

Bare Plurals and Differential Object Marking in Romanian and Spanish

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Assuming a property-analysis of B(are) N(ominals)s (McNally 1992, 1995, van Geenhoven 1995, Dobrovie-Sorin 1997), and considering the fact that D(ifferential) O(bject) M(arking) is excluded with property-denoting nouns (Mardale 2007, Cornilescu & Dobrovie-Sorin 2007), the following contrast comes to mind: DOM is possible with certain modified B(are) P(lural)s in Spanish, but not in Romanian:

- (1) a. **Detuvieron a hincha(s)*. (Spanish; adapted from Leonetti 2003)
‘They arrested supporter(s).’
b. *Detuvieron a hinchas peligrosos del Atlético*.
‘They arrested dangerous Atlético supporters.’
- (2) a. **Au arestat pe suporter(i)*. (Romanian; same translations)
b. **Au arestat pe suporteri periculoși ai lui Atletico*.

Our analysis of this contrast is based on the answers to the following questions: (i) from a syntactic perspective, what is the relation of DOM (a) to the distinction between NPs, NumPs and DPs (Dobrovie-Sorin & al. 2006), (b) to argument position (Longobardi 1994) and (c) to pseudo-incorporation (Massam 2001)? (ii) from a semantic perspective, (a) what kind of reading have marked BPs?; (b) should we assign different semantic types to marked BPs vs. unmarked BNs?; (c) how should we define the process of semantic incorporation for marked BPs (van Geenhoven 1996, Farkas & de Swart 2003)?