Direct and secondary object ditransitive structures in Old Romanian

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ABSTRACT

In the present article we investigate the ditransitive syntactic construction involving a [+animate] direct object and a [–animate] secondary object. The configuration, which was inherited from Latin, distinguishes Romanian from the other Romance languages, in which the corresponding pattern involves an indirect and a direct object. In Old Romanian, the pattern is well represented, being encountered in all types of texts. The configuration is examined in the following areas: the verbs that allow for it; the realizations of the secondary object; its particularities in Old Romanian texts.

Keywords: Old Romanian, ditransitive verbs, direct object, secondary object.

1. Introduction

Romanian has two types of ditransitive structures (see GR 2013: 66–8: (i) one in which the verb has a direct and an indirect object (V + IO +DO), as in (1a)); and (ii) one in which the verb has a direct and a secondary object (V + DO + SecO), as in (1b).

(1) a. (El) trimite [cuiva]$_{IO}$ [ceva]$_{DO}$
he sends someone.DAT something
'He sends someone something.'
b. (El) învaţă [pe cineva]$_{DO}$ [ceva]$_{SecO}$
he teaches PE someone something
'He teaches someone something.'

The secondary object is selected by a small class of ditransitive verbs. One internal argument is syntactically encoded as a direct object with the feature [+Animate], frequently realized as an Accusative pronominal clitic (DO), and the other one, as an object with the feature [−Animate], currently realized as a DP without a differential object marker *pe* (GR 2013: 144–8). As far as the thematic roles in the ditransitive structure are concerned, the DO expresses the Recipient, and the SecO expresses the Theme (2a–b); the verb *a trece* 'to cross', encoding the Path in secondary object position, as in (2c), is an exception.[5]

(2) a. întru cealea ce *învaţă* pre noi$_{DO/RECIPIENT}$
in those that teach.3 PE us

[5] In Romanian, pronouns are morphologically marked for Case (e.g., different forms for Nominative and Accusative), but the nouns have structural Case, so that morphologically, they are non-distinct when assigned Nominative or Accusative Case. We gloss the direct object nouns as Accusative because of their position.

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dumnedzăieştile scripturi$_{\text{SecO/THEME}}$
divine.DEF scriptures.ACC
'in those that the Holy Scriptures teach us' (Prav.1581: 173/240r)

b. Acela **te**$_{\text{DO/RECIPIENT}}$ *va* *învăţa*
that CL.ACC.2SG AUX.FUT.3SG teach.INF
doao bunătăţ$_{\text{SecO/THEME}}$ folositoare de suflet
two goodness.PL.ACC useful of soul
'That one will teach you two things that are good and useful for your soul' (Ev.1642: 185)

c. şi-**i**$_{\text{DO/RECIPIENT}}$ *va* *trece* **Marea** **Roşie**$_{\text{SecO/PATH}}$
and=CL.ACC.M.3PL AUX.FUT.3SG cross.INF sea.ACC red
'and with God's power he will help them cross the Red Sea' (MC.1620: 106/15r)

The V + DO + SecO configuration, preserved from Latin (Ernout & Thomas 1959: 37), differentiates Romanian from the other Romance languages. Unlike Latin, where both objects were overtly marked as Accusatives (PUEROS DOCEO GRAMMATICAM), in Romanian only the [+human] object is preceded by a differential object marker and is in Accusative, which is clear due to the form of the pronominal clitic; the other object does not allow clitic doubling or substitution by an Accusative clitic form.

In the other Romance languages, this pattern corresponds to a structure containing a Dative and an Accusative object, as shown in (3a) for French and in (3b) for Italian.

(3) a. Je **lui** enseigne **les** mathématiques
I he.DAT teach.1SG DEF.ART.3PL mathematics

b. Io **gli** insegno **matematica**
I he.DAT teach.1SG mathematics
'I am teaching him mathematics'

Grammarians have mentioned the existence of this syntactic pattern in Balkan languages too, considering it a *Balkan Sprachbund* phenomenon (Sandfeld 1930: 201-2; Feuillet 1986: 9; Mišeska Tomić 2004: 6).

When it comes to Old Romanian, from the oldest 16th century texts, the secondary object is well represented and has the characteristics of the present-day construction. Aspects that are significant for the secondary object's diachrony regard the age and continuity of the structure, the inventory of matrix verbs, and its relation with cognate objects.

2. The inventory of verbs selecting a secondary object

In Old Romanian, the secondary object is selected by the transitive verbs listed in (4a-i): *a învăţa* 'to teach', *a întreba* 'to ask', *a înştiinţa* 'to inform', *a pohti* 'to wish', *a povăţui* 'to advise', *a ruga* 'to ask', *a sfătui* 'to advise', *a trece* 'to cross'. These verbs are distributed in two subclasses: the subclass of verbs of *saying* (*a înştiinţa* 'to inform', *a întreba* 'to ask', *a ruga* 'to ask', *a sfătui* 'to advise') and the subclass of *causative* verbs (*a învăţa* 'to make someone learn', *a trece* 'to make someone cross').

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(4) a. *a învăţa* ‘to teach’
[frica]$_{SECO}$ Domnului *învăţa*-**vă**$_{DO}$-*voiu*
fear.DEF.ACC God.DEF.GEN teach.INF=CL.ACC.2PL=AUX.FUT.1SG
‘I shall teach you to fear God’(CP.1577: 149/58r)

b. *a întreba* ‘to ask’
[**Trei întrebări**]$_{SECO}$ *întrebară* [Iudeii]$_{S}$ [**părinţii** orbului]$_{DO}$
three questions.ACC asked Jews.DEF.NOM parents.DEF.ACC blind.man.DEF.GEN
‘The Jews asked the blind man’s parents three questions’ (CC^{2}.1581: 172/9)

c. *a înştiinţa* ‘to inform’
care *înştiinţând* [toate acestea]$_{SECO}$ [pe meghistanii Porţii]$_{DO}$
who informing all these.ACC PE high.officials.DEF Ottoman.Empire.DEF.GEN
‘who, informing the high officials of the Ottoman Empire about all these’
(CIst.1709–19: 30/121r)

d. a pohti *‘to wish’*
Aceasta$_{SECO}$ poftesc *pe dumneata*$_{DO}$
this.F.ACC wish.1SG PE you.MID.POL.2SG.ACC
‘These things I wish to you’ (ISB: 70/27)

e. *a povăţui* ‘to advise’
nu-i$_{DO}$ *povăţui* [**pre dânşii**]$_{DO}$ [Dumnezău]$_{S}$
not=CL.ACC.3PL advise.PS.3SG PE they.ACC God.NOM
[calea **pământului** Filistiin]$_{SECO}$
way.DEF.ACC≡NOM land.DEF.GEN Philistine
‘God did not tell them the way to the land of the Philistines’ (BB.1688: 48–49/17)

f. *a pârî* ‘to denounce’
Şi [alte multe]$_{SECO}$ ca aceste îl$_{DO}$ *pârâsă* ciocoii
and other many.ACC like these CL.ACC.3SG denounce.PLUPERF.3PL boyars.NOM
‘And the boyars had said many other things like these against him’ (NL.1750–66: 377)

g. *a ruga* ‘to ask’
Derept-acea **rugăm pre domniavoastră**$_{DO}$ [se **puteţi** face
for=this ask.1PL PE you.2PL/SG SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ can.2PL do.INF
ca se ne tocmim **binişor**]$_{SECO}$ (DÎ.1592: LXXXII)
CA SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ CL.ACC.1PL negociate.SUBJ.1PL well
‘For this reason we ask you to find a way for us to reach an agreement’

h. *a sfătui* ‘to advise’, ‘to plot’
toate [ce]$_{SECO}$ s$_{DO}$-*au* *sfătuit* boierii împotriva lui
all that.ACC≡NOM CL.REFL.ACC.3PL=have plotted boyars.DEF.NOM against him
‘all that the boyars plotted against him’ (CIst.1709–19: 99/139v)

i. *a trece* ‘to cross’

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i-au luat de i$_{DO}$-*au* *trecut* [**Dunărea**]$_{SECO}$, de ceea
CL.ACC.3PL=has taken and CL.ACC.3PL=have crossed Danube.DEF.ACC from that
parte în Misia
side in Misia
'he took them and he helped them cross the Danube from that side to Misia' (CIst.1709–19: 171/38v)

3. Implementation

The structure of the constituent that qualifies as a secondary object can vary, and it is preserved in Modern Romanian. Thus, in this position we may find:

- a definite or indefinite DP (5a–d):

(5) a. *Învaţă* [pre noi]$_{DO}$ cu bună înţelepţie
teaches PE we.ACC.1PL with good wisdom
[calea **spăseniei**]$_{SECO}$
way.DEF.ACC repentance.DEF.GEN
'He teaches us very wisely how to repent ourselves'
(CC^{2}.1581.Predoslovie: 2/19–20)

b. [elu-l]$_{DO}$ *învăţa* soru-sa$_{S}$
he.ACC=CL.ACC.M.3SG teach.IMPERF.3SG sister.NOM=his
Polhiriia [**toată înţelepciunea**]$_{SecO}$
Polhiriia all wisdom.DEF.ACC
'his sister Polhiria was teaching him all the wisdom' (MC.1620: 142-56r)

c. le trimise împăratul un popî
CL.DAT.3PL sent.PS.3SG emperor.DEF.NOM a priest
de cei jidoveşti, *să*-i$_{DO}$ *înveaţe* leagea
of those Jewish SĂ$_{SUBJ}$=CL.ACC.3PL teach.SUBJ law.DEF.ACC
'the emperor sent them a Jewish preacher, to teach them the law'
(VCaz.1643: 116/5/161v)

d. Şi *voi* *învăţa* [al mieu cuvânt]$_{SECO}$ [pre voi]$_{DO}$
and AUX.FUT.1SG teach.INF AL my word.ACC PE you.ACC
'And I shall teach you my word' (DPar.1683: 109/II.5v)

Among the verbs entering SecO configurations, *a învăţa* 'to teach' can also select a bare NP, as in (6a–c).

(6) a. deci o$_{DO}$ *învăţară* [carte]$_{SECO}$ şi o creştinară
so CL.ACC.F.3SG taught book.ACC and CL.ACC.F.3SG baptized
'so they taught her and they baptized her' (MC.1620: 181/107r)

b. Aşijdere şi cătră Timotei scrie de-l$_{DO}$ *învaţă*
alike also to Timothy writes and=CL.ACC.M.3SG teaches
[**aşea credincios** cuvânt]$_{SECO}$
such faithful word.ACC
'He also writes this to Timothy and teaches him words of faith'

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(VCR.1645: 212/18v)

c. *să* *înveaţe* [pr<e> ei]$_{DO}$ în limba haldeilor [carte]$_{SECO}$
SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ teach.SUBJ PE they.ACC in language.DEF Chaldeans.DEF.GEN book.ACC
'to teach them in the language of the Chaldeans' (VT.1679–99: 283r)

● an DP headed by a pronoun – an indefinite quantifier (7a–c), a pro-sentence feminine demonstrative with neutral reading, either alone (7d, f) or modified by a universal quantifier (7e), by an interrogative or by a relative (7g).

(7) a. [**Nemică altă**]$_{SECO}$ *nu* *învaţă* [pre noi]$_{DO}$ [Domnulŭ]$_{S}$
nothing other.ACC not teaches PE us God
'God teaches us nothing else' (CC^2.1581: 394/33)

b. *Învaţă* şi [pre mine]$_{DO}$ [ceva]$_{SECO}$
teaches also PE me something.ACC
'He also teaches me something'(FD.1592–604: 145/527r)

c. Şi aşa *să*-l$_{DO}$ *întreabe* [pre acela]$_{DO}$ foarte cu dinadinsul
and so SĂ$_{SUBJ}$=CL.ACC.3SG ask.SUBJ PE that.ACC very with diligence
[**una după alta**]$_{SECO}$
one after another.ACC
'And he should ask him questions one after the other very diligently'
(AD.1722–5: 302)

d. Şi [aceasta]$_{SECO}$ *învaţă* pre noi$_{DO}$ Dumnezeu,
and this.F.ACC teaches PE we.ACC God
să nu ţinem pizmă
SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ not hold.SUBJ envy
'And this is what God teaches us, not to envy others' (CC^2.1581: 47/11-12)

e. [Toate acestea]$_{SECO}$ den dumnezeeştile scripturi *să* ne$_{DO}$
all these.F.PL.ACC from divine.DEF scriptures SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ CL.ACC.1PL
învăţămŭ
learn.SUBJ.1PL
'Let us learn all these from the Holy Scriptures'(CC^2.1581: 200/9)

f. Şi domnul nostru Iisus Hristos [aceasta]$_{SECO}$ ne$_{DO}$
and lord.DEF our Jesus Christ this.F.SG.ACC CL.ACC.1PL
învaţă în sfânta Evanghelie
teaches in holy.DEF Evangel
'And our Lord Jesus Christ teaches us these in the Holy Evangel'
(AD.1722–5: 227)

g. întru cealea [ce]$_{SECO}$ *învaţă* [pre noi]$_{DO}$
in those that.ACC teach.3PL PE we.ACC
[dumnedzăieştile scripturi]$_{S}$
divine.DEF scriptures
'in those that the Holy Scriptures teach us' (Prav.1581: 173/240r)

● a clause headed by a complementizer (8a–g) or an infinitival clause (8h). Complementizers vary according to the type of reported sentence: in (8a–b), where a declarative clause is changed into the indirect speech, *că* and *cum că* 'that' are selected; in (8c), where

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interrogatives are changed into reported speech, either *de* 'whether' (in the case of total interrogatives) or *cum* 'how' (in the case of partial interrogatives) is selected; in (8d–f), where imperative/directive clauses are subordinated to a reporting verb, *să, ca să, ca* are selected; (8g), where the verb is a causative, the archaic complementizer *de* is selected. The complementizer *de* is different from the interrogative *de* in (8c).

(8) a. şi-i$_{DO}$ pârâè la Poartă [**că** sunt haini]$_{SECO}$
and=CL.ACC.M.3PL denounced at Empire that are malicious
'and he denounced them to the Ottomans that they were malicious'
(NL.1750–66: 283)

b. şi l$_{DO}$-au pârât la veziriul Gin Alui-paşa
and CL.ACC.M.3SG=have denounced at vizier.DEF Gin Alui=pasha
[**cum că** este hain, agiunsu cu moscalii]$_{SECO}$
that that is malicious conspiring with Russians.DEF
'and they denounced him to the vizier Gin Alui-pasha, saying that he was malicious and conspiring with the Russians' (NL.1750–66: 283)

c. întrebară Iudeii$_S$ [părinţii orbului]$_{DO}$:
ask.PS.3PL Jews.DEF parents.DEF.ACC blind.man.DEF.GEN
[de iaste feciorulŭ lorŭ] (...) şi [**cumŭ** veade]
whether (he)is son.DEF their and how sees
'The Jews asked the parents of the blind man if he was their son and how he could see' (CC^2.1581: 172/9)

d. Cela ce *va* *sfătui* [pre muiare]$_{DO}$
the.one that AUX.FUT.3SG advise.INF PE woman.ACC
[**să** fure de la bărbat]$_{SECO}$
SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ steal.SUBJ from man
'The one that will advise women to steal from their husbands'
(Prav.1646: 47)

e. şi ne$_{DO}$ *învaţă* [**ca să** ne
and CL.ACC.1PL teaches CA SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL.ACC.1PL
izbăvimŭ de păcate]$_{SECO}$
absolve.SUBJ of sins
'and he teaches us so that we should be absolved of our sins'
(CC^2.1581: 60/13)

f. Că *învaţă* [pre noi]$_{DO}$ [ca nu ne trebuiască multŭ]$_{SECO}$
because teaches PE we.ACC CA not CL.ACC.1PL need.SUBJ.3SG much
'Because he teaches us not to need much' (CC^2.1581: 157/34)

g. Şi-l$_{DO}$ învâţâ [de-ş aruncă toiagul
and=CL.ACC.M.3SG teach.PS.3SG that=CL.REFL.DAT.3SG throws staff.DEF
înaintea lui Faraon]$_{SECO}$
before LUI.GEN Pharaoh
'And teaches him to throw his staff before Pharaoh' (VCaz.1643: 46/2/58)

h. Că să-ară fi fostŭ şi Thoma cu nuşii (...), nici
because if=AUX.COND.3SG be been also Thomas with them not.even
ară *fi învăţatŭ* [oamenii]$_{DO}$ [a creade]$_{SECO}$
AUX.COND.3SG be learned people.DEF.ACC A$_{INF}$ believe.INF

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'Because if Thomas had been with them, he wouldn't teach them to believe'
(CC^2.1581: 131/18)

Present-day Romanian does not have the complementizer *ca* any longer; *de*$_1$, *de*$_2$ and *ca să* are restricted to non-standard Romanian (dialectal and colloquial).

Except for *a trece* 'to cross', which cannot introduce a reported sentence, the other verb behave as such. As reportative verbs, they can introduce direct speech, as in (9a, b). The absence of a complementizer in these examples also indicates that the reported clause is not embedded.

(9) a. eu l-*am* *întrebat* denaintea a omeni buni
I CL.ACC.3SG=have asked before A$_{GEN}$ people good
[furatu-i-au au năpast(ă) iaste]
stolen=CL.DAT.3SG=has or slander is
'I asked him in front of good people whether he had stolen from them or he was wrongly accused' (DRH.A.1635: 70)

b. şi i-*au* *întrebat*, [merge-or cu dânsul
and CL.ACC.3PL=have asked go.INF=AUX.FUT.3PL with him
la Moscu au ba?]
at Moscow or not
'and they asked them, will they go with them to Moscow or not?'
(NL.1750–66: 252)

For the verbs that can introduce reported speech, clausal constructions are more numerous than nominal or pronominal configurations (for example, in CC^2.1581, in the first 400 pages, the occurrence ratio is 32 clausal realizations versus only 5 realizations as an NP).

- relative clause, headed by pronominal (10a) and adverbial relatives (10b):

(10) a. şi *voi* *învăţa* [pre tine]$_{DO}$ [**ce** **vei** **grăi**]$_{SecO}$
and AUX.FUT.1SG teach.INF PE you.ACC what AUX.FUT.2SG speak.INF
'and I shall teach you what to say' (PO.1582: 143)

b. ş-*au* *învăţatŭ* [pre noi]$_{DO}$ [**cumŭ să lăsămŭ** **noi greşalele**
and=have.3 taught PE we how SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ forgive.SUBJ we mistakes.DEF
fraţilor **noştri**]$_{SecO}$
brothers.DEF.GEN our
'and they taught us how to forgive the mistakes of our brothers'
(CC^2.1581: 46/36)

4. Syntactic variation

Like in present-day Romanian, the secondary object in Old Romanian displays syntactic variation (syntactic instability). The SecO structure is attested in synonymous structures in which a prepositional object with the prepositions *de* 'about', *spre* 'towards', *cu* 'with', *într(u)* 'in' (11a–e), or a Dative object (11f–g) correspond to the secondary object; it is rare that an indirect

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object, either with an inflectional (12a) or with an analytic marker (12b–c), corresponds to the direct object.

(11) a. Cum şi Petr apostol ne *învaţă* de-aceasta
as also Peter apostle CL.ACC.1PL teaches of=these
'As apostle Peter teaches us these'(VCR.1645: 208/15v)

b. Acela *va* *întreba* pre noi de toate lucrurile noastre
that AUX.FUT.3SG ask PE we.ACC of all things.DEF our
ceale reale
CEL bad
'He will ask us about all our bad deeds'(Ev.1642: 44)

c. *să*-i *învăţăm* spre **mai bună viaţă**
$SĂ_{SUBJ}$=CL.ACC.3PL teach.SUBJ.1PL towards more good life
'to teach them to lead a better life' (CC^2.1581: 396/17)

d. cu aceaia *învaţă* noi
with that teaches us
'he teaches us that' (CC^2.1581: 97/24)

e. carei *suntŭ învăţaţi* într-aceastea
who are taught in=these
'who have been taught these things'(CC^2.1581: 27/22)

f. şi **cărărilor** tale *învaţă*-mă
and ways.DEF.PL.DAT your teach.IMP=CL.ACC.1SG
'and teach me your ways' (CP.1577: 114/40v)

g. de *învaţă* pre noi **smereniei şi sărăciei**
and (he)teaches PE we.ACC humbleness.DEF.DAT and poverty.DEF.DAT
'and teach us humbleness and poverty' (CC^2.1581: 260/4)

(12) a. Dumnezeu amu [**tuturorŭ oamenilorŭ**]$_{IO}$ *învaţă*
God now all.DAT people.DEF.PL.DAT teaches
[să se iubească]
$SĂ_{SUBJ}$ CL.REFL.ACC love.SUBJ
'Now God teaches all the people to love one another' (CC^2.1581: 290/10)

b. de va fi episcop *să*-ş *întreabe* leage
if AUX.FUT.3SG be bishop $SĂ_{SUBJ}$=CL.REFL.DAT.3SG ask.SUBJ law
[la mitropolitul lui]$_{IO}$
at metropolitan his
'if he becomes bishop he should ask his metropolitan about the law'
(ŞT.1644: 164/44)

c. de meargeţi voi acmu *a* *întreba* sfat şi înţelepciune
if go you now A_{INF} ask.INF advice and wisdom
[la Belzev]$_{IO}$
at Belzev
'if you go now to ask Belzev for advice and wisdom'(VT.1679–99: 122v)

In the case of *a trece* 'to cross', which encodes the Path in secondary object position, variation includes prepositional constructions with *preste/prespre* 'above, across':

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(13) a. cumu i-*au* *trecut* prespre Marea Mohorâtă în pustie
how CL.ACC.3PL=has crossed across sea.DEF dark in desert
'how he helped them cross the Red Sea and arrive in the desert'(PO.1582: 16)

b. şi i-*au trecut* pre toţi preste Nistru
and CL.ACC.3PL=has crossed PE all across Dniester
'and they helped them all cross the Dniester' (NL.1750–66: 255)

An explanation for the syntactic variation seen with secondary objects should probably be related to the avoidance of structures in which the two (direct and secondary) internal arguments occur, in some contexts, without formal differentiation (14a). For this reason, since Old Romanian, this structure frequently occurs with a marked realization of the direct object, as a pronominal clitic or as a prepositional construction, and with a clausal realization of the secondary object, as in (14b–c).

(14) a. **Trei întrebări**$_{SECO}$ *întrebară* Iudeii$_S$ **părinţii**$_{DO}$ orbului
three questions.ACC asked Jews.DEF parents.DEF.ACC blind.man.DEF.GEN
'The Jews asked the parents of the blind man three questions'(CC^2.1581:172/9)

b. *învaţă*-**mă** [să fac voia ta]
teach.IMP=CL.ACC.1SG SĂ$_{SUBJ}$ do.SUBJ will.DEF your
'teach me how to do your will' (CC^2.1581: 5/1)

c. Că *învaţă* pre noi [ca nu trebuiască multŭ]
that (he)teaches PE us CA not need.SUBJ much
'That he teaches us not to need much' (CC^2.1581: 157/34)

5. Lost features

The secondary object is attested in all types of old texts, original and translated. No significant differences occur between the two stages of Old Romanian (1510–1650 *vs.* 1650–1780). During this timeline, secondary objects display a number of peculiarities that are lost in Modern Romanian. For example:

- The inventory of verbs has changed: two neologisms are included in this class (*a anunţa pe cineva ceva* 'to announce someone something', *a examina pe cineva ceva* 'to examine someone') and a few terms are lost, due to semantic changes (e.g., *a tocmi* 'to teach, to show', see (15a)) or to changes in the thematic grid (e.g., *a mărturisi* 'to confess, to state', which is no longer reflexive (15b)).

(15) a. cert pre fieştecarele şi *tocmesc* [pre ei]$_{DO}$ [poruncile lui
scold.1 PE each.one.ACC and teach PE them commandments of
Dumnezeu şi leagea lui]$_{SECO}$
God and law.DEF his
'I scold each one and I teach them God's commandments and his law'

b. însămi [pri mene]$_{DO}$ *mărturescu* cu cest zapis al miu,
myself PE me confess with this document AL my
[**că** mi-amu vâ<n>dut a mea deraptă parte de ocină şi moşie] $_{SECO}$
that CL.DAT.1SG=have sold AL my rightful part of land and land

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'with this document I myself state that I have sold that part of the land which was rightfully mine'(DÎ.1587: LXVIII)

● The most striking feature is related to a lexical property of Old Romanian: the frequent occurrence of cognate objects. In the case of verbs that are usually used as transitives with a human direct object, encoding the RECIPIENT (*a blagoslovi pe cineva* 'to bless someone', *a căzni pe cineva* 'to torture someone', *a chinui pe cineva* 'to make someone suffer', *a pârî pe cineva* 'to denounce someone', *a plânge pe cineva* 'to mourn for someone', *a săruta pe cineva* 'to kiss someone' etc.) or the BENEFICIARY (*a păgubi pe cineva* 'to cause someone to lose something'), the possibility appears to lexicalize the THEME/CONTENT as a cognate object (IntO), a fact that expands the class of verbs occurring in configurations with SecO, as in (16). This option decreases considerably in Modern Romanian.

(16) a. **Sărutaţi-mă** **sărutare** de apoi
kiss.IMP.2PL=CL.ACC.1SG kiss of after
'Give me one last kiss' (CS_V.1590–602: 37r)

b. prinse a-l **lăuda** **laude** mari
started A_{INF}=CL.ACC.M.3SG praise.INF praises great
'he started to praise him greatly' (FD.1592–604: 143/520r)

c. **Rugă** **pre Daniil ceastă rugare**
requested PE Daniel this request
'he asked Daniel this' (VT.1677–99: 144/289r)

d. şi **plânseră** pre el plângere mare şi tare foarte
and cried.3 PE him cry great and intense very
'and they shed many tears for him' (BB.1688: 38/10)

e. şi-au aflat vreme a-l pârî
and-have.3 found time A_{INF}=CL.ACC.M.3SG denounce.INF
feliuri de feliuri de pâri sorts of sorts of denouncements
'and they found the opportunity to say all kinds of things against him'
(NL.1750–66: 52)

The pattern with a cognate secondary object is attested throughout the analyzed period and it occurs in different types of texts (original, translated with a freer syntax, such as "popular" narrative texts, or religious translations) and in texts from different regions (Transylvania, Moldovia, Wallachia, Banat-Hunedoara). In some constructions, the direct object is realized as a reflexive clitic (17a, e). Many of the cognate secondary object constructions are part of a pleonastical pattern with headed relative clauses, in which the relative – in SecO position, referentially resumes its antecedent from the matrix clause, as in (17a–h).

(17) a. şi **nevoinţă ce** **se**-au nevoit
and strive that CL.REFL.ACC=have strived
'and how much they strived' (DÎ.1600: XXXIII)

b. pentru blagoslovenia ce l-au blagoslovit
for blessing.DEF that CL.ACC.3SG=has blessed
'for the blessing that he cast upon him' (BB.1688: 20/41)

c. după multe cazne ce l-au **căznit** pe Costandin Vodă

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after many tortures that CL.ACC.3SG=has tortured PE Constantin prince
'after how much he tortured prince Constantin'(CIst.1709–19: 119/146r)

d. dupe multă **goană ce i-au gonit pe tătar**i
after much driving.away that CL.ACC.M.3PL=has driven.away PE Tartars
'after he drove the Tartars away' (CIst.1709–19: 179/51r)

e. spuind şi lauda ce li **să lăudase** turcul
telling also praise.DEF that CL.DAT.3PL CL.REFL.ACC. boast.PLUPERF Turk.DEF
'telling them about the Turk's words of praise' (CIst.1709–19: 85/135v)

f. **Mustrările ce l-au mustrat** pe Staicul
remorses.DEF that CL.ACC.3SG=have caused.remorse PE Staicul
'the remorse that Staicu felt' (CIst.1709–19: 44/124r)

g. pentru pâra ce-l pârâse
for denouncement that=CL.ACC.3SG denounce.PLUPERF.3SG
'for the fact that he had denounced him' (NL.1750–66: 124)

h. le-u părut rău de **păgubirea ce-au păgubit ţara**
CL.DAT.3PL=have seemed badly of loss.DEF that=has hurt country.DEF
'they felt sorry for the losses they had caused to their country'
(NL.1750–66: 177)

The cognate object pattern, irrespective of the syntactic position it concerns (SecO, DO, S etc.), occurs predominantly in the language of biblical translations, where it reproduces a Greek model, which, in turn, reproduces the Hebrew text (Arvinte 2004).

However, examples of cognate objects occur outside the religious texts as well. For example, they also occur in original documents (DÎ), in the narrative text of „popular" books (FD), and, later, at Neculce, an 18th century chronicler, who represents a „popular" stylistic direction. The cognate pattern is also the source for idiomatic expressions, such as *a-l lăuda laude mari* 'to praise one greatly'; or *a-l pârî feliuri de feliuri de pâri* 'to say all kinds of things against someone'). Therefore, there is a second source of this pattern, besides religious texts. It is certain, however, that the frequency and the overuse of cognate objects in biblical translations is due to the religious literary pattern (for frequency and overuse data, see BB.1688).

6. Conclusions

● Romanian preserved from Latin the V + DO + SecO configuration, which differentiates it from the other Romance languages. Interestingly, the same configuration is found in other Balkan languages as well.

● In Old Romanian, the secondary object is selected by two subclasses of ditransitive verbs: verbs of *saying* (they can introduce the direct speech) and *causative* verbs; the verb *a învăţa* 'to teach' is the most frequent.

● The most numerous realizations of the secondary object are clausal constructions and pro-sentence feminine pronominals (demonstrative and indefinite) with neutral reading.

● In the context of the syntactic variation in Old Romanian, the secondary object is of utmost importance. The variation concerns both the secondary object (in competition with the prepositional object) and the direct object (in competition with the indirect one).

● A special type of configuration typical to Old Romanian is the one in which the

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secondary object has a cognate realization, as a result of the externalization of the Theme/Content (*îl pârăşte* "CL.ACC.M.3SG denounces" > *îl pârăşte pâri* "CL.ACC.M.3SG denounces denouncements", *îl mustră* "CL.ACC.M.3SG reprimand" > *îl mustră mustrări* "CL.ACC.M.3SG reprimand reprimands").

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