Historical-Comparative Variation of Romance Differential Object Marking[1]

  The use of Romance *ad* as a marker of Differential Object Marking (DOM) where *ad* regularly marks certain types of objects is an important phenomenon in Romance languages, especially Spanish which displays DOM more extensively than any other Romance variety (see Fabregas 2013 for a recent overview, and Bossong 1991 for a comparative and typological analysis of Spanish DOM). However, DOM is by no means restricted to Spanish as it is widely attested in all Romance varieties across time and space which renders it a pan-Romance phenomenon (Rolhfs 1971, 312; Roegiest 1979, 37; Nocentini 1985, 303; Zamboni 1993, 787-788). Furthermore, while the licensing factors for Romance DOM are well detailed and investigated, there are only superficial comparative analyses which have already revealed significant microvariations (see 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 the possibility of parameterizing Romance DOM in terms of its licensing factors which could enhance not only our understanding of DOM in Spanish and other varieties of Romance but also the theoretical implications of DOM as a Case-marking phenomenon (Malchukov 2008) which, based on the microvariations in Romance, indicate that Case-marking can be highly variable and sensitive to the verbal and nominal properties of the grammatical object relation (Seržant/Witzlack-Makarevich 2018). This has important ramifications for formal parametric syntax too as the historical-comparative distribution of Romance DOM shows that while the grammaticalization of *ad* is categorially the same throughout Romance, it is subject to different analogical pressures which have yielded subtly different forms of DOM.

  This paper proposes a comparative analysis and formal typology of DOM in Western Romance[2] and the various licensing factors which underlie it, and there are four sections: section 1 proposes a formal analysis of Romance DOM where its licensing factors are structurally embedded into the cartographic structures of the Romance nominal and clausal domains and it is argued here that different functional

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[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* which is used as a DOM-marker in almost all branches of Western Romance (Rolhfs 1971), *pe* is 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 cross-linguistic properties of DOM (Bossong 1991). In this paper, I focus solely on Romance *ad* and leave Romanian *pe* for much more qualified scholars.

categories have different selectional properties with regards to *ad* which constitute the effects of DOM as seen in Romance and beyond; section 2 compares the distribution of *ad* as a marker of DOM in different Romance varieties and three formal types of DOM are established on a scale of strength (strong-intermediate-weak), as Romance DOM is significantly more robust in certain varieties (e.g. Spanish) than in others and its comparative microvariations are here captured systematically with appeal to the formal parameters of DOM;[3] section 3 analyses the possible motivations behind each licensing factor of Romance DOM which, on grounds of its comparative discrepancies, may be argued to be independently triggered both synchronically and diachronically, and in light of the Latin origins of (proto-)Romance DOM (Sornicola 1997; 1998) different mechanisms are here identified for each licensing factor which not only accounts for the microvariations in Romance DOM but also for the layeredness and variability in its diachronic formation; section 4 contains a theoretical discussion on Romance DOM within contemporary parametric theory (Biberauer 2008) and it is concluded that in order to capture the microvariations in Romance DOM, it is necessary to combine formal parameters with non-syntactic factors which speaks for a much more probabilistic syntax-semantics interface than is envisaged in Minimalism (Chomsky 1995).

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 unmarked 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 multivariate, 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 nominal object argument are the two main nominal factors in the licensing of Romance DOM (Rolhfs 1971, 312-313; Roegiest 1979, 37; Nocentini 1985, 299), and these properties have been fine-grained in the literature to produce the following scales on which higher categories are more likely to be 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 person[5]

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[3] While this paper recognises the microvariations in Romance DOM, it is beyond the scope of this paper (if not practically impossible) to document DOM in all extant Romance varieties and compare them in detail. This comparative analysis, therefore, seeks to identify the macrotypes of DOM in Romance leaving plenty of room for (many) more forms of microvariation in individual, and especially underdocumented, 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 hence 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.

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

4) Singular > Dual > Plural[6]

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

While lexical semantic features such as animacy (1) and categorial features (3-5) are inherent properties of the object 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:

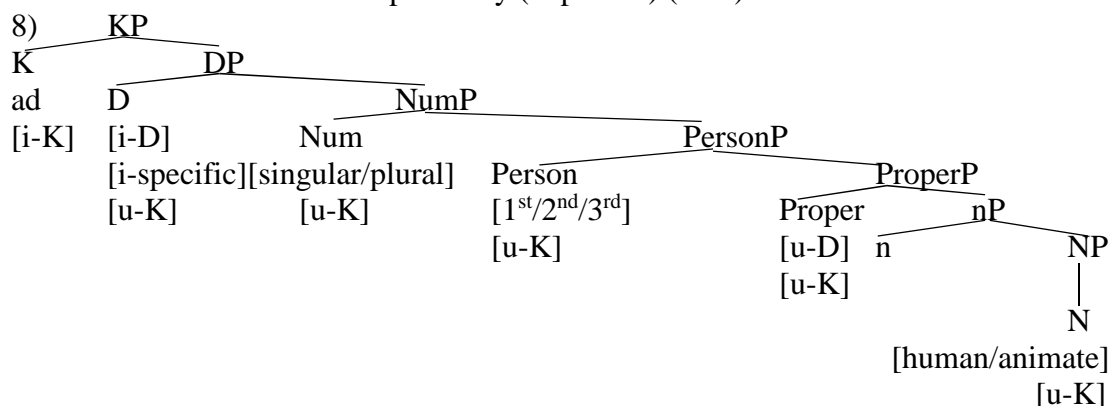7a) encontré   a   un   abogado   que
     find-PRET.1SG   AD   a   lawyer   REL.PRO
     no   cobr-a   l-os   ojo-s de   la   cara
     NEG   charge-PRES.3SG   ART-PL   eye-PL from ART   face
     'I found a lawyer who does not charge an arm and a leg.'

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.'
     (Kliffer 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 (ø *un abogado* (7b)) is hypothetical and hence non-specific, as indicated by the use of the subjunctive in the modifying relative clause (… *que no cobrara*…). 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 further decomposed in the D-layer as the former indicate general phi-features such as Person and Number (Postal 1969) and proper nouns are inherently specific in referring to unique referents (Longobardi 1994, 621-628; Croft 2003, 130). In the cartographic structure of nominal arguments (Cinque 2002), therefore, different features in the DP can be argued to select *ad* as a Case-marker (K), the probe features for which (u-K) may be parasitic on different features and projections (Mordoñedo 2007, 163ff), namely the

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

lexical root of the head noun containing features of humanness and animacy (human/animate), proper nouns which check definiteness in the highest definiteness projection (D) (Longobardi 1994, 640), and pronominal Phi-projections which decompose into PersonP (Pers) and NumberP (Num) with their respective feature values as well as features of specificity (i-specific) (7a-b):

8)   KP
K   DP
ad   D   NumP
[i-K] [i-D]   Num   PersonP
       [i-specific][singular/plural]   Person   ProperP
       [u-K]   [u-K]   Person   Proper   nP
                                     [1st/2nd/3rd]   [u-D]   n   NP
                                     [u-K]   [u-K]
                                                                           N
                                                                    [human/animate]
                                                                    [u-K]

As nouns are widely assumed to undergo movement to D and K (Longobardi 1994; Vincent/van Kemenade 1997), the microvariations in Romance DOM may be modelled on the position of probe features (u-K) which correlates with different projections in the DP by virtue of their featural content.[7] In the next section, the licensing factors for DOM in the verbal domain are similarly 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 than less 'affective' ones where 'affectedness' is correlated with transitivity and refers to the resultative change of state in the object (Hopper/Thompson 1980, 252-253; Tsunoda 1985, 388), as seen in Spanish: 'Affectedness' (Pottier 1968, 87-88):

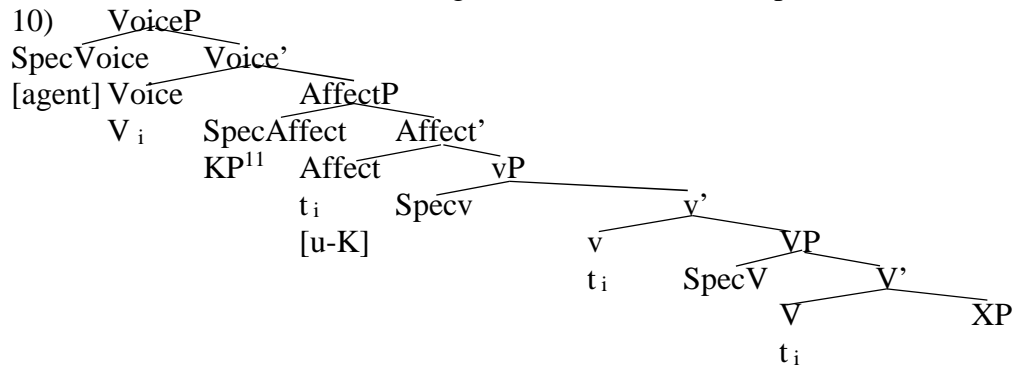9) *matar* 'to kill' > *ver* 'to see' > *considerar* 'to consider' > *tener* 'to have'

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[7] Another commonly postulated DOM-factor in 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):

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 is related to other factors such as 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.

As *matar* 'to kill' seems to have a bigger effect on its object, which can be analysed thematically 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* can also 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 primitives (Davidson 1967; Dowty 1979; Rappaport/Levin 1998; van Valin 2005), different A(rgument)-positions can be established for different types of verbs in accordance with their thematic and aspectual properties (Hale/Keyser 1993; 2002), and in the case of highly transitive 'affective' verbs there is postulated an extra functional layer denoting the change undergone by the object (BECOME) which may be labelled Affect and in whose specifier are 'affected' objects marked by *ad* (KP) selected and merged (Torrego 1998; Mordoñedo 2007; López 2012), and above this there is another functional projection (CAUSE) introducing the 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), therefore, the following verbal structure can be posited:

10)   VoiceP
SpecVoice   Voice'
[agent] Voice   AffectP
        V $_i$ SpecAffect   Affect'
            KP^{11} Affect   vP
                 t $_i$ Specv   v'
                 [u-K]   v   VP
                                 t $_i$ SpecV   V'
                                          V   XP
                                          t $_i$

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 the Spanish verb *conocer* 'to know/meet':

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[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 the literal possessum but an object under the influence of the subject which may be analysed as inclusion and hence be argued to be '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)

[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

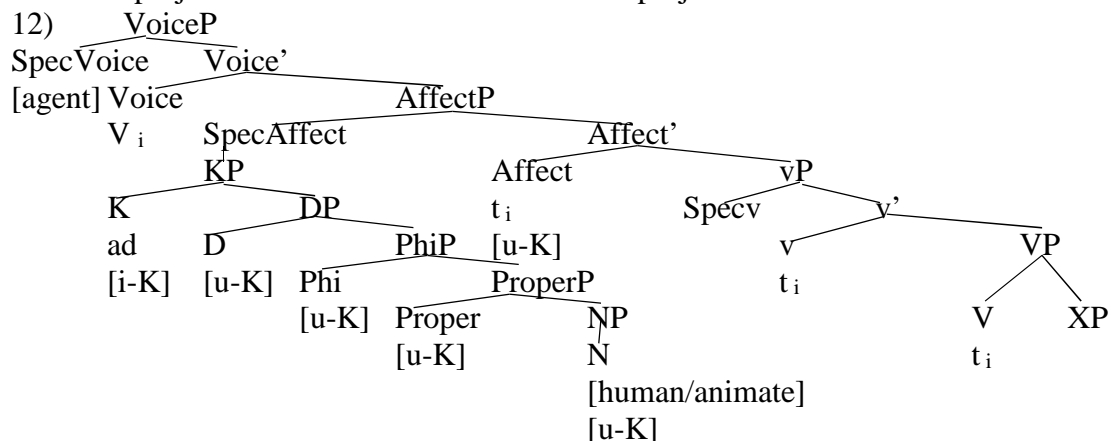'The situation required/sought a doctor.' (Spanish) (Torrego 1998, 29)

[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).

11a) conoc-en   (a)   un   vecino
      know-PRES.3PL   AD   a   neightbour
      '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)

The verbal parameter of Romance DOM, therefore, distinguishes different A-positions in the V(erb)P(hrase) as projected by the event structure, and AffectP which is an essential component of highly transitive verbs may be argued to select *ad* in its specifier where *ad* marks the 'affected' object. Both nominal and verbal parameters of Romance DOM may now be combined to provide an overall structural representation.

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

In the nominal domain, Romance *ad* shows different selectional properties in line with the fact that DOM is licensed by different features in the internal structure of the DP such as lexical semantic features in the head noun (N) (human/animate) , categorial features in the D-layer like pronominal (Pers/Num) and proper nouns (Proper), and the general definiteness/specificity (D) of the object noun (section 1.1), and similarly Romance *ad* is shown to correlate with different A-positions in the VP where *ad* can be argued to be selected by projections denoting 'affectedness' (AffectP) (section 1.2). In sum of both types of parameters, Romance DOM may be summarised in the following representation where *ad* (K) is selected by Affect in the extended projection of the VP as well as various projections in the DP:[12]

12)   VoiceP
SpecVoice   Voice'
[agent] Voice   AffectP
        V $_i$ SpecAffect   Affect'
            KP   Affect   vP
        K   DP   t $_i$ Specv   v'
        ad   D   PhiP   [u-K]   v   VP
        [i-K]   [u-K]   Phi   ProperP   t $_i$
                        [u-K]   Proper   NP   V   XP
                                [u-K]   N   t $_i$
                                            [human/animate]
                                            [u-K]

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

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) and this is reflected by the fact that *ad* may be licensed independently and sufficiently by either nominal or verbal parameter (see footnote 12). In the nominal domain, *ad* is attested as a general animacy marker as it marks all animate objects encompassing humans

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[12] As verbal properties related to 'affectedness' and nominal semantic and categorical features are not necessarily co-extensive (though see previous footnote), these two parameters entail mismatches in that one parameter may be generalised over the other (e.g. non-affected human/animate, affected non-human/inanimate). This will become clear in later parts of the paper.

(13a), animals (13b), place-names denoting communities or groups of people (13c), and any object that might be associated with an animate being e.g. musical (13d) or literary composition (13e):[13]

13a) ve-o a la muchacha
    see-PRES.1SG AD the girl
    'I see the girl.' (Kliffer 1995, 93)

13b) v-i a un perro
    see-PRET.1SG AD a dog
    'I saw a dog.' (Pensado 1995, 19-20)

13c) estudi-a a-l pueblo de Numancia
    investigate-PRES.3SG AD-the town of Numancia
    'S/he investigates the population of Numancia.' (Torrego 1999, 1799)[14]

13d) … se va a procurar en todo el mundo
    REFL.PRO go-PRES.3SG AD try.INF in whole ART world
    tocar mucho a Beethoven?
    play.INF much AD Beethoven
    '… he goes off to try and play a lot of Beethoven all over the world?'
    (Laca 1995, 62)

13e) he leí-do a Virgilio
    have.PRES.1SG read-PERF.PTCP AD Virgil
    'I have read Virgil.' (Hill 1920, 217)

Furthermore, while it is widely noted that non-specificity gives rise to optionality in DOM (14a-b, cf 7a-b), it has also been pointed out that *ad* is not prohibited from marking non-specific objects as these can still be marked by *ad*, albeit optionally (14b), which renders animacy a sufficient criterion for Spanish DOM with specificity relegated to being a secondary factor (Kliffer 1995, 102; Leonetti 2004, 80ff):

14a) necesit-a a una enfermera
    need-PRES.3SG AD a nurse
    que pas-a la mañana con ella
    REL.PRO spend-PRES.IND.3SG ART morning with her
    'She needs a nurse who spends the morning with her.'

14b) necesita (a) una enfermera
    need-PRES.3SG AD a nurse
    que pas-e la mañana con ella
    REL.PRO spend-PRES.SUBJ.3SG ART morning with her
    'She needs a(ny) nurse to spend the morning with her.' (Leonetti 2004, 80)

Moreover, Spanish DOM applies to inanimate objects too, which may or may not be interpretable as personified, especially when these are the objects of certain types of 'affective' verbs found in technical registers such as scientific and grammatical prose (García 2007, 64ff; von Heusinger/Kaiser 2008,88-89):

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[13] 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.

[14] The meaning of community is evident in that fact that *ad* denotes the inhabitants of a place, without which the connotation of people is said to be lost (i) (cf main text, 13c), though there are examples of place-names which do not necessarily denote community but are marked for being proper names (ii):

  i) estudi-a el pueblo de Numancia
    study-PRES.3SG ART town of Numancia
    '(S)he investigates the village of Numancia' (Torrego 1999, 1799)

  ii) he visita-do a Zaragoza
    have.PRES.1SG visit-PERF.PTCP AD Zaragoza
    'I have visited Zaragoza.' (Kliffer 1995, 98)

15a) el   entusiasmo   venc-e   a   la   dificultad
     ART   enthusiasm   conquer-PRES.3SG   AD   ART   difficulty
     'Enthusiasm conquers difficulty.' (Garcia Garcia 2007, 68)

15b) la   primavera   preced-e   a-l   verano
     ART   spring   preceed-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 regularly used independently 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):

16)   VoiceP
SpecVoice   Voice'
        Voice   AffectP
        V $_i$ SpecAffect   Affect'
             KP   Affect   vP
             K   …   NP   t $_i$ Specv   v'
             ad   NP [u-K]   v   VP
             [i-K]   N   t $_i$
                                                              V   KP
                                                              t $_i$ K ... NP
                                                                        ad   NP
                                                                        [i-K]   N
                                                                              [animate]
                                                                              [u-K]
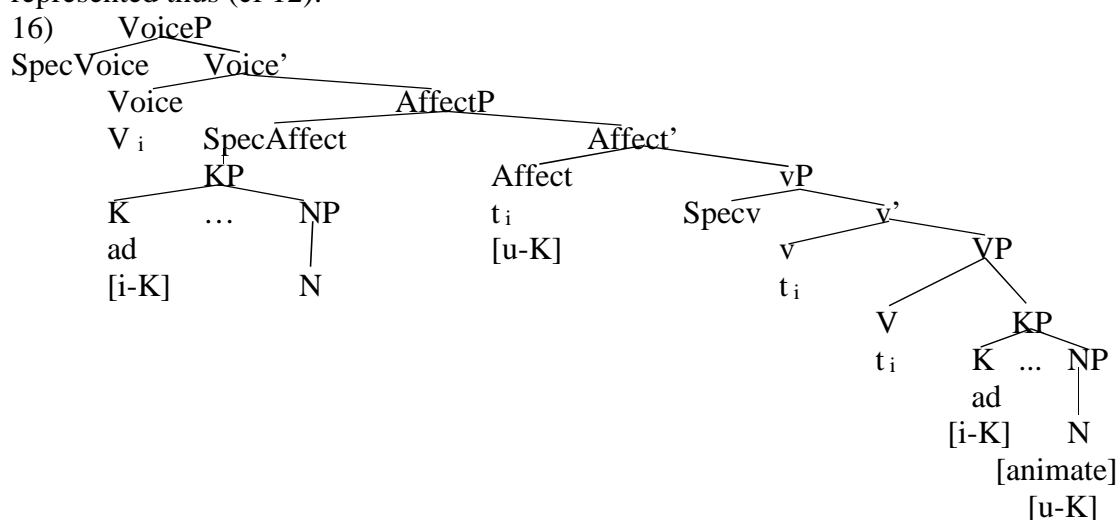
In the next sub-section, a comparison is made with Italo-Romance varieties, many of
which also use *ad* as a marker of DOM, albeit to a smaller extent than Spanish.[15]

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[15] 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).

2.2 Italo-Romance Differential Object Marking (intermediate)

DOM in Italian dialects (see footnote 15) is more restricted than in Spanish 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):[16]

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　　Juanne
　　　have-PRES.1SG　　see-PTCP.PERF　　　AD　Giovanni
　　　'I saw Giovanni.' (Sardinian) (Jones 1995, 38)

17d)　Giuanne　　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) (Floricic 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) (Floricic 2003, 251)

Furthermore, referentiality seems to play a bigger role in Italian than in Spanish (cf 14), since even if the object noun 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):

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[16] 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　　　ffierre
　　　　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.' (Siclian) (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*:
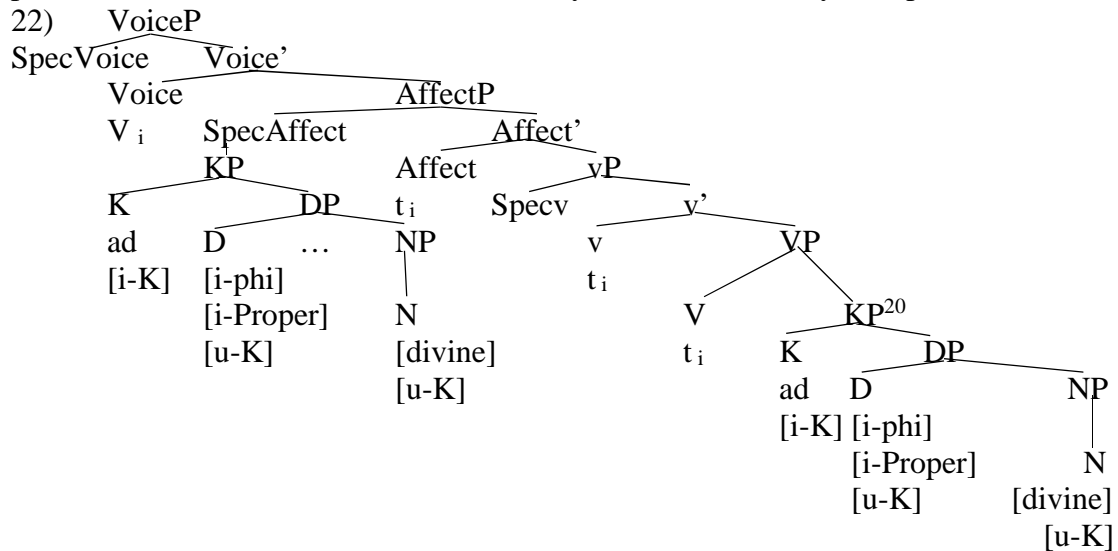
19a) app-o   vis-tu   a   custu / cussu
     have-PRES.1SG   see-PERF.PTCP   AD   this / that
     'I saw this/that.' (Sardinian) (Floricic 2003, 253)

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 marker of humanness and referentiality which has not been generalized to other types of objects (see footnote 12),[17] which may be represented thus:

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[17] 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 this below.

20)   VoiceP
SpecVoice   Voice'
        Voice   AffectP
        V $_i$ SpecAffect   Affect'
                KP   Affect   vP
        K   DP   t $_i$ Specv   v'
        ad   D   …   NP   v   VP
        [i-K]   [i-D]   t $_i$ V   KP[18]
                [i-singular]   N   t $_i$ K   DP
                [i-specific]   [human]   ad   D …   NP
                [u-K]   [u-D]   [i-K] [i-D]   N
                            [u-K]   [i-singular]   [human]
                                                [i-specific] [u-D]
                                                [u-K]   [u-K]

   In the next sub-section, all remaining varieties in Western Romance are examined where DOM is much less common and seems to be conditioned by specific categorial features which, interestingly, also apply to Spanish and Italian.

2.3 Other Types of Romance Differential Object Marking (weak)

   In other varieties of Romance such as Portuguese (European (EP) / Brazilian (BP)), Catalán and Gallic varieties like Bearnese (Joly 1971), DOM is much more marginal than in Spanish and Italian as *ad* is mainly used for marking personal pronouns (21a-c) and proper names of people (21d-f) (Roegiest 1979; Escandell-Vidal 2007), especially divinity (21g-h) and authorities (21i) which are often marked by *ad* in Portuguese and Catalán (Meier 1945; Aldon/della Costanza 2013):

21a) od-eia   a mim
  hate-PRES.3SG AD me
  'He hates me.' (EP/BP) (Schwenter 2014, 238)[19]

21b) jo t' ajud-o   a tu
  I you help-PRES.1SG AD you
  i tu m' ajudar-às   a mi
  and you me help-FUT.2SG AD me
  'I help you and you'll help me.' (Catalán) (Escandell-Vidal 2007, 188)

21c) il faut l' aider   a elle
  EXPL necessary her help.INF AD her
  'It is necessary to help her.' (French) (Joly 1971, 287)

21d) vej-o   (a) João
  see-PRES.1SG   AD Joao
  'I see Joao.' (EP) (Roegiest 1979, 38)

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[18] As there is no perceptible difference in the licensing of DOM with different types of verbs (see footnote 16), the nominal factors for DOM are represented in both A-positions.

[19] The marking of personal pronouns in BP is not always obligatory as it seems to be so only with first person singular in line with the Number and Person hierarchies of DOM (section 1.1, 3-4, many thanks to Professor Scott Schwenter for pointing this out to me):

 i) João   viu   a mim / *a nós / *a ele
   João   see.PRET.3SG AD me / AD us / AD him
   'João saw me/us/him.' (Kliffer 1995, 109)

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) (Kliffer 1995, 109)

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:

22)   VoiceP
SpecVoice   Voice'
          Voice   AffectP
          V$_i$ SpecAffect   Affect'
                  KP   Affect   vP
          K   DP   t$_i$ Specv   v'
          ad   D   …   NP   v   VP
          [i-K] [i-phi]   t$_i$
                  [i-Proper] N   V   KP^{20}
                  [u-K]   [divine]   t$_i$ K   DP
                              [u-K]   ad   D   NP
                                                        [i-K] [i-phi]
                                                              [i-Proper]   N
                                                              [u-K]   [divine]
                                                                                [u-K]

        Romance varieties, therefore, reveal significant microvariations in the uses and distribution of *ad* as a marker of 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 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 (section 2.3). These parametric options are further discussed in the next sub-section.

2.4 Formal Typology of Romance Differential Object Marking

        A comparative analysis of Romance DOM reveals a hierarchy of DOM factors which may be ranked as follows in order of obligatoriness (cf section 1.1, 7):
DOM-hierarchy in Romance:
23) Personal Pronouns > Proper Nouns > Divine > Human > Animate > Referential
Perosonal pronouns are most commonly marked by *ad* since even in weak types of DOM such as Portuguese, Catalán and Gallo-Romance (section 2.3), personal

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[20] 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.

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 a primary determinant in some Italian dialects (section 2.2, 19). There are hence structural correlations between the selection of *ad* in DOM and the cartographic projections in the nominal domain in that higher projections seem to have a greater affinity with *ad* in K than lower ones:

24) (cf section 1.1, 8)

```
        KP
   K        DP
   ad    D          NumP
   [i-K] [i-D]    Num              PersonP
       [i-specific][singular/plural] Person        ProperP
       [u-K]        [u-K]      Person    Proper      NP
                              [1st/2nd/3rd]  [i-Proper]
                              [u-K]      [u-K]      N
                                              [human/animate/divine]
                                                    [u-K]
```
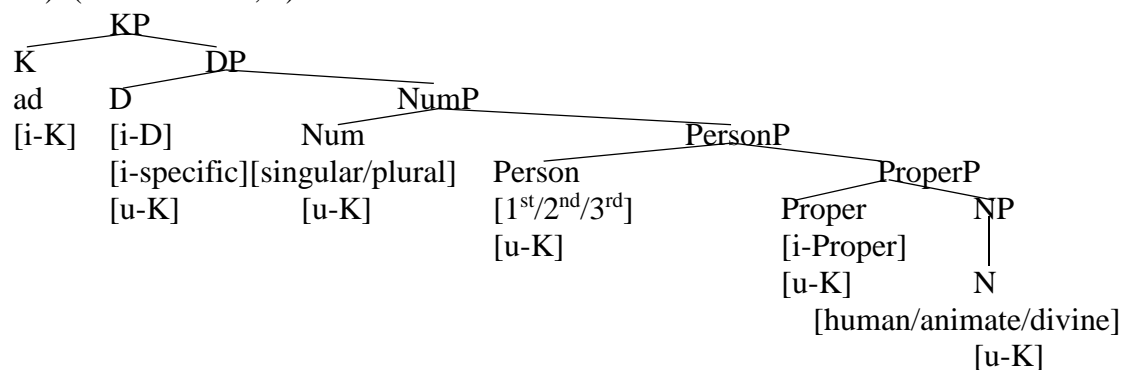
As different Romance varieties posit different microparametric settings for the selection of *ad* in DOM, this has resulted in the discrepancies as seen in the three types of DOM, which further suggests that there may be multiple independent causal factors for each category (D/Phi/Proper/N) in the derivation 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 DOM in Romance strongly suggests that Romance DOM is formed in the prehistoric stage of proto-Romance (Lapesa 1907; Nocentini 1985; Sornicola 1997; 1998), historical evidence for its formation can be traced back to Latin *ad*, which marks direct and indirect objects of two-place and three-place verbs respectively (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,[21] 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):[22]

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)

---

[21] 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   Caeilian-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)

[22] 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 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).

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.[23] 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).[24] 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* in Romance.[25] The earliest example is *servire* 'to serve' which is regularly construed

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[23] Referentiality and 'affectedness' are not necessarily correlated (see foonote 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)

[24] 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/categorial factors as analysed in this paper.

[25] In line with thereotical 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).

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 serive.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)[26]

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.

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

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As *ad* comes to displace the morphological dative, therefore, it becomes associated with human/animate objects, as is presented discussed.

[26] 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).

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) [27]

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>, <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:

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[27] 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).

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:[28]

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)[29]

31b) los   moros   llam-an   'Mahoma' ...
      ART   moor-PL   shout-PRES.3PL   Mahoma
      'The Moors shout, "Mahoma"…' (*El Poema del Mio Cid* 731)[30]

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)

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

---

[28] 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)).

[29] See footnote 27 on the use of the direct object clitic pronoun (here *lo llamó*).

[30] 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   incompentente
          call-PRET.3PL-him.DAT.SG   incompetent
          'They called him incompetent.' (Roegiest 1979, 42)

'He begged all of them.' (Medieval Spanish) (*El Poema del Mio Cid* 3500)[31]

33b) rueg-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 + *ad*	Types of object selected by *ad*
Verbs of vision (*verba videndi + ad*) (Plautus)	'Affected' and Referential objects (section 3.1)
Verbs of serving (*verba serviendi + ad*) (Jerome)	Pronominal and Proper Nouns (section 3.2)
Verbs of shouting (*verba clamandi + ad*) (Latin Bible)	Human/Animate Objects (section 3.3.1)
Verbs of begging (*verba rogandi + ab/ad*) (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 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

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[31] See footnotes 27 and 29 for the use of the direct object clitic pronoun (*los rogava*) (Zorraquino 1976, 557, 561).
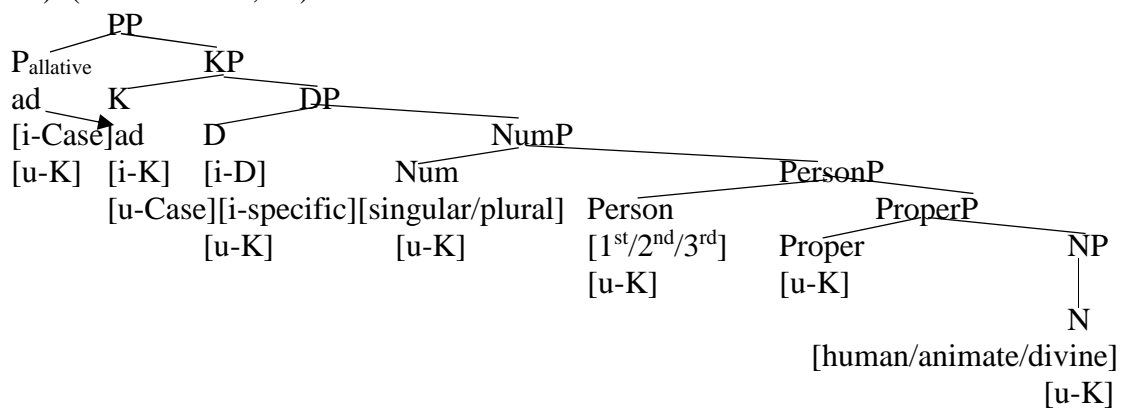
in favour of external merge (F_{Merge}) which entails loss of interpretable features (i-F), as shown in the following parametric hierarchies:

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)

```
                    PP
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
     P_allative              KP
     ad            ┌──────────┴──────────┐
     [i-Case]ad    K                    DP
     [u-K]      [i-K]      ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
                [u-Case]   D                          NumP
                [i-specific]  Num         ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
                [u-K]      [singular/plural]  Person                PersonP
                           [u-K]          [1st/2nd/3rd]    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                          [u-K]          Proper              ProperP
                                                         [u-K]          ┌───────┴───────┐
                                                                      Proper            NP
                                                                      [u-K]             │
                                                                                        N
                                                                              [human/animate/divine]
                                                                                      [u-K]
```

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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