

A stylized sun graphic consisting of a solid yellow circle with several short, curved yellow lines radiating from its top-left edge, set against an orange background.

Parameters of Microvariation in the Clausal Domain: A Pan-Romance View

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1. Introduction: Parameters and (Micro)Variation

- Dimensions of (micro)variation lie in properties of individual functional heads (Ledgeway & Roberts 2017)
- Build on insights of the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (cf. Baker 2008:353)
 - locus of parametric variation in (functional) lexicon (e.g., D, T, ν , C, Neg)
 - (PF-)lexicalization of features of individual functional heads (Borer 1984; Chomsky 1995)

1. Introduction: Parameters and (Micro)Variation

- Role of comparative syntax: powerful tool to understand how and why languages vary (Ledgeway in press)
 - highly homogeneous grammars from single family: linguistic differences otherwise quite minimal \Rightarrow pinpoint what precisely may vary and linguistic mechanisms and processes involved
 - microvariation read both ‘horizontally’ (\Rightarrow synchronic variation through space) and ‘vertically’ (\Rightarrow different stages of diachronic variation through time), bridging often unhelpful division between synchronic and diachronic approaches

1. Introduction: Parameters and (Micro)Variation

- Aims of talk:

- Key examples of morphosyntactic variation in clausal domain from Romance family
- Derive differences from independent distinctions in functional heads of sentential core: T-*v*



- Phenomena not previously considered to be related follow from single parametric choice
- Feature values not set in isolation: parameters = interrelated network of implicational relationships

1. Introduction: Parameters and (Micro)Variation

➤ Draw typological distinction between northern and southern Romance (La Fauci 1994; 1997; Zamboni 1998; 2000; Ledgeway 2012:ch.7)

(i) **Northern Romània:**

French (*langue d'oïl* varieties)

Occitan, Gascon (*langue d'oc* varieties)

Francoprovençal varieties

Raeto-Romance varieties

Northern Italian dialects (NIDs)

Italian-Tuscan

(ii) **Southern Romània:**

Central-Southern Italian dialects (C/SIDs)

Ibero-Romance: Galician, Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan

†Dalmatian

Daco-Romance: Romanian, Istro-Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian

2. Verb-Movement (V-Mvt)

- Ability of T to attract V

i) North: V probed by T \Rightarrow V moves to HAS: **V+Adv**: (2a-b)

ii) South: V not probed by T, but remains in ν P \Rightarrow V moves to LAS: **Adv+V**: (2c-d)

	[TP	High Adv		Low Adv [ν P		[VP \forall ...]]]
(2) a	Il	<u>connaît</u>	peut-être	* <u>connaît</u>	déjà	* <u>connaît</u>	la recette (Fr.)
b	Lui	*conosce	forse	conosce	già	?conosce	la ricetta (It.)
c	El	* <u>știe</u>	poate	? <u>știe</u>	deja	<u>știe</u>	rețeta (Ro.)
d	Él	* <u>conozca</u>	tal vez	? <u>conozca</u>	ya	<u>conozca</u>	la receta (Sp.)
	he	know.3SG	perhaps	know.3SG	already	know.3SG	the recipe(.DEF)

‘Perhaps he already knows the recipe.’

(Ledgeway 2009; 2012; 2020a; 2022; Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005; 2014; Schifano 2015; 2018; Ledgeway & Schifano 2022:§21.2.3; 2023; Costea & Ledgeway 2024)

2. Verb-Movement

- More examples of high V-mvt languages:

(3) I n' vinrè **probâbe** nin dusc-à volà. (La Gleize, Wallon)
he NEG come.FUT.3SG probably NEG as.far.as here
'He probably won't come as far as here.'

(4) Carlamuso se met **vite** lou mourre d' ourse. (Provençal Occ.)
Carlamuso REFL= put.3SG quickly the muzzle of bear
'Carlamuso quickly puts on the bear's muzzle.'

(5) La sua miè la cuzina **minga** el risot. (Milanese)
the his wife SCL.FSG cook.3SG NEG the risotto
'His wife doesn't cook the risotto.'

2. Verb-Movement

- More examples of low V-mvt languages:

(6) Sa mujjeri **mancu** i cucina, i vrùcculi. (Mussomeli, Sicily)

his wife NEG them= cook.3SG the broccoli

‘His wife doesn’t cook broccoli.’

(7) Maria **encara** recorda aquell dia. (Valencian Cat.)

Maria still remember.3SG that day

‘Maria still remembers that day.’

(8) O convidado **já** comeu. (EuPt.)

the guest already eat.PFV.PST.3SG

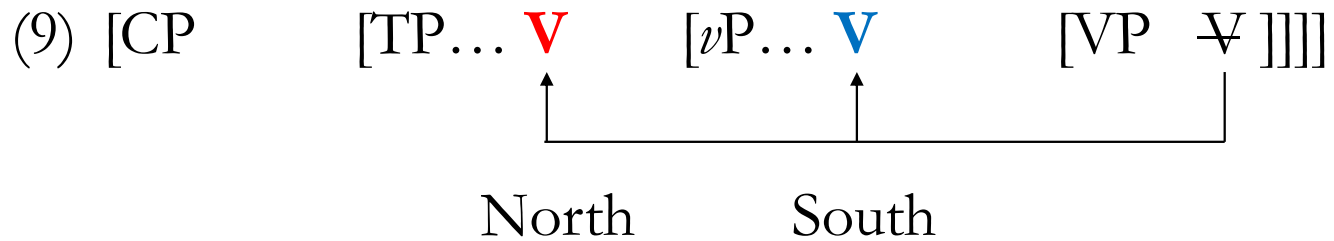
‘The guest has already eaten/already ate.’

2. Verb-Movement

- Summary:

- Northern Romance varieties: V moves high to **T**

- Southern Romance varieties: V remains low in *v*



3. T-Domain

3.1 V-to-C Movement (V-to-C Mvt)

- Overt reflexes of V-to-C Mvt (Poletto & Tortora 2016:779-81):
 - (simple/complex) verb-subject inversion
(cf. Eng. *You can go* > *Can you ~~can~~ go?*)
 - complementary distribution of verb and complementizers
(cf. Eng. *If he were here/Were he ~~were~~ here...*)

3.1 V-to-C Movement (V-to-C Mvt)

- Constrained V-to-C Mvt = synchronic residue of medieval generalized V2 (cf. Rizzi & Roberts 1989; Rizzi 1990; Ledgeway 2015; 2020b; Wolfe 2018)
- V-to-C Mvt licensed in restricted set of non-veridical polarity contexts tied to specific illocutionary forces:
 - i) Interrogative
 - ii) Exclamative
 - iii) Optative
 - iv) Exhortative/Jussive
 - v) Concessive
 - vi) Hypothetical
 - vii) Disjunctive...

3.1 V-to-C Movement (V-to-C Mvt)

- Widespread in northern Romance:

(Cf. Poletto 2000:chs 3,5; Munaro 2004; 2010; Manzini & Savoia 2005,I:384-87; Benincà, Parry & Pescarini 2016:200)

- (10) a **Vient-elle?** (Fr.; interrogative)
come.3SG=she
'Is she coming?'
- b **Puisse-t-elle** réussir! (Fr.; optative)
may.PRS.SBJV.3SG=she succeed.INF
'May she succeed!'
- c **Est-elle** intelligente! (Fr.; exclamative)
be.3SG=she intelligent
'How intelligent she is!'

3.1 V-to-C Movement (V-to-C Mvt)

- (11) a **Ven-lo** stasèira teu pari? (Rueglio, Piedmont; interrogative)
come.3SG=SCL.3MSG this.evening your father
'Is your father coming this evening?'
- b **Fusse-lo** rivà! (Scorzè, Veneto; optative)
be.PST.SBJV.3SG=he arrived
'I wish he had come!'
- c **Telefonasse-lo** almanco! (Padua; jussive/exhortative)
telephone.PST.SBJV.3SG=SCL.3MSG at.least
'He should at least ring!'
- (12) a **Sedi-al** puar o **sedi-al** sior (Friulian; disjunctive)
be.PRS.SBJV.3SG=SCL.3MSG poor or be.PRS.SBJV.3SG=SCL.3MSG rich
'Whether he's poor or rich'
- b **'rue-l** la 'mama? (Fassano, Ladin; interrogative)
arrive.3SG=SCL.3SG the mother
'Is the mother arriving?'

3.1 V-to-C Movement (V-to-C Mvt)

- Absence in southern Romance:

- (13) a **Ca** venanu? (Cosenza, Calabria.; interrogative)
 that come.3PL
 ‘Are they coming?’
- b **Ca** su bbieddri! (Cosenza, Calabria.; exclamative)
 that be.3PL handsome
 ‘How beautiful they are!’
- c **Chi** vò scattà! (Cosenza, Calabria.; optative)
 that want.2SG burst.INF
 ‘May you keel over!’

3.1 V-to-C Movement (V-to-C Mvt)

- (14) a **Que** la preparin ells! (Cat.; jussive)
that it= prepare.PRS.SBJV.3PL they!
'Let them prepare it!'
- b **Oxalá** não venha amanhã! (Pt.; optative)
OPT.PRT NEG come.PRS.SBJV.3SG tomorrow
'I wish (s)he wouldn't come tomorrow!'
- c ¡Cuán rápido **que** habla Bruno! (Sp.; exclamative)
how.much quick that speak.3SG Bruno
'How quickly Bruno speaks!'
- e Fiecare **să** aleagă o carte! (Ro.; jussive/exhortative)
each IRR.PRT choose.SBJV.3SG a book
'Let/May everyone choose a book!'

3.1 V-to-C Movement (V-to-C Mvt)

- Availability of V-(to-T-)C mvt (= residual V2): ability of T to probe V
 - V in T-domain visible to probing C° head
 - V in *v*-domain not visible to probing C° head (cf. inversion in history of English; Biberauer & Roberts 2012; 2017)

(15) [CP C° [TP... V #[*v*P... V [VP \forall]]]] (# = phase boundary)



3.2 Postverbal Negation: Jespersen's Stages II-III

- Negation in Romance: evidence for Jespersen's Cycle (cf. Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013)

(cf. also Zanuttini 1997; Parry 1997; 2013; Manzini & Savoia 2005,III: 127-55; Poletto 2008; 2016a,b; Garzonio & Poletto 2009; 2018)

- (i) Preverbal / Stage I: It., CIDs/SIDs, north-eastern It. dialects, Ligurian, eastern Romansh, Cat., EuPt, Sp, Ro.

- (16) a **Nu** înțeleg. (Ro.)
NEG understand.1SG
'I don't understand.'

3.2 Postverbal Negation: Jespersen's Stages II-III

(ii) Discontinuous / Stage II: many NIDs, standard
(written/formal) French, Gascon

(16) b A **n** dorum **briza.** (Modena)

SCL NEG sleep.1SG NEG

'I won't sleep.'

3.2 Postverbal Negation: Jespersen's Stages II-III

(iii) Postverbal / Stage III: many north-western Italian dialects, western/central Romansh, spoken French, Occitan, Aragonese, northern Catalan dialects

(16) c Elle viendra **pas.** (spoken Fr.)
she come.FUT.3SG NEG
'She won't come.'

3.2 Postverbal Negation: Jespersen's Stages II-III

- Linking postverbal negators & verb movement (cf. Ledgeway & Schifano 2023):
 - i) Preverbal negators (Stage I): varieties low or high V-Mvt
 - ii) Non-emphatic postverbal negators (Stages II-III): varieties with high V-Mvt

Table 1: Verb-movement & negation typologies (from Ledgeway & Schifano 2023)

Negation V-movement	Stage I	Stages II-III
High	northern regional Italian, NIDs (e.g. Teolese)	French, Occitan, Gascon, W/C Rmsh, Arag. NCat., northern regional Italian, NIDs (e.g. Milanese)
Low	European Portuguese, southern regional Italian, SIDs, Romanian, Spanish, Catalan	*

3.2 Postverbal Negation: Jespersen's Stages II-III

17 If a variety is at Stages II-III, it necessarily exhibits high verb-movement.

- Conclusion:

- Postverbal negator licensed by V raising through its associated head
- Jespersen's Cycle tied to height of V-mvt

(18) a [TP... NEG [NegP [***NEG**] [ν P... **V** [VP ∇]]]] (Stage I)



b [TP... NEG **V** [NegP [**NEG**] ∇ [ν P... ∇ [VP ∇]]]] (Stages II-III)



3.2 Postverbal Negation: Jespersen's Stages II-III

- Diachronic predictions (cf. Ledgeway and Schifano 2023)
 - (i) earlier Stage I negation phases compatible with low V-mvt
 - (ii) no early Stage II-III varieties with low V-mvt
- Predictions tested and confirmed against selection of early Romance texts:
 - French, Occitan, Francoprovençal, Bolognese, Milanese, Pavese
 - Examination of embedded clauses (root clauses = V2)

3.2 Postverbal Negation: Jespersen's Stages II-III

- Evidence from old French:

➤ *La Mort le Roi Artu* (1274)

(19) a Sacies kil ne ceuauce fors ke de nuit (152a)

know.SBJV.2PL that=he NEG ride.3SG except that of night

‘Take note that he only rides at night’

b sil onques le pensa (151b)

if.he ever it.ACC= think.PFV.PST.3SG

‘if he ever thought of it’

3.2 Postverbal Negation: Jespersen's Stages II-III

➤ *Le Second Sermon* (1555)

(20) a les Papistes [...], lesquels **ne** se peuuẽt tenir à ceste doctrine (C4r)
the papists who NEG REFL= can.3PL hold.INF to this doctrine
'the Papists [...] who are unable to hold themselves to this doctrine'

b la porte nous est close, tellement que nous **ne** pouuons **pas** venir pour
the door us= be.3SG closed so.much that we NEG can.1PL NEG come.INF for
le prier. (C8r)
him= pray.INF
'the door is closed to us, such that we cannot come to pray to him.'

c pource qu' ils imaginoyẽt que Dieu cõtinuast **tousiours**
for.this that they imagine.IPFV.PST.3PL that God continue.PST.SBJV.3SG always
ce train (D2r)
this course
'because they imagined that God would always continue along this course'

3.2 Postverbal Negation: Jespersen's Stages II-III

- Conclusion:

Strong empirical correlation between V-movement and Stages II-III of Jespersen's Cycle in Romance

3.3 Subject Clitics

- Distribution of subject clitics (cf. Poletto 2000; Manzini & Savoia 2005,I; Poletto & Tortora 2016):
 - Northern Romance: Fr., NOcc., Rae-R., NIDs & NTsc.
 - Southern Romance: absent

3.3 Subject Clitics

Table 2: Subject clitics and null subject parameter SLEEP/SPEAK (cf. Roberts 2010)

Florentine scl [+agr] V [+agr] redundant pro-drop	French scl [+agr] V [-agr] non-pro-drop	Como scl [-agr] V [+agr] partly redund. pro-drop	Carrara scl [-agr] V [-agr] complementary pro-drop	Catalan V [+agr]	Naples V [-agr]
(e) dormo	je dors /dɔʁ/	'dormi	a 'dormə	parlo	'parlə
tu dormi	tu dors /dɔʁ/	ta 'dormat	t 'dormə	parles	'parlə
e/la dorme	il/elle dort /dɔʁ/	al/la 'dorma	i/al 'dormə	parla	'parlə
si dorme	nous dormons	dor'mum	a dur'miŋ	parlem	par'lammə
vu dormite	vous dormez	dor'muf	dur'mit	parleu	par'latə
e/le dormano	ils/elles dorment	'dorman	i/al 'dormənə	parlen	'parlənə

3.3 Subject Clitics

- Related to T movement? Strong/weak D-feature (= phi-features) on T
- Conclusion:

(i) T-head in northern Romance carries strong V and D features

(ii) T-head in southern Romance carries weak V and D features

(21) a [TP... T [+V, +D] [*v*P... [VP V]]] (northern Romance)

b [TP... T [-V,-D] [*v*P... [VP V]]] (southern Romance)

3.4 Active-Stative Auxiliary Selection

- Perfective auxiliary selection (cf. Manzini & Savoia 2005,II-III; Ledgeway 2012:ch. 7; 2019; Loporcaro 2016):

➤ North: active-stative split: A/S_A (\Rightarrow HAVE) vs S_O (\Rightarrow BE)

(22) a **Avètz** fach bon viatge? (Lengadocien Occ.)

have.2PL made good trip

‘Did you have a good journey?’

b **Soi** vengut amb los amics. (Lengadocien Occ.)

be.1SG come with the friends

‘I have come with friends.’

3.4 Active-Stative Auxiliary Selection

➤ North: active-stative split: A/S_A (⇒ HAVE) vs S_O (⇒ BE)

(23) a **a'onj** ve'du de bie 'fjores. (Fassano, Rae-R.)

have.1PL seen of beautiful flowers

‘We have seen some beautiful flowers.’

b se no te **'foses** ve'ɲu da me... (Fassano, Rae-R.)

if NEG you be.IPFV.SBJV.2SG come by me

‘If you hadn’t come to me...’

3.4 Active-Stative Auxiliary Selection

➤ South:

(i) **generalization** of single auxiliary (24a-b)

(ii) **person split**: [\pm discourse participants] (24c)

(24) a **He** / **Has** / **Ha** comido/ venido. (Sp.)

have.1SG have.2SG have.3SG eaten come

b **sɔŋgə/si** / **ɛ** maŋ'ɲɛtə/mə'nu:tə. (Pescolanciano, Molise)

be.1SG be.2SG be.3SG eaten come

c **So** / **Si** / **A** magnate / minute. (Arielli, eastern Abruzzo)

be.1SG be.2SG have.3 eaten come


‘I have/you have/(s)he has eaten/come.’

3.4 Active-Stative Auxiliary Selection

- Structural condition on auxiliary selection: (cf. Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1986):


⇒ Auxiliary BE selected whenever (Spec)T indexed with V(,DP)

(25) [TP **NP** **T**... [_v-VP **V** ~~**NP**~~]]



- (Auxiliary) verbs raise to T in North ⇒ hence sensitive to A/S_A vs S_O distinction (cf. PIC)

(26) [TP **NP** **V**_{Aux}... [_v-VP ~~**V**~~_{Aux} (~~**NP**~~)]] (northern Romance)



4. *v*-Domain

4.1 Auxiliary Selection

- Southern Romance: (auxiliary) verbs don't raise to T (cf. PIC) \Rightarrow
 - i) No active-stative effects on Aux: T and V not co-indexed (cf. 24a-c)
 - ii) Aux in *v* sensitive to subject features in Spec*v*P (24c; cf. D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010)

(27) [TP ... [*v*P [SUBJ] *v*_{Aux} [VP V_{PtP} (Θ_{BJ})]]]



4.2 Active Participle Agreement

- Active-stative participle agreement (Rohlf's 1969:116; Smith 1991; Loporcaro 1998:64-78; 2016:§49.2.3; Manzini & Savoia 2005,II:§5.1)

➤ North: restricted to (raised) unaccusative subjects (S_O) and raised clitic objects (O_{CL})

- (28) a Tina è caduta/*-o [Tina]. (It.)
Tina.F be.3SG fall.FSG/MSG Tina.F
‘Tina has fallen.’
- b Ho perso/*-a la bicicletta. (It.)
have.1SG lost.MSG/FSG the.FSG bicycle.F
‘I’ve lost my bike.’
- c L’ ho *persa/*-o [la].
it= have.1SG lost.FSG/MSG it.FSG
‘I’ve lost it.’

4.2 Active Participle Agreement

➤ South: preserved with (raised) unaccusative subjects (S_O) & *in situ* objects ($O_{(CL)}$)

(29) a Li tre su già **ssuti**/**-*u** [hi—tre]. (Scorrano, Lecce)

the.MPL three be.3PL already exited.MPL/MSG the.MPL three

‘The three of them have gone out.’

b Aggiu **nnutti**/***-u** ddo pani. (Scorrano, Lecce)

have.1SG brought.MPL/MSG two loaves.M

‘I’ve brought two loaves of bread.’

c L’ aggiu **nutti**/***-u** [hi]. (Scorrano, Lecce)

them= have.1SG brought.MPL/MSG them

‘I’ve brought them.’

4.2 Active Participle Agreement

- (Participial) V-movement and the PIC (cf. Kayne 1989; D'Alessandro & Roberts 2008):

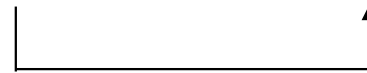
i) North: high, PtP can only probe nominals in higher phase (= S_O , O_{CL})

ii) South: low(er), PtP can probe *in situ* nominals in lower phase (raised S_O/O_{CL} pass through SpecPtP)

(30) a [TP (S_O/O_{CL}) Aux + **PtP**...#[ν P **PtP** [VP **PtP** **Obj**]]] (northern Romance)



b [TP (S_O/O_{CL}) Aux ... # [ν P **PtP** [VP **PtP** **Obj**]]] (southern Romance)



4.2 Active Participle Agreement

- Apparent counterexamples:

➤ Romanian, Ibero-Romance: low V-mvt, but no active PtP Agr

(31) Ieri am mâncat(***e**) merele. (Ro.)
yesterday have.1SG eaten.MSG(FPL) apples.F.DEF.FPL
'Yesterday I ate the apples.'

(32) a Había escrito(/*-**a**) la carta. (Sp.)
b Havia escrit(*-**a**) la carta. (Cat.)
c Tinha escrito(/*-**a**) a carta. (Pt.)
have.IPFV.PST.3SG written.MSG(/FSG) the.FSG letter.
'S/he had written the letter.'

4.2 Active Participle Agreement

- Adjacency of Aux + PtP in Romanian and Ibero-Romance:

i) PtP raises to high position adjacent to Aux (cf. Schifano 2015, 2018)

ii) PtP placed outside of local Agr configuration with *in situ* Object

- (33) a Au (***mereu**) lucrat **mereu** pământul. (Ro.)
b Han (***siempre**) trabajado **siempre** la tierra. (Sp.)
c Han (***sempre**) treballat **sempre** la terra. (Cat.)
d Têm (***sempre**) trabalhado **sempre** a terra. (Pt.)
have.3PL always worked always (the) land(.DEF)
'They've always worked/been continuously working the land.'

4.2 Active Participle Agreement

- French vs Occitan: high V-mvt \Rightarrow no *in situ* active PtP Agr

(34) a Avez-vous pris(***es**) des photos? (Fr)

have.2PL=you taken.MSG of.the.PL photos.F

b Avètz pres**as** de fotòs?(Lengadocien Occ.)

have.2PL taken.FPL of photos.F

‘Have you taken some photos?’

4.2 Active Participle Agreement

- No strict adjacency of Aux + PtP (cf. 35):

i) PtP follows low VP-adverbs (cf. Cinque 1999)

ii) Occitan PtP remains within *v*-VP \Rightarrow in local configuration with *in situ* object

(35) a Avètz **plan** dormit? (Lgd. Occ.)

have.2PL well slept

‘Have you slept well?’

b Avèm **pas encara** enviadas de cartas postalas als amics. (Lgd. Occ.)

have.1PL not still sent.FPL of cards.F postal.FPL to.the friends

‘We’ve not yet sent our friends any post cards.’

4.2 Active Participle Agreement

- Conclusion: microvariation in setting of V-movement parameter

i) Consistent behaviour (mesoparameter):

- Italian, NIDs: all verbs raise to T (cf. 28a-c)
- SIDs: all verbs raise to *v* (cf. 29a-c)

ii) Inconsistent behaviour (microparameter; cf. Roberts 2019:409f.):

- Occitan: finite $V \Rightarrow T$ vs non-finite (active) participial $V \Rightarrow v$
- Ro, Ibero-Ro.: finite $V \Rightarrow v$ vs non-finite (active) participial $V \Rightarrow$ higher

4.2 Active Participle Agreement

iii) French:

- PtP follows low VP-adverbs (cf. 36), so low Mvt of active PtP but absence of *in situ* agreement (cf. 34a)

(36) Vous avez bien / déjà / toujours / tant dormi. (Fr.)
you.2PL have.2PL well already always so.much slept
'You've already/always slept well/so much.'

- Non-prescriptive French: loss/erosion of morphological rule (cf. Loporcaro 2010; 2016:806)

(34) a Avez-vous pris des photos? (Fr)
have.2PL=you taken.MSG of.the.PL photos.F

4.3 Differential Object Marking (DOM)

- Distribution of DOM:

- North: no distinction btw different classes of in/animate specific direct objects

(37) u miŋga vist **la tuza** / **la cros** (Milanese)
have.1SG NEG seen the girl the cross
'I didn't see the girl / the cross'

- South: distinction btw different classes of in/animate specific direct objects

(38) Unn aju vist' **a ra guagliona** / (***a r**) **a cruce**. (Calabrian)
NEG have.1SG seen DOM the girl DOM the cross
'I didn't see the girl / the cross.'

4.3 Differential Object Marking (DOM)

- DOM licensed by object shift to Spec ν P (Torrego 1998; Ledgeway 2000; 2022; Peverini-Benson 2004; Andriani 2011; 2015; López 2012; 2016; Cornilescu 2020; Tigău 2021)

(39) [TP... [ν P [**DOM-Obj**] V [VP \forall ~~Obj~~]]]



- Ability of D-feature on ν to probe Obj-V,DP (structural acc.):

i) Not in North: ν inert

ii) Only in South:

\Rightarrow internal variation for person, number, (pro)nominal, animacy, specificity

4.3 Differential Object Marking (DOM)

➤ 4 broad splits (Ledgeway 2018, 2022, 2023a,b,c):

(40) a 'camenu **a** **m'mi** / **a** **t'ti** / (***a**) **'issu**. (Borbona, Lazio; 1/2 vs 3 person split)
call.3PL DOM me DOM you.SG DOM him

‘They call me/you/him.’

b No l' escolten **a** **ella** / (***a**) **la** **Maria**. (Cat.; pronominal/nominal split)
NEG her=listen.3PL DOM her DOM the Maria

‘They’re not listening to her/Maria.’

c Amus vistu **a** **Juanne** / (***a**) **sos** **sordatos**. (Sardinian; D-/DP-split)
have.1PL seen DOM Gianni DOM the soldiers

‘We saw Gianni/the soldiers.’

d Veo **a** **ti** / **a** **Juan/al** **abogado** / (***a**) **la** **rata**. (Sp.; [\pm an., \pm spec.] split)
see.1SG DOM you DOM Juan DOM.the lawyer DOM the rat

‘I can see you/Juan/the lawyer/the rat.’

4.3 Differential Object Marking (DOM)

- Differential subject and object marking: implicational correlation btw distribution of SCLs and DOM
 - i) Strong V-feature on T \Rightarrow strong D-feature on T (= subject clitics)
 - ii) Strong V-feature on ν \Rightarrow strong D-feature on ν (= DOM)

(Cf. strong Head and Edge features on C in V2 varieties)

4.3 Differential Subject and Object Marking

- North: dedicated marking of subject via grammaticalization of dedicated preverbal SpecTP subject position
 - ⇒ Reversal in pro-drop in French, some (northern) Occitan varieties
 - ⇒ Spell-out of strong D-feature through (partial/complete) system of subject clitics in Fr., NIDs, Raeto-Romance, northern Occitan (cf. Table 2)
 - ⇒ **SVO** word order

- (41) a **Les enfants** buvaient du lait. (Fr.)
the children drink.IPFV.PST.3PL some milk
'The children were drinking some milk.'
- b **Madamo** fa sa toueieto. (Occ.)
Madame do.3SG her toilette
'Madame is getting ready.'

4.3 Differential Subject and Object Marking

- South: differential marking of (subset of) objects via grammaticalized pseudo-preposition (*a, ma/me, ana, pe*)

⇒ Strong D-checking mechanism on *v* (= object shift?)

⇒ VSO word order (with assumption that preverbal subjects = clitic left-dislocated)

(42) a A obținut **o prietenă de-a mea** o bursă. (Ro.)
has obtained a friend of mine a grant
'A friend of mine obtained a grant.'

b Se comieron **los niños** todo el pastel. (Sp.)
self= ate the children all the cake
'The children ate the whole cake.'

4.3 Differential Subject and Object Marking

- Conclusion: complementary distribution of:
 - i) **S**V**O** and subject clitics: northern Romance (active T)
 - ii) **V****S****O** and **DOM**: southern Romance (active *v*)

Cf. complementary distribution in Occitan varieties:

⇒ Subject clitics (and loss of pro-drop): northern varieties
(Oliviéri & Sauzet 2016:338-40)

⇒ **DOM**: southern varieties (Rohlf's 1971:320f.; Ledgeway 2022)

5. Summary & Conclusions

- Previously unconnected properties of clausal syntax
 - ⇒ fall out from parameter setting of T/*v*
 - Value of studying comparative syntax ⇒ variation through space
 - Consequences for diachronic change ⇒ variation through time (cf. Ledgeway in press)
 - Morphosyntactically robust northern-southern Romance divide
- Summary: (i) T-head in northern Romance carries strong V and D features
(ii) *v*-head in southern Romance carries strong V and D features

- (43) a [TP... T [+V, +D] [*v*P *v* [-V, -D] [VP V]]] (northern Romance)
b [TP... T [-V, -D] [*v*P *v* [+V, +D] [VP V]]] (southern Romance)

5. Summary & Conclusions

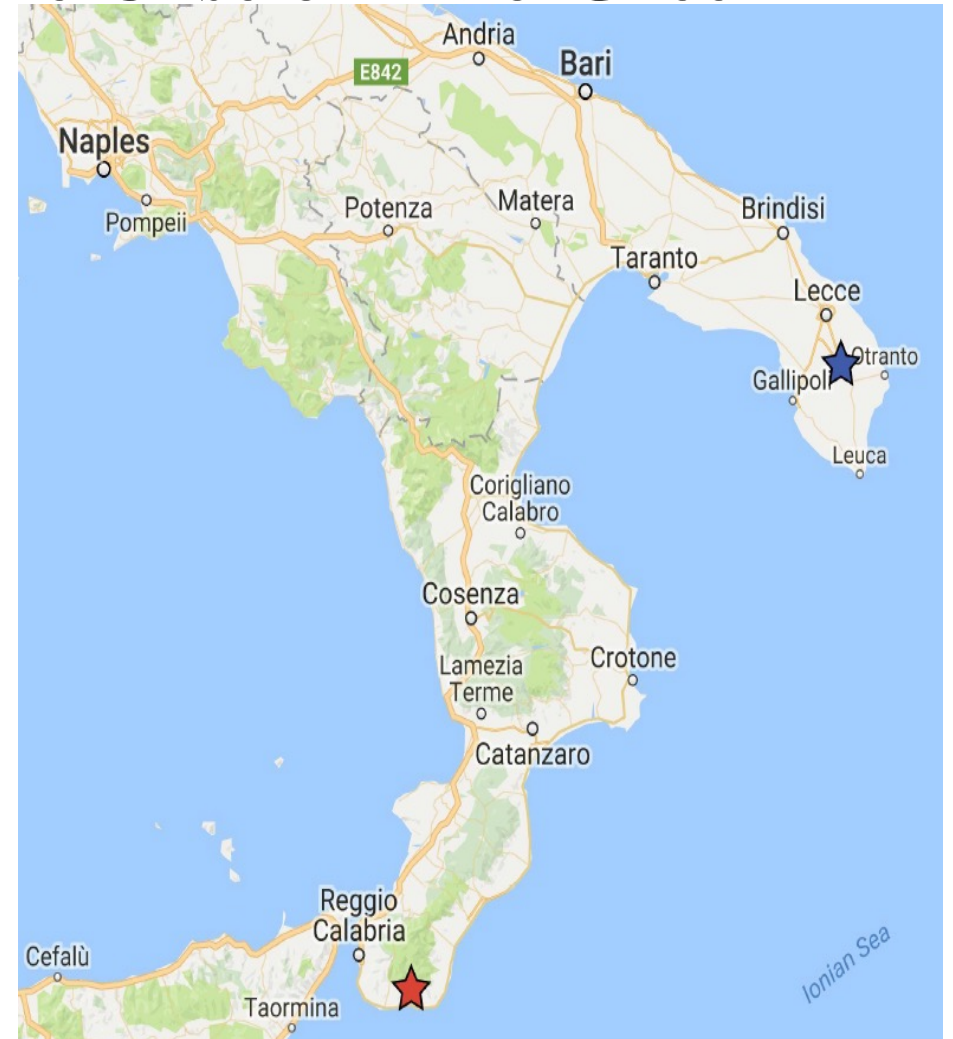
- Parameters don't operate in isolation:
 - North: T probes V \Rightarrow
 - i) Order V + Adv_(HAS/)LAS (cf. 2a-b, 3-5)
 - ii) Non-veridical V-to-C mvt (i.e. verb-subject inversion, cf. 10-12)
 - iii) Stage II and III negation (cf. 16b-c)
 - iv) SCLs (Table 2)/Dedicated preverbal subject position (\Rightarrow **SVO**, cf. 41a-b)
 - v) Active-stative perfective auxiliary selection (cf. 22-23)
 - vi) Absence of participle agreement with *in situ* objects (cf. 28b)

5. Summary & Conclusions

- South: v probes $V \Rightarrow$
 - i) Order $\text{Adv}_{\text{HAS/LAS}} + V$ (cf. 2c-d, 6-8)
 - ii) Absence of V-to-C mvt (cf. 13-14)
 - iii) Stage I negation (cf. 16a)
 - iv) Generalized or person-driven perfective auxiliation (cf. 24a-c)
 - v) Active participle agreement with *in situ* objects (cf. 29b)
 - vi) DOM (38, 40, no dedicated preverbal subject position \Rightarrow VSO, cf. 42a-b)

5.1 Summary & Conclusions: The Case of Italo-Greek

- Verb movement and language contact:
 - Leverhulme-funded project *Fading Voices in Southern Italy: Investigating Language Contact in Magna Graecia*
(<https://greekromanceproject.wordpress.com>)
 - Southern Italo-Romance & Italo-Greek
(Ledgeway, Schifano & Silvestri in prep.)
 - ⇒ Calabria: Calabrese + Greko
 - ⇒ Salento: Salentino + Griko



5. Summary & Conclusions: The Case of Italo-Greek

- Modern Greek: high V-mvt to T (Rivero 1994; Rivero & Terzi 1995; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998; Anagnostopoulou 2013)

(44) a Dhen se íksera **akómi**. (SMG)

NEG you.SG.ACC= know.IPFV.PST.1SG yet

‘I didn’t know you yet.’

b Klótsise **dhínata** ena pedhí mia bala. (SMG)

kick.PFV.PST.3SG strongly a child a ball

‘A child kicked the ball hard.’

5. Summary & Conclusions: The Case of Italo-Greek

- Italo-Greek: low(er) V-mvt to *v* (Ledgeway 2013)

(45) a **Akomí** éxi pekkáti ya tsaforéttsi. (Greko)
still have.2SG sins for confess.INF
'You still have sins to confess.'

b O rígate **sírma** éstile kráddzonda ton Ĝánni. (Greko)
the king at.once send.PFV.PST.3SG call.N-FIN the Gianni
'The king sent at once for Gianni.'

c To checci **panta** o finni na diavi. (Griko)
the small.one always it= let.2SG IRR.PRT pass.SBJV.3SG
'He always lets the young child go by.'

d I mana **già** to zzéri tutto ccunto. (Griko)
the mother already it= know.3SG this story
'Mum already knows this story.'

5. Summary & Conclusions: The Case of Italo-Greek

- Calabrese & Salentino: low V-mvt to *v*

(46) a Gianni **mancu** / **sempi**/**amalappena** fumava. (Cal.)

Gianni not.even always hardly smoke.IPFV.PST.3SG

‘Gianni didn’t even smoke // Gianni always/hardly smoked.’

b L’ Anna **già** / **ncora**/**quasi** u sapìa. (Sal.)

the Anna already still almost it= know.IPFV.PST.3SG

‘Anna already / still / almost knew.’

5. Summary & Conclusions: The Case of Italo-Greek

- Prediction: if Italo-Greek low(er) V-mvt grammar, then other properties expected to cluster

➤ Absence of V-to-C mvt

(47) a **Ti** mènome ettù? (Griko; interrogative)

that stay.1PL here

‘Shall we stay here?’

b **Ti** ène magno o ìglio! (Greko; exclamative)

that be.3SG beautiful the sun

‘How beautiful the sun is!’

c **Na** sói prandestí! (Greko; optative)

IRR.PRT can.SBJV.3SG marry.INF.N-ACT

‘I wish (s)he could get married!’

d **Pu na** se fai o diàvolo! (Griko; jussive)

that IRR.PRT you.SG.ACC= eat.SBJV.3SG the devil

‘May the devil swallow you up!’

5. Summary & Conclusions: The Case of Italo-Greek

➤ Stage I negation

(48) a **Den** me gapài. (Greko)

NEG me.ACC= love.2SG

‘You don’t love me.’

b **En’** izzèro ti cami. (Griko)

NEG know.1SG what do.INF

‘I don’t know what to do.’

5. Summary & Conclusions: The Case of Italo-Greek

➤ **Generalized** (cf. 49a) or **person-driven** (cf. 49b) perfective auxiliation

(49) a **Ime** / **Ise** / **Ene** grammena / pamena. (Calimera: BE)

be.1SG be.2SG be.3SG write.N-FIN go.N-FIN

b **Ime** / **Ise** / **Ehi** grammena/ ndevemmena. (Castrignano: BE (1/2) vs HAVE (3))

be.1SG be.2SG have.3SG write.N-FIN exit.N-FIN

‘I/you/(s)he has written/gone (out).’

5. Summary & Conclusions: The Case of Italo-Greek

- Active participle agreement with *in situ* objects: non-agreeing *-meno* > agreeing *-meno*

(50) a Tin èxo pulimèni (Greko)

it.FSG= have.1SG sell.N-FIN.FSG

‘I’ve sold it.’

b Ìkhete grammeni cindi kartolina. (Greko)

have.PST.2PL write.N-FIN.FSG that.F postcard.F

‘You had written that postcard.’

5. Summary & Conclusions: The Case of Italo-Greek

- No DOM (morphological case system), but VSO (no dedicated preverbal subject position)

(51) a Éspaša **egò** ton dráko. (Greko)
 kill.PFV.PST.1SG I the.ACC dragon
 ‘I killed the dragon.’

b Meràzane **e** **ladri** poddà turnìscia. (Griko)
 divide.IPFV.PST.3PL the.NOM thieves many coins
 ‘The thieves were sharing out lots of money.’

6. A Final Note on Head and Edge Features (Time permitting!)

- (Non)-uniform distribution of Head and Edge features and markedness

Table 3: (Non-)uniform distribution of H(ead) & E(dge) features on T and ν

Type	T		ν		Marked E[F]	Variety	Surface Edge Features
	H	E	H	E			
1	+V	+D	-V	-D	0	Northern Romance	SVO(, SCLs)
2	-V	-D	+V	+D	0	Southern Romance	(S,)VSO, DOM
3	+V	+D	-V	+D	1	reg. Fr., SOcc., NIDs, Rsh, NIt.	SVO(, SCLs), DOM
4	-V	+D	+V	+D	1	Triestino	SVO, SCLs, DOM
5	+V	-D	-V	+D	2	Gascon	VSO, DOM
6	-V	+D	+V	-D	2	Brazilian Portuguese	SVO

6. A Final Note on Head and Edge Features (Time permitting!)

• Type 3: DOM in North

Type	T H E	<i>v</i> H E	Marked E[F]	Variety	Surface Edge Features
1	+V +D	-V -D	0	Northern Romance	SVO(, SCLs)
2	-V -D	+V +D	0	Southern Romance	(S)VSO, DOM
3	+V +D	-V +D	1	reg. Fr., SOcc., NIDs, Rsh, NIt.	SVO(, SCLs), DOM
4	-V +D	+V +D	1	Triestino	SVO, SCLs, DOM
5	+V -D	-V +D	2	Gascon	VSO, DOM
6	-V +D	+V -D	2	Brazilian Portuguese	SVO

➤ Diatopic distribution:

- (regional) French (esp. south – cf. contact?): (52a)
- Gascon / southern Occitan: (52b-c)
- (northern) Italian, some northern Italian dialects (cf. contact?): (52d-e)
- Romansh: (52f)

➤ Structural distribution at incipient stages (cf. Rohlfs 1971:324; Fagard & Mardale 2014:§§4.2-3; Singh 2019; in prep.; Ledgeway 2022, in press a)

⇒ heads rather than phrasal categories (viz. pronouns)

⇒ peripheral positions (CLLD, CLRD, focus) rather than *in situ*

6. A Final Note on Head and Edge Features (Time permitting!)

- (52) a On doit pas te voir **à** **toi**. (Fr., Aquitaine)
 one must.3SG NEG you.SG= see.INF DOM you.SG
 ‘We don’t have to see you.’
- b **Ena** **ero**, se l’ ai visto? (Gsc., Ustou)
 DOM her INT her= have.2SG seen
 ‘Have you seen her?’
- c Vos saludi **a** **totes** / Me’n vau quèrre **(*a)** **lo** **medecin**. (Lgd. Occ.)
 you=greet.1SG DOM all leave.1SG search.INF DOM the doctor
 ‘I greet you all / I’m going to fetch the doctor.’
- d **A** **me**, mi hanno invitato / Hanno invitato **(*a)** **me**. (NIt.)
 DOM me me= have.3PL invited have.3PL invited DOM me
 ‘As for me, they invited me / They invited me.’
- e **a** **'mi** / **'ti** / ***ly** a m / t / l 'ʃamən. (Viguzzolo, Pie.)
 DOM me you.SG him SCL= me= you.SG= him= call.3PL
 ‘They’ll call me/you/him.’
- f **A** **tai** vögl eu spusar. (Rsh.)
 DOM you want.1SG I marry.INF
 ‘I want to marry YOU.’

6. A Final Note on Head and Edge Features (Time permitting!)

- Type 3: DOM in North

Type	T		<i>v</i>		Marked E[F]	Variety	Surface Edge Features
	H	E	H	E			
1	+V	+D	-V	-D	0	Northern Romance	SVO(, SCLs)
2	-V	-D	+V	+D	0	Southern Romance	(S,)VSO, DOM
3	+V	+D	-V	+D	1	reg. Fr., SOcc., NIDs, Rsh, NIt.	SVO(, SCLs), DOM
4	-V	+D	+V	+D	1	Triestino	SVO, SCLs, DOM
5	+V	-D	-V	+D	2	Gascon	VSO, DOM
6	-V	+D	+V	-D	2	Brazilian Portuguese	SVO

- D-feature on *v*:

- automatically associated ‘for free’ in V-to-*v* Mvt varieties (Types 2, 4)

- selected as marked option in V-to-T Mvt varieties (Type 3; cf. 52a-f)

⇒ role of exogenous factors

- Gascon/southern Occitan on southwestern regional French

- Southern Italo-Romance on northern Italian and standard Italian

6. A Final Note on Head and Edge Features (Time permitting!)

- Type 4: Hybrid case of Triestino

Type	T H E	<i>v</i> H E	Marked E[F]	Variety	Surface Edge Features
1	+V +D	-V -D	0	Northern Romance	SVO(, SCLs)
2	-V -D	+V +D	0	Southern Romance	(S,)VSO, DOM
3	+V +D	-V +D	1	reg. Fr., SOcc., NIDs, Rsh, NIt.	SVO(, SCLs), DOM
4	-V +D	+V +D	1	Triestino	SVO, SCLs, DOM
5	+V -D	-V +D	2	Gascon	VSO, DOM
6	-V +D	+V -D	2	Brazilian Portuguese	SVO

i) Subject clitics

ii) Low V-mvt & Cl Adv interpolation (Paoli 2008; cf. Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005)

iii) Stage I negation

iv) DOM of 1st/2nd person pronouns (Rohlf 1969:8, 1971:314 n.1, 331)

(53) a **I** se ncora lava col cadin. (Trs.)

SCL.3PL self= still wash.3 with.the bowl

‘They still wash using a bowl.’

b **No** stéme lassar fora **a** mi! (Trs.)

NEG stand.IMP.2PL=me leave.INF outside DOM me

‘Don’t leave me outside!’

6. A Final Note on Head and Edge Features (Time permitting!)

- Triestino as halfway case between North and South (cf. Slovene contact):

- T: [-V, +D] (cf. North) ⇒ SVO, SCLs (cf. 53a-b)

- *v*: [+V, +D] (cf. South) ⇒ low V-mvt, Stage I Neg, DOM (cf. 53a-b)

⇒ Non-uniform mapping/association between Head and Edge features

6. A Final Note on Head and Edge Features (time permitting!)

- Type 5: Gascon

Type	T H E	<i>v</i> H E	Marked E[F]	Variety	Surface Edge Features
1	+V +D	-V -D	0	Northern Romance	SVO(, SCLs)
2	-V -D	+V +D	0	Southern Romance	(S,)VSO, DOM
3	+V +D	-V +D	1	reg. Fr., SOcc., NIDs, Rsh, NIt.	SVO(, SCLs), DOM
4	-V +D	+V +D	1	Triestino	SVO, SCLs, DOM
5	+V -D	-V +D	2	Gascon	VSO , DOM
6	-V +D	+V -D	2	Brazilian Portuguese	SVO

- Gascon (Bouzet 1963:35f.; Ledgeway 2020b:83f.; cf. role of contact with Basque):

- T : [+V, **-D**] (marked edge feature) ⇒ **VSO** (54a; **S**(*que*)VO = left-peripheral)

- *v* : [-V, **+D**] (marked edge feature) ⇒ **DOM** (54b)

54 a Qu' a hèyt **tu** **pay** ua bestiessa. (Gsc., Béarn)
que have.3SG done your father a stupidity
 'Your father did a silly thing.'

b Qu' ha bist **a** **Pyrot**. (Gsc., Barèges)
que have.3SG seen DOM Pierrot
 'He has seen Pierrot.'

6. A Final Note on Head and Edge Features (time permitting!)

- Type 6: Brazilian Portuguese

Type	T H E	<i>v</i> H E	Marked E[F]	Variety	Surface Edge Features
1	+V +D	-V -D	0	Northern Romance	SVO(, SCLs)
2	-V -D	+V +D	0	Southern Romance	(S,)VSO, DOM
3	+V +D	-V +D	1	reg. Fr., SOcc., NIDs, Rsh, NIt.	SVO(, SCLs), DOM
4	-V +D	+V +D	1	Triestino	SVO, SCLs, DOM
5	+V -D	-V +D	2	Gascon	VSO, DOM
6	-V +D	+V -D	2	Brazilian Portuguese	SVO

- Brazilian Portuguese (Dubert & Galves 2016:427-30; cf. role of contact from indigenous languages)

- T : [-V, **+D**] (marked edge feature) ⇒ **SVO** (55a; Duarte & Figueiredo Silva 2016:§3)

- *v* : [+V, **-D**] (marked edge feature) ⇒ **no DOM** (55b; Thomas 1969:256; Teyssier 1984:97)

55 a **João** chegou /Chegou **o João**. (BrPt./EuPt.)

João arrive.PST.PFV.3SG arrive.PST.PFV.3SG the João

'João has arrived.' (=thetic sentence)

b Conheço **ele** / **a ele**. (BrPt./EuPt.)

know.1SG him DOM him

'I know him.'

6. A Final Note on Head and Edge Features (Time permitting!)

- Role of contact in Types 3-6

⇒ non-uniform distribution of Head and Edge features & markedness

Type	T		<i>v</i>		Marked E[F]	Variety	Surface Edge Features
	H	E	H	E			
1	+V	+D	-V	-D	0	Northern Romance	SVO(, SCLs)
2	-V	-D	+V	+D	0	Southern Romance	(S,)VSO, DOM
3	+V	+D	-V	+D	1	reg. Fr., SOcc., NIDs, Rsh, NIt.	SVO(, SCLs), DOM
4	-V	+D	+V	+D	1	Triestino	SVO, SCLs , DOM
5	+V	-D	-V	+D	2	Gascon	VSO , DOM
6	-V	+D	+V	-D	2	Brazilian Portuguese	SVO

Thank You!

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