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Main Session

Book of Abstracts

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Programme

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Nicola D'Antuono, Another polarity item? On the use of *altro* as a negative fragment answer in Regional Italian.
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16:00-17:00	**Francesco Pinzin, Tommaso Balsemin, Cecilia Poletto, Papa Hamatt Touré**, The loss of V2 and scrambling: testing the parallel phase hypothesis **Martín Fuchs, Malte Rosemeyer**, Bridging Contexts and Semantic Change: A Computational Approach to the Diachrony of French *on*

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17:30-19:00	**Emanuela Sanfelici, Sofia Ferroni**, Size matters: temporal and causal clauses at the syntax-semantics interface **Janek Guerrini, Eleonora Zani**, Discourse-marking and candidate context sets: the case of Italian 'ma se' and 'guarda che' **Dalina Kallulli, Ian Roberts**, Parameters in the Substantive Lexicon: From Italian Relatives to Mundurucu Numerals	**Vieri Samek-Lodovici**, Corrective Questions **Jacopo Garzonio**, Negative Concord in South-Eastern Lombard **Tommaso Mattiuzzi, Cecilia Poletto**, 'Emphatic' Negation as Focus
19:00	**Closing session**

Rethinking 'together' in Romance: on JUNTO in Brazilian Portuguese

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Section 1. Introduction

Despite its conceptual and cross-linguistic relevance, the semantics of 'together' remains largely underexplored, particularly within Romance linguistics. While the adverbial *together* is relatively uniform in English, or in other Romance languages (such as Italian *insieme*), the element 'together' in Brazilian Portuguese (BrP) can be used in the morphologically invariant form *junto* (1a), it can inflect for number and gender (1b), or it can take diminutive morphology (1c).

(1) a. *Lisa   e   Ana escreveram seu   primeiro artigo   junto.*
   b. *Lisa   e   Ana escreveram seu   primeiro artigo   juntas.*
   c. *Lisa   e   Ana escreveram seu   primeiro artigo   {juntinhas / juntinho}.*
   Lisa   and Ana wrote   their   first   article   together
   'Lisa and Ana wrote their first article together.'

Different morphological realizations are associated with different interpretations, possibly overlapping. The forms in (1a)-(1b) can either be interpreted with Lisa and Ana cooperatively writing the same article, or with Lisa and Ana writing different articles at the same time and space. By contrast, only the latter reading is triggered by *juntinhas/juntinho* in (1c).

Existing semantic theories of *together* cannot straightforwardly account for the different forms of BrP 'together' (henceforth JUNTO to encompass all morphological variants) and their semantic variation in a unified way. Notably, Lasersohn's (1998) proposals of *together* as event overlapping or Moltmann's (2004) treatment of *together* as a measurement function do not explain the existence of different morphological variations and their resulting interpretations. Moreover, Moltmann (2004) also distinguishes between English adnominal *together* (e.g., *the boys together*) and adverbial *together* (e.g., *they arrived together*), each associated with different logical forms and compositional pathways. However, BrP JUNTO allows a uniform semantic treatment that captures the core meaning shared by these usages.

Section 2. Proposal

This paper proposes a unified analysis of JUNTO in BrP that integrates adnominal and adverbial uses, and that can be extended to its counterparts in other Romance languages. We propose that JUNTO denotes a collectivizing operation over individuals (as event participants associated with specific thematic roles) or (spatio-)temporal aspects of the events. We argue that its core meaning is flexible and underspecified, relying on the interaction with the predicate to derive more specific interpretations. Crucially, the range of interpretations correlates with features of the event predicate:

(i) *Cooperative* or *joint readings* are accessible with 'mixed predicates' (i.e., that may receive a distributive or collective reading, Champollion 2015), where the entities in

the denotation of the argument share a thematic role, as in (2). This reading is accessible with the invariant form *junto* and with the inflected form *juntas*, but not with diminutive forms:

(2) a. *Lisa e   Ana escreveram o artigo{junto, juntas,   #juntinhas,   #juntinho}.*
    Lisa and Ana   wrote the article   together together.F.PL together.DIM.F.PL together.DIM
    'Lisa and Ana wrote the article together.'[intended: they jointly wrote the same article]

   b. *Lisa e   Ana pesam 120 quilos   {junto, juntas,   #juntinhas,   #juntinho}.*
    Lisa and Ana   weigh 120 kilos   together together.F.PL together.DIM.F.PL together.DIM
    'Lisa and Ana weigh 120 kilos together.'

(ii) (*Spatio-)temporal readings* indicate that what is shared is the physical location of the (sub)events, or the time in which the (sub)events occur. Spatio-temporal readings are accessible with predicates that involve a physical location, and emerge with all morphological realizations of JUNTO (3a). Temporal readings are possible with predicates denoting an event, and are accessible with the JUNTO forms that are inflected for number/gender (with or without diminutive morphology), but not with number/gender-uninflected forms (3b).

(3) a. *Lisa e   Ana viajaram   {junto, juntas,   juntinhas,   juntinho}.*
    Lisa   and Ana   traveled   together together.F.PL together.DIM.F.PL together.DIM
    'Lisa and Ana traveled together.'

   b. *Lisa e   Ana esqueceram {#junto, juntas,   juntinhas,   #juntinho}.*
    Lisa   and Ana   forgot   together together.F.PL together.DIM.F.PL together.DIM
    'Lisa and Ana forgot together.'

We argue that JUNTO is sensitive to the properties of the event structure and to thematic role assignment, but that it has an invariant semantic denotation. We argue for a Neo-Davidsonian event semantics framework, where JUNTO introduces a relation over individual arguments within an event variable. Following this approach, JUNTO denotes a higher-order relation that applies to pairs or sets of individuals in the same event, enriched by contextual inference and selectional constraints of the predicate. Formally, we define JUNTO as a modifier that presupposes at least two individuals and asserts that these individuals stand in a thematic, spatial or temporal relation within a single event *e* (in the case of 'mixed' predicates) or within related (sub)events *e* (in the case of distributive predicates), determined by the verb's lexical semantics. We maintain a unified lexical semantics for JUNTO, where this variation arises compositionally (from the interaction with the predicate type and event structure), not from any lexical ambiguity in JUNTO itself. The contribution of JUNTO with 'mixed' predicates is modeled in (4a), and its contribution with distributive predicates in (4b).

(4)   a. $\lambda P. \lambda x_1 \ldots x_n. \exists e\ [P(e) \wedge \forall i, x_i \in Part(e) \wedge Rel(x_1 \ldots x_n, e)]$

   b. $\lambda P. \lambda x_1 \ldots x_n. \exists E\ [\forall e_i \in E\ (P(e_i) \wedge x_i \in Part(e_i)) \wedge Rel(E)]$

We argue that morphological variations are associated with different restrictions on *Rel,* which reflect number and pragmatic enhancement rather than distinct lexical meanings. For instance, the diminutive *-inho* contributes to a gradable property:

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interpretations that do not account for the (spatio-)temporal aspects of the event are not gradable, and are ruled out from the set of relations that can be selected by the diminutive forms.

Section 3. Discussion

Beyond BrP, this analysis is applicable more broadly within the Romance domain. For instance, the Italian invariable element *insieme* has the same range of interpretations as *juntos/as*, the BrP variant of JUNTO that is inflected for gender and number, and unrestricted in terms of possible interpretations. Thus, we argue that the unified semantics in (4) is a starting point for 'together' elements in Romance, where the cross-linguistic difference can manifest in possible restrictions on the *Rel* (e.g., the forms *junto* or *juntinho*), or apply to all thematic or (spatio-)temporal relations accessible with the predicate (e.g., the BrP form inflected form *juntos/as* or Italian *insieme*).

Section 4. Conclusion

This paper focuses on an element that is both commonplace and underanalyzed, offering new insights into how languages encode relational structure among participants and events, with broader implications for typological and theoretical research on adverbial semantics, plurality and the syntax-semantics interface in adverbial modification. The paper advances a unified semantics of 'together'-type elements across Romance, and provides novel empirical observations that pave the way for future research on emerging syntactic and morphological questions, such as the implications of number and gender agreement, and of evaluative morphology, in relation to meaning restrictions.

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Prosodic constraints on the realisation of the infinitive morpheme in INFINITIVE+CLITIC sequences in Catalan

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This study aims to investigate which prosodic constraints interact with the realisation of the rhotic infinitive exponent in INFINITIVE#CLITIC sequences across some Catalan varieties (e.g. *cantar-la* SING.INF#IT.F.SG or *ballar-nos* DANCE.INF#US.1P.PL). Infinitives (e.g. *cantar,* 'to sing') are formed by a root ({cant-}, sing-), a theme vowel ({-a-}, for the first conjugation), and the infinitive morpheme, whose exponent is the rhotic {r}: cant-a-r SING-TV-INF. In most Catalan dialects, infinitives can be followed by different enclitic pronouns, some of which present a consonant structure (e.g. -*li* DAT.3SG or -*me* DAT.1SG) and some a vocalic structure (e.g. *ho* /u/ ACC.N), and these combinations are subject to a big amount of variation.

The data for this study have been obtained through comprehensive inquiries to 104 individuals at seven survey points located in different areas of the Catalan-speaking territory. The analysis of the results reveals four major patterns: (i) consistent realisation of the rhotic in Central Valencian; (ii) complete omission in all contexts in Tarragona and Northwestern Catalan; (iii) realisation in absolute final position but not before clitics in Southern and Northern Valencian; and (iv) deletion in absolute final position and variable realisation before enclitics in Central Catalan. Examples illustrating these patterns, using *cantar* ('to sing') and *cantar-lo* (SING-IT.M.SG) are provided in Table 1.

Variety	INFINITIVE	INFINITIVE+CLITIC
(i) Central Valencian	[kaɲˈtaɾ]	[kaɲˈtaɾlo]
(ii) Tarragona and Northwestern	[kaɲˈta]	[kaɲˈtal]
(iii) Northern and Southern Valencian	[kaɲˈtaɾ]	[kaɲˈtalo]
(iv) Central Catalan	[kənˈta]	[kənˈtal] -[kənˈtaɾlu]

Table 1. Summary of the behaviour of the rhotic depending on context and dialect

Previous studies on Catalan clitics have also revealed significant dialectal and morphophonological variability, especially in VERB#CLITIC constructions. Bonet & Lloret (2005) address the considerable formal variability inherent in the clitic structures in Barcelona Catalan and establish their underlying. This has also been examined within prosodic phonology in various Balearic Catalan varieties (Bonet & Torres-Tamarit 2011; Torres-Tamarit & Pons-Moll 2018; Torres-Tamarit & Bonet 2019). These studies show that clitic combinations interact with prosodic structure in systematic ways, especially regarding the construction of well-formed metrical feet. Further OT-based analyses have introduced constraints like PRIORITY, which requires respecting the lexical priority hierarchy of allomorphs when allomorphy is phonologically conditioned (Mascaró 2007; Bonet *et al.* 2007), as well as MAX-MORPHEME to account for the non-realisation of morphemes in specific phonologically conditioned contexts (Pons-Moll *et al.* 2023).

The forms of Central Valencian (*i*) consistently realise the infinitive morpheme as a rhotic. In these cases, the faithfulness constraint MAX-MORPHEME is ranked above

prosodic markedness constraints related to foot formation, as the results show variable prosodic distributions (e.g. [kaɲˈtar)] vs. [kaɲˈtar.lo)]).

For those varieties where the infinitive morpheme is never phonetically realised (*ii*), there is also a broader tendency to elide final posttonic rhotics. The most economical analysis posits a single /∅/ allomorph for the infinitive, with no active allomorphy. INFINITIVE#CLITIC sequences in these varieties systematically form bimoraic trochaic feet, either through heavy monosyllables ([kaɲˈtal)] sing-IT.M.SG), or disyllabic structures ([kaɲˈta.la)] sing-IT.F.SG). Prosodic constraints such as FOOT-BIN(µ) and TROCHEEµ] dominate the hierarchy, while MAX-MORPHEME is respected using the zero allomorph.

In varieties that alternate between the realisation and non-realisation of the rhotic depending on phonological context (patterns *iii* and *iv*), we propose allomorphy for the infinitive morpheme, with two allomorphs: /r/ and /∅/. In these varieties, the allomorph /r/ is lexically prioritised over /∅/, a preference protected by the PRIORITY constraint. The choice between the rhotic and zero allomorphs is regulated by the interaction of prosodic markedness constraints (such as TROCHEEµ] and FOOT-BINARITY) and faithfulness constraints (such as MAX-MORPHEME and PRIORITY).

Hierarchy of (relevant) constraints for Northern and Southern Valencian

FOOT-BIN(µ), TROCHEEµ], MAX-MORPHEME >> PRIORITY >> 'VR##

In Northern and Southern Valencian (*iii*), the hierarchy in (1) ensures the realisation of the rhotic in absolute final position, as non-realisation ([kaɲˈta)]) lacks a bimoraic metrical foot and would also violate the PRIORITY constraint. When the infinitive is followed by a clitic, FOOT-BIN(µ) and TROCHEEµ] compel the selection of the second allomorph {∅} to obtain a bimoraic throcaic foot ([kaɲˈta.la)] > *[kaɲˈtar.la)]), which implies the violation of the PRIORITY constraint.

Hierarchy of (relevant) constraints for Central Catalan

'VR## >> *INTERNAL-COMPLEX-CODA, *COMPLEX-CODA, MAX-MORPHEME >> FOOT-BIN(σ), TROCHEEσ] >> PRIORITY >> ONSET >> FOOT-BIN(µ), TROCHEEµ]

In Central Catalan (*iv*) the elision of post-tonic final rhotics is systematically applied, and therefore, the markedness constraint 'VR## is hierarchically ranked above MAX-MORPHEME (2). The allomorphy of the infinitive morpheme in this case is evident, as different clitic combinations select different allomorphs. Thus, the *INTERNAL-COMPLEX-CODA constraint is active, as the zero allomorph is chosen in cases where a complex coda would be generated at the boundary between the verb and the clitic ([kaɲˌtal] > *[kaɲˌtarl]). The ONSET constraint is hierarchically ranked at the same level as PRIORITY, as the solution for vocalic clitics involves the realisation of the rhotic in most of the territory of Central Catalan ([kaɲˈta.ru)] > *[kaɲˈtaw)]). This variety would not be sensitive to morae but to the syllable as a basic unit in the obtention of INFINITIVE#CLITIC sequences.

The lack of realisation of the final rhotic in the infinitive in enclitic contexts has been a common feature in most Iberian varieties of Romance languages. However, in Catalan, this feature has been considered non-recommended from a normative perspective and has not enjoyed social prestige. This study expands our understanding of prosody and phonological constraints in relation to the phenomenon of rhotic realisation in enclitic contexts. It has been observed that the majority of the studied varieties prioritise the formation of trochaic feet, although they

may consider morae or syllables as basic units.

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Looking for ergativity in non-ergative languages. Reduced participial constructions in Romance languages

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Section 1. An outstanding, yet rarely considered, difference between nominative/accusative and ergative/absolutive case alignment is the extent to which one excludes the other. Ergative languages commonly adopt the nominative/accusative under certain grammatical conditions. This well-known property is called Split Ergativity. On the other hand, the nominative/accusative alignment is more exclusive. For example, no Romance language is known which can switch to the ergative/absolutive alignment. As proof of this, the term 'Split Nominativity' does not belong to the linguist's toolkit. The question we ask in this paper is what is the source of this difference? Why is Split Nominativity not attested in Romance? Our unorthodox answer is that, despite appearances, Split Nominativity *is* attested. The reason why it has not been previously identified is that it surfaces in colloquial registers that went under the radar of linguistic research, still too concentrated on varieties that have a written version.

Section 2. Cecchetto & Donati 2024 (C&D) propose an analysis of a number of colloquial reduced structures in Italian which builds on Chomsky's (2019) claim that sentences can be exocentric, or labeled without a head. The Italian structures analyzed by C&D all involve the past participle of unaccusative and passive verbs, which agrees in gender and number with the internal argument (cf. Viganò et al. 2024 for an acceptability judgments task that shows that these sentences, despite being found only in colloquial structures, are considered fully acceptable). They are clearly reduced: they display no external argument and no tense auxiliary. However, they can have illocutionary force, as they can be interrogative, declarative or exclamative. An example is given in (1). This is the structure C&D labels BARE NOUN REDUCED.

(1)   bambina guarita/ bambina guarita?/ bambina guarita!
        child-FEM-SING heal-PAST-PART-FEM-SING
        ('The girl recovered', 'Did the girl recovered?', 'The girl recovered!')

In a nutshell, C&D argue that in (1), only a VP is projected, where the unaccusative verb assigns a theta role to its sole argument, which, being a bare NP (as opposed to a DP), does not need case. This NP moves to the edge of the VP as the result of the probing of the past participle. Thanks to agreement, the structure can be labeled by feature sharing, which the interface interprets by default as sentential (Chomsky 2019).

(1a) [$_{phiP}$ bambina$_i$ [$_{VP}$ guarita t$_i$]]

Section 3. BARE NOUN REDUCED share four important properties with ergative structures.

(i) In Italian, bare NPs are exceedingly rare, and, when they are possible, they are plural NPs that receive an indefinite interpretation. However, the internal argument in BARE NOUN REDUCED is always interpreted as definite despite being bare (1 cannot mean '*a* girl recovered'). Similarly, in many ergative/absolutive languages, for the internal argument to be indefinite the ergative/absolutive alignment must be abandoned by antipassivizing the structure (cf. Bittner 1987). In Hindi, pseudo-incorporation is necessary (Dayal 2011).

(ii) BARE NOUN REDUCED sentences always have a perfective interpretation. This is reminiscent of the fact that in many languages (Hindi, Georgian, cf. Nash 2017, Coon & Preminger 2017), the subjects of perfective sentences are ergative, while the subjects of imperfective sentences become nominative.

(iii) BARE NOUN REDUCED resists negation to a certain extent, cf. (3) and Viganò et al. (2024) for extensive discussion of the status of negation in reduced participial structures.

(3)   ? bambina non guarita
        child-FEM-SING not heal-PAST-PART-FEM-SING

In some ergative marked sentences (i.e. Georgian cf. Nash 1995), negation is similarly restricted, i.e. it is possible only under a heavily presupposed situation.

(iv) In BARE NOUN REDUCED the verb is morphologically simpler than in the corresponding complete sentences, since it lacks tense and subject agreement morphology. Similarly, in languages with Split Ergativity, including Punjabi (Manzini et al. 2015) and Georgian (Nash 1995, 2017), the perfective form that triggers ergative/absolutive is morphologically simpler than the imperfective form that triggers nominative/accusative. Reduction is different but present in Hindi as well, since the perfective can surface without an auxiliary while the non-perfectives must surface with an auxiliary/T-marking.

Section 4. Based on the analogies in *(i)* to *(iv)*, we propose that ergative structures in languages with nominative/accusative alignment do exist and BARE NOUN REDUCED structures are the missing case of 'split nominativity'. More generally, we will argue that in both nominative/accusative languages and ergative/absolutive languages, the internal nucleus of the sentence is ergative and the sentence switches to the other alignment under conditions that are partly universal (definiteness to indefiniteness and perfectivity to imperfectivity) and partly parametric (cf. Manzini et al, 2015 and Nash 2017). This switch is signaled by a morphological enrichment of the verb, which in turns indicates the growth of the functional structure.

An outstanding difference remains: BARE NOUN REDUCED cannot be transitive structures while ergative/absolutive structures can. However, in BARE NOUN REDUCED the external argument is admitted if it occurs in a *by*-phrase, suggesting that there is no semantic incompatibility *per se*. We will propose a Case explanation for the absence of the external argument in Romance reduced structures. As for ergative languages, we assume that ergative is a dependent case, an option which is not admitted in Romance.

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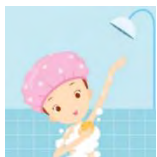
Are null objects of grooming verbs reflexive? Insights from child and adult Romanian

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Introduction This study investigates the nature of null objects with grooming verbs in child and adult Romanian (e.g. *Alex spală în fiecare zi* 'Alex washes every day'), shedding light on their syntactic structure and acquisition. In adult English, null objects with grooming verbs can give rise to reflexive readings (e.g., *Alex washes* as 'Alex washes himself'), supporting analyses of reflexivization without overt marking (see Chierchia, 2004; Reinhart & Siloni, 2005; Volkova & Reuland, 2014; van der Kallen, 2015). Additionally, the non-reflexive null object realization is also possible (*Alex washes NULL OBJ* 'Alex washes something', i.e. the dishes), if, as argued by Glass (2022). the null object is used with routines (e.g. *Do you lift?* uttered in a gym context). In contrast, in adult Romanian, only the non-reflexive reading arises with a null object whose interpretation can be anaphoric or generic (*Alex spală NULL OBJ* 'Alex washes something', i.e. dishes). To express reflexivity, Romanian must use at least the *se* clitic for reflexivity (e.g., *Alex se spală* 'Alex REFL.CL washes'), reflecting the Romance pattern of morphological encoding of reflexives (Kemmer, 1993; Reinhart & Reuland, 1993). As far as child Romanian is concerned, previous studies (Müller et al., 1996; Jakubowicz et al. 1996, 1997; Pîrvulescu 2006; Pérez-Leroux, Pîrvulescu and Roberge 2008) suggest that children go through a null object stage where the null object can be anaphoric, and accusative clitics may be dropped (Avram, 1999l; Schaeffer 2000). However, no study to our knowledge has investigated null objects with grooming verbs, as well as reflexive *se* in child Romanian. Relying on an experimental task, we show that, for grooming verbs, Romanian adults accept only the non-reflexive readings for null objects in adult Romanian, but that Romanian children—unlike adults—accept both reflexive and non-reflexive interpretations of implicit objects. These findings raise important questions about the nature of grooming verbs and null objects cross-linguistically.

> **Table 1**. Examples of test items employed for the conditions non-reflexive and reflexive object interpretation in Romanian

Non-reflexive object interpretation	Reflexive object interpretation
Romanian: Andrei știe de Alex că obișnuia să spele vase în bucătărie în fiecare dimineață. Andrei nu a mai vorbit cu Alex de 3 luni. Maria știe că Alex are același obicei. Andrei o întreabă pe Maria de Alex: "Ce mai face Alex? Mai spală vase în fiecare dimineață?" Maria răspunde: "Spală în fiecare dimineață." A răspuns bine Maria?	**Romanian**: Ana știe de Laura că obișnuia să se spele în fiecare dimineață. Ana nu știe ce face Laura acum, nu a mai vorbit cu ea de 3 ani. Mara știe că Laura a rămas la fel, o persoană foarte curată. Laura o întreabă pe Mara de Laura: "Ce mai face Laura? Se mai spală în fiecare dimineață?" Mara răspunde: "Spală în fiecare dimineață." A răspuns bine Mara?

Experiment 30 Romanian L1 adult speakers and 28 Romanian L1 monolingual children (ages 4-5; mean age 4;06) also participated in

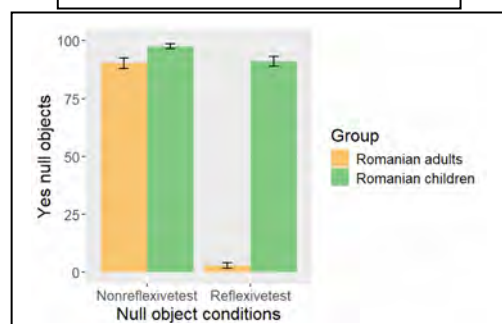| English translation:	English translation
Andrei knows about Alex that he used to wash dishes in the kitchen every morning. Andrei hasn't spoken to Alex for 3 months. Maria knows that Alex has the same habit. Andrei asks Maria about Alex: "How is Alex? Does he still wash dishes every morning?" Maria responds: "(He) washes every morning." Did Maria answer well?	Ana knows about Laura that she used to wash herself every morning. Ana doesn't know what Laura is doing now, she hasn't spoken to her in 3 years. Mara knows that Laura has remained the same, she is a very clean person. Laura asks Mara about Laura: "What's Laura up to? Does she still wash herself every morning?" Mara responds: "(She) washes every morning." Did Mara answer well?

the task. For instance (see Table 1), in the test item, participants heard a story mentioning that interlocutor A knows something about a character's previous habits but has not kept in touch with the character for a while now. Meanwhile, interlocutor B has kept in touch with the character and knows more about his current habits. Interlocutor A asks a question about whether the character still has the same habits. The question involves either (i) a reflexive verb (in the reflexive condition), such as *Se mai spală în fiecare dimineață?/ Does he/she still wash every morning?* and (ii) a verb followed by an explicit direct object (in the non-reflexive condition), such as *Mai spală vase în fiecare dimineață?/ Does he/she still wash dishes every morning?* Interlocutor B answers with a sentence involving the verb at issue and a null object, such as *Spală în fiecare dimineață/ He/she washes every morning.* Participants have to judge if A answered correctly in the context of the story. The design made use of 2 *within subjects* null object conditions (reflexive vs. non-reflexive). We employed 6 grooming verbs (*a spăla/ to wash*, *a șampona/ to shampoo*, *a pieptăna/ to comb*, *a îmbrăca/ to dress*, *a peria/ to brush*, *a tunde/ to shave*). Participants saw each verb in both the reflexive and the non-reflexive conditions. Examples for each condition are provided in Table 1. In addition to the 12 experimental items, each participant also saw 12 true/false fillers (involving reflexive and transitive verbs with overt objects).

Results (Fig. 1) Our results reveal that Romanian L1 adults accepted null objects in non-reflexive contexts but rejected them in reflexive contexts. This behaviour contrasts with the behaviour of English L1 adult participants on the same task from a different study (Bleot & Irimia 2025): English L1 adults accepted null object utterances in both non-reflexive and reflexive contexts.

Figure 1. Rate of acceptance of null object sentences in non-reflexive and reflexive contexts

Regarding child language, in contrast to Romanian adults, Romanian children accepted null objects to a high degree both in contexts favouring a non-reflexive and a reflexive interpretation of the object. We fitted a *glmer* analysis with Answer as a DV ("Yes", "No"), Null Object Context (Reflexive, Non-reflexive), v (Romanian adults, Romanian children), and their interaction as fixed effects and random slopes per Participant and Item, and we found significant effects of Group (p < .01), Object Context (p < .01) and the interaction between Object Context and Group (p < .01). Post hoc comparisons

confirmed significant differences between Romanian adults and children in the reflexive condition (p < .01). Importantly, children were more adult-like in the controls (in the non-reflexive condition, children's accuracy was 92.85%, and adults' accuracy was 94.9% while in the reflexive condition, children's accuracy was 85%, and adults' accuracy was 94.9%).

Discussion. Our findings suggest that in adult Romanian, the null object of grooming verbs can only have a non-reflexive interpretation, unlike in English, where null objects of grooming verbs are ambiguous between reflexive and transitive interpretations. Interestingly, however, Romanian children, unlike Romanian adults but similarly to English adults, allow both reflexive and non-reflexive readings of the null object. This is in line with the idea that children go through an early clitic drop acquisition stage (Avram 1999, Schaeffer 2000). Moreover, going beyond the literature, our results show that null objects may additionally fulfill the function of reflexive clitics. The fact that children otherwise do relatively well with the reflexive clitic *se* shows that they have a grasp of how reflexivity is expressed and of reflexive voice, but they do not yet associate null objects solely with non-reflexive interpretations. Our findings support an initial syntactic structural representation of grooming verbs as (transitive) predicates whose null object can have a binary status: either an anaphor bound by the c-commanding subject or a non-reflexive category with a generic (existentially bound) realization. Additionally, the availability of both readings in child Romanian is problematic for an analysis which treats grooming verbs as intransitive verbs with one single argument which bundles two theta roles (an Agent, a Patient)- see Reinhart & Siloni (2005). Instead, we assume an underlying transitive structure in which a verbal root merges with a (bare) nominal complement that may be null ($[V\ N]_V$). This approach readily accounts for the interpretive flexibility observed in Romanian children: the null object Ø is pragmatically inferable (see also Pérez-Leroux et al. 2008) and can receive either reflexive readings (*Maria$_i$ … Ø$_i$* is interpreted as $\exists x_i[wash(x_i,x_i)]$) or non-reflexive readings (*Maria$_i$ … Ø$_j$* is interpreted as $\exists x_i \exists y[wash(x_i,y)]$, where y is a free variable existentially bound by the context, giving rise to a generic meaning). This aligns well with the notion of a universal transitive verb template proposed by Pesetsky & Torrego (2004) and Hale & Keyser (2002). Furthermore, this early flexibility may also align with world knowledge: children may initially conceptualize grooming actions (e.g., washing, dressing) as involving two participants, since these are often performed on them by adults. As they begin to perform such actions independently, they shift toward viewing the agent as capable of acting on themselves. As a result, both reflexive and non-reflexive interpretations of null objects are available in early stages of grammar acquisition.

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Effects of D-linking on the real-time processing of Italian wh-questions: Evidence from self-paced listening

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Background.

In Italian, an asymmetry in *wh*-dependency resolution holds between questions with bare *wh*-items, like *chi* (*who*) (1) and those with complex, lexically-restricted *wh*-items, like *quale N* (*which N*) (2) with greater processing cost for the latter (De Vincenzi, 1991; Pagliarini et al., 2025):

> (1) Chi ha abbracciato il ragazzo?
>   Who has hugged the boy
> (2) Quale studente ha abbracciato il ragazzo?
>   Which student has hugged the boy

Such cost has been attributed cross-linguistically (i) to richer referential assumptions driven by D-linking (the property of complex *wh*-items requiring that the entities they quantify over belong to a contextually salient set; Pesetsky, 1987), or (ii) to a more pronounced set-restrictiveness of complex *wh*-items (Donkers et al., 2013). Stronger reliance on context, together with featural similarity between *which N* and the postverbal NP (e.g., *il ragazzo*, (1)-(2)), would burden dependency resolution regardless of *wh*-function, even concealing subject-object asymmetries commonly observed in filler-gap dependencies (De Vincenzi, 1991). However, this explanation is challenged by processing studies showing that filler integration costs are not significantly affected by its semantic richness (Gordon et al. 2004), and by intervention-based grammatical accounts postulating that only features triggering syntactic movement may modulate dependency resolution costs (Rizzi, 1990; Starke, 2001; Grillo, 2008; Villata et al., 2016).

Research question.

Previous works comparing *chi* and *quale N* do not provide a minimal pair to tease apart the two sets of accounts, since the *wh*-phrases they consider differ both in terms of D-linking and lexical restriction (De Vincenzi, 1991; Pagliarini et al., 2025). This study compares for the first time the online processing and offline comprehension of Italian *wh*-questions with lexically-restricted *wh*-items, *che N* (*what N*) and *quale N* (*which N*), which minimally differ in semantic richness, with only the latter being D-linked (Caponigro & Fălăuş, 2021; Chesi et al., 2023). The aim of the study was twofold: (i) to verify whether D-linking guides dependency resolution, above and beyond lexical restriction, with qualitative differences between D-linked/non-D-linked *wh*-, and (ii) to assess whether D-linking interacts with *wh*-function, modulating subject-object asymmetries.

Novel data.

A self-paced listening task was administered online to 60 monolingual speakers of Italian aged 22 to 40 (M=29.83, SD=4.68). Twenty-four sets of lexically-matched stimuli resulted by crossing *wh*-type (*che N* vs. *quale N*) and *wh*-function (subject vs.

object). All stimuli had reversible verbs, postverbal subjects and mismatching number on subject and object. Stimuli were divided into 7 segments 0; participants listened to these by pressing the space bar to progress from segment to segment:

[1]Peppa Pig   [2]vuole sapere … (*Peppa Pig wants to know …*)

a.	[3]Che elefante	[4]calcia	[5]i cavalli	[6]da dietro	[7]per dispetto?	[che N, subj.]
	What elephant	*kicks*	*the horses*	*from behind*	*out of spite*	
b.	[3]Che elefante	[4]calciano	[5]i cavalli	[6]da dietro	[7]per dispetto?	[che N, obj.]
	What elephant	*kick*	*the horses*	*from behind*	*out of spite*	
c.	[3]Quale elefante	[4]calcia	[5]i cavalli	[6]da dietro	[7]per dispetto?	[quale N, subj.]
	Which elephant	*kicks*	*the horses*	*from behind*	*out of spite*	
d.	[3]Quale elefante	[4]calciano	[5]i cavalli	[6]da dietro	[7]per dispetto?	[quale N, obj.]
	Which elephant	*kick*	*the horses*	*from behind*	*out of spite*	

All trials started with a lead-in audio and image presenting the characters involved in the event (Fig. 1a). At the end of each trial, two pictures appeared on the screen (Fig.1b-c) and participants had to choose the picture that answered the question. This allowed to assess offline comprehension. Residual listening times (LTs) for each critical segment were log-transformed and modelled through LMMs: *wh*-type significantly predicted residual LTs in segment 3 only ($p<.0001$), with *che N* slowing down LTs; on the other hand, a significant effect of *wh-* function was observed at segments 4 ($p=.006$) and 5 ($p=.0005$), with longer LTs for object *wh-* in both segments. No main effect of *wh*-type or function was detected in the spill-over segments (6-7). Offline accuracy was analysed through GLMMs: a significant effect of *wh*-function ($p<.0001$) was confirmed, with lower accuracy in object *wh*-questions, while no effect of *wh*-type emerged.

Discussion.
Our results indicate that a richer semantic representation significantly impacts residual LTs: *quale N* is processed faster than *che N* at the first segment (i.e. upon encountering the *wh-*), suggesting that *wh*-encoding may be supported by properties like D-linking and set-restrictiveness. However, this effect is transient and does not persist up to filler integration in later segments, suggesting that other cues, different from semantic richness, may impact dependency resolution more (*contra* Donkers et al., 2013). On the contrary, syntactic function of the moved *wh-* significantly influences offline comprehension, and it crucially modulates residual LTs at the verb and postverbal argument, i.e., critical regions for filler integration and dependency resolution. In this perspective, our study aligns with previous studies reporting a penalty for object *wh-* (vs. subject *wh-*) in *quale N* questions (Pagliarini et al., 2025), and extends it to *che N* questions, too. These findings buttress intervention-based accounts emphasizing the role of lexical restriction in determining locality effects

(Rizzi, 1990; Starke, 2001; Grillo, 2008; Villata et al., 2016). Follow-up studies (ongoing) will expand this paradigm to include languages that overtly mark only D-linked *wh*-objects via Differential Object Marking e.g., Romanian *pe care N* (ACC *which N*) vs *ce N* (*what N*), and to children, to assess the developmental effect of D-linking and its interaction with structural properties.
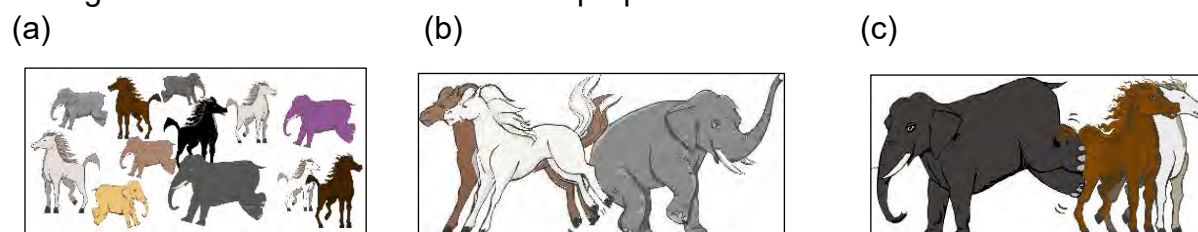
(a)　　　　　　　　　　(b)　　　　　　　　　　(c)

Fig. 1: Lead-in image (a) and the two pictures (b, c) used in the forced-choice comprehension question for the stimuli in (3).
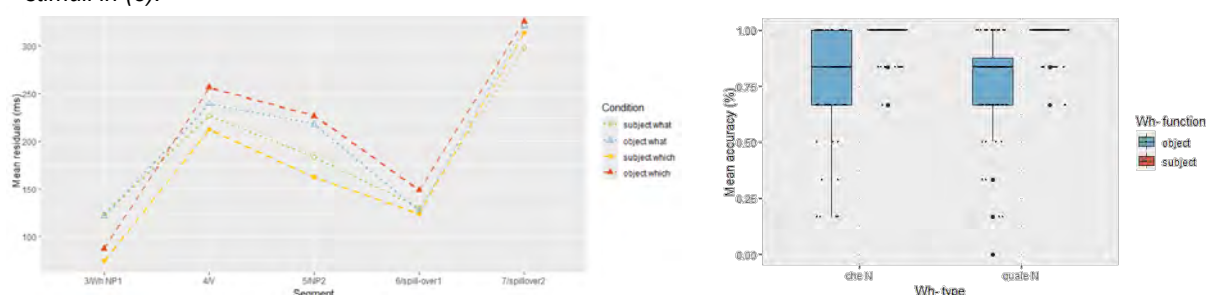

Fig. 2: Mean LTs by condition in the critical segments (3-7)

Fig. 1: Mean accuracy by condition in the forced-choice comprehension task.

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Contrastive *que* and *mas* root sentences in Portuguese and Spanish

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Goal

Several languages present sentences formally similar to coordinates and subordinates in non- coordinate and non-subordinate contexts, sometimes designated as incoordinate and insubordinate sentences. In this paper, we will confront contrastive *que* and *mas* root sentences in European Portuguese (EP, henceforth) (1a, 2a) and Spanish (1b, 2b) to set their discursive properties and their respective formal specificities.

(1) a. A: Eu não cozinho muito bem... B: *Mas* isto está ótimo! (Canceiro 2024: 17)
    b. A: Yo no cocino muy bien...   B: ¡*Pero* esto está buenísimo!
       I don't cook very well...   But this is great!
(2) a. Mary: Arruma os livros do teu irmão.
       Tidy up your brother's books.
   Peter: *Que* os arrume ele!
       That he tidies them up!
   b. [two friends are discussing their weight]
    A: he engordado   B: *que* yo no te veo más gorda.
               (cf. Gras & Sansineña 2015)
    I've gained weight   that I don't see you bigger/fatter.

Although these sentences present different syntactic properties, they convey a similar contrastive pragmatic/semantic value, i.e., their occurrence is legitimate as a reply contradicting a previous utterance.

Background

We will follow Evans' (2007: 367) definition of insubordination, which states that these root sentences headed by a complementizer (as (2)) correspond to the conventionalized use of formally subordinate clauses as main clauses and are characterized by the presence of properties typically associated with subordinate sentences (as (3)). Bearing in mind this definition, Kuteva *et al* (2017) propose that, similarly, we can have incoordinate sentences and provides examples as (4).

(3) If you could just sit here for a while, please.   (Evans, 2009: 1)
(4) But that is really interesting!   (Kuteva et al, 2017)

Both incoordinates and insubordinates can occur in EP and Spanish. However, regarding insubordinates, their occurrence in EP is much more restricted than in Spanish (Canceiro & Matos, *in press*), as below, in which the EP examples are ungrammatical despite occurring in a situational context (5) or as a reply to a linguistic fragment ((2b) *vs.* (6)).

(5) [Context: someone is trying to switch on the light]
   a. ¡Que está estropeada!   (Corr, 2018)
   b. **Que está estragada!*
    'That it is broken!'

(6) A: *Engordei*   B: **Que eu não te acho mais gorda.*

As shown above, although *que* root sentences seem similar, they present different properties. EP allows for insubordinates but they are much less independent than their counterparts in Spanish, as shown in (5), as well as (6), an attempt at translating (2b). The contrast of grammaticality of (2a) and (6) is partly due to pragmatic effects. In EP, these expressions must be related to the exclamative sentence type and express a strong disagreement. On the other hand, in Spanish they may be associated to a declarative sentence type and convey slight disagreement regarding the content of the previous discourse (2b).

Regarding incoordinates in Spanish, the data in *CORPES* (Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI) attests their occurrence:

(7) *Pero ¿no tenías que estar en el campo a las nueve, so gandul?*   (Naveros, 2001)
    'But weren't you supposed to be at the field by nine, you slacker?'

However, to our knowledge, there is not a systematic study of the properties of incoordinates in Spanish nor an investigation confronting the specificities of incoordination and insubordination in this language and EP. Thus, it is not possible to assess if incoordinates present the same properties in both languages.

The data

As shown in (1) and (2), both EP and Spanish have the possibility of expressing contrast through root sentences, be it with coordinative conjunctions or subordinative connectors. *Mas/Pero* root sentences in EP and Spanish (in (1)) present an identical behavior and could be analyzed as translations. According to the typology established in Canceiro (2024), in this investigation, we will consider Type I (A and B) incoordinates, which occur as replies to previous linguistic fragments (considering world knowledge, in (8), and common ground, in (9)).

(8) A: *Estudo português há 8 meses...*   B: *Mas falas tão bem!*
    'I've been studying Portuguese for 8 months...'   'But you speak so well!'

(9) A: *Vou pedir a mousse de chocolate.*   B: *Mas não és alérgica?!*
    'I'll order the chocolate mousse.'   'But aren't you allergic?!'

Regarding insubordinates expressing strong disagreement in EP, they seem to present restrictions regarding the addressee: the occurrence of *eu* (I) or *nós* (we) yields anomalous sentences as it is unnatural to include oneself in an utterance conveying an order. Insubordinates with *tu* (you) are also infelicitous, as seen in (10):

(10) a. A: *Come a sopa!*   B: ??/# *Que a comas tu!*   vs.   ok*Come tu!*
    'Eat the soup!'   'That you eat it!'   'You eat it!'

This shows that, on top of the requirement of conveying strong disagreement, these sentences must be an indirect disagreement reply, as they never constitute a direct answer to the person giving the order (11). This impossibility of using an insubordinate as a direct response explains the unacceptability of example (10) with *tu* and the acceptability of an imperative, which typically constitutes a direct speech act.

(11) A: *A mãe disse para comeres a sopa.*   B: *Que a coma ela!*
      'Mom said that you should eat the soup'   'That she eats it!'

The analysis

Although these constructions are formally akin to coordinates and subordinates, which correspond to different syntactic structures, we propose that they can be analyzed in similar configurations in both languages. We follow Cinque (2008), assuming that some discourses may be governed by equivalent conditions that establish the combination of constituents. Thus, we propose the structures in (12) and (13), which consider the necessity of these utterances being anchored to a previous discourse fragment, and, following Cinque, the presence of H to signal the blocking of any Sentence Grammar relation (for example, c-command). Bearing in mind the differences between (in)coordination and (in)subordination, we propose that (12) projects ConjP so that Conj hosts *mas*, which maintains its status as a coordinative conjunction; differently, in (13) the connector *que* is projected in ForceP (=CP). Furthermore, incoordinates occur as a reaction to an expectation that is projected in (12), and not in (13), as these insubordinates are indirect disagreement replies.

(12) [Context: discourse [CP[+decl] {*Eu não cozinho muito bem/ Yo no cocino muy bien*}] [HP = DiscP [H] [ConjP = CP [Expectation: the food is bad] [Conj' [Conj {*Mas/Pero*}] [CP[+excl] {*isto está ótimo!/esto está buenísimo!*}]]]]]

(13) [Context: discourse [CP[+decl] {*A mãe disse para comeres a sopa/ Mamá dijo que te comieras la sopa*}] [HP = DiscP [H] [ForceP = CP [Force' [Force^0 *Que*] [CP[+excl] {*a coma ela!/ se la coma ella!*}]]]]]

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Semantic Prosody and the Lexical Profiling of Romance Varieties: Insights from Portuguese

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This paper presents a corpus-based methodology aimed at uncovering the regional connotation of words in different varieties of the same Romance language, such as Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and European Portuguese (EP), which are here regarded as *pluricentric languages* –that is, languages "spoken in at least two countries where they have an official function and thus develop national varieties with specific linguistic and pragmatic features" (Schuppler et al. 2024: 1). Specifically, the adopted distributional methodology focuses on the "consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates," a concept termed *semantic prosody* by Louw (1993: 157) which can contribute to solving the "problems of equivalence of meaning and attitudinal approach" highlited by Silva (2014) in his comparison of nominal concepts for clothing in BP and EP.

Within the proposed approach, the semantic prosody of a word is a function of the connotation of its collocates. Connotation includes the non-designative semantic features of a lexical unit, specifically its affective (Ježek 2016: 43), evaluative, and sociolinguistic dimensions. The latter is examined using the three axes of variation identified by Coseriu (1969): the diatopic, diaphasic, and diastratic, each of which can be further segmented into more fine-grained dimensions. For instance, diastratic variation can reflect differences related to gender-specific usage, while diaphasic variation accounts for differences in the degree of speech preparation (e.g., spontaneous, semi-spontaneous, planned, Schuppler et al. 2024). In addition to these parameters, the connotation's positive or negative polarity is also identified to characterize the evaluative dimension of words.

By employing statistical association measures, such as Mutual Information (MI, see Church & Hanks 1990), the methodology enables the quantification of a word's connotative dimension by summing the association values of its collocates. The computational methodology will be discussed in detail in the proposed presentation.

To illustrate, we compare two Portuguese words—*saloio* and *caseiro*—that occur in similar contexts yet are not synonymous. The term *saloio* originally referred to the rural area north of Lisbon and is now used to describe individuals living in the outskirts of major urban centers, often with negative connotations related to their rural lifestyles. In contrast, *caseiro* denotes things that are "homemade," particularly food or traditional remedies, and typically carries a positive connotation.

These words warrant comparative analysis because, despite not being synonyms, they i) share a semantic overlap in specific domains (i.e., professions and food terms); ii) have different connotations, and iii) exhibit distinct geographic distributions, with *saloio* being deeply embedded in Lusitanian culture.

The proposed methodology brings into focus these and other aspects of semantic differentiation in *pluricentric languages*, represented through radar charts (or Kiviat diagrams), as shown in Figure 1.
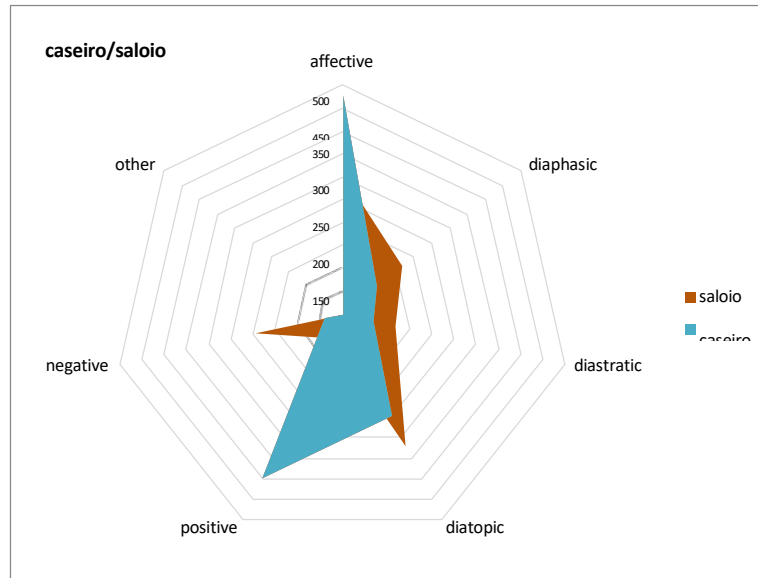
Figure 2: Comparison of the semantic prosody of *caseiro* and *saloio* in the two regional varieties (BP and EP)

These visualizations also offer potential applications in lexicography and language learning (Wilson 2021). For example, Figure 1 reveals the differing semantic prosody of *caseiro* and *saloio*: the former is positively connoted, with strong affective dimensions, while the latter exhibits negative connotations marked by diaphasic (register) and diatopic (regional) variation.

For regional differences, plots in Figure 2 highlight the geographic distribution of *saloio* (2.a), which is virtually absent in Brazilian Portuguese, and the connotative differences of *caseiro* in European and Brazilian Portuguese (2.b).
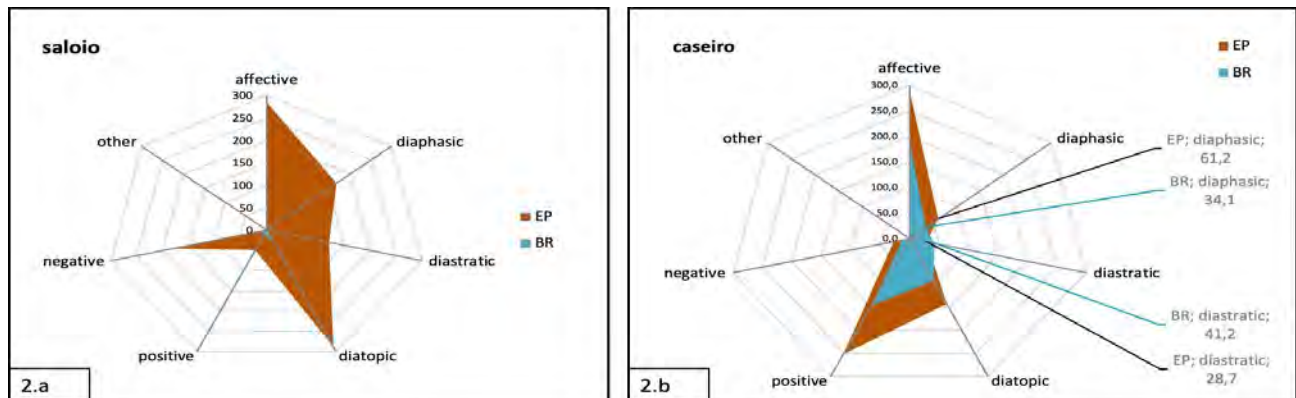

Figure 3: Semantic prosody of *caseiro* and *saloio* across regional varieties (BP and EP)

In particular, the stronger diaphasic connotation of *caseiro* in European Portuguese stems from collocates tied to specific domains, such as the medical field — e.g., technical terms like *Gonorreia* and *Clamídia* — as well as those of a popular register, such as *mezinha*, which is preferred over *remédio*. Additionally, a frequent collocate in European Portuguese is *desaire* (MI 13.5), used as a football term, as illustrated by the example: *Este foi o terceiro desaire caseiro do Feirense em sete jogos* (En.

This was Feirense's third home defeat in seven games).

This contribution will provide a detailed account of the corpus-based distributional methodology employed in these analyses, along with additional case studies. These include the word *propina*, which means "school fee" in Portugal but "bribe" in Brazil, to illustrate semasiological variation, and the words *rapariga* (EP) and *moça* (BP), which both mean "girl" or "young woman", to address onomasiological variation.

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Bilectal acquisition and the syntax-pragmatic interface

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This paper investigates the syntax-pragmatic interface in bilectalism, i.e. the type of bilingualism found in contact situations between a standard language and a non-standardized local minority language (henceforth, ML). The focus lies on the syntax of left and right peripheries related to topicality in two language-contact situations, Italian-Carnic Friulian (CF) and Italian-Fodom Ladin (FL), which differ in the make-up of either periphery. Whereas in Italian both peripheries can host given topics, and aboutness and shift topics are admitted only in the left periphery (Benincà 1988, Cruschina 2021), preliminary results indicate that the two MLs have a more restricted left periphery, not allowing all recursive topics/foci possible in Italian. We ask how the peripheries of the two languages in contact interact in bilectal children, an understudied line of research. While much research has focused on the acquisition of two major standardized languages, identifying interface phenomena as vulnerable domains (Sorace 2005, 2011; White 2011), little is known on bilectal acquisition (Kupisch/Klaschik 2017; Sanfelici/Roch 2021). We show that interface phenomena are also vulnerable in bilectal acquisition but, unlike standard L2 acquisition, the syntax-pragmatic strategies are transferred from the ML into Italian, despite Italian being the dominant language.

18 preschool children exposed to both Italian and Carnic-Friulian from birth and 17 exposed to both Italian and Fodom from birth (*Table 1*), plus 2 adults for each language-pair were tested with the Italian version of the "Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives" (Levorato/Roch 2020), translated into Carnic Friulian and Fodom. Information on the quantity of the child's production and input in both languages was collected through the Questionnaire for Parents of Bilingual Children (Italian: Dicataldo/Roch 2020). Each participant was tested first in the ML and then in Italian on both narrative telling and retelling.

Our findings revealed **(A)** substantial differences in production between Italian and MLs. All children properly understand both languages, but we found qualitative differences in their ML production: if a child produced some ML-syntactic structures (e.g., subject clitics), they also produced ML-elements at the phonological, morphological, and lexical levels but not *vice versa*. Positive, though not significant, correlations were detected between the quantity of input in the ML and the quality of ML-elements produced: children with more than 60% of ML-input produced ML-syntax. **(B)** pragmatic information was mapped onto specific syntactic positions, independently of the ML-input quantity.

A. Taking inflected predicates as our reference marker, in **preverbal position**:

(i) only one specifier is available in children's sentences, always hosting the grammatical subject DP, which was definite, agentive, and an Aboutness Topic, usually [+Shift]:

(1)   *Poi* [AT/ST *la mamma pecora*] *ha tirato fuori quell' agnellino e* [AT/ST *il lupo*] *è saltato per prendere la pecora ma dopo* [AT/ST *il piccolo*] *ha smesso di mangiare*

Then the mom sheep has taken out that lamb and the wolf is jumped to take the sheep but then the baby has stopped to eat.INF

'Then the mother sheep pulled the lamb out [from the lake] and the wolf jumped to chase the goat, but then the baby stopped eating.' (CF)

(ii) Conversely, both adults and one 6-year-old CF child also produced adverbials (ModP) preverbally, yielding the order Subject>AdvP>V.

(iii) Left dislocations were almost absent in children's and adults' productions.

B. In **postverbal position**, there are:

(i) no constraints on the number and syntactic quality of the constituents

(ii) at least 3 pragmatic positions (focus/contrastive information, continuity and given topics):

(2)   (Why is the fox sad?)
        perchè ha preso [ContrT *l' aquila*] [GT *col becco*] [GT *la coda*] (CF)
        because has taken   the eagle   with-the beak   the tail
        'Because the eagle grabbed the tail with the beak'

(3)   (Why is the crow angry?)
        perchè **le** *hanno prese* [GT **le capre**] [ContinT *le volpi*] (CF)
        because them.CL have3.PL taken the goats   the foxes
        'Because the foxes took the goats.'

(4)   (Why is the child sad?)
        perché ha mangiato [ContrT *il cane*] [GT *le sue salsicce*]. (FL)
        because has eaten   the dog   the his sausages
        'Because the dog ate his sausages.'

(iii) no aboutness topics in the right periphery.

(iv) Unambiguous right dislocations were produced by all children and subjects were right-dislocated when they were Continuity Topics:

(5)   [...] *e poi* **l'ha preso** [ContrT *il bambino*], [*il palloncino*]. (FL)
              and then it.CL hastaken   the child   the balloon
              'And then the child took it, the balloon.'

(v) Adults did not produce right dislocations but we detected movements to the vP periphery.

In conclusion, bilectal children overuse the right periphery to mark pragmatic information of focus and given/continuity topicality. The left periphery/preverbal position hosts only one specifier [+Shift/Aboutness-Topic] and undergoes a developmental change, leading to a more granular COMP domain. We suggest that bilectal children initially assume a strict isomorphism between semantics, syntax and pragmatics (Roeper 2018): preverbally, subjects are only agentive and Aboutness/Shift Topic DPs. This isomorphism is revised during acquisition: the [topic] feature is dissociated from [aboutness], eventually yielding to the presence of object DPs in preverbal position, when topical (6).

(6)   *il mio papà abbocciava i pessi che abbiamo preso,* [AT-OBJ **tre**] [SBJ *il gatto*]
        li ha mangiati..   (CF; age of the child: 5;10))
        the my dad fished the fish   that have.1PL taken   three   the cat
        them.CL   has   eaten

'My father fished and the cat ate three of the fish we caught '

Conversely, the postverbal periphery is more granular from early on. We propose that pragmatic information is mapped onto syntax in bilectal acquisition, obeying the syntactic possibilities of the ML, i.e., more positions in the right than in the left periphery, as it represents a subset of the positions allowed in Italian in accordance with the subset principle (Berwick 1985; Clark & Roberts 1993). Theoretically, our findings can contribute to the debate about the analysis of right dislocations, and their relation to left dislocations (e.g. Cecchetto 1999; Cardinaletti 2002; Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007; Giorgi 2015; Cruschina 2022).

Table 1. Participants' overview (only children) (SD months)

	Age 3	**Age 4**	**Age 5**	**Age 6**
Italian-Carnic	4 (2F) 3;3-3;9 (SD 3,1)	5 (2F) 4;0-4;8 (SD 3,8)	6 (4F) 5;1-5;9 (SD 3,8)	3 (1F) 6;2-6;3 (SD 0,6)
Italian-Fodom	4(2F) 3;2-3;10 (SD 3,6)	4 (3F) 4;2-4;10 (SD 3,7)	5 (4F) 5;2-5;10 (SD 2,9)	4 (4F) 6;2-6;5 (SD 1,5)

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Intervention in Romance cliticization: parameters of variation

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In this talk, we consider the distinct behaviour of locative clitics (*ci/y/hi*) in Italian, French and Catalan 'faire infinitive' causative constructions (Kayne 1975). We focus exclusively on argumental uses of these clitics where they replace a selected PP and show that, for principled reasons, argumental locative clitics display very different patterns in the three languages (and in varieties thereof). Data come from parallel surveys with translationally equivalent items. All surveys included 50% fillers and were presented in randomised order with an appropriate context via Google surveys and rated on a 5-point scale by 281 L1 Italian speakers, 208 L1 Catalan speakers and 94 L1 French speakers respectively.

  In Italian, we observe what we call a **'strong anti-Person Case Constraint (PCC) effect'** whereby locative clitics are incompatible with 3rd person causees (both pronouns and full DPs). Such examples contrast sharply with minimal pairs in which the locative is not cliticised (m=4.79, med=5), or where the causee is not 3rd person (3):

(1) The teacher is very disappointed by the behaviour of some students.…
 Ci= ha fatto riflettere **tutta la classe** dopo la lezione [m=1.92, med= 2]
 there= has made reflect all the class after the lesson
 (intended: "She made the whole class reflect on it after the lesson.")

(2) The teacher is very disappointed by Paolo's behaviour.…
 Ce= **l**=' ha fatto riflettere dopo la lezione. [m=1.43, med =1]
 there= him= has made reflect after the class
 (intended: "She made him reflect on it after class")

(3) The teacher told me that she is disappointed by my behaviour…
 Mi *ci* ha fatto riflettere dopo la lezione. [m=4.07, med=5]
 me=there= has made reflect after the class
 'She made me reflect on it after class.'

The near perfect acceptability of (3) shows that the problem in (1) and (2) must be the **person** of the causee. We call this an **anti-PCC effect** because, in causative contexts, the PCC arises only where accusative arguments are 1st/2nd person, whereas our effect, with locative clitics holds only with 3rd person causees.

  The patterns in Catalan and French are different. Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980) claim that French displays a different pattern whereby cliticization of an argumental locative is only permitted if the causee also undergoes cliticization (with transitive/unergative verbs, but not unaccusatives). In our survey, only a small number of speakers displayed this pattern; more shared the more restrictive Italian pattern; but the majority showed no restriction on the cliticization of argumental locatives. This is reflected by the differences in mean acceptability of (4)-(5), even though they share a median rating of 5 (reflecting the majority grammar):

(4)   Paul has received a teaching excellence reward…
        le   syndicat   l='   y=   a   fait   renoncer.   [m=4.28, med=5]
        the   union   him=   there=has made   turn.down
        'The union made him turn it down.'

(5)   What happened about the teaching excellence reward?
        %Le   syndicat   y=   a   fait   renoncer   **le récipiendaire**.
                                                                              [m=3.78, med=5]
        the   union   there=   has made   turn.down   the   recipient
        'The union made the recipient turn it down.'

Parallel examples patterned the same, suggesting that for most French speakers, there is no intervention for locative cliticization.

Catalan shows a **more complex picture** possibly because of additional complications: (i) *l'hi* sounds identical to dative clitic *li* and this appears to interfere with judgments; (ii) *hi*-cliticisation of argumental PPs has been weakening over the past 50 years. There is therefore a penalty associated with cliticising the locative argument in both (6) and (7), though this is much greater in (7), where the causee is not cliticised. It seems, then, that at least some Catalan speakers show the pattern reported by Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980) for French:

(6)   Pere has received a teaching excellence reward…
        %el   sindicat **l='** *hi*=   ha   fet   renunciar.   [m=3.45, med=4]
        the   union him=   there=has   made turn.down
        'The union made him turn it down.'

(7)   Do you know the news about the teaching award?
        %El   sindicat *hi*=   ha   fet   renunciar **el Pere**,   un dels guanyadors.
        the   union   there=has made turn.down the Pere one of.the recipients
        'The union made Pere, one of the recipients, turn it down.'   [m=2.43, med=2]

That this is the case is reinforced by the fact that parallel examples with a 1st person causee were fully acceptable for all speakers: *M'hi ha fet reflexionar/renunciar* (m=4.11, med=5; m=4.65, med=5 respectively).

We therefore find **two distinct 'anti-PCC effects'** in the faire infinitive: (a) an absolute effect: no argumental locative clitics with 3rd person causees (Italian, some French and Catalan speakers); (b) a relative effect: no argumental locative clitics with full DP causees (some French and Catalan speakers). Both (a) and (b) are reminiscent of the PCC and other intervention effects which are sensitive to person and/or the clitic/DP distinction across Romance languages (see Bonet 1991, Bianchi 2006, Postal 1989, Sheehan 2020 on the PCC; Rizzi 1986, on intervention in raising). We develop a feature-based analysis of the two patterns with implications for how we view the PCC.

Our proposal is that locative clitics have a 3rd person feature. There is evidence for this from the fact that they can be interpreted as 3rd person indirect objects, particularly in PCC contexts where they surface as a repair (Rezac 2008) but also in regional varieties of the three languages, and related dialects. Assuming

that locatives have this feature and that 3rd person DPs also have a 3rd person feature, the effects in (a) and (b) arise as simple intervention effects again where a single probe agrees with two goals: a 3rd person accusative causee and a locative clitic (assuming Agree is involved in cliticization – Roberts 2010). The difference between Italian and the other two languages arises because of a difference in basic word order and structure in causatives. In Italian, PP complements most naturally follow the causee, whereas in French and Catalan both orders are possible, leading to an alternation between dative and accusative case (Burzio 1986, Villalba 1992, Pineda & Sheehan 2022). We propose that, in French/Catalan the locative is smuggled past the causee inside VP and so both arguments are visible to a single probe, mitigating the anti-PCC effect.

Finally, some French and Catalan speakers allow the locative clitic only in combination with a cliticised causee. This pattern is reminiscent of what we find, in some Romance varieties, with raising predicates like *seem* (see Rizzi 1986, Cuervo 2003). We predict that these speakers would prefer the Italian word order causee > PP, so that the causee is higher in the structure than the locative argument. The locative clitic can move out of the infinitival clause only if the causee also does.

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Clitics in Contact: Evidence from Young Italian Heritage Speakers in Barcelona

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Italian clitic pronouns have been the focus of extensive research in monolingual and bilingual acquisition (Guasti, 1993/1994; Varlokosta et al., 2016) However, most studies have focused on direct object clitics -accusative forms- (Belletti, 2008; Caprin & Guasti, 2009), and significantly less research has been devoted to the indirect object -dative forms-, with some exceptions (Cardinaletti et al., 2021; Gavarró & Mosella, 2009; Gavarró, 2020), and even less research is available on these clitics in a bilingual or trilingual situation. The present study contributes to our understanding of the acquisition and development of direct and indirect object clitics in the Italian of children born and raised in Barcelona, Spain. These children are schooled in Catalan and socially surrounded by Spanish, two Romance languages that share some important features with Italian but also diverge in consistent ways.

Italian direct and indirect singular clitic pronouns obligatorily mark gender in their forms, whereas Spanish and Catalan grammaticalize gender only in accusative clitics, but not in their dative forms (see Table 1 and Table 2 for crosslinguistic comparisons).

Table 1. Cross-linguistic comparison between Italian, Spanish, and Catalan Direct Object Clitics

	Gender	Italian	Spanish	Catalan
Accusative	Masculine	lo (*Lo* vedo)	lo (*Lo* veo)	el/l' (*El* veig)
	Feminine	la (*La* mangio)	la (*La* como)	la/l' (*La* menjo)

Table 2. Cross-linguistic comparison between Italian, Spanish, and Catalan Indirect Object Clitics

	Gender	Italian	Spanish	Catalan
Dative	Masculine	gli (*Gli* dico a lui)	le (*Le* digo a él)	li (*Li* dic a ell)
	Feminine	le (*Le* racconto a lei)	le (*Le* cuento a ella)	li (*Li* explico a ella)

Heritage speakers—often exposed to reduced linguistic input and subject to crosslinguistic influence in bi- or trilingual contexts—may follow different acquisition trajectories compared to children raised with Italian as a societal language. In this study, we question whether transfer from the dominant or co-existing languages may play a role in acquiring or developing gendered forms, potentially leading to divergences from the patterns observed in dominant speakers.

Participants included Italian-speaking children born and raised in Barcelona (HSs, Ages 3;8- 10;3, N=20) and compared their results to age-matched Italian-speaking children born and raised in the Venice area ('control' speakers). The present study employed an oral production task eliciting clitic pronouns, in which children saw a three-picture sequence with two ungendered characters. These characters plan an action together in the first picture, but one of them decides to do the opposite action in the second picture. In the third image, the child need to complete the sentence with the target clitic (see Figure 1).

The data produced by the children was coded according to its morphosyntactic structure (target clitic, omission, full DP, substitution, etc). The results of the elicitation task revealed comparable patterns between HSs and their age-matched peers raised in Northern Italy with respect to accusative clitics, but significant differences emerged

in the dative forms. On the one hand, the baseline group omitted the dative clitics more frequently than the accusative ones, with a clear asymmetry in acquisition timeframes between the two types of clitics; on the other hand, the heritage speakers hardly used any feminine dative clitic, omitting this clitic instead of overusing the masculine dative one. This seems to suggest that HS may resort to simplification instead of crosslinguistic influence in cases of morphosyntactic complexity and reduced input in a trilingual context.

Figure 1. Stimulus from elicited production task

Q: *Oli e Flo pensano di comprare il libro*
 'Oli and Flo plan to buy the book'

Q: *Oli non compra il libro ma Flo sì…*
 'Oli does not buy the book, but Flo…'

Target: Lo   compra.
CL.ACC.M.3SG.   buy.3SG.PRES.IND
'…buys it.'

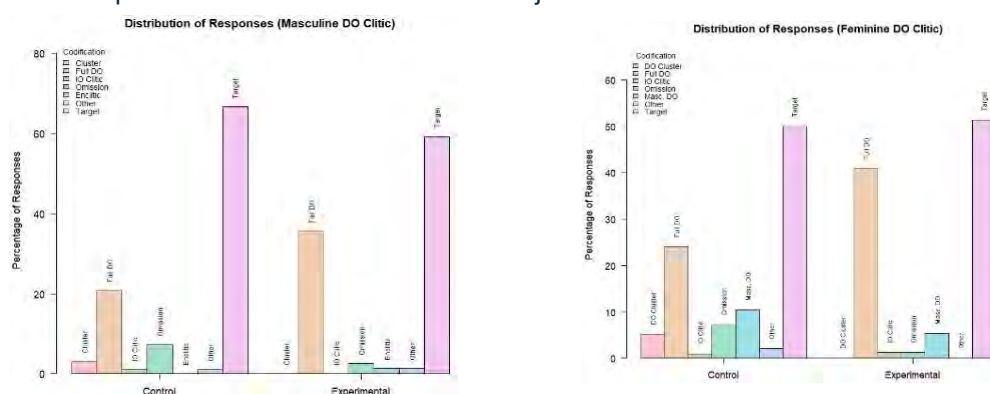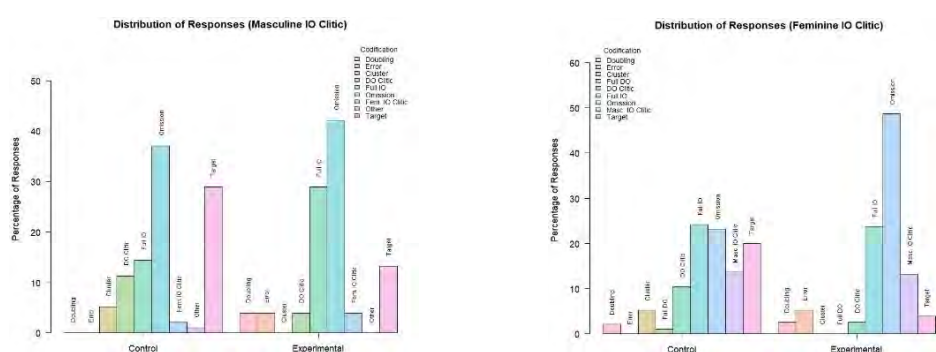*Figure 2.* Elicited production task results for Direct Object clitics

Figure 3. Elicited production task results for Indirect Object clitics

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Another polarity item? On the use of *altro* as a negative fragment answer in Regional Italian

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In this paper I examine the use of *altro*, 'other/else/more' as a negative fragment answer in Tuscan (Binazzi 2024) and in several regional varieties of Italian (e.g., Romagnol, Bolognese, etc.). Consider (1), an exchange in which a grocer probes a customer for further requests after a previous serving:

(1)   A: Poi?
             then
             'What else?'
        B: Altro, grazie.
             other/else thanks
             'Nothing else, thank you.'

In B's hyponegative (Horn 2009) response, *altro* is interpreted as meaning 'nothing else' despite the absence of an overt negator in the answer (or in the question). I propose that the phenomenon in (1) originates from the occurrence of *altro* in polarity contexts (i.e., non- and especially anti-veridical, Giannakidou 1998, or 'affective' contexts, Klima 1964) which triggers exhaustification of its alternatives. Moreover, I argue that the negative interpretation of fragmentary *altro* is favoured by an ignorance implicature: since non-exhaustified *altro* is an uninformative answer, the fragment is interpreted as exhaustified by a covert, inferred negation. This supports the claim that pragmatic inferences can license negative fragment ellipsis even with elements which are not formally negative. § Cinque (2015) argues that *altro* may occupy two positions in the extended nominal projection, based on its interpretation: a higher one for a M(ore)-interpretation, expressing scalar increment (2a), and a lower one for a D(ifference)-interpretation, associated with difference in kind (2b):

(2) a. Dammi {altri} due {*altri} minuti.
           give-me other two other minutes
           'Give me two more minutes.'
     b. Diventeranno {*altri} due {altri} individui.
           become.FUT.3PL other two   other people
           'They will become two different people.'

Yet, Del Prete & Montermini (t.a.) note that D- and M-interpretations are often entangled, cf. (3):

(3) a. Ho già un setter, e ora vorrei un altro animale da compagnia.
           I.have already a setter and now want.cond.1sg another pet
           'I already have a setter, and now I would like to have another pet.'
     b. Questa non è la mia carta fortunata, posso sceglier-ne un'altra?
           this neg is the my card lucky   can.1sg choose-part another
           'This is not my lucky card, can I pick another one?'

The authors note that Cinque's (2015) and Kayne's (2021) distinction between differential and incremental interpretations and Gianollo & Mauri's (2020) proposal that contrastive and additive discourse contexts influence the reading of *altro* represent orthogonal conditions, since additive contexts are possible with qualitatively different objects (3a), while contrastive contexts also allow incremental readings (3b). For this reason, Del Prete & Montermini (t.a.) propose that the

semantic core of *altro* is a non-identity relation (≠), and that discourse context determines whether this relation is evaluated at (subtype) token-level or at type-level. They argue that under a first reading *altro* presupposes a discourse antecedent *x*, refers to another discourse entity *y* with the same noun denotation (*N*) and asserts that $x ≠ y$. Under a second reading, *altro* takes a noun denotation N^1, a backgrounded type N^2 (a subtype of N^1), and another subtype of N^1, N^3, such that $N^3 ≠ N^2$:

(4) ⟦ altro ⟧ = $\lambda N_{<e,t>}. \lambda x_e: N(x). \lambda y_e. y ≠ x \wedge N(y)$

(5) ⟦ altro ⟧ = $\lambda N^1_{<e,t>}. \lambda N^2_{<e,t>}: N^2 ≤_T N^1 . \lambda N^3_{<e,t>}. N^3 ≠ N^2 \wedge N^3 ≤_T N^1$

While M-interpretations are only possible in additive contexts and D-interpretations are favoured by contrastive ones, *altro* is essentially underspecified for either reading. The authors note that this analysis forces them to take *altro* to denote two distinct functions and to give them different semantic types (respectively <et, <e,et>> and <et, <et, <et,t>>>), and propose that a possible way to unify the two readings is to treat token-level individuals as "maximally specific types at the bottom of the type hierarchy". Regardless of these concerns of their analysis, in what follows I will assume that non-identity is the core meaning of *altro*. § The aforementioned underspecification is preserved if *altro* is bare, i.e., unmodified by an element favouring one interpretation; more generally, in non-veridical contexts the D- and M-interpretation tends to remain unresolved (6–7):

(6) Hai   visto altro?
    have.2SG seen   other
    'Did you see anything else?'

(7) Non ho   visto altro.
    NEG have.1SG seen   other
    'I saw nothing else.'

To see this, consider the following scenario. A birdwatcher who has just reported seeing three kestrels and who then utters the positive *Ho visto altro* may not felicitously continue with #*Due gheppi*, 'two kestrels'. This is because, assuming a single seeing event, by the Maxim of Quantity it is uncooperative to break down the number of kestrels instead of just saying that one saw five overall. Instead, (6) may well be used to ask if the birdwatcher saw more birds or more kestrels—or the same kestrels. Yet, a question is not an ideal context, because it can easily refer to separate seeing events, and because under a single event reading it assumes a cooperative interlocutor, excluding *a priori* the 3+2 kestrel scenario and thus favouring the D-interpretation. Negation instead strongly favours, if not forces, underspecified *altro*. As it stands, (7) cannot "select" one of the two readings: one can hardly continue (7) with #*ma ho visto due {gheppi/astori}*, 'but I did see two {kestrels/goshawks}' to favour respectively the D- or M-interpretation of (7). In anti-veridical contexts, *altro* tends to be interpreted exhaustively, excluding that any variation in (sub)type or token may verify the proposition, thus limiting the validity of the predication to the presupposition of *altro*. In positive assertions with bare *altro* it is asserted that some *y* non-identical (in whatever way) to the backgrounded *x* verifies *p*, while under negation, the effect is that there is no *y* non-identical (in any way) to *x* which verifies *p* (while the presupposition is obviously preserved under negation). This exceptive-like effect is reminiscent of Chierchia's (2013) exhaustification condition on polarity items, as it derives the reading that no stronger alternative to the presuppositional *x* verifies *p*. § Yet, this reasoning *per se* is not sufficient to derive the negativity in isolation of *altro*. Mere polarity sensitivity is

usually not considered enough to license negative fragment answers. But *altro* is not a (non-strict) Negative Concord item either, as it cannot express negation on its own preverbally:

(8) *Altro è successo.
      else is happened
      (Intended: 'Nothing else happened.')

(9) {Altro}, non è successo {altro}.
      else   NEG is happened else
      'Nothing else happened.'

I conjecture that *altro* derives its negative interpretation in isolation by means of an implicature. Since fragment *altro* potentially allows for the non-exhaustive interpretation, there must be a way to exclude that in (1) *altro* means 'something more/else' instead of 'no(thing) more/else'. I argue that what excludes the additive interpretation is the following pragmatic inference: since in (1) A's question is information-seeking and B is the 'seat of knowledge' for the corresponding answer, B is expected to give the most complete and exhaustive answer by the cooperative principle. To say that one wants something else without saying what is uncooperative, as it is assumed to be impossible for someone to want something without knowing what it is (at least in a simple groceries-procuring scenario). This leads the interlocutor to infer the presence of a covert negation which exhaustifies the alternatives of *altro* under whatever ellipsis process derives fragments, even bypassing Merchant's (2004) identity condition on (fragment) ellipsis, cf. (1). This analysis thus adds to the growing literature suggesting that polarity-sensitive but non-negative items *can* be negative in isolation if the global syntactic and pragmatic context, under proper constraints, permits to infer the presence of a negative licensor (Giannakidou 2006, Rudnev 2024, McCloskey 2025).

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The 'evanescent /l/' in central Venetan: a preliminary articulatory study

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Introduction.

The so-called *elle evanescente* ('evanescent /l/') is an allophonic weakening process attested in several Venetan varieties spoken in northeast Italy, including Venetian (spoken in Venice), where it is thought to have originated, and in much of central Veneto. In this phenomenon, /l/ in syllable-onset position weakens to a front vocoid between non-front vowels (e.g., /ˈbala/ > [ˈbae̯a] 'ball') and deletes when adjacent to a front vowel (e.g., /ˈbɛla/ > [ˈbɛa] 'beautiful, f sg'). In Venetian, a weakened variant is also attested word-initially (e.g., /ˈlate/ > [ˈe̯ate] 'milk'; Ferguson 2007).

Previous accounts of this process have been mostly impressionistic and typologically unframed. Proposed realisations range from a "relaxed" segment with a central tongue groove and lateral contact with the upper teeth (Lepschy 1962), to a pre-velar approximant (Canepari 1976), a high-mid front vocoid [e̯] (Tomasin 2010), or a "fleeting" [e]-like segment with tongue-tip raising (Mafera & Roman 2006). The only available acoustic study (Pecoraro 2022) supports the [e̯] hypothesis but no articulatory data have been presented to date.

Typologically, this pattern is noteworthy for two reasons. First, /l/-vocalisation, active in Romance, typically occurs in *coda* position following an intermediate stage of velarisation (as in Brazilian Portuguese *Brasil* [ˈbraziu̯]); by contrast, onset vocalisation—especially word-initially—is rare in Romance (Recasens 1996). Second, while /l/-vocalisation favours back glides cross-linguistically, the Venetan outcome is a front vocoid.

Methods.
We present the first articulatory study of this phenomenon using electromagnetic articulography (EMA). Two male speakers of central Venetan (ages 24 and 36), from neighbouring villages – Loria (Treviso) and Cassola (Vicenza) – were recorded producing disyllabic paroxytones with /l/, /n/, and /j/ in intervocalic and word-initial positions. /n/ and /j/ served as articulatory comparators. Five sensors were used to track tongue tip (TT), body (TB), dorsum, and lateral edges; head movement was corrected offline.

Results.
EMA data indicate that (a) word-initial /l/ is realised as a full lateral [l]; (b) intervocalic /l/ flanked by at least one front vowel is deleted; and (c) when occurring between non-front vowels, /l/ surfaces as a front vocoid lacking both apical and lateral articulatory targets. Figure 1 illustrates reduced tongue body (TB) raising for /l/ compared to /j/ (left panels; see also Figure 2) and the absence of a tongue tip (TT) gesture for /l/ relative to /n/ (right panels). Interestingly, the weakened output is not

[j] as alternatively predicted by Recasens (2002) in cases of /l/ vocalisation, or [e̝] as previously proposed. Instead, it is [ɛ] or [ə], depending on flanking vowel backness, as also reflected in acoustic formant patterns (cf. Figure 3). Based on our results we propose the following vowel-sensitive allophonic rule:

$$
/l/ \rightarrow
\begin{cases}
[l] \ / & \begin{cases} \#\underline{\quad} \\ \underline{\quad}C^{(*)} \end{cases} \\[1em]
[\varepsilon] \ / & \begin{cases} V_{[-front,\,-back]}\ \underline{\quad}V_{[-front]} \\ V_{[-front]}\ \underline{\quad}\ V_{[-front,\,-back]} \end{cases} \\[1em]
[\partial] \ / & \quad V_{[+back]}\ \underline{\quad}V_{[+back]} \\[1.5em]
[\emptyset] \ / & \begin{cases} V_{[+front]}\ \underline{\quad}\ V \\ V\ \underline{\quad}\ V_{[+front]} \end{cases}
\end{cases}
$$

(*) The rule for the ___C environment was proposed by, e.g., Belloni (1999) and is not tested in the present study.

Discussion.

The findings refine our understanding of /l/ lenition. EMA shows that graded attenuation of the tongue-tip (apical) gesture maps onto categorical outcomes (full [l], front vocoid, deletion), consistent with Articulatory Phonology's prediction that gradient articulatory reduction yields structured alternants (Browman & Goldstein 1992). The alternants also support models where feature realisation is context-sensitive and phonetically grounded, as in underspecification (Archangeli 1988) and the phonologisation of coarticulatory patterns (Pierrehumbert 2001). Distributionally, the pattern aligns with representational frameworks distinguishing strong from weak onsets (Strict CV, Coda Mirror; e.g. Scheer & Ziková 2010): word-initial onsets (ungoverned/strong) preserve full [l], while intervocalic onsets (governed/weak) undergo reduction or deletion. In Element Theory, this process corresponds to the loss of |A|, which encodes the consonantal "colour" of /l/, while |I|, linked to "frontness", remains (cf. Polgárdi 2020). The survival of |I| accounts for the fronted vocoid outcomes ([ɛ]/[e̝]) observed in non-front contexts, while in front-vowel environments |I| is redundant and deletion occurs. Together, the data illustrate a structurally conditioned, element-based pathway from articulatory reduction to phonologised onset lenition in Venetan /l/, contributing to a broader typology of lateral vocalisation.
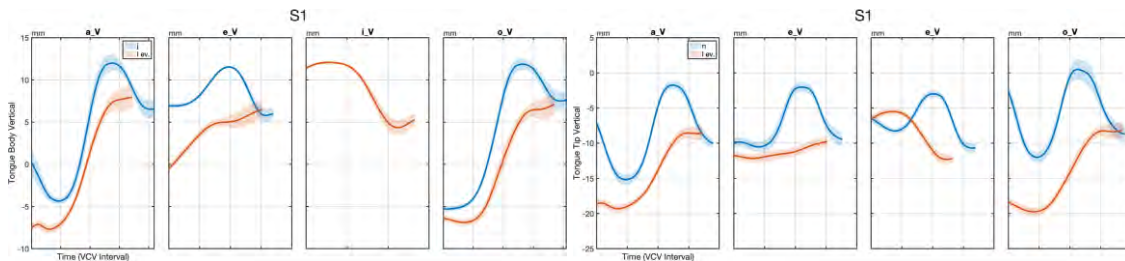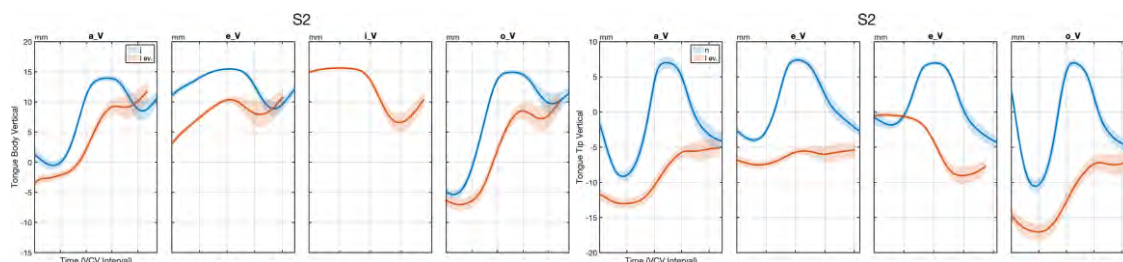
Figure1. Mean TB trajectories (left) for /VlV/ (red) and /VjV/ (blue) and TT trajectories (right) for /VlV/ (red) and /VnV/ (blue) by speaker.
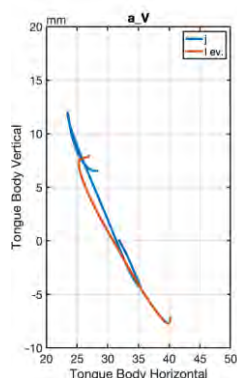

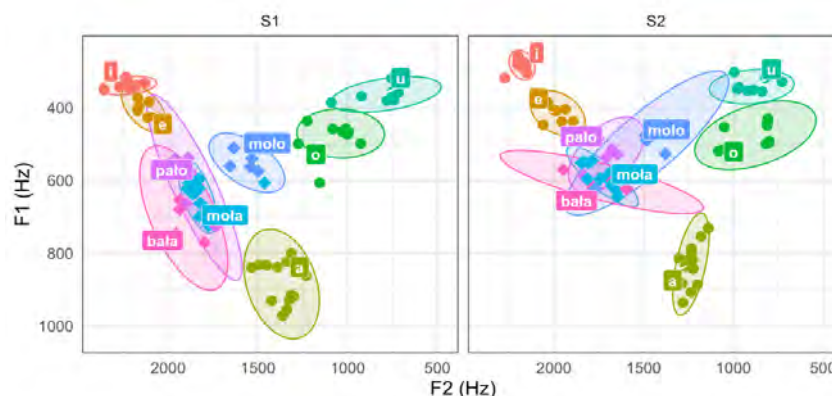Figure 2. 2-D TB trajectories of /j/ and /l/ from S1 (left = front)

Figure 3. Acoustic vowel space (F1-F2) for /i e a o u/ including non-deleted intervocalic /l/ realisations (at peak F2 value) by speaker.

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A protocollar approach for the variation in the marking of parasitic mirative markers in Italo-Romance

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Mirative strategies (MSs) either express the unprepared mind of the speaker towards the events narrated (DeLancey 1997) or tell the addressee that what is being narrated can be surprising to them. In Italo-Romance they can be realized via a number of linguistic means, such as lexical material revolving around the concept of 'surprise' (such as the verb *sorprendere* 'surprise', the adjective *sorprendente* 'surprising', the noun *sorpresa* 'surprise' as in *è una vera sorpresa che* lit.: 'it is a real surprise that'). When MSs are not realized via dedicated sources but are instead structures already used for other reasons, they can be labelled as 'parasitic' (Peterson 2017: 317–318). Beside the exploitation of prosodic means such as exclamatory intonation, other parasitic MSs can be identified, such as syntactic movement (e.g. Mirative Fronting; Cruschina 2012). Those we are concerned with in this study are listed in (1), preceded by the following reference context: *I was sitting on a bench in Central Park, when two guys that looked alike and were dressed alike hugged each other right in front of me and they started talking friendly. One was blonde and the other was dark-haired. After some minutes, something happens. The blonde…*

(1) a. A 1SG/2SG Mirative Dative (Ethical and Conversational Dative in Masini 2012);
       … mi/ti   dà   uno   schiaffo al   moro!
         to-me/you give.PRS.3SG a   slap   to-the dark-haired
    b. A pseudo-expletive negation triggering an interrogative intonation (or SNegS; Greco 2020);
       … non dà   uno schiaffo al   moro?!
         NEG give.PRS.3SG a   slap   to-the dark-haired
    c. A periphrasis featuring functional GO and a lexical V2 in a monoclausal construction, either as an Infinitival Construction (or InfCo)
       … va   a dare   uno schiaffo al   moro!
         go.PRS.3SG   to give.INF a   slap   to-the dark-haired
    c'. or as a Pseudo-Coordination (or PseCo) (cf. Giusti et al. 2022);
       … va   e dà   uno schiaffo al   moro!
         go.PRS.3SG   and give.PRS.3SG a slap   to-the dark-haired
    d. A periphrasis featuring functional TAKE and a lexical V2 in a PseCo (TAKE InfCo being only attested with inchoative semantics).
       … prende   e dà   uno schiaffo al   moro!
         take.PRS.3SG and give.PRS.3SG a slap   to-the dark-haired

All the examples in (1) can be roughly translated as 'The blonde up and hit the dark-haired!'. Note that the MSs in (1) can be stacked without producing any redundancy, as in (2):

(2) … non mi va a dare uno schiaffo al moro?!
　　　NEG to-me go.PRS.3SG to give.INF a slap to-the dark-haired

The same MSs can be found, to different degrees, in other Italo-Romance varieties. However, not all of them seem to display the same range found in Italian. This leads to a question about the extent of variation in the availability of such strategies in spoken Italo-Romance. Thus, **the aim of our study** is twofold: (i) to assess the presence of varieties where none/all of the MS in (1) is/are used, and (ii) to assess the existence of a clear tendency of diatopic variation. We focus on the availability of the single mirative markers without considering their combinations.

In order to make the data more straightforward, we propose a linguistic protocol (Giusti 2011) for the MSs in (1) in spoken Italo-Romance. The protocol considers Italian and the varieties spoken in Lugagnano Val d'Arda (Emilia-Romagna), Castegnero (Veneto), Rosciano (Abruzzo), San Marco in Lamis (Apulia), Canna (Calabria) and Delia (Sicily). The '+/-' sign in the Delia column indicates that the SNegS is generally used in combination with mirative GO. The other '+/-' signs mean that the MS is available only with a [+intentional] lexical verb. The '?' sign in the rightmost column indicates that there might be a variety in which none of the MS in (1) is available. The case of TAKE PseCo is particularly interesting, since its degree of grammaticalization can vary from a variety to another, with Deliano allowing for disjoint TAM features between TAKE and the V2, as in (3).

(3) … piglia e cci detti nna gargiata
　　　TAKE.PRS.3SG and to-him give.PST.3SG a slap
　　　a chiddru ccu li capiddri nìuri!
　　　to that with the hair black
　　　'(The blonde) up and hit the dark-haired!'

	It.	Lugagnano	Castegnero	Rosciano	Delia	Canna	S. Marco	?
Dat. *mi*	+	+	+/-	-	-	-	-	-
Dat. *ti*	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
SNegS	+	+	+	+	**+/-**	+	-	-
InfCo GO	+	+	+/-	-	+	+	-	-
TAKE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PseCo GO	+	+	+/-	-	+	-	-	-
TAKE	+	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+	-

Table 1: A protocol for the variation in the mirative marking system in Italo-Romance.

The protocol in Table 1 reveals a tendency for diatopic variation along the north-south axis. The northern varieties (Lugagnano and Castegnero) appear to be richer in mirative strategies if compared with the upper-southern variety of Rosciano and the southern varieties of S. Marco in Lamis, Canna, and Delia. Moreover, TAKE PseCo seems to be a pan-Italo-Romance strategy, followed by SNegS and the GO

InfCo which are almost as widespread. The use of mirative datives *mi* and *ti* instead seems to be productive only in Northern Italy.

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French perception verbs are not equal

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Puzzle.

The goal of this study is to understand a puzzling contrast observed in French for two types of perception verbs, namely *see* and *hear*. The novel observation is that *hear* seems to be able to embed bare infinitives whereas *see* cannot, as illustrated in (1).

> (1) a. J'ai entendu ronfler. ≈ "I heard snoring."
>   b. *J'ai vu marcher. ≈ "I saw walking"
>   c. J'ai vu Nicolas marcher. ≈ "I saw Nicolas walking."

The contrasts presented in (1) are theoretically puzzling. If (1a) means that the speaker heard any random person snoring, with the PRO_{arb} present in the syntactic structure as argued in Casalicchio (2016) for Romance, it is surprising why it cannot be present in (1b), with the perception verb *see*, given that *see* allows for small clause embedding with overt subjects as shown in (1c). The current literature on perception verbs and their syntactic structure do not help solving this puzzle either, because they are taken to be a uniform class of verbs with common syntactic properties (Casalicchio 2016; Sheehan and Cyrino 2016, 2024 about English, a.o). They can embed different types of clauses, e.g., infinitive/ECM clauses, and finite complement clauses like *see* or *hear* all minimally attaching to VoiceP (Sheehan and Cyrino 2016, 2024 about English, a.o).

Theoretical assumptions.

Our analysis will benefit from certain assumptions regarding the representation of argument structure of verbs in syntax. In particular, following Perlmutter (1978), we propose that the sole argument of an unaccusative verb combines directly with the root with a verbalizer on top, as in (2). For unergative intransitives, following work after Kratzer (1996), we propose that the sole argument of an unergative predicate is projected in [Spec, v], as in (3). Finally, the structure of a transitive is the same as an unergative except for the additional presence of the theme argument combining with the root (4).
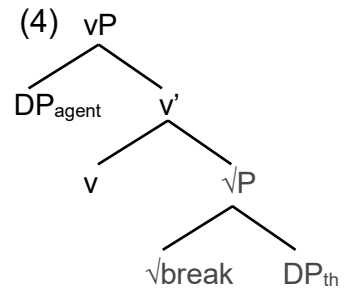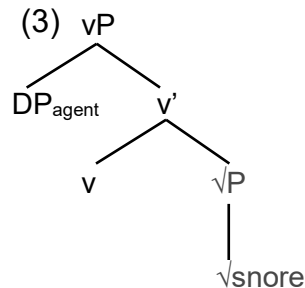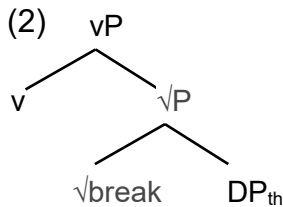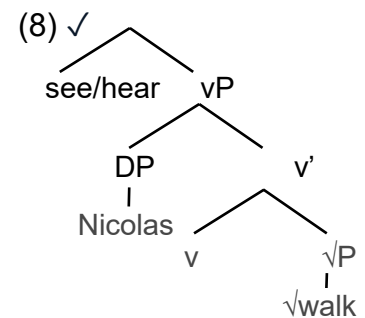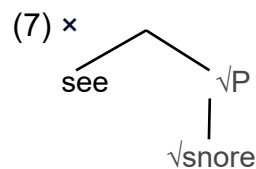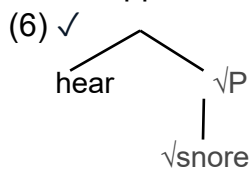

Proposal.

We propose that the minimal attachment sites of these predicates in French are not uniform (see also Sheehan and Cyrino 2024 about Brazilian Portuguese *ver*). In particular, *hear* minimally attaches at √P (6) whereas *see* minimally attaches at vP. Notice that in our proposal, the structures without an overt subject also lack syntactic

subjects such as PRO_{arb}, but the grammaticality restrictions of a given embedding results from what type of syntactic structure is embedded as well as the selectional restrictions of the embedding verb. This immediately accounts for the contrast between (1a) and (1b). *ronfler* and *marcher* are unergative predicates with the structure in (3). If *see* in French attaches at the vP, the embedded unergative predicate must have already combined with its DP argument, hence the ungrammaticality of (1b). In contrast, if *hear* attaches at the √P level as in (6), then the unergative agent need not be present in the structure, hence the possibility of (1a). Our proposal predicts that embedding unaccusative predicates should be possible both with *see* and *hear* on the condition that the theme argument is present. This prediction is borne out as shown in (5a)-(5b). Similarly, full transitive embedding must also be possible given that *see* minimally attaches at the vP and hear √P (8). This is also borne out, (5c).

(5) a. *Jean a entendu/vu tomber. 'John heard/saw falling.'
    b. Jean a entendu/vu le vase tomber/Jean a entendu/vu tomber le vase 'John heard/saw the vase breaking.'
    c. Jean a entendu/vu le chat manger une pomme. 'John heard/saw the cat eat an apple.'

(6) ✓

hear   √P
        |
       √snore

(7) ×

see   √P
       |
      √snore

(8) ✓

see/hear   vP
          / \
        DP   v'
         | / \
     Nicolas v   √P
                  |
                 √walk

The second prediction of our analysis is that that when *hear* attaches at the root level (6), where the agentivity is not introduced yet by the verbalizer, or when the embedded structure lacks the agentive layer as with unaccusative embeddings, then the agentive adverbials like *deliberately* or controlling into purpose clauses in embedded clause must be ungrammatical, which is borne out (9). In (9a), the embedded predicate is unergative, with its agent argument. As expected, purpose clauses and agentive adverbials are grammatical with it. In (9b) instead, although the embedded predicate is unergative, unless the agentive level is introduced, i.e., unless the matrix predicate embeds an agentive vP, but not a √P, the modification with purpose clauses and agentive adverbs are ungrammatical. As expected, these modifiers are ungrammatical in (9c), for the embedded predicate is unaccusative, hence lacking agentivity. Finally, they are good with (9d), as the embedded predicate is transitive with an agent. Notice that such adverbials and purpose clauses would only be grammatical if combined with the embedded clauses given that the external arguments of perception verbs such as *hear* and *see* are not agents, but experiencers.

(9) a. Hier, j'ai vu Nicolas marcher pour faire du sport/délibérément.
       'Yesterday, I saw walking (Nicolas) to do sport/deliberately.'
    b. Jean a entendu *(Marie) ronfler pour déranger les voisins/délibérément.
       'John heard snoring to disturb the neighbors/ on purpose'

    c. *Jean a entendu tomber le vase pour faire peur au chat/ délibérément.
       'John heard the vase falling to scare the cat.'
    d. Jean a entendu Marie manger une pomme pour déranger sa soeur/ délibérément.
       'John heard Mary eating an apple to disturb her sister.'

Considerations.

So far, we have discussed the minimal attachment of the perception verbs *see* and *hear* in French. Another perception verb *sentir* 'smell' shows a different pattern. Its minimal attachment site looks like √P (10a), but contra expectations, it disallows for unergative embeddings with or without their sole arguments (10b) although unergatives also come with a √P. We believe that this might be a lexical restriction on the selection: In particular, it looks like *smell* combines with events with result states, which are lacking in unergatives. However, syntactic selection still plays a role as transitive predicates with result states are still ungrammatical as shown in (10c).

(10) a. Je sens *(la nourriture) bruler. (unaccusative) 'I smell the food burning'
      b. *Je sens (Nicolas) transpirer. (unergative). 'I smell Nicolas sweating.'
      c. *Je sens Nicolas bruler la nourriture. 'I smell Nicolas burning the food.'

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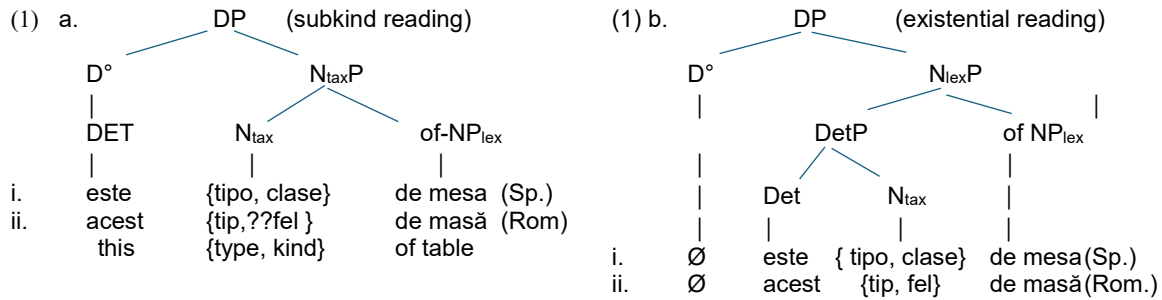
Agreement and taxonomic constructions in Spanish and Romanian

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Section 1. Taxonomic constructions are structurally ambiguous.

Our main claim will be that DPs of the type [DET N_{tax} + of + N_{lex}] built with taxonomic nouns (**N_{tax}**) like *kind* and a lexical noun (**N_{lex}**), are structurally ambiguous (Wilkinson 1995, Mihatsch et al. (eds.) 2023):

(1) a.   DP   (subkind reading)   (1) b.   DP   (existential reading)

	D°		N_{tax}P				D°		N_{lex}P	
	DET		N_{tax}	of-NP_{lex}				DetP		of NP_{lex}	
								Det	N_{tax}		
i.	este		{tipo, clase}	de mesa (Sp.)							
ii.	acest		{tip,??fel }	de masă (Rom)							
	this		{type, kind}	of table							

For (1)b:
	D°	Det	N_{tax}	of NP_{lex}
i.	Ø	este	{ tipo, clase}	de mesa (Sp.)
ii.	Ø	acest	{tip, fel}	de masă (Rom.)

structure underlying the subkind reading   structure underlying the existential reading

(2) a. Sp. *Este tipo/Esta clase de oso es muy común.*   Rom. *Acest tip/??fel de urs e foarte răspîndit.*
       this kind/this sort of bear is very common.   this type/??kind of bear is very widespread.
    b. Sp. *En casa tengo este tipo/esta clase de mesa.*   Rom. *Am acest tip/fel de masă acasă.*
       At home (I) have this kind/this sort of table.   (I) have this type/kind of table at home.

In (1)a N_{tax}P denotes a property of kinds ($<e^k,t>$), as in Carlson (1977). This structure underlies the examples in (2)a, where the main predicate selects for a kind-referring subject. The structure in (1)b (exemplified in (2)b) is an updated version of Wilkinson's (1995) pseudopartitive structure: the initial DET forms a constituent with N_{tax}, and N_{lex} is the lexical head of the overall DP, which is headed by a null D°. In this case, N_{lex}P denotes a property of individuals ($<e,t>$) and the null D° is an existential quantifier, which yields a weak indefinite reading of the overall DP. For a recent revision of Wilkinson's analysis see Dobrovie-Sorin (2024).

Section 2. Quantificational Determiners

Postulating structure (1)b offers a simple explanation for the contrasts shown in (3)-(4), which are crosslinguistically general (McNally 1997, Poole 2022):
(3)   a. There was every *(kind of) doctor at the convention.   (English)
       b. Fred has been every *(kind of) doctor.
(4)   a. Habia todo *(tipo de) doctor en la conferencia   (Spanish)
       b. Fred ha sido todo *(tipo de) doctor.
The unacceptable versions of these examples are due to the quantificational nature of *every* and *todo,* which prevents *every doctor* and *todo doctor* from appearing as the pivots of existential sentences or as predicate nominals in copular sentences. The acceptability of *every **kind** of doctor* and *todo **tipo** de doctor* is due to the structure in (1)b, where *every* does not sit in D°, which is filled by a null determiner with the semantics of an existential Q. Note that *each* contrasts with *every* in yielding unacceptability, **There was **each** kind of doctor at the convention*. This shows that certain determiners are unable to appear in (1)b, but need to be inserted in D°.

Section 3. Agreement patterns in Spanish

In Romance languages, Spanish in particular, agreement patterns offer further support for the difference between (1)a and (1)b:

(5)   a. Se suele clasificar las especies de pescado en magras y grasas   [N_{tax} agreement]
        SE uses classify the kinds.fem of fish.masc in lean.fem and fatty.fem
        'We usually classify kinds of fish into lean and fatty ones'.
    b. ¿Qué tipo de casa es la que está siendo reciclada?   [N_{lex} agreement]
        What kind.masc. of house.fem is the.fem that is being renovated.fem
        'What kind of house is the one being renovated?

In (5)a the adjectives agree in gender with *especies* (arguably due to the presence of a null N coindexed with *especies*), pointing to the structure in (1)a, whereas in (5)b agreement is with the lexical N *casa*, pointing to the structure in (1)b. Agreement patterns are notoriously complex, and corpus investigation is crucial to ensure a solid empirical basis. We searched two large Spanish corpora (*Corpes XXI* and *Web/Dialects,* both lemmatized and tagged for POS) in order to test the following correlation:

(6) When DPs of the type *todo N_{tax} of NP_{pl}* occur in predicate positions or as pivots of existentials, it is N_{lex} that controls gender and number agreement.

Our results validate (6): in clear contrast with a base sample of N_{tax} constructions with random initial DETs in random syntactic positions, N_{lex} agreement is almost categorical in a sample of DPs of the type *todo N_{tax} of N_{lex}* in predicate positions.

Section 4. The Romanian *fel* 'kind'

The Romanian data shown in (7) confirm the Spanish data in (5). In both languages we observe a correlation between agreement on the main verb (with either N_{tax} or N_{lex}) and choice of reading between taxonomic and existential:

(7)   a. *Acest **tip** de femeie nu se lasă păcălită/??păcălit.*
        this kind. m-sg of woman not SE lets fooled.f-sg/??m-sg
        'This kind of woman does not let herself be fooled'.
    b. *Acest **tip** de femeie a fost descris/descrisà pentru prima datà în sec. XX.*
        this type.m-sg of woman has been described. m-sg/f-sg for the first time in ct.XX
        'This type of woman was first described in the 20th century'.

In (7) we have used *tip*, which – like its counterparts across languages - can be inserted in both of the two structures in (1). Further insight into the analysis of taxonomic Ns across languages can be gained by examining the Romanian *fel*, best translated as 'kind', which is however different from the English *kind* (and more generally from most of the N_{tax}'s across languages) in disallowing reference to kind-entities (Dobrovie-Sorin 2024). The non-ambiguity of *fel* can be captured by assuming that it is lexically specified for being insertable in (1)b but not in (1)a. This predicts that:

(8)   DPs built with *fel* can only trigger agreement with N_{lex}.

This generalization has a larger empirical coverage than (6), which is restricted to quantified DPs in predicate positions. But crucial for our investigation is the fact that both (6) and (8) are predicted by the correlation between the pseudo-partitive structure and verbal agreement. Going back to quantified DPs we observe a dichotomic use of *fel* and *tip* depending on the number-marking of *tot* 'all':

(9)   a. *tot felul/*tipul*   b. *toate tipurile/??felurile*
        ALL.sg kind/type.art.def.sg'. de Npl   *ALL.pl type/kind.art.def.pl'*

The contrast in (9)a seems to indicate that *tot tipul* 'all$_{sg}$ type$_{sg}$' cannot be inserted in the pseudo-partitive configuration but the reason of this impossibility is unclear, since there is no general ban on *tip* occurring in pseudo-partitives, see in particular the acceptable version of (7)a. The unacceptability of *fel$_{pl}$* in (9)b can be explained if we assume that *toate* 'all$_{pl}$' must be inserted in D° (and as such cannot appear in a pseudo-

partitive). In order to confirm this account we would need to show that *toate tipurile* 'all$_{pl}$ type-THE$_{pl}$' cannot occur in pseudo-partitives. For our present purposes it is not necessary to explain all the intricacies of (9)a-b. All we need to know (and will be demonstrated in the talk) is that *tot felul de NP$_{pl}$* in Romanian and *todo N$_{tax}$ de NP$_{pl}$* in Spanish can only occur in pseudo-partitives. Which explains the agreement facts stated in (6) but predicts the generalization goes beyond predicate positions and pivots of existentials.

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Long Distance Agreement in Ibero-Romance

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1. PROPOSAL: This paper argues that the properties of long-distance agreement (LDA) in Spanish (e.g. *Se **decidieron** [revisar **los examenes**]* – Someone decided to revise the exams) follow from the non-active nature of the embedded NP (Goal), combined with the functional structure of the embedded clause (Chomsky 2000). We defend the idea that the number agreement constraint of LDA (Etxepare 2006, a.o.) follows from a D nature of C, which we take to be parametrized (Szabolcsi 1992, Torrego 2013, Takahashi 2010, Moulton 2013, with ideas that go back to Koster 1978). In our analysis, the D associated to C just contains [person] (much like "se" or "there" do; D'Alessandro 2007, López 2007), which accounts for the properteies displayed by LDA.

2. BACKGROUND: Derivational approaches to syntax attribute a Markovian nature (M) to the system: Once on a stage S_0, the next step (to generate S_1) does not have access to the (previous) derivational history. Within Phase Theory, M is regulated so that part of the history is accessible through the "phase edge," all the rest being transferred and subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC, Chomsky 2000 and ff.). A strong formulation of the PIC entails that "as the information is transferred it will be forgotten, not accessed in subsequent stages" (Chomsky 2008:143). However, already in Chomsky (2008), the possibility for accessing previously transferred stages is reconsidered, at least for AGREE (under the assumption that 'probing' continues until an inactive NP is matched). Then, Chomsky et al. (2019) and Chomsky (2021) argue that, applied to K, TRANSFER does not remove K from the computation, and can in fact be accessed, *as long as K is not modified*. The empirical evidence to support this has LDA (Bhatt & Keine 2017, a.o.) as its main source. As (1) shows, the main verb agrees in number (or number+gender) with the internal argument of the embedded verb (the dependency is shown in bold).

(1) a. Raam-ne [**rotii**   khaa-**nii**]   caah-**ii**   (Hindi-Urdu)
       Ram-erg   bread.f eat-inf.f.sg   want-perf.f.sg
       'Ram wanted to eat bread.'

   b. [**Nobela erromantikoak** irakurtzea]   gustatzen **zaizkio**   (Basque)
        novel   romantic-pl.abs   read-N.D.abs like-hab   Aux-3.pl.A-3.sing.D
        'He/she likes to read romantic novels'

Agreement can also bypass finite clauses in languages like Chukchee or Blackfoot (Bošković 2007).

(2) nít-ssksinoa-**wa** [**m**-aníst-sskonata'psspi]   (Blackfoot)
       1-know-3   3-manner-strong
       'I know how strong he is'

The puzzle that (1) and (2) pose is clear: agreement should not cross phasal boundaries. But it does. This is where a "weak PIC" proves useful. Apart from weakening the PIC, there is an additional consideration to make: putting aside raising / ECM configurations (in which the relevant NP lacks Case, and naturally qualifies as a Goal), the NP agreeing at a distance in (1) and (2) should fail to agree, for it is already case-marked ('inactive', *as per* Chomsky 2000), and should only trigger "intervention effects," not agreement proper.

To be sure, the Activity Condition (AC) can be dispensed with, for its effects can be capture by the PIC (Chomsky 2001), but having a PIC that allows back-tracking / unbounded agreement dependencies casts doubt on the elimination of the AC.

3. LDA DATA IN SPANISH: Catalan and Spanish display LDA with infinitival embedded clauses. Moreover, as Fernández-Serrano (2022) shows, that there are cases like those in Blackfoot too.

(3)   a. Se **necesitan** [conocer **sus propiedades**]   b. No se **supieron** [usar **esos recursos**] (Sp.)
        SE need-3.pl know-inf its properties-3.pl   not SE knew-3.pl use-inf those resources
        'Knowing its properties is needed'   'Nobody know how to use those resources'

(4)   a. Ens **preocupen** [que el govern   no resolgui **els problemes**]   (Catalan)
        cl-to.us worry-3.pl that the Government not solve-3.sg the problems
        'It worries us that the Government is not solving the problems'
      b. **Intentáron**se [restablecer **as negociacións**]   (Galician)
        try-3.pl+SE   restore-inf the negotiations
        'Someone tried to restore the negotiations'

There are some aspects of (3) and (4) worth considering. First, **LDA is optional** in the languages above (including (1) and (2)): the main verb agrees either with some NP within an embedded clause or with the clause itself (which results in default agreement). Now, in the case of (3), the non-LDA option is always preferred, even though the LDA option is (always too) possible, especially in informal / oral / colloquial varieties. The data in (4) are more difficult to evaluate, but they have been attested, especially in on-line (informal / oral / colloquial too) varieties.

4. MORE LDA EVIDENCE: We argue that the deviance of LDA data in data above cases follows from the combination of: (i) the AC (Chomsky 2000) and (ii) intervention effects (minimality), triggered by a φ-defective element. Consider the scenarios in (5), where **bold** indicates that the NP has already received Case:

(5) a. [**Probe** [. . . **Goal** . . .]]   b. [**Probe** [. . . (intervener) [. . . **Goal** . . .]]]

The examples in (3) correspond to the scenario in (5a), where the Goal agrees with the matrix verb. Now, as noted, non-LDA is preferred. We suggest this preference follows from Goal being inactive. That inactive NPs are not optimal Goals is shown in (6): if Goals appear in accusative clitic guise, the deviance is more severe.

(6) a. */?Se **necesitan** [conocer**las**] (Spanish)   b. */?No se **supieron** [usar**los**] (Spanish)
      SE need-3.pl   know-inf-cl.acc.f.pl   not SE knew-3.pl use-inf-cl.acc.m.pl
      'Knowing them is needed'   'Nobody know how to use them'

The effect is compounded if the Goal has inherent Case, typically assigned by a preposition:

(7) a. *Se **necesitan** [hablar de **esas cosas**]   b. *Me   **interesan** [informar de **esos factores**]
      SE need-3.pl talk   of those things   cl-to.me interest   inform   of those factors
      'It is needed to talk about these things'   'It is needed to talk about these things'

This suggests that, when LDA takes place, the NP must be active. Notice, to round up the argument, that if the NPs in (3) actually receive accusative, they should be able to passivize (within the embedded clause). However, (8a) shows that they are not, unlike what happens in other infinitival clauses (see (8b)). This strengthens the claim that, whenever *bona fide* agreement happens, the Goal is not inactive.

(8) a. *Se necesita [ser   descubierta la verdad]   b. Se fue, [al ser   descubierta la verdad]
      SE need-3.sg be-inf discovered the truth   left-3.sg to-the be-inf discovered the truth
      'We need for the truth to be discovered'   'She left when the truth was discovered'

5. PROPOSAL: Let us now return to the examples in (4), which, albeit attested, are

admittedly rare—in standard Spanish, they are ruled out. We can account for these data by assuming that C has a D nature. The claim goes beyond Szabolcsi's (1992) idea that C behaves as a determiner: we are also saying that there is a D element in C. This is reminiscent of Torrego & Uriagereka's (1992) proposal that there is a "pro" element associated to indicative dependents (and, more remotely, to Koster's 1978 proposal that sentential subjects are clause-external satellites linked to a clause-internal proform). We take this "pro (form)" to be a D head endowed with [person] (like "se" or "there"). This accounts for the generalized lack of person-LDA in Spanish. Of course, if there is no CP layer (thus no 'full clause'), we predict person agreement to occur—and it does, in periphrases, as (9) reveals:

(9) a. **Podemos** [cantar   **nosotras**] (Spanish)   b. **Empezasteis** [a leer   **vosotras**] (Spanish)
    can-1.pl   sing-inf we-1.pl   started-2.pl   to read-inf you-2.pl
    'We can sing'   'You started to read'

This must be qualified, however, as assuming "pro/D" as the true argument should turn the CP into an adjunct/specifier. But this cannot be correct, as extraction is clearly possible, even with LDA. The examples in (10), from Catalan, are perfectly fine:

(10) a. **Quins llibres** m'   **agraden** llegir?   b. **Quins llibres** dius   que m'   **agraden** llegir?
    what books cl-to.me like-3.pl read   what books say-2.sg that cl-to.me like-3.pl read
    'What books do I like reading?'   'What books do you say that I like reading?'

We thus assume that LDA is accounted for by assuming that pro/D simply checks person, allowing LDN(umber)A. As for the lack of LDA (with finite clauses mostly), it follows from two factors: the AC (in non-finite clauses) or the possibility for the pro/D head to raise to V and become its complement (Pesetsky's 2007, 2013 Under-Merge). The latter strategy turns the CP into a specifier, which is, by definition, out of the search space of the relevant Probe. Interestingly, LDA in finite clauses is attested solely for subjunctive dependents, which are the ones which do not trigger pro/D UnderMerge, and thus leaving the clause probable by the matrix verb.

6. SUMMARY: This paper explores LDA in Romance, discussing data that have received little attention in the literature. Our approach goes back to ideas taking clauses to be satellites of (covert) pronouns, allowing to model and parametrize LDA by means of head movement (Chomsky 1993).

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Evidentials in biased questions: the view from Italian and Spanish

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INTRODUCTION. A recent line of research focuses on **evidentials in biased questions** (Bhadra 2020; Frana and Mene´ndez-Benito 2019, F&M), with the discussion revolving around interrogative flip (IF). In canonical questions, evidentials typically display IF (they are anchored to the hearer rather than the speaker, Garrett 2001). Bhadra (2020) argues that evidentials in biased questions are instead always speaker-oriented. F&M show that the correlation between lack of flip and bias is only partial in Italian: in their data, the evidential future (EF) fails to flip only in a sub-type of (biased) NPQs. We extend F&M's typology by (i) discussing novel data on nonflipped positive polar questions (PPQs) in Italian and Spanish, and (ii) showing that lack of flip has different sources in NPQs and PPQs. In doing so, we identify a type of interrogatives– Declarative Questions– which hadn't so far been recognized in these languages.

BACKGROUND. 2.1. The EF. The Italian (and Spanish) future has an evidential interpretation, which displays IF (F&M, Eckardt and Beltrama, 2019): the assertion in (1) conveys that the *speaker* lacks direct evidence that Anna is hungry; the question in (2) flags that (the speaker believes that) the *hearer* lacks direct evidence bearing on the issue and asks her to advance a conjecture. This yields oddity for the 2nd-person version, as the hearer is expected to have direct evidence regarding their own hunger.

(1) Anna **avrà** fame.
Anna have.**FUT**.3sg hungry
'Anna is hungry, <u>I suppose</u>.'

(2) Avrà (/#**Avrai**) fame?
have.**FUT**.3sg (/**FUT**.2sg) hunger
'Is she (/are you) hungry, <u>what's your guess</u>?'

2.1. F&M: the EF in biased questions. Frana and Rawlins (2019) show that Italian NPQs can convey different types of biases. The NPQ in (3) is felicitous in (7), where the speaker has a prior bias for the *positive* answer, but the evidence goes against it. The NPQ in (4), with the particle *mica*, requires a context like (8), where the speaker is biased towards the *negative* answer (and the evidence contradicts it). F&M demonstrate that the type of speaker's bias (positive/negative) correlates with presence/absence of flip for the EF: (5) in context (7) conveys that the *hearer* lacks direct evidence bearing on whether she is hungry, which yields oddity. (6) in context (8) conveys instead that the *speaker* lacks direct evidence regarding H's hunger and is thus felicitous.

(3) Non hai   fame?
not have.PRES.2sg hunger?
'Aren't you hungry?

(4) Non hai   mica fame?
not have.PRES.2sg MICA hunger?
Roughly: 'You are not hungry, are you??'

(5) Non **avrai**   fame?
not have.**FUT**.2sg hunger?
'Aren't you hungry, <u>what's your guess</u>?'

(6) Non **avrai**   mica fame?
not have.**FUT**.2sg MICA hunger
'You are not hungry, <u>I suppose</u>?'

(7) S invited H and told her to expect a big lunch. At the table, H barely touches his food.

(8) S and H had a big lunch and are now sitting at a bar for drinks. H asks for the food menu.

3. NEW DATA: NON-FLIPPED PPQS. Italian PPQs also allow for a (hitherto unnoticed) non- flipped interpretation: after hearing about her patient's persisting symptoms, a doctor may ask (9), which signals that the *speaker* lacks direct evidence. In fact, (10) can also have a **non-flipped interpretation**, arising in contexts where the speaker is **biased towards the positive answer** (11). Spanish displays the same pattern. (In both languages, (a) and (b) involve different prosody.)

> **(9)** Dopo tutto questo tempo **avrai** fatto una gastroscopia?
> After all this time have.**FUT**.2sg done a gastroscopy
> 'After all this time, you must have done a gastroscopy, <u>I suppose</u>?'

> **(10) Avrai** fame? a) 'Are you hungry, <u>what's your guess?</u>' (IF)
> have.**FUT**.2sg hunger b) 'You are hungry, <u>I suppose</u>?' (no IF)

(11) H arrives home after a long hike. S knows that H only had a small breakfast.

4. THE SOURCE OF LACK OF FLIP IN PPQS. 4.2. Background: *mica*-Qs. A prominent line of research (e.g., Repp 2013; Romero and Han 2004) links bias to Common Ground Manage- ment (CMG) operators, which signal that a proposition *p* should be added (VERUM) / not added (FALSUM) to the CG, according to a perspectival *origo*, which undergoes IF. Frana and Rawlins (2019) analyze *mica* as a FALSUM operator that is always speaker-oriented. In (4), *mica* signals that the *speaker* thinks that *p* (H is hungry) should not be added to the CG (negative bias). F&M trace the lack of flip in (6) to a matching requirement between the *origo* of the future and that of *mica*. **4.2. Against a covert CGM analysis for PPQs.** Can F&M's analysis be extended to non- conjectural readings of PPQs? On this view, (b) would involve a (covert) speaker-oriented VERUM

(i) signaling that the speaker thinks that *p should* be added to the CG (positive bias), (ii) triggering lack of flip for the EF. This analysis, however, makes wrong predictions. Questions with CGM operators are felicitous in contexts where the speaker's pre-existing bias conflicts with contextual evidence (Romero and Han, 2004), as shown in (3)-(6). In contrast, (10) is odd if (11) continues as in (12), where new evidence contradicts S's prior expectation.

(12) However at lunch, S sees that H barely touches her food.

4.2. Non-flipped PPQs are Declarative Questions (DQs). English DQs are characterized as utterances featuring both declarative syntax and question-like intonation. This category hasn't been discussed for languages like Italian, where questions and assertions have the same syntactic form. We contend that on the non-flipped interpretation, PPQs *are* DQs, as they share two core properties of the class: (i) DQs express a commitment for the proposition denoted by the sentence radical that is contingent on the addressee's reaction (Gunlogson, 2008); (ii) DQs do not trigger IF in evidential / epistemic elements: in (13), the adverbs target the degree of certainty of the *speaker*.

(13) This is certainly/probably a magpie? (Krifka, 2024)

5. BACK TO NPQS. F&M briefly mention that (i) Italian NPQs like (5) can also receive a negative bias / not flipped interpretation (with a distinct intonational pattern) and (ii)

in Spanish, which lacks *mica*, NPQs display a parallel ambiguity. They hypothesize that the non-flipped interpretation of these questions arises through a covert (speaker-oriented) FALSUM, which is not lexically marked. Our analysis of non-flipped PPQs suggest an alternative analysis: that *mica*-less NPQs associated with a negative bias / lack of flip are simply DQs. This would render resorting to a covert CMG operator unnecessary. However, the distribution of NPIs/PPIs argues against this possibility. FAL- SUM differs from propositional negation in that it fails to license NPIs or anti-license PPIs (Ladd 1981; Romero and Han 2004). Adding an NPI to Italian (14a) or Spanish (14b) NPQs with the EF leaves us with only the positive bias / flipped reading. The negative bias / non-flipped reading is instead possible with PPIs. This shows that the latter reading is indeed associated with FALSUM.

(14)   a. Non **avrai** fame #neanche$_{NPI}$ / ✓anche$_{PPI}$ tu?
             not have.**FUT**.2sg hunger either / too you

   b. ¿No **tendrá's**   hambre tu´   #tampoco$_{NPI}$ / ✓tambié'n$_{PPI}$?
             not have.**FUT**.2sg hunger you either / too

6. OUTLOOK. Our investigation of non-flipped questions in Spanish / Italian contributes to the emerging typology of interactions between evidentials and biases, and opens up the interesting question of why each of the two strategies for lack of flip we have identified is associated with a different type of polarity.

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From Glosses to Grammar: A Computational Approach to Annotating Italian Dialects

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Introduction.

Applying NLP to dialects and under-resourced languages remains a challenge due to the lack of annotated corpora, standard orthographies, and consistent tokenization (Joshi et al., 2020). These limitations hinder the use of standard pipelines. While Large Language Models (LLMs) have advanced many tasks, they rely on vast monolingual datasets from high-resource languages, deepening the performance gap with respect to minority varieties (Ahia et al., 2023). To counter this imbalance, we propose a method that projects morphosyntactic information from Italian onto dialectal forms transcribed in IPA, using aligned glosses. Our approach draws from the tradition of annotation projection (Yarowsky & Ngai, 2001; Agić et al., 2016), which transfers syntactic and morphological information across aligned data.

The Manzini-Savoia Corpus.

Our work builds on the recent digitalization of the Manzini and Savoia corpus (2005; Mazzaggio et al., 2025), a linguistically rich collection that documents **64,472 linguistic examples** from **457 Italian dialects, 9 Corsican varieties,** and **19 Swiss varieties**. Each example includes a dialectal sentence in IPA, a word-by-word Italian gloss, and detailed metadata such as the collection locality and bibliographic source. The glosses serve as a crucial bridge between dialectal data and available NLP tools, enabling the indirect application of syntactic and morphological analysis to forms otherwise unprocessable with standard pipelines.

Hybrid Annotation Projection.

We adopted a hybrid tagging method that combines annotation projection from Italian glosses with rule-based enrichment for dialect-specific elements. The spaCy model it_core_news_lg is first applied to the Italian glosses, producing POS tags, morphological features, and dependency labels according to the Universal Dependencies (UD) scheme (de Marneffe et al., 2014; Bosco et al., 2014). Items outside the scope of standard Italian, e.g., subject clitics (CIS-3sm), are excluded from tagging and then reinserted with hand-crafted annotations using spaCy's tagger-compatible JSON format. This results in a complete annotation of the gloss layer, which is projected token-by-token onto the aligned dialectal sentence. A sample of the rule-based mappings for morphological glosses is shown in Table 1. To illustrate this procedure, consider the following example from the Manzini-Savoia corpus:

(1) kel toˈzat al me ˈtʃama (Selva di Cadore)
(2) quel ragazzo CIS-3sm mi chiama
    'that boy CIS-3sm calls me'

Here, the gloss in (2) provides a literal word-by-word rendering of the dialectal utterance. Since CIS-3sm is a subject clitic not attested in standard Italian, it is temporarily removed before applying spaCy's tagger to the remaining gloss. After annotation, CIS-3sm is reinserted with its corresponding rule-based POS and morphological features. The resulting annotations, obtained by projection from Italian for standard tokens and by rule-based tagging for special elements, are finally projected onto the aligned IPA transcription, enriching the dialectal sentence with structured syntactic and morphological data.

Applications and Future Work.

This pipeline enables both research and resource development. First, we aim to integrate the annotated corpus into a searchable online platform—similar to the Atlante Sintattico d'Italia (ASIt; Pescarini & Di Nunzio, 2010)—to support comparative analysis of dialectal microvariation. Second, we will refine annotations through targeted validation and manual correction of a subset of data to create a gold-standard benchmark. This will improve evaluation and support future pipeline enhancements. Ultimately, we plan to develop a dialect-specific tagger that no longer relies on Italian as an intermediary, enabling scalable annotation and the creation of linguistic resources that reflect the structural and cultural richness of Italo-Romance varieties.

Gloss Label	POS	Morph Features
CIS-3sf	PRON	Clitic=Yes, Gender=Fem, Number=Sing, Person=3, PronType=Prs, Case=Nom
CIS-2p	PRON	Clitic=Yes, Number=Plur, Person=2, PronType=Prs, Case=Nom
Neg	ADV	PronType=Neg
-1pp	VERB	Person=1, Number=Plur, VerbForm=Inf

Table 1. Sample of annotation rules for morphological tags.

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Bridging Contexts and Semantic Change: A Computational Approach to the Diachrony of French *on*

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We examine the diachronic trajectory of the French indefinite/impersonal pronoun *on* into a marker with first-person plural interpretation, focusing on the identification of *bridging contexts* that enabled this semantic reanalysis. While the shift from lexical nouns meaning 'person' to indefinite or impersonal pronouns (e.g., Latin *homo* > French *on*) is well-documented crosslinguistically (Heine & Kuteva 2002), the extension of such forms to encode first-person plural reference remains less frequent and underexplored.
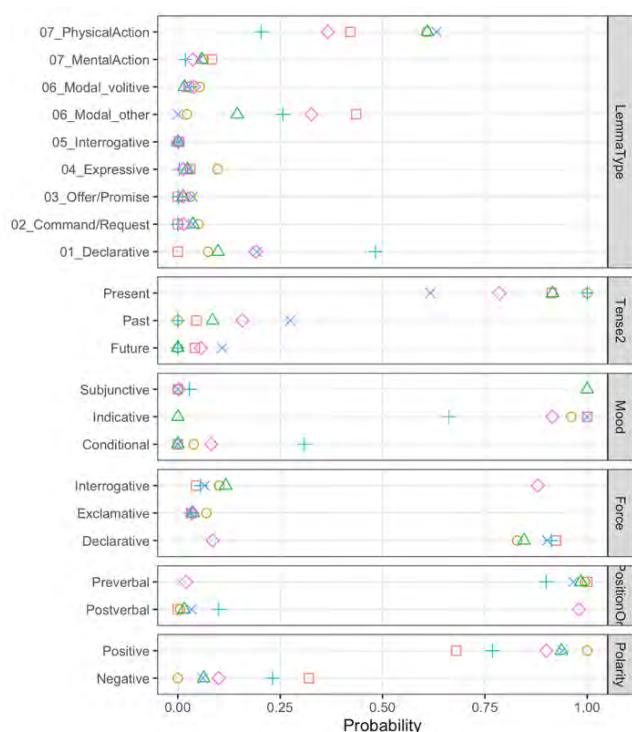
We hypothesize that this shift was facilitated by contexts where *on* allowed speakers to background their own involvement in potentially face-threatening actions—such as proposals or suggestions—thus promoting ambiguity between impersonal and speaker-inclusive readings, as in (1):

(1) *Allons, qu'on appelle des gens pour me mettre dans une chaise à porteurs*.
    'Come on, let **someone/us** call some people to put me in a sedan chair'
                                                    (1788, de Gouges, *Molière chez Ninon)*

To test this hypothesis, we conducted a quantitative corpus study on a diachronic corpus of over 1,400 French theatre plays spanning 1550-1939 (Rosemeyer 2025). All occurrences of *on* (n = 70,383) were extracted with their immediate syntactic context and tagged for morphosyntactic and semantic features that reflect pragmatic and discourse properties of the contexts of use of *on*, and assumed to influence the referential interpretation of the pronoun: Tense-Aspect-Mood marking, Sentential Force, Subject Position, Semantic Class of the Verb, Polarity, Voice, Clause Type, and Presence and Type of Adverbials. Part of Speech-tagging was conducted in R with a French language UDPIPE model (Wijffels 2021), and we also developed an R script to tag for the relevant properties semiautomatically (with later extensive manual correction).

Figure 4.Latent Class Analysis with probabilities on categorical variables.

In a second stage, to model the underlying usage patterns of *on*, we applied Latent Class Analysis (LCA) (Rosemeyer 2024; Linzer & Lewis 2011), which identifies latent groups based on distributions over observed categorical variables, and assigns each token discretely to a specific latent class. A six-class solution was selected based on BIC comparison across models. Each class represents a prototypical usage profile (e.g., Latent Class 3: subjunctive mood; Latent Class 6: interrogatives), as in Figure 1. To assess the historical trajectory of the pronoun, we also trace diachronic shifts in the frequency of each LC, as can be seen in Figure 2.
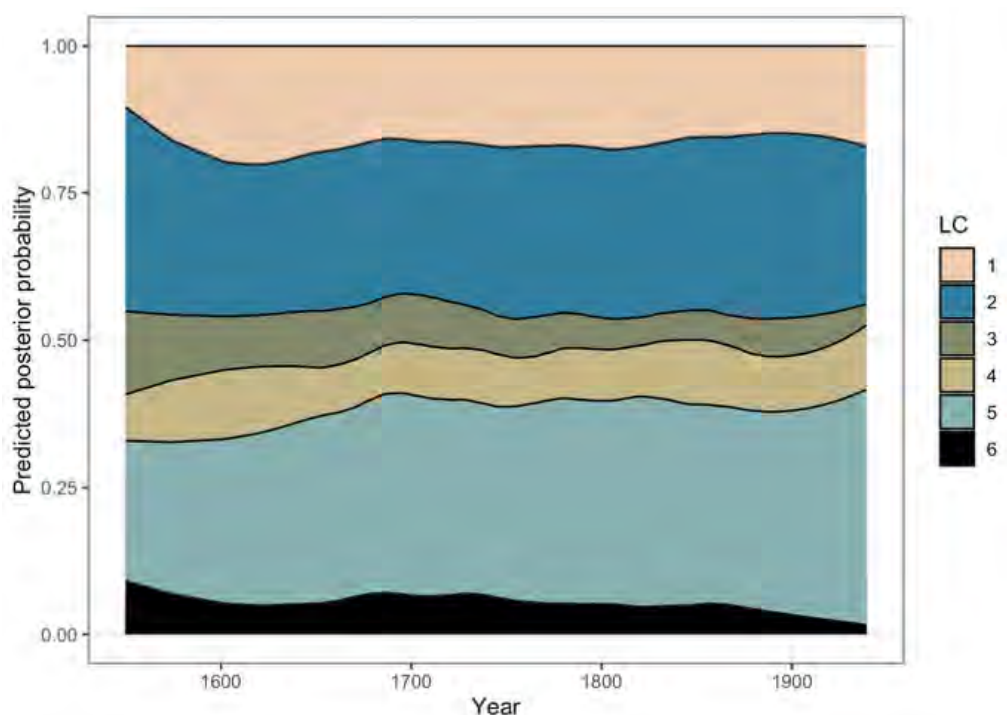
Two classes   — LC3 and LC6 — show declining frequency over time and exhibit formal ambiguity between impersonal and speaker-inclusive readings, supporting their identification as *bridging contexts* in the reanalysis pathway. An example of a prototypical LC3 token is given in (2), while one example of a prototypical LC6 token is provided in (3):

(2) *Mais je ne crois pas qu'**on soit oblige** de s'ennuyer pour son service.*
  'But I don't believe **one/we** should be obliged to be bored in his service'
   (1778, Sacy, *La Sympathie*)

(3) ***Aurait-on pu** défendre à plus de complaisance?*
  'Could **one/we** have defended with more leniency?'   (1647, Magnon, *Séjanus*)

Our results demonstrate the value of LCA in historical pragmatics and provide empirical grounding for theories of grammaticalization through context-induced reinterpretation. These findings also contribute to our understanding of how referential ambiguity in discourse contexts can drive meaning change.

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Number Agreement with non-paradigmatic SE in Spanish dialects

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UAB

1. PROPOSAL: This paper discusses the agreement behavior of "non-paradigmatic se" (NP-SE) sentences in different varieties of Spanish. Ormazabal & Romero (2024) (O&R24) have recently addressed this matter by postulating that agreement in NP-SE operates in the phonology, through a process of "number harmony". We claim that NP-SE agreement can be accounted for by AGREE (Chomsky 2000, 2001), its dialectal variation following from a "accessibility scale".

2. AGREEMENT IN NP-SE: Much of O&R24's discussion revolves around the pair in (1)-(2), from Spanish (and where % indicates dialectal variation). As they rightly point out, number agreement varies, in part due to anymacy of the NP in the VP internal position.

(1) Se {% censuró / censuraron} los documentos
  se censor-3sg / 3pl the documents
  'The documents were censored'

(2) Se {censuró / % censuraron} a los oponentes
  se censor-3s g / 3pl ACC the oponents
  'The oponents were censored'

O&R24 point out that there is a more general asymmetry, depending on whether the internal argument is preverbal (and null) or postverbal: the former shows a much more stable behavior (number agreement being obligatory), whereas the latter exhibits an erratic nature, which they argue falls within a "post-PF procedure that we call Number Harmony". In (3), the NP argument is preverbal, so O&R24 asume it is dislocated, "se" occupies [Spec,TP], and agreement manifests as standard verbal morphology (in (3b)) or as an accusative clitic (in (3a)).

(3) a. (Los documentos) se los censuró
    the documents se cl-them censored-3sg
    'The documents were censored'

  b. (Los documentos) se censuraron
    the documents se censored-3.pl
    'The documents were censored'

3. NUMBER HARMONY: O&R24 point out that "it is surprisingly common to find examples where agreement is not triggered by arguments, but in fact by temporal DP-modifiers," as in (4):

(4) a. Se bailan los lunes
    se dance-3.pl the Mondays
    'We/People dance on Monday'

  b. Se abren los domingos
    se open-3pl the Sundays
    'We open on Sunday'

  c. Se trabajan los festivos
    se work-3pl the holidays
    'We work on holiday'

O&R24 conclude that "subject agreement behavior is completely unexpected. Numbers are big enough to dismiss them as performance errors." They further note that, unlike the data in (4), temporal nominal adjuncts fail to trigger agreement in other contexts, including impersonal verbs and unaccusative sentences (see (5)).

(5) a. Llueve / *Llueven todas las tardes / los domingos
    rain-3sg / rain-3pl all the afternoons the Sundays
    'It rains every afternoons / on Sunday'

  b. Cayeron / *Cayó almohadillas
    fell-3pl / fell-3sg small pillows
    'Small pillows fell'

The conclusion of O&R24 is as follows: "agreement facts in NP-SE do not work as predicted by theories based on syntactic agreement […] For postverbal NPs, the verb

may show up marked with a default singular number or it may harmonize postsyntactically with a plural NP." Such harmonization is defined as follows:

(6) **CONDITIONS ON NUMBER HARMONY (NH)**

    a. Syntax plays a minimal role: it simply provides a structure where the set of φ-features in T includes a [person] value supplied by "se" but no [number], and where there is an NP nearby in postverbal position.

    b. Agreement follows two different paths in that context: either it takes a default value (7a) or it adopts the value of the closest nominal (7b). When the nominal is singular, the verb never shows up in plural (7c).

(7) a. Se censuró los documentos   b. Se censuraron los documentos   c. *Se censuraron el documento
    se censor-3.sg the document   se censor-3.pl the documents   se censor-3.pl the document
    'Documents were censored'   'Documents were censored'   'The document were censored'

Crucial here is the condition (6a), which takes HM to be computed in linear proximity terms. Although there are grammatical processes in which adjacency may indeed play a role, the possibility that agreement can also resort to linear order metrics raises conceptual and empirical questions that we address in the next section.

4. PROBLEMS FOR NH: At the heart of O&R24's analysis of NP-SE lies the claim that "the only option in these contexts is that agreement patterns are determined *by extragrammatical factors* […] [an] additional regularization process is a learned strategy imposed by means of socioeducative pressure" (our emphasis). Plausible as it may be, the proposal raises a series of conceptual questions, and—as we show—does not quite clear the empirical landscape of NP-SE. **On the conceptual side**, the first and more general question involves the very nature of agreement (and its side effect: structural Case; cf. Legate 2008): Does it operate both in the syntax and in the post-syntactic componen? If the answer is "yes," it would be unexpected, if only because the other key computational operation (Merge) does not take place in different components. Of course, the properties of some phenomena (afterthoughts, heavy NP shift, head movement, etc.) have been attributed to their post-syntactic nature, but even in those cases the debate is far from settled. **Empirically**, we should start by considering why, descriptively, NH operates "to the right" (at least in the cases discussed by O&R24). If NH is akin to, say, vowel harmony, then it should operate to the right and to the left equally (Nevins 2010). A second consideration comes from the fact that what O&R24 refer to as NP-SE with "prevernal NP" or "postverbal NP" does not necessarily simply involve a difference in linear placement, but a deeper structural difference, involving or not a biclausal structure followed by ellipsis (in preverbal NP cases) (Ott 2014). To round up the empirical side, consider (6b) in more detail. If agreement is ruled by linear adjacency, then the prediction is that both (8a) and (8b) be possible. However, they are fully out. In (8a), the plural NP is closer to the verb than the internal argument; in (8b), the linearly closer NP is singular (clearly, it is sandwiched in some sort of parenthetical, but if all that matters is linear order, it is not clear what the problem is):

(8) a. *Se amasan los lunes el pan   b. *Se abren, la tienda, los lunes
    se knead-3pl the Mondays the bread   se open-3pl the shop the Mondays
    'Bread is kneaded on Monday'   'The shop opens on Monday'

In the same vein, it is not clear why, under O&R24's system, the sentences in (9) do

not behave in the same way. In all the examples, the verb is linearly adjacent to the a plural NP *dos días* (Eng., two days), but whereas agreement is expected in (9a) and (9b), it is not in (9c). The explanation cannot rely on linear order, but must capitalize on structural conditions instead: *dos días* is the internal argument in (9a), but it is neither in (9b) (where agreement targets the NP *las postulaciones* – the nominations), nor in (9c), in which *dos días* is the specifier of an adverbial phrase.

(9)   a. Se abren   dos días más de plazo   b. Se abren   dos días después las postulaciones
         Se open-3pl two days more of deadline   se open-3pl two days after   the nominations
         'Two more days of deadline are given'   'Nominations are opened two days later'

      c. *Se abren   dos días después el sobre
          se open-3pl two days later   the envelop
          'The envelop was opened two days later'

5. NH IS JUST SYNTACTIC NUMBER AGREEMENT: We assume a fully syntactic view of agreement, based on the Probe-Goal system outlined in Chomsky (2000), whose basic ingredients involve a Probe, a Goal, plus c-command. How can we, then, account for the dialectal variability that O&R24 (and others) have rightly observed? The key problematic observation about NP-SE is that T can optionally agree in number (plural) with an NP 'to the right'. We make two assumptions to capture that: (i) agreement obtains if the Goal is in the c-command domain of T and (ii) there are different degrees of accessibility of the Goal, in accord to the scale in (10), where options go from more (= 10a) to less accessible (= 10d):

(10) a. [T … [V … NP]]   b. [T … [V … [K [NP]]]   c. [T … [V … [P [NP]]]   d . [T … [V …]] [NP]
                                                                         ↑_____| ↑____|

Let us call (10) the "NP-SE Accessibility Scale" (NP-SEAS, for short). (10a) is the easiest case: the NP is the internal argument, so plural agreement follows unproblematically (this is "passive SE"). (10b) concerns DOM sentences ("impersonal SE"), where *a* heads a Case (K) projection that complicates (but does not block) AGREE. (10c) and (10d) go one step further. They involve agreement with an NP that is within a bona fide lexical preposition (heading a selected PP) and an adjunct, respectively. Both scenarios are discussed in O&R24. We suggest that there is a reanalysis process in both cases, albeit less nuanced in (10c). Technically, we take the plural NP to undergo what Pestesky (2007, 2013) calls Under-Merge, which involves the merger of the NP in the complement position of V (similarly to what Larson 2004 argues for adjuncts, in a non-transformational fashion). Note that this covers the entirety of cases of O&R24 with no need to cast agremeent out of the syntax.

6. CONSEQUENCES: There is at least one wrinkle left. Even when there is a plural NP to the right, agreement can be default. This is the (7a) case above. We claim (7a) may have different derivational sources. One of them is the same behind default agreement occurs in unaccusative structures with postverbal subjects in Romance (Saura 2010, Rigau 1997, 2002). Following Obata et al.'s (2015) analysis of variation following from the ordering of operations, we take NP-SE to involve the structure [vP SE v [vP V NP]], where SE is merged with the vP (as the external argument). At that point, we have two possible scenarios: (i) SE raises to the subject position ([Spec, TP]), and then AGREE targets the NP (leaving a copy, which does not block AGREE)

or (ii) T AGREES with SE, which then raises to [Spec, TP]. The scenarios to consider are in (11):

(11)   OPTION A (plural agreement):   1. Internal-MERGE of SE $\rightarrow$ 2. AGREE (T, NP)
           OPTION B (default agreement): 1. AGREE (T, SE) $\rightarrow$ 2. Internal-MERGE of SE

Whatever the relevant analysis for default agreement with NP-SE sentences, it must address the question of how come the postverbal NP is Case licensed. We conjecture varieties may also differ in licensing this NP: it can receive accusative Case (if v is φ-complete) (see (8a)), it can receive the relevant Case associated to DOM (as in (2b)), or else it can be left Caseless, triggering deviance (for speakers barring (7a), to begin with).

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Metaphony meets identity avoidance in Brazilian Veneto

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In Veneto, metaphony targets stressed high-mid vowels (/e o/) and is triggered by unstressed final /i/, which usually corresponds to the masculine plural suffix (e.g., [ˈpese] 'fish.SG' → [ˈpisi] 'fish.PL') or the second person singular inflection (e.g., /ˈkori/ → [ˈkuri] 'run.PRES.2SG') [8] [3].

One puzzling feature of the Brazilian variety of Veneto (Brazilian Veneto, or BV) is that metaphony resulting in an [ii] string is blocked. In BV, some items that could potentially exhibit an [ii] string stemming from metaphony end in a lateral consonant in their singular form. Pluralization of such items involves lateral deletion, which results in the final stem vowel and the plural vowel being adjacent [5]. In items where the target stem vowel is /o/, metaphony is observed (e.g., /faˈzol-i/ → [faˈzui] 'bean.PL'). However, metaphony is not observed when the target stem vowel is /e/ (e.g., /kaˈvel-i/ → [kaˈvei], *[kaˈvii] 'hair.PL')—these observations are corroborated by examination of corpus data [3]. This is surprising because BV does allow identical vowel strings in other plural forms, such as in [ˈzii] 'uncle.PL', from singular [ˈzio], where the theme vowel is replaced by the plural suffix, and the stem vowel is high underlyingly—it is also surprising given recent typological findings showing that languages often repeat identical vowels within words [2, p. 28]. To our knowledge, this interaction between metaphony and vowel identity avoidance hasn't been formally analyzed in Brazilian Veneto or other Romance varieties.

The scenario in question characterizes a *derivational lookahead* [1], whereby a process can only apply once its result is evaluated and passes a given set of criteria. This pattern cannot be captured easily by standard OT markedness or faithfulness constraints alone, as it crucially involves a comparison between inherited vs. derived identity. We demonstrate how this apparent inconsistency between forms such as [ˈzii] and *[kaˈvii] can be analyzed within the optimality-theoretical framework of comparative markedness [7], which provides the tools to distinguish these sources of markedness by differentiating between surface-level markedness inherited from the fully faithful candidate, FFC (OLD MARKEDNESS = oM), and surface-level markedness introduced by the grammar (NEW MARKEDNESS = nM). Simply put, a marked structure that is already present in the input is preferred over a marked structure that is introduced in the output. The application of metaphony is thus constrained by the adjacency of identical segments (obligatory contour principle; [6, 4]): the grammar prohibits their occurrence *if* they are not already found in the fully faithful candidate. Thus, only forms like [ˈzii] (cf. *[kaˈvii]) can surface.

Specifically, OCP, a markedness constraint, is divided into oOCP and nOCP. The former is violated by identical adjacent sequences present in the FFC, while the latter is violated by identical adjacent sequences that resulted from changes to the FFC. We propose that the blockage of metaphony in forms like *[kaˈvii] results from a high-ranked constraint against derived identity sequences (nOCP), which outranks both the metaphony licensing constraint and faithfulness to vowel height. Thus, while [ˈzii] violates oOCP, *[kaˈvii] violates nOCP —see Tableaux 1 and 2. On the one hand,

nOCP must be highly ranked in the grammar—higher than the licensing constraint that favours metaphony [8]. On the other hand, because identical segments are allowed in FFCs ([ˈzii]), faithfulness constraints (such as Ident[hi]) must be ranked above oOCP. This analysis sheds light on how derivational lookahead effects can be modeled in parallel OT, and supports the empirical utility of comparative markedness constraints in capturing OCP effects.

Table 1: Tableau for /kaˈvel-i/ (lateral deletion is implied)

/kaˈvel-i/	nOCP	nLic([+hi] post-tonic, σ)	Ident[hi]	oOCP
[kaˈvii]	*		*	
☞[kaˈvei]		*		

Table 2: Tableau for /ˈzi-i/

/ˈzi-i/	nOCP	nLic([+hi] post-tonic, σ)	Ident[hi]	oOCP
☞[ˈzii]				*
[ˈzei]			*	

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A phrasal syntax for stative passives in Spanish

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Goal: Argue against a non-phrasal ('small') syntactic account for stative passives (henceforth SPass), providing data from Spanish that shows that a phrasal analysis can be maintained.

Introduction: SPass in Romance and other languages were originally thought to be built in the lexicon (Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 1986). However, work in the past couple of decades has argued that SPass are built syntactically (Anagnostopoulou 2003 for Greek, Alexiadou et al. 2015 for German and English, a.o.). A growing body of work from Distributed Morphology, however, has argued for a hybrid approach, whereby SPass are built in 'small' syntax, i.e. via a concatenation of heads that do not project phrasally but rather form a complex head. The difference is illustrated in (1). This line of research has focused on English (Embick 2023) and Greek (Paparounas 2023), based on empirical facts also found in Spanish.

(1) a. $[_{XP} X [_{YP} Y]]$ Phrasal syntax   b. $[_X X [_Y Y]]$ 'Small' syntax

In these accounts, a SPass as in (2a) would have the structure in (2b): a root, a verbalizer v that provides eventivity, and perhaps a Voice head for agentivity. None of these heads, crucially, project maximally. The resulting complex verbal head is selected for by a Stat head which stativizes the event encoded by v. This head Stat does project maximally.

(2) a. La ciudad está destruida   b. $[_{StatP}$ Stat $[_{(Voice)}$ (Voice) $[_v$ v $\sqrt{}$]]]
         'The city is destroyed.'

Arguments in favor of a 'small' syntax account for SPass:

I. <u>Event-related modification is only state oriented</u>. Paparounas (2023) discusses that event-related modifiers can only apply to the result state, not the process subevent. For this author, this is so because, since v is not a phrase, it blocks modification. Event-related modifiers can only adjoin to StatP. The same empirical facts that the author presents for Greek hold in Spanish (e.g. (3)).

(3)   a. #La puerta está abierta deprisa y corriendo.   b. La carta está escrita deprisa y corriendo.
          ('The door is opened hastily.')   'The letter is written hastily.'

II. <u>Approximatives</u>. Paparounas (2023) discusses, following prior work (Rapp & von Stechow 1999), how the approximative adverb almost yields two different readings with telic verbs: a counterfactual one and a scalar one, illustrated in (4a). This is so because almost can scope syntactically over the result state projection (narrow scope) or the vP/VoiceP projection (wide scope). For SPass in Greek, the author shows that only the scalar reading is possible. Paparounas (2023) argues that this is so because almost can only attach to the level where the event variable is closed off (Stat closes off the event variable and delivers a predicate of the result state of said event), and hence it scopes over the result state directly. These empirical facts also hold in Spanish (4) (we omit Greek examples for space reasons, as we did in (I)).

(4) a. Pedro casi construye la casa de sus sueños. 'Pedro almost builds his dream house.'
        Counterfactual reading: Pedro planned to build the house, but never started.
        Scalar reading: Pedro started building the house and it neared completion.
     b. La casa está casi construida. 'The house is almost built.' (Scalar reading only)

Problems with this approach: This approach has several theoretical problems: (a)

it complicates syntactic theory by introducing an extra compositional mechanism; (b) it does not explain how the creation of complex heads is restricted. For SPass in particular, the following problems arise: (a) the stativizer Stat does not have a morphological spell-out; (b) the account is silent with respect to the Aktionsart differences that have been observed in the literature for many languages.

Our proposal: We put forth the following generalization:

(5) Only stative predicates are licit inputs for SPass in Spanish.

We assume a tripartite division of the verb phrase, in the lines of Ramchand (2008), where VoiceP introduces the external argument (if any), vP encodes the dynamic event and VP encodes the result state. For SPass, we propose that the verb phrase is selected for by an Adj head that adjectivizes the structure and introduces participial morphology. The copula estar, we propose, is restricted to stative predicates.

Let us look at the consequences of this proposal. For telic verbs, this means that a SPass as (6a) would have a structure as in (6b). The participle is formed with a truncated verb consisting only of VP (the result projection). Thus, the participle merely denotes a result state, but crucially, it does not encode the process subevent. Note that the participle does not pass telicity tests (e.g. in x time), nor can the process subevent be locatable in time (e.g. (7)).

(6) a. La puerta está cerrada. 'The door is closed'
     b. [$_{CopP}$ estar [$_{AP}$ -da [$_{VP}$ la puerta [$_{V'}$ cerra-]]]]
(7) La puerta está cerrada (*ayer/ *en dos minutos).
     the door is   closed   yesterday in two minutes

Our proposal is thus able to dispense with the Stat projection assumed in Embick (2023) and Paparounas (2023): we do not stativize a telic event as in (2b), but rather, we select the stative portion (i.e. the result state) of a telic VP. Under this account, the need to posit a 'small' syntax to account for the quirks of SPass disappear: (I) Event-related modification is only state oriented simply because the process subevent is not syntactico-semantically encoded; (II) The approximative adverb almost only delivers a scalar reading simply because there is no process subevent it can scope over, but not because the v head does not project a phrase: there is just no vP within the participle.

The present account further explains why SPass derived from non-dynamic predicates such as gobernar ('govern') can have by-phrases (e.g. (8a)), whereas those derived from telic predicates generally cannot (e.g. (8b)). Since non-dynamic predicates are composed of VoiceP (external argument) and VP (internal argument), but no vP (and hence no process subevent), there is thus no need to truncate the verbal structure, and the SPass can accommodate a by-phrase in VoiceP. These facts are unexplained under the 'small' syntax account, but receive a straightforward explanation under ours, once aspect is taken into account.

(8) a. El país está gobernado por Pedro Sánchez.   b. #El plato está roto por Pedro Sánchez.
     'The country is governed by Pedro Sánchez.'   ('The plate is broken by Pedro Sánchez.')

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Negative Concord in South-Eastern Lombard

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In this talk, I describe and analyze the variation in Negative Concord configurations found in South-Eastern Lombard dialects. These varieties, which employ a postverbal (i.e., post-T) clausal negation marker, show a clear pattern of variation in the presence of this marker, depending on the category or syntactic position of the Negative Concord Item involved. With adverbial elements expressing negative semantics— such as those corresponding to 'never' and 'not anymore'—the clausal negation marker is obligatorily absent. In contrast, with postverbal negative indefinites, it is typically present (but not obligatorily). This alternation is illustrated in the following examples:

(1)   a.   Al=parla maj   (Trescore Cremasco)
           he=speaks never
      b.   Al=parla maj   (Scannabue)
           he=speaks never
      c.   Al=bofa maj   (Pandino)
           he=speaks never

           'He never speaks.'

(2)   a.   M=a mia est nisy   (Trescore Cremasco)
           me=has not seen nobody
      b.   M=a mia est nisy   (Scannabue)
           me=has not seen nobody
      c.   Al=m=a miga est nisy   (Pandino)
           he=me=has not see nobody

           'Nobody saw me.'

In (2) the postverbal subject *nisy* 'nobody' is not adjacent to the negation marker. Zanuttini (1997:76) had already observed that this condition allows for such "strict" Negative Concord configurations in Piedmontese. However, it should be noted that in South-Eastern Lombard, this pattern is also possible when the two elements are adjacent:

(3)   Ancoe mangia mia nisy   (Trescore Cremasco)
           today eats not nobody
           'Today nobody eats.'

The distribution observed in (1-2) can be accounted for by assuming that Negative Concord in these varieties is sensitive to the structural position of the negative elements that interact with the expression of clausal negation. The zero hypothesis is that mia/miga is merged only when other negative elements are not positioned higher than the vP. Postverbal subjects, as in (1), occupy positions no higher than the Focus projection in the low left periphery (Belletti 2004).

(4) a. [TP [AspP maj [NegP (*mia) [vP]]]]
     b. [TP [AspP [NegP mia [vP nisy]]]]

I will discuss two possible approaches to this pattern.

a) One approach, following analyses that treat Negative Concord as an instance of Agree (as in the recent proposal by Manzini & Pescarini 2024), requires the introduction of an additional parameter concerning the locus of negation encoding—specifically, at the AspP level of clause structure. In line with Manzini and Pescarini, this can be interpreted as a negation-related EPP (n-EPP) requirement in AspP. However, a potential issue with this account is the phase boundary between vP and AspP.

b) A second possibility is to assume that the presence of the negative marker functions as a last-resort strategy when indefinites or adverbs with negative semantics are insufficient to encode clausal negation. The term 'insufficient' implies a hierarchy of competing features, which can vary crosslinguistically. This view aligns with Garzonio (2021), who proposes a 'visibility' requirement for the disembodied logical negation operator. Under this approach, if we assume that in these varieties the visibility condition must be satisfied at the vP edge, then negative indefinites in object position are structurally too low, and postverbal subjects, which are in the low Focus area, cannot satisfy the requirement because the Focus feature is structurally stronger than Negation. A similar pattern is observed at the TP level in some Venetan dialects, where preverbal negative indefinites in subject position do not require the pre-T clitic negation, whereas those in the high Focus position do:

(5) a. NISSUNI *(no=) le= salude   (Pellestrina)
         nobody not= they= greet
         'They greet NOBODY!'
     b. Nissun l= a parlà
         nobody he= has spoken
         'Nobody spoke.'

A possible argument in support of this analysis comes from the observation that pre-T negative indefinites in subject position can license another negative indefinite in object position. This suggests that, when Focus is not involved, the higher negative element is sufficient to encode clausal negation:

(6)   Nisy ga det nigot a le   (Trescore Cremasco)
         nobody has said nothing to her
         'Nobody said anything to her.'

During the talk I will also discuss other related properties, as negative imperatives with negative indefinites, the morphosyntax of negative indefinites and the Negative Concord properties of clause-final negation no, likely a loan from Milanese.

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Referent introduction in guided productions by Italian teenagers: apparent form-function mismatches in first mentions

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We present the results of a guided production study conducted within the research project 'PRIN *Racconta*', in which we elicited short spoken narrative texts by 13-18 years old students with the aim to analyze the management of referents in discourse. In particular, we focus on cases of referent introduction (first mentions) which are performed by means of non-canonical referential devices: (i) definite articles and (ii) demonstrative pronouns and determiners. While both definite articles and demonstratives are typically found with given referents, in the cases we collect and analyze they are used to establish new discourse referents. We show that these uses are quite widespread in our texts and systematic in their occurrence. We analyze the discourse conditions they obey in the corpus and argue that their discourse function is key to solve the apparent form-function mismatch.

For our study we adopted the RUEG protocol (RUEG 2024), which is based on the 'LangSit' method that allows to combine the respect for semi-naturalistic, ecological conditions of elicitation with the necessity to control the general structure of linguistic productions to ensure comparability (Wiese 2020). Spoken texts re-telling the events shown in a short video were collected in formal and informal settings at school from 103 speakers in different Italian school curricula.

With respect to the use of definite descriptions to introduce first-mentioned discourse referents, which are neither familiar nor unique, we observe that this happens more frequently when the nominal may receive a weak definite interpretation in the sense of the term in Carlson et al. 2006), in stereotypical, familiar situations (Leonetti 2019; Donazzan 2013), as in (1):

(1) uno stava giocando col pallone e il pallone è finito in mezzo alla strada (BOTMiScovo_ii)
     one was playing with.the ball   and the ball is ended in middle to.thestreet
    'a guy was playing with a ball and the ball ended in the middle of the street'

These definite expressions satisfy the uniqueness requirement insofar as they refer to a type (Beyssade 2013). The weak interpretation systematically presents the referent as an instance of a certain type and excludes the identification of a specific individual among those matching the description, as the context makes such specification irrelevant (Leonetti 2019). Stereotypical situations play a crucial role in licensing the weak reading, since they are required to support the shift from tokens to types. In this they are similar to indefinite interpretations of plural definite nominal phrases (Zamparelli 2002, Cardinaletti & Giusti 2018, Morosi & Espinal 2025). In Italian, the licensing of such stereotypical situations seems to be more freely contextually determined than in other Romance languages; this is confirmed in our texts, where these uses occur in a remarkably varied set of contexts, especially in informal productions. The evocation of stereotypical situations serves to bring the hearer into a familiar scene, establishing a shared background and activating pre-existing knowledge.

As for indefinite demonstratives, we frequently find the use of demonstratives in presentative constructions to introduce hearer-new, discourse-new referents (Ionin

2006, von Heusinger 2011). Significantly, the informal texts show this phenomenon also with colloquial demonstrative forms composed of a reduced demonstrative stem and a post-demonstrative reinforcer (2):

(2) e c' era **sto qua** con il cane che attraversava   (BOLMiGio_ii)
    and there was ths here with the dog that crossed
    'and there was this guy with the dog who was crossing the street'

Usually, referent introduction with demonstratives indicates high prominence for discourse continuation (von Heusinger 2012). Following von Heusinger's approach, indefinite demonstratives are directly referential expressions: they are an instruction for the hearer, based on the speaker's referential intention, to establish a fixed discourse referent in the utterance situation (as all other types of demonstratives) and wait for more information to come. The differences with respect to other uses of demonstratives relate to information status and to incompleteness of representation at first introduction. In our corpus, they are not just a feature of informal register, although in formal texts they tend to occur only at the beginning, while in informal ones they distribute more evenly and their role in prominence indication is bleached. Their discourse function consists in actualizing the discourse context, making it a shared space with the addressee, since the referent is presented as immediately accessible.

More in general, both stereotypical weak definites and indefinite demonstratives are functional to narratives (especially informal ones) because, by relying on (generously assumed or even 'simulated') shared knowledge, they enhance the addressee's involvement (and attention, as a consequence). The stereotypical weak definites have a backgrounding function: they introduce elements which typically do not reach the status of discourse referents and simply contribute to setting the scene; however, in some cases they can be picked up anaphorically and gain some agency. The indefinite demonstratives have a foregrounding function: they introduce the discourse referents with the main roles in propelling the situation; in some cases, however, they can be found also introducing framing / scene setting elements.

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Adverbial agreement in Romance: recategorization and post-syntactic operations

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Goal and data.

In this talk we analyze the unexpected agreement patterns of degree adverbial quantifiers like *demasiado/poco*. As seen in (1) and (2), these degree quantifiers have scope over the adjective they combine with but may show gender and number exponents contrary to what is expected, since adverbs lack phi-features. These agreement patterns have been attested previously in the literature and considered non-standard (in standard Spanish, *demasiado* and *poco* are invariable forms: *demasiado$_{sg}$ habitual$_{sg}$ / lista$_{f.sg}$ / largas$_{f.pl}$ / alto$_{m.sg}$ / malos$_{m.pl}$, etc.)* (Pato & Heap 2005, Fábregas & Pérez-Jiménez 2008, Pato 2010, Hummel 2014,2015, Felíu 2018, Felíu & Pato 2020, etc.). Our corpus study (Spanish web 2018, Sketch Engine) documents unexpected agreement both in European Spanish and in American varieties (see González-Ortega, in preparation). The phenomenon is also documented in non-standard Italian (3a) and Portuguese (3b):

(1) a. La   demasiada habitual   ausencia   de aptitudes (Argentina)
The.F.SG too.F.SG   common.SG lack.F.SG   of skills 'The all-too-common lack of skills'

     b. Evitar   frases   demasiadas largas (Cuba)
Avoid   sentences.F,PL too.F.PL   long.F.PL   'Avoid too long sentences'

     c. Aditivos   demasiados perjudiciales (Chile)
Additives.M.PL too.M.PL   harmful.PL   'Additives that are too harmful'

(2) a. La   poca   honrosa   lista (Nicaragua)
The.F.SG less.F.SG honorable.F.SG list.F.SG   'The unhonourable list'

     b. Está en condiciones   pocas   idóneas (Spain)
It is in   conditions.F.PL less.F.PL ideal.F.PL   'It is in a less-than-ideal condition'

     c. Qué pocos   serios   son algunos (Perú)
How   less.M.PL serious.M.PL are some people.M.PL 'How unserious some people are'

(3) a. Bestie   mezze   selvaggie (Italy, Italian Web 2020)
Beasts.F.PL half.F.PL   wild.PL   'Half-wild beasts'

     b. Preços   bastantes acessíveis (Portugal, Portuguese Web 2023)
Prices.M.PL very.PL   affordable.PL   'Quite affordable prices'

Previous analysis.

Previous analysis of unexpected agreement in Spanish claim (a) that there is a process of recategorization of the adverb into an adjective (Pato & Heap 2005, Pato 2010; this is also the intuition in *NGLE* —RAE 2009: 13.8d—where it is stated that there is an "adjectivization of the adverb"); (b) that these forms are categorically adverbs, but show gender and number exponents (F&PJ 2008, Hummel 2015).
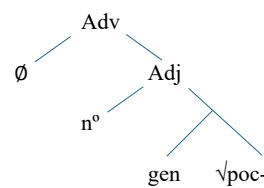
Our proposal.

Based on the idea that the adverb *demasiado* derives diachronically from an adjectival form (González-Rodríguez & Sánchez-López 2021), we hypothesize, within the framework of Distributed Morphology, that *demasiado* and *poco* (categorially adverbs) contain in their structure gender and number phi-features that are syntactically inactive and thus need not to be checked, (4). However, under certain conditions, these features can be associated with explicit morphological exponents.

(4) a.

```
        Adv
       /   \
      ∅    Adj
          /   \
         n°    \
        /  \    \
      gen  √demasiad-
```

b.

```
        Adv
       /   \
      ∅    Adj
          /   \
         n°    \
        /  \    \
      gen  √poc-
```
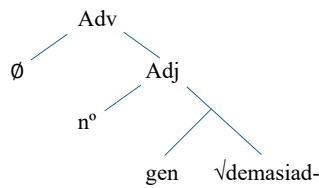
With respect to Spanish, our corpus data showed that agreement is almost compulsory when *demasiado/poco*+A appears in prenominal position, (1a), (2a). In this syntactic context, 98.6% of the examples containing the sequence *demasiado*+A show agreeing forms, (5a), and only 1.4% contain the invariable form, (6a). Also, 97.1% of our examples with the sequence *poco*+A show agreeing forms, (5b), and only 2.9% of the examples contain the invariable form, (6b). The data obtained show that adverbial agreement is systematic when the AP precedes the noun within the NP. This is not the case in the other syntactic positions (postnominal Q+A, (1b), (2b), or predicative position, (1c), (2c), where the agreeing forms seem to be produced by chance according to our corpus study.

(5) a. Su   demasiada perfecta   belleza (espinof.com)
        Her too.F.SG   perfect.F.SG beauty.F.SG   'Her all-too-perfect beauty'
    b. Sus pocos   auspiciosos   comienzos (alfinal.com)
        Its less.M.PL auspicious.M.PL beginnings.M.PL 'Its inauspicious beginnings'

(6) a. La   no demasiado excitante   ciudad (Argentina)
        The.F.SG not too   exciting.F.SG city.F.SG 'The not too exciting city'
    b. Simone en una   poco común foto (foroactivo.com)
        Simone in a.F.SG less   common.F.SG picture.F.SG 'Simone in a rare picture'

Our claim, thus, is that the obligatory agreement of *demasiado/poco* in prenominal position is the result of these forms being recategorized as previously claimed. The recategorization process is understood as upward movement in the DP structure (7) from DegP to the syntactic area above NP and AP, and the subsequent deactivitaion of the Adv layer in (4), and activation of the phi-features.

(7) [DP D [XP demasiado [[DegP ~~Deg-demasiado~~Adv AP] [NP N]]]]

Our data shows that animacy and countability are not key factors in the pattern of prenominal agreement, since an additional search has shown that invariable forms precede the same type of nouns as agreeing forms (see Tables 1-4), so that the recategorization process seems not to be semantically conditioned (contra F&PJ 2008).

Table 1: Animacity of the noun (demasiad-)

Prenominal	Agreed forms	*Demasiado*
Inanimate	204 (97,6%)	95 (92,2%)
Animate	5 (2,4%)	8 (7,8%)
Total	209 (100%)	103 (100%)

Table 2: Contability of the noun (demasiad-)

Prenominal	Agreed forms	*Demasiado*
Uncontable	196 (93,8%)	90 (87,4%)
Contable	13 (6,2%)	13 (12,6%)
Total	209 (100%)	103 (100%)

Table 3: Animacity of the noun (poc-)

Prenominal	Agreed forms	*Poco*
Inanimate	197 (94,7%)	101 (93,5%)
Animate	11 (5,3%)	7 (6,5%)
Total	208 (100%)	108 (100%)

Table 4: Contability of the noun (poc-)

Prenominal	Agreed forms	*Poco*
Incontable	176 (84,6%)	91 (84,3%)
Contable	32 (15,4%)	17 (15,7%)
Total	208 (100%)	108 (100%)

However, the gender/number exponents shown by *demasiado/poco* in other

syntactic positions are the result of a postsyntactic insertion of exponents linked to the available positions in (4a) and (4b) (Kucerova & Munn, 2023). This is consistent with our data, which shows that these cases of agreement are random and do not constitute a pattern. These explanations of the phenomenon seem to be applicable to the rest of the Romance languages in which it has been reported (Italian and Portuguese).

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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 a 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) 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'

     b.   Gianni   ha   stirato   le   camicie   **a lui**
        John   has   ironed   the   shirts   to him
        'John has ironed the shirts for him'

     c.   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)'

     d.   *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 in Spanish 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 Pylkkänen's distinction between high and low applicatives to EDs. Pylkkänen'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 *à la* 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 Pylkkänen (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 $_{affectedness}$ = λx.λe. 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 talk.

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Discourse-marking and candidate context sets: the case of Italian 'ma se' and 'guarda che'

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Introduction.

We present novel data on two Italian discourse-marking constructions, 'ma se' (literally 'but if') and 'guarda che' (literally 'look that'), and offer an account of their contrast. Both can be used to respond to utterances whose presuppositions the speaker believes to be unmet. However, they do so in different ways, depending on the speaker's expectations around what the interlocutor assumes to be *cg* in a given context: 'ma se' signals that prior to the interlocutor's utterance, the speaker took it to be *cg* that a presupposition of this utterance was not met, while 'guarda che' is used to *inform* the interlocutor that a presupposition of their utterance is not met. Explaining their different distribution requires a sophistication of the traditional Stalnakerian picture, which assumes a single *cg* that drives conversation (see e.g. Stalnaker 2002). By contrast, we explicitly take speakers to reason recursively about each other's *beliefs about the cg itself*, in line with Schlenker (2012) (see already Stalnaker 1978, p.85 for the remark that 'each participant in a conversation has his own context set'). This aligns with related accounts on discourse constructions: see Karagjosova (2004) on such epistemic reasoning licensing German discourse particles, and Frana & Rawlins (2019) analyzing Italian mica as an epistemic operator managing common ground beliefs.

'Ma se', 'guarda che', and presupposition rejection.

The existing descriptive/syntactic literature outlines 'ma se' as having adversative and exclamatory uses, marking prior content as not appropriate or incorrect (Lombardi Vallauri 2004: 195), and 'guarda che' as introducing opposition or signalling a deviation from expectation (Ghezzi & Molinelli 2014; Badan 2021; Cardinaletti 2022). Here, we focus on their use as discourse markers that reject a presupposition in the interlocutor's utterance, a function not previously discussed, to our knowledge. Crucially, when the speaker cannot assume shared background knowledge, only 'guarda che' is felicitous.

(1) The interlocutor is a time traveler from the seventeenth century. In 2025, he says 'The king of France has to make some important decisions in the next months'. The speaker responds:

- #MA SE/GUARDA CHE   non   c' è   un re   in Francia.
  Ma se/Guarda che   not   there.is a   king in France.
  '#MA SE/ GUARDA CHE *there isn't a king in France*.'

The opposite pattern holds if the relevant proposition was expected to be *cg* before the interlocutor's utterance.

(2) At a prominent conference in contemporary history, two colleagues who respect each other are talking. The speaker says 'The parliament is voting on an important bill in France'. The interlocutor responds 'It remains to be seen whether the king will approve it'. The speaker responds:

- MA SE/#GUARDA CHE   non   c' è   un re   in Francia.
  Ma se/Guarda che   not   there.is a   king in France.

'MA SE/ #GUARDA CHE *there isn't a king in France.*'

In contexts compatible both with and without speaker expectations on the *cg* hypothesized by the interlocutor, either expression is available. The choice depends on whether the speaker intends to convey that all participants were expected to agree on the presupposition's falsity (using 'ma se') or merely to inform the interlocutor of a fact they could not necessarily be presumed to know, implying presupposition failure (using 'guarda che').

Account: sets of candidate context sets.

We assume, in line with the literature (see e.g. Stalnaker 1978; Potts 2007; Aravind, Fox & Hackl 2023), the following principles of felicitous utterance. We work in a trivalent framework, i.e. for any utterance S and world w, $[\![S]\!]$ is either true (1), false (0), or undefined (#) at w (see e.g. Peters, 1979; Spector, 2016). In what follows:

(3) $\mathbf{C} := \bigcap\{p : p \text{ is common ground}\}$ (*context set*)

    a. $\{w: [\![S]\!]^{w} = \#\} \cap C = \emptyset$ (*presupposition satisfaction*)

    b. $C \nsubseteq \{w: [\![S]\!]^{w} = 1\}$ (non-redundancy)

    c. $C \nsubseteq \{w: [\![S]\!]^{w} = 0\}$ (consistency)

The starting point of our analysis is that speakers are uncertain about what other speakers believe is the *cg*, but can draw inferences from the assumption that other participants adhere to principles 3(a,b,c). To model this uncertainty, we define $\mathbb{C}_x^t \subseteq P(W)$ as the set of sets of worlds that *x* considers candidate context sets at time t. For agents x and y, we define $\mathbb{C}_{x(y)}^t \subseteq P(W)$ so that $\mathbf{C} \in \mathbb{C}_{x(y)}^t$ iff, at time *t*, *x* considers it possible that *y* takes $\mathbf{C}$ to be the context set. The inference that a listener x draws from assuming that the speaker y adheres to all principles after uttering S is that every candidate context sets must intersect with some worlds where S is true, some where S is false, but none where it is undefined.

Account: felicity conditions of the two constructions.

Consider the following schematic dialogues. At time *t,* *y* utters 'S', and at time (*t + 1)* *x* replies 'Ma se/Guarda che S'. In both cases—whether *x* says 'ma se S'' or 'guarda che S'', a presupposition of S, according to *x*, is not met. However, 'ma se' and 'guarda che' communicate different assumptions about the sets of sets of worlds *x* considered possible candidates for *y*'s context set prior to time *t*, i.e., about what $\mathbb{C}_{x(y)}^t$ looked like before y uttered S. Depending on the context, *x* could have held various expectations at (*t − 1*). In the expected ignorance case (4a), *x* expected at (*t − 1*) that *y* might be open to the possibility that the presuppositions of S were met, without ruling out that they might not be. In the expected alignment case (5a), by contrast, *x* expected *y* to be considering only context sets in which a relevant presupposition of S was not satisfied. We can now state the following felicity conditions:

(4) At time ($t+1$), speaker x can felicitously utter 'Guarda che S'' in response to y's utterance 'S' at time t iff:

    a. $\neg\forall \mathbf{C} \in \mathbb{C}^t_{x(y)}.$ $\mathbf{C} \nsubseteq \{w: [\![S]\!]^w = \#\}$

(*Exp. Ignorance*)

    b. $\{w: [\![S']\!]^w = 1\} \subseteq \{w: [\![S]\!]^w = \#\}$

(5) At time ($t+1$), speaker x can felicitously utter 'Ma se S'' in response to y's utterance 'S' iff:

    a. $\forall \mathbf{C} \in \mathbb{C}^t_{x(y)}.$ $\mathbf{C} \nsubseteq \{w: [\![S]\!]^w = \#\}$

(Exp. Alignment)

    b. $\{w: [\![S']\!]^w = 1\} \subseteq \{w: [\![S]\!]^w = \#\}$

Figure 1. Instances of candidate context sets $A \in \mathcal{C}^{t-1}_{x(y)}$ and $B \in \mathcal{C}^t_{x(y)}$ given y's utterance at time t.

Following Kratzer (1999) a.o., we assume that 'guarda che S'' and 'ma se S'' are truth-conditionally equivalent to asserting S', but differ in their felicity conditions. Crucially, we don't expect x to comply to the felicity principles – in line with others (see e.g. Grosz, 2016), we assume that when discourse markers are used, those principles are replaced by the felicity conditions of the discourse-marking construction itself (e.g. German discourse marker 'ja', Zimmermann 2019). This yields correct predictions: in (1), the speaker knows a presupposition is unmet but allows that the interlocutor might not. This is a case of expected ignorance; only 'guarda che' is felicitous. In (2), all context sets the speaker attributes to the interlocutor are assumed to exclude such worlds; 'ma se' is felicitous, as it expresses surprise that the presupposition was even considered.

To conclude, note (4a) and (5a) convey x's expectations about y's stance on the context set, but not x's own stance on the presupposition. That x believes $[\![S]\!] = \#$ results from what follows. They just uttered something truth-conditionally equivalent to $[\![S]\!]$, and thus take it to be true. And by (4b)/(5b), we get that $[\![S]\!] = \#$.

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Animacy restrictions without animacy features: Strong pronouns in French

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Background.

The animacy restrictions of French strong pronouns depend on the availability of a weak alternative. Strong pronouns are dispreferred with inanimate antecedents in contexts with weak alternatives (cf. the null pronoun in (1) and Cardinaletti & Starke 1999; Dobrovie-Sorin 1999; Heidinger 2024), but they lose this restriction in contexts without weak alternatives (cf. (2) and Zribi-Hertz 2000).

(1) Cette valise$_1$, je voyage toujours avec $^?$elle / Ø.
    this suitcase I travel always with STRG.F.3SG/NULL
    'This suitcase, I always travel with Ø/it' (Zribi-Hertz 1984: 65)

(2) Ce pays$_1$, quelque chose d' indéfinissable
    this country some thing of undefinable
    m' attire vers lui$_1$ / *Ø$_1$.
    1SG attracts towards STRG.M.3SG/NULL
    'This country, I have always been attracted by it' (Zribi-Hertz 2000: 674; modified)

Research question, goal and claim.

In the light of this flexibility, questions about the feature content of pronouns become especially virulent. More specifically, data as in (1) and (2) raise the question of whether a [+human] feature is part of the feature content of French strong pronouns. If yes, then some additional explanation is required for the absence of animacy restrictions in contexts without non-strong alternatives (2). If no, then some additional explanation is required for the link between pronoun strength and animacy in contexts with weak alternatives (1). The goal of this paper is to discriminate between these two options by comparing two constraint-based analyses. We first present novel gradient acceptability data for French. We then assess two potential analyses of the data, one relying on the strong pronoun's gender features, the other assuming animacy features on the pronouns. We claim that French strong pronouns do not have animacy features as part of their feature content.

Acceptability experiment.

We use a 2×2 design manipulating PRONOUN TYPE (strong vs. null) and ANIMACY (human vs. inanimate) with 16 items following this design. To test the relevance of competition (= presence or absence of a non-strong alternative) we compare two contexts: one with competition between strong and null pronouns, the other without competition (allowing only strong pronouns). These two contexts are obtained by the manipulation of preposition type: with-competition prepositions avec 'with', sans 'without' vs. without-competition prepositions malgré 'despite', vers 'towards' (Troberg 2020). Hence, our design includes the between-item variable COMPETITION (half of the items include with-competition and the other half include without-competition prepositions). The acceptability judgment task relies on a 5-points Likert scale ranging from "Absolutely unacceptable" to "Perfectly acceptable". We recruited 32 French speakers from France via the Prolific platform (13 women and 19 men, with a mean age of 32 (SD=8.1)).

The **main results** are given in Figure 1: In contexts with competition, where the two pronoun types are available, strong pronouns are more acceptable with human and null pronouns with inanimate antecedents. In contexts without competition, null pronouns are unacceptable, and strong pronouns are as acceptable with human as with inanimate antecedents. The results thus clearly show that the preference of the strong pronoun for human antecedents disappears in contexts without weak alternatives.
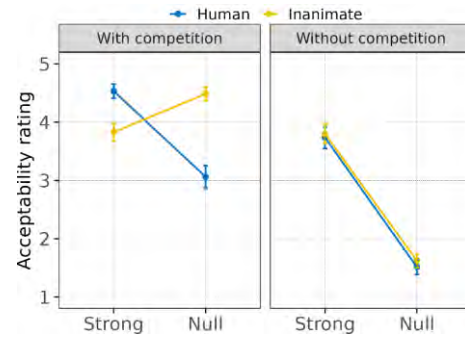

Figure 1: Mean acceptability of French strong and null pronouns

Animacy vs. gender-based analysis in Stochastic Optimality Theory (SOT). We use SOT's Gradual Learning Algorithm (GLA; Boersma & Bruce 2001) to analyze our experimental data and to rank the constraints in (3). Both analyses apply the same two structural constraints related to pronoun types (*STRONG and *NULL), the same lexical constraint (LEX), and a faithfulness constraint. The latter is the point of divergence between the two analyses (3d). While the animacy-based analysis relies on different animacy features on strong and null pronouns, the gender-based account does not need animacy features on pronouns. Instead, the Gender Faithfulness constraint requires that antecedents with semantic gender are expressed by gender-bearing pronouns (i.e., strong and not null). The constraint rankings produced by the GLA within the Animacy Faithfulness and the Gender Faithfulness analysis are given in Figure 2.

(3) a. *STRONG: Avoid strong pronouns (cf. Minimize Structure (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999))

b. *NULL: Avoid null pronouns (null pronouns are typologically marked compared to strong ones (Bresnan 2001))

c. LEX: Avoid null pronouns with prepositions which lexically disallow them

d. FAITH$_{ANIMACY}$: Animacy features in the input are represented in the output

d.' FAITH$_{GENDER}$: Semantic gender features of the input are represented in the output
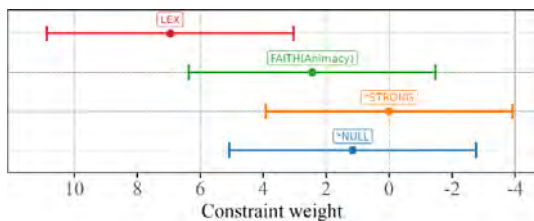
Figure 2a: Animacy Faithfulness analysis.
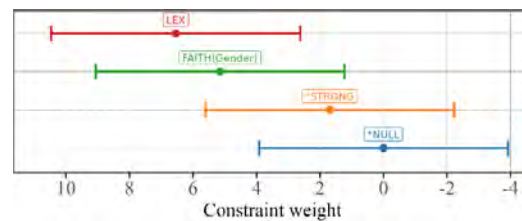
Figure 2b: Gender Faithfulness analysis.

To evaluate the two analyses, we use the GLA to produce frequency distributions given the different constraint rankings. We then turn back these frequencies into predicted acceptability judgment differences and we compare them against the actual ones. We measure the accuracy of the predictions with the R^2 statistics, which estimates the linear fit between the actual and predicted acceptability judgement differences. Crucially, the R^2 amounts to 0.81 for the Animacy Faithfulness analysis

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and to 0.97 for the Gender Faithfulness analysis; a finding which favors the gender-based analysis over the animacy-based one. The gender-based analysis is also conceptually appealing because it relies on properties of the pronouns which are necessary independently for agreement (gender), without stipulating additional features (i.e., animacy features). Thus, in the preferable analysis, the data in (1) and (2) can be accounted for as follows: The weakest pronoun should be used whenever possible (null > strong). But since this principle is outranked by gender faithfulness, it only applies with inanimate and not with human antecedents. With prepositions where null is not available, the strong pronoun can be freely used also for inanimates since the faithfulness constraint only goes in one direction; i.e. it does not require that gender bearing strong pronouns express antecedents with semantic gender.

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Only one *on*?

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1. Overview

French impersonal *on* has two readings, a generic one and an episodic one, that seem to behave differently with respect to scoping elements and to inclusion or exclusion of the participants in its possible referents set. Both readings arise from a truncated pronominal structure which is bound by sentential generic or episodic operators. In contrast to previous work on similar impersonal pronouns, I maintain that *on* is a (minimal) φP-sized pronoun rather than a bare NP.

2. Background

It has been argued that pronominal structures are not structurally atomic (Cardinaletti et al. 1999, Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002 a.o.), but are composed maximally of multiples layers, more or less parallel to other nominals. (1) illustrates Déchaine and Wiltschko's proposal: a DP layer brings a referential force to the pronoun, a φP layer contains at least person, number and gender features of the pronoun and a NP layer hosts a minimal empty N head.

(1) [DP D [φP φ [NP N]]]   (e.g. French strong pronouns: *moi*)
    [φP φ [NP N]]   (e.g. French clitics: *il*)
    [NP N]   (e.g. French *en*)

Crucially, the size of a pronoun (along with a principle of competition) determines its distribution and interpretation. DP-sized pronouns can undergo coordination and occupy the left periphery. φP-sized pronouns occupy A-positions and can be bound. NP-sized ones are interpreted as predicates and do not participate in binding relations at all.

3. The Puzzle

One class of pronouns that has received less direct attention in this literature are dedicated *impersonals*(IMP). French *on* allows both generic (GEN) and episodic (EP) readings, but is restricted to subject position and obligatorily triggers 3SG agreement. Literature on impersonals pursues the intuition that such pronouns are semantically and syntactically underspecified (Egerland 2003, Ackema and Neeleman 2018, Fenger 2018). However, *on* does not seem to be completely unspecified: it can only refer to humans.

Generic and episodic *on* have different properties that could make one think that they are two different pronouns. Each has a quantifier-like meaning.

(2) En France, **on** aime le   fromage.
    In   France, IMP likes DET cheese
    In France, people like cheese.   (GEN)

(3) **On** a volé mon vélo.
    IMP AUX stolen my bike
    Someone stole my bike   (EP)

Nevertheless, they do not behave like quantifiers. Their interaction with other scoping elements (*twice*) does not lead to QVE. Additionally, generic and episodic *on* are not

interpreted in the same position at LF. Generic *on* scopes over *twice* (4). Episodic *on* scopes under *twice* (5).

    (4) En mai, **on** pleure **deux fois.**
        In May IMP cries   twice
        In May, people cry twice.   (GEN>2)

    (5) **On** a   volé   mon vélo **deux fois**.
        IMP AUX stolen my   bike twice
        Someone stole my bike twice.   (2> EP)

Generic and episodic *on* seem, *prima facie*, to have different binding properties. Generic *on* easily binds 3SG possessives, while it is much harder for episodic *on*.

    (6) **On** range **ses**   affaires.
        IMP tidies poss.3SG things
        One tidies one's stuff.   (GEN)

    (7) #**On** a   rangé   **son**   vélo.
          IMP AUX put-away poss.3SG bike
        Intended: Someone put their bike away. (EP)

Another difference between the two readings is that generic *on* is participant inclusive and episodic *on* is exclusive. In (8)(6), the sentence applies to the speaker/hearer. In (9) , *on* is never the speaker/hearer.

    (8) **On** range **ses**   affaires.
        IMP tidies poss.3SG things
        One tidies one's stuff.   (GEN)

    (9) **On** a volé un vélo.
        IMP AUX stolen a bike
        Someone stole a bike   (EP)

4. Proposal

I propose that, since it is unspecified for person, gender and number, French impersonal only displays a very small φP layer composed of a empty person layer (πP) and a ClassP layer encoding a [+human] feature over the NP layer (10a), compared to the fuller φP layer found with weak personal pronouns (10b). I assume that the N head introduces a variable. Since there is no DP layer binding it, this variable is visible from the outside of the pronoun for binding.

    (10) a. [πP π [ClassP Class [+human][NP N]]]   Partial/Minimal φP Layer
          b. [NumP Num [πP π [ClassP Class[NP N]]]]   Full φP Layer

This interpretation of the imp-2 structure accounts for the generic and episodic readings that these pronouns display: they can be bound by sentential operators and are under their scope since they do not show scoping properties themselves. Looking at the type of sentence in which French *on* appears and the reading it gets in them, it seems that *on* cannot have a generic interpretation if it is not in a generic sentence independently —namely a sentence that generically quantifies over events (Krifka et al. 1995). Similarly, *on* only gets an episodic reading in an episodic sentence —

namely a sentence that involves an existential quantifier over events (Bohnemeyer and Swift 2004).

Finally, the difference of inclusion/exclusion of the participants is the result of pragmatics and not of a difference in the structure: the underspecified meaning of *on* restricts the episodic contexts in which it can be used. The speaker needs to be clueless about the referent's identity, which is improbable if they speak about oneself or the addressee. Generic sentences do not involve such a pragmatic restriction, leading to this semantic asymmetry.

5. Discussion

i) The status of NP pronouns.

Previous analyses of impersonals like German *man* and French *on* treat them as bare NPs. The problem is that they do not behave like the pronouns that Déchaine and Wiltschko characterise as NP-sized. French *on*, for example, can in fact bind and be bound unlike anaphoric *en*. Likewise, *on* does not occupy the syntactic positions of predicates. Since treating NPs as predicates, i.e. of type <e,t>, is uncontroversial, the best way to capture the deficiency of impersonals is by treating Déchaine and Wiltschko's φP as a layer of projections which can be minimally projected without being totally absent.

ii) Imp-1 vs Imp-2.

Dedicated impersonal pronouns can be divided into at least two categories, IMP-1 and IMP-2 (Egerland 2003, Ackema and Neeleman 2018, Fenger 2018). In contrast to German *man* and French *on* (IMP-2), there are impersonals like English *one* (IMP-1) which only allow a generic reading but can appear in subject and non-subject positions. It is not immediately obvious how to extend the present approach to IMP-1 pronouns; they have the structure to be bound by GEN operator, but seem to resist standing on their own in an episodic sentence.

iii) Personal *on*.

French *on* also displays a 1PL personal reading. It seems to be morphosyntactically like impersonal *on*, since it shows the same 3SG agreement on the verb, but it is interpretively a 1PL (binding 1PL pronouns and possessives). This issue echoes, for example, the syntactico-semantic mismatch observed on hybrid nouns (Smith 2021).

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DOM and oblique morphology: Romance patterns in enriched case hierarchies

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Goals. This work centers on a defining trait in the realm of differential object marking (DOM) in Romance, namely its rendering by oblique morphology, as in (1) - (8), cf. the traditional 'prepositional accusative' (Rohlfs 1971; Roegiest 1979; Bossong 1991, 1998, a.o.). We first examine various oblique strategies employed for DOM across Romance; then we show that OBL-DOM unification is possible in morphology as a type of syncretism applied in enriched case hierarchies, building on Irimia (2023b).

Oblique strategies for Romance DOM. Repurposing of the *a* (prepositional) marker, otherwise seen with datives and locatives, is a particularly robust morphological pattern for Romance DOM, especially in Western Romance (Bossong 1991; Torrego 1998; Manzini and Franco 2016; Irimia and Pineda 2020; Bárány 2018, 2021; Irimia 2023a, 2023b; Manzini 2024, a.m.a.): Spanish (1), Calabrese-San Luca (2), Sardinian (3), etc. It is also clear that other DAT=DOM morphological material, although much less studied, does exist. Below we focus on some problematic patterns (leaving aside less challenging ones, for lack of space). For example, some Gallo-Italic varieties of Sicily (among which Nicosia; De Angelis 2025; Rohlfs 1969; Manzini and Savoia 2005, a.o.) exhibit DAT=DOM *da/na*, while *a* is preserved only as a locative/temporal/modal (Menza 2014). See (4)-(5) adapted from De Angelis (2025). Extremely relevant are also data from creoles with DOM, where higher human DOs get signaled by oblique morphology (Baxter 1988; Smith 2013, a.o.). Papia Kristang (PK), the Portuguese-based creole of Melaka (Malaysia, Singapore and Kuala Lumpur), grammaticalizes a marker based on the Portuguese comitative *com* 'with', spelled out as *ku/kung/kong* (Macgregor 1955; Baxter 1983, 1988, 2005; Bossong 2021), illustrated in (7) from Bossong (2021). In Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (SLPC) the *pe/pa/pə* (from Portuguese *por/para* 'for') is used for DOM (Smith 1977, 2005; De Silva Jayasuriya 1999; ARPIC Online), as in (6) (Smith 2023: ex.20, ARPIC). In turn, a notable exception to DAT=DOM comes from Romanian, where the locative preposition *pe* 'on' is used for DOM, although the language has both an inflectional and a prepositional dative (both doubled by a dative clitic), as in (8-a) and (8-b).

(1) Aman **a** *(*los*) niños.
love.3PL DAT/LOC=DOM DEF child.PL
'They love the children.' (*Spanish*)

(2) mazzau **(*a)** *u* previte / **(*a)** idu…
killed.3SG DOM DEF priest / DOM him
'He killed the priest/him.' (*S. Luca*, adapted)

(3) Appu vistu **a** (*su) frate de Juanne / **a** *su* rei.
have.1SG seen.M.SG DAT/DOC=DOM DEF brother of Juanne / DOM DEF king
'I saw Juanne's brother/the king.' (*Sardinian - Central Eastern*; Jones 1995, 1999, adapted)

(4) vedëtë **da/na** me…
saw.3SG DAT=DOM precisely me…
'He saw me.' (*Nicosia*; De Angelis 2025)

(5) ncöntraë **na** dëö…
met.1SG DAT=DOM he…
'I met him.' (*Nicosia*)

(6) kambraadu-**pa** naandiiyam-oyaa.
friend-DAT/LOC=DOM NEG.IRR-see
'I would not have seen my friend.' (*SLPC*)

(7) Eli conesé **kung** Mary.
he know with=DOM Mary
'He knows Mary.' (*Papia Kristang*)

(8) a. O chem **pe** fată/*fata/fat(*a) bună. // Mănânc **pe** masă.
CL.ACC call.1SG DOM girl/girl.DEF/girl.DEF good.F.SG // eat.1SG ON table
'I call the girl/the good girl.' // 'I eat on the table.'

b. Îi   dai   cărţi fet**ei** / **la**   fată.   c. DP[cărţi a-*(le)   fet**ei**].
    CL.DAT give.2SG books girl.DAT.SG/at girl   books GEN-DEF.F.PL   girl.GEN.F.SG
    'You give books to the girl.'   Lit. 'books of the girl.' (*Romanian*)

Syntactic or PF obliques? The oblique appearance of these marked objects is a traditional source of debate: are they accusative or oblique syntactically? Non-trivial *syntactic* diagnostics (Bossong 19911998; Bárány 2018, 2021, or Irimia 2023b, a.o.) unify DOM with unmarked accusatives, and not with obliques, motivating an **accusative** syntax. In D(istributed) M(orphology), oblique DOM is subject to an *Impoverishment* operation (Halle 1990, 1992; Halle and Marantz 1993; Noyer 1993, etc.), which re- moves the accusative feature *in the morphology.* Placing the burden only on PF is, however, problematic: in Romance, oblique DOM, as opposed to unmarked accusatives, gives rise to important (Person Case Constraint-type) co-occurrence restrictions with a clear syntactic nature (Ormazabal and Romero 2007, 2013; Irimia 2023a, a.o.).

A problem of projection? Alternatively, some recent proposals (see especially Manzini and Franco 2016, et subseq.) revive the oblique syntactic nature (Torrego 1998) of oblique DOM: it shares with obliques an elementary predicate introducing a part-whole relation ($Q_\subseteq$). Accusativity diagnostics are a problem of projection (Manzini 2024): in obliques, it is $Q_\subseteq$ that projects, while in oblique DOM it is the D head. We note, however, that non-trivial restrictions on oblique DOM are hard to derive in this account; for example, complex interactions between DOM and overt Def morphology, briefly summarized here: i) obligatory overt Def, as in Spanish (1); ii) overt Def blocked, as in (2) from Calabrese (Ledgeway et al. 2019, see also De Angelis 2020 for other Italo-Romance, Neuburger and Stark 2014 for Corsican, etc.); (iii) overt Def permitted in some instances, but not others, as in eg. Sardinian (3), or Romanian (8-a).

Case hierarchies, syncretism, and *ABA. Bárány (2018), instead, puts forward an explanation based on PF syncretism, taking Spanish (1) as a case study: DOM and DAT are the only DP types that carry a structural Case feature which needs licensing (unmarked ACC is caseless/unlicensed) and they get spelled out with the same morphology. As is well known, syncretism is subject to strict contiguity (Johnston 1996; 2017; Smith et al. 2018; Zompì 2019, see also Caha's 2009, 2017 Case Contiguity, a.m.o.), under the so-called *ABA constraint (Bobaljik 2012, 2015), informally rendered in (9).

(9)   *ABA: in a certain paradigm two forms cannot share a morphological property (A) across an
        intervening form which does not share the same property (but has instead property B).

Assuming that cases are not undecomposable categories (Bierwisch 1965; Caha 2009, a.o.), Bárány (2018) uses Harðarson's (2016) hierarchy in (13), under which DOM and DAT are adjacent and can thus be targeted by the same syncretic spell-out rule, as in (12), which inserts /*a*/ for DOM/DAT in Spanish.

(10)   [A B]$_{ACC}$ ↔ /-w/   (11)   [A B C]$_{DAT}$ ↔ /-x/
(12)   [A B] ↔ /-y/ (*Syncretic spell-out rule*)   (13)   NOM > $\boxed{\text{ACC > DAT}}$ > GEN > ABL/INS...

Enriched case hierarchies. This analysis is problematic too: i) Spanish *a*-DOM is syncretic not only with DAT, but also with LOC(ative), and there is also the *de*-GEN. How to derive the LOC-DAT- DOM homomorphism without incurring *ABA in (13)? ii) unmarked accusatives are not as syntactically inert as they seem (see object

agreement and/or clitic doubling, etc.). Postulating distinct case hierarchies across languages is not a desirable option either. In order to reconcile the facts, Irimia (2023b) extended a nanosyntax proposal, namely an enriched case hierarchy, initially formulated by Starke (2017). Crucially, going beyond Starke (2017), but in agreement with Caha (2009), Irimia (2023b) emphasizes that the presence of more than one LOC is crucial across Romance. The enriched case hierarchy in (14)-(17) contains more than one accusative: SAcc - 'smaller' and BAcc 'bigger', the latter syncretic with DOM, which grammaticalizes additional (discourse-related) features beyond (accusative) case. A unifying point of OBL strategies for DOM in the Romance data (discussed here) is syncretism between BAcc and cases lower down the scale (i.e. DAT_2, LOC_2). In Spanish, for example, we see *a* BDat=LOC_2=BAcc, as in (14); similarly in SLPC, *pe/pa/pə* BDat=LOC_2=BAcc. In Nicosia (4) -(5) instead, only BAcc=BLoc obtains (presumably because additional modal structure in LOC *a* is incompatible with DOM), as in (15). Extremely interesting is also the PK DOM *ku*, which is syncretic not only with DAT but also with instrumental and comitative, as in (16). (14)-(16) have in common lack of grammaticalization of SDat. Lastly, Romanian shows DOM-LOC syncretism, excluding datives, as in (17). This is due to independent settings in the language. Romanian inflectional and prepositional datives follow the Balkan pattern of DAT-GEN syncretism (Dobrovie-Sorin 1998). However, as seen in (8-c), Romanian GEN also requires additional morphology in certain contexts (especially indefinite), more specifically a linker-type morpheme *a*; the latter, in turn, needs obligatory overt definiteness morphology, regardless of definiteness semantic interpretation (Cornilescu 2009; a.o.). The problem is that, as we saw above, overt definiteness might clash with DOM in Romanian. Thus, as DAT-DOM syncretism cannot be established without incurring *ABA across GEN (which must be syncretic with DAT), DAT cannot be selected for DOM.

(14)   NOM > SACC > LOC_1 > (SDAT) > GEN > **LOC_2** > **BACC** > **BDAT** ... [↔ /a/ (*Span*); ↔ /pe/ (*SLPC*)]
(15)   NOM > SACC > LOC_1 > (SDAT) > GEN > LOC_2 > **BACC** > **BDAT**   [↔/na/ (*Nicosia*)]
(16)   NOM > SACC > LOC_1 > (SDAT) > GEN > LOC_2 > **BACC** > **BDAT** > **COM** > **INS**   [↔/ku/ (*PK*)]
(17)   NOM > SACC > LOC_1 > (SDAT) > GEN > **LOC_2** > **BACC** > BDAT   [↔/pe/ (Rom)]

When definites (can) go missing: DOM, multi-layered DPs and licensing restrictions

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Goals. This work examines a complex aspect in the realm of differential object marking (DOM) in Romance, which has been rarely addressed in a comprehensive manner, namely patterns of variation in its interactions with overt definiteness. The main data come from a selection of Southern Italy dialects, which are integrated into a wider Romance picture (1)-(12).

(1) Petru mazzau (*a)u previte… (2) Aman **a** *(*los*) niños.
Petru killed.3SG. DOM-DEF priest love.3PL DOM/LOC=DOM DEF child.PL
'Petru killed the priest.' (*Calabrese-S. Luca*) 'They love the children.' *(Spanish)*

(3) Appu vistu **a** (**su*) frate de
have.1ST seen.M.SG DOM/LOC=DOM DEF brother of
Juanne / **a** *su* rei.
Juanne DOM DEF King
'I saw Juanne's brother / the king.' (*Sardinian-CentralEastern*; Jones 1995, 1999, adapted)

(4) O chem **pe** fată/*fata/fat(*a*) bună. // Mănânc **pe** masă.
CL.ACC call.1SG DOM girl/girl.DEF/girl.DEF good.F.SG // eat.1SG ON table
'I call the girl/the good girl.' // 'I eat on the table.'

(5) Les he trobades, **a** ses faltes / **a** les peres
CL.ACC have.1SG found.F.PL DAT=DOM *s*-DEF mistake.PL DAT=DOM *s*-DEF pear.PL
'The mistakes/the pears, I found.' (*Balearic Catalan*; Escandell-Vidal 2009, Moll 1975, adapted)

DOM and definiteness. The patterns in (1)-(5) illustrate three main options, when it comes to marked objects with overt *definiteness* morphology: **(i)** overt Def blocked, as in (1) from Calabrese-San Luca (Ledgeway et al. 2019; see also De Angelis 2020, a.o.), DOM being possible in the absence of overt definiteness. A similar pattern is seen in other Italo-Romance varieties, for example in Francavilla in Sinni (Basilicata), or Corsican (Marcellesi 1986, Neuburger and Stark 2014, Giancarli 2023, a.o.).

(6) Ppascælə e kkuotə (**a*) i maghestə / *(*a*)
Pasquale AUX welcomed DAT=DOM DEF.PL teacher.PL DOM
Ndɔnjə *(*a*) cchill'atə.
Antonio DOM that.PL other
'Pasquale welcomed the teachers/Antonio/the others.' *(Basilicata - Francavilla in Sinni)*

(7) …di forzà (**à*) u so amicu… (8) Vigu (**à*) l'omu
…to force DOM DEF his friend see.1SG DOM DEF-man
'…to force his friend' (*Corsican*) 'I see the man.'(Corsican, Marcellesi 1986)

(ii) obligatory overt Def, as in Spanish (2), or other languages in which DOM is *ungrammatical* without overt Def for definite readings (Catalan - Aissen 2003, Irimia and Pineda 2023; Sicilian dialects - Ledge- way 2023; Barese - Andriani 2023; etc.); **(iii)** overt Def permitted in some instances, but not others, as in Romanian (4) or Sardinian varieties (3). Two observations must be emphasized: i) despite surface syncretism of DOM with obliques, the latter do not obey these restrictions (in Italo-Romance they do not block the definite, in Spanish they allow bare nouns, etc.). While it is true that most accusative-introducing prepositions ban overt Def on *unmodified* nouns in Romanian, there are crucial differences between DOM-*pe* and LOC-*pe* (see also Hill and Mardale 2021): the former *requires* Def on *modified* nominals (4), the latter does not (9); ii) ungrammaticality of overt Def would not be

predicted if D projection and labeling were required in oblique DOM (cf. Manzini 2024). It is also unclear how variation would be derived.

(9) Aşezi bucatele **pe** mese mari.   (10)   [KP K=DOM [DP D   ]]
     set.2SG food on   table.PL big.PL
     'You put the food on big tables.' (*Romanian*)   (11)   [DP D=DOM …[NP N]]

DOM-Def interactions. Some formal possibilities. Postulation of a (structural accusative) KP layer in DOM (as in (10), López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, a.o.) explains obligatory Def in Spanish- type languages. Instead, for languages such as Calabrese (San Luca) in (1), one possibility (following Jones 1995, 1999) could be (but see also De Angelis 2020) that DOM features are hosted in the D head (11), thus blocking Def. The challenge is how to exclude pronouns and other categories that (are assumed to) contain a D head, and *must* be differentially marked. A further assumption would be that DOM pronouns need to raise to the complement of a K head in vP, and thus the D head is not excluded. This hypothesis is, however, problematic. For example, the prediction would be that the coordination in (12) should be ungrammatical. Here, the proper name takes DOM, as its D head is not filled in (DOM itself being merged in D, see (11)). This marked proper name should result in ungrammaticality when coordinated with a marked pronoun, as the latter is not licensed in the same position, but in the complement position of a K head in vP. The Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967) prohibits not only (covert) extraction of any of the conjuncts, but also the merge of elements that have different positions in the clause. The coordination in (12) *is* grammatical. For space reasons, we illustrate with Corsican, but the same facts hold in the other languages with DOM and overt Def restrictions examined here. Crucially, examples such as (12) also indicate that coordinated DPs can be embedded under DOM; DOM optionality on the second conjunct (the pronoun) can only be derived under the structure [DOM [DP$_{1=PN}$ & DP$_{2=Pron}$]].

(12) Chjodu l'ochji   è   rivecu   *(**a**) Petru è   (**à**) she.
      close.1SG DEF-eyes and see.1SG again DOM   Petru and DOM   ella.
      'I close my eyes and see Petru and her again.'

Instead, a potential derivation assuming sentential coordination and deletion in the second conjunct, as in (13) is excluded, as it presupposes an ungrammatical output: an *unmarked* direct object personal pronoun. Alternatively, for Jones (1995) personal pronouns (and proper names) might not contain D; but this leaves unexplained non-trivial structural similarity between Def and pronouns which has prompted their unification as D categories (Abney 1987, a.o.). For these languages, the question thus remains why DOM is possible only if the D head is *not* overt.

(13)   V DOM and [$_{XP}$ Pron]$_1$ X^0(=C^0) … [$_{TP}$ V-T^0 t_1]]

Multi-layered DPs. We propose that a good starting point in deriving DOM-Def interactions is DOM as a structural, 'bigger' ACC in a multi-layered DP configuration, as in (14), adapting Bernstein et al. (2021, 2025). As these authors convincingly argue, the two distinct D projections map to different types of definiteness/uniqueness (Ortmann 2014, following Löbner 1985, 2011, Schwarz 2013).

(14)   [KP K=DOM [DP1 D1 [DP2 D2 [NP N]]]]   (15)   *[KP K=DOM$_\delta$ [DP1 D1$_\delta$...]]

Under p(ragmatic)-uniqueness in D1, a nominal expression's reference is unambiguous due to the 'con- text of utterance'; s(emantic)-uniqueness in D2 arises

from the lexical semantics (eg., unique nouns) or when 'the hearer's general knowledge or knowledge of the wider situation and of appropriate association is sufficient to identify the referent' (Lyons 1999: 163), and includes 'shared experience', pronouns, etc. - categories that are independent of the pragmatic context. Interestingly, we see in (4) and (3) that these latter classes are not problematic under DOM: uniques ('king', 'mother', etc.), or definites identified via modification. P-uniqueness, instead, might be problematic: if it requires linking to the discourse via formal licensing (δ), it might end up competing with DOM (15), which itself can function as a discourse linking mechanism (López 2012, etc.). One strategy to avoid clash is for independent P-uniqueness fea- tures which need licensing to bundle/coalesce and behave as 'one feature'. Dobrovie Sorin's (2007) (PF) Extended Head mechanism in (16), initially proposed for Romanian, can be adapted, accounting for the obligatory absence of overt definiteness with DOM in examples such as (1), (6), (7) or (8).

(16)   Extended head (Dobrovie Sorin 2007, ex. 9; see also Giurgea 2023)

$[_{FP}F^0 [L^0]] \Rightarrow [_{F^0/L^0} F^0 \oplus L^0]$ (F^0 functional head, L^0 lexical head and F^0/L^0 an extended head)

As Bernstein et al. also notice, p- and s-uniqueness might collapse across Romance. This can impact categories which are not inherently independent of the pragmatic context, i.e., definites as opposed to pro- nouns. Def might get extended either to p-uniqueness (requiring δ-licensing and competing with DOM, if the latter also needs δ-licensing) or to s-uniqueness (not requiring δ-licensing and not competing with DOM, as in Spanish). As D also contains structural ACC(usative) features (DOM signaling additional features beyond ACC), if it does not produce licensing restrictions, it will be spelled-out. Parametriza- tion in the formal nature of DOM is equally crucial: there is also Balearic Catalan in (5), where DOM is possible with various Def Ds (*s*-form in D1, *l*-form in D2). Importantly, Balearic Catalan DOM *needs* dislocation and is insensitive to animacy, contrary to in-situ DOM affecting animates across Romance; this indicates a type of DOM licensing which might not compete with Def.

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Adverbial subordinators vs complementizers: the case of French *si*

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Goal.

This talk contributes to the growing evidence in the literature that complementizers are more complex than just C heads. I argue that the French *si* contains an Operator and a variable (a `Base' in Baunaz's 2018 terms) and that *si* can be associated with various Ops -conditional, interrogative, and veridical- depending on its distribution.

The switch from a conditional Op to an interrogative one can be accounted for diachronically, as an instance of `secondary grammaticalization' -- a process whereby an already grammatical marker acquires a higher degree of integration in a complex structure (Givon 1991, Brinton and Traugott 2005). This is supported by the diachronic path of conditional complementizers in English, Slavic, and German (López-Couso \& Méndez-Naya 2014, Blümel & Pitsch 2019), which changed from being adverbial subordinators to declarative complementizers. The analysis proposed here indicates that the process of secondary grammaticalization for *si* involved a change in the nature of the Op.

Background.

Kayne 1976 argues that French *si* is complex in that it `includes' the complementizer *que*, which he takes to be a universal complementizer in French. This view is supported by the fact that *si* clauses can be coordinated with *que* clauses.

(1) *Si vous êtes pressé et que vous avez des bagages, prenez un taxi*.

    If you are in.a.hurry and that you have of.the luggage, take a taxi

   `If you are in a hurry and you have luggage, take a cab.'

Kayne 1976 builds on examples like (2) that contain complex Cs made of two distinct elements: the subordinating conjunction per se (*après, pour, bien*, etc), and *que*, and proposes an analysis in which the two (complex) Cs are identical when merged but the second C can be pronounced only partially, as a result of deletion under identity.

(2) *Pendant que Jean chantait et ~~pendant~~ que Paul jouait la batterie...*

In Kayne's view, this analysis can be extended to the examples with *si*, which suggests that *si* is complex and contains *que*, plus an additional subordinating conjunction.

However, this analysis raises an important question that will be addressed in this talk: Kayne focused on conditional *si*, but there is no apparent reason why coordination with a *que* clause could not be extended to complement clauses introduced by *si*. However, only some complement *si* clauses can be coordinated with *que* clauses, while others cannot.

(3)   a.**Il va nous dire s'il est d'accord et qu'il va nous joindre.*

       b. **Il se demande si sa mère est à la maison et qu'elle va ouvrir la porte.*

       c. **Père Noëël sait si tu a été sage et qu'il va te rendre visite.*

       d. *Je préfère si elle a de l'humour et qu'elle soit drôle.*

This suggests that at least some complement *si*'s are less complex than the conditional *si* in the sense that the former do not seem to include *que*. The relevance

of the adjunct/complement distinction needs to be clarified, as does the question of the non-homogeneous behaviour of complement *si*'s.

Proposal.

The features of `que'. I follow Baunaz 2018 in assuming that *que* is complex in that its lexical structure involves an Operator, which ranges over propositional variables, and a Base. In Baunaz's view, the Op in *que* is declarative. The Base is itself complex, but for the purposes of this talk I will ignore its complexity.

(4)   *que*: [Op$_{decl}$ [Base]]

In addition, **que** can also introduce a non-selected, conditional clause, as in (5). The Op in this case is conditional and the meaning of *que* in these cases is equivalent to *si*.

(5)   *Qu'il découvrit cela, vous seriez fort embarassé.*
        QUE.he discovers this, you will.be very embarrassed
        `If he discovers this, you will be very embarassed'

The features of *si*. I propose that *si* can be analyzed along similar lines as *que*. i.e. *si* has an internal structure including an Op and a Base. The Op involved in *si* is modal, and its flavour depends on the distribution of the *si* clause: for conditional *si*, Op is conditional, while for complement *si*, Op is interrogative.

Coordination of *si* and *que*. The ungrammaticality of the coordinated clauses in (3) above is due to a featural mismatch between *si* and *que*. Vs of asking, as in (3a), select an interrogative C and thus exclude *que*, which is declarative. On the other hand, Vs of saying, as in (3b), and epistemic factive verbs like *savoir* in (3c) are compatible with both interrogative Cs and declarative ones. However, coordination requires that the two coordinated Cs be of the same type. While complement *que* is declarative, complement *si* is interrogative, as supported by the fact that a continuation like *ou non*/`or not', which makes explicit the alternative answer is possible with these *si* clauses, just as it is with clauses selected by verbs of asking.

(6)   a. *Il a demandé **si** sa mère est à la maison **ou non**.*
        b. *Il va nous dire **s'**il est d'accord **ou non**.*
        c. *Père Noël sait **si** tu a été sage **ou non**.*

This contrasts with *que*, which does not allow this type of continuation when occurring as a complement of verbs of saying and epistemic factive verbs.

(7)   a. **Il va nous dire **qu'**il est d'accord **ou non**.*
        b. **Père Noël sait **que** tu a été sage **ou non**.*

Thus, the reason why a *si* clause cannot be coordinated with a *que* clause when these clauses are selected by a verb or saying or an epistemic factive verb is that *si* and *que* involve different Ops (interrogative and declarative, respectively).

Last, but not least, *si* clauses following emotive factive matrix verbs, as in (3e), also allow coordination with a *que* clause. Clearly, in these examples *si* is not interrogative, since adding an explicit alternative to the one expressed by the *si* clause leads to ungrammaticality.

(8)   **Je regrette s'il a perdu le contrôle ou non.*

Following Williams 1974, Steriade 1981, Pullum 1987, Pesetsky 1991, Leonarduzzi 2004, I propose that clauses that follow emotive factives are not genuine complement clauses. However, they are not genuine adjunct clauses either, in that they are

related to a (silent) object of the V which is semantically equivalent to a *que* clause (Leonaduzzi 2004, Pesetsky 1991).

(9)   a. I'd appreciate *it* if you stopped whining.
          b. I'd appreciate *that you stopped whining* if you did.

Even though there is a difference between the interpretation of *que* clauses vs *si* clauses with these verbs, this difference has to do with a scale of relativity, rather than a different modality. Both are veridical complementizers, but *que* expresses that the embedded proposition is true from the point of view of the subject, even though not necessarily from the point of view of the speaker, while an embedded proposition introduced by *si* COULD be true from the point of view of the subject or from the point of view of the speaker, but not necessarily so, from anybody's point of view.

(10)   a. *Je regrette si ça vous dérange*.
          b. *Je regrette que ça vous dérange.*

Given that both *que* and *si* are veridical in these contexts, coordination between the two is possible.

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The interaction between mirativity and complementation: a view from Italo-Romance

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Mirative Focus (MirFoc) is traditionally associated with the expression of a surprising/unexpected new information (Cruschina 2012; Bianchi 2013):

(1) Ora   ricordo,   **i guanti**   mi ha regalato   Luigi per Natale
     now   remember.PRS.1SG the gloves to-me.CL=has given Luigi for Christmas
     'Now I remember: it was the gloves that Luigi gave me as a present for Christmas.'
                                                                     (Cruschina 2012:118)

From a structural perspective, fronted MirFoc stands in complementary distribution with IFoc, suggesting that it occupies a low position within the left periphery and is subject to similar structural constraints, most notably, the general ban on embedding (Cruschina 2012).This presentation offers a syntactic/typological overview of embedded MirFoc fronting (EMFF) in Italo-Romance, focusing on the concept of left-peripheral *richness.* A rich CP is defined by the availability of multiple structural operations within the left periphery, allowing for the licensing of diverse features, ranging from clause-type to discourse-related properties, which in turn significantly shape both the information structure and the syntactic configuration of the clause.

The study: The present study, showing the distributional pattern of EMFF, was conducted over a language database composed of thirty Italo-Romance dialects and reveals the following distribution:

- Group A (GA): MirFoc fronting is ungrammatical in main and in embedded clauses (Northern Italian Dialects)
- Group B (GB): MirFoc fronting is grammatical main clauses but is ungrammatical in embedded clauses (Sicilian, Sardinian and Central dialects)
- Group C (GC): MirFoc fronting is grammatical in both main and embedded clauses (Upper Southern Italian Dialects).

From this distribution, it reasonable to claim that EMFF is not a marginal phenomenon, it being widespread in many Italo-Romance varieties.

Discussion: From the distributional patterns discussed above, it is possible to hypothesize a correlation between the availability of EMFF and a major activity of the left-periphery. Beginning with GA, it is reasonable to infer a poorly active left-periphery, unable to host specialised left-peripheral items. In contrast, the languages in GB present a more nuanced picture, showing a structural asymmetry between the root and embedded CPs. The matrix left periphery is rich and highly active, as evidenced by the availability of MirFoc fronting. However, the embedded CP appears more inert, allowing only CFoc to move into this domain, while other focus types are excluded. As a result, MirFoc in these varieties can either target the matrix CP or undergo a semantic shift to align with CFoc, thus enabling access to the embedded left periphery. Turning to the languages in GC, these tend to display a highly dynamic matrix left periphery, reflected in the movement of a range of constituents within this domain.

Notably, languages in this group also show a uniquely structured embedded left periphery that permits EMFF. Within this group, and particularly among SIDs, a shared pattern emerges in the organisation of the complementation system. With the exception of North-Calabrian and Lucano, most of the SIDs in this group exhibit a dual complementizer system. This system involves the realisation of multiple declarative complementizers, whose distribution is governed by a combination of syntactic and semantic factors. This supports the hypothesis that the embedded left periphery is more articulated in these varieties. Building on Ledgeway's (2004, 2005) analysis of dual complementation, which links the movement of the complementizer across the left periphery to the licensing of specific feature bundles, a formal account of EMFF becomes possible. Specifically, the occurrence of EMFF appears tied to a [MIR] feature that requires licensing by an appropriate trigger. Since the complementizer is capable of activating additional functional projections through head movement, it is plausible to assume that MirFoc likewise operates as a left-peripheral element interacting with the complementizer system. In particular, it may activate the specific projection within the left periphery responsible for hosting EMFF.

1. Non   ce   poss craide!   Dice   [XP **ca** [FocP **quat**
   not   to-it.CL=   can   believe   say.PRS.3SG   that   four
   bottiglie [Foc° ~~ca~~]   [FinP ~~ca~~   [IP se   so scuotə!]]]]
   bottles   that   that   they.REFL.CL=   be.PRS.3PL drunk.
   'I can't believe it! He said they drank four bottles of wine.'

(Barese)

The presentation will examine various complementation patterns in Italo-Romance (Vecchio 2010; Colasanti 2018; Cardullo 2025), highlighting the different triggers of EMFF across the languages tested, as well as providing a detailed account of its absence in the GB group. Particular attention will be given to the interaction between dual complementation and EMFF, supporting the view that the structural richness of the left periphery plays a crucial role in enabling, or restricting, the occurrence of certain phenomena.

Conclusion: The distribution of EMFF in Italo-Romance supports the hypothesis that its availability is closely tied to the structural articulation of the embedded left periphery. In particular, the presence of dual complementizer systems in several SIDs appears to be a key factor in licensing EMFF, highlighting the crucial role of left-peripheral richness in shaping syntactic possibilities across these varieties.

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Speaker's judgment expressed by second person clitics: non-argumental dative *che* in Galician

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Aim.

The goal of this talk is to demonstrate that a second person clitic can be speaker-oriented, taking the so-called "solidarity dative" *che* in Galician as a case in point (1b).

(1) a. *Este caldo ten patacas*   'This broth has potatoes'
     this broth have.PRS.3SG potatoes

    b. *Este caldo tenche patacas*   'This broth has potatoes' (+ speaker's judgement)
     this broth have.PRS.3SG-che potatoes

Our main claim is to show that this non-argumental clitic provides evidential and epistemic information about the speaker. In contrast to previous studies (Álvarez-Blanco 1997, Pita-Rubido 2006; Longa & Lorenzo 2001, Huidobro 2022), we argue that che is not addressee-oriented, despite being formally identical to a second person dative clitic. It introduces an autocentric perspective (Lasersohn 2005) of the speaker, as it expresses their private judgement on p.[1] Our proposal, building on Krifka (2023, 2024a, 2024b), is that this che introduces a subjective declaration speech act without the addressee's involvement, which allows us to conclude that it is not a solidarity dative.

Syntactic properties.

Our analysis deals with an apparent mismatch between the form and position that che takes in syntax, as a vP-clitic, and the position where it gets interpreted above TP at the syntax-pragmatics interface. We take che to be part of a typology of non-selected datives contributing not-at-issue content (Horn 2008, Gutzmann 2007, Camilleri & Sadler 2012, Bosse et al. 2012, Borik & Teomiro in press), which is present even in those varieties of Galician that lack an argumental dative che, the so-called teísta dialects (Varela-Barreiro 1997). Elements of this kind have been reported in several languages (Horn 2008, Al-Zahre & Boneh 2010), where the non-subcategorized dative pronoun obligatorily coindexes with the subject. We argue that, while some studies analyze che as an ethical dative (Longa & Lorenzo 2001, Pita-Rubido 2006), these two non-argumental clitics should be kept separate on the basis of the set of properties in Table 1 (some adapted from Huidobro 2022).

Table 1: Main properties of non-argumental *che* as compared to other (non)-argumental datives

Properties	Argumental Datives	Non-argumental Datives	
	Indirect Object (goal, recipient, possessor, etc.)	Ethical Datives	**Galician *che***

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[1] By using *che* in (1b), the speaker makes a judgement about the *p* "This broth has potatoes", whose exact nature depends on context and intonation. *Che* may either convey the belief that the broth has too many potatoes; or that it has potatoes but no meat, which is annoying; or the conviction that the broth has the good kind of potatoes, not the cheap fake ones.

1. Occur in an argument position	Yes	No	
2. Can be doubled with a non-pronominal form	Yes	No	
3. May appear in combination with other datives	No	Yes	
4. Can be questioned	Yes	No	
5. Can be negated	Yes	No	
6. Contribute truth-conditional meaning	Yes	No	
7. Show agreement with another constituent	Yes		No
8. Can appear in imperative sentences	Yes		No
9. Can appear in relative clauses	Yes		No
10. Can appear in indirect questions *if/wh-*	Yes		No
11. Can appear with verbs of direct speech (e.g. *informar* 'to inform', *anunciar* 'to announce').	Yes		No
12. Can appear with subject dative experiencers (e.g. *gustar* 'to like')	No		Yes
13. Can appear with existential verbs (e.g. *faltar* 'to lack'), and with impersonal and presentational sentences	No		Yes
14. Can appear with unaccusative verbs of movement (e.g. *chegar* 'to arrive')	No		Yes
15. Can appear with stative verbs (e.g. *ser/estar* 'to be', *ter* 'to have')	No		Yes

Moreover, che can combine with an ethical dative (2), which supports that they are distinct (contra Vares-González & Lorenzo 2022).

(2) *O meu home non **che me** toma os medicamentos* (*che* + ethical dative *me*)

'My husband does not take his medication' (I believe it's a lost cause [*che*] + this affects me [*me*])

Semantic properties.

First, we present a series of arguments for the claim that *che* is semantically associated with the speaker's judgement only. The fact that *che* does not appear in interrogative or imperatives sentences, and it is odd with verbs of direct speech, supports that *che* is not oriented to the addressee. We discuss adverbial modification: While *che* is compatible with epistemic and evidential adverbs (*probablemente* 'probably', *obviamente* 'obviously') related to the speaker's judgement, it is incompatible with commitment adverbs (*certamente* 'certainly'). Additionally, *che* combines with speaker-oriented adverbs (*Sinceramente, vades(che) chegar tarde* 'Sincerely, you are going to arrive late'), but not with addressee-oriented adverbs (*Sinceramente, ¿vades(*che) chegar tarde?*). Further evidence that the addressee is missing comes from the behavior of *che* in tests that were designed to distinguish between *I-centered* self-talk and *You-centered* self-talk (Ritter & Wiltschko 2021): sentences with *che*, like in I-centered self-talk, cannot be used to ask for confirmation (…, huh?); neither can they be used as vocatives or imperatives; also, *che* appears with verbs of cognition (e.g., *believe, think, reckon*), which do not allow You-centered self-talk. We conclude that sentences with *che* lack an explicitly represented addressee.

Second, we consider the type of speech act that sentences with *che* convey and we argue that they express subjective declarations. *Che* is excluded from characterizing

statements, but not from habitual sentences, nor from sentences with predicates of personal taste (Lasersohn 2005) and psychological predicates. *Che* does not affect a sentence's truth conditions, but contributes non-at-issue content. Sentences with *che* differ from assertions, (1b) vs. (1a), in that the speaker does not involve a public commitment wrt *p*, and does not give rise to the expectation that the addressee will incorporate *p* to the common ground.

Analysis.

Previous descriptions of *che* have failed to account for its interpretation, beyond taking for granted that a second person form must involve an interlocutor, since morphologically it is a 2PSG weak pronoun (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). We postulate that non-argumental *che* lost the 2P feature over time and was reinterpreted as PARTICIPANT which by default refers to 1P (Harley & Ritter 2002). This is the output of a process of grammaticalization (Roberts & Roussou 2003) by which *che* was reanalyzed and developed into an epistemic marker expressing the speaker's private evaluation of a proposition. Building on recent work by Krifka on the structure of the left periphery at the syntax-pragmatics interface, we support a formal analysis of this evaluative *che* according to which it is structurally associated with a *Judge* layer above TP, and the type of speech act is a *subjective declaration*, neither an assertion nor an objective declaration.

(3) a. Assertion $[_{ActP} \bullet [_{ComP} \vdash [_{JP} \text{J}- [_{TP} p]]]]$ (adapted from Krifka 2023)

    b. Declaration $[_{ActP} \bullet [_{TP} p]]$ (adapted from Krifka 2024b)

    c. Subjective declaration $[_{ActP} \text{DECLARE} [_{JP} che [\text{J}-] [_{TP} p]]]$

(adapted from Espinal & Cyrino 2025)

Moreover, the present analysis speaks to the debate, present in the literature (Uriagereka 1995, Longa & Lorenzo 2001, Huidobro 2022), as to whether *che* is exclusively a root phenomenon, and it accounts for the limited availability of *che* in subordinate clauses of verbs of cognition.

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Diminutive gerunds: Expressivity and the role of the speaker in the left-most periphery

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Section 1: Background.

It is widely known that diminutives display meanings beyond measure, size and degree. Particularly, they may exhibit the Speaker's attitude towards the entity or state denoted by the category carrying the diminutive, hence their name appreciative suffixes (Gutzmann 2019; Fábregas 2024; Steriopolo 2015; Kornfeld 2021). This is illustrated for Spanish diminutive *-ito* in the form of sarcasm in (1) and personal attachment in (2):

(1) Menuda nochecita hemos pasado.
    'What an awful night we've had.'
(2) Estamos felices en nuestra casita.
    'We are happy in our little house.'

Section 2: The puzzle.

Appreciative diminutives can combine with syntactic categories other than nouns. They may be added to adjectives (*bajito* ' short-DIM-MSC'), adjectival participles (*dormidito* ' asleep-DIM-MSC') or *adverbs* (ahorita 'now.DIM'). However, verbs generally disallow diminutives (**saltitar* / **saltar(c)ito* 'intended: jump.DIM'). One exception is in order, as some gerunds in some Spanish varieties such as Andalusian do take it (e.g., *Estoy deseandito de llegar a casa* "I can't wait to get home") http://hemeroflexia.blogspot.com/2014/03/deseandito.html), contra what Alemany Bolufer (1919) claimed, and assumed by Fábregas (2024).

Other Romance languages such as Portuguese and Catalan seem to lack diminutive gerunds. Galician seems to exceptionally exhibit the construction, as in (3), with an ironic flavor:

(3) a. Estaba falandiño sen parar
       'She was talking.DIM non-stop.'
    b. Falandiño estaba o probe sen parar.
       'Lit. talking.DIM was he, poor boy, non-stop.'

Section 3: Goals.

Our goal in this paper is to present and describe novel data from different sources, concerning the use of diminutives in gerunds (corpus, internet, platforms). Among the grammatical properties of diminutive gerunds are their appreciative meaning, their emphatic prosody and the optional availability of preposing to express surprise, a type of mirativity we identify as the Speaker's evaluation (Cruschina & Bianchi 2021; Sánchez López 2017; Villalba 2024), as in (4):

(4) «Deseandito» que estoy, vamos. https://eocomarca.es/deseandito-estoy/
       'Lit. looking forward to it that I am, come on.'

Gerunds are traditionally hybrid verb forms, exhibiting both verbal and nominal properties, just like infinitives and participles. In this sense, they may function as adverbials, the diminutive being expected, particularly in dialects allowing diminutive adverbs, e.g., *Va a subir la montaña andandito* 'He's going to climb the mountain by walking.DIM'.

However, the constructions analyzed here are different in the sense that gerunds in this construction are obligatory rather than optional. It is also relevant that the diminutive gerunds studied here appear to exhibit a different distribution than their non-diminutive counterparts, as diminutive gerunds require a preposition or complementizer to take their complement but their non-diminutive counterparts may take their complements directly and traditional grammars actually prescribe against the use of prepositional complements (5).

(5) a. Estoy deseando (de) verlo.
   b. Estoy deseandito *(de) verlo.
      'I can't wait to see him.'

Section 4: Theoretical analysis.

This preposing marks the mirative focus role of the gerund and highlights its expressive meaning. To account for these two properties, in our theoretical analysis we propose a Focus Phrase in the left periphery whose head is endowed with an Edge Feature (EF) that causes movement of the VP. This EF is only optionally activated (Jiménez-Fernández 2024), thereby accounting for both positions. Either way, it is marked as focus. Additionally, following Wiltschko (2021, 2022), Miyagawa (2022), we believe that the expressive component of language is syntactically projected in the form of a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) where the roles of Speaker and Addressee are activated. In this line, we propose an unvalued discourse-like feature in the head of SAP which is evaluated as [Appreciative] via agreement with the gerund.

Section 5: Some evidence.

Support for this connection comes from the availability of this construction in main clauses but not in subordinates (??*Me dijo que deseandito estaba de ir al cine* 'He told me that he couldn't wait to go to the movies'), on the assumption that independent SAP projects only in main clauses (Miyagawa 2017).

Expressive phenomena such as the use of diminutive to show explicit involvement of the speaker is further evidence in favor of the SAP projection, as this projection is anchored in the discourse participants. This is not an isolated phenomenon, as it is also apparent in the form of evidential questions (Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino-Blanco 2023) or verbal agreement with the discourse participants in addition to the subject (Miyagawa 2017, Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino-Blanco 2022). In addition, sentences such as (6) are further evidence in favor of the existence of an SAP projection, as the speaker explicitly appears in the left-most left periphery, purely as a discourse participant rather than a sentence argument:

(6) Yo… deseandito está la niña.
   'As for me … looking forward to it is what the girl is.'

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Parameters in the Substantive Lexicon: From Italian Relatives to Mundurucu Numerals

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Introduction

Inspired by and developing a proposal by Cinque (2016), we give three examples of plausible cases of parametric variation in the substantive lexicon, hitherto an under-researched area in syntactic theory, and in a final section consider the theoretical implications of these observations for the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (BCC), i.e. that parametric variation is restricted to the functional lexicon (Borer 1984). Throughout we take the hallmark of parametric variation to be its manifestation in terms of (morpho-syntactic) formal features. The three cases we consider are: kinship terms, body-part terms, and number terms.

1. Kinship terms

Cinque (2016) observes that in Italian, the single lexical item *nipote* corresponds to four distinct lexical items in English, namely *grandson*, *granddaughter*, *nephew* and *niece*. He analyses the difference by postulating that *grandson*/*granddaughter* are removed from the anchor/ego by two [+descending] [-ascending] lines, while *nephew*/*niece* are related by one [-descending][-ascending] (i.e. horizontal) line and one [+descending] [-ascending] lines. As he notes these "two kinship relations have, nonetheless, something in common", namely a "degree-2 distance from the anchor/ego". He proposes that Italian leaves unspecified the descending feature, which gives the exact meaning of *nipote* as a 2-degree distant relation from the anchor/ego "via" *son*/*daughter* or *brother*/*sister*. Taking [±descending] to be a formal feature, we can see this as a case of parametric variation. Another formal feature active in kinship-term systems is Gender, valued as FEM/MASC; e.g. Albanian has a term like Italian *nipote* in that it describes a degree-2 distance with the [±descending] feature unspecified covering English *grandson* / *granddaughter* / *nephew* / *niece* but with an added gender distinction: *nip* ('grandson'/'nephew'), *mbesë* ('grand-daughter'/'niece'). Furthermore, in Albanian the upward degree-2 relation corresponding to *nephew*/*niece* in the [+ascending] axis (i.e. *uncle*/*aunt*) distinguishes the matrilineal and patrilineal lines (*teze* 'mother's sister', *hallë* 'father's sister', *dajë* 'mother's brother', *xhajë* 'father's brother') indicating a further parameter distinguishing whether gender applies to a node (i.e., distinguishing *uncle* from *aunt*), or to a relation (i.e., distinguishing the matrilineal from the patrilineal horizontal line). English makes gender distinctions on all nodes we have discussed so far. However, the degree-3 relation *cousin* is gender-neutral in English, while French distinguishes *cousin* (MASC) and *cousine* (FEM). There is no doubt that Gender is a formal feature, and it seems natural to treat [±ascending] and [±descending] as formal features. Moreover, it seems clear that kinship terms are count nouns in good standing. Hence, as Cinque observes, we have parametric variation in a well-defined subpart of the substantive lexicon.

2. Body-part terms

Cinque also contrasts Italian, which distinguishes the words for 'arm' (*braccio*) from 'hand' (*mano*), 'leg' (*gamba*) from 'foot' (*piede*) from Bulgarian *raka* ('arm' and/or 'hand'), and *krak* ('leg' and/or 'foot'). He suggests that the feature [±extremity] is active in Italian but neutralised in Bulgarian. Clearly English and other Romance languages behave like Italian, while many languages behave like Bulgarian (e.g., Albanian *këmbë* 'foot' and/or 'leg'). Furthermore, according to WALS, feature 129A, 'Hand and Arm' (Brown 2013a), 228 languages have identical words, and 389 have distinct words. Moreover, the typological variation shows an areal distribution, with distinct words in Western Europe, Australia and most of North America, and identical words in much of Asia, Polynesia and most of Central Africa. WALS feature 130A (Brown 2013b), gives data on languages with identical words for 'finger' and 'hand'. Following Cinque, it is natural to treat [±upper limb], [±lower limb], and [±extremity] as formal features, with [±extremity] neutralised in languages where the words for 'hand' and 'arm' are identical. Furthermore, many languages have the same word for 'finger' and 'toe' (e.g. Albanian, French), thus neutralising [±upper limb]. Again, we witness variation in formal features, i.e. parametric variation in subparts of the substantive lexicon; crucially for defining the inventory of features, note that anchor/ego is location (Landau 2010 and our discussion in section *3(iii)* below).

3. Number terms

Though they may typically surface in Spec,NumP (depending on exact assumptions on nominal structure), it is clear that multi-morphemic numbers (i.e., in English those higher than 11) are substantive lexical elements on two grounds. First, the set is open-ended, while canonical functional elements form closed classes. Second, it is possible to invent new terms for numbers, e.g. *umpteen*, *eleventy-first*, *squillion*, *gazillion*, π, *e*/*Euler's number*, etc. Here we will look at four dimensions of variation in number systems, which appear to manifest parametric variation, namely: *3(i)* base root; *3(ii)* systems which do not count below low numbers, aka "restricted numeral systems" (Comrie 2013); *3(iii)* systems which use body-part terms; and finally, *3(iv)* morphological variation in number words.

3(i): Comrie (2013) (WALS chapter/feature 131) defines the base of the numeral system as "the value n such that numeral expressions are constructed according to the pattern … $xn + y$", e.g. in English $n = 10$ as in *twenty-one* = (2 x 10) + 1. While most languages are decimal (Comrie states 125 from 196), it is well-known that vigesimal systems exist: in fact, Comrie gives 20(!) out of his 196 sample. There are also hybrid decimal-vigesimal systems; in Europe these include Basque, Danish, Irish and Middle Welsh. French is of a well-known case (e.g. *vingt* for 20, *quatre vingts* for 80), but Comrie treats this as decimal because the rest of the system is decimal. Other attested bases are rare, e.g. Supyire (Gur, Niger-Congo) as a mixed base-5/base-10 system below 80 and a base-80 system above 80. Sumerian was base 60. If the multiplication and addition operations that typically compose the larger/multi-morphemic numbers are functional categories (after all they are arithmetical functions), then this variation in the base is a parameter in the strictly mathematical sense, but in the substantive lexicon.

3(ii): These are languages which do not count above low numbers, typically around 4 (cf. Pica & Lecomte 2008 on Mundurucu). Dehaene (1997: 93) mentions Warlpiri as having 1, 2 and 'a lot'. Comrie mentions the Australian languages Mangarrayi and Yidiny as counting just to 3 and 5, respectively. We speculate that such languages lack the arithmetical operators that create larger numbers in other languages (in other words, there is no base), although this leaves open the question of why these languages do not have at least slightly larger mono-morphemic numbers, as in English *five* to *eleven*. However, as Dehaene (1997: 92) citing Hurford (1987) points out, the first three number words have a special status in many languages, e.g., in Old High German the word for 2 inflects for gender; in English, the first two ordinals are suppletive and the third is irregular; in Welsh, the numbers up to four inflect for gender. Furthermore, the maximal morphological distinction in nouns is singular, dual, trial, plural. As Dehaene (1997:92) points out "[o]neness, twoness, and threeness are perceptual qualities that our brain computes effortlessly, without counting", i.e., they can be "subitized" (for experimental evidence on this see Dehaene 1997: 66-71). These linguistic facts then seem to reflect the cognitively special status of 1, 2 and 3. Effectively then, the languages mentioned above have no counting system, only a subitizing system. This is clearly a parameter affecting the substantive lexicon.

3(iii): These are languages in which counting above 20 conventionally involves pointing to body parts e.g. 'arm', 'shoulder', etc. (Dehaene 1997:94). Comrie cites Kobon (Madang, Trans-New Guinea). In such languages body-part terms come to metonymically refer to numbers, e.g. 'hand' means 5. We see the interaction of two parametrised areas of the substantive lexicon: body-parts represent inalienably possessed concrete locations, while in these languages the body-part terms express abstract locations on the number line without the possessor argument. location thus seems to be a fundamental notion.

3(iv): In English, as in the other Germanic and Romance languages, the numbers above 10 are composed with varying degrees of morphological regularity and fusion which invariably diminish as the numbers become higher. For example, English *eleven* (= 10 + 1) appears to be non-compositional, while *twelve* is partly compositional although irregular; compare Italian *un+dici* (1+10) and *do+dici* (2+10). *Thirteen* is also partially irregular, but from *fourteen* on, the teens are fully compositional. In the tens, *twenty* and *thirty* parallel *twelve* and *thirteen*, while above *forty* we see complete regularity. It is clear that the *-ty* suffix is a variant of *ten*; but compare Romance, where the tens over 40 are formed with the suffix *-ante* (French), *-anta* (Italian), *-enta* (Spanish), which is fully suppletive in relation to the words for 10 (respectively: *dix*, *dieci*, *diez*). Mandarin on the other hand is fully analytic: 11 = ten one, 12 = ten two …, 20 = two ten, 21 = two ten one, etc. Dehaene (1997: 102-106) reports evidence from psycholinguistic experiments showing that Mandarin speakers process numerals faster than their English-speaking counterparts: "memory span in China soars to about nine digits while it averages only seven in English". He argues that this is facilitated by the analytic nature of Mandarin compound numbers. This is a further instance of the deep analyticity of Mandarin (Huang 2015). Clearly the variation between fusional and analytic compound numbers is a standard case of morphosyntactic variation, i.e. a parameter. But as we have seen, the number system is part of the substantive lexicon.

4. Implications

We take the above cases to demonstrate the existence of parametric variation in the substantive lexicon. This implies that the BCC as standardly understood is too strong. It is also too weak in the absence of a theory of formal features, e.g. nothing rules out a feature such as [±*n*-ary Merge], whose positive value would allow the generation of flat structures of the kind formerly thought to characterise *W**-languages (Hale 1978). We propose an alternative to the BCC based on the interaction of the interface-driven notions of **Redundancy** (features invisible to LF) and **Deficiency** (features invisible to PF), the latter covering all the neutralisation cases above and the former all the non-neutralised cases. This approach is also in line with Rizzi (2018): parametrised features always trigger syntactic operations (External/Internal Merge, Agree). We conclude that the BCC should be replaced by a more refined approach along these lines, as has also been proposed for the functional lexicon.

The contribution of intonation on the perception of heritage accent in Italian

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Until recently, accent perception by heritage speakers (HSs) has received far less attention than the production perspective in this context, that is, how they sound to homeland speakers. Studies on the latter perspective showed that HSs generally sound more native-like than second language (L2) learners, despite having an accent – often referred to as a *heritage accent* – that differs from that of homeland speakers (Lloyd-Smith et al., 2020). However, how HSs perceive accent and whether they are able to employ intonation as a cue to foreign accent is not well understood yet. So far, there is only one study by Kim et al. (2023) investigating heritage Spanish in the US. Their results indicate that HSs perceive accent similarly to homeland speakers and that HSs and homeland speakers use prosody, including intonation and speech rhythm, to detect accent. In this study, we want to contribute to this debate focusing on the impact of intonation in information-seeking polar questions (PolQs) on accent perception in heritage Italian spoken in Germany. Italian and German is a promising language combination in this context because they differ with respect to intonational patterns, such as nuclear pitch accents (NPA). Both the NPA and the boundary tones (BT) 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 rise, as shown in (1) (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), that HSs transfer to some extent from German into Italian, see (2) (e.g, Krieger & Geiss, 2024).

(1) Marta ha la **ME**la?   (2) Marta ha la **ME**la?
     H+L* LH%   L* LH%
     Marta has the apple   Marta has the apple
     'Does Marta have the apple?'   'Does Marta have the apple?'

In order to determine accent perception in a heritage language (HL), we use the L2 Intonational Learning Theory (LILt; Mennen, 2015; see also Kan & Schmid, 2019 on child heritage perception). According to LILt, there are four dimensions (systemic, realizational, semantic, frequency). The systemic dimension refers to the phonological inventory of intonational patterns (i.e., the respective tonal inventory). The realizational dimension accounts for how those patterns are phonetically realized in production. The semantic dimension focuses on the use of the intonational patterns in conveying meaning (e.g., the final rise expresses interrogativity). The frequency dimension addresses the frequency of use of those patterns. LiLT predicts that i) if intonational patterns in the two languages of HSs reveal differences concerning the systemic and realizational dimensions, ii) if they do not convey meaning, and iii) if they are infrequent, they are assumed to be more vulnerable to cross-linguistic influence.

In our study, we aim to investigate the contribution of intonation in the perception of Italian heritage accent by two groups of raters: heritage and homeland raters. For this purpose, we conducted an accent rating study, in which participants rated 40 speech samples consisting of polar questions. These speech samples consisted of 20

recordings produced by HSs and 20 control samples (10 produced by homeland speakers and 10 by L2 learners of Italian). The speech samples of HSs varied with respect to the nuclear contour: 10 were produced with the 'typical' Italian contour H+L* LH% and 10 with the 'typical' German contour L* LH% which was transferred from German into Italian. The homeland control samples only consisted of H+L* LH%, while L2 speech only displays L* LH% in order to obtain a balanced distribution between the two contours. Participants were instructed to rate speech samples for foreign accentedness on a 6-point-scale (1=native; 6=foreign). 73 raters took part in the study. They were divided into two groups: i) 30 Italian heritage raters in Germany (mean age: 32; range =19-52) and ii) 43 Italian homeland raters in Italy (mean age: 30; range = 19-47). All HSs acquired Italian as a heritage language from birth and are second- or third-generation immigrants. German was acquired either simultaneously from birth or sequentially between the age of 3 and 6. The statistical analysis was carried out in R, using generalized linear mixed-effect regression models.

The results for heritage speech are summarized in Figure 1, revealing a significant effect of rater group and nuclear contour. Heritage raters perceived their peers slightly but still significantly more native-like than homeland raters regardless of the nuclear contour (β = 0.56, SE = 0.13, z = 4.18, p < 0.001). Nonetheless, the nuclear contour remains important for the perception of the heritage accent, since the 'typical' Italian contour H+L* LH% is perceived by both rater groups as significantly more native-sounding than the 'typical' German one L* LH% (β = -0.39, SE = 0.14, z = -2.74, p < 0.01).
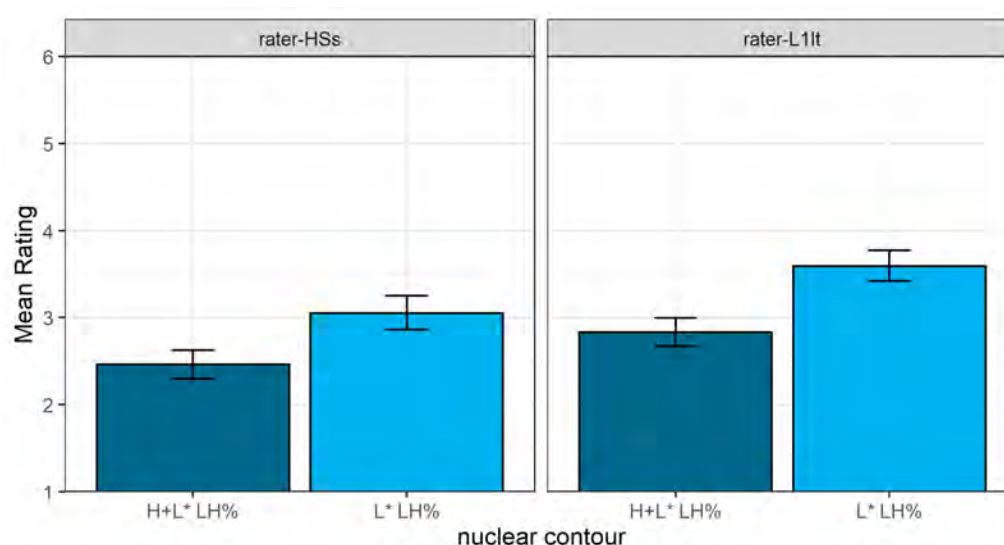
Figure 1:   Mean rating for heritage speech across heritage and homeland raters taking into account the nuclear contour.

These results indicate that intonation (i.e., the nuclear contour) is crucial for the perception of heritage accent for both heritage and homeland raters.   The findings contradict the predictions by LiLT in two ways. First, despite the systemic differences regarding the NPA between Italian and German and second, even though the NPA does convey meaning (i.e., does not express interrogativity), HSs are able to perceive this cue similar to homeland speakers. Consequently, the findings of this

study might indicate that LiLT cannot be applied to the perception of adult heritage speakers in the same way as for L2 learners and needs to be revised.

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An aspectual characterization of eventive nouns: a preliminary study

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The aspectual properties of nominal events and their classification into aspectual typologies are an understudied topic. This is partially due to the difficulties in identifying grammatical features of relevant properties, such as aspectual properties. Additionally, the nominal domain has characteristics that do not exist in the verbal domain, which pose extra challenges in studying nominal events, compared to verbal ones. For example, the nominal domain is divided by the mass/count opposition, which has different grammatical consequences in most languages, such as the presence or absence of plural morphology.

One of the first papers to focus on the aspectual properties of nominal events is Mourelatos (1978). Mourelatos argues that predications exhibit mass and count features, which would become evident when comparing verbal predications with the corresponding deverbal nominalizations: Events (telic situations) are expressed by eventive count nouns, whereas Processes and States (atelic situations) are represented by eventive mass nouns. So, specific semantic properties would be constant in the eventualities, regardless of whether verbs or nouns project them. Nominalizations were, therefore, a way for Mourelatos to test aspectual properties and identify aspectual verbal types.

Mourelatos' proposal has not been adopted in the literature on Aspect: transforming verbal predications into nominal expressions is not a test usually used to identify aspectual classes, probably because the aspectual nature of eventive nouns has not yet been adequately studied. However, there are attempts to equate the opposition 'telic/atelic' with the opposition 'count/mass' of the nominal domain (cf., e.g., Rothstein, 2004).

This paper aims to contribute to discussing the aspectual properties of eventive nouns, particularly the relationship between the grammatical properties of nouns and the aspectual properties of the eventualities that these nouns denote, in European Portuguese (EP). This study focuses on the count/mass opposition and its possible relationship with the aspectual properties of dynamism, telicity, and durativity, exploring the hypothesis presented in Mourelatos (1978).

To this end, a list of 225 eventive nouns was created and divided into two groups: deverbal nominalizations and nouns not derived from verbs. This distinction aims to ascertain whether there is any correlation between the aspectual features of eventive nouns and the aspectual features of the verbs from which they are derived. This list was used to search the CETEMPúblico corpus (https://www.linguateca.pt/cetempublico/), aiming to identify the cases in which these nouns occur, as bare nouns, as a complement of the verb 'haver'. This is a context identified in the literature (cf., e.g., Bosque, 1999) as a test for the distinction between count nouns (which must occur in the plural) and mass nouns (which can occur in the singular). The most frequent cases of nouns in the corpus were selected to present preliminary results, up to a limit of 13. These results are presented in Table 1.

deverbal nominalizations				non derived nouns			
	plural	singular	aspect		plural	singular	aspect
conversação	60 (100%)	0 (0%)	accompl.	*condição*	995 (99%)	2 (1%)	state
situação	409 (98%)	8 (2%)	activity	*circunstância*	29 (96,7%)	1 (3,3%)	state
suspeita	143 (92%)	13 (8%)	state	*incidente*	71 (96%)	3 (4%)	act./ach.
assalto	19 (90%)	2 (10%)	accompl.	*detenção*	15 (94%)	1 (6%)	achiev.
manifestação	110 (88%)	15 (12%)	activity	*decisão*	133 (59%)	92 (41%)	achiev.
queixa	124 (83%)	25 (17%)	achiev.	*conflito*	96 (58%)	71 (42%)	activ.
falha	89 (78%)	25 (22%)	achiev.	*discussão*	39 (31%)	87 (69%)	acc./act.
jogo	159 (72%)	62 (28%)	accompl.	*crime*	36 (28%)	94 (72%)	acc./ach.
debate	46 (38%)	75 (62%)	accompl.	*festa*	25 (12%)	190 (88%)	activ.
falta	25 (4%)	574 (96%)	state	*violência*	6 (6%)	97 (94%)	activ.
fiscalização	1 (2%)	43 (98%)	accompl.	*vigilância*	1 (5%)	19 (95%)	activ.
procura	1(1%)	122 (99%)	activity	*tráfico*	0	26 (100%)	activ.
salvação	0	38 (100%)	achiev.	*trânsito*	0	28 (100%)	act./ach.

Table 1. Most frequent nouns in the corpus in the construction 'haver + bare noun' / aspectual class (Vendler, 1957)

The results show that, concerning the count/mass distinction, eventive nouns are not distributed into two complementary groups. On the contrary, in different percentages, almost all these nouns can occur in both the singular and the plural. This gradual division is seen both in the case of deverbal nominalizations and in the case of nouns not derived from verbs. There seem to be few eventive nouns that can be unequivocally classified as count or mass nouns, as in the domain of entities with the nouns *água* 'water' (mass) or *garfo* 'fork' (count). On the contrary, the vast majority of the eventive nouns analyzed seem instead to behave like *bolo* 'cake', a noun that easily denotes discrete entities or the substance of which these same entities are made. Cf. (1) and (2)-(4).

(1) Havia {água / #águas | bolo / bolos | * garfo / garfos} naquela mesa.
    'There was {water/waters | cake/cakes | fork/forks} on that table.'
(2) Não havia {salvação possível / ??? salvações possíveis}.
    There was no possible salvation(s).
(3) Há {jogo / jogos} logo à noite.
    'There {is a game/ there are games} tonight.'
(4) Há {??? conversação / conversações} a decorrer em segredo.
    '{There is conversation/there are conversations} going on in secret.'

In the second phase, we sought to identify the aspectual classes (cf. Vendler, 1957) and aspectual properties of the nouns selected for the study. To this end, we used the intuition of native EP speakers in grammaticality judgment tasks. The tests consist of the possibility of these nouns heading nominal expressions with the syntactic function of subject of verbs such as *demorar* 'to take time', *durar* 'to last', and *ocorrer* 'to occur', which select temporal phrases of different types (measurement and temporal location). Given the variety of syntactic formats that these nominal expressions can exhibit, we used the format in which the nouns occur in 'out of the blue' contexts, in the singular, preceded by a definite article, without any complements and/or modifiers for the diagnosis of aspectual properties. The verbs occur in the "pretérito perfeito simples", a grammatical tense that does not promote aspectual changes. See (5).

(5)   A suspeita {* demorou / durou} dois anos.
       *('The suspicion {*took/lasted} two years.')*

The results of this task (cf. Table 1) show that there is no distinction between eventive nouns derived from verbs and non-derived ones: the distribution by aspectual classes is close in both groups. Furthermore, the results indicate that, contrary to what Mourelatos (1978) suggested, it does not seem to be a correlation between the count/mass property and aspectual properties. On the one hand, nouns classified as states (the most homogeneous aspectual type) can be count nouns (e.g., *condição* 'condition'). On the other hand, there are count nouns that denote telic (e.g., *assalto* 'assault') and atelic (e.g., *manifestação* 'manifestation') situations, just as there are mass nouns that denote telic (e.g., *fiscalização* 'inspection') and atelic (e.g., *procura* 'search') situations.

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What is the function of French *déjà* in questions again?

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The French particle *déjà* 'already/ever' can be used in Remind-Me questions (RMQs) as in (1), which are questions signalling that the Speaker used to know the answer but forgot it (Apothéloz 2015; also called "backchecking questions", Squartini 2014). Contra Hansen & Strudsholm (2008), who attribute this use to the earliness-denoting function of *déjà*, we propose that *déjà* derives its RM-use from an existential meaning, indicating that the true answer is 'already' in the Common Ground.

Characterisation: French RMQs are built by adding *déjà* in the sentence-final position (or alternatively, after the *wh*-pronoun for in-situ questions). This shows that *déjà* takes scope over the whole sentence, applying at the speech-act level, contrary to its canonical (aspectual) use requiring déjà to be inserted after the conjugated verb, cf. (2a) vs (2b).

(1) C'est quoi ton nom **déjà** ? / C'est quoi **déjà** ton nom ?
It.is what your name DÉJÀ / It.is what DÉJÀ your name
'What is your name <u>again</u>?'

(2) a. Qui a **déjà** mangé du Laguiole ?
Who has DÉJÀ eaten some Laguiole
'Who has eaten Laguiole cheese <u>before</u>?' *(Canonical use)*

b. Qui a mangé du Laguiole **déjà**?
Who has eaten some Laguiole DÉJÀ
'Who has eaten Laguiole cheese <u>again</u>?' *(RM-use)*

French RMQs are like English/German RMQs (Sauerland & Yatsushiro 2017) or Bangla Recall-Qs (Bhadra 2022) in that they appear in the same contexts: i.e., when the information was previously known by the Speaker ("lost knowledge", Bhadra 2022): (1) can only be uttered if the Speaker used to know the Addressee's name or pretends that they did. Hansen & Strudsholm (2008) derive the RM-reading induced by *déjà* from its "earliness" meaning, indicating that "the host speech act is [...] premature when compared to what might have been expected". However, this does not fit (3), where the Speaker is very old and wonders about the dog's name decades later. This would also wrongly predict (4), where the Speaker is expected to ask the question at a later stage of the dinner, to be acceptable – contra data.

(3) Context: I am a 96-year-old and talk to myself about my life:
Gamin, j'adorais jouer avec mon chien… C'est
Kid I=loved playing with my dog It.is
quoi son nom **déjà** ? Oh, tant pis…
what his name DÉJÀ Oh.well
'I loved playing with my dog when I was a kid... What was his name <u>again</u>? Oh well…'

---

(4) Context: I am at a fancy restaurant serving a 5-course mystery menu (each course is a surprise). But before even discovering the first course, I am already impatient about the dessert:
#C'est quoi le   dessert **déjà** ?
it.is what the   dessert DÉJÀ
Intended: 'Tell me <u>already</u>, what's the dessert?'

Our proposal. We propose that RMQs are non-canonical Qs in Farkas (2022)'s sense, toning down Speaker-ignorance to a temporary one (which explains why RMQs can act as self-addressed questions, especially in tip-of-the-tongue situations, cf. (3)). They prototypically signal "lost knowledge" (Bhadra 2022), derived from the contrast between two different components: (i) past knowledge, and (ii) current ignorance. Since (ii) comes for free with the Q-act, the specificity of RMQs is (i), cf. (5).

(5) $[\![RM\text{-}Q]\!]^c \rightsquigarrow \exists t'<t_c \, \exists p \, [Q(p) \, \& \, K_{Sp,t'}(p)]$
A RM-Q in context c implies that there is a time t' before the context time t_c such that the Speaker knew some answer p to Q at t'

Past knowledge can be expressed in at least two ways in Romance: first, via epistemic past (Ippolito 2004), cf. (6) where past refers to a past time when the Speaker knew the answer to Q. Second, via déjà for French Qs, also compatible with epistemic past, cf. (7).

(6) Context: after checking tomorrow's movie programme yesterday:
What **was** there at the movies tomorrow?   (adapted from Ippolito 2004: (3))
$\rightsquigarrow$ *referring to the t at which the Speaker knew the answer to [Q what is at the movies tomorrow]*

(7) *About the incoming Christmas:*
Tu   voulais   quoi pour Noël   **déjà** ?
You   want.IPFV what for   Christmas DÉJÀ
'What did you want for Christmas <u>again</u>?'

We propose that *déjà* triggers a RM-reading based on its existential meaning. For that, we make two claims: 1/ *déjà* is different from 'already' in that it conveys pastness with no obligatory counter-expectedness (or earliness) implication. In (2a), which can also be translated as "Who has ever eaten Laguiole cheese?", it only receives an existential ('iterative', Hansen & Strudsholm 2008) reading. 2/ *déjà* acts on a meta-level (Döring 2016), taking scope over the whole sentence (as shown by its position, cf. (1)). In doing so, it signals that the answer to Q has 'already' been added to the common ground (CG; Stalnaker 1974, 2002), seen here as the set of propositions the interlocutors have mutually accepted as true for conversational purposes. Thus, *déjà*-RMQs are <u>inquiries into the CG</u>: the loss of knowledge they signal is about one specific CG-proposition, namely an answer to Q. In other words, déjà-RMQs implicitly acknowledge that a salient answer p to the Q is 'already' part of the CG, with the act of asking the Q signalling the Speaker's current lack of access to p, thereby revealing a tension between the CG and their state of knowledge. Assuming that a basic Q has a Hamblin-denotation like (8), denoting a propositional set of its possible answers, we take a *déjà*-RMQ [Q-déjà] to further constrain this set by requiring each potential answer to 'already' be in the CG, (9).

(8) ⟦[Q what is your name]⟧ =   {p: p ∈ Q}
                                            {your name is honoré, your name is emile, ...}

(9) ⟦[Q what is your name]-déjà⟧ =   {p: p ∈ Q <u>& p is already in CG</u>}
                                            {your name is honoré <u>& this is already in CG</u>,
                                            your name is emile <u>& this is already in CG</u>, ...}

Such an account makes the definition of a RMQ (9) more restrictive than the definition of its bare counterpart Q in (8), thus making an answer to the RMQ a potential subset of the answer to Q. This predicts that an exhaustive answer to the RMQ can in principle correspond to a partial ('mention-some') answer to the bare counterpart Q, if the CG only contains this partial answer. This prediction is borne out in (10), where B's RMQ corresponds to (7). The expected answer amounts to a partial answer to the Q 'what do you want for Christmas?'. The complete answer includes many items, but the RMQ refers back specifically to the bike. A more exhaustive answer would thus be infelicitous as it would misleadingly convey that more than a single item had already been added to CG.

(10) *Context: A always has a hundred Christmas wishes, but they only told one of them to B: "This year, I want a bike among other things!" But B forgot. B asks A:*
<u>B's question:</u> *Tu voulais quoi pour Noël déjà ? ('what did you want for C. again?')*
<u>Expected answer from A:</u> *√a bike   #a new computer, a bike, a skateboard…*

Outlook. We proposed, contra Hansen & Strudsholm 2008, that *déjà*-RMQs could be accounted for by the particle's existential meaning, which signals that an answer (not necessarily THE answer) to the Q has 'already' been added to the CG. Our analysis thus supports a conception of the CG where it gets updated by the acceptance or rejection of propositions, rather than current belief/knowledge. This conception allows for a mismatch with Speaker-knowledge which comes in handy when discussing cases like memory loss. Another contribution of the talk (to be developed) is to show a use of *déjà* as a particle managing the CG (Repp 2013, Döring 2016), thus paving the way for further discourse uses, e.g. when structuring the argumentation and sorting propositions according to their status w.r.t. the CG (e.g. *Pourquoi j'aime Victor Hugo ?* ***Déjà**, c'est un grand auteur; ensuite…* 'Why do I like Victor Hugo ? <u>First</u> he is a great author; second…').

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French-Spanish Subject–Verb Code-Switches:
The "phonetic interface form condition" put to the test

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Subject–verb switches involving Determiner Phrase (DP) subjects (**this student** *parle japonais* / **cet étudiant** *speaks Japanese*) are produced and accepted by bilinguals from different language pairs while pronominal subject–verb switches (**I** *parle japonais* / **je** *speak Japanese*) are seldom found in spontaneous speech and are highly dispreferred regardless of language dominance (Jake, 1994; Van Gelderen & MacSwan, 2008; Fernandez-Fuertes et al., 2016). According to MacSwan & Colina (2014) this dichotomy is due to the 'Phonetic Form Interface Condition' (PFIC) which disallows mixed-language complex heads involving a weak pronoun and a verb. Therefore, if we assume that strong pronouns as the French or Moroccan Arabic pronouns in **moi** *dxlt* (I went in) *or* **nta** *vas travailler* (you go to work) behave like DPs, these sequences would be accepted because the PFIC would not be violated. However, the results of a Forced-Choice Task and an Acceptability Judgement Task administered to three groups of adult bilinguals (French dominant, Spanish dominant and Spanish Heritage French–Spanish bilinguals) by Ayala-Nájera (2018) and Liceras & Garcia-Alcaraz (2024) did not reveal any preference for strong pronouns (**lui** *speaks Japanese*) or strong-weak pronoun sequences (**lui, il** *speaks Japanese*) over weak pronouns (**il** *speaks Japanese*) by any of the groups.

This lack of differentiation between the two classes of pronouns is not predicted by MacSwan & Colina's PFIC, but because the above data was obtained via written experimental tasks, we designed and administered an oral code-switched Forced Choice Task in order to determine whether there was a difference between the two types of pronouns and whether French dominant French/Spanish bilinguals were more sensitive to the phonological status of the clitic subject pronouns than Spanish dominant French/Spanish bilinguals. Together with the oral task, the participants (20 Spanish dominant and 15 French dominant French/Spanish bilinguals) were asked to complete a French/Spanish version of the *Bilingual Language Profile* (Birdsong et al. 2012) to determine whether there was a relationship between the bilingual score obtained from this questionnaire and the subject–verb code-switching preferences shown by the bilinguals.

The results of the oral task indicate (figure 1 and 2), as with the written data, that the DP/Pronominal subject divide does not provide evidence for MacSwan & Colina's (2014) PFIC if interpreted as differentiating weak from strong pronouns.

Given the different morphosyntactic effects that are involved in the asymmetries which exist between the different classes of pronouns (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1999), we suggest that in a code-switching structure, the status of DPs (not case-marked) and strong and clitic pronouns (case-marked) may be located in the syntax proper. In other words, we would like to suggest that the preference for DPs is due to their being [-case], while pronouns are [+case], be it nominative or dative case. From this it follows that feature valuation is more problematic for pronominal+V switches. To further test the "Feature-Case Condition", we plan to compare the acceptability of Subject DPs

and Subject Pronouns–Verb switches in a language with DPs which bear a case feature.

Figure 1. Results Oral FCT: Dominant language French Subject + Spanish Verb sequences
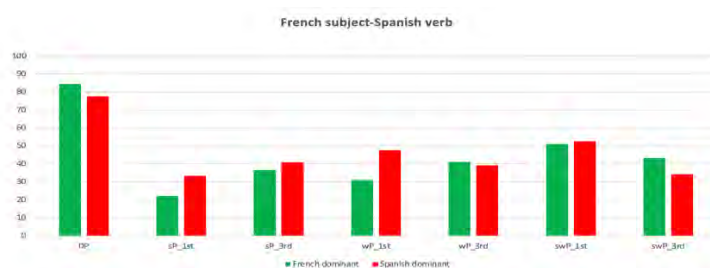

Figure 2. Results Oral FCT: French Subject + Spanish Verb sequences

	Determiner Phrase	Strong 1st person	Strong 3rd person	Weak pronoun (1&3 person combined)	Strong-Weak 1st person	Strong-Weak 3rd person
Determiner Phrase						
Strong 1st person	DP PREFERRED t(34) = 6.599, p= < .001					
Strong 3rd person	DP PREFERRED t(34) = 5.305, p= < .001	STRONG 3rd PERSON PREFERRED t(34) = -2.145, p= .039				
Weak pronoun (1&3 person combined)	DP PREFERRED t(34) = 5.119, p= < .001	WEAK PRONOUN (1&3 PERSON COMBINED) PREFERRED t(34) = -3.128, p= .004	NO PREFERENCE t(34) = -0.244, p= .808			
Strong-Weak 1st person	DP PREFERRED t(34) = 4.400, p= < .001	STRONG-WEAK 1ST PERSON PREFERRED t(34) = -3.767, p= < .001	NO PREFERENCE t(34) = -1.802, p= .080	NO PREFERENCE t(34) = -1.894, p= .067		
Strong-Weak 3rd person	DP PREFERRED t(34) = 6.590, p= < .001	NO PREFERENCE t(34) = -1.321, p= .195	NO PREFERENCE t(34) = 0.201, p= .842	NO PREFERENCE t(34) = 0.376, p= .709	STRONG-WEAK 1ST PERSON PREFERRED t(34) = 2.079, p= .045	

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Language acquisition and syntactic theory: different kinds of complexity in language development

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Among other questions, research in first language acquisition tries to explain the developmental path found in children's productions. It is expected that less complex structures are acquired before more complex structures. We need, however, a precise notion of complexity. Complexity can be defined in several ways – structurally (e.g. in relation to the development of the functional clausal spine, as in the growing trees approach of Friedmann, Belletti & Rizzi, 2021), derivationally (e.g. following the Derivational Complexity Metric proposed by Jakubowicz, 2011), but it can also be the result of a more or less ambiguous input and of the interaction between syntax and other modules of grammar. Syntactic theory allows us to make hypotheses about complexity and the expected developmental path of different syntactic phenomena, and language acquisition data help us refine the notion(s) of complexity relevant for language development. In this talk we will discuss different notions of complexity and how they impact on the timing of acquisition of different phenomena considering data from Romance languages.

A Zipfian account of complement evolution in Spanish causative *sugerir*: the path toward the infinitive

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Introduction

The Spanish verb *sugerir* belongs to the causative category—although it has been labelled as "peripheral" (Davies 1995a: 119). When its indirect object and the subject of the subordinate clause are coreferential, two complements alternate: an infinitive (1) and a finite subjunctive (2).

(1) **Te**   *sugiero*   ***investigar***   *un*   *poco*   *más*   *al*
     2SG.DAT   suggest.PRS.1SG   look.into.INF   INDF.M.SG   bit   more   to.the
     respecto.
     regard
     'I suggest that you look into it a bit more.'
     (CORPES = Bazan Avila 2021)

(2) *Le*   *sugiere*   ***que***   ***regrese***   *de*   *inmediato*
     3SG.DAT   suggest.PRS.3SG   COMP   come.back.PRS.SBJV.3SG   of   immediate
     a   *Berazategui.*
     to   Berazategui
     'He suggests that he return to Berazategui immediately'
     (CORPES = Butazzoni 2021)

This alternation goes back to Classical Latin causatives, and the non-finite option became the speakers' favorite in Medieval Latin (Soares Da Silva 2012: 537). In Spanish, verbs inheriting a causative meaning from their Latin etyma (e.g. *mandar* < *mandare*, *hacer* < *facere*) show a direct continuation of that trend: from the 12th century on they appear predominantly with an infinitive (Sanaphre 2011). In contrast, verbs such as *aconsejar* 'advise' and *recomendar* 'recommend' acquired a causative value only inside the history of Spanish, so their shift towards the infinitive did not start until then (Loporcaro in press).

Regarding *sugerir*, Latham & Howlett (2013 [1975]) state that its Latin source suggerere combined with both infinitive and subjunctive, implying that *sugerir* should have continued the same path. Yet a CDH search shows the verb first attested only in 1490 —not with a plain causative value like in (1) and (2)—, several centuries after the Latin–Spanish transition. We therefore hypothesize that *sugerir* did not inherit the non-finite pattern directly from Latin; rather, the shift had to restart once the verb re-entered the vocabulary—parallel to what happened with *recomendar* and *aconsejar*. According to Zipf's law (1965 [1935]: 273) "the more articulated we find a given configuration, the less integrated do we suppose the configuration to be in the collective experience of the group, and conversely". We therefore predict that, if *sugerir* resurfaces from the late 15th century on, the infinitival complement—the structurally simplest—should expand as the verb consolidates in speakers' experience.

Methods

To verify the hypothesis, 816 Spanish and 1,766 American occurrences of causative *sugerir* were extracted from the corpora CDH, CREA and CORPES XXI (Real

Academia Española). These occurrences are distributed across 12 time periods, spanning from the first attested causative use in the 17th century to the present. In addition to clauses like (1) and (2), several cases with a support noun—generally *idea* 'idea'—were found, such as (3) and (4).

(3) *Considerant   me   sugiere   la   idea   de   hacer*
Considerant   1SG.DAT   suggest.PRS.3SG   DEF.F.SG   idea   of   do.INF
un   ensayo de   la   grande   y   nueva   asociación.
INDF.M.SG   essay   of   DEF.F.SG   big   and   new   association
'Considerant suggests to me the idea of writing an essay on the great and new association.'
(CDH=Pérez Galdós 1902)

(4) *Sugirieron   al   Vicecónsul inglés,   la   idea   de   que*
suggest.PST.3PL   to.the   Viceconsul English   DEF.F.SG   idea   of   COMP
pidiera   *al   Gobierno   cerrara*   los
go.SBJV.PST.IPFV.3S   to.the   Government   close.SBJV.PST.IPFV.3S   DEF.M.PL
G   G
tribunales.
courts
'They suggested to the English Vice-Consul the idea of asking the Government to close the courts'.
(CDH=Montúfar 1898)

Constructions like (2), (3), and (4)—structurally more complex—were coded as NON_INF; the pattern in (1) as INF. A binomial logistic regression modelled the INF vs. NON_INF alternation. For each time-period we entered the count pair (INF, NON_INF) as the response. Predictors were YEAR_C (mid-year, centered on the grand mean = 1977), AREA (Spain vs. America) and their interaction. The constant therefore represents America in 1977; slopes are log-odds change per calendar year. Model fit was assessed via residual deviance and McFadden's pseudo-R^2; no over-dispersion appeared (φ = 0.96). A density covariate (number of causative *sugerir* tokens per million words) was dropped due to collinearity with time (r = .72; VIF ≈ 5.8) and no AIC gain.

Results and discussion
The logistic model fits the data very closely, reducing deviance by 85% in comparison with a null model (χ^2 = 224.7, df = 4, p < .001) and yielding a McFadden R^2 of 0.85. In the American series the passage of time exerts a strong influence: the coefficient for the centered year variable (β = 0.018 ± 0.004, OR = 1.018, p < .001) indicates that the odds of selecting an infinitive grow by roughly 18 % every ten years. By contrast, Spain begins from a markedly lower baseline (OR = 0.395, p < .001) and, because the year-by-area interaction is negative (β = –0.014 ± 0.005, OR = 0.986, p = .003), the temporal slope there is almost flat—only about a two-per-cent rise per decade. In other words, while the infinitival construction expands steadily and substantially in Hispanic America, it advances only marginally in Spain.
Specifically, the predicted probabilities translate the coefficients into a clear diachronic path. In America, the infinitive began as almost nonexistent—about 2 % of cases around 1800—and decade after decade climbed to nearly 50 % of tokens by 2023: a sustained shift from marginal to roughly half of the data. In Spain, by

contrast, the starting point was slightly higher (≈ 6% in 1750) but the modelled slope adds barely ten points in almost three centuries, reaching only ≈ 16% today. Thus the infinitive grows, yet so slowly that it remains clearly minor compared with the subjunctive.

Conclusions

Altogether, the data support the Zipfian hypothesis: the infinitival construction expands as *sugerir* consolidates in collective experience, but that expansion is largely observed in Hispanic America. This indicates that further sociolinguistic or pragmatic factors, not analyzed here, are also at play and merit future study.

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'Emphatic' negation as Focus

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This contribution proposes a syntactic approach to 'emphatic' negative structures that models their pragmatic contribution on the basis of three components, namely a) the regular semantics of the negative operator, b) the distinction between Corrective and Contrastive Focus (Bianchi and Bocci, 2012), c) the size of the constituent targeted by Focus. Our empirical basis is the distribution of Italian 'emphatic' negative structures exemplified in (1-2). The core claim is that 'emphatic' negation corresponds to different functions, which we dub Correction (1) and Confirmation (2), and that the specific properties of each structure with respect to the type and size of Focus dictates which function it can encode. Specifically, we argue that Confirmation requires a biclausal structure, whereby the Focus structure of the main clause does not interact with the scope of negation in the embedded clause.

(1) Speaker 1: Non vorrei svegliare Paolo.
        'I wouldn't want to wake Paolo up.'
  Speaker 2:
  a. **Non** sta   **mica**   dormendo!
    NEG be.3SG crumb sleep.PROG
  b. **Non STA**   dormendo!
    NEG be.3SG sleep.PROG
    'He's not sleeping.'
  c. **#Non** sta   dormendo   **NO**!
    NEG be.3SG sleep.PROG no
  d. **#NO che** non sta   dormendo!
    no that NEG be.3SG sleep.PROG
    'He's not sleeping.'

(2) Speaker 1: Paolo non ha fame.
        'Paolo is not hungry'
  Speaker 2:
  a. **#Non** ha   **mica** fame!
    NEG have.3SG crumb hunger
  b. **#Non HA**   fame!
    NEG have.3SG hunger
    'He's not hungry.'
  c. **Non** ha   fame **NO**!
    NEG have.3SG hunger no
  d. **No che** non ha fame!
    no that NEG have.3sg hunger!
    'He's not hungry.'

Under 'correction' (1), Speaker 1's utterance implies the *p* 'Paolo is sleeping', and Speaker 2 targets this p, objecting that what is actually the case is ¬*p*: 'Paolo is not sleeping'. This can be conveyed either by combining sentential negation with the minimizer mica 'crumb' (1a) or by Verum Focus, whereby a stressed intonation falls on the phonological word containing the marker of negation (1b) (the complex of non 'NEG' and the inflected verb). On the contrary, structures involving the holophrastic *NO* (1c-1d) are not felicitous. The pattern is reversed under 'Confirmation' (2). Speaker 1's utterance introduces ¬*p*: 'Paolo is not hungry' as possible/probable, while Speaker 2's answer conveys that indeed ¬*p* and that there cannot be any doubt about it in light of the available evidence. In this case, only the use of the two structures with the polarity particle *NO* (2c-2d) is felicitous, whereas *non...mica* (2a) and (2b) are excluded.

We connect these contrasts to the basic grammatical components involved in Correction and Confirmation, and how these are encoded by the different 'emphatic' structures at hand. Correction results from the combination of negation and corrective Focus, which encodes the incompatibility of the focused element with previous discourse (Bianchi et al., 2015). The bipartite structure *non...mica* and Verum Focus encode these same basic components in two different ways. In the first case, a stressed intonation falls on an XP to the right of *mica*, signaling contrastive Focus. The incompatibility component involved in Correction is instead contributed by the adverb *mica*, along the lines of presuppositional analyses of its semantics (Frana and Rawlins, 2019). On the other hand, incompatibility is directly encoded by

Verum Focus, which we analyze as *in situ* focalization of the negative marker. Under this analysis of Correction, the Focus structure of the sentence determines what is targeted by corrective emphatic negation, i.e. what is corrected by *mica* or Verum Focus. Accordingly, the same possibilities are given in both cases, with different continuations distinguishing between correction of the rightmost argument (A), of the VP (B), or of the entire proposition (C).

(3) a. **Non** $_3$[le   ho   **mica** $_2$[dato $_1$[le CHIAVI]]],
         NEG   to.her have.1SG crumb   give.PTCP   the keys
     b. **Non** $_3$[le   **HO** $_2$[dato $_1$[le CHIAVI]]],
         NEG   to.her have.1SG give.PTCP the keys
          'I didn't give her the keys, ...'
A) I gave her my wallet. B) I stayed home and let her in. C) We didn't meet in the end.

On the other hand, Confirmation amounts to contrastive Focus on the 'relative polarity' of response (Farkas and Bruce, 2010). Given a set of possible responses, e.g. {[SAME], [REVERSE], ...}, the agreeing response (e.g. [SAME]) is asserted while excluding all alternatives. In the Italian confirmatory structures (2c-d), the holophrastic response particle NO is itself the target of contrastive Focus, which does not interact with the scope of the clitic negator non, unlike under Correction. We connect this difference to a structural one: structures with focussed NO are biclausal, with the response particle embedding a CP expressing the proposition that is being confirmed. The latter is also represented as a Hanging Topic in the main CP (Poletto and Zanuttini, 2013). The difference between *NO che* and sentence-final *NO* results from the optional ellipsis of the two identical clauses in (4), which however may also be simultaneously pronounced (at least in some varieties).

(4) [CP1 non sta dormendo [PolP NO ... . . . [CP2 che non sta dormendo]]]

Informally, contrastive Focus on *NO* expresses that there is no way the Speaker could react to ¬*p* other than [SAME], hence the 'of course' flavor of emphatic confirmation. Assuming *NO* to be inherently [Neg], this requires a structural dependency with the PolP of the embedded CP (Poletto and Zanuttini, 2013). When the negative CP embedded under contrastively focused *NO* is identical to the p asserted by the interlocutor, the structure is equivalent to focused *CERTO* "certain/of course", which instead encodes [SAME]. The different feature specification accounts for the fact that *NO* requires a negative CP, while *CERTO* is insensitive to the polarity of the *p* it confirms:

(5) NO che *(non) ha   fame!   (6) CERTO che (non) ha   fame!
      no that   NEG have.3SG hunger   certain   that NEG have.3SG hunger
      'Of course he's not hungry!'   'Of course he's (not) hungry!'

Under this structure-based approach, different types of 'emphatic' negation, and more generally different flavors of 'emphasis' can be distinguished, and modelled based on independently motivated distinctions among types of Focus, their targets, and the structural position of the relevant lexical items.

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Aux-stranding VPE in Heritage Spanish: Consequences for Ellipsis Licensing

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This study addresses two questions at the intersection of theoretical syntax and heritage language research: (i) do heritage speakers (HSs) of Spanish diverge from baseline speakers in their evaluation of auxiliary-stranding verb phrase ellipsis (AuxVPE)?; (ii) If so, is their acceptance of AuxVPE associated with acceptance of encliticization—an independent grammatical property that has been hypothesized to be linked to AuxVPE licensing?

Prior findings suggest that our HS population, bilingual adults who acquired Spanish naturalistically during early childhood, may diverge from baseline speakers in their evaluation of AuxVPE for two reasons: (i) Spanish allows VPE with stranded modals (ModVPE) but not auxiliaries (AuxVPE), whereas English permits both. While most HL research has focused on loss of structures, contact-induced innovations not licensed by the baseline grammar have been documented, such as P-stranding in heritage Spanish (Pascual y Cabo & Gómez Soler, 2015), which also involves a stranded functional head. (ii) The Silent Problem (Laleko & Polinsky, 2017) hypothesizes that HSs exhibit difficulties with silent elements (e.g., null pronouns, object gaps). To disentangle the role of transfer from more general difficulties with silence, we compare HSs' judgments on VPE to sluicing—a form of ellipsis governed by a universal identity condition that bans voice mismatches between the antecedent and the elided clause, since the Voice head is inside the ellipsis site (Merchant, 2013; Ranero, 2021).

We also test an explicit empirical prediction from Saab's (2022) analysis of VPE licensing, which argues—against the dominant [E]-feature approach to ellipsis licensing (Merchant 2001)—that the procliticizing nature of Spanish blocks licensing of AuxVPE. This explanation links crosslinguistic variation in ellipsis licensing to an independently attested grammatical property and aims to derive the longstanding licensing question without stipulations. This analysis thus predicts a correlation between HSs' evaluation of AuxVPE and of clitic placement.

The current analysis includes 40 HSs and 33 dominant Spanish speakers (DSs) who completed an acceptability judgment task, rating 72 sentences presented in written/aural modes on a scale of 1-7. The task included four conditions with two levels each: VPE (ModVPE (1a), AuxVPE (1b)); Sluices (VoiceMatch (2a), VoiceMismatch(2b)); Clitics (Proclitic (3a), Enclitic (3b)); Controls (presence/absence of an obligatory preposition). Only participants with ≥50% accuracy on the latter (accepting grammatical and rejecting ungrammatical items) were included. Results are shown in Figure 1.

Data were analyzed using a cumulative link mixed model (ordinal R package, Christensen, 2023) with Group (DS/HS), Condition (VPE/Sluicing/Clitic), Grammaticality (G/U), Proficiency (Lextale, [Izura et al., 2014]), childhood, and current Spanish use as fixed effects, and random intercepts for participant and item. Pairwise comparisons with Tukey correction reveal that both groups differentiate between expected grammatical and ungrammatical sentences in the three Conditions (ps < .001). However, while DSs and HSs did not differ in their judgments of grammatical sentences in any of the three Conditions (ps > .73), HSs assigned significantly higher scores to the AuxVPE (p = .004) and Enclitic items (p < .001), but not the VoiceMismatch Sluices (p = .15). Proficiency, current, and childhood Spanish

use were not significant predictors. Crucially, there was no correlation between HSs' evaluation of AuxVPE and Enclitic sentences (Spearman, ρ = 0.16, *p* = 0.33).

While HSs discriminated between ModVPE and AuxVPE, they behaved closer to DSs in rejecting voice mismatches than AuxVPE. We interpret this as follows: (i) HSs represent the grammar of ellipsis, given their rejection of identity mismatches; (ii) HSs experience transfer of AuxVPE from English to Spanish. HSs also differed from baseline speakers in their assessment of enclitics. However, contrary to Saab's predictions, there was no relationship between their evaluation of AuxVPE and Enclitic sentences. Therefore, it is unlikely that AuxVPE licensing is mediated by clitic placement. Instead, our results are more in line with the [E]-feature approach as our means to encode cross-linguistic/dialectal variation in ellipsis licensing. Concretely, we argue that reduced inhibition of the dominant language (e.g., Putnam & Sánchez, 2013) may cause functional features to be transferred—here, the [E]-feature from English onto the head hosting Spanish auxiliaries, thus licensing AuxVPE.

(1) **VPE** (* = ill-formed in baseline Spanish); a. = ModVPE, b. = AuxVPE
a. *María puede bailar salsa bien, y   Patricia también puede*.
    María can   dance salsa well and Patricia also   can
    'María can dance salsa well, and Patricia can, too.'
b. **Laura está estudiando lingüística este trimestre, y   Evelyn también está.*
     Laura is   studying   linguistics this quarter   and Evelyn also   is
     'Laura is studying linguistics this quarter, and Evelyn is, too.'

(2) **Sluicing** (* = ill-formed in baseline Spanish); a. = VoiceMatch; b. = VoiceMismatch
a. *Alguien   escribió esta evaluación recientemente, pero Miguel no sabe   quién.*
    someone wrote   this evaluation recently   but Miguel not knows who
    'Someone wrote this evaluation recently, but Miguel doesn't know who.'
b. **Un jardinero plantó   las flores cuidadosamente, pero el dueño no sabe   por cuál.*
     a gardener planted the flowers carefully   but the owner not knows by which
     'A gardener carefully planted the flowers, but the owner doesn't know by which one.'

(3) **Clitic placement** (* = ill-formed in baseline Spanish); a. = Proclitic; b. = Enclitic
a. *Las abogadas discutieron el contrato inicial, y   lo entregarán mañana.*
    the lawyers   discussed the contract initial and CL will.deliver tomorrow
    'The lawyers discussed the initial contract and will deliver it tomorrow.'
b. **Los investigadores completaron su estudio lingüístico, y   presentáron=lo en la conferencia.*
     the researchers   completed   their study linguistic   and presented=CL at the conference
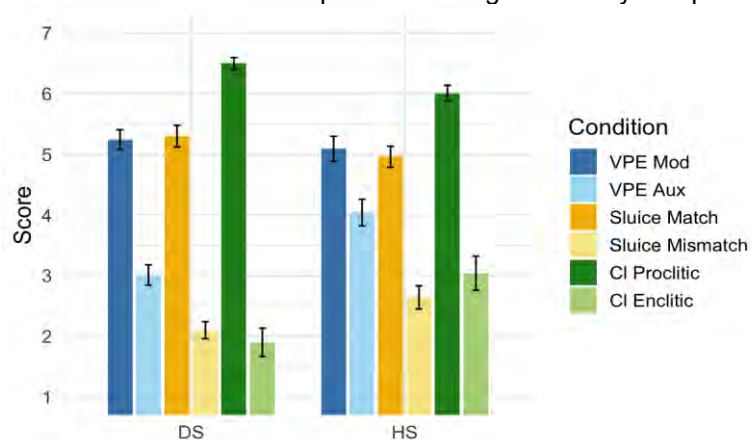   'The researchers completed their linguistic study and presented it at the conference.'

Figure 1. Average scores by group and condition (standard error bars included).

Table 1. Participants' demographic profile and Proficiency task (LexTale) by group.

	DSs (*n* = 33)	HSs (*n* = 40)
LexTale (range)	48.39/60 (29-60)	24.72/60 (0-50)
Current Sp Use (range)	79.85% (10-100%)	24.74% (0-70%)
Childhood Sp Use (range)	98.94% (80-100%)	67.38% (10-100%)

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Root Modality in Spanish: Comparing Mood and Overt Modals

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1. INTRODUCTION. Broadly speaking, subjunctive mood in Romance in complement and rel- ative clauses (RCs) appears in modal contexts involving root flavors of modality (e.g., desires, obligations, goals). In Spanish, for example, subjunctive morphology is grammatical in the scope of 'want' but ungrammatical under 'believe' (1) (Villalta, 2008; Romero, 2024).

(1) María quiere / *cree que Pedro **sea** feliz.
    María wants / believes that Pedro **is:SUBJ** happy

The modality associated with subjunctive can also be expressed covertly. Despite the lack of an overt modal, the Spanish RC in (2a) expresses goal-oriented modality (Quer 1998; Alonso- Ovalle *et al.* 2024 [A&M&R]): (2a) conveys that we hired a teacher and that he teaches Pedro Latin *in all the worlds compatible with our goals*. Current analyses of this phenomenon generate an expectation that—all else being equal—if mood is replaced by an overt modal expression, as in (2b), the meaning derived will remain the same. We show that this expectation is not met, and argue that the contrast between subjunctive and overt modals can be naturally accounted for within Kratzer's (2013) anchor semantics for modals, once we factor in independently motivated differences between different types of modal anchors.

(2) a. Contratamos a un profesor que **enseñara** latín a Pedro.
       we.hired   OBJ a teacher that **taught:SUBJ** Latin OBJ Pedro
       'We hired a teacher that would teach Pedro Latin.'

    b. Contratamos a un profesor que **tenía que** enseñar latín a Pedro.
       we.hired OBJ a teacher that **had**:INDIC to teach Latin OBJ Pedro
       'We hired a teacher that had to teach Pedro Latin.'

2. BACKGROUND. Building on Portner & Rubinstein's (2020) analysis of mood selection [P&R], A&M&R have recently analyzed agent-oriented subjunctive RCs (2a) as involving an event-relative modal. **2.1. P&R on mood selection.** P&R claim that moods in complement clauses (in Span- ish and French) introduce a modal anchored to an event (Hacquard 2006). The event anchor e is associated with modal backgrounds (the *content* of e), which are used to set up the domain of the mood quantifier. Mood selection patterns are traced back to the constraints that moods place on their anchors. In particular, subjunctive can only combine with events whose content is a pair of backgrounds (3). It then quantifies over the accessible worlds (selected by the modal base f) which rank best with respect to the ordering source g. Subjunctive is ruled out under, e.g., 'believe' (as seen in (1)), because believing events provide just one (doxastic) modal background. Subjunctive is allowed under, e.g., 'want', because wanting events involve also a (bouletic) ordering source.

(3) $[[\text{SUBJ}]] = \lambda p \lambda e \lambda w : e$ is in w, *content*(e) is a pair $\langle f, g \rangle$. $\text{BEST}_{g(e)} \bigcap f(e) \subseteq p$

2.2. A&M&R on RCs. A&M&R extend P&R's analysis to RCs like (2a). They propose that (i) the RC in (2a) contains the SUBJ quantifier in (3), (ii) the event argument of SUBJ in RCs must be co-indexed with another event-denoting expression in the structure and (iii) the content of a volitional event e corresponds to a pair $\langle f, g \rangle$ (where $f(e)$ = the circumstances surrounding e and $g(e)$ = the goals of the agent of e). The event of hiring in (2a) is therefore a suitable anchor for SUBJ, yielding a goal-oriented interpretation.

3. THE PUZZLE: SUBJUNCTIVE VS. OVERT MODALS. 3.1. Data. While subjunctive RCs like (2a) are always goal-oriented, modals in the same position can express other flavors of root modality. In a context like (4), where the teacher is required to teach Pedro Latin, but this obligation is at odds with our goals, (2a) with a subjunctive RC is false, but (2b), with the modal *tener que*, can be true. This shows that a deontic reading is available for (2b) but not for (2a).

(4) Context: We hired a teacher for Pedro. Our goal was for him to teach Pedro Math. The teacher worked for a language academy that required him to only teach Latin to his students. We were unaware of this, and were upset when we realized it.

Furthermore, as shown in (5a), subjunctive RCs are ungrammatical in the object position of non-volitional verbs (Quer 1998, A&M&R), which are incompatible with a goal-oriented interpretation. Overt (root) modals, in contrast, are acceptable in the same position, witness (5b).

(5) a. #Conocimos a un profesor que **enseñara** latín a Pedro.
     we.met OBJ a teacher that **taught:SUBJ** Latin OBJ Pedro
  b. Conocimos a un profesor que **tenía que** enseñar latín a Pedro.
     we.met OBJ a teacher that **had**:INDIC to teach Latin OBJ Pedro
     'We met a teacher that had to teach Pedro Latin.'

3.2. Theoretical challenge. P&R's analysis of mood builds on Hacquard's (2006) event-relative semantics for modal auxiliaries. Assuming an event-based semantics for modals across the board, the contrasts between mood and overt modals in 3.1. pose a challenge: what is the anchor of the modal in (2b) and (5b) and why is this anchor not available for subjunctive in (2a) and (5a)? The answer to this question cannot rely on the flavor of modality *per se*: events that supply a deontic ordering source are good anchors for subjunctive, as illustrated by (6).

(6) Juan ordenó que Carlos **limpiara**   la casa.
     Juan ordered that Carlos **cleaned:SUBJ** the house
     'Juan ordered Carlos to clean the house.'

4. MEETING THE CHALLENGE. 4.1. Kratzer 2013. Kratzer (2013) extends Hacquard's seman- tics. For our purposes, the key extensions are: (i) modal anchors can be any part of the evaluation world (events, situations, or individuals), (ii) the priorities used to order the modal domain need not be retrieved from the anchor itself. For instance, in the context in (7a), (7b) is anchored to a situation *s* containing the ship in the midst of the storm (the evaluation/topic situation for the whole modal statement). The modal domain consists of worlds that contain a copy of *s* and that are best with respect to some moral considerations. These are not given by *s* but correspond to default ethical standards. This accounts for the fact that (7b) is typically taken to be false in (7a).

(7) a. **Context:** While sailing, a large storm came upon a captain and its ship. The captain realized that the ship was too heavy. Thinking quickly, he threw his wife into the sea.
  b. The captain had to throw his wife overboard.   (adapted from Kratzer 2013)

4.2. Types of anchors. Kratzer (2015) contemplates the possibility that *events* of certain types can supply orderings. We propose that there is indeed a principled difference between events and (external) topic situations in that the former but not the latter supply content (in P&R's sense, i.e., modal backgrounds). Of the two, only events have functionally integrated participants, with des- ignated thematic roles; some (Agent, Experiencer) are defined grammatically as being associated with mental states (goals, beliefs, or other attitudes). This is not the case for (topic) situations, which can be arbitrary parts of the evaluation world. In (4), the modal in (2b) can access an exter- nal situation *s* containing the teacher and surrounding

circumstances; it thus quantifies over worlds in which the teacher abides by general normative standards and fulfills the terms of his contract. This situation does not provide content, so given the selectional restrictions SUBJ imposes on its anchor (as in (3)), it is not a possible anchor in (2a). In contrast, the event of hiring is a suitable anchor, yielding a teleological interpretation related to the goals of the agent of the hiring.

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Sicilian/Gallo-Italic contact in Nicosia: A semi-automatic lexical analysis

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This paper examines the contact between Sicilian and Gallo-Italic through a semi-automatic lexical analysis of the Nicosian dialect. Gallo-Sicilian varieties arose from the settlement of speakers from Liguria and southern Piedmont during the Norman period (11th–13th centuries), resulting in a system with predominantly Gallo-Italic phonetics but mainly Sicilian morphosyntax and lexicon. The study investigates the preservation of northern phonetic traits and the degree of Sicilian influence. A dataset of 10,400 nouns and verbs from the *Vocabolario di Nicosia e Sperlinga* is compared with entries in the *Vocabolario Siciliano* by applying reverse correspondence rules for identified phonetic traits. The analysis highlights both the realization and loss of traits such as lenition, degemination, assibilation, diphthongization, and vowel system patterns. The results provide insights into the distribution of traits, their role in defining Gallo-Italic identity, and the integration of Sicilianisms across different historical stages.

Subject clitics marking types of predicates

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Introduction This paper investigates the syntax of the accusative clitics that attach to the copula, henceforth copula clitics, **C-clitics**, either as proclitic or as enclitic, in some undocumented varieties of Greek, and compares them to similar ones in Aromanian. We argue that Greek C-clitics, despite their accusative case morphology, are subject rather than predicate, clitics, and we propose a syntactic account for their distribution which instantiates an unambiguously morphosyntactic reflex of the I-level vs. S-level dichotomy. We argue that the phenomenon becomes possible because of the case syncretism that clitics demonstrate in these varieties, and discuss the potential role of language contact.

The distribution in the Greek of Arta The variety of Greek spoken in the area of Arta (northwest Greece) features accusative pronominal clitics, in 3rd person only, agreeing with the subject in φ-features, (1), and preceding the copula BE, (1) vs. (2):

(1) O   Janis   **ton**   ine arostos.
    the John.NOM him.ACC.CL is   ill.NOM   'John is ill.'
(2) O   Janis   (***ton**)   fenete   arostos.
    the John.NOM him.ACC.CL seems/looks ill.NOM 'John seems/looks ill.'

Distribution of C-clitics C-clitics are found where one finds the copula *estar* in Spanish (Arche 2012, Gallego & Uriagereka 2016, Deo et al., 2017, a.o.), namely:

1. with adjectives, if they are stage-level predicates or subjective/non-permanent evaluations:

    (3) a. I Eleni **tin** ine stenohorimeni. b. O Janis (***ton**) ine psilos.
        'Eleni is worried.'   'John is tall.'

2. with PPs, mostly locatives of non-permanent locations.

    (4) a. O Janis **ton** ine sto spiti.   b. I Arta (***tin**) ine stin Ipiro.
        'John is at home.'   'Arta is in Epirus.'

An important difference between C-clitics and Romance predicate clitics is that they may appear when the subject is a topic, (5a), but not when it is focalized, (5b).

    (5) a. O Janis, eh, **ton** ine fevgatos.   b. O JANIS (***ton**) ine arostos.
        'As for John, he is gone.'   'It is JOHN that is sick.'

Evidence that C-clitics agree with the subject rather than the predicate is further provided by idiomatic expressions, as below:

    (6) I pita   **tin/to**   ine farmaki.
         the pie.FEM her/*it is   poison.NEU   'The pie is bitter.'

Along with other facts, such distributional differences suggest that C-clitics are subject clitics, despite their accusative morphology.

The eastern Romance variety of Aromanian is spoken in the same area, and Mavrogiorgos & Ledgeway (M&L) (2019) have detected a similar type of clitics, (7). Aromanian does not differentiate morphologically between nominative vs. accusative, hence, the case of the clitic **u** below cannot be determined easily:

    (7) 'mai̯a   am'ea **u**   'ẹaste 'multu a'dinatə
        grandmother.the mine   3S.FEM.CL is   very   thin.FEM
        'My grandmother is very thin.'

In Thrace, northeast Greece, similar clitics are exclusively enclitic (Papastougiannoudis p.c.).

(8) Ta   pidhudhja   in-**ta**   kamosu ljagrava/*psila
    the   kids   be.3PL-CL.ACC a-lot   dirty/*tall
    'The kids are very dirty/tall.'

Proposal C-clitics present a unique argument for a syntactic difference between I(ndividual)- and S(tage)-level predicates that cannot be reduced to semantics. In the spirit of Diesing (1992) and Kratzer (1995), we hold that the C-clitics in (1)/(3a)/(4a), as subjects of S-level predicates, originate in a PredP-internal position and undergo head-movement to BE, with further V-raising up to T.

(7) [$_{TP}$Subject$_i$ T   ... s ...   BE [$_{PredP}$ <Subject$_i$> Pred   AP/PP]

In (3b)/(4b), the thematic/base-generated position of the subject is higher than BE. The C-clitic is thus unable to head adjoin BE (or be probed by a functional head attracting clitics, see Roberts (2010) for whom clitics must first adjoin to v/be).

(8) [$_{TP}$ Subject$_i$ T   ... <Subject$_i$> ... BE [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_i$ Pred   AP/PP]

We hold that the accusative case of C-clitics is due to the nominative-accusative syncretism that is advanced in the system of Northern Greek varieties (Michelioudakis et al. in press; Spyropoulos 2020), cf. (9):

(9) Aftin(a) irthe/agorase amaksi.
    she.ACC came/bought a car
    'She came/bought a car.'

Thus, the preconditions for the emergence of C-clitics marking types of predicates in the relevant sense are in principle available in any grammar subject to the above syncretism, a correlation that is absent from M&L (2019), who hold a similar view of the role of clitics. Finally, the role of language contact is not obvious: while contact cannot be excluded between the Greek of Arta and Aromanian, the parallelism with Thrace cannot be explained.

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Exploring individual and community-level variation in quantifier scales

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Introduction.

In recent years, alternative-based semantic approaches to meaning have proven to be a fruitful theoretical framework for understanding a wide range of semantic phenomena such implicature derivation (see, Gotzner and Romoli (2022) and Pagliarini et al. (2018)). However, an ongoing question in the field is how these alternatives are generated and which linguistic factors (saliency, complexity, lexicalization, etc.) can affect their formation (Katzir and Cummins, 2025). The general consensus is that quantifier scales are the most salient of alternatives, and that despite inherent individual variability in quantification, different speakers place quantifiers into the same ordered scales, for example <a few, some, many, most, all> (Ramotowska et al., 2024). The aim of this work is to complement the existing literature by providing a cross-linguistic (focusing on Romance) and variationist perspective on the formation of quantifier scales.

Research question. How does the space of quantifier alternatives vary at the individual level across different Romance languages?

Main findings.

Contrary to what has been observed for other languages, such as English (Ramotowska et al., 2024), we find that low quantity and existential quantifiers (*a few* and *some*) are not ordered equally across all speakers. Some place low quantity quantifiers higher in the scale than existentials, others place both quantifiers in the same location in the scale, and yet other speakers locate existentials lower than low quantity quantifiers in the scale. These results illustrate a case of covert representational variation (MacKenzie 2019) at the lexical level, which raises interesting questions regarding how to best model such heterogeneity from an acquisitional (e.g., via Yang's (2002) variational learner) and theoretical perspective. Moreover, the results show how this variation at the individual level may explain the variation we found across different Romance languages.

Methodology.

In order to explore the ordering of quantifiers across different Romance languages, we designed an experiment similar to the one employed in Pezzelle et al. (2018) and translated it into Spanish, Italian and Catalan. Participants were presented with visual stimuli consisting of black squares and white circles (1a) and were then asked to choose the quantifier that would best describe the image (1b). The quantifiers provided as options were: 'unos pocos', 'algunos', 'muchos' and 'la mayoría' for Spanish; 'pochi' , 'alcuni', 'molti' and 'la maggior parte' for Italian; and 'uns quants', 'alguns', 'molts' and 'la majoria' for Catalan. In order to tease apart whether individual differences in quantifier selection may stem from speakers' internal representation or due to other external factors, participants were additionally asked to provide the approximate proportion of target objects (i.e., squares) in that image (1c). The experiment was implemented via PCIbex and 40 native speakers of each language were recruited via Prolific.

(1) a. Image with N squares and 100 − N circles.
   b. [Most/Many/Some/A few] objects are squares.
   c. Approximate proportion of squares: [11%-20%, 21%-30%, ...]

Results.

The results of this experiment can be found in Figure 1. Although the quantifiers for *some*, *many* and *most* do show a clear ordering in all the tested languages, we found more variation with respect to the quantifier *a few*. In the case of Catalan, for example, it occurs in a subset of the cases in which the quantifier for *some* can be used, and there is no context in which it wins the competition.

Moreover, underlying this pattern there seems to be a high degree of inter-speaker variability, which is illustrated in Figure 2. As can be seen, the quantifier 'uns quants' is placed in different locations in the scale depending on the participant. We found three groups of speakers: those for which 'uns quants' represented a smaller magnitude than 'alguns', those in which 'uns quants' represented a bigger magnitude than 'alguns', and those that didn't make a magnitude distinction between the two quantifiers. This type of variability is also encountered in Spanish and Italian to a certain degree, but the amount of variation in these languages is smaller.
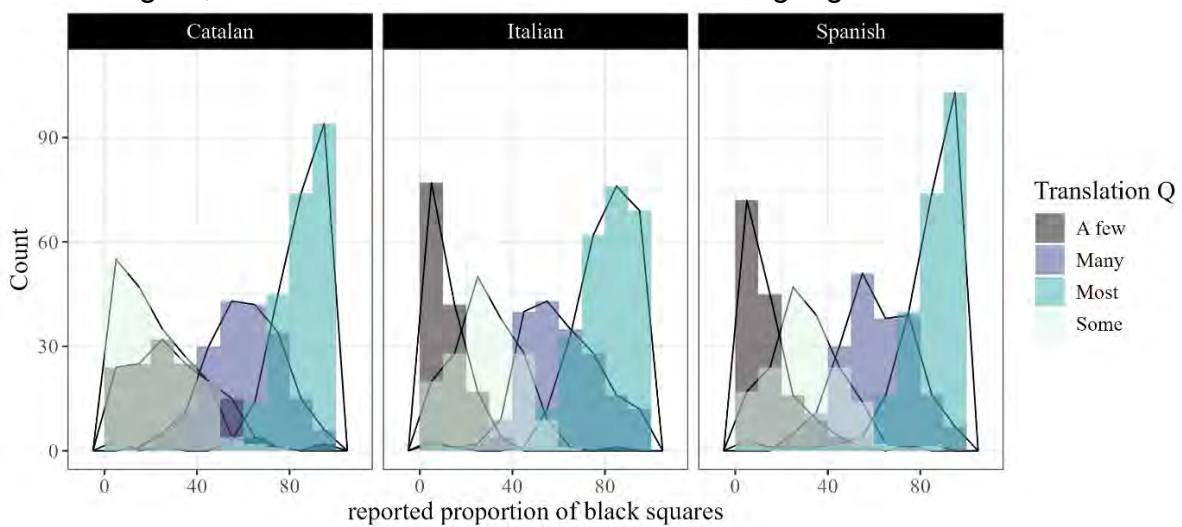
Figure 6: Frequency count of quantifier chosen and the reported proportion of squares.
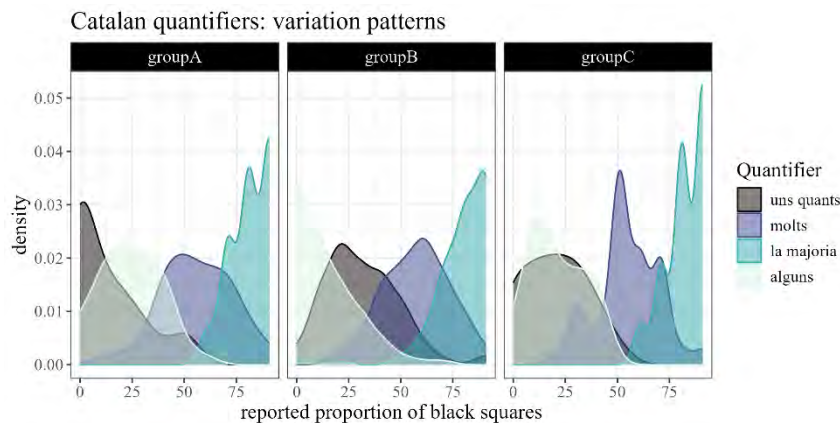
Figure 7: Density distribution showing different patterns of quantifiers ordering in Catalan. Group A (10 speakers): uns quants < alguns; Group B (25 speakers): uns quants > alguns; Group C (5 speakers): uns quants = alguns.

Conclusion.

This work presents novel results showing cross-linguistic differences across Romance languages in the organization of quantifier scales, and paves the way for understanding the sources of variation in quantifier alternatives more broadly (both at the individual and population level).

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Language Acquisition and Bilingualism as a Window into Grammatical Theory: Evidence from Romance Copula Distribution

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Pompeu Fabra University

Invited speaker

In this talk, I examine how data from first and second language acquisition, as well as from bilingualism, contribute to our understanding of Romance syntax and semantics. Focusing on the acquisition of ser and estar in Spanish across L1, L2, and bilingual contexts (with contact languages such as Catalan, Portuguese, Italian, other Italo-Romance varieties, and English), I will explore how the semantic dimension of eventiveness is encoded in the grammar and how it is processed by learners. In particular, I show that eventive predicates marked with ser are acquired later than their stative counterparts with *estar*. This delay raises key questions about whether the difficulty lies in conceptual development—since the ontological notion of eventiveness may emerge later—or in the mismatch between learners' expectations and the specific grammaticalization patterns of Spanish. I argue that acquisition and bilingual data offer valuable insight into how abstract grammatical properties are mapped onto meaning, and how variation in this mapping across Romance languages can inform our theoretical models.

The silence beyond *quale*: exploring bareness through the acquisition of Italian sluicing

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This study investigates the role of bareness —i.e., absence of lexical NP restriction— in the computation of featural Relativized Minimality (fRM) (Rizzi 2004; 2018). According to this principle, a local relation between X and Y is disrupted when an intervener Z, sharing some relevant syntactic features with X, occurs in between, (1). Disruption strength depends on the set-theoretic relation resulting from the featural overlap between X and Z, following the distinctness hierarchy (Rizzi 2018). For instance, penalty arises in inclusion configurations, i.e., when the relevant features specified on Z constitute a proper subset of those on X, but not in disjunction configurations, i.e., when X and Z share no relevant features. Disjunction obtains, e.g. by creating a mismatch in the lexical specification between X and Z, e.g., a pronominal X and a lexically restricted Z. In previous studies (Friedmann, Belletti & Rizzi 2009; Bentea, Durrleman & Rizzi 2016, a.o.), the absence of lexical restriction on X was structural: being a pronoun, X was inherently bare, syntactically lacking the NP projection, e.g. *chi* 'who' in Italian. However, constituents can also become bare at Phonetic Form (PF). Elliptical DPs project an NP in syntax, which undergoes PF-deletion (e.g., Merchant 2001; Ntelitheos 2004). Accordingly, *quale/quali* 'which one/ones' starts syntactically as *quale/quali+NP* and becomes bare at PF. Our goal is to test whether syntactic or phonological bareness counts for fRM in A-bar dependencies, and in turn to verify to what extent fRM is independent of pronunciation.

To this end, we investigated the acquisition of Italian elliptical indirect wh-questions, i.e., sluicing, which are subject to locality (Mateu & Hyams 2021). We compare mismatch configurations with syntactically bare *chi* 'who' and PF-bare *quale* 'which', to inclusion configurations with lexically restricted *quale+NP* 'which+NP'.

Using a Yes/No-question task (Mateu & Hyams 2021), we tested 82 Italian-speaking children (aged 3;00–5;11) and 26 adult controls. The experiment comprised 30 sluices manipulated for Extraction (Subject/Object) and Wh_Type (Chi/Quale/Quale+NP). Each trial was paired with a picture showing three characters performing a transitive action: a puppet uttered a sluiced interrogative, and the child had to point to the target character. Ten controls —consisting of lexicalized embedded interrogatives— ensured participants' comprehension of the task.

We calculated the proportion of correct responses for each condition (Graph 1). The statistical model (GLMM with sum-to-zero contrasts, Table 1) revealed significant effects of Age, Extraction, Wh_Type, and the two-way interaction between Extraction and Wh_Type (Chi_vs_Quale+NP). Overall, children's performance (i) increases with Age, and (ii) displays a subject>object asymmetry. Moreover, (iii) *chi*-object sluices are less problematic than *quale+NP*-object sluices. Conversely, (iv) intervention effects are not mitigated in *quale*-object sluices. Crucially, (v) *quale*-sluices are the most challenging overall, and, according to individual analyses, (vi) no child comprehended *quale*-sluices without comprehending *quale+NP*-sluices.

Our results show that not all bareness is alike. Disjunction configurations arise only with the syntactically bare wh-pronoun *chi*, which indeed mitigated intervention effects. Conversely, when bareness pertains only to PF but not to the syntax, as with *quale*, no amelioration is detected. We conclude that fRM is a structural principle,

blind to surface PF-properties and sensitive to the internal structure of wh-elements. Interestingly, *quale*-sluices are not equivalent to *quale+NP*-sluices, despite being syntactically similar. We argue that nominal ellipsis introduces an additional burden in sluicing comprehension.

Additional materials

(1) **Definition of featural Relativized Minimality** (Rizzi 2018: 347)
In ... X ... Z ... Y ... a local relation between X and Y is disrupted when
a. Z c-commands Y and Z does not c-command X (intervention configuration).
b. Z matches X in terms of Relevant Syntactic Features.
c. The degree of disruption is a function of the featural distinctness of X with respect to Z, in accordance with the distinctness hierarchy.

A) Examples of the stimuli

(1) Posso vedere che {qualcuno/un bambino} colora il signore, puoi vedere {chi/quale/quale bambino} <__ colora il signore>?
'I can see that {somebody/a child} is coloring the sir, can you see {who/which one/which child} <__ is coloring the sir>?'

(2) Posso vedere che il bambino colora {qualcuno/un signore}, puoi vedere {chi/quale/quale signore} <il bambino colora __>?
'I can see that the child is coloring {somebody/a sir}, can you see {who/which one/which sir} <the child is coloring __ >?'
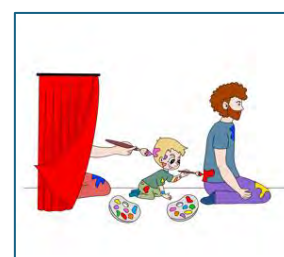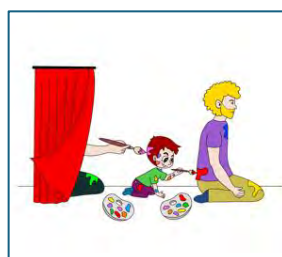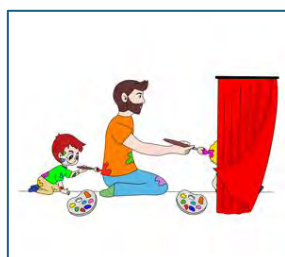
a.Hidden Target for (1)   b.Visible Target for (1)   c.Hidden Target for (2)   d.Visible target for (2)

B) Results

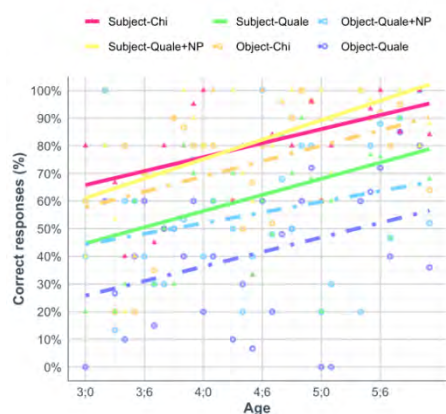**Graph 1. Individual results with linear estimates**

Table 1. Fixed Effects Estimates of the GLMM

Predictors	B	SE	z	p
Intercept	-2.694	0.747	-3.607	<.001
Age	0.820	0.160	5.115	<.001
Extraction (Subject *vs.* Object)	-1.104	0.190	-5.808	<.001
Wh Type (Chi *vs.* Quale+NP)	-2.803	0.370	-5.629	<.001
Wh Type (Quale+NP *vs.* Quale)	-2.693	0.344	-7.826	<.001
Extraction*Wh Type (Chi *vs.* Quale+NP)	-1.574	0.652	-2.416	.016
Extraction*Wh Type (Quale+NP *vs.* Quale)	0.119	0.628	0.190	.850

Full Model Summary: N=2460; AIC=2524.7; BIC=2629.3; LogLik=−1244.4; Dev=2488.7

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The loss of V2 and scrambling: testing the parallel phase hypothesis

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In this work, we statistically test *via* the Constant Rate Hypothesis (CRH; Kroch 1989; Zimmerman 2023) that the loss of Verb Second (V2) (1) and scrambling (2) go hand in hand, thus supporting the uniformity of the CP and vP phases (Jayaseelan 2001, Belletti 2004, Poletto 2006, 2014). Our testbed is medieval French; we only consider direct object DPs, as they are easily identifiable and very frequent in the corpora. We show that testing the parallel phase hypothesis implies more than meets the eye: we identify confounding variables that must be factored out before the CHR can be correctly applied.

(1) **La cité ont** *cil alumee* (1155, Eneas2-BFM-R, 113.2572)
    The city have.3PL those set.on.fire / 'Those people set the city on fire.'

(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 that when a phrase possesses a strong EPP feature that forces movement to its head and its specifier (yielding a spec-head configuration), it does so irrespective of the phase the projection is in: in Old Italian, FocP attracts the verb and an XP both in the CP and the vP left peripheries. When the EPP feature is lost, the parallel between the two phases disappears. The possibility of sentences like (1) and (2) would therefore depend on the parallel application to the CP and the vP left peripheries of the same movement property. An XP (the direct object, in our test) is fronted to a left peripheral position, either in the CP (1) or in the vP (2), followed by V-movement to the same projection (lexical/auxiliary/modal V (1); past-participle/infinitive V (2)). If V2 and scrambling depend on a single parametric option, its loss should uniformly affect all its contexts of application, in line with the CRH. We then expect the loss of OV to be uniform irrespective of OV being in the context of a finite (V2) or non-finite verb (scrambling).

We test this hypothesis on the prose texts from the MCVF and PPCHF corpora of French (42 texts, from 842 to 1585 CE). We extract all OV occurrences in the relevant contexts for each text: lexical/modal/auxiliary verb (OVJ_LEX; OVJ_MDJ; OVJ_AUX), past participle/infinitive under a modal/infinitive under a preposition (OV_VPP; OV_INF1; OV_INF2). For each context, we extract its relevant total (e.g., OVJ_LEX_TOT = number of sentences with both finite lexical verb and O). Our data were fitted to linear mixed effect logistic regression models (*glmer*, *lme4*, Bates et al. 2015), which check if the probability of OV varies along the years and if such variation is significantly different across the 6 investigated contexts (transformed in a categorical variable with 6 levels). We therefore set the binary variable OV as our dependent variable, with the continuous variable YEAR and the categorical variable CONTEXT as predictors, also specifying their interactions. We include the random intercept for TEXT and random slopes for CONTEXT (OV ~ SCALED_YEAR * CONTEXT + (1 + CONTEXT | TEXT)). The results are in **Table 1** (only the results relevant to the discussion are listed), while **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 *n* of sentences of each context.
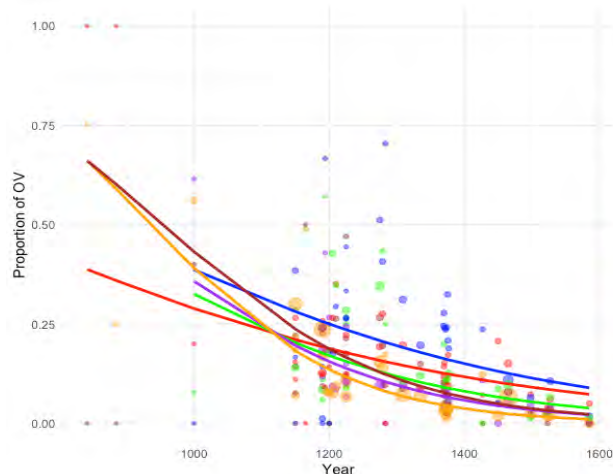
	Est	SE	z	p
(Intercept)	-1.84	0.10	-18.15	***
year	-0.35	0.1	-3.68	***
year:OV_INF2	-0.05	0.19	-0.24	
year:OV_VPP	-0.18	0.14	-1.34	
year:OVJ_aux	-0.34	0.14	-2.39	*
year:OVJ_lex	-0.53	0.13	-3.96	***
year:OVJ_mdj	-0.40	0.14	-2.85	**

Table 3

Graph 2

As expected, there is an overall significant negative effect of YEAR on the probability of OV. Crucially, the loss of OV in finite contexts follows a significantly steeper curve than in non-finite contexts. On the one hand, the difference between the OV_INF1:YEAR interaction (the baseline of comparison) and all other interactions between non-finite contexts and YEAR *is not* significant: All non-finite contexts follow the same curve. On the other hand, the difference between the OV_INF1:YEAR interaction and all other interactions between finite contexts and year *is* significant: Finite and non-finite contexts (i.e., V2 and scrambling) do not follow the same curve, contrary to expectations. This confirms the observation already in the literature (Zaring 2011, Scrivner 2015) that the loss of OV in French proceeds from the finite (V2) to the non-finite (scrambling) contexts. However, this is at odds with the parallel phase hypothesis that the loss of OV should proceed in a parallel fashion in all contexts being due to the loss of a single grammatical property affecting the same projections across vP and CP phases.

Before throwing away the baby with the bathwater, we need to eliminate all possible confounding factors, i.e., independent rules that keep OV higher in non-finite than in finite contexts across time. A notable case are bare Qs (e.g., *rien/tout* 'nothing/all'), that occupy special positions in the low IP area (Cinque 1999) and still precede non-finite verbs in modern French. If low OV with bare Qs is not scrambling but a different phenomenon, testing the CRH requires setting it apart for the analysis. We performed a second logistic regression, specified as the one above, setting bare Qs apart. The results conform to the expectations of the parallel phase hypothesis: once bare Qs are factored out, the curves of V2 and scrambling show no significant difference (Graph 2). Furthermore, bare Qs follow an entirely different path of development (Graph 3),

Graph 2

Graph 3

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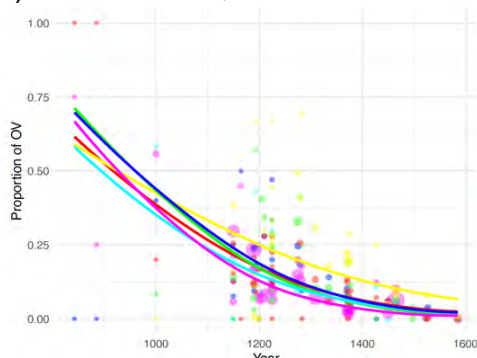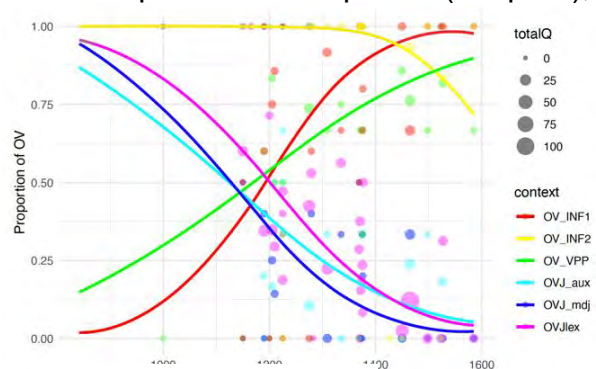
with an increase of OV in non-finite contexts and a decrease of OV in finite contexts. This is most probably due to the existence of a Q-dedicated position in the low IP area, in line with the literature. Time permitting, we will present further results concerning other types of objects, and more specifically bare full pronouns (including deictics) and objects modified by a relative clause. All in all, we show that once the categories considered are refined enough, the parallel phase hypothesis is in line with the data.

CORPUS SEARCH = <https://sourceforge.net/projects/corpussearch/>; MCVF= Martineau, Hirschbühler, Kroch & Morin. 2021. *MCVF Corpus, parsed, v. 2.0.*; PPCHF= Kroch & Santorini. 2021. *Penn-BFM Parsed Corpus of Historical French, v. 1.0.*;

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Dative clitics as arguments or adjuncts: A developmental perspective on verb argument structure processing in Italian

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Background. The development of verb argument structure entails a complex interplay between lexicon and grammar. While it has been observed that children link verbs to their argument structure and can select semantically coherent thematic roles based on a verb's meaning at a relatively young age [1], less is known about the degree of syntactic specification of their representation of verb structure, and how the distinction between verb arguments and adjuncts is acquired during development. Over the years, several theories have supported a distinction between arguments and adjuncts [2]. Among these, the Argument Structure Hypothesis (ASH, [3]) posits distinct attachment sites for arguments, which are stored in the lexicon, and adjuncts, which are generated by syntactic rules. From this perspective, constructions that include arguments or adjuncts are structurally different, since they are respectively lexically accessed or syntactically computed. The present study examines the online processing of such constructions in Italian, addressing the following questions:

(i) Are verb constructions processed differently based on the argument/adjunct status of their structure elements, even when arguments/adjuncts are realised as clitics [4] (instead of prepositional phrases, as in [3])?

(ii) Are older children and adolescents adult-like in parsing such constructions, given that they show good competence with clitics from younger ages in Italian [5])?

Methods. The experiment consisted of a masked, progressive self-paced reading (SPR) with three groups of Italian native speakers: 85 adults (mean age = 34, standard deviation = 7), 85 adolescents (m.a. = 14;5, s.d. = 0;5) and 42 children (m.a. = 11;4, s.d. = 0;3). The experimental items were ten duplets of sentences, in which the verb (trivalent/bivalent) was manipulated to allow for either an argument (a) or a benefactive adjunct (b) dative within the sentence. Arguments and adjuncts were realised by the same pre-verbal clitic mi (to me):

a. Martina | mi   ha | prestato | una bicicletta | bellissima.

     Martina | to.me_DATIVE.CLITIC has | lent | a   bicycle | wonderful.
     Martina lent me a wonderful bicycle.

b. Martina | mi   ha | riparato | una bicicletta | bellissima.
     Martina | for.me_DATIVE.CLITIC has | repaired | a   bicycle | wonderful.
     Martina repaired a wonderful bicycle for me.

Items were counterbalanced in two lists and presented in random order, spaced out by 70 fillers.

Data analysis and Results. Reaction times (RTs) underwent two rounds of data cleaning: first, implausibly fast and slow responses were removed using group-specific thresholds, based on age-related differences in reading speed; then RTs that were over two standard deviations above the mean for each chunk (by participant and condition) were also excluded from data analysis. A linear mixed model was fitted on the critical chunk, i.e. the past participle (prestato/riparato). The log-transformed RTs were analysed as a dependent variable, while dative clitic type (argument vs. adjunct) and verb frequency constituted the fixed structure (verb length was controlled for). The random effects structure was determined in a data-driven manner. The mean RTs for each group in the two experimental conditions can be seen in Figure 1. The results show a significant effect for condition in adults and adolescents (respectively: $p = 0.01$, $p = 0.05$): trivalent verbs that included dative clitics in their argumental structure were read faster after dative clitics compared to bivalent ones. No effect of verb frequency was observed for these two groups. Conversely, no effect for condition can be seen for children ($p = 0.92$), but only a marginal effect of verb frequency, as more frequent verbs tended to be read faster ($p = 0.09$).
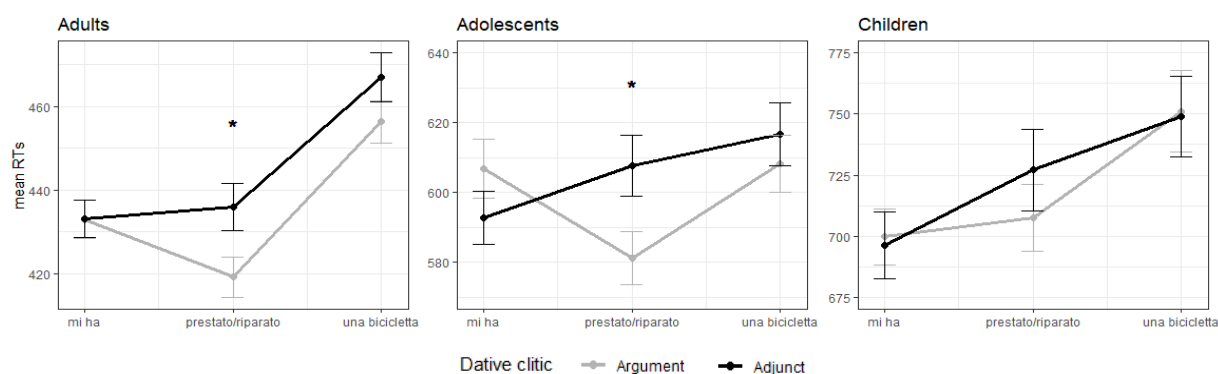

Figure 8: mean RTs in the two experimental conditions for each age group, with error bars established based on standard errors. Asterisks signal significant differences between the two experimental conditions.

Discussion. The present study focused on the online processing of verb constructions containing either an argument or an adjunct dative clitic as their third structural element. Despite having the same surface configuration, such sentences present an underlying structural difference in the argument/adjunct status of the third element, realised in our task as a dative clitic. Consistent with the ASH, in adults and adolescents, we found longer RTs on bivalent verbs that followed a benefactive dative fulfilling the role of adjunct compared to trivalent verbs following argumental dative clitics. Our findings support the distinction between arguments and adjuncts and the hypothesis that while arguments can be lexically retrieved, adjuncts require syntactic computation, which might prove more effortful during processing. Importantly, however, 11-year-old children did not show any differences in their processing of trivalent and bivalent verbs following a dative clitic. We interpret this result as suggesting that children have not yet reached adult-like maturation and may therefore be unable to lexically access argument structure with the same ease during online processing while reading. Potential maturation differences could be related to working memory capacity, which is known to develop well into adolescence [6] or also to reading ability, for which differences can be seen in our task, as adults are generally faster than adolescents, who are in turn faster than children. As a consequence of this increased difficulty in accessing information stored in their

lexicon, children might resort to syntactic computation for arguments and adjuncts alike, leading to the same processing effort for both structures. The fact that children, unlike older participants, tended to be affected by word frequency in their reading speed also aligns with this hypothesis. Our study makes an important contribution to the investigation of how verb argument structure is acquired and processed during childhood by showing that children up to the age of 11 are not yet adult-like and arguably a maturation point is reached within the first years of adolescence, contrary to previous research that limited the learning arch to earlier years.

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Revisiting Subject Doubling in Brazilian Portuguese: what's behind the 3rd person pronoun?

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Introduction.

Subject doubling (SD) is one of the most intriguing topics in the literature on Brazilian Portuguese (BP). As already observed by Duarte (2000), SD can both occur in main and embedded sentences, with or without intervening material between the subject (Sub) and the pronoun. For some scholars, these structures constitute left-dislocations, with the Sub being topicalized (Duarte 1993, 1995, 2000; Britto 1998; Kato 1999; a.o.). Alternative analyses assume that the Sub stays in an argumental position, (Costa, Duarte & Silva 2004; Costa 2011; Kato & Duarte 2014; Quarezemin & Cardinaletti 2017; Quarezemin 2020). Krieck (2022) have argued that an accurate analysis of the structural aspects of SD sentences must take into account the 3rd person pronoun properties of these constructions. In this talk, we will show that doubling is not uniform in BP and it corresponds to two different structures one with a left dislocation with a pronoun in argumental position as in (1) and a true doubling structure with pronoun and DP forming a Big DP as in (2) (Uriagereka 1995, Torrego 1995).

(1) [TopP XP [TP XP ...]] (Left dislocated doubling, two constituents)
(2) [TP [XP X] ...]   (Doubling in Spec TP (one constituent)

Thus, it is crucial to distinguish the doubling of a DP by a 3rd person pronoun from the doubling of a pronouns by other pronouns. In the latter case—the first pronoun of the two sits in a topic position as in (1). When there is a doubling of a DP by a 3rd person pronoun, two scenarios are possible: (i) the DP is topicalized as in (3b), which we assume is structure (1); or (ii) the DP forms a constituent with the pronoun as in (4) and it sits in an argumental subject position as in the structure in (2). It forms a constituent with it and moves as a constituent. In this context, a generalization is possible concerning this structure in BP: [pronoun+pronoun] cannot form a constituent (1), while [DP+pronoun] does as in (2).

(3)   a. Ela_i, com essa história do café, ela_i vendeu a empresa pra mãe $dela_i$.
            she with this history of.the coffee she sold the company to mother her
        b. A menina, com essa história do café, ela vendeu a empresa pra mãe $dela_i$.
(4)   [O $staff_i$ ele_i] auxilia determinados departamentos.
            the staff he helps certain departments)

Data and discussion.

Experimental data on SD in BP by Krieck (2022) points to a set of properties exhibited by this construction in this language: a) doubling occurs more often in the main clause, b) speakers use more SD sentences where the DP and the pronoun are adjacents, c) DP doubling by a 3rd person pronoun is more frequent than by a 1st or 2nd person pronouns (out of the 550 data collected by the author, 439 involve third person pronoun and only 11 contain pronouns of other persons), and d) there are no restrictions on animacy, specificity and definiteness regarding duplicate DPs. Krieck also found data featuring doubling of quantified-DPs (5). Interestingly enough, bare quantifiers (and wh-words) cannot be doubled by a pronoun (6).

(5) Todos os atos da administração pública$_i$ eles$_i$ possuem princípios que os regem.
    All the acts of the administration public they have principles that them govern
(6) *Ninguém$_i$ ele$_i$ viajou para São Paulo.
    (nobody he traveled to São Paulo)

Quarezemin and Ordóñez (2024) recently tested some syntactic conditions on SD structures to verify speakers' intuitions on SD doubling. The results show that: (i) the [DP pronoun] order is more natural than the [pronoun DP] one in (7), (ii) adverbs cannot interpolate between the DP and the pronoun in (8), and (iii) Brazilian speakers accept doubling in a cleft sentence in (9).

(7) a. O menino ele joga futebol. (the boy he plays soccer)
    b. *Ele o menino joga futebol. (he the boy plays soccer)
(8) a. A Maria ela cuidadosamente assinou o contrato. (the Maria she carefully signed the contract)
    b. *A Maria cuidadosamente ela assinou o contrato. (accepted only with 'comma intonation')
(9) Foi a menina ela que caiu. (it was the girl she who fell)

From these results, the authors propose that DP and 3rd person pronoun form a unit and can occupy different structural contexts. This is not the case when there is doubling of a pronoun by another pronoun. The authors explore contexts that suggest [DP + pronoun] forms a constituent, while [pronoun + pronoun] does not; DP doubling can: (i) function as a hanging topic as in (10), (ii) occur in exclamative sentences as in (11), (iii) be the remnant of ellipsis (12), and (iv) appear in hyper-raising constructions (13).

(10) a. Sobre a menina$_i$ ela$_i$, o professor disse que vai reprovar.
         (about the girl she the teacher said that   will fail)
     b. *Sobre você$_i$ cê$_i$, o professor disse que vai reprovar.
         (about you you the teacher said that will fail)
(11) a. O João$_i$ ele$_i$ jogar futebol esquece! (the João he playing soccer game forget!)
     b. *Eu$_i$ eu$_i$ jogar futebol esquece! (I I playing soccer game forget!)
(12) a. O Pedro vai reprovar e o menino$_i$ ele$_i$ também. (the Pedro will to fail and the boy he too)
     b. ??O Pedro vai reprovar e você$_i$ cê$_i$ também. (the Pedro will to fail and you you too)
(13) a. As meninas$_i$ elas$_i$ parecem que ganharam a corrida. (the girls they seem that won the run)
     b. *Vocês$_i$ cês$_i$ parecem que ganharam a corrida. (You you seem that won the run)

If the authors' analysis is on the right track, some predictions can be done: a) the [DP+pronoun] constituent can be doubled by another pronoun (14) in structures with doubling and dislocation, b) it can cooccurs with topics (15) and and may also occur with subject topics (16) in the sense of Pontes (1987).

(14)   Observe que um espectador$_i$ ele$_i$, ao que parece, ele$_i$ está sendo moldado.
        observe that a viewer   he   to what seems he is being molded
(15)   O João$_i$, esse cara$_i$ ele$_i$ não ajuda em nada. (the João this guy he not help in nothing)
(16)   O relógio$_i$ ele$_i$ quebrou o ponteiro. (the clock he broke the hand)

We propose that the pronoun and the DP must match in features. Therefore, ele ('he') cannot attach to bare quantifier forms. The double DP has a [+ Nominative] specification, which is incompatible in other contexts (object, Sub of causatives, object of preposition). The pronoun ele ('he') is the head of a KP (Postal 1966; Uriagereka 1995; Torrego 1995; Barbiers 2002, 2008; Poletto 2000, 2008; Craenembroeck and van koppen 2002, 2008) and it would be taken to be considered similar to case markers in other languages. The K head has the DP in its specifier

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(20), and the internal movement of the DP to the Spec,KP is the same movement taking place to the spec of the Q head (21).

(20) $[_{KP}[_{DP}$ O meninos$]_i$ eles$_K$ t$_i$]
(21) $[_{QP}$ $[_{DP}$ Os meninos$]_i$ todos t$_i$]

From this perspective the following derivation with two pronouns involves a doubly-filled Comp violation in the sense that the same features are in the head and in the specifier, thus doubling is not permitted:

(22)   *$[_{KP}[_{DP}$ Ele $]_i$ ele$_K$ t$_i$]

Conclusion.

The 3rd person pronouns and their associate DPs can form a constituent that moves as a unit, while structures featuring the doubling of pronouns by pronouns do not form a unit. In BP, there is doubling without splitting (contrary to Poletto's analysis of NID). The results of the present research help one understand why this is possible in BP but not in Spanish, French and other Romance languages. That may be a consequence of the partial null subject nature of BP (Kato 2000), and of the fact that the pronoun (in this language) is sensitive to the features of the specifier, if it is a K marker.

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Understanding perception: *see*- and *hear*-verbs against embedded negation

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The puzzle. According to Viberg's (1984) hierarchy of the five senses, visual perception is at the top, with auditory perception a close second. This is supported, according to him, by the facts that (i) these two modes allow for a lexical distinction for [+/- INTENTIONAL] (*see* vs. *watch*, *hear* vs. *listen*), and (ii) they allow for a 'cognitive' reading as well as a 'strict perception' reading. Adding to the similarities between the two perception-types, Sweetser (1990) points out that visual and auditory perception are the only two that are stimuli-focused (and not perceiver-focused). Considering these similarities, and if one assumes that conceptual complexity is encoded in the syntax (Givón 1980), one might expect the verbs encoding each type (*see*-verbs and *hear*-verbs) to behave in a similar fashion with respect to their complements. However, we observe that the two verb types behave differently w.r.t. embedded negation. It has been observed by Fabregas & Gonzalez (2022) that the Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) construction with Spanish *ver* 'to see' licenses embedded negation. This is not unexpected, since these constructions are biclausal (Sheehan 2020, a.o).

(1) Vi   a   Juan no   bailar.
    see.PF DOM   Juan NEG   dance.INF
    'I saw Juan not dance.'

However, one runs into an issue when replacing *ver* with *oír*, also realising ECM complements:

(2) #Oí   a   Juan   no   cantar.
    hear.PF DOM   Juan   NEG   sing.INF
    'I heard Juan not sing.'

What makes this contrast more striking is the unavailability of sentences like (2) across several Romance languages all licensing embedded negation in *see*-ECM contexts (4):

(3) a. #Ouvi   o João não   cantar.   **Brazilian Portuguese (BP)**
        hear.PF-1SG the Joao NEG sing.INF
    b. #Ho   sentito   Gianni non   cantare.   **Italian**
        have.PS.1SG hear.PTCP   Gianni NEG   sing.INF
    c. #J'ai   entendu   Jean ne pas   chanter.   **French**
        i-have   hear.PTCP   Jean NEG   sing.INF
       INTENDED: 'I heard John not sing.'

(4) a. Vi   o João não dançar.   **Brazilian Portuguese**
       see.PF the João NEG dance.INF
    b. Ho   visto   Gianni non ballare.   **Italian**
       Have see.PF Gianni NEG dance.INF
    c. J'ai   vu   Jean ne pas danser.   **French**
       I-have see.PTCP Jean NEG   dance.INF
       'I saw João/Gianni/Jean not dance.'

This means that the issue is not a syntactic one; it is a semantic/ontological one. We propose that the contrast between (1) and (2) is due to the difference in *modes of perception*: while visual perception picks up an event, auditory perception requires a product.

Some background. Let us then take a closer look at the semantics of *ver*+NEG like (1). F&G highlight that this embedded negation should not be treated as simple sentential negation; instead, they propose that the eventuality denoted by the embedded VP ought to be understood as an *inhibited eventuality*, i.e. '"negative events" that denote the absence of an otherwise expected event' (F&G, building upon Stockwell 1975).

(5) J'ai   vu   Pierre ne pas manger.
    i-have see.PTCP   Pierre NEG   eat.INF
    'I saw Pierre not eat.'
    ⇨ It happened that Pierre did not eat, and I saw it.

F&G propose that negation operates on the descriptive content of the event, its hallmark being the non-dynamicity and stativity of the complement. Hence, according to the authors, inhibited eventualities cannot combine with adverbs such as *lentamente* 'slow', since they modify the way in which a process takes place, and consequently (6), in the reading in which negation does not take narrow scope over the adverb. However, this restriction does not apply when the perception verb is *ouvir* in Brazilian Portuguese, as in (7).

(6) *#Vi a   María no cerrar la puerta lentamente.
     saw DOM María NEG close the door slowly
     INTENDED: 'I saw that María did not close the door slowly.'

(7) Ouvi a   Maria não fechar a   porta lentamente.
    hear the María NEG close   the door quickly
    'I heard Maria not close the door quickly.'

All of this shows that (i) *see*-verbs select eventualities, and (ii) the differences between *ver* and *ouvir* in inhibited eventualities goes beyond syntax.

Our proposal. In this paper, we explore an alternative analysis that accounts for the differences pointed out above. We propose that visual and auditory perception differ more than they appear to. Indeed, visual perception, when direct, requires the occurrence of an event performed by an Agent. Conversely, auditory perception requires a product (i.e. the result of an event). This proposal is supported by the following contrast:

(8) *Je   vois   danser.
    I   see.PS dance.INF
    'I see dancing.'

(9) J'entends   chanter.
    I-hear.PS   sing.INF
    'I hear singing.'

The sentence in (8) in infelicitous because one cannot *see* 'a dancing'; instead, one needs to see *someone* perform a dance. Conversely, (9) is perfectly acceptable because *hearing* is a cognitive process: what is heard is a song, which is the product of *someone*'s singing, but it does not matter who. This view is supported by Enghels (2012:30), who argues that auditory perception is more of a mental than a physical act, as it does not involve bodily movement but rather a cognitive effort to attend to stimuli. In contrast to visual perception, which arises passively from the mere presence of an entity, auditory perception depends on the effect produced by the presence of the auditory stimulus. Interestingly, this contrast holds in English, which leads us to believe this is an important ontological distinction. In sum, this paper demonstrates that perception verbs associated with different sensory modalities exhibit distinct behaviors with respect to embedded negation and inhibited eventualities, even though they share similar morphosyntactic properties. We interpret this as evidence that *see*-verbs and *hear*-verbs select different kinds of semantic complements (specifically, events for the former and products for the latter). More broadly, these findings contribute to our ontology of perception by shedding light on fundamental distinctions between different types of perceptual experiences.

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Position and Semantics of Non-Finite Adjuncts in Obligatory Control in Italian

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Topic of the study.

This study investigates how adult native speakers of Italian process gerundive adjuncts involving Obligatory Control (OC). Specifically, it examines whether the position (anteposed vs. postposed) and semantics (temporal vs. modal) of adjuncts influence the assignment of PRO, the null subject of non-finite gerundive clauses. Theoretically, OC is considered a core syntactic dependency requiring a local antecedent, typically the subject of the main clause. However, prior work (Landau 2021; Green 2019b; Janke & Bailey 2017) suggests that pragmatic or event-semantic factors may create space for object control even in syntactically constrained structures.

The study.

Fifty-four native speakers of Italian (25 female, 29 male; mean age = 27.4, range = 18–67) took part in the study. Participants came from Northern and Central Italy and had varying educational backgrounds (lower secondary to postgraduate). The majority belonged to the 20–30 age group. Most participants performed well on a warm-up phase and passed attention checks embedded in filler trials. Design & Material. The experimental design used a self-paced reading (SPR) paradigm combined with a similarity judgment task. Participants read 32 target sentences, each containing a gerundive adjunct (either temporal or modal, and either preceding or following the main clause, e.g. $Maria_1$ incontra $Sara_2 PRO_{1|*2}$ uscendo di casa, 'Maria meets Sara while (she) is leaving the house'). After each target, a probe sentence was presented word-by-word. Participants had to judge whether the probe preserved the meaning of the target. The probe's critical region of interest (ROI) signaled the intended alignment of PRO with either the subject or object of the matrix clause. Probes were constructed to fall into two categories: 'equivalent' (i.e., same interpretation as the target) and 'nonequivalent'. Crucially, the probe structure allowed researchers to infer controller assignment through both behavioral judgments and reading times on the ROI. We used generalized linear mixed-effects models (GLMM) for accuracy (binomial), judgment reaction times (RT), and ROI reading times (log-transformed). Overall mean of control identification accuracy was 90.5%. However, ~10% of responses assigned control to the object NP, with 83% of participants making at least one object-control choice. Some verbs triggered object control more frequently: *ballare* 'dance', *ridere* 'laugh', *studiare* 'study', and *lavare* 'wash' showed >18% object-control rates. These patterns suggest that event structure—especially with asymmetrical reciprocal predicates—may support non-subject control. GLMM analysis showed no significant main effects of adjunct type ($\beta = 0.071$, $z = 0.405$, $p = 0.686$), position ($\beta = 0.141$, $z = 0.765$, $p = 0.445$), or their interaction ($\beta = 0.061$, $z = 0.166$, $p = 0.868$) on accuracy. In contrast, reading times at the ROI were significantly faster for modal adjuncts ($\beta = 0.032$, $t = 2.819$, $p = 0.005$), preposed adjuncts ($\beta = 0.043$, $t = 3.728$, $p < 0.001$), and equivalent probes ($\beta = 0.115$, $t = 10.026$, $p < 0.001$). These results reflect a facilitation effect, possibly due to processing predictability rather than controller bias.

Discussion

Despite the syntactic expectation that OC mandates subject control, our findings show that object control is available in a significant minority of cases, particularly when the event semantics of the main predicate permits dual role assignment. Verbs involving reciprocal or coordinated actions may invite participants to reinterpret the object NP as a potential actor. Interestingly, adjunct position and semantics, while influencing processing speed, did not modulate controller choice directly. These findings support the hypothesis that OC is influenced by event-level interpretive factors. They challenge strict syntactic theories and align with semantic-based approaches (Fischer & Høyem 2021; Winter 2018). Future research. Future studies should isolate predicate types to more precisely test how thematic role flexibility interacts with real-time processing mechanisms.

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Two epenthetic vowels in Sammarinese: An Information Theoretic Approach to predicting epenthetic vowel quality

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__Invited speaker__

Most studies of epenthesis typically assume the inserted segment is "unmarked" in some way. But how is the *quality* of the epenthetic segment determined when two different vowels are inserted in different positions? The Romance variety of San Marino offers a compelling case study since two epenthetic vowels are used: [a] appears word-initially, and [i] word-finally.

[a]: /lge/ > [algé] 'to tie' (cf. [léga] 's/he ties')

[i]: /magr/ > [mágri] 'thin.MS' (cf. [gras] 'fat.MS')

Rather than just stipulate the quality and position of the epenthetic vowel, we adopt a new approach to investigate why these particular vowels are selected in their respective positions. We follow Hume et al. (2011) in assuming the optimal epenthetic vowel…

… is a high frequency vowel (i.e., it has low information content),

… has a wide phonological distribution,

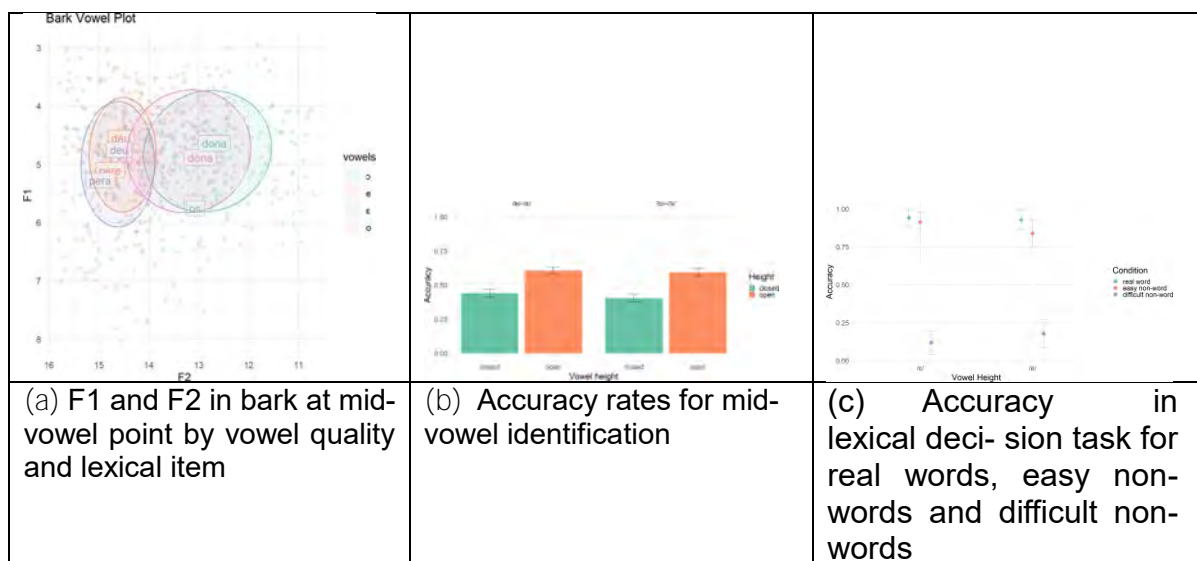… has weak phonetic cues (i.e., it is less perceptually salient).

To test these claims for San Marino we apply two Information Theoretic metrics — Shannon Entropy and Distribution Entropy — to the lexicon provided by the *Dizionario di dialetto sammarinese*. We find that /a/ and /i/ have the lowest information content and the widest phonological distribution in word-initial and word-final position, respectively. These findings are consistent with the phonetic analysis of vowels in each context, which in turn supports the hypothesis that /a/ is the optimal epenthetic vowel in word-initial position, and /i/ is optimal word-finally.

A multi-task approach to the mid-vowel contrast in Catalan-Spanish bilingual children

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Developments in studies of bilingualism have shown that while the two grammars of bilinguals develop largely independently, they interact with each other both during childhood and adulthood. Such an interaction leads to transfer patterns, by which bilinguals use features from one language into the other. In situations of soci- etal bilingualism, such as the case of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia, individual- level transfer can lead to language change and variation at the community level. As far as the phonetic-phonological system is concerned, transfer phenomena can lead to variation in the way many words are produced, reverting, simultaneously, to the acquisition of sounds by bilingual children. A sensitive contrast in Catalan is the close-mid-vowel open-mid-vowel-contrast /e/-/ɛ/ (e.g., néta [netə] "granddaugh- ter" vs. neta [nɛtə] "clean") and /o/-/ɔ/ (e.g., os [os] "bear" vs. os [ɔs] "bone"). Unlike Catalan, Spanish only has the close-mid vowels. Research has shown that Catalan–Spanish bilingual children have difficulties in perceptual discrimination and production of the contrast (Pallier, Bosch, & Sebastián-Gallés, 1997; Ramon-Casas, Cortés, Benet, Lleó, & Bosch, 2023). These difficulties extend beyond acquisition, since the mid-vowel contrast has also been found to be weakened and lexically vari- able in adult Catalan-Spanish bilinguals (Nadeu & Renwick, 2016; Sebastián-Gallés, Echeverría, & Bosch, 2005), suggesting that child bilinguals could be exposed to words with unstable mid-vowel encodings. Previous research, however, has focused on ex- amining the discrimination of sounds at the phonetic level and has paid less attention to the phonolexical encoding of these sounds in children's bilingual lexicons, partly because the most common paradigms are quite demanding and their adaptability to child populations is still uncertain. In this study, we test phonetic and phonolexi- cal perception and production using a multitask design. Seventeen Catalan-Spanish bilinguals (M = 9;5, range = 8;3–10;0) participated in a vowel identification task (2 vowel types x 2 vowel heights x 4 items), a word production task (2 vowel types x 2 vowel heights x 4 items x 3 repetitions) and a lexical decision task (i.e., LDT) (2 vowel heights x 12 items x 3 conditions. The LDT included real words (e.g., div[ɛ]ndres, 'Friday'), easy non-words (target vowel changed for [i] or [a] e.g., div[a]ndres) and difficult non-words (e.g., target vowel changed for the other mid-vowel div[e]ndres). Our results show considerable overlap in the production of the two vowels (see Fig. 1a), on average chance performance but with tendency to select open vowels over closed vowels in the identification task (see Fig.1b), and close to floor rejection of difficult non-words but very accurate rejection of easy non-words in the LDT (see Fig.1c). Thus, we observe a very weak contrast not only at the lexical level but also in lower- level perception and production, which could be due to effects of variable input or reduced Catalan input. In this respect, most of our speakers report higher home ex- posure to Spanish (48.65%) than to Catalan (43.72%). The uniformity in the results of the three tasks does not allow us to discern whether transfer occurs at the phonetic or phonolexical level. However, our findings show that school-aged children can per- form the LDT, which opens up new avenues for the study of phonolexical encoding in bilingual children. In particular, future research will compare Spanish-dominant to Catalan-dominant children in relation to their phonetic and phonoloexical encoding abilities.

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(a) F1 and F2 in bark at mid-vowel point by vowel quality and lexical item	(b) Accuracy rates for mid-vowel identification	(c) Accuracy in lexical deci- sion task for real words, easy non-words and difficult non-words

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Smuggling or not? Implicit arguments and their reflexes in Italian passives

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Introduction: This paper contributes to the ongoing debate on the syntax of implicit passive external arguments (PEAs) by assessing their syntactic status in Italian participial passives and *si*-passives. Whereas PEAs are at least present in the semantics (Bhatt & Pancheva 2017), their syntactic status remains unclear. Due to disagreements on how to test the status of PEAs, some claim that PEAs are not syntactically represented (eg Bruening, 2013, 2024; Legate 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015), while others claim that passives have a (possibly defective) syntactically realised null EA (eg Collins 2005; Roberts 2019). Recent work on English and Greek passives (Collins 2024; Angelopoulos et al. 2024) proposes: (i) PEAs are syntactically realised in both languages and (ii) PEAs can be either generic (pro_{gen}), existential (pro_{exi}) or definite (pro_{def}) as diagnosed by their interpretation and (in)ability to bind anaphors and depictives. They claim that all three are available in English passives since participial passives involve *smuggling,* which always prevents the PEA from intervening between T and the internal argument (IA); conversely, pro_{def} is not available in Greek synthetic passives because in this case no *smuggling* is involved*,* so only PEAs with a defective/missing φ-layer (pro_{gen} and pro_{exi}) are licit in Greek.

This work: Italian is an ideal testing ground for this theory, as it has both a participial passive (pPass – claimed to involve smuggling) and a synthetic passive (*si*Pass – no smuggling) (Belletti 2020). For both constructions (in generic and episodic contexts, as in 1-4), we tested the grammaticality of anaphors and depictives (with and without φ-features) relying on online questionnaires and corpus data.

(1) *Questo tavolo viene   pulito spesso.*
    this   table come.3SG   cleaned often
    'This table is often cleaned.' (generic pPass)

(2) *Molte case sono   state distrutte*.
    many houses be.3PL been destroyed
    'Many houses were destroyed.' (episodic pPass)

(3) *Questo tavolo si pulisce   facilmente.*
    this   table SI clean.3SG easily
    'This table is easily cleaned.' (generic *si*Pass)

(4) *Si sono distrutte molte case.*
    SI be.3PL destroyed many houses
    'One/we destroyed many houses.'(episodic *si*Pass)

To avoid logophoricity, we tested anaphors in sentences where they were inherent reflexives (no alternation with pronouns/R-expressions)(5). Moreover, the tested depictives cannot be used adverbially/with unaccusatives (6), so they can only modify a syntactic argument.

(5) *Alcuni amuleti si portano* PEA$_i$ *con {sé$_i$ / noi$_i$ /   ?te$_i$ /   *loro$_j$} facilmente.*
    some amulets SI carry.3PL   with self.3   (self)1PL (self)2SG   them easily
    'Some amulets are easily carried with oneself/ourselves/??yourself/*them.'

(6) *Il modulo {è stato compilato / *è scomparso}* PEA$_i$ *ubriachi$_i$ / insieme$_i$ / [a mente lucida]$_i$*
    the form be.3SG been filled   be.3SG vanished   drunk.MPL together   to mind lucid
    'The form {was filled/*vanished} drunk/together/with a clear mind.'

	Anaphors	Inflecting depictives	φ-less depictives
generic pPass (1)	3PL/1PL/?2SG	PL (?SG)	OK
episodic pPass (2)	any	any	OK
generic *si*Pass (3)	3PL/1PL/?2SG	PL (?SG)	OK
episodic *si*Pass (4)	3PL/1PL	PL	OK

Results (see table): In generic pPass/*si*Pass, the PEA is interpreted as a generic human agent. As Cinque (1988) shows, genericity in Italian is associated with 3PL/1PL or, less often, 2SG inflection on anaphors and depictives – which matches our empirical findings (eg 5). We follow Cinque (1988)/Angelopoulos et al. (2023) in assuming that these φ-feature combinations are language-specific PF reflexes of defectiveness of the [person] feature (or the D layer) on the PEA involved in these cases, i.e. pro_{gen}. Since it is defective, pro_{gen} does not block the dependency between T and the IA regardless of smuggling, so it is expected to be available in both passives, just as we observe. Secondly, in episodic pPass, various interpretations are possible. When the PEA is interpreted as *someone or something* (e.g. 2), anaphors and inflecting depictives, but not φ-less depictives, are ungrammatical: we take this to follow from the lack of a φ-layer on pro_{exi}. Alternatively, if there is a contextually salient referent, the PEA of episodic pPass is pro_{def} and can bind anaphors/depictives with matching φ-features (6, 8).

(8) [Talking about a male singer$_i$]
    Forse la canzone fu   scritta pro_{def-i} per se stesso$_i$ /ubriaco$_i$.
    maybe the song be.PST.3SG   written   for self.3MSG drunk.MSG
    'Maybe the song was written for himself/drunk.'

Pro$_{exi}$ and *pro$_{def}$* are impossible in episodic *si*Pass. *Pro$_{exi}$* is excluded by the requirement for a human agent in *si*Pass (eg 4) whereas *pro$_{def}$* is excluded (9) because, like in Greek, it would intervene for Agree between T and the IA, as it has a full φ-layer.

(9) [Talking about a male singer$_i$]
    *Forse si scrissero   delle canzoni pro_{def-i} per se stesso$_i$ /ubriaco$_i$.
    maybe SI write.PST.3PL some songs   for self.3MSG drunk.MSG
    '(intended) Maybe somes song were written for himself/drunk.'

Episodic *si*Pass only allows for one reading (also found in episodic pPass 7) where the agent is a group of people preferably including the speaker (pro_{arb}, see D'Alessandro 2007:§4). Only 3PL/1PL anaphors (10) and PL depictives are compatible with pro_{arb}. We propose that pro_{arb} has a defective φ-layer, like pro_{gen}, but it is specified as 3rd person, unlike pro_{gen}. This is independently motivated by the fact that episodic *si*Pass only accepts 3rd person IAs and does not allow IAs to move to Spec,TP, unlike generic *si*Pass (Giurgea 2019, Dobrovie-Sorin 2021).

(10) *Si sono fatte pro_{arb-i} proprie$_i$ /   nostre$_i$/   *tue$_i$ alcune ideologie.*
   SI be.3PL made   self.3.POSS   (self).1PL.POSS (self).2SG.POSS some   ideologies
   'One/we made some ideologies one's/our/*your own.'

PEA	Features	Interpretation	Depictives	Anaphors	Found in
pro_{exi}	no φ-features	*someone/-thing*	φ-less	none	episodic pPass
pro_{gen}	human	*people*	PL/?SG	3PL/1PL/?2SG	generic pPass, generic *si*Pass
pro_{arb}	human 3rd pers.	*one/we*	PL	3PL/1PL	episodic pPass, episodic *si*Pass
pro_{def}	all φ-features	referential	any	any	episodic pPass

pPass vs *si*Pass: Some of the relevant differences in the PEAs' distribution confirm the hypothesis that pPass involves smuggling, whereas *si*Pass doesn't: pro_{gen} is defective in [person] so it never intervenes and is found in both constructions; pro_{arb} has [person] so it creates a person constraint and blocks A-movement of the IA in episodic *si*Pass (this aspect of the derivation will be discussed in detail), but not in pPass; pro_{def} is a complete intervener, so it is banned in *si*Pass, but not in pPass. See the derivations:

pPass: [$_{TP}$ (IA) T [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{PartP}$ … V (IA)] Voice$_{pass}$ [$_{vP}$ *pro*$_{exi}$/*pro*$_{gen}$/*pro*$_{arb}$/*pro*$_{def}$ *v* <PartP>]]

*si***Pass:** [$_{TP}$ (IA)$^{only\ with\ pro\text{-}gen}$ T [Voice$_{si}$ [$_{vP}$ *pro*$_{gen}$/*pro*$_{arb}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ V (IA)]]]

Other differences between support our conclusion: first, *by*-phrases (which are potential interveners, Angelopoulos et al 2020) only appear in pPass (thanks to *smuggling*), not in *si*Pass.

(11) *Furono costruite molte case (da Mario)*   (12) *Si costruirono molte case (*da Mario)*
    'Many houses were built (by Mario)' (pPass)   'One/we built many houses (*by Mario)' (*si*Pass)

Certain idiom chunks (eg *tirare le cuoia* 'die') and inalienably possessed items are sensitive to pPass vs *si*Pass: when the IA stays postverbal, the idiomatic and the inalienable possession (13-14, cf. MacDonald 2017) readings are only possible with *si*Pass. Assuming that the relevant idiom chunks must stay 'intact' throughout the derivation and that inalienably possessed items need a local c-commanding possessor, it follows that a *smuggled* IA (albeit still postverbal) should *not* allow the idiomatic/inalienable possession reading – this is borne out in pPass.

(13) *#Oggi saranno   mosse le gambe.*   (14) *Oggi si muoveranno le gambe*
    today be.FUT.3PL   moved the legs   today SI move.FUT.3PL the legs
    'Legs will be moved today' (pPass)   'One/we'll move one's/our legs today' (*si*Pass)

Finally, we will briefly discuss other diagnostics pointing to structural differences between the two constructions (e.g. gerunds, control of adjuncts, control of complements).

Conclusion: We show that (i) there are four types of PEAs in Italian passives; (ii) the distribution of the PEAs is correctly predicted by analysing pPass as involving *smuggling* (all types of PEAs are ok) and *si*Pass as not involving *smuggling* (only defective PEAs are ok, and may trigger partial intervention effects depending on their featural specifications); (iii) other independent differences (in particular, *by*-phrases, licensing of idioms and inalienably possessed items) are also accounted for by this distinction.

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Non-Directive Imperatives: the Case of Difficult Imperatives in Romance

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Introduction.

This work examines a (colloquial) Romance construction which has received little attention despite its peculiarity: although it belongs to the imperative clause type (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985) it is characterized by a non-directive reading arising only in a specific syntactic configuration (1):

    (1) <u>Imperative + object clitic + (focalized subject) + right-hand Topic + indexical expression</u>

    (2) Scrivile (TU), 260 glosse in una sera…!
        Write-IMP.2SG=them.CL.ACC.3PL you-FOC 260 glosses in one evening
        Lit. 'YOU write 260 glosses in one evening…!'
        Interpretation: *it is difficult to write 260 glosses in one evening*.

(2) could be uttered in a lab meeting where 260 glossed examples are expected to be finalized by the end of the day. A student, sceptical about the feasibility of the task, utters (2). This construction —henceforth Difficult Imperative (DI)—conveys "*the speaker's attitude that the event expressed by the imperative form is difficult to actualize*" (Demirok & Oikonomou, 2018, p. 1).

The Issue.

While imperative clauses typically express a speaker's preference for the realization of a proposition p (or imperative content, Condoravdi & Lauer, 2012), DIs challenge this view by conveying an assertion (it is difficult to bring about p) rather than a directive (Aikhenvald, 2010; Searle, 1979). Crucially, unlike other imperatives (wishes, curses, advice), DIs cannot be paraphrased with performative verbs. Building on prior work on Turkish, Greek, and Spanish (Bravo, 2017; Demirok & Oikonomou, 2018), we show that DIs also occur in Italian and Brazilian Portuguese (BP), where they exhibit a distinct syntactic and information-structural profile. We argue that the DI reading arises compositionally from the interaction of specific morphosyntactic, prosodic, and discourse features—none of which alone suffices to derive the effect.

Syntactic and interpretive restrictions.

(I) Imperative Grammar. The DI reading arises only with second person singular imperatives in Italian, i.e. true imperatives, namely imperatives with distinctive morphology (Zanuttini, 1997).

(II) Negation and NPIs. Negation is not compatible with a DI reading: the negated counterpart of (2), which in Italian requires infinitival morphology on the verb, gives automatically access to a canonical prohibition (3):

    (3) Non   scriverle   TU,   260   glosse   in   una   sera!
        NEG   write-INF them.CL.ACC.3PL you-FOC 260 glosses in one evening

'Don't   YOU   write   260   glosses   in   one   evening!'
Interpretation*: I forbid YOU from writing 260 glosses in one evening.*

This is a notable restriction which sets Spanish and Italian/BP apart: Spanish Rhetorical Imperatives (RI) (4) (Bravo, 2017), despite not displaying an overt negative marker, may license NPIs. This option is excluded for Italian/BP DIs (5).

(4) ¡Vete tú a pedir nada a nadie hoy en dia! (Bravo 2017, p.93)   [Spanish]
Go-IMP.2SG=yourself you to ask.for nothing to nobody today en dia!
'Nowadays, you cannot expect anything from anybody!'

(5) *Acha você nada aberto essa hora!   [BP]
Find-IMP.2SG you nothing open this hour

(III) Andative construction. Spanish RI (4) and Italian/BP DI (6) may realize these readings via an andative construction:

(6) Valle a scrivere TE 260 glosse in una sera…
Go-IMP.2SG to write-INF you-FOC 260 glosses in one evening

(IV) Subject position and interpretation. The subject of an Italian DI may be covert, but it is typically expressed and focalized in postverbal position (2). Interestingly, if it is placed before the verb, the DI reading dissolves and the interpretation is that of an effective challenge posed to a definite addressee.

(7) Tu   scrivile   260   glosse   in   una   sera   (se   ci   riesci,   poi   vediamo)
you-TOP write-INF=them.CL.ACC.3PL 260 glosses in one evening (if you can, then we'll see what to do)
'You write 260 glosses in one evening (if you can, then we'll see)'

Instead, in DIs the subject is interpreted as a 'generic you' (Alonso-Ovalle, 2011; Cinque, 1988; Roberts, 2019), the speaker expresses that p would be difficult *for anyone*.

(V) Prosody and Indirect Speech Acts. Prosodically speaking, Italian DIs may realize prominence on the focalized generic subject or on the verb, resulting in slightly different interpretive shades. We think that in the first case (8), the speaker expresses her own attitude about the difficulty of p, in the latter (9), she simply asserts the difficulty of it.

(8) Trovalo TU un taxi con questa pioggia…!
Find-IMP.2SG=it.CL.ACC.2SG you-FOC a taxi with this rain
Indirect Speech Act: Expressive

(9) TROVALO un taxi con questa pioggia…!
Find-IMP.2SG=it.CL.ACC.2SG a taxi with this rain
Indirect Speech Act: Assertion

(VI) Given Topics. In DIs, clitics are always postverbal, as in canonical imperatives (Belletti, 1999; Rooryck, 1992, a.o.). A DI always requires the presence of an element

in the To-Do-List (Portner, 2004) corresponding to the salient difficult task. When overtly expressed, this element surfaces as a right-hand Given Topic (Bianchi & Frascarelli, 2010) linked to the clitic. The Topic may also remain unpronounced, but only when its referent is highly salient to the interlocutors.

(VII) Indexicals. In the absence of an indexical (Kaplan, 1989) anchoring the clause to a salient contextual situation (e.g., *in una sera* 'in one evening' in (2)), the DI reading fails to arise—unless the situation is highly salient and unambiguous. As with topics and subjects, such elements cannot be preposed without losing the DI reading.

A proposal.

We argue that the interpretation of DIs in Italian emerges compositionally from the interaction of (I–VII), combined with independently motivated constraints on the syntax and semantics of imperative clauses (a.o., Belletti, 1999, p. 199; Condoravdi & Lauer, 2012; Di Domenico, 2004). Crucially, we do not assume that the DI reading results from a dedicated tough-operator inserted into the semantics, as proposed for Turkish (Demirok & Oikonomou, 2018), a language where DIs exhibit different properties (similarly to Spanish, Bravo 2017) than Italian/BP. We suggest the main steps of the inference chain for (2), as a prototypical example of a DI, to proceed as follows. Given a ToDo-List already updated with a property p corresponding to a task to be performed:

a. The S(peaker) expresses a preference for p to be realized in a context C (I and VII);

b. S makes it clear she will not be the one to carry out p, contrasting herself with anyone else (semantics of Focus on the subject and generic interpretation of the subject, IV);

c. Although the task p is already salient in the To-Do List (and thus accessible to the addressee), S overtly re-mentions it redundantly (VI) and simultaneously reinforces the relevance of the contextual conditions C via an indexical expression (VII). This dual strategy, explicitly reasserting both the task and the context, functions to cue the A(ddressee) toward a specific inference: namely, that S believes p to be particularly hard or unreasonable to accomplish in C. Assuming that S is a cooperative speaker (Grice, 1975), A thus infers that S's goal is not a genuine command, but a comment on the difficulty of p;

d. As a result, S successfully conveys an indirect Speech Act (Assertion or Expressive, Searle 1979) through an imperative clause.

Our proposal captures the constrained syntactic-discursive profile of DIs in Italian and BP and resolves the interpretive tension underlying their difficulty reading without resorting to stipulative semantic mechanisms.

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Corrective Questions

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This talk presents experimental evidence supporting the grammaticality of Italian corrective questions hosting corrective foci.

Corrective questions exploit focalization to correct and replace a preceding question. Imagine a scenario where a boy got into some mischief. His brothers worry about their parents' reaction, especially that of their stern mother. Brother *A* asks what the boy said to their dad. Brother *B*'s reply corrects A's question. By replacing *papà* with *MAMMA* and correctively focusing *MAMMA* via emphatic stress, B signals that his question replaces A's. The boy's eventual reply will be interpreted as answering B's question, not A's.

(1) A: Cosa   hai   detto al   papà?
         What   have.2sg   said   to.the father?
         'What did you tell Dad?'
    B: Cosa   hai   detto alla   MAMMA$_F$!
         What   have.2sg   said   to.the MOM!
         'What did you tell MOM!'

Corrective questions lack a terminal rise, a property here represented by the final exclamation mark. They are still questions, though. Genuine questions demand an answer (Schwabe 2007), and when addressed to the mischievous boy, B's question does so too. Furthermore, the comprehensive study by Gili Fivela et al. (2015) showed that in most regional varieties of Italian even standard focus-free wh-questions like A's commonly lack a terminal rise. Only the Tuscan variety obligatorily requires one.

Corrective questions challenge our understanding of the left-periphery of root clauses, which currently maintains that wh-phrase and corrective foci compete for the specifier of a unique left-peripheral FocP projection unable to host both (Rizzi 1997, Rizzi & Cinque 2016). This assumption also applies to in-situ corrective foci, like *MAMMA* in (1), since overt/covert movement to specFocP is assumed necessary for a successful interpretation. Determining whether corrective questions are acceptable, and hence grammatical, is thus a highly significant research goal, since it directly affects our understanding of clause structure. If corrective questions are acceptable, then corrective foci should not be analysed as competing with wh-phrases. Rather, they would be interpreted in-situ, as per Rooth (1992).

In our experiment, 30 native speakers assessed the acceptability of Italian corrective questions using a 7-point Likert scale. Each participant assessed 30 randomised experimental items similar to (1), yielding a total of 900 assessments. Each experimental item consisted of a short exchange involving two questions preceded by a short paragraph providing the relevant context. Participants assessed the acceptability of the second question; in (1), this would have been B's question.

The context and first question were provided in written form. The second question – the assessed stimulus proper – was instead provided in audio format and could be listened up to three times by clicking a button at a time and pace chosen by the participant. This innovative design ensured that participants genuinely assessed the intended focus configuration – the one signalled by the stimulus' prosody – rather than an incorrect one they might inadvertently project onto a written stimulus, as is

likely to happen with written stimuli tests.

Of the 30 items assessed by each participant, six involved focus in-situ questions (FISQ) like B's question in (1) above. Another six used the corresponding fronted focus question (FFQ), such as *Alla MAMMA$_F$, cosa hai detto!* (*to MOM, what did you tell!*). The remaining 18 items were fillers involving non-corrective, focus-free, questions. Of them, six, dubbed &Q, involved questions like *E quando?* (*And when?*). These questions would neither correct nor replace the preceding question and were expected to be assessed as acceptable. Another six, dubbed OrQ and also expected to be acceptable, involved questions like *Del brutto voto o della multa?* (*[did you tell them] about the bad grade or the fine?*). The last six, dubbed *Q, involved questions expected to be unacceptable under the provided context because they stressed an unfocused auxiliary while leaving a replaced wh-phrase unstressed, as in *Quanto HAI detto al papà?* (*How much HAVE you told Dad?*).

As the chart illustrates, the experimental results showed that Italian FISQ corrective questions are overall acceptable. They received a normalised score of 0.73 (with 1.0 indicating perfect acceptability). Furthermore, the Bonferroni comparison against the &Q filler questions, which scored 0.83 and are normally considered grammatical, showed no statistically significant difference (0.05 threshold), further strengthening the result.
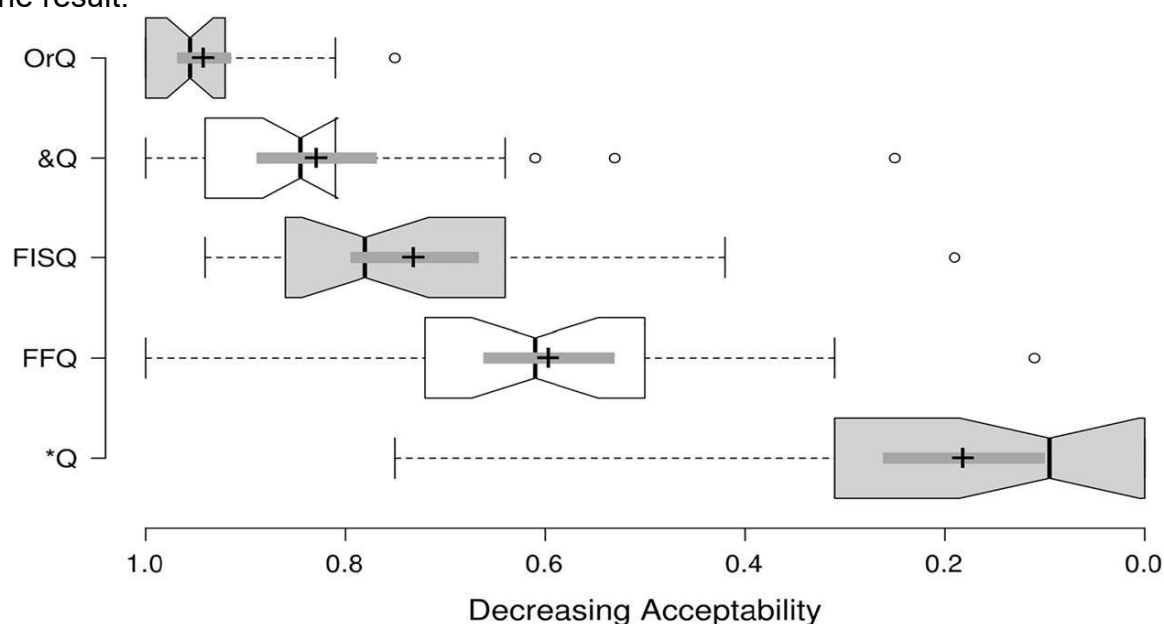
The talk will further detail the proposed stimuli and their prosody. It will also examine the remaining statistical comparisons and their importance. Most significantly, it will consider corrective questions involving fronted foci, comparing the results of this experiment with those in Bocci et al. (2018). Overall, it will argue that the recorded data provide evidence against assuming a competition between wh-phrases and corrective foci – at least for in-situ foci – and in favour of their in-situ interpretation.

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Double possessor constructions as DP-internal clitic doubling in Spanish

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This work presents a rarely discussed phenomenon of the optional double possessor constructions (DPC) present in Latin American Spanish. I will discuss it in relation to clitic doubling (CD) and differential argument marking (DAM). The relevant constructions are possessive DPs involving a possessive clitic pronoun and a doubled element: either a full DP (1a) or a pronoun (1b).

(1) a. Su$_i$ esposa de Juan$_i$ llegó tarde
        his wife   of Juan arrived late
        'Juan's wife arrived late'

   b. Su$_i$ esposa de él$_i$ llegó   tarde
      his wife   of he arrived late
      'His wife arrived late'

I will argue (1) is a case of CD (and, more broadly, a kind of argument marking), and establish new restrictions on DPCs. They will inform the analysis of this construction, but also, crucially, CD more generally.

A hierarchy. Spanish DPs express nominal argumental *of*-phrases with *de*, a case marking preposition. More than one such phrase may be present (2). Stylistically they may surface in different orders, but these arguments have been shown to follow a strict structural hierarchy: Possessor>Agent>Theme (Valois 1991, Ticio 2005, a.o.). This is confirmed by a number of tests, i.e. quantifier binding and extraction (3) (if there is no Poss, Ag can be extracted, and TH can be extracted only if there is no Poss/Ag).

(2)   Pedro colgó el cuadro [de las Meninas]$_{obj/th}$ [de Velázquez]$_{ag}$ [de Juan]$_{poss}$
         Pedro hung   the painting of the Meninas   of Velázquez   of Juan
(3)   a. ¿De quién$_j$ has   visto los documentales [de Herzog]$_{ag}$ [t$_j$]$_{poss}$?
            of whom have.you seen the documentaries of Herzog
         b. *¿De quién$_i$ has   visto los documentales [t$_i$]$_{ag}$ [de Francisco]$_{poss}$?
             of whom have.you seen the documentaries   of Francisco

Previous studies (Company 1995, 2001; Eguren 2016, 2017, a.o.) have not noted structural restrictions for (1). I show that DPCs obey a hierarchy in that only the highest argument can be doubled; the presence of a higher one blocks doubling of a lower one (Doubling Hierarchy, see (4)): if Poss is dropped, Ag can be doubled; whereas TH can be doubled only in the absence of Poss/Ag.

(4)   Me robé su $_{i/*j/*k}$ libro [de Frodo$_k$]$_{th}$ [de Tolkien$_j$]$_{ag}$ [de Juan$_i$]$_{poss}$
         me stole his   book of Frodo   of Tolkien of Juan

I also show quantifier binding and extraction in DPCs behave as in 'regular' nominals, as illustrated for the latter (Extraction Hierarchy) in (5) for Poss and Ag and (6) for Ag and TH.

(5)   a. ?¿De quién$_i$ has   leído sus libros [de Cervantes]$_{ag}$ [t$_i$]$_{poss}$?
            of whom have.you read his books   of Cervantes   t
         b. *¿De quién$_j$ has   leído sus libros [t$_j$]$_{ag}$ [de Juan$_i$]$_{poss}$?
            of whom have.you read his   books t   of Juan
(6)   a. ?¿De quién$_i$ leíste   sus libros [de lingüística]$_{th}$ [t$_i$]$_{ag}$?
            of whom read.you   his books   of linguistics
         b. *¿De qué$_j$ leíste   sus libros [t$_j$]$_{th}$ [de Chomsky$_i$]$_{ag}$?
            of what read.you his books   of Chomsky

Big DP. Various approaches to CD at the CP level have been proposed. I will argue that under a Big DP approach to CD in the clausal level (e.g. Uriagereka, 1995; Torrego, 1998; Belletti, 2005; Nevins, 2011) the case of DPCs can be readily accounted for as DP clitic doubling. Under this view, the clitic and the doubled argument are generated within the same phrase, the clitic then moves into the verbal domain and the doubled DP is left

behind. Importantly, under this view, the Doubling Hierarchy is explained in the same way the Extraction Hierarchy: since the Big DP involves extraction of the clitic from its base position, moving elements are constrained by the presence of higher arguments, whether they're moving for doubling or otherwise. There are also approaches where clitics are base-generated in the verbal domain (e.g. Jaeggli, 1982; Borer 1984; Suñer 1988). I show that under a base-generation analysis of clitics, the **uniformity** of the hierarchies is difficult to capture.

DP CD as DAM?. I present novel data that reveal featural requirements for doubling different nominal arguments. I argue this to parallel DAM in the CP level: DP CD is a form of DAM. At the CP level, in (Argentinian) Spanish DOM, only *a*-marked DPs may be doubled (Jaeggli 1982) (7). Different sets of features have been proposed, to account for DOM: specificity, animacy, familiarity, accessibility, etc. I show that a featural requirement of the same nature (simply, [+F]) holds in the DP domain for doubling of all nominal arguments. Doubling of direct objects is known to be further conditioned by specificity (8a) in the dialects that allow for it (e.g. Suñer, 1988) (8a). Likewise, in the DP, Poss (9a), Ag (9b) and TH (9c) are subject to a specificity restriction.

(7) a. Quiero ver-(la)　　　　a　　mi hermana.　　　　　　　　[+animate, +specific]
　　　　I.want see-CL.ACC.3.F DOM. my sister
　　 b. Quiero ver-(*la)　　　(*a)　la montaña.　　　　　　　　[-animate, +specific]
　　　　I.want see-CL.ACC.3.F DOM　the mountain

(8)　　No lo*i/j oyeron　[a **ningún ladrón**i]DO / [a　　mi papáj]DO
　　　　not him heard.3pl DOM any　　　thief　　　　DOM my dad
　　　　'They didn't hear any thieves / my dad.'

(9) a. Su*i/j libro **[de algún niño**i]poss / [de Pepitoj]poss se podría haber quedado en la mesa.
　　　　his book of some kid　　　　 of Pepito　　se could have stayed　 in the table
　　　　'Some child's / Pepito's book could have been left on the table.'
　　 b. Su*i/j obra **[de un artista urbano**i]ag / [de este artistaj]ag no es bien valorada
　　　　his work of an artist urban　　　　 of this artist　　no is well valued
　　　　'An urban artist's / This artist's work is not appreciated.'
　　 c. Su*i/j biografía　**[de un político**i]th / [de Calderónj]th seguro contendrá puras mentiras.
　　　　his biography of a politician　　　 of Calderón　　surely will.contain pure lies
　　　　'A politician's / Calderón's biography most likely will be full of lies.'

Given the semantic nature of the features that license doubling, I will adopt Daniel's (2025) claim that valuation of interpretable features drives DAM and implement it at the DP level for CD. I propose that the feature checking that drives Spanish DOM in CP is also present in DP, and licenses doubling in both levels. I will argue that a doubled DP may merge with the relevant set of interpretable features [+F] and agree with a head X (Poss or *v*) that bares those features too (all this will be discussed in more detail, and also applied to the clausal level). I also show that these new restrictions argue against previous analyses of the DPC where the clitic is an evaluative possessor (Company, 1995; Eguren, 2016) that lacks 'true' possessive meaning, acting as a definite article or a definiteness marker directly inserted in D^0. An analysis of this kind would struggle to account for the structural restrictions (4-6) and similarities with CP CD (9-8).

Summary. New insights into the Spanish DPCs reveal asymmetries in the possibilities for doubling between different nominal arguments: themes, agents and possessors. Support is provided for the Big DP approach to CD, which can explain in a uniform manner the Doubling and the Extraction hierarchies. Featural restrictions on DPCs are also established and argued to hold in a similar manner in CD at the DP and the CP levels, equating DPCs to DP-DAM

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Size matters: temporal and causal clauses at the syntax-semantics interface

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This paper investigates the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses (Adv-CPs), with the aim of verifying Endo & Haegeman's (2019) 'matching condition', whereby merge height tracks the size of the left periphery of the subordinate clause. The testbed is represented by Italian Adv-CPs introduced by *poiché*, 'since', a complex subordinator composed of *poi*, 'after', and *che*, 'that', with counterparts in other Romance languages, e.g., Fr. *puisque*, Pt. *pois*, Sp. *pues* (e.g., Charnavel 2019). While *poiché* introduces exclusively causal Adv-CPs in Contemporary Italian, (1a), it also had a temporal reading up to the 17th century, (1b) (Patota 2006).

(1) a. [Tem ***Poiché** due volte intorno ebbe mirato*], *incominciò così da la sua sedia.*
  'After looking around twice, he began to speak.' (Tassoni, *La Secchia rapita*, 1615)
 b. [Cau ***Poi che** tanto v'aggrada che io studii*], *farollo volentieri.*
  'Since it pleases you so much that I study, I will gladly do it.' (Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, 1336)

Analyzing 3032 occurrences of *poiché* Adv-CPs extracted from MIDIA, a corpus of about 800 Italian texts spanning from the 13th to the 20th century, we argue that the 'matching condition' holds but should be qualified in stricter terms consistent with a syntactic Subset Principle: if an adverbial clause manifests more internal structure, it must be merged higher. Hence, the high merge position is available for Adv-CPs with a fully-fledged left periphery or with a subset of this rich periphery. Conversely, the low merge position is restricted to Adv-CPs with a reduced left periphery, and Adv-CPs whose left periphery is a superset of the reduced one are banned.

We first demonstrate that temporal and causal *poiché*-CPs have different properties.
a. External syntax. (i) Both temporal and causal *poiché* CPs are merged in the matrix vP and CP layer. They can be merged in the periphery of vP: they can follow the matrix finite predicate but precede infinitives or participles, which are lower than vP in the older stages of Italian (Poletto 2014). Temporal and causal-CPs can be merged in the matrix left periphery, i.e., the specifier of SceneSettingP: they follow matrix Force°, hanging topics but precede foci and the interrogative subordinator *se* 'whether', i.e., Int° (Rizzi 2001, 2013; Beninca 2010). However, temporal, but not causal, CPs can also target a lower TopicP, as in a few instances, they can also follow the Int° *se*. **(ii)** Only temporal *poiché*-CPs fall within the scope of matrix negation, focus, and modal operators, and can be embedded under conditionals, modifying their eventuality, (2a), while causal ones outscope them, (2b).

(2) a. [Con *Se non ristituiscano esso avere* [Tem ***poi ch' saranno conventi***]], *quello cotale avere sieno tenuti di restituire.*
  'If they do not return the property after an agreement has been reached, they shall be obliged to return it.' (An. *Lo statuto dell'arte della mercanzia senese*, 1342-1343)
 b. [Cau ***Poiché***, [Con *se la forza delle percosse fosse infinita*], *dovrebbe ogni percossa benché piccola, fare effetto infinito*].
  'Since, if the force of blows were infinite, then every blow, however small, ought to produce an infinite effect.' (Torricelli, *Lezioni accademiche*, 1517)

b. Internal syntax. (i) Temporal and causal *poiché*-CPs differ with respect to the specification of the aspectual properties of the predicate. In temporal-CPs, the embedded event is viewed as a whole: the embedded predicate had perfective aspect only, and in turn, no individual-level predicates were found. Conversely, causal-CPs imposed no restriction on the aspectual and actional properties of the

embedded predicate, although the embedded predicate exhibited the imperfective aspect much more frequently (79%). **(ii)** Both temporal and causal CPs have a recursive left periphery, allowing multiple dislocated constituents in topical and focal positions, (3).

(3) a. [$_{Tem}$ **Poi che** _a l'ardita penna la man_ _diedi_] …
      'After I took the daring pen…' (Vannozzo, _Rime_, 1300)
  b. [$_{Cau}$ **Poiché** _April fiori, e non Stelle, apporta_] …
      'Since April brings flowers, not stars…' (Zappi, _Poesie_, 1700)

(iii) However, only causal-CPs license high adverbials, hanging topics (4), vocatives, independent illocutionary force, and sentence connectives which outscope the subordinate clause.

(4)   [$_{Cau}$ **Poiché** _noi verso dove incliniamo si cade_] …
      'Since we fall towards where we incline.' (Dossi, _Goccie d'inchiostro_, 1879)

c. Correlation between internal and external syntax. Only perfective causal _poiché_-CPs could be merged in the matrix vP in the older stages. No differences were detected in the articulation of the left periphery in both temporal and causal CPs depending on their merge height, i.e., matrix vP or CP layer. However, the licensing of root-like elements was restricted to causal-CPs merged in the matrix-CP layer, which exhibited only imperfective aspect before the 17th century.

We derive the observed differences between temporal and causal _poiché_-CPs compositionally from the aspectual properties of the embedded predicate. We assume that (i) _poiché_ is a single entry specified for an abstract relation of consequence, (ii) predicates introduce the Situation Time (SitT) (Klein 1984), (iii) Topic Time (TT) is bound in AspP (Pitsch 2016).

We argue that Adv-CPs can anchor the Topic Time of the matrix clause (TT$_{MC}$) only when the embedded event is viewed as a whole, since perfective aspect contains the boundary (TT$_{EC}$ is AT TSit$_{EC}$) which serves as a temporal anchor relative to which the TT$_{MC}$ can be located. _Poiché_, which is specified as < & TT$_{EC}$ AT TSit$_{EC}$, locates TT$_{MC}$, after the anchor itself, thereby establishing a temporal relation of consequence between TT$_{EC}$ and TT$_{MC}$: TT$_{EC}$ < TT$_{MC}$. Therefore, the consequence relation is computed at the aspectual layer of the matrix-CP. Conversely, when the embedded event is imperfective, TT$_{EC}$ is included in the TSit$_{EC}$, thereby denoting a time span with no boundary: TT$_{EC}$ ⊆ TSit$_{EC}$. Lacking this boundary, _poiché_ cannot relate TT$_{EC}$ and TT$_{MC}$. Therefore, TT$_{MC}$ cannot be located on the basis of the embedded clause contribution. The consequence relation of _poiché_ must be computed at a level different from the aspectual one, yielding to the causal interpretation which is independent of temporal ordering. The two readings of _poiché_ are thus derived compositionally at least before the reanalysis of _poiché_ as a causal subordinator only (17th century).

This claim has natural consequences in terms of external syntax. Temporal _poiché_-CPs are merged in Spec,AspP and their CP-merge position is due to movement from Spec,AspP. Vice versa, up to 17th century, causal _poiché_-CPs with imperfective aspect must be merged in the left periphery of the matrix-CP, thereby establishing a relation of consequence between propositions. The small set of perfective causal _poiché_-CPs should be accounted for in terms of movement from AspP to the matrix CP layer before reanalysis occurred. After the 17th century, _poiché_-CPs were first merged in Spec,SceneSettingP, independent of their aspectual properties, in line with van Gelderen's (2004) principle 'Merge over Move'. This proposal also has consequences in terms of internal syntax. The internal syntax of temporal-CPs

merged in vP or CP layer did not differ, as expected from our analysis, as the CP-merge position is derived via movement. Interestingly, the same observation applies to causal-CPs with perfective aspect at least up to 17th century. Conversely, only imperfective causal-CPs, being merged in the left periphery, manifest more left-peripheral possibilities.

We conclude that the merge height correlates with the size of the Adv-CP left periphery, in line with Endo & Haegeman's (2019) matching condition. However, our data also showed that, while it is true that the height of merge within the matrix-CP correlates with the size of the left periphery of causal-CPs, the same conclusion seems to not hold for temporal-CPs, as we did not detect any difference in the activation of their left periphery depending on their positioning. We then rephrase the 'matching condition' in a stricter way: if an adverbial clause manifests more internal structure, it must be merged higher. Under this view, low merge is compatible only with CPs with a reduced internal structure and bans structurally richer CPs; on the other hand, high attachment is compatible with both reduced and expanded peripheries. This restriction follows from the Subset Principle (parallel to the one proposed in morphology, Halle 1997), whereby syntactic insertion is constrained by structural containment.

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Losing One's Head in a Silent WAY: A Diachronic Study of Romance Adverbials

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This paper focuses on the syntax and distribution of the Romance adverbials introduced by the preposition *a/à* 'to, at', followed by a definite article and an adjective inflected for feminine gender and singular number, henceforth referred to as *à la-*adverbials. Using several corpora of medieval sources from France (BFM), Italy (OVI, ADV), Spain (DHLE) and Portugal (CIPM), we will determine the period in which these adverbials first appeared in written texts. The chronology of attestations supports a French origin of these constructions, which is consistent with the presence of a silent feminine noun *maniera/manière* 'manner' (Pharies 1997) – a noun that was borrowed by all Romance varieties from French – that triggers the strong Agreement for feminine gender and singular number observed in these forms.

*À la-*adverbials are present in Italian, e.g. *alla buona* 'simply, coarsely', *alla leggera* 'scarsely; weakly; superficially', *alla cieca* 'blindly', *all'antica* 'in the ancient manner, the old fashioned way' (GDLI), etc., and are common in Venetan, e.g. *a l'orba* 'blindly', *a la maledeta* 'at worst' (Boerio 1856), *a la più bruta/trista* 'at worst' (Kosovitz 1890), *a la vecia* 'the old fashioned way' (Corbatto 1995). They are used in French, e.g. *à la grosse* 'coarsely', *à la muette* 'silently', *à l'aveugle* 'blindly' (DAF), in Spanish, e.g. *a la brava* 'recklessly', *a la ligera* 'superficially', *a la inversa* 'in reverse, in the opposite way', and also in Portuguese, e.g. *à francesa* 'in the French way', *à antiga* 'the old fashioned way', *à boa* 'well, easily'. Notably, they are completely absent in Romanian.

Based on Pharies (1997), and Kayne (2005), Schirato (2024) proposes that *à la-*adverbials contain an NP meaning 'manner, way' that can undergo ellipsis because it shares a manner function with the preceding preposition *a/à* 'at, to, by': for reasons of economy, the presence of two elements fulfilling the same role is redundant, so that only one is overtly realised, in this case the higher.

A comparable phenomenon occurs in German, where a silent noun (m.) *Weg* 'way, manner' is posited in the superlative of adverbs, determining the gender of a preceding adjective and determiner, so that (adv.) *am schnellsten* 'most quickly' would underlie *am schnellsten WEG* 'in the quickest way', cf. analogous forms introduced by *auf*, e.g. *auf direktem Weg* 'directly'.

According to the same author, the lexical item in NP would vary across Romance varieties: Venetan adverbials like *a la mata via* 'madly' (Corbatto 1995), *de fora via* 'indirectly' (Boerio 1856), and Friulian forms like *dentri via* 'within, internally', *a la strambe vie* 'madly' (Pirona 1871) would attest an overt NP 'way', whereas forms like Italian *all'antica/alla maniera antica* 'the old fashioned way', point to an overt or covert NP 'manner'.

Through an in-depth examination of Romance medieval corpora, we argue that the situation is somewhat different. In particular, we claim that (i) *à la-*adverbials spread from France, that (ii) a silent noun *maniera/manière* is present in all the Romance varieties that possess this construction, and that (iii) Veneto-Friulian adverbials in *via/vie* represent a more recent development.

As attested in the OVI, *à la-*adverbials appear in Tuscany, especially in Florence, since the late 13th c., e.g. "E l'uno usa lusinghe *a la coperta* (…) l'altro in palese" (1271-75), "sì ch'è meglio (…) darli le cose a intendere tacitamente, che specificare

alla distesa" (1292). From the 14th c. onwards, they become more frequent in the same area and make their first appearance in northern Italy, e.g. "Che nu no devemo intender la prea né'l sabion pur chusì *a la grossa*" (1342, Pavia), and southern Italy, e.g. "ipsi caderu *a la inversa* da indiretru a terra" (1373, Sicily). In Venetan (ADV), *à la*adverbials are found since the 14th c. in Venetian, e.g. "poy s'en torna *alla destexa*" (1321), and since the 15th c. in Pavano, e.g. "sì c'ho stimè che'l vale *a la riale*" (15th c.), "i (…) favella (…) *a la politana* (…) *a la soldarina* (…) *a la folestiera*" (16th c.). In the 14th c. we find them in Spain (DHLE), e.g. "cerraron la villa toda *a la redonda*" (1340-52), "vi dueñas (…) dançar *a la françesa* "(1379-1425), and in Portugal (CIPM), e.g. "Os cristãos começaron de ferir nos mouros per todallas partes *aa redonda*" (14th c.), whereas in France they appear much earlier, since the 12th c. (BFM), e.g. "mist de dous parz defors la presse pur traire bien *a la traverse*" (1155), "Aussi iere Enide plus bele que nule dame ne pucele (…) qui le cerchast *a la reonde*" (ca. 1170).

Based on these data, we suggest that *à la*-adverbials originated in France and then spread to Tuscany and the Iberian peninsula in the 13th, and 14th c., respectively. Later, Tuscany served as a secondary centre of diffusion for northern and southern Italy, due to the cultural and linguistic prestige that Florence enjoyed in the Middle Ages.
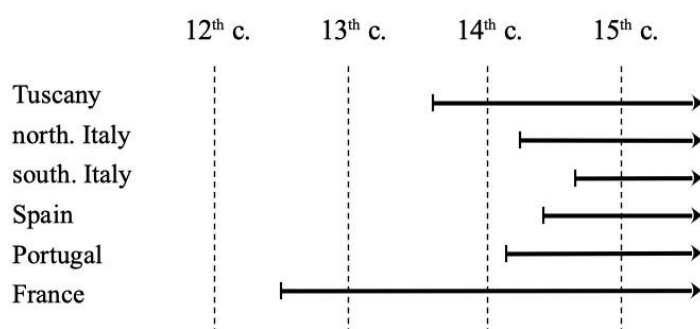
Figure 1: The earliest attestations of *à la*-adverbials based on ADV, BFM, DHLE, CIPM and OVI.

Alongside elliptic forms, adverbials with an overt feminine noun appear from the earliest attestations in central Italy (14th c.), e.g. "che ora riducessero la disciplina della cavalleria *alla maniera antica*" (1323), "armati *alla maniera macedonica*" (1346), in Spain, e.g. "que eran fechas *a la manera greguesca*" (1379-84), and in France (12th c.), e.g. "*A la meniere* et a la guise de Galois" (1181-85). These examples support the hypothesis that the noun *maniera/manière* may undergo a shift from overt to silent, for the reasons discussed in Schirato (2024), e.g. *alla maniera antica → alla MANIERA antica.*

On the other hand, since adverbials in *via* of the Venetan and Friulian type are not attested in medieval corpora, we suggest that they represent a more recent innovation, consisting in the addition of a grammaticalised noun *via/vie* 'way' to adverbial constructions, e.g. [AdvP [Adv° [a la MANIERA mata]-via]. In this respect, the geographically restricted location of these forms within Romance speaks in favour of an areal innovation, rather than an archaic feature.

In conclusion, the diachronic data locate the earliest attestation of *à la*-adverbials in France and attest an oscillation between forms with an overt noun *maniera/manière* and forms without it, in both cases causing agreement for gender and number with

preceding adjectives and determiners. The earliest attestations in the corpora are compatible with a propagation of *à la*-adverbials from France to other Romance varieties in distinct waves of diffusion. A French origin explains the absence of these constructions in Romanian, which could not borrow them directly, nor during a secondary wave, due to its geographically peripheral position. At the same time, the absence of adverbials containing *via/vie* in the corpora suggests a different and more recent origin.

Therefore, digital corpora of medieval texts permit to provide a precise diachronic and syntactic analysis of *à la*-adverbials, suggesting that they form a homogeneous class across Romance involving the ellipsis of an NP 'manner', and at the same time they make it possible to reconstruct the time and place of their formation and to hypothesise the directions along which they spread to distinct Romance varieties in distinct waves.

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BFM = *Base de Français Médiéval*;
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CIPM = Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval;
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DAF = *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*;
DHLE = *Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española*;
GDLI = *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*;
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OVI = *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano*;
Pharies, D. 1997. "Adverbial expressions signifying bodily movements and postures in Hispano-Romance." *Hispanic Review* 65(4): 391-414;
Pirona, J. 1871. *Vocabolario friulano*. Venezia: Antonelli;
Schirato, F. 2024. "Silent nominal heads in manner adverbials." *QuLSO* 10: 65-78.

Still no correlation between working memory capacity and island effect sizes: New data from French embedded question and adjunct islands

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1. Island effects

Contemporary debates in linguistic theory often revolve around the question whether observed data patterns are due to syntactic constraints or processing demands. Data patterns involving restrictions on long-distance dependency formation are at the heart of these debates. The examples in (1) show, for instance, that *wh*-extraction is possible from embedded clauses, but not from embedded questions (1b) or adjuncts (1c).

(1)   a. **Quel concert de Taylor Swift** as-tu entendu [que Jean a apprécié _] ?
            b. ***Quel concert de Taylor Swift** t'es-tu demandé [si Jean a apprécié _] ?
            c. ***Quel concert de Taylor Swift** as-tu souri [quand Jean a apprécié _] ?

Opaque clauses of this kind are known as 'islands' for extraction (Ross 1967). A central issue in the linguistic literature is what could be the source of the reduced acceptability of these sentences, i.e., what could be the source of island effects.

Syntactic theories traditionally postulate structural boundaries which constrain movement (*bounding nodes*, *barriers*, *phases*) to explain this pattern. Other accounts instead relate island effects to different cognitive factors, such as increased processing costs for island violations (e.g. Kluender 1991, Hofmeister & Sag 2010). Sprouse et al. (2012) argue that one prediction of these processing-based accounts is that there ought to be a relationship between an individual's working memory (WM) capacity and their sensitivity to island violations. Sprouse et al. collected WM scores using a serial-recall task and an *n*-back task, but did not find significant relationships with the participants' sensitivities to island violations. They conclude that the source of island effects is likely syntactic. In turn, Hofmeister et al. (2012) reject their conclusion and suggest that the WM tasks Sprouse et al. selected were too simple and not appropriate. For this reason, Pham et al. (2020) conducted a new experiment in which they included a reading and a counting span task to measure both storage and processing components of WM, and an attentional control task. Furthermore, Michel (2014) introduced memory-lure and flanker tasks to test for cue-based retrieval and Aldosari et al. (2024) tested an automated operation span task. None of these WM scores interacted with individual island effect sizes. All these studies tested English participants.

In this paper, we investigate the potential relationship between individual island sensitivities and WM capacity, in French. We reused the reading and the counting span task (Pham et al. 2020), and added the keep-track task, which focuses on the updating of information within WM, as well as the recent-probe task, which has been instrumental in establishing the cue-based retrieval model.

2. *Les îlots français*: A new experiment in French

We conducted an experiment in Qualtrics, consisting of an acceptability judgment task and the four WM tasks mentioned above. Data from 81 speakers of French were entered into the statistical analysis (M_{age}: 36.0, *SD*: 12.2, 18–74). Regarding the judgment task, we created two item sets to investigate French embedded question and adjunct islands, each consisting of 40 items manipulated for three two-level factors: *distance* (short vs. long), *construction* (island vs. non-island), and *dependency* (wh vs. RC). The third factor was added for another subproject and will

not be discussed here; instead, we focus on the items with a *wh*-dependency. A sample item from the adjunct item set is given in (2).

(2)   a. Quelle femme croit que Benoit a brûlé la nourriture ?   short/no-island
       b. Quelle nourriture la femme croit-elle que Benoit a brûlée ?   long/no-island
       c. Quelle femme serait fâchée si Benoit brûlait la nourriture ?   short/island
       d. Quelle nourriture la femme serait-elle fâchée si Benoit brûlait ?   long/island

We distributed the target items over 8 experimental lists and added 40 declarative and interrogative fillers. Participants rated how natural a target sentence would sound when uttered by a French native on a 7-point scale, before continuing to the WM tasks.

3. Results

We filtered for the items with *wh*-dependencies and ran linear mixed effect models on the z-transformed data using R, with the two remaining factors entered as fixed effects. The random structure of the embedded questions model included by-item and by-participant intercepts and slopes for both factors; that of the adjunct model included a by-item intercept and slopes for both factors and their interaction. More elaborate random effect structures did not improve the model fit or led to singularity issues.

In the embedded question items, we find significant main effects of *distance* (β = 0.77, *t* = 14.23, *p* < .001) and *construction* (β = 0.84, *t* = 20.99, *p* < .001), as well as a significant interaction effect (β = -1.18, *t* = -20.78, *p* < .001). In the adjunct items, we again find significant main effects of both *distance* (β = 0.86, *t* = 17.64, *p* < .001) and *construction* (β = 0.54, *t* = 9.94, *p* < .001), as well as a significant interaction effect (β = -1.05, *t* = -10.51, *p* < .001). The results are visualized in Figure 1.
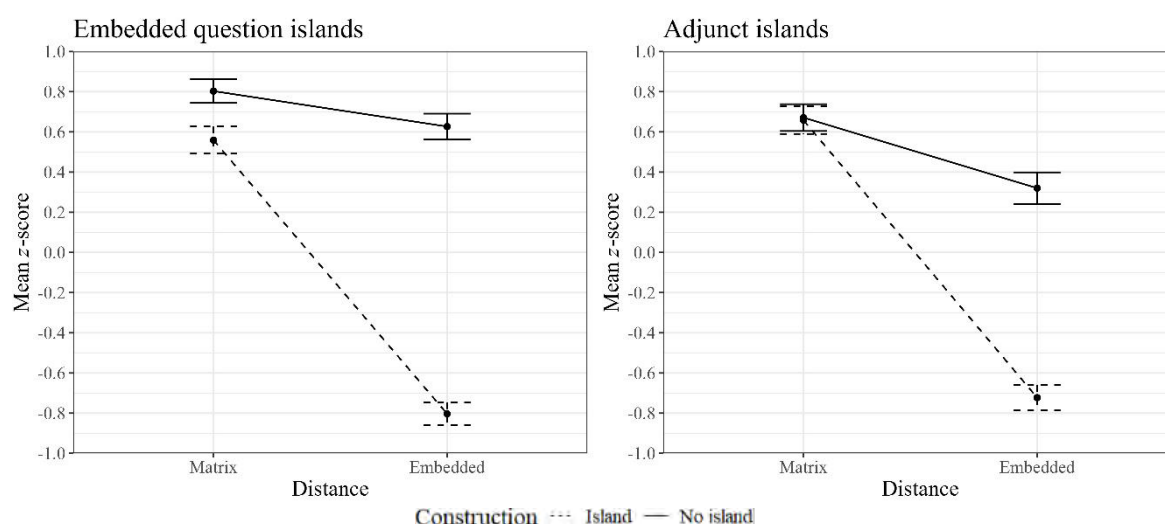
Figure 1. Interaction plots for adjunct and embedded question islands (French, wh).

Next, we ran a series of linear regressions with a participants' island sensitivity entered as the dependent variable, excluding scores below zero, and their WM scores as a fixed factor (following Sprouse et al. 2012). We did not find significant effects for any WM task in the embedded question islands (*p*-values: .362–.750, BFs: 0.25–0.34) nor the adjunct islands (*p*-values: .227–.630, BFs: 0.26–0.45). Based on these BFs, we conclude in line with earlier research on English that there is no

relationship between individual island sensitivity and WM capacity in French. These findings crucially do not corroborate predictions that follow from processing-based theories of island sensitivity.

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Paths of Bleaching: on the Subevental Structure of Restructuring Verbs

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Introduction.

This paper is concerned with the issue of concomitant lexical and functional behaviour in the verbal domain. A restricted set of infinitive-taking verbs (restructuring verbs, Rizzi 1976), despite selecting for infinitival complements, behave like simple clauses under several diagnostics (relevant to the morphosyntactic feature of a given language; Cinque 2004; 2006; Wurmbrand 2001). For instance, in Italian, clitic climbing (CC) is licit only if the matrix verb is a restructuring verb (as *finire* but not *decidere* in (1)). In an influential proposal, Cinque (2004, 2006) argued that the verbs giving rise to restructuring effects are those whose semantics align with that of a head in the fine-grained functional hierarchy identified in earlier work (cf. Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999). On this view, the monoclausal behavior of restructuring verbs follows from their 'auxiliary-like' nature in these contexts, with the infinitival verb serving as the sole VP. However, many of these verbs can also function as lexical verbs (2), a fact that challenges a uniformly functional analysis (see also Grano 2015, a.o.).

(1) Marco lo   finisce /*decide di mangiare
     Marco it.CL finishes/*decides to eat.INF
(2) Marco finisce   il   pranzo
     Marco finishes the lunch

I suggest that this dual behavior reflects a structural asymmetry: functional uses of restructuring verbs instantiate a reduced internal syntactic structure, fomalized along the lines of Ramchand's (2008) verbal decomposition framework and in the spirit of grammaticalization trajectories as described by Roberts & Roussou (2003). I argue that this structural reduction provides a principled distinction between lexical and functional uses, while maintaining Cinque's (2006) functional restructuring approach. The next section develops the empirical foundation for this proposal based on the class of aspectual verbs. For reasons of space, I will present data from Italian; however, the discussion can be extended to other Romance varieties compatible with restructuring (see, a.o., Olivier et al. 2023).

Empirical asymmetries between functional and lexical use.

A first notable asymmetry between functional and lexical uses of aspectual verbs concerns the presence of a preposition. When these verbs are used lexically and take a direct object, no preposition is required, as in (3). In contrast, when selecting a non-finite complement in their functional use, a preposition (typically *di* or *a*) is obligatorily inserted, as shown in (4) and (1):

(3) Marco comincia (*a/di) il libro
     Marco begins (*a/di) the book
(4) Marco comincia a leggere (il libro)
     Marco begins to read.INF (the book)

A second asymmetry lies in the thematic restrictions observed in lexical contexts but absent in functional ones. For instance, while (6) is acceptable, its lexical counterpart (5) is not, demonstrating selectional constraints that emerge only when the verb is used as lexical.

(5) *Marco continua l'acqua
    Marco continues the water
(6) Marco continua a bere l'acqua
    Marco continues to drink.INF the water

Additional evidence for the distinction comes from clitic climbing and word order interactions. As Cinque (2006: 85, (19b)) observes, the sequence *Asp$_{Conative}$ > Asp$_{Continuative}$ yields a degraded result (8), whereas the inverse order Asp$_{Continuative}$ > Asp$_{Conative}$ is fully grammatical (7):

(7) Gianni le   continuò   a provare a telefonare
    Gianni her.CL continued to try.INF   to call.INF
(8) ?Gianni le   provò a continuare   a telefonare
    Gianni her.CL tried to continue.INF to call.INF

Interestingly, this degradation disappears when continuare is used lexically, as in (9):

(9) Gianni lo   prova a continuare   (il film)
    Gianni it.CL tries to continue.INF (the movie)

The grammaticality of (9) would be unexpected if *continuare* occupied the same functional position as in (7–8). However, if *provare* is the only functional verb (Asp$_{Conative}$) in (9), and *continuare* is interpreted as lexical, then no ordering conflict arises, explaining the acceptability of the construction. Finally, note that it is in principle possible to combine both functional and lexical uses of these semi-functional verbs, supporting two distinct analyses (*Marco continua a continuare il libro*, 'Marco continues to continue the book').

A compositional approach to verb syntax.
To account for the asymmetries discussed above, I adopt Ramchand's (2008, 2018) event decomposition framework, which replaces the lexicon with a single syntactic combinatorial system. The framework posits a hierarchical, tripartite structure: InitP introduces the initiator, ProcP encodes dynamic change and licenses the undergoer, and ResP specifies the result state and its resultee. Verbs are classified according to which of these projections they lexicalize. In a nutshell, I argue that aspectual verbs like *continuare* exhibit a fully articulated VP-internal structure when used lexically (10). However, when these verbs are merged higher in the clause (i.e., within the functional domain; Cinque 2006, Grano 2015) they undergo structural reduction, losing some of their internal projections (11).

(10) [InitP [ProcP [ResP   (LEXICAL)
(11) [ProcP [ResP   (FUNCTIONAL)

This proposal builds on the standard assumption that grammaticalization, defined as the diachronic process by which lexical items evolve into functional elements and lose syntactic and semantic complexity (Hopper & Traugott 2003), is accompanied by semantic bleaching, i.e., a weakening or loss of the verb's original lexical meaning (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Roberts & Roussou 2003). Ramchand's (2008) decompositional approach provides a principled and formally explicit framework to capture this semantic bleaching and its syntactic consequences.

***A/Di*-infinitives as nominal DPs.**
Previous literature has shown the nominal/verbal mixed properties of Romance (prepositional) infinitives (Shulte 2007, Raposo 1987, Kayne 1991, 2001 a.o.), which can also be seen by locative cliticization (12), and by the alternation between noun

and infinitives in *a*-imperative contexts (13).

> (12) A lavorare   ci   penso   più tardi
>   To work.INF it.CL think.1SG.PRES later
> (13) A lavoro/lavorare!
>   To work / work.INF

Further support comes from the possibility (although restricted and idiosyncratic to Asp~Terminative~) of cliticizing the sequence *di*+infinitive, as in "*La smetti/finisci (di parlare)?*" by the object clitic *la*.

Formal analysis.

Take Asp~Continuative~, *continuare* as an example. I follow Cinque (2006), a.o., in positing the merge of *continuare* in the low portion of the split TP, above the VP, which, within our framework, gives rise to (14).

> (14) [~ProcP~ *continuare* [~ResP~ ~~*continuare*~~ [~FP~ ... [~vP~ ... [~InitP~ Init [~ProcP~ Proc [~ResP~ Res

Within this framework, I account for the selection of prepositional infinitives by functional restructuring verbs by adopting Pérez Vázquez's (1999, 2002) proposal that such infinitives involve a nominalizing projection, which is then selected by a preposition (Kayne 2001). Crucially, in Ramchand's system, PPs can function as PathPs (Koopman 2000; Kracht 2002), typically selected by ProcP, and interpreted as directed, temporally oriented paths. This aligns with the irrealis nature of infinitival complements in restructuring contexts (Wurmbrand 2001, 2014), which denote futurally unbounded events starting from the utterance time. It follows then that prepositional infinitives function as directed PathPs, perfectly compatible with a ProcP head in a structurally reduced verbal configuration. Their unbounded-yet-directed temporal progression successfully constitutes a metaphorical directed motion of the selecting ProcP head, drawing on the principle of homomorphic unity between the PathP's structure and the event's temporal path (Ramchand 2008). This analysis also incorporates Grano's (2015) insight about the subject-oriented nature of certain restructuring verbs (e.g., *provare*, 'try'). I propose that these cases of semantic bleaching still involve the loss of other subevental projections, but may crucially leave InitP intact. Since InitP encodes the agent/initiator argument in Ramchand's (2008) framework, its preservation would account for subject orientation in these verbs. In this light, the presentation will also address a preliminary hypothesis about the directionality of subevental erosion: I will address whether, as w e move along Cinque's (2006) hierarchy, lower subevental layers (e.g., ResP, ProcP) are progressively lost, while higher ones (e.g., InitP, ProcP) tend to be preserved.

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LLMs as a window into the cognitive bases of the Universal Functional Hierarchy: The Case of Restructuring Verbs

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Introduction.

One of the major contributions of the cartographic enterprise (Rizzi 1997; Cinque 2006; Rizzi & Cinque 2016) is the unveiling of important crosslinguistic regularities in word order, which under minimal assumptions (e.g., 'one feature, one head', cf. also De Clercq et al. 2025), led scholars to postulate a richly articulated clausal spine responsible for hosting different types of operators and functional heads, in all three domains (CP, TP, VP). In terms of cognitive plausability, this hypothesis inevitably gives rise to a tension, as such a fine-grained syntactic architecture appears to conflict with independently motivated constraints on memory and processing (see Ferreira et al. 2002). Specifically, one might wonder how language users are able to generate, parse, and acquire such detailed hierarchies of functional structure (cf. also Gallego & Ott 2024). This tension has prompted a number of proposals aiming to reconcile the empirical success of cartographic structures with cognitive economy, ranging from the idea that not all functional projections are instantiated at once to the possibility that much of the syntactic richness is the result of post-syntactic operations or interface-driven interpretive mechanisms (e.g., Scontras et al. 2017). Our paper contributes to the debate on the cognitive plausibility of cartographic hierarchies by focusing on a domain that has been the object of rich cartographic analysis (restructuring verbs; Cinque 2006) and evaluating how it is represented in Large Language Models (LLMs). While LLMs are not models of the human language faculty *per se* (Linzen et al. 2016, a.o.), they are powerful statistical systems trained on vast amounts of naturalistic linguistic input. This makes them well-suited to serve as *stress tests* for syntactic hypotheses that claim to reflect universal or cognitively grounded properties of grammar. If a generalization such as the Universal Functional Hierarchy (UFH, Cinque 1999) is so deeply embedded in the structure of language that it emerges from surface data alone, we might expect a sufficiently trained model to internalize it, even in the absence of explicit syntactic supervision. In this sense, LLMs function as diagnostic tools for probing both *learnability* (whether the UFH leaves strong enough distributional traces for a model with no innate biases to infer it) and *typological robustness* (whether models trained on different languages exhibit similar sensitivity to the UFH). Crucially, we do not assume that LLMs mimic human acquisition. Rather, we treat them as high-capacity learners whose sensitivity to a syntactic pattern provides *probabilistic evidence* for the prominence of that pattern in the linguistic input. If a model fails to acquire a generalization despite exposure to rich data, this may suggest that the pattern requires innate scaffolding, thus reinforcing its cognitive rather than simply distributional status. On this view, LLMs become experimental tools for testing whether cartographic generalizations have observable footprints in surface distributions, and whether those footprints are robust enough to be detected by systems with no explicit encoding of any sort of grammatical architecture.

The empirical domain.

Restructuring verbs, although they select infinitival complements, give rise to what appears to be a monoclausal structure (Rizzi 1976; Wurmbrand 2001). In an influential proposal, Cinque (2006) argued that restructuring verbs are functional

heads (similar to modals and auxiliaries) and that their monoclausal behavior follows from the fact that they do not involve true complementation. Rather, they lexicalize specific projections within the richly articulated functional structure of the TP domain, as previously identified in Cinque (1999). The underlying syntax of a restructuring clause, under this view, would be along the lines of (1).

(1) [TP John [... [FP started [... to [vP run]]]]]

Crucially, restructuring verbs obey strict ordering constraints within sequences: for example, *Marco lo suole voler mangiare spesso* 'Marco usually wants to eat it often' is grammatical, while reversing the restructuring verbs blocks clitic climbing (*Marco lo vuole soler mangiare spesso*) as it is a violation of the hierarchical sequence of functional heads (*Mod_Volition > Asp_Frequentative). These ordering constraints have also important syntactic consequences, as clitic climbing (a hallmark of restructuring in Italian), is blocked in illicit ordering sequences.

Methods.

To test whether LLMs internalize the hierarchy-based constraints governing restructuring verbs, we designed a minimal pair experiment targeting verb ordering and clitic placement. Each item contrasted a grammatical sentence that respects Cinque's (2006) functional hierarchy (2) with an ungrammatical counterpart that violates it (3), using pairs of restructuring verbs (e.g., *potere > volere*). In Exp. 1, all sentences appeared without clitics; in Exp. 2, a proclitic was added test sensitivity to clitic climbing as an additional syntactic cue. We identified 14 restructuring verbs (in hierarchical bottom-up order: *andare a* 'to go', *cominciare a* 'to begin', *finire di* 'to finish', *provare a* 'to try', *riuscire a* 'to succeed', *potere* 'can', *dovere* 'must', *stare per* 'to be about to', *continuare a* 'to continue', *smettere di* 'to stop', *volere* 'to want', *tornare a* 'to come back', *tendere a* 'to tend', *solere* 'to be used to') and paired each grammatical order with an ungrammatical counterpart, generating 100 lexical variants per each condition. Distance score between the three verbs (in both grammatical and ungrammatical orders) was computed.

(2) Il marinaio continua a riuscire a pescare il pesce.
    The sailor continues to being-able.INF to catch.INF the fish.
(3) Il marinaio continua a tendere a pescare il pesce.
    The sailor continues to tendINF to catch.INF the fish.

We tested on *LM-eval* platform four autoregressive LLMs: two larger models (Minerva-7B-basev1.0 and Mistral-7B-v0.3) and two smaller models (GPT2-small and GePpeTto), the latter two trained specifically on Italian data. Model preferences were evaluated using pairwise sentence completion probabilities.

Results.

Across both experiments, model type and hierarchical distance between verbs were strong predictors of model preference for grammatical over ungrammatical sentences. For Experiment 1 (no clitic), after model simplification to avoid convergence warnings (Barr et al., 2013; Bates et al., 2015), the analysis included random intercept adjustments for "grammatical subject–last verb" pairs and for the number of words in the grammatical and ungrammatical sentences (Table 1).

model	# of observations	mean	sd	se
geppetto	36400	0.3592582	0.4797896	0.002514781
gpt2	36400	0.4584341	0.4982761	0.002611677

| minerva | 36400 | 0.3646154 | 0.4813288 | 0.002522848 |

Table 1 – Models' performance on Experiment 01

The main effect of model was significant ($\chi^2(2) = 1039$, $p < .0001$), as were the effects of hierarchical distance between the first and second verb in both the grammatical sentences ($\chi^2(1) = 530.34$, $p < .0001$) and the ungrammatical sentences ($\chi^2(1) = 146.32$, $p < .0001$). Pairwise comparisons showed that GPT-2 (GroNLP/gpt2-small-italian) was the top performer, significantly outperforming both GePpeTto (estimate = –0.4551, SE = 0.0159, $z = –28.568$, $p < .0001$) and Minerva (estimate = 0.4295, SE = 0.0159, $z = 27.011$, $p < .0001$). No significant difference was found between GePpeTto and Minerva (estimate = –0.0255, SE = 0.0161, $z = –1.581$, $p = .3414$). The three-way interaction did not converge (due to a very large eigenvalue), but two-way interactions between model and distance were robustly significant for both grammatical ($\chi^2(3) = 1058.4$, $p < .0001$) and ungrammatical ($\chi^2(3) = 167.17$, $p < .0001$) conditions.
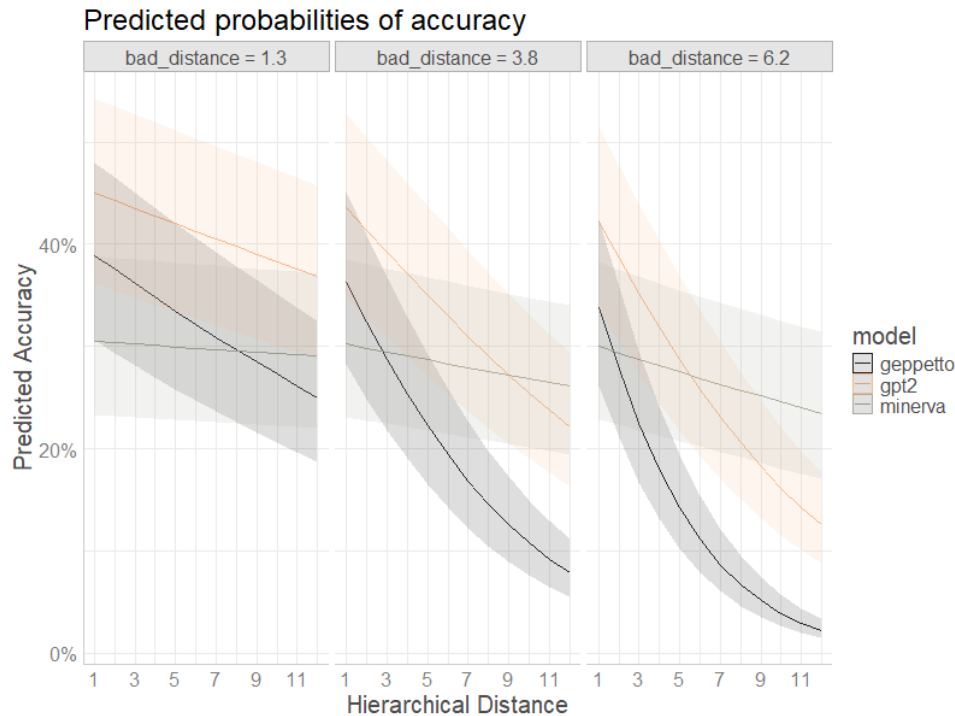
For Exp. 2 (proclisis vs enclis), random intercept adjustments were included for "grammatical subject–last verb" pairs and for sentence length in the grammatical and ungrammatical conditions (overall performance in Table 2).

model	# of observations	mean	sd	se
geppetto	36400	0.38247	0.48510	0.00255
gpt2	36400	0.48135	0.49966	0.00262
minerva	36400	0.37624	0.48445	0.00254

Table 2 – Models' performance on Experiment 02

The main effect of model remained significant ($\chi^2(2) = 1151.4$, $p < .0001$), as did the

effect of hierarchical distance for both grammatical sentences ($\chi^2(1)$ = 865.38, *p* < .0001) and ungrammatical sentences ($\chi^2(1)$ = 98.4, *p* < .0001). Again, GPT-2 significantly outperformed all other models (vs. GePpeTto: estimate = –0.4493, SE = 0.0159, *z* = –28.34, *p* < .0001; vs. Minerva: estimate = 0.4786, SE = 0.0159, *z* = 30.139, *p* < .0001). No significant difference emerged between GePpeTto and Minerva (estimate = 0.0293, SE = 0.0160, *z* = 1.827, *p* = .202). As in Experiment 1, the three-way interaction failed to converge, but model × distance interactions were highly significant for both grammatical ($\chi^2(3)$ = 1146.0, *p* < .0001) and ungrammatical ($\chi^2(3)$ = 129.41, *p* < .0001) sentences. Overall, the results show that GPT-2 was consistently the most sensitive to hierarchy-based constraints on restructuring verb order, both with and without the additional clitic cue, while GePpeTto and Minerva performed similarly and less accurately.
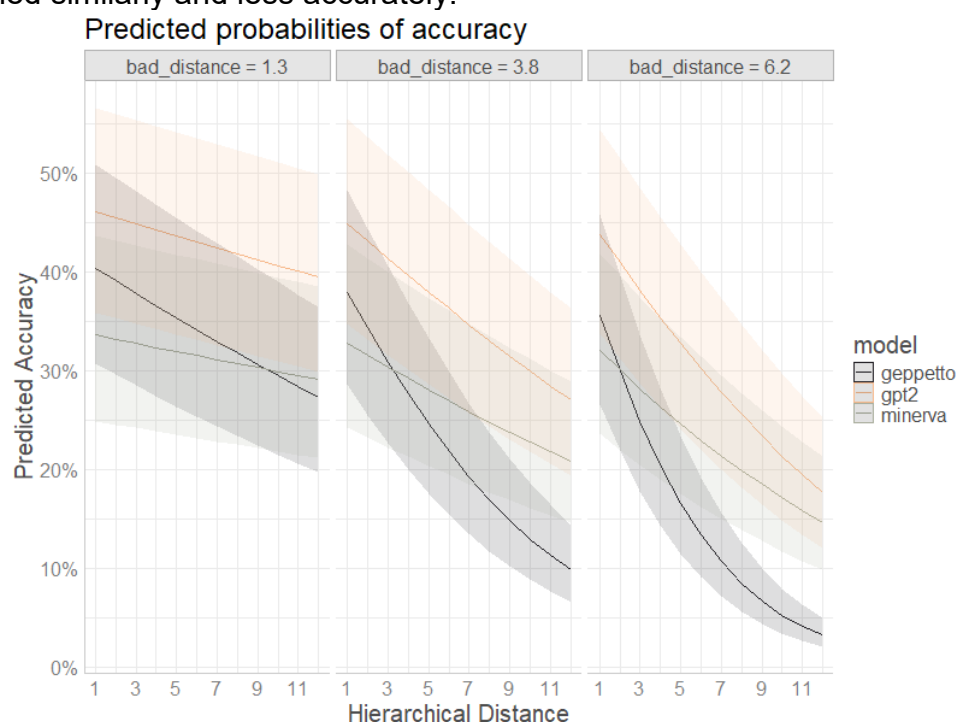
Discussion

Geppetto is the most sensitive model considering structural factors, since the performance is clearly affected by hierarchical distance (Figure 1, 2). *Minerva* presents the widest variance in the responses (larger standard errors), and it is the lest sensitive model considering structural distance factors. Gpt2 model shows in-between sensitivity compared to Geppetto and Minerva. The fact that a small, Italian-trained model outperformed larger multilingual ones highlights the importance of language-specific training over sheer scale, as well as the crosslinguistic translatability of the typologically specific realization of the hierarchy-governing orders of the UFH. Results indicate that LLMs can partially recover deep syntactic generalizations assumed by positing the UFH from surface data alone. Sensitivity to hierarchy-based verb ordering, however, did not fully translate into grammaticality, as it is shown by the relatively low values of mean accuracy (Tab 1 and 2), a result that offers valuable insight into the learnability of cartographic generalization from the input, while also revealing the limits of LLMs syntactic competence.

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Minimally Required Domains: evidence from perception verbs

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Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2023), building on Givón (2001), propose a principle of *Minimally Required Domains*, whereby for a syntactic structure to map to a given semantic object, it must be of a certain size or larger. Building on Ramchand & Svenonius (2014), they argue that there must be at least three kinds of complement clauses in terms of semantic denotation: (i) **events** (which are tenseless and therefore simultaneous with a matrix subevent); (ii) **situations** (which have a pre-specified tense value, often future) and (iii) **propositions** (which have embedded reference time and may involve speaker-oriented parameters). Their cross-linguistic study of transparency effects suggests that these semantic types have *Minimally Required Domains*. Roughly speaking, events must be at least as large as the thematic domain, situations must contain some tense/mood/aspect projection and propositions must have fully specified tense. This means that, across languages, events/situations can also be denoted by larger structures even as large as CP, but the reverse is not true: because of containment, nothing lacking tense can denote a proposition.

Romance perception verbs offer a unique testing ground for this proposal as they can occur with multiple complement types which have been shown syntactically to be of different sizes (see Casalicchio & Sheehan 2025 for a recent overview). For example, the 'see' verb in Italian permits the following kinds of clausal complements: faire par (1) faire infinitive, Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) (2), finite CPs (3) and pseudo-relatives (4):

(1) Ho   visto suonare   il piano **da Pietro**
     have.1SG seen play.INF the piano by Pietro
     'I saw the piano played by Pietro.'

(2) {**L'=/**   **gli=**}   ho   visto suonare il   piano.
     3MSG.ACC / 3SG.DAT have.1SG seen play.INF the piano
     'I saw him play the piano.'   (l'=ECM, gli=faire infinitive)

(3) Ho   visto **che** Pietro suonava il   piano.
     have.1SGseen that Pietro played.3sg the piano
     'I saw that Pietro was playing the piano.'

(4) Ho   visto **Pietro** che suonava   il   piano.
     have.1SGseen Pietro that played.3sg the piano
     'I saw Pietro playing the piano.'

Available complement types vary across verbs and languages; Spanish tends to use gerunds and Eur. Portuguese prepositional infinitives where Italian and French use pseudo-relatives. In all languages, however, there are smaller and larger complements, the size of which can be determined with syntactic diagnostics (negation, auxiliary verbs, case/binding domains, etc.)

It is also well known that there are different kinds of perception (Dik & Hengeveld 1991, Enghels 2019). Direct perception involves spatiotemporal overlap of perceiving and perceived events, whereas indirect perception involves spatiotemporal separation and, when most indirect, cognitive inference on the part of the observer. In Wurmbrand and Lohninger's terms, this translates into: (i) direct perception of **events**; (ii) indirect perception of **situations** (seeing into the future) and (iii) cognitive

inference of **propositional content**. In many cases, (iii) involves facts, but not always (Moulton 2019). *Minimally Required Domains* predicts that all complement types larger than the thematic domain can denote events leading to direct perception, whereas only the largest can denote cognitive inference. We test this hypothesis on Italian, European Spanish, European Portuguese and French, using a parallel corpus study.

Our large-scale corpus study of these languages uses the TenTen parallel corpora (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), analysing randomly extracted occurrences of *see, hear, listen* and *watch* (*n*=2,000 per verb/language) which are followed within 5 words by another verb. All examples were manually filtered, analysed and tagged for syntactic and semantic criteria. Once false positives were discarded, we were left with between 150 and 400 examples for most verbs. We classified the observations semantically across all languages and verbs as follows: (i) direct perception (intentional or unintentional (5)-(6)), (ii) epistemic foresight (7), (iii) epistemic belief of a proposition (8) and (iv) cognitive inference of a proposition (9).

(5) …dá   gosto   **ver** o nosso Benfica a mandar umas boas Goleadas [Eur. Port.]
       gives   pleasure see the our Benfica a send   some good goals   [direct: intentional]
    '…it's a great pleasure to see/watch our own Benfica sending some good goals in.'

(6) …si elle le **voyait** se   gaver de sucreries   ainsi.   [French]
       if she him=saw   self=   stuff of   sweet.treats thus   [direct: unintentional]
    '…if she saw him stuffing his face like this.'

(7) Zidane, muy listo,   **vio**   venir la crisis.   [Eur. Spanish]
    Zidane, very Smart, saw   come the crisis   [epistemic foresight]
    'Zidane, smart as he is, saw the crisis coming.'

(8) ...nem **vemos** que haja   qualquer motivo para a alterar.   [Eur. Portuguese]
        nor see.1pl that there.be some   motive   for it=change [epistemic belief]
    '...nor do we see that there is any reason to change it.'

(9) se leggi [...] vedi   che il   collare lo considero come soluzione estrema   [Italian]
    if read.2sg   see.2sg that the collar it= consider as   solution extreme   [cognitive]
    'if you read […] you will see that I consider the collar an extreme solution'

We then analysed the data using Multiple Correspondence Analysis (Desagulier 2020:438), to see how complement types cluster with semantic interpretation, transitivity and other morphosyntactic/semantic variables. Preliminary results point at a strong association between complement type and interpretation across languages. The results support *Minimally Required Domains* as complement of all sizes are compatible with direct perception but only CPs surface with cognitive readings. We also discuss more nuanced differences between intermediate sized complemets and the the interaction with other factors such as verb type (trans, unergative, etc.) and how this relates to Wurmbrand and Lohninger's proposal.

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Differential object marking in child heritage Romanian in contact with Spanish: Diachronically unstable input and crosslinguistic influence

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Introduction

Children's grammar may differ from that of the previous generation [1]. When the input language is undergoing a change, there may be an amplification in the use of the innovative grammar [2], which could be accelerated under conditions of language contact [3]. Language contact, however, may not always induce or increment an incipient change [4]. Previous studies on differential object marking (DOM) in child heritage Romanian showed that monolingually raised children advance the innovative system, but child heritage speakers (HS) do not [5] [6] [7]. Since these studies investigated heritage Romanian in contact with languages which lack DOM (English, Italian, French) the conservative behaviour of the HSs may have been favoured by crosslinguistic influence. In the current study we extend the investigation to DOM in child heritage Romanian in contact with (European) Spanish, which has DOM [8], with a view to evaluating to what extent linguistic proximity can interact with the incrementation of an undergoing change.

The language dyad: predictions

In Romanian, DOM is obligatory with definite pronouns, animate proper names and (some) animate quantifiers and optional with animate lexical DPs. Optional DOM is undergoing a change. The shift is from a system with two DOM markers, single *pe* (1a) and clitic doubling (CD) (1b) to one which uses exclusively CD (1b). The latter inherits the D-linking property of the clitic [10]. Single *pe* signals saliency within the event; whether the marked object has or lacks a discourse antecedent is immaterial.

(1) a. Am desenat **pe** copil.
        have drawn   PE copil
     b. **L-**   am   desenat **pe** copil.
        CL.ACC.3M.SG   have drawn   PE child
        'I drew the child.'

The Spanish DOM system is similar to the Romanian one [11] [12]. In (European) Spanish, the marker *a* is placed pre-nominally, like the Romanian *pe*; object marking is obligatory with [+animate; + specific] DPs. CD is compulsory with personal pronouns and in left dislocation topicalization [8].

If linguistic proximity between the two DOM systems affects DOM in the heritage language, we predict that it should boost the acquisition of single *pe* but, given the more restricted use of CD in Spanish, it may not help accelerate the innovative DOM system. The syntax-discourse interface property of CD is also likely to predict delayed acquisition in a bilingual setting.

DOM in heritage Romanian in contact with Spanish

We examined DOM use in the narratives of child HS of Romanian (simultaneous bilinguals, Spanish-dominant, born to Romanian families living in Spain), compared to DOM use in the narratives of first-generation immigrants (FGI) in Spain, of Romanian adults living in Romania, and of age-matched Romanian monolinguals

(Table 1).

Table 1. Participants

Group	Age range (mean)	Number
Child heritage speakers/Romanian-Spanish bilinguals	9;03 - 12;02 (10;03)	15
	4;05 – 8;05 (6;09)	10
Monolingual children in the homeland	9;01 - 12;00 (10;01)	15
	5;03 – 8;11 (6;02)	10
First generation immigrants	28 - 45 (37;07)	12
Romanian adults in the homeland	19 - 45 (25;02)	10

FGIs used DOM at a low rate of 15.8% (n = 9/57), significantly lower than the one attested with the adults in the homeland: $\chi2$ (1) = 4.08, p < .05. But when they did, they used exclusively CD, in line with the diachronic trend. The child heritage speakers, on the other hand, had no problems with DOM use. The 6-year-olds used it at a 56.2% rate (n = 18/32), significantly more than the age-matched monolinguals (26.2%, n = 17/65): $\chi2$ (1, *N* = 20) = 5.25, *p* = .02. The 10-year-olds used DOM less than the 6-year-olds (28.7%, n = 27/94) but they did not differ significantly from the age-matched monolinguals (44.6%, n = 37/83): $\chi2$ (1, *N* = 30) = 3.73, *p* > .05. Both groups of HSs used CD at a rate of approx. 40%, whereas the monolinguals used almost exclusively CD.

Discussion and conclusion

We suggest that the linguistic proximity between the Spanish *a* and the Romanian single *pe* could facilitate the use of the latter. This crosslinguistic influence effect, in conjunction with the more limited use of CD in Spanish, may have favoured the use of single *pe* to the detriment of CD. The comparison of our results to those reported in previous studies on DOM in child heritage Romanian supports this account in terms of crosslinguistic influence. French, like Spanish, has limited CD, and HSs of Romanian in contact with French also underuse CD [6]. Additionally, the Interface Hypothesis [13] [14] predicts that the D-linking associated with CD, a configuration at the interface between syntax and discourse pragmatics might also make it a less likely alternate to single *pe* in bilingual settings. Our results add to previous evidence that not any diachronic change is accelerated in contact environments. They show that whether the diachronic change of a phenomenon is likely to be affected by language contact also depends on its properties as well as on the language dyad.

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Formalizing the Venetian 'Evanescent' /l/: A Three-Perspective Analysis

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Overview:
Contemporary Venetian exhibits three allophones of the phoneme /l/: consonantal [l], evanescent [e̯], and deletion (∅), each conditioned by specific phonological environments. Previous accounts have proposed opposing descriptions of these patterns (Tomasin 2010; Zamboni 1974), but have primarily focused on diachronic and philological evidence, which has proven insufficient to resolve the debate. This study therefore seeks to adjudicate between these competing views by providing a synchronic analysis from three complementary perspectives: rewrite rules, Input Strictly Local (ISL) functions, and Optimality Theory (OT). We show that there is converging formal evidence in favor of Zamboni's (1974) hypothesis of a unified, twostep process: vocalization followed by deletion. Phonetic evidence in favor of this analysis is also provided as it relates to other instances of intervocalic lenition in the language. The two-step description therefore offers the most explanatory power, both formally and functionally.

Background:
Contemporary Venetian (spoken in the city of Venice) is characterized by three allophonic variants of the phoneme /l/: non-intervocalic [l], 'evanescent' [e̯] intervocalically between back vowels, and ∅ intervocalically next to at least one front vowel. Examples of each allophone are presented with synchronic alternations in *Table 1* below.

Table 1

l ~ e̯	*mu*[l] ~ *mu*[e̯]*a*	'mule' MASC.FEM
l ~ ∅	*kana*[l] ~ *kanai*	'canal' SG.PL
e̯ ~ ∅	*kava*[e̯]*o* ~ *kavai*	'horse' SG.PL

The literature on this phenomenon has been largely impressionistic and non-formal. The relationship between the two intervocalic allophones remains disputed. Tomasin (2010: 729) argues that deletion adjacent to front vowels should be treated as distinct from the evanescent allophone. In contrast, Zamboni (1974: 13–14) proposes a two-phase process involving vocalization followed by total assimilation ([l] > [e̯] > ∅), due to the lack of perceptual contrast between [e̯] and the adjacent front vowel.

Rule-Based Analyses:
Three possible rule-based analyses of the phenomenon emerge. The first two analyses echo Tomasin's view of two separate processes for Venetian /l/ allophony. These can be characterized as Mutual Bleeding (Kiparsky, 1971) and Non-Interacting. The third analysis aligns with Zamboni's view of a single two-phase process, and can be shown to be a case of what Baković (2007) calls 'Concealed Free-Rides'. In the rules in *Table 2* below, F = front vowel, B = back vowel.

Table 2

	Mutual Bleeding	*Non-Interacting*	*Concealed Free-Ride*
(i)	/l/ → ∅ / { F_F, B_F, F_B }	/l/ → [e̦] / B_B	/l/ → [e̦] / V_V
(ii)	/l/ → [e̦] / V_V	/l/ → ∅ / { F_F, B_F, F_B }	/e̦/ → ∅ / { F_F, B_F, F_B }

Computational Analyses:

Each of the rule-based analyses above correctly predicts the allophonic pattern. We verify the extensional equivalence of the composed maps using ISL functions following Chandlee et al., (2018). In all cases, we get an identical ISL-3 finite-state transducer. Furthermore, the distributional pattern results in an SL-3 finite-state acceptor showing computational similarity between the pattern as a map and as a phonotactic constraint. This shows that the pattern itself lies within a restricted computational class when viewed in parallel, but cannot make a distinction between the two competing descriptions. We turn to OT, as it clarifies why the change occurs and helps us choose between the two proposals.

OT Analyses:

We translate each of these rule-based analyses into the complementary OT constraint ranking. We find that an OT approach reveals that for the Mutual Bleeding and Non-Interacting analyses there is a contradiction in the constraint ranking. The MAX constraint against deleting the focus, /l/, must be ranked higher than IDENT(L) for process (i), but lower than IDENT(L) for process (ii). This is unsurprising as it is known that additional technical machinery such as conjoined constraints are needed to account for Mutual Bleeding maps. It is perhaps more surprising that this is the case for the Non-Interacting map. However, the contradiction can also be mended by defining two separate MAX constraints: MAX(V) or MAX(B), which say not to delete an /l/ between two vowels or specifically two back vowels and MAX(F), which says not to delete an intervocalic /l/ next to a front vowel. The rationale for splitting the MAX constraints is that processes (i) and (ii) involve two distinct foci, resulting from the different coarticulatory effects in the varying environments. However, this results in a somewhat arbitrary and circular solution. The OT counterpart of the Concealed Free-Ride analysis, on the other hand, does not encounter this issue. Unlike for the previous analyses, having two separate MAX constraints here is not an arbitrary stipulation because the foci are different segments: /l/ for process (i) and [e̦] for process (ii). Thus, an OT perspective lends support to Zamboni's (1974) description over Tomasin's (2010). One potential issue with this analysis is that there is no justification for the 'Free-Ride' elsewhere in the grammar. To support the Concealed Free-Ride analysis we turn to a broader discussion of lenition in the language.

Phonetic and Language-specific Discussion:

As Zamboni (1974: 13-14) touches upon in his discussion of the phenomenon, the two-step process is more phonetically motivated. Baković's (2007) analysis of Concealed Free-Rides suggests that such cases of process interaction are motivated externally within the grammar. Indeed in Venetian, we find cases of intervocalic

palatal glides (which arose diachronically from the /l/ + yod construction) deleting next to front vowels (e.g. Lat. FILIOLA > /fiʎɔla/ > /fijɔla/ > Ven. /fiɔla/ *fiòla* 'daughter'). Furthermore, Veneto varieties are known not only for their rampant lenition of voiced stops (e.g., Lat. CREDIT > Ven. *créde* 'believes'), but also for occasional deletion of these lenited forms, if they arose diachronically from original Latin /d/ (as opposed to /t/; e.g., Lat. CRUDO > Ven. *crùo* 'raw'). Notably, however, this type of deletion occurs more commonly between back vowels, resulting in an opposite analysis than what we find for the deletion of the 'evanescent' allophone.

Conclusion:
We provide an analysis of the Venetian 'evanescent' /l/, from three formal perspectives. The rulebased approach provided a way to translate the informal descriptions into a formal system, but failed to distinguish between the two hypotheses. The computational approach verified the extensional equivalency of the original hypotheses, but again could not distinguish between them. OT provided a way to distinguish between the two hypotheses, but the Concealed Free-Ride analysis that made the distinction relies on there being an unaccounted for externally motivated process. We then pointed to other lenition processes within the language and speculated that these serve as the external motivation. In total, we believe that this three-perspective (plus one) analysis given here provides the most comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon and gives a formal resolution to the outstanding dispute in the literature.

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Spanish first person plural verbal agreement as clitic doubling

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I investigate the nature of the Spanish first person plural verbal agreement *-mos* that tracks the verbal agreement via a phi-probe the functional head T^0 with a subject DP, if that clause's relevant subject is marked as first person plural. This is exemplified as follows.

(1)   Nosotros quere-**mos** a nuestr-os   estudiante-s
        we.NOM   love **-1.PL** to our   -M.PL student   -PL

I argue that this first person plural agreement morpheme is actually a clitic pronoun (see also Ordóñez 1997), as opposed to other verbal agreement morphemes in Spanish which are just standard inflectional affixes (e.g. *-o* for first person singular present tense, *-ste* for second person singular preterit tense, etc.). While other fusional verbal inflectional agreement affixes in Spanish are stem-level affixes (Kiparsky 2020) that form part of the morphological stem of the verb that they combine with, *-mos* is a clitic that is located outside of the verb stem. Here I present several diagnostics that confirm the status of *-mos* as a clitic pronoun, as well as multiple tests to confirm that *-mos* is indeed located outside of the morphological stem of the verb.

The first evidence that *-mos* is a clitic pronoun as opposed to a standard agreement affix is the fact that it resembles in form the first person plural pronoun *nosotros* and its reduced object clitic form *nos*. According to Preminger (2014), clitic pronouns are often phonologically reduced variants of the full pronouns that they correspond to, which is seen here with the first person plural series of pronouns in Spanish. This is unique among verbal agreement morphemes.

Other agreement affixes do not consistently appear in every possible verb form. For example, while the second person singular agreement morpheme *-s* appears in many verb tense forms that have undergone second singular agreement, it does not appear in all of them. For a verb like *mirar* 'look', the *-s* appears in forms such as *miras* (present indicative)*, mirabas* (imperfect past)*,* and *mirarás* (future), but it is notably missing from forms such as *mira* (imperative), and *miraste* (preterit), even though these forms are still second person singular agreement forms. For first person plural, however, *-mos* is present across every single form. This consistency is a property of clitics, as opposed to agreement affixes which vary across paradigms.

Compared to other inflectional verbal agreement affixes, *-mos* stands out as not being fusional. Spanish verbal inflectional affixes are fusional: they convey information of multiple different types of features. For instance, *-é/-í* conveys not only agreement with a first person singular subject, but also preterit tense. The clitic *-mos*, however, is not fusional. It conveys only first person plural agreement. Where it appears, other morphology is needed to add information such as tense and aspect. In a verb such as *com-e-mos* 'eat, *-mos* only provides phi-feature information on agreement, and the "theme vowel" *-e-* provides the information that the verb is present indicative. This is consistent with other varieties of clitic doubling across Spanish (such as object clitics) in which the clitic morphemes themselves only convey information about the phi-features of the DP that it tracks agreement with (as well as perhaps other information in the nominal domain, such as Case, though these clitics never track something such as tense).

This analysis of clitic doubling assumes that clitic doubling is a product of Agree (Béjar & Rezac 2003; Preminger 2014; Coon & Keine 2021; a.o). Clitic pronouns appear on functional heads that have undergone Agree with a DP (the 'doubled' DP). Preminger (2014) and Béjar & Rezac (2003) treat clitic doubling as different from "true" agreement in that copying of features for true agreement is 'granular' and feature copying for clitic doubling is 'coarse', but that distinction does not seem to work here. I see no reason to posit that 'true' agreement and clitic doubling are derived from a different mechanism of feature copying, and there are numerous accounts of Agree that do not posit a difference in this way (Béjar 2003; Coon & Keine 2021; Storment 2025). Rather, this is a morphological distinction: standard agreement affixes (at least in Spanish) are stem-level affixes (Kastovsky 1994) which form part of the morphological verb stem. Clitics, however, are outside of the verb stem, and have a more external attachment site.

Morphophonological evidence of this external attachment of the clitic *-mos* is the fact that *-mos* does not ever shift the stress of the verb that it appears alongside, while other agreement affixes are able to do this (e.g., all of the present tense agreement affixes besides first and second person plural). Furthermore, *-mos* does not trigger other kinds of stem changes in verbs that have such alternations. For example, the root in *querer* 'want' goes from *quer* to *quier* in the presence of certain agreement affixes that trigger certain stress patterns on the root, but first person plural agreement never does this. First person plural present is *queremos*, while first person singular is *quiero*. Triggering such morphophonological alternations is a property only of stem-level affixes (see also inner-layer affixes (Embick & Marantz 2008)), and as such clitic doubling would not be predicted to trigger such changes, which is exactly what we see with *-mos*.

Finally, we can see that *-mos* is located outside of the morphological verb stem because it can appear alongside emojis that represent verbs. According to Storment (2024), emojis that represent verbs can never appear with agreement affixes in Spanish, because the emojis must represent stems and as such cannot appear alongside affixes that combine directly with a root. First person plural agreement can be seen with emojis, however.

(2) a. *Yo   te   ❤-o   mucho   b. Nosotros te   ❤-mos mucho
         I.NOM you.ACC ❤-1SG much   we.NOM   you.ACC ❤-1PL much
      int: 'I love you very much'   'We love you very much

The external status of *-mos* can be further seen in irregular verb forms such as *habemos* (instead of *hemos*) (Rodríguez Mondoñedo 2006), while there are no such forms as *habes* or *haben* for any speaker. These diagnostics and tests all reveal that *-mos* is an instance of clitic doubling as opposed to a stem-level agreement affix, which is what is usually seen with Spanish verbal agreement. As for why this is the case, I motivate an analysis of clitic doubling for T^0 being triggered in Spanish when the feature geometry (Harley & Ritter 2002) is fully saturated, which only happens with first person plural.

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Non-subject relative clauses are even more annoying than we thought! Production of four types of RC from Italian-speaking adults and children

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Background and research questions:
Relative clauses (RCs) have long been central to research on language acquisition and processing, especially those formed on subject and object. Cross-linguistically, subject RCs (S-RCs) appear to be easier to comprehend and produce than object RCs (O-RCs) (Lau & Tanaka 2021, Tanaka et al. 2024). Studies on Italian speakers show that adults and older children frequently produce passive O-RCs, transforming them into S-RCs (Belletti & Contemori 2010, Contemori & Belletti 2011), but other RC types were not tested in most studies; Guasti & Cardinaletti (2003) show that Italian-speaking children also produce S-RCs when prompted for genitive, indirect object (IO-RCs) and locative RCs (L-RCs) (hereafter "change-to-S"), but adult behavior was not experimentally investigated, and the qualitative description of the non-targeted S-RCs remains very limited. Beyond the change-to-S, the above-cited works also note the use of resumptive clitics and DPs in non-S-RCs ("resumption"), which is not considered an option in standard Italian. This study therefore asks: i) Do Italian-speaking adults and children show similar patterns of change-to-S and resumption across non-S-RC types? ii) Can a unified structrual account explain both strategies?

Current study:
We designed an experiment to elicit S-RCs, O-RCs, IO-RCs and L-RCs from Italian-speakers: 28 adults and 25 children (5;2-6;3, M=5;7). The task included 4 training and 16 experimental items (4 per RC type). Participants saw images depicting animals/objects involved in actions, with one entity changing colour. A character then asked, *"Who/what changed colour?"*, prompting them to produce an RC (as in Zukowski 2009, see Fig. 1). To capture structural variation, we coded for target function (i.e., if the response fits the prompted RC type), change-to-S (including passives, verb changes, role inversions, head inversions and head shifts for non-S-RCs, see Table. 1), and resumption (pronominal and nominal). Non-RC responses are excluded.

Results:
We collected 445 RCs from adults and 345 from children. Through mixed logisitc regression models, we analysed the main effect of Group (adults/children) and Condition (S/O/IO/L) on the production of target function RCs, change-to-S and resumption, with random intercepts for participants and trials. Crucially, we found a main effect of Group in all models. Children preserved the target function more than adults (76% vs. 57.3% overall, *p*<0.0001), but the function of target S-RCs was preserved across groups (see Fig. 2). They also produced significantly more change-to-S (90% vs. 79%, *p*=0.02) and resumption (30% vs. 1.3%, *p*<0.0001). Structurally, adults systematically passivized O-RCs into S-RCs or reduced forms, and over half of the IO-RCs were transformed into S-RCs by verb change, while resumption was rarely used across all RC types; in contrast, children seldom used passives, but

extensively relied on resumption, especially in IO-RCs (see Fig. 3), and all other forms of change-to-S, including inversion errors. The effect of Condition will also be discussed.

Discussion:
Generally speaking, both groups avoided producing standard O-RCs and IO-RCs, but with different strategies. The S-O asymmetry has been convincingly attributed to (featural) Relativized Minimality (from Friedmann et al. 2009): the raising of the head noun object will inevitably cross the subject. While this is effective in explaining the S-advantage, it is not clear why resumptives can facilitate the production of non-S-RCs for children.

We alternatively propose that both change-to-S and resumption strategies reflect the same underlying RC structure, where the relativized element is not the targeted argument/adjunct, but the left-peripheral (aboutness-)Topic of the RC, co-referring to the targeted element. As the TopicP is configurationally close (if not adjacent) to the Rel(ative)P in CP_{RC} (see discussion in Cinque 2020), the relativization is realized by creating a syncretic Rel(ative)-Top(ic)P, bypassing the complex operator movement (i.e., head-raising) from the argument position to the CP_{RC}, thus cognitively more economic than the standard relativization. The syncretic Rel-Top is licensed when the head noun is also the Topic of the sentence, which is precisely the case in our experimental context. This kind of "Topic-relativization" predicts that i) when a non-subject element is topicalized and relativized, a resumptive element should (or may) fill the gap, as in cases of topicalization, explaining children's resumption use; ii) since subjects are inherently topical (Givón 1983) and close to TopicP, S-RCs emerges naturally produced via this mechanism, which explains the change-to-S from both groups. Because a non-S Topic-relativization increases redundancy by creating resumptives, it is disallowed in standard Italian, explaining why adults, whose language is strongly affected by schooling, rarely used resumption in our experimental environment and compensated it by transforming non-S-RCs into S-RCs.
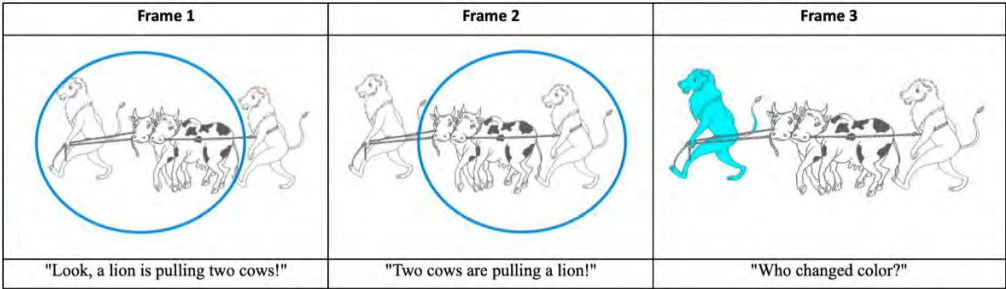

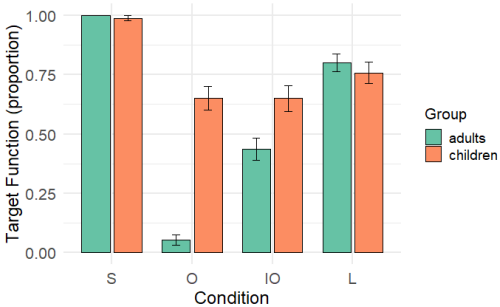Fig.1 Example of an experimental item of S-RC "the lion who is pulling two cows".

Fig.2 Target function rates (%) of adults and children in 4 conditions
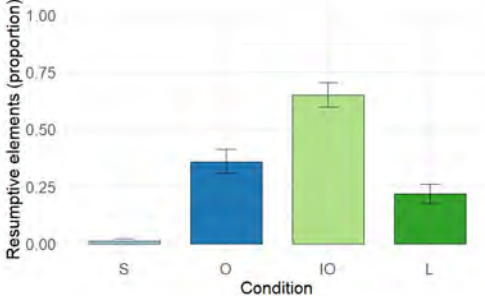

Fig.3 Children's resumptive rates (%) in 4 conditions

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	Example of responses	Target RC
Passive	*la capra che viene tirata dai gatti*	the goat who the cats are pulling
	the goat that AUX.3SG pulled by.the cats	(O-RC)
Verb change	*la gallina che riceve la mela dall'anatra*	the hen to whom the duck is throwing an apple
	the hen that receive.3SG the apple from.the duck	(IO-RC)
Role inversion	*la rana che sta lavando le analtre*	the frog who the ducks are washing
	the frog that AUX.3SG washing the ducks	(O-RC)
Head inversion	*L'anatra che sta dando un fiore al gatto*	the cat to whom the duck is giving a flower
	the-duck that AUX.3SG giving a flower to.the cat	(IO-RC)
Head shift	*la casa della pecora che sta saltando*	the house on which the sheep is jumping
	the house of.the sheep that AUX.3SG jumping	(L-RC)
Resump. pronoun	*i cavalli che li sta spingendo la mucca*	the horses that the cow is pushing
	the horses that CL.3PL AUX.3SG pushing the cow	(O-RC)
Resump. NP	*i cani che la pecora sta lavando i cani*	the dogs that the sheep is washing
	the dogs that the sheep AUX.3SG washing the dogs	(O-RC)

Table.1 Examples of change-to-S and resumption responses

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Romance Differential Object Marking (ad): Universals and Parameters: Cross-Linguistic and Language/Culture-Specific

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The use of *ad* as a marker of Differential object Marking (DOM) is a pan-Romance phenomenon (Nocentini (1985), Sornicola (1997, 1998)). It conforms to universal and cross-linguistic trends of markedness (Aissen (2003), Serzant and Witzlack (2018)), namely nominal animacy and referentiality (Kliffer (1995)), verbal affectedness and transitivity (Kaiser and von Heusinger (2007)), and clausal topicality (Leonetti (2004)), which, in formal cartographic terms (Cinque (1999, 2002)), correspond to different features in the nominal, verbal and clausal domains: [+human/animate] in the nominal lexical head (N), functional projections of referentiality denoting definiteness (D), specificity ([+specific]), and Phi-features of Person (Pers) and Number (Num), verbal projections of agentivity (DO) and kinesis (BECOME) (InitiateP and ProcessP/ResultP respectively in Folli (2002), Ramchand (2008)), and topic in the left-periphery (TopicP).

Despite of the many detailed analyses of DOM in individual Romance varieties, a holistic comparative account is yet lacking as well as its proto-Romance/Latin origins. Based on the universal projection of functional categories, it is possible to form a typology of DOM from different Romance languages and the parameters that underlie text them, which can be shown to be based on a mixture of universal and language/culture-specific factors, as there are certain types of DOM that seem to be derived from certain (proto-)Romance/Latin constructions. Spanish DOM is strong (Bossong (1991)), since both nominal and verbal parameters independently and sufficiently trigger DOM, as Spanish marks all animate objects including non-humans (1a), except non-specific ones for which *ad* is optional but not ungrammatical (1b) (Kliffer (1995:102), Leonetti (2004:80ff)), as well as inanimate objects of affective/transitive (1c) in scientific prose where personification is out of the question (García García (2007)):

(1) a. veo a la muchacha / vi a un perro
see-PRES.1SG AD ART girl see.PRET.1SG AD ART dog
'I see the girl.' (Kliffer (1995:93)) / 'I saw a dog.' (Pensado (1995:19-20))

b. necesit-a (a) una enfermera que pas-e
need-PRES.3SG AD a nurse COMP spend-PRES.SUBJ.3SG
la mañana con ella
ART morning with her
'She needs a(ny) nurse to spend the morning with her.' (Leonetti (2004:80))

c. los ácidos atacan a los metales
ART acids attack-PRES.3PL AD ART metals
'Acids attack metals.' (Molho (1958:214))

Moreover, optionally marked objects are obligatorily marked when topicalised (1d-e):

(1) d. ya conocía (a) muchos estudiantes
already know-IMPERF.1SG AD many students
'I already knew many students' (Leonetti (2004:86))

e. a muchos estudiantes ya los conocía
AD many students already them know-IMPERF.3SG students
'Many students, I already knew them.' (Leonetti (2004:86))

In modern Catalan which shows bilingual interference from Spanish (Benito (2018)), *ad* is obligatory on personal pronouns (2a) but otherwise optional (2a-e):

(2) a. només va   invitar   (a) la Maria i a ell
   only   AUX.PST.3SG invite.INF AD ART Maria and AD him
   'He only invited Maria and him.' (Escandell-Vidal (2009:838))

 b. les monges no estime-n   (a) les nenes
   ART nuns NEG like-PRES.3PL AD ART girls
   'The nuns do not like the girls.'

 c. el pagès estim-a   (an) el   seu cavall
   ART peasant love-PRES.3SG   AD ART his   horse
   'The peasant loves his horse.' (Escandell-Vidal (2009:840))

 d. aquí premie-n   (a)   qualsevol
   here award-PRES.3PL   AD   anyone
   'Here they award anyone.' (Pineda (2021:214))

 e. això afectar-à   (a)   molts
   that affect-FUT.3SG   AD   many
   'That will affect many people' (Pineda (2021:214))

Furthermore, affected (2f) and topicalised (2g) inanimate objects can also be marked:

(2) f. els determinant accompany-en   a-ls   noms
   ART determiners accompany-PRES.3PL AD-ART   nouns
   'Determiners accompany nouns.' (Pineda (2021:216))

 g. an aquesta darrera frase   noltros   la   dir-íe-m   així
   AD this   last   sentence we   it   say-COND-1.PL thus
   'This last sentence, we would say it like this.' (Escandell-Vidal (2009:847))

In Italian dialects (Ledgeway (2018)), inanimate nouns can never be marked by *ad*, even if they are the objects of affective verbs (4a), in contrast to Spanish (1c) and Catalan (2f):

(3) a. u stagnare   squaggh-je   (*a) u   ffierre
   ART tinsmith melt-PRES.3SG   AD   ART iron
   'The tinsmith melts iron.' (Barese) (Andriani (2015:70))

Moreover, while personal pronouns and Proper names are obligatorily marked (3b), indefinite (3c), non-specific (3d) and plural (3e) animate nouns are regularly unmarked:

(3) b. vitti   a   ttia/iddi/Giovanni /   accamend' a 'mme/'kkidde/Marie
   saw.1SG AD you/him/them/Giovanni   look   AD me/them/Maria
   'I saw you/them/Giovanni' (Sicilian) (Guardiano (2010:90)) /
   'He looks at me/them/Maria' (Barese) (Andriani (2015:65))

 c. ammazz-aru (*a) un cristianu / anti   pigau   (*a) una piciocca
   kill-PRET.3PL AD a person   have.3PL snatched   AD a   girl
   'They killed a person in Gargento.' (Sicilian) (Iemmolo (2007:5)) /
   'They snatched a girl.' (Sardinian) (Iemmolo (2007:8))

 d. cerca-ve   (*a) nu crestiene ca   sape lesca u   Bbarese
   search-IMPERF.1SG AD a person   who know read   ART Barese
   'I was looking for a(ny) person who might know how to read Barese.' (Barese) (Andriani (2015:66))

 e. arrubb-aru   (a) i so cuscin-i / app-u   biu   (a) is   pippiusu
   snatch-PRET.3PL   AD ART his cousin-PL have-1SG seen AD ART children
   'They snatched his cousins.' (Sicilian) (Iemmolo (2007:5)) /
   'I saw the children.' (Sardinian) (Iemmolo (2007:8))

In Portuguese (Brazilian/European), aside from 1st/2nd singular pronouns (4a), DOM is restricted to names of deities and common nouns of social superiority (e.g. boss/president/teacher) in the context of worship/respect (4b-c) (Teyssier (2001:71)):

(4) a. od-eia   a   mim   e   eu   od-eio   a   ti
       hate-PRES.3SG   AD   me   and   I   hate-PRES.1SG AD   you
       'She hates me and I hate you.' (Schwenter (2014:238))
   b. dev-e-mos   amar   a   Deus
       must-PRES-1PL love.INF AD God
        'We must love God.' (Schwenter (2014:238))
   c. tem-que   respeitar   a-o   chefe/presidente/professor
       has.3SG-to respect.INF AD-ART   boss/president/teacher
       'One has to respect one's boss/president/teacher.' (Kliffer (1995:109))

It is hence possible to establish the following sets of objects in an inverse correlation of range and obligatoriness in DOM in different Romance languages (5):

(5) 1st/2nd singular Pronouns (5a) > Divine Proper Names (5b) > Superior Common Nouns (5b) (Portuguese) > 3rd Person Pronouns (3a) (Catalan) > Proper Names (4b) > Referential Human Nouns (4c-e) (Southern Italian dialects) > Non-specific Human Nouns (1b) > Non-human Animate Nouns (1a) (Spanish)

Italian and Portuguese constitute intermediate types of DOM as Italian dialects only mark referential human objects (3c-e) and Portuguese only marks divine/superior objects of verbs that denote respect/worship (4b-c), which constitute nominal and verbal feature syncretisms respectively, since the former selects *ad* when the object noun contains both [human] and [referential] ([D/sg]) and in the latter DOM is triggered by [Init]/[Process] applying to verb roots containing [respect/worship]. This can be traced to Christian Latin where *ad* is used with verbs that regularly select human/animate objects in the form of divine/superior nouns e.g. verbs of serving (*ad cuius imperium* 'whose (divine) power' (6a)), verbs of shouting/calling (*ad te, Domine* '(to) you, my Lord' (6b)) and verbs of begging/praying (*ad Dominum* 'the Lord/Master'(6c,d)):

(6) a. ad   cuius   imperium   cael-um   terr-a   mar-ia
       AD   whose   command.ACC.SG heaven.NOM land-NOM seas-NOM
       servi-eba-nt
       serve-IMPERF-3PL
       'whose power heaven, earth and the seas served.' (Jerome *Epistulae* 82.3)
   b. de   profund-is   clama-v-i   ad   te,   Domin-e
       from depth-ABL.PL shout-PERF-1SG   AD   you   Lord
       'From the depths of my heart, I called you, my Lord.' (Latin Bible, *Psalmi* 129)
   c. Moyses ora-bat   ad   Dominum
       Moses pray-IMPERF.3SG   AD   Lord
       'Moses was praying to the Lord.' (*Libri Maccabaorum* 2.10)
   d. Veniam…   ad   Domino   poposce-ba-t
       mercy-ACC.SG   AD   Lord   demand-IMPERF-3SG
       'She was begging her Lord for mercy.' (*Chronicon Salernitanum* 11)

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The processing of expletive negation in Catalan: an eye-tracking study

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Introduction. In this paper we empirically investigate two research questions related to the phenomenon of expletive negation (EN) in Catalan. The first is whether EN in Catalan involves an extra processing cost as compared to positive or negative sentences, and the second whether EN is as widespread as claimed in traditional descriptive grammars of Catalan. To our knowledge, the first question has not been addressed with on-line processing techniques yet (though it is observed in the literature that negative sentences are more difficult to process than affirmative ones (Kaup & Dudschig 2020)); concerning the second question, EN has been described as recessive in Catalan (Tubau et al. 2018) but considering off-line judgements only.

Methodology.

To assess the processing cost of EN, we used the eye-tracking while reading technique to collect data from 52 Catalan-Spanish bilinguals (8 men, 44 women, mean age 28.41) with varying degrees of Language Dominance (M= 49.92, SD=52.43) as measured by the Bilingual Language Profile (Birdsong, et al. 2012). The experimental design consisted in presenting the participants with 96 written stimuli, of which 48 were fillers. The key 48 stimuli were divided into 4 conditions: Control-1 and Control-2, and Target-1 and Target-2 conditions. All 4 conditions contained a context sentence followed by a sentence with an EN trigger (*Em temo que* and *Tinc por que* 'I fear that'). The predicate of the sentence with the EN trigger was in the present subjunctive in Control-1 and in the present indicative in Control-2. Besides, Control-1 stimuli were non-negative while Control-2 contained the sentential negation marker *no* 'not'. For Target-1 stimuli the context sentence introduced a non-negative bias in the interpretation of the EN trigger + subordinate sentence sequence, while for Target-2 the context introduced a negative bias. Both Target-1 and Target-2 contained the sentential negation marker *no* 'not' and a predicate in the present subjunctive.

Control-1:	Control-2:
[context] EN trigger + pres. subj.	[context] EN trigger + no + pres. indic.
Intended interpretation: positive	Intended interpretation: negative
Target-1:	Target-2:
[pos. bias] EN trigger + no + pres.subj.	[neg. bias] EN trigger + no + pres.subj.
Intended interpretation: positive	Intended interpretation: negative

Table 1. Structure of the non-filler experimental stimuli and their expected interpretation

Target-1	
Slide 1:	[Pos. bias] Algú fa forats al pis de dalt. *Someone is drilling holes upstairs.*
	[Stimulus] Em temo que els veïns no rebentin les canonades. *I fear that the neighbours EN make the pipes burst.*
Slide 2:	[Question] Que rebentaran les canonades els veïns? *Will the neighbours make the pipes burst?*
	[Answer] Em temo que... *I fear...* (Participants press green '*yes*' or red key '*no*')
Target-2	[Neg. bias] Cuino molt malament. *I cook badly.*
Slide 1:	[Stimulus] Em temo que les convidades no tastin els pastissos. *I fear that the guests do not try the cakes.*
Slide 2:	[Question] Que tastaran els pastissos les convidades? *Will the guests try the cakes?*
	[Answer] Em temo que... *I fear...* (Participants press green '*yes*' or red key '*no*')

Table 2. Examples of the structure of Target-1 and Target-2 stimuli

Participants first read the context sentence and the experimental stimulus. Then they moved to another screen where a question was asked about whether the predicate

in the stimulus would happen or not. They had to press designated keys for 'yes' or 'no' on the keyboard to complete the answer *Em temo que [sí/no]/Tinc por que [sí/no]* 'I fear [so/not]'. We examined 3 eye-tracking metrics: first fixation duration on the Area of Interest (AOI), number of fixations on the AOI, and total fixation duration on the AOI. We also analysed offline data probing participants' interpretations of sentences containing EN. This allowed us to assess the difficulty of processing of EN and also whether participants could activate its intended interpretation.

Hypotheses and predictions.

We hypothesized that if EN incurs a greater processing cost than negative and affirmative sentences, longer first fixation durations, a higher number of fixations, and greater total fixation durations would be observed on the AOI for Target-1 (containing EN) vs. Control-2 and Target-2 (both containing regular negation) and vs. Control-1 (affirmative). In terms of interpretation, we hypothesised that if participants had EN as part of their grammar, they would select 'Yes' in response to Target-1 items, choosing an expletive interpretation of the marker *no* 'not'. However, if EN is a recessive phenomenon, we would expect a higher degree of variability in the response, with a higher proportion of negative interpretations.

Findings to research question 1.

Concerning processing, participants exhibited: (a) a higher number of total fixations in the Target-1 condition for the AOI-Verb (M=3.27; SD= 2.33) compared to the same region for the Target-2 (M=2.88, SD=1.74) and Control-2 (M=3.03, SD=1.76) and Control-1 conditions (M=2.31, SD=1.43) (b) crucially a longer total duration of fixations in the Target-1 condition for the AOI-Verb (M= 685.57; SD=525.09) against the same AOI for the Target-2 (M=590.42; SD= 399.52) and for Control-1 (M=487.02; SD=322.39) and Control-2 conditions (M=612.12; SD=401.65). Follow-up analyses revealed that age significantly modulated the processing cost of EN, with older participants showing reduced processing difficulty (Estimate=−7.22, SE=1.98, t(45.59)=−3.64, p= .001).

Findings to research question 2.

Concerning the offline interpretation data, participants showed greater variability in interpreting Target-1 items, with *no* 'not' being interpreted as negative 32.48% of the time and as EN 67.52% of the time. These interpretation patterns were significantly modulated by language dominance and age. The former had a positive effect (β=.017, p=.002), indicating that higher dominance scores in Catalan were associated with a greater likelihood of an expletive interpretation. The latter also had a positive effect (β=0.097, p=.001), suggesting that older participants were more likely to interpret Target-1 items as EN.

An analysis of the participants' answers to Target-1 stimuli revealed that 9 participants almost never interpreted these stimuli as EN (3 actually never did), while 13 participants always did. The rest of the participants were distributed between these two extremes. Our results thus reveal that not all Catalan speakers interpret *no* 'not' as expressing EN. In fact, only for 30 participants in our sample is the negative marker *no* 'not' lexically ambiguous between a truly negative element and an expressive (expletive) one. For 3 participants in our sample, EN is not part of their grammar at all, as *no* always corresponds to a truth-condition reversing functional element. Exploring speaker profiles is hence relevant to better understand the ongoing recession of EN that is observed in present day Catalan.

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The grammar of slur-based nominals in Brazilian Portuguese

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This paper investigates the syntax and semantics of slur DPs in B(razilian)P(ortuguese). When slurs like *viado* ('faggot') in BP are complements of definite Ds, as in (1), they show a systematic ambiguity. The DP is either an r-expression referring to the individual satisfying the at-issue property – the **Property Reading** (PR) – or a pronominal yielding an **Epithet Reading** (ER), where the property need not hold for the sentence to be judged as true, but the speaker (s_C) still conveys a homophobic attitude. Assuming that slurs encode predicative content on the at-issue level (cf. (9), the same as neutral counterparts like *gay*) and expressive content on the U(se-)C(onditional) dimension (McCready 2010; Gutzmann 2011, i.a.), the PR corresponds to (2) and the ER to (3).

(1) O   viado chegou
     the SLUR   arrived

(2) At-issue: The gay man arrived
     UC: s_C is homophobic

(3) At-issue: He arrived
     UC: s_C is homophobic

Orlando & Saab (2020) (O&S) argue that this ambiguity is structural. The PR in (2) arises when the slur is merged as the lexical head of the DP (4), as in standard definites. The ER, by contrast, results from adjoining the slur in a non-predicative expletive position inside the DP, where it adds only a homophobic UC to a pronominal index i, without making any at-issue contribution (5).

(4) [DP o[NumPNum[NP viado]]]
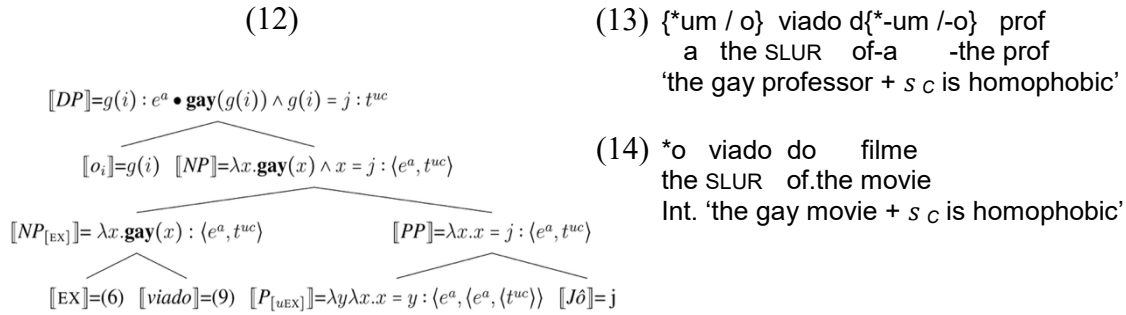
(5) [DP o[NumP [NPviado][NumPNum [NP i]]]]

We argue that the two readings of slur DPs arise not from structural ambiguity, as proposed by O&S, but from two independently needed factors: (i) a type-shifting operation triggered by the (optional) merger of a dedicated syntactic EX feature to the NP, triggering further syntactic effects, cf. Gutzmann 2019; and (ii) a systematic lexical ambiguity in Ds, which can be interpreted either as maximality operators (7) or as pronouns (8) (Postal 1969; Ahn 2024). Thus, (10) gives rise to (2) and (11) to (3). This approach is superior to O&S's on conceptual and empirical grounds.

(6) $[\![EX]\!]=\lambda P\lambda x.P(x) : \langle \langle e^a,t^a \rangle ,\langle e^a,t^{uc} \rangle \rangle$

(7) $[\![o]\!]^g = \lambda P\iota x[P(x)] :$ $\langle \langle e^a,t^a \rangle ,e^a \rangle$

(8) $[\![o_i]\!]^g = g(i) : e^a$

(9) $[\![viado]\!] = \lambda x.gay(x) :\langle e^a,t^a \rangle$ • $bad(^\cap gay) :t^{uc}$

(10) [DPO[NP viado]]

(11) [DP o$_i$ [NPviado+EX]]

Conceptually, our theory is more economical, since it relies on independently motivated mechanisms and eliminates the need for the structures in (4)-(5). The type-shifting operation triggered by EX shifts properties from the at-issue to the UC dimension, where they are not evaluated for truth, but for appropriateness relative to s_C's perspective. A type-shifter with these properties has also been argued to be needed for supplements (Potts 2005) and referential readings of descriptions (Donnellan 1966; Gutzmann & McCready 2014), where the predicate expressed by the NP need not be satisfied for reference to succeed – just as in ERs. Something like it is also required in O&S's system, unless one assumes that every slur is lexically ambiguous between a pure expressive expletive and a mixed entry like (9). For us, ERs are purely pronominal: they contribute no at-issue predicate, and their denotation is determined by the assignment. We assume assignments are constrained to map pronoun indices to those compatible with their NUM and PERS features (Sudo 2012). As in referential descriptions, the NP property is shifted by EX to the UC dimension, where it further helps to restrict assignments to those mapping i to an individual

seemingly satisfying the NP property. The presence of EX also triggers syntactic effects (Gutzmann 2019).

We now discuss some empirical predictions that follow from our postulation of the EX and of ambiguous Ds. Let us start with the latter. The idea of a pronominal D correctly predicts that only slurs in definite DPs should allow the misdescription-tolerance we find in ERs. Indefinites (*um viado*) or quantified DPs (*todo viado*) do not exhibit the same effects (i.e. they range only over individuals who are in fact gay) because the semantic types of their corresponding Ds demand an at-issue property of type $\langle e^a, t^a \rangle$ as input. A property that is shunted to the UC layer by EX can only combine with the pronominal D in (8) (via the resource-insensitive rule of UC application), which enforces definiteness. The idea of a pronominal D also fits neatly into a simple compositional account of the intricate patterns instantiated by DP1-of-DP2 sequences involving slurs in DP1 (e.g. *o viado do Jô*, the gay.SLUR of-the Jô), the details of which we can only hint at here (Bastos-Gee 2013; Basso 2020; Nóbrega 2025). We posit that Ps in such constructions are equatives that bear an unvalued EX feature, which requires their PP to combine only with EX-marked NPs, via a UC analogue of Predicate Modification as shown in (12). (This explains why these Ps can only combine with NPs that can be construed as expressive (??*o juiz do Jô*, the judge of-the Jô).)

(12)

$$\llbracket DP \rrbracket = g(i) : e^a \bullet \mathbf{gay}(g(i)) \wedge g(i) = j : t^{uc}$$

$$\llbracket o_i \rrbracket = g(i) \quad \llbracket NP \rrbracket = \lambda x.\mathbf{gay}(x) \wedge x = j : \langle e^a, t^{uc} \rangle$$

$$\llbracket NP_{[EX]} \rrbracket = \lambda x.\mathbf{gay}(x) : \langle e^a, t^{uc} \rangle \qquad \llbracket PP \rrbracket = \lambda x.x = j : \langle e^a, t^{uc} \rangle$$

$$\llbracket EX \rrbracket = (6) \quad \llbracket viado \rrbracket = (9) \quad \llbracket P_{[uEX]} \rrbracket = \lambda y \lambda x.x = y : \langle e^a, \langle e^a, \langle t^{uc} \rangle \rangle \rangle \quad \llbracket J\hat{o} \rrbracket = j$$

(13) {*um / o} viado d{*-um /-o}   prof
        a   the SLUR   of-a   -the prof
      'the gay professor + s_C is homophobic'

(14) *o   viado do   filme
      the SLUR   of.the movie
      Int. 'the gay movie + s_C is homophobic'

This treatment implies that DP1-of-DP2 with slurs are always extended versions of the epithet structure in (11) (cf. Saab 2022) – a view supported by their syntactic and semantic properties. E.g., DP1 and DP2 are both subject to a definiteness requirement (13). This follows from the fact that D in DP1 must be (8) and DP2 is ultimately equated by P[*u*EX] to the referent assigned to it. If we view the index in this D as that of a personal pronoun, we also derive the animacy restriction shown in (14). Note that a structure where the slur is not UC-shifted by EX and functions attributively on the at-issue level (*o filme (de) viado*) can convey the reading intended by (14). Since D in such structures is an index-bearing pronoun, we also predict that its NUM features must match those of its referent (use-conditionally constrained to be identical to DP2), which is the case (15). (We see GEND mismatches with gender slurs like *traveco* ('tranny') – however, Gutzmann & McCready (2014) argue that GEND does not constrain index assignments in the same way as PERS and NUM.) Indefinites, inanimates and NUM-mismatches are possible with swear words like *merda* ('shit') (16)-(18). The latter differ semantically from slurs – e.g. they arguably have 'pure' expressive entries and exhibit argument extension, which slur-based epithets do not (Basso 2020).

(15) *a.   puta das   profs.   (16) a   merda das   profs.   (17) a merda da casa
         D.F.SG slut of.D.F.PL profs.   D.F.SG shit   of.D.F.PL profs.   D shit   of.D house

(18) {uma / a}   merda d{-uma / -a} profa.   (19) o viado   do caipira   do Jô
         a   the shit   of-a   D.F prof.   D gay.SLUR of.D rural. SLUR of.D Jô

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(20) {quella / *la}   puttana di Giulia
     that.F.SG D.F.SG whore   of Giulia

(21) *o viado do Jô e   o   ∅ do Zé
     the SLUR of Jô and the   of Zé

Our theory also correctly predicts that slurs can appear in iterated DP1-of-DP2 sequences like (19) (Bastos-Gee 2013). The derivation works like the one in (12), but with an extra epithet and equative contributing their expressive meanings via UC Predicate Modification. Such cases are problematic for O&S, who posit a unique expletive position for epithets inside the DP, as in (5).

Other data cited by O&S in support of their structural ambiguity account are also compatible with ours. For instance, NP ellipsis is only possible with PRs (21), which follows from the fact that ellipsis (and anaphora) targets only at-issue content (Potts et al. 2009). This can be modeled by treating ellipsis as assignment-dependent null anaphora, with assignments as functions of type $\mathbb{N} \mapsto D_a$, where D_a is the domain of at-issue types. Since the type-shifter introduced by EX removes the at-issue dimension from the epithet's meaning, no suitable antecedent remains when EX is present – hence, ellipsis is only possible in PRs. The requirement for demonstratives in Italian ERs (20) can be viewed either as (i) a syntactic effect of EX (e.g. triggering a DEM feature), or (ii) a compositional requirement rooted in a lexical distinction: if the definite D in such languages lacks a pronominal variant (8), only a demonstrative could combine with an epithet.

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Schizo-clitics: Suppletive cliticization in French

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1. Functional duality for each clitic *y* and *en*

French clitics obey strict linearization constraints regardless of suppletive functions they occupy ([6]: 267). This suggests that, in absence of one-to-one correspondence between clitic and function, speakers may resort to structural criteria to disambiguate the meaning of clitics. In this study, I consider the possibility of attributing two distinct cliticization sites to French clitics *y* and *en*. I claim that those clitics are bifunctional, and that their functions are distinctive enough to be reflected in the structure of the grammar. The division reflects the semantic-pragmatic import of the clitics: definiteness (or specificity) is associated with a higher site, indefiniteness (or non-specificity) with a lower site. I also regroup clitics according to their categorial status: PP-clitics cliticize higher, non-PP ones lower. Higher PP-clitics are the locative-dative *y* and the ablative-genitive *en*, while lower non-PP clitics are the existential proform *y* and quantitative *en* — I avoid the term *partitive* to qualify *en* because I agree with [4] that the linguistic encoding of partitivity requires a combination of quantitative *en* with a PP denoting a relevant superset that can pronominalize as the higher *y*.

This clitic-severing analysis predicts that the lower existential *y* and higher prepositional *en* produces an unattested linear sequence: « *en y* ». However unattested, no empirical evidence undermines my proposal. A preliminary corpus study of the sequence « *il y en a* », directed on the database Frantext, showed that prepositional-genitive *en* consistently appears when a location or a superset is contextually salient. This suggests that *y* is the higher one in those cases. In this summary, I motivate the adoption of the proposed configuration, and then I explain why the grammar disallows this linearly unattested clitic combination.

Clitics canonically correspond to pronominals associated with a specific type of complement in a sentence. Their grammatical function is thus generally recognizable through the argument structure of the sentence.

(1) J'y$_i$ mange des pommes ~~au verger~~$_i$.
(2) J'en$_i$ connais le doyen ~~de l'Université~~$_i$.

However, prepositional clitics *y* and *en* do not always provide observable gaps in argument structure: the first may be an adjunct (1), while the second may instantiate the internal complement of an argument (2).

2. Structural partition of homomorphic clitics

Since the grammatical functions of those clitics resist overt structural diagnosis, I propose that a structural distinction operates at the level of their cliticization site. I claim that prepositional clitics merge as heads of dedicated projections above T°, while the non-prepositional ones cliticize to head v as an Internal Pair-Merge sequence [8]. Those configurations appear respectively in (3) for PPs and (4) for non-PPs.

(3) [proPPloc-dat$_i$ [ClPPloc-dat *y* [proPPabl-gen$_j$ [ClPPabl-gen *en* [T° [t_i t_j [$_{vP}$ v [... t_j t_i]]]]]]]]
(4) [$_{vP}$ < < defect-PPloc-dat$_i$, v > , < defect-PPabl-gen$_j$, v > , < V , v > > [VP... t_j t_i]]]

The configuration in (3) shows that prepositional clitics merge when a null pronominal element reaches a specifier position where it agrees with the head of a dedicated projection. I claim that those null prepositional elements bear a default edge feature, licensed by a referential or topical anchor. This feature ensures their ability to reach the position Spec,*v*P from their base positions to escape the *v*P phase properly. This

position would plausibly be of type A-bar ([1]: 1000). The ungrammaticality of (5) can be explained by fact that the pro-PP's edge feature cannot be checked when the pro-PP is base generated above Spec,vP.

(5) * La première partie en démontre que...

Under this account, non-prepositional clitics may not trigger agreement with the same head because their categorial features do not match with those of the structural heads. The operation Internal Pair-Merge guarantees the advantage of making its undergoer invisible to syntactic labelling ([5]: 49-50). As for an illustration of the defective constituency of non-PP clitics, let's consider the contrast between both functions of *en* with respect to their extractability from a passivized subject.

(6) [Le premier chapitre [t_j]]$_i$ en$_j$ sera publié [t_i] demain.

(7) * Trois$_i$ en$_j$ seront publiés [t_i [t_j]] demain.

The clitic *en* in (7) contains the head of the subject XP. The syntactic discontinuity between the minimal and the maximal phrase causes labeling issues that impedes further movement ([9]: 152). The operation in (6) succeeds because the head remains in the remnant. In turn, the PP status of existential proform *y* is undermined by its ability to appear in the same clause than a locative PP without causing clitic doubling effect ([2]: 496). Purely existential sentences are non specifying predicates that do not locate their object and hence cannot license definite DPs as their pivots ([7]: 53). As for PP-genitive *en*, it instantiates a complement that requires its governing category to denote a specific entity [3]. Incompa-tibility of lower *y* with higher *en* thus follows compositional rules. Moreover, I consider existential *y* as an (abstract) DP-internal possessor, like genitive *en*. Their distributions are mutually exclusive. For instance, genitive *en* cliticization is blocked by the possessive article.

(8) * Marie en$_i$ aime ma photo ~~de Jean~~$_i$.

There are good reasons to conceive two cliticization sites for both clitics *y* and *en* in French. Both occupy grammatical functions that differ in their semantic-pragmatic import and categorial features. The proposed configuration coherently translates those aspects into a structural account. My analysis predicts that higher *en* and lower *y* combine in a linear sequence that is never produced. Under closer scrutiny, I show that their distribution is mutually exclusive, and that this proscribed sequence does not conflict with my account.

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Passives in Agrammatism: An Italian Case Series Testing Competing Hypotheses

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Introduction.

The comprehension of passive sentences is a debated topic in the literature on aphasia and, in particular, agrammatism. Numerous studies have identified long passives (with *by*-phrase) as particularly challenging for this population (cf. Grodzinsky, 2000, for a review). Most of the available research is based on English-speaking populations, while data from Romance languages remain limited. Among these, the majority confirms the agrammatic deficit with passives (Gavarró & Dotti, 2014 for Catalan and Spanish; Beretta et al., 1999 for Spanish; Rigalleau et al, 2004 for French; Gilardone et al. 2023 for Italian). However, other studies suggest a more nuanced picture, with only partial impairments (Luzzatti et al., 2001 for Italian; cf. Drai & Grodzinsky, 2006 for a discussion).

The syntactic analysis of passives is central to the theoretical interpretation of agrammatic deficit in aphasia. An influential account is the *Trace Deletion Hypothesis* (Grodzinsky, 2000), which posits that individuals with agrammatism are unable to represent the trace of A- and A-bar movement. As a result, they rely on a linear, agent-first strategy, erroneously interpreting the subject of the passive as the agent of the action. This model predicts comprehension difficulties with both long and short passives (without *by*-phrase), as well as with unaccusative verbs (all structures that involve A-movement). In contrast, active sentences with transitive or unergative verbs are expected to be preserved, since the subject movement from Spec,vP to Spec,IP (Koopman & Sportiche, 1991) is not considered problematic for this population.

An alternative account, named *Generalized Minimality* (Grillo, 2008), builds on a semantic analysis of passives (Gehrke & Grillo, 2008) in the same spirit of Collins's (2005) smuggling syntactic analysis. In this view, passives can be decomposed into two subevents: one associated with the theme (lower predicate) and one with the agent (upper predicate). The lower predicate moves to Spec,VoiceP due to a topic-like feature, hence the upper predicate intervenes in the movement chain, as in (1), cf. Gehrke and Grillo (2008) for the details of the derivation.

(1) [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{VP}$ pushed [the boy]]$_i$ [by [the soldier] [$_{VP}$ pushed [the boy]]$_i$]]
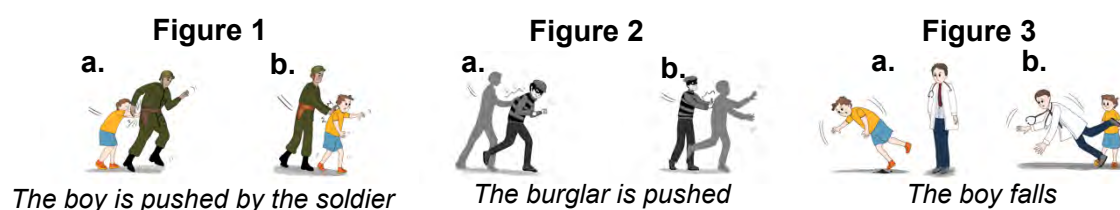
In typical comprehension, no intervention effect arises because the two predicates differ in their feature configurations: the lower bears a topic feature. However, in agrammatism, the underspecification of morphosyntactic/discourse features, triggers a minimality effect as the two predicates are interpreted as featurally identical, resulting in impaired comprehension (Grillo, 2008). This model predicts a gradient of difficulty in passive comprehension: long passives should be the most impaired due to the overt agent in the *by*-phrase; short passives should be moderately affected, as the intervening external argument is an empty category with distinct features; and unaccusatives should be spared, as they do not involve intervention.

The present study aims to shed light on the mechanisms underlying passive sentence comprehension in agrammatism by directly testing the predictions of these two accounts. Additionally, it is the first to systematically compare the comprehension of sentences with unaccusative and unergative verbs, as well as short and long passives, in a group of post-stroke Italian-speaking individuals with agrammatism.

Material and methods.

Ten adult, right-handed native Italian speakers with a clinical diagnosis of agrammatic aphasia following a left-hemispheric ischemic stroke in the chronic phase were included in the study. All participants underwent a standardised aphasia assessment and completed an experimental auditory sentence-to-picture matching task.

The experimental protocol comprised: 20 simple active sentences with unergative verbs, 20 with unaccusative verbs, 20 short passives, and 20 long passives. Stimuli were pseudorandomized to minimize structural priming effects across conditions. Each item was accompanied by two pictures: one target and one distractor. Both images depicted the same nouns and actions, but with reversed thematic roles (cf. **Figure 1 a.** and **b.** for long passives and **Figure 2 a.** and **b.** for short passives). A novel feature of this study, compared to previous literature, is the application of this same strategy to unaccusative and unergative verbs, with a distractor portraying the noun as causer of the action (cf. **Figure 3 a.** and **b.**).

Figure 1
a. b.
The boy is pushed by the soldier

Figure 2
a. b.
The burglar is pushed

Figure 3
a. b.
The boy falls

Given the limited sample size, results are presented using descriptive statistics. To quantify differences in comprehension accuracy across conditions, both the percentage accuracy difference (Δ) and Cohen's *h* effect size coefficient were calculated.

Results and discussion

Individual results and group means (with standard deviations) for each condition are presented in the table below. Asterisks (*) and double asterisks (**) indicate moderate and strong effect sizes, respectively, in pairwise comparisons between conditions.

Comprehension of simple active sentences with unaccusative and unergative verbs was overall high, with no significant differences between the two, suggesting that unaccusatives did not pose difficulties despite involving A-movement. In contrast, both long and short passives were harder to understand, though performance varied: long passives were the most impaired, while short passives showed intermediate results. This pattern contrasts with previous findings from Spanish (Gavarró & Dotti, 2014), where both types were equally impaired, and challenges the predictions of the *Trace Deletion Hypothesis* (Grodzinsky, 2000). Instead, our results support the *Generalized Minimality* account (Grillo, 2008), which attributes comprehension difficulty and its modulation to structural intervention phenomena.

ID	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Mean(SD)
Unaccusatives (UA)	90%	95%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	80%	100%	95%	96%(7)
Unergatives (UE)	80%	95%	100%	100%	100%	95%	100%	70%	100%	95%	94%(10)
Short Passives (SP)	60%	100%	100%	95%	95%	100%	95%	60%	95%	85%	89%(16)
Long passives (LP)	80%	100%	30%	80%	65%	95%	80%	65%	50%	45%	69%(22)
Δ UE-UA	-10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	-5%	0%	-10%	0%	0%	-2%
***h* UE-UA**	-0.284	0	0	0	0	-0.451	0	-0.232	0	0	-0.113
Δ UA-SP	30%	-5%	0%	5%	5%	0%	5%	20%	5%	10%	7%
***h* UA-SP**	0.726**	-0.451	0	0.451*	0.451*	0	0.451*	0.442*	0.451*	0.344	0.289
Δ UA-LP	10%	-5%	70%	20%	35%	5%	20%	15%	50%	50%	27%
***h* UA-LP**	0.284	-0.451	1.982**	0.927**	1.266**	0.451*	0.927**	0.339	1.571**	1.220**	0.778**

Δ SP-LP	-20%	0%	70%	15%	30%	5%	15%	-5%	45%	40%	20%
h SP-LP	-0.442	0	1.982**	0.476*	0.815**	0.451*	0.476*	-0.103	1.120**	0.876**	0.489*

Further research is needed to determine whether the short vs. long passive difference is solely imputable to feature dissimilarity (or overt vs. covert intervener), or other factors such as sentence length and discourse-related properties of the two structures.

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Orthography-induced gradient syllable weight effects in L2 Portuguese stress perception

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Background. Word-level prominence in Mandarin is correlated with the durational difference between syllables (Qu 2013). When Mandarin native speakers learn lexical stress in a weight-sensitive language like Portuguese, where heavy final syllables CVV and CVN attract stress (Carvalho 1989), one would expect them to transfer L1 durational cues for prominence (Garcia 2020), drawing on syllable weight to locate Portuguese stress. In a previous experimental study (authors, 2023), L1-Mandarin speakers (*n*=21) with moderate English proficiency showed a gradual sensitivity to Portuguese syllable weight in a stress identification task using Portuguese nonce words: the heavier the final syllable, the more accurate at locating final stress participants were. While the duration in the stimuli could partially explain the advantage of heavy (vs. light) syllables, it cannot explain why participants were more accurate with final syllables containing a diphthong (LHvv) than with final syllables containing a nasal coda (LHn), given that these two profiles had almost identical duration in the task. One factor that could be affecting these results is the presence of vowel reduction in the stimuli. In addition, given the potential role of orthographic information (Ruiz 2002), an open question is whether this type of visual cue could also impact participants' accuracy.

Experiment. Naïve L1-Mandarin listeners (*n*=95) without prior knowledge of Portuguese (thus representing the Mandarin phonology) participated in an auditory stress identification task with disyllabic pseudo-words in Portuguese displaying final or penultimate stress (*n*=60). While this is a partial replication of the study mentioned earlier, the stimuli were carefully redesigned and rerecorded to avoid potential phonotactic confounds and to counterbalance the presence of vowel reduction between conditions. 10 stimuli had two light syllables (LL), 10 ended with a nasal coda (LHn), and 10 had a final diphthong (LHvv). Given the previous experimental results, we hypothesized that L1-Mandarin participants would perform better with Portuguese final stress if the final syllable is heavy. During the identification task, some participants (*n*=44) received only auditory input while the others (*n*=51) received both auditory and orthographic input. This critical manipulation allows us to see whether orthography (3 characters in heavy syllables vs. 2 in light syllables) contributes to learners' use of syllable weight.

Results & Discussion. Bayesian mixed-effects regressions revealed an effect of syllable weight only for the auditory-orthographic group. As shown in Figure 1, the heavier the final syllable, the more accurate learners were at identifying final stress ($b_{\text{LL:stressU}}$= −0.74, 95% HDI [−1.32, −0.16]; $b_{\text{LHvv:stressU}}$= 0.56, 95% HDI [0.02, 1.08]). This orthography-induced gradient weight effect cannot be attributed directly to learners' L1 Mandarin, where syllable type doesn't correlate with word prominence, nor to the experimental input in the target language, as none of the examined acoustic correlates (duration, mean pitch, the presence of pitch accent and intensity) in the stimuli reliably cued the difference between LHvv and LHn. We speculate that orthography reduces the perceptual opacity of syllable shapes in a new language, thus enhancing speakers' ability to establish phonological representations from word endings perceived as "stronger".
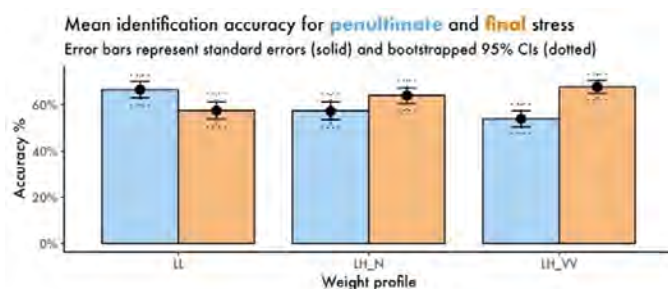
Figure 1: Main results: accuracy (y-axis) by stress and weight profile. Gradient weight effect in final (U) syllables positively affects accuracy.

Following Hamann & Colombo (2017), we assume that, during the experiment, the written input is converted by naïve listeners as phonological surface forms (e.g. LL as /CV.CV/, LHn as /CV.CVN/ and LHvv as /CV.CVV/) via their L1 Mandarin Grapheme-to-Phoneme Conversion rule. These forms are then evaluated by the Mandarin phonological grammar in terms of well-formedness. Given that weight computation in Mandarin is based on tone criterion (only heavy syllables can bear a full tone; Qu 2013) and tonal syllables are perceived to be more prominent than toneless syllables, one may hypothesize that the Mandarin stress assignment is determined by the presence of underlying tone, which is not directly correlated with syllable type. The question is how our participants decide on syllable weight when receiving the Portuguese input, which lacks any lexical tone. One possibility is that Mandarin listeners have access to the sonority-based weight scale VV > VC > V, which is widely attested cross-linguistically (Gordon 2006). The effect of this scale is arguably masked in Mandarin stress assignment by the decisive role of tone on syllable weight, but may emerge in the acquisition of a non-native sound system where lexical tones are absent (the emergence of the unmarked; Broselow et al. 1998). The sensitivity to the ternary weight scale, which in our case is not driven by acoustic cues, may be part of innate linguistic knowledge or it can be indirectly generalized based on sonority, which plays an important role in many domains (e.g. syllable well-formedness) in Mandarin phonology.

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Partial constraint satisfaction explains orthographic-auditory cue integration in L2 Portuguese

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Introduction.

When learning a second language (L2), the construction of novel phonological categories hinges on both auditory and written input, accessible to literate adult learners from the onset of L2 learning (Bassetti et al. 2015). The orthographic influences on phonology have been formalized as OT-style Orthographic constraints (Hamann & Colombo 2017), which represent grapheme-to-phoneme mappings, within a generative linguistic framework, i.e. Bidirectional Phonology and Phonetics Model (BiPhon, Boersma 2007). Recent experimental evidence, however, indicates that orthographic effects on L2 phonology go beyond letter-to-sound mappings, as learners may categorise an innovative form that does not strictly correspond to either the orthographic or the auditory input.

In this study, we consider such a case of cross-modal, cross-language (L2 orthographic and L1 perceptual) cue integration reported in a previous experiment by Zhou & Hamann (2020). We provide a formalisation with a revised BiPhon model, featuring three key advancements:

1. Weighted constraints over strict ranking, thus allowing for cumulative effects: two constraints with lower weights may gang up to overcome a constraint with higher weight. This cumulativity is shown to be favourable in modelling orthographic influence.
2. Positively formulated constraints with constraint satisfaction: Departing from classical OT, where candidates are penalized for violation, all constraints in our modelling are formulated positively and reward candidates when a constraint is satisfied. Positive constraints can emerge from input and are cognitively more realistic.
3. Partial satisfaction of Orthographic constraints: graphemes are linked to phonological features indirectly through phoneme mediation, which is achieved through Orthographic constraints that evaluate candidates as a function of featural correspondence. Partial satisfaction is crucial for modelling cue integration, which is the focus of this study.

Experimental evidence.

Zhou & Hamann (2020) reported that the European Portuguese (EP) tap is perceptually categorised as /t/ by some naïve Mandarin speakers due to the presence of a short closure phase. Exposure to written input <r> leads many of these listeners to modify the categorisation of the Portuguese tap to /l/ (while the Mandarin grapheme-to-phoneme convention would lead to /ɻ/). This change in categorisation strategy indicates an integration between auditory (an anterior place of articulation) and orthographic cue (a sonorant element).

Formal account.

To formalise this cue integration, we constructed a multi-modal Mandarin perception grammar, which represents a naïve listeners' grammar, and fed it with the EP input. As shown in (1), when receiving only auditory input, represented by a stylized spectrogram ≋ containing several cues of a prototypical EP tap (lower-amplitude formants with a high F2/F3 and a very brief closure), the Mandarin grammar categorises the tap as a /t/, because the closure cue is weighed over the spectral

ones. This cue-weighting strategy is formalised by attributing a higher weight to the cue constraint that maps closure cue onto a stop /-son(orant)/ (weight: 0.4), compared to the one that maps formant cues to /+son/ (weight: 0.2). For the other two cue constraints responsible for perceiving place of articulation, the one targeting /+ant(erior)/ has higher weight (0.9) because a high F3 formant correlates with an anterior place of articulation. The orthographic constraint is not activated when input only contains auditory events, thus the winning candidate is determined by the two highest-weighed cue constraints. When both auditory and orthographic cues are given, as in (2), the Mandarin grammar still categorises a /t/: the orthographic constraint now takes part in decision-making, but it does not exert an effect due to its relative low constraint weight (0.2, in red). The multimodal grammar in (1) and (2) represents those L1-Mandarin listeners who show a rather weak reliance on orthographic cues in L2 speech learning.

How about those listeners who rely more on orthography? After gradually increasing the orthographic constraint's weight, our modelling yields the observed cue integration. The grammar in (3) has the same cue knowledge (the first four constraints) as in (1) and (2), while the orthographic constraint has a weight of 1 (in red). It rewards the retroflex approximant /ɻ/ intended by Mandarin grapheme-phoneme conversion with a score of 1 (+1 (full satisfaction) × constraint weight). The candidate /l/ receives a score of 0.5 (+0.5 (half satisfaction) × constraint weight) because /l/ matches with the phonological form targeted by the letter <r> on only one feature [+son]. Due to the cumulative constraint interaction in HG, the category /l/ promoted by both auditory and orthographic cues turns out to be the winner.

In our modelling, partial satisfaction as a function of featural correspondence is a distinctive property of Orthographic constraints, which is not implicated by other types of constraints. Without partial satisfaction, to model the L2 Portuguese cue integration, orthographic constraints would need to link graphemes directly to individual phonological features, i.e. <r>/+son/ and <r>/–ant/. However, the nature of independent empirical evidence required to quantify the relative weighting between these two constraints remains undetermined. We therefore propose partial satisfaction as a more robust formulation for Orthographic constraints in accounting for complex cross-modal interactions.

(1) *Auditory input only*

[pe⎰afɐ]	0.4 /–son/	0. 2 /+son/	0. 9 /+ant/	0.2 /–ant/	1 <r> /+son, –ant/	H
/l: +son, +ant/		+1	+1			1.1
/ɻ: +son, –ant/		+1		+1		0.4
☞ /t: –son, +ant/	+1		+1			1.3

(2) *Perceptual and orthographic input – **weak reliance** on orthography*

[peɾafɐ] <parafa>	0.4 /−son/	0.2 /+son/	0.9 /+ant/	0.2 /−ant/	0.2 <r> /+son, −ant/	H
/l: +son, +ant/		+1	+1		+0.5	1.2
/ɺ: +son, −ant/		+1		+1	+1	0.6
☞ /t: −son, +ant/	+1		+1			1.3

(3) *Perceptual and orthographic input – **intermediate reliance** on orthography*

[peɾafɐ] <parafa>	0.4 /−son/	0.2 /+son/	0.9 /+ant/	0.2 /−ant/	1 <r> /+son, −ant/	H
☞ /l: +son, +ant/		+1	+1		+0.5	1.6
/ɺ: +son, −ant/		+1		+1	+1	1.4
/t: −son, +ant/	+1		+1			1.3

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