

# Differential Object Marking

## From QPs to non-novel indefinites to person agreement to topic agreement

Dalina Kallulli  
University of Vienna

### Claims

(i) Clitic doubling is a form of *Differential Object Marking* (DOM); (ii) doubling clitics trigger 'givenness' (and/or deaccentuation) of their associates, i.e. clitic doubling is the spell-out of agreement with a [+topic]/[+given] XP; (iii) clitic doubled indefinites are "non-novel" indefinites (Krifka 2001); (iv) the restrictor of 'all'-quantifiers is always 'given' (i.e. non-novel); (v) generalized quantifiers are formed in two steps, crucially involving an intermediate DP-layer as the complement of the quantifier head (Matthewson 2001); (vi) the XP in (ii) is invariably a DP; (vii) the *Person-Case Constraint* (PCC) is DOM.

### Clitic doubling as DOM

- Observation: Many languages violate "Kayne's Generalization" (Jaeggli 1982): Albanian, Aromanian, Greek, Megleno-Romanian, Portefino Spanish ...

#### Albanian specials

- Datives are **invariably** clitic doubled
- Direct objects** instantiated by 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person (full) **pronouns** are **always doubled**

#### Pan-Balkan property

- Bare singulars and bare plurals cannot be doubled, which entails that datives (just like subjects) cannot be instantiated by bare nouns

- (0) a. *Eva (e) bleu fustanin / një fustan më në fund.*  
Eva CL,ACC,3S bought dress.the a dress at long last  
'Eva (did) buy the/a dress at long last.'
- b. *Eva \*(e) bleu fustan më në fund.*  
Eva CL,ACC,3S bought dress at long last  
'Eva bought a dress at long last.'
- c. *Eva (i) bleu fustanet / ca fustane më në fund.*  
Eva CL,ACC,3PLread dresses.the / some dresses at long last  
'Eva (did) buy the/some dresses at long last.'
- b. *Eva \*(i) bleu fustane më në fund.*  
Eva CL,ACC,3PL bought dresses at long last  
'Eva bought dresses at long last.'

### Typological generalizations...

- A clitic doubled object functions as a familiarity topic, it is [+given] and [-focus]; note the complementarity of felicity conditions in (1), (2) vs. (3), (4):

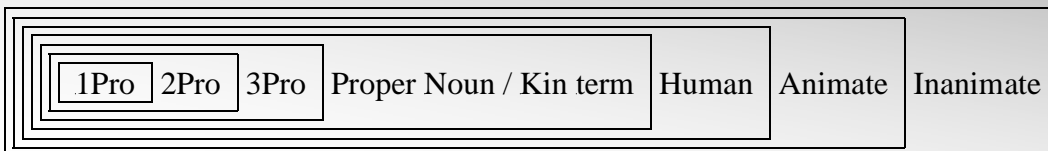
- (1) A: What did Ana do? B: (Al) Ana \*(e) lexoi librin.  
(Gr) I Ana \*(to) dhiavase to vivlio.  
the Anna CL read the book
- (2) A: What did Ana read? B: (Al) Ana \*(e) lexoi librin.  
(Gr) I Ana \*(to) dhiavase to vivlio.
- (3) A: Who read the book? B: (Al) Ana \*(e) lexoi librin.  
(Gr) I Ana \*(to) dhiavase to vivlio.
- (4) A: What did Ana do with/to the book? B: (Al) Ana \*(e) lexoi librin.  
(Gr) I Ana \*(to) dhiavase to vivlio.  
'Anna read the book'

- Focused objects cannot be doubled, whereas the object of a subject question must be doubled in Albanian and is strongly preferred to be doubled in Greek:

- (5) a. Al: *Kë / çfarë \*(e) pe?* (Kallulli 2000:220)  
[who<sub>ACC</sub> / what] CL,ACC,3S saw-you
- b. Gr: *Pjon / ti \*(ton/\*to) idhes?*  
[who/what]<sub>ACC</sub> him/it<sub>CL</sub> saw-you
- (6) a. Al: *Kush \*(e) pa fëmijën?* (Kallulli 2000:220)  
b. Gr: *Pios \*(to) idhe to pedhi?* (Agouraki 1993:154)  
who CL,ACC,3S saw the child  
'Who has seen the child?'

### ... and a true intrinsic universal: the "D-hierarchy" (Kiparsky 2008 drawing on Hale 1976)

- Kiparsky drawing on Wierzbicka (1981): "the hierarchy involves neither 'animacy' nor 'agentivity', which makes a direct functional explanation implausible; a category related to definiteness, such as individuation or "topic-worthiness" is a more likely candidate."



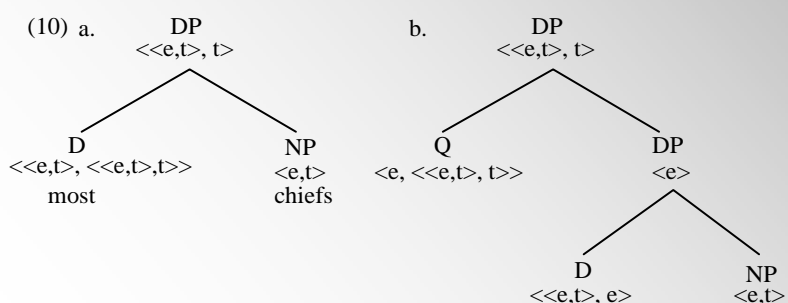
### Clitic doubled indefinites are "non-novel" (Krifka 2001, contra Heim 1982)

- Proof: they are deaccented and pick up discourse referents whose existence in the input context is presupposed: (7) can be uttered felicitously in all contexts in (8)

- (7) a. *Do ta pija me kënaqësi një uiski.* (Albanian)  
FUT SUB-CL,ACC,3S drink with pleasure a whisky
- b. *To pino exfaristos ena ouiskáki.* (Greek; Kazasis & Pentheroudakis 1976)  
it<sub>CL</sub> drink with pleasure a whisky  
'I would gladly drink a whisky.'
- (8) a. What about a whisky? / Would you like a whisky? → quotation ("a whisky")  
b. What about a drink? / Would you like a drink? → part-whole relationship (whisky > drink)  
c. I have just stepped out of work. → presupposed through accommodation

### The restrictor of 'all'-quantifiers is a ([+Given]) DP; givenness must be licensed

- (9) a. *\*(I) pashë të gjithë.* (Albanian)  
b. *\*(Los) vi todos.* (Argentinian Spanish)  
c. *\*(Tus) idha olus.* (Greek)  
d. *\*(I-) am văzut pe toți.* (Romanian)  
them<sub>CL,ACC</sub> saw.1s all<sub>ACC</sub>  
'I saw them all'



### [+Topic] / [+Given] = [+Factive] in the propositional domain

- Factivity can be triggered by a doubling clitic (cf. Kallulli 2006)

- (11) a. *Besova se Beni shkoi (por në fakt ai nuk shkoi).* (Albanian)  
believed-I that Ben left (but in fact he not left)  
'I believed that Ben left (but in fact he didn't)'
- b. *E besova se Beni shkoi (\*por në fakt ai nuk shkoi).*  
CL,ACC,3S believed-I that Ben left (but in fact he not left)  
'I believed the fact that Ben left (\*but in fact he didn't)'
- (12) a. *Pistepsa oti o Janis efije (ala stin pragmatikotita den ejine kati tetijo).* (Greek)  
believed-I that the Janis left (but in.the reality not happened something such)
- b. *To pistepsa oti o Janis efije (\*ala stin pragmatikotita den ejine kati tetijo).*  
it believed-I that the Janis left (but in.the reality not happened something such)

### Prosodic patterns of non-factive and factive 'believe'

