resulting event projected, and therefore the accusative is not an inner subject.

The proposal developed here allows one to generalize the restrictions on bare nouns to include not only (deep and surface) subjects of a sentence, but also internal subjects in general, such as subjects of small clauses and the subjects of the lower event in causatives.

*6.4.1.2 Causative verbs are bi-eventive*

Evidence has been presented for the assumption that objects of causatives, unlike objects of activity verbs, are licensed above the lowest verb ( $v$ +Root), as its specifier. Further on, support will be provided to answer the question of whether or not causative verbs are bi-eventive. The answer is affirmative if we can bring support for the assumption that there is a (verbal) predication relation embedded under  $v$ ACT that represents the caused event, i.e., the final state of the theme.

Following philosophical proposals that a cause relation is a relation between two events (Dowty 1977, Parsons 1990), it is generally assumed that sentences with transitive verbs that express causation involve two sub-events: a causing event and a caused event. In the structure of Romanian causatives inspired by Cuervo (2003), each event is introduced by a separate syntactic head  $v^{116}$ . This is in contrast with the structure of activity verbs, which are introduced by only one little  $v$  (see 35). Evidence for the contrast between causatives, which comprise two syntactic events, and activities, which comprise just one syntactic event, may be found in the contrast of potential interpretations for adverbial modification (Fodor 1970, Hale and Keyser 1993, Higginbotham 1997, among others). Specifically, one may expect that an adverb can modify either of the event predicates of the causative construction, generating ambiguity<sup>117</sup>. The adverb interpretation should be unambiguous in the case of activities. The adverb *aproape* ‘almost’ will be used for this purpose because it may modify both activities and states.

(43) a. Activity

*Ion aproape dansa (un tango)*

‘Ion almost danced (a tango)’

1. ...’ but then he had second thoughts, so he didn’t (dance at all)’

---

<sup>116</sup> Recall that by causative here I mean only causatives structures expressed via one verb. In Romanian, a causative verb like *a arde* ‘burn’ or *a sparge* ‘break’ can only express the causation of a state, not of a dynamic event like *arrive* or *wash*. In order to causativize a dynamic event,  $vACT$  is spelled out as *a face* ‘make/ACT.’

<sup>117</sup> Adverbial modification could, in principle, be a question of scope or site of attachment. See Larson (2003) for an interesting recent proposal based on predication. I leave this issue for further research.

b. Causative

*Ion aproape sparse oglinda*

'Ion almost broke the mirror'

1. ... 'but then he had second thoughts, so he didn't (do anything that would have cause the mirror to break)', or

2.... 'he tried to do it (so he did something), but the mirror did not break, it just had some scratches'

The possible interpretations of *aproape* in the sentences above demonstrate that without a doubt there are two (event) predicates that can be modified in the causative, but not in the activity. In the causative configuration an adverb such as *aproape* can modify: 1) the action of the external argument (the higher vP) or 2) the state of the object (the lower vP). In a non-causative activity, *aproape* can only scope over the event of doing, dancing in the case of (38a). Pylkkänen (2002) argues that in English the causativizing head CAUSE attaches directly to the root, and therefore there are not two VPs in English causatives. In her discussion of modification in causative structures, she argues that the adverbs that can modify the caused event in English causatives, e.g. *partly*, *half* (among which we could include *almost*), are modifiers of the root. As evidence of this possibility she observes that these adverbs can modify the corresponding adjectives in the absence of a verbal context.

(44) a. *John partly closed the door*

b. *Roger half filled the glass*

(Tenny 2000, 304:37)

(45) a. *a partway open door*

b. *a half full glass*

(Pylkkänen 2002)

The same holds for Romanian *aproape*:

(46) a. *o ușă aproape închisă*

‘a door almost closed’

b. *o oglindă aproape spartă*

‘a mirror almost broken’

The fact that *half*, *partway*, and *aproape* can appear both with a verb and an adjective derived from the same root does not necessitate, however, that they are root modifiers. They might also modify words (verbs and adjectives, i.e., not category neutral roots) that express a state<sup>118</sup>. Because both the adjective *spartă* in (46b) (formed by adjectivizing head *-tă* plus the root *spar-*) and the verb in (43b) at the level of the caused event (formed by the verbalizing *vBE* and the root *spar-*) express a state, it follows that a modifier that can modify states will, in principle, be able to modify both. Due to the fact that positive evidence that *aproape* can modify a root directly is missing, I will argue by default that it cannot.

After evidence for the structures assumed in (32) was provided, I examine the consequences of the different structures for the position in which an applicative head can merge.

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<sup>118</sup> The fact that *aproape* may also modify other types of verbs is not significant here.

#### 6.4.2 Dative arguments in causative/ non-causative contexts

In Section 5.4.2 it was noticed that non-causative activity verbs may embed a static low applicative when they appear with an overt direct object (see 42a), or they may be embedded under a high applicative when the DP object bears no relation to the *la*/real dative argument (see 44a discussed in Section 6.2).

(47) a. *Dan îi spală la Maria/Mariei mașina*

Dan her.CL.DAT washes to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the.ACC

‘Dan washes Maria’s car’

b. *Dan îi spală la Maria/Mariei mașina vecinei*

Dan her.CL.DAT washes to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the neighbour-the .GEN

‘Dan washes the neighbor’s car for Maria ’

c. *Ion îi sparse la Cristina/Cristinei ochelarii*

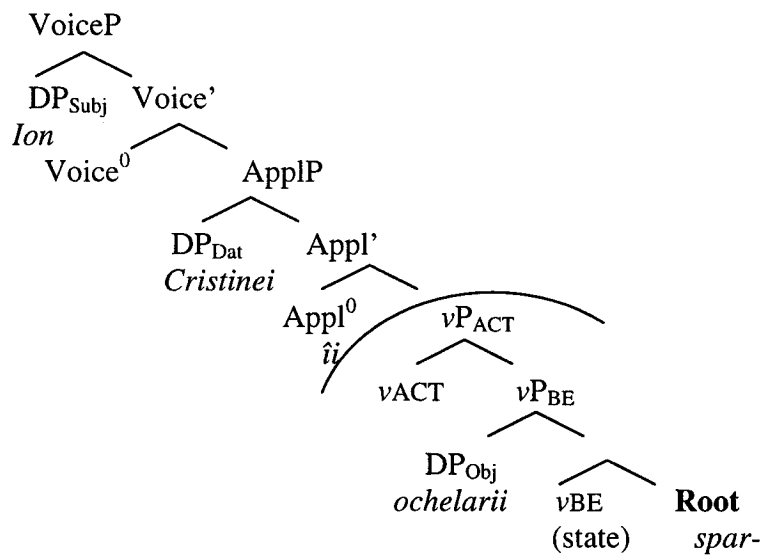
John her.CL.DAT broke to Cristina.DAT/Cristina.DAT glasses-the.ACC

‘John broke the glasses on Cristina’ (Lit. ‘John broke Cristina the glasses’)

In (47a), the *la*/real dative argument is interpreted as the possessor of the theme object. The direct object is assigned the lexical meaning by the verb (root). The root lexicalizes a manner of acting, i.e., an activity. The external argument (i.e., Dan) licensed by Voice is involved in the activity of washing, as an agent. In contrast, in (47b), the *la*/real dative argument is not in a possession relation with the DP object which is possessed by the

genitive DP. The *la/real* dative is (positively) affected by the event of washing. In (47c) the *la/real* dative argument is also not related to the DP object, and it is the beneficiary of the event. The difference between (47b) and (47c) is that there is a bi-eventive structure in (47c) and that the DP object in this sentence is not a complement of the root, but it is licensed as the subject of the lower state verb, as is shown below.

(48) A structure for the high applicative construction in causative context.



The object *ochelarii* ‘the glasses’ is licensed as a specifier above the root and participates in both events: as an object of the higher causing event and as a subject of the caused event (the state). Following Marantz (1993), McGinnis (2001), and Pylkkänen (2002), the high applicative head which licenses the dative DP takes the whole VP as its complement, introduces the dative DP as its specifier, and then combines with the higher Voice. Because in the structure of causatives the object is licensed as the subject of the

lower verb (see 48), it makes one anticipate some differences in the semantic properties.

No differences are anticipated in the morphosyntactic properties.

In the next section predictions about the properties of high applicative constructions in causative contexts are examined.

#### *6.4.3 Properties of high applicatives in causative contexts*

Recall that it was assumed that in causative sentences the high applicative constructions take the bi-eventive VP as a complement (see 43).

In order to support the assumption of high applicatives in causative contexts, some predictions which follow from the structure assumed in (48) made in comparison with high applicatives in activity contexts will be discussed.

#### (49) Predictions for high applicatives in causative contexts

- (i) Morphosyntax: - the same
- (ii) Binding/WCO: - the same: the dative DP c-commands the DP object.  
- the same facts of binding and weak crossover.
- (iii) Scope: - the same: dative DP and DP object in different domains.  
- the same: anticipate free scope between dative and accusative DPs.
- (iv) Semantics: - the same: the *la*/real dative DP is applied to the end state of the object DP; it is related to the whole event.

#### 6.4.3.1 Morphosyntax

As can be seen, the morphosyntactic properties of (49a) are the same as those of high applicatives with activity verbs and as those of low applicatives. Like in high applicative constructions with activity verbs, the applicative projection may be defective, and the *la/real* dative may not be expressed.

(50) a. *Ion îi sparse la Cristina/Cristinei ochelarii*

John her.CL.DAT broke to Cristina.DAT/Cristina.DAT glasses-the

‘John broke the glasses on Cristina’ (Lit. ‘John broke Cristina the glasses’)

b. *Ion îi sparse ochelarii*

John her.CL.DAT broke glasses-the

‘John broke the glasses on her’ (Lit. ‘John broke her the glasses’)

Sentences (50a,b) can be uttered ‘out of the blue’ with normal intonation. The *la/real* dative argument is obligatorily doubled by a clitic (50a), or there is simply a clitic related to the causative context in a defective applicative projection (50b).

#### 6.4.3.2 Binding

Evidence from binding of anaphors and possessives and from weak crossover effects indicate that the dative argument asymmetrically c-commands the theme object.

##### Binding of anaphors

Binding facts duplicate the facts of binding in the high applicative construction presented in Section 6.2.1.2.

- (51) *Munca în școală îi micșoră la Maria/Mariei stima*  
 work-the in school her.CL.DAT weakened to María.DAT/Maria.DAT esteem-the  
*de ea însăși (la Maria/Mariei)*  
 of she herself to María.DAT/Maria.DAT  
 ‘Working at the school weakened María’s self-esteem’

An anaphor in the accusative object DP can be bound by the dative argument, even when the dative DP appears to the right of the binder<sup>119</sup>.

Binding of Possessive *său*

The *la*/real dative argument in the causative sentence may not bind a possessive pronoun in the theme object (52a). This is similar to high applicative constructions in activity contexts (see Section 6.2.1.2) and differs from DOCs/low applicative constructions (see Section 4.5.1.2). The theme object may bind a possessive in the dative argument (47b), contrary to DOCs.

- (52) a.??*Mama îi umplu [la fată/fetei]i [ farfuria sa]i*  
 mother-the her.CL.DAT filled [to girl.DAT/girl-the.DAT]i [plate-the.ACC her]i  
 ‘Mother filled on the girl her plate’

---

<sup>119</sup> Remember, in Romanian both word orders are accepted. I nevertheless consider V IO DO as the base order.

- b. *Şeful îi completă [ la angajat/angajatului său]<sub>i</sub> [fişa]<sub>i</sub>*  
 boss-the him.CL.DAT filled [to worker.DAT/worker-the.DAT his] [file-the.ACC]  
 ‘The boss filled the file on his worker’

### Weak crossover

If the dative asymmetrically c-commands the theme, one may anticipate weak crossover effects when a possessive pronoun in the dative is coindexed with a theme object that undergoes *wh*-movement (48a). Contrastingly, when the possessive is in the theme object, *wh*-movement of the dative should be acceptable (48b).

- (53) a. *\*Ce îi arzi la proprietarul/propietarului său<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ?*  
 what.ACC him.CL.DAT burn.2.SG to owner.DAT/owner-the.DAT its  
 \*‘What did you burn its owner?’
- b. *Cui i -ai spart t<sub>i</sub> computerul său<sub>i</sub> ?*  
 who.DAT him.CL.DAT have.2.SG broken. computer-the.ACC his  
 ‘Whom did you break his computer?’

Overall, binding and weak crossover facts are the same as in DOC, demonstrating that the dative DP asymmetrically c-commands the DP object.

### 6.4.3.3 Scope

Remember, it was seen in Section 6.2.1.3 that in high applicative constructions in activity contexts, as in the English DOC, an indefinite dative argument must scope over *fiecare* ‘each’ or *toți* ‘every’ in the direct object. When the direct object is an indefinite and

*fiicare* or *toți* is in the dative, *fiicare* or *toți* can scope over the indefinite. This is exemplified with *fiicare* below. The same effect obtains for high applicatives in causative contexts.

Similar to high applicatives in activity contexts, in the causative construction the dative DP is external to the lower *v*P of which the theme DP is the subject. Following Bruening (2001), I assume that quantifier raising (QR) obeys superiority and that QR cannot disrupt the hierarchical order of two arguments that share the same domain.

(54) a. \**fiicare*>*un*

\**Maria i -a deschis la un/ unui copil (diferit) fiicare caiet*

Maria him.CL.DAT has open to one.DAT/one.DAT child (distinct) every booklet

'Maria has opened every booklet to a child'

b. *fiicare*>*un*

*Maria i -a deschis la fiicare/fiecărui copil un caiet (diferit)*

Maria him.CL.DAT has open to every .DAT/one.DAT child a booklet (distinct)

'Maria has opened every child a booklet'

As is shown above, *la un/unui copil* in (54a) is interpreted under the scope of *fiicare*.

In (54b), the opposite is true. Nevertheless, scope facts seem to be similar in DOC and high applicative constructions. I will leave the matter open at this point, pending future research.

#### 6.4.3.4 Semantics

Because in the structure presented in (32), the applicative phrase takes a bi-eventive VP (i.e., a predication structure) as its complement, one may anticipate that the *la/real* datives in a causative context might have the same meaning as *la/real* datives in high applicatives in activity contexts. I do not agree with Cuervo (2003) that in applicative constructions in causative contexts the dative argument acquires a particular state of the object. This is better exemplified by the sentence below.

- (55) *Ion îi sparse la Cristina/Cristinei ochelarii Mariei*  
John her.CL.DAT broke to Cristina.DAT/Cristina.DAT glasses-the Maria.GEN  
'John broke the glasses on Cristina' (Lit. 'John broke for Cristina Maria's glasses')

It is essential that it is not the case that Cristina gets, has or loses *an object* in (55). The *la/real* dative is directly linked to the whole causing event and indirectly to the external argument. In (55), the external argument (i.e., *Ion*) indirectly *affects*, does something to the applied argument (i.e., *Cristinei*) by causing the glasses to be broken. Following Pylkkänen (2002) and Cuervo (2003), the semantics of high applicatives in causative contexts is as follows.

- (56) **High Applicative:**  $\lambda x.\lambda e (e,x)$

By Event Identification rule, Voice combines with the bi-eventive structure in order to license the external argument semantically.

Because of different structure and semantics, one might anticipate semantic differences between high *la*/real datives, as they have been discussed in Section 5.4 and affected *la*/real datives. Remember, in contrast with Cuervo (2003), I assumed that the affectedness in low applicatives is entailed. In *la*/real datives with causative verbs constructions, possession is meant to enforce the affectedness of the *la*/real dative argument due to the modification of state of the DP object.

#### 6.4.3.5 Possession (of the theme by the dative)

Remember, possession is the essential meaning of static low applicatives-AT, a low applicative-AT is irreconcilable with a genitive possessor, as is shown below.

(57) Possessor Low applicatives

a. *Dan spălă mașina Mariei*

Dan washed car-the Maria.GEN

‘Dan washed Maria’s car’

b. *Dan îi spălă la Maria/Mariei mașina*

Dan her.CL.DAT washed to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT car-the

‘Dan washed Maria’s car’

c. *Dan îi spălă la Maria/Mariei [mașina vecinei]*

Dan her.CL.DAT washed to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT [car-the of the neighbor.GEN]

Lit. ‘Dan washed Maria the car of the neighbor’

Due to the fact that *a spăla* ‘wash’ is not a directional verb, Maria cannot be taken to be a source or a recipient. In the (57c) event, it is obviously entailed that Maria is related to the *event* of some car being washed, as a high benefactive (see Section 6.2 for discussion). Essential in (57) is that Maria *has* the same reading in (57b) and (57c). In contrast with DOC *la/real* datives, high applicative arguments are affected independently of being the possessors of the theme object. Sentence (58) illustrates that a dative with a causative verb is acceptable even if it is stated in the sentence that it is not the possessor of the theme DP (see Cuervo 2003 for a similar observation).

(58) High applicatives in causative contexts

a. *Ion îi sparse ochelarii Cristinei*

John her.CL.DAT broke glasses-the Cristina.GEN

‘John broke Cristina’s glasses’

b. *Ion îi sparse la Cristina/Cristinei ochelarii*

John her.CL.DAT broke to Cristina.DAT/Cristina.DAT glasses-the

‘John broke the glasses on Cristina’ (Lit. ‘John broke Cristina the glasses’)

c. *Ion îi sparse la Cristina/Cristinei ochelarii vechi ai vecinei*

John her.CL.DAT broke to C.DAT /Cristina.DAT glasses-the old of neighbor.GEN

‘John broke the neighbor’s glasses on Cristina’

(Lit. ‘John broke Cristina the neighbor’s old glasses’)

In the case of causative *a sparge* not only is it possible to say (58c) without much context, but the interpretation of *Cristina* can be quite similar to the interpretation in

(58b) if we imagine that Cristina would enjoy/suffer because of the breaking of the neighbor's old glasses. With the purpose of giving more evidence for the non-entailment of possession in the case of affected arguments, I will examine the below sentences, where *the door* cannot be possessed.

(59) *Emil îi deschise la Corina/ Corinei ușa*

Emil her.CL.DAT opened to Corina.DAT/Corina.DAT door-the

'Emil opened the door for Corina'

\* ⇒ Carolina has a door.

Nevertheless, a possessive meaning may arise with high applicatives as with low applicatives. But the nature of this relation is distinct. For low applicatives, as it was shown in Section 5.4.3.2.1, a *la/real* dative construction may form a couple with a sentence with the verb *avea* 'have' where the *la/real* dative is the nominative subject and the accusative DP is the accusative object.

(60) *Dan îi puse <sup>?120</sup>la cafea/cafelei niște zahăr*

Dan it.CL.DAT put to coffeee.DAT/coffee-the.DAT some sugar

'Dan put some sugar in the coffee'

⇒ *Cafeaua are zahăr*

'The coffee has sugar in it'

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<sup>120</sup> Remember, the *la* inanimate dative is deviant in a familiar register.

In (60) there is a clear link between two entities: the coffee and the sugar, which states that the coffee has sugar. In contrast, the matching *a avea* sentence for an affected *la/real* dative, would have the *la/real* dative as the subject and a predication relation (like a small clause) as the complement.

- (61) *Dan îi rupse ?la masă/mesei piciorul*  
 Dan it.CL.DAT broke to table-the.DAT/ table-the.DAT leg-the  
 ‘Dan broke the table’s leg’  
 ⇒ *Masa are piciorul rupt*  
 ‘The table has a broken leg’ (Lit. ‘The table has the leg broken’)

That the complement of the verb *a avea* is a predicative phrase or small clause (SC), not a DP, is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of omitting the subject *piciorul* ‘the leg’ (62a) or the predicate *rupt* (62b)<sup>121</sup>. If an accusative clitic replaces the DP, it does not replace the predicate, which has to be explicit (62c).

- (62) a. \**Masa are rupt*  
 b. \**Masa are piciorul*  
 c. *Masa le are \*(rupte)*

<sup>121</sup> The small clause may have the bare noun *picioare* as the subject of the predicate, in contrast with Spanish (see Cuervo 2003: ex 45c).

- (i) *Masa are picioare rupte*  
 (ii) \**La masa tiene patas rotas/ rotas patas*  
 ‘The table has broken legs’

I leave this problem for further research.

If the syntactic realization of the verb *a avea* ‘have’ is not considered, this verb intuitively conveys a relation between two constituents. Its subject is always a possessor of some individual or some state. Taking into account this real life supposition, the paraphrase in (62) *a avea* ‘have’ reveals that in the applicative construction (61), the table is related to the state of the legs being broken. There is a clear contrast among the DP object of *a avea* in the sentences paired with low applicatives (60) and with high applicative arguments in causative contexts (61). This contrast obviously asserts that the *la/real* dative argument relates to a distinct constituent in each case. In the low applicative-paired sentence (60), the DP object of *a avea* ‘have’ is a DP because the low applicative sets up a possession relation between the *la/real* dative and the object DP. In the high applicative sentence the object of *a avea* is a SC, because the high applicative relates the dative to a clause (the state lower *vP*). Remember, I claimed that affectedness is entailed in the applicative head. Nevertheless, in sentences with possessor low applicatives embedded under stative verbs such as *a admira* ‘admire,’ *a auzi* ‘hear,’ *a invidia* ‘envy,’ *a vedea* ‘see’ (63a), affectedness is implied because the DP object is possessed by the applied argument, similar to the possible stative possessors DOC in English (63b).

- (63) a. *Dan îi admiră la Maria/Mariei răbdarea*  
 Dan her.CL.DAT admires to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT patience-the  
 ‘Dan admires Maria’s patience’ (Lit. ‘Dan admires Maria the patience’)
- b. *Daniel envies Stephanie her brothers*

Even if the animate *la/real* dative is in an inalienable possession relation with the DP object, the DP object is affected in the same way (64).

- (64) *Dan îi observă/privește/studiază la Maria/Mariei picioarele*  
Dan her.CL.DAT observes/looks at/studies to Maria.DAT/Maria.DAT legs-the  
'Dan observes/looks at/studies Maria's feet'

In high applicative with causative predicates, the *la/real* dative applied argument enjoys/suffers, is affected by the modification of state of the DP object. In (65) below, *Cristina* is affected by (is the beneficiary of) the breaking/burning of the glasses.

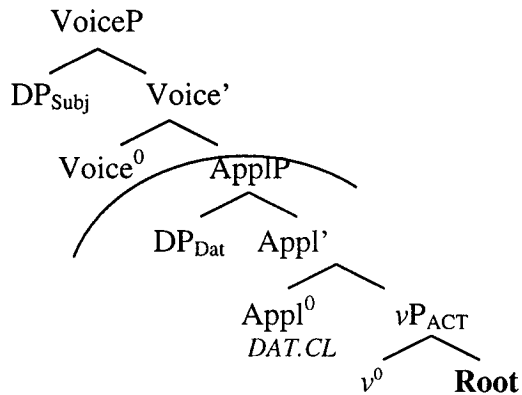
- (65) *Ion îi sparse/rupte/arse la Cristina/Cristinei ochelarii*  
John her.CL.DAT broke/burned to Cristina.DAT/Cristina.DAT glasses-the  
'John broke/burned the glasses on Cristina'  
(Lit. 'John broke/burned Cristina the glasses')

In sum, affectedness is entailed in low applicative sentences as well as in high applicative constructions. In contrast, no possession relation between the *la/real* dative argument and the DP object exists in high applicative constructions.

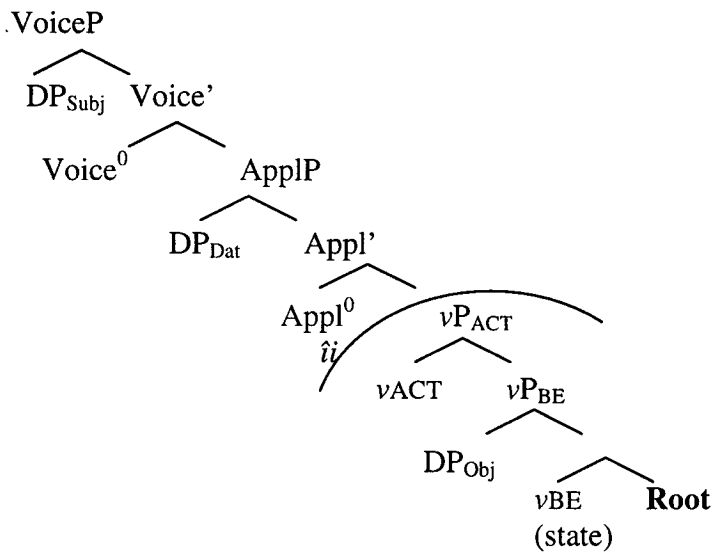
## 6.5 Conclusions

Following Pytkänen (2002) and McGinnis (2001), I assume that high applicatives in Romanian are projected above the verb structure, which they take as a complement. High applicatives may or may not project a full DP in the specifier position. In the same way, I assume that high applicative arguments (i.e., *la*/real clitic doubled dative arguments) bear no relation to the DP object and that they are another argument added to the event by a functional projection taking the VP as a complement, in the same way the agent is added by the Voice projection. There are three types of high applicative constructions examined in this work: those that take an activity verb as a complement, those projected above TP (ethical datives), and those which take a causative predicate as a complement. Because in a high applicative configuration the object DP is not in the same domain as the *la*/real dative argument (i.e., the clitic, in defective high applicatives and in ethical datives), it is *structurally impossible* for a high applicative head to relate the applied argument to the DP object. In causative configurations, there is predication relation between the DP object *ochelarii* ‘glasses’ and *a sparge* ‘break’. No head can take the DP as an argument with exclusion of the predicate. Therefore, the applicative phrase must be outside the lower  $\nu$ P. The structure of high applicatives in activity (66a), causative contexts (66b) and the structure of ethical datives (66c) proposed in this chapter are shown below.

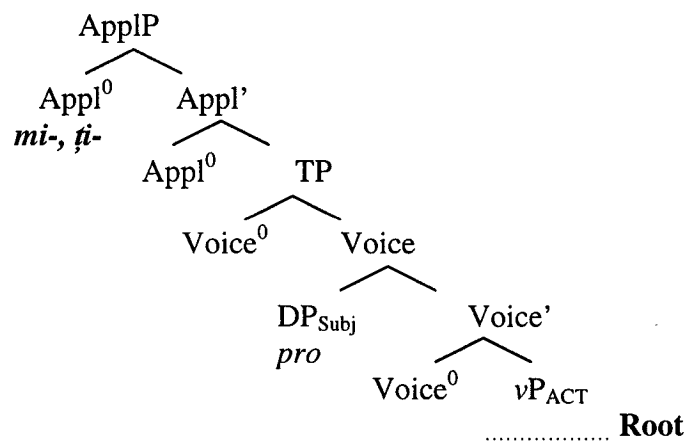
(66) a. A structure of high applicatives with full DP/pronoun dative argument (activities)



b. A structure of high applicative in causative contexts



c. A structure for ethical datives



The structures above give an account for the c-command relations between the clitic doubled *la/real* dative and the DP object situated in different domains. Note that binding of possessives is different in the case of high applicatives with regards to DOCs (see 52). Nevertheless, the same as in DOCs, the DP object is generated lower and accusative case percolates to its position. The theme DP could move up over the *la/real* dative if it is focused. I leave this problem open for further research. The same as in DOCs, the *la/real* dative gets inherent case from the applicative head. Also in the same way as low applicatives, the dative clitic is the spell-out, in the applicative head, of the phi-features (person and number) of the applied DP (i.e., the *la/real* dative). The semantics of high *la/real* datives is accounted for by the different position they are licensed in, as they relate to the event, and do not have any relation to the DP object.

## CHAPTER 7. Final remarks

To conclude this thesis, my account unites all *la/real* Romanian dative arguments assuming they are licensed by the same functional specialized head and that none of them is an argument of the verb. To my knowledge, it is the first time *la* datives have been examined in a generative grammar perspective.

Within the procedure I develop, *la/real* datives are licensed by the same functional projection (i.e., the applicative phrase), but have their own, differentiated meaning. The pertinent differences are drawn from 3 distinct causes:

- The category and the *la/real* dative is connected to the complement the applicative head takes (a Root, a dynamic *vP*, a bi-eventive predicate, a TP).
- The applicative projection can be embedded under a *vP* (i.e., low applicative constructions), above a *vP* (i.e., high applicative constructions), or above TP (i.e., ethical datives).
- The applicative head can be syntactically complete or syntactically defective (i.e., whether it projects a specifier or just the head is present).

The structurally possible types of dative arguments are predicted by the combinable possibilities of event predicates and applicatives. The semantic interpretation of the syntactic structures was carried out compositionally on the syntactic structures. As a result, structural types of datives correspond to semantic types.

This work tried to offer an efficient account for the syntactic functioning and semantic interpretation of a wide range of *la/real* dative arguments in Romanian which and also to offer the theoretical device to pinpoint differences in other languages.

A cross-linguistic overview of the applicative constructions shows that Romanian behaves on a par with Spanish and Albanian, but also with Chichewa. This may be due to the fact that there is an obligatory applicative marker in all these languages, and the base order is V IO DO. English is the only language (for now) without any applicative marker. Kinyarwanda (a Bantu language) behaves on a par with Haka Lai (spoken in Indonesia).

Table 6 Morphological properties of Applicative constructions cross-linguistically

	APPL with transitive verbs	Appl with intransitive verbs	Morphologically distinct Appl marker	Restricted number of objects	Obligatory Appl marker	IO>DO order
Romanian	+	+	-	+	+	+
Spanish	+	+	-	+	+	+
Albanian	+	+	-	+	+	+
English	+	-	-	+	-	+
Chaga	+	+	-	+	+	+
Chichewa	+	-	-	+	+	+
Kinyarwanda	+	+	+	-	+	-
Haka Lai	+	+	+	-	+	-

Many interesting aspects of dative arguments have not been examined, including the *la/real* datives in inchoative, raising, reflexive, and psychological sentences; the importance of the morphological characteristics of the head. The investigation of these topics, and of the cross-linguistic variation within this framework, is just beginning.

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## APPENDIX 1.

### TEST SENTENCES :

1. *Mihaela îi trimite la Maria/Mariei o scrisoare*  
Mihaela her.CL.DAT sends to Mary.DAT/ Mary.DAT a letter  
'Mihaela sends Mary a letter'
2. *Mihaela îi pune cafelei zahăr*  
Michaela her/it.CL.DAT put coffee-the.DAT sugar  
'Michaela puts sugar in the coffee' (Lit. 'Michaela puts the coffee sugar')
3. *Doina îi ia la Elena/Elenei bicicleta*  
Doina her.CL.DAT takes-away to Elena.DAT/Elena.DAT bicycle-the  
'Doina takes away the bicycle from Elena'
4. *Mama îi dădu la Maria/Mariei o brățară*  
mother-the her.CL.DAT gave to Mary.DAT/ Mary.DAT a bracelet  
'Mother gave Mary a bracelet (as a gift)'
5. *Mihaela îi trimite Mariei o scrisoare la birou.*  
Mihaela her.CL.DAT sends Mary.DAT a letter to office  
'Mihaela sends Mary a letter to the office'
6. *I -am dat la cineva scrisorile tale.*  
it.CL.DAT.SG have given to someone.DAT letters-the yours  
'I have given someone your letters'

7. *I -am dat la un om biletul meu.*  
 him.CL.DAT have given to a man.DAT man ticket mine  
 ‘I have given a man my ticket’
8. *Ion îi aduce la Elena flori*  
 John him.CL.DAT brings to Helen.DAT flowers  
 ‘John brings Helen flowers’
9. *Cui i -am dat cecul său?*  
 whom.DAT him.CL.DAT (we) have given check-the.ACC his  
 ‘To whom did we give his own cheque?’
10. *La cine i am dat cecul său?*  
 to whom.DAT him.CL.DAT (we)have given check-the.ACC his  
 ‘To whom did we give his own cheque?’
11. *Ion aduce Elenei flori*  
 John brings Helen.DAT flowers  
 ‘John brings flowers to Helen’
12. *Ion îi sărută la Maria fruntea*  
 Ion her.CL.DAT kisses to Maria.DAT forehead-the  
 ‘Ion kisses Maria’s forehead’ (Lit. ‘Ion kisses Maria the forehead’)
13. *Dan îi admiră la Maria rochia*  
 Dan her.CL.DAT admires to Maria.DAT dress-the  
 ‘Dan admires Maria’s dress’ (Lit. ‘Dan admires Maria the dress’)

14. *Ion îi spală la Valeria mașina*  
 Ion her.CL.DAT washes to Valeria.DAT car-the  
 ‘Ion washes Valeria’s car’ (Lit. ‘Ion washes Valeria the car’)
15. *La Suzana i se sparseră ochelarii.*  
 To Suzana.DAT her.CL.DAT se.REFL broke glasses-the.NOM  
 ‘The glasses broke on Susan’ (Lit. ‘To Susan broke the glasses’)
16. *La Daniela nu îi plac câinii*  
 To Daniela.DAT not her.CL.DAT like.PL dogs-the.ACC  
 ‘Daniela doesn’t like dogs’ (Lit. ‘To Daniela don’t appeal the dogs’)
17. *La Laura îi prisosesc ceva bani*  
 to Laura.DAT her.CL.DAT were-extra.PL some money  
 ‘Laura had some money left’ (Lit. ‘To Laura were extra some money’)
18. *Anca îi lucrează la Ion toată ziua*  
 Anca him.CL.DAT work.3.SG. to Ion.DAT all day  
 Anca works all day long for Ion’
19. *Alexandra îi muncește la un patron toată ziua*  
 Alexandra him.CL.DAT works to one boss.DAT all day  
 ‘Alexandra works all day long for some boss’  
 (Lit. ‘Alexandra works all day long to some boss’)
20. *Mama i -a trimis la Ion ceva bani*  
 Mother him.CL.DAT has sent to Ion.DAT some money  
 ‘Mother sends some money to Ion’