

Romanian DOM-marker is not a case assigner*

Alexandru Mardale
INaLCO SeDyL CNRS (UMR 8202) IRD Labex EFL
alexandru.mardale@inalco.fr

1. Introduction

- according to *Kayne's generalization* (1991) (cf. Jaeggli 1982), a (Romance) language that has DOM would necessarily have Cl-doubling (e.g., Spanish):

- (i) *Lo vimos *(a) Juan.*
him.CL=saw.1PL DOM=Juan
'We saw Juan'

- in such constructions, the clitic absorbs the Case from the verb, so a preposition is needed to assign Case to the noun in DO position => hence the latter's status as *Case assigner*

- this is indeed the case of Modern Romanian, but as a default rule, which has **exceptions** (sometimes DOM occurs without Cl-doubling (iia)), and **the generalization is valid only in synchrony** (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Hill & Tasmowski 2008, Tigău 2010) (iib):

- (ii) a. *N-am văzut pe nimeni.*
not=have.1 seen DOM=nobody
'I / we saw nobody'
b. *L-am văzut pe Ion / pe el.*
him.CL=have.1 seen DOM=Ion / DOM=him
'I / We saw Ion / him'

- crucially, **the rule does not apply to all the Romanian dialects** (Hill 2013), and most importantly, **it is inadequate for Old Romanian**, where Cl-doubling and DOM may occur independently (Hill & Tasmowski 2008, Antonov & Mardale 2014, Mardale 2015)

2. Goal of the presentation

- the **aim** of this presentation is to provide a **critical examination of the Case assigner hypothesis** for the Romanian DOM-marker (*p(r)e* < Lat. *per*), and we will propose a **different line of investigation in terms of Topic marker**

* This research follows from the 'Unité et diversité dans le marquage différentiel de l'objet' program (2014-2018) of the *Fédération Typologie et Universaux Linguistiques* (FR 2559), CNRS: <http://www.typologie.cnrs.fr/spip.php?rubrique101>

- more precisely, we show that *pe* is **not an Accusative Case marker** (contra *Kayne's generalization*, also Manoliu-Manea 1989; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Mardale 2007, 2009b; Cornilescu & Dobrovie-Sorin 2008), rather, **in Old Romanian, it is a (most often contrastive) Topic marker** (cf. also Nikolaeva 2001; Iemmolo 2010; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011; Iemmolo & Klumpp 2014; Hill 2013, 2015; Antonov & Mardale 2014; Kiss 2015) **that emerged from the lexical (locative) preposition *pe***, and which has further developed into a DOM marker (in Modern Romanian)

- the line of analysis adopted in **this paper continues previous work on (the diachrony of) DOM in Romanian** (von Heusinger & Onea (2008); Mardale (2009a); Stark (2011); Hill (2013); Antonov & Mardale (2014); Mardale (2015))

3. Some notes on DOM in Romanian

3.1. Old Romanian

- in OR (especially in the first (original) Romanian texts, 16th – early 17th c.), **DOM was a non-systematic phenomenon**, indicating the early stages as a new parametric setting which became fixed rather recently (according to Pușcariu 1905, 1926; Rosetti 1973, 1978), and **whose dating cannot be exactly determined** (Drăganu 1943; Dimitrescu 1960)

- **the contexts in which DOM occurs are** – with the exception of (personal) pronouns – **not at all fixed**, i.e. that there is a great variety of uses. **It appears that, comparing to MR, DOM in OR may occur in contexts where it is not expected and, vice-versa, it may be absent in contexts where it is expected:**

TABLE 1: OCCURRENCE CONTEXTS OF DOM IN OLD ROMANIAN (THE FIRST ORIGINAL ROMANIAN TEXTS, 16TH – EARLY 17TH CENTURY)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • obligatory <p>PERSONAL PRONOUN [+ HUMAN]</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • optional <p>(DEMONSTRATIVE / POSSESSIVE...) PRONOUNS [+/- ANIMATE]; PROPER NOUNS [+ ANIMATE]; PROPER NOUNS [- ANIMATE]; RELATIONAL NOUNS [+ HUMAN]; (STRONG) DEFINITE SPECIFIC DPS [+ HUMAN]; INDEFINITE SPECIFIC DPS [+ HUMAN]</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • excluded <p>NEGATIVE PRONOUNS [- ANIMATE]; +/- DEFINITE SPECIFIC [- ANIMATE] DPS; NON-SPECIFIC [+/- ANIMATE] DPS; BARE NPS</p>

3.2. Modern Romanian

- MR contrasts with OR insofar as DOM has become a **systematic phenomenon**, in the sense that it **underwent grammaticalisation**, having – apart from some small areas of variation – **well-defined occurrence contexts** (being **obligatory**, **optional** and **excluded**)

TABLE 2: TYPES OF NOMINALS AND DOM REQUIREMENTS IN MODERN ROMANIAN

<p>• obligatory</p> <p>PERSONAL PRONOUN [+ HUMAN] & PROPER NOUNS [+ HUMAN] > (DEMONSTRATIVE / POSSESSIVE...) PRONOUNS [+/- ANIMATE] > RELATIONAL NOUNS [+ HUMAN]</p> <p>• optional</p> <p>(STRONG) DEFINITE SPECIFIC [+ HUMAN] DPs > INDEFINITE SPECIFIC [+ HUMAN] DPs</p> <p>• excluded</p> <p>NEGATIVE PRONOUN [- ANIMATE]; PROPER NOUNS [- ANIMATE]; (IN)DEFINITE SPECIFIC [- ANIMATE]; NON-SPECIFIC [+/- ANIMATE] DPs; BARE NS</p>
--

- a comparison between Table 1 and Table 2: apart from the two extremes of the hierarchy (represented by personal pronouns and expressions with inanimate referent and/or non-specific reading), **all the other contexts form, in the OR texts, a heterogeneous and fluctuating area:**

-- findings (Mardale 2015): **unexpected marking** (e.g., toponyms) and **lack of marking** (e.g., with the negative pronoun *nimeni* 'nobody', certain proper human names or still with DPs containing certain relational Ns)

-- such findings should not surprise us since **in the OR period the phenomenon was still incipient and fluctuating**. In other words, **the grammaticalisation process** (and hence the reanalysis of *pe*) **did not undergo up to its last stage**, and the categories that we see today as marked obligatorily (proper human Ns, relational Ns, definite DPs with human specific referent) were only partly affected by *pe* extension

- consequently, we agree on **the fluctuating character of DOM in Romanian**, from the oldest texts up to today. This long term fluctuation indicates that **the process does not concern a grammatical need** (i.e., the selected DP was successfully checked in the presence or in the absence of *pre*) **but a discourse need**, which allows for a wide range of intra- and inter-language variations

- **this process accelerates in time**, so that – according to a recent study (see von Heusinger & Onea 2008, who analyzed the phenomenon throughout several centuries in different translations of the Bible) – **it is only in the 19th century that the contexts for DOM seem to have stabilized and therefore the reanalysis process reached its last stage**

3.3. Generalization

- **DOM seems to be excluded in contexts where the DO is non-referential**, namely it has a property denotation (in terms of Bleam 2004, 2005; Dobrovie-Sorin et alii 2005; Cornilescu & Dobrovie-Sorin 2008; Mardale 2007, 2009b), associated with the syntax of a non-argument position (of pseudo-incorporation; Massam 2001; Dayal 2003)

- therefore, as also claimed on different occasions (see Mardale 2007, 2009b, 2010, 2015), we believe that **the only generalization that can be made with regard to DOM is a negative one:**

(iii) **DOM is excluded for DOs having a property reading, that is DOs that are (semantically) non-referential and (morphosyntactically) non-argumental (possibly resulting in structures with pseudo-incorporation).**

4. Data: two categorizations for *pe*

- Romanian *pe* (cf. its old *pre* and regional *pă*, *pi*, *piră*, *pri* forms) has **two types of uses** (Pană Dindelegan 1997; Guriuanu 2005; Mardale 2007, 2009a, b, 2013, 2015; Antonov & Mardale 2014):

(i) as a **lexical P** expressing **concrete meanings** of a great variety (especially place and time), as shown in (1) to (8); a gradual passage can be noticed towards **more abstract meanings**, part of which are not present (or less frequent) in MR (e.g., examples (5) – (6)).

ON / AT

- (1) a. *De la Adam până au născut Hristos 5500,*
 from at Adam until has=born Christ 5500
iară până au pus Hristos pe cruce 5533
 again until have=put Christ on cross 5533
 'From Adam until Christ has been born in 5500, and again, until they put Christ on the cross, in 5533.' (1587)
- b. *ca să nu piară această țeară și moșiile domnievoastră*
 that SUBJ not disappear this country and properties.the your
și ale noastre pre această vreme și iute și rea
 and of our in this time and bitter and bad
 'lest this country and your and our properties should disappear in these bitter and bad times' (1599)

ACROSS / THROUGH

- (2) a. *Deci m-[a]u căutat ea și purtat pre munți*
 so me=has=looked she and carried across mountains
și am fost slabă și neputernică și nimini
 and have=been weak and powerless and nobody
de rudele mele nu m-a grijit
 of relatives.the my not me=has=taken.care

'So she looked after me and carried me across the mountains and I was weak and unwell, and none of my relatives took care of me' (1591)

- b. *Noi ce-am putut amu făcut și isprava*
 we what=have=could have=done and result.the
ți-am tremes în tot chip pre Iurgachi.
 you=have=sent in every way through Iurgachi
 'We did what we could and we sent you the result by all means through Iurgachi' (1593)

ALONG

- (3) *Și se-au dus în sus pre Dunăre... că au văzut*
 and REFL=have=gone in up along Danube because have=seen
cu ochii lui că au trecut ceale corabii ce
 with eyes.the his that have=passed those ships that
știi și domniia-ta pre Dunăre în sus.
 know.PRES.2SG also highness.the=your along Danube in up
 'And they went up along the Danube... since he saw with his own eyes that those ships you also know have gone up along the Danube.' (1521)

IN EXCHANGE FOR

- (4)a. *cum să se știe ce-am cheltuit pre iazul de la*
 how SUBJ REFL=know.3SG what=have=spent for pond.the of at
moară de la Băbeani în zilele lui Alexandru vodă
 mill of at Băbeani in days.the of Alexandru prince
 'so to be known what we spent in exchange for the pond from the mill of Băbeani in the days of Prince Alexandru' (1573)
- b. *Să se știe cum, cându am cumpărat aceștii rumâni,*
 SUBJ REFL=know.3SG how when have=bought these Romanians
căți suntu în ceastă carte scriș, noi am dat p[r]e ei
 that are in this letter written.M.PL we have=given for them
tot galbeni.
 also golden.M.PL
 'Let it be known that, when we bought these Slaves, as many as recorded in this letter, we paid for them in gold coins, too.' (1600)

BY / ACCORDING TO

- (5) a. *În ce ceas veri sosi totu-z va fi pre voie*
 in what time will.2SG=arrive all=you.DAT will.3SG=be by wish
și vom merge și noi cu pașa
 and will.1PL=go also us with pasha.the
 'At whatever time you arrive, everything will be according to your wish, and we shall also go alongside the pasha' (1593)
- b. *noi am căutat și am judecat pre drept și pre lege*
 we have=looked and have=judged by justice and by law
 'we sought and judged according to the justice and to the law' (1616)

CONCERNING/WITH REGARD TO

- (6)a. *Și eu, Roșca, am fostu [f]rate cu Balotă pe moșie*
 and I Roșca have.1SG=been brother with Balotă about land
 'And I, Roșca, was Balotă's associate with respect to the estate' (1563)
- b. *cumu m-am înfrățit cu Drăghici și cu Giurgi*
 how REFL=have.1SG=associated with Drăghici and with Giurgi
pre toate moșiile și pre țigani și pre tot
 about all lands.the and about Gypsies and about all
ce am avut.
 what have.1SG=had
 'as I associated with Drăghici and Giurgi with regard to all the estates and Slaves and all I possessed.' (1591)
- c. *cu mare jalubă s-au jeluitu pre Niculachii*
 with big grievance REFL=have.3SG=complained about Niculachii
stolnicul și pre toți feciorii Boului vistiarnicul
 seneschal.the and about all sons.the Bou.the.GEN treasurer.the
 'with a great grievance [he] complained about Niculachii the seneschal and about all treasurer Boul's sons' (1624)

WITH THE AIM OF (rare)

- (7) *Și eu, Ștefan diiacul, am scris și pre mai mare*
 and I Ștefan scribe.the have.1SG=written and for more big
crediinșe ne-am pus și pecețile ca să se știe.
 hope our=have.1PL=put also seals.the that SUBJ REFL=know.3SG
 'And I, Ștefan the scribe, wrote and we, with the aim to higher hope, apposed our seals, so as to be known.' (1570)

BY THE NAME OF (frequent)

- (8)a. *Decii, eu, Crăciun, m-au ajunsu vreame de [n]evoie*
 so I Crăciun me=has.3SG=arrived time of necessity
pentru că am furat un cal al Bălosului o(t)
 for that have.1SG=stolen a horse of Bălosu.the.GEN from
Ivănășăști, pe nume Stan.
 Ivănășăști by name Stan
 'So, I, Crăciun, am in time of trouble because I stole a horse from Bălosu of Ivănășăști, by the name of Stan. (1563)
- b. *Deci am un frate de tată pre nume Du<mi>tru și*
 so have.PRES.1SG a brother of father by name Dumitru and
las să-i dea Dragna o țigancă pre nume Șuchia,
 let SUBJ=him.DAT give Dragna a Gypsy.F by name Șuchia
iară alte rude ale mele, nimini să n-aibă nici un lucru,
 and other relatives of mine nobody SUBJ not=have.3SG not a thing
că nu m-au căutat.
 because not me=have=looked.3PL
 'So I have a brother on my father's side whose name is Dumitru and I let Dragna give him a Gypsy woman by the name of Șuchia, and, as for the other relatives of mine, nobody

should get anything, because they have not looked after me.’ (1591)

- in all these examples, *pe* heads a PP that is systematically an adjunct

(ii) as a **desemantized marker** of the direct object, as in (9), *pe* has grammatical, semantic and pragmatic properties that are **different from the preposition *pe***

MARKER

- (9) a. *Pentr-aceea, ce preot să va afla [la] beseareca din Gălați,*
 for=that what priest REFL will.3SG=be at church.the from Gălați
să pomenească și pre Radu carele o au dat
 SUBJ mention.3SG also DOM Radu who.the it=has=given
și pre părinții lu[și] și să pomenească în sfânta
 and DOM parents.the his and SUBJ mention.3SG in holy.the
liturghie și pre acești [...] Toma *ă(d), Dobra ă(d), Radu.*
 mass also DOM these Toma Dobra Radu
 ‘Therefore, any priest that shall be at the church of Gălați shall also mention Radu, who offered it, and his parents, and he shall mention during the holy mass these people as well: Toma *ă(d)*, Dobra *ă(d)*, Radu.’ (1570)
- b. *Deci pârcaľabul ne-a<u> stră<n>s pe toľ (...) și*
 so governer.the us=has=gathered DOM all and
ne-au întrebat pe toľ cum știm cu sufletele
 us=has=asked DOM all how know.PRES.1PL with souls.the
noastre, avut-au Tătărășii hotar de ceaea parte de vale?
 our had=have Tătărăși.the border of that part of valley
 ‘So the governer gathered us all and asked us all if we can swear on our souls whether the Tătărăși had a border on that side of the valley.’ (1595)
- c. *Și afle aiasta scrisoare a mea sănătoș*
 and find.SUBJ.3SG this letter of mine good.health
pre domeavoastră.
 DOM you
 ‘And may this letter of mine find you in good health.’ (1600)

- in contexts as in (9), *pe* does not head a PP, but a phrase whose categorial status is the same with its complement, more precisely a DP, the entire structure functioning as an argument (DO)

5. Theoretical background and challenges

- there are three most influential accounts on the origin of DOM in Romanian

5.1. The functionalist account

- *pe* is an analytical device for disambiguating the direct object from the subject (Pușcariu (1922); Onu (1959); Niculescu (1959, 1965); Guțu Romalo (1973); Pană Dindelegan (1976, 1997, 1999); Sala (1999); Guruianu (2005))

- (10)a. *Mama adoră copilul.*
 mother.the adores.PRES.3SG child.the
 b. *Copilul adoră mama.*
 child.the adores.PRES.3SG mother.the
 c. *Adoră mama copilul.*
 adores.PRES.3SG mother.the child.the
 d. *Adoră copilul mama.*
 adores.PRES.3SG child.the mother.the
 Either ‘The mother adores the baby.’ or ‘The baby adores the mother.’

- (11) *Hoľul urmărește / atacă polițistul.*
 thief.the follows / attacks policeman.the
 Either ‘The thief follows / attacks the policeman.’ or ‘The policeman follows / attacks the thief.’

- (12) *omulu lu bate Domnulu*
 man.the him=beats God.the
 Either ‘The man, God punishes him.’ or ‘The man punishes God.’ (Pușcariu 1922, apud Drăganu 1943: 74)

5.2. The semantic-lexicalist approach

- his approach capitalizes on the fact that *pe* occurs in most cases with DOs referring to people (therefore, a human animate referent). Hence, the proposal is that *pe* is a morpho-lexical means of expressing the so-called *personal gender*¹ in Romanian. This analysis is developed in Spitzer (1928); Racoviță (1940); Graur (1945); Pană Dindelegan (1997), a.o.

5.3. The generative approach: Kayne’s generalization

- according to *Kayne’s generalization* (Kayne 1975, 1991), DOM and clitic doubling condition each other, so a language that has DOM would necessarily have clitic doubling (at least in Romance). **The clitic is supposed to absorb the Case from V, so a P is needed to assign Case to the noun in DO position.** Hence the latter’s status as *Case assigner*

- this is indeed the case of Modern Romanian, but as a default rule which has exceptions (i.e., sometimes DOM occurs without clitic doubling), and the description is valid only in synchrony (see Tasmowski de Ryck 1987; Manoliu-Manea 1989; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Uriagereka 1995; Hill & Tasmowski 2008; Leonetti 2008; Țigău 2010, 2014). Crucially, **the rule does not apply to all the Romanian dialects** (Hill 2013), and most importantly, it is **inadequate for Old Romanian**, where clitic doubling and DOM occur independently (Hill & Tasmowski 2008)

¹ The class of words that share the property of referring exclusively to human animate referents, having (morphological and lexical) specific means of identification (*pe* for some direct objects, the compound preposition *de către* ‘by’ for some Agent adjuncts, vocative endings, etc.)

5.4. Challenges

- none of the three hypotheses above manages to account for the data complexity, and the **counterarguments** that may be brought are significant:

-- first, it is known that *pe* as DO marker was first attested with DOs expressed as **personal (stressed) pronouns** (Dimitrescu 1960; Diaconescu 1970; von Heusinger & Onea 2008; Mardale 2009a; Stark 2011; Antonov & Mardale 2014), **which have distinct Case morphology to differentiate between subject and object** (e.g. Nominative: *eu, tu, el/ea...* vs. Accusative: *mine, tine, sine/el/ea...*), and so, they could not show the above mentioned functional ambiguity:

- (13)a. *Și iară dăm ocină cuvenită ca să poată*
and again give.PRES.1PL land rightful that SUBJ can.3SG
hrăni pre sine și oamenii lui.
feed.INF DOM him and people.the his
'And we give again the rightful land so that it can feed him and his people.' (1593)
- b. *ce me purtat piră mini 9 luna, ca on tilhar den județ*
but me=carried DOM me 9 month like a criminal from court
den județ ... domneta focut acăsta lege, tirămes piră noi județul
to court you made this law sent DOM us judge.the
domnetale, 9 luna, tote ne judecate-ne cu derăptu
your 9 month all us judged=us with law
canțilariia domnetale.
chancellery.the your
'but he dragged me in the 9th month, from court to court, like a criminal [...], you made this law, you sent us to your court, in the 9th month, your chancellery also judged us according to this law...' (1594)

In contexts as in (13), there is no room for structural ambiguity or absence of Case marking.

-- second, *pe* may occur with a DO having a non-human referent, and it is even **inanimate**. This is an argument against the morpho-lexical hypothesis.

- (14)a. *și de acolo au tremis pre Mustafa aga al său și*
and from there have=sent DOM Mustafa aga of his and
pre sangeagul de Tighinea la Sneatin și au lovit
DOM flag.the of Tighinea to Sneatin and have.3PL=hit
pre Sneatin, 8 septevrie, de au prădat Sneatinul.
DOM Sneatin 8 September that have.3PL=looted Sneatin.the
'and from there he sent his Mustafa aga and the flag of Tighinea to Sneatin and they hit Sneatin, on September 8, and they looted Sneatin.' (1593)
- b. *că înțeleagemu și vedemu cum se-au milostivit*
that understand.PRES.1PL and see.PRES.1PL how REFL=have.3PL=graced
de-au scosu pre țeara Moldovei
that=have.3PL=released DOM country.the Moldova.GEN

- den mâna tătarâlor...*
from hand.the Tatars.the.GEN
'for we understand and see how they showed mercy so that they released Moldova from the Tatars' hands.' (1599)
- c. *ca să fie volnici călugării cu această carte a domnii*
that SUBJ be.3PL autonomous monks.the with this letter of highness.GEN
mele să ție sfînta mănăstire grădina de la satul Popșa
my SUBJ hold.3SG holy.the monastery garden.the from at village.the Popșa
cu via și cu casele și cu tot ce
with wineryard.the and with houses.the and with all what
va fi, pentru că o am dat domnia mea și
will.3SG=be because that it=have.1SG=given highness.the my and
am miluit pre sfînta mănăstire.
have.1SG=offered DOM holy.the monastery
'so that the monks be autonomous, due to this document from my highness, the holy monastery can hold the garden of Popșa village together with the wineryard and the households and whatever else, because I, my highness, granted it and offered it mercifully to the holy monastery' (1629)
- finally, the DO marked by *pe* may not be doubled by a pronominal clitic, as shown in (15). On the other hand, the reversed situation has also been identified, where the DO is expressed without *pe*-marking, but it may show clitic doubling (cf. (12) above).
- (15)a. *Derept-acea rugăm pre domniavoastră se puteți face*
for=that pray.PRES.1PL DOM you SUBJ can.2PL do.INF
ca se ne tocmmim binișor...
that SUBJ REFL=agree.1PL nicely
'Therefore we ask you to do so that we can nicely agree...' (1592)
- b. *Rogu-mă măriei tale să crezi pre omul nostru,*
pray.1SG=REFL highness.DAT your SUBJ believe.2SG DOM man.the our
pre Gligorie postelnicul, de ce va grăi.
DOM Gligorie house.manager.the about what will.3SG=say
'I ask your highness to believe our man, Gligorie the house manager, for what he has to say.' (1598)

- therefore, the data in (13) to (15) indicate that the previous analyses of DOM do not provide an adequate coverage for the data, and especially for the Old Romanian data. The latter suggest **the need for a different approach**, in which the triggers are independent of Case requirements and in which *pe* is not assigned an [animate] feature in the lexicon (which would increase the semantic features of *pe* and thus clash with the proof for its desemanticization).

6. A different proposal

- the key for understanding DOM in Romanian lies in the understanding of the origin and status of *pe*, which ensures DOM

- in a nutshell, a **gradual attrition is proposed for *pe***, in (21), by which **its concret semantics becomes abstract, then the abstract meaning is reanalyzed as a topicalization property under discourse triggers**; the last step is the complete desemantization, by which the topic marker *pe* becomes a grammatical tool for marking the syntactic argumental position

6.1. What counts for the analysis of Romanian *pe*

- the Romanian data indicate that the following aspects of DOM should be considered in this language:

(i) the **category** and the **interpretation** of the DO marked by *pe*;

(ii) the **context** where the DO marked by *pe* occurs (with displacement or not);

(iii) the **type (that is, the valency frame) of the verb** that may allow for a DO marked by *pe*.

- points (i) and (ii): **the only category that shows a systematic and compulsory marking, ever since the first attestations, is the (personal) pronoun** (Dimitrescu 1960; von Heusinger & Onea 2008; Mardale 2008, 2009a, 2015; Stark 2011; Antonov & Mardale 2014)

-- at the **denotation level**, this type of object is associated obligatorily with a **referential reading** (Farkas & von Heusinger 2003), more precisely as **individual** (specific) or **generalized quantifier** (Cornilescu 2000; Dobrovie-Sorin 1997, 2002; Cornilescu & Dobrovie-Sorin 2008; Mardale 2007, 2009b; Țigău 2010, 2014), compatible reading – and even imposed – by *pe* (see the analysis as *denotation filter* in Cornilescu 2000) (16)

-- at the **pragmatic-semantic level**, it has been shown (Farkas 2002; Hill & Tasmowski 2008; Hill 2013, 2015; Antonov & Mardale 2014) that the same objects are interpreted as **(familiar and most often contrastive) Topics**, especially when in a **dislocation context** (17)

- (16)a. *Și, peîndu-se pre ea, lăuda-se că iaste neșuțător*
and woo.GER=REFL **DOM her** brag.IMPER.3SG=REFL that is trader
mare și cu avuție multă și de casă mare de la
big and with wealth much and of house big from at
Raguza și să făcea că e de leagea grecească.
Raguza and REFL=make.IMPER.3SG that is of law.the Greek
'And, while wooing her, he was bragging that he was a great trader with a lot of wealth, and from a big house in Raguza and he pretended to be of Greek origin.' (1593)
- b. *și au scris și pre noi la pomeanic la svânta mănăstire.*
and has=written also **DOM us** at diptych at holy.the monastery
'and he also wrote our names in the diptych at the holy monastery.' (1600)
- c. *ci m-au dăruit și el pre mine cu o sută*
but me=has=offered also he **DOM me** with a hundred
de galbeni.

of goldens
'but he also offered me one hundred golden coins.' (1628)

- (17) a. *Piră ial se asculta tof.*
DOM him REFL=listen.IMPER.3PL all
'Everybody was listening to him.' (1590)
- b. *și să se rădice cu turcul și cu tatarul pre noi*
and SUBJ REFL=rise.3PL with Turk.the and with Tatar.the on us
să ne piarză cu doamnă-mea și cuconi<i> sau
SUBJ us=loose.3PL with lady=my and sons.the or
să ne scoată den țară și să ne ia țeara... și
SUBJ us=expel.3PL with country and SUBJ us=take.3PL country.the and
pre noi, care-i suntem slugi credincioase a toată
DOM us who=him.DAT are.PRES.1PL servants dedicated of all
creștinătăței, ne-au bătuit în slujba noastră care cu
Christendom.the.DAT us=have.3PL=haunted in office.the our which with
cărțile lui vom adevăra, că sunt la mâinile noastre
letters.the his will.1PL=prove that are.PRES.3PL at hands.the our
'and the Turk and Tatar would rise against me, to destroy me and my wife and my sons, or to expel us from the country and to take our country... and us, who are dedicated servants of the entire Christendom, he persecuted us in our office, which we shall prove through his letters, because they [the letters] are in our hands.' (1600)

- point (iii), namely the verb construction type (i.e., the **valency frame**), has been less studied for Romanian (see Pană Dindelegan 1968; Avram 1975). In the first texts, there was a series of **verbs that had a double selection, for either Dative (18) or *pe* DPs (19)**; e.g., *a cruța cuiva / pe cineva* 'to spare someone', *a dăru cuiva / pe cineva* 'to offer someone', *a milui cuiva / pe cineva* 'to give charity to someone', *a ruga cuiva / pe cineva* 'to ask someone'

DATIVE DP

- (18)a. *După acea, ne rugăm domnilor-voastre*
after that REFL=pray.PRES.1PL **highnesses.the.DAT=your**
să faceți bine să nu să oprească oamenii
SUBJ make.2PL good SUBJ not REFL=stop.3PL people.the
și neșuțătorii prin pări și pren datorii...
and traders.the by denunciations and by debts
Acea ne rugăm domnilor-voastre.
that REFL=pray.PRES.1PL **highnesses.the.DAT=your**
'After that, we ask your highnesses to be good and not stop people and traders by denunciations and by debts... That is what we ask your highnesses.' (1595)
- b. *Rogu-mă măriei tale să crezi pre omul*
pray.PRES.1SG=REFL highness.DAT your believe.2SG DOM man.the
nostru, pre Gligorie postealnicul, de ce va grăi.
our DOM Gligorie house.manager.the about what will.3SG=say
'I ask your highness to believe our man, Gligorie the house manager, for what he has

to say.’ (1598)

PRE-DP

- (19)a. *Derept-acea rugăm pre domniavoastră*
 for=that pray.PRES.1PL DOM highness.the=your
se puteți face ca se ne tocmmim bineșor...
 SUBJ can.2PL do that SUBJ REFL=agree.1PL good
De aceastea dăm știre și rugăm
 of these give.PRES.1PL news and pray.PRES.1PL
pre domniile voastre. Și se fiț sănătoș, cu toț
 DOM highnesses.the=your and SUBJ be.2PL good.health with all
oamenii voștri, într-ani mulți și buni, amin.
 people.the your for=years many.M and good.M.PL amen
 ‘Therefore we ask you to act so that we can nicely agree... This is what we let you know
 and ask your highnesses. And we wish you to be in good health, together with your
 people, and may you live a long good life. Amen.’ (1592)
- b. *Eu, împăratul, rog pre domneta*
 I king.the pray.PRES.1SG DOM highness.your
să nu laș într-acei loc mulți credincioși
 SUBJ not leave.2SG in=that place many.M believers
 ‘I, the king, ask you not to leave many believers in that place.’ (1600)

- as noticed in the above examples with the verb *a (se) ruga* ‘ask for’, its DO was expressed in Old Romanian², in **free variation, either with Dative Case morphology** (as in (18)), or as a **pe-DP** (as in (19)), with structural Case, both situations having one and the same semantic interpretation, namely the Recipient / Beneficiary theta role

- yet, this theta role is prototypically spelled out as a **DP with animate human (and specific) referent**, which makes it one of the roles placed in the higher part of the thematic hierarchy, next to the Agent (see Silverstein 1976)

- pragmatically, the theta roles in the higher part of the thematic hierarchy are frequently associated with **Topic** (a.o., Pensado 1995; Iemmolo 2010; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011; Iemmolo & Klumpp 2014; Kiss 2015)

- if we also take into account the examples of the type illustrated under (6) above, added by the examples under (20) below, where the preposition *pe* expresses a meaning close to that of **Topic**, i.e. ABOUT / CONCERNING / AS FOR, we get a picture where the agentivity of the DP combined with the *pe*-marking in syntax yields a Topic reading

- (20)a. *Eu Barbul ot Răsnicel scris-am acesta al meu zăpis*
 I Barbu.the from Răsnicel written=have.1SG this of mine letter
La mina jupînului lu Stamate biv vel aga,

² Modern Romanian no longer allows for the possibility to express the object using the morphological Dative, having developed a preference for the structural Case. There are however some verbs that still allow for this double construction possibility: *a anunța cuiva / pe cineva* ‘to notify someone’, *a ajuta cuiva / pe cineva* ‘to help someone’.

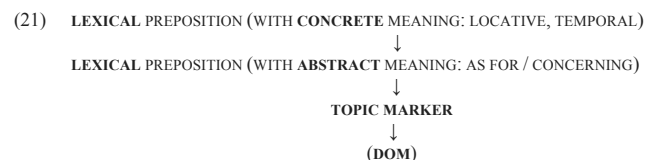
- to hand.the master.the.GEN the.GEN Stamate biv vel aga
cum să să știe că am avut piră amindoi
 how SUBJ REFL=know.3SG that have.1PL=had complaint both
pre nește rumîni din Răsnicel, anume:
 CONCERNING some Romanians from Răsnicel namely
Pătru i Stoica i Stan văcariul i Răduț i
 Pătru and Stoica and Stan cowboy.the and Răduț and
frate-său Lupul. Daci am luat boiari la mijloc
 brother=his Lupul so have.1PL=brought boyars in middle
de ne-au tocmit pre acești rumîni
 that us=have.3PL=negotiated CONCERNING these Romanians
ce siint mai sus-scriși...
 that are more above=written.M.PL
 ‘I, Barbu of Răsnicel, wrote this letter of mine in the care of the master of Stamate biv
 vel aga, in order to be known that we both denounced some serfs of Răsnicel, namely:
 Pătru and Stoica and Stan the cowboy and Răduț and his brother Lupul. So we used
 some boyars that negotiated for the above mentioned serfs.’ (1627)
- b. *Aceasta mărturisim cu sufletele noastre*
 this confess.PRES.1PL with souls.the our
și să aibi a-ș face și carte domnească de
 and SUBJ have.3SG INF=him.DAT make also letter royal.F.SG of
moșie pre Mușă țiganca.
 possession CONCERNING Mușă Gypsy.woman.the
 ‘This is what we confess with our souls to have to make a royal document of possession
 for Mușă the slave.’ (1627)

6.2. Proposal

- following the observations on (16) to (20), we identify a path by which the lexical P *pe* with locative meaning becomes a marker for DOM in contexts where the DO is topicalized (see also Hill 2013, 2015; Mardale 2015)

- this change starts to occur in the following configurations: (i) when the DP object is a personal pronoun; (ii) under Vs selecting their DP object either with morphological (Dative) Case or with structural Case; (iii) when left dislocation applies to the relevant DP; (iv) and in contexts where *pe* receives the value ABOUT / CONCERNING / AS FOR

- we therefore propose the following scenario to represent the different stages of lexical P *pe* becoming DOM MARKER:



- we emphasize that for the OR period (i.e., 16th – early 17th c. original texts), the grammaticalisation stages of *pe* are noticed only up to the TOPIC MARKER stage. **The phenomenon is now at the beginning of the grammaticalisation process, still being unsystematic**, in the sense that many of the OR occurrence contexts are seriously different from the ones in contemporary Romanian. The last stage of the scheme proposed under (21) characterizes thus, partially, only the situation in Modern Romanian (19th c. to present).

7. Conclusions

- this presentation provided a critical examination of the *Case assigner* hypothesis for the Romanian DOM-marker, by focusing on its application in the first original Romanian texts (16th – early 17th centuries)

- the immediate purpose was to get a better understanding of at least two aspects: (i) the reanalysis of *pe* and (ii) the initial contexts in which DOM arises

-- with regard to the evolution of *pe*, we have shown that it is neither a Case marker (nor a disambiguation marker between S and DO, nor a marker of the so-called *personal gender*), as currently assumed. Rather, **it is a marker of the topicalized DO**

-- we showed that *pe* has two types of uses – as a lexical P (with numerous concrete senses, more locative and temporal) and as a marker of the topicalized DO –, the second deriving from the first following a grammaticalization process that was favored by several factors: (i) the initial occurrence with personal pronouns (easily interpretable as Topic); (ii) the parallel use as lexical P with abstract meaning ABOUT / CONCERNING; (iii) the use with V_s with a double subcategorization frame Dative – Accusative and (iv) the occurrence in contexts with (especially left) dislocation

- this line of analysis led to the proposal in (21), where the grammaticalization of *pe* starts from a full-fledged P with concrete locative meaning, to a P with abstract meaning, and further to a discourse Topic marker, which is then stripped of any discourse features and serves only as a grammatical marker for the DO (the genuine DOM):

-- according to this schema, the (OR) data indicate that the grammaticalisation of *pe* is an ongoing process, i.e., not finished, in the sense that it had undergone only a part of the stages proposed in (21), up to that of Topic-marker, without getting to the last one, namely DOM-marker

-- the argument we put forth to support this idea is that **DOM occurrence contexts were not yet fixed**, i.e. with the exception of personal pronouns, there is a lot of fluctuation with regard to the occurrence of the marker with all the other types of DPs

- confronted with such findings, the only correlation we could establish with regard to DOM occurrence contexts is that **it is excluded with DOs having a property denotation**

Corpus

Dî Chivu, G.; M. Georgescu; M. Ioniță; A. Mareș; A. Roman-Moraru (eds). 1979. *Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Virginia Hill for all the time she spent reading carefully drafts of this presentation, providing me with precious comments and suggestions for improving it.

I am also indebted to Anton Antonov for our previous challenging discussions that have been a great source of inspiration for this research.

Many thanks also to Ionuț Geană who helped me with the English version of the presentation.

References

- Aissen, Judith. 2003. Differential Object Marking: Iconicity vs. Economy. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21: 435-483.
- Antonov, Anton & Alexandru Mardale. 2014. From perlocative to differential object marking. The curious case of Romanian PE. *The diachronic typology of Differential Argument Marking*. University of Konstanz. April 5-6.
- Avram, Larisa. 2014. Differential Object Marking in Romanian: The View from Language Acquisition. *The Annual Conference of the English Department*. University of Bucharest. June 6-8.
- Avram, Mioara. 1975. Particularități sintactice neromânești în diferite momente ale evoluției limbii române literare. *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 26(5): 459-466.
- Bleam, Tonia. 2004. *A Property Analysis of Weak Nominals in Spanish: Bare Nominals and Prepositionless Accusatives*. ms. University Paris Diderot.
- Bleam, Tonia. 2005. Two Cases of Unambiguously Property-denoting NPs in Spanish. *Brussels International Conference: Indefinites and Weak Quantifiers*. January 6-8.
- Bossong, Georg. 1985. *Empirische Universalienforschung. Differentielle Objektmarkierung in den neuiranischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Bossong, Georg. 1998. Le marquage différentiel de l'objet dans les langues d'Europe. In Jack Feuillet (ed.), *Actance et valence dans les langues de l'Europe*. 258-293. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Caragiu-Marioțeanu, Matilda. 1975. *Compendiu de dialectologie română (nord- și sud-dunăreană)*. Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1975. Definite and Animate Direct Objects: A Natural Class. *Linguistica Silesiona* 3: 13-21.
- Cornilescu, Alexandra. 2000. Notes on the Interpretation of the Prepositional Accusative in Romanian. *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics* 2(1): 91-106.
- Cornilescu, Alexandra & Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin. 2008. Clitic Doubling, Complex Heads and Interboreal Operation. In Dalina Kalluli & Liliane Tasmowski (eds), *Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages*. 289-319. Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Croft, William. 1994. Voice: beyond control and affectedness. In Paul Hopper & Barbara Fox (eds), *Voice: Form and Function*. 89-117. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dalrymple, Mary & Irina Nikolaeva. 2011. *Objects and Information Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dayal, Veneeta. 2003. *A Semantics for Pseudo Incorporation*. ms. Rutgers University.
- Diaconescu, Paula. 1970. Acuzativul cu pre în textele traduse din secolul al XVI-lea. *Structură și evoluție în morfologia substantivului românesc*. 259-263. Bucharest: Editura Academiei.
- Diez, Frédéric. 1844. *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*. Bonn: Eduard Weber.
- Dimitrescu, Florica. 1960. Despre pre la acuzativ în limba textelor traduse din slavă în secolul al XVI-lea. *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 9(2): 219-226.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1994. *The Syntax of Romanian*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1997. Classes de prédicats, distribution des indéfinis et la distinction théorique-catégorique. *Le gré des langues* 20: 58-97.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 2002. From DPs to NPs: A Bare Phrase Account of Genitives. In Martine Coene & Yves D'Hulst (eds), *From NP to DP. Volume 2: The expression of possession in noun phrases*. 75-120. Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen & Brenda Laca. 2003. Les noms sans déterminant dans les langues romanes. In Danièle Godard (ed.), *Les langues romanes. Problèmes de la phrase simple*. 235-281. Paris: Editions du CNRS.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen et alii. 2005. Noms nus, nombre et types d'incorporation. In Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin (ed.), *Noms nus et généricité*. 129-157. Paris: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes.
- Drăganu, Nicolae. 1943. *Morfeleme românești ale complementului în acuzativ și vechimea lor*. Bucharest: Institutul de Lingvistică Română.
- Fagard, Benjamin & Alexandru Mardale. 2014. Marquage différentiel de l'objet: de la légitimité d'une approche 'rétrospective'. *The 11th Conference on Late and Vulgar Latin*. Oviedo. September 1-5.
- Farkas, Donka. 2002. Specificity Distinctions. *Journal of Semantics* 19: 1-31.
- Farkas, Donka & Klaus von Heusinger. 2003. *Stability of Reference and Object Marking in Romanian*. ms. University of Stuttgart.
- Friedman, Victor. 2008. Balkan object reduplication in areal and dialectological perspective. In Dalina Kalluli & Liliane Tasmowski (eds), *Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages*. 35-60. Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Graur, Alexandru. 1945. Contributions à l'étude du genre personnel en roumain. *Bulletin linguistique* 13: 97-98.
- Guruianu, Viorel. 2005. *Sintaxa textelor românești originale din secolul al XVI-lea*. Vol. 1. *Sintaxa propoziției*. Bucharest: Editura Universității din București.

- Guțu Romalo, Valeria. 1973. *Sintaxa limbii române. Probleme și interpretări*. Bucharest: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică.
- von Heusinger, Klaus & Georg A. Kaiser. 2005. The evolution of differential object marking in Spanish. In Klaus von Heusinger, Georg A. Kaiser & Elisabeth Stark (eds), *Proceeding of the Workshop Specificity and the Evolution / Emergence of Nominal Determination Systems in Romance*. 33-69. Konstanz: Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Konstanz (= Arbeitspapier, 119).
- von Heusinger, Klaus & Georg A. Kaiser. 2007. Differential Object Marking and the lexical semantics of verbs in Spanish. In Georg A. Kaiser & Manuel Leonetti (eds), *Proceedings of the Workshop Definiteness, Specificity and Animacy in Ibero-Romance languages*. 85-110. Konstanz: Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Konstanz (= Arbeitspapier, 122).
- von Heusinger, Klaus & Edgar Onea. 2008. Triggering and blocking effects in the diachronic development of DOM in Romanian. *Probus* 20: 67-110.
- Hill, Virginia & Liliane Tasmowski. 2008. Romanian clitic doubling: A view from pragmatics-semantics and diachrony. In Dalina Kalluli & Liliane Tasmowski (eds), *Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages*. 135-163. Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hill, Virginia. 2013. The Direct Object Marker in Romanian: A Historical Perspective. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 33: 140-151.
- Hill, Virginia. 2015. From preposition to topic marker: Old Romanian *pe*. In Theresa Biberauer and George Walkden (eds), *Syntax over Time. Lexical, Morphological, and Information-Structure Interactions*. 219-236. Oxford University Press.
- Iemmolo, Giorgio. 2010. Topicality and differential object marking: Evidence from Romance and beyond. *Studies in Language* 34: 239-272.
- Iemmolo, Giorgio & Gerson Klumpp. 2014. Differential Object Marking: theoretical and empirical issues. Special issue of *Linguistics* 52 (2): 271-279.
- Kiss, Katalin E. 2015. The Person-Case Constraint and the Inverse Agreement Constraint are manifestations of the same information-structural restriction. *The 38th GLOW Colloquium*. Paris. April 15-17.
- Kayne, Richard. 1975. *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Kayne, Richard. 1991. Romance Clitics, Verb Movement, and PRO. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 647-686.
- Laca, Brenda. 2002. Gramaticalización y variabilidad – propiedades inherentes y factores contextuales en la evolución del acusativo preposicional en español. In Andreas Wesch (ed.), *Sprachgeschichte als Varietätengeschichte romanischer Sprachen. Festschrift für Jens Lüdtke zum 60. Geburtstag*. 195-303. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Laca, Brenda. 2006. El objeto directo. La marcación preposicional. In Concepción Company (ed.), *Sintaxis histórica del español*. Vol 1: *La frase verbal*. 423-475. México: Universidad Nacional de México.
- Leonetti, Manuel. 2008. Specificity in Clitic Doubling and Differential Object Marking. *Probus* 20(1): 33-66.
- Manoliu-Manea, Maria. 1989. Rumänisch: Motphosyntax. In Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds), *Lexikon des Romanistischen Linguistik*. Band III. 101-114. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Mardale, Alexandru. 2007. *Les prépositions fonctionnelles du roumain: étude comparative*. PhD Dissertation. University Paris Diderot & University of Bucharest.

- Mardale, Alexandru. 2008. Microvariation within Differential Object Marking: Data from Romance. *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 53(4): 448-467.
- Mardale, Alexandru. 2009a. Un regard diachronique sur le marquage différentiel de l'objet en roumain. *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 54(1): 65-93.
- Mardale, Alexandru. 2009b. *Les prépositions fonctionnelles du roumain : études comparatives sur le marquage casuel*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Mardale, Alexandru. 2010. Éléments d'analyse du marquage différentiel de l'objet dans les langues romanes. *Faits de Langues. Les Cahiers* 2: 161-197.
- Mardale, Alexandru. 2013. Le statut de pe en roumain et de a en espagnol. In Jesse Tseng (ed.), *Prépositions et postpositions. Approches typologiques et formelles*. Collection Langues et Syntaxe. 207-253. Paris: Hermès-Lavoisier.
- Mardale, Alexandru. 2015. Romanian DOM revisited. *The 45th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*. Campinas – São Paulo. May 6-9.
- Massam, Diane. 2001. Pseudo Noun Incorporation in Niuean. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19(1): 153-197.
- Mišeska-Tomić, Olga. 2008. Towards grammaticalization of clitic doubling. Clitic doubling in Macedonian and neighboring languages. In Dalina Kalluli & Liliane Tasmowski (eds), *Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages*. 65-86. Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Müller, Bodo. 1971. Das morphemmarkierte Satzobjekt der romanischen Sprachen. Der sogenannte präpositionale Akkusativ. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 87: 477-519.
- Niculescu, Alexandru. 1959. Sur l'objet direct prépositionnel dans les langues romanes. *Recueil d'études romanes publiées à l'occasion du IX^{ème} Congrès International de linguistique romane à Lisbonne (du 31 mars au 3 avril 1959)*, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române: 167-185.
- Niculescu, Alexandru. 1965. *Obiectul direct prepozițional în limbile romane. Individualitatea limbii române între limbile romane*. Bucharest : Editura Științifică.
- Nikolaeva, Irina. 2001. Secondary Topics as a Relation in Information Structure. *Linguistics* 39(1): 1-49.
- Onu, Liviu. 1959. L'origine de l'accusatif roumain avec p(re). *Recueil d'études romanes publiées à l'occasion du IX^{ème} Congrès International de linguistique romane à Lisbonne (du 31 mars au 3 avril 1959)*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Populare Române. 187-209.
- Până Dindelegan, Gabriela. 1968. Regimul sintactic al verbelor în limba română veche. *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 19(3): 270-291.
- Până Dindelegan, Gabriela. 1976. *Sintaxa transformățională a grupului verbal în limba română*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române.
- Până Dindelegan, Gabriela. 1992. 1999. *Sintaxă și semantică. Clase de cuvinte și forme gramaticale cu dublă natură*. Bucharest: Tipografia Universității.
- Până Dindelegan, Gabriela. 1997. Din nou despre statutul prepoziției. Cu referire specială la prepoziția PE. *Limba Română* 1-3: 165-174.
- Pensado, Carmen. 1995. *El complemento directo preposicional*. Madrid: Visor Libros.
- Pușcariu, Sextil. 1905. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der rumänischen Sprache*. Vol. I. *Lateinisches Element mit Berücksichtigung aller romanischen Sprachen*. Heidelberg.
- Pușcariu, Sextil. 1922. Despre p(re) la acuzativ. *Dacoromania* 2: 565-581.
- Racoviță, Constantin. 1940. Sur le genre personnel en roumain. *Bulletin linguistique* 9: 154-158.

- Rohlf, Gerhard. 1971. Autour de l'Accusatif prépositionnel dans les langues romanes (concordances et discordances). *RLiR* 35: 312-334.
- Rosetti, Alexandru. 1973. *Brève histoire de la langue roumaine des origines à nos jours*. Paris: Mouton / The Hague.
- Rosetti, Alexandru. 1978. *Istoria limbii române*. Bucharest: Editura Științifică.
- Sala, Marius. 1999. *Du latin au roumain*. Paris - Bucarest: L'Harmattan / Univers Enciclopedic.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity. In Robert Malcolm Ward Dixon (ed.), *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*. 112-171. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Spitzer, Leo. 1928. Rum. P(re), Span. a vor persönlichem Akkusativobjekt. *ArPh* 48: 423-432.
- Stark, Elisabeth. 2011. Fonction et développement du marquage différentiel de l'objet en roumain, en comparaison avec l'espagnol péninsulaire. In *L'évolution grammaticale à travers les langues romanes*. 35-61. Leuven: Société de Linguistique de Paris.
- Țigău, Alina-Mihaela. 2010. *Syntax and Semantics of the Direct Object in Romance and Germanic Languages with an Emphasis on Romanian, German, Dutch and English*. Bucharest: Editura Universității din București.
- Țigău, Alina-Mihaela. 2014. Argument licensing and Differential Object Marking. *The Annual Conference of the English Department*. University of Bucharest. June 6-8.
- Tasmowski de Ryck, Liliane. 1987. La reduplication clitique en roumain. In Guntram A. Plangg & Maria Iliescu (eds), *Akten der Theodor Gartner-Tagung (Rätoromanisch und Rumänisch)*. 377-399. Innsbruck: Amap.
- Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. Aspects of the Syntax of Clitic Placement in Western Languages. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26(1): 79-123.
- Zegrean, Iulia. 2012. *Balkan Romance: Aspects on the Syntax of Istro-Romanian*. PhD Dissertation. University of Venice.

Larger and similar parts of this presentation are on the way to appear as an article in Hill, Virginia (ed.) 2015. *Formal Approaches to DPs in Old Romanian*. 200-246. Brill: Leiden.
<http://www.brill.com/products/book/formal-approaches-dps-old-romanian>