PAM AS A DOM-MARKER

The examples in (2a) and (2b) show that PAM is inserted when the object is animate.

(2) a. PAUL₃₃ PAM₃₃ MARIA₃₃ KNOW
   b. PAUL₃₃ MUNICH KNOW

• That PAM is only used with non-agreeing verbs is probably an illusion: the vast majority of verbs in DGS are non-agreeing.
• However, there are some agreeing verbs which require PAM insertion (3a).
• Even with backward verbs PAM insertion is possible; in these cases, PAM agrees with the grammatical object (3b).

(3) a. PAUL₃₃ PAM₃₃ MARIA₃₃ ADVICE₃₉
   ‘Paul advises Maria.’
   b. PAUL₃₃ PAM₃₃ MARIA₃₃ INVITE₃₉
   ‘Paul invites Maria.’

• On an auxiliary verb analysis, the examples in (3) would involve double agreement with both the main verb and the auxiliary agreeing with the object.

• Instead of being an auxiliary, I argue that PAM is a preposition-like element; evidence comes from nominalizations:

(4) a. INDEX₁ POSS₁ LOVE PAUL₃₃ PAUL₃₃ NEVER FORGET.
   ‘I will never forget about my love for Paul.’

• The definiteness of the direct object has another, more general effect in DGS: they have to leave their VP-internal base position and move to a higher syntactic slot (Diesing 1992):

(5) a. PAUL₃₃ POLICEPERSON₃₉ SEE₃₉
   b. PAUL₃₃ PAM₃₃ POLICEPERSON₃₉ SEE₃₉
   ‘Paul saw a/the policeman.’
   ‘Paul saw the policeman.’

• Besides animacy and definiteness another property leading to PAM insertion is affectiveness (just as in other DOM languages, cf. Heusinger & Kaiser 2007); the following picture emerges:

As these accounts fail to explain why PAM is only used with animate objects I argue that PAM is an differential object marker. Additionally, I claim that PAM only agrees with the grammatical object and not with the subject and object.

CONCLUSION

Instead of being an auxiliary verb, I claim that PAM is a differential object marker which is used with highly affected animate objects. Additionally, I argued that definite objects have to leave the VP in DGS.