# NOTES ON ROMANIAN ETHICAL DATIVES[1]

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**Abstract.** The current paper puts forth an analysis of Romanian ethical datives (EDs) building upon the distinctive properties of these DPs to occur as clitic sequences and to represent an extreme form of *non-at-issue meaning*. An $Appl_{ED}$ head is posited, spelling out the [± Participant], [± Author] feature, in line with the EDs' interpretive import of introducing an emotional attitude of the speaker's to the event, as well as the speaker's attempt to stir the interlocutor's feelings on the event. Ethical datives are the only datives able to generate an $Appl_{ED}$ field in the sentence. As will be shown, there are no more than three positions in the ED-field, corresponding to the three types of feature combinations generated by [± Participant], [± Author]. The three specifiers in the $Appl_{ED}$ field may accommodate core dative clitics or possessive dative clitics, alongside the EDs.

**Keywords:** non-core datives, ethical datives, clitic clusters, non-at-issue meaning.

## 1. BACKGROUND

As the title shows, the aim of the paper is to offer a tentative analysis of Romanian ethical datives (=EDs). It is known that EDs are not part of the argument structure of the predicate. Like other non-core datives (NCDs), they are not c-selected by the verb, or semantically entailed by the event. Their presence merely signals some emotional attitude (interest, surprise, etc.) of the speaker's towards the event expressed by the verb phrase. Characteristically, Romanian ED-clitics *come in sequences* made up of a 1st person singular dative clitic, followed by a 2nd person singular dative clitic, signaling the speaker's attempt to express his emotion, but to also stir the interlocutor's interest in the reported event.

(1) *...şi-odată* ***mi-ţi****-l* *înşfacă pe balaur de gât...*
and-suddenly me.dat.cl-you.dat.cl-him.acc.cl grab *pe* ogre by neck
´and he suddenly grabs the ogre by the neck´

This interpretation is also given by the Romanian Grammar of the Academy (2005: 207): "Cliticile expletive de persoana I sau a II-a apar facultativ şi indică participarea afectivă a locutorului în relatare, respectiv implicarea în relatare a interlocutorului de către

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locutor." (1st and 2nd person expletive clitics are optional and indicate the affective involvement of the locutor in the narration, or the involvement of the interlocutor by the locutor respectively).

The cornerstone of the analysis below is the assumption that the essential formal property of EDs, which differentiates them from all other types of core datives (CD) and NCDs alike, is occurrence in *dative clitic clusters*. Other types of datives may also co-occur, but then, one dative must be cliticized and the second must be a lexical phrase, i.e. the second clitic cannot also cliticize. Moreover, the two datives always have different interpretation, e.g., in (2) a possessive dative clitic (PDC) is followed by a Recipient lexical dative:

(2) Faust **şi**-a vândut sufletul **diavolului.**
Faust refl.dat-has sold soul.the devil.the.dat
'Faustus sold his soul to the devil.'

Example (2) shows that, apart from EDs, there is only one dative clitic position in a sentence.

### 1.1. Delimiting the domain of EDs in contemporary Romanian

Studies and grammars of different languages group different types of datives under the "Ethical Datives" category. The term often refers to the whole class of Attitude Holders (in the sense of Bosse and Bruening, 2011, Horn 2008), i.e. a class of datives whose referent is not a participant in the main event and is not connected to any participant in the main event either, but rather, the dative is affected by the global main event and expresses an emotional value judgment on it. While there is agreement on the interpretation of EDs, exactly which sentences with dative clitics belong in this class in a given language is not clear and largely derives from the traditional grammars of the respective language. Talking about Greek, Michelioudakis and Kapogianni (2013) claim that EDs "necessarily refer to discourse participants either the speaker (when first person), the hearer (when second person) or a reported speaker in indirect discourse (when third person)", so Greek allows for 3rd person EDs. In Romanian grammars, EDs are restricted to first and second person clitics in the singular. Likewise, a study on dialectal Brazilian Portuguese (Rocha 2017), also restricts EDs to the first and second person, but does not discuss EDs as related to the speech act, quoting examples like the following (Rocha: 2017:125):

(3) Dialectal Brazilian Portuguese

a. *Não **me** faça isso*
'Don't do it on me.'
a' *Să nu-**mi** facă asta!*
subj. not-me.dat do.subj this
'He had better not do this.'
b. *Eu falei para ela não **me** ficar gravid.*
'I told her not to get pregnant on me'

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b' *I-am spus să nu-mi rămână gravidă*
her.dat.cl have.I told subj. not-me.dat.cl remain pregnant
cumva!
somehow
'I told her not to get pregnant on me.'

The Romanian counterparts to the Brazilian Portuguese datives in (3) are likely to be interpreted as Attitude Holders (Affectees), but not as EDs. Summing up, caution must be exercised when talking about EDs, since they cover significantly different empirical domains in different languages. For Romanian, we will define EDs as Attitude Holders expressible by sequences of dative clitics (a property not found in dialectal Brazilian Portuguese, but also present in French, for instance, as shown by Jouitteau and Rezac 2008).

The Romanian tradition on EDs is presented in Gramatica Academiei (2005: 211) which discusses EDs as "expletive clitics"(GA: 207), with the following description: "[cliticile etice] sunt asintactice, nu intra în relație cu ceilalți constituenți ai enunțului şi nonanaforice (nu formează un lanț referențial cu un nominal de la care să îşi ia referința"[4].While it is not clear to us why EDs should be "expletive", since they are referential and interpretable as participants in the speech event, the quoted description correctly states that EDs are *non-core* clitic constituents (in the sense of Pylkkänen 2008, Boneh and Nash. 2010, a. o.) with respect to the lexical verb and that they cannot be doubled by lexical associates. As will be seen below, the second property has a natural pragmatic explanation.

In Romanian, EDs have a particular stylistic flavor and they are believed to be acquired from fairy tales. An informal Google search has, however, shown that they are still currently used in contemporary popular, and particularly, *slangy* spoken Romanian, though not in informal educated speech, unless they are used ironically: The sentences in (5–8) below are authentic Google examples, while that in (4) comes from the literature on this problem.

(4) *Să nu mă faci de râs, că* ***mi*** *te trimit*
subj. not me.acc.cl make of laughter because me.dat.cl you.acc.cl send
*plocon la maică-ta.*
gift to mother-your
'Don´t embarass me, or else I will send you to your mother like a gift.'
(Tigău 2018)

(5) a. *Şi* ***unde*** ***nu*** ***mi*** ***ți*** *le iau*
and where not me.dat.cl you.dat.cl them.acc.cl take
*pe toate la încercat, aruncându-mă asupra lor*
*pe* all at trying throwing-myself.cl. over them
*ca un prădător nehalit, de ziceai că*
as a predator hungry that would-have-said.you. that
*n-am mai mâncat niciodată pâine.*
not-have.I anymore eaten never bread

[4] They are a-syntactic, do not enter in a relationship with other constituents and are non-anaphoric – they do not form a referential chain with a nominal from where they would get their reference

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'And then I start tasting every kind (in turn), swooping down over the food, like a hungry predator who had never eaten bread before.'

b. *şi când* ***mi ți-o*** *înşfacă,*
and when me.dat.cl you.dat.cl-it.acc.cl grabs,
*nici că-i mai dă drumul*
neither that- her.dat.cl anymore gives (free)way
'and when he grabs her, he doesn't let her go anymore.'

c. *şi unde nu* ***mi ți****-l ia pe Jeton Li*
and where not me.dat.cl you.dat.cl -him.acc.cl take *pe* Jeton Li
la puricat…
at cross-questioning
'...and he starts interrogating Jeton Li'

d. *şi când* ***mi ți*** *l-a luat o dată în*
and when me.dat.cl you.dat.cl him.acc.cl-has taken once in
*braţe….*
arms
'and he suddenly took him up in his arms'

e. *şi odată* ***mi ți*** *se deschide uşa… şi*
and suddenly me.dat you.dat refl. opens door.the and
în prag Mimişor.
in doorway Mimişor
'The door suddenly opened and in the doorway there stood Mimişor.'

(6) a. *Victima de ieri devine brusc războinică.*
victim.the of yesterday becomes suddenly warrior
*Şi unde nu* ***mi*** ***ți-o*** *apucă*
and where no me.dat.cl you.dat.cl-her.acc.cl seizes
*pe stimabila şi* ***mi*** ***ți-o*** *târnoseşte*
*pe* esteemed.the and me.dat.cl. you.dat.cl -her.acc beats
*în cel mai dulce stil de bulibaşă…*
in the most sweet style of gipsy
'Yesterday´s victim turns warrior and grabs the much-esteemed lady and beats her in the sweetest gipsy style.'

b. *şi unde nu* ***mi ți*** *s-a ofuscat*
and where not me.dat.cl you.dat.cl refl.-has got vexed
*Brăiloiul*
Brăiloiul
'and Brăiloiul (surprisingly) got vexed'

c. *Păi, în vremurile bune, unde nu* ***mi ți*** *se*
well, in times good where not me.dat you.dat refl.
*întorceau haiducii cocoşaţi de atâta pradă şi unde*
returned outlaws stooping of so much loot and where
*nu* ***mi-ți*** *aruncau din spinare miei, vite…*
not me.dat.cl -you.dat.cl threw from back lambs, cattle
'Well, in the good old times, the outlaws would return loaded with loot and would let fall off their backs lambs, cattle...'

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(7) 1st person alone

a. *Şi unde nu-**mi** vine chelnerul cu nişte*
and where not-me.dat.cl comes waiter.the with some
*Tom Yam Paste de cea mai joasă speță…*
Tom Yam Paste of the most low type
'and the waiter brings some Tom Yam Pasta of the most despicable type.'

b. *Şi unde nu **mi** se aruncă de gât şi*
and where not me.dat refl. throws of neck and
*începe să mă pupe*
starts subj. me.acc kiss
'and she throws herself around my neck and starts kissing me'

c. Şi *unde nu-**mi** vine, frate, cu un e-mail…*
and where not-me.dat comes, brother, with an e-mail
'and she shows me an e-mail'

d. *Şi unde nu-**mi** bagă o gestică şi*
and where not-me.dat.cl gives some gestures and
*nişte modulații de-mi venea să-l…*
some modulations that-me.dat.cl came subj.-him.acc.cl.
'and he starts gesticulating and puts forth some modulations that I felt like fucking...'

*Three dative clitics in sequence*

(8) *şi unde nu **mi ți-i (/le)** puse friptanele*
and where not me.dat.cl you.dat.cl-him.dat.sg.pl/cl. put steaks.the
*pe masă şi unde sări familionul la atac…*
on table and where jumped family.the at attack
'and he put the steaks on the table and the family started gulping them down.'

A few remarks on this small corpus are welcome in order to understand the properties of the Romanian EDs. First, EDs usually appear in *typical discourse structures*, meant to highlight the sentence they introduce, such as "*şi când (colo) +cl(s) +V*" (literally, and when + cl +V), "*şi unde nu+cl(s) + V*" (literally, and where not +cl +V, "*odată+cl(s) + V*" (literally, suddenly +cl + V) and in *specific styles*. As to the stylistic range of EDs, notice at one end of the scale EDs in vulgar, slangy style (in (5a), (7d), (8)), or in ironical educated speech ((6a), (6b), (5a), (5b)), but also in informal, relaxed speech (in (4), (7c), etc.). So sentences containing EDs are still important core constructions in present-day oral discourse.

The syntactic remark is that EDs frequently and preferably come in *clusters of three elements*; most of the time the two EDs are followed by an accusative clitic, examples (4–7), and crucially in (8), there is an authentic sequence of *three dative clitics,* signaling the co-occurrence of EDs with a 3rd person PDC. Such examples strongly contrast with example (2) above where only one clitic may occur.When an ED occurs alone, it is usually the 1st person pronoun, though a single 2nd person ED clitic is sometimes possible (as in (11b) below).

A fact that has gone unnoticed is that, at least in Romanian, EDs seem to be restricted to *dynamic verbs, in the active voice*; passive examples appear to be unavailable. In

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sentences where passivization is possible and it applies, the ED reading is lost: while in (9a) the 1st p. clitic is an ED, in the passive (9b), it is interpreted as a Goal, which renders superfluous the intended Goal, *la maică-ta*, 'to your mother'. If this phrase is removed, the passive is possible and the 1st p. clitic expresses Goal.

(9) a. *Să nu mă faci de râs, că **mi***
subj. not me.acc make of laughter because me.dat
***te** trimit plocon la maică-ta*.
you.acc send gift to mother-your
'Don´t embarass me otherwise I will send you to your mother.'

b. **?Să nu mă faci de râs, că-mi*
subj. not me.acc.cl make of laughter because-me.dat.cl
*vei fi trimis plocon la maică-ta.*
will be sent gift to mother-your
'Don't emberras me, or else you'll be sent to me to your mother.'
(intended: Don´t embarass me, or else I will send you to your mother.)

c. *Nu mă îndoiesc că-mi vei fi trimis*
not refl. doubt that-me.dat will be sent
*plocon*.
gift
'I have no doubt that you will be sent over to me.'

Summing up, the corpus considered proves that EDs are still robust in contemporary Romanian and have their own stylistic properties. They also impose constraints on the selection of the VP (active, dynamic) and characteristically come in sequences of *clitics bearing the same case*, a fact that distinguishes them from all other dative types.

## 2. SOME SEMANTIC PROPERTIES

EDs refer to discourse participants, not to participants in the event expressed by the *v*P. The literature (e.g., Michelioudakis and Kapogianni 2013) shows that which pronouns can occur in ED constructions is a dimension of cross-linguistic variation: there are languages with speaker-oriented EDs, others with addressee-oriented EDs and yet others with [+(discourse) participant]-oriented datives. Romanian exemplifies the third category, since it allows both 1st and 2nd p. singular EDs.

A second essential interpretive property is that EDs are *entirely optional and completely non-truth functional* i.e. they play no part in determining the truth conditions of the sentence. EDs introduce an evaluative attitude of the discourse participants (speaker, interlocutor) towards an event of which they are not part. EDs are affectees and show interest, surprise, pleasure, curiosity in the narrative. The 1st + 2nd clitic cluster is also an attempt of showing solidarity with the interlocutor and persuading him of the veracity of the main event (Tănase-Dogaru and Uşurelu 2018).

If compared to other types of NCDs (e.g. coreferential subjects in the sense of Campanini and Schäfer 2011, or personal datives in the sense of Horn 2008), EDs appear to have an *entirely non-at-issue interpretation* (Bosse and Bruening 2011, Horn 2008). The

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attitudes that EDs express can neither be questioned nor negated. Thus, in (10), negation has scope over the main predicate, but cannot deny the value judgment introduced by the EDs, which has the status of a *conventional implicature* (Horn, 2008).

(10) *Când colo, tata nu mi ți l-a apucat de*
when there father not me.dat you.dat him.acc-has grabbed of
*păr, cum ne aşteptam, ci i-a vorbit blând.*
hair how refl. expected.we but him.dat-has spoken gently
'In fact, father did not grab him by the hair as we had expected, but spoke to him gently.'

In (10) the negation *nu* 'not' bears on the lexical VP, but cannot deny the evaluation of "surprising" truth for the Speaker, which is introduced by the EDs.

## 3. CLITIC CLUSTERS AND THE SYNTAX OF EDs.

### 3.1. The internal structure of the clitic cluster

In this section we consider the internal structure of the cluster regarding word order and the co-occurrence restrictions between EDs and other types of cliticized datives. As already stressed, from a syntactic perspective, the most important property of EDs is that they co-occur, though they cannot be coordinated. Thus, either clitic or both may appear and they are often accompanied by a third person accusative clitic or even by a 3rd person dative clitic:

(11) a. Mi-*l* *ia* *odată* *Făt Frumos* *şi–l*
me.dat.cl-him.acc.cl takes once Prince Charming and-him.acc
*aruncă* *în înaltul* *cerului.*
throw in high.the sky.the. gen
'Prince Charming grabs him and throws him up sky-high.'

b. *Şi unde nu ți-o înşfacă pe sus…*
and where not you.dat-it.acc grab on high
'and he grabbed her up'

c. *Şi unde nu mi ți-l vârâ pe zmeu în noroi*
and where not me.dat you.dat-him.acc thrust *pe* ogre in mud
până la glezne.
up to ankles
'and he thrusts the ogre into the mud up to his ankles'

An essential remark regarding the clitic clusters above is that they follow *the canonical PCC-rule of Romanian* (the *Me-lui* constraint, see Săvescu, 2007). Specifically, datives must precede accusatives and the first person precedes the second and the third.[5] It

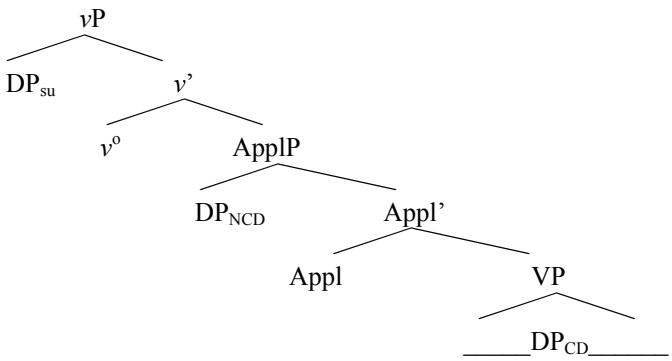
[55] Romanian ED differ from French ones which have exceptional syntactic properties regarding the PCC (Joitteau and Rezac 2008)

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appears that, apart from occurrence in clusters, *EDs show no other special syntactic properties*. The null hypothesis is that EDs, like other NCDs, merge in the same high ApplP where all datives check case, as in (12). The proposals that the ApplP is always external to the lexical VP and that CDs are arguments of the lexical verbs and merge inside VP, as in (12) has been persuasively defended by Larson (2010), Georgala (2012), among many, and we have adopted it in earlier work (see bibliography).

An important property of Romanian is that CDs are *second objects* and merge inside the lexical VP as low locative phrases (as in Bonet and Nash 2010 for French, Cornilescu, Dinu, Tigău 2017 for Romanian).

(12)




A problem that has not been addressed yet regards the combination of argumental and ED-clitics. In clusters of three clitics, the third clitic, always in the 3rd person is argumental (accusative or dative). In the rest of this section we examine to what extent within a sequence of a 1st + a 2nd person dative clitic, the second clitic may be an argumental or CD.

One important property that differentiates CDs from EDs is that the latter are *always optional*, while argumental clitics are obligatory, (at least) whenever they are not doubled by lexical datives. EDs are higher and precede argumental clitics. This is shown in (13a). The first person clitic is an ED clitic, while the 2nd person clitic is a cliticized core Recipient dative. (The 3rd clitic is in the accusative case.)Word order is the expected one: the ED is higher than the argumental clitic. The ED is omissible (13b), the argumental clitic is not (13c). From a semantic perspective, examples (13) illustrate the well-known combination of a NCD (an ED in this case) followed by a CD constituent, as in example (2) above. What is exceptional, however, is the possibility of cliticizing the core argument. The two clitics must check case in different specifier projections.

(13) a. *Dacă-i* *vorbeşti* *urât* *despre* *câine, odată* ***mi***
if-him.dat speak nasty about dog suddenly me.dat
***ţi-l*** *trimite* ***ţie*** *şi* *nu* *mie,*
you.dat-him.acc. sent you and not me.dat
*să-l* *creşti*
subj.-him.acc.cl. raise
'If you speak badly about the dog, he might send it to you and not to me, to take care of it.'

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b. *Dacă-i vorbeşti urât despre el, odată*
if-him.dat.cl speak ill of him suddenly
***ți-l*** *trimite ție şi nu mie.*
you.dat.cl-him.acc.cl. send you.dat and not me.dat
'If you speak ill of him, he will suddenly send it to you and not to me.'

c. **Dacă-i vorbeşti urât despre el, odată mi-l*
if-him.dat speak ill of him suddenly me.dat.cl-him.acc.cl
*trimite ție şi nu mie.*
send you.dat and not me.dat
'If you speak ill of him, he will suddenly send it to you and not to me.'

Other relevant facts are noticeable in (14) with the same sequence of three clitics. What is relevant in (14) is that the verb is in the first person. This could open up the possibility for the first person dative clitic to be interpreted as an argument. Consider the examples now:

(14) a. *M-am înfuriat şi mi ți l-am*
refl.-have.I infuriate and me.dat.cl you.dat.cl him.acc.cl-have.I
*împuşcat în cap pe loc.*
shot in head on spot
'I got mad and I shot him on the spot.' [Google]

b. **?M-am înfuriat şi mi l-am*
refl.-have.I infuriate and me.dat.cl him.acc.cl-have.I
*împuşcat pe loc.*
shot on spot
'I got mad and shot him on the spot.'

c. *M-am înfuriat şi ți l-am împuşcat*
refl.-have.I infuriate and you.dat him.acc-have.I shot
*pe loc.*
on spot.
'I got mad and shot him on the spot.'

d. *M-am înfuriat şi l-am împuşcat pe loc.*
refl.-have.I infuriate and him.acc-have.I shot on spot.
'I got mad and I shot him on the spot.'

Notice first the contrast between (14a) and (14b). In (14a), the 1st person clitic must be interpreted as an ED, not as an argument, since it is followed by a 2nd person dative clitic and two clitics in the same case are possible only if at least the first is an ED. Sentence (14b) is hard to interpret. Crucially, the main verb is in the 1st person and this suggests that the 1st person dative clitic denotes some participant in the event, rather than a commentator of the event (ED). It is not clear, however, what θ-role in the event the dative participant could have; hence the uninterpretability of the sentence. Sentence (14c) with a 2nd person dative clitic (ED) is also fully grammatical since *ți* (you) is not directly related to the event. Sentence (14d) with no ED is again perfect.

Consider now example (13a) once more; in this example the 1st person ED is followed by a 2nd person Recipient dative, which is doubled by a focused strong pronoun.

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An interesting point about this example is that the 1st person ED *is also doubled* since it is contrastively focused with the argumental 2nd person focus; (it is the coordinate structure *ţie şi nu mie* ('to you and not to me') which is in focus).

Such examples suggest that EDs are not generally doubled, not because of some syntactic deficiency, but because they cannot function as topics or foci in the sentence. Recall that they are entirely non-at-issue, while strong pronouns (which double clitics) occur in the sentence only if they have pragmatic functions (topic/ focus). Once more the syntax of EDs is regular. The absence of doubling follows from the ED's pragmatic role (expressing an aside, an evaluation of an otherwise independent event).

The discussion in this section leads to the following *generalizations*:

1. EDs have the same syntax as other dative clitic, except for the possibility of appearing in sequence.
2. Sequences of dative clitics are possible only if at least one clitic (the higher) is an ED.

### 3.2. Some more constraints on clitic co-occurrence

3.2.1. *Background* It has been believed that EDs represent a category used in written language (fairy tales), but the Google examples that we have collected suggest that EDs still represent an important category of spoken Romanian. Further developing the idea, we thought that it was relevant to see to what extent the grammar of these clitics is still alive for the current speakers. At the same time, we were interested in the general co-occurrence possibilities of datives (clitic, lexical or clitic-doubled), including the co-occurrence of ED with other kinds of datives.

Given the core vs. non-core split and the different merge positions of the respective datives i.e., a low position within the VP for CDs and a high one in the ApplP for the non-core ones as in (12), we expected that CDs and NCDs co-occur (Cornilescu 1987, Cornilescu and Tigău 2018). A second parameter that was investigated was cliticization; it was important whether only one dative could be cliticized, or both datives could (see Tigău, 2018 for details).

3.2.2. *An experiment* Tigău (2018) designed an experiment meant to examine the co-occurrence possibilities of *two dative constituents*, for both lexical datives and clitics. Of the several structures that she investigated those in (15) are particularly relevant for understanding EDs,

(15) a. ED and CD (Goal/Recipient DP)
b. ED and another NCD (specifically a PDC )
c. NCD (specifically a PDC) and CD (Goal/Recipient DPs)
d. Two (clitic) NCDs (other than EDs, e.g. a Benefactive and a PDC)

As apparent in (15), what is of interest are the differences between several types NCDs (ethical datives, possessive dative clitics (PDCs) and Benefactives) regarding co-occurrence with a CD or with another NCD.

The experiment also checked the (im)possibility of cliticization and clitic doubling in each pattern, starting from the general fact that CDs are optionally cliticized and accept clitic doubling, while NCD *must* be cliticized and may or may not accept clitic doubling.

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Thus, PDC may be doubled by genitive phrases, while EDs may not be doubled, because of their pragmatic properties. Consider some relevant examples which constitute actual tested items:

**Co-occurrence between EDs and CDs**

**a) EDs and undoubled CDs (Recipients)**

(16) *Secretara nici gând să-l asculte, ci* ***mi***
secretary no thought sub.-him.acc listen, but me.dat
***ți****-l transferă direct* ***şefului****, care nu se învoi*
you.dat-him.acc transfer directly boss.dat who not refl.
agree
*să-i dea concediu.*
subj.-hem.dat give holiday
'The secretary did not listen to him but transfered the call to her boss who did not agree to give him a holiday.'

**b) EDs and doubled CDs (Recipients)**

(17) *Nevasta lui Ionică aşteptă în zadar să se mute la oraş,*
wife.the of John waited in vain subj. refl. move to city
*aşa cum fusese învoiala înainte de nuntă. În loc de*
as how had been agreement.the before of wedding. Instead of
*asta, bărbatu-său se puse şi* ***mi-i*** *turnă* ***femeii***
this husband-her refl. started and me.dat-her.dat gave woman.dat
*copil după copil de i se spulberară bietei*
child after child that her.dat refl. shattered poor.dat
*toate visurile de mare cucoană.*
all dreams of big lady
'John´s wife waited in vain that they move to the city as they had agreed upon before the wedding but instead of this her husband made her a lot of children so that her dreams of becoming a lady were shattered.'

**Co-occurrence between EDs and NCDs (specifically PDC)**

**a) EDs and NCD (possessive datives, cl+full DP)**

(18) *Când ieşi Făt-Frumos din groapă şi se năpusti*
when came Prince Charming from pit and refl. dashed
*asupra lor* ***mi-i*** *omorî zmeului şi pe mumă-sa*
upon them me.dat-him.dat killed ogre.dat and on mother-his
*şi pe fârtații lui, de ți-era mai mare jalea.*
and on brothers his that you.dat-was more big sorrow
'When Prince Charming came out of his pit and dashed upon them, he killed the ogre´s mother as well as his brothers such that one would be deeply pained at the sight of it.'

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**b) EDs and NCD (possessive datives, cl)**

(19) *Vulpea aşteptă până când ursul adormi şi când îl*
fox.the waited until bear.the fell asleep and when him.acc
*auzi sforăind, ieşi tiptil din ascunzătoare şi* ***mi-i***
heard snoring got out slowly from hiding and me.dat-him.dat
*şterpeli toţi peştişorii prinşi cu atâta trudă.*
stole all fish caught with such effort
'The fox waited until the bear fell asleep and then got out of its hiding and stole all the fish he had caught with so much effort.'

**Co-occurrence between NCDs (possessives) and CDs (Goals)**

**a) NCDs (possessives) and undoubled CDs**

(20) *Deşi le promisesem părinţilor că mă voi*
although them.dat had promised.I parents.dat that me.refl will
*ocupa personal de el, am sfârşit până la urmă prin a*
take care personally of it have.I ended eventually to
***le*** *încredința copilul* ***unei bone****.*
them.dat entrust child.the one.dat nanny
'Although I had promised the parents that I would personally take care of the child, I ended up entrusting it to a nanny.'

**b. NCDs (possessives) and doubled CDs (Goals)**

(21) *S-au supărat pe mine după ce, fără să le*
refl.-have.they got upset on me after without subj. them.dat
*dau de veste,* ***i*** ***le****-am închiriat apartamentul* ***unui***
give of news him.dat them.dat-have.I rented appartment one.dat
***străin*** *care nu avea permis de şedere valabil.*
foreigner who not had permit of residence valid
'They got upset with me when, without letting them know, I rented their apartment to a foreigner without a valid residence permit.'

**Co-occurrence between NCD (possessives) and NCD (ficiaries)**

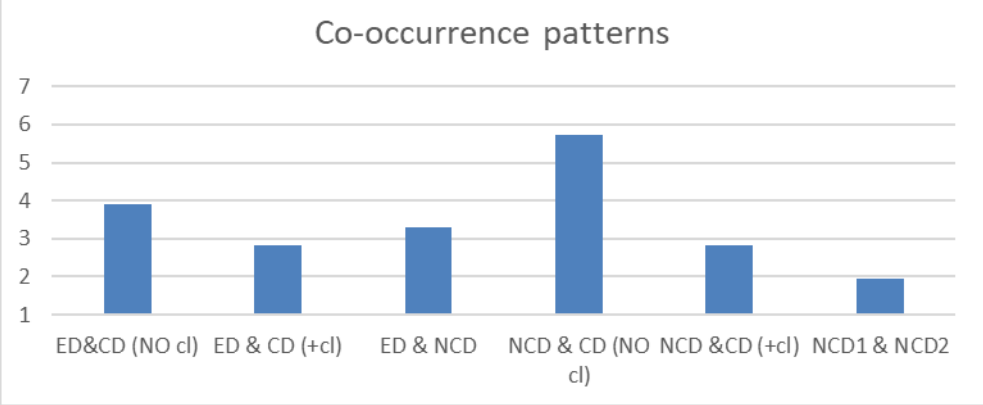
(22) *Or să mă omoare ai mei: cred că tocmai* ***li***
will.they subj. me kill mine: think.I that just them.dat
***le****-am distrus maşina după ce am condus atâția*
them.dat-have.I destroyed car.the after what have.I driven so many
*kilometri cu frâna de mână trasă.*
kilometers with brake pulled
'My parents will kill me: I think I have just destroyed their car after having driven for so many kilometres with the brakes on.'

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3.2.3. *Analysis of the results* The experiment helped to (dis)confirm several generalizations concerning the co-occurrence possibilities of datives which are shown in Graph 1 below, as well as in the scores obtained by the patterns in Table 1, which were evaluated against a 7-rung acceptability scale :

**Table 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| a. ED&CD (NO cl) | 3,92222222 |
| b. ED & CD (+cl) | 2,82592593 |
| c. ED & (N)$CD_{possessive}$ | 3,2962963 |
| d. $NCD_{possessive}$& CD (NO cl) | 5,72962963 |
| e. $NCD_{possessive}$&CD (+cl) | 2,81851852 |
| f. $NCD1_{possessive}$& $NCD2_{benefactive}$ | 1,95555556 |




Graph 1: Co-occurrence patterns

a. A first generalization regards EDs. The scores in Table 1 suggest that in the absence of the characteristic clitic sequence (1st person + 2nd person), EDs behave like any other NCDs. So the scores of pattern a vs. b are comparable to the scores of patterns d vs e. Specifically, the PDC in d happily co-occurs with an undoubled Goal/Recipitemt (score 5.7), but may not co-occur with a clitic doubled one (pattern e, with a score of 2, 8).

Similarly, the ED in pattern a, where it co-occurs with an undoubled Goal/Recipient is felicitous (3,9), but pattern b, where an ED co-occurs with a doubled Goal/Recipient is infelicitous (2,8). These data are all in line with configuration (12) which has room for a clitic in Spec, ApplP (or higher) and a CD inside the lexical VP. Configuration (12) cannot accommodate more than one clitic.

Interestingly, it appears that EDs tend to activate their particular syntax only in structures where *two clitics in the same case are obligatory*. A case in point is pattern c, where an ED co-occurs with PDC, a pattern with a good score (3.2), as opposed to pattern b, where the ED co-occurs with a clitic doubled core argument, with relatively low score 2.8. The difference follows if one remembers that the Possessor dative *must be realized as*

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*a clitic*, while an argumental CD has the option of remaining inside VP and does not have to cliticize (see 12). In other words, the activation of the ED's syntax is a last resort strategy, which allows one to accommodate an *obligatory second clitic* in the same case.
The discussion so far strongly suggests the hypothesis (to be checked in further experimental work) that Romanian EDs are actually cued only when they come in sequences of at least *two clitics in the same case*, as in (23) below or in pattern c in Table 1 above. The same conclusion is suggested by example (13a) above, where in the sequence 1st+2nd person dative clitics+ 3rd person accusative clitic, it is possible to have an ED (the highest dative), followed by two argumental clitics (2nd person dative + 3rd person accusative). The experiment verified sequences of only one ED followed by another type of dative clitic, and in such cases, EDs behave like other NCDs, rejecting a second 3rd person dative clitic, unless it is an obligatory one.

(23) *Şi unde nu se opinti lupul odată şi suflă*
and where not refl. strained wolf.the once and blew
*din toţi rărunchii de* ***mi ţi-i*** *dărâmă*
of all strength that me.dat you.dat-him.dat shattered
*(purceluşului) casa cea de paie din temelii.*
(piglet.dat) house.the the of de straw from foundation
'And the wolf strained himself once and blew away the piglet´s straw house.'

b. Another important generalization apparent in the global analysis of patterns a-e is that (with the notable exception of ED-sequences), if in a sentence there are two datives, one of them must be a core constituent (CD). This generalization is strongly supported. First, the score of pattern f in Table 1, which contains two NCDs, a PDC + a Benefactive is the lowest (1.9). This is expected on both syntactic and semantic grounds. Syntactically, there is no room for a second clitic (see (12)). Semantically, the PDC is itself interpretable as a Bene/Malefactive as has often been pointed out (e.g. Schoenfeld, 2007), so that the two NCDs are not sufficiently distinct semantically.

An apparent exception to the generalization that if two dative phrases co-occur, one of them is a core constituent is the important pattern c, which shows a felicitous combinations of an ED + PDC, both of which are usually analysed as a NCDs. We claim, however that this co-occurrence is possible, due to the *ambivalent nature of the PDC*, with respect to the core/non-core distinction. Syntactically, PDCs have all the attributes of NCDs. They either merge in Spec, ApplP as clitics, or obligatorily move to Spec, ApplP to check dative case depending on the analysis adopted (Deal, 2012). As their name shows, PDCs are obligatory dative clitics in Spec, ApplP or higher. Semantically, however, it has been argued that PDC have many core-like properties (Cornilescu, 2018), of which we mention the following:

a) The possessor dative clitic is essential in determining the reference of the DO in examples like (24):

(24) *Toti delegaţii şi-au parcat maşina în acelaşi garaj.*
all delegates.the they.refl.dat.cl. have parked car.the in same garaged.
'All the delegates parked their car(s) in the same garage.'

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Thus the main event cannot be properly evaluated with respect to its truth, until the PDC determines the reference of the Theme DO.

b) The interpretation of the PDC, unlike the interpretation of EDs, is entirely-at-issue (Bosse & Bruening 2011). The possession relation can be questioned or negated.
c) The PDC can be integrated in the a-structure of the verb as a Beneficiary/Maleficiary as shown in Schoenfeld (2007).

Given the very different semantic properties of EDs and PDCs, as well as given the fact that the core-non-core distinction is gradient-like (Lambert 2010), the co-occurrence of EDs and PDCs is no longer surprising and it can be analysed as a combination of a NCD datives (the ED) and a core-like constituent (the PDC). It follows that the generalization that (except for EDs), in a sequence of two dative constituents, one of them must be a CD is intuitive and can be maintained.

d) Finally, we may now confirm and slightly reformulate Generalization 2, above as in (25):

(25) Two dative clitics may occur in sequence only if the first is an ED and they are fully acceptable if the second dative clitic is obligatory: i.e. there is a sequence of EDs, or a sequence of ED+ PDC.

In the last section we accommodate EDs in the grammar, relying on the cornerstone idea of this study, namely that there is a class of NCD which appear in sequence of obligatory clitics: this is the class of EDs.

## 4. ACCOMMODATING EDs IN THE GRAMMAR

In this sections we propose an account of the syntax of EDs starting from the following premises: a) EDs have the same syntactic properties as other dative clitics (with respect to the PCC, word order and even possibility of doubling); b) EDs come in clusters and my create space for core or core-like clitics; c) as the experimental data and the other examples analysed have shown, in the absence of clitic clusters, EDs behave like other NCDs. The analysis will be supported by the data in the experiment but also by authentic Google examples that show the same properties.

The main property of sequences of EDs is sensitivity to [Person]: They can be 1$^{st}$ and 2$^{nd}$ person clitics, but not 3$^{rd}$ person ones. Harley and Ritter (2002) argue that as far as pronouns are concerned, the main interpretative distinction holds between pronouns which denote participants in the discourse, assigned the feature [+Participant] and non-participant pronouns. The two discourse roles attributed to [+Participant] pronouns are Speaker [+Author] and Interlocutor/Hearer/Audience [-Author], and they represent the first and the second person pronouns. Pronouns of the third person designate non-participants in the discourse and are assigned the feature [-Participant].

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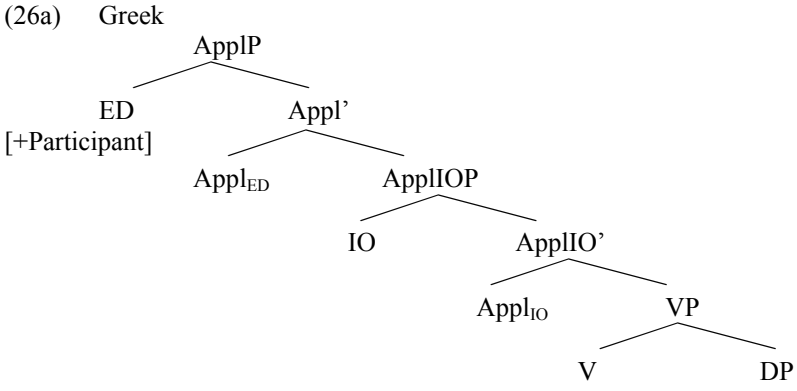
EDs are necessarily [+Participant], either [+Participant, +Author], i.e. [Speaker] or [+Participant, –Author], i.e. Hearer. [+Participant] is a *deictic* feature. It means that the expressions in question must be bound by speaker/hearer operators in the left periphery of the sentence, sitting in a projection like the Speech Act Phrase (Giorgi 2010 a.o.). Given that (syntactic) EDs come in clusters, the ApplP *becomes an* $Appl_{ED}$ *field*, corresponding to a *Person field* at the *v*P periphery, i.e. in sentences with ED, there are *sequences of ApplPs*, and also *sequences of PersonPs* with an appropriate feature specification.

The feature structure of these $Appl_{ED}$ heads is more complex, including in addition to Case and Person, the feature ±Participant (responsible for the 1st +2nd person sequence) and [+Pronoun][6]. The [+Pronoun ] feature is required to signal that only pronouns (=clitics) enter this type of $Appl_{ED}$P. The [+Pronoun] feature is checked in Spec, PersonP and signals cliticization, i.e. we assume that EDs merge as a full pronoun and cliticizes when they reach the periphery following the regular pattern of cliticization in Romanian. (See Cornilescu &Tigău, 2018, for details). [+Pronoun] may be viewed as a diacritic on the Person feature, i.e. the head of the Person Phrase is marked [*i*Person (pr)].

Similar proposals (=26a) have been put forth for Greek in (Michelioudakis& Kapogianni, 2013). The structure in (26a) proposed for Greek relies on the fact that in Greek, argumental (core) Datives (unlike corresponding PPs) merge high and may co-occur with EDs. Configuration (26a) thus contains a sequence of Appl heads, respectively introducing the ED, followed by some core IO.

In Romanian, the structure is more likely to be as in (26b), where we have assumed that the $Appl_{ED}$Ps occupy *the same position between little v and the lexical VP* as the regular ApplP in (12), except that, with EDs, the $Appl_{ED}$ heads meet more requirements and generate a sequence of EDs. An $Appl_{ED}$ head abbreviates the following set of features: [*u*Pers, *u*Case___, ±Participant, ±Author].

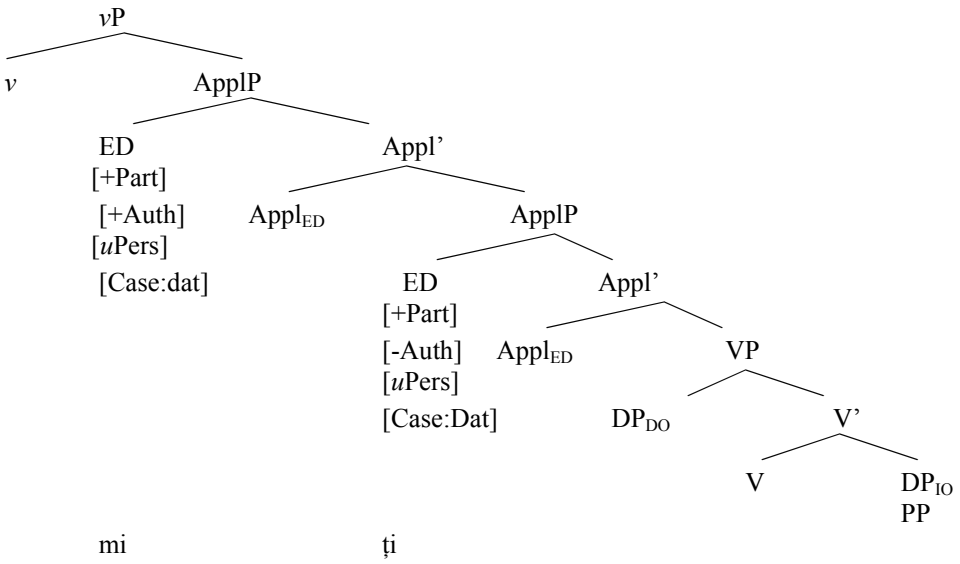
(26a) Greek




[6] For the general properties of the ApplP see Cornilescu and Tigău (2018)

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(24b) Romanian




Structure (26b) represents the merge configuration of EDs and also the position where dative case is checked. However, in this position EDs cannot be interpreted since they have not checked their [*u*Person] feature. To do this, EDs move to PersonPs at the *v*P periphery and check their [Person(pr)] feature. General redundancy rules among features guarantee that [+Participant] DPs are pronominal (as is well-known, the 1st and 2nd person must be pronouns). Datives that reach Spec, PersonP cliticize, leaving behind a null or overt associate (Preminger 2011). When EDs cliticize, they leave a null *pro* behind as an associate. The requirement of a null associate follows from the fact that EDs cannot be focused or contrastively stressed and there is no role for an associate to play. When the ED manages to get a contrastive focus interpretation, doubling is possible as attested by example (13a) above repeated as (27) for convenience:

(27) *Dacă-i vorbeşti urât despre câine, odată* ***mi*** *ţi*-l
If-him.dat speak nasty about dog suddenly me.dat you.dat-him.acc
*trimite* ție *şi nu mie, să-l creşti*
send you and not me.dat subj.-him.acc raise
'If you speak badly about the do he might send it to you and not to me, to take care of it.'

Once EDs move to the *v*P periphery, they *take scope above the whole vP* and may be interpreted as introducing an implicature expressing some positive or negative evaluation of the event expressed by the *v*P. Despite the apparent diversity in the potential interpretation of EDs (their referent can be delighted/ concerned/disappointed, etc.), EDs form a coherent syntactic and semantic class of their own.

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Given the feature structure of the $Appl_{ED}$ heads, configurations like (24) easily accommodate sequences of two EDs.

### 4.1. Co-occurrence restrictions again

The perspicuous reader will have noticed that the [±Participant] $Appl_{ED}$ head, actually generates three clitic positions, whose heads differ in the following way (common features aside): Appl [-Participant], a third person clitic, Appl [+Participant, -Author], a second person clitic, and Appl [+Participant, + Author] a first person clitic. Thus $Appl_{ED}$ heads that license EDs generate three clitic positions, which differ with respect to [Person]. The regular Appl head in (12) generates one clitic position only, whence the differences in the cooccurrence patterns discussed above. The third clitic in ED sequences may be an accusative clitic (a situations illustrated above, but which does not concern us here), but it can also be a third dative clitic. In combinations of three dative clitics, the third person clitic (the lowest) is a CD (Recipient, Benefactive), or a core-like dative, such as a PDC.

The data we have examined show an acceptability pattern which is similar to that discussed for sequences of two elements.

Acceptability is high if EDs come in sequence (as in (28a), (29a), (30a)), but it (severely) decreases if only the first person ED is present, ((28b, (29b), (30a)) and is even worse if only a second person ED is present (28c), (29c), (30c)). Individual variation is naturally expected. This pattern of acceptability confirms the essential remark that only sequences of EDs always activate the $Appl_{ED}$ heads [ ±Participant, ± Author]. Here are examples:

(28) EDs + Recipient
*Prinzând curaj hoțul îngroaşă obrazul.*
'On summoning up courage the thief becomes cheeky.'

a. *şi mi ți **le** plăteşte negustorilor*
and me.dat.cl you.dat them.dat.cl pays traders.the.dat
*toată marfa numai cu bani calpi*
all merchandise only with money fake
'…and he pays all the merchandise to the traders only with fake money.'

b. ?* *mi le plăteşte negustorilor toată*
me.dat.cl them.dat.cl pays traders.the.dat all
*marfa numai cu bani calpi*
merchandise only with money fake
'…and he pays all the merchandise to the traders only with fake money.'

c. * *ți le plăteşte negustorilor toată marfa numai*
you.dat them.dat pays traders all merchandise only
*cu bani calpi*
with money fake
'…and he pays all the merchandise to the traders only with fake money.'

(29) ED + Malefactive/PDC
*Vagabondul, înarmat cu un sac mare, sare gardul la vecini.*
'The tramp, carrying a big sack, jumps over the fence into the neighbours´yard'

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a. *şi (unde nu) mi ți* ***le*** *fură/şterpeleşte*
and where not me.dat.cl you.dat.cl them.dat.cl. steals
*toate găinile din cuibar.*
all hens.the from henhouse
'and he steals all their hens from the henhouse'

b. ? *şi unde nu mi* ***le*** *fură toate găinile*
and where not me.dat them.dat. steal all hens
*din cuibar.*
from henhouse
'...and he steals all their hens from the henhouse'

c. ?**şi unde nu ți* ***le*** *fură toate găinile*
and where not you.dat.cl them.dat.cl steal all hens.the
*din cuibar.*
from henhouse
'...and he steals all their hens from the henhouse.'

d. *şi unde nu le fură toate găinile*
and where not them.dat.cl. steal all hens.the
*din cuibar*
from henhouse
'...and he steals all the hens from the henhouse'

(30) ED+ Benfactive in the argument structure of the verb
*Nepăsându-i de ce vor crede ceilalți se apucă*
'Not caring about what the others might think he starts...'

a. *şi la toți copiii mi ți* ***le*** *cumpără*
and to all children.the me.dat.cl you.dat.cl them.dat.cl buys
*cele mai tari maşini.*
the smartest cars
'and he buys the smartest cars for all his children'

b. * ? *şi la toți copiii mi le cumpără*
and to all children me.dat.cl them.dat.cl buys
cele mai tari maşini
the smartest cars
'and he buys the smartest cars for all his children'

c. **şi la toți copiii ți le cumpără*
and to all children you.dat them.dat bought
*cele mai tari maşini.*
the smartest cars
'...and he buys the smartest cars for all his children'

(31) ED + PDC

a. *Şi dacă năvăleau tătarii, mi ți*
and if invaded Tartars.the me.dat.cl you.dat.cl.
*le ardeau şi bordeiele de multe ori.*
them.dat burnt and huts of many times
'And if the Tartars attacked they would also burn down their huts many times.'

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b. *Şi* *când* *se* *dezlănţuiră* *copiii*
and when refl. played-havoc children.the
*mi-i* *întoarseră* *mătuşii* *toată* *casa*
me.dat.cl her.dat.cl turned aunt.the.dat entire house.the
*pe dos.*
upside down
'And when the children started playing havoc, they turned the aunt´s house upside down.'

c. *...mi-ţi-i* *întoarseră mătuşii toată* *casa*
me.dat.cl-you.dat.cl.-her.dat.cl turned aunt.the.dat. entire house.the
pe dos.
upside down
'They turned the aunt´s house upside down.' (from Tigău 2018)

Finally, notice the contrast between examples (28)-(30), featuring sequences including a non-obligatory argumental clitic, and example (31). In (31a-c), in conformity with Generalization (25), there is full acceptability, not only in sequences of three dative clitics, but also in sequences of two dative clitics, since the last clitic is obligatory; it is a PDC.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The identifying property of Romanian (syntactic) EDs is occurrence in clitic sequences. Their analysis required an $Appl_{ED}$ head with different properties, which spells out the [± Participant], [± Author] feature and generates an $Appl_{ED}$ field in the sentence. An $Appl_{ED}$-field is generated only by a sequence of EDs.

If only one ED is present it tends to behave like any other NCD. Aside from occurrence in clusters, EDs have a perfectly canonical grammar.

The three specifiers in the $Appl_{ED}$ field may accommodate core dative clitics or PDC, alongside the EDs. Notice that there are no more than three positions in the ED-field, corresponding to the three types of feature combinations generated by [± Participant], [± Author].

As to their interpretation, EDs represent an extreme form of *non-at-issue meaning*. They are optional and unrelated to the main (at-issue) event. They are in fact related to the speech act itself, introducing an emotional attitude of the speaker's to the event, as well as the speaker's attempt to stir the interlocutor's feelings on the event.

An important result confirmed by the experiment as well as by the search for authentic examples, is that the grammar of EDs is still active for contemporary Romanian speakers and far from being a part of obsolete "bookish" style, EDs appear with different connotations in the grammar of most contemporary speakers of Romanian.

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