Perfect variations in Romance: a parallel corpus approach

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The *HAVE* PERFECT is a tense-aspect category that displays substantial cross-linguistic variation (Dahl & Velupillai 2013). The Romance languages nicely illustrate the various patterns known as the Aorist Drift (Squartini & Bertinetto 2000). Although many ingredients of the semantics of the PERFECT are known, such as its focus on the result state or post-state of a past event, its resistance to narrative sequences, and its preference for hodiernal past time reference, it remains unclear how these ingredients come together in the grammar of the PERFECT within and across Romance languages, because different authors focus on different configurations, and there is insufficient comparison of the same contexts in different languages. In the *Time in Translation* project, we propose to fill this gap with parallel corpus research (see https://time-in-translation.hum.uu.nl/). In this talk, we focus on parallel corpora built from novels and their translations. Under the assumption that translators aim to render the meaning in context in the target language, form variation between original and translation can inform us of the semantics and pragmatics of the various verb forms.

A corpus study of *L'Étranger* by Albert Camus and its translations confirms claims from the literature (Lindstedt 2000, Schaden 2009) that French and Italian make a more liberal use of the PERFECT, whereas Spanish is closer to a 'classical' PERFECT language like English. It also shows that Catalan occupies a position in between French/Italian and Spanish, which leads to the concept of a PERFECT scale (van der Klis et al. 2022). A broader comparison with Germanic languages reveals that Romance languages are sensitive to hodiernality, but Germanic languages are not. Sensitivity to lexical aspect and to narrativity comes into play in both Romance and Germanic languages, but in different ways.

A second corpus study of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* by J.K. Rowlings and its translations confirms the patterns found in the Camus corpus, but only in the dialogue parts, not in the narrative discourse parts. These results highlight the importance of register for the grammar of tense: the PERFECT is a tense-aspect category that belongs to the spoken language grammar.

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Variation in the actuality inference of circumstantial modals in French

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1. Bhatt 1999 and Hacquard 2006, 2009 showed that in French as in other languages with (im)perfective aspect, root possibility modals in perfective sentences seem to require the verification of their prejacent in the evaluation world, as illustrated by the contradiction of (1). While for Hacquard 2006, the **actuality inference** (henceforth **AI**) amounts to an entailment, it has been argued that various contexts allow one to avoid this inference, such as the presence of a temporal adjunct, see (1) vs. (2) (Mari & Martin 2007, Homer 2020). This paper i) argues on the basis of experimental data that two other factors than previously discussed determine the strength of the AI, ii) accounts for these factors and iii) provides the first quantitative data on the AI in French, thereby contributing to solve disagreement (echoed in e.g. Alxatib 2020) on the strength of the AI across contexts.

(1) Paul **a pu** parler au chef de service. #Et pourtant il n'a même pas essayé. Terrorisé.
'Paul can.PFV speak to the boss. And nevertheless he didn't even try. Terrorized.'

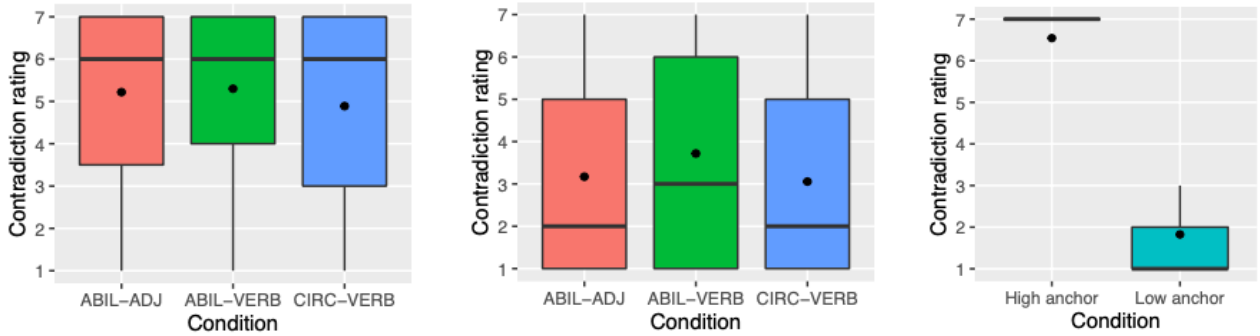
(2) **A un moment donné** Paul **a** tout à fait **pu** parler au chef de service. Et pourtant il n'a même pas essayé. Terrorisé. [CIRCUMSTANTIAL]
'At one point Paul really can.PFV speak to the boss. And nevertheless he didn't even try. Terrorized.'

(3) **A un moment donné** Onur **a** tout à fait **pu/ été capable** de se faire embaucher comme programmeur. Et pourtant, il ne s'est même pas présenté.
'At one point Onur really can.PFV/be.PFV able to get hired as a programmer. And nevertheless, he didn't even apply.' [**'ABILITATIVE' VERB/ADJ.**]

2. A first under-explored factor concerns the FLAVOUR of the root modal. While the AI of perfective root *pouvoir* is often treated uniformly, we argue that the interpretation leading to the AI is easier to avoid with the circumstantial (e.g., (2)) than what is usually analyzed as the 'abilitative' use (e.g., (3)). A second factor concerns the LEXICALIZATION of the modal. Hacquard 2006 observed that the AI amounts to an implicature with nouns, but whether the AI is also weaker with an *adjective* has not been investigated yet. We argue that the AI is easier to avoid when the abilitative modality is expressed by the adjective *capable* than by the verb *pouvoir* because *pouvoir* is in fact never a pure abilitative modal, contrary to English *can* and French *capable* (see §5).

3. An experiment (N=90) was run via Prolific Academic to assess the level of contradiction native speakers of French assign to sentences such as (1)-(3), formed with an assertion of a root modal in the perfective followed by the denial of the AI (see Mucha & Renans 2020 on German). We manipulated three variables: 1) root FLAVOUR: abilitative vs. circumstantial, 2) LEXICALIZATION: adjective vs. verb and 3) ADJUNCT: presence vs. absence of a temporal adjunct. ADJUNCT was manipulated between groups. 25 items were created; 5 with circumstantial modality (CIRC), 20 with abilitative modality (ABIL, 10 e lexicalized by *pouvoir* and 10 by *être capable*). Only one level of LEXICALIZATION was used with CIRC modality (all CIRC modals were verbs). While Mucha & Renans 2020 used a Y/N question (*Is the sentence contradictory?*), we asked subjects to rate the items on a scale of contradictoriness (1= not at all contradictory; 7=completely contradictory). The experiment included 32 fillers, 22 of which served as controls anchoring the scale to its endpoints. LOW ANCHOR controls (e.g., *Ana invited Oscar to come over for dinner. However, he didn't come.*) only weakly implicate the AI. HIGH ANCHOR controls entail it (e.g., *Ana managed to come. #However, she didn't come*).

4. High and low anchor fillers showed expected results, see Fig. (c). High anchor fillers were also used as an exclusion criterion (7 out of the 90 participants with High anchor ratings more than 2 standard deviations from the mean were excluded from further analyses). We used Generalized linear models (GLM) for all analyses. We found a significant main effect of ADJUNCT ($p<0.001$): subjects judged all items as more contradictory in the absence of an adjunct than in its presence (cp. Fig. (a) vs. (b)). We also found a trending interaction of CONDITION and ADJUNCT: Verbal ABIL items were significantly rated as more contradictory than both (adjectival) ABIL items and verbal CIRC ones, but only in the ADJUNCT condition



(a) Box plots for test items **without the temporal adjunct**

(b) Box plots for test items **with the temporal adjunct**

(c) Box plots for **control items** High vs. Low Anchors

(p=0.089). There was no significant difference between CIRC *pouvoir* and (ABIL) *capable*, see again see Fig. (a) and (b). Finally, high anchors were all significantly different (p<0.001) from all of the target items in the –ADJUNCT (cp. Fig. (a) vs. (c). This goes against the analysis of the actuality inference as an entailment and/or modal suppression, and can be imputed to the fact that some subjects were more able than others to solve the clash between the perfective and the stativity of root modals without resorting to an actualistic interpretation of the modal, e.g., by assuming the presence of a silent temporal adjunct yielding to what Bary 2009 and Homer 2019 call a complexive interpretation. Under this interpretation, a sentence like *Onur a été capable de P* 'Onur be.PFV capable to P' simply states that Onur was for a certain bounded time able to P, without conveying that Onur actualized this ability. But current analyses need to be refined to account for the effects of FLAVOUR and LEXICALIZATION.

5. We claim that *pouvoir* drastically differs from English *can* and French *être capable* in that ***pouvoir* has no purely abilitative use**. As already observed by Hackl 1998:26, *pouvoir* (competing with *savoir* 'know/can') is not felicitous in a context forcing the modal to quantify over worlds compatible with circumstances *internal* to the subject in w_0 only, as shown by the oddity of *#Je peux nager/parler allemand* 'I can swim/speak German'. We argue that **with *pouvoir*, relevant circumstances are always external to the subject**, **and optionally subject-internal**, too: *pouvoir* may select the accessibility relation in (4b/c), but not in (4d).

(4) a. $[\![\text{pouvoir}]\!] = \lambda\mathscr{R}\lambda P\lambda e\exists w'\mathscr{R}(w)(w') = 1$ such that $P(w')(e)$

b. ***Mixed circumstantial***: $\mathscr{R}_{circ} := \lambda w\lambda w'.w'$ is compatible with some **external** and **subject-internal circumstances** in w.

c. ***Pure circumstantial***: $\mathscr{R}_{circ} := \lambda w\lambda w'.w'$ is compatible with some **external circ.** in w.

d. ***Abilitative***: $\mathscr{R}_{abil} := \lambda w\lambda w'.w'$ is comp. with some **subject-internal circ.** in w.

We argue that the AI is stronger with mixed circumstantial (aka as 'abilitative') *pouvoir* than with *capable* or the purely circumstantial *pouvoir* because complexive coercion is harder to obtain when the relevant circumstances are external *and* internal to the subject. Take for instance the first clause of (3). With *pouvoir*, it bounds a state of being **externally *and* internally able** to get hired as a programmer (i.e., asserts $\mathsf{pfv}(\mathsf{Onur\text{-}can}_{ext/int}\text{-get-hired-as-a-programmer})(t)(e)$). Such a perfect temporal alignment of external and internal circumstances is plausible if these circumstances inherit the temporal boundaries of some get-hired-as-a-programmer act by the subject, but this triggers an actualistic interpretation, leading to the AI. In the absence of such an act, this alignment comes as an unlikely coincidence. By contrast, a perfective sentence with *capable* (viz. purely circumstantial *pouvoir*) only bounds some internal (viz. external) circumstances to the subject. Such assertions are easier to rationalize without assuming that these circumstances inherit the temporal boundaries of some act.

Degree relative clauses

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Introduction. This paper presents a syntax and semantics for an unusual relative clause construction in Spanish involving a relative clause seemingly headed by a gradable predicate and the neuter determiner *lo* (sometimes referred to as Degree Neuter Relative Clauses, DNRs for short; Rivero 1981, Ojeda 1982, Gutiérrez-Rexach 1999, a.o.).

(1) *Juan es* [$_{DP}$ *lo alto que era su padre*] 'Juan is as tall his father was'
Juan is LO tall that was his father [Lit.: 'Juan is the tall that his father was']

Previous analyses of DNRs have put forth the idea that DNRs denote maximal degrees, but while intuitive, straightforward implementations of the idea run into trouble when combining the resulting definite degree (type *d*) with verbal predicates that do not take *d*-type arguments–including predicative cases like (1). I propose an analysis wherein the DNR itself is of predicative type, but contains within it a maximal degree that serves as a Measure Phrase within an Adjective Phrase.

Goal. The goal of this paper is twofold. First, I propose an analysis of DNRs that avoids compositionality problems derived from sortal mismatches between degrees and entities. In my view, the DP occupies the specifier position of an AP, which mediates between degrees and verbs taking *e*-type arguments. Second, I suggest that despite the cross-linguistic rarity of DNRs, it is not coincidence that they are available in Spanish: the proposed analysis relies on aspects of the morphological inventory of Spanish that allows the language to construct degree-denoting Free Relatives (FRs) headed by a definite article, and so DNRs should not be expected in languages lacking this ability.

Proposal. **Step I: The syntax of DNRs.** The syntactic analysis of DNRs builds on that of FRs in Spanish, which have the following two key properties: (*i*) they can surface with an overt definite determiner (note that while FRs have been argued to involve a definite determiner in the syntax, not all languages realize them overtly, as in English; Jacobson 1995, Caponigro 2002). (*ii*) they can be formed with quantity *wh*-words like *cuan*/*cuanto* ("how"/"how many").

(2) *Comió* { a. *cuanto* / b. *lo que* } *quiso* 'She ate as much as he wanted'
ate how much LO that wanted [Lit.: 'she ate {the that / how much} wanted']

(3) *Juan es cuan alto fue su padre* 'Juan is as tall as his father was'
Juan is how tall was his father [Lit.: 'Juan is how tall his father was']

I propose that DNRs may be formed with the same pieces as FRs. More specifically, both constructions involve a definite determiner, whether overt or covert. Both also involve the movement of a *wh*-phrase to the specificer of CP. In DNRs, the *wh*-phrase is headed by a null variant of a quantity-*wh*-phrase and includes the gradable predicate. The key differences between the two types of constructions lies in the (c)overtness of the pieces involved: what FRs do overtly, DNRs do covertly and vice versa, as schematized in (4).

(4) a. [$_{DP}$ D$_{\varnothing}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{DP}$ cuan GradPred]$_i$ [C°[+REL] $\varnothing$ [$_{TP}$ …t$_i$ …]]]] [degree FR]
b. [$_{DP}$ lo [$_{CP}$ [$_{DP}$ *Op$_{wh}$* (MANY)]$_i$ [C°[+REL] que [$_{TP}$ …t$_i$ …]]]] [*lo que* FR]
c. [$_{DP}$ lo [$_{CP}$ [$_{DP}$ *Op$_{wh}$* GradPred]$_i$ [C°[+REL] que [$_{TP}$ …t$_i$ …]]]] [DNR]

On this analysis, the head of the DNR is not in fact a gradable predicate as it appears. Rather, the gradable predicate is embedded within a complex *wh*-phrase. This provides an explanation for two otherwise puzzling facts. First, unlike ordinary restrictive relative clauses, DNRs show a disrupted agreement pattern: the definite article *lo* never agrees with what is seemingly the head of the relative clause (5a); in contrast, the gradable predicate alway must agree with CP-internal material (5b).

(5) a. { *lo* / **la* } *alta* *que* *era* *su* *madre*
LO the.FM.SG tall.FM.SG that was her mother.FM.SG

b. *lo* { **alto* / *alta* } *que* *era* *su* *madre* }
LO tall.MS.SG tall.FM.SG that was her mother.FM.SG

Second, this explains the apparent syntactic flexibility of the superficial head of the DNR: gradable predicates of any syntactic category that is coercible into a gradable interpretation can form a grammatical DNR. Given that predicates of different categories are otherwise extractable to differing degrees in Spanish, this flexibility is puzzling if the predicates themselves were undergoing movement. On the present analysis, however, this issue does not arise–all of the constructions in (6) involve movement of a *wh*-phrase.

(6) a. *lo* { *rápidamente* / **ayer* } *que* *llegó* ADVERBIAL
LO rapidly yesterday that arrived [how {fast / yesterday} she arrived]

b. *lo* { *niño* / **historia* } *que* *es* *Mariano* NOMINAL
LO child history that is Mariano [how {childish / history} is Mariano]

c. *lo* { *en punto* / **desde* *casa* } *que* *llegó* PREPOSITIONAL
LO on point from home that arrived [how {punctually / from home} she arrived]

Step 2: Semantics. I assume that gradable predicates are interpreted *in situ* as a function from degrees to properties (Kennedy & McNally 2005; e.g. $[\![tall]\!] = \lambda d\,.\,\lambda x\,.\,tall(d,x)$). The movement of a null degree operator Op_{wh} creates a degree property (type $\langle dt\rangle$) at the CP level, and leaves a *d*-type trace that serves as the first argument to the gradable predicate. Assume further that when the definite article in Spanish applies to a set of degrees, it returns its maximal element (Gutiérrez-Rexach 1999), and so it is defined in terms of a MAX operator (Heim 2001), (7a). (7b) is the final denotation of the DP in (1), ignoring tense.

(7) a. $[\![\text{MAX}]\!] = \lambda D_{\langle dt\rangle}\,.\,\iota d\,[d \in D \wedge \forall d'[d' \in D \wedge d \neq d' \rightarrow d' < d]]$

b. $[\![[_{\text{DP}}$ lo $\lambda d\,[_{\text{CP}}$ su padre era *d*-alto$]]]\!] = \text{MAX}(\lambda d\,.\,[tall(his\text{-}father, d)])$

Step 3: The AP. In order to allow verbs taking *e*-type arguments combine with a degree, I propose that DNRs must always be part of a larger Adjective Phrase, similar to ordinary adjectives modified by measure phrases (e.g. *dos metros de alto*, "two meters tall"), (8a). As with ordinary APs, the DP in DNRs simply fulfills the duty of a Measure Phrase. Crucially, this structure requires a second copy of the head of the relative clause, that is elided under identity, (8b). (1) is interpreted as in (9).

(8) a. $[_{\text{AP}}\,[_{\text{DP}}$ DNR$_d$ $]\,[_{\text{A'}}$ Gradable Predicate$_{\langle d,et\rangle}$ $]]$ b. $[_{\text{AP}}\,[_{\text{DP}}$ lo **alto** que es Pedro $]\,[_{\text{A}}$ $\langle$**~~alto~~**$\rangle$ $]]$

(9) $[\![(1)]\!] = tall(Juan, \text{MAX}(\lambda d.tall(his\text{-}father, d))$

Evidence in favor of (8b) comes from the fact that DNRs allow spelling out of the second copy, (10a). (The full paper provides further evidence for the availability of similar elision processes in Spanish.) Like in Measure Phrases (10b), the preposition *de* is obligatory, suggesting that it is the second copy the one that is being pronounced in (10a), and not a reconstructed CP-internal copy.

(10) a. $[_{\text{AP}}[_{\text{DP}}$ lo $\langle$~~alto~~$\rangle$ que era su padre $]\,[_{\text{A}}$ *(de) alto $]]$ b. $[_{\text{AP}}\,[_{\text{DP}}$ dos metros $]\,[_{\text{A}}$ *(de) alto $]$

Final remarks. The analysis presented here sheds light on why, despite the cross-linguistic rarity of DNRs, they are found in Spanish. Spanish FRs show an uncommon combination of properties that together can explain the availability of DNRs: (*i*) FRs with overt definite determiners and (*ii*) FRs with quantity *wh*-operators. In the full paper, I extend the analysis to another construction that is predicted to exist given these pieces: Amount Relatives (Carlson 1977, Grosu & Landman 1998), whose properties in Spanish are shown to differ from those found in languages like English.

New insights into the structure of pseudo-relatives, infinitives, and gerunds with perception verbs in Spanish

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Background: In Spanish, perception verbs like *ver* 'see' allow four types of clausal complements: a full finite clause, an infinitive, a gerund, and a so-called pseudo-relative structure ('PR'); in the latter the complement is inflected, but the null subject is obligatorily co-referent with the matrix accusative clitic or DP (see Suñer 1984, Campos 1994):

(1) a. Vi que Juan bailaba.
I.saw that Juan danced
b. Vi a Juan {bailar / bailando / que bailaba}.
I.saw DOM Juan dance.INF dancing.GER that danced

The literature to date discusses various semantic and aspectual differences between these complements (Di Tullio 1998, Rafel 1999, 2000). In this paper, we focus on syntactic phenomena that have not yet been analysed in a comparative perspective: long passives, embedded passives and the licensing of embedded modal verbs. We show that (i) the differences between the constructions are related to a different availability of A- and A'-movement, which is related to the 'size' of the complement clause. Furthermore, (ii) there is inter-speaker variation with infinitives, concerning the (non-)projection of a TP. Our proposal is that the observed variation in complementation structures of perception verbs in Spanish derives from a combination of the lexical properties of functional heads of the complement clause (cf. Borer-Chomsky conjecture), and from c-selectional properties of the matrix verb.

The study: In our study we chose to investigate the patterns of passivization, the licensing of modal verbs and subject-object asymmetries (not discussed in this paper), because i) they are understudied in the literature to date (with some exceptions, e.g. Sheehan 2020) and ii) they show a pattern of variation that points to differences in the syntactic structure.

We carried out an online acceptability judgement task with Google Modules, asking native speakers of Spanish to rate written sentences on a Likert-scale from 1 to 5. The questionnaire contained 21 sentences (such as those in (2) – (4)) on perception verbs and 22 fillers.

(2) Embedded modal:
La vi {que tenía / teniendo / tener} que vomitar.
her.CL I.saw that had having have.INF that throw.up

(3) Embedded passive:
A María, la vi {que estaba siendo / siendo / ser} forzada.
DOM Maria her.CL I.saw that was being being be.INF forced

(4) Long passivization:
La actriz fue vista {que lloraba/ llorando / llorar} en un restaurante berlinés.
the actress was seen that cried crying cry.INF in a restaurant Berliner

The number of participants was 82, aged 18-75 (mean 32, median 30.5). The majority of them was female (58.5%) and from Spain (59, 14 of them from Catalonia). For each phenomenon to be tested we had three sentences, with an infinitival, a gerundial and a PR-complement.

Results: Table 1 shows the mean acceptability (1=completely out; 5=fully acceptable)

	PR	Infinitive	Gerund
Modal verb (cf. (2))	3.54	2.44	2.99
Embedded passive (cf. (3))	3.85	3.12	3.43
Long passivization (cf. (4))	1.90	2.76	4.52

Modal *tener que* is quite acceptable with PRs, while infinitives have the lowest rating. Embedded passives are rather acceptable with all constructions (> 3). The most clear-cut

differences arise with long passives: they range from high acceptability with gerunds (4.52), to almost complete rejection with PRs (1.90), with infinitives having intermediate results (2.76).
Analysis: We adopt a phasal model (Chomsky 2001) and, in particular, Sheehan & Cyrino (2018) and Sheehan's (2020) implementation in which VoicePs are phases and locality constraints on movement are governed by Chomsky's (2001) PIC2. According to this theory, A-movement out of a reduced, nonfinite complement is impossible if the complement is a bare VoiceP, because the moved element would have to cross two phase boundaries. On the other hand, movement is possible if the embedded clause contains a TP with an EPP feature, because Spec,T is an intermediate target for the movement of the subject of the embedded clause. The latter feeds A-movement into the matrix clause. For **pseudo-relatives**, we suggest that they block long passives because the embedded clause, even though projecting a TP, contains a FinP (and for some speakers even a TopP, because they allow clitic left-dislocation within the PR), introducing an A'-position. This position can in principle be targeted by the embedded subject, but further A-movement is blocked because it would yield improper A-A'-A-movement.
Gerunds: 'Long' passives are a superficial effect: movement is actually 'short', since the gerund functions as a secondary predicate and is controlled by the internal argument of the matrix clause (6). Evidence can be found in coordination with a depictive AP (7):

(6) La actriz$_i$ fue vista t$_i$ [PRO$_i$ llorando].
(7) Vi a Juan muy tranquilo y {sonriendo / *sonreír}. (Di Tullio 1998: 202)
I.saw DOM Juan very calm and smiling smile.INF

With **infinitives**, we find the highest degree of inter-speaker variation. We argue that this is due to speakers assigning different structures to the infinitive: given the lack of morphological clues, for most speakers the perception verb selects a bare VoiceP as complement, with the effect that PIC2 blocks extraction. Evidence for this comes from negation and modal verbs, two pieces of evidence for the presence of a TP (Cinque 2006): as far as modal verbs are concerned, in the online acceptability judgment task, *tener que* and long passives received similar ratings (2.44 and 2.76, respectively). Negation was tested in a follow-up study, where we found a correlation between the acceptance of long passives and the acceptance of negation with infinitives: the speakers that accept long passives also accept (8). We thus propose that for them the selected infinitival clause projects a TP, providing an intermediate A-position for extraction.

(8) %La vi no hablar y pensé que debía estar muy enfadada.
her I.saw not talk and I.thought that she.must.IMPF be much angry

Conclusion and outlook: Variation in complementation structures of perception verbs is due to the properties of functional heads (EPP on T), c-selectional requirements of the matrix V/v-domain (selection of CP, FinP, TP, VoiceP by the perception verb), and to speakers assigning either a complement or a secondary predication structure to a particular configuration. This also paves the way for explaining some intriguing differences between Spanish and Italian PRs: while Spanish PRs do not have a secondary predication structure, this function being fulfilled by gerunds, Italian lacks gerunds with perception verbs and PRs can be assigned a secondary predication structure (Cinque 1992, Casalicchio 2016). As a consequence, Italian PRs allow long passives, contrary to Spanish:

(9) Gianni$_i$ è stato visto t$_i$ [$_{SC}$ PRO$_i$ che correva]
Gianni is been seen that run

Therefore, variation within Romance languages should take into account not only the morpho-syntactic properties of functional heads, but also c-selectional requirements of the matrix verb.

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Ibero-Romance prepositional infinitive (*el deísmo*): microparametric variation in Spanish dialects:

Despite the fact that prepositional infinitives headed by *de* used as direct verbal complements are generally rarer in Ibero-Romance languages than in other varieties (Green (1988:117), Benucci (1992:24-25), Hernanz (1999:2277ff)), *de*-infinitives are attested in Spanish dialects whose attestations known as *el deísmo* find parallels in other Romance languages and in the history of Spanish (Di Tullio (2011, 2013), Camus Bergareche (2013), Benito and Pato (2015)). Furthermore, their sporadic attestations show dialectal variation between peninsular and Latin American Spanish which reveals microparametric properties in the prepositional infinitival marker *de* selected by Exceptional Case-Marking (ECM) verbs. In Spain, it is noted that *de*-infinitives are attested in Andalucía and La Mancha as complements to verbs which express indirect statements (1a) and commands (1b) (Benito and Pato (2015:35-38)) where the subject of the infinitive (PRO) is controlled by the matrix subject and object respectively (1c-d), as in other Romance varieties (1e-f):

1a)	esper-o	de	ver-te	/	est-oy	dese-ando	de	llegar
	hope-PRES.1SG	DE	see.INF-you		BE.PRES-1SG	wish-GERUND	DE	arrive.INF

'I hope to see you.' (Di Tullio (2011:180)/I am wishing to arrive.' (Camus Bergareche (2013:17))

1b)	no	permit-o	a	mis	hijos	de	llegar	tarde
	NEG	allow-PRES.1SG	to	my	children	DE	arrive.INF	late

'I do not allow my children to arrive late.' (Camus Bergareche (2013:17))

1c)	le	di-jo	de	salir	/	dijo	haber	nacido	en	Salta
	to.him	say-PRET.3SG	DE	leave.INF		say-PRET.3SG	have.INF	born	in	Salta

'He told him to leave.'/'He said that he had been born in Salta.' (Di Tullio (2011:178-179))

1d)	mi	hijo	me	pidió	(de)	ir	a	jugar
	my	son	me	ask-PRET.3SG	DE	go.INF	to	play.INF

(with *de*) 'my son asked me to go play'/(without *de*) 'my son asked me if he could go play.' (Di Tullio (2011:181; 2013:269))

1e)	di-mmi	di	non	partire,	Giovanni	(Italian)
	say-to.me	DE	NEG	leave.INF	Giovanni	

Either 'tell me that you will not leave, Giovanni' OR 'tell me not to leave, Giovanni' (Skytte (1984:134))

1f)	je	lui	propos-ai	de	déjeuner	là	(French)
	I	to.him	propose-PRET.1SG	DE	lunch	there	

'I proposed to him to have lunch there.' (Sandfeld (1978:102))

In Latin America, *de*-infinitives are used with object-controlling verbs only when passivized (2a-b) (Montalbetti (1999:135-137)), which is impossible in *deísta* dialects in Spain (Di Tullio (2011:184, 2013:268)) but confirmed by informants from Perú, Ecuador, Venezuela and other Romance languages (2c):

2a)	Juan	le	permiti-ó/prohibi-ó/impidi-ó/orden-ó	
	Juan	her	allow-PRET.3SG/prohibit-PRET.3SG/prevent-PRET.3SG/order-PRET.3SG	
	(*de)	comer	a	María
	DE	eat.INF	to	María

'Juan allowed/ordered Maria to eat./Juan prohibited/prevented Maria from eating.' (Montalbetti (1999:135))

2b)	María	fue	permiti-da/prohibi-da/impedi-da/ordena-da	de	comer
	María	be.PRET.3SG	allow-PTCP/prohibit-PTCP/prevent-PTCP/order-PTCP	DE	eat.INF

'María was allowed/ordered to eat./María was prohibited/prevented from eating.' (Montalbetti (1999:136))

2c)	il	generale	ven-ne	prega-to	di	interessar-si	(Italian)
	the	general	PASSIVE-3SG	ask-PTCP	DE	involve-REFL.PRO	

'The general was asked to get involved…' (Skytte (1984:161))

Although these *de*-infinitives could be Anglicisms imported from English *to*-infinitives and prepositional –*ing* constructions (cf translations of exs above), the fact that similar uses of *de*-infinitives are attested not only in other varieties of Romance (1e-f, 2c) but also in the history of Spanish (3a) suggests that these are genuine Romance constructions derived from Latin prepositional gerund(ive)s headed by *de* 'about' (3b) which have been argued to underlie prepositional infinitives in (proto-)Romance (Schulte (2007:87ff)):

3a)	estos	que	ellos	ordena-va-n	de	poner
	these	COMP	they	order-IMPERF-3PL	DE	place.INF

'… these which they ordered to place.' (*Primera Crónica General* 87a47) (Beardsley (1920:130))

3b)	cum	de	muta-nd-o	praecip-ere-t	homin-e
	when	DE	change-GERUNDIVE-ABL.SG	teach-IMPERF.SUBJ-3SG	man-ABL.SG

'when he preached about changing man…' (Augustine *Sermones* 9.8)

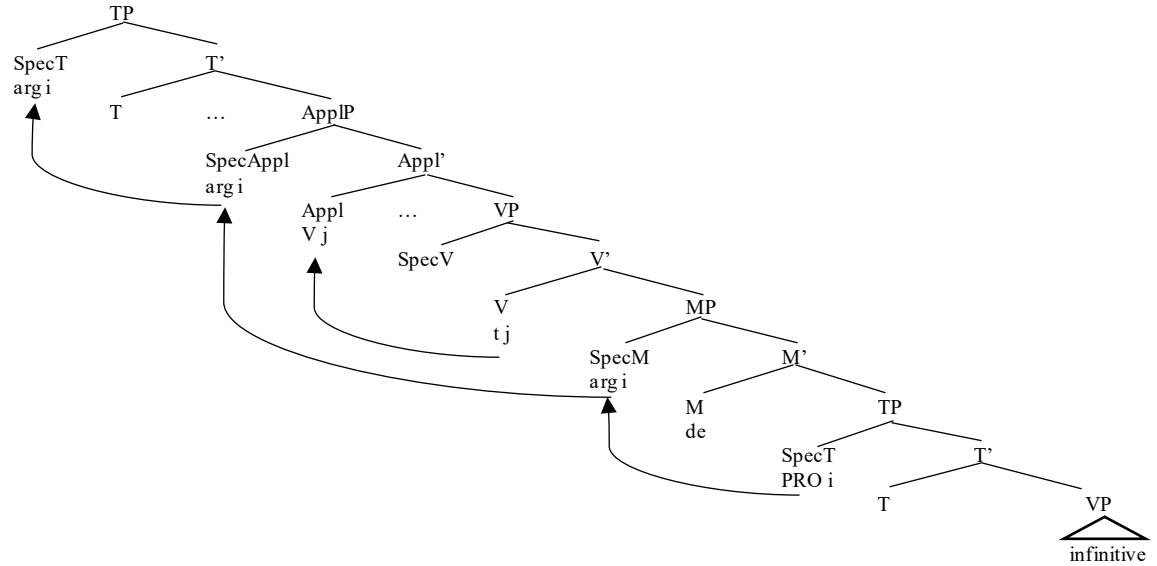
The uneven distribution of *de*-infinitives in peninsular and Latin American Spanish dialects with respect to the grammatical voice of object-controlling ECM verbs (active (1a-d) vs passive (2a-b) respectively) shows

that in the diachronic development of Spanish prepositional infinitives (Schulte (2007:chapter 4)) there is microparametric variation in the retention of *de*-infinitives which seems to hinge on the prepositional infinitival marker *de* commonly analysed as a Low C element (Fin/M) projecting a functional head in the left-periphery of the infinitive (TP) (Roberts and Roussou (2003:97ff), cf Rizzi (1997)). Formal analyses of ECM verbs argue based on the coreference between the embedded subject PRO of the infinitive and the object of the main verb that the former moves to the latter which can further move to the subject position in passivisation (Lasnik (2001), Hornstein, Nunes and Martins (2010), cf Landau (2003)), and the passivisation of ECM verbs in Romance has been shown to be sensitive to the infinitival complement where only infinitives that project functional projections above VP allow the embedded subject to raise to the main clause via an escape-hatch due to the Phase Impenetrability Condition that only material on Phase-Edges are visible to be probed by the next higher Phase (Sheehan and Cyrino (2018), cf Chomsky (2001)). On the basis that causative/perception verbs and other verbs select VP and TP respectively, the following (5) is observed:

4) os meninos for-am *feitos/*vistos/mandados/deixados sair
The children BE.PRET-3PL made/seen/ordered/left leave.INF
'The children were made/seen/ordered/left to leave.' (Portuguese) (Sheehan and Cyrino (2018:1))

Assuming that the embedded subject (PRO) of the infinitive (*sair*) is moved to the matrix object position and further raised to the matrix subject position (*os meninos*) in passivisation (*foram*), it is possible to posit an A(rgument)-chain from SpecTP of the embedded infinitive to SpecTP of the matrix verb via the object positon of the main verb, which, in the case of Spanish, seems to be made possible by the specifier position (SpecM) of *de* which is necessary for the embedded subject to move to the main clause (Sheehan and Cyrino (2018), cf Hornstein, Nunes and Martins (2010)). Furthermore, the fact that ECM verbs cannot be passivized in peninsular *deísta* dialects suggests that these do not project a corresponding A-position in the matrix clause to which PRO can move, hence ruling out passivisation. It is hence possible to parameterise Spanish *de*-infinitives in terms of two structural positions: a Low C head lexicalised by *de* (M) in the infinitival complement, which provides an escape-hatch (SpecM) for the embedded subject argument (PRO) to move to the matrix clause, and an Applicative head (Appl), which projects an A-position (SpecAppl) for the indirect object coreferential with the embedded subject to be passivised (cf English dative shift (Bresnan (2004)):

5)



While *de* (M) provides an escape-hatch (SpecM) for PRO (SpecT) to move to the main clause, it can be argued that peninsular Spanish (Andalucía, La Mancha) does not project ApplP while Latin American Spanish (Perú, Ecuador,Venezuela) does, which explains why passivisation of ECM verbs is possible in the latter and not in the former. Dialectal microvariation in Spanish *el deísmo*, therefore, can be derived within a model of passivisation in which the infinitival complement needs to be 'big' so that the embedded subject can move to the main clause (Sheehan and Cyrino (2018)), and passivisation of ECM verbs suggests that only certain Latin American varieties project ApplP, permitting A-Move to matrix SpecT.

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How far does the PCC extend? Evidence from Romance causatives

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INTRODUCTION: Since the seminal work by Ormazabal & Romero (2007, 2013a,b), a considerable amount of recent investigation of the P(erson) C(ase) C(onstraint) has addressed PCC effects that extend beyond clitic clusters (Cornilescu 2020, Irimia 2020, Sheehan 2020a, *i.a.*). In this abstract, I address the data and theoretical claims in Sheehan (2020a) regarding PCC effects in Romance *faire infinitif* (FI) causative constructions. Coupling Sheehan's data with novel data from Galician, I claim that there is a one-to-one correlation between the clitic PCC pattern in a given Romance language and its PCC effects in causatives constructions. Whereas Galician, a *Weak PCC* language, shows the ability to probe for a 1st- or 2nd-person THEME argument in FI sentences, Spanish, Italian, and Catalan are unable to do so due to the fact that they are in fact *Strong PCC* languages. I claim is that the more restricted the clitic PCC pattern, the more restricted the PCC pattern for FI causatives, as well.

DISCUSSION: Sheehan's explanation for FI PCC effects is predicated on the fact that no Romance variety permits a 1st- or 2nd-person direct object clitic in the presence of a lexical indirect object (Italian 1a; Spanish 1b). She claims that a 1st- or 2nd-person accusative clitic is blocked in the presence of an intervening dative argument, assuming an internal *v*P structure in which the dative is base-generated higher than the DO (2), creating an intervention effect.

(1) a. ***Ti** ho fatto picchiare **a mio fratello**
CL$_{ACC.2SG}$ have.PRS.1SG make.PRTCP beat.INF **DAT my brother**
Intended: 'I made my brother beat you.'

b. *Ana **te** hizo saludar **al invitado**
Ana *CL$_{ACC.2SG}$/**CL$_{DAT.2SG}$** make.PST.3SG greet.INF *DAT-the/**DOM-the guest**
Intended: 'Ana made the guest greet you.' (Okay as: 'Ana made you greet the guest')

(2) [v_{CAUS}P EA [v_{CAUS}° *faire* [*v*P [*v*' **DP$_{DAT}$** [*v*' [*v*° *lex. verb* **DP$_{DO}$** …]]]]]]]

Her account predicts that v_{CAUS}° may enter into an agreement relationship with only one argument marked [+PARTICIPANT] but that both the dative and the 1st-/2nd-person accusative clitic must be licensed due to their bearing [+PARTICIPANT] (3).

(3) $v_{CAUS[\varphi\_]}$: DP$_{DAT[+PART]}$ > DP$_{[+PART]}$

Just as for FI causatives in Italian, Spanish, and Catalan, *Strong PCC* languages are characterized by their ability to agree with only one internal argument bearing a 1st- or 2nd-person feature (Béjar & Rezac 2003, 2009; Preminger 2019; Coon & Keine 2020; *i.a.*). Sheehan attributes the fact that these languages show considerable resistance to the combination of two 1st- or 2nd-person clitics to the fact that Romance varieties do not show 1st- and 2nd-person distinctions morphologically between accusative and dative clitics. This ambiguity leads to the consensus that, when indeed permitted, these *Weak PCC* combinations are highly idiolectal (Bianchi 2006, Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2018).

(4) ???/%Mi ti ha affidato *Italian*
CL$_{1SG}$ CL$_{2SG}$ have.PST.3SG entrust.PRTCP
Intended: 'He entrusted you to me/me to you'

(5) ???/%Te'm van recomanar per la feina *Catalan*
CL$_{2SG}$-CL$_{1SG}$ go.PRS.3PL recommend.INF for the job
Intended: They recommended you to me/me to you for the job'

(6) ???/%Te me presentaron *Spanish*
CL$_{2SG}$ CL$_{1SG}$ introduce.3PL
Intended: 'They introduced me to you/you to me.'

Contrary to Sheehan's claims, Galician, a *Weak PCC* language (4), distinguishes accusative and dative clitics in the 2nd-person. It has been argued that this morphological distinction is

sufficient evidence for the learner to posit a true *Weak PCC* reading (Gravely 2021), unlike what is seen in other Romance varieties.

(4) a. Presentaron-**che-me** 'They introduced me to you.'
introduce.PST.3PL-**CL$_{DAT.2SG}$-CL$_{ACC.1SG}$**

b. Presentaron-**te-me** 'They introduced you to me.'
introduce.PST.3PL-**CL$_{ACC.2SG}$-CL$_{DAT.1SG}$**

THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTION: I claim that, in addition to its *Weak PCC* pattern, Galician also licenses a *Weak PCC* type of causative which permits 1st- and 2nd-person accusative clitics in FI strings (5), contrary to what was shown for Spanish and Italian (1).

(5) a. Alguén **te** fixo escoller ó mestre [a_{DAT}+o_{D^o}=*ó*]
someone **CL$_{ACC.2SG}$** make.PST.3SG choose.INF DAT-the teacher
'Someone made the teacher choose you.'

b. Alguén **che** fixo escoller o mestre
someone **CL$_{DAT.2SG}$** make.PST.3SG choose.INF the teacher
'Someone made you choose the teacher.'

Adopting the approach to account for PCC patterns put forth by Deal (2020), I claim that both clitic PCC constructions and FI PCC sentences bear a functional head that holds multiple probes for licensing the respective arguments (or in Deal's terms, a probe that has *interaction* and *satisfaction* conditions). In *Weak PCC* strings, this functional head is able to probe for multiple arguments bearing [SPEAKER] and [ADDRESSEE], whereas the probing head in *Strong PCC* strings may only license one. Contrary to Sheehan (2020a,b), I claim that this is not a question of distinct features on separate heads as with ECM constructions (6a) where the causee is licensed by the matrix Voice^o and the theme by the embedded Voice^o in the Galician example (6b) (modeled from Sheehan 2020b:384).

(6) a. [$_{VoiceP}$ deixar$_i$+v^o_k+Voice^o [$_{vP}$ [$_{DP}$ os traballadores]$_m$ t_k t_i … [$_{VoiceP}$ saír t_m [$_{PP}$ a tempo]]

b. O xefe deixou os traballadores saír a tempo
the boss let.PST.3SG the workers leave.INF at time
'The boss let the workers leave on time.'

For the data in (5), I claim that v_{CAUS}^{o} probes first for [PARTICIPANT], which licenses either the accusative *te* (5a) or dative *che* (5b) argument. It then must probe again for [PARTICPANT] based on the interaction condition of the probe, which then agrees with the lexical IO DP (5a) or the theme DP (5b). Like the work on syntactic approaches to the PCC (*interaction and satisfaction* in Deal 2020; *feature gluttony* in Coon & Keine 2020; *Cyclic Agree* Béjar & Rezac 2003, 2009), I claim that the licensing mechanisms must be the same if this is truly a PCC-effect. While these models differ slightly in the details of their approaches, they are all predicated on the idea that the same head licenses both internal arguments.

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The clause-internal phase boundary in Spanish

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In recent work, Harwood (2013) and Aelbrecht and Harwood (2015) argue that a projection encoding progressive aspect—vP_{prog}—is a phase boundary in English. Based on a battery of diagnostics similar to that employed by Harwood (2013), this paper argues that when aspectual layers are projected, the clause-internal phase in Spanish extends to include ProgP, whereas in English the phase is vP_{prog} (Harwood, 2013), as (1) and (2) illustrate.

(1) [$_{vP\text{-}Perf}$ *haber* [$_{PerfP}$ *-do* [$_{vP\text{-}Prog}$ *estar* [$_{\mathbf{ProgP}}$ *-ndo* [$_{vP}$ *ser* [$_{VoiceP}$ *-do* [$_{VP}$ V . . . [Spanish]

(2) [$_{vP\text{-}Perf}$ *have* [$_{PerfP}$ *-en* [$_{\mathbf{vP\text{-}Prog}}$ *be* [$_{ProgP}$ *-ing* [$_{vP}$ *be* [$_{VoiceP}$ *-en* [$_{VP}$ V . . . [English]

In particular, we present evidence from five of Harwood's diagnostics—(i) VP-fronting, (ii) pseudo-clefting, (iii) predicate inversion, (iv) existential constructions, and (v) idiomatic expressions—as well as a sixth from Spanish—clitic placement—as diagnostic tests for Phase-hood to assess the clause-internal phase boundary in the Spanish middle field structure. (We omit VP-ellipsis as a test since Spanish auxiliaries do not license ellipsis (López, 1999).)

Following Bošković (2014), Harwood (2013), and den Dikken (2007) this paper assumes the following: (i) auxiliary roots raise to adjoin to aspectual morphemes (Harwood, 2013), (ii) the clause-internal phase boundary is flexible, i.e., it extends from vP to a higher projection as the result of phase head movement (den Dikken, 2007), and (iii) XP movement may target the entire phase or its complement (Bošković, 2014). Specifically, following Bošković (2014), we claim that ProgP is a phase in Spanish based on several phenomena that target either the entire phase—ProgP—or the phase complement—vP.

VP-fronting. (3) shows that VP-fronting can optionally target either a constituent headed by a passive participle (3a) or a present participle (3b). Using Bošković's (2014) terminology, the preposed passive construction in (3) may target vP, i.e., the complement of the clause-internal phase—which is headed by Asp_{prog}—, or the entire clause-internal phase, i.e., ProgP.

(3) Si Sebastián dice que estaba siendo cocinado vivo, entonces ...
If Sebastian says that was being cooked alive then
'If Sebastian says he was being cooked alive, then'

a. [$_{vP}$ cocinado vivo]$_i$ (él) estaba siendo t_i.
cooked alive (he) was being t_i

b. [$_{ProgP}$ siendo cocinado vivo]$_i$ (él) estaba t_i.
being cooked alive (he) was t_i

'cooked alive he was being'

Pseudo-clefting. Constructions such as (4) behave exactly like VP-fronting. That is, clefting can target a constituent headed by the passive participle (4a) or the present participle (4b). Following Bošković (2014), we interpret this as reflecting movement targeting either the phase, ProgP, (4b) or the phase complement, vP, (4a).

(4) Aladino deber´ıa estar siendo criticado.
Aladdin should be being criticised
'Aladdin should be being criticised'

a. No, [$_{vP}$ elogiado]$_i$ es lo que Aladino debería estar siendo t_i.
No, praised is PRO that Aladdin should be being t_i

b. No, [$_{ProgP}$ siendo elogiado]$_i$ es lo que Aladino debería estar t_i.
No, being praised is PRO that Aladdin should be t_i

'No, being praised is what Aladdin should be'

Predicate inversion. The patterns observed in VP-fronting and pseudo-clefting replicate in predicate inversion. (5) shows that movement can optionally select vP, headed by a passive participle (5a), or ProgP, headed by a present participle (5b). In line with Bošković (2014), predicate inversion may select the entire phase—ProgP in (5b)—or its complement—vP in (5a).

(5) a. [$_{vP}$ También ruidoso y desagradable] está siendo mi viejo amigo Carlos.
also noisy and obnoxious is being my old friend Carlos

b. [$_{ProgP}$ También siendo ruidoso y desagradable] está mi viejo amigo Carlos.
also being noisy and obnoxious is my old friend Carlos

'Also being loud and obnoxious is my old friend Carlos'

Idiom chunks. In support of the claim that vP_{prog} is a phase boundary in English, Harwood (2013) notes that some English idiomatic expressions are strictly used with the progressive, as in (6). In Spanish, although some idiomatic expressions (e.g., *tomar el pelo* 'to kid (someone)' are frequently used with the progressive, these expressions are not restricted in tense, aspect, or mood. The difference can be attributed to the location of the clause-internal phase boundary: whereas in English the clause-internal phase delimited by vP_{prog} includes the auxiliary *be*—under v_{prog^o} —together with its corresponding progressive morphology, in Spanish, the auxiliary *estar* is excluded from the clause-internal phase while the morpheme *-ndo* assumes a phase-delimiting role as the result of head movement during the derivation (den Dikken, 2007).

(6) a. Bob is dying to meet you = Bob is keen to meet you.

b. * Bob has died to meet you ≠ Bob has been keen to meet you.

Existential constructions. Progressive (passive) existential constructions in English and Spanish match on the surface. The internal argument Merged under VP raises to Spec-vP_{prog}—the clause-internal phase Edge—to check its Case features via Agree (Harwood, 2013). We claim that in Spanish, the internal argument lands in Spec-ProgP, corresponding to the clause-internal phase boundary proposed. Case features are satisfied via Agree with Spec-TP.

(7) a. Había muchos pitufos siendo arrestados por comportamiento antisocial.
there.were many smurfs being arrested for behavior anti-social

b. * Había siendo muchos pitufos arrestados por comportamiento antisocial.
there.were being many smurfs arrested for behavior anti-social

'There were many smurfs being arrested for anti-social behavior'

Clitic placement. Finally, the hypothesis of ProgP as a phase boundary in Spanish may account for the differences in TP internal clitic placement. As shown in (8), progressive participles (8a), but not passive or past participles (8b, c) may host object clitics. On the assumption that clitic movement targets phase heads (Roberts, 2010; Gallego, 2016), these facts are explained since ProgP is a phase head, unlike PerfP and VoiceP. (We take enclisis to reflect subsequent head-raising of the participle to the left of the clitic.)

(8)

a. Está cocinando-lo.	b.* Ha cocinado-lo.	c.* Fue dado-le.
be-3.SG cooking-it	have-3.SG cooked-it	be.PASS-3.SG given-her
'He/She is cooking it.'	'He/She has cooked it.'	'It was given her.'

Taken together, these data suggest there is a difference between English and Spanish in the location of the clause-internal phase boundary. The data show not only that the phase boundary is able to extend but also that it is variable across languages (den Dikken, 2007). For Spanish, this means that the vP phase boundary extends to ProgP as a result of head movement, i.e., the head of the clause-internal phase, v, raises to Asp_{prog^o} , therefore shifting the boundary with it.

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Answers in Gallo to Negative Polar Questions (Samantha Becerra Zita, LLING - Un. Nantes)

The aim of this paper is twofold: to look into the answers patterns of negative polar questions (NPQs) in Gallo, an endangered regional language of the Oïl family, to determine the locus and interpretation of negation (NEG), and to place Gallo in the typology of answer systems.

As diagnostic for the locus and interpretation of NEG in a language, we use the interpretation of answer particles to NPQs. In doing so, we assume 3 syntactic positions for NEG (following Holmberg (2015)): low, middle, or high NEG. **NPQ**s with high NEG double-check a positive proposition *p*, while NPQs with middle NEG double-check *not p* (Ladd 1981, Romero & Han 2004, Holmberg 2013).

We construct the **NEG-Diagnostics** in (1) (based on Holmberg):

1a. Low Neg Diagnostic: Languages have low NEG if YES asserts that *not p* is true, while NO asserts that *not p* is false (thus confirming *p*).

1b. Middle Neg Diagnostic. Languages have middle NEG if bare YES cannot be used to assert that *p* is true, while NO asserts that *p* is false. To assert that *p* is true, L can resort to reversal particles (reversing the polarity of *not p*), or to extended *yes* answers.

1c. High Neg Diagnostic. Languages have high NEG if YES asserts that *p* is true, while NO asserts that *p* is false.

The lack of the low negation in Gallo

Gallo does not have low NEG, but middle NEG: contrary to English (3a-c), in Gallo *vèrr* 'yes' cannot assert that *not p* is true, (2b/b') and *nouna* 'no' cannot assert that *not p* is false (2c-c'). Instead, *nouna* confirms *not p*. To confirm *p*, the reversal particle *sia* must be used.

2a. Ton chat, i maunj ti pouint du pâtë d coutum? 3a. Does your cat usually not eat pâté?
Your cat he eats Q°not the pâté of custom

b. *Vèrr (i maunj **pouint** d'pâtë d'coutum.) b. Yes (he doesn't eat pâté.)

c. Dam nouna (i maunj **pouint** d'pâtë d'coutum.) c. No (he eats pâté.)

c'. Darn $no_{\underline{uneg}}$ [$_{TP}$ he eat $not_{\underline{uneg}}$ pâté] ✓NC/*DN c'. $No_{\underline{ineg}}$ [$_{TP}$ he $doesnt_{\underline{ineg}}$ eat pâté] ✓DN

d. 'Sia' → asserts *p* is true (= he eats pâté.)

The absence of low NEG in (3) follows from a general property of neg-words (neg-indefinites (*persone* 'no one'), neg-answer particles (*nouna*), or morphological NEG (*pouint*)) in Gallo: they are **not** intrinsically negative and, as such, carry a UNEG feature that must be licensed by covert semantic NEG $Ø_{INEG}$ (Zeijlstra 2004). Evidence for this claim will be provided –e.g (3) where both *pas* and *person* appear in a *yes/no* question (NPI context) on a non-negative reading.

3 Gallo: Y'a pas persone? Gloss: There-has not no-one 'Is anyone/someone there?'

In Gallo, DN is unavailable since both $nouna_{UNEG}$ and $point_{UNEG}$ must be licensed by $Ø_{INEG}$ (2c-c'). (2b) will be ruled out because affirmative *verr* clashes with $Ø_{INEG}$ required to license $point_{UNEG}$.

The lack of high negation in Gallo and SF-Dialect 2

Gallo does not have high NEG either. The context in (5a) and the NPQ with *too* (PPI) (Ladd 1981) in (6b) ensure that B is double-checking a positive proposition *p* ("that Jane is coming"). In here, unlike English (5c), *vèrr* 'yes' cannot be used to assert that *p* is true (6c). Moreover, the Gallo reversal particle *sia* can be used to assert that *p* is true (6d), although it cannot be used to answer a positive PQ (7). Again, the answer pattern in (6) is of MidNeg, not HighNeg.

5a A: Ok, now that Stephan has come, we are all here. Let's go!

b B: Isn't Jane coming too? (From Romero & Han 2004)

c **Yes** (She is coming.) → asserts *p* is true

d No. → asserts that *p* is false → **HighNegD** (1c)

6a A: Entendu. Le Stephan ée arivë, mézë. Tout l' mondd son arivë. S'ée parti !
Understood the Stephan has arrived now All the world has arrived Let's go
'Ok, now that Stephan has arrived, we are all here. Let's go!'

b. B : La Jane, è viën pouint *(itou) ? 'Jane isn't coming too?'
The Jane she comes not also

c. ***Vèrr** d. ✓**Sia** (La Jane, è viën) e. ✓Nouna → **MidNegD** (1b)

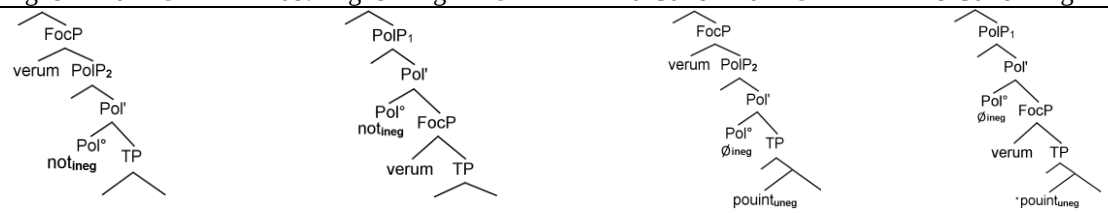
7a. Sabrina vient èl caté nouz ? ‘Is Sabrina coming with us?’
Sabrina come her with us
b. ✓Vèrr c ***Sia** d ✓Nouna

High vs. middle NEG interpretations have been derived as a scopal ambiguity between NEG and VERUM, a conversational epistemic (focus) operator which expresses “we are sure that *p/not p* should be added to the Common Ground” (Romero & Han 2004). When VERUM scopes over NEG (8b), the speaker double-checks *not p*. When NEG scopes over VERUM (9b), the speaker double-check *p.*

8a. Isn’t Alex coming either? (MidNEG) 9a. Isn’t Alex coming too? (HighNEG)
8b. [VERUM [*not p*]] (Question about *not p)* 9b. [NOT [VERUM *p*]] (Question about *p)*

By incorporating VERUM into the syntax of NPQs, semantic NEG can be generated in either of 3 positions: NEG can be above the TP in $PolP_2$ but below VERUM (HighNEG, (10a)) or under a polarity head ($PolP_1$) scoping above VERUM (MidNEG , (10b)), or inside TP (LowNEG).

10a. English MidNEG 10b. English HighNEG 11a Gallo MidNEG 11b Gallo *HighNEG



As we can see, what differentiates English and Gallo is the status of propositional negation. In English, *not* can be overtly spelled out in either of these positions as it is intrinsically NEG (carrying INEG). In contrast, Gallo *pas/pouint* (just like any other neg-word in Gallo, including the NEG answer *nouna*) is not intrinsically NEG: it carries a UNEG feature that must be checked by a covert negative operator $Ø_{INEG}$. If $Ø_{INEG}$ is generated in the middle position, under $Pol°_2$ below VERUM, then it licenses morphological NEG inside TP ($pouint_{UNEG}$).

However, if $Ø_{INEG}$ is generated under $Pol°_1$ above VERUM (MidNeg), then it fails to license $pouint_{UNEG}$ since the latter no longer falls in the immediate scope of $Ø_{INEG}$ because VERUM intervenes between the higher c-commanding $Ø_{INEG}$ and $pouint_{UNEG}$.

Evidence to support this comes from a correlated contrast between English and Gallo: in English, the PPI is licensed with high NEG (5b) because VERUM shields the PPI –that is, it intervenes between the PPI and the high NEG. In contrast, in Gallo (6b), the PPI is not licensed because semantic NEG must appear obligatorily below VERUM for $pouint_{UNEG}$ to be licensed. Thus, it cannot shield the PPI from NEG.

Based on our results, thus, we propose two more types of answer systems ((12iv)-(12v)) to Holmberg’s typology in (12i)-(12iii):

12.i) Languages with all 3 positions: high, low, middle (English, Standard French (SF))
ii) Languages with high and middle –but not low– NEG (Swedish, Finish)
iii) Languages with low –but neither high, nor middle– NEG (Japanese)
iv) Languages with middle –but neither high, nor low– NEG (**Gallo**)
v) Languages with middle and low –but not high– NEG (**SF-Dialect 2**)

Finally, we extend our account of the lack of high NEG in Gallo to Dialect2 of SF (which has low NEG (unlike Gallo), but not high NEG (just like Gallo)), to derive cross-linguistic variation across 5 languages, from the setting of 2 parameters: semantic (sentential) NEG overt or covert and negative polar response particles contributing semantic NEG or not, as summarized in (13).

(14) Language	Gallo	SF-Dialect 2	SF-Dialect 1 / Spanish / English
Negative Response particles	$Nouna_{UNEG}$	$Non_{INEG/UNEG}$	$Non_{INEG/UNEG}$ / $No_{INEG/UNEG}$ / $No_{INEG/UNEG}$
Sentential Negation	$Pas/pouint_{UNEG}$/ $Ø_{INEG}$	Pas_{UNEG}/ $Ø_{INEG}$	Pas_{INEG} / No_{INEG} / Not_{INEG}

SELECTED REFERENCES: Becerra-Zita, S., Demirdache, H. 2018. On Negation in Gallo. *Linfvisticae Investigationes* 41 (1), 111-128. Holmberg, A. 2013. The syntax of answer to polar questions in English and Swedish. *Lingua* 128, 31-50. Pasquereau, J. 2020a. Polar response particles in French as remnants of ellipsis. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics*, *5*(1). Romero, M. 2006. Biased yes/no questions: The role of VERUM. *Sprache und Datenverarbeitung*, *30*(1), 9-24. Zeijlstra, H. 2004. *Sentential Negation and Negative Concord*. Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam. Utrecht: LOT Publications.

Solipsistic and intersubjective bouletic attitudes

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Aim and scope The utterability of bouletic attitude reports is understood as sensitive to semantic features of their prejacent. Since Heim's seminal work, much has been said on the constraints relative to beliefs and plausibility (Villalta, 2008; Rubinstein, 2017; Anand et Hacquard, 2013; Portner & Rubinstein 2020, a.o.). Recently, the debate has focused on the distinction between *action-oriented* desire reports, in contrast to *mere desire* reports (Condoravdi & Lauer, 2016).

(1) After Hare (1971) : If you **want** sugar in your soup,

a. You must ask the waiter. ACTION-ORIENTED interpretation of *want*.

b. You must have diabetes. MERE DESIRE interpretation of *want*.

Describing the first use, theoreticians have encoded in the semantics of *want* the requirement for structures of desire compatible with planning and action (Condoravdi & Lauer 2016). These, in addition to ingredients referring to responsibility (Farkas, 1992), have shown the proximity of some desire reports with intention reports (Grano, 2017 a.o.). Here we understand these two interpretations as following from a fundamental difference between solispistic and inter-subjective profiles of the attitudes across the epistemic (representational) and the bouletic domain (preferential attitudes). We furthermore consider a variety of bouletic attitudes in French and explain observed differences in temporal orientation, and 'actionability' (cf. *infra*), from this twofold distinction. In this work, we will ignore mood related questions (see a.o. for a recent account Portner and Rubinstein 2020), as well as obviation.

Data. 1. Actionability In situations where the attitude holder/a third party **cannot** do anything in order to bring about p, *vouloir* is infelicitous and its conditional flexion is largely favored. This type of situations is instead supported by *espérer* ('hope') and *avoir envie* (literally 'have the desire').

(2) We are planning a family trip this weekend, and I really expect everything to be perfect.

a. J'**ai envie**/Je **voudrais**.COND/**#veux** qu'il fasse beau.
Litt. I have the desire / would want / want that the weather be nice.

b. J'**espère** qu'il fera beau. – Litt. I hope the weather will be nice.

We note that, if the realization of the prejacent seems to depend solely on the attitude holder actions, *espérer* is not felicitous, while *vouloir* and *avoir envie* are.

(3) Samia just checked the fridge, and saw that everything is there to do here favorite breakfast (scrambled eggs and orange juice). She says :
Je **veux/#espère/ai envie** de manger des oeufs brouillés et un jus d'orange.
Litt. I want / hope / have the desire to eat scrambled eggs with an orange juice.

2. Temporal orientation These contrasts echo the constraints on temporal orientation. As well known, *espérer* is compatible with past orientation (e.g. Anand and Hacquard 2013; Portner and Rubinstein, 2020) but not *vouloir* and *avoir envie*. Without any contextually-driven coercion, *vouloir* is not compatible with non-future orientation unless its conditional form *voudrais* (litt. 'would want') is used (see Laca, 2012).

(4) My daughter left her math homework on the table. Before checking the grade, I say :

a. J'**espère** que c'est une bonne note. – Litt. I hope that it is a good grade.

b. Je **voudrais/#veux/ai envie** que ce soit une bonne note.
Litt. I would want / want / have the desire that it is a good grade.

The constraints are summarized in the following table.

	Temporal constraint	Actionnability
espérer	None	Independent of the attitude holder
vouloir	Future	Dependent of somebody's action
avoir envie	Non-Past	None

Analysis and predictions Recent work on belief verbs has highlighted two interpretations of belief statements: solipsistic and intersubjective (see Giorgi and Pianesi 1996; Nuyts 2014; Mari and Portner 2021 a.o.):

(5) a. John believes that this is a good plan (solipsistic belief) (Nuyts 2014)

b. John believes that the school is closed today. (intersubjective belief)

Solipsistic belief expresses a belief that is not deemed to become common ground and can be considered as a credence. With intersubjective belief, instead, p is deemed to become common ground. Authors have noted that these two types of beliefs have different profiles with regard to prosody (Beyssade 2007), mood (Mari and Portner, 2021), suffixation (AnderBois 2007) and proposed a variety of implementations of this distinction in terms of questions raisability and more largely QUD. Importantly, inter-subjective belief has two points of assertion (the belief) and the content of the belief (see Simons 2007). To implement the core of this idea, we distinguish (along the lines of Hamblin, 1970; Gunlogson, 2001) between two types of belief states (as sets of worlds): mental states s (i.e. private spaces) and negotiation spaces $\mathcal{N}$ (i.e. public spaces). $\mathcal{N}$s are supersets of common grounds (see also Portner, 2007). With Farkas and Bruce (2010:88) we assume that assertions (by adding p to $\mathcal{N}$) project a future $\mathcal{C}$ that includes p. In order for $\mathcal{C}$ to actually include p a certain move is to be undertaken by the addressee (or a third party). With representational predicates, this move is *confirmation*. Simplifying for space reasons on the addition of p to $\mathcal{N}$ (we will provide a refined view of this simplification that equates belief statements with assertions), with i being the individual anchor and w the actual world we obtain the following picture.

Attitude	s= DOX(i,w)	$\mathcal{N}$	Uptake	$\mathcal{C}$
belief / other representational (Solipsistic)	p			
belief / other representational (Inter-subjective)	p	p	Confirmation	

Note that the inter-subjective interpretation subsumes the solipsistic interpretation. (The table omits for clarity that 'α believes p' is added to $\mathcal{N}$ with both the solipsistic and the inter-subjective interpretation).

We propose that bouletics also come in two sorts, solipsistic (6-a) and intersubjective (6-b) (on DOX and BUL, see Heim, 1992; von Fintel 1999).

(6) a. $[\![\alpha \text{ bouletic}_{sol}\, p]\!]^{i,w,BUL,DOX}$ = 1 = 1 iff $\forall w' \in BUL(DOX(i,w))\, p(w')$
b. $[\![\alpha \text{ bouletic}_{inter-subj}\, p]\!]^{i,w,BUL,DOX}$ = 1 iff $\forall w' \in BUL(DOX(i,w))\, p(w')$ (at issue)
PRESENT: p is added to $\mathcal{N}$ (speech-act-like content)

Under an inter-subjective interpretation the uptake enhanced by the volitional is *realization* on the part of the attitude holder or a third party.

Attitude	s= BUL(DOX(i,w))	$\mathcal{N}$	Uptake	$\mathcal{C}$
bouletic (Solipsistic)	p			
bouletic (Inter-subjective)	p	p	Realization	

'Actionability' with volitionals is thus a felicity condition on their inter-subjective profile (see also Roberts 2015). We assume that the semantic content of the verb is added with speech-act type content (contrary to the performative hypothesis (Sadock 1972; Kaufmann 2015) whereby speech acts are reduced to attitudes).

This explains why *vouloir* can have (in particular when the addressee is targeted) an imperative like interpretation, unlike *espérer* and *avoir envie*.

(7) a. Je **veux/ai envie** que tu ranges ta chambre – I want/have the desire that you clean up your room!
b. J' **espère** que tu rangeras ta chambre – I hope that you will clean up your room!

The default inter-subjective interpretation of *vouloir* can be overwritten by scalar and subjective expressions such as *tellement* (roughly 'so (much)'). We argue that this is due to the exclamative nature of *tellement* (Ozzello, 1978) which modifies the speech-act content of the attitude into an exclamative (TELLEMENT-EXCL: p is not added to $\mathcal{N}$) thus not calling for uptake. We will also suggest that the conditional levels the requirement of the realization by introducing counterfactual morphology.

(8) Je **veux** tellement qu'il arrive à l'heure – Litt. I want so much he arrives on time.

It also follows from our account that only inter-subjective *vouloir* is mandatorily future oriented, in virtue of 'realization'. With different bouletic predicates lexically specified for a given discursive use, we will show that *espérer* and *avoir envie* differ in terms of plausibility, with *espérer* featuring a doxastic modal base and a bouletic ordering source (see Anand and Hacquard 2013, Portner and Rubinstein 2020) and *avoir envie* featuring a preferential modal base only (thus inducing some modifications on (6-a)). This distinction will result as a lexical refinement in s, and does not hinge on their discursive profile, which is, for both, solipsistic.

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Prepositions in Spanish and possible exploitation to unaccounted uses

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Certain prepositions like [P] *hasta* find a dramatically divergent use systematized across Central American [CAM] Spanish varieties. In Mexican, Colombian, Peruvian, and Ecuador Spanish, namely, *hasta* shows a particular behavior with copular verbs in spatial (1) (Lope Blanch 2008, Bosque & Bravo 2011) and temporal constructions (2). Most importantly, divergent use coherently extends from stative to inceptive (3), and terminative verbs (4). Its distribution, along with its natural composition with additional Advs (*adelante* (2)b, *arriba* etc.) is crucially unavailable in more conservative (e.g. Iberian) Spanish varieties [IS]. The pattern is striking also for more general (non-language specific) reasons: namely, directional (left) boundary Ps are unexpected with states, certainly not in pure locatives like (1) or punctual happenings (3). Interestingly, (2) and (5) are possible in IS to asymmetric (before/after) readings.

(1) a. *La casa está hasta la punta del pueblo/hasta la derecha* **(CAM)**
the house is$_{ESTAR}$ up to the tip of-the village 'The house is at the end of the village' **(*IS)**
b. La casa está hasta adelante, hasta el fondo de la calle. **(*IS)**
the house is$_{ESTAR}$ until ahead until the end of the road '*The house is ahead, at the end of the road*'

(2) a. *La tarea estará terminada hasta el final del día.* **(*IS)**
work be$_{ESTAR.FUT}$ finished up to the end of-the day *'The work will be finished by the end of the day'*
b. *La inscripción es hasta este mes de junio*. **(*IS)**
the enrollment is until this month of June. 'Enrollment is (=starts) next June'.

(3) *El proceso se inicia/comienza hasta la enseñanza superior.* **(*IS)**
the process begins/starts until the teaching superior *'The process begins/starts in graduate school*

(4) *Esto acaba (recién) hasta que se cuenten todos los votos*. **(*IS)**
this ends only up to that se-cl count all the votes '*This ends once all votes are counted'*

(5) a.. *La Selección estará completa hasta el lunes*. [lit.: the team be$_{ESTAR.FUT}$ complete until Monday]
⇒ 'The Team will be complete **by** Monday' **(CAM)** | 'The Team will be complete **until** Monday' **(IS)**
b. *La tienda abre hasta las 7* (lit.: the store opens up to 7) **CAM=startpoint | IS=endpoint**
⇒ 'The store opens **at/starting from** 7' **(CAM)** | 'The store opens **until** 7' **(IS)**

Facts: contrasts with *standard* P choices (e.g. *estar a/en*) dismiss a semantically trivial innovative use. This, and the systematicity in the patterns and verbs allowed: (i)avoids coercion solutions to the alleged conflict between a directional P and a stative verb; (ii)is not coherent with putative elision of neg operators (6); (iii)points to a distinct, richer semantic denotation allowed by *hasta,* independent of 'redefinitions' or multiple entries. Consistent use in left-bounded predications across CAM is key.

(6) *Hasta ahora tuve tiempo de escribirte / logré desocuparme.*
Until now I-had time of write-$_{DAT}$you I-achieved free-me '**Only now** I had time to wite/I got free'

Hypothesis: **CAM** deploys *hasta* to measure distance from an implied *starting point* marking a standing [time/space] location of the speaker. Preserving a left-boundary semantics, it is compositionally used to set the endpoint of some *preparatory phase* preceding eventuality onset. IS is more limited, constrained to mark the endpoint of the interval where the verb-denoted eventuality holds. Consistent distributional patterns (verbs) in CAM show that *hasta* coexists and contrasts with the 'standard' distribution, opening the option to operate on a *distance* or perspectival path to be bounded. Such a *preparatory phase* component has been long argued across Romance varieties (e.g. (5)a, Brucart 2012).

We draw on a general condition on verb+$_{directional}$P combination (Cresswell 1978). An **ENDPOINT CONDITION (8)** agrees with the proposal that *hasta* can be associated with a predication visibly distinct to the one yielded by locative Ps, somehow benefitting from its directional nature to different but coherent results with relevant verbs. The distinct semantics of constructions like (1), if related to perspectival location, is perfectly amenable to the additional variable introduced by *from here* in (7)a-b (abstract path). Notably, the **EPC** depends on the denotational properties of the directional P, which must introduce a c*ontextually determined point of view from which the object is situated*. In CAM, this entailment is strong enough to

render the adjunct redundant (9), allowing the PP only if *hasta* is dropped. It is omissible when the verb encodes the inception component, but not free. Without *hasta*, (2)a-(3)a miss the '*from here'* sense of perspective from a startpoint which somehow foregrounds the interval prior to inception.

(7) a. *The house is behind/outside/across the woods (from here)* (Zwarts 2005(3))
b. The car is one mile *from* the garage/to the east.

(8) Locative Ps appear with copula (*be*) in locative sentences. With directional Ps this is possible if the location is understood as the **endpoint of a hypothetical journey** described by the P from an *implicit* point of view (7)a, **or** measure phrase (7)b. (Cresswell 1978:112, Zwarts 2005:742)

(9) La casa está (hasta) detrás del lote (*?desde aquí). 'The house is behind of the lot (from here)'

While the proposal follows definitions of *hasta* like Talmy's (2000:254), its implementation builds on analyses where the aspectual contribution of spatial Ps are laid out in terms of Vector Space Semantics [VSS] (Winter 2001 *i.a.*) as underlying ontology to the analysis of PP structures. On this view, CAM shows that *hasta* can also be used to determine a circumstance where P marks endpoint to an (abstract) set of ordered vectors, introducing a starting point and points in between on which the direction lexically encoded by the P imposes ordering, thus defining a path (Zwarts 2005:744). To this result, two assumptions are key: **(i)**location and other spatial properties are represented as *relative positions* modeled by vectors (Zwarts & Winter 2000); **(ii)**paths *require* a fixed reference object [RO] (Zwarts 2005:283) to locate the object. Even if a RO also figures in simple locative and temporal constructions (*estar en/a*), when applied to directional Ps this relative function accommodates the '*from here'* entailment making *hasta* a non-trivial choice, explaining non-standard uses under a general condition like (8).

Directional Ps would represent a spatial stretch that connects the starting point and the endpoint of a trajectory (located vector) with temporal and atemporal uses of directional Ps determining that the path merely preserves linear ordering (Zwarts & Winter 2000, Zwarts & Gärdenfors 2016). The set of ordered vectors (path) may be instantiated by any fictive path: a line of sight, a walking distance, or a *route* for a *hypothetical* journey. A perspectival *path* introduced by *hasta* would have an endpoint (final vector) at the RO, with a starting point at an unspecified location set by default at the location of the speaker, yielding the '*from here*' entailment that accommodates the relevant condition ((7)a), yielding (9) accordingly. The projective direction (*'up to'*) imposes the correct ordering on the points connecting the stationary path´s start and endpoint. That P *hasta* is directional and, especially, a *boundary* P, is key to endpoint interpretation yielding asymmetric use under EPC. DPs setting a boundary to the landmark (*punta, límite* in (1)) also work coherently to stress the *journey* sense. Thus, (1)a is computed under entailment that *house* stands at the endpoint of an abstract trajectory traversing the town. In IS, a *located vector u* $<w_0, w_1>$ determines the region where the located object LO is framed (w_0=location of RO and w_1=relative location of the LO, Winter 2001). CAMS allows constructions where RO and LO coincide at w_1 (endpoint of *u*), leaving the additional (contextually-fixed starting point claimed by Cresswell) (w_0) as a key variable for a nontrivial sense of distance. Whereas in *standard* locatives w_0, w_1 are in the landmark, in *hasta* constructions w_0 is not.

SUMMING UP. an *abstract journey* sense and the idea of a perspectival location from the viewpoint of the speaker extend coherently, explaining distinct uses/combinations. In IS and CAMS, the use of *hasta* is equally accommodated by the P prime (birelational function) AT-END-OF (Jackendoff 1990) in spatial and nonspatial uses. In all cases, the PP expresses a PLACE that is at the terminus of a PATH starting (from *here*) at the RO. This explains asymmetries, as *hasta* marks endpoint in different ways: in IS, it limits the length of space/time the LO holds for ('until' reading), measuring the interval at which the eventuality named by the verb holds. CAM diverges to exploit AT-END-OF to measure the span of the *fictive* (Jackendoff 1991) (noneventive) path locating the RO at its end. CAMS would exploit this entailment, using *hasta* for foregrounding, in a logical extension of the same semantic (AT-END-OF) relation. This crucially outweighs the idea of *meaningless anomalities* (Lope Blanch). Facts point instead to understudied strategies for grammatically realizing space/time constructions with perspectival starting point as key variables, with consequences on generalizations on how predicates can be constructed and exploited in natural languages. Future research deals with possible extension/occurrence in Romance.

Morphosyntactic patterns of unique nouns in Romance languages

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Non-relational individual nouns such as *king*, *pope*, etc. are inherently unique while non-relational sortal nouns such as *man*, *boy*, etc. are not inherently unique (Löbner 2013: 76–78). Crosslinguistically, unique nouns may morphosyntactically differ from non-unique ones and even behave like personal names. This paper examines the diverging morphosyntactic patterns of unique nouns in selected Romance languages providing evidence from possessive constructions in Old French, Differential Object Marking (DOM) in Old Spanish, lack of article-drop in unmodified PPs in Romanian, and distinct definite articles in Balearic Catalan.

In Old French, possessive constructions involving human referents as possessors could be realized by means of yuxtaposition or the prepositions *à/de* (Buridant 2000: 99–100). Personal names occur with yuxtaposition while human common nouns occur either with yuxtaposition or with preposition, as exemplified in (1). For example, Palm (1977: 115) found that between 1150–1225 the possessors *Artu* 'Arthur', *le rei* 'the king', and *le chevalier* 'the knight' are attested with yuxtaposition with a relative frequency of 90% (745/832), 79% (406/516), and 5% (9/181), respectively. The different behaviour found among human common nouns can be accounted for in a more satisfactory way if we break up this category into unique (*rei* 'king') and non-unique (*chevalier* 'knight') nouns. As a result, unique nouns resemble personal names in that they take yuxtaposition while non-unique nouns take the preposition *à/de*.

(1) Possessive constructions in Old French (taken from Palm 1977)
  a. *li filz Ø Lancelot / li fils Ø le rei*
     'the son of Lancelot / the son of the king'
  b. *le fil au chevalier*
     'the son of the knight'

In Old Spanish, DOM is obligatory with personal names, but optional with human definite NPs. More specifically, Laca (2006: 442–443) shows that in fourteenth-century Spanish, personal names and human definite NPs are differentially marked in 100% (8/8) and 55% (36/66) of the cases, respectively. However, a closer look at the category of human definite NPs reveals that unique nouns such as *rey* 'king', *infante* 'prince', etc. differ from non-unique nouns such *hombre* 'man', *moço* 'boy', etc. in that they always require the *a*-marker, as illustrated in (2). In this respect, unique nouns resemble personal names. Although scholars such as Monedero (1983: 279–288) pointed to the special status of dignity titles, the morphosyntactic behaviour of such nouns has not been explained in terms of uniqueness.

(2) DOM in fourteenth-century Spanish (taken from *Conde Lucanor*)
  a. *ca él conoscía muy bien al rey.*
     'since he knew the king very well.'
  b. *que tomasse Ø el moço a cuestas.*
     'that he should carry the boy on his back.'

In Romanian, prepositions selecting the accusative (*în* 'to/in', *la* 'to/in', *pe* 'DOM', etc.) block the occurrence of the suffixed definite articles *-ul/-le* (masc.) and *-a* (fem.) (Mardale et al. 2013: 536–540). However, unique nouns such as *împărat* 'emperor', *popă* 'priest', *regina* 'queen', etc. can optionally take the definite article, as shown in (3) (Pope 1948: 149; AR 2008: 77). In

this respect, they pattern with kinship names (*l-am văzut pe fratele* 'I have seen my brother'), but not with first names (*l-am văzut pe Ion* 'I have seen John'), which lack the definite article.

(3) Definite article in PPs in Romanian
  a. *l-am văzut pe băiatØ / pe fată*
     'I have seen the boy / the girl.'
  b. *l-am văzut pe împăratul / popa / regina*
     'I have seen the emperor / the priest / the queen.'

Balearic Catalan exhibits different definite articles for proper names (*en Joan* 'John', *na Maria* 'Mary'), unique nouns (*el rei* 'the king', *la terra* 'the Earth'), and non-unique nouns (*es noi* 'the boy', *sa noia* 'the girl'). In this way, we find minimal pairs such as *el bisbe* 'the bishop' vs. *es bisbe* 'the stomach', *la terra* 'the Earth' vs. *sa terra* 'the soil', etc. When unique nouns occur in plural or are modified, they lose their uniqueness status and take the definite article typical of non-unique nouns, as in *es reis* 'the kings' or *es nostro rei* 'our king', respectively.

In summary, we will show that Romance languages provide morphosyntactic evidence for the special behaviour of unique nouns. In addition to uniqueness, animacy plays a role in Old French, Old Spanish, and Romanian where only human unique nouns morphosyntactically differ from inanimate unique nouns as well as non-unique nouns (regardless of animacy). Moreover, in these languages human unique nouns behave like personal names. By contrast, animacy does not play a role in Balearic Catalan since human and inanimate unique nouns morphosyntactically deviate from proper names and non-unique nouns (regardless of animacy). These results will be backed up by reference grammars and selected corpora (CDH, Frantext).

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A Distinctness account of the distribution of Relative *wh*-DPs in English and Romance

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The problem(s) — As is well known (e.g. Cinque 1982), restrictive relative clauses (RRCs) in Romance languages bar the occurrence of inflected relative *wh*-DPs with direct case gaps, as exemplified from Italian in (1) (cf. the grammatical oblique counterpart in (2)). In these cases, the invariant relativizer *che* must be used (3).

(1) *L'uomo il quale Maria ha sposato.
The man the which M. has married
'The man who married Maria.'

(2) L'uomo con il quale Maria è uscita
'The man with whom Maria went out'

(3) L'uomo che Maria ha sposato.
The man that M. has married

This distribution contrasts with that found in English-type languages, where no such restriction holds in finite RRCs. However, in English the restriction against bare *wh*-DPs appears in infinitival RCs (4), as is also the case in Romance (5).

(4) a. *The man whom to marry b. *The table which to buy.
c. The man on which to rely d. The chair on which to sit.

(5) a. *L'uomo il quale sposare. b. *L'uomo che vedere.
c. L'uomo sul quale contare

Here we follow a line of research (Kayne 2010 a.o.) in assuming that so-called relative complementizers are normal *wh*-DPs, and not the spell-out of C. Hence we take *il quale* in (1-2), (5a), and *che* in (3), (5b) to share the same categorial status (DP). This assumption, coupled with the distribution in (1)-(5), raises the following questions: (A) why does Romance, but not English, bar bare *wh*-DPs from occurring at the edge of finite RRCs? (B) why does *che* (or its equivalents in other Romance languages) not conform to this general pattern in finite RRCs? (C) Why do both Romance and English bar bare *wh*-DPs from occurring at the edge of infinitival RRCs (including *che* and equivalents)? Though question (A) was amply discussed in the Government and Binding era, there still lacks a comprehensive account of this asymmetry within a minimalist framework (Gallego's 2007 proposal is problematic for object relatives). Minimalist accounts of (C) (e.g. Pesetsky and Torrego 2006, Richards 2010) treat this issue independently of (A) and (B). Our purpose in this talk is to discuss the puzzling asymmetry in the distribution of relative *wh*-DPs between English and Romance and offer a potentially unifying minimalist account of (A)-(C). **The proposal —** Our account of issues (A)-(C) builds on Richards' (2010) account of the ungrammaticality of (4) under his Distinctness Theory (DT). According to DT, a linearization statement <α, α> is barred at PF if (i) α = X(P); and (ii) <α, α> is generated within the same Spell-Out domain. In other words, two non-distinct labels cannot be part of the complement of the phase head when this is transferred to the interfaces. Two non-distinct labels must therefore be separated by an intervening phase head if they are to be linearized. Following Bianchi (1999), we can take infinitival relatives to be structurally deficient with respect to tensed relatives. Importantly, tensed relatives may contain an intervening phase head between the relative *wh*-DP and the upper DP; infinitival relatives, on the other hand, must not contain an intervening phase head between the two DPs (cf. Douglas 2016 for similar conclusions). These assumptions yield the following configurations (irrelevant details omitted; the boldfaced C1 is a phase head):

(6) [$_{DP}$ the man [$_{C1P}$ **C1** [$_{C2P}$ [$_{DP}$ who] $_{C2}$ [she married]]]]

(7) *[$_{DP}$ the man [$_{C1P}$ [$_{DP}$ who] **C1** [to marry]]]

In tensed relatives (6), the upper DP and the *wh-DP* 'who' are separated by the phase head C1 (Force in Bianchi 1999); their spell-out is therefore licensed. In the infinitival relative (7) no such intervening phase head is present. This causes the two DPs to be in the same Spell-Out domain, generating an illicit linearization statement <α, α>; hence, the derivation crashes at PF. The grammaticality of infinitival

relatives with *wh*-PPs is accounted for by assuming, with Richards, that P is a phase head. This assumption ensures that the upper DP and the *wh*-DP are in two different Spell-Out domains:

(8) a. The man on which to rely
'The man with whom to speak.'
b. [$_{DP}$ the man [$_{C1P}$ [$_{PP}$ [$_{P}$ on [$_{DP}$ whom]]] $_{C1}$ [to rely]]]

This account extends straightforwardly to the distribution of Romance *che*-like elements and to the general unavailability of bare *wh*-DPs at the edge of infinitival relatives. In particular, *che* in (9) is licensed in the same way as 'who' in (6): *che* is linearized in a different Spell-Out domain than the upper DP. In (10), on the other hand, the *wh*-DP occupies a position that is 'too close' to the upper DP, causing a violation of DT. In (11), a preposition (counting as a phase head) is inserted between the two DPs salvaging an otherwise illicit PF representation.

(9) [$_{DP}$ l'uomo [$_{C1P}$ $_{C1}$ [$_{C2P}$ [$_{DP}$ che] $_{C2}$ [Maria ha sposato]]]]
(10) *[$_{DP}$ l'uomo [$_{C1P}$ [$_{DP}$ che/il quale] $_{C1}$ [sposare]]]
(11) [$_{DP}$ l'uomo [$_{C1P}$ [$_{PP}$ [$_{P}$ sul [$_{DP}$ quale]]] $_{C1}$ [contare]]]

This analysis offers an account for questions (B) and (C). With respect to (A), maintaining that Distinctness is involved in the ungrammaticality of (1), we propose that *wh*-DPs of the *il quale*-type (but also e.g. Spanish *quien*, French [+animate] *qui*, etc.) land onto a higher left peripheral head than *wh*-DPs of the *che*-type and English *wh*-DPs (cf. Bianchi 1999). Importantly, this left-peripheral head must be located within the same Spell-Out domain as the upper DP. Though we admittedly have no direct evidence of the different landing sites in the languages we consider (cf. Rizzi 1997), we can bring some indirect evidence to support our conclusion. First, we note that in some languages, like Georgian in (12)-(13) (from Cinque 2020: 60, citing Callegari 2014), relativizers can land onto different projections within the left periphery. Interestingly, in Georgian it is the inflected relativizer *romelsac* that lands higher than the invariant *rom*, which supports the idea that *il quale*-phrases (inflected) may land higher than *che*-type (invariant) *wh*-DPs.

(12) a. Biči Vanos *rom* c'igns miscems.
boy-Nom Vano-Dat that book-Dat he-will-give-it
b. *Biči *rom* Vanos c'igns miscems.
(13) a. K'aci *romelsac* nobelis p'remias aucileblad miscemen.
man-Nom who-Dat Nobel-Gen prize-Dat undoubtedly they-will give-it
b. *?K'aci nobelis p'remias *romelsac* aucileblad miscemen.

Second, we observe that in some Romance languages D-linked *wh*-phrases occupy a higher position than non-D-linked *wh*-phrases in interrogatives, as in the Northern Italian dialect in (14) (from Munaro 1999).

(14) a. Con che tosat à-tu parlà? b. Avé-o parlà de chi?
with which boy did you speak? have you spoken of whom?

If *il quale*-type phrases encode a [+D-linked] feature in their structure, unlike *che*-type *wh*-DPs, we can further motivate their landing onto a higher left-peripheral head, which by hypothesis would be dedicated to hosting this type of phrase (cf. Rizzi 2011; Villata et al. 2016). If this is on the right track, we propose that question (A) can be answered by assuming that *il quale*-type phrases land onto the specifier of a phasal head (C_1 or Force), as in (15); being in the same Spell-Out domain, the sentence is therefore ruled out under DT. In (16), as usual, the preposition shields off the *wh*-DP from the upper DP, so that its spell-out can be licensed at PF.

(15) *[$_{DP}$ l'uomo [$_{C1P}$ [$_{DP}$ il quale] $_{C1}$ [$_{C2P}$ $_{C2}$ [Maria ha sposato]]]]
(16) [$_{DP}$ l'uomo [$_{C1P}$ [$_{PP}$ [$_{P}$ con [$_{DP}$ il quale]]] $_{C1}$ [$_{C2P}$ $_{C2}$ [Maria è uscita]]]]

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Satellite-framed encoding of creation events in French
Judgment data on resultative PPs and effected objects

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Topic: This study investigates the availability of satellite(S)-framing in present-day Hexagonal Standard French. Drawing on two acceptability judgment tasks (AJTs), it pursues the question of under which conditions a manner verb can combine with a non-verbal result constituent within the core VP. Research building on Talmy's (a.o. 1985) seminal typology has shown that languages are usually not exclusively (S)- or verb(V)-framed, but that S-framing and V-framing tend to be available across language types, however, in varying degrees and under different conditions (e.g. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2019). Creation events provide a suitable test ground for examining the possibility of S-framing as their encoding obligatorily involves a resultative meaning component. In S-framed languages, this component can be expressed by an effected object whose referent comes into being as the result of the event denoted by the verb or by a resultative PP. In French, both options are not freely available with manner verbs, but not entirely barred either. Two verb classes can be distinguished: "Inflexible" verbs (henceforth class I) are confined to activity or change-of-state (COS) readings, (1)a. They do not allow for effected objects, (1)b, and their only way to obtain a creation reading is by combining with a resultative PP, which typically embeds a bare noun (BN) and not a full DP, (2).

(1) a. Inès a plié le papier.
'Inès folded the paper.'

b. Inès a plié un avion en papier.
#'Inès created a paper plane by folding.'
'Inès folded a[n already existing] paper plane.'

(2) Inès a plié le papier en (?un) avion.
'Inès folded the paper into [a] plane.'

"Flexible" verbs (class II) alternate between activity/COS and creation readings, (3)a vs. b, and it has been claimed that these verbs do usually not express creation by combining with a resultative PP, (4) (e.g. Folli & Harley 2020 for Italian, Pradet et al. 2014 for French).

(3) Marie a sculpté a. le bois. / b. une poupée.
'Marie carved the wood. / a doll.'

(4) ?Marie a sculpté le bois en (une) poupée.
'Marie carved the wood into [a] doll.'

Theoretical framework: The question of which configurations of the VP qualify as S-framing depends on theorical assumptions. This study draws on a decompositional model of verbal event structure, namely Ramchand's (2008) model of the split VP, which captures the distinctions relevant for this study on a structural level. The affected/effected object distinction corresponds to UNDERGOERS vs. PATHS that occupy different positions in the split VP. Furthermore, the model includes a typology of resultatives only few of which are available in French. This study focuses on 'PATH'-resultatives vs. 'RESULT'-resultatives as the former are often only dispreferred, whereas the latter are barred if an unselected direct object is involved.

AJT 1 investigates whether French allows for resultative PPs with verbs from both class I and class II. It is based on the observation that class-II-verbs differ from class-I-verbs in allowing for a referential result-denoting expression as evidenced by their compatibility with effected objects, (3b). Their lexical semantics, thus, licenses a result-denoting argument and it appears that verbs with this property also more easily combine with a full referential DP embedded within the resultative. The AJT tests the following **hypotheses**. Verb from both classes combine with resultative PPs (H1). Class-II-verbs, however, more readily accept a resultative PP that embeds a full DP than class-I-verbs (H2). The AJT is, thus, based on a two-factorial design: verb class (I vs. II) and complement of P (BN vs. full DP), cf. (5) and (6).

(5) Pour mieux supporter la chaleur, Inès a plié le papier en {éventail / un éventail}.
'To better withstand the heat, Inès folded the paper into {fan / a fan}.'

(6) Comme surprise pour sa femme, Claude a forgé l'or en {médaillon / un médaillon}.
'As a surprise for his wife, Claude forged the gold into {locket / a locket}.'

20 subjects participated in the study, which is based on a within-subject **design**. Each verb class is represented by 10 verbs chosen based on information on their syntactic and semantic properties in *Les Verbes Francais* (Dubois & Dubois-Charlier 1997) and Verb∋Net (Pradet et al. 2014). The stimuli were counter-balanced and presented along with fillers in a pseudo-randomized order. Acceptability was measured on a 7-point Likert scale. The effects of the experimental manipulations were estimated by a linear mixed effects model. The **results** show that both verb classes are fairly acceptable with a resultative PP (H1) and that indeed only class-I-verbs show a preference for resultative PPs with only a BN (H2). The final model includes the interaction of verb class and complement of P as the best predictor of acceptability.
AJT 2 tests effected objects with verbs from different classes (I, II and the light verb *faire)* and the **hypothesis** that the verbs at stake yield graded differences in acceptability. The **design** is analogous to that of AJT I. The experimental factors are main verb in the VP (manner verb or *faire*) and in the case of manner verbs class I vs. II, cf. (7) and (8). Class-I-verbs are grouped into two subclasses. Class Ia includes verbs such as *plier* that are limited to activity/COS readings in French but license creation readings in many SF-languages. Class-Ib-verbs such as *mordre* are not creation verbs. However, in certain SF-languages, they can obtain a creation reading by combining with an unselected effected object and a locative PP, (9).

(7) À partir du papier, Inès a {plié / fait} un éventail pour mieux supporter la chaleur.
'Out of the paper, Inès {folded / made} a fan to better withstand the heat.'

(8) À partir du reste du bois, Paul a {sculpté / fait} une poupée pour le théâtre de guignol.
'Out of the rest of the wood, Paul {carved / made} a doll for the puppet theatre.'

(9) En jouant, le chiot a {mordu / fait} un trou dans la botte.
'While playing, the puppy {bit / made} a hole in the boot.'

The **results** show that VPs such as (8) are rated as fully acceptable regardless of whether the verb is a manner verb or *faire*. VPs such as (7) are only completely acceptable if *faire* fills the main verb slot. The variants with manner verbs yield a heterogeneous picture. VPs with a class-Ia-verb are less acceptable than their counterparts with *faire*, however, not completely unacceptable. Only VPs with a class-Ib-verb such as *mordre* in (9) turn out to be clearly unacceptable and cannot be coerced into creation readings.
Conclusions: Certain VP-configurations that involve a manner verb and a non-verbal constituent are perceived as well-formed or can be coerced into a creation reading under specific conditions. Structures that involve a PATH (effected object or resultative PP) are accepted depending on verb class or makeup of the resultative PP. A categorical constraint can only be confirmed for structures with manner verbs and an unselected object, (9), as this structure is uniformly rejected. Based on a model of verbal event structure and perception data, we can, thus, approach more fine-grained answers to the question of under which conditions structures that might instantiate S-framing are available in a restrictive V-framed language such as French.

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Anticausative *SE* is an expletive: evidence from stylistic applicatives in Chilean Spanish

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Theoretical background. A number of authors have advanced the hypothesis that anticausative markers such as Spanish *SE* are (pure) expletives of a semantically null Voice projection (Schäfer 2008, Pujalte & Saab 2012, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Saab 2020, i.a.). That is, while a transitive sentence such as *Cosmo abrió la puerta* 'Cosmo opened the door' checks a formal D-feature on Voice by merging a DP as an external argument (1a), the anticausative construction *la puerta se abrió* 'the door opened' does it by inserting the reflexive *SE* in [Spec,VoiceP] (1b).

(1) a. $[_{\text{VoiceP}}$ Cosmo $[_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\cancel{\text{D}}}$ $[_{v\text{P}}$ ...
b. $[_{\text{VoiceP}}$ SE $[_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\cancel{\text{D}}}$ $[_{v\text{P}}$ ...

A missing piece of evidence supporting this approach is a pattern in which anticausative markers overtly display an expletive-like behavior. Pure expletives like English *there* (Chomsky 1995, i.a.) or Finnish *sitä* (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002) allow for patterns such as (2): given a configuration like (2a), either an element YP within the phrase marker moves to [Spec,XP] to check the F-feature on X^0 (2b), or an expletive EXP is introduced in the derivation to do so (2c).

(2) a. $[_{\text{XP}}$ X$_{\cancel{\text{F}}}$ ... $[_{\text{ZP}}$ YP ...
b. $[_{\text{XP}}$ YP $[_{\text{X'}}$ X$_{\cancel{\text{F}}}$ ... $[_{\text{ZP}}$ ~~YP~~ ... YP moves to [Spec,XP] to check F
c. $[_{\text{XP}}$ EXP $[_{\text{X'}}$ X$_{\cancel{\text{F}}}$ ... $[_{\text{ZP}}$ YP ... EXP is introduced in [Spec,XP] to check F

If anticausative markers are expletives in the sense of (2c), they should exhibit some alternation in the lines of (2b). That is, there should be some scenario in which anticausative markers are in complementary distribution with movement of a constituent to [Spec,VoiceP]. Both syntactic options must result in anticausative constructions.

I contend that Chilean Spanish provides a pattern in which anticausative *SE* exhibits the sort of alternation depicted in (2b) and (2c). The relevant data comes from the *stylistic LE* phenomenon.

Stylistic *LE*. In General Spanish, an affected dative (Cuervo 2003) can be used together with inchoative *SE*, e.g., (3); this configuration triggers an interpretation in which the dative argument is an unintentional causer (e.g., Cuervo 2003, Schäfer 2008, Pujalte 2012, i.a.).

(3) Se me rompió la radio.
REFL DAT.1SG broke.3SG the radio
'I unintentionally caused the radio to be broken.'

Chilean Spanish also displays the pattern in (3), but it can further express the same meaning by introducing the invariable and non-referential form *LE*, i.e., the stylistic *LE*. As (4) and (5) show, anticausative *SE* becomes optional in this context. In both cases, the unintentional causer reading is still available.

(4) Me **le** rompió la radio.
DAT.1SG LE broke.3SG the radio

(5) Se me **le** rompió la radio.
SE DAT.1SG LE broke.3SG the radio

Stylistic *LE* may arise in other contexts involving affected datives and inchoative *SE*, e.g., with unaccusative verbs of change licensing inchoative *SE* (6), with psych-verbs formed with *SE* (7).

(6) a. Se me murió la planta.
SE DAT.1SG died.3SG the plant
'I unint. caused the plant to die.'
b. Me **le** murió la planta.
DAT.1SG LE died.3SG the plant
c. Se me **le** murió la planta.
SE DAT.1SG LE died.3SG the plant

(7) a. Se me olvidó eso.
SE DAT.1SG forgot.3SG that
'I forgot that.'
b. Me **le** olvidó eso.
DAT.1SG LE forgot.3SG that
c. Se me **le** olvidó eso.
SE DAT.1SG LE forgot.3SG that

The phenomenon manifests a morphological restriction. The patterns involving *LE* can only surface

with affected datives in 1SG (*me*) or 2SG (*te*). All other dative clitics (i.e, 3SG *le*, 1PL *nos*, 2PL/3PL *les*) block stylistic *LE*., e.g., (8) vs. (9).

(8) Se nos rompió la radio.
SE 1PL broke.3SG the radio
'We unint. caused the radio to be broken.'

(9) * (Se) nos **le** rompió la radio.
SE 1PL LE broke.3SG the radio

The analysis. My proposal encompasses two main ingredients. First, I adopt the hypothesis that anticausative *SE* is an expletive of VoiceP; I assume that semantically null Voice^0 requires a specifier pertaining to the class of reflexive elements. Second, I take that affected datives are introduced as high applicatives, with the dative clitic being the exponent of Appl^0 (Cuervo 2003). These assumptions yield the schematic representation in (10) for the example in (3).

(10) $[_{\text{VoiceP}}$ SE $[_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\langle \cancel{\text{REFL}} \rangle}$ $[_{\text{ApplP}}$ me$_{\varphi}$ $[_{\upsilon\text{P}}$ ...]]] cf. (3)

I contend that the relevant parametric property distinguishing General and Chilean Spanish is that the latter can "split" Appl^0 into two syntactic objects: a set of φ-features occupying [Spec,ApplP] and an invariable applicative marker *LE* in Appl^0, e.g., (12); I take that the set of φ-features receives dative case from Appl^0. Thus, while General Spanish generates the structure in (11), Chilean Spanish can generate both (11) and (12).

(11) $[_{\text{ApplP}}$ me$_{\varphi}$ $[_{\upsilon\text{P}}$ ...]]

(12) $[_{\text{ApplP}}$ me$_{\varphi}$ $[_{\text{Appl'}}$ **LE** $[_{\upsilon\text{P}}$ ...]]]

These assumptions provide an immediate analysis for the patterns in which anticausative *SE* co-appears with stylistic *LE*, e.g., (5). In these cases, the structure of the ApplP is as in (12), while the reflexive *SE* is introduced in [Spec,VoiceP] to satisfy the requirements of Voice^0.

(13) $[_{\text{VoiceP}}$ SE $[_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\langle \cancel{\text{REFL}} \rangle}$ $[_{\text{ApplP}}$ me$_{\varphi}$ $[_{\text{Appl'}}$ **LE** $[_{\upsilon\text{P}}$ ...]]]] cf. (5)

The pattern in (4) involves no expletive insertion. Instead, I propose that the set of φ-features generated in [Spec,ApplP] moves to [Spec,VoiceP] to satisfy the selectional requirements of Voice^0.

(14) $[_{\text{VoiceP}}$ me$_{\varphi}$ $[_{\text{Voice'}}$ Voice$_{\langle \cancel{\text{REFL}} \rangle}$ $[_{\text{ApplP}}$ $\cancel{\text{me}_{\varphi}}$ $[_{\text{Appl'}}$ **LE** $[_{\upsilon\text{P}}$ ...]]]] cf. (4)

The reason why the dative clitic can move to [Spec,VoiceP] is because Spanish exhibits syncretism between dative and reflexive clitics in 1SG and 2SG. As is known, syncretism repairs selectional mismatches in a number of syntactic contexts, e.g., Zaenen & Karttunen (1984), Pullum & Zwicky (1986), Dalrymple & Kaplan (2000), Himmelreich (2017). Thus, *me* in (14) is taken to function as 1SG.DAT for Agree-purposes with Appl^0, and as 1SG.REFL to satisfy the [+REFL] feature on Voice^0.

The morphological constraints in the construction can be easily captured under this analysis. Assume that the only clitics than can split from Appl^0 are those being syncretic with reflexive forms. This prevents the forms *le* (3SG.DAT) and *les* (3PL.DAT) from participating in the stylistic *LE* construction. As for the restriction with *nos* (1PL.DAT), e.g., (9), this dative clitic is syncretic with its reflexive counterpart. However, it cannot co-appear with stylistic *LE* for independent reasons. As observed by Rivero (2008: 215), 1PL.REFL cannot co-appear with a third person dative form, e.g., *LE*, in unaccusative constructions.

(15) * A Ana nos le antojamos nosotros.
DAT Ana 1PL.REFL 3SG.DAT fancy.1PL we.NOM
'Ana fancies us.' *1PL.REFL+*LE*

The analysis in (13) and (14) provides an elegant explanation for the alternation in (3), (4) and (5), and particularly for the fact that the anticausative construction in (4) displays no *SE*. Moreover, if this account is on the right track, the stylistic *LE* phenomenon in Chilean Spanish provides key evidence for the hypothesis that anticausative markers are expletives, as the structures in (13) and (14) are equivalent to those discussed in (2c) and (2b), respectively.

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Prepositions as relators in Italian Prepositional Compounds

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The problem — A heterogenous class of nominal compounds (henceforth Prepositional Compounds (PCs); Delfitto and Melloni 2009:77) in Italian is formed following the schema N + P + N, as in (1). Normally, PCs do not allow a full DP to be licensed inside the complement of P and the head to be modified. Nonetheless, evidence that PCs do have internal morphosyntactic structure is provided by experimental investigation with aphasic patients (Franco et al. 2013).

(1) a. *Cavallo da corsa* 'racehorse' (lit. 'horse from/by race')
b. *Barca a vela* 'sailboat' (lit. 'boat at/to sail')
c. *Botte di ferro* 'Iron barrel' (lit. barrel of iron)

In this talk, we address the status of the preposition in PCs. Specifically, we are interested in understanding the morphosyntactic role of the prepositions as well as the contribution they make at the CI interface. We focus on the prepositions *da* 'from'/'by', *a* 'to'/'at', *di* 'of', as these are the most productive ones in PCs, the remaining prepositions either being non-productive or only marginally so (Masini 2009).

As is well known, these prepositions are syncretic with locative and oblique (genitive and dative) adpositions in Italian. One question that arises with respect to this syncretism is whether this tells us something meaningful about grammar or whether it is merely due to a matter of arbitrary lexical idiosyncrasy. An influential analysis of prepositions takes these to be meaningless elements acting as sort of repairers for derivations that would otherwise crash, with the reparation being performed either in the syntax (to assign case to caseless objects; Chomsky 1981, 1986), or at PF (to avoid an illicit N-N string; Richards 2010). However, the use of a specific preposition in PCs can be argued to generate predictable patterns of relations between the nominals in the compound (cf. *infra*), suggesting that the characterization of prepositions as elements devoid of interpretive content cannot be entirely correct. On the other hand, we also reject views of prepositions that attribute too much structure or meaning to them, as in cartographic/nanosyntactic (e.g. Cinque 2010, Pantcheva 2011) and Generative Lexicon analyses (e.g. Busa and Johnston 1996).

Background assumptions — We assume that prepositions encode an elementary relator that interacts with the structure in which they are embedded. Concretely, Manzini and Franco (2016) characterize prepositions as general relators expressing the relations *is-included* (⊆)/ *includes* (⊇), or, in other words, their content is what Belvin and den Dikken (1997: 170) dub "zonal inclusion": "Entities have various zones associated with them, such that an object/eventuality may be included in a zone associated with an entity without being physically contained in that entity". Thus for instance 'of' lexicalizes ⊆ in (2), whereas 'with' lexicalizes the opposite relation ⊇ in (3a). In both cases, the preposition relates two arguments such that one is interpretatively 'included' in the other, with either the c-commanding DP being included in the c-commanded DP or vice versa, depending on the particular directionality expressed by the relator.

(2) a. The children of the woman.
b. [$_{DP}$ [$_{D}$ the [$_{NP}$ children [$_{PP}$ [$_{P}$ of (⊆) [$_{DP}$ the woman]]]]]]

(3) a. The woman with the children.
b. [$_{DP}$ [$_{D}$ the [$_{NP}$ woman [$_{PP}$ [$_{P}$ with (⊇) [$_{DP}$ the children]]]]]]

The proposal — Maintaining that prepositions are relators, we propose the lexical entries in (4) for *da*, *a*, and *di* in PCs.

(4) a. *da* = ⊆ (*is-included* relation)
b. *a* = ⊇ (*includes* relation)
c. *di* = ⋂ / ⊆ (*intersection* or *is-included* relation)

In *da*-compounds, the relation is always one of inclusion between the c-commanding and the c-commanded NP. For instance, in (5a), *canna* 'rod' is identified at CI as an entity belonging to a fishing event. The telic (i.e. purpose) relation that *canna* 'rod' establishes with the event *pesca* 'fishing' need not be directly attributed to the preposition (*contra* e.g. Busa and Johnston 1996, Delfitto and Melloni 2009), but can be read off of the inclusion relation. In other cases, in fact, *da* does not express telicity: in (5b), 'hat' is simply interpreted as belonging to a non-specific priest.

(5) a. *canna da pesca* 'fishing rod' a'. [$_{NP}$ canna [$_{PP}$ ⊆ [$_{NP}$ pesca]]]
b. *cappello da prete* 'priest's hat' b'. [$_{NP}$ cappello [$_{PP}$ ⊆ [$_{NP}$ prete]]]

Next, *a*-compounds often signal that the c-commanded NP is a part of the c-commanding NP — either in a physical or figurative fashion, the matter being established at CI. We formalize this relation lexicalized by *a* as one of reverse inclusion. Thus *barca a vela* in (6a) denotes a type of boat that establishes a physical possession relation with a sail (i.e., the sail is included in the boat); similarly, in (6b) the screwdriver 'has' a cross, though in this case the possession relation is ultimately interpreted as being one of formal resemblance.

(6) a. *barca a vela* 'sailboat' a'. [$_{NP}$ barca [$_{PP}$ ⊇ [$_{NP}$ vela]]]
b. *cacciavite a croce* 'cross-head screwdriver' b'. [$_{NP}$ cacciavite [$_{PP}$ ⊇ [$_{NP}$ croce]]]

The lexicalization of *di* as ⋂ is often found when the c-commanded NP is the material or stuff out of which the c-commanding NP is made, which again can be the case either in a physical sense, as in (7a), or in a more figurative one, as we assume is the case in (7b). We formalize *di* as ⋂ to account for the fact that in compounds of this type the referent denoted by the compound is identified via the meaning of both NPs in an intersective way: in (7a) the referent is identified as the entity possessing the property of being a ring and of being golden; likewise, in (7b) the referent is simultaneously endowed with the property of being a card and of being credit. As in other cases, ⋂ is not to be read in strict set-theoretic terms: the exact semantic relations between the two NPs in the compound (such as 'made-out-of', 'is-for', etc.) are not encoded on the preposition but computed on the basis of the elementary ⋂ meaning at the CI interface.

(7) a. *anello d(i)'oro* — 'golden ring' a'. [$_{NP}$ anello [$_{PP}$ ⋂ [$_{NP}$ oro]]]
b. *carta di credito* — 'credit card' b'. [$_{NP}$ carta [$_{PP}$ ⋂ [$_{NP}$ credito]]]

Although the meanings of *da* and *di* partially overlap, these elements are not entirely in free distribution in PCs. However, we can identify specific restrictions on the use of *di* as ⊆; namely, *di* can express ⊆ only in compounds that acquire idiomatic meanings. We thus propose that ⊆ shows contextual allomorphy in PCs, with *di* lexicalizing the relation in idiomatic compounds and *da* being the elsewhere form.

(8) a. *cavallo di battaglia* 'strongest asset' (lit. 'horse of battle')
a'. [$_{NP}$ cavallo [$_{PP}$ ⊆ [$_{NP}$ battaglia]]]
b. *occhio di lince* 'smart person' (lit. 'eye of lynx')
b'. [$_{NP}$ occhio [$_{PP}$ ⊆ [$_{NP}$ lince]]]
c. *pozzo di scienza* 'found of knowledge' (lit. 'well of science')
c'. [$_{NP}$ pozzo [$_{PP}$ ⊆ [$_{NP}$ scienza]]]

Conclusion — We have provided a formal explanation for the morphosyntax of Italian PCs, focusing on the role of P. We assume that Ps act as elementary relators interacting with the structure they are embedded in. In Italian PCs, their lexicalization is shaped by the nature of the relation they express (zonal inclusion, intersection) and by the directionality of this relation (*inclusor*, *inclusee* or vice versa). The relevant interpretation of PCs is ultimately derived by pragmatic enrichment at the CI interface on the basis of the elementary content expressed by P. **Selected References** — BELVIN, R., & M. DEN DIKKEN. 1997. *Lingua* 101. 151–183. BUSA, F. & M. JOHNSTON. 1996. "Cross-linguistic semantics for complex nominals in the generative lexicon". DELFITTO, D. & C. MELLONI. 2009. *Lingue* &

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The Syntax of European Portuguese Resultatives

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Resultatives refer to single clause constructions that describe an event of a change of state, involving Manner (the causing eventuality) and Result (the end state), neither one introduced by morphological marker or conjunction, such as *John hammered the metal flat* (see Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995).

Talmy's (1985) typology distinguishes satellite-framed languages (e.g., Germanic languages) and verb-framed languages (e.g., Romance languages) in how motion events and caused-result events are expressed. For example, English resultatives such as (1a) are not allowed in European Portuguese (Portuguese, henceforth), as shown in (1b). However, some resultative-alike constructions are observed in Portuguese, as shown in (2).

(1) a. *John hammered the metal flat*.
b. *O *João martelou o metal plano*.
(2) a. *O João pintou a parede de amarelo*.
b. *O arquiteto construiu a cisterna oculta*. (Duarte & Oliveira 2010)

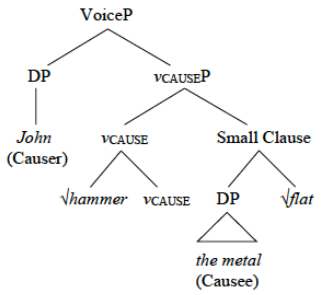
In this study, we argue that these apparent resultatives in Portuguese in (2) are "pseudo-resultatives" (see Carrier & Randall, 1992), which have a distinct structure from the "true resultatives" such as (1a). The differences between true resultatives and pseudo-resultatives include:

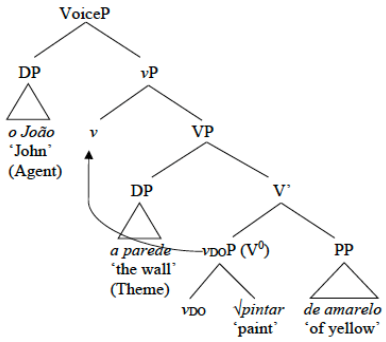
(3) a. True resultatives but not pseudo-resultatives may produce "strong resultative" meanings (see "strong" and "weak" resultatives in Washio 1997)
b. Pseudo-resultatives require the Subject to be an Agent, but this is not necessary with true resultatives. For example, in the true resultative *The sea ate the beach away*, "the sea" is not an Agent of the action "eat", but a Causer of the resulted event.
c. Pseudo-resultatives but not true resultatives require that the Object is an internal argument of the main verb, as shown by the contrast between the pseudo-resultatives in (2) and the true resultative *He drank the pub dry*, where 'the pub' is not an internal argument of 'drink'.
d. The result predicate of pseudo-resultatives can serve as proper answers to the "how" question (4a), but it is not the case with true resultatives (4b).

(4) a. - 'How did he paint the wall?' (Regarding [2a])
- *De amarelo*.
of yellow
b. – 'How did he hammer the metal?' (Regarding [1a])
– **Flat*.

Assuming with the general idea of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1994) and different flavors of *v* (Folli & Harley 2005), we claim that while true resultatives involve v_{CAUSE} (a causative structure), pseudo-resultatives involve v_{DO} (an agentive structure). In English true resultatives such as (1a), v_{CAUSE} takes a Small Clause as its Complement, and a Manner-denoting root ("√") Conflates to v_{CAUSE} as an adjunct (see Manner Incorporation/Conflation in Harley 2005 and Haugen 2009), as shown in (5a). In pseudo-resultatives such as (2a), the Manner-denoting root Merges with v_{DO} and becomes the main verb, which takes an XP (PP in [2a]) as its Complement and a DP in an internal argument position, as shown in (5b). The structural differences can account for the observations in (3).

(5) a. English true resultative in (1a) b. Portuguese pseudo-resultative in (2a)

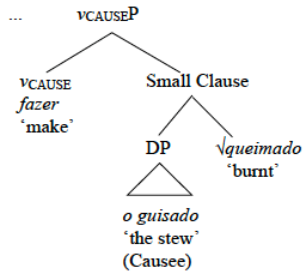




Following Mateu (2012) that Romance languages lack true resultatives because Manner Conflation is not allowed, we claim that Portuguese "simple resultatives" such as (6a) have a causative structure similar to (5a). They are allowed because no Manner Conflation is involved – the causative verb is a phonetic realization of v_{CAUSE}.

(6) a. *O cozinheiro fez o guisado queimado*. (Duarte & Oliveira 2010)
the cook made the stew burned

b.



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