<u>Microvariation in Western Romance Differential Object Marking (*ad*): diachrony and synchrony:</u>

The use of preposition *ad* as a marker of Differential Object Marking (DOM) for animate and/or referential objects is a pan-Romance phenomenon (Rolhfs (1971), Zamboni (1993)), and proto-Romance/Latin origins have been postulated (Sornicola (1998)), namely *verba videndi* ('see'), *verba iuvandi et serviendi* ('help/serve'), *verba clamandi* ('shout/call') and *verba petendi et rogandi* ('ask/beg') (Tse (2013)). Microvariations exist among Western Romance varieties in that while DOM is fully generalized for human/animate objects in some varieties (Spanish/Italian dialects), it is restricted to pronouns and proper nouns in others (Portuguese/Catalán/Gallo-Romance), which not only reveals a hierarchy of DOM-parameters at work (Roegiest (1979), Laca (2006)) but also different diachronic microparametric resettings from Latin/proto-Romance (Nocentini (1985)). In this paper, I propose to trace the historical-comparative developments of Romance DOM (*ad*) which can not only illuminate the formal mechanisms of DOM in Western Romance varieties but also lead to a more nuanced account of the Romance nominal domain where *ad* (K) is required to Case-mark different sets of features in the nominal argument (DP) as a result of different analogical forces and syntactic operations in proto-Romance formation. In Western Romance, four macrotypes of DOM-systems can be distinguished, namely Spanish where *ad* is generalized as a marker of animate (human/animal) objects preferably of a referential (1a)) and 'affected' kind (1b)) (Torrego (1998, 1999)), Italian dialects where *ad* is used preferentially with specific human objects (2a)) and generally not otherwise (2b)) (Nocentini (1985)), Portuguese and Catalan where *ad* is a marker of definite/personal pronouns (3a)) and proper nouns, mainly names/titles of divine beings (3b)) (Escandell-Vidal (2007), Schwenter (2014)) and Gallo-Romance where *ad* is exclusively a marker of personal pronouns (4) (Joly (1971)):

1a) am-a **a** su perro / el director busc-a (**a**) un empleado
love-PRES.3SG AD his dog / DET director search-3SG.PRES AD a employee
'He loves his dog' / 'The director searches for an employee.' (anyone would do) (Spanish (Zamboni (1993:790))

1b) tien-e doce hij-os / mantien-e **a** doce hij-os
has-PRES.3SG twelve child-PL raise-PRES.3SG AD twelve child-PL
'(S)he has twelve children。' / '(S)he raises twelve children.' (Spanish (Zamboni (1993:791))

2a) vitt-i **a** ggiovanni / io serv-o (***a**) uomini e donne
see-PRET.1SG AD Giovanni I serve-PRES.1SG AD men and women
'I saw Giovanni.' (Sicilian (Guardiano (2010:104)) / 'I serve men and women.' (Neapolitan (Fiorentino (2003))

2b) arrubbarru (**a**)-'n cavadu / venne l'ora de remoner-are (**a**) sto gran cane
steal-PRET.3PL AD-one horse / came the-hour of repay-INF AD this great dog
'They stole a horse.' (Guardiano (2010:105)) / The time came to repay this great dog.' (Fiorentino (2003:123))

3a) vimos (**a**) eles mas nao nos viram **a** nos / jo t' ajud-o **a** tu
see-PRET.1PL AD them but NEG us see-PRET.3PL AD us I you help-PRES.1SG AD you
'We saw them but they did not see us' (Portuguese (Roegiest (1979:39)) / 'I help you.' (Escandell-Vidal (2007:3))

3b) vej-o (**a**) João / deve-mos am-ar **a** Deus /am-es **a** Jesuchrist
see-PRES.1SG AD Joao / must-PRES.1PL love-INF AD God you-PRES.2SG AD Jesus-Christ
'I see Joao.' (Roegiest (1979:38)) / 'We must love God.' (Schwenter (2014:238)) / 'You love Jesus Christ.' (Escandell-Vidal (2007:5))

4) e **a** you tabé (a estounat) / il faut l'aid-er **a** elle
And AD me also have stunned EXPL necessary him-help-INF AD him
'And it also stunned me.' (Bearnais (Joly (1981:288))/ 'it is necessary to help him.' (French (Joly (1971:287))

A DOM-hierarchy may hence be established of pronouns (3a), 4)), names of deities (3b)), human referents (1b), 2a)) and animate beings (1a, 2b)) in descending order of obligatoriness (cf Nocentini (1994:301), Aissen (2003:437)), which may be correlated with their Latin origins. The earliest attestations of Latin *ad* being construed with two-place predicates are found with verbs of seeing in Plautus where *ad* being in origin an allative/directional preposition not only denotes a specific object but also a degree of 'affectedness', since it often implies

'travelling/visiting' whose object is not merely the 'stimulus/goal' of vision but also the 'patient/beneficiary' of one's visit:

5) **ad** era-m revide-bo

AD mistress-ACC.SG see.again-FUT.1SG

'I shall revisit our mistress.' (Plautus *Truculentus* 320)

In Christian/Medieval Latin, *ad* becomes associated with human 'affected' objects as it marks the 'beneficiary/recipient' of verbs of aiding (6a)) as well as the 'recipient/experiencer/benefactor' of verbs of shouting/begging (6b)), both of which become direct objects in Romance:

6a) **ad** cuius imperi-um cael-um terr-a mari-a servie-bant

AD REL.PRO.GEN power-ACC.SG heaven-NOM.SG earth-NOM.SG sea-NOM.PL serve-IMPERF.3PL

'… whose power heaven, earth and the seas served.' (Jerome *Epistulae* 82.3)

6b) Moyses ora-bat **ad** Dominum / ego autem **ad** Deu-m clama-vi

Mosesbeg-IMPERF.3SG AD Lord I but AD God-ACC.SG shout-PERF.1SG

'Moses was begging the Lord.' (*Libri Maccabaorum* 2.10) / 'But I shouted (something) to God.' > ' I called God.' (*Exodus* 14.15)

The Western Romance DOM-parameters, then, seem to analogise from Latin to varying extents: Spanish extends DOM to all animate (human/animal) beings (1a)), whereas Italo-Romance varieties retain definiteness/specificity (2a)) as a determinant for marking a subset of specific human objects (2b)). Portuguese and Catalán use *ad* mainly to mark divine names/titles (3b)), which may be traced back to some of the earliest attestations of DOM which are found with names/titles of Christian Saints (Adams (2013:286), cf *ad Dominum, ad Deum* (6b)):

7) 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 at his gifts.' (*Genesis* 4.4)

Pronominal marking is universal in Western Romance (Nocentini (1992:228)), which could be due to the prosodic deficiencies of personal pronouns which need to be supported by *ad* (Sornicola (1998:422-424)), as seen in pseudo-dative forms in Medieval Latin/Romance:

8) **ad** mihi me am-at / **a** ti ador-o e cred-o de toda voluntad

AD me.DAT me.ACC love-PRES.3SG AD you adore-PRES.1SG and trust-PRES.1SG of all will

'As for me, she loves me.' (Pensado (1995:203)) / 'As for you, I adore you and trust you with all my heart.' (*El Cid* 362)

These microvariations indicate that *ad* is used preferentially with a combination of inherent (human/animate) and discursive (referentiality/'affectedness') features (de Swart and de Hoop (2007)), and the higher the functional projections, the more associated they seem to be with the highest projection of K(case) (*ad*) (Caha (2009)), namely pronouns (Person/phi) followed by proper nouns (D) and lexical nouns (N), the inherent semantic features of the latter (human/animacy) seem to be (surprisingly) the lowest on the DOM-hierarchy. Formally, it may be argued that DOM is conditioned by Minimality of movement ('Least Effort') (Roberts and Roussou (2003)), which might explain why shorter chains (D-to-K) are preferred to longer ones (N-to-K).

(Select) References:

Adams, J. N. (2013): *Social Variation and the Latin Language*. Cambridge University Press; Caha, P. (2009): *The nanosyntax of case.* PhD dissertation, University of Tromsø; Nocentini, A. (1985): 'Sulla genesi dell'oggetto preposizionale nelle lingue romanze',in *Studi linguistici e filologici per Carlo Alberto Mastrelli,* Pisa, pp. 299-311; Roberts, I. and Roussou, A. (2003): *Syntactic change. A Minimalist approach to grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press ; Rolhfs, G. (1971): 'Autour de l'accusatif prépositionnel dans les langues romanes', *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 35:312-334 ; Sornicola, R. (1998): 'Processi di convergenza nella formazione di un tipo sintattico: la genesi ibrida dell'oggetto preposizionale', in *Les nouvelles ambitions de la linguistique diachronique, Actes du XXIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes*, Bruxelles, Max Niemeyer Verlag, II: 419-427; Tse, K. (2013): *The grammaticalization of Latin ad as a Romance case-marker: differential object marking, Minimalism, formalism/functionalism.* Paper presented at *Going Romance*, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands; Zamboni, A. (1993): 'Postille alla discussion sull'accusativo preposizionale', in Ramón Lorenzo (ed), *Actas do XIX Congreso Internacional de Lingüística e Filoloxía Románicas V: Gramática histórica e historia da lingua..*A Coruna: Fundación, pp. 787-808.