

The direct object marker in Romanian: a historical perspective

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Abstract

So far, most analyses assume that Differential Object Marking (DOM) and clitic doubling (CD) are two sides of the same mechanism, arising from a structure dependent condition (i.e., Case for nouns). This assumption concerns Romance languages in general, including Romanian (old or modern). This paper points out that data from Early Modern Romanian (EMR) and data from other Balkan Romance languages contradict this assumption. The analysis I propose disengages DOM from CD and from structure dependent constraints, and brings evidence for a discourse based approach to both DOM and CD, separately or in conjunction with each other.

Key words: Differential Object Marking, Clitic Doubling, Early Modern Romanian, Modern Romanian, Topic

This paper revisits the analysis of the particle *pe* used for Differential Object Marking (DOM)¹ of direct objects (DOs) in clitic doubling (CD) constructions in Modern Romanian (MR), such as shown in (1a). From a diachronic perspective, I argue that *pe* is a discourse marker, not a Case assigning preposition, as currently assumed for Romance languages in general, old or modern (following Kayne 1975). This is an important distinction, because the Case marking analysis of *pe* would wrongly imply that CD and DOM are intrinsically related. Such an assumption raises a series of empirical problems for variation in Balkan Romance; for example, in Aromanian CD occurs without DOM (1b). It is also problematic for language change, since DOM is attested without CD in Early Modern Romanian (EMR), as in (1c), although CD and DOM systematically overlap in MR.

- (1) a. Ion I_k-a admirat **pe prietenul**_k lui. +DOM; +CD
 Ion him-has admired PE friend.the his
 ‘Ion admired his friend.’
 b. L_k-am vidzută **Petri**_k. -DOM; +CD
 him-have seen Peter
 ‘I saw Peter.’ (from Mišeska Tomić 2008: 84)
 c. întâi au poftit craiul **pe Alexandru vodă**... +DOM; -CD
 first has invited prince.the PE Alexandru king
 ‘first, the prince invited king Alexandru’ (Ureche 80, 11v)

This paper will argue that:

- (i) The triggers for DOM are not syntactic but discourse based (i.e., *contrastive* topic for EMR; *familiar* topic for MR);
- (ii) in principle, DOM and CD are independent operations - and they are attested as such in EMR;

¹ Term coined by Bossong (1985).

(iii) CD and DOM co-occurrence involves the re-analysis of the *pe*-DOMed DP as *familiar* topic.

1. Theoretical background

For constructions as in (1a), the standard analysis in generative grammar dates from Kayne (1975, 2001), and it treats CD and DOM as inseparable. More precisely, the doubling clitic absorbs the Accusative Case of the verb, so the DP in object position needs independent Case marking (we assume, this is when Case is not morphologically marked). The insertion of a Case assigning preposition, such as *pe*, rescues the derivation. This analysis has been taken for granted with respect to MR (e.g., Cornilescu and Dobrovie-Sorin 2008: 304), giving that CD and DOM are indeed inseparable in MR. However, the motivation for the CD/DOM overlap must be different from Case marking requirements. For example, the reading contrast in (2a vs b) indicates a semantics-to-syntax mapping issue, rather than a Case marking issue (for arguments towards a discourse based analysis of CD/DOM in MR see Hill and Tasmowski 2008).

- (2) a. Ion a pupat mireasa.
Ion has kissed bride.the
'Ion has kissed the bride.'
b. Ion a pupat-o_k **pe** mireasă_k.
Ion has kissed-her PE bride
'Ion has kissed the bride.'

For the minimal pair in (2), Gierling (1997) notes that in (2a) the DP 'bride' has a role reading, whereas in (2b) it has a specific reading. She concludes that the speaker's intention/view is crucial for the decision of resorting or not resorting to DOM/CD (see also Hill and Tasmowski 2008). An account for DOM/CD on a purely syntactic basis, as in Kayne, cannot grasp this interpretive difference, which concerns the discourse pragmatics. A purely semantic approach falls short of covering the issue as well, since Case assignment is of no concern there (e.g., in Heusinger and Onea 2008). Therefore, the DOM/CD overlap needs a syntax-pragmatics interface study, which is what I propose in this paper.

2. Points of contention

Kayne's Generalization reflects the assumptions made in historical linguistics, where the emergence of DOM is related to the disappearance of Accusative Case endings on nouns in vulgar Latin (Heusinger and Onea 2008). For Romanian, which has been a VSO/SVO language at all attested stages, it has been claimed (Frâncu 2009; Gheție, I. and Mareş 1985) that the emergence of *pe* (at an unknown date) served as a means to avoid interpretive ambiguity between subject and direct object when [+human] nouns followed the verb. The ambiguity would arise in contexts as in (3a, b).

- (3) a. mîniară **Moisi**
angered.3pl Moisi.sg

- ‘they angered Moses’ (Frâncu 2009: 173)
- b. Pomenește, Doamne, **David**
 remind.2sg.imp Lord.voc David
 ‘Lord, remind us of David’ (Frâncu 2009: 173)

It is, however, obvious that unmarked direct objects are grammatical even when they are [+human] in EMR, and that functional ambiguity was resolved in various ways. For example, in (3a, b), the verb inflection clearly indicates that ‘Moses’ or ‘David’ cannot be subjects. Hence, the emergence of *pe* cannot be justified through syntactic triggers (either Case marking or differential object marking for functional disambiguation).

Another unsupported claim concerns the definition of *pe* as a Case assigning preposition within DOM environments in MR. Theoretically, this is problematic for contexts with DOM without CD: if there is no clitic to compete with the object DP for Accusative Case, why is *pe* needed at all, and only for certain noun classes? Empirically, the problem is that there is no evidence that *pe* used for DOM has any Case assigning ability, especially since a full-fledged preposition *pe* has been preserved concurrently but in non-selected contexts.

First, *pe* in DOM is the result of grammaticalization, and displays semantic bleaching, having no semantic feature to convey at all. This is not an exceptional phenomenon, since *pe* has been re-analysed for other purposes. For example, in derivational morphology it is used to create adverbs out of PPs (e.g., *pe semne* ‘on signs’ > *pesemne* ‘perhaps’; *pre urma lui* ‘on trace.the his’ > *pe urmă* = ‘afterwards’). The point is that in such re-analyses, *pe* systematically loses its Case assigning properties, and becomes a derivational prefix or some kind of particle.

Second, if we want to maintain that the re-analysis of *pe*-DOM had a different result compared to other types of re-analysis, then the syntactic properties must be identical for *pe*-DOM and the preposition *pe* (i.e., that *pe*-DOM lost the semantic features but preserved the syntactic properties of a preposition). To begin with, in distribution, *pe*-DOM should be compatible with any noun class, on a par with the preposition *pe*. That is not the case, since *pe*-DOM is restricted according to the semantic class of the noun. Second, Romanian prepositions have a peculiar selection property that disallows definite articles on the selected nouns, when these nouns do not have modifiers (Mardale 2006)². This restriction is obligatory in EMR for the preposition *pe*, as in (4a, b), but not with EMR *pe*-DOM, which may select nouns with definite articles, as in (4c, d). Note that *pre* and *pe* occur in free variation. The plural nouns marked with * mean negative evidence.

- (4) a. [peciate] de se pune pre cărți/ (*cărțile)
 seals which refl put on letters/letters.the
 ‘seals that are imprinted on the letters’ (Ureche 72)
- b. au luat pre câmpi/(*câmpii) într-o parte
 has turned on fields/fields.the in a side
 ‘he has turned on the fields, on one side’ (Ureche 70)
- c. poftiră pe craiul să-l lase în pace

² The preposition *cu* ‘with’ makes exception to this rule; it takes DPs with or without definite articles.

- asked PE prince.the/prince to-him leave in peace
 ‘they asked the prince to leave him in peace (Ureche 82)
 d. Traian întâiu, împăratul, supuindu pre dahii
 Trajan first king.the subjugating PE Dacians.the/Dacians
 ‘First, Trajan subjugating the Dacians...’ (Costin 11)

These examples indicate that, in its re-analysis as *pe*-DOM, the preposition *pe* has been stripped not only of semantic features but also of syntactic (selection) features.

3. New perspective

The first literary texts written in Romanian, that is, the Moldavian chronicles (17-18th c.), attest an optional use of DOM, as shown in (5).

- (5) a. dîndu vina lui Ștefan Radul-vodă că au lăsat
 putting fault.the to Ștefan Radu-king that has abandoned
 scaunul să cuprindză **leșii** cu blăstemăția lui
 throne.the to surround Poles.the with madness.the his
 ‘blaming king Ștefan Radu for having abandoned his court in order to
 surround the Poles in his madness’ (Costin 16)
 b. iară singur au tras spre țara sa, pentru să-și mai înglotească
 so alone has turned to country his for to-refl more increase
 oaste și să mai obosască și **pre leși**.
 army and to also harass and PE Poles
 ‘so he turned towards his country, in order to increase his army but also in
 order to harass THE POLES’ (Costin 23)
 c. Atunce moldovenii, cum au vădzut **moscalii**, precum sînt
 then Moldovians.the as have seen Russians.the as are
 învățați la jacuri,
 used to plunders
 ‘then the Moldavians saw the Russians, and how used they are to plunder’
 (Neculce 271)
 d. Nici în țară pe de altă parte nu vrè să între, ce
 nor in country on of other hand not wanted to enter but
 numai pre de cee parte, cît putè, zăhăiè **pre moscali**.
 only by of that side as could harassed PE Russians
 ‘on the other hand, he did not even want to invade the country, but only to
 go on that side, in order to harass, as much as he could, THE RUSSIANS.’
 (Neculce 273)

Although the use of *pe*-DOM seems optional in (5), the interpretation indicates that this is not so: insertion of *pe* adds a dimension to the interpretation that is not obtainable in its absence. In (5a), the main point is the king’s madness, not the object of this madness (i.e., the Poles). In (5b), the Poles are in the spotlight, as the group to be harassed; the spotlight is also indicated by the emphatic ‘and’ in front of the direct object. Along the same lines, in (5c) the Moldavians saw that the Russians are used to plunder, and this bad habit is the

focus of the clause. On the other hand, in (5d) the Russians are in the spotlight as the reason for the king's strategy. Therefore, insertion of *pe* brings up a reading that contrasts the direct object against the discourse background.

Examples as in (6a) also show that *pe*-DOM allows for list readings and for singling out a group or an individual from a range of possibilities. In other words, *pe*-DOM was the means to achieve a Contrastive Topic³ reading on the direct object.

- (6) a. au pusă **pe** Oprea armaşul logofăt mare şi
 has made PE Oprea officer.the commander big and
pre Varticu vornic mare de Tara de Giosă şi
 PE Varticu governor big of County of Low and
pe Ghiorghe vornic mare de Tara de Sus,
 PE Gheorghe governor big of County of Upper
pe Zota postelnic mare şi **pe** Alexe stolnic mare
 PE Zota administrator big and PE Alexe provisioner big a
 şi **pre** Iane Călugărul visternic mare...
 and PE Iane monk.the treasurer big
 'He assigned the officer Oprea as the high commander; Vartic as the
 governor general of the Low Country; Gheorghe as the governor general
 of the Upper County; Zota as major administrator; and Alexe as high
 provisioning officer; and Ian the monk as chief treasurer...' (Ureche 224)

Contrastive Topic (or Focus) is a propositional operator that licenses DPs for that reading in both post-verbal (in-situ) and pre-verbal (fronted) positions (Hill and Mladenova 2011; Krapova 2002; Rizzi 1997). In (6), the DPs with Contrastive Topic reading are all post-verbal. The rule predicts that we should be able to front the respective DP and still keep the Contrastive Topic reading. This is, however, not the case: if we try to front the DPs, while keeping the listing of names, we can only obtain an *aboutness* Topic reading (in the sense of Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007), not a *contrastive* reading. This is shown in (6b), where fronted *pe*-DOMed objects have only an aboutness reading, being resumed by a CD-ed demonstrative and a *pe*-DOMed floating quantifier.

- (6) b. Iar **pe** Drăghiciu Catacozono şi **pe** frate-său Mihai şi
 and PE Draghici Cantacuzino and PE brother-his Mihai and
pe frate-său Costantin, care îl pîrîsă **pe** Gligorie-vodă la Beci,
 PE brother-his Costantin who him reported PE Grigore-King in Beci
 şi **pe** frate-său Mateiu şi pe Iordachi, i-au luat **pe** aceştia **pre**
 and PE brother-his Matei and PE Iordache thm-has taken PE these PE
 toţi de grumadzi, de i-au dus în Țara Muntenească.

³ In Lambrecht (1994: 97) Contrastive Topics provide clarification when several options are possible; for example, "I saw MARY yesterday. She says HELLO". CTs also allow for listing readings, as in "I saw MARY and JOHN yesterday. SHE says HELLO, but HE's still ANGRY at you". This type of topic is different from the contrastive focus, which involves an alternative reading.

all from necks DE them-has brought to Country Muntenia
 ‘As for Cantacuzino, and his brother Mihai, and his brother Costantin, the
 one who reported King Grigore in Beci, and his brother Matei, and
 Iordachi, he took them all by the necks and brought them to the Kingdom
 of Muntenia.’ (Neculce 127)

Therefore, the Contrastive Topic interpretation we have on the in-situ DP objects in (6a) is not due to a propositional operator, but to a local operator, within the DP field. The fact that this reading arises when *pe* precedes the DP indicates that *pe* is directly responsible for the merge of the Contrastive operator in the DP. Fronting of *pe*-DP can occur when other probes are present, and the checking operations DP implements on those probes overrides the reading arising inside the DP from *pe* insertion (e.g., a DP with contrastive topic reading in the post-verbal position, due to *pe*, becomes aboutness topic when fronted to the clause left periphery).

According to the data discussed so far, the structure of DOM-ed DPs is as in (7a), where the DP projects an extended left periphery in which discourse pragmatic features are encoded. In this sense, *pe*-DOM is different from the structure of the PP *pe*, insofar as *pe* has been re-analyzed as a functional head in the DP instead of being the selector of the DP, as in (7b).

- (7) a. [DP/TopP Top-*pe* [DP D]] versus [PP P-*pe* [DP D]]
 b. [PP P-*pe* [DP/TopP [DP D ...]]]

The representation in (7a) confirms recent analyses that argue for a parallel organization of left peripheries in DPs and CPs. Evidence has been provided for a number of languages that topic and focus features are encoded at the left periphery of the DP, and they act as probes for word order changes and particle merge within the DP (Aboh 2004; Haegeman 2004; Villalba 2006 a.o.). The behavior of *pe*-DOM in EMR is predictable under these analyses.

One salient difference between the use of *pe*-DOM in EMR and Modern Romanian is that the classes of nouns to which it applies have shifted considerably. In the Moldavian Chronicles, *pe*-DOM occurs with both animates and inanimates, mass nouns or count nouns (e.g., with ‘army’, ‘camp’, ‘chronicle’). In fact, it also occurs (although rarely) with indirect objects that need a Contrastive Topic reading, as in (8).

- (8) cu daruri **pre toți** dăruindu-i
 with presents PE all giving-them
 ‘giving presents to them all’ (RG 51 apud Todi 2001: 62)

The pre-verbal position for ‘all’ in (8) is a further indication that this item is in the spotlight, and it also features *pe* insertion, although the syntactic function is that of indirect object encoding the beneficiary.

In Modern Romanian, the noun classes compatible with *pe*-DOM have been reduced to animates, and mostly [+human]. I will suggest that this switch reflects the switch in the discourse function of *pe*-DOM, from a marker of Contrastive Topic, as needed, to a backgrounding device for the [+human] noun in the discourse. I relate this

switch to the generalization of the CD/DOM overlap, which is already visible in the Chronicles.

4. The CD/DOM generalization

The first Romanian texts are translations from Church Slavonic. Trying to keep as close as possible to the original, the writers maintained the strong pronouns as in Church Slavonic there where in Romanian a clitic would have been sufficient. However, in order to signal that these strong pronouns do not need an emphatic reading, the translators added the corresponding clitic, thus resorting to CD without DOM (Tasmowski 2008), as in (9).

- (9) lăsa-mu- **le** de-a stînga
leave.1PL-it it of-to left
'we leave it on the left' (CV *Apost.*, 21:3 apud Tasmowski 2008: 17)

This shows that CD had the opposite effect to *pe*-DOM: while *pe*-DOM foregrounds the DP, CD backgrounds it.

Pe-DOM was used concurrently and independently of CD, especially with pronouns (Tasmowski 2008). Romanian pronouns have morphological Case marking, so no other Case assignment is needed. The extension of *pe*-DOM to other noun classes happened gradually, while maintaining the Contrastive effects discussed for (5).

The overlapping of CD and DOM started with pronouns, in contexts where their reading had to be kept "familiar", as opposed to emphatic/Contrastive. At the time of the Moldavian Chronicles, the CD/DOM overlap was obligatory for pronouns, but optional for nouns. In Modern Romanian, the CD/DOM overlap is obligatory in all contexts (Frâncu 2009).

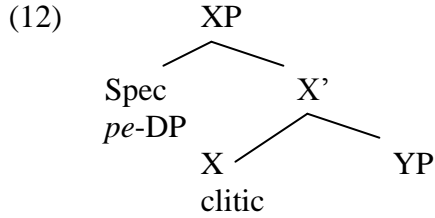
Optional *pe*-DOM on strong pronouns is well attested in texts, as in (10).

- (10) și acolo au așteptat **pe el**
and there have waited PE him
'and there they have waited for him' (Costin 173)

Notably, *pe*-DOM on strong pronouns is shown to have spread quite fast (Tasmowski 2008 a.o.), from third to first and second persons, and became obligatory. Obligatory *pe*-DOM may be related to the weakening of markedness and further re-analysis of *pe*. In this context, CD applies to *pe*-DOM-ed pronouns in the same environment it applied to the non-DOM-ed counterparts; that is, when the clitic mitigates the emphatic reading for the direct object in-situ, as in (11).

- (11) să mă ascultați **pe mine** (Ureche 176)
to me listen.2PL PE me
'to listen to me'

The underlying configuration for (11) is proposed in (12).



The configuration in (12) capitalizes on a local Spec-head agreement between *pe*-DOM/DP and the clitic pronoun responsible for CD. The exact point at which this configuration arises is not important. It could arise in-situ if V selects XP, where XP is a Clitic Phrase; the clitic then moves to the functional domain of V. It could also arise in the functional domain of V, when both the clitic and the DP move independently through the equivalent of AgrOP in Kayne (1989). What is certain is that the clitic is not directly merged high in the functional domain in EMR, but it arrives there through movement. Evidence for this comes from the double spell-out of clitic pronouns in EMR, once in the low position, once in the high position, as in (13).

- (13) văd^zînd și vicleșugul boierilor celora ce i-au tăietu-i,...
 seeing and treason.the lords.the.GEN those.GEN whom them-has slain-them
 ‘seeing also the treason of those lords whom he has slain’ (Neculce 154)

In (13), the proclitic has its copy spelled out in a lower position, under the past participle form. This word order situates the location for the direct merge of pronouns in the same area in which direct object strong pronouns/nouns are licensed (i.e., post-verbal), so it is reasonable to expect that a local relation as in (12) will emerge.

If (12) is correct, then the value of *pe* is forced by the local agreement with the clitic, which has a non-contrastive Topic value. The structure of *pe*-DOM is still as in (7a), only the value of the Top head in which *pe* merges has changed, matching the semantics of the clitic.

In this respect, I follow current studies that argue for the intrinsic relationship between clitic pronouns and the Topic head at the left periphery of clauses. In particular, Delfitto (2002) proposes a unified treatment of clitic constructions within a semantic/pragmatic approach to syntactic derivation. The impact of discourse semantic features on the syntax of the clitic is justified as follows: semantically, a sentence with a simple pronominal clitic is not a proposition but a predicate, that is, an unsaturated expression (Delfitto 2002: 43). The clitic is, then, a syntactic trigger for a semantic operation consisting in the (re)opening of the corresponding argument position of the verb, which must combine with an antecedent (i.e., an empty Top) to become interpretable. Therefore, every sentence with a clitic (e.g., *Marcello lo legge* ‘Marcello it reads.’) represents a structure of the form $[_{Top} e] [\lambda x \text{ (Marcello reads } x)]$. This semantic property, which constrains the derivation of all the clauses with clitic pronouns, is encoded in syntax as a feature associated with Top (e.g., specificity): this feature is checked by the DP to which the clitic relates. The possible variation in the checking configuration results in variation in the type of construction (i.e., CLLD or CD). Along these lines, the clitic triggers a Topic interpretation on the nouns it structurally agrees with, whether it undergoes DOM or not.

Since clitics are intrinsically related to Topic, they are compatible only with referential and/or definite nouns. This intrinsic property of clitics explains their initial spread to pronouns and names of persons; that is, nominals with *referential stability* (Farkas and Heusinger 2003). Accordingly, (11) applies not only to *pe*-DOM-ed pronouns, but also to all DPs that meet the semantic requirement.

5. Balkan Romance languages

The analysis proposed in this paper has two advantages when it comes to cross-linguistic variation: (i) it dissociates DOM from CD syntactically; and (ii) it recognizes the impact of discourse features in the syntactic derivation of DOM structures. These two points are conducive to a more principled account on the variation we can see within the Balkan Romance languages.

In particular, Aromanian⁴ and Megleno-Romanian display clitic doubling but not DOM, irrespective of the [+/- animate] feature of the noun, as shown in (14) and (15).

- (14) a. **L_k-am** vidzută **Petri_k**. Aromanian
 him-have seen Peter
 ‘I saw Peter.’ (from Mišeska-Tomić 2008: 84)
 b. S-duse aclo lj-**u_k** deade **cartea_k**.
 refl-went there to.him-it gave letter.the
 ‘He went there and gave him the letter.’ (from Anovska 2008: 145)
- (15) a. **lă_k** loa **buciumul_k**, lă_k turi shi zisi Megleno-Romanian
 it took log.the it threw and said
 ‘he took the log, threw it, and said...’ (from Friedman 2008: 55)
 b. jel nu **lă_k** vreá țela **fițśór_k**
 he not him wants that child
 ‘He does not want that child.’ (from Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1975: 277)

If DOM with *pe* (or other marker) were a syntactic requirement for recovering the Case of the doubled DP, then we would be forced to make the assumption that in (14) and (15) there is a “null” DOM marker. That would be an ad-hoc stipulation with no empirical support.

Instead, the angle that comes out of this paper is that Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian do not encode discourse pragmatic features by means of *pe*-DOM. A comparison between the distribution of clitic doubling in Romanian versus Aromanian/Megleno-Romanian indicates a very different pattern: In Modern Romanian, CD obligatorily triggers DOM, and applies according to semantic features (i.e., [+animate]), so only certain classes of nouns qualify for it. On the other hand, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian display systematic CD, irrespective of the semantic class of the DP, but according to whether the noun has a definite article or is a proper noun. So in these dialects, CD is not dependent of pragmatic/semantic restrictions that involve DOM.

⁴ Sobolev (2008) points out that lack of *pe*-DOM occurs in the Aromanian varieties of Greek Macedonia (i.e., Kranea/Turya), but not in Macedonia (i.e., Kruševo).

The analysis proposed here mirrors conclusions drawn in typological studies on Balkan languages. Notably, it was argued that Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian follow the syntactic pattern of Macedonian, under intensive language contact, rather than the pattern in (Daco)-Romanian (Mišeska-Tomić 2006: 239). The syntactic approach I proposed reduces this typological contrast to a contrast in the triggers for CD: that is, discourse pragmatic triggers in (Daco)-Romanian (which led to the merging of CD and DOM) versus grammatical triggers in Aromanian/Megleno-Romanian, where CD lexicalizes the agreement between Top and definite/specific DPs.

6. Conclusions

The data from EMR have provided evidence that the use of *pe* for DOM does not arise from syntactic needs (i.e. Case assignment), but from discourse needs. In fact, *pe*-DOM was first used with strong pronouns, which have morphological Case and do not need prepositions to assign them structural Case. In particular, contexts where a DP occurs with and without *pe*-DOM indicated that *pe* served as a marker of emphatic/Contrastive reading. In these contexts, EMR *pe* does not display the syntactic properties of the homophonous preposition. The distinction between the preposition (Case assigner) *pe* and the DOM marker *pe* has been formalized by considering that *pe*-DOM arises from the re-analysis of the preposition *pe* as a Contrastive Topic marker at the left periphery of the adjacent DP (7a, b).

Unlike EMR, Modern Romanian does not use *pe*-DOM on an optional basis, and shows a different selection of compatible noun classes. More precisely, *pe*-DOM is restricted to [+animate] noun classes (whereas EMR could also apply it to some [-animate] nouns) and became obligatory in the presence of CD. This change has been related to the switch in the topic feature on *pe*, from *contrastive* to *familiar*, under the impact of the merge with CD. The emphatic/Contrastive reading with *pe*-DOM is still possible in rare contexts where CD is suppressed (Hill and Tasmowski 2008).

This analysis has immediate advantages for our understanding of Romanian grammar, since it can grasp the diachronic differences in the use of *pe*-DOM, as well as the cross-linguistic variation within the Balkan Romance language group. It can also prove useful for the analysis of DOM and/or CD in other languages, especially for teasing out the type of derivational triggers (i.e., discourse driven or syntactically/functionally conditioned). This distinction has too often been ignored at the price of resorting to ad-hoc stipulation for cross- and intra-linguistic variation.

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