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38TH CONFERENCE

**Going Romance
2024**

4-6 DECEMBER

ESCOLA DE LETRAS, ARTES E CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS
BRAGA, PORTUGAL

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

PROGRAM

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10:00 - 10:30	<p>Javier Fernández-Sánchez <i>Spanish stripping meets sprouting: consequences for low coordination analyses</i></p>
10:30 - 11:00	<p>Carla Bombi, Jeanne Lecavelier <i>When French and Spanish embed definites instead of interrogatives</i></p>
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17:30 - 18:00	<p>Chair: Gert-Jan Schoenmakers</p> <p>Paolo Morosi <i>Numberless indefinite definites in Italian: structure and meaning</i></p>
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14:30 - 15:00	Valentina Del Vecchio <i>The intermediate zone between insertion and alternation in code-switching: Evidence from a bilingual corpus of Italo-Romance heritage varieties and English</i>	Luis Eguren, Francesc Roca <i>Prenominal possessives with indefinites in Romance</i>
15:00 - 15:30	Marina Sokolova <i>Don't Pause Me When I Switch</i>	Alexandra Fiéis, Joana Teixeira <i>Does the Referential Hierarchy influence subject and object omission in L2 English? Evidence from European Portuguese speakers learning English</i>
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1. [Laia Arnaus](#) & [Amelia Jiménez-Gaspar](#), On the early acquisition of null subjects in Catalan and German as heritage or majority languages: early multilingualism in Germany and Catalonia
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8. [Chiara Marchetiello](#), A gestural epistemic marker in Neapolitan: a first look
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PCC Effects with Polite Pronouns

Luke Adamson (ZAS) and Stanislao Zoppi (Universität Potsdam)

Background: The *Person-Case Constraint* (PCC) has played a substantial role in the theory of agreement and the encoding of person (Anagnostopoulou 2017 and references therein). While accounts vary, most converge on the idea that PCC effects arise in the morphosyntax, e.g. via restrictions on Agree with multiple goals (Béjar & Rezac, Anagnostopoulou 2005, Coon & Keine 2021, Deal 2024).

Proposal: We provide evidence from ‘polite’ pronouns that challenges the view that PCC effects should (always) be attributed to morphosyntax. Polite pronouns have the useful property that they exhibit a striking mismatch between the features expressed in their agreement and in their forms on the one hand, and what is interpreted on the other (see e.g. Wechsler & Hahm 2011); they therefore provide an ideal testing ground for morphosyntactic analyses of the PCC, which predict that 3rd-person polite pronouns (henceforth 3PPPs) used for addressees should behave like other 3rd-person arguments, and should thus fail to give rise to PCC effects. We find that this prediction is falsified in Italian for the polite pronoun *LEI*, which, as we show, is used for formal address but is grammatically 3rd-person, and for which PCC effects obtain (as also briefly noted by D’Alessandro and Pescarini 2016). We further show that *LEI* patterns with 2nd-person arguments also for other person-hierarchy effects in Italian. We argue that the PCC pattern with *LEI* is consistent with a syntacticosemantic analysis of the PCC, and sketch how this can be captured in a system such as Pancheva and Zubizarreta’s (2018). The study has important implications for the theory of person restrictions and provides a novel empirical tool to probe such effects cross-linguistically.

Data: PCC effects obtain in Italian (e.g. Bianchi 2006, D’Alessandro and Pescarini 2016): while clitic combinations of a 3rd-person indirect object (IO) with a 3rd direct object (DO) (henceforth 3>3) and 2>3 are licit, the clitic combination of a 3rd-person IO with a participant DO (e.g. 2nd) is illicit (1)-(4).

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|-------------------------|-----|---|-----------|-------------------------|
| (1) | Gl _i e | la | ha affidat-a | (2) | Te | la | ha affidat-a. |
| | 3SG.DAT | 3F.SG.ACC | has entrusted-F.SG | | 2SG.DAT | 3F.SG.ACC | has entrusted-F.SG |
| | ‘He entrusted her to him/her.’ | | | | ‘He entrusted her to you.’ (cf. Bianchi 2006) | | |
| (3) | *Gli(e)/le | ti/te | ha affidat{-o/-a} | (4) | *Ti/te | gli(e)/le | ha affidat{-o/-a} |
| | 3S.DAT | 2S.ACC | has entrusted-{M.S/F.S} | | 2S.ACC | 3S.DAT | has entrusted-{M.S/F.S} |
| | Intended: ‘He entrusted you to him/her.’ | | | | Intended: ‘He entrusted you thim/her.’ | | |

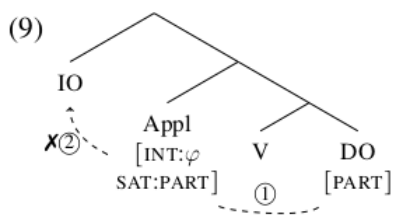
The ‘polite’ pronominal series (henceforth *LEI*) is used as a politeness form in reference to SG addressees. However, *LEI* behaves as 3F.S, in both its exponence and verbal agreement. Morphologically, *LEI* is identical with the 3F.S series: *lei* (stressed pronoun 3F.S.NOM/ACC), *la* (3F.S.ACC), *le/glie* (3F.S.DAT), *su-o* (3POSS-INFL), and *si/se* (3REFL). In terms of agreement, while referring to an addressee, *LEI* triggers 3rd-person subject agreement, as in *Lei {è/*sei} qui* ‘You (polite) be.PRS.INDC. {3SG/*2SG} here’. As a DO clitic, *LEI* is also treated like 3F.S for participle agreement. DO participant clitics optionally control gender/number agreement on participles, alternatively allowing ‘default’ M.S (5). In contrast, 3rd-person DO clitics obligatorily control such agreement. Once again, *LEI* patterns with 3rd rather than 2nd person.

- (5) Maria, ti ho vist{-a/-o}. (6) La ho vist{-a/*-o}.
- Maria, 2S.ACC have.1S seen {M.S/F.S} {3S.F/LEI}-ACC have.1S seen-{F.S/M.S}
- ‘Maria, I saw you.’ ‘I saw her/you (polite).’

LEI can appear as an IO clitic with a 3rd-person DO (i.e. not in a PCC environment), as expected ((1), repeated in (7)). But strikingly, when LEI appears as a DO clitic with a 3rd-person IO clitic, the result is ungrammatical (8) — a PCC effect comparable to the one observed for the 2nd-person clitic (3). Note that there is nothing inherently illicit about combining the 3rd-person dative with a 3F.S accusative (cf. (1)/(7)).

- (7) Glie la ha affidata. (8) *Glie La ha affidata/affidato.
- LEI.DAT 3SG.F.ACC has entrusted.F.SG 3SG.DAT LEI.ACC has entrusted.F.SG
- ‘He entrusted her to him.’ Intended: ‘He entrusted you (formal) to him.’

Analysis: We argue that the evidence from Italian polite LEI is incompatible with morphosyntactic analyses of the PCC, and instead favors a syntacticosemantic account. Consider, for example, theories that derive PCC effects from the mechanics of Agree: because polite LEI behaves as a 3rd-person argument for purposes of agreement (as shown in the previous section), such theories would then expect it to obviate PCC effects (see Preminger 2014, 124–125 for a related suggestion about K’ichee’), contrary to fact. As one representative example, Deal’s (2024) Interaction/Satisfaction model essentially attributes PCC effects to the inability of a probe to agree with an IO after agreeing with a DO that bears that probe’s ‘satisfaction’ features ([PARTICIPANT] in the case of the Strong PCC), with an Agree relation being necessary for argument cliticization (9). Given that LEI is treated as 3rd-person for agreement, a probe should agree with DO LEI and fail to be satisfied due to the unavailability of the formal feature [PARTICIPANT], and should therefore be able to agree with the IO, as in licit 1>3, 2>3, and 3>3 constructions; this is not borne out.



We suggest instead that a syntacticosemantic account of the PCC is on the right track, with a representative analysis being that of Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2018). P&Z attribute PCC effects to the encoding of point-of-view centers within a domain defined by an argument-introducing verbal head (for them, Appl). In brief, for Strong PCC grammars, Appl enters into an Agree relation with the *interpretable* person features of the IO in order to establish it as a

point-of-view center (for them, the relevant feature is [+PROXIMATE], which is entailed by participant features), and a ‘P-Uniqueness’ constraint dictates that only one DP in the domain can bear the relevant feature. The key property of such an account is that it is fundamentally about interpretable person features and not inherently tied to the formal features as they are overtly reflected in morphosyntactic agreement. The relevant person feature (for P&Z, [+PROXIMATE]) is entailed by interpretable [PARTICIPANT]; thus LEI is expected to run afoul of P&Z’s P-Uniqueness constraint exactly as 2nd-person arguments do. While P&Z’s account can derive PCC patterns with 3PPPs, we take it to be a general prediction of a syntacticosemantic account of PCC effects that they should obtain with 3PPPs.

The same argument applies for other person restrictions beyond the PCC: to the extent that LEI patterns with 2nd rather than 3rd person for these effects, any account of them that is intrinsically tied to formal features and morphosyntactic agreement will face the same challenges. We observe that this is the case for Postal’s (1989) Fancy Constraint, which is also found in Italian (see e.g. D’Alessandro and Pescarini 2016), and which has been accounted for along similar lines to the

PCC (e.g. Sheehan 2020). According to the constraint, in a *faire infinitif* construction, DO clitics can only be 3rd-person but cannot be 1st- or 2nd-person (regardless of whether the causee is a clitic or not). As with the PCC, we observe that LEI patterns with the 2nd-person and not the 3rd-person for the purposes of the constraint (10).

- (10) Micol {la / *ti / *La} fa pettinare a Carlo.
Micol 3SG.F.ACC / 2SG.ACC / LEI.ACC make.3SG comb.INF to Carlo.
'Micol_i is making Carlo comb {her_k / *your / *your (polite)} hair.'

Implications/Further Directions: In the talk, we also address: i) cross-linguistic person-hierarchy effects in languages with 3PPPs and Weak PCC environments.

Selected References:

- Anagnostopoulou (2017). The Person Case Constraint.
Bianchi (2006). On the syntax of personal arguments.
Coon & Keine (2021). Feature gluttony.
Deal (2022). Interaction, satisfaction, and the PCC.
D'Alessandro & Pescarini (2016). Agreement restrictions and agreement oddities.
Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2018). The Person Case Constraint: The syntactic encoding of perspective.
Postal (1989). Masked inversion in French.
Sheehan (2020). The Romance Person Case Constraint is not about clitic clusters.
Wechsler & Hahm (2011). Polite plurals and adjective agreement.

Spanish stripping meets sprouting: consequences for low coordination analyses

Javier Fernández-Sánchez (UAB/CLT)

Stripping involves ellipsis of a clause except one constituent (XP) and a polarity element. In this talk we focus on negation (NEG). In many languages (including Spanish), the relative order of XP and NEG appears to be flexible, but research has shown that the different orders correlate with different underlying structures with different names: only NEG-XP is considered stripping, and it is typically analyzed as involving (i) constituent negation and (ii) low coordination – hence no deletion is involved (1) – Bosque (1984), Bruccart (1999), Biezma (2014), a.o. XP-NEG is usually referred to as Pseudostripping and is analyzed as involving (i) sentential negation, (ii) clausal coordination and thus (iii) clausal ellipsis (2), Depiante (2000):

- (1) **Stripping** (NEG-XP) – Str hereafter
 - a. Juan visitó Chicago pero no Indianápolis.
Juan visited Chicago but not Indianápolis.
 - b. Juan visitó [_{CoordP} [_{NP} Chicago] pero [_{NP} no [_{NP} Indianápolis]]]
- (2) **Pseudostripping** (XP-NEG) – PStr hereafter
 - a. Juan visitó Chicago, pero Indianápolis no.
 - b. [_{CoordP} [_{CP} Juan visitó Chicago] pero [_{CP} [_{NP} Indianápolis_i] [_{NegP} no [_{TP} Juan visitó _{t_i}]]]]

The different structures are justified on several asymmetries displayed by Str and PStr:

- a) **Embedding:** Only PStr can be a complement of C⁰ *que* ‘that’, as only XP-Neg is underlyingly clausal, NEG-XP does not have clausal/FinP status.
- b) **Island sensitivity:** Only PStr is island sensitive, as XP undergoes movement to CP prior to TP-ellipsis; no movement is involved in Str.
- c) **Genitive of Neg:** In some languages like Polish, sentential NEG, but not constituent NEG, triggers genitive on an otherwise accusative-taking complement. In Polish Str, XP displays accusative, while genitive is demanded in PStr (Fernández-Sánchez 2019):
 - (3) a. Przeczytałem artykuł, ale nie { książkę/ * książki}. Str
PERF.read.PAST article but not book.F.ACC book.F.GEN
 - b. Przeczytałem artykuł, ale { książki/ * książkę } nie. PStr
PERF.read.PAST article but book.F.GEN book.F.ACC not
- d) **Non-final strings:** as Str isn’t clausal, it can easily appear in non-clause-final positions:
 - (4) a. Juan, pero no Pedro, visitó Chicago.
b.* Juan, pero Pedro no, visitó Chicago.

New data. This paper addresses the syntax of Str strings in Spanish (i.e. NEG-XP) which appear in contexts where XP does not have a correlate in the preceding clause (sprouting cases):

- (5) a. Se fueron de crucero, pero no por el Mediterráneo.
SE went of cruise but not through the Mediterranean
‘They went on a cruise, but not in the Mediterranean.’
 - b. Creo que aprobó, pero no en septiembre. (adapted from Bosque 1984)
think that passed but not in September
‘I think he passed, but not in September.’

A low coordination analysis is untenable as the rightmost clause is missing a conjunct with which XP can be coordinated. The XP in these cases corresponds either to an adjunct or to an object only if the verb can be used intransitively (**tiene, pero no dinero*, lit. **he has, but not money*). Crucially, these new cases (StrSpr henceforth) share some properties with PStr:

a) **Embedding:** NEG-XP in StrSpr can be a complement of C^0 *que* ‘that’, contrary to Str and in line with PStr, suggesting an underlyingly clausal nature.

(6) Este tema queda por resolver, pero **espero que** no por usted o por mí.
 this topic remains to solve but hope that not by you or by me
 ‘This topic remains to be solved, but I hope not by you or me.’ (Corpes XXI)

b) **Island sensitivity:** No island effects are detected. StrSpr thus behaves like Str and unlike PStr. However, while island insensitivity follows from a non-elliptical account, it does not exclude an elliptical analysis. I will suggest that the lack of island effects follow from a prosody-based theory on remnants of ellipsis (Bassi & Colley 2024):

(7) Juan me llamó para que habláramos, pero no de la fiesta(como dices).
 Juan to me called for that spoke.1PL but not of the party like say.2SG
 ‘Juan called me to talk, but not about the party, as you may think.’

c) **Genitive of Neg:** XP in Polish StrSpr displays genitive, not accusative, which indicates that NEG is sentential, not constituent, negation (like PStr)

Janek dużo wczoraj zjadł, ale najprawdopodobniej nie {* czekoladki /
 Janek a lot yesterday ate but certainly not chocolates.ACC
 czekoladek, } które kupiła mu siostra.
 chocolates.DAT which bought him sister
 ‘John ate a lot yesterday, but certainly not the chocolates that his sister bought him.’

d) **Non-final strings:** The validity of the test is dubious, as there is no correlate in the host clause – the ungrammaticality of (8) can be accounted with independence of the internal syntax of StrSpr:

(8) * Aprobó, pero no en junio, el examen (cf. Aprobó el examen, pero no en junio)
 passed but not in June the exam

It looks like *modulo* island sensitivity, StrSpr is closer to PStr than it is to regular Str.

	Str	PStr	StrSpr
<i>Embedding</i>	No	Yes	Yes
<i>Island sensitivity</i>	No	Yes	No
<i>Genitive of negation (in Polish)</i>	No	Yes	Yes
<i>Adjacency to non-final XP</i>	Yes	No	?

General claim. StrSpr must be given a clausal source, as indicated by the embedding and the genitive of negation facts. This means that the sequence NEG-XP can potentially be associated with two structures. I will argue that the key to disambiguate both strings is to be found in its information structural properties. StrSpr is corrective, regular Str isn’t:

(9) a. ¿ Sabes qué? María ha estado en Francia, pero no en París.
 know what María has been in France but not in Paris

b.* ¿ Sabes qué? María ha llamado, pero no esta mañana.
know what María has called but not this morning

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When French and Spanish embed definites instead of interrogatives

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Spanish and French can express the equivalent of ‘I know [what/who p]’ with a definite construction, introduced by a definite article and a demonstrative pronoun respectively:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(1) <u>what-correlates</u></p> <p>a. Sé [lo que hizo ruido].
I know def.n comp made noise
‘I know what made noise.’</p> <p>b. Je sais [ce qui a fait du bruit].
I know dem rel made noise
‘I know what made noise.’</p> | <p>(2) <u>who-correlates</u></p> <p>a. Sé [el que hizo ruido].
I know def.m.sg comp made noise
‘I know who made noise.’ (Spanish)</p> <p>b.</p> <p>c. Je sais [celui qui a fait du bruit].
I know dem.m.sg. rel made noise
‘I know who made noise.’ (French)</p> |
|--|--|

The status of (1)–(2) is unclear: Spanish *what*-correlates are sometimes described as questions, but recent approaches suggest an interrogative analysis (Suñer 1999 vs. Kellert 2018); meanwhile, French constructions are treated as a syntactic variant of *wh*-words (Sportiche 2008, Konrad 2019). In both languages, *who*-correlates are barely discussed. There is also an unresolved empirical puzzle: *what*-correlates have a distribution similar to embedded questions, but *who*-correlates are more restricted, and it is unclear what licenses them.

Proposal: 1/ We propose a unified analysis of (1)–(2) as concealed questions (CQs, Heim 1979), treated as individual concepts with maximality semantics; **2/** the distribution of *wh*ocorrelates is constrained by how ϕ -features interact with maximality and domain restriction.

1/ They are CQs (individual concepts). a) Analysis. (1–2) involve intensionalised headless RCs. We illustrate with Spanish, but extend to French in our talk. Based on the structure in (3), all constructions have the same basic denotation in (4) (Caponigro 2003, Hinterwimmer 2008), but they differ in that only *who*-correlates are specified for gender/number, cf. (5): thus, *what*-correlates are number-neutral, while *who*-correlates refer to humans.

(3) Structure: $[_{DP} lo/el] [_{nP} n] [_{CP} OP_1 que t_1 hizo ruido]]$ (adapted from Saab 2008)

(4) Denotation: $[[lo/el n+RC]] = \sigma x[P(x) \wedge Q(x)]$
 $\rightarrow P \approx \text{thing (what) / person (who)}$
 $\rightarrow Q \approx \text{RC-property}$

(5) Features:
a. $lo \leftrightarrow [D]$
b. $el \leftrightarrow [D, \#, \text{sg}, \gamma: \text{m, human}]$

(6) Derivation: $[[DP \text{ in (1)}]] = [[lo]] ([[n OP_1 que t_1 hizo ruido]])$
 $= \lambda P.\sigma x[P(x)] (\lambda x.\text{thing}(x) \wedge \text{made}(\text{noise}, x)) = \sigma x[\text{thing}(x) \wedge \text{made}(\text{noise}, x)]$

In (1)–(2), the DP in (6) combines with *know* similar to regular CQs (*I know the price of milk*). Assuming CQs are individual concepts (Romero 2005, 2007), we get the following denotation:

- (7) $[[\langle 1 \rangle]] = 1$ iff for every world w' compatible with the speaker's knowledge:
 $\sigma x[\text{thing/person}(x, w') \wedge \text{make}(\text{noise}, x, w')] = \sigma x[\text{thing/person}(x, w_0) \wedge \text{make}(\text{noise}, x, w_0)] \approx$
the speaker knows the value of "the thing(s)/person that made noise" in the actual world

b) Evidence. Syntactically, our constructions behave like regular DPs, both under questionembedding verbs (*know*) and extensional ones (*buy*). They are compatible with 'all', which only takes def-DPs, cf (8), and they license superlatives in Sp., which obligatorily involve a definite DP, cf. (9) (Bosque & Bruccart 1992). In these cases, interrogatives are ruled out.

- (8) J'achèterai / Je sais [**{tout ce que}** / { ***tout quoi** } tu veux pour Noël].
 I=will.buy / I know all dem rel / all what you want for Christmas
 'I will buy / I know everything that you want for Christmas.' (French)

- (9) Compré / sé [**{lo que}** / { #**qué** } más me ha gustado].
 I.bought / I.know def.ncomp / what more me has pleased. (Spanish)
 'I bought / I know what I liked the most.' \rightsquigarrow *superlative reading only with lo que*

Semantically, our constructions also show properties of CQs: specificational readings (Frana 2020) and Heim's ambiguity, shown in (10) (Heim 1979), which does not appear with unambiguously interrogative pronouns such as English *which* or Spanish *qué*, cf. (11).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(10) I know the thing that Ana knows.
 <i>Reading A: I know the same thing A.</i>
 <i>knows.</i>
 <i>Reading B: I know which thing A.</i>
 <i>knows.</i></p> | <p>(11) Sé [{lo que/qué} sabe Ana].
 I.know def.n c/what knows Ana
 \rightarrow lo que: <i>reading A & B; qué:</i>
 <i>only B</i></p> |
|---|---|

2/ Differences in distribution. But if all the constructions are CQs, why do *what*-correlates have a wider distribution than *who* ones? Two factors explain their differences.

a) Interaction of ϕ -features and maximality. The constructions are introduced by σ , which presupposes a maximal individual satisfying the NP-description. This plays out differently for *what* and for *who*. Since *what*-correlates are number-neutral, the maximal individual can be atomic or plural. But *el que/celui que* are m.sg: its domain contains only atomic entities, and maximality thus translates into uniqueness (Sharvy 1980). Taking gender into account, they presuppose that '*there is a unique male individual with the RC description*'. This imposes stronger conditions on the context for the sg version of *who*-correlates:

- (12) *Context: there is a birthday party.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. #Je sais [celui qui viendra].
 I know dem.m.sg rel will.come
 'I know who will come.'</p> | <p>b. Je sais [ce qu'ils lui offriront].
 I know dem rel=3pl dat will.gift
 'I know what they will gift her.'</p> |
|---|---|

(there is no unique male individual coming: many people (F/M) attend parties) (there is a maximal plurality of presents) (French)

b) Condition on domain restriction. *Who*-correlates are restricted by a further, previously unidentified factor: they are only possible in contexts involving groups, lists, teams, etc., cf. (13). We capture this as a condition on the shape of the domain: it must have a finite, pre-specified cardinality, akin to d-linking in *which*-questions (Pesetsky 1987).

(13) Je sais [celui qui va gagner la compétition de ce soir].
 I know dem.m.sg rel will win the competition of this evening
 ‘I know who will win the competition tonight.’ (French)
 ✓: if there is a participant list.
 %: if the competition registration hasn’t opened yet.

The condition also applies to *what*-correlates, but is masked by their restrictor, ‘thing’ – a higher order concept which can easily have a kind reading. The domain of kinds is already specified as containing existing kinds, and so *what*-correlates may occur without a list context.

(14) Sé [lo que está comiendo Ana].
 I.know def.n comp is eating Ana
 ‘I know what Ana is eating.’ (Spanish)
 KIND-reading: I know the *kind of thing* A. is eating
 Dk = {fish, lettuce, carrot, ...} ✓no specific context needed

Conclusion: Definite expressions are a common strategy for question embedding in Romance (Kellert 2018, Konrad 2019). By focusing on Spanish and French, our paper constitutes a first step towards a comprehensive analysis of these constructions, and the factors that determine their distribution across Romance languages.

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The interaction between clause size and Voice: Evidence from Catalan and Italian

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1. Introduction. In this work, we investigate the syntax of so-called *tough*-constructions (TCs) and modal passives (MPs) in Catalan and Italian.

(1) TC: a. Aquests llibres són fàcils de llegir. (Cat.)

b. Questi libri sono facili da leggere. (It.)

these books be.3pl easy.pl de/da read.inf

‘These books are easy to read.’

(2) MP: a. Els exàmens estan per corregir. (Cat.)

b. Le verifiche sono da correggere. (It.)

the tests stay/be.3pl per/da mark.inf

‘The tests are to be marked.’

TCs and MPs in Romance both instantiate an A-dependency which connects the matrix subject position to the embedded internal argument (IA) of a transitive verb. This is unlike other A-dependencies (raising/control), which target the highest argument of the embedded verb. For this reason, previous works have suggested that these constructions are passive (Giurgea & Soare 2010; Bosque & Gallego 2011), despite the lack of passive morphology. We argue for an alternative explanation, on the basis of the reduced size of the infinitival complement: the matrix predicate of TCs/MPs selects a VoiceP (i.e. an infinitival lacking TP/CP layers) with a defective head (as explained in §3). This conclusion is supported by the comparison (§2) between (1-2), on one hand, and their counterparts with a resumptive clitic (only possible in colloquial Catalan as in 3-4), whose infinitival has a richer structure.

(3) Resumptive TC: Aquests llibres són fàcils de llegir-los (Cat.)

these books be.3pl easy.pl de read.inf=ocl.3m.pl

‘These books are easy to read’

(4) Resumptive MP: Els exàmens estan per corregir-los (Cat.)

the tests stay.3pl per mark.inf=ocl.3m.pl

‘The tests are to be marked/for marking’

2. The size of the infinitival: bare vs resumptive TCs/MPs. When we compare the embedded clauses of bare and resumptive constructions (in the table below), we can see that they are both incompatible with contrastive focus fronting and high epistemic adverbs, signalling the lack of a (complete) CP periphery. Yet, some differences arise when we consider elements associated with the higher functional part of TP, like high restructuring verbs (from Cinque 2006), the perfective auxiliary, clausal negation and dative/locative clitics (cf. Rizzi 2000): these are ungrammatical in

the bare constructions, but not in the resumptive ones. Note also that resumptive MPs like (4) lack the original modal meaning of ‘needing to be *V*’, their interpretation being closer to purpose clauses (typically bigger than the complement of bare TCs or MPs), as witnessed by the fact that *estar* may be substituted by *ser* without changing the purpose meaning (*Els llibres són per no llegir-los* ‘These books are for not being read’). On the other hand, both bare and resumptive constructions accept low restructuring verbs and causatives (realised lower than Voice according to Cinque, 2006).

Tests in embedded clause	It. bare TC/MP	Cat. bare TC/MP	Cat. resumptive TC/MP
Focus	*	*	*
High adverbs	*	*	*
High restructuring verbs	*	*	??
Perfective auxiliary	*	*	ok
Clausal negation	?*	?*	ok
Non-object clitics	?*	?*	ok
Low restructuring verbs	ok	ok	ok
Causative	ok	ok	ok

3. Analysis and discussion. In light of the results in §2, we propose that TCs/MPs involve a VoiceP infinitival complement when the infinitive is bare, while they involve a much bigger complement (at least a TP) when there is a resumptive pronoun. This crucial difference in size is reflected in the properties of the Voice head. In the bare infinitive case, we propose that there is a defective Voice head (Voice_{def}) (building on Wurmbrand 2016 *et seq.*) which is unable to assign accusative Case. Voice_{def} is different from passive Voice in that it has default morphology and cannot license its own external argument (EA) as a *by*-phrase or as a PRO, but can only encode an EA bound by a matrix argument (e.g. an experiencer) or by a matrix operator (e.g. GEN) as a feature on Voice itself. Crucially, then, the IA cannot be assigned Case in the embedded clause but must be probed by matrix T and become the subject, as there is also no intervener for A-movement given that the EA is not syntactically projected.

(5) TC: DP_i BE TOUGH + P [VoiceP Voice_{def} [VP V <DP_i>]]

(6) MP: DP_i BE_{MOD} + P [VoiceP Voice_{def} [VP V <DP_i>]]

In the resumptive constructions, we find active Voice (rather than Voice_{def}) licensing the object clitic, and introducing a PRO: in this case, the embedded clause is at least a TP (cf. purpose clauses which have a very similar syntax).

(7) TC: DP_i BE TOUGH + P [TP T [VoiceP PRO Voice [VP V ObjCl_i]]

(8) MP: $DP_i BE_{MOD} + P [_{TP} T [_{VoiceP} PRO Voice [_{VP} V ObjCl_i]]]$

The pattern where $Voice_{def}$ is in a TP complement is not attested: we explain this as a constraint on selection, i.e. $Voice_{def}$ must be directly selected by the matrix predicate, so it can only be found when the verbal complement is a VoiceP.

(9) $*DP_i \dots [_{TP} T [_{VoiceP} Voice_{def} [_{VP} V <DP_i>]]]$

Our proposal highlights that clause size is a crucial factor in determining the Voice properties of embedded clauses (cf. Sheehan & Cyrino 2023): it is for this reason that we observe such differences between the way arguments are realised in bare TCs/MPs and other infinitival clauses. Furthermore, our findings provide evidence for a type of embedded clause which is not accounted for by most typologies of clausal complements in Romance (e.g. Ledgeway 2016) and reveal interesting differences with the superficially similar prepositional infinitival relatives (e.g. Villalba 2022), which seem bigger than bare TCs/MPs, but clearly smaller than resumptive TCs/MPs.

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In defense of the discourse intentional feature: insights from Catalan and Spanish

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Postverbal subjects have been widely investigated in the Romance languages, particularly in relation to Information Structure (Zubizarreta 1998, Belletti 2004, Leonetti 2017, a.o.). However, few studies have exclusively examined sentence-focus structures, i.e., propositions with a broad-focus interpretation which are felicitous as an answer to a ‘what-happened?’ kind of question (Lambrecht 1994). This study explores the SV/VS alternation in a comparative way using parallel Catalan and Spanish data from corpora and questionnaires administered to native speakers.

The difference in interpretation between SV (1a) and VS (1b) order has led numerous authors to draw a parallelism between sentence-focus VS structures and Locative inversion constructions (2), where a locative appears in the canonical preverbal subject position, while the subject appears post-verbally (e.g. Pinto 1997, Leonetti 2012):

(1) (Spanish)

A: *What happened?*

B: a) *María ha llegado.*
Mary has arrived
‘Mary has arrived (somewhere).’

b) *Ha llegado María.*
has arrived Mary
‘Mary has arrived (here).’

(2) (Spanish, from Leonetti 2017)

Sobre la colina se alzaba una fortaleza.
on the hill REFL stand.PST.3SG a fortress
‘A fortress stood on the hilltop.’

The deictic interpretation of the locative goal in VS order (1b) has driven several authors to argue for the existence of a null locative argument in preverbal position which satisfies the EPP and prevents the subject from moving there (e.g. Pinto 1997, Corr 2016). Building on these studies, which illustrated how only some verbs are compatible with sentence-focus VS order, Bentley & Curschina (2018) postulate a null Subject of Predication (SoP) in SubjP that licenses VS in broad focus. The SoP can be either a locative argument of the verb (such as would be the case of *arrive*), or an argument inferred from the discourse context which arises with eventive verbs (i.e. those expressing a result state such as *die*). My study investigates whether Bentley and Curschina’s (2018) proposed analysis for Italian can account for the Catalan and Spanish data, including which verb classes can appear in sentence-focus VS and how VS order is licensed.

All the aforementioned accounts predict that VS is incompatible with an overt locative argument in its base position inside the VP (be it because of a violation of the EPP or of the theta criterion). However, data from our Production Task indicates that this prediction is not borne out:

(3) (Catalan, from our Production Task, speaker 27)

Han arribat uns famosos a l’hotel.
have arrived ART.INDEF.M.PL famous.M.PL at the+hotel
‘Some famous people have arrived at the hotel.’

Instead, our data is better accounted for by adopting Ojea’s (2017 et seq.) assumption that there is a discourse intentional feature (DI), which marks the starting point of a proposition. In discourse-prominent languages (Jiménez-Fernandez & Miyagawa 2014), such as it is the case of for example Spanish as opposed to English, discourse features are inherited from C to T, and therefore the DI feature sits in TP. The DI feature can be satisfied by either a referential DP or a locative, which may be a thematic argument of the verb or a locative feature which enters the numeration when the verb is in the progressive or the perfective form. What licenses the DI feature will in turn determine if the sentence is a categorical (4) or athetic statement (5), which correlate with the SV and VS orders, respectively:

(4) (Catalan)

a) *Un arbre ha crescut.*

a tree has grown

‘A tree has grown taller.’

b) $[_{TP}[_{DI} \text{ un arbre}]_i [_{T} \text{ ha crescut}]_j [_{(LOC)}] [_{VP} \langle \text{un arbre} \rangle_i \langle \text{crèixer}_{(LOC)} \rangle_j]]]$

(5) (Catalan)

a) *Ha crescut un arbre.*

has grown a tree

‘There has grown a tree.’

b) $[_{TP}[_{DI}] [_{T} \text{ ha crescut}]_{(LOC)} [_{VP} \text{ un arbre} \langle \text{crèixer}_{(LOC)} \rangle_i]]]$

Drawing from the results of an Acceptability Judgement Task and a Production Task conducted with 40 native speakers of Central Catalan, and 40 of Peninsular Spanish, which show that sentence-focus VS is sensitive to event structure (as previously suggested by Bentley and Cruschina 2018), I argue that Ojea’s analysis needs to be elaborated further. Sentence-focus VS structures are compatible with unaccusative verbs of quantized-change, i.e., those encoding an endpoint such as *arrive* or *die* (Hay, Kennedy and Levin 1999; Beavers 2013). In addition, I argue that the locative feature that can license DI is actually a feature of the *stage topic* (i.e., the loco-temporal coordinates of the utterance context) (Erteschik-Shir 1997), which can only license VS in the present perfect and present progressive, anchoring the events to the here-and-now of the utterance context.

The quantitative analysis of our corpus and questionnaire data shows that Catalan and Spanish are very similar with regard to the acceptability of sentence-focus VS: unaccusative verbs of quantized change are compatible with VS, whereas verbs of non-quantized change pattern with unergatives and are preferred in SV order. However, the statistical results reveal a significant difference between Catalan and Spanish, with Spanish speakers showing greater variability in their judgements. Therefore, our findings align with Leonetti’s (2018) classification, which identifies Catalan as a restrictive and Spanish as a permissive Romance language with respect to the mapping of different focus structures to non-canonical word orders.

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Towards a formal account of auxiliary switch: new data from French

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Introduction: Auxiliary switch (AS) is a phenomenon found in some Romance languages with argument-driven binary auxiliary selection (e.g., Italian). It refers to a switch from HAVE to BE in restructuring clauses where the embedded infinitive is unaccusative or reflexive (1).

- (1) S'il s'en **fust** voulu aller ceste nuycts (MidFr. Mémoires, p.160)
 if=he REFL=PART was wanted go-INF that night
 'if he had wanted to go away that night'

Despite a rich formal literature on auxiliary selection, AS has received little attention and only in the context of Italian (Amato 2024). There exists no study of the phenomenon in French. The objectives of this project are: **(i)** to conduct a quantitative and diachronic analysis of AS in French, and **(ii)** to develop a formal approach for AS with broader implications for Romance.

Methods & findings: The data were collected from four morpho-syntactically tagged corpora: *Base de Français Médiéval* (Guillot et al. 2018), *MICLE* (Larrivée & Poletto 2023), *ConDÉ* (Larrivée & Goux 2021), *HIGH-TECH* (Larrivée 2023). Because the construction is restricted to (i) restructuring clauses, (ii) with a compound tense, (ii) with an unaccusative/reflexive infinitive (all compulsory factors), AS can be hard to localise. It is found in the database from the early 13th century until the late 19th century (with rare examples still observable in the 20th and 21st centuries), and it is more prevalent during the 16th-17th centuries. The findings show a correlation, although not absolute, between AS and clitic climbing with *reflexive* verbs. With unaccusatives, however, clitic climbing does not seem to have an impact (unaccusatives can also feature clitics, in particular locatives and partitives, yet some cases of datives too). I treat AS with unaccusatives as an optional phenomenon, similar to Standard Italian. **The presentation will feature an empirical discussion of the distribution of AS in the database.**

	Reflexives		Unaccusatives		
	Climbing	No climbing	Climbing	No climbing	No clitic
AS/Total clauses	437/452	0/223	13/65	0/3	24/162

Analysis: Since there exists no formal account of standard cases of auxiliary selection in the context of French, I develop an analysis for it before addressing AS. There is a growing consensus in the formal literature that binary auxiliary selection connects to features present on a functional head in the T/v-field (Bjorkman 2011, D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010, D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010, D'Alessandro 2017, Amato 2021, 2022, 2023). The structure of compound tenses I assume is given in (2). The spine is modelled from D'Alessandro & Roberts (2008: 481); I redefine the conditions under which HAVE and BE Spell Out in French.

- (2) [TP EA_[iφ] vAux_[iV, uπ]+T_[uV, uφ, EPP] [vAuxP vAux_[iV, uπ] [vPrtP EA V_[iV]+vPrt_[uV, uφ] [VP V]]]]

Working our way from bottom to top, I follow the mainstream minimalist assumption that the lexical verb targets the verbaliser v* (here, under the shape of vPrt, for Participle). The vPrt-head is merged above VP and bears an unvalued V-feature that attracts the verbal root to yield past

participle morphology. The EA is merged in the specifier of vPrtP with transitives and unergatives, whereas with unaccusatives, vPrt is defective and does not θ -select for any EA (Chomsky 1995, 2001). I further assume that HAVE and BE are allomorphs: the auxiliary is merged as a vAux-head generated in a projection above vPrtP, and directly below TP, and spells out as one or the other depending on its feature content. In a nutshell, I take vPrt and vAux to share one set of unvalued ϕ -features: Gender (γ) and Number ($\#$) are distributed on vPrt and surface as agreement morphology on the past participle (Kobayashi 2022), whereas Person (π) is distributed on vAux and interacts with auxiliary selection (D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010, Amato 2021, 2022). Crucially, I take vAux and vPrt to form a split v-head, that is, a Complex Head that behaves as a Complex Probe in the sense of D'Alessandro (2017). I assume that the vAux-head is merged with a V-feature probed by T (an approach similar to the one proposed by Biberauer & Roberts 2010 for verb movement). It incorporates with T, giving rise to tense and subject-agreement morphology on the auxiliary. As is traditionally assumed, the EA (with transitives) or the IA (with unaccusatives) target the specifier of TP to satisfy the EPP and value T's ϕ -features. **I show that auxiliary selection is sensitive to whether T and vAux show identical person values (giving rise to BE-selection), or not (HAVE-selection).** Essentially, BE-selection occurs when T and vAux have identical person values. This is the case with unaccusative verbs, the IA is promoted to subject position; and when a reflexive clitic (which bares a person feature, cf. Kayne 2003) bound by the EA is probed by vAux. In the latter case, the two elements are non-distinct when it comes to their person-value.

	BE	HAVE	HAVE
T	$[\text{u}\phi: \#, \gamma, \pi_i]$	$[\text{u}\phi: \#, \gamma, \pi_i]$	$[\text{u}\phi: \#, \gamma, \pi_i]$
vAux	$[\text{uPers}: \pi_i]$	$[\text{uPers}: \pi_j]$	$[\text{uPers}:]$
	Il _i s' _i est parlé [reflexive] Elle _i est arrivée elle _i [unaccusative]	Il _i t' _j a parlé [transitive] Elle _i a vu Marie _j [transitive]	Il _i a parlé [unergative]

Turning back to AS, I adopt a monoclausal approach to restructuring clauses (Cinque 2004, Roberts 2010) and posit the presence of an extra v-head that projects the restructuring verb (vRes). Incorporation of vRes to vPrt yields past participle morphology.

(3) $[_{TP} IA_{[i\phi]} vAux_{[iV, \text{u}\pi]} + T_{[\text{u}V, \text{u}\phi, \text{EPP}]} [_{vAuxP} vAux [_{vPrtP} vRes_{[iV]} + vPrt_{[\text{u}V, \text{u}\pi, \text{u}\#]} [_{vResP} vRes [_{VP} V_{INF} IA]]]]]$

With unaccusatives, vPrt is a defective non-phasal head that does not assign case to the IA which, as a result, must escape the v/VP at some point in the derivation (Chomsky 1995, 2001). Upon valuation of its V-feature by vRes, vP scans for ϕ -features in its c-command domain and finds the IA, thus copying its features, which yields morpho-phonological agreement on the past participle. Given that vPrt and vAux form a Complex Probe, the ϕ -features of the IA are automatically copied on the whole complex once probing as begun; as such, when vAux is merged, the π -value of the IA is automatically transferred upwards from vPrt to vAux (this is feature sharing, cf. Chomsky 2008). Merging of T triggers vAux-to-T and EPP-driven movement of the IA to Spec,TP. **T and vAux show identical π -values, therefore BE-selection obtains (this is AS).** Under this approach, AS is not special: it is a standard case of auxiliary selection, with the addition of a vRes. That auxiliary selection is sensitive to the π -features of the T/vAux-domain is further confirmed by the fact that clitic climbing of the reflexive (with π -features) triggers AS, but not climbing of the locative and partitives (which lacks π -features). Clitic climbing is lost in the 18th century (Olivier et al. 2023), which is responsible for the loss of AS with reflexives. With unaccusatives, the reason is less obvious. If the proposed analysis of auxiliary selection is on the right track, then the Complex Head lost its ability to probe an argument in the domain of the restructuring verb. Also an admittedly *ad*

hoc solution for now, vRes may have become phasal in the 18th century, barring transparency effects.

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Is Negative Concord syntactic Agree(ment)?

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In this talk I shall mainly focus on two questions: *what is the status of Negative Concord Items (NCIs)?* And *what is Negative Concord (NC)?*

To address the first question an experimental study will be presented that shows that a negative reading is triggered by the sole presence of a single NCI (in Greek, Romanian and Russian), no matter whether this NCI occurs in preverbal, in postverbal, or in both positions. This suggests that NCIs are negative indefinites by virtue of being specified with an inherent negative feature, still they differ from negative quantifiers and negative polarity items.

To address the second question I shall postulate that the feature [neg] encoded by NCIs is semantically negative in all NC languages, but this feature can be disembodied from the NCI to satisfy a syntax-phonology interface requirement by which in negative sentences an expressor of negation must overtly c-command the Tense features of the sentence (in compliance with Jespersen's NegFirst principle).

This will lead me to argue that the Strict vs. Non-Strict divide does not correspond to a macro-parametric distinction but is more about morpho-phonology: it follows from whether [neg] moves independently from the rest of the NCI via Move F (Strict Negative Concord) or predates, whenever possible, on another movement of the NCI via Move α that places [neg] in the required pre-Infl position (Non-Strict Negative Concord). This discussion will also lead to the conclusion that what looks like a negative marker (*no* in Catalan, *dhen* in Greek, *nu* in Romanian, *ne* in Russian) does not always correspond to the syntactic head Neg. That is, while *no/dhen/nu/ne* is the Spell-Out of a syntactic head Neg in negative sentences without an NCI, it is actually the phonetic realization of a disembodied feature [neg] in sentences with an NCI.

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Agreement with disjunction: Evidence for semantic-pragmatic and syntactic strategies

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Previous studies on agreement with disjunction [1,2] show variable singular/plural agreement with disjunction when both disjuncts are singular, e.g., in (1). No research to date has investigated how agreement with singular disjuncts works in child language.

- (1) a. Lulu: Iepurașul sau castorul **miroase** floarea.
‘The bunny or the beaver is smelling the flower.’
b. Bibi: Iepurașul sau castorul **miros** floarea.
‘The bunny or the beaver are smelling the flower.’

In the present study, we experimentally investigate both the production and comprehension of sentences like (1) in child and adult Romanian, in order to uncover the strategies employed by child and adult speakers, and to shed light on theoretical accounts of the phenomenon.

Background: According to the Closest Conjoint Agreement rule [3], claimed to be at work in agreement with disjunction ([4,5]), agreement should always be in the singular when both disjuncts are singular [6]. According to semantic-pragmatic approaches [7,8], speakers should associate an inclusive meaning for disjunction (*A or B, possibly (A&B)*) with plural agreement and an exclusive interpretation (*A or B, not (A&B)*) with singular agreement. This seems to be confirmed by acceptability judgment studies in Greek [7]. According to [1], however, agreement with singular disjuncts is a grammatical lacuna, i.e., there is no grammatical prescription for agreement but random singular/plural agreement instead. According to [2], variable agreement results from agreeing either with the singular number of the individual disjuncts or with the disjunction as a “plural” whole (denoting a set of alternatives, as opposed to a set of entities, which would be denoted by *conjunction*).

Current study: We extended the previous investigation of utterances with two singular disjuncts to the disjunction *sau* ‘or’ in child and adult Romanian, asking what kind of agreement adults and children produce and how they understand such utterances. We conducted a production (forced choice) experiment and a comprehension experiment, focusing on the mapping between disjunctive descriptions employing singular/plural agreement, and pictured outcomes.

Table 1: Picture type

1DT	2DT
	

Exp. 1 (Production): 21 Romanian monolingual children (4;11-5;11, M=5;02) and 32 adults saw a picture (Table 1), then heard two puppets (who could not see the picture) make a guess about what would happen (1); they then had to decide which of the two puppets had guessed better. The task employed a 2x2 design, crossing *picture type* (1DT vs. 2DT, i.e. 1-disjunct-true vs. 2-disjunct-true) and *agreement type* (singular vs. plural). The task involved 2 pseudo-randomized lists containing 24 items each, so that no participant saw both 1DT and 2DT pictures for the same pair of utterances. There were 8 pairs of utterances containing singular and plural agreement with disjunction, and 16 filler items containing singular and plural agreement with singular and plural nouns. If participants were sensitive to agreement type, we expected more selection of the singular guess for 1DT pictures

and the plural guess for 2DT pictures. A glmer analysis with rate of agreement-picture match as a dependent variable (SG for 1DT / PL for 2DT), Group, Picture and their interaction as fixed effects and random effects for Participant and Item revealed significant effects of Group and Picture.

Table 2: Participant types in Production

Group	Agreement Matches Picture	Always singular	Always plural	Mixed
Adults	7	12	6	7
Children	19	0	0	2

An individual analysis (Table 2) shows that adults split into 4 distinct subgroups: (i) an agreement-picture match subgroup, using plural for 2DT and singular for 1DT, (ii) an always singular subgroup, selecting singular regardless of the picture, (iii) an always plural subgroup, selecting plural regardless of picture, and (iv) a mixed group with random choices. In contrast, most children consistently preferred to match the agreement to the picture, i.e., they selected plural for 2DT and singular for 1DT. Our findings suggest that children start out with an agreement system sensitive to whether the outcome of a guess is 1DT/2DT, but only a subgroup of adults behave similarly. Instead, most adults seem to apply a syntactic rule (using SG or PL).

Exp. 2 (Comprehension): 25 Romanian monolingual children (4;11-5;11, M=5;03) and 36 adults heard a disjunctive utterance containing singular/plural agreement (see (1)), saw two possible outcomes, and then had to say which of the two pictures matched the guess better (Table 1). The task employed a 2x2 design, crossing *picture type* (1DT vs. 2DT) and *agreement type* (SG vs. PL). The task involved 2 lists, including 24 items each (8 test items, 16 fillers), so that no participant saw both singular and plural agreement utterances for the same picture. A glmer analysis with accuracy as a DV (1DT for SG, 2DT for PL) and Group, Agreement, and their interaction as fixed effects and random Participant and Item effects revealed significant effects of Group, Agreement, and their interaction.

Table 3: Participant types in Comprehension

Group	Picture Matches Agreement	Always 1DT	Always 2DT	Mixed
Adults	6	19	8	3
Children	8	2	2	13

An individual analysis (Table 3) shows most adults preferred to associate any disjunctive utterance with a 1DT picture, though some participants consistently selected the 2DT picture, and some varied their picture choice with agreement type. In contrast, most children seemed to answer randomly, which is in line with an inclusive interpretation of the disjunction [9,10]. Since inclusivity is compatible with both 1DT and 2DT pictures, either one would be a good choice for an inclusive participant. Another response pattern for children involved variation of picture choice with agreement type.

Discussion: In production, while almost all children were sensitive to the number of disjuncts verified in the picture, adults could be grouped according to distinct agreement strategies. Disjunction being underspecified [3], participants resort to their own specification strategies (see also [11]). Regardless of the picture type, some adult speakers valued disjunction (DisjP) as singular, some as plural, some as singular or plural, while, similarly to all children, some adults valued it as singular if the outcome was 1DT and as plural if the outcome was 2DT (for these participants, valuation depended on interpretation of the disjunction) (Table 4).

Table 4: Possible grammars for agreement with disjunction

Singular	Plural	Random	Agreement-Picture Match
$\begin{array}{c} \text{DisjP [+sg]} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{A} \quad \text{Disj}' \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{Disj}^0 \quad \text{B} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{DisjP [+pl]} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{A} \quad \text{Disj}' \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{Disj}^0 \quad \text{B} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{DisjP } [\emptyset] \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{A} \quad \text{Disj}' \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{Disj}^0 \quad \text{B} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{DisjP [+sg/+pl]} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{A} \quad \text{Disj}' \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{Disj}^0 \quad \text{B} \\ \text{[+sg] if 1DT, [+pl] if 2DT} \end{array}$

In comprehension, most adults preferred to associate both singular and plural utterances with a 1DT picture, possibly because their sensitivity to agreement cues is weaker than their exclusivity bias, while children were more mixed in their answers or showed sensitivity to the agreement cue. Our results suggest that agreement with disjunction develops from a system that involves matching agreement to the number of verified disjuncts, to one that relies more on singular or plural agreement rules. However, it is important to note the existence of adult participants who were sensitive to the number of verified disjuncts in both comprehension and production. Our results are thus in line both with semantic-pragmatic approaches [7,8] and with non-semantic approaches [1-3]. Importantly, adults tend to be consistent in their choices, which, we believe, suggests the existence of multiple grammars rather than the absence of grammatical rules for disjunctive agreement altogether.

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Extending the causative continuum: *faire-que* constructions

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Goal of the talk. Previous approaches to causative constructions have sought to categorise them based on the type of causal relations they encode, in terms of conceptual complexity, or (in)directness. For Romance languages, such comparisons generally compare lexical causatives (single lexical units) to periphrastic causatives of type *Faire-Infinitive* (FIs), as introduced by Kayne (1975). Roughly speaking, FIs are understood as being the causativised counterpart: the causative light verb *faire* increases the valency of the embedded verb and allows for the addition of a higher Agent: the Causer. We argue that some Romance languages allow for two distinct types of periphrastic causativisation: FIs and *faire-que* (henceforth *f-que*) constructions. In this talk, we use causal modelling to show that *f-ques* form their own class of causative constructions distinct from FIs, mapping onto even more indirect causal relations.

Background. The results of the experimental investigations led by Wolff (2003) highlight that speakers tend to make use of lexical causatives to refer to simple, direct causal relations, while they use periphrastic causatives to refer to more complex situations involving two or more entities. Based on this assumption, we assume the following scale in (1):



However, such a scale fails to account for our *f-ques* notably available in Ibero-Romance and Italian. These differ from FIs such as (2), as the MAKE-verbs are regular lexical verbs that select a CP, introduced by a complementiser (*que* in SP, PO, and CAT; *che* in IT). Therefore, unlike FIs that are monoclausal, the constructions in (3) are clearly biclausal.

(2) Pietro ha fatto cadere Cecilia. *FI*
 Pietro has made fall.INF Cecilia
 ‘Pietro made Cecilia fall.’

(3) Pietro ha fatto sì che Cecilia cadesse. *F-que*
 Pietro has made so that Cecilia fall.SBJV
 ‘Pietro made so that Cecilia would fall.’

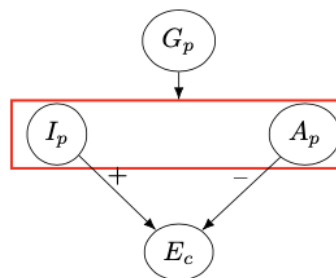
While the *f-que* is (and should be, according to Wolff’s observations) considered more indirect than its FI counterpart, it is also understood as having a mandatory [+INTENTIONAL] feature, as is highlighted by the discrepancy in acceptability between (4a) and (4b) below (corroborated by native speakers’ judgments). This means that the *f-que* is hence **marked**; speakers use it to highlight the intentional flavour of the causal relation at hand.

(4) a. **Sin quererlo**, Juan ha hecho caer a María.
 without want.INF-it Juan has made fall DOM María
 b. ??**Sin quererlo**, Juan ha hecho que María se cayera.
 without want.INF-it Juan has made that María REFL fall.SBJV
 ‘Without intending to, Juan made María fall.’

Proposal. How can we reconcile the notion of indirectness with that of intentionality? Shouldn't this intentional component favour a more direct reading, in which the Causer has a **stronger** tendency for the result? We propose that there are two loci of variation: (i) the denotation of the matrix subject, and (ii) the value of the MAKE-verb. Regarding (i), the matrix subject of the MAKE-verb of the *f-que* cannot be understood as denoting a true entity; instead, it ought to be understood as denoting a *situation* encompassing several causal conditions, all taken to be necessary but insufficient on their own to bring about the result (see Mackie's INUS 1965). In other words, the subject 'Pietro' in (3) must be taken to mean (a) Pietro's intention for the result E_c , and (b) Pietro's action in order to bring about E_c . These two conditions together form the situation in which Pietro has a **goal** for the result, which we represent in Figure 1.

Figure 1: **Representing (3)**

G_p = whether Pietro's goal is E_c
 I_p = whether Pietro has an intention for E_c
 A_p = whether Pietro acts towards E_c
 E_c = whether Cecilia falls



As for the second point in (ii), we have noted that the MAKE-verb in *f-ques* is not a light verb anymore; we thus take it to be a full (yet underspecified) lexical verb. As pointed out by Pustejovsky (2017), the lexical value of an underspecified verb can only be determined through its complement: here, it selects a CP in the subjunctive mood, which denotes an unrealised proposition referring to an irrealis situation. Therefore, what we have is a causal relation from an actual situation to a potential one (which should obtain *ceteris paribus*), rather than a relation between entities like in FIs. This analysis is further supported by the presence of the adverb *si* in Italian, which occurs right after *fare*, see (3) above. This adverb occurs fairly rarely in Italian and is typically found as *così*, meaning 'so' or 'in this manner'. Therefore, we propose that the causative continuum, or 'scale of (in)directness' should be included as in (5) so as to account for this additional type of syntactic causative and its related causal relations.



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Numberless indefinite definites in Italian: structure and meaning

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Data and research questions: This paper investigates the under-researched Italian nominal construction illustrated in italics in (1), which I term *Numberless indefinite definites* (NIDs). The research interest stems from two main motivations: (a) these constructions involve a morphologically definite description that receives an indefinite, non-specific existential interpretation, as attested by their narrow-scope behavior in the presence of negation (2a) and quantifiers (2b); (b) despite being morphologically singular, NIDs convey a number-neutral interpretation (Farkas & de Swart 2003), whereby they are compatible with situations involving both atomicity and non-atomicity entailments (3). Considering this behavior, the paper addresses two main research questions: (i) what are the syntactic and semantic factors that license this indefinite and number-neutral reading? And (ii) how is the NID interpretation compositionally derived?

- (1) a. Questo hotel ha *la piscina*. b. Indossa *la cravatta*
this hotel has the pool wears the tie
'This hotel has {(#the)/(a)} pool(s).' '(S)he wears {(#the)/(a)} tie(s).'
- (2) a. Questo hotel non ha *la piscina*. b. Indossa *la cravatta tutti i giorni*.
this hotel not has the pool wears the tie all the days
'This hotel doesn't have {any/(#the)} pool.' '(S)he wears {a/(#the)} tie everyday.'
- (3) Questo hotel ha *la piscina*. Una in giardino e una in terrazzo.
this hotel has the pool one in garden and one in terrace
'This hotel has (#the/#a) pools. One in the patio and one in the terrace'

RQ(i): Following Espinal's (2010) and Espinal and McNally – E&McN's (2011) hypothesis for Spanish / Catalan numberless bare nouns (NBNs), I argue that Italian NIDs are only licensed in the object position of so-called *HAVE-predicates* expressing a HAVE-relation (Borthen 2003), as long as the resulting V+DP combination denotes a characterizing property of the external argument. The first condition explains why NIDs are not possible in the object position of other types of verbs, where the only available reading is the default definite interpretation, as in (4).

- (4) a. Maria leggeva *il libro*. b. Gianni ha venduto *il giornale*.
'Maria was reading the book.' 'Gianni sold the newspaper.'

The second condition accounts for the contrasts found in (5) and (6), where only the (a) examples allow a NID interpretation. Having one or more pools can be considered a characterizing property of hotels, which helps to distinguish between different individuals of the same class. In contrast, the presence of one or more cars does not count as an informative characterizing property of streets. Similarly, having a window can be a defining feature only for bathrooms, but not for houses, which typically have several windows. In the talk I also discuss why an analysis in terms of pseudo-incorporation (on the lines of the one put forward by E&McN for Spanish / Catalan NBNs), while adequate for Romance NBNs, is not applicable to NIDs.

- (5) a. In hotel c'è *la piscina*. b. In strada c'è *la macchina*.
in hotel there.is the pool in street there.is the car
'There {is/are} (a) pool(s).' 'The car is in the street.' lit 'there is the car'
- (6) a. Il bagno ha *la finestra*. b. La casa ha *la finestra*.
the bathroom has the window the house has the window
'The bathroom has (a) window(s).' 'The house has the window.'

RQ(ii): First, I assume that Number is a morphosyntactic category corresponding to a realization (or instantiation) operator (Déprez 2005; E&McN2011; Borik & Espinal – B&E 2012, 2015; Gerhke & McNally 2012, a.o.) that relates kinds to their corresponding instantiations. To account for the number-neutral interpretation of NIDs, I argue that, in contrast to standard argumental DPs in languages that display number morphology and determiners – as minimally represented in (7a) (Zamparelli 1995; Chierchia 1998; Longobardi 2001, 2005 a.o.), Italian NIDs do not incorporate any Number projection in their syntactic structure, as in (7b).

(7) a. $[_{DP} D [_{NumP} Num [_{NP} N]]]$ b. $[_{DP} D [_{NP} N]]$

Crucially, the configuration in (7b) has been argued to correspond to the structure of so-called *definite kinds* (B&E2015) in Romance (e.g., *Il dodo si è estinto* ‘the dodo is extinct’), whereby the *iota* function contributed by the definite determiner binds kind-variables saturated by the kind-property denoted by the numberless BN, which is assigned the denotation in (8). (9) illustrates the resulting structure and denotation proposed for *la piscina* in (1a).

(8) $[[N]] = \lambda P \lambda x^k [P(x^k)]$ where $x^k \in K$ (domain of kinds) (B&E2015: 182, ex. (16))

(9) a. $[_{DP} la [_{NP} piscina]]$ b. $[[la piscina]] = \iota x^k [piscina(x^k)]$

Nevertheless, this proposal is problematic from a compositional perspective: HAVE-predicates select for object-level arguments, not for kind-denoting expressions. To solve this type clash, I adopt Chierchia’s (1998) Derived Kind Predication (DKP), a last-resort type shifting operation. DKP introduces existential quantification over instances of a kind whenever a predicate *P* applies to objects and the argument denotes a kind, as in (10b).

(10) a. *Avere la piscina.*
‘Have $\{(\#the)/(a)\}$ pool(s).’ b. $\#(avere(\iota x^k.piscina(x^k))) \Rightarrow$
 $(via\ DKP)\ \exists x.piscina(x) \wedge avere(x)$

The type conflict between the verb and its internal argument is solved *via* DKP, which introduces existential quantification over instances of the kind *piscina*. (11b) provides a complete derivation for (11a). It specifies - building on E&McN - that the denoted situation depends on the existence of a HAVE-relation involving the subject referent and some other individual in some world w , which is subject to the contextual restrictions represented by the variable C . This condition, made explicit in the above section, is captured by the predicate $depend(e, e', w)$ and the requirement that the event e' be a have-relation ($have(e')$), with x as the havee.

(11) a. *L’hotel ha la piscina.*
b. $\lambda e \exists x \iota y [avere(e) \wedge \exists w [C(w)] [\exists e' [depend(e, e', w) \wedge have(e') \wedge havee(e') = piscina(y)]]] \wedge$
 $haver(e) = hotel(x)]$

This analysis compositionally accounts for the existential, number-neutral reading of NIDs.

Supporting arguments: Two main arguments further support this proposal. First, the analysis predicts that NIDs should exhibit a narrow scope behavior with respect to other logical operators. DKP is an existential type-shifting mechanism that applies locally to solve a type-mismatch between the requirements of a predicate and its direct argument. Therefore, the existential quantifier contributed by DKP operates locally, and necessarily takes scope below other scope-bearing elements. These constrained scopal properties, made evident in the examples in (2), can be represented as in (12b), where negation scopes over the existential quantifier.

(12) a. *L’hotel non ha la piscina.*

- b. $\lambda e \neg \exists x \lambda y [\text{avere}(e) \wedge \exists w [C(w)] [\exists e' [\text{depend}(e, e', w) \wedge \text{have}(e') \wedge \text{havee}(e') = \text{piscina}(y)]]] \wedge \text{haver}(e) = \text{hotel}(x)]$

Second, the proposal predicts that NIDs should display stringent restrictions regarding modification. Since the existential reading associated with NIDs is derived from the primary kind denotation *via* DKP, only taxonomic modification applying to kind-level denotation should be available for these constructions. This prediction is borne out, as shown in the contrast in (13). The definite description *la camicia a maniche corte* in (13a) denotes a well-established (sub-)kind of shirts, which allows DKP to derive the existential reading associated with NIDs. Conversely, the complex DP *la camicia che ha comprato alle Hawaii* in (13b) does not denote a well-established sub-kind. Therefore, DKP cannot apply and cannot derive the NID reading, which explains the obligatory definite interpretation reported in the English translation.

- (13) a. In estate, Gianni indossa *la camicia a maniche corte*.
 ‘In summer, Gianni wears (a) short-sleeved shirt(s).’
- b. In estate, Gianni indossa *la camicia che ha comprato alle Hawaii*.
 ‘In summer, Gianni wears the shirt he bought at the Hawaii.’

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On low verbal negation in Brazilian Portuguese

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1. There is an innovative use of negation in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), whereby the negative marker *não* ‘not’, henceforth ‘low *não*’, occurs between the auxiliary and the uninflected verb in verbal clusters (in the slot in [Aux_V]), as in (1).

- (1) a. Minha conexão é discada e eu *estou não trabalhando* com meu servidor.
my connection is dialed and I am NEG working with my server
‘My connection is dialed, and I am not working with my server.’
- b. Eu posso almoçar mais tarde, *tenho não feito* as refeições estes dias.
I can have-lunch more late have NEG done the meals these days
‘I can have lunch later; I have not had my meals these days.’

In this talk, I propose an analysis for this construction considering its syntactic/semantic/pragmatic properties.

2. First, ‘low *não*’ requires intonational stress; thus, it cannot be reduced to the clitic form *num*, which is possible in sentential negation in BP, (2a) vs.(2b):

- (2) a. Ela *não/num tem vivido* bem ultimamente. (sentential negation)
she NEG has lived well lately
‘She has not lived well lately.’
- b. Ela *tem não/*num vivido* bem ultimamente. (‘low *não*’)
Intended: ‘Differently from what has been thought, her life is not going well lately.’

Additionally, ‘low *não*’ may co-occur with sentential negation as in (3), and it conveys double negation, that is, the sentence is interpreted as its positive counterpart:

- (3) [Context: the doctor ordered me to stop eating sugar, but I’m not following his orders]
Eu *não tenho não comido* açúcar.
I NEG have NEG eaten sugar
Intended: ‘It’s not the case that I have not eaten sugar’ = I have eaten sugar
‘low *não*’ may also co-occur with negative polarity items, such as *nada* ‘anything’, as in (4).

- (4) O filme, eu não entendi nada (já *tinha não entendido nada* do 2,
the film I NEG understood anything already had NEG understood anything of-the 2
imagina ver o 3)!
imagine see the 3
‘As for the film, I had not understood anything (from it) (I had already not understood anything from (Part) 2, imagine watching (Part) 3!’

Finally, besides negation, ‘low *não*’ conveys extra information expressing a contrast between what the *speaker* thinks that the *hearer* knows about a situation, as in the example below:

- (5) [Context: The speaker, after expressing that a dish was terrible in a restaurant, adds]
não solicitei a troca porque já estava não gostando do atendimento.
not asked the replacement because already was not liking of-the service
‘I didn’t ask for a change (of the dish) because I was already not happy with the service.’

In this sentence, the speaker assumes that the hearer doesn't know that, besides the terrible dish, the service was also bad in that restaurant, and he wants to emphasize the latter fact. To that end, he uses the prosodically stressed 'low *nãõ*'.

3. The first question to ask is whether other languages exhibit the same kind of negator, since it's well-known that languages can have several negators interspersed in the clause (Zanuttini 1997, Poletto 2008, a.o.). In fact, Italian *mica* as in (6a) and Catalan *pas* in the *ne...pas* construction as in (6b) are also possible in [Aux_V]:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(6) a. <i>Non l'ho mica invitata!</i>
 NEG her-have.1SG <i>mica</i> invited.F.SG
 'I have not invited her at all!'
 (Magistro 2022:2, ex. (1b))</p> | <p>b. <i>La ministra no ha pas dimitit.</i>
 the minister NEG has <i>pas</i> resigned
 'The minister has not resigned.'
 (Espinal 2002:2748, ex. (50))</p> |
|--|--|

However, these occurrences have semantic/pragmatic effects that make them different from 'low *nãõ*' (see Cinque 1976, Poletto 2017, Espinal 1991, 1993, a.o.). As for BP, it has been shown in several works (Schwenter, 2005; Teixeira de Sousa, 2015, a.o.) that the language also allows other positions for the negative word *nãõ* in sentential negation, each one conveying distinct pragmatic effects, but these studies have not considered, and hence, not analyzed, the case of 'low *nãõ*'.

4. Considering the properties above, I propose that 'low *nãõ*' is an instance of negation merged in the low left periphery, a position apparently necessary in the languages (see Brody 1990, Laka & Uriagereka 1987, Belletti 2004, Jayaaseelan 2001, 2010, a.o.). Given its syncretism with other negation markers in BP, I follow a nanosyntactic approach for multiple positions of negation (DeClercq 2013), and I propose that 'low *nãõ*' is a Focus^{Neg} marker, which has an [iNeg] feature and takes scope in FocusP (DeClercq 2013:30). I account for the particular syntactic position of 'low *nãõ*' between the auxiliary and the lexical verb by assuming that: (i) FocusP is merged above AspP in BP, as has been argued for other languages (see Ouwayda & Shlonsky 2016; Jarrah & Abusalim 2021, a.o.), and 'low *nãõ*' is merged in Foc^{Neg}P; (ii) BP has low lexical verb-movement to Asp (Cyrino & Matos 2005, Cyrino & Araújo-Adriano 2023, a.o.). The final simplified syntactic structure is in (7):

- (7) [TP eu *estou/tenho* [FocNeg ***nãõ*** [AspP *fazendo/feito* [vP <eu> <*fazendo/feito*>]]] *isso*.
 I am have NEG doing done that
 'I am/have not doing/done that.'

5. As for the semantics/pragmatics properties of 'low *nãõ*', I propose that, since it seems to convey more information than sentential negation, the negation marker in 'low *nãõ*' is an instance of the so-called common ground operator *FALSUM focus*, which basically expresses that the proposition it scopes over should not be in the common ground, from the point of view of the *speaker* (Repp 2009, 2013, Frana & Rawlins 2019). In fact, it is not uncommon that a negative marker, when emphatic, may convey meanings other than negation. The negative marker *en* in West Flemish and southern dialects of Dutch discussed in Breitbarth & Haegeman (2014, 2015) and Breitbarth (2022) is one of such cases. The authors propose that *en* is in the low left periphery of vP and may not only co-occur with a negative marker but also appear alone in some dialects. According to the authors, *en* expresses polarity emphasis conveying "additional emotional overtones" that are contextually derived, which they propose correspond to *MIRATIVE focus*.

6. In this paper, I put forward an analysis for the innovative use of negation in BP in the form of the negative marker 'low *nãõ*'. I adopt a view whereby 'low *nãõ*' is merged in the low left periphery, and I propose that it conveys *falsum focus*. Besides Italian, Catalan, West Flemish and Southern Dialects of Dutch, particular negation markers in double negation constructions also exist in Korean

and Bengali ('verbal negation', Zaradsky 2020). Additional investigation is required to bring more light into these different types of low negation.

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Not all prosodic domains are equal(ly strong): evidence and implications

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Research in the last decades has shown that (spoken and sign) languages organize speech into prosodic constituents, which are arranged in a hierarchical structure. Despite several areas of dispute, scholars tend to agree that (i) there is a prosodic structure; (ii) prosodic domains relate to designated levels of morphosyntactic structure; (iii) prosodic phonology plays a role in the acquisition and processing of language.

European Portuguese (EP) phonology differs from other Romance languages in non-trivial ways, displaying a phonological profile whereby productive phonology clusters predominantly around higher-level prosodic domains. Besides that, the cues to various prosodic domains differ in salience and frequency, with patterns that differ from other closely related languages or varieties, such as Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese.

We will suggest that not all prosodic domains are equal, with consequences for language acquisition (and processing). Assuming the unfolding approach to the acquisition of prosodic structure (Frota et al. 2016, 2024), we will conjecture that the strength of prosodic domains in a given language determines different paths for prosodic unfolding across languages.

According to this hypothesis, in EP at least the foot should unfold later, while strong prosodic domains, such as the intonational phrase and the prosodic word, unfold early on. Implications for cross-linguistic variation in language acquisition and variation in prosodic hierarchies will be discussed.

What can stress placement tell us about (in)stability in language contact? The case of Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish

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This study focuses on the presence and absence of contact-induced stress shifts in Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish (BJS), a severely endangered Romance diaspora variety that has been in intense interaction with the dominant surrounding language Bulgarian for many centuries. Judeo-Spanish refers to the varieties of Spanish spoken by the Sephardic Jews in their new areas of settlement after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula starting in the late 15th century. From that point on, it developed independently from other Spanish varieties but in close contact with the respective surrounding languages. The Bulgarian variety of JS is spoken today by probably less than 25 native speakers, the youngest of whom were born in the 1960s. All speakers are at least bilingual and clearly dominant in Bulgarian (BG). Their BJS is known to show both many archaic structures resembling Old Spanish and many contact-induced innovations (Fischer & Vega Vilanova 2018; Gabriel & Grünke 2022).

As recently shown, BJS presents strong convergence with BG at the prosodic level (see Andreeva et al. 2021, Fischer et al. 2014). Regarding unstressed vowels, Grünke et al. (2023) have shown that BJS speakers largely follow BG reduction patterns, i.e., unstressed underlyingly non-high vowels raise considerably and tend to merge with their high counterparts.

The present contribution aims to deepen previous analyses into BJS prosody by investigating stress placement and syllabic prominence in comparative structures, preverbal negation-clitic sequences, and relative structures based on a new set of semi-spontaneous data recorded from 16 BJS–BG bilingual speakers (9 males), 14 monolingual speakers of BG (3 males), and 6 monolingual speakers of Spanish (3 males) in 2022–2023 using a dialogue play including these structures. A perceptual judgement analysis of the target items (approx. 500) carried out by four trained phoneticians (interrater agreement: $\kappa = 0.694$) shows that BJS tends to follow (monolingual and bilingual) BG in realizing main stress on the comparative particle or the intensifier instead of the adjective (e.g., BJS *MAS fuerte*, BG *PO-silen* vs. Sp. *más FUERte* ‘stronger’; BJS *MUY ermozo*, BG *MNOgo hubavo* vs. Sp. *muy boNito* ‘very nice’) but does not move stress from the negation particle to following object clitics as in BG (BJS *NO lo VImos*, Sp. *NO lo VImos* vs. BG *ne GO viDJAHme* ‘we didn’t see him’; see Table 1 for preliminary results).

While the negation-clitic sequences merely spell out grammatical features, the other constructions also involve semantic/pragmatic components. For example, they may not only be used to convey emphasis but can also bear (contrastive) focus as in BJS *Penso ke es muy ermoza, ama tambien muy* [_F *chika*] ‘I think it is very nice, but also very small’. Therefore, the result of the present study also has theoretical implications for the modelling of language contact and contributes to a better understanding of cross-linguistic influence. More particularly, it strongly supports the Interface Hypothesis according to which external interfaces are more vulnerable and instable in language contact (Sorace 2011), whereas structures and patterns that don’t involve such interfaces are expected to be more stable. However, despite the fact that these predictions are largely born out in the study, some single instances of stressed clitics as well as metalinguistic comments by the speakers suggest that language contact can ultimately do away also with the interface constraint.

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construction	variety	main stress/prominence on		
		clitic/adjective	negation particle/comparative particle/adverb	both elements
negation-clitic clusters	Bulgarian	97	3	0
	BJS	4	96	0
	Spanish	0	100	0
comparatives	Bulgarian	1	18	82
	BJS	1	17	82
	Spanish	100	0	0
elatives	Bulgarian	1	17	82
	BJS	9	11	80
	Spanish	100	0	0

Table 1. Preliminary results based on data from 16 Bulgarian–BJS bilinguals, 15 Bulgarian monolinguals, and 2 Spanish monolinguals (the numbers represent rounded percentages).

How some temporal markers are used in the temporal structuring of oral narratives in Occitan

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While the question of temporality has given rise to a great deal of work on the languages of the world, enabling the construction of extensive theoretical frameworks, relatively little research has been conducted on Occitan. Following in the footsteps of (Bras & Sibille, 2022), we are therefore working on time in Occitan, to support the studies dedicated to verbal tenses and other temporal markers in Occitan. To study the temporal structure of texts, we place ourselves within the framework of a formal theory of the semantic-pragmatic interface, SDRT (Segmented Discourse Representation Theory developed by Asher and Lascarides, 2003), an extension of DRT (Kamp and Reyle, 1993), which integrates discourse structure in terms of coherence relations. We have chosen the version of SDRT of Vieu et al (2005), which integrates the treatment of framing adverbials as defined by Charolles (1997).

The aim of this study is to draw up an inventory of the different linguistic means used to structure texts temporally - we are concentrating on three types of temporal markers : the verbal system, temporal location adverbials and temporal connectors - in order to describe how they function and how they help to construct and structure the discourse, with a view to studying its temporal structure. There is some work on written Occitan (Barcelo, 2004 ; Bras, 2005 ; Bras and Sibille, 2020, 2022) and on spoken Occitan (Carruthers and Vergez-Couret, 2021, 2023), but nothing on spontaneous spoken Occitan, the modality that we wish to study here.

These markers are described and analysed in terms of the particular and individual use made of them by speakers of spoken Occitan, i.e. on the basis of data collected with a view to studying their temporal structure, from both a semantic and a pragmatic perspective. In this way, we will be able to describe the specific mechanisms of temporal expression in oral texts.

The corpus consists of six oral narratives collected from male and female speakers of Occitan in the Lot département. These narratives were stimulated by questions designed to maximise the chances of actually obtaining a narrative, and were centred on the lives of the interviewees. The interviews, conducted in the homes of the people interviewed, and after a phase of meeting without recording, were intended to create conditions conducive to the emergence of the most spontaneous speech possible via a semi-guided collection.

An initial annotation of temporal markers makes it possible to draw up an inventory and study the values of each one in use. The SDRT and the annotation manuals drawn up for the aforementioned studies suggest segmenting the discourse and then identifying the discourse relations between segments, in order to provide a representation of the discourse structure. The temporal structure is then inferred from the discourse structure: most discourse relations carry a temporal characterisation (Asher and Lascarides, 2003) and thus make it possible to establish a temporal relation. We will here present this annotation of temporal markers and how the segmentation works, first step of extending the whole methodologies developed in the works mentioned above for the Occitan language and for oral speech, complemented with an original annotation methodology for temporal and aspectual markers.

Even if a prosodic approach would be appreciable for oral datas, this study is not focused on prosodic phenomena. Nevertheless, we chose a minimalist annotation to indicate where prosody was necessary to make decision for the annotation, and this would enable further studies to focus on the prosodic part.

We propose here to set out the analysis that can be made of this material and the initial conclusions we can draw. Our analysis shows that, in these stories, the oral language, while making use of markers that are also found in the written language, shows differences in the use of these markers and changes in usage. We will focus on the use of the adverb *alara* in our corpus and on the different roles it plays in the construction of discourse representations. In doing so, we will extend some of the observations made by Carruthers and Vergez-Couret (2021) on the link between orality and discourse structure and also some previous observations made by Garrigou and Bras (2024), and we will also be able to propose a typology of this connector based on the different uses we have observed. We establish here that there are various degrees of preparation of speech, which give rise to various degrees of orality (Carruthers and Vergez-Couret, 2018). Orality is seen here as a scalar notion, dependent in particular on the speech performance context, which includes the degree of speech preparation, and the possible repetition of that speech (for storytelling performances, for example).

Generally speaking, temporal connectors more often have a structuring role than adverbials of temporal location, and are used more discursively than semantically. Thus, following de-semanticisation, they do not necessarily retain their temporal meaning but are markers of discourse organisation. To demonstrate this, we will broaden the scope of our study to include other connective adverbs (*puèi, e*).

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On the origin of the Italian thematic vowels' system

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1. The T(hematic) V(owels) of the Romance languages have received in recent years much attention in generative framework(s), due to their puzzling properties. TVs of, e.g., Italian, lack a semantic content, and pattern as bare class-markers: hence they have been labelled as “empty morphs” or as exponents of “ornamental nodes” (Oltra-Massuet 1999, Embick/Halle 2005, Calabrese 2015, 2023 a.o.). Other IE languages, notably the Slavic ones, display thematic elements as well, but they are not only vocalic, and they are not always “empty”: many of them can bear some kind of functional content. In recent years, then, some Authors dealt with thematic elements as instantiations of complex systems, in which they can act as empty morphs but also cover overt semantic-syntactic functions, mostly related to the domains of Voice, argument structure, or simply verbalization (Milosavljević/Arsenijević 2022 a.o. for Slavic; the idea of a gradient from the aspectual domain to verbalizers is also in Grestenberger 2022 for Ancient Greek).

2. My goal is to analyse in this light the diachronic change between the Latin verbal system and the Italian one. I will show that the Latin thematic system was a mixed one, in which at least some of the TVs did still bear distinctive semantic-syntactic functions (since Embick/Halle 2005 generative literature labels them as empty morphs, exactly as the Romance ones). The change was due to the loss of the morpho-syntactic conditions that ruled the insertion of TVs in Latin, notably the relations with the roots and those with the actional and aspectual nodes. This lead TVs, although preserved as pieces of vocabulary, to become empty morphs, with no autonomy from the root –that is, part of stems properly.

3. In concrete, the familiar four-TVs system of Latin should be split in two major sets: $-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{i}$ and partially $-\bar{e}$; and $-i/-u$ (III conj.) (Bertocci/Pinzin 2020, 2021; alternative explanation in Calabrese 2023).

$-\bar{a}$ and $-\bar{i}$ are mostly associated to ‘secondary’ verbs, namely denominal, intensive, parasyntetic ones (1), and are normally preserved in all inflectional categories (2); they (and $-\bar{e}$) correlate with semantic content, are inserted immediately after the root node as exponents of Voice or specific actional properties (3), and can not follow an overt actional/aspectual morph such as $-sc$, $-j$, $-n$ (4):

(1) *curā* ‘care’ > *cur-ā-re* ‘to care’, *dic-ē(-re)* ‘to say’ > *dic-ā(-re)* ‘to proclaim’, *gregem* ‘flock’ > *con-greg-ā(-re)* ‘to gather’

(2) *cur-ā-nt/cur-ā-bā-nt* ‘they cared_{IMPF}’/*cur-ā-v-erunt* ‘they cared_{PERF}’/*cur-ā-tus* ‘cared’

(3) *plac-ē-re* ‘to be pleased’ vs. *plac-ā-re* ‘to calm’

(4) *rub-ē-sc-u-nt* ‘they turn red’, not ***rub-e-sc-ē-nt*

on the contrary, $-i/u$ can only appear before the endings of the present and the future, in the latter also in combination with $-\bar{a}$ or $-\bar{e}$ (5); it is not associated to semantic functions, and it is inserted in a more external position than $-\bar{a}/-\bar{e}/-\bar{i}$, since it can only appear after actional/aspectual morphs like $-sc, -j, -n$, or after root verbs (6).

(5) *dic-u-nt* ‘they say’/*laud-ā-b-u-nt* ‘they will praise’/*vid-ē-b-u-nt* ‘they will see’

(6) *rub-ē-sc-u-nt* ‘they turn red’ /*fac-j-u-nt* ‘they make’/*dic-u-nt* ‘they say’

This means that only $-i/u$ can be considered an empty morph properly, and that the morpho-syntactic environments of the two sets of TVs are slightly different: $-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{i}$ and $-\bar{e}$ are inserted at the level of v/vP/Voice, $-i/u$ in the tense/agreement domain (7).

(7) *cernunt* ‘they discern’ *cer*]_{ROOT,v} *-n*]_{ACTION} \emptyset]_{T/ASP} *-u*]_{TV} *-nt*]_{AGR}

placunt ‘they calm’

plac]_{ROOT} -a]_{v,VOICE} Ø]_{T/ASP} -nt]_{AGR}

4. Romance TVs differentiate from the Latin ones since: (i) they are functionally empty (8); (ii) all of them pattern the same way, checking the same set of diacritic root features in the same position, cf. Oltra-Massuet (1999), notably with crosslinguistic variation (cf. Pomino/Remberger 2022b on French) (9); (iii) at a surface level, they interact with the agreement morphs triggering suppletion (10).

(8) socializzavate ‘you_{2PL} socialized’ = [[[[social]_{ADJ} -izz]_v -a]_{STEM} -v]_{T/ASP} -a]_{TV} -te]_{AGR}

(9) √]_v X]_{STEM} -te]_{AGR} X [/a,e,i/ cant-a-te ‘you_{2PL} sing’, ved-e-te ‘you_{2PL} see’, sent-i-te ‘you_{2PL} feel’

(10) sied-Ø-o ‘I seat’ vs. sed-e-te ‘you_{2PL} seat’

Two major changes took place by the rise of Proto-Romance: (a) any root started to need a verbalizer (cf. Fabregas 2018); (b) most actional/aspectual morphs lost transparency due to phonological attrition (e.g. palatalization). Therefore, TVs lost their triggers and were reanalysed as ‘satellites’ of the roots, that is, as empty morphs. The reduction of tense-aspect morphology, yet, let TVs to become local to the T/Agr nodes, licensing suppletive alternations like those of *vad-/and-*, or *sied-/sed-*, partially ruled by the TVs (Pomino/Remberger 2022a).

5. This study shows that: (i) the “ornamental” status of Romance TVs was an innovation of the Romance languages; (ii) the path to that status entailed the neutralization of the opposition between the ancient TVs, and a kind of ‘downward reanalysis’ for those (-ā, -ī, -ē) related to functional content; I since they are inserted in a lower part of the morpho-syntactic structure (that is closely above the root instead of at the top of the vP shell); (iii) this diachronic change mirrors the existence of mixed thematic systems, observed comparing the Romance and Slavic system synchronically.

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How *genre* affects word order: a diachronic analysis of French (13th-16th c.)

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French went through a progressive diachronic change relative to word order, from a verb second (V2) to an SVO grammar (see Marchello-Nizia et al. 2020: §34.4, Wolfe & Maiden 2020, and references therein), characteristic of many Romance languages (for an overview, see Wolfe 2019 and references therein). The loss of V2 can open a window on diachronic variation with respect to word order change and its causes, but only if we accurately trace the curve of change. The task is hindered by the fact that the analysis of different textual sources and different textual genres often gives contradictory results (Prévost 2015). For example, legal texts have often been found to be less conservative than chronicles and fictional literary material (Ingham 2016, Farasyn et al. 2018, Balon & Larrivé 2016, Goux & Larrivé 2020, 2023).

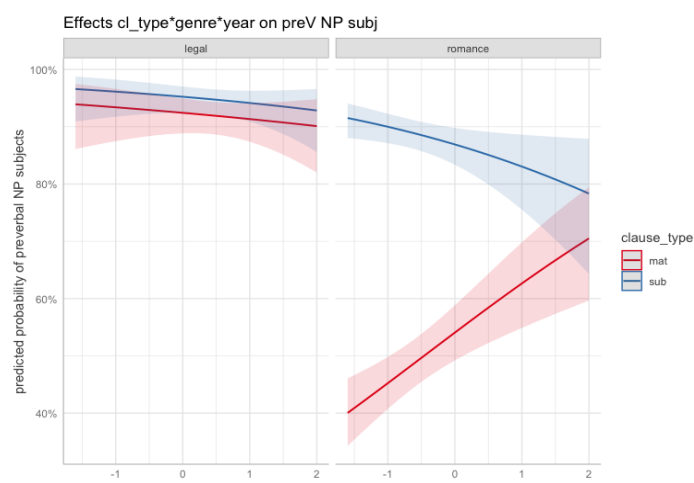
In this contribution, we trace the curve of the loss of V2 in French by assessing the consistency of V2 in 10 legal texts (style & procedure material; MICLE: <https://www.unicaen.fr/projet_de_recherche/micle/>) from the beginning of the 13th to the middle of the 16th c. and in 6 literary sources from the same period (romances in prose; MCVF/PPCHF <<https://github.com/beatrice57/mcvf-plus-ppchf>> & BFM <<http://bfm.ens-lyon.fr/>>), the two corpora comparable in terms of the overall number of tokens. We show how the two genres follow different diachronic paths: legal texts show an earlier loss of V2 than romance texts, which, in turn, have an initial higher V2 rate and progressively lose it through time.

V2 in Old French is characterized by consistent presence of main clauses where a constituent and the finite verb are followed by the subject, the so-called “Germanic inversion” (1).

- (1) *Cel poeir douna nostre Sire a sainte Église*
that power donate.3sg.prs our Lord to holy Church
'Our lord confers that power to the holy Church' (1210-BORON-PENN-P,18.44)

Crucially, the same sequences are not generally attested in subordinate clauses. This asymmetric distribution calls for an analysis where the finite verb raises to the Left Periphery (CP domain) in main but not in subordinate clauses. To compare the two sets of texts for the diachrony of V2, we therefore focus on the rate of pre- and post-verbal (preV/postV) NP subjects in main vs. subordinate clauses, with a significant main/subordinate asymmetry signaling an active V2 grammar. We exclude pronominal subjects from the analysis. This is because, while the position of NP subjects can be pre or postV, pronominal subjects can be preV, postV, and null, with the last option being progressively lost in French. As null subjects (and their loss) would add an orthogonal variable, we opted for leaving pronominal subjects aside. We extracted from our 16 texts all occurrences of preV and postV NP subjects in both main and subordinate clauses (n=14725 clauses). We fit a mixed-effects logistic regression model to ascertain if the distribution of preV/postV NP subjects is significantly influenced by the following variables: (i) year, (ii) main vs. subordinate clause, (iii) legal vs romance genre (R 4.4.1; lme4 1.1.35.4). We set the position of the NP subject as the dependent variable ('NP_postV' vs. 'NP_preV') and the variables year (continuous and scaled), clause type ('mat' vs. 'sub'), and genre ('legal' vs. 'romance') as predictors. We included interactions between all predictors, text as a random intercept and random slopes for clause type and genre. In Graph 1 we report the output of the model in terms of predicted probabilities for preV NP subjects. We observe a significant effect of (i) clause type ($\beta = -1.72$, $SE(\beta) = 0.21$, $z = -8.27$, $p < .001$) favoring preV NP subjects in subordinate clauses; (ii) genre ($\beta = -1.11$, $SE(\beta) = 0.16$, $z = 6.81$, $p < .001$) favoring preV NP subjects in legal texts; (iii) genre:clause type interaction ($\beta = -1.24$, $SE(\beta) = 0.32$, $z = 3.8$, $p < .001$) demonstrating a bigger advantage of subordinate clauses on main clauses for preV NP subjects in romance than in legal texts; (iv) clause type:year interaction ($\beta =$

0.36, $SE(\beta)=0.15$, $z=-2.42$, $p=0.016$) showing a reduction of the advantage of subordinate clauses on main clauses for preV NP subjects across the period. We independently investigate via further mixed effect models the effect of year on the distribution of preV/postV



Graph 1

NP subjects for each of the clause type:genre combinations. While year has no significant effect for either main or subordinate clauses in legal texts, it is significant for both main and subordinate clauses in romance texts. Over the years, romance texts show a highly significant increase of preV NP subjects in main clauses ($\beta=-0.35$, $SE(\beta)=0.09$, $z=3.97$, $p=0.016$, $p<.001$), and a significant decrease of preV NP subjects in subordinate clauses ($\beta=-0.30$, $SE(\beta)=0.13$, $z=-2.28$, $p=.022$).

To sum up, while legal texts show no evidence of a diachronic evolution or a main vs. subordinate asymmetry for the distribution of postV NP subjects, romance texts show a significant advantage of main clauses for postV NP subjects and a significant reduction of such advantage over the years. To identify what drives the significant reduction of postV NP subjects in main clauses in romance texts, we performed a post-hoc qualitative analysis. We tagged all main clauses with a postV NP subject for verb and subject type, position of the finite verb, and type of XPs preceding the finite verb. While all other factors are stable, the type of XP preceding the finite verb is crucial. More specifically, we observe that while in the early romance texts 20-30% of postV NP subjects appear with the adverb *lors* ‘then’ preceding the finite verb, the rate of *lors* reduces to 3-6% in the last texts. Similarly, even if less prominently, in the early romance texts direct objects preceding the finite verb account for around 7% of the cases of postV NP subjects, while this rate reduces to 0-2.5% in the later texts. In contrast, other XPs remain stable across time (e.g., the adverb *si/aussi* ‘so’ – 15-30% – as well as with other adverbs). In the case of legal texts, we observe that the rate of preverbal *lors* among the NP subject inversion occurrences is close to 0% since the early texts, while cases of preverbal direct objects are seldom attested across the whole period with no clear diachronic evolution.

Overall, our analysis shows that the distribution of NP subject inversion in 13th c. legal texts is similar to the one observed for 16th c. literary texts, in line with the observation that legal material is less conservative than fictional literary material. Where V2 and its loss are concerned, our data support an analysis which sees V2 as a multifactorial phenomenon arising from the convergence of different XPs triggering V-to-C movement, so that its loss can proceed targeting such XPs one-by-one. This is reflected by the crucial role in the representation of V2 played in our texts by the demise of the occurrences of [adverb *lors* > finite V > NP subject].

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The complex prosody of complex wh-phrases in Italian questions

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1. In this paper, we investigate the realization of the main prosodic prominence (Nuclear Pitch Accent, NPA) in Italian wh-questions. Previous work shows that with “bare” wh-elements, the NPA falls on the lexical verb, although the latter is not focal (see [1], [2]). However, [3] found that the NPA was instead associated with the wh-phrase when this contained a partitive phrase (*Chi di voi...* ‘Who of you’...). The contrast with a bare wh-phrase (*who*) can be conceived (i) in terms of presence vs absence of a restrictive term, or (ii) in terms of D(iscourse)-linking (i.e., the restriction is a set of entities that is familiar or salient in the context, pace Pesetsky 1987).

With two production experiments, we investigated whether and how the nature of complex wh-phrases affects NPA placement. We tested the following hypotheses: H1) The presence of a restrictive term within the wh-phrase is either a necessary or a necessary and sufficient condition for it to be assigned the NPA. H2) D-linking of the wh-phrase is either a necessary or a necessary and sufficient condition for it to be assigned the NPA.

2. In **Experiment A**, we tested four types of wh-phrases in canonical wh-questions (Table 1):

- (i) partitive *which*-phrases, which have a restrictive term and are D-linked;
- (ii) *which*-phrases following a dislocated partitive PP, which do not contain an overt restriction but are D-linked via the contextually given set of the preceding partitive phrase;
- (iii) *what*-NP phrases, with a restrictive term that does not refer to a contextually given set;
- (iv) the bare wh *che cosa*, which have neither property (where *cosa* ‘thing’ is fully grammaticalized as a functional element as shown by agreement evidence).

The predictions are the following.

- 1. If a restrictive term is necessary, the NPA *can* fall on the wh-phrase in (i),(iii), but not in (ii),(iv); if necessary and sufficient, the NPA *systematically* falls on the wh-phrase in (i),(iii).
- 2. If D-linking is necessary, the NPA *can* fall on the wh-phrase in (i),(ii), but not in (iii),(iv); if it is necessary and sufficient, the NPA *systematically* falls on the wh-phrase in (i)-(ii).

20 speakers of Tuscan Italian (age 18-35) performed a reading task. The experimental stimuli consisted of 16 items, each a short dialogue introduced by a brief context. We manipulated the nature of the question in the third turn (i-iv). Only in (i) and (ii) did the context introduce a set of entities forming the restriction of the wh-phrase. The 64 experimental trials were divided into 4 lists using a Latin square procedure. Each participant was randomly assigned to a list and read 32 dialogues: 16 test trials and 16 filler trials, the latter featuring a polar question. The target question productions were manually labelled for ‘position of the NPA’ (Gili et al. 2015).

The results (Fig 1) show that neither hypothesis makes accurate predictions, but we observe an interaction: in the non-D-linking conditions (iii)-(iv), the presence of the restrictive term is irrelevant; in the D-linking conditions, the presence of the restrictive term is necessary but not sufficient for the NPA to be assigned to the wh-phrase. (A minority of questions presented a rising NPA on the final constituent, associated with a formal/read register, Bocci 2013: 65).

Exp A	(i) which of X +restr, +D-linked	<i>Quale di questi libri...</i> ‘Which of these books...’	Exp B	(i) which X +D-linked	<i>Quale libro...</i> ‘Which book...’
	(ii) of X which -restr, +D-linked	<i>Di questi libri, quale...</i> ‘Of these books, which...’		(ii) what X +D +D-linked	<i>Che libro...</i> ‘What book...’
	(iii) what X +restr, -D-linked	<i>Che libro...</i> ‘Which book...’		(iii) what X -D -D-linked	<i>Che libro...</i> ‘What book...’
	(iv) what	<i>Che cosa...</i>		(iv) what	<i>Che cosa...</i>

	-restr, -D-linked	‘What...’			-D-linked	‘What...’
	...leggerai durante il viaggio?				‘...will you read during the flight?’	

Figure 1. Experiment A

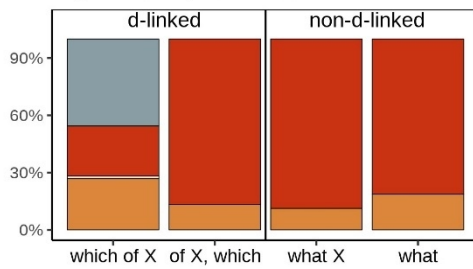
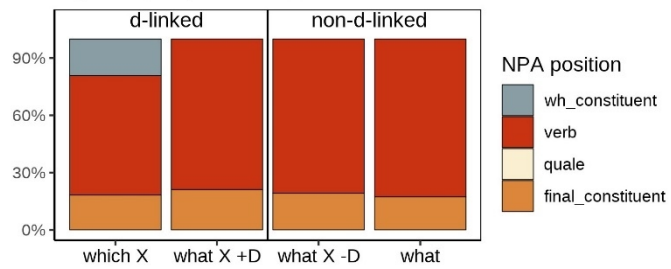


Figure 2. Experiment B



3. Note that in Exp. A D-linking correlates with the nature of the wh-word, i.e. *quale* ‘which’ vs. *che* ‘what’. To investigate this as a possible factor, **Experiment B** (Table 1), tested with a similar procedure the following four conditions:

- (i) *which*-NP phrases in D-linking contexts, where the restriction set is introduced;
- (ii) *what*-NP-phrases in D-linking contexts;
- (iii) and (iv) as in Experiment A.

If the presence of a restrictive term and of D-linking are necessary conditions, NPA placement on the wh-phrase should be observed both in condition (i) and in (ii), as opposed to (iii) and (iv). We tested 17 speakers of Tuscan Italian with the same methodology that we used in Exp. A. The results (Fig 2) show that the type of wh-word involved is crucial: the NPA is optionally found on the wh-phrase only in condition (i), featuring the wh-word *quale*, and not in condition (ii) with *che*, although the context allowed for a D-linked interpretation. As for conditions (iii)-(iv), the results confirm the findings of Exp. A.

4. The results of Exp.A and B are compatible with two assumptions from [2]:

- (a) When a sentence contains the F(ocus)-feature, the NPA is assigned to the rightmost phonologically contentful F-marked element on which it can be realized;
- (b) The v^0 head optionally receives the F-feature via agreement with the wh-phrase moving through its phase edge. When agreement occurs, v^0 incorporating the lexical verb qualifies as the rightmost F-marked element that can realize the NPA.

We can then hypothesize ([4], [5]) that among the two alternative derivations, with and without v^0 agreement, the former is more optimal at the syntax-prosody interface when the wh-phrase is “light” (*che N*, where *che* is monosyllabic and clitic) - leading to NPA assignment to the verb - while the latter is more optimal when the wh-phrase is “heavy” (*quale N*) and would result into a “heavier” phonological phrase when NPAed.

Notice that our data are not sufficient to establish that the weight effect emerges independently of D-linking. We are implementing a third experiment, manipulating the weight of the non-D-linking conditions, whose results will be available at the time of the conference. If the effect also emerges in these conditions, our hypothesis can be maintained; if it does not, then D-linking will have to be factored in the analysis. One potentially relevant observation is that D-linked wh-phrases need not be adjacent to the finite verb. [6] proposed that non-D-linked wh-phrases move to the Focus Phrase and the finite verb incorporates to the F^0 head; in contrast, D-linked wh-phrases move to a “topic-like” position whose head does not attract the finite verb. [7] pointed out that wh-phrases adjacent to the verb are phonologically phrased with the latter. Thus, the configuration in the left periphery too may play a role at the syntax-prosody interface.

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Galego-Portuguese QUIA and clausal complementation in Medieval Romance: a diachronic and comparative perspective

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1. Introduction In addition to its widespread function as a causal adverbial subordinator, QUIA > *ca* was also used as a declarative, finite complementizer in Galego-Portuguese (GPt) until the 14th century :

- (1) a outra parte diz **ca** lho faz por malícia
the other party says that to.him.it= does by malice
'The other party testifies that [the first party] does it to him maliciously' (*CF*, 112)

Historical grammars characterize GPt *CA* as interchangeable with *QUE*, the primary declarative complementizer (then and today), but the diachronic and synchronic distribution of *CA* and its syntactic properties have not been studied systematically before.

The present paper addresses this gap by examining the synchronic, diachronic and comparative syntax of clausal complementation involving QUIA/*CA* in a manually-compiled corpus of 6th-13th century West-Iberian texts covering the Latin-Romance transition. First, we trace the diachronic emergence of *CA* from Late Latin to GPt. Second, we adduce interpretative, syntactic and distributional diagnostics to establish that, as completive complementizers, *CA/QUE* were not in free variation during the Medieval period. Third, we propose a cartographic ('split CP') analysis of the configurational structure of *CA*-complements. Finally, we identify morphosyntactic and interpretative parallels between GPt and Old Neapolitan *CA* which, we claim, lend themselves to a unified analysis.

2. Syntactic properties Diachronically, we show that whilst (a) (morphological) finiteness and (b) (declarative) clause type of QUIA/*CA* complements remains stable throughout the Latin-Romance transition, they undergo a narrowing of function of (c) grammatical mood and (d) semantic modality, alongside a reduction in the range of (e) verb classes able to select QUIA/*CA*. Synchronically, we demonstrate that completive *CA/QUE* pattern differently in GPt with respect to (i) factivity, (ii) semantic modality, (iii) grammatical/morphological mood, and (iv) clause type of the embedded CP; (v) placement of object clitics; and (vi) the lexical class of permissible governing verbs.

In the late Latin texts from western Iberia, many different verbs, including factive verbs (its original context in Classical Latin) and volitional verbs, select QUIA. Unlike its (late) Latin predecessors and its synchronic counterpart *QUE*, however, completive *CA* is found only in indicative *realis* clausal complements licensed under attitudinal predicates of knowledge (2a, 3c), saying (1, 2b), or cognition (a-b); and is associated with a specialized non-factive, epistemic-evidential reading. Interpretatively, *CA*-complements express their propositional content as true without committing the matrix attitude holder to a veridical stance towards the embedded proposition: for example, it is used in codifications of customary law (1), or, in troubadour lyric poetry, in depictions of truth concealment between lovers. Moreover, whereas GPt *QUE* complements admit *wh*-constituents (e.g. Matos & Brito 2013) and enclitic objects (e.g. Ribeiro 2010), clausal complementation with *CA* is strictly declarative and requires proclitic objects (e.g. 1, 3a-c). These results offer robust empirical indication that the two complementizers are not in free variation in GPt.

3. Cartographic analysis Theoretically, we propose that the clause type, finiteness and mood properties of *CA* complements are configured syntactically in the split CP (Rizzi 1997 et seq) by two mechanisms acting in concert across the Force-Finiteness system: (i) declarative clause-typing via merger of the complementizer *CA* in C_{Force} ; and (ii) the specification of mood/finiteness features via

V-movement to C_{Fin}. In terms of its left-peripheral distribution, CA systematically precedes topicalized and focalized constituents (2a-b). Indicators of T-to-C movement in CA-complements include the high frequency (90.48%, or $n=38/42$) of postverbal overt subjects (a-b); the availability of ‘Germanic’ inversion (b); post-verbal placement (c) of adverbial pronouns (demarcating the T/C border, cf. e.g. Ledgeway 2017); as well as a (near-categorical) linear VS adjacency condition (a-b), which holds irrespective of predicate type.

- (2) a Mais como soubestes vós **ca** *el, dia d’ hoje*, AQUÍ havia de seer?
 but how know.2PL you that he day of today here had.3SG of be.INF
 ‘but how did you know that he_{HT}, on this very day_{FRAME}, would be here? (DSG 23/7c)
- b lhi diran / **ca** FREMOSA DONA matou
 to.him= tell.FUT.3PL that beautiful lady killed.3SG
 ‘They will tell him that he killed a beautiful woman’ (UC-186)
- (3) a creerán / **ca** *lles dig’ eu* verdade
 believe.FUT.3PL that to.them= tell.1SG I truth
 ‘they will believe that I am telling them the truth’ (UC-037)
- b entendi/ **ca** *me podia Deus* vosso bem dar
 understood.1SG that me=could.3SG God your good give
 c por todos diz el **ca** nom *lhis quer end’* avantada dar
 about all says he that not to.them=wants=INDE advantage give.INF

Drawing on cartographic reappraisals of the Tobler-Mussafia Law (Benincà 2004; González i Planas 2009; Pescarini 2021, i.a.), we understand that (i) V-to-C is a cover term for verb movement into one or more C-heads; and (ii) object clitics in Medieval Romance occupy a dedicated (Wackernagel, W) position between Foc and Fin. Consequently, proclitic/enclitic objects are derived respectively by T-to-C movement to C-heads below and above W. The observation of generalized proclisis in CA-complements therefore indicates that, whilst all our diagnostics confirm that T-to-C is systematic in these environments, the tensed verb does not undergo further movement above W in these constructions.

Furthermore, we argue that the unavailability of enclitic objects in CA-complements is non-trivial, and is connected to the interpretive (veridical/perspectival) effects of T-to-C movement that in Modern Ibero-Romance (and elsewhere) systematically codify epistemic commitment on behalf of the superordinate attitude holder towards the embedded proposition (e.g. Etxepare 1996; Fernández-Rubiera 2007; Ramsden 1963; Martins 2021: 75).

4. Comparative perspective Finally, we adduce comparative evidence that indicates a clear syntactic parallelism between the availability in GPt of two declarative complementizers (viz. *que/ca*) with the dual complementizer systems found in old Italo-Romance. Notably, the association between QUIA/CA complements and (*realis/indicative*) propositional modality in our West Iberian data mirrors the traditional semantically-based characterization of the distribution of dual complementizers in the Eastern Romània (Rohlf 1969), but raises new questions in terms of the formal treatment of these complementizers and their complementation patterns in the cartographic CP (cf. e.g., Ledgeway 2005; Cardullo & Groothuis 2024).

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Consonantal voicing and apocope in Brazilian Portuguese

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Apocope, or word-final vowel deletion, has been shown to be an emergent phenomenon in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) where word-final consonants may occur, as for example in *passé* [pasi] > [pas] ‘entry ticket’. It is a variable phenomenon which has been documented in several varieties of BP where an unstressed word-final high front vowel ceases to occur. In general, the vowel which is subject to apocope is traditionally understood to be either present or absent in a categorical fashion (Collischonn 1996). An intermediate category defined as devoiced vowel has also been proposed to represent the gradual nature of vowel loss (Meneses & Albano 2015).

The contribution of this paper is to examine the gradual nature of word-final vowel reduction and loss in BP and its relationship to the adjacent consonant. Vowel duration is also examined for the final high front vowel and the stressed vowel. Exemplar Models (Johnson 1997; Pierrehumbert 2001) and Complex and Dynamic Systems Theory, CDST (Beckner et al. 2009; De Bot 2017), are the theoretical frameworks adopted. We suggest that word-final vowel loss is implemented in a phonetically gradual fashion involving the consonant which may then appear word-finally.

An experiment counting with 20 participants from Belo Horizonte (MG), was designed for data collection. The task was to name figures placed in sentences presented in a slide show. Data collection took place at an acoustically designed chamber to prevent noise interference. A set of 60 items was presented with additional 18 distractors. In the acoustic analysis, intervals of periodicity in the sound wave were considered to be the final vowel. Statistical and graphical analyses were carried out by employing mixed-effect models (Baayen; Davidson, Bates 2008).

The data examined showed that apocope occurred in 57.7% of cases whereas a vowel was acoustically identified in 42.3% of tokens. We then examined the rates at which a high front vowel is not attested depending on the consonant which appears word-finally. We found that different consonants implement apocope at different rates: [tʃ] > 82.5%; [k] > 80%; [ʃ] > 73.7%; [dʒ] > 71.8%; [p] > 66.7%; [f] > 63.2%; [s] > 55%; [z] > 52.8%; [ʒ] > 48.6%; [v] > 39.5%; [b] > 28.9%; [g] > 27.5%. Statistically significant effects were found for consonantal voicing when apocope takes place ($\chi^2 = 15.14$; $df = 1$; $p < 0.01$), where voiceless consonants favour it. We also found that sibilants, including affricates, i.e., [tʃ, ʃ, dʒ, s, z, ʒ], favour apocope when compared to non-sibilants ($\chi^2 = 4.57$; $df = 1$; $p = 0.03$).

Our contribution is to show that besides the voiceless alveolar sibilant, as proposed by Meneses and Albano (2015), several other consonants may occur word-finally in BP as a result of apocope. EM account for the results as different organization of exemplars related to different consonants. Within a CDST approach, results can be understood as a dynamic implementation of apocope where different sound categories have specific trajectories. A question to be posited is whether different sound categories have different relation to the duration of the word-final vowel. Put in another way: may the durational values of the word-final front high vowels differ depending on the type of consonant? Results are shown in Figure 1 where it is observed that voiceless consonants (grey bars) are followed by shorter vowels when compared to voiced ones (black bars): ($\chi^2 = 5.45$; $df = 1$; $p =$

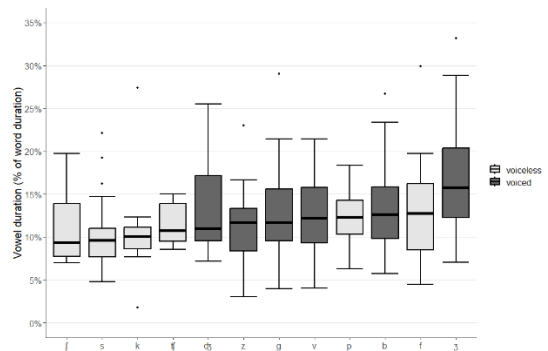


Figure 1. Vowel duration by preceding consonant

0.03). Furthermore, the durational value of word-final high front vowels was found to be shorter after a sibilant rather than a non-sibilant ($\chi^2 = 5.47$; $df = 1$; $p = 0.02$).

Our findings indicate that the durational values of word-final high front vowels varied depending on the consonant, displaying the following relation for vowel duration: voiced consonants > voiceless non-sibilants > voiceless sibilants. EM accounts for the fact that the observed variable vowel duration in Figure 1 reflects the gradual implementation of apocope. CDST corroborates that conclusion by suggesting that variability is intrinsic to any changing system, and of course in the implementation of sound changes.

After investigating cases where the high front vowel occurred in Figure 1, we examined the durational values of the primarily stressed vowel when a word-final consonant occurred or not. We intended to examine whether vowel shortening in closed syllables would be observed. If it does, we expect to find lower durational rates for the stressed vowel when a word-final consonant occurs (closed syllable) rather than when a word-final vowel occurs (open syllable). Results are shown in Figure 2 indicating that vowels are longer in open syllables (grey boxplot) rather than in closed ones, which lack the final vowel (black boxplot). Thus, vowel shortening in closed syllables is observed in the implementation of apocope in BP.

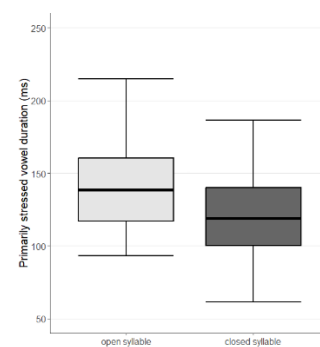


Figure 2. Stressed vowel duration by final vowel occurrence

In sum, our analysis shows that several BP consonants may occur word-finally as a consequence of apocope. The gradual implementation of apocope is favoured by the voicing of the consonant (whether voiced or voiceless). We also observed that voiceless sibilants favour apocope rather than other voiceless consonants. This later finding indicates that an examination of the noise present in sibilants (including affricates) may contribute to a better understanding of apocope in BP. This will be the topic of future investigation.

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**Comparing models on the cartography of complementizer deletion:
a quantitative and computational approach.**

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The lack of co-occurrence between the embedded verb and the complementizer in verb second language, along with the controversial patterns of declarative complementizer omission in Italo-Romance languages are traditionally accounted for by a complementary distribution configuration. Once established that two elements compete for the same position, it is important to understand, from a formal point of view, hierarchies of priorities of syntactic elements. Does the verb move there because there is no complementizer? Does the complementizer appear in because the verb cannot move there? To answer these questions, this presentation aims to present the methodology and the results obtained by running an experiment in the spirit of Quantitative Computational Syntax to compare models on the basis of cross-linguistic data retrieved from large-scale datasets.

The two models: The first model, labelled complementizer deletion (CD) follows Den Besten's (1983) observations and predicts that when the complementizer is empty, the verb moves to C (1a). The second model rather assumes that the complementizer emerges since the verb cannot reach the activated functional projection (1b):

- (1) a. CD
- | | |
|-------------|---|
| <i>if</i> | $[C [T [V [C \emptyset [T \text{verb} [VP <\text{verb}>]]]]]$ |
| <i>then</i> | $[C [T [V [C \text{verb} [T <\text{verb}> [VP <\text{verb}>]]]]]$ |
- b. CR
- | | |
|-------------|---|
| <i>if</i> | $[C [T [V [C <0> [T \text{verb} [VP <\text{verb}>]]]]]$ |
| <i>then</i> | $[C [T [V [C \text{comp} [T \text{verb} [VP <\text{verb}>]]]]]$ |

Methodology: The present study was carried out over a set of three languages (testing seven morphosyntactically annotated treebanks): German, Italian and Old Florentine. The choice of German stems from its V2 nature not only in main clauses, but also in embedded contexts; as observed by Vikner (1994), V2 is not generalized in all embedded clauses, but is only available with a small handful of selecting verbs, called *bridge verbs*. As for Italian, it presents an interesting pattern of complementizer occurrence vs omission that, according to Poletto (1995) and others, parallels German in the sense that complementizer drop is sensitive to the bridge class of the selecting verb and to the realis modality of the embedded verb. Regarding Old Florentine, the proposal advanced by Cocchi & Poletto (2002) is that complementizer deletion is more flexible and can take place regardless of the type of selecting verb and on the modality of the embedded verb. The quantitative analysis was carried out by adopting *frequency* as a dependent variable and relevant elements of grammar of each model as independent variables: specifically, (i) the type of verb in the main clause, restricting the investigation to a set of four verbs labelled as bridge verbs and using, as a control group, a set of four non-bridge verbs that usually license the presence of the complementizer in Italian and German (ii) the presence (Comp) or the absence (V-to-C) of the complementizer in the embedded clause introduced by the tested bridge verbs or non-bridge verbs (iii) the mood of the inflection of the verb in the embedded clause, operating our counts with respect to subjunctive (SUB) and non-subjunctive (non-SUBJ). Two hypotheses can be defined and quantitatively tested: the first concerns the presence of the complementizer with either type of verb. Whereas CD stipulates that the presence of the complementizer is easier than the movement of the verb, while CR postulates the opposite. The second hypothesis is rather related to Sub in bridge verbs: CR makes clear predictions with respect to the movement of the verb inflected with subjunctive mood: bridge verbs should favour this configuration. To detect forms of preferences,

simulated counts representing a baseline are created on the basis of the probability distribution of subjunctive forms in the entire treebank.

Results:

Probability of complementizer presence			
Language	Bridge	bin. p (random)	Non-Bridge
Italian	0.77	< 0.00001	0.92
German	0.75	< 0.00001	0.81
Old Florentine	0.74	0.00004	1.00

Table 1: Probability of complementizer presence: with bridge, non-bridge verbs and a “random” control group.

As for the first hypothesis, the results (table 1) clearly show that the probability of the presence of the complementizer with bridge verbs is similar across languages (Italian 77%, German 75% and Old Florentine 74%). The results also demonstrate that bridge verbs are different to non-bridge verbs with respect to the presence of the complementizer and to a “random” group that would have established a 50% probability of presence of the complementizer in the three languages. In other words, we observe a clear tendency to rule out complementizer omission in bridge verbs, supporting the predictions of the CD model. Regarding the second hypothesis (Figure 1), data from German clearly confirm the predictions of the model CD, in line with the literature on Germanic: the expected counts are similar to the observed counts (17% vs. 17% and 18%). The Italian data display a higher distribution of subjunctive in embedded clauses introduced by bridge verbs signalling that the selection ability of the bridge verb does play an important role. Finally, the Old Florentine data show intriguing result: the observed counts (11%) for V-to are similar to German (18%), while the Comp figures (46%) are similar to Italian (44%).

Conclusions: While the investigation of the first hypothesis shows clear results and a winning model (CD), the exploration of the second hypothesis reveals meaningful points of analysis, with the resulting asymmetry between German and the Romance languages complying with the early observation by . The CR model’s predictions are partially corroborated by the Italian data. Future studies should improve the methodology and, in line with other works on quantitative analyses of optionality (Samo & Si 2022), explore even larger and non-syntactically annotated datasets which may provide a richer quantitative dimension.

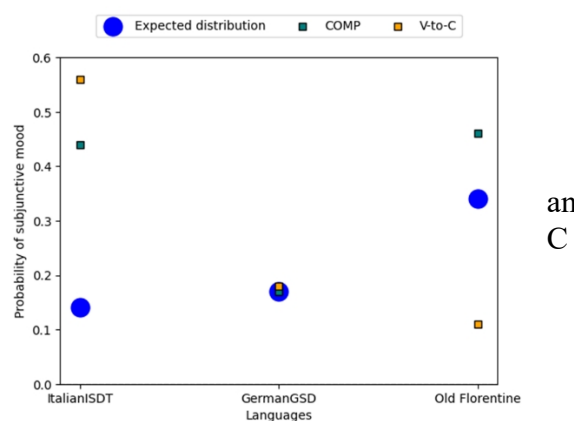


Figure 1 Distribution of subjunctive mood across the Italian treebank ISDT, the German GSD and Old Florentine

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Event culmination in typically developing monolingual Italian children.

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Cross-linguistic research on the acquisition of event culmination has shown a high acceptance rate of telic-perfective sentences as descriptions of ‘non-culminating’ events [1]. In traditional analyses, telic-perfective sentences entail event culmination [2] [3]. However, different verbs seem to trigger different acceptance rates of ‘non-culmination’ [1], and it is still unclear whether this acceptance is consistent across verb classes. This experimental study aims to contribute to this debate through the lens of Italian language acquisition.

Specifically, our research questions are: (i) Do Italian-speaking children interpret telic-perfective sentences as descriptions of ‘non-culminating’ events, as for other Germanic and Romance languages [4]? (ii) Is this reading equally accepted across different verb classes? (iii) Do children interpret telic-perfective sentences differently than adults (our research group already ran a study on Italian adults)?

To address these questions, we selected 30 events grouped into 3 verb classes: 10 punctual change of state verbs (henceforth CoS_P, i.e., *open the window*), 10 durative change of state verbs (henceforth CoS_D, i.e., *melt the ice cube*), and 10 incremental theme verbs (henceforth Incr_T, i.e., *eat the sandwich*). We administered a novel Truth-Value-Judgment-Task to 4-to-6-year-old children. The experimental stimuli consisted of 90 pairs of images: one-third depicted a ‘no result’ situation, another third a ‘partial result’ situation, and the final third a ‘full result’ situation (Figure 1). Each pair was presented with a recorded sentence containing a telic VP in perfective aspect, such as ‘*La bambina ha mangiato il panino*’ (EN: ‘*The girl ate the sandwich*’). Children were instructed to say whether the sentence accurately described the picture by pushing a button on the screen. The crucial condition is the ‘non-culminating’ situation, namely, the ‘partial result’ image.

We tested 86 typically developing monolingual Italian children (F = 38; M = 48; age range = 4.25-7.25; SD = 0.85). Data were analyzed using a logistic mixed model, with ‘given_answer’ as dependent variable, ‘verb_type’, ‘degree_of_event’, and ‘education’ (i.e., school grade) as factors. ‘code_ID’ and ‘item’ were included as random effects. Statistical analysis revealed a three-way interaction of verb_type*degree_of_event*education ($X^2_{(1)} = 31.7$, p-value < .001). In addition, a significant interaction of ‘verb_type’ *‘degree_of_event’ ($X^2_{(1)} = 66.8$, p-value < .001) and ‘degree_of_event’ *education ($X^2_{(1)} = 56.7$, p-value < .001) was detected. Finally, main effects were found for the factors ‘degree_of_event’ ($X^2_{(1)} = 233.8$, p-value < .001) and ‘education’ ($X^2_{(1)} = 18.9$, p-value < .001). As expected, post-hoc analyses of the three-way interaction showed no significant difference between the three verbs in the ‘full result’ condition and the ‘no result’ condition, i.e., our control conditions. On the other hand, in the ‘partial result’ condition, there was a significant difference between CoS_P verbs and both CoS_D and Incr_T verbs. No significant difference was found between CoS_D and Incr_T verbs. These patterns are consistent across educational levels (i.e., school grades).

Our analysis reveals that children at all educational levels accept the ‘partial result’ scenario for both CoS_D and Incr_T verbs, but not for CoS_P verbs, suggesting that not all verb classes behave alike. Interestingly, these results align with data we collected on Italian native-speaker adults. Consequently, the ‘over-acceptance’ of ‘non-culminating’ readings mentioned in the acquisition literature may not indicate a non-adult-like interpretation of telic-perfective sentences since, according to our preliminary analysis, regarding the ‘partial result’ condition, Italian children seem to behave as adults do.

Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Example of the experimental item 'eat the sandwich' in the 3 scenarios.

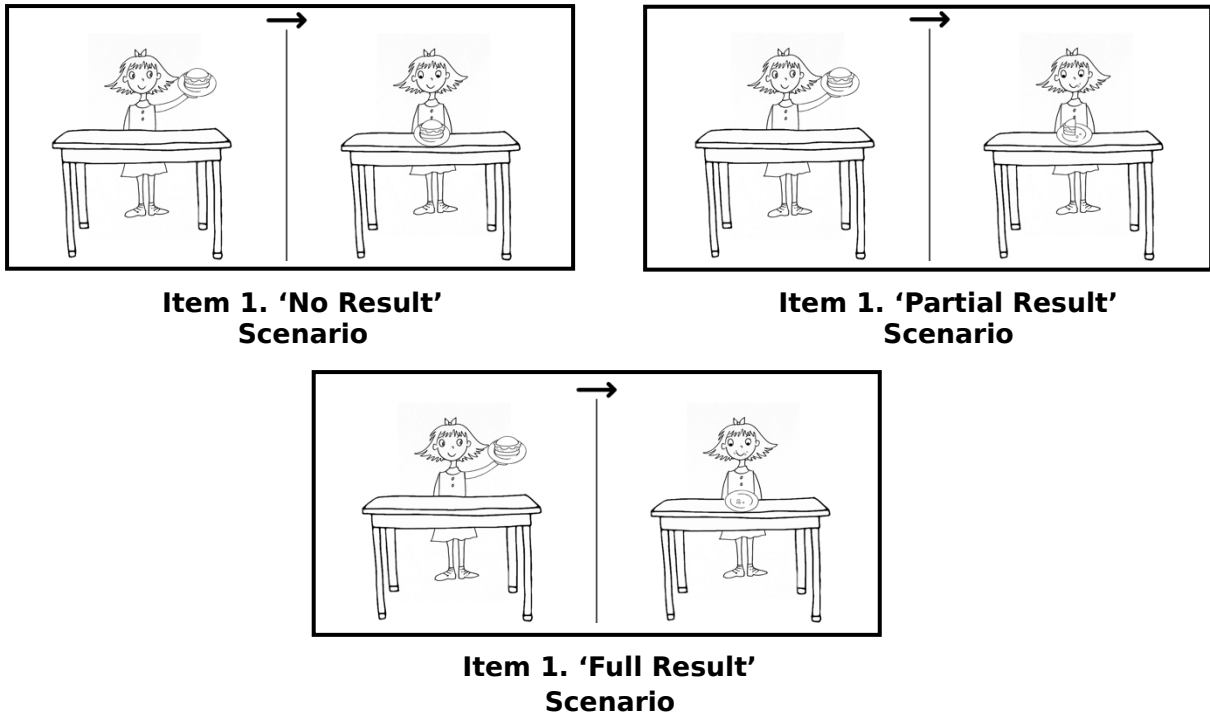
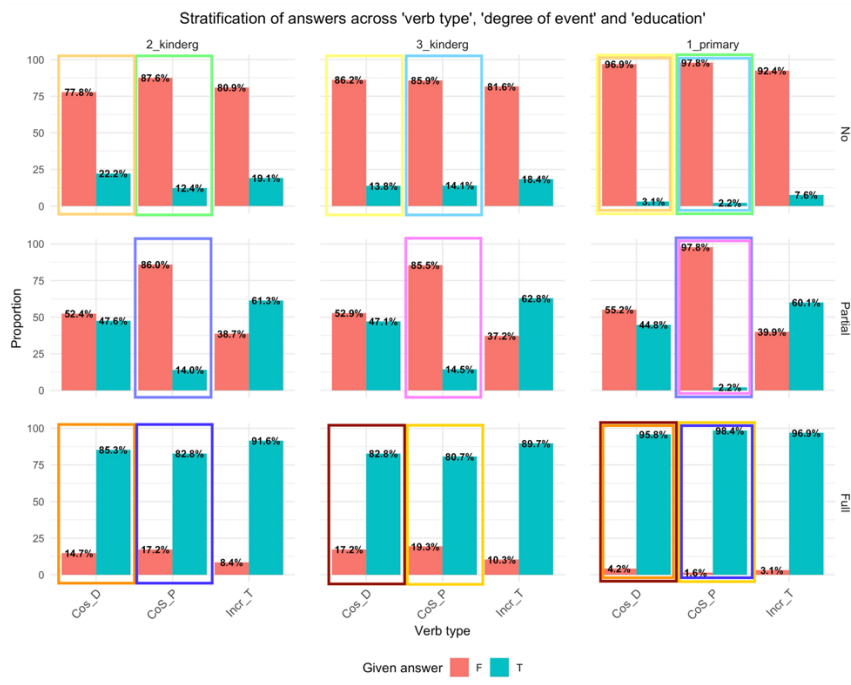


Figure 2. Proportions of F vs. T answer per 'verb type', 'degree of event' and 'education'.



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On the comprehension and production of oblique relatives by Italian-speaking typically developing individuals

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Introduction. This study investigates the production and the comprehension of oblique (dative, locative, and genitive) relative clauses in Italian populations with typical language development (children, adolescents, and adults). Oblique relatives are constructions that are typical of the formal and written register and combines syntactic movement and complex embedding featuring pied-piping. Drawing on elicited production data from Italian-speaking children aged 5 to 10 years, the first study that investigated the ability to produce oblique relative clauses in Italian showed that these structures are not acquired before the age of 10 years (Guasti & Cardinaletti 2003). Subsequent studies focusing on older age groups (middle school students, high school students, and adults – from 6;5 to 36 years) have shown that the rate of production of these structures increases with age; however, it never reaches 100% (Volpato 2022) and in all groups pied-piping relative clauses are frequently substituted by strategies in which relative pronouns are avoided or more colloquial alternatives are produced, such as sentences containing resumptive clitic pronouns. The avoidance of pied-piping relatives is due to the fact that these structures belong to the formal register and using them involves learning the complex system of relative pronouns, which happens through exposure to written texts (Guasti & Cardinaletti 2003; Cardinaletti et al., 2022). Over the years, other cross-linguistic studies suggested that the low occurrence of these structures is either due to the low frequency with which these structures occur in the input (Diessel & Tomasello 2003) or to intervention effects (Costa et al. 2015), along the lines of Relativized Minimality (Friedmann et al. 2009). While a number of studies exist on production, no study has ever investigated the comprehension of oblique relatives. To this aim, using the comprehension task developed by Piccoli (2024) we will investigate whether this skill, unlike production, develops already in primary school children or later in life. In addition to the comprehension task, a new production task has been developed (Piccoli 2024), more balanced in the type of stimuli, and in which several variables have been controlled (e.g., number features of the sentence DPs) in order to check whether similarity or dissimilarity in terms of number features helps production and increases the accuracy level, as it was shown for *that* relatives (Adani 2011, Volpato 2019).

Participants. Five groups of typically developing individuals participated in this study: a group of primary school children (G1, N=25, age range: 8-10 years, mean age 9;4), a group of middle school students (G2, N=16, age range: 13-13;11, mean age: 13;3) a group of high school students (G3, N=21, age range: 14-19, mean age: 16), a group of adult university students (G4, N=25, age range: 19-32, mean age: 21), and a group of adult workers with a high school diploma (G5, N=17, age range: 21-32, mean age: 28).

Materials. The comprehension and the production test each consisted of 72 trials, divided into 48 experimental sentences and 24 filler sentences. Specifically, the experimental trials included 6 subject relatives (SR, *I bambini che rincorrono il cane* ‘The children that chase the dog’), 6 object relatives (OR, *Il leone che i bambini spingono* ‘The lion that the children push’), 12 dative relatives (DAT, *Il gatto a cui il topo dona un fiore* ‘The cat to whom the mouse gives a flower’), 12 locative relatives (LOC, *Il cavallo da cui il maestro scende* ‘The horse from which the teacher dismounts’), and 12 genitive relatives (GEN, *Il postino il cui figlio saluta* ‘The postman whose son waves’). In SRs and ORs, the two DPs were always dissimilar in terms of number features, whereas in DAT, LOC, and GEN, both number match and mismatch conditions were created. In the comprehension task, the participant had to select the correct referent by choosing among four options, after listening to a pre-recorded sentence. In the elicited production task, the participants were required to

produce a sentence after the examiner presented some images and a pre-recorded voice asked a question.

Results. In both tasks, filler sentences were at ceiling for all groups. As for the experimental items, in the comprehension task, overall, the group of primary school children was the least accurate (70%). In the group of middle school students, this rate increases noticeably and reaches approximately 90%. In the older age groups (high school students, university students, and adult workers), the rate of accuracy is quite high, between 95% and 97%. Analyzing the type of structure, SRs were the most accurate, with percentages well above 90% and almost approaching 100%, followed by ORs (89,2%), LOCs (88,8%), GENs (86,4%), and the least accurate were DATs (83,8%). In the production task, the rate of target structures produced by each group is much lower than in the comprehension task. However, a clear upward trend in target sentences is evident from children to university adults (G1: 27%, G2: 38%; G3: 49%; G4: 61%) also in this task. The only exception is the group of adult workers, for which the percentage of target sentences is lower than in the group of middle school students (G5: 34%). Considering the type of sentence, SRs are also the most accurate in production and reach ceiling levels (99%) as in comprehension, whereas ORs are the least produced (11%). As for pied-piping relatives, DATs are the sentence with the highest rate of occurrence (40%), followed by LOCs (33%), and GENs (32%). The response strategies distinguish the group of children from the older age groups. While children tend to use incorrect or ungrammatical strategies more frequently, the other groups use strategies typical of colloquial language.

Number features were not relevant in promoting the production or comprehension of the target sentences.

Discussion. The analysis of results shows that although pied-piping relatives are rarely produced by children, adolescents, and adults, they are nonetheless understood at higher percentages. However, whereas adolescents and (university) adults demonstrate a good competence in using these relatives, children are not yet able to master the structure correctly.

Hence, overall, both comprehension and production skills increase with exposure to formal registers and written language (Guasti and Cardinaletti, 2003). However a difference seems to exist among the different sentence types. In comprehension, the lower percentage of accuracy of DATs as opposed to GENs and LOCs might be attributed to the number of arguments that require theta role assignment (three vs. two, respectively). This pattern is reversed in production, namely DAT relatives are the most accurate pied-piping structures, and this phenomenon is to be attributed to the high number of alternative strategies that are possible, especially when GEN and LOC are elicited.

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Revisiting the bottleneck hypothesis: the case of copular constructions in European Portuguese L2 by Chinese speakers

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Introduction: This study explores how Chinese speakers acquire copular constructions in European Portuguese (EP) as a second language (L2) within the framework of the Bottleneck Hypothesis (BH) (Slabakova 2009 and 2019). Copular constructions display different properties in distinct languages. In EP, copular verbs are mandatory (1), while in Chinese, the presence of the copula *shì* ‘be’ depends on the predicate category. It occurs with NPs (2), it is generally absent with APs (3); with PPs, a coverb *zài* ‘be at’ usually occurs (4). In addition, copular verbs may contribute to convey aspectual information in EP (*ser* combines with *i*-level predicates, and *estar* combines with *s*-level predicates), while Chinese makes this distinction by other means. However, in EP, with PPs, *ser* carries [stage-level] and [dynamic] features (see Perpiñán et al. 2020 and Perpiñán & Marín 2021 for Spanish) when locating nouns that denote events (5), i.e., in event-location contexts, something that is irrelevant in Chinese since no copula occurs in this context. According to the BH, the functional morphology is the bottleneck in L2 acquisition, which accounts for parametric variation. Slabakova (2019), inspired by Biberauer and Roberts (2015), proposes a pyramid of difficulty in L2 acquisition of parameters: the top contains macroparameters, easier to acquire, followed by mesoparameters and microparameters, and the bottom includes nanoparameters, which pose the greatest difficulties for L2 speakers when the mapping between L1 and L2 is complicated by feature reassembly. We assume that the presence/absence of a copular verb is a mesoparameter affecting the category of predicates: in EP, TP selects for Pr(ed)P complements (Bowers 1993) whose head obligatorily selects VP, requiring the copular verb; thus, V licenses the [*u*V] feature on Pr. In MC, this feature may be licensed by any [+V] category, that is, As and Vs. The difference between *i*-level and *s*-level predicates (a semantic feature relevant in EP copular constructions) is a microparameter, and the use of *ser* in event-location contexts, where it holds the [*s*-level] and [dynamic] features, contrasting with its usual [*i*-level] information, represents a nanoparameter.

Research questions: (i) Can Chinese learners restrict the licensing of [*u*V] on Pr selected by T to verbs? (ii) Can Chinese learners associate each copular verb with its specific aspectual values? (iii) Can Chinese learners recognize that *ser* is the appropriate copular verb to locate events, bearing the features [*s*-level] and [dynamic]?

Hypotheses: (i) Chinese learners easily recognize the necessity of filling V with a copular verb in EP, in order to license the [*u*V] feature on Pr, as they are dealing with a mesoparameter. (ii) Chinese learners show difficulties in assigning the respective aspectual feature to each verb, reflecting the challenge of acquiring a microparameter. (iii) The event-location context is the hardest to acquire by Chinese learners, as it involves the acquisition of a nanoparameter.

Method: 36 advanced and 36 intermediate Chinese learners participated in this study; the control group included 30 EP native speakers. Through an acceptability judgment task, participants assessed 60 experimental items and 40 fillers, including APs and PPs in [*s*-level] and [*i*-level] contexts. Both a grammatical and an ungrammatical version for each experimental item were included.

Results: Concerning verb omission, we found no significant differences in rates between native speakers and learners (EP vs. advanced learners, $p = 0.6337$; EP vs. intermediate learners, $p = 0.8154$), which confirms our hypothesis (i).

To determine if L2 learners can correctly associate aspectual features with copular verbs, we analyzed sentences where *ser* is used in [*s*-level] contexts (where *estar* is expected) and where *estar* is used in [*i*-level] contexts (where *ser* is expected). Both advanced and intermediate learners had more difficulty in recognizing the ungrammaticality of *ser* in [*s*-level] contexts compared to native speakers ($p = 0.047$ and $p = 0.021$, respectively). However, learners were accurate in recognizing the ungrammaticality of *estar* in [*i*-level] contexts, with no significant difference between learners and native speakers (advanced: $p = 0.767$; intermediate: $p = 0.685$). These results partially confirm our hypothesis (ii): learners only show difficulties with *ser*, what is expected as they are dealing with a microparameter.

In event-location contexts, significant differences were observed between native speakers and learners, with advanced ($p = 0.000358$) and intermediate learners ($p = 3.68e-06$) rating ungrammatical contexts higher. This confirms our hypothesis (iii), as expected for the acquisition of a nanoparameter.

Overall, the study supports the BH acquisition hierarchy, showing that mesoparametric properties pose less of a challenge, while microparametric and nanoparametric properties are progressively more difficult (Slabakova 2019).

- (1) *A* *Maria* **(é/está)* *feliz.*
 DET.F.SG *Maria* *be-PRS.3SG* *happy*
- (2) *Màike* **(shì)* *xuéshēng.*
 Mike *be* *student*
 ‘Mike is a student.’ (Cheng 2021:17)
- (3) *Zhāngsān* *Ø* *hěn* *gāoxìng.*
 Zhangsan *very* *happy*
 ‘Zhangsan is very happy.’
- (4) *Tā* *zài* *xuéxiào.*
 3SG *be.at* *school*
 ‘He is at school.’ (Sun 2006:157)
- (5) *A* *festa* *é* *em* *minha casa.*
 DET.F.SG *party* *be* *in* *my* *house*
 ‘Party is at my place.’

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Cross-linguistic influence in the production and processing of adverbs in L3 Spanish and French

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This paper presents an ongoing study investigating Norwegian-English bilingual high school students who are beginner learners of Spanish or French as an L3. Existing L3 acquisition models predict cross-linguistic influence (CLI) based on: (i) the L1 (Herms, 2014), (ii) the L2 (Bardel & Falk, 2007), (iii) typology (Rothman, 2010), or (iv) structural similarity (Westergaard, 2021; Slabakova, 2017).

The linguistic structure of interest in our study is adverb placement. While previous studies have focused on verb movement by comparing topicalized structures (V2) to V-to-T movement in sentences with adverbs (e.g. Listhaug et al., 2021, Stadt et al., 2018, 2020) these two types of movement are arguably not completely comparable in terms of complexity, frequency and potentially other linguistic variables. The present study aims to increase experimental control by zooming in on adverb placement only and varying the clause type (main clauses and subordinate clauses) and verb type (lexical verbs and copular verbs). While in Norwegian, adverb placement depends on clause type, in English, it depends on verb type. In French, the adverb is categorically placed following the verb. In Spanish, adverb placement is variable, but preferred in the preverbal position, as revealed by data from a control group of 26 native speakers. These patterns are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Cross-linguistic overlap between the four languages of interest

Clause type	Verb type	Example	ADVERB PLACEMENT			
			NOR	ENG	FRE	SPA
Main	Copular	John <i>is</i> always happy	Post	Post	Post	Pre
Main	Lexical	John always works	Post	Pre	Post	Pre
Sub	Copular	John, who <i>is</i> always happy	Pre	Post	Post	Pre
Sub	Lexical	John, who always works	Pre	Pre	Post	Pre

Our main research question concerns whether students are influenced more by their societal language Norwegian or their second language English, and whether the type of CLI depends on the respective target language, i.e. L3 French or L3 Spanish. Unlike most previous studies which have targeted homogeneous populations, we included students from both regular schools to students in international schools to explore the role of extra-linguistic variables related to language proficiency, use and exposure. We tested the four conditions presented in Table 1 using both a gap-filling task (GFT, example 1) and a self-paced reading task (SPRT) in the two L3s.

Example 1 C'est Marc. Il _____ souvent _____ à la maison. (CHANTE)
This is Marc. He _____ often _____ at home. (SINGS)

A mini GFT was used to check whether the students exhibited accurate knowledge of the same structures in Norwegian and English. In addition, English and Norwegian proficiency were tested and a background questionnaire was used to collect data on the participants' linguistic experience with all relevant languages. In total, we gathered data from 122 high school students of L3 Spanish

and 79 students of L3 French (grades 8 – 10). However, only 69 students performed in line with the expected patterns in both Norwegian and English.

In the gap filling task in the L3 (figure 1), students with higher L3 proficiency performed in line with the target patterns. However, in both French and Spanish, postverbal adverbs were preferred more in main clauses than in subordinate clauses, indicating transfer from Norwegian. There was also an effect of verb type, indicating an increased preference for postverbal adverbs with copular verbs relative to lexical verbs, however, this effect was more pronounced at lower levels of L3 proficiency. Furthermore, the degree of CLI from English was modulated by as Norwegian dominance (figure 2), indicating that those students who were less dominant in Norwegian (mostly international school students) exhibited a sharper distinction between verb types. Ongoing analyses of the self-paced reading data will confirm whether similar patterns are observed in online processing.

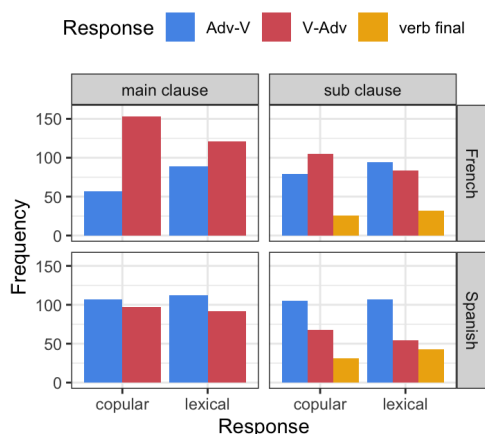


Figure 1: L3 GF responses by language, clause type and verb type

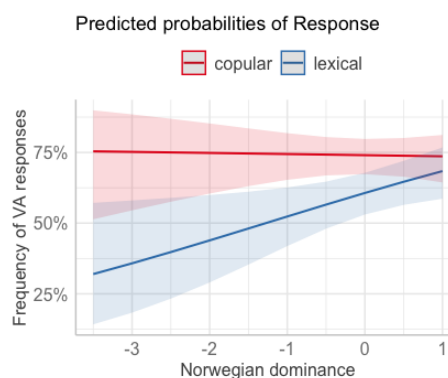


Figure 2: L3 French GF responses as a factor of Norwegian dominance

Our findings suggest that both the L1 and the L2 simultaneously influence the L3, thereby contradicting any accounts assuming whole-sale transfer from one of the languages (e.g. from the L1 only, the L2 only, or the typologically closest language only). We argue that CLI is more likely related to dominance and/or levels of activation.

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Causatives with small clause complements

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The status of verbs such as *pôr a* ‘put to / make’ or *deixar a* ‘put to / make’, which have a prepositional-like infinitive as complement and occur in structures which are superficially similar to object control verbs ([DP V DP *a* INF]), is unclear in European Portuguese (1). They share a causative interpretation with some object control verbs (e.g. *obrigar* ‘force’, *forçar* ‘force’) and *pôr a* ‘put to’ has indeed been treated as a verb belonging or close to this class (e.g. Raposo, 1989; Agostinho et al., 2018). However, the same verb has also been recently treated as a locative causative (Soares & Wood, 2022). In this paper, we present novel evidence allowing to distinguish object control verbs from this class of verbs, which we argue to be causatives and often ambiguous between (i) a locative causative reading and (ii) a reading as a causative devoid of locative meaning and taking a small clause as complement. We finally show that *pôr a* has a decausative counterpart, in this case occurring with a clitic *-se*.

1. **These are not object control verbs.** Contrary to object control verbs (2a), causatives, including those under discussion, do not allow an embedded inflected infinitive mismatching the Causee in number features – even though they allow inflected infinitives (2b,c). We discuss this property as novel evidence for the distinction between (ditransitive) object control structures and (transitive) syntactic causative structures. When assuming this basic split, we deviate from Landau’s (2015) analysis of non-attitude object control verbs.

2. ***Pôr a* and *deixar a* can be (a special type of) ordinary causatives.** Soares & Wood (2022) characterize *pôr a* as a locative causative, with a change of location meaning (3a). While acknowledging that these verbs can indeed behave as described by S&W, we show that this is not always true, especially when their external arguments are inanimate and thus do not show properties associated to Agenthood (see 1): in this case, they are semantically bleached, as ordinary causatives, to the extent that they are devoid of locative meaning, and they select a Cause external argument. From a syntactic point of view, we argue that the complement of the ‘ordinary’ counterpart of locative causatives is a Rel(ator)P, whose head is filled by *a*. A main argument concerns the possibility of coordinating the infinitival complement with a predicative AP (4). It is also possible to independently show that these causatives are distinct from *faire*-type causatives, to the extent that (i) they do not allow *faire-inf* (5) and (ii) they do not allow embedded expletives (6). The ungrammaticality of (6b) is explained by a Control structure within the embedded RelP: the DP in Spec, RelP controls the empty subject of an embedded infinitival TP.

3. **The non-locative version of *pôr a* can be decausativized.** A consequence of 2. is the availability of decausatives, typically with inchoative meaning: if decausatives are derived from causative verbs that accept non-agentive subjects (Paducheva, 2003), the ordinary causative counterpart of these verbs may be available for decausativization, as it is indeed the case with *pôr a*, which in this case comes with the clitic *-se* (7). This is the clitic which is homophonous with the reflexive, and which typically occurs in the causative alternation. In this case, the cause can be expressed by a non-argumental PP, typically headed by *com* (7) – but a by-phrase is not possible, contrary to what happens with passive locative causatives (see S&W). We argue that the external argument of the embedded infinitive raises to the decausativized matrix subject position – in this case, there is no control relation within the embedded domain, what explains the possibility of an expletive (8). As expected with Raising-to-Subject, an embedded inflected infinitive is blocked (7).

- (1) a. O pai / o medicamento deixou os bebés a dormir.
the father / the medicine made the babies A sleep.INF
‘The father / the medicine made the babies sleep.’

b. O pai / o medicamento pôs os bebés a dormir.
the father / the medicine put the babies A sleep
'The father / the medicine made the babies sleep.'

(2) a. O pai_i obrigou / convenceu a Ana_j a ____{i+j} irem ao cinema.
the father forced convinced the Ana A go.INF3PL to.the cinema
'The father forced / convinced Ana to go to the movies with him.'

b. O pai pôs / deixou os bebés /*o bebé a dormirem.
the father put / put the babies the baby A sleep.INF.3PL
'The father made the babies sleep.'

c. O pai deixou / fez as meninas /*a menina irem ao cinema.
the father let / made the girls the girl go.INF.3PL to.the cinema
'The father let / made the girls go to the movies.'

(3) Pus o polícia a lavar a roupa. Soares & Wood (2022)
put.1SG the police officer A wash.INF the clothes
'I made the police officer wash the clothes.'

(4) O medicamento pôs o rapaz maldisposto e a suar durante todo o dia.
the medicine put the boy sick and A sweat.INF during all the day
'The medicine made him sick and made him sweat during the entire day.'

(5) (Context: 'What about the soup?')

a. O João não a fez / deixou comer aos meninos.
the João NEG CL.3SG.ACC made / let eat.INF to.the children
'João didn't make / let the children eat it.'

b. *O João não a pôs a comer aos meninos.
the João NEG CL.3SG.ACC put A eat.INF to.the children

(6) a. A alta pressão não deixa /faz chover.
the high pressure NEG let /make rain.INF
'The high pressure doesn't let / make it rain.'

b. *A alta pressão não deixa a chover.
the high pressure NEG put A rain.INF
'The high pressure doesn't make it rain.'

(7) Os rapazes puseram-se a correr /*correrem (com o frio).
the boys put.3PL SE A run.INF run.INF.3PL with the cold temperature
'Because of the cold temperature, the boys started to run.'

(8) Pôs-se a chover.
put SE A rain.INF
'It started to rain.'

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Impersonal SE and accusative clitics in Catalan: resolving (mis)matches in the syntax

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Intro. This work addresses restrictions involving clusters with impersonal SE (SE_{IMP}, collapsing both passive and impersonal) and 3rd person accusative clitics (CL_{ACC}), as illustrated in (1)-(3), with particular focus on a less discussed, but problematic pattern, from Catalan. We show that resolution of such clusters in Catalan is a matter of syntax (as opposed to PF); our investigation permits a more in-depth analysis of the internal structure and labelling options in CL_{ACC}.

SE and lack of accusative Case licensing. Ordóñez and Treviño (O&T 2011, 2016, a.o.) examine examples such as (1)a, b, where 3rd person CL_{ACC} is not possible in SE_{IMP} (in several Spanish varieties, including standard Spanish). The ungrammaticality is attributed to the impossibility of licensing structural accusative Case in SE_{IMP}. Datives are predicted to be unproblematic; (1)c, where the clitic is dative, is grammatical (in the same Spanish varieties).

(1) Standard Spanish (and varieties with *SE_{IMP}-CL_{ACC})

a. *Se	lo	ve.	b. *Se	los	ve.	c. Se	le/les	da.
SE _{IMP}	CL.ACC.M.3SG	see.3SG	SE _{IMP}	CL.ACC.M.3PL	see.3SG	SE _{IMP}	CL.DAT.3SG/PL	give.3SG
Intended: ‘He is seen.’			Intended: ‘They are seen.’			‘He/they is/are given (smth).’		

A problem of D match. MacDonald and Melgares (M&M, 2021), in turn, note that while sequences such as (1)a, b might be unacceptable, grammaticality is restored when SE_{IMP} and CL_{ACC} are not linearly adjacent, as in (2)a, b (see also Martins and Nunes 2016, for similar facts from European Portuguese, or Pescarini 2021). Thus, the problem in (1)a, b is not impossibility of accusative licensing. For M&M (2021), it is instead a feature co-occurrence restriction when a clitic cluster is formed: linear adjacency of [D] heads is banned, and CL_{ACC} (*lo/los*) and SE_{IMP} are both specified as [D](efinite). In SE_{IMP}, T has an inherently valued D, which blocks the linking of the implicit external argument to the discourse - only a non-referential interpretation can obtain. Indirect object CL_{DAT}, as in (1)c, is underspecified for D, and the cluster is licit.

(2) a. En Navidad, se suele poder abrazar {√lo/*le}. (about Santa Clause)
in Christmas SE_{IMP} tend.3SG can.INF hug.INF him.ACC/DAT
‘At Christmas, one tends to be able to hug him.’ (M&M 2021: ex. 15a; Honduras Spanish)
b. ..., se suele poder {√lo/*le} abrazar. c. se {*lo/√le} suele poder abrazar.

Across Spanish varieties, there is also the possibility to restore the grammaticality in examples such as (1)a, b if accusative morphology is replaced by the dative ((2)c), without a change in grammatical function; what is spelled out as dative on the surface is still an accusative direct object (DO) clitic *syntactically*. For M&M (2021), the change from *lo* to *le* in (2)c is due to morphological impoverishment: the [D] feature on CL_{ACC} is deleted at PF, prior to Vocabulary Insertion. As this is a post-syntactic operation, no interpretive/grammatical effects ensue (eg., grammatical function stays unchanged as a DO).

Catalan. We now turn to Catalan, whose data are problematic for both these accounts. Catalan SE_{IMP} allows a DO clitic with accusative morphology, the *el* clitic in (3)a (Mendikoetxea and Battye - M&B 1990, Bartra 2002, GIEC 2016, a.o.). What is ungrammatical is the accusative ‘neuter’ *ho* clitic, in (3)b; (indirect object) dative clitics, as expected, are not problematic - (3)c.

(3) Catalan

a. Se'l/ls veu. b. *S'ho veu. c. Se li dona això.
SE_{IMP}-CL.ACC.M.3SG/3PL see.3SG SE_{IMP}-CL.ACC.3N see.3SG SE_{IMP} CL.DAT.3SG give.3SG this
'He/they are seen.' Intended: 'It is seen.' 'He is given this (thing).'

Given that the clitic in (3)a, b is clearly accusative (Catalan does not have subject clitics and dative clitics show distinct morphology, see (3)c), such examples are counterevidence to O&T.

Alternatively, an account based on morphological impoverishment (following M&M 2021) is not intuitive: the DO clitic in (3)a, b is not spelled out with dative morphology (cf. (2)c), and moreover there are interpretive differences between *el*_{CL.ACC} in (3)a and *ho*_{CL.ACC} in (3)b.

Feature clashes in the syntax. Our analysis agrees with M&M (2021) in that accusative Case can be licensed in SE_{IMP} (at least in the languages under discussion); we differ in that we illustrate a case in which ungrammaticality in clitic clusters is not a matter of PF impoverishment. Subsequently, we investigate a different path: ungrammaticality rather derives from the internal structure of CL_{ACC} as well as from labelling. We propose that certain types of CL_{ACC} (animate, individualized; corresponding to the *el* form in (3)a) contain additional features above D, and it is these features that provide the label, as in the options illustrated in (4)a, b. This avoids a clash with the [D] label of SE_{IMP}. In turn, the 'neuter' *ho* form does not contain additional features above the [D] label ((4)c), and thus cannot escape the clash. We take advantage of investigations in the literature about: i) whether features related to animacy and individuation are simply an index on D or head their own (labelling) projection (López 2012 for differential object marking); ii) enriched DP configurations, with a difference between so-called 'low D' (above which various projections related to individuation, animacy, referentiality, etc.) can be merged and 'high D' (for Romance; Bernstein, Ordoñez, Roca 2019, 2020). Higher INDIV and ANIM act as categories that can 'protect' D in cluster formation.

(4) a. Individualizing CL_{ACC}: [_{INDIV} Indiv [_D D [_{ACC} ACC...]]]; d. **Ho** vull tot.
b. Animate CL_{ACC}: [_{ANIM} Anim [_D D [_{ACC} ACC...]] CL.ACC.3N want.1SG all
c. Neuter CL_{ACC}: [_D D [_{ACC} ACC...]]; 'I want it all/I want everything.'

Neuter CL_{ACC} *ho* does give evidence of the presence of a D feature; for example, it can act as a resumptive/doubling clitic only on those quantifiers which have been shown to have interactions with definiteness, such as the universal *tot* in (4)d, but is not possible with indefinites. Although both *ho* and *el* clitics have a referential component, they show important *interpretive* differences (e.g., *ho* cannot be used for animates; see especially GIEC 2016 for an overview). Moreover, both *el* and *ho* are accusative morphologically, although only *el* is grammatical in SE_{IMP}. An account as in (4) can immediately capture these facts: what is at stake is precisely the internal composition of clitics in the syntax, even if additional structure in Catalan CL_{ACC} *el* is not signalled at PF via *dative* morphology, as it happens in (2)c.

Consequences. Our account has several desirable outputs. First, it derives patterns where SE_{IMP}-CL_{ACC} interaction is not simply a matter of PF. Second, it shows that resolution of clitic cluster (mis)matches is also not a matter of CL position with regards to SE_{IMP} (M&B 1990); in Catalan, both CL_{ACC} and CL_{DAT} are all uniformly in the same position, post-SE_{IMP} (as in(3)). Third, an attempt to solve the Catalan ungrammatical clusters by saying that the *el* clitic is underspecified for a D feature (in the same way as CL_{DAT} in (1)c, (2)c, (3)c is, such that it avoids co-occurrence restrictions) would be problematic: in doubling contexts (taken as a diagnostic for the features the clitic bears, Suñer 1988, Nevins 2007, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, M&M 2021, a.o.), *el* is restricted to pronouns, being ungrammatical with indefinites (as opposed to CL_{DAT}, which does not have such restrictions). Fourth, simply saying that, as opposed to CL_{ACC-*ho*}, CL_{ACC-*el*} does not form a

cluster with SE_{IMP} (and thus, it escapes the D feature clash characteristic only to clusters; see M&M 2021 for a proposal along these lines for 1st and 2nd person CL_{ACC} in Spanish) is not motivated empirically. Additionally, a better understanding of the internal structure and higher label in CL_{ACC} can be a starting point in addressing other SE_{IMP}-CL_{ACC} possibilities documented across Romance, and which cannot be captured under O&T(2016), nor M&M(2021) or M&B (1990): grammaticality across the board, grammaticality with feminine and plural, while blocking the masculine (singular), grammaticality with 1st and 2nd person CL_{ACC}, as opposed to 2nd person CL_{ACC}, etc. (see also Parry 1998, Mendikoetxea 2008, Salvi 2008, or Pescarini 2017 for a Romance overview).

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GIEC. *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*.

The Romance of Code-switching: A Multilingual Affair

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What if Chomsky sometimes started a sentence in English *y la terminara en español*? What if Labov wanted the *cuarto piso*? These hypothetical scenarios bring into focus the widespread phenomenon of code-switching, the integration of multiple languages within discourse. Given the extensive distribution of Romance languages, contexts where these languages coexist with others offer a unique opportunity to enrich our understanding of multilingualism and the language faculty more broadly. In this presentation, I explore code-switching involving Romance languages (including Romance-based creoles) and discuss its implications for linguistic theory. What if our understanding of language had been shaped by multilingual environments where code-switching is the norm, rather than relying on the assumption of a monolingual ideal speaker-listener (cf. Ameka & Terkourafi 2019; López 2023)?

Research on code-switching involving Romance languages has primarily focused on Spanish-English interactions in the U.S. (Toribio 2002; Guzzardo Tamargo, Mazak & Parafita Couto 2016), often analyzed through a monolingual lens (López 2023; Aboh & Parafita Couto 2024). Other language combinations, such as Spanish-Chinese, French-Ewe, Papiamentu-Dutch, or Portuguese-German, have received less attention. Similarly, code-switching within Romance varieties (e.g., Romanian-Italian, Galician-Spanish, Catalan-Spanish, Palenquero-Spanish) has mainly been studied at the discourse level, leaving many multilingual Romance contexts underexplored. Moreover, multilingual situations involving more than two languages, such as Spanish-English-Kriol in Northern Belize (Central America) or French-Gungbe-Fongbe in Benin (West Africa), are also largely overlooked (cf. Balam 2016; Parafita Couto, Bellamy & Ameka 2023).

In this presentation, I take a cross-community comparative approach to examine how structural, cognitive, and sociohistorical factors shape code-switching patterns across Romance-speaking contexts (Muysken 2013; Parafita Couto & Balam, in press). The analysis uncovers two key insights that contribute to advancing linguistic theory:

Uniformity: Certain structural patterns of code-switching across Romance-speaking communities appear consistent, suggesting the deterministic influence of linguistic factors.

Variability: While there are universal tendencies, code-switching patterns also vary in response to cognitive, socio-cultural, and community-specific factors (Blokzijl et al. 2017; Deuchar 2020; Balam et al. 2023; Parafita Couto et al. in press).

These insights highlight the dynamic tension between uniformity and variability in multilingual practices, with significant implications for linguistic theory. By incorporating structural, cognitive, and sociocultural dimensions, this cross-community comparative approach leads to a more comprehensive understanding of linguistic competence. Expanding our evidence base to include a broader range of language combinations, including lesser-explored Romance and non-Romance pairings (e.g., D'Alessandro 2021), has the potential to reshape our theoretical frameworks. I will explore how multilingual contexts reveal the adaptive nature of language, challenging traditional monolingual models and opening up new directions for theoretical development.

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The impact of code-switching on intonation in German-Italian heritage bilingualism

Svenja Krieger

Until recently, suprasegmental aspects, such as intonation have received far less attention than the segmental level in research on code-switching in bilingual speech. The segmental level is mostly considered to be affected by code-switching (e.g., Olson 2015 for vowel duration), while the few studies on suprasegmental aspects render mixed results. For instance, Aly (2017) found in Basque-Spanish bilinguals that phonetic aspects of intonation, such as peak alignment is mostly guided by the dominant (or matrix) language of a sentence, suggesting no effect of code-switching on intonation. Similarly, Piccinini & Garellek (2014) showed in a qualitative analysis of their experimental stimuli that bilinguals maintain the categories of the matrix language for the most prominent syllable of an utterance (i.e., nuclear pitch accent) as well as for the boundary tone, that is, the right edge of the utterance. In contrast to the phonological level of intonation, they found an effect of code-switching on the peak realization of the accented syllable, indicating an effect on the phonetic level of intonation. However, there is no study which provides a systematic description of the phonetic and phonological implementation of intonation under code-switching.

In this study, we want to fill this gap by focusing on the impact of code-switching on the suprasegmental level in the context of heritage bilingualism. More precisely, we focus on intonation in Italian information-seeking polar questions (PolQs) in which German nouns are inserted. In this context, Italian is acquired as heritage language (i.e., from birth through the family), whereas German is the language of the society and either acquired simultaneously from birth or sequentially. Italian and German is a promising language combination in the context of heritage bilingualism because they differ with respect to intonational patterns, such as nuclear pitch accents and boundary tones. Both the nuclear pitch accent and the boundary tone build the nuclear contour of an utterance. The nuclear contour of Italian PolQs is mostly marked by a falling pitch accent, followed by a final fall in the Southern regional varieties (H+L* L%) or a final rise (H+L* LH%, Krieger & Geiss, 2024). In German, PolQs exhibit a low pitch in combination with a high-rise (L* H-^H%, Braun et al, 2019).

In our study, we aim to investigate (i) to what extent code-switching affects the phonological and phonetic implementations of the intonational contours of Italian PolQs in heritage bilingualism and (ii) whether linguistic factors (position and the cognate status of the code-switch) as well as extra-linguistic factors (e.g., proficiency, early language use, attitudes towards code-switching) mediate the use of German intonational patterns. For this purpose, we conducted an online elicited production task in which the participants produced PolQs. They completed the unilingual mode (Italian), before they repeated the game in the code-switch mode. In the latter, they were asked to use German only for the noun:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) La Apfel è vicino al fiore? | (2) Marta ha la Limousine ? |
| the apple is next to the flower | Marta has the limousine |
| ‘Is the apple next to the flower?’ | ‘Does Marta have the limousine?’ |

In each mode, participants produced 48 PolQs, which were manipulated with respect to the position of the code-switch (non-final (1) vs. final (2)) and cognate status (non-cognate (1) vs. cognate (2)). Participants’ proficiency was measured by means of the placement test of the DIALANG (Alderson, 2005). Additionally, they completed a background questionnaire in which we asked for language use and code-switching habits. For the prosodic analyses of the data, nuclear contours were annotated in PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2015) following the guidelines of ToBI_{IT} for Italian (Gili Fivela et al., 2015). So far, 18 (out of 30 intended) HSs took part in the study and four have been transcribed with respect to their intonational properties.

Preliminary results are summarized in Figure 1 and 2, revealing a significant effect of language mode. Participants used the Italian nuclear contours H+L* LH% ($\beta = -0.383$, $SE = 0.117$, $z = -3.265$, $p < 0.01$) and H+L* L% ($\beta = -1.147$, $SE = 0.498$, $z = -2.306$, $p < 0.05$) more often in the unilingual mode than in the code-switch mode. The typical German contour (L* LH%) was produced significantly more often in the code-switch mode ($\beta = 1.077$, $SE = 0.306$, $z = 3.522$, $p < 0.001$). These results indicate that code-switching triggers the use of the intonational pattern from the embedded (German) into the matrix language (Italian). A closer analysis of the results in the code-switch mode indicates that this difference between the two modes is driven by the position of the code-switch. Specifically, if the code-switch occurs in utterance final position it is more likely that participants produced the typical German contour. In these utterances, the nuclear pitch accents fell on the code-switch. Additionally, we found that a cognate status within the final position affected the intonational contour. If the code-switch contained a cognate participants produced the utterance more likely in an Italian manner (matrix language), as shown by higher frequency of H+L* LH% in cognates compared to non-cognates (see Figure 2).

In the talk, we will present the results of a larger number of participant as well as further details about the impact of code-switching on the phonetic implementation of intonation (i.e., pitch excursion) as well as the effect of extralinguistic factors.

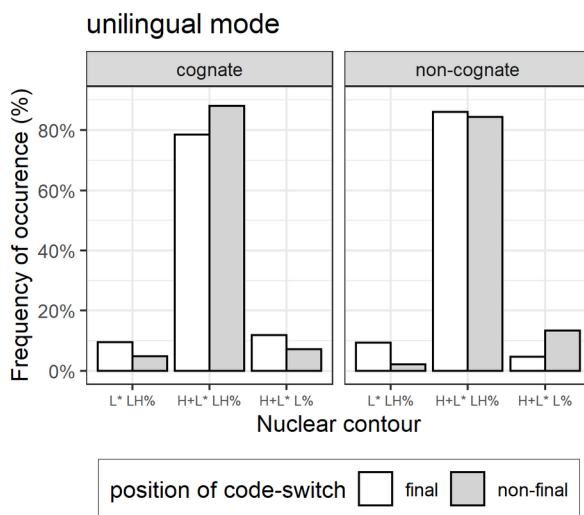


Figure 1: Percentage frequency of nuclear contours across the position of code-switch and cognate-status in the unilingual mode.

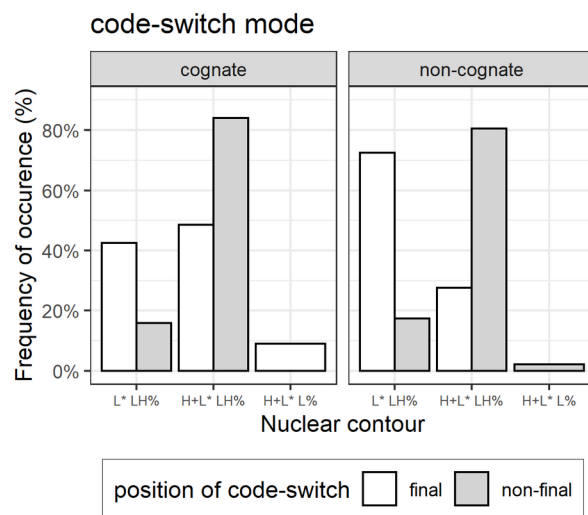


Figure 2: Percentage frequency of nuclear contours across the position of code-switch and cognate-status in the code-switch mode.

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Embedded V2 in North-Eastern Italy

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In this paper, we intend to analyze the distribution of embedded Verb Second (V2) in a set of Ladin and German varieties spoken in the North-East of Italy. While “well-behaved” V2 languages (like German) show main-embedded asymmetries (i.e., they only have V2 in main clauses), some languages display symmetric V2 both in main and embedded clauses. In these languages, V2 can be either restricted to declaratives embedded under bridge verbs and non-restrictive relative clauses, or it can be found in virtually all embedded clauses (with the apparent exception of embedded *wh*-interrogatives, cf. Benincá 2006). The first group of languages is often referred to as *Narrow embedded V2*, the second as *Broad embedded V2* (Walkden & Booth 2020). In this paper, we show that Ladin and German dialects spoken in North-Eastern Italy display intermediate embedded V2 types that have not been described so far.

As it is well-known, Northern Ladin (Badiotto and Gardenese) displays a V2 rule in main clauses (Poletto 2000, 2002, Casalicchio & Cognola 2018, 2020). The same is true of Plodarisch (Sappadino), Zahrish (Saurano), and Tischlbongarisch (Timavese), all German minority varieties spoken in the North-Eastern region of Friuli. On the one hand, the properties of V2 in main clauses are rather similar in all these varieties, i.e. they all display relaxed V2 with some restricted possibilities of V3 (see Benincá 2006 and Wolfe 2018). On the other hand, the pattern found in embedded clauses shows that V2 is a complex phenomenon depending not only on the type of matrix verb but also on the moved element (in the spirit of Samo 2017), which can target different positions in the left periphery. Plodarisch and Tischlbongarisch have a situation similar to standard German, where only complements of bridge verbs can display embedded V2. At its opposite we find Ladin and Zahrish, where both bridge and factive verbs can embed V2 structures in a way that is apparently similar to broad embedded V2 languages like Yiddish and Icelandic (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990, Vikner 1995).

Since in Ladin embedded V2 follows the complementizer (1), we propose that embedded V2 targets a position lower than Force, where the complementizer is sitting (2):

- (1) Fove cuntënt *che* [per l prim iede] ne **fove-l** nia unì
I.was happy that for the first time NEG was-he.CL not been
tratà sciche l prinz dla fabules.
treated like the prince of-the fairytales
'I was happy that for the first time he wasn't treated like Prince Charming.'

- (2) [_{ForceP} Force **that** [_{IntP} Int *if/why* [_{TopP} Topic [_{FocP} Focus [_{FinP} [_{TP} **Subj** ..[vP]]]]]]]

In a structure like (2), V2 can in principle occur in Topic, Focus or Fin. Gardenese provides evidence for a low position because V2 occurs in embedded interrogatives with *why* and *if*:

- (3) Èl ne capiva nia *ciuldi-che* te n colp ne n'**univa** l nonn da batejé nia plu.
he NEG understood NEG why-that suddenly NEG came the godfather not anymore
'He didn't understand why suddenly his godfather stopped visiting him.'

On the one hand, in Gardenese, cases like (1) are possible when the adverb has a scene-setting function or is focalised; in Badiotto Ladin, this is only possible if the adverb is focussed (4). Direct objects, on the other hand, are only possible under bridge verbs:

(4) *Al s despleej c L GIAT a-al odù
 he is sorry that the cat has-he seen
 'He is sorry that he has seen the cat'

(5) Al m a dit c L GIAT a-al odù
 he me has told that the cat has-he seen
 'He told me that he has seen the cat'

This means that: a) embedded V2 under bridge verbs is different from embedded V2 under non-bridge verbs; b) the position of embedded V2 with non-bridge verbs is not available to all types of constituents. As for the reason why this is so, one can follow two lines of thought: a) focussed adverbs and focussed arguments target different positions: only the one for adverbs is available in these contexts; b) non-bridge verbs embed a (factive) operator of nominal nature, which intervenes in the movement path of nominal constituents but not of adverbial elements. This means that embedded V2 in Ladin is higher than FinP, where the factive operator is sitting (Poletto & Sanfelici 2021): any element can bypass it provided there is no minimality effect.

(6) [_{ForceP} Force *that* [_{IntP} Int [_{TopicP} Topic [_{FocusP} Focus [_{FinP} **OP**_{FACT} [_{TP} **Subj** ..[VP]]]]]]]]

A similar pattern observed in Ladin is also found in Zahrish, where both with bridge and non-bridge verbs adverbs trigger V2 (7a), while direct objects are excluded (7b):

(7) a. {S Miele ot gesot/S isper anamie} as geister otar varpreinet de torta
 the Miele has said/ It is=1sg.DAT a sorrow that yesterday has=he burned the cake
 'Miele has said/she is sorry that yesterday he burned the cake'

b. *{S Miele ot gesot/S isper anamie} as de torta otar varpreinet
 the Miele has said/ It is=1sg.DAT a sorrow that the cake has=he burned
 'Miele has said/she is sorry that he burned the cake'

These data show that for both Romance and Germanic V2, we need a more fine-grained typology of embedded V2 languages, in addition to narrow V2 languages like mainland Scandinavian, Plodarisch, and Tischlbongarisch and broad V2 languages like Yiddish and Icelandic. Intermediate types are represented by Zahrish, Badiotto and Gardenese Ladin, where embedded V2 under factive verbs is possible only with adverbs but not with direct objects. Further internal variation to these new types depends a) on the main verb/embedded clause type, b) on the type of fronted elements, and c) on their pragmatic function. We attribute these differences to relativized minimality effects where the (factive) operator intervenes in the movement path of the direct object. This also opens up the question of topics in domains embedded under different classes of non-bridge verbs.

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Examining the impact of language dominance on Spanish-English code-switching restrictions

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Language dominance, marked by observable asymmetries in a bilingual's language usage, is a pivotal area of research in bilingualism. Various factors shape language dominance, including age of acquisition, environment, attitudes, and identity (Grosjean, 2012). Countless research has shown how this complex facet plays a role in how bilinguals navigate their languages, but its direct effect on intra-sentential code-switching (CS) is less known. Bilinguals can switch effortlessly, even when dominant in one language (Pérez-Leroux et al., 2014). However, it is less clear how structural constraints in CS relate to language dominance. Some argue the dominant language dictates switching patterns (Petersen, 1988), while later research challenges this stance (Liceras et al., 2016). It is also unclear how this factor differs from or is directly tied to issues of language proficiency. Although the dominant language often exhibits higher proficiency levels, language dominance and proficiency are distinct aspects of a bilingual's linguistic profile. Given that proficiency can impact switching patterns (Toribio, 2001), it is crucial to disentangle the two for a better understanding of their impact.

This study investigates language dominance regarding acceptability ratings in a Spanish-English CS judgment task among highly proficient adult early bilinguals ($N=22$). The task included stimuli ($N=24$) with grammatical and ungrammatical switch conditions (1-3), targeting well-documented constraints related to pronouns, auxiliary verbs, and negation. Language dominance was measured using the Bilingual Language Profile (BLP; Birdsong et al., 2012). If dominance resembles proficiency, there should be less distinction between conditions the more a participant is dominant in one language or the other.

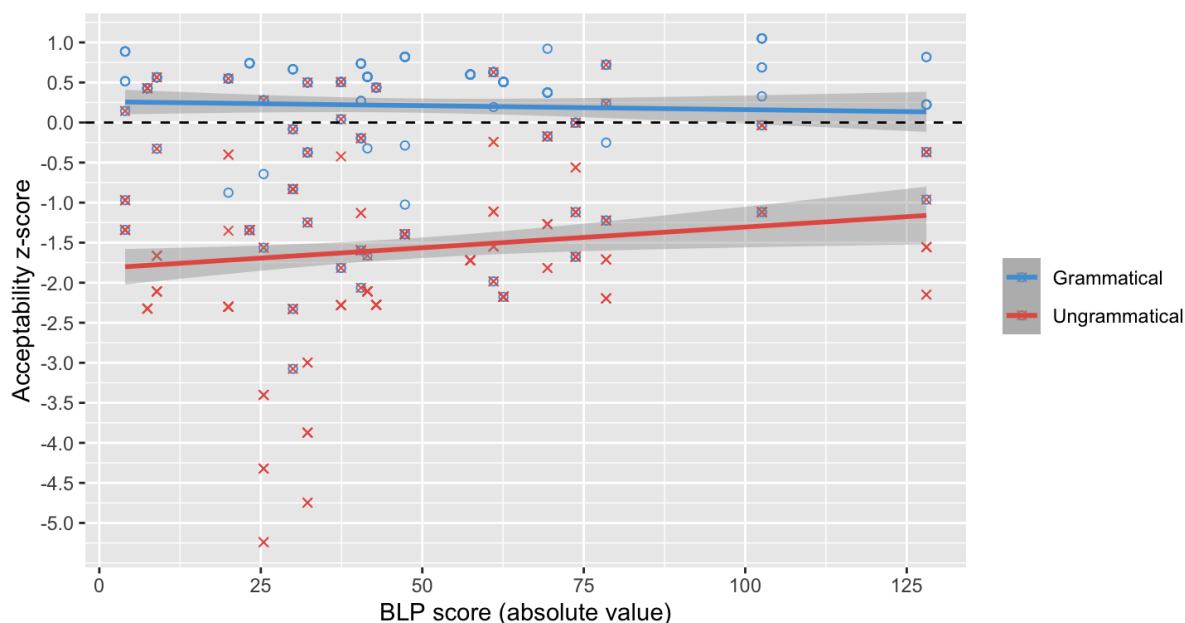
Full data analysis is still ongoing, but the preliminary results show that language dominance does have a slight impact on the acceptability ratings. A weak positive correlation ($r = 0.137$) between the grammatical and ungrammatical z-score ratings was found to be significant ($t(250) = 2.191, p = 0.029$). As shown in Figure 1, participants who were closer to the middle of the BLP scale (i.e., closer to 0, indicating more "balanced" language dominance) were slightly more consistent in rating the grammatical switches as more acceptable than the ungrammatical switches. These results were parallel for all four subcomponents of the BLP as well, as the ratings were consistent based on dominance regarding language history, use, self-rated proficiency, and attitudes. Crucially, though, regardless of BLP score, the participants distinguished between the two conditions; as such, we do not interpret these findings to indicate that being more dominant in one language or the other means that there are major qualitative differences in their CS patterns. One possible explanation for these findings is merely an effect of consistency in completing the task. Follow up research should look at to what extent experience/use of CS is an intervening factor, as its possible that the more "balanced" bilinguals simply engage in CS more often, thus aiding in their more consistent ratings.

Overall, this study uncovers that, like language proficiency, language dominance can factor into the acceptability ratings in intra-sentential CS among highly proficient adult early bilinguals. As such, from a methodological standpoint, this information should be taken into consideration and reported in experimental CS studies, thus continuing to enhance the methods used in such research. More generally, these insights contribute to our broader understanding of bilingual language use, which is crucial to continue developing more accurate linguistic models for bilingual populations.

- (1) a. *Hace un minuto **yo pedí*** a beer at the bar.
'A minute ago I ordered a beer at the bar.'
- b. * *Hace un minuto **yo ordered*** a beer at the bar.
'A minute ago I ordered a beer at the bar.'

- (2) a. His brother ***ha entrenado*** *en el gimnasio todos los días*.
 ‘His brother has trained at the gym every day.’
 b. * His brother ***has entrenado*** *en el gimnasio todos los días*.
 ‘His brother has trained at the gym every day.’
- (3) a. *La biblioteca* ***no abre*** on Sunday mornings.
 ‘The library doesn’t open on Sunday mornings.’
 b. * *La biblioteca* ***no open*** on Sunday mornings.
 ‘The library doesn’t open on Sunday mornings.’

Figure 1. (Un)grammatical switch ratings by overall language dominance



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Reflexes of successive cyclic movement at the vP edge: copy pronunciation and NPA assignment in Valdôtain Patois

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INTRODUCTION. This paper presents data on clause-internal wh-phrases (CIwhs) in Valdôtain Patois (Glottolog: vall1249), a Franco-Provençal language (ValPa below). I argue that CIwhs in ValPa are a case of overt-covert movement, that is, overt movement with the deletion of higher copies (Bobaljik, 2002; Amaechi & Georgi, 2020; a.o.). The paper makes the following points: (i) CIwhs move to their scope-taking position in the matrix CP in narrow syntax, as evidenced by parasitic gaps (PGs) and binding. (ii) ValPa allows the pronunciation of different elements in the chain; spelling out the head of the chain results in wh-fronting, while spelling out a lower copy results in CIwhs. (iii) No intermediate copies can be pronounced, only the head and the copy at the most embedded vP edge. (iv) In the presence of a CIwh, Nuclear Pitch Accent (NPA) is assigned to the copy at the most embedded vP edge. In the case of wh-fronting, NPA is assigned to the most embedded verb. Thus, the first stop of successive cyclic movement, from base position to the vP edge, has two phonological reflexes: copy pronunciation and NPA assignment.

THE DATA. In ValPa (variety spoken in Morgex), all wh-phrases except *perqué* 'why' can occur fronted, (1a), or clause-internally, (1b). (1a-b) are truth-conditionally equivalent. (1a) represents the default wh-question formation strategy, while (1b) is pragmatically marked, indicating high presupposition (i.e., the assumption that you gave the books to someone).

- (1) a. **À qui** t' à baillà lo livro? **Fronted**
 to who CL.NOM.2SG have.PRS.2SG give-PST.PTCP the book
 'To whom did you give the book?'
 b. T' à baillà **à qui** lo livro? **CIwh (whIO>DO)**
 c. T' à baillà lo livro A QUI? **Echo**
- (2) L' à baillà lo livro à Clara. **DO>IO**
 (s)he'has given the book to Clara.
 '(S)he gave the book to Clara.'

(1b) is structurally, intonationally, and pragmatically distinct from echo questions (1c), in which the wh-phrase stays in situ. The default word order of arguments in ValPa is DO>IO (2). The word order in (1b) is the opposite: whIO>DI, hence initial evidence that *à qui* in (1b) has moved. Furthermore, CIwhs license PGs, (3a), like their fronted counterparts (3b). PGs can only be licensed by overt A'-movement (Nunes, 2004; Culicover, 2001, 2017 a.o.), hence *à qui* in (3a) cannot be in situ. Assuming that temporal clauses adjoin to vP (Hewett, 2023), I argue that CIwhs surface at the edge of vP, (4). Further evidence from word order and adverb placement (presented in the talk) supports a movement analysis of CIwhs to the edge of vP.

- (3) a. T' à saluò **qui** [doanque ai baillà *pg* de soou] ?
 you-have greeted who before have given PART money
 'Who did you greet before having given money to?'
 b. **Qui** t' à saluò doanque ai baillà de soou?

- (4) [_{CP} [_{TP} T' à saluò [_{whP} **qui** [_{vP} [_{vP} ~~qui~~]] [_{AdjCP} quanque ai baillà *pg* de soou]]]]]

CIwhs also license PGs in structurally higher clauses. In (5a) the CIwh *dequé* licenses the PG in the adjunct clause modifying the matrix predicate, like its fronted counterpart, (5b).

- (5) **Context:** You are venting to your mother about your picky kid refusing to eat the leftovers you had warmed up for dinner last night. Curious about what food annoyed her grandson this time, your mother asks:
 a. T' à compr-ei [que l' arie pò medg-à **dequé**]
 NOM.2SG have.PRS.2SG understand-PST.PTCP COMP NOM.3SG have.COND.PRS.1SG NEG eat-PST.PTCP what
 [après ai tzeid-ò *pg*]?
 after have.INF warm.up-PST.PTCP
 'What did you understand he would not eat after having warmed up?'
 b. **Dequé** t' à compr-ei [que l' arie pò medg-à t_k] [après ai tzeid-ò *pg*]?
 'What did you understand he would not eat after having warmed up?'

Since only overt A'-movement licenses PGs, the CIwh in (5a) must have moved to its scope-taking position in matrix CP in narrow syntax: in transiting through the matrix vP edge, it licenses the PG in the adjunct clause. Based on PG data and evidence from binding (presented in the talk), I argue that (5a-b) have the same derivation: the wh-phrase moves successive-cyclically to the matrix CP, and the different word orders result from pronunciation of different copies (Bošković, 2002; a.o.). PHONOLOGICAL REFLEXES OF SUCCESSIVE CYCLIC MOVEMENT. Unlike French (Belletti 2006), in ValPa CIwh are not limited to root contexts (5-6). Yet, given a wh-chain, only two copies can be pronounced: the head of the chain (6a) and the copy at the 'lowest' vP edge (6d).

- (6) **Dequé** Gianni à deut à Maria [que t'atsit-e pe Tsalende]?
 what Gianni have.PRS.3SG say.PST.PTCP to Maria COMP NOM.2SG-buy-PRS.2SG for Christmas
 'What did Gianni tell Maria that you'll buy for Christmas?'
- a. [CP **dequé** G. à deut [whP **dequé** à M. [CP que **dequé** t'atsite [whP **dequé** pe Tsalende [vP **dequé**]]]]?
 b. *[CP **dequé** G. à deut [whP **dequé** à M. [CP que **dequé** t'atsite [whP **dequé** pe Tsalende [vP **dequé**]]]]?
 c. *[CP **dequé** G. à deut [whP **dequé** à M. [CP **dequé** que t'atsite [whP **dequé** pe Tsalende [vP **dequé**]]]]?
 d. [CP **dequé** G. à deut [whP **dequé** à M. [CP que **dequé** t'atsite [whP **dequé** pe Tsalende [vP **dequé**]]]]?

Languages vary in how they display phonological reflexes of successive cyclic movement (Georgi 2014). ValPa is not the only language in which the lowest vP edge marks the path of successive-cyclic movement via phonological material. For instance, in cases of long A'-extraction in French, past participle agreement is only phonologically realized in the lowest vP edge position (Georgi 2014). Another relevant reflex is witnessed in Italian (Bianchi et al. 2018). While in declaratives, the NPA is assigned to the rightmost element in the clause, in wh-questions it is assigned to the verb (Calabrese 1982). In long distance wh-questions, NPA is (preferably) assigned to the embedded verb. Since Italian does not allow pronunciation of the copy at the edge of vP, NPA cannot be assigned to that copy and is, therefore, assigned to the most adjacent phonologically realized item, namely, the verb.

In the talk, I will present preliminary results on NPA assignment in ValPa confirming the analysis in Bianchi et al. (2018). When the copy at the edge of vP is pronounced (CIwh), it gets assigned the NPA, as shown in Fig. 1 for matrix questions. However, if the head of the chain is pronounced (Fig 2), the NPA is assigned to the adjacent phonologically realized element to the edge of vP, namely, the verb. I will also discuss examples of NPA assignment with long wh-movement, which confirm the pattern: in the presence of a CIwh the NPA is assigned to the CIwh, while in cases of wh-fronting the NPA is assigned to the embedded verb.

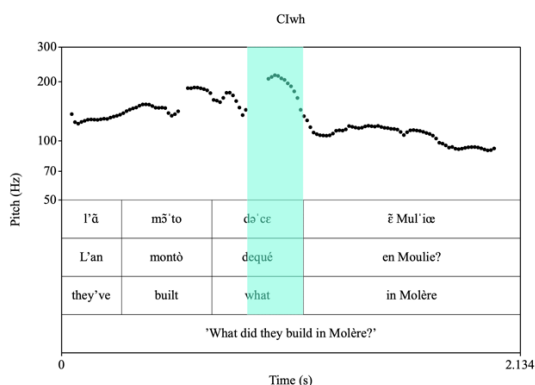


Figure 1: NPA assignment with CIwh

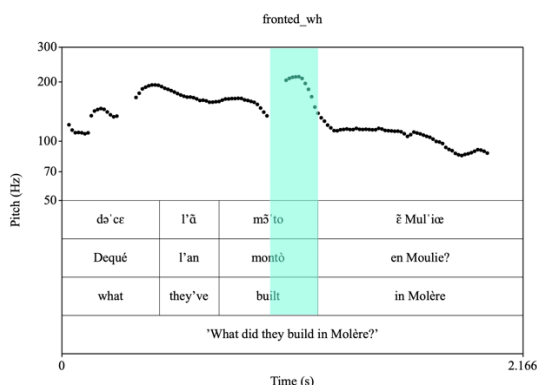


Figure 2: NPA assignment with fronted wh

CONCLUSION: In summary, this talk presents evidence that ValPa CIwhs *overtly* move to their scope-taking position. The different word orders (fronted wh VS CIwh) result from the pronunciation of different copies in the chain. In cases of long wh-movement, only two copies can be pronounced: the head of the chain and the copy at the lowest vP edge. ValPa thus bring forth new evidence for the specific pattern, witnessed in French (Georgi 2014) and Italian (Bianchi et al.

2018) but rarely discussed in the literature, whereby it's the lowest vP edge position that displays phonological reflexes of movement. Unlike Italian, ValPa allows pronunciation of the copy at the edge of vP, which can therefore be assigned the NPA.

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A study of Topic Preposing in English/Spanish codeswitching: Comparing Puerto Rican and Gibraltarian situations

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Background: Studies on the origins of Antillean Caribbean Spanish and its grammatical properties have been characterized by the possible influence that other languages, mostly English, have had on the Puerto Rican variety (Ortiz López 2016). Similarly, the linguistic landscape in Gibraltar has experienced the influence of English on Spanish historically, and conversely, the impact of Spanish on English in contemporary times. This bilingual environment has given rise to Yanito or Llanito, a hybrid of the two languages (Levey 2008).

Code-switching is a widely used strategy in situations where bilingualism is prevalent, and languages come into contact. In Puerto Rico, this topic has not received much attention, but studies on code-switching in this Caribbean variety from different perspectives are beginning to emerge (Clachar 2016; Guzzardo Tamargo & Vélez Avilés 2017; Balam et al. 2020). In Gibraltar, bilingualism and its expression as Llanito has been studied from diverse angles, mostly lexicologically (with dictionaries such as Vallejo 2001, see Seoane 2023 for discussion).

What is common in these studies on code-switching in Puerto Rico and Gibraltar is that they have focused mainly on issues other than those belonging to the syntax-information structure interface.

Goal: Our main goal in this work is to address the gap in the syntax/information structure interface by examining Topic Preposing in the grammar of Puerto Rican (PR) and Gibraltarian (Gibr) bilingual speakers in situations of English/Spanish code-switching. We analyze (Clitic) Left Dislocation both in matrix and embedded sentences. Our starting hypothesis is that preposed topics will be less accepted when English serves as the matrix language (providing the morphosyntactic frame) compared to when Spanish is the matrix language. This is due to the rigid SVO order in English, which contrasts with the more flexible syntax of Spanish.

Methodology: To carry out this (pilot) empirical study, a total of 21 bilingual Puerto Rican and Gibraltarian speakers completed an acceptability judgement task, based on a 4-point Likert scale (Stadthagen González et al. 2017), representing the different acceptability degrees with smileys, and a questionnaire about their linguistic background. Both surveys were created and administered using *Qualtrics*. The test included 35 tokens containing examples where the matrix language was either English or Spanish (see examples 1-5 for PR) and examples where there was no code-switching (6-9 for PR), and 6 distractors. The examples of the two surveys had sentences where the lexicon was adapted to the relevant geographical area, based on real restaurant menus. Therefore, while the PR experiment used the preposed topic *el rice and beans*, the Gibr one had the constituent *los fried squids*. Gender was controlled so all DPs were masculine, hence avoiding the potential masculine preference even for naturally feminine nouns in code-switching (cf. Seoane 2023, Bellamy & Parafita Couto 2022).

Discussion: Regardless of whether the matrix language was English or Spanish, the statistical analysis revealed that the bilingual informants tended to find the code-switched examples somewhat acceptable, with means ranging from 2.17 to 3.18 (out of 4) in both PR and Gibr. Notably, when the matrix language was English and the example was fully in English, the mean dropped to 1.93 in Gibr, which aligns with the expectation given the rigid word order in English. In contrast, Spanish examples had higher means, between 2.8 and 3.88, reflecting the language's syntactic flexibility (Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2014). Interestingly, for PR, English examples scored higher (2.53), potentially supporting the idea that PR speakers might apply Spanish grammatical rules to English (Jiménez-Fernández 2023).

Conclusions: Our preliminary conclusion, concerning the syntax-discourse interface, is that code-switching is acceptable independently of the matrix language (cf. Stadthagen González et al. 2017 for similar results in the nominal domain), despite the rigidity/flexibility distinction, contrary to our initial hypothesis. This pioneering study opens a research line about the connection between syntax and information structure in code-switching in PR and Gibr, and bilingualism in general.

Examples (PR):

1. El arroz con habichuelas Ana hated as a child, but she liked pasta.
the rice with beans ...
2. Antonio said that el arroz con habichuelas he hated as a child.
3. El arroz con habichuelas Antonio said that he hated as a child.
4. El rice and beans Ana lo odiaba de pequeña, pero le gustaba la pasta.
the CL.ACC hated of small, but CL.DAT liked the pasta
'Ana hated rice and beans as a child, but she liked pasta.'
5. Antonio dijo que el rice and beans lo detestaba cuando era pequeño.
Antonio said that the ... CL.ACC hated when was small
'Antonio said that he hated rice and beans when he was a child.'
6. Rice and beans Ana hated as a child, but she liked pasta.
7. The rice and beans Ana hated as a child, but she liked pasta.
8. Antonio dijo que el arroz con habichuelas lo detestaba cuando era pequeño.
9. El arroz con habichuelas Antonio dijo que lo detestaba cuando era pequeño.

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Non-verbal predicate proforms: Category, case and ϕ -feature concord

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Romance Throughout the Romance languages, a definite clitic serving as a pro-predicate for an adjectival or indefinite nominal predicate is insensitive to the category and ϕ -features of its antecedent and local subject, resisting CONCORD, as shown by French M.SG *le* (1), Italian and Portuguese M.SG *lo* (2–3), and Catalan NEUT.SG *ho* (4); Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002), Espinal & Giusti (2023). This is remarkable in light of the fact that the clitic exhibits obligatory gender and number CONCORD with its antecedent when serving as an argument, and the fact that ϕ -feature concord between a [+N] predicate and its subject is otherwise robust in Romance. Catalan adds two further twists: the predicates in (4) can alternatively be replaced with the partitive/indefinite clitic *en*; and definite predicates are replaceable with the ϕ -concordial clitics *ell/la/els/les*.

Uralic While Meadow Mari uses the non- ϕ -marked indefinite proform *təgaj* ‘so/such’ as its pro-predicate in (5), Hungarian here cannot use *úgy* ‘so’ or *ugyanaz(ok)* ‘same’ (the latter irrespective of number marking) but instead exploits definite *az* ‘it’, which must inflect for plural number (the suffix *-k*) when it is case-concordial with its antecedent, as in (6), but strongly disprefers number concord when the pro-predicate differs from its antecedent in having dative case because it occurs in an agreeing infinitive (*Jenni-ük* ‘be-3PL’), as in (7). The number concord data in (5)–(6) match the behavior of non-proform predicates: replacing the pro-predicate with a full copy of the antecedent results in *gyönyörű-*(ek)* ‘beautiful-PL’ in (6) and *drágá-(*k)-nak* in (7).

pro-D~pro- ϕ French *l*-clitics can be used as pro-predicates (1) and as bound variables (*chaque homme pense que je l’aime* ‘every man thinks that I love him’). For Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002), this argues that French *l*-clitics are not pro-D elements (which for them can only be arguments and cannot be bound) but pro- ϕ . That *l*-clitics double as definite articles leads them to the conclusion that French definite articles are not D- but ϕ -heads — as confirmed by their expletive use: *Jean aime le vin* ‘(lit.) Jean loves the wine’ is ambiguous between a referential reading of *le vin* and a generic one (‘wine’). The Hungarian proform *az* (not discussed by Déchaine & Wiltschko) can likewise be used as a pro-predicate and as a bound variable; and like its French counterpart, the Hungarian definite article *a(z)* supports a generic reading in *János szereti a bort* ‘János loves the wine’. This suggests a treatment of Hungarian *a(z)* as a pro- ϕ element. **But if French *le* and Hungarian *a(z)* are both pro- ϕ elements, how to explain the fact that *le* and *a(z)*, when they are used as pro-predicates, behave differently with regard to ϕ -feature concord?**

ϕ -Concord Déchaine & Wiltschko’s (2002) pro- ϕ analysis, while sound for *argument* clitics, is unsuitable for the uses of Romance definite clitics as proforms for adjectival or indefinite nominal *predicates*: these clitics are pro-N elements, showing no ϕ -inflection and representing the smallest possible size a non-verbal predicate can be in Romance (cf. the ‘bare-NP’ predicates in (1–4), (8)). Hungarian allows ‘bare-NP’ predicate nominals in the verbal modifier (VM) position (9a); but if the predicate is an occupational nominal denoting a function unique in the universe of discourse it cannot remain article-less when the subject of predication is focused (9b). The subject of an unfocused pro-predicate is inevitably focused, hence the pro-predicate of (6) must be larger than a pro-NP: minimally a pro- ϕ P, forcing number CONCORD with the subject.

Definiteness Catalan can use its pro- ϕ clitics *ell/la/els/les* as pro-predicates when their antecedent is definite: a case of definiteness concord. Concord is also taken (by Espinal & Giusti 2023) to be behind the fact that in Catalan the pro-predicate resumptive clitic can be partitive/indefinite *en* when a left-dislocated predicate is introduced by *de* ‘of’: (10). But implicating concord for *en* is dubious: in (10) the use of *en* does not force the presence of *de* nor does the use of *de* exclude DEF *ho*.

Déchaine & Wiltschko's (2002) treatment of French partitive/indefinite *en* as pro-N is sufficient for Catalan (4), yielding free variation between the pro-N predicate proforms *ho* and *en*. French *en* and Italian *ne*, ungrammatical in (1) and (2), can only serve as pro-predicates within a complex noun phrase: their licensing requires nominal functional structure in their local domain.

Such and so The fact that Mari uses the pro-predicate *təgaj* 'so/such' in (5) instead of a nominal predicate proform is rooted in the highly restricted distribution of nominal reference-related markers across Uralic (Simonenko 2014), recastable in Déchaine & Wiltschko's (2002) model with an appeal to their pro-D status. Being pro- ϕ , Hungarian *az* is usable in (6) as a pro-predicate, excluding the more complex *ugyanaz* 'same' as well as *úgy* 'so', the latter a stand-in for a whole proposition (*úgy van, ahogy gondolod/mondod* 'it is as you think/say'), not a predicate.

Case matters In Hungarian (7), the silent subject of the infinitive controls number AGREEMENT on the infinitive (*-ük*) analogously to number agreement in possessive nominals (*a pro_{3PL} könyv-ük_{3PL}* 'their book'), via a syntactic Spec–Head relationship. Den Dikken (1999) argues that *pro qua* structural subject of a nominal or infinitival clause has a dative-marked associate occurring either in its left periphery or outside it (11). This associate is not in a syntactic AGREEMENT relation with anything inside the infinitival clause; however, being dative rather than (unmarked) nominative, it is the more case-specific choice for controller of case CONCORD with the predicate nominal. The dative associate [_{KP} K_[DAT]] (...) [_{ϕ P} ϕ [_{NP} N]]] has its ϕ -features embedded too low in its structure to make them directly accessible to subject–predicate concord. The result, for the predicate of the infinitival clause in (6), is obligatory DAT case concord but lack of ϕ -concord.

Conclusion Déchaine & Wiltschko's (2002) pro- ϕ analysis of French *le* needs to be amended for Romance pro-predicate definite clitics (treated here as pro-N), but is fully adequate for all tokens of Hungarian *az*. The case and number concord facts in Hungarian (6–7) fall into place with an analysis of possessive nominals and inflected infinitives that features a *pro*-subject associated to a peripheral dative KP that is capable of controlling case concord but not ϕ -feature concord. The analysis affirms that a distinction is needed between AGREEMENT and CONCORD.

Examples

- (1) tu es belle/enseignante; tes filles *le/*la/*les* seront aussi (French)
you are beautiful.F.SG/teacher.F.SG your daughters CL.M.SG/*F.SG/*PL will.be also
- (2) tu sei bella/maestra; *lo/*la/*le* saranno anche le tue figlie (Italian)
you are beautiful.F.SG/teacher.F.SG CL.M.SG/*F.SG/*F.PL will.be also your daughters
- (3) tu és bonita/professora; as tuas filhas *sê-lo/*la/*las*-ão também (Eu. Port.)
you are beautiful.F.SG/teacher.F.SG the your daughters will.be-CL.M.SG/*F.SG/*PL too
- (4) tu ets bonica/mestra; les teves filles també *ho/*la/*les/en* seran (Catalan)
you are beautiful.F.SG/teacher.F.SG your daughters also CL.N.SG/*F.SG/*F.PL/IND will.be
- (5) motor/okəktəʃo ulat; üdəretvlakat *təgaj* lijət (Meadow Mari)
beautiful/teacher you.are daughter.2SG.PL.ADD such be.3PL
- (6) gyönyörű/oktató vagy; a lányaid is *az-ok/*az/*úgy/*ugyanaz(ok)* lesznek (Hungarian)
beautiful/teacher you.are the daughter.PL.2SG also it-*(PL)/so/same(PL) will.be.3PL
ALL: 'you_{SG} are beautiful/a teacher; your daughters will be, too'
- (7) az élelmiszerek nagyon drágák, de nem kell *an-nak[?]az-ok-nak* lenni-ük (Hungarian)
the groceries are very expensive but not need it-(*PL)-DAT be-3PL
'groceries are very expensive, but they don't need to be'
- (8) s'il était président (9a) ha [elnök]_{VM} lenne (9b) ha ő lenne *?(az)* elnök
if he were president if president were if (S)HE were the president
- (10) (*d'*)alegres, les criatures *en/ho* son (Catalan)
of happy.PL the children CL.INDEF/DEF are

- (11) *őnekik* (...) {a könyv-ük/nem kell menni-ük} (Hungarian)
they.DAT.PL the book-3PL/not need go-3PL 'their book / they don't need to go'

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“Il Zitrone or la Zitrone”? Gender assignment in mixed utterances by Italian heritage speakers in Germany

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A common pattern observed in code-switched speech is the insertion of nouns from one language into another language. If the matrix language (i.e. the language the noun is inserted into) has grammatical gender, the inserted noun needs to be assigned a gender. This presentation will revolve around the question which gender is assigned and why.

Bellamy & Parafita Couto (2021) distinguish three gender assignment strategies in mixed speech, illustrated in (1) – (3) for English nouns inserted into Spanish. In (1), the gender of the translation equivalent of the noun in the Spanish is assigned (the translation of *chair* is *silla*, which is feminine), in (2) a (masculine) default gender is used, and in (3), a shape-based strategy is used, where feminine gender is assigned based on the inserted noun ending in -a.

(1) La <i>chair</i>	(2) El <i>chair</i>	(3) La <i>umbrella</i>	(4) Die <i>bouche</i>
DET.F chair	DET.M chair	DET.F umbrella	DET.F mouth.F
‘the chair’	‘the chair’	‘the umbrella’	‘the mouth’

Different studies report different strategies, possibly due to the often overlooked role of extra-linguistic variables, such as the type of bilingual (e.g. simultaneous vs sequential, Liceras et al. 2012), the specific community (Królikowska et al. 2019), the degree of dominance (Boers et al. 2020), and the reported frequency of code-switching (Beatty-Martínez and Dussias 2017).

Thus far, most of the research on the topic has focused on language pairs with non-overlapping gender systems, like Spanish-English. But what happens when both languages have gender systems with overlapping values, and in particular, when the translation equivalents in the languages have different gender values? Three studies describing the spontaneous production of code-switching in Romance-German bilingual children (Eichler et al. 2012, Radford et al. 2007, Cantone and Müller 2008) report that, in this case, the gender of the phonologically realized noun tends to be preferred, as in (4), where the feminine determiner agrees with the French noun, rather than with its German translation equivalent (Mund.M).

To date, very little research has looked at adult bilinguals of languages with overlapping gender systems, with the exception of Karkaletsou & Paspali (2022), who found that German-dominant heritage speakers of Greek used a neuter default for German masculine nouns inserted into Greek, while for feminine German nouns, they used the feminine Greek determiner, akin to example (4). However, these findings are based on very few tokens in a corpus containing spontaneous speech data. The present study adds to the literature by systematically testing the effect of gender congruency on gender assignment in code-switching between two gendered languages: Italian and German. In addition, we explore to what extent cognate status and transparency of the noun can affect gender assignment strategies, as they do in unilingual mode (Lemhöfer et al. 2008, van Osch et al. 2014). Finally, we ask which extra-linguistic variables, if any, determine the choice of gender assignment strategy?

The methodology comprised an online elicited production task, which required participants to ask the experimenter questions (via Zoom) with the goal of placing certain objects on their screen in the same order as a fictional character on the screen. They conducted the task first in unilingual Italian mode, and then in code-switching mode, where they were asked to name *only* the object in German, prompting sentences such as:

(5) Il *Zitrone* è sotto il cuore?
DET.M lemon is below the heart?

‘Is the lemon below the heart?’

48 target objects were selected from the *Multipic* database (Duñabeitia et al. 2018), which were counterbalanced regarding i) Italian gender, ii) German gender (excluding neuter), iii) transparency and iv) cognate status. A gender decision task with the same objects was used to assess the participants’ knowledge of the objects’ gender in both languages. Moreover, general proficiency in Italian was tested using the *DIALANG* (Alderson, 2005) lexical decision task. Finally, an extensive background questionnaire asked the participants about their self-reported proficiency, amount of use and exposure to their languages, and their code-switching habits.

25 adult HSs of Italian residing in Germany participated in the experiment. The data demonstrate ceiling performance in the unilingual Italian mode. In the code-switching mode, where German words were inserted into Italian, there is a clear effect of congruency: for congruent nouns, the target gender (in both languages) is applied, whereas for incongruent nouns, masculine gender is preferred. This effect was modulated by cognate status, given that the masculine default effect is stronger in cognates than non-cognates (figure 1a, 1b).

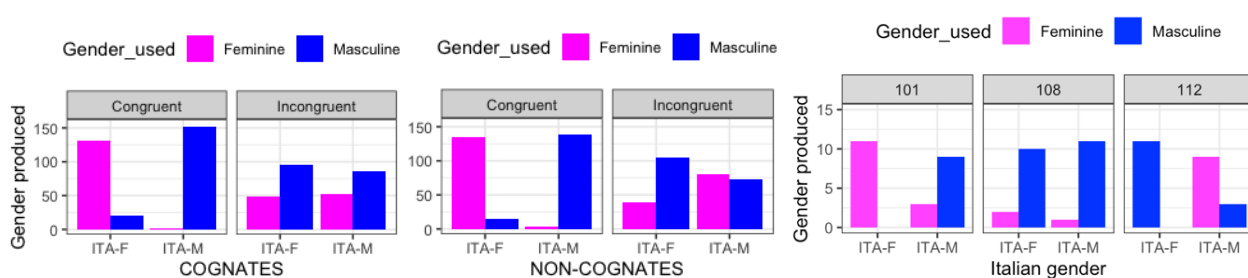


Figure 1: From left to right: a) assigned gender to incongruent nouns code-switching mode for cognates, b) non-cognates, and c) gender assignment patterns for three individual participants.

Moreover, there was considerable variation between participants. Figure 1c shows three participants with very different strategies: 101 uses the Italian gender quite consistently, 112 the German gender, and 108 the masculine default. Ongoing analyses will reveal which extra-linguistic variables best explain the observed individual differences.

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Refining the Italian clausal spine in light of Central Adverbial Clauses

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This work investigates the syntax of central adverbial clauses (CACs), i.e., adjunct clauses that structure the event with which they are related (Haegeman 2003a), with the aims to determine their merge position and to thus refine the architecture of the clausal spine. The empirical domain is mainly restricted to CACs, focusing on Northern Italian. While adjuncts like AdvPs and PPs are hierarchically merged in a fixed universal order along the clausal spine (Cinque 1999, 2006; Baltin 2007), the external syntax of CACs has remained a rather unexplored topic (Haegeman 2003b; Valmala 2009), especially within Romance languages (Munaro 2016, on Italian Conditionals). Although CACs share many similarities with the other adjuncts – they can be introduced by and are semantically equivalent to AdvPs and PPs –, their syntactic distribution is different. Indeed, CACs do not occupy the same syntactic positions as their semantically similar AdvPs and PPs, as in Chinese:

- (1)
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|----------------------------|-------------|---------|-------------|-------|
| a. | Zhangsan | [_{Cau-PP} yinwei | touteng] | gankuai | hui-le | jia. |
| | Zhangsan | because.of | headache | quickly | return-PERF | house |
| b. | *Zhangsan | [_{Cau-CP} yinwei | ta touteng] | gankuai | hui-le | jia. |
| | Zhangsan | because | he headache | quickly | return-PERF | house |
| 'Zhangsan, because of a headache/because he has a headache, quickly returns home.' | | | | | | |

Thus, we argue that CACs are first-merged at the vP/VP level in the hierarchical order in (2).

- (2) [Case_{Nom} [Causal-CPs [Case_{Dat} ... [Case_{Acc} ... [Purpose-CPs [Conditional-CPs [Temporal-CPs [Locative-CPs [Manner-CPs ... [Goal ... [Theme ... [VP]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

A. (i) Reconstruction effects, (ii) VP-ellipsis and (iii) idioms demonstrate that CACs are first-merged inside the vP/VP. (i) Variable binding, (3), and Principle C violation, (4), show that CACs occupy a position which is c-commanded by the subject of the main clause.

- (3)
- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | [Ogni ragazzo] _i cucinerà la torta [Man come sua _i mamma gli ha insegnato]. |
| | '[Every boy] _i will bake the cake as his _i mother taught him.' |
| b. | [Ogni ragazzo] _i rimetterà le pentole [Loc dove sua _i mamma gli ha detto]. |
| | '[Every boy] _i will put the pots back where his _i mother told him.' |
| c. | [Ogni ragazzo] _i cucina una torta [Tem quando sua _i mamma compie gli anni]. |
| | '[Every boy] _i bakes a cake when his _i mother has birthday.' |
| d. | [Ogni ragazzo] _i cucina una torta [Con se sua _i mamma compie gli anni]. |
| | '[Every boy] _i bakes a cake if his _i mother has birthday.' |
| e. | [Ogni ragazzo] _i sistema l'armadio [Pur affinché sua _i mamma sia contenta]. |
| | '[Every boy] _i arranges the closet so that his _i mother is happy.' |
| f. | [Ogni ragazzo] _i è triste [Cau perché sua _i mamma è arrabbiata]. |
| | '[Every boy] _i is sad because his _i mother is angry.' |
- (4)
- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | * <i>pro</i> _i incontrerà Maria [Man come Gianni _i desidera]. |
| | Int: 'Gianni _i will meet Maria as he _i desires.' |
| b. | * <i>pro</i> _i incontrerà Maria [Loc dove Gianni _i vive]. |
| | Int: 'Gianni _i will meet Maria where he _i lives.' |
| c. | * <i>pro</i> _i incontrerà Maria [Tem quando Gianni _i tornerà a casa]. |
| | Int: 'Gianni _i will meet Maria when he _i returns home.' |
| d. | * <i>pro</i> _i incontrerà Maria [Con se Gianni _i tornerà a casa]. |
| | Int: 'Gianni _i will meet Maria if he _i returns home.' |
| e. | * <i>pro</i> _i invierà un articolo [Pur affinché Gianni _i possa partecipare alla conferenza]. |
| | Int: 'Gianni _i will send an article so that he _i can participate in the conference.' |

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**From Code-Mixing to *Language Fusion*:
A Case Study of Negation in Guaraché (* Eastern Paraguay)**

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At least since the description of Gurindji Kriol or Light Warlpiri in Northern Australia, we know that language endangerment in native communities can under specific circumstances lead to the formation of new *mixed lects* with their emergence scenarios located in the 20th century (Meakins 2013; O’Shannessy, 2012). In this work we analyze new grammar data of a parallel case of language mixing located in lowland South America.

Guaraché is a recently discovered *mixed language*, which is widely spoken in six indigenous communities in Eastern Paraguay (Hauk, 2016).

The main matrix language of Guaraché is the highly endangered, indigenous language Aché. Aché, is a heritage language, which is currently spoken by only 300 elderly, indigenous speakers. Additional, Guaraché is the result of a massive influx of linguistic material from Guaraní (henceforth, PG) into the Ache ethnic communities, since the mid 20th century. Both Aché and Guaraní belong to the large, and well-studied Tupí-Guaraní language family, and its subgroup-1 (Rodrigues, 1985). For the Guaraché emergence scenario, we finally identify a third, but less influential, lexical and grammatical source language, namely Paraguayan Spanish (PS). While we do attest a range of examples for minimal, that is, lexical (root) insertion from Paraguayan Spanish (PS) into Guaraché speech, we focus in this talk on the insertion of one grammatical element, namely the negation marker *no* and its use in three different speaker groups within the Aché communities (see, Auer 2014 for terminology).¹

In a first step, we look at older adult speakers (over age of 70) who tend to be only fluent in Aché, and thus, mostly use the grammatical pattern of verbal negation of their heritage language, employing the suffix *-llã* (NEG).

(1) (heritage language of ethnic group: ACHÉ: ÑACUNDAY DIALECT)

Cho chinga-lla-ma kowebu.
pron_{1SG} cry-NEG_A-NON.FUT today
‘Nowadays, I don’t cry anymore.’

Then we compare their speech to middle-aged adult speakers (aged 30-70), who constantly engage in code-switching in every-day speech – creating, in fact, the main linguistic input for ethnic Aché children during first language acquisition. These speakers code-switch between Aché (A) and Paraguayan Guaraní (PG), and then mix in some Paraguayan Spanish (PS).

When it comes to *verbal negation*, we find a rather varied and variable use of patters in these code-switching varieties of Guaraché; attesting verbal circumfix *n(d)-i* [NEG_{PG}] alongside the suffix *-llã* [NEG_A] from Aché (shown in example 1) as well as the frequent use of Spanish *no* [NEG_{PS}]. In fact, often we encounter mixed forms, such as provided in example (3).

(2) (PARAGUAYAN GUARANÍ - PG)

Ko'ãga rupi nd-a-hasẽ-vé-i-ma.

¹ The analyzed data comes from a large-scale corpus of natural occurring speech of ethnic Aché children with each other and with their adult care-takers, which was collected since 2014 and is stored in the *Aché Language Archive* (link: www.mpi.nl/dobes/ache). Some more controlled data elicitation with specific speakers has been used to fill data gaps.

Today pp NEG_{PG}-1SG_A-cry-ASP-NEG_{PG}-NON.FUT.
'Today, I don't cry anymore.'

(3) (adult speaker: code-switching variety: GUARACHÉ)
No me'e-i çe-pe.
NEG_{PS} give_A-NEG_{PG} pron_{1SG/PG}-DOM_A
'(They) did not give me any.' (Guaraché writing follows, Hauck, 2016)

Finally, the younger speaker generations (aged 7-20) are not considered competent speakers of either Aché, Guaraní or Spanish, but are rather understood as L1-speakers of the emergent mixed-lect. With respect to negation, we observe that L1 speakers of Guaraché seem to apply a more restricted grammatical pattern, largely reducing verbal negation to a single element, the marker *no* (as exemplified in, 4). At the phonological surface the element appears to resemble the Spanish negational adverb. However, we claim that on a morphosyntactic level the element might have undergone a structural reanalysis through its insertion into a TG grammatical matrix, since L1 speakers of Guaraché use the surface form *no* [NEG] as a verbal prefix.

(4) (L1 GUARACHÉ)
No-raha go.
NEG_{PS}.carry_{GP} this.
'(S/he) did not take it with (her/him).

The core question in the talk is: *How are grammatical patterns of negation consolidated in the first generation of L1 speakers of Guaraché.* In line with Auer's recent theory, our core hypothesis is that *language fusion* – as observed in younger speakers within the Aché ethnic communities – crucially underlies a process of conventionalization of basic strategies from code-switching, such as insertional mixing (see Auer, 2014, O'Shannessy, 2012).

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VARIABILITY OF SUBJECT ISLAND EFFECTS: EXPERIMENTAL FINDINGS FROM SPANISH

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Introduction. The unacceptability of extractions from island domains (Ross 1967) has been explained by postulating general syntactic constraints (see Chomsky 1977, 1995; Huang 1982, a.o.). The prevailing assumption for these grammatical approaches is that these constraints apply universally across different constructions and languages. However, in the last decade, the literature has argued that this assumption does not hold for subject islands (i.e., the ban of extractions from subjects). For instance, Haegeman et al. (2014) propose that the island status of subjects in English and Spanish emerges from the interaction and cumulative effect of multiple factors (such as type of verb, position of the subject, its thematic role, or its definiteness), rather than a single, general constraint. This casts doubts on constraint-based explanations of island effects. Furthermore, experimental research on subject islands has shown variation both in the strength of the island effects and the conditions that determine their unacceptability cross-linguistically (see, e.g., Abeillé et al. 2020; Polinsky et al. 2013). Our research aims to investigate how some of the different factors listed above interact to create what's perceived as a degraded extraction out of a subject in Spanish. To do so, we designed a series of experimental tasks, aiming to answer the following general questions: Is the unacceptability of extractions from subjects the result of the combined effect of diverse factors? If it is, what does that suggest about the mechanisms governing long-distance dependencies? In this presentation, we report and discuss the results of one of these tasks, which compared type of verb and subject position.

Our study. Building on Haegeman et al.'s theoretical proposal, and Polinsky et al.'s experimental work, this study aims to answer the question of what makes subjects an island for extraction in Spanish, filling an empirical gap in the literature. We focus on the difference between unergative (UE) and unaccusative (UA) verbs, which involve different types of subjects: while the former is an external argument (i.e., merged as a specifier), the latter is an internal argument (i.e., merged as a complement)—transitive verbs were tested in a previous experiment, not reported here. The external/internal argument distinction interacts with the surface position of the subjects in Spanish: subjects can appear in a preverbal or a postverbal position, and it's commonly assumed that the former is a derived/moved position, while the latter is not. As Wexler and Culicover (1980) (a.o.) claim, a moved constituent is frozen for extraction. Thus, we predicted a gradience of acceptability as follows: UA + post-verbal > UE + post-verbal > UA + pre-verbal \sim UE + pre-verbal. This gradience would reflect how the type of verb and the subject position interact to (dis)allow extractions from subjects, under the assumption that moved elements are harder to extract from; and that extraction from complements is easier than from specifiers (consistent with Huang 1982, a.o.).

Methods. We conducted a 1-7 Likert scale acceptability judgment task with a 2x2 design, through the PCIbex platform (Zehr and Schwarz 2018). 12 experimental item sets were created by manipulating type of verb (unaccusative vs. unergative) and subject position (pre vs. post-verbal). Each sentence was preceded by a supportive context (see (1) for a sample item); in all cases the extracted wh-phrase was D-linked, and the subject was indefinite. This created a 'best-case' scenario, minimizing potential effects from other factors. We included a balanced number of grammatical and ungrammatical fillers. Each participant (n=118) read and judged 36 sentences (with their corresponding contexts).

- a. Unergative verb: *correr* 'to race' | Unaccusative verb: *morir* 'to die'
Context: Talking about a car race, Juan tells Pedro that a driver from Angola {**raced** | **died**} in the final. The next day, Pedro asks Juan:

i. Post-verbal condition

¿[De qué país]_i dijiste que {corrió | murió} un piloto ___i en la final?
 of which country said.2SG that raced.3SG died.3SG a driver in the final
 Literal: “[Of which country]_i did you say that {raced / died} a driver ___i in the final?”

ii. Pre-verbal condition

¿[De qué país]_i dijiste que un piloto ___i {corrió | murió} en la final?
 of which country said.2SG that a driver raced.3SG died.3SG in the final
 Literal: “[Of which country]_i did you say that a driver ___i {raced / died} in the final?”

Results & Discussion. To eliminate by-participant scale biases, raw ratings were z-score transformed and analyzed using mixed effect linear regression models. Figure 1 shows the results. Although we didn’t find a significant effect of type of verb, we did find a strong tendency ($p = 0.516$); same for the interaction ($p = 0.645$). In a nested comparison model, we found that, for unaccusative verbs, extractions from postverbal subjects were rated better than extractions from preverbal subjects ($p = 0.0206$). This asymmetry, however, was absent in questions involving unergative verbs; in these cases, the surface position of the subject did not show any effects ($p = 0.7803$). Overall, the experimental data show that extractions from unaccusative postverbal subjects were rated better than those from the other three conditions, which yielded similar results.

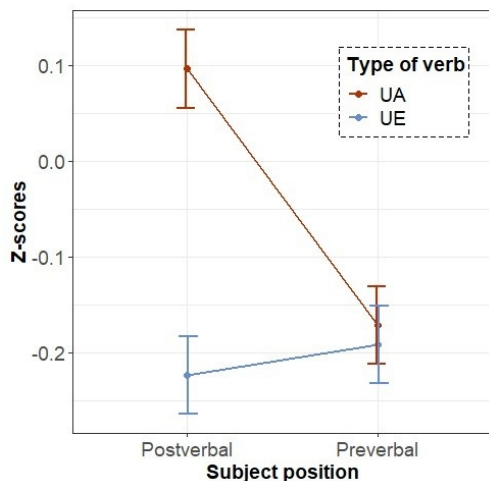


Figure 1: Results

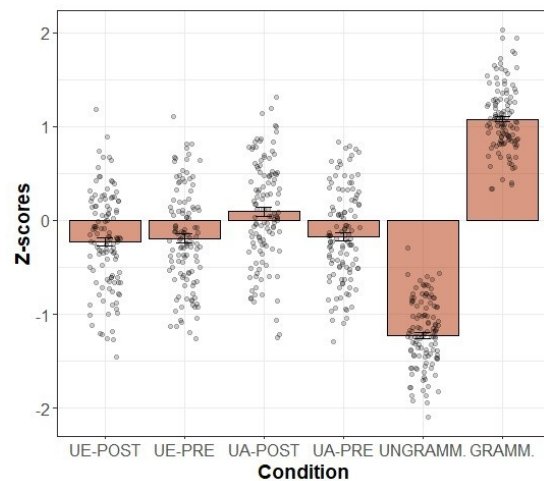


Figure 2: Inter-speaker variation

These results show that the surface position of the subject only affects extractions from subjects of unaccusative verbs, but not of unergative verbs. A possible explanation for these results is that extractions from subjects in complement position (i.e., postverbal subjects of unaccusative verbs) are better than extractions from subjects in specifier position, regardless of whether this position is derived (i.e., preverbal subjects of both types of verbs) or not (i.e., postverbal subjects of unergative verbs). This resembles Huang’s (1982) Condition on Extraction Domains, although a CED account would predict a more clear-cut pattern, which we don’t find. Furthermore, our data suggest that there are no freezing effects, given that extractions of post- and preverbal subjects of unergative verbs are not different from each other. It’s also worth mentioning that the unmarked position for subjects of unergatives in Spanish is preverbal (*Sonia trabajó* vs. *Trabajó Sonia* ‘Sonia worked.’). In this respect, it might be the case that extractions from postverbal subjects of unergative verbs could be penalized as a marked position. Finally, Figure 2 shows the distribution of mean z-scores across participants and conditions, revealing substantial variation in the ratings of these structures (as compared to (un)grammatical fillers). We argue that the observed interspeaker variability also challenges universal constraint-based accounts of subject islands.

Conclusions. Our research fills an empirical gap by examining the acceptability of extractions from subjects in Spanish, focusing on the comparison between type of verb (unaccusative vs. unergative)

and subject position (preverbal vs. postverbal). Our predicted gradience in the judgments was not found, and surface position of the subject doesn't seem to be determinant across the board. Our results suggests that what matters is the complement vs. specifier position from where extraction takes place. Finally, the inter-speaker variation found challenges the universality of syntactic constraints and also cautions against simply relying on the presence/absence of the relevant statistical effects.

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O que passa é que não lhe vou responder em català: Language alternations and language attitudes in the discourse of Portuguese living in Andorra

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This work presents the preliminary results of a sociolinguistic study conducted in the Portuguese community living in Andorra (around 9.500 inhabitants, constituting 11.9% of the population).

This research is twofold: on the one hand, we analysed how and in which contexts the phenomenon of language alternation (Portuguese-Catalan / Portuguese-Spanish, and eventually Portuguese-English) is present in the discourse of speakers who have Portuguese as their mother tongue; on the other hand, it delves into the language attitudes, expressed in the individual narratives, not only towards Catalan and Spanish but also towards Portuguese.

To study the influence of Catalan and other languages on the oral speech of Portuguese immigrants living in Andorra, we collected and transcribed samples of (semi-)spontaneous speech (30 interviews) in an informal setting. The data collection follows the methodology proposed by variationist sociolinguistics (Labov, 2001; Tagliamonte, 2012) to build a stratified sample according to education (up to 12 years of schooling/higher education), age interval (between 16-19, 20-35 and 35-50), and gender. Other variables were also controlled, such as their jobs, number of years living in Andorra, age when the participants moved to Andorra, contact with other languages, and proficiency in Catalan.

Following Poplack (2020), language alternations instances were encoded according to its pragmatic function and typology: (i) lexical borrowing, defined as "the act of incorporating words originating from one language, to which we refer as the donor language (LD), into the discourse of a recipient language (LR)" (Poplack, 2020: 47), (ii) single -or multi-word intrasentential code-switching, and (iii) convergence, defined as "a change in LR grammar supposedly due to the influence of LD" (Poplack, 2020: 47).

Results of this empirically-grounded study indicate that language attitudes and language alternations are motivated mainly by two external variables: level of education and timing of immigration. Migrants from the first waves of migration and with a low level of education (between 6 and 9 years of schooling) tend to use Portuguese and Spanish in their daily routine, and they alter languages more often.

Contrastively, recent migrants (living in Andorra for the past 10-15 years) and speakers with a higher level of education show fewer instances of language alterations. These speakers work mainly in services and show a positive attitude towards learning Catalan.

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V-N compounds in French: an analysis without nulls

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V-N compounds are one of the characteristics of Romance languages and have been called “exocentric compounds”, because none of the parts of the compound can be considered to be the head of the compound, accounting for its semantic, categorial and morphological properties. Instead, the head of the compound seems to be outside the compound, as in the example (1) from French, which means ‘something (a machine) that washes the dishes’.

(1) *un lave-vaisselle*

a wash dishes

‘a dishwasher’

In syntactic approaches to morphology, very little attention has been paid to exocentric compounds. Harley (2009) was the first to propose an analysis for (English) compounds within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993). Harley proposes that compounds consist of combined (partly) categorized roots which are dominated by a functional categorizer (Marantz 2001), which would be little *n* in the case of (1). This categorizer dominates semantic features that may be realized overtly as a suffix (as in English *dishwasher*) or as a null exponent (as in French *lave-vaisselle*).

Another analysis of Romance exocentric compounds has been proposed by Nóbrega and Panagiotidis (2020) and Nóbrega (2020). For V-N compounds the authors argue that they are “false” compounds. They do not contain an (empty) external head, realized by a little *n* that is not lexically realized. They build, instead, on an analysis put forth by Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe (2006), proposing that there is a null in the case of “false” exocentric compounds such as V-N compounds, but that this null is small *pro*, functioning as the subject of the verb in a reduced relative clause. The external head interpretation of the “false” exocentric compound would result from the interpretation of small *pro*.

There has been a lot of discussion on the desirability of nulls in morphology (see, a.o., the discussion in Dahl & Fábregas 2018; Don, 1993; Don, 2023). The (over)use of zero-affixes has also led to criticisms and to alternative approaches. A syntactic approach to derivation in which the use of derivational zero-affixes is rejected is Borer’s Exo-Skeletal model (2003, 2013: Ch. 7). In Borer’s Exo-Skeletal Model, zero-affixes are banned: category-less roots can be dominated by categorized affixes or by functional projections such as DP or TP only. Bauer (2022) argues against the use of nulls in Nóbrega and Panagiotidis’ (2020) analysis.

In this paper I reject both analyses with nulls, the little *n* and the small *pro* analysis, for exocentric compounds. As Borer, I do not allow null categorizing *n* to change the category of a categorized structure. I build partly on Sleeman (2023), who proposes an analysis for verbal and nominal nominalized infinitives in Old French and V → N conversions in modern French, which are shown to be very productive. Sleeman (2023) proposes that in both cases there is no null *n* categorizer to account for the “nominalized” status of the infinitive and the V → N construction, but that the nominal interpretation simply results from nominal functional projections, such as NumP, DP, etc. The difference between the two types results from the number and nature of verbal and nominal functional projections, as in Alexiadou, Iordăchioaia and Schäfer (2011). Differently than in Grimshaw’s (1991) Extended Projections model and Borer’s model, in this account “nominal” functional projections may dominate “verbal” ones, without intervening overt categorizers. This was, in fact, already the case in Marantz (1997) and is defended in Borsley and Kornfilt (1999).

In this paper I add V-N compounds to the analysis. I argue that what V-N compounds such as in (1) have in common with nominalized infinitives and V → N conversions is that there is a default masculine gender interpretation. This points to the absence of a nominal categorizer or a small *pro* to express an exocentric head. Functional verbal and nominal projections or their absence are sufficient to derive the correct interpretations, as in Borer's model. For the default masculine compound in (1) I propose structure (2):

- (2) [DP [NumberP [GenP [ClassP [TP [VoiceP [Voice' root [NumberP [GenP [ClassP root]]]]]]]]]]
 [+count] [3sg]

V-N compounds in French (or in Romance in general) do not only consist of compounds with default masculine gender. There are also V-N compounds that refer to persons and may be masculine or feminine, depending on the referent, such as *un(e) casse-cou*, lit. 'a male or female break-neck', meaning 'a daredevil (m/f)'. Although in the case of compounds referring to persons an analysis with the help of a nominal categorizer or a small *pro* would seem to be more natural than in the case of default masculine gender V-N compounds, since in both types of analyses person (and gender) features could be inserted, I propose in this paper that even in this case the choice of nominal functional projections (in the sense of Grimshaw 1991) and their feature content will be sufficient to account for the animate interpretations.

For default masculine compounds (and nominalized infinitives and V → N conversions) in French I propose, building on Sleeman and Ihsane (2016), that both Gen(der)P and DP contain an unspecified uninterpretable gender feature. Preminger (2011) claims that if those features on the host which were supposed to be valued by the target noun phrase are not valued, they retain their preexisting or default values. Sleeman and Ihsane (2016) extend this analysis to default masculine animate DPs in French such as *un enfant* 'a male or female child', for which they assume that it has no gender features, and suggest that when the unspecified gender feature on D and Gen remains unvalued, default masculine gender results. In the case of default masculine compounds the uninterpretable unspecified gender features on D and Gen remain unvalued, because a "head" noun of the DP is missing, resulting in a default masculine form. I propose that in the case of animate V-N compounds the gender feature is interpretable in GenP and uninterpretable in D, as in the case of *le garçon* 'the boy' in Sleeman and Ihsane's (2016) analysis. Although there is no "head" noun in the case of the animate compound, the interpretable valued gender feature on the head of GenP, can be provided by a referent in the situational or linguistic context. The valued interpretable gender feature on Gen may serve to value the unspecified uninterpretable feature on D.

Bauer (2022) states that exocentricity in word-formation is a difficult area and that there have been multiple hypotheses to deal with it. This paper joins this tendency in that presumed "real" (little *n*) or "false" (small *pro*) exocentric heads are banned from the analysis and that an analysis on the basis of the mixing of functional projections and their features is proposed.

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The intermediate zone between insertion and alternation in code-switching: Evidence from a bilingual corpus of Italo-Romance heritage varieties and English

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This paper aims to re-evaluate the structural categories traditionally employed to describe code-switching phenomena (henceforth, CS), demonstrating that many instances exhibit characteristics that do not fully align with prototypical cases.

In the CS literature, the phenomenon has traditionally been described as taking two main forms – insertion and alternation (Myers-Scotton 1993; Poplack 1980; Muysken 2000) – identifiable based on precise structural diagnostic criteria. However, many instances do not perfectly conform to these criteria and are difficult to categorise, even within Muysken's (2000) seemingly more accommodating third category of ‘congruent lexicalization’.

Recently, within the usage-based framework (Backus 2015; 2020), attempts to reassess the typology of CS have been made to explain these ‘deviant’ cases, proposing a continuum between the prototypes of insertion and alternation (Demircay & Backus 2014; Demircay 2017). By considering structural, social, and cognitive factors within a unified account, this approach enables a better understanding of the nature of CS, particularly of those ambiguous instances that traditional models cannot adequately explain.

More specifically, the usage-based approach explains linguistic knowledge by considering the interplay of lexical (specific) and structural (schematic) elements, rather than through a modular framework that strictly separates lexicon and syntax. This can lead to different interpretations of CS forms, which may not align with what the superficial structure of the phenomenon would suggest. For instance, while a switch to another language involving more than a single constituent is typically considered a case of alternation (or, at most, a sequence of contiguous insertions) based on structural criteria only, within the usage-based framework, this is not necessarily the case. Rather, it can correspond to a complex, multimorphemic insertion, similar to a one-word insertion and, despite being structurally more complex than a single word, entrenched through usage in a speaker’s mental lexicon. Additionally, the insertion of a word or a constituent can trigger further material in the same language, extensive enough to turn into an alternation. In neither case are we dealing with prototypical insertion or alternation, but something in between the two prototypes.

Aside from a few exceptions (e.g., Del Vecchio 2023; Lantto 2015), there are very few works where CS involving a Romance language is interpreted through a usage-based approach. Accordingly, building on the works, within this framework, mentioned above, this paper examines complex cases of CS found in a bilingual corpus involving Italo-Romance heritage varieties and English. These cases are difficult to categorise as they do not perfectly fit the opposition between the insertional and alternational patterns.

The corpus under investigation has been collected in an Italian immigrant group originating from two small villages in the province of Benevento (Campania region, Italy), which settled in Bletchley (UK) during the 1960s and has now reached the third immigrant generation. It consists of spontaneous speech data collected through participant observation by the author and recordings produced by the study participants during everyday, informal communicative events with other community members.

Specifically, by relying on this corpus, the paper presents a qualitative analysis of cases of CS that are difficult to describe using traditional structural criteria. These cases exhibit characteristics

resembling insertion (e.g., a certain degree of morpho-syntactic integration into a grammatical frame provided by one language) but are simultaneously more structurally complex than a single-constituent insertion, thus also closely related to alternation. In line with the usage-based approach to CS (Backus 2015; 2020), the analysis considers mechanisms that go beyond the superficial structure of the phenomena, including social and cognitive factors, to gain insights into what actually takes place in bilingual utterances. Adopting such an approach necessarily implies that boundaries between categories are not sharp and that there is a continuum between phenomena, making it challenging to attribute instances to a distinct category. Whether the speaker retrieved a multiword element from memory as a whole or constructed it synchronically during the on-line interaction determines how closely the case aligns with a particular prototype.

The main claim is that while traditional models of CS provide a valuable descriptive framework that accommodates most phenomena encountered in various language combinations, they become less reliable when dealing with more complex instances that do not fully conform to the structural criteria these models propose. Additionally, relying solely on such criteria misses the broader picture of what actually motivates the switch, the form it takes, and what occurs in a speaker's mind when producing such instances. Cases that structurally appear as instances of alternation may actually function similarly to insertions because the social motivations and cognitive mechanisms behind their manifestation are the same. In conclusion, social and cognitive factors play a crucial role in shaping CS and offer significant insights into the nature of the phenomenon.

Keywords: code-switching; usage-based approach; categories; Italo-Romance heritage varieties; English.

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Prenominal possessives with indefinites in Romance

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1. Issue and goals. On the basis of native speakers' judgements and observations and data in Brito (2017), Brucart (2002), Giusti (2015), IEC (2016), and Miguel (2004), among other works, we will thoroughly describe and compare the properties of prenominal possessives with indefinites in different Romance varieties, focusing on Standard (and northern) Italian (SI), Girona Catalan (GC), and a so-called "conservative" dialect of European Portuguese spoken in North and Central Portugal (CEP) (as it is well-known, the [indefinite determiner+poss+N] construction was used in Old Romance across-the-board). To the best of our knowledge, this issue that has not been addressed in the literature before. It will be argued, in a nutshell, that SI prenominal possessives within indefinite DPs are weak forms with an unmarked possessive-only interpretation, whereas the corresponding possessives in both GC and CEP are strong forms that convey an additional evaluative import. A structural formal analysis will also be provided that explicitly captures these facts.

2. (Non-)evaluative possessives. According to our informants, in GC and CEP, by using a prenominal possessive with an indefinite the speaker evaluates the possession relation, seeking to express that there is a close relation between the possessor and the possessum. In SI, these forms have an exclusively possessive interpretation instead. This difference in meaning arguably lie behind two other relevant properties that clearly set apart prenominal possessives with indefinites in GC/CEP and in SI: as illustrated with the GC examples in (1), in GC and CEP, these items are subject to lexical restrictions, preferably combining with relational or argumental nouns (1a) and, like Romance prenominal qualifying adjectives (Bosque 2001), they also force the specific interpretation of the indefinite, thus rejecting high cardinals, vague numerals and subjunctive relative clauses (1b,c).

- (1) a. un meu {amic/article/#cotxe} b. {dos/alguns/#vint/#molts} meus amics
 a my friend/paper/car two/some/twenty/many my friends
c. Estic buscant un meu amic que {vol/*vulgui} venir amb mi a París
 'I am looking for a friend of mine who wants to come.IND/SUBJ with me to Paris'

In SI, however, prenominal possessives with indefinites co-occur with all types of nouns and indefinite determiners (2a,b), and do combine with a subjunctive relative clause (2c).

- (2) a. una mia {sorella/proposta/macchina} b. {due/alcuni/venti/molti} miei amici
 a my sister/proposal/car two/some/twenty/many my friends
c. Sto cercando un mio amico che {vuole/voglia} venire con me a Parigi.
 'I am looking for a friend of mine who wants to come.IND/SUBJ with me to Paris'

3. Strong and weak possessives. The second difference between prenominal possessives with indefinites in SI and GC/CEP has to do with their strong or weak nature (cf. Cardinaletti 1998). Our informants' judgements show at this respect that, just like Romance prenominal possessives following the definite article, SI prenominal possessives within indefinite DPs are weak forms, which, among other syntactic and semantic properties, cannot be focalized (3a), may have both human and non-human referents (3b), and surface in a fixed derived position (they are strictly adjacent to the determiner) (3c).

- (3) a. *una SUA casa, non tua b. un suo coperchio (suo = John, frying pan)
 a his/her house, not yours a his/its lid
c. una sua bella casa/*una bella sua casa

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Don't Pause Me When I Switch

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The study investigates the effect of code-switching (CS) on processing and attachment resolution of ambiguous relative clauses (RC). It checks whether code-switching imposes a prosodic break at the place of language change, and whether this prosodic break affects RC parsing as predicted by the Implicit Prosody Hypothesis (IPH, Fodor 2002).

The linguistic target is an ambiguous RC (1), which can be parsed to either high attachment (HA) in (1a) or low attachment (LA) (1b). The IPH claims that languages with a preference for HA have a prosodic break before the RC (2a) whereas, languages with a preference for LA have a prosodic break before the preposition 'of' (2b). The IPH was supported by auditory experiments manipulating a prosodic break as in (2) (Goad et al. 2017, Fromont et al. 2017). These studies demonstrated that a change in the placement of a prosodic break entails a change in RC resolution. The present experiment follows the same line and uses CS to impose a prosodic break at the places predicted by the IPH.

The design compares RC resolution in a unilingual sentence to the RC parsing in sentences with CS, as exemplified in (3). In sentences (3a) and (3b), the place of CS favors either HA or LA, respectively. In sentence (3c), the default prosody of the English language has a break inside the complex DP and returns LA (see Fodor 2002 for full review). Similar reasoning holds true for Russian (HA), Norwegian (LA) and Portuguese (LA, as established in our previous experiment). The participants are adult Russian-Norwegian, Norwegian-English and Portuguese-English L2ers, upper-intermediate and advanced in their L2 proficiency. The L2ers participated in a self-paced reading experiment, where one word was retrieved on the computer screen at a time. Every token was followed by a comprehension question with two answer choices. Software for linguistic experiments Linger recorded the participants' reading and response time, as well as their answer choices.

The data from two experimental groups (4), Russian-Norwegian and Norwegian-English, demonstrate that there is sensitivity to the place of CS in either Norwegian-English or in Russian-Norwegian sentences. The effect is stronger in the Russian-Norwegian CS. In the unilingual sentences, RC resolution stays within the range of LA in both Norwegian and English. In Russian, there is a preference for HA, but it is lower than what experiments with Russian would normally demonstrate (see Sokolova & Slabakova 2021). In L2 Norwegian, the participants tend to prefer LA, and the difference between Russian and Norwegian is marginally significant. These findings go in line with earlier research (Sokolova & Slabakova 2022, 2021). There is a similar slowdown in both groups at the place of CS. However, sentences with CS do not cause longer response time than unilingual sentences. Data collection in Portugal is paused for the summertime and will be completed by the time of the conference.

We conclude that CS most likely imposes a prosodic break that favors either HA or LA of an ambiguous RC, thus following the general predictions of the IPH. It is noticeable that the effect of CS is stronger than the language effect in the Russian-Norwegian group. In unilingual sentences, these participants do not show parsing preferences typical for L2ers but behave like heritage speakers. The former can be explained by the level of L2 proficiency and daily exposure to the L2. Finally, the processing effect of CS disappears at the span of two consecutive words and does not increase processing load in general. It suggests integrated processing of two languages in one sentence.

Appendix:

(1) Bill saw [_{DP} the friend of the neighbor [_{RC} that was drinking coffee]]

- a. [DP [DP the friend of the neighbor] [RC that was drinking coffee]]
(HA, *the friend was drinking coffee*)
- b. [DP the friend of [DP the neighbor [RC that was drinking coffee]]]
(LA, *the neighbor was drinking coffee*)

- (2) Bill saw [DP the friend of the neighbor [RC that was drinking coffee]]
- a. [DP [DP the friend of the neighbor] pause [RC that was drinking coffee]] (HA)
 - b. [DP the friend pause of [DP the neighbor [RC that was drinking coffee]]] (LA)

(3) *italics marks a language change*

- a. Bill arrested the friend of the neighbor *that was drinking coffee* (HA by CS)
 - b. Bill arrested the friend of *the neighbor that was drinking coffee* (LA by CS)
 - c. Eng: Bill arrested the friend of the neighbor that was drinking coffee (LA by Language)
 - d. Rus: Ivan arestoval druga soseda kotoryj pil kofe (HA by Language)
 - Nor: Bill arresterte vennen til naboen som drakk kaffe (LA by Language)
 - Port: O Guilherme prendeu o amigo do vizinho que estava a beber café (LA by Language)
- *Data collection in Portugal is paused for the summer break*

(4) Results: RC attachment resolution in Norwegian-English and Russian-Norwegian groups

	Norwegian-English	Russian-Norwegian
RC Nor	26	46
RC Eng	23	n/a
RC Rus	n/a	53 ⁽ⁱ⁾
CS HA	22 ⁽ⁱ⁾	41*
CS LA	18	33

There is an increase in reading time at the place of language change in each group
There is no effect of either Language or place of CS on response time

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Does the Referential Hierarchy influence subject and object omission in L2 English? Evidence from European Portuguese speakers learning English

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Studies on synchronic and diachronic syntax have shown that referentiality is relevant for pronominalisation crosslinguistically. According to Cyrino, Kato & Duarte (2000), in linguistic systems that have the option of either overt or null variants, the choice of one form or the other is influenced by the Referential Hierarchy in Figure 1. In this hierarchy, the 1st and 2nd person, with the inherent [+human] feature, occupy the highest position, and the expletive the lowest.

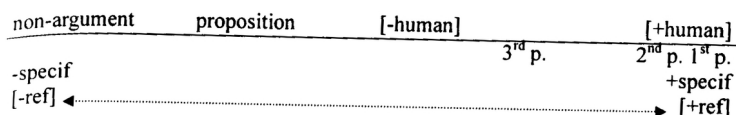


Figure 1. Referential hierarchy (Cyrino et al., 2000: 59)

Based on the Referential Hierarchy, Cyrino et al. (2000) formulated the Implicational Mapping Hypothesis, which proposes that the less referential, the greater the possibility of a null pronoun, and that “a null variant at a specific point on the scale implies null variants to its left in the referential hierarchy” (p. 59). This hypothesis is corroborated by diachronic data from Brazilian Portuguese (BP), which has evolved into a partial null subject language (NSL) and a null object language (NOL) (cf. Cyrino et al., 2000), as well as by data on null object (NO) production among heritage speakers of European Portuguese (EP) (e.g., Rinke, Flores, & Barbosa, 2018). In the field of L2 acquisition, Teixeira (2019) shows that L1 speakers of EP (a consistent NSL) allow null subjects (NSs) in L2 English due to L1 transfer, unlike L1 speakers of French (a non-NSL), and that the elimination of these subjects from interlanguage grammars is influenced by referentiality: [+human] referential NSs are eliminated first, followed by [-human] referential NSs and expletive NSs.

These preliminary results suggest that the loss of null elements may proceed from [+referential] to [-referential] along the Referential Hierarchy. However, the existing studies on NSs in L2 English have mostly investigated 3rd person subjects with DP antecedents, without exploring all the possibilities in the Referential Hierarchy. Moreover, to this date, it is still unclear whether L1 speakers of a language that allows null objects like EP also admit them in L2 English and, if so, whether the Referential Hierarchy guides interlanguage restructuring in this respect.

To fill these gaps, the present study investigates NSs and NOs in L2 English – L1 EP. The participants were 54 L1 EP adult learners of L2 English (18 B2, 18 C1, 18 C2) and 15 adult native speakers of English, who formed the control group. They were administered two timed acceptability judgement tasks, which is a type of task proposed to tap primarily into implicit knowledge (Ellis, 2005). The task on subjects had a 2x5 design, crossing the variables *overtness* (null vs. overt) and *type of subject* (2p human vs. 3p human vs. 3p non-human vs. propositional vs. expletive). The task on 3p objects had a 2x3 design crossing the variables *overtness* (null vs. overt) and *type of object* (human vs. non-human vs. propositional).

Results show that, at the B2 level, learners accept overt pronominal subjects (OSs) significantly more than NSs when the subject is both [+human] (2p and 3p) and [-human] ($ps \leq .0446$). However, an animacy effect is observed in the acceptance of 3p referential NSs, with learners assigning higher acceptance rates to [-human] than to [+human] NSs ($p = .0229$). For propositional and expletive subjects, B2 learners do not distinguish between the NS and the OS ($ps \geq .1116$), accepting both. Nevertheless, expletive NSs are significantly more accepted than propositional NSs ($p = .0166$). At the C1 level, learners clearly prefer OSs over NSs in all conditions ($ps < .0001$), except in the expletive condition, where the difference between NSs and OSs is only marginally significant ($p = .0738$). The animacy effect found in the acceptance of 3p NSs at the B2 level is also observed at the C1 level ($p = .0003$), as is the asymmetry in the acceptance of propositional and expletive NSs

($p=.0015$). Finally, C2 learners converge with the L2, accepting OSs and rejecting NSs across conditions ($ps\leq.0002$), like the natives. No differences are found in the acceptance of NSs ($ps\geq.1$).

Regarding objects, our results reveal that the native and L2 groups accept overt objects significantly more than NOs in all conditions ($ps\leq.0286$). However, unlike native speakers, B2 and C1 learners do not completely reject NOs, as they assign mean acceptance rates above 3 (on a 1-5 scale) to [-human] NOs at the B2 level and to propositional NOs at both B2 and C1 levels. Statistical analyses show that, at these levels, the acceptance of NOs is higher when the antecedent is [-human] than when it is [+human] ($ps\leq.0366$), and that propositional NOs are significantly more accepted than [-human] NOs ($ps\leq.0022$). At the C2 level, learners equally reject NOs in all conditions.

These findings indicate that, in the L2 acquisition of English by speakers of a Romance NSL and NOL like EP, the elimination of null elements unfolds gradually, progressing from the [+referential] to the [-referential] end of the Referential Hierarchy. NSs appear to be eliminated according to the following scale: Referential [+human] NS > Referential [-human] NS > Propositional NS > Expletive NS. A similar scale is found in the elimination of NOs: Referential [+human] NO > Referential [-human] NO > Propositional NO. The only contrast predicted by the Referential Hierarchy that is not found in L2 English interlanguages (at least at the levels we tested) is the asymmetry between 1p/2p and 3p in the acceptance of [+human] NSs. However, overall, our results highlight the role of the Referential Hierarchy in shaping syntactic development and transfer effects in L2 acquisition.

Sample test item from the task on subjects:

Item: *The streets of Chicago are covered in a white blanket because yesterday snowed all day.*

The sentence is presented word by word at a rate of 500 ms per word and is followed by the instruction below:

Indicate to what extent the sentence you read is acceptable in English.

(Please, answer this question as fast as possible)

Totally unacceptable | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totally acceptable

If you don't know, press 'N'

Sample test item from the task on objects:

Item: *Did you find your credit card? - Yes, I found in the car.*

The sentences are presented word by word at a rate of 500 ms per word and are followed by the instruction below:

Indicate to what extent the last sentence you read is acceptable in English.

(Please, answer this question as fast as possible)

Totally unacceptable | 1 2 3 4 5 | Totally acceptable

If you don't know, press 'N'

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On the role of *n* in the derivation of rich-agreement pro-drop

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Background Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), Barbosa (1995), Manzini and Savoia (2002), Ordóñez and Treviño (1999) have argued that, in the consistent Null Subject Languages (NSL), the functional head bearing subject agreement has a nominal specification ([+D]; valued phi-features) to the effect that it has the status of a pronominal affix on V raised to T. Hence, there is no EPP related movement to Spec-TP and the subject stays inside the post-verbal field, its Case being checked under long distance Agree. When the subject is lexical, this yields a post-verbal subject construction. When the subject is null, the status of the thematic subject position reduces to that of the thematic position associated with pronominal clitics in general. SVO constructions are analysed as instantiations of independently attested mechanisms of placing an argument in the front of the clause. One of them is Clitic Left Dislocation (cf. the European Portuguese (EP) example *O João, vi-o ontem* 'John, I saw him yesterday'). A sentence with a pre-verbal subject such as *O João telefonou* 'John called' in EP is analysed as in (1), where the DP *o João* is a (base-generated) topic doubled by clitic-Agr.

(1) [[O João]_i [telefonou_i ec_i]]

Nonreferring quantified phrases cannot be dislocated. Yet, they can be fronted (cf. *Algo (*o) disseram, mas não sei o quê*. 'Something they must have said, but I don't know what'). Under the pronominal-Agr theory, SV constructions with a non-referential QP as subject in a NSL, such as *Alguém telefonou* 'Someone called', are analyzed as involving the same derivation as non-referential object constructions with a fronted object, with direct movement to a non L-related position:

(2) [_{FP} Alguém [_F telefonou [_{VP} ~~alguém~~ telefonou]]

The theory just sketched adequately captures a number of facts, such as (i) asymmetries between the Romance NSLs and French / English regarding pre-verbal subjects, and (ii) asymmetries between 'referential' subjects and non-referential quantified subjects, which are attested in the NSLs though unattested in French or English (Barbosa 1995; Ordóñez and Treviño 1999). In spite of its remarkable empirical scope, the pronominal Agr hypothesis faces challenges. First, most implementations of this hypothesis assume that D is the categorial specification of pronominal Agr. However, a null subject can be a pure indefinite (cf. *Está a bater a porta* 'There is someone knocking'). Second, it has been noted in the literature that SV(O) sentences differ from OVS sentences (i.e., object CLLD / object fronting) informationally and distributionally (Costa 2004; Cardinaletti 2004; Goodall 2002; Suner 2003; Camacho 2013). This talk offers an alternative account of the status of Agr in the consistent NSLs which doesn't face the problems noted and yet maintains the predictive power of the pronominal Agr hypothesis.

Typological detour Barbosa (2019) examined the properties of two other types of pro-drop language, the partial NSLs and the discourse pro-drop languages, and argued that the same basic mechanism underlies pro-drop in these languages, namely null NP (property) anaphora, as originally proposed by Tomioka (2003) for discourse pro-drop. The two sets of languages show a correlation between the occurrence of null arguments and the availability of a bare nominal in argument position. As suggested by Tomioka (2003) for Japanese, *nP* introduces a property that is pragmatically retrieved and is interpreted by general type shifting operations (Iota or Existential Closure). Ruda (2017) offers a similar analysis in her study of null objects in English, Hungarian and Polish. According to her, these minimally consist of a default, minimally specified null nominal — the same item that arguably appears as a complement of D in pronouns, the meaning of which is 'entity' (a property that is trivially true of any individual in the domain (Elbourne 2005)). Her proposal is that this proform reduces to the categorizing head *n*, lacking a root. With

this much as background, we propose to offer an analysis of rich agreement pro-drop that also relies on n (rather than D).

Analysis From Koenenman and Zeijlstra (2022), we take the view that Subject Agr in the consistent NSLs is an independent morpheme (ϕ) and has inherently valued ϕ -features. Differently from them, we view the role of ϕ in light of the internal structure of pronouns as proposed by De'chaine and Wiltschko (2002). More concretely, we propose that ϕ as an independent morpheme must Merge with n in order to be fully interpreted. In addition, we adopt Chomsky (2020)'s notion of Workspace, which includes the Lexicon, as well as the suggestion that Head raising is an instance of Pair Merge interspersed with Set Merge (Hisa Kitahara, p.c.). Thus, the derivation of a null subject sentence in a consistent NSL will proceed as follows: 1. n is first merged in argument position, vP internally: [VP n [V' v]]]. 2. Next, v is pair merged with T (drawn from the Lexicon) forming $\langle v, T \rangle$, and the resulting amalgam is set merged with vP: [$\langle v, T \rangle$ [VP n [V' v ...]]]]. 3. n is pair merged with ϕ (drawn from the Lexicon), yielding $\langle n, \phi \rangle$. 4. $\langle n, \phi \rangle$ (a pronoun) is then pair merged with TP, thereby checking the EPP:

$$(3) [TP \langle n, \phi \rangle [TP \langle v, T \rangle [vP \# [V' v \dots]]]]]$$

Since the head $\langle n, \phi \rangle$ is an affix, it undergoes Morphological Merger with T (Matushansky 2006): [TP [T [T $\langle v, T \rangle$] $\langle n, \phi \rangle$] [vP ...]]. This process results in a verbal complex containing an incorporated pronoun, which is what we need for a consistent NSL.

Concerning interpretation, recall that the default meaning of n is the property 'entity'. We assume Chung and Ladusaw (2003)'s proposal that there are two ways of solving the type- mismatch that arises when a property denoting expression combines with a verbal predicate. *Specify* assimilates properties to entities by means of a type-shifting operation, a choice function that maps a property onto an entity that has the property. *Restrict* composes the property as a restrictive modifier of the predicate without changing the degree of unsaturation. Consider the first option. In this case, $\langle n, \phi \rangle$ is interpreted at the C-I interface as an index. Heim and Kratzer (1998) proposed that indices may be interpreted either as variables or as variable binders. This means that there are two options. When the index has a variable-type meaning, it can be either free (i.e., interpreted via an assignment function) or bound. This gives us the pronominal interpretation. However, when the clausal projection combines with an externally merged DP, as in (1), $\langle n, \phi \rangle$ can be interpreted as a variable binder and be translated as a lambda operator.

$$(4) \text{ a. } [TP [\text{o Joa}\tilde{\text{o}}] [TP \langle n, \phi \rangle [TP \dots]]] \rightarrow \text{ b. } [TP [\text{o Joa}\tilde{\text{o}}] [TP \lambda_n [TP \text{telefonou} \dots]]]$$

In (4-b), the clausal projection is interpreted as a predicate of the externally merged DP. This predication configuration accounts for the distributional and informational differences found between OVS and SV(O) orders. Whenever n composes with the predicate via Restrict, two options arise. I. Since Restrict doesn't change the degree of unsaturation of the predicate, the argument position it targets is free to compose with another noun phrase (a process labelled *multiple linking* in Chung and Ladusaw (2003)). The lexical DP is externally merged in Spec-vP and combines with the predicate by Function Application. This gives us 'free inversion'.

$$(5) [vP DP [vP n [V' v]]]$$

The other option arises when the variable introduced by n is bound under Existential Closure, yielding the indefinite interpretation. Crucially, this interpretation is available only in the plural (cf. *Estão a bater à porta* 'There is someone knocking'). This restriction can be attributed to a general ban on bare singular nouns (as opposed to bare plurals) in argument position in these languages.

Factivity and mood in Spanish complement clauses

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A long-standing question concerning Spanish complement clauses is whether the choice of mood (indicative vs. subjunctive) is determined by a selectional requirement of the (semantic/syntactic class of the) embedding predicate, or whether the two different moods carry their own meaning (Terrell/Hooper 1974). Proposals that have been made along the lines of the second option argue for an association of mood with discourse properties such as, among others, factivity – i.e. the presupposition made by the speaker that the propositional content of the complement clause is true and uncontroversial in context (= part of the common ground). The empirical and theoretical claims regarding the interdependence of mood and factivity in the literature are in parts contradictory: For both the indicative (e.g. Giannakidou/Mari 2016) and the subjunctive (e.g. Meinunger 2017) there are claims that these individual moods are associated with factivity. These contradictory claims apply across as well as within different (types of) verbs: For some embedding predicates (e.g. *suponer*, *esperar*, *sospechar* and *admitir*, Rivero 1971), the indicative is thought to signal presupposition while the subjunctive signals a neutral attitude. For verbs with lexicalized negation as part of their meaning (e.g. *negar*, *dudar*, *desmentir*) there is an equivalent claim (Quer 2011). Emotive predicates, which are usually classed as factive, the subjunctive is taken to involve presupposition, while the indicative signals non-presupposition (Quer 2011). Other verbs that are usually classed as factive (e.g. knowledge verbs) seem to invariably take the indicative, irrespective of whether they receive a factive interpretation (Lleó 1979). All these divergent claims create a difficult empirical situation, which is made worse by the disagreement on some of the basic empirical facts regarding individual embedding predicates, which is likely due to the reliance on individual introspective judgments in the theoretic literature (see e.g. the comments in Klein 1977 and Lleó 1979 on Rivero 1971).

My talk aims to clear up this difficult situation by providing robust quantitative data on the interplay of mood selection and factive presupposition. I present the results of a rating study on the meaning of 44 clause embedding verbs. Half of these verbs are usually described as non-factive (saying/thinking verbs, $n = 11$; desideratives, $n = 5$; and negation verbs, $n = 6$), and the other half factive. Within the factives, I followed the classic division (Karttunen 1971, Hooper 1975) into verbs with variable presupposition (= ‘semi’-factives, i.e. knowledge/perception verbs, $n = 11$) and categorical presupposition (= ‘true’ factives, i.e. emotives, $n = 11$). The non-factive and factive groups both contained verbs that most naturally occur with indicative complement clauses (knowledge/perception verbs, saying/thinking verbs; total $n = 22$), and with subjunctive complement clauses (emotives, desideratives, negation verbs; total $n = 22$).

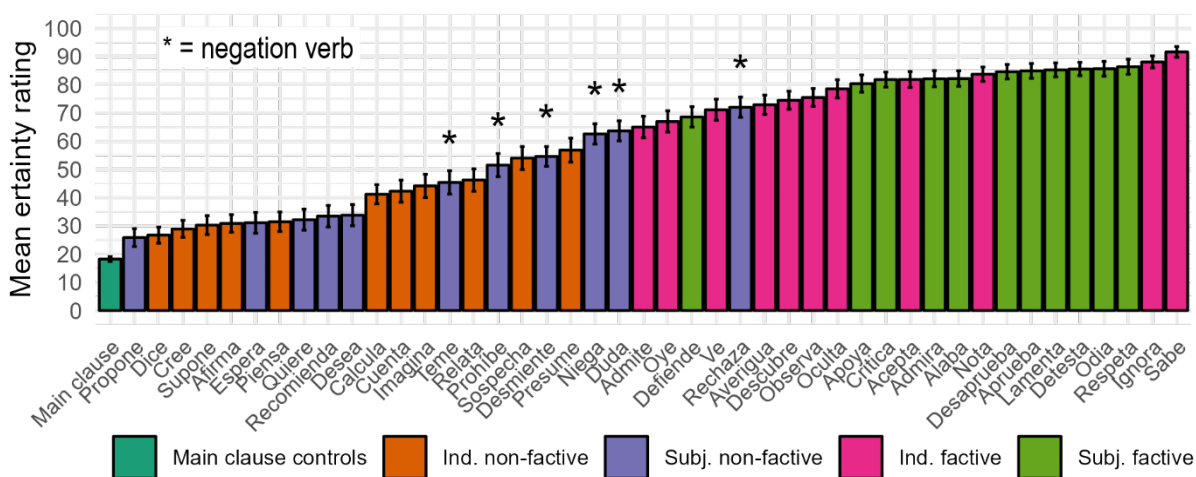
To assess the factivity of the verbs, I used Tonhauser et al.’s (2018) *certain that*-diagnostic for presupposition. Participants indicated how certain they thought the utterer of a polar question containing clausal embedded were that the content of the complement was true. To illustrate, for a test item like (1) with the negation verb *duda* “doubts” and the embedded subjunctive clause *Juan invierte en acciones* “Juan invests in stocks”, participants answered the question in (2) how certain they thought the speaker (i.e. María) is that Juan invests in stocks. Responses to (2) were given on a continuous scale with the endpoints labelled *sí* and *no*, and coded as integers 1-100. The resultant certainty ratings indicate the degree to which the speaker is understood to be certain of the truth of the embedded proposition. Given that the embedded proposition is contained within an entailment-cancelling environment (= polar questions), the certainty ratings indicate how likely the speaker is to presuppose it. Thus, factive verbs should receive high ratings, non-factive verbs should receive low ratings. All verbs were paired with the same set of 22 complement clauses (in the required mood for each verb), yielding 968 experimental items. To obtain a baseline for non-factivity, there were six main clause polar question (e.g. *¿Javier se deja crecer bigote?* “Is Javier growing a moustache?”), where the certainty judgment targeted the entire question (Is María certain that Javier is growing a moustache?). Items were distributed across two experimental blocks in a Latin square

design in each block. The data of 238 native speakers of Iberian Spanish who completed both blocks entered the analysis. The results are in the figure below. Stars indicate negation verbs.

As expected, non-factives tend to the lower end of the scale and factives to the higher end. However, the mean certainty ratings do not show abrupt differences between assumed verb types (factive vs. non-factive) or sub-types (semi- vs. true factive), but instead a gradual cline. There is no (non-arbitrary) certainty value that could serve as a borderline between factive and non-factive. The results thus do not provide any evidence that there is a categorical distinction between these types. These findings impact the investigation of factivity from a cross-linguistic angle, which so far has exclusively focussed on English but found similar gradual results (Degen/Tonhauser 2022).

Crucially for the discussion of mood, the results show that the indicative and subjunctive may both receive high and low certainty interpretations, which casts doubt on a strong association of mood with factivity as claimed in the literature. Negation verbs receive relatively high certainty ratings with the subjunctive compared to other subjunctive verbs like the desideratives, which is unexpected given the common claim that these verbs require the indicative for a factive interpretation (Rivero 1971, Quer 2011). Whether the variability in mood selection of these verbs interacts with the interpretation of certainty must be left to future research. What my results strongly suggest though is that the lexical meaning of the verb and its use in context has a more substantial effect on the interpretation of factivity than mood selection. Negation verbs for example will hardly be used in information seeking questions where the speaker has a neutral attitude towards the content of the complement. A “normal” verb of thinking without negation would be more appropriate in this context, which may lead at the factive interpretation of negation verbs in the context of polar questions, independently of mood.

- (1) María: ¿Andrea duda que Juan invierta en acciones?
“María: Does Andrea doubt that Juan invests in stocks?”
- (2) ¿Está María segura de que Juan invierte en acciones?
“Is María certain that Juan invests in stocks?”



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Restructuring beyond binary thinking: clause size variation in Romance

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Introduction: Three competitive hypotheses have been put forward in the literature to account for the size of restructuring: (a) the *transformative approach* takes the structure to be generated as biclausal and undergo deletion of CP/TP (Rizzi 1976, Müller 2017, Pesetsky 2021, Geraci 2023), (b) the *biclausal approach* assumes that embedding layers remain present although defective (Gonçalves 1999, Cyrino 2010, Paradis 2019), or transparent (Kayne 1991, Terzi 1996, Bok-Bennema 2010), (c) the structure is *monoclausal* from the beginning (Picallo 1990, Wurmbrand 2001, Cinque 2004, Roberts 2010, Grano 2015, Olivier et al. 2023). We challenge these unifying approaches to restructuring in focusing on elements that intervene between the matrix verb and the infinitive in three languages: Catalan and Spanish (CaSp) on the one hand, and Medieval French (MF) on the other.

Claims: **a)** Restructuring is not a unique phenomenon and should not be approached with a unifying theory; **b)** Binary thinking (i.e. either monoclausal or biclausal) cannot account for crosslinguistic variation and should be entirely reconsidered; **c)** A/DE ‘particles’ introducing infinitives exhibit microparametric variation and are generated in the CP, TP, or vP domain, depending on the language (and possibly on the environment).

Data: In CaSp, clitic climbing (CC) can take place over a negator, which is traditionally argued to occupy a high position in these languages (above TP, see Espinal 1991, Llop 2020). While previously argued to be constituent negation (Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2003; Magro 2005), we challenge this perspective with new data. As shown in (2), the negator can licence an NPI (*enlloc*) in the domain of infinitive, which is a property of sentential negation (see also Cinque 2006: §8.2). We take this as evidence in favour of the presence of an embedded TP in restructuring clauses in CaSp.

(1) Lo querría **no** tener que leer [Spanish]

it= wanted NEG have.INF to read.INF

‘(S)he wanted not to have to read it’

(2) S’intenten **no** fer (concerts) *enlloc*. [Catalan]

REFL=try NEG do.INF concerts nowhere

‘They try not to do concerts anywhere’

Additionally, Spanish allows overt subjects in the low periphery of the vP of the infinitive (Herbeck 2017, Barbosa 2018), a construction argued to involve ϕ -valuation through the embedded C-head (Bianchi 2001, Landau 2015). This phenomenon is found in presence of CC, thus providing strong evidence for the presence of a CP in restructuring contexts (3).

(3) Ningún profesor_i la quiso revisar él_i [Spanish]

none professor_i it= wants check.INF he_i

‘No professor wanted to check it (himself)’

Further evidence for the presence of a CP in restructuring contexts comes from the fact that, in Catalan, CC can occur in the presence of complementizers A/DE (i.e., Rizzi’s 1997 C_{Fin}) (4).

(4) Ho proposa **de** fer [Catalan]

it= offers DE do.INF

‘(S)he offers to do it’

We now turn to MF. Although diachronic work cannot provide negative data, there exists many corpora of MF data spanning different regions, centuries, and text types, ensuring that several states

unrelated to clause size, (ii) clause size does not determine restructuring, (iii) restructuring itself is a misnomer and does not exist as previously thought.

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The expletive interpretation of Ethical Dative: a syntactic approach

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Languages display two different types of dative DPs: those that are part of the thematic grid of predicates – i.e., the core/argumental dative DPs – and those that are not – i.e., the non-core/argumental datives – which do not seem to participate in the sentential semantics (Hale and Keyser 2002; Horn 2008), being semantic expletive (Tsiakmakis and Espinal 2022). The former might realize the argument of ditransitive constructions, such as with verbs like "give", while the latter are usually freely added to sentences, referring in some way to an entity who takes part in the event described by the sentence. Among the non-core datives, one of the most puzzling is the Ethical Dative (ED), which is a non-argumental clitic pronoun (Jaeggli 1982) occurring in several languages. It is usually considered an instance of dative case and has the specific function to pick out a person who is affected by the event expressed by the sentence (Roberge and Troberg 2009), encoding the role of affectee (Berman 1982) (Italian data will be discussed):

- (1) a. Tommaso **mi/ti/gli/le/ci/vi** ha vinto il primo premio!
Thomas ED.to me/you/him/her/us/you has won the first prize
'Thomas won the first prize (and this affects me / you/ him /her/us/you)

ED possesses several distinctive features that set it apart from other non-argumental dative clitics, such as the Benefactive, including its obligatory clitic nature:

- (2) a. Gianni **gli** ha stirato le camicie (Benefactive)
John CL.to him has ironed the shirts
'John has ironed the shirts for him'
- c'. Gianni ha stirato le camicie **a lui**
John has ironed the shirts to him
'John has ironed the shirts for him'
- b'. Tommaso **ti** ha vinto il primo premio! (ED)
Thomas ED.to you has won the first prize
'Thomas won the first prize (and this affects you)'
- b. *Tommaso ha vinto il primo premio **a te!**
Thomas has won the first prize to you

Additionally, ED cannot appear in causative clauses, whereas the Benefactive can:

- (3) a. ***Ti** ho fatto vincere il primo premio a Lucia (ED)
ED.to me I.have make.1SG to.win the first prize to Lucia
- b. **Le** ho fatto stirare le camicie dalla mamma (Ben.)
Ben.to her I.have make.1SG to.iron the shirts by.the mom
'I make mam to iron the shirts for her'

Based on the contrast in (2-3), and many other, I will propose that ED calls for a proper syntactic derivation. More specifically, I will propose to adopt a version of the Applicative Phrase framework where individual are introduced into the syntactic spine by an applicative head, which selects and licenses the non-core dative (Marantz 1993; Pylkkänen 2008; Cuervo 2020). More specifically, I will follow Cuervo when she proposes that the variety of meanings that a dative clitic displays relies on (i) what the complement of the applicative head is and (ii) what the applicative phrase is a complement of. We can ask which kind of ApplP the ED corresponds to. In fact, again following Pylkkänen (2002), an ApplP could be either high or low: High ApplPs describe a relationship between an individual and an event; low ApplPs describe a relationship between two individuals, one of which is introduced by the applicative, while the other is the direct object of the verb, such as in ditransitive constructions. More specifically, Pylkkänen (2002) shows that low ApplP heads cannot occur if the direct object is absent since they denote the relationship between the direct object and the indirect object of a verb; and they cannot occur with verbs that are completely static

since they imply a transfer of possession. High applicative heads do not have these limitations. Crucially, ED seems to depart from such twofold pattern since it cannot stay in stative constructions with both the verbs *to have* and *to be* (4a-a') – following the low applicatives –but it can stay in unergative ones (4b) – following the high applicatives:

- (4) a. *Luca *mi/ti/gli/le/ci/vi* ha due macchine
 Luca ED.to me/you/him/her/us/you has two cars
 a'. *Luca *mi/ti/gli/le/ci/vi* è affamato
 Luca ED.to me/you/him/her/us/you is hungry
 b. Tommaso *mi/ti/gli/le/ci* ha dormito tutto il pomeriggio
 Thomas Ben.for me/you/him/her/us has slept all the afternoon
 'Thomas slept all afternoon long for my/you/his/her/our/your benefit'

We thus cannot totally apply Pykkänen's distinction between high and low applicatives to EDs. Pykkänen's tests have been thought for ApplPs inside VP; the fact they cannot be applied to sentences with EDs may suggest that they are not in such positions. I want here to follow this intuition, and suggest that EDs are generated in a higher position, namely in the CP domain, above TP – in a similar spirit than the high-low applicative *a là* Wood (2015). Assuming that CP consists of an array of functional heads, as in the cartographic approach (see Rizzi 1997 and subsequent works), I propose that ED is an applicative head externally merged in the lowest part of the CP:

- (5) [CP ForceP ... (TopP*) ... FocP ... (TopP*) ... FinP ApplP...[TP ...]

If ED is a head that is directly generated outside the TP, then we can easily explain why it is not an argument of the verb and, consequently, why it doesn't affect the propositional meaning of the sentence (*à la* Jouitteau and Rezac 2008). This is similar to what Jaeggli (1982:18) proposes on EDs, i.e., they represent a category of clitics that do not originate in object position, challenging Kayne's (1975) movement theory of clitics - where clitics are initially generated in NP position and then moved obligatorily to the verb. Moreover, it lacks of a full-PP structure, being forced to appear in a clitic fashion. From this also follow the impossible occurrence in causative clauses: being causative an "impoverished functional structure," i.e., lacking the C-I phase (Roussou and Manzini, 2024), there is no space for ED. Finally, this analysis takes into account also the behavior with the stative constructions. More specifically, EDs maintain the core property of high applicatives as discussed by Pykkänen (2008) – namely, (i) being merged above the VP and (ii) linking an entity to an event by some relation. However, if there is no event to be related to, as in stative constructions, ED cannot appear in such contexts. Assuming that "affectedness" is the semantic relation introduced by ED (see Berman 1982) between an individual – such as the speaker or the hearer of the utterance – and an event, we can interpret ED as follows:

- (6) ED: Appl_{affectedness} = $\lambda x.\lambda e.$ affectedness (e, x)

This condition can only be applied if there is an eventive verb phrase complement that ED can take. Following a well-established tradition (Ramchand 2008), we can assume that stative predicates do not display such an event and, coherently, "there is no dynamicity/process/change involved in the predication, but simply a description of a state of affairs" (Ramchand 2008: 33). ED cannot therefore select them. Overall, the proposal advanced here will be able to account for the numerous properties of EDs, including their expletive semantic nature, and many other that I will discuss in the paper.

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**Two features, two registers:
explaining agreement variation in the case of a gente**

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Standard Brazilian Portuguese (BP) makes use of two forms to express the semantics of first-person plural (1.PL): the personal pronoun *nós* and the newer form *a gente* (Menuzzi 2000; Taylor 2009; Costa & Pereira 2013; Marcotulio et al. 2013). The two forms can be used interchangeably; the major difference between them is that *a gente* typically triggers 3.SG agreement, while *nós* is predominantly associated with 1.PL exponents (Marcotulio et al. 2013). This can be seen in subject-verb agreement (SVA) (1) and local anaphoric agreement (LAA) (2). In the latter case, *a gente* is typically used with the proclitic *se* as a target, as opposed to the dedicated 1.PL clitic *nos*. Anaphoric agreement between *a gente* and the 1.PL form is sometimes even claimed to be ungrammatical (Menuzzi 2000, i.a.).

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) A gente {<i>é</i> / ?<i>somos</i>} uma família.
A GENTE is.3.SG is.1.PL a family
'We are a family'</p> | <p>(2) A gente_i {<i>se_i</i> / ??<i>nos_i</i>} viu.
A GENTE REFL REFL.1.PL saw.3.SG
'We are a family'</p> |
|--|---|

Though occurrences of *a gente* with 1.PL exponents are rare, examples are reported in corpus and sociolinguistic studies. In the case of SVA, 1.PL exponents can correspond to up to 18% of the attested variants on some surveys (Rubio & Gonçalves 2012; Marcotulio et al. 2013). For LAA, 1.PL variants are less frequent (around .5% of targets) but are nonetheless consistently found in corpora (cf. (3) from Davies (2016)) and judged as acceptable by some speakers (Taylor 2009; Brito & Sedrins 2017; Varaschin 2021).

- (3) O amigo é um presente que **a gente_i nos_i** dá.
the friend is a present that A GENTE REFL.1.PL give.3.SG
'Friends are a gift that we_i give to ourselves_i'

The upshot is that *a gente* seems to be capable of triggering two distinct forms of agreement – 1.PL or 3.SG – with one of them being dispreferred to varying degrees. Both forms of agreement co-exist within individual dialects and can even appear in the same sentence. The purpose of our paper is to account for this hybrid behavior of *a gente* (i.e. its agreement variation) assuming a single grammar, as well as for its usage preferences reflected in variable acceptability judgments.

We argue that theories like that of Taylor (2009) and Costa & Pereira (2013), who posit distinct underlying structures for 3.SG and 1.PL variants of *a gente*, cannot account for the full range of data: e.g. they cannot derive (3), where *a gente* simultaneously triggers 3.SG and 1.PL agreement on different targets. We explain this hybrid behavior by positing two distinct sets of ϕ -features: one that feeds interpretation by restricting the range of assignment functions to subsets of D_e (INDEX features) and another that feeds the expression of morphophonological exponents (CONCORD features) (Wechsler & Zlatić 2003; Smith 2021, i.a.). We propose that *a gente* is specified as [INDEX 1pl, CONCORD 3sg].

There is independent evidence showing that both INDEX and CONCORD values function as possible triggers for SVA agreement in BP, thus explaining the variation in (1) (Alencar 2013). With respect to LAA, however, there are theoretical reasons to believe only INDEX ϕ -features should be relevant. This follows from the way bound-variable anaphora is syntactically encoded in our system: basically,

having identical INDEX values (in a specific configuration) is what triggers predicate abstraction in the semantics (Pollard & Sag 1994; Sudo 2012). That this is in fact true can be seen in data with complex reflexives like (4), where LAA between *a gente* and dedicated 3.SG forms are categorically rejected and only pure 1.PL anaphors are acceptable:

(4) **A gente_i** viu {*ela mesma_i / *elas mesmas_i / **nós mesmas_i**} na TV.

A GENTE saw her same.FEM they.FEM same.FEM we same.FEM on-the TV.

The fact that both *nos* and *se* are possible in (2) follows from the fact that *se* is not 3.SG, but actually underspecified with respect to its INDEX value (Pereira 2007; Brito 2008). So the variation in (2) is an instance of allomorphy, and not a threat to the view that local binding requires INDEX identity.

The usage preferences signaled in (1) and (3) are explained in terms external to the core grammatical mechanisms sketched above. We argue that lower frequency and reduced acceptability of *a gente*+V[1.PL] and *a gente*+*nos* follows from a compositional theory of social meanings (Paolillo 2000; McCready 2019, i.a.). Sociolinguistic studies indicate that speakers perceive *a gente* as being indexical of informal and less educated speakers (Zilles 2005; Brustolin 2009; Aguiar 2015). This contrasts with the social embedding of 1.PL inflection and 1.PL clitics like *nos*, which are associated with older and more formal speakers (Naro et al. 1999; Brustolin 2009; Freitag 2016; Schwenter et al. 2022).

The basic idea we propose to account for the usage preferences in (1) and (3) is that structures where *a gente* is associated with overt 1.PL exponents (be they verbal or anaphoric) convey conflicting social meanings, making it difficult for speakers to infer what register they belong to. Building on Potts (2007), we model social meanings as gradable expressives and define the social meaning of a phrase as the intersection of the social meanings of its daughters (for each type of social meaning present in both). We assume that individual points in social meaning scales (i.e. social meaning degrees) stand for equivalence classes of contexts where an expression can be felicitously used with respect to that social meaning. This new approach to the formal modeling of variation entails that structures where (informal) *a gente* combines with (formal) 1.PL have a very narrow intersection in their *formality* social meaning scale, accounting for their restricted distribution across all registers.

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Thinking about Distributivity: What do Italian Children Have to Say?

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A sentence such as “the girls hold a box”, when uttered out of context, receives a collective reading if the predicate involves the whole plurality (the girls holding a box together) and a distributive one if it refers to its atomic members (each girl holding a box). Formal accounts suggest that the distributive representation includes an additional semantic operator [1], and the psycholinguistic literature claims that adults tend to interpret ambiguous sentences as collective [2; 3], whereas children accept both readings comparably [4; 5]. No study has targeted production of distributive and collective markers yet. We thus present two studies investigating production of such markers in preschoolers, second graders and adults, to draw a developmental trajectory of their acquisition.

In the first, we tested 51 adult Italian native speakers ($M = 27.96$ years) and 44 preschoolers ($M = 64.38$ months, range = 4;9 - 6;2) via a task in which participants see two images of transitive actions – one collective and one distributive, both distributive or both collective (Figure 1) – and have to describe them. We coded each description as distributively marked if it included a distributive marker (e.g., *ognuno*, “each”), collectively marked if it included a collective marker (e.g., *insieme*, “together”), or unmarked otherwise. Mixed-effect logistic regressions showed that adults produce more distributive than collective markers ($\chi^2(1) = 23.11$, $p < 0.0001$), while children produce mainly collective markers, though few ($\chi^2(1) = 4.62$, $p = 0.032$) (Figure 2).

In the second, we administered the same material to 44 second graders ($M = 89.36$ months, range = 6;11- 8;5) and 32 preschoolers ($M = 68.28$ months, range = 5;3 - 6;4), to which we added a comprehension test. A mixed-effect logistic regression model confirmed that preschoolers produce few markers overall, and more collective than distributive ($\chi^2(1) = 6.43$, $p = 0.01$), while older children produce more distributive expressions ($\chi^2(1) = 26.06$, $p < 0.0001$) (Figure 3). The interaction between age and type of markers was significant ($\chi^2(2) = 9.16$, $p = 0.01$). The comprehension experiment showed high accuracy in understanding collective and distributive markers both in preschoolers ($M_{coll} = 92.71\%$; $M_{distr} = 85.42\%$) and second graders ($M_{coll} = 98.48\%$; $M_{distr} = 93.56\%$).

In sum, adults’ production of collective and distributive markers aligns with previous findings, with a tendency to mark sentences more for distributivity than collectivity. This is mirrored in comprehension, where unmarked sentences tend to be interpreted as collective. Second graders displayed adult-like behavior, producing more distributive markers, even though in a lower proportion. Preschoolers rather seemed not fully sensitive to the need to express disambiguating markers, even though they clearly understood the lexical labels. Whether preschoolers’ difficulty lies in conceptually representing the difference between the pictures or in linguistically realizing it is yet to be clarified. The production of collective markers, even though low, seems to suggest that the difficulty might lie in an adult-like linguistic realization rather than in the conceptual representation.

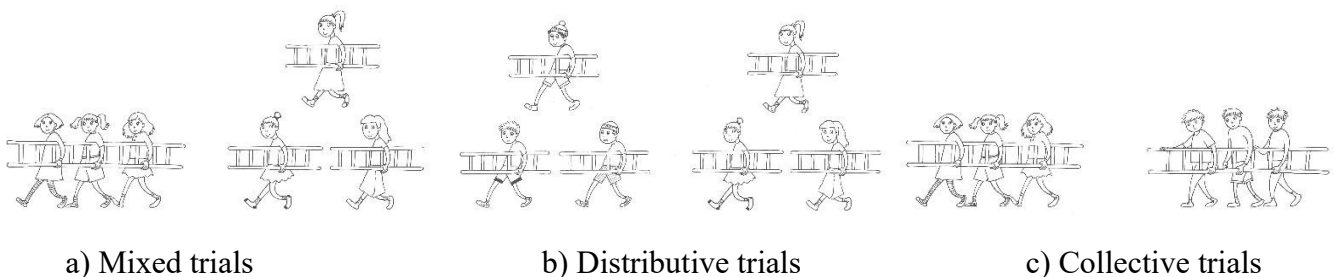


Figure 1: Example trials.

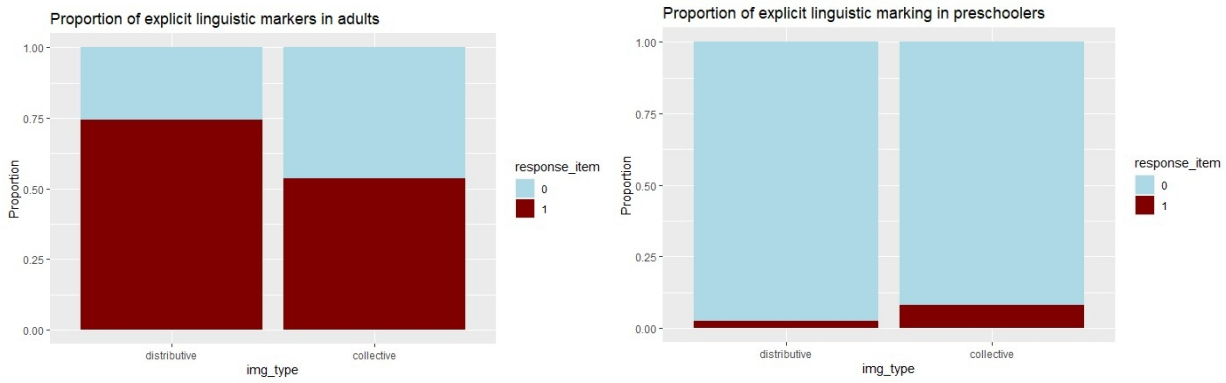


Figure 2: Proportion of distributive and collective markers across the whole dataset in adults and preschoolers in Study 1.

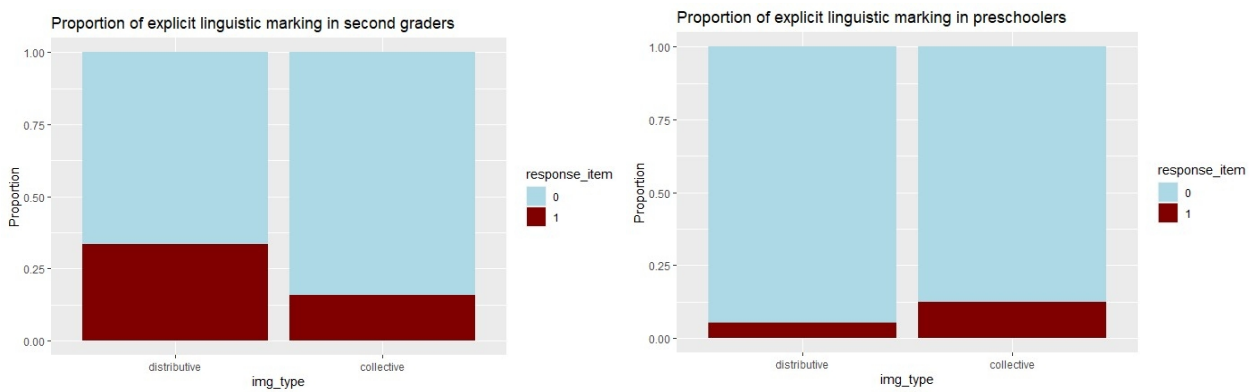


Figure 3: Proportion of markers across the whole dataset in preschoolers and second graders in Study 2.

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Towards a semantic characterization of nouns denoting eventualities: a corpus-based study

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Eventualities (Bach, 1986), that is, entities that are temporal and spatially located and involve participants, encompass not only events in a narrow sense, namely, processes, accomplishments and achievements in Vendler's (1967) proposal, but also states. Accordingly, they can be represented by verbs, adjectives, and nouns. These nouns, which we will designate as “nouns that denote eventualities” (NDEs), can be divided into nouns derived from other grammatical categories (typically verbal) and non-derived nouns. While deverbal nominals have been the focus of several works, non-derived nouns have not received the same treatment (with some exceptions, e.g., Resnik, 2010; Wang, 2013). However, non-derived nouns pose several questions and problems, both theoretical and applicational: in the first case, for example, there is the problem of which aspectual types of situations these nouns denote; in the second case, these nouns pose problems for NLP tasks such as automatic event extraction (cf. Creswell et al., 2016) and identification of temporal relations between events and between events and temporal expressions.

Over the years, different typologies of NDEs have been proposed that assume, for example, the argument structure and the eventive structure as distinctive criteria. Grimshaw (1990), for instance, proposes a tripartite distinction between ‘complex event nominals’, ‘simple event nominals’ and ‘result nominals’. Other studies about NDEs followed, both for English and other languages (cf. Brito & Oliveira, 1997, for Portuguese; Escribano, 2024, for Spanish). Regardless, for Portuguese, research is scarce (cf. Resende & Basso, 2022), with the few existing studies exclusively addressing derived nouns (e.g. Brito & Oliveira, 1997).

The present work intends to address NDEs in European Portuguese and contribute to studying the semantic properties of non-derived NDEs. To this end, we constituted a corpus of 1150 occurrences of NDEs extracted from the *Text2Story Lusa* annotated dataset (Silvano et al., 2023). This dataset comprises 117 news articles annotated with a multilayer semantic framework (Silvano et al., 2021; Leal et al., 2022), including the temporal layer of the events' annotation².

250 occurrences of NDEs (occurring in 46 different news articles) were randomly selected from the corpus and preliminarily analysed across a wide range of parameters: derived or non-derived NDEs, nominal morphology, with or without determinants/quantifiers, generic or episodic reading, aspectual type, syntactic function, and tense of the main clause. Our analysis led to some results that will contribute to the characterization of NDEs regarding features such as (i) derived/ non-derived nouns; (ii) nominal morphology (singular/plural); (iii) occurrence of determinants/quantifiers vs. bare nouns; (iv) aspectual type of the nominal expressions.

Regarding parameters (i) and (ii), most NDEs are derived nouns (195 [78%] vs. 55 [22%]) and the majority of the occurrences are in the singular (198 [79.2%] vs 52 20.8%) regardless of being derived or non-derived nouns. With respect to parameter (iii), 85 [34%] are bare nouns (68 derived nouns and 15 non-derived). Of the remaining cases, 4 [1.6%] occur with cardinal quantifiers (3 derived nouns and one non-derived), 121 [48.4%] with articles (92 derived nouns and 29 non-derived nouns) and 6 [2, 4%] with demonstratives (4 derived nouns and two non-derived) and 34 [13.6%] occurrences (26 derived nouns and 8 non-derived) with the form “one” (singular), which is often ambiguous between the interpretation of indefinite article and numeral quantifier. The high percentage of definite articles, associated with the high occurrence in the singular, seems to suggest a tendency for these NDEs to function, in several cases in this corpus, as strategies of resuming

² For a description of how news were collected and annotated, please refer to Silvano et al. (2021) and Leal et al. (2022).

events previously introduced in the discourse (a type of indirect anaphora; cf. Silva, 2005). Related to this grammatical characterization, we have also observed the occurrence of a specific type of nouns, like *situação* 'situation' (4x), *caso* 'case' (6x), *ocorrência* 'occurrence' (7x), *facto* 'fact' (7x) and *evento* 'event' (2x). Example (1) illustrates these NDEs, in which the DP *o caso* 'the case' resumes the situation denoted by the previous sentence.

(1) A GNR feriu com “bagos de borracha” um homem. O caso deu-se em Refojos de Basto.

The GNR injured a man with “rubber bullets”. The case took place in Refojos de Basto.

Nouns such as *caso* 'case', with a lexical vague meaning, occur in examples with a clearly anaphoric function, which poses problems in determining the temporal relations to other events in discourse. As they are referentially vague, their temporal-aspectual interpretation is determined by the connection to the antecedent.

Concerning parameter (iv), our sample comprises 73 states (49 [67.1%] derived nouns and 24 [32.9%] non-derived), 71 activities (57 [80.3%] derived nouns and 14 [19.7%] non-derived) and 106 accomplishments or achievements (89 [84%] derived nouns and 17 [16%] non-derived). Some examples of Vendlerian aspectual classes are: (i) non-derived nouns - *regime* 'regime' (state); *feira* 'party (activity)'; *morte* 'death' (achievement); (ii) derived nouns: *existência* 'existence' (state); *averiguação* 'inquiry' (activity); *redução* 'reduction' (accomplishment). Although there are no clear-cut differences, the percentage of non-derived nouns representing non-dynamic situations is higher than representing dynamic and telic situations, and cases in which non-derived nouns describe dynamic and atelic situations are in an intermediate position. When it comes to derived nouns, the situation reverses. It is relevant to highlight that the aspectual classification of NDEs, especially of non-derived nouns, is still problematic due to the absence of aspectual tests to validate this classification. In the future, we will also address the suitability of the aspectual tests designed to classify situations denoted by verbs.

Grounded on the description of the features we have presented above, we will also discuss the correlations between the (nominal) properties of DPs and the aspectual properties of Ns. To achieve this aim, we depart from the hypothesis formulated in Resnik (2010) for a variety of Spanish that there is a correlation between the telicity of situations and the type of material in the specifier position (telic situations occur with definite/indefinite articles or cardinals, while atelic situations occur with definite articles or bare nouns). We will also explore the hypothesis that NDEs with determinants/quantifiers tend to be interpreted as specific eventualities, that is, with an episodic reading, whereas bare nouns generally yield a generic reading.

(2) Em comunicado, o Comando Metropolitano do Porto da PSP esclarece que a detenção ocorreu na quarta-feira, no decurso de uma ação policial no âmbito do combate ao crime de tráfico de estupefacientes.

In a statement, the Metropolitan Command of Porto of the PSP clarifies that the arrest took place on Wednesday during a police operation aimed at combating the crime of drug trafficking.

In example (2), the event nouns *detenção* 'detention' and *ação* 'action', accompanied by the definite article *a* 'the' and the numeral *uma* 'one', exhibit episodic readings. In contrast, *tráfico* 'trafficking', as a bare noun, conveys a generic reading that categorizes the type of crime in the case.

To sum up, the conclusions from the full analysis of the corpus will constitute a first step for an in-depth characterization of the NDEs (in particular, non-derived nouns) focusing on their temporal-aspectual properties.

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The continuous periphrasis between habituality and genericity

An account on *andare* + gerund in Catanese Italian

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Introduction. Structures with motion verbs such as *andare* “go” and *venire* “come” in combination with gerund in Italian (see (1)) are defined as continuous periphrasis (Bertinetto 1991, Squartini 1998). Bertinetto (1997) argues that such constructions are conveyed through an event progressing over a certain interval of time, without necessarily reaching a culmination implied by the semantics of the verb.

(1) *La macchia di umidità è andata scomparendo.*

DET stain of humidity AUX go.PP disappear.GER

‘The mildew has been disappearing’ (lit. ‘Has gone disappearing’; cf. Squartini 1998: 211)

Unlike the continuous aspect, which is bound to imperfectivity, the continuous periphrasis is rather flexible in terms of aspect. Indeed, it shows a natural preference for contexts that express the continuous aspect, but it can also accommodate perfective tenses. Examples such as (1) presuppose that the event reaches its endpoint within (un)specified temporal boundaries, whereas the imperfective counterparts such as (2) are compatible with a habitual reading.

(2) *Giulio andava cantando le lodi di Maria.*

Giulio go.IMPF sing.GER DET praises of Maria

‘Giulio used to be singing Maria’s praises’

Ex. (2) indicates an unspecified and unbounded temporal frame in which Giulio repeats the event of singing Maria’s praises. However, the general literature does not address any claims related to the abstraction from the event repetition intended as intrinsically characterizing of Giulio. Moreover, no additional readings of (2), to the habitual one, seem to be taken into consideration. The purpose of our talk is therefore twofold: 1. it frames the continuous periphrasis as in (2) within the *gnomic imperfectivity* (cf. Bertinetto & Lenci 2012), which makes a generalization of some kind, abstracting away from a specific event; 2. it provides empirical evidence of additional types of reading to the habitual one by focusing on Catanese Italian. (Since our informants were all from Catania, we do not generalize this notion to other varieties of Italian. *Andare* + GER seems to be more productive in Southern Italian varieties (cf. Squartini 1998), though diatopic varieties of Italian may differ greatly under many aspects.)

Property reading. Bertinetto & Lenci (2012: 863) define *gnomic imperfectivity* as the “express[ion of] a law-like generalization, taken to represent a characterizing property of an individual or a class of individuals in a certain period of time”. It is determined by the relation between event repetition and gnomic property, i.e. a general truth related to a referent. For instance, *John smokes a cigar after dinner* defines a property of John, which is that of smoking a cigar after dinner from time to time, and reports a regularity which summarizes a set of specific episodes and does not focus on a specific event of smoking a cigar (cf. Krifka *et al.* 1995). Despite the eventive predicate ‘smoke’, the actionality coercion modules it into a stative predicate, intended as a permanent “second-order” stativization. Indeed, in such terms, John is intended as a smoker (possibly only occasional), as this property of John is always valid, independently of the number of events of smoking a cigar after dinner and of whether or not John is currently smoking. This specific subtype of gnomic imperfectivity is classified as an *attitudinal*, i.e. an intermediate class, along with *potentials* between *habituals* and *generics* in terms of event pluractionality. Therefore, the full scale of gnomic imperfectivity for event repetition is the following (cf. Bertinetto and Lenci 2012): habituals,

attitudinals, potentials, individual-level predicates and finally, generics. This view aligns with previous accounts which are primarily focused on (various types of) genericity, intended as dispositionality (Boneh 2019) or general property of characterizing sentences (Krifka *et al.* 1995).

Proposal. We argue that *andare* + GER in Catanese Italian, in periphrastic constructions with activities, in (2) and (4), and non-permanent states in (5) (cf. Bertinetto 1991), falls within the attitudinal gnomic imperfectives, defining a property of the intended referent. For a better understanding of the attitudinal reading, we take into account the minimal pair (3) and (4-5) below.

- (3) *Giulio va vincendo medaglie.*
Giulio go.PRES win.GER medals
'Giulio has been winning medals'
- (4) *Giulio va dicendo stupidaggini.*
Giulio go.PRES say.GER silly_things
'Giulio has been saying silly things'
- (5) *Giulio va facendo l'avvocato.*
Giulio go.PRES do.GER DET+lawyer
'Giulio has been working as/acting like a lawyer'

On the one hand, in ex. (3), the repetition of the event of winning medals by Giulio is a necessary condition for the interpretation of the sentence, which profiles as a habitual. On the other hand, (4) does not necessarily imply a repetition of the event of Giulio saying silly things and (5) does not require Giulio to repeatedly act as a lawyer. Similarly, the sentences are true even in cases of one witnessed event of Giulio saying silly things/acting like a lawyer, as direct evidentiality of multiple events is not a requirement. Indeed, the event repetition is compatible with this reading, but is not a central prerequisite. This is compatible with attitudinals, whose pluractionality is indirectly suggested, but not required (cf. Bertinetto 2020).

It is important to note that this type of reading is not accessible to all speakers of Italian. Indeed, Squartini (1990, 1998) claims that the continuous periphrasis in standard Italian mainly denotes a gradual process leading to a culmination that may not necessarily occur (as in (1); cf. also Civardi & Bertinetto 2015) and for this reason, it is more commonly attested in telic predicates. In addition, it bears an additional pragmatic weight intended as a pejorative connotation related to the referent, which justifies the periphrastic use of *andare* + GER in addition to the non periphrastic attitudinal *Giulio fa l'avvocato* 'Giulio is/works as a lawyer'.

Conclusion. The continuous periphrasis in Italian involves motion verbs like *andare/venire* + GER, and among its readings, it allows for the habitual one. In this study, we provide empirical data of Catanese Italian arguing that an interpretation of *andare* + gerundial activity or non-permanent-state verb may be extended to further types of gnomic imperfectives (in the sense of Bertinetto and Lenci 2012 and Bertinetto 2020). Such patterns fall under the attitudinal type, without requiring an explicit event repetition. Instead, the pluractionality is only indirectly suggested.

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On the role of emotional intensity in the psych alternation:

A cross-Romance experimental perspective

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Introduction This talk reports on a new experimental study investigating the interface of emotional intensity and the voice constructions in the psych alternation across six Romance languages (Catalan, French, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, and Spanish). The psych alternation as found in Romance languages surrounds constructions with verbs of emotion (cf. [Landau, 2010](#)) which demonstrate fluctuating usage of active or pronominal voice ([Rott et al., 2020](#)). The former is transitive and has an experiencer in the object position, whereas the latter involves a derived detransitivized structure in which the experiencer becomes the subject, supplemented by a reflexive pronominal clitic. (1a) below highlights active voice and (1b) pronominal voice.

- (1) a. *Cette critique irrite le ministre.*
DEM criticism irritate.3SG DEF.M minister[OBJ]
'This criticism irritates the minister.'
(French; [Herslund, 1997: 94](#))
- b. *Le ministre s' irrite de cette critique.*
DEF.M minister[SBJ] REFL irritate.3SG of DEM criticism
'The minister is irritate by this criticism.'
(French; [Herslund, 1997: 94](#))

In general, this phenomenon poses an anomaly to a given language's canonical linking patterns ([Verhoeven, 2008](#)). As such, the topic has been granted much attention, predominantly from a theoretical perspective. The current paper expands on previous considerations by employing experimental methodology to specifically target the role of emotional intensity on a speaker's choice between active and pronominal voice, a topic which has – until now – remained empirically unexplored.

Research questions To explore this topic, three main foci were established. Primarily, it is investigated if the intensity of an experiencer's emotion has an effect on the realization of the voice alternation. Here it is expected that when given higher emotional intensity, a preference toward active voice is measured, due to increased causality. Secondly, moderation effects by the emotion itself are considered. It is expected that because experiencer verbs show divergent degrees of fluctuation in corpus data, an interaction will be determined. Finally, comparisons across the investigated languages are drawn to establish if the trends are similar or discrepant cross-Romance. Current expectations indicate that similar patterns are found across the language family, albeit to varying degrees.

Methods Visual stimuli were created for this experiment in the form of photos depicting a scene in which two people (an experiencer, i.e., the person who feels the emotional state, and a non-experiencer, i.e., the argument which elicits of the emotional state) are involved in a transitive action. In order to test across a broad range of emotions, scenes were created paralleling each of the six basic universal emotions (cf. [Ekman, 1999](#)), ensuring that the experiencer's face fulfill specific criteria founded in psychological facial expression research (e.g., cf. [Matsumoto et al., 2008](#)). A pilot study confirmed participants' ability to identify the emotions and intensity thereof depicted in the stimuli. For each language, six verbs were selected to correspond with the six emotion classes. The verbs were examined in corpora to verify that they undergo the psych alternation, and selections were made to maximize the semantic proximity across languages. Table 1 demonstrates the verb selections for Spanish.

Table 1: Spanish verb selection

Emotion class	Spanish	Translation
ANGER	<i>enfadar(se)</i>	'to anger'
HAPPINESS	<i>alegrar(se)</i>	'to gladden'
SADNESS	<i>entristicer(se)</i>	'to sadden'
FEAR	<i>asustar(se)</i>	'to frighten'
DISGUST	<i>disgustar(se)</i>	'to disgust'
SURPRISE	<i>sorprender(se)</i>	'to surprise'

In the online experiment, participants were tasked to generate a descriptive sentence for each presented stimulus, incorporating the corresponding verb, which is provided as a label to the stimulus. To limit priming effects, instructions were kept to this.

Talk content In addition to a brief overview of the psych alternation and the verb selection for the current paper, methodological considerations in the present study design will be presented. Furthermore, results will be provided from a mixed-methods perspective, where quantitative results from logistic regression models will be supplemented with descriptive considerations. As such, the effects identified for each research question will be highlighted, including cross-linguistic ones. Finally, a discussion of the empirical advantages in general of implementing experimental methodology in dominantly theoretical domains will be introduced.

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Discourse-level analysis of exclusive *eccetto*

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Introduction. Exceptive constructions (1) express an exception to a generalization (von Fintel 1992). (1) entails that Ivy did not come. Exclusives, (2), do not carry such an entailment. In English, true exceptives are only possible with a universal quantifier (3); no such restriction exists with exclusives (2).

- (1) Except Ivy, everyone came. x Ivy did **not** come. (3) #Except Ivy, someone came.
(2) Setting aside Ivy, everyone/someone came. \nRightarrow Ivy did (not) come.

The constraint on the type of associate appears not to be universal. In this talk, I present novel data on *eccetto*, a counterpart to *except* in Italian. In some varieties of Italian, *eccetto* can occur not only with universal quantifiers ($\forall Q$) (4), but also with existential quantifiers and numerals ($\exists Q/n$) (5).

- (4) *Eccetto* Yuri, sono arriva-ti **tutti** gli studenti. **eccetto**
+ $\forall Q$
EM Yuri be.PRS.3PL arrive-PST.PTCP all the student-PL
'Except Yuri, all students have arrived (Yuri did not arrive).'

- (5) *Eccetto* Yuri, sono arriva-ti **alcuni/tre** studenti. **eccetto** +
 $\exists Q/n$
EM Yuri be.PRS.3PL arrive-PST.PTCP some/three student-PL
'Setting aside Yuri, some students have arrived (no commitment whether Yuri arrived or not).'

Main claim. There are two *eccetto* constructions, which differ in semantic interpretation. I argue that (i) *eccetto* + $\forall Q$ is a true exceptive, and involves subtraction from the restrictor of the universal quantifier, while (ii) *eccetto* + $\exists Q/n$ is an exclusive, and operates at the discourse-level, subtracting from the set of entities available in the discourse (Hoeksema 1987). In support of (ii), I show that *eccetto* + $\exists Q/n$ exhibits the same syntactic properties as Hanging Topics, another discourse-level phenomenon.

The puzzle. *Eccetto* + $\forall Q$ constructions pattern with English *except* constructions (1) (von Fintel 1992; Hirsch, 2016; Vostrikova 2019; a.o.) and contribute the three inferences in (6). Following von Fintel (1992), a.o., we can analyze (6) as involving domain subtraction: *eccetto* subtracts Yuri from the restrictor of the universal quantifier to derive (6b). In addition, von Fintel posits a *uniqueness* condition, which requires that the exception (Yuri) is the smallest set whose subtraction from the set of students yields a true quantificational claim. This ensure that Yuri *must* be subtracted and derives the entailment that Yuri did not arrive, as in (6c).

- (6) *Eccetto* Yuri, sono arrivati **tutti** gli studenti. **eccetto**
+ $\forall Q$
a. Containment inference: Yuri is a student
c. Domain subtraction: Every student who isn't Yuri arrived
d. Negative inference: Yuri did not arrive.

However, *eccetto* + $\exists Q/n$ constructions do not contribute the same inferences. The negative inference is absent: (5) does not entail that Yuri did not arrive (nor does it entail that Yuri did arrive). Containment is possible, as in (7), where Obama is a former president of the United States. However, it is not *necessary*. In (8), containment does not hold, since ostriches are not mammals. Given the absence of obligatory containment, there cannot be subtraction from the domain of the

quantifier. In (8), the quantifier domain consists of mammals, so ostriches cannot be subtracted from it.

- (7) *Eccetto* Obama, abbiamo vi-sto **alcuni/tre** ex-president-i.
 EM Obama have.PRS.1PL see-PST.PTCP some/three former president-PL
 ‘Setting aside Obama, we saw some/three POTUS.’
- (8) *Eccetto* gli struzzi, abbiamo vi-sto **alcuni/tre** mammiferi
 EM the ostrich-PL have.PRS.1PL see-PST.PTCP some/three mammal-PL
 ‘Setting aside the ostriches, we saw some/three mammals.’
- (9) *Eccetto* Yuri, sono arrivati **alcuni/tre** studenti. **eccetto + $\exists Q/n$**
 a. Containment inference: Not necessarily
 b. Domain subtraction: From the set of available entities in the discourse
 c. Negative inference: Absent

Discourse-level properties. Although there is no subtraction from the domain of the quantifier in (7-8), I propose that there is still a kind of subtraction: *eccetto* operates at the *discourse* level and subtracts the exclusion from the set of entities in the discourse. This predicts that it should be impossible to refer to the exclusion at any point in the sentence, which is supported in (10), cf. von Stechow (1993). If the exclusion is a set, e.g. *uccelli* ‘birds’ (11), it’s impossible to refer to an element of that set.

- (10) #*Eccetto* Obama_k, abbiamo visto alcuni suoi_kparenti
 EM Obama have.PRS.1PL see-PST.PTCP some POSS relative-PL
 ‘Setting aside Obama, we have seen some of Obama’s relatives.’
- (11) #*Eccetto* gli uccelli, abbiamo visto alcuni struzzi.
 EM the bird-PL have.PRS.1PL see-PST.PTCP some ostrich-PL
 ‘Setting aside the birds, we saw some ostriches.’

I argue that *eccetto + $\exists Q/n$* constructions act on the discourse level and display the same distribution as Hanging Topics. Like Hanging Topics (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007; Stark 2022 a.o.), *eccetto + $\exists Q/n$* constructions must occur sentence initially (cf. (5) and (12)), precede *wh*-phrases (13), and are disallowed in the periphery of control clauses (in the talk). Further parallels between exclusives and HTs discussed in the talk are the lack of necessary effect on the truth value of the following clause and the fact that in V2 languages, exclusives do not trigger V2, whereas exceptives do.

- (12) *Sono arrivati alcuni studenti, *eccetto* Yuri.
 (13) *Eccetto* Yuri, chi (**eccetto* Yuri) è arriva-to?
 EM Yuri, who be.PRS.3SG arrive-PST.PTCP
 ‘Setting aside Yuri, who arrived?’

Analysis. I propose that exclusive *eccetto* is base generated high, as in the LF of (5) in (14). *Eccetto* here subtracts the exclusion from the set of available entities in the discourse, *C*, by introducing a presupposition that a given entity is not in the set *C*, (15). Then it conveys that the proposition expressed by the clause in its scope holds. (14) thus has the denotation in (16).

- (14) [*eccetto* Yuri [_{TP} sono arriva-ti alcuni student-i]]
 EM Yuri be.PRS.3PL arrive-PST.PTCP some student-PL
 ‘Setting aside Yuri, some students have arrived.’
- (15) [[*eccetto*]]*C* = $\lambda x. \lambda p. \lambda w : x \notin C . p(w)$
 (16) [[(15)]]*C* = $\lambda w : \text{Yuri} \notin C . \exists x \hat{I} C [\text{student}(x)(w) \ \& \ \text{arrive}(x)(w)]$
 (17) *Eccetto* Yuri, sono arrivati [*C* [**alcuni** studenti]].

I will adopt the analysis that quantifier phrases co-occur with a covert variable anaphoric to the set of entities in the context (e.g. von Stechow 1993; Stanley and Szabo 2000), as in (17). In cases with containment, like (8), the entity will thus be indirectly removed from the quantifier restrictor.

Outlook. Italian has two constructions with *eccetto*: *eccetto* + $\forall Q$ are exceptive constructions, while *eccetto* + $\exists Q/n$ constructions give rise to an exclusive reading. While *eccetto* subtracts from the quantifier domain in the universal data, I have proposed that exclusive *eccetto* acts on the discourse level and introduce a presupposition that a given entity is not available in the current discourse. Similar patterns are observed in other languages: Mandarin has a marker, *chuwai*, which is ambiguous between an exceptive and an exclusive (Ying 2024) and a similar claim has been made about Japanese (Polinsky et al. 2024). Another comparable ambiguity is witnessed with the English *besides* (Mayr and Vostrikova 2022) and Italian *a parte*: when paired with a universal quantifier they have an exceptive reading (18), but when associated with an existential quantifier, an *exclusive/additive* reading arises (19).

- (18) A parte Sonia, sono arriva-ti tutti gli student-i. => Sonia did
not come
 besides Sonia be.PRS.3PL arrive-PST.PTCP all the student-PL
 ‘Besides Sonia, all the students came.’
- (19) A parte Sonia, sono arriva-ti alcuni student-i. !=> Sonia
 didn’t come
 besides Sonia be.PRS.3PL arrive-PST.PTCP some student-PL
 ‘Besides Sonia, some students came.’

Eccetto and *chuwai* are ambiguous between exceptive and exclusive readings, while *besides* and *a parte* are ambiguous between additive and exceptive readings. The follow-up questions are (i) whether crosslinguistically there exist a marker ambiguous between an additive and an exclusive and, ultimately, one ambiguous between all three readings (Figure 1); and (ii) how these ambiguities are accounted for by the grammar.

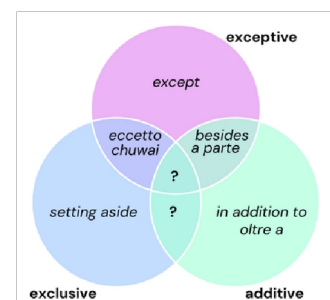


Figure 1: Variation in markers

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What can subject-verb agreement errors in aphasia tell us about the architecture of grammar?

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In a nutshell. This paper proposes an analysis of subject-verb agreement errors in Italian nonfluent aphasia using Distributed Morphology (DM) as a theoretical framework. Drawing on Pfau's (2009) study on speech errors in typical populations, we argue that a language production model which incorporates DM allows for a comprehensive account of the impairment patterns observed. Despite DM's compatibility with psycholinguistic models, it is still underrepresented in psycholinguistic studies (but, e.g., Barner & Bale 2002, Hopp 2010). Some research also explores DM's applicability to morphosyntactic deficits in language disorders (Thompson et al. 2002, Dickey et al. 2008, Wang et al. 2014). To our knowledge, there have not been any attempts to apply the theory to Italian data yet.

Background. Verb inflection impairments, in particular for non-fluent aphasia, have been well-described cross-linguistically from a generative perspective (e.g., Friedmann & Grodzinsky 1997, Bastiaanse & Thompson 2003, Martínez-Ferreiro 2010). For Italian, prior studies have reported a high degree of speaker variation in the omission and substitution of grammatical morphemes, difficulties in producing phraseological auxiliaries, impoverished use of modal and reflexive verbs, as well as a deficit in producing complex verb-argument structures (Miceli et al. 1983, Miceli & Mazzucchi 1989, Chinellato 2002, Rossi & Bastiaanse 2008). It is also well-documented that tense deficits seem to prevail over agreement errors, and that within agreement errors singular forms are usually preferred over plural ones (e.g., Garraffa 2011).

Methods & Procedures. We examined the inflectional productions of three agrammatic subjects (cf. Tab. 1) in a sentence completion task with alternating tense and person specifications (Friedmann & Grodzinsky 1997). Participants were exposed to a complete sentence with a clause initial temporal adverbial and then to an incomplete sentence. The incomplete sentence was a partial repetition of the complete sentence, but with either a different initial temporal adverbial in order to trigger a change in tense, or with a different subject as to induce a change in subject-verb (person and number) agreement. The task included 96 critical sentences (144 in total); verbs were selected based on factors such as frequency, conjugation, (ir)regularity, and auxiliary selection in the past tense.

Results & Discussion. In general, the results show that the number of errors is related to the type and severity of aphasia, with ER achieving 27% accuracy, SI 68%, and VE 81%, as shown in Tab. 2. However, despite the variation in error percentages between the participants, consistent error patterns do emerge across all subjects when we zoom in on the specifics. Upon closer examination, two distinct groups of errors emerge: those stemming from the manipulation of morphosyntactic features (e.g., favoring singular over plural, present tense over past tense, 1SG over 3SG), and those involving post-error repair strategies (e.g., overgeneralization of the theme vowel *-a-* to verbs outside the first conjugation), see (1). DM allows us to pinpoint these errors with more clarity. Pfau's (2009) hybrid model, integrating components of Levelt's (1989) production model and DM (List 1, List 2), accommodates all encountered inflection errors (Fig. 1). Semantic substitutions emerge before accessing List 1, while tense selection occurs within List 1, with manipulation or modification during the early stages of grammatical encoding in the Formulator (prior to potential morphosyntactic structure alterations). Erroneous morphosyntactic feature copies/shifts belong to the Formulator's component encoding morphosyntactic structure. Currently, we suggest localizing overgeneralizations in the model's lower component, dedicated to the phonological encoding of the verb.

(1) Selection of errors found in our data

a. La bambina dorma a lungo. 'The girl sleeps in.'

(Overgeneralization of theme vowel *-a-*: *dorma* instead of *dorme*)

b. Il portinaio prendono le chiavi. ‘The doorman take(s) the keys’

(Number feature mismatch: *prendono* instead of *prende*)

c. La commessa regala fragole. ‘The saleswoman gives away strawberries.’ (Semantic substitution: *regala* instead of *vende* ‘sells’)

d. La donna aveva un gatto. ‘The woman had a cat’

(Tense shift: imperfect *aveva* instead of present tense *has*)

ID	Gender/Age	Education	Region (origin/residence)	Etiology	TPO	Aphasia (severity)
ER	f/60	Middle School (4 years)	Emilia-Romagna	Ischemic CVA	2	Global aphasia (moderate)
SI	m/48	(Technical) Middle School (4 years)	Sicily	Ischemic CVA	2.3	Broca aphasia (moderate-severe)
VE	m/61	Middle School (3 years)	Veneto	Ischemic CVA	2.5	Broca aphasia (mild-moderate)
C1	f/62	Middle School (4 years)	Emilia-Romagna	-	-	-

Tab. 1. Background information on experimental subjects (ER, SI, VE) and control participant (C1)

ID	Sentence completion (Alternation: 1SG>3SG)	Sentence completion (Alternation: 3SG>3PL)	Sentence completion (Tense: 1SG>3SG; 3SG>3PL)
ER	6/24 (= 27% correct)	4/24 (= 18% correct)	-
SI	16/24 (= 68% correct)	15/24 (= 64% correct)	-
VE	19/24 (= 81% correct)	21/24 (= 89% correct)	12/24 (= 50% correct); 7/24 (= 73% correct)
C1	24/24 (= 100% correct)	24/24 (= 100 correct)	24/24 (= 100% correct); 24/24 (= 100% correct)

Tab. 2. Absolute and relative numbers of correct verb inflection production

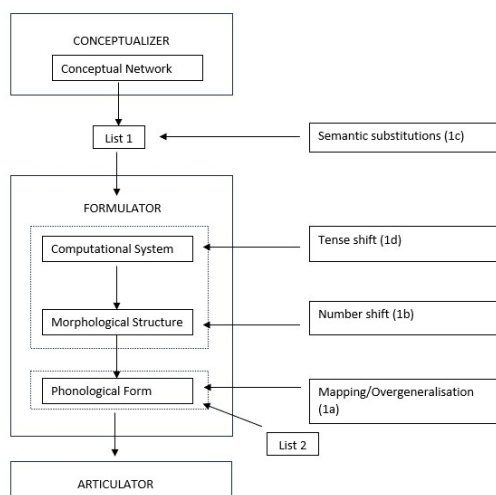


Fig.1. Localization of selected errors in model of DM combined with Levelt's language production model (cf. Pfau 2009)

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Attach Me If You Can

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The study investigates processing sensitivity to the selectional properties of the matrix verb which, according to the literature, favors high attachment (HA) of a restrictive relative clause (RC) (Grillo & Costa, 2014). This assumption was offered for Romance languages, where sentences (1a) and (1b) present identical strings of words (1c) thus, creating an ambiguity between the eventive complement and the DP + RC complement. In English, (1a) / (1b) are different sequences of words. However, there are processing effects of a perception verb too.

A perception verb ‘saw’ can take two types of complements, the eventive (1a) or the entity complement (1b). However, there is a processing preference for the eventive one (1a) (Pozniak et al., 2019; see also Grillo & Costa, 2014), which is a clause complement with the relationship of sisterhood between the complex DP ‘the friend of the neighbor’ and the following constituent. This modification excludes attachment of the upcoming constituent to the lower noun within the complex DP and explains HA preference in RC resolution in Romance languages (1c). In English, Sokolova (2020) reports a slowdown in the reading time (RT) after the complementizer and argues that the eventive structural prediction (1a) gets reanalyzed when the parser encounters the complementizer ‘that’ (compare the sequences of words in 1a and 1b) in case the participants are offered a full RC (1b). At the same time, Grillo et al (2015) and Sokolova and Slabakova (2022, 2021) report increased preference for HA in sentences with a perception verb in English. It remains unclear how a perception verb can cause reanalysis in the middle of a sentence and maintain its effect on RC attachment resolution till its end. We address this issue in a 2-by-2 self-paced reading study manipulating the type of the matrix verb (perception vs. non-perception) and the type of structure (full vs. reduced RC) (3). The reduced RC (2b) is structurally ambiguous with the Small Clause eventive complement (2a), same as in Romance languages. Therefore, (3c) should have HA. (3a) should demonstrate a slowdown in the RT after the complementizer ‘that’ adjusting the eventive prediction to the restrictive RC and return LA. (3b) and (3d) should demonstrate the typical for English LA (see Fodor, 2002 for full review).

Our participants are adult speakers of English as L1 (Chicago), L2 (Lisbon) and L3 (Barcelona), upper-intermediate or advanced in their Ln proficiency. The participants’ L1s differ by the amount of word order overlap between (1a) – (1b) and (2a) – (2b), as explained in (4). The results elicit the target-like preference for LA in (3a), (3b) and (3d). As predicted, HA is preferred in (3c). Lners read the embedded verb significantly faster in (3c) than in (3d), but noticeably slower than in (3a) and (3b). Response time is the longest for (3c) in English monolinguals and in Spanish-Catalan-English speakers. English-Portuguese L2ers respond the slowest in RCs.

We conclude that parsing routines are sensitive to the sectional properties of a perception verb in both native and non-native languages. Sentences with a structural ambiguity between the eventive and the entity complement return HA after a perception verb. This verb causes a slowdown in the reading time after the complementizer is encountered in the RC and/or at the response time. At this point, the structural prediction for the eventive complement is discarded. The processing behavior is overly similar in native and non-native languages. Sensitivity to a syntactic prompt in Ln does not depend on the availability of a certain structure in the native language of the participants. After the upper-intermediate level, there is no L2 proficiency effect on sentence processing.

Appendix:

(1a) Bill saw [_{CP} (that) [_{DP} the friend of the neighbor] [_{VP} was drinking coffee]]

(1b) Bill saw [_{DP} the friend of the neighbor [_{RC} that was drinking coffee]]

(1c) Mary a écouté [_{DP} la mère de la femme [_{RC} qui parlait de cosmétiques]]

Mary heard the mother-ACC of the woman-Gen who talked about cosmetics.

French, restrictive RC-reading: Mary heard the mother of the woman who talked about cosmetics.

Mary a écouté [_{CP} [_{DP} la mère de la femme] [_{CP} qui parlait de cosmétiques]]

Mary heard the mother-ACC of the woman-Gen who talked about cosmetics.

French, eventive reading: Mary heard the talking about cosmetics by the mother of the woman.

(2a) Bill saw [_{SC} [_{DP} the friend of the neighbor] [_{VP} drinking coffee]]

(2b) Bill saw [_{DP} the friend of the neighbor [_{RC} drinking coffee]]

(3a) Bill saw the friend of the neighbor that was drinking coffee on the balcony.

(3b) Bill called the friend of the neighbor that was drinking coffee on the balcony.

(3c) Bill saw the friend of the neighbor drinking coffee on the balcony.

(3d) Bill called the friend of the neighbor drinking coffee on the balcony.

(4) Participants' L1s:

Portuguese: allows (1a-b) and (2a) with the infinitive, HA-language.

Spanish / Catalan: allows (1a-b) and (2 a-b) with fully identical word orders in either, HA-language

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No cross-linguistic effects in variation: Attributive adjectives in the early acquisition of Spanish and French as heritage/majority languages

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Romance languages have been characterized by allowing attributive adjectives to be used pre- or postnominally depending on a series (and potentially a combination) of lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors (cf. e.g., Bouchard 1998, Fox & Thuilier 2010, for French and Demonte 2008 for Spanish). Despite all these possible factors, empirical corpus data on the production of attributive adjectives in French and Spanish have observed that some adjectives display a high preference towards one particular position (cf. example 1) while others do not (cf. example 2). Research on the monolingual acquisition of attributive adjectives in French and Spanish has shown that children master adjective placement very early. Fox (2014) analyses the longitudinal data of three French monolingual children that were collected in two sessions (around 3;6 and 4;9) as well as the linguistic interactions with their French parents. The author observes that children's utterances pattern adults' use of attributive adjectives. For monolingual Spanish children, Álvarez López (2004) looks at longitudinal data of four children with regular recordings every 6 months (age span 2;0-4;0) and notices a high preference (95%) for postnominal adjective placement. When it comes to early bilingualism, little is known about simultaneously acquiring Romance attributive adjectives together with a language which only allows prenominal placement across the board, as it is the case in German. Geveler, Arnaus Gil & Müller (2018) examined longitudinal data of 12 bilingual children (age span 1;4-5;4) being raised with French/Spanish and German. In a nutshell, bilingual children seem to pattern adult frequencies in French; the ones acquiring Spanish also follow this pattern, although some interindividual variation is found. Summarizing, the results from the literature on monolingual acquisition show almost instantaneous acquisition despite intralinguistic variation. These results seem to speak in favour of describing Romance adjective placement in L1 acquisition as a very early acquired phenomenon which is located at the macro-parametric level (Tsimpli 2014). When it comes to early bilingual acquisition, more has to be said when French/Spanish are acquired simultaneously together with German. On the basis of the conditions for cross-linguistic influence by Hulk & Müller (2000), we expect German to cause delay in the acquisition of attributive adjectives in Romance. However, the study of Geveler, Arnaus Gil & Müller (2018) hints at a similar acquisitional development as their monolingual Romance peers.

The present longitudinal study analyses the acquisition of attributive placement in the French/Spanish of five bilingual French-German/Italian, two Spanish-German and one Spanish-French children (age range 1;8-5;0). Linguistic data from four French and three Spanish monolingual children, extracted from *chilides* (MacWhinney 1995) complete the analysis. Attributive adjectives were codified according to types/tokens, semantic class and position (cf. examples 1 vs 2). MLU values were used to assess language proficiency and language dominance. Four of the eight children acquire the Romance language as heritage language. The results for French clearly show that bilingual children, irrespective of whether they acquire an AN-language like German or a language showing variation in adjective placement (Italian or Spanish), align to French monolingual peers. They further display similarities to child-directed-speech (CDS) frequencies (cf. figure 1). Figure (2) examines adjective position in Spanish by comparing bilingual children to their monolingual peers as well as CDS. Here, bilinguals show similar rates for both pre- and postnominal positions. The unexpected high proportion of prenominal adjectives when compared to Spanish monolinguals (30% vs 4,44%) is mainly to be found with adjectives of the type *famoso* (cf. example 2a), which in fact allow for both realizations. In this sense, bilingual children seem to exploit the possibility to place adjectives before the noun, something that is possible for adjectives of this group.

When it comes to unexpected, target-deviant adjective positions, bilingual children produce 7% of prenominal placements of adjectives that are exclusively postnominal. These cases cannot be accounted for when considering extralinguistic factors such as language combination, frequency or

language dominance. Here, we would like to explore the possibility to explain these examples following the ambiguity of prenominal ordering in the children's L1s, something which has been examined considering main (S)VO-languages (Polinsky & Magyar 2020).

Examples

- | | | | |
|--------|-----|--|------------------------|
| (1) a. | Sp. | El último cliente / *El cliente último | 'The last client' |
| b. | Fr. | Le petit fils / *Le fils petit | 'The short son' |
| (2) a. | Sp. | Las (famosas) actrices (famosas) | 'The famous actresses' |
| b. | Fr. | Les (longues) pattes (longues) | 'The long legs' |

Figures

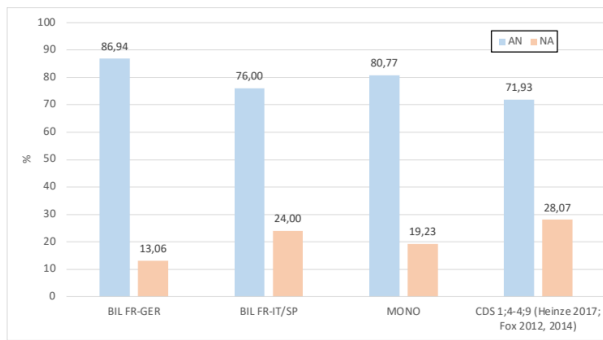


Figure 1. Bilingual, French monolingual children and CDS in French

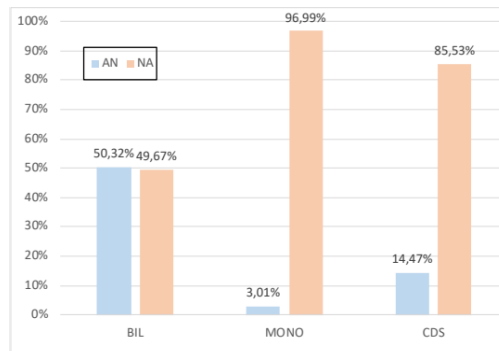


Figure 2. Bilingual, Spanish monolingual children and CDS in Spanish

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Acquisition of auxiliary selection in French and Italian and the role of input

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Modern-day Romance languages differ in relation to rules of auxiliary selection – the factors that determine whether auxiliary ‘have’ or ‘be’ is used in compound perfective tenses with the past participle. In both French (1) and Italian (2), reflexive verbs and unaccusative verbs take ‘be’ while unergatives (and all transitive verbs) select ‘have’.

(1)	<u>reflexive</u>	<u>‘unaccusative’</u>	<u>‘unergative’</u>
	Je me suis lavé.	Jean est arrive	Jean a nagé
	I REF am washed	Jean is arrived	Jean has swum
	‘I washed’	‘J. arrived’	‘J. swam’
(2)	(io) mi sono lavato.	Gianni è arrivato	Gianni ha nuotato

There are more verbs that select ‘be’ in Italian than French. Furthermore, some Italian verbs (e.g. *correre*, ‘run’) can be used with either auxiliary based on context. There are also differences between French dialects (e.g. greater use of ‘have’ in North-American varieties) and variation between speakers. Theoretical approaches, e.g. based on lexical semantics, account for some but not all of these differences.

Some prior studies on acquisition of auxiliary selection have disagreed on the nature of child errors, such as whether errors occur preferentially with *be*-selection or with both auxiliaries, and differences between person-number forms. This study aims to better understand the acquisition of auxiliary selection in both languages, including the nature of child errors, and the role of input, by analysing child and adult productions of auxiliaries in selected corpora from CHILDES.

Our results show firstly that child errors in French occur in *be*-selecting verb types (reflexive and unergative) but not in *have*-selecting intransitives (Figure 1 – left). This contrasts with child Italian (Figure 1 – right) where only a small proportion of productions were non-adult-like. The adult data (Figure 1) shows that in both languages there is absence of variability in the input. French child errors are therefore not the result of simply reproducing variable input but represent the influence of internal factors. We further analyse child French productions in *be*-selecting verbs (Figure 2). Errors with unaccusatives occur at a much higher frequency with 1sg (close to 50% of errors). With reflexives, errors only occur with 1sg. This shows that independently of verb type, there is a greater preference for use of ‘have’ in ‘be’ contexts with 1sg subjects. It is important to note that 3sg ‘be’ and 1sg ‘have’ in French are homophonous [e], which raises the possibility that the errors observed are not true auxiliary selection errors but represent instead the production of a 3sg form with a 1sg subject. If so, we could expect to find similar effects with ‘be’ independently of its use as auxiliary or copula. We studied this by measuring the age of first occurrence in the corpora of 1sg and 3sg ‘be’ in both contexts. Figure 3 (left) shows a later production of 1sg ‘suis’ for both auxiliary and copula. No such effect is seen with ‘have’ (Figure 3 – right).

We conclude that 1sg errors in child French are likely to be productions of 3sg *be* which could represent a trend towards levelling of the BE paradigm. This cannot occur in Italian as all the 1st and 3rd singular forms are distinct. Another factor may be the greater degree of syncretism for (present tense) *be* in spoken French and the higher frequency of 2sg/3sg *be* (both [e]) in the input.

Figure 1. Child and adult auxiliary productions in French (left) and Italian (right).

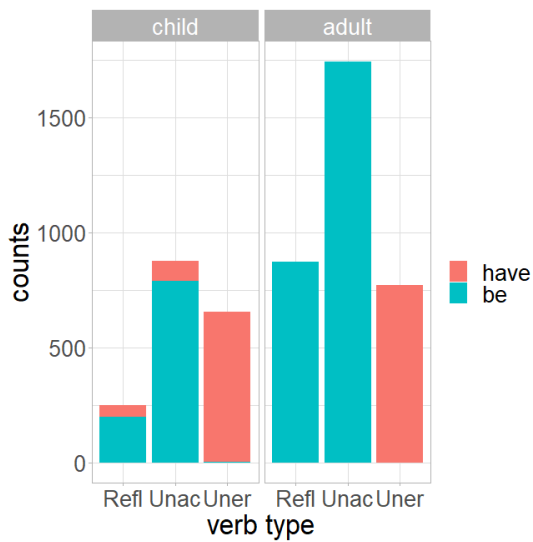


Figure 2. Child be-selecting by person.

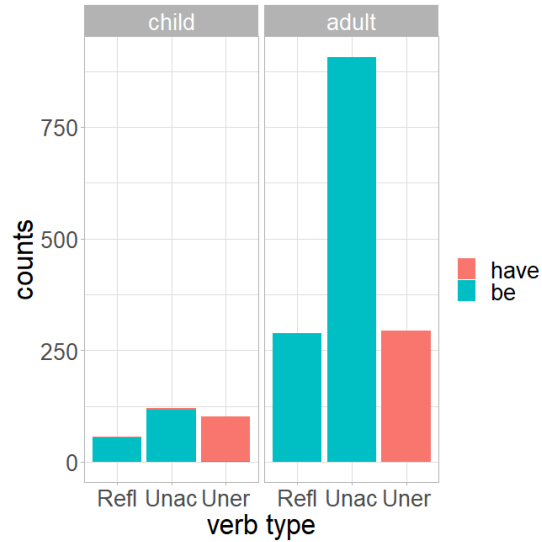
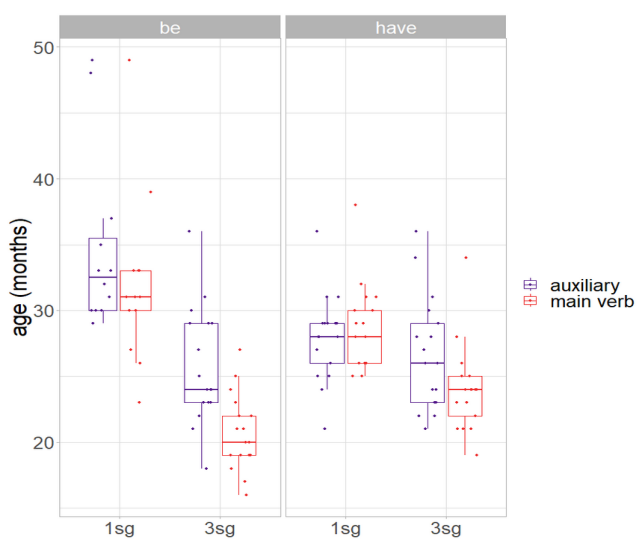
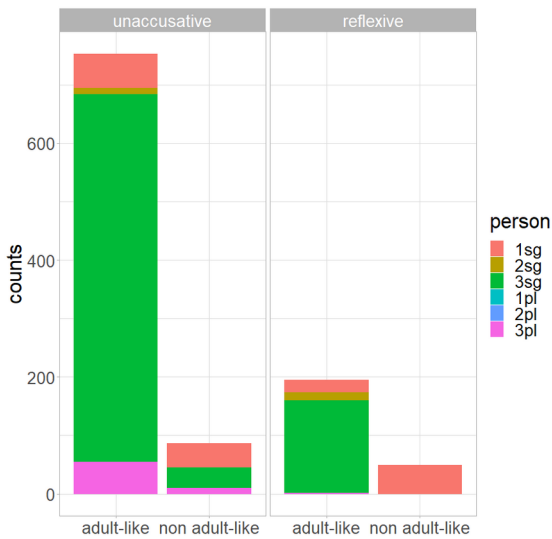


Figure 3. Child earliest production of *be* (left) and *have* (right) as auxiliary and main verb.



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**One phenomenon, two (unsatisfactory) approaches:
the puzzle of clitic reduplication in Chilean Spanish**

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General Issue. Some Spanish varieties exhibit *clitic reduplication*, i.e., they allow pronominal clitics to surface in more than one position within a sentence (e.g., Kany 1945, Oroz 1966, Silva-Corvalán 2001). The pattern is attested with periphrastic verbs, e.g., (1), or in restructuring contexts, e.g., (2). As shown in (1) and (2), the same clitic pronoun appears next to the finite and the non-finite verbs.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) Yo te voy a ayudar-te.
I you= go to help=you
‘I will help you.’ | (2) Le quieren pegar-le.
him= want hit=him
‘They want to hit him.’ |
|---|--|

While clitic reduplication is recurrently brought up in relation to clitic climbing and copy theory, its syntactic properties have been scarcely explored; in general, most discussions around it are based on basic data points like (1) and (2). In this paper, we use novel data from Chilean Spanish to test two analyses of this phenomenon, one based on movement and one based on agreement. Proper scrutiny of the construction shows that none of these analytical alternatives fully captures the empirical landscape of clitic reduplication in the dialect. Given the available data, we suggest that the construction could be better explained if clitic reduplication is analyzed as a surface phenomenon relying on PF operations.

Clitic reduplication as multiple copy pronunciation. The patterns in (1) and (2) are highly reminiscent of clitic climbing, a syntactic alternation in which a clitic may surface attached either to a finite or to a non-finite verb.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (3) Yo te voy a ayudar.
I you go to help
‘I will help you.’ | (4) Yo voy a ayudar=te.
I go to help=you
‘I will help you.’ |
|---|---|

An explicit proposal linking clitic reduplication and clitic climbing maintains that they share the same syntactic derivation, but the former further involves multiple copy pronunciation (e.g., Nunes 2004, Bošković & Nunes 2007). Specifically, the idea is that the contrast between (3) and (4) derives from the clitic moving from a VP-internal position in (4) to the TP domain in (3); the reduplication pattern in (1) then obtains from pronouncing the clitic in both its original and final positions.

According to Nunes (2004) and Bošković & Nunes (2007), pronunciation of two elements in a movement chain follows from one of them undergoing *Fusion* (Halle & Marantz 1993) with its attracting head, which renders copy deletion at PF unnecessary. This entails that only very simple syntactic objects may undergo multiple spell-out. For clitic reduplication, their prediction is that the process can only apply to single clitics. In principle, this is not borne out, as Chilean Spanish allows reduplication of entire clitic clusters.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (5) Te la voy a dar=te=la.
you it go to give=you=it
‘I will give it to you.’ | (6) Se las hizo pagar=se=las.
him them made pay=him=them
‘She/he made him pay for them.’ |
|--|--|

To account for these examples, one might argue that each clitic could have undergone movement and multiple copy pronunciation independently as single elements. Such an approach, however, faces serious problems, as patterns like (5) and (6) display an identity condition: as shown in (7) to (10), reduplication cannot be “partial”, i.e., it needs to target all the elements in the clitic cluster. To capture this, an analysis based on copy theory would have to posit that the clitics in the cluster move together, either as a complex head (Kayne 1989) or as part of a phrase (Ordoñez 2013). In

neither case is the clitic cluster an object that might undergo Fusion with a functional head. Therefore, the alleged instances of multiple copy spell-out in (5) and (6) remain unexplained in Nunes' framework.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|------|--|
| (7) | Te la voy a dar=te.
you it go to give=you | (8) | Te voy a dar=te=la.
you go to give=you=it |
| (9) | Te la voy a dar=la.
you it go to give=it | (10) | La voy a dar=te=la.
it go to give=you=it |

There are some exceptions to the identity condition. While some of them can be dealt within the copy theory of movement by appealing to scattered deletion (Bošković 2001, Nunes 2004), there is one case that seems incompatible with this mechanism. The relevant scenario arises when the accusative argument of a ditransitive predicate is realized with a DP headed by a determiner that is homophonous to the corresponding clitic, e.g., (11). In this context, the accusative clitic becomes optional, just as if the determiner was able to “replace” it based on its surface form, i.e., the string *te la* gets pronounced no matter the clitic *la* is not there. The optionality of the clitic cannot be accounted for in terms of scattered deletion since this operation only applies to repair an otherwise ungrammatical PF representation.

- (11) Te la voy a dar=te(=la) la weá.
you it go to give=you=it the damned.thing
'I will give you the damned thing.'

A major issue for analyzing clitic reduplication as an instance of multiple copy spell-out is that the construction displays locality conditions that are different from those observed with clitic climbing. Specifically, while clitic climbing respects the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC), e.g., (12), clitic reduplication is acceptable in an analogous context, e.g., (13).

- (12) *Ella lo quiere probar y comprar=lo.
she it wants try and buy=it
'She wants to try it and buy it.'
- (13) Ella lo quiere probar=lo y comprar la weá.
she it wants try=it and buy the damned.thing
'She wants to try it and buy the damned thing.'

The circumvention of this locality constraint exhibits an additional property: it is only possible if the reduplication pattern is established with the first coordinated conjunct. If the reduplicated clitic appears in the second conjunct, unacceptability arises, e.g., (14).

- (14) *Ella lo quiere probar la weá y comprar=lo.
she it wants try the damned.thing and buy=it
'She wants to try the damned thing and buy it.'

Clitic reduplication as a form of agreement. Mann (2012) conjectures that clitic reduplication is a phenomenon parallel to clitic doubling under the assumption that clitics in the latter are agreement markers (e.g., Suñer 1988). Following this intuition, the leftmost clitic in the reduplication pattern could be taken to be the realization of a functional head carrying ϕ -features that have been copied via Agree from the rightmost clitic.

The contrast between (13) and (14) could be taken to support this approach, as it resembles closest conjunct agreement patterns (Nevins & Weissner 2019), i.e., cases in which an element establishes agreement with the linearly nearest conjunct rather than with the entire coordination. In fact, analogous patterns in Modern Greek have been taken to show that clitic doubling involves

agreement rather than movement (Paparounas & Salzmann 2023): in (15), the form of the clitic depends on the DP in the first conjunct of the coordination; this relation cannot be established through movement as this would violate the CSC.

- (15) {Ton / *tin} ika to Jani ke ti Maria.
 3SG.M.ACC 3SG.F.ACC see.PST.1SG the.ACC John.ACC and the.ACC Mary.ACC
 ‘I saw John and Mary on the same day.’

The problem with this line of analysis for clitic reduplication is that the phenomenon is also attested with clitics that cannot be analyzed as agreement markers. For instance, the reduplication pattern may arise with reflexive pronouns, e.g., (16), or anticausative markers, e.g., (17).

- (16) Él se va a peinar=se. (17) Se va a hundir=se el bote.
 he himself go to comb=himself SE go to sink=SE the boat
 ‘He will comb himself.’ ‘The boat will sink.’

A potential solution. We take that the data point in (11) together with the linear sensitivity of the pattern attested in (14) point in the direction of an analysis based on PF primitives. In particular, we conjecture that clitic reduplication might be a product of phonological copying in the sense of Müller (2021). That is, the leftmost clitic cluster could be the result of an operation that copies a phonological string into an abstract prosodic affix in the TP area.

Parallel phases reloaded: statistical evidence in Old French

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In this work, we provide empirical evidence from Old French for the idea that the loss of Verb Second (V2) contexts (1) and the loss of scrambling context (2) go hand in hand, thus supporting the uniformity of the CP and vP phases (Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2004, Poletto 2006, 2014).

(1) *La cité ont cil alumee* (1155-ENEAS2-BFM-R,113.2572)

The city have.3PL those set.on.fire

“Those people set on fire the city.”

(2) *Vos li avez tuz ses castels toluz* (1100-ROLAND-MCVF-V,16.206)

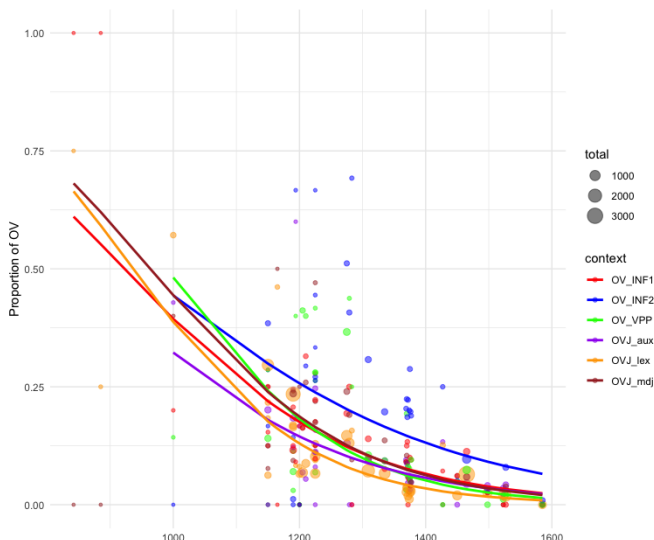
you.PL to.them have.2PL all their castles taken

“You took all their castles.”

Poletto (2006, 2014) argues based on Old Italian data that the CP and vP left peripheries display the same movement properties for both XPs and verbs (for the CP the inflected verb, for the vP the past participle/the infinitive). The presence of sentences like (1) and (2) in the grammar would therefore depend on the parallel application to the CP and the vP left peripheries of the same movement property, whereby an XP (the direct object, in our investigation) is fronted to a left peripheral position, either in the CP (1) or in the vP (2). If (1)-(2) depend on a single grammatical rule, we then expect its loss to uniformly affect all its contexts of application, in line with the Constant Rate Hypothesis (Kroch 1989; Zimmerman 2023 for a recent discussion). More precisely, we expect the loss of *OV* to be uniform irrespective of *OV* being in the context of a finite verb (lexical, auxiliary or modal) or in the context of a non-finite verb (past participle or infinitive).

We tested this hypothesis on the prose texts from the MCVF and PPCHF corpora of French (42 texts, from 842 to 1585 CE). We first extracted via Corpus Search all *OV* occurrences in the relevant contexts for each text: finite lexical verb (*OV_lex*), finite modal verb (*OV_mdj*), finite auxiliary verb (*OV_aux*), past participle (*OV_VPP*), infinitive under a modal (*OV_INF1*), infinitive under a preposition (*OV_INF2*). For each of these 6 measures, we extracted its relevant total (*OV_lex_TOT* = number of sentences with both finite lexical verb and *O*; *OV_mdj_TOT* = number of sentences with both finite modal verb and *O* etc.). On these data we fit a mixed effects logistic regression (R version 4.4.1; lme4 1.1.35.4), by which we check if the probability of *OV* varies along the years and if such diachronic variation is significantly different for the 6 investigated contexts. We therefore set the binary variable *OV* as dependent variable, with the continuous variable *year* and the categorical variable *context* (6 levels: *OV_INF1*, *OV_INF2*, *OV_VPP*, *OV_aux*, *OV_lex*, *OV_mdj*) as predictors. We included interactions between the two predictors, *text* as random intercept and random slopes for *context* ($OV \sim \text{scaled_year} * \text{context} + (1 + \text{context} | \text{text})$).

Graph 1 plots the output of the model (predicted probabilities of *OV* in each context along the



years) on the real data, represented as dots whose size reflects the total number of sentences of each context. As visible, there is an overall highly significant negative effect of *year* on the probability of *OV* ($\beta = -0.69$, $SE(\beta) = 0.12$, $z = -5.82$, $p < .001$). Two contexts show a significantly different probability of *OV*: *OV_INF2* shows more *OV* ($\beta = 0.68$, $SE(\beta) = 0.19$, $z = -3.62$, $p < .001$), *OV_lex* shows less *OV* ($\beta = -0.56$, $SE(\beta) = 0.16$, $z = -3.66$, $p < .001$). Crucially, no significant

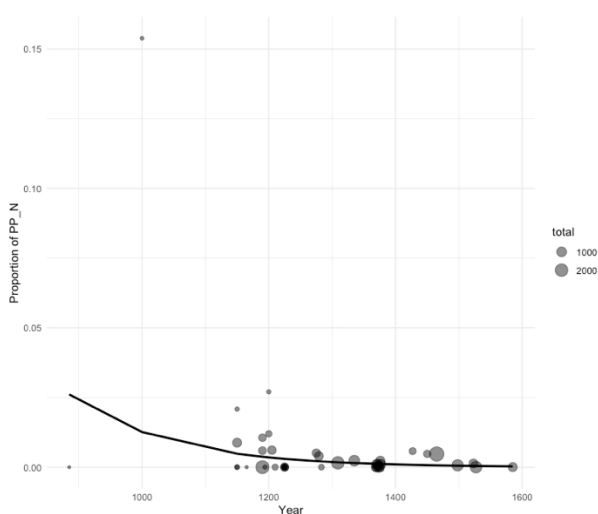
Graph 1

interaction between *year* and any of the *OV* contexts is found, meaning that there is no statistically significant difference between the curve of loss of *OV* in the different contexts investigated.

We take this to confirm that scrambling and V2 run in a parallel fashion across the left peripheries of the CP and the vP, which in turn means that phases are uniform. From a diachronic perspective, parameters apply and change across phases.

One could extend the same method to the third potential candidate for a phase, namely the DP (cf. Poletto 2014). More concretely, sentences like (3), where the PP precedes the N, thereby inverting the unmarked N>PP order, should be derived via the same movement property within the nominal domain.

- (3) *De voz paiens mult grant perte* (1100-ROLAND-MCVF-V,43.534)
of your.PL heathens very big part
“A very big part of your heathens”



Graph 2

Adopting the same methodology, we extracted the occurrences of *PP>N* from our corpora (*PP_N*), and the relevant total. Including the *PP_N* context to the *OV* model did not converge. We therefore fit a logistic regression just for the *PP>N* cases, to visually compare it with the result from the other model. We set *PP_N* as a dependent variable, *year* as predictor and *text* as random intercept. **Graph 2** shows the result, with the predicted probability of *PP_N* significantly decreasing through time ($\beta = -0.76$, $SE(\beta) = 0.23$, $z = -3.33$, $p < .001$). However, a visual comparison with **Graph 1** shows how the decrease is not comparable, the *PP_N* cases being already close to 0 since the first texts. The

data therefore confirm the parallel phases analysis only in part. On the one hand, the frequency of *OV* is unaffected by whether the O precedes a finite or a non-finite verb. This supports the view that the vP and the CP left peripheries share the same layering and movement properties. On the other hand, this does not seem to extend to the nominal left periphery, even if also the *PP>N* cases significantly decrease over time in the same period. These data can be modelled by weakening the parallel phases hypothesis, constraining its application to the verbal domain (CP and vP). This would imply that the loss of *PP>N* cases is an independent coincidental phenomenon. Before taking this step, it is however necessary to control for independent asymmetries between the contexts in **Graph 1** and **2**. After all, the CRH is only expected to apply when the different contexts show the same overall probability of triggering the given rule that is being lost. In other words, the observed difference could depend on the fact that the rule applies asymmetrically to direct objects and NP-internal PPs. A possible confounding factor is the asymmetrical application of focalisation, semantically a sentence-level operator, to sentence-level constituents (as the direct object) or to sub-constituents embedded within further structure (as NP-internal PPs). We explore this and other possibilities in the talk and also consider how different types of O (bare Qs, quantified/definite DPs) influence the probability of *OV*.

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New Insights into Spanish Ellipsis: The Case of Scalar Comparative Ellipsis

Laura Stigliano (The Ohio State University)

In this presentation, I provide the first description and analysis of a previously unexplored elliptical construction in Spanish, which I dub *Scalar Comparative Ellipsis* (SCE), exemplified in (1):

(1) Sonia es inteligente, pero Bruno...

Sonia is smart but Bruno

Literal: 'Sonia is smart, but Bruno...'

Interpretation: 'Sonia is smart, but Bruno... *is {smarter/ brilliant/ a genius}.*'

As the interpretation reported above suggests, **the basic case of SCE consists of a comparative sentence that undergoes ellipsis** (more details below). In this talk, I first describe the main properties of this construction and argue for its elliptical nature based on connectivity effects and other tests. Then, I propose an analysis of SCE based on the proposal in Lechner (2004) for Comparative Ellipsis. Finally, given that SCE requires a special intonation pattern, I briefly discuss the interplay between ellipsis and intonation.

1. THE EMPIRICAL PHENOMENON. First, SCE (1) does not explicitly indicate whether the second element exceeds or not the quality/quantity under comparison; this contrasts with other cases of deletion operations such as Comparative Deletion in (2), which require the presence of *más* 'more' or *menos* 'less':

(2) Sonia es {**más** | **menos**} inteligente que Bruno.

Sonia is more less intelligent than Bruno.

'Sonia is {**more** | **less**} intelligent than Bruno.'

Second, it should be noted that SCE does not only elide copular predicates, as in (1); it can also occur with transitive and intransitive verbs, among others, as shown in (3):

(3) Sonia compró un auto grande, pero Bruno...

Sonia bought a car big but Bruno

Interpretation: 'Sonia bought a big car, but Bruno... *bought a {bigger/ huge} car.*'

However, given the comparative nature of this elliptical construction, it requires an antecedent that involves a gradable property or predicate. As

(4) #Sonia es española, pero Bruno...

Sonia is Spanish but Bruno

(4) shows, when the antecedent doesn't include such predicate, the sentence is unacceptable. Moreover, the predicate doesn't need to involve an adjective, as (5) shows, a numeral also yields a grammatical SCE:

(5) Sonia puede comer 36 porciones de pizza, pero Bruno...

Sonia can eat 36 slices of pizza but Bruno

Interpretation: 'Sonia can eat 36 slices of pizza, but Bruno...*can eat many more slices of pizza.*'

2. CONNECTIVITY EFFECTS AND EXTRACTION. The main evidence to posit syntactic structure inside the ellipsis site comes from connectivity effects, the availability of extraction out of the ellipsis site, and the ungrammaticality of voice mismatches. As the following examples show, the remnant cannot drop case marking (i.e., *Differential Object Marking* (DOM) in Spanish) (6), nor omit the preposition (7):

(6) A Sonia la revisaron 5 médicos, pero *(a) Bruno...

DOM Sonia her examined 5 doctors but DOM Bruno

‘As for Sonia, 5 doctors examined her, but as for Bruno... *many more doctors examined him.*’

(7) Con Sonia hablaron 5 médicos, pero *(con) Bruno...

With Sonia talked 5 doctors, but with Bruno

‘As for Sonia, 5 doctors talked with her, but as for Bruno... *many more doctors talked with him.*’

Further evidence for an elliptical approach comes from extractions out of the ellipsis site. As shown in (8), multiple remnants can be extracted out of the ellipsis site:

(8) Sonia habló poco tiempo con Bruno, pero Diego con Maria...

Sonia talked short time with Bruno but Diego with Maria

‘S. talked with B. for a short time, but Diego with Maria... *talked for {more time/ a longer time}.*’

Finally, voice mismatches (i.e., active antecedent-passive ellipsis site; and the other way around—example omitted due to space reasons) are impossible, providing further evidence for a structural analysis of SCE:

(9) *Sonia destruyó 3 casas, pero por Bruno...

Sonia destroyed 3 houses, but by Bruno

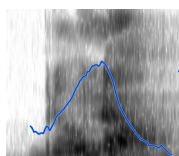
Intended: ‘Sonia destroyed 3 houses, but by Bruno... *many more houses were destroyed.*’

3. ELLIPSIS AND INTONATION. A crucial property of SCE (Specific Comparative Ellipsis) is that it requires a particular intonation contour on the remnant. This contrasts with most other types of ellipsis, including Comparative Ellipsis, which do not require such specific intonation, as well as the non-elliptical counterparts of SCE sentences. Importantly, if this intonation is absent, the sentence is deemed ungrammatical. Moreover, sentences like the one in (1) are actually ambiguous between the two readings in (10). Depending on the intonational contour of the remnant, the following figures illustrate the two intonational contours for the remnant *Bruno* in Spanish, leading to the interpretations in (10a) and (10b) respectively:

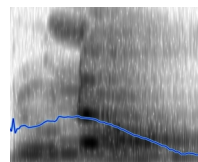
(10) a. Sonia is intelligent, but Bruno *is more intelligent/ brilliant/ a genius...*

b. Sonia is intelligent, but Bruno *is not-so-intelligent/ less intelligent/ dumb...*

(11) a



b



More specifically, assuming that there is a scale (see, e.g., Horn 1972, et. seq.) of ‘smartness’ that contains ordered terms like *{dumb; unintelligent; intelligent; brilliant; genius}*, the second clause is interpreted as pointing to one ‘side’ or ‘end’ of a scale or the other, meaning something like more-than-intelligent or less-than-intelligent. This interpretation seems to be guided by the intonational contour of the remnant.

3. AN ANALYSIS FOR SCE. Here I propose the first analysis for Scalar Comparative Ellipsis, taking as a starting point the analysis proposed for Comparative Deletion and Comparative Ellipsis (Kennedy and Merchant 2000; Lechner 2004, 2018; among others), illustrated below, where *d* is a degree variable:

(12) a. Sonia is more intelligent than Bruno. b. Sonia is more intelligent than Bruno is Δ .

($\Delta = d$ -intelligent)

More specifically, according to Lechner, a comparative sentence is derived via Comparative Deletion followed by an optional reduction process referred to as Comparative Ellipsis (see, e.g., Bach et al. 1974, Bresnan 1975, Hankamer 1971, 1973, Kennedy and Merchant 2000, Napoli 1983, and Pinkham 1982). That is, Comparative Ellipsis elides strings inside the comparative complement. Building on this proposal, in the case of Comparative Scalar Ellipsis, I propose the following:

(13) Sonia is intelligent, but Bruno...

Sonia is intelligent, but Bruno... is Δ^+ .

($\Delta^+ = d^+$ -intelligent)

Sonia is intelligent, but Bruno... is Δ^- .

($\Delta^- = d^-$ -intelligent)

The difference between Comparative Ellipsis and Scalar Comparative Ellipsis is that the degree variable d is endowed with a + or - feature that indicates which 'side' or 'end' of the scale should be interpreted. In this respect, if d^+ -intelligent is inside the ellipsis site, the remnant will bear a particular intonational contour, as described above, and the sentence will be interpreted as if Bruno is more intelligent than Sonia.

CONCLUSIONS. I offer the first detailed description and analysis of Scalar Comparative Ellipsis (SCE) in Spanish, highlighting its unique requirement for specific intonational contours. After reviewing the main properties of this construction, I put forth an analysis, that posits that the degree variable in SCE carries a feature indicating the direction of the scale, which is crucially reflected in the intonational pattern of the remnant. This study not only expands our understanding of ellipsis phenomena in Spanish but also underscores the intricate interplay between syntax and intonation in shaping meaning.

Selected references:

Kennedy & Merchant (2000) Attributive comparative deletion.

Lechner (2004) Ellipsis in Comparatives.

Horn (1972). On the semantic properties of logical operators in English

**High/Low Agreement in pseudo-partitive Italian constructions:
The interplay between semantic features and argument structure.**

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Agreement in so-called ‘pseudo-partitive’ constructions (Manzini & Franco 2019) offers an interesting research case for its interface implications. As is known, pseudo-partitive ‘DP1 of DP2’ constructions may feature a plural DP2, which is embedded under a DP1 belonging to different semantic categories such as arrangement (*a pile of clothes*), measurement (*a liter of wine*), container (*a pack of cigarettes*) or collective (*a flock of geese*), whose function alternates between an individuating and a measuring reading (cf. Rothstein 2009) of the embedded DP2.

Corpus analysis (cf. Fernández-Pena 2017) shows interesting alternations in these constructions, so that the verb can either agree with the DP1 obtaining High Agr(eement) or with the embedded plural DP2 (Low Agr), as (1) below. Quantitative data from corpus linguistics as well as previous experimental work (cf. Mazzaggio *et al.* 2020) have already shown that High Agr is generally preferred in matrix sentences. On the other hand, Low Agr seems to be preferred in anaphoric reference, namely pronouns and verb Agr in relative clauses.

(1) *Uno sciame di api (che) vola / volano sul prato.*

‘A swarm of bees (*which*) is / are flying over the meadow.’

According to Manzini’s (2019) and Manzini & Franco’s (2019) syntactic perspective, this phenomenon can be accounted for in terms of *labelling*, the operation responsible for assigning categorial status at each application of Merge. Hence, in sentences with High Agr the preposition and the DP2 form a constituent, which is labelled as PP and is selected by the DP1 as its complement. Hence, the second noun is not visible for Agr with the verb, as it is too deeply embedded. Conversely, in sentences with Low Agr, the categorial status of the constituent is assigned by the DP2: in this case, DP1 is a phrasal modifier of the NP2, sitting in the Spec of a silent D. Hence, in this structure DP2 is visible for Agr. On which factor the selection of one or the other type of Agr depends, however, is still an open question.

The present paper is intended to show and analyze the results of original data, taking a step further in the examination of the effects played by (i) the argument structure of different verb types (with a distinction between trans(itive), unac(cusative) and unerg(ative) verbs) and (ii) a bundle of semantic features (i.e., [animacy], [size] and [gender]) characterizing the DP2.

To do so, an experimental production test has been designed and submitted (online) to 300 university students (aged 18-21). The relevant test is composed of 72 sentences and as many fillers. Focusing on three collective DP1s (*gregge* ‘flock’, *sciame* ‘swarm’ and *stormo* ‘flock of birds’) and three arrangement DP1s (*mucchio* ‘heap’, *fila* ‘line’ and *grappolo* ‘bunch’), each target sentence contains a pseudo-partitive construction headed by each of them and each construction is inserted as the subject of either a matrix or relative clause. To avoid tiredness, the 72 sentences were divided into six lists. Each list contains one matrix sentence and one relative clause per verb type, for a total of 12 target sentences and 12 fillers, created according to a 6x6 Latin square design. Informants could thus see two instances of each classifier type and were asked to complete the sentences by choosing between the SG or PL form of the verb.

In line with previous accounts, our results show that Low Agr is in fact very frequently triggered by relative clauses, but in different ways, depending on the interplay of specific semantic and argument-structural factors. Statistical analysis (using the Conditional Inference Tree (CIT) method and the Conditional Random Forest Test (CRFT) in R), shows that a first basic distinction is determined by the arrangement DP1 *mucchio*, which significantly differs from remnant arrangement DPs and the collective DPs ($p < 0.0001$) (Fig. 1, Divide 1: red circle). Indeed, in the presence of

mucchio, Low Agr is significantly dominant, though depending on different factors (Fig. 1, Divide 2: blue circle): (a) in **relative clauses**, trans/unerg verbs significantly differ from unacc verbs in triggering PL Agr ($p = 0.0002$), whereas (b) in **matrix clauses** the crucial semantic factor is [size]: big DP2s trigger PL Agr with a significant distinction w.r.t. small ones ($p = 0.0036$).

With remnant arrangement DPs and collective DPs the interplay between sentence type and argument structure plays again a crucial role: (a) in **relative clauses** arrangement DP1s consistently favor PL Agr ($p = 0.00183$) and collective DPs also do so, but only with trans/unerg verbs ($p > 0.0001$) (Fig. 1, Divide 3: green circle) whereas, interestingly, (b) in **matrix clauses** PL Agr is significantly more frequently attested with unacc verbs ($p < 0.0001$) (Fig. 1, Divide 5: purple circle). Additional significant differences finally depend on [gender] and [size] (big vs small $p < 0.0001$; big+F vs big+M $p > 0.0001$) (Fig. 1, Divide 4: purple circle).

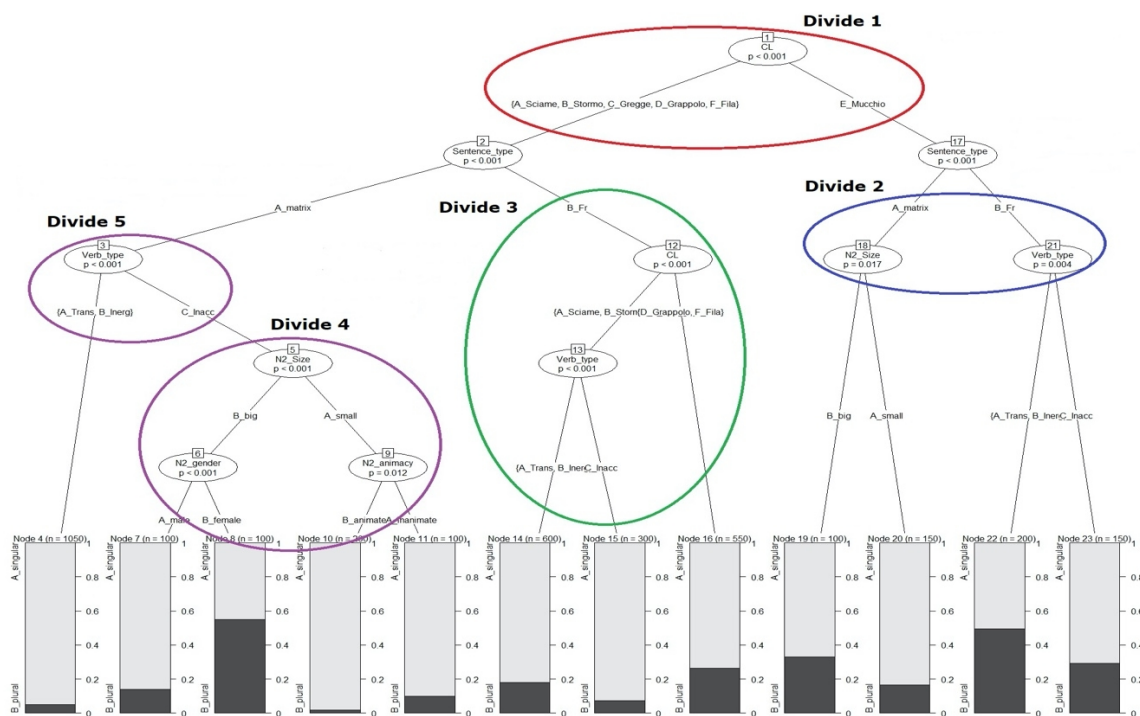


Figure 1 – Conditional Inference Tree of Italian Subject-Verb Agr patterns

To sum up, in relative clauses PL Agr is only dominant with trans/unerg verbs. This result can be interpreted in the light of the *edge position* in the vP phase of agentive verbs which enters a long-distance relation with the relative Operator, thus favoring the subject role of the non-quantifying embedded DP2. On the other hand, thematic subjects in unaccusative verbs, are merged lower in the vP phase and not visible after phase closure for interpretation. As for matrix clauses, the possibility of a ‘double attachment’ is no longer an issue and the presence of PL Agr is dependent on semantic properties. The strong connection between number and gender will be discussed in the light of a typological (Greenberg 1966) and structural approach (Ritter 1993, Vigliocco and Franck 1999), assuming semantic formal features in a DP-split.

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How Balkan, (Italo-)Romance, and Greek is complementation in Corfioto?

Georgios Vardakis

This paper investigates the effects of universal syntactic operations in contact-induced syntactic change. I argue that the synchronic morphosyntactic properties of morphologically finite clausal complementation in Corfioto, the endangered Italo-Romance variety historically spoken by the Corfiot Jews, although triggered by the reanalysis of the functional element *ke* as a modal particle and a clausal subordinator in distinct types of main and subordinate clauses, are subject to universal implicational restrictions of clausal complementation.

While most of the lexical and morphological elements of Corfioto, as still spoken today by its last speakers in Israel, Greece and Italy, are inherited from Venetian spoken in Corfu, some of its core grammatical properties including verb morphology, subject pronouns, subject clitics and clausal complementation diverge significantly from those diachronically attested in Venetian (Poletto 1995) and should be analyzed as contact-induced changes under the influence of varieties historically spoken by the Corfiot Jews, including Southern Italo-Romance varieties and Greek (Vardakis 2023).

Similar to Balkan-type complementation (Joseph 1983), clausal complements in Corfioto are all obligatorily marked by the subordinator *ke* and the particle *ke* and almost exclusively encoded via morphologically finite verb forms regardless of the semantic class of the matrix verb, as shown in the three complement types of the attitudinal *krédo* 'believe' in (1), the modal volitional *vójo* 'want' in (2) and the phasal (aspectual) verb *skomínsio* 'begin' in (3).

(1) *Se= kredé-v-ano ke so kut-í.*
3PL.REFL=believe-IMPF-3PL PRT be.1SG.PRS.IND silly-F.SG
'They believed that I am silly.'
[_{sAP} [_{Top} [_{IP} *se=kredévano* [_{vP} *se=kredévano* [_{sAP} [_{IP} *so* [_{vP} *so kutí*]]]]]]]]

(2) *Ti_i= vol ke ti_i= tsógh-a al númer-o?*
2SG=want PRT 2SCL= take-2/3SG PREP.DEF.SG.M number.(M)-SG
'Do you want to call him/her on the phone.'
[_{sAP} [_{TopP} [_{IP} *ti=vol* [_{vP} *ti=vol* [_{sAP} [_{IP} [*ke* [_{±TENSE}][_{±MOOD}]=*ti=tsógh-a* [_{±MOOD}][_{±TENSE}] [_{vP} *ti=tsógh-a* al número]]]]]]]]

(3) *A_i=skominsi-á_i ke= ríd-a.*
AUX.2/3SG=start-2/3SG-PTCP PRT=laugh-SUBJ.2/3SG
'He/she started laughing'.
[_{sAP} [_{TopP} [_{IP} *a=skominsi-á* [_{vP} *ti=vol* [_{±MOOD}] [_{sAP} [_{IP} [_{AspP} *ke=rid-a* [_{-TENSE}][_{±MOOD}] [_{vP} *ke=rid-a*]]]]]]]]

Based on the properties of i) temporal interpretation, ii) argument structure, iii) reference-tracking, which I extend to iv) information structure and v) the possible Merge of root modal clauses above the CP/IP, I bring empirical evidence which shows how the morphosyntax and semantics of each complement type is subject to universal implicational generalizations on complementation (Croft 2022; Wurmbbrand & Lohninger 2023).

I adopt a derivational account of clausal deficiency (Satik 2024) in the clausal complement types of Corfioto whereby the subordinator *ke* is distinctively marked by different values of the features [_{±MOOD}][_{±TENSE}] and can merge at different heights of the clausal spine ranging from a CommitP (Miyagawa 2022) to the lowest CP/IP depending on the matrix predicate:

(4) [_{sAP} [_{IP} [_{vVP} [_{sAP} [_{CommitP} [_{±TENSE}][_{±MOOD}] [_{CP/IP} [_{TopP} [_{FocP} [_{VoIP} *ke* [_{-TENSE}][_{±MOOD}] [_{AspP} *ke* [_{-TENSE}][_{-MOOD}] [_{v-VP}]]]]]]]]]]

Similar to other languages of Southern-Eastern Europe, including the Balkan languages (Mišeska Tomić 2004), as well as certain Southern Italo-Romance and Greek varieties (Ledgeway et al.,

forthcoming), the presence of the significant retreat and loss of the infinitive and its replacement by a finite strategy in most syntactic contexts has long been related to language contact within the Jewish community (Vardakis 2023).

I advance my hypothesis that the replacement by finite clausal complements in Corfioto has been triggered by the downward reanalysis (Groothuis 2019) of the Romance subordinator *ke* as an element marking different types of main and subordinate modal clauses, after the recombination of the syntactic and semantic features of the Greek subordinator *na* (Sampanis 2021) and the double complementizer system of Southern-Italian varieties (Ledgeway 2013). In particular, I suggest that the recombination of the semantic, syntactic and morphological features in root modal clauses in Corfioto due to influence from similar main modal constructions in Greek (Magionos 2023) and/or Southern Italian varieties (Amman & van der Auwera 2004) has led to the grammaticalization of *ke* and its Merge in different positions of the clausal spine, including a MoodP projection in of the clausal spine as in (5).

- (5) *ke ghe pórt-o tsái!*
 PRT IOCL.3SG/PL bring-1SG tea
 'I am bringing them tea/I am going to bring them tea'.
 [_{SAP}[+TENSE] [_{SAP} [_{TopP} [_{FocP} [_{CP/IP} [_{MoodP} *ke* [-TENSE][±MOOD] *ghe pórt-o* [_{IP} [_{v-VP} *ghe pórt-o tsái*]

Moreover, I suggest that the emergence of the morphologically finite complementation system in Corfioto has been possible following the rearrangement of ϕ -features of Venetian and Southern-Italian varieties across the verb and subject clitic paradigm in Corfioto. I propose that infinitival loss in Corfioto should be seen as a correlate of the possibility of [ϕ] and [MOOD] to be anchored in the speech act domain not only anaphorically to the matrix predicate via AGREE but also deictically (Ritter & Wiltschko 2014; Wiltschko 2014) both in modal root (5) and complement clauses, as in (6).

- (6) *gh'=a_i íto ke= váda_{ij/k} ánka lu*
 3SG.PL=AUX.1SG say.PTCP PRT=go.subj.2/3SG also PRO.M.3SG
 'He/she told him/her that he should tell/make you go, too.'

[_{saP} [_{SAP} [_{TopP/FocP} [_{CP} *gh'_ja_i=íto* [_{vP} *gh'_ja-íto* [_{saP} *pro* [_{SAP} *pro* [_{IP} *pro ke=vád-a_{ij/k}* [-TENSE][±MOOD] [_{v-VP} *vád-a*][_{FocP}]

I bring sociolinguistic and historical data which support my hypothesis that the finite complementation system in Corfioto is a contact-induced phenomenon triggered by the recombination and the featural rearrangement of [\pm TENSE][\pm MOOD] and [ϕ] features available in different language sources (Aboh forthcoming), this talk aims to contribute to the role of possible universal constraints in contact-induced syntactic change.

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SPR non-culminating accomplishments in European Portuguese

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It has been increasingly recognized over the past decades that non-culminating interpretations of perfective accomplishments are available in many languages. For instance, the culmination inferences in certain accomplishments are defeasible by a second, negating clause (cf.). See (1).

- (1) a. Masha taught Russian to Jean, but he learned nothing.
b. John painted the wall, but not completely.

As shown above, there is not just one type of non-culminating accomplishment: although both negate the culmination, the semantics of (1a) and (1b) are different. divides them into three types, whereas divide them into five types, and explain them with some semantic, morphosyntax and conceptual patterns. The latter proposal is supposedly valid for all the languages. However, in European Portuguese (EP) in particular, whether there exist non-culminating accomplishments is still unclear.

In this study, we test the phenomena of non-culmination in EP with two psycholinguistic tasks: an *offline* five-points Likert-scale task, inquiring the acceptability of non-culminating readings, and an *online* self-paced reading task (Gomes and Maia, in press). Combining the results of both tasks enables us to investigate the phenomena of non-culminating accomplishment in EP, as in which type of perfective accomplishments permits a non-culminating reading. Furthermore, following , we also test the hypothesis of whether intentionality of the subject plays a role in the interpretation of non-culminating readings. Thus, both *online* and *offline* tasks include intentional (agentive) subjects and non-intentional (non-agentive) subjects in a five conditions study based on the typology in : C1 - *wash verbs*, C2 - *transfer verbs*, C3 - *transitive psychological verbs*, C4 - *incomplete accomplishments* and C5 - *failed attempt accomplishments*. Materials included 136 experimental items and 136 fillers in a 5x2 design, such as below:

(2) <i>WASH VERBS</i> - intentional x non-intentional subjects									
<i>O João</i>	<i>lavou</i>	<i>a camisa,</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>camisa</i>	<i>ainda</i>	<i>não</i>	<i>estava</i>	<i>infelizmente.</i>
<i>A chuva.</i>									
<i>John / The rain washed the shirt, but the shirt wasn't cleaned yet, unfortunately.</i>									

(3) <i>TRANSFER VERBS</i> - intentional x non-intentional subjects								
<i>A Matilde</i>	<i>ensinou</i>	<i>o hino</i>	<i>ao</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>não</i>	<i>nada</i>	<i>infelizmente.</i>
<i>A vida militar</i>								
<i>Matilde/ Military life taught the nacinal hymn to Peter, but Peter didn't learn anything, unfortunately.</i>								

(4) <i>TRANSTITIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL VERBS</i> - intentional x non-intentional subjects								
<i>O Luís</i>	<i>incitou</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>não se</i>	<i>incitado,</i>	<i>infelizmente.</i>
<i>O genocídio</i>								
<i>Luis/ The genocide incited Peter to revenge, but Peter didn't feel incited, unfortunately.</i>								

(5) <i>INCOMPLETE ACCOMPLISHMENTS</i> - intentional x non-intentional subjects								
<i>O Manuel</i>	<i>destruiu</i>	<i>a aldeia</i>	<i>ontem,</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>não</i>	<i>completamente</i>	<i>destruída.</i>
<i>O fogo</i>								
<i>Manuel/ The fire destroyed the village yesterday, but the village wasn't completely destroyed.</i>								

(6) <i>FAILED ATTEMPT ACCOMPLISHMENTS</i> - intentional x non-intentional subjects								
<i>O Miguel</i>	<i>partiu</i>	<i>a janela</i>	<i>ontem,</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>não</i>	<i>partida,</i>	<i>felizmente.</i>
<i>O vento</i>								
<i>Miguel/ The window broke yesterday, but the window wasn't broken, unfortunately.</i>								

The experiment was built and ran in PCIBex (Zehr & Schwartz, 2018) with 52 native EP speakers (11 male and 41 female, mean age = 20,5; 49 university students, 2 master's students, and 1 master)

The results of the grammaticality judgement show that acceptability depends on the type of accomplishment. We can infer a clear pattern, that is (from least acceptable to most acceptable): *failed attempt* (C5), *transitive psychological verbs* (C3), *wash verbs* (C1), *incomplete accomplishments* (C4) and *transfer verbs* (C2), with C5 being the least acceptable one. This result could mean that there are no *Failed attempt accomplishments* in EP, and there are the other four types of non-culminating accomplishments.

In addition, *the intentionality of the subject* plays an important role on the acceptability judgement of three types of accomplishments: results show that *intentionality of the subject* is statistically relevant for *transitive psychological verbs* (C3), *wash verbs* (C1) and *transfer verbs* (C2), and it has no significant effect on the acceptability judgement of the other two types: *failed attempt* (C5) and *incomplete accomplishments* (C4). The average judgements for acceptability are: 2/5 for *failed attempt* (C5) with *intentional subject*; 1,91/5 for *failed attempt* (C5) with *non-intentional subject*; 2,82/5 for *transitive psychological verbs* (C3) with *intentional subject*; 2,24/5 for *transitive psychological verbs* (C3) with *non-intentional subject*; 4,36/5 for *wash verbs* (C1) with *intentional subject*; 3,92/5 for *wash verbs* (C1) with *non-intentional subject*; 4,17/5 for *incomplete accomplishments* (C4) with *intentional subject*; 4,04/5 for *incomplete accomplishments* (C4) with *non-intentional subject*; 4,77/5 for *transfer verbs* (C2) with *intentional subject*; 4,08/5 for *transfer verbs* (C2) with *non-intentional subject*. The results show that non-culminating accomplishments with *intentional subjects* are always better accepted than non-culminating accomplishments with *non-intentional subjects*.

However, even without considering the *failed attempt accomplishments*, the acceptability judgements are not in perfect accordance with Guéron and Vogelee (2021). Those authors suggest non culminating accomplishments (except *incomplete accomplishments*) require *intentional subjects* to have the non-culminating reading. The results show that *incomplete accomplishments* indeed do not require *intentional subjects*. But in other types of non-culminating accomplishments, although *non-intentional subjects* could make a non-culminating accomplishment less acceptable than one with *intentional subjects*, they cannot make it unacceptable (from the high acceptance rate in *transfer verbs* with *non-intentional subjects*).

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Psych alternation beyond the psych alternation! A unified approach to constructional variation in Romance psych predicates

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Introduction The variation of psych verbs in Romance languages, expressing meanings such as ‘frighten’, ‘annoy’ and ‘please’, has been a topic of vigorous discussion since the work of [Belletti & Rizzi \(1988\)](#). This poster proposes a new, alternation-oriented approach to describing and analyzing constructional variation of psych verbs, and complex psych predicates, which have not received much attention in the literature on Romance languages.

The psych alternation Across languages, psych verbs participate in the psych alternation (cf. [Rott et al., 2020](#)), i.e., a voice alternation frequently resembling a causative alternation. In Romance languages, transitive psych verbs with experiencer objects ([1a](#)) alternate with experiencer subject constructions marked by a reflexive clitic ([1b](#)).

(1) a. *O barulho horrorizou a menina.*
DEF noise horrify.PST.3SG DEF girl
‘The noise horrified the girl.’

b. *A menina se horrorizou com o barulho.*
DEF girl REFL horrify.PST.3SG with DEF noise
‘The girl was horrified by the noise.’ (Brazilian Portuguese; [braz1246](#))

Complex psych predicates Patterns of light verb constructions (LVCs) containing a psych noun denoting an emotional state, such as those in ([2](#)) are used productively to form complex psych predicates in all Romance languages.

(2) a. *O barulho (lhe) deu horror à menina*
DEF noise 3SG.DAT give.PST.3SG horror to:DEF girl
‘The noise horrified the girl.’

b. *O barulho deixou a menina com horror.*
DEF noise leave.PST.3SG DEF girl with horror
‘The noise horrified the girl.’

c. *O barulho (lhe) causou horror à menina.*
DEF noise 3SG.DAT cause.PST.3SG horror to:DEF girl
‘The noise horrified the girl.’ (Brazilian Portuguese; [braz1246](#))

A unified approach The psych alternation and the variation of complex psych predicates have been described as separate phenomena to date, but they are not independent of each other. The counterparts of the psych alternation, as in ([1](#)), compete not only with each other, but also with semantically related complex predicates, as in ([2](#)). The nature of the relation between psych verbs and lexically corresponding complex predicates has hardly been studied in Romance languages. The analysis of psych verb-LVC pairs in German by [Wiskandt & Turus \(in press\)](#) serves as a starting point for a new approach to constructional variation in Romance psych predicates:

For describing a given emotion event, a speaker can choose among a set of constructions encompassing both voice constructions of a psych verb and complex predicates involving the corresponding psych noun. They all share the same lexical root; we argue that the differences among them are of grammatical nature. The relation among this set of constructions can be

described as a complex type of alternation: a psych predicate alternation that goes beyond the classical, binary psych alternation.

Research objectives The goals of this poster are threefold: First, to describe the variation of constructions in said complex alternation across Romance languages; second, to examine differences among Romance languages with respect to the complex alternation from a contrastive perspective; and third, to contribute to theory about alternations of psych predicates in Romance and beyond by proposing a new classification approach.

Corpus study The empirical study is based on cross-Romance corpus data, retrieved from the most recent available TenTen corpora ([Jakubíček et al., 2013](#)) through the interface of SketchEngine (cf. [Kilgarriff et al., 2014](#)). Data are analyzed for exemplary lexical roots that occur in both psych verbs and corresponding complex predicates. For these roots, the presence of all possible voice constructions of the verb and a selection of complex predicate patterns, such as the three highlighted in (2), with the corresponding noun is tested.

The data show that the classical psych alternation is – to no surprise – attested in all Romance languages. Furthermore, in all tested languages, at least three of the tested complex predicate patterns are attested, and data for all languages show evidence for the functionality of the extended alternation, but the exact inventories of the alternation vary.

Key results On the theoretical side, the poster demonstrates the benefits of a unified approach to the classical psych alternation and corresponding complex psych predicates. On the empirical side, the poster shows how corpus data support the assumption of a unified, complex alternation in the domain of psych predicates.

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Null objects in Santomean Portuguese – a spoken corpus case-study

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Previous research has shown that, although definite and indefinite null direct objects (DOs) are available in both Brazilian and European Portuguese (BP and EP, respectively), where they are restricted to 3rd person, there are differences between the two varieties regarding their properties and distribution (Cyrino & Matos, 2016). In particular, [-animate] null DOs tend to be allowed inside strong islands in BP (Kato et al. 2023), but not in EP, where they are judged to be either ungrammatical or marginal (Raposo, 2004; Duarte & Costa 2013). As for non-island intrasentential contexts, only BP allows [-animate] null DOs in subject position; both varieties only allow [+animate] null DOs in non-island contexts if the antecedent is in topic position or in the discourse (Kato et al. 2023). Null DOs tend to recover highly accessible antecedents, i.e., referents that are explicitly mentioned in the immediately preceding context (Schwenter, 2006; Duarte & Costa, 2013; Rinke et al. 2019). The two varieties also differ in the relative productivity of null and pronominal DOs: various corpus-based studies have shown that null DOs are more frequent in BP than in EP, in both written (Kato & Raposo, 2001; Cyrino 2001) and oral data (e.g. Schwenter, 2014; Figueiredo, 2014); in oral spontaneous speech, native EP speakers produce significantly more pronominal than null DOs (Rinke et al. 2018).

In this talk, we will present a preliminary *corpus*-based analysis of null DOs in Santomean Portuguese (STP), a nativized post-colonial variety of Portuguese, and compare the results with the syntactic properties of EP and BP in this domain. To achieve our goal, we analyzed data from the PALMA spoken urban corpus (Center of Linguistics of the University of Lisbon) collected in the capital of São Tomé between 2008 and 2012, through semi-structured interviews with 77 informants (Gonçalves et al. 2021). The corpus was annotated with part-of-speech (POS) and lemma information, and it has been made searchable on the CQPweb platform (Hagemeyer et al. 2022).

We analyzed occurrences of null and pronominal objects with 75 finite transitive verbs, classified according to the following variables: a) features of the antecedent: [\pm definite],[\pm 3rd person],[\pm animate]/[+human]; b) strong syntactic islands; c) the position of the antecedent (intra and extrasentential, or in the extralinguistic context); d) accessibility of the antecedent (in/not in the immediately preceding context, as well as presence of other potential antecedents). The present analysis excluded ambiguous cases between null object and ellipsis of a verbal constituent, null objects with an indefinite generic interpretation, as well as dubious cases of object omissions.

Our preliminary analysis of the STP data suggests that there is an asymmetry between islands (see 1-3) (28 occurrences, 8.8%) and non-island contexts (see 4-8) (287 occurrences, 91.1%), with most [-animate] null DOs occurring in the latter (255/287). [+animate] null objects almost exclusively occur in non-island contexts, with an extrasentential antecedent, patterning with both standard EP and BP (32/287) (see 7-8). STP also behaves like EP and BP in allowing definite and indefinite null DOs. On the other hand, three differences were found between STP and EP: a) null DOs in STP are more frequent than pronominal DOs (315 vs. 58), which are realized either as strong pronouns or clitics (Gonçalves et al. 2023); b) there are occurrences of 1st and 2nd person null DOs (see 8); and c) in the case of 3rd person null DOs with a linguistic antecedent, either in the discourse or in the same sentence, although over half have an immediately accessible antecedent (57.9%) (see 4, 5, 6, 7), a significant percentage do not; in this case, either the antecedent is not in the immediately preceding context (15.5%) or there are other intervening potential antecedents (26.5%) (see 1, 2).

Examples:

1. Ministério educação selecionou **alguns alunos** que era para mandar para Portugal para estudar. Então, eles também, como é ministério **que selecionou [-]**, estão confiante que vão sair já.
‘the ministry of education selected some students that were supposed to be sent to Portugal to study so / as it is the ministry that selected [-], they are confident that they will leave straightaway’ (=them)
2. [**saco**] **de pão** / gente cose / põe na porta / xis dinheiro / há quem que compra [-]
‘the bread bag, people buy, hang on the door, ... money, there are those who buy [-]’ (=it)
3. **Carne** lá fora, eles usam bastante, porque lá vendem [-] mais barato.
‘meat abroad, they use it often, because they sell [-] cheaper there’ (=it)
4. fazia a cria **dos porcos, cabras**, vendia [-]
‘I used to breed pigs; goats; I sold [-]’ (=them)
5. vem para a cidade vir vender **carga** / a gente compra [-] aqui em cidade
‘I come to town to sell merchandise / people buy [-] here in town’ (=it)
6. quando **esse terreno** já não produz, eles abandonam [-]
‘when this field does not produce any longer, they abandon [-]’ (=it)
7. como nós mulheres não podemos passear com **hóspede**, ele é que leva [-]
‘as we, the women, cannot go for walks with the guests, he takes [-]’ (=them)’
8. gente tem um amigo que tem carro, levou-**nos**, ainda trouxe [-] para casa.
‘we have a friend who has a car, he took us, he still brought [-] home’ (=us)

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Case marking and politeness variation in Spanish experiencer object verb requests

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Spanish experiencer object (EO) verbs, e.g. *molestar* ‘bother’, are able to assign both dative and accusative case to their experiencer argument, cf. (1). The case alternation has an impact on the event structure of the predicates, i.e. dative-experiencer predicates are analyzed as stative whereas accusative-experiencer predicates as eventive (cf. Marín 2015; Fábregas et al. 2017).

- (1) [Manuel]_{STM} la / le molesta ([a Camila]_{EXP}).
Manuel CL.ACC.3SG / CL.DAT.3SG bothers to Camila
‘Manuel bothers her (Camila).’

The case alternation of the experiencer also gives rise to distinct interpretations in terms of affectedness regarding the experiencer. See (1) again. An accusative-experiencer predicate entails the change of the experiencer’s mental state which is caused by the stimulus (cf. Parodi-Lewin 1991; Fábregas & Marín 2015; Fritz-Huechante et al. 2020, a.o.), i.e. Manuel directly causes a full emotional response in Camila and brings her into the state of being bothered. In contrast, the dative-experiencer is not directly affected by the stimulus. The mental state is the result of the experiencer’s evaluation of it (cf. Fábregas et al. 2017), giving an interpretation of uncertainty to which degree the experiencer is affected.

In addition, the usage of the dative and accusative clitics can be situationally driven, conveying different levels of politeness and showing intra-speaker variation, cf. (2). The usage of the dative clitic indicates a more elevated situation giving the addressee a differential treatment, also known as *leísmo de cortesía* (cf. Fernández-Ordóñez 1999; Dumitrescu & Mircea-Doru 2012; Pineda 2020, a.o.). For instance, in (2) the dative can be used to address an experiencer who has a higher degree of social distance (e.g. a governor) with respect to the speaker. In contrast, the accusative is used when the experiencer and speaker are on an equal social status.

- (2) Manuel le /lo está tranquilizando.
Manuel CL.DAT.3SG CL.ACC.3SG is calming.down
‘Manuel is calming him down.’

The main goal of this study is to experimentally investigate the impact of the semantic and syntactic features of EO predicates with respect to the experiencer’s case marking and the different levels of register variations (forms of address and politeness) that arise from these structures. More specifically, we examine register parameters (e.g. psychological distance) that influence the speaker’s choice between different clitics when addressing the addressee in face threatening contexts, i.e. requests.

Using formal requests and EO verbs as in (3), we investigate the interaction between the semantic content of competing linguistic forms, i.e. (3a) vs. (3b), and the principles of the speakers’ expression choice across social situations. Requests are a type of face threatening acts (FTA, cf. Brown & Levinson 1987) which can potentially threaten the addressee’s negative face, i.e. the addressee’s desire for independency or autonomy. In Spanish, the clitics *le* and *lo/la* can be used as negative politeness strategies to address the addressee in a less direct and strong manner, i.e. protecting the addressee’s face by emphasizing the avoidance of an imposition. In other words, the selection of a particular clitic is a strategy used by speakers to avoid a FTA when the request would threaten the addressee’s negative face. In a preliminary off-line survey with speakers from a variety (Chile) in which real *leísmo* is not pervasive, we observed that the usage of the dative clitic (3a) shows a higher reduction of a negative face threat towards the addressee in contrast to the usage of the accusative clitic (3b). In (3a), the addressee is: (i) less directly addressed (less affected, cf. (1)), and therefore (ii) given an easier way to reject the request. In contrast, in (3b) the addressee is: (i) more directly addressed (more affected, cf. (1)), and (ii) presented with a request that has a greater

necessity to be granted. Hence, Spanish speakers have the possibility to adjust their choice considering two opposed reasonings, i.e. the reduction of a FTA towards the addressee and prioritizing the possibility of the request to be granted indicating (great) necessity. Moreover, register parameters have also an impact on the selection of the clitics, such is the case of psychological distance which is “the perceived interpersonal closeness (distant vs. close) of the discourse participants” (cf. McCready 2014: 506; 2019). Hence, if this closeness is perceived as distant (e.g. in a perceived power difference w.r.t. the addressee), the clitic *le* is used.

- (3) a. ¿Le molesta si abro la ventana?
 CL.DAT.3SG bothers if open the window
 ‘Does it bother you if I open the window?’
- b. ¿Lo molesto si abro la ventana?
 CL.ACC.3SG bothers if open the window
 ‘Does it bother you if I open the window?’

In an ongoing 2x2 forced-choice selection experiment, we embedded EO verbs in formal requests as in (3) and presented them as options from which participants had to select one. For each pair of requests, a context was presented in which the following factors were manipulated: (i) PERSUASIVENESS (persuasive vs. non-persuasive) of the speaker for the request to be granted, and (ii) PSYCH(OLOGICAL)_DISTANCE (distant vs. close). Expectations are: (i) speakers will favor the selection of a request with the accusative clitic in persuasive situations and a request with the dative clitic in non-persuasive situations (PERSUASIVENESS), and (ii) an interaction of PERSUASIVENESS^PSYCH_DISTANCE to the extent that speakers will favor the selection of a request with the dative clitic in a perceived distant situation independently of persuasiveness.

This study contributes to a better understanding of the multiple functions of the Spanish clitics *le* vs. *lo/la* focusing on the clitics’ use in social situations and register variation proposing that a politeness effect follows from the meaning distinctions in the dative vs. accusative alternation (but see Wang 2023).

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Wondering about Mood in Romance: the view from Italian inquisitive predicates

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The consideration of the mood licensing of inquisitive predicates, and more generally of predicates embedding interrogatives, presents a substantial lacuna in the verbal mood (indicative/subjunctive) literature. This is particularly curious for, as we see in (1) which contrasts Italian and French, there is cross-linguistic variation in Romance on par with that observable with anti-rogative doxastics.

- (1) a. Daniel si chiede se Sandra sia.SUBJ/è.IND colpevole.
b. Daniel se demande si Sandra est.IND /*soit.SUBJ coupable.
‘Daniel wonders whether Sandra is guilty’
c. La giuria crede che Sandra sia.SUBJ /??è.IND innocente.
d. Le jury croit que Sanda est.IND /*soit.SUBJ innocente.
‘The jury believes that Sandra is innocent’

Our work, Spencer-Piacentini (2024), seeks to ascertain the implications of expanding the benchmark by which various families of formal accounts of verbal mood are assessed to include rogative predicates and, most significantly, provides the first formal account that gives mood predictions for rogative predicates. That rogative predicates have not previously been considered is surprising for two reasons: firstly, using the Özyıldız et al. (2023) and informant judgements we identify subjunctive licensing for *chiedersi* ‘to wonder’ to be unique to Italian among major Romance languages; secondly, the relevance of the issue expressed by the complement clause *?p* being unresolved has been shown to be crucial to mood licensing in Italian in recent work in both the truth-based tradition by Giannakidou and Mari (2021) and in the comparison-based tradition by Mari and Portner (2021). We argue that when rogative predicates are considered, any plausible extension of the non-veridicality theory of Giannakidou and Mari (2021) fails to predict the cross-linguistic variation that we see with ‘to wonder’. Further, we argue that, when considering Italian, the comparison-based account is the most promising out of the three leading families: comparison-based (Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), Portner and Rubinstein (2020), Mari and Portner (2021), a.o.), truth-based (Portner (1997), Schlenker (2005), Giannakidou and Mari (2021), a.o.) and commitment-based (Portner and Rubinstein (2012), Silk (2018)). We put forward an implementation which gives the correct mood predictions for the key inquisitive predicate ‘to wonder’.

Background Even aside from the consideration of inquisitive predicates, Italian exhibits comparatively extensive mood flexibility which renders it a particularly difficult language to formally capture the semantics of its mood operators. A case in point is the mood optionality of the emotive factives. Early versions of the comparison-based account such as Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) are very rigid with respect to which mood is licensed and contend that a predicate selects the subjunctive iff it has a comparative semantics. Typical to this style of approach is the use of Kratzerian semantics with the treatment of the indicative as simple necessity and the subjunctive as a weaker form of necessity such as human necessity. Mood licensing is essentially mood selection and is determined depending on whether the predicate gives rise to one or two modal backgrounds. However, recent work by Portner and Rubinstein (2020) and Mari and Portner (2021) allows for more flexibility in mood licensing whether on an interlinguistic level as in Portner and Rubinstein (2020) or on both an inter- and intra- linguistic level as in Mari and Portner (2021). The mechanism proposed by Portner and Rubinstein 2020 is SIMPLIFICATION and allows us, whenever the modal backgrounds are consistent, to go from two modal backgrounds to one simply by taking their union. The other mechanism which we call DUPLICATION, is inspired by Mari and Portner (2021) analysis of *credere* ‘to believe’ and allows us to go from one modal background to two whenever another modal background is contextually salient (e.g. the common ground CG) and the issue expressed by the complement, *?p* is raisable in that modal background. Portner and Rubinstein (2020) propose

that French has simplification whereas Spanish lacks it. Mari and Portner (2021) propose that Italian has DUPLICATION which French and Spanish lack.

Analysis In proposing that Italian has both operations, we propose a proxy model of the Italian subjunctive as having the same semantic entry as the Spanish subjunctive and the Italian indicative as having that of the French indicative. Most importantly, we upgrade the Kratzerian notions used in Portner and Rubinstein (2020) and Mari and Portner (2021) to the treatment of propositions from Inquisitive Semantics (Ciardelli, Groenendijk, and Roelofsen (2018)). This means that not only can we capture embedded interrogatives but also that we can do so with a simple and uniform treatment of embedded clauses. In Inquisitive Semantics, propositions are treated as non-empty downward closed sets of information states. We also generalise the operations of SIMPLIFICATION and DUPLICATION. Treating the moods as thematic roles, as per Portner and Rubinstein (2020), we have the following semantics:

$$[[\theta_{ind(IT)}]] = \lambda P \lambda \sigma [\text{sn}(P, \text{spl}(\text{content}(\sigma)), \sigma)]$$

$$[[\theta_{subj(IT)}]] = \lambda P \lambda \sigma [\text{hn}(P, \text{dupl}(\text{content}(\sigma)), \sigma)]$$

In line with the verbal mood literature, we say that the subjunctive comes with a non-homogeneity presupposition and has its semantic content as follows:

$$[[\text{subj}]] = [\lambda P \lambda g \lambda f \lambda \sigma :$$

- a. $\cap f(\sigma) \cap P \neq \{\emptyset\}$ and $\cap f(\sigma) \setminus P \neq \{\emptyset\}$ (non-homogeneity presupposition)
- b. $\text{Best}_{\cap}(g, f, \sigma) \subseteq P$ (semantic content)

We adopt the treatment of propositions from Inquisitive Semantics but the framework also gives a basic account for the lexical semantics of *wonder* as involving two modal backgrounds (*DOX* and *INQ*). However, for the mood licensing of the predicate we will say that what is relevant is the modal background inq_{cg} which is a particular agent's model of the inquisitive part of the common ground. Since French and all Romance languages bar Italian lack DUPLICATION, the subjunctive will be ungrammatical. In Italian, we can account for the licensing of both moods. Suppose DUPLICATION is not applied and $\text{inq}_{cg}(\sigma)$ consists only of inquisitive propositions which are genuinely inquisitive i.e. for all P in $\text{inq}_{cg}(\sigma)$, $\text{info}(P) \in P$. Suppose two issues are unresolved, then $\text{inq}_{cg} = \{?p, ?q\}$, so: $\cap \text{inq}_{cg} = \{\{11\}, \{01\}, \{10\}, \{00\}, \emptyset\} \subset P = \{\{11, 10\}, \{01, 00\}\}^{\downarrow}$. Thus, the indicative is licensed. The subjunctive is also licensed: here DUPLICATION is applied, and the common ground cg is contextually salient. So, cg becomes the modal base and $\text{inq}_{cg}(\sigma)$ shifts to become the ordering source. Suppose that $cg(\sigma) = \{?p, q\}$ and $\text{inq}_{cg}(\sigma) = \{?p\}$. The non-homogeneity presupposition is satisfied: $\cap cg(\sigma) \cap ?p \neq \{\emptyset\}$ and $\cap cg(\sigma) \setminus ?p \neq \{\emptyset\}$. The semantic content is as follows: $\text{Best}(\text{inq}_{cg}, cg, \sigma) = \{s : s \in \cap cg(\sigma) \wedge \neg \exists s' [s' \in \cap cg(\sigma) \wedge s' <_{\text{inq}_{cg}} s]\}$, so in the example $\text{Best}(\text{inq}_{cg}, cg, \sigma) = \{\{11\}, \{01\}, \emptyset\} = \cap cg(\sigma) \subset ?p$.

We explore our proposal both intralinguistically for a variety of Italian predicates and interlinguistically by looking at the wider relevance of the two key mechanisms. For example, verbal mood in French may be regarded as following an analogous pattern but instead of using the subjunctive to indicate a more-discourse orientated meaning, the conditional can be used (Émile Enguehard, p.c.). Most pertinently to diachronic study, we will point to our ongoing work investigating the contrast between the licensing of the subjunctive for rogative predicates in Old Spanish (Nieuwenhuijsen (2001), Raquel Montero Estebanz, p.c.) and the indicative-only in contemporary Spanish.

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On the early acquisition of null subjects in Catalan and German as heritage or majority languages: early multilingualism in Germany and Catalonia

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Subjects can be overtly expressed or omitted with finite verbs depending on the type of language, (i.e. null-subject (NSL) or non-null-subject language (NNSL)). For Italian, a cluster of properties (e.g., postverbal subjects, no expletives with weather verbs) was described that allowed to exclude NNSLs such as French (Chomsky 1981, Rizzi 1982). However, evidence suggests that there are languages characterized by some of these properties, while not fulfilling others (Newmeyer 2005). This has led scholars to study (N)NSLs in greater detail, allowing them to account for the null subject property (NSP) with a greater degree of granularity (Biberauer, Holmberg, Roberts & Sheenan 2014; Roberts 2019; Müller 2023). Following this idea, Catalan is described as a consistent NSL, while German should be considered a partial NSL (Biberauer 2010). By contrast, French and English could be considered as NNSLs (Roberts 2019).

Bel (2003, 2005) and Hyams (2011) have observed in their empirical studies on early language acquisition that monolingual children acquiring NSLs quickly align to adult rates of subject omissions, while children acquiring NNSLs take a long way to get to adult-like subject realizations. Concerning the acquisition of the NSP in early bilingualism, much work has been done for the language combination English-Romance (cf. e.g., Liceras & Fernández Fuertes 2016). They observe high rates of subject realizations in Romance and lower omission rates, although still not adult-like in the early stages, than English monolingual adults. For the combination of a consistent and a partial NSL (the focus of our study), the studies of Patuto (2012) and Daniel (2021) confirm previous findings for the acquisition of a consistent NSL in early bilingualism: bilingual children at younger ages show lower subject omission rates (around 50%) which increasingly align to adult monolingual peers with age. For the partial NSL German, these studies observe high overt subject rates (around 90%), which drastically differ from the monolingual children. Their results further show that (null) subjects are neither related to language dominance nor to MLU.

Fifty-two multilingual children (mean age 7;3) acquiring German and at least one consistent NSL (i.e., Catalan and/or Spanish) were recruited in Germany (N=30) and in Catalonia (N=22). The analysis on Catalan (null) subjects in Germany is already available, but the analysis on Catalan in Catalonia and German in both regions is still ongoing. Preliminary results on Catalan indicate that younger children produce similar null and overt subject rates, while older children exhibit null subject rates similar to those of monolingual children and adults (fig1). (Null) Subject rates are independent of language dominance, as previous studies have observed. However, when the type of overt subjects is considered, a different pattern emerges (fig2): balanced children show a strong preference for pronominal subjects (70%), matching adult patterns (Biró 2017, de Prada 2009), whereas Catalan and German dominant children's pronominal subjects are located around 35%. Assuming that these observations are accurate we expect similar results for Catalan (and Spanish) in Catalonia. Following the previous literature on the early acquisition of German (Patuto 2012), we expect an acceleration effect in the overt subject rates of the multilingual children, irrespective of age and language dominance.

Figures

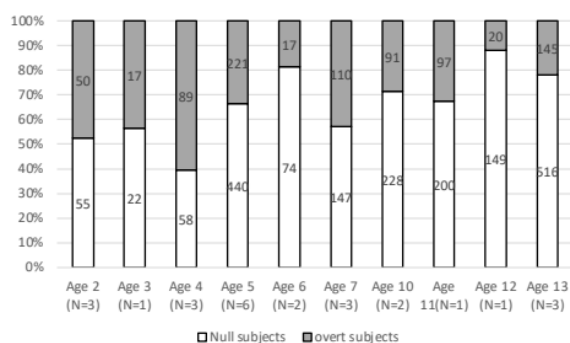


Figure 1. Comparison between null and overt subjects' rates across age

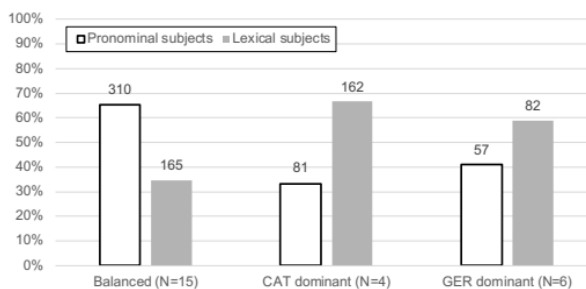


Figure 2. Pronominal and lexical overt subjects according to language dominance

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On the relation between indefinite object drop and the distribution of object bare nouns: the role of lexical restrictions

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This paper shows that the distribution of *indefinite null objects* (INOs) in *European Spanish* (ES) and *European Portuguese* (EP) is determined by the lexical constraints governing the distribution of object *bare nouns* (BNs). Concretely, we propose that a predicate's ability to allow for object BNs predicts its capacity to permit corresponding INOs.

It is a well known fact that ES permits INOs, but not definite null objects (Campos 1986), as shown in (1). However, the indefiniteness of the antecedent is not a sufficient condition for the licensing of INOs, as shown by the examples in (2). In this paper we argue that the ungrammaticality of (2) is the result of the incompatibility of the predicates in the second sentences (*adorar* 'adore', *comprar* 'buy') with the BNs anteceding each INO.

- (1) a. A: — ¿Compraste [el libro]? B: — *Sí, compré Ø.
 'Did you buy the book?' 'Yes, I bought it.'
 b. A: — ¿Compraste [libros]? B: — Sí, compré Ø.
 'Did you buy books?' 'Yes, I bought some.' (Campos 1986: 354)
- (2) a. Teníamos [buenos deportistas]. *El seleccionador adoraba Ø.
 'We had good sportsmen. The coach loved them.'
 b. Ayer llevaba [corbata]. *Compré Ø en la semana de la moda.
 'I wore a tie yesterday. I bought it at the fashion week.'

Our proposal relates two independent approaches made in previous research. First, a relation between the licensing of BNs and null objects has been proposed for EP (Raposo 2004; Barbosa 2024). Raposo (2004) proposes that the occurrence of null objects is less restricted in EP than in ES because the occurrence of object BNs is less restricted in EP, as shown in (3). Although his claim relates primarily to definite null objects, it can account for cross-linguistic differences concerning the distribution of INOs, as we will show below.

- (3) a. Maria detesta cenouras_{BP}. (EP)
 b. *María detesta zanahorias_{BP}. (ES)
 'Mary hates carrots.' (Raposo 2004: 51)

Second, although the occurrence of BNs is more restricted in ES than in EP, different types of BNs are licensed in ES, depending on the properties of the predicate (Espinal & McNally 2010). According to Espinal & McNally (2010), object BNs are syntactic arguments but not semantic arguments. They are not semantically selected by the predicate because they are interpreted as modifiers of the verb. Building upon Espinal & McNally (2010), we propose that predicates behave differently regarding the licensing of BNs in ES: a) "characterizing 'have'-predicates", like *tener* 'have', *necesitar* 'need', *buscar* 'look for', *encontrar* 'find', and *llevar* 'carry', license *bare singulars* (BSs), *bare plurals* (BPs) and *mass nouns* (MNs), as shown in (4a) (Type A); b) consumption and activity predicates, like *comprar* 'buy', *comer* 'eat', and *vender* 'sell', only allow for BPs and MNs, as shown in (4b) (Type B); and c) psychological predicates, like *adorar* 'adore', and *detestar* 'hate', and change-of-state verbs, like *quemar* 'burn', do not allow for any kind of object BN, as shown in (4c) (Type C).

- (4) a. Llevo {libros_{BP}/agua_{MN}/corbata_{BS}} a la reunión. (Type A)
 'I took {books/water/a tie} to the meeting.'

- b. He comprado {libros_{BP}/agua_{MN}/*corbata_{BS}}. (Type B)
 ‘I have bought {books/water/a tie}.’
- c. Adoro {*libros_{BP}/*agua_{MN}/*corbata_{BS}}. (Type C)
 ‘I adore {books/water/a tie}.’

Based on the assumption that the same syntactic and semantic conditions determine the distribution of object BNs and INOs, and taking into account the distinction between the three types of predicates, we hypothesize that in ES:

- Hypotheses for ES:*
- I. **Type A** predicates allow for INOs referring to any kind of BN.
 - II. **Type B** predicates allow for INOs referring to BPs and MNs.
 - III. **Type C** predicates do not allow for INOs.

Hence, we predict that the more restricted a predicate is with respect to BNs the more restricted it is with respect to the licensing of INOs in ES. Based on an exploratory corpus study using the oral subcorpus of *CORPES XXI*, and on introspective judgments, we show that our predictions are confirmed (for reasons of space, we leave out the examples for MNs).

- (5) a. Mi nuera no tenía [guardería]_{BS} para la niña, y no **encontró** Ø. (*CORPES XXI*)
 ‘My daughter-in-law did not have a daycare for the child and did not find any.’
- b. Los niños necesitan [espacios de tele y de jugar]_{BP}. Yo veo que **necesitan** Ø. (*CORPES XXI*)
 ‘Children need TV and play spaces. I see they need some.’
- (6) a. Durante el año, no quiero [boletos]_{BP}. **Compro** Ø en Navidad nada más. (*CORPES XXI*)
 ‘During the year, I do not want tickets. I buy some only at Christmas.’
- b. Ayer llevaba [corbata]_{BS}. ***Compré** Ø en la semana de la moda.
 ‘I wore a tie yesterday. I bought it at the fashion week.’
- (7) a. María no compró [zanahorias]_{BP}. ***Detesta** Ø.
 ‘Mary did not buy carrots, because she hates them.’
- b. Juan lleva [corbata]_{BS}. ***Adora** Ø.
 ‘John wore a tie. He loves it.’

Coming back to the cross-linguistic comparison between ES and EP, the correlation between the licensing of BNs and INOs also holds for EP. However, we find that EP is less restricted with respect to the licensing of BNs (and INOs) in two ways: a) Type B predicates can occur to some extent with BSs (8) and b) Type C predicates can occur with BPs and MNs in EP (9).

- (8) a. Mais frequentadoras agora têm outras coisas em que pensar, não é?
 Comprar carro_{BS}, comprar casa_{BS}, e pensar noutras coisas, e acho bem. (DI_168BM21a)
 ‘Now they have other things to think about, don’t they? Buying a car, buying a house, and thinking about other things, and I think that’s good.’
- b. Eu nem ainda tenho [máquina de esmagar]_{BS}. Elas têm lá, mas eu ainda não **comprei** Ø.
 ‘I don’t even have a crushing machine yet. They have one, but I haven’t bought one yet.’
- (9) a. Eu adoro situações estranhas_{BP}, é isso. (E051-PT-78)
 ‘I love strange situations, that’s all.’
- b. Eu cá boto-lhe [cebola]_{MN} porque teu pai **gosta** Ø muito! (TRC56-29)
 ‘I’ll put onions on it because your father likes onions a lot!’

To conclude, we propose that the variation found with respect to INOs in ES reflects a universal implicational hierarchy. Concretely, the distribution of INOs in a language follows the distribution of object BNs. Thus, the more restrictions a language imposes to object BNs the more restricted it is with respect to the licensing of INOs.

	[- RESTRICTED]	<----->	[+RESTRICTED]
Type of BN	BS, BP, MN	BP, MN	*BN
Type of INO	INOs (BS, BP, MN)	INOs (BP, MN)	*INOs
ES	Type A	Type B	Type C
EP	Type A, Type B	Type C	

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A Diachronic Analysis of Null Subjects in Brazilian Portuguese: private letters and popular plays across the 19th and 20th centuries

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The aim of this paper is to compare two diachronic analyses examining the null subjects in Brazilian Portuguese (BP): the first analysis is based on a corpus of private letters written by Brazilians across the 19th and the 20th centuries and the second includes two samples of popular theatre plays written, in the same centuries, by Europeans born in Lisbon and by Brazilians born in Rio de Janeiro, following the model of the Theory of Language Variation and Change (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog, 1968) in association with the Principles and Parameters Theory (Roberts and Holmberg, 2010). The question that guides our analysis is: how can we explain why the grammar revealed by the writers in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century is so similar to Modern European Portuguese (EP)? Socio-historical information about Brazilian colonial period, lasting about 350 years, since 1538, tells us that until the beginning of the 19th century, only 0.5% of the population were literate, including the ruling class, writers and the clergy. The largest part of the populational contingent, composed by slaved Africans and their descendants, followed by Portuguese immigrants, workers or farmers and their families, were all illiterate (Duarte, 2024).

As for the private letters, we analyzed definite third person subjects (either null or overt) in order to verify whether there is a decrease in the overall rates of null subjects along the time and to find the possible syntactic constraints that might still retain null subjects. The quantitative results show that there is, in fact, a significant decrease in the rate of null subjects along the time, a descending curve from 68% in the beginning of the 19th century to 31% in the middle of 20th century and the resisting null subject pattern is the one with a null subject in a subordinate clause whose referent is the subject of the matrix clause (a c-commanding pattern, as in (1)). Another resisting pattern is the one showing the antecedent as the subject of an adjacent clause, as in (2).

As for the plays, the same favoring patterns exhibit high rates of null subjects, particularly the c-commanding pattern changing from 92% and 95% in the 19th and the 1st half of the 19th century to 79% and 75% from the 1950s on (3). However, it is already possible to find overt subjects in this c-commanding pattern (4). Pattern 2 follows a similar behavior. Other patterns, however, start with 59% and follow a descending curve, reaching 30%, 25% and 20% of null subjects in the final synchronies. The most unfavorable pattern for a null subjects is the one in a matrix clause preceded by an adjunct clause whose subject is its antecedent (5). In European Portuguese (EP), this pattern behaves exactly like the most resisting pattern in BP (the c-commanding pattern). The analysis of EP plays shows an impressive stability across the time. Null subjects are preferred even in the most unfavorable patterns (a distant antecedent or an antecedent in a different syntactic function), although with lower rates, ranging from 76% to 51%, showing stable variation across time.

These results can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand, our results can suggest that the writing exhibited in our corpora cannot be considered BP, particularly until the second half of the 20th century; rather, they are a result of access to formal education, accessible to a very reduced elite, who could study in Portugal or in religious schools in Brazil. Both in the plays and in private letters, we can see traces of formal education that push the rates of null subjects above. On the other hand, if we scrutinize the data in a qualitative way, we can see that there are traces of a “genuine” Brazilian grammar that emerges in these data, in the lower rates of null subjects with [-animate] referents in the final periods of time and the higher rates of null subject in subordinate clauses, in c-the command pattern.

Therefore, what we have been considering a process of change is, in fact, the implementation of Brazilian features acquired during colonization as the result of intense contact between Afro-descendants, mestizos and Portuguese and their descendants.

- (1) Bebê me diz que fica até o fim deste ano em Petropolis
Bebê_i me-CL.1ps tells that Ø_i stays until the end of-this year in Petropolis
 ‘Bebê tells me that she stays until the end of this year in Petrópolis’
 (Private letter, circa 1850)
- (2) mas seu Pai não tem passado bem; alimenta-se pouco.
 but [your father]_i not has passed well; Ø_i feeds-CL.himself little
 ‘But your father has not been in good health; he eats very little’
 (Private letter, circa 1850)
- (3) O Ventura tem um livro onde escreve todo o dinheiro que pede.
 [The Ventura]_i has a book where Ø_i writes all the money that Ø_i asks
 ‘Ventura has a book where he takes notes of all the money he borrows’
 (Play *O hóspede do quarto número 2*, Armando Gonzaga, 1937)
- (4) Agora ele não vai mais poder dizer as coisas que ele queria dizer.
 Now he_i not goes more can-INF to-say the things that he_i wanted to-say
 ‘Now he is no longer able to say the things he wanted to say’
 (Play *No coração do Brasil*, Miguel Falabella, 1992)
- (5) Se a criança não recebe uma alimentação eficaz ela fica em desvantagem pelo resto da vida
 If [the child]_i not receives a feeding effective she_i stays in disadvantage for-the rest of the life
 ‘If the child does not receive good nourishment it will be handicapped for the rest of its life.’
 (Play *No coração do Brasil*, Miguel Falabella, 1992)

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Gender mismatch and ellipsis: do French nouns fall into three classes?

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According to Merchant (2014), nouns and adjectives behave differently with respect to gender mismatch under ellipsis: while adjectives allow for it (1a), human nouns seem to fall into 3 classes: Class I (noble and kinship nouns) with no mismatch (*prince/princess*) (1b), Class II (role nouns) with asymmetric mismatch (*actor/actress*) (1c), and Class III (epicene nouns) with full mismatch (*teacher*) (See Sudo and Spathas (2020) for a semantic account). Such 3 classes have been proposed for Romance languages: in Portuguese (Nunes and Zocca 2009; Bobaljik and Zocca 2011), and in Spanish, with a controversy about whether some alternating nouns (*juez/a* ‘judge.m/f’, *abogado/a* ‘lawyer.m/f’) fall into class II (Masullo and Depiante 2004) or class III (Donatelli 2019). Yet, these 3 noun classes have only been empirically tested for English (Sprouse et al. 2022).

- (1) a) I Maria ine ikani, ala o Alexandros dhen ine (ikanos). (Merchant 2014)
‘Maria is capable_{F,S}, but Alexandros is not (capable_{M,S}).’
b) *John is a prince and Mary is too. *Mary is a princess and John is too (Sprouse et al. 2022)
c) John is an actor and Mary is too. *Mary is an actress and John is too.

We extracted 648 stripping sentences from several French corpora (FrTenTen, ORFEO:spoken-part, Frantext:after-1980): 559 with predicative adjectives, 89 with predicative nouns. We show that French human nouns allow for more gender mismatches than previously thought, even for kinship nouns (*fils/fille* ‘son/daughter’) (2b) and in the Feminine-First order (2c).

- (2) a) Ses parents étaient musiciens... [...] Vous aussi. [étiez musicienne]
‘His parents were musician_{M,P}. You too (were a musician_{F,S}). (Garat, 2006, Frantext)
b) Maria Campallo serait une fille de disparus, votre copain aussi. [serait un fils de disparus]
‘Maria Campallo would be a Daughter of the Missing, your friend_M too (would be a Son of the Missing).’ (Ferey, 2012, Frantext)
c) Elle avait l’air d’une enfant prise en faute. Moi aussi [j’avais l’air d’un enfant pris en faute]. ‘She looked like a_F child_F caught_F red-handed. Me too (I looked like a_M child_M caught_M red-handed).’ (Jardin, 1986, Frantext)

We found a 40% rate of gender mismatch with predicative adjectives, and 18.5% with nouns. There was no effect of homophony (2c), but a preference for the Masculine-first order (52% for Adj, 75.3% for Nouns), interacting with author gender (for men : 64% Masculine-first for adjectives and 90% for nouns). The Nfem-Nmasc ordering was attested, even for alternating forms (*fils/fille* ‘son/daughter’).

We ran two experiments to test French non-epicene role nouns and compare ellipsis with anaphora and full forms. The anaphoric condition used the neutral form *l’* (it), and the full condition used a form identical to the antecedent, leading to an agreement error in case of mismatch. The first experiment tested 24 role nouns with no gender stereotypes (*conseiller/ère* ‘counselor_{M/F}’, *lecteur/rice* ‘reader_{M/F}’), while the second tested 12 male-biased (*banquier/ière* ‘bank clerk_{M/F}’, *voleur/euse* ‘thief_{M/F}’) and 12 female-biased role nouns (*esthéticien/ne* ‘beautician_{M/F}’, *instituteur/rice* ‘schoolteacher_{M/F}’), using the normed scores of Misersky et al. (2014).

- (3) a) ELLIPSIS, (MIS)MATCH, FEM-FIRST : Jeanne est une institutrice, et Pauline/Paul aussi.
‘Jeanne is a schoolteacher_F, and Pauline/Paul (is a schoolteacher_{F/M}) too.’
b) ANAPHORA, (MIS)MATCH, FEM-FIRST : Jeanne est une institutrice, et Pauline/Paul
l’est aussi.

‘Jeanne is a schoolteacher._F, and Pauline/Paul it is (a schoolteacher._{F/M}) too.’

c) FULL, (MIS)MATCH, FEM-FIRST : Jeanne est une institutrice, et Pauline/Paul est une institutrice. ‘Jeanne is a schoolteacher._F, and Pauline/Paul is a schoolteacher._F.’

Both experiments followed a 2x3 design with \pm MISMATCH and TYPE (ellipsis, anaphora, full), along with order encoded as an intra-item variable, and with 28 filler items. All subjects were humans, and role nouns varied in their morphological alternations (Bonami and Boyé 2019). Both acceptability experiments (scale 1-10) were designed using IboxFarm, and were posted on Prolific, with a total of 83 participants.

We expect a mismatch penalty, with several interactions: FULL*MISMATCH should be rated lower than ANAPHORA*MISMATCH, MASC-FIRST*MISMATCH should be rated higher than FEM-FIRST*MISMATCH. We also expect gender stereotypes to play a role, with a stronger mismatch penalty in the second experiment, and participants’ gender to play a role, with Masculine-first rated higher for male participants. Whether ELLIPSIS*MISMATCH is rated as high as ANAPHORA*MISMATCH or lower will shed light on the general ellipsis debate.

The results show a general penalty for mismatch, and an interaction with gender bias : biased role nouns (exp. 2) are more penalised than non-biased ones (exp. 1). We also found a higher penalty in the anaphoric than in the elliptical condition, and an even higher penalty for full sentences, where mismatches were rated lower than ungrammatical controls ($P(\beta < 0)=\text{Inf}$). Figure 1 shows the high ratings for mismatches in both anaphoric and elliptic conditions : mismatches were rated lower than ungrammatical controls only in the full condition. This suggests a redundancy cost, as well as a gender mismatch cost.

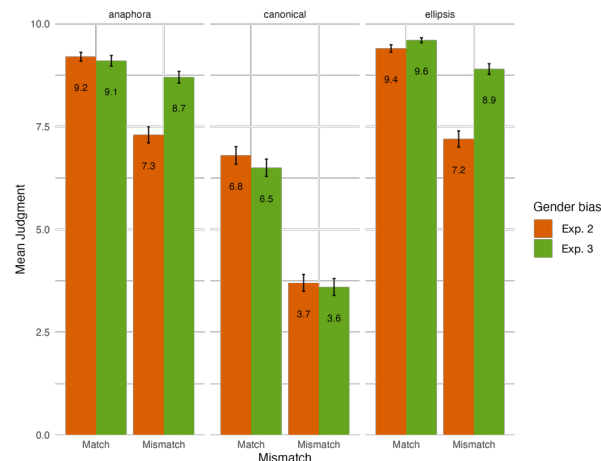


Figure 1: Mean acceptability judgment per sentence type and gender mismatch.

In the +MISMATCH ellipsis condition, we found a small difference in mean judgments between M-F and F-M orderings for both Exp. 1 (MF 9.04, FM 8.34) and Exp. 2 (MF 7.57, FM 7.06), not compatible with Class II’s asymmetric pattern.

We also found a non-robust role of participant’s gender, with male participants rating mismatches across conditions lower than female participants.

Our results suggest that Merchant’s 3 noun classes should be revised in order to account for French, with some kinship nouns allowing for some mismatch in our corpus data, and with a clear role played by social gender bias in our experiments. Our results (corpus data and acceptability judgements) suggest that French alternating role nouns seem to fall into Class III (full mismatch with preferences coming from stereotypes or speaker’s gender) and that it not clear that Class II is attested in French. This may be explained by the high proportion of epicene role nouns in French

(*locataire* ‘renter.m/f’, *pianiste* ‘pianist’.m/f) (50% per Bonami & Boyé 2019) and by the adjective-like inflection of non epicene role nouns (Mickus et al. 2019).

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The influence of D-linking and lexical restrictedness on extraction out of Romanian *when-* and *whether-*clauses

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Background: Embedded interrogative clauses are known to constitute islands for extraction. Yet, it is often claimed that extraction is ameliorated when the filler is D-linked (Pesetsky 1987) or when it is lexically restricted (i.e. if it contains a noun), see (1). Processing accounts claim that D-linked fillers' higher level of activation facilitates the processing of the dependency (e.g. Hofmeister & Sag 2010); *which* N is therefore expected to facilitate island extraction more than *what* N, and *what* N in turn more than bare *what*. Functional Relativized Minimality accounts claim that long-distance dependencies are disrupted when intervening elements share morpho-syntactic features with the filler. The presence of the noun in (1b) and (1c) renders the featural similarity between the filler and the intervening *who* weaker than in (1a), as *what* and *who* only bear a [+Q] feature whereas *which* N and *what* N also bear a [+N] feature (see also Chesi et al. 2023). The expectation is therefore that (1b) and (1c) are more acceptable than (1a).

- (1) a. **What** do you wonder [when John read ___]?
b. **What book** do you wonder [when John read ___]?
c. **Which book** do you wonder [when John read ___]?

Experimental work has moreover shown that differences between distinct types of interrogative islands exist in Spanish, with *when*-clauses yielding larger island effects than *whether*-clauses (Rodríguez and Goodall 2020; Pañeda and Kush 2021).

Romanian is said to evince island effects (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994), but the phenomenon as of yet has received little attention for this language. Regarding interrogative islands, Rudin (1988) claims the *wh*-island constraint is not obeyed in Romanian, while Alboiu (2002) argues that D-linked fillers can in fact be extracted. In the current study, we investigate to what extent D-linking and lexical restriction ameliorate island effects in Romanian and whether differences between sub-types of *wh*-islands exist (viz. *dacă* 'whether' and *când* 'when' islands).

Method: We conducted an acceptability judgment experiment using a 3×2×3 design, crossing *filler type* (*ce* 'what', *ce* N 'what N', and *care* N 'which N'; between-subjects), *distance* (short- and long-distance movement; within-subjects), and *construction* (non-island, *când* island, and *dacă* island; within-subjects). A sample item, illustrating bare *wh* extraction, is given in (2).

- (2)
- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| a. Cine crede ___ [<i>că</i> a citit Matei cartea]? | (non-island/short) |
| Who thinks that Matei read the book? | |
| b. Ce crede profesoara [<i>că</i> a citit Matei ___]? | (non-island/long) |
| What does the teacher think that Matei read? | |
| c. Cine se întreabă ___ [<i>dacă</i> a citit Matei cartea]? | (whether-island/short) |
| Who wonders whether Matei read the book? | |
| d. Ce se întreabă profesoara [<i>dacă</i> a citit Matei ___]? | (whether-island/long) |
| What does the teacher wonder whether Matei read? | |
| e. Cine se întreabă ___ [<i>când</i> a citit Matei cartea]? | (when-island/short) |
| Who wonders when Matei read the book? | |
| f. Ce se întreabă profesoara [<i>când</i> a citit Matei ___]? | (when-island/long) |
| What does the teacher wonder when Matei read? | |

Participants were asked to rate the items on a 7-point Likert scale. We created 30 items in six conditions and distributed them over six experimental lists, according to a Latin Square Design. 32 (un)grammatical fillers were added to each experimental list.

Participants: Data from 257 native speakers of Romanian ($M_{\text{age}} = 21.28$; $SD = 4.16$, age range = 18–49) were analyzed.

Analysis: We ran a linear mixed effects regression model on the z-transformed data using the software R (version 4.3.2), with the three above-mentioned factors as fixed effects. The random effects structure was determined through stepwise addition of intercepts and slopes, which were only retained if they improved the model fit (as assessed by LRTs). We used deviation contrasts for *distance*, and custom contrasts for the other factors that first compared non-islands with the two *wh*-islands (*construction*) or bare *wh* items with the two *wh* N conditions (*filler type*), and second compared *when*- with *whether*-islands (*construction*) and *what* N with *which* N fillers (*filler type*).

Results: Our results are visually represented in Figure 1. We find significant island effects in each data set. We also find that the effects were different between constructions with bare *wh* and complex fillers (i.e. slightly larger with complex fillers), and between *what* N and *which* N fillers (i.e. much larger with *what* N fillers). Further, we find significant differences between *dacă* ‘whether’ and *când* ‘when’ islands (i.e. stronger effects in the latter), which was different for bare *wh* and complex fillers (i.e. stronger in the latter).

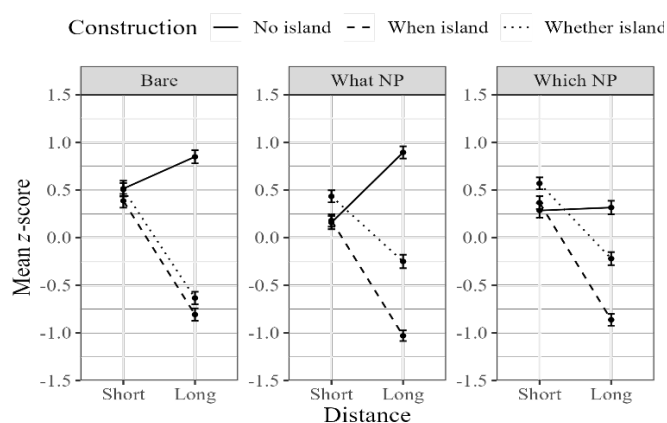


Fig. 1 *when*- and *whether*-island effects across three filler types (error bars indicate 95% CIs)

Discussion: Neither D-linking nor fRM accounts predicted the pattern we find: complex fillers give rise to larger island effects than bare *wh* fillers. On closer scrutiny, we find that this effect is driven by *what* N fillers, which yielded much larger effects than *which* N fillers (as predicted by D-linking accounts, not by fRM accounts). Unexpectedly, however, these effects were also much larger than in the bare *wh* condition. Neither account can thus straightforwardly explain our findings. We crucially note that the behavior of long-distance movement out of non-islands troubles the water, as they entertain increased acceptability without obvious reason. This is a returning pattern in experimental work, raising certain questions about our working definition of ‘island effects’. Finally, *when*-clauses give rise to larger island effects than *whether*-clauses in Romanian (at least when the filler is lexically restricted), corroborating earlier findings from Spanish. We thus contribute initial data from Romanian to this complicated ongoing debate.

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Bolognese Clitic Allomorphy is Epiphenomenal and Phonological

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Empirical scope: Rubin & Kaplan 2022 (RK2022) provide an analysis of 3.M.SG.NOM Bolognese clitic allomorphy. The relevant allomorphs are shown in (1).

(1) 3.M.SG.NOM allomorphs

a. 3.M.SG.NOM= $V_{\#V/}$	b. 3.M.SG.NOM= $V_{\#C/}$	c. 3.M.SG.NOM+1.SG.DAT=3.M.SG.ACC= $V_{\#C/}$
l =arspand	al =vad	am =al=da
‘he answers’	‘he sees’	‘he gives it to me’

(1) shows that allomorphy is sensitive to the phonological shape of the stem (1a vs 1b), and that there are special ‘duplex’ forms for the 3.M.SG.NOM clitic combining with DAT and ACC clitic. RK2022 argue that there are several 3.M.SG.NOM+DAT duplex clitics, e.g. **at** (3.M.SG.NOM +2.SG.DAT), **as** (3.M.SG.NOM +1.PL.DAT), **av** (3.M.SG.NOM +2.PL.DAT), etc.

Problems with previous analysis: RK2022 propose an Optimality Theoretic analysis that crucially assumes (i) an ordered list of allomorphs that include the duplex multi-morphemic variants, {[aŋ], [am], [at], [as], [av]} > [l] > [al] (RK2022:8) and (ii) a PRIORITY constraint favouring the highest-ranked allomorph (Bonet et al. 2007) that interact with several phonological (e.g. *LC ‘no liquid+C onsets’, ONSET-PW), morpho-syntactic (DEP-MF ‘faithfulness to syntactic features’, *DUPLEX), and non-modular (*DUPLEX-PPh_{min}) constraints. We argue that, despite being descriptively accurate, KP2022’s analysis is overly unconstrained in its formalism. This is to the detriment of finding an analysis that is equally empirically adequate but also conceptually restrictive with regard to strict modularity and economy. We maintain that such problems can be avoided, and an analysis can be developed that exclusively relies on phonology, where none of the relevant allomorph need to be lexically stored as such, and can in fact be derived but one and the same UR.

Our analysis: Following a growing body of studies (Scheer 2016, Newell 2021 a.o.), we analyse non-modular allomorphy as fully modular pseudo-allomorphy, where all the variants are phonologically derived from exponents with a singular UR. We adopt Strict CV (Lowenstamm 1996), which allows us to represent exponents as (i) skeletal positions containing melodic features, (ii) skeletal positions containing no feature, (iii) (sets of) floating features, and (iv) skeletal positions with floating features. A selection of clitics is shown in (2).

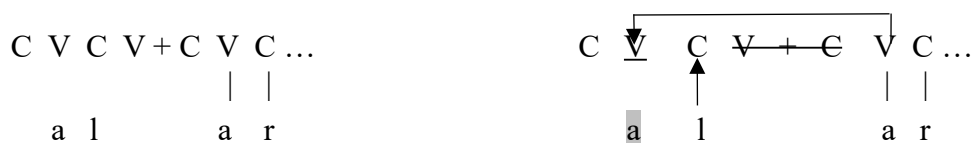
(2) 3.M.SG.NOM	1.SG.DAT	3.M.SG.ACC	3.F.SG.ACC
C V C V	C V	C V C V	C V
a l	m	a l	l a

The proposed underlying forms combined with: i) standard Strict CV conditions regulating the phonetic (un)interpretation of (floating) melodic material, and ii) well-formedness conditions on empty skeletal sequences (cf. Gussmann & Kaye 1993). Firstly, all underlyingly empty V+C sequences that are first merged with the root are deleted see (3a) and (3c). Other V+C sequences are deleted if they cannot be Gov’d, see the dative’s V in (3e). There is also a further condition whereby an empty CV is deleted iff it cannot be either Gov’d or segmentally filled. We see this in (3d), the CV of the 3.M.SG.NOM cannot be Gov’d, but this problem cannot be resolved by linking the available floating segment <l>, so the CV is deleted. This is in line with the requirements of the ECP (Kaye et al. 1990), though why such a structure is not saved by epenthesis is unclear. Floating segments attach to non-Gov’d positions. If there is a non-silenced V, the floating <a> can attach to it (3b, c, d, e). If there is an empty C available, the <l> can attach (3b, c). What this analysis correctly models is the difference between any clitic combination and whether it is joined to #C or #V initial

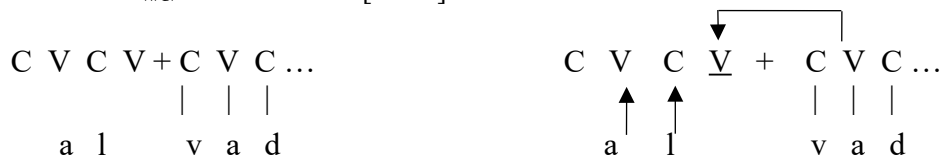
verbal forms; these create different silencing environments and consequently different attachment of floating segments.

(3) Representation of clitic, verb sequences³

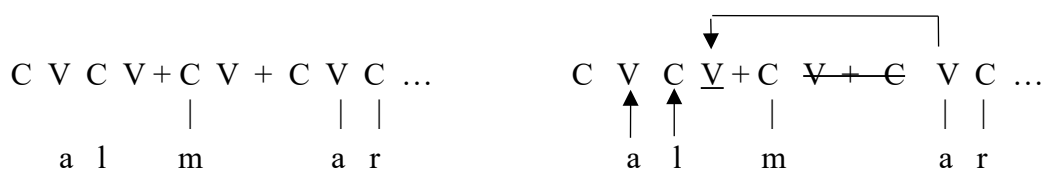
a. 3.M.SG.NOM= $V_{\#V}$:: /<al> + arspand/ [larspand] ‘he answers’



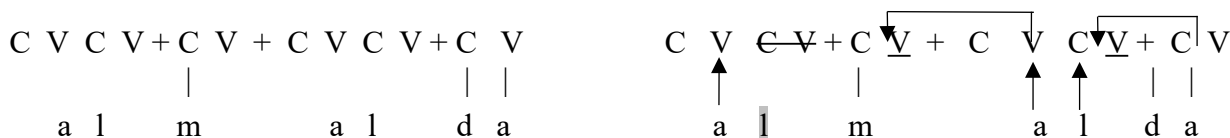
b. 3.M.SG.NOM= $V_{\#C}$:: /<al> + vad/ [alvad] ‘he sees’



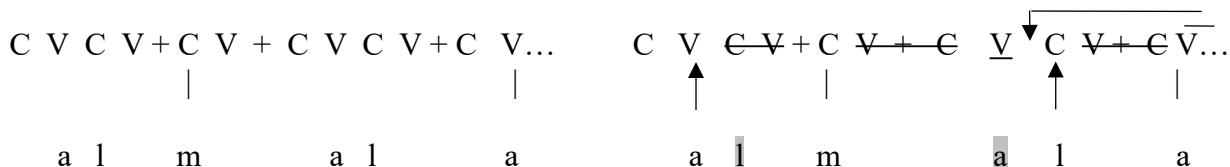
c. 3.M.SG.NOM=1.SG.DAT= $V_{\#V}$:: /<al> + m + arspand/ [almarspand] ‘he answers to me’



d. 3.M.SG.NOM=1.SG.DAT=3.M.SG.ACC= $V_{\#C}$:: /<al> + m + <al> + da/ [amalda] ‘he gives it to me’



e. 3.M.SG.NOM=1.SG.DAT=3.M.SG.ACC= $V_{\#V}$:: /<al> + m + <al> + a.../ [amlade:] ‘he gave it to me’



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³ The arrow (Gov) shows silenced skeletal positions. Deleted VC and CV are crossed out. Newly formed association lines are shown with an arrow. Non-associated (i.e. ‘deleted’ segments) are shown grey-shaded. In the linear glosses, underlying floating segments are shown in angle brackets.

On the periphrasis *möstè a + infinitive* in the Gallo-Italic dialect of Nicosia. A possible innovation induced by the contact with Sicilian

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The linguistic scenario of Nicosia (less than 13,000 inhab.) is one of the most interesting among the Gallo-Italic communities in Sicily. In its diasystem, the following varieties coexist: regional Italian, local Gallo-Italic, and a Sicilian variety mixed with Gallo-Italic (used with the non-Gallo-Italic speakers of the surrounding areas; cf. Trovato 1998).

Nicosiano is generally said to display a Sicilian syntax (cf. Trovato 1998; De Angelis 2023), featuring, e.g., (i) verbal Pseudo-Coordination (as in *ch'a vag'a mazzö*... 'that I'll go and kill her...'); (ii) a Differential Object Marking with *da* (as in *voghjò da Maria* 'I want Maria'); (iii) the deontic/epistemic/futural periphrasis with HAVE + *a* + infinitive (as in *l amö da fè* 'we have to do it'). Moreover, Nicosiano displays an infinitival construction rather overlooked in the relevant literature. This periphrasis features the functional verb (V1) *möstè*, which can take on more than one function: (i) **approximative** (meaning 'doing something incompletely'; cf. Trovato & Menza 2020: 499); (ii) **inchoative**; (iii) **conative** (meaning either 'doing something with some effort' or 'trying to do something').

In our study we have considered the corpus data from the works of the two major Nicosiano authors: Carmelo La Giglia (1862-1922) and Sigismondo Castrogiovanni (1933-2007). The examples in (1) show the different functions of *möstè*, respectively: approximative (1a; 138 occurrences), inchoative (1b; 62 occ.) and conative (1c and 1d; 15 occ.).

- (1) a. *Se möstanö asciughè de danantö e de darria.*
 REFL möstè.PASS.3PL to dry.INF from in-front and from behind
 'They dried themselves a bit in the front and in the back.' [Castrogiovanni]
- b. [...] *e dda pasta tènera möstà a rrössichè.*
 and that pasta soft möstè.PAST.3SG to turn-red.INF
 '[...] and that soft dough began to brown.' [Castrogiovanni]
- c. [...] *ma n testa sò ghje desiava a mortö*
 but in head his to-him desire.IMPF.3SG the death
pe möstessè a cöncè i guaë.
 to möstè.INF+REFL to solve.INF the troubles
 '[...] But in his mind he wished him dead to try to solve his problems.' [La Giglia]
- d. *Perciò öra spöntanö i cömitatè, che*
 thus now appear.PST.3PL the committees which
mösten' a stöpè cocö pertusö.
 möstè.PRS.3PL to fill some hole
 'Therefore, now the committees have been formed, which are trying to solve some problems.' [La Giglia]

The 222 occurrences of the relevant periphrasis from the corpus depict a fully-fledged productive construction, showing no restrictions in terms of tense, person or number. As regards the mood, the periphrasis occurs predominantly in the indicative, as only 1 occurrence is in the subjunctive (2a) and 1 in the (exhortative) imperative (cf. (2b)) were found.

- (2) a. *M'avì da perdönè, se ia nta sta mia*
 me have.PRS.2PL to forgive.INF if I in this my
sùpreca möstass' a scanceddè.
 plea möstè.SUBJ.1SG to exceed.INF

‘Please forgive me if I should exceed a bit in this my plea.’ [La Giglia]
 b. *Dopö dâ fumadëta, möstëmenë a pöiè.*
 after of-the little-smoke möstë.IMP.1PL+NE to lay.INF
 ‘After a little smoke, let’s lie down for a bit to rest.’ [La Giglia]

The count is completed by 12 occurrences of *möstè* in the infinitive and 3 in the gerund. Additionally, the periphrasis does not seem to be confined to lexicalized forms, as it appears in combination with 168 different verbs.

As regards the inchoative function, it is noteworthy that *möstè a* + infinitive can cooccur with the pan-Romance infinitival construction with V1 *cömenzè* ‘begin/start’ (as in *i cömenzà a stréngiö* ‘he started clinging them’), where the former takes on one of the remaining two functions (either approximative or conative).

Following the idea that *möstè* comes from Lat. MONSTRĀRE ‘show, display, exhibit’, we have found some periphrases from north-eastern Sicily featuring the Sicilian counterpart V1 (*m*)*muştrari* (namely, the typical Multiple Agreement Construction with the connector *mi* in Messinese in (3a), and an Infinitival Construction in (3b)) that suggest that *möstè a* + infinitive could be another case of syntactic inheritance from Sicilian, although in Nicosiano the construction is likely to have enjoyed a higher degree of productivity at some point.

- (3) a. *Sta casa mmuştra mi si sdirrupa.*
 this house show.PRS.3SG MI REFL fall-down.PRS.3SG
 ‘This house is starting to fall apart.’ [Messina; VS II: 813]
 b. *U duluri mi muştrau a ppassari.*
 The pain REFL show.PST.3SG to pass.INF
 ‘My pain has started to lessen/is now less intense.’ [Troina (Enna)]

Based on the same line of reasoning, we hypothesize that the argument structure of Sicilian *accuminciari a* + infinitive ‘to start doing sth.’ (and of Italian *cominciare a* + infinitive) may have reinforced the presence of the connector *a* ‘to’ in the *möstè a* + infinitive construction (cf. with Italian *mostrare di* + infinitive, where, however, *mostrare* ‘show’ has not developed as an approximative/inchoative/conative marker). An additional argument in favour of the possible influence of Sicilian on *möstè a* + infinitive is the fact that Clitic Climbing (Rizzi 1982) – as in (1a, c) and (2b)) – is found in 102 of the 222 occurrences in the corpus, Clitic Climbing being generally considered another Sicilian trait in the syntax of Gallo-Italic of Sicily (cf. De Angelis 2023).

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A gestural epistemic marker in Neapolitan: a first look

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Introduction. Following previous studies on the grammatical contribution of gestures in the languages of Italy (Colasanti 2023), in this talk I discuss the co-speech gesture [PALM-DOWN-OPEN-HAND] ([PDO]; Figure 1) in Neapolitan. [PDO] is a hand gesture articulated with a horizontal, palm down hand that moves from left to right. This gesture has been already described as a negator by Kendon (2004) for Campanian varieties and in English by Harrison (2013). Namely, [PDO] is found in contexts where something is being denied, or negated, whether explicitly or implicitly. However, the precise distribution of [PDO] and its grammatical contribution (if any) is currently unknown.

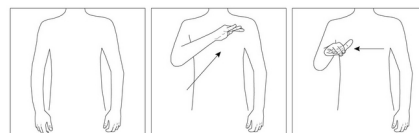


Figure 1: [PDO]

In this talk, I present new empirical data from Neapolitan, which confirm that [PDO] functions as a negative marker when it is articulated contemporaneously with speech (i.e., as a co-speech gesture). However, these new data also suggest that co-speech [PDO] is not restricted to negation. Rather, it is used to express meanings related to the speaker's knowledge on the proposition and its content; i.e., it has an epistemic function (see for a similar idea Prieto et al. 2013 for Catalan). Following previous literature on modality (Hill 2007; Cruschina 2015), in this paper I discuss these new data claiming that [PDO] is an epistemic marker that lexicalises ModP_{Epistemic} within Cinque's (1999) functional hierarchy.

Methodology. To investigate the properties of the co-speech gesture [PDO] in Neapolitan, I conducted an informal acceptability judgment questionnaire administered to 10 native speakers. In particular, speakers were asked to judge the gesture in both negative (1) and affirmative clauses (2). For instance, while in (1) the gesture co-occurs with the preverbal negative marker *nun* 'not' used for marking sentential negation in Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2009), in (2) it is paired with an affirmative sentence, where no negative environment or marker is involved. The expectation behind the speakers' choice was that if the [PDO] is a negative marker, we would not find it articulated contemporaneously with affirmative clauses (but only with negative ones, where a spoken negative marker is obligatorily present).

(1) Napoli

Context: Giuseppe needs to buy something and he asks to his sister Anna if the store near their house is still open. Anna replies:

Nun o' saccio. Nun essa stà cchiusø. [PDO]
not it.CL.OBJ know.PRES.1SG not should.SUBJ.1SG stay.INF close..PERF
'I don't know. It shouldn't be closed (I suppose).'

(2) Napoli

Context: Sara is very good at baking. She is talking about food with her friend Luisa, and says:

'O casatiello, o' faccio troppø bbuonø. [PDO]
the casatiello it.CL.OBJ do.PRES.1SG too well
'I cook the casatiello very well.'

Speakers were also asked to judge both negative and affirmative utterances provided with specific epistemic properties (Palmer 2001). Specifically, I contrasted utterances in which the speaker is certain (3) vs utterances in which the speaker is uncertain (4) about the proposition expressed in the spoken utterances which [PDO] accompanies. In particular, in (4) the speaker is not sure whether

Ciro would go out with them. On the other hand, in the negative utterance in (3) the speaker is certain that Gennaro won't come.

(3) Ercolano

Context: Salvatore and Luigi are thinking about who to invite so that they have 10 people to play football. Salvatore wants to invite Gennaro, but Luigi says:

— [PDO]

Gennaro nun venə. Tenə e' chə fà.
Gennaro not come.PRES.3SG have.PRES.3SG of that do.INF
'Gennaro does not come for sure. He is busy.'

(4) Napoli

Context: A group of friends are wondering if Ciro, another friend of theirs, will go out with them tonight. One of the guys says:

[PDO]

Mə pare ca Ciro **nun** pò venì staserə.
me.CL seem.PRES.1SG that Ciro not can.PRES.3SG come.INF tonight
'I think that Ciro can't come tonight (but I am not sure).'

Results and analysis. All the informants judged grammatical all negative sentences paired with [PDO] in which the speaker is certain about the content of the proposition (3). However, all the informants also accepted affirmative clauses (2) paired with co-speech [PDO], when these express the speaker's certainty on the content of the proposition. On the contrary, the speakers judged ungrammatical all the negative clauses in which [PDO] appears in contexts expressing lower degree of certainty (1). Following previous works on epistemic and evidential constructions (Hill 2007; Cruschina 2015; *i.a.*), I will apply several diagnostics and show that co-speech [PDO] can be analysed as an epistemic marker that lexicalizes ModP_{Epistemic} within Cinque's (1999) functional projection.

Conclusions. New empirical data in the spoken-auditory modality and in the visual-gestural modality show that co-speech [PDO] in Neapolitan is used to mark epistemicity. I propose a syntactic analysis of gestures as epistemic markers, which is consistent with the hypothesis that gestures are morphemes externalised at the PF interface in the visual modality (Colasanti 2023).

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Null Subjects in non-pro-drop languages: the lens on French

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The contrast between languages that allow Subjects of tensed sentences to be null (i.e., pro-drop languages), like Italian, Greek, and Turkish (cf. (1)), and those that do not (non pro-drop languages), like English and French (cf. (2)), is a classic issue for comparative syntactic research.

- (1) *pro* *Non* *mangio* *carne* (Italian)
NS.1SG NEG eat.1SG meat
'I don't eat meat'
- (2) **(Je)* *ne* *mange* *pas* *de* *viande* (French)
pron.1SG NEG eat.1SG NEG of meat
'I don't eat meat'

Within the formal framework of generative grammar, the licensing of Null Subjects (NSs) has been a major topic since the 80s, both for its theoretical import and its connection with a parameter (cf. Rizzi 1982, Jaeggli and Safir 1989). Indeed, several works have been dedicated to the licensing, acquisition, and interpretation of NSs (cf., among others, Holmberg 2005; Frascarelli 2007; Biberauer et al. 2010) and different sub-types have been identified and approached. On the other hand, few works have been dedicated to a systematic analysis of NSs in non pro-drop languages, as this phenomenon is considered marginal and substandard and, as such, not relevant for linguistic research.

Furthermore, empirical evidence shows that both pure pro-drop and non pro-drop languages are rare. Indeed, most languages only feature NSs of a specific type and/or in specific structural contexts, and in general pro-drop languages do not behave consistently. Thus, they have been classified in different groups, namely (i) 'Consistent (or full)', (ii) 'Radical', (iii) 'Partial' and (iv) 'Expletive' pro-drop languages, based on the nature of the NSs allowed and/or of the specific contexts in which they can occur.

Exploring this area of research, this study conducts a corpus study on the occurrence of NSs in French, aimed at showing that their incidence is noteworthy but tied to specific formal contexts. In particular, the present investigation is based on the analysis of three conversations extracted from two online corpora of French spoken data, namely the CLAPI (<http://clapi.icar.cnrs.fr/>) and the CFPP2000 (<http://cfpp2000.univ-paris3.fr/>), for a total of two and a half hours of conversations between friends on different subjects (9 speakers, 56.000 words ca.). From these, three conversations have been selected based on criteria such as naturalness, presence of long conversational turns, and the medium-high education level of speakers. The selected transcripts, "Auréane," "Montage," and "Apéritif," were scrutinized for fidelity against the original audio recordings, resulting in the identification of 4996 sentences for analysis. The study carried out on relevant data used statistical methods, including the Chi-squared test, Fisher Exact test and z-test for one proportion, so as to analyse the frequency and distribution of NSs across different syntactic constructions.

Our results show that out of 4996 sentences, 396 (7.93%) feature NSs, which are predominantly expletive (92.68%) with a few referential cases (7.32%). This suggests that, despite the commonly assumed definition of French as a non-pro-drop language, specific types of subject omission occur more frequently than expected. Indeed, even though the omission of expletive pronouns has been largely attested in the literature (Abeillé et al 2007), its remarkable frequency in Colloquial French (CF) as well as the different behaviour of expletive types (e.g., *il* vs. *ce*) have never been the object

of a systematic corpus analysis, supported by statistical analysis. Indeed, relevant works in this area of research have mainly dealt with the phonological status of subject clitics in French (cf. Kaiser 2008 for a general overview), while the non-expression of expletive pronouns in CF has been generally considered from a diachronic perspective, as the continuation of a grammatical trait of older stages of French (cf. Zimmermann and Kaiser 2014).

Furthermore, Zimmermann and Kaiser (2014) list the contexts in which *il* can be non-expressed in CF, (namely, *s'agir* 'to concern', *y avoir* 'to exist', *être* 'to be' + noun, *faire* 'to make' + adjective, *falloir* 'to have to', *paraître* 'to appear', *sembler* 'to seem', *suffire* 'to be sufficient', *valoir mieux* 'to be better) and report that, according to the general claim, no significant differences can be detected in the respective frequencies of *il* omission in these constructions. Conversely, our corpus analysis shows that the absolute majority of expletive omissions occur in presentative *y avoir* constructions (82.89%), while other structures show a more balanced distribution between null and overt subjects. Remarkably, the expletive subject *ce* in specificational *c'est* constructions is never omitted.

On the other hand, referential NSs are rare (29 out of 3207 referential subjects, less than 1%) and only occurred in three contexts: canonical NSs, NSs within repetitions, and NSs referring to an extra-linguistic entity. Interestingly, these NSs were linked to referents active in the discourse context, suggesting an Agree relation with an A-Topic (cf. Frascarelli 2007) as shown in (3) below:

- (3) *Celui sur le pont là je ne sais plus comment*
 the one on DET bridge there I not know.1 SG more how
pro s'appelle
 (he) be.named.3SG

'The one on the bridge there, I don't know his name anymore'

Lit: 'The one on the bridge there, I don't know anymore how (he) is (Auréane) named'

An additional phenomenon observed was the *coalescence* of the 1SG subject pronoun into the following verb. Though these realizations occur almost exclusively with *être* 'to be' and *savoir* 'know' (resulting in forms like [ʃuɪ] for *je suis* ('I am') and [ʃɛ] for *je sais* ('I know')), their frequency is remarkably high: 95% for *je suis* (74 occurrences out of 83), and 73% for *je sais* (45 out of 70). Occasional other cases have been found with *je serre* [ʃɛr] 'I squeeze' and *je dis* [ʒi] 'I say'. Finally, we also found 5 cases (out of 9) of coalescence with the 2SG pronoun *tu* 'you' with *savoir* 'know' (yielding [tɛ] from *tu sais*). The relevance of this phenomenon for the debate concerning the morpho-syntactic status of phonologically weak subjects in CF (i.e., independent pronouns vs. morphological affixes) will be also commented.

In conclusion, our findings indicate that NSs do occur in CF, with specific types of impersonal constructions, suggesting a possible shift towards partial pro-drop system. Nevertheless, the difference between *il* and *ce* shows the necessity to take into account the information-structural properties of relevant constructions and consider the existence of a crucial distinctions between so-called 'expletive' pronouns. Finally, the high frequency of certain coalesced forms further supports the notion of an evolving inflectional system. These results call for further research to explore the potential implications for the typological classification of Modern French.

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Cross-dialectal influence at the syntax-pragmatics interface: Null subjects in Brazilian/European Portuguese bidialectals

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Despite their lexical similarities, Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and European Portuguese (EP) differ in all components of their grammars (Duarte, 2020). For example, EP is a consistent null subject (pro-drop) language: in finite domains, null referential pronominal subjects (NS) are the unmarked option, and overt pronouns are usually used for pragmatic purposes (e.g., for emphasis or to introduce a new topic, i.e., topic shift). Conversely, BP is described as a partial null subject language whose overt pronouns bear no pragmatic value (Barbosa *et al.*, 2005) and only when a topic is provided by the discourse are NS optionally used (i.e., topic-drop, *cf.* Modesto, 2008).

Previous research indicates that non-target behavior (e.g., overuse of overt pronouns) can be found even at advanced levels of proficiency among second language learners of a consistent null subject language. To account for this, the Interface Hypothesis (IH) (Sorace & Filiaci, 2006; Sorace, 2011) claims that properties lying at the interface between syntax and pragmatics, such as the null/overt pronominal subject distribution in consistent null subject languages, are more prone to variability and fossilization when compared to interfaces involving only core grammar components (e.g., syntax and semantics). In a bidialectal context, Castro *et al.* (2020) tested BP native speakers who immigrated to Portugal at adult age and found evidence of cross-linguistic influence (CLI) as the bidialectals produced more NS (40%) than BP controls (13%), but less NS (46%) than EP controls (74%). However, no data was provided regarding the pragmatic adequacy (topic shift vs. topic maintenance) of null/overt pronouns, a gap this study intends to fill.

Therefore, this study aims at testing the IH by investigating whether long-term (>6 years) BP native speakers in Portugal (who arrived in this country in adulthood) acquire EP's subject pronouns distribution in such pragmatic contexts and whether there is evidence of CLI. The experimental group comprised 27 participants who performed a spontaneous oral production task in EP test mode (EPE) and BP test mode (BPE) at two different moments (around one month apart to minimize priming effects). After an initial conversation with the interviewer (an EP native speaker or a BP native speaker according to test mode), they had to watch an extract from a silent movie and then describe it. A control group of 24 monolingual EP native speakers (EPC) and a control group of 24 monolingual BP native speakers (BPC) did the same, but only in their native varieties. All descriptions were recorded, transcribed, and their referential pronominal subjects analyzed.

Results in Appendix 1 show that topic maintenance is the pragmatic context in which bidialectals differ from both control groups, significantly producing more NS than BPC ($\chi^2 = 30.6322$; $p < .001$), but less than EPC ($\chi^2 = 63.7234$; $p < .001$). In every pragmatic and syntactic context bidialectals in EPE produce more NS than in BPE, but this difference is not significant (χ^2 as high as 0.903; p as low as .342). At first sight, these results argue in favor of the IH, since, despite their long-term residence in Portugal, the bidialectals in this study did not fully develop pragmatic knowledge of EP's pronominal subject distribution, still overusing overt pronouns in topic maintenance in EPE. However, probably due to the superficial similarities between EP and BP, CLI in both directions was observed. This suggests that, regardless of mode, bidialectals' NS could be instances of both EP's pro-drop and BP's topic-drop, as they surface similarly, which also supports the fact that bidialectal speakers do not usually completely accommodate to their interlocutor's dialect (*cf.* Lønes *et al.*, 2023; Siegel, 2010).

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APPENDIX 1 – Results

	BPC	BPE	EPE	EPC
Total Null	381 (39.2%)	455 (51.2%)	454 (48.7%)	558 (72.3%)
Total Overt	590 (60.8%)	433 (48.8%)	478 (51.3%)	214 (27.7%)
Topic Shift				
Null	11 (3.8%)	22 (8.3%)	36 (10.5%)	23 (13.3%)
Overt	282 (96.2%)	243 (91.7%)	306 (89.5%)	150 (86.7%)
Topic Maintenance				
Null	370 (54.6%)	433 (69.5%)	418 (70.8%)	535 (89.3%)
Overt	308 (45.4%)	190 (30.5%)	172 (29.2%)	64 (10.7%)
Coordinate				
Null	219 (94.8%)	244 (88.4%)	212 (90.1%)	216 (96%)
Overt	12 (5.2%)	32 (11.6%)	21 (9.1%)	9 (4%)
Non-Coordinate				
Null	151 (33.8%)	189 (54.5%)	206 (57.7%)	319 (85.3%)
Overt	296 (66.2%)	158 (45.5%)	151 (42.3%)	55 (14.7%)
Matrix				
Null	129 (38.7%)	154 (58.6%)	174 (60.8%)	240 (85.7%)
Overt	203 (61.3%)	109 (41.4%)	112 (39.2%)	40 (14.3%)
Embedded				
Null	22 (19.1%)	35 (41.7%)	32 (45.1%)	79 (84%)
Overt	93 (80.9%)	49 (58.3%)	39 (54.9%)	15 (16%)

Asymmetries on ECM in Romance: a self-merge-based account

Lorena Castillo Ros

1. GOAL: This paper explores asymmetries on ECM structures between Romance languages and English. We argue that the (im)possibility of displaying ECM through infinitive clauses depends on whether C is nominal. If C is nominal, it must undergo self-merge, just like N, thereby turning into a phrase. Building on Martin et al (2019), we claim that Merge must take two asymmetric objects {X, YP}. When two objects are symmetric, adjunction is the only option. As a consequence, if C is nominal, it cannot merge with TP since both are phrases (*{CP, TP}). Thus, the only possibility is for TP to adjoin to CP. That explains the impossibility of escaping from TP. On the contrary, if C is not nominal, self-merge cannot be applied, allowing TP to merge with C, making ECM possible. This difference accounts for the observed facts without resorting to new specific principles or features.

2. BACKGROUND DATA: The literature on infinitive clauses in Romance languages has long argued that they display a nominal nature that English lacks (cf. Bello 1847, Picallo 2002, Plann 1986, Torrego & Uriagereka 1992, Uriagereka & Raposo 2001). In Romance languages, infinitive clauses must appear in Case positions (cf. (1)), whereas this is not the case in English (cf. (2)):

- (1) Beatrix mató a Bill *(sin) [pensarlo] (Spanish)
Beatrix killed ACC Bill without think.INF cl.AC
'Beatrix killed Bill without thinking.'
- (2) John talked (*about) [to apologize]

However, what is important here is that the nominal nature of infinitive clauses in Romance languages has not been related to the impossibility of displaying ECM in the literature.

3. ECM DATA: As noted in the literature (cf. Ausin 2000, Kayne 1981), ECM structures are not allowed in Romance languages when the embedded clause is an infinitive, whereas in English they are possible (as shown in (3) and (4)). However, note that small clauses are possible in both languages:

- (3) Juan va creure [la Maria {intelligent / *ser intelligent}] (Catalan)
Juan AUX believe.INF the Maria intelligent to be intelligent
'Juan believed Maria {intelligent/to be intelligent}.'
- (4) Clarice considers [Hannibal {intelligent/ to be intelligent}]

Most authors (Ausin 2000, Chomsky 1981, Chomsky & Lasnik 1995, Kayne 1981, Rouveret y Vergnaud 1980) have attributed the asymmetries shown in (3)-(4) to lexical properties of epistemic and volitive verbs in both languages, by postulating additional specific features for English. Namely, it is argued that epistemic and volitive verbs in English can take infinitive clauses that are smaller than those in Romance languages. This idea can be implemented in various ways: English has two types of infinitive clauses, TP (non-phase domain) and CP (phase domain). Some authors (Ciutescu 2013, 2015, 2018, Hernanz 1999) point out the existence of ECM structures in Romance languages with perception and causative verbs. However, due to the complexities of these verbs (cf. Treviño 1994, Guasti 2006, Harley & Folli 2004, Torrego 2010), we focus on epistemic and volitive verbs. We argue that these verbs participate in a restructuring context.

4. MAIN IDEA: Following Roger et al. (2019), we argue that Merge is an operation that must take two asymmetric objects into a hierarchical set, {X, YP}. When two syntactic objects are symmetric, Merge cannot operate. In these cases, there are two ways to avoid the merger of symmetric objects, depending on the category of the syntactic objects (SOs):

- (5) OPTION 1: Adjunction

(6) OPTION 2: Turn one of them into a head/phrase

If both SOs are heads (X, Y) and one of them is a noun, it must undergo self-merge (option 2), turning into a phrase. As a result, asymmetry is achieved, allowing the objects to merge. If SOs are phrases and one of them is a determiner (D), it must undergo Transfer (Uriagereka 1999) to become a head. The important point is that N and D are the only categories that not only can, but must undergo operations that change their status. In all other cases, the only possibility is adjunction. As for ECM structures, C can be either nominal or prepositional, like any complement verb. If C is nominal, it must self-merge, like N, turning into a phrase (CP). As a consequence, it cannot merge with TP since they are both phrases. As TP is neither N nor D, the only possible option is adjunction (cf. (7)). In contrast, in languages where C is not nominal in infinitive clauses, like in English, self-merge cannot be applied, meaning that C must merge with a phrase. As a result, C can merge with TP, yielding a structure like (8):

(7) {V, CP} TP

(8) {V, {C, TP}}

The relevant point is that only option (1) is possible for TP in Romance infinitive clauses (cf. (7)), while option (2) is the only possibility for TP in English (cf. (8)). The differences between Romance languages and English regarding ECM structures follow from the structures in (7) and (8). The former does not allow ECM since TP is adjoined to CP. Movement and structural Case/agreement are not possible through TP. The latter allows ECM since TP merges with CP, making it visible to further syntactic operations. Thus, the (im)possibility of ECM is not attributed to a new specific principle or stipulative lexical property. We derive these asymmetries from independent principles, namely, from the fact that TPs in infinitive clauses in Romance languages are invisible since they are adjuncts to CPs.

5. CONSEQUENCES AND ITS PARAMETERS: The main conclusion from the previous section is that C in infinitive clauses gets Case, like NPs. An interesting piece of data comes from complementizers. In Romance languages, complementizers do not display the same properties as in English. They cannot assign Case to any argument, meaning they cannot license lexical subjects (cf. (9) vs (10)). Given that this complementizer does not have any function, it seems to be a spellout of a nominal feature (cf. Picallo 2002).

(9) a. Va intentar [de (*Maria) venir] (Catalan) b. J'avais essayé [de (*Maria) voir le film]
 AUX try.INF of Maria come in I have. tried of Maria ver.INF the film
 'He tried to come in.' 'I tried to watch the film.'

(10) Beatrix decided [for *(herself) to kill Bill]

6. CONCLUSIONS: This paper has argued that the (im)possibility of ECM in a given structure follows from the nature of the embedded clause. If C is nominal, it must self-merge, just like N, turning into a phrase. As a consequence, TP must adjoin to CP, blocking syntactic operations such as agreement/structural Case and A movement. Since infinitive clauses in Romance languages are nominal, ECM is not allowed in these clauses. The fact that infinitive clauses are nominal is a historical observation with independent motivation. Thus, the (im)possibility of displaying ECM is not attributed to a new specific principle or stipulative lexical property, but we derive these asymmetries from independent principles, specifically, from the fact that TPs in infinitive clauses in Romance languages are invisible since they are adjuncts to CPs.

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