

Typology of Western Romance Differential Object Marking (*ad*): Historical-Comparative Variation¹

The use of preposition *ad* as a marker of Differential Object Marking (DOM) for certain types of objects is an important phenomenon in Romance languages as it is widely attested in all Western Romance varieties across time and space (Rohlf 1971, 312; Roegiest 1979, 37; Nocentini 1985, 303; Zamboni 1993, 787-788).² However, while the licensing factors for Western Romance DOM are well detailed and investigated, there are only superficial comparative accounts which have already revealed significant microvariations (see e.g. Meier 1948; Roegiest 1979; Aldon/della Costanza 2012 for comparisons of DOM in Spanish and Portuguese, Escandell-Vidal 2007; 2009; Pineda 2012 for comparisons between Spanish and Catalán, and Fiorentino 2003; Iemmolo 2007; Ciccotti 2013 for Italo-Romance DOM in relation to Spanish). Such microvariations suggest that DOM is by no means a unified phenomenon and it may be subject to parametric variation in line with the nominal and verbal factors that have been attributed to the licensing of DOM in Romance and beyond (Seržant/Witzlack-Makarevich 2018). Furthermore, although the wide distribution of DOM has led to it being established as of proto-Romance significance (Sornicola 1997; 1998), the Latin origins and formation of Western Romance DOM are as yet poorly understood, in spite of much scholarly output on the uses of Latin *ad* as a proto-Romance dative Case-marker (Adams 2013; Adams/de Melo 2016). This paper, therefore, proposes a comparative analysis and formal typology of Western Romance DOM systems and the Latin origins for the licensing factors which underlie them, and it consists of four sections: section 1 proposes a formal analysis of the licensing factors in the nominal and verbal domains that have been argued to trigger DOM in Romance and beyond, and the layered multifactorial derivation of Western Romance DOM is here given structural representations; section 2 compares the distribution of *ad* in different Western Romance varieties and three types of DOM systems are established on a scale of strength, namely Spanish (strong), Italian dialects (intermediate/conservative) and Portuguese/Catalán (weak) whose subtly different DOM systems are parameterised in terms of the nominal and verbal factors

¹ This paper is a reworked version of several old papers of mine which were delivered at different conferences in the past, namely *Going Romance* 2013 (University of Amsterdam), *Diachrony of Differential Object Marking* 2017 (Institut Nationale des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris), *Ohio State University Congress in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics* 2018 (Ohio State University), *Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages* 2018 (University of York, Toronto) and *Microvariations in Romance Differential Object Marking* 2018 (Institut Nationale des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris). My heartfelt thanks to the audiences and organisers who gave me the opportunity to receive expert feedback and gain a much better understanding of this topic. I would also like to thank my mentors in Romance linguistics and theoretical syntax, Professor Nigel Vincent, Professor Giuseppe Longobardi and Professor Ian Roberts for advising me on this most fascinating topic, as well as Professor Chris Pountain and Professor Ian Mackenzie for reviewing earlier drafts of this and other papers. My colleagues at the University of York have also given me a big helping hand, namely Dr Monica Irimia for her expertise and tireless enthusiasm in this shared obsession of ours. Lastly, I must acknowledge my old Spanish teacher at Sherborne School (UK), Mr Craig Bryson, for introducing me to personal *a* in Summer 2002. I would not have an academic career in Romance linguistics if he had not corrected me on *veo *(a) Juan* ‘I see John’ and **(a) mí me parece...* ‘To me it seems...’ in my homework assignments.

² In addition to *ad*, *pe* is also used as a DOM-marker in Romanian (Mardale 2002), though its different etymology suggests that it is a separate phenomenon and its shared properties with *ad* may well be incidental in line with the universal nature of DOM (Bossong 1991). In this paper, I focus solely on Western Romance *ad* and leave Romanian *pe* for much more qualified scholars.

identified above;³ section 3 analyses the possible motivations behind each licensing factor which, on grounds of the comparative discrepancies seen across Western Romance varieties, may be argued to be independently triggered both synchronically and diachronically, and in light of the Latin evidence for *ad* being construed with various lexical verbs (Tse 2013), different mechanisms are here proposed for the derivation of each licensing factor which accounts for the layered microvariations in Western Romance DOM.

1 Differential Object Marking: Nominal and Verbal Parameters

Detailed analyses of DOM in Romance and beyond reveal numerous licensing factors which may be broadly divided into nominal and verbal (Seržant and Witzlack-Makarevich 2018), and both types of parameters project hierarchies of markedness where non-canonical categories are morphologically marked in comparison to canonical ones (Bossong 1991, 160; Aissen 2003, 436; von Heusinger and Kaiser 2005, 38). As both nominal and verbal parameters of DOM are complex and independent, they are analysed separately in this section.

1.1 Nominal Differential Object Marking: Animacy and Referentiality

It is well established that animacy and referentiality of the object argument are the two main nominal factors in the licensing of Western Romance DOM (Rolhfs 1971, 312-313; Roegiest 1979, 37; Nocentini 1985, 299), and these two properties have been fine-grained in the literature to produce the following scales of markedness where higher categories are more marked than lower ones:

Animacy scale (Silverstein 1976, 176; Aissen 2003, 438; Croft 2003, 130):

- 1) Human > Animate > Inanimate

Definiteness scale (Lazard 1984, 283; Aissen 2003, 438; Croft 2003, 132):

- 2) Personal Pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP

Furthermore, nominal attributes such as person, number and category also display different propensities for DOM which are illustrated as follows:⁴

Person scale (Silverstein 1976, 169; Dixon 1979, 85):

- 3) 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person⁵

Number scale (Silverstein 1976, 169; Kliffer 1995, 96-97):

- 4) Singular > Dual > Plural⁶

Noun types (Dixon 1979, 85; Laca 1995, 88-89; Croft 2003, 130):

- 5) Pronouns > Proper Names > Common Nouns

In sum, the nominal parameter of Romance DOM may be summarised thus (Dixon 1979, 85; Lazard 1984, 283; Heusinger 2003, 5; Laca 2006, 438):

- 6) 1st Person Pronoun > 2nd Person Pronoun > 3rd Person Pronoun > Proper Nouns > Human Common Nouns > Animate Common Nouns > Inanimate Common Noun

³ While this paper recognises the comparative microvariations in Western Romance DOM, it is beyond the scope of this paper (if not practically impossible) to document DOM in all extant Romance varieties. This comparative analysis, therefore, seeks to identify the macrotypes of Western Romance DOM while leaving plenty of room for (many) more microvariations in individual, and especially under-documented, varieties. I thank Dr Mark Hoff and Dr Alice Corr for pointing this out to me.

⁴ Romance noun phrases also exhibit distinctions of grammatical gender, though there is, as far as I know, no evidence for DOM in relation to gender, which is excluded from this discussion.

⁵ It has been pointed out to me that the person hierarchy correlates with animacy, as 1st/2nd person pronouns are necessarily human/animate whereas 3rd person pronouns may not be.

⁶ This may correlate with countability, since it has also been argued that individual count nouns are more likely to be marked than non-individual mass nouns (Laca 1995, 78-81; Kliffer 1995, 96).

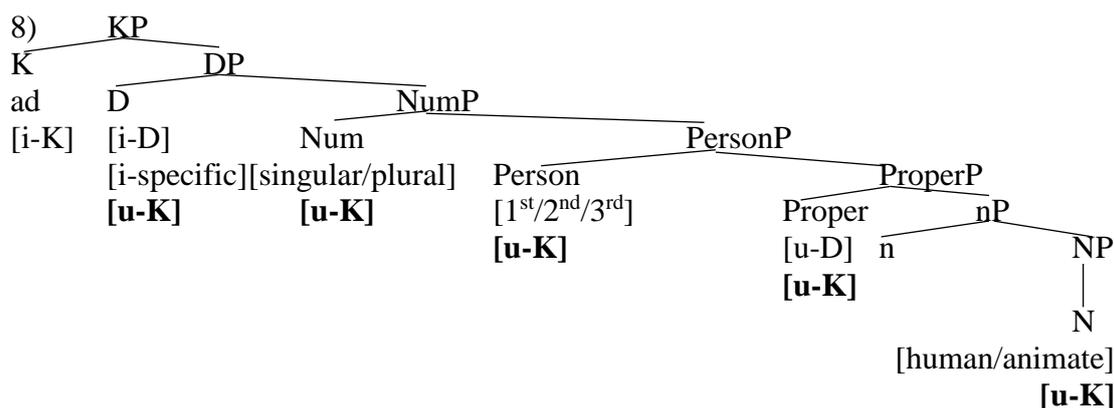
While lexical semantic features such as animacy (1) and formal categorial features (3-5) are inherent properties of the noobject noun which remain generally constant (Bossong 1991, 158-163; De Swart/De Hoop 2006, 601-607), referentiality (2) is a discursive-pragmatic property which is determined morphologically and contextually (Seržant/Witzlack-Makarevich 2018, 5-12). Furthermore, a distinction has been made between definiteness and specificity in that while the former can be indicated by determiners, the latter is largely inferred from discourse and pragmatics:

- 7a) encontré a un abogado que
 find-PRET.1SG AD a lawyer REL.PRO
 no cobr-a l-os ojo-s de la cara
 NEG charge-PRES.3SG ART-PL eye-PL from ART face
 ‘I found a lawyer who does not charge an arm and a leg.’
- 7b) qui-sier-a encontrar un abogado que
 want-IMPERF.SUBJ-1SG find.INF a lawyer REL.PRO
 no cobra-r-a l-os ojo-s de la cara
 NEG charge-IMPERF.SUBJ-3SG ART-PL eye-PL from ART face
 ‘I would want to find a lawyer who would not charge an arm and a leg.’
 (Kliffner 1995, 102-103)

In this minimal pair (7a-b), although the object is headed by the same indefinite article (*un abogado* ‘a lawyer’), the object marked by *ad* (*a un abogado* (7a)) presupposes the existence of such a lawyer which warrants the use of the indicative in the modifying relative clause (... *que no cobra...*) whereas the unmarked object (\emptyset *un abogado* (7b)) is hypothetical and hence non-specific, as indicated by the use of the subjunctive in the modifying relative clause (... *que no cobrar...*). Specificity, therefore, plays a subtle yet significant role in Romance DOM (Leonetti 2004).

Moreover, it has been pointed out that determiners are essential for DOM in Romance in that *ad* is generally banned from marking bare nouns and is permitted mainly in the presence of determiners in the D(eterminer)P(hrase) above the lexical N(oun)P(hrase) (Leonetti 2004, 82-84; Guardiano 2010, 109), which suggests that *ad* is merged in a functional head above D in the extended projection of the NP which may be equated with K(ase) as it functions as a Case-marker for marking nominal arguments (Brugè/Brugger 1994; cf Travis/Lamontagne 1986). Moreover, nominal categories such as pronouns and proper nouns can be analysed as D elements as the former indicate phi-features such as Person and Number (Postal 1969) and the latter are inherently specific in referring to unique referents (Longobardi 1994, 621-628; Croft 2003, 130). In the cartographic structure of nominal arguments (Cinque 2002), triggers for DOM in the form of probe features (u-K) may be parasitic on different heads in the DP as different features seem to be sensitive to DOM (Mordoñedo 2007, 163ff), and these loci for parametric variation may be identified as the lexical root of the head noun containing features of humanness and animacy, proper nouns which can be analysed as D elements (Longobardi 1994, 640), pronominal phi-projections which may be decomposed into Person and Number with their respective feature values, and discourse-pragmatic features of specificity (7a-b) which may be placed on the highest D projection. The microvariations in Western Romance DOM, therefore, may be captured by the different positions of the probe features which are highlighted in bold in the following representation:⁷

⁷ Another commonly postulated licensing factor for DOM in Western Romance is topicality since it has been noted that left-dislocated topicalised objects are often obligatorily marked by *ad* (Berretta 1989; Iemmolo 2010; Della Costanza 2016; Belletti 2018):



In the next section, the licensing factors for DOM in the verbal domain are analysed.

1.2 Verbal Differential Object Marking: ‘Affectedness’ and *Aktionsart*⁸

Similar to nouns, different types of verbs have been shown to have different tendencies for selecting *ad* as verbs that are more ‘affective’ tend to trigger DOM more often where ‘affectedness’ is traditionally correlated with transitivity and it refers to the resultative change of state in the object argument (Hopper/Thompson 1980, 252-253; Tsunoda 1985, 388). This is illustrated here for Spanish:

‘Affectedness’ (Pottier 1968, 87-88):

9) *matar* ‘to kill’ > *ver* ‘to see’ > *considerar* ‘to consider’ > *tener* ‘to have’

As *matar* ‘to kill’ seems to have a bigger effect on its object, which can be analysed as a <patient> undergoing the adversative action of killing, than *tener* ‘to have’ does on its own, which is a <theme> in possession (Pottier 1968, 87), the former obligatorily selects *ad* whereas the latter does not (von Heusinger/Kaiser 2011, 609),⁹ which indicates that *ad* may be analysed as a marker of transitivity denoting ‘affectedness’ (Delbecque 1994 34-36). Within a formal framework of argument/event structure which models verbal predicates in terms of semantic

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|---|---------|--------------------|-----------------|
| i) | *(a) | muchos estudiantes, | ya | los | conoc-ía |
| | AD | many students | already | them | know-IMPERF.1SG |
| | | ‘As for many students, I already knew them.’ | | | |
| ii) | ya | conoc-ía | (a) | muchos estudiantes | |
| | already | know-IMPERF.1SG | AD | many students | |
| | | ‘I already knew many students.’ (Spanish) (von Heusinger 2008, 6) | | | |

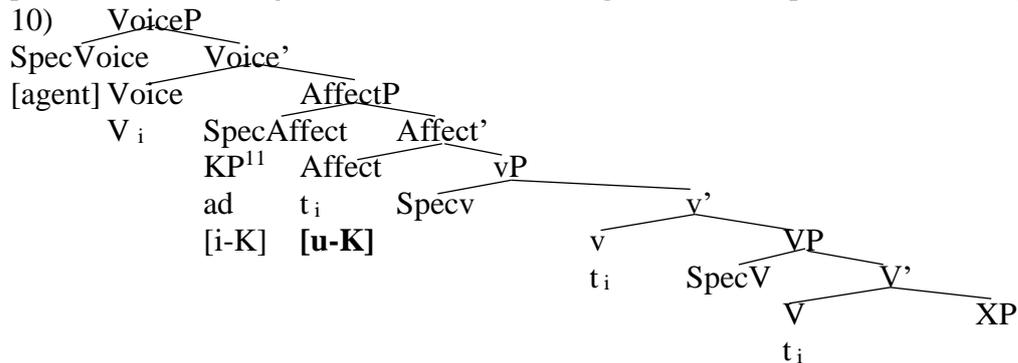
However, such topical uses of *ad* are open to alternative explanations and may not necessarily stand as an independent factor for DOM. As topics denote known information and are generally referential (Dalrymple/Nikolaeva 2011), the use of *ad* in marking topics may be more economically subsumed within the referentiality scale of DOM (main text, 2). Furthermore, it has been shown that cross-linguistically dislocated objects have to be Case-marked due to the fact that they are non-adjacent to the main verb and Case-assignment is widely assumed to obey adjacency (Bobaljik/Wurmbrand 2008), and the use of *ad* in marking topics may be driven by Case-theoretic reasons, which is also seen in other constructions such as comparatives (Irimia/Guardiano 2016). In any case, it is unclear how topicality is related to other DOM-factors such as animacy either synchronically or diachronically (Melis 1995), which leaves its status in DOM in doubt. In my analysis, topicality is not treated as a unique factor for DOM but one that may be correlated with other factors like referentiality and Case-assignment (I am grateful to Dr Mario Della Costanza for our discussion on these points).

⁸ *Aktionsart* refers to the existence of different types of verb which can be classified in terms of their thematic and aspectual properties (Vendler 1967; Dowty 1979; van Valin 2005). This feeds into the verbal parameters of DOM as presently discussed.

⁹ There are instances of Spanish *tener* selecting *ad* as a marker of its object, though in these cases the object of *tener* is not literally the possessum but an object under the influence of the subject which may be analysed as ‘affected’ (Delbecque 1994, 37-39):

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|----|---|--------|---------|-----------|----|-----|------|
| i) | tiene | a | su | madre | cerca / | consigo / | a | su | lado |
| | have-PRES.3SG | AD | his | mother | nearby | with.him | to | his | side |
| | | | ‘He has his mother nearby/with him/to his side.’ (Delbecque 1994, 37) | | | | | | |

primitives (Davidson 1967; Dowty 1979; Rappaport/Levin 1998; van Valin 2005), different A(rgument)-positions have been established for different types of verbs (Hale/Keyser 1993; 2002), and for highly transitive ‘affective’ types of verbs, there can be postulated an extra functional layer denoting the change undergone by the object (BECOME) which may be labelled as Affect and in whose specifier are ‘affected’ objects marked by *ad* (KP) selected and merged (Torrego 1998; Mordoñedo 2007; López 2012). Furthermore, there may be another functional projection (CAUSE) above Affect introducing an external agentive initiator which may be labelled Voice (Ritter/Rosen 1993; Kratzer 1996).¹⁰ In accordance with standard Projection Principles of thematic arguments (Baker 1988; Butt 2006), the following verbal structure may be posited where the functional head which effects change in the predication of the object (Affect) selects an argument in its specifier marked by *ad*:



Since ‘affectedness’ defined as change undergone by the ‘affected’ object entails a natural endpoint to the event (Tenny 1994; Ritter/Rosen 2000; cf footnote 11), ‘affective’ verbs are regularly telic and can be marked for aspect, which is indeed the case with Romance DOM as it has been noted that *ad* is more compatible with telic verbs than with non-telic ones (Torrego 1998, 17ff), as shown in the following alternation where *ad* is obligatory with the telic (11b), but not the atelic (11a), interpretation of Spanish *conocer* ‘to know/meet’:

11a) *conoc-en* (a) *un vecino*
 know-PRES.3PL AD a neighbour
 ‘They know a neighbour.’

11b) *est-oy* *conoc-iendo* a *un vecino*
 COP-PRES.1SG know-PRES.PTCP AD a neighbour
 ‘I am getting to know a neighbour.’ (Torrego 1998, 32)

As verbal properties of ‘affectedness’ and formal/semantic nominal features are not necessarily co-extensive, there may be mismatches between the two parameters in that there may be instances of DOM that only satisfy one of either criterion, as is explained in the following section.

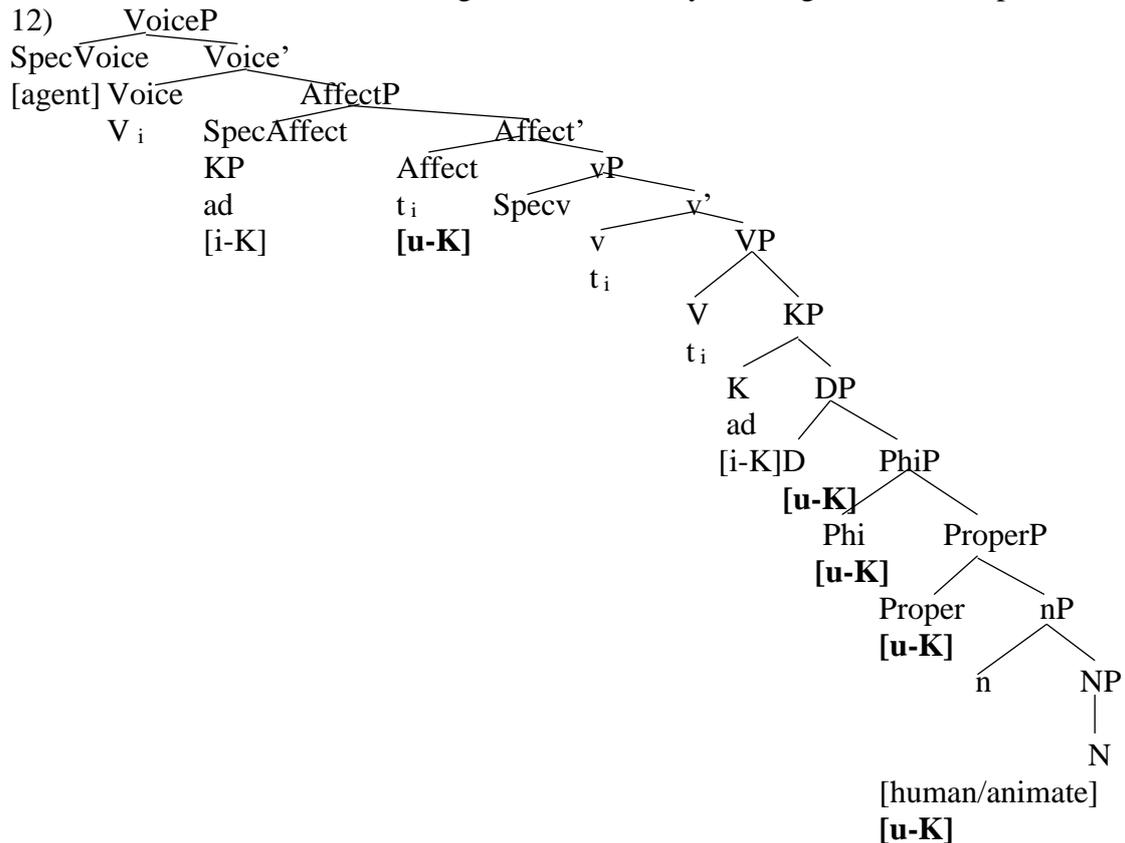
¹⁰ The agentivity of the subject has also been shown to have subtle DOM-effects as they constitute volitional/intentional agents which are also hallmarks of transitivity (Hopper/Thompson 1980, 252):

- i) *el herido exig-ía* / *ped-ía* (a) *un médico*
 ART injured demand-IMPERF-3SG seek-IMPERF.3SG AD a doctor
 ‘The injured required/sought a doctor.’
- ii) *la situación exig-ía* / *ped-ía* *un médico*
 the situation require-IMPERF.3SG seek-IMPERF.3SG a doctor
 ‘The situation required/sought a doctor.’ (Spanish) (Torrego 1998, 29)

¹¹ It is also noted that objects of ‘affective’ verbs tend to be definite and quantized due to the fact that ‘affective’ verbs denote finite, as opposed to continuous, events (Ritter/Rosen 2000), which correlates with the referentiality scale of DOM (main text, 2).

1.3 Nominal and Verbal Parameters of Differential Object Marking: Formal Representation

In the nominal domain (section 1.1) Western Romance *ad* can be argued to be selected by different features in the DP such as lexical semantic features in the head noun (N) (human/animate), categorial features in the D-layer such as pronominal (Pers/Num) and proper nouns (Proper), and the general definiteness/specificity (D) of the nominal object, whereas in the verbal domain (section 1.2) *ad* can be selected by projections denoting ‘affectedness’ (AffectP). In sum, Western Romance DOM may be represented thus where *ad* is selected by either Affect or various projections in the internal structure of the nominal argument which may be merged in other A-positions:



Such is a formal account of Western Romance DOM. In the next section, a comparison is made between the distribution of *ad* in different varieties of Western Romance from which three types of DOM-systems are identified on a scale of strength, namely Spanish (strong), Italo-Romance (intermediate) and others (weak) which include Portuguese, Catalán and Gallo-Romance.

2.1 Spanish Differential Object Marking (strong)

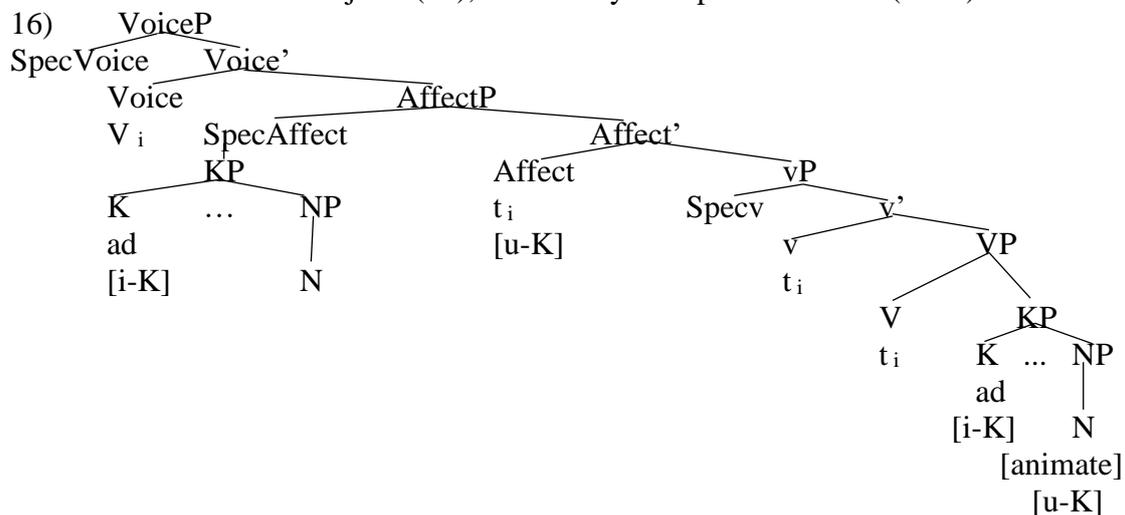
As is well known, DOM is particularly prominent in Spanish among Romance languages (Bossong 1991, 147-151; Zamboni 1993, 787) which is supported by the fact that *ad* may be licensed independently by either nominal features of animacy in the object or verbal features of affectedness in the verb. In the nominal domain, *ad* is attested as a general animacy marker as it marks all animate objects encompassing humans (13a), animals (13b), toponyms denoting communities or groups of people (13c), and any object that might be attributed to an animate being e.g. musical (13d) or literary composition (13e):¹²

¹² It should be mentioned that *ad* tends to be optional with non-human animate objects as these are not as regularly marked as human objects. My thanks to Professor Pountain for pointing this out to me.

- 15b) la primavera preced-e a-l verano
 ART spring preced-PRES.3SG AD-ART summer
 ‘Spring precedes winter.’ (Laca 1995, 67)
- 15c) su voluntad obedec-e a la razón
 his will obey-PRES.3SG AD DEF.ART reason
 ‘His will obeys his reason.’ (Fabregas 2013, 15)
- 15d) el adjetivo modific-a a-l sustantivo
 ART adjective modify-PRES.3SG AD-ART noun
 ‘The adjective modifies the noun.’ (Torrego 1999, 1801)
- 15e) l-os ácido-s atac-an a l-os metal-es
 ART-PL acid-PL attack-PRES.3PL AD ART-PL metal-PL
 ‘Acids attack metals.’ (Molho 1958, 214)
- 15f) l-as dificultad-es priv-an a-l proyecto
 ART-PL difficulty-PL deprive-PRES.3PL AD-ART project
 de todo su atractivo inicial
 of all its attractiveness initial
 ‘The difficulties which I have just enumerated deprive the project of all its initial attractiveness.’ (adapted from Laca 1995, 69)

In these examples, while objects like *dificultad* ‘difficulty’ (15a), *verano* ‘summer’ (15b), *razón* ‘reason’ (15c) may be interpreted as personified forces of nature, others such as *sustantivo* ‘noun’ (15d), *metales* ‘metals’ (15e), *proyecto* ‘project’ (15f) are less likely so (Weissenrieder 1985; 1991), which indicates that *ad* may be functioning purely as a marker of transitivity in marking ‘affected’ objects regardless their nominal properties (Delbecque 1994, 38; García García 2007, 72ff).

Spanish DOM is hence robust in that *ad* is used in both the nominal and verbal domains where it seems to have been generalized to all animate objects (13-14) as well as to all ‘affected’ objects (15), which may be represented thus (cf 12):



In the next sub-section, a comparison is made with Italo-Romance varieties, many of which also use *ad* as a marker of DOM, albeit to a smaller extent than Spanish.¹⁴

2.2 Italo-Romance Differential Object Marking (intermediate)

DOM in Italian dialects (see footnote 15) is more restricted than in Spanish. First of all, it is unclear whether ‘affectedness’ plays a determinant in Italo-Romance DOM as it does in Spanish (15), since there is as yet no clear evidence to suggest that

¹⁴ While standard Italian generally abstains from DOM apart from some pronominal and topical usages (Berretta 1989; Nocentini 1992), many Italian dialects, especially those from the south, do use *ad* for DOM (Berretta 1989; Guardiano 2000; Fiorentino 2003).

ad is used exclusively or more frequently with ‘affective’ types of verbs in that *ad* tends to mark human objects (17a-d) to the exclusion of animals (17e-g) and affiliated objects (17h), unless there is independent motivation like personification (17i), high referentiality (17j), and proper names such as toponyms (17k).¹⁵

- 17a) *agg-io vis-to a Don Gennarino*
 have-PRES.1SG see-PERF.PTCP AD Don Gennarino
 ‘I saw Don Gennarino.’ (Neapolitan) (Fiorentino 2003, 118)
- 17b) *caniscivu a Luvici*
 meet-PRET.1SG AD Luigi
 ‘I met Luigi.’ (Sicilian) (Iemmolo 2007, 4)
- 17c) *app-u vis-tu a Juarne*
 have-PRES.1SG see-PTCP.PERF AD Giovanni
 ‘I saw Giovanni.’ (Sardinian) (Jones 1995, 38)
- 17d) *Giuarne acchiamende a Mmarije*
 Giovanni look.PRES.3SG AD Maria
 ‘Giovanni looks at Maria.’ (Barese) (Andriani 2015, 62)
- 17e) *ammazz-aru (*a) u cani*
 kill-PRET.3PL AD ART dog
 ‘They killed the dog.’ (Sicilian) (Iemmolo 2007, 5)
- 17f) *app-o vis-tu (*a) su cane*
 have-PRES.1SG see-PERF.PTCP AD his dog
 ‘I saw his dog.’ (Sardinian) (Jones 1995, 38)
- 17g) *so assute (*a) u cane*
 COP.PRES.1SG exit.PERF.PTCP AD ART dog
 ‘I have taken out the dog.’ (Barese) (Andriani 2015, 70)
- 17h) *app-o leggi-du (*a) Platone*
 have-PRES.1SG read-PERF.PTCP AD Plato
 ‘I read Plato.’ (Sardinian) (Floritic 2003, 251)
- 17i) *puoie dicere avere serv-uto a lo Viento*
 can.PRES.2SG say.INF have.INF serve-PERF.PTCP AD ART Wind
 ‘... you can say that you have served the Wind.’ (Neapolitan)
 (Fiorentino 2003, 124)
- 17j) *vuogghiu a ‘stu cani ‘cca*
 want-PRES.1SG AD this dog here
 ‘I want this dog here.’ (Sicilian) (Guardiano 2000, 25)
- 17k) *app-o vis-tu a Nápoli*
 have-PRES.1SG see-PERF.PTCP AD Napoli
 ‘I have seen Napoli.’ (Sardinian) (Floritic 2003, 251)

Furthermore, referentiality seems to play a bigger role in Italian dialects than in Spanish (cf 14) in that even if the object is human, *ad* has been shown to be non-obligatory or even ungrammatical in several varieties when the human object is either indefinite (18a-b), non-specific (18c) or non-individual (i.e. plural) (18d-f):

¹⁵ It is unclear whether verbal properties like ‘affectedness’ can license or catalyse Italo-Romance DOM, as shown in the following example where *ad* is prohibited even with a strongly ‘affective’ verb:

- i) *u stagnare squaggh-je (*a) u fferre*
 ART tinsmith melt-PRES.3SG AD ART iron
 ‘The tinsmith melts iron.’ (Barese) (Andriani 2015, 70)

In this sub-section, I limit my analysis of Italian DOM to the nominal properties of the object argument, which seem to be uniform across all types of verbs (Jones 1995, 38; Andriani 2015, 71).

- 18a) ammazz-aru (*a) un cristianu a Giurgenti
kill-PRET.3PL AD a person at Gargento
'They killed a person in Gargento.' (Sicilian) (Iemmolo 2007, 5)
- 18b) anti pigau (*a) una piciocca
have-3PL snatch.PERF.PTCP AD a girl
'They snatched a girl.' (Sardinian) (Iemmolo 2007, 8)
- 18c) cercave (*a) nu crestiene ca sape lesca
search-IMPERF.1SG AD a person REL.PRO know read
u Bbarese
ART Barese
'I was looking for a(ny) person who can read Barese.' (Barese)
(Andriani 2015, 66)
- 18d) arrubb-aru (a) i so cuscini
snatch-PRET.3PL AD ART.PL his cousin-PL
'They snatched his cousins.' (Sicilian) (Iemmolo 2007, 5)
- 18e) app-u bi-u (a) is pippiusu
have-1SG see-PERF.PTCP AD ART.PL child.PL
'I saw the children.' (Sardinian) (Iemmolo 2007, 8)
- 18f) io serv-o (*a) uomini e donne
I serve-PRES.1SG AD men and women
'I serve men and women.' (Neapolitan) (Fiorentino 2003, 127)

Moreover, in some dialects referentiality seems to be itself sufficient for DOM as there are examples of definite inanimate objects marked by *ad*:

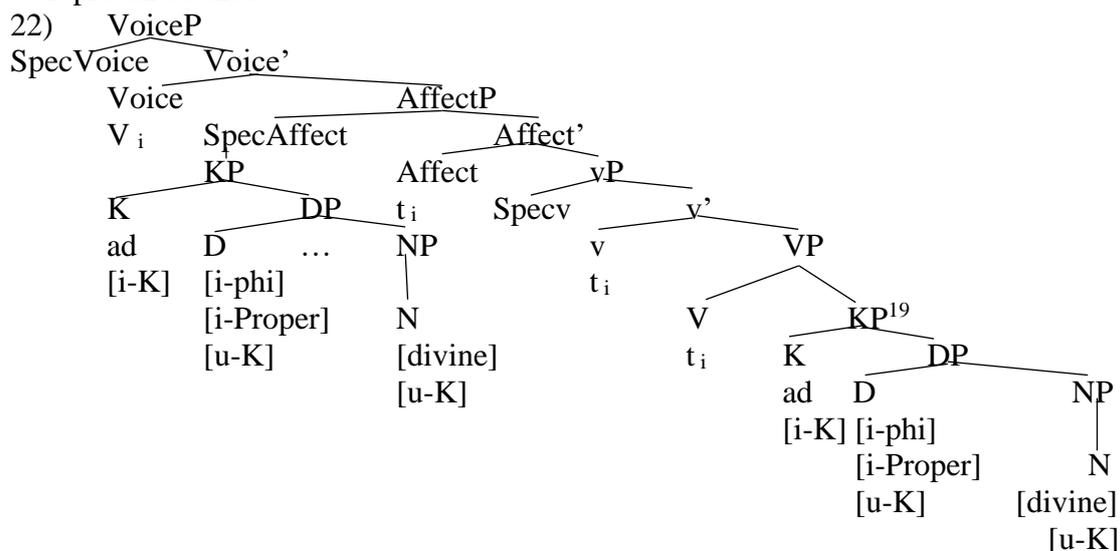
- 19a) app-o vis-tu a custu / cussu
have-PRES.1SG see-PERF.PTCP AD this / that
'I saw this/that.' (Sardinian) (Floritic 2003, 253)
- 19b) miette a kkweiste
put.IMPERATIVE.2SG AD this
'Put this one.' (Gorgoglione, in Basilicata) (Manzini/Savoia 2005, 508)
- 19c) te dewe (a) kkwiste
you owe.PRES.1SG AD this
'I owe you this.' (Colobraro, in Basilicata) (Manzini/Savoia 2005, 509)

Italian DOM, then, seems to be more conservative than Spanish in that *ad* remains a predominantly marker of human and/or referential objects and *ad* has not been generalized to other types of objects (see footnote 12),¹⁶ which may be represented thus:

¹⁶ The conservativity of Italian DOM is corroborated by comparative evidence in Medieval Romance where *ad* is similarly restricted to marking referential human objects to the general exclusion of indefinite, non-specific and plural human objects (Zorraquino 1967; Sornicola 1997; 1998), and it is well documented that there is a subsequent expansion of DOM to all animate objects in the history of Spanish (Kaiser/von Heusinger 2007; García García 2018). More is said about the diachrony of Western Romance DOM below.

- 21e) veur-é a la Maria
 see-FUT.1SG AD ART Maria
 ‘I shall see Mary.’ (Colloquial Catalán) (Escandell-Vidal 2009, 840)
- 21f) oun abe-t trouba-t a Titou
 where have-PRES.2PL find-PERF.PTCP AD Titou
 ‘Where have you found Titou?’ (Bearnese) (Joly 1971, 288)
- 21g) deve-mos amar a Deus
 must-PRES.1PL love.INF AD God
 ‘We must love God.’ (BP/EP) (Schwenter 2014, 238)
- 21h) així se prov-e si am-es a Jesuchrist
 thus CL prove-PRES.3SG whether love-PRES.2SG AD Jesus.Christ
 ‘Thus it proves whether you love Jesus Christ.’ (Escandell-Vidal 2009, 842)
- 21i) tem que respeitar a-o chefe
 have.PRES.3SG COMP respect.INF AD-ART boss
 ‘He has to respect his boss.’ (BP/EP) (Kliffner 1995, 109)

As with Italian dialects, there is no evidence that verbal ‘affectedness’ the use of *ad* and so in these varieties. Such a restricted distribution of DOM in these varieties suggests that *ad* is predominantly a marker of pronouns and proper names, the latter of which subsume a particular subclass of animate nouns, namely deities, which may be represented thus:



Western Romance varieties reveal subtle yet significant microvariations in the uses and distribution of *ad* in DOM, which range from strong types as seen in Spanish where both nominal parameters of animacy and referentiality and verbal parameter of ‘affectedness’ independently and sufficiently license DOM (section 2.1), through to intermediate and conservative types in Italian dialects where *ad* is used for marking human and referential objects (section 2.2), and to all other varieties (EP/BP, Catalán, Bearnese) in which *ad* is mainly a pronominal and proper noun marker of deities (section 2.3). These parametric options reveal important mechanisms behind DOM which are further discussed in the next section.

2.4 Formal Typology of Romance Differential Object Marking

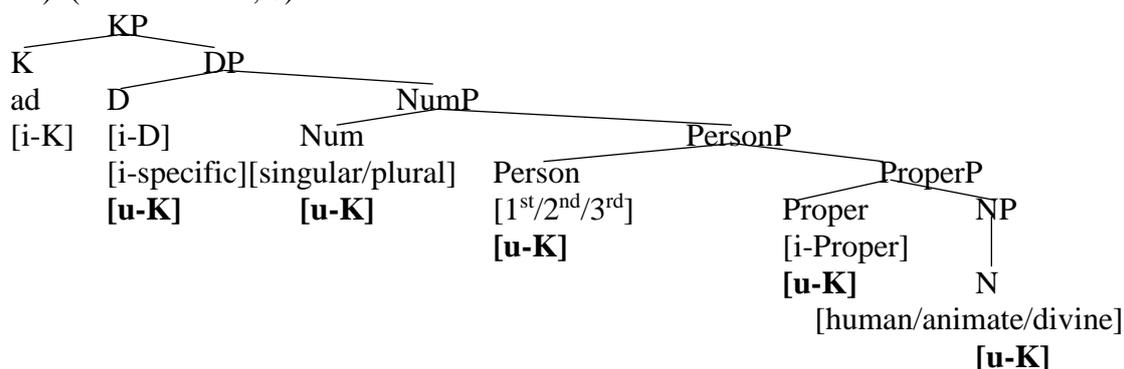
A comparative analysis of Western Romance DOM reveals a hierarchy of DOM parameters which may be ranked as follows in order of obligatoriness (cf section 1.1, 7):

¹⁹ As with Italo-Romance DOM (see footnote 18), there is no attested difference in the probability of DOM triggered by verbal ‘affectedness’ so the nominal properties are inserted in both A-positions here.

DOM-hierarchy in Western Romance:

23) Personal Pronouns > Proper Nouns > Divine > Human > Animate > Referential
 Personal pronouns are most commonly marked as they are marked by *ad* in weak types of DOM (section 2.3) and are obligatorily marked in stronger types such as Spanish and Italian dialects (see , and while since even in weak types of DOM such as Portuguese, Catalán and Gallo-Romance (section 2.3), personal pronouns are still regularly marked (21a-c) (though see footnote 19) and in stronger types of DOM such as Spanish and Italian (sections 2.1, 2.2) personal pronouns are obligatorily marked by *ad* (Laca 1995:66; Guardiano 2000, 20-21), which is also a typological trend (Aissen 2003, 282). Next on the hierarchy are proper names which are also marked in weak types of DOM (section 2.3, 21d-f) and strongly associated with *ad* in Spanish and Italian (Laca 1995, 66; Guardiano 2000, 21-22). Below these functional categories in the DP come lexical nouns which are marked by *ad* depending on their lexical semantic features, namely humanness and animacy of which the former is a subset of the latter as seen in Spanish and Italo-Romance DOM (sections 2.1, 2.2, 13, 17), and a further distinction is made with deities and authorities as sub-types of animate objects in Portuguese and Catalán (section 2.3, 21g-i). These are further complemented by referentiality which is a secondary factor in the marking of human/animate nouns (section 2.1-2.2, 14, 18) and may be used as a primary determinant in some Italian dialects (section 2.2, 19). There are hence structural correlations between the selection of *ad* and the cartographic projections in the nominal domain in that higher projections seem to have a greater affinity with *ad* (K) than lower ones:

24) (cf section 1.1, 8)



As different Romance varieties posit different microparametric settings for the selection of *ad* in DOM, this has resulted in the discrepancies in the three types of DOM which show that Western Romance DOM is layered further suggests that there may be multiple independent causal factors for each category (D/Phi/Proper/N) in the derivation of Romance DOM. In the next section, each of these licensing factors is examined in relation to the grammaticalization of *ad* in Latin/proto-Romance where *ad* is reanalyzed from being a spatial preposition to a Case-marker (Adams/de Melo 2016).

3 Formation of Romance Differential Object Marking: Latin *ad*

As the wide geographical and historical distribution of Western Romance DOM strongly suggests proto-Romance origins (Lapesa 1907; Nocentini 1985; Sornicola 1997; 1998), historical evidence for its formation can be traced back to Latin *ad*, which comes to mark direct and indirect objects of two-place and three-place verbs respectively in the evolution from Latin to Romance (Adams 2011; 2013; Adams/de Melo 2016), Furthermore, as Latin *ad* is originally a lexical spatial (allative) preposition, it has selectional restrictions, some of which seem to anticipate

the various licensing factors for Romance DOM identified in the previous sections. In this section, the origins of each licensing factor for Romance DOM are proposed in accordance with the chronology of Latin *ad* being construed with different types of lexical verbs, which consist of the following (Tse 2013): verbs of vision (*verba videndi*) > verbs of serving (*verba serviendi*) > verbs of calling (*verba clamandi*) > verbs of begging (*verba rogandi*).

3.1 Verbs of Vision (*verba videndi*): ‘Affectedness’ and Referentiality

As argued in section 1.2, the main verbal parameter for Romance DOM is the general transitivity and ‘affectedness’ of the verb which also affect its argument and aspectual properties in that *ad* imposes telicity on the verb and thematic constraints on the object (9-11). The origins of these verbal properties are evident in the earliest attestations of Latin *ad* being construed with two-place verbs, namely verbs of vision (*verba videndi*) which are attested from Plautus (2nd century BC) onwards,²⁰ and the spatial meaning of *ad* is always evident as it indicates the ‘direction/destination’ of vision which often implies travelling in the sense of visiting one’s house (25a), which also conforms to the meaning and usage of the cognate verb *visere* ‘to visit’ (25b):²¹

²⁰ The distribution of verbs of vision + *ad* is vast as they are attested in all historical stages of Latin (i-iii) and in all varieties of Romance (iv-viii) which display DOM, which strongly suggests that they played a central role in the formation of (proto-)Romance DOM:

Classical Latin:

- i) vere-or, ne... nunc ad Caeciliana-m fabula-m spect-et
 fear-PRES.1SG COMP now AD Caecilian-ACC.SG play-ACC.SG watch-3SG
 ‘I fear that... he may now watch the play of Caecilius.’ (Cicero *ad Atticum* 1.16.6)

Christian Latin:

- ii) et aspici-e-nt ad me
 and look-FUT-3PL AD me
 ‘And they will look at me...’ (Jerome *Epistulae* LVII.7)

Medieval Latin:

- iii) ipse farinarius ad ipso Verno nonquam aspe-xissit
 ART baker AD ART Vernus never look-PERF.3SG
 ‘The baker never looked at Vernus.’ (Merovingian documents XXXII)

Medieval Spanish:

- iv) ver-é a la mugier...
 see-FUT.1SG AD ART woman
 ‘I shall see the woman...’ (*El Poema del Mio Cid* 228b)

Medieval Portuguese:

- v) ve-r a Rainha da Grã-Bretanha
 see-INF AD Queen of Great-Britain
 ‘to see the Queen of Great Britain.’ (*Prosa do Padre Antonio Vieira* 289)

Medieval Catalán:

- vi) yo veh-ia a Jesuchrist...
 I see-IMPERF.1SG AD Jesus.Christ
 ‘I saw Jesus Christ...’ (*The Sermons of Saint Vicent Ferrer* 60)

Medieval Neapolitan:

- vii) guard-a a me
 watch-IMPERATIVE AD me
 ‘Look at me...’ (*Vita e favole di Esopo* 19, 18)

Medieval Sicilian:

- viii) vid-i a Dido
 see-PRET.1SG AD Dido
 ‘I saw Dido.’ (*La istoria di Eneas* 3.21)

²¹ As argued by Adams 2013, 243ff, Latin *ad* even when construed directly with lexical verbs is not identical to the morphological cases since it often retains its directional meaning and should hence be analysed as a lexical preposition rather than a Case-marker, even if its uses anticipate Romance Case-marking. This creates a layered distribution in Latin where unmarked synthetic forms (morphological

- 25a) nunc ad era-m revide-bo
 now AD mistress-ACC revisit-FUT.1SG
 ‘I shall see her again (at hers) now.’ (Plautus *Truculentus* 320)
- 25b) i-bo ut vis-a-m huc ad eum,
 go-FUT.1SG so.that visit-PRES.SUBJ-1SG here AD him
 si forte est domi
 if perchance be.PRES.3SG at.home
 ‘I shall go and visit him here, if by chance he is at home.’
 (Plautus *Bacchides* 529)

In these examples, *ad* is spatial as it marks motion towards a particular destination (*ad eram* ‘to my mistress’ home’ (25a), *huc ad eum... domi* ‘hither to his house... at home’ (25b)), and the object of *ad* is necessarily definite and specific since *ad* is inherently deictic in marking ‘direction/destination’. This is particular evident in examples where *ad* denotes rotation:

- 26) quis illic est qui tam proterve
 who there be.PRES.3SG REL.PRO so impudently
 nostras aedis ariet-at ? ego sum,
 our rooms ram.PRES.3SG I be.PRES.1SG
 respic-e ad me
 look.back-IMPERATIVE.2SG AD me
 ‘Who is the one over there who is battering our rooms? It is I, look back at me.’ (Plautus *Truculentus* 256-257)

Due to the spatial force implied by *ad* (*illic... ‘over there’*), its object (*respice ad me* ‘look back at me’) is strongly referential, which is an important criterion in Romance DOM (section 2.4). Furthermore, *ad* in these examples imposes telicity on the act of seeing as it adds a natural endpoint to the event by specifying the destination of vision (*ad eram* (25a), *ad eum* (25b), *ad me* (26)), in addition to which *ad* selects an object that is not merely the <stimulus> of vision but an ‘affectee’ since the object of *ad* can be analysed thematically as the <beneficiary/recipient> of one’s visit. These uses of Latin *ad* with verbs of vision, therefore, seem to alter the *aktionsart* of the verb in ways which anticipate Romance DOM.²² Further restrictions are explored below.

3.2 Verbs of Serving (*verba serviendi*): Pronominal and Proper Nouns

In the history of Latin, *ad* overlaps in function with the morphological dative as it comes to mark indirect objects which obligatorily require *ad* in Romance (Adams 2013, 278ff).²³ Sornicola (1997; 1998) argues that Latin *ad* also competes with dative objects of two-place verbs which regularly select inherently human/animate semantic roles such as <recipient/beneficiary/experiencer> which turn out to be marked by *ad*

case) and marked analytic forms (*ad*-PP) co-exist synchronically (Ledgeway 2012, 23-25), which feeds into the distribution of *ad* as a marker of ‘marked’ objects in Romance DOM (see section 1).

²² Referentiality and ‘affectedness’ are not necessarily correlated (see footnote 12) and there are examples where *ad* selects an inanimate non-affected object (<stimulus/theme>) of the directed vision, which may be seen as anticipating the referentiality criterion as seen in Italian dialects (section 2.2, 19):

i) et respe-xit Dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius
 and look.back-PERF.3SG Lord AD Abel and AD gifts his
 ‘... and the Lord looked back at Abel and his gifts.’ (Latin Bible *Genesis* 4:4)

²³ The obligatory use of *ad* in the marking of indirect objects can be accounted for via Case-theoretic reasons, since on the assumption that all nominal arguments are assigned Case and Case-assignment is subject to adjacency (cf footnote 7), indirect objects, being non-adjacent to the verb in configurational syntax, need to be marked for Case (Ledgeway 2012, 181ff), whereas DOM which applies to direct objects is not drive by Case but by semantic/thematic/categorical factors as analysed in this paper.

in Romance.²⁴ The earliest example is *servire* ‘to serve’ which is regularly construed with the dative (27a) and is first attested with *ad* in Jerome (27b) (4th century AD) which is inherited in Medieval Latin (27c) and Romance (27d-f) (Blake and Velázquez-Mendoza 2012):

- 27a) vid-emus exempla captiva servire tibi
 see-PRES.1PL example-PL captive-PL serve.INF you.DAT.SG
ad victoriam...
 AD victory
 ‘We see that the examples of the slaves serve you for the purpose of victory.’
 (Jerome *Epistulae* 48.13)
- 27b) *ad* cuius imperium
 AD REL.PRO-GEN.SG command.ACC.SG
 cael-um terr-a mar-ia servi-eba-nt
 heaven.NOM.SG land-NOM.SG sea-NOM.PL serve-IMPERF-3PL
 ‘... whose power heaven, earth and the seas served.’ (Jerome *Epistulae* 82.3)²⁵
- 27c) ibi deb-ent seruire a sancta maria
 there must-PRES.3PL serve.INF AD holy Mary
 ‘... there they must serve Holy Mary.’ (Medieval Latin) (*Sahagún* 423)
- 27d) los que qui-siere-n ir
 those REL.PRO want-FUT.SUBJ.3PL go.INF
 servir a-l Campeador
 serve.INF AD-ART Campeador
 ‘those who want to go and serve the Campeador.’ (Medieval Spanish)
 (*El Cantar del mio Cid* 1369)
- 27e) perché non poss-o ad tal signor servire
 because NEG can-1SG.PRES AD such lord serve.INF
 ‘... because I cannot serve such a lord.’ (Medieval Neapolitan)
 (*Vita e favole di Esopo* 20.13)
- 27f) para servir a tão ilustres senhor-es
 in.order serve.INF AD so distinguished.PL sir-PL
 ‘... in order to serve such distinguished guests.’ (Medieval Portuguese)
 (*Ciganita* 35)

As with verbs of vision in the previous sub-section, *ad* shows selectional restrictions here since it is mostly used for marking nouns that are prosodically heavy (*ad... imperium* (27b), *a sancta maria* (27c), *al Campeador* (27d), *ad tal signor* (27e), *a tão ilustres senhor-es* (27f)) whereas clitic pronouns remain inflected (*tibi* (27a)) (Sornicola 1998, 423-425; Adams/de Melo 2016, 90-91), which may account for the marking of Romance tonic personal pronouns and proper names (section 2.4). Other verbs which select *ad* and the morphological dative are examined below.

²⁴ In line with theoretical distinctions between structural Case and inherent Case where the former is purely grammatical while the latter is semantically/thematically conditioned (Blake 1994, 31-33), Latin dative case falls between the two in that although it is the default morphological case for indirect objects (cf previous footnote), it is also subject to thematic/semantic constraints like animacy which is a concomitant feature of semantic roles such as <recipient/beneficiary/experiencer> (Pinkster 1985). As *ad* comes to displace the morphological dative, therefore, it becomes associated with human/animate objects, as is presented discussed.

²⁵ Although the object of *servire* here (*ad cuius imperium* ‘whose command’) is inanimate, it may be argued to be personified in line with the thematic property of *servire* ‘to serve’ whose object typically denotes <beneficiary> (cf previous footnote). Such personification seems to anticipate the marking of non-human animate objects in Romance DOM too (sections 2.1, 2.2).

3.3 Verbs of Shouting and Begging (*verba clamandi et rogandi*): Humanness/Animacy/Divinity

Of the three-place verbs which are construed with *ad* as a marker of indirect objects (Adams 2011; 2013; Adams/de Melo 2016), there are some which are structurally ambiguous between bivalency and trivalency, which yields the possibility of reanalyzing indirect objects as direct objects which, given that indirect objects are predominantly human/animate (see footnote 25), creates a formal opposition between animate objects marked by *ad* and unmarked inanimate objects in the same grammatical relation, which is indeed a cornerstone of DOM (Seržant/Witzelach-Makarevich 2017, 3). The two types of verbs in question here are verbs of shouting (*verba clamandi*) and verbs of begging (*verba rogandi*), both of which are three-place verbs in classical Latin but turn out to be two-place verbs in Romance, the origins of which can be found in the Christian and Medieval periods. As these two types of verbs have different argument structures in that the former (*verba clamandi*) express indirect statements and the latter (*verba rogandi*) indirect commands, they are analysed separately in this section.

3.3.1 Verbs of Shouting (> Calling) (*verba clamandi*)

Latin *clamare* ‘to shout’ typically expresses an indirect statement as well as an indirect object denoting the <recipient/experiencer> of the utterance, the latter of which is typically marked by the morphological dative and sporadically by *ad* in the Classical period (1st century BC) (Sornicola 1997, 72-73):

28a) clam-o mihi ipse: numer-a
shout-PRES.1SG me.DAT.SG self count-IMPERATIVE.2SG
annos tuos
year-ACC.PL your-ACC.PL

‘I shout to myself: count your years!’ (Seneca, *Epistulae* XXVII.2)

28b) ad me omnes clam-ant: ianua culpa tua est.
AD me all shout-PRES.3PL door fault your be.PRES.3SG
‘Everyone shouts at me: Door, it is your fault.’ (Catullus *Carmina* 67.14)

In Romance, on the other hand, *clamare* ‘to call’ is a two-place predicate as it commonly subcategorises for one object which is also predominantly human/animate as it is the <recipient/experiencer> of the act of calling:

29a) a Minaya Albar Fáñez e a Per Vermudoz
AD Minaya Albar Fáñez e a Per Vermudoz
los llamó
them.ACC.PL call-PRET.3SG

‘He called Minaya Albar Fáñez and Per Vermudoz.’ (Medieval Spanish) (*El Poema del Mio Cid* 1894-1895)²⁶

29b) allora Elia chiam-oe a Dio
then Elia call-PRET.3SG AD God
‘Then Elia called God.’ (Medieval Italian) (*Fra Giordano*)

29c) appressu clam-au a lu primu vinchituri
then call-PRET.3SG AD ART first wave
‘Then he called upon the first wave.’ (Medieval Sicilian) (*La istoria di Eneas* 91.46)

The change in argument structure in Latin/Romance *clamare* can be represented as a shift in grammatical relations as the original three-place predicate ‘to shout’ (<agent>

²⁶ The direct object pronoun here (*los llamó*) strongly suggests that the object (*a Minaya Albar Fáñez e a Per Vermudoz*) has been reanalysed as the direct object of *llamar* (Zorraquino 1976, 561).

<theme/proposition>, <recipient/experiencer>) is reduced to a two-place predicate ‘to call’ (<agent>, <recipient/experiencer>) where the original indirect object (<recipient/experiencer>) is reanalyzed as the direct object in the absence of the original direct object (<theme/proposition>). This is anticipated in Christian Latin where the omission of the direct object of *clamare* facilitates this reanalysis:

- 30) de profund-is clama-v-i ad te, Domin-e
 From depth-ABL.PL shout-PERF-1SG AD you Lord
 ‘From the depths of my heart, I shouted (something) at you, my Lord’
 > ‘... I called you.’ (*Psalmi* 129)

As the third argument of Latin *clamare*, which is strongly human/animate (*ad te* (30)), is reanalyzed as the second argument in Romance (29), animacy becomes associated with the direct object marked by *ad*, especially in face of unmarked inanimate objects with which they come into direct opposition:²⁷

- 31a) a su sobrino... por su nombre lo llam-ó
 AD his nephew by his name him.ACC call-PRET.3SG
 ‘He called his nephew by his name.’ (*El Poema del Mio Cid* 3188)²⁸
 31b) los moros llam-an ‘Mahoma’ ...
 ART Moor-PL shout-PRES.3PL Mahoma
 ‘The Moors shout, “Mahoma”...’ (*El Poema del Mio Cid* 731)²⁹

The human/animacy criterion of Romance DOM, therefore, may be argued to have been formed in the evolution of Latin verbs of shouting/calling whose subtle changes in argument structure have created this semantic criterion of animacy in the grammatical object relation. Similar changes are seen in Latin/Romance verbs of begging (*verba rogandi*) which acquire the meaning of praying in the Christian era.

3.3.2 Verbs of Begging (> Praying) (*verba rogandi*)

The argument structure of Latin/Romance verbs of begging (*verba rogandi*) is notoriously ambiguous since although they can function as three-place predicates in selecting three arguments, they can also be used with two arguments only with either the human object or the inanimate object in the accusative case (32a), both of which are also passivisable (32b-c) (Huertas 2009, 137-138). Furthermore, the human object can also be selected by the ablative preposition *ab* ‘from’ denoting the source of begging (32c) i.e. the human from whom the solicitation is made (*a senatore*):

- 32a) consul roga-t senator-em sententia-m
 consul.NOM.SG ask-PRES.3SG senator-ACC.SG opinion-ACC.SG
 ‘The consuls asks the senator for his opinion.’
 32b) senator roga-tur sententia-m
 senator.NOM.SG ask-PRES.3SG.PASS opinion-ACC.SG
 ‘The senator is asked for his opinion.’
 32c) sententi-a roga-tur a senator-e
 opinion-NOM.SG ask-PRES.3SG.PASS AB senator-ABL.SG
 ‘His opinion is asked from the senator.’ (Lazard 2003, 9)

²⁷ A similar analysis is proposed for verbs of menacing whose indirect object marked by *ad* can also be reanalysed as the direct object and alternate with the inanimate object (Bartra-Kaufman (2005)).

²⁸ See footnote 27 on the use of the direct object clitic pronoun (here *lo llamo*).

²⁹ It is interesting that relics of the original trivalency of *clamare* are retained not only in Medieval Romance where *clamare* selects an inanimate direct object of utterance (cf main text, 31b) but also in European Portuguese where *chamar* ‘to call’ is sometimes construed with the dative pronoun:

- i) cham-aram-lhe incompetente
 call-PRET.3PL-him.DAT.SG incompetent
 ‘They called him incompetent.’ (Roegiest 1979, 42)

In Medieval Latin, as word-final consonants become phonetically weak which leads to hypercorrect spellings between *ad* and *ab* (Lapesa 1907, 72-75; Bastardas Parera 1953, 41; Westerbergh 1956, 255), *ad/ab* is construed with verbs of begging and hence forms minimal pairs with unmarked inanimate objects, as seen in Romance:

- 33a) a todos los roga-va
 AD all them.ACC.PL beg-IMPERF.3SG
 ‘He begged all of them.’ (Medieval Spanish) (*El Poema del Mio Cid* 3500)³⁰
- 33b) rieg-an a-l rey que los quit-e
 beg-PRES.3PL AD-ART king COMP them remove-PRES.3SG
 d-esta cort
 from-this court
 ‘They beg the king to remove them from this court.’ (Medieval Spanish)
 (*El Poema del Mio Cid* 2989)

Moreover, as Latin verbs of begging acquire the meaning of praying in the Christian era (Löfstedt 1959, 73), *ad/ab* comes to be used for selecting deities or higher authorities as targets of praying, which also feeds into Romance DOM (section 2.3):

- 34a) Moyses ora-bat ad Dominum
 Moses pray-IMPERF.3SG AD Lord
 ‘Moses was praying to the Lord.’ (*Libri Maccabaorum* 2.10)
- 34b) veniam... ad Domino poposce-bat
 mercy-ACC.SG AD Lord demand-IMPERF.3SG
 ‘She was praying to the Lord for mercy.’ (*Chronicon Salernitanum* 11)

Both Latin verbs of shouting/calling and verbs of begging/praying (*verba clamandi et rogandi*), therefore, display strong associations between the selection of *ad* and their human/animate objects which enter into the same grammatical object relation as their unmarked inanimate objects. The criterion of humanness and its variations such as animacy and divinity in Romance DOM may hence be argued to originate from these structurally ambiguous verbs, which, in combination with two-place verbs of vision and serving (*verba videndi et serviendi*), may have independently given rise to the following set of licensing factors in Romance DOM:

Verb types + <i>ad</i>	Types of object selected by <i>ad</i>
Verbs of vision (<i>verba videndi</i> + <i>ad</i>) (Plautus)	‘Affected’ and Referential objects (section 3.1)
Verbs of serving (<i>verba serviendi</i> + <i>ad</i>) (Jerome)	Pronominal and Proper Nouns (section 3.2)
Verbs of shouting (<i>verba clamandi</i> + <i>ad</i>) (Latin Bible)	Human/Animate Objects (section 3.3.1)
Verbs of begging (<i>verba rogandi</i> + <i>ab/ad</i>) (Medieval)	Human/Animate/Divine Objects (section 3.3.2)

This layered formation of Romance DOM has created a pool of formal microparametric options from which different Romance varieties seem to have set different selectional criteria for *ad* as a marker of DOM (section 2.4). This raises important questions regarding the formal mechanisms of parameter-(re)setting in the Chomskyan Minimalist framework where formal simplicity is assumed to determine

³⁰ See footnotes 27 and 29 for the use of the direct object clitic pronoun (*los rogava*) (Zorraquino 1976, 557, 561).

language acquisition and change (Chomsky 2005; 2007; 2013). The variationist implications of Latin/Romance DOM are considered in the next and final section.

4 Formal Parameters of Romance Differential Object Marking

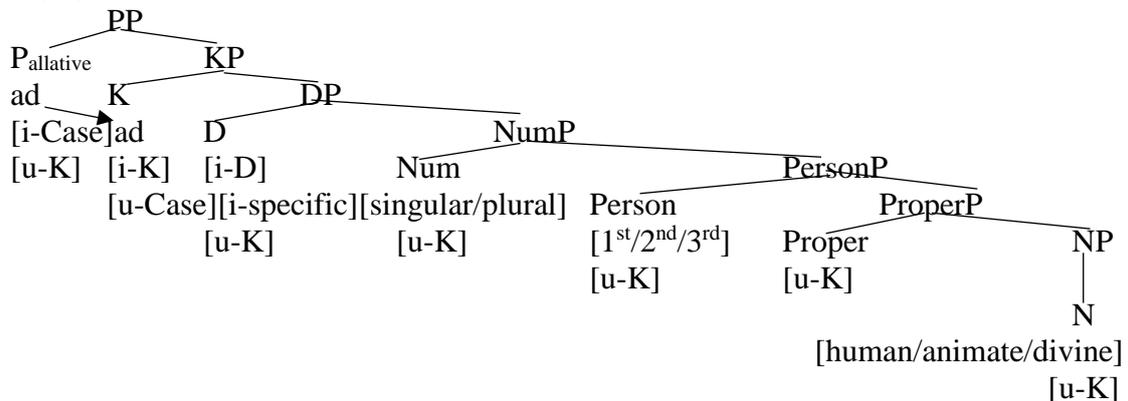
In light of the various definitions of formal simplicity in Minimalism, the current understanding of historical-comparative parametric variation is that syntactic dependencies in the form of movement (F_{Move}) and agreement (F_{Agree}) are eliminated in favour of external merge (F_{Merge}) which entails loss of interpretable features (i-F), as shown in the following parametric hierarchies:

35a) $F_{Move} > F_{Agree} > F_{Merge} > \emptyset$ (adapted from Roberts/Roussou 2003, 209-213)

35b) semantic feature $> i-F > u-F > \emptyset$ (van Gelderen 2011, 17-20)

The grammaticalization of Latin *ad* as a Romance Case-marker conforms to these formal definitions, since while Latin *ad* is a lexical preposition ($P_{allative}$) which denotes spatial directional force and assigns morphological case (accusative) to its nominal complement (Cinque/Rizzi 2010), it is reanalysed as a functional preposition (K) in Romance DOM where it forms part of the extended projection of the nominal complement, which conforms to Stowell's (1981) classic Case Resistance Principle (CRP) which states that Case-assigners (e.g. P) cannot occur in Case positions (e.g. object). Furthermore, the historical-comparative microvariations in Romance DOM indicate that within the parametric and categorial reanalysis of Latin/Romance *ad* ($P > K$), *ad* is analogised differently in different varieties to different sets of objects, which shows different types of analogical levelling at work (section 2.4). The historical-comparative distribution of Latin/Romance *ad*, therefore, may be represented thus:

36) (cf section 2.4, 24)



The formation of Romance DOM (*ad*), therefore, reveals that there can be significant microvariations within formal parametric (re)setting, which, in the case of Romance DOM ($P > K$), falls out from the various licensing factors of DOM which interface with syntax in creating different distributions of object Case-marking (section 3).

Conclusions

Romance DOM is a complex phenomenon subject to a host of formal, semantic and structural restrictions. This has given rise to complex microvariations in the distribution of *ad* across Romance varieties, the discrepancies between which reveal important mechanisms in the formal licensing of Case which may have been independently motivated by different mechanisms.

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