THE ACCUSATIVE MORPHEME *-(Y)I* IN TURKISH AND DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN ROMANIAN

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Abstract: Romanian differentially marked object DPs and object DPs carrying the accusative morphological marker *-(y)i* in Turkish pattern alike in that they acquire a specific (D-linked / covert partitive) meaning. The semantic contribution of specificity as D-linking is to link the denotation of the (specific) DP in question to previously established referents. The referent of the specific DP is thus a subset of (or stands in some recoverable relation to) a familiar object. The anaphoric interpretation seems to find a justification if one considers that the doubled / dislocated DP moves out of VP and into SpecVP (the VP phase edge), which is a position where, according to Lopez (2009) pragmatic rules apply. The feature [+a] is assigned to SpecvP, triggering the anaphoric interpretation of DOM-ed DPs. The doubled / dislocated DP does move out of the VP, as pointed out by the existence of inverse binding effects (Cornilescu 2006). Lastly, we formalize the semantic contribution of differentially marked DPs with the aid of DRT. The underlying idea of this formalization was that the denotation of the direct object DP is related to the denotation of the clitic pronoun by means of a subset-set relation.

Keywords: Differential Object Marking, D-linking, covert partitivity

1. Introduction

In this paper[1] we will employ the notions of **partitive specificity** and that of **specificity as D-linking**. Before we embark upon the discussion proper we will endeavour to define and extend upon the two concepts. By partitive specificity we mean that a DP is partitive only if it denotes a member or a subset of a familiar discourse group. Thus, the constituent *one of Mary's books* in example (1) below is endowed with partitive specificity because it refers to one member of the subset of books that Mary owns.

(1) Jean wants to borrow one of Mary's books.
(She doesn't have any preference with respect to which)

As pointed out by Enç (1991), specificity as D-linking is to be understood as similar to the semantic contribution of wh-words headed by *which*, a phenomenon that Pesetsky (1987) labeled as "d(iscourse)-linking". As pointed out by wh-words headed by *which* are d-linked in the sense that the individuals that they name pertain to a selected set in the discourse domain.

(2) Which of them did you see?

2. The data

Before we discuss the data, we need to mention that we limited our research to indefinite direct objects i.e., DPs headed by "weak"[2] determiners *un* / *o* 'a', *mulți* 'many', *câțiva* / *câteva* 'some', and numerals such as *doi* 'two'.

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[2] Following Milsark (1974).

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2.1 The case of Turkish

Enç (1991) along with Kennelly (1999, 2004) argue that specificity with objects is a matter of morphological case marking. Thus, objects in Turkish may be either marked by means of the accusative marker *-(y)i* or otherwise left bare. It is only when the accusative marker is present that the DP object in question acquires a specific reading. When the DP lacks such a marker, it is not specific in the sense of Enç (1991).

Examples (3) and (4) below seem to support this observation. Thus, the DP *bir kitab-ı* in (3a) is specific because it is marked by the accusative marker *-i*, whereas the DP *bir kitab* in (3b) may refer to 'a book in general' because it does not carry the accusative marker.

(3) a. Ali bir kitab-**ı** aldı.
Ali a book-ACC bought
'A book is such that Ali bought it.'
b. Ali bir kitab aldı.
Ali a book bought
'Ali bought a book (whatsoever)'

Similarly, if uttered out of the blue, the object DP in example (4a), which is marked by the accusative *-yu,* may only have a wide scope reading with respect to the verb of propositional attitude *kiralamak* 'to rent'. Example (4b), where the DP object *bir piyano* does not carry any accusative marker, entails that Ali wants to rent some piano or other and not a particular piano. This interpretation is assumed to appear when the object DP has narrow scope with respect to the verb of propositional attitude *kıralamak*.

(4) a. Ali **bir piyano-yu** kıralamak istiyor.
Ali one piano-ACC rent wants.
'Ali wants to rent a certain piano.'
b. Ali bir piyano kıralamak istiyor.
Ali one piano rent want
'Ali wants to rent a (nonspecific) piano.'

The object DP in (4a) may acquire a narrow scope interpretation with respect to the matrix verb if placed in the appropriate context. Thus, if the context for (4a) were one where Ali has decided to take home two of the pianos in a showroom; he can only afford, however, to buy one of them and to rent the other and it is equal to him which of the two pianos he rents and which he buys, then the object DP in (4a) acquires a narrow scope reading with respect to the main verb *kıralamak*. However, the DP object retains its specific[3] reading.

The specific reading that a DP object marked by the accusative morpheme *-(y)i* acquires is a **covert partitive reading**. In other words, the referent to which the object DP which is marked by the accusative marker *-(y)i* refers is interpreted as part of a larger

[3] Thus the notion of specificity develops independently of that of **scope**.

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set which has been previously introduced into the discourse. Consider the case of examples (6a) and (6b) which are to beassessed against the same context provided in (5). As pointed out by Enç (1991), (6a) refers to two girls who are included in the set of children introduced by example (5), while (6b) is about two girls who do not pertain to the group of children entering the room. This difference in interpretation is a direct consequence of the object DP having been marked by the accusative *-(y)i* in (6a) but not in (6b).

(5) Odam-a birkaç çocuk girdi.[4]
room-my-DAT several child entered.
'Several children entered my room.'

(6) a. Iki kız-**ı** tanıyordum.
two girl-ACC knew-1SG
'I knew two girls.'
b. Iki kız tanıyordum.
two girl knew-1SG
'I knew two girls.' (cf. Enç 1991)

Example (6a) is equivalent to (7) below which contains an overt partitive DP. As can be seen, the overt partitive carries the Accusative marker *-(y)i*:

(7) Kızlardan iki-sin-**i** tanıyordum.
girl-PL-ABL two-AGR-ACC knew-1SG
'I knew two of the girls.'

Moreover, the lack of the accusative marker with partitives engenders ungrammaticality as can be seen in example (8b) where the DP object *iki-si* does not carry the accusative marker *-i*:

(8) a. Ali kadınların iki-sin-**i** tanıyordu.
Ali woman-PL-GEN two-AGR-ACC knew-3SG
'Ali knew two of the women.'
b. *Ali kadın-lar-ın iki-si tanıyordu.

Thus, as we can see from the examples above, the accusative marker *-(y)i* brings about a difference in specificity. This difference has to do with the domains of discourse in which the sentences in question (where the object is either marked by the Accusative marker *-(y)i* or not) would be appropriate: the internal properties of the DP structure the domain of discourse and by so doing, they cause a difference in interpretation. The semantic contribution of specificity as D-linking is to link the denotation of the (specific) DP in question to previously established referents. The referent of the specific DP is thus a subset of (or stands in some recoverable relation to) a familiar object.

[4] Sentence (5) serves as background for both (6a) and (6b).

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2.2 The case of Romanian

Romanian patterns with Turkish when it comes to teasing away between various interpretations of object indefinites in that it relies on the internal properties of these DPs. The mechanism employed in Romanian is however different: it consists in differentially marking the direct object by **clitic doubling** and ***pe* marking** it. The point of similarity with Turkish, however, is that all clitic doubled and *pe* marked indefinites are specific in the sense of Enç (1991), i.e. the indefinite doubled by the clitic will be constrained in its domain and will have to pick its referent from a range which has been previously introduced into the discourse domain[5].

Before having a look at the Romanian data, we will extend on the notion of Differential Object Marking (DOM): this is a mechanism by means of which those direct objects that are considered prominent[6] are singled out. For Romanian, the mechanism known as DOM consists in marking the prominent object DP by the accusative case marker *pe.* Nevertheless, in this paper we chose to view DOM as an umbrella term including three marking strategies for direct objects: *pe* marking, clitic doubling (CD) and (CLLD). This is because all the three strategies are employed in such a way as to mark prominent DPs[7].

In what follows, we will consider the component mechanisms included within DOM in term of the interpretive effect they have on the object DP they mark.

2.2.1 *Pe*-marking

This is mechanism which marks DPs that are considered salient in terms of animacy and definiteness. In other words, it will rather mark [+human] [+definite] DPs rather than [−animate] [−definite] ones. In what follows, we will consider more closely how the *pe*-marking mechanism functions in Romanian.

_Pe_-marking is obligatory

Pe-marking is obligatory with definite pronouns (personal pronouns, pronouns of politeness, demonstratives, etc.) irrespective of whether the referents pointed at by these DPs are animate or not, which points to the fact that definiteness overrides animacy when it comes to *pe-marking* definite pronouns.

(9) Îi aşteptam **pe ei**.
CL.3PL.M.ACC waited PE them.M
'I was waiting for them.'

[5] Turkish and Romanian are only similar in the sense that specificity on indefinite objects is relies on the internal properties of DPs and not on word order (as in Germanic languages, for instance). A very important difference between the mechanism of DOM in the two languages is that Romanian, unlike Turkish, is also sensitive to [animacy].

[6] Marked direct objects are prominent in Romanian if they are [+animate] and [+definite] (Aissen 2003).

[7] It is important to mention, however, that pe-marking differs from the other two marking stategies, e.g. CD and CLLD, in that it is sentitive to features such as [+/−animate], [+/−human], while the others are not.

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Pe-marking is also obligatory with proper names pointing to [+human] DPs (10a) and to [−human, +animate] DPs (10b):

(10) a. Deseori (o) văd **pe Ioana** stând la fereastră.
often (CL.3SG.F.ACC) see PE Ioana sitting at widow.
'I often see Ioana sitting by the window.'
b. Lizuca (îl) mângâie **pe Patrocle** îngândurată.
Lizuca CL.3SG.M.ACC pats PE Patrocle thoughtful
'Lizuca is patting Patrocle thoughtfully.'

Names of roles / functions such as *mama* 'mother', *soră-mea* 'my sister', *şeful* 'my boss', *vecina* 'my neighbour', are also obligatorily *pe*-marked (see Heusinger and Onea 2008):

(11) Nimeni n- o place **pe vecina** noastră de la doi.
nobody not-CL.3SG.F.ACC likes PE neighbour our from two
'Nobody likes our neighbour on the second floor.'

On the other hand, *pe* is ungrammatical with place-names [−animate]:

(12) Deşi îmi displăcea oraşul, în acea seară am admirat (*pe) Bucureşti pentru oamenii de cultură care trăiseră şi scriseseră aici.
although CL.1SG.DAT disliked city-the, in that evening have-1SG admired (*PE) Bucharest for men-the of culture who had lived and had written here.
'Although I disliked the city, that evening I admired Bucharest for its men of culture who had lived and wrote there.'

***Pe* marking is optional with definite descriptions**

Pe marks [+human] definite descriptions[8]:

(13) L- am văzut pe ultimul supraviețuitor de pe Titanic şi m- au impresionat foarte tare amintirile lui.
CL.3SG.M.ACC have-1SG seen PE last-the survivor on of Titanic and CL.1SG.ACC have impressed very much memories his
'I have seen the last survivor from the Titanic and I was very impressed with his memories.'

Pe may also mark [−human, +animate] definite descriptions:

(14) Şi eu (l)- am auzit (pe) câinele Mariei lătrând aseară.
and me (CL.3SG.M.ACC) have-1SG heard PE dog-the Mary-DAT barking last evening.
'I, too, have heard Mary's dog barking last evening.'

[8] *Pe* marking shows a propensity for cases where the NP from within the definite DP denotes a singleton set either on account of its semantics, e.g. it is a superlative, or because of the properties of the model relative to which the discourse is interpreted, e.g. *the Queen of England*, *the moon* (Farkas 2002). See also Tigău (2010: 110).

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Pe may never mark [−animate] definite descriptions:

(15) *Am văzut-o pe prima farfurie zburătoare care a aterizat
have-1SG seen CL.3SG.F.ACC PE first-the flying saucer which has landed
în România, nu arată deloc aşa cum au descris- o scriitorii de
in Romania, not look at all as how have described CL.3SG.F.ACC writers of
literatură ştiințifico-fantastică.
literature scientific fantastic
'I have seen the first flying saucer which landed in Romania and it doesn't look like the one described by the writers of science fiction.'

Pe may mark indefinite descriptions (these should be [+animate], if not altogether [+human]; indefinites pointing to inanimate referents are never marked by *pe*.

(16) Fiecare parlamentar îl ascultă pe (anumit) un cetățean.
every member of parliament CL.3SG.M.ACC listened PE (certain) a citizen.
'Every member of parliament listened to a citizen.

2.2.2 Clitic doubling and clitic left dislocation

CD (pronominal reduplication) is a phenomenon by means of which clitic pronouns appear in verb phrases together with the full noun phrases that they refer to (as opposed to the cases where such pronouns and full noun phrases are in complementary distribution e.g., French). CD is found in many languages, including Spanish, Romanian, Albanian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Greek, Persian, Somali; in each case, this phenomenon seems to go by different rules.

Romanian seems to correlate the use of the case marker *pe* with the possibility of CD the overtly marked constituents in the accusative so much so that various linguists have argued that the accusative feature on the verb is checked by means of the clitic pronoun. Thus, in those cases where the clitic co-occurs with a lexical DP, the case marker *pe* would be required in order to check the accusative feature on the direct object DP.

However, such an account would imply that PE marking and CD are part of a more complex phenomenon, a fact which is not accurate: historical data show that the two are independent phenomena which have developed at different stages in the language. Thus, we would rather view the two phenomena as independent one from the other but as having similar interpretational effects.

CD applies to a subset of those cases which may be affected by *pe* marking. Consider the cases below:

CD is obligatory with definite pronouns

It would be very interesting to see why exactly CD is obligatory with definite pronouns. At face value, if we were to compare bare quantifiers (which disallow CD altogether) and pronouns, we would see that pronouns are φ-complete and can therefore be a perfect match for the clitic which is also φ-complete.

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A fact which seems to confirm this hypothesis is that in the 17th century texts we studied the only (very few) cases which could be clitic doubled were those cases where a strong pronoun or a reflexive was employed[9].

Notice also that definite pronouns are also obligatorily marked by *pe*. Therefore, this domain is one where the two mechanisms overlap. Consider some cases of clitic doubled definite pronouns:

(17) a. Au ajutat- **o** **pe ea** părinții, dar ce folos dacă nu
have helped CL.3SG.F.ACC PE her parents-the but what use if not
nu vrea să învețe
wants to study.
'Her parents helped her but it was no use as she does not want to study.'

b. Nu **i**- am mai văzut **pe ai mei** de un car de ani.
not CL.3PL.M.ACC have-1SG more seen PE mine of a cart of years
'I haven't seen my parents for ages.'

c. Deşi avem o mulțime de caiete, Ioana nu- **l**
although have-1PL a multitude of notebooks, Ioana not CL.3SG.M.ACC
vrea decât pe acela.
want onlyPE that one.
'Although we have plenty of notebooks, Ioana only wants that one.'

CD is optional with proper names, definite and indefinite descriptions

Unlike PE marking which is obligatory with proper names pointing to animate referents, CD is merely optional with this type of DPs:

(18) Toți colegii **(îl)** apreciază **pe** *Matei* pentru bunătatea lui.
all colleagues (CL.3SG.M.ACC) appreciate PE Matei for goodness his
'All his colleagues appreciate Matei for his goodness.'

(19) a. Maria *îi* duce **pe copii** la grădiniță în fiecare zi.
Maria CL.3PL.M.ACC takes pe children at kindergarten in every day
'Maria takes the children to the kindergarten every day.

b. Maria duce **copiii** la grădiniță în fiecare zi.
Maria takes children at kindergarten in every day
'Maria takes the children to the kindergarten every day.

(20) a. Atunci **(l)**- au arestat polițiștii **pe un trecător**
then (CL.3SG.M.ACC) have arrested policemen-the PE a passer-by
nevinovat ca să nu zică lumea că nu-şi fac treaba.
innocent so as not say people-the that not REFL do job-the
'Then, the policemen arrested an innocent passer by so as people could not say that they were not doing their job.'

Unlike *pe* marking and CD which are sensitive to the animacy scale, CLLD may apply to any DPs pointing to both animate and inanimate referents. Nevertheless the fact

[9] See Tigău (2010: 149).

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that CD presupposes anticipating a DP by means of a clitic, while CLLD implies resuming a left dislocated DP by means of a (similar) clitic, we expect the two constructions to share some common features.

Interestingly, CLLD may affect any type of DP, even those nominals whose referents are inanimate, which may not be *pe* marked, as in (21a, b). Left dislocated DPs whose referents are animate are always accompanied by *pe*, as in (21c).

(21) a. **Trei cărți le-** a dat la tipărit autorul, celelalte
three books CL.3PL.F.ACC has given to printing author-the the others
au fost descoperite după moartea lui.
have been discovered after death his
'The author had three of his books published, the rest of the books were discovered after his death.'

b. Cel mai scump **tablou l-** am vândut cu 1200
the most expensive painting CL.3SG.N.ACC have-1SG sold with 1200
de euro.
of Euro
'I sold the most expensive of my paintings with 1200 Euros.'

c. ***(Pe) băiatul ei l-** am întâlnit pe când era
PE boy-the her CL.3SG.M.ACC have-1SG met while was-3SG
student la medicină.
'I met her son when he was a student at the Faculty of Medicine.'

3. The effects of DOM on indefinite direct objects in Romanian

In this section we will endeavour to show that the DOM mechanism in Romanian has the same interpretive effects as the accusative marker *-(y)i* in Turkish in that it endows the indefinite object it marks with a specific (D-linked / covert partitivity) meaning. As we will see, this is also in line with data from Catalan where clitic doubled or clitic left dislocated object DPs acquire the interpretation [+anaphoric].

Roughly, DOM-ed DPs in Romanian are strongly anaphoric (D-linked)[10]: the DP object moves out of VP and into SpecvP under the influence of the clitic pronoun. Along the lines of Lopez (2009), SpecvP represents the edge of the vP phase and according to Lopez, the edges of phases are interface points where obligatory interpretation rules apply. Hence the feature [+a] is assigned to SpecvP, triggering the anaphoric interpretation of DOM (besides being anaphoric, CLLD is also shown to be contrastive).

3.1 Clitic doubling + *pe*

The example below fits well within the context we provided for it – the set consisting of the three students is understood as a subset of the whole group of students in

[10] DOM in Romanian is actually more complex than in Turkish if we consider the importance of such global factors such as topicalisation, emphasis (Laca 2002, Mardale (2007 and 2009), Stark (2011).

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the class. Thus, the relationship of anaphoricity between the DP double *trei studenți* and the set of students in the context holds, which accounts for the [+anaphoric] interpretation of CD + *pe*.

(22) Context: There are some students in our class who need to receive some marks.
Profesorul **i-** a ascultat **pe trei studenți** astăzi
teacher-the CL.3PL.M.ACC has listened PE three students today
'The teacher examined three of the students today.'

3.2 Clitic Left Dislocation +/− *pe*-marking

CLLD +/− *pe* amounts to the same interpretation as CD + *pe* with respect to the specific (D-linked) reading of the differentially marked object DP. Thus, example (23a) below could be felicitously continued by (23b) which implies that the boy in question belongs to a group of other people with whom the speaker gets acquainted:

(23) a. **Pe băiatul acesta îl** cunosc: am fost colegi de
PE boy.the this CL.3SG.M.ACC know-1SG: have-1PL been colleagues of
şcoală.
school
'I know this boy: we were colleagues in the same school.'

b. **Pe ceilalți**, însă, nu **i-** am văzut niciodată.
pe others, however, not CL.3PL.M.ACC have-1SG seen never
'I have never seen the others though.'

Notice also, that the clitic left-dislocated DP *pe ceilalți* is also anaphoric and should be understood as part of a bigger set (consisting of the people the speaker does not know and of the boy whom the speaker has recognized.

Differentially marked constituents (CLLD + *pe*) may also function as supersets for their antecedents. Consider the following example where the left dislocated DP *mobila* includes the antecedent *scaune* 'chairs':

(24) a. Context: Who will repair the chairs?
Mobila nu **o** vom mai repara, este prea veche.
furniture not CL.3SG.F.ACC will-1PL more repair is too old
'As for the furniture, we will no longer repair it because it is too old.'

b. Context: Who will repair the furniture?
Scaunele nu **le** vom mai repara, sunt prea veche.
chairs-the not CL.3PL.F.ACC will-1PL more repair are-3PL too old
'As for the furniture, we will no longer repair it because it is too old.'

In example (24a) above, the DOM-ed DP *mobila* is paired with an antecedent with which it enters a superset – set relationship, whereas the marked object DP *chairs* in example (24b) enters a subset – superset relationship with the antecedent *mobila.*

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The examples above point to the fact that the DPs marked by means of CLLD+PE are anaphoric in the same way in which DPs marked by means of CD+PE are. Furthermore, besides, this interpretive effect involving anaphoricity, the differentially marked object DP seems enter a set – subset relationship with its antecedent (which may be either explicitly expressed or covered[11]). This is in line with the covert partitive meaning (D-linked specificity) observed by Enç (1991) with respect to object DPs in Turkish that are marked by the Accusative marker *-(y)i*.

The notion of covert partitivity implies the existence of a whole – part relationship, i.e. something belongs to (a previously mentioned) set. Differentially marked objects imply the existence of an antecedent but the existing relation may be of various types: subset/set, part/whole, or superset/set.

Moreover, the antecedent need not be mentioned explicitly as it is implied by the existence of the DOM mechanism on the object DP in question. Consider example (25) below where only variant (25a) fits the context (25). But even if the context were not there, (25a) would still imply the existence of a bigger set to which the three students are a part of (i.e. the antecedent would be presupposed).

(25) Context: There are some students in our class who need to receive some marks.

a. Profesorul **i-** a ascultat **pe trei studenți** astăzi.
teacher-the CL.3PL.M.ACC has listened pe three students today
'The teacher examined three of the students today'

b. Profesorul a ascultat ***trei studenți*** astăzi.
teacher-the has listened three students today
'The teacher examined three students today'

4. Other Romance languages – the case of Catalan

In terms of its interpretive import, CLLD functions as a discourse anaphor. Villalba (2000) and Lopez (2009) argue that the relationship between this discourse anaphor and its antecedent is of the type part – whole or a set – subset. Thus, example (26) below is to be uttered in a context where the topic of the conversation is a certain set of books to which *acquest libre* belongs:

(26) **Aquest llibre**, em penedeixo d' haver-**lo** llegit. (Lopez 2009)
this book CL.1SG.DAT regret-1SG of have CL.ACC read
'I regret having read this book.'

The same phenomenon is at stake in example (27) below where the DP *les taules* is an anaphor for the antecedent 'furniture'. Furthermore, the anaphor represents a subset of the antecedent, i.e. the tables are included in the bigger set of furniture:

[11] See Tigău (2010).

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(27) Context: What did you do with the furniture?
Les taules les hi vaig porar al matí però les cadires,
the tables CL.3PL.F.ACC CL.LOC PAST-1SG bring at morning but the chairs
les hi vaig portar al vespre. (Lopez 2009)
CL.3PL.F.ACC CL.LOC PAST-1SG leave at evening
'The tables I brought in the morning, but the chairs I brought in the evening.'

The same can be maintained about the example below where the dislocated DP *les potes* is part of the whole 'table' (the part – whole relationship):

(28) Context: What shall we do with the table? It is too big!
Doncs mira, **les potes**, **les** doblegues aixis. La taula, la
well look the legs CL.3PL.F.ACC fold-2SG thus the table CL.3SG.F.ACC
pots desmuntar. (Lopez 2009)
can dismount
'Look, you can fold the legs like this. You can take the board off.' (Lopez 2009)

Finally, a clitic left-dislocated constituent may also function as a superset of the antecedent as can be seen in example (29) below where the referent of *els mobles* includes the referent of its antecedent 'the tables':

(29) Context: What shall we do with the tables?
Doncs ja et vaig dir que **els mobles els**
well already CL.2SG.DAT PAST-1SG say that the furniture CL.3PL.M.ACC 1PL
deixem a casa. (Lopez 2009)
leave-1SG at home
'Look, I already told you that we leave the furniture at home.'

Thus, clitic left dislocated object DPs in Catalan give rise to the same interpretive effects involving anaphoricity as differentially marked DPs in Romanian.

5. Accounting for the D-linked interpretation of differentially marked direct objects in Romanian

In the previous sections we have seen that differentially marked object DPs in Romanian behave like those object DPs in Turkish that carry the accusative marker *-(y)i* with respect to acquiring a specific reading. Since this reading does not obtain on merely PE marked DPs[12], we conclude that the D-linked interpretation is caused by the clitic pronoun. This assumption is borne out by data from Catalan where clitic left dislocated DPs (which are not otherwise marked by means of any accusative marker) acquire the same reading as their Romanian counterparts. Thus, the data seem to point to the fact that the clitic behaves just like the accusative marker *-(y)i* in Turkish, acting as a restrictor on the discourse domain of the DP it doubles / resumes.

[12] See Tigău (2010).

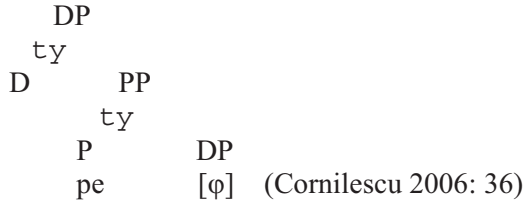
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Furthermore, the presence of the clitic pronoun which acts as a restrictor on the discourse domain of the DP it doubles / resumes ensures the existence of this antecedent (even if the antecedent is not overtly expressed, the clitic triggers the presupposition of its existence).

5.1 Syntactic considerations

According to Lopez (2009), differentially marked DPs acquire the anaphoric interpretation they have because they move out of VP and into SpecvP under the influence of the clitic pronouns which accompany them. This is in line with the BigDP hypothesis put forth by Uriagereka's (1995) for CD structures and adapted for Romanian by Cornilescu (2006).

Cornilescu (2006) argues that the clitic is a strong determiner in Romanian which projects a big DP structure like the one below:

(30)


(Cornilescu 2006: 36)

This analysis of CD in terms of a Big DP has the advantage of capturing the fact that the clitic and the DP double represent the same φ argument at merge. Furthermore, it accounts for the selectional properties of the clitic, which is φ complete and which requires that its complement be φ complete as well[13].

Furthermore, clitic doubled / resumed objects move out of VP into SpecvP: DP double moves out of the VP under the influence of the clitic. On the other hand, the DPs that did not undergo doubling remained in their VP internal positions. The two types of constructions differ with respect to phenomenon of binding in that the former gives rise to "inverse binding", i.e. the object DP may bind into the subject DP:

(31) **Orice elev de-al lui**$_i$ îl admiră **pe un profesor bun**$_i$.
any pupil of his CL.3SG.M.ACC admires pe a teacher good
'Any pupil admires a good teacher.'

---

[13] This is why bare quantifiers such as *nimeni* 'nobody' cannot be clitic doubled as they are unmarked for gender.
* Nu l- am văzut pe nimeni.
not CL.3SG.M.ACC have-1SG seen *pe* nobody
'I have seen nobody.'
Consider also the case of *toată lumea* 'everybody':
* Mihai o ajută pe toată lumea.
Mihai CL.3SG.F.ACC helps *pe* everybody
'Mihai helps everybody.'

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Indeed, the pronoun *lui* in the example above is bound by the DP object. This points to the fact that the subject DP reconstructs into its merge position wherefrom it is c-commanded by the DP object which has moved out of its merge position from within the VP into a position from where it can c-command the subject.

On the other hand, the unmarked counterpart may only bind into the subject if it is in a c-commanding position with respect to this DP. Thus, of the two sentences presented under (32), only variant (32a) is correct because the indefinite DP *pe un elev* duly c-commands the subject DP. Variant (b) is not grammatical if co-indexation between the two DPs is maintained because the pronoun *lui* does not have an appropriate antecedent.

(32) a. **Pe un elev**$_i$ bun la învățătură **orice profesor de-al lui**$_i$ ajută cu materiale
PE a pupil good at studying any teacher of his helps with materials
'Any teacher will help a good student of his with materials.'

b. ***Orice profesor de-al lui**$_i$ ajută cu materiale **pe un elev**$_i$ bun la învățătură.
any teacher of his helps with materials PE a pupil good at studying
'Any teacher will help a good student of his with materials.'

Thus, with differentially marked DPs the binding relationship between the subject and the object holds even if the object has moved past the subject, a fact which should have led to the reversal of c-command relations. On the other hand, binding between the two constituents no longer holds when the order between them is reversed and when no clitic is present, a fact which points to the **syntactic difference** between the two structures.

The conclusion with respect to this difference would be that at some point in the derivation the clitic doubled direct object c-commands the subject which amounts to saying that at some point the doubled direct object leaves the vP and moves into a c-commanding position for the subject (which at this point is to be found in-situ i.e., SpecvP) which is situated above SpecvP and below TP[14].

Unlike marked object DPs, direct objects which are not clitic doubled but which are overtly case marked do not leave the VP[15]

5.2 Connecting syntax with pragmatic interpretation

We adopt the concept of **phase** as put forth by Chomsky (2000) and as adapted by Lopez (2009). a syntactic unit with specific properties which serves two roles: a phase is a syntactic unit with specific properties. A phase has two roles. It firstly serves a

[14] Mardale (2007) also points to the fact that pe-marked objects move into this position where they verify **strong accusative case** which is accompanied by a specific reading.

[15] For more information on the subject the reader is invited to consult Cornilescu (2006) and Cornilescu and Dobrovie-Sorin (2008).

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computational role in that the head of the phrase drives the derivation as it bears movement driving features. Secondly, the phase has an interpretive role in that it interfaces with interpretive systems (as argued by Chomsky (2001), the edge of the phase is the locus of interpretive rules). Chomsky (2000) argues that the vP and CP classify as phases in this respect.

Concerning the first role, Lopez claims that there exist two types of movement: movement to the edge of the phase and phase internal movement, each of them with different interpretive consequences.[16] Contrary to Chomsky (2001), Lopez argues that phase internal movement is also relevant for interpretation (just like movement to the edges). In particular, there exists a vP internal position wherefrom a moved constituent becomes visible for binding or anchoring, acquiring specific / referential or generic interpretations.

With respect to the second role of phases Lopez (2009) claims that the information structure is determined at phase level (at least for southern Romance languages). The edges of phases are interface points where obligatory interpretation rules apply.

An important finding of Lopez's study is that the notions of topic and focus[17] do not represent the primitives of information structure theory as they do not provide any insight into the nature of sentence grammar. Instead, the features [+/−anaphor] and [+/−contrast] fare better as information structure notions.

According to Lopez, pragmatic rules apply at phase edges. More exactly, the positive values of the features [+/−anaphor] and [+/−contrast] ([+a] and [+c]) are assigned to phase edges while the negative values are assigned to the complement domain of the phase head. The feature [+a] is assigned to SpecvP, triggering the anaphoric interpretation common to CD and CLLD.

5.3 Formalizing the semantic import of DOM

In this section we will formalize the semantic contribution of DOM in Romanian[18]. We chose to formalize these results in the DRT framework. DRT is a tripartite model joining in together a syntax, a DRS and the rules of interpretation for that DRS. As for syntax, we adopted the minimalist syntax as put for by Chomsky (1995) and subsequent work. We coupled this type of syntax with a DRT model. This theoretical model appeared to us to be the most suitable for our endeavour for two reasons.

Firstly, DRT is a model of processing the discourse as construed from its contents, i.e. words and sentences, and from its structure. Having to account for the anaphoric nature of a construction whose antecedent was part of its context, we had to resort to a model which was able to account for such inter-sentential relations. As is well known, in DRT each new sentence is interpreted with respect to the contribution it makes to an already existing piece of (already) interpreted discourse.

[16] As pointed out by Lopez (2009), Chomsky (2001) argues that all movement is to the edges, while Chomsky (2005) claims that all movement targets phase internal positions (i.e. either SpecT or SpecV).
[17] A similar idea can be found in Tigău (2007).
[18] A similar formalization may be developed for marked objec DPs in Turkish, by considering the *–yi* suffix as a restrictor on the domain variable of the DP it attaches to.

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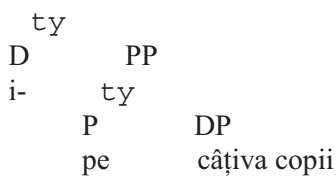
Secondly, the antecedent of the *pe* marked and clitic doubled / resumed DP is presupposed (when the context does not provide an antecedent explicitly) and DRT provides us with a successful way of interpreting presuppositions i.e., presupposition accommodation.

We may also add a third reason which prompted us to employ the DRT framework: DRT allows us to strike a difference between indefinite DPs and quantifiers which could not be captured at the level of syntax. Thus, DRT distinguishes between three types of noun phrases: referential terms (pronouns, proper names, definite descriptions), indefinites and quantifiers. Quantifiers are logical operators binding variables, while indefinites are simply treated as devices for introducing a discourse referent and a condition on it. Furthermore, the discourse referent introduced by an indefinite is always "new" and this distinguishes it from definites whose discourse referent needs to be linked to an appropriate variable (discourse referent). These distinctions between types of DPs proved especially useful in the first part of this thesis where we dealt with *pe* marking.

The DRT framework enables us to capture the clitic's semantic import. Roughly, we illustrated that the denotation of the direct object DP is related to the denotation of the clitic pronoun by means of a subset-set relation (the subset may be equal to the set in the case of definite direct objects)

The fact that the clitic pronoun acts as a restrictor on the range of its associate DP, meets the expectations of all those syntactic analyses of Clitic Doubling structures which envisage the clitic as a determiner modifying their DP-double i.e., the Big DP hypothesis put forth by Uriagereka (1995) which we adopted. Along the lines of this syntactic analysis, the clitic starts out as a determiner within a big DP accommodating both the clitic and its DP-double. This local relation in which the two constituents find themselves at some point in the derivation, accounts for the agreement between them with respect to φ-features but, more importantly for our account, it also provides an explanation as to why the clitic acts as a restrictor on the associate DP. Consider the BigDP below:

(33) a. I- am văzut pe câțiva copii.
CL.3PL.M.ACC have-1SG seen PE some children
'I have seen some children.'

b.


As already pointed out above, a determiner places various interpretive constraints on the discourse referent which it introduces (Farkas and de Swart 2003). According to the Big DP hypothesis we adopted, the big DP contains two determiners: the clitic and the indefinite determiner heading the indefinite object DP. Both determiners may place interpretive constraints on the NP. Indeed, the indefinite determiner places a certain restriction on the NP that may have to do with scope (Farkas and de Swart 2003: 42). The

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clitic, on the other hand, introduces a discourse referent as well, but this referent is a presupposed one (let us call this Σ(u)). (The clitic may introduce a discourse referent by virtue of its being a pronoun and not necessarily because it functions as a determiner on the DP double). Furthermore, the condition that the clitic places on the double is for the discourse referent that instantiates the thematic argument of the nominal to be subsumed to the presupposed discourse referent introduced by the clitic (v ≤ Σ(u)). The condition imposed by the clitic accounts for the "covert partitive" reading of the indefinite object.

We formalized the semantic import of the clitic in the DRT framework as put forth by Farkas and de Swart (2003). Roughly, we have assumed that the clitic contributes a presupposed discourse referent (which is a group-individual) and a condition on this set. Furthermore, since the clitic is a determiner within a big DP, it also places a condition on its associate; this condition connects the discourse referent contributed by the associate DP and the presupposed discourse referent contributed by the clitic. More precisely, the condition requires that the discourse referent contributed by the associate DP be subsumed to the presupposed discourse referent contributed by the clitic.

Both the presupposed discourse referent and the condition on it were resolved by resorting to van der Sandt's (1992) analysis of presuppositions as anaphora. More precisely, the presupposed referent and the condition contributed by the clitic were resolved by accommodation as explained in the previous sections. Consider the formalization of sentence (34) below:

(34) **Mihai i-** a văzut **pe câțiva copii**.
Mihai CL.3PL.M.ACC has seen PE some children.
'Mihai saw some of the children.'

The sequence in (35) is the starting point in the derivation:

(35) [IP [DP[*Mihai* (x)]] [VP [*see* (p,t) [DP[Dpl *câțiva* [Npl *copii*(y)]]] [D Σ pl i-]

The first step we take is that of interpreting the plural *copii* along the lines of Farkas and de Swart (2003). Once we interpret a plural in the chain, the remaining links are deleted. The plural morphology involves the presence of an inflectional plural feature pl which is realised on the lexical noun. In the DP *câțiva copii*, the lexical properties of the determiner *câțiva* entail non-atomicity therefore the semantic import of the feature pl is redundant. The plural morphology on the noun *copii* introduces a presupposed discourse referent which is coindexed with the thematic argument of *copii*, i.e. of the noun of which plurality is predicated. Consider de DRS below:

[IP [DP[*Mihai* (x)]] [VP [*vede* (p,t) [DP[D *câțiva* [N *copii*(y)]]] [D Σ i-]]	uy plural (uy)

The next step would be to interpret the clitic which introduces a presupposed discourse referent Σy which is coindexed with the thematic argument of which the condition of subsuming is predicated, i.e. *copii* (the condition is y ≤ Σy):

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[IP [DP[*Mihai* (x)]] [VP [*vede* (p,t) [DP[D *câțiva* [N *copii*(y)]]] [D Σi-]]	uy plural (uy) Σy y ≤ Σy

The next step would be to interpret the subject DP *Mihai*: the proper name introduces a discourse referent x with the predicate *Mihai* (x).

x *Mihai* (x) [IP [DP[x]] [VP [*vede* (p,t) [DP[D *câțiva*[N *copii*(y)]]] [D Σi-]]	uy plural (uy) Σy y ≤ Σy

The determiner *câțiva* introduces a discourse referent v with the predicate câțiva (v) on it in the asserted box.

x, v *Mihai* (x) *câțiva* (v) [IP [DP[x]] [VP [*vede* (p,t) [DP[D v[N *copii*(y)]]] [D Σi-]]	uy plural (uy) Σy y ≤ Σy

Then, the discourse referent v instantiates the thematic argument y of the plural noun *copii* by the process of determiner instantiation, along the lines of Farkas and de Swart (2003). According to the rule of determiner instantiation, we subscript this discourse referent with the variable of the thematic argument:

x, vy *Mihai* (x) *câțiva* (vy) [IP [DP[x]] [VP [*vede* (p,t) [DP[D v[N *copii*(vy)]]] [D Σi-]]	uy plural (uy) Σy y ≤ Σy

At this point we may solve the presupposition of non-atomicity. This consists in binding the presupposed discourse referent uy to the asserted discourse referent vy; we then transfer the condition on the presupposed discourse referent from the presupposition box into the asserted box:

x, vy *Mihai* (x) *câțiva* (vy) plural (vy) *copii* (vy) [IP [DP[x]] [VP [*vede* (p,t) [DP vy]] [D Σi-]]	Σy y ≤ Σy

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At this point we need to solve the remaining presupposition. There is no antecedent in the asserted DRS such that the presuppositional discourse referent introduced by the clitic may be bound to. However, as shown by van der Sandt (1992), if a presupposition cannot be bound it can be accommodated. This is precisely what we will do: we will accommodate the presupposed discourse referent into the main DRS. Since accommodation implies transferring the anaphoric marker plus its conditions to the level of accommodation in order to establish an accessible antecedent, we obtain the following DRS (notice that once we have solved the presupposition and once the presupposition box is empty, it may be deleted):

x, vy, z, Σvy
Mihai (x)
câțiva (vy)
plural (vy)
copii (vy)
v ≤ Σv
[IP [DP x] [VP [*vede* (p,t) [DP vy]] [D Σv] [DP z]]]

Once the interpretation of the big DP is complete and the presuppositions have been resolved, we may delete the internal structure of the DP (the same holds for the other two DPs) and drop the indices as the big DP is now fully interpreted. We then proceed with the interpretation of the VP. The two thematic arguments of the verb are instantiated by the two discourse referents x and v through applying A-instantiation along the lines of Farkas and de Swart (2003). Thus, the thematic argument p on the verb will be instantiated by the discourse referent x and the thematic argument t on the verb will be instantiated by the discourse referent v.

x, v, z, Σv
Mihai (x)
câțiva (v)
plural (v)
copii (v)
magazin (z)
v ≤ Σv
trimite (x,v)

6. Conclusions

In this paper we have shown that Romanian differentially marked object DPs and object DPs carrying the accusative morphological marker *-(y)i* in Turkish pattern alike in that they acquire a specific (D-linked / covert partitive) meaning. The semantic contribution of specificity as D-linking is to link the denotation of the (specific) DP in question to previously established referents. The referent of the specific DP is thus a subset of (or stands in some recoverable relation to) a familiar object.

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Secondly, we have drawn a comparison between clitic left dislocated DPs in Catalan and differentially object marked DPs in Romanian. The data we discussed pointed out that in both cases, the marked DPs acquired an anaphoric interpretation which is in line with the D-linked interpretation that Turkish DPs carrying the accusative marker *-(y)i* has.

The anaphoric interpretation seems to find a justification if one considers that the doubled/dislocated DP moves out of VP and into SpecVP (the VP phase edge), which is a position where, according to Lopez (2009), pragmatic rules apply. More exactly, the positive values of the features [+/−anaphor] and [+/−contrast] ([+a] and [+c]) are assigned to phase edges while the negative values are assigned to the complement domain of the phase head. The feature [+a] is assigned to SpecvP, triggering the anaphoric interpretation common to CD and CLLD.

The doubled / dislocated DP does move out of the VP, as shown by the existence of inverse binding effects (Cornilescu 2006).

Lastly, we formalized the semantic contribution of differentially marked DPs with the aid of DRT. The underlying idea of this formalization was that the denotation of the direct object DP is related to the denotation of the clitic pronoun by means of a subset-set relation. The clitic introduces a discourse referent but this referent is a presupposed one ($\Sigma(u)$). Furthermore, the condition that the clitic places on the double is for the discourse referent that instantiates the thematic argument of the nominal to be subsumed to the presupposed discourse referent introduced by the clitic ($v \leq \Sigma(u)$). The condition imposed by the clitic accounts for the "covert partitive" reading of the indefinite object.

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