A LOOK AT HIGH APPLICATIVES IN ROMANIAN: DATIVE EXPERIENCERS

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Abstract: Romanian has both Low Applicative Phrases and High Applicative Phrases. At present, Romanian dative experiencers are High Applicatives with a dative phrase as specifier, and an (obligatory) dative clitic as head. Earlier Romanian dative experiencers differed from their modern counterparts. They were not Applicatives but Locatives, so they did not need to be expressed by a dative clitic, and did not require clitic doubling. Raising constructions display a restriction dubbed here as Experiencer Island. They cannot combine a dative experiencer in the matrix clause with a dative experiencer in the embedded clause. This is because experiencer clitics must be licensed by a deictic Tense. In raising constructions, deictic Tense is in the matrix clause, so locality prevents such a Tense from licensing more than one experiencer clitic at a time.

Keywords: Romanian, dative experiencers, high applicatives

1. Introduction[1]

In this paper, I adopt the hypothesis that Romanian dative experiencers such as *lui George* in (1-2) are located in High Applicative Phrases, in the sense of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) and Cuervo (2003).

(1) Lui George îi plac copiii.
George-DAT DAT-CL like-3PL children-NOM
'Children please George./ George likes children.'

(2) Lui George îi pare că noi suntem în grădină.
George-DAT DAT-CL seem-3SG IND we are-1PL in garden
'It seems to George that we are in the garden.'

When arguing for an applicative analysis of Spanish experiencers, Cuervo (1999, 2003) updates proposals by Masullo (1992, 1993), whose idea is that such datives are quirky subjects (also Fernández Soriano 1999). Dumitrescu and Masullo (1996) subsequently argue that Romanian dative experiencers also display quirky subject properties, and here I update their proposals to adopt a High Applicative analysis for (1-2).

An advantage of the applicative view for dative experiencers is that it can provide a principled account for why (a) dative clitics are (now) obligatory, and (b) there must be clitic doubling with referential phrases such as *lui George* in (1-2). Namely, the experiencer clitic is required because it heads the Applicative, and the dative phrase need not be syntactically present because it is a Specifier: [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ *lui George* [$_{\text{Appl}}$ *îi*]]. On such a view, then, a clitic not a dative phrase encodes the experiencer. Normative traditions in clitic doubling languages often frown on doubling regardless of syntactic context, but the applicative view provides a principled reason for certain clitics.

[1] Research partially subsidized by SSHRC Research Grant 410-2006-0150. Abbreviations: APPL= Applicative ; CL = clitic; DAT = dative; FOC = focus marker; IND = Indicative Complementizer; PL = Plural; SG = singular; SUBJ = Subjunctive Particle.

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Based on the applicative hypothesis, in this paper I explore a diachronic and a synchronic characteristic of dative experiencers in Romanian. The diachronic issue based on work with Diaconescu (Rivero and Diaconescu forthcoming) is that constructions of type (1) did not require a clitic in earlier stages of Romanian, so did not necessarily exhibit doubling in contexts where it is now obligatory, as illustrated in (3).

(3) … ce Domnului acela om place.
because god-the-DAT that man-NOM pleases
'…because that man pleases God; …because God likes that man.'
(Dosoftei, *Psaltirea în versuri* 1673)

If modern dative experiencers correspond to High Applicatives, the noted diachronic contrast calls for an explanation. The proposal is that the syntactic (and, likely, semantic) status of experiencers underwent changes in the history of Romanian. In the early period, dative experiencers corresponded to Locatives, they later morphed into Applicatives , and clitic doubling became obligatory in their context. Dative experiencers underwent a similar change from medieval to later Spanish, so such an evolution is not language-specific, which raises interesting questions about Applicatives and their diachronic growth left to future research.

The synchronic issue based on work with Geber (Rivero and Geber 2004, 2007) consists in a prohibition against two dative experiencers in syntactic contexts with properties traditionally associated with NP-movement /raising. On the one hand, in constructions of type (4-5)[2] with a raising verb and an embedded subjunctive verb that both agree with the nominative, there is no problem if a dative experiencer semantically composes with the matrix clause: *îi … Mariei*, and *îți*… (*tie*) respectively.

(4) Copiii îi par Mariei să lucreze bine.
children-the-NOM DAT-CL seem-3PL Mary-DAT SUBJ work-3PL well
'The children seem to Mary to work well.'
(5) Noi îți părem (ție) să lucrăm bine .
we-NOM you-DAT seem-1PL (you-DAT) SUBJ work-1PL well
'We seem to you to work well.'

In the same context, experiencers that semantically compose with the complement clause are fine too, as in (6-8).

(6) Copiii par să îi plac (lui George).
children-the-NOM seem-3PL SUBJ CL-DAT like-3PL (G-DAT)
'The children seem to please George. George seems to like the children.'
(7) Noi părem să îi plăcem (lui George).
we-NOM seem-1PL SUBJ DAT-CL like-1PL (G-DAT)
'We seem to please George. George seems to like us.'
(8) Părem să îi plăcem noi (lui George).
seem-1PL SUBJ DAT-CL like-1PL we-NOM (G-DAT)
'We seem to please George. George seems to like us.'

[2] Editors' note: many native speakers consider such constructions marginal or even unacceptable.

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The syntactic position of the nominative contributes to information structure, but has no effect on the behavior of the dative experiencer . Thus, the nominative can be in the matrix or arguably in the embedded clause, without problems. In addition, the dative phrase may be present or absent in all instances, as the clitic is the only item required to encode the experiencer. Finally, since Romanian is pro-drop, the nominative theme may be overt , but it can also be covert: *Par să îi placă* 'They seem to please him.'

On the other hand, a problem arises when the two experiencers that appear independently in (4-5) and (6-8) are combined, as in (9-11). The problem exists both when the nominative is in the matrix resulting from NP-movement of the raising type, as in (9) and (11) (English translations are grammatical), and when the matrix V agrees with a nominative arguably in the embedded clause, as in (10) (again, English translations are grammatical). The nominative can be overt or covert, and the dative phrase may be absent or present, with the clitic as obligatory experiencer marker. With two experiencer clitics, however, all the mentioned options are equally deviant.

(9) * Copiii îi par Mariei să
children-the-NOM DAT-CL seem-3PL Mary-DAT SUBJ
îi placă lui George.
DAT-CL like-3PL G-DAT
Intended: 'The children seem to Mary to please George.'

(10) *Ii par Mariei să îi placă copiii lui George.
DAT-CL seem-3PL Mary-DAT SUBJ DAT-CL like-3PL children-NOM G-DAT
Intended: 'The children seem to Mary to please George.'

(11) *Noi îți părem (tie) să îi plăcem (lui George).
we-NOM DAT-CL seem-1PL (you-DAT) SUBJ DAT-CL like-1PL (G-DAT)
Intended: 'We seem to you to please George.'

To add to the two-experiencer puzzle in Romanian, constructions without NP-movement /raising symptoms, i.e. with matrix V in 3Sg without agreement with the nominative and an indicative complement, are unproblematic with two experiencers, one in the matrix, and the other in the complement clause, as in (12).

(12) Mariei îi pare că îi plac copiii lui George.
Maria-DAT DAT-CL seem-3SG IND that DAT-CL like-3PL children-NOM George-DAT
'It seems to Mary that the children please John.'

The contrast between (9-11) and (12) suggests that the ban against two experiencers cannot be strictly semantic, pointing towards some syntactic property as the most likely source.

The ban in (9-11) is sensitive to dative experiencer clitics, and oblivious of dative combinations that differ in semantic role. As illustrated in (13), it is fine to have a clitic doubled experiencer in the matrix, and a clitic doubled goal in the complement clause[3].

(13) Lui George îi părem să îi dăm Mariei un cadou.
G-DAT DAT-CL seem-1PL SUBJ DAT-CL give-1PL Mary-DAT a present
'We seem to George to give a present to Mary.'

[3] 1Pl agreement is useful to show raising characteristics in the construction. When a 3sg verb combines with a 3sg nominative, for instance, raising properties could be absent as 3sg on the verb could be the default form without agreement.

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Doubled indirect objects of type (13) are Low Applicatives for Diaconescu (2004), and Diaconescu and Rivero (forthcoming), so the conclusion is that raising constructions can combine a High and a Low Applicative, as in (13), but not two High Applicatives, as in (9-11). Given that clitics are obligatory signs of experiencers, it follows that the above prohibition rests on the clitics.

In sum, there can only be one dative experiencer clitic per raising construction in Romanian, which had escaped notice in the literature. Rivero and Geber (2007) dub this situation an "Experiencer Island", and capture it in syntactic terms. The idea is that all dative clitic experiencers must be licensed by a deictic Tense. In raising constructions, the Tense of subjunctive complements is defective, while the matrix Tense is deictic / complete. If there is one experiencer clitic, the matrix Tense will license it, whether it semantically belongs to the matrix clause or the complement clause. By contrast, if there are two experiencer clitics, the matrix Tense will license the one in the matrix, but will be unable to access the more remote clitic in the embedded clause, due to locality. In other words, the matrix clitic is closer to the deictic Tense than the one in the embedded clause, so will count as an intervener and prevent the lower clitic from being licensed. In constructions where both the matrix Tense and the embedded Tense are complete such as (12), no problem arises as each clitic is licensed locally. In sum, patterns such as (9-11) are ungrammatical due to locality requirements in syntax.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an introduction to Applicatives, the dichotomy between High and Low, and types in Romanian. Section 3 turns to the evolution of dative experiencers , which purportedly go from locatives to applicatives, and section 4 deals with Experiencer Islands in modern Romanian.

2. Introducing Applicatives

2.1 Applicative theory

The term Applicative originates in 17th century Spanish missionary grammars of Uto-Aztecan, which speak of 'verbos aplicativos', that is, applicative Vs. Applicatives are obliques not usually considered arguments of V, and add roles such as benefactive or goal, increasing the valency of V. In standard Applicatives, an affix licenses an additional nominal to those selected by V, as in the Benefactives of Chaga in (14) and Haka Lai in (15).

(14) N -ä - ï -lyì -í - à mkà kélyá. Chaga
FOC- 1-SUBJECT PRES -eat -APPL-FV wife food
'He is eating food for his wife.'

(15) ?a - ka -thi? -piak. Haka Lai
3SG.SUBJECT- 1SG.OBJECT -die -APPL
'He died for me.'

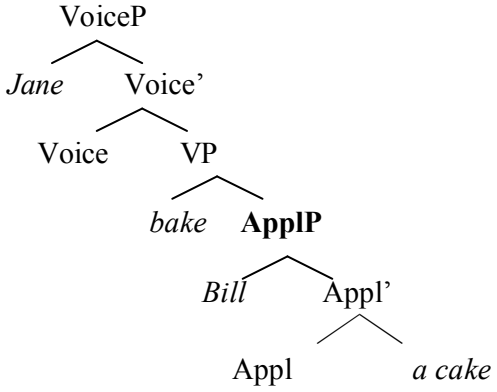
Applicatives have long figured in traditional analyses of Amerindian and African languages, but not on proposals on Indoeuropean languages. Marantz (1993) changes this traditional picture when he argues that the goal in English Double Object Constructions (DOCs) such as (16) is an Applicative with a non-overt marker. This influential proposal has triggered many new analyses of ditransitive constructions, including Romanian (Diaconescu 2004, Diaconescu and Rivero 2007).

(16) Jane baked Bill a cake.

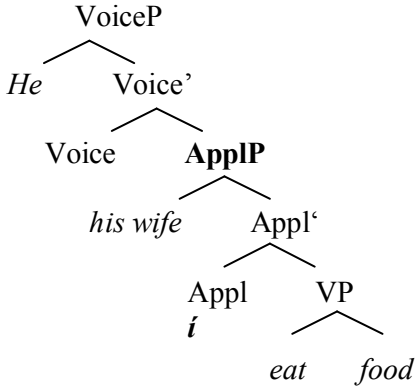
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Following Marantz, Pylkkänen (2008) distinguishes two types of semantic and syntactic Applicatives in Universal Grammar, which she dubs High and Low respectively. Low Applicatives such the goal in English (16) involve a transfer of possession between the direct and the indirect object, and are located within VP, as in (17). By contrast, High Applicatives involve a relation between an individual and an event, and stand outside of the VP below VoiceP as in Kratzer (1996), as in (18) for Chaga.

(17) Low Applicative within VP: English.



(18) High Applicative above VP: Chaga.



Pylkkänen tells us that languages show variation as to the Applicatives they may display. English is a language limited to Low Applicatives, (17), Chaga is a language with only High Applicatives, (18), and Chichewa and Japanese display both High and Low Applicatives.

Cuervo (2003) identifies Low and High Applicatives in Spanish, when discussing a large variety of constructions with clitic doubled datives. Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) mentions High Applicatives of the Benefactive / Malefactive , Instrumental, and Locative types. Cuervo (2003) extends the general inventory for Spanish, updates proposals by Masullo (1993, 1994) on quirky subjects, and argues that dative experiencers in psychological constructions are High Applicatives, with a structure comparable to (18) in so far as the dative above VP c-commands the theme in VP.

2.2 Romanian Applicatives

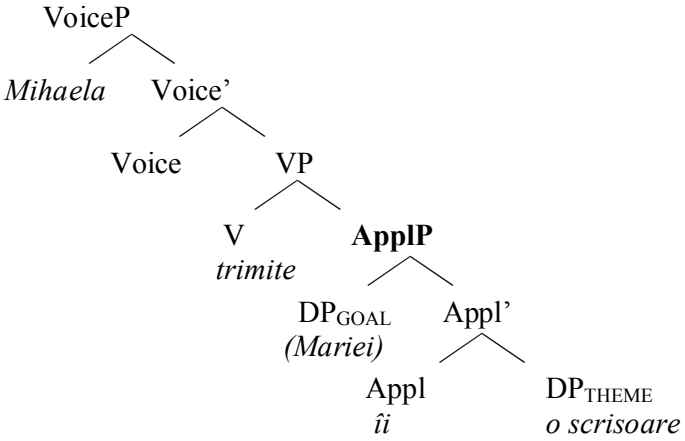
Romanian closely resembles Spanish as to clitic doubled datives, and can be added to the languages with both Low and High Applicatives. On the one hand, Diaconescu (2004) and Diaconescu & Rivero (2007) argue that Romanian goals in ditransitives are Low Applicatives iff the construction contains a dative clitic, doubled or not, as in (19). By contrast, ditransitives without clitics such as (20) encode the goal in a Prepositional Phrase with different structural properties.

(19)	Mihaela	îi	trimite	(Mariei)	o scrisoare.
	M-NOM	DAT-CL	sends	Maria-DAT	a letter
	'Mihaela sends Maria/her a letter.'				
(20)	Mihaela		trimite	Mariei	o scrisoare.
	M-NOM		sends	Maria-DAT	a letter
	'Mihaela sends a letter to Maria.'				

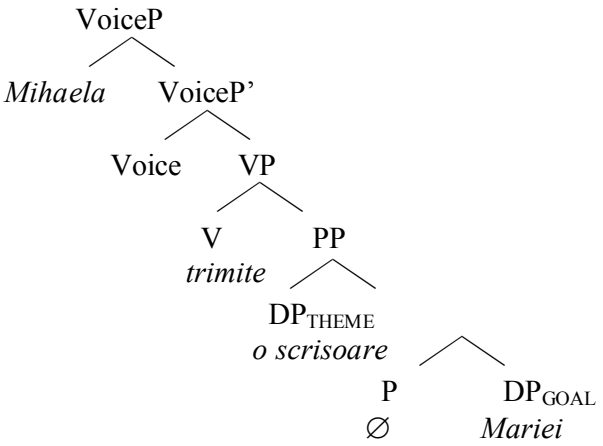
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On this view, the structure for (19) is similar to the English DOC in (17): (21). The structure of (20) is a Prepositional Ditransitive Construction (PDC): (22) (I refer the interested reader to the cited works for arguments). Given (21-22), variation in clitic doubling in Romanian ditransitives is only apparent. That is, the presence or absence of the clitic signals a structural difference, with clitic doubling symptomatic of a Low Applicative headed by a dative clitic.

(21) Low Applicative structure (DOC)



(22) Prepositional ditransitive construction (PDC)

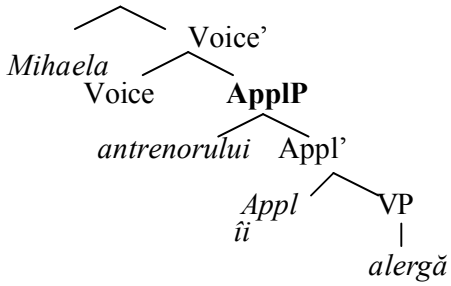


High Applicatives are mentioned in passing by Diaconescu (2004), who based on remarks on Albanian by Pylkkänen (2002) places clitic doubled benefactives with unergative Vs such as (23) in the High Applicative class with the structure in (24). Unergatives are one-argument Vs, so can only be modified by High Applicatives, which establish a relation between an individual and the (intransitive) event.

(23) Mihaela îi alergă (antrenorului) o jumătate de oră.
M-NOM DAT-CL ran trainer-the-DAT a half of hour
'Mihaela ran half an hour for the trainer.'

(24) VoiceP

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High Applicatives need study in Romanian, but the type relevant for this paper - dative experiencers- has attracted attention in the past , and its properties are known (Dumitrescu and Masullo 1996). Dumitrescu and Masullo argue that Romanian dative experiencers can be neither topics nor left-dislocated items, and exhibit the structural properties of subjects in view of tests such as quantification, weak-cross over, etc. For instance, dative experiencers may appear as bare quantifier phrases, as in (25), which is not a characteristic of topics.

(25) Nimănui nu-i plac copiii.
nobody-DAT NEG-DAT-CL like-3PL children-the-NOM
'Nobody likes (the) children.'

Without repeating Dumitrescu and Masullo's arguments, I translate their proposal into a High Applicative analysis. An advantage of the applicative view mentioned above is that it can capture that dative clitics are obligatory in psych constructions. Such an analysis easily accommodates subject-like properties in experiencers, because the High Applicative c-commands material in VP, including the nominative theme. Thus, a dative experiencer can bind a nominative phrase and the material it contains, and so on and so forth: [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ *Nimănui* [$_{\text{Appl}}$ *i*] … [$_{\text{VP}}$ … *copiii*]].

In sum, Romanian has both Low and High Applicatives encoded by dative clitics. Goals in ditransitives are Low Applicatives, so must display doubling if a dative phrase is present. Experiencers are High Applicatives, so must display doubling with a dative phrase. With this in mind, section 3 takes a look at experiencers in earlier Romanian, which did not always display the characteristics they have today.

3. Romanian Experiencers in diachrony

In present Romanian, experiencers are High Applicatives, with a clitic and obligatory doubling with a dative phrase, as in (26a-b) and (27a-b).

(26) a. (Ţie) nu îţi plac deloc.
You-DAT NEG DAT-CL please-1SG at-all
'I do not please you at all. You do not like me at all.'
b. *Ţie nu plac deloc.

(27) a. (Mariei) îi pare că ei nu agreează matematica.
Maria-DAT DAT-CL seem that they NEG enjoy-3PL math.
'It seems to Maria/her that they do not enjoy math.'
b. *Mariei pare că ei nu agreează matematica.

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An exception are quantificational and overt / null generic dative experiencers , which do not require clitics in Romanian or Spanish. In Spanish, for instance, *Los libros gustan* ‘ (The) books please’ and *Los libros gustan a todos* ‘(The) books please all’ are fine without clitic. The following discussion, then, concentrates on referential dative phrases.

When we examine earlier stages of Romanian, we observe that experiencer constructions show variation with respect to clitics and doubling, reminiscent of what can be observed with dative goals in ditransitives at present. As (28) illustrates, earlier psychological constructions may closely resemble their modern counterparts with a clitic and a dative phrase in a doubling situation: *rămlenilor … le.* The construction in (28) is comparable to the modern ditransitive in (19): *Mihaela îi trimite Mariei o scrisoare.*[4]

(28) Rămlenilor le plăcea a rîde.
Romans-the-DAT DAT-CL pleased to laugh
‘It pleased the Romans to laugh.’
(M. Costin, *De neamul moldovenilor* 1686)

However, earlier psych constructions with a dative phrase and no clitic are also documented, as in (29-30) , which do not correspond to grammatical structures today, but are comparable to the modern ditransitive in (20): *Mihaela trimite Mariei o scrisoare.*

(29) Ce Domnului acela om place.
because god-the-DAT that man-NOM pleases
‘Because that man pleases God.’
(Dosoftei, *Psaltirea în versuri* 1673)

(30) Că aşa place lui Dumnezeu.
because so pleases the-DAT God.
‘Because in this way it pleases God.’
(A. Ivireanul, *Didahii* 1710)

Dative strong pronouns are also documented without clitics, as in (31-32).

(31) Si cu o învăţătură de céle ce plac lui.
and with a teaching of those which pleased he-DAT
‘And with a teaching of those that pleased him.’
(N. Basarab, *Invăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab* 1650)

(32) Şi tot cela ce pofteşte ca să placă mie.
and every one who wishes SUBJ SUBJ please I-DAT
‘And everyone who wishes to please me .’
(A. Ivireanul, *Didahii* 1710)

The Dative *lui* in (31) is a strong pronoun , not a clitic, due to its orthography, but more interestingly, to its syntactic position. Earlier Romanian clitic position falls under the so-called Tobler-Mussafia law. Dative *lui* in (31) is in a relative clause, so the fact that it follows V tells us that it is a strong pronoun, not a clitic. Similar remarks apply to (32); the dative *mie* in the complement clause introduced by (now substandard) *ca să* follows the V, so

[4] Earlier Romanian examples are from electronic editions available at http://ro.wikisource.org/wiki/. Earlier Spanish examples are from CORDE available at htpp://corpus.rae.es/.

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it must be a strong pronoun, not a clitic. In sum, referential noun phrases and strong pronouns could signal experiencers without the need for a dative clitic in earlier Romanian, which is no longer possible. Thus, old and modern experiencers differ.

The noted situation is not language-specific. A similar contrast exists between medieval Spanish - (33-34) - and modern Spanish. On the one hand, clitic doubled experiencers are documented, as in (33): *le … al rrey*. However, they are quantitatively rare during the 13th and 14th centuries, and seem to respond to topic-focus considerations, not to strict syntactic requirement, unlike those of the modern period.

(33) Non le plazeria al rrey de França.
Neg dat-cl would.please to.the king of France
'It would not please the king of France.'
(P. López de Ayala, *Crónica del rey don Pedro* c. 1400)

The most frequent situation in Old Spanish, then, is for dative experiencer phrases to appear without a clitic: *al rrey* in (34). This is now ungrammatical.

(34) E plogo mucho al rrey con ellos.
And pleased much to.the king with them
'And they pleased the king very much.'
(P. López de Ayala, *Crónica del rey don Pedro* c. 1400)

In modern Spanish, strong pronouns require doubling, which is true of goals in ditransitives, and experiencers in psychological constructions. By contrast, the most frequent situation in the 13th -14th century Spanish is for strong pronouns representing dative experiencers to appear without a clitic, as in (35).

(35) Conde e hermano, a mi plaze mucho oy con la vuestra venida.
Count and brother, to me pleases much today with the your coming
'Count and brother, today your coming pleases me very much.'
(P. López de Ayala, *Crónica del rey don Pedro* c. 1400)

We can thus conclude that earlier Romanian and Spanish experiencers were rather similar, and that they still resemble one another in the modern period. As a consequence, they must have undergone similar diachronic changes. Above, I argued that modern experiencers occupy High Applicatives with the clitic as head, as in (36).

(36) High Applicative Experiencers:
$[_{ApplP}$ Experiencer Phrase $[_{Appl'}$ $[_{Appl}$ Dative Clitic] $[_{VP}$ V $[_{DP}$ Theme]]]]

A hypothesis in need of research in Romanian and Spanish is that in earlier stages, experiencers were locatives. Rivero and Diaconescu (forthcoming) discuss variation between nominative and prepositional themes in psych constructions, as in *Lui Ion îi place de ceva* 'Something pleases John', a topic omitted here. Inspired by proposals on locatives by, among others, Freeze (1992), they suggest a structure for earlier experiencers as in (37):

(37) Locative Experiencer:
Voice $[_{VP}$ V $[_{PP}$ (Locative) Experiencer Phrase $[_{P'}[0]$ $[_{DP}$ Theme]]]]

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In (37), the experiencer with a locative role is the specifier of a Prepositional Phrase, which takes the Theme as complement. The head of this PP indicated by a null 0 in (37) could be overt in earlier Spanish, as in (34) - [$_{PP}$ *a mi* [$_{P'}$[*con*] [$_{DP}$ *ellos*]]], and in modern Romanian: *place* [$_{PP}$ [*de*] [$_{DP}$ *ceva*]].

The general hypothesis is that the locative experiencer structure in VP in (37) was lost, and replaced by the applicative structure above VP in (36). With experiencers part of a PP structure, there were earlier periods in both languages when they resembled present goals in so far as they could receive a double syntactic analysis. This double analysis was eliminated in favor of (36), a change whose precise chronology awaits detailed study.

4. Experiencer Islands

An Experiencer Island is a prohibition in raising constructions against two dative clitics if they encode experiencers, which is responsible for the contrast between (38-39) and (40).

(38) Îți părem să lucrăm bine.
you-DAT seem-1PL SUBJ work-1PL well
'We seem to you to work well.'

(39) Părem să îi plăcem.
seem-1PL SUBJ DAT-CL like-1Pl
'We seem to please him. He seems to like us.'

(40) * Îți părem să îi plăcem.
you-DAT seem-1PL SUBJ DAT-CL like-1Pl
'*We seem to you to please him. *He seems to you to like us.'

I begin by noting that matrix experiencer clitics, doubled by a dative phrase or not, do not interfere with raising characteristics of the nominative (or viceversa). That is, when Vs in a raising construction agree with an overt nominative, such a constituent may be in the matrix, (41a), or the embedded clause: (41b).

(41) a. Copiii îi par (Mariei) să lucreze
children-the-NOM DAT-CL seem-3PL Mary-DAT SUBJ work-3PL
bine în această seară.
well in this evening

b. Îi par (Mariei) să lucreze
DAT-CL seem-3PL Mary-DAT SUBJ work-3PL
bine copiii în această seară.
well children-the-NOM in this evening
'The children seem to Mary to work well this evening.'

Likewise, experiencer clitics composing with an embedded psych V can coexist with an overt nominative in the matrix, (42a), or the embedded clause: (42b).

(42) a. Noi părem să îi plăcem lui Ion.
we-NOM seem-1PL SUBJ DAT-CL like-1PL John-DAT

b. Părem să îi plăcem noi lui Ion.
seem-1PL SUBJ DAT-CL like-1PL we-NOM John-DAT
'We seem to please John. John seems to like us.'

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The patterns in (41-42) show that nominatives and dative experiencers do not interact with one another in raising constructions. That is, licensing requirements for dative experiencers behind (38-40) are independent from nominative requirements. In this paper I sketch an account of Experiencer Islands, and remain agnostic about the proper analysis of nominatives.

Depending on the theoretical assumptions, it could be that besides some form of NP-movement of the nominative to the matrix in (41a) and (42a), there are options for the lower nominative in (41b) and (42b). One option reminiscent of covert movement is with displacement, with the lowest not the higher copy/copies of the nominative pronounced. Another option is long distance Agree between matrix T and nominative, without displacement , with Agree not subject to the Phase-Impenetrability condition of Chomsky, as proposed by Boškovic (2007).

I do not choose a "raising" option for the nominative, and examine the new topic of Experiencer Islands, reporting an acceptability experiment , and concluding with a sketch of an analysis. Experiencer Islands have not been noted in the literature, so to validate the deviant status of patterns such as (38-40), Rivero and Geber (2007) carried out an acceptability experiment with 16 speakers in Bucharest and Ottawa. This was a written multiple–choice grammaticality judgment test with 24 sets of experimental items, with four conditions each: A, B, C and D. The critical condition is A, with the assumed source of ungrammaticality. Sentences for this condition contain agreeing *seem*, a subjunctive complement, and two dative experiencers, as in (43).

(42)	*Ne	pari	să	le	displaci	fără motiv.
	DAT-CL-1PL	seem-2SG	SUBJ	DAT-CL-3PL	dislike-2SG	without reason
	'You seem to us to displease them without any reason.'					

Condition B and C minimally modify condition A. B has 3rd person (default) *pare* 'seem', an indicative complement, and two dative experiencers, as in (44). C has no dative experiencer in the matrix, and the embedded clause is subjunctive, as in (45).

(44)	Ne	pare	că	le	displaci	fără motiv.
	DAT-CL-1PL	seem-3SG	IND	DAT-CL-3PL	dislike-2SG	without reason
	It seems to us that you displease them without any reason.'					
(45)	Pari	să	le	displaci	fără motiv.	
	seem-2SG	SUBJ	DAT-CL-3PL	dislike-2SG	without reason	
	'You seem to displease them without any reason.'					

Condition D differs from the other three in having an indicative complement with an ordinary null / overt nominative subject, and a complement, as in (46).

(46)	Ne	pare	că	țipi	la ei	fără motiv.
	DAT-CL-1PL	seem-3SG	IND	yell-2SG	at them	without reason
	'It seems to us that you yell at them without any reason.'					

In addition, there were six grammatical high controls, six ungrammatical sentences as low controls, and six ungrammatical fillers, which I do not illustrate. Four counterbalanced questionnaires were constructed following the Latin Square Design. Each subject saw six tokens of each condition. Subjects were asked to read each sentence, and rank it according to

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the following criteria: 1. Perfect; 2. Almost perfect; 3. Neither good, nor bad; 4. Almost unusable; 5.Completely unacceptable. High controls were chosen such that they would be marked 1, and low controls and ungrammatical fillers so that they would be marked 5. Therefore, each subject judged 24 test sentences - 6 chosen as ungrammatical and 18 as grammatical-, and 18 additional sentences: 6 grammatical high controls, 6 ungrammatical low controls, and 6 ungrammatical fillers. The average results of the test are in (47).

(47)

Condition / Filler	**Average**
A	4.57
B	2.38
C	1.92
D	1.99
High Control	1.04
Low Control	4.97

Thus, subjects ranked sentences of type (43) half-way between completely unacceptable and almost unusable, and sentences such as (44) and (45) close to almost perfect. Romanian speakers, then, consider raising constructions with two clitic experiencers ungrammatical. With only one clitic experiencer in matrix or embedded clause, sentences are grammatical.

The formal account I propose for two-experiencer effects is based on the structure of High Applicatives and their dative clitic. The core structural characteristic of High Applicatives is to stand above VP, so they cannot be licensed by categories within the verbal layers of the clause, in contrast with Low Applicatives in VP. The hypothesis advanced here is that the licensing category for Applicative experiencers must be a deictic T, which forms a chain with the dative clitic as head. In raising constructions such as (43) and (45), the deictic T is the Indicative in the matrix clause, while Subjunctive Ts are defective. When there are two High Applicatives, i.e. two clitic heads, one in the matrix and one in the complement as in (43), locality prevents deictic T from licensing more than one head at a time, so there can only be one experiencer per construction. On this view, Experiencer Islands are instances of standard intervention, and constitute violations of locality, as in the structure in (48):

(48) $T_{deictic}$ > High Appl CL1 > V > $T_{defective}$ > High Appl CL2>V

In (47), deictic T c-commands both the clitic in High Applicative 1, and the clitic in High Applicative 2. However, the first clitic c-commands the second and will be an intervener that prevents $T_{deictic}$ from licensing the lower clitic. Regardless of the location of the nominative and its derivation, then, raising constructions with only one clitic experiencer are unproblematic, but those with more than one clitic experiencer are always problematic.

I mention a formal system suitable for Experiencer Islands under current minimalist assumptions, and depart from Rivero and Geber (2007), who provide an account in terms of weak phases. Here I adopt the view that Agree is not restricted by phases (Boškovic 2007) , which is more suitable for the two-experiencer restrictions.On the one hand, dative clitics are at the core of Experiencer Islands in (38-40). However, in Romanian clitics do not move, and restructuring is arguably absent. This suggests that the licensing link between a deictic T and an experiencer clitic in raising constructions is based on the Agree relation without

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displacement (or complex-predicate formation). Furthermore, it seems that the licensing of experiencers is possible across several phases . That is, High Applicative experiencers can be quite distant from the deictic T that, by assumption , must license them in raising constructions. Sentence (49) illustrates an intermediate experiencer arguably licensed by matrix T, and (50) shows an experiencer in the most deeply embedded clause also accessible to matrix T for the needed licensing relation. Sentence (51) illustrates that an Experiencer Island results when those two datives combine, with the same locality conflicts as above.

(49) Începem [să îți părem [să lucrăm bine]].
begin-1PL [SUBJ DAT-CL seem-1PL [SUBJ work-1PL well]]
'We begin to appear to you to work well.'

(50) Începem [să părem [să îi plăcem]].
begin-1PL [SUBJ seem-1PL [SUBJ DAT-CL like-1PL]]
'We begin to appear to please him.'

(51) *Începem [să îți părem [să îi plăcem]].
begin-1PL [SUBJ DAT-CL seem-1PL [SUBJ DAT-CL like-1PL
'We begin to appear to you to please him.'

The patterns in (49-51) thus suggest that experiencer licensing can apply across one or more phases without problems. Boškovic (2007) has proposed that Agree is free from several mechanisms that constrain movement, and in particular from the so called Phase-Impenetrability Condition of Chomsky. If Agree can apply long distance across phases, then the relation between a deictic T and a dative experiencer in raising constructions fits this picture. That is Experiencer Islands indicate a locality violation of Agree, which is not constrained by phases.

5. Summary and conclusions

Romanian has High Applicatives headed by dative clitics , so obligatory doubling with a dative phrase. Dative experiencers are High Applicatives at present, but they were locatives earlier. There is a prohibition against two experiencers in raising constructions with experiencers clitics licensed by a deictic Tense via an Agree relation insensitive to phases, subject to locality.

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