

Colloque international / International workshop
*Microvariation dans le marquage
différentiel de l'objet roman /
Differential Object Marking in Romance –
towards microvariation*

Organisé dans le cadre du programme *Unité et diversité dans le marquage différentiel de l'objet / of the Unity and diversity in Differential Object Marking* research program sponsored by Fédération Typologie et Universaux Linguistiques du / of CNRS
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Inalco & Laboratoire SeDyL UMR 8202 CNRS & Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia

Inalco
les 9 et 10 novembre /
November 9th & 10th, 2018

November 9th Salle/Room : Amphithéâtre 4
14h-19h

November 10th Salle/Room : Amphithéâtre 2
9h-19h

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DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN ROMANCE – TOWARDS MICROVARIATION

International workshop of the
Unity and diversity in Differential Object Marking research program sponsored by
the Federation for Typology and Linguistic Universals, CNRS
<http://www.typologie.cnrs.fr/spip.php?rubrique101>
to be held in Paris (INaLCO), 9-10 November 2018

The presence of a grammaticalized preposition with certain classes of nominals is a typical instantiation of differential object marking across Romance (Niculescu 1965, Rohlf's 1971, 1973, Lazard 1984, Comrie 1989, Bosson 1991, Torrego 1998, Fiorentino ed. 2003, Aissen 2003, von Heusinger and Kaiser 2005, von Heusinger and Onea Gáspár 2008, López 2012, a.o.). Research from all orientations has provided important hints into the nature of this phenomenon. However, the discussion has mostly centered around major Romance varieties, such as Standard Spanish. What is less understood is the picture at the microvariation level, and thus the limits of differential object marking in Romance.

In this workshop, we welcome submissions addressing any aspect related to microvariation in Romance differential object marking, in both synchrony and diachrony, and irrespective of any specific theoretical framework. The focus is mainly empirical, and (novel) data from less discussed varieties (such as Catalan, Corsican, Sardinian, Sicilian, Galician, Asturian, Provençal, Italo-Romance varieties, Romanian South-Danubian varieties, French varieties, etc.) are especially appreciated. Some of the topics of interest include, but are not restricted to, the following:

- Variation in the set of specifications that trigger differential object marking
- Interaction of differential marking and pronominal (clitic) doubling. What are the points of variation with respect to permissibility of doubling under overt differential object marking?
- Differential object marking and obligatoriness/non-acceptability of definiteness morphology
- Extension of the differential marker to inanimates and other non-canonical contexts; what are the precise configurations under which such extensions are obligatory/possible?
- Differential marking and overt object agreement. What does co-occurrence with overt object agreement indicate about the nature of the differential marker?
- The presence of differential 'object' marker on subjects
- Differential object marking and the accusative-dative debate
- Differential object marking under contact. How is differential object marking affected under contact between Romance varieties? Are some parameters more vulnerable than others? What does contact tell us about the nature of the differential marker? What about contact with non-Romance varieties, or with other types of differential object marking?
- Other types of splits with non-displaced objects across Romance. Are various strategies possible in the same language?
- Loss of differential object marking. What is the taxonomy of contexts where the differential marker is still seen in languages in which the general strategy has otherwise decayed? Are such contexts uniform?
- Microvariation of differential object marking in diachrony. How does diachrony affect microvariation? Do we see uniform compliance with the *Scales* at all stages of differential marking? Or are there exceptions? If yes, what do such instances indicate?

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PROGRAMME / PROGRAM

INaLCO, 65 Rue des Grands Moulins 75013 Paris

(Métro 14, RER C, Bus 62, 64, arrêt / stop Bibliothèque François Mitterrand)

Vendredi, 9 novembre / Friday, November 9th 2018

Salle / Room : Amphithéâtre 4

13h30-14h00 : Registration

Chair : TBA

14h00-15h00 : **Adam LEDGEWAY** (University of Cambridge), *Parametric variation in DOM in the dialects of southern Italy*, **conférencier invité / invited speaker**

15h00-15h30 : **Adriana BELLETTI** (Université de Genève & Università di Siena), *A-marking topics in non-DOM Italian*

15h30-16h00 : **Luana SORGINI** (Utrecht University), *Differential Object Marking as datives: evidence from PCC*

16h00-16h30 : **pause café / coffee break**

Chair : TBA

16h30-17h00 : **Larissa BINDER & Elisabeth STARK** (University of Zürich), *Differential Object Marking in French – Myth or reality?*

17h00-17h30 : Franck FLORICIC (Université Paris Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3), *Differential Object Marking in Gascon bethmalais*

17h30-18h00 : Pierre-Don GIANCARLI (Université de Poitiers, FoReLLis, MSHS, IEAQ), *Pour une approche unifactorielle de l'accusatif prépositionnel en corse*

18h00-18h30 : pause café / coffee break

Chair: TBA

18h30-19h30 : Javier ORMAZABAL (Universidad del Pais Vasco, UPV / EHU) & **Juan ROMERO** (Universidad de Extremadura), **conférenciers invités / invited speakers**, *The case of DOM*

20h00 : Dîner / dinner

Samedi, 10 novembre / Saturday, November 10th 2018

Salle / Room : Amphithéâtre 2

Chair : TBA

9h00-10h00 : Virginia HILL (University of New Brunswick – Saint John), *Micro-variation for Differential Object Marking in Balkan Romance*, **conférencière invitée / invited speaker**

10h00-10h30 : Judy BERNSTEIN (William Paterson University), **Francisco ORDONEZ** (Stony Brook University) & **Francesc ROCA** (Universitat de Girona), *DOM and DP layers in Romance*

10h30-11h00 : pause café / coffee break

Chair : TBA

11h00-11h30 : Cristina GUARDIANO (Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia), *Prepositional accusatives and the internal structure of DPs: strong person in Sicily*

11h30-12h00 : Yusuke KANAZAWA (Shiga Junior College, Japan), *Differential Object Marking in kinship terms and animacy hierarchies in Old Sardinian*

12h00-12h30 : Luigi ANDRIANI (Università degli Studi di Napoli “Federico II”/University of Cambridge), **Michela CENAMO** (Università degli Studi di Napoli “Federico II”) & **Francesco**

CICONTE (Università degli Studi di Napoli “Federico II” & Universidad de Puerto Rico), *Differential Object Marking in Old Sardinian*

12h30-13h00 : Luigi ANDRIANI (Università degli Studi di Napoli “Federico II”/University of Cambridge), *The Syntax and Semantics of Differential Object Marking in Barese*

13h00-14h30 : déjeuner / lunch

Chair : TBA

14h30-15h00 : Johannes KABATEK (University of Zürich), *The Diachrony of DOM in Spanish: towards a multi-dimensional approach*

15h00-15h30 : Aline Jéssica PIRES (Universidade Estadual de Campinas), *The Spanish influence on DOM in the diachrony of Portuguese*

15h30-16h00 : Sonia CYRINO (Universidade Estadual de Campinas) & **Monica-Alexandrina IRIMIA** (Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia), *DOM in diachrony: the case of Brazilian Portuguese*

16h00-16h30 : Fábio Bonfim DUARTE (Federal University of Minas Gerais), *The grammatical status of the clitic doubling in Brazilian Portuguese*

16h30-17h00 : pause café / coffee break

Chair : TBA

17h00-17h30 : Diego ROMERO HEREDERO (Universität zu Köln), *Diachronic variation of the Differential Object Marking in Spanish: the role of telicity*

17h30-18h00 : Ane ODRÍA (Universidad del País Vasco, UPV / EHU), *DOM in Basque and Spanish dialects: a micro-comparative approach*

18h00-19h00 : Anna PINEDA (Universitat Pompeu Fabra), **conférencière invitée / invited speaker**, *Differential Object Marking in Catalan varieties*

Alternates

Alexandra CORNILESCU (Universitatea din Bucureşti), *On DOM in Romanian*

Alessandro DE ANGELIS (Università degli Studi di Messina), *Expletive article and DOM in some Italo-Romance varieties of South Italy*

Keith TSE (Ronin Institute), *Microparametric variation in Western Romance DOM (ad): diachrony and synchrony*

ABSTRACTS

THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN BARESE

Luigi ANDRIANI

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In the present work, we explore the semantic and syntactic properties of Differentially Marked Objects in the dialect of Bari (south-eastern Italy), where the preposition *a*¹ surfaces with certain Direct Objects (DO):

- 1) sɔ vvistə *(a) kko'linə /*(a) 'jiddə /(a) nu
 am seen PA Nick PA he PA a
 krəs'tjanə / (*a) la/na 'magənə
 person PA the/a car
 ‘I have seen Nick / him/ a person/ the/a car’

We start from the syntactico-semantic conditions identified by Torrego (1998) for the licensing of the Spanish Prepositional Accusative (PA), and compare and contrast these properties to those of the Barese PA. In the particular case of Spanish, Torrego (1998) offers a list of tests revealing six main semantic properties for the licensing of the *a*-marking on DOs:

1. ability (not necessity) of the DOs to be doubled by resumptive clitics;
2. interpretation of the DOs as “specific”;
3. sensitivity of the aspectual classes of the V in presence of the PA;
4. link to the “agentivity” of the subject;
5. “animacy” restriction that holds of DOs;
6. bearing of “affectedness” of the DOs;

Among these six conditions identified for Spanish by Torrego, the Barese PA only requires three of them to be licensed, namely [+“human”] and [+specific] DOs, as well as [+agentive] subjects, whereas the remaining three are only partly influential or entirely irrelevant in Barese. In particular,

¹ The annotation represents the following options: *(a) = obligatory PA; (a) = optional PA; (*a) = ungrammatical PA.

no aspectual shift in the predicate (a)telic interpretation obtains whenever the Barese PA surfaces, as opposed to Spanish. Moreover, the ‘affectedness’ of DOs does not play a role in the licensing of the Barese PA, as seen in (1) where the PA-marked arguments of the predicate ‘to see’ cannot be considered as affected (as it would be the case for predicates such as ‘to hit, to beat up’).

By means of a number of syntactic tests involving a cross-linguistically fixed adverbial hierarchy (Cinque 1999), we situate Barese in a wider typology of Romance verb and clitic positioning provided by Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005). Starting from their analysis, we note that verb and clitic movement in Barese can be comparable to that of Spanish, rather than that of Italian or Cosentino. In particular, we observed that the Barese *a*-marked DO will always follow the manner adverb *bbùnə* ‘well’, merged in the specifier of VoiceP, immediately above the *v*-VP shell. Hence, the PA never raises higher than VoiceP, i.e. it remains within the *v*-VP (except if fronted to the left periphery for pragmatic purposes). However, the agentivity of subjects is also a crucial structural requirement for the licensing of both Barese and Spanish PA, which suggests that there must be interaction between the subject and the *a*-marked DOs at some stage of the derivation, possibly in the lexical domain. Most importantly, ‘specificity’ is chiefly responsible for the *a*-marking on the Direct Object, which becomes evident in the optionality of the PA with indefinite DPs or quantifiers.

Following Torrego (1998) (cf. also Ledgeway (2000)), we assume the following *v*P structure:

(2) ... [_{vP} [Spec2-*v*P [Spec1-*v*P [_{v'} *v*^o [_{vP} [_{v'} V DP_{DO}]]]]]]]

Since Chomsky (1995:§4.6), the agentive(/causative) thematic role of transitive subjects, which is crucial for the licensing of the PA in Barese, occupy the specifier position in the *v*-VP (cf. also Torrego 1998:15). For Barese (at least), the licensing of *a*-marked DOs must be linked to the agentivity of the transitive subject. The latter are first-merged in the inner specifier of the *v*P-shell, Spec1-*v*P, the thematic position for transitive subjects, and then raise to the Infl(ectional) layer, i.e. outside of the *v*-VP, as traditionally assumed for Romance. However, before T/Infl is merged, [+agentive] subjects can establish a close relation via *v*^o with those DOs whose D-features needs checking on *v*^o. This causes such DOs to be attracted to the external specifier of *v*P, Spec2-*v*P, where they will receive the *a*-marking to mark such nominal features (e.g. specificity). We argue for such a movement analysis of the Barese *a*-marked DOs following Diesing’s ‘Mapping Hypothesis’ (1992): [+specific] DOs undergo movement to a higher position within the (*v*-)VP, provided that they are [+human] and their subjects are agentive. Most of the diagnostics used by Torrego (1998) to shed light on the Spanish PA, adapted, in turn, to the Barese PA, have indeed revealed that ‘specificity’ plays a crucial role in Barese as the ultimate semantic factor determining the oscillation in the *a*-marking, visible on indefinite DPs and animate quantifiers:

- 3) nɔn zɔ 'vvi:st (a) nnəf'ʃunə
 not am seen PA nobody
 'I have seen nobody_[+/- specific]'

The *a*-marking in (3) depends on whether the quantifier has negative ('nobody') or NPI ('anybody like N') status. Diesing's (1992) intuition on [+specific] DOs finds welcome cross-linguistic parallels in the ideas of Chomsky (1995), Torrego (1998) for Spanish and Ledgeway (2000) for Neapolitan. However, the overt raising of *a*-marked DOs in both Spanish and Neapolitan is accounted for by these scholars on the basis of purely theory-internal assumptions. In fact, no direct syntactic evidence, i.e. intervening material, for Romance can be provided to account for the overt DO-raising, yet this should explain the semantically-motivated *a*-marking of certain DOs. Chomsky (1995) posits that no movement is unmotivated in Minimalism; there only will be movement for feature-checking needs. In this respect, Chomsky (1995:352) points out that *v* may indeed host a neutral nominal feature (also referred to as 'D-feature'), which attracts the DO to raise to a *v*-associated position. This D, or variant of D, may be linked to referentiality, rather than just being a simple marker of a nominal category. More specifically, such a D on *v* is argued by Chomsky (1995:350) to be the locus where also 'specificity' is encoded, i.e. where only [+specific] DOs may be attracted. Along the same lines, Torrego (1998:14) suggests that the *v*-domain can be considered as the locus to which certain types of DOs may overtly raise, if certain semantic conditions are met. This is the case for Spanish (Torrego 1998), Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2000) and Barese [+specific] DOs, which bear the *a*-marking. Thus, these [+specific] *a*-marked DOs raise to the external specifier position of the *v*P in order to check the specificity feature (as well as other nominal D-features, i.e. [+human]) against the head of that projection, i.e. *v*^o. Above all others, the [+specific] feature ultimately determines the DO-raising to the external Spec-*v*P, where it can be interpreted as [+specific] and receive the *a*-marking; on the other hand, if specificity is not involved, the Barese DO remains unmarked *in situ*, i.e. VP-complement position.

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DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN OLD SARDINIAN

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In this paper we explore the marking of O arguments/O(bjects) in Old Sardinian, in eleventh-fifteenth century texts from different areas (Logudoro, Campidano, Arborea). More specifically, we investigate the parameters determining the differential marking of human Os, whether *semantic* (reflecting the Individuation Hierarchy) (Silverstein 1976: 122; Cennamo 2003: 70-76), *syntactic* (determined by the syntactic position of the O argument in relation to the verb and in the clause) or *pragmatic* (deriving from and functioning as a marking device for topics) (Bossong 1998; Mardale 2008; Iemmolo 2010; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011: 18, among others and references therein).

A preliminary investigation reveals the existence of areal differences, probably reflecting also the different diachronic stage(s) instantiated by the textual sources scrutinized. In the oldest Logudorese texts, for instance, the O argument is generally marked with the preposition *a* (*ad* and variants before vowels) when it is a proper human noun (Merci 1992: 165; cf. also Putzu 2008; Soddu & Strinna 2013; Kanazawa 2016) (1a), whilst with common human nouns syntactic factors such as word order determine the presence/lack of a special marker, as first noted by Meyer-Lübke (1902: 52-53). Thus, O is unmarked if postverbal (1b), but it is marked with the preposition *a(d)* if it is not adjacent to the verb, as in (1c) (see also Cennamo 2018: 99, note 5):

- (1) a. *isse levait a Gavini et a Gosantine* (CSPS 21, 5)

he take.PRF.3SG to Gavini and to Gosantine

‘He took Gavini and Gosantine’

- b. *fekerun iij fños* (CSPS 21, 4)

make.PRF.3PL four children

‘They had four children’

- c. *Ego ... Petru Iscarpis, ki parthibi cun presbiteru Gavini Pithale*
I Petru Iscarpis who divide.PRF.1SG with priest Gavini Pithale
a fños de Istefane de Nussas (CSPS 24, 1-2)

to sons of Istefane from Nussas

‘I ... Petru Iscarpis who shared Istefane de Nussas’s sons with priest Gavini Pithale’

In old Arborese (cf. Viridis 2003; Murgia 2016), on the other hand, the use of a dedicated marker for human nouns appears to be non-systematic, Os being either marked or unmarked with the same verb(s) and in the same syntactic contexts (2a-b) (see Murgia 2016: 145-146):

(2) a. *si alchuno homini hochirit at alcuno atteru homini* (CDL 4.1)

if some man kill.IMPF.SBJV.3SG to some other man

‘If a man killed another man’

b. *si ... unu de cussos (sc. hominis) hochirit alcuno attero homini* (CDL 3.4)

if one of these men kill.IMPF.SBJV.3SG some other man

‘If one of these men killed another man’

Through the analysis of texts from different geographical distribution and centuries, we will further explore the areal differences and the paths of development emerging for the encoding of Differential Object Marking in Old Sardinian. We will also show how the earliest Logudorese texts clearly point to the original identificational function of the marker *a(d)* in differentiating A (subject) and O arguments when they are both high on the Animacy/Individuation hierarchy, resolving the ambiguity resulting from the word order variability of core arguments in the V1 syntax in Old Sardinian matrix clauses (Lombardi 2007; Wolfe 2015).

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A-MARKING TOPICS IN NON-DOM ITALIAN

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In (non southern, central variety of) Italian, which is not a Differential Object Marking/DOM language, full lexical direct object DPs may sometimes be introduced by preposition ‘a’ when they are left dislocated topics in Clitic Left Dislocation/CLLD constructions. Object a-Topics are not datives, as witnessed by the fact that the resumptive clitic in CLLD is an accusative clitic. The availability of a-topics is, however, severely constrained and limited; moreover, a-topics are only very marginally allowed by many speakers. The most felicitous cases involve left dislocated object experiencers of psych verbs (of the *worry* class, Benincà 1986, Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Berretta 1989; Belletti 2018 for recent discussion). a-Marked left dislocated topics are only felicitously allowed by speakers of (non southern, central variety) Italian when the left dislocated object is a (especially first and second) personal (strong) pronoun. Recent experimental results (Belletti & Manetti 2018) have brought to light the fact that developing children speaking the same (non southern, central) variety of Italian make a larger use of a-marking of left dislocated direct object topics by overwhelmingly a-marking left dislocated direct objects which are full lexical noun phrases and which are not object experiencers. Hence children overextend a limited possibility of adult Italian (Belletti 2017).

The distribution of young children’s a-Topics in Italian closely resembles that found in different Romance languages (such as Balearic Catalan, as described by Escandell Vidal 2007) and in different stages of the historical development of some of them (such as e.g. in the history of Spanish, von Stechow 2008, Laca 1987; but see also the French variety of the Geneva area according to Rohlfs 1971, and also Sicilian varieties, Iemmolo 2010).

After reviewing the similarity of children’s data with crosslinguistic descriptive and diachronic data, I will elaborate on:

- The mechanism(s) of marking object topics in the left periphery, expressed in cartographic terms (Rizzi 1997, 2004)
- The possible further positions of the the topic marker in the clausal map beside the left peripheral one, located in a low vP-peripheral topic position (along the lines of Belletti 2004)
- The possible development/change of the topic marker into a marker of the Case-agreement type not linked to topicality anymore, as is the case in productive DOM languages.

The latter hypothesis opens up the possibility that the introduction of some DOM mechanism may in fact be on the way in (non southern, central) Italian (whereas southern varieties are known to already have DOM with a distribution that parallels that of Spanish). This is a conjecture sometimes already made in previous literature (Berretta 1989). The leading role played by children’s linguistic creative behaviour in promoting language change (Lightfoot 1999) will thus also be discussed.

One main distributional property that generally characterizes a-Topics will also be addressed and discussed in detail: a-Topics are objects they are not subjects. To the extent that this is a correct descriptive generalization, the question that arises is why it should be so. A proposal will be elaborated in terms of the criterial approach (as developed in Rizzi 1997 and subsequent work). In a nutshell: the necessity of simultaneous satisfaction of both the Topic criterion and the Subject criterion (Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007) by a subject a-Topic and the resumptive (null) subject pronoun linked to it in the clause internal subject position may be the source of the problem, as it inevitably leads to a kind of interpretive clash. Such clash is ultimately responsible for the unavailability of a-marked subject topics. This line of account will also be grounded on some hypotheses concerning the interpretive effects of a-marking. Indeed, whenever a subject is a-marked, it is not a left peripheral topic but rather a dative, an instance of *quirky subject* (Sigurdsson 2002), hosted in the clause internal subject position (as with psych-verbs of the *piacere*/like class).

Some (speculative) parallel will finally be discussed between the type of a-marking presented and discussed in detail involving direct objects (topics) and another instance of a-marking involving an external argument, which is not a clausal subject: the a-marking occurring in *fare-a* type-causatives in Italian.

Time permitting, the acquisition issue will be taken up again illustrating how the phenomenon of a-Topics interacts in an interesting way with the operation of the featural Relativized Minimality locality condition in children's grammars (Friedmann, Belletti and Rizzi 2009 and references cited there), to the effect that children creatively overextend a possible grammatical option not systematically active in their target language, but possible in other languages, under the internal pressure of locality.

Selected references

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DOM AND DP LAYERS IN ROMANCE

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Many theories of DOM assume it is a pure overt manifestation of case for animates; either inherent case (Torrego 1998); accusative case in which *a* is its specific morphological realization with animate specific DPs (López 2012); or dative case (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007). Ormazábal and Romero 2013 link DOM to agreement with animacy. In this paper we advocate that any theory of DOM must also pay special attention to the DP syntactic and morphological make-up in a more parsimonious way (see also Irimia and Pineda 2018). Crucial evidence for this more structured micro-parametric alternative is provided by the comparison of Standard Catalan versus Sardinian (Jones 1999) versus Standard Spanish. Here we will present an alternative for DOM in which the DOM preposition is made sensitive to the layer and features of the nominal it attaches to. We must distinguish the following types of nominals: DP+K case (pronominals), QP+K (pronominal quantifier phrases), DP1 (DPs with overt definite articles) and DP2 (proper names and DP titles).

Standard Catalan is probably the most restrictive of the DOM languages. DOM is permitted with animate pronominals and animate quantifiers but not with proper names, definite DPs and DP titles:

- (1) L'ha vist *a* ell/ *a* tothom.
him-has seen *a* him/*a* everybody
'S/he has seen him/everybody.'
- (2) He vist (**a*) la Maria/(**a*) la noia /(**a*) l rei. (Catalan)
have.1sg seen *a* the Maria/ *a* the girl / *a* the king(title)

Sardinian allows DOM with pronouns and quantifiers (3); like Catalan it disallows DOM with other DPs (4); but unlike Catalan it allows *a* with proper nouns (5).

- (3) Conosco *a* issa/ *a* tottu.
know.1sg *a* her/*a* everybody
- (4) Appu vistu (**a*) su frate de Juanne.
have.1sg seen *a* the brother of Juanne
'I have seen Juanne's brother.'
- (5) Conosco *a* Juanne. (Sardinian)

know.1sg *a* Juanne

This puzzling behavior leads Jones (1999, p. 123) to propose that *a* in Sardinian is obligatory before all accusative NPs which lack a determiner position. He assumes that proper names, pronouns and QPs lack D. However, Jones (1999, fn. 5) also points out that there are interesting exceptions especially with human singular nouns in which this restriction is relaxed, as in (6), in which DPs are singular, unique and indicate a title.

(6) Appu vistu *a* su re, *a* su dottore, *a* su mere. (Sardinian)

‘I have seen *a* the king, *a* the doctor, *a* the boss.’

Finally, Standard Peninsular Spanish allows DOM with pronouns, proper names and any DPs or DP titles:

(7) a. Las vimos *a* ellas/ *a* todas. (Spanish)

cl saw *a* them/ *a* everybody

b. Juan vio *a* María/ *a* la chica/ *a* l rey.

Juan saw *a* Maria/ *a* the girl/ *a* the king

In order to understand this puzzling variation, we will follow the spirit of Jones' proposal on the different interaction of DOM with different types of nominals, but present an alternative in terms of DP layers. Since pronominals are all permitted in these languages, we will assume that overt pronouns move overtly out of vP and in that position they will be licensed by merge of the *a* preposition. The property that characterizes pronominals is the fact that they are marked for an abstract K feature (Ordóñez and Roca 2018). This movement out of vP will be akin to objectshift.

(8) a. ha vist [DP+K [ell]] → movement of the DP+K pronoun outside the VP

b. [DP+K [ell]]_i ha vist [t]_i → merge of *a*

c. *a* + [DP+K [ell]]

Since in Catalan DOM is also permitted with quantifiers we propose that *a* merges with any DP [+K] or QP [+K]. Thus, the merging possibilities of *a* in Catalan are expressed in (9):

(9) [*a* merge [DP+K [ell]] / [QP+K [tothom]]]

*[*a* merge [DP2 *en* [NP Joan]] / DP1 *els* ... [NP *soldats*]] / [DP2 *el* ... [[NP *rei*]]]

The case of Sardinian is trickier since it allows DOM with proper names as in (5) and certain DP titles as in (6). We will adopt a more articulated version of DP as in Bernstein, Ordóñez and Roca 2016 (BOR). BOR propose that there is an outer DP1 layer corresponding to DPs with overt referential D, which corresponds to overt definite articles (for indefinites see López 2012). The inner DP2 corresponds to a D used for proper names. BOR show that the overt manifestation of this inner DP2 is found in the personal article of Catalan:

(10) [DP1 D1 [DP2 [D2 *en*] [NP Joan]]] (Catalan)

Since Sardinian, like Spanish, lacks an overt personal article we can assume the structure in (11a) for proper names in DP2. However, DPs with overt determiners have the structure in (11b) in which the determiner occupies the outer DP1 layer:

- (11) a. [DP1 [DP2 [NP *Juanne*]]] (Sardinian)
 b. [DP1 [D1 *sos*] [DP2 [NP *sordatos*]]]

From this point of view, Sardinian personal *a* is allowed to merge with the inner DP2, but not with DP1. In order to account for the special cases of Sardinian in which the D is permitted with DOM as with titles (6), we present interesting evidence that the determiners with titles are in an inner DP2, not the outer DP1. One of the characteristics of this inner DP2 layer is that it does not pluralize because it is used to refer to unique DPs. As is well known, personal articles do not pluralize (*en Joan* versus **ens Joans*) and Jones indicates that the titles in (6) allow DOM in the singular but not in the plural (*appo visto a su mere* / *(*a) sos meres*). Thus the restrictions on merge for *a* in Sardinian are as follow:

- (12) a. [*a* merge .[DP +K [*issos*]]/ [QP=K [*tottu*]]]/ [DP2 [NP *Juanne*]] [DP2 *su* [NP *rei*]]
 b. *[*a* merge [DP1 *sos* ... [NP *sordatos*]]]

Finally, Spanish is the least restricted of the three languages, allowing external merge with pronominals, pronominal quantifiers and any kind of DP as far as it is animate and specific.

- (13) a. [*a* merge[DP+K [*él*]]- [QP [*todos*]]- [DP2 [NP *Juan*]] [DP2 *el* [NP *rei*]]]
 [DP1 *los* ... [NP *soldados*]]]

In this paper we show that the distribution of DOM provides evidence for a more layered DP approach (Zamparelli 1995, BOR). With a more complex DP structure and taking into account its semantic (animacy) and morphological properties, we see that the languages differ with respect to the level that *a* merges with. Fundamentally we are advocating for a proposal of DOM with merge of the preposition *a* in the syntax (Ordóñez and Roca 2018, Kayne 2007). Last but not least, we can extend this merge perspective to account for the cases in languages in which DOM occurs only in topic position, as was studied by Escandell (2009) for Balearic Catalan. From our perspective, we can just add the feature [+topic] to the DP that *a* must merge with.

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DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN FRENCH – MYTH OR REALITY?

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Differential object marking (DOM) is a widespread phenomenon among Romance languages and happens to be one of the most studied and yet enigmatic topics in Romance linguistics. DOM in Spanish and Romanian has received special attention due to its apparent systematicity, but there are also a lot of typological approaches where other Romance languages and varieties (including, for instance, Catalan, Italian, Occitan, Portuguese and their varieties) are taken into account (i.e. Bossong 1991, Müller 1971, Niculescu 1959, Roegiest 1979, Rohlfs 1971). However, so far, French has hardly been considered and if at all, it has been said to be one of the Romance “exceptions” lacking a differential marker for the direct object. Recently, Fagard/Mardale (2014) have provided some new interesting hints about this phenomenon in French which can be summed up in the following three main findings:

- DOM in French is an optional, but existing phenomenon
- DOM in French seems to be related to Clitic Doubling
- DOM in French is restricted to several pragmatic contexts, such as emphatic or contrastive constructions

In our contribution to the workshop, we seek to demonstrate the acceptability of DOM constructions in French and provide new insights into this phenomenon which is frequently considered to be related to an external influence, such as language contact (Spanish and Franco-Provencal, cf. Müller 1971). In order to do that, we have carried out an on-line survey with 90 French native speakers applying a relatively new sort of methodology, namely the so-called *Thermometer judgements* (Featherstone 2008). The results show that French DOM constructions cause a big range of reactions, but none of them is accepted throughout the line by an identifiable group of speakers. More interestingly, the informants of our study have rejected most of the examples corresponding to the contexts which according to Fagard/Mardale (2014) as typical DOM-contexts (Clitic Doubling, emphatic context, etc.). The aim of our contribution will be to provide new hypotheses about the status of DOM in French and to discuss whether this phenomenon is rather a myth or a reality.

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DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN DIACHRONY: THE CASE OF BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

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1. In some Romance languages, such as Brazilian Portuguese (BP), animate direct objects are not generally marked. However, several diachronic studies (Ramos 1992, Gibrail 2003, Pires 2017) show that DO *a*-marking, which is homophonous to the dative, just like Differential Object Marking (DOM) in other Romance varieties, was possible from the 16th to 18th centuries:

(1) *e o pirata, depois de render ao capitão...* (16th century)

and the pirate after of subdue DOM-the captain

‘and the pirate, after subduing the captain...’

For BP, one could relate the decline in *a*-marking to the general loss of the dative preposition *a* in ditransitive structures shown by several studies (Berlinck 1997, Oliveira 2004), and its replacement by other prepositions (*de* ‘of’, *para* ‘to’) (Torres Morais & Salles 2010) (2a,b), as well as to the loss of *a* as a preposition indicating movement and its replacement by the preposition *em* ‘in’ (Farias 2006) (3). The loss of *a*-marking, thus, could be one other consequence of the loss of the preposition *a* (see also Ramos 1992).

(2) a. *Leo comprouo livro ao Rui > do Rui* b. *O Rui deu o livro ao Ivo > para o Ivo*

Leo bought thebook to-the Rui of-theRui

the Rui gavethebookto-theIvo to the Ivo

‘Leo bought the book from Rui.’

‘Rui gave the book to Ivo.’

(3) *O Pedro foi ao cinema. > no cinema*

the Pedro went to-the cinema in.the cinema

‘Pedro went to the cinema.’

2. However, that kind of correlation faces two problems:

(i) DO *a*-marking is still possible (or optional) in some restricted contexts: *a* is necessary in coordinate structures where there is a clitic (4a) (Ramos 1992), and before quantified DOs (4b):

(4) a. *Eu o vi e *(a)o irmão* b. *Eleviu(a) alguns homens/*a algumas escolas.*

I him.CLSawand DOM.the brother

he sawDOM some men DOM some schools

‘I saw him and I saw his brother too.’

‘He saw some men/ some schools.’

(ii) the preposition *a* has not been completely lost in BP. Calindro (2015) finds 80% of *a* vs. *para* with all kinds of dative verbs (except with verbs of creation) in all periods of the 20th century, and

Gazola (in progress) has similar results for *a* in other contexts.

3. Interestingly, BP traditional grammars prescribe that some verbs as *ajudar* ‘help’, *obedecer* ‘obey’, *satisfazer* ‘satisfy’ should have an *a*-marked complement. However, as shown by Cyrino (2017), the real picture for BP is that the language shows variation in the use of that *a* (5):

- (5) a. *O Pedro ajudou (a)o amigo.* b. *A explicação satisfaz (a)o Pedro.*
 the Pedro helped DOM-the friend The explanation satisfied DOM.the Pedro
 ‘Pedro helped his friend.’ ‘The explanation satisfied Pedro.’

Cyrino (2017) points out that the only case where *a* is obligatory is before [+animate] complements (although the grammars don’t mention this fact), as seen in (6) in contrast to (5b):

- (6) *O julgamento satisfaz (*a)os requisitos da lei.*
 the trial satisfied DOM-the requirements of-the law
 ‘The trial were in accordance to the law requirements.’

4. On the other hand, besides contexts above, the *a* is still necessary in BP coordinated structures, where, again, *a* marks a [+animate] DO. See (7a,b) vs. (7c,c). Notice that (7b), but not (7a) has the relevant reading for a coordinated [+animate] DO.

- (7) a. **Eu vi o menino e o professortambém.* b. *Eu vi o menino e ao professortambém.*
 I saw the boy and the teacher too I saw theboy and DOM.the teacher too
 (intended: ‘I saw the boy and I saw the teacher too’) ‘I saw the boy and I saw the teacher too’

Additionally, Cyrino (2017) shows that *a* is necessary with quantifiers under animate reference (8):

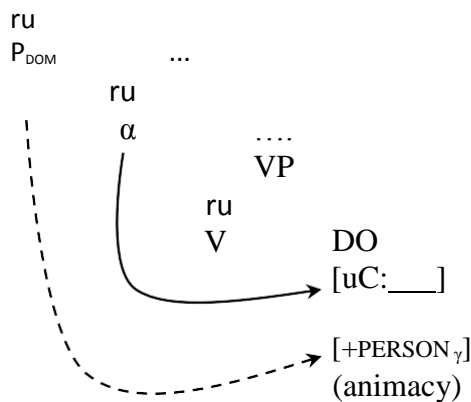
- (8) a. *Ele visitou todos. (todos = [± animate])* b. *Ele visitou a todos. (todos = [+animate])*
 he visited all he visited DOM all
 ‘He visited everyone/everything.’ ‘He visited everyone.’

These facts lead to the conclusion that if there was a diachronic change in DO *a*-marking, it cannot be related to a general loss of *a* in BP.

5. Instead, we propose that *a* is inserted as a morphological mark for animacy, as it is the case in Spanish and 16th-18th century BP. We assume (along with Rodriguez-Mondoñedo 2007, López 2012, Ritter and Wiltschko 2014, a.o.) that there is a dedicated position for animate DPs outside VP. BP has changed in that the morphological mark was lost, but the syntactic animacy effects resulting from the movement of animate DPs out of VP are still present in the language; for example, we still find animacy effects on the realization of direct null objects (Cyrino 1994, 2016). According to this view, Spanish and BP are similar in that animates are computed external to VP but different with respect to the need of an overt (morphological) mark. In Spanish, an overt preposition must be inserted, perhaps also driven by Case purposes (see Ordóñez and Roca, forthcoming, Zdrojewski 2013). In BP, however, Case could hardly be a motivation for *a*-marking

since, diachronically, the latter has never been generalized to all animate DPs, but it has always been restricted to certain types of animate DPs (titles, proper names, quantified DPs) (Gibrail 2003, Pires 2017) and, synchronically, to certain structures, as seen above. Therefore, it looks like animacy is the relevant trigger for *a*-marking, and Case or agreement may be a parallel requirement in different languages (see also Manzini & Franco 2016, Irimia 2018). This can be formalized following (recent) research that connects animacy to the presence of a *grammaticalized* [+PERSON] feature in the nominal (Richards 1998, Adger and Harbour 2007, Ormazabal and Romero 2007, Cornilescu 2010, Kučerová 2017, a.o.), which also has non-trivial interactions with gender (γ), outputting a type of semantic gender (the difference between animates and inanimates). Given that bare definites are required in environments which might require licensing, the head D might be associated with an [uC:_] (Giusti 1993, a.o.) in BP, just like in other Romance varieties (such as Romanian, or Southern Italian varieties; in the latter animacy DOM co-occurs with object agreement, which is however, independent of DOM and licenses DPs). [+PERSON γ] (animacy), in turn, is associated with an additional layer of licensing.

(9)



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EXPLETIVE ARTICLE AND DOM IN SOME ITALO-ROMANCE VARIETIES OF SOUTH ITALY

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In some Italo-Romance varieties of extreme southern Calabria, masculine and feminine proper nouns are headed by the definite article, see e.g. *U Peppe* lit. ‘the Joseph’, *A Maria* ‘The Mary’. This morphological feature depends on the contact with Italo-Greek, where both proper nouns and toponyms are headed by the expletive article. According to Longobardi (1994, 2001), the presence of this special form of definite article is aimed to signal D overtly, whereas the proper noun remains *in situ*, that is it does not raise to D (see the contrast between Italiot Gk. *i María, o Pétro*, with D filled by the expletive article, and Standard It. *Gianni mio* vs. **mio Gianni*, with the proper noun *Gianni* which crosses the adjective *mio* ‘my’ by raising to D).

The presence of such article interacts with DOM, which in these varieties is coded through the preposition *a*. Indeed, DOM is banned with proper nouns (exx. 1-2), with some microtoponymes lexicalized with definite article (ex. 3) and with definite common nouns [+animate, +human] headed by the definite article (exx. 4-5):

1. [ca'maɪ ɔ d'dʒanni]
call.PF.1SG ART.DEF.M John
‘I called John’
2. [sa'lu:ta=mi a vi'tʃentsa]
say hello.IMPV.2SG=me.DAT ART.DEF.F Vincenza
‘Say hello to Vincenza’
3. ['vittɪ a vvo're:a]
see.PF.1SG DOM Vorea (name of a district of San Luca)
‘I saw Vorea’
4. ['vittoru ɔ 'sɪndoku]
see.PF.3PL ART.DEF.M mayor
‘They saw the mayor’
5. [a salo'tastɪ a ma'ɛstra?]
PRON.ACC.SG.F. say hello.PF.2SG ART.DEF.F. teacher
‘Did you say hello to the teacher?’

When the definite article does not surface, the marker *a* (= DOM) is mandatory with kinship names (ex. 6), as well as with indefinite [+animate, +human] names which entail a presuppositional reading (ex. 7), whereas only sporadically surfaces with indefinite [+animate, +human] names devoided of a presuppositional reading (ex. 8):

6. ['cja:ma=mi a ppap'po:=ma]

call.IMPV.2SG=me. DOM grandfather=my
 ‘Call me my grandfather’

7. [u 'pɛ:trɔ mmat'tsɔ a nu kris'tja:nɔ ci kanɔʃ'ʃi:a]
 The Peter kill.PF.3SG DOM a person whom know.PF.1SG
 ‘Peter killed a guy whom I knew’

8. [u 'pɛ:trɔ mmat'tsɔ (a) nu kris'tja:nɔ]
 The Peter kill.PF.3SG DOM a person
 ‘Peter killed a guy’

Data show a complementary distribution between the marker *a* and the definite article with Objects highly individuated, parallel to the distribution noticed for Corsican (Neuburger-Stark 2014) and Sardinian (Jones 1993, 1995). The origin of such a distribution could lie in the refunctionalization of the expletive article, which is generally considered semantically empty. Nevertheless, in these varieties its formal similarity with the definite article could have triggered a deictic interpretation. In this way, both definite and expletive articles turned out to convey a [+presuppositional] reading, and as such they became incompatible with the marker *a*, which also codes [+animate] Objects provided with the same reading.

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THE GRAMMATICAL STATUS OF THE CLITIC DOUBLING IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

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INTRODUCTION: This talk aims to show that Brazilian Portuguese, hereafter BP, displays clitic doubling in a way that differs slightly from clitic doubling found in other romance languages, such as Spanish and Romanian. The main reason is that clitic doubling in BP does not require that a functional preposition such as “a” precedes the (in)direct object. Another difference is that this phenomenon is strictly limited to the first and second person objects *eu* “I” and *você* “you”, as the examples below show:

(1) João *me_i* viu *eu_i*

Joao me saw I

‘John saw me.’

(2) Eu *te_i* esperei *você_i* um tempão.

I you waited you a long time

‘I waited you for a long time.’

Based on this data, the main goal of this paper is to demonstrate that the BP clitic doubling can be interpreted as a reflex of differential object marking, whose main role is to indicate that the internal object is high in the animacy/definiteness hierarchy. It is also important to point out that objects realized by first and second plural ‘us’ and ‘you’, respectively, and third person DPs cannot be doubled by clitics in the verb morphological complex. Thus one question one may raise is why clitic doubling is restricted only to first and second person of singular.

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS: The analysis is based on the theories proposed by Givón (1978), Comrie (1989), Aissen (2002) and Haspelmath (2008) among others, according to which there is a strong correlation between differential object marking and the prominent position that the object occupies in the animacy/definiteness scale. In line with this, DOM is viewed as a phenomenon in which the object of transitive verbs can receive certain grammatical markings to encode how high an internal argument is ranked in the definiteness and animacy scale. Aissen (2002), for instance, postulates that an object can get grammatically more marked if it is positioned higher in the animacy and definiteness scale. Comrie (1986) observes that personal pronouns are the type of object bearing most markings cross-linguistically than non-specific indefinite objects. This prediction is confirmed by the fact that pronominal objects tend to be more formally marked in human languages than non-pronominal objects. In this sense, BP data bring further evidence in favor of this proposal, but poses an interesting problem to the debate on the differential object marking, since this language does not allow the occurrence of a functional preposition before the DP that is doubled nor permits clitic doubling of first and second person of plural.

PROPOSAL: In view of the BP data collected thus far, the hypothesis that will be advocated in this talk is that clitic doubling is only possible to encode the semantic features of objects positioned higher in the definiteness and animacy scale. The immediate consequence for this analysis is that contemporary Brazilian Portuguese contrasts with languages such as classic Portuguese, Spanish and Hindi, among others, since in these languages the cutoff in the definiteness scale for DOM occurrence takes place in intermediate positions of the definiteness scale. Another hypothesis to be explored is that BP exhibits clitic doubling only for first and second person singular objects due to the fact that the language has lost its rich paradigm of clitics. From a system of six clitics, the system has been reduced only to two pronominal clitics *me* ‘me’ and *te* ‘you’, thereby explaining why clitic doubling only occurs in first and second person of singular in Brazilian Portuguese. In sum, the core of the proposal is that in BP the DP that can be doubled must present the semantic features [+DEFINITE], [+SPECIFIC], [+REFERENTIAL], [+EGO, +TU]].

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MARQUAGE DIFFERENTIEL DE L'OBJET EN GASCON BETHMALAIS

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L'objectif de cette contribution est de présenter les données qu'offre le *gascon bethmalais* au regard de problèmes qui mettent en jeu le marquage de l'objet. Si la littérature consacrée à « l'accusatif prépositionnel » est désormais abondante et si de nombreuses langues ont été identifiées comme présentant une stratégie de marquage différentiel de l'objet, l'exploration de cette problématique dans le domaine roman reste encore largement à réaliser. Le gascon est bien connu pour ses caractéristiques originales dans le domaine roman. Pour introduire les phrases finies il recourt à la particule *que* dont l'origine continue d'être débattue (cf. Floricic 2013). En revanche la question du marquage de l'objet n'a fait l'objet que de remarques éparpillées de la part des romanistes. Dans sa contribution programmatique sur l'accusatif prépositionnel dans les langues romanes, Rohlf (1971 : 334) présente quelques données du gascon et signale l'existence d'un marqueur prépositionnel – *ena* / *enda* – particulièrement intéressant puisque, parmi ses valeurs, on relève la valeur locative / finale de 'pour' (cf. les exemples (5-6)) :

- 1) *era hilho que diguèc ena sa may* 'la fille dit à sa mère'
- 2) *alabéts que fèren bèngue ena soun pay* 'alors ils firent venir son père'
- 3) *se 'm bès ena jou, touco-m ep pè* 'si tu me veux, moi, touche-moi le pied'
- 4) *ena tu que-t cèrqui* 'c'est toi que je cherche'
- 5) *ena cassà* 'pour chasser'
- 6) *que bengueràn enda caso bòsto enda bei* 'ils viendront chez vous pour voir'

On se propose donc d'examiner la distribution de la préposition gasconne et les contraintes syntaxiques auxquelles est soumis le marquage de l'objet dont elle est l'exposant. On se basera tout particulièrement sur les données gasconnes du dialecte ariégeois de Bethmale telles qu'elles ont été enregistrées par Schönthaler (1937). Ces données seront contrôlées et précisées à partir d'enquêtes réalisées auprès des (rares !) locuteurs dialectophones de la localité de Bethmale.

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POUR UNE APPROCHE UNIFACTORIELLE DE L'ACCUSATIF PRÉPOSITIONNEL EN CORSE

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Ceci est le prolongement d'un travail de 2014, par rapport auquel le nombre d'occurrences considérées a été accru, passant de 120.000 à 300.000 mots, permettant de rendre les résultats plus représentatifs, de réévaluer et prolonger certains points, et d'envisager d'autres pistes.

À partir d'un corpus authentique, nous tentons de cerner les facteurs pertinents en liaison avec l'émergence de l'accusatif prépositionnel (AcP) dont le marqueur est *à* ou *ad*. Nous considérons les 80 premiers verbes acceptant une telle construction (même si le critère de la présence d'un verbe n'a pas forcément à être rempli) et regardons comment ces verbes et leur environnement interagissent afin de conduire soit à l'émergence d'un AcP soit au contraire d'un accusatif non-prépositionnel. Nous prenons donc en compte les deux cas de figure.

Puis nous passons les résultats au crible d'un certain nombre de facteurs, certains usuels (animation, humanité, définitude, valeur référentielle, télicité, couplages divers, etc.), d'autres moins telle la corrélation avec le participe passé (puisque en corse de nombreux verbes en ont deux) en essayant de circonscrire les exceptions, le but étant de livrer une analyse qualitative prenant appui sur un état des lieux de nature quantitative.

Il apparaît que les facteurs locaux généralement évoqués pour expliquer le marquage différentiel de l'objet ne sont pas pertinents :

L'humanité, contrairement à ce qui est avancé de façon interlingue ou dans d'autres langues romanes comme l'espagnol ou le roumain (Moravcsik 1978, Bossong 1991, Leonetti 2004), laisse pour compte des pans entiers d'emploi comme par exemple quand l'objet réfère à une entreprise, un fleuve ou une date : *Hà varcat'à Tavignanu / il a franchi le Tavignano, Emu spizzatu à 2009 / nous avons entamé 2009*.

La définitude, contrairement à l'état des lieux établi de façon interlingue ou dans d'autres langues romanes comme le roumain, l'espagnol ou le sarde (Lazard 1998, Aissen 2003, Fiorentino 2003, De Swart & De Hoop 2007), ne permet guère de comprendre pourquoi un marquage différentiel intervient devant *tutti* (tous) et *nimu* (personne) et encore moins devant *unu*, *calchidunu*, *calchissia* (quelqu'un) ou l'interrogatif *quali* (qui) : *Andà à chjammà à calchisia, mancu pinsà la ! / Aller appeler quelqu'un ? Vous voulez rire !*.

Pire, les représentations sous forme d'échelle/hiérarchies, mises au point pour tenter d'englober la complexité du phénomène ne font qu'élargir le fossé par rapport à la réalité des emplois, qu'il s'agisse de hiérarchies simples ou combinées :

Ainsi l'échelle du degré de détermination (pronoms > noms propres > GN spécifiques et définis > GN spécifiques et indéfinis > GN non-spécifiques) ne permet pas de savoir où intégrer par exemple les dates et fait l'impasse sur la contrainte, capitale en corse, d'absence de déterminant.

Ou encore l'échelle améliorée sous forme d'une combinaison des deux paramètres à laquelle s'ajoutent la spécificité et la catégorie grammaticale à laquelle appartient l'objet :

- (A) pronom animé humain > nom propre animé humain > pronom animé non-humain
- (B) GN défini animé humain > nom propre animé > pronom inanimé
- (C) GN spécifique indéfini animé humain > GN défini animé non-humain > nom propre inanimé
- (D) GN non-spécifique animé humain > GN spécifique indéfini animé non-humain > GN défini inanimé
- (E) GN non-spécifique animé > GN spécifique indéfini inanimé > GN non-spécifique inanimé.

Cette échelle conduit à des prédictions erronées et, sans même parler de l'inadéquation des formulations de certaines étapes, implique nécessairement que tout élément à gauche d'un choix donnant lieu à un AcP donne lui aussi lieu à un AcP puisque l'échelle est orientée. Or pour le corse cette double échelle ne remplit pas cette condition élémentaire.

Quant aux facteurs globaux, nous remettons en perspective la portée de notre principe basé sur la transitivité (hypothèse de « l'entonnoir ») et introduisons d'autres facteurs syntaxiques.

Au final nous voulons mettre à jour le dénominateur commun aux emplois de l'AcP en corse et proposer pour cette langue une explication fondée à titre secondaire sur des facteurs globaux et à titre principal de façon locale, dans une approche non pas multifactorielle et sur la base de hiérarchies (simples ou combinées) mais unifactorielle et sans échelle.

Le point de départ s'appuiera sur une des originalités du corse à savoir le fait que son AcP est rebelle à la présence d'un déterminant. Pas comme fait en soi mais comme symptôme de ce que cette contrainte révèle en système, dans une approche suffisamment souple pour ne pas rejeter hors-système, mais en périphérie, la minorité d'emplois qui font apparaître à la fois déterminant et AcP.

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**PREPOSITIONAL ACCUSATIVES AND THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF DPs:
STRONG PERSON IN SICILY**

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Goals. This contribution proposes a description of the distribution of prepositional direct objects in a group of varieties of Sicily (South-East: Ragusa) and supports the claim that there is a strict relationship between such a distribution and the internal structure of the DP found in object position. We will take as a starting point a hypothesis proposed in Guardiano (2000; also see Guardiano 2010, De Angelis 2017 and Ledgeway et al 2018 for elaboration). We show that the representation of the formal features encoded in D (*person* in particular, Longobardi 2008) interacts with the requirement for the preposition to appear on direct objects. In particular, nominal structures whose head raises to D (Longobardi 1996, 2001), generating DPs which are obligatory read as definite (pronouns, kinship expressions) or interpreted as object-referential (proper names), must have the preposition, with no substantial exceptions. In these cases, the syntactic realization of the head of the object nominal structure prevails on all the other constraints which have been identified in the literature as potentially responsible for the selection of the preposition.

Background. Like in the Western Romance languages where the phenomenon is documented (Rohlf's 1966, 1971; more recently Mardale 2008, 2010, among many others), in Sicilian prepositional direct objects take the preposition *a*, normally used to introduce indirect/dative complements (Franco et al 2017). According to the literature (Rohlf's 1966, 1971, Sornicola 1987, Guardiano 1999, 2000, Iemmolo 2009), in Sicilian the prepositional marking affects a subset of direct objects definable on the basis of the interaction of various types of parameters, including features associated to 'internal' interpretive features (such as definiteness, animacy, specificity, etc.) and properties more broadly related to the syntactic and/or informational structure of the sentence (such as pragmatic markedness, topicality, etc.). Such properties are crosslinguistically shared by almost all languages which display strategies of (multidimensional, Klein & de Swart 2011) differential object marking (DOM). One of the most frequent approaches to Romance prepositional accusative, first adopted in the typological literature (Comrie 1979, Bossong 1985, 1998, Pensado 1995) and then extended to formal approaches (Aissen 2003, Leonetti 2008, Klein & de Swart 2009, von Heusinger & Kaiser 2003, Naess 2004, de Swart & de Hoop 2007, a.o.), is based on hierarchies (animacy – Silverstein 1976, definiteness, specificity, topicality): objects whose referents are higher in the hierarchies are systematically prepositional, while objects whose referents are found in lower areas of the hierarchies are systematically non-prepositional. Variability in the presence/absence of the preposition depends on the interaction of different hierarchies and between hierarchies and other factors. Topicality, left/right dislocation of the object, markedness, the type of transitive structure instantiated by the verb have also often been advocated (see, among many others: Leonetti 2003, 2008, Escandell-Vidal 2007, 2009, Sornicola 1997, García García 2005, von Heusinger 2008, Fiorentino 2003, Berretta 1989, Pottier 1968, Pensado 1995, Torrego 1999, Cennamo 2003, etc.). We show that in the dialects considered the selection of the preposition depends on the realization of D in the following respects: (i) when nominal/pronominal material has raised to D, the preposition is systematic (with few exceptions, which will be discussed); for

instance, the strength of *person* in D (Longobardi 2008) always selects the preposition (for a proposal along these lines, see cf. Ledgeway et al. 2018); (ii) when D is empty (Contreras 1986) or filled with an ‘expletive’, the preposition is ungrammatical. The other abovementioned factors interact with such syntactic requirements (for instance, the items which rise to D are also found at the top of the hierarchies), but start to play a crucial role only outside the two extreme cases in which the licensing of prepositional accusative is defined or prevented by the syntactic content of D.

Data. Prepositional accusatives are well-documented in several regional varieties of (non-standard) Italian (including Northern varieties, as first observed in Berretta 1989) and in many dialects belonging to the Central and Upper/Extreme Southern groups (Sornicola 1997, Fiorentino 2003, Cennamo 2003, Iemmolo 2009; Guardiano 1999, 2000, 2010 etc). In the dialects of Sicily the phenomenon is widespread and well-attested diachronically (Iemmolo 2009). In this contribution we use Guardiano’s (1999, 2000) collection of data. The evidence collected comes from the area of Ragusa and was elicited from native speakers through questionnaires or during spoken interactions and further integrated with data found in written sources. For the purposes of the present contribution, we collected additional novel data when required. We discuss, reconsider and integrate the taxonomy proposed in Guardiano (2000).

- (1)
 - I. 1st and 2nd person pronouns
 - II. 3rd person pronouns, pronominal demonstratives (with human/animate referents)
 - III. Proper names
 - IV. kinship expressions (kinship noun+possessive)
 - V. 3rd person pronouns, pronominal demonstratives (with non-human/non-animate referents), indefinite pronouns
 - VI. count nouns, human
 - VII. count nouns, non-human, animate
 - VIII. count nouns, non-human, non-animate
 - IX. mass nouns
 - X. abstract nouns

Remarkably, each of the classes of nominal structures listed in (1) is identifiable as a natural class on the basis of independent syntactic and/or semantic criteria, listed in (2):

- (2)
 - a. intrinsic deixis (pronouns/demonstratives vs. nouns/propernames)
 - b. necessity vs. possibility of raising to D (pronouns vs. demonstratives/kinship/proper names)
 - c. possibility vs. impossibility of raising to D (demonstratives/kinship/proper names vs. nouns)
 - d. count vs. mass

- e. human vs. non-human
- f. animate vs. non-animate
- g. abstract vs. non-abstract

The list in (1) is ordered according to the degree of accessibility of the object to the prepositional construction and can be in turn analyzed in three main subsets according to whether the preposition is obligatory (I-IV; V with exceptions), impossible (VIII-X; the few exceptions depend on left/right dislocation of the object) or possible but limited by definiteness/number restrictions and/or by non-DP-internal constraints, such as left/right dislocation, pragmatic/informational markedness, prominence (Alexiadou 2014) etc. (VI-VII). The DPs belonging to the first group (I-V: obligatory preposition) share an important syntactic feature: D is filled by an item that has raised to that position in order to check the feature *person* (Longobardi 2008). In particular, personal pronouns are assumed to systematically move to D (2b); crosslinguistically, kinship expressions and demonstratives have the property of being parametrically D-checking (2c): in Sicilian there is actually evidence that both categories are D-checking (Guardiano 2014, Guardiano et al 2016). As far as kinship expressions are concerned, in the varieties observed they usually contain a kinship noun and a possessive but no article; yet, some speakers marginally accept kinship expressions introduced by definite articles: noticeably, in object position such structures do not require any preposition. Finally, in Sicilian the feature *person*, like in all the Romance languages, is *strong* (Longobardi 2008, Guardiano et al 2016), namely it attracts overt referential material (e.g. proper names) to D. Interestingly, regarding class III, it has been observed that there are Southern Italian dialects (e.g. San Luca – Reggio Calabria, Chilà 2017, De Angelis 2017, Ledgeway et al 2018) where proper names of persons do not raise to D: in these cases, D is filled by a so-called (Longobardi 1994) ‘expletive’ item, that is conceived as a ‘filler’ of D and does not have any impact on the interpretation/reading of the nominal structure; proper names with an expletive are incompatible with prepositional accusative. Notice also that all the remaining classes of nominals in (1), namely VI-X, have the property of allowing empty Ds (under specific syntactic conditions): in the varieties considered here prepositional direct objects are incompatible with DPs where D is not realized lexically; with such classes, the selection of the preposition becomes sensitive either to other features represented in D (e.g. number, definiteness) or to intrinsic properties of the nominal head (e.g. mass vs. count, abstractness, animacy, etc.). Indeed, the presence of a definite item in D (e.g. a definite article or a demonstrative) seems to be a condition for the selection of the preposition with classes VI and VII (while it doesn’t play any role with classes VIII-X). Finally, common nouns occurring with an ‘expletive’ are incompatible with the preposition: object nominal structures interpreted as *kind names* (Longobardi 1994, 2008) are never prepositional.

Conclusions. In this paper we argue that a crucial component of the conditions on the occurrence of prepositional accusatives in the varieties considered is a purely syntactic one, namely the presence of overt raising of elements to D. Contrary to what has been traditionally assumed, semantic or classificatory features of the head noun (such as animacy, definiteness or specificity) play an additional and orthogonal role. This approach makes the interesting prediction that prepositional accusative should not be present in languages without a strong D capable of overtly attracting (e.g. Germanic) or languages with strong D but no movement of nominal material to D (e.g. Greek). In languages with no grammaticalized

definiteness in D, in which apparently the D-strength parameter cannot be set (e.g. Hindi), the selection of DOM will be possible just on the grounds of independent constraints.

MICRO-VARIATION FOR DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN BALKAN ROMANCE

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At an empirical level, this paper provides an overview of differential object marking in Balkan Romance (i.e., Daco-Romanian/DR; Aromanian/AR; Meglenoromanian/MgR; Istroromanian/IR). The main facts are as follows:

- CD is the mechanism used for differential object marking across the board in this language group.
- In this respect, CD applies to both indirect and direct objects. CD with indirect objects is fairly consistent cross-linguistically, whereas, with direct objects, there is variation.
- With direct objects, there is syntactic variation in the option for the marking mechanism (i.e., CD, DOM or CD/DOM).
- DOM occurs only in two varieties, and it concurs/competes or colludes with CD.
- Topic readings are consistently involved in the differential object marking (i.e., familiar or salient reading) for both indirect and direct objects. This is an overarching property.
- There is semantic variation in the triggers for marking, especially when specificity and animacy are involved.

The micro-variation is summed up in the Table below:

Table: Differential marking of direct objects in Balkan Romance

	Old DR	Modern DR	AR	MgR	IR
Specificity	√		√	√	√
Animacy	√	√			
CD	√		√	√	√
DOM particle	√	(traces)			
CD/DOM prtcl	√	√	√		
no marking	√	√		√	√√

The Table shows that all the micro-variations seen in Balkan Romance exist in Old DR. Hence, a diachronic perspective is most likely to help finding a formal account for this variation.

At a theoretical level, this overview points out that all the syntactic mechanisms, irrespective of the semantic triggers, serve the same purpose, namely, to ensure the topic reading entailed by the differential marking. Hence, the analysis has to identify the distribution of topic features and the way they can get checked either by CD or DOM or jointly, as CD/DOM.

The proposal is that differential object marking in Old DR involves configurations with topic features on either clausal or nominal heads (i.e., C and K/D), and feature checking is triggered accordingly. More precisely, with CD there is [topic] at C only, checked by the KP (long distance Agree), resulting in a familiar topic reading. With DOM there is [topic] at K only, checked by the

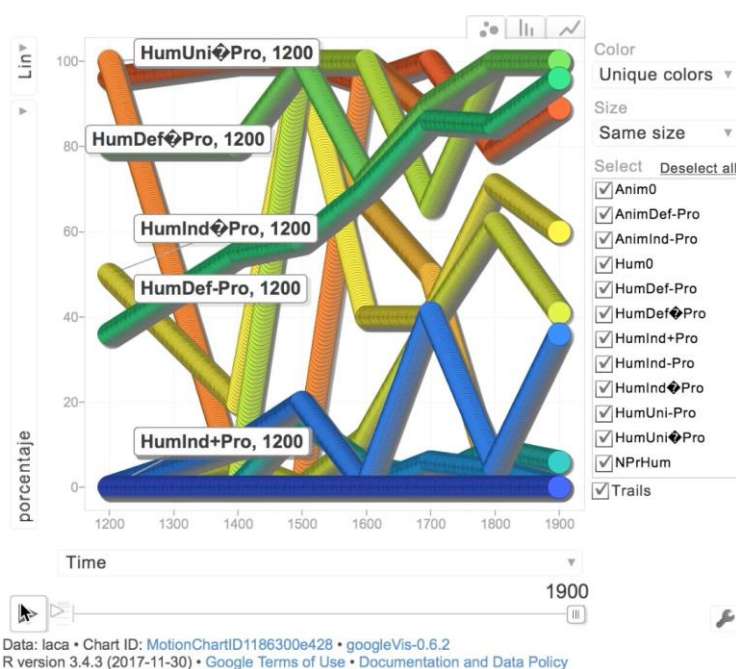
marking particle *pe*, through direct merge in K, resulting in a saliency/foregrounding reading. With CD/DOM there is [topic] at C, checked by KP, and ensuring a familiar topic reading, whereas *pe* is reanalyzed as marker for specificity merged in D. The side effect of this analysis is the definition of DOM-*pe* as a KP/DP internal element, not as a vP element (i.e., as Spanish *a* is in López 2012).

THE DIACHRONY OF DOM IN SPANISH: TOWARDS A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL APPROACH

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If we depart from a visualization of Laca's 2006 data on the diachrony of DOM in Spanish by means of *motion charts* (dynamic graphs produced with the package googleVis in R, see Hilpert 2011), we obtain the following picture (which can be visualized in R as a dynamic movie):



Laca's description is based on a diachronic corpus analysis which takes into account different characteristics of objects with DOM. What we see in the graph is a rather chaotic picture, with only some categories showing up in a diachronic line that seems to represent a more or less linear or s-curve evolution. Laca's claim is that DOM evolves along the predicted scales of animacy and definiteness in Aissen's 2003 sense, but the evidence is restricted to some of the investigated categories while others do not show data giving support to the hypothesis. Also in other studies on DOM, data supporting a certain general idea of evolution are highlighted and data which disturb the image are rather ignored or left aside.

A first justification of this would be to postulate that data are insufficient, and that language evolution in fact is more regular than it seems and that e.g. better corpora would give better results. This might in part true if we look for example at the heterogeneity of the data used by Laca 2006,

but it is not sufficient if we try to give an overall account of the evolution of DOM. The presentation will claim, on the basis of several thousands of examples extracted from the CDH corpus, that only a multi-dimensional account will be able to explain the ups and downs in the evolution of certain categories. The factors we claim to be relevant are at least the following:

- characteristics of objects (Laca 2006)
- characteristics of the verb (von Heusinger/Kaiser 2011)
- relationship of semantic roles of subject and object (in García García's 2014 sense)
- regional variation (von Heusinger/Kaiser 2005)
- discourse tradition (Kabatek 2018)
- pragmatic variation

The aim is to show that it is virtually possible to interpret any occurrence of DOM with the help of these dimensions and that before projecting the variation to one diachronic line the whole complexity of DOM must be taken into account.

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DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN KINSHIP TERMS AND ANIMACY HIERARCHIES IN OLD SARDINIAN

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In Sardinian, a subset of direct objects, characterized by certain grammatical features, is marked by the preposition *a(d)*. This grammatical phenomenon is called differential object marking (DOM) (Bossong 1991, etc.). Previous studies such as López (2016) have noted the primary involvement of two grammatical features of direct objects in the presence of DOM in Romance languages. One is the semantic features of the direct object. DOM tends to occur when the direct object is characterized by animacy, definiteness, and specificity. The other feature is related to a sentence's information structure; generally, DOM is attached to direct objects when they are the topic of the sentence.

In this study, we investigate the occurrence of DOM in kinship terms in an Old Sardinian document, *Condaghe di San Pietro di Silki*, dating from the 11th to the 12th centuries. We also demonstrate that the animacy hierarchy, which governs the occurrence of DOM, is different depending on the number of direct objects. In Old Sardinian, singular kinship terms such as *fiiu* ("son"), *patre* ("father") and *mama* ("mom"), are preceded only by DOM without the definite article (1). On the contrary, a singular animate noun, such as *ankilla* ("female slave") or *seruu* ("male slave"), is not preceded by DOM but by the definite article (2):

(1) *Posit donikellu Ithoccor a scu. Petru a fiiu de Forasticu Thinga, cun parthone sua.* (55)

donated donikellu I. to St. P. DOM son of F. T. with property his

"onikellu Ithoccor donated the son of Forasticu Thinga to St. Petru, with his property."

(2) *torrala s'ankilla de scu. Petru, ca non ti la uolen dare.* (66)

return-her the-slave of St. P. because not you her want give

"eturn the slave of St. Petru because they do not want to give her to you."

From the above examples, we see that DOM and the definite article are distributed complementary (though we can also find some instances in which both DOM and the definite article appear, such as *assu fiiu*). The distribution like that can also be observed in Modern Sardinian. Jones (1995, 2003) explained such a distribution through the difference in NP structures. According to Jones (1995:41, 2003:70), DOM in Modern Sardinian appears compulsorily when an NP lacks the determiner position (e.g., pronouns, proper names, and kinship terms). This suggestion holds for Old Sardinian as well. Properties of kinship terms in Old Sardinian are more similar to those of pronouns and proper names than those of animate nouns. As for animacy hierarchy with respect to DOM occurrence, kinship terms are distinguished from animate nouns and are treated as more animate referents than the latter.

On the other hand, DOM distribution in plural kinship terms and in plural animate nouns is different from that in singular ones. Kinship terms are accompanied by DOM (3), and they are preceded only by the definite article without DOM (4). Similarly, animate nouns are preceded by either the definite article or DOM (5, 6) (Cf. Putzu 2008:413):

(3) *Ego prebiteru Petru Iscarpis ki parthiui homines cu' nontho Petru de Kentu Istafla,*

I bishop P. I. who shared men with delegate P. of K. I.

a _____ fijos de Petru Calfe ki fuit suo (26)

DOM sons of P. C. who was his

“I, bishop Petru Iscarpis, who shared the sons of Petru Calfe, who was his man, with the delegate Petru de Kentu Istafla.”

(4) *Ego piscopu Jorgi ki parthiui sos fijos de prebiteru Migali e de Maria Capillu,*

I bishop J. who shared the sons of bishop M. and of M. C.

cum prebiteru Surssitanu, (35)

with bishop S.

“I, bishop Jorgi, who shared the sons of bishop Migali and of Maria Capillu with bishop Surssitanu.”

(5) *torratemi sas ankillas meas, ki sun pecuiaries de scu. Petru* (42)

return-me the slaves my who are property of St. P.

“Return my slaves to me, who are property of St. Petru.”

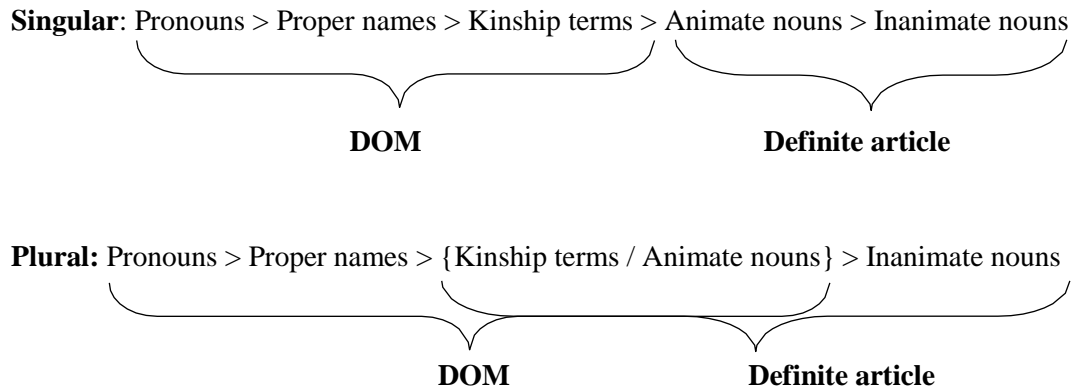
(6) *e derunilos a sseruos a scu. Petru in corona de iudike Gunnari in Nurra.* (120)

and gave-them DOM slaves to St. P. in court of Iudike G. in N.

“And they gave the slaves to St. Petru in the court of Iudike Gunnari in Nurra.”

From the above examples, we note that plural kinship terms and plural animate nouns can be preceded either by the DOM or the definite article. This means that in plural forms, no distinction exists between kinship terms and animate nouns in animacy hierarchy with respect to DOM application.

To conclude, we can schematize the animacy hierarchies in the occurrence of DOM and of the definite article in Old Sardinian as follows. We also propose the idea that it is necessary to consider kinship terms as an independent category of other nouns in the study of DOM in Sardinian.



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PARAMETRIC VARIATION IN DOM IN THE DIALECTS OF SOUTHERN ITALY

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Following a number of studies,² it is well known that under specific circumstances the dialects of southern Italy show to varying degrees the differential marking of direct objects through a reflex of AD ‘to(wards)’. In many respects, the licensing of DOM in the vast majority of these dialects appears to parallel the distribution of DOM in other (Ibero- and Daco-)Romance varieties, inasmuch as it typically obtains in conjunction with nominals which are high in animacy (cf. 1a-b) and interpreted semantically as specific (cf. 2a-b), witness the following Calabrian and Neapolitan contrasting examples:

- (1) a *S’ ha crisciutu a tri figli.* (Cal.)
self= has grown to three children
‘She’s brought up three children.’
b *S’ ha crisciutu i / *a ri capiddri.* (Cal.)
self= has grown the to the hair
‘She’s grown her hair long.’
- (2) a *Siente a fràteto tuio!* (Nap.)
listen.IMP2SG to brother=your your
‘Listen to your brother!’
b *Desiderava (*a) nu figlio.* (Nap.)
desired.3SG to a child
‘She wanted a child.’

² See, among others, Rohlfs (1969:§632; 1971), Sornicola (1997), Formentin (1998:318-20, 381), De Blasi & Imperatore (2000:197-98), Guardiano (2000; 2010), Ledgeway (2000:ch. 2; 2009:831-42), Barbato (2001:243-44), Maturi (2002:231), Fiorentino (2003), Reynolds (2005), Iemmolo (201), Andriani (2015).

Despite this superficial similarity with other Romance varieties, there are however some notable differences in the distribution of DOM in the dialects of southern Italy. For example, in some dialects DOM shows sensitivity to syntactic (not semantic) specificity, in that DOM is invariably excluded in the presence of the definite article. Such is the case in some dialects of south-eastern Calabria (Ledgeway, Schifano & Silvestri in press), as shown by the contrast in (3a-b) yielding a pattern which shows some partial parallels with the distribution of DOM in Sardinian (Jones 1995) and Corsican (Neuburger & Stark 2014).

- (3) a *Petru mazzau (*a)u previte chi canuscia eu.* (Gioiosa Ionica)
 Pietro killed.3SG to.the priest that knew.1SG I
 ‘Pietro killed the priest that I knew.’
- b *Petru mazzau *(a) nu previte chi canuscia eu.* (Gioiosa Ionica)
 Pietro killed.3SG to a priest that knew.1SG I
 ‘Pietro killed a priest that I knew.’

At the same time, not only are there considerable differences in the distribution of DOM between southern Italian dialects and other Romance varieties, but even among southern Italian dialects there is significant microvariation which still remains poorly described and understood. For instance, some southern dialects display a person split between prepositionally marked first/second persons and unmarked third person, as illustrated by the following Ariellese example (D’Alessandro 2012)

- (4) *So viste a tte / (*a) jisse / (*a) Marije.* (Ariellese, E.Abr.)
 am seen to you to him to Maria
 ‘I’ve seen you/him/Maria.’

In contrast to Ariellese, many other dialects are more liberal, obligatorily extending DOM to the third person, especially pronouns, proper names, and kinship terms, in turn, often doubled by a clitic (cf. 5a). Yet, in other dialects DOM proves optional in conjunction with third-person animate and referential nominals, including Neapolitan (cf. 5b).

- (5) a *L’ ha viste *(a) Mmarije?* (Matera, ELuc.)
 her= have.2SG seen to Maria

‘Have you seen Maria?’

b *Avimmo cugliuto (a) ll’ avvocato.* (Nap.)

have.1PL collected to the lawyer

‘we welcomed the lawyer.’

However, even in those dialects in which DOM proves optional in the third person (cf. 6a), it generally becomes obligatory if the relevant nominal is moved to the left periphery (cf. 6b; see also Iemmolo 2010).

(6) a *Am’ i chiamà (a r)u mièdicu.* (Cal.)

have.1PL of call.INF to the doctor

‘we must call the doctor.’

b* *(A r)u mièdicu ll’ am’ i chiamà.* (Cal.)

to the doctor him= have.1PL of call.INF

‘The doctor, we’ll have to call him.’

Examples like these highlight how DOM cannot be given a unified treatment in the dialects of southern Italy. Rather, what we find is quite considerable variation in the number of parameters that may license DOM, as well as in the ways in which these same parameters may interact with each other. For instance, the examples in (3a-b) highlight the necessity to distinguish between syntactic and semantic specificity; the examples in (4)-(5) demonstrate the relevance of different person features; and the examples in (6) suggest that semantico-syntactic features such as animacy and specificity can interact with pragmatic features such as topic, revealing in this particular case how pragmatic factors may override semantico-syntactic considerations in the licensing of DOM.

In this paper, I will therefore review some of the known variation found in the distribution of DOM across the dialects of southern Italy in order to identify the relevant dimensions of microvariation, including information structure, animacy, specificity, person, number, and clitic doubling. Based on this examination, I will sketch a typology of the differing licensing conditions on DOM in southern Italy in an attempt to highlight the precise pragmatic, semantic and syntactic parameters involved in the observed patterns of distribution, their nature and their possible interactions.

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DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN BASQUE AND SPANISH DIALECTS: A MICRO-COMPARATIVE APPROACH

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Certain southwestern varieties of Basque display *Differential Object Marking* (DOM) (Bossong 1985, Aissen 2003). In these varieties, human and definite objects –specially those of first and second person– tend to bear dative marking (1), instead of the canonical absolutive expected in an ergative language like Basque (2) (Fernández & Rezac 2016, Mounole 2012, Odria 2014 2017, Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2016). Southwestern varieties of Basque are those which are in contact with Spanish, and thus, also with Spanish DOM –i.e., *a*-marking (Torrego 1998, Ormazabal & Romero 2013, a.o.). The Basque varieties situated in the French speaking area are referred as northeastern varieties and, as happens in Standard Basque, they show no DOM, since only the canonical absolutive marking is available for them.

In this talk, I compare the syntactic behavior of Basque and Spanish DOM, paying special attention to the Spanish variety spoken in the Basque speaking area –i.e., *Basque Spanish* (Landa 1995). Additionally, I distinguish the syntax of DOM from dative objects in bivalent unergative predicates both in Basque and Spanish, and conclude that the distinction between these kinds of objects is not only configurational –as has been argued in previous work–, but also categorical.

Basque and Spanish DOM share significant commonalities. Although with different cutting points, the differential marking is determined by animacy and specificity in both languages, and it is morphologically identical to the dative marking in indirect objects. Besides, Basque Spanish is particular in bearing DOM both in the nominal –i.e., *a*-marking– and in the clitic system (3) –i.e., *leísmo* (Landa 1995, Fernández-Ordóñez 1999). This makes Basque Spanish even closer to Basque DOM, where the differential marking is attested not only in the nominal, but also in the finite verbal form.

Besides, in both Basque and Spanish, DOM objects show the same morphology as the dative objects of bivalent unergative predicates of the *lagundu* (Basque) (4) / *ayudar* (Spanish) ‘accompany, help’ type: (i) dative marking in Basque, (ii) *a*-marking in Spanish, and (iii) cliticization with *le(s)* in (Basque) Spanish. However, in the case of bivalent unergatives, the marking of the object happens to be independent from factors like animacy and specificity and, semantically speaking, the object patterns more akin to the goal in ditransitive predicates. As a consequence, it has been argued that, contrary to the direct object configuration of DOM objects, the dative objects in bivalent unergatives show an indirect object configuration –see Ortiz de Urbina & Fernández (2016) for Basque, Torrego (2010) and Fábregas (2013) for Spanish, and Pineda (2016) for Romance languages in general.

In this talk, I make a further step in the syntactic distinction between DOM and dative objects in bivalent unergative predicates. I claim that apart from their syntactic configuration, these objects are also distinguished by their categorial status. While DOM objects pattern with causee, experiencer and possessor datives in exhibiting a DP syntactic category, the datives in bivalent unergatives behave more akin to goal datives and thus show a PP-like category. This contrast is evidenced by the licensing of depictive secondary predication, which –along with the rest of DPs– is allowed with the former group of datives, but –as happens with PPs of different sort–, is generally rejected with the latter (Odria 2017).

Examples

- (1) Zu-k ni-ri ikusi didazu
you-E I-D see AUX[1sgD-2sgE]

'You have seen me.'

- (2) Zu-k ni ikusi nauzu
you-E I.A see AUX[1sgA-2sgE]

'You have seen me.'

- (3) Le vi (a Jon) en la calle
3sgD saw.1sg DOM Jon in the street

'I saw Jon in the street.'

- (4) Jon-i lagundu/jarraitu diogu
Jon-D help/follow AUX[3sgD-1plE]

'We have helped/followed Jon.'

- (5) Le hemos ayudado/seguido (al niño)
3sgD have.1pl helped/followed to the child.M

'We have helped/followed to the child.'

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THE CASE OF DOM

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Extending previous work by López (2012), Ormazabal & Romero [O&R] (2013b), Odria (2017), Ciutescu (2015), among others, in this paper we present evidence—both internal to Romance and crosslinguistic—showing that DOM is the manifestation of a syntactic relation to be unified both with object shift (interpreted as a raising-to-O/ECM, a structural Case/agreement relation) and with dative relations. We argue for the presence of a functional projection, UP, above V that mirrors the behavior of TP regarding Case/agreement checking. That functional projection may be activated by different heads, including lexical applicatives or V, which are responsible for dative Case and DOM assignment respectively. Thus, DOM is not triggered as a special NP licensing requirement, but as a regular object relation triggered by V interacting with the functional head. The result is a system that sets apart the equal and conflates the different: not all DPs are required to enter into a Case-relation, but those that may/must enter in such a relation do so in a structurally uniform way despite their different origin (also see Odria 2017; this conference; O&R 2017, for similar ideas).

As opposed to approaches that maintain Case and DOM as two independent licensing conditions (Baker & Kramer 2017, Irimia 2018 and, partially, Odria 2017 among others), our approach makes it possible to connect under the same explanatory umbrella syntactic phenomena that look at a first glance very different from each other. Thus, for instance, Ciutescu (2015) and Ordoñez & Saab (2018) [O&S] observe a correlation in Romance between word order in causative constructions and the presence of DOM and clitic doubling. Ciutescu (2015), elaborating on previous works (Treviño 1994, Moore 1996, Torrego 1998, a.o), already proposes an ECM-analysis of these constructions involving object-shift that we adopt with some changes. Reinterpreting their results slightly differently, we may pursue the following set of generalizations:

- i) Romance languages that do not show DOM (e.g. Italian, French (1)) do not allow object shift, while those that have DOM (e.g. Spanish, Rumanian (2)) allow it.
 - ii) In Romance languages/dialects/contexts where clitic-doubling of DOM objects is an option (e.g. Catalan Spanish in causatives; Rioplatense (3) and Basque Spanish), that option becomes obligatory whenever object shift is involved. In other words:
 - iiia) In those Romance languages/dialects that show DOM but not clitic doubling, object shift is possible only in the presence of DOM.
 - iiib) In languages that have optional clitic doubling on DOM arguments, object shift is possible only when the DOMed argument is doubled by the clitic.
- (1) On a fait sortir *l'enfant* / *On a fait *l'enfant* sortir ('we made the child go out') French
- (2) Hicimos salir *a la niña* / Hicimos *a la niña* salir Standard Sp.

- (3) (Le) hicimos salir *a la niña* / *(Le) hicimos *a la niña* salir Basque Sp.

In other raising contexts, it has also been observed (Laca 1989, O&R 2013b and references) that objects that normally do not allow DOM in Spanish (such as inanimate DOs) are optionally DOMed in raising contexts:

- (4) a. Vi (*a) el avión
saw.I DOM the plane ('I saw the plane')
- b. Vi estrellarse (??a) el avión contra la montaña
saw.I crash A the plane against the mountain
- c. Vi *(a) el avión estrellarse contra la montaña
saw.I A the plane crash against the mountain
'I saw the plane crash against the mountain'

Mutatis mutandis, the distribution of objects in three groups characterized by the fact that they must/may/cannot be DOMarked is reminiscent of the situation of objects in English, a language without DOM but that shows object shift in ECM, causatives and Double Object Constructions. Thus, while DOCs and causatives are characterized by overt raising, a contrast has been observed between direct objects and ECM-subjects: the former do not undergo object-shift (Lasnik & Saito 1999, Lasnik 2002, Boskovic, and references), while ECM ones do, but for many speakers only optionally (Kayne 1994, Johnson 1991, Lasnik 2002, and references).

A third context that falls under the same category is the interaction between clitic-doubled dative arguments and DOM-marked direct objects, in our proposal two elements subject to the same licensing mechanism. In previous work (O&R 2013a) we have argued that there is an interesting connection between DOM and the Person Case Constraint (PCC) and its extensions. In particular, we observed that DOM arguments are incompatible with clitic-doubled datives as in (5) [see Heusinger & Kaiser 2005, 2013 and references for some variation on predicate-types]. However, when the IO is not doubled by the clitic (6), or vice versa (7), the sentence is grammatical.

- (5) *Le llevé a los niños a.l médico ('I sent the doctor the children')
Cl.3 brought DOM the children A.the doctor
- (6) Llevé a los niños a.l médico ('I sent the children to the doctor')
Brought DOM the children A.the doctor
- (7) Le llevé a los niños ('I sent him/her the children')

That it is the competition between DOM and the clitic-doubled dative (in our terms, between V and the lexical applicative) that creates the problem is supported by the contrast in (8): when it is possible for the animate direct object to appear without DOM (8a), that option becomes a valid "repair strategy" (a typical situation in PCC contexts; see Rezac 2012, Ormazabal & Romero 2007

and references). Whenever the object is of the type that may not appear without DOM (8b-c) the sentence is ungrammatical:

- (8) a. *Le llevé (*a) los niños a.l médico
 Cl.3 brought DOM the children A.the doctor
 'I sent the children to the doctor'
- b. *Les llevé (a) Sara a.l médico
 3Dsg brought DOM Sara A.the doctor
 'I sent Sara to the doctor'
- c. *¿(A) quiénes le llevaste al médico?
 DOM who.pl 3Dsg brought A.the doctor

Our account extends to deal also with the PCC cases observed in Spanish Leísta dialect (O&R 2007):

- (9) *Se les llevé ('I sent him them')
 3D 3Opl brought

In P complement position in (7)-(9) is occupied by an empty head which incorporates into P, and then further raises to UP. Since (Spec,UP) is still available, and incorporated nominals do not require Case (Baker 1987), Case can be assigned to the DO in (7). It is not a mere morphological effect, since the object exhibits the same scope properties than any DOMed NP. On the other hand, and following Richard's ideas on person, we propose that in (9) there is an agreement mismatch between P and V agreement specifications, a standard PCC effect.

Selected references: Baker= *Incorporat*; Baker & Kramer= *NLLT*; Boskovic= *Syntax*; Ciutescu=*GoingRom*'13; Heusinger & Kaiser'08=*Probus*; Irimia= *Proc.LSA*; Johnson=*NLLT*; Kayne=Participle Constr.; L&S= *Infinitives*; Lasnik=in Epstein&Hornstein, CambridgeUP; López=MIT Press; Odria= U.BasqueC. PhD; O&S= *Word order and clitics in Causatives*; O&R'07= *NLLT*; O&R'13a= *Probus*; O&R'13b= *Borealis*; O&R'17= *Glossa*.

DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN CATALAN VARIETIES

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GOAL. The aim of this talk is to offer an account of the emergence and development of DOM in the diachrony of Catalan, showing the commonalities with the neighbouring Spanish, but also the important differences that tease these two languages apart. We will do so by means of a large corpus study based on the *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic* and comprising the period from the first written texts to the 16th century.

CONTEXT. The existence of DOM is well established for several Romance languages and varieties, such as Spanish and Romanian, where its use extends to several types of DPs. For other languages in the Romance family, such as Catalan, DOM has often considered absent, except for personal pronouns (1), which must also be clitic-doubled (Aissen 2003a,b, Escandell-Vidal 2009). Actually, standard Catalan also tolerates the use of DOM when its absence would lead to ambiguity (DO/subject interpretation) (2), in cases of left-/right-dislocated DOs (3), or in front of the interrogative and relative pronouns (4) or other quantifiers used pronominally (5):

- (1) a. *L' he vist a ell* b. *T' estimo a tu*
CL_{ACC} have.1SG seen DOM he CL_{ACC} love.1SG DOM you
'I have seen him' 'I love you'

- (2) *El Barça serà el campió si guanya al Madrid*
the Barça will.be.3SG the champion if win.3SG DOM.the Madrid
'Barça will be the champion if it beats Madrid'

- (3) a. *A la Sara la veuré demà* b. *Aquestes normes no els afecten, als veïns*
DOM the Sara CL_{ACC} will.see.1SG tomorrow these norms not CL_{ACC} affect.3PL, DOM.the neighbours
'Sara, I will see her tomorrow' 'These norms do not affect them, the neighbours'

- (4) *El professor a qui admiro*
the teacher DOM who admire.1SG
'The teacher I admire'

- (5) a. *Admira a tothom / a cadascú / a qualsevol* b. *No admiro a ningú*
admire.3SG DOM everybody / DOM everyone / DOM anyone not admire.1SG DOM nobody
'(S)he admires everybody / everyone / anyone' 'I admire nobody'

From examples (1)-(5) one may conclude that DOM is a largely restricted phenomenon in Catalan. However, in many non-standard varieties of Catalan DOM applies to [+hum] DPs generally. Although there is no exhaustive dialectal survey on the extension of DOM (yet), it seems clear that it is widespread across most dialects:

(6) *He vist {a(l) Joan / a (la) Maria / als meus germans / al president}*

have.1SG seen DOM.(the) Joan / DOM.(the) Maria / DOM.the my brothers / DOM.the president

‘I have seen Joan, Maria, my brothers, the president’

DATA AND ANALYSIS. One may think that the uses in (6) are the result of the Spanish influence. However, it may be the case that such instances are actually fruit of the internal evolution of Catalan. Very importantly, instances of DOM of the type in (6) were largely abundant in Old Catalan, although this has gone quite unnoticed (but see Meier 1947, 1948; Parera 1986; Pineda forthc.). In other words, instances of DOM with [+hum] DPs and proper/divinity nouns are found in the earlier Catalan texts (13-14th c.) (7), and increase very significantly from the 15th c. on (8), reaching to 50% of occurrences in some texts.

(7) *conexeràs al malalt*

will.know.2SG DOM.the sick person

‘You will know the sick person’ (*Avicena*, 14th c.)

(8) *Tirant cridà als faels*

Tirant called DOM.the believers

‘Tirant called the believers’ (*Tirant lo Blanch*, 15th c.)

Interestingly, geolectal differences can be observed at this point, with Valencian texts offering the highest number of occurrences. In this context, one must take into consideration the influence of Aragonese in Valencia (people from Aragon repopulated the area) as well as Spanish, whose penetration into the Catalan-speaking area would soon become really severe. Actually, from the 16th c. on, once the influence of Spanish reaches the highest levels, DOM also becomes much more frequent, and the dialectal constraints (Valencian vs. other varieties) seem to be blurred. As for DOM with personal pronouns, interrogative and relative pronouns and indefinites and quantifiers, our corpus study shows that it emerges even earlier and its presence is noticeable in texts from all over the linguistic domain. As will be presented in detail, our corpus study shows that the emergence and development of DOM in the diachrony Catalan follows the animacy and definiteness/specificity hierarchies (Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1979), and resembles in many aspects the evolution of DOM in Spanish. However, the paths of extension of DOM in both languages diverge in many respects too: chronology, extension to a wider or narrower range of syntactic categories, import of the different semantic and contextual triggering factors, among others. Broadly speaking, DOM always consolidates and extends to different categories earlier in Spanish than in Catalan. Importantly, this study (together with data from the subsequent 17-19th centuries) has the ultimate goal of shedding light on whether DOM in Catalan has actually undergone a process of narrowing or, alternatively, the contemporary uses in (6) represent actually the continuation of the medieval patterns.

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THE SPANISH INFLUENCE ON DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN THE DIACHRONY OF PORTUGUESE

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The phenomenon known as Differential Object Marking (DOM) consists in marking the direct object with a preposition. It is generally assumed that in Portuguese DOM occurs only with the dative preposition *a*. The present paper examines cases of *a*-marked direct objects in diachronic data from Portuguese. Our main objectives in this work are to describe and analyze the characteristics of the phenomenon in Portuguese and to verify the widespread hypothesis of Spanish influence on the occurrence of DOM in Portuguese. To achieve the goals of this task, we analyzed texts written by Portuguese authors that constitute the *Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese* (Galves et al 2017) and the *Corpus Post Scriptum: a digital archive of ordinary writing (Early Modern Portugal and Spain)* (CLUL 2014). In this paper, we investigated factors pointed out as triggers of DOM by the literature on the topic (Bossong 1991, Aissen 2003, a.o): the presence of the semantic feature of animacy, a context-independent property, and the presence of the features of definiteness and specificity, both reference or discourse-related properties; besides, we also analyzed the categorial nature of *a*-marked direct objects. In this paper, we verify whether the presence of DOM in Portuguese is a result of the influence of Spanish. This hypothesis is instigated by two main factors: (i) the high frequency of DOM found in the history of Spanish and (ii) the increase of the frequency of *a*-marked direct objects observed in Portuguese with the contact between the two languages during the existence of the Iberian Union (1580-1640). A set of studies about the phenomenon in Portuguese attests the decrease of DOM in the history of the language and indicates an increase of the phenomenon during the 16th and 17th centuries (Ramos 1992, Gibrail 2003, Döhla 2014, Pires 2017). To confirm if the cases of *a*-marked direct object found in diachronic data from Portuguese were influenced by the Spanish grammar and attest when, in the history of the language, the phenomenon decreased, we analyzed the semantic features and the categorial nature of data from the 16th to the 19th centuries. In other to attest if the phenomenon that occurs in Portuguese and Spanish are the same, we compared data from the 16th and the 17th centuries in which the direct object is marked by the preposition *a* and typical cases of direct object, that is, data in which the direct object receives no differential marker. The results of our analysis indicate that during the Iberian Union the frequency of the direct objects marked by the preposition *a* increased, however, the distribution of DOM is not the same in the Portuguese and Spanish of the centuries analyzed here. In the 16th to the 17th centuries, the presence of the preposition *a* with direct objects was mandatory in Spanish with personal pronouns and proper names, and optional with human DPs (Company Company 2003). On the other hand, our results show that in the Portuguese of the same centuries these contexts are not obligatory as triggers of DOM. We also verified a high frequency of occurrence of the phenomenon with DPs,

proper names, titles of nobility and full pronouns with a direct object function when the semantic features of animacy, definiteness and specificity have a positive presence.

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DIACHRONIC VARIATION OF THE DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN SPANISH: THE ROLE OF TELICITY

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Differential object marking (DOM) in Spanish is determined by the interaction of several factors. Laca (2006) divides them into two groups: local factors, i.e. those depending only on the semantics of the NP, and global factors, i.e. those hinging on the relationship of the NP with the rest of the sentence. Among these global factors, verbal parameters such as affectedness or telicity seem to be particularly important (cf. García García 2018). The relevance of affectedness in the expansion of DOM has been analyzed by at least some studies (cf. von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011, von Heusinger 2008). However, as far as both the synchronic and diachronic impact of telicity on DOM is concerned, very little is known. Regarding Modern Spanish, Torrego Salcedo (1999) states that direct objects governed by telic verbs, i.e. by Vendlers (1957) ACHIEVEMENT and ACCOMPLISHMENT verbs such as *insultar* ‘to insult’ and *curar* ‘to treat’, take DOM obligatorily, at least if the object referents are human (e.g. *Insultaron *ø/a un estudiante* ‘They insulted a student’). Note however that the verbs mentioned by Torrego Salcedo do not present clear evidence for the impact of telicity on DOM, since they are not only characterized by being telic, but also by having a strong preference for human objects.

The aim of my presentation is to provide a detailed diachronic study of the influence of telicity and its interaction with nominal features (animacy and referentiality) regarding the diachronic variation of DOM. The study is based on the Corpus of the Historical Dictionary (CDH) considering three temporal cuts (XIV, XVII and XX centuries). Two different kind of verb classes will be checked, one containing prototypical telic verbs such as *encontrar* ‘to find’, the other including prototypical atelic verbs such as ‘*ver*’. In order to get a clear picture of the impact of telicity, the data has been controlled for affectedness and other verbal parameters such as the preference for human objects. As will be shown, the results of my study support the hypothesis that telic contexts have favoured the use of DOM through time and its expansion along the prominence scale of animacy and definiteness.

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DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING AS DATIVES: EVIDENCE FROM PCC

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DOM objects, person-split. Differential Object Marking (DOM) refers some direct objects introduced by a preposition. Examples in (1) are both from Eastern Abruzzese (variety from Arielli) an Upper Southern Italo-Romance variety, but only objects in (1a) are *a*-marked. In a language displaying DOM in fact, only some direct objects are affected, while some others (1b) are not.

(1a)	So	vistə	a	mme/	a	tte/	a	nnu/	a	vvu	[Arielli]
	be-1.SG	see.PTCP	DOM	me	DOM	You	DOM	us	DOM	you	
	“I have seen you”						adapted from [D’Alessandro (2017:8)]				

(1b)	*	So	vistə	a	Marije/	A	jissə	a	quillə	[Arielli]
		be-1.SG	see.PTCP	DOM	Mary	DOM	Them	DOM	them	
		“I have seen you”					adapted from [D’Alessandro (2017:8)]			

In Romance languages DOM applies to DPs showing certain semantic features, namely animacy, definiteness and sometimes specificity. DOM selection is not homogenous: some languages mark only the most animate and definite objects (as defined in Silverstein, 1979) while some others extend the marking to non-animate objects; this heterogeneous behaviour generates a high degree of cross-linguistic variation.

In most Romance languages DOM objects are introduced by the same marker as dative complements, namely *a*, with the result that the two look superficially the same. Look at (2,3):

(2) *So vishtə a tte.* [Eastern Abruzzese]
 be-1sg.pres see-pp.sg dom you
 ‘‘I saw you’’

(3) *So datə Nu libbrə a tte* [Eastern Abruzzese]
 be-1SG.PRES give-PP.SG A book to You
 ‘I gave you a book’

The fact that the “*a tte*” is introduced by the same preposition irrespectively of its status of direct (2) or indirect (3) object, raises the question about whether direct (DO) and indirect objects (IO) share or not the same nature.

Literature disagrees with respect to the status of DOM: traditionally considered a marking of definiteness, its status has been recently considered to be that of indirect case: it is considered a structural dative Case by Gallego (2007, forthcoming) and Torrego (2010); Pineda (2013, 2016) claims that objects showing dative/accusative alternation in Romance are always Goals of unergative verbs regardless of their case marking; Manzini&Franco (2016) argue for the existence of a “syntactic category dative coinciding with the morphological one and encompassing both goal dative and definiteness/animacy dative” (Manzini&Franco 2016: 197); in particular they propose DOM objects to be the result of an incorporation of a preposition (\subseteq): a relation of inclusion that is the “the primitive content of the ‘to’ preposition” (Manzini&Franco 2016: 212).

DOM in Eastern Abruzzese only applies to 1st and 2nd person pronouns and it is impossible with 2rd person pronouns and full DPs (D’Alessandro, 2017):

Data in (1) and show a split on person for DOM selection: 1st and 2nd are marked (1a) while other arguments are not (1b).

Auxiliary selection, person-split. Eastern Abruzzese shows the same split also on the verbal system. As in many other Southern Italo-Romance varieties, auxiliary selection depends on the person and not on lexical verb (as in Standard Italian). The most common pattern in Italo-Romance varieties (Loporcaro 1998, D’Alessandro & Roberts 2010, D’Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Torcolacci 2014) is shown in (4):

(4)	SG	PL	(5)	SG	PL
			1	<u>s</u> o	<u>s</u> emə
	1	BE		BE + -o	BE+ -emə
	2	BE	2	<u>s</u> i	<u>s</u> etə

D’Alessandro (2017) claims that in Eastern Abruzzese the auxiliary BE is a bundle of ϕ -features, expressed on the verbal root as shown in (5).

Being BE a bundle of ϕ -features, we have that auxiliary is made up by

ϕ -features plus verbal ending.

The status of HAVE, however, is left unanalysed.

Kayne (1993) proposes that the auxiliary HAVE is the result of the incorporation of an empty preposition on the verb BE: HAVE= D/P_e + BE. Basing on Kayne (1993) and D’Alessandro’s (2017) claim about the status of BE (as ϕ -features), my proposal is that HAVE is the result of the incorporation of a preposition on a bundle of ϕ -feature; so in Eastern Abruzzese: HAVE= ϕ + P as in (6):

(6)	SG	PL	Let us now observe that in Eastern Abruzzese, DOM and HAVE (the elements incorporating prepositions in nominal and verbal systems according to Kayne (1993) and Manzini&Franco (2016)) are in complementary distribution as shown in (7):
1	$\varnothing + -o$	$\varnothing + -emə$	
2	$\varnothing + -i$	$\varnothing + -etə$	

(7)	SG	PL	SG	PL	Taking that both DOM and HAVE feature a preposition, (7) can be read as (8) where the distribution of P in Eastern Abruzzese is reported
1	DOM	DOM	1	BE	
2	DOM	DOM	2	BE	

(8)	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	P	P	1	\varnothing
2	P	P	2	\varnothing

I claim that the preposition introducing DOM arguments in Eastern Abruzzese is not a random one: it is yet a dative preposition. Eastern Abruzzese DOM objects therefore are datives. Evidence for this comes from the PCC.

DOM are datives, evidence from PCC. Person Case Constraint forbids (Bonet 1991, 1993) the co-occurrence of 1st/2nd person accusative clitic pronouns and 3rd person dative ones. It has quite broad empirical coverage and most Romance languages show sensitivity to PCC, so a sentence like (9) is ungrammatical:

(9)	*	Gli	ti	do	in	sposa	[Standard Italian]
		to.him-CL.DAT	you-CL.ACC	give-1.SG	in	bride	

Yet the same sentence is possible in Eastern Abruzzese since, as noticed by D'Alessandro&Pescarini (2015) this variety not sensitive to PCC.

I claim that the reason why a sentence like (10) is possible lies in the fact that we are not looking at a dative and an accusative clitic co-occurring yet we are looking at two datives.

(10) **Ji** **ti** so datə pə moʝə [Eastern Abruzzese]
to.him- you–CL.DAT be-1.SG give.PTCP as wife
CL.DAT

The misinterpretation of “*ti*” as an accusative clitic is due to the fact that in Eastern Abruzzese accusative and dative object pronouns (both tonic and clitic forms) are syncretic both for 1st and 2nd persons as shown in the table.

I take then PCC as a diagnostic signalling the dative status of DOM elements in Eastern Abruzzese: insensitivity of the variety to the constraint is due to the status of pronominal objects that are datives (at least as far as 1st and 2nd persons are concerned).

1st person				2nd person			
accusative		dative		accusative		dative	
tonic	clitic	tonic	clitic	tonic	clitic	tonic	clitic

MICROVARIATION IN WESTERN ROMANCE DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING (AD): DIACHRONY AND SYNCHRONY

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The use of preposition *ad* as a marker of Differential Object Marking (DOM) for animate and/or referential objects is a pan-Romance phenomenon (Rohlfes (1971), Zamboni (1993)) for which proto-Romance/Latin origins have been postulated (Sornicola (1997, 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 Western Romance DOM (*ad*) which can not only illuminate the formal mechanisms of DOM in these 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: 1) 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)) 2) Italian dialects where *ad* is used preferentially with specific human objects (2a)) and generally not otherwise (2b)) (Nocentini (1985)) 3) Portuguese and Catalán where *ad* is a marker of definite/personal pronouns (3a)) and certain types of 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) un
love-PRES.3SG
employee | a
empleado
AD his | su
dog / | perro
DET | / | el
director | director busc-a
search-3SG.PRES | AD | a |
| | ‘He loves his dog’ / ‘The director searches for an employee.’ (anyone would do) (Spanish (Zamboni (1993:790)) | | | | | | | | |
| 1b) | tien-e
doce | doce
hij-os | hij-os | / | | | mantien-e | | a |
| | 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
uomini e | a
donne | giovanni | / | io | serv-o | | | (* a) |
| | see-PRET.1SG
and women | AD Giovanni | I | serve-PRES.1SG | AD | men | | | |
| | ‘I saw Giovanni.’ (Sicilian (Guardiano (2010:104))) / ‘I serve men and women.’ (Neapolitan (Fiorentino (2003))) | | | | | | | | |

- 2b) arrubbarru (a) sto gran (a)-'n cane cavadu / venne l'ora de remoner-are
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 necessaryhim-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
Moses beg-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)

Western Romance DOM-parameters, then, seem to analogise from Latin to varying and differing extents: Spanish extends *ad* to all animate (human/animal) beings (1a)), whereas Italo-Romance varieties retain definiteness/specificity (2a)) as a determinant for marking mainly 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 the earliest attestations of Latin *ad* marking 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 his	look.back-PERF.3SG	Lord	AD	Abel	and	AD gifts

‘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:

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Notes

This image shows a full page of blank handwriting practice paper. It features 20 evenly spaced, horizontal blue lines running across the entire width of the page. The lines are thin and light blue, providing a guide for letter height and placement. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

