Going Romance Lisbon 2014

DECEMBER 4TH-6TH

Workshops · DEC 6TH

#1: Constituent order variation
#2: Subordination in Old Romance
#3: Crosslinguistic microvariation
in language acquisition

ABSTRACTS

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Organized by
Centro de Linguística da
Universidade de Lisboa
Centro de Linguística da
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Going Romance 2014 Lisbon · 4-6 December
28th Symposium on Romance Linguistics
organized by
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VENUE: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas – Universidade Nova de Lisboa
Avenida de Berna, 26 C – 1069-061 Lisbon, Portugal

P R O G R A M

Thursday, December 4th // Room: Auditório 1 (Torre B)	
8.30-9.15	REGISTRATION
9.15	OPENING
9.20-10.20	**KEYNOTE SPEAKER:** Roberta d'Alessandro (Universiteit Leiden) **When imperfections are perfect: narrow syntax from the point of view of Italian varieties**
10.20-10.55	**Pseudo-relatives and their left periphery: A unified account** Jan Casalicchio (Univ. Trento)
	- Coffee break -
11.20-11.55	**The impact of embedded pronouns on children's relative clause comprehension** Yair Haendler & Flavia Adani (Univ. Potsdam)
11.55-12.30	**On the (in)compatibility of possessives and relative clauses in Spanish** Luis Eguren (Univ. Autónoma de Madrid)
12.30-13.05	**On the nature of complementizers: Insights from Italian subject relative clauses** Cecilia Poletto & Emanuela Sanfelici (Goethe-Univ. Frankfurt)
	- Lunch break -
14.30-15.05	**The opacity of subjects in Italian: An experimental investigation on the role of external-syntax factors in cumulative effects** Ciro Greco (Univ. Gent), Marco Marelli (Univ. Trento) & Liliane Haegeman (Univ. Gent)
15.05-15.40	**Omitted subjects in coordinate and subordinate adverbial sentences in European Portuguese** Nádia Canceiro (Univ. Lisboa)
15.40-16.15	**Overt subjects [-R] in infinitive complements from Spanish and Italian as bound variable pronouns** María Inés Corbalán (Univ. Estadual de Campinas)
	- Coffee break -
16.40-17.15	**Negative discord in a concord language: An experimental investigation of NC and DN in Catalan** Viviane Déprez (Rutgers Univ.), Susagna Tubau (Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona), Anne Cheylus (CNRS), M. Teresa Espinal (Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona)
17.15-17.50	**Person features and functional heads: Evidence from an exceptional optative sentence in Spanish** Cristina Sánchez López (Univ. Complutense de Madrid)
17.50-18.25	**Anti-specificity and the role of number: The case of Spanish *algún/algunos*** Urtzi Etxeberria (CNRS-IKER) & Anastasia Giannakidou (Univ. Chicago)

18.30	- *PORTO DE HONRA* (PORT WINE RECEPTION) - Edifício ID

Friday, December 5th // Room: Auditório 1 (Torre B)	
9.00-10.00 ~~Cancelled~~	**KEYNOTE SPEAKER:** Guido Mensching (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen) **Yes/no interrogatives and focus in Sardinian**
10.00-10.35	**Case, pro-features, and nominal linkers: Evidence from Romanian genitives** Monica Alexandrina Irimia, Giuseppe Longobardi, Dimitris Michelioudakis & Nina Radkevich (Univ. York)
	- Coffee break -
11.00-11.35	**Integrating reflexively marked medio-passives into a formal typology of Voice** Florian Schäfer (École Normale Supérieure, Univ. Stuttgart)
11.35-12.10	**The Spanish *quedar*-passive and its relevance for the typology of adjectival passives** Alfredo García-Pardo (Univ. Southern California)
12.10-12.45	**A parametric geometry for person morphemes** Alejo Alcaraz (Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea)
	- Lunch break -
14.10-14.45	**Bilingual delay in the acquisition of direct object clitics in the Spanish of bilingual Spanish-French children** Melanie Elliott & Mihaela Pirvulescu (Univ. Toronto)
14.45-15.20	**Variation and change in the Romance *faire*-infinitif** Sonia Cyrino (Univ. Estadual de Campinas) & Michelle Sheehan (Univ. Cambridge)
15.20-15.55	**On Italian complex PPs** Jacopo Garzonio & Silvia Rossi (Univ. Ca' Foscari Venezia)
	- Coffee break -
16.20-16.55	**Why are distributive readings dispreferred?** Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin (CNRS-LLF, Univ. Paris 7), Emilia Ellsiepen (Goethe-Univ. Frankfurt) & Barbara Hemforth (CNRS-LLF, Univ.Paris 7)
16.55-17.30	**Against deficiency-based typologies: Manner-alternation parameters in Italian and English** Raffaella Folli (Univ. Ulster) & Heidi Harley (Univ. Arizona)
17.30-18.30	**KEYNOTE SPEAKER:** Alain Rouveret (Université Paris 7) **Two ways to be local in the French *faire*-construction**

20.00	- CONFERENCE DINNER - Restaurant: *O Polícia* (R. Marquês Sá da Bandeira, 112 A)

ALTERNATE: *Monoeventive vs. bieventive anticausative*, Margot Vivanco (Univ. Complutense de Madrid)

Saturday, December 6th – PLENARY SESSION // Room: Auditório 1 (Torre B)
9.00-10.00 KEYNOTE SPEAKER: Luigi Rizzi (University of Geneva / University of Siena) **EPP and ECP revisited: The role of labeling**

Saturday, December 6th – WORKSHOP #1: Constituent order variation Room: Sala Multiusos 1 (Edifício ID)	
10.05-10.40	**Decomposing negation: The order of adverbs and negations and the Big NegP hypothesis** Jacopo Garzonio (Univ. Ca' Foscari Venezia) & Cecilia Poletto (Goethe-Univ. Frankfurt)
10.40-11.15	*C'est*-**clefts versus** *il y a*-**clefts in French** Lena Karssenberg & Karen Lahousse (KU Leuven)
	- Coffee break -
11.40-12.15	**Microvariation across nominal structures in Southern Italian Romance. A parametric approach** Cristina Guardiano (Univ. di Modena e Reggio Emilia)
12.15-12.50	**Non-local dependencies in the syntax: Raising, control and cliticization** Mihaela Marchis (Univ. Hamburg) & Carolina Petersen (Univ. Maryland)
12.50-13.25	**Explicative clauses in Portuguese: A specifying coordination approach** Madalena Colaço & Gabriela Matos (Univ. Lisboa)
	- Lunch break -
14.30-15.05	**When discourse met null subjects** Ángel Jiménez-Fernández (Univ. Sevilla)
15.05-15.40	**On the status of subject pronouns in French and the null-subject property** Michael Zimmermann & George Kaiser (Univ. Konstanz)
15.40-16.15	**(Wide) focus and the syntacticization of discourse in Spanish** Geoffrey Poole (Newcastle Univ.)
	- Coffee break -
16.40-17.15	**Resetting Agree in Romanian: Changes in the position of constituents** Alexandru Nicolae (Romanian Academy)
17.15-17.50	*Pied-piping* **requirement and constituent order change** Rosabel San Segundo Cachero (Univ. Lisboa)

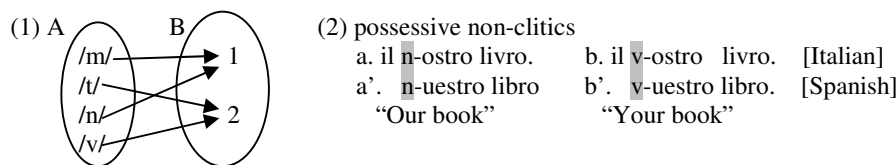| Saturday, December 6th	
WORKSHOP #3: Crosslinguistic microvariation in language acquisition Room: Sala Multiusos 2 (Edifício ID)	
10.05-10.40	**The L2 acquisition of Spanish locative and existential constructions by Catalan and Italian speakers** Silvia Perpiñán (Western Univ. London Ontario)
10.40-11.15	**Development of locative prepositions: The role of linguistic cues** Arhonto Terzi (TEI W. Greece) & Vina Tsakali (Univ. Crete)
	- Coffee break -
11.40-12.15	**Subject clitics in child French** Megan Gotowski (UCLA)
12.15-12.50	**Early and late successive bilingual acquisition within microparametric domains: Null objects in 1st and 2nd generation Brazilians in Portugal** Tammer Castro (Univ. Tromsø), Jason Rothman (Univ. Reading) & Telma Oliveira (Univ. Minho)
12.50-13.25	**Input effects across two generations: The realization of objects in 1st and 2nd generation speakers of European Portuguese in Germany** Cristina Flores (Univ. Minho), Esther Rinke (Goethe-Univ. Frankfurt) & Pilar Barbosa (Univ. Minho)
	- Lunch break -

WORKSHOP #2: Subordination in Old Romance	
Room: Sala Multiusos 2 (Edifício ID)	
14.30-15.05	**Imperatives, relative clauses, and Old Romance subordination: Some considerations from Latin** Sean M. Gleason (Yale Univ.)
15.05-15.40	**The fine-grained structure of Romance complementizers** Lena Baunaz & Eric Lander (Univ. Gent)
15.40-16.15	**Embedded questions are DPs and not CPs** Olga Kellert (Georg-August-Univ. Göttingen)
	- Coffee break -
16.40-17.15	**Recomplementation and root phenomena in Romance** Alba Cerrudo Aguilar (Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona)
17.15-17.50	**Complementation, F and inflected infinitives: The case of Valego** Koldo Sainz
17.50-18.25	**Inflected infinitives in the synchrony and diachrony of Portuguese** Alexandra Fiéis & Ana Madeira (Univ. Nova de Lisboa)

A parametric geometry for person morphemes.
Alejo Alcaraz, EHU/UPV.

In this paper I show that a feature-geometric account (Harley & Ritter 2002, Béjar 2003) for the internal structure of Romance pronominal clitics provide us a single binary parameter to derive the full range of variation attested in first and second plural person clitics in Italian and Spanish dialects, respectively. The parameter is located in the PARTICIPANT node and specifies which one of its daughter nodes (*Speaker* or *Addressee*) is identified as representing the default value. I will show that Spanish selects *Addressee* and Italian *Speaker* as the default daughter node. I will show that another locus of variation between Spanish and Italian: the fusional spell-out of Italian φ-features versus the agglutinative spell-out of Spanish φ-features, it will help us to understand the different morphological strategies employed by both languages.

Kayne (2003) breaks down first and second pronominal clitics and non-clitics in Spanish and Italian into a reduced set of person morphemes (1). While the set A in (1) of exponents is fully realized in the possessive pronominal paradigm in both Spanish and Italian (2), the set A shows two gaps in the clitic paradigm of both Italian and (Iberian) Spanish (3).

(1) A ⟶ B
/m/ ⟶ 1
/t/
/n/ ⟶ 2
/v/

(2) possessive non-clitics
a. il n-ostro livro.   b. il v-ostro livro.   [Italian]
a'. n-uestro libro   b'. v-uestro libro.   [Spanish]
   "Our book"   "Your book"

On one hand, Italian lacks the person morpheme /n/ in the clitic paradigm (3a). On the other hand, the person morpheme /v/ in Spanish is absent from the clitic paradigm (3b).

(3) a. Italian 1/2 Object Clitics.   b. Spanish 1/2 Object Clitics.

	SG	PL			SG	PL
1	mi	ci		1	me	nos
2	ti	vi		2	te	os

Kayne (2009), focusing only on Italian, speculates that there is a silent 1 person plural clitic NI covering this gap in the Italian paradigm (4a). This clitic is overt in other Italian dialects, as in Milanese (4b).

(4)a. NI   ci   hanno visto.   [Standard Italian]   b. La **ne** dà…   [Milanese: Kayne 2003: (43)]
    1.PL   loc   have.they seen   She 1.PL give
    "They have seen us"   "She us gives…"

Kayne (2009) also claims that a silent reflexive clitic SI is always present in reflexive sentences (5a) in order to avoid a condition B violation by means of protecting the pronominal non-reflexive clitic. According to Kayne (2009), this implies that the overt clitic *ci* in Italian is surrounded by two silent clitics in reflexive sentences: NI and SI, as shown in (5b). Kayne's analysis inescapably leads to a plethora of sometimes non fully motivated Null Clitics.

(5) a. mi   SI   sono visto nel film.   b. NI   ci   SI   siamo visti nel film.
    1.SG refl. be.I seen in film   1.PL loc refl. have.they seen
    "I saw myself"   "We saw ourselves in the film"

The main motivation for silent 1 person plurals in Italian provided by Kayne (2009) cannot be extended to silent 2 person plurals in Spanish. In Italian, as shown by Cinque (1988), certain impersonal constructions can get an inclusive reading (6a). There is no equivalent Spanish impersonal construction that can get a 2 plural person reading. In Colloquial Spanish, however, a 2 person plural reflexive clitic can acquire an inclusive reading (6b).

(6) a. Si é stati invitati (anche noi)   b. (A ver) cuándo os invitáis al piso?
     'we have been invited (too)'   [Kayne 2009: (47)]   'When do you invite us to visit your home?'

Moreover, Kayne's analysis cannot account for the following generalization: In Italian, there is a high degree of variation in the realization of 1 person plural clitics across Italian dialects (4a-b), but the 2 person plural clitic /vi/ is barely subject to variation. Inversely, in Spanish there is a high degree of variation regarding 2 person plural clitics, but there is not variation at all affecting the 1 person plural clitic /nos/. (7) constitutes only a sample of the type of variation attested for 2 plural clitics in Spanish dialects (COSER:www.lllf.uam.es:8888/coser).

(7) *Different exponents for second plural person found in Spanish Dialects.*
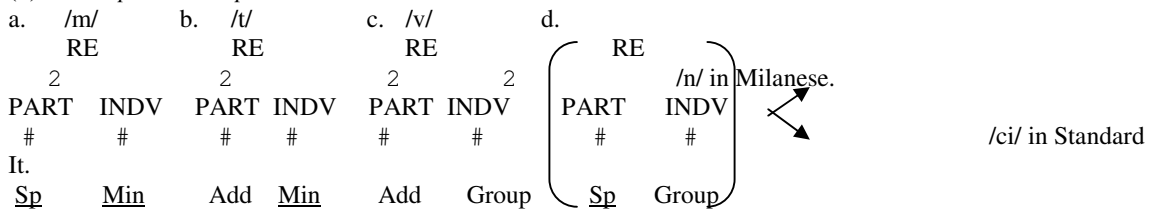　　a. *l-os* [Altarejo, Cuenca]　　　b. *s-os* [Bezas, Teruel]　　　c. *v-os* [Santibáñez, León]

As proposed by Harley & Ritter (2002), I assume that φ–features in pronouns (clitics or non-clitics) are organized in a dependent structure of privative features. Contrary to them, I will assume that default features [supplied at PF by default rules] are not universally fixed, but parameterized, as shown in (8). This allows us to encode parameters directly into the universal feature geometry proposed by Harley and Ritter (2002) and transform it into an implicational hierarchy of parameters (Biberauer & Roberts 2013).

(8) *Option 1*　[A]　　　　　[A]　　　*Option 2*　[A]　　　　　[A]
　　　　　　　#　　→　　2　　　　　　　#　　　→　　2
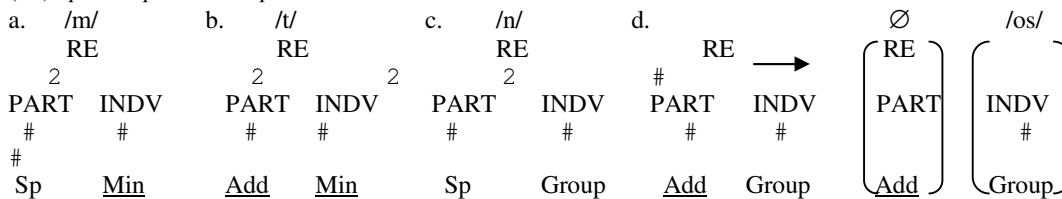　　　　　　[C]　　　[B]　[C]　　　　　　[B]　　　[B]　[C]
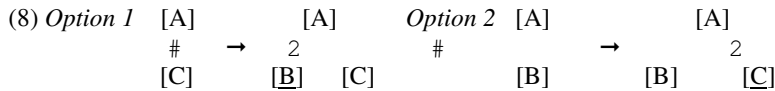
I show in (9) the repertory of person morphemes in Italian. The underlying features are supposed to be the default features supplied at PF. Why does the locative clitic /ci/ surfaces in Standard Italian instead of the expected first person plural clitic /ni/, as happens in Milanese and other NIDs (Manzini & Savoia 2005)? The answer hinges on the structure proposed in (9d). When this clitic structure arrives at PF, the feature *Sp* is not inserted. The cause of this blocking is simple: *In Standard Italian, there is not a fusional morpheme* /n/ (for number and person). This explains why the person morpheme /n/ surfaces in pronominal non-clitics. As proposed by Kayne (2003), the possessive in (2a) is decomposed into "n+os+tro" where the morpheme "os" spell-outs the INDV node. The same for the strong pronoun NOI, that breaks down into N+OI, where OI is the INDV node. In these cases the morpheme /n/ is not fusional. It is well-known that number and gender are fusional in Italian (il ragazz-o [masc, sg], I ragazz-i[masc, pl]). We are only extending the fusional pattern to number and person. Finally, the *elsewhere* clitic /ci/, as independently argued by Pescarini (2010), is inserted as a last resort. Contrary to Standard Italian, Milanese has a fusional /n/, a simple lexical difference.

(9) *Italian person morphemes.*

a.　/m/　　　b.　/t/　　　c.　/v/　　　d.
　　RE　　　　　RE　　　　　RE　　　　　　　RE　　　　　　/n/ in Milanese.
　　2　　　　　2　　　　　2　　　2　　　　　　　　　　2
PART　INDV　PART　INDV　PART　INDV　　PART　INDV
　#　　#　　　#　　#　　　#　　#　　　　#　　#　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　/ci/ in Standard
It.
　Sp　　Min　　Add　Min　　Add　Group　　Sp　Group

I show in (10) the repertory of person morphemes in Spanish. Contrary to Italian, the default daughter node for PART is *Add*, not *Sp*. Why does the morpheme /v/ never spell-out in the clitic Spanish paradigm? Contrary to Italian, number and gender morphemes are agglutinative in Spanish (el chic-o [masc, sg], los chic-o-s[masc, pl]). In this case, I propose that the PART[ADD] node in Standard Spanish is null. That suggests that the structure in (10d) has been reanalyzed in Spanish Dialects as dedicated plural marker for PART, that is a dedicated plural marker for 1 and 2 person plural clitics.

(10) *Spanish person morphemes.*

a.　/m/　　　b.　/t/　　　c.　/n/　　　d.　　　　　　∅　　　/os/
　　RE　　　　　RE　　　　　RE　　　　　RE　　→　　RE　　　INDV
　　2　　　　　2　　　2　　　2　　　　#
PART　INDV　PART　INDV　PART　INDV　PART　INDV　　PART　　　#
　#　　#　　　#　　#　　　#　　#　　　#　　#
　#
　Sp　　Min　　Add　Min　　Sp　Group　　Add　Group　　Add　　Group

The most extreme case supporting the hypothesis that the morpheme "os" in "n+os"[1.PL] and "os"[2.PL] has been reanalyzed as a dedicated plural marker for 1 and 2 person plural clitics is provided by the Aragonese dialect spoken in Gistaín (Mott 1989). Strictly speaking, Aragonese is not a Spanish dialect, but it is more close to Spanish than Italian and, crucially, this dialect shows a full agglutinative pattern for 1/2 person clitics.

(11) a. **t**-e [1.SG.OBJ clitic]　b. **m**-e [2.SG.OBJ clitic]　c. **m**-os [1.PL. OBJ clitic] d. **t**-os [2.PL. OBJ clitic]

That the agglutinative/fusional opposition is playing a crucial role in the clitic paradigm of both languages is supported by the fact that no first or second person plural clitic is mono-morphemic in any Spanish dialect, that is NE or VE are no attested clitics. And, as far I know, no agglutinative first or second bi-morphemic plural clitic is found in any Italian dialect. Finally, my analysis offers a more natural account for the variation reported in (7). However, these cases deserve to be examined one-by-one.

Biberauer, T & Roberts I.(2013). Clausal hierarchies. Unpublished ms: University of Cambridge. **Harley & Ritter (2002)** "Person and number in pronouns: a feature-geometric analysis". **Kayne, R. (2009)** "Some Silent First Person Plurals". **Kayne, R. (2003)** "Person Morphemes and Reflexives". **Mott, B** (1989) "El habla de Gistaín". *Colección de estudios altoaragoneses.***Pescarini, D.** (2010)"Elsewhere in Romace", LI, 41 (3), 427-444.

The fine-grained structure of Romance complementizers
Lena Baunaz, Ghent University
Eric Lander, Ghent University.

Complementizers (Comp) in natural languages often adopt the same morpho-phonological form as either interrogative/relative or demonstrative/relative pronouns (cf. Dutch *dat*, English *that*, French *que*, Italien *che* Greek *pu* and *oti*, Hungarian *hogy*, Italian *che*, Gbe *ɖĕ*). It would be surprising if this homophony were accidental, and a unified analysis based on syncretism would account for this phenomenon with greater explanatory power.

In this paper we propose that in many languages declarative Comps are nominal (Kayne 2008; Manzini & Savoia 2003, 2011; Roussou 2010). More structure can be added to the Comp layer, giving rise to other types of nominals. Our proposal can be summarized roughly as the hierarchy in (1).

(1)   Wh-pronoun   >   {Rel / Dem pronoun}   >   Comp

What (1) means is that relativizers and demonstratives are a superset of Comps, and that *wh*-pronouns, in turn, are a superset of relativizers and demonstratives. By 'Rel/Dem' we mean that in some languages relativizers are part of the paradigm in (1), while in other languages demonstratives are, i.e. either the Rel > Comp constitute a paradigm, or Dem > Comp.

The hierarchy in (1) is supported by synchronic and diachronic evidence from Romance and Germanic. Using a nanosyntactic framework, we propose to understand these different lexicalization patterns as instantiations of syncretism (Caha 2009). We will show that the two language families mentioned lexicalize the hierarchy in (1) differently, but that the patterns of syncretism observed fit the hierarchy as predicted.

In French and Italian all three layers in (1) are realized as *que/che*, (2). We observe that Italian and French Comp are not syncretic with Demonstratives (3) and they are pronounced differently (3):

(2)   a.   Je pense **qu(e)** il viendra.   a'.   Penso **che** verrà   (comp)
        b.   L'homme **que** Marie a vu.   b'.   l'uomo **che** Marie ha visto   (relative)
        c.   **Que** fait-il ?   c'.   **Che** fai?   (interr.)

(3)   **comp**   **wh**   **rel**   **dem**
        Fr   que /kə/   =   que /kə/   =   que /kə/   ≠   ce(t)N/sə/, ces N /se/, celui, cela
        It   che /ke/   =   che /ke/   =   che/ke/   ≠   quello /kwel.lo/ 'this'
                                                                        questo /kwesto/ 'that'

Historically Old French demonstratives *cil* and *cist* (both later falling together as the weaker *ce /sə/*; see Carlier and Mulder 2006) and Italian *quello* and *questo* come from the Latin combination *ecce ille/ecce iste*. In other words, French and Italian demonstratives have historically nothing to do with Wh or Rel.

Though there is a three-way syncretism in French and Italian, the different functions of *que* and *che* can be distinguished syntactically and semantically (Sportiche 2011, Baunaz 2014, Manzini & Savoia 2003, 2011). We propose that they are structurally related as in (4):

(4)   que/che$_{wh}$ >   que/che$_{rel}$ >   que/che$_{comp}$

More specifically we propose that Comp is composed of an 'indeterminate noun', a semantically bleached, non-referential, functional item similar to little *n* (and distinct from overtly realized classifiers, e.g. Fr. *chac-**un***, It. *ciasc-**uno***, Eng. *every-**one**/-**thing**/-**body***, etc.; Garzionio & Poletto 2013), which shows up as a bound morpheme in various quantificational

environments e.g It. *qualche* 'which', *ciascheduno* 'each (one)'. We propose that the internal structure of these quantifiers reveal overt evidence for the indeterminate noun at the core of our hierarchy. (6) can be modified, adding a little *n* at the extreme right of the paradigm, yielding the following synchronic and diachronic hierarchy, (5):

(5)　　Wh　　>　　Rel　　>　　Comp >　　n

　　　A theoretical consequence of our analysis is that items that are generally not taken to be comparable are now argued to form a single paradigm. Language evolution can help us evaluate the legitimacy of such comparisons as well. Interestingly, in addition to the wh-words and Comp, many French and Italian quantifers contain either the *que/che* morpheme, or part of that morpheme (*qu-/k-*): Fr. *cha**que**/cha**c**un* and It. *cias**c**uno/cias**che**duno* (< Lat. *quis**que**-unus* and Vulg.Lat. *cascunum* < Anc.Gk. *kata*), Fr. *quel**que*** and It. *qual**che*** (< Lat. *qualis**-que***), Fr. *quel**qu**'un* and It. *qual**c**uno/qual**che**duno* (< Lat. *qualis**-que** unus*). All these morphemes are derived from the same Latin source, *que*.

　　　This analysis goes beyond the Romance languages, and we argue that West Germanic, North Germanic, as well as Modern Greek follow one of the paradigms in (1). In West Germanic (English, German, Dutch) there is a syncretism between Comp and the distal Dem (Roberts & Roussou 2003, Kayne 2008), (6). We note that the Wh-layer is lexicalized by separate morphology in these languages, suggesting that *-at/-as* are bound morphemes in West Germanic (7), just like *qu(e)/ch(e)* are in Romance.

(6)　　　**comp**　　　**dem$_{dist}$**　　　**dem$_{prox}$**
　　E　　that　　=　　that　　(≠　　this)
　　G　　dass　　=　　das　　(≠　　dieses)
　　D　　dat　　=　　dat　　(≠　　dit)

(7)　　E　　wh-at　　>　　th-at$_{dem}$　　>　　th-at$_{comp}$
　　G　　w-as　　>　　d-as$_{dem}$　　>　　d-ass$_{comp}$
　　D　　w-at　　>　　d-at$_{dem}$　　>　　d-at$_{comp}$

Relativizers in Germanic can have both D-morphology (*th-at/d-ass*) or Wh-morphology (*wh-ich/w-elche*), which follows from Rel's intermediate position in (1). The *-at* bound morpheme is, we claim, an indeterminate *n*, like Romance *que/che*.

　　　In North Germanic (here Swedish and Icelandic) there is no syncretism between Comp, Dem, Rel, or Wh. Hence there is no Rel/Dem-paradigm to which the Comp belongs in these languages.

(7)　　　**comp**　　　**dem$_{dist}$**　　　**rel**　　　**wh**
　　Sw　　att　　≠　　det　　≠　　som　　≠　　vad
　　Ic　　að　　≠　　það　　≠　　sem　　≠　　hvað

We propose that the internal structure of NGmc *at(t)/að* can be seen as an indeterminate noun *a* plus the postnominal neuter definite article, i.e. *a-t* and *a-ð* (cf. neuter definite lexical nouns, e.g. *hjärta-t*, *hjarta-ð*).

　　　We conclude that the crosslinguistic patterns of syncretism fit the synchronic and diachronic hierarchy in (1), extended in such a way that it also contains the indeterminate bound morpheme represented here by little *n*, (8):

(8)　　Wh-pronoun　　>　　{Rel / Dem pronoun}　　>　　Comp　>　*n*

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Omitted subjects in coordinate and subordinate adverbial sentences in European Portuguese

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1. This work aims to analyze coordinate sentences and subordinate adverbial clauses where one of its subjects is omitted, in order to determine their structural differences or similarities and the sort of referential relations established between the subject and its antecedent. These constructions frequently have been treated in a similar way, in what concerns their structure and the type of the anaphoric relations presented by the omitted subjects.

According to some authors, both coordinate and adverbial structures can be analyzed as a Specifier-Head-Complement structure (Kayne 1994, Johannessen 1998, Matos 1995, Colaço 1998, for coordination; Kayne 1994, Cinque 1999, for adverbials) or as adjunction (Munn 1993, for coordination; Chomsky 1981, 2004, Ernest 2002, Lobo 2002, for adverbials).

The classical analysis proposes that *pro* occurs as the omitted subject in null subject languages, as European Portuguese (=EP) (see **(1)** and **(2)**), both in the second term of sentential coordination and in adverbial subordination. However in what concerns coordination some authors assumed that, instead of *pro*, Across-the-board (ATB) extraction may take place (Costa et al. 1998, Pollard and Sag 1994, Colaço 2005). A similar proposal has been made by Hornstein (1999), who argues for a movement analysis of obligatory control in adjunct adverbial clauses. This approach to control contrasts with the one proposed by Landau, who assumes the existence of PRO and the control module of grammar.

Considering that *pro* cannot occur in non-null subject languages and that these languages have omitted subjects in coordinate sentences, ATB extraction in sentential coordination must be preferred when the second subject is c-commanded by a subject that occurs in the left periphery of the first term of the coordination. However, regarding subordinate adverbial clauses the ATB analysis seems less plausible.

Assuming, as Lobo 2002, 2003, that subordinate adverbial clauses in EP are adjuncts, that allow coreferent readings of the omitted subject and that no adjunct island effects arise, we take the coreferential omitted subject as *pro*, not a NP-trace, as it is proposed by Hornstein (1999).

2. For this study we considered, as a starting point, empirical data as those in (1)-(4):
(a) Finite canonical coordinate structures in which the subject of the second conjunct is omitted:
(1)   O filho da Maria gosta de futebol e [-] joga basquetebol.
         The son of Maria likes football and [-] plays basketball.

(b) Peripheral and non-peripheral subordinate adverbial clauses in which the subject is omitted:
b.i) Non-peripheral subordinated adverbial clause:
(2)   O filho da Maria chega atrasado porque [-] sai tarde.
         The son of Maria comes late because [-] leaves late.

b.ii) Right peripheral subordinated adverbial clause:
(3)   O filho da Maria está feliz, embora [-] chore.
         The son of Maria is happy although [-] cries.

 b.iii) Left peripheral subordinated adverbial clause:
(4)   Uma vez que [-] sai tarde, o filho da Maria chega atrasado.
         Given that [-] leaves late, the son of Maria comes late.

We built tests in order to evaluate the referential behavior of these subjects and to assess the linking relation between them when they are null, overt pronouns or R-expressions. The aim of these tests was to determine the adequate structure for coordinate and subordinate adverbial constructions, considering the similarities and differences between them. Our hypotheses were: Hypothesis A: the behavior of coordinate and subordinate adverbial constructions is the same and

they have similar structures; Hypothesis B: coordinate structures behave similarly between them and differ from subordinate adverbial clauses that also behave similarly between them.

However none of these hypotheses was confirmed: in fact, the analysis of the obtained results revealed that these complex sentences have a heterogeneous behavior in what concerns the referential characteristics of the subjects, thus allowing us to establish the existence if three groups: (i) adversative coordinate clauses, disjunctive coordinate clauses and non-peripheral subordinate adverbial clauses; (ii) copulative coordinate clauses and right peripheral subordinate adverbial clauses; and (iii) left peripheral subordinate adverbial clauses.

In the first group, coreference between subjects is possible when the second subject is an overt pronoun and it is obligatory when the subject is null:

(5) a. O filho da Maria$_i$ joga futebol mas ele$_{i/j}$ adora basketball.

The son of Maria$_i$ plays football but he$_{i/j}$ loves basketball.

b. Ele$_i$ chega atrasado porque [-]$_{i/*j}$ sai tarde.

He$_i$ comes late because [-]$_{i/*j}$ leaves late.

In the second group, coreference is only possible when the subject of the second clause is null:

(6) a. O filho da Maria$_i$ ficou zangado, embora [-]$_{i/*j}$ tenha pedido desculpa.

The son of Maria$_i$ was mad, although [-]$_{i/*j}$ asked forgiveness.

b. O filho da Maria$_i$ gosta de futebol e ele$_{*i/j}$ joga basketball.

The son of Maria$_i$ likes football and he$_{*i/j}$ plays basketball.

Finally, in the third group, coreference is possible when in the second clause the subject occurs as an R-expression and in the first clause the subject is null or a pronoun; furthermore coreference is mandatory when the subject is null:

(7) a. Uma vez que [-]$_i$ sai tarde, [-]$_{i/*j}$ chega sempre atrasado.

Given that [-]$_i$ leaves late, [-]$_{i/*j}$ comes always late.

b. Uma vez que ele$_i$ sai tarde, o Pedro$_{i/j}$ chega sempre atrasado.

Given that he$_i$ leaves late, the Pedro$_{i/j}$ comes always late.

c. Uma vez que o Pedro$_i$ sai tarde, ele$_{i/j}$ chega sempre atrasado.

Given that the Pedro$_i$ leaves late, he$_{i/j}$ comes always late.

Although this is a first step of a work in progress, this description allowed us to understand that the referential behavior of subjects in complex constructions can provide relevant clues to determine the structure of coordinate and subordinate adverbial sentences. The analysis of group (i) and (ii) shows Principle C effects, which suggests that the first subject c-commands the second one, which is consequently in a lower structural position. This analysis also shows that there are relevant differences among the different types of coordinate and subordinate adverbial constructions we are studying. Group (iii), for instance, exhibits a distinct behavior that led us to assume that the subordinate adverbial clause is in a higher structural position.

Thus, this study shows that the referential behavior the subjects exhibit goes beyond the classic opposition between coordination and adverbial subordination by reflecting structural differences concerning these constructions that have not been considered so far.

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Pseudo-relatives and their Left Periphery: a unified account

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In this paper, I discuss the structure of so-called Pseudo-relative clauses (henceforth, PRs) in Romance languages. I will analyse data mainly from Italian, showing that PRs can always be analysed as CP-like Small Clauses (SCs) with an EPP feature in ForceP, which requires the subject to move to the Left Periphery of the PR.

The PR is a (mainly) Romance clause type that has a predicative value, and it differs from ordinary relative clauses by some peculiarities. Among other things, PRs require the complementizer *che* (1) and usually display a subject-object asymmetry (2), i.e. their 'antecedent' must be coindexed with the subject of the embedded clause (Radford 1975):

(1)   Vedo Marco *che/*il quale* mangia la mela
          I.see Marco *that/* the which* eats the apple   "I see Marco eating the apple"
(2)   *Vedo Gianni che Maria bacia
          I.see Gianni that Maria(SUBJ) kisses

PRs are possible in many contexts permitting a SC. They do not behave coherently in syntactic tests, since the results depend on these context; for instance, the 'antecedent' can be cliticized when the PR is selected by the verb *vedere* ('to see', 3), while this operation gives ungrammatical results with *sopportare* ('to stand', 4):

(3)   Vedo Marco che fuma in casa   ➡   Lo vedo che fuma in casa
          I.see Marco that smokes in house   him.CL I.see that smokes in house
(4)   Non sopporto Gianni che fuma in casa ➡ *Non lo sopporto che fuma in casa
          not I.stand Gianni that smokes in house   not him.CL I.stand that smokes in house

The previous literature focuses mainly on perceptive verbs. However, this is the most problematic context, because the perceptive construction gives us ambiguous results in the syntactic tests. Therefore, divergent analyses have been proposed: the PR and the 'antecedent' are sometimes analysed as a CP (e.g. Guasti 1988), while Burzio (1986) and others consider them a complex NP. A third analysis regards the antecedent and the PR as two separate constituents. In fact, if we consider all the contexts, there seem to be good arguments for each of those proposals: the difference in number agreement between (5) and (6) is due to the CP or DP-like nature of the PR. But there are also cases where the 'antecedent' and the PR clearly form two constituents: in (7) the PR is an argument selected by the verb, in (8) an adjunct:

(5)   [$_{CP}$ Gianni e Mario che ballano il tango] è uno spettacolo terribile
               Gianni and Maria that dance the tango   is a spectacle terrible
(6)   [$_{DP}$ Gianni e Mario che ballano il tango] sono uno spettacolo terribile
               Gianni and Mario that dance the tango   are a spectacle terrible
(7)   Non me [lo] immagino [che balla il tango]
            not me [him.CL] imagine [that dances the tango]
(8)   [La] mangiò [che stava ancora fumando]
            [it.CL] ate [that was still smoking]

Cinque (1992) tries to solve this problem with a threefold analysis: depending on the context, PRs can enter three different structures: a CP, a complex NP and a two-constituent structure.

However, in this paper I propose that PRs have just one basic structure and that these syntactic differences are due to the projections in which PRs are embedded. Following Benincà-Poletto's (2004) map of the Left Periphery (9), I analyse PRs as in (10):

(9)   Hanging Topic (HT) > ForceP > TopP > FocusP > FinP > TP

(10)   [$_{SC=ForceP[+EPP]}$ Maria$_i$ che [$_{TopP}$ [$_{FocP}$ [$_{FinP}$ [$_{TP}$ pro$_i$ canta [$_{VP}$ ~~Maria canta~~]]]]]]

In my analysis, PRs are CPs. The antecedent and the complementizer are situated in the Spec

and in the Head of ForceP, as the tests for the Left Periphery show (adapted from Benincà-Poletto 2004): both elements are lower than Hanging Topics (13), but higher than Topics (14):

(11) a. I balli latini, Mario e Gianni che ballano il tango è/sono uno spettacolo terribile
　　　 the dances latin (HT), Mario and Gianni that dance the tango is/are a spectacle terrible
　　 b. *Mario e Gianni, i balli latini che ballano il tango è/sono uno spettacolo terribile
　　　 Mario and Gianni, the dances latin (HT) that dance the tango is/are a spectacle terrible
(12) a. Ho sorpreso Mario che il tuo portafogli se lo stava portando via
　　　 I.have caught Mario that the your wallet (Topic) *self* it was taking away
　　 b. *Ho sorpreso Mario il tuo portafogli che se lo stava portando via.
　　　 I.have caught Mario the your wallet (Topic) that self it was taking away

In my analysis I refer to Belletti's (2008) proposal for cleft sentences: PRs are CPs, but at the same time they are SCs because of an EPP feature in ForceP, which requires the subject to move to its Spec. Thus, the subject is not generated in situ, as proposed e.g. in Guasti (1988), but undergoes an operator-like movement. Some of the arguments for the movement analysis are the incompatibility of PRs with a focalized element (13) and the incompatibility of idiom chunks (assuming that in Romance languages extraction out of idiom chunks is blocked, 14):

(13) 　*Gianni e Mario che IL TANGO ballano è/sono uno spettacolo terribile
　　　 Gianni e Mario that THE TANGO (focus) dance is/are a spectacle terrible
(14) 　*Se vedi il conto che non torna,...　　　(cf. *E' il conto che [il conto non torna])
　　　 if you.see the sum that not works　　　　it.is the sum that [the sum not works]

The presence of an EPP feature explains also the subject-object asymmetry, which is due to locality reasons. Moreover, this feature turns ForceP into a criterial position: the subject DP can reach the CP bypassing SubjP (another criterial position), which is filled by an expletive *pro*, but it is frozen in ForceP and cannot be further extracted (cf. Rizzi-Shlonsky 2007).

The structure in (10) accounts even for the cases where the PR behaves like a DP or a two-constituent structure (6-8), the only difference being the type of XP in which it is embedded:

(15) 　$[_{DP}$ Maria $[_{ForceP}$ PRO$_i$ che $[_{TP}$ pro$_i$ canta $[_{VP}$ PRO canta$]]]]$ $[_{NP}$ Maria$]$ (Complex DP)

(16) a. $[_{XP}$ Maria $[X°$ $[_{ForceP}$ PRO$_i$ che $[_{TP}$ pro$_i$ canta $[_{VP}$ PRO canta$]]]]]$　　　(2 constituents)
　　 b. Mangiò $[_{VP}$ mangiò $[_{XP}$ [la pizza$_i$] $[X°$ [PRO$_i$ che era ancora calda$]]]]$
　　 c. $[_{TP}$ Sorprendo $[_{VP}$ sorprendo $[_{VP}$ Maria$_i$ [sorprendo [PRO$_i$ che ruba$]]]]]$

In (15), the PR is embedded as a functional projection in a complex DP; in ForceP there is a PRO instead of the lexical DP, forming a control structure. (16 a) is the basic structure when the PR and its 'antecedent' form two different constituents: the subject DP is in the Specifier of an XP, while the PR corresponds to its complement. If the PR is an adjunct, the whole XP is the complement of the matrix verb (16 b). If it is an argument, we have a 'Larsonian' structure, where the structure is headed by the V itself (16 c). Note that in (15-16) the subject-object asymmetry is due to the presence of a PRO coindexed with the preceding DP.

The analysis presented in this paper takes advantage of a unified account, which is a welcome result for economical principles; at the same time, it permits to attribute all the syntactic differences to the phrase type in which PRs are embedded. The Cartographic model permits to broaden our knowledge about these constructions, and the EPP feature permits to explain in which sense a CP can still be considered a SC and why the subject has to move to ForceP.

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Early and Late Successive Bilingual Acquisition within Microparametric Domains: Null Objects in 1st and 2nd Generation Brazilians in Portugal

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Determining what constitutes a language as compared to a dialect is not an exact science. From a linguistic point of view, however, determining this need not be overly contentious. Although mutually intelligible languages, Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese differ considerably in many microparametric domains (i.e. depending on the author perhaps even in macro-parameters as well), which means that children or adults sufficiently exposed to both varieties have an opportunity to acquire both as separate mental systems with overlapping, yet discrete linguistic representations. In principle, this means that individuals sufficiently exposed to both varieties are bilingual. The level of proximity of these systems provides a nice test case for several questions within bilingualism and its consequences (i.e. attrition), especially offering some new insights to the literature on heritage language acquisition (Montrul, 2008; Rothman 2007, 2009 among others). In this light, we examine the domain of phonetically non-overt objects in two types of Brazilian Portuguese (BP)-European Portuguese (EP) bilinguals residing in Portugal. The first group consists of adult successive bilinguals (ASB, *n*=20) with an age of onset (relating to residency in Portugal) after puberty (at least 16) to European Portuguese (EP), having been exposed to EP for at least six years. The second group consists of adults who were child successive (CSB, *n*=17) bilinguals taking up residence in Portugal before the age of 8 (range 4-8). These individuals were minimally over age 18 at the time of testing and continuously exposed to both varieties since early childhood. The CSB group differs from the ASB group in several crucial ways: (a) they were raised in Portugal, (b) have had their formative education exclusively in European Portuguese and (c) had a significant reduction in input to Brazilian Portuguese before acquisition of their native BP was completed.

Examining so-called null objects constitutes a nice domain of inquiry since BP and EP differ considerably. BP constitutes a case of *pro* licensing or VP ellipsis (depending on the author), limiting restrictions on null object distribution to animacy and specificity constraints (see e.g. Rothman and Iverson 2013 for discussion). Alternatively, EP offers a topic-operator variable syntax in which the semantic constraints aforementioned do not obtain (see, e.g. Costa, Lobo & Silva 2009). Although there is surface overlap between these two grammars, the underlying representations are distinct and testable. Strong island constraints, for example, are seemingly violated—not obeyed—in BP precisely because there is no movement implicated, whereas in EP they are respected given the operator movement implicated (Raposo 1986). With these significant differences in mind, we investigate whether native BP speakers under possible attrition conditions and earlier child BP speakers being brought up in Portugal: (a) acquire the syntactic differences between the two varieties and are able to apply them to appropriate contexts (in BP and EP mode tasks) and/or (b) whether there is cross-linguistic influence in either direction such that the BP and/or EP grammars of these bilinguals are different from monolingual baselines.

In addition to the two aforementioned groups, we collected data from two baseline groups of adult monolinguals in Brazil and Portugal. A Truth-Value Judgment Task (TVJT), adapted from Costa & Lobo 2008, was used to test two conditions: null objects in simple clauses (NS) and null objects in island contexts (NI). The test consisted of 20 randomized items. Five items tested the NS condition, and three, the NI condition. The remaining items focused on superfluous clitics and DPs both in island and simple clause contexts, but served strictly as fillers for the purposes of this study. The bilingual groups took this task twice;

presented in BP and EP, with adjustments for dialectal distinctions. To avoid any order of presentation/priming effects, roughly half of the bilinguals took the EP version first whereas the other half took the BP version first. Participants were instructed to read a question which had the structures "What is X doing?" and "What is X doing to Y?", and click on an image that showed the context. This process opens a second page, where they saw another image that showed the answer to the question, along with an audio-file describing what they saw in the picture. They were then instructed to judge the correlation between the audio and the image as True or False. The verbs used in the answers were *mergulhar* "to dive", *acordar* "to wake up", *adormecer* "to fall asleep" and *balançar/baloiçar* "to swing". All these verbs have a transitive and an intransitive reading in Portuguese, and the contexts were presented in such a way as to trigger a possible object drop in the transitive reading, as shown in (1):

> (1) A. *"O que é que o Ruca está a fazer ao cão?"*
> 'What is Ruca doing to the dog?'
>
> B. *"O Ruca está a mergulhar Ø na piscina."*
> 'Ruca is diving Ø into the pool'

As regards the results, the control EP group has a strong preference for overt objects in both conditions (91.25% -NS, 88.3% NI). We expect that this will be significantly different for the BP controls, however, data collection has not taken place (this commences in August 2014). As for the bilingual groups, when tested in BP mode, the ASB group also showed a preference for this structure, though much weaker (62%-NS, 58.3%-NI). In EP mode, their judgments were closer to those of the control group (76-25%-NS, 80%-NI). As for the CSB group, the results indicate closer proximity to the EP grammar for object drop in simple clauses, both in BP mode (81.25%-NS, 58.3%-NI) and EP mode (93.75%-NS, 75%-NI). The numbers for the island condition, however, show the reverse behavior. The patterns shown by the target groups for null objects in islands, both in BP and EP mode, contradict what is expected in monolingual BP grammar, since null objects can be dropped in island contexts in that language. This suggests interference of the EP empty category distribution in both BP and EP modes for both groups of bilinguals. Once the BP controls are collected and thus the data sets complete, a non-parametric linear regression model will be run to test the following additional variables as predictors (a) age of onset to EP, (b) length of exposure to EP and (c) access to education in EP. The descriptive analysis of data already reveals influence across the board, which means that successive acquisition regardless of age of onset has implications for micro-parametric domains of grammar in bi-dialectal bilingualism. Implications of these findings as it relates to what they reveal for theories of attrition and several debates of current relevance for heritage language acquisition will be discussed, making a strong case for the functionality of bringing together bidialectal bilingualism into these debates.

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Recomplementation and root phenomena in Romance
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1. GOAL: Recomplementation configurations display root properties in various Romance languages (cf. Rizzi 2006, Haegeman 2012). This paper argues that such properties follow from these clauses not being complements of the matrix verb, but paratactic dependents of a null pronominal. Evidence in support of this proposal comes from the topic-like nature of recomplementation (cf. Uriagereka 1995), its island inducing nature (cf. Villa-Garcia 2012), and the quotative (root) nature of complementizers (cf. Etxepare 2008).

2. THE DATA: The term "recomplementation" (cf. Higgins 1988) refers to the optional doubling of the complementizer in embedded clauses. We find this construction in all the Romance languages, both synchronically and diachronically (cf. Uriagereka 1988, Fontana 1993, Mascarenhas 2007, D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010, and references therein):

(1)   a. Din **que**, o irman de Iago, (**que**) xoga moi bien ao futbolin   (Galician)
          say that the brother of Iago   that plays very well to-te football
          'They say that Iago's brother knows how to play foosball very well'
    b. O Joao disse **que** a Maria (**que**) a vai chegar atrasada   (E.Portuguese)
          the Joan says that the Maria that will   arrive late
          'Joao says that Maria will arrive late'

As can be seen, recomplementation typically involves a XP sandwiched ('topicalized') between two C heads. The sequence becomes ungrammatical with a focus in that position in Spanish, Catalan, Galician, and Portuguese (cf. Paoli 2005 for discussion). Furthermore, this configuration is lexically restricted: it is ruled out with factives, which typically select subjunctive mood (cf. Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2009). Morphologically too, the embedded CP behaves as a matrix domain, as the verb is inflected in indicative or a suppletive (non-selected) subjunctive.

3. PREVIOUS ANALYSES: In order to account for recomplementation, more than one C position is needed. Proposals here vary from recursive / double CPs (cf. Escribano 1991, Fontana 1993, Iatridou & Kroch 1992), some additional projection (cf. Uriagereka 1995), or a full-fledged cartographic structure, building on Rizzi (1997). Under the latter scenario, the first complementizer is taken to spell-out Force°, while there are different options when it comes to pin-point the second C: a second Force° (Martín González 2002, Gupton 2010), Fin° (Poletto 2000, Brovetto 2002, Fernández-Rubiera 2009, López 2009), or Top° (Mascarenhas 2007, González 2011, Rathman 2012, Villa-García 2012, Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2013).

4. PROPOSAL: The analysis of recomplementation whereby the second C occupies Topic° has received much attention in the recent literature, for it straightforwardly accounts for the fact that recomplementation is parasitic on topicalization. Here we show that recomplementation displays root-like properties, which does not obviously follow from this construction involving a TopicP (or some alternative projection within the left periphery). Instead, we claim that recomplementation features a *bona fide* root structure in a subordination guise. In particular, we propose that recomplementation, depicted in (2a), should actually be analyzed as in (2b), where "∅" instantiates the internal argument position of the matrix predicate (a null pronominal, or *that* iself, in the spirit of Davidson's insight; cf. Kayne 2008).

(2)   a. [V [C [XP (topic) [C . . .]]]]   b. [V [C ∅]] [XP (topic) [C . . .]]

The fact that recomplementation is largely licensed by assertion or semifactives verbs and rules out subjunctives in many Romance varieties is consistent with root structures. This can plausibly be related to the paratactic nature of indicatives (cf. Etxepare 1997, San Martin 2004, Rivero 1971, Torrego & Uriagereka 1992). Notice, to begin with, that recomplementation licensing verbs are those allowing direct (non-reported) discourse, as shown in (3) (cf. Plann 1982, Suñer 1999):

(3)   La Maria va {dir / preguntar / *voler / *explicar / etc.}: Qui va venir? (Catalan)
        the Maria past say ask   want   explain   who past come
        Maria {said / asked / *wanted / *explained / etc.}: Who came?

A second piece of evidence reinforcing the connection between C and indicative (and thus root clauses) comes from "C deletion," which is only possible with subjunctives in Romance (cf. Giorgi & Pianesi 2004, Poletto 1995, Suñer 1991). Since C (doubling) is mandatory and indicatives are the default option in recomplementation, the non-embedded nature is reinforced.

(4)   a. Credo (che) abbia   già   parlatto con te   (Italian)
          believe   have-subj already talked with you
          'I think that he has already talked to you'
       b. Te deseo (que) termines tus vacaciones bien   (Spanish)
          you wish   finish-subj your vacation   well
          'I wish you finish your vacation well'

A third argument in favor of a paratactic analysis comes precisely from the very topic-like status of recomplementation. If topicalization (like focalization) involves some 'point-of-view' anchoring, then it makes sense for it to be a root phenomenon (cf. Haegeman 2012, Uriagereka 1995). Crucially, the same holds for embedded topicalization, which is set off prosodically and behaves almost like a root sentence, suggesting a key difference with other successive-cyclic transformations (cf. Chomsky 2014, Ott 2014).

5. SOME CONSEQUENCES: Extraction from embedded clauses is ruled out in Slavic languages (cf. Khomitsevich 2007, Torrego & Uriagereka 1992). Interestingly enough, Romance does not manifest such constraint except in recomplementation contexts, where insertion of a second C does block movement (cf. Villa-García 2012):

(5)   *Qui em vas dir **que**, a en Joan, **que** t_{qui} no el va saludar?   (Catalan)
          who me past say that to the Joan   that   not him past greet
          'Who did you tell me didn't greet Joan?'

Villa-García (2012) tackles (5) by invoking *that*-t effects, but the outcome is more naturally captured under the analysis in (2b): since there is no subordination, *quién* cannot be extracted. Finally, we would like to emphasize that the same C-doubling pattern of recomplementation is also possible in root contexts headed by so-called "quotative *que*" (cf. Etxepare 2008).

(6)   a. Tu madre, **que** si no llueve, **que** vendrá   mañana   (Spanish)
          your mother that if not rains   that will-come tomorrow
          'Your mother says that, if it doesn't rain, she will come tomorrow'

The fact that the very same morpheme is present in recomplementation and quotative constructions is unlikely to be a coincidence. If so, we expect quotative *que* to block movement, just like recomplementation *que* does. As (7) shows, that is indeed what we find:

(7)   *Cuándo dice, tu   madre, que si no llueve que vendrá $t_{cuándo}$?   (Spanish)
          when   says your mother that if not rain   that will-come
          When does your mother say that, if it doesn't rain, she will come'

6. CONCLUSIONS: This paper has argued that embedded clauses in recomplementation structures are not direct dependents of the matrix predicate, but root clauses. The analysis is supported by different pieces of evidence (indicatives, quotative *que*, extraction, selection, etc.). All of this indicates, rather convincingly, that complementizers are more than mere subordination markers, and raises interesting questions about their semantic contribution (and parametric behaviour, given that not all languages exhibit recomplementation and quotative Cs).

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Explicative clauses in Portuguese: a specifying coordination approach

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A subset of causal explicative clauses across languages has been viewed as exhibiting a paratactic relation with the clauses they are related to. It is claimed that, in contrast with proper causal clauses, they express the motive of the expressed enunciation rather than the cause of the situation reported by the associated clause, and present a weaker structural connection with this clause, from which they are separated by a pause. Focusing Portuguese, we will claim that clausal explicatives initiated by *pois*, *que* and *porque* (1)-(3) are an instance of specifying coordination, as defined in De Vries 2006, 2007, 2009.

(1) Ela   está em   casa,   pois as   luzes estão acesas.
    she   is   at   home,   for   the   lights are   on

(2) Nós compramos morangos,   que   as   cerejas eram caras.
    we   bought   strawberries, because the   cherries were expensive

(3) Maria está triste, porque   está   muito   calada.
    Maria is   sad,   because (she) is   very   quiet

The inclusion of explicative conjunctions in the coordinators or in the subordinators has varied across languages and within the same language. De Vries (2009) takes *want* in Dutch as a coordinative conjunction, because, in contrast with overt complementizers, *want* is compatible with V2 order, which typically occurs in root sentences. In contrast, Quirk et al. (1985) consider *for* in English as a subordinator, since it cannot connect phrases below the sentential level or two subordinate clauses, despite the fact that causal *for* clauses, like coordinate ones, may not be fronted. In Portuguese, recent studies have analyzed explicative clauses with *pois, que* or *porque* either as coordinate or subordinate clauses. Lobo (2003) and Lopes (2004) argued for their coordinate nature, mainly on the basis of their impossibility to be fronted, (1) vs. (4), and the resistance (of some of them) in being coordinated with an identical clause (5):

(4) *Pois as   luzes estão acesas, ela está em   casa.
    for   the   lights are   on,   she is   at   home

(5) ??A Paula vai sair,   pois está cansada e   pois quer   almoçar.
    the Paula will go out, for is   tired   and for wants to lunch

In contrast, Matos (2003, 2006) and Matos & Raposo (2013) claimed that explicative *pois, que* and *porque* are conjunctional complementizers, because, in opposition to coordinative conjunctions, they are only compatible with finite clauses (6a) vs (7), do not connect non-sentential constituents (8), or subordinate clauses (9) vs. (7):

(6)a. Ele disse que   assinara o   cheque, pois   tinha sido obrigado a fazê-lo.
      He   said that (he) signed the check, for (he) had   been forced to do it
   b.*Ele disse ter assinado o   cheque, pois ter   sido obrigado a fazê-lo.
      he said to have signed   the check, for have been forced   to do it

(7) a. Ele disse que assinara o   cheque e   que tinha sido   obrigado a fazê-lo.
       he   said that (he) signed the check and that (he) had been   forced   to do it
    b. Ele disse ter assinado o   cheque e   ter   sido   obrigado a fazê-lo.
       he   said to have signed the check and to have been f orced   to do it

(8) Nós vamos almoçar,   a) que estamos   esfomeados. b) *que esfomeados.
    we are going to lunch,   a) because(we) are   hungry   b) because hungry

(9) *A Paula   saiu,   já que   estava com fome   pois visto que era tarde.
    the Paula   went out, given that(she) was   hungry   for since (it) was late

In sum, these causal explicative clauses share some properties with coordination and others with subordination. However, the structural bond that these clauses establish with those they

are associated with is paratactic. In fact, the explicative clause behaves like a parenthetical clause: the explicative clause presents a weak structural cohesion with the sentence it is related to, marked by the pause that separates it from that clause, and also attested by the fact of being outside its c-command domain. Thus, in (10), the sentence negation of the first clause does not have scope over the explicative and in (11) there is no principle C effects affecting the subject of the explicative:

(10) Ela   não   saiu,   porque   as   luzes   estão acesas.
        she   not   went out   because the   lights   are   on.

(11) Ela$_i$ deve estar em casa, que   a Maria$_i$ nunca deixa as luzes acesas quando sai.
        she must be   at home, because the Maria   never leaves the lights on   when (she) leaves

In addition, although most causal explicative clauses, due to their meaning, can only be appended to the right of the host sentence (cf. (1)-(3)), there are also causal explicatives that may occur interpolated in the related sentence, associated to other constituents. This behavior is also characteristic of parenthetical clauses:

(12) a, O João,   pois/porque estava frio,   decidiu vestir o casaco.
          The João,   since/because it was cold, decided to put on his jacket.
       b. O João decidiu,   pois/porque estava frio, vestir o casaco.
          The João decided, since/because it was cold, to put on his jacket.

In the literature, some analyses assume that parentheticals are radically independent from their host in Syntax, and only established with it a notional connection (e.g. Haegeman 1988, Huddlestone and al. 2002). As it has been claimed in current literature, this analysis is problematic, since it does not capture the relation between the structure built and the linearization of constituents, and does not easily account for the derivation of the unit formed by the explicative clause and its host: if the explicative is late merged with its host in PF, it is not interpreted in LF; if it is merged with its host in LF it is not audible in PF. Thus, to account for the syntactic relation of the parenthetic explicative clause and its host sentence we will adopt De Vries notion of Specifying Coordination (e.g. de Vries 2006). For De Vries, specifying coordination applies to different paratactic constructions, including apposition and parentheticals (De Vries 2006, 2007, 2009). For the author, this kind of coordination differs from other types of coordination, because it is headed by an abstract conjunction, &: or Par(enthetical), which blocks c-command from the related expression.

Causal explicative clauses present most of the properties of Specifying Coordination, namely:

(i)   They have a specifying value: they specify the speaker's motivation for the information included in the host clause, as shown below by the paraphrases of (2) and (12):

(13) Maria bought strawberries: the cherries were expensive.

(14) João put on his jacket: it was cold.

(ii) As coordinate clauses, causal explicatives may iterate and occur recursively:

(15) Ela esteve a pintar, que tem as mãos sujas, que até tem tinta no cabelo.
        she has been painting, because her hands are dirty, because there is even paint on her hair

(iii) In Specying Coordination, the abstract conjunction blocks the c-command from the host clause. This is what happens in explicative clauses (see (10), (11)).

Assuming the distinction between anchored parentheticals (which must be attached to a specific host) and floating parentheticals (which may be attached to different constituents inside the host), we will claim that causal explicatives like those in (1)-(3) belong to the first type, and those in (12) to the second one. So we will adopt De Vries' (2007, 2009) adjunction representation for floating parentheticals, as in (16a), and we will extend his proposal as in (16b), a Spec-head-complement configuration, to account for anchored parentheticals:

(16) a. O João [$_{TP}$ [$_{CoP/ParP}$ [$_{Co/Par}$] [pois/porque estava frio]] [$_{TP}$ decidiu vestir o casaco]
        b. [$_{CoP/ParP}$ A Maria comprou morangos [$_{Co'/Par'}$Conj/Par [que as cerejas eram caras]]]

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Overt subjects [-R] in infinitive complements from Spanish and Italian as bound variable pronouns

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The occurrence of overt subjects in infinitival complements from languages without inflected infinitives, such as Spanish and Italian, continues to be discussed at great length (cf. [4]; [13] and [14], among others). Nevertheless, in this talk we show that overt nominative subject in infinitival complements, as exemplified in (1–5), can be explained through the T/Agr Landau's calculus of control ([6], [7], [8]) in an uniform way. Our goal is twofold: in first place we propose an explanation for Aux-to-Comp structures with *overt referential subjects* by Landau's control calculus examining the only combination of [Agr, T] features on C° for the five combinations that Landau admits, but he does not explore: C°[-Agr, +T]. In second place, we show that T/Agr calculus can only explain the occurrence of *overt coreferencial pronouns* in controlled complements from Spanish and Italian if, considering the suggestion made in [9], we modified the R-assignment rule by keeping semantical ([+R] referential or [-R] anaphoric) and morphophonological (lexical or null) properties of the nonfinite subjects separate from each other.

Assuming CPs with dependent but not anaphoric tense are selected by declarative verbs from classical Spanish and Italian, the T/Agr calculus predict the overtness of the infinitival subject in (1) and (2):

(1) y no falta autor antiguo$_i$, que afirma [haber **él**$_j$ puesto en un monasterio a Constanza]

(2) Tu non ti rallegri [aver **io** incontrata una morte].

$$[_{CP} C°_{[+T, -Agr, -R]} [_{IP} I°_{[+T,-Agr, -R]} [_{VP} DP/pro_{[+R]}]]]$$

In (1–2) the presence of [+T] on C° and I° is justified by I-to-C raising, driven by the requirement to anchor the embedded tense in C° (cf. [7]). Assuming C°[-Agr, +T] and I°[-Agr, +T], and consequently [-R], overt subject [+R] can be licensed by I°-C° "conspiracy", as in Hungarian declarative complements; the two occurrences of [−R] on I° and C° would cancel out (cf. [7]). Given the ill-formedness of Aux-to-Comp in complements from modern Spanish (cf. [11] and *di* complements from Italian, that depends on [Agr] features on C° (cf. [12]; [10]) and given the dependence of [T] on [Agr] features on C° in Landau's calculus, we claim that infinitival complements from modern Spanish in (3) and *di* complements from Italian in (4) present C°[+T] and I°[-Agr, +T]:

(3) Los jóvenes$_i$ creían   [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ [$_{I°}$ tener PRO/(sólo) **ellos**$_i$/*nosotros$_j$ el verdadero conocimiento]]]

$$[_{CP} C°_{[+T]} [_{IP} I°_{[+T,-Agr, -R]} [_{VP} [-R]]]]$$

(4) *pro*$_i$ Credo   [$_{CP}$ di [$_{IP}$ [$_{I°}$ avere vinto PRO$_i$/**io**$_i$]]]

$$[_{CP} C°_{[+T]} [_{IP} I°_{[+T,-Agr, -R]} [_{VP} [-R]]]]$$

In (3–4) the R-assignment rule cannot be applied on C° because of the lack of [Agr] features on C°. So, uninterpretable [-R] features on I° can only be checked off by an [-R] subject. As for the claim that the (c)overtness of a complement subject must be kept logically distinct from the semantical [±R] properties of the subject (cf. [9]; [14]), we admit that overt pronouns can be λ-bound variables pronouns, whose ɸ features are deleted under semantic binding and therefore not interpreted at LF (cf. [15]; [3]). So, the assumption that only PRO presents [-R] features, sloppy reading under ellipsis, *de se* interpretation and epistemic privacy may be rejected. [-R] features should be understood just as λ-bound variables and [+R] features should be interpreted as free expressions. So, overt bound expressions could be licensed on infinitival complements. In *pro*-drop languages overt pronouns are focalized (cf. [1]) in a –possibly empty– quantifier phrase (QP) (cf. [10]). Quantifier Raising triggers λ-binding of the variable pronoun. λ-binding has the effect that the ɸ features of the bound pronoun are not interpreted in LF. In controlled contexts in a *pro*-drop language, overt pronouns are *minimal pronouns.* Therefore, by differentiating semantical properties from morphophonological properties we can predict how overt pronouns are possible in controlled complements and we can explain the asymmetry between (5) and (6) (cf. [2]): overt pronouns can be bound by non-referential expressions only in infinitival complements because of the lack of ɸ features.

(5)   **Qualquno**$_i$ sperava [di poter intervenire **lui**$_i$]

(6)   ***Qualquno** è venuto **lui**.

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Variation and change in the Romance *faire-infinitif*
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This talk has two main goals. Firstly, we provide an inherent-case analysis of the *faire-infinitif* (FI) (Kayne 1975), assimilating it to ergative alignment in languages such as Basque and Dyirbal. Our proposal is that the same parameter hierarchy determines alignment in both domains, relative to different thematic heads, modelling both the broad similarities and micro-parametric differences between varieties. Secondly, we provide further evidence for the hierarchy from the history of Brazilian Portuguese (BP), a language which has lost the FI in the last two centuries. The FI is widely attested across Romance even in some varieties which make very limited use of infinitival complementation (Ledgeway 2013). Its behaviour, at least in **French** (Kayne 1975, Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980), **Italian** (Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993, 1997, Folli & Harley 2007), **Spanish** (Bordelois 1974, Zubizarreta 1985, Treviño 1994, Torrego 2010, Tubino Blanco 2010), **European Portuguese** (EP, Raposo 1981, Gonçalves 1999, Davies 1995, Martins 2006) and **Catalan** (Villalba 1992, 1994) is interesting from a parametric perspective as these languages all basically pattern alike in terms of: (i) DAT(ive) case on transitive causees (1a-b), (ii) V(O)S order in the caused event, (1a-b) and (iii) the 'obligation' effect on causees (2):

(1) a. Il   fera   [boire   un peu de vin **à son enfant]** (Fr.)
        he make.FUT   drink.INF   a bit of wine   to his child
        'He'll make his child drink a bit of wine.'
     b. Il   fera   [chanter   **son enfant]**
        he make.FUT   sing.INF   his child
        'He'll make his child sing.'   (Kayne 1975)
(2) *Su   ironía hizo   irritar=me   (a) su respuesta. (Sp.)
      his   irony made irritate.INF=me   to his reply
      'His irony made his reply irritate me.'   (Bordelois 1974)

In other respects, though, the languages display interesting micro-parametric variation in terms of (amongst other things): (i) object clitic climbing (obligatory in Italian, EP and French, optional in Spanish and Catalan) (3); (ii) passivization and long *se/si* passives (OK in Italian and EP only) (4); (iii) the behaviour of embedded reflexive/anticausative verbs (no *si/se* in Italian or EP) (5):

(3) Els regals,   faré   posar-los   junts   a la Maria. (Cat.)
     the gifts   make.FUT   put.INF=them together to the Maria (Villalba 1994)
     'The gifts, I'll make Maria put them together.'
(4) O carro foi   mandado arranjar aos mecânicos   (pelos pilotos). (EP)
     the car was ordered   fix.INF to.the mechanics   (by.the pilots) (Gonçalves 1999)
(5) Il vento   ha   fatto dissipare/*dissiparsi   le nubi. (It.)
     the wind   has   made dissipate/ dissipate=SI the clouds   (Zubizarreta 1985)

We argue that the right way to model this is via a parameter hierarchy, whereby a series of parameters connected to a single functional head stand in transitive dependencies, defining ever more complex linguistic systems and giving a pathway for diachronic change.

Given that the causee in FI must generally be animate, we propose an analysis in terms of the applicative head Appl (following Pylkkänen 2008, Ippolito 2000, Ordóñez 2008, Torrego 2010, Pitteroff and Campanini 2013). Note that while Appl is not present in all causative constructions cross-linguistically, it can be present in ECM causatives as well as FI. Romanian has a gerundive ECM causative with *a lăsa* 'let/leave', which nonetheless requires an animate causee. Across the languages, V(O)S order in FI results from (remnant) VP movement past ApplP for the purpose of complex predicate formation. The differences between the languages stem from the following dependent parameters:

(6)   Causative alignment parameter hierarchy
i. Applicative parameter: Does causative v select for Appl a given language?
                3
            N   Y
        (*BP*)   **ii. ECM parameter**: Does trans Appl assign theta-related DAT?
                3
            N   Y – **iii. Split-S parameter:** Does this generalise to all Appls?
    (*Romanian a lăsa*)   3
                    Y   N – **iv Active-stative parameter**: To all +control Appls?
(some Peninsular Spanish dialects)   3
                        Y   N – **v. Object scrambling parameter**:
            (*Langedoc-Roussillon French*)   Do all Appl$_{DAT}$s bear an EPP in L?
                        3
                    N   Y
        (*Rioplatense Spanish, Catalan*)   **vi. High/low ACC parameter**:
                            Are Appl$_{DAT}$'s Φ-
                            features supressed in L?
                        3
                    N - ACC from Appl   Y - ACC from
v

                        (*Standard French*)   (*Italian, EP*)
Parameters (i-ii) are fairly self-explanatory. (iii)-(iv) determine whether DAT holds only of
the transitive Appl selected by causatives or is generalized to all such Appls (*leísta* Spanish –
Torrego 2010) or to all +control Appls (Langedoc-Roussillon French - Authier & Reed
1991), in parallel with variation in ergative systems. (v) concerns whether Appl$_{DAT}$ bears an
EPP feature. If it does, then the object scrambles to an outer specifier of ApplP, from where,
if a clitic, it must climb to the matrix verb. The final parameter determines whether the
internal argument receives ACC from Appl or v (in the absence of this choice, we argue that
a version of Burzio's generalization makes Appl a case-assigner). Where ACC comes from
Appl, the result is a ban on passivization. Moreover, adopting a version of Reinhart & Siloni
2005, *se/si* can be inserted only where a single thematic head assigns both Case and a theta-
role as is true of Appl in French, Spanish and Catalan but not Italian or EP.

    We then show that BP has undergone a parametric change, moving from the lowest to
the highest position in (6) (see also Davies 1995, Martins 2006 on the history of Portuguese;
Cyrino 2010 on BP). Present day BP causatives do not involve Appl, hence the possibility of
inanimate causes, and the impossibility of VS order and DAT:

(7)   Eu   fiz   a cama   caber   no   espaço necessário
       I   made   the bed   fit.INF in.the space necessary
       'I made the bed fit in the necessary space.'

18th-19th century BP, though, had FI with VS order, and allowed long *se/si* passives:

(8)   …e tratar com amor da humanidade, **fazendo-lhe   sentir**
         and treat with love of.the humanity making-to.him.CL   feel
       os efeitos do Felix-Governo…(BP, 1785)
       the effects of.the   Felix-Government
       'and to treat with the love of humanity, making him feel the effects of the Felix
       government.'

(9)   recomendavam aos   povos os sanguinários Achiles,
       recommended   to-the people the blood-thirsty Achiles
       que por este modo **se faziam conhecer** e   celebrizar. (BP, 1878)
       that for this way se.CL made.PL know and   render famous
       '(they) recommended to the people the bloody-thirsty Achiles, that in this way made
       themselves to be known and to be rendered famous.'

We chart this change in terms of the parameter hierarchy in (6).

WHEN IMPERFECTIONS ARE PERFECT: NARROW SYNTAX FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF ITALIAN VARIETIES

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For the Minimalist approach to syntax, purely φ-elements without any semantic content should not be possible at Narrow Syntax because they violate the Strong Minimalist Thesis according to which language is an optimal solution to LEGIBILITY conditions. Purely-φ elements cannot be "read" at the interface with LF because they bear no semantic content, hence they should be disallowed.

Subject clitics of the kind which is found in northern Italian varieties, as well as person-driven auxiliary selection of the sort which is found in southern Italian ones, constitute a problem for this statement, given that they involve the merger of purely-φ elements.

This talk will show that these apparent "imperfections" are not at all so. The way to look at "exceptions" is by considering the whole grammar of a language (or of a group of languages). This look shows that what appears like an exception is not at all one, and that cliticization and incorporation are in fact virtually conceptually necessary.

Furthermore, a look at vocatives by truncation, another southern Italian phenomenon, helps refine the model of narrow syntax, and shows that while clitics and auxiliaries are narrow syntactic elements, information structure is not. Also this generalization follows from the legibility conditions (this time at PF), and by the fact that PF instructs narrow syntax regarding what it can and cannot read.

By looking at what PF and LF "impose" as legibility conditions, we come to a model of narrow syntax which contains much less "imperfections" than we thought so far.

Negative Discord in a Concord Language: an Experimental Investigation of NC and DN in Catalan

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Introduction. Within the charted landscape of Negative Concord (NC) languages, Catalan is often cast as a misfit because it presents the peculiarity of optionally allowing the co-presence of a negative sentential marker *no* and pre-verbal n-words (Fabra 1912, 1918, 1956; Badia i Margarit 1962, 1994; Solà 1973; Quer 1993; Vallduví 1994; Espinal 2002). In an effort to reduce this Catalan misfit to the NC patterns observed elsewhere, Zeijlstra (2004) proposed that the Catalan negation optionality flags the existence, side by side, of two distinct varieties unclearly distributed in the population. Variety A, on the one hand, would have Strict NC characterized by the obligatory presence of *no* for all n-words in all syntactic positions, in similarity with Greek and Romanian. Variety B, on the other hand, would disallow *no* with preverbal n-words, featuring Non-Strict NC, in similarity with Italian and Spanish. Zeijlstra's proposal makes the following predictions: for speakers of variety A, sentences with preverbal n-words lacking *no* should be as ungrammatical as they are in other Strict NC languages. For speakers of variety B, in contrast, sentences featuring a preverbal n-word with *no* should have a systematic double negation (DN) reading, as expected in Non-Strict NC languages. These predictions, however, do not accord with traditional descriptions of Catalan where sentences with preverbal n-words that lack *no* are unequivocally considered grammatical for all speakers and where the co-presence of *no* is quite generally assumed to leave the solid NC interpretation of sentences with n-words fully unaltered.

Goals: The central goal of this paper is to report the results of an empirical research that sought to test some of the predictions of these two opposing views. We aimed at investigating four questions. First, we tested whether as standardly assumed by Catalan grammarians, NC is systematically and consistently the default interpretation for sentences with multiple n-words. This question is of preliminary relevance because n-words have been argued to be semantically negative expressions (Zanuttini 1991; De Swart & Sag 2002; De Swart 2010; Falaus 2007) that, in principle, could induce DN readings. If as Zeijsltra proposes, the Catalan variety B is like Italian, then DN readings could likewise arise in multiple n-word sequences in Catalan. Testing this possibility is thus important both to explore the nature of Catalan n-words and to establish a baseline for further manipulations. Second, we investigated whether the co-presence of the negative marker *no* and preverbal n-words could influence the readings of n-word sequences and boost DN readings, as predicted by Zeijlstra for variety B. Third, we sought to explore whether the morpho-syntactic complexity of n-words (DP vs. Pro) and their syntactic position (preverbal vs. postverbal) could influence the reading of Catalan negative sequences (NC or DN), as was suggested to be the case for other NC languages (Italian, French; Acquaviva 1997, Déprez 2000); finally, we timed the processing of negative sequences in Catalan to determine whether DN readings, in this strong NC language, would take longer to parse than the presumed default NC reading, DN being quite generally assumed to be cross-linguistically more marked than NC (Corblin et al. 2006, De Swart 2010, Puskás 2012).

Methods. We designed two experiments (preference task), in which subjects, after reading aloud sentences presented on a computer screen (96 divided in 4 conditions, 4 controls and 4 fillers with 8 tokens each, cf. (1)), were asked to choose which of two pictures best represented its meaning. For each critical verbal stimuli (1), one picture represented a NC reading ('Nobody sings any of the songs') and the other a DN reading ('Nobody sings none of

the songs' ≡ Everyone sings at least one). Picture choice (mouse click), trajectory and time to choice, were recorded with mouse tracking software. A total of 70 native speakers of Catalan (58 women and 12 men: 25.01 mean age, stdev=8.748) were randomly assigned to one of the two experiments, which differed only in whether *no* was added to the stimuli or not. 6,624 responses were analyzed in a GLMM.

Results. Overall, with 84.56% of NC choice and a significantly faster processing speed (p<0.001) for both experiments combined, our results confirm that NC is undoubtedly the preferred reading for simple transitive sentences with two argument n-words in Catalan. A massive increase of DN was, however, observed in Exp. 2 (with *no*), due prevalently to the presence of *no* (p<0.001). Complex n-words (DP) in preverbal position were also found to favor DN over simple ones (Pro). Interestingly, the reported effect of *no* was not evenly distributed in our population. The distribution among subjects is essentially bimodal (see Fig. 1), with a larger group choosing DN between 0-25% of the time, and a smaller one almost half of the time or more. These data may indeed suggest that there are possibly two varieties of Catalan; one with a non-negligible amount of DN when *no* is introduced, and another one without. But, crucially, neither variety in fact fully patterned in accordance with Zeijlstra's predictions. In Exp. 1 (without *no*), all Catalan speakers clearly interpreted sentences without *no* massively as NC (only 6.34% of DN, which although higher than control error rate is not significantly different; Pair-Wise Wilcoxon holm correction p=1), and made this choice as fast as that of correct responses to our controls. (Average choice time: NC: 3.11s vs. TRUE: 3.01s, Wilcoxon p=0.21). This strongly confirms the traditional grammar view that Catalan sentences with preverbal n-words and without *no* are fully acceptable for all speakers. Thus, there seem to be no variety of Catalan equivalent to a Strict NC language. Rather, our results suggest that the first variety is one in which *no* is indeed optional and leaves the preferred NC interpretation essentially unaffected. In the second variety, in contrast, the presence of *no* can elicit DN readings, which, however, are clearly not obligatory, as NC still remains overall the favored interpretation in Exp. 2 (with *no*) (25.79% DN vs. 74.06% NC). We conclude the paper by arguing that the subtle and nuanced empirical profile that our experimental results have revealed for Catalan NC/DN is best accounted for within a micro-parametric approach to NC that makes room for lexical variants for both n-words (Herburger 2001; Déprez 2000, 2011; Jäger 2010; Labelle & Espinal 2014), and the sentential negative marker *no* (negative vs. expletive; Yoon 2011, Espinal & Tubau to appear). We further outline how the possible combinations of these lexical variants can provide a tight account of the complex empirical NC profile our results have uncovered.

(1) a.   *Critical DP DP* (parallel complex)   c.   *Critical Pro Pro* (parallel simple)

      Cap   dels   alumnes   (no)   llegeix   *cap* llibre.   *Ningú (no)*   trenca   *res.*

      None   of.the   students   not   reads   no   book   nobody   not   breaks   nothing

      'None of the students reads any book.'   'Nobody breaks anything.'

    b.   *Critical DP Pro* (non-parallel, complex subject)   d.   *Critical Pro DP* (non-parallel, complex obj)

      Cap   dels   nens   (no)   beu   *res.*   *Ningú* (no)canta   *cap*   de les cançons.

      none   of.the   children   not   drinks   nothing   nobody   not   sings   none   of the songs

      'None of the children drink anything.'   'Nobody sings any of the songs.'

                                                                                                percentage DN
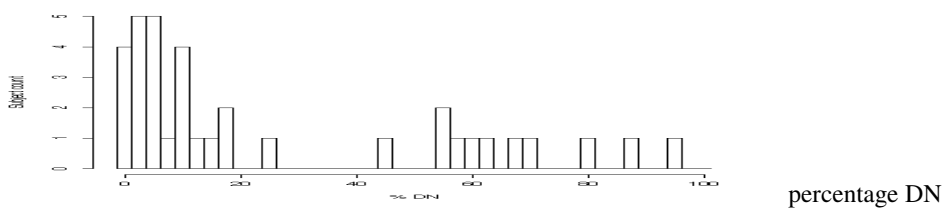
Fig. 1 Distribution of DN percentages per subjects in Exp. 2 (with *no*)

Déprez, V. 2011. Atoms of negation: An outside-in micro-parametric approach to negative concord. Larrivée, P., Ingham, R. Eds., *The Evolution of Negation: Beyond the Jespersen Cycle*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 221-272. **Zeijlstra, H. 2004**. *Sentential Negation and Negative Concord*. PhD Thesis. University of Amsterdam.

Why are distributive readings dispreferred?
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1. The data. The paper reports the results of three experiments that were meant to investigate the availability of distributive readings in two types of sentences, which involved singular indefinite DPs in the object position but differed wrt to the syntax of the subject DP (DP$_{def-pl}$, $_{group}$DP):

(1) Les enfants ont construit un château de sable. Finalement, (a)le château/ (b)les chateaux étai(en)t fragile(s). The children built a sand castle. Finally, (a) the castle/ (b) castles was/were fragile.

(2) Le groupe d'enfants a construit un château de sable. Finalement, (a)le château/(b)les chateaux étai(en)t fragile(s). The group of children built a sand castle. Finally, (a) the castle/ (b) castles was/were fragile.

Our results confirm previous experimental results which showed that distributivity is dispreferred with plural definite subjects (Brooks and Braine 96, Dotlačil 10), but the absence of contrast with $_{group}$DPs is new. Also new is our explanation of the dispreferred distributivity of DP$_{def-pl}$ subjects, which differs from that proposed by Dotlačil (10) and Dotlačil & al. (12), and points to necessary revisions of the widely assumed view that distributive vs collective readings correlate with sum-denoting vs group-denoting arguments (see Landman (00) in particular).

2. The experiments. We ran three acceptability judgment experiments with French examples as in (1a-b, 2a-b), varying DP type (1: DP$_{def-pl}$; 2: $_{group}$DP) in the first sentence and a singular (a) vs. plural (b) anaphoric definite DP in the second sentence (respectively requiring a collective vs. distributive reading). Participants judged the experimental items on a scale from 1-10. All experiments were run on Ibex Farm (Alex Drummond; http://spellout.net/latest_ibex_manual.pdf) with voluntary native French speakers. In Experiment 1, 40 participants were presented with 24 experimental items (6 per condition) following a Latin Square design mixed with 32 fillers. Our results (analyzed with maximal structure mixed linear models) showed a strong preference for the collective reading (i.e., singular referents in the second sentence were preferred, $p<.01$), but no interaction between DP-Type (DP$_{def-pl}$ vs $_{group}$DP) and collective vs. distributive reading (ps $>.5$). These results were confirmed with ameliorated materials in Exp. 2 (77 participants) where we obtained the same pattern of results as Exp. 1, except that in the first few items presented to the participants there seemed to be a numerical (non-significant) hint of an interaction of DP-Type and number marking on the DP in the second sentence. To exclude that the lack of an effect of DP-Type might be due to experimental artifacts (priming, filler/target sentence ratio), we reduced the number of experimental items for Experiment 3 to 16 critical items and increased the number of fillers to 48. Collective readings were still judged significantly more acceptable than distributive readings (ps < .01) and we did not find any evidence for an interaction between DP-type and collective/distributive readings (p>.5; DP$_{def-pl}$: coll 9.25, distr 6.46; $_{group}$DP: coll 9.27, distr 6.52). In a 4th experiment, we were able to show that the experimental method can be sensitive to a preference for distributive readings for example with Most-of-DPs.

3. Dotlačil's competition-based explanation. Dotlačil (10) assumes a cover-enriched version of Landman's (00) event-based theory of pluralities, according to which the difference between collective and distributive interpretations depends not only on the denotation of the main predicate, but also on the denotation of the relevant argument (in particular the subject). As indicated in (3a), the collective reading relies on a group-denoting subject (↑ notates Landman's form-grouping operator) correlated with a non-pluralized predicate, whereas the distributive reading (see (3b)) involves the pluralization of the main predicate (* denotes Link's 83 pluralization operator) correlated with a sum-denoting subject:

(3)   The children built a sand-castle.

a. coll: Built-a-sand-castle (↑the-children)   b. distrib: *Built-a-sand-castle (the-children)

Based on this background, Dotlačil (10) attributes the marginal status of the distributive readings of DP_{def-pl} to the competition with *each NPs*: since *each NPs* necessarily yield distributive readings, the use of an ambiguous form such as DP_{def-pl} yields the conversational implicature that the DP_{def-pl} is used with the collective reading. This proposal is confronted with an obvious empirical problem : why should the competition with *each NPs* rather than the competition with $_{group}DPs$ matter for the disambiguation of sentences built with plural DP subjects? Since in French, $_{group}DPs$ necessarily yield collective readings, a competition-based analysis would incorrectly predict that DP_{def-pl} take distributive readings. One could argue that $_{group}DPs$ are much less frequent than *each NPs*. Nevertheless, they are highly available in the experiment itself and might thus push the alternative reading for DP_{def-pl} – but they don't.

4. A complexity-based explanation. Our alternative proposal will rely on complexity: distributive readings are dispreferred because they involve an extra operator, the pluralization operator. The problem is that this line of explanation cannot be pursued within Landman's theory of pluralities: the representation of the collective reading shown in (3a) is less complex than that in (3b) wrt the main predicate but more complex wrt the argument, which needs to be type-shifted via the group-forming operator. Thus, if we wanted to pursue a complexity-based explanation within Landman's theory, we would need to stipulate that it is the complexity of the predicate rather than that of the argument that matters. A less stipulative account can be given if we assume a plural-logic based framework (Boolos 84, Rayo 02), according to which DP_{def-pl} have exactly the same type of denotation (relying on a plural counterpart of Russell's Iota operator notated π, see (4b)) in both collective and distributive readings. In plural logic, plural variables are notated with doubled letters, e.g., yy, the values of which are multiple individuals, and < is a predicate meaning 'is one of the':

(4)   a. $\psi(Iotax[\varphi(x)]) =_{def} \exists x[\forall v(\varphi(v) \leftrightarrow x = v) \& \psi(x)]$.   (Russell's Iota)

    b. $\psi(\pi x[\phi(x)]) =_{def} \exists yy[\forall x(x<yy \leftrightarrow \phi(x) \& \psi(yy)]$. (the pl. counterpart of Iota)

The difference between the collective and distributive readings is entirely due to the main predicate. By default, a predicate P that takes a DP_{def-pl} as an argument is interpreted collectively; the distributive reading is due to a distributivity operator (indicated by a D-superscript): [We will briefly comment on why the distributivity operator of plural logic (which applies to a collective predicate) is equivalent to Link's pluralization operator (which applies to an atom predicate); see Champollion's (10, 14) observations regarding Landman's conflation of the star operator and the D operator]

(5)   a. coll: Built-a-sand-castle($\pi x[CHILD(x)]$)   b. distrib: Built-a-sand-castle^D ($\pi x[CHILD(x)]$)

The distributivity operator is defined as in (6), which applied to (5b) yields (5b'). Capitals are used in order to indicate predicates that apply to singular individuals; lower-case letters indicate collective predicates:

(6)   Built-a-sand-castle^D(xx) $=_{def}$ $\forall y(y<xx$ -> BUILT-A-SAND-CASTLE(y)$

(5) b'. $\forall z(z<(\pi x[CHILD(x)])$ -> BUILT-A-SAND-CASTLE (z)   distributive reading

By applying the definition of πx given in (4b) to (5a) and (5b') we obtain (7a-b):

 (7)   a. $\exists yy[\forall x(x<yy \leftrightarrow CHILD(x) \& $Built-a-sand-castle(yy)]$ collective

    b. $\exists yy\forall x[x<yy \leftrightarrow CHILD(x)] \& [\forall z(z<yy)$ -> BUILT-A-SAND-CASTLE (z)] distrib.

The proposed plural-logic implementation will be compared to a mereological implementation of the same basic analysis, according to which the dispreference wrt the distributive reading is due to the complexity added by the insertion of the distributive operator on the main predicate.

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On the (in)compatibility of possessives and relative clauses in Spanish
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1. Issue and goals. As described in Brucart (1994), the combination of a prenominal possessive and a restrictive relative clause is deviant in Spanish (1a), whereas postnominal possessives are fully compatible with a restrictive relative (1b), and a prenominal possessive does co-occur with an appositive relative (1c):

(1) a. $^{??}$Su libro que me prestó es interesante.
         his book that me he.lent is interesting
     b. El libro suyo que me prestó es interesante.
     c. Su libro, que me prestó, es interesante.

In this talk I will be presenting a new analysis for the paradigm in (1) in terms of the restriction on subextraction from a displaced constituent in [Spec, CP]. I will also discuss relevant dialectal and Old Spanish facts in the light of this proposal, and I will finally apply the analysis to data from other Romance languages.

2. Assumptions on the derivation of possessives and relative clauses. Adhering to the standard view that the prenominal and the thematic position of possessives are transformationally related, I will assume that the postnominal possessive stays in its base position (2a), and the prenominal one of languages like Italian moves to the specifier position of a projection lower than D (2b) (see Alexiadou et al 2007); as for the determiner possessive of Spanish (or French), following Brucart (1994) and Ihsane (2003), I will take it to be an XP, which moves to [Spec, DP] to check its [+definite] feature (2c):

(2) a. $[_{DP} [_D$ el$] \ldots [_{NumP} [_{Num}$ libro$_j] [_{PossP}$ mío $[_{Poss} t_j]\ldots [_{NP} [_N t_j]]]]]$
     b. $[_{DP} [_D$ il$] [_{IP}$ mio$_k [_I] [_{NumP} [_{Num}$ libro$_j] [_{PossP} t_k [_{Poss} t_j]\ldots [_{NP} [_N t_j]]]]]]]$
     c. $[_{DP}$ mi$_k [_{D'} [_D \varnothing] [_{IP} t_k [_I] [_{NumP} [_{Num}$ libro$_j] [_{PossP} t_k [_{Poss} t_j]\ldots [_{NP} [_N t_j]]]]]]]]$

I will further adopt Kayne's (1994) version of the raising analysis of restrictive relatives, whereby the relative clause is a complement of an external D, and the relative "head" originates in the relativization site and then raises to [Espec, CP] (as shown in (3a), I will adopt, in particular, the implementation of Kayne´s ideas in Bianchi (1999) and de Vries (2002), disregarding Donati & Cecchetto's 2011 HEAD-raising analyisis). With respect to appositives, for which a raising analysis is unmotivated (de Vries 2002), I will assume de Vries' (2002, 2006) idea that the appositive relative is a semi-free relative (DP$_2$), which is connected to the (clause-external) relative "head" (DP$_1$) by specifying coordination (3b).

(3) a. $[_{DP}$ the $[_{CP} [_{DP} [_{NP}$ picture of Paris$]_j [_{D'} D^0 t_j]_i [_{C'}$ that Bill liked $t_i]]]$
     b. $[_{CoP} [_{DP1}$ Annie$] [_{Co'}$ &: $[_{DP2} D^0 [_{CP}$ who is our manager$]]]]$

3. The proposal. With these assumptions in mind, I attribute the degradation in (1a) to a well-known constraint banning subextraction from constituents moved to [Spec, CP]. This restriction, which Gallego (2009) takes to be an interface constraint sanctioning ambiguous outputs, has been argued to be operative, for example, in deviant sentences like (4) (Lasnik & Saito 1992: 102), in which *wh*-movement targets a subpart of an already *wh*-moved phrase:

(4) $^{??}[_{CP}$ Who$_i$ C do you wonder $[_{CP}$ [which picture of $t_i]_j$ C Mary bought $t_j]]$?

In my view, the deviance in (1a) also results from the ban on subextraction from [Spec, CP]: in this case, the determiner possessive moves to the specifier position of the external D *out of the moved* relative "head" in [Spec, CP] (5a) (irrelevant details omitted). Postnominal possessives, on their part (1b), *remain in situ* within the moved relative "head"; no subextraction thus takes place, and the expression is felicitous (5b). There is no subextraction in the well-formed construction in (1c) either: the determiner possessive now moves *within* the relative "head", which is external to the appositive relative (5c):

(5) a. $^{??}[_{DP}$ su$_j [_{D'} [_D \varnothing] [_{CP} [_{XP}$ libro $t_j]_i [_{C'}$ que me prestó $t_i]]]]$
     b. $[_{DP}$ el $[_{CP} [_{XP}$ libro suyo $]_i [_{C'}$ que me prestó $t_i]]]$

c. $[_{CoP} [_{DP1} su_i [_{D'} \emptyset [_{NP} libro\ t_i] [_{Co'} \&: [_{DP2} D^0 [_{CP} que\ me\ prestó]]]]$

4. Dialectal variation and Old Spanish. In certain varieties of American Spanish, and in sheer contrast with standard current Spanish, a prenominal possessive does combine with a restrictive relative containing lexical or morphological material which refers back to the possessor (6a). As has been observed, it is precisely in these dialects that the possessor doubling construction in (6a') also obtains, which indicates that there is a strong correlation between the two constructions. The same facts are attested in Old Spanish (6b,b´).

(6)   a. <u>Su</u> cámara que se compró   es muy cara.   a' su mamá de él
          his camara that SE bought.3sg is very expensive   his mother of he
      b. <u>Sus</u> fijas   que <u>él</u> <u>a</u>.   b' su casa   de Pleberio
          his daughters that he has   his house of Pleberio

I claim that the possessive in both (6a',6b') and (6a,b) directly generates in D^0 as an expletive [+definite] determiner lacking a true possession content (7a,b). Therefore, in (6a,b), the possessive is not subextracted from [Spec, CP], and the sentences are fully grammatical.

(7)   a. $[_{DP} [_D su] [_{NP} mamá\ de\ él]]$ b. $[_{DP} [_D su] [_{CP} [_{XP} cámara]_i [_{C'} que\ se\ compró\ t_i]]]$

Another source of dialectal variation can be found in some parts of Central and South America, where the construction in (8a), in which a prenominal possessive is preceded by the indefinite article and co-occurs with a restrictive relative, is fairly common. This construction was again widely used in Old Spanish (8b).

(8)   a. Yo tengo un mi amigo que es muy pobrecito.
          I   have a my friend that is very poor
      b. et   el   enviol un su alguazil   mayor que auie nombre Ali.
          and him sent   a   his constable major that had name   Ali

The well-formedness of the pattern in (8) can be easily explained under my proposal: as shown in (9), the possessive moves *within* the phrase in [Spec, CP], but not outside of it.

(9) $[_{DP} [_D un] [_{CP} [_{XP} mi_j\ amigo\ t_j]_i [_{C'} que\ es\ muy\ pobrecito\ t_i]]]$

5. Extending the analysis to other Romance languages. My account of the incompatibility of determiner possessives and restrictive relatives in (5a) applies to French (and English):

(10)   a. $^{??}$Son livre que nous avons lu le dernier cours…
       b. $^{??}$His/Chomsky's book that we read last year…

In languages like Catalan (or Italian), a possessive following the indefinite article combines with a restrictive relative, whereas the [art$_{+def}$+poss+restrictive relative] pattern is deviant:

(11)   a.   Un seu llibre que vam llegir el curs passat…
       b. $^{??}$El seu llibre que vam llegir el curs passat…

(11a) can be analyzed as in (9). As for (11b), I will tentatively propose that the possessive raises to [Spec, DP] at LF, as evidenced by the fact that it can have a bound variable interpretation, in spite of the presence of the definite article, which should block it (cf. *El temor de tot acusat$_i$ al seu$_i$ fiscal* 'the fear of every defendat to his prosecutor').

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Bilingual delay in the acquisition of direct object clitics in the Spanish of bilingual Spanish-French children

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Recent studies have shown that bilingual children might experience delay in some grammatical domains with respect to monolingual children, in the absence of cross-linguistic influence (Sorace et al. 2009, Bialystok et al. 2010, Unsworth et al 2011, Pirvulescu et al. 2014).

With respect to developmental object omissions some studies show delay in bilingual children as unidirectional quantitative differences with respect to monolinguals; this is interpreted as a consequence of cross-linguistic influence (Müller et al. 1996; Müller & Hulk 2001; Yip & Matthews 2005). These data come from a combination of [±null argument] languages, contrasting in the availability of null objects. Our research question is the following: is there still a bilingual effect in omissions once cross-linguistic differences are factored out? Some studies show that this is the case (Pérez-Leroux et al. 2009, Pirvulescu and al. 2014) but the language combination of bilingual children is limited (French and English).

This research focuses on the bilingual acquisition of two pronominal clitic languages, Spanish and French and we report results on the developmental timetable of Spanish in bilinguals and monolinguals.

An elicited production picture task was conducted in Spanish on 74 Spanish-French balanced bilingual children living in Paris, France (ages of 2;11 to 5;11) and 52 Spanish monolingual children (ages 2;11 to 5;11) in Madrid, Spain (eliciting animate and inanimate objects). An example of the task is given below:

(1)   *Prompt question*: Pobre <u>Raúl</u>, está jugando con un niño malo. ¿Que quiere hacer el niño malo <u>con Raúl</u>? / "Poor <u>Raúl</u>, he is playing with a naughty boy. What does the naughty boy want to do with <u>Raúl</u>?"

         Target answer: empujar<u>lo</u> / "push <u>him</u>"

Results show that object omission in the Spanish of the bilingual Spanish-French children is higher than in the Spanish of monolingual children (Table 1; $F_{(1,119)}$=33.57, p<.000). For monolingual Spanish children, our results confirm the results by Wexler et al, 2004 for European Spanish – very low to virtually no omission in the youngest children. The results also enforce the idea of a Spanish dialectal variation since in Columbian Spanish the rate of omissions for the youngest children is significantly higher (35% in 3-year-old children, cf. Castilla & Pérez-Leroux, 2010). For bilingual children, the results are similar to Pérez-Leroux et al. 2011 (for Spanish-English children) showing substantial omission in very young children. Finally the results for bilingual children's object omission in language pairs that excludes cross-linguistic influence more generally seem to confirm the hypothesis of a bilingual delay in the absence of cross-linguistic influence (Table 2).

We attempt to analyze these results following the hypothesis of the retention of a default null object representation (Pirvulescu et al. 2014). More specifically, we assume that referential null objects are universally part of the initial child grammar. The bilingual delay in the domain of object omission in bilingual children is an input-induced delay: reduced and more variable input, within a variationist frame (Yang, 2004), can lead to

changes in the developmental timetable and in this case the referential null object is retained for a longer time. If the analysis is on the right track, it is showing that, for some languages (European Spanish in this case), examining delay in bilingual children can uncover a stage that it is very hard, if not impossible, to notice in monolingual development.

Table 1. Mean proportions (with standard deviations in parenthesis) of object types produced by bilingual (balanced) and monolingual Spanish children and Spanish adults in direct object clitic elicitation task.

	Age	DP	CL	Omissions
bilinguals	3	0.06(0.05)	0.59(0.11)	0.35(0.09)
	4	0	0.80(0.05)	0.20(0.05)
	5	0.06(0.09)	0.88(0.11)	0.06(0.06)
monolinguals	3	0.05(0.08)	0.92(0.1)	0.03(0.50)
	4	0.02(0.6)	1.0(0.06)	0
	5	0.03(0.9)	1.0(0.9)	0
adults		0.18(0.19)	0.82(0.19)	0

Table 2. Mean proportion (with standard deviations in parenthesis) of object omissions produced by bilingual (balanced) and monolingual Spanish, French and English children in direct object pronoun (clitic) elicitation task (Results for French and English bilinguals from Pirvulescu et al. 2014).

	Age	Omissions		
		Spanish	French	English
Monolinguals	3 yrs	0.03 (0.08)	0.55 (0.23)	0.12 (0.20)
	4 yrs	0 (0)	0.36 (0.27)	0.13 (0.19)
	5 yrs	0 (0)	0.36 (0.24)	0.14 (0.22)
Bilinguals	3 yrs	0.35 (0.36)	0.83 (0.24)	0.49 (0.33)
	4 yrs	0.21 (0.35)	0.66 (0.26)	0.55 (0.35)
	5 yrs	0.04 (0.12)	0.44 (0.26)	0.46 (0.37)

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Anti-specificity and the role of number: the case of Spanish *algún/algunos*

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THE PROPOSAL. The Spanish determiner *algun(os)* has been argued to have conflicting behavior. In the singular, it is claimed to be an anti-specific indefinite (Giannakidou and Quer (GQ) 2013, Alonso Ovalle and Menendez-Benito (AM) 2010) which requires an extension of more than one; but in the plural, *algunos* is claimed to show 'context dependence' (Marti 2009). This forces an ambiguity analysis, which is undesirable and does not capture the role of the plural. In this paper we argue that *algún* and *algunos* are the singular and the plural version of each other and we propose a unifying analysis, and that the difference between singular *algún* and plural *algunos* is illusory. In both cases, the anti-specificity condition of more than one holds, i.e. requiring more than one differing values, but previously introduced sets, license an anaphoric plural, like *ones* in elliptical contexts (Kester 1996) and in nominalization like *the rich*. It is the triggering of this anaphor that forces co-reference with a previously mentioned set; and crucially, without previous mention no anaphoric behavior is observed. The triggering of this anaphor is crosslinguistically parametrized: Spanish *algunos* has it, but its Greek counterpart *kapjoi* doesn't. The implication of this analysis is that anti-specificity and 'context dependence' are not at odds, but rather depend on the ingredients of the composition.

THE PUZZLE. Singular *algún*, is an anti-specific determiner conveying referential vagueness. This is obvious in the example below (similar indefinites can also be found in Italian, Greek, Catalan, Korean, Romanian, German, Basque, etc.):

(1)   Ha   llamado algún estudiante. #Era Pedro.
         have called   some student   was Pedro
         'Some student called. #It was Pedro.'

The use of *algún* conveys that the speaker cannot identify who the student is, and considers possibilities. GQ and AM treat this as a presupposition; GQ formulate it as referential vagueness:

(2)   *Referential vagueness as anti-specificity*
         (i)   A sentence containing a referentially vague indefinite α will have a truth value iff:
                  $\exists w_1, w_2 \in W$: $[\![\alpha]\!]^{w1} \neq [\![\alpha]\!]^{w2}$; where α is the referentially vague indefinite.
         (ii)   The worlds w_1, w_2 are epistemic alternatives of the speaker.

AM talk about 'anti-singleton condition'. The idea in both AM and GQ is that the markers *algún* (and Greek *kapjos*; we come back to this later) can only be used if there are more than one epistemically accessible values to the speaker. We think of this condition as a felicity condition, e.g. the dual of Ionin's 2006 felicity condition of specificity (which forces the indefinites to uniquely refer). The condition expresses epistemic indeterminacy, hence the tem 'anti-specific'.

Plural *algunos*, on the other hand, has been claimed to behave 'specifically': it is necessarily linked to a previously introduced antecedent. The data here are from Martí 2009 and distinguish *algunos* from *unos*, which is the unmarked plural indefinite:

(3)   {Teachers A and B are on an excursion with [a group of children, of whom they are in charge]$_K$.
         Teacher A comes to teacher B running:}
         (a) Teacher A: ¿Te has enterado? [*Algunos* niños]$_{K, \#J}$ se han perdido en el bosque.
                          cl have found.out some children   cl were- lost in theforest
         (b) Teacher A: ¿Te has enterado? [*Unos* niños]$_{K, J}$ se han perdido en el bosque.
                          'Have you heard? *Unos/algunos* children got lost in the forest.'

Martí claims that in choosing *algunos*, the speaker intends to refer to the set of children that were salient previously (namely, the children the teachers are in charge of, indicated above as K); and argues that *alg* gives rise to a partitivity implicature (Martí 2008, 2009)

(4) $[\![\textbf{alg-}]\!] = \lambda R_{<et,<ett>>}.\lambda P_{<et>}.\lambda Q_{<et>}.R(P\cap C)(Q)$; Implicature: $R(P\cap C)(\{x: Q(x) = 0\})$

So here is the puzzle: how can *alg-* contribute both partitivity and referential vagueness, or in other words, both specificity and anti-specificity? Martí's analysis cannot handle this, because it posits that *alg-* introduces the context variable C, so to capture *alg-* in (1), she needs to posit ambiguity. AM also suggest ambiguity. But ambiguity is undesirable; because (a) it does not do justice to the fact that the same morphology (*alg-*) is used in both cases, and (b) doesn't capture the role of number.

OUR ANALYSIS. We propose a unifying analysis. We argue that in both usages referential vagueness is satisfied. In the plural use we have more than one value. Consider a regular plural (example taken from Martí 2005: 2):

(5)   Llegaron algunos/unos chicos a la oficina.
        Arrived   boys   to the office
        'Some boys arrived to the office'

As Martí also says, in this case (i.e. without an antecedent), *algunos* is indistinguishable from *unos*. The context dependency, therefore, arises only in anaphoric contexts where a discourse referent has previously been explicitly introduced. This discourse referent sets up an antecedent. It is conceivable then that the plural in this case functions as an anaphoric pronoun just like in *Mary brought the yellow T-shirts, and Ariadne the red ones* (Kester 1995). We will propose that a plural anaphor is triggered and is reflected in the plural number. Thus, what appears to be a plural is really an anaphoric pronoun:

(7) $[\![algunos$ niños $]\!]$= algun + pro_{PL} [+anaphoric]

So, the plural introduces the pronoun pro_{PL} which is also an anaphor, but this happens only in the context of an overt antecedent. So, this is close in spirit to Marti's C variable (cf. example (2)) which can also be thought of as a pronoun, but unlike her we do not assume that *alg-* introduces it, rather, we assume that if an antecedent is available the pronoun will be triggered, as expected generally in such contexts. As a consequence, partitivity appears to be epiphenomenal, it is simply a consequence of the presence of the anaphoric plural.

Now, does the anaphor get also licensed with *unos*? *Unos* behaves as a real indefinite article in that it introduces a novel discourse referent (in the sense of Heim 1982). However, when the anaphor is triggered, anaphoric dependency to a previous set is allowed as shown by the example in (3) where *unos* can also pick a discourse set and can make reference to an antecedent.

FURTHER EVIDENCE: GREEK DETERMINER *KAPJOI*. In order to appreciate that our analysis makes the right move to attribute the anaphoric behavior to the plural number (and not to *alg-*), consider the Greek counterpart of *algun*, *kapjoi*, in the context of example (3).

(8)   Akouses?   [*Kapjoi* pedia]$_{J, K}$ xathikan   sto dasos.
        Did you hear? some children   were- lost in the forest
        Eftixos pou ta dika mast a kratisame edo! 'Thank God we kept ours here!'

Here we see that *kapjoi* does not need to behave anaphorically unlike *algunos*. This can be captured in our system by saying that languages parametrize in this context by licensing an anaphoric or not plural pro_{PL}; in Greek, the pronoun need not be anaphoric.

In sum, we are proposing a fully compositional analysis that retains the anti-specificity of the *alg-* indefinite and attributes the illusory specificity to the plural.

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Inflected infinitives in the diachrony and synchrony of Portuguese

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The occurrence of infinitives taking agreement inflection represents a marked grammatical option, which is found, within the group of Romance languages, only in Portuguese, Galician and Sardinian, albeit displaying different properties in the three languages. It has been claimed since Raposo (1987) that, in standard contemporary European Portuguese (EP), the inflected infinitive (InflInf) is a true nonfinite form, allowed only is a subset of the positions which allow infinitival clauses, namely, in complements to certain verbs (declarative, epistemic, factive, object control), in subject, predicative and comparative clauses, and as adjunct and complement clauses introduced by a preposition. In these contexts, the InflInf may occur with a freely referring overt Nominative subject. However, the InflInf is also found in other contexts displaying different properties both in EP (Sheehan, 2014; Fiéis & Madeira, 2013) and in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) (Modesto, 2010, 2011, 2014). The goal of this paper is to describe and characterise the properties and distribution of the InflInf in Portuguese, considering both diachronic and synchronic data (standard and nonstandard EP, and the spoken Mozambiquean, Angolan and Brazilian varieties). Adopting a Minimalist approach, we aim to show that the Portuguese inflected infinitive is not a uniform phenomenon.

In the first written Portuguese texts, from the 12th to the 16th centuries, inflected forms of the infinitive are attested predominantly in independent domains (a context from which they are excluded in contemporary varieties of the language) with an imperative and/or optative interpretation, alternating with subjunctives (Martins, 2001). An analysis of grammars from the 16th century (Ponce de León Romeo, 2004) shows that, by this time, the InflInf has become productive in several contexts in which it already appeared in Old Portuguese: complements to declarative verbs, subjects and clauses introduced by a preposition (Fiéis & Madeira, 2014). At the same time, new contexts emerge, which are still productive in contemporary EP: comparative and predicative clauses, nominal complements and complements to epistemic, perception and object control verbs. However, there are also examples of complements embedded under verbs which (apparently) do not allow InflInf in standard contemporary EP, namely certain subject control verbs such as *querer* 'want', *ousar* 'dare' and *desejar* 'wish'. Throughout this period, the InflInf also starts appearing in positions which are typical of nominals, namely, in coordination with DP and in clauses introduced by a determiner.

Although some of the contexts described for standard EP are common to most other varieties of the language, at least in certain contexts the InflInf appears to exhibit different properties in some of these varieties. The infinitival complements of propositional verbs, for example, may have a lexical subject in standard EP, which may be referentially disjoint from the matrix subject; in standard Brazilian Portuguese (BP), however, the subject of these complements may not be lexically realised and it is controlled by the matrix subject, which must be included in its reference (Modesto, 2010). On the other hand, in BP, the InflInf is found in contexts in which it is apparently disallowed in standard EP, namely, complements to control verbs such as *esperar* 'wait' and *preferir* 'prefer' in BP, where it may take a lexical subject, which may be referentially disjoint from the matrix one (Modesto, 2014).

However, it has been shown that InflInf is accepted in the complements of control verbs by some speakers of standard EP (Sheehan, 2014). Considering desiderative verbs such as *preferir* 'prefer' and *prometer* 'promise', for example, certain restrictions apply whenever the matrix subject acts as the controller. Hence, although InflInf is disallowed with 'prefer' on an exhaustive control reading (Landau, 2000), there is variation in judgements both with

'promise' on an exhaustive control reading and with the two verbs on a partial control reading (Landau, 2000). An analysis of production data reveals that adult speakers of standard EP also produce inflected infinitives with both 'prefer'-type and 'promise'-type verbs, either with an exhaustive or a partial control reading. InflInf is also found in the complements of raising verbs, another contexts which purportedly it excludes in standard EP.

Production data from other varieties of contemporary Portuguese confirm that the Infl is sometimes found in contexts where it should not be licensed, according to Raposo (1987), displaying different properties from the ones which have been described in the literature. Hence, four types of InflInf may be identified (out of these four types, only the third one is not attested in the diachronic data):

1) the type found in contexts in which it appears to display properties of a finite verb form: it occurs in independent clauses or in coordination with a finite clause (dialectal EP and Angolan Portuguese); in the Angolan variety, it also appears in embedded clauses introduced by a complementiser, in complementary distribution with the subjunctive;

2) the type described by Raposo (1987), which is restricted to dependent contexts and licenses a free-referring (overt) Nominative subject; this type also includes the InflInf found in the complements to subject control verbs such as *esperar* 'wait' and *preferir* 'prefer' in BP;

3) the type found in control complements with a partial control reading (standard and nonstandard EP, BP, Mozambiquean and Angolan Portuguese);

4) the type found in raising complements and in control complements with an exhaustive control reading (standard and nonstandard EP, Mozambiquean and Angolan Portuguese).

We argue that, out of all these different occurrences of the InflInf, only the contexts described by Raposo (1987) behave as true inflected infinitives. In these contexts, the infinitival Infl bears a complete set of φ-features, which license the Nominative subject (Raposo, 1987; Pires, 2001; Cowper, 2002). The infinitives which appear with control and raising verbs only allow null controlled subjects. Following Duarte et al (2012), we argue that these are pseudo-inflected infinitives, which behave like control structures, where the person-number inflection corresponds to the spell-out of an AGREE operation between the matrix T and the infinitival C-T (Landau 2000, 2004).

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Input effects across two generations: The realization of objects in 1st and 2nd generation speakers of European Portuguese in Germany

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This paper compares the realization of objects by two different groups of speakers of European Portuguese (EP): a) first generation migrants from Portugal who live in Germany (L1 Portuguese, L2 German) and b) second generation speakers, so-called heritage bilinguals, who have acquired German and Portuguese from birth with German as the environmental language (Portuguese and German as their L1).

The linguistic competence of heritage speakers (HS) has received a great deal of attention during the last years because it has been noticed that they may not attain the same proficiency as native monolinguals although they have acquired their heritage language from early on (cf. Montrul, 2008). Given that we know from previous studies that children who are exposed to more than one language from birth will acquire these languages similarly as monolingual children (cf. De Houwer, 1995) the challenge consists in first, determining in which respects heritage bilinguals indeed differ from monolingual speakers and second, finding an explanation for possible deviations. The realization of objects in European Portuguese is an ideal testing ground due to the complexity of the clitic system and because purely grammatical aspects (e.g. position of the clitics) are combined with aspects concerning the interfaces and language use (e.g. choice of different pronominal forms).

It has been proposed that a crucial factor in heritage language development is the quantity and quality of the input (Pires & Rothman, 2009). However, despite of the fact that heritage speakers acquire their heritage language in a multilingual context, it cannot be assumed a priori that the input they receive is qualitatively different from that of monolinguals. In our study we focus on three aspects: 1) Does the input generation 1 provides to generation 2 show effects of attrition (e.g. ungrammatical structures)?; 2) To which extent does 2nd generation bilinguals' output differ from the 1st generation and from the monolingual controls?, and 3) What is the role of cross-linguistic influence?

For the purpose of this paper, we analysed the spontaneous speech production data of 36 speakers: 8 speakers of the first and 8 of the second generation of Portuguese migrants as well as of two groups of 8 monolingual speakers which are matched with the two other groups with respect to age and degree of education. A total of 10.880 tokens, approximately 2600 for each group, has been coded and statistically analysed using a Generalized Linear Mixed Model (GLMM).

The analysis reveals that first and second generation migrants dispose of all options available for object realization in EP. Like monolingual speakers, they use clitics as well as demonstratives, strong pronouns in combination with clitics, DPs, finite object clauses and null objects. There are no signs of attrition in the 1st generation corpus and no ungrammatical structures in the 2nd generation corpus.

However, the first and the second generation differ significantly from each other with respect to the use of clitics (p=0.00471) and null objects (p=0.00867). Only in 34.6% of all pronominal contexts do HS use clitics; the frequency of use is 60% in the case of the 1st generation. In contrast, null objects are used by the first generation in only 27.2% of the cases whereas the 2nd generation of speakers tends to omit the object (45.2% of all pronominal contexts). Interestingly, the two groups of speakers do not differ significantly concerning the use of DPs (p = 0.999). These findings suggest that null objects are used at the expense of clitic forms. We conclude that the two groups differ concerning the *choice* of pronominal objects. Whereas the clitic form is the default form for the first generation of speakers, second generation speakers seem to show a preference for null objects.

The observation that heritage bilinguals do not show signs of incompleteness but reinforce the tendencies and variations found in the spoken language of monolinguals can be illustrated with respect to clitic placement depending on the syntactic context (1a. and b.).

(1)a. *(O pai do Francisco foi à escola reclamar.)*
(the father of-the Francis was at-the school to complain)
*Então o professor não **o chumbou**.* (proclisis in contexts of negation)
so the teacher not him$_{clitic}$ failed
'Francis' father was at the school to complain. Therefore, the teacher didn't fail him.'

b. *(O meu pai não gostava nada de estudar.)*
(the my father not liked nothing to study)
*O professor **chumbou-o** várias vezes.* (enclisis with preverbal subjects)
the teacher failed-him$_{clitic}$ several times
'My father didn't like to study at all. His teacher failed him several times.'

In a previous grammaticality judgement task (GJT) (cf. Rinke & Flores 2014) heritage speakers showed weak performance in the ungrammatical conditions: they accepted correctly enclitic and proclitic placement but they had difficulties in recognizing the ungrammaticality of proclitic placement with subjects or enclitic placement with negation and subordinate clauses. In spontaneous speech, however, the amount of ungrammatical clitic placement is quite low: we find only 6.4% deviations for enclisis and 2.3% for proclisis in the 2nd generation and 1.7% and 0.8%, respectively, in the 1st generation group. However, both groups differ significantly (p=0.0231). Although the data basis is sparse, we conclude that the 2nd generation speakers tend to overgeneralize enclitic placement. This tendency is, however, not restricted to heritage bilinguals but also occurs with monolingual adult EP speakers.

The results also show that cross-linguistic influence does not explain the particularities in the output of second generation migrants: a) they show a preference for null objects which are not an option of the German grammar and b) we do not find strong object pronouns in the output of second generation migrants.

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Against deficiency-based typologies: Manner-alternation parameters in Italian and English

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Italian has a typical inventory of verb classes encoding causative or change of state semantics. Nonetheless, Italian, like other Romance languages, is famously less flexible than 'satellite-framed' languages in change-of-state frames involving manner of motion or any other resultative predication (Talmy 1985, 2000). Typical analyses ascribe a deficiency of some sort (either lexical or syntactic) to Italian-type languages, rendering them unable to realize the full range of structures available to English-type languages. We show that the manner-of-motion parameter is much simpler than previously thought: Italian simply requires head-movement within the vP domain, while English does not.

Italian does not implement a general ban on verbal argument structure flexibility; many verb alternations, such as the locative alternation, are acceptable:

(1)   Gianni ha caricato la paglia sul camion/il camion con la paglia
      Gianni has loaded the hay on.the truck/the truck with the hay.

There are two existing families of accounts of the parametric difference in manner-of-change-of-state or location verbs: "P-deficiency" approaches and "Manner-deficiency" approaches. Proponents of the P-deficiency approach posit a lexical deficiency in languages like Italian (Higginbotham 2000, Folli 2001, etc). The Manner-deficiency approach claims that satellite-framed languages allow a special structure-building operation, unavailable in verb-framed languages, whereby a Manner element is added to the verbal projection (Snyder 1995, Harley 2005, McIntyre 2004, Mateu 2002, 2008).

Both deficiency approaches face difficulties. To say that Italian lacks a Path or Result component in its argument structure seems incorrect, given the many change-of-state/location verbs which must use an element. Further, the lack of a single preposition is inadequate to account for the absence of alternations (adjectival resultatives, e.g.) that don't require a preposition. On the other hand, the idea that Italian is deficient in its inventory of syntactic operations is equally peculiar (as is the idea that there is a special structure-building operation for just this).

Instead, we place the manner-of-motion parameter squarely within the standard family of head-movement parameters. We adopt a small clause analysis of change of state (Hoekstra & Mulder (1990), and follow Ramchand (2008) in assuming that the small clause is the projection of a Res(ult) category below v°. In change-of-state verbs like *open/aprire*, the root of the verb, √OPEN or √APRI- is base-generated in Res°. Our proposal is simply that Res°-to-v° movement is mandatory in Italian, but not English.
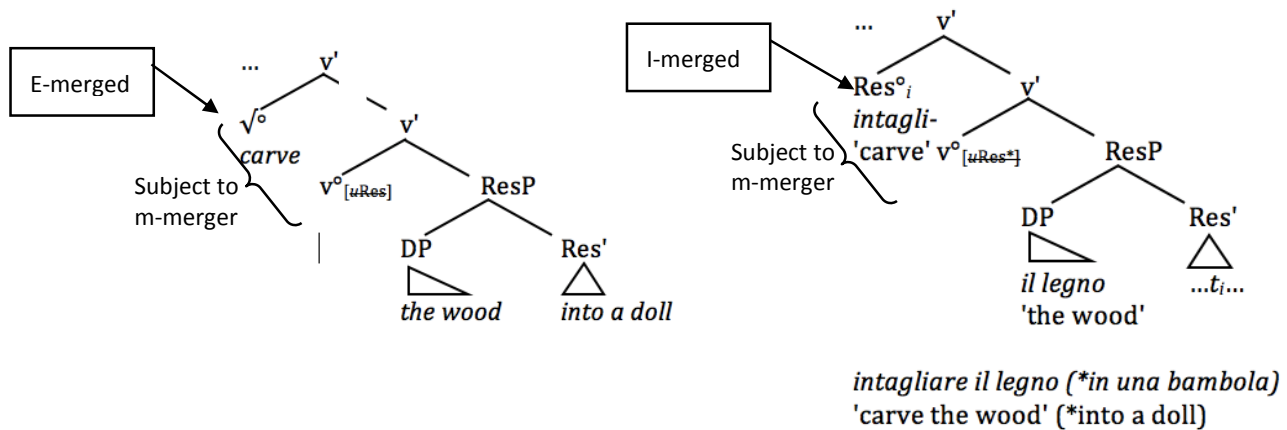
We assume Matushansky's (2007) theory of head-movement: the head of the complement adjoins to the root node, then undergoes morphological lowering/conflation to the head of the tree. This, like other movement, is driven by uninterpretable features on a Probe as it enters the derivation (Chomsky 2000). We assume a simplified version of Adger (2003)'s feature system in which all complementation involves categorial feature checking. Movement is triggered by EPP features associated with particular unvalued features. With him we annotate this EPP feature *. Head-movement from the complement is thus triggered by an EPP feature linked to the uF triggering complementation on the selecting head.

In Italian, change-of-state v° has an uninterpretable Res feature [uRes*]. Because it is a 'strong' (EPP-containing) feature, checking [uRes] requires overt head-movement. Res° adjoins to the v' projection immediately after v° is Merged, then lowers and m-merges with the head v°. This means that every Italian change-of-state/location verb must 'lexicalize' (i.e.

incorporate) the result-denoting predicate. In English, in contrast, change of state/location v°
can check [uRes] *in situ*, allowing Res° to remain low. In that case, another X° can be
externally Merged to v', in the canonical adverbial position. This adjoined adverbial—a
manner modifier—can undergo lowering and m-merger, just as in head-movement. The verb
then 'lexicalizes' Manner, rather than Result. If Res° failed to undergo internal Merge in
Italian, in favor of external Merge of a manner X°, the derivation would crash due to the
unchecked [uRes].

This is illustrated in the following Material/Product alternation. The verb alternates
between a manner-of-creation verb (2a) and a result verb (2b). But the third alternation, a
manner-of-change-of-state, is impossible in Italian:

(2)   a. May carved a doll (from the wood)
              May ha intagliato una bambola (da un pezzo di legno)
        b. May carved the wood
              May ha intagliato il legno
        c. May carved the wood into a doll
              *May ha intagliato il legno in una bambola

E-merged

... v'
√°
carve
v'
Subject to
m-merger
v°[uRes]   ResP
DP   Res'
the wood   *into a doll*

I-merged

... v'
Res°$_i$
intagli-
v'
Subject to
m-merger
'carve' v°[uRes*]   ResP
DP   Res'
il legno   ...t$_i$...
'the wood'

intagliare il legno (*in una bambola)
'carve the wood' (*into a doll)

The account requires only independently motivated operations: external and internal
Merge, plus cyclic application of m-merger. Indeed, Matushansky's mechanism *predicts* m-
merger following external as well as internal Merge. It explains why Manner adjunction in
Italian occurs in non-resultative contexts, as in verbs of creation: if the v° does not select a
ResP, there is no uninterpretable [uRes*] feature requiring checking.

In summary, we have argued that the lack of flexibility in change of state
constructions in verb-framed languages is simply a reflex of a head-movement requirement in
those languages, modeled in a Minimalist framework as a feature-checking requirement on
change of state v° flavors—Romance-type languages have a uRes* on their change-of-state
v°, not uRes. In other work, we show that satellite-framed languages like English have both
uRes* and uRes available. Interface requirements on interpreting individual lexical items will
determine their well-formedness in a given structure or not. This allows the framework to
account for the famous variability in English verbs concerning whether they participate in
double object and verb-particle constructions. We will have to leave this discussion for other
venues however, due to space limitations.

The proposal here has the attractive property of being a truly parametric, language-
wide account, which can group together all the varied phenomena that have been identified as
part of Talmy's generalization. Further, it is a parameter of a very well-studied type, a purely
syntactic, feature-based account which does not depend on assuming that verb-framed
languages are deficient in some regard or other.

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The Spanish *quedar*-passive and its relevance for the typology of adjectival passives

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Goals: This paper provides a theoretical account of the Spanish *quedar* "get"-passive, building on previously unnoticed properties thereof. I show that the *quedar*-passive is built with an adjectival participle, as with adjectival passives (APass) but, interestingly, it contains an implicit external argument, a defining trait of verbal passives (VPass). In light of these findings, I argue that Embick's (2004) typology of APass (stative –i.e. no event implications- and eventive –with an underlying event encoded by vP, but no VoiceP) should be extended to a third type: agentive, which projects a passive VoiceP and introduces an implicit external argument in the structure.

The *quedar*-passive: In addition to VPass (cf. (1a)) and APass (cf. (1b)), which appear with the copular verbs *ser* "to be" and *estar* "to be", respectively, Spanish has a non-canonical passive construction built with the light verb *quedar* (roughly translated as "to get") and a passive participle (cf. (1c)).

(1) a. El Mundial   fue inaugurado.   c. El Mundial   quedó inaugurado.
         the Word-Cup was inaugurated   the World-Cup got   inaugurated
     b. El Mundial   está inaugurado.
         the World-Cup is   inaugurated

The participle that appears in *quedar*-passives is adjectival. First, it disallows activities and states as verbal inputs, like APass with *estar* "to be" (cf. (2a)). Second, as with APass, it disallows dynamic event modifiers (cf. (2b)), which points to its stative character.

(2) a. El coche quedó/ está {pintado/ destrozado/ *empujado/ *amado}.
         the car   got / is   painted/ destroyed / pushed   / loved
     b. *El animal quedó/ está descuartizado violentamente.
          the animal got   / is   dismembered violently

However, *quedar*-passives have a crucial trait that distinguishes them from canonical APass with *estar*. With verbs that could allow for a reflexive reading (eg. *wash, comb…*), such a reading is blocked in both *quedar*-passives and VPass (the so-called *disjoint reference effect*), but not in APass (cf. Kratzer 2000 for German), as we can see in (3). Note, despite the translation in (3a), that this is unlike the English *get*-passive, which does allow for a reflexive reading (eg. *The kid got washed all by himself*).

(3) a. El niño {quedó/ fue} lavado. #Se   lavó   hace 5 minutos.
         the kid   got   was washed REFL washed makes 5 minutes
         "The kid {got/ was} washed. #He washed himself 5 minutes ago."
     b. El niño está lavado. Se   lavó   hace   5 minutos.
         the kid is   washed REFL washed makes 5 minutes
         "The kid is washed. He washed himself 5 minutes ago."

Data such as (3a) for VPass has been taken as evidence that there is an implicit external argument in VPass (cf. Baker et al. 1989), whereas data such as (3b) has been used to argue that there is no external argument in APass, arguably because the relevant structure is absent (cf. Kratzer 2000). The *quedar*-passive, then, shows mixed properties between APass and VPass.

The proposal: I argue that the underlying VP of the participle of *quedar*-passives combines with a passive VoiceP (Kratzer: 1996). At this point, VoiceP denotes a predicate of events. Then, I argue, it combines with a null stativizer A (Kratzer 2000), which stativizes the underlying VP by retrieving a result state argument within its event decomposition and also derives an adjective

from its verbal input (this account is in line with Anagnostopoulou's (2003) work on *–menos* participles in Greek). My proposal, note, builds the adjectival participle in the syntax, contra lexicalist views. I provide a sample derivation in (4b), where I remain neutral about the precise label for the external argument.

(4) a. El jugador quedó eliminado.
   "The player got eliminated."
   b. [$_{vP}$ quedó [$_{AP}$ A [$_{VoiceP}$ ext.arg. [$_{Voice'}$ Voice$_{PASS}$ [$_{vP}$ eliminado el jugador]]]]]

By having a passive VoiceP, we account for the fact that a self-action reading is impossible, since an implicit external argument, distinct from and not coreferent with the internal argument of the verb, is introduced by passive Voice. Further evidence for the requirement of a passive VoiceP in *quedar*-passives is that pure unaccusative verbs (i.e. those that do not participate in the (anti-)causative alternation) are disallowed in *quedar*-passives, as well as in VPass with *ser* "to be" (cf. (5a)). This is unlike APass, which allow for (at least many) pure unaccusative verbs (cf. (5b)). Moreover, *quedar*-passives and VPass allow for a wider range of *by*-phrases than APass (cf. (6)), which suggests that they are licensed by passive VoiceP in the former, but not in the latter.

(5) a. *El río quedó/ fue crecido.   b. El río está crecido.
      the river got / was grown   the river is grown

(6) a. El museo quedó/ fue {fulminado por un rayo   / inaugurado por el alcalde}.
      the museum got / was struck   by a lightning/ inaugurated by the mayor
   b. ??El museo está {fulminado por un rayo   / inaugurado por el alcalde}.
        the museum is struck   by a lightning/ inaugurated by the mayor

I analyze *quedar* as a light verb that is aspectually an achievement, and its participial complement denotes its result state. Evidence for this is that *quedar*-passives can take a temporal modifier indicating the beginning point of the state denoted by the participle (cf. (7a)). It also accepts *in x time* modifiers, which, note, do not apply to the underlying event of the participle but to the event introduced by the light verb, as shown by the fact that it is also acceptable with genuine adjectives that lack an underlying event, such as *limpio* "clean" (cf. (7b)).

(7) a. La pared quedó pintada a las nueve.
      The wall got painted at the nine
      "The wall got painted at nine o'clock."
   b. La mesa quedó {barnizada/ limpia} en dos horas.
      the table got varnished/ clean in two hours

Conclusions: This paper has provided an analysis of the understudied *quedar*-passive in Spanish. It was argued that, despite being an APass, the participle includes a projection of passive VoiceP, which accounts for many of its properties (eg. the disjoint reference effect, the unavailability of pure unaccusative verbs and the availability of *by*-phrases). The theoretically relevant picture that emerges from my work is that the typology of APass proposed by Embick (2004), i.e. stative and eventive, should be enriched accordingly to a third type: agentive, which projects a passive VoiceP and introduces an implicit external argument in the derivation.

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Decomposing Negation: the order of adverbs and negations and the Big NegP hypothesis

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1. In this talk we apply a cartographic approach to negation and propose that what is commonly defined as NegP is a cover term (much like IP or CP) for a complex set of projections that have each their own specific value and none of which has the semantic value of NegP (see Breitbarth (2014) for the proposal that NegP does not exist as such).

2. Zanuttini (1997) has proposed that the clause structure contains at least four distinct positions for negations. Neg1, Neg2, Neg3 and Neg4 are each dedicated to negators with specific syntactic and semantic properties and have a fixed location in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of functional projections.

(1)   [NegP1 *non* [TP1 V+Agr [NegP2 *mica* [TP2 [AdvP 'already'] [NegP3 *niente* [Asp perf. Vpast part [Asp gen/progr [AdvP 'always'] . [NegP4 *NO*]]]]]]]]

However, Manzini and Savoia (2002) has shown that in many Italian dialects "negators" corresponding to one of Zanuttini's types can be found in a different position. For instance, there are varieties where negators corresponding to Neg3 (derived from the quantifier corresponding to 'nothing') are located higher than 'already'(2) or where there are two negations before 'yet' (3):

(2)   I è nen già fa-lu.   (Montaldo)
        I=have.1sg not already done=it
        'I haven't already done it.'

(3)   El ciami mia non anmo (S. Angelo Lodigiano)
        him=call.1sg not not yet
        'I haven't yet called him

We will consider several cases where negators are found in an unexpected word order.

3. Our claim is that Zanuttini's proposal, illustrated in (1) has to be restated as (4), where all negative markers in the clause are actually generated inside a big XP:

(4)   [Focus/Operator *NO* [ScalarP *non* [MinQ *mica* [ExistentialP *(ni)-ente*]]]][1]

We claim that this complex XP is not the real semantic booleian operator, but is only indirectly connected to it. As the syntactic realization of Tense differs from its semantics (see on this Giorgi and Pianesi (1997)), we think that all the elements that seem to encode negation in Romance are not the expression of this negative operator. Other authors have proposed that this is the case: Manzini and Savoia (2005) give a similar explanation assuming that negative adverbs have a nominal nature and are generated inside the predicate layer, Bayer (2009) proposes that negative adverbs start out in the object position. We will propose that this complex XP is generated at the border of the *v*P and then each of its internal elements can move to a different position in the clausal spine of FPs for feature checking. Hence Zanuttini's proposal in (1) can be reinterpreted as the result of the splitting of the structure in (4) after checking operations have applied.

4. Arguments in favor of the approach:

a) Such an approach straightforwardly accounts for cases of "discontinuous negation" (as for instance standard French) in a way similar to Belletti's proposal of DP-doubling as stemming from a unique (big) DP: the two (or more) negative markers originate inside the same projection NegP and are then split to reach different positions where each checks its features (notice that this is already implicit in Pollock (1989) treatment of French negation). If negation is marked through a quantifier, this will simply target the position of quantifiers in the sentence, which is presumably in the low IP space

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[1] For space reasons we will justify the choice of the labels in (2) during the talk and not here.

where also quantifiers like the universal one (*tutto*, 'everything') is located in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. This straightforwardly derives why the presence of more than one negative marker does not give rise to a double negation interpretation, but to negative concord. It also explains why the various "negators" are placed where they are in the structure of the clause: they just move to the FPs where they can check their features. In a sense, negation doubling is similar to DP doubling because the two elements actually behave like one (in terms of sharing a thematic role in the case of DP doubling and in terms of sharing the licensing of a unique negative interpretation). Such an account also captures rare but existing cases of tripling where the three elements are all morphologically different and cannot be the spell-out of the trace of the highest one.

b) One further argument to analyze negation doubling as originating from a single constituent (much as DP doubling in Belletti's (2004) analysis) is the fact that the two negative elements actually occur as a single constituent: for instance in dialects like Paduan, where constituent negation is marked by two elements together.

c) A third phenomenon that a cartographic approach to negation provides an account for is the different, though recurring etymology of elements which are reanalyzed to become the negative marker. As shown by Zanuttini (1997), Northern Italian dialects display several negative markers, but they are all derived from a restricted set of elements a) a minimizer; b) the n-word corresponding to 'nothing'; c) the item corresponding to the polarity particle. We will show that there exist at least two further etymological sources in Southern Italian: a) the negative marker *neca* found in Sicilian (see Cruschina (2011)), which is derived from a cleft clause, and Basilicatan *mank* (related to the adverb/verb 'lack'). The very same etymological processes are described for other language groups like Bantu or Austronesian by van der Auwera (2009). In the talk We will show that there is a correspondence between micro- and macrovariation in the etymological types forming negation markers. The fact that the same etymological sources are associated to negation in different language groups can be explained if we admit that each of these types spells out the same internal "pieces" of the complex XP, but none of them is the actual semantic negation. If we adopt an analysis as the one in (4), Jespersen cycle receives a natural structural explanation in terms of lexicalization of different elements inside the big NegP.

5. Thus, the hypothesis captures cases of movement of lower elements to higher positions: minimizers are generally located higher than T2 but lower than T1, as Zanuttini (1997) shows, while "negators" deriving from n-words are generally lower. However, Manzini and Savoia (2002) show that this is not always the case, although the majority of the dialects still conform to Zanuttini's schema. If we want to keep Zanuttini's original generalization, and at the same time explain Manzini and Savoia's exceptions, we can assume that a first set of the exceptions in terms of movement of the "negator" from the position it usually reaches to check its features to a higher one (as it happens with colloquial Italian preverbal *mica*). Other counterexamples where a given "negator" occurs lower than the position where Zanuttini places it in the structure can also be explained by admitting that the element remains in its original merge position inside XP.

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On Italian complex PPs
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1. In our talk we consider the well-known phenomenon of simple-P selection under lexical Ps in Italian in cases like *sopra al tavolo* 'lit. on to.the table'. In particular, we investigate the distributional properties of the functional/grammatical Ps *a/di* 'to/of', and show that the selection of *a*, *di* or no preposition at all is syntactically driven. More precisely we argue that in complex P structures there is an *a/Ø* alternation relevant at the PP level, and a *di/Ø* alternation solely dependent on the structural status of the DP object of P.

2. Rizzi (1988) divides Italian lexical Ps into 3 groups: group 1 Ps which obligatorily require a simple P (e. g. *davanti a* 'in front of'); group 2 Ps which optionally require *a* (*dietro (a)* 'behind (of)'); and group 3 Ps which never require a simple P (*verso* 'towards').

With this classification in mind, we concentrate on the following minimal pairs:

(1)   a.   Andate **dietro *a***lla macchina
            go behind *to*.the car 'Go after the car'
      b.   Andate **dietro** la macchina
            go behind Ø the car 'Go and place yourself behind the car'

(2)   a.   La macchina si muoveva **verso *di*** noi
            The car refl move towards *of* us 'The car was moving towards us'
      b.   La macchina si muoveva **verso** il muro
            The car refl moved towards Ø the wall 'The car was moving towards the wall'

The alternations in (1)-(2) are blurred in a case like (3), where *a* seems to alternate with *di*:

(3)   a.   L'aereo volava **sopra *di*** noi
            The plane flew above *of* us 'The plane was flying above us'
      b.   L'aereo volava **sopra *a***lla chiesa
            The plane flew above *to*.the church 'The plane was flying above the church'

However, since *sopra Ø noi* is ungrammatical, we argue that lexical Ps like *sopra* can appear in two different structures, one in which its complement is introduced by *a*, and another in which it selects a DP. In the latter case, some DPs require *di*:

(4)   a.   L'aereo volava sopra la chiesa
      b.   *L'aereo volava sopra noi

(5)   a.   [PP *sopra* [XP *a/Ø* [YP *Ø/di* [DP]]]]

Accordingly, Rizzi's (1988) group 3 Ps never show an *a* vs. *di* alternation.

This rather intricate picture however is summarized in this simple generalization: "If a lexical P takes *di* with pronouns, then it can take Ø with full nominal expressions".

3. As regards the *a* vs. *Ø* alternation, we take *a* to *always* be a dative case marker inside the DP object of the complex P, i. e. the Ground, putting it in relation to the functional projections of the fine PP structure, in particular with the AxPartP projection hosting "lexical Ps":

(6)   [PPdir [PPstat [DPPlace …. [AxPartP *lexical Ps* [DP [KP *a* [*Ground* PLACE]…]

We first consider Rizzi's (1988) Group 1 Ps, which always select for the same small P, showing that these Ps have the same selectional pattern as other prepositional complex structures transparently composed of an N and its "external possessor" or its Ground marked by *a*:

(7)   in mano / di fronte / davanti al professore
       in hand / of front / before   to.the professor
       "In the professor's hand / in front of the professor /before the professor"

In all these cases, *a* encodes an "inclusion relation" (in the sense of Manzini & Savoia 2010): the dative marked DP is the "external possessor" of the internal argument of a predicate. In the case of Group1 Ps, the dative marked Ground "includes/possesses" an N in the fine

structure of the lexical P. Structurally, Group1 Ps are merged in AxPartP (cf. Svenonius 2007 on the "nominal" nature of AxParts):

(8)　　[PPdir [PPstat [DPPlace …. [AxPartP *davanti* [DP [KP *a* [*Ground* PLACE]…]

By contrast, Group 3 Ps never select for a dative marked Ground since they are not associated with an N. Structurally, they are merged in Spec PPdir, the highest *functional* projection in the fine PP encoding "path" features (cf. the intrinsic *path* component of Group 3 Ps).

(9)　　[PPdir *verso* [PPstat [DPPlace …. [AxPartP [DP [KP Ø [*Ground* PLACE]…]

In the light of this, the optionality of *a* with Group 2 Ps is explained by assuming that these Ps may be merged either in AxPartP as Group 1 Ps or directly in PPstat/PPdir as Group 3 Ps:

(10)　a.　　[PPdir [PPstat [DPPlace …. [AxPartP *sopra* [DP [KP *a* [*Ground* PLACE]…]
　　　b.　　[PPdir [PPstat *sopra* [DPPlace …. [AxPartP [DP [KP Ø [*Ground* PLACE]…]

We will also show that the availability of these different structures for Group 2 Ps in the grammar(s) of native speakers makes also sense of the various different interpretations each native speaker associates with the presence/absence of *a* (cf. Rizzi's 1988; Tortora 2008).

4. The *di/Ø* alternation is based on a bare/complex alternation of the N selected by P. Rizzi (1988) points out that *di* is required by personal and reflexive pronouns (11a-b). Our data show that this property is shared also by demonstratives (11c), proper nouns (11d) and *wh* items (11e):

(11)　a.　　Correvo verso *(di) lui
　　　　　　run towards of him 'I was running towards him'
　　　b.　　Rivolse l'arma verso *(di) sé
　　　　　　turned the weapon towards of refl 'He turned the weapon against himself'
　　　c.　　Rivolse l'arma verso (di) quelli
　　　　　　turned the weapon towards of those 'He turned the weapon against those'
　　　d.　　Correvo verso (di) Mario
　　　　　　run towards of Mario 'I was running towards M.
　　　e.　　Verso (di) chi ha rivolto l'arma?
　　　　　　towards of who has turned the weapon 'Against whom did he turn the weapon?'

There is variation in the acceptability of the cases (11c-e), but for all speakers the presence of *di* is ungrammatical with a complex DP:

(12)　a.　　Rivolse l'arma verso (*di) sé stesso
　　　　　　　　　　　　towards of refl himself
　　　b.　　Verso (*di) quale persona ha rivolto l'arma?
　　　　　　towards of which person

We propose that *di* is a Genitive Case marker, which encodes a possession relation between the pronoun and a silent PLACE (see Cinque 2010 on this).

(13)　　　　[PPdir [PPstat [DPPlace …. [AxPartP *sopra* [DP [*Ground* PLACE
　　　　　　[KP *di* [DP *me*]…]

As for the reason why pronouns (or a given subset of pronouns) cannot be directly selected by AxPart Ps, we argue that this is related to the fact that pronouns have deictic Reference. This, in turn, has a very interesting parallel in the fact that infinitives (which have deictic Tense Reference) also require a prepositional complementizer, that is a Case marker. This shows that our analysis has some far reaching consequences for the much debated problem of Case assignment to (infinitive) CPs.

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Imperatives, Relative Clauses, and Old Romance Subordination: Some Considerations from Latin
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    Imperative forms of the verb are rarely, if ever, found in Romance relative clauses. This may seem unsurprising given the long-held notion in generative linguistics that imperatives are universally prohibited from embedded contexts (e.g. Sadock and Zwicky 1985, Han 2000, a.o.). Yet recent work has shown this ban to be less universal than was previously thought as embedded imperatives have been found to occur across a diverse set of languages ranging from English (Crnič and Trinh 2011) and Slovenian (Milojević and Golden 2002; Rus 2005) to Chinese (Chen-Main 2005) and Mbyà (Thomas 2013). The presence of Romance imperatives in embedded contexts like relative clauses is therefore theoretically possible, and so the fact they do not occur in these contexts is worth some consideration.

    The general lack of Romance imperatives in relative clauses suggests their absence from Old Romance as well. Yet they do appear throughout most of the history of Latin, from the Early (1a) to the Classical (1b) and Late (1c) periods of the language (for periodization and dates, see Cuzzolin and Haverling 2009: 20):

(1) **Latin Relative Clauses with Imperatives**

    a. <u>Early Latin</u> (Terence, *Heaut. Tim.*, 576-7)

    apud alium prohibet dignitas; apud alium ipsi(u)s facti   pudet,
    with one   prohibits dignity   with other   itself   deed   be-ashamed

    *ne   ineptus, ne protervos videar: <u>quod</u>   illum   facere **credito***
    lest inept   lest shameless seem   which   that-one to-do believe-IMP
    'with one dignity prevents (it), with the other I am ashamed of the deed itself lest I seem inept or shameless, <u>which</u> **believe** him to do'

    b. <u>Classical Latin</u> (Cicero, *Cluent*. 168)

    *is hunc suo testimonio sublevat; <u>quod</u>   **recita***
    he   him   his testimony   supports   which   read-out.IMP
    'He$_i$ supports him$_j$ with his$_i$ testimony, <u>which</u> **read out**'

    c. <u>Late Latin</u> (CE 1101= Cerealis Castellensis [b. c. 480 CE])

    *hic tumulus Fructi sacer est, <u>quem</u> laedere   **noli***
    here hill   Fructus sacred is   which   to-damage   unwilling-2nd.sg.imp
    'This is the sacred hill of Fructus, which you must not damage [lit. '<u>which</u> **be unwilling** to damage']

The examples in (1), all non-restrictive relatives, demonstrate that Latin imperatives (marked in bold) were licit within relative clauses for a majority of the language's history. Given that Latin is, in some way, the antecedent for Old Romance and the Romance languages, the question arises as to why the ability to place imperatives within relative clauses was lost.

It is possible that the Romance languages simply lost the ability to embed imperatives as they developed and came to pattern with most of the other languages of the world. This paper, however, argues that the answer must be more complicated, since the ultimate analysis of the Latin constructions in (1) shows they pattern more like correlatives and are therefore best understood as not subordinated to their main clauses—i.e. not embedded (cf. van der Wurff 2007). That is, the lack of these structures in Romance cannot be due to a general loss of embedded imperatives since they were never embedded to begin with. We may instead be dealing with a change in the syntactic relationship between the relative and main clauses, particularly with respect to the degree of subordination of the former to the latter, which ultimately results in the prohibition of imperatives from Romance relatives. By examining the relationship between imperatives and relative clauses, this paper aims to provide a starting point for further investigation into Old Romance subordinate clauses, ultimately shedding light on both their synchronic status and diachronic development.

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Subject Clitics in Child French
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There has been much debate over whether French subject clitics are inflectional affixes denoting agreement (Legendre et al. (2010)) or syntactic arguments (de Cat (2005)). The former has been referred to as the morphological analysis and the latter as the syntactic analysis. This debate has been particularly motivated by observations of potential "subject doubling," in which a strong pronoun or other full DP precedes a subject clitic (as in (1)), in child French.

(1)   **Moi   je**   danse.
        PRON.1SG SCL.1SG dance.PRES.1SG
        'Me I dance.'

The syntactic analysis claims that the possibility for material to intercede between the clitic and the verb (e.g. *ne*), as in (2), and the ability for the clitic to move (e.g. subject-verb inversion), as in (3), refute the morphological analysis (de Cat 2005).

(2)   Il   ne   veut   pas une poire.
        SCL.3SG NEG want.PRES.3SG not a   pear
        'He doesn't want a pear.

(3)   Peux-tu   voir   l'écran?
        able.PRES.2SG-SCL.2SG see.INF the-screen
        'Can you see the screen?

However, the morphological analysis argues that *ne*-retention and inversion are not regularly attested in Colloquial French (see (4-5)), supporting an affixal analysis (Legendre et al. 2010).

(4)   Il   veut   pas un poire.
        SCL.3SG want.PRES.3SG not a pear
        'He doesn't want a pear.'

(5)   Tu   peux   voir   l'écran?
        SCL.2SG able.PRES.2SG see.INF the-screen
        'Can you seen the screen?'

Previous research has focused on these two interpretations, and has framed the debate as a dichotomy in which *both* child *and* adult French represent subject clitics as either affixes or arguments. I claim that there is a third possibility: children may initially analyze subject clitics as affixes, due to the hybrid nature of them, but as they acquire the adult grammar they will then re-analyze them as arguments. Subject doubling may therefore correspond to a stage in acquisition. Differences in the rates of subject doubling and *ne*-retention, and a low rate of inversion, support this alternative interpretation.

For this research, I conducted two analyses using the speech of 20 children and one adult from the Palasis corpus found on CHILDES (MacWhinney 2000; Palasis 2010). The purpose of the first analysis is to determine the rates of subject doubling in child and adult French. The

results indicate that the children produce a higher rate of doubling than the adult (see Table 1), and this contrast is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

Table 1. Rates of Subject Doubling

	Doubled Subjects	Non-Doubled Subjects	Total	Rate of Doubling
Children	1256	3,538	4,794	26.2%
Adult	231	4,141	4,372	5.3%

In the second analysis, I determined how many times each child and the adult produces negation with and without *ne*. The same calculations were then made to find the rates of subject-verb inversion. Results indicate that the rate of *ne*-retention is lower for children (see Table 2), and the contrast in rates between the children and the adult is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). This is not expected if children and adults have the same representation of subject clitics. The rates of inversion for the children and the adult are both low (see Table 3), and while not significantly different, provide additional support for an affixal interpretation in child French.

Table 2. Rates of *Ne*-Retention

	Negation with *Ne*	Negation without *Ne*	Total	Rate of *Ne*-Retention
Children	8	958	966	0.8%
Adult	55	648	703	7.8%

Table 3. Rates of Subject-Verb Inversion

	Inversion	No Inversion	Total	Rate of Inversion
Children	6	375	381	1.6%
Adult	0	1408	1408	0%

I argue that these differences in production correspond to a stage in acquisition in which there are competing grammars in child French, following the variational learning model (Yang 2002). Until French-speaking children have enough evidence that informs them that clitics are arguments in the target grammar, they analyze them as affixes. As a consequence of this analysis, they prefer to keep the subject clitic adjacent to the verb, and rarely retain *ne* in negation or invert the verb with the subject clitic.

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THE OPACITY OF SUBJECTS IN ITALIAN: AN EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION ON THE ROLE OF EXTERNAL-SYNTAX FACTORS IN CUMULATIVE EFFECTS

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1. Introduction. Chomsky (1973) postulated the *Subject Condition* to account for the opacity of (nominal) subjects to extraction, attributing thus a special status to subjects in a categorical way. Subsequently, this condition was decomposed into a number of general non-subject-specific constraints on extraction whose violation leads to a decrease in acceptability. Recently, Haegeman et al. (2014) identified a number of heterogeneous factors which determine subjects' opacity. They classify them in: i) External-Syntax factors; ii) Internal Properties of the Subject (e.g. Specificity); iii) Properties of the Extractee (e.g. D-Linking). Crucially, they propose that the constraints have a *Cumulative Effect*, in the sense that the more constraints that are violated, the greater the decrease in acceptability that results. **2. External Syntax.** External-syntax factors are determined by the syntactic computation in which the subject is involved. Haegeman et al. (2014) list the constraints in (1-3) as contributing to the Cumulative Effect:

(1) <u>Freezing Principle:</u>   *A moved constituent is frozen for extraction* (see. Wexler & Culicover 1980, Takahashi 1994, Hofmeister 2012).

(2) <u>Inactivity Condition:</u>   *An inactive A-chain (i.e. one with no unvalued A-features) is opaque for extraction* (Chomsky 2008).

(3) <u>Edge Condition:</u>   *The edge of a phase is opaque for extraction* (Chomsky 2008).

In addition, they propose that extraction always targets the head of a (A or Ā) chain (*contra* Chomsky's 2008), rather than intermediate positions:

(4) <u>Extraction Constraint</u>**:**   *Extraction is only possible from the head of a chain.*

3. Subject position in Italian. In this paper we test the hypothesis that external syntax plays a role in the Cumulative Effect in Italian. Given (1-4), at least two factors are expected to modulate the Cumulative Effect: i) the surface position of subjects (e.g. pre vs. post-verbal) and ii) the presence of phase edges in the structure (e.g. transitive/unergative v*). In Italian, the subject can appear both in pre- and post-verbal positions in different types of predicates. Specifically, we take into exam four predicate-types: unaccusatives, passives, unergatives and transitives. Pre-verbal subjects normally head an A-chain in the high portion of the inflectional layer (e.g. Spec,TP or Spec,SubjP) with no difference between predicate-types (Cardinaletti 2004, Rizzi 2006). Post-verbal subjects, on the other hand, occupy different positions depending on the predicate type: in unaccusative and passive predicates, post-verbal subjects stay *in-situ* in internal-argument position (e.g. as complements of V); in unergative predicates, post-verbal subjects appear *in-situ* in external-argument position (e.g. in Spec,v*P; the right order being obtained *via* verb movement to the inflectional layer) (see Burzio 1986); in transitive predicates, post-verbal subjects are displaced in a (low) focus position, heading an Ā-chain (Belletti 2001, 2004). **4.Predictions.** *Ceteris Paribus,* all pre-verbal subjects are expected to display the same Cumulative Effect, since they all violate the Freezing Principle (1) and the Inactivity Condition (2). Differently, post-verbal subjects are expected to display different behaviours, depending on the predicate-type (Table 1). Most importantly, extraction from post-verbal subjects in unaccusative and passive predicates is expected to lead to the same decrease in acceptability as objects, because none of the constraints is violated (Table 1).

Table 1

Subj-position	Predicate Type	Violated Constraints
Pre-verbal	Unaccusatives	[1] + [2]
Pre-verbal	Passives	[1] + [2]
Pre-verbal	Unergatives	[1] + [2]
Pre-verbal	Transitives	[1] + [2]

5. The study. 337 undergraduates, self-reported monolingual native speakers of Italian, participated in a set of Magnitude Estimation experiments (Bard et al. 1997). In

Post-verbal	Unaccusatives	none
Post-verbal	Passives	none
Post-verbal	Unergatives	[3]
Post-verbal	Transitives	[1]

the first experiment, *wh*-extraction from a subject DP was contrasted with *wh*-extraction from an object DP, by comparing both of them with (locative) adjunct *wh*-movement as a baseline (see examples [5-7]). 95 participants were tested:

(5) Di quale scuola il preside ha invitato Gianni?/*Of which school the principle invited John?*
(6) Di quale scuola Gianni ha invitato il preside?/*Of which school John invited the principle?*
(7) In quale scuola il preside ha invitato Gianni?/*In which school the principle invited John?*

In the second experiment, we built a set of stimuli in which *wh*-extraction from subjects was contrasted with adjunct *wh*-movement, manipulating subject's position (pre-verbal/post-verbal) in both extraction and non-extraction conditions:

(8) Pre/extraction	Di quale città il sindaco ha protestato?/*Of which city the mayor protested?*
Pre/non-extraction	In quale città il sindaco ha protestato?/*In which city the mayor protested?*
Post/extraction	Di quale città ha protestato il sindaco?/*Of which city protested the mayor?*
Post/non-extraction	In quale città ha protestato il sindaco?/*In which city protested the mayor?*

We tested four different predicate-types: transitives, unergatives, passives and unaccusatives. All others factors (e.g. D-Linking, Specificity) have been kept constant. 242 participants were tested.
6. Results. In the first experiment, we found significant decrease in acceptability in extraction from subjects (estimate=-1. 05; pMCMC=.0001) and a much smaller decrease in acceptability in extraction from objects (estimate=-.39; pMCMC=.0004). In the second experiment, we found significant decrease in acceptability across all the predicate-types (estimate=.85; pMCMC=.0001), although marginally significant degradation is found in unergative predicates (b=.38, pMCMC=.0282). No three-way interaction between the extraction condition, the position of the subject and the predicate-type has been found. **7. Discussion.** Our results show that subjects are consistently opaque to extraction across the different conditions, showing a significantly stronger decrease in acceptability compared to objects. However, this effect is not modulated by the external-syntax factors in (1-3). Strikingly, *in-situ* subjects in unaccusatives and passives appear to be opaque on a par with other subjects. This result suggests that (1-3) do not modulate the opacity of subjects, posing a challenge for the hypothesis that external syntax participates in the Cumulative Effect. This result is also problematic for linear-order-based processing approaches, which trace subjects' opacity to the monotonic decrease in processing costs across the course of a sentence (Kluender 2004; see also Van Petten and Kutas 1990) and to the presence of a nested dependency in which a filler is linked to a gap inside another filler linked to another gap (Hofmeister 2012). We will argue that subjects maintain a special status besides their structural syntactic properties in that they constitute the *pivotal* argument at some level of the semantic representation (Strawson 1964, 1970). We will propose that subjects bear an *Aboutness* feature that must be related with the main assertion of a sentence (typically represented by the main clause predicate). We will pursue Kluender's (2004) interpretation of the *Relativized Relevance Principle* (Frazier 1990), arguing that the *Aboutness* feature is encoded at some level of representation in the processing of a sentence, resulting in a processing cost associated to the request of tying (certain) constituents to the main assertion of the sentence. In particular, we will propose that a filler undergoes a processing pressure to be associated not only with its gap, but also with the main assertion when no other constituent is able to independently discharge the *Aboutness* feature. This will account for the difficulty in processing post-verbal subjects and for the asymmetry between post-verbal unaccusative/passive subjects and objects.

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Microvariation across nominal structures in Southern Italian Romance. A parametric approach.
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Introduction. This contribution will discuss instances of syntactic microvariation in nominal structures in a selection of Romance dialects of Southern Italy. I will suggest a comparative analysis based on the methodological premises of the Parametric Comparison Method (PCM, Longobardi/Guardiano 2009). The observed variation will be described as following from minimal differences in parameter values.

Methodological premises. Recent implementations of PCM (Longobardi et al 2013) have shown that parameters not only are able to retain historical information and allow for historical reconstruction, but also are capable to identify "horizontal" relations and encode aspects of dialectal microvariation. This paper is part of a broader research whose main goal is to implement PCM as a powerful tool to explore dialectal microvariation in syntax, in order to better understand contact-induced syntactic change.

Languages and data. This contribution will specifically focus on the following dialects: (a) Sicilian (the label covers, for the specific purposes of this paper, a group of dialects spoken in Sicily and Southern Calabria, with the exception of non-Romance dialects and the Gallo-Italic dialects spoken in the area of Piazza Armerina; some detailed data from Ragusa, Mussomeli and Reggio Calabria will be discussed and compared, in particular); (b) Aidonese (a Gallo-Italic dialect spoken in Sicily); (c) Salentino; (d) Northern Calabrese. The data explored were collected on purpose from native speakers, and have been complemented with information coming from the scientific literature and textual sources.

Syntactic variation in the nominal domain. The following subdomains will be examined. **(a) Adjectival modification**: nominal structures exhibit a set of universal positions specifically associated to adjectival modifiers, prenominal and hierarchically ordered (*Speaker Oriented > Manner1 > Manner 2 > Argument*: Sproat/Shih 1991, Cinque 2010); crosslinguistic variation in the position of the noun depends on N/NP movement (Longobardi 2001, Cinque 2010, a.o.). Some languages (Alexiadou et al. 2007) have a further position, always postnominal and often described as a reduced relative clause. Romance languages (Bernstein 1993) display internal variation with respect to the accessibility of prenominal positions, while seem to uniformly allow postnominal adjectives (with differences in their interpretation and scopal properties, cf. Cinque 2010). In Italian, prenominal positions are restricted to speaker-oriented and (a subset of) manner adjectives (*SOr>M1>*N*>M2>Arg*, Longobardi 2001). In the Romance dialects under exam, prenominal positions are even more constrained (available only to a minimal subset of *high* adjectives; Guardiano/Stavrou 2014), while all adjectives can be potsnominal, with restrictions in ordering and interpretation variable from dialect to dialect. Comparison with the Greek dialects spoken in the area shows a strong convergence towards the same pattern (Guardiano/Stavou 2014). **(b) *Definite* articles and D.** It has been shown (Longobardi 1994) that, crosslinguistically, the item labeled "definite" article may cover in fact additional functions besides the encoding of *definiteness* itself; for instance, *strong D* languages (Longobardi 2005) use it obligatorily as a filler of D when D acts as a *reference* operator (i.e. with *kind-* and *object-referential* expressions, *kind* and *proper names,* respectively). Romance languages are *strong D* (thus, they must make D visible with *kind names* and proper names), and the dialects under exam are coherent to this pattern: proper names either raise to D or occur with a definite article, and kind names must obligatorily occur with a definite article. One exception is Salentino (Guardiano 2011, Ledgeway 2012), where proper names systematically occur with an article, thus suggesting restrictions acting on noun movement to D, perhaps similar to those operating in Greek (Guardiano 2006). **(c) Noun arguments (*genitives*).** Italian, as well as other Romance languages (with the exception of Rumanian, Longobardi et al *in prep*), has one productive strategy for noun arguments: a *prepositional* genitive (Longobardi 2001, Longobardi/Silvestri 2012). Though, it has been extensively shown (Silvestri 2014), that traces of (non prepositional, postnominal and non-iterable) *structural* genitives (available in Latin as well as in early Romance, Gianollo 2005, Delfitto/Paradisi 2009) are

visible in many of the dialects explored here: in most of them they are residual, while in other they seem more productive (Silvestri 2014). They are apparently the consequence of the retention of a Latin pattern; though, the same pattern is also visible in Greek, thus suggesting concomitant effects of horizontal convergence as well. **(e) Demonstratives**. The internal semantic structure of demonstrative systems across the dialects under analysis is variable (Ledgeway 2004, Guardiano 2010); contrariwise, their syntactic properties almost completely overlap to the Italian pattern (with a couple of interesting exceptions, which will be discussed). Interestingly, the "Romance model" (that differs from the Greek one in many respects) seems to be widespread in the area (i.e. also to the Greek minorities). **(f) Possessives.** In this subdomain, the dialects under exam exhibit significant internal variation, visible in: (a) relative order of possessives and head noun, (b) cliticization, (c) restrictions on the co-occurrence with the definite article. In this particular domain, variation is likely to act on Romance dialects only: the Greek varieties spoken in the same area exhibit stronger genealogical uniformity.

Exploring microvariation. The observed phenomena will be described as following from minimal differences in the settings of a subset of specific parameters. Most of such parameters are likely to meet Biberauer & Roberts' (2012) definition of "nanoparameter", and seem to be sensitive (more than others) to areal uniformity. Indeed, comparison shows that not all the observed subdomains are equally sensitive to phenomena of horizontal convergence, that is that parameter values have different degrees of sensitivity to contact. Such phenomena do not seem to affect the identification of genealogical relationship: none of the genealogical experiments so far performed on the present data ever misinterpret genealogical groupings. In sum, syntactic parameters, while still retaining genealogical information on various levels of chronological depth (Longobardi et al 2013), can be proved to be able to detect, at least to a certain extent, horizontal convergence as well and, as such, to serve as a powerful tool for a better understanding of syntactic microvariation and change in dialectal domains.

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The impact of embedded pronouns on children's relative clause comprehension
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Children's difficulty with object relative clauses (OR) has been explained as due to an intervention locality effect, triggered by the presence of two full DPs as arguments of the embedded verb (Friedmann et al., 2009). This account predicts facilitated comprehension of ORs–but not of SRs–when the embedded subject is a pronoun rather than a full DP. In contrast, Arnon (2010) found that the 1st-person pronoun facilitates child comprehension of both ORs and SRs. To date, existing studies have tested the effect of one pronoun type only. In this study, we provide an extensive investigation of how various referring expressions–full DPs and 1st-person as well as 3rd-person pronouns–affect children's comprehension of ORs and SRs in Italian.

Sixty-eight Italian-speaking children (aged 4;0-5;11, M=5;3) watched animated videos (cf. Figure 1) and were asked to name the color of one animal in the scene, identified through a relative clause. The visual and linguistic stimuli supported felicitous usage of relative clauses and pronouns. We collected off-line response accuracy as well as on-line eye gaze data. The factors Gap (SR / OR) and Referring Expression (1st-person pronoun / 3rd-person pronoun / 2DP) were crossed, yielding six types of relative clauses (cf. Table 1).

Off-line, children's accuracy was at or above 90% on all conditions. A main effect of Referring Expression (p<.001) suggests that the 1st-person pronoun facilitated both ORs and SRs, as compared to 2DP. On-line, there was a main effect of Gap (t=3.001), with overall more target looks in ORs than SRs. Moreover, from 500ms to 1500ms after the relative pronoun, both the 1st-person and the 3rd-person pronouns determined greater target looks than 2DP (t-values > |2|), an effect that was similar for ORs and SRs (cf. Figure 2). In a further analysis we checked the difference between the effects of the two pronouns. From 500ms to 1000ms after the relative pronoun, the 1st-person pronoun determined greater target looks than the 3rd-person pronoun (p=.04, with Bonferroni adjustment).

The overall high performance supports previous claims (Hamburger & Crain, 1982; Corrêa, 1995; Adani, 2011) that 4- and 5-year-olds already understand ORs (even those with two full DPs), when tested with pragmatically appropriate conditions. However, the main findings of the present study are that the 1st- and 3rd-person pronouns facilitate children's processing of both ORs and SRs, and that the facilitation of the 1st-person pronoun is greater than that of the 3rd-person pronoun. Both effects are not predicted by the intervention locality approach.

To explain these results, we propose to integrate the discourse properties of the various referring expressions into the intervention locality approach. The facilitation of both pronouns, as compared to relative clauses with two full DPs, can be captured in terms of intervention locality. However, in order to explain the greater facilitation of the 1st-, as compared to the 3rd-person pronoun, it is necessary to take into consideration the way these pronouns establish reference. Discourse referents of 1st-person pronouns are directly accessed (Erteschik-Shir, 1997), hence they are processed with less effort; on the other hand, 3rd-person pronouns must be resolved via an antecedent before their discourse referents are accessed, thus determining greater processing load (Carminati, 2005). The fact that the pronoun facilitation is effective both on ORs and SRs indicates that the discourse properties of the pronouns play a role independently of intervention locality effects. The greater amount of target looks in ORs, as compared to SRs, appears to be due to an initial preference for fixating the distractor figure in SRs, before the linguistic input is processed. Subsequently, however, the eye gaze is guided by the unfolding sentence, as suggested by the varying pronoun effects occurring on-line.

In sum, the data presented indicate that preschoolers are able to understand relative clauses correctly when tested off-line, and that the on-line processing of both ORs and SRs is modulated by the discourse properties of various referring expressions.

Table 1: Example sentences of the 6 conditions – the relative clause head was singular in half of the items and plural in the other half; respectively, the embedded DP was plural or singular to create Number mismatch. This was done to avoid ambiguous relatives with two singular or two plural DPs.

	Subject relative clauses	Object relative clauses
2DP	*Di che colore è il topo che sta lavando **le scimmie**?* Of what color is the mouse that is washing the monkeys	*Di che colore è il topo che **le scimmie** stanno lavando?* Of what color is the mouse that the monkeys are washing
1st-person pronoun	*Di che colore è il topo che **ci** sta lavando?* Of what color is the mouse that us is washing	*Di che colore è il topo che **noi** stiamo lavando?* Of what color is the mouse that we are washing
3rd-person pronoun	*Di che colore è il topo che **le** sta lavando?* Of what color is the mouse that them is washing	*Di che colore è il topo che **loro** stanno lavando?* Of what color is the mouse that they are washing

Figure 2: Target looks for each of the six conditions.
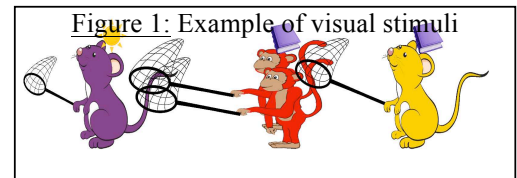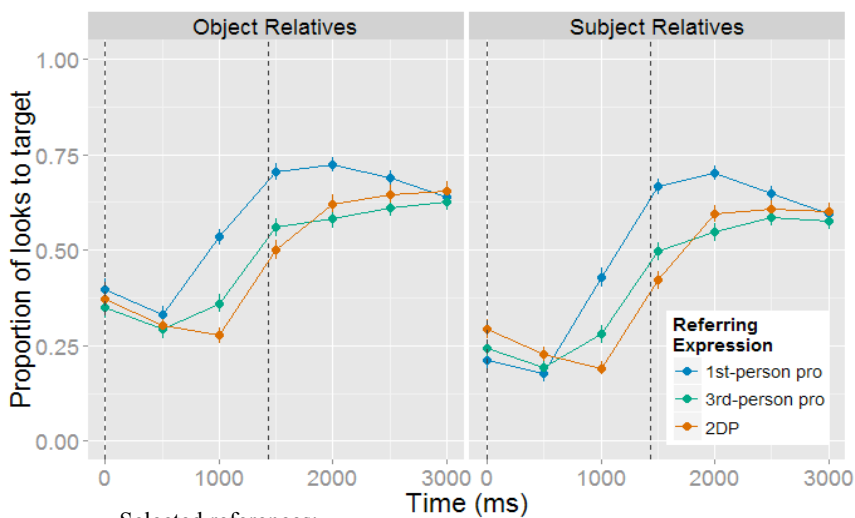
Figure 1: Example of visual stimuli

Proportion of looks to target = looks to Target divided by looks to Target + Distractor + Middle figures; left dashed line = 200ms after the relative pronoun (*che*) offset; right dashed line = end of sentence; error bars = ±1SE.

Selected references:

Arnon (2010). Rethinking child difficulty: The effect of NP type on children's processing of relative clauses in Hebrew. *Journal of Child Language 37*, 27-57.

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CASE, *PRO*-FEATURES, AND NOMINAL LINKERS: EVIDENCE FROM ROMANIAN GENITIVES
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Romanian genitive has so far defied reduction to general principles and natural parameters of UG. This paper aims at decomposing its morphosyntax into smaller independently attested typological categories, shedding further light on the parameters of genitive licensing, pronominal agreement (Franco et al. 2012), as well as the ontology of nominal linkers (known as *ezafe* in the Persian grammatical tradition – Larson et Yamakido 1997, Karimi 2001, Spencer 2002, Toosarvandani and van Urk 2013, etc.). Genitives in Modern Romanian are typically licensed in strict adjacency with the (interpreted) definiteness marker (henceforth *def*) suffixed on the head noun as in (1a) (in a high register, even on a preposed adjective: (2)). If (and, crucially, only if) the genitive is not adjacent to a definite noun/adjective (cf. (1b), where the head noun is indefinite, or (1c), with an intervening indefinite adjective), a linker/*ezafe* (EZ, spelt out as *a-*) occurs, and must also carry the -feature morphology of *def*, though not its definite interpretation. As elsewhere, -feature agreement on EZ is with the head noun, not with the genitive.

(1a) Carte*a*   copilu*lui*   mare   (1b) O   carte   ***(a)/*al***   copilului.
   book.the.F.SG.   child.GEN.SG.M.   big.F.SG.   a.F.SG. book.F.SG. EZ.F.SG./*EZ.M.SG.   child.GEN.M.SG.
    'The child's big book.'   'a book of the child.'
(1c) Câine*le*   frumos   *al*   fetei.   / Câine*le* (*frumos) fetei.
   dog.the.M.SG.   cute.M.SG.   EZ.M.SG.   girl.GEN.F.SG.
    'The girl's cute dog.'
(2) Mişcătoare*a*   mărilor   singuratate   (poetic).
    Flowing.the.F.SG.   sea.F.PL.GEN.PL.   solitude.F.SG.
     'The flowing solitude of the seas.'

Def alone is nevertheless *not* sufficient as licenser of genitive: examples with *def* morphology encliticized on the indefinite marker (to construct specificity) are ungrammatical without EZ:

(3) (am cumpărat-o)   pe   un-*a*   *(a)   copilului.
   (I have bought-CLT.3.SG.F.)   DOM   a-the.F.SG.   EZ.F.SG.   child.GEN.M.SG.
    'I bought the one of the child.'   (DOM = differential object marking)

(3) also shows that the absence of the ezafe in (1a) *cannot* be simply due to an identity avoidance mechanism on the PF side (Ghomeshi 1997). Apparently, the only genitive licensing configuration is the cluster N-*def* (or A-*def* in the literary register), where N can be replaced by the linker *a*, understood here as a bearer of a required [+N] categorial feature.

Typological parallels. Romanian data pose both typological and theoretical problems: although licensing pronominal possessives through adjacency to a definite enclitic is shared with other languages with the latter property (Norwegian in (4a) and Bulgarian in (4b)), Romanian is different in two respects: i) it generalizes the strategy to all genitives; ii) in some instances it requires and licenses EZ, though unlike across-the-board linker/EZ languages (e.g. Albanian, Zazaki), this linker strategy is a constrained option.

(4a) NORWEGIAN (Taraldsen 1990, adapted)   (4b) BULGARIAN (Cinque and Krapova 2001, adapted)
Valget   (*til leader) *vårt* (til leader).   Zalavjaneto (*na vojnika)   *negovo* (na vojnika)
Election.the   to leader   our   (to leader)   his capture   (of soldier.the) his   (of….)
'Our election as leader.'   'his capture of the soldier.'

Theoretical questions: 1) does the genitive have a crosslinguistically uniform licensing structure? 2) what derives the obligatoriness of an adjacent *def*? 3) how are these conditions parametrized? Consider (5-7): it appears that the genitive in Romanian nouns is in fact diachronically – and arguably also synchronically - an oblique (genitive/dative) personal *pronoun* (default 3rd person) encliticized on the noun (procliticized with proper names). It looks also as an oblique form of the morpheme used as *definite article*. Let us refer to it here as PRO-NOM genitive.

(5) cartea   copil-u-*lui*.   (6) cartea *lui*-Ion   (7) cartea   *lui*.
   book.the.F.SG.   child-EP.V-*3rd/the*.M.SG.GEN.   book *3rd/the*.M.SG.GEN.-Ion   book.the.F.SG.   *3rd.M.SG.GEN*.
   'the book of the child'   'child's, his book.'   'Ion's book.'   'his book.'

The analysis. We propose that in both Romanian and Norwegian/Bulgarian it is precisely a genitive with feature composition similar to pronouns/def markers, which is licensed by the *def* component of N-*def*. Licensing by N is simply an additional requirement, independently shown to affect other functional (non-prepositional) genitives (Longobardi 1996). More specifically, *def* has a feature composition shared by PRO-NOM – understood as the set {nominal phi-features, +N} without nominal lexical content. Notice that the pronoun cliticized onto the genitive N in Romanian is *not* necessarily interpreted with any independent (co-) referential properties or as a definite operator. Thus, the pronominal/D features of the genitive start out as *uninterpretable* and require another PRO-NOM feature set in order to be licensed.

The mechanics. The genitive DP initially merges within the domain of the head noun (if it has an argument position that has to be saturated). Then, the definite article is merged in a low position, above N and below any adjectival projections (cf. Icelandic where articles are spelt out in this position). Then the Genitive projection with an [$_u$Case] is merged above adjectives (Longobardi's 2001 GenS), which will probe into its c-domain. Checking of the [$_u$Case] triggers internal merge of the genitive DP, which subsequently probes down and checks its [**u***pron*]. *Def Art* further raises to D along with the head noun (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994), and deletes the genitive's [uN].

(8) ......[[$_{GENP}$ [D-lui N$_{Gen}$]   Gen]   [[Def.Art.]   [$_{NP}$ <D—N$_{Gen}$>   N]]]
        [**u***pron*],[**uN**] [u̶C̶a̶s̶e̶]   [**i***pron*]   {[iφ], [**u***pron*], [iCase]}   [+N],[iφ]

To account for the adjacency requirement illustrated in (1a-1c), we postulate that in Romanian only GenS is active, exactly as e.g. in English. This also vindicates Grosu's (1987) insight that the surface distribution of Romanian genitive is similar to that of Semitic Construct State genitive and some interaction with determination arises, unlike for the one sparsely appearing in West Romance in a lower position (Delfitto & Paradisi 2009, Silvestri 2014, etc.).

The ezafe requirement. Our proposal is that the *ezafe* is a last resort strategy, arising iff a Case-licensing N-*def* feature cluster is not available. EZ *a-* is a lexically/semantically empty N that projects a new/surrogate (extended) nominal projection, including a D, to which it raises along with a *def* morpheme, and a GenS position to host and license the genitive argument. The new DP, containing the *ezafe* and the genitive, is probably merged to the left of the extended projection of the main head noun and agrees in -features and θ-properties with it. This is followed by (remnant) movement of the original DP to the left of the *ezafe*.

The crosslinguistic pattern. To recapitulate, the parallels with Norwegian and Bulgarian are the following: a) licensing through the definite article; b) presence of PRO-NOM genitive (modulo the fact that Romanian has extended this to *all* genitives). We will argue that the whole crosslinguistic pattern follows straightforwardly from UG principles and parameters otherwise needed. PRINCIPLES: **i**) EZ is a last resort strategy in a language specializing it to license genitives, thus ruling out *cartea a copilului; **ii**) a [+N] component licenses functional genitives (Romanian nouns, and high register adjectives have a +N feature); **iii**) only two functional positions are theoretically available for non-prepositional genitives: D **GenS** (A*) **GenO** (cf. evidence from German: ***Ottos neue Beschreibung Marias** 'Otto's new description of Maria'*); a necessary (though not sufficient) condition for them to be activated is that they be overtly or covertly crossed over by the N category. PARAMETERS: **i**) languages can activate neither/one/both of these positions (Longobardi and Silvestri 2013); **ii**) languages with N-*def* may license PRO-NOM genitive (Rom, Blg, Norw: YES; Danish: NO); **iii**) languages can do so in GenS only (Rom, Blg) or in GenO (Norw); **iv**) languages may license non-prepositional genitive independently of PRO-NOM (Rom, Blg, French: NO; Norw, Dan, Engl, German: YES in GenS; Icelandic, Welsh, German: YES in GenO); **v**) languages may attach PRO-NOM to all nouns (Romanian: YES; others NO). Such independent principles and parameters reduce the

Romanian Genitive to a fully regular instance of UG.

When discourse met null subjects

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Goal: In this work, I explore the Information Structure-based conditions for licensing null subjects in Romance (specifically, Spanish and Portuguese). I discuss the type of Topic (Aboutness-Shift (AS-) Top, Contrastive (C-) Top, and Given (G-) Top; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010) alongside the type of Focus (Information Focus (IF) and Contrastive Focus (CF); Kiss 1997) which may serve as antecedent for *pro*.

Background: Frascarelli (2007: 694) has claimed that "A thematic NS is a pronominal variable, the features of which are valued (i.e., 'copied through matching') by the local Aboutness-shift Topic." Based on Frascarelli (2007), Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández (2012) have shown that in Italian and Spanish referential *pro* is licensed when coreferential with an AS-Topic. As a topic, the antecedent of a NS must be a [+specific] DP (Enç 1991). Consequently, a *pro* cannot corefer with a [-spec] DP since AS-Topics always get a specific interpretation, which excludes the [-spec] interpretation of the bracketed DP in (1) in Italian.

(1) [Alcuni professori]$_k$ pensano che *pro*$_k$ sono dei geni. = (some specific professors)
    some   professors   think   that *pro* are   genius

Challenges and working hypotheses: I will pose two challenges to this analysis: 1) In NS languages other than Italian the antecedent of *pro* may be other types of Topic (G-Top and C-Top), and even a focused element. 2) In Spanish the antecedent of *pro* can be [+ specific] or [-specific], as illustrated in (2).

(2) [Algunos profesores]$_k$ piensan que *pro*$_k$ son genios. (+/- specific)
    some   professors   think   that *pro* are geniuses

Quantified subjects are taken to be ambiguous with respect to a [+/-spec] interpretation (Suñer 2003), yet (2) shows that they can qualify as antecedent of *pro* and still be ambiguous in Spanish. Quantified DPs can also be unambiguously non-specific, and yet coreferential with a NS, as in the Portuguese example (3).

(3) [Nenhum aluno]$_k$ disse que *pro*$_k$ queria falar   com o professor.   (- specific)
    no   student said that *pro* wanted to.talk with the professor

I assume Frascarelli's idea that *pro* can only be interpreted as coreferent with a local AS-Tops, be it explicit or null (Erteschik-Shir 2007; Lahousse 2013). But I implement this proposal by putting forth the following ***three working hypotheses***:1) In Spanish (as opposed to Italian, but alongside Portuguese) the antecedent of *pro* must simply be a topic, regardless of the type (AS-, C-, or G-Top). 2) Spanish is more permissive with the coreference of NS. Hence, other types of discourse categories (CF and IF) can serve as antecedent for *pro*. 3) The antecedent of a NS can be either specific or non-specific.

Methodology: I have tested these hypotheses with native speakers of Spanish and Portuguese (as opposed to Italian) by means of a survey, in which informants had to judge the occurrence of NSs whose antecedent was AS-Top, C-Top, G-Top, IF and CF. The results have shown that the antecedent of NSs in Spanish and Portuguese can be any type of topic or focus.

Data and analysis: I propose that the three types of topic share a [+given] feature (in line with Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2013), which agrees with the [+given] feature of *pro*. This enables any type of topic to be the antecedent of the NS, illustrated for C-Top in (4) (antecedents are underlined; the clauses containing the relevant NS are italicised).

(4) A: ¡¿Te has enterado de cuántos regalos ha hecho Juan a Jimena por su cumpleaños?!
       Did you hear how many presents Juan gave Jimena for her birthday?!

B: Bueno, todos los regalos, no sé. <u>Algunas joyas</u> las está estrenando hoy en su fiesta (del resto de regalos, ni idea). *Le sientan muy bien.*

Well, I don't know about all the presents. some jewels she's wearing today at her party (I don't know about the other presents). They suit her very well.

The same analysis is proposed for CF, since one component of its featural set is that of [+given], as illustrated in (5).

(5) A: Ana es una crack de la lingüística. Ha publicado en revistas de alto prestigio internacional en este año.

Ana is a star in Linguistics. She has published in high-quality international journals this year.

B: ¡De eso nada! En revistas inernacionales no. <u>En revistas nacionales</u> ha publicado. Y además, *no están indexadas en ninguna base de datos*

No way, She hasn't published in international journals. She has published in national journals. Moreover, they are not indexed in any database.

I argue that in all clauses with NS above there is a local AS-Top whose reference is fixed via Agree with the antecedent in the previous sentence, sharing a [+given] feature. However, the situation with IF is different because it does not comprise any [+given] feature. Yet, IF can be the antecedent of a NS, as exemplifies in (6):

(6) A: El pastel que ha hecho tu madre está buenísimo!! Y también la tarta! ¿Quién la ha hecho?

The pie your mother made is fantastic! And the cake as well! Who cooked it?

B: ¡No vas a creerlo! María, que se tomó un trozo, me dijo que la había hecho <u>la madre de Fernando</u>. *¡Siempre ha odiado el dulce!*

You won't believe it! Mary, who had a piece, told me that Fernando's mother made it. She has always hated sweet stuff!

For this new picture I maintain that a local null AS-Top is generated in the clause containing *pro*, thereby licensing the 'coreference' between the NS and IF. In other words, the coreference with non-specific antecedents is just illusory because the null AS-Top always carries a [+ specific] feature. This accounts for the [+ given] and [+specific] reference of *pro*. The analysis proposed is as in (7), where via Agree (Chomsky 1993) the relevant features are valued as indicated by the arrows.

(7) DP$_{Antecedent}$ …. [$_{ShiftP}$ <DP> [Shift° [… [$_{TP}$ [T° [$_{vP}$ *pro* [VP]] …]]]]]

1   2

[+aboutness] [+given] [φ-features] // [+given] [+spec] [φ-features]

My hypothesis 1 and 2 are partially correct since any topic/focus can be the 'fake' antecedent of *pro* (its real antecedent being the local AS-Top, either null or explicit). My hypothesis 3 is also partially correct in that the real antecedent is specific, though the fake antecedent can be either specific or non-specific. *Evidence* supporting the existence of a specific local AS-´Top as antecedent, based on Differential Object Marking and existential clauses (Leonetti 2004), and the root/non-root distinction w.r.t. the occurrence of AS-Tops (Frascarelli 2014).

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***C'est*-clefts versus *il y a*-clefts in French**
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1. INTRO. We contrast *c'est*-clefts (1), which are prototypically associated with a specificational (focus-background, value-variable) interpretation, and *il y a*-clefts (2), which prototypically introduce a new event or entity and have a presentational (all-focus) interpretation (see Lambrecht 1988/2001/2004).

(1) **Focus-background *c'est*-cleft**

Qui t'a donné ce cadeau? – <u>C'est</u> Jean <u>qui</u> me l'a donné.

(2) **All-focus *il y a*-cleft**

<u>*Il y a*</u> *le facteur <u>qui</u> arrive*. (based on Lambrecht 2002:63)

Whereas *c'est*-clefts have been well studied (see Doetjes et al. 2004), also on the basis of corpus research (Dufter 2008), *il y a*-clefts are relatively under-researched (but see Willems & Meulleman 2010, Choi-Jonin & Lagae 1997, Léard 1992, Giry-Schneider 1988) and have not often been described on the basis of corpus research. **2. GOAL.** We will first show that, contrary to what has often been assumed before, both *il y a*-clefts and *c'est*-clefts instantiate all three possible Information Structure (IS)-articulations (all-focus, topic-comment, focus-background; see Lambrecht 1994) (section 3). We will then examine the presuppositional nature of the clefted element (CE) (section 4) and the coda (section 5), showing that, contrary to what has been claimed before, **(i)** as for the CE, it is not the distinction between *c'est* and *il y a* that accounts for the different presuppositional nature of different types of clefts, but rather their specific IS-articulation, and **(ii)** concerning the coda, *il y a*-clefts behave differently from *c'est*-clefts, which could be explained from the semantics of *c'est* and *il y a*. Hence, the different properties of the different types of clefts stem from the interaction between their information-structural and semantic properties.

3. IS. 3.1. *Il y a*-clefts. We will first present the results of corpus research (in formal and informal written and spoken French: *Le Monde*, *Yahoo Q&A*, *CFFP*) showing **(i)** that, as has been argued for by Davidse (1999/2000) for English *there*-clefts, *il y a*-clefts frequently have a specificational (focus-background) articulation (3), in which the CE enumerates the values which satisfy the variable given in the coda, and **(ii)** that they can even have a topic-comment articulation (4), with a contrastive topic in Büring's (1997/2003) sense. To our knowledge, this has not been observed before.

(3) **Focus-background *il y a*-cleft**

Quelle est votre meilleure série du moment? - "How I Met Your Mother" c'est génial, <u>y'a aussi</u> "Lost" <u>qui</u> est bien (Yahoo)

(4) **(Contrastive) topic – comment *il y a*-cleft**

Ya les gens normaux qui doivent se levé a 10h ou midi et aller au lycée pour la rentré. Et <u>ya moi qui</u> doit se levé a 4h du matin pour aller a mon lycée sport étude ! (www) ~ Je dis à propos des gens normaux qu'ils doivent se lever à 10h, et je dis à propos de moi que je dois me lever à 4h du matin.

3.2 *C'est*-clefts. Apart from focus-background *c'est*-clefts (1), *c'est*-clefts have also been said to express all-focus (Doetjes et al. 2004) (5). Moreover, as for "informative-presupposition clefts" (Prince 1981) (i.e. "non-contrastive anaphoric clefts", Blanche-Benveniste 2006) (6), we will argue that they have a topic-comment articulation, as Reinhart's (1981) tests (7) show:

(5) **All-focus *c'est*-cleft**

Sous le sommet en surplomb d'une falaise de la côte sud de l'Angleterre, (…), un peintre amateur attend, rêvant de pouvoir dessiner un corbeau d'une espèce rare.

Mais soudain <u>c'est</u> une jeune femme <u>qui</u> tombe dans le vide sous ses yeux (www)

(6) **Topic-comment *c'est*-cleft**

[texte touristique sur Berlin] *C'est dans la section est, autrefois la partie soviétique, que j'ai été le plus charmé (…). De plus, <u>c'est</u> là <u>que</u> vous décèlerez les principaux clubs, bars et discothèques. (www)*

(7) a. *- Que sais-tu à propos de la section est de Berlin?*
- C'est là que vous décèlerez les principaux clubs, bars et discothèques.
b. *J'ajoute à propos de la section est de Berlin que c'est là que vous trouverez les principaux clubs, bars et discothèques.*

The existence of these clefts, in which all the new information is in the coda, contradicts Doetjes *et al*'s hypothesis that "we do not expect there to be a third type of cleft, in which all focused material would be located inside the coda".

3.3. Consequence. From 3.1. and 3.2. it follows that, surprisingly, both *c'est*-clefts and *il y a*-clefts can express all three possible IS-articulations defined by Lambrecht.

4. EXISTENTIAL PRESUPPOSITION OF THE CE. Whereas it has been argued that *specificational it*-clefts in English imply the existence of the CE (Reeve 2012), as far as we can tell, this has not been studied for French *c'est/il y a* clefts. **4.1. *Il y a*-clefts**. We will first show that in focus-background *il y a*-clefts (8), the existence of the CE is presupposed, but not in all-focus *il y a*-clefts (9) and topic-comment *il y a*-clefts (10), i.e. the paraphrases (9-10) are infelicitous in the same context as the cleft.

(8) **Focus-background *il y a*-cleft: existence of CE is presupposed**

(3) = *Au moins une série* est bien (variable), à savoir *LOST* (value).

(9) **All-focus *il y a*-cleft: existence of CE is NOT presupposed**

(2) ≠ *Au moins une personne* arrive, à savoir *le facteur.*

(10) **Topic-comment *il y a*-cleft: existence of CE is NOT presupposed**

(4) ≠ *Au moins une personne* doit se lever à 4h, à savoir *moi.*

4.2. *C'est*-clefts. In contrast with focus-background *c'est*-clefts (11), all-focus (12) and topic-comment *c'est*-clefts (13) do not presuppose the existence of the CE.

(11) **Focus-background *c'est*-cleft: existence of CE is presupposed**

(1) = *Quelqu'un* m'a donné un cadeau, à savoir *Jean.*

(12) **All-focus *c'est*-cleft: existence of CE is NOT presupposed**

(5) ≠ *Au moins une personne* tombe dans le vide, à savoir *une jeune femme.*

(13) **Topic-comment *c'est*-cleft: existence of CE is NOT presupposed**

(6) ≠ Vous décèlerez les principaux clubs *quelque part,* à savoir *à Berlin est.*

4.3. We conclude that it is not the opposition between *ce* and *il* that determines the presence/absence of the existential presupposition in both types of clefts, but the opposition +/– specificational (focus-background >< all-focus and topic-comment).

5. PRESUPPOSITIONAL NATURE OF CODA. Considering only focus-background and all-focus *c'est*-clefts, Doetjes *et al*. argue that the material in the coda is semantically presupposed, because of the embedded nature of the coda. This predicts the material in the coda of *il y a*-clefts to be presupposed as well, contrary to fact:

(14) **Focus-background *il y a*-clefts**

[Context: Q: Quelles séries sont bien?] A: – Il y a Lost qui est bien.
a. – *Ce n'est pas vrai: Lost n'est pas bien, tous les critiques sont d'accord sur ça.*
b. – *Il y a Lost qui est <u>probablement</u> bien.*

The application of the negation test (14a), as well as the presence or absence of epistemic modal markers in the coda (Haegeman 2006, Verstraete 2007, Lahousse 2010) (14b), shows that the coda is not semantically presupposed in all six types of clefts. In contrast, we will show that the presuppositional nature of the coda depends on the specific discourse semantics of *c'est* [which has been argued to have an

exhaustive or contrastive interpretation, except in topic-comment *c'est*-clefts] and *il y a* [which can have an 'enumerative' or a contrastive interpretation].

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Embedded questions are DPs and not CPs
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Based on diachronic and synchronic data from different Romance varieties I argue that there are at least two structural types of embedded questions: a Determiner Phrase (DP) type and a Complementizer Phrase (CP) type. The DP-analysis of the first type is corroborated by the observation that some diachronic and synchronic romance varieties (e.g. Old and modern French, Northern Old and Modern Italian Dialects) show relative clause syntax in embedded questions. Moreover, it will be shown that a DP analysis can better explain Island Effects since it is well known that DPs are strong islands (cf. Ross 1967:76).

- **DP-markers of embedded questions**

Old French, Old Italian and Northern Italian use complementizers *que*/*che* in embedded questions (see Kunstmann 1990 for Old French in (1), Parry 2003 for Old Italian, Poletto & Vanelli 1995 for Northern Italian Dialects in (2)). More clear evidence for the DP-status can be seen from the definite marker *ce* 'this' embedded questions in French in (3) (attested from the 16th century until now):

(1)   Je ne seuc   que   il   devinrent ne quele voie   que   il   tinrent.
        I not know what they became nor what direction that they took.
        'I neither know what became of them nor what direction they took.'
        (Perc. 33500, Kunstmann 1990:100)

(2)   a. I sai   nen anté   **che** mama a l abia   catà   le fior. (Livorno)
           I know not where   that mother cl. cl. has[conj.] bought the flowers
        'I don't know where my mother bought flowers.'

        b. An so   indù **che** lì   epa   cumprà la mama. (Romagnolo)
           not know where that them have[conj.] bought the mother.
        I don't know where my mother bought them.

(3)   a. je ne sçay   **ce** **que**   j'ay voulu dire. [Frantext, 1592]
           I not know this that-Acc. I have wanted say
        'I don't know what I wanted to say.'
        b. je ne sçay **ce qui**   luy peut estre survenu [Frantext 1612]
           I not know this that-Nom   him could be happened
        'I don't know what could have happened to him'

- **Island Effects in embedded questions of the DP-type**

Some well known islands (i.e. domains which block dependencies like operator-variable-dependency or antecedent-trace-dependcy) observed by Ross (1967:76) are complex NPs/DPs.The following example shows an impossible configuration between traces (t) and its antecedent:

(4)   *This kid_j, I must call [_Island the teacher who punished t_j]

The next examples show that embedded questions do not allow multiple wh-pronouns in French iff the embedded question is of the DP-type (see (5)). If the question does not show the DP-syntax, multiple wh-pronouns are well-formed (see (6)):

(5)   *Je ne sais pas ce que Jean a donné à qui.

(6)   Il a donné quoi à qui?

The difference between (5) and (6) can be explained by the DP-island effect, if we assume that the wh-in-situ pronoun *qui* is too deeply embedded in the DP and thus the dependency between the question operator QUEST [Q] provided by the matrix predicate (e.g. *se demander* 'to ask') and the [wh]-feature of the wh-in situ is blocked (see Chomsky 2000/2001 for feature checking):
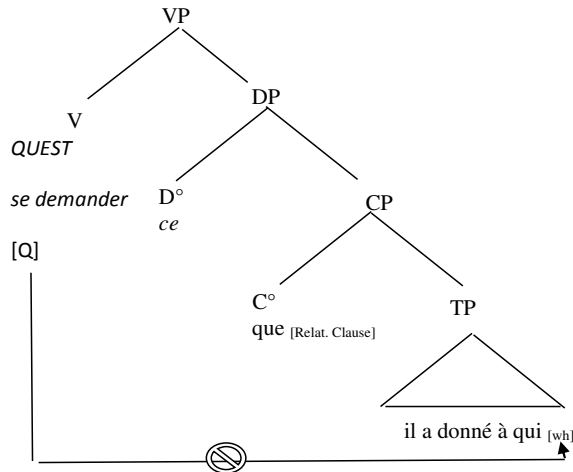

Figure 1   DPs as islands for wh-in situ

Questions that do allow multiple wh-elements are not of the DP-type and therefore do not pose any island effects:

(7)   [CP C°[Q] [TP Il a donné quoi[wh] à qui[wh] ?]]

Since embedded questions with complementizers in (1) and (2) do not allow multiple wh-elements of wich one is in situ, we assume that this restriction is due to the DP-syntax of these questions:

(8)   a. *[CP Chi [DP Ø C° che gà magnà còsa?]   (Veneto)
                 who   that has eaten what

         b.   [CP Chi gà magnà còsa?]
                 who has eaten what
              'Who has eaten what?'

However, the big question is how to derive the semantics of questions compositionally from the DP-analysis. The difficulty of compositional derivation arises from the assumption that DPs usually denote definite descriptions. Questions, however, denote a set of propositions if we follow Hamblin's or Karttunen's questions semantics (Hamblin 1973, Karttunen 1977). Time permitted, it will be discussed how we can combine Hamblin's and Karttunen's question semantics with the DP-analysis of embedded questions.

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Non-local dependencies in the syntax: raising, control and cliticization
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1. Outline. This paper regards the differences between Br. Portuguese and Romanian in raising and control constructions with respect to the availability of backward patters such as backward control, backward raising or Long Distance Agree. We hypothesize that the languages we investigate belong to two different types: pro-drop languages with subjects in situ vs. languages where the subject raises and, hence, the higher copy is always pronounced (cf. Polinsky & Potsdam 2012, Alexiadou et al. 2009, 2010, 2012, and Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Wurmbrand to appear). Moreover, the raising of the subjects in pro-drop languages involves A-bar movement to a left-dislocated position (cf. Alboiu 2007, Alexiadou et al. 2010). In contrast to pro-drop languages, we observe that in non-pro-drop languages the raising of the subject is always an A movement and is sensitive to defective intervention (see (10-11)). Crucially, the observed parametric differences are realized in different forms of movement: i. overt A movement in (hyper)raising and control in non-pro-drop languages such as Br. Portuguese; ii. covert A movement in subject backward control in pro-drop languages like Romanian; iii. A-bar movement linked to Topic in forward raising and control in Romanian; iv. X long movement (feature movement) in Long Distance Agree and cliticization in Romanian. Importantly, X long movement is preferred only by languages that share the following parametric properties: pro-drop parameter, subjects in situ, VSO word order and clitic doubling. Defective interventions are overridden only in languages which prefer X to XP movement.

2. Backward Control versus Long Distance Agree: Languages like Romanian (als Greek and Spanish) permit the realization of the lower copy in both control and raising in (14) and (15) while Br. Portuguese disallows the "backward" patterns in both constructions (see (16)). Instead, Br. Portuguese allows finite forward control and hyperraising over indicatives (see (11)):

(1)	A învățat/Pare	să	călărească	Maria	Romanian
	learned /seems	subj.	ride-3sg	Maria	
(2)	Aprendió/Parece	a cabalgar		María	Spanish
	learned/seems	to ride-inf		Maria	
(3)	*Aprendeu/Parece	a cavalgar		Maria	Br. Portuguese
	learned-3sg/seems	to ride-inf		Maria	
(4)	Eles aprenderam a (*eles) não falar	alto à mesa			Br. Portuguese
	they learned to they not talk-inf	loud at table			

The similar behavior of control and raising across languages provides strong support for the Movement Theory of Control, which analyzes them uniformly. However, Polinsky & Potsdam (2002) and Alexiadou et al. (2012) show that in contrast to backward control (BC), "backward" raising only apparently occurs in Greek, Romanian and Spanish – what these languages actually display is Long Distance Agree (LDA) with no higher copy in the matrix clause (see (1)). In Romanian, nominal secondary predicates and predicative modifiers like "alone" agree in gender and number with the c-commanding DP they modify. In contrast to backward control, such a predicative modifier cannot be licensed in Romanian LDA since there is no higher copy/DP to c-command it:

(5)	A învațat singur	să resolve	Ion problemele de matematică.		Control
	has learned alone-masc-sg subj solve-3sg		John problems of math		
	'John has learned alone to solve math exercises.'				
(6)	#Pare singur	să resolve	Ion problemele de matematică.		Raising
	seems alone-masc-sg subj solve-3sg John problems of math				
	'John seems to solve the math exercises alone.'				

The predicative modifier "alone" occurs in the matrix clause in the raising construction in (6) iff it is focused. This is not the case in the control construction in (5). Romanian allows backward patterns both in raising and control but they have a different syntax: LDA in raising vs. a covert copy in backward control.

3. Forward patterns: the preverbal position of subjects: For Br. Portuguese there is strong evidence that preverbal matrix DPs occupy an A position in simple sentences as well as in raising and control (see

Rodrigues 2004, Martins and Nunes 2005, Marchis & Petersen 2014). The preverbal position of the subject in Br. Portuguese must be the result of A movement since weak pronouns, idiomatic subjects (7b) and quantifiers (7c) cannot be topicalized in Br. Portuguese but they can occur in the preverbal position (cf. Ferreira 2004 Martins & Nunes 2005,). Thus, the hyperraised DPs are subjects in an A position:

(7)   a. Os alunos parecem que estão cansados
          the students seem-3pl that are tired = *'The students seem to be tired'*
       b. **[A vaca]**$_i$ parece que t$_i$ **foi pro brejo**.
          the cow   seems that   went to-the swamp = *'It seems that things went bad'*
       c. **Ninguém**$_i$ parece [que t$_i$ que alugou a casa].
          nobody seems-3sg that rented the house = *'Nobody seems to have rented the house'*

In contrast, Ro is a *pro* drop language with subjects in situ and the raising verb *pare* displays LDA with embedded C/T, regardless of the surface subject position (cf. Alexiadou et al 2012).

(8) [TP [DP copiii] par [TP să fie mai inteligenți [DP copiii] în ziua de azi [DP copiii]]]
       children-the seem-3pl subj be-subj-3pl smarter children nowadays children-the

According to Alboiu (2007), preverbal subjects in Ro are always topics. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) analyze SVO orders in Greek and Ro in terms of Clitic Left Dislocation. Hence, raising in Ro does not involve A-movement, but rather A-bar movement and LDA. As evidence note that preverbal and postverbal subjects in Romanian raising/control have different scope readings:

(9) **Un bărbat frumos** pare să o iubească pe fiecare colegă de-a mea.   Romanian
       a handsome man seems subj cl-acc loves PE.acc every colleague of mine (A > Every); (*Every > A)
       Pare să   o   iubească **un bărbat frumos** pe fiecare colegă de-a mea.
       Seem subj cl-acc loves a man handsome PE every colleague of mine (A > Every); (Every > A)

So far we have the following variation in control and raising in Br. Portuguese and Romanian: Forward Patterns vs. Backward Patterns; A versus A-bar movement. The third variation regards defective intervention with experiencers.

4. Defective Intervention. In BP, a dative experiencer disrupts the movement of the embedded subject to the matrix Spec-TP, as we see in (10). Like in BP, dative experiencers in Ro intervene in raising (cf. (11)) without clitic doubling. Clitic doubling of the dative experiencers renders the sentences in Ro grammatical. Importantly, in Ro clitic doubling of datives is optional in other contexts:

(10)   *Os alunos   parecem ao professor   que estão cansados.   Br. Portuguese
        the students seem-3pl [to the professor]$_{EXPRC}$that are tired
(11)   Copiii   *(îi) par   profesorului să fie   obosiți.   Romanian
        Students-the cl-dat seem-3pl professor-dat subj be-3pl tired.

5.Analysis: XP&X movement. In line with Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005), we argue that clitics obviate minimality effects: the experiencer is doubled by a clitic (Cl) that hosts the phi-features of the A-chain, rendering the phi-features in the DP inert for derivation. Since the clitic (Sportiche 1998) moves to T, its features are no longer in the probe domain of T. Hence, T is allowed to long distance agree with the embedded subject DP since there are no longer features that intervene. Our hypothesis is that the features of the heads are the real interveners and not the XPs per se. Specifically, we argue that both cliticization and LDA are instances of X movement to check both the phi-features and the [+D/+person] feature of the doubled object (in the form of clitic doubling), respectively the +D/EPP feature of the matrix raising verb in the absence of a raised DP. A strong argument that both T and Cl head have a strong +D feature in Romance is that both subject and doubled object positions are sensitive to definiteness in these languages:

(12)   (*Copii) par   să fie mai inteligenți   (*copii) în ziua de azi.   Romanian
        Children seem-3pl subj be more intelligent-pl children nowadays.
(13)   *L-am   văzut   pe   altcineva/   Am   văzut   pe   altcineva
        CL-have   seen   PE somebody else/ Have   seen   PE somebody else

Keeping with this hypothesis, LDA is an instance of phi-feature movement satisfying +D feature of strong T rather than the result of phi-feature valuation via Agree (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003 and Preminger 2008). Real Agree is the result of mere phi-feature valuation like noun-adjective agreement.

6. Conclusions: This paper accounts for the differences in control and raising in Br. Portuguese (non-pro drop languages) and Romanian (pro drop languages) in terms of different parametric properties which are all the reflex of different kinds of syntactic movement: XP versus X movement.

Yes/no interrogatives and focus in Sardinian
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The aim of this talk is to analyze different types of Sardinian yes/no interrogatives in the light of work on the left periphery following Rizzi (1997 et seq.). Particular attention will be paid to focus, since, as we shall see, it plays a special role in yes/no question formation in this language. The examples in (2)-(6) illustrate the basic types of Sardinian yes/no interrogatives for the declarative sentences in (1) (the spelling has been standardized according to the LSC).

(1) a. As   intopadu unu pitzinnu piliruju.   'You met a red-haired child.'
         have-2SG found   a   child   red-haired
    b. Bos   seis ammentados de mandare sa lìtera.   'You remembered to post the letter.'
         you-PL-CL. are remembered   of   send-INF the letter

Focus fronting type (FFT)
(2) Unu pitzinnu piliruju as intopadu?
Participle fronting type (PFT)
(3) a. Intopadu *??(l')* as unu pitzinnu piliruju?   (*l'* = *lu*, DO clitic , masc. sg.)
    b. Ammentados bos *?(nde)* seis de mandare sa lìtera? (*nde* ≈ Ital. *ne* / Fr. *en*)
Question particle type with ite *(QPT$_{ite}$)*
(4) a. *Ite* (l')as intopadu unu pitzinnu piliruju?   (*ite* = question part., lit. 'what')
    b. *Ite* bos (nde) seis ammentados de mandare sa lìtera?
Question particle type with a *(QPT$_a$)*
 (5) a. ?*A* *(l')* as intopadu unu pitzinnu piliruju?   (*a* = question particle < Lat. AUT)
    b. *A* bos *(nde)* seis ammentados de mandare sa lìtera?
Declarative sentence type with question intonation (DST)
 (6) a. (L') as intopadu unu pitzinnu piliruju?
    b. Bos (nde) seis ammentados de mandare sa lìtera?

The most common types are the FFT in (1) and the PFT in (2), which are not limited to interrogative contexts. In yes/no questions, the former is used when some part of the question is focused (cf. Mensching&Remberger 2010). The latter has also been considered a type of focus fronting in the literature, but, at least in interrogative contexts such as (3), it seem that it is just a question marking device, which, if any, adds a nuance of mirativity/emphasis to the question (cf. Jones 2013). As shown in Mensching&Remberger (2010), Sardinian participle fronting is best explained by remnant movement. The QPT$_{ite}$ in (4) (cf. Mensching 2012) is a neutral question, whereas the QPT$_a$ in (5) (cf. Jones 2013, Floricic 2010 and Remberger 2010) marks several types of special questions in the sense of Obenauer (2004, 2006), as I have shown in (Mensching 2014); this is why ex. (5a) is not easily accepted by speakers (unless an appropriate context for a special question reading is constructed). Finally, the DST is a pure intonation question, as known from the other Romance languages.

A particularly strong relation of yes/no questions to focus can be shown for types (2) to (5): (i.) the FFT shows a fronted clause-initial constituent with information focus or other types of focus; (ii.) the FFT, PFT, QPT$_a$ and QPT$_{ite}$ are incompatible with *wh* elements in the same clause; (iii.) the QPT$_a$ cannot co-occur with the PFT, and – crucially – neither with the FFT, unlike other Romance varieties, which have question particles that can be combined with focus fronting (e.g. Sicilian, cf. Cruschina 2011); (iv.) the FFT, PFT and QPT$_a$ are all incompatible with negation, which falls into place if focus is involved, meaning that Sardinian is especially sensitive to focus-clash phenomena (cf. Floricic 2010, Remberger 2010); (v.) the PFT shows a strong preference for structures that, at least superficially, resemble CRDL. In the QPT$_a$, this is even obligatory (cf. ex. (3) and (5)). It appears as if there is some kind of

strong focus in these types, which causes non-focalized material to be backgrounded. Whereas similar phenomena in yes/no questions in other languages seem to require that the interrogative operator or particle take scope over a focalized constituent (thus explaining the backgrounding property, cf. Cruschina 2011), the problem with Sardinian *a* is that it seems to have scope over the whole proposition; (vi.) the QPT_{ite} contains a *wh* element (*ite* = 'what'), which has been grammaticalized as a question particle. It can be shown by standard tests that it is still located in FocP (the locus of *wh* elements). Focus effects are absent from the DST, which, however, – apart from negated interrogatives (see below) – is not very frequent.

My analysis focuses on the FFT, PFT and QPT_a and starts from the observation that 'regular' Southern-Romance SV inversion structures are largely absent from Sardinian. There actually is SV inversion in the three types at issue and in the QPT_{ite} (as can be observed when subjects are present, cf. Jones 1993, 2013, Mensching&Remberger 2010, Mensching 2012), but inversion seems to be triggered by the presence of certain left-peripheral elements (i.e. a focalized XP, a participle or the particles *a* and *ite*). An interrogative SV-inversion structure such as Ital. *É arrivato Pietro*? can be described, following Rizzi (2001), as involving an Int(errogative)P situated below ForceP and above FocP, which contains a silent question operator in its specifier. Under the assumption that the sentential interrogative feature [Q] is on T, T-to-Int movement occurs to fulfill the [Q]-criterion. My proposal for Sardinian amounts to saying that the task of IntP is fulfilled by FocP in Sardinian yes/no interrogatives (similar to what generally occurs in *wh* questions in Romance), either because Sardinian lacks IntP altogether or because Sardinian FocP, at least in yes-no questions, is a hybrid IntFocP – I shall provisionally assume the latter. This category does not appear to allow a null operator, but the [Q]-criterion must be fulfilled by a focus related category in its specifier. From this follows that the particle *a* is also a specifier and not a head. It resembles certain focus particles in its property of triggering defocalization of other constituents by means of CLRD or a superficially similar device (see above). Also see Sudhoff (2010:86) for the idea that focus particles have the status of phrasal categories.

During the talk, I shall analyze these and other properties of the interrogative structures at issue and develop the theory just sketched. Some further problems will be addressed, such as how to accommodate the special-question readings induced by the particle *a* within Obenauer's (2004, 2006) theories. Some complications regarding the behavior of the particle *a* and its property of defocusing material in the sentence will be also be discussed.

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Resetting Agree in Romanian: changes in the position of constituents
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1. Background. A well-established result in the diachronic syntax of the Romanian DP (Stan 2008, Cornilescu, Nicolae 2011) is that the Agree operation (Pesetsky, Torrego 2007) ensuring the valuation of definiteness may operate both locally and long distance in Old Romanian (the 16th-18th centuries). This is shown by the coexistence of structures displaying the determiner in DP-initial position (1) with structures in which the determiner occupies a lower position (2), being preceded by constituents (non-definite adjectives, cardinals) which count as defective interveners for definiteness valuation in Modern Romanian (19th c. – present day) (examples (2) are ungrammatical in Modern Romanian).

(1)   a.   *păn   nu s-au   săvârşit* [_{DP} *sfânta   slujbă*]
               until   not REFL=has ended   sacred.DEF   service
               'until the sacred service ended' (CLM.1700-1750: 161^v)
        b.   *întru* [_{DP} *aceaste trei lucrure*]
               in   these three   things
               'in these three things' (CC².1581: 128)
(2)   a.   *că   văzuiu* [_{DP}   <u>*luminată fața ta*</u>]
               that   see.PS.1SG   bright   face.DEF your
               'that I saw your bright face' (A.1620: 58^r)
        b.   *deade Dumnezeu* [_{DP} <u>*zeace   cuvinte*</u>*le sale*]
               gave God   ten   words.DEF his
               'God gave his ten commandments' (CCat.1560: 4^r)

The conclusion that Agree could operate long distance in Old Romanian is further supported by the existence of Long Distance Movement in Old Romanian, diagnosed by constructions in which specifiers can be crossed over by phrasal constituents. Example (3a) features a long phrasal demonstrative preceded by a complex phrasal constituent; (3b) illustrates a prenominal determiner genitive crossed over by a complex adjectival phrase. These constructions have also been eliminated in the passage to Modern Romanian.

(3)   a.   *arătându-i*   [<u>*mare treabă*</u> *aceasta*]
               showing=him(DAT) big   affair   this
               'showing him this big affair' (CLM.1700-1750: 166^v)
        b.   [_{DP}<u>*frumos mirositoare*</u> *a dragostei*   *flori*] *a   răsări*
                 sweetly smelling AL love.DEF.GEN   flower FUT   spring
               'the sweet-smelling flower of love will spring'(Cantemir.1705 II: 4)

2. Long Distance Agree in the verbal domain. The goal of this paper is to show that the Long Distance Agree option is not an idiosyncratic property of Old Romanian DPs; rather, there is consistent evidence for Long Distance Agree coming from the verbal domain. We will be focusing on two phenomena: (i) scrambling and (ii) the position of the adverbs which diagnose verb movement (cf. Cinque 1999).

      (i) Scrambling (Dragomirescu 2013). In Old Romanian, in analytic constructions, different types of XPs could occur in-between the auxiliary and the lexical verb; these constructions have been eliminated in the passage to Modern Romanian.

(4)   a.   *cum au*   <u>*ei*</u>   *lăsat*   *cu   al lor cuvânt*
               how have   they   let.PPLE with AL their word

'how they have ordered, in their own words' (DÎ.1599: XXX)

b. *ne* *va* *pre noi* *asculta*
us.ACC   AUX.FUT.3SG PE us   listen.INF
'he will listen to us' (CCat.1560, 9^v–10^r; CL.1570: 105^v)

The analysis of Old Romanian scrambling is rather straightforward: the intervening XP is attracted to the low left periphery (Belletti 2004) of the *v*-phase, and the lexical verb (which values Mood-Tense-Aspect features hosted by projections in the IP domain) may remain in the lower phase and undergo Long Distance Agree with the IP heads from the higher phase. Note that the tense and aspect specification in Romanian analytic constructions is provided by the lexical verb (a participle or an infinitive); Romanian auxiliaries mark only mood (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994); the grammaticalization of Romanian auxiliaries has systematically involved the bleaching of tense and aspect features (Nicolae 2014). By contrast, in Modern Romanian, Long Distance Agree is not available, and hence the verb needs to move higher up in the structure in order to be visible for probing by the relevant MTA heads.

(ii) The position of the adverbs which diagnose verb movement. Highly relevant for our purpose is the position of the items from the Low Adverb Space. In Modern Romanian, verb movement is high (Cornilescu 2000), the synthetic and analytic verb preceding the items from both the Low and the High Adverb Space (Schifano 2013). By contrast, in Old Romanian, the low adverbs may precede the synthetic verb or the lexical verb in analytic constructions.

(5) a. *Toţi creştin<ii> ascultaţi şi bine învăţaţi*
all Christians.DEF listen and well learn
'All Christians, listen and learn well'(FT.1570-1575: 1^v)

b. *să veţi* *aşa* *fi* *ca şi noi*
if AUX.FUT.2PL   like this   be.INF like us
'if you are like this, like us'(PO.1582: 117)

This indicates that Long Distance Agree between the verb bearing the Mood-Tense-Aspect specification and the functional heads in the IP domain is sufficient, and the verb need not move to a higher position in order to be visible to probing by the IP heads.

Of course, similarly to the nominal domain, the Local Agree option is available in the verbal domain as well, being instantiated in non-scrambled structures and in constructions in which the verb raises across the low adverbs.

3. Conclusions. The proposal that Agree may also operate Long Distance, formulated initially in order to account for the DP-internal word order variation of Old Romanian, may be successfully exported to the verbal domain, as it elegantly accounts for certain word order options which have been eliminated in the passage to Modern Romanian. Thus, one fundamental change that has affected the syntax of Romanian in the passage from the Old to the Modern period is the resetting of Agree, by eliminating the Long Distance Agree option in favour of a more restrictive grammar which resolves the Probe-Goal relation via Local Agree.

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The L2 acquisition of Spanish locative and existential constructions by Catalan and Italian speakers

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Selection of copula verbs in Spanish is a classic challenging area for L2 learners. Even so, it has received moderate attention on SLA research, and most of the studies have focused on the acquisition of the semantic and pragmatic distinctions between *ser* and *estar*, particularly when combined with adjectives (Bruhn de Garavito & Valenzuela, 2006; Geeslin, 2002; 2003; Schmitt & Miller, 2007; among others). The present study goes beyond the alternation between *ser* and *estar* + adjective by looking at the selection of copula verbs to express location and existentials.

Three microparametric differences among Spanish, Italian, and Catalan are investigated, which regulate (a) the distribution of *ser* vs. *estar* in locatives (the '*eventivenes*' effect), (b) the distribution of *haber* vs. *estar* (the *definiteness effect*, Milsark, 1977), and (c) the use of clitics in locatives. Standard Catalan uses the verb ésser for locatives and *haver* for existentials. Standard Italian, uses *essere* to express the existence or location of a THEME. Catalan, as well as Italian present obligatory locative clitics (*hi/ci*) in the subject position for existential sentences. Catalan and Italian, unlike Spanish, do not obey the definiteness restriction in existential constructions and allow definite DPs as THEMES in presentational sentences: *Hi ha en Joan a la porta / C'è Giovanni alla porta / *Hay Juan en la puerta.* Given these differences, we question whether L2 speakers of Spanish are able to fully acquire the distribution of *estar* in locative predicates and observe the restriction on definite DPs in Spanish existential constructions.

The present study analyzes the expression of L2 Spanish existential and locative constructions in 20 native speakers of Catalan, 34 native speakers of Italian (from Rome), and 20 monolingual Spanish speakers with two main tasks, an Acceptability Judgment Task (AJT) and an elicited oral production task (OPT). The AJT included 45 target items -in a total of 110 sentences-, which tested *ser* and *estar* in locative structures (1), and the definiteness effect with *haber* and *estar* in simple (2) and relative clause sentences (3). The OPT consisted of a 'Spot the Difference Task', with 5 pairs of very similar pictures that participants had to describe localizing the differences between the two pictures (see appendix B).

Results indicated that Catalan speakers used significantly less *estar* to express location than native speakers, showing that this verb develops later than *ser* as previously reported (VanPatten, 1985, 1987), and as predicted by recent analyses of the copular *ser/estar* (Brucart, 2012; Gallego & Uriagereka, 2011). However, Italian speakers overgeneralized *estar* to presentational uses, and localize *events*, when *ser* or *haber* are required in Spanish. Finally, Italian speakers of intermediate proficiency, and some Catalan speakers continued using *ser* to localize objects. More interestingly, both L2 groups accepted definite DPs in presentational sentences, violating the *definiteness effect*, displaying problems when assembling semantic features into specific lexical pieces. These results will be discussed within the debate on dissociation between acquisition of syntax and acquisition of semantics, and the *feature assembly* or *feature matching* hypothesis (Lardiere, 2008, 2009; Slabakova, 2009).

Appendix: Target Sentences in the AJT

(1) a. *Ser / Estar with Objects*
El libro *es / está encima de la mesa.
The book *SER / ESTAR on-top of the table
'The book is on the table.'

   b. *Ser/ * Estar with Events*
La reunión es / *está en el hotel Majestic.
The meeting BE/ ESTA in the hotel Majestic
'The meeting is in the hotel Majestic.'

(2) *Haber with *definites and indefinites.*
Hay *las / unas llaves encima de la mesa.
HAVE the/ some keys on-top of the table
'There are the / some keys on the table.'

(3) *Estar with definites and ??indefinites*
El / ??un libro está encima de la mesa.
The / a book ESTAR on-top of the table
'The/ a book is on the table.'

(4) *Relative Clauses: ?Haber / Estar with definite antecedents*
Las llaves que ?hay / están en la puerta son mías.
The keys that HAVE / ESTAR on the door are mine.
'The keys that are at the door are mine.'

Appendix B: Picture Description Task

Picture A / *Abans* ('Before')   Picture B / *Ara* ('Now')

On the nature of complementizers: insights from Italian subject relative clauses
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This paper explores the syntactic status of subject complementizers in restrictive relative clauses in both standard and dialectal Italian varieties. In the spirit of much recent work on complementizers (Kayne (2008), Manzini and Savoia (2003, 2011)), our general aim is to show that what we call complementizers are actually not C° heads but they originate as modifiers of the internal relative dP head (see Cinque (2013) for an analysis that foresees that all relative clauses are originally matching relatives). This is particularly clear in restrictive subject relatives, which display a distinct position in the CP for the relativized subject and a nominal agreement pattern on the "complementizer" (from now on "relativizer") which allows us to prove our point. We thus examine the exact structural position of the subject relativizer within a split restrictive relative CP and show that its feature specification is different from the one generally found in the agreement pattern in the TP and crucially includes features which can only be of nominal origin. We will first show that subject relativizers in restrictive relatives occupy a peripheral position located lower than other relativizers and display an agreement pattern with the head noun. Then we will show that this agreement targets different features with respect to the one found in the tense domain, such as [gender], [animacy], [case] and [deixis], all features that are only typical of nominal and not verbal agreement. Rizzi (1997) argued that Italian allows subject and complement extraction across a Topic at the same level of acceptability in relative clauses. We will show that this holds only for a subset of relative clauses, namely non-restrictive and kind-defining relative clauses. On the contrary, restrictive relative clauses behave differently, showing that intervening CLLD phrases induce subject-complement asymmetry in Italian, similarly to what happens in French (Branigan 1992), as shown in (1):

(1) a. *Un uomo **a cui, il tuo libro, lo** potremmo dare.*
         "A man to whom, your book, we could give it."   (from Rizzi 1997: 306, ex. 69a)
     b. *?*Tutti i ragazzi **che, gli esami, li** hanno passati sono in vacanza ora.*
         "All the guys that, the exams, passed them are on holiday now."

Whereas a CLLD element cannot follow the relativizer in restrictive subject relative clause (1b), it is allowed in kind-defining (2a) and non-restrictive (2b) relatives.

(2) a. *Questo è un ragazzo **che, gli esami, li** ha passati.*
         "This is a guy that, the exams, passed them."
     b. *Gianni, **che, gli esami, li** ha passati, è in vacanza ora.*
         "Gianni, who, the exams, passed them, is on holiday now."

This contrast suggests that subject relativizers in restrictive relatives are lower than both the other relativizers in restrictives as well as the subject relativizers found in kind-defining and non-restrictive relatives. On this basis we propose that subject relativizers have a dedicated position within the restrictive relative CP, where the subject is individuated and completes it feature checking. This position, originally dubbed AgrC by Shlonsky (1994), is most probably an identification position, which we call RestrP. In the talk, we will discuss why it is accessible only to the subject adopting a perspective à la Beghelli and Stowell (1997).

(3)   [_CP ForceP [_HTP [_Scene Setting ···[_LD [_LI·· [_whP [**RESTRP**···[_FocusP [_ModP···[_FinP···[_TP]]]]]]]]]]]

This position is related to specific agreement patterns: several Italian varieties display a special relativizer for subject extraction whose morphology changes according to subject features like deixis, animacy, and gender, as Old Neapolitan, which displays *chi* with a masculine antecedent (4a) and *che* with a feminine one (4b).

(4)   a. *uno romano* **chi** *se chamao Cornelio nepote de lo grande Salustio*
         "A Roman that is named Cornelio, nephew of the great Sallustio […]."   (LDT 47)
       b. *considerate le cose maravegliose* **che** *nce foro facte e dicte*
        "Considered the marvelous things that were made and said […]."   (LDT 47)

The fact that inside the CP layer there is a dedicated position where agreement with the subject is marked independently from the agreement relation between the subject and the verb inside TP reveals that "complementizers" are not complementizers at all. Furthermore, the nominal type of features specified on the relativizers suggests that relativizers are first merged as modifiers of the dP head, with whom they agree, and are then subextracted and reach the RestrP bringing their nominal agreement features with them. This idea will be further strengthened during the talk by a) the analysis of cases of non-subject extraction in dialects which use a distal agreeing demonstrative as the relativizer, as in (5),

(5)   *L seniëur* **de   chël**   *che cunësci la sor röa enco*
          the man   of   DEM:MASC REL know the sister arrives today
          "The man of whom I know the sister arrives today."   (San Vigilio di Marebbe)

and b) the following empirical generalization: if a dialect does not use the form *qual-* as a *wh*-adjective, it will not display the form *qual-* as a relativizer. The generalization can only be explained by assuming that *qual-* is always an adjectival form, both in interrogatives and relatives and, when its adjectival use is not available, it does so in both interrogatives and relatives. The status of *qual-* as modifier is also suggested by the retention of the internal head in non-restrictive RCs as in (6) (from Cinque 1988: 449).

(6)   *Giorgio riuscì a sposare quella ragazza.* **Della quale ragazza**, *devo dire, ero invaghito anche io*.
          "Giorgio managed to marry that girl. Which girl, I must say, I was also in love with."

Hence, our findings on "inflected complementizers" not only challenge the standard dichotomy between complementizers and relative pronouns as first proposed by Klima (1964) and Kayne (1975), suggesting that relativizers are in fact a kind of relative pronoun as recently stated in Manzini & Savoia (2003, 2011) and Kayne (2008), but go even further, since we do not claim that all relativizers, including our subject relativizers are pronouns, but that they are adjectives, i.e. they are originally merged with the internal head and then moved to the relative CP.

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(Wide) focus and the syntacticization of discourse in Spanish
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In this paper, I consider two wide-focus constructions in Old Spanish in which the low left periphery is implicated (i.e., the Focus/low Topic/Finiteness projections of Rizzi 1997): wide-focus fronting (WFF) ((1), Mackenzie 2010) and 'narrative inversion'/'logical consequence' V1 ((2), Fontana 1993: Ch. 3-4).

(1) Si ell omne algo deue; faze gelo oluidar
    If the man something owe.3s make.3s him.it forget.INF
    'If a man owes something, it [wine] makes him forget it'   (Mackenzie 2010: (22))

(2) &   conto le   el maestro todo   de punto a punto como era venido
    and related him.dat the master everything of point to point   as   was come
    'and the master told him everything step-by-step in order'   (*Hist. Melosina*, 15th c.)

Descriptively, during the medieval period, these constructions possess a wide-focus interpretation, but during the modern period are reinterpreted as polarity focus (respectively, Leonetti & Escandell Vidal (2009)'s 'verum focus' and Fernández Rubiera (2006-2008; 2012)'s [+conviction] interpretation in 'Conservative Asturian' verb-clitic embedded clauses). I argue that this development from wide focus to polarity focus finds a natural *explanation* in terms of the feature-inheritance typological analysis of Biberauer & Roberts (2010) (cf. Chomsky 2008, Ouali 2008). Specifically, I propose that Old Spanish EPP and Tense features are 'kept' by a functional head above TP. (Old Spanish data concerning certain adverbials and post-verbal pronominal subjects in fact pattern with Old French, in which V raises to Fin, *contra* Sitaridou 2012.) The wide-focus interpretation for WFF and these cases of declarative V1 thus arises as a result of movement triggered by purely formal features in the C-domain (cf. Sheehan (2010)'s analysis of wide-focus in modern Spanish). However, in modern Spanish, following B&R, these features are 'donated' to T. I suggest that, as a way of 'regaining' access to the left periphery, Spanish underwent a syntacticization of discourse (Haegeman & Hill 2010, Speas & Tenny 2003), in which syntactically relevant information-structure features developed out of an originally post-syntactic information structure component (cf. Sitaridou 2011: fn. 2). As a result, the displacement of these elements became reinterpreted as polarity focus, since the elements themselves are not information-structure bearing (see below).

      Mackenzie (2010) claims that sentences like (1) instantiate wide-focus ('neutral descriptions' (Kuno 1972)). Importantly, as he notes, the elements which undergo WFF are not plausibly interpreted as either topics or foci. Aggregating several observations from the literature on the Old Spanish left periphery with additional data from the *Corpus del Español* (Davies 2002-) reveals that WFF is in complementary distribution with other constructions which access the low left periphery, including wh-movement, new information focus (Sitaridou 2011) and interpolation (Poole 2013). This suggests not only that WFF indeed targets the low left periphery (rather than a low IP area (Belletti 2004)) but crucially also that these displacements are effected by a common feature, given that the low left periphery theoretically provides syntactic positions for multiple elements (e.g., Topics and Foci). However, given the diverse information-structural value of the different elements, the effecting feature cannot be a discourse-specific one. These facts follow immediately if these low-left peripheral displacements are triggered by a single EPP/edge feature. (Diachronically, the decline of WFF patterns with the decline of other left-peripheral

constructions which are not necessarily focal, further suggesting that a discourse-independent feature is at work.)

A modern Spanish construction superficially similar to (1) does exist, and Mackenzie notes in passing the possibility that it a 'vestigial remnant' (2010: 394) of Old Spanish WFF.

(3)   Algo debe saber.
        something must.prs.3sg know
        'S/he must know something.'

This construction, of course, no longer has a wide-focus interpretation. As Leonetti & Escandell Vidal note, examples such as (3) possess a focus flavour, but since the fronted element may not bear focal stress or function contrastively, it cannot be true left-peripheral focus. They suggest that (3) represents 'verum' or polarity focus, and this is precisely what is expected if access to the left periphery is mediated by a 'true' syntactic feature such as [+focus], rather than by a discourse-independent EPP feature. Just as in WFF, the element itself cannot be a focus (or a topic), but in modern Spanish it must serve *some* information-structure function in order to access the left periphery. (Specifically, following Hernanz (2007)'s account of emphatic affirmative sentences involving *sí* and *bien*, I assume that the fronted element moves to the specifier of ΣP/PolP to license its null head, followed by movement to the specifier of FocusP in the low left periphery.)

In addition to the XP-fronting cases considered above, I also consider Old Spanish verb initial declaratives like (2) above which, I argue, possess a diachronic reflex in at least one variety of modern Western Iberian Romance. In Old Spanish 'narrative inversion' and 'logical consequence' V1 declaratives, the (low) left periphery similarly contains only elements attracted by the purely formal features which Old Spanish retains in the C-domain. The result, just as with Mackenzie's WFF, is a wide-focus interpretation (cf. Erteschik Shir 2007's 'altruistic movement'). ((2), for example, describes the response to an immediately preceding request for further information.)

Unlike modern Castillian, Fernández Rubiera (2006-2008; 2012) observes that in a modern variety that he dubs 'Conservative Asturian' the verb may optionally undergo syntactic movement into low left periphery in embedded clauses, resulting in a verb-clitic order. However these verb-clitic orders are characterized by what he calls a '[+conviction]' interpretation, as illustrated by (4).

(4) Digo que me ayuda/#qu' ayúdame anque nun toi enfotáu del too
    say1SG that me$_{CL}$ help/help-me$_{CL}$ though not am convinced of-the all
    'I'm saying that she's helping me, but I'm not totally convinced'

As shown by Fernández Rubiera (2012), these verb-clitic clauses are peripheral rather than central (in the sense of Haegeman), and therefore have a full left periphery, including FocusP (also explaining their diachronic connection to what was originally a main clause effect). I suggest that the [+conviction] interpretation is in fact another instance of polarity focus. (Modern Asturian patterns with modern Spanish with respect to EPP/T feature donation. I therefore follow Raposo & Uriagereka 2005 and Fernández Rubiera (2012) in taking verb-clitic order in Asturian *main* clauses to be driven by prosodic factors, which explains why it does not induce a polarity focus interpretation.)

The relationship between (2) and (4) thus parallels the one between (1) and (3). Initially, an element is attracted into the left periphery by a discourse-independent formal feature in the C-domain, and the post-syntactic interpretive component interprets this as neutral wide-focus. But after the syntacticization of discourse, at which point the left-periphery may only be accessed via discourse-specific syntactic features, the displacement

must serve *some* specific information structure function, and polarity focus becomes a compatible interpretation.

EPP and ECP revisited: The role of labeling.
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In the GB framework, EPP and ECP are stated as two independent principles, but they both attribute a special status to the subject position of clauses: subjects are obligatory, and they are not possible extraction sites (unless special conditions are met). This common core suggests the possibility of establishing a closer link between the two properties of subjects (Chomsky 2014, Rizzi 2014). In this paper I would like to revisit EPP and ECP in terms of certain cartographic assumptions on close structure, the notion of criterial freezing, and the possibility of deriving the freezing effects from labeling. I will adopt a particular version of the labeling algorithm based on the insight that labeling is a matter of locality: a node created by merge receives the label of the closest head (Chomsky 2013). Labeling offers a comprehensive solution to the "halting problem" for movement: the necessity of labeling a node determines the fact that movement must continue from certain positions and must stop in other positions. In particular, the freezing effects in criterial positions can be derived from labeling and a natural maximality principle, preventing movement of a non-maximal node (Rizzi 2014). In a nutshell: in a criterial configuration such *as [which$_Q$ book] [Q Bill read __]* , derived through internal merge of type XP-YP, the whole configuration is labeled as Q, but this makes *which book* non-maximal with respect to feature Q, hence unmovable under maximality.

The IP-initial subject position is a typical halting site for A-movement, so the logic of the system leads to the postulation of a Subject Criterion. The "fixed subject", or "that-trace" effects can be seen as particular cases of criterial freezing, under the Subject Criterion, ultimately to be derived from labeling and maximality. So, the EPP (in the classical GB sense) is expressed as a cartographic property of the clausal spine (an obligatory head in the high IP structure defining the Subject Criterion, a proposal building on Cardinaletti 2004), while the ECP effects (at least those that are responsible for subject-object asymmetries under extraction) are derived from Criterial Freezing, ultimately from labeling and maximality.

Null Subject Languages do not manifest subject-object asymmetries under extraction. The traditional analysis in terms of extraction of the subject from a lower position in these languages (Rizzi 1982) can be immediately accommodated to the labeling approach. But subject extraction does not take place from the "free subject inversion construction", involving a position which has been reanalyzed as a low focal position (Belletti 2001). In fact, the "inverse copular construction" (Moro 1998) provides evidence, under certain analytic assumptions, that the low focus position also gives rise to freezing effects, as is expected under the labeling+maximality approach. The paper will also discuss some other consequences and issues raised by the approach.

Two ways to be local in the French *faire*-construction
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1. Locality constraints are general principles of grammar which restrict the application of grammatical processes to limited domains. The general view in the Principles and Parameters era was that the phenomena in the realm of a given module obeyed locality conditions specific to that module. Condition A of Binding Theory made reference to a notion of "minimal functional complex" (Chomsky 1986), which was totally irrelevant to (A'-) movement processes, which themselves were taken to be constrained by principles like Subjacency and Superiority and produced structures subject to ECP.

Minimalist theorizing has led to a drastic reduction of the inventory of locality principles. The hypothesis is that there are two notions of locality (and two types of locality domains): phase-based locality and intervention-based locality. Since Rizzi's (1990) discovery of the systematic nature of intervention effects and the formulation of Relativized Minimality, many principles have been proposed which rely on the idea that movement (or agreement or whatever operation is involved in the establishment of a relation between two sites) is blocked across a phrase (or a head) that is alike the moving phrase (or head) and is possible across a phrase (or a head) in the same position that is different (see the MLC, Attract Closest, Feature-Relativized Minimality). Phase-based locality (cf. Chomsky 2000) proposes a novel modelling of the standard idea that some phrasal boundaries constitute absolute barriers for movement processes, formerly expressed via the Subjacency Condition and the Strict Cycle Condition. The occurrence in the structure of a head belonging to a restricted set (C or v or D) defines its projection (CP or vP or DP) as a "phase", that is as a computational unit for narrow syntax, and its domain as a unit for Transfer at the interfaces. Once a phase has been completed, no element inside its domain can escape from it.

This dichotomy raises two major questions. The first one is that of explanatory adequacy: can all the generalizations and requirements isolated during the P&P period be subsumed under one of these two conditions? The second question goes beyond explanatory adequacy: why are there two notions of locality? which relation do they entertain? is unification of the two possible or desirable?

2. In the first part of this talk, we list the predictions of each locality condition and observe that none of them assigns a distinguished status to finiteness, nor to subjecthood. When selected by C, TP is a spell-out domain, whether finite or not. In the original version of RM, not just subjects, but also other arguments function as interveners. This situation is in sharp contrast with what was believed to be correct in the pre-P&P period, cf. Chomsky's (1973) Specified Subject Condition and Tensed-S Condition.

3. The second part broaches the issue of the possible unification of the two conditions. Let us ask what form an argument *against* unification could take. One possibility would be to show that a given process obeys one locality condition and doesn't obey the other. This talk looks at two processes, clitic placement in Romance (*CL-PL*) and the rule responsible for the respectively interpretation (*R-I*). Their contrasting behaviour in the French *faire*-construction suggests that each phenomenon obeys some locality condition that the other does not.

4. Research on *respectively* has shown that *R-I* should not be seen as a syntactic operation on coordinate structures, but as a construal process, sensitive to interpretive properties, whereby a bijection is established between partitions of two plural sets (Chaves 2012). I intend to show, however, that *R-I* is subject to *syntactic* locality.

(1)   **Tolstoy et Dostoïevsky** ont écrit respectivement *Ana Karénine et L'Idiot*
        (*respectively*-phrase in italics, "antecedent" in bold)

(2)   *Pierre et Jean ont persuadé Marie de **PRO** téléphoner respectivement *à Julie et à
        Lucie*

(3)   Marie a persuadé Pierre et Jean de **PRO** téléphoner respectivement *à Julie et à Lucie*

(4)   Pierre et Paul ont envoyé un livre et un magazine à Julie et à Lucie respectivement

(5)   **Julie et Lucie** ?croient/?*sont persuadées/*doutent que *Pierre et Paul* respectivement ont/aient découvert le trésor.

(6)   **Les français et les italiens** sont plus grands que ne l'étaient *les gaulois et les romains* respectivement.

(7)   **Pierre et Jean** ont fait téléphoner Marie *à Julie et à Lucie* respectivement

The contrast between (2) and (3) suggests that the interpretive path cannot cross an expression qualifying as a potential antecedent of the *respectively*-phrase (that is, marked for number), but specified for the wrong value (singular), a pattern reminiscent of intervention effects. The consideration of inter-clausal dependencies (control infinitives, raising and ECM structures, small clauses) and the range of readings available in (4) confirm that *R-I* is exclusively sensitive to the presence of an intervening *subject* (an intervening object doesn't block the relation between a dative argument and the subject). (5) seems to indicate that finiteness is also a crucial dimension in the phenomenon, but (6) points towards the opposite conclusion. The respectively reading is also available in the *faire*-construction (7), where the IO *respectively*-phrase has been stranded by the raising of *téléphoner*. SUBJ (*Marie*) doesn't trigger any intervention effect in this case (it is taken as a subject in Kayne's 1975 classical analysis). Its intervener status is plausibly cancelled as a result of verb raising and/or "restructuring".

5. *CL-PL* in causative constructions displays well-known complex asymmetries (cf. Kayne 1975): DO clitics have access to the matrix Tense domain, IO clitics have not.

(8)   Pierre l'a fait acheter à Marie (ce livre)

(9)   *Jean leur a fait téléphoner Marie (à ces filles)

(10)   *Pierre l'a laissé Marie acheter (ce livre) / Pierre a laissé Marie l'acheter

(8) confirms that DO first moves as a DP outside of the lower vP phase, then cliticizes onto matrix v, (9) that IO remains trapped within vP, (10) that *CL-PL* targets the v heading the phase that minimally contains CL. The point is that one cannot resort to intervention to explain why (9) is out, since SUBJ doesn't qualify as an intervener in the relevant structure, as shown by (7). *R-I* and *CL-PL* target the same constituent (OI) in the same structure (the verb-raising causative construction) and give rise to contrasting effects. There is no doubt that other factors, independent of locality, play a role in this contrast (dative clitics are special, ...). But a simple and natural way to derive it is to assume that the two processes obey different locality conditions: *R-I* is sensitive to (subject) intervention locality, not to phasal locality; *CL-PL* is sensitive to phasal locality, not to intervention locality.

6. It would be quite foolish to jump from this specific case study to general conclusions concerning locality. Suppose however that a divide of this type can be confirmed by further empirical data. How should it be interpreted? One could consider that different types of rules (rules of construal, looking for an antecedent, vs. movement operations with no detectable semantic import) obey different locality conditions. The observed difference could also be taken as an indication that different locality conditions are relevant in different parts of the grammar. A reason to be skeptical about the first suggestion is that, whereas overt movement processes obey by now relatively well-known locality conditions, construal processes show great diversity in this respect: some cannot cross a CP boundary (quantifier scope, suggesting that phasal movement is involved, cf. Cecchetto 2004 on QR); others allow the computation to involve several propositional units (resumptive dependencies); still others ignore island boundaries completely (long-distance anaphora). The second suggestion would fit with recent attempts to derive the locality of movement from the properties of the phasal mapping to the interfaces (cf. Fox and Pesetsky 2004; Bošković 2007; Chomsky 2008). It is not without problems, as we will see.

Complementation, F and Inflected Infinitives: the case of Valego

Koldo Sáinz

1.Introduction. In what follows, we consider the evidence of Valego Galician (Val do Ellas, Extremadura, Spain, Costas(2013)) w.r.t. the setting of the F-Parameter (Uriagereka (1995), etc.): we focus on the absence of Conjugated Infinitives (=CI) and clitic enclisis and verbal answers to yes/no questions in this variety, which indicates a [-φ] in F value for it, contrasted with its positive value in Asturian, with enclisis and preverbal subjects in infinitives despite their lack of overt agreement. This situation sheds light on the problem of the origin of Romance CIs, our conclusion being that, while the existence of CIs is an archaism, due to the preservation of Latin imperfect subjunctive, their actual survival depends on the setting of the F-Parameter, agreement itself being epiphenomenal. Finally, we compare Western Iberian (=WI) with the situation in Sardinian, where both Logudorese conjugated infinitives and Campidanese agreementless ones are always headed by a P element in C, and are instances of impoverished subjunctives, requiring C-V+T adjacency and postverbal subjects: again, the overall pattern is archaic, but independent lexical subjects are licensed by the P element in C, not by agreement.

2.On the origin of Romance CIs. Two main theories have been advanced (see Scida (2004)): a) the 'Creative' Theory, postulating that CIs are an innovation based on the appearance of prepositional infinitives in Vulgar Latin, the creation of infinitival clauses with NOM subjects and the analogical transfer of personal endings from finite verb forms to these infinitives, and b) the Imperfect Subjunctive Theory, which assumes that CIs emerged via reanalysis of Lat. imperf. subj., starting in clauses where the subjunctive complementizer *ut* was elided (Miller(2003), etc). Support for b) is given by Galician-Portuguese Archaic CIs, shown in (1):

(1) vendedores nõ peytẽ nulla rẽ...<u>e as misuras seerẽ estabezudas</u> (F. Caldelas, ca. 1250)

    sellers do not pay-Subj.3Pl. anything, and the measures be-Inf.3Pl established.

These archaic CIs appear in the following contexts: i) complements of Vs like *outorgar* 'to grant', ii) non initial coordinates depending on Vs like *mandar* 'to order', iii) non initial coordinates depending on Modals such as *dever* 'must' and iv) apodosis of hypothetic conditionals with the protasis marked as future subjunctive: the crucial fact is that these CIs still preserve their modal nuance and, leaving aside 1), which involves a P-complementizer marked [+Mood] as in Sardinian, they appear as non-initial coordinates (e.g. *mando que fazam...e fazerem*, lit. '(I) order that do-Subj.3Pl. and do-INF-3Pl., vs. **mando fazerem...e que fazam*). This is explained in Sainz (2013) as the result of the reanalysis of Lat. imperf. subj. clauses in coordinate contexts where the complementizer *ut* was absent : the new CI was interpreted as an unmarked verbal form in Conjunction Reduction contexts, (Kiparsky (1969), etc.), as shown in (2), where the transfer of the interpretable Mood feature is blocked because Agree between the Phase head C and V+T in the non initial conjunct is impossible:

(2) (mando [CP que) [TP1 nõ peytẽ...[CoP [Co e] [TP2 as misuras seerẽ..]]]]
                |___Agree__|_____XXX_____|

Infinitives of this type, even if devoided of agreement morphology are not found in Old Spanish, and this provides further support for the the imperfect subjunctive theory. However, the derivation from Latin is problematic: if in *placuit nobis ut ueniremus et faceremus* 'it pleased us to come and to do', *faceremus* was reanalyzed as a CI, why was this impossible in cases such as *uolebant ut ueniremus et faceremus*, which would have evolved into Galician

querian que viñésemos e facermos, ungrammatical both in the modern lg. and earlier stages, in contrast with complements of *mandar*, etc. in Old Galician-Portuguese (case ii) above)?.

3.The F Parameter. At this point, the F-Parameter proposed by Uriagereka (1995) sheds light on the problem: F is a head between C and T that provides a configuration where semantic properties with pragmatic import are realized, either by External or Internal *Merge*, furthermore, it can bear φ-features or not, and it can be weak or strong: French instantiates [-φ, weak], Standard Spanish [-φ, strong], and WI provides the crucial evidence for both [+φ, weak] and [+φ, strong]. If [+φ] is found, a cluster of properties emerges: although some of them (e.g. recomplementation, are widespread in (Old) Romance), there are two which conform a 'core' F Parameter, namely long interpolation of clitics, available just when F is filled, and verbal answers to yes/no questions. Yet, for our purposes here, two of the clustering properties of the F Parameter are crucial: 1) the WI enclisis/proclisis pattern of clitic placement, which follows from the (im)possibility of V-to-F, and 2) personal and conjugated infinitives with preverbal subjects. As for the latter, F is always endowed with φ-features, triggering agreement activity, even when it is not overt, as in Old Spanish and Asturian.This F parameter approach is more coherent with the 'Creative Theory' of CIs, because it is not necessarily associated to archaic varieties, as shown for Dominican Spanish by Gupton & Lowman (2013). In addition, if F is weak in complements of *uerba uolendi*, the problem posed at the end of **2.** can be dealt with.

4. The crucial evidence I: Valego Galician. If this approach to CIs is right, we predict that a variety of WI displaying Spanish-like cliticization will not allow for personal/inflected infinitives with preverbal subjects: this is borne out by Valego Galician, contrasting with Asturian, as in (3)a vs. b, coherent with the expected cliticization patterns, shown in (4)a vs. b:

3)a para merendillal us meninus (Valego)   b para los neños merendar (Asturian)

   '(in order) for the children to have for tea'   (from X. H.Costas, and X. Viejo, p.c.)

4)a i isu **us** levaria a un incrementu.. (Valego.)   b cunto**telo** como me lo cuntó (Asturian)

    'and that would-lead **them** to an increase..'   'I tell **you it** as he told it to me'

Hence, we interpret the Valego pattern as a coherent departure from Archaic WI in the setting of the F-Parameter, perhaps due to contact with Spanish, This is further reinforced by the absence of verbal answers to yes/no questions in Valego, although this issue requires further research.

5.Sardinian CIs. On the other hand, Sardinian personal infinitives headed by a P element in C behave like subjunctives and they can be selected by volitional predicates, as shown in 5):

5)a Cheljo a bénneres tue (Logudorese)   b Bollu a benni tui (Campidanese)

    want-1sg 'a' come-INF-2sg. you   want-1sg 'a' come-INF you

Following Ledgway(2012) for the adjacency effect between subjunctive complementizers and unmarked/defective Vs in Salentino and Romanian, I assume that [+Mood] in C must enter in a strictly local relation Agree with the infinitive, so that preverbal subjects are excluded, but postverbal ones are licensed, because the Case properties of (V+)T are activated once it enters in that local relation with the Phase head C: this is more compatible with the imperfect subjunctive theory, still found in Logudorese *cantaret*. Contrary to Sal, bare INFs, devoided of the P-element in C are possible, but they trigger OC readings: *a* is then crucial, acting as a Switch Reference Marker in C, akin to the role of the D head in Basque VN clauses.

6.Conclusion. So, evidence for φ-features in F in WI is a *necessary condition* for the existence of SV personal infinitives, inflected or not,, as shown by their lack in Valego, and similarly, strong [+Mood] in C is necessary in Sardinian for its personal infinitives to be possible, as shown by obligatory PRO subjects of infinitives devoided of the P element in C. In addition, these strong features acted as the *enabling cause* making possible the preservation of the old imperf. subjunctive, as in Galician-Portuguese or Logudorese: Occam's Razor suggests the dismiss of imperfect subjunctive hypothesis, but Galician-Portuguese Archaic CIs, missing in

Old Spanish, and Sardininian ones as complements of *uerba uolendi* favor it. Hence, I-Language parameters and E-Language evidence interact in an interesting way.....

Person features and functional heads: Evidence from an exceptional optative sentence in Spanish
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The proposal. This paper provides empirical support to the hypothesis that clause typing operators can bear person features and contribute to the sentence not only semantically but also syntactically. Assuming that optative or desiderative sentences contain an *EX* operator that combines with a proposition and turns it into the expression of an emotion, I derive the general restriction banning *wh*-elements to introduce optative sentences from semantic factors. However, the existence of exceptional cases of *wh*-optatives in Spanish requires an account crucially involving syntax in addition to semantics. I propose that the operator *EX* in optatives is a functional head that bears a person feature and, when in a sufficiently local configuration, binds the subject and enters into an agreement relation with it. The exceptional grammaticality of certain Spanish *wh*-optatives is a consequence of this agreement relation.

The data. Spanish main sentences with the *wh*-word *quién* 'who' plus a past subjunctive verbal form have optative meaning, and express a vivid wish or desire. *Quién* 'who' is a 3rd person singular pronoun, but it is interpreted as 1st person singular in optatives, so that the sentence expresses the speaker's desire:

(1)   ¡Quién fuera   millonario!
        Who$_{3sg}$ was$_{subj.3sg}$ millionaire
        'If only I was a millionaire!'

Quién 'who' is the only *wh*-word that can appear in an optative sentence; any other *wh*-word would yield an ungrammatical sentence, as shown in (2):

(2)   a. *¡Qué   persona fuera   millonaria!
            What person   was$_{subj.3sg}$ millionaire
        (Expected but no available reading: 'If only a/that person was a millionaire!')
        b. *¡Cuánto   dinero ganara   yo!
            How much money earned$_{subj.1sg}$ I
        (Expected but no available reading: 'If only I earned a lot of money!')
        c. *¡Cuándo viajara   yo a Lisboa!
            When   travelled$_{subj.1sg}$ I to Lisbon
        (Expected but no available reading: 'If only I travelled to Lisbon sometime!')

The examples in (2) follow the general pattern that excludes *wh*-words from optative main sentences. This restriction is related to the well known fact that predicates of desire, wish or hope cannot take *wh*-sentences as arguments (3):

(3)   a. *I hope who comes.
        b. *He wishes what a car she has.
        c. *I desire when I can travel to Lisbon.

The analysis. I assume that optatives are expressive sentences that convey the speaker's emotion about a proposition and contain an *EX* operator, as proposed for exclamatives by Gutiérrez Rexach (1996, 2001), Castroviejo (2006), Jónsson (2010), and for optatives by Grozs (2011). *EX* selects a proposition *p* and a scale *S* and quantifies over scalar alternatives to *p*. In optatives, *S* is ordered according to the speaker's preferences, so that optatives are modalized propositions anchored to the world of the speaker's desires. Optative *EX* is a *strong intensional operator* (in McCawley's 1981 terms) and, therein, a non-veridical operator (Giannakidou 1995, Quer 1998), which does not guarantee the truth of the proposition in the embedded model. I assume that a *wh*-clause denotes the set of all possible true propositions of the form *p(x)*, *x* being all the possible values for the *wh*-variable in the world of evaluation (Hamblin 1973, Karttunen 1977,

Zanuttini and Portner 2003, among many others). According to this, *wh*-words are expected to be ungrammatical under the scope of an optative *EX* operator (or, similarly, as complements of desire predicates), because it would not be possible to evaluate the truth of the proposition in a set of worlds that coincides with the desires and wishes of the speaker. To put it differently, the speaker cannot express an emotion about a proposition that contains a variable whose value is expected to be different in each of the worlds compatible with his desire. The examples in (2)-(4) are, then, non interpretable and their ungrammaticality is explained by semantic reasons.

According to this, the sentence in (1) ought to be non-interpretable, and ungrammatical as well. Why is it not the case? I propose that the *EX* operator has a first person feature that guarantees that optatives are interpreted with respect to a scale associate to the speaker and, consequently, they do not express the desire of any other person but the speaker. The features of third person and singular number of *quién* 'who' are uninterpetable features (that is, they are default values for person and number) that acquire a value by agreement with INFL. Being a quantifier, *quién* 'who' is associated with a covert partitive phrase, which provides their quantification domain. This partitive phrase may acquire a person feature in the course of the derivation, via binding. I propose that *EX* binds the partitive complement of *quién* and, thus, it restricts the quantifier domain to the set of individuals with the features [+human] [person:first], as shown in (4):

(4)   [EX$_{[1sg]}$ [$_{FocusP}$ [quién [$_{PartP}$ *pro*$_{[1sg]}$]]$_i$ [$_T$ t_i fuera millonario]]]

The first person feature in *EX* provides a way to save the derivation including a *wh*-optative headed by *quién* via binding. This analysis accounts for the fact that the plural subject *quiénes* does not admit the optative reading (5), since only a singular feature is consistent with the speaker's reference:

(5)   *¡Quiénes fueran   millonarios!
            Who$_{3pl}$ were$_{subj.3pl}$ millionaire$_{pl}$
         (Expected but no available reading: 'If only we/they were a millionaire!')

Finally, this analysis predicts that the *EX* operator and *quién* must be in a sufficiently local configuration. This is exactly what happens. The examples in (6) show that the optative reading is not available -and the sentence is thus ungrammatical- if *quién* is a direct object (6a) or a prepositional complement (6b)

(6)   a. *¡A quién amara   él!
              To whom loved$_{subj.3sg}$ he
         (Expected but no available reading: 'If only he loved me!')
            b. *¡Con quién hubieses estado tú   anoche!
                With whom had$_{subj.2sg}$ been   you   last night
         (Expected but no available reading: 'If only you had been with me last night')

Both in (6a) and (6b) the subject intervenes between *EX* and the copy of *quién* in the thematic position, avoiding the local binding relation between them:

(7)   [EX$_{[1sg]}$ [$_{FocusP}$ [a quién [$_{PartP}$ *pro*$_{[1sg]}$]]$_i$ [$_T$amara él$_j$ t_i]]]

Theoretical and empirical consequences. The data analysed here provides strong empirical support for the hypothesis that the operators responsible for type sentence can have person features and contribute not only to the semantics of the sentence, but also to its syntax. In the line of the insights in Zanuttini, Pak and Portner (2012) for jussive, hortative and imperative sentences, my proposal deeps on the interpretive and syntactic properties of optative sentences and, thus, in the syntactic and semantic realization of sentential properties. Finally, some empirical predictions about the left periphery of optative sentences are obtained from the comparison of the different correlates to (1) in Romance languages.

Pied-piping requirement and constituent order change

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Sentences following the SOV structure in medieval texts are usually studied as special cases in Romance grammar where the basic constituent order is SVO. Nevertheless, what is proposed is an analysis based on the supposition that SOV structures and some other possible orders such as VSO and SVO, recorded in the medieval period, meet the requirements of Latin syntactic patterns and coexisted with new Romance structures emerging as a consequence of a process of abduction carried out by those individuals who were acquiring their language. Different arrangements (SOV, VSO, SVO) can be explained, as much in Latin as in Old Romance languages, as a consequence of the kind of units displaced to Specifier positions in Sv and ST, on the lines argued by Biberauer &Roberts (2005, 2006, 2008), and by the capability of the verb to reproject and to facilitate Specifier positions (Donati 2006, Matushansky 2006, Gallego 2007, Roberts 2010, 2011).

This paper proposes an approach focused on the presence and absence of EPP and *pied-piping* requirements as sources of SX movement linked to T feature, which participates in Case checking (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001, 2004). When the T feature, besides being specified with EPP, contains the *pied-piping* requirement, it not only attracts the DP which it has set up to *Agree* with to Specifier position, but it also employs the full category containing it: VP-*Raising,* if v presents [T <EPP, pied-piping>], and vP-*Raising,* if [T <EPP, *pied-piping*>] is in the head T.

Different combinations of EPP and *pied-piping* in the heads v and T generate different word orders, and the concurrence of VP-*raising* and vP-*raising* in the same sentence would explain SOV order. Those syntactic structures, each one could be assigned a particular pragmatic-discursive value, would not have disappeared suddenly, but they would probably be maintained throughout the Middle Ages, until the *pied-piping* requirement related to T feature stopped being evident and abducible for those individuals who would be acquiring grammar. Sentences with two arguments placed before the verb, SOOV, would favour the abduction of VP-*raising* and vP-*raising,* caused by *pied-piping* in the heads v and T, respectively; but sentences with just an object before the verb, SOV, would not benefit from the abduction of VP-*raising,* a side-effect of *pied-piping* present in v, because SOV order can also be obtained by means of vP-*raising* in the case in which *pied-piping* is in the head T.

The opacity among these structures would spread and would have effects on other types of structures and in this way the emergence of a new syntactic pattern without [T<EPP, *pied-piping*>], like the one in modern Romance languages, would be highly favoured. As a result SOV arrangements disappear as SVO and VSO structures without *pied-piping* arise and increase and become more and more evident, due to the acquisition process biased to satisfy the legibility conditions of the Faculty of Language.

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Integrating reflexively marked medio-passives into a formal typology of Voice
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I) French (as other Romance, Scandinavian or Slavic languages) uses SE-reflexive clitics to form semantically reflexive verbs (1), anticausatives (2), as well as so-called medio-passives (3). French also has a canonical passive (4). Building on Schäfer (2008), Bruening (2012) and Alexiadou & Doron (2012), we derive a typology of Voice heads that **i)** subsumes SE-marked medio-passives under the syntax of SE-marked anticausatives, **ii)** distinguishes two morpho-syntactically distinct passives, and **iii)** explains why (some) medio-passives reject *by*-phrases.

(1) Jean s'est   lavé   (3) Trois maisons se sont louées (*par des   touristes) hier
    Jean SE is washed   three houses SE are   rented   by some tourists   yesterday

(2) Le verre s'est cassé   (4) Trois maisons ont été louées (par des   touristes) hier
    the glass SE is broken   three houses have been rented by some tourists   yesterday

II) Schäfer (2008) and Pitteroff & Schäfer (t.a.) show on the basis of German scrambling data that semantically reflexive verbs as in (1) have the syntax in (5a) (DP in Spec,VoiceP, SE vP-internal), while SE-marked anticausatives as in (2) have the syntax in (5b) (SE in Spec,VoiceP, DP vP-internal). Doron & Rappaport Hovav (2007) and Sportiche (2014) give semantic arguments that (5a) is correct for Romance reflexive verbs, too: the SE-reflexive in (1) is an anaphor in object position carrying the internal theme role. Thus, Romance reflexive verbs are not unaccusative. While (5a) and (5b) are both *syntactically transitive* structures with internal and external argument, only reflexive verbs involve two θ-roles (agent, theme). SE-marked anticausatives are *semantically intransitive* and involve a theme only (that (2) is not semantically reflexive, is shown in Horvath & Siloni 2011, Schäfer & Vivanco t.a.).

(5) a. [$_{TP}$ T [$_{VoiceP}$ DP Voice [$_{vP}$ v SE]]] b. [$_{TP}$ T [$_{VoiceP}$ SE Voice [$_{vP}$ v DP]]]

III) To solve this mismatch in syntactic vs. semantic transitivity, Schäfer (2008) proposes the typology of Voice heads in (6) which teases apart syntactic from thematic properties of Voice:

(6) **a.** thematic active Voice: *Voice{agent, D}* **b.**   thematic passive Voice: *Voice{agent, ∅}*
    c. expletive active Voice:*Voice{∅, D}*   **d.** expletive passive Voice: *Voice{∅, ∅}*

Ordinary active Voice (6a) has a D-feature to be checked by a DP in Spec,VoiceP, and a θ-role to be assigned to this DP. This head is used e.g. in (5a). UG makes available three further Voice heads with subsets of these two features. (6b) has a θ-role but lacks the D-feature. Thus, no specifier can be projected and the θ-role can only be assigned to an implicit argument. This head is meant in Schäfer (2008) to underlie passives in general, but we will argue that it only correctly captures medio-passives as in Greek (7a), where non-active (Nact) morphology spells-out all Voice heads lacking a specifier (Embick 2004). The Voice heads in (6c) and (6d) are *expletive*, as they lack a θ-role to be assigned. (6d), which also lacks a D-feature, is used in languages like Greek to form marked anticausatives (7b). (6d) gets the same Nact-realization as (6b) despite the difference in meaning (Alexiadou et al. 2006).

(7) a. O Janis katijori-thike (apo ti Maria)   b. To pani skis-tike (apo mono tu)
        the John accuse-Nact   by the Mary   the cloth tore-Nact by alone its
        'John was accused (by Mary)'   'The cloth tore (by itself)'

The other *expletive* Voice in (6c) underlies reflexively marked anticausatives (5b). The D-feature of (6c) demands a DP in Spec,VoiceP, but ordinary DPs would suffer a violation of the θ-criterion. Schäfer (2008) argues that only an *unbound SE-reflexive* can check the D-feature of (6c). SE-reflexives lack inherent meaning and receive their interpretation from a c-commanding antecedent. In (5a) the SE-reflexive agrees with the c-commanding DP and this syntactic relation is translated at LF into a semantic binding relation. In (5b), however, the SE-reflexive lacks a c-commanding antecedent and, consequently, no semantic binding relation can be established. In turn, the SE-reflexive remains without denotation, i.e. expletive, and neither needs, nor can it realize a θ-role. Note that A-movement of the DP in

(5b) cannot derive a semantic binder for the SE-reflexive. Such movement would have to target the outer specifier of VoiceP (a phase) as in (8). But as McGinnis (2004) shows, an outer specifier cannot bind the inner specifier of the same projection ("*Lethal Ambiguity*").

(8) [T [$_{VoiceP}$ DP$_i$ [$_{VoiceP}$ SE$_{(*i)}$ [$_{vP}$ v t$_{DP}$]]]]

IV) The typology in (6) cannot explain the difference between (3) and (4). Further, SE-marked medio-passives actually do not fit into (6a-d). (6c) provides Spec,VoiceP for the SE-reflexive, but it wrongly predicts the absence of an implicit agent. (6b) provides an implicit agent (as diagnosed by agentive adverbs or control), but no DP-position for the SE-reflexive; (cf. Schäfer 2008 for arguments against analyzing SE as realizing a Voice head itself).

V) We update the semantic feature specification of Voice heads. As above, expletive Voice lacks semantic information. But Voice can introduce a semantic argument either as a variable to be bound later on, or as an existentially bound variable. At the syntactic side, we maintain that a D-feature can be present or absent. This predicts the set of six Voice heads in (9):

(9) **a**. active Voice: *{λeλx[agent(x)], D}*   **b**. medio-passive Voice: *{λe∃x[agent(x)], ∅}*
    c. active expletive Voice: *{∅, D}*   **d**. medio-marked expletive Voice: *{∅, ∅}*
    e. active medio-passive Voice: *{λe∃x[agent(x)], D}*
    f. Pass-input Voice: *{λeλx[agent(x)], ∅}*

(9a-d) replace (6a-d) without empirical change. (9a) derives actives, (9b) Greek-style medio-passives, (9c) SE-marked anticausatives and (9d) Greek-style marked anticausatives. (9e) allows to capture SE-marked medio-passives. The external argument variable is existentially bound, but the D-feature forces to project a specifier. An unbound, expletive SE-reflexive is the only DP that can merge there without a violation of the θ-criterion. So while Voice in (9e) is not expletive, the specifier it projects is. Finally, (9f) lacks a D-feature and cannot combine with a DP to bind its open variable. Bruening (2012) proposes that canonical passives have the structure in (10a) with a Passive projection (Pass) on top of a specifier-less VoiceP exactly as (9f). The semantics of Pass in (10b) impose existential quantification over the open argument slot introduced by (9f). (10b) applied to (9f) gives a meaning identical to the one lexically specified in medio-passive Voice heads (9b/e) (cf. "*bundling*" in Pylkkänen 2008).

(10)   a.   [$_{TP}$ T [$_{PassP}$ Pass [$_{VoiceP}$ Voice [$_{vP}$ ....]]]]   b.   [[Pass]] = λf$_{e,st}$ λe[∃x.f(x)(e)]

VI) Turning to *by*-phrases, Bruening (2012) proposes that *by*-phrases in canonical passives adjoin to the VoiceP projected by (9f) as in (11a). The meaning of *by* in (11b) allows the DP complement of *by* to saturate the open argument slot of (9f). Afterwards, a semantically empty variant of Pass merges in (11a). Technically deviating from Bruening, we assume that it must merge if Spec,VoiceP remains empty and the Voice head lacks an overt exponent.

(11)   a.   [$_{TP}$ T [$_{PassP}$ Pass [$_{VoiceP}$ PP [$_{VoiceP}$ Voice [$_{vP}$ ....]]]]]   b.   [[by]] = λxλf$_{e,st}$ λe.f(e,x)

Short Greek medio-passives in (7a) involve (9b). With *by*-phrase, (7a) involves (9f), to which the *by*-phrase adjoins to bind the open variable. The Voice head, lacking a specifier, gets Nact morphological spell-out. French SE-passives (as e.g. Spanish or Romanian), however, reject *by*-phrases (or allow them sometimes marginally). In order to produce (3) with a *by*-phrase, a speaker would have to use (9a) involving a D-feature and an open variable. If a referential DP checks the D-feature, it will bind the argument variable in (9a) and a *by*-phrase adjoined afterwards lacks a θ-role. It seems that if an expletive SE-reflexive is merged instead, a *by*-phrase adjoined afterwards should be able to bind the argument variable (and it sometimes marginally can). However, we suggest that the system treats such structures as a violation of the θ-criterion, because the closest *potential* argument of Voice in the *canonical* subject position Spec,VoiceP is expletive and cannot realize the θ-role. In other words, expletives should be inserted only as Last Resort (Chomsky 1995).

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Development of Locative Prepositions: The Role of Linguistic Cues

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In the literature of spatial development the idea that languages partition the world differently and children acquire the world view according to this partitioning (Whorf 1956) has been abandoned by the cognitive revolution in '60s &'70s, adopting the view that emergence of spatial concepts seems to obey the order in (1) (Piaget & Inhelder 1956):

> (1) words of containment (*in*) > words of contiguity and support (*on*) and occlusion (*under*) > words for proximity (*next to*, *beside*, *between*) > words for projective relationships (*in front of*, *behind*).

The current study: Moving within the more recent advances on spatial development (Choi & Bowerman 1991, and subsequent work), it aims to examine whether the linguistic means via which a language expresses spatial expressions affects the acquisition of relevant terms. To adequately answer the aforementioned question, we focus on (a) and (b) below:

Topic: a) the unexamined issue of the order of the emergence of locative prepositions in Greek, and

b) the role of language specific properties as in *pano se* (on) and *pano apo* (above) in the development of spatial properties.

Regarding (a), this is the first study to examine a wide range of locative prepositions in Greek (i.e. *in, above, on, under, outside of, in front of,* and *behind*) and whether the order supports the cross-linguistic picture in (1). Regarding (b), we focus on the locative notions of *on* and *above*, as Greek uses two-word expressions (*pano se* and *pano apo*) for *on* and *above/over* respectively. In both expressions, the first part is followed by either one of the two (allegedly) functional prepositions, *se* or *apo*. This is crucially dissimilar to English, which uses radically different lexical items. Building on this distinction, we aim to shed light on whether the development of *on* and *above* differs cross-linguistically.

Methodology: We used a picture-selection-task to evaluate children's comprehension and production of locative prepositions. Prepositions were tested in predicative position as in (2).

> (2) X is *on/above/under/etc.* Y

The participants are currently 59 children, aged 4;0-6;5, divided into five subgroups.

Results: As Figure 1 depicts, 'on' precedes the comprehension of 'above', respecting the universal order in (1) (cf. Johnston and Slobin 1979, Gentner & Bowerman 2009, and contra Terzi & Tsakali 2009). Their performance difference is significant for all (but the last) age groups (Figure 2). Moreover, hardly are there any errors with containment and occlusion notion ('in' and 'under'), while projective terms 'in front' and 'behind' follow.

Strikingly enough, 'on' in Greek is *not* acquired as early as expected, as 'on' errors (63/354) exceed the 'in front' errors (39/354).

Claim: Although Greek structures space egocentrically as English does, the locatives 'on' and 'above' share a big portion of morphological make-up. We consider this linguistic fact responsible for both the relatively late development of 'on' and the significantly different performance on 'on' versus 'above'. The latter finds support in error analysis, as all (but 2) errors on 'on' are interpreted as 'above' and all (but 1) errors on 'above' are interpreted as 'on'.
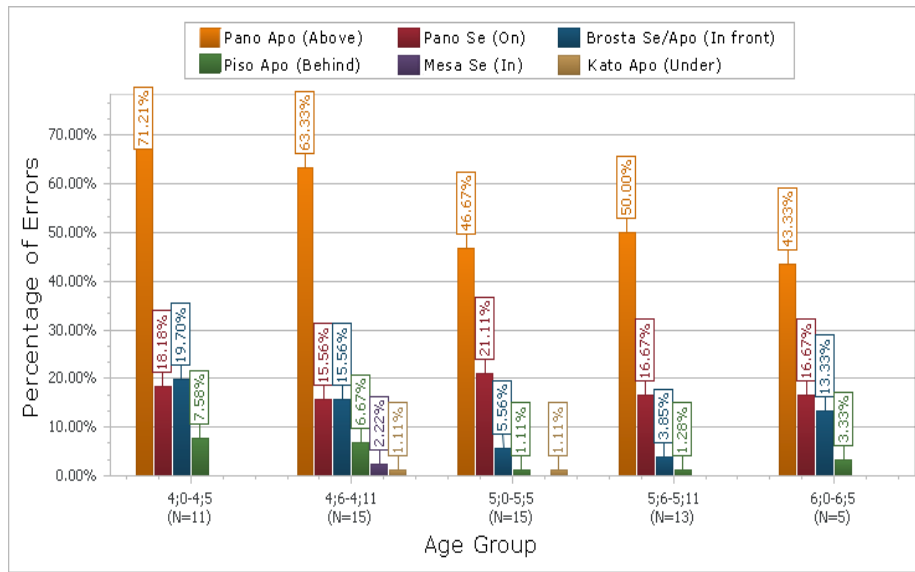
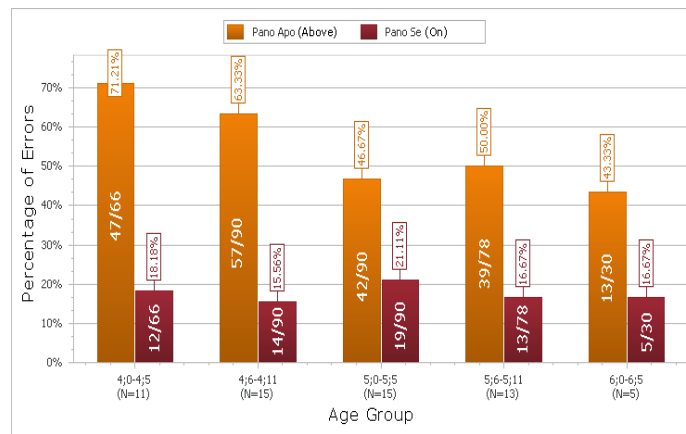**Figure 1: Summary of errors on locative prepositions for all age groups**

Figure 2: 'On' versus 'above' errors

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MONOEVENTIVE *VS* BIEVENTIVE ANTICAUSATIVES
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We argue that the split between marked and unmarked anticausatives (MACs and UMACs) in Spanish (1-2) relies on the presence/absence of a result subevent (RS). Thus, we further claim i) that UMACs are actually 'pure' monoeventive unaccusatives undergoing causativization; ii) that *se* is required in structures with two subevents but only one argument (unaccusatives).

(1) a. *Pepe abrió   la   puerta.*　　　　　b. *La puerta *(se) abrió.*　　(MAC)
　　　Pepe opened the door.　　　　　　　The door   SE opened

(2) a. *La crisis cambió   el   país.*　　　　b. *El país (*se) cambió.*　　(UMAC)
　　　The crisis changed the country　　　　The country changed

(3) a. *El humo ennegreció la pared.*　　　　b. *La pared (se) ennegreció.* (OMAC)
　　　The smoke blackened the wall　　　　 The wall (SE) blackened

1. We apply Cuervo's (2003, 2014) distinction between monoeventive and bieventive unaccusatives (MUs and BUs) to the split between MACs and UMACs, so that MACs are BUs while UMACs are MUs just like 'pure' unaccusatives such as *florecer* ('bloom').

The behaviour of optionally marked anticausatives (OMACs) in (3) shows that the presence/absence of *se* is related to the presence/absence of a RS (see also Zibri-Herzt 1987, Folli 2003, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2004, Labelle & Doron 2010): only the *se*-version is bieventive. We provide three tests to support this claim:

1.1. *Otra vez* ('again') and *casi* ('almost') allow one reading in MUs, but two in BUs (Von Stechow 1996, Cuervo 2003), since they may have scope over the RS (for reasons of space we show only *again*). UMACs allow only one reading for these adverbs, unlike MACs*:*

(4) a. *La puerta se abrió   otra vez.*　　　　b. *El   país   cambió otra vez.*
　　　The door SE opened again　　　　　　The country changed again

(5) a. *La pared se ennegreció otra vez.*　　　b. *La pared ennegreció otra vez.*
　　　The wall SE blackened again　　　　　The wall blackened   again

A examples: two readings:　　　　　　　　　B examples: one reading:
Repetitive: It has happened before.　　//　　It has happened before.
Restitutive: It came back to an 'open'/'black' state. // #It came back to a 'changed'/'black' state.

1.2. Only BUs license an *unintentional causer* reading for a dative, because no *causative* reading (one event leading to a second one) can arise in a monoeventive structure (see Cuervo 2003). The modifier *sin querer* ('unintentionally') shows that dative causers are licensed in MACs, but not in UMACs:

(6) a. *A Pepe se le ennegreció la pared (sin querer).*　　 'Pepe unintentionally caused the wall
　　　To Pepe SE cl. blackened the wall unintentionally.　　　　　　　　　　 to blacken'.
　　 b. *A Pepe le ennegreció la pared (#sin querer).*　　 '#Pepe unintentionally caused the
　　　To Pepe cl. blackened the wall unintentionally.　　　　　　　　　　 wall to blacken'.

(7) a. *A Pepe se le   abrió   la puerta (sin querer).*　　 'Pepe unintentionally caused the
　　　To Pepe SE cl. opened the door unintentionally.　　　　　　　　　　 door to open'.
　　 b. *A Pepe le cambió   la vida (#sin querer).*　　 '#Pepe unintentionally caused his
　　　To Pepe cl. changed the life unintentionally.　　　　　　　　　　 life to change'.

1.3. Verbs derived from open scale adjectives have an atelic default interpretation (Abusch 1986, Kearns 2007) that is cancelled if *se* is added, i.e., UMACs may be telic –like *cambiar*- or atelic -like *ennegrecer*-, but MACs must be telic –*ennegrecerse*, *abrirse*-:

i) The *se*-variant rejects *durante* ('for') while the *se*-less variant (of an atelic verb) allows it:

(8) a. **La pared se ennegreció durante un año.*　　　b. *La pared ennegreció durante un año.*
　　　　The wall SE blackened for   one year　　　The wall blackened   for   one year

ii) Only the *se*-variant (of an atelic verb) can be embedded under *estar a punto de* ('to be about to'), which selects telic predicates:

(9) a. *La pared está a punto de ennegrecerse.*   b. **La pared está a punto de ennegrecer.*
     The wall is about to   blackenSE   The wall is about to   blacken

iii) Only the *se*-less variant (of an atelic verb) allows the denial of the result state, which is impossible with the *se*-variant (A&A 2004):

(10) a. *La pared ennegreció, pero no está negra (completamente).*
     The wall blackened but not is black completely

    b. *#La pared se ennegreció, pero no está negra (completamente).*
      The wall SE blackened but not is   black completely

2. Split unaccusativity and the role of *se*: towards an analysis.

- The presence/absence of *se* reflects a split between two types of anticausatives based on event structure: MACs are BUs while UMACs are MUs. OMACs can enter both structures.

- *Se* is related to the lack of external argument (EA) only in MACs (Levin & Rappaport 1995, Reinhart 2002, Chierchia 2004, Alexiadou et al. 2006, Schäfer 2008, among others), since they are in complementary distribution. We follow Medová 2009, among others, assuming that, as unaccusatives, MACs lack Voice and so the clitic is not located there.

Questions: How do we get causatives from these two different types of unaccusatives? Does the anticausative alternation work in the same way in both cases?

■ We claim that UMACs (aka 'labile variants') are just like 'pure' unaccusatives such as *florecer* ('bloom') or *morir* ('die') and have the MU structure in (11a). Some MUs may undergo causativization (Pylkkänen 2002, Ramchand 2012) (11b), by adding an upper subevent and an EA. The exponent *cambiar* ('change') can spell-out both heads, while *florecer* and *morir* cannot: they either do not causativize –*florecer*- or undergo the suppletive alternation, so a different exponent is inserted -*matar* ('kill')-:

(11) a. [V$_{dynamic}$ $\sqrt{}$ florecer/morir/cambiar [DP]]

b. [$_{VoiceP}$ DP2[Voice][$_{SV}$[V$_{dynamic}$<cambiar>/<matar>][$_{SV}$[V$_{dynamic}$$\sqrt{}$cambiar/matar][DP1]]]]

■ Verbs like *abrir(se)* are necessarily bieventive because the root is merged within a Result Subevent, which needs the projection of the upper Dynamic Subevent that causes it, with or without EA -unaccusative or transitive-. We can find one exponent spelling-out both heads – lexical (anti)causatives, *abrir(se)*-, a verb and an adjective spelling them out separately – analytic (anti)causatives, *poner(se) enfermo* ('become sick')-, or a suffix spelling-out the upper subevent –morphological (anti)causatives, *solidificar(se)* ('solidify')-:

(12) a. [$_{ST}$ DP1 [T][…[$_{SV}$[V$_{dynamic}$<romper>/-ificar/poner][$_{SV}$ ~~DP1~~ SE[V$_{result}$[$\sqrt{}$ romper/sólido /enfermo]]]]]]

     b. [$_{VoiceP}$ DP2 [Voice] [$_{SV}$ [V$_{dynamic}$] [$_{SV}$ DP1 [V$_{result}$]]]]

In (12a) the internal argument (IA) is in the specifier of the lower event, but it has to move to T because the upper event is unaccusative and has no EA. Then, *se* is inserted in that position because otherwise the bieventive structure with a nominative subject would be interpreted as transitive: *se* indicates that there is only one argument for both events, so the structure is an unaccusative and not a transitive with its direct object missing. This is how *se* is related to the RS. In (12b), the upper event is no longer unaccusative and an EA is projected, so the IA does not move and *se* is not inserted (see Medová 2009, Mayoral Hernández 2014, for different implementations of this idea); this is how *se* and the EA are in complementary distribution.

3. To conclude, the difference between Spanish MACs and UMACs matches the difference between BUs and MUs argued for in Cuervo (2003, 2014); consequently, there are two types of transitivity alternations reflecting Haspelmath's (1993) typology: labile and suppletive alternations involve causativization of MUs while the anticausative alternation involves a change in the number of arguments entering a bieventive structure. MACs always involve a RS –which is optional in OMACs- and combine with a dynamic upper subevent that might be either unaccusative or transitive. The clitic is inserted to satisfy the formal needs of structures

that have two subevents but only one argument (unaccusatives), being simultaneously related to bieventivity and to the lack of external argument.

On the status of subject pronouns in French and the null-subject property
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Ever since the beginning of Romance linguistics, the nature of subject pronouns in French has been a matter of debate. The general view is that Old French (9th-13th c.) in particular and Middle French (14th-16th c.) to some extent have strong subject pronouns only which subsequently develop into the weak subject pronouns of Modern Standard French (Adams 1987, Dufresne & Dupuis 1994) and, ultimately, in the modern spoken / colloquial variety, into inflectional affixes (Zribi-Hertz 1994, Culbertson 2010). Accordingly, French is commonly considered to have evolved from a null-subject to a non-null-subject language and, eventually, back to a null-subject language.
Contrary to what is generally assumed, it has been claimed, both implicitly and explicitly, and this particularly in analyses of (complex) subject-clitic inversion, that Modern Standard French allows null subjects and constitutes either "a (very) partial" (Roberts 2010:311) or a (consistent) null-subject language (Kayne 1983, Rizzi & Roberts 1989, Pollock 2006). The crucial assumption underlying such analyses is principally based on the alternative view that subject pronouns are not weak pronouns, but rather clitic pronouns, inflectional affixes or interrogative suffixes.
In light of such alternative and highly divergent claims, this talk readdresses the issue of the status of the pertinent subject pronouns in Modern Standard French and essentially argues that these elements are in fact weak pronouns. Specifically, one strong piece of evidence against their analysis as clitic pronouns, based on the precondition that when postverbal, (third person) subject pronouns constitute expletives (Kayne 1983, Rizzi & Roberts 1989), relies on the fact that in impersonal (unaccusative) constructions with a genuine expletive, *il*, number and/or gender agreement of the subject pronoun, the finite verb and the past participle with the non-pronominal (('logical')) subject) DP is categorically excluded. This is illustrated in (1).

(1)   a.   (Pourquoi) **Marie   et Jeanne**   sont- **elles**   parties ?
           why   Mary.FEM.3SG and Joanna.FEM.3SG are.3PL they.FEM.3PL left.FEM.PL
           '(Why) Did Mary and Joanna leave?'
      b.   **Il**   est   parti **deux   filles**.
           it.3SG is.3SG left.SG two.3PL girls.FEM.3PL
           'There left two girls.'
      c.   *****Elles**   sont   parties   **deux   filles**.
             they.FEM.3PL are.3PL left.FEM.PL two.3PL girls.FEM.3PL

Regarding the analysis of subject pronouns, both pre- and postverbal, as inflectional affixes, it principally hinges on an *ad hoc* 'rule' of obligatory Clitic Phrase deletion in declaratives (Pollock 2006:636ff), i.e. the unmarked clause type, evidently a highly unwelcome consequence. Compare the interrogative in (2a) in which the Clitic Phrase is not deleted with the declarative in (2b).

(2)   a.   [$_{AgrS°}$ **il**$_i$ AgrS°] [$_{CIP}$ [$_{DP}$ **Pierre**$_i$] t_i] a téléphoné] $\Rightarrow$
           [$_{HP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{CIP}$ [$_{DP}$ **Pierre**$_i$] t_i] a t_j]$_k$ H° [$_{AgrS°}$ **il**$_i$ AgrS°] [téléphoné]$_j$ t_k]
           'Did Pierre phone?'
      b.   [$_{TP}$ [$_{CIP}$ [$_{DP}$ **Pierre**$_i$] **il**$_i$] a téléphoné] $\Rightarrow$
           [$_{TP}$ [$_{DP}$ **Pierre**] a téléphoné]
           'Pierre phoned'

Finally, the analysis of postverbal subject pronouns in terms of interrogative suffixes is, among other things, undermined by the existence of the same kind of 'suffixes' in clauses with an illocutionary force other than interrogative, such as counterfactual conditionals, quotative incised clauses and declaratives with a restricted class of sentence-initial adverbials, in all of which subject-clitic inversion is, moreover, not mandatory, but optional. This is shown in (3) by a comparison with the latter kind of clauses.

(3) a. Que fait- **il** ?
         what makes he
         'What does he do?'
    a'. *Que **il** fait ?
          what he makes
    b. Peut-être fait- **il** ses exercices.
         maybe   makes he his exercices
    b'. Peut-être **il** fait   ses exercices.
         maybe   he makes his exercices
         'Maybe he does his exercices.'

From evidence such as these, it will be concluded that an alternative analysis of subject pronouns in Modern Standard French in terms of elements other than weak pronouns seems empirically as well as theoretically unwarranted and that the general view of its status as a non-null-subject language is apparently most appropriate.

This talk will moreover present conclusive empirical evidence for the unorthodox view that French did not undergo any change in its history with respect to the morpho-syntactic status of its (overt) subject pronouns in that is has always been a language in which these elements are weak pronouns. The evidence given is essentially based on Old and Middle French facts such as the frequent realization of referential subject pronouns in cases of an extremely high degree of antecedent accessibility and the existence of overt expletive subject pronouns.

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