

Syntactic Variation in Romance *v*

Ángel J. GALLEGO

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona – Centre de Lingüística Teòrica

<angel.gallego@uab.cat>

- GOALS:
- (i) Discuss a series of morpho-syntactic differences that have *v* as its locus
 - (ii) Argue for a micro-parametric approach whereby Romance *v* can be associated with an additional projection, whose featural nature may vary

1. The asymmetries

Romance languages manifest a cluster of object-based asymmetries with “*v*” as its locus (cf. D’Alessandro 2012, Torrego 1998, 1999, Ordóñez & Treviño 2012, a.o.).

1.1. VOS sentences: (i) object fronting or (ii) VP fronting (cf. Alboiu 1999, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001, Belletti 2004, Cardinaletti 2001, 2004, Costa 2002, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Gallego 2013, Haegeman 2000, López 2009, Ordóñez 1998, 2007, Zubizarreta 1998, a.o.)

- (1) a. Recogió cada coche_i su_i propietario (Spanish)
picked-up-3.SG each car its owner
Its owner picked up each car
- b. *Hanno salutato Gianni_i i propri_i genitori (Italian)
have-3.PL greeted Gianni the own parents
His own parents have greeted Gianni

1.2. *VSO sentences* (cf. Belletti 2004, Picallo 1998, Ordóñez 1998, Zubizarreta 1998, 1999, a.o.)

- (2) a. Todos los días compra Juan el diario (Spanish)
all the days buy-3.SG Juan the newspaper
Juan buys the newspaper everyday
- b. O invita cam de Ion pe fata acesta (Romanian)
CL-her invite-3.SG quite often Ion PE girl the-that
Ion invites that girl quite often [from Belletti 2004]
- c. *Fullejava en Joan el diari (Catalan)
browsed-3.SG the Joan the newspaper
Joan was browsing the newspaper [from Picallo 1998]
- d. *Ha comprato Maria il giornale (Italian)
have-3.SG bought Maria the newspaper
Maria has bought the newspaper [from Belletti 2004]

1.3. *Differential Object Marking (DOM)* (cf. Torrego 1998, Leonetti 2004, López 2012, a.o.)

- (3) a. Il caut pe un student (Romanian)
CL-ACC seek PE a student
I'm looking for a student
- b. *J'ai vu a un enfant (French)
I-have seen to a kid
I have seen a kid

1.4. *Oblique clitics* (cf. Bonet 1995, Kayne 1975, 2008, Roberts 2010, Torrego 1998, a.o.)

- (4) a. J'en ai bu (French)
I-CL have drunk
I drank some
- b. Hi he viscut molt de temps (Catalan)
CL have lived a-lot of time
I have lived there for a long time

1.5. *Leísmo: DAT instead of ACC* (cf. Fernández-Ordóñez 1993, 1999, Romero 1997, a.o.)

- (5) a. **Le** vi (al niño) (European Spanish)
CL-DAT saw-1.SG the kid
I saw him
- b. ***Gli** ho visto (Italian)
CL-DAT have seen
I have seen him
- c. ***Li** he vist (Catalan)
CL-DAT have-1.SG seen
I have seen him

1.6. *Laísmo: ACC instead of DAT* (cf. Fernández-Ordóñez 1993, 1999, Romero 1997, 2011, a.o.)

- (6) a. **La** dije que Luis viene hoy (Central European Spanish)
CL-ACC said that Luis come today
I told her that Luis comes today
- b. ***La** ho detto che Luigi viene oggi (Italian)
CL-ACC have said that Luigi come today
I have told her that Luigi comes today
- c. ***La** he dit que en Lluís arriba avui (Catalan)
CL-ACC have said that the Lluís arrive-3.SG today
I have told her that Luigi comes today

1.7. *Participial agreement* (cf. Kayne 1989, Boeckx 2004, Paoli 2006, a.o.)

- (7) a. Combien de **tables** as-tu **repeintes**? (French)
how-many of tables have-2.SG-you repainted-FEM.PL
How many tables did you repaint?
- b. Jean **les** a **repeintes** (French)
Jean CL-FEM.PL have-3.SG repainted-FEM.PL
Jean has repainted them

- (8) a. Paolo **le** ha **viste** (le ragazze) (Italian)
 Paolo CL-FEM.PL have-3.SG seen-FEM.PL the girls
 Paolo has seen them
- b. **Le ragazze** que Paolo ha {visto / *viste} (Italian)
 the girls that Paolo have-3.SG seen-MASC.3.SG/FEM.3.PL
 The girls that Paolo has seen
- (9) a. En Pau l' ha **trencada**, la clau (Catalan)
 the Pau CL-FEM.SG-have-3.SG broken the key
 Pau has broken it, the key
- b. **Quina clau** ha {trenca/*trencada}, en Pau? (Catalan)
 which key have-3.SG broken-MASC.3.SG/FEM.3.FEM, the Pau
 Which key has Pau broken?

1.8. *Possessive HAVE* (cf. Kayne 1993, Freeze 1992, Torrego 1999, a.o.)

- (10) a. Marie a le livre (French)
 Marie have-3.SG the book
 Marie has the book
- b. Marie ha il libro (Italian)
 Marie have-3.SG the book
 Marie has the book
- c. *María ha el libro (Spanish)
 María have-3.SG the book
 María has the book

1.9. *Auxiliary selection* (cf. Kayne 1993, Mateu 2003, Sorace 2000, a.o.)

- (11) a. Maria é arrivata (Italian)
 Maria be-3.SG arrived-FEM.SG
 Maria has arrived

- b. *El tren és arribat (Catalan)
the-train be-3.SG arrived
The train has arrived
- c. *El verano es llegado (Spanish)
the summer be-3.SG arrived
Summer has arrived

1.10. *Causative structures* (cf. Bordelois 1974, Zubizarreta 1985, Treviño 1994, Guasti 2006, Ordóñez 2008, Torrego 1998, 2010, Ciutescu 2012, a.o.).

- (12) a. L -au facut (pe el) a compune piesa intr-o ora (Romanian)
CL-ACC have made PE him to compose song-the in an hour
They made him compose the song for an hour [from Ciutescu 2012]
- b. Hicimos a los chicos comprar los libros (European Spanish)
made-1.PL to the boys buy the books
We made the boys buy the books [from Ordóñez 2008]

However, Catalan, Italian, French, and Río Plata Spanish preclude this position for the causee.

- (13) a. *Pierre a fait a Jean ouvrir la porte (French)
Pierre have made to Jean open the door
Pierre made Jean open the door [from Ordóñez 2008]
- b. *Gianni fece a Daniele aprire la porta (Italian)
Gianni made to Daniel open the door
Gianni made Daniel open the door [from Ordóñez 2008]
- c. *En Joan a fet la Maria obrir la porta (Catalan)
the Joan have made the Maria open the door
Joan made Maria open the door
- d. *Hicimos a los chicos comprar los libros (Río de la Plata Spanish)
made-1.PL to the boys buy the books
We made the boys buy the books [from Ordóñez 2008]

1.11. *Clitic doubling with DPs* (cf. Jaeggli 1982, 1986, Torrego 1994, Cecchetto 2000, Belletti 2005, Anagnostopoulou 2009, a.o.)

- (14) a. Lo he visto a Juan (Río de la Plata Spanish)
 CL have seen to Juan
 I have seen Juan
- b. *L' he vist (a) en Joan (Catalan)
 CL have seen to the Joan
 I have seen Joan
- c. *Lo vedrò domani Gianni (Italian)
 CL will-see tomorrow Gianni
 I have seen Juan
- d. *Jean la connaît Marie (French)
 Jean CL know-3.SG Marie
 Jean knows Marie
- e. l -am văzut pe Popescu (Romanian)
 CL have-1.SG seen PE Popescu
 I have seen Popescu

(15) Putting all the pieces together, the following picture emerges:

	WEST. ROMANCE			CENT. ROMANCE			EAST. ROMANCE
	<i>E. Port.</i>	<i>Galician</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Catalan</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Romanian</i>
DOM	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
VOS	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
VSO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
OBLIQUE CL.	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO
LEÍSMO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
LAÍSMO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
PART. AGR.	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO
AUX. SELEC.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
CL. DOUBLING	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
CAUSEE + INF	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
POSS. "HAVE"	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO

2. A micro-parameter for v

- (16) The asymmetries above plausibly have the category “ v ” (or some object-agreement related projection) as its locus (cf. D’Alessandro 2012, Gallego 2013, Torrego 1999).
- (17) Capitalizing on the first three asymmetries (DOM, Object Shift, and VSO) and the fact that they seem to be connected (Gallego 2013), I formalize this idea as follows, taking “ v ” to be associated with a functional category that is responsible for DOM, object shift (in VOS sentences), and VSO. I label such category “ X ” (López 2012).

$$[_{vP} DP v [_{XP} X [_{VP} V DP]]]$$

Suppose now that X can be further parametrized:

- a. $X = \varphi$ -features
- b. $X =$ prepositional (φ -less)

- (18) The “ X ” in (17) resembles D’Alessandro’s (2012) “ π .” This author argues for three possibilities with respect to the status of “ π ”:

- A. π is not merged
- B. π is a bundle of valued features
- C. π is a bundle of unvalued features (a Probe, in Chomsky’s 2000, 2001 sense)

- (19) Additionally, D’Alessandro (2012) argues that “ π ” can be inserted at different joints of the clause structure, giving rise to different language groups.

- a. $[v [\pi [V \dots]]]$ ($\pi = \pm$ valued features)
- b. $[T [\pi [v \dots]]]$ ($\pi = \pm$ valued features)
- c. $[C [\pi [T \dots]]]$ ($\pi = \pm$ valued features)

Of course, “ π ” can also be projected in more than one position:

- d. $[C [\underline{\pi} [T [\underline{\pi} [v \dots]]]]$ ($\pi = \pm$ valued features)
- e. $[C [\underline{\pi} [T [\underline{\pi} [v [\underline{\pi} [V \dots]]]]]]$ ($\pi = \pm$ valued features)

- (20) These ideas align with Uriagereka’s (1995) study of the left periphery of Romance, which was subject to a syntactic parameter (the presence / absence of F) and a morphological one (the φ -endowment of F). I will assume so, pursuing a micro-parametric account of the facts (cf. Biberauer 2008, Biberauer et al. 2010, Kayne 2000, Roberts 2008, etc.).

3. On X and parametric variation in Romance

- (21) Ideally, X (modulo morphological adjustment and syntactic placement; cf. D’Alessandro 2012, Torrego 1999, Uriagereka 1995) should account for the facts in (15).

$[_{vP} (X) [_{vP} DP \nu [_{XP} (X) [_{VP} V DP]]]]$

- (22) As just noted, I argue that X can be a source of agreement (φ) or else a prepositional (P) element (cf. D’Alessandro 2012):

$[_{vP} (X) [_{vP} DP \nu [_{XP} (X) [_{VP} V DP]]]]$ MICRO-PARAMETER

a. X = φ -features

b. X = prepositional

- (23) The presence of φ -features on X can account for DOM and object shift (both being A-related phenomena).

a. $[_{vP} \quad \text{OBJ} \quad [_{vP} \text{SUBJ} \nu_{\varphi} [_{VP} V \text{t}_{\text{OBJ}}]]]$ X = φ -features (Romance A)

b. $[_{vP} [_{VP} V \text{OBJ}] [_{vP} \text{SUBJ} \nu_{\text{p}} \quad \text{t}_{\text{VP}}]]$ X = prepositional (Romance B)

- (24) The feature composition of ν can be further related to clitic phenomena, assuming that ν is the locus of internal argument clitics (cf. Torrego 1998, Roberts 2010).

a. $[_{vP} DP \nu [_{XP} \varphi [_{VP} V DP]]]$ oblique clitics in the morpho-phonology – NO

b. $[_{vP} DP \nu [_{XP} P [_{VP} V DP]]]$ oblique clitics in the morpho-phonology – YES

- (25) Leísmo is typically regarded as a gender / animacy marking strategy (Fernández-Ordóñez 1993, 1999, Romero 1997). Both *lo* and *le* are thus ACC clitics.

a. María vio	a Juan	→	María {lo / le}	vio	(European Spanish)
María saw-3.SG	to Juan		María CL-ACC/DAT	saw-3.SG	
María saw	Juan		María saw	him	
b. María vio	el coche	→	María {lo / *le}	vio	(European Spanish)
María saw-3.SG	the car		María CL-DAT	saw-3.SG	
María saw	the car		María saw	it	

- (26) Instead, suppose leísmo involves dativization of an ACC clitic. The dative status of *le* can be shown from the PCC effects (cf. Bonet 1995, Ormazabal & Romero 2007).

Entregué el prisionero	DO al juez	IO	→	Se {lo / *le}	entregué
hand-over the prisoner	to-the judge			CL _{DAT} CL _{ACC} CL _{DAT}	hand-over
I handed over the prisoner	to the judge			I handed him over	to him (lit.)

- (27) Leísmo should be related to the “X = φ -features” parameter. This is possible if we analyze DOM as involving a complex VP structure (cf. Gallego 2007 and Torrego 2010).

a. María visitó	a Juan	(Spanish)
María visited-3.SG	to Juan	
María visited	Juan	
b. [_{vP} María <i>v</i> [X [Juan [P VISIT]]]]		
	X = φ -complete	Juan = ACC (non-leísta dialects)
	X = partially φ -defective	Juan = DAT (leísta dialects)

- (28) Taking these considerations to be on track, let us assume the following:

Leísmo involves: ACC → DAT

- (29) Laísmo is typically regarded as gender motion. However, as Romero (1997, 2011) argues, this proposal predicts that laísmo should be found whenever datives are (passive, unaccusative, and psych verbs), but it is not:

- a. El regalo **le** fue enviado (Spanish)
 the gift CL_{DAT} was sent
 The gift was sent to him/her
- b. *El regalo **la** fue enviado (Central European Spanish)
 the gift CL_{ACC} was sent
 The gift was sent to her

- (30) With Romero (1997, 2011), I analyze laísmo as a *Double Object Construction* (DOC), whereby an IO is assigned ACC through dative shift. In brief:

Laísmo involves: DAT → ACC

- (31) Assuming a dependent approach to Case (Marantz 1991), where DAT is more complex than ACC (which in turn is more complex than NOM), all this means that if a dialect has leísmo then it *can* have laísmo (but see Andriani 2011).

- (32) The next question is why leísmo is absent in Catalan (and Romance B more generally). Under the analysis put forward here, it must follow from the fact that ACC cannot become DAT, which should also be related to the absence of DOM:

- a. [_{VP} DP *v* [X [_{VP} V DP]]] X = φ -complete (non-leísta Spanish / Romance A)
 X = partially φ -defective (leísta Spanish / Romance A)
 X = completely φ -defective (Romance B)

- (33) The lack of φ -features in X for Romance B seems to be related to the possibility that dative clitics become locative. For Catalan, the connection as already been made by Bonet (1995, 2002), Mascaró (1985), Rigau (1978, 1982) and Roca (1992), and could be understood as taking *li* as *l* + (locative) *hi*.

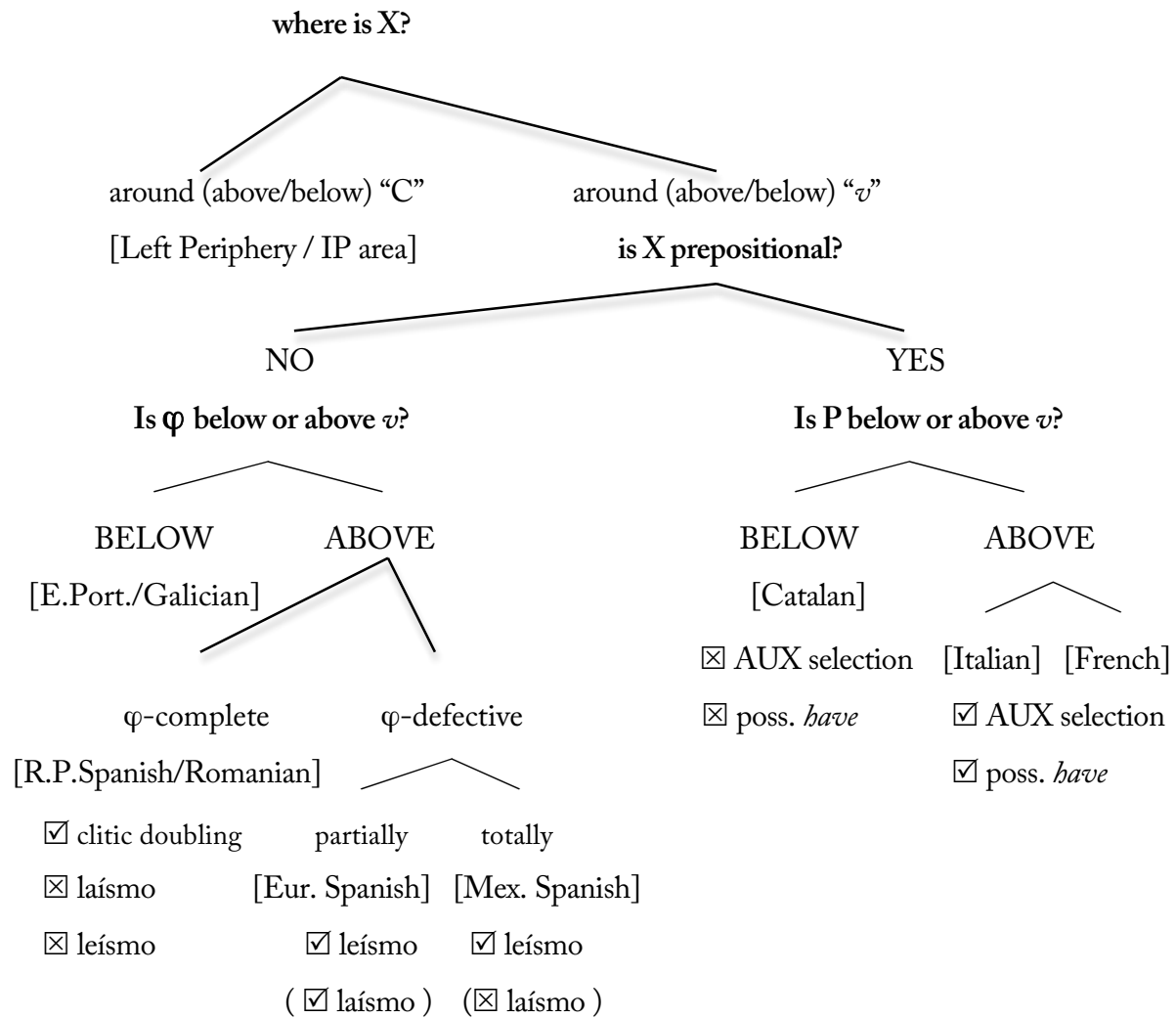
- (34) It is well-known that DAT is spelled-out as LOC in the presence of ACC (cf. Bonet 1994, 2008):

Donarem els diners a la Maria → Els {*li / hi} donarem
will-give-1.PL the money to the Maria CL_{ACC} CL_{DAT/LOC} will-give-1.PL
We will give the money to Maria

- (35) There are further contexts where Romance A DAT becomes PART in Romance B (cf. Roca 1992).

- a. Los alumnos se ríen de María → Los alumnos se *le* ríen (Spanish)
the students SE laugh of María the students SE CL_{DAT} laugh
The students laugh at María
- b. Els alumnes se 'n riuen (de la Maria) (Catalan)
the students SE of-her laugh of the Maria
The students laugh at her [from Roca 1992]

(36) The general picture (cf. D'Alessandro 2012, Biberauer et al. 2010, Torrego 1999, a.o.).



4. Conclusions

- (37) We have seen different pieces of evidence suggesting the presence of micro-parametric cuts that have an object-agreement projection as its locus. We have dubbed this projection X, assuming it is related to *v*.

$[_{vP} (X) [_{vP} DP \ v [_{XP} (X) [_{VP} V DP]]]]$

- (38) We know that X must be related to *v* somehow, but the precise mechanism has been left open here (bundling, phrasal spell-out, splitting, inheritance etc.; Chomsky 2008, Pollock 1989, Starke 2010).
- (39) The nature of X can vary across Romance. In some languages (Romance A), it has a purely agreement nature. In others (Romance B), a prepositional one.
- (40) We also know that the precise syntactic placement of X can change (cf. D'Alessandro 2012, Torrego 1999).

REFERENCES (SELECTED)

- Alexiadou, A. and E. Anagnostopoulou. 2001. “The subject in situ generalization, and the role of Case in driving computations”. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 193-231.
- Andriani, L. 2011. “Differential Object Marking, Clitic Doubling, and Argument Structure in Barese”. MA Thesis, U.Leiden.
- Belletti, A. 2004. “Aspects of the Low IP Area”. In L. Rizzi (ed.), *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures (vol. 2)*, 16-51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biberauer, T. (ed.) 2008. *The Limits of Syntactic Variation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Biberauer, T., A. Holmberg, I. Roberts, and M. Sheehan (eds.). (2009). *Parametric Variation: Null Subjects in Minimalist Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boeckx, C. 2004. “Long Distance Agreement in Hindi: Some Theoretical Implications”. *Studia Linguistica* 58: 23-36.
- Bonet, E. 1995. “Feature structure of Romance clitics”. *NNLT* 13: 607-647.
- Bonet, E. 2002. “Clitització”. In J. Solà et al. (eds.), *GCC*. Barcelona: Empúries.
- Borer, H. 1984. *Parametric Syntax: Case Studies in Semitic and Romance Languages*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, C. 1994. *The syntax of Romanian: Comparative studies in Romance*, Berlin: MdG.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, C. 1998. “Impersonal *se* Constructions in Romance and the Passivization of Unergatives”. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29: 399-437.
- Cardinaletti, A. 2004. “Towards a cartography of subject positions”. In L. Rizzi (ed.), *The structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures (vol. 2)*, New York: OUP, 115-165.
- Chomsky, N. 2001. “Derivation by Phase”. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1-52.
- Ciutescu, E. 2012. “Notes on the Syntax of Analytical Causative Constructions in Three Romance Languages”. Ms., CLT-UAB.
- D’Alessandro, R. 2007. *Impersonal si constructions*. Berlin: MdG.
- D’Alessandro, R. 2012. “Merging Probes. A typology of person splits and person-driven differential object marking”, Ms. LUCL Leiden.
- Fernández-Ordóñez, I. 1993. “Leísmo, laísmo y loísmo: estado de la cuestión”. In O. Fernández Soriano (ed.), *Los pronombres átonos*. Madrid: Taurus.
- Fernández-Ordóñez, I. 1999. “Leísmo, laísmo y loísmo”. In I. Bosque and V. Demonte (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, Madrid, Espasa Calpe.
- Gallego, Á.J. 2007. *Phase Theory and Parametric Variation*. Ph.D. Dissertation, UAB.
- Gallego, Á.J. 2013. “Object Shift in Romance”. *NNLT* 31: 409-451.
- Kayne, R. 1989. “Facets of Romance past participle agreement”. In Paola Benincà (ed.), *Dialect variation and the theory of grammar*, 85-103. Dordrecht: Foris.

- Kayne, R. 1993. "Toward a Modular Theory of Auxiliary Selection". *Studia Linguistica* 47: 3-31.
- Guasti, M.T. 1996. "Semantic restrictions in Romance causatives and the incorporation approach". *Linguistic Inquiry* 27: 294-313.
- Haegeman, L. 2000. "Remnant movement and OV order". In Svenonius, P. (ed.). *The derivation of OV and VO*, 69-96. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kayne, R. 2000. *Parameters and Universals*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.
- López, L. 2012. *Indefinite objects*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Mascaró, J. 1985. *Morfologia*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana.
- Motapanyane, V. (ed.) (2000). *Comparative Studies in Romanian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Elsevier.
- Ordóñez, F. 1997. *Word Order and Clause Structure in Spanish and Other Romance Languages*. PhD dissertation, City University of New York.
- Ordóñez, F. 1998. "Post-verbal asymmetries in Spanish". *NLLT* 16: 313-346.
- Ordóñez, F. 2008. "Las causativas y la distribución del sujeto causado en el español de Río de la Plata y el español peninsular: evidencia para un núcleo aplicativo". ALFAL, Montevideo, Romania Nova, August 20 2008.
- Paoli, S. 2006. "On the relation of [gender] Agreement". In J. Costa and M.C. Figueredo Silva (eds.), *Studies on Agreement*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 223-242.
- Picallo, M.C. 1998. "On the EPP and Null Expletive Subjects". *Probus* 10: 219-241.
- Rigau, G. 1982. "Inanimate Indirect Object in Catalan". *Linguistic Inquiry* 13: 146-150.
- Roberts, I. 2008. "Macroparameters, Markedness, and Typological Drift". Talk given at *TabuDAG*, University of Groningen, June 6 2008.
- Roberts, I. 2010. *Agreement and Head Movement: Clitics, Incorporation and Defective Goals*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Roca, F. 1992. La determinación y la modificación nominal en español. PhD dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Madrid.
- Romero, J. 1997. Construcciones de doble objeto y gramática universal. PhD dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Romero, J. 2011. "Accusative datives in Spanish". Ms., Universidad de Extremadura.
- Sorace, A. 2000. "Gradients in Auxiliary Selection with Intransitive Verbs". *Language* 76: 859-890.
- Torrego, E. 1995. "On the nature of clitic doubling". In *Evolution and revolution in linguistic theory*, H. Campos and P. Kempchinsky (eds.), 399-418. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Torrego, E. 1998. *The Dependencies of Objects*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Torrego, E. 2008. "Revisiting Romance SE". In *Gramatika Jaietan: Patxi Goenagaren Omenez*, X. Artiagoitia and J. Lakarra (eds.), Universidad del País Vasco, 785-791.

- Torrego, E. 2010. "Variability in the Case Patterns of Causative Formation in romance and Its Implications". *Linguistic Inquiry* 41: 455-470.
- Treviño, E. 1994. *Las causativas del español con complemento infinitivo*. México: Colegio de México.
- Uriagereka, J. 1995. "An F Position in Western Romance". In *Discourse configurational languages*, K. Kiss (ed.), 153-175. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Zubizarreta, M.L. 1985. "The relation between morphophonology and morphosyntax: The case of Romance causatives". *Linguistic Inquiry* 16: 247-289
- Zubizarreta, M.L. 1998. *Prosody, focus, and word order*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Zubizarreta, M.L. 1999. "Word Order in Spanish and the Nature of Nominative Case". In K. Johnson and I. Roberts, eds., *Beyond Principles and Parameters. Essays in memory of O. Jaeggli*, 223-250. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Press.