

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) $F_{\text{Move}} > F_{\text{Agree}} > F_{\text{Merge}} > \emptyset$ (adapted from R&R (2003:209-213))
- 2) semantic feature $> i\text{-F} > u\text{-F} > \emptyset$ (van Gelderen (2011:17-20))

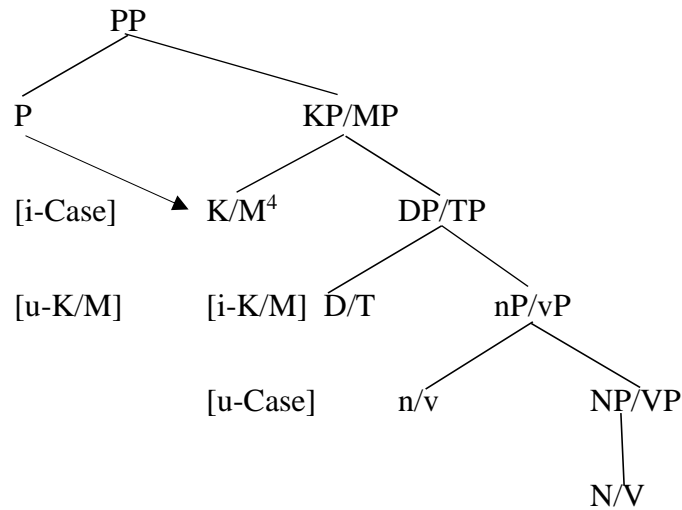
The reanalysis of Latin lexical prepositions as Romance functional prepositions conforms to these definitions (see footnote 1), since lexical prepositions regularly assign theta-roles and morphological Case to their nominal argument and this *Agree* relation is lost when they are reanalyzed as functional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

¹ Case-markers (K) and non-finite complementisers (M) are categorised as functional heads on the nominal and clausal spines respectively (Vincent and van Kemenade (1997), Rizzi (1997)), and in the cartographic hierarchy of prepositions (Cinque and Rizzi (2010)) the reanalysis of spatial prepositions as non-spatial functional elements conforms to traditional clines of grammaticalization (Campbell and Janda (2001)).

² My sincerest thanks to the organisers and audience of LSRL48 at the University of York, Toronto for their invitation to take part in their Workshop on 'Parametric Convergence and Divergence' as well as their constructive feedback to my presentation so nervously delivered. This work has also benefitted from my earlier presentations at Going Romance at the University of Amsterdam (2013) and the Ohio State University Colloquium in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics (OSUCHiLL2018) to which I owe my thanks. Special thanks must also go to my mentors and supervisors in Latin/Romance formal syntax, Professors Nigel Vincent, Ian Roberts and Giuseppe Longobardi.

³ Although Chomsky (2004 *et seq*) has since reversed his earlier position that *Move* is more complex than *Merge* (and *Agree*), it remains the case that $F_{\text{Move/Agree}}$ entails syntactic dependencies between multiple positions whereas F_{Merge} involves only one, and thus grammaticalization involves weakening in the elimination of syntactic projections (Roberts (2010)).

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 (Rohlfes (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.

In Italo-Romance, 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))

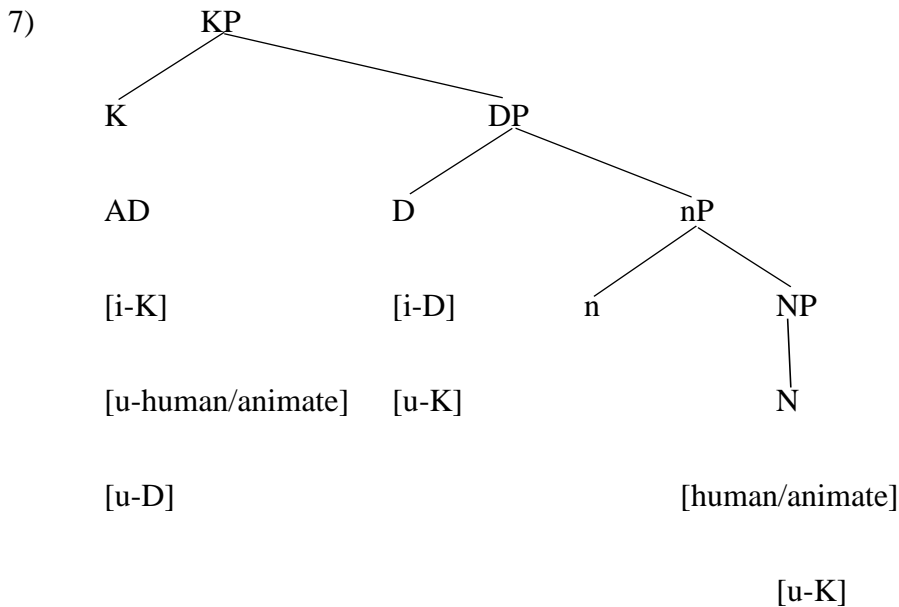
6e) En Joan estima (a) la Maria
 ART Joan likes AD ART Maria
 'Joan likes Maria.' (Catalan) (Escandell-Vidal (2007:189))

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:



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 school

‘... he advised Damiano to send him to the school.’ (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

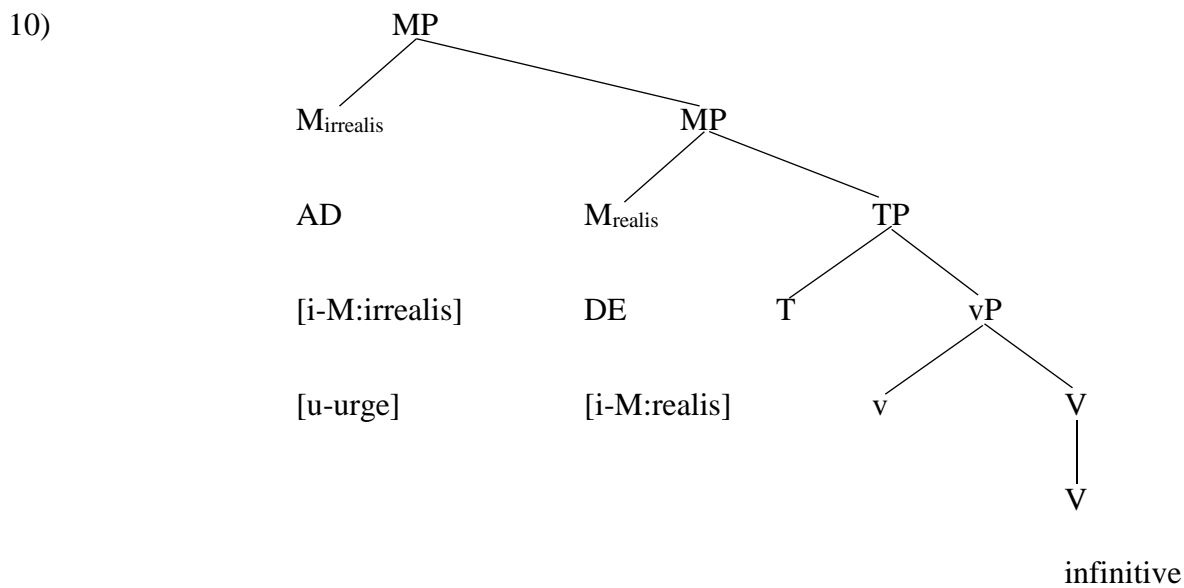
‘... he ordered me to present myself in Rome.’ (Ramón del Valle-Inclán, *Sonata de Primavera* 187) (Spanish)

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 ($M_{\text{realis}}/M_{\text{irrealis}}$), 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:



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)).

Section 3.1: Latin prepositional phrases (AD):

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 Caecilian-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)

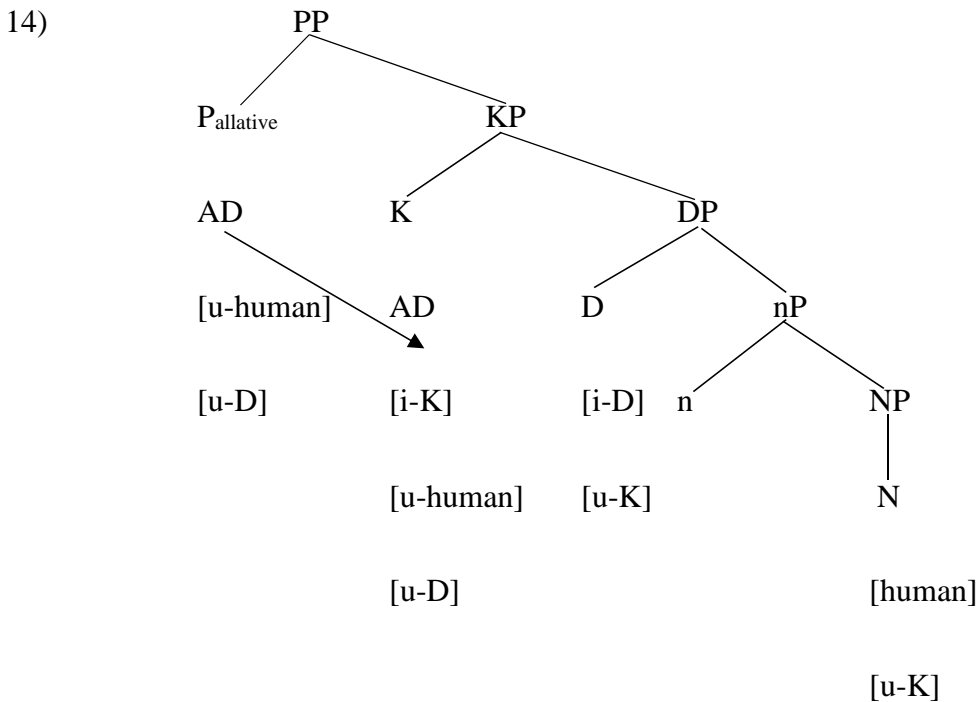
iv) para servir a tão ilustres senhor-es
in.order serve-INF AD so distinguished.PL sir-PL

‘... 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)):



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-aronu 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 categorially 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 placand-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 Vatinius* 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:

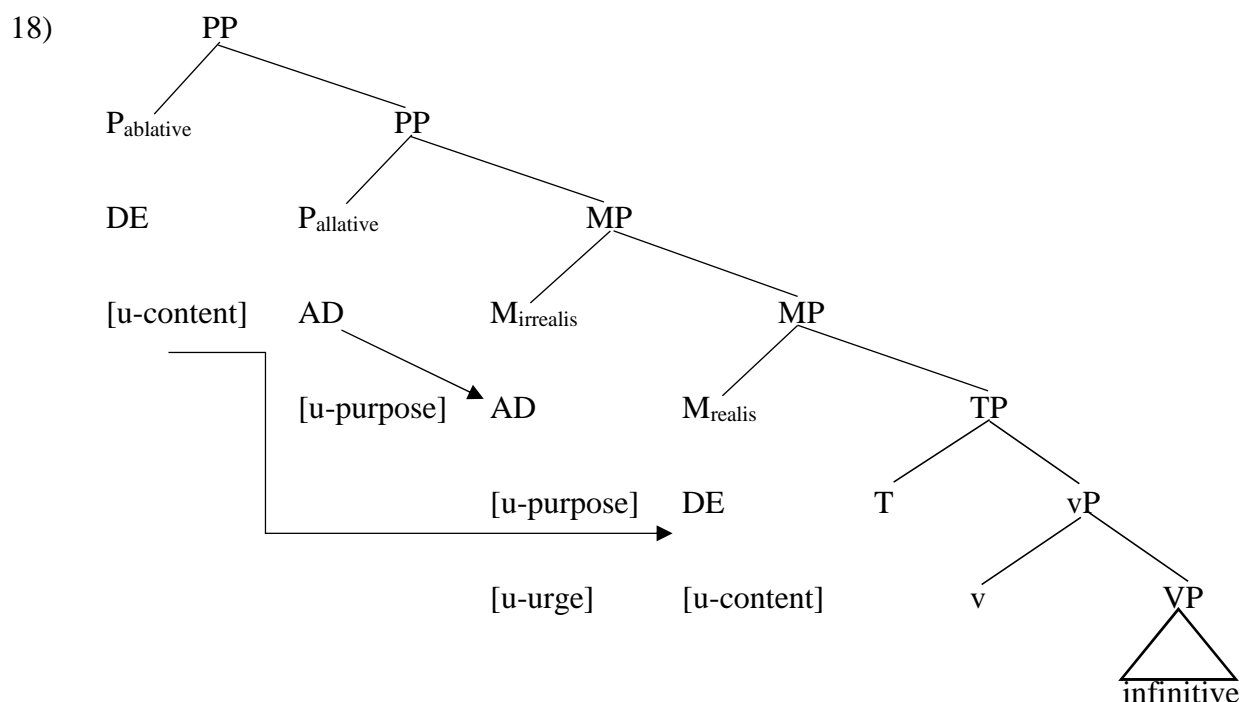
- i) me promet-io de fer enperador
 me promise-PRET.3SG DE make.INF emperor
 ‘He promised to make me emperor.’ (*Libro de Alixandre* 1141) (Medieval Spanish)
- ii) allí piens-an de aguijar
 there think-PRES.3PL DE goad-INF
 ‘There they are thinking of goading’ (*El Cid* 10) (Medieval Spanish)
- iii) 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 incontinate
 order-PRET.3PL DE make.INF-him do.INF incontinate
 ‘... 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):



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 categorial 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.

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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.

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