

# DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN DIALECTAL DACO-ROMANIAN TEXTS<sup>1</sup>

Blanca Croitor  
„Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics, Bucharest

Direct object marking in contemporary Romanian is a complex phenomenon that involves two strategies: (i) the prepositional marker *pe* (literal meaning ‘on’)<sup>2</sup> and (ii) clitic doubling<sup>3</sup>.

The use of these two markers in standard language depends on several parameters: the position of the direct object (DO) relative to the verb, semantic and pragmatic factors (described as animacy, definiteness, specificity), with some amount of variation among speakers (see GALR II: 398–399, Cornilescu & Tigău 2022, Croitor & Giurgea 2023 a.o.).

The prepositional marker PE and clitic doubling were grammaticalized as a means to differentiate the subject from the direct object in contexts in which both positions were filled by +animate (+human) nominals and the word order was not fixed (Pușcariu 1921–1922, Drăganu 1943, Onu 1959 a.o.). In time, both markers acquired different semantic and pragmatic values (see Hill & Tasmowski 2008, Hill 2013 and Stan 2013: 171–175 a.o.).

## 1. SVO order

The position of the direct object with respect to the verb is a major parameter that dictates the use of object markers, especially the clitic.

SVO is the standard word order in Romanian. As a general rule, in standard language a postverbal direct object marked with PE may or may not be doubled by a clitic, but the presence of the clitic is obligatorily associated with the presence of the preposition *pe*. Therefore, we can refer to the preposition PE as the differential object marker (DOM), in addition to which speakers may use an additional strategy: clitic doubling (abbrev. CID).

Both DOM (prep. PE) and CID are obligatory in some contexts and optional in others (where other semantic or pragmatic factors influence their use).

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I use the phrase ‘dialectal texts’ because it translates the titles of several collections of texts from spoken Daco-Romanian regional varieties included in the corpus, but I shall refer only to Daco-Romanian texts in this presentation.

<sup>2</sup> For a comparison with other Romance languages, see Van Peteghem 2003–2004, Mardale 2008, Irimia 2020 a.o.

<sup>3</sup> Accusative clitics have different forms for gender (masculine, feminine) and number. Neuter gender clitics have masculine form in the singular, feminine form in the plural (similarly to all neuters in Romanian grammar), which is why in glosses a neuter clitic will be marked M (masculine) in the singular, F (feminine) in the plural.

### 1.1. The use of PE

In standard language, the marker PE is found only with nouns denoting +animate entities<sup>4</sup>: obligatory with proper names of people (including names of animals), influenced by semantic & pragmatic factors with common nouns (generally described as +specific):

- (1) (O) văd pe Ana.<sup>5</sup>  
CL.3F.SG see.PRES.1SG PE Ana  
'I see Ana.'
- (2) (O) văd pe mama. (GALR II: 398)  
CL.3F.SG see.PRES.1SG PE mother.F.SG.DEF  
'I see my mother.'
- (3) a. Cheamă instalatorul să repare robinetul!  
call.IMPER.2SG plumber.DEF SUBJ fix.SUBJ.3SG faucet.DEF  
'Call the plumber to fix the faucet!'  
b. Cheamă-l pe instalator să repare robinetul!  
call.IMPER.2SG PE plumber SUBJ fix.SUBJ.3SG faucet.DEF  
'Call the plumber to fix the faucet!'

In dialectal texts, the same rules are observed in most texts, but we can find several contexts (from different texts) in which a noun denoting an inanimate entity is marked by PE:

- (4) a. Le mulgeam pă<sup>6</sup> oi, îl stricoram pe lapte  
CL.3F.PL milk.IMPF.1PL PE sheep.F.PL CL.3M.SG strain.IMPF.1PL PE milk.N.SG  
și băgam cheag în lapte (TDM III, 171)  
and put.IMPF.1PL rennet in milk  
'We milked the sheep, we strained the milk and we put rennet in the milk'
- b. Îl punem la prins pe lapte și să  
CL.3M.SG put.PRES.1PL to curdle.SUP PE milk.N.SG and CL.REFL.3SG  
prinde bine-n oală (TDM III, 171; same speaker as before)  
curdle.PRES.3SG well=in pot  
'We put the milk to curdle and it curdles well in the pot'

<sup>4</sup> There are three types of exceptions to this rule: quotational phrases as in (i), some idiomatic expressions as in (ii), and comparative constructions as in (iii):

(i) Subliniază-l pe „și”! (see also Pană-Dindelegan 2013: 130)  
underline.IMPER=CL.M.SG PE and  
'Underline the word 'and'!'

(ii) Cui pe cui (se) scoate.  
nail PE nail CL.REFL.ACC.3SG pull-out.PRES.3SG  
'One nail pulls out the other.'

(iii) O iubeste ca pe o floare rară.  
CL.F.3SG love.PRES.3SG as PE a flower.F.SG rare.F.SG  
'(S)he loves her love (s)he loves a rare flower' (GOR: 131)

<sup>5</sup> An apparent exception to this rule is in metonymic contexts:

(i) Ascult Enescu diseară.  
listen.PRES.1SG Enescu tonight  
'I am listening Enescu tonight.'

<sup>6</sup> A phonetic variant of *pe*. The dialectal texts from the corpus contain many regional morphological and phonetic characteristics. I simplified the examples for a better understanding of the meaning.

c.  $\dot{\text{il}}$   $\text{s\ddot{a}m\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}m}$   $\text{p\ddot{a} gr\ddot{a}u}$   $\text{d\ddot{a}d\ddot{a}s\ddot{u}b\ddot{t},}$   $\text{p\ddot{a} p\ddot{o}g\ddot{o}n\ddot{u} r\ddot{e}s\ddot{p}e\ddot{c}\ddot{i}v}$  (TDM III, 212)  
 CL.3M.SG sow.IMP.1PL PE wheat.M.SG below on plot respective  
 ‘We sow the milk below, on that plot of land’

Similar examples are mentioned in literature:

(5)  $\dot{\text{il}}$   $\text{c\ddot{u}l\ddot{e}g\ddot{e}a\ddot{m}}$   $\text{p\ddot{a} p\ddot{o}r\ddot{u}m\ddot{b}}$  (TDD, 578, in Nicula Paraschiv 2016: 45)  
 CL.3M.SG reap.IMP.1PL PE corn.M.SG  
 ‘We reaped the corn’

In standard language, this type of structure would be ungrammatical:

(6)  $*\dot{\text{Î}}$   $\text{c\ddot{u}p\ddot{p}\ddot{a}r}$   $\text{p\ddot{e} l\ddot{a}p\ddot{t}\ddot{e}.}$  /  $*\text{C\ddot{u}p\ddot{p}\ddot{a}r p\ddot{e} l\ddot{a}p\ddot{t}\ddot{e}.}$   
 CL.3M.SG buy.PRES.1SG PE milk.M.SG  
 ‘I buy milk.’

In the two examples below, the inanimate entities are personified, they become characters in a story. This facilitates the use of the prepositional marker:

(7) a. ( $\text{f\ddot{a}n\ddot{t}\ddot{a}n\ddot{a} e\ddot{r}\ddot{a} t\ddot{a}t$  un m\ddot{a}l,  $\text{e\ddot{r}\ddot{a} n\ddot{e}n\ddot{g}r\ddot{a}j\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}$  \text{ș-o} spus c\ddot{a}tr\ddot{a}  $\text{f\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}}$  c\ddot{a}...  $\text{c\ddot{a}}$  s\ddot{a}  $\text{o-ngri\ddot{a}j\ddot{a}s\ddot{c}\ddot{a}}$ , s\ddot{a}  $\dot{\text{î}}$  [ $k$ ] s-o curat\ddot{a} de... m\ddot{a}l.)

$\dot{\text{Ș}}i... \text{f\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}}$   $\text{o-ngri\ddot{a}j\ddot{a}t-o}$   $\dot{\text{ș}}i$   $\text{p\ddot{e} f\ddot{a}n\ddot{t}\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}}$  (TDBN, 67)  
 and girl.DEF AUX=care.PART=CL.F.SG also PE fountain.F.SG  
 (The fountain was full of mud, it hasn’t been taken care of, and it said to the girl to take care of it, to clean the mud of it.) ‘And the girl took care of the fountain as well’

b. ( $\text{s-o-nt\ddot{a}l\ddot{n}i\_c\ddot{u}}$   $\text{c\ddot{u}p\ddot{t}\ddot{o}r\ddot{i}u}$ ,  $\text{c\ddot{u}p\ddot{t}\ddot{o}r\ddot{i}u e-o\_s\_c\ddot{a}}$  s\ddot{a}-l curat\ddot{a}, c\ddot{a} t\ddot{a}t  $\dot{\text{î}}$   $\text{spar\_ș\ddot{i}...}$  t\ddot{a}t  $\text{e\ddot{r}\ddot{a}}$   $\text{spar\_ș\ddot{i}}$   $\text{o\_ș\ddot{i}}\_c\ddot{a}$  s\ddot{a}-l curat\ddot{a}, s\ddot{a}-l lipeasc\ddot{a},  $\dot{\text{ș}}i$  atunș\ddot{a}...)

$\text{f\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}}$   $\text{l-o}$   $\text{c\ddot{u}r\ddot{a}ț\ddot{a}t}$   $\text{p\ddot{e} c\ddot{u}p}$ [tor] (TDBN, 69)  
 girl.DEF CL.3M.SG=AUX clean.PART PE oven.N.SG  
 (In the story, the oven talks to the girl and tells her to clean it.) ‘The girl cleaned the oven.’

In standard language, the use of PE with nouns denoting animals is somewhat unusual. Its use suggests the animal is treated like a person – which explains why it is more acceptable with animals closer to humans (dogs, cats) and more frequent in stories (see GALR II: 398, Coteanu 1963: 244):

(8) a.  $\text{A\ddot{m} l\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}t}$   $\text{c\ddot{a}i\ddot{n}\ddot{e}l\ddot{e}}$   $\text{a\ddot{c}\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}}$  / ?  $\text{L-am}$   $\text{l\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}t}$   $\text{p\ddot{e} c\ddot{a}i\ddot{n}\ddot{e}}$   $\text{a\ddot{c}\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}}$ .  
 AUX leave.PART dog.DEF home CL.M.3SG=AUX leave.PART PE dog home  
 ‘I left the dog at home.’

b.  $\text{F\ddot{o}t\ddot{o}g\ddot{r}\ddot{a}f\ddot{i}\ddot{a}z\ddot{a}}$   $\text{c\ddot{o}ț\ddot{o}f\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}}$  ! / ??  $\text{F\ddot{o}t\ddot{o}g\ddot{r}\ddot{a}f\ddot{i}\ddot{a}z-o}$   $\text{p\ddot{e} c\ddot{o}ț\ddot{o}f\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}}$ !  
 take-photo.IMP.2SG magpie.DEF take-photo.IMP.2SG=CL.F.3SG PE magpie  
 ‘Take a photo of the magpie!’ (from Croitor & Giurgea 2023)

In dialectal texts, nouns denoting animals can be marked with PE even if they are not personified (e.g. characters in a story) – see (4) above:

- (4') Le mulgeam pă oi ... (TDM III, 171)  
 CL.3F.PL milk.IMPV.1PL PE sheep.F.PL  
 'We milked the sheep'

In old language inanimate nouns could be marked by PE, as the grammaticalization of this locative preposition was in early stages:

- (9) a. Soarele-l acoper nouri, așa și pre bine  
 sun.DEF=CL.M.SG cover.PRES.3PL cloud.PL.DEF like also PE good  
 vrăjmașii. (1620, MC: 58<sup>v</sup>, via Nicula-Paraschiva 2016: 44)  
 enemy.PL.DEF  
 'Like the clouds cover the sun, the enemies cover the good.'

- b. nu iaste păcat să biruiască pre iubirea de  
 not be.PRES.3SG sin SUBJ overcome.SUBJ.3SG PE love.DEF of  
 oameni (1670, SVI: 93<sup>f</sup>, via Nicula-Paraschiva 2016: 44)  
 man.PL  
 'There is no sin that can overcome the love of men'

Note that the use of PE extends to personal pronouns as well. In standard language pronouns with inanimate referents very rarely accept PE in unmarked contexts:

- (10) (conversație despre cânepă)  
 o punem în șubăr pi ie... de trei ori (TDBN, 35)  
 CL.F.SG put.1PL in chimney PE it.F.SG.ACC of three times  
 (conversation about hemp) 'We put it (= the hemp) in the chimney three times'

- (11) a. ??Luăm lalelele și le punem pe ele în vază.  
 take.PRES.1PL tulip.F.PL.DEF and CL.3F.PL put.PRES.1PL PE they.F.PL in vase  
 'We take the tulips and put them in the vase.'

- b. Luăm lalelele și le punem PE ELE în vază,  
 take.PRES.1PL tulip.F.PL.DEF and CL.3F.PL put.PRES.1PL PE they.F.PL in vase  
 nu trandafirii.  
 not rose.PL.DEF  
 'We take the tulips and put them in the vase, not the roses.'

#### • An apparent exception: Right dislocation

In dislocation, a constituent (an argument or an adjunct) occurs is dislocated outside its normal syntactic position, to the periphery of the sentence, outside the clause boundaries. The constituent can be dislocated either to the left (left dislocation) or to the right (right dislocation).

- (12) a. Au venit mai târziu, fetele.  
 AUX come.PART more late girl.PL.DEF  
 'They arrived later, the girls.'
- b. Le-am luat ieri, cărțile.  
 CL.3F.PL=AUX get.PART yesterday book.F.PL.DEF  
 'I got them yesterday, the books.'

The dislocated element is usually separated by a pause from the rest of the sentence (a comma), but not in all contexts.

In standard language, as well as in dialectal text, if the DO is right dislocated, its base position in the clause is filled by a clitic. The dislocated DO occurs as an afterthought, a clarifying element:

- (13) Ne puneam                    șî-**l**                    prășeam        di buruiană, **terenu**. (TDD, 190)  
 we begin.IMPV.1PL   and=CL.3M.SG   hoe.IMPV.1PL of weed       field.N.SG.DEF  
 ‘We began to hoe the weed, from that field’

In dialectal texts, the right dislocated DO frequently occurs in sentences without a pause<sup>7</sup>. In these contexts, a +animate (+human) noun lacks the prepositional marker PE, unlike the structures without dislocation. The accusative clitic is present in its standard position in the clause. The addition of the +human noun clarifies the meaning of the clause or it introduces a new perspective. In (14) below the addition of the DP *femeia cu copil* ‘the woman with a child’ stresses the fact that the woman with a small child is difficult to support (the larger context is about the difficulty of supporting a family):

- (14) Unde s-**o**                    mai        duci        **femeia**                    cu copil! (TDM III, 116)  
 where SUBJ=CL.F.SG more        take.2SG woman.F.SG.DEF with child.M.SG  
 ‘Where to take her, the woman with a child!’

The sentence above would be grammatical just with the clitic:

- (15) Unde s-**o**                    mai        duci!  
 where SUBJ=CL.F.SG more        take.2SG  
 ‘Where to take her!’

Therefore, the breaking of the rule of PE marking in (14) is just apparent, since the sentence has a different structure.

The examples in the corpus show that that DOs that are right dislocated are varied (+animate, –animate, singular, plural, with the definite article, with the indefinite article etc.). Notice that in the structures without dislocation, the clitic would not be present unless the DO would be marked by PE (see 1.2. below).

- (16) a. iarna                    **le**                    iernam                    **oile**-acolo                    acasă (TDBN, 36)  
 winter.DEF   CL.3F.PL winter.IMPV.1PL   sheep.F.PL.DEF=there home  
 ‘During winter time we were wintering the sheep there at home’  
 b. acu **o**                    construiesc                    **casa**. (TDM III, 116)  
 now CL.3F.SG   build.PRES.1SG   house.F.SG.DEF  
 ‘Now I am building the house.’  
 c. sara                    mulz                    vicili,                    oili,                    **îl**                    mulz  
 evening.DEF milk.PRES.2SG   cow.PL.DEF   sheep.PL.DEF CL.3M.SG   milk.PRES.2SG  
**laptili**,                    **îl**                    străcuri (GPF, 58)  
 milk.M.SG.DEF   CL.3M.SG   strain.PRES.2SG  
 ‘In the evening you milk the cows, the sheep, you milk the milk, you strain it’

<sup>7</sup> For similar examples from Spanish, see Gabriel & Rinke 2010.

- d. după ce-**l** termină **bradu** **dă** gătit (TDM III, 153)  
 after that=CL.3M.SG finish.PRES.3SG fir.M.SG.DEF of decorate.SUP  
 ‘after (s)he finishes decorating the fir’
- e. [fă]ceam trei pâini, una **o** lăsa-n cas-**o**  
 make.PRES.1PL three bread.PL one CL.3F.SG leave.IMPF.3SG=in house=a  
**pâine**, una o lua moaş-**aea** (TDM III, 143)  
 bread.F.SG one CL.3F.SG take.IMPF.3SG midwife.DEF=that  
 ‘We made three loaves of bread, one was left in the house, one was taken by that  
 midwife’
- f. venea dulgheri, băga dulgheri, şi  
 come.IMPF.3PL carpenter.PL, put.IMPF.3SG carpenter.PL and  
**le-nchiia lemnili** (TDM III, 139)  
 CL.3.F.PL=finish.IMPF.3PL woodwork.PL.DEF  
 ‘Carpenters were coming, he brought in the carpenters and they finished the woodwork’<sup>8</sup>

Sometimes, left and right dislocation can be combined:

- (17) **dimii** asta **o** ard întâi **firili** (GPF, 123)  
 woollen cloth.F.SG.DEF this.F.SG CL.3F.SG heat.PRES.1SG first fiber.PL.DEF  
 ‘This woollen cloth, first I heat the fibers’

## 1.2. Clitic doubling

The contexts with CID are a subset of the contexts with PE, being obligatory in some contexts, impossible in others and optional (subject to speaker variation) in other contexts. According to the last edition of the Academic Grammar (2008), CID is *obligatory* when the DO has the prepositional marker *pe* and is (i) a common noun denoting a person or a personified common noun, (ii) an anthroponym, (iii) a personal, reflexive, politeness, demonstrative, or indefinite pronoun, or the relative and the interrogative *care*, and the ‘semi-independent’ *al* and *cel*. In the same grammar, CID is not possible when the DO is (i) a noun without the prepositional marker *pe* (with or without a determiner), (ii) an indefinite noun in the context of a (preverbal) possessive dative clitic, (iii) the non-standard / colloquial demonstratives *asta* and *aia* without the marker *pe*, (iv) the relative or the interrogative *cine*, *ce* and their compounds, without *pe*.

In standard language, some changes in the use of CID can be traced even in a short period of time: comp. the last two editions of the Academic Grammar, 1966 (GA) and 2008 (GALR), and other articles from the same two periods. Note that in the standard language from the 1960’s, CID was not obligatory in all the contexts described below, according to (normative) grammars. In an article from 1963, Ion Coteanu describes clitic doubling of postverbal objects as ‘a strong tendency of contemporary Romanian’. As most dialectal texts from the corpus belong to the same period, the contrasts exemplified below are more relevant for the present-day standard language.

<sup>8</sup> More examples from the corpus:

- (i) a. **O** putem țâne **mașâna** (TDM III, 137)  
 b. [Dar nu umpleai mațele de la porc?] Ei! Păi **le** luam **mațale** și le spălam (TDBN, 61)  
 c. că o folosăși **la**... la tă **feliu-o** folosăști **unsoarea** (TDBN, 62)  
 d. Ș-o crăpat. Nu **l**-am mai văzut **cânil**e. Și nici oase n-am mai văzut pe-acolo (GPF, 50)  
 e. atunci **l**-astrânzēm **cașu** și-**l** punēm în străcătoare (GPF, 58)  
 f. Ș-atunci când ia ii coaptă urda, **o** luăm **căldarea** de jos și-**o** alegem cu sâta **urda** (GPF, 58–59)  
 g. urdă iasă din la zăr și cașu să face, **l**-aduci acasă **cașu** (GPF, 59)

(a) proper names – obligatory CID in present-day standard language (GALR); optional in dialectal texts and in the standard language from the 1960’s (GA):

(18) a. Dacă Dumnezeu a vrut să-**I** ia  
if God AUX want.PART SUBJ=CL.3M.SG take.SUBJ.3SG

**pe Horia**, ... (G. Liiceanu, from GALR II: 402)

PE Horia

‘If God wanted to take Horia...’

b. Am văzut **pe moș Pilescu** oficiind magistral. (Sadoveanu, in GA I: 145)  
AUX see.PART PE old Pilescu officiate.GER masterly

‘I saw old Pilescu officiating masterly.’

(19) a. Păi colindați **pă Sandu, pă George, pă Ionu** (TDD, 194)  
well carol.2PL PE Sandu PE George PE Ion

‘Well, you carol Sandu, George, Ion’

b. **I-am** dus la gară la Leurdeni **pă Cârstocea** (TDM, 111)  
CL.3M.SG=AUX accompany.PART to station at Leurdeni PE Cârstocea

‘I accompanied Cârstocea to the train station at Leurdeni.’

(b) common nouns denoting +human entities (or personified entities) – obligatory CID in present-day standard language, but optional in dialectal texts and in standard language from the 1960’s (GA):

(20) a. **I-a** îmbrăcat **pe copii**. (GALR II: 402)  
CL.3M.PL=AUX dress.PART PE child.M.PL

‘(S)he dressed the children.’

b. Pentru ce încurci și amețești **pe băieți**? (Negruzzi, in GA I: 145)  
for what mess.PRES.2SG and confuse.PRES.2SG PE boys.PL

‘Why do you mess up and confuse the boys?’

(21) a. luam **pă moașa**, îngenunchea pă pământ (TDM III, 142)  
take.IMPF.1.SG PE midwife.DEF kneel.IMPF.3SG on ground

‘I took the midwife, she knelt on the ground...’

b. să termenă nunta și petreșe **pe**  
CL.REFL.3SG finish.PRES.3SG wedding.DEF and accompany.PRES.3SG PE

**nașu** acasă cinăra (GPF, 56)

godfather.DEF home young woman.DEF

‘The wedding is over and the young woman accompanies the godfather to home’

c. Ș-aveam **pă... băeatu** ăsta care-i acu la servicii,  
and=have.IMPF.1PL PE boy.DEF this who=be.PRES.3SG now at work

era micuț (TDM III, 118)

be.IMPF.3SG little

‘And I had this boy who is now at work, he was little’

d. atuncea am văz\_ și-io **pă tata** că vânează (TDD, 172)  
then AUX see.PART also=I PE father.DEF that hunt.PRES.3SG

‘...then I saw my father hunting’

e. a găsit o fimeie vădană, a crescut **pă bunicu-meo** (TDD, 189)

AUX find.PART a woman widow AUX raise.PART PE grandfather=my

‘He found a widow, he raised my grandfather’

- (22) a. **i-o** auzât răcnin **pe baet** (TDBN, 69)  
 CL.3M.PL=AUX hear.PART shout.GER PE boy.PL  
 ‘He heard the boys shouting.’
- b. **o** gășăs\_ **pă mă-sa** (TDM, 115)  
 CL.3F.SG find.PRES.1SG PE mother=his  
 ‘I find his mother’
- c. **și I-o** rădicat **pe copchil** și I-o pus la... (TDD, 185)  
 and CL.3M.SG=AUX lift.PART PE child and CL.3M.SG=AUX put.PART at  
 ‘...and he lifted the child and put him at...’

Sometimes, the clitic doesn’t agree in number with the DO, but this is due to the lack of anticipation in speech (similar examples can be found in colloquial standard language):

- (23) **O mâncat-o** **și pe fată** **și pe babă** (TDBN, 70)  
 AUX eat.PART= CL.3F.SG both PE girl.F.SG and PE old woman.F.SG  
 ‘He ate both the girl and the old woman.’

(c) demonstrative pronouns – obligatory CID in present-day standard language, but optional in dialectal texts:

- (24) **Îl** vreau **pe acela.** (GALR II: 402)  
 CL.3M.SG want.PRES.1SG PE that.M.SG  
 ‘I want that one.’
- (25) să **iei** **p-aia** fără **nimi\_nimic?** (TDM III, 115)  
 SUBJ take.SUBJ.2SG PE that.F.SG without nothing nothing  
 ‘...to marry that woman who has nothing, nothing’

(d) possessives – obligatory CID in standard language (GA & GALR), but optional in dialectal texts:

- (26) **L-am** pierdut **pe al meu.** (GALR II: 402)  
 CL.3M.SG=AUX lose.PART PE AL(DEF) my.M.SG  
 ‘I lost mine.’
- (27) **Io am** zece oi, **io mulg** **pe-a mele.** Dumeta  
 I have.PRES.1SG ten sheep.F.PL I milk.PRES.1SG PE=AL my.F.PL you  
**mulgi** **pe-a dumetale** (GPF, 110)  
 milk.PRES.2SG PE=GEN your.F.PL  
 ‘I have ten sheep, I milk mine. You milk yours.’

(e) genitives – obligatory CID in standard language (GALR), but optional in dialectal texts:

- (28) el făcea armată **dă vro șase ani,** luase **p-a lu Huțoiu**  
 he do.IMPF army from around six years take.PPF.3sg PE=AL GEN **Huțoiu**  
**și... nu ședea-n** armată **dăloc,** (venea acasă-l **prindea,** iar **îl ducea**) (TDM, 121)  
 and not stay.IMPF.3SG=in army at all...  
 ‘He has been in the army for six years, he had married **Huțoiu**’s daughter and he didn’t remain in the army, (he kept going home, he got caught, he was taken back again...)’



## 2. OVS order

### 2.1. Clitic doubling

OVS is not the standard word order in main sentences; irrespective of the type of displacement the preverbal direct object undergoes (topicalization, focalization, wh-movement – see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Alboiu 2002, a.o.), it is doubled by a clitic if it is definite or specific, even in the absence of PE. Therefore, clitic doubling becomes a differential object marking strategy. Animacy is no longer relevant, even inanimate nouns (which don't take the prepositional marker PE) are clitic doubled. The same types of structures are found in standard language and in most contexts from dialectal texts:

- (29) a. Cartea, însă, am pierdut-o. (topic)  
book.F.SG.DEF however AUX lose.PART=CL.F.3SG  
'The book, however, I lost.'
- b. CARTEA am pierdut-o, nu scrisorile. (focus) (see Croitor & Giurgea 2023)  
book.F.SG.DEF AUX lose.PART=CL.F.3SG not letter.PL  
'It's the book I lost, not the letters.'
- (30) a. **Via** o pueam în pământ (TDM III, 157)  
vine.F.SG CL.F.SG put.1PL in ground  
'We put the vine in the ground'
- b. **claea** o făceam **dă** treisprezece **snopi** (TDM III, 155)  
haystack CL.F.SG make.IMP.1PL of thirteen sheaf.PL  
'We made a haystack of thirteen sheaves.'
- c. **Oile** **le** ducem în munte, **îs** pășuni. (TDBN, 37)  
sheep.F.PL.DEF CL.F.PL take.PRES.1PL in mountain be.PRES.3PL pasture.PL  
'We took the sheep to the mountain, there are pastures there.'

Very rarely, a preverbal DO is not doubled by a clitic:

- (31) a. **șî cașurl-ela...** pune-n străcători (GPF, 50)  
and cheese.DEF=that put.PRES.3SG.=in strainer.PL  
'And he puts those pieces of cheese in strainers'
- b. **floarea-ncinăm** în mieri di stup **floarea** **aia** (GPF, 54)  
flower.F.SG.DEF=soak.PRES.1PL in honey of hive flower.F.SG.DEF that.F.SG  
'We soak that flower in honey from the hive'

Very rarely, a preverbal inanimate DO is marked by PE:

- (32) ...și **pă fiecare** **pălămidă** o atingeam la rădăcină (TDM III, 213)  
and PE each thistle CL.3F.SG touch.PRES.1PL at root  
'...and we touched each thistle at the root'

### 2.2. The use of PE

In preverbal contexts, DO are marked with PE in similar semantic conditions with postverbal DO: mainly +animate entities with a specific interpretation:

- (33) **Pe copii** i-a îmbrăcat. (GALR II: 402)  
 PE child.M.PL CL.3M.PL=AUX dress.PART  
 ‘(S)he dressed the children.’

The same rule is observed in dialectal texts. Rarely, a preverbal +human DO is not marked with PE, but these contexts can be explained by the ‘dynamic’ of the oral message: the speaker announces the topic of the sentence first and then (s)he constructs the rest of the sentence.

- (34) a. Că **baba** o doare ala, urechea, ... (GPF, 11)  
 that old woman.DEF CL.3F.SG hurt.PRES.3SG that ear.DEF  
 ‘That the old woman’s ear hurts’
- b. s-a-necat femeia și-un copil și **ăl mai mic** l-a  
 CL.REFL=AUX=drown.PART woman.DEF and=a child and DEF more little CL.3M.SG=AUX  
 apuca\_ străbunicu... (TDD, 189)  
 grab.PART great-grandfather.DEF  
 ‘The woman and a child drowned, and the youngest one was grabbed by his great-grandfather.’

Unlike standard (literary) language, where the relative or interrogative pronoun *care* ‘which’ is marked by PE, in dialectal texts it is frequently unmarked (similarly to colloquial language<sup>9</sup>):

- (35) a. hainili **care** i le-duce naș-sa (TDD, 185)  
 clothes.F.DEF which CL.DAT CL.3F.PL=bring.PRES.3SG godmother.DEF=his  
 ‘The clothes his godmother brings.’
- b. colindu **care-l** poftea gazda (TDD, 204)  
 carol.N.SG.DEF which=CL.3M.SG want.IMPF.3SG host.DEF  
 ‘The carol the host wanted.’
- c. boala **care-am** căpătat-o eu la stomac (TDM III, 123)  
 illness.F.SG.DEF which=AUX get.PART=CL.3F.SG I at stomach  
 ‘The stomach illness I got.’
- d. după munca **care-o** aveam strânsă (TDM III, 137)  
 after work.F.SG.DEF which=CL.3F.SG have.IMPF.1.SG gathered  
 ‘...after the work I put in’

- regional / dialectal / non-standard vs standard
- oral registry vs standard & normative grammar
- obligatoriness vs optionality of PE and CID in standard language (vs dialectal speech)
- recent dialectal texts

<sup>9</sup> For the grammaticalization of PE with the relative *care*, see Zafiu 2009.

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