Differential object marking: Nominal and verbal parameters

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Abstract. Rich comparative-typological work has established differential object marking (DOM) as a linguistic universal based on various dimensions of nominal and verbal markedness where more marked categories are more likely to be morphologically marked than unmarked ones (Aissen 2003). However, despite the seemingly uniform and homogeneous properties in the world's examples, the great variety and diversity of lexical sources raise the possibility of there being microvariations between different types of DOM. Romance preposition *ad* and Chinese co-verb *ba* are two mainstream examples of DOM and a comparison shows that different lexical sources can give rise to nominally-driven and verbally-driven mechanisms of DOM, since while Romance *ad* is reanalysed as a nominal Case-marker and is extended to all relevant types of object nouns (animate/referential), Chinese *ba* is embedded in the verbal domain where it selects transitive/affective types of verb phrases. This comparison opens up new perspectives on the mechanisms of DOM, namely the clustering of nominal and verbal parameters which can be shown to correlate with the lexical sources of DOM-markers.

Keywords. Latin; Romance; Chinese; Case theory; differential argument marking; different object marking; syntax

1. Introduction. Differential object marking (DOM) is a cross-linguistically pervasive phenomenon where certain marked categories of the same grammatical relation (here object) are morphologically distinguished from unmarked ones, as defined in Serzant & Witzlack-Makarevich (S&W) (2019:17): "Any kind of situation where an argument of a predicate bearing the same semantic argument role may be coded in different ways, depending on factors other than the argument role itself and/or the clausal properties of the predicate such as polarity, TAM, embeddedness etc". Extensive typological work has revealed a number of nominal and verbal dimensions of markedness which seem to underlie and trigger DOM, and these consist of numerous factors of transitivity which are summarised by Hopper & Thompson (H&T) (1980):

	High Transitivity	Low Transitivity
Participants	Two or more participants, A(gent) and O(bject)	One participant
Kinesis	Action	Non-action
Aspect	Telic	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	Non-punctual
Volitionality	Volitional	Non-volitional
Affirmation	Affirmative	Negative
Mood	Realis	Irrealis
Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Table 1. Transitivity (H&T 1980:252)

In classic analyses of verbal and event semantics (*aktionsart*) (Vendler 1967, Dowty 1991), transitive verbs such as Achievements and Accomplishments, in contrast to States (BE) and Activities (DO), are distinguished in effecting change (BECOME) in their objects (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2005, Ramchand 2008), which further entails distinctive properties such as affectedness/kinesis, telicity/punctuality, and agentivity/volitionality (Tenny 1994). Moreover, the individuation of object has also been described in various ways, which are also summed up by H&T (1980:253):

Individuated	Non-individuated
Proper	Common
Human, animate	Inanimate
Concrete	Abstract
Singular	Plural
Count	Mass
Referential, definite	Non-referential

Table 2. Individuation of O (H&T (1980:253))

Such nominal dimensions have been further fine-grained in terms of humanness/animacy (Silverstein 1976:176, Aissen 2003:438, Croft 2003:130), referentiality (Lazard 1984:283, Aissen 2003:438, Croft 2003:132), grammatical person (Silverstein 1976:169, Dixon 1979:85), number

(Silverstein 1976:169), all of which may be summed up in the following scale (Dixon 1979:85, Lazard 1984:283):

(1)   1st Person Pronoun > 2nd Person Pronoun > 3rd Person Pronoun > Proper Nouns >
        Human Common Nouns > Animate Common Nouns > Inanimate Common Noun

Despite significant degrees of similarity and coherence between cases of DOM across numerous languages which suggests universal principles at work (Tsunoda 1985, Bossong 1991, S&W 2019), the relationship between the various parameters of DOM is as yet controversial, since there is *a priori* no necessary correlation between these nominal and verbal dimensions, which raises the possibility of there being different types of DOM based on different types of nominal and verbal parameters. In line with the typological range of DOM-markers, this paper considers and compares two famous examples: Romance preposition *ad* and Chinese co-verb *ba*, as these represent two different lexical sources (lexical preposition and lexical verb respectively) which seem to share similar DOM-effects in their respective languages, namely the marking of animate and/or referential objects and the selection of transitive/affective types of verbs (see Nocentini 1985 and Li 2006 for summaries on Romance *ad* and Chinese *ba* respectively). However, a closer comparison of their distribution shows that Romance *ad* has been generalised in certain varieties to all animate and/or referential objects at the expense of affectedness (Heusinger 2008) while Chinese *ba* obligatorily selects strongly transitive/affective types of verbs which may select indefinite and non-specific objects as long as they are delimited (Ritter & Rosen 2000). These discrepancies can be correlated with their diachronic formation, since Romance *ad* is widely analysed as a nominal Case-marker which has hence been generalised to all relevant marked object nouns whereas Chinese *ba* is formally analysed as a Light Verb which has selectional restrictions on its verbal complement. This comparison suggests that the nominal and verbal parameters of DOM can be applied to the historical-comparative dimension where different lexical sources (here preposition and verb) can give rise to different types of DOM in line with principles of A(rgument)-selection and subcategorization, which, in the cases of Romance *ad* and Chinese *ba*, create DOM-systems which are more nominally and verbally driven respectively.

The main body of this paper is divided into three sections: Section 2 summarises the formal and empirical properties of Romance *ad* used in Western Romance DOM[1] which can be shown to be derived from Latin allative preposition *ad* 'to/towards' whose original lexical semantics, Case-assignment and selectional restrictions entail that *ad* selects designated thematic roles ("recipient"/"beneficiary"/"experiencer") as well as referential objects ("destination"/"direction"), and these selectional properties seem to anticipate Romance DOM (Sornicola 1997, 1998, Fagard & Mardale 2017), namely the use of *ad* for marking animate, referential and affected objects in numerous varieties. Section 3 considers the formation of Chinese *ba* from Medieval Chinese serial verb constructions which are reanalysed as monoclausal in restructuring contexts when the verb of the second verb phrase is strongly transitive/affective and it selects an object pronoun which is coreferential with the object of *ba* (Peyraube 1985, 1989, Feng 2002b), and this extends to Modern Mandarin Chinese where *ba* selects delimited objects in line with the telicity of the transitive/affective lexical verb (Ritter & Rosen 2000). Based on the comparative data, Section 3 proposes two types of DOM which involve two different mechanisms of parametric clustering, namely nominal DOM as exemplified by Romance *ad* where nominal markedness in

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[1] A similar though etymologically unrelated morpheme *pe* is attested as a DOM-marker in Romanian (Mardale 2002) which will not be treated in this paper.

animacy and referentiality forms the core of Romance DOM and affectedness secondarily extends to verbal transitivity, and verbal DOM in Chinese *ba* where verbal transitivity in the verbal complement of *ba* is primary and this entails not necessarily definiteness or specificity but delimitedness in the object noun.

2. Latin/Romance *ad* (P(reposition) > K(ase)). The use of Romance preposition *ad* as a marker of DOM is widely attested in Western Romance with dialectal microvariations (Rolhfs 1971, Roegiest 1979, Nocentini 1992, Zamboni 1993), and *ad* is commonly analysed as a Case-marker (K) of object nouns whose lexical semantic and discourse-pragmatic properties form minimal pairs with their unmarked counterparts (Brugè& Brugger 1994, Guardiano 2010, Ló pez2012). The key notions in question here are the animacy of the object noun, which may be canonically human (2a), inclusive of non-humans (e.g. animals) (2b) or exclusive of a particular type of human (e.g. divinity) (2c), referentiality of the object noun, which can be subdivided into definiteness (3a), specificity (3b), singularity/individuality (3c), proper (3d) and pronominal (3e), and affected objects selected by strongly transitive/affective types of verbs (4):

(2) a. Spanish (Kliffer 1995:93)
          ve-o   a   la   muchacha
          see-PRES.1SG AD ART girl
          'I see the girl'
     b. Spanish (Pensado 1995:19-20)
          v-i   a   un   perro
          see-PRET.1SG AD a   dog
          'I saw a dog.'
     c. Portuguese (Schwenter 2014:238)
          deve-mos   ama-r   a   Deus
          must-PRES.1PL love-INF AD   God
          'We must love God.'
(3) a. Spanish (Kliffer 1995:100)
          conozc-o   a-l   campeón
          know-PRES.1SG AD-ART champion
          'I know the champion.'
     b. Spanish (Kliffer 1995:102)
          encontr-é   a   un abogado que   no   cobr-a
          find-PRET.1SG AD   a   lawyer   REL.PRO NEG charge-PRES.3SG
          los ojos   de   la cara
          the eyes   from   the face
          'I found a lawyer who does not charge an arm and a leg.'
     c. Spanish (Kliffer 1995:104)
          la sociedad educ-a   a-l   poeta
          the society   educate-PRES.3SG AD-ART poet
          'Society educates the poet.'
     d. Spanish (Kliffer 1995:98)
          visita-ron   a   Madrid
          vist-PRET.3PL AD   Madrid
          'They visited Madrid.'

    e.   Spanish (Laca 1995:66)
        vi-ó   a   mí
        see-PRET.3SG AD me
        'He saw me.'

(4)   Spanish (García García 2007:68)
        el   entusiasmo   venc-e   a la   dificultad
        The   enthusiasm   conquer-PRES.3SG AD the   difficulty
        'Enthusiasm conquers difficulty.'

      The comparative distribution of Romance DOM is such that *ad* is predominantly a nominal marker, since while in most varieties *ad* can be found as a marker of personal pronouns and proper nouns as seen in Portuguese (5a-b) and Catalán (5c-d), *ad* is generalised to all human/animate common nouns which may be (optionally) marked even if indefinite or non-specific in Spanish (6a-b), and in Italian dialects (7a-c) referential inanimates may also be marked too:

(5)   a.   Portuguese (Schwenter 2014:238)
        od-eia   a   mim
        hate-PRES.3SG   AD   me
        'He hates me.'
    b.   European Portuguese (Roegiest 1979:38)
        vej-o   (a)   João
        see-PRES.1SG   AD   João
        'I see João.'
    c.   Catalán (Escandell-Vidal 2007:188)
        jo t'   ajudo   a   tu
        I   you help-PRES.1SG AD   you
        i   tu   m'   ajudar-à-s   a   mi
        and   you   me   help-FUT-2SG AD me
        'I help you and you will help me.'
    d.   Catalán (Escandell-Vidal 2009:840)
        veu-r-é   a   la   Maria
        see-FUT-1SG AD   ART Maria
        'I shall see Maria.'

(6)   a.   Spanish (Kliffer 1995:100)
        encontr-é   (a) unos hombres
        find-PRET.1SG   AD some men
        'I found some men.'
    b.   Spanish (Leonetti 2004:80)
        necesit-a   (a) una enfermera
        need-PRES.3SG   AD a   nurse
        que   pas-e   la   mañana con ella
        who   spend-PRES.SUBJ.3SG ART morning with   her
        'She needs a(ny) nurse to spend the morning with her.'

(7)   a.   Sardinian (Floricic 2003:253)
        app-o   vis-tu   a   custu/cussu
        have-PRES.1SG see-PERF.PTCP AD this/that
        'I saw this/that.'

b. Gorgoglione, in Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005:508)
miette a kkweiste
put.IMPERATIVE.2SG AD this
'Put this one.'

c. Colobraro, in Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005:509)
te dewe (a) kkwiste
you owe.PRES.1SG 'I AD this
owe you this.'

Affectedness, in comparison, is secondary, since only in Spanish can the DOM effect of affectedness be discerned where *ad* is used for marking inanimate and non-personified objects of highly transitive/affective verbs:

(8) a. Spanish (Molho 1958:214)
los acidos atac-a-n a los metales
ART acids attack-PRES-3PL AD ART metals
'Acids attack metals.'

b. Spanish (Laca 1995:67)
la primavera preced-e a-l verano
ART spring preceed-PRES.3SG AD-ART summer
'Spring precedes winter.'

c. Spanish (Laca 1995:69)
las dificultades priv-a-n a-l proyecto
ART difficulties deprive-PRES-3PL AD-ART project
de todo su atractivo inicial
of all its attractiveness initial
'Difficulties deprive the project of all its initial attractiveness.'

d. Spanish (Torrego 1999:1801)
el adjetivo modific-a a-l sustantivo
ART adjective modify-PRES.3SG AD-ART noun
'The adjective modifies the noun.'

e. Spanish (Fabregas 2013:15)
su voluntad obedec-e a la razón
his will obey-PRES.3SG AD ART reason
'His will obeys his reason.'

The DOM-properties of Romance *ad* (K), therefore, may be represented thus where it is either selected by the various functional layers of the object noun phrase (DP) or by a unique functional head denoting affectedness (Affect) whose specifier holds the affected object argument marked by *ad* (cf Torrego 1998, Mordoñ edo 2007):

(9)

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                VoiceP
         ┌────────┴────────┐
    SpecVoice           Voice'
    [agent]        ┌──────┴──────┐
                 Voice         AffectP
                 V_i      ┌──────┴──────┐
                      SpecAffect      Affect'
                        KP       ┌──────┴──────┐
                        ad     Affect          vP
                        [i-K]   t_i       ┌─────┴─────┐
                                [u-K]   Specv        v'
                                        t_i     ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                V          VP
                                                t_i   ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                      V          KP
                                                      t_i   ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                            K          DP
                                                            ad    ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                            [i-K]  D        PhiP
                                                                   [u-K] ┌────┴────┐
                                                                        Phi      ProperP
                                                                      [u-K]² ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                                           Proper        nP
                                                                           [u-K]    ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                                                    n          NP
                                                                                               │
                                                                                               N
                                                                                      [human/ani-
                                                                                      mate/divine]
                                                                                      [u-K]
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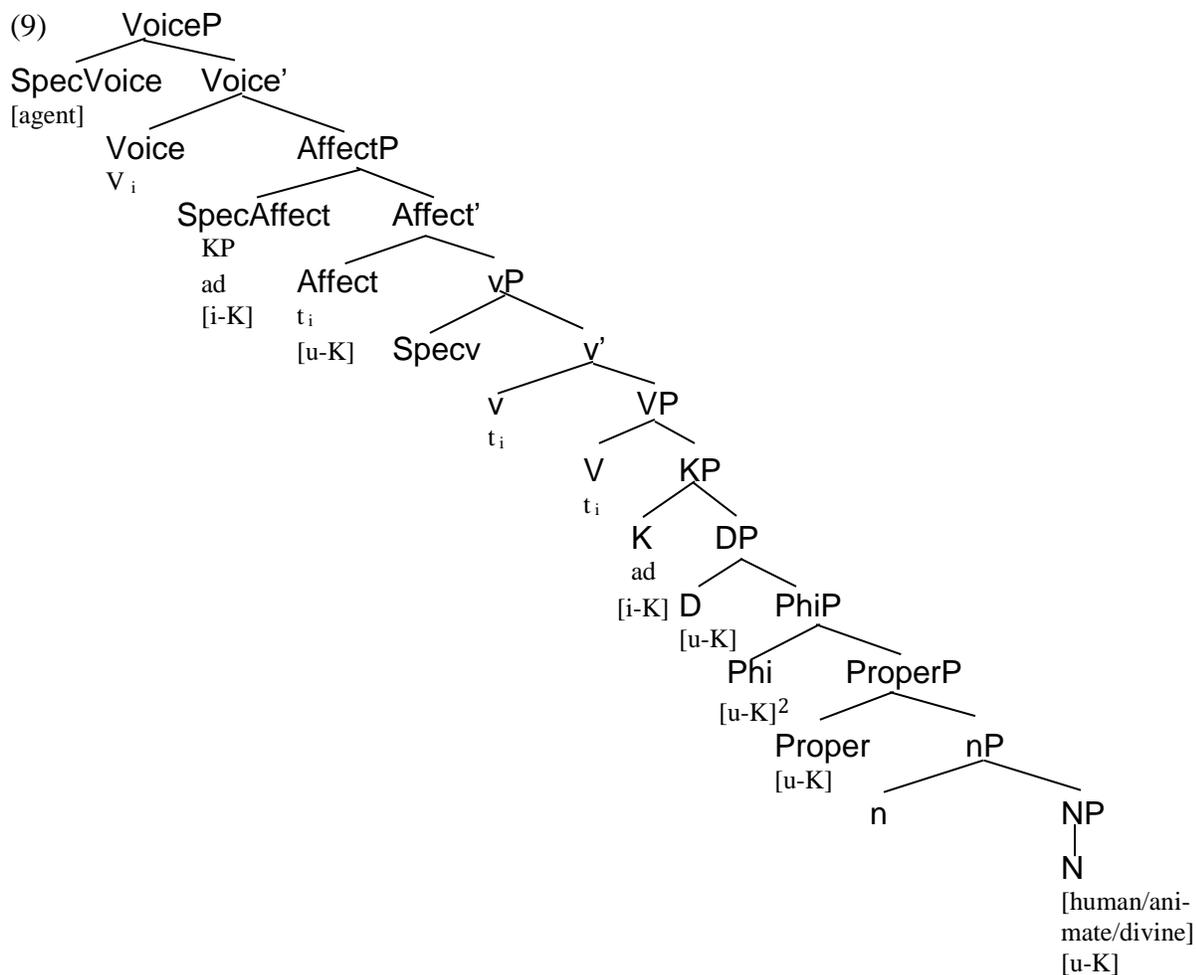
In the diachronic formation and evolution of Romance DOM, the wide geographical and historical distribution of *ad* strongly suggests that it is formed in proto-Romance (Sornicola 1998), and it is indeed attested that Latin allative/directional preposition *ad* may be dependent on certain two/three-place lexical verbs where its argument may be reanalysed as direct/indirect objects of the verbs (Sornicola 1997, Adams 2013, Adams & de Melo 2016). However, despite the functional parity between the argument of *ad* and the object relation of the lexical verbs, detailed philological analysis shows that Latin *ad* retains its lexical semantic properties in denoting certain thematic roles (Adams 2013:278ff), namely "direction"/"destination" and "recipient/beneficiary", which is attested from as early as Plautus (2nd century BC) (10a) and throughout the history of Latin (Classical (10b)/Christian (10c)/Medieval (10d)) with verbs of vision (*verba videndi*), which consistently select definite and specific objects in the extended sense of 'visiting' (10a-b, d) and 'rotating' (10c, e-g):

(10) a. nunc   ad   era-m   revide-b-o
        now   AD   mistress-ACC revisit-FUT-1SG
        'I shall see her again (at hers) now.' (Plautus *Truculentus* 320)

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[2] In line with Postal (1969), personal pronouns are here analysed as bare D-elements which lexicalise general phi-features decomposable into grammatical person and number attributes and values.

b. i-b-o ut vis-a-m huc ad eum
go-FUT-1SG COMP visit-PRES.SUBJ-1SG hence AD him
si forte est domi
if perchance be.PRES.3SG at.home
'I shall go and visit him here, if by chance he is at home.' (Plautus *Bacchides* 529)

c. quis illic est qui tam proterve
who there be.PRES.3SG REL.PRO so impudently
nostras aedis ariet-at ? ego sum,
our rooms ram-PRES-3SG I be.PRES.1SG
respic-e ad me
look.back-IMPERATIVE.3SG AD me
'Who is over battering our rooms? It is I, look back at me.' (Plautus *Truculentus* 256)

d. vere-or ne… nunc ad Caeciliana-m fabula-m
fear-PRES.1SG COMP now AD Caecilian-ACC.SG play-ACC.SG
spect-e-t
watch-PRES.SUBJ-3SG
'I fear that… he may now go and watch the play of Caecilius (in the theatre).' (Cicero *ad Atticum* 1.16.6)

e. et respe-xi-t Dominus ad Abel
and look.back-PERF-3SG Lord AD Abel
et ad munera eius
and AD gifts his
'And the Lord looked back at Abel and his gifts.' (*Biblia Sacra*, *Genesis* 4.4)

f. et aspici-e-nt ad me
and look-FUT-3PL AD me
'And they will look at me.' (Jerome *Epistulae* LVII.7)

g. ipse farinarius ad ipso Verno
ART baker AD ART Vernus
nonquam aspe-xissi-t
never look-PERF-3SG
'The baker never looked at Vernus.' (Merovingian document XXXII)

Furthermore, in the Christian and Medieval eras *ad* is also found with two/three-place verbs which assign ethic dative to their direct/indirect objects ("recipient"/"beneficiary") and these turn out to be marked by *ad* in Romance (Sornicola 1997, 1998) e.g. verbs of serving *servire* 'to serve' (11a-b) which select animate direct objects in the thematic role of 'beneficiary' (Blake and Velázquez-Mendoza 2012), and verbs of shouting and begging/praying (*verba clamandi et rogandi*) (11c-e) which also select human/animate objects marked by *ad* and these come into contrast with unmarked inanimate objects in the direct object relation (Huertas 2009):

(11) a. ad cuius imperium caelum terra maria servie-ba-nt
AD whose command heaven earth seas serve-IMPERF-3PL
'whose power heaven, earth and the seas served.' (Jerome *Epistulae* 82.3)

b. ibi deb-e-nt servi-re a sancta Maria
there must-PRES-3PL serve-INF AD holy Mary
'There they must serve Holy Mary.' (*Sahagún* 423)

c. de   profund-is   clama-v-i   ad   te,   Domin-e
   from depth-ABL.PL shout-PERF-1SG AD you Lord-VOC
   'From the depths of my heart I shouted (something) at you, my Lord' >
   '… I called you, my Lord.' (*Biblia Sacra*, *Psalmi* 129)

d. Moyses   ora-ba-t   ad   Dominum
   Moses   pray-IMPERF-3SG   AD   Lord
   'Moses was praying to the Lord.' (*Libri Maccabaorum* 2.10)

e. veniam… ad   Domino   poposce-ba-t
   mercy   AD   Lord   demand-IMPERF.3SG
   'She was praying theLord formercy.' (*Chronicon Salernitanum* 11)

As Latin dative is thematically conditioned in being assigned to certain thematic roles ("recipi-ent"/"beneficiary") which are necessarily human/animate and even divine in the case of verbs of begging/praying (*ad Dominum* (11d), *ad Domino* (11e)), *ad* comes to be associated with human/animate/divine objects which may also be affected. In the formation of Romance DOM, therefore, *ad* is reanalysed as a nominal marker of DOM which connects it with various marked nominal categories, and although affectedness is evident in the use of *ad* with verbs that assign ethic dative (11a-e), this is a secondary factor in Romance where nominal markedness seems to be the main criterion. The next section examines the formation and distribution of Chinese DOM in *ba*-constructions which display similar yet different properties.

3. Chinese *ba* (V(erb) > Voice). Chinese *ba*-constructions consist of a preposed object which comes right after *ba* but is thematically related to the main lexical verb (Li 2006), and various constituency tests show that *ba* heads a unique functional projection which does not form phrasal constituents with the preposed object, since the object seems to form constituents with the lexical verb phrase:

(12) 他   把   門   洗-好   (和)   窗戶   洗-乾淨-了
      ta   ba   men   xi-hao   he   chuanghu ca-ganjing-le
      He   BA   door wash-finish and   window   wipe-clean-ASP
      'He washed the door and wiped the window clean.' (Li 2006:382)

Furthermore, in contrast to Romance *ad* (see previous section), Chinese *ba* obligatorily selects transitive/affective verb phrases which must not be bare and must denote verbal and prosodic properties such as aspect (13a), object complement (13b), affectedness (13c), adverbial modification (13d) and disyllabicity (13e):

(13) a. 他 把   那-個 房子   蓋-*(了)
          ta ba   nei-ge fangzi   gai-le
          he BA   that-CL house   build-ASP
          'He built that house.' (Liu 1997:63)

      b. 我們   把   李四   罵-*(了)/*(一頓) / *(得   很   厲害)
          women ba   Lisi   ma-le   yidun   de   hen   lihai
          we   BA   Lisi   scold-ASP once   COMP very serious
          'We scolded Lisi once very serious.' (Li 2006:395)

c. *他　　　把　　　那-地方　　　離開-了
　　 ta　　 ba　　 na-difang　 likai-le
　　 he　　 BA　　 that-place　 leave-ASP
　　 'He left that place,' (Li 2006:397)
d. 你　　 能　　 不　　　　能　　　把 書 *(整整齊齊-地)　　 放
　　 ni　　 neng　 bu　　　 neng　　 ba shu zhengzhengqiqi-de　 fang
　　 you　 can　 NEG　　 can　　 BA book tidy-ADV　　　　　 put
　　 'Can you put the books tidily?' (Feng 2002a:248)
e. 把 他們　 *(包)*(圍)
　　 ba tamen baowei
　　 BA them　 surround
　　 'surround them.' (Feng 2002a:249)

Moreover, although it has been argued that the preposed object must be referential and known which seems to suggest A'-movement of the object to an internal Topic/Focus projection (Tsao 1987, Bender 2000, Arcodia & Iemmolo 2014), indefinite objects headed by indefinite articles (*yi*)*ge* 'a/one' (14a-b) as well as non-specific generic objects (14c) are attested in *ba*-constructions which are not referential but delimited by the telic nature of the lexical verb phrase (Wang 1985, Liu 1997, Ritter & Rosen 2000). Furthermore, *ba*-constructions may optionally contain an unaccusative marker *gei* (給) right above the lower VP (14d) (Tang 2001), which supports the hypothesis that the preposed object is merged in the specifier of a functional head denoting affectedness (Kuo 2010):

(14)　a.　他 把　　一-個 機會　　　錯過-了
　　　　　 ta ba　　 yi-ge jihui　　　 cuoguo-le
　　　　　 he BA　　 one-CL opportunity miss-ASP
　　　　　 'He missed an opportunity.' (Liu 1997:94)
　　　b.　小張　　　　　 把　　 個　　 孩子　 生
　　　　　 xiaozhang　　　 ba　　 ge　　 haizi　 sheng
　　　　　 Xiaozhang　　　 BA　　 CL　　 child　 give.birth
　　　　　 在 火車-上-了
　　　　　 zai huoche-shang-le
　　　　　 at　 train-LOC-ASP
　　　　　 'Xiaozhang gave birth to a child on the train.' (Wang (1985:51)
　　　c.　他們　　 正好　　 可以　　 把 自學　　　 與　　 家傳
　　　　　 tamen　　 zhenghao keyi　　 ba zixue　　　 yu　　 jiachuan
　　　　　 they　　　 indeed　 can　　 BA self.taught　 and　 family.inherited
　　　　　 相　　　 結合
　　　　　 xiang　　 jiehe
　　　　　 mutually　 merge
　　　　　 'They indeed can mutually combine what they taught themselves and what they learnt from their families.' (Wang 1985:51)
　　　d.　弟弟　　　　　 把　　　 杯子　　 給　　 打-碎-了
　　　　　 didi　　　　　 ba　　　 beizi　　 (gei)　 da-sui-le
　　　　　 younger.brother BA　　 cup　　 GEI　　 hit-break-ASP
　　　　　 'Younger brother broke the cup.' (Tang 2001:283)

ba is hence commonly represented as a functional head (Voice) above Asp(ect) while the lexical verb undergoes head movement in order to obtain aspectual suffixes and traverse various theta-assigning A-heads (Zou 1995:78ff, Li 2006:408-412), and in between Voice (*ba*) and Asp there should be posited a functional projection denoting affectedness (Affect) which may be optionally lexicalised by *gei* whose specifier holds the preposed object, as shown below:

(15)

VoiceP
SpecVoice — Voice'
didi
Voice — AffectP
ba
SpecAffect — Affect'
beizi
Affect — AspectP
(gei)
SpecAspect — Aspect'
Aspect   …   vP
da-sui-le $_i$
Specv — v'
v — VP
t $_i$
V
t $_i$
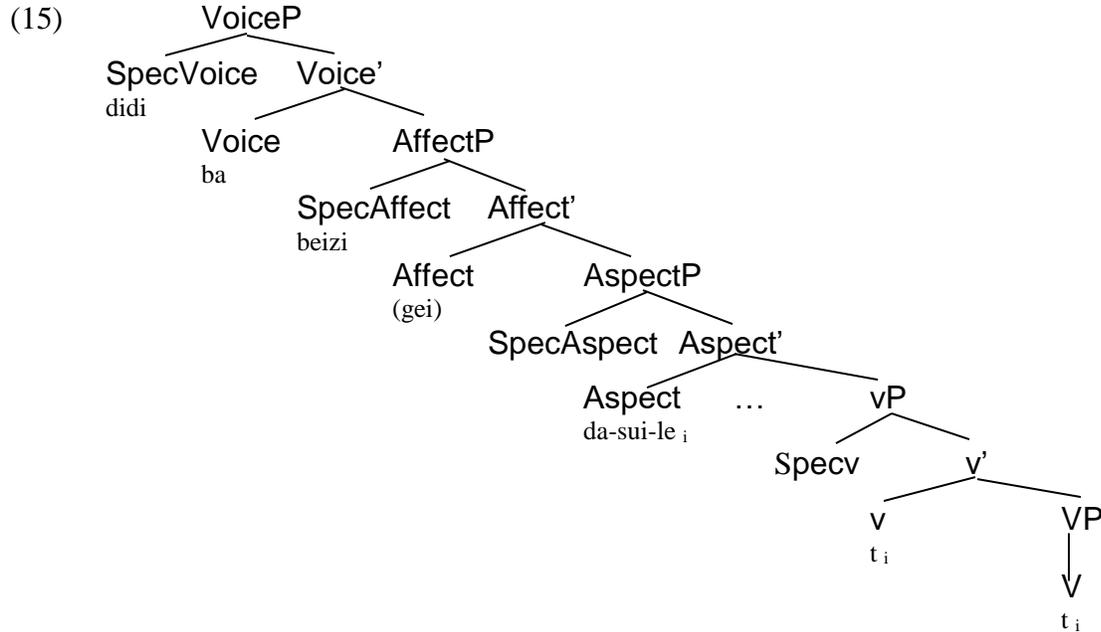
Chinese co-verbs are derived from serial constructions (Peyraube 1996, Rhys 2000) , and in the case of *ba* which is originally a lexical verb meaning 'to take/hold' (Bennett 1981) it is widely argued that *ba* is reanalysed in restructuring contexts where the serial verb construction is reanalysable as monoclausal due to the fact that there is coreference between the object of *ba* (and the etymologically related *jiang* (將)) and the object of the second verb phrase, the latter of which may be resumed by a resumptive pronoun (Peyraube and Chappell 2011), which still exists in Chinese dialects (20c):

(16) a.

武	把	高皇	用	刃	刺	之
wu	ba	gaohuang	yong	ren	ci	zhi
Wu	BA	emperor	use	blade	stab	him

'Wu stabbed the emperor with a blade.' (前漢書平話, 卷上)

b.

汝	將	此	人	安徐	殺	之
ru	jiang	ci	ren	anxu	sha	zhi
you	JIANG	this	man	carefully	kill	him

無	損	皮	肉
wu	sun	pi	rou
NEG	damage	skin	flesh

'You kill this man carefully without damaging his skin or flesh.' (佛説長阿含經)

c.

千祈	唔好	將	啲	頭髮	染-黑	佢
chinkei	nghou	jeung	di	taufaat	yim-hak	keui
please	NEG	JIANG	CL	hair	dye-black	it

'Please do not dye the hair black.' (Cantonese, in Chappell 2007:188)

In the reanalysis of the object of *ba* as the object of the second verb, the second verb must be strongly transitive in order to select the object of *ba* as its own preposed object merged in a higher A-position (*gaohuang.. ci zhi* 'stab the emperor' (16a), *ci ren… sha zhi* 'kill this man' (16b), *di taufaat… yimhak keui* 'dye the hair black' (16c)), which not only eliminates the original argument structure of *ba* as a lexical verb and leads to its reanalysis as a functional head but also entails verb movement in the second verb phrase which hence shows verbal properties such as aspect and object complementation (13a-e). Futhermore, as transitive/affective verbs are telic and hence select delimited objects, the preposed object in *ba*-constructions is delimited which does not necessarily imply definiteness or specificity (14a-c). Chinese *ba*, therefore, is essentially a verbally-driven DOM construction which entails nominal properties of delimitedness. These mechanisms of DOM in Chinese and Romance are summarized in the next concluding section.

4. Differential object marking: Clustering of nominal and verbal parameters. A comparison between Romance *ad* and Chinese *ba* as used in their respective DOM-constructions shows subtle differences in the clustering of nominal and verbal parameters of markedness in DOM, since while Romance *ad* is reanalysed as a nominal Case-marker and is hence generalised to all marked object nouns in conformity with the original selectional properties of Latin directional preposition *ad*, namely animacy, referentiality and affectedness, Chinese *ba* is merged as a functional head in the verbal domain which selects highly transitive/affective verb phrases in which the lexical verb undergoes head movement and selects delimited objects. The ensuing verbal properties of affectedness in the former and nominal delimitedness in the latter seem to be epiphenomenal, which reveals some subtle microvariations in the clustering of nominal and verbal parameters in DOM, as summarised in the following table:

	Nominal DOM (e.g. Romance *ad*)	Verbal DOM (e.g. Chinese *ba*)
Primary triggers	Human/animate of O Definiteness/referentiality of O	Affectedness/transitivity of V
Secondary effects	Affectedness of V	Delimitedness of O

Table 3. Empirical properties of Romance *ad* and Chinese *ba* (cf. Table 1)

DOM, therefore, in spite of its cross-linguistic ubiquity and typological range, is not necessarily a universally homogeneous phenomenon, and a close comparison between Romance *ad* and Chinese *ba* seems to uncover some subtle mechanisms at work between different lexical sources.

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