Latin/Romance prepositions: microparametric convergence and divergence :

Romance prepositions AD and DE are widely used in Differential Object Marking and Prepositional Infinitives and they co-vary among Western Romance varieties in ways that, formally construed, differ minimally in terms of individual features, despite the fact that they instantiate the same functional categories throughout Romance (K(ase) and M(ood) respectively). Furthermore, their idiosyncratic distributions seem to stem from their Latin origins and proto-Romance formation, since Latin AD and DE are inherent Case-assigners which select certain types of arguments ('direction/destination' and 'content/theme' respectively), and their selectional properties seem to have persisted into Romance where AD and DE are also restricted to certain types of arguments even as they are grammaticalized as functional markers of nominal and infinitival arguments. Within the Minimalist framework (Chomsky (1995)), the evolution of Latin/Romance AD and DE raises the possibility that parameter setting in language acquisition and change is conditioned by interface factors other than formal 'simplicity' (cf Longobardi (2001)), and this creates a much more dynamic model of formal syntactic change where microparameters can converge and diverge in interesting ways.

Introduction:

Strong versions of Minimalist syntax (Chomsky (1995 *et seq*)) predict a highly deterministic form of parametric setting in language acquisition which is heavily constrained by formal principles of 'simplicity' (Strong Minimalist Thesis (Biberauer (2008:23))), and assuming that language change occurs in first language acquisition (Lightfoot (1999)), historical-comparative syntax through time and space is similarly constrained by 'simplicity' (Roberts (2007)). Despite important advances in parametric theory which seek to capture formally sociohistorical variation (Kroch (1989)) and dialectal microvariation (Kayne (2005)), the true extent of parametric variation is still a hot topic of inquiry. Romance prepositions display cross-dialectal microvariations in Differential Object Marking (DOM) and Prepositional Infinitives (PI) which reveal new dimensions in parameter setting that transcend the current postulation of lexical parameters (Roberts and Biberauer (2015)), since they seem to operate on the level of features within functional heads which show an intricate interface between syntax and semantics in language change (Longobardi (2001)), and this in turn suggests that syntax-semantics interface is not necessarily perfect (Chomsky (2013:38)) but subject to contingent factors that may alter the distribution of functional elements across cognate varieties. This paper contains four sections: section 1 is a brief summary of Minimalist accounts of syntactic change which purport to derive the ubiquity of grammaticalization from formal principles of 'simplicity' (Roberts and Roussou (R&R (2003)), van Gelderen (2011)), and the categorial reanalysis of Latin lexical prepositions (P) as Romance Case-markers (K(ase)) and infinitival complementisers (M(ood)) is shown to conform to these

formal accounts;[1] section 2 provides a comparative analysis of Romance prepositional Case-markers and complementisers in major Western varieties, namely AD and DE, whose cross-dialectal microvariations in DOM and PI may be formally captured in terms of features; section 3 considers their proto-Romance formation in light of extant Latin evidence, and it is argued that microvariations are a natural consequence of Latin prepositions as inherent Case-assigners since their selectional properties can give rise to different featural compositions in reanalysis; section 4 concludes that Latin/Romance prepositions reveal an interplay of parametric convergence and divergence, since within general parameter schemata (Gianollo, Guardiano, Longobardi (2008)) their microvariations attest to syntax-semantics interface factors in parameter setting.[2]

Section 1: Minimalist accounts of grammaticalization:

Functional categories are conventionally held to be the locus of parametric setting and variation (Borer (1984), Biberauer (2008)), and in conformity with early Minimalist literature (Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001)), it has been argued that syntactic dependencies in the form of movement and agreement are structurally more complex than directly merging lexical items under functional heads, as seen in the following parametric hierarchies where *Move* and *Agree* are eliminated in favour of *Merge* and lexical categories lose their semantic and interpretable features (i-F) as they are reanalysed as functional (u-F):[3]

1) $F_{Move} > F_{Agree} > F_{Merge} > \emptyset$ (adapted from R&R (2003:209-213))

2) semantic feature $> i\text{-}F > u\text{-}F > \emptyset$ (van Gelderen (2011:17-20))

The reanalysis of Latin lexical prepositions as Romance functional prepositions conforms to these definitions (see footnote 1), since lexical prepositions regularly assign theta-roles and morphological Case to their nominal argument and this *Agree* relation is lost when they are reanalyzed as functional (K/M):
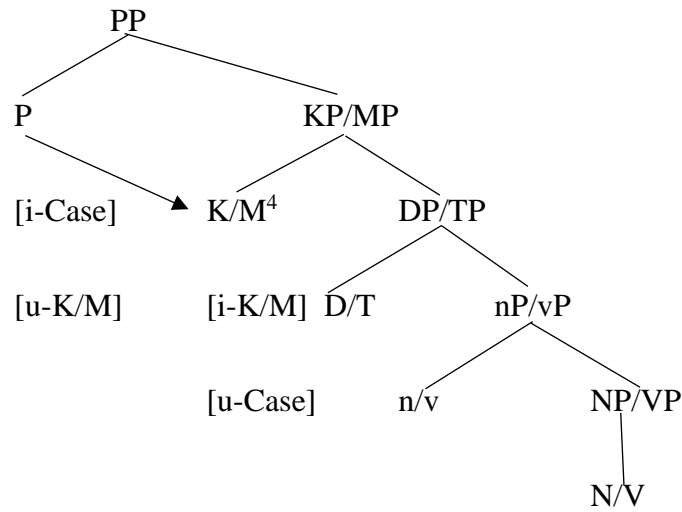
---

3)

In the reanalysis of Latin/Romance prepositions, there is a loss of *Agree* between the lexical preposition and its argument and the preposition is hence reanalyzed from being a Case-assigner to a Case-assignee (P_{Agree} ([i-Case]) > K_{Merge}/M_{Merge} ([u-Case]).[5] The formation of Romance prepositional Case-markers and complementisers hence conforms to Minimalist definitions of 'simplicity'. However, far from being obligatorified to all nominal and infinitival arguments as is expected in grammaticalization (Lehmann (1985)), Romance prepositions display different distributions in Romance DOM and PI across different varieties which attest to the complexity of these two functional categories, as is analysed in the next section.

Section 2: Romance functional prepositions:

The two most prominent functional prepositions in Romance are AD and DE, which are used as Case-markers and complementisers in all varieties (Salvi (2010:319-320)), as shown in this section.

Section 2.1: Differential Object Marking (AD):

In addition to marking indirect objects, AD is widely used as a marker of animate and individuated direct objects which constitute DOM effects (Rolhfs (1971), Bossong (1991)), and the complex set of licensing factors is summarised here:[6]

---

[4] As the Romance infinitive is categorially ambiguous, it may be analysed as formally ambiguous between nominal (KP) and clausal (MP).
[5] This conforms to Stowell's (1981) Case Resistance Principle which states that Case-assigners cannot occur in Case positions, and so Case-assigning prepositions must lose their Case-assigning properties when they become functional markers of arguments.
[6] Romanian *pe* (< PER) is also a DOM-marker (Mardale (2002)) but is not discussed here due to its different etymology.

Table 1 (adapted from Kliffer (1995:96), Laca (1995:78)):[7]

Individuated (AD)	Non-individuated (ø)
Proper	Common
Human/Animate	Inanimate
Definite	Non-definite
Referential	Non-referential
Singular	Plural
Count	Mass

These factors give rise to microvariations as Romance varieties generalise AD to different subsets of objects: in contemporary Spanish, AD is attested with all animate objects (both human (4a) and animal (4b)) and is optional only for non-referential objects (4c)):

4a)   ve-o   a   la   muchacha

      see-PRES.1SG   AD   ART   girl

      'I see the girl.' (Kliffer (1995:93))

4b)   Juan   mató   a   un   tigre

      Juan   kill-PRET.3SG   AD   a   tiger

      'Juan killed a tiger.' (Laca (1995:82))

4c)   necesita   (a)   una   enfermera   que   pas-e

      need-PRES.3SG   AD   a   nurse   who   spend-SUBJ.PRES.3SG

      la   mañana   con   ella

      the   morning   with her

      'She needs a(ny) nurse who might spend the morning with her.'[8] (Leonetti (2004:80))

---

[7] In addition to nominal factors, DOM is also conditioned by the 'affectedness' of the verb where AD tends to correlate with the transitivity of the verb and mark 'affected' objects, as shown in the following cline:
   i)   + matar   ver   considerer   tener –
           to.kill   to.see   to.consider   to.have   (Pottier (1968:87-88))
It is hence argued that AD-marked objects are merged in SpecV as 'affected' objects (Torrego (1998)), even though DOM has now been extended to non-affective verbs as well and seems to be conditioned largely by nominal properties in contemporary Spanish (Heusinger and Kaiser (2011)). In my analysis, I focus on the Romance nominal domain and leave the A-position of KPs open.
[8] In contrast, AD is obligatory when the nominal argument is known and/or specific and the indicative is used in the modifying relative clause:
   i)   necesit-a   *(a)   una   enfermera   que   pas-a
           need-PRES.3SG   AD   a   nurse   who   spend-PRES.IND.3SG

In Italo-Ronance, AD tends to be restricted to human referents (5a-b)), and non-referential and non-specific (i.e. plural) objects can be unmarked (5c-d)):

5a)   arrubbaru   a   so   cuscinu

        kidnap-PRET.3PL   AD   their   cousin

        'They kidnapped their cousin.' (Sicilian) (Iemmolo (2007:344))

5b)   ammazzaru   (*a)   u   cani

        kill-PRET.3PL   AD   the   dog

        'They killed the dog.' (Sicilian) (Iemmolo (2007: 344))[9]

5c)   ammazzaru   (*a)   un   cristianu   a   Giurgenti

        kill-PRET.3PL   AD   a   man   at   Agrigento

        'They killed a man in Agrigento.' (Sicilian) (Iemmolo (2007:344))

5d)   arrubb-aru   (a)   i   so   cuscini

        kidnap-PRET.3PL   AD   the   his   cousin

        'They kidnapped his cousins.' (Sicilian) (Iemmolo (2007:344))

In other varieties such as Portuguese, Catalan and Gallo-Romance, AD is used mainly with personal pronouns (6a-c)) and certain proper names (6d-f)), especially those that denote divinity (6g-h)):[10]

6a)   ele   od-eia   a   mim

        he   hate-PRES.3SG   AD   me

        'He hates me.' (European/Brazilian Portuguese) (Schwenter (2014:238))

---

                    la   mañana con   ella
                    the   morning with   her
                    'She needs a nurse who spends the night with him.' (Leonetti (2004:89))
[9] That said, there are instances of AD marking non-human objects especially if highly personified:
    i)   puoie   dicere   avere   servuto   a   lo   Viento
            can.2SG   sayINF   have.INF   serve-PERF.PTCP   AD   the   Wind
            '… you can say to have served the Wind.' (Neapolitan) (Fiorentino (2003))
[10] It goes without saying that AD is also strongly preferred, if not obligatory, with pronouns and proper names in Spanish and Italian (Berretta (1989:18), Laca (1995:65-66), Guardiano (2010:90)).

6b) jo   t'   ajud-o   a   tu   i   tu   m'   ajudaras   a   mi

I   you   help-PRES.1SG   AD   you   and   you   me   help-FUT.2SG AD   me

'I help you and you will help me.' (Catalan) (Escandell-Vidal (2007:188))

6c) il   faut   l'aider   a   elle

EXPL necessary   PRO-help.INF AD   her

'It is necessary to help her.' (French) (Joly (1971:287))

6d) vejo   (a)   Joao

see-PRES.1SG   AD   Joao

'I see Joao.' (European Portuguese) (Roegiest (1979:38))
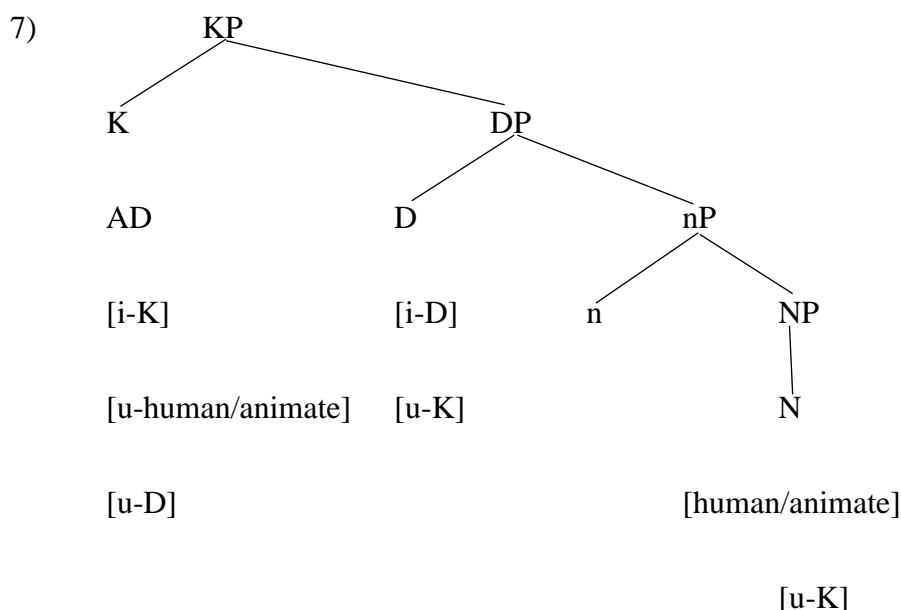
6e) En   Joan   estima (a)   la   Maria

ART   Joan   likes   AD   ART   Maria

'Joan likes Maria.' (Catalan) (Escandell-Vidal (2007:189))

6f) qu'ab-em   tuat   a   Labri

have-PRES.1PL   kill.PERF.PTCP   AD   Labri

'We have killed Labri.' (Bearnais (Joly (1971:288))

6g) devemos   amar   a   Deus

must-PRES.1PL   love.INF   AD   God

'We must love God.' (Brazilian Portuguese) (Schwenter (2014:238))

6h) tots   los   apòstols   ama-ven   tant   a   Jesuchrist

All   the   apostles   love-IMPERF.3PL   much AD   Jesus.Christ

'All the apostles loved Jesus Christ so much.' (Meier (1945:244))

One may hence postulate a DOM-hierarchy ranking from pronouns, proper names, humanness and animacy in a descending order of obligatoriness (Silverstein (1976), Aissen (2003)), which may be correlated with the structure of the Romance nominal domain:

7)
```
                    KP
            ┌───────┴────────┐
            K                DP
                        ┌────┴──────┐
            AD          D           nP
                                ┌───┴────┐
          [i-K]      [i-D]      n        NP
                                         │
     [u-human/animate]  [u-K]            N

          [u-D]                     [human/animate]

                                         [u-K]
```

The distribution of AD as a DOM marker, therefore, seems to be conditioned by the locus of DOM-licensing ([u-K]), which may be parasitic either on the inherent semantics of the noun ([human/animate]) or on the categorial features of the various D-heads, which gives rise to the intricate distribution in Romance. In the next section, I examine the uses of AD and DE in Romance PI which similarly display microvariations.

Section 2.2: Romance prepositional complementisers (AD/DE):

In contrast to DOM, French and Italian employ PI more widely than Iberian varieties,[11] since in the former DE- and AD-marked infinitives are regularly found as complements to declarative verbs (*verba dicendi et putandi*) (8a-d)) and verbs of command (*verba praecipiendi*) (9a-c)) while in the latter the bare infinitive tends to be used (8e-f), 9d)) except for verbs of urging (9e)):[12]

---

[11] I am grateful to Professor Longobardi for pointing this out to me.

[12] This is not to say that PI is totally prohibited with Ibero-Romance declarative verbs, since it does exist in Medieval and literary texts:

i) deneg-ó   de   enuiar-les   ayuda
    deny-PRET.3SG   DE   send.INF-them   aid
    '… he denied that he sent them help.' (*La Primera Crónica General* 679a33) (Medieval Spanish)

ii) cre-í   de   no   poder   llegar
    believe-PRET.1SG DE   NEG   can.INF   arrive.INF
    'I believed that I was not able to arrive.' (Rafael Sánchez Mazas: *La vida nueva de Pedrito de Andía* 170) (Spanish)

Nonetheless, PI is used much more sparingly in Ibero-Romance as it tends to be used only with reflexive verbal predicates (Green (1988:117)).

8a)   afferma-te   di   non   avere   un   recapito

affirm-PRES.2PL   DE   NEG   have.INF   a   address

'... you affirm that you do not have an address.' (Morante, *Menzogna e sortilegio*, p. 227) (Italian)

8b)   creder-ai   d'   aver-li   trovati...

believe-FUT.2SG   DE   have.INF-them   find.PERF.PTCP

'… you will believe to have found them…' (Fenoglio, *I ventitré giorni della città di Alba*, p. 119) (Italian)

8c)   Pierre a   admi-s   d'-etre   dessaisi de   cette   affaire

Pierre have.PRES.3SG   admit-PERF.PTCP   DE-be.INF divested of   this   case

'Pierre has admitted to being divested of this case.' (Huot (1981:33)) (French)

8d)   Pierre craint   de   perdre   sa   situation

Pierre fear.PRES.3SG   DE   lose.INF   his   situation

'Pierre fears that he might lose his situation.' (Huot (1981:34)) (French)

8e)   confies-o   no   entender   muy bien esta   afirmación

confess-PRES.1SG   NEG   understand.INF very   well   this   statement

'I confess not to understand very well this statement...' (*Ínsula enero de* 1966 12) (Spanish)

8f)   creí   encontrar   una extraña expresión   en   su   mirada

believe-PRET.1SG   find.INF   a   strange expression   in   his   look

'... I believed that I found a strange expression in his look.' (Antonio Martínez-Menchén, *Cinco variaciones* 25) (Spanish)

9a)   ordin-ò   alla   cugina di   restituir-gli   subito   il   suo   vestito

order-PRET.3SG   to.the cousin DE   restore-him suddenly   ART   his   clothes

'... He ordered his cousin to restore his clothes immediately.' (Morante, *Menzogna e sortilegio*, p. 167) (Italian)

9b)   consigli-ò   Damiano   a   mandar-lo   al   ginnasio

advise   Damiano   AD   send-PRO   to.the gymnasium

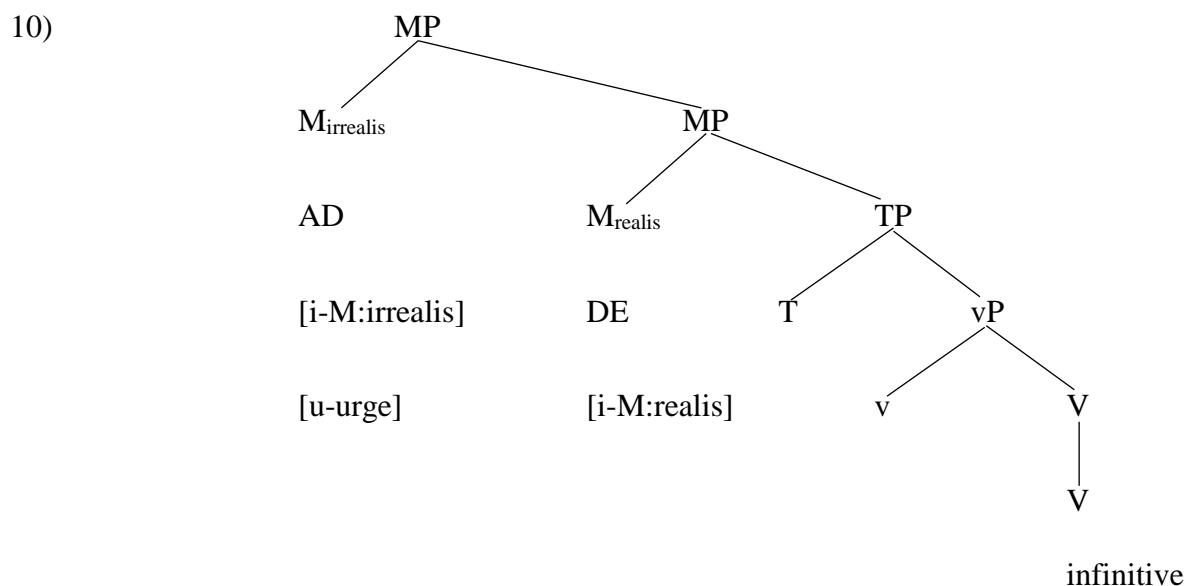'… he advised Damiano to send him to the gymnasium.' (Morante, *Menzogna e sortilegio*, p. 339) (Italian)

9c)   elle   ordonn-ait…   à   sa   femme de   chambre   de   me   téléphoner

She   order-IMPERF.3SG to   her   woman of   room   DE   me   phone

'She ordered her maid to phone me.' (Sandfeld (1978:100)) (French)

9d)   me   ordena-ba   presenta-me   en   Roma

me   order-IMPERF.3SG   present-me   in   Rome

'… he ordered me to present myself in Rome.' (Ramón del Valle-Inclán, *Sonata de Primavera* 187) (Spanish)

9e)   la   ha-n   obligado   a   firmar   el   contrato

her   have-PRES.3PL   oblige-PERF.PTCP AD   sign.INF   the   contract

'They have obliged her to sign the contract.' (Hernanz (1999:2279)) (Spanish)

DE has a wider distribution than AD, since DE is attested in both verbs of statement and command (8a-d), 9a, c)) while AD is restricted to verbs of command (9b, e)), which suggests two functional projections for realis and irrealis complementation (M_{realis}/$M_{irrealis}$), the former being reserved for DE (M_{realis}) which can be used with both declarative and jussive types of verbs and the latter for AD ($M_{irrealis}$) which is used only with

the latter.[13] Furthermore, the narrow distribution of AD in Ibero-Romance (9e)) points to specific features that can only be used with verbs of urging, as schematised thus:

10)

```
                        MP
                   ____/  \____
                  /            \
            M_irrealis          MP
                           ____/  \____
                          /            \
            AD        M_realis          TP
                                    ___/  \___
                                   /          \
       [i-M:irrealis]   DE        T            vP
                                            __/  \__
                                           /        \
       [u-urge]        [i-M:realis]       v          V
                                                     |
                                                     V

                                                  infinitive
```

Romance PI, therefore, also displays microparametric variation in two distinct functional heads (M_{realis}/$M_{irrealis}$) which are overtly realised in certain varieties but not in others. These microvariations may have to do with their Latin origins, which are investigated in the next section.

Section 3: Latin prepositions (AD/DE):

Both AD 'to/'towards' and DE 'from/about' exist as spatial prepositions in Latin ($P_{allative}$ and $P_{ablative}$ respectively) (see footnote 1), and while AD selects nominal complements which denote 'direction/destination' and/or 'purpose', DE selects complements which indicate 'content/theme' (Ernout and Thomas (1951:223), Woodcock (1959:160-165)). There are hence semantic correlations between the lexical sources of Latin AD and DE and their functional outcomes in Romance ('direction/destination' > K (AD), 'purpose' > $M_{irrealis}$ (AD), 'content/theme' > M_{realis} (DE)), which is indeed a characteristic property of the cross-linguistic pathways in grammaticalization (Bybee et al (1994:17-20)) and may account for their idiosyncratic distributions in Romance.

---

[13] This dual complementiser system is also attested in the finite domain in Southern Italian dialects (Ledgeway (2006)).

<u>Section 3.1: Latin prepositional phrases (AD):</u>

The Latin origins of for Romance Case-marking go back to Plautus (2nd century BC) where AD is already found to be construed directly with verbs (Adams and de Melo (2016)). The earliest examples of bivalent verbs consist of verbs of seeing (*verba videndi*) for which AD denotes the 'direction' and hence object of vision (11a)), which is elsewhere realised as the morphological accusative (11b)):

Videre

11a)   ad   er-am   revide-bo

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

     'I shall see my mistress again…' (Plautus *Truculentus* 320)

11b)   ver   vid-e…

     spring.ACC.SG   see-IMPERATIVE.SG

     'Look at spring…' (Plautus *Truculentus* 353)

It has been pointed out that AD retains directional force and is synchronically marked in comparison to morphological Case (Ledgeway (2012:21-22), Adams (2013:278-294)), which in this case specifies the destination of travel/visit as AD does not merely denote the object of vision but the residence to be visited (*ad eram revidebo* 'I shall revisit my mistress' home'), which also entails definiteness in the object (*eram*).[14]

---

[14] The slight difference in meaning between 'visit' and 'see/perceive' also entails differences in argument structure, since the object of the former is not merely a visual stimulus but an affectee, which anticipates Romance (see footnote 7). The definiteness in the object of AD is even more evident in another example where AD implies rotation:

    i)   respic-e   ad   me
              look.back-IMPERATIVE   AD   me
              'Look back at me.' (Plautus *Truculentus* 257))

Indeed, *verba videndi* + AD are attested in Classical Latin (ii), Christian Latin (iii), Medieval Latin (iv) and Romance (v-ix):

    ii)   vereor,   ne…   nunc   ad   Caecilianam   fabul-am   spect-et
            fear-PRES.1SG   COMP   now   AD   Caeilian-FEM.ACC.SG   play-FEM.ACC.SG watch-PRES.SUBJ.3SG
            'I fear that… he may now watch the play of Caecilius.' (Cicero *ad Atticum* 1.16.6)

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

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

    v)   guard-a   a   me
            watch-IMPERATIVE   AD   me
            'Look at me…' (*Vita e favole di Esopo* 19, 18) (Medieval Neapolitan)

    vi)   vid-i   a   Dido
            see-PRET.1SG   AD   Dido
            '… I saw Dido.' (*La istoria di Eneas*) (Medieval Sicilian)

In later Latin, AD is attested with verbs of serving (*verba serviendi*) which regularly selects animate dative objects (12)) (Sornicola (1997:74)):

12) ad   cuius   imperium   caelum   terr-a   mari-a   servie-bant

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

'… whose power heaven, earth and the seas served.'[15] (Jerome *Epistulae* 82.3)

Furthermore, AD is used with verbs that are ambiguous between bivalency and trivalency, namely verbs of shouting (13a)) and begging (13b-c)) (*verba clamandi et rogandi*), which yield a further opposition between human objects marked by AD, which can be either a direct or indirect object, and inanimate direct objects:

13a) de   profund-is   ad   te   clama-vi   Domin-e

from   depth-ABL.PL   AD   you   shout-PERF.1SG   Lord-VOC

'From the depths of my heart I shouted (something) to you, my Lord.' > 'I called you, my Lord.' (*Psalmi* 129)

13b) Moyses   ora-bat   ad   Dominum

Moses   beg-IMPERF.3SG   AD   Lord

'Moses was begging the Lord.' (*Libri Maccabaorum* 2.10)

---

vii)   ver-é   a   la   mugier…
       see-FUT.1SG AD   ART   woman
       'I shall see the woman…' (*El Cid* 228b) (Medieval Spanish)
viii) ve-r   a   Rainha   da   Grã-Bretanha
       see-INF   AD   Queen   of   Great-Britain
       'to see the Queen of Great Britain.' (*Prosa do Padre Antonio Vieira* 289) (Medieval Portuguese)
ix)   yo   veh-ia   a   Jesuchrist…
       I   see-IMPERF.1SG AD   Jesus.Christ
       'I saw Jesus Christ…' (*The Sermons of Saint Vicent Ferrer* 60) (Medieval Catalan)

[15] Note that the object of *servire* here (*ad cuius imperium* 'whose command') is inanimate and seems to be personified, which anticipates Romance (see footnote 9). *servire* + AD is also attested in Medieval Latin (i) and Romance (ii-iv) (many thanks to Professor Roger Wright):
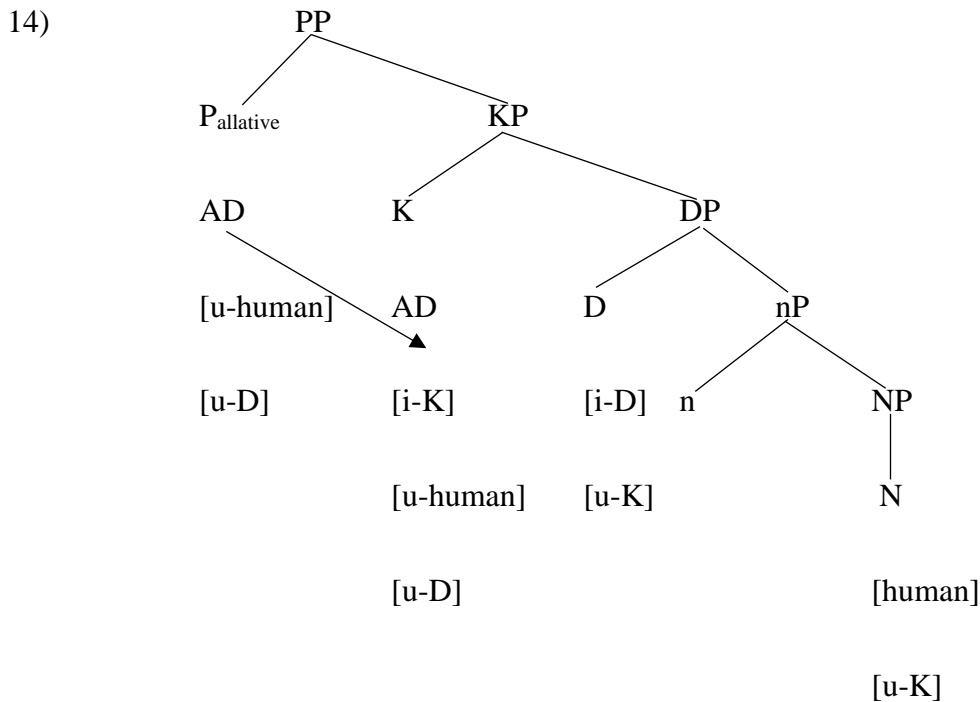i)   ibi   debent   seruire   a   sancta   maria
       there   must-PRES.3PL serve.INF   AD   holy   Mary
       '… there they must serve Holy Mary.' (*Sahagún* 423)
ii)   perché   non   poss-o   ad   tal   signor   servire
       because   NEG   can-1SG.PRES   AD   such   lord   serve.INF
       '… because I cannot serve such a lord.' (*Vita e favole di Esopo* 20.13) (Medieval Neapolitan)
iii)   los   que   quisieren   ir   servir   a-l   Campeador
       those   who   want-FUT.SUBJ.3PL   go.INF   serve.INF   AD-ART   Campeador
       'those who want to go and serve the Campeador.' (*El Cantar del mio Cid* 1369) (Medieval Spanish)
iv)   para   servir   a   tão   ilustres   senhor-es
       in.order   serve.INF   AD   so   distinguished.PL sir-PL
       '… in order to serve such distinguished guests.' (*Ciganita* 35) (Medieval Portuguese)

13c)   veni-am...   ad   Domino   poposce-bat

     mercy-FEM.ACC.SG   AD   Lord   demand-IMPERF.3SG

     'He was begging the Lord for mercy' (*Chronicon Salernitanum* 11)[16] [17]

Latin AD thus shows propensity towards selecting human and definite objects, which leads to the formation

of Romance DOM, as schematised below (cf 7)):

14)

```
                        PP
                       /  \
                      /    \
              P_allative    KP
                           /  \
                          /    \
              AD          K      DP
                                /  \
                               /    \
         [u-human]    AD      D      nP
                      ▲              / \
                                    /   \
         [u-D]       [i-K]   [i-D] n     NP
                                          |
                   [u-human]  [u-K]       N

                    [u-D]                [human]

                                         [u-K]
```

In the reanalysis of AD, therefore, it seems to have retained some of its original selectional features ([u-human]/[u-D]) which in turn yield DOM-effects in Romance where the locus of DOM-marking ([u-K]) may lie either on the noun if it is human and, by extension, animate ([human/animate]), or on the D head if the

---

[16] The use of AD with verbs of begging is traditionally held to be derived from hypercorrect orthography in the phonetic conflation between AD and AB in Medieval Latin (Adams and de Melo (2016:124-125)), which further underlies the structural ambiguity between direct and indirect objects of verbs of begging. Furthermore, as verbs of begging/praying typically involve deities (e.g. *ad Dominum*, 13b-c)), this may also anticipate Romance AD marking deities (see section 2.1, 6g-h)).

[17] In Romance, both types of verbs select human objects marked by AD:

  i)   a   Minaya   Albar   Fáñez   e   a   Per   Vermudoz   los   llam-ó
            AD   Minaya   Albar   Fáñez   and   AD   Per   Vermudoz   them   call-PRET.3SG
            'He called them… Minaya Albar Fáñez and Per Vermudoz.' (*El Cid*, 1894-1895) (Medieval Spanish)

  ii)   yo   rueg-o   a   Dios   e   a-l   Padre   Spiritual
            I   beg-PRES.1SG   AD   God   and   AD-ART Father Spiritual
            'I beg God and the Spiritual Father.' (*El Cid* 300) (Medieval Spanish)

  iii)   appressu   clam-au   a   lu   primu   vinchituri
            then   call-PRET.3SG AD   ART   first   wave
            'Then he called the first wave.' (*La istoria di Eneas* 91, 46) (Medieval Sicilian)

  iv)   supplic-arono   ad   Giove   che   lor   de-sse   un   re
            beg-PRET.3PL   AD   Jove   COMP   PRO.3PL   give-IMPERF.SUBJ a   king
            'They were begging him to give them a king.' (*Vita e favole di Esopo*) (Medieval Neapolitan)

  v)   preg-à   a   Déus
            pray-PRES.3SG   AD   God
            'She prays to God…' (*The Sermons of Saint Vicent Ferrer* 104) (Medieval Catalan)

object is definite and referential and/or is categorically a proper noun or pronoun.[18] The variability in Romance DOM can thus be correlated with their Latin origins, as can Romance PI, which is examined next.

Section 3.2: Latin prepositional gerund/gerundive (AD/DE):

  The Latin origins of Romance prepositional infinitives are a matter of conjecture, since prepositional infinitives are conspicuously absent in Latin, which makes the proto-Romance formation of prepositional infinitives a purely speculative reconstructive analysis (Diez (1876:201-202), Beardsley (1921:32-33), Harris (1978: 198, 226)). Nevertheless, Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives have been argued to be functionally equivalent to Romance prepositional infinitives as they fill the oblique functions of the Latin infinitive (Schulte (2007:89-90)) and DE- and AD-marked gerunds/gerundives may have anticipated Romance prepositional infinitives, especially when construed with lexical verbs:[19]

15a)   primum tibi   de   nostr-o   amic-o   planca-nd-o

    first   you   about   our-ABL.SG   friend.ABL.SG   appease-GERUNDIVE-ABL.SG

    aut   etiam   plane   restitue-nd-o   pollice-or

    or   even   plainly   restore-GERUNDIVE-ABL.SG   promise-PRES.1SG

    'First I promise you about appeasing or even plainly restoring our friend.' (Cicero *ad Atticum* 3.23)

15b)   tu   de   alter-o   consulat-u   gere-nd-o

    you   DE   another-M.ABL.SG   consulship-M.ABL.SG   run-GERUNDIVE-M.ABL.SG

    te   dice-re-s   cogitare

    you   say-IMPERF.SUBJ-2SG   consider.INF

    'you said that you were considering about running for another consulship' (Cicero *In Vatinium* 11)

---

[18] There may be independent reasons for the use of AD-marking on proper names and pronouns, since the former are impossible to inflect in Latin and may hence require new Case-marking in the form of AD (Adams (2013:286)) and the latter may have required prosodic strengthening from AD in becoming disyllabic (Sornicola (1998:424-425)).

[19] Another advantage of this analysis is that Latin gerund/gerundive has nominal inflection whereas Romance infinitive does not, and the *Agree* relation between the preposition and its argument is weakened if not eliminated when the former gives way to the latter (see footnote 4). Many thanks to Professor Nigel Vincent for suggesting these points to me.

16a) cum   de muta-nd-o   praecip-ere-t   homin-e

      when DE change-GERUNDIVE-ABL.SG   order-IMPERF.SUBJ-3SG man-ABL.SG

      'When he taught about changing man…' (Augustine *Sermones* 9.8)

16b) ad   restitue-nd-um   non   compell-it

      AD   restore-GERUND-ACC.SG   NEG   force-PRES.3SG

      'He does not force him to restore it.' (Augustine *de civitate Dei* 8.19)[20]

DE 'about' and AD 'in order to' denote clear prepositional meanings of theme and purpose respectively, and while DE is compatible with both verbs of statement and command (15), 16a)), AD can only be used with the latter (16b)), which anticipates Romance (see section 2.2). The restricted distribution of AD in Ibero-Romance PI also suggests a reinterpretation of AD-gerund/gerundive as a complement of verbs of urging:

---

[20] The Romance cognates of these verbs are widely attested with DE- and AD-prepositional infinitives:

i)   me   promet-io   de   fer   enperador
        me   promise-PRET.3SG   DE   make.INF   emperor
        'He promised to make me emperor.' (*Libro de Alixandre* 1141) (Medieval Spanish)

ii)   allí   pienss-an   de   aguijar
        there   think-PRES.3PL   DE   goad-INF
        'There they are thinking of goading' (*El Cid* 10) (Medieval Spanish)

iii)   ellos   ordena-van   de   poner
        they   order-IMPERF.3PL   DE   place.INF
        '… they ordered to place it.' (*La Primera Cronica General* 87a47) (Medieval Spanish)

iv)   pora   esforçar   a   defender-se
        in.order.to   force.INF   AD   defend.INF-REFL.PRO
        'in order to force them to defend themselves.' (*La Primera Crónica General* 560b31) (Medieval Spanish)

v)   promett-o-ti   d'   atar-ti   conquistare
        promise-PRES.1SG-PRO.2SG   DE   help.INF-you   conquer.INF
        '… I promise you... to help you conquer.' (Bono Giamboni, Libro, cap. 18) (Medieval Italian)

vi)   se   io   pens-ava   di   volere   cercare
        if   I   think-IMPERF.1SG   DE   want.INF seek.INF
        '… if I thought that I wanted to seek… ' (*Vita Nuova*, cap. 13, par. 6) (Medieval Italian)

vii)   ordin-arono   di   far-gli   fare   incontinente
        order-PRET.3PL   DE   make.INF-him   do.INF   incontinente
        '… they ordered (*Compagnia di S. M. del Carmine*, p. 66) (Medieval Italian)

viii)   egli ordin-ò   un   suo   discepolo a   tenere   la   cattedra
        he   order-PAST.3SG   a   his   pupil   AD   hold.INF the   tenure
        'he ordered a pupil of his… to hold the tenure '(*Tesoro volgarizzato* 1.2.24) (Medieval Italian)

ix)   commencer-ai   a penser   de aukun-e   bon-e   estoire   faire
        begin-FUT.1SG AD think.INF DE some-FEM.SG good-FEM.SG story.FEM.SG   make.INF
        'I shall begin to think of making a good story.' (*Equitan, Gigemar, Lanval* 3888) (Medieval French)

x)   se ge li   command-ase   a   faire   une   chose   molt   grief
        if I him order-IMPERF.SUBJ.1SG   AD   do.INF one   thing.FEM.SG very   serious
        'If I ordered him to do a very serious thing' (*Fabliau* 1019) (Medieval French)

17)   ut   ad   depugna-nd-um   cog-ere-nt-ur

          COMP AD   fight-GERUND-ACC.SG   compel-IMPERF.SUBJ-3PL-PASS

         '… so that they were compelled to fight…' (Nepos *Themistocles* 4.4)

The putative reanalysis of Latin prepositional gerunds/gerundives as Romance PI, therefore, also reveals

retention of selectional properties ([u-content]/[u-purpose]) which similarly restrict the distribution of DE

and AD as they can only be used with lexical verbs that are semantically compatible with them (cf 10):

18)
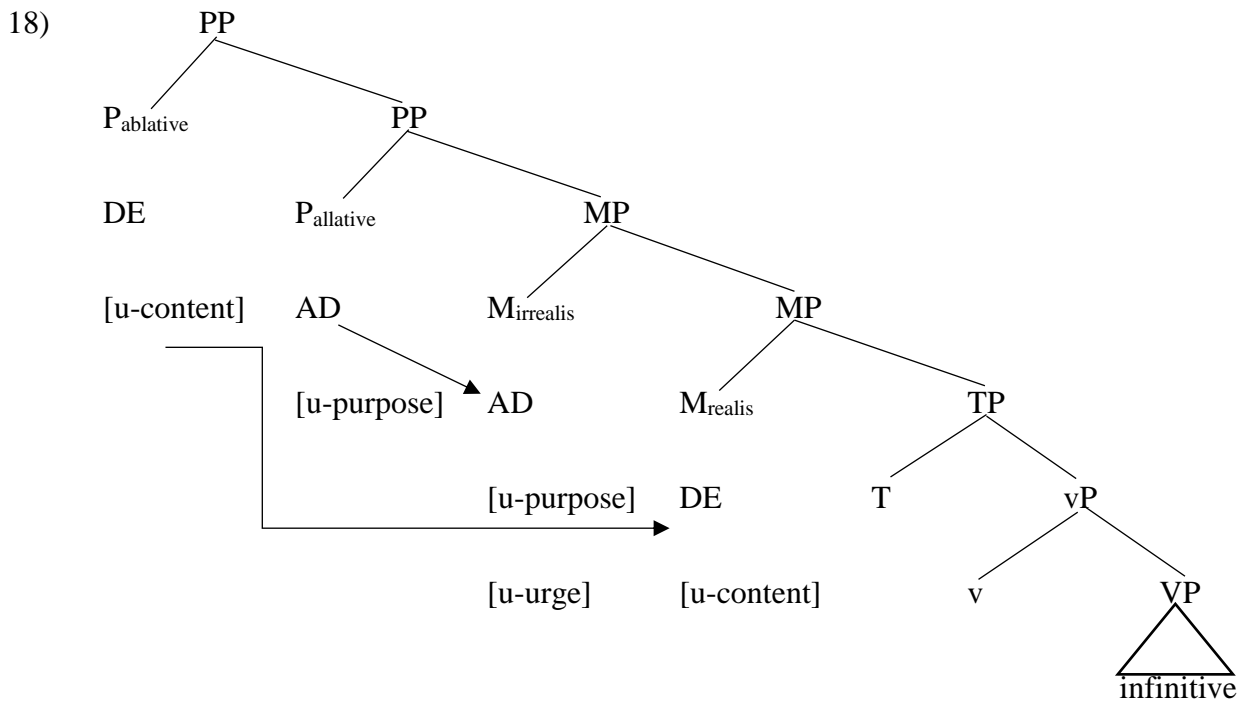
It is hence evident from the Latin formation of Romance DOM and PI that the parameter setting that

underlies their categorial reanalysis is not purely mechanical but subject to syntax-semantics interface

factors which can give rise to microvariations between different Romance varieties. The Strong Minimalist

Thesis should hence be modified accordingly, which is discussed in the next and final concluding section.

Section 4: Minimalist accounts on syntactic change: parametric convergence and divergence:

      The retention of selectional features in the grammaticalization of AD and DE shows that there may

be featural differences in the same categorical changes which conform to Minimalist notions of 'simplicity'

($P_{Agree} > K_{Merge}/M_{Merge}$) but affect the distribution of prepositional Case-markers and complementisers in

Romance varieties as they are reinterpreted and analogised to different extents. These featural

microparametric variations, therefore, run deeper and finer than the current lexically based parameter

schemata (Gianollo, Guardiano and Longobardi (2008)), and within the context of historical-comparative syntax lexical microparameters may be better conceptualised as constituting formal pools of variation from which cognate varieties may be parameterised further in terms of features.[21] Latin/Romance prepositions (AD/DE), therefore, show that parameter setting in language change is by no means mechanical but conditioned by interface factors, which lends support to Longobardi's (2001) inertia theory.

References:

Adams, J. N. (2013): *Social Variation and the Latin Language*. Cambridge University Press.

Adams, J. N. and de Melo, W. (2016): '*Ad* versus the dative: from early to late Latin', in Adams, J. N. and Vincent, N. (eds), *Early and Latin Latin: Continuity or Change?* Cambridge University Press, pp. 87-131.

Aissen, J. (2003): 'Differential object marking'. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21:435-483.

Beardsley, W. (1921): *Infinitive Constructions in Old Spanish*. Columbia University Press.

Berretta, M. (1989): 'Sulla presenza dell'accusativo preposizionale in italiano settentrionale: note tipologiche'. *Vox Romanica* 48:13-37.

Biberauer, T. (2008): 'Introduction', in Biberauer, T. (ed), *The limits of syntactic variation*, Linguistic Aktuell/Linguistics Today 132, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 1-73.

Borer, H. (1984): *Parametric Syntax: Case Studies in Semitic and Romance Languages*. Foris.

Bossong, G. (1991): 'Differential object marking in Romance and beyond', in Wanner, D. and Kibbee, D A. (eds), *New Analyses in Romance Linguistics*. Amsterdam, Benjamins, pp. 143-171.

Bybee, J. L., Pagliuca, W. and Perkins, R. D. (1994): *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, L. and Janda, R. (2001): 'Introduction'. *Language Sciences* 23:93-112.

Chomsky, N. (1995): *The Minimailst Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. (2000): 'Minimalist Inquiries', in Martin, R., Michael, D. and Uriagereka, J. (eds), *Step by Step: Essays in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 89-156.

---

[21] This begs the question as to whether there can be other types of syntactic change where the same categorical changes can differ minimally by individual features. In the context of Romance PI, there are indeed varieties where AD and DE are generalised to all infinitival complements and are used indiscriminately, namely Medieval French (van Reenen and Schøsler (1993)). In this variety, AD and DE seem to have lost their original selectional features in becoming complementisers. Featural microparameters hence expand the formal typology of syntactic change.

Chomsky, N. (2001): 'Derivation by Phase', in Kenstowicz, M. (ed), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 1-52.

Chomsky, N. (2004): 'Beyond explanatory adequacy', in Belletti, A. (ed), *Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, volume 3*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 104-131.

Chomsky, N. (2013): 'Problems of Projection'. *Lingua* 130:33-49.

Cinque, G. and Rizzi, L. (2010): *Mapping Spatial-PPs*. Oxford University Press.

Diez, Frédéric, 1876, *Grammaire des Langues Romanes, vol* III. 3rd ed, Paris, Libraire-Éditeur.

Ernout, A. and Thomas, F. (1951): *Syntaxe Latine*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.

Escandell-Vidal, V. (2007): 'Acusatiu preposicional i dialocació amb clític'. *Caplletra* 42:185-218.

Fiorentino, G. (2003): 'Prepositional objects in Neapolitan', in Fiorentino, G. (ed), *Romance Objects: Transitivity in Romance Languages*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, pp. 117-151

Gelderen, van. E. (2011): *The Linguistic Cycle.* Oxford University Press.

Gianollo, C., Guardiano, C. and Longobardi, G. (2008): 'Three fundamental issues in parametric linguistics', in Biberauer, T. (ed), *The limits of syntactic variation*, John Benjamins pp. 109-142.

Green, J. (1988): 'Spanish', in Harris, and Vincent, (eds), *The Romance Languages*, Routledge, pp. 79-129.

Guardiano, C. (2010): 'L'oggetto diretto preposizionale in siciliano. Una breve rassegna e qualche domanda', in Garzonio, J. (ed), *Studi sui dialetti della Sicilia*, Padova: Unipress, pp. 83-101.

Harris, M (1978): *The evolution of French syntax: a comparative approach*. London: Longman.

Heusinger, von. K. and Kaiser, G. (2011): 'Affectedness and Differential Object Marking in Spanish.' *Morphology* 21(3/4):593-617.

Huot, H. (1981): *Constructions infinitives de français. Le subordonnant DE*. Genève-Paris : Librairie Droz.

Iemmolo, G. (2007) : 'La marcatura differenziale dell'oggetto in siciliano: un'analisi contrastiva', in *Actes du XXV Congres International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes*, Innsbruck, pp. 341-350.

Joly, A. (1971): 'Le complément verbal et le morphème <a> en bearnais'. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 87:286-305.

Kayne, R. (2005): 'Some notes on comparative syntax', in Cinque, G. and Kayne, R. (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-69.

Kliffer, M. (1995): 'El A personal, la kinesis and y la individuación', in Pensado, C. (ed), *El complemento directo preposicional*. Madrid: Visor Libros, pp. 93-111.

Kroch, A. (1989): 'Reflexes of Grammar in Patterns of Language Change'. *Language Variation and Change* 1:199-244.

Laca, B. (1995): 'Sobre el uso del acusativo preposicional en español', in Pensado, C. (ed), *El complemento directo preposicional*. Madrid: Visor Libros, pp. 61-91.

Ledgeway, A. (2006): 'The dual complementizer system in southern Italy', in Lepschy, A. L. and Tosi, A. (eds), *Rethinking Languages in Contact: The Case of Italian.* Oxford: Legenda, pp. 112-126.

Ledgeway, A. (2012): *From Latin to Romance*. Oxford University Press.

Lehmann, C. (1985): 'Grammaticalization'. *Lingua e stile* 20:303-318.

Leonetti, M. (2004): 'Specificity and differential object marking in Spanish'. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 3:75-114.

Lightfoot, D. (1999): *The Development of Language Acquisition, Change, and Evolution*. Blackwell.

Longobardi, G. (2001): 'Formal Syntax, Diachronic Minimalism, and Etymology: The History of French *Chez*'. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32(2):275-302.

Mardale, A. (2002): *Analyse comparative de l'Accusatif prepositionnel : le roumain et l'espagnol*, mémoire de maitrise, Universite Paris 7/Universitatea din Bucuresti.

Meier, H. (1945) : 'O problema do acusativo preposicional no catalão'. *Boletim de Filologia* 8:237-260.

Pottier, B. (1968): 'L'emploi de la preposition 'a' devant l'objet en espagnol'. *Bulletin de la Societe Linguistique* 63:83-95.

Reenen, van. and Schøsler. (1993) : 'Les indices d'infinitif complément d'objet en ancien français', in Lorenzo (ed), *Actas do XIX Congreso Internacional de Lingüística e Filoloxía Románicas,* pp. 523-545.

Rizzi, L. (1997): 'The fine structure of the left periphery', in Haegeman, L. (ed), *Elements of Grammar.* Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp. 281-337.

Roberts, I. (2007): *Diachronic Syntax*. Oxford University Press.

Roberts, I. (2010): 'Grammaticalization, the clausal hierarchy and semantic bleaching', in Traugott, E. C. and Trousdale, G. (eds), *Gradience, Gradualness and Grammaticalization*. John Benjamins, p. 45-73.

Roberts, I. and Biberauer, T. (2015): *The Significance of What Hasn't Happened.* Paper presented at the Workshop on Language Variation and Change and Cultural Evolution (Centre for Linguistics History and Diversity, York University, 14 February 2015.

Roberts, I. and Roussou, A. (2003): *Syntactic change.* Cambridge University Press.

Rolhfs, G. (1971): 'Autour de l'accusatif prépositionnel dans les langues romanes', *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 35, pp. 312-334.

Roegiest, E. (1979) : 'A propos de l'accusatif prepositionnel dans quelques langues romanes'. *Vox Romanica* 38 :312-334.

Salvi, G. (2010): 'Morphosyntactic persistence', in Maiden, Smith, and Ledgeway (eds), *Cambridge History of the Romance Languages, Volume 1: Structures*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 318-381.

Sandfeld, K. (1978): *Syntaxe du français contemporain : L'infinitif.* Genève-Paris : Librairie Droz.

Schulte, Kim, 2007, *Prepositional infinitives in Romance.* Oxford: Peter Lang.

Schwenter, S. (2014): 'Two kinds of differential object marking in Portuguese and Spanish', in Amaral and Carvalho (eds), *Portuguese-Spanish Interfaces*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 237-260.

Silverstein, M. (1976): 'Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity', in Dixon, R. M. W. (ed), *Grammatical Categories In Australian Languages*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, pp. 112-171.

Sornicola, R. (1997): 'L'oggetto preposizionale in siciliano antico e in napoletano antico: consideraioni su un problema di tipologia diacronica', *Italienische Studien* 18:66-80.

Sornicola, R. (1998): 'Processi di convergenza nella formazione di un tipo sintattico: la genesi ibrida dell'oggetto preposizionale', in *Les nouvelles ambitions de la linguistique diachronique, Actes du XXIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes*, Max Niemeyer Verlag, II, pp. 419-427.

Stowell, T. (1981): *Origins of Phrase Structure*. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts of Technology.

Torrego, E. (1998): *The dependencies of objects*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Vincent, N. and van Kemenade (1997): 'Parameters and Morphosyntactic Change', in Vincent, and van Kemenade (eds), *Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change,* Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-26.

Woodcock, E. C. (1959): *A New Latin Syntax*. London: Methuen and Co, Ltd.