

DATIVE CLITICS IN ROMANIAN DITRANSITIVES¹

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Abstract

This paper presents a novel analysis for Romanian ditransitives. Based on empirical findings, we develop a derivational account building on the internal make-up of the two internal arguments. The account departs from the observation that clitic doubling (CD) of indirect objects (IO) and Differential Object Marking (DOM) of direct objects (DO) interact in an interesting and unexpected way: while unmarked DOs bind IOs irrespective of Clitic Doubling of IOs, counterparts where DOMed DOs bind CDed IOs are degraded; however, CDed+DOMed DOs fare much better. These facts seem to arise as a consequence of the interaction between DOMed DOs and CDed IOs which have similar internal make-up (they both carry a [Person] feature) and compete for the same probe, with the closer blocking agreement of the other. When DO cliticizes, these intervention effects no longer arise.

Keywords: ditransitives, Differential Object Marking, Clitic Doubling

1. Introduction

One of the important aspects concerning ditransitive configurations concerns the relatedness between the *Prepositional Object Construction (POC)* (1a) and the *Double Object Construction (DOC)* (1b):

- (1) a. Mary gave a book_{Theme} to John_{Goal}. (POC)
b. Mary gave John_{Goal} a book_{Theme}. (DOC)

According to some studies, the two configurations are independent from one another, while others stress their structural connectedness. The former approach is known as the Alternative Projection Account, while the latter bears the name of Derivational Account².

Proponents of the former account justify their claims as to the lack of relatedness between the two constructions by drawing on two arguments: the *lack of semantic uniformity* of the alternating dative constructions (Oehrle 1976, Kayne 1975, a.o.) and the *asymmetric*

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² Proponents of the Alternative Account: Oehrle (1976), Marantz (1993), Pesetsky (1995), Harley (2002), Bruening (2001, 2010). Advocates of the Derivational Account: Dryer (1987), Larson (1988, 1990), Baker (1988, 1996), Aoun and Li (1989), den Dikken (1995), Ormazabal and Romero (2010, 2012).

binding potential exhibited by the two internal arguments (Barss & Lasnik 1986, Aoun & Li 1989). The analyses advanced assume that the semantic differences holding between the two configurations are systematic, with POC expressing obligatory caused movement and the DOC describing obligatory caused possession. This difference has been accounted for in various ways, either in terms of a different event structure (Krifka 2004), as springing from the preposition relating the two internal arguments (Harley 2002) or as a difference between the light verbs *go* and *cause* present in the POC and the DOC, respectively (Cuervo 2003), a.o.

For the proponents of the Derivational Account, the two configurations are related, with one of them representing the basic structure, and the other its syntactically derived counterpart. The thematic structure of V is argued to be the same in both frames and the semantic differences are explained in terms of affectedness deriving from the position occupied by IO. More recent work dwelling on idiomatic expressions, possession restrictions or inference patterns showed that differences in interpretation may actually remain semantically unexpressed, given that there is no strict correspondence between meaning and syntactic structure (Ormazabal and Romero 2002, 2007, Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2008, a.o.). Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2008) show, for instance, that the *caused motion* meaning associated with POC is not present with some of the verb classes exhibiting dative alternation and allowing POC (e.g., verbs of future having). Moreover, the *caused possession* reading, linked to DOC, may surface with POC of certain verb classes expressing caused motion.

One important aspect extensively discussed by both approaches has to do with the c-commanding potential that the two internal arguments exhibit in the two configurations: in the POC configuration the DO c-commands the IO (2), but in the DOC structure the opposite c-command relation obtains (3).

POC: **Theme c-commands Goal**

- (2) a. *I showed Mary_i to herself_i (in the mirror).*
 b. **I showed herself_i to Mary_i (in the mirror).*

DOC: **Goal c-commands Theme**

- (3) a. *I showed John_i himself_i (in the mirror).*
 b. **I showed himself_i John_i (in the mirror).*

Barss and Lasnik (1986): (2), p. 347

Numerous studies on Romance ditransitives have adopted the Alternative Projection account, assuming structural and semantic differences between ditransitives containing CDed IOs and their undoubled counterparts by grouping the former with DOC and analyzing the latter as POCs (Demonte 1995, Cuervo 2003).

Romanian was also argued to pattern with other Romance languages in this respect. Diaconescu and Rivero (2007) distinguish between ditransitives containing undoubled IOs (4a) (which they range with the English POC), and configurations where a dative clitic doubles IO (4b) (which they assimilate to the English DOC):

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

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

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

They further argue that the differences regarding c-command relations in the two configurations uncovered by Barss and Lasnik (1986) hold for Romanian ditransitives as well: in the configuration containing an undoubled IO (corresponding to POC) the DP_{Theme} is argued to c-command the DP_{Goal} (5a), while in the configuration featuring a clitic doubled IO, the opposite c-command relation is claimed to hold (5b). Note further that this latter structure is also posited to contain an Applicative Projection taking VP as its complement (Pylkkänen 2002):

- (5) a. POC: *Theme c-commands Goal*
 [VoiceP DP_{Agent} Voice_{[_vPV} [PP DP_{Theme} P DP_{Goal}]]]
- b. DOC: *Goal c-commands Theme* (clitic doubling)
 [VoiceP DP_{Agent} Voice_{[_vPV} [AppIP DP_{Goal} [cl_{Appl}] [VP V DP_{Theme}]]]]]

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

The Appl head in DOC is occupied by the dative clitic, following a close parallelism with Cuervo’s (2003) proposal for Spanish. The two different configurations are thus triggered by the presence of the dative pronominal clitic doubling IO or the lack thereof: in (5a), the undoubled IO merges low within PP, while DO occupies SpecPP, c-commanding IO. In (5b), the clitic doubled IO merges in SpecAppl, while DO occupies the complement position. Appl^o spells out as the dative clitic. As such, the binding asymmetries between the two arguments pattern with the ones in English.

The account put forth by Diaconescu and Rivero makes a number of predictions in the sense that some configurations are discarded as ungrammatical, while others are predicted to be ungrammatical: DOs may not bind CDed IOs since the latter DP merge in a c-commanding position (6b); DO may only bind an undoubled IO, given its low position within the PP (6a):

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

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

On the other hand, an undoubled IO is unable to bind into DO, since it merges in a lower position (7b); the clitic-doubled IO is, on the other hand, able to bind into the IO (7a).

experiment, which were distributed into 8 lists using the Latin square method. 32 fillers were added. Each list in each experiment was assessed by at least 20 native speakers: more than 160 people participated in each experiment.

In this paper, we discuss only one part of the full results, namely the condition *DO before IO and DO binds IO* and vary the clitic doubling of the IO and the layout of the DO, as in Table 1 (for a full presentation of the data, the results and an analysis, see Tigău (in press) and Tigău and von Heusinger (ms)).³

	<i>IO</i>		<i>CDed IO</i>	
<i>unmarked DO</i>	++	cf. (8a)	+	cf. (8b)
<i>DOMed DO</i>	++	cf. (9a)	-	cf. (9b)
<i>CDed+DOMed DO</i>	++	cf. (10a)	+	cf. (10b)

Table 1: Acceptability (++ very good, + acceptable, - bad) of binding configuration in ditransitive constructions between DO (unmarked, DOMed, CDed and DOMed) and IO (undoubled, CDed) extracted from 3 questionnaires with 120 informants each

One of the experimentally uncovered facts concerns the low acceptability of ditransitives containing DOMed DOs and CDed IOs in the DO before IO word order. This seemed unusual given that, when compared with ditransitives containing unmarked DOs or CDed+DOMed DOs, these instances fared significantly worse.

Example (8) shows that unmarked DOs may bind both undoubled IOs and CDed IOs. (9) shows that while DOMed DOs may bind the possessor within undoubled IOs, the same configuration is sharply degraded when IOs are CDed. (9b) is saved if the DOMed DO is CDed, (10a).

unmarked DO > undoubled IO

- (8) a. *Editorii au trimis fiecare carte; autorului ei;*
 Editors.the have sent every book author.DAT its

pentru corecturile finale.
 for corrections final

‘The editors send each book to its author for the final corrections.’

³ Table 1 is an abstraction from the absolute figures in Table 2 with the mean values of the grammaticality judgements from 1 (very bad) to 7 (very good).

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

Table 2: Mean values of acceptability of binding configuration of DO > IO und DO binds into IO with different forms of DO and undoubled vs. CDed IO (see Tigău (in press) for full information).

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

- unmarked DO > CDed IO**
- b. *Editorii i-au trimis fiecare carte; autorului ei*
 Editors.the CL.DAT.SG-have sent every book author.DAT its
 pentru corecturile finale.
 for corrections final
 ‘The editors send each book to its author for the final corrections.’
- DOMed DO > undoubled IO**
- (9) a. *Comisia a repartizat pe fiecare medic rezident;*
 Board.the has assigned DOM every doctor resident
unor foști profesori de-ai lui.
 some.DAT former professors of his
 ‘The board assigned every medical resident to some former professor of his.’
- DOMed DO > CDed IO**
- b. **Comisia le-a repartizat pe fiecare medic*
 Board.the CL.DAT.PL-has assigned DOM every doctor
rezident; unor foști profesori de-ai lui.
 resident some.DAT former professors of his
 ‘The board assigned every medical resident to a former professor of his.’
- CDed+DOMed DO > undoubled IO**
- (10) a. *Comisia l-a repartizat pe fiecare medic*
 Board.the CL.ACC.SG.M-has assigned DOM every doctor
rezident; unor foști profesori de-ai lui.
 resident some.DAT former professors of his
 ‘The board assigned every medical resident to some former professor of his.’
- CDed+DOMed DO > CDed IO**
- b. *Comisia li l-a repartizat pe*
 Board.the CL.DAT.PL CL.ACC.SG.M-has assigned DOM
fiecare medic rezident; unor foști profesori de-ai lui.
 every doctor resident some.DAT former professors of his
 ‘The board assigned every medical resident to some former professor of his.’

The aim of this paper is to propose an account which would accommodate the differences between unmarked DOs and their DOMed counterparts. More specifically, two questions will be addressed:

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

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

One way to approach these facts would be to start by considering the following: given that configurations with unmarked DOs and CDed+DOMed DOs fare similarly with respect to acceptability scores and seem to be felicitous, we should not hold the binding dependency itself to be responsible for the low acceptability of counterparts with DOMed DOs. What seems to be the problem is the co-occurrence of DOM and the dative clitic doubling the IO. This might indicate that the lower acceptability of these instances has to do with the internal structure of the object DPs involved. The next sections will propose an account along these lines.

3. The featural make-up of IOs and DOMed DOs

Romanian aligns with other DOM languages and may differentially mark its DO by means of the marker *pe* a derivative of the locative preposition *pe* ('on'). Cornilescu (2000), a.o., views *DOM* primarily as a marker of *semantic gender* used with person denoting DPs and disallowed with non-person-denoting ones. Other studies connect *DOM* animacy and definiteness (Aissen 2003, a.o.), others with specificity (Farkas 1987, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, von Heusinger & Tigău (ms), a.o.). In the next section we try to capture the contribution of *DOM* by building on the notion of [Person] (Richards 2008).

3.1 A [*iPerson*] for DOMed DOs

The idea that DOMed DOs bear a [Person] feature is not new (e.g., for Spanish Mondoñedo 2007, a.o.) and is in line with the sensitivity of these DPs to the animacy and definiteness hierarchies (Silverstein 1986, Aissen 2003). Romanian DOMed DOs were argued to pattern with their Spanish counterparts. Cornilescu (2000) argues that *pe* represents a mark of *personal* gender and *identification* and justifies her claim by building on the behaviour of bare quantifiers *nimeni* ('nobody'), *cineva* ('somebody'), which always get *pe* when used as DOs. As such, there is a clear-cut distinction between bare quantifiers referring to persons and those referring to non-persons:

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

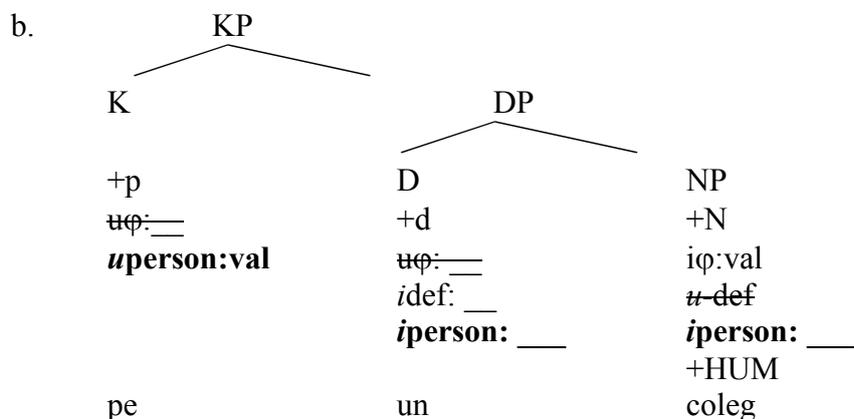
Cornilescu (2000) proposes that *pe* is a means of expressing *semantic gender*, i.e., a notion distinguishing between non-neuter gender (personal) and neuter (non-personal) gender. [-Neuter] DPs are semantically marked as [+Person] and require *pe*, while [+Neuter] DOs are semantically marked as [-Person] and will not require *pe*.

Building on this idea and following López (2012), as well as Cornilescu and Tigău (ms.), we assume that the internal make up of marked DOs presupposes the existence of a KP layer, where K is triggered by an unvalued syntactic [*iPerson*] feature present in the NP (i.e., [*iPerson*:__] 12b). The [*iPerson*:__] is then copied in D⁴. The NP itself is a [+Human] denoting nominal and as such may incorporate the [*iPerson*] feature. The presence of the syntactic unvalued [*iPerson*] feature triggers the merger of K (*pe*) which carries a valued [*uPerson*]. The

⁴ We adopt Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) as a general framework for feature checking.

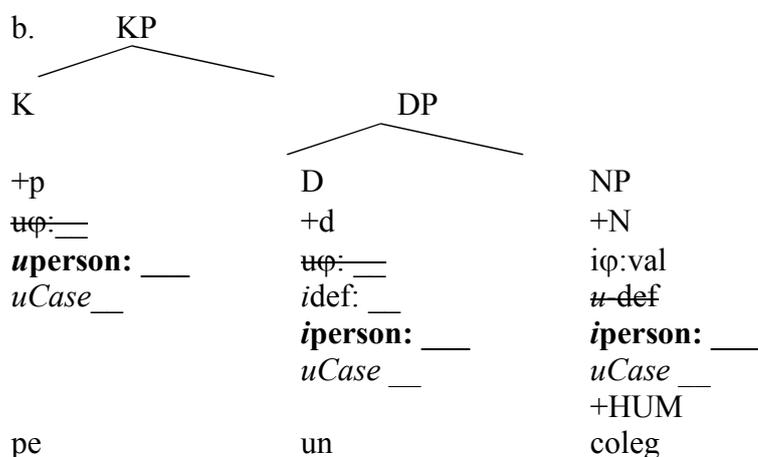
valued [*uPerson*] feature on K checks the unvalued feature [*iPerson: ___*] on D. As a consequence, the entire KP ends up bearing a **valued [*iPerson: val*]**:

- (12) a. *Ajut pe un coleg.*
 Help.I DOM a colleague
 ‘I help a colleague.’



The case of CD+DOMed DOs is somewhat different given that the marker *pe* has been shown to function differently than its counterpart in single DOMed DOs.⁵ We capture this difference by positing that in the case of CD+DOMed DOs, *pe* carries an *unvalued* [*uPerson: ___*] feature. Thus, the *Person* feature on K is in need of valuation, just like the one on the nominal it precedes (which, just as above, bears [*iPerson: ___*]). After agreement between K and DP applies, KP ends up bearing an **unvalued [*iPerson: ___*]** feature and has to find a way whereby to value it (13b):

- (13) a. *Îl ajut pe un coleg.*
 CL.ACC.SG.M help.I DOM a colleague
 ‘I help a colleague.’



⁵ Avram (2014) relies on the results of an experiment involving two acceptability sentence questionnaires from 23 native speakers of Romanian (age 20-57). The experiment proved that the participants fall into two categories: those that always clitic double the *pe* marked DP and those who allow for ‘single’ *pe* marking besides having the option of CD+*pe*. Based on these results, Avram (2014) speaks of two instances of *pe*: the ‘single’ *pe*, as a semantic gender marker (as described by Cornilescu 2000) and the *pe* in CD structures (which she takes to be an accusative case marker).

Following Ciucivara (2009), we posit a PersonP at the *vP* periphery: CDed+DOMed DOs undergo scrambling and have an [*i*Person ___] feature valued under agreement with Pers^o. Single, DOMed DOs on the other hand, will not need to move into this position, given that their *person* feature is a valued, interpretable one ([*i*Person: val], see 12b).

3.2 A [*Person*] feature for Goal DPs

As shown by Tigău (2014), a.o., the essential property of DPs which may realize the dative theta roles is sensitivity to the animacy hierarchy. These roles seem to denote human individuals, i.e., DPs marked for [+Person]⁶:

- Possessor – Goal**
- (14) *Profesorul le-a înapoiat tezele elevilor/la elevi.*
 Professor.the CL.DAT.PL-has returned theses.the pupils.DAT /to pupils
 ‘The professor returned the theses to the pupils.’
- Beneficiary**
- (15) *Mama i-a cusut rochia fetei/la fată.*
 Mother CL.DAT.SG-has sewn dress.the girl.DAT/to girl
 ‘Mother has sewn the dress for the girl.’
- Maleficiary**
- (16) *Copiii le-au furat vecinilor/la vecini cireșele din grădină.*
 Children CL.DAT.PL-have stolen neighbours.DAT /to neighbours cherries from garden
 ‘The children stole the neighbour’s cherries from the garden.’

Note that IO does not usually denote inanimate referents, at least when used in the inflectional dative⁷:

⁶ Romanian datives exhibit *inflectional* or *prepositional* case marking. Prepositional marking presupposes the use of the directional preposition *la* (*at/to*) and is used with DPs headed by invariable determiners. e.g., *niște* (some), cardinals, etc. As argued in Diaconescu and Rivero (2007), this variant seems to be more frequently employed in the North-Western part of the country, while the inflectional form is preferred in educated Romanian.

⁷ One reviewer correctly points out that Romanian marginally allows certain inanimate datives providing the following examples:

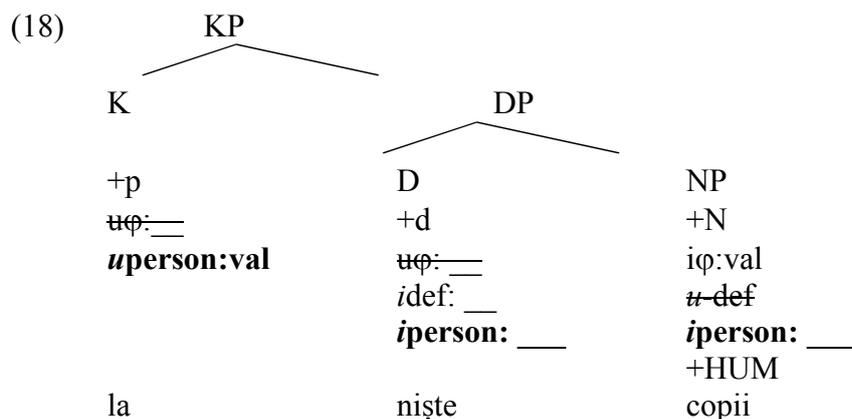
- (i) a. *Am pus zahăr cafelei.*
 Have.I put sugar coffee.DAT
 ‘I have put sugar into the coffee.’
- b. *A dat un șut scaunului de a zburat pe fereastră.*
 Has given a kick chair.DAT that has flown on window
 ‘He kicked the chair out of the window.’

We consider these examples marginal indeed, with a preference for the prepositional dative:

- (ii) a. *Am pus zahăr la cafea.*
 Have.I put sugar to coffee.

- (17) *Am dat apă florilor/la flori.*
 Have.I given water flowers.DAT/to flowers
 ‘I watered the flowers.’

We will capture this sensitivity by positing that dative DPs carry a [Person] feature, just like DOMed DOs. These nouns grammaticalize their animacy feature as a [Person] feature (Richards 2008). Just as above, we posit that [+Human(like)] NPs incorporate an unvalued syntactic [*i*Person:___] feature, which is copied in D and checked by merging K. K itself carries a valued [*u*Person: val] feature. (18) shows this at work: the existence of an unvalued feature in N and then in D triggers the insertion of K. After agreement between K and DP, the entire KP has the feature specification [***i*Person: val**].



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

Clitic-doubled IOs will closely pattern with CDed+DOMed DOs (13): just like the differential marker *pe* for DOs, the K on doubled dative DPs will carry an unvalued [Person] feature, i.e., [*u*Person:___]. The results of feature agreement between K and DP this time is an unvalued [***i*Person: ___**] (19b). This feature will thus have to be further checked in the course of the derivation. As such, there is complete parallelism between CDed+DOMed DOs and

‘I have put sugar into the coffee.’

- b. *A dat un șut la scaun de a zburat pe fereastră.*
 Has given a kick to chair that has flown on window
 ‘He kicked the chair out of the window.’

Acceptance of examples in (i) might show a process of unification of uses of the inflectional dative and the prepositional one, considering that the latter allows marking of [-human] IOs.

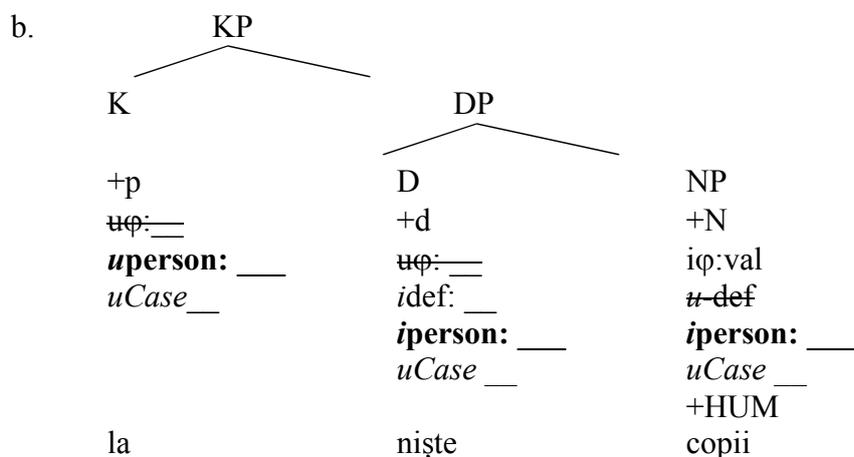
Note, on the other hand, that abstract nouns may function (metaphorically) as inflectional datives. In this case, the prepositional dative is disallowed:

- (iii) A supus proiectul atenției bordului/*la atenția bordului.
 Has.he submitted project.the attention.DAT board.GEN/ to attention board.GEN
 Lit. ‘He submitted the project to the board’s attention.’

A further interesting phenomenon concerns clitic doubling of the IO in these examples: the reviewer accept doubling in (ib) but rejects it in (ia), an intuition which we also agree with. Note, however, that when using the prepositional dative (in ii), doubling becomes possible for both variants. In (iii), on the other hand, doubling is out. We leave this matter for further research.

CDed IOs with respect to feature checking:

- (19) a. *Le-am dat cartea la niște colegi.*
 CL.DAT.PL-have.I given book.the to some colleagues.
 ‘I gave the book to some colleagues.’

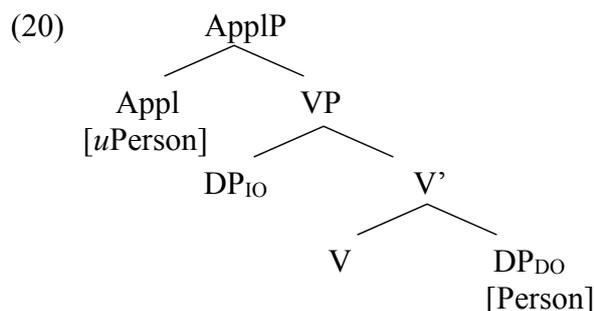


Doubled inflectional datives pattern on a par with their prepositional counterparts, exhibiting a silent K.

Note also that undoubled IO pattern with DOMed DOs with respect to their feature specification, both expressions being KPs and bearing an [**iPerson: val**] feature specification. Drawing the parallelism even further, we have assimilated CDed+DOMed DOs with CDed IOs with respect to their status as KPs and their feature specification as [**iPerson: __**]. In this latter case, the dative K only contributes an unvalued [*uPerson: __*] feature, which does not suffice to value [*iPerson: __*] carried by the nominal expression. The feature of KP will thus have to be valued at a later point during the derivation (most probably against Appl^o of the Applicative Projection proposed for ditransitives, see Pyllkkänen 2002, 2008, a.o., in this sense).

Drawing on Marantz (1993) and Pyllkkänen (2002), we posit an Applicative projection for ditransitives (20). In line with Georgala et al. (2008), Georgala (2012), we envisage ApplP as a case assigner also introducing a [Person] feature thereby capturing the sensitivity of datives to the animacy hierarchy. The [Person] feature accounts for the variety of theta roles compatible with dative DPs within ditransitives given that all these roles presuppose the presence of a [+Human] feature (see above).

Thus, ApplP takes VP as its complement (20) and introduces an unvalued uninterpretable [Person] feature, which may be checked by way of agreement with the dative DP also carrying a [Person] feature:



4. A syntactic account of the experimental data

As already pointed out, the primary goal of the current paper is to account for the experimentally noticed differences between unmarked DOs and their DOMed counterparts when co-occurring with CDed IOs: while co-occurrence of DOMed DOs with CDed IOs is discarded as unacceptable, ditransitives with unmarked DOs and CDed IOs fare quite well with respect to acceptability judgements. A second aim of this article is to provide an explanation for the acceptability judgements regarding structures where CDed DOMed DOs co-occur with CDed IOs, assessed as acceptable. In other words, we need to explain why CD of DOMed DO functions as a repair strategy, given that the co-occurrence of undoubled DOMed DOs and CD IOs is out.

In what follows, we will try to answer these two questions by building on the initial intuitions presented in Cornilescu et al. (2017b). More specifically, we adopt a derivational account according to which dative DPs are merged within the VP as part of the verb's argument structure. In line with Larson (2010)'s view, IO is *actually part of the verb's θ -grid*. It is introduced by the lexical verb itself and composes inside VP in a syntax similar to that in Larson (1988). Under this view, Appl^o is required to have the lower lexical VP as complement.

Also, as discussed in the last section, marked DOs and IOs will bear a [Person] feature, which is further specified as *interpretable/uninterpretable* and as *valued/unvalued* function of various factors as described above: undoubled IO and DOMed DOs carry a [**iPerson: val**] feature specification, while CDed+DOMed DOs and CDed IOs are specified as [**iPerson: ___**]

We further propose that there is a certain priority regarding feature verification between the two objects⁸. More specifically, the DO will have priority over the IO. Priority may, however, change function of the feature specification of the two objects. The following cases arise:

1. Unmarked DOs only bear [*uC*] and have no specification with respect to [Person] in syntax; IO will always have both [*uC*] and [Person] (irrespective of whether this latter feature is [*iPerson: val*] as with undoubled IOs or [*iPerson: ___*] as with their doubled counterparts). Given that DO has no [person] feature to verify, it will simply undergo scrambling first.

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

a. IO has the same feature specification i.e., [*uC*] and [*iPerson: val*] (as it is undoubled): DO will be given priority for movement.

b. IO is doubled and as such has more features to verify i.e., [*uC*] and [*iPerson: ___*]: in this particular case, the IO will gain priority over the DO, which only needs to verify one feature.

3. CDed+DOMed DOs bear [*uC*] and [*iPerson: ___*] and will always have priority over the IO:

⁸ We found this priority requirement (springing from the need of feature valuation) crucial when considering the derivation of all the available tested configurations. See Tigău (in press) for further clarifications.

- a. if the IO is undoubled its feature specification is [uC] and [$iPerson: val$] > DO has priority because of its DO status and also because it will have more features to verify.
- b. if the IO is doubled, then it will have the same feature specification as the DO, i.e., [uC] and [$iPerson: _$] > DO has priority according to the initial criterion

4.1 Unmarked DOs and CDed IOs

Configurations where an unmarked DO co-occurs with a CDed IO fare well with respect to acceptability judgements expressed by our respondents. Consider first the examples under (21):

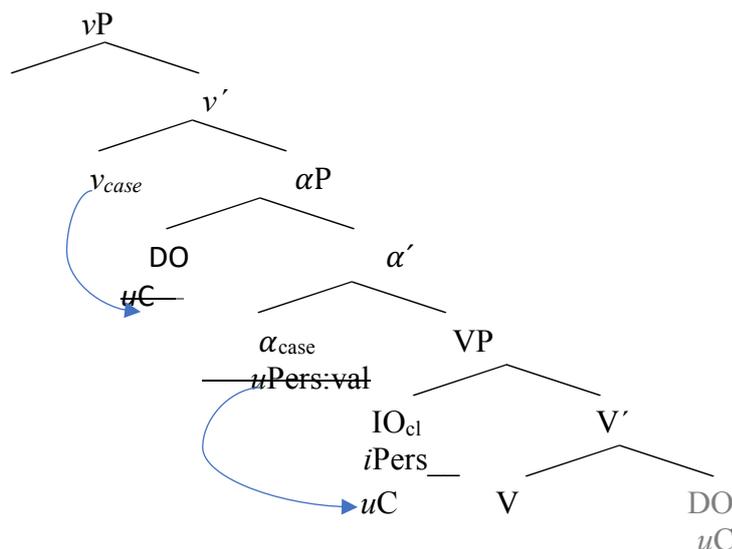
(21) *Editorii i-au trimis fiecare carte; autorului ei;*
 Editors.the CL.DAT.SG.-have sent every book author.DAT its

pentru corecturile finale.
 for corrections final

‘The editors sent every book to its author for the final corrections.’

In this particular case, only IO evinces sensitivity to [Person] and bears [$iPerson: _$]. IO also carries [$uCase$]. DO has no [Person] specification and only needs to check case. According to the priority criteria adopted above, DO will thus be the first to enter the derivation and move into the specifier of αP where it values its case feature against v . IO will verify both case and [Person] against the α head:

(22)



The derivation above explains both directions of binding in the *DO before IO* word order. The *IO before DO* obtains by scrambling the IO to a specifier of the vP : in this way IO reaches a c-commanding position with respect to the DO and both directions of binding find an explanation.

4.2 DOMed DOs and CDed IOs

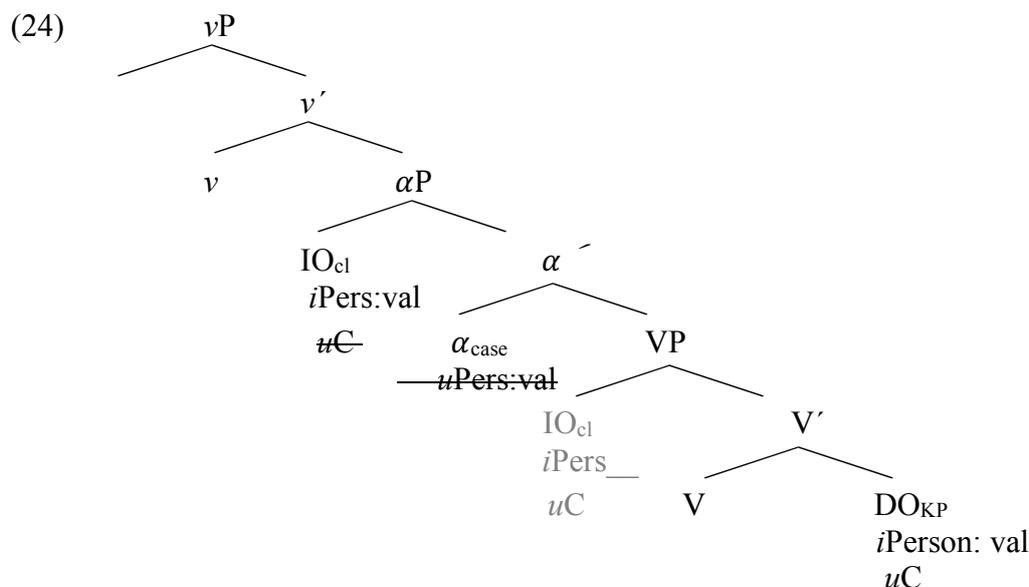
According to the experimental findings, sentences such as (23) were granted very low acceptability scores by the respondents:

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

Consider this derivation at work: we start from VP where the DO is merged in the complement position and has the feature specification: [*i*Pers: val], [*u*Case]. DO thus only needs to verify its [*u*Case] feature, given that its [Person] feature is both interpretable and valued. IO, on the other hand, carries an unvalued [*i*Person__] feature along with [*u*Case] and will have to find a way to value both these features.

Note that both objects are specified for Person, but that IO has more features to verify and will gain priority over DO. IO enters Agreement with α^0 (specified as [*u*Person:val]) and checks both case and [*i*Pers: __]. The [*u*Person:val] feature of α is EPP and IO moves to Spec αP . As such, it acts as an intervener for DO, which may no longer move to a Spec α in order to get its case valued by *v* (24).

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

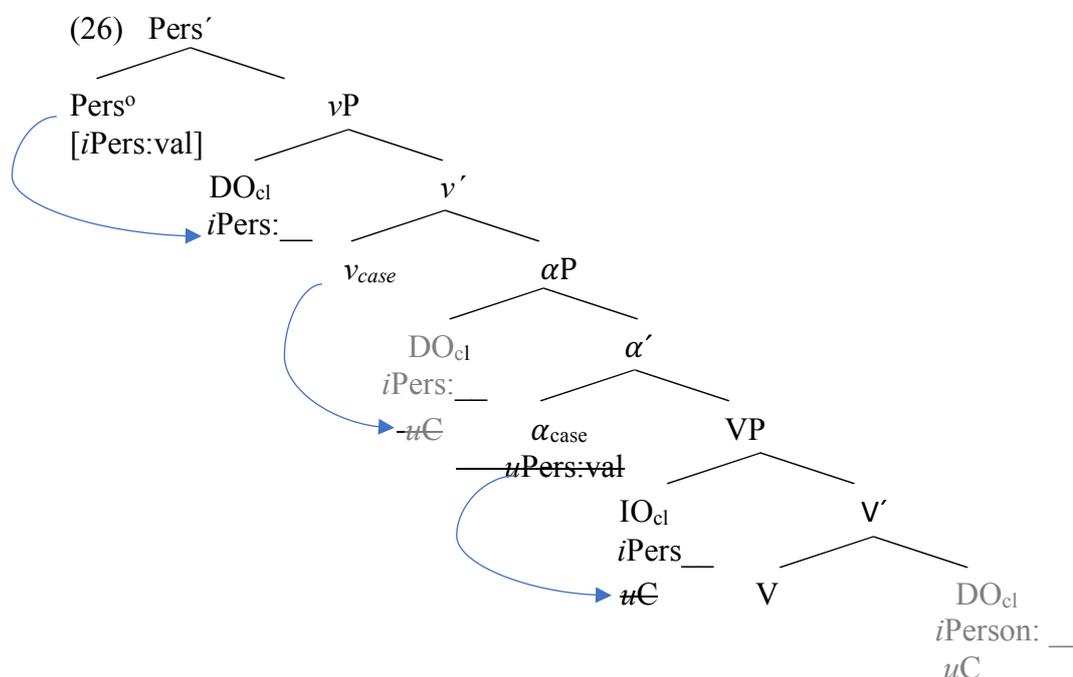


4.3 CDed + DOMed DOs and CDed IOs

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

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

In this particular situation, DO and IO have the same feature specification: [*iPerson*: __] and [*uCase*]⁹ and therefore DO has priority over IO. As a consequence, it will move to Spec α P and value its case feature against *v*. Given that DO also needs to value [*iPerson*: __], this KP moves further, to a specifier of *v* and enter agreement with the Person^o. IO will be probed by the α^o and will have [*iPerson*: __] and case valued against this head. The [*uPerson*: val] of α will also be checked as a consequence:



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

⁹See above how we get to the feature specifications of DO and IO with respect to *Person*.

5. Conclusions

This article has provided an answer to two questions arrived at experimentally: the first question revolved around the infelicity with respect to acceptability of configurations wherein DOMed DOs co-occur with CDed IOs, while a further question concerned the role of the accusative clitic doubling DOMed DOs when present in the same configurations—as it seems, CD of DOMed DO functions as a repair strategy in this case. With respect to the former question, it was argued that the interaction between DOMed DOs and CDed IOs boils down to a locality issue: VAppl, which may match both nominals in its c-commanding domain in what the valuation of its [*u*Person] feature is concerned, may only do so with the higher object, in our case IO.

When DO cliticizes, however, it will have priority over IO and will be able to leave the VP and check its case feature against *v*. It will move further into a position where it will be able to also check [Person] against Person^o. IO will enter agreement with Appl^o and thereby check case and Person.

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