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Microvariation in the Languages of the Iberian Peninsula

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Summary

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Microvariation in the Languages of the Iberian Peninsula. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 7-11.

Articles

13-39 **Camus Bergareche, Bruno** (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha. Facultad de Letras)
On *Deísmo*. Another Case of Variation in Spanish Complementation. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 13-39.

The present paper is dedicated to study the non-standard Spanish construction known as *deísmo*. The construction can be defined as the use of the preposition *de* in front of subordinate infinite clauses like in the sentence *No permito a mis hijos de llegar tarde* 'I do not allow my children to be late'. The phenomenon appears in other standard variants of Romance languages but in contemporary Spanish this construction seems confined to some southern peninsular dialects. In this study we analyse this construction in conjunction with the data supplied by a group of speakers from Castilla-La Mancha and to a less extent the data obtained from other current dialects of Southern Spain and America. We finally attend to similar facts from Medieval and Classical Spanish and in Western Romance. By doing so we intend to provide the relevant historical clues for a proper account of this structure, as an example of variation in the Romance complementation system.

Keywords: syntax; infinitive clauses; complementizers; Romance complementation system; Castilla-La Mancha Spanish.

41-82 **Etxepare, Ricardo** (IKER (UMR5478), CNRS)
Basque Primary Adpositions from a Clausal Perspective. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 41-82.

This paper has as its aim to account for an intriguing asymmetry in the domain of primary adpositions in Basque, whereby locatives seem to take a DP ground, whereas the rest of the spatial affixes require a bare nominal ground. I argue that the purported determiner heading the complement of the locative suffix is actually an allomorph of the ergative suffix, and I provide an explanation for why an independent case marker should occur precisely in locative adpositional phrases

in Basque, but not in the rest of spatial cases. This explanation requires in turn reconsidering much of the well-established syntactic conclusions on which the traditional analysis of adpositional phrases in Basque rests. In this process, I develop the idea, first suggested by Koopman (2000), that adpositional phrases should be analyzed in close parallelism to the syntax of clauses. Micro-syntactic differences across dialects provide some of the crucial evidence for the proposal.

Keywords: adpositions; locatives; ergative; spatial nouns; nominal ellipsis; axial parts; ground; Basque.

83-109 **Martins, Ana Maria** (Universidade de Lisboa (FLUL/CLUL). Centro de Linguística)
The Interplay between VSO and Coordination in Two Types of Non-Degree Exclamatives. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 83-109.

This paper studies two types of indicative structures displaying subject-verb inversion which have received little attention in the literature on VS order in European Portuguese. Both types of structures involve coordination as a means to overtly express comparison/contrast, show a VSO pattern, and can be characterized as non-degree exclamatives. Whereas in one type (Type I) the post-verbal subject receives a contrastive focus reading, the other type (Type II) shows a less common pattern of subject-verb inversion, which does not involve focus on the subject nor verb-second syntax, but adds to the propositional content of the sentence an implicit comment conveying a speaker's attitude of disapproval towards the described state of affairs. It is proposed that the unifying factor behind the two types of VSO non-degree exclamatives is the presence of an evaluative feature in the CP field that triggers V-to-C movement. Type I structures further involve movement of the subject to FocP and display V-to-C in both conjuncts of the coordinate structure. Type II structures do not involve focus-movement and V-to-C is restricted to the first member of the coordinate structure while the head of the structure itself (i.e. the coordinate conjunction) satisfies the evaluative feature of the second conjunct.

Keywords: non-degree exclamatives; VSO order; coordination; contrastive focus evaluative meaning; European Portuguese.

111-130 **Matos, Gabriela** (Universidade de Lisboa (FLUL/CLUL). Centro de Linguística)
Quotative Inversion in Peninsular Portuguese and Spanish, and in English. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2012, vol. 11, pp. 111-130.

Quotative parenthetical clauses exhibit a complement gap and, depending on the language, display obligatory or optional subject inversion. This paper presents exhaustive evidence that the quote does not originate as the complement of the parenthetical. Instead the parenthetical is an adjunct of the quote and may occupy different positions inside it. Thus, along with previous analyses, it is claimed that the object gap is a variable bound by a null operator recovered by the quote. The obligatory subject inversion in Peninsular Portuguese and Spanish quotative parentheticals is taken to be the result of structural constraints on focus: in these languages informational focus is constrained to postverbal positions, fronted focus being interpreted as contrastive. In contrast, in English

preverbal focus is not restricted to contrastive focus and preverbal informational focus subjects are the most common pattern. Yet, English still allows postverbal informational focus subjects in some constructions, namely in Quotative Inversion.

Keywords: quotative parentheticals; quotative inversion; null complement; informational focus; Peninsular Spanish; European Portuguese.

131-154 **Oltra-Massuet, Isabel** (Universitat Rovira i Virgili. Departament d'Estudis Anglesos i Alemanys); **Castroviejo, Elena** (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto de Lengua, Literatura y Antropología)
Approaching Results in Catalan and Spanish Deadjectival Verbs. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 131-154.

The goal of this paper is to discuss the morpho-semantic variation in the lexico-syntactic derivation of deadjectival verbs in Catalan and Spanish formed with the sufix *-ejar*/*-ear*, such as *groguejar/amarillear* yellow-*ejar*/*-ear*. Specifically, we address two types of questions. On the one hand, we are concerned with the cross-linguistic differences that *-ear*/*-ejar* deadjectival verbs exhibit in these two Romance languages. On the other hand, we deal with the theoretical implications of this distinct behavior for the grammar of deadjectival verbal formations. We argue that while Spanish *-ear* deadjectival verbs are change of state verbs that involve a transition with a terminal coincidence relation, i.e. a morpho-syntactic configuration that includes both a Place and a Path, Catalan *-ejar* deadjectival verbs are stative predications that include only a Place, headed by the abstract non-terminal coincidence preposition NEAR.

Keywords: deadjectival verbs; argument structure; telicity; causation; inchoativity; Catalan; Peninsular Spanish.

155-173 **Ormazabal, Javier** (University of the Basque Country. Department of Linguistics and Basque Studies); **Romero, Juan** (University of Extremadura. Department of Hispanic Philology)
Non Accusative Objects. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 155-173.

In this paper we propose an asymmetrical approach to Case-licensing where, on the one hand, the functional architecture in the verbal system can license at most one DP, and, on the other, only certain DPs require formal licensing. Our proposal straightforwardly explains long-lasting syntactic problems in the syntax of Spanish and other languages concerning Differential Object Marking (DOM), Raising to Subject asymmetries in *se* constructions, and Person Case Constraint effects. Then, we analyze the consequences and challenges of our proposal for the explanation of the clitic behavior in *laísta* dialects in contexts where both internal arguments seem to be independently formally licensed, one of them via DOM, and the other by means of a dative clitic. We show that this dative clitic does not establish an agreement relation, but it is an incorporated determiner, as in the case of third person accusative clitics (Ormazabal and Romero 2013a).

Keywords: case; agreement; Differential Object Marking; clitics; microdialectal variation; *laísmo*; *se*-constructions; Spanish.

175-192 **Ortega-Santos, Iván** (University of Memphis. Foreign Languages and Literature)
Microvariation in Spanish Comparatives. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 175-192.

While phrasal comparatives of inequality with the comparative marker *que* 'than' (*Pedro es más inteligente que yo* 'Pedro is more intelligent than 1.SG.NOM') have received a fair deal of attention in the study of Spanish (e.g., Bolinger 1950, Plann 1984, Sáez del Álamo 1990, Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1994, Romero Cambrón 1998, Brucart 2003 or Reglero 2007), dialectal variation has not figured prominently in the literature. Microvariation within Chilean Spanish provides evidence for the existence of both a reduced clause analysis and a PP-analysis of the *que*-XP in the context above, as opposed to standard Spanish, where only the former analysis applies. This microvariation is the result of the availability of two distinct lexical entries for *que* (a pure complementizer vs. a preposition) or lack thereof. The PP-analysis is argued to be consistent with the gradual change from *de* 'of' to *que* in the history of comparatives in Spanish (Romero Cambrón 1998).

Keywords: phrasal comparatives; microvariation; ellipsis; experimental syntax; Chilean Spanish.

193-217 **Planas-Morales, Sílvia** (Universitat Rovira i Virgili); **Villalba, Xavier** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Centre de Lingüística Teòrica)
The Right Periphery of Interrogatives in Catalan and Spanish: Syntax/Prosody Interactions. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 193-217.

It has been reported in the literature that interrogative sentences behave quite differently regarding subject-verb inversion in Spanish and Catalan: whereas the former allows 'classical' VS inversion, and particularly VSO, the latter systematically resorts to right-dislocation (RD) in all cases (V(O)#S). In this paper we scrutinize this observation from a corpus-based perspective, and including into the syntactic picture the prosodic and pragmatic features of interrogatives. We show that Catalan interrogatives clearly favor RD, in sharp contrast with Spanish, which favors in situ realization of background material. This latter option has important consequences for the prosodic patterns of Spanish interrogatives, which mark final focus constituents with a pitch rising and that final background material with a slight pitch fall.

Keywords: interrogative sentences; right-dislocation; inversion; information structure; prosody; Catalan; Spanish.

219-251 **Valmala, Vidal** (Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea. Ingeles eta Aleman Filologiak eta Itzulpengintza)
On Right Node Raising in Catalan and Spanish. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 219-251.

The derivation of Right Node Raising (RNR) has been the object of much debate in the generative literature, but the analysis of this construction has not received much attention so far in the literature on Catalan and Spanish. Here I analyze the properties of RNR in these languages and propose that the distinction introduced in Valmala (2012) for English RNR also applies: Catalan and Spanish are argued to have two types of RNR with different information-structural, prosodic,

and syntactic properties. In Focal-Pivot RNR (FP-RNR), the pivot is focal, is preceded by a prosodic break, and undergoes ATB-movement from both conjuncts of the coordination, i.e. it is *ex-situ*. In Non-Focal-Pivot RNR (NFP-RNR), on the contrary, the pivot is not focal, is not preceded by a prosodic break, and occupies its canonical position, i.e it is *in-situ*. NFP-RNR is the result either of ellipsis in the first conjunct or of multidominance of the pivot.

Keywords: Right Node Raising; ATB-movement; focus; ellipsis; multidominance; parenthetical; Catalan; Spanish.

253-282 **Vanrell Bosch, Maria del Mar** (Institut für Romanische Philologie - Freie Universität Berlin); **Fernández Soriano, Olga** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Departamento de Filología Española)
Variation at the Interfaces in Ibero-Romance. Catalan and Spanish Prosody and Word Order. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 253-282.

In this study we investigate how word order interacts with prosody in the expression of sentence modality and different focus constructions in different varieties of Catalan and Spanish. We analyze a corpus obtained by means of two tasks: a) a production test designed to elicit different focus constructions by means of question-answer pairs from short picture stories and b) the Discourse Completion Task methodology. The collected data were prosodically and syntactically annotated. Our data confirm that in Catalan and Spanish the intonational prominence tends to be located in clause-final position but this is completely true only for broad focus declaratives, since the main prominence can also fall on clause-initial position in Eastern Catalan and Basque Spanish informational focus declaratives or remain in situ in both informational and contrastive focus declaratives (especially in VAL_CAT or Spanish). As for interrogative modality, an important distinction is made between languages that can present subject-verb inversion in direct questions (VAL_CAT and Spanish) and languages that cannot (Eastern Catalan). In Eastern Catalan the subject is dislocated.

Keywords: word order; prosody; focus; declarative modality; interrogative modality; dialectal variation; Catalan; Spanish.

283-300 **Vicente, Luis** (Universität Potsdam. Department Linguistik)
On the Causes of Superiority Effects in Spanish: Preliminary Results and Prospects. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics,* 2013, vol. 12, pp. 283-300.

This article reports the results of a series of experiments (acceptability rating tasks) on a group of speakers of Andalusian Spanish. The main result is that, contrary to previous claims in the literature (cf. Jaeggli 1982 et seq), Spanish does exhibit a superiority effect in multiple wh- questions. However, this effect can be subsumed under a generalized mild penalty on object wh- fronting, also not described in previous literature. Consequently, this article provides novel support for approaches to Superiority effects where locality violations play at most a minor role.

Keywords: superiority; object fronting; wh- questions; relative clauses; Spanish.

301-305 Resums

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Microvariation in the Languages of the Iberian Peninsula

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This issue of the *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* was conceived with the idea to promote comparative studies of the languages spoken in the Iberian Peninsula. The importance of comparison in linguistics dates back to neogrammarians in the XIX century due to their interest of discovering the common roots of most of the languages spoken in Europe. In order to get to that objective, comparison of phonological patterns were crucial to retrieve the common Indo-European origins.

In the generative framework variation and comparison was not highlighted until the advent of *Lectures on Government and Binding* (Chomsky 1981), which marks the beginning of the Principles and Parameter theory. A parameter, in its original conception, is a principle with a dimension of variability with respect to a specific syntactic property (Head-initial or Head-final, Node for Subjaceny: S or S'). This variation can be expressed with the values + or –, and each value is associated to a series of syntactic correlations.

This framework tried to capture in a formal and elegant way what Greenberg (1963) had already noticed in the 60s: variation among languages is not random and unpredictable, but languages have very specific patterns of variation. One finds correlations and clusters of properties that go together. The idea of parameter gave shape to this intuition by connecting a specific property of the language to a cluster of effects. Thus, in the first formulation of pro-drop (Rizzi 1982), strong person morphology in a language derived a series of properties (null subject, subject inversion, lack of *that*-trace effect).

More than 30 years have passed and the theory has moved on since then; however, the idea of finding correlations among languages is still intriguing and crucial for understanding our language faculty. Kayne (2000, 2005, 2010) has taken this line of approach very seriously. He has shown that theoretical advances must be made through comparative tools. He started this line of approach in his classic comparative studies between English-French, then moved French-Italian and finally further

comparative studies among Romance languages in Kayne (1984, 2000). This work has lead to what to the development of what Kayne (2000) calls micro-parameters. According to this approach, a parameter does not necessarily have to have far reaching properties in the structure of the language. All variation is important.

Opposed to this conception, Baker (2008) proposes the idea of macro-parameter, which focuses on comparing fundamental properties of different languages. It is not our objective here to enter in the debate between the two approaches, but we want to emphasize along with Kayne, that in order to find what is universal in languages, we have to make clear what is subject to variation. In order to see what the correlations between properties are, we have to do detailed comparative studies of languages. Only a detailed study of properties coupled with a rich theoretical apparatus can make sense of linguistic variation.

The history of parameters has taught us that many of the initial correlations and connections were naive. This is normal and desirable in a young science. The minimalist program has served as a heuristic tool and it has sharpened the model. New conceptions on the idea of parameter in this model are being debated. Thus, Baker (2008) challenges the idea of whether parameters can only be circumscribed to properties of lexical items (the so called Chomsky-Borer conjecture). Longobardi and Guardiano (2009) have explored hierarchy of parameters and its analogy to biological models. Finally Boeckxs (forthcoming) and Gallego (2011) have debated the place of parameters in the minimalist program. Nevertheless, we think that the initial spirit of the idea of parameter still survives, and comparison is the right tool to proceed to find out more about our language faculty. This issue of the *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* is a contribution to this comparative spirit using the languages in the Iberian Peninsula.

The eleven contributions that form this issue deal with several aspects of the grammar of Basque, Catalan, Portuguese and Spanish. The comparative spirit is made explicit in every article and consists of clear comparisons among several dialects of these languages or between two of them (and, in some cases, comparing them also with English or with other Romance languages). Thus, the reader will find studies on different varieties of Catalan (Central Catalan, Balearic Catalan, Valencian Catalan), Spanish (Andalusian Spanish, Basque Spanish, Castilian Spanish, Spanish from Extremadura, Chilean Spanish), Basque (Biscayan Basque, Gipuzkoan Basque, Central Basque, Souletin, Low-Navarrese), comparisons between the standard varieties of Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan, and references to languages like English, French or Italian and to previous stages of the language (Medieval and Classical Spanish).

The issue pays special attention to syntax and morphology and addresses phenomena like A' movement (Vicente, Valmala), verb-subject inversion (Martins, Matos), the order of constituents (Vanrell and Fernández Soriano, Planas-Morales and Villalba), case properties and case markers (Etxepare, Romero and Ormazabal), the status of prepositions and complementizers (Camus, Ortega-Santos) and lexico-syntactic structures (Oltra-Massuet and Castroviejo). As a whole, the work on these grammatical topics offers insightful descriptions and analyses of the prosodic, syntactic and semantic properties of interrogative and exclamative sentences, the

relevance of informative and contrastive focus for word order, the role of conjunctions and prepositions in coordinate, subordinate and comparative constructions, the syntax and interpretation of right-displaced constituents, the adjunct role of quotative parentheticals, the way differential object marking appears and some of its consequences, the morphological form and syntactic uses of pronominal clitics, the differences between locative adpositions and affixes, and the syntactic and semantic values of a certain kind of deadjectival verbs. In addition to the (micro-)comparative view, the papers present new data on nonstandard features (*deísmo, laísmo*), deal with constructions that have not been object of much debate in the studies on Catalan, Portuguese or Spanish, in contrast with languages like English (right node raising, quotative inversion), provide further evidence for a better knowledge of the syntactic, semantic and phonological properties of some already studied constructions (deadjectival verbs, phrasal comparatives, interrogatives, exclamatives), and put forward new analyses that question previous approaches and challenge some well-established aspects of the theory (Case theory, case affixes, the status of adpositions and prepositions and its role in the functional architecture).

Next we offer a brief summary of the contributions to this volume:

Camus studies the non-standard construction called *deísmo* in which the preposition *de* is used to introduce a subordinate clause with infinitive. The author compares the uses in Castilla-La Mancha Spanish with those found in Andalusia, Extremadura and America, as well as with similar constructions appearing in Old Spanish and in the standard varieties of Romance languages like Catalan, French or Italian. This variation is treated in relation with the properties of the CP domain.

Etxepare provides a fine analysis of Basque locative adpositions based on the morphological form and the syntactic properties of case affixes and determiners in several dialects of Basque. He argues that the *-a* that appear in Basque inessive constructions is not a determiner, but an ergative marker, and puts forth an analysis of adpositional phrases with a complex functional structure that parallels the clausal structure and treats the adpositions as functional items reminiscent of aspectual projections.

Martins describes and analyzes two types of non-degree exclamatives that have received little attention in the study of this kind of sentences in European Portuguese. Both types of exclamatives involve coordination and display subject-verb inversion, but differ in the interpretation of the subject and in the existence of an implicit comment conveying the speaker's attitude. The analysis is based on the presence of an evaluative feature (satisfied through V-to-C movement or through the properties of the coordinate conjunction) and on the movement of the subject to a Focus position. Thus, the features and the properties of the elements involved in the CP domain cover both the similarities and the differences detected between these sentences.

Matos examines the properties of quotative parentheticals in European Portuguese and compares them with Peninsular Spanish and English. She presents exhaustive

evidence for analyzing the quote as an adjunct that may occupy different positions. The analysis includes a null operator that binds the object gap and accounts for the word order differences (obligatory verb-subject inversion) in terms of the focus interpretation (informational vs. contrastive) of the subject in Portuguese and in Spanish.

Oltra-Massuet and **Castroviejo** study the crosslinguistic differences found in verbs derived with the suffixes *-ejar/-ear* in Catalan and in Spanish. They show that these two affixes produce different results: while Spanish *-ear* deadjectival verbs are change of state verbs, Catalan *-ejar* deadjectival verbs are stative predicates. This difference is supported by the semantic and syntactic properties related, for instance, to telicity and causative constructions. From a theoretical point of view, the difference is formulated in terms of a morpho-syntactic configuration that includes both a Place and a Path in Spanish *-ear* deadjectival verbs, and a configuration with Place only in Catalan *-ejar* deadjectival verbs.

Ormazabal and **Romero** propose an approach to case-licensing where, on the one hand, the functional architecture in the verbal system can license at most one DP, and, on the other, only certain DPs require formal licensing. This work takes into consideration data from a *laísta* dialect of Castilian Spanish and discusses the syntactic problems posed by the Person Case Constraint effects, the differential object marking and the raising to subject constructions in Spanish. One of the conclusions of this article is the suggestion to remove the Case Filter from the theory in favor of treating case as part of the general checking theory.

Ortega-Santos investigates the properties of phrasal comparatives of inequality with *que* in Spanish focusing on data from Chilean Spanish (obtained by means of a scale questionnaire that combined grammaticality judgment tasks and sentence completion tasks) and compares them with Peninsular Spanish. The author argues for the existence of both a reduced clause analysis and a PP-analysis in Chilean Spanish, in contrast with peninsular Spanish, where only the clausal analy-sis applies. This is consistent with the gradual change from *de* 'of' to *que* 'that' in the history of comparatives in Spanish and with the analysis of complementizers and prepositions as the same kind of grammatical element.

Planas-Morales and **Villalba** address a well-known difference between Spanish and Catalan concerning subject-verb inversion in interrogative sentences: Catalan avoids the order V-S and right dislocation of the subject is preferred. The authors examine this observation from a corpus-based perspective and they include the prosodic and pragmatic features of interrogatives into the syntactic picture. The analysis of the data confirms the preference for right dislocation in Catalan and shows that the in situ realization in Spanish has important consequences for the prosodic patterns of interrogatives.

Valmala's article is dedicated to the analysis of Right Node Raising (RNR) in Catalan and Spanish. The author identifies two types of RNR constructions, ana-

lyzes their information-structural, prosodic, and syntactic properties, and compares them with RNR in English. He notices that the main difference between the two types concerns the focal and non-focal interpretation of the pivot constituent and shows that their grammatical properties follow from the application or not of a syntactic operation of ATB movement. In addition, this article also describes and analyzes a particular construction that has not received much attention in the generative literature on these Romance languages.

Vanrell and **Fernandez Soriano** investigate how word order interacts with prosody in the expression of sentence modality in several varieties of Catalan and Spanish. The syntactic and prosodic analysis of the data (obtained through a production test and discourse completion task) shows (i) that in Catalan and Spanish the intonational prominence tends to be located in clause-final position in broad focus declarative constructions whereas it can also fall in clause initial position in informational focus declaratives or remain in situ in both informational and contrastive focus declaratives, and (ii) that subject-verb inversion in direct questions applies to Valencian Catalan and Spanish, but not to Eastern Catalan, where the subject is right dislocated

Finally, **Vicente**'s article reports the results of a series of experiments (acceptability rating tasks) on a group of speakers of Andalusian Spanish. The author discovers a generalized mild penalty on object wh- fronting which has remained unnoticed until now and that can be correlative with the existence of a superiority effect in multiple wh- questions, a surprising fact if we bear in mind that, according to the previous literature on this topic, Spanish does not exhibit superiority effects.

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On *Deísmo*. Another Case of Variation in Spanish Complementation

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Abstract

The present paper is dedicated to study the non-standard Spanish construction known as *deísmo*. The construction can be defined as the use of the preposition *de* in front of subordinate infinite clauses like in the sentence *No permito a mis hijos de llegar tarde* 'I do not allow my children to be late'. The phenomenon appears in other standard variants of Romance languages but in contemporary Spanish this construction seems confined to some southern peninsular dialects. In this study we analyse this construction in conjunction with the data supplied by a group of speakers from Castilla-La Mancha and to a less extent the data obtained from other current dialects of Southern Spain and America. We finally attend to similar facts from Medieval and Classical Spanish and in Western Romance. By doing so we intend to provide the relevant historical clues for a proper account of this structure, as an example of variation in the Romance complementation system.

Keywords: syntax; infinitive clauses; complementizers; Romance complementation system; Castilla-La Mancha Spanish.

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1. Introduction

The name *deísmo* in contemporary Spanish grammars refers to some non-standard uses of the preposition *de* in front of embedded infinitive clauses as it is exemplified in the following sentences:

(1) a. Te pedí por favor de ser puntual.
2SG beg.PRES.1SG please of be.INF on time
'I begged you to please be on time.'

b. Me duele de no haberlo dicho a tiempo.
2SG hurt.PRES.3SG of not have.INF-3.N.AC say.PP on time
'I regret not having said it before.'

c. Me hicieron de reír.
1SG make.PAST.3PL of laugh.INF
'They made me laugh.'

d. Os vi de bajar del monte.
2PL see.PAST.1SG of come down.INF from-the mountain
'I saw you coming down the mountain.'

As these examples make clear, the preposition *de*, never present in these contexts in Standard Spanish, can precede infinitive clauses of different syntactic natures: in object position in (1a), in subject position in (1b), with causative construction in (1c) or after a perception verb in (1d).

Our objective is to describe these non-standard constructions as an example of variation in Spanish complementation, which is something that has been hardly noticed before. This construction can be paired with some other instances of variation also in this same area of the Spanish —and Romance— grammar, namely the ubiquitous *dequeísmo*, a much better known procedure that will serve as a reference throughout this presentation. The structure of the paper is as follows: section 2 will present the main facts and previous accounts of *deísmo* in the general context of other prepositional infinitives and complementation in Spanish; in section 3 we will provide our analysis of this construction based on the data supplied by some Castilla-La Mancha speakers; next, in section 4 we will complete the account on Spanish *deísmo* by adding other contemporary and ancient data; finally, in section 5 we will close the circle on *deísmo* by interpreting it in the wider context of Romance languages; section 6 will then serve to summarize our arguments, as well as to present our conclusions. We will draw attention to the interesting and relevant question of the evolution of Romance complementation.

2. *Deísmo* in its context

2.1. Embedded infinitive clauses in Spanish with preposition

Often in Spanish —as in other Romance languages— non-finite clauses headed by infinitives are preceded by prepositions:

(2) a. Me alegro de hacer lo correcto.
1SG happy.PRES.1SG of do.INF that right
'I am happy to do the right thing.'

b. Confío en llegar a tiempo.
trust.PRES.1SG in arrive.INF on time
'I hope to arrive on time.'

In the examples in (2) the infinitive clause is a PP complement subcategorized by the verb. Thus in (2a) *alegrarse* must be accompanied by a complement headed by *de* and *confiar* in (2b) by a complement headed by *en*. Of course the complements in (2) could also be a finite clause (3) or a simple noun phrase (4).

(3) a. Me alegro de que vengas.
1SG be happy.PRES.1SG of that come.2SG
'I am happy that you are coming.'

b. Confío en que vengas.
trust.PRES.1SG in that come.PRES.2SG
'I hope that you will come.'

(4) a. Me alegro de tu llegada.
1SG be happy.PRES.1SG of your arrival
'I am happy for your arrival.'

b. Confío en mi futuro.
trust.PRES.1SG in my future
'I am confident in my future.'

In Spanish these PP complements can never be cliticized and demand the presence of the stressed and non-clitic pronoun, as in (5). This is in contrast to other selected complements, like direct objects, which always admit a clitic substitute (*lo* when it is propositional), as in (6):

(5) a. —¿Te alegras de que venga?
2SG be happy.PRES.2SG of that come.PRES.1SG
'Are you happy that I am coming?'
* —Sí, me lo alegro. / —Sí, me alegro
yes, 1SG 3.N.AC be happy.PRES.1SG yes 1SG be happy.PRES.1SG
de ello.
of it
'—Yes, I am happy about it.'

b. ¿Confías en mi futuro?
trust.PRES.2SG in my future
'Do you have confidence in my future?'
* —Sí, lo confío / — Sí, confío en ello.
yes 3.N.AC trust.PRES.1SG yes trust.PRES.1SG in it
'—Yes, I have confidence in it.'

(6) ¿Prometes venir? / ¿Prometes que vendrás?
promise.PRES.2SG come.INF promise.PRES.2SG that come.PRES.2SG
'Do you promise to come? / Do you promise that you will come?'

—Sí, lo prometo.
yes 3.N.AC promise.PRES.1SG
'—Yes, I promise.'

Nevertheless some transitive verbs —*decir* 'to say', *mirar* 'to look at'— sometimes select an embedded infinitive as their complement. This infinitive is preceded by *de* and can be cliticized by *lo*, as the rest of sentential direct objects:

(7) a. ¿Te dijo de ir al cine?
2SG say.PAST.3SG of go.INF to-the cinema
'Did he tell you to go to the cinema?'

—Sí, me lo dijo.
yes 1SG 3.N.AC say.PAST.3SG
'—Yes, he told me so.'

b. ¿Mirarás de averiguar esos datos?
have a look.FUT.2SG of find out.INF those figures
'Will you try to find out those figures?'

—Sí, lo miraré.
yes 3.N.AC have a look.FUT.1SG
'—Yes, I will try.'

These are special uses of *decir* and *mirar* whose meanings do not correspond to the canonical ones. *Decir de* + infinitive is 'to suggest, to propose' and *mirar de* + infinitive is 'to try'. Both of them are future-oriented verbs as Di Tullio (2011: 178) remarks. Nevertheless the facts stand the same; the *de* + infinitive clause is the object of the verb and the preposition is different from that in (2) since, as cliticization shows in (7), it does not head any PP selected by the preceding verb. On the contrary it resembles more the complementizer *que* 'that' in (8), with a finite clause instead of the infinitive of (7a):

(8) ¿Te dijo que fueras al cine?
2SG say.PAST.3SG that go.PAST.2SG to-the cinema
'Did he tell you that you should go to the cinema?'

—Sí, me lo dijo.
yes 1SG 3.N.AC say.PAST.3SG
'—Yes, he told me so.'

The actual connection between *de* in (7) and *que* can be clarified when we see that *de* can only appear if followed by an embedded clause. Otherwise there

would be no preposition at all and we would be dealing with the regular Spanish transitive construction:

(9) a. ¿Te dijo (*de) eso? —Sí, me lo dijo.
2SG say.PAST.3SG of that yes 1SG 3.N.AC say.PAST.3SG
'Did he tell you that?' '—Yes, he told me so.'

b. ¿Mirarás (*de) eso? —Sí, lo miraré.
have a look.FUT.2SG of that yes 3.N.AC have a look.FUT.1SG
'Will you try that?' '—Yes, I will try.'

2.2. Deísmo *as a non-standard feature. Previous accounts*

This Standard Spanish pattern with *de* + infinitive clause that appears in (7) for *decir* and *mirar* seems to behave similarly to the pattern used with many other verbs in Southern Spanish, particularly in Andalusia, Extremadura and Castilla-La Mancha, as we showed in (1). For instance, the following sentences, with a subordinate infinitive clause preceded by *de*, can be documented among the speakers from Ciudad Real, in Castilla-La Mancha:[1]

(10) a. No permito a mis hijos de llegar tarde
not allow.PRES.1SG to my children of arrive.INF late
'I do not allow my children to be late.'
(Standard Spanish: *No permito a mis hijos llegar tarde*)

b. Estoy deseando de llegar a casa
be.PRES.1SG wish.GER of arrive.INF to home
'I am looking forward to getting home.'
(Standard Spanish: *Estoy deseando llegar a casa*)

As shown for each example, Standard Spanish equivalents of these two verbs *permitir* and *desear* typically lack any overt indication of complementation when followed by an embedded non-finite clause. The unexpected presence of the preposition *de* is actually the reason why this construction is referred to as *deísmo*, following the name given by Gómez Torrego (1999: 2128-2129).

Current reference grammars of Spanish have not paid much attention to this construction. The first reference goes back to Zamora Vicente (1970: 330-331), who provides some Andalusian examples. It is also mentioned by Llorente Maldonado

1. Thanks should be given to the people who kindly contributed with crucial information on the use of *deísmo* in Ciudad Real and other places of Castilla-La Mancha. They provided the data on which this paper has relied heavily. My colleague Jesús Barrajón and Luisa Abad Arias were my first respondents. Marta Blázquez interviewed some anonymous and most valuable speakers. Through her, we got in touch with Sonia Villa, from Retuerta del Bullaque (Ciudad Real), who became our best source in terms of speech and knowledge. Ana Rodado, Rosario García Huerta and Matías Barchino also gave interesting information on the matter. I am in debt to all of them for their enthusiastic contributions.

(1980: 36) for the first time in connection with the so-called *dequeísmo*, which consists of the insertion of the same preposition *de* before *que* in the subordination of finite clauses in non-Standard Spanish:

(11) Pienso de que haces lo correcto.
think.PRES.1SG of that do.PRES.2SG that right
'I think that you are doing the right thing.'
(Standard Spanish: *Pienso que haces lo correcto*)

The same explanation appears in later studies such as Náñez (1984: 239-241), Gómez Torrego (1999), already mentioned above, RAE/ASALE (2009: § 43.6u) and Perea Siller (2008). These last three works deserved to be mentioned for their interesting contribution to the presence of the *de* + infinitive construction in Medieval and Classical Spanish that had never been previously noted.

Recent authors have addressed the *deísmo* within a broader perspective. This is the case of Di Tullio (2011), who goes beyond the relation with *dequeísmo* and considers the whole scenario of complementation in Spanish and the nature of *de* in these constructions in comparison with *de* in the subcategorized PPs of sentences like (1)-(4) above, along the lines we have discussed. The contribution of Pato and de Benito Moreno (2012) is somehow different because it is mostly focused on defining the current dialectal extension of *deísmo*. After clearly establishing its regular presence in Southern Peninsular Spanish, the study of Pato and de Benito Moreno (2012) adopts an autonomous view of *deísmo* and describes carefully how this use is distributed within syntactic and semantic constraints. Taking these two later accounts as a point of departure, we will try a finer analysis of *deísmo* structures found in Castilla-La Mancha in the following section, before we address the rest of contemporary and historical samples of *deísmo* in Spanish.

3. An analysis of *deísmo* in Castilla-La Mancha Spanish

3.1. De *as an overt complementizer for infinitive clauses*

As suggested above, we will consider from now on that the element *de* —both in the standard sentences of (7) and in those used in Ciudad Real of (10)— is not a real preposition and thus, it does not head any PP clause. The *de* of *deísmo* structures must be considered, as Di Tullio (2011: 178-180) claims, an overt realization of the COMP node that heads the embedded infinitive clause. We already saw in (7) and (9) that these infinitive clauses represent true objects and are regularly cliticized by means of *lo*, a form that never pronominalizes a PP in Spanish. The sentences in (8) showed that they are equivalent to typical object subordinate finite sentences introduced by the complementizer *que*.

Another evidence against the prepositional nature of *de* in *deismo* structures is offered by its behaviour in pseudo-cleft sentences, a test first suggested by Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2005) with respect to *de* in *dequeísmo*. The fronted phrase must include *de* if it refers to a real PP (12) but, if it corresponds to an infinitive clause with *deísmo*, it does not include it (13):

(12) De lo primero que me alegro es de hacer lo correcto.
of the first that 1SG be happy.PRES.1SG is of do.INF that correct
'The first thing that makes me happy is doing the right thing.'

(13) a. Lo primero que dije es de ir al cine.
the first that say.PAST.1SG is of go.INF to-the cinema
'The first thing I suggested is to go to the cinema.'

b. Lo primero que no permito a mis hijos es de llegar tarde.
the first that not allow.PRES.1SG to my children is of arrive.INF late
'The first thing I do not allow my children is to be late.'

There are still more data that clearly support this consideration of *de* in *deísmo* sentences as a complementizer and not as part of a PP. For instance, Ciudad Real Spanish extends the use of *deísmo* beyond object infinitives, as in (10) above, to subject infinitives, as in (15) below. According to standard assumptions, a PP is not expected in subject position. Actually *deísmo* is particularly productive in this structure with so-called pseudo-impersonal verbs of psychological affection such as *apetecer* 'to feel like'*, pesar* or *doler* 'to regret' or the verbal phrases with the light verb *dar* 'give' (*pena* 'sorrow' / *lástima* 'pity' / *vergüenza* 'shame' / *asco* 'repugnance' / *reparo* 'qualm' / *miedo* 'fear' / *pánico* 'panic', etc.). All these forms display a structure with a dative internal argument and a subject that can be realized by a DP in agreement with the main verb, as in (14), but also by a finite or non-finite clause. In this last case the infinitive is regularly preceded by *de* in *deísmo* dialects, as shown in (15).

(14) a. Me duelen sus desplantes.
1SG hurt.PRES.3PL their rudeness.PL
'Their rudeness hurts me.'

b. Me dan vergüenza esos amigos.
1SG give.PRES.3PL shame those friends
'I am ashamed of those friends.'

(15) a. Me duele de no haberlo dicho a tiempo.
1SG hurt.PRES.3SG of not have.INF-3.N.AC say.PP on time
'I regret not having said it before.'

b. Le da vergüenza de gastar ese dinero.
3.DAT give.PRES.3SG shame of spend.INF that money
'He/she is ashamed to spend that money.'

The infinitive clauses in (15) cannot be the complement of any PP clause headed by *de* since no PP could be in the position of subject of *duele* and *da vergüenza*. Instead they are the complement of the CP headed by *de* which stands properly as

a sentential subject of these pseudo-impersonal structures, just in the same way a finite clause headed by *que* can also be their subject:

(16) a. Me duele que no lo dijeras antes.
1SG hurt.PRES.3SG that not 3.N.AC say.PAST.2SG before
'I regret that you did not say it before.'

b. Le da vergüenza que gastes ese dinero.
3.DAT give.PRES.3SG shame that spend.PRES.2SG that money
'He/she is ashamed that you are spending that money.'

Finally, if *de* is the complementizer of an infinitive clause, we would expect it to remain together with its complement whenever we move the embedded sentence. And that is what actually happens, for instance, in cases of fronting —topicalization or contrastive focus as in (17)— or if it appears dislocated in the right margin of the sentence, as in (18):

(17) a. ¿Verdad que no les permites a tus hijos de llegar tarde?
true that not 3.PL.DAT allow.PRES.2SG to your children of arrive.INF late
—Eso es, de llegar tarde no se lo permito.
that is of arrive.INF late not 3.DAT 3.N.AC allow.PRES.1SG
'You don`t allow them to be late, do you? —That's true, that I don't allow it to them.'

b. De gastar ese dinero le da vergüenza, no de tenerlo.
of spend.INF that money 3.DAT give.PRES.3SG shame not of have.INF-3.M.AC
'It's spending that money that embarrasses him, not to have it.'

(18) Esto mismo no permito, de llegar tarde.
this self not allow.PRES.1SG of arrive.INF late
'This I don't allow, to be late.'

3.2. Distribution of deísmo *in Ciudad Real*

The definition of *de* as a complementizer in the *deísmo* contexts forces us to put it in relation with the complementizer *que* in finite clauses. Nonetheless, as Di Tullio (2011: 181-182) already noticed, there is an important difference between them and it relies on the strongly restricted distribution of *de*, both syntactically and semantically. We try through all this section to determine this limited extension of *deísmo* in order to explain its nature using the examples supplied by Ciudad Real speakers of Castilla-La Mancha Spanish.[2]

2. All the examples representing Ciudad Real speech correspond to speakers from this province previously mentioned in footnote 1.

But before, we will open a parenthesis and consider the relation of *deísmo* with the complementizer *de que*, a non-standard variant of *que*, and the so-called *dequeísmo*, already cited as a source or parallel development of *deísmo*. As we will see later in the study, the data do not fit the expectation that there is a causal and straight relationship between these two types of complementizers in contemporary non-Standard Spanish. Actually, the Ciudad Real speakers who normally insert *de* in the relevant non-finite embedded contexts never present *dequeísmo* —or *de* in finite embedded clauses—. Moreover prototypical *dequeísta* sentences are clearly rejected in favour of those coincident with Standard Spanish, as illustrated in the following example:

(19) Creo (*de) que iré.
think.PRES.1SG of that go.FUT.1SG
'I think that I will go.'

Furthermore, these speakers consistently enough prefer the *que* solution instead of the *de que* one in those contexts where the preposition is selected by the main verb (*cf.* above (3a)). For instance, a sentence like (20) below is what they produce for embedded clauses with *acordarse* 'to remember' as the main verb, which selects complements headed by *de* (thus *de que*) in Standard Spanish:

(20) Me acuerdo que no fuiste al colegio.
1SG remember.PRES.1SG that not go.PAST.2SG to-the school
'I remember you did not go to school.'

This alternative procedure, called *queísmo*, which turns a simple *que* into the only actual complementizer in completive sentences, is in fact very common in Ciudad Real and Castilla-La Mancha, as the *ALECMan* shows (map SIN14-ANTES (DE) QUE AMANEZCA).

Apart from this first remark, some additional comments on the stylistic and social status of this dialect may be needed. In Ciudad Real *deísmo* constructions are well known by all kinds of speakers but they are strongly stigmatized. This means that, unless they can be occasionally heard among learned individuals, they are usually found only in the everyday speech of uneducated people. It is therefore more documented in rural areas. This contributes to the assumption in urban and educated settings that *deísmo* is an unequivocal feature of *paleto* or peasant speech. Nevertheless, the phenomenon is often unobserved as most speakers do not pay any attention to it. It is therefore hardly ever noticed and corrected. This is explained partially due to the lack of explicit prescriptions on the matter in schools and media. This general disdain contributes to the unconsciousness of the *deísmo* speakers. Such unawareness consequently renders them very insecure about these constructions and permeable to standard or non-*deísmo* grammar. The result is a considerable instability and dispersion in the usage of *de* + infinitive clauses in Ciudad Real and all the *deísmo* areas in Castilla-La Mancha.[3]

3. The *ALECMan* (García Mouton and Moreno Fernández 2003) —the linguistic atlas of this region— clearly shows a significant presence of the construction. In the section dedicated to syntax, there

Keeping in mind this last difficulty, we shall now consider the preferred contexts for *deísmo* in terms of syntactic and semantic considerations. As we could see in previous examples of *deísmo* —sentences in (10) and (15) above—, the infinitive clauses under control verbs are the first locus where the complementizer *de* can be found in Ciudad Real Spanish. We find infinitive clauses with *de* in object position with a subject controller for verbs like *intentar* 'to try', *aceptar* 'to accept', *lamentar* 'to regret' and *desear* 'to wish', a verb already mentioned in (10b), as in the following sentences:

(21) a. Intenta de tirar con esta escopeta.
try.IMP of shoot.INF with this shotgun
'Try to shoot with this shotgun.'

b. Juan lamenta de no haber ido al cine más a menudo.
Juan regret.PRES.3SG of not have.INF go.PP to-the cinema more often
'Juan regrets not having gone to the cinema more often.'

We also have sometimes *de* + infinitives in object position with an object (dative) controller, as in (10a) above, with verbs like *prohibir* 'to forbid', *proponer* 'to suggest' or *pedir* 'to ask to':

(22) a. Le prohibieron de seguir escuchando.
3.DAT forbid.PAST.3PL of continue.INF listen.GER
'They forbade him/her to carry on listening.'

b. Ayer os pedí de ser puntuales.
yesterday 2SG ask.PAST.1SG of be.INF on time
'Yesterday I asked you to be on time.'

But we also find infinitive clauses in subject position with dative controllers with different types of pseudo-impersonal verbs like *apetecer* 'to feel like', *pesar* 'to regret' and, as we have already seen in (15), *doler* 'to hurt, to regret' or *dar* 'to give' plus a noun such as *pena* 'sorrow' / *lástima* 'pity' / *vergüenza* 'shame' / *asco* 'repugnance' / *reparo* 'qualm' / *miedo* 'fear' / *pánico* 'panic' ..., as in (23). The same syntactic description corresponds to the group of typical impersonal constructions with copulative *ser* 'to be' like *ser necesario* 'to be necessary' / *ser costumbre* 'to be customary' / *ser una lástima* 'to be a pity', etc. or other verbs like *tocar* 'to be one's turn', *corresponder* 'to correspond', *interesar* 'to interest', *costar* 'to be hard', *ocurrir* 'to happen', shown in (24):

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are three maps that explicitly cover *deísmo*: SIN-88 DEJAR (DE) SALIR, SIN-89 HACER (DE) REÍR and SIN-98 NO LO OÍ (SENTÍ) (DE) VENIR. We come across this feature all over Castilla-La Mancha with the exception of the easternmost area of the provinces of Guadalajara, Cuenca and Albacete. It is actually the province of Ciudad Real the main stronghold of this non-standard feature.

(23) Hoy me apetece de salir.
today 1SG feel like.PRES.3SG of go out.INF
'Today I feel like going out.'

(24) a. Aquí es costumbre de comer temprano.
here is habit of have lunch.INF early
'It is customary here to have lunch early.'

b. Os toca de fregar.
2SG be one's turn.PRES.3SG of do the dishes.INF
'It is your turn to do the dishes.'

Inside this group of infinitive clauses under control verbs, *deísmo* structures do not seem to be limited by syntactic considerations. They do not depend on the position of the embedded clause, it can be object, subject or even an attribute (12)-(13), nor on the kind of controller, subject or object, of the main clause. But, on the contrary, some preferences from a semantic point of view can be noticed. It seems very clear that, as far as Ciudad Real dialect is concerned, psychological verbs of affection are often accompanied by this complementizer *de*: *apetecer* 'to feel like'*, doler* 'to hurt'*, pesar* and *lamentar* 'to regret', *dar* 'to give' with *pena* 'sorrow' */ lástima* 'pity' */ vergüenza* 'shame' */ asco* 'repugnance' */ reparo* 'qualm' */ miedo* 'fear' */ pánico* 'panic' ..., *ser una lástima* 'to be a pity', *costar* 'to be hard' ... In addition to this semantic class we find other classes not as well represented. These include some verbs of intention (*intentar* 'to try'), verbs of influence (*pedir* 'to ask to', *proponer* 'to suggest', *prohibir* 'to forbid'), a few verbs of speech or assertion (*decir*, which accompanied by *de* corresponds rather to a conative verb 'to suggest', and *aceptar* 'to accept'), some verbal phrases with *ser* 'to be' with a modal content like *ser necesario / improbable / fácil* 'to be necessary / improbable / easy' ..., and, finally, one verb of will, *desear* 'to wish'. Curiously enough this form accepts *de* + infinitive only in the punctual periphrasis *estar deseando*, which is closer to psychological verbs such as *apetecer*. As the Spanish-American samples on *deísmo* from Di Tullio (2011: 181) show, the verbs of communication, speech or thought, which are common in *dequeísta* contexts, are not included. But, contrary to these same data of Di Tullio (2011: 178), Ciudad Real or Castilla-La Mancha *deísmo* is not constrained by the temporal interpretation of the infinitive clause. It is true that, as in Spanish-American sentences, they have often a future or prospective reading, for instance with the verbs of intention or influence or with *decir*. But, otherwise, they can also be past-oriented, as it is the case with *doler* 'to hurt'*, pesar* and *lamentar* 'to regret', that easily admit the compound or perfect form of an infinitive (*haber* + participle), as in (21b) above.

These latter considerations favour a definition of the complementizer *de* in Castilla-La Mancha Spanish as a form with no semantic content. Its lack of any relevant meaning distinguishes this *de* from the *de* that appears in *dequeísmo*, which, according to Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2001, 2005, 2009), provides an evidential content typical of the clauses where it is found. For instance,

it can be found under communication and speech verbs, that is, in epistemic contexts.[4]

This hypothesis of a meaningless or empty complementizer *de* does not only match the data presented so far but also other data. In Ciudad Real the *deísmo* does not appear at all with many verbs that are similar in meaning to some of those just presented as usually selecting *de*. For instance, inside the group of psychological verbs of affection, there are some verbs of high frequency that seem to never be accompanied by *de* + infinitive. This is the case for *gustar* 'to like' or *encantar* 'to love' among those that are part of the pseudo-impersonal verbs with a postposed subject (the infinitive clause, in this case) and a dative controller. Other verbs close to this group but belonging to the class of subject control verbs, like *preferir* 'to prefer' or *odiar* 'to hate', do not seem to induce *deísmo* in Ciudad Real.

Among the classes with only a few representatives with *deísmo*, the Standard Spanish structure with no *de* is consequently more common. A verb of intention like *probar* 'to try', unlike *intentar,* is very seldom followed by *de*. *Pensar* 'to think', a verb of thought or opinion, follows in Ciudad Real the standard construction with a direct object or a prepositional object with *en*, but never with *de*. The same preferences hold for *prometer* 'to promise' and a group of verbs of modal interpretation like *esperar* 'to hope', a subject control verb, or *convenir* 'to be advisable' and *hacer falta* 'to be necessary', again among pseudo-impersonal or impersonal verbs with a dative controller.

It is certainly plausible that stylistics and the sociolinguistic situation may play some role in this somewhat capricious split between *deísmo* and *non-deísmo* contexts in Castilla-La Mancha Spanish. Whether or not this is true, this split suggests a kind of lexical selection at least for these syntactic and semantic groups of verbs. The triggering of the presence of an empty instead of an overt (*de*) complementizer with a subordinate infinitive seems to depend on each lexical entry. In this regard, every control verb within the preceding semantic classes should be marked in the lexicon as a non-*de* verb or a *de* verb.

This condition does not materialise in the case of another group of verbs which systematically reject this *de* complementation with infinitives among Ciudad Real speakers. It is the verb class formed by typical modal verbs like *poder* 'to be able, can', *querer* 'to want', or *necesitar* 'to need'. In Spanish reference grammars their combination with an infinitive is considered a modal periphrasis or verbal phrase. Hence the infinitive cannot be considered part of a clause in the position of a subcategorized argument, an object, of the main verb. There is no subordination between the inflected modal verb and the infinitive, whose actual relation is the one we find between an auxiliary and a main verb. Therefore, no complementizer position is needed and no *de* is required. As we

4. As claimed in Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2009: 24), *de que* could be considered a complex complementizer with two heads where the first one *de* encodes Mood/Evidentiality features and *que* stands for the rest. In Standard Spanish, on the contrary, all these features are amalgamated under the simple complementizer *que*. The same idea of a *de* carrying evidentiality features inside a *de que* complex for *dequeísmo* dialects is defended in Del Moral (2008).

mentioned above, that is what actually happens. Even more, in Ciudad Real no other Spanish periphrasis or verbal group formed by the adjunction of an infinitive to an inflected (auxiliary) verb seems to accept *deísmo*. Thus, in this speech the habitual periphrasis with *soler* or *acostumbrar* 'to be used to', is never followed by *de*, unless its meaning is close to the *deísmo* structure formed, by the verb phrase *ser costumbre* 'to be costumary'.

3.3. Perception and causative verbs and deísmo *in Ciudad Real*

If the syntactic structure happens to be relevant to the presence of *deísmo* in the case of periphrasis, we would expect it not to appear when the relation between an inflected verb and an infinitive is not as easily described as the one we find with control verbs, that is, the one corresponding to a verb with a sentential argument. But in the dialect we are describing, there are two structures that induce *deísmo* in a consistent manner. They are the so-called infinitives with subject in accusative after perception and causative verbs, a structure often considered to be half way between periphrasis and subordination (Hernanz 1999: 2236-2265).

Actually, among Ciudad Real and Castilla-La Mancha speakers the infinitive clause under these two kinds of verbs is considered one of the most conspicuous contexts for *deísmo*. Therefore we can easily come across sentences like the ones that follow, all of them without *de* in Standard Spanish:

(25) a. Sentí a tus amigas de llegar por la mañana.
hear.PAST.1SG to your friends of arrive.INF in the morning
'I heard your friends arrive in the morning.'

b. Ayer te vi de bailar.
yesterday 2SG.AC see.PAST.1SG of dance.INF
'Yesterday I saw you dance.'

(26) No hagas de rabiar a tu hermana.
not make.SUBJ.2SG of be furious.INF to your sister
'Don't make your sister mad.'

In (25) we have two verbs of perception whose complement is a constituent formed by the infinitive clause and a phrase in accusative. This corresponds to the subject of the infinitive but receives case from the main verb. The pronominalization of the embedded clauses of those examples *—lo sentí (*a tus amigas)* and *(*te) lo vi—*, with only one possible object in accusative, shows, first, that both the accusative and the infinitive clause are part of the same constituent. And, second, that the complement in accusative is not an argument of the main verb but of the infinitive as its subject. The following sentences in (27) are versions of (25) with a finite completive instead of a non-finite infinitive clause. They let us discover the structure we have just described:

(27) a. Sentí que tus amigas llegaban por la mañana.
hear.PAST.1SG that your friends arrive.PAST.3PL in the morning

b. Ayer vi que bailabas.
yesterday see.PAST.1SG that dance.PAST.2SG

It should be added in order to confirm the structural identity of these sentences that the pronominalization of (27) is equal to the one in (25), that is, *lo sentí* and *lo vi*, where the clitic *lo* corresponds to the whole subordinate clause.

As for the causative example with *hacer* 'to make, to do' in (26), the same analysis would apply. The infinitive and the subject in accusative are also part of the same constituent. These can be substituted by just one pronoun or one finite *que* clause: *No lo hagas (*a tu hermana) / no hagas que tu hermana rabie*. As it is the case with perception verbs, the causative *hacer* seems then to select only one internal argument, but this must be formed by a clause, either a non-finite —an infinitive clause—, or a finite one —a canonical completive clause with *que*—. It is not surprising then that the infinitive clauses selected by perception and causative verbs incorporate a complementizer *de* in *deísmo* dialects, as shown in (25) - (26).

Some issues take place when we consider some other features typical of these 'infinitive with accusative' sentences described, for example, in Hernanz (1999: 2555-2558). First, it is possible in Standard Spanish to have a clitic corresponding to the complement of the infinitive in a preverbal position adjacent to the main verb:

(27) a. Te vi comer la carne / Te la vi comer.
2SG see.PAST.1SG eat.INF the meat 2SG 3.F.AC see.PAST.SG eat.INF
'I saw you eating the meat / I saw you eating it.'

b. Te hice traer la maleta / Te la hice traer.
2SG make.PAST.1SG bring.INF the suitcase 2SG 3.F.AC make.PAST.1SG bring.INF
'I made you bring the suitcase / I made you bring it.'

This is exactly what happens when the main verb is the auxiliary of a periphrasis and hence there is no complementation between this form and the infinitive:

(28) a. Quiero / suelo traer la maleta.
Want.PRES.1SG am used bring.INF the suitcase
'I want / am used to bring the suitcase.'

b. La quiero / suelo traer.
3.F.AC want.PRES.1SG am used bring.INF
'I want / am used to bring it.'

That is not the only peculiarity regarding these constructions. There are still some others that suggest a certain affinity with the syntax of a verbal group or a

periphrasis. For instance, the speakers seem to prefer to have the accusative subject of the infinitive to the right of the infinitive (29a) rather than to the right of the main verb (29b). Thus adjacency between both verbal forms is preserved, as is usual with periphrasis:

(29) a. Vi / hice traer la maleta a Juan.
see.PAST.1SG make.PAST.1SG bring.INF the suitcase to Juan

b. Vi / hice a Juan traer la maleta.
see.PAST.1SG make.PAST.1SG to Juan bring.INF the suitcase
'I saw Juan bringing the suitcase / I made bring the suitcase to Juan.'

In addition, as shown by the gloss of (27b), in Standard Spanish the causative construction may present a dative, which is the subject of the infinitive, and another complement in accusative, as in (30). This would make possible an analysis of the combination *hacer* + infinitive as a periphrasis with two different internal arguments, one in dative and the other one in accusative.

(30) a. Hice traer la maleta a Juan.
make.PAST.1SG bring.INF the suitcase to Juan
'I made bring the suitcase to Juan.'

b. Se la hice traer.
3.DAT 3.F.AC make.PAST.1SG bring.INF
'I made bring it to him.'

These traits, and particularly the fronting of the pronoun in (27), favour a non-complementation analysis of the combination formed by perception or causative verb and infinitive. Apparently, this would pose difficulties in *deísmo* dialects to consider *de* as a complementizer. However, the behaviour of *deísmo* speakers in Ciudad Real shows that this later solution can still be maintained as long as fronting and *de* are not compatible for them. When they are forced to put the complement of the infinitive to the left of the main verb, they would only accept the standard solution without *de* (31). Moreover, they would reject clitic fronting for their usual *deísmo* sentences with these verbs (31b):

(31) Te la vi / hice (*de) traer.
2SG.DAT[5] 3.F.AC see.PAST.1SG make.PAST.1SG of bring.INF
'I saw you bringing it / I made you bring it.'

5. As explained above and seen in (30), when the internal argument in accusative of the infinitive is fronted next to the main verb, the original external argument in accusative must become a dative, in order to avoid an interpretation where *ver* / *hacer* would select two different arguments in accusative.

(32) a. * Te la vi / hice de traer.
2SG.DAT 3.F.AC see.PAST.1SG make.PAST.1SG of bring.INF

b. Te vi / hice de traerla.
2SG.AC/DAT[6] see.PAST.1SG make.PAST.1SG of bring.INF-3.F.AC
'I see you bringing it / I made you bring it.'

These examples lead us to conclude that the presence of *de* necessarily implies a complementation analysis, at least with reference to the pair in (31). Consequently, it confirms the definition so far suggested for this element *de* preceding infinitives.

We want to end up this section by reminding that other semi-causative verbs, which not always behave syntactically like *hacer*, also tend to induce *deísmo* in Ciudad Real. This is the case of *dejar* 'to let' or *mandar* 'to order', which are half way between causative and conative / influence verbs already mentioned (such as *prohibir* 'to forbid', *decir* (*de*) 'to suggest' or even *pedir* 'to ask for'). This causative / conative meaning seems to be therefore another appropriate environment for the *deísmo* type of complementation.

4. *Deísmo* in Contemporary and Old Spanish

4.1. Deísmo *in America and Southern Spain*

The pattern of *deísmo* found in Castilla-La Mancha Spanish, limited to some control verbs and the "infinitive with subject in accusative" structures, is not the only one in Contemporary Spanish. For instance, Di Tullio (2011) recognises different possibilities among Spanish-American uses of a complementizer *de*. There is first an optional element that appears with verbs of intention, influence, will ..., that corresponds roughly to non-standard *de* in Castilla-La Mancha and Peninsular Spanish. Di Tullio also discusses another use of *de* of a mandatory nature with the verb *decir*, which is the same we considered at the beginning of this work as a sample of *de* complementation in Standard Spanish (7a). According to her, this mandatory *de* is not semantically empty and incorporates a prospective content and some constraints on the interpretation of its subject. Nonetheless, these semantic traits can be incorporated in the consideration of the previous facultative *de* since this one does not violate it in American dialects. This *de* would simply remain semantically unspecified. On the contrary, Ciudad Real *deísmo* does not seem to be circumscribed to any type of semantic requirement on the part of the main verb, as we saw in section 2.2. And finally there exists another *de* which alternates with other prepositions as the head of PPs selected by verbs such as *quedar (en / de)* 'to agree', or *pensar (en / de)* 'to think of'. It should be said that this can also be found in Peninsular Spanish, as we will see immediately, but apparently not in Ciudad Real.

6. In this structure, with the internal argument of an embedded transitive verb (*traer*) next to it at the end, the clitic that corresponds to its subject is accusative with a perception verb (*ver*) but dative with causative *hacer*.

A more detailed and extensive version of *deísmo* is found in other Southern Spanish dialects, according to the data provided both by Pato and De Benito Moreno (2012) and the *COSER* surveys.[7] As their findings show and previous accounts had so far claimed, *de* + infinitive structures can be found almost in every province of the regions of Andalusia and Extremadura. In addition, it must be said that, beyond this preferred southern distribution, the procedure can also be documented less spontaneously in other places of Spain such as Madrid, Zamora or even Catalonia. If we concentrate on the situation in Andalusia and Extremadura, the scenario portrayed by these studies is different from the one we have described for Castilla-La Mancha in at least two relevant aspects. Firstly, the presence of *de* seems to be more extended in control contexts and, therefore, we find it attached to more verbs, most of them perfectly discarded in Ciudad Real. For instance, we find *deísmo* with pseudo-impersonal and impersonal verbs (33) and psychological verbs, such as *gustar* or *encantar* (34), that are hardly ever found in Castilla-La Mancha:

(33) a. … le convenía de tener …
3.DAT be advisable.PRES.3SG of have.INF
'… it suits him/her to have …' [Gil Márquez (*COSER* HU2114)]

b. … te haría falta de sacárselo
2SG need.COND.3SG of get out.INF-3.M.AC
'… you would need to get it out'
[Jimena de la Frontera (*COSER* HU1109)]

(34) a. … me gustaba de ir con ella
1SG like.PAST.3SG of go.INF with her
'… I liked going out with her'
[Orellana de la Sierra (*COSER* BA723)]

b. … me encantó de escucharla
1SG love.PAST.3SG of listen.INF-3.F.AC
'… I loved to listen to her' [Zufre (*COSER* HU2122)]

And secondly, this wider extension includes in both regions the insertion of *de* before the infinitives of Standard Spanish periphrasis such as *soler* and combinations with prototypical modal verbs as *poder* 'can' or *querer* 'want':

7. Special thanks should be given to Inés Fernández Ordóñez, Enrique Pato and particularly Carlota de Benito for allowing us open access to the *COSER* surveys (Fernández Ordóñez, dir., 2005-) and for helping with the information and data concerning *deísmo*. Most of the data presented below were previously collected and classified by Carlota de Benito and were kindly provided to us by herself and the *COSER* searchers in the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

(35) a. … no se suelen de pasar cosas
not 3REFL be used.PRES.3PL of happen.INF things
'… not a thing happens here'
[Almadén de la Plata (*COSER* SE3806)]

b. … no pudimos de ir
not can.PAST.1PL of go.INF
'… we could not go' [Cardeña (*COSER* CO1505)]

c. ... nada más quiero de ver lo que voy a comer
nothing more want.PRES.1SG of see.INF that that go.PRES.1SG to eat.INF
'… I just want to see what I am going to eat'
[Álora (*COSER* MA3004)]

If we want to maintain, as it is generally accepted, that these combinations correspond to a verb group and, therefore, the infinitive is not part of any embedded clause subcategorized by the inflected verb, the presence of *de* cannot be explained at all as a complementizer. This argument then poses serious problems to the analysis so far defended for *deísmo*, unless we could provide an independent explanation for the sentences in (35). And indeed, this might be done if we relate the insertion of *de* here with the preposition usually found between auxiliaries and verbs in other Spanish verb complexes and periphrasis (García Fernández 2006). For instance, we have deontic (modal) *deber de* + infinitive, *haber de* + infinitive, terminative *acabar de* + infinitive or *venir de* + infinitive. Moreover, some other prepositions can still be found, for example, *a* (*ir a* + infinitive, *empezar a* + infinitive, *romper a* + infinitive) or *por* (*estar por* + infinitive). Interestingly enough, some sentences from *COSER* in Andalusia and Extremadura seem to suggest the extension of this type of preposition to other periphrasis. We find, for instance, *venir de* + gerund and *ir de* + gerund instead of *venir* + gerund and *ir* + gerund, both of them regular continuative periphrasis in Standard Spanish:

(36) a. … viene de haciendo una encuesta
come.PRES.3SG of do.GER a survey
'… he/she is conducting a survey'
[Bélmez de la Moraleda (*COSER* JA 2302)]

b. … cuando íbamos de navegando
when go.PAST.1PL of sail.GER
'… when we were sailing'
[Alozaina (*COSER* MA3005)]

The generalization of a prepositional marker for all sort of periphrasis could serve as an explanation for the insertion of *de* in (35) with *soler* and modal verbs. If so, there would not be necessarily a connection between *deísmo*, which has to be limited to complementation contexts, and this *de* of periphrastic combinations.

There are still some other sentences from the same source that may serve as further evidence in this sense. Pato and de Benito Moreno (2012) contains a sentence with the modal verb *poder* followed by *de* + infinitive and the clitic *le*, complement of the infinitive, attached to the first verbal form to the left of *de*:

(37) Mientras tenía pa poderle de dar, se lo
while have.PAST.1SG for be able.INF-3.DAT of give.INF 3.DAT 3.M.AC
daba
give.PAST.1SG
'… while I was able to give something to him/her, I gave it to him/her'
[Gil Márquez (*COSER* HU2114)]

As we have seen before with respect to causative constructions in Ciudad Real, this position for the clitic is not to be expected if *de* is a complementizer. Otherwise it is perfectly possible for periphrasis in Spanish, where the complements of the non-finite form are often attached to the auxiliary. Our conclusion is then that *de* in sentences (35)-(37) is to be treated as an extension of a prepositional marker in periphrasis in Andalusia and Extremadura Spanish rather than as examples of *de* as a complementizer or *deísmo*.

4.2. The presence of deísmo *in Medieval and Classical Spanish*

As was already mentioned in section 1.2, *deísmo* has frequently been documented in early Spanish texts in the same contexts where it survives today in substandard speech (Perea Siller 2008; RAE / ASALE 2009: § 43.6u; Di Tullio 2011: 183-185). For instance, a rough inquiry in databases such as *CORDE* or Davies (2002-) shows how abundant this construction is since medieval times with verbs like *pensar*, *plazer* 'to like', *probar*, *prometer*, *convenir*, *costar*, *doler* or *pesar*. Despite it being stigmatized by Juan de Valdés during the first half of the 16th century (Perea Siller 2008: 134), it has been more or less kept until 18th or 19th centuries. Particularly *probar* and *prometer* present in Medieval and Classical Spanish even more occurrences with *de* + infinitive than without. And, of course, we have also *decir de* + infinitive since mid 13th century. As we have seen before, all these verbs can still be found among the preferred contexts for *deísmo*. Other verbs are later incorporated to this list and occur sometimes with *deísmo* in Classical Spanish, a possibility that tends to be less frequent than the one with no complementizer: *aceptar* 'to accept', *dudar* 'to doubt', *esperar*, *interesar* 'to interest', *olvidar* 'to forget', *prohibir* 'to forbid'. It should be pointed out that some of these verbs are not always found in contemporary *deísmo* variants. The examples in (38) below are just an illustrative selection of this type of *deísmo* from 13th to 17th centuries:

(38) a. … les pesaba de haberlos servido
3.PL.DAT regret.PAST.3SG of have-3.M.PL.AC served
'… they regretted having served them'
[Cervantes Salazar, *Crónica* (RAE / ASALE 2009: § 43.6u)]

b. Non te conviene de fazer tal cosa que ...
not 2SG be good.PRES.3SG of do.INF such thing that
'It is not good for you to do such a thing …'
[*Bocados de oro,* 21, 15, (h. 1250) (*CORDE*)]

c. … prometieron de traer la cibdad en poder de los griegos
… promise.PAST.3PL of bring.INF the city in power of the greek
'… they promised to bring the city under the greeks'
[*Historia Troyana* (c. 1490) (*CDavies*)]

d. Ca era ya llegado el tiempo que les el
that be.PAST.3SG already arrive.PP the time that 3PL.DAT he
dixiera de fazer el tiemplo
say.PAST.3SG of do.INF the temple
'… that the time was arrived for him to tell them to build the temple'
[*General Estoria*, *Cuarta parte*, (c. 1280) (*CDavies*)]

e. … espero de ser os agradecido algún día.
hope.PRES.1SG of be.INF 2SG grateful some day
'… I hope to thank you some day'
[*El hijo de la cuna de Sevilla* (c. 1590) (*CDavies*)]

Another salient group for ancient *deísmo* was the one formed by the impersonal constructions with *ser* and an infinitive clause in subject position: *ser costumbre / fácil / imposible / lástima / necesario* ..., which very often included *de* preceding the embedded clause:

(39) a. Fea cosa es de soltar el marinero la nave …
ugly thing is of release the sailor the boat
'it is an ugly thing for the sailor to release the boat …'
[*Bocados de oro*, (RAE / ASALE 2009: § 43.6u)]

b. qu'es plazer de mirarla …
that-is pleasure of look at.INF-3.F.AC
'... that it is nice to look at it …'
[Colón, *Diario del primer viaje* (1492-1493) (*CORDE*)]

As Perea Siller (2008: 130) reminds us, a group of psychological impersonal verbs already existed in Latin that were clearly related to some of the Spanish verbs just cited. These were accompanied sometimes by a complement in genitive that indicated the cause or origin of the experience. This is precisely what Elvira (2011) clearly refers to in a work dedicated to the medieval expansion in Spanish of this group of Latin verbs. According to him, the argument structure of

verbs like *miseret* 'to pity', *paenitet* 'to regret', *piget* 'to be annoyed', *pudet* 'to be ashamed', *taedet* 'to be tired of', despite disappearing in Romance, provided a pattern that was to be largely adopted at least in Medieval Spanish —with a dative control verb and sentential complement headed by *de* instead of a genitive—, as (39) shows.

Finally, perception verbs are also found in Old Spanish with an infinitive preceded by *de*. But the examples are scarce and appear later than some of the structures just mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. They are really unusual with *oír* 'hear' but not so for the verb *ver* 'see', particularly in Classical Spanish. Curiously enough, the examples with perception verbs are not at all rare in texts from the last two centuries in the corpus of Davies (2002-). On the other hand, it seems that *deísmo* was not at all available for the causative construction with *hacer*, neither in Medieval nor in Classical Spanish. Again, the following sentences illustrate this type of structures until 18th century for the verbs of perception:

(40) a. … que atemoriza a los que lo oyen de
that frighten.PRES.3SG to those who 3.M.AC hear.PRES.3PL of
llegarse a la oración
arrive.INF-3REFL to the prayer
'… that frightens those who hear him to pray'
[Teresa de Jesús, *Camino de perfección*, (1548) (*CDavies*)]

b. que te uedo de fazer cosas que te touieran pro
that 2SG see.PRES.1SG of do.INF things that 2SG have.SUBJ.3PL profit
en tu uida
in your life
'… that I see you doing things that will be good for your life'
[*General Estoria, Cuarta parte*, 237r, (c. 1280) *CORDE*)]

Even though this brief and precarious account of Old Spanish *deísmo* needs to be developed further, the consideration of the last data and those presented in (38)-(39) apparently suggests that control verbs —and more specifically pseudo-impersonal and impersonal verbs of psychological content— might have been its genuine context. From there it could have expanded to other control environments and finally to the somewhat different structure of 'infinitive with subject in accusative' verbs. That would explain the relative abundance of the former and the scarcity or total absence of the later. Whether or not this is the right explanation, the examination of these historical data shows that *deísmo* in Spanish is not a marginal contemporary innovation, but rather the surviving proof of an ancient alternative complementation pattern for infinitival subordination traced back to even previous Latin models. As Di Tullio (2011: 184) had already claimed, the progress of this construction was abandoned in Spanish in favour of the more frequent pattern with no overt complementizer.

5. *Deísmo*: A Romance pattern of infinitival complementation

Things, nonetheless, were not the same everywhere in the Romance-speaking areas. The *de* complementation pattern has survived and is well established in the standard varieties of some other western Romance languages. As Di Tullio (2011: 185) had already claimed, *deísmo* is known in Catalan, French and Italian (Bonet 2002: 2376-2380; Grevisse 1986: §§ 874-876; Kayne 1999; Rizzi 1991: 516-517; Skytte, Salvi and Manzini 1991: 522-527; Egerland and Cennamo 2010: 825-828). It is also documented for Sardinian —with *a* as complementizer instead of *de*— and Occitan (Kayne 1999: 58). The examination of the contexts where it is found in the former three major languages confirms the essential identity between them and Medieval and Classical Spanish pattern of *deísmo*. It mainly appears with all kinds of control verbs preceding an infinitive clause in the position of object or subject, but it is never found with modal verbs. As in Spanish, the presence of a complementizer *de* seems to be determined by the main control verb, which means that each language has its own list of *de* verbs. It includes verbs already cited in relation with Old or Contemporary Spanish *deísmo*: *dir / dire / decire* 'to say'); *probar, intentar / essayer / provare, cercare (di)* 'to try'); *proposar / proposer / proporre* 'to suggest') ... There are also some verbs that select a *de* infinitive clause in some languages, but not in others. This is the case for the specific versions of Spanish *aceptar* 'to accept', *convenir* 'to be advisable', *desear* 'to want', *esperar* 'to hope', *lamentar* 'to regret', *ocurrir / pasar* 'to happen', *pedir* 'to ask for', *prohibir* 'to forbid', *prometer* 'to promise', *recordar* 'to remember' (and *olvidar* 'to forget'), *tocar* 'to be one's turn' … It should be pointed out that all of them had been already cited as *deísmo* triggers either in Medieval and Classical Spanish or in any of the current *deísmo* varieties. The following sentences illustrate the contemporary Catalan (41), French (42) and Italian (43) uses of some of the verbs mentioned:

(41) a. Proposo de fer-ho tot.
suggest.1SG of do.INF-3.N everything
'I suggest to do everything.'

b. Prometo de fer-ho tot.
promise.PRES.1SG of do.INF-3.N everything
'I promise to do everything.'

(42) a. J'essaye de tout faire.
I try.PRES.1SG of everything do.INF
'I try to do everything.'

b. J'ai oublié de danser.
I have.1SG forgotten of dance.INF
'I forgot to dance.'

(43) a. Mi tocca di fare tutto.
3SG be one's turn.PRES.3SG of do.INF everything
'It is my turn to do everything.'

b. Accetto di fare tutto.
accept.PRES.1SG of do.INF everything
'I accept to do everything.'

But there are also some peculiarities and differences in this Romance general complementation procedure. The most significant one is the fact that only in current Spanish *deísmo* is found in 'infinitive with subject in accusative' structures, that is, in combination with causative and perception verbs. The other diverging behaviour has to do with the distribution of *deísmo* in impersonal structures (like *hacer falta* and others in Spanish) and those copulative sentences formed by the combination of *ser* and a nominal or adjectival attribute like *ser costumbre / importante / necesario*... While this kind of *de* preceding postverbal infinitive clauses seems to be relatively common in Catalan (44a), it is not found in Italian (44b), where the presence of *de* as a complementizer is strongly limited or even forbidden in post- and preverbal subject position (Rizzi 1991: 516-517; Kayne 1999):

(44) a. És important de fer-ho ara.
is important of do.INF-3.N now

b. É importante (*di) farlo adesso.
is important of do.INF-3.M. now
'It is important to do it now.'

And, more interestingly, in French the infinitive clauses in this context, while headed by *de*, co-occur necessarily with an expletive *il* as the subject of the copulative verb:

(45) Il est important de le faire maintenant.
it is important of 3.M do.INF now
'It is important to do it now.'

This peculiarity, which is obviously linked to the non pro-drop feature of French, not only shows an important split in the Romance pattern of *de* complementation, but it also complicates considerably the analysis of *de*, thus giving way to a certain discussion (Kayne 1999, Borsley 2001).

Nevertheless, from our perspective, the existence of specific traits for each language regarding the extension of *deísmo* does not change the main issue. That is, the early development in Western Romance of a specialized overt complementizer *de* for non-finite (infinitive) subordination that, despite its limited distribution, parallels the alternative complementizer *que* in finite subordination. While this complementary distribution between non-finite and finite (overt) complementizers has been preserved until now in the majority of Western Romance languages, it has been moved aside and almost disappeared in contemporary Standard Spanish.

Demonte (2003: 38) introduced for the first time this idea of some kind of division in the way Romance languages introduce subordinate clauses. As we have

seen, this crucially depends on whether or not they incorporate a Tense feature and can be considered as one of the elements of the considerable microvariation within the area of Romance complementation. Catalan, French or Italian specialized *de* as the overt complementizer for tenseless declarative clauses. On the other hand, these same languages use only *que* for tensed sentences including sentences that correspond to PP complements:

(46) a. M' he ocupat de tot / (*de) que tot
1SG have.1SG been in charge of everything of that everything
estigui preparat.
be.SUBJ.3SG ready
'I was in charge of everything / I was in charge of having everything ready.'

b. Je me suis occupé de tout / (*de) que
I 1SG be.PRES.1SG in charge.PP of everything of that
tout soit prêt.
everything be.SUBJ.3SG ready
'I was in charge of everything / I was in charge of having everything ready.'

c. Mi fido di te / (*de) che sarà così.
1SG trust.PRES.1SG of you of) that be.FUT.3SG so
'I trust you / I trust it will be so.'

Applying the traditional Spanish labels, these languages show not only *deísmo* but also *queísmo*. Let us remember that this was also the pattern followed by Ciudad Real *deísmo* dialect, where sentences such as those in (46) are exactly paired by a sentence like (20), cited in section 3.2.

On the contrary, in current Standard Spanish the complementizer *que* does not share with any other form this role. This exclusivity may be the reason behind its compatibility with other forms in that position, for instance in *dequeísmo* or inside PPs. As illustrated before in (3), in Standard Spanish verbs that select a PP as their complement do maintain the preposition, even if the complement is an embedded clause, as opposed to Romance counterparts like (46).

6. Concluding remarks

Along these pages we have presented an analysis of a mainly non-standard structure of Contemporary Spanish which consists basically in the insertion of a preposition *de* before an embedded infinitive clause. After a detailed examination of data from Castilla-La Mancha speech, it has been claimed that this so-called *deísmo* can be considered a case of overt marking of non-finite or tenseless subordinated clauses by means of a new complementizer, *de*, parallel to the complementizer *que* for finite clauses. The extension of *deísmo* is limited to some control verbs and appears also in causative constructions and after verbs of perception. It is relatively common

not only in Castilla-La Mancha Spanish, but also in other Southern Spanish dialects in Extremadura and Andalusia, where it seems to present a wider distribution. But it can also be found sporadically among speakers from many other Spanish-speaking areas, including America.

In fact, *deísmo* is not at all a marginal contemporary innovation, but rather an alternative complementation pattern that was already present in Medieval Spanish. The early and extensive documentation of a complementizer *de* for infinitival subordination can probably be explained after previous Latin models in psychological impersonal contexts. From there it would eventually be extended to other kinds of control verbs and later to different contexts such as perception and causative verbs.

This hypothesis is reinforced by the consideration of the almost identical facts in neighbouring Romance languages such as Catalan, French or Italian. From their first texts until today standard speech, these languages have incorporated the same complementizer *de* for infinitive clauses. By doing so, they have finally given way to a complementation system which clearly distinguishes between tensed and tenseless subordinate clauses by means of different complementizers, *que* and *de* respectively.

The situation in Spanish seems to have been somehow more confusing. There existed an initial hesitation between whether to insert an overt complementizer *de* or not to insert any complementizer at all. It survived until at least the 17th century and finally disappeared in favour of the later solution. *Deísmo*, then, was confined in Spanish to non-standard or dialectal speech, contrary to what happened in the above-mentioned Romance languages. Something similar, but with a slightly different end, could have happened with respect to complementation in finite clauses considering the current variation that affects the complementizer *que* and the extension of both *queísmo* and *dequeísmo*. This same vacillation between *que* and *de que* is also documented since medieval times, as Serradilla (1995) describes. To sum up, such a scenario of considerable variation may deserve some new scholar interest to past and present Spanish (and Romance) complementation, an area that can still provide new research questions.

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Basque Primary Adpositions from a Clausal Perspective*

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Abstract

This paper has as its aim to account for an intriguing asymmetry in the domain of primary adpositions in Basque, whereby locatives seem to take a DP ground, whereas the rest of the spatial affixes require a bare nominal ground. I argue that the purported determiner heading the complement of the locative suffix is actually an allomorph of the ergative suffix, and I provide an explanation for why an independent case marker should occur precisely in locative adpositional phrases in Basque, but not in the rest of spatial cases. This explanation requires in turn reconsidering much of the well-established syntactic conclusions on which the traditional analysis of adpositional phrases in Basque rests. In this process, I develop the idea, first suggested by Koopman (2000), that adpositional phrases should be analyzed in close parallelism to the syntax of clauses. Micro-syntactic differences across dialects provide some of the crucial evidence for the proposal.

Keywords: adpositions; locatives; ergative; spatial nouns; nominal ellipsis; axial parts; ground; Basque.

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1. Introduction

Basque has three simple or primary adpositions, encoding location (*inessive*), path (*allative*) and source (*ablative*) (Hualde 2002; Trask 2003; De Rijk 2008). A long standing puzzle in the domain of primary adpositions in Basque is the fact that whereas inessives seem to take DP complements (1a), the complements of allatives and ablatives must be bare, even if the spatial ground is interpreted as a definite:

(1) a. mendi-a-n
mountain-D-INESS
'in the mountain'

b. mendi-(*a)-ra
mountain-D-ALL
'to the mountain'

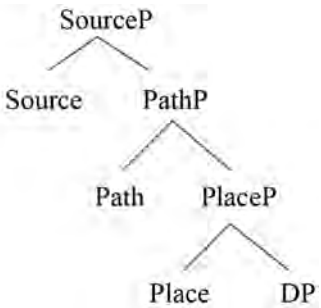
c. mendi-(*a)-tik
mountain-D-ABL
'from the mountain'

The concrete formulation of the asymmetry between (1a) on the one hand, and (1b,c) on the other, capitalizes on the existence of (2), an ordinary definite DP. This definite DP is made out of the combination of a noun and the affixal determiner *-a*. (2) is identical to the complement of the inessive suffix *-n* in (1a).

(2) mendi-a
mountain-D
'the mountain'

This asymmetry raises several questions when placed against the background of recent cartographic approaches to the structure of adpositional phrases. As shown by an increasing amount of cartographic work, in complex directional postpositions a Path feature seems to select the Place feature (see Koopman 2000; Kracht 2002; Svenonius 2006; Pantcheva 2008, 2009; Caha 2009; Riemsdijk and Huygbrets 2007). The complex structure in (3) predicts languages showing adposition stacking, a possibility that seems to be independently attested (see Pantcheva 2008, 2010, 2011). Under something like the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985), stacking phenomena constitute independent evidence for the feature hierarchies proposed in cartographic studies. Thus, in cases of adposition stacking, it is typically the locative morpheme that appears closer to the root than the allative one, as in Tsez (4), and when this type of stacking targets allatives and ablatives, it looks as if the allative is closer to the root than the ablative, as in Quechua (5) (data from Pantcheva 2011: 46-47):

(3)



(4) a. besuro-xo
fish-at
'at the fish'

b. besuro-xo-r
fish-at-to
'to the fish'

Tsez

(5) a. Utavalu-man ri-ni.
Otavalo-ALL go-1SG
'I go to Otavalo.'

b. Utavalu-manda shamu-ni.
Otavalo-ABL come-1SG
'I come from Otavalo.'

Quechua

Selective lexicalization of the relevant features in verb framing configurations also provide evidence in favour of the underlying structure in (2) (see Svenonius and Son 2008), as do entailment relations between different primary adpositions (Jackendoff 1983), and the paradigmatic distribution of spatial declension affixes (Kracht 2002). If cartographic hierarchies are correct it is unclear why the addition of a Path feature on top of Place should cause the disappearance of the article, if *-a* in the locative is the ordinary Basque article *-a* that you find in (2). Whatever the relevant relation, it goes beyond the local domain defined by the inessive and its nominal complement.

Following earlier work by Jacobsen (1977), De Rijk (1981) and Lakarra (2005), I will try to show that the purported article in (1a) is not the ordinary article in (2), but a case marker historically related to the ergative case suffix *-k*, and that the analysis of the asymmetries in (1a-c) invites a view of adpositional structures that approaches them to clauses, as suggested in seminal work by Koopman (2000). This paper makes the following related claims: first, that locative phrases in general can be binominal, optionally including a silent noun meaning PLACE (as in Kayne 2005; Botwinik-Roten 2004; Leu 2010; Terzi 2010, among others), but may also involve silent PERSON and THING (for the latter see also Kayne 2005). Then, binominal constructions impose certain demands case-wise, and may force the presence of extra case-licensing heads, reflected in the asymmetry in (1a-c) and others. Finally, I will argue, on the footsteps of a large body of work, that Path adpositions are featurally and syntactically complex. The complexity of Path adpositions is not immediately evident in Basque as a result of lexicalization rules that affect complex chunks of structure. In the spirit of the nanosyntax project (see Caha 2009; Starke 2009, among others), I will suggest that lexicalization of featurally complex adpositions targets phrasal syntactic objects.

2. On the presence of a determiner

Since Jacobsen (1977), it has been pointed out that the bound sequence *-an* presents the following phonological property, unexpected under the view that *-an* represents the sequence *D-inessive postposition*. This particular phonological property consists of an obligatory epenthetic vowel when the stem ends in a consonant:

(6) a etxe-an
house-SUFFIX
'in the house'

b. lur-**e**-an
earth-EPENTH-SUFFIX
'in the earth'

There are two aspects to consider regarding the special status of this epenthetic vowel: the first one, raised by Jacobsen, is that the epenthetic vowel seems to target the wrong morphological boundary if a determiner is assumed. Assuming a morphological representation for case-marked DPs in the following terms:

(7) [$_{DP}$ NP + Det]-Declension Suffix (cf. etxe-a-n 'in the house')

It seems as if the epenthetic vowel targets the boundary that separates the stem and the article:

(8) a. [Stem$_{Consonant}$ +epenthetic vowel + Det]-Declension Suffix

b. lur-e-an
earth-EPENTH-SUFFIX

But no such phenomenon is attested in ordinary DPs. Consider in this regard (9a,b):

(9) a. lur-a
earth-D
'the earth'

b *lur-**e**-a
earth-EPENTH-D
'the earth'

As shown in (9b), the epenthetic vowel cannot follow a consonant ending stem before the determiner. If the sequence *-an* is analysed as *Det-iness*, it is not clear why an epenthetic vowel is required.

The second aspect that makes the epenthetic vowel special is the fact that it does not obey the usual phonological distribution of epenthetic vowels in Basque. Epenthetic vowels are required in Basque to break the sequence of two consonants in the context of morphological boundaries. This is the case for instance in the rest of the sequences of stem-primary adposition. Both the allative and the ablative suffixes start with a consonant, and an epenthetic vowel is required when the stem they attach to ends with another one:

(10) a. lur-*(e)-ra
earth-EPENTH-ALL
'to the earth'

b. lur-*(e)-tik
earth-EPENTH-ABL
'from the earth'

The morphophonological process illustrated in (10a,b) is on the other hand, habitual in other morphological boundaries involving potential sequences of consonants. Thus, an epenthetic vowel is required for instance in sequences of stem-adnominal suffix, when the stem ends in a consonant. The epenthesis is (morpho) phonologically conditioned: it is blocked if the relevant boundaries do not add up to a sequence of consonants:

(11) a. etxe-ko
home-ADN
'of home'

b. lur-*(e)-ko
earth-EPENTH-ADN
'Of the earth'

The epenthetic vowel that obligatorily arises in the inessive is peculiar from this point of view too: the suffix starts with a vowel *-a* (what we called «the determiner») but nevertheless requires an epenthetic vowel. The epenthetic vowel is thus unexpected both from a morphological point of view (the wrong boundaries seem to be targeted) and a phonological point of view (no phonological motivation).

We may add to this the fact that the *-a* of inessive phrases does not feed other morphophonological phenomena that target D across dialects. An illustrative case is provided by the dissimilation phenomenon arising in Biscayan when the article *-a* attaches to a stem that itself ends in *-a* (12a). This dissimilation process affects the stem final *-a*. Dissimilation does not arise in inessives (12b) (apud Martinez Areta 2010):[1]

(12) a. alaba 'daughter' + *-a* → alabea 'the daughter'
b. gona 'skirt' + *-an* → gonan 'in the skirt' / *gonean

2.1. A little historical morphosyntax

Jacobsen provides an account of the epenthetic vowel, that he views as the historical residue of an underlying sequence of two distinct morphemes, none of which is the determiner: the first one would involve a consonant, unrealized in our time, the second one being the inessive, as in (13). The underlying consonant in (13) accounts for the presence of an obligatory epenthetic vowel. What looks like the determiner *-a* is in fact part of another morpheme, which starts with a (nowadays unrealized) consonant. This underlying consonant (represented as C below) triggered the presence of the epenthetic vowel. The actual epenthesis is a historical residue of this state of affairs (an internally conditioned allomorph, in the sense of Mascaró 2007; see below).

(13) lur + Ca + -n

De Rijk (1981) has suggested that the unrealized consonant in (13) corresponds to the velar consonant of the suffix *-ga*. This suffix marks animate grounds in Basque and precedes the inessive:

(14) a. *Aitor-en
Aitor-INESS
'in Aitor'

b. Aitor-en-ga-n
Aitor-GEN-SUFFIX-INESS
'in Aitor'

The reason why the consonant is not realized with non-animate grounds is due to a historical phonological rule of weakening that applied to voiced consonants

1. As a reviewer notes, dissimilation processes are operative in some dialects even in inessives. For instance, in Lekeitio Basque, a rule of vowel assimilation can target the vowel of inessive after dissimilation: *itxaso-a-n* 'in the sea' > *itxasu-a-n* > *itxasu-u-n*, likewise *etxe-a-n* 'in the house' > *etxi-a-n* > *etxi-i-n* (Elordieta 1997 a,b). But crucially, *elixa-a-n* 'in the church' gives *elixan*, not **elixin*, and *gona-a-n* yields *gonan*, not **gonin*.

between vowels. The reason why the consonant is overtly realized in (14) follows from the fact that animate grounds, besides undergoing locative declension are obligatorily case-marked by a genitive case-suffix that ends in a consonant. This way, the locative declension suffix does not find itself surrounded by vowels, and the structural description for the weakening rule does not arise.[2] In other words, *-a* and *-ga* are historically related allomorphs in the context of inessive phrases. As shown by Lakarra (2005), *-ga-* is actually an allomorph of the ergative suffix, realized as a voiceless velar *-k* in final position:[3]

(15) Aitor-e-**k** egin du.
Aitor-EPENTH-ERG done AUX[3SE-3SA]
'Aitor did it.'

The affix *-ga-* has thus resulted in two different allomorphs: *-a-* between vowels (weakening) and *-k* in final position (loss of voicing). If we stand on the footsteps of De Rijk, we may conclude that *-a* in the inessive phrases is a case marker historically related to the ergative.[4]

2.2. -a *as the old demonstrative*

Manterola (2006, 2009) has a different view of the status of *-a-* in the inessive. He has developed the hypothesis that the Basque declensional paradigm results from the cliticization or phonological reduction of the old demonstrative paradigm. The presence of the epenthetic vowel thus follows from the fact that the old locative demonstrative (nowadays the adverbial demonstrative *han* 'there') had an initial aspiration (still perceivable in some eastern varieties) that triggered the presence of the epenthetic vowel (the star character represents a reconstructed, non attested form):

(16) lur 'earth' + han 'there' → *lur-e-han 'in the earth' → lur-e-an

One obvious problem with this view is that the article itself does not give rise to the epenthesis, despite the fact that its older demonstrative form *ha* 'that' was

2. According to De Rijk (1981), the forms without a genitive that we find in modern Basque, such as *lagunagan* (<*lagun+a+ga+n*), should be later innovations, because they maintain the intervocalic consonant. Textual evidence suggests, to the contrary, that the genitive-less forms are actually the primitive ones, weakening De Rijk's line of reasoning (see Santazilia 2013, for a recent summary of the issues involved from a historical point of view). I have nothing to add here.
3. As noted by a reviewer, this is not a process postulated *ad hoc* for this affix, but a widely attested phonotactic process in Basque which affects all voiced stops (cf. Michelena 1990), and even sibilants in some dialects (cf. Hualde 1993).
4. The presence of the ergative in locative phrases would not be a peculiarity of Basque. It arises in other ergative languages, for instance in the Daghestanian language family (cf. the discussion on the local cases of Tabasaran, and the relation of the ergative case to oblique stems in Tsez, in Comrie and Polinsky 1998: 98-99), and in Hindi, where the ergative case is added to oblique case morphemes typical of locative phrases (as discussed by Mohanan 1994 and Markman 2012, among others).

also aspirated. In other words, the evolution schematized in (17) has no place in the diachrony of Basque.

(17) lur 'earth' + ha 'that' → *lur-e-ha → lurrea

To address this asymmetry, Manterola suggests that the grammaticalization paths leading from the demonstrative to the article in Basque happened in different historical periods for the locative and the absolutive. Manterola's diachronic hypothesis for the emergence of the determiner in Basque and its relation to the special morphosyntactic properties of inessive phrases combines well with some of the observed synchronic asymmetries in the behaviour of the nominal grounds in inessive phrases. In the next section I describe those properties and propose a different way of approaching them which does not assume an underlying determiner.[5]

2.3. Phenomena targeting D and the inessive

The idea that *-an* is something other than a sequence of a determiner plus a declension suffix faces several well known problems. All of them revolve around the fact that *-a-* in *-an* is targeted by several phenomena which seem to affect determiners generally in Basque. Consider the contrast in (18a-c) (adapted from Artiagoitia 1997, 2000, 2012):

(18) a. Hiri*(-a) oso ederra da.
city-D very nice is
'The city is very beautiful.'

b. Bilbo(*-a) oso ederra da.
Bilbao-D very nice is
'Bilbao is very beautiful.'

c. Aitor (*-a) oso ederra da.
Aitor-D very beautiful is
'Aitor is very beautiful.'

As shown in the examples, only common nouns accept the determiner, which is obligatory when a noun phrase is in argument position in Basque (18a).[6] Proper nouns, whether corresponding to animate entities or locations (18b,c) do not take the article. Artiagoitia observes that proper nouns must take an article when they are modified:

(19) a. Aitor zahar *(-a) ongi ikusi dut.
Aitor old-D well seen AUX[1SE-3SA]
'I saw old Aitor in good shape.'

b. Bilbo berri *(-a) zoragarria da.
Bilbao new-D great-D is
'The new Bilbao is great.'

5. What I will say here does not necessarily question Manterola's larger hypothesis regarding the origin of the declensional system as a whole.
6. Except for the Souletin dialect which admits bare noun objects (see Etxeberria 2011).

He provides an analysis *à la* Longobardi (1994), whereby the intervening presence of the adjective precludes the movement of the proper noun to the Spec of DP. In the absence of an overt specifier in DP, an article must lexicalize the projection. As noted by Artiagoitia, the same alternation targets the inessive suffix: more concretely its first component *-a*. The alternation is difficult to discern in the case of animate proper nouns, for the reason that the animate suffix *-ga-*, potentially different from the article *-a*, must surface in that case. But it is easy to identify in the case of locational proper nouns, which do not take *-ga*. In that case, the first element of the sequence *-an* disappears, as we would expect if *-a* were the article:

(20) Bilbo-(*a)-n dago.
Bilbao-D-INESS is
'He/she/it is in Bilbao.'

If the proper noun is modified by an adjective, the article must show up again:

(21) Bilbo zaharr-e-a-n ikusi nuen.
Bilbao old-EPENTH-D-INESS see AUX[1SE-3SA]
'I saw him/her/it in old Bilbao.'

In an analysis à la Longobardi (1994), it is difficult to interpret these data as showing anything other than the first element in the sequence *-an* is the article. The conclusion would be supported by alternations between definite and indefinite inessive cases in those dialects which allow bare nouns with an indefinite reading. Thus, in Souletin and some Low-Navarrese varieties, one can find alternations of the following sort:[7]

(22) a. Etxen da.
house-INESS is
'He/she/it is home.'

b. Etxe-a-n da.
house-D-INESS is
'He/she/it is in/at the house.'

With a bare noun following the inessive suffix, the meaning of the locative phrase approaches something like English *(at) home*. With the article, the reading is that the house is either someone else's house, or that it is viewed as a mere container. This corresponds roughly to the alternative use of *(at) home* versus *at the house* in English. To the extent that this type of alternation only arises in varieties which independently allow for bare nouns to occur in predicate and (some) argument positions, it could constitute further evidence in favour of the idea that the complex morpheme *-an* must be decomposed into a Determiner *-a* and the inessive suffix *-n*. The alternation constitutes clear evidence against a monomorphemic analysis of the locative ending. But it does not, in and of itself, constitute evidence

7. To be precise (22b) is actually pronounced *etxín*, from *etxe-a-n*, with vowel dissimilation motivated by the underlying presence of the article, and subsequent vowel reduction.

against De Rijk's view that the element preceding the inessive is not the article. It could well be that in (22a) the suffix *-ga* (to be precise, its weakened version *-a-*) is not present at all. The apparent absence of the article in those cases therefore would have to be interpreted more perspicuously as the absence of the *-ga* suffix, which we compared to the ergative.

The data in (21) and (22) can be interpreted differently if proper nouns enter the syntax as predicates, as ordinary common nouns do. This idea has been recently defended by Matushansky (2008), on the basis of a cross-linguistic analysis of naming constructions of the type in (23a,b):

(23) a. The king of England was called Arthur.

b. Call me Al.

According to Matushansky, such naming verbs have the same underlying structure as verbs of nomination. Stowell (1989) argues that verbs of nomination take a small clause complement. Thus, a sentence like (24a) would have the underlying structure in (24b):

(24) a. The queen appointed her lover treasurer of the realm.

b. The queen appointed [$_{SC}$ her lover treasurer of the realm]

Verbs of nomination in Basque, which have been claimed to possess a similar predicative structure (see Zabala 1993) also possess a bare noun in predicate position:

(25) Aitor lehendakari izendatu zuten.
Aitor president nominated AUX[PAST.3PLE-3SA]
'They nominated Aitor president.'

Proper names in naming constructions behave in an identical fashion: it is to be thought that the absence of a determiner in the proper name *Bilbo* in (26) follows from the same reasons that motivate the absence of an article in the predicate of nomination verbs:

(26) Herri ttipi hura Bilbo deitu zuten.
village small that Bilbo called AUX[PAST.3PLE-3SA]
'They called that small city Bilbao.'

What verbs of nomination show is that proper nouns, including locational proper nouns can show up in different syntactic guises: in argument position, they will combine with a determiner, as common nouns do in Basque; in predicative contexts they will occur in their bare form. There is no particular reason why the geographical proper noun should take a determiner in the domain of adpositional phrases. In fact, there are good reasons to think that geographical

proper nouns may involve a lighter structure in inessive phrases than they do in argument position. One reason to think so is that, at least in the context of inessive phrases, geographical proper nouns can be directly compounded with a locational noun:[8]

(27) a. Bilbo-ondoan bada sagardotegi eder bat.
Bilbao-next-INESS AFF.is cider house great one
'Next to Bilbao there is a great cider house.'

b. Bilbo-inguruan aurkitu dute gorpua.
Bilbao-surrounding-INESS found AUX[3PLE-3SA] corpse-D
'They found the corpse in the area surrounding Bilbao.'

c. Irun-parean baduzu Hondarribia.
Irun-vis-à-vis-INESS AFF-AUX[2SE-3SA] Hondarribia
'In front of Irun, you have Hondarribia.'

d. Bilbo erdi-erdian dago eraikin hori.
Bilbo middle-middle-INESS is house that
'That house is at the very center of Bilbao.'

DPs are excluded from this kind of compound:

(28) a. Herri inguruan dago.
village surrounding-INESS is
'It is somewhere in the surroundings of the village.'

b. *Herria inguruan dago.
village-D surrounding-INESS is

Recall in this regard the Souletin facts again: if the noun *etxe*, like English *home*, denotes the space within which the speaker lives, in other words, a customary place, the determiner is not possible. If the house is employed not as a space, but as an object which can be independently compared to others, quantified and referred to, then a determiner must be added. The bare noun *etxe* has a behaviour that is reminiscent of the locational nouns themselves, which cannot be referential, nor can be quantified over or modified. It is the only noun that functions this way in inessive phrases in contemporary Souletin, according to Etxegorri (2013). In this regard, it is entirely parallel to the light noun *home* in English, as analyzed by Collins (2007). This suggests the following generalization:

(29) Place denoting bare nouns do not require *-a* in inessive phrases.

8. A reviewer notes that even complex place names ordinarily occur without an *-a* in Basque toponimy: *Santiagomendi* (< *Santiago+mendi* 'mountain'), *Jauregizar* (< *Jauregi* 'palace'+ *zar* 'old'), etc.

(29) must be supplemented with (30):[9]

(30) Geographical bare nouns can directly denote Place

The Souletin dialect, under the description of Etxegorri (2013), provides independent evidence for the parallel behaviour of light nouns of the *home* type and bare geographical names. Souletin possesses two different sets of allatives (*-rat* and *-lat*) and ablatives (*-rik* and *-tik*). The distribution of those two sets of directional suffixes supports the alignment of light nouns and geographical names: *-rik* and *-rat* are used only for those two types of place denoting entitites; *-tik* and *-lat* are used for the rest (Etxegorri, 2013: 185-188).

(31) a. Etxe-rik/rat
home-ABL/ALL
'from/to home'

b. etxe-tik / etxilat
house-ABL house-ALL
'from/to a house or the house'

(32) a. Baiuna-rik/-rat
Bayonne-from/to
'from/to Bayonne

b. karrika-tik/-lat
street-from/to
'from/to a/the street'

Together, (29) and (30) suggest a different way to address the asymmetries pointed at in the beginning. The absence of *-a-* in inessive phrases containing a proper geographical noun has nothing to do with the lack of overt determiners in the context of argument proper nouns, but with the fact that geographical locations of the rigid sort are treated as Place denoting entities, a constitutive element of locative phrases.[10] In other words, the underlying structure of geographical proper nouns and light locational nouns in inessive phrases must be (33):

(33) a. $[_{PP}$ etxe-n $[_{Place}$ ~~etxe~~$]]$

b. $[_{PP}$ Bilbo-n $[_{Place}$ ~~Bilbo~~$]]$

I address the presence of *-a* in modified geographical names in the next section.

2.4. Non projective Axial Parts and silent Places

An overt ground is obligatorily missing in so-called non-projective axial part constructions (a term I borrow from Fábregas 2007). Consider (34a,b):

9. The modal echoes Chomsky's observation (pointed out by a reviewer) that proper locational nouns do not necessarily denote places (Chomsky 2000: 37):
(i) London is so unhappy, ugly, and polluted that it should be destroyed and rebuilt 100 miles away.
10. See also Cattaneo (2009: 286-289) for a similar distribution of town names in Bellinzonese, a northern Italian dialect spoken in Switzerland.

(34) a. Goian ikusi dut.
up-CM-INESS seen AUX[1SE-3SA]
'I've seen him/her/it in somewhere up.'

b. Aitor behean dago.
Aitor down-CM-INESS is
'Aitor is somewhere down.'

Goi and *behe* are locational nouns which denote spaces projected from the axial dimensions of an object (see section 4, for extensive discussion), but neither *goian* nor *behean* (in my dialect) can be combined with an overt ground:

(35) a. *Mendi(aren) goian dago.
mountain-GEN up-CM-INESS is
'He/she/it is somewhere up the mountain.'

b. *Mendi(aren) behean dago.
mountain-GEN down-CM-INESS is
'He/she/it is somewhere down the mountain.'

In order for the Ground to be visible, we need to substitute *goi* by the relational spatial noun *gain* 'upperside' and *behe* by the allomorph *pe* 'downside':[11]

(36) a. Mendi-(aren) gainean dago.
mountain-GEN upside-CM-INESS is
'He/she/it is at the top of/over the mountain.'

b. Mendi-(aren) pean dago.
mountain-GEN downside-CM-INESS is
'He/she/it is below the mountain/at the foot of the mountain.'

On the other hand, the terms *behean* and *goian*, even if they do not allow for an overt space denoting noun, entail reference to a location. This location (the reference object about which *goi* and *behe* predicate something) can be recovered in context:

(37) A: Aitorrek piolet-ak mendian utzi ditu.
Aitor-ERG piolet-D.PL mountain-CM-INESS left AUX[3SE-3PLA]
'Aitor left his piolets in the mountain.'

B: Goian?
up-CM-INESS
'At the top?'

11. The distinction is clearly parallel to the one studied by Fábregas in Spanish, where one finds pairs such as *delante* ('lit. of-front') and *alante* ('lit. at-front'), both having the general meaning of 'in front of'. *Delante* and *alante* are an illustrative contrasting pair of a wider set that also includes pairs *detrás/atrás* 'behind', *debajo/abajo* 'below' and *encima/arriba* 'on top of'. Only the *a*-less forms are can occur with an overt ground.

The intended meaning of B in (37) is whether *Aitor* left his piolets at the top of the mountain. The missing spatial ground is necessarily speaker centered, and this constitutes the basic difference with regard to relational axial parts such as *gain* 'upperside' or *azpi* 'downside'. I can say something like (38), with an anaphoric reading on *kotxea* 'the car' with a relational locational noun, but nothing like that can be constructed with *goi* or *behe*, which point at regions above or below the speaker, not related to the region projected from a spatial ground:

(38) a. Kotxe ederra da, baina zulo handia du azpian.
car great is but hole big-D AUX[3SE-3SA] beneath-CM-INESS
'It is a great car, but it has a big hole beneath.'

b. *Kotxe ederra da, baina zulo handia du behean.
car great is but hole big-D AUX[3SE-3SA] down-CM-INESS
'*It's a great car but it has a big hole down.'

Behe, unlike *azpi*, cannot be directly related to a spatial ground. Still *behe* refers to a particular place, oriented in a certain way along a vertical axis whose basic frame of reference is the speaker.

When compared to geographical bare nouns or light spatial nouns, what is overtly lacking in the relevant examples is a Place component, which must nevertheless be present in the underlying syntactic representation. If we put the two types of structure side-by-side, we get the following pair of abstract representations (with silent elements in capitals):

(39) a. $[_{PP}$ -n $[_{NP}$ Place]] (geographical bare nouns, light spatial nouns)
b. $[_{CM}$ -a $[_{PP}$ -n $[_{Axial\ Part}$ Axial Part $[_{Ground}$ PLACE]]] (non-projective axial parts)

What results from a comparison between (39a) and (39b) is that the presence of the extra case-marker that we called ergative depends on the complexity of the inessive domain: the ergative arises if this domain contains more than one noun. The asymmetries between non-projective axial parts and place denoting nouns regarding the presence of the case-marker *-a* can be formulated as follows:

(40) a. If the complement domain of the inessive adposition involves a bare Place denoting noun, the Case Marker *-a-* is not necessary.

b. If the complement domain of the inessive adposition involves both a Place denoting and an axial part denoting noun, the Case Marker *-a-* becomes necessary.

According to the generalization in (40), the occurrence of the ergative marker in complex geographical nouns such as (42a) can only mean that the structure involves an extra underlying noun. Since modified spatial grounds must bear genitive case in the presence of an axial part denoting nominal, as illustrated in (41), let me propose

that in (42), the locative phrase contains a silent abstract noun denoting Place. I will remain vague for the moment as to the structure of the internal domain of the inessive head. Let us call it Ground Phrase for the time being (42b):

(41) Bilbo zaharraren ondoan
Bilbo old-D-GEN near-CM-INESS
'near old Bilbao'

(42) a. Bilbo zaharr-e-a-n
Bilbo old-EPENTH-CM-INESS
'in the old Bilbao'

b. $[_{CM}$ -a $[_{PP}$ -n $[_{GroundP}$ Bilbo zahar … PLACE]]]

The relative order of the elements in the adpositional phrase suggests that the overt Ground is merged to the higher CM projection. If the Souletin cases provide evidence for the final destination of the Place denoting noun, this noun must be licensed in direct construction with the inessive:[12]

(43) $[_{CM}$ Bilbo zaharr-e-a $[_{PP}$ PLACE-n …]]

In fact, the relation between the presence of more than one nominal and the occurrence of the extra case marker *-a-* suggests a case related account of the asymmetries between (40a) and (40b). Under this view, the nominal ground is case-licensed by the ergative head, whereas the silent PLACE is licensed by the inessive adposition itself. (42b) is thus reminiscent of the structure of a transitive clause, which contains an aspectually related domain (exemplified here by the inessive postposition) and a Tense related one, defined by the presence of the ergative. It is also reminiscent of those theories of Basque ergativity which take the ergative to be a marked case, second to absolutive (see Uriagereka and San Martin 2000; Laka 2003; Rezac, Albizu and Etxepare 2013, among others).

3. More on the syntactic status of *-a-*

If the arguments in the previous section are on the right track, then the structure of Basque *etxean* 'in the house' is not parallel to French or Spanish *á la maison*, *en la casa* (44), modulo the head-final constraint, but corresponds rather to (44c), with the ergative marker *-a-* selecting an inessive phrase.

12. The Souletin dialect employs *-tik* and *-lat* for modified geographical nouns, not *-rik* and *-rat*. See earlier discussion, section 2.3.

(44) a. [en [la casa]] b. [À [la maison]]
PREP the house PREP the house
'in the house' 'in the house'

c. [$_{TP}$ etxe -a [$_{InessP/AspP}$-n …]]
house CM INESS
'in the house'

We can add at least two other arguments in support of the idea that *-a-* is not a determiner. First, note that the purported determiner, which in Basque is often associated to familiarity and definiteness (see Etxeberria 2005) in DP arguments, is compatible with an overt indefinite article in the context of ground complements, and this with a clear indefinite interpretation:

(45) Liburua mahai bat-e-a-n dago.
book-D table one-CM-INESS is
'The book is on a/*the table.'

Sequences of indefinite and definite determiners are possible in Basque, with the meaning of 'one of the', and clear definite (and distributive) interpretation (45), none of which properties are manifest in (46):

(46) Bat-a-k 100 orrialde zituen, beste-a-k 150.
one-D-ERG 100 page AUX[3SE-3PLA] other-D-ERG 150
'One of the books had 100 pages, the other one 150.'

Besides the fact that the determiner preceding the inessive presents semantic properties unlike those in ordinary nominal contexts, it also shows syntactic restrictions which are unlike those found in canonical DPs. Artiagoitia (2004) and Etxeberria (2005) have shown that the determiner *-a* in Basque selects a number head. When the number is plural, the complex determiner head has the form *-ak* in (47):

(47) liburu-a-k
book-D-PL
'books / the books'

The ground complements of inessive suffixes, and of spatial suffixes in general, have the intriguing property of not accepting the plural determiner:

(48) *liburu-a-k-e-n
book-D-PL-INESS
'in the books'

Number in the complement of spatial suffixes in Basque is carried by a special suffix that directly attaches to the nominal stem:

(49) liburu-eta-n
book-PL-INESS
'in the books'

In other words, plural grounds do not admit overt determiners: the distinction between definite and indefinite plurals is realized via allomorphy: the suffix *-eta-* encodes definiteness and plurality; the suffix *-ta-* encodes indefiniteness, and is unmarked for plurality (cf. (50b,c)):

(50) a. etxe-eta-n
house-PL-INESS
'in the houses'

b. (Hainbat) etxe-ta-n
so-many house-SUF-INESS
'in so many houses'

The asymmetry between plural and singular determiners in inessive constructions remains mysterious under the idea that the inessive postposition takes a complement headed by the determiner *-a*. The idea that *-a-* in inessives is the article would lead us to assume sequences of definite and indefinite determiners which are otherwise unattested anywhere in Basque.[13]

If *-a-* is a case-marker, akin to the ergative in the clausal domain, we must ask why it occurs in an adpositional phrase. Since Koopman's seminal paper (2000) on the Dutch adpositional system, we know that the structure of simple PPs must be extended to provide room for various functional projections. The idea behind Koopman's analysis is that in the same way that nouns and verbs project functional structure, lexical adpositions can also be shown to do so. In Den Dikken's elaboration of this idea, both Place and Path adpositions project functional structure which is akin to the one found in nominal and verbal phrases. Concretely, Den Dikken (2010: 100) proposes the following parallel functional skeleton for all lexical categories N, V and P:

(51) a. $[_{CP}\ C^{[FORCE]}\ [_{DxP}\ Dx^{[TENSE]}\ [_{AspP}\ Asp^{[EVENT]}\ [_{VP}\ V\ \ldots]]]]$

b. $[_{CP}\ C^{[DEF]}\ [_{DxP}\ Dx^{[PERSON]}\ [_{AspP}\ Asp^{[NUMBER]}\ [_{NP}\ N\ \ldots]]]]$

c. $[_{CP}\ C^{[SPACE]}\ [_{DxP}\ Dx^{[SPACE]}\ [_{AspP}\ Asp^{[SPACE]}\ [_{PP}\ P\ \ldots]]]]$

In the adpositional field, the C-layer is involved in the extraction of adpositional heads out of the PP (Van Riemsdijk 1978), DxP is related to deixis, and the aspectual head to the bounded/unbounded status of the location or path. The deictic layer represents how the location or path is oriented vis-à-vis the speaker. Thus, locative adpositions distinguish whether the location is at the speaker's place (here)

13. We could also ask why, if *-a-* is the ergative, it is not compatible with plural number. I will address this issue in the next section, but note that, unlike in Standard Basque, in many varieties of Basque the plural ergative and the plural absolutive are morphologically identical. This identity is based on the absolutive form (see Etxepare, in press). All those varieties keep a distinct ergative case morphology in the singular.

or away from it (there). In Path adpositions, the head expresses whether the path is oriented towards or away from the speaker.

I will modify the Koopman/Den Dikken proposal for Basque, by contending that all three primary adpositions are in fact functional items, reminiscent of the aspectual predicates of the clausal domain. The intended rough structure for something like *etxean* in (1a) is the one in (52), where the primary adposition represents a functional projection of a predicate which includes a silent Place denoting entity. How this noun relates to the Ground (represented by *etxe* in CP/TP) is discussed in the next section:

(52) a. etxe-a-n 'in the house'

b. [$_{CP/TP}$ etxe-a [$_{AspP}$ PLACE -n …]]

4. Locational nouns in Basque

4.1. Extending the structure of postpositional phrases

In addition to simple postpositions, Basque also has a rich inventory of locational nouns which allow a more flexible localisation of the figure and combine with the previous suffixes (see Euskaltzaindia 1985; De Rijk 1990, 2008; Eguzkitza 1997; Hualde 2002). An illustrative sample is provided below:

(53) a. etxe-a-ren **aurre**-a-n
house-D-GEN front-D-LOC
'in front of the house'

b. zuhaitz-en **arte**-tik
trees-GEN among-from
'from among the trees'

c. ohe-a-ren **azpi**-ra
bed-D-GEN under-all
'(to) under the bed'

d. erreka-a-ren **ondo**-tik
river-D-GEN next-through
'through the space next to the river'

e. errekaren **inguru**-a-n
river-GEN space-around-D-LOC
'around the river'

According to De Rijk (1990), locational nouns behave as regular nouns: they require a complement with a genitive suffix, as binominal structures typically do, and bear suffixes that usually attach to nouns, such as the inessive postposition. This is illustrated in (54). Locational nouns participate in noun compounding (see De Rijk 1990 and below), and many of them have a referential use and can be followed by a determiner, as shown in (55):

(54) etxearen aurre-a-n
house-GEN front-D-INESS
'in front of the house'

(55) a. Etxearen **aurrea/aitzina** konpondu beharra dago.
house-GEN front fix need is
'The front/façade of the house should be fixed.'

b. **Inguru** hura arras hondatua zen.
area that completely ruined was
'That area was completely ruined.'

c. **Ondo** hetan ibiltzen ginen.
place that-INESS walk-HAB AUX[1PLA]
'We used to see that place quite often.'

This referential use of locational nouns however, gives rise to some subtle shifts in meaning. It is clear that *aurre/aitzin* 'front' identifies very different spatial entities in (56a) and (56b):

(56) a. etxearen aurre-a
house-GEN front-D
'the façade/front-side of the house'

b. etxearen aurre-a-n
house front-D-LOC
'in front of the house'
'in the façade/front-side of the house'

Under the «referential» use in (56a), the only interpretation of the noun *aurre* is 'façade' (that is, a part of the house). In (56b), its meaning is ambiguous between 'space in front of the house' (thus not a part of the house itself) 'and façade of the house'. The ambiguity disappears if we force a syntactic structure that goes beyond a bare noun. For instance, adjectival modification is only possible under the «referential» interpretation:

(57) Etxearen aurre hondatuan
house-GEN front ruined-INESS
'in the ruined façade of the house' [cf. '*in the ruined front of the house']

Adding a plural also forces a referential reading:

(58) a. etxearen aurreetan
house-GEN façade-PL-INESS
'in the façades of the house'
[cf. '*in the fronts of the house']

b. Etxeen aurreetan
house-GEN.PL façade-PL-LOC
'in the façades of the houses'
[cf. '*in the fronts of the houses']

On the other hand, not all locational nouns admit a referential use. The non-referential interpretation is the only possible one for some of those nouns. This is the case for *arte* 'space in between' as shown in (59):

(59) a. *Hango arteak meharregi ematen du.
that-GEN space in between narrow-too look-GER AUX[3sE-3sA]
'That space in between looks too narrow.'

b. Besoen artean gorde du.
arms between kept AUX[3sE-3sA]
'She kept it between her arms.'

The only possible meaning for the noun *arte* is that of 'space in between, projected from a ground or reference object embracing that space'. Let us call this type of interpretation a «projective interpretation». Locational nouns thus define spatial regions projected from their DP complement (Aurnague 1996). Projective interpretations are a characterizing feature of locational nouns when they are embedded in simple postpositional constructions. For Svenonius (2010), the syntactic differences between true nouns and locational nouns in their projective interpretation justifies defining the latter as a distinct functional item. Locational nouns with a projective meaning lexicalize a particular syntactic head, distinct from both the Ground (represented by the complement DP) and Place (represented by an adpositional head), that he calls Axial Part. The semantic content of the category can be described according to the following definition of axial parts by Jackendoff (1996: 14): «The axial parts of an object -its *top*, *bottom*, *front*, *back*, *sides*, and *ends*- …, unlike standard parts such as *handle* or a *leg*, … have no distinctive shape. Rather, they are regions of the object (or its boundary) determined by their relation to the object's axes. The up-down axis determines top and bottom, the front/back axis determines front and back, and a complex set of criteria distinguishing horizontal axes determines sides and ends.»

4.2. Representing the axial part

According to Svenonius (2006, 2008), Axial Parts are selected by a Place denoting adposition, the inessive suffix, and they in turn select a reference object or ground (60a,b).

(60) a. $[_{\text{PlaceP}}\ \text{Place}^0\ [_{\text{AxialP}}\ \text{AxialP}^0\ [_{\text{KP}}\ \text{K}^0\ [_{\text{DPground}}\ \ldots]]]]$

b. $[_{\text{PlaceP}}$ in $[_{\text{AxialP}}$ front $[_{\text{KP}}$ of $[_{\text{DP}}$ the house]]]]

Axial parts in Basque are bare locational nouns, with no functional structure beyond its category feature. The nominal properties of the axial part head have a reflex in Case assignment: the ground term either receives genitive case (61a) or forms a compound with the axial noun (61b):

(61) a. etxearen aurrean
house-GEN front-CM-LOC
'in front of the house'

b. etxe-aurrean
house front-CM-LOC
'in front of the house'

The apparent fully nominal status of Basque locational nouns could be accommodated in Svenonius cartography under the assumption that the locational noun denoting an axial part as well as its associated ground merge with the Axial Part phrase, restricting its interpretative range (Borer 2005):

(62) a. etxearen aurre-a-n
house-D-GEN front-CM-INESS
'in front of the house'

b. $[_{TP/CP}$ -a $[_{PP}$ -n …$[_{PossP}$ etxearen aurre] Ax^0...]

For other authors working on languages typologically closer in this regard to Basque, the relation linking the axial part denoting noun and the ground is at the bottom a predicative relation. Aboh (2010) claims, on the basis of evidence gathered from Gbe languages, that universally, the underlying structure relating grounds and locational nouns of the axial part sort is a basic predicational relation, akin to possessive constructions as analysed by Kayne (1994). Thus axial parts are the nominal complements of a silent functional head (63) encoding possession:

(63) $[_{PP}$ P $[_{IP}$ Reference object I^0 Locational Noun]]

The apparent compounds constructed on locational nouns, such as (64), seem to be at odds with the predicative relation proposed by Aboh:

(64) a. ur-azpian
water-beneath-CM-INESS
'beneath the water'

b. etxe-inguruan
house-area-CM-INESS
'around the house'

There is no simple way to derive a compound from a basic structure like (63), at least under the traditional notion of compound as a means to produce new lexical roots. But some of the locational nouns involved in apparent cases of compounding require semantic arguments which would seem to go beyond a bare nominal category. Take for instance *arte* 'between':

(65) etxe-artean
house-between-CM-INESS
'between houses'

As the English translation shows, the denotation of the argument of the locational noun in this case must be something close to a plural. Although *arte* 'between' is lexically designed to select plural denotations, other locational nouns which are not necessarily so designed also present ambiguities in this regard. Take for instance (66):

(66) Context: Jon was working in his private library when a sudden earthquake caused all the books to fall on him. Someone comes to help him, and tells the situation as follows:

Gizarajoa liburu-pean itota aurkitu genuen.
poor-D book-under flooded found AUX[1PLE-3SA]
'We found the poor guy flooded under books.'

In (66) the salient meaning (in fact the only felicitous one) is one in which the poor guy is beneath a big quantity of books. But we could force a singular reading by changing the context. Imagine that Jon is a collector of books, and that he particularly likes big books of the sort used for group singing in monastic communities. He has one of those just above him in his library. An earthquake erupts, and the book falls on him. It's an enormous book, which covers half of his body when wide open. Under this context we could use the same sentence, and the meaning would be that Jon happens to be beneath an enormous book. What this seems to show is that the denotation of the spatial ground in the apparent compound cases embraces both singular and plural readings. This is reminiscent of the notion of classifier phrase in Borer's system (2005). Classifiers, represented by the so-called plural suffix *-s* in English, project the denotation of a bare noun into a set of possible atoms and sums of atoms. The classifier portions out the denotation of the bare noun so that it can be available for quantification. Etxeberria and Etxepare (2012) have argued extensively in favour of such a layer of structure in the context of some of the Basque existential quantifiers. I will just assume that the underlying structure of the spatial ground in the relevant cases involves a minimal syntactic structure composed by a bare noun and a classifier in Borer's sense. In other words, what (64)-(65) show is that what we have identified as a compound, potentially involving a N+N root, is actually a syntactic object involving some minimal functional structure for at least one of the two nominals. This minimal functional structure is headed by a classifier:

(67) $[_{\text{ClassP}}$ CL $[_{\text{Ground}}$ N]]

If (67) is an available option (perhaps the only one) for the ground, we must ask what type of syntactic relation can be such as to allow combining (67) with a bare nominal like the locational noun. A straightforward possibility is Aboh's predicative structure:

(68) $[_{\text{IP}}$ $[_{\text{NumP}}$ CL^0 $[_{\text{Ground}}$ N]] I^0 [N]]

4.3. Frames of reference and syntactic structure

Further evidence in favour of a basic predication relation between the spatial ground and the axial part in the context of apparent compounds can be gathered from the kind of perspectival asymmetry that Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd (2007) have studied in the domain of locative phrases. Rooryck and Vander Wyngaerd note,

following Cantrall (1974) that the relation between the axial part denoting noun and the spatial ground can be interpreted in terms of two different frames of reference, that they call «object-centered frame» and «observer-centered frame». This difference is particularly prominent when the spatial ground is animate, and can be alternatively conveyed by either a pronominal or an anaphor. Consider in this regard the following contrast (Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 2007: 35):

(69) a. They placed their guns, as they looked at it, in front of themselves/*them.

b. They placed their guns, as I looked at it, in front of *themselves/them.

If the perspective is that of the subject, they observe, only the anaphor is possible. If the perspective is that of the speaker, only the pronoun is. An interpretive effect also related to the alternation between pronominals and anaphors concerns the locative configuration combining the axial part and the ground (Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 2007: 36):

(70) a. Mary kept her childhood dolls close to her (=proximity/vicinity).

b. Mary kept the childhood dolls close to herself (=against her body).

The difference between the use of a pronoun or an anaphor correlates with a difference in the nature of the location of the dolls with respect to Mary. In Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd's terms, «the use of the pronoun allows for a relatively abstract location of the dolls: the dolls could be at her home, for example, even if Mary might be out of the house at the moment (70a) is uttered». In contrast, «the use of the anaphor forces a very concrete locative interpretation, where the dolls are in contact with Mary's body». For the authors, the two differences in meaning arising from the use of anaphors versus pronouns are related. They follow from the kind of abstract agreement relation which is available in the anaphor case to the spatial ground and the axial part noun. For Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd, anaphors, unlike pronouns, include an axial part, represented by the morpheme *self*. The object-centered relation arises as the result of an Agree relation between an object with axial features and the Axial Part features embedded in the adpositional phrase. Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd resume their proposal in the following two hypotheses (2007: 41):

(71) a. The object centered interpretation is the result of an Agree relation internal to the PP between an Axial Part and axial features of its complement DP

b. The observer-centered interpretation is a result of a binding relationship between Axial Part and something external to the PP, the Speaker.

If we come back to the examples in (70a,b), their structural differences can be represented as follows:

(72) a. *Object centered interpretation*
They placed their guns, as they looked at it, …
… $[_{Place}$ in $[_{AxPart}$ front$_{\{front\text{-}back\}}$ $[_{K}$ of $[_{D}$ themselves$_{\{front\text{-}back\}}$]]]]
(Agree)

b. *Speaker/observer centered interpretation*
They placed their guns, as I looked at it, …
… $[_{Place}$ in $[_{AxPart}$ front$_{\{Speaker\}}$ $[_{K}$ of $[_{D}$ them]]]]

In (72a) the Axial Part *front* agrees with the axial dimensions provided by the complex anaphor *himself*. This forces an object-centered perspective. In (72b) the simplex pronoun *him*, lacking axial dimensions, blocks the Agree relation with the Axial Part *front* (Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 2007: 49). As a result, the Axial Part will be bound by some element in the deictic field of the utterance, typically the Speaker. The variation in the interpretation of location with anaphors and pronouns would also capitalize on the same syntactic differences: the existence of an Agree relation between the Axial Part and the axial features provided by *self* in the anaphoric spatial ground force a strictly locative interpretation: the dolls in (72b) must be in contact with Mary's body. In contrast, the pronoun lacks Axial Parts and therefore spatial dimensions. The non-agreeing Axial Part is bound externally by the Speaker, and the interpretation is one that evaluates closeness from the point of view of the speaker. This interpretation allows for a non-strictly locative meaning and a subjective notion of closeness.

Although Basque does not present the same alternation between anaphors and pronouns in the context of locative phrases, the syntactic status of the Ground has an effect in the available locative readings. Take for instance the following contrast:

(73) a. Helikoptero bat zebilen untziaren gainean.
helicopter one worked ship-GEN top-CM-INESS
'A helicopter was operating above the ship.'

b. Helikoptero bat zebilen untzi-gainean.
helicopter one worked ship-top-CM-INESS
'A helicopter was operating on the surface of the ship.'

With a genitive marked ground, the sentence can be interpreted as meaning that a helicopter was operating above the ship, to an undetermined height. Without a genitive ground, the meaning of the locative phrase seems to convey that the helicopter is operating on the surface of the ship. This interpretation requires a contact situation between the ship and the helicopter, something strange from the point of view of our world knowledge. Take also the following:

(74) a. Zakurrak lore-artean egiten du lo …
dog-ERG flower-among-CM-INESS do-GER AUX sleep
… #harentzat prestatu genuen kaxota batean.
him-for prepared AUX house one-CM-INESS
'The dog sleeps among the flowers in a house we prepared for him.'

b. Zakurrak loreen artean egiten du lo …
dog-ERG flower-PL.GEN between-CM-INESS do-GER AUX sleep
… harentzat prestatu genuen kaxota batean.
him-for prepared AUX[1PLE-3SA] house one-CM-INESS
'The dog sleeps between the flowers in a house we prepared for him.'

Whereas in the bare predicational structure in (74a), the dog sleeps literally among the flowers, in contact with them (hence the oddness of the continuation), in (74b), with a genitive ground, the interpretation allows a reading in which the dog is not in contact with the flowers, but in some space bounded or surrounded by them. Again, the bare predicative construction, unlike the genitive one, entails contact between the axial part and the ground.

Following Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd, I take the meaning difference to be related to a different underlying syntax: whereas it is conceivable that a noun phrase enters an agreement relation in the context of a predicative structure, it is not conceivable that genitive arguments do. Unlike NPs, genitive phrases do not participate in agreement in Basque.

Let me propose that the predicative relation between the ground and the axial part in Basque is realized along the lines of Aboh's proposal:

(75) $[_{IP}\ [_{NumP}\ CL^0\ [_{Ground}\ N]]\ I^0\ [N]]$

If the Ground is definite, then it must be case-licensed by the genitive:[14]

(76) $[_{KP}\ [_{Ground}\ DP]\text{-}K_{Gen}]\ I^0\ [N]]$

Genitives do not license agreement in Basque, and therefore they do not give rise to contact readings in an obligatory fashion.

4.4. Binding versus Agree, and the complement of I

(75) raises a question regarding the non-projective axial parts that we studied in section 2.4. Those axial parts present the following properties: (i) they are necessarily interpreted from the point of view of the speaker; (ii) they do not license an overt ground, in any of the conceivable forms (77a,b); (iii) they nevertheless entail the presence of a place denoting entity, which we took to be represented by a silent Place, as in (78):

14. Artiagoitia (2012) argues convincingly that genitive case is checked in a functional projection external to the basic predicative layer. I will leave aside this issue, as it is not of immediate relevance.

(77) a. (*mendiaren) goian
mountain-GEN up-CM-INESS
'on top (of the mountain)'

b. (*mendi)-goian
mountain-up-CM-INESS
'on top of the mountain'

(78) [$_{CM}$ -a [$_{PP}$ -n [$_{Ground}$ …Axial Part PLACE]]] (non-projective axial parts)

It is not clear how (78) fits in the predicative structure established in (75) and (76). To start with, (78) lacks a spatial ground, one of the component entities in the predication relation. One possibility is that in non-projective cases this apparently absent ground is realized by silent *pro*, as suggested by Fábregas (2007) in the context of Spanish non-projective axial parts:

(79) a. goian
up-CM-INESS
'At the top'

b. [$_{TP/CP}$ -a [$_{PP}$ -n [$_{IP}$ pro I^0 [goi]]]

The structure in (79b) has several problematic aspects, though. One is why *pro* must remain silent in those cases. It is interesting to compare (79) with (80a,b), which involve a relational locational noun. In the latter, the ground may be optionally silent, but it is recoverable in a way which suggests the underlying presence of a pronominal anaphor (80b):

(80) a. etxearen aurrean
house-GEN front-CM-INESS
'in front of the house'

b. Etxe ederra da, eta aurrean lorategi bikaina dago.
house great is and front-CM-INESS garden extraordinary is
'It is a great house, and there is an extraordinary garden in front (of it).'

Relational locational nouns provide a good basis for the claim that an underlying *pro* exists, but non-relational ones do not. Non-relational locational nouns say something about the location of a space which does not depend on a conventional ground. In other words, the basic stuff underlying locational nouns in inessive constructions seems to involve three things, not two: an abstract Place denoting noun, a locational noun, and a spatial Ground in the case of relational locational nouns. This extra spatial argument must be related at some point or other by predication to the locational noun, which on the other hand, does not obligatorily require it. Let me start by the non-projective cases, which must relate an axial part denoting locational noun and a Place denoting entity. Let me call this structure a small clause:

(81) [$_{Small\ Clause}$ PLACE Axial Part]

That the Axial Part functions as a predicate in these cases is evidenced by the fact that it admits reduplication (an observation due to Aurnague 1996), a property which nouns only acquire in predicative position:

(82) a. Mikel ume-umea da oraindik.
Mikel child-child-D is still
'Mikel is still very childish.'

b. Behe-behean dago.
down-down-CM-INESS is
'It is at a very low place.'

The spatial ground, which is not present at this level, must be added by means of further functional structure. Let me suggest that this further functional structure is the possessive Infl proposed by Aboh for the locative phrases in Gbe:

(83) [$_{PossP}$ Ground Poss [$_{Small\ Clause}$ PLACE Axial Part]]

The Axial Part incorporates into the inflectional head, and enters in an agreement relation with the specifier of the higher projection:

(84) [$_{PossP}$ Ground Poss+Axial Part [$_{Small\ Clause}$ PLACE ~~Axial Part~~]]

The structure in (84) yields some interesting consequences regarding the perspectival issues discussed in the preceding section. (84), as it stands, is what Chomsky (1986) called a Complete Functional Complex, that is a fully fledged binding domain, with an overt subject occupying the Spec of IP. Binding relations therefore, are bound to happen inside the IP, not outside. (81) on the other hand, lacks a formal subject. It is in this context that the Place component is necessarily interpreted as bound by a higher Speaker index. Capitalizing on the parallel we have established between clauses and adpositional phrases, this indexical element will be inserted in C, just above the TP hosting the ergative case (see Baker 2008, for a similar proposal in the context of indexical shift phenomena):

(85) [$_{CP}$ Speaker$_i$ C [$_{TP}$ -a [$_{AspP}$ -n [$_{SC}$ PLACE$_i$ Axial Part]]]

(84) is also the structure underlying the Souletin light noun *etxe* 'home'. *Etxen* in Souletin can only make reference to the speaker's own house:

(86) [Speaker$_i$ C [$_{AspP}$ etxe$_i$-n [$_{Place}$ ~~etxe~~$_i$]]]

4.5. Referential and projective locational nouns

We have mentioned at the beginning of section 4, that locational nouns may have a projective or a referential interpretation. This ambiguity is repeated here:

(87) etxearen aurre-a-n
house-GEN front-CM-INESS
'in front of the house' / 'in the façade of the house'

The second interpretation, expressing a part-whole reading, is associated to the possibility of number, adjectival modification and independent reference, as evidenced by the following cases:

(88) a. etxearen aurre hondatu-eta-n
house-GEN front run-down-D.PL-INESS
'in the run-down façades of the house'

b. etxearen aurre horretan
house-GEN front that-INESS
'in that façade of the house'

Whatever allows this reading, must be happening in the domain of the inessive, as the relevant syntactic features are pied-piped to the edge of the adposition. One possibility is that the inflectional head heading the possessive phrase can optionally select for number features and determiner like projections, such as the demonstrative. In this case, there will not be an abstract PLACE noun, but the axial part *aurre*, «nominalized» to denote part of an object, constitutes the predicate:

(89) $[_{PossP}$ Ground $Poss^0$ $[_{DemonsP}$ D^0 $[_{NumP}$ Num^0 $[_N$ *aurre*]]]]

In this case, the predicate raises to Number, instead of incorporating to the possessor head.

Given the asymmetric nature of predication, whereby predicates are typically lower in the referential scale than subjects, we expect that bare nominal grounds of the sort we have seen in object centered locative structures will not be available here. This prediction is borne out:

(90) a. etxe-*(aren) aurre horretan
house-GEN façade that-CM-INESS
'in that façade of the house'

b. Etxe-*(aren) aurre hondatuan
house-GEN front run-down-CM-INESS
'in the run down façade of the house'

5. Inessives and elision

One intriguing property of singular inessive phrases is that (at least for a subset of Basque speakers) they do not license partial nominal ellipsis in relative clauses. Consider in this regard (91):

(91) Bera bizi zen lekuan argia zuten,
he/she-ABS live AUX[PAST.3SA] place-D-INESS light AUX[PAST.3PLE-3SA]
??baina gu bizi ginen-Ø-e-an ez.
but we-ABS live AUX[PAST.1PLA]-D-INESS not
'In the place where he/she lived they had light, but in the one we lived, we didn't.'

The noun *leku* 'place' corresponding to the relativized noun in the antecedent clause can not be elided in the second one. This fact is surprising when we see that nominal ellipsis is possible under an ordinary determiner in relativization:

(92) Bera bizi zen leku-a ederra zen, baina gu bizi
he/she-ABS live AUX[PAST.3SA] place-D nice was but we-ABS live
ginen(-a/hura) ez.
AUX[PAST.1PLA]-D/DEM not
'The place she/he used to live was nice, but the/that one we lived in was not.'

The effect is stronger when the elision doesn't follow from structural identity with an antecedent. In this case, only an independent temporal reading is available:

(93) Hura aspaldiko hilobiz betea zegoen, eta hezurrik aurkitzen zutenean
that long-ago tombs full was and bones find-HAB AUX-REL-LOC
marka bat jartzen zuten.
sign one put AUX[PAST.3PLE-3SA]
'That area was full of ancient graves, and when/*where they found bones, they put a sign on them'

If the sequence *Noun-D-iness* corresponds to a syntactic structure that includes the one corresponding to the partial sequence *N-D*, it is not clear why the former does not license nominal ellipsis. In both cases, a noun meaning *Place* would be elided. The two structures are represented in (94a,b). The silent noun, possible in (a) but not in (b) is in boldface:

(94) a. $[_{DP}\ [_{NP}\ [_{RelP}\ [_{IP}\ __\ ]$-en] $\mathbf{Ø_{Place}}$ -] -a]
b. *$[_{PostP}\ [_{DP}\ [_{NP}\ [_{RelP}\ [_{IP}\ __\ ]$-en] $\mathbf{Ø_{Place}}$ -] -a] -n]

Partial ellipsis of Place is possible if the ground term is itself plural, or if a demonstrative is added (95). Syncretic locative cases of the *-eta* sort do license partial nominal ellipsis:

(95) a. Zu ibiltzen zinen parajeetan pizti asko
you-ABS frequent-HAB AUX[PAST.2SA]-REL area-INESS-PL animal many
aurkitzen ziren,
find-HAB AUX[PAST. 3PLA]
baina ni ibiltzen nintzen-Ø-e-tan ez.
but I-ABS frequent-HAB AUX[PAST.1SA]-REL- INESS-PL not
'In the areas you used to go to, there were many animals, but in the ones I used to go, there weren't.'

b. Hura aspaldiko hilobiz betea zegoen, eta hezurrik aurkitzen
that long-ago tombs full was and bones find-HAB
zuten-Ø-etan marka bat jartzen zuten
AUX[PAST.3PLE-3SA]-REL-PL-LOC sign one put-HAB AUX[PAST.3plE-3SA]
'That area was full of ancient graves, and when/where they found bones, they used to put a sign on them.'

I would like to relate the ungrammaticality of those cases to the impossible (96):

(96) *Ondoan bizi da, baina bizi d-en ondoan ez nuke nik
next-D-INESS live is but live is-REL next-D-INESS not I-would I-ERG
bizi nahi.
live want
'He lives nearby, but at the nearby place he lives in, I would not like to live.'

Relativization of locational nouns is impossible. This is predictable if the object of relativization cannot directly be an axial part, but a place denoting noun. The silent Place in the inessive phrase under the structure we assigned to inessive phrases, is arguably trapped inside a clause-like constituent, closed off by the axial part in Spec of TP/CP:[15]

(97) … [$_{TP/CP}$ *ondo -a* [$_{AspP}$ PLACE *-n* [$_{GroundP}$ …]]]
*

Relativization is possible with plural locations (cf. 95). For the plural cases, I will contend that they do not have an abstract PLACE denoting noun, but that the same function is performed by the locative suffix *-ta-*, a functional counterpart of the abstract noun. *-Ta-* is an inner functional head with a function akin to that of the abstract noun, which I will tentatively define as projecting an object into the region it occupies:

15. Alternatively, Place denoting abstract nouns, having no phi-features, cannot relate to the structure projected by the relative clause in any grammatically meaningful way. That the relative phrase projects independent functional structure is shown by contrasts such as (i) (Kayne 1994):

(i) a. *the Paris
b. the Paris I know

(98) a. Parajeetan 'in the spots'

b. [$_{InessivP}$ -n [$_{DP/NumbP}$ -e- [$_{LocP}$ -ta [paraje]]]]

The derivation involves movement of *paraje* to the Locative Phrase headed by *-ta-*, and subsequent movement of the same noun through Number and D (99a). The definitive word order is achieved by rolling up movement of the DP into the inessive phrase (99b):

(99) a. [$_{InessivP}$ *-n* [$_{DP/NumbP}$ *paraje -e-* [$_{LocP}$ ~~paraje~~ *-ta* [~~paraje~~]]]] →

b. [$_{InessivP}$ [$_{DP/NumbP}$ *paraje -e-* [$_{LocP}$ ~~paraje~~ *-ta* [$_{SC}$ ~~paraje~~]]] *-n* …]

6. Adding Path

One obvious question that arises under this analysis is why the extra case-marker in inessive phrases is absent in the presence of Path denoting adpositions (100). Why should the presence of a Path feature prevent the emergence of the extra case-marker?

(100) a. Etxe-ra
house-ALL
'to the house'

b. Etxe(*a)-ra
house-CM-ALL
'to the house'

If we avail ourselves from the complex structure that cartographic approaches attribute to Path denoting adpositions (see (3)), there is a straightforward reason why allative adpositional phrases should be simpler than inessive ones. Allative adpositional phrases lack an extra-case assigner (the one we called *ergative*) because, as complex adpositions, they already possess the functional structure necessary to case-license two nouns. The Path head case-licenses the overt noun, and the locative head licenses the silent noun:

(101) [$_{PathP}$ etxe P [$_{PlaceP}$ PLACE P [$_{AxP}$…]]]

If the Path licenses the case of the overt noun, no other case assigner is required, and therefore it is not projected (see the notion of *economy of projection* in Boskovic 1995):

(102) a. *[$_{CP}$ etxe-a [$_{PathP}$ (etxe) P [$_{PlaceP}$ PLACE P [$_{AxP}$…]]]

b. *Etxeara
house-CM-ALL

One of the consequences of this analysis is that the lexicalization of spatial features can operate on syntactic phrases and does not necessarily target heads. This is in accord with the nano-syntax project (as spelled out in Starke 2009; see Caha 2009, for the concrete domain of adpositions and cases). Under the approach

defended in this paper, lexicalization of spatial adpositions proceeds from less to more inclusive feature sets: the inessive lexicalizes Place, the allative lexicalizes Path and Place, and the ablative lexicalizes either Path and Place, with Path now restricted to spatial sources (see Pantcheva 2011 on «source as a reversed Path»), or Source, Path and Place:

(103) a. Inessive {Place}

b. Allative {Path, Place}

c. Ablative {Source, Path, Place}

In the syntactic computation, Path adpositions correspond to complex sequences of features, whose underlying presence is indirectly visible through case licensing.

7. A tentative extension of the analysis: Persons and things

An obvious problem for the analysis above is raised by person locatives and directionals:

(104) a. zu-ga-n
you-ERG-LOC
'in you'

b. zu-ga-n-a
you-ERG-LOC-ALL
'to you'

There are several properties of person locatives and directionals that set them apart from non-personal ones. First, in person directionals we see affix stacking: the allative and the inessive are both overtly realized. Then, the order of the affixes is a puzzling one, assuming the order of *-ga-* (ergative), allative and inessive as Tense and Aspect related categories: we would have expected (105), rather than (104b):

(105) a. *zu(re)-ga-a-n

b. [$_{TP}$ Ground DP-ERG T [Path [Location …]]]

Both properties are unexpected under the analysis we were forced to accept on the basis of the featural hierarchy in (3).

7.1. Persons

A relatively straightforward analysis of the order of the affixes would have the whole structure embedding the pronoun and the inessive suffix raise to the Spec of the Path phrase headed by the allative:

(106) [$_{PathP}$ [$_{XP}$ zu-ga-PLACE-n …]-a ~~[$_{XP}$ zu-ga-Place-n …]~~

but Path and Place. This is not an insurmountable problem once we realize that in cases like (104a,b) we have a different allomorph of the allative, one which is not conditioned by the phonological context, and thus must be coded as such in the lexicon:

(107) a. *-ra* (Path and Place) b. *-a* (only Path)

What is XP in (106) and why did it get there? The XP in (106) crucially involves Person. Several authors (see san Martin 2002; San Martin and Uriagereka 2001) have argued that in Basque the licensing of personal subjects requires the presence of C. The licensing of personal arguments (1st and 2nd) is known to require wide clausal domains, unlike the licensing of third person arguments in Basque. Thus, personal pronouns cannot stay in tenseless non-finite contexts, and must raise to a the matrix finite T. Consider in this regard the following paradigm, from Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2013):

(108) a. Behar dut [$_{InfP}$ liburu horiek ikusi].
need AUX[1sE-3sA] book those-ABS see
'I need to see those books.'

b. *Behar dut [$_{InfP}$ zu ikusi].
need AUX[1sE-3sA] you-ABS see
'I need to see you.'

c. Behar zaitut [$_{InfP}$ ikusi].
need AUX[1sE-2sA] see
'I need to see you.'

In (108), the matrix auxiliary shows singular default agreement with the non-finite structure in its complement. It does not agree with the object of the embedded non-finite complement, which has a plural number feature. With a second person pronominal in the same position, default agreement in the auxiliary is not possible (108b) and personal agreement must obligatorily show up in the matrix auxiliary.

Ergative Case has the following particular property in Basque: it can only be licensed in the Spec of T (by Move), unlike ergative agreement, that can be licensed in-situ by Agree. Rezac, Albizu and Etxepare (in press) show several cases where the presence of an ergative suffix in contexts of raising induces scope ambiguities with regard to other operators of the clause. Purely existential arguments in the scope of intensional verbs (*need/must*, see below) cannot take the ergative, as in (109), with the auxiliary a transitive one, involving two sets of agreeing slots, but no ergative marking on the subject:

(109) Udaran usain txarra(*k) egon behar du hor.
summer-INESS smell bad-ERG be must AUX[3sE-3sA] there
'In summer there must be a bad smell there.'

The structure reminds *there*-constructions in English, and suggest an analysis whereby the existentially interpreted argument has not raised to the matrix T, therefore being unable to flag an ergative.

If the ergative in (106) requires a T-C complex, then the raising of the whole clause is just CP movement to a Case position. This Case position is the one corresponding to the allative. Thus, the inessive takes care of the abstract noun, the ergative suffix takes care of the overt pronoun, and the allative licenses the clausal argument (see Albizu 2001 for arguments that CPs in Basque require case-licensing). Let me thus accordingly change (106) into (110):

(110) a. zu-ga-n-a
you-ERG-INESS-ALL
'to you'

b. $[_{All}\,[_{CP}$ *zu-ga*-PLACE-*n* …] *-a* $[_{\in P}$ ~~zu-ga-Person-n …~~]]

7.2. Person and Genitive

Consider the following asymmetry:

(111) a. **ni**
'I'

a'. **ni**-ga-n
I-ERG-INESS
'in me'

b. **zu**
'you (sing.)'

b'. **zu**-ga-n
You-ERG-INESS
'in you (sing.)'

c. **gu**
'we'

c'. **gu**-ga-n
we-ERG-INESS
'in us'

(112) a. **zu**-ek
you-PL
'you (pl)'

a'. ***zu**e-ga-n
you-ERG-INESS
'in you (pl.)'

c. **zu**-e-n-ga-n
you-PL-GEN-ERG-INESS
'in you (pl.)'

Historically, the second person plural was formed by adding a plural ending to the formal singular second person *zu* 'you'.[16] Second person plural is the only pro-

16. Originally, *zu* was a plural (opposed to *hi*, the singular second person, nowadays the familiar or comradeship second person), and it shows plural agreement with the auxiliary. There seems to have occurred a process similar to that of several European languages (including the languages in contact with Basque) whereby a 2nd person singular form of respect has been created from the 2nd person plural. Consequently, the language has developed another 2nd person plural out of the formal one, by attaching the pluralizer *-ek* for both absolutive and ergative (see Martinez Areta 2013: 302).

nominal form that has grammatically overt number. The formation of locatives out of 1st and 2nd person pronouns is a regular process for the grammatically singular pronouns. The grammatically plural one (*zuek* 'you (pl)' requires however a further case marker Genitive (*-en-*). This brings to mind the number restriction we found in the case of the abstract locational noun PLACE. This restriction can be accounted for under the idea that an abstract PERSON exists side-by-side to PLACE, that does not license number either. If this is the case, the PERSON abstract noun must be sheltered from number by a genitive specifier:

(113) a. zu-e-n PERSON-ga …
you-PL-GEN PERSON-CM

b. $\text{you}_{\text{PLURAL}}$ -r PERSON

With the whole structure as in (114):

(114) $[_{\text{CP}}$ [zu-e-n PERSON]-ga $[_{\text{AspP}}$ PLACE-n…]]
you-PL-GEN PERSON-CM PLACE-INESS
'in you (pl)'

The structure in (114) is independently available to the rest of the personal pronouns, which freely alternate between the absolutive and the genitive forms:

(115) a. ni-ga-n
I-CM-INESS
'in me'

b. ni-re-ga-n
I-GEN-CM-INESS
'in me'

The possibility of having bare personal pronouns must follow from the same kind of parallelism that associates overt locational nouns to abstract PLACES: the abstract PERSON feature can be alternatively realized by the personal pronouns, when they don't possess grammatical number. This possibility is excluded for second person plural pronouns:

(116) a. $[_{\text{CP}}$ $[_{\text{PossP}}$ nire PERSON]-ga $[_{\text{AspP}}$ PLACE-n…]]]

b. $[_{\text{CP}}$ ni-ga $[_{\text{AspP}}$ PLACE-n…]]

7.3. Reciprocal anaphors

Basque only has a simple anaphor: the reciprocal *elkar* 'each other'. This anaphor presents the following two intriguing properties: first, it requires the CM *-ga-*, despite the fact that the referential anchor of the anaphor (from which the anaphor inherits its referential properties) may not be animate, as in (117) (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004: 272):

(117) Etxe hauek elkarrengandik hurbilegi daude.
house these REC-GEN-CM-INESS-from close-excessive are
'These houses are too close to each other.'

Then, it must take the genitive, unlike most of the personal pronouns:

(118) a. elkarr-en-ga-n-a
REC-GEN-ERG-INESS-ALL
'to each other'

b. elkarr-en-ga-n
REC-GEN-ERG-INESS
'in each other'

In other words, something like (119) is impossible:

(119) *elkar-ga-n
rec-CM-iness

The impossibility of (119) strongly recalls the impossibility of reciprocals in subject position (Salaburu 1986, for Basque; see Rizzi 1990 and Woolford 1999, for an explanation of this type of restriction in terms of the Anaphor Agreement Effect):

(120) *Elkarr-e-k
REC-PL-ERG

The reciprocal can be embedded in subject position if it combines with another nominal:

(121) Jon eta Miren elkarren lagunek bakarrik ezagutzen dituzte.
Jon and Miren-ABS REC-GEN friends-ERG only know-GER AUX[3PLE-3PLA]
'Jon and Mary are only known by each other's friends.'

The obligatory presence of the genitive in locatives with a reciprocal ground seems therefore to be related to the limited distribution of reciprocals in the context of ergative DPs. The problem with (118a,b) is that we do not know what the nominal argument is that licenses the presence of a genitive in those cases. Capitalizing on the existence of an abstract PERSON noun, as in (116a), I suggest that the genitive depends on the presence of an abstract PERSON nominal in reciprocal locatives. The whole possessive phrase is then licensed by the ergative suffix:

(122) [$_{CP}$ [elkarr-e-n PERSON]-ga [$_{AspP}$ PLACE-n…]]
ANAPH-PL-GEN PERSON-CM PLACE-INESS
'in each other (pl)'

This takes out much of the mistery concerning the relation between animacy and *-ga-*: the suffix is there to case-license nominal arguments. Its relation to animacy is derivative at best.

7.4. Abstract things

Some Basque varieties located in Gipuzkoa expand the partitive determiner (see Ortiz de Urbina 1989; Etxepare 2003; Etxeberria 2010) with an unexpected inessive:

(123) a. Ez dut lagun-**ik**. *standard*
not AUX[1sE-3sA] friend-PART
'I don't have any friend.'

b. Ez dut lagun-**ika-n**. *dialectal, areas of central Basque*
not AUX[1sE-3sA] friend-PART-INESS
'I don't have any friend.'

The distribution of the partitive DP is identical in both cases (the (b) instance keeps the final vowel lost in word-final position in (a)). That the *-a-* there is part of the partitive suffix and not the *-a* of inessives is shown by the fact that it does not trigger epenthesis:

(124) *Ez dut lagun-**ik-e-a-n**.
not AUX[1sE-3sA] friend-PART-EPENTH-D-INESS
'I don't have any friend.'

In both (123a,b) the complement of the verb *have* behaves as a nominal argument, requiring the presence of a transitive auxiliary, and showing sensitivity to non-veridical contexts (Etxepare 2003). This clearly indicates that the head of the nominal complement is the partitive Determiner, despite the fact that the inessive comes last. In my analysis, the inessive is just part of the inner functional structure of a clause-like adpositional phrase, which is merged to the partitive determiner *-rika*. TPs headed by *-rik(a)*, included clausal nominalizations, have the distribution of DPs.

(125) Ez dut nahi [_ hori eroste-**rika(n)**].
not AUX[1sE-3sA] want that-ABS buy-NOM-PART
'I don't want for [someone/you to buy that].'

The presence of the inner inessive suggests the presence of a silent nominal. It cannot involve location, though, since the meaning of the whole is not locative. In this regard, this case is akin to non-locative *there* (Kayne 2005), as in the relatively unproductive English (126):

(126) Jon spoke thereof.

Kayne convincingly argues that an abstract THING underlies the uses of non-locative *there*. If this is the case, the structure of (123b) must involve a silent THING. Capitalizing on Ortiz de Urbina's (1989) analysis of the partitive as a

binominal construction including a silent quantifier, I suggest the following rough underlying structure for those cases:

(127) [$_{QP}$- rika [$_{InessP}$ -n [$_{SC}$ lagun THING]]]

The silent THING raises to the Spec of the Inessive Phrase and the NP is licensed in the Spec of the quantificational projection.

The partitive determiner is incompatible with number. This suggests the following generalization for Basque abstract nouns PLACE, PERSON and THING:

(128) Basque abstract nouns are incompatible with number.

8. Summary

The present paper approaches the structure of Basque adpositional phrases from a perspective that stresses their parallelism with clausal structures. It derives some classical asymmetries in the morphosyntax of Basque primary adpositions by exploring the possibility that those asymmetries may involve functional properties and licensing relations which are operative and well attested at the clausal level: generalizations concerning case-licensing, basic functional sequences which recall those found at the clausal level, or agreement restrictions which seem to affect in a parallel fashion selected syntactic categories (such as anaphors) in both CPs and adpositional phrases.

The paper contributes a detailed analysis of the internal syntactic configuration of basic adpositional structures in Basque by delimiting the respective contributions of primary adpositions, locational nouns, spatial grounds and abstract silent nominals to the overall syntax of locative constructions. It postulates the existence of abstract nouns in those constructions, such as PLACE, PERSON or THING, whose contribution can be indirectly detected in the morphosyntactic behavior of adpositional phrases. Many of the case stacking phenomena in Basque locative phrases are related to the underlying presence of such nouns. This line of analysis meets some of the recent theoretical work focusing on the internal structure of locative PPs and demonstratives.

One important conclusion of the analysis defended here is that much of the morphology which appears to be directly related to the expression of spatial concepts must be reanalyzed as obeying a more formal role, that of licensing syntactically substantive elements which are at the basis of the spatial interpretation of the relevant structures. This is particularly clear when we see that the relevant structure may be involved in concepts which are not spatial at all, but require the same sort of syntactic licensing, as the structures involving an abstract THING. Two prominent affixes have been shown to contribute to this syntactic licensing: one is the Basque animate affix *-ga-* , surfacing as *-a-* in non-animate locative constructions and historically related to the ergative case-suffix *-k*. This affix is involved in the licensing of spatial grounds or axial parts, as they participate in binominal

constructions. Another one is *-n-*, involved in the licensing of abstract nouns such as PLACE or THING.

The paper contributes a novel analysis of much of the internal syntax of adpositional phrases in Basque, and intends to be a valid reference for comparative work on this issue.

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The Interplay between VSO and Coordination in Two Types of Non-Degree Exclamatives*

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Abstract

This paper studies two types of indicative structures displaying subject-verb inversion which have received little attention in the literature on VS order in European Portuguese. Both types of structures involve coordination as a means to overtly express comparison/contrast, show a VSO pattern, and can be characterized as non-degree exclamatives. Whereas in one type (Type I) the post-verbal subject receives a contrastive focus reading, the other type (Type II) shows a less common pattern of subject-verb inversion, which does not involve focus on the subject nor verb-second syntax, but adds to the propositional content of the sentence an implicit comment conveying a speaker's attitude of disapproval towards the described state of affairs. It is proposed that the unifying factor behind the two types of VSO non-degree exclamatives is the presence of an evaluative feature in the CP field that triggers V-to-C movement. Type I structures further involve movement of the subject to FocP and display V-to-C in both conjuncts of the coordinate structure. Type II structures do not involve focus-movement and V-to-C is restricted to the first member of the coordinate structure while the head of the structure itself (i.e. the coordinate conjunction) satisfies the evaluative feature of the second conjunct.

Keywords: non-degree exclamatives; VSO order; coordination; contrastive focus; evaluative meaning; European Portuguese.

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1. Introduction

The primary goal of this paper is to describe and analyze the syntax of two types of indicative structures displaying subject-verb inversion which have received little attention in the literature on VS order in European Portuguese. Both types of structures involve coordination as a means to overtly express comparison/contrast, show a VSO pattern, and can be characterized as non-degree exclamatives (Andueza 2011, Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza 2011). The account presented in the paper is intended to further the knowledge of the factors lying behind the marked VSO order in contemporary European Portuguese, and potentially in other languages. At the same time, it should add to the understanding of non-degree exclamatives, a less studied type of exclamative sentences (cf. Gutiérrez-Rexach 1996, Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza 2011, Andueza 2011, Villalba 2008, Castroviejo Miró 2008, Rett 2008, Ono 2006, Zanuttini and Portner 2003, Portner and Zanuttini 2000, among others). Whereas in one type of the exclamative structures to be discussed the post-verbal subject receives a contrastive focus reading (cf. Culicover and Winkler 2008), the other type of non-degree exclamatives shows a less common pattern of subject-verb inversion, which does not involve neither focus on the subject nor verb-second syntax. The two types of VSO non-degree exclamatives are exemplified in (1) to (10) below. All the sentences carry an implicit comment conveying a speaker's attitude of disapproval towards the described state of affairs. As will be shown at a later point in the paper, this implicit evaluative/emotive reaction disappears in the absence of subject-verb inversion (that is to say, SV sentences in contrast to their VS correlates do not add an emotive comment on top of the mere description of a state of affairs).

Type I structures (contrastive focus on the subject):

(1) Contas tu (a história) ou conto eu! (Não os dois ao mesmo tempo!)
tell you the story or tell I not the two at-the same time
'Either it is you who tells the story or I do!' (It can't be both at the same time!)

(2) Não ajudaste tu a Maria, ajudei-a eu.
not helped you the Maria helped-her I
'It wasn't you but I who helped Maria!'

(3) Ontem perdeu a Maria o casaco. Agora perdeu o João as luvas!
yesterday lost the Maria the jacket now lost the João the gloves
'Yesterday it was Maria who lost her jacket. Now it was João who lost his gloves!' (*Possible continuation:* What's next?!)

(4) [A] Convidamos os meus pais para jantar?
invite-1PL the my parents for dinner
'Should we invite my parents for dinner?'

[B] E fazes tu o jantar! / Cozinhas tu!
and do-2SG you the dinner cook-2SG you
'You cook (dinner)!' (*Implied:* Not me!)

Type II structures (no contrastive focus on the subject):

a) 'Concessive' meaning – the implied comment targets preferentially the second conjunct, but may target the first one as well; reordering of the conjuncts is not allowed, as it leads to ungrammaticality.

(5) Convidei eu a Maria para jantar e ela não apareceu!
invited I the Maria for dinner and she not appeared
'I invited Maria for dinner and she didn't show up!' / 'Although I invited Maria for dinner, she didn't show up!'
(*Implied:* She should have shown up! *or* I shouldn't have invited her!)

(6) Leu o miúdo os livros todos e o professor dá-lhe esta nota!
read the kid the books all and the professor gives-him this grade
'The kid read everything and the teacher gave him this (low) grade!' /'Although the kid read everything, the teacher gave him this (low) grade!'
(*Implied:* The teacher should have given the kid a better grade! *or* There was no need for reading everything after all!)

(7) Estava eu tão feliz e tu tinhas de me dar essa notícia!
was I so happy and you had of me give that news
'I was so happy but you had to bring that bad news!'
(*Implied:* You shouldn't have brought that bad news! *or* You can't see me happy!)

b) 'Adversative' meaning – the implied comment targets the first conjunct; reordering of the conjuncts and single-conjunct coordination[1] are possible, as exemplified in (10).[2]

(8) Convidei eu toda a gente para jantar e afinal ainda não recebi
invited I all the people for dinner and after all yet not received
o ordenado!
the salary
'I invited everybody for dinner and/but after all I haven't received my salary yet!'
(*Implied:* I shouldn't have invited everybody for dinner!)

(9) Não fomos nós ao jardim zoológico e esteve um dia de sol!
not went we to-the garden zoological and was a day of sun
'We didn't go to the zoo and/but after all it was a sunny day!'
(*Implied:* We should have gone to the zoo!)

1. See Zamparelli (2011).
2. Sentence (10b), however, sounds more natural than sentence (10c). Thus in spite of the availability of reordering of the conjuncts in sentences like (8) to (10), I will always refer to the clause displaying VSO order as 'the first conjunct'.

(10) [*Situation:* the speaker is reading a poorly written paper by someone who wishes to be a writer]

a. E quer ela ser escritora!
and wants she be writer
'How come she wants to be a writer?!'

b. Quer ela ser escritora e escreve desta maneira!
wants she be writer and writes of-this manner
'She wants to be a writer and/but writes like this!'

c. Escreve desta maneira e quer ela ser escritora!
writes of-this manner and wants she be writer
'She writes like this and/but wants to be a writer!'

Coordination (overt or covert), comparison/contrast and the VSO pattern are common features of the two types of structures illustrated above (i.e. Type I and Type II), which also share, to a certain extent, the possibility of omitting (but presupposing) one of the conjuncts of the coordinate structure (see (4) and (10) above). On the other hand, the examples make clear that the two relevant types of structures diverge in some important respects, namely:

(i) VS order surfaces in both conjuncts in Type I structures but only in the first conjunct in Type II structures;
(ii) Type I structures but not Type II structures involve contrastive focus on the subject (hence the subject in examples (1) to (4) can be clefted or associated with an exclusive/inclusive focus-marker as will be illustrated in section 3);
(iii) the two conjuncts of Type I structures can be juxtaposed (or may allow disjunctive coordination) while the two conjuncts of Type II structures are necessarily articulated by the coordinate conjunction *e* 'and';
(iv) in Type II structures, but not in Type I, the VS order in the first conjunct introduces the counterexpectational flavor and 'anticipates' the contrast between the two propositions.[3]

It will be proposed in the paper that the unifying factor behind the two types of VSO non-degree exclamatives is the presence of an evaluative feature in the CP field that triggers verb movement to C (see Ambar 1992, 1999, Costa and Martins 2011, Ono 2006), as the application of standard tests for verb movement will demonstrate. On the other hand, there are two main differences between Type I and Type II structures: the former are derived with movement of the subject to FocP and display V-to-C in both conjuncts of the coordinate structure; the latter do not

3. I use here the terms 'concessive' and 'adversative' to identify each subtype of Type II exclamatives, instead of referring to them as subtype A and subtype B, for example. The 'concessive' subtype is easily paraphrased by a concessive sentence (see the examples (5)-(6) above) whereas the 'adversative' subtype is not. But I am in no way suggesting that the former should be analyzed as concessive sentences, at some grammatical level, and the latter as adversative sentences. In section 4, the differences between the two subtypes are further discussed.

involve focus-movement (of the subject) and V-to-C is in general restricted to the first member of the coordinate structure while the head of the structure itself (i.e. the coordinate conjunction) satisfies the evaluative feature of the second conjunct. I will be adopting Johannessen's (1998) treatment of coordination as a Conjunction Phrase (CoP). The rationale of the account is as follows: the head of CoP inherits the evaluative feature of the first conjunct through Spec-Head agreement and can then license the evaluative feature of its complement (i.e. the second conjunct). This analysis allows us to derive the differences between structures like (5)-(7) and structures like (8)-(10). The contrast depends on whether each conjunct bears an evaluative feature of its own or only the conjunct displaying V-to-C does. In the former situation (i.e. examples (5) to (7)) reordering of the conjuncts is not possible because it would undo the right configuration to license the two independent evaluative features; if only the conjunct displaying V-to-C bears the evaluative feature, however, reordering of the conjuncts is possible (but the implicit comment always falls on the conjunct bearing the evaluative feature, as illustrated above with examples (8) to (10)). Either way the head of the coordinate structure will inherit the evaluative feature and project it to CoP.

The paper will deal with other properties of Type II structures, in particular: (i) the fact that they exclude the adversative conjunction *mas* 'but'; (ii) the fact that the coordinate sentences with a 'concessive' meaning are interpretatively equivalent (with some qualification) to subordinate structures displaying the connector *para* 'for', whereas the coordinate sentences with an 'adversative' meaning are interpretatively equivalent to subordinate structures displaying the connector *quando* 'when' (Valadas 2012).

The paper is organized in four further sections. Section 2 introduces the distinction between degree and non-degree exclamatives and shows why the sentences we will be dealing with throughout the paper qualify as non-degree exclamatives (not as declaratives). Section 3 provides empirical evidence supporting the proposal that VSO in the relevant types of structures is derived by V-to-C movement. It also demonstrates that while in type I non-degree exclamatives the subject receives a contrastive focus interpretation, this is not the case in type II exclamatives. A structural analysis is suggested at this point for type I non-degree exclamatives. Section 4 focuses on type II non-degree exclamatives, elucidates the interpretative contrast between the VSO sentences and their SVO correlates, and offers an integrated analysis that allows us to derive the similarities and differences between the structures displaying an 'adversative' meaning and the structures displaying a 'concessive' meaning. It also considers the exclusion of the adversative conjunction *mas* 'but' from type II structures and briefly comments on the relation between the coordinate structures expressing 'concessive'/'adversative' meanings and particular kinds of subordinate structures apparently expressing similar meanings. Section 5 concludes the paper with a summary and a brief reference to possible connections between the VSO structures discussed in the paper and other VSO sentences found in European Portuguese that share with the former either a contrastive focus interpretation for the subject or an evaluative/emotive component.

2. Degree vs. non-degree exclamatives

Exclamatives differ from other types of sentences by their expressive semantic content. By uttering an exclamative sentence the speaker expresses an emotive attitude towards the content of his/her utterance. As Castroviejo Miró (2008: 58) puts it: «The speaker who makes an assertion wants to provide information and the speaker who utters an exclamative wants to express him/herself».[4] The speaker may express wonder, admiration, amazement, surprise, joy, satisfaction, annoyance or criticism, among other emotive attitudes. The type of exclamative sentences that we will be discussing throughout the paper always expresses criticism, in the form of disapproval or annoyance. A clear test to demonstrate this specific restriction on the set of possible speaker's attitudes can be constructed by adding an interjection at the left edge of the exclamative sentence. Although interjections and exclamative sentences are, in central ways, similar objects and fit well together (see Castroviejo Miró 2008), the particular type of exclamative sentences in which we are interested exclude interjections that express a positive emotive reaction. In European Portuguese, this is the case of the interjections *uau* or *ena* (see (11)). As exemplified below, when these positively marked interjections precede a coordinate VSO exclamative sentence (be it of Type I or Type II) the result is an ungrammatical structure (see (12)). On the other hand, a negatively marked interjection like *bolas* or *porra* is perfectly compatible with the same exclamative sentences (see (13)).[5]

(11) a. Uau!/Ena! Que linda casa!
INTERJ what beautiful house
'What a beautiful house!'

b. Uau!/Ena! Ele é mesmo bonito!
INTERJ he is really beautiful
'How beautiful he is!'

4. Considering the propositional content of exclamatives, Castroviejo Miró (2008: 85) elucidates: «Moreover, in the case of exclamatives, there is a descriptive content that is not introduced as an assertion, either. Instead, it has been proposed that it spells out the cause of the expressive meaning and, hence, it is another content that is treated as noncontroversial».

5. As noted by an anonymous reviewer, the incompatibility between the exclamative structures under discussion and positive interjections seems to indicate that the evaluative feature of exclamatives may have a positive or negative value. In other words: either the feature is finer grained or there is a second feature involved. This is a very interesting point but I will not be able to elaborate on it at present, as it would require going into a detailed typology of exclamative sentences.

(12) a. *Uau!/Ena! Contas tu (a história) ou conto eu! (Não os dois
INTERJ tell you the story or tell I not the two
ao mesmo tempo!)
at-the same time
'Either it is you who tells the story or I do!' (It can't be both at the same time!)

b. *Uau!/Ena! Não fomos nós ao jardim zoológico e afinal
INTERJ not went we to-the garden zoological and after all
esteve um dia de sol!
was a day of sun
'We didn't go to the zoo and after all it was a sunny day!'

(13) a. Porra! Contas tu (a história) ou conto eu! (Não os dois ao
INTERJ tell you the story or tell I not the two at-the
mesmo tempo!)
same time
'Either it is you who tells the story or I do!' (It can't be both at the same time!)

b. Bolas! Não fomos nós ao jardim zoológico e afinal esteve
INTERJ not went we to-the garden zoological and after all was
um dia de sol!
a day of sun
'We didn't go to the zoo and after all it was a sunny day!'

Exclamative sentences have been considered to display another distinctive property, namely factivity (Grimshaw 1979, Portner and Zanuttini 2000, Zanuttini and Portner 2003). Exclamative constructions are factive because they presuppose the truth of the proposition they denote. Moreover, the propositional content of exclamatives is typically presupposed by both speaker and addressee. For example, in (14) below, the exclamative sentence by itself cannot answer the question posed by [A] (one of the tests for factivity used by Grimshaw 1979), but the exclamative sentence turns out to be just fine if it is preceded by a negative answer to the polarity question (see the contrast between (a) and (b)). So the exclamative sentence in (14) is only felicitous if the fact that 'Maria didn't show up for the dinner she had been invited to' is already known by speaker and addressee.[6]

6. In this particular case, the VSO exclamative sentences studied in the present paper do not behave as predicted by Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza (2011: 292) as for the distinction between degree and non-degree exclamatives:

> «The main difference between propositional [*i.e. non-degree*] exclamatives and degree exclamatives relates to their respective presuppositions. Whereas in the latter the content is part of the common ground, that is, it is presupposed by the speaker and the addressee; in the former the content is presupposed only by the speaker, and the addressee has to accommodate the new information».

(14) [A] A Maria veio ao jantar?
the Maria came to-the dinner
'Did Maria attend the dinner?'

[B] a. #Convidei-a eu pra jantar e ela não apareceu!
invited-her I for dinner and she not appeared

b. Não. Convidei-a eu pra jantar e ela não apareceu!
No invited-her I for dinner and she not appeared
'No, she didn't. I invited her for dinner and she didn't show up!'

This is further illustrated by (15), where the positive answer can be omitted because it is implied by the emotive reaction expressed by the exclamative sentence.[7]

(15) [A] Pá, inda tás chateada por a Maria não ter vindo ao jantar?
man still are upset for the Maria not have come to-the dinner
'Man, are you still upset because Maria didn't show up for the dinner?'

[B] (Estou.) Convidei-a eu pra jantar e ela não veio!
am invited-her I for dinner and she not came
'I am. I invited her for dinner and she didn't show up!'

The literature on exclamatives has mostly focused on wh-exclamatives and other exclamative constructions involving a gradable property (see the informative overview provided by Villalba 2008). Here we will follow Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza (2011) on the assumption that exclamatives are not uniform and «some of them cannot be interpreted as degree constructions» (Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza 2011: 287; cf. Andueza 2011). In the remainder of this section we will use some of the tests devised by Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza (2011) in order to distinguish between degree and non-degree exclamatives and will show that the coordinate VSO exclamatives investigated in this paper belong to the second type (but see footnote 6 above).

Degree and non-degree exclamatives behave differently in the way they interact with negation. The presence of ordinary negation is severely restricted in degree exclamatives (see Villalba (2004, 2008), and González Rodríguez (2009), who shows that negation is only allowed in wh-exclamatives when it has narrow scope with

7. The kind of factivity that underlies exclamatives is certainly related to a characteristic feature of the exclamative coordinate structures discussed in this paper, namely the requirement that the inverted subject be definite (Valadas 2012). But I will not be able to pursue this issue here. Cf. Melvold (1991), Zanuttini and Portner (2003), Villalba (2008). The same requirement holds for the type of exclamatives involving quantifier fronting studied by Raposo (1995, 2000), Ambar (1999) and Costa and Martins (2011) (although subject-verb inversion is optional in this case). The relevant contrast is illustrated below.

(i) a. Muito vinho bebeu *o capitão*!
much wine drank the captain
b. *Muito vinho bebeu *um marinheiro*!
much wine drank a sailor

respect to the wh-phrase). Non-degree exclamatives, on the other hand, do not seem to impose limitations on the occurrence of ordinary negation. Conversely, and extending the observations by Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza (2011), expletive negation is licensed by different types of degree exclamatives but not by non-degree exclamatives. Sentence (16) is an example of a degree exclamative that allows ordinary negation. In such cases there is ambiguity between a regular and an expletive reading for the negation marker (the former reading being more salient than the latter).

(16) Quantos livros ele não leu!
how many books he not read
'How many/The books he has not read!' (*regular negation reading*)
'How many/The books he read!' (*expletive negation reading*)

Importantly, such ambiguity is not found in the VSO exclamative sentences discussed in this paper. They easily allow negation but totally exclude an 'expletive negation' reading, as exemplified in (17) and (18), which aligns them with non-degree exclamatives.

(17) [A] Convidamos os meus pais para jantar?
invite-1PL the my parents for dinner
'Should we invite my parents for dinner?'

[B] Não faço eu o jantar!
not do I the dinner
'It won't be me who cooks dinner!' (*Implied:* You do it!)
*'I will cook dinner. / I will be the one cooking dinner.'
(*impossible reading*)

(18) a. Não convidei eu a Maria para jantar e ela apareceu!
not invited I the Maria for dinner and she appeared
'I didn't invite Maria for dinner and she did show up!'

b. *Não convidei eu a Maria para jantar e ela não apareceu!
not invited I the Maria for dinner and she not appeared
*'I invited Maria for dinner and she did (not) show up!' (*impossible readings*)

According to Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza (2011), another characteristic feature of degree exclamatives is their incompatibility with comparative structures. This is not the case of the non-degree exclamatives under discussion, as shown in (19) and (20) respectively for Type II and Type I coordinate VSO exclamatives.[8]

8. A variant of example (19) displaying a comparative structure in both conjuncts is also a grammatical option:
(i) Mimo-o eu mais do que ao irmão e ele acha que eu gosto mais do
pamper-him I more than to-the brother and he thinks that I like-1SG more of-the
irmão do que dele!
brother than of-him
'I pamper him more than his brother and he claims that I like his brother better than him!'

(19) Mimo-o eu mais do que ao irmão e ele acha que não
pamper-him I more than to-the brother and he thinks that not
gosto dele!
like-1SG of-him
'I pamper him more than his brother and he claims that I don't like him!'

(20) [A] Como é que vamos dividir a tarefa ao meio?
how is that go-1PL split the task to-the half
'How should we split the task in half? '

[B] Não há como dividir ao meio. Ou fazes tu mais do que eu
not there is how split to-the half or do you more than I
ou faço eu mais do que tu!
or do I more than you
'There is no way we can split the task in half. Either you will do more than me or I will do more than you.'

Degree exclamatives comment on properties and express the speaker's emotive attitude towards their amount, extent or intensity; non-degree exclamatives comment upon a fact (or state of affairs) and express the speaker's emotive attitude towards its unexpectedness. As Gutiérrex Rexach and Andueza (2011: 294) phrase it: «the content of an exclamative construction can be either a fact or a property, and the discourse contribution is the speaker's emotional attitude towards it. The difference between what we have called propositional [*i.e. non-degree*] exclamatives and degree exclamatives relies in the trigger of the associated emotional attitude: an unexpected fact, in the case of propositional exclamatives, and the high or extreme degree of a property, in the case of degree exclamatives».

The implicit comment carried by coordinate VSO exclamative sentences always targets a fact or state of affairs, not a gradable property. Type II exclamatives, in particular, make especially clear that at their core is the comparison between two facts (or state of affairs) from which the unexpectedness effect results. The parallelism provided by the coordinate structure permits the explicit display of the two terms being compared. The result is only grammatical if a counterexpectational relation emerges. This is exemplified by the coordinate sentences in (21) and (22) below. If the propositional content of the second conjunct is unexpected relative to the propositional content of the first conjunct, the sentences are perfectly grammatical (examples (a)); otherwise, they are infelicitous or ungrammatical (examples (b)) because there is no trigger/cause for the speaker's emotional attitude.

(21) [Situation: I don't like fish but I know that my guest loves fish.]

a. Fiz eu peixe para o jantar e ele não comeu!
did I fish for the dinner and he not ate
'I cooked fish for dinner and he did not eat!'

b. #Fiz eu peixe para o jantar e ele comeu![9]
did I fish for the dinner and he ate
'I cooked fish for dinner and he did eat!'

(22) a. Comprei-lhe eu três camisas e ele só veste a azul!
bought-him I three shirts and he only wears the blue
'I bought him three shirts and he only wears the blue one!'

b. *Comprei-lhe eu três camisas e ele veste todas!
bought-him I three shirts and he wears all
'I bought him three shirts and he wears them all!'

3. Contrasting the two types of VOS non-degree exclamatives: V-to-C and focus

In this section, I will first resort to standard tests provided by adverb placement in order to show that V-to-C movement is a characteristic property of both Type I and Type II exclamatives. I will leave for the next section the explanation for why V-to-C only occurs in the first conjunct in Type II structures. I will then proceed to demonstrate that in Type I but not in Type II sentences the subject bears a contrastive focus interpretation. Then I will suggest a structural analysis for Type I exclamatives. I will account for Type II exclamatives in section 4.

3.1. Subject inversion and V-to-C

Adverb placement in EP offers clear evidence that in Type II exclamatives there is verb movement to C.

First, *-ly* adverbs like *frequentemente* 'frequently' may regularly appear in post-verbal position or preverbal position, in between the subject and the verb, in regular declarative sentences in European Portuguese, adjoining respectively to VP or TP (Costa 1998), as exemplified in (23).

(23) a. Eu convido *frequentemente* a Maria mas ela nunca aparece.
I invite frequently the Maria but she never appears
'I often invite Maria but she never shows up.'

b. Eu *frequentemente* convido a Maria mas ela nunca aparece.

c. *Frequentemente* eu convido a Maria mas ela nunca aparece.

9. The sentence would be fully acceptable if knowing that my guest is not a fish eater, I had cooked fish with the mischievous purpose that he would not eat dinner.

In Type II exclamatives, however, there is only one position available for the adverb, namely after the verb and the post-verbal subject, as exemplified in (24).

(24) a. Convido eu *frequentemente* a Maria e ela nunca aparece!
invite I frequently the Maria and she never appears
'I often invite Maria and/but she never shows up!'

b. *Convido *frequentemente* eu a Maria e ela nunca aparece!

c. **Frequentemente* convido eu Maria e ela nunca aparece!

Assuming that the verb is in C in the relevant exclamative sentences (whereas it does not move beyond T in declaratives like (23)), we can explain why the adverb must follow the verb, independently of whether the adverb is adjoined to VP or TP. Besides, the ungrammaticality of (24b) demonstrates that the post-verbal subject of Type II exclamatives does not stay inside VP, otherwise the adverb adjoined to TP would be able to intervene between the verb and the post-verbal subject. Finally, the ungrammaticality of (24c) indicates that in Type II exclamatives topicalization of the adverb is not allowed. Similar facts can be observed with the temporal adverb *ontem* 'yesterday', as illustrated in (25)-(26).

(25) a. Eu convidei-a *ontem* pra jantar mas ela não apareceu.
I invited-her yesterday for dinner but she not appeared
'Yesterday I invited her for dinner but she didn't show up.'

b. Eu *ontem* convidei-a pra jantar mas ela não apareceu.

c. *Ontem* eu convidei-a pra jantar mas ela não apareceu.

(26) a. Convidei-a eu *ontem* pra jantar e ela não apareceu!
invited-her I yesterday for dinner and she not appeared
'I invited her for dinner yesterday and/but she did not show up!'

b. *Convidei-a *ontem* eu pra jantar e ela não apareceu!

c. **Ontem* convidei-a eu pra jantar e ela não apareceu!

Second, the EP adverb *bem* 'well' is basically a manner adverb that adjoins to VP (Costa 1998), but it may occur in a structurally higher position, in which case it is devoid of the manner interpretation displaying instead a modal/emphatic import, as exemplified in (27).[10]

10. I do not have a specific analysis to offer for this structurally higher *bem* in European Portuguese. But see Hernanz (2010) and Batllori and Hernanz (2013) for Spanish *bien* and Catalan *bé/ben*, as a similar contrast between a manner and an assertive interpretation for the adverb arises in these other languages. According to the referred authors, assertive *bien/bé* is a polarity word that merges in PolP and then moves to FocusP (in the sentential left-periphery).

(27) a. O Pedro falou *bem*.
the Pedro spoke well
'Pedro spoke well.'

b. *Bem* disse o Pedro que era verdade.
well said the Pedro that was true
'Pedro was right in saying that it was true.' / 'Pedro actually said that it was true.'

c. Ele *bem* sabe que é verdade.
he well knows that is true
'He definitely knows that it is true.' / 'I'm sure that he knows that it is true.'

As a manner adverb it necessarily occurs after the post-verbal subject in Type II exclamatives, showing the same pattern as the adverbs *frequentemente* and *ontem*, as shown in (28).

(28) a. Rego eu *bem* as plantas e não se desenvolvem!
water I well the plants and not REFL grow
'Although I water the plants well, they don't grow properly!'

b. *Rego *bem* eu as plantas e não se desenvolvem!

Significantly, the modal/emphatic *bem* is incompatible with Type II exclamatives, which indicates that either it induces an intervention effect blocking V-to-C or verb movement to C undoes the structural configuration that enables the modal/emphatic interpretation of *bem*. The examples in (29) show that in a SV declarative both the manner and the modal/emphatic readings of *bem* are available (see (29a,b)) but in the relevant VS exclamative the modal/emphatic reading is not permitted (see (29c)). This is further evidenced by (30).

(29) a. Eu rego (*bem*) as plantas (*bem*) mas não se desenvolvem.
I water well the plants well but not REFL grow
'I water the plants well but they don't grow properly.'

b. Eu *bem* rego as plantas mas não se desenvolvem.
I well water the plants but not REFL grow
'I do/really water the plants but they don't grow properly.'

c. **Bem* rego eu as plantas e não se desenvolvem!

(30) a. (Eu) bem (eu) avisei o João mas ele não quis ouvir.
I well I warned the João but he not wanted listen
'I did warn João but he didn't listen to me.'

b. *Bem avisei eu o João e ele não quis ouvir!
well warned I the João and he not wanted listen

c. Avisei eu o João e ele não quis ouvir!
warned I the João and he not wanted listen
'I warned João but he didn't listen to me!'

If we now turn our attention to Type I exclamatives, we obtain the same kind of patterns of adverb placement. On the one hand, *-ly* adverbs that usually can surface between the subject and the verb in preverbal position or instead in post-verbal position are restricted in Type I VSO exclamatives to the post-subject position, as exemplified in (31).

(31) a. Contas tu *rapidamente* a história ou conto-a eu!
tell you rapidly the story or tell-it I
'Either you tell the story at once or I do!'

b. *?Contas *rapidamente* tu a história ou conto-a eu!

c. *?*Rapidamente* contas tu a história ou conto-a eu!

On the other hand, the adverb *bem* can appear further to the right, in clause-final position, if the object undergoes short scrambling (compare (32a), displaying object scrambling, with (32b), and see Costa 1998) but crucially cannot appear to the left of the subject (see (32c,d)). Since the adverb *bem* is a signpost for the VP border, the word order of sentences (32a-c) demonstrates that VS in Type I exclamatives does not result from moving the verb to T while the subject would stay in its base position. Actually, if this was the case, we would expect the order VOS to be allowed in Type I exclamatives, against the facts.

(32) a. Contas tu a história *bem* ou conto(-a) eu (*bem*)!
tell you the story well or tell-it I well
'Either you tell the story properly or I do!'

b. ?Contas tu *bem* a história ou conto(-a) eu (*bem*)!

c. *Contas *bem* tu a história ou conto *bem* eu!

d. *Contas *bem* a história tu ou conto *bem* eu!

3.2. Subject inversion and focus

Adverb placement aligns Type I with Type II exclamatives and supports the hypothesis that both display V-to-C. Although the two types of exclamatives also share subject-verb inversion (as expected if the verb moves to the CP field), they clearly diverge with respect to the interpretation of the subject DP. This is revealed by the smooth availability of clefting of the subject DP in sentences that paraphrase Type I exclamatives, as opposed to Type II exclamatives, indicating that only the subject of Type I exclamatives is interpreted as contrastive focus. Observe the grammaticality of the sentences in (33) in contrast to the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (34)-(35) when clefting is applied to test the interpretative status of the subject.

(33) a. Ou és tu que contas a história ou sou eu! Não os dois ao
or is you that tell the story or is I not the two at-the
mesmo tempo.
same time
'Either it is you who tells the story or it is me! Not both at the same time.'

b. Ontem foi a Maria que perdeu o casaco, hoje foi o João
yesterday was the Maria that lost the jacket today was the João
que perdeu as luvas! Não ganho para os vestir.
that lost the gloves not earn for them dress
'Yesterday it was Maria who lost her jacket, today it was João who lost his gloves. I don't earn enough to dress them!'

(34) a. *Era eu que estava tão feliz e (eras) tu (que) tinhas de me
was I that was so happy and was you that had of me
dar essa notícia!
give that news

b. *Eu é que estava tão feliz e tu (é que) tinhas de me dar essa
I is that was so happy and you is that had of me give that
notícia!
news
'I was so happy but you had to bring that (bad) news!'

(35) a. *Fomos nós que não fomos ao jardim zoológico e esteve um
were we that not went to-the garden zoological and was a
dia de sol!
day of sun

b. *Nós é que não fomos ao jardim zoológico e esteve um dia
we is that not went to-the garden zoological and was a day
de sol!
of sun
'We didn't go to the zoo and/but after all it was a sunny day!'

The focus interpretation of the subject in Type I exclamatives is also revealed by its felicitous combination with exclusive or inclusive focus markers (like *só* 'only', *sempre* 'always', *também* 'also'), as exemplified in (36a-c). Importantly, the subject does not naturally appear in the sentence final position that is characteristic of narrow information focus in European Portuguese, as shown in (36d-g). This constitutes clear evidence that we are dealing here with a different kind of focus, which relates to a different structural configuration. In the next section we will suggest that in Type I exclamatives the subject moves to a low Spec,FocP position within the CP field while the verb moves past it.

(36) A: Vou convidar os meus pais para passarem uma semana connosco.
go-1SG invite the my parents for spend one week with-us
'I'm going to invite my parents to spend one week with us.'

B: a. E fazes [só tu] o jantar!
and do only you the dinner

b. E fazes [sempre tu] o jantar!
and do always you the dinner
'And it is <u>you</u> who cooks dinner every day!'

c. E fazes [também tu] o jantar!
and do also you the dinner
'So you will also cook dinner!'

d. E cozinhas *tu* todos os dias!
and cook you all the days
'And you cook dinner every day!'

e. *E cozinhas todos os dias *tu*!

f. E fazes *tu* todos os dias o jantar!
and do you all the days the dinner
'And you cook dinner every day!'

g. *E fazes todos os dias o jantar *tu*!

The VSO nature of the exclamative sentences under discussion is further attested by (37), which sets these sentences apart from VOS declaratives where the subject is narrow information focus.[11]

(37) a. Não pagou *ele / o João* o jantar, paguei eu!
not paid he the João the dinner paid I
'He/João did not pay the dinner, I did!'

b. *?Não pagou o jantar *ele / o João*, paguei eu!

c. Ou lhe compra *o pai* o passe ou levo-o eu à escola!
or him buy the father the pass or take-him I to-the school
'Either his father pays for his monthly bus pass or I will take him to school myself'

d. *?Ou lhe compra o passe *o pai* ou levo-o à escola eu!

11. Although the grammaticality contrasts are somehow weaker when the subject is not a pronoun, they still hold, as shown below.

(i) a. E cozinha *a tua mãe* todos os dias!
and cook the your mother all the days
'And your mother cooks every day!'

b. ??E cozinha todos os dias *a tua mãe*!

c. E faz *o teu pai* todos os dias o jantar!
and do the your father all the days the dinner
'And your father cooks dinner every day!'

d. *?E faz todos os dias o jantar *o teu pai*!

3.3. The syntax of Type I VSO exclamatives

It is not my aim in this paper to propose a syntactic analysis for exclamative sentences in general (see Villalba 2008 for an overview) or even a full syntactic analysis for the type of exclamative sentences discussed here. But I will put forward the hypothesis that exclamative sentences always include an evaluative feature in C. Then I will show how this hypothesis works to account for some central properties of the particular kind of exclamative sentences studied in the current paper. I will refer to the relevant functional head that carries the evaluative feature as $C_{[+eval]}$, but could as well name it *Evaluative* (Ambar 1999) or *Mood* (Ono 2006).[12] For Type I exclamatives (but not for Type II) I will take the subject to move to a low FocP position in the CP field. Coordination offers the appropriate configuration to support the contrastive (or listing) interpretation of the subject. I will be assuming the asymmetric syntax for coordination where the coordinator is the head and takes the first conjunct as its specifier and the second as its complement (see Progovac (1998a,b) for a thorough overview; cf. Camacho 2003). Moreover, I specifically adopt Johannessen's (1998) analysis of coordination, which allows the evaluative feature of the first conjunct, the specifier of the Conjunction Phrase (CoP), to percolate up to CoP, by Spec-Head agreement. This is common to both types of exclamatives (although in Type II exclamatives the role of coordination is more central, as will be explained in section 4). The syntactic structure of a single-conjunct Type I exclamative is roughly as indicated in (38) below.[13] Whenever CoP has its specifier realized in Type I exclamatives, the two conjuncts will display a parallel syntactic structure and the head of CoP will inherit the evaluative feature by Spec-Head agreement. By hypothesis, when the specifier is missing (like in (38)), the head of the structure is independently associated with an evaluative feature, which must be licensed by the discourse context. Note that (38) requires a linguistic antecedent and would be ungrammatical if uttered out of the appropriate linguistic context (see (4) above).

(38) $[_{\text{CoP[+eval]}}$ *E* $[_{\text{CP[+eval]}}$ *fazes*$_i$ $[_{\text{FocP}}$ *tu*$_j$ $[_{\text{IP}}$ t_i t_j *o jantar*]]]]
and do you the dinner
'<u>You</u> cook dinner! (*Implied*: Not me!)'

In independent work on the syntax of unambiguous metalinguistic negation (MN) markers in European Portuguese (Martins, forthcoming), I have shown that the MN marker *agora* (literally, 'now'), like unambiguous MN markers in general,

12. It is not my purpose in the current paper to undertake a cartographic approach to the CP space. So, I use CP as cover term for what might eventually be different categories within the CP domain. Note, nonetheless, that FocP and TopP were around in the syntactic literature way before Rizzi's cartographic approach came into play. So I will use FocP without being cartographic or incoherent.
13. Cf. Zamparelli (2011: 1723): «The most extreme case of asymmetric coordination is of course SINGLE-CONJUNCT COORDINATION, which is restricted to sentential material (…). Since the missing coordinand is always initial this structure is strong evidence for an asymmetric structure for coordination, but its formal semantics and its discourse properties are largely unexplored».

realizes a functional position in the CP space. Besides, the MN marker *agora*, which usually surfaces in sentence-final position, admits overt material to its right if some constituent is moved to a low FocP position in the CP domain, as exemplified in (39).[14]

(39) a. [A] O João deu um carro à Maria.
the João gave a car to-the Maria.
'John gave Mary a car.'

b. [B] O João deu *agora* um carro à Maria.
the João gave MN a car to-the Maria
'Like hell/no way João gave Mary a car.'

b'. $[_{TopP}\ [_{\Sigma P}$ O João deu $\lceil_{VP}$ ~~um carro à Maria~~$]_m]_k\ [_{Top'}\ [_{CP}$ *agora* $[_{C'}\ [_{FocP}$ $[_{VP}$ ~~O João~~$_n$ ~~deu~~$_i$ um carro à Maria$]_m\ [_{Foc'}\ \lceil_{\Sigma P}$ ~~[O João]~~$_n$ ~~$\lceil_{\Sigma'}$~~ ~~$\lceil_{TP}$~~ ~~$\lceil_{T'}$~~ ~~deu~~$_i$ ~~$\lceil_{VP}$~~ ~~[O João]~~$_n$ ~~deu~~$_i$ ~~um carro à Maria~~$]_m$ ~~]]]]~~$]_k$]]]]]]]

We may thus test whether the post-verbal subject of Type I exclamatives is allowed to follow the MN marker *agora*, as we would expect if it occupies the same structural position as the material surfacing to the right of the MN marker, namely Spec, FocP. As (40) illustrates, this is in fact the case. Sentence (40) also shows that differently from what adverb placement may suggest (see sections 3.1 and 3.2 above), the subject of Type I exclamatives does not have to be adjacent to the verb. Crucially it is an element belonging to the CP space (i.e. the MN marker *agora*) that can intervene between the verb and the subject.[15]

(40) a. Não contas tu (a história), conto eu!
not tell you the story tell I!
'It won't be you but me who will tell the story!'

b. Não conto *agora* eu (e contas tu)!
not tell MN I and tell you
'Like hell, it's not me (but you) who will tell it!'

14. The different steps of the derivation are elucidated below (see Martins, forthcoming):
STEP 1: Remnant movement of the VP to Spec,FocP
$[_{FocP}\ [_{VP}$ ~~O João~~$_n$ ~~deu~~$_i$ um carro à Maria$]_m\ [_{Foc'}\ [_{\Sigma P}$ [O João$]_n\ [_{\Sigma'}\ [_{TP}\ [_{T'}$ deu$_i$ $\lceil_{VP}$ ~~[O João]~~$_n$ ~~deu~~$_i$ ~~um carro à Maria~~$]_m$]]]]]]
STEP 2: External merge of *agora* in Spec,CP
$[_{CP}$ *agora* $[_{C'}\ [_{FocP}\ [_{VP}$ ~~O João~~$_n$ ~~deu~~$_i$ um carro à Maria$]_m\ [_{Foc'}\ [_{\Sigma P}$ [O João$]_n\ [_{\Sigma'}$ $[_{TP}\ [_{T'}$ deu$_i$ $\lceil_{VP}$ ~~[O João]~~$_n$ ~~deu~~$_i$ ~~um carro à Maria~~$]_m$]]]]]]]]
STEP3: Remnant movement of ΣP to Spec,TopP
$[_{TopP}\ [_{\Sigma P}$ O João deu $\lceil_{VP}$ ~~um carro à Maria~~$]_m]_k\ [_{Top'}\ [_{CP}$ *agora* $[_{C'}\ [_{FocP}$ $[_{VP}$ ~~O João~~$_n$ ~~deu~~$_i$ um carro à Maria$]_m\ [_{Foc'}\ \lceil_{\Sigma P}$ ~~[O João]~~$_n$ ~~$\lceil_{\Sigma'}$~~ ~~$\lceil_{TP}$~~ ~~$\lceil_{T'}$~~ ~~deu~~$_i$ ~~$\lceil_{VP}$~~ ~~[O João]~~$_n$ ~~deu~~$_i$ ~~um carro à Maria~~$]_m$ ~~]]]]~~$]_k$]]]]]]]

15. There is some difference between the derivation of (39) and the derivation of (40)-[B]b), since in the latter there is verb movement to C, but this is irrelevant for our current purposes. Sentence (40)-[B]b) makes clear that the CP space may contain more structure than shown in (38).

4. VSO without focus: 'concessive' and 'adversative' non-degree exclamatives

The unifying factors behind the two types of non-degree exclamatives under discussion are coordination and the presence of an evaluative feature in the CP field that triggers verb movement to C, deriving the VSO order. But in Type II structures, differently from Type I, verb movement to C is restricted to the first member of the coordinate structure, so only the first conjunct displays subject-verb inversion. Under the hypothesis that an evaluative feature might be independently associated with the second conjunct as well, it will be the head of the coordinate structure itself (i.e. the coordinate conjunction) that satisfies $C_{[+eval]}$ and dispenses with V-to-C. Adopting Johannessen's (1998) theory of coordination, the rationale of the account is as follows. The head of CoP inherits the evaluative feature of the first conjunct through Spec-Head agreement and can then license the evaluative feature of its complement, whenever the second conjunct bears its own evaluative feature.[16] In any case, the head of the coordinate structure will inherit the evaluative feature of its specifier and project it to CoP. A sketchy representation of the syntactic structure of Type II exclamatives is given below (cf. section 1 for a description of the two variants). The main difference between (41) and (42) is the existence or not of an evaluative feature in the complement of Co, which in turn has consequences with respect to mobility of the second conjunct, availability of single-conjunct coordination, and interpretation, as will be clarified farther on. The proposed analysis allows us to derive the similarities and contrasts between structures like (41) and (42). The contrasts depend on whether each conjunct bears an evaluative feature of its own or only the conjunct displaying subject-verb inversion does.

Type II – 'concessive'

(41) $[_{CoP[+eval]}\ [_{CP[+\ eval]}$ *convidei*$_j$ $[_{IP}$ *eu* t_j *a Maria para jantar*]] $[_{Co'[+eval]}$ *E* $[_{CP[+eval]}$ *ela não apareceu*]]]
invited I the Maria for dinner and she not appeared
'I invited Maria for dinner and she didn't show up!'
(*Implied:* She should have shown up! *or* I shouldn't have invited her!)

16. I do not have an answer at this point for why in Type I exclamatives both conjuncts display VS order (in contrast to Type II exclamatives), but two hypotheses come to mind. Either feature inheritance by Spec-Head agreement is not extensive to all types of coordinate structures (the two conjuncts of Type I exclamatives are usually not linked by the coordinator *e* 'and') or subject-verb inversion in Type I exclamatives is not only a consequence of $C_{[+eval]}$ but is in some way related with the projection of FocP. The data displayed below seem to support this idea because in sentence (i) subject-verb inversion surfaces in the two conjuncts of a non-exclamative coordinate structure.
(i) Amanhã escrevo aos organizadores. Há uns tempos ficaram de me dizer se
tomorrow write-1SG to-the organizers there is some time stayed of me tell if
comprava eu o bilhete ou *compravam eles*.
bought I the ticket or bought them
'Tomorrow I will write to the conference organizers. They were supposed to let me know whether I will buy the ticket or they will.'

Type II – 'adversative'

(42) [$_{CoP[+eval]}$ [$_{CP[+ eval]}$ *não fomos*$_j$ [$_{IP}$ *nós* t$_j$ *ao jardim zoológico*]] [$_{Co'}$ *E*
not went we to-the garden zoological and
[$_{CP}$ *está um dia de sol*]]]
is a day of sun
'We didn't go to the zoo and after all it's a sunny day!'
(*Implied:* We should have gone to the zoo!)

The implicit comment carried by 'concessive' exclamatives may target any of the conjuncts of the coordinate structure because each of them is independently associated with an evaluative feature. On the other hand, in 'adversative' exclamatives only the first conjunct bears the evaluative feature and so can be the object of the speaker's implicit comment.

Reordering of the conjuncts is impossible in (41) above because the evaluative feature of the SV clause (i.e. *ela não apareceu*) would not be licensed, neither by V-to-C nor through the head-complement relation (thus (43a) below is ungrammatical). Sentence (42) above, on the other hand, allows reordering of the conjuncts, since there is no evaluative feature in the second conjunct needing to be licensed. Nevertheless, the operation results in a less cohesive and natural sequence (see (43b) below). This fact can be accounted for if we take the reordered sequence to be actually composed by two sentences, namely an SV independent sentence and a single-conjunct coordinate structure containing the VS clause (cf. (38) above). This is why 'adversative' exclamatives, in contrast to 'concessive' exclamatives, allow single-conjunct coordination, as illustrated in (44). So, to be precise, there is never reordering of the conjuncts in Type II exclamatives. The difference between the 'concessive' and the 'adversative' kind is that only the latter is compatible with single-conjunct coordination. What at first glance appears to be reordering in 'adversative' exclamatives is in fact a bi-sentential sequence, where only the second sentence is exclamative.

We may wonder why a bi-sentential structure like (43b) is not available as an alternative to (41), as the ungrammaticality of (43a) shows. My tentative answer is that the 'concessive' import of (41) requires a single (complex) sentence, specifically a two-conjuncts coordinate structure, similarly to other cases of «semantic subordination despite syntactic coordination» (Culicover and Jackendoff 1997). An alternative to (43a) with subject-verb inversion in the initial sentence (i.e. *não apareceu ela*) would be ungrammatical as well. This indicates that coordination is a central piece in the construction of the exclamative sentences we are discussing, so that each conjunct alone cannot constitute an exclamative utterance. Again being tentative, I would suggest that the feature evaluative requires not only phonological visibility (cf. Roberts 2001, Martins 2013), thus triggering movement, but must additionally be under the scope of an appropriate operator, which in coordination exclamatives is the coordinator itself, acting as an operator of comparison/contrast.

(43) a. *Ela não apareceu(;) e convidei-a eu para jantar!
she not appeared and invited-her I for dinner

b. Está um dia de sol(;) [$_{CoP}$ e não fomos nós ao jardim zoológico!]
is a day of sun (;) and not went we to-the garden zoological
'It's a sunny day after all. And we ended up not going to the zoo!'
(*Implied*: We should have gone!)

(44) [*Situation:* the day began rainy but became dry and sunny]
E não fomos nós ao jardim zoológico!
and not went we to-the garden zoological
'I can't believe we did not go to the zoo!'

An intriguing question about Type II exclamatives is the exclusion of the conjunction *mas* 'but' as the coordinator. In fact only *e* 'and' is allowed in Type II exclamatives (see 45a,-b). This is somehow unexpected because 'but' would contribute exactly the counterexpectational import that is characteristic of the inter-propositional relation of Type II exclamatives (see the contrasts between (45a)/(45c)/(45d)). The answer to the puzzle is possibly to be found in the discourse-informational properties of 'but'. The adversative conjunction appears to always introduce salient information in the discourse (cf. Umbach 2005). As discussed in section 2, exclamatives do not provide information but instead express a speaker's attitude towards a presupposed/non-controversial content. Hence we have a motivation for the exclusion of *mas* 'but' from coordination-based exclamatives.[17]

17. The word *mas* 'but' can precede the wh-phrase of wh-exclamatives but is excluded when there is no wh-phrase (see (i) below). In this respect, it behaves likes interjections (see (ii) below). I take *mas* in (ia) to be an emphatic marker, or an intensifier, like in (iii), not a coordinate conjunction.

(i) a. (Ai) (mas) que linda casa o João comprou!
INTERJ but what beautiful house the João bought
'What a beautiful apartment João has bought!'
b. Linda casa o João comprou!
beautiful house the João bought
'What a beautiful apartment João has bought!'
c. *Mas linda casa o João comprou!
but beautiful house the João bought

(ii) a. Ai que linda casa!
INTERJ what beautiful house
b. *Ai linda casa!
INTERJ beautiful house
'What a beautiful apartment!'

(iii) a. É feio, mas feio!
is ugly but ugly
b. Bolas é feio mas feio!
INTERJ is ugly but ugly
c. *Bolas é feio!
INTERJ is ugly
'How ugly it is!'

(45) a. Ofereci-lhe eu um iPhone e ele não me telefona!
offered-him I an iPhone and he not me calls
'Although I gave him an iPhone, he does not call me!'
(*Implied*: He should call me! *or* I shouldn't have bought him the iPhone!)

b. *Ofereci-lhe eu um iPhone mas ele não me telefona!
offered-him I an iPhone but he not me calls

c. #Ofereci-lhe eu um iPhone e ele (agora) telefona-me!
offered-him I an iPhone and he now calls-me

d. Eu ofereci-lhe um iPhone e ele (agora) telefona-me.
I offered-him an iPhone and he now calls-me
'I gave him an iPhone and he now (after all/finally) calls me.'

The two sentences in (46) below are both grammatical but while the former is a declarative introducing new information, the latter is an exclamative commenting on presupposed information. Adding a *because*-clause (see (47)) or a modal verb (see 48)) in the second conjunct is fine with the declarative sentence (the (a) examples) but unfelicitous with the exclamative sentence (the (b) examples).

(46) a. *Eu* convidei-a para jantar *mas* ela não apareceu.
I invited-her for dinner but she not appeared
'I invited her for dinner but she didn't come.'

b. Convidei-a *eu* para jantar *e* ela não apareceu!
invited-her I for dinner and she not appeared
'I invited her for dinner and she didn't show up!' / 'Although I invited her for dinner, she didn't show up!'
(*Implied:* She should have shown up! *or* I shouldn't have invited her!)

(47) a. *Eu* convidei-a para jantar *mas* ela não apareceu porque o filho
I invited-her for dinner but she not appeared because the son
foi hospitalizado.
was hospitalized
'I invited her for dinner but she didn't come because her son was hospitalized.'

b. #Convidei-a *eu* para jantar *e* ela não apareceu porque o
invited-her I for dinner and she not appeared because the
filho foi hospitalizado!
son was hospitalized

(48) a. *Eu* convidei-a para jantar *mas* ela não pode vir.
I invited-her for dinner but she not could come
'I invited her for dinner but she couldn't come.'

b. #Convidei-a *eu* para jantar *e* ela não pode vir!
invited-her I for dinner and she not could come

Valadas (2012) uncovered an interesting (semantic) equivalence between coordinate and subordinate structures relative to Type II exclamatives. While 'concessive' exclamatives can be expressed by coordination with *e* or subordination with *para* 'for' (and convey an unwilled/unexpected result relation), 'adversative' exclamatives can be expressed by coordination with *e* or subordination with *quando* 'when' (and convey an infelicitous/unexpected time-coincidence relation). This is illustrated in (49) and (50), respectively.

(49) a. Leu o miúdo os livros todos *e* o professor deu-lhe esta
read the kid the books all and the professor gave-him this
nota!
grade

b. Leu o miúdo os livros todos *para* o professor lhe dar esta
read the kid the books all for the professor him give this
nota!
grade
'Although the kid read everything, the teacher gave him this (low) grade!'
(*Implied:* The teacher should have given the kid a better grade! *or* There was no need for reading everything after all!)

(50) a. Convidei eu toda a gente para jantar *e* afinal ainda não
invited I all the people for dinner and after all yet not
recebi o ordenado!
received the salary

b. Convidei eu toda a gente para jantar *quando* afinal ainda não
invited I all the people for dinner when after all yet not
recebi o ordenado!
received the salary
'I invited everybody for dinner and/but after all I haven't received my salary yet!'
(*Implied:* I shouldn't have invited everybody for dinner!)

The different subordinate clauses displayed by the (b) examples lend support to the proposed distinction between the two variants of Type II exclamatives. When a subordinate structure conveys the semantic import of Type II exclamatives there is presumably one single evaluative feature associated with the matrix C that takes scope over the whole sentence. In this case, it is the subordinative connector itself that contributes the particular semantics of each variant of Type II exclamatives.[18] Fronting of

18. In the variant that I have coined as 'concessive' an expected result relation is contradicted (if I invite a friend for dinner, the expected result is that she shows up for dinner; if the kid reads all the books, the expected result is that he will not get a bad grade, and so on). No such result relation arises in the sentences that I have coined as 'adversative' (the fact that I invite people for dinner does not have as expected result that I am paid my salary on time, nor the weather conditions are expected to be influenced by my decisions about going to the zoo).

the subordinate clause is blocked in both cases, as exemplified in (51)-(52), although subordinate clauses with *para* and *quando* can usually be fronted (compare the (a/b) declaratives with the (c/d) exclamatives). This has its parallel in the fixed order of the conjuncts in the corresponding coordinate structures (remember that apparent reordering in Type II 'adversatives' is in fact single-conjunct coordination).

(51) a. Eu fiz peixe para o jantar *para ele comer*.
I did fish for the dinner for he eat
'I cooked fish for dinner, so he would eat.'

b. *Para ele comer*, eu fiz peixe para o jantar.

c. Fiz eu peixe para o jantar *para ele não comer*!
did I fish for the dinner for he not eat
'I cooked fish for dinner and he did not eat!'
(*Implied*: He should have eaten! *or* I shouldn't have bothered cooking fish for him!)

d. **Para ele não comer* fiz eu peixe para o jantar!

(52) a. Eu fiz o jantar *quando ele quis comer*.
I did the dinner when he wanted eat
'I cooked dinner as soon as he wanted to eat.'

b. *Quando ele quis comer*, eu fiz o jantar.

c. Fiz eu o jantar *quando ele já tinha comido*!
did I the dinner when he already has eaten
'I cooked dinner and after all he had already eaten!'
(*Implied*: I shouldn't have cooked dinner)

d. **Quando ele já tinha comido* fiz eu o jantar!

Subordination structures with *para* make particularly evident the contrast between SVO declarative sentences and VSO exclamative sentences. The evaluative feature of the latter induces V-to-C in the root domain, deriving verb-subject inversion and the particular interpretation of exclamatives. This is exemplified by (53)-(54).

(53) a. Ofereci-lhe eu um iPhone para ele não me telefonar!
VSO exclamative
offered-him I an iPhone for he not me call
Lit. 'I gave him an iPhone for him not to call me!' (*ironic reading*)
'Although I gave him an iPhone, he does not call me!'
(*Implied*: It wasn't for this (i.e. not calling me) that I gave him an iPhone! / He should call me! / I shouldn't have given him an iPhone!)

b. #Eu ofereci-lhe um iPhone para ele não me telefonar. SVO declarative
I bought-him an iPhone for he not me call
'I bought him an iPhone for him not to call me.'

(54) a. #Ofereci-lhe eu um iPhone para ele me telefonar! VSO exclamative
offered-him I a iPhone for he me call
(*no available interpretation*)

b. Eu ofereci-lhe um iPhone para ele me telefonar. SVO declarative
I bought-him a iPhone for he me call
'I bought him a iPhone for him to call me.'

There is no counterexpectational ingredient in (54) and this makes the exclamative sentence unavailable. In (53) the evaluative feature of the exclamative sentence brings up an ironic reading that is not available for the declarative sentence and therefore cannot make sense of it.

5. Conclusion (VSO, coordination and exclamatives)

This paper investigates two types of non-degree exclamatives that reveal an interesting interaction with coordination. Coordination provides a configuration for comparison/contrast between two propositions and so makes explicit the unexpectedness relation that supports the speaker's emotive reaction in non-degree exclamatives. Coordination also provides a mechanism of feature percolation that gives a syntactic basis to the evaluative component of the exclamative constructions.

It is proposed here that the presence of an evaluative feature in C is a common feature of different types of exclamatives. Syntactically, it may be licensed in different ways and by different elements, which is compatible with the well known diverse syntactic formats of exclamatives. In the two types of exclamatives discussed in the paper the C-based evaluative feature drives verb movement to C, originating the VSO word order.

While sharing the coordination configuration and subject-verb inversion, the two types of non-degree exclamatives diverge in some traits, for which the analysis proposed in the paper seeks to offer an integrated account. The interaction between properties of coordination structures (Johannessen 1998) and the distribution and requirements of the evaluative feature of exclamatives offer the basis for understanding why there are differences relative to constituent order symmetry or the availability of single-conjunct coordination (though much is left for further inquiry). Besides, the subject DP left behind by verb movement may stay inside IP (Type II exclamatives) or move to a low FocP position in the CP field (Type I exclamatives) and therefore exhibit a contrastive focus interpretation.

The proposals put forth in this paper to account for the two types of non-degree exclamatives may prove useful in future work to understand other instances of the marked VSO order in European Portuguese, and potentially other languages.[19]

19. The evaluative feature of exclamatives is presumably behind the VSO order of sentences like (i) below, and maybe (ii) as well. The availability of the low FocP position explains the VSO order of the declarative sentences in (iii), taken from email messages (cf. Culicover and Winkler 2008). The prompting effect of coordination is clear in (iiia). In (iiib) coordination is implicit ('if it is you (not me) who is with her first').

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(i) Desse-me ele presuntos em vez de rezas!
give-me he hams in turn of prayers
'If he would give me provisions instead of prayers!'

(ii) Fizeste tu bem!
did you well
'You did well!' (against what people may say/think)

(iii) a. Amanhã escrevo aos organizadores. Há uns tempos ficaram de me dizer
tomorrow write-1SG to the organizers there is some time stayed of me tell
se *comprava eu* o bilhete ou *compravam eles*.
if bought I the ticket or bought them
'Tomorrow I will write to the conference organizers. They were supposed to let me know whether I will buy the ticket or they will.'

b. Na próxima quarta vou ao Centro e pode ser que ela esteja lá.
in-the next Wednesday go.1SG to-the Center and could be that she is there
Mas se acontecer *estares tu* com ela primeiro, também podes *falar-lhe (tu)*
but if happens be you with her first also can.2SG speak-her you
no assunto.
in-the matter
'Next Wednesday I will be in the Center and maybe I will meet her there. But if it happens that you are with her first, then you can talk to her yourself about this matter.'

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Quotative Inversion in Peninsular Portuguese and Spanish, and in English*

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Abstract

Quotative parenthetical clauses exhibit a complement gap and, depending on the language, display obligatory or optional subject inversion. This paper presents exhaustive evidence that the quote does not originate as the complement of the parenthetical. Instead the parenthetical is an adjunct of the quote and may occupy different positions inside it. Thus, along with previous analyses, it is claimed that the object gap is a variable bound by a null operator recovered by the quote. The obligatory subject inversion in Peninsular Portuguese and Spanish quotative parentheticals is taken to be the result of structural constraints on focus: in these languages informational focus is constrained to postverbal positions, fronted focus being interpreted as contrastive. In contrast, in English preverbal focus is not restricted to contrastive focus and preverbal informational focus subjects are the most common pattern. Yet, English still allows postverbal informational focus subjects in some constructions, namely in Quotative Inversion.

Keywords: quotative parentheticals; quotative inversion; null complement; informational focus; Peninsular Spanish; European Portuguese.

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1. Introduction

Quotative parenthetical clauses in Peninsular Portuguese, henceforth European Portuguese, (1) and Peninsular Spanish (2) share with English (3) the property of typically presenting a complement gap (signalled by «[-]» in (1a), (2a) and (3a)), but differ from this language regarding the word order patterns available: while in European Portuguese and Peninsular Spanish Subject Inversion (V-S) is required, as shown in (1) and (2), in English both V-S and S-V orders are allowed, see (3):

(1) a. Saramago, disse o repórter [-], escreveu um livro sobre esse assunto.
Saramago said the reporter wrote a book on that subject

b. *Saramago, o repórter disse, escreveu um livro sobre esse assunto.
Saramago the reporter said wrote a book on that subject

(2) a. «No, no es un enanito», rectifica el viejo [-].
no, not is a gnome corrects the old man
No, he is not a gnome, corrects the old man.
[Son238, apud Suñer (2000)]

b. *«No, no es un enanito», el viejo rectifica.
no, not is a gnome the old man corrects
«No, he is not a gnome», the old man corrects.

(3) a. «Don't turn back!» warned Marcel. [Collins and Branigan (1997)]

b. '«Who's on first?» Joe demanded [-].'

Quotative Inversion presents several challenging properties: the mandatory V-S order in Spanish and European Portuguese seems to indicate that, in this construction, there is a correlation between the object gap and V-Movement; in contrast, the alternation S-V/V-S in English suggests that the object gap and V-Raising are two unrelated phenomena. In addition, classical approaches to Subject Inversion in declarative sentences in consistent Null Subject languages, have related this property to the Null Subject Parameter (e.g., Rizzi 1982, a.o.); however, in Quotative parentheticals, the availability of Subject Inversion in English and its obligatory nature in Peninsular Spanish and European Portuguese prevents this correlation. Finally, Quotative Inversion exhibits V-Movement of the main verb, an expected property in Spanish and Portuguese, but an exceptional one in contemporary English (Pollock 1989), where movement of main verbs out of vP is highly restricted.

The present paper will focus on two central issues of this construction: the correlation between the complement gap and the host sentence and the different word order patterns exhibited by European Portuguese and Peninsular Spanish in contrast with English. These topics have already been approached for English (Collins 1997, Collins and Branigan 1997), European Portuguese (Ambar 1992) and Spanish (Suñer 2000), but they have not been exhaustively explored. In particular, the properties presented by the parenthetical and the host sentences have not

been extensively studied for the peninsular languages under study, and a consequent structural proposal that accounts for the connection between the parenthetical and its host sentence has not been provided. Moreover, none of the existing treatments deals with the contrasts in subject placement in English versus European Portuguese and Peninsular Spanish.

This paper is structured as follows: section 2 discusses the main approaches in the literature to capture the correlation between the quote and the parenthetical clause, taking into account the data of European Portuguese and Spanish; section 3 examines the analyses on quotative inversion and the internal structure of the parenthetical presented for English and Spanish; section 4 proposes an analysis to account for the syntactic connection between the quotative parenthetical and the quote and to deal with the obligatory versus optional subject inversion in quotative parentheticals in European Portuguese and Spanish and in English; section 5 summarizes the main achievements of this work.

2. The proposals on the parenthetical and its correlation with the host clause

Early analyses of null complement parenthetical clauses presented two major alternatives to account for the relation between the parenthetical and the host clause: the Complement Hypothesis, proposed by Emonds (1970) and Ross (1973), and the Modifier Hypothesis, adopted by Jackendoff (1972).

According to Ross (1973), the parenthetical originates as a main clause, which verb takes the quote as its complement, as in (4); then this complement is fronted by an optional transformational rule, Slifting, which fronts the embedded sentence and deletes the complementizer *that*,[1] as in (5): according to Ross this rule Chomsky-adjoins the embedded sentence to the superordinate one (Ross 1973:134-135) thus resulting a coordinate-like structure, where the embedding clause is converted in a parenthetical (Ross 1973: 165-166).[2]

Finally another optional rule, called Niching, inserts the parenthetical into the first clause producing examples like (6) (Ross 1973: 166).

(4) John said that Mary will see you tomorrow.

(5) Mary will see you tomorrow, John said.

(6) a. Mary, John said, will see you tomorrow.

b. Mary will, John said, see you tomorrow

1. Ross formulates this rule as follows:
   (i) Slifting:

	X – [S Y – [S that – S]] –				Z	
SD:	1	2	3	4	5	=> (optional)
SC:		1 4 # [s 2 0		0]s	5	

2. Ross does not present any details concerning the conversion of the subordinate clause into a coordinate-like one and how this one gets its parenthetic status.

In turn the *Modifier Hypothesis* (Jackendoff 1972: 98-100) assumes that the host clause is autonomous with respect to the parenthetical, the latter being a modifier related to its host as an adverbial that may occur in different positions inside a sentence, as illustrated for *probably* in (7), an example from Jackendoff (1972: 88):

(7) a. Max probably was climbing the walls of the garden.

b. Max has probably been trying to decide whether to climb the walls of the garden.

Although departing from these hypotheses, current approaches to Quotative parentheticals retain some of their core ideas. In fact, the Complement Hypothesis is appealing because it directly correlates the verb gap with the host sentence. The Modifier Hypothesis is also attractive, since it aims at proposing a unified account of floating modifiers, which includes parenthetical clauses and other adverbial-like expressions.

Classically, each of these proposals corresponded to a different syntactic structure: the Complement Hypothesis was captured by a specifier-head-complement representation and the Modifier Hypothesis by an adjunction configuration. Still, in current analyses that take linearity as a consequence of asymmetric c-command (Kayne 1994) and project complements and modifiers into the same kind of structural configuration, the differences between these approaches have almost vanished and face identical problems.

2.1. The specifier-head-complement analysis of complements and adjuncts

Rooryck (2001) updates the complement approach to null complement parentheticals, trying to reconcile it with the idea that the parenthetical has an adverbial modifier status. Adopting Cinque's (1999) work, which relies on a specifier-head-complement analysis of adverbials, he claims that the host sentence is a CP, a complement of the parenthetical verb (8a), which moves, overtly or covertly, to the specifier of a modal evidential projection, MoodEvidP in (8b), followed by covert or overt raising of the verb to the head of this projection, accordingly surfacing the V-S (8c) or S-V (8b) word order pattern:

(8) a. John said [CP Mary will see you tomorrow]

b. [CP [MoodEvidP [CPi Mary will see you tomorrow] [MoodEvid said] [TP John ~~said CPi~~]]]

c. [CP [MoodEvidP [CPi Mary will see you tomorrow] [MoodEvid -] [TP John said CPi]]]

Still, as Rooryck (2001) recognizes, the specifier-head-complement approach faces the problem of dealing with interpolated parenthetical clauses as those in (6) or (9):

(9) a. «Saramago ganhou, disse o repórter, o prémio Nobel».
Saramago won, said the reporter, the prize Nobel
'Saramago won, said the reporter, the Nobel prize.'

b. «Estoy cansada ─ dijo ─ y quiero irme a dormir»
am tired ─ said ─ and want go.refl to sleep
'I am tired ─ he/she said ─ and I want to sleep.'
[Maldonado (1999: 3571)]

In fact, the rules of Slifting and Niching proposed by Ross (1973) are no longer an option. Current framework accepts constituent fronting. However this movement may not delete the overt complementizer of a displaced sentence, nor does it changes its categorial value, converting a C(omp) projection into a coordinate Conj(onction) projection. As for Niching, it is incompatible with the copy theory of displaced constituents. To adopt it would imply that in a sentence like (6b), repeated in (10a), after CP fronting (see (10b)), the alleged main clause that includes the copy of the fronted CP (CP_i in (10c)) would move into the fronted embedded clause, leaving a copy, (TP_2 in (10c)):

(10) a. Mary will, John said, see you tomorrow.

b. [CP [MoodEvidP [CP_i Mary will see you tomorrow] [MoodEvid-] [TP John said CP_i]]]

c. [CP [MoodEvidP [CP_i Mary will [TP_j John said CP_i] see you tomorrow]$_1$[MoodEvid-] TP_j]]

Given that Transfer to the interface components operates on phases which are no longer required for the derivation, Transfer would only apply to CP_2, i.e., to the whole propositional phase. However, in (10c), none of these copies is c-commanded by its antecedent and the derivation would be ruled out by Full Interpretation.

If we take an alternative analysis and derive interpolation as a partial movement of the alleged complement clause to the left periphery of the supposed main clause, we will face another problem: we will have to posit that non constituents may be moved, in order to account for examples like (6b) (see (11)):

(11) [Mary will] [John said [CP [TP [DPMary] [Twill] see you tomorrow]]]

Still, within the specifier-head-complement approach, another analysis of interpolated parentheticals may be proposed. As a reviewer suggested, (10a) may be conceived as a two steps derivation: movement of the VP *see you tomorrow* to the left periphery of the embedded sentence, as in (12b), followed by movement of the rest of the sentence, presumably to the specifier of Mood_EvidP, as in (12c):

(12) a. [CP [MoodEvidP] [TP John said [CP Mary will [VP see you tomorrow]]]]

b. [CP [MoodEvidP [TP John said [VPj see you tomorrow] [CP Mary will [VPj]]]]

c. [CP [MoodEvidP [CPi Mary will [VPj]] [TP John said [VPi see you tomorrow] [CPj]]]]

The main problem with this proposal is the motivation for VP movement. Although this movement resembles VP-topicalization, a construction available in English embedded sentences (John said that *see you tomorrow*, Mary will),[3] it is difficult to assume that in (10a) the interface effect intended by the speaker is the one associated with VP topicalization. In particular, the fronting of the remaining CP ([CP Mary will [VP]]), in the next step of the derivation, in (12c), precludes this interpretation, since a topicalized phrase would require overt material in the sentence where it occurs. Therefore I will not adopt this proposal.

In addition, several empirical facts argue against the idea that the host clause starts as the embedded complement of the parenthetical verb. The autonomy of the host sentence has already been mentioned for different kinds of parentheticals in English (see, for instance Espinal 1991), and for quotative clauses in Spanish (Suñer 2000, Maldonado 1999). Suñer (2000: 527) underlines that the «direct quotes express the point of view of the speaker while indirect quotes present the point of view of the one who is doing the reporting». She stresses the need of deictic accommodations when direct reported speech is converted into indirect speech. The following examples from European Portuguese and Spanish illustrate these deictic accommodations:

(13) a. **Eu** li esse livro, disse Mário.
I read.1ST.SG that book, said.3RD.SG Mário

b. Mário$_i$ disse que (**ele**)$_i$ leu esse livro.
Mário said.3RD.SG that he read.3RD.SG that book

c. Mário$_i$ disse que (**eu**)$_j$ li esse livro
Mário said that I read that book

(14) a. No lo sé, me dijo.
not it know.1ST.SG, me told. 3RD.SG
'I don´t know, he/she told me.'

b. Me dijo que no lo sabia.
Me told.3RD.SG that not it knew.3RD.SG
'He/she told me that he/she did not know it.'

[Maldonado (1999: 3573)]

3. Johnson (2001) presents examples of VP-topicalization within embedded clauses, like those in (i):
(i) Madame Spanella claimed that
a) eat rutabagas, Holly wouldn't
b) eaten rutabagas, Holly hasn't
c) eating rutabagas, Holly should be.

While in the direct quote (the host sentence) the person and number features of the subject pronoun and the φ-features of the verb are independent of those of the parenthetical verb (see (13a) and (14a)), this is not so in indirect speech reporting clauses (13b) and (14b). Thus in (13a) *eu* ('I') and *Mário* refer to the same entity, but in (13c) they refer to different entities, in contrast with (13b) where *Mário* and (*ele*) (´he') denote the same entity. Similarly, while in (13a) the verb in the quote is in the first person singular and the verb in the quotative parenthetical occurs in the third person singular, in (13b) both verbs share the same person and number features, the third person singular.

Also, while the verb tense values of the direct quote and the parenthetical sentences are independent, in indirect speech reporting clauses, the verb of the main sentence may determine the tense value of the subordinate clause, (15):

(15) a. O livro é caro?, perguntou o Mário.
the book be.PRS expensive?, ask.PAST the Mário
'Is the book expensive?, asked Mário.'

b. O Mário perguntou se o livro era caro.
the Mário ask.PAST if the book be.PAST expensive
'Mário asked if the book was expensive.'

Moreover, in languages like Portuguese or Spanish, the lexical features of a main verb may require the presence of Subjunctive in their argument clauses, (16b). In contrast, the parenthetical verb does not constrain the mood of the host sentence (16a):

(16) a. O livro é muito caro! ─ lamentou o Mário.
the book be.INDIC too expensive complain.PAST the Mário
'The book is too expensive! ─ complained Mário.'

b. O Mário lamentou que o livro fosse / *era muito
the Mário complain.PAST that the book be.SUBJ be.INDIC too
caro.
expensive
'Mário complain that that book was too expensive.'

In addition, the host sentence (the quote) does not exhibit an overt complementizer, (17)-(18), but the presence of this complementizer is required in embedded sentences in Portuguese (19a) and Spanish (19b), an example based on Maldonado (1999: 3571-2572):

(17) a. Este livro é muito caro!, disse o Mário.
this book is too expensive! said the Mario

b. ??/*Que este livro é muito caro!, disse o Mário.
that this book is too expensive said the Mário

(18) a. Estoy cansada y quiero irme a dormir, dijo María.
am tired and want go.REFL to sleep said María
'I am tired and I want to sleep, said Maria.'

b. *Que estoy cansada y que quiero irme a dormir, dijo Maria.
that am tired and that wanted go.REFL to sleep said Maria

(19) a. Mário disse *(que) este livro era muito caro.
Mário said that this book was too expensive

b. María dijo *(que) estaba cansada y que quería irse a dormir.
María said that was tired and that wanted go.REFL to sleep
'María said (that) she was tired and that she wanted to sleep.'

Finally, the Specifier-head-complement analysis is problematic, since it reverses the speaker communicative purposes. In fact, it assumes that the alleged embedded sentence, the dependent one, is converted into the host clause, that is to say, the main sentence, while the supposed main sentence, i.e. the governing sentence, is turned into a dependent clause containing extra information. This change in the dependence relations is unexpected, considering that fronting of a constituent to the left periphery of a sentence does not have, in itself, the property of converting this element into a quote sentence and the main clause into spare information.

In sum, the Complement Hypothesis and the specifier-head-complement structural configuration, in general, do not adequately deal with quotative parentheticals.

2.2. The null operator and the connection between the host sentence and the parenthetical

Most current analyses accept that the parenthetical is indirectly related to the host sentence by a null operator, tacitly or overtly assuming the independence of the quote regarding the quotative parenthetical. This approach has been proposed for European Portuguese by Ambar (1992), for English by Collins (1997) and Collins and Branigan (1997), and for Spanish by Suñer (2000). Disregarding the functional projections inside CP, these authors propose a similar structural representation for the parenthetical clause:[4]

(20) [CP [OP]i [Vj [DPSUBJECT Vj [-]i]]]]

In this representation, a null operator, arising from the movement of the null object of the verb, moves to the specifier of CP and binds its copy (signalled as [-] in (20)), which interpreted as a variable at the relevant level of interpretation. Ambar suggests that the content of the null operator is set by the host sentence,

4. See also, for Dutch, a V2 language, similar proposals by Cover and Tiersh (2002) and De Vries (2006).

extending the proposal of Raposo (1986) for Null Objects in European Portuguese;[5] Collins and Branigan, and Suñer claim that it is a null Quotative operator «controlled by the quote» (Collins and Branigan 1997: 13).

Ambar did not present any proposal to account for the structural relation between the parenthetical and its host. Still, Collins and Branigan as well as Suñer think that these clauses are related by adjunction. The former authors claim that the quotative parenthetical adjoins to the quote, possibly to CP (Collins and Branigan 1997: 10), but do not develop their analysis. In turn, Suñer (2000) considers that the quotative parenthetical is the main sentence and it is the quote that adjoins to it: when the quote follows the parenthetical, it adjoins to the DP object gap, [DP -], bound by the null quotative operator, [OP], as illustrated in (21b):

(21) a. [Ella …] le dice: ¡Papá! ¿Qué hace usted ahí?
she him said daddy what does you there
'She says to him: Dad! What are you doing here?'
[Son84 apud Suñer (2000)]

b. [ForceP [OP]$_i$ [F [+QUOTATIVE]]] [TP ella le dice [DP [DP -]$_i$ [¡Papá! ¿Qué hace usted ahí?]]]]

When the quote is totally or partially fronted, the fronted expression adjoins to the quotative operator, as represented in (22b):

(22) a. «¡Claro!», comprendió el viejo, les ha dicho el médico.
of course!, understood the old man them has said the doctor
'Of course, understood the old man, the doctor has told them.'
[Son 76, apud Suñer (2000)]

b. [ForceP [Claro! [OP]$_i$] [Force +QUOTATIVE,+FOCUS] [TP comprendió el viejo [DP [DP -]$_i$[les ha dicho el médico]]]]

According to Suñer, the quote is fronted when it is attracted by a [+FOCUS] feature of Force. This [+FOCUS] feature will account for the strong stress of the fronted quote that contrasts with the flat/parenthetical intonation of the quotative reporting clause.

Suñer's analysis to capture the correlation between the quote and the reporting clause presents some problems. Since she presumes that the original position of the quote is in adjunction to the null object copy, she cannot explain why movement is possible, given that adjunct clauses are not typically fronted from the DPs that contain them and extraction of out of adjuncts produces island effects. This is

5. Raposo (1986) assumes that Null Objects in European Portuguese behave as described in Huang (1984) for Chinese. Developing his analysis, Raposo (2006) considers that the null object in European Portuguese is a DP headed by a definite null D that selects a *pro* as its complement. Given that *pro* may not be licensed by the null D, it has to raise to a functional projection, leaving a copy that is interpreted as a bound variable. In both papers, Raposo accepts that a null topic establishes the content of the null operator that binds the variable in object position.

shown for European Portuguese in (23), where an adjunct gerundive clause modifies the object DP of the main clause:

(23) a. O programa trazia [instruções [indicando a sua correcta
the program brought instructions indicating the its correct
instalação]].
installation
´The program brought instructions indicating its correct installation.'

b. *Indicando a sua correcta instalação, o programa trazia
indicating the its correct installation, the program brought
instruções.
instructions

c. *Indicando, o programa trazia instruções a sua correcta
indicating, the program brought instructions the its correct
instalação.
installation

In addition, as Suñer recognizes, her analysis is not able to deal with examples like (6b), repeated in (24), since movement of a non-constituent is not sanctioned by the grammar:

(24) Mary will, John said, see you tomorrow.

Finally, Suñer assumes that fronting accounts for the strong stress of the quote in contrast with the parenthetical intonation. Thus, her proposal leaves unexplained how the non-fronted part of the quote gets its non-parenthetical stress.

Considering these problems, I will take a more classical view of parenthetical adjunction, by assuming that it is the parenthetical that adjoins to the host clause. I will return to this proposal in section 4.1.

3. Previous analyses on subject inversion in quotative parentheticals

Within Principles and Parameters, different proposals have been developed to deal with subject inversion in quotative parentheticals which varied according to language and the framework adopted. In this section I will review the proposals centered on English and the peninsular languages under study.[6]

In Government and Binding framework, Ambar (1992) conceives the mandatory subject inversion in parentheticals in European Portuguese (cf. (25)) as the result of verb raising to C to void barrierhood of TP and allow the binding of the variable by the null operator in the specifier of CP.

6. For German and Dutch much work on this kind of parentheticals treats subject inversion as an instance of the V2 phenomenon, at least for some subtypes of parentheticals (see, a.o, Steinbach 2007, Corver and Tiersh 2002 and De Vries 2006).

(25) a. «Alguém telefonou?», perguntou a Maria.
anybody called?, asked the Maria
«Did anybody called?» asked Mary.

b. *«Alguém telefonou?», a Maria perguntou.
anybody called?, the Maria asked
«Did anybody called?» Mary asked.

This explanation is no longer possible within current framework. In addition, it is contradicted by English, which presents quotative parentheticals without subject inversion.

Within early Minimalism Collins and Branigan's (1997) argued that *Quotative Inversion* in English only occurs when a CP with a [+QUOTE] feature also exhibits a strong V- feature that must be checked by the main verb. The main V overtly moves out of VP, raising to the most local functional head in the sentence, according to them AGRO; then, it covertly moves to check the strong V-feature of C. To account for the fact that the subject remains in specifier of VP, they assume that a C [+QUOTE] may optionally select a T with a weak N- feature and consequently no EPP feature of T must be checked. The resulting configuration for the parenthetical clause in (26) would look like (27):

(26) «Who's on first?» demanded Joe.

(27) [CP [OP]i:[C +QUOTE, V_STRONG], [TP[T N_WEAK] [AGR_OP demandedk
[VPJoe
[VP demandedk [-]i]]]]]

The authors claim that the main verb does not raise to T in Quotative Inversion, by arguing that it may not be negated, (28a,b), in contrast with what happens in quotative sentences without subject-verb inversion (28c). They argue that the main verb raises to AGR_O, on the basis of the positions presented by VP-external adverbs, which they assume to adjoin to AGR_O, (29):

(28) a. *«Let's eat!», said not John but once.

b. *«Let's eat!», not said John but once.

c. «Let's eat!», John did not say but once.

[Collins and Branigan (1997)]

(29) a. «Pass the pepper, please.», politely requested Anna.

b. *«Pass the pepper, please.», requested politely Anna.

[Collins and Branigan (1997)]

Collins (1997) takes a different view. He assumes that in Quotative Inversion, the verb raises to T in overt Syntax and the post-verbal subject remains in specifier

of Tr(ansitive)P, a projection above VP, presumably *v*P in the current framework. In this case the quotative operator firstly adjoins to TrP to check its case feature, and then moves to the specifier of TP to check the EPP feature of T (like in Locative Inversion), as illustrated in (30a). In contrast when there is no Quotative Inversion, the verb stays in VP, OP remains in TrP, and the subject moves to the specifier of TP to check the EPP features, as shown in (30b):

(30) a. [TP [OP]i [T_EPP warned] [TrP [-]i [TrP Joe [VPwarned [-]i]]]]

b. [TP Joe [T_EPP] [TrP [OP]i [TrP Joe [VP warned [-]i]]]

In opposition to Collins and Branigan (1997), Collins (1997) interprets the impossibility of auxiliaries in Quotative Inversion, (31a,b), as evidence that the main verb has raised to T, differently from what happens in quotative parentheticals without inversion, where auxiliaries may occur, (31c):[7]

(31) a. *«What time is it?» was asking John of Mona.

b. *«What time is it?» was John asking of Mona.

c. «What time is it?» John was asking of Mona. [Collins (1997)]

He correlates this raising with the impossibility of sentence negation, (28), by positing that a main verb may never raise over negation, overtly or covertly.[8] He also suggests that adverb placement in sentences like (29a) is a case of adjunction to TP or T'.

Extending these proposals, Suñer (2000) argues that Quotative Inversion in Spanish and English is related to the presence of two different categories to check the EPP-features of T: an expletive *pro* in Spanish, a null subject language, and a null definite description in English. She correlates the difference between these null categories with the distinct status of the quotative operator: in English the null operator raises to the specifier of TP, an A-position (Collins 1997), hence the null subject is interpreted as a null constant; in Spanish, since the null operator raises to an A'-position, it is understood as an anaphoric operator, and the subject position is occupied by *pro* (cf. (32)):

(32) [ForceP [OP]i:[Force +QUOTATIVE, …] [TP *pro* comprendió …[vP el viejo comprendió [-]i]

Suñer also points out that the quotative clause in Spanish presents some structural differences with respect to English. In particular she remarks that the posi-

7. Collins and Branigan (1997) present an example with the auxiliary have and attribute its marginality to the fact that the main verb cannot covertly raise to C to check the +QUOTE V-feature of C without violating Minimality (Minimal Link Condition):

(i) ??"What time is it?" – had asked Perry of Mona.

8. Collins (1997) assumes that there is no true explanation for this fact.

tion of VP adverbials in Spanish Quotative Inversion is less constrained than in English, since these adverbials may occur between the verb and their complements (see (33a) vs. (34a)):

(33) a. – Yo luché – replica tranquilamente Buoncotoni.
I fought replies calmly Buoncotoni
'I fought replies Buoncotoni calmly.' [Son314, apud Suñer (2000)]

b. – Será lo que sea – protesta el viejo
will be it what be.SUBJONCTIVE.PRS protests the old man
vivamente.
vividly
'– What will be will be – protest the old man spiritedly.'
[Son216, apud Suñer (2000)]

(34) a «I am leaving», shouted John abruptly.

b. *«I am leaving», shouted abruptly John. [Collins (1997)]

Suñer concludes that the main verb in Spanish moves to T while it raises to Asp in English (cf. Suñer 2000: 568-569). As shown in (35), European Portuguese behaves like Spanish in freely allowing V-movement to T:

(35) a. Vou- me embora! – gritou o João abrutamente.
go.PRS.1SG CL.REFL out shouted the João abruptly
'I am leaving, shouted João abruptly.'

b. Vou -me embora! – gritou abrutamente o João.
go.PRS.1SG CL.REFL out shouted abruptly the João

This fact is corroborated by the availability of auxiliary verbs and sentence negation in Quotative Inversion in European Portuguese (see (36) and (37)), in contrast to what happens in English (cf. (32) and (30)):

(36) Os mercados – tinha referido o comentador no dia anterior –
the markets – had mentioned the analyst in the day before
reagiram à situação política instável.
reacted to the situation political unstable
'The markets – had mentioned the analyst the day before – reacted to the unstable political situation.'

(37) A situação económica – não disse sem mágoa o ministro –
the situation economic – not said without pain the minister –
tende a agravar-se.
tend to get worse
'The economic situation – said the minister painfully – tend to get worse.'

Thus, like Suñer (2000), I assume that in Quotative Inversion the main verb moves to T in European Portuguese and Spanish while it raises to Asp in English.[9]

In sum, Collins (1997), Collins and Branigan (1997) and Suñer (2000), present analyses that deal with subject inversion in quotative clauses in English and Spanish. However they do not account for the fact that in quotative parentheticals, the V-S order is obligatory in Spanish (as and Portuguese) and is optional in English. I will return to this subject in section 4.2.

4. A proposal on quotative parentheticals and quotative inversion

Elaborating on the analyses presented in the previous sections, I will present a proposal that tries to account for the structural relation that the parenthetical establishes with the quote as well as for the contrast between English and the peninsular languages under study concerning subject inversion in quotative parentheticals.

4.1. Quotative parentheticals as adjuncts to the host clause

The arguments presented in section 2.2 favour Collins and Branigan's proposal that the quotative parenthetical is an adjunct of the host clause. Although accepting this proposal, I will not adopt their suggestion that this adjunction is restricted to CP, in view of the fact that the parenthetical may occupy different positions inside its host. I claim that the quotative parenthetical may adjoin to the different functional projections of the host sentence.[10] It may left adjoin to TP, AspP and vP or right adjoined to CP/ForceP as represented in (38). As far as left adjunction is concerned, these parentheticals behave like adverbs, accepting the analysis proposed by Costa (2004a).

(38) a. Eles (disse a Ana) têm (disse a Ana) posto (disse a Ana) o seu dinheiro no banco (disse a Ana).
they said the Ana have said the Ana put said the Ana their money in-the bank said the Ana

b. [[CP/ForceP [TP eles [TP@[TP têm[AspP@[AspP posto[vP @ [vP posto o seu dinheiro no banco]]]]]@].

I also consider that the parenthetical nature of the quotative sentence is codified by a feature in its CP/ForceP domain as an instruction for the interface levels to interpret the adjoined clause like a constituent not fully structurally integrated in the host sentence. Thus, I propose for these clauses the simplified structural representation in (39):

9. Adopting this view, the proposals of Collins and Branigan (1997) concerning sentence negation and the ban of auxiliaries in Quotative Inversion in English must be reconsidered as an option.
10. A similar claim has been assumed for other kinds of floating parenthetical clauses; see Potts 2002, 2005 for "as parentheticals" or Matos and Colaço 2010 for floating coordinate sentences.

(39) …[ForceP, Parent [Force decl(arative), parent(hetical)] [[OP]i:… [vP …[-]i]]

In (39), Force presents declarative (assertive) illocutionary force, characteristic of reporting speech parentheticals, which may differ from the illocutionary force of the quote sentence, as illustrated by examples like (3b) («*Who's on first?*» *Joe demanded*). The null quotative operator is merged in a functional projection above vP, in Spanish and European Portuguese, possibly TopP, and binds the object variable. The content of the chain formed by the null operator and the variable is recovered by the quote. This recovery is only legitimate at the level of interpretation if there is compatibility between the lexical semantic features of the parenthetical reporting verb concerning the selection of its complements and the illocutionary force of the quote, as shown by the following contrasts:[11]

(40) a. «I am not stupid!» John exclaimed / said /*asked. *English*

b. «¿Quién ha llegado tarde?» Preguntó / *afirmó Juan. *Spanish*
who has arrived late asked said Juan

c. «O Pedro vai chegar tarde.» Disse / *preguntou / *exclamou o João. *EP*
the Pedro will arrive late. said asked exclaimed the João
'Peter will arrive late today. Said / asked / exclaimed João.'

In sum, the analysis presented in this section seems to be able to account for the structural and discursive properties of the parenthetical and capture its correlation with the host sentence.

4.2. Obligatory vs. optional subject inversion in quotative parentheticals

European Portuguese and Spanish differ from English by requiring obligatory Subject-Verb inversion in quotative parentheticals, as shown in (41)-(42) versus (43). However, previous analyses did not consider this contrast (Ambar 1992, Suñer 2000, Collins 1997, Collins and Branigan 1997).

(41) Saramago, disse o repórter / *o reporter disse, ganhou um prémio
Saramago, said the reporter/ the reporter said, won a prize
Nobel
Nobel
'Saramago, said the reporter/ the reporter said, won the Nobel prize.'

(42) «No, no es un enanito», rectifica el viejo / *el viejo rectifica.
no, not is a gnome corrects the old man the old man corrects
'No, he is not a gnome, corrects the old man.'

11. I thank an anonymous reviewer for making me aware of this problem.

(43) «Who's on first?» Joe demanded/demanded Joe.

I assume that these word order patterns are connected with the discursive value of the subject of the parenthetical clause, which is interpreted as an informational focus, a property that seems to be related to the pragmatic reporting value of these parentheticals. In European Portuguese and Spanish, informational focus subjects occur in post-verbal position, fronted focus being restricted to contrastive focus (see, a. o., Costa 1998, 2000, 2004 for European Portuguese; and Zubizarreta 1998, Ordoñez and Treviño 1999, Suñer 2000 for Spanish). In opposition, in English, subjects presenting informational focus typically occur in preverbal position. The non-marked positions of informational focus subjects in these languages are captured in answers to wh-questions that focus on the subject, as shown in (44)-(46):

(44) Q: Quem (é que) disse isso? *European Portuguese*
who is that said that
'Who said that?'

A: Disse a Maria**.**
said the Maria
'Mary did.'

B: #/??A Maria disse**.**
the Maria said
'Mary did.'

(45) Q: ¿Quién lo dijo? *Spanish*
Who CL.ACC said

A: Lo dijo María.
CL.ACC said María
'Mary did.'

B: #/??María lo dijo
María CL.ACC said
'Mary did.'

(46) Q: Who said that? *English*
A: Mary did.
B: *Did Mary.

Assuming that in Quotative Inversion the subject of the parenthetical clause is understood as an informational focus, and adopting Rizzi's (1997) CP system, I claim that, in English Quotative parentheticals, Force selects Focus(P), a discursive functional projection that, depending on the language, may present [±CONTRASTIVE] features. Focus [- CONTRASTIVE] will be understood as informational focus. I also claim that, when projected, Focus has an underspecified categorial feature that must be valued during the derivation. Thus, accepting the core proposals of Collins (1997) with respect to the possible landing sites of the null Quotative Operator, the basic structure of a quotative parenthetical in English, may be represented as in (47):

(47) [ForceP, Parent [Force DECL, PARENT]][FocP[Foc -CONTRASTIVE, cat=α] [TP …[OP]i:…[vP … [-]i

When the quotative parenthetical exhibits a preverbal subject, as in (46), the subject raises to the specifier of TP to value the uninterpretable EPP and φ features of T. Then, it raises to specifier of FocP to value the categorial feature of Focus as DP. The verb stays inside vP, the projection where, according to Collins (1997), the quotative operator adjoins to in this case:

(48) a. Who´s on first? Joe demanded.

b. [ForceP, Parent [Force DECL, PARENT]][FocP Joej [Foc – CONTRASTIVE, cat=DP]...[TP T [OP]k[vP ~~Joej demanded [-]k]]]]

However, in Quotative Inversion construction, English still has in current (written) language a marked strategy for informational focus subjects. In this case, OP raises to Spec,T to check EPP features of T and the uninterpretable categorial feature of Focus is valued, at long distance by Agree with the DP subject in Spec,vP, provided that the main verb raises out of the vP phase to the most local functional head above vP, extending its domain to the next phase, CP, (49b):

(49) a. Who's on first? demanded Joe.

b. [ForceP, Parent [Force decl, parent]][FocP [Foc –contrastive, cat=DP]... [TP [OP]idemandedk [[-]i [vP Joe demandedk [-]i]]]]

In opposition, in languages like European Portuguese and Spanish, Focus in the left periphery of the sentence is restricted to contrastive focus. Since quotative parentheticals, involves informational focus on the subject, Foc in the left periphery is not selected and does not project. The verb moves to T and informational focus subjects remain in the specifier of vP, as proposed by Costa 1998, 2000, 2004b, for European Portuguese (focus in situ) or alternatively the postverbal subject raises to the specifier of FocP in the sentence low area above vP, as argued by Belletti (2004). In this paper I will adopt the analysis of Costa (2004b), which minimizes the number of functional projections required, leaving for further work a discussion of the adequacy of each one of these proposals.

Considering that the quotative null operator in European Portuguese and Spanish occurs in an A' position (Ambar 1992, Suñer 2000) and recovers its content from the surrounding context, the quote, I will assume that it is a Null Object (Ambar 1992), derived as in Raposo (1986, 2004). Accepting Rizzi's (1997) left periphery, I will claim it is merged in TopP.[12] Thus, the representation of the parenthetical in a sentence like (50a), would look like (50b):

12. As remarked in Suñer (2000), Spanish (i), in contrast with English, (ii), allows different word order patterns of postverbal subjects in quotative inversion. Once again, European Portuguese parallels to Spanish, (iii):

(i) a. – Fuego! – gritaram todos los vecinos con desesperación.
fire shouted all the neighbors with despair
b. – Fuego! – gritaram com desesperación todos los vecinos. [Suñer (2000)]
fire shouted with despair all the neighbors.

(50) a. É tarde! – disse o rapaz.
is late said the boy.
'It is late! – said the boy.'

b. [ForceP, Parenth [Force decl, parent] [TopP [OP]i [FinP] [TP pro disse [vP o rapaz disse [-]i]]

According to this proposal, the obligatory V-S pattern in Quotative Inversion in European Portuguese and Spanish, and the S-V/V-S alternation in English find an explanation in discursive purpose of the reporting clause and syntactic strategies available in these languages to capture them.

5. Final remarks

In this paper I have argued that quotative parentheticals do not originate as main clauses that select the quote as its complement. Despite exhibiting a gap in object position, there is no basis to claim that this gap resulted from the displacement of the quote to the left periphery of the indirect speech reporting clause. The problems faced by the specifier-head-complement configuration and the empirical evidence showed that the host sentence and the quotative parenthetical are related but independent clauses. The floating status of the parenthetical indicates that it should be analysed as a main autonomous clause that adjoins to the functional categories of the host sentence. Thus, the object gap of the verb of the parenthetical must be understood as a variable bound by a null operator which content is established by the quote sentence.

Considering the discursive informational structure of the parenthetical clause, I assume that quotative inversion is related to informational focus on the subject. I claim that the word order alternations involving the verb and the subject in quota-

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(ii) a. "John left," said the student to Mary.
b. *John left" said to Mary the student. [Collins (1997)]

(iii) a. É tarde! – disse o rapaz ao amigo.
is late said the boy to-the friend
'It is late! – said the boy to his friend.'
b. É tarde! – disse ao amigo o rapaz.
is late said to-the friend the boy.

These data show that in Spanish and European Portuguese, informational focus may include the postverbal subject and its complement or modifier, as in (ia) and (iiia), or it may have scope only over the subject in the rightmost position of the verbal phrase (cf. Zubizarreta 1998, Costa 2004b), as in (ib) and (iiib). Different proposals have been put forth to account for the derivation of these cases. As for the sentences in (ib) and (iiib), it has been argued that the subject stays in Spec,vP Costa (1998, 2004b) and its complement or modifier adjoins to the left of vP, as in scrambling (Costa 1998, 2004b).

However, the unavailability of subjects in the rightmost position in English Quotative Inversion suggests that, as proposed in Ordóñez (2006) considering Spanish and Catalan, in Spanish and European Portuguese subjects may occupy two different positions in the sentence low area, while one of these positions is unavailable in English. In this paper I will not pursue this question.

tive parentheticals in the languages under study is a consequence of the structural patterns currently available in these languages to account for informational focus subjects. The obligatory Subject Inversion in European Portuguese and Spanish has to do with the fact that in these languages preverbal focus is restricted to contrastive focus. In contrast, the optionality of preverbal and postverbal subjects in English is related to the fact that in this language preverbal focus may or may not present a contrastive value; hence informational focus subjects typically precede the verb in current language. However, in Quotative Inversion, subject informational focus in postverbal position is still allowed in current language.

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Approaching Results in Catalan and Spanish Deadjectival Verbs*

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Abstract

The goal of this paper is to discuss the morpho-semantic variation in the lexico-syntactic derivation of deadjectival verbs in Catalan and Spanish formed with the sufix *-ejar*/*-ear*, such as *groguejar/amarillear* lit. yellow-*ejar*/*-ear*. Specifically, we address two types of questions. On the one hand, we are concerned with the cross-linguistic differences that *-ear/-ejar* deadjectival verbs exhibit in these two Romance languages. On the other hand, we deal with the theoretical implications of this distinct behavior for the grammar of deadjectival verbal formations. We argue that while Spanish *-ear* deadjectival verbs are change of state verbs that involve a transition with a terminal coincidence relation, i.e. a morpho-syntactic configuration that includes both a Place and a Path, Catalan *-ejar* deadjectival verbs are stative predications that include only a Place, headed by the abstract non-terminal coincidence preposition NEAR.

Keywords: deadjectival verbs; argument structure; telicity; causation; inchoativity; Catalan; Peninsular Spanish.

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1. Introduction

In this paper we discuss the morpho-semantic variation in the lexico-syntactic derivation of deadjectival verbs in Catalan and (Iberian) Spanish. Specifically, we focus on the structural derivation, semantic interpretation and morphological representation of *-ejar / -ear* deadjectival verbs (EDV hereafter) within the configurational model of syntactic argument structure proposed in Hale and Keyser (1993, 1998, 2002) as developed in recent work (e.g. Mateu 2002; Harley 2005; Acedo-Matellán 2010; Acedo-Matellán and Mateu 2011, 2013), which assumes a single generative mechanism for all structure-building (e.g. Distributed Morphology or Borer's 2005 framework). The analysis of these *-ejar/-ear* deadjectival verbs allows us to uncover a number of fine-grained structural and semantic distinctions within the grammar of deadjectival verbs.

We address two types of questions. On the one hand, we provide a detailed empirical description of an as yet unnoticed crosslinguistic variation between Catalan and Spanish with respect to EDV. On the other hand, we investigate into the grammatical difference between inchoative degree achievements [DA], which show variable telicity, and those EDV that can never entail the final endstate that the adjective expresses.

We show that whereas Cat. *-ejar* shows a rather systematic behavior with adjectival bases, in that it consistently expresses a stative attribution of a property and cannot be causativized, Sp. *-ear* verbs are change of state [COS] verbs that may license an external causer and show variable telicity (like regular DA), even if they present a higher degree of variation among speakers. This grammatical difference translates as a configurational difference: whereas Sp. *-ear* is structurally analyzed as an unaccusative event of change of state that expresses a transition, Cat. *-ejar* establishes a stative predicative relation that includes a central coincidence Place(NEAR).

2. Empirical overview

We are concerned with crosslinguistic morphological variation within the understudied *-ear*/*-ejar* verbs of the type in (1)-(3), which contrast with the well-studied resultative change of state verbs. As shown in (1)-(3), COS verbs generally appear with a prefix.

(1) a.	$[sord]_A$ deaf	-	ensordir deafen		sordejar[1] go.deaf	*Catalan*
b.	$[groc]_A$ yellow	-	engroguir, to.yellow	esgrogueir, turn.yellow	groguejar go.yellow	

1. For perspicuity, we translate and gloss EDV as 'go-A' throughout the paper, with lower case *go*. By doing this we intend to remain theory-neutral until we present our proposal, while keeping faithful to the lexicographic definitions found in the dictionaries of the sort 'tend to/approach A, show some properties of A', and to their translations into other languages. Other *-ear/-ejar* verbs with definitions different from 'go-A', have been glossed either as '.EAR/.EJAR' or with their English translation.

(2) a. [sordo]$_A$ - ensordecer sordear[2] *Spanish*
deaf deafen go.deaf

b. [amarillo]$_A$ - amarillecer amarillar amarillear
yellow turn.yellow become.yellow go.yellow

(3) a. [beneit]$_{A/N}$ - beneitejar *Catalan*
dumb dumb.EJAR
'dumb, to fool about'

b. [holgazán]$_{A/N}$ - holgazanear *Spanish*
idle to.idle

In the remainder of the article, we concentrate on the properties of deadjectival verbs of the type in (1)-(2), since the examples in (3) are clearly agentive, as the well-known tests in (4)-(5) show (Kearns 2011:168):[3]

(4) Complement of *persuade* *Spanish*
a. Ha persuadido a Juan de holgazanear todo el día.
has persuaded to Juan of to.idle all the day
'She has persuaded Juan to idle all day long.'

b. *Ha persuadido a Juan de sordear todo el día.
has persuaded to Juan of go.deaf all the day
'She has persuaded Juan to go deaf all day long.'

(5) What x did construction *Catalan*
a. El que ha fet en Joan ha sigut dropejar tot el dia.
the that has done the Joan has been to.idle all the day
'What John did was idle all day long.'

b. *El que ha fet en Joan és sordejar tot el dia.
the that has done the Joan is go.deaf all the day
'What John did was go deaf all day long.'

2.1. EDV in Catalan and Spanish

In this section we discuss a number of properties that distinguish Catalan and Spanish EDV with respect to (i) base selection, (ii) causation and morphological realization, (iii) telicity and result entailment, and (iv) sensitivity to perfective aspect.

2. *Sordear* 'go deaf' does not appear in the *DRAE*/*CREA*, even though it is used in Spanish with the interpretation 'go-A'. We leave aside some causative uses found in varieties of American Spanish.
3. The *-ejar/-ear* examples in (3) above have been characterized as denominal in Bernal (2000) or Gràcia et al. (2000), as based on nouns derived from recategorized adjectives in Rifón (1997), or as derived from A/N in RAE/ASALE (2009). In addition, whereas *-ejar/-ear* examples (1)-(2) are interpreted as 'go/turn-A', those in (3) have been paraphrased as 'behave in the manner of A/N' or 'behave as a N'.

2.1.1.Base selection

Table 1 and Table 2 provide two lists of adjectives that clearly show the contrast between Catalan and Spanish EDV. Catalan EDV can take color adjectives or other adjectives, such as *fosc* 'dark', which can be interpreted as the result of internal causation; e.g. in *fosquejar* 'go dark' the verb expresses an eventuality that cannot involve an external causer (see §2.1.2). The meanings 'go-A' or 'be A-ish' conveyed by Catalan EDV cannot be systematically expressed by Spanish EDV, as illustrated in Table 1, unless the adjectival base is a color, as shown in Table 2 (see §2.2 for a few exceptions to this general pattern). In other words, Spanish EDV can only take color adjectives as bases.

Table 1. Non-color verbs

	Catalan		Spanish	
A-base	**COS**	**EDV**	**COS**	**EDV**
'clear'	*aclarir*	*clarejar*	*clarear*	*clarear*
'sour'	*agrir*	*agrejar*[1]	*agriar*	*??agrear (not in use)*
'long'	*allargar*	*llarguejar*	*alargar*	**larguear*
'bitter'	*amargar*	*amarguejar*	*amargar*	**amarguear/amargar*
'wide'	*ampliar/eixamplar*	*amplejar*	*ampliar/ensanchar*	**ampl(i)ear/*anchear*
'raw'	*encruar-se*	*cruejar*	*encrudecer*	**crudear*
'rough'	*enasprir*	*asprejar*	*volver/poner áspero*	*??asperear*[2]
'bald'	*encalbir*	*calbejar*	*encalvecer*	*?calvear*[3]
'sick'	*emmalaltir*	*malaltejar*	*enfermar*	**enfermear*
'high'	*enaltir*	*altejar*	*enaltecer*	**altear*[4]
'sweet'	*endolcir*	*dolcejar*	*endulzar*	**dulcear*
'dark'	*enfosquir*	*fosquejar*	*oscurecer*	**oscurear*
'brilliant'	*enlluentar/enlluentir*	*lluentejar*	*abrillantar*	**brillantear*
'rancid'	*enrancir*	*ranciejar*	*enranciar/ranciar*	**ranciear*
'blond'	*enrossir*	*rossejar*	*enrubiar*	**rubiear*
'deaf'	*ensordir*	*sordejar*	*ensordecer*	*sordear*
'short'	*escurçar*	*curtejar*	*acortar*	**cortear*
'cool'	*refrescar*	*fresquejar*	*refrescar*	**fresquear*

1. Although the *DIEC* equates *agrejar* 'go sour', an EDV, with *agrir* 'to sour', a COS verb that can enter the causative alternation, as in (ib), we do not share this use, nor our informants.

   (i) a. La llet s'ha agrejat.
   the milk SE-has gone.sour
   'The milk has turned sour.'

   b. *La calor ha agrejat la llet.
   the heat has gone.sour the milk
   '*The heat has turned the milk sour.'

2. *Asperear* (= *tener sabor áspero* 'to have a sharp taste' *DRAE*) is often rejected by non-bilingual Spanish native speakers.
3. *Encalvecer* 'to make/become bald' is intransitive only. *Calvear* 'go bald' is not listed in the *DRAE*, and we have found a single example with this verb in the *CREA*.

   (i) Empezaba a calvear, pero …
   began to go.bald but
   'S/he began to go bald, but …' [Javier Alfaya, *El traidor melancólico*, Alfaguara, 1991]

4. The verb appears in the *DRAE*, though not as 'go-A, show some properties of A'. There is no example in the *CREA*.

Table 2. Color verbs

	Catalan		Spanish	
A-base	COS - DA	EDV	COS - DA	EDV
'grey'	*agrisar*	*grisejar*	*agrisar*	*grisear*
'white'	*emblanquir/blanquejar*	*blanquejar*	*blanquear/emblanquecer*	*blanquear*
'blue'	*emblavir*	*blavejar*	*azulear (some dialects)*	*azulear*
'black'	*ennegrir*	*negrejar*	*ennegrecer*	*negrear*
'green'	*enverdir*	*verdejar*	*enverdecer*	*verdear/(re)verdecer*
'red'	*envermellir*	*vermellejar*	*enrojecer*	*rojear*

2.1.2. Causation and morpho-syntactic realization

Catalan EDV quite consistently express an attribution of a property (see §2.2 for exceptions), and cannot be causativized. The corresponding causative verb requires different morphology, generally involving the insertion of a prefix, as exemplified in (6).

(6) a. $[fosc]_A$ - enfosquir fosquejar *Catalan*
dark darken go.dark
'dark - darken/become-dark, approx. go dark'

b. El dia {s'ha enfosquit / fosqueja}.
the day SE-has darkened goes.dark
'The day {has darkened / is going dark}.'

c. Els núvols {han enfosquit / *fosquegen} el dia.
the clouds have darkened go.dark the day
'The clouds {have darkened / *are going dark} the day.'

The equivalent Spanish EDV can have an external causer, like *clarear* 'clear' in (7c). To express the meaning denoted by Catalan EDV, Spanish requires either an analytic expression with a light verb, such as **dulcear* 'go sweet'- *tirar a/saber a* 'tend to A / taste A' in (8); or a different morphological realization that performs all functions, like *oscurecer* 'darken' in (9).

(7) a. $[claro]_A$ - clarear aclarar *Spanish*
clear to.clear to.clear
'clear - to clear/go clear, to clear/go clear'

b. El día ya clareaba. / El día aclaraba por detrás de la
the day already cleared the day cleared by behind of the
sierra.
mountain.range
'The day was already dawning. / The day was clearing behind the mountains.'

c. Este tratamiento clarea / aclara la piel de forma natural.
this treatment clears clears the skin of form natural
'This treatment clears the skin in a natural way.'

(8) a. $[\text{dulce}]_A$ - endulzar *dulcear *Spanish*
sweet sweeten go.sweet

b. Este vino {*dulcea / tiene un sabor dulce}.
this wine goes.sweet has a taste sweet
'This wine {*is going sweet / tastes sweet}.'

c. Las bodegas {endulzan / *dulcean} el vino con azúcar.
the cellars sweeten go.sweet the wine with sugar
'Wine cellars {sweeten / *are going sweet} the wine with sugar.'

(9) a. $[\text{oscuro}]_A$ - oscurecer, *oscurear *Spanish*
dark darken go.dark
'dark - darken/become-dark, *approx. go dark'

b. El día ha {oscurecido / *oscureado}.
the day has darkened gone.dark
'The day {has darkened / *is going dark}.'

c. Las nubes {han oscurecido / *oscurean} el día.
the clouds have darkened go.dark the day
'The clouds {have darkened / *are going dark} the day.'

Examples (10)-(11) report additional attested examples of Sp. EDV that take color bases and can license external causes, as opposed to similar cases in Catalan.

(10) Causative *amarillear /*groguejar* 'to make/become yellow' *Spanish*

a. Un sol africano, cenital, amarilleaba las fachadas modernistas de
a sun African zenithal yellowed the façades modernists of
la avenida
the avenue
'An African sun, zenithal, was turning the modernists façades of the avenue yellow.' [A. Pérez-Reverte, *La reina del Sur*, Alfaguara, 2002 (*CREA*)]

b. … y grandes manchas amarilleaban el papel de la pared
and large stains yellowed the paper of the wall
'And large stains were turning the wallpaper yellow.' [A. Pérez-Reverte, *El maestro de esgrima*, Alfaguara, 1995) (*CREA*)]

c. El sol {*groguejava / esgrogueia / engroguia} les façanes. *Catalan*
the sun went.yellow turned.yellow turned.yellow the façades
'The sun was {*going yellow / turning yellow} the façades.'

d. Les taques {*groguejaven / esgrogueien / engroguien} el paper de
the stains went.yellow turned.yellow turned.yellow the paper of
la paret.
the wall
'The stains were {*going yellow / turning yellow} the wallpaper.'

(11) Causative *azulear /*blavejar* 'to make/become blue'

a. La barba de un día le azuleaba el mentón. *Spanish*
the beard of one day him turned.blue the chin
'His one-day beard turned his chin blueish.' [A. Pérez-Reverte, *La reina del Sur*, Alfaguara, 2002 (*CREA*)]

Catalan

b. La barba d'un dia li {*blavejava / emblavia / feia tornar blava} la barbeta.
the beard of-one day him went.blue turned.blue made turn blue the chin
'His one-day beard {*was going blue / turned blue} his chin.'

Whereas Catalan EDV always obtain a unique interpretation, Spanish shows variation depending on the base. As shown in Table 1, only a few adjectives can trigger the same meaning as Catalan EDV, 'go-A', thus presenting a clear empirical contrast between the two languages.

2.1.3. Telicity and result entailment

Whereas Catalan EDV are always atelic, Spanish EDV behave as DA in showing variable telicity (Krifka 1998 and much subsequent work for the notion of telicity). DA such as *allargar* 'lengthen', *enfosquir* 'darken', *engroguir* 'to yellow' are based on gradable predicates whose theme is involved in a scalar change of state. Some authors (starting with Dowty 1979) argue that DA have variable telicity on the basis of examples like (12).

(12) a. The soup cooled *in* 10 minutes. [TELIC]

b. The soup cooled *for* 10 minutes. [ATELIC]

The atelicity of (12b) is described as the lack of entailment that coolness has been reached. In (13), however, the lack of culmination is not an entailment, but rather it is part of the denotation of the EDV that the t-shirt is on its way to becoming yellow, though it does not reach proper yellowness.

(13) Aquesta samarreta grogueja. *Catalan*
this t-shirt goes.yellow
'This t-shirt is going yellow.'

Reaching yellowness might be seen as the natural endpoint of a transition, though it is not linguistically encoded. The typical telicity test to show the contrast is provided in (14) for Spanish and (15) for Catalan. Note that (14) parallels (15b).

(14) La camisa amarilleó {en / durante} dos minutos. *Spanish*
the shirt went.yellow in during two minutes
'The shirt went yellow {in / for} two minutes.'

(15) a. A l'hivern el dia fosqueja {*en / durant} mitja hora, mentre
at the-winter the day goes.dark in during half hour while
que …[4] *Catalan*
that
'In winter the day goes dark {*in / for} two half an hour, while ...'

b. A Mart, el dia s'enfosqueix {en / durant} dos minuts.
at Mars the day SE-goes.dark in during two minutes
'On Mars, the day darkens {in / for} two minutes.'

The contrasts in (16)-(17) for Spanish and Catalan respectively, clearly show the differences with respect to result entailment. Whereas Spanish EDV can entail that the result has been achieved, as other change of state verbs, this is never possible with Catalan EDV. This difference is illustrated in the licensing of adjectival passives, which have been used as a diagnostic for result entailment, in (16)-(17). Even though Spanish examples like (16) are not so numerous, the key contrast is that they are completely impossible with Catalan EDV.

(16) Las hojas basales están amarilleadas. *Spanish*
the leaves basal are gone.yellow
'The basal leaves are gone yellow.' (Junta de Andalucía, *Boletín oficial de información agraria*, 2013, 1168:9)

(17) a. El dia està {enfosquit / *fosquejat}. *Catalan*
the day is darkened gone.dark
'The day is {darkened / *gone dark}.'

b. El vi està {enrancit / *ranciejat}.
the wine is become.rancid gone.rancid
'The wine {has become rancid / *has gone rancid}.'

Note, in addition, that whereas the Spanish example in (18a) could be ambiguous between an interpretation of 'two days' as the time it takes for the event to culminate, or the time before the event initiates (Kearns 2007, 2011), the atelic Catalan example in (18b) could only be acceptable in the second interpretation as a sort of repair strategy.[5]

4. According to Kearns (2011:160), it is essential with the *in* adverbial test to use simple past sentences. As explained in §2.1.4 below, Catalan EDV are constrained to appear with imperfective tenses.
5. Although we find that the first reading is unavailable in Catalan EDV, there seems to be variation in acceptability judgments.

(18) Telicity *amarillear /*groguejar*

a. Las hojas del arce amarillean en dos días. *Spanish*
the leaves of.the maple go.yellow in two days
'Maple leaves turn/go yellow in two days.'

b. * Les fulles de l'auró groguegen en dos dies. *Catalan*
the leaves of the-maple go.yellow in two days
'* Maple leaves go yellow in two days.' (acceptable if 'after two days')

2.1.4. Sensitivity to perfective aspect

We have further noted that in general Catalan EDV show some incompatibility with perfective viewpoint aspect, a constraint that may disappear in the presence of an aspectually inceptive adverbial that focuses on the beginning of the state, as exemplified in (19).[6] [7] As shown in (20), Spanish does not show any constraints in this respect.

(19) a. * L'any passat en Joan va calbejar. *Catalan*
the-year past the Joan AUX go.bald
? En Joan va calbejar des dels 30 anys
the Joan AUX go.bald from of.the 30 years
'* Last year Joan went bald. / ? Joan started going bald since he was 30.'

b. La camisa ha groguejat una mica #(des de la primera rentada).
the shirt has gone.yellow a bit from of the first wash
(cf. s'ha esgrogueït)
SE-has turned.yellow
'The t-shirt has gone yellow #(since the first washing).' (cf. 'has turned yellow')

6. To get an impressionistic idea of this aspectual constraint, a very simple Google search performed on 08/21/2013 has retrieved the outcome in (i)-(ii).
(i) a. 2 valid examples for Cat. *han groguejat* 'have gone yellow' (8 records); 1 for Cat. *va groguejar* 'went.PERFECTIVE yellow' (5 records)
b. over 10,000 records for Sp. *han amarilleado* 'have gone/turned yellow', over 7,000 records for Sp. *amarilleó* 'went.PERFECTIVE yellow'
(ii) 2,930 records for Sp. *verdearon* 'went.PERFECTIVE green' versus 1 valid example for Cat. *van verdejar* 'went.PERFECTIVE green' (9 records)
As shown in (i)-(ii), Catalan examples have been filtered against repetitions, bad Google translations or simple dictionary translations. Since a careful inspection of the Spanish examples would be an outrageous time-consuming effort, we have conducted a limited manual survey of the first 70 records of *amarilleó*, and we have obtained 20 valid example sentences with intransitive uses. In our view, this is indisputable evidence of the kind of contrast we have identified in the main text.

7. But see the following example, which we barely accept in our varieties.
(i) El caràcter del Manel es va agrejar com el iogurt.
the character of.the Manel SE AUX go.sour like the yoghourt
'Manel's personality turned sour, like yoghourt.' [Jaume Cabré (2009) *Les veus del Pamano*]

(20) a. La camisa ha amarilleado por zonas. *Spanish*
the shirt has gone.yellow by areas
'The t-shirt has gone yellow in some areas.'

b. Las mimosas hace ya mucho que verdearon.
the mimosas does already a lot that went.green
'It s been a long time since the mimosas went green.'

2.1.5. Catalan EDV vs. Spanish EDV: The general pattern

The contrasts between Catalan and Spanish EDV's properties are summarized in Table 3. In section 5, we suggest an analysis that accounts for all of them.

Table 3. Crosslinguistic variation Catalan - Spanish with EDV

	Catalan EDV	Spanish EDV
1.	Can have color bases and other adjectives expressing a property that is interpreted as internally-caused.	Can have color bases and are constrained to a few other adjectives that are interpreted as internally-caused (although judgments vary with respect to the latter).
2.	Cannot be causative (with some exceptions).	Are causative (with some exceptions).
3.	Are atelic.	Show variable telicity.
4.	Do not involve a final state.	May involve a final state.
5.	Restricted to imperfective tenses.	Show no aspectual constraints.

2.2. Exceptions to the general pattern

There are a couple of *-ear/-ejar* deadjectival verbs that are exceptions to these patterns, notably Sp. *redondear* 'round', *sanear* 'clean up/drain' and Cat. *netejar* 'clean/wipe', *sanejar* 'clean up/drain', which are transitive verbs. In addition, there are a few EDV in both languages that would fit in the pattern of the other language. On the one hand, Cat. *blanquejar* 'whiten' and *humitejar* 'dampen/wet' appear in the causative-inchoative alternation, like their Spanish counterparts. On the other hand, Sp. *calvear* 'go bald', *flaquear* 'weaken', *flojear* 'weaken'[8] and *sordear* 'go deaf' behave like Catalan EDV, i.e. they show all properties of Catalan EDV (perhaps with the exception of the perfectivity constraints with verbs like *flojear* and *flaquear*).

3. Previous approaches

For Spanish, previous approaches to deadjectival verbs are either essentially descriptive and mainly lexicographic (e.g. Pena 1993, Rifón 1997, Serrano Dolader

8. As pointed out in Gumiel et al. (1999), the adjective *flojo* has a stage-level meaning 'loose' and an individual-level meaning 'poor'. Whereas the COS verb *aflojar* takes the former as a base, the EDV verb *flojear* takes the latter.

1999, Gràcia et al. 2000) or have concentrated on the resultative properties of deadjectival change of state verbs of the type *engordar* 'fatten', *agrandar* 'enlarge', *ampliar* 'widen' (e.g. Gumiel et al. 1999). Likewise for Catalan, e.g. Gràcia et al.'s (2000) and Bernal's (2000) chiefly descriptive works; or Padrosa's (2005) analysis of denominal and deadjectival *en-* verbs within Reinhart's theta system model.

Within a Jackendovian lexico-semantic approach to event structure, Gràcia et al. (2000) provide eight different Lexical-Conceptual-Structures (LCS) for Catalan *-ejar* and seven for Spanish *-ear*. In both languages, only two of them are deadjectival, which differ in their telicity, in their LCS's, and in their semantic characterization. They suggest the LCS's in (21)-(22) for Spanish and Catalan *-ear1/-ejar1,* which are characterized as expressing 'a change of quality or state'.

(21) -ear1: redondear sanear simultanear [+telic] *Spanish*
to.round healthy.EAR simultaneous.EAR
'to round, to clean up/drain, to do two things simultaneously'
$[_{event}$ CAUSE ($[_{thing}$ x], $[_{event}$ BEGIN ($[_{thing}$ y]) ($[_{state}$ base])])]

(22) -ejar1: blanquejar sanejar verdejar [αtelic] *Catalan*
whiten healthy.EAR go.green
'to whiten, to clean up/drain, to go green'
$[_{event}$ CAUSE ($[_{thing}$ x], $[_{event}$ BECOME ($[_{thing}$ y]) ($[_{property}$ base])])]

As shown in (23)-(24), they suggest a GO + Path analysis for their *-ear3*, i.e. for *escasear* 'be scarce', *sordear* 'go deaf', *cojear* 'to limp', *vaguear* 'to laze around', which is characterized as [-telic], as they assume that *-ear* adds this feature, even though this may contradict their characterization of Sp. *-ear1* as telic, and Cat. *-ejar1* as [αtelic] in (21)-(22). Despite the different LCS, (23)-(24) are both characterized as expressing a 'quality attribution or state', i.e. 'be A' or 'approach A'.

(23) -ear3: escasear sordear cojear vaguear [-telic] *Spanish*
scarce.EAR go.deaf lame.EAR laze.EAR
'to be scarce, to go deaf, to limp, to laze around'
$[_{event}$ GO ($[_{thing}$ x], $[_{path}$ TO ($[_{property}$ base])])]

(24) -ejar3: negrejar sordejar llunyejar [-telic] *Catalan*
go.dark go.deaf far.EAR
'to go black/dark, to go deaf, to be pretty far away'
$[_{event}$ BECOME ($[_{thing}$ x], $[_{property}$ base])]

We do not attempt to discuss this proposal nor the problems it poses for both the analysis of EDV and the contrast between the two languages. We include it here because it is the only theoretical approach to EDV that we have been able to find in the literature, and it contains some of the elements that we are going to provide empirical evidence for and against. Specifically, we show in §5.2 that Catalan *-ejar* predicates cannot be characterized as 'become' predicates, since they never entail

a result or endpoint; neither should verbs like Cat. *verdejar* 'go green' be included in the very constrained and exceptional set of causative verbs. On the other hand, we provide evidence for the treatment of Sp. deadjectival *-ear* verbs as COS that contain a PathP.

Even though they do not deal with EDV, Fábregas and Varela (2006) provide an interesting analysis of denominal *-ear* verbs that may contain an infix or not, e.g. *comisquear* 'to eat in an irregular manner' and *besuquear* 'to kiss in an irregular manner' with infix, as opposed to *burbujear* 'to flow like bubbles' and *bribonear* 'to act like a crook'. All these verbs are decomposed into *v* + P manner, as shown in (25). That is, *-ear* is here "the result of the morphological merging of two heads, little *v* and P manner", where the infix, if present, instantiates the manner relational head. The representation in (26) shows the structure of these words after morphological merger. Interestingly, note in (26) that the unique suffix *-ear* in *burbuj*-Ø-e-Ø-a(r) is here morphologically reanalyzed as containing two different zero phonological realizations of two functional heads P and *v*, which, following Oltra-Massuet (1999, 2000) take a theme vowel each (see §4.2 below), i.e. the suffix *-ear* is decomposed into five different elements that are inserted into five different terminal nodes.

(25) comisquear / besuquear 'to eat / kiss in an irregular manner'
$[_{vP}\,[_{v}\ \text{Ø-a(r)}]\,[_{PP}\,\text{EA}\,[_{P}\,\{\text{-isk-e / -uk-e}\}]\,[_{XP}\,\{\text{com- / bes-}\}]]]]$

(26) comisquear 'to eat in an irregular manner', burbujear 'to flow like bubbles'
$[_{v}\,[_{P}\ \ [_{X}\,\{\text{com- / burbuj-}\}]\,[_{P}\,\{\text{-isk-e / Ø-e}\}]]\,[_{v}\,\text{Ø-a(r)}]]$

Also Martín (2007) deals with denominal *-ear* and proposes the basic underspecified Jackendovian LCS in (27a) for the suffix *-ear*. Variation depends on the base N and the various ways in which they are incorporated into the structure, which may change the basic LCS as in (27b) for verbs like *banquetear* (lit. banquet.EAR 'to banquet') or *bordear* (lit. edge.EAR 'to go along the edge of') and the one in (27c) for verbs like *martillear* (lit. hammer.EAR 'to hammer on'), *telefonear* (lit. telephone.EAR 'to telephone'), *parpadear* (lit. eyelid.EAR 'to blink').

(27) a. $[_{\text{event}}\,\text{DO}\,([_{\text{entity}}\,\text{x}\,],\,[_{\text{entity}}\,\text{Nbase}\,])]$

b. $[_{\text{event}}\,\text{MOVE}\,([_{\text{entity}}\,\text{x}\,],\,\text{THROUGH}\,([_{\text{entity}}\,\text{Nbase}\,]))]$

c. $[_{\text{event}}\,\text{DO}\,(\text{CON}\,([_{\text{entity}}\,\text{x}\,],\,([_{\text{entity}}\,\text{y}\,],\,([_{\text{entity}}\,\text{Nbase}\,]))]$

Within the same lexico-semantic model, Cano (2011) suggests the even more underspecified LCS in (28) for a subset of *-ear* denominal verbs, verbs of movement, such as *rumbear* (ambiguous between lit. way.EAR 'to follow a direction' or lit. rumba.EAR 'to dance rumba'), *serpentear* (lit. snake.EAR 'to twist'), *balancearse* (lit. swing.EAR 'to swing'), *cabecear* (lit. head.EAR 'to shake one's head'), or *taconear* (lit. heel.EAR 'to tap with the heel').

(28) $[_{event}$ DO $([_{entity}$ x $])]$

This brief summary of previous approaches seeks to show that EDV have not received much attention, beyond the description of the meanings they convey, and a multiplicity of LCS that cannot account for all the properties of EDV. And EDV cannot be easily integrated within the above-mentioned proposals. On the one hand, the usual diagnostics do not provide indisputable evidence for the status of EDV as either unaccusative or unergative;[9] on the other hand, EDV do not seem to show a manner component, either.

4. Theoretical background

4.1. Argument structure

Our analysis is built within the configurational model of syntactic argument structure proposed in Hale and Keyser (1993, 1998) [H and K henceforth] as developed in recent work (e.g. Mateu 2002; Harley 2005; Acedo-Matellán 2010; Acedo-Matellán and Mateu 2011, 2013). Resultative inchoative deadjectival verbs were initially analyzed as in (29) in H and K's (1993) model.

(29) The screen cleared.
$[_{VP}\ [_{NP}\ [_{N}$ screen]] $[_{V'}$ V $[_{AP}\ [_{A}$ clear]]]]] [Hale and Keyser (1993:63)]

Gumiel et al. (1999) propose a reanalysis of causative-inchoative deadjectival verbs in Spanish such as *engordar* 'fatten', *ampliar* 'widen', *agrandar* 'enlarge' that treats them on a par with locative and location verbs, such as *to shelve the books* or *to saddle the horse,* illustrated in (30), together with resultative constructions of the type *John hammered the metal flat*. Both deadjectival verbs and resultative constructions differ from our EDV in that the former are always clearly resultative, i.e. the result 'BECOME A' is always entailed. Gumiel et al.'s proposal is as shown in (31)-(32).

(30) $[_{V}$ V $[_{P}\ [_{DP}$ the books/the horse] $[_{P}$ P $[_{N}$ *shelf*/*saddle*]]]]
[Hale and Keyser (1998:86)]

(31) Juan engordó los pollos. 'Juan fattened the chicken.'
$[_{vP}$ Juan $[_{v'}\ [_{v}$ Ø] $[_{VP}\ [_{V}$ Ø] $[_{PP}$ [los pollos] $[_{P'}\ [_{P}$ en/a/Ø] $[_{DegP/QP}\ [_{AP}$ gord(os)]]]]]]]

(32) John pounded the metal flat.
$[_{vP}$ John $[_{v'}\ [_{v}$ Ø] $[_{VP}\ [_{V}$ pounded] $[_{PP}$ [the metal] $[_{P'}\ [_{P}$ Ø] $[_{DegP/QP}\ [_{AP}$ flat]]]]]]]

Hence, a verb like *engordar* 'fatten' is analyzed as containing a terminal coincidence preposition that results in a telic interpretation of the structure, and thus

9. See footnote 13 below.

captures the parallelism between such resultative deadjectival verbs and secondary resultative predication, since both get the same interpretation '(make something) become into A'.

Much recent work on prepositions and adpositional particles in general (e.g. Koopman, 2000; Zwarts 2005; Gehrke 2008; den Dikken 2010; Svenonius 2010, *inter alia*) decompose in the syntax the conceptual structure of such terminal coincidence prepositions into a complex configuration involving a PathP and a PlaceP. They build on Jackendoff's (1973 and subsequent work) conceptual decomposition of PPs into the categories PATH and PLACE and functions such as TO, VIA, ON, etc, and Talmy's (1975, and subsequent work) semantic concepts of Figure and Ground for arguments of prepositions, where the Figure is the entity that moves with respect to a potential Ground. As noted in Acedo-Matellán (2010), a PathP introduces a transition that encodes the change, and a PlaceP introduces a Figure/Ground configuration that establishes a location or state.

In a model of argument structure like Acedo-Matellán (2010) or Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013), the combination of different 'flavors' of eventive *v* and adpositional *p* (PlaceP and PathP) give rise to a set of possible argument structure configurations. With respect to the relational functional head *p*, if there is a single *p*P, it corresponds to a PlaceP that establishes a predicative relation that expresses a state, which is equivalent to H and K's central coincidence relation, whereas if a second *p* is added, a PathP, it establishes a transition that expresses a change, and the structure corresponds to H and K's terminal coincidence relation. As for the eventive head *v*, depending on whether it takes a specifier or not, we will obtain a causative or an unaccusative configuration. On the basis of the various combinations of the different flavors of these two heads through the application of the operation Merge, Acedo-Matellán (2010) and Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013) establish five basic argument structure configurations for (i) unergative and transitive verbs of creation and consumption; (ii) atelic transitive events; (iii) transitive events of change of state or location; (iv) atelic unaccusative events; and (v) unaccusative events of change of state or location (see Acedo-Matellán and Mateu 2013 for additional structures). For our purposes, we illustrate the latter two configurations in (33)-(34).

(33) Atelic unaccusative event: *Dinosaurs existed.*
$[_{vP}\ v\ [_{PlaceP}\ [_{DP}$ Dinosaurs] $[_{Place'}$ Place √EXIST]]][Acedo-Matellán (2010)]

(34) Unaccusative event of change of state: *The sky cleared.*
$[_{vP}\ v\ [_{PathP}\ [_{DP}$ The sky] $[_{Path'}$ Path $[_{PlaceP}\ [_{DP}$ ~~The sky~~] $[_{Place'}$ Place √CLEAR]]]]
[Acedo-Matellán (2010)]

In this model, the semantic interpretation of arguments depends on the position they occupy in the structure. Importantly, a terminal Ground is defined as «a DP or root at Compl-Place when PathP is projected», e.g. *clear* in *The sky cleared (in five minutes)* or in *The strong winds cleared the sky*; whereas a central Ground is

«a DP or root at Compl-Place when no PathP is projected», e.g. *exist* in *Dinosaurs existed* or *Barcelona* in *Sue is in Barcelona*.[10]

4.2. Word formation: Distributed Morphology

The analysis is couched within the Distributed Morphology model (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994, and related work) as a syntactic theory of word formation with Late Insertion that distinguishes between morpho-syntactic and morpho-phonological features. Important for our analysis is the distinction between structural and conceptual semantics, i.e. word meaning combines structural meaning compositionally derived from a particular configuration and the morpho-syntactic features it contains, which is predictable, and conceptual meaning, which is idiosyncratic and unpredictable and contributed by the late insertion of morpho-phonological material.

We adopt the view that verbs consist of category-neutral roots that must merge with categorizing heads (Marantz 1997, 2001, 2007; Arad 2003) as illustrated in (35). These are little *v*, little *a,* or little *n*.

(35) *redden*

We further assume Oltra-Massuet's (1999, 2000) analysis of theme vowels according to which these are dissociated morphemes introduced in the morphological component as a result of a well-formedness condition on functional heads.

5. Syntax - semantics mapping

To the best of our knowledge, there is no analysis that contrasts such resultative causative-inchoative verbs, e.g. Sp. *enfriar(se)* 'cool', *ensordecer* 'deafen', to stative EDV verbs that entail that the result expressed in the base adjective has not been achieved, e.g. Sp. *calvear* 'go bald', *sordear* 'go deaf'. In this section, we propose an analysis that accounts for the different behavior of (certain) *-ear* verbs in Spanish and *-ejar* verbs in Catalan. While some *-ear* verbs in Spanish exemplify inchoative change of state verbs that focus on the ending of a situation, i.e. imply a result, we argue that *-ejar* verbs in Catalan illustrate a predication attribution and they are atelic. Our aim is to present a principled account for this distinction that is based on two different morpho-syntactic configurations.

10. We leave aside the manner interpretation of arguments, i.e. a root/DP directly merged with *v*, a possibility that may be helpful for cases such as Sp. *bribonear* / Cat. *dropejar* 'to idle' (see Acedo-Matellán 2010 for details).

5.1. Spanish COS -ear verbs

We have seen that Spanish EDV, like regular DA, show variable telicity, can license an external causer, entail a result, and show no restrictions with respect to perfective aspect. Hence, we suggest that Spanish EDV are verbs that involve change, i.e. they are COS verbs and therefore must be analyzed as Acedo-Matellán's (2010) and Acedo-Matellán and Mateu's (2013) transitive/unaccusative events of change of state or location, (36).

(36) Unaccusative event of COS: The plane landed.
$[_{vP}\ v\ [_{PathP}$ Path $[_{PlaceP}\ [_{DP}$ The plane] $[_{Place'}$ Place √LAND]]]]
[Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2013)]

As we saw in (34) above, this is the structure proposed for resultative deadjectival verbs of the type *clear* in *The sky* cleared, which result from a process of conflation in a structure like (36), repeated in (37). This involves a bounded transition that corresponds to a terminal coincidence relation, with a resulting state (see Acedo-Matellán 2010 for further details).

(37) The sky cleared
$[_{vP}\ v\ [_{PathP}\ [_{DP}$ The sky] $[_{Path'}$ Path $[_{PlaceP}\ [_{\text{DP}}$ ~~The sky~~] $[_{Place'}$ Place √CLEAR]]]]
[Acedo-Matellán (2010:54)]

Thus, our proposal is that Sp. *amarillear* 'go/become-yellow' in Sp. *Las hojas amarillean* 'The leaves are turning yellow' derives from an unaccusative structure of change of state, as illustrated in (38), where an adjectival root is inserted in a configuration containing a functional head *v* (=light *v*) that takes a PathP as its complement, which further c-commands a PlaceP. As further pointed out in Acedo Matellán (2010), a *v* taking a PathP as a complement will be interpreted as motion, and brings about a change of state.

(38) Las hojas amarillean. 'The leaves are turning/going yellow.'
$[_{vP}\ v\ [_{PathP}\ [_{DP}$ Las hojas] $[_{Path'}$ **Path** $[_{PlaceP}\ [_{\text{DP}}$ ~~Las hojas~~] $[_{Place'}$ **Place** √AMARILL]]]]

Following Fábregas and Varela (2006), we further assume that Sp. *-ear* is to be analyzed as *Ø-e-Ø-a(r)*, where the two zero phonological exponents are inserted as default exponents for the functional heads Path+Place — which have been conflated into a single head — and *v*, to which a theme vowel position has been adjoined in the morphology to meet Oltra-Massuet's (1999, 2000) well-formedness condition on functional heads.

5.2. Catalan stative EDV

Unlike Spanish EDV, Catalan EDV are not involved in causative constructions. The structure we propose is the one in (39) for stative atelic predications such

as *Sue is in Barcelona* or *Dinosaurs existed*, as proposed in Acedo-Matellán (2010).

(39) a. [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{PlaceP}$ [$_{DP}$ Dinosaurs] [$_{Place'}$ Place √EXIST]]]
'Dinosaurs existed (for a long time).'

b. [$_{PlaceP}$ [$_{DP}$ Sue] [$_{Place'}$ [$_{Place}$ Place √IN] [$_{DP}$ Barcelona]]]
'Sue is in Barcelona.'

This difference in morpho-syntactic structure brings along a series of associated properties, namely, unlike Spanish EDV, Catalan EDV are not resultative, they do not denote transitions, they cannot be inflected in the perfective, and they do not admit a causer expressed as an external argument.

The fact that Catalan EDV cannot express a result and be inflected in the perfective is a clear indication that they do not denote transitions, i.e. they are not COS or DA. However, as will be shown below, Catalan EDV denote states that are eventualities. Along with Fábregas and Marín (2013), who follow Maienborn (2005, 2008), we assume that there are two types of states, Davidsonian and Kimian; while the former have some shared properties with eventive predicates, the latter do not. First of all, stativity is diagnosed via a series of tests. To begin with, EDV pattern with states with respect to their subinterval properties (Dowty 1979). That is, in spite of the possible contextual inferences that may arise, in *The wheat field is going yellow*, each of the subintervals are states of the wheat field having some properties of yellowness, so no change is involved. Also, Catalan EDV are quite marginal with *parar de* 'stop', which is expected if EDV are not dynamic predicates, (40).

(40) ?? Els camps de blat han parat de groguejar.
the fields of wheat have stopped of go.yellow
'The wheat fields stopped going yellow.'

Another test that would indicate that EDV are not dynamic predicates is that they do not receive a habitual reading in the present tense. (41) means that the wine is bitter-ish or sharp-ish at the speech time.

(41) Aquest vi agreja / aspreja.
this wine goes.bitter goes.rough
'This wine is going bitter / sharp.'

By contrast, in the sentence *John runs*, present tense has a habitual interpretation. As suggested above, while EDV are not dynamic, they denote eventualities. This has been argued for by Fábregas and Marín (2013) for verbs like *gobernar* 'rule' and *brillar* 'shine', and we want to show that EDV also have properties of D(avidsonian)-states. First, D-states can be located in time and space. Therefore, they are perceptible. As such, they can appear as infinitival complements of perception verbs, (42).

(42) a. He vist fosquejar el dia.
have seen go.dark the day
'I've seen the day go dark.'

b. He vist verdejar els camps.
have seen go.green the fields
'I've seen the fields go green.'

Second, Catalan EDV can license locative and temporal modification, (43).

(43) a. El dia fosqueja a les 5.
the day goes.dark at the 5
'The day goes dark at 5pm.'

b. Aquest vi agreja / aspreja en el paladar.
this wine goes.bitter / sharp in the palate
'This wine goes bitter / sharp in my palate.'

Third, they can combine with manner adverbials, (44).

(44) a. La camisa nova grogueja a clapes.
the shirt new goes.yellow at patches
'The new shirt is going yellow in patches.'

b. El dia fosquejava desagradablement.
the day went.dark unpleasantly
'The day was going dark unpleasantly.'

Therefore, we conclude that Catalan EDV belong to the set of D-states, i.e. dynamic stative verbs.[11]

11. There are apparent counterexamples to this classification. There is speaker variation with respect to examples like (i), which seem to behave rather like (ii), thus showing properties of K-states. As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, this cannot be due to a structural difference, but to the kind of relation established between the specific Figure and the Ground, witness the existence of examples like (iii).

(i) a. Aquest verd grogueja.
this green goes.yellow
'This green is going yellow.'

b. * He vist groguejar el verd.
have seen go.yellow the green
'I've seen green go yellow.'

c. Aquest verd grogueja *a les 5 / *fàcilment.
this green goes.yellow at the 5 easily
'This green is going yellow at 5 / easily.'

(ii) Aquest verd és grogós.
this green is yellowish

(iii) El verd de les fulles grogueja al començament de la tardor.
the green of the leaves goes.yellow at.the beginning of the fall
'The green of the leaves goes yellow in early fall.'

While Catalan EDV share the same structure with other stative structures, we propose that the Place relation that PlaceP establishes with its complement is not IN but rather NEAR. The paraphrase of (45a) would be (45b) in the present proposal.

(45) a. El camp de blat grogueja.
the field of wheat goes.yellow
'The wheat field is going yellow.'

b. El camp de blat és proper al groc.
the field of wheat is close to.the yellow
'The wheat field is close to yellow.'

Along the lines of Zwarts (1995), who provides a semantics for the preposition *near*, we can assume that NEAR *yellow* denotes a set of vectors whose origin is a state of yellowness and whose length is a pragmatically determined number *r*. Put it differently, the abstract preposition NEAR establishes a relation between an origin (the denotation of its complement) and a pragmatically determined number *r* such that the distance between the origin and the subject of the predication is *r*. With the example in (45a) in mind, this amounts to saying that the wheat field and the color yellow are separated by a contextually determined number. In other words, the wheat field has a color that approaches yellow, but does not reach yellow. This abstract preposition NEAR is thus responsible for the fact that in Catalan EDV, the RESULT cannot be achieved.[12]

Thus, we suggest that Cat. *groguejar* 'go yellow' in Cat. *Les fulles groguegen* 'The leaves are going yellow' is to be analyzed as deriving from a stative structure of the form in (46), where an adjectival root is inserted in a configuration containing an eventive head *v* that takes a PlaceP as its complement, which is specified as P(NEAR).[13]

12. While comparing *-ós* in *grogós* 'yellowish' and *-ejar* in *groguejar* 'go yellow' should be the object of another study, we will just point out here that they both introduce the place preposition NEAR.
13. As suggested to us by J. Mateu (p.c.) and an anonymous reviewer, there is an alternative analysis, namely that *-ejar* predicates be unergative. On the one hand, according to Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995), unergative verbs, like Catalan EDV, are internally-caused, whether agentive or not. On the other hand, the lack of prefix realizing P in EDV could also indicate their unergative status, as pointed out by J. Mateu. Tests, however, are inconclusive. The typical diagnostic for unaccusativity is *ne*-cliticization. The examples in (i), though scarce, would suggest that EDV are unaccusative.
(i) a. Del morú blat apenas en grogueja lo flonjo tronch
of.the Moor wheat barely NE goes.yellow the soft stalk
'From the corn, it is only the soft stalk that is going yellow.'
(*Catalunya. Revista literària quinzenal*. 1904: 35/36)

b. En groguegen unes quantes, de camises, amb l'ús d'aquest detergent.
NE go.yellow some how.many of shirts with the-use of-this detergent
'Of shirts, there are some that are going yellow, with the use of this detergent.'

Other unaccusativity tests refer to reduced participial clauses and auxiliary selection. The former is not a possible construction for EDV, since only achievements can appear in such constructions; the latter is not applicable to modern Catalan – and we have not been able to find examples in Old Catalan, where there was auxiliary selection. We leave this issue open for further research.

(46) Les fulles groguegen. 'The leaves are going yellow.' *Catalan*
[$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{PlaceP}$ [$_{DP}$ Les fulles] [$_{Place}$, P(NEAR) √GROC]]]

Hence, we derive the stativity of EDV from the fact that they are realizations of a stative structure, i.e. a *v* that takes a PlaceP as a complement. As for the apparent verbal motion present in the paraphrase 'go-A', this is derived from the presence of a particular P(NEAR), which is structurally parallel to a central ground. However, semantically it does not convey a central coincidence relation in a strict sense; neither does it express a terminal coincidence relation. As described above, it expresses a formal approaching relation.

As for the internal morphology of *-ejar*, we would like to hypothesize a parallel treatment to Fábregas and Varela's (2006) analysis of *-ear*, i.e. as a decomposed *Ø-e-j-a(r)*, where the zero phonological exponent is inserted as a default exponent for the functional head P(NEAR) and *v* is phonologically realized by *-j-*. As in Spanish, the vowels would correspond to the dissociated theme vowel position adjoined in the morphology. However, the internal constituent structure of Catalan EDV needs a deeper investigation that takes into account additional EDV minimal pairs of the type *amarguejar* 'go sour/bitter' - *amargotejar* 'go a bit sour/bitter', also in relation to deverbal *-ejar* with a manner infix, e.g. *parlar* 'to talk' - *parlotejar* 'to chat', which may be crucial to determine the exact decomposition and realization of *-ejar*.

6. Conclusions and directions for further research

In this paper we have compared deadjectival verbs in Spanish and Catalan that are formed with the suffix *-ear*/*-ejar*, which we have named EDV. We have observed that Spanish and Catalan EDV do not show a parallel behavior, and have proposed that the crucial difference between Catalan and Spanish is to be located in their syntactic configuration.

Thus, both Sp. *-ear* and Cat. *-ejar* are structurally decomposed into two different functional heads, a little *v* plus a relational functional head, which is complex in Spanish, as a result of a process of Path+Place conflation, but simple in Catalan. Whereas Sp. *-ear* contains a terminal coincidence relational structure, we have proposed that Cat. *-ejar* involves the abstract preposition P(NEAR). Therefore, while Spanish *-ear* is inserted in an unaccusative event of COS and can therefore appear in a configuration of a transitive event of COS, where the verbalizing head *v* may take a Specifier, and convey a causative meaning, this structure is not available for Catalan *-ejar,* simply because it is inserted in a stative predicative configuration.

As was mentioned above, although denominal *-ear/-ejar* verbs have received some attention, EDV make a relatively new object of study, especially the cross-linguistic comparison and the analysis of Catalan EDV. This leaves us with a considerable number of issues that remain open and will have to be considered in future research. Let us point out a few of them.

An important question in such a late insertion model with uncategorized roots like DM is whether the deadjectival verb is formed on a root or on an already cate-

gorized root, i.e. an adjective (see Arad 2003 for such distinction with denominal verbs of the type *to hammer* vs. *to button*). With *ejar/ear* verbs derived from A/N such as Sp. *babosear* (lit. creep.EAR 'to drool') or *vagabundear* (lit. tramp.EAR 'to drift'), we can find examples that could point to a root derivation, in (47). These verbs have been argued to receive the interpretation 'behave in the manner of A/N'. If they were built on a categorized N root, one could in principle argue that the following attested examples should not exist at all. For EDV, we do not have at this point any syntactic or morphological evidence for either position.[14]

(47) a. Baboseando como un borracho perdido. *Spanish*
drooling like a drunken lost
'Drooling (lit. behaving-like-a-creep) like a total drunk.'

b. Vagabundeó como un perrillo perdido.
tramped like a doggie lost
'He tramped (lit. behaved-like-a-tramp) like a lost doggie.'

c. Tontear como un idiota.
stupid.EAR like a idiot
'To behave-like-a-stupid like an idiot.'

The examples in (47) parallel those in (3) above, repeated in (48)-(49), for Catalan and Spanish respectively, with additional examples, which we would like to incorporate into the analysis. Note that most of them seem to be agentive activities. The investigation of these data is already in process.[15]

(48) a. $[\text{beneit}]_{A/N}$ - beneitejar *Catalan*
dumb dumb.EJAR
'dumb, to fool about'

b. $[\text{droop}]_{A/N}$ - dropejar
iddle iddle.EJAR
'iddle, to iddle'

c. $[\text{tafaner}]_{A/N}$ - tafanejar
snoop snoop.EJAR
'snoop, to snoop'

d. $[\text{català}]_{A/N}$ - catalanejar
Catalan Catalan.EJAR
'Catalan - behave as a typical A/N'

14. Cf. Harley and Haugen (2007) or Dowd (2010) against the use of instrumental adjuncts as a diagnostic for root- vs. noun-derived verbs.
15. For an analysis of French denominal verbs in *-er* like *robinsonner* (lit. Robinson.ER 'to live like a Robinson') or *-iser* like *diplomatiser* (lit. diplomat.ISER 'to behave as a diplomat'), see Martin and Piñón (2013).

(49) a. [bobo]$_{A/N}$ - bobear *Spanish*
dumb dumb.EJAR
'dumb, to fool about'

b. [holgazán]$_{A/N}$ - holgazanear
iddle iddle.EJAR
'iddle, to iddle'

c. [fisgón]$_{A/N}$ - fisgonear
snoop snoop.EJAR
'snoop, to snoop'

d. [español]$_{A/N}$ - españolear
Spanish Spanish.EAR
'Spanish - behave as a typical A/N'

Although we have hypothesized the decomposition of Catalan and Spanish EDV along the lines of Fábregas and Varela (2006), a well-supported and detailed morphosyntactic analysis of EDV, its position and internal structure, must be developed.

Finally, we would also like to establish a more explicit analogy between *-ejar* and the suffixes *-ós*/*-enc* (English *-ish*), (50), and provide a morpho-semantic analysis of the latter (cf. Morris 2009, Sugawara 2012).

(50) a. roig / vermell vs. rog-enc / vermell-ós *Catalan*
red red reddish reddish

b. red vs. red(d)-ish

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Non Accusative Objects*

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Abstract

In this paper we propose an asymmetrical approach to Case-licensing where, on the one hand, the functional architecture in the verbal system can license at most one DP, and, on the other, only certain DPs require formal licensing. Our proposal straightforwardly explains long-lasting syntactic problems in the syntax of Spanish and other languages concerning Differential Object Marking (DOM), Raising to Subject asymmetries in *se* constructions, and Person Case Constraint effects. Then, we analyze the consequences and challenges of our proposal for the explanation of the clitic behavior in *laísta* dialects in contexts where both internal arguments seem to be independently formally licensed, one of them via DOM, and the other by means of a dative clitic. We show that this dative clitic does not establish an agreement relation, but it is an incorporated determiner, as in the case of third person accusative clitics (Ormazabal and Romero 2013a).

Keywords: case; agreement; Differential Object Marking; clitics; microdialectal variation; *laísmo*; *se*-constructions; Spanish.

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1. Introduction

In previous work (Ormazabal and Romero 2007, 2013a, 2013b) we have argued that some objects do not require any formal licensing –they do not enter into an agreement relation or receive Case–, while others must establish a formal relation with the verb. The kind of objects that belong to one group or the other is not arbitrary, but it is parametrically determined. In Ormazabal and Romero (2013b), we argue that Differential Object Marking (DOM) is an overt manifestation of this split. In Spanish, animate and specific direct objects, indirect objects, and raised-to-object subjects of embedded clauses, among other DPs, must establish a formal relation with the verb, and, as a morphological manifestation of that relation, they end up differentially object marked. The rest of the objects remain in situ violating the Case Filter. In the case of Spanish, we have argued elsewhere that the evidence for this hypothesis is very compelling and shows up in a variety of areas such as the Person Case Constraint (PCC), microvariation on object clitics or *se* constructions. In all these contexts, first and second person objects (and in some constructions and dialects also third person animate ones) behave differently from the rest of the objects. Thus, for instance, in the PCC they are not compatible with a dative clitic, and in *se* constructions they do not trigger subject agreement. Regarding clitic microvariation, it is almost completely restricted to third person objects. We have extensively argued that these differences should be derived from their different behavior with respect to Case and agreement.

In this paper we develop some additional arguments that support the asymmetric approach to Case theory and discuss some of its consequences. In section 2 we argue that there is at most one object position per sentence. First we show that if two objects require DOM, only one of them can receive it, and, in consequence, in most sentences the output is ungrammatical. Next we provide evidence that this is not a morphological restriction, a Double-DOM Filter, or Double-*a* Filter, as it has been termed. In section 3, we show that the same split found in Spanish also shows up in polysynthetic languages, and we briefly sketch a theory of object Case assignment based on López (2012). Finally, in section 4 we deal with an apparent counterexample, and we explain how certain microvariation facts regarding *laísmo* could take place.

2. One object position

Specific and animate direct objects as well as clitic-doubled datives must receive DOM in Spanish, but only one argument per sentence can carry this mark.[1] When two arguments require DOM, the sentence is rendered as ungrammatical. This situation appears, for instance, when in the same sentence there is an animate and specific direct object and a dative clitic-doubled DP (1).

(1) a. *Les mandaron (a)l Sr. Lobo a los mafiosos.
DAT.3PL sent.3PL DOM-the Mr. Lobo DOM the mobsters
'They sent the mobsters Mr Lobo.'

b. *Le propusieron (a) las candidatas al presidente.
DAT.3SG proposed.3PL DOM the candidates DOM-the president
'They proposed the president the candidates.'

Both sentences become grammatical as soon as the dative clitic is removed. There is, however, a subset of animate and specific object DPs that in this context can appear in a bare DOM-less form, allowing the IO to appear clitic doubled (2).

(2) a. Enviaron *(a) todos los enfermos a la doctora von Tan.
sent.3PL DOM all the sick people DOM the doctor von Tan
'They sent all the sick people to doctor von Tan.'

b. Le enviaron (*a) todos los enfermos a la doctora von Tan.
DAT.3SG sent.3PL DOM all the sick people DOM the doctor von Tan
'They sent doctor Von Tan all the sick people.'

The availability of (2b) is extremely restricted. Sentences like (2b) are only grammatical with nouns such as sick people, soldiers, slaves, kids, etc.; nouns whose referents are regularly treated as entities lacking free will. The range of animate nouns that can appear without DOM in this context is, more or less, the same one that allow incorporation in polysynthetic languages (see Baker 1996a; also see section 3, below, for details).

Some authors (see, for instance, López 2012; Ordóñez and Treviño 2013; and references therein) have recently proposed that the ungrammaticality of sentences in (1) and (2b) is due to a morphological filter against double DOM.[2] According

1. Concerning the general semantic properties of Differentially Marked animate objects in Spanish, and some qualifications, see Leonetti (2008), Rodríguez Mondoñedo (2007), Zdrojewski (2008), and references therein among others. For arguments that the mechanisms involved in dative clitic constructions are the same as DOM see Ormazabal and Romero (2013b) and references there.
2. In fact, there is evidence that *prima facie* seems to support this idea. In Hindi there are examples of double-*ko* (Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996), what suggests a parameterizable Double DOM Filter. On the other hand, in Spanish the DO receives DOM when the dative clitic is not doubled: *Les mandaron al Sr. Lobo* 'They sent them Mr. Lobo'. We will return to this issue in section 4.

to them, the syntactic relations established by the object are the same in (2a) and (2b), and the ungrammaticality of (2a) is due to morphological reasons. However, there is evidence that DOM is essentially a syntactic phenomenon. Consider first the case of so-called *se* constructions. These constructions share with regular passives the property that the external argument is dropped and the internal argument triggers agreement with the verb (3a). However, when the object receives DOM, the object retains this marking and the verb shows up in a default form (3rd singular; DF) (3b).

(3) a. Se llevaron/*llevó los regalos a la doctora.
SE took.3PL took.DF the presents to the doctor
'(The) presents were sent to the doctor.'

b. Se llevó / *llevaron a los enfermos a la doctora.
SE took.DF took.3PL DOM the sick people to the doctor
'The sick people were sent to the doctor.'

The explanation for this asymmetry is straightforward: animate DOs (3b), unlike inanimate ones (3a), are Case-marked and frozen in place; in consequence, they cannot further move to subject position. If the absence of DOM in (2b) were just a morphological issue and the object formal relations were the same than in (2a), we would expect its object to pattern after (3b) in a *se* construction; i.e., since the object is Case marked, subject agreement would be blocked. However, as shown in (4), when DOM is assigned to the dative, the object triggers subject agreement, and default agreement results in ungrammaticality.

(4) Se le llevaron/*llevó los enfermos a la doctora.
SE DAT.3SG took.3PL took.DF the sick people DOM the doctor
'The sick people were sent to the doctor.'

Note that the minimal pair in (3) does not easily fit in a Case theory *à la* Marantz, where Case is post-syntactically determined, since the arguments structurally present are the same in (3a) and (3b). We can see no principled reason why the object in (3b) cannot receive a default Case as in (3a). Furthermore, there is evidence that DOM objects are in a different structural position (Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996; López 2012). Consider the following sentences:

(5) a. Mandó a una asesora a todos los gerentes. ∃ >∀ / ∀ >∃
sent.3SG DOM an advisor to every manager

b. Mandó una asesora a todos los gerentes. *∃ >∀ / ∀ >∃
sent.3SG an advisor to every manager
'He sent an advisor to every manager.'

c. Les mandó (*a) una asesora a todos los gerentes.
*∃ >∀ / ∀ >∃
DAT.3PL sent.3SG DOM an advisor DOM every manager

d. [A todos los gerentes] les mandó a una asesora.
∃ >∀ / ∀ >∃
DOM every manager DAT.3PL sent.3SG DOM an advisor
'He sent every manager an advisor.'

In (5a) the object receives DOM, and has scope over the universal quantifier. In (5b), on the contrary, the object is not marked, and cannot have scope over the universal quantifier (López 2012). This is the main argument in the literature to support the idea that DOM flags object movement. Now, consider (5c). In this sentence there is a dative clitic doubling structure, and the object cannot receive DOM. Under a morphological approach this restriction has to be attributed to a Double DOM Filter: there is no reason why the DO, if specific, could not raise to the position where DOM is morphologically assigned, carrying a silent DOM. But if it is so, we expect the object to be able to take scope over the universal quantifier. But, as seen in (5c), this prediction is not borne out. Finally, in (5d), where the clitic is not doubled, the DO receives DOM and takes again scope over the universal quantifier. In consequence, independently of DOM morphological properties, there is a clear structural difference: DOM DPs raise, and non-DOM DPs do not raise.

Accordingly, DOM can be considered some kind of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) structure, in the sense of Bošković (1997, 2002) who argues that ECM accusative subjects or dative shifted IOs, but not regular transitive objects, overtly undergo A-movement to an object agreeing position. Examples in (6) show that ECM and Double Object Constructions, (6d), are not compatible in spite of the fact that they both are independently available (6c) and (6a).

(6) a. I showed you the proof.

b. I showed you that the defendants were guilty.

c. I showed the defendants to be guilty.

d. *I showed you the defendants to be guilty.

As we have seen in Spanish for the case of DOM (2), the raised object and the IO cannot coappear in the same sentence (see Rezac 2013 for some qualifications, and Hartmann 2012 for a different explanation).

In Spanish, the list of objects that move to that position is slightly larger than in English, including animate and specific direct objects, pronouns and ECM subjects, both animate and inanimate (7), among others (Ormazabal and Romero 2013b).

(7) a. Hizo *(a) la lavadora funcionar.
made.3SG DOM the washing machine work
'He made the washing machine work.'

b. Oyó *(a) la bicicleta estamparse contra el suelo.
heard.3SG DOM the bicycle smash against the ground
'He heard the bicycle smashing against the ground.'

Summarizing, and simplifying our findings, by now we assume the following generalizations:

(i) At most one argument may be Differentially Object Marked (2b), and it is due to the fact that *there is only one position* where objects can raise (4)-(5c).
(ii) a. DOM objects (DO and IO indistinctly) are not available for subject-agreement with T in *se*-constructions;
b. Non-DOM objects obligatorily trigger subject agreement in *se*-constructions.[3]
(iii) Only DOM arguments raise to object position in Spanish.[4]
(iv) Corollary: only DOM arguments receive Case.

3. On the Theoretical Status of Caseless arguments

In the previous section, we have shown that certain objects must move to a position where a formal relation is established. This movement is overtly flagged by DOM (2), but, as expected, it also has scope (5) and other syntactic effects: the DP moves to a position where Case is checked, and it is not eligible for further movement (3). However, other objects do not enter into this kind of relations, and are not subject to these effects; in spite of this, the resulting sentence is grammatical (see Danon 2006). This fact poses a theoretical challenge to the Case Filter, interpreted as the condition that every argument has to be formally licensed via Case (or agreement). In our view, the right answer to this question is to remove the Case Filter from the theory, and to treat Case as part of the general checking theory. Remember that we have argued that the fact that the DO raises to subject position (or checks subject Case/agreement) in (8b) is contingent upon its lack of Case in (8a).

3. Determinerless nouns in some dialects do not trigger agreement (Mendikoetxea 1999).
4. For the purpose of this paper we let aside inanimates.

(8) a. Le enviaron (*a) todos los enfermos a la doctora von Tan.
DAT.3SG sent.3PL DOM all the sick people DOM the doctor von Tan
'They sent doctor Von Tan all the sick people.'

b. Se le llevaron/*llevó los enfermos a la doctora von Tan.
SE DAT.3PL took.3PL took.DF the sick people DOM the doctora von Tan
'The sick people were sent to the doctor.'

In its minimalist formulation, Case is conceived as a stop condition. Once Case is checked, the DP cannot enter into a new A-relation, it is frozen. For several reasons, this is an anomalous conception. Case theory is not easy to handle in the MP. From a theoretical perspective, it is not clear what it means that every DP has to receive Case in order to be a legitimate object, whether at LF or at PF. If there is not a dedicated module for Case, as it used to be in the GB architecture, it is not evident where we can define or locate this filter. There is no level in a minimalist derivation where such condition must be satisfied (see Lasnik 2008 for discussion). A factual statement may be made that simply establishes that all nouns or argumental NPs enter the derivation with an uninterpretable Case feature, but that is just an empirical claim. In the next subsection we show from incorporation data in Mohawk that it is false (see Danon 2001, 2006 for similar arguments regarding indefinite NPs in Hebrew). Then, in subsection 3.2 we make some remarks about how a proper Case theory should look like.

3.1. Incorporation and Case

In Mohawk, animate objects must be licensed either by incorporating into the verb (9a), or by overt agreement with the verbal auxiliary (9b). If neither of these two options takes place (9c), or if the two of them take place together (9d), the result is ungrammatical (data from Baker 1996a: 21-22, 193-194, 206-207; characterization from Ormazabal and Romero 2007: 323ff):

(9) a. Ra-wir-a-núhwe'-s. *Mohawk*
SG.MASC-baby-Ø-like-HAB
'He likes babies.'

b. Shako-núhwe'-s (ne owirá'a).
SG.MASC/3PLO-like-HAB NE baby
'He likes them (babies).'

c. *Ra-núhwe'-s ne owirá'a.
SG.MASC-like-HAB NE baby
'He likes babies.'

d. *?Shako-wir-a-núhwe'-s.
SG.MASC3PLO-baby-Ø-like-HAB
'He likes babies.'

Incorporation of animate arguments is highly restricted universally (Mithun 1984; Evans 1997; Baker 1996a): it is basically allowed with some nouns referring to regularly free-will deprived individuals: soldiers, sick people, children, etc. That is, more or less the same DPs that are allowed in dative constructions without DOM in Spanish. In contrast, most animate objects show obligatory overt agreement, on a par with DOMed animate objects in Spanish. This pattern, which we can term «Differential Object Agreement» (DOA), is found in languages like Zulu (Adams 2010), Swahili, Hungarian, Palauan and Muna (Danon 2006; Bárány 2012; and references therein). Both systems, DOM and DOA, coexist in certain Basque and Spanish dialects where both agreement and Case are differentially stated (Odria 2012; Ormazabal and Romero 2013a). Mohawk belongs to the DOA language group. Coherent with this picture, inanimate objects may incorporate or stay in situ, but they never show object agreement (DOA).

Up to now, we have seen that DOM/DOA is broadly in complementary distribution with noun incorporation. Consider now applicative constructions. In these constructions the applied argument *must* agree with the verb (Baker 1996a). When combined with inanimate objects, the applied argument shows obligatory agreement and the object may incorporate or stay in situ (10).

(10) a. Λ-khey- ahsir-úny-Λ- ‘ ne owira. *Mohawk*
FUT-1SF/FSO-blanket-make-BEN-PUNC NE baby
‘I will make a blanket for the baby.’

b. Áhsir-e’ Λ-khey-úny-Λ-’ ne owira.
blanket-NSF FUT-1SF/FSO-make-BEN-PUNC NE baby
‘I will make a blanket for the baby.’

When the object is animate, in most cases the sentence is ungrammatical. Applicatives are only compatible with animate nominals if they are of the type that may incorporate. In this case, the applied argument *must* agree and the animate object *must* incorporate (11).

(11) Λ-hi-skar-a-tshΛry-a-’s-e’. *Mohawk*
FUT-1SA/MSO-friend-Ø-find-Ø-BEN-PUNC
‘I will find him a girlfriend.’

If the animate object does not (or cannot) incorporate, the sentence is ungrammatical (12).

(12) a. *káskare’ Λ-hi-tshΛry-a-’s-e’. *Mohawk*
friend FUT-1SA/MSO-find-BEN-PUNC
‘I will find him a girlfriend.’

b. *Λ-ku-(ya’t)-óhare-’s-e’ ne owirá’a.
FUT-1SA/2SO-wash-BEN-PUNC NE baby
‘I will wash the baby for you.’

Baker (1988) proposes that in transitive clauses Case is absorbed by the incorporated nominal. This is a necessary move for him, because if Case is not absorbed, in transitive sentences there would remain a non assigned Case, and the derivation should fail. However, data from applicatives show clearly that Case is not absorbed, because it is needed for the applied argument. In consequence, incorporated arguments and inanimate arguments in general do not receive Case. This is clearly shown in the contrast between (10b) and (12), where the non incorporated inanimate object does not block applied argument licensing, contrary to the animate one. In sum, data from Mohawk show that inanimate DPs do not have the same licensing requirements as animate ones. As a matter of fact, they do not seem to have any requirement at all. In consequence, we assume that not all objects receive Case, and therefore a general Case Filter cannot be established as an empirical fact. However, in the previous section we saw that there is evidence that some objects do require Case. In the following subsection we make a broad characterization of a Case theory compatible with these facts.

3.2. Remarks on a minimalist Case theory

Observations of this kind, and, in general, data related to Case variation, have lead several authors to propose, following an influential paper by Marantz (1991), that Case does not form part of the syntactic theory, but it is morphologically determined. However, there is ample evidence, like the one previously presented regarding the interaction of DOM and *se* constructions, that Case is, at least in part, a syntactic relation. Therefore, the right move must be simply to assume that Case is like any other formal relation. When a Case feature is present in the structure, it triggers (probes) a formal relation; but it is otherwise absent, like, say, agreement, where no one has proposed an agreement filter: there is no abstract agreement for infinitives and other non-agreeing verbal forms.

When we say 'like any other formal relation' we are referring to the fact that Case has a somewhat weird characterization in the MP. It is considered a by-product of other checking relations: once Case is checked, the DP is frozen in place. Contrary to this, we propose that, as other formal features, its presence and its shape may be parameterized. Assuming DOM is the hallmark of object Case, it is assigned to different kinds of nouns, but not to others. On the other hand, it adopts a variety of morphological realizations (Bossong 1991, 1997; Glushan 2010). Although DOM has semantic effects, there are reasons to think that its presence is due exclusively to formal reasons (de Swart and de Hoop 2007).

Consider in this respect the broad split among DOM languages between those that assign DOM to DOs when they are specific (Turkish, Hebrew, etc.), and those that require, in addition, the object to be animate. Although semantic effects in inanimate DPs are the same in both groups of languages, they only receive Case in the first group. Furthermore, object Case is also related to voice, often in intricate ways (Sigurðsson 2012). Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that a proper object Case theory has to be constructed considering syntactic general properties (what kind of objects receive Case in a language L), and lexical and functional

properties of the heads involved in Case assignment (voice, aspect, etc.). On the other hand, the relation between Case and agreement has to be discarded as a spurious generalization, as clearly shown by Case assignment in infinitives in Basque, or, in general, by quirky Case (see Baker 2011 for a proposal in this sense specific for object Case and agreement). In section 4 we show that this relation is also contradictory with object Case/agreement characterization in Spanish.

In sum, abstract Case is not a general condition on DP licensing, but a formal feature that triggers certain relations between the functional architecture of the verbal system and some DPs.

Before concluding these brief remarks on Case, something has to be said about languages showing independent accusative and dative morphology. For these paradigms we assume, following Baker and Vinokurova (2010) that morphological case can be assigned in a Marantz style, but, as said, there is also a *bona fide* abstract Case. This distinction can actually be argued to be explicit in the distinction between inherent and structural Case (see Woolford 2006; cf. Caha 2009 for a different view). Inherent Case marked DPs do not require any syntactic operation to be licensed; they simply carry a morphologically redundant marking according to their thematic role. The existence of two different cases for V internal arguments should be regarded as a paradigmatic effect of the same kind as the one found in gender marking in those nouns where gender is semantically vacuous.

In short, there is no syntactic basis for distinguishing accusative and dative. There is only one formal relation, which has a dedicated structural position. We assume that this position is the one that has been recently analyzed by several authors as the position where DOM is assigned (Torrego 2010; López 2012). If there are two internal arguments in the same active sentence, one of them will remain syntactically caseless, although it can bear some morphological marking.

4. *Laísmo* and microvariation

In this section we deal with the contrast between (5c) and (5d), repeated here as (13).

(13) a. Les mandó (*a) una asesora a todos los gerentes. *∃>∀ / ∀>∃
DAT.3PL sent.3SG DOM an advisor DOM every manager

b. Les mandó a una asesora. ∃ >∀ / ∀>∃
DAT.3PL sent.3SG DOM an advisor
'He sent every manager an advisor.'

This minimal pair poses a challenge to the idea that the verb only assigns one Case. Apparently, both dative and DOM are independently assigned to different arguments: The indirect object is represented by the dative clitic, *le*, and the DO is preceded by DOM (***les*** *mandó* ***a*** *una asesora*). Therefore, this example constitutes a *prima facie* counterexample to our proposal. In order to analyze (13b), we first provide an additional set of data from *laísta* dialects, which shows Case variation precisely in this construction and can shed some light on its derivation. Then we propose that 3rd person dative clitics have different sources, which show different

agreement properties. Finally, in section 4.2, we propose an analysis based on the idea that silent goals, *pros*, incorporate into the applicative preposition.

4.1. Laísmo *in a nutshell*

Laísmo is almost the only case in Spanish where clitic variation is not related to third person direct object clitics, but to dative ones. In *laísta* dialects, when the indirect object is feminine, the clitic used is *la*, and if it is masculine is *le* (14), while in the rest of the dialects, dative clitics mark Case and number (*le-les*), but not gender.[5]

(14) a. *la* envié tus regalos.
DAT.F.3SG sent.1SG your gifts
'I sent her your gifts.'

b. *le* envié tus regalos.
DAT.M.3SG sent.1SG your gifts
'I sent him your gifts.'

Romero (2012) argues that *laísmo* is not merely dative gender motion. Specifically, he shows that it is restricted to those contexts where accusative can be assigned. In consequence, *laísmo* is not found, for instance, in passive (15) or unaccusative (16) constructions, nor with copulative verbs (17).

(15) a. *tus regalos la fueron enviados.
your gifts 3.DAT.F.SG were.3PL sent

b. tus regalos le fueron enviados.
your gifts 3.DAT.SG were.3PL sent
'She/He was sent your gifts.'

(16) a. *En la manifestación la cayó un bote de humo.
in the demonstration 3.DAT.F.SG fell.3SG a teargas canister

b. En la manifestación le cayó un bote de humo.
in the demonstration 3.DAT.SG fell.3SG a teargas canister
'In the demonstration a tear gas canister fell on her/him.'

(17) a. *Tu hermano no la resulta simpático.
your brother not 3.DAT.F.SG is nice

b. Tu hermano no le resulta simpático.
your brother not 3.DAT.SG is nice
'Your brother is not nice to her.'

5. It has to be noted that in the dialects under discussion, there is an additional condition: the dative has to be animate. We will ignore this property for the purposes of this paper. For a complete characterization of the dialect under discussion, the standard *laísta* dialect (Fernández Ordóñez 1999), see Romero (2012).

Observe that while in (14) dative clitics distinguish masculine and feminine, this distinction is lost in contexts where accusative Case is not independently assigned (15)-(17). According to what we have said in the previous sections, we can consider the accusative clitic, when it stands for a DP that does not receive DOM, as a morphologically accusative clitic. In fact, Ormazabal and Romero (2013a) argue that this clitic is actually a determiner incorporated into the verb, and, as any other incorporated element, it lacks syntactic Case. Therefore, the lack of *laísmo* in (15)-(17) can be understood as the morphological version of Burzio's Generalization: since the syntax does not provide the appropriate context for (morphological) accusative, only the dative form can be inserted. This explanation will be refined in section 4.2.

However, consider now the minimal pair in (18).

(18) a. les / *las enviaron los regalos a las niñas.
3.DAT.PL 3.DAT.F.PL sent.3PL the gifts DOM the girls
'They sent the girls the gifts.'

b. ??les / las enviaron los regalos.
3.DAT.PL 3.DAT.F.PL sent.3PL the gifts
'They sent them the gifts.'

In Romero (2012) it is argued that *laísmo* in (18a) is ungrammatical because accusative Case, in contrast to dative Case, is not compatible with doubling: in Spanish only strong pronouns in object position can be doubled by a clitic. However, there are two reasons to cast doubts on this explanation. First, examples in (18) differ structurally from those in (15)-(17): sentences in (18) are instances of transitive structures. As a matter of fact, (18a) and (18b) represent exactly the same argument structure. It is not obvious how these dialects can cheat the morphological component to make it think that accusative cannot be assigned. And second, there are reasons to think that the derivations in (18a) and (18b) follow different paths.

Consider again the sentences in (13). As observed in (13b), when there is no doubling, the direct object may receive DOM, and its scope changes with respect to (13a) scope. As expected, exactly the same scope asymmetries are manifested between (18a) and (18b). In consequence, the contrast in (18) is not merely a morphological issue: two different structures are involved. In the first one, (18a), the indirect object receives DOM and takes scope over the DO. On the contrary, in the second one, the DO receives DOM, and, in consequence, scope is reversed. In section 3, following Torrego (2010), and López (2012), we argue that DOM reflects object raising to a certain position. Furthermore, we also argue that DOM is the only Case available for internal arguments. If these proposals are correct, for the DO to appear DOM marked in (18a), the indirect object *cannot* receive Case. Obviously, the minimal pairs in (13)-(18) constitute a challenge to the idea that there is only one object Case: the indirect object appears dative marked, and the DO receives DOM. In the next subsection we argue that the indirect object actually does not receive Case because it is an incorporated clitic.

4.2. Where some anomalies return to the fold

In order to explain these facts according to the sketched hypothesis, we, first, assume the proposals in Ormazabal and Romero (2013a). In this paper, following Roca (1996), we argue that in Spanish accusative clitics are not the exponent of an agreement relation, but determiners clitiziced onto the verb. This analysis is based on certain contrasts between Northern *leísta* dialects, where animate objects trigger a real object agreement relation, and other Peninsular dialects. It is shown, among other arguments, that there are elements such as negative quantifiers that enter into agreement relations but that cannot be doubled by an accusative clitic. Consider clitic left dislocated constructions in (19) (remember that accusative doubling *in situ* is forbidden in Spanish).

(19) a. *Ningún libro lo han vendido.
None book 3.ACC.M.SG have.3PL sold
'They have not sold any book.'

b. A ninguna estudiante le han dado el título.
DOM none student 3.DAT.SG have.3PL given the degree
'They did not give any student the degree.'

Negative quantified NPs result in ungrammaticality when doubled by an accusative clitic (19a), but are perfectly grammatical when they are dative (19b). This fact can be derived if the accusative clitic, as proposed, is actually a determiner, and not an agreement marker, but the dative one is true agreement (see Ormazabal and Romero 2013a for details).

Assuming that this proposal is correct, if *la* in *laísta* dialects is accusative, as shown by examples in (15)-(17), then *it is* a clitiziced determiner. This poses at least two questions: (i) how can the determiner clitizice from a structurally completely different position? and (ii) what happens with dative agreement?

4.2.1. On dative agreement

Dative agreement in Spanish is peculiar. In most cases, if not in all, it is optional. The indirect object may appear in a purely prepositional phrase, or in a dative clitic doubling structure preceded by DOM. In other works we have proposed, following Larson (1988) and Baker (1996b) among others, that the prepositional variant is the primitive one, and the clitic doubling structure, as well as the Double Object Construction, are derived via P incorporation (for the purposes of this paper, a Low Applicative Phrase would also do the job). If so, the presence of dative agreement is related to P incorporation. This idea is also used to explain why dative agreement does not disappear in passive, and other non-transitive structures.

Interestingly, there is another dimension in which dative agreement is peculiar: in most Peninsular dialects third person dative clitic does not trigger number agreement when it appears doubled by DP in its base position (20a), but it obligatorily agrees when it is not doubled (20b) (Marcos Marín 1978).

(20) a. le / ??les dieron un regalo a las niñas.
3.DAT.SG 3.DAT.PL gave.3PL a gift DOM the girls

b. *le / les dieron un regalo. [las niñas]
3.DAT.SG 3.DAT.PL gave.3PL a gift the girls
'They gave the girls a gift.'

In principle we could link the distribution in (20) to the fact that spurious *se* lacks number features. However, we are not aware of any other systematic agreement mismatch of this kind. As a matter of fact, the opposite is quite common: empty categories trigger default agreement, but full specified DPs trigger full agreement. This suggests that although Case is encoded in the same phrase for both indirect and direct object, agreement follows its own rules to which we return immediately.

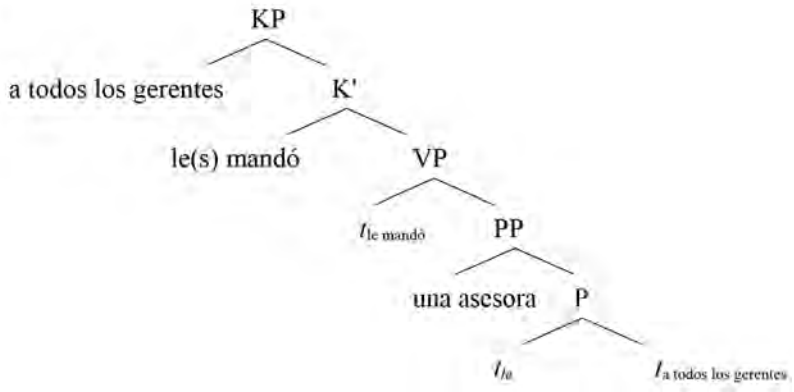
4.2.2. On cliticization

In this section we provide an analysis compatible with the facts just discussed:

(i) Scope is reversed between (13a) and (13b).
(ii) The clitic must express full agreement only in (13b); in (13a) agreement is defective.
(iii) *Laísmo* is only available in (13b).

Consider first (13a) for which we propose the derivation in (21):

(21)



First, we assume P is an applicative preposition. This preposition in Spanish, and allegedly in any dative language, has agreement features. These agreement features encode 1st and 2nd person singular and plural, and a (3rd person) default form.[6] In (21) we represent this applicative preposition by means of this

6. Admitedly, in languages like Irish with preposition agreement, P also encodes number agreement. However, things are slightly different in this language since P agreement and pronouns are mutually exclusive (see, for instance, Acquaviva 2001 and references therein). On the other hand, in Spanish there is only one inflected preposition, *con*, but it inflects only for the first and second person singular (and for the reflexive), but not for the plural. Finally, in the nominal area, the dummy

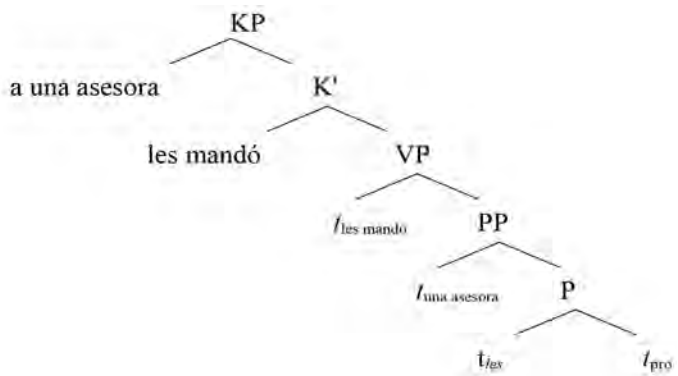
default form, *le*. The applicative preposition incorporates into V. Next V moves to K and in its specifier DOM is assigned to P complement (see a more detailed derivation in Ormazabal and Romero 2010).

Some clarifications are in order. KP is a shorthand for whatever category (voice, aspect) probes object Case and agreement. This projection appears both in transitive and intransitive sentences and it is responsible for DOM and scope effects (López 2012). In Standard Spanish, object agreement is only active for the first and the second person (Ormazabal and Romero 2013a).[7] In the same way, when P has a 1st or 2nd person feature, it makes active KP agreement, and full person and number agreement arises.[8] However, when P lacks person, KP agreement is not activated, and it shows up as a default form. Essentially, (21) is a regular Case/agreement configuration, where these relations are obtained by the conjunction of a lexical head, P, and a functional one, K.

This derivation is perfectly coherent with the properties described in (i)-(iii). The IO has scope over the object, agreement is defective, and *laísmo* is barred because there is no determiner incorporation.

Consider now (13b), to which we assign the following derivation:

(22)



preposition *de* obligatorily becomes a possessive adjective with the first and the second person (**de mí* 'of me' → *mío* 'mine'; **de ti* 'of you' → *tuyo* 'yours), but only optionally for the third person where it makes no number distinction. Furthermore, spurious *se*, the third person clitic form that appears in clitic clusters does not make number distinctions.

7. This is not the case for Northern *leísta* dialects, where object agreement is also active for third person animate objects and in some other contexts (Ormazabal and Romero 2013a). On the other hand, Rigau (1988) observed that even in the case of strong pronouns, their syntactic behavior differed from that of the 1st and 2nd person ones. We can add another piece of evidence in this sense. 3rd person strong pronouns can, under certain conditions (contrastive focus and an additional clitic, among them), appear undoubled:

   (i) No me llevéis a mí, llevaos A ELLA.
   not 1SG take.SUBJ.2PL DOM me take.IMP.2PL DOM her
   'Don't take me, take HER.'

8. This «activation» may be due to the fact that P cannot morphologically encode agreement. Ormazabal and Romero (2007) observe that those languages where P can represent agreement, as Celtic languages, lack Doble Object Construction.

If, as proposed, *laísmo* appears when a determiner cliticizes, *la* is an accusative clitic, the fact that *laísmo* is available in (22) forces us to argue that the first step in this derivation is P complement incorporation onto P. In the first place, it has to be noted that this cliticization cannot be barred, as long as it has a morphological representation; i.e., it is a perfectly grammatical operation. Furthermore, it explains all the properties associated to the construction. The number, as well as the gender feature, are pied-piped by *pro*, and, in consequence, the whole set of φ features are represented in the clitic, as in the case of object determiner cliticization. Finally, since *pro* is cliticized onto P, it does not require to check Case. Therefore, DOM can be assigned to the DO, which raises to Spec,KP and takes scope over the IO.

Note that, according to this hypothesis, dative *la* is not agreement. It is expected, in consequence, *laísmo* to be incompatible with negative quantified phrases in a CLLD position, as in (19). This prediction is borne out (23).

(23) *A ninguna estudiante la dieron un coche.
DOM any student 3.DAT.F.SG gave.3PL a car
'They did not gave any student a car.'

In sum, the cut off between (13a) and (13b) derivations lies in P complement licensing. In (13a) the DP is licensed in a Case/agreement configuration, while in (13b) it is licensed by incorporation. The rest of the derivation follows with no additional provisos.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we have argued that the verb can only license one argument by means of a Case/agreement relation. When there are two potential DPs for this relation, one of them remains unlicensed (or gets incorporated). The typology of objects that can remain unlicensed is subject to parametric variation, although it seems to be the general case that nonspecific objects do not require any formal licensing.

Incorporation and Case/agreement are different ways for satisfying DP formal features. This is not new. This is a common assumption since Baker's (1988) pioneering work on this topic. The existence of different possible derivational paths for the same structure is an expected property of a derivative system, which is highly dependent on the properties of the syntactic objects affected by its operations. In a GB type modular approach, each module implements the way its properties are to be satisfied, therefore, we expect rigid procedure systems (*the property P has to be satisfied according to the procedure Q*). But this is not the way a derivational system works. From this point of view, repair strategies are just available, although infrequent, operations. In this sense, the fact that a certain derivation is more frequent than other is not a competence problem, but a performance one, possibly related to maximization in featural representation.

In this paper we have proposed two different derivations, (21) and (22), for the same basic ditransitive structure. There are reasons to think that they do not exhaust the possibilities. We can see, for instance, no principled reason why *pro* raising to

Spec,KP in (22) can be blocked. As a matter of fact, this is possibly the derivation in (19b). This option would be incompatible with an animate and specific object, but it is otherwise allowable.

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Microvariation in Spanish Comparatives*

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Abstract

While phrasal comparatives of inequality with the comparative marker *que* 'than' (*Pedro es más inteligente que yo* 'Pedro is more intelligent than 1.SG.NOM') have received a fair deal of attention in the study of Spanish (e.g., Bolinger 1950, Plann 1984, Sáez del Álamo 1990, Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1994, Romero Cambrón 1998, Brucart 2003 or Reglero 2007), dialectal variation has not figured prominently in the literature. Microvariation within Chilean Spanish provides evidence for the existence of both a reduced clause analysis and a PP analysis of the *que*-XP in the context above, as opposed to standard Spanish, where only the former analysis applies. This microvariation is the result of the availability of two distinct lexical entries for *que* (a pure complementizer vs. a preposition) or lack thereof. The PP analysis is argued to be consistent with the gradual change from *de* 'of' to *que* in the history of comparatives in Spanish (Romero Cambrón 1998).

Keywords: phrasal comparatives; microvariation; ellipsis; experimental syntax; Chilean Spanish.

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1. Introduction

While comparative constructions have received a fair deal of attention in the study of Spanish and beyond (e.g., see the synchronic analyses in Piera 1983, Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1994, Plann 1984, Sáez del Álamo 1990, Brucart 2003, Reglero 2007, a.o., and the diachronic analysis in Romero Cambrón 1998, a.o., for Spanish), dialectal variation has not figured prominently in the literature (though see Bolinger 1950 for a notable exception). The purpose of this research is to fill this gap in our knowledge while contributing to our understanding of these constructions. Specifically, this research focuses on microvariation for a subcase of comparative structures illustrated in (1), namely, phrasal comparatives of inequality which make use of the comparative marker *que* 'than' (PC-*que*):

(1) Pedro es más inteligente que yo.
Pedro is more intelligent than 1.SG.NOM
'Pedro is more intelligent than me.'

Other subcases of phrasal comparatives, structures where the comparative marker is followed by a single phrase, will not be discussed, as these have been established to have different syntactic properties (see Sáez del Álamo 1999 and Brucart 2003 for discussion, a.o.). E.g., I abstract away from phrasal comparatives introduced by the preposition *de* 'of' taking a measurement phrase as the compared NP, (2a),[1] or pseudo-comparatives, structures that resemble comparatives in their form but not in their meaning, e.g., (2b):

(2) a. Tiene más de 500 euros.
has more than 500 euros
'He/she has more than 500 euros.'

b. Leyó más libros que *El camino*.
read more books than *El camino*
'He/she read some books on top of *El camino*.'

Furthermore, a comprehensive literature review, even when limited to Spanish, is beyond the scope of this article and, therefore, I focus on those proposals that will be most relevant for the discussion.[2] Specifically, there is an ongoing debate on the following two aspects of the syntax of PC-que: (i.) whether the *que/than*-XP has full-fledged clausal syntax underlyingly as opposed to being base-generated; (ii.) the syntactic category of *que*/*than* (a complementizer introducing a reduced clause, a coordinating conjunction or a preposition). Not all of these analyses are mutually exclusive. For instance, a number of authors have shown that comparatives with

1. For discussion on the distribution of *de* vs. *que*, see Bolinger (1950), Solé (1982), Plann (1984), Romero Cambrón (1997) or Brucart (2003), a.o.
2. For discussion on the semantics of comparatives, see Bresnan's (1973) Comparative Deletion and Chomsky's (1977) empty operator analysis. See also fn. 3 in this regard.

one single phrase in the coda may divide themselves into clausal and prepositional comparatives in the same language, e.g., Napoli (1983), Hankamer (1973) or Bhatt and Takahashi (2011), a.o., whereas the view that a certain comparative marker (*than*) is a preposition or a coordinating conjunction is a priori compatible with both a clausal or a base-generation analysis. Still, the prepositional analysis of *que*/*than* has traditionally been linked to the base-generation analysis or direct analysis, e.g., see Hankamer (1973), Hoeksema (1983) and Napoli (1983), a.o, whereas an understanding of the comparative marker as a complementizer has been linked to the reduced clause analysis for obvious reasons (see Bresnan 1973, Hankamer 1973 and Pinkham 1982, a.o.). The analyses of *que* as a preposition, a complementizer and a coordinating conjunction are illustrated in (3a,b,c), respectively:[3]

(3) a. Pedro es más inteligente [$_{PP}$ que *María*].
Pedro is more intelligent than María

b. Pedro es más inteligente [$_{CP}$ que *María*$_x$ [$_{TP}$ ~~t$_x$ es inteligente~~]].
Pedro is more intelligent than María is intelligent

c. [$_{TP}$ Pedro es más inteligente] que [$_{TP}$ *María*$_x$ [$_{TP}$ ~~t$_x$ es inteligente~~]].

With regard to Standard Spanish (SS), both a clausal and a prepositional analysis for PC-que have been put forward. Specifically, Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1994) and Brucart (2003) defend both a clausal and a prepositional analysis, though for slightly different syntactic contexts. Brucart (2003: 40) assumes a base-generation PP analysis for structures where the correlate of the compared NP, that is to say, the correlate of the complement of *que*, includes the comparative particle *más*, e.g. (4a), whose analysis is illustrated in (4a'). [4] This contrasts with (4b), which for him should receive a clausal analysis, illustrated in (4b'):

3. I abstract away from irrelevant details; in (3c), where *que* is a coordinator, clausal ellipsis is also present, though, as stated, not every researcher that adopted this kind of analysis would agree, (e.g., cf. Sáez del Álamo 1999 and Lechner 2001). If phrasal comparatives have clausal syntax, one single unified semantic analysis would work for both reduced and unreduced comparatives (see Heim 1985 and Bhatt and Takahashi 2011 for discussion). Furthermore, under the plausible assumption that the comparative marker *más*/*-er* is a degree quantifier that takes the *que*/*than*-clause as an argument, the lack of adjacency between those two elements in certain examples has been explained as the result of extraposition of the latter element (Bresnan 1973 and Heim 2000, a.o.; see Kennedy 1999, a.o. for an alternative view).
4. A PP analysis has also been put forward for (i), under the second interpretation (Plann 1984, Sáez del Álamo 1990, a.o.):
(i) Mariano ha tenido mejores profesores que Sánchez y Rodríguez.
Mariano has had better teachers than Sánchez and Rodríguez
Clausal interpretation: 'Mariano has had better teachers than Sánchez and Rodríguez have had.'
PP-interpretation: 'Mariano has had teachers who are better than Sánchez and Rodríguez.'

(4) a. Compró más revistas que libros.
bought more magazines than books
'He/she bought more magazines tan books.'

a'. Compró [$_{DegP}$ [$_{Spec}$ Ø$_i$] [$_{Deg'}$ [$_{Deg'}$ más [$_{QP}$ t$_i$ [$_{SN}$ revistas]]] [$_{PP}$ que [$_{QP}$ Ø libros]]]]

b. Compró más revistas que tú.
bought more magazines than you
'He/she bought more magazines than you.'

b'. Compró [$_{DegP}$ [$_{Spec}$ Ø$_i$] [$_{Deg'}$ [$_{Deg'}$ más [$_{QP}$ t$_i$ [$_{SN}$ revistas]]] [$_{ForceP}$ que ~~[$_{FocP}$ [$_{Spec}$ Ø revistas]] compraste$_v$~~ [$_{TP}$ tú$_j$ t$_v$ [$_{SV}$ t$_j$ t$_v$ t$_i$]]]]]

In contrast, Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1994: 21) assumes a base-generation analysis only for cases where the comparative morpheme, e.g., *más*, modifies a noun or an adjective:

(5) Una novela más divertida que inspirada
a novel more fun than inspired
'a novel that is more fun to read than well-written'

According to this researcher, the reduced clause analysis applies elsewhere.

In turn, Sáez del Álamo (1992, 1999) argues for a base-generation analysis where *que* is a coordinator (see also Napoli and Nespor 1986, a.o.; see Brucart 2003 for a review of Sáez del Álamo's proposal; see Lechner 2001 for an updated version of the coordination analysis where the extraposition of the *than*-XP establishes a comparative coordination which is obligatorily undone in the semantic component yielding the effect of semantic subordination).

In contrast to these proposals, the current research links the availability of both the reduced clause and the prepositional analyses of PC-que to dialectal variation. Specifically, this paper discusses novel data from Chilean Spanish that suggest the coexistence of both the reduced clause analysis and the PP analysis in this variety, in contrast to SS where only the former analysis is found. Data were gathered by means of a grammaticality judgment task. Section 3 discusses the analysis of PC-que in SS, whereas section 4 focuses on Non-Standard Chilean Spanish (NSCSp).

2. PC-*que*s in Standard Spanish

The goal of this section is to introduce the main features of PC-ques in SS. No attempt will be made to decide between the reduced clause analysis and the coordination analysis. The emphasis will be put on ruling out a base-generation prepositional analysis, an issue that will be relevant when analyzing microvariation in the structures under discussion.

2.1. Some arguments against the base-generated PP analysis[5]

First, more than one remnant may survive ellipsis, as long as the remnants are focused, as seen in (6) where the two remnants clearly are not a constituent. In fact, unelided counterparts of PC-ques are attested as well, provided that the material in the *que*-XP does not constitute old information (e.g., Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1994: 25, among many others; see Reglero 2007 for detailed discussion; example taken from Price 1990), (7), an observation that applies as well to other ellipsis contexts, e.g., Sluicing (Merchant 2001, a.o.).

(6) Pedro es inteligente y María amable.
Pedro is intelligent and María friendly
'Pedro is intelligent and María is friendly.'

(7) Mi padre vende más libros que discos compra mi madre.
my father sells more books than records buys my mother
'My father sells more books than my mother buys records.'

This suggests that the PC-que construction is derivationally related to the full clause counterpart (see Lechner 2001 for recent discussion; see Hankamer 1973 or Napoli 1983 for divergent views on this issue).

Similarly, the *que*-XP may host a temporal adverb different from the main clause, a fact that suggests that it has tense specification:[6]

(8) Hoy Jorge comió más que Pedro ayer.
today Jorge ate more than Pedro yesterday
'Today, Jorge ate more than Pedro did yesterday.'

The ellipsis remnant shows the connectivity effects typically seen in non-elliptical sentential environments. E.g., in (9) the correlate needs to bear a preposition consistent with the lexical entry of the verb as opposed to a dummy preposition such as *de* 'of', in keeping with the idea that it has originated from a full-fledged sentential structure (Merchant 2001, a.o.):[7]

5. Note that I am not committed to excluding a base-generation PP analysis in other subcases of phrasal comparatives such as (2) or the ones discussed by Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1994) and Brucart (2003) (see section 1).
6. As noted by an anonymous reviewer, the fact that no tense mismatches are tolerated, provides further evidence that the category affected by ellipsis is at least TP as opposed to vP or any smaller category (see Saab 2010: 92 for discussion on the size of ellipsis):
   (i) *Hoy Jorge comió más que Pedro mañana.
   today Jorge ate more than Pedro tomorrow
   'Today, Jorge ate more than Pedro will eat tomorrow.'
7. See Pinkham (1982) for an LF-copying approach as opposed to an ellipsis or PF-deletion approach; see also Chung et al (1995) for a closely-related approach to prototypical ellipsis constructions such as Sluicing.

(9) Ayer se peleó con Pedro más gente que con /*de/*para Juan.
yesterday REFL fought with Pedro more people that with of for Juan
'Yesterday more people fought with Pedro than with Juan.'

Furthermore, *que* can take a PP, that is to say, an element that does not need Case, as a complement, (9), in contrast to what the base-generation prepositional analysis of PC-que would predict.

Additionally, unlike English, the Spanish comparative particle is homophonous with complementizer *que*, a fact that lends indirect support to the reduced clausal analysis.

(10) Faustino dijo *que* Nuncia es inteligente.
Faustino said that Nuncia is intelligent
'Faustino said that Nuncia is intelligent.'

While there are a number of different functions *que* can realize in the syntactic structure, its prepositional use is unattested – even if complementizers are known to have a close relation with prepositions (see Emonds 1985, van Riemsdijk 1978 and Kayne 2004; see also section 1 for discussion).[8]

Case morphology, which is overt in the pronominal system of the language, provides evidence against the prepositional analysis in phrasal comparatives.[9] As expected, the Case of the remnant is determined by its function in the clause, (1), repeated here.

(11) Pedro es más inteligente que *yo* / **mí* / **me* ~~soy inteligente~~.
Pedro is more intelligent than 1SG.NOM 1.SG.PREP 1.SG.ACC am intelligent

While *me* is a clitic, a fact that introduces an interfering factor when accounting for the data in (11), that observation does not explain the ungrammaticality of the counterpart which includes the pronoun with prepositional phrase Case (PP-Case) *mí*.

To sum up, a number of arguments in favor of the clausal ellipsis and/or the coordination analysis of PC-que have been put forward. This means that SS does not have prepositional comparatives, that is to say, truly phrasal comparatives, in the context under discussion.[10]

8. As noted in Section 1, the reduced clause analysis and the coordination analysis are not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, connectivity effects and other properties discussed in this section would also follow from a coordination analysis of comparatives. In fact, *que* seems to be used as a pseudo-coordination conjunction in expressions as (i) where the use of *que* as opposed to the coordinator *y* 'and' entails a certain amount of criticism:

   (i) Esta gente, todo el día come que /y come.
   these people all the day eats that and eats
   'These people eat all day long.'

9. Within the pronominal paradigm of Spanish only the 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns exhibit the Nominative vs PP-Case contrast at the phonetic level. Hence, I concentrate on those two forms throughout the discussion whenever Case properties are relevant.

10. For discussion of a number of arguments against an ellipsis approach to phrasal comparatives and some possible counterarguments, see Lechner (2001) and Merchant (2009).

3. PC-*que*s in Non-Standard Chilean Spanish

The goal of this section is to analyze PC-ques in NSCSp. Section 3.1 deals with the history of Spanish comparatives, which suggests the existence of prepositional *que* (Romero Cambrón 1998). Section 3.2 presents the methodology used to gather the data. Section 3.3 presents the results arguing that prepositional comparatives are available in this variety. Section 3.4 analyzes the differences between SS and NSCSp in the context of current proposals on microvariation. Section 3.5 presents issues for future research.

3.1. On the history of comparative structures in Spanish

A first hint concerning the prepositional nature of *que* can be found in the history of Spanish. Specifically, Romero Cambrón (1998; her data) shows that the use of the preposition *de* in phrasal comparatives was increasingly replaced by *que* starting in the 15th century. In fact, the variation was so prevalent that in certain documents both options are found in the same sentence:

(12) Qui es mas dulce *que* la miel o qual mas fuerte *de*l leon?
what is more sweet than the honey or which more strong than-the lion
'What is sweet than honey or which one is stronger than the lion?'
[Fazienda de Ultramar, 209]

According to Romero Cambrón, the *que* version does not substitute the previous *de* version, but rather the data shows the continuity between both structures. That is to say, for Romero Cambrón, cases with *que* include a prepositional coda at least at a certain stage in development. In particular, she argues for the adoption of the comparative marker which was «more generic in the comparisons [*que*], maybe because of a process of analogy, at a time when *de* was increasingly felt to be the comparative particle specific to the «comparison of magnitudes», present in *más de dos* 'more than two', *más de lo que debe*, 'more than he/she should', *más de lo debido* 'more than it is pertinent» (Romero Cambrón 1998: 87; my translation).

Nonetheless, Romero Cambrón notes the paradoxical absence of prepositional Case on the complement of *que* when presenting the prepositional analysis of Sáez del Álamo (1990), an absence also noted by Piera (1983), Plann (1984), Price (1990) or Reglero (2007) when developing a synchronic analysis of SS (see also (11)).

(13) mejor que tú / *ti *Standard Spanish*
better than 2.SG.NOM 2.SG.PREP
'Better than you'

In contrast, the data included in this research supports the prepositional analysis for NSCSp in that the ungrammatical pattern in SS in (13) is indeed attested in that variety. If true, that pattern is the intermediate link or state between the original

prepositional comparatives with *de* and the phrasal *que*-comparatives, namely, a prepositional *que*-XP.

3.2. Methodology

Initial attempts to study NSCSp revealed the stigmatization of the structure, in that speakers who used it in naturalistic speech, consistently rejected the non-standard patterns in informal grammaticality judgment tasks. Furthermore, no cases were documented in newspapers or magazines and only relatively few cases were documented from other sources. E.g., the following examples were found in a movie, (14a), and on the internet using *Google* (www.google.com), (14b,c):[11]

(14) a. Yo actúo mejor que ti.
I perform better than 2.SG.PREP
'I am a better actor than you.'
[example from the Chilean film *Mitómana*]

b. Tiene solo 9 años y sabe peliar mas que ti.
has only 9 years and knows fight more than 2.SG.PREP
'He is 9 years old and he knows how to fight better than you.'
[Video title on the web www.quechimba.com]

c. Por que llorar x ti mientras hay 1.000 personas mas
why cry for 2.SG.PREP while there are 1.000 persons more
que ti en este mundo
than 2.SG.PREP in this world
'Why should one cry for you if there are 1.000 people other than you in this world?'
[Facebook community]

11. The national origin of the web contents could not be verified. It is hypothesized that the usage of PP-Case is found in other countries. E.g., the following example was documented by the author in naturalistic speech of Honduras:

(i) Conocieron más que mí.
visited more than 2.SG.PREP
'You visited more places than I did.'

A search in the *Corpus diacrónico del español* (CORDE) revealed the productive use of PP-Case in PC-ques in the *Biblia de Ferrara* (1553), (ii.), whereas a search in the *Corpus de referencia del español actual* (CREA) returned one single case, (iii.):

(ii) ... siete gentes, muchas y fuertes mas que ti
seven people many and strong more than 2.SG.PREP
[Párrafo 5, Anónimo, Biblia de Ferrara, Moshe Lazar, Laberinthos, Culver City 1992]

(iii) Me encontré con un hombre mucho mayor que mí.
me found with a man much older than 1.SG.PREP
'I found myself with a man who was much older than me.'
[Párrafo 2, Hablando con Gemma, Telemadrid, 20/11/96 Spain]

As a result a large scale questionnaire was developed to be able to elicit judgments from a larger population in a less time-consuming and more effective manner. In particular, a grammaticality judgment task was designed in order to gather negative data that an observational study or a corpus study could not provide. 30 students (29 females and 1 male) from the Universidad San Sebastián de Osorno participated voluntarily in a grammaticality judgment task which included the most important data points in order to analyze the comparative structures of both SS and NSCSp.[12]

The questionnaire consisted of an indirect grammaticality judgment task combined with a scale followed by a sentence completion task. With regard to the indirect grammaticality judgment task, it was indirect in the sense that instead of asking subjects whether a specific sentence was good in their dialect, a methodology that can lead speakers to use the most prestigious forms as opposed to the more representative ones (see Labov 1972), speakers were asked whether they could encounter the sentence in their dialect, be it in their own speech or in the speech of their friends and relatives (see Barbiers and Cornips 2000 and papers in that volume). This task was combined with a scale. Specifically, speakers could choose between three options (*yes* / *I am not sure* / *no*).[13] Sentences included, for instance, both the standard and the non-standard pattern:

(15) a. Pedro es más inteligente que *yo*.
Pedro is more intelligent than 1.SG.NOM

b. Pedro es más inteligente que *mí*.
Pedro is more intelligent than 1.SG.PREP

Additionally, a sentence completion task was included. Specifically, certain properties of the subject were compared to another person so that the subject would have to use a pronoun, e.g., either *yo* or *mí* in (16), when completing the sentences:

12. The questionnaire was administered in a classroom setting, so it was not possible to exclude the male participant. Given that the questionnaire was not intended to unveil the link between certain linguistic usages and social variables, this sample was considered adequate for our research goals.
13. While the use of an indirect grammaticality judgment task is well-justified given the object of research, such tasks conflate to a certain degree the notion of acceptability with the notion of familiarity. In particular, if a speaker is unfamiliar with a specific syntactic variant, that variant is absent from his/her grammar and it is, therefore, ungrammatical. The reverse is not necessarily true: the fact that a given speaker is familiar with a certain form, might not necessarily mean that this form is part of his/her grammar. This, in principle, could pose a problem when interpreting the results. However, the sistematicity in the data concerning the predictions of the syntactic analysis can be taken as an indication that speakers did not only make use of the notion of familiarity, but indeed, acceptability. I thank M. Yoshida for discussion of this issue. Furthermore, since the purpose of the questionnaire was to gather syntactic data a small scale was used in contrast to a 5-point Likert scale frequently used in psycholinguistic research.

(16) Sentence completion task

Usted Luisa
You Luisa

Question: ¿Quién es más pequeño de los dos?
who is more small out-of the two
'Who is smaller?'

Answer: Luisa es más pequeña que _____
Luisa is more small than
'Luisa is smaller than _____.'

The sentence completion task was included to further observe the linguistic behavior of the subjects when given the opportunity to use the language as opposed to only evaluating sentences. Furthermore, it is a task that closely resembles an exam format – even more so than the grammaticality judgment task. As a consequence, speakers were expected to perceive it as a rather formal situation. Thus, the sentence completion task was expected to provide evidence for any link between the grammatical usage of PC-que and the choice style.

3.3. Prepositional Case on the complement of que

30 subjects rated examples of PC-ques including 1st person and 2nd person singular pronouns bearing either Nominative or PP-Case. The standard pattern clearly was judged grammatical (Mean = 3.0 (SD = 0)) in contrast to the PP-Case pattern (Mean = 1.45 (SD = 0.851). Still, a number of speakers judged the PP-Case pattern as grammatical and it is the grammar of these speakers that I will be analyzing. The following table includes the percentage of speakers who accepted PC-ques with a Nominative and a PP-Case pronoun, respectively, be it a 1st person or 2nd person singular pronoun.

(17)

Table 1. Percentage of speakers who accepted Nominative Case or PP-Case on the pronominal remnant in the PC-que construction

Case of the remnant	%
Nominative Case	100
PP-Case	33.3

As can be seen, while all speakers accepted the standard pattern in (18), 1/3rd of the subjects also accepted PC-ques with PP-Case on the pronominal remnant, (19) (the number of speakers who accepted each example out of the 30 subjects is included throughout):

(18) Pedro es más inteligente que yo. 30/30
Pedro is more intelligent than 1.SG.NOM
'Pedro is more intelligent than me.'

(19) Pedro es más inteligente que mí. 9/30[14]
Pedro is more intelligent than 1.SG.PREP

Therefore, the questionnaire succeeded in documenting the availability of prepositional comparatives in the community even in such homogeneous sample, as suggested by the history of Spanish. Crosslinguistic variation provides further support for the availability of the prepositional analysis (see section 2.1). E.g., in English, evidence for the prepositional nature of *than* comes from the fact that it can be stranded in phrasal comparatives, just like a preposition (Hankamer 1973), (20), and from the Case properties of the complement of *than*, which shows PP-Case, (21):

(20) a. Who$_x$ are you taller than t$_x$? *Comparative*
b. What$_x$ did you look at t$_x$? *P-Stranding*

(21) a. Peter is more intelligent than *me*. *Comparative*
b. She bought this for *me*. *PP-Case*

A number of data points relevant to the exact analysis of NSCSp were included in the questionnaire. Specifically, the prepositional Case analysis in English has been called into question, among other reasons, because the Case morphology of the pronoun can be found in other contexts, e.g., in coordinate structures, hanging topic constructions, or Gapping. This state of affairs suggests an analysis in terms of Default Case (see Lechner 2001 and Schütze 2001, a.o.):

(22) a. Peter and *me* ... *Coordination*
b. *Me*, I would .... *Hanging Topic*
c. John is eager to meet them, and me too. *Gapping*
[Lechner (2001: 728)][15]

14. The 1st person singular pronoun was the first case of PP-Case found in the questionnaire. The fact that the very first example of NSCSp had such a high acceptance rate provides evidence that this result is not a task effect, e.g., a habituation effect whereby acceptability scores increase after repeated exposure to a structure.
15. In the unelided counterpart of Gapping, the subject receives Nominative Case, in contrast to the ellipsis structure (Lechner 2001: 728):
(i) John is eager to meet them and I / *me am eager to meet them, too.

Crucially, this explanation is not available to explain the Chilean paradigm as Nominative is the Default Case in Spanish (Casielles 2006, a.o.) irrespective of the variety: the structures in (23a) and (23b) were included in the questionnaire and all subjects uniformly rejected the PP-Case version, thus providing evidence against the view that PP-Case might be the Default Case in this variety. In turn, (23c) was only tested with a limited number of speakers, but the results point in the same direction:

(23) a. Pedro y *yo* / **mí* *Coordination* 30/30
Pedro and 1.SG.NOM 1.SG.PREP
'Pedro and me'

b. *Yo* / **mí*, parece que tengo la culpa.
1.SG.NOM 1.SG.PREP seems that have.1.SG the blame
'As to me, it seems that I am the one to blame.'

Left-Dislocation 30/30

c. John está ansioso por conocerlos, y yo / *mí también
John is eager to meet-them and 1.SG.NOM 1.SG.PREP too.
'John is eager to meet them and me, too.'

Gapping

Furthermore, within the base-generated PP analysis only one remnant may appear in the structure. It is therefore predicted than when the syntactic context forces the presence of a full-fledge structure, e.g., by the presence of multiple remnants, the Case of the remnant will coincide with the Case of the antecedent for speakers of both SS and NSCSp, that is to say, for all subjects. The prediction is borne out. In (24) the presence of a second remnant shows that we are not dealing with a phrasal comparative, but that there is more (null) structure, (24b). All the subjects rejected the PP-Case counterpart, in favor of the standard pattern where the pronoun receives Nominative Case.

(24) a. Juan compró más libros que *yo* / **mí* películas. 30/30
Juan bought more books than 1.SG.NOM 1.SG.PREP movies.
'The number of books Juan bought is bigger than the number of movies I bought.'

b. Juan compró más libros que *yo*/**mí* películas$_x$ compré t$_x$.

From these judgments one can infer that the *que*–XP includes a full clause in (24), not just a base-generated pronoun. Again this is what the view that prepositional *que* is available in NSCSp predicts, as this kind of *que* is banned from (24). A Default Case analysis of PC-ques in NSCSp, on the other hand, would apply a priori in such a context unless stipulated otherwise.[16]

16. PPs have been argued to be movable in contrast to the conjuncts of a coordination or CPs (see Napoli 1983 or Romero Cambrón 1998:73, a.o.). As expected, (i) is ungrammatical in SS:

Most importantly, the uniform behavior of the subjects when judging (23) or (24) in contrast to the judgments concerning the PC-que construction provides evidence that the acceptance of the latter structure by a percentage of the subjects is not an artifact of the methodology – subjects are not giving judgments on the basis of interpretability or familiarity as opposed to grammaticality (see n. 14) or else such asymmetry in the results would remain unexplained. It seems, therefore, to be the case that in NSCSp PC-ques the pronouns receive PP-Case. Given the synchronic data discussed by Romero Cambrón (1998), *que* is the most likely candidate to be the Case assigner. If true, this means *que* in PC-ques in NSCSp is not a coordinator.[17]

3.3.1. The idiosyncratic nature of que *in NSCSp*

If indeed the idiosyncratic property of *que* is what underlies the pattern in NSCSp, it is predicted that other comparative particles should not allow for DPs with PP-Case (unless the comparative marker is clearly a preposition, e.g., *de* in (2a)). Indeed, the prediction is borne out. To test this pattern, a comparative of equality with a comparative marker other than *que* was included in the questionnaire. All subjects agreed with the judgment reported below, which rejects PP-Case, as expected:

(25) Pablo come tanto como yo / *ti. 30/30
Pablo eats as-much as 1.SG.NOM 2.SG.PREP
'Pablo eats as much as I do.'

Furthemore, while I have restricted the discussion to PC-ques of inequality for the sake of simplicity, speakers of NSCSp also accept PC-ques of equality with PP-Case on the pronoun as expected if indeed *que* is available as a preposition in this variety.

(i) ?Que yo, Pedro es más inteligente. *Standard Spanish*
than 1.SG.NOM Pedro is more intelligent

If true, one would predict that the variant of (i.) with PP-Case should be grammatical for speakers of NSCSp. Nonetheless, this data point was not included in the questionnaire because even PP-comparatives are not movable under certain conditions in Spanish (e.g., Sáez del Álamo 1999:1138):

(i) a. Juan leyó más de 500 libros.
Juan read more of 500 books
'Juan read more than 500 books.'

b. *De 500 libros, Juan leyó más.

Therefore, it is not clear that this criterion can draw the line between the competing analyses at least in Spanish.

17. Merchant (2009) shows that phrasal comparatives with PP-Case remnants are island-sensitive in Greek, a fact that leads him to suggests that those remnants originate within a full clause that undergoes deletion. The remnant escapes ellipsis by raising into SpecPP, that is to say, into the Spec of the comparative marker. In that position, the remnant receives prepositional Case which determines its morphological realization (see Merchant 2009 for details as well as other alternatives). At present, no data from the island-sensitivity of PC-ques in NSCSp is available and, therefore, I abstract away from this option, leaving it for future research. Still, the fact that the number of remnants determines the availability of PP-Case in NSCSp a priori is at odds with this analysis (though see Lin 2009 for relevant discussion).

(26) Pablo es igual que mí. 9/30
Pablo is equal than me
'Pablo and I are the same.'

This contrasts with the standard variety which would use Nominative Case in this context.[18]

3.3.2. PC-ques with non-pronominal objects in NSCSp

While only pronouns where tested to be able to see their Case properties, we assume that PP-Case is also assigned in PC-ques including a single full DP or any pronoun which does not exhibit the Nominative vs PP-Case contrast at the phonetic level, e.g. (3a), when used in NSCSp. Still, while the PP analysis for nominal codas in PC-ques is fairly straightforward, questions arise as to the exact analysis of PC-ques involving a PP complement (other than the *que*-XP itself), (27), or an adverbial – after all PPs and adverbs do not need to receive Case (see Napoli 1983 or Merchant 2009: 138, a.o., for this same point).

(27) Ayer se peleó con Pedro más gente que con Juan.
yesterday REFL fought with Pedro more people that with Juan
'Yesterday more people fought with Pedro than with Juan.'

The previous discussion has shown that all speakers of Chilean Spanish have the reduced clausal ellipsis analysis available in their grammars (see the uniform acceptance of (18) and the pattern in (24). Therefore, I adopt the reduced clausal analysis (or the coordinative conjunction analysis) for (27) for speakers of both SS and NSCSp.

3.3.3. Sentence completion task

Sentence completion tasks, by their very nature, do not provide evidence regarding the grammaticality of a certain expression, but rather the preference subjects have for a particular linguistic variant. All subjects used the standard pattern, avoiding the non-standard one. Inasmuch as sentence completion tasks are formal, almost exam-like, this shows a certain degree of stylistic awareness, particularly because the NSCSp variant was attested both in naturalistic speech and in the indirect grammaticality judgment task.

3.4. The grammar of SS vs. the grammar of NSCSp

Evidence in favor of the existence of prepositional phrasal comparatives introduced by *que* in NSCSp has been provided. In contrast, this structure has been argued to be absent in SS (standard Chilean Spanish and beyond; see section 2). Furthermore, all speakers of Spanish allow for the standard pattern of PC-ques where either the

18. A similar case found in naturalistic speech involves the comparative adverb *después* 'after':
(i) … después que ti.
after than you
'… later than you'.

reduced clause analysis or the coordination analysis applies irrespective of the variety they speak (as stated in section 2.1, the present research remains neutral as to the best analysis of the standard variety, while rejecting the PP analysis). This fits with Bhatt and Takahashi's (2007) view that UG may allow a language to interpret phrasal comparatives as reduced clauses or as base-generated PPs depending on the properties of the comparative marker. E.g., Japanese allows for both kinds of structures whereas Hindi-Urdu only allows for PP-comparatives.

As stated in fn 12, the questionnaire was not designed to study the link between linguistic variation and sociolinguistic variables –other than style–, but rather to develop a syntactic analysis of the structures. This style of analysis concords with Embick's (2008) claims that the question of whether there is a sociolinguistic effect on the distribution of variants, can be kept distinct from the study of the constructions under consideration. As a result of maintaining this sharp distinction between grammar and use, it becomes possible to understand variation in terms of competing grammars (e.g., Kroch 1989, a.o.) and the grammar does not have to be modified to accommodate variation.[19] For Spanish, this means that speakers using the non-standard pattern have two «grammars» available. Thus, syntactic variation would be restricted to the lexicon, specifically to the lexical entries of *que* available to the speakers (see Adger and Smith 2005), namely, a prepositional *que* and a complementizer *que*.[20] Within this view, the syntactic system gives the same semantic output with two distinct syntactic outputs.

3.5. A remaining issue: The feature person of the pronominal remnant

As presented in section 3.3, 10 speakers out of 30 used some form or other of PP-Case comparatives. Still, not all of them accepted both 1st and 2nd person pronouns. The following table details the distribution of usage:

(28)

Table 2. Acceptance rate of PC-ques with a pronominal remnant bearing PP-Case[1]

Grammatical person of the pronoun	%
1st person singular	30
2nd person singular	13.3

1. This table includes the results of speakers who either accepted or rejected the test sentences. In addition, one speaker had doubts concerning the grammaticality of the 2nd person singular PP-Case remnant, though he/she rejected the 1st person singular PP-Case remnant.

19. For related discussion see Bickerton (1971) and Henry (1995), where syntactic variation has been argued to result from multiple grammars or multiple parametric settings being available to the speakers, respectively. See Toribio (2000) for related discussion concerning the analysis of preverbal subjects in Dominican Spanish. See also Labov (1972), a.o., for the view that probabilities are built into the definition of grammatical rules.
20. Alternatively, it could be that *que* is a preposition in both SS and NSCSp, but only in the later variety would it have the ability to assign Case. I leave this issue for future research noting its relevance. I thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing this option to my attention.

Clearly, 1st person PP-Case is more common than 2nd person. Future research is needed to gain a better understanding of this pattern.

4. Conclusion

Microparametric variation concerning the syntax of phrasal comparatives introduced by *que* 'than' in Spanish has been unveiled. In particular, the grammar of non-standard Chilean Spanish has been shown to allow for both a prepositional analysis and a reduced clause analysis in that syntactic context, whereas standard Spanish only allows for the latter. Speakers of non-standard Chilean Spanish have two grammar available, where the source of the parametrization is arguably restricted to the lexicon (Adger and Smith 2005, a.o.,), namely, to the lexical entries available for *que*.

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The Right Periphery of Interrogatives in Catalan and Spanish: Syntax/Prosody Interactions*

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Abstract

It has been reported in the literature that interrogative sentences behave quite differently regarding subject-verb inversion in Spanish and Catalan: whereas the former allows 'classical' VS inversion, and particularly VSO, the latter systematically resorts to right-dislocation in all cases (V(O)#S). In this paper we scrutinize this observation from a corpus-based perspective, and including into the syntactic picture the prosodic and pragmatic features of interrogatives. We show that Catalan interrogatives clearly favor RD, in sharp contrast with Spanish, which favors in situ realization of background material. This latter option has important consequences for the prosodic patterns of Spanish interrogatives, which mark final focus constituents with a pitch rising and that final background material with a slight pitch fall.

Keywords: interrogative sentences; right-dislocation; inversion; information structure; prosody; Catalan; Spanish.

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1. Introduction

In his pioneering study of information packaging in Catalan and English (Vallduví 1992), Enric Vallduví challenged that the standard approach to Romance inversion (see Torrego 1984, Picallo 1984) could be applied to Catalan (fn. 72; see also Vallduví 2002: 4.1):

> In Catalan, as noted, subjects may also be VP final or right-detached. In Spanish there seems to exist a process of subject-verb inversion that places the subject between the verb and the direct object (cf. Torrego 1984). This operation is not available in Catalan (cf. Picallo (1984) for dissent: this might be due to dialectal difference).

As a rule, Catalan interrogative sentences resort to RD where languages like Spanish show inversion. This fact can be easily appreciated comparing the different solutions for the last line of the following dialogue from Chester Himes' *The Big Gold Dream* in the Catalan and the Spanish translation (see section 2.1 for detailed references):

(1) «He stole your savings and ran away with a woman and you don't know who she is,» he said incredulously.
«Nawsuh, I never knew,» she said.
«And you didn't do anything about it,» [he said sarcastically.]

(2) a. —I no hi va fer mai res, vostè?
and not LOC PST.3SG do never nothing you

b. —¿Y tampoco hizo usted nada?
and neither did.3SG you nothing

Here we can appreciate that whereas Catalan resorts to right-dislocation of the subject, Spanish favors the VSO inversion pattern (see Torrego 1984; Zubizarreta 1998; Ordóñez 1998, 2007; see also Picallo 1984 for a discordant view on the Catalan pattern). Moreover, as pointed out by Villalba and Mayol (2013: 95-96) (see also Mayol 2007: 212-213; Brunetti 2009: 4.2), Catalan use of right-dislocated subjects is pervasive, even in cases that one would expect dropping:

(3) a. Did you see it?

b. ¿L'has vist, tu?
it+have.2SG seen you

c. ¿Lo has visto?
it have.2SG seen

(4) a. Did you believe her?

b. ¿Te l'has creguda tu?
REFL.2SG her+have.2SG believed.F you

c. ¿Crees lo que ella dijo?
believe.2SG it that she said

Here the pronominal subject appears right-dislocated in Catalan, and is omitted in Spanish. This omission is fully expected given that the pronoun denotes a highly salient referent in subject position (see Ariel 1991 for a general proposal in which null pronouns are high accessibility markers and thus, retrieve the most salient antecedents; see also Mayol 2010, Mayol and Clark 2010 for Catalan and Gutiérrez-Bravo 2007 for Spanish).

Hence, one can conclude that whereas Spanish interrogatives resort to subject-verb inversion or dropping of the subject, Catalan tends to right-dislocate it. Even though intuitively appealing, this statement of the issue is too vague and impressionistic to be considered a valuable empirical generalization suggesting an underlying pattern of microparametric variation. Henceforth, in this article we aim at filling this gap by means of a full-range study of interrogative sentences focused on their relation with RD and subject placement, and on their prosodic and pragmatic features.

Our method will be a comparative study of Catalan and Spanish interrogatives from a syntactic, prosodic and pragmatic perspective. Moreover, following the methodological path initiated by Mayol (2007) (see also Villalba 2007, 2011; Villalba and Mayol 2013), we will work with a written corpus and, as a novelty, with an oral corpus as well (see Font 2008 for the importance of oral corpora in the study of prosody), for it will help us to assess the accuracy of previous studies of the issue. Moreover, the comparative perspective will provide us with a better insight on the less prominent differences arising in the word order patterns of interrogatives. We explain the methodology of the study in section 2. Then, in section 3, we will present the results, which will guide our discussion in section 4. Finally, section 5 will close the article with the main conclusions of our study and further research issues.

2. Methods

2.1. Data collection

2.1.1. Written corpus

In order to find the closest minimal pairs between Catalan and Spanish, we chose two translations of Chester Himes' romance *The Big Gold Dream* (Pegasus, reprint edition 2008, original publication date: 1960):

— Chester Himes *El gran somni daurat*, Catalan translation by Carme Gerones and Carles Urritz (Barcelona, Ed. 62, 1989).
— Chester Himes *El gran sueño de oro,* Spanish translation by Carlos Peralta (Barcelona, Editorial Bruguera, 1981)

The Catalan translation is a nice example of contemporary colloquial Catalan, which accurately reflects the popular lively dialogues of the original. In all the cases, page numbers correspond to the Catalan text quoted above, and the English translations of examples are from Chester Himes' original.

The Catalan text included 45 interrogative sentences with a right-dislocate, which corresponded to 43 interrogative sentences in the Spanish translation (2 Catalan sentences had no proper equivalent in the Spanish version).

2.1.2. Oral corpus

In order to explore the prosody of Catalan and Spanish interrogatives, the 45 interrogative Catalan sentences, and the 43 Spanish correlates were recorded by two native speakers with linguistic training with the open source phonetic software PRAAT (Boersma and Weenink 2010). Both informants read the sentences in a broad context and were allowed to rehearse their performance to fit their interpretation of the text.

All items were analyzed also with PRAAT to obtain their spectrograms and pitch contours (see 2.2.2).

2.2. Variables studied

2.2.1. Syntax

The syntactic variables considered were the following:

— Catalan Question type (C-Q-type): yes/no vs. wh-
— Catalan Question form (C-Q-form):
  – For total interrogatives: zero/*that*
  – For partial interrogatives: *who/what/when/where/how/why*
— Catalan Right-dislocate function (C-RD-function): subj/DO/IO/prep/locative
— Catalan subject position: zero/RD/SV/VS/VSO
— Spanish Question type (E-Q-type): yes/no vs. wh-
— Spanish Question form (E-Q-form):
  – For total interrogatives: zero
  – For partial interrogatives: *who/what/when/where/how/why*
— Spanish realization of Catalan Right-dislocate (S-RD-realization): zero/in situ/LD/not available
— Spanish subject position: zero/RD/SV/VS/VSO

For the sake of clarity, consider one example and its coding (the right-dislocate is marked in boldface and the interrogative element in italics):

(5) a. —I *què* hi feia, **a casa de Clayborne**? —preguntà tot astut el sergent.

b. —¿Y *qué estaba haciendo en casa de Clayborne? —insinuó inteligentemente el sargento.*

c. «What was he doing at Clayborne's house?» the sergeant slipped in cleverly.

Table 1. Coding of item 5

#	C-Q-type	C-Q-form	C-RD-function	C-S-position	E-Q-type	E-Q-form	E-RD-real	E-S-position
5	partial	what	loc	zero	partial	what	in situ	zero

All the coding related to the interrogative type and form, and the RD function was pretty obvious, and we followed standard practice. As for the subject position, zero meant subject drop, and when the subject was phonologically realized, we marked its position relative to the verb and the object, if present. In the case at hand, the subject was null in both languages.

Finally, concerning the Spanish realization of the right-dislocated constituent in Catalan, the options considered where very few: leaving aside very few cases where the Spanish version was too different to allow comparison, Spanish resorted to in situ realization, as in the example in (5) above, to null or overt pronouns (zero), as in (6) or to left-dislocation, as in (7).

(6) a. —Cago en dena! —exclamà en Sugar, de mala bava—. ¿I no se'n va al llit, **vostè**?

b. —Demonios —dijo con maldad—. ¿Por qué no se va a la cama?

c. «Hell,» Sugar said evilly. «Why don't you go to bed.»

(7) a. —Què ve a ser, això? —preguntà ella.

b. —Y eso, ¿para qué es? —preguntó.

c. «What is that for?» she asked.

2.2.2. Prosody

The oral corpus was analyzed with the *Melodic Analysis of Speech* method (MAS), developed by Cantero (2002) and Cantero and Font (2009). MAS divides the melodic contour into the following melodic elements (see Figure 1):

— *anacrusis*: tonal segments preceding the first peak;
— *first peak*: initial prominence, which usually corresponds to the first stressed vowel or the unstressed vowel following it;
— *body*: tonal segments between the first peak and the last stressed vowel of the contour;
— *nucleus*: last stressed vowel (vowel with syntagmatic accent);
— *final inflection* (FI): tonal segments between the nucleus and the right-boundary of the contour.

The acoustic properties of these elements allow us to define the particular melodic contour of utterances for any sentence type.

To determine the relevant acoustic parameters of MAS, we obtained the F_0 value of each vowel in Hertz, using *PRAAT* analysis software (Boersma and

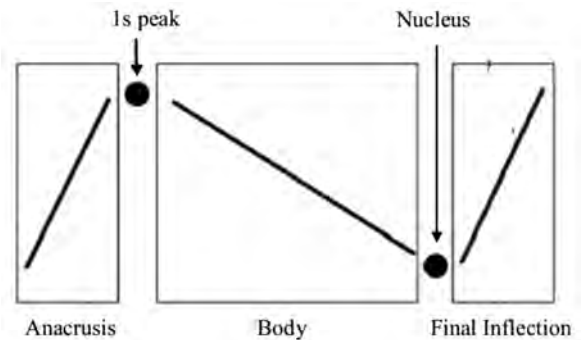


Figure 1. Melodic segments.

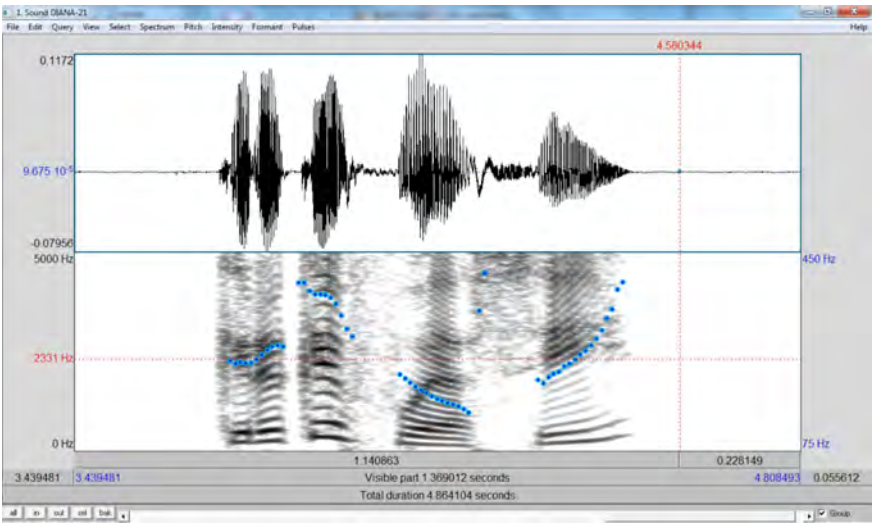


Figure 2. Waveform, spectrogram and melodic contour of Spanish sentence *¿Cree que fue así?* 'Do you think it went this way?' with PRAAT analysis software.

Weenink 2010; see Figure 2). As for the final inflection, we calculated values from the beginning of the stressed vowel of nucleus until the end of the pitch contour.

However the pitch values obtained by acoustic analysis were not the contour melody, because MAS does not conceive melody as a succession of absolute pitch values, but rather as a succession of relative values (intervals) expressed as ratings (%) of pitch variation regarding the previous F_0 value. Finally, we convert the percentage values into standard values, assigning the arbitrary value 100 to the first, as detailed in the following table:

Table 2. Example of conversion of absolute pitch values into standard values

Utterance	¿Cre	e	que	fue	a	sí?	sí?*
Pitch (Hz)	241	273	370	216	147	207	376
Percentages	100%	13,3%	35,5%	-41,6%	-31,9%	40,8%	81,6%
Standard values	100	113	154	90	61	86	156

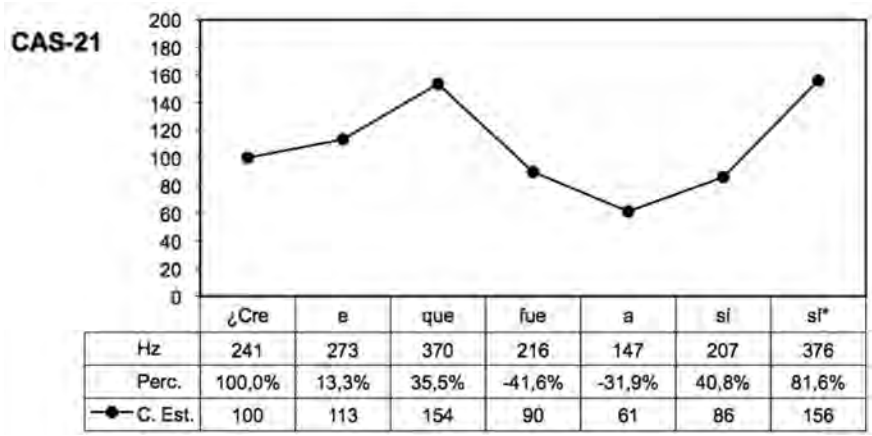
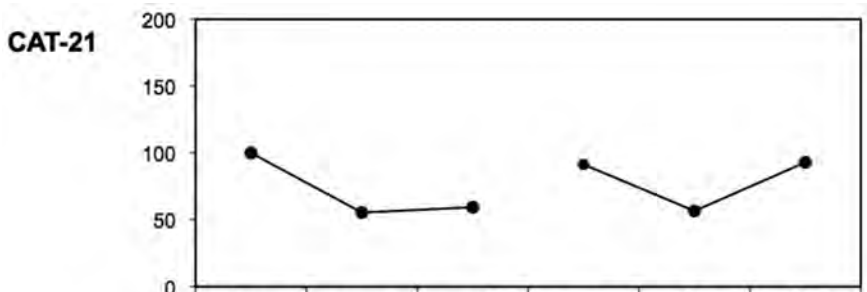


Figure 3. Standard melodic curve of Spanish utterance *¿Cree que fue así?* 'Do you think it went this way?'

With these standard values, we can draw graphic representations (standard curves) of the melody contourns of each utterance (see Figure 3), which allow us to compare utterances regardless of the gender and age of speakers, for these variables affecting pitch values are filtered out in the transformation into standard values.

The MAS standard curves are thus a particularly well-suited method to build idealized melodic contours describing the major intonation features for each type of interrogative sentence (see subsection 3.2).

A final methodological caveat is needed. In this work, we divided standard curves of Catalan interrogatives into two phonic groups: the main sentence (PhG1) and the right-dislocate (PhG2) (see Figure 4). Even though, this is an innovation regarding previous work in the MAS framework (since no specific attention was paid to dislocates), this dual intonational phrasing of utterances involving a right-dislocate has proven to be empirically adequate for Catalan by Prieto (2002), and Feldhausen (2010: ch. 5).



	S'ho	creu,	creu,*	vos	tè?	tè?*
Hz	256	142	152	234	145	238
Perc.	100,0%	-44,5%	7,0%	53,9%	-38,0%	64,1%
C. Est.	100	55	59	91	57	93

Figure 4. Standard melodic curve of Catalan sentence *S'ho creu, vostè?* 'Do you believe it?' (You believe her? in Himes' original).

2.2.3. Pragmatics

Our study of the pragmatics of interrogatives followed the typology of Escandell Vidal (1999: 61.4-5), from which we took five categories: questions, confirmations, requests, exclamative interrogatives, and rhetoric questions. Let us briefly present each type.

The prototypical function of interrogatives as QUESTIONS is self-evident: they are used for obtaining some information.

(8) a. Què vols per sopar?
what want.2SG for dinner
'What do you want for dinner?'

b. Tens gana?
have.2SG hunger
'Are you hungry?'

Secondly, we included CONFIRMATION as a separated category from standard questions, even though a close one. The following Spanish example provides us with a clear case:

(9) —Sabes que también han matado al judío, ¿verdad?
know.2SG that also have.3PL killed to-the jew true
'You know the Jew has been killed, too?'

The third category was REQUEST, as in the following case from the Spanish translation:

(10) ¿Por qué no se va a la cama?
for what not REFL go.3SG to the bed
'Why don't you go to bed?'

The fourth category included EXCLAMATIVE INTERROGATIVES, namely interrogatives that convey a surprising attitude of the speaker toward a fact that is common knowledge. For instance, in a context where the hearer just entered the room, the following interrogative about this obvious fact gets a surprise interpretation:

(11) Ja has tornat?
already have.2SG came back
'You already came back!'

The last category considered was RHETORIC QUESTIONS, understood in the standard sense of interrogative sentences implicating the truth of the equivalent asserted sentence with inverted polarity. Hence, the following interrogative (12a) conveys the assertion in (12b):

(12) a. Que ho sabia jo, que eren polis?
that it knew.1SG I that be.3PL cops
'How did I know you was the cops?'

b. Jo no sabia que eren polis.
I not knew.1SG that be.3PL cops
'I didn't know they were cops.'

3. Results

3.1. Syntax

3.1.1. Interrogative form

The Catalan translation contained 45 interrogatives with a RD, of which the 60% (27 occurrences) were wh-questions, and the 40% (18 occurrences) were yes-no questions. In the case of wh-questions, the most common wh-words were *com* 'how' (10 occurrences, 37.04%) and *què* 'what' (8 occurrences, 29.63%); see Table 3 for details. In the case of yes/no questions, there was an overwhelming preference for not including any marker (13 occurrences, 72.22%), and a small amount of cases with the interrogative marker *que* 'that' (5 occurrences, 27.77%).

The Spanish version maintained the proportions (2 occurrences were discarded for their Spanish translation was not comparable with the Catalan translation, hence the 43 items): it contained 29 wh-interrogatives (66.44%) and 14 yes/no interrogatives (32.55%), and the most common wh-words were *cómo* 'how' (14 occurrences, 48.27%) and *qué* 'what' (7 occurrences, 24.13%). In the case of yes/no questions, Spanish included no interrogative marker.

Table 3. Frequency distribution of Catalan wh-words

wh-word	#	%
com 'how'	10	37.04
què 'what'	8	29.63
qui 'who'	3	11.11
on 'where'	2	7.41
quan 'when'	2	7.41
per què 'why'	1	3.70
quin 'which'	1	3.70
Total	**27**	**397**

3.1.2. Right-dislocate

The 45 interrogative sentences included 21 occurrences of direct object RD (46.66%), 18 subject RD (40%), 4 locative RD (8.8%), 1 indirect object RD (2.22%) and 1 selected prepositional complement RD (2.22%); see Table 4 for a detailed distribution:

When we considered the Spanish equivalents of Catalan RD, a clear strong preference was found for *in situ* realization in both yes/no and wh-interrogatives (52.94% and 57.69%, respectively), followed by dropping of the subject (35.29% and 15.38%, respectively). Moreover, subject inversion was only marginally present in yes/no interrogatives (5.88%), and in a small amount in wh-interrogatives (11.54%).

The Spanish realizations of Catalan RD were also coded for grammatical function, yielding two clear patterns. On the one hand, when the Catalan RD was a subject, Spanish preferred subject omission in the 10 of the 17 cases; on the other hand, when the dislocate was a complement (direct and indirect objects, and selected PPs), Spanish strongly preferred *in situ* realization: 21 of 23 occurrences). This preference was found for locatives as well: all 3 cases showed an in situ realization. The full frequency distribution is displayed in Table 6.

Table 4. Frequency distribution of RD regarding syntactic function and type of interrogative

	yes/no	wh-	Totals	
	#	#	#	%
DO	8	13	21	46.66
Subject	8	10	18	40.00
Locative	0	4	4	8.80
IO	1	0	1	2.22
Prep	1	0	1	2.22
Totals	**18**	**27**	**45**	**99.90**

Table 5. Spanish realizations of Catalan RD

	yes/no		wh-	
	#	%	#	%
in situ	9	52.94	15	57.69
zero	6	35.29	4	15.38
pronoun	1	5.88	1	3.85
(CL)LD	0	0.00	3	11.54
VS(O)	1	5.88	3	11.54
Total	**17**	**396**	**26**	**397**

Table 6. Frequency distribution of Spanish realizations of Catalan RD across functions

	in situ		zero		LD		Totals	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
DO	19	63.33	1	9.09	1	50.00	21	48.83
SUBJ	6	20.00	10	90.90	1	50.00	17	39.53
LOC	3	10.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	6.97
IO	1	3.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.32
Prep	1	3.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.32
Total	**30**	**99.99**	**11**	**99.99**	**2**	**100**	**43**	**99.97**

3.1.3. Subject position

When we consider the realization of subjects, the contrast between Catalan and Spanish was very sharp: Catalan preferred RD (44.44%) and null subjects (37.77%), while Spanish overwhelmingly resorted to null subjects (72.09%). As for subject inversion, it was just a 6.6% in Catalan, and without complements (no VSO or VOS), whereas it is three times more frequent (18.59%) in Spanish.

The distribution is depicted even more clearly in Figure 5, where we represent the different solutions for each language, and all inversion cases are combined for the sake of comparison).

Table 7. Realization of subjects

	Catalan		Spanish	
	#	%	#	%
RD	20	44.44	0	0.00
LD	1	2.22	2	4.65
Wh	2	4.44	1	2.32
SV	2	4.44	1	2.32
VS	3	6.66	4	9.30
zero	17	37.77	31	72.09
VSO	0	0.00	3	6.97
VOS	0	0.00	1	2.32
Total	**45**	**394**	**43**	**394**

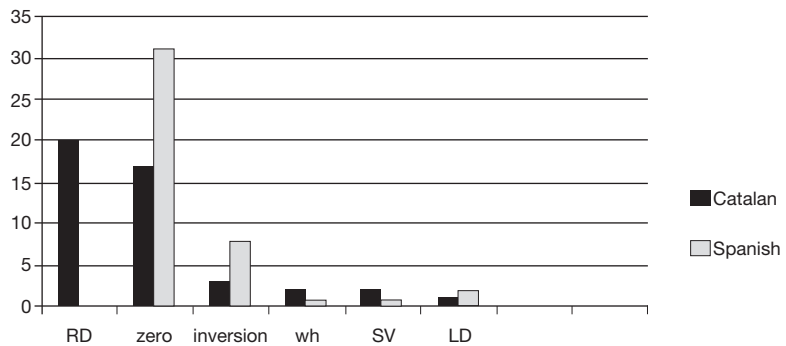


Figure 5. Realization of subjects.

One can easily appreciate that Catalan preferred RD even over omission, which was the most common solution in Spanish (in accordance with the results reported by Villalba 2011 and Villalba and Mayol 2013). Moreover, it was clear from the data that inversion was three times more common in Spanish (18.59%) than it was in Catalan (6.66%).

3.1.4. Interrogatives and RD

No particular correlation was found between the kind of interrogative and the syntactic function of the RD: objects were the most frequent RD (44.44% for yes/no and 48.14% for wh-interrogatives), closely followed by subjects (44.44% for yes/no and 37.03% for wh-interrogatives). See the details in Table 8.

3.1.5. Interrogatives and subjects

There was no influence of the kind of interrogative in the realization of subjects in Catalan: RD was the most common option in both yes/no (44.44%) and wh-interrogatives (48.00%), followed by dropping of the subject (33.33% and 44.00% respectively). See the details in Table 9.

As for Spanish, a slight influence of the kind of interrogative was found: omission of the subject was more common in wh- (77.77%) than in yes/no interrogatives (64.28%). This pattern was reversed when inversion was considered: 28.57% in wh- and 14.81% in yes/no interrogatives. All values are reported in Table 10.

Table 8. Distribution of RD function regarding the kind of interrogative

	yes/no		wh-	
	#	%	#	%
direct object	8	44.44	13	48.14
subject	8	44.44	10	37.03
locative	0	0.00	4	14.81
indirect object	1	5.55	0	0.00
prepositional complement	1	5.55	0	0.00
Totals	**18**	**99.98**	**27**	**99.98**

Table 9. Realization of subjects in Catalan interrogatives

	yes/no		wh-	
	#	%	#	%
RD	8	44.44	12	48.00
zero	6	33.33	11	44.00
inversion	2	11.11	1	4.00
preverbal	2	11.11	1	4.00
Totals	**18**	**99.99**	**25**	**100.00**

Table 10. Realization of subjects in Spanish interrogatives

	yes/no		wh-	
	#	%	#	%
RD	0	0.00	0	0.00
zero	9	64.28	21	77.77
inversion	4	28.57	4	14.81
preverbal	1	7.14	2	7.40
Totals	14	99.99	27	99.98

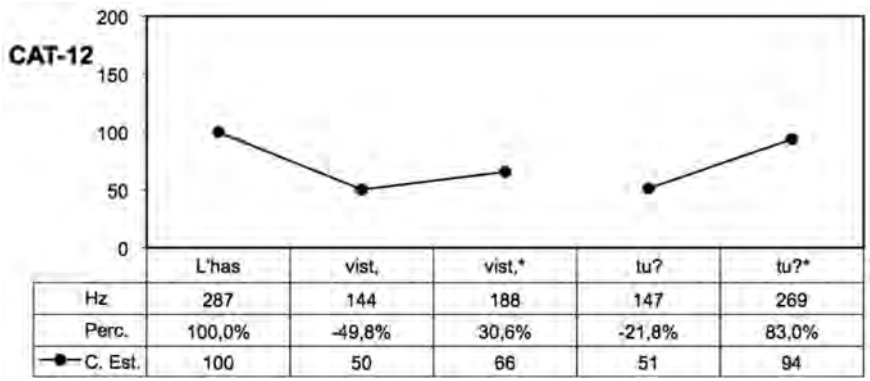


Figure 6. Standard curve of Catalan yes/no interrogative with a RD subject.

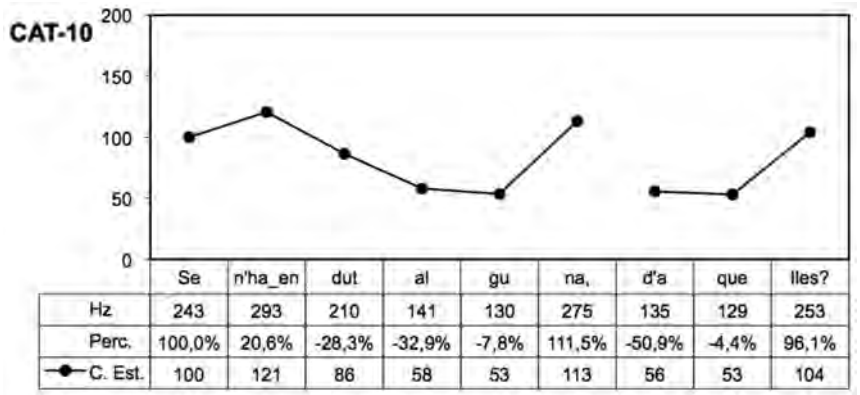


Figure 7. Standard curve of Catalan yes/no interrogative with a RD complement.

3.2. Prosody

3.2.1. Yes/no questions

In Catalan yes/no questions, the phonetic group corresponding to the RD (PhG2) had a final inflection with a rise higher than the 60%. As for the phonetic group corresponding to the clause (PhG1), a difference was found regarding the function of the RD: when the RD was a subject, the final inflection of PhG1 showed a rising below the 40% (see Figure 6), but when the RD was a complement, the rising was superior to this 40% (see Figure 7).

We summarize the idealized melodic contours in Figure 8.

While adding the interrogative particle *que* 'that' did not affect the melodic contour of PhG2, which displayed a low decline in all cases, it did entail a clear lowering of the final inflection of PhG1, which amounted to more than a 40% descend in some cases (bigger then than that of declarative sentences; see Font Rotchés 2008).

Spanish yes/no interrogatives displayed the typical contour described in Escandell Vidal (1999: 61.4-5), and analyzed in Cantero and Font (2007): either a rising final inflection (Figure 9) or a descending-ascending one (Figure 10).

3.2.2. Wh-interrogatives

Catalan wh-interrogatives with a RD showed a final inflection for PhG2 with a maximum fall of 30%, but PhG1 had a final inflection bigger than 30%, and usually bigger than 40% (see Figure 11 and Figure 12).

When PhG1 was concerned, small differences were found in the melodic contour regarding the function of the RD. On the one hand, subject and locative RD were closer to the standard wh-interrogative curve: the first peak was placed on the wh-word (Figure 11).

On the other hand, when RD was the direct object, the first peak moved from the wh-word to its right to the next tonal segment or even to become the nucleus (Figure 12).

This contrast is summarized in figures 13 and 14.

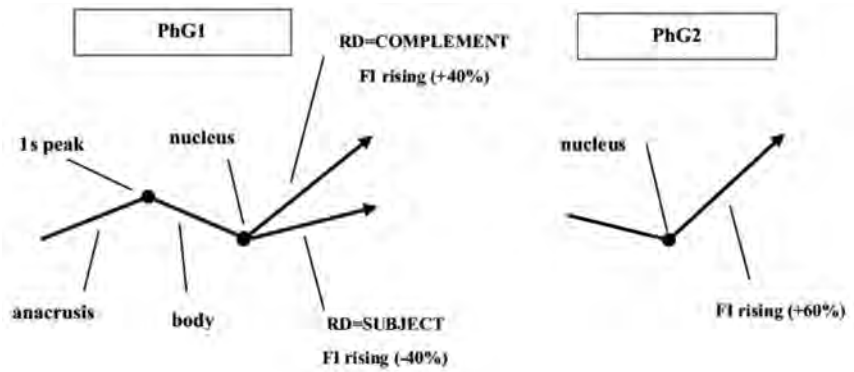
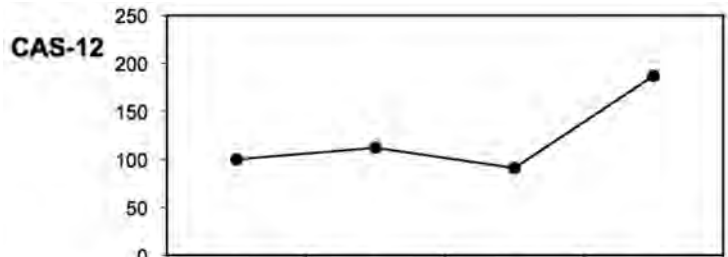
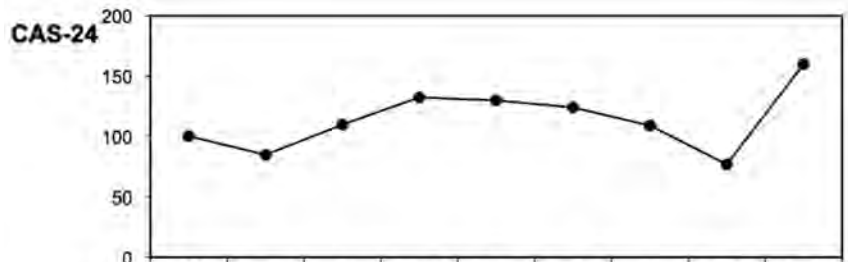


Figure 8. Idealized melodic contour of Catalan yes/no interrogatives.



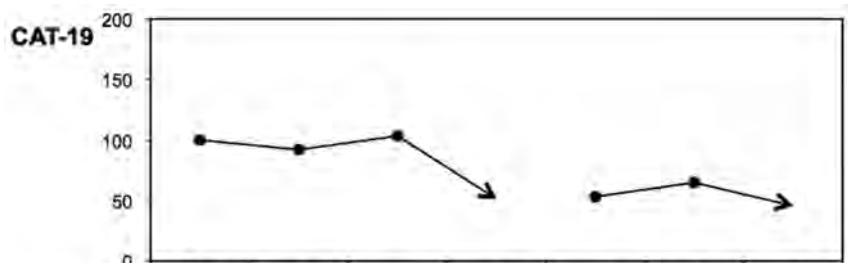
	¿Lo	has	vis	to?
Hz	200	224	182	374
Perc.	100,0%	12,0%	-18,8%	105,5%
C. Est.	100	112	91	187

Figure 9. Standard curve of Spanish rising final inflection at yes/no interrogatives.



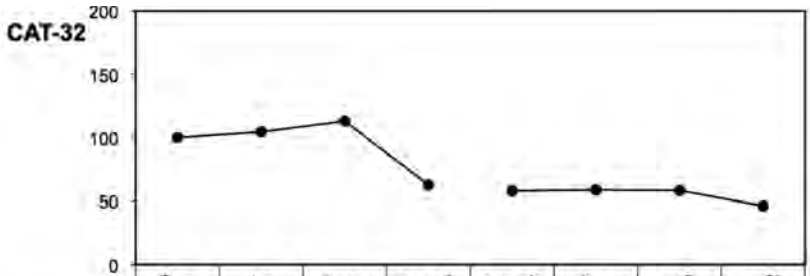
	¿Y	tam	po	co_hi	zo_us	ted	na	na*	da?
Hz	239	202	262	316	310	296	260	183	382
Perc.	100,0%	-15,5%	29,7%	20,6%	-1,9%	-4,5%	-12,2%	-29,6%	108,7%
C. Est.	100	85	110	132	130	124	109	77	160

Figure 10. Standard curve of Spanish descending-ascending final inflection at yes/no interrogatives.



	Què	ve_a	ser,	ser,*	ai	xò?	xò?*
Hz	265	244	274	136	141	172	121
Perc.	100,0%	-7,9%	12,3%	-50,4%	3,7%	22,0%	-29,7%
C. Est.	100	92	103	51	53	65	46

Figure 11. Standard curve of utterance Què ve a ser, això? (Catalan wh-interrogative with a RD subject).



	Com	ho	saps,	saps,*	que_els	bus	ca?	ca?*
Hz	240	251	271	150	139	141	140	111
Perc.	100,0%	4,6%	8,0%	-44,6%	-7,3%	1,4%	-0,7%	-20,7%
C. Est.	100	105	113	63	58	59	58	46

Figure 12. Standard curve of utterance Com ho saps, que els busca (Catalan wh-interrogative with a RD object).

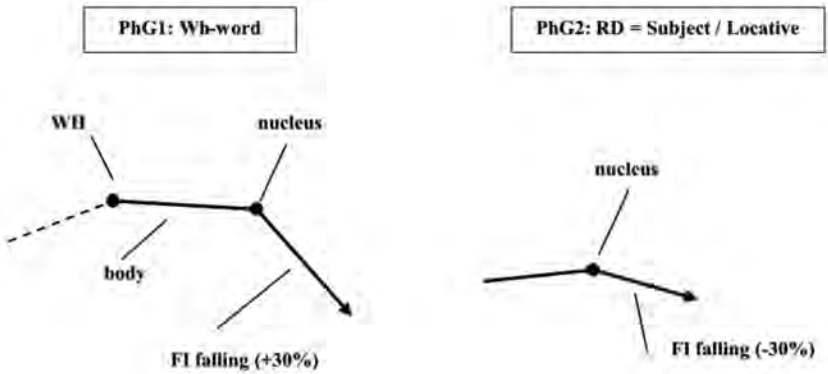


Figure 13. Idealized melodic contour of Catalan wh-interrogatives with a RD subject/locative.

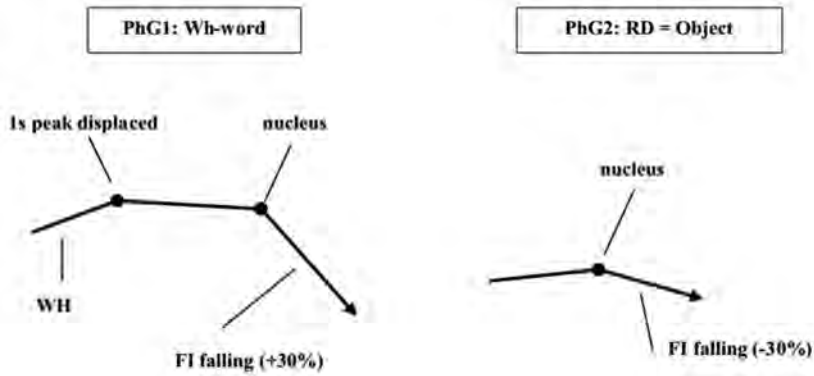
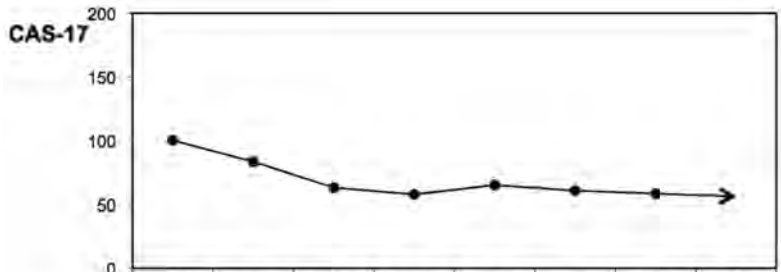
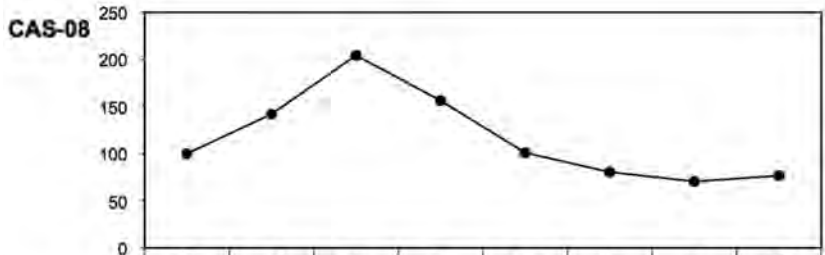


Figure 14. Idealized melodic contour of Catalan wh-interrogatives with a RD object.



	¿Có	mo	quie	res	que	lo	se	pa?
Hz	299	249	188	172	194	181	174	167
Perc.	100,0%	-16,7%	-24,5%	-8,5%	12,8%	-6,7%	-3,9%	-4,0%
C. Est.	100	83	63	58	65	61	58	56

Figure 15. Spanish wh-interrogative with first peak on wh-word.



	¿Por	qué	no	se	va_a	la	ca	ma?
Hz	210	298	429	328	212	169	148	161
Perc.	100,0%	41,9%	44,0%	-23,5%	-35,4%	-20,3%	-12,4%	8,8%
C. Est.	100	142	204	156	101	80	70	77

Figure 16. Spanish wh-interrogative with displaced first peak.

Spanish wh-interrogatives followed the typical melodic contour with a final descend, but with two main variants regarding the first part of the phonetic group. In one case, the wh-word was the first peak, which was followed by a fall until the end of the phonetic group (see Figure 15).

In the other unmarked case, the first peak is displaced to the next tonal segment, and a decline follows. This can be appreciated in Figure 16.

Both contours are summarized in Figure 17.

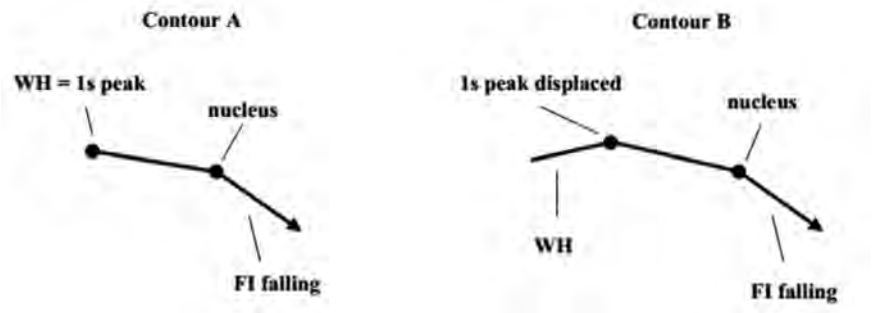


Figure 17. Idealized melodic contours of Spanish wh-interrogatives.

3.3. Pragmatics

The pragmatic function of interrogatives was very similar in both languages. Notably, the question function was by far the most common option both for total and partial interrogatives: 72 of the 88 cases (87.80%). The second most frequent option was a rhetoric value, which got only 7 cases (7.95%). The other functions were almost insignificant. This distribution was consistent in both languages, as can be easily appreciated in Table 11.

Moreover, in Table 11, one can see also that when the different kinds of interrogatives were considered, a clear tendency appeared: wh-questions were twice more common than yes/no questions in both languages.

As for yes/questions in Catalan, some specialization was found. On the one hand, among those introduced with *que* 'that' (5 occurrences), 3 were rhetoric and 2 questions. On the other hand, among those lacking any mark, 10 were questions, 2 exclamatives and 1 a request.

Table 11. Frequency distribution of interrogatives regarding pragmatic function

	question		rhetoric		exclamative		request		confirmation		Totals	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
C-wh	24	88.88	2	7.40	1	3.70	0	0	0	0	27	99.99
S-wh	25	86.20	2	6.89	1	3.44	1	3.44	0	0	29	99.97
C-yes/no	12	66.66	3	16.66	2	11.11	1	5.55	0	0	18	99.98
S-yes/no	11	78.57	0	0	1	7.14	0		2	14.28	14	99.99
Totals	**72**		**7**		**5**		**2**		**2**		**88**	

4. Discussion

The data described in subsection 3.1 offer a new perspective on the behavior of Catalan and Spanish interrogatives regarding several variables.

4.1. Syntax

We can safely conclude that RD is a pervasive mechanism for marking background material in Catalan interrogatives even in the case of subjects, which one would expect to be simply omitted. In contrast, Spanish resorted to either dropping of the subject or realization of background material in canonical position. Henceforth, our study fully confirms the quantitative results published in Villalba (2007) and Villalba (2011) for declaratives.

However, an important comment is in order. As discussed in 3.1.2, direct object and subjects fared similarly as RD in both yes/no and wh-interrogatives, with a slight preference for the former (see tables 4 and 8). This result clearly contrasted with those reported in Villalba (2011: 1955): direct object RD doubled the number of subject RD: 50.44% vs. 25.22%. This clearly suggests that the interrogative modality has a clear increasing effect in the rating of subject RD, which empirically confirms the intuition expressed by Villalba and Mayol (2013: 96) that Catalan interrogatives favor RD.

4.2. Prosody

In 3.2.2, we have shown that the presence of RD had an influence in the prosodic pattern of Catalan wh-interrogatives: the final inflection showed an abrupt descend, in contrast with the pattern reported in Font Rotchés (2009), which involved a more moderate lowering of the pitch after the nucleus.

Yet the most important finding concerns the realization of background material in canonical position in Spanish. Villalba (2011: 1960) speculates that, since Spanish lacks oblique clitics, RD would be less regular a mechanism for marking background material than it is in Catalan. In contrast, realization in canonical position is maximally regular, for any category or function receives a similar treatment. Yet, he notes that this option would raise potential ambiguity between a focus constituent and a background one, unless additional prosodic mechanisms are involved (see Ziv 1994 for the original remark, concerning English), a point he could not test on his written corpus. In this respect, we can shed some light on the disambiguating role of prosody in Spanish comparing the melodic pattern of interrogatives with final focus and with final background.

Let us begin with a case with final focus. In the following dialog, the topic is the roll of bills, and in the last sentence (13f) the object DP *a alguna chica* ‘any (other) chippy’ is clearly in focus:

(13) a. —¿De qué tamaño era el fajo? —preguntó Sepulturero.
«What size roll?» Grave Digger asked.

b. —No lo contaron.
«They didn't count it, boss.»

c. —Lo vieron.
«They saw it.»

d. —Sólo el borde: lo tenía bien apretado en el puño y apenas si les dejó ver el extremo.
«Just the edges, boss. He kept it gripped tight in his fist and just flashed the edges.»

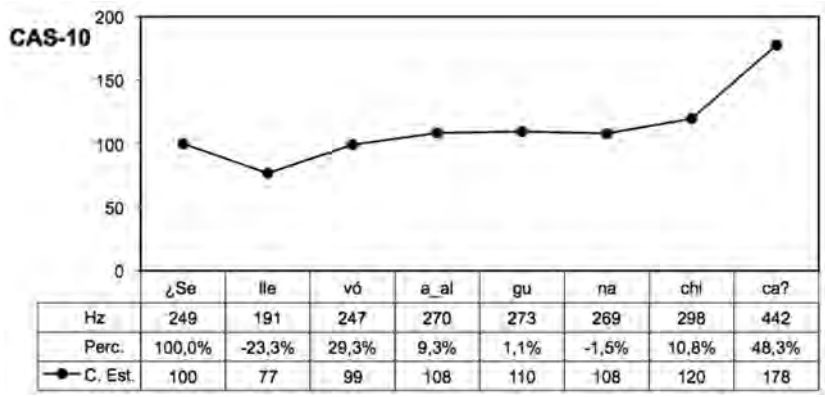
e. Sepulturero y Ataúd Ed cambiaron una mirada.
«Grave Digger and Coffin Ed exchanged looks.»

f. —¿Se llevó a alguna chica? —preguntó Ataúd Ed.
«Did he score with any other chippy?» Coffin Ed asked.

Consider the melodic pattern associated with this interrogative in Figure 18.

Here the body of the IntP shows a moderate rising until the final rising inflection typical of yes/no interrogatives. This pattern has been described in the literature as emphatic and it has been associated to expressive meanings of surprise or doubt (see Cantero 2002). However, we can advance a different hypothesis: the rising of the body contributes to mark the focus status of the last constituent.

If this is on the right track, we predict that yes/no interrogatives with a final background constituent, e.g. an *in situ* realization of a Catalan RD, should display a different melodic pattern, as suggested by Zubizarreta (1998). This prediction is confirmed in full. Consider the following case.



	¿Se	lle	vó	a_al	gu	na	chi	ca?
Hz	249	191	247	270	273	269	298	442
Perc.	100,0%	-23,3%	29,3%	9,3%	1,1%	-1,5%	10,8%	48,3%
C. Est.	100	77	99	108	110	108	120	178

Figure 18. Spanish yes/no interrogative with sentence final focus.

(14) —¿Sabe algo la policía sobre el dinero que habías escondido? —preguntó el Dulce Profeta, cuyo pensamiento seguía ahora otro camino.
'«Do the police know about the money you had hidden?» Sweet Prophet asked her, his thoughts taking another tack.'

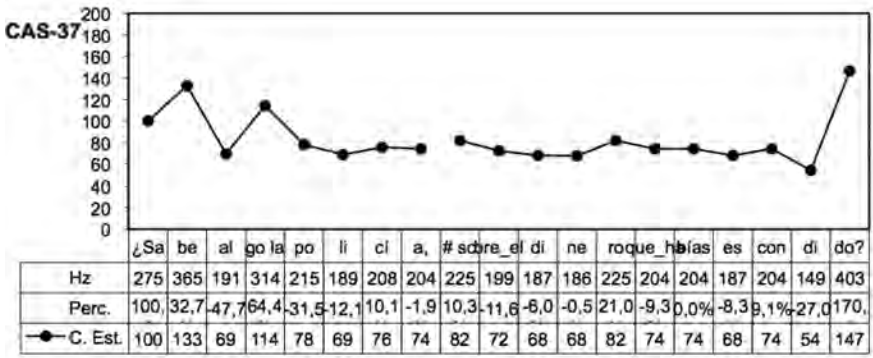
Here, the PP complement of *saber* 'know' in (14) is part of the background of sentence, since it has been explicitly introduced several paragraphs before (italics added):

(15) a. «No, my child, the sin was that you took this money which The Lord sent to you for the expiation of your sins and *hid it* for your own self, instead of bringing it to Sweet Prophet, who would have taken a share for The Lord, and returned you the rest in safety.»

b. «How did you know *I hid it*?» Alberta asked in surprise.

Moreover, this constituent is realized as a RD in the Catalan version, clearly reinforcing the idea that it is not focus, but background.

Crucially for our purposes, the melodic pattern of this interrogative is sharply different from that in (13f), as can be appreciated in Figure 19.



	¿Sa	be	al	go la	po	li	cí	a,	# sobre_el	di	ne	roque_había	es	con	di	do?
Hz	275	365	191	314	215	189	208	204	225	199	187	186	225	204	204	187	204	149	403
Perc.	100,	32,7	-47,7	64,4	-31,5	-12,1	10,1	-1,9	10,3	-11,6	-6,0	-0,5	21,0	-9,3	0,0%	-8,3	9,1%	-27,0	170,
C. Est.	100	133	69	114	78	69	76	74	82	72	68	68	82	74	74	68	74	54	147

Figure 19. Spanish interrogative with sentence final background.

Here, the body of the PhG2 shows a clear progressive decline from the pitch baseline (234 Hz) until the final inflection (almost half the pitch value), which shows an abrupt rising. This lowering pitch profile of the body is in sharp contrast with the moderate rising found in the body of the interrogative when the constituent was in focus; see (13f) and Figure 18.

Obviously, a more detailed research is needed, which exceeds the scope of this article, but this seems a promising first step toward a principled explanation of the behavior of Spanish regarding the formal coding of the focus-background partition: the flexibility of Spanish intonation seems a crucial factor, confirming the seminal

intuitions by Zubizarreta (1998).[1] Moreover, we have clear empirical confirmation of Vallduví's intuition (Vallduví 1992, Vallduví and Engdahl 1996) that Catalan is a prosodic-rigid language, resorting to syntactic operations to mark the focus-background partition of sentence (but see Forcadell 2007 for the disturbing role of Spanish interference).

4.3. Pragmatics

The pragmatic function of interrogatives did not have a clear influence on its form, for the canonical question function was overwhelmingly predominant regardless of the language and the kind of interrogative (see 3.3). Only Catalan yes/no interrogatives showed a slight deviation from this pattern: questions represented a 66.66%, quite under the global 87.80%, and rhetoric interrogatives a 16.66%, clearly above the global 7.95%; see 3.3. Moreover, even though numerically scarce an evidence, all Catalan yes/no rhetorical interrogatives were introduced by *que* 'that', suggesting a (weak) form-function connection.

5. Conclusions

In this article we have quantified the interaction of interrogative modality in Catalan and Spanish with the presence of RD, and with the different syntactic, prosodic and pragmatic variables associated to this modality. After a comparative study of a written and oral corpus, we have confirmed and assessed the accuracy of previous intuitions expressed in the literature of the issue. Particularly, we have demonstrated that RD is even more common in Catalan interrogatives than in declarative sentences, that Spanish resort to realize background material in canonical position correlates with a specific prosodic pattern, and that the pragmatic function of questions does not has a clear correlation with their form, maybe with the partial exception of Catalan yes/no interrogatives.

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1. The melodic contours discussed raise an important methodological concern regarding studies on Spanish prosody: if the information status of elements has an influence on the prosodic contour of the sentence, a controlled focus-background pattern should be established before any analysis of interrogative contours is performed.

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On Right Node Raising in Catalan and Spanish*

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Abstract

The derivation of Right Node Raising (RNR) has been the object of much debate in the generative literature, but the analysis of this construction has not received much attention so far in the literature on Catalan and Spanish. Here I analyze the properties of RNR in these languages and propose that the distinction introduced in Valmala (2012) for English RNR also applies: Catalan and Spanish are argued to have two types of RNR with different information-structural, prosodic, and syntactic properties. In Focal-Pivot RNR (FP-RNR), the pivot is focal, is preceded by a prosodic break, and undergoes ATB-movement from both conjuncts of the coordination, i.e. it is *ex-situ*. In Non-Focal-Pivot RNR (NFP-RNR), on the contrary, the pivot is not focal, is not preceded by a prosodic break, and occupies its canonical position, i.e it is *in-situ*. NFP-RNR is the result either of ellipsis in the first conjunct or of multidominance of the pivot.

Keywords: Right Node Raising; ATB-movement; focus; ellipsis; multidominance; parenthetical; Catalan; Spanish.

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1. Two Types of Right Node Raising

Right Node Raising (RNR) is the phenomenon in which there is a gap in final position of the non-final conjunct(s) of a coordination whose interpretation is determined by material overtly realized in the final conjunct of the coordination. The phenomenon is illustrated in (1), where the complement of verb in the first clause is not overtly realized and is interpreted as identical to the object of the verb in the second clause (*the dishes*). Following Postal (1998), the overt counterpart in the final conjunct of the missing material in the non-final conjunct(s) will be called the *pivot*. The crucial empirical fact that any approach to the analysis of RNR must account for is the impossibility of having the pivot in the initial conjunct and the gap in the non-initial conjunct(s) (2).

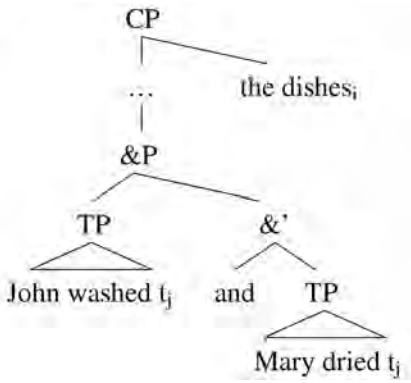
(1) John washed and Mary dried the dishes. [Koutsoudas (1971: 352)]

(2) *John washed the dishes and Mary dried.

The syntactic representation of RNR has been the object of much debate in the generative literature. Four approaches to the analysis of RNR can be distinguished, the most important point of disagreement being whether the pivot is *ex-situ* or *in-situ*, i.e. moved or in its canonical position.

For some (Ross 1967; Maling 1972; Postal 1974, 1998; Hudson 1976; Sabbagh 2007; Clapp 2008; Abe and Hornstein 2012; among others) the pivot is *ex-situ* as a result of a rightward ATB-movement operation. Under this approach the representation of (1) is as in (3), where the pivot has ATB-moved to some position outside the coordination, represented here as a CP-adjoined position.

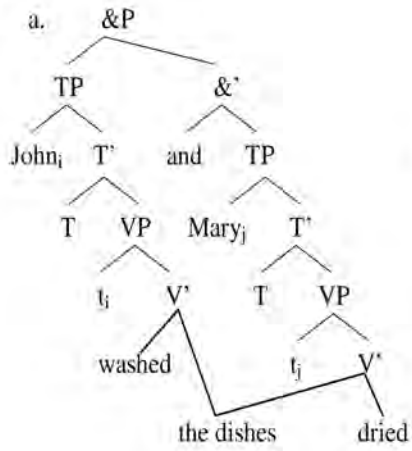
(3)



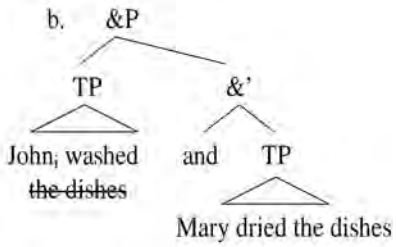
Others propose that the pivot occupies its canonical position and is thus not moved. There are three versions of the *in-situ* approach to RNR. According to the Parallel Merge approach (McCawley 1982, 1988; Wilder 1999; Phillips 2003; Abels 2004; Bachrach and Katzir 2007; among others), the pivot is *in-situ* in all the conjuncts of the coordination, as it is shared by both conjuncts as a result of Parallel

Merge (4a). In the ellipsis analysis (Chae 1991; Sohn 2001; Chalcraft 2006; Ha 2008, 2009; Wexler and Culicover 1980; Kayne 1994; Hartmann 2000; Bošković 2004; An 2008; among others), the pivot is *in-situ* in the final conjunct, and the gap in the non-final conjunct(s) results from ellipsis or PF-deletion (4b).

(4) a.

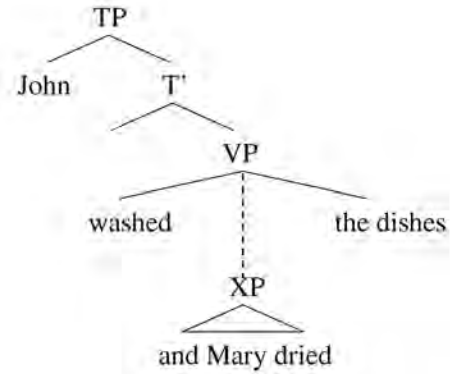


b.



Peterson (1999) proposes that RNR is not a case of true coordination, and that the non-final conjunct is not syntactically related to the host clause but a parenthetical which features ellipsis of material which is supplied by the host clause. The representation of (1) would thus be as in (5). Peterson does not specify whether the ellipsis site in the parenthetical results from PF-deletion or whether it is occupied by a null pronominal. With the dotted line, Peterson intends to indicate that the parenthetical is semantically but not syntactically related to the host. Although in both (4b) and (5) involve an *in-situ* pivot and ellipsis, the crucial difference is that in the former the pivot is *in-situ* in the second conjunct and ellipsis applies to the first conjunct, whereas in the latter the pivot is *in-situ* in the first conjunct and ellipsis applies to the second conjunct.

(5)



Both the *ex-situ* and the *in-situ* pivot approach have problems when trying to provide empirical coverage for RNR facts. There are a number of facts which strongly support the *ex-situ* pivot approach to RNR, whereas other data clearly militate in favour of an *in-situ* pivot analysis.

The facts in (6)-(8) can only be explained if the pivot has moved and is thus *ex-situ*. In (6) we see that the pivot can appear to the right of material which modifies both conjuncts of the coordination and must thus sit in some position outside the second conjunct: were the pivot *all of his old manuscripts in-situ*, it would not follow the PP *on the same day*.

(6) Joss will [sell __ to a library, and donate __ to a shelter] *on the same day*, **all of his old manuscripts**. [Sabbagh (2007: 356)]

Also very hard to explain for the *in-situ* approach are the scope facts from Sabbagh (2007) illustrated in (7). In the RNR example (7a), the universally quantified pivot can take scope over the existentially quantified subject, whereas it cannot in its non-RNR counterpart (7b). Assuming that LF Quantifier Raising is clause-bound, this shows that the pivot *every patient who was admitted last night* has overtly ATB-moved to a position that c-commands the existentially quantified subject *some nurse* in (7a).

(7) a. Some nurse gave a flu shot to __, and administered a blood test for __, **every patient who was admitted last night**. $\forall > \exists$, $\exists > \forall$

b. Some nurse gave a flu shot to **every patient**, and administered a blood test for **every patient**. $*\forall > \exists$, $\exists > \forall$
[Sabbagh (2007: 365)]

The licensing of parasitic gaps, whose occurrence crucially depends on the presence of a variable resulting from an A'-movement operation, is also supportive of the *ex-situ* pivot analysis: as Postal (1994) notices, parasitic gaps are licensed in RNR (8), in clear parallelism with wh-ATB-movement (9) (examples from Valmala 2012:10):[1]

(8) a. Peter reviewed without reading $[e]_{PG}$, and Bill revised, two papers on RNR.

b. Peter revised, and Bill reviewed without reading $[e]_{PG}$, two papers on RNR.

c. Peter edited without revising $[e]_{PG}$, and Bill reviewed without reading $[e]_{PG}$, two papers on RNR.

1. Postal (1994) calls them pseudo-parasitic gaps because for him they involve ATB-movement, not a null operator. In any case, what is important for present purposes is that these (pseudo-)parasitic gaps must also be licensed by a non-c-commanding variable. See Hornstein and Nunes (2002) for an analysis in which parasitic gaps and ATB-movement involve the same syntactic operation, that he calls sideward movement, in the general case.

(9) a. Which papers did Peter file without reading $[e]_{PG}$ and Bill read twice?

b. Which papers did Peter read twice and Bill file without reading $[e]_{PG}$?

c. Which papers did Peter edit without revising $[e]_{PG}$ and Bill review without reading $[e]_{PG}$.

The facts in (10)-(12), on the contrary, can only be explained if the pivot is *in-situ*. One argument comes from the fact that RNR does not obey locality conditions that constrain movement in the general case: (10a) illustrates island insensitivity, and (10b) illustrates insensitivity to the Right Roof Condition. The second fact that is clearly incompatible with an *ex-situ* pivot analysis of RNR is that parts of words, which cannot undergo syntactic movement, can be pivots (11).

(10) a. John knows [someone who buys __], and Jamie knows [someone who sells __], **pictures of Fred**. [Sabbagh (2007: 382)]

b. Josh promised that he would give __ to Jamie, and Joss claimed that he was going to give __ to Sue, **all of the answers to the final exam.** [Sabbagh (2007: 351)]

(11) [Your theory under-__], and [my theory over-__] **generates**. [Sabbagh (2007: 390)]

Also incompatible with an *ex-situ* pivot analysis is the fact that the pivot can appear in positions which are clearly internal to the second conjunct: as shown in (12), *to Mary*, which can only be interpreted as an argument of the second conjunct, follows the pivot *the book*.

(12) John should fetch and give the book to Mary. [Wilder (1999: 11)]

So the situation is that neither the *ex-situ* nor the *in-situ* analyses are able to account for all the RNR facts. In this context, Valmala (2012) observes that there is disagreement in the existing literature on the construction not only with respect to its structural representation but also with respect to its written representation, its prosodic properties, and its focal properties.

Concerning the written representation of RNR structures, they have been represented in the following ways: (i) with two commas, one between each conjunct and one between the pivot and the preceding material (13a); (ii) with a comma between the pivot and the preceding material (13b); (iii) with a comma between the first and the second conjunct (13c); and (iv) without commas (13d). Scholars often alternate either between the patterns in (13a) and (13b) or between those in (13c) and (13d); (13a) and (13d) being the most common ones. The two basic patterns for the written representation of RNR are thus characterized by the presence (14b) or absence (14a) of a comma between the pivot and the preceding material, the comma between the two conjuncts being optional. The pair in (15) exemplifies both patters.

(13) a. Syntax students like**,** or at least barely tolerate**,** 4h exams.
[Cann et al. (2005: 504)]

b. John bought and Sally sold**,** some books.
[Barros and Vicente (2010: 1)]

c. Bill made**,** and John sold a piece of furniture. [Ha (2008: 1)]

d. Everyone admired but nobody venerated the master. [Selkirk (2002: 2)]

(14) a. conjunct 1 **(comma)** conjunct 2 - pivot

b. conjunct 1 **(comma)** conjunct 2 **comma** pivot

(15) a. John likes(,) and Bill hates that picture of Mary.

b. John likes(,) and Bill hates, that picture of Mary.

Valmala (2012) notices that, because commas are typically used to mark prosodic breaks, it might be the case that (14a) and (14b) actually represent two different prosodic patterns: one with a prosodic break preceding the pivot (14b), and one without such a prosodic break (14a).

Actually, many of the authors who use the representation in (14b) (Hudson 1976; Chae 1991; Sabbagh 2007; among others) consider that the presence of an intonation break between the pivot and the preceding material is one of the characteristic properties of RNR:

> «… one characteristic of the construction is that there is a marked intonation break before the 'raised' element» [Hudson (1976: 549)]

> «… the special prosody on the factor (an intonation break before the factor) acts as a cue for indicating that the factor is exactly the element which is missing.»
> [Chae (1991: 53)]

> «… there is no direct word order evidence for the displacement, although there is an intonation pause, which can be plausibly be taken to indicate the separation of the right-node-raised element from …» [Sabbagh (2007: 352)]

In the written representation in (14a) used by other authors, however, nothing indicates the presence of a prosodic break immediately before the pivot. As the presence vs. absence of prosodic breaks is often taken to be the manifestation of different syntactic structures, the question that emerges is whether (14a) and (14b) are or not instances of one single syntactic structure.

Valmala (2012) observes that there is disagreement in the literature also concerning the focal properties of RNR. For Hartmann (2000) the constituent preceding the pivot must be contrastive focus. Abe and Hornstein (2012), on the contrary, suggest that the pivot itself is focus. For Selkirk (2002), the constituents preceding both the gap in the first conjunct and the pivot in the second conjunct are contras-

tive focus, whereas the pivot is presentational focus. Bošković (2004: 14) claims that «the shared constituent in RNR receives a strong non-contrastive focus, and the coordinated phrases receive contrastive focus».

Valmala proposes that there are two different information-structural and focal patterns in RNR, illustrated in (17B) and (18B) below. In (16B), all the material preceding the pivot, which has been introduced in (16A), is clearly part of the presupposition and thus not focal, and the pivot itself is (contrastive) focus, here identified by capitalization. This pattern of RNR, that Valmala calls Focal-Pivot RNR (hereafter FP-RNR), is typically preceded by an intonation break and is represented with a comma in writing.

(16) A: It seems that Susan accepted Bill's paper on RNR and John rejected it.

B: No. Susan accepted __ and John rejected __, MY paper on RNR, (not Bill's). [Valmala (2012: 16)]

In (17B), on the contrary, the DPs *John*, *Peter*, and *that picture of Mary* are part of the presupposition and thus not focal, and the verb *hates* before the gap in the first conjunct and the verb *likes* before the pivot in the second conjunct are non-presupposed and thus focal. Capitalization again identifies the foci. In this pattern of RNR, like in the non-RNR reply in (18B), there is no prosodic break before the pivot. There are cases of RNR like (19a) in which neither the pivot *the driver* nor other constituents of the first or the second conjunct can be identified as focal. Here a prosodic break is also impossible (19b). What (17B) and (19a) have in common is that the pivot is not focal. This pattern is dubbed Non-Focal Pivot RNR (henceforth NFP-RNR).

(17) A: What do John and Peter think of that picture of Mary?

B: John HATES __ but Peter LIKES that picture of Mary.
[adapted from Erteschik-Shir (2010: slide 14)]

(18) A: What do John and Peter think of that picture of Mary?

B: They HATE that picture of Mary.

(19) a. Do not speak to or distract the attention of the driver while the bus is moving.

b. *Do not speak to or distract the attention of, the driver while the bus is moving.

The pair in (20) illustrates the distinction. In the FP-RNR (20a) the pivot is focus and is preceded by an intonation break, whereas in NFP-RNR the pivot is not focal and is not preceded by an intonation break.

(20) a. John likes and Bill hates, THAT PICTURE OF MARY.

b. John likes and Bill HATES that picture of Mary.

With the conclusion that RNR is not a uniform phenomenon as regards its focal and prosodic properties, the obvious question is whether FP-RNR and NFP-RNR involve identical syntactic derivation or not. Valmala argues that the answer is negative. He provides a number of arguments supporting that FP-RNR involves movement of the pivot whereas NFP-RNR does not. Below I reproduce two of those arguments.

FP-RNR and NFP-RNR behave differently concerning the possibility of licensing parasitic gaps. Let us go back to the examples provided in (8), repeated here as (21), which called for an *ex-situ* pivot analysis. Notice that these, as indicated by the focal nature of the pivot and the prosodic break preceding it, are instances of FP-RNR. NFP-RNR, on the contrary, does not license parasitic gaps (22b-d), which indicates that the pivot is *in-situ* and the conditions for licensing of parasitic gaps are thus not satisfied.

(21) a. Peter reviewed without reading $[e]_{PG}$, and Bill revised, TWO PAPERS ON RNR.

b. Peter revised, and Bill reviewed without reading $[e]_{PG}$, TWO PAPERS ON RNR.

c. Peter edited without revising $[e]_{PG}$, and Bill reviewed without reading $[e]_{PG}$, TWO PAPERS ON RNR.

(22) a. Peter reviewed and Bill REVISED my papers.

b. *Peter REVIEWED without reading $[e]_{PG}$ and Bill REVISED my paper.

c. *Peter PUBLISHED and Bill REVIEWED my paper without reading $[e]_{PG}$.

d. *Peter PUBLISHED and Bill REVIEWED without reading $[e]_{PG}$ my paper.

Complements of prepositions that cannot be left stranded by (leftward) movement (23) can be pivots in NFP-RNR (24a,c) but not in FP-RNR (24b,d), which again is readily explained if the pivot is *in-situ* in the former and *ex-situ* in the latter.

(23) a. *Which building is he inside?

b. *Which bridge did his car stop under?

(24) a. John is outside and Bill is INSIDE the black building.

b. *John is outside, and Bill is inside, THE BLACK BUILDING.

c. His car stopped ON and mine stopped UNDER the blue bridge.

d. *His car stopped on, and mine stopped under, THE BLUE BRIDGE.

The conclusion is thus that both the *in-situ* and the *ex-situ* approach to English RNR are partially right, and that there is a clear division of labour between the competing analyses of the phenomenon, so that the rightward ATB-movement

analysis is a possible solution only for FP-RNR, and the *in-situ* PF-deletion/ellipsis and multidominance analyses can only be considered for NFP-RNR.[2] It also implies that the relevant question when considering crosslinguistic variation in the availability of RNR is no longer whether a given language has RNR or not, but what type of RNR it has, if any, and what type of syntactic derivation it involves.

2. (FP and NFP)-RNR in Catalan and Spanish

RNR has received very little attention in the literature on Catalan and Spanish (C&S hereafter). To the best of my knowledge, Catalan RNR has never been analyzed, and Camacho (2003), who considers RNR not to be very natural in Spanish, constitutes the only reference to the construction in the literature on Spanish.[3] He provides the examples in (25) when providing evidence that propositional adverbs like *siempre* 'always' do not modify simplex DPs in Spanish.

(25) a. ?Los niños traen e_i, y entregan siempre, [un regalo]$_i$.
the children bring and deliver always a present
'The children bring, and always deliver, a present.'

b. *Los niños traen e_i, y entregan, [siempre un regalo]$_i$.
the children bring and deliver always a gift
[Camacho (2003: 25-26)]

On the basis of the contrast between (25) and (26), Camacho argues in support of an *in-situ* approach to (Spanish) RNR. These examples show that when the pivot

2. See Sabbagh (2007) and Abe and Hornstein (2012) for ATB-movement approaches to (FP-)RNR that provide accounts of the lack of locality effects.
3. This is not exactly so. Florez (1985) provides (i) as an example of Spanish RNR. It is indeed the case that (i) superficially has the property which is typical of RNR: the DP *los cuadros de Picasso* 'Picasso's paintings' is omitted in absolute final position of the non-final conjunct of a coordination. However, examples like (i) should not be considered when analyzing the availability and properties of FP-RNR in Spanish, as the gap can also occur in the second conjunct of a coordination (ii), or in non-coordination (iiiB). The elliptical subject in the first conjunct of (ii) and in (iiiB) is clearly an instance of subject pro-drop, and there is no reason to argue against an identical analysis for (i).

(i) A María le gustan __, y Juan daría cualquier cosa por comprar los cuadros
to María DAT like.3PL and Juan give.COND anything for buy the paintings
de Picasso.
of Picasso
'María likes and Juan would give anything to buy Picasso's paintings.'
[Florez (1985: 309, fn. 1); glosses and translation mine]

(ii) Juan daría cualquier cosa por comprar los cuadros de Picasso, y a María
Juan give.COND anything for buy the paintings of Picasso and to María
simplemente le gustan.
simply DAT like.3PL
'Juan would give anything to buy Picasso's paintings, and María simply likes them.'

(iii) Speaker A: Juan daría cualquier cosa por comprar los cuadros de Picasso.
Speaker B: A María también le gustan.

is a PP complement of verbs with different selectional restrictions in each conjunct, it is the selectional restrictions of the verb of the second conjunct that must be satisfied. In (26a) and (27a), the verbs *fue* 'went' and *vino* 'came' select PPs headed by the prepositions *a* 'to' and *de* 'of' respectively, but the PP pivot can be introduced by *de* only if the second verb selects for that preposition. (26b) and (27b) illustrate the same point with the verbs *disparar* 'shoot', which selects a PP introduced by *contra* 'against', and *amedrentar* 'harass', which selects a PP introduced by *a* 'to'. Within an ATB-movement analysis of RNR, he concludes, it is not clear why order should matter (examples from Camacho 2003: 158):

(26) a. Desde aquel día fue y vino del Instituto.
from that day went and came of-the Institute
'From that day he/she went and came from the institute.'

b. Primero amedrentaron y luego dispararon contra los manifestantes.
first harassed and then shot against the demonstrators
'First they harassed, and then they shot at the demonstrators.'

(27) a. *Desde aquel día vino y fue del Instituto.
from that day came and went of-the Institute

b. *Dispararon y amedrentaron contra los manifestantes.
shot and harassed against the demonstrators

I will later come back to Camacho's examples, but notice for the moment that he represents the RNR examples in (25) with a comma before the pivot, whereas in (26)-(27) there is no comma before the pivot. This makes me suspect that the examples in (25) are cases of FP-RNR in which the pivot is *ex-situ*, whereas in (26)-(27) we are dealing with examples of NFP-RNR in which the pivot is *in-situ*.

2.1. Catalan and Spanish have both FP-RNR and NFP-RNR

As regards prosodic and information-structural/focal properties, C&S have both FP and NFP-RNR. Consider the examples in (28). These examples feature the two properties that characterize FP-RNR: a prosodic break before the pivot and a non-presupposed focal interpretation of the pivot (unless otherwise specified, the Catalan examples come first):

(28) a. En Joan va llegir, i en Lluís va arxivar, gairebé tots els
the Joan AUX read and the Lluís AUX file almost all the
teus articles sobre RNR.
your papers on RNR

b. Joan leyó, y Lluís archivó, casi todos tus artículos sobre RNR.
Joan read and Lluís filed almost all your papers on RNR
'Joan read, and Lluís filed, almost all your papers on RNR.'

The examples in (29), on the contrary, are clear instances of NFP-RNR: the focus is not on the pivot *lluç/merluza* 'hake' but on material preceding the gap and the pivot in each conjunct (the wh-phrases or the verbs *arrebossar/empanó* 'bread/breaded' and *fregir/frió* 'fry/fried'), and there is no prosodic break before the pivot in the same way in which there is no prosodic break between the object and the preceding material in the non-RNR examples in (30). That these are examples of RNR and not some other phenomenon is evidenced by the fact that the gap cannot appear in the second conjunct (31)-(32).

(29) a. M'agradaria saber qui va arrebossar i qui va fregir el
me+like.COND know who AUX bread and who AUX fry the
lluç.
hake

b. Me gustaría saber quién empanó y quién frió la merluza.
me like.COND know who breaded and who fried the hake
'I would like to know who breaded and who fried the hake.'

(30) a. M'agradaria saber qui va fregir el lluç.

b. Me gustaría saber quién frió la merluza.

(31) a. *En Joan va llegir gairebé tots els teus articles sobre RNR, i
en Lluís va arxivar.

b. *Juan leyó casi todos tus artículos sobre RNR, y
Luis archivó.

(32) a. *En Joan va arrebossar el lluç i en Lluís va fregir.

b. *Juan empanó la merluza y Luis frió.

With the conclusion that C&S have both FP and NFP-RNR, the obvious question that emerges is what their syntactic derivation is. I concentrate on this issue in the sections that follow.

2.2. Catalan and Spanish FP-RNR involves ATB-movement

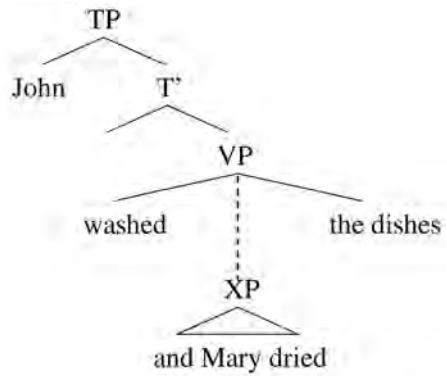
I will consider two alternatives for the derivation of C&S FP-RNR: the *ex-situ* ATB-movement approach and Peterson's (1999) parenthetical analysis. The reason for doing so is that, although in Peterson's analysis the pivot is *in-situ*, the RNR pattern that he is trying to account for is FP-RNR, as evidenced by the quotation below concerning the prosodic properties of the phenomenon. He is obviously not trying to characterize NFP-RNR, which has none of the intonation properties of parentheticals.

> «… these are shown to be interpolations by the marked parenthetical nature of their intonation contours.» [Peterson (1999: 242)]

In the discussion of English FP-RNR in section 1, I provided arguments that FP-RNR involves ATB-movement but did not discuss the parenthetical analysis. Here I will consider the applicability of Peterson's proposal concerning the representation of FP-RNR to English and C&S, showing that it cannot involve a parenthetical and providing arguments that, in C&S, like in English, FP-RNR involves ATB-movement of the pivot.

Let us first consider the parenthetical analysis proposed in Peterson (1999) represented in (5) above that I reproduce below as (33). Remember that with the dotted line he intends to indicate that the second conjunct in FP-RNR is semantically but not syntactically attached to the host.

(33)



There are a number of arguments against treating FP-RNR as involving a parenthetical non-syntagmatic relation. Peterson claims that a typical property of non-syntagmatic relations is that juxtaposed elements are 'moveable', so that they can often appear as parentheticals (34a), and as peripherals (34b,c).

(34) a. John Smith, would you believe, is asking to see you.

b. Would you believe, John Smith is asking to see you.

c. John Smith is asking to see you, would you believe.

[Peterson (1999: 238)]

But then, if the second conjunct in FP-RNR is a non-syntagmatic relation, we would expect it to be able to appear as a 'peripheral' in final position. This is clearly not the case: the impossibility of (31), repeated here as (35), is precisely what any sensible theory of RNR must explain.

(35) a. *En Joan va llegir gairebé tots els teus articles sobre RNR, i en Lluís va arxivar.

b. *Juan leyó casi todos tus artículos sobre RNR, y Luis archivó.

Peterson also shows that a property of non-syntagmatic relations is that the juxtaposed clause can have independent illocutionary force, as shown in (34) above where the juxtaposed clause has interrogative illocutionary force although the host clause is a declarative. We would thus expect the 'interrupting' clause in RNR to also be able to have independent illocutionary force. This is impossible both in English (36) and C&S (37) FP-RNR.

(36) *John bought, but why didn't you buy, those mystery novels.

(37) a. *En Joan va comprar, però per què no vas comprar tu, aquestes
the Joan AUX buy but why not AUX buy you these
novel·les de misteri.
novels of mystery

b. *Juan compró, pero por qué no compraste tú, esas novelas de
Juan bought but why not bought.2SG you those novels of
misterio.
mystery

Let us now consider the predictions that the parenthetical analysis makes concerning the interpretation of FP-RNR structures in embedded clauses. There is ample evidence that parentheticals are not within the scope of their host clause. The following facts from de Vries (2012) illustrate this point. In (38a) the subject of the parenthetical cannot have a bound pronoun reading, and the R-expression in the parenthetical in (38b) does not induce principle C violation effect with the intended interpretation. These facts indicate that the subject of the host clause does not have the parenthetical within its c-command domain. I add (39), where the bound reading for the subject pronoun of the parenthetical is impossible, in order to show that the parenthetical is outside the scope of the matrix clause in contexts of embedding.

(38) a. *[No climber]$_i$ talked about the K2, which he$_i$ conquered last month.

b. He$_i$ said –this is typical for Joop$_i$– that he$_i$ didn't like veggie burgers.
[de Vries (2012: 155)]

(39) *[No climber]$_i$ said that I talked about the K2, which he$_i$ conquered last month.

If RNR involves a parenthetical not syntactically related to the host, we would expect sentences like (40) below to have an interpretation akin to (41), i.e. the 'parenthetical' should not be within the scope of the matrix verb. This is clearly not the case: the interpretation of (40) is one in which the second conjunct of the coordination is obligatorily within the scope of the matrix verb.

(40) a. Jo crec que en Joan llegirà, però en Lluís ignorarà, gairebé
I think that the Joan read.FUT but the Lluís ignore.FUT almost
tots els teus articles.
all the your papers

b. Yo creo que Joan leerá, pero Lluís ignorará, casi todos tus
I think that Joan read.FUT but Lluís ignore.FUT almost all your
artículos.
papers
'I think that Joan will read, but Lluís will ignore, almost all your papers.

(41) a. Jo crec que en Joan llegirà gairebé tots els teus articles, però
I think that the Joan read.FUT almost all the your papers but
en Lluís els ignorarà.
the Lluís them ignore.FUT

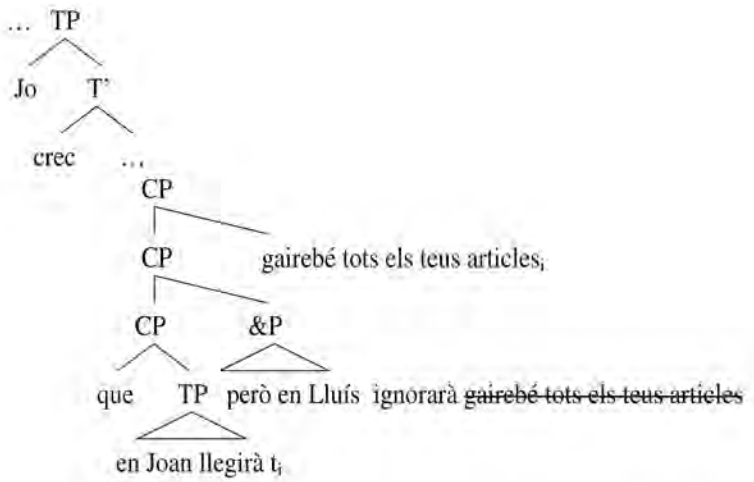
b. Yo creo que Joan leerá casi todos tus artículos, pero Lluís
I think that Joan read.FUT almost all your papers but Lluís
los ignorará.
them ignore.FUT
'I think that Joan will read almost all your papers, but Lluís will ignore
them.'

These facts thus clearly show that Peterson's claim that the non-final conjunct in FP-RNR is a parenthetical which is not syntactically related to the host cannot be correct.

An anonymous reviewer suggests that the (lack of) scope facts illustrated in (40) are not enough to rule out a parenthetical approach to FP-RNR and crucially depend on one's analysis of parentheticals in the general case. Specifically, the reviewer suggests that if the second clause is a 'parenthetical' adjoined to the embedded CP, the interpretation of the data in (40) would be accounted for. If this alternative is correct, the representation of (40) should be as in (42). If the second conjunct or 'parenthetical' is attached to the embedded CP, the pivot, which linearly follows the 'parenthetical', must have undergone movement to a higher (CP-adjoined) position. As the reviewer correctly notes, the scope facts in (40) would be captured, as in (42) the matrix verb c-commands the 'parenthetical'.[4]

4. See also Altshuler and Déprez (2007) for a proposal that certain parentheticals are syntactically related to the host that I do not discuss here both because they deal with a topic construction that has properties fundamentally different from those of FP-RNR and because for it to work verbs in Spanish must remain inside VP (Altshuler and Déprez 2007: 11).

(42)



There are two problems with this approach. The first is conceptual in nature: because this proposal clearly cannot be extended to bona fide parentheticals –as the facts in (38) and (39) show–, one would be forced to assume the existence of two totally different 'parenthetical' structure-building mechanisms. The second problem is empirical: it wrongly predicts that (43), which would be the result of having the object of the host clause either *in-situ* or moved to an adjoined position lower than the CP-adjoined position of the 'parenthetical', should be good. In order to rule it out we should stipulate that the 'parenthetical' can be adjoined to CP only if the object of the host clause undergoes movement to a higher position.

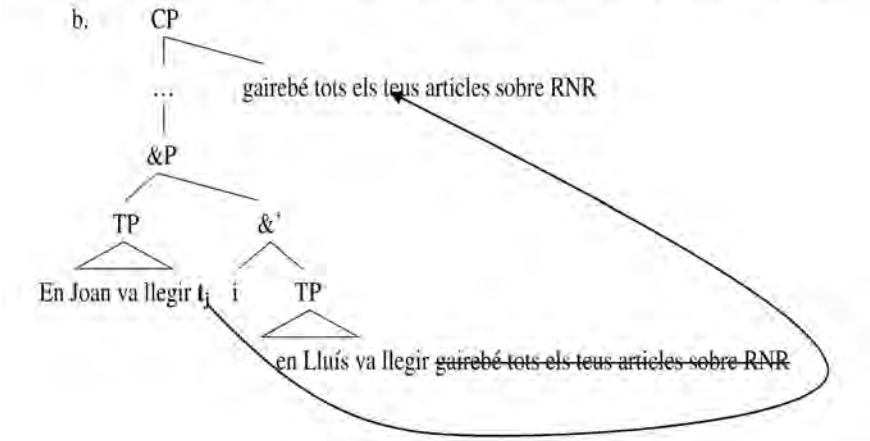
(43) a. *Jo crec que en Joan llegirà, gairebé tots els teus articles sobre
I think that the Joan read.FUT almost all the your papers on
RNR, però en Lluís ignorarà.
RNR but the Lluís ignore.FUT

b. *Yo creo que Joan leerá casi todos tus artículos sobre RNR,
I think that Joan read.FUT almost all your papers on RNR
pero Lluís ignorará.
but Lluís ignore.FUT

Now the obvious question is whether Peterson's analysis can be reinterpreted so that FP-RNR involves a case of ordinary coordination in which there is ellipsis in the second conjunct with movement of the pivot from the first conjunct to a CP-adjoined position. In that case the derivation of (28a), repeated here as (44a), would be as in (44b).

(44) a. En Joan va llegir, i en Lluís va arxivar, gairebé tots els teus articles sobre RNR.

b.



The obvious problem with this derivation is that the movement of the pivot violates the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). Additionally, we should explain why ellipsis of the object in the second conjunct is obligatory, as shown in the examples in (45) which contrast with (46).

(45) a. *En Joan va comprar(,) i en Lluís va llegir tres llibres
the Joan AUX buy and the Lluís AUX read three books
(també), tres llibres.
too three books

b. *Juan compró(,) y Luís leyó tres libros (también), tres libros.
Juan read and Luis read three books too three books

(46) a. En Joan va comprar tres llibres i en Lluís va llegir tres llibres.

b. Juan compró tres libros, y Luis leyó tres libros.

In order to circumvent the problem of the CSC violation, one could appeal to the representational approach to the CSC developed in Fox (2000), among others. For Fox, the CSC is not a derivational condition but a representational condition on LF representations. Within this approach, the contrast in (47) is straightforwardly explained: in (47b) there is no violation of the CSC because the *in-situ* operator moves at LF and binds a variable in both conjuncts.

(47) a. *Which student likes which professor and hates the Dean?

b. Which student likes which professor$_i$ and wants him$_i$ to be on his committee?
[Fox (2000: 53)]

Assuming this type of approach to the CSC, one could argue that the missing object in the second conjunct in the representation in (44) is occupied by the null object which is coreferential with the pivot (48), a derivation equivalent to that proposed in Zhang (2004) for leftward ATB-movement. The first problem for this solution is that the languages under discussion do not have null objects in the general case, so an explanation should be provided for why they are only licensed here, and the second problem is that we would expect the overt counterpart of the null pronominal to be able to show up, contrary to fact (49).[5]

(48) a. En Joan va comprar t_i, i en Lluís va llegir *pro*, tres llibres
the Joan AUX buy and the Lluís AUX read three books
sobre RNR_i.
on RNR

b. Joan compró t_i, y Lluís leyó *pro*$_i$, tres libros sobre RNR_i.
Joan bought and Lluís read.PAST three books on RNR
'Joan bought, and Lluís read, three books on RNR.'

(49) a. *En Joan va comprar t_i, i en Lluís els va llegir, tres llibres
the Joan AUX buy and the Lluís them AUX read three books
sobre RNR_i.
on RNR

b. *Juan compró t_i, y Luis los$_i$ leyó, tres libros sobre RNR_i.
Juan bought and Luis them read.PAST three books on RNR

The conclusion is thus that FP-RNR cannot involve movement of the pivot from the first conjunct with ellipsis or a null pronominal in the second conjunct. Now I turn to the ATB-movement analysis of C&S FP-RNR.

My first argument in support of an ATB-movement analysis for C&S FP-RNR comes from parasitic gap licensing. Like in English, C&S FP-RNR licenses parasitic gaps in the first conjunct (50), in the second conjunct (51), and in both (52). The structure of (52a) is given in (53) below. Notice that the licensing of parasitic gaps also strongly militates against the parenthetical approach in (33), where there are no variables that could license them.[6]

5. Even if we assumed that the missing object of verbs like *vender* 'sell' and *comer* 'eat' is *pro*, the RNR structures considered are not lexically restricted, and although it is true that some varieties of Spanish like Basque Spanish allow null objects, RNR is not restricted to those speakers. An anonymous reviewer suggests that the representations in (48)-(49) would be correct if null objects are licensed in C&S only in those configurations in which there is an antecedent. The problem with this alternative is that it predicts the configurations in (31)-(32) in the text to be good, as they also contain an antecedent for the null object.
6. There are speakers who do not like (50)-(52) due to the fact that they dislike parasitic gaps in the general case. What is important for present purposes is that the speakers who accept parasitic gaps like them in FP-RNR contexts.

(50) a. En Joan va llegir sense entendre $[e]_{PG}$, i en Pere va ignorar,
the Joan AUX read without understand and the Pere AUX ignore
tots els teus articles sobre RNR.
all the your papers on RNR.

b. Joan leyó sin entender $[e]_{PG}$, y Pere ignoró, todos tus
Joan read without understand and Pere ignored all your
artículos sobre RNR.
papers on RNR
'Joan read without understanding, and Pere ignored, all your papers on RNR.'

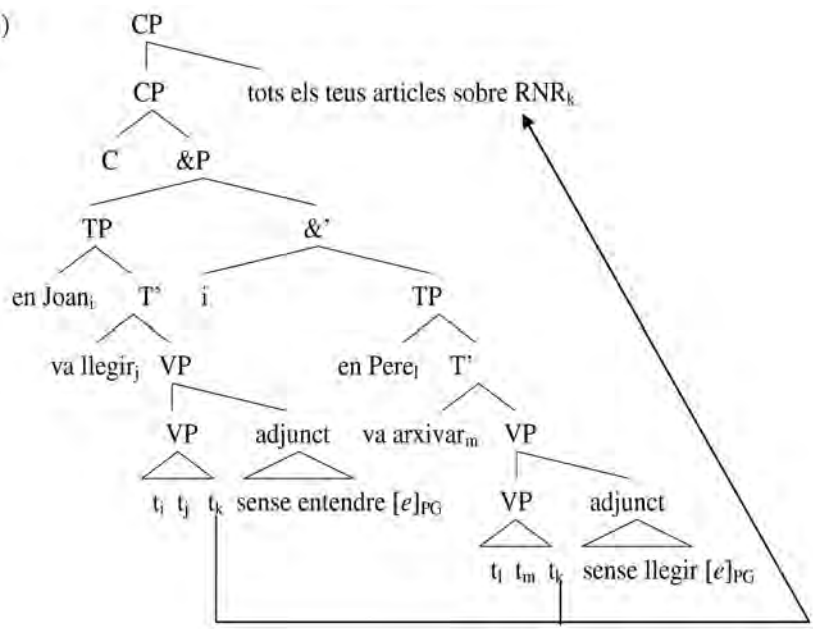
(51) a. En Joan va ignorar, i en Pere va llegir sense entendre $[e]_{PG}$, tots els teus articles sobre RNR.

b. Joan ignoró, y Pere leyó sin entender $[e]_{PG}$, todos tus artículos sobre RNR.

(52) a. En Joan va llegir sense entendre $[e]_{PG}$, i en Pere va arxivar
the Joan AUX read without understand and the Pere AUX file
sense llegir $[e]_{PG}$, tots els teus articles sobre RNR.
without read all the your papers on RNR

b. Joan leyó sin entender $[e]_{PG}$, y Pere archivó sin leer $[e]_{PG}$,
Joan read without understand and Pere filed without read
todos tus artículos sobre RNR.
all your papers on RNR
'Joan read without understanding, and Pere filed without reading, all your papers on RNR.'

(53)



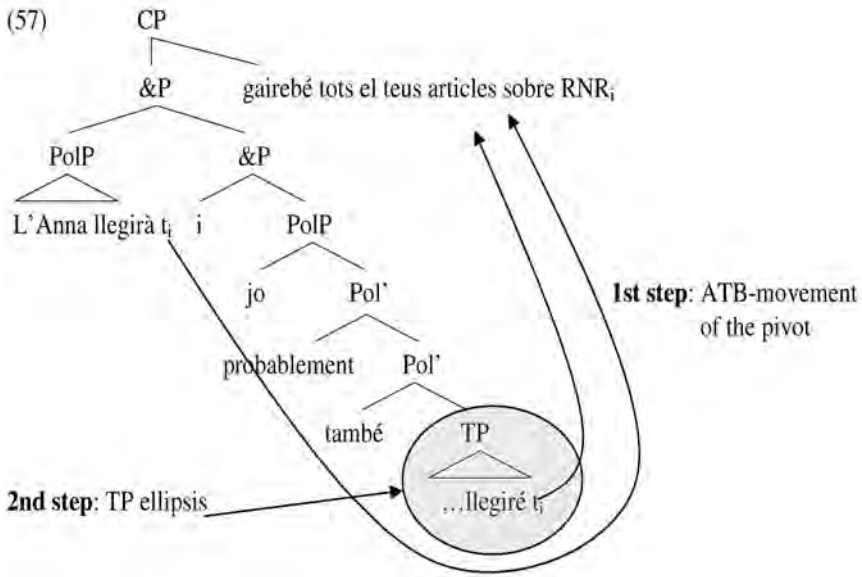
Ellipsis facts also indicate that the pivot is *ex-situ* in C&S FP-RNR. Let us assume that the ellipsis phenomenon that typically occurs in contexts of polarity agreement/disagreement illustrated in (54) involves deletion/non-pronunciation of the TP in the PF component (examples from Catalan; the same applies to Spanish):

(54) En Joan llegirà tots els teus articles sobre RNR i jo probablement
the Joan read.FUT all the your papers on RNR and I probably
també [$_{TP}$ *e*].
too
'Joan will read all your papers on RNR, and I probably will too.'

Consider now the predictions that emerge from the interaction between FP-RNR and TP ellipsis. If the pivot is *in-situ* in FP-RNR, TP ellipsis is expected to be impossible for the simple reason that, as in (54) above, eliminating the TP will also inevitably eliminate the object, which is contained in the TP. On the contrary, if the pivot evacuates the TP before PF as a result of ATB-movement, FP-RNR and TP ellipsis are expected to be able to co-occur. As shown in (55) and (56), FP-RNR can interact with TP-ellipsis. The tree in (57) illustrates the detailed derivation of (55).

(55) L'Anna llegirà, i jo probablement també, gairebé tots els teus
the+Anna read.FUT and I probably too almost all the your
articles sobre RNR.
papers on RNR
'Anna will read, and I probably will too, almost all your papers on RNR.'

(56) En Joan va llegir, i és possible/probable que en Miquel també,
the Joan AUX read and is possible probable that the Miquel too
gairebé tots els teus articles sobre RNR.
almost all the your papers on RNR
'Joan read, and it might be the case that Miquel did too, all you papers on RNR.'



Another argument for an ATB-movement approach to FP-RNR comes from scope facts in contexts in which negation co-occurs with quantified pivots. (58) illustrates the Spanish facts: the preferred scope interpretation is that in which the quantified object takes scope over negation, which is expected if the quantified pivot has moved to a position from which it c-commands negation in both clauses.[7]

(58) Ane no ha leído, y Juan no ha revisado, muchos artículos sobre
Ane not has read and Juan not has revised many papers on
RNR.
RNR

scope: *muchos* > *no*; ??*no* > *muchos*

Especially revealing in this respect is the behaviour of the Catalan quantifiers *molts, gaires,* and *massa* 'many'. Francesc Roca (p.c.) notices that quantifiers

7. An anonymous reviewer notices that NPI licensing facts like (i) might be problematic: if the pivot is not c-commanded by negation, NPIs should be banned from pivots.

(i) Ane no ha leído, y Juan no ha revisado, ningún artículo sobre RNR.
Ane not has read and Juan not has revised any paper on RNR

The solution here is reconstruction: the pivot can reconstruct to its original position in both conjuncts so that the NPI is c-commanded at LF. The obvious question then is why the reconstruction reading is less favoured for quantifier scope in (58). Notice that similar facts obtain in leftward focus movement, as illustrated in (ii) below.

(ii) a. NINGUNO de tus artículos no ha leído Ane.
b. MUCHOS de tus artículos no ha leído Ane. *muchos* > *no*, ??*no* > *muchos*

that have wide scope in contexts of negation like *molts* in (59a) can be pivots in FP-RNR (59c), whereas quantifiers like *gaires/massa* that have narrow scope (59b) can not (59d).

(59) a. L'Anna no ha llegit *molts* articles sobre RNR. *molts* > *no*
the+Anna not has read many papers on RNR

b. L'Anna no ha llegit *gaires/massa* articles sobre RNR. *no* > *gaires/massa*

c. L'Anna no ha llegit, i en Joan no ha revisat, *molts* articles
the+Anna not has read and the Joan not has revised many papers
sobre RNR.
on RNR

d. *?L'Anna no ha llegit, i en Joan no ha revisat, *gaires/massa* articles sobre RNR.

Williams (1978) observes that ATB-movement is subject to a structural parallelism requirement to the effect that the ATB-moved phrase must occupy the same structural position in both conjuncts prior to ATB-movement in non-embedded contexts. Although the ATB-moved *who* in (60a) can be extracted from a complement position in the first conjunct and from an embedded subject position in the second conjunct, this is impossible in the non-embedded coordinate clauses in (60b). Independently of how these facts are explained, I will use this structural parallelism requirement to show that FP-RNR involves ATB-movement of the pivot in C&S.

(60) a. I know the man [who$_1$ [John likes t$_1$] and [we hope t$_1$ will win]].

b. *I know a man [who$_1$ [Bill saw t$_1$] and [t$_1$ likes Mary]].
[Williams (1978: 34)]

The parallelism requirement makes a clear prediction concerning the availability of ATB-movement in languages in which the subject does not have to move to Spec,TP and can thus stay *in-situ*, as is generally assumed for Catalan and Spanish. In these languages, ATB-movement is expected to be perfectly possible in contexts in which the moving phrase is an object in one conjunct and the subject of a passive or unaccusative predicate in the other, as the structural parallelism requirement will be satisfied due to the fact that the moving phrase occupies an object position in both conjuncts prior to ATB-movement. This is indeed the case, as illustrated in (61a,b) for leftward ATB-movement. If the ATB-moved DP moves from Spec,vP in one conjunct and from the complement position in the other, as in (61c,d), the structural parallelism condition is not satisfied, hence its deviance (examples from Catalan; the same applies to Spanish):

(61) a. Quines mostres d'ADN dius que vas portar dilluns i no
which samples of+DNA say.2SG that AUX bring monday and not
van ser analitzades fins dijous?
AUX be analyzed until thursday
'Which DNA samples do you say you brought on Monday and were not analyzed until Thursday?'

b. Quines mostres d'ADN dius que et va enviar el jutge el
which samples of+DNA say.2SG that you AUX send the judge the
dimarts i van desaparèixer el dijous?
monday and AUX disappear the thursday
'Which DNA samples do you say that the judge sent on Tuesday and disappeared on Friday?'

c. ??Quines proves dius que vas trobar tu i van demostrar
which evidence say.2SG that AUX find you and AUX show
la seva culpabilitat?
the his guilt
'Which evidence do you say that you found at 10:00 and showed his guilt?'

d. ??Quines proves dius que demostraven la seva culpabilitat i
which evidence say.2SG that showed the his guilt and
vas destruir tu?
AUX destroy you
'Which evidence do you say that showed his guilt and you destroyed?'

If my claim that C&S FP-RNR involves ATB-movement of the pivot is correct, similar structural parallelism facts should obtain. As shown in (62), this prediction is borne out. In (62a), the pivot is the object of a transitive verb in one conjunct and the subject of a passive verb in the other, and in (62b) it is the object of a transitive verb in one conjunct and the subject of an unaccusative verb in the other. So in these cases the structural parallelism condition is satisfied, as the pivot moves from an object position. Crucial for us is the deviance of (62c,d), in clear parallelism with (61c,d). In both cases the parallelism constraint on ATB-movement is violated.

(62) a. Dilluns jo hi vaig dur, i dijous van ser analitzades, gairebé
monday I LOC AUX bring and thursday AUX be analyzed almost
el 70% de les mostres d'ADN. (
the 70% of the samples of+DNA
'On Monday I brought almost 70% of the DNA samples, and on Thursday they were analyzed.'

b. A les 10:00 el jutge ens va enviar, i hores després van
at the 10:00 the judge us AUX send and hours later AUX
desaparèixer, gairebé totes les mostres d'ADN.
disappear almost all the samples of+DNA
'At 10:00 the judge sent us almost all the DNA samples, and a few hours later they disappeared.'

c. *Jo vaig trobar, i van demostrar la seva culpabilitat, força
I AUX find and AUX show the his guilt abundant
mostres d'ADN.
samples of+DNA
'I found abundant DNA evidence, and that evidence demonstrated that he is guilty.'

d. *Demostraran la seva culpabilitat, i jo analitzaré, les mostres
show.FUT the his guilt and I analyze.FUT the samples
d'ADN trobades.
of+DNA found
'The DNA evidence found will demonstrate that he is guilty, and I will analyze it.'

A second type of parallelism constraint that applies to ATB-movement is the requirement that the ATB-moved phrase match in case the gaps inside all the conjuncts of the coordination (Borsley 1983; Dyla 1984). In Spanish, this effect can be observed in the contrast between (63a) on the one hand and (63b,c) on the other. In (63a), the accusative DP matches the accusative case of the gaps inside the two conjuncts. In (63b), the accusative-marked wh-phrase matches the accusative case of the gap inside the first conjunct but not the nominative case of the gap in the second conjunct. The opposite happens in (63c).

(63) a. ¿A qué traficante de heroína interrogó la policía el lunes
DOM which dealer of heroin questioned the police the monday
y encarceló el juez el martes?
and imprisoned the judge the tuesday
'Which drug dealer did the police question on Monday and the judge imprison on Tuesday?'

b. ??¿A qué traficante de heroína interrogó la policía el lunes
DOM which dealer of heroin questioned the police the monday
y fue encarcelado el jueves?
and was imprisoned the thursday

c. *¿Qué traficante de heroína interrogó la policía el lunes y fue encarcelado el jueves?

Catalan behaves differently in this respect. It has no Differential Object Marking (DOM) and (64), the equivalent of Spanish (63b,c), is thus grammatical because the same syncretic form is used for both nominative and accusative. However, DOM can sometimes show up in Catalan. If DOM is used, the Catalan examples corresponding to (63b,c) also exhibit case mismatch effects.[8]

(64) Quin traficant d'heroïna va interrogar la policia el dilluns i va
which dealer of+heroin questioned the police the monday and was
ser empresonat el dijous?
imprisoned the thursday

Notice that the ATB-moved phrases in both (61) and (62) are inanimate DPs for which also Spanish has syncretic forms for nominative and accusative, so that the case matching constraint is ultimately observed. Now if I am right that C&S FP-RNR involves ATB-movement, similar case-matching effects should emerge. In the Spanish examples (65a) and (65b), where the pivot matches in accusative and nominative case respectively the case of the gaps in each conjunct, case-matching is observed. The Catalan example corresponding to (65a) is also good with and without DOM in both clauses, as expected. In the Spanish examples in (66), on the contrary, case-matching is not observed, hence their deviance. As expected, the corresponding examples in Catalan are grammatical if there is no DOM, and the case mismatch effect emerges if DOM is used. The deviance of (66b) and (66d) also constitutes a powerful empirical argument against Peterson's (1999) parenthetical analysis of FP-RNR: if the pivot is *in-situ* in the first conjunct, the case marking of the pivot should be determined by the properties of the first conjunct, contrary to fact.

8. I thank Francesc Roca for this observation.

(65) a. La policía interrogó, y el juez encarceló, *a* todos los
the police questioned and the judge imprisoned DOM all the
traficantes de heroína detenidos en la redada.
dealers of heroin arrested in the raid

b. El lunes fueron detenidos, y el jueves fueron encarcelados,
the monday were arrested and the thursday were imprisoned
todos los traficantes de heroína detenidos en la redada.
all the dealers of heroin arrested in the raid

(66) a. ??El lunes la policía interrogó, y el jueves fueron encarcelados, todos los traficantes de heroína detenidos en la redada.

b. *El lunes la policía interrogó, y el jueves fueron encarcelados, *a* todos los traficantes de heroína detenidos en la redada.

c. ??El lunes fueron detenidos, y el juez encarceló, *a* todos los traficantes de heroína detenidos en la redada.[9]

d. *El lunes fueron detenidos, y el juez encarceló, todos los traficantes de heroína detenidos en la redada.

Let us go back to Camacho's (2007) instances of Spanish RNR, repeated below for convenience. As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, the fact that the pivot in (67) is preceded by a comma suggests that we are dealing with a case of FP-RNR. The contrast between (67a) and (67b) actually supports the *ex-situ* analysis defended here for C&S FP-RNR. Assuming Camacho's idea that propositional adverbs like *siempre* 'always' do not modify simplex DPs, (67b) is bad because the pivot is not a constituent and only constituents can undergo (ATB-)movement.

(67) a. ?Los niños traen e_i, y entregan siempre, [un regalo]$_i$.
the children bring and deliver always a present
'The children bring, and always deliver, a present.'

b. *Los niños traen e_i, y entregan, [siempre un regalo]$_i$.
the children bring e_i and deliver always a gift
[Camacho (2003: 25-26)]

The examples that Camacho uses to argue against an *ex-situ* pivot approach to RNR are reproduced in (68) and (69). They show that the PP pivot must satisfy the selectional restrictions of the verb in the second conjunct, which is unexpected if it has ATB-moved. As I noticed at the beginning of this section, the fact that these examples do not feature a comma before the pivot suggests that they are instances of NFP-RNR, not FP-RNR.

9. Some speakers consider (66a) and (66c) to be better than indicated in the text. This is probably due to the proximity of the gap of the second conjunct in linear order.

(68) a. Desde aquel día fue y vino del Instituto.
from that day went and came of-the Institute
'From that day he/she went and came from the institute.'

b. Primero amedrentaron y luego dispararon contra los manifestantes.
first harassed and then shot against the demonstrators
'First they harassed, and then they shot at the demonstrators.'
[Camacho (2003: 158)]

(69) a. *Desde aquel día vino y fue del Instituto.
from that day came and went of-the Institute

b. *Primero dispararon y luego amedrentaron a los manifestantes.
first shot and then harassed to the demonstrators
[Camacho (2003: 158)]

Interestingly, the corresponding FP-RNR examples are deviant (70), the reason being that they constitute a lack of parallelism effect on ATB-movement of the pivot similar to the case matching effects considered above. Camacho's examples thus actually support my proposal that there are two types of RNR with different focal, prosodic, and syntactic properties.

(70) a. *Desde aquel día fue, y vino, del instituto.

b. *Primero amedrentaron, y luego dispararon, contra los manifestantes.

The conclusion is thus that the properties of C&S FP-RNR are better explained by an *ex-situ* ATB-movement analysis. I now turn to C&S NFP-RNR.

2.3. Catalan and Spanish NFP-RNR

I will first try to correctly identify instances of NFP-RNR in C&S. I will first look at cases of ellipsis in the first conjunct of a coordinate structure that might be considered to be instances of FP-RNR but which, I argue, should not be considered when analyzing the properties of C&S NFP-RNR. Remember that the crucial property of RNR discussed above when considering English RNR is that the gap can only occur in the first conjunct.

The example in (71a) is superficially a case of RNR with a complex pivot containing the verbal complex and the internal argument of the verb. But notice that the gap can also appear in the second conjunct (71b), which is unexpected if (71a) is a case of RNR. Assuming that preverbal subjects in C&S occupy a position outside TP, I consider that these examples should be analyzed as instances of TP ellipsis, not as canonical cases of NFP-RNR (Catalan examples; the same applies to Spanish,

(71) a. Uns diuen que en Lluís __ i d'altres diuen que la Miren
some say that the Lluís and of+others say that the Miren
guanyarà les eleccions.
win.FUT the elections.

b. Uns diuen que la Miren guanyará les eleccions, i d'altres diuen que en Lluís __.

The example in (72a) in which there is a gap corresponding to the non-finite verb and its complement in the first conjunct should not be considered to be a case of NFP-RNR, either; as shown in (72b), the gap can appear in the second conjunct. These are probably instances of Null Complement Anaphora.

(72) a. Uns volen __ i d'altres no volen assumir les despeses
some want and of+others not want assume the costs
addicionals.
extra
'Some want and others don't want to assume the extra costs.'

b. Uns volen assumir les despeses addicionals, i d'altres no volen __.

When checking the properties of C&S NFP-RNR, I will thus only consider those instances of gaps in the non-final conjunct of a coordination that do not have a corresponding grammatical counterpart with the gap in the final conjunct. Catalan and Spanish are not null object languages, so cases of object DPs as pivots can only be instances of FP-RNR.

In (73), an object DP is missing in the first conjunct of the coordination, but cases like these in which there is only one overt subject could be argued to involve coordination of the verbal heads. So they do not qualify as real cases of NFP-RNR.

(73) En Joan està arrebossant __ i fregint el lluç.
the Joan is breading and frying the hake

(74) clearly is not an instance of coordination of heads, as the tense specification is different for each verb, an indication that it involves coordination of two TPs. So this is an unambiguous instance of NFP-RNR.

(74) Els comerciants han tingut __, tenen __ i tindran el meu suport.
the shopkeepers have had have and have.FUT the my support

Actually, although in the literature it is typically assumed that RNR involves coordination of TPs, there is empirical evidence that some examples must involve coordination of two CPs, as wh-movement of the indirect object is possible in both conjuncts:

(75) M'agradaria saber a qui_i vau deixar __ t_i i a qui_j vau donar
me+like.COND know to who AUX lend and to who AUX give
diners t_j.
money
'I would like to know to whom you lent and to whom you gave money.'

In contexts in which each member of the coordination contains a different subject, the results are perfect when the subjects are identical wh-words (76a) but there is cross-speaker variation in contexts of different non-wh subjects (76b). The speakers who reject (76b) propose sentences with object clitics as alternatives (76c). If the verb before the gap and the pivot receives very prominent focal stress in (76b), it is judged to be better by those speakers who initially reject it.

(76) a. M'agradaria saber qui va arrebossar __ i qui va fregir el
me+like.COND know who AUX bread and who AUX fry the
lluç.
hake
'I would like to know who breaded and who fried the hake.'

b. %Em sembla recordar que en Joan va arrebossar __ i que
me seem remember that the Joan AUX bread and that
la Miren va fregir el lluç.
the Miren AUX fry the hake
'As far as I can remember, Joan breaded and Miren fried the hake.'

c. Em sembla recordar que en Joan va arrebossar el lluç i
me seems remember that the Joan AUX bread the hake and
que la Miren el va fregir.
that the Miren it AUX fry
'As far as I can remember, Joan breaded the hake and Miren fried it.'

DP complements of prepositions can be omitted in a context like (77a), but again this should probably be analyzed as coordination of two heads and not as a case of NFP-RNR. In clear contexts of TP coordination like (77b), there is again cross-speaker variation, with considerable improvement if very prominent focal stress falls on the prepositions immediately preceding the gap and the pivot. In contexts in which the two prepositions are not in a contrastive relation and are thus unlikely to receive focal stress, FP-RNR is unanimously considered to be impossible (78).

(77) a. Ho pots fer amb___ o sense sucre.
it can.2SG do with or without sugar
'You can make it with or without sugar.'

b. %En Pere ho va fer amb __ i l'Andreu ho va fer sense
the Pere it AUX do with and the+Andreu it AUX do without
sucre.
sugar
'Pere made it with and Andreu made it without sugar.'

(78) a. *No parli amb __ ni distregui l'atenció del conductor si
not speak with nor distract the+attention of-the driver if
l'autobús està en marxa.
the+bus is in motion
'Do not speak to or distract the attention of the driver while the bus is moving.'

b. *La Miren va estudiar amb __ i va treballar per a la Susanna.
the Miren AUX study with and AUX work for the Susanna

The possibility of having DP complements of prepositions illustrated in (77b,) indicates that the pivot is *in-situ* in NFP-RNR, as C&S are not preposition-stranding languages.

Now if my claim that the pivot is *in-situ* in NFP-RNR is correct, an immediate consequence is that parasitic gaps should not be licensed in those contexts. This is indeed the case (79).

(79) a. *En Joan va IGNORAR, i en Pere va LLEGIR sense
the Joan AUX ignore and the Pere AUX read without
entendre $[e]_{PG}$ els teus articles.
understand the your papers

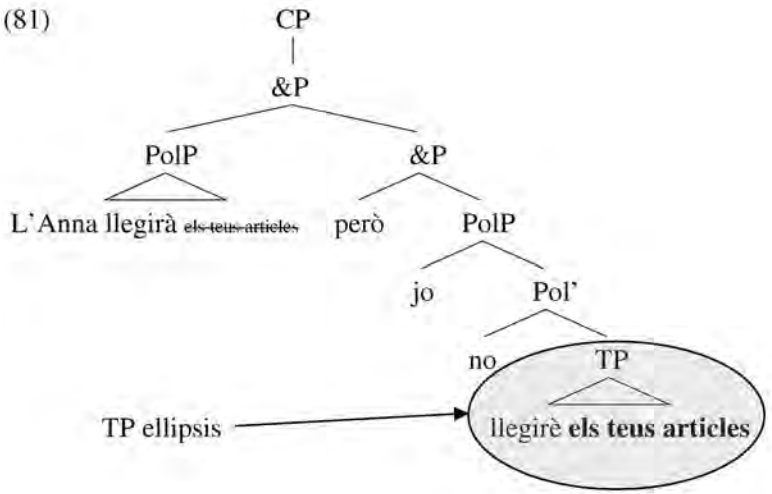
b. *Joan IGNORÓ y Pere LEYÓ sin entender $[e]_{PG}$ tus
Joan ignored and Pere read without understand your
artículos.
papers

An additional fact that is immediately explained if the pivot is *in-situ* in C&S NFP-RNR is the impossibility of having TP-ellipsis in these contexts (80), in clear contrast with the FP-RNR data shown in (55)-(56) above. Independently of whether one adopts an ellipsis (81) or multidominance (82) approach to NFP-RNR, the *in-situ* pivot will inevitably be eliminated when the TP is deleted.

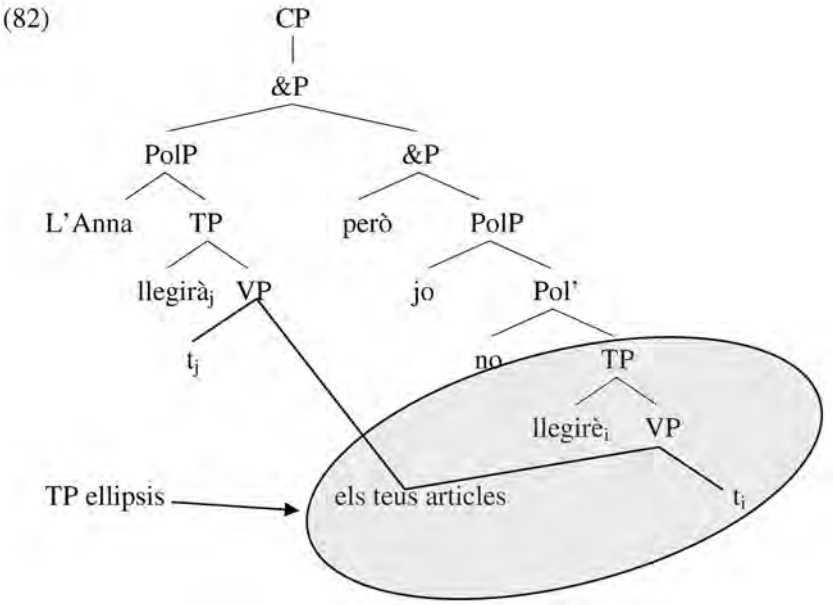
(80) a. *L'Anna llegirà però jo NO els teus articles.
the+Anna read.FUT but I not the your papers

b. *Anna leerá pero yo NO tus artículos.
Anna read.FUT but I not your papers

(81)



(82)



Two conclusions can be drawn from this section. The first is that C&S NFP-RNR involves an *in-situ* pivot, the gap in the first conjunct resulting either from ellipsis of material identical to the pivot in the first conjunct or from not pronouncing the multidominated pivot in that position. The second is that C&S NFP-RNR is dependent on the existence of focal material preceding the pivot. The second conclusion suggests that C&S NFP-RNR is more likely to be analyzed as an instance

of ellipsis in the first conjunct, which in the general case is known to be related to focal structure (see Merchant 2001, among others). It is not clear why Parallel Merge, if it is one of the possible structure-building mechanisms allowed by UG, should be restricted to contexts of focus.

3. Conclusions

I have shown that Catalan and Spanish have two types of RNR structures: Focal-Pivot RNR (FP-RNR) and Non-Focal-Pivot RNR (NFP-RNR). In the former, the pivot is focal, preceded by a prosodic break, and features ATB-movement of the pivot. The gap in the first conjunct of FP-RNR is thus a variable. In the latter, the pivot is not focal, not preceded by a prosodic break, and *in-situ*, and the gap in the first conjunct results either from ellipsis of material identical to the pivot or from not pronouncing the multidominated pivot in that position.

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Variation at the Interfaces in Ibero-Romance. Catalan and Spanish Prosody and Word Order*

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Abstract

In this study we investigate how word order interacts with prosody in the expression of sentence modality and different focus constructions in different varieties of Catalan and Spanish. We analyze a corpus obtained by means of two tasks: a) a production test designed to elicit different focus constructions by means of question-answer pairs from short picture stories and b) the Discourse Completion Task methodology. The collected data were prosodically and syntactically annotated. Our data confirm that in Catalan and Spanish the intonational prominence tends to be located in clause-final position but this is completely true only for broad focus declaratives, since the main prominence can also fall on clause-initial position in Eastern Catalan and Basque Spanish informational focus declaratives or remain in situ in both informational and contrastive focus declaratives (especially in VAL_CAT or Spanish). As for interrogative modality, an important distinction is made between languages that can present subject-verb inversion in direct questions (VAL_CAT and Spanish) and languages that cannot (Eastern Catalan). In Eastern Catalan the subject is dislocated.

Keywords: word order; prosody; focus; declarative modality; interrogative modality; dialectal variation; Catalan; Spanish.

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1. Introduction

The interface between prosody and word order in Ibero-Romance has not been consistently studied. A considerable amount of research has been devoted to languages like Spanish, but other languages such as Catalan are much less known. In addition, most of the work concentrates on declarative modality, particularly on the expression of focus. Although we find exceptions (such as Zubizarreta 1998 and Gabriel 2010 for Spanish), there is often a stark division between those studies that emphasize the syntactic perspective (syntactic mechanisms to mark focus: Solà 1990, Vallduví 1991, Domínguez 2002 for Catalan; Costa 2001, Gutiérrez-Bravo 2002, 2005, 2006, Domínguez 2004, Samek-Lodovici 2001, 2005 among others for Spanish) and those that draw attention to the prosodic perspective (description of the focal shape and the use of different prosodic parameters such as duration, and peak alignment/scaling: Estebas-Vilaplana 2000, Prieto in press-2014, Vanrell et al. 2013 for Catalan; de la Mota 1995, Sosa 1999, Face 2001, 2002, Hualde 2002, 2005, Gabriel 2006, 2007, Vanrell et al. 2013 for Spanish). The few studies addressing interrogative modality mainly concentrate on word order and tend to disregard dialectal variation (an exception is Prieto and Rigau 2007 for Catalan). They deal primarily with standard varieties or with varieties that present a particular characteristic (e.g., absence of subject inversion in Caribbean Spanish). Finally, as it was noted by Gabriel (2010), another difference between syntactic works on the one hand and phonological studies on the other is that they use different methodological approaches. Syntactic works make resource to introspection and grammaticality judgments, whereas phonological studies tend to use experimental methods.

This paper makes an attempt to encompass all those aspects and face the two perspectives (syntactic and prosodic), while dealing with dialectal variation and using the same controlled methodology. We investigate how word order interacts with prosody in the expression of sentence modality (declarative and interrogative modality) and different focus constructions (broad, informational and contrastive focus) in different varieties of Catalan and Spanish. For Catalan we will examine two Eastern Catalan varieties, Central Catalan and Balearic Catalan, and one Western Catalan variety, namely Valencian Catalan. As for Spanish, Castilian and Canary Islands Spanish will be explored and compared to a contact variety, the one spoken in the Basque Country.

Recent works on generative grammar have shown that the correlation between prosody and syntactic structure is not homogeneous among languages but is subject to parametric modeling (Hirschberg and Avesani 2000, de la Cruz-Pavía 2010, de la Cruz-Pavía and Elordieta submitted; see also Elordieta and Irurtzun 2012 for an overview). One aspect in which languages vary has to do with the position of the subject and its inclusion in a prosodic phrase independent of the verb (Elordieta,

Frota and Vigário 2005). Some of the languages studied here present particular characteristics such as non dislocated subjects in Valencian Catalan interrogatives (Prieto and Cabré (eds.) 2007-2012), or OV order in Basque Spanish declaratives (Gómez Seibane 2012). It has also been claimed that non-inverted questions (which are widely attested in Caribbean varieties) are possible in Canarian Spanish. We will examine these properties aiming at isolating the crucial parameter implied and the features involved. As for declarative modality, the hypothesis that there are phonologically motivated movements will be tested, as well as the syntactic strategies that different languages resort to in «information packaging», such as (right) dislocation.

2. Methodology

2.1. Participants

The participants in our production experiment were 4 men and 10 women aged between 22 and 45 from the following locales of the two languages under study: a) Central Catalan (CENTR_CAT): 1 female speaker from Borredà and 1 female speaker from Torrelavit; Balearic Catalan (BAL_CAT): 1 female speaker from Llucmajor and 1 male speaker from Ses Salines; Valencian Catalan (VAL_CAT): 1 female speaker from Ondara and 1 male speaker from Bocairent) and b) Castilian Spanish (CAST_SPA): 2 female speakers from Madrid; Spanish of the Basque country: 2 female L1 Spanish speakers (BC_L1SPA_SPA) from Bilbao and 2 female L1 Basque speakers (BC_L1BAS_SPA) from Gernika and Zeberio respectively; Canarian Spanish (CAN_SPA): 2 male speakers from Las Palmas. See Figure 1.

Figure 1. Map including the locales where the recordings were carried out. Inverted pyramids represent that the language of the experiments was Catalan, whereas circles represent Spanish.

2.2. Materials

The corpus analyzed in this paper was obtained by means of two tasks: a) a production test designed to elicit different focus constructions (broad, narrow or informational and contrastive foci on different constituents) through of question-answer pairs from short picture stories presented in a PowerPoint slide show (Gabriel 2010) and b) the Discourse Completion Task methodology or DCT (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989, Billmyer and Varghese 2000, Félix-Brasdefer 2010).

As for the former, we had three different stories with different main characters (a girl called Maria, Snow White and a sailor). The short stories correspond to full sentences with a canonical syntactic structure (SVO_1O_2/Adjunct)[1] and were controlled for Embeddedness (half of the second VP-complements were arguments and the other half were adjuncts) and Focused Constituent (S, V, O_1 or O_2/Adjunct). Participants were asked to respond to a series of wh-questions or tag questions and were explicitly asked to use all the constituents that appeared in them. Speakers were free to use any syntactic order or strategy on the condition that they sounded natural in their native language. The stories and the subsequent questions were as follows:

(1) Blancanieves trajo las manzanas con fatiga.
Snow.White bring.PAST.3SG the apples with tiredness

(2) a. ¿Qué ha pasado?
what have.PRES.3SG happened

b. ¿Qué trajo Blancanieves con fatiga?
what bring.PAST.3SG Snow.White with tiredness

c. ¿Quién trajo las manzanas con fatiga?
who bring.PAST.3SG the apples with tiredness

d. Blancanieves trajo con fatiga las naranjas, ¿verdad?
Snow.White bring.PAST.3SG with tiredness the oranges right

e. ¿Cómo trajo las manzanas Blancanieves?
how bring.PAST.3SG the apples Snow.White

f. Trajo las manzanas con fatiga Caperucita,
bring.PAST.3SG the apples with tiredness Little.Red.Riding.Hood
¿verdad?
right

g. ¿Qué hizo Blancanieves con fatiga?
what do.PAST.3SG Snow.White with tiredness

h. Blancanieves trajo las manzanas con vitalidad, ¿no?
Snow.White bring.PAST.3SG the apples with vitality no

1. Where O_1 and O_2 refer to direct or indirect object, in both orders.

i. ¿Qué hizo Blancanieves con las manzanas?
what do.PAST.3SG Snow.White with the apples

j. Blancanieves se llevó las manzanas con fatiga, ¿verdad?
Snow.White REFL take.PAST.3SG the apples with tiredness right

k. Las manzanas, las trajo con fatiga
the apples them bring.PAST.3SG with tiredness
Caperucita, ¿no?
Little.Red.Riding.Hood, no

Through this method we elicited a total of 120 contours x 14 speakers to yield a total of 1680 contours.

As for the DCT, it is an inductive method in which the researcher presents the subject with a series of situations (such as «You go into a shop you have never been to before and ask the shop assistant if they sell sugar») and then asks him or her to respond accordingly. The full survey is made up of 130 situations that allowed us to obtain a wide range of interrogative contours (direct or indirect wh- and y/n questions) controlling for the type of verb (copulative, transitive, unaccusative and unergative), the type of subject (nominal, pronominal or the second person formal *vostè*/*usted* in Catalan and Spanish respectively) or the degree of presupposition about the likelihood that the speaker will get a «yes» answer to his/her utterance (information- and confirmation y/n questions and tag questions). We also controlled the behavior of «external» adverbials of the type *how come*, which according to Rizzi (2001) appear in a higher position in the left periphery. We elicited a total of 1820 contours (130 contours x 14 speakers).[2]

2.3. Procedure

Both the question-answer pairs and the short picture stories were adapted to every specific dialectal variety under study. The short picture stories were first presented both in writing and audio, whereas the set of questions about the picture stories were presented only in audio.

The descriptions of the prompt situations of the DCT were read aloud to the participants by the authors of this paper. Speakers were then asked to respond appropriately to the situations as spontaneously as possible. Questions were recorded only once but when a speech disfluency, breaks or irregularities occurred, the prompt situation was described once again at the end of the full interview session. There was a high degree of familiarity between the interviewer and the speakers. The whole set of tasks lasted approximately 70 minutes. Speakers were recorded on Zoom H4n digital audio recorder using an AKG C520 condenser microphone.

2. Readers can access the survey by clicking this link: http://optimitza.cat/mvanrell/research

2.4. Analysis

Data obtained through the question-answer pairs were annotated in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2013) for the following fields: (1) orthographic transcription, (2) syntactic strategy used by the speaker (neutral order, right or left dislocation of the non-focused material, clefting[3], constituent fronting, prosodic motivated movement, etc.), (3) syntactic order, (4) type of focus (broad, informational or contrastive focus) as well as the constituent that is under focus and (5) prosodic transcription of the data in terms of pitch accents and boundary tones[4] (Hualde and Prieto in press-2014, Prieto et al. in press-2014). For the utterances obtained by means of the DCT methodology, the following fields were annotated: (1) orthographic transcription, (2) position of the subject (elided, right or left dislocated, postverbal or preverbal), (3) additional lexical markers such as *que* or *oi?* and (4) prosodic transcription. The annotations were collected automatically into a file in .txt format through a Praat script and then transferred to a SPSS file for purposes of subsequent statistical exploration. The data were analyzed separately depending on the methodology used to obtain them (question-answer pairs vs. DCT method). This difference in the methodology also corresponded to a difference in the modality of the materials, that is, the materials obtained through the question-answer pairs belong to the declarative modality (though with different focal structures) whereas the materials collected using the DCT are identified as interrogative modality.

3. Data

3.1. Declarative modality

Most work devoted to the interface between word order and prosody in Catalan and Spanish concentrates mainly on the expression of focus in the standard varieties (Central Catalan and Castilian Spanish). Both languages are considered to mark focus by syntactic means, although recent studies show that prosodic strategies are possible as well (Face and D'Imperio 2005, Estebas-Vilaplana 2000). Regarding these prosodic strategies, in Catalan and Spanish it is assumed that intonational prominence falls on clause-final position and that prominence shift is not an available strategy (Vallduví 1991, Zubizarreta 1998). However, it remains unclear which prosodic strategies are possible (pitch accent shape; postfocal compression; differences in alignment, duration or pitch height), under which circumstances they operate, and how they interact with syntax. Given that prominence shift is not an available strategy, alternative syntactic mechanisms are proposed in order to vary the location of prominence. For Catalan, Vallduví (1991) proposed dislocation of the nonfocal material of a sentence to ensure that elements that the speaker wishes to focalize appear in the rightmost position, whereas in Spanish, the nonfocal mate-

3. Clefting structures were discarded from the data presented in the paper.
4. Although the ToBI system was used to analyze the contours, here we will use a more descriptive system based on the trajectory associated to the nuclear syllables (last stressed syllable of a sentence) and to the edges of the tonal units.

rial undergoes movement to a non canonical position (p-movement or *prosodically motivated movement*, Zubizarreta 1998). Other syntactic strategies such as focus fronting or clefting seem to be restricted to a contrastive meaning (Solà 1990 for Catalan, Zubizarreta 1998 for Spanish).

3.1.1. Broad focus

For broad focus our results indicate that the most extended order in all cases is SVO_1O_2/Adjunct. There seems to be no significant contrast between unaccusative vs. transitive/unergative verbs.

From the intonational point of view, broad focus declaratives are characterized by a nuclear falling pattern. Interestingly, the phonetic shape of the nuclear configuration in Catalan broad focus declaratives differs from that of Spanish. Speakers of Catalan varieties tend to produce a drastic fall sometimes followed by a final slight rise similar to the one found in Italo-Romance varieties (Grice, Savino and Refice 1997, Savino 2012 for Bari Italian; Roseano et al. in press-2014 for Friulian; Vanrell et al. in press-2014 for Sardinian). In Spanish varieties the last fall is less drastic and has the shape of a *plateau* during the nuclear syllable with no or little final slight rise. Figure 2 and 3 illustrate the two different patterns. In Figure 2 a steepest fall aligned to the syllable *-si-* (*cosina* 'cousin') is observed which is followed by a final rise. Conversely, in Figure 3 we observe a sustained pitch contour along the nuclear syllable *-ble-* (*problemas* 'problems') and low final tone. This difference in the phonetic nuclear shape of broad focus sentences between Catalan and Spanish has not gone unnoticed in the literature and it was previously attested in Estebas-Vilaplana (2003a,b), Face (2002, 2004) and Simonet (2009, 2010, 2011). According to Simonet (2009: 113), it could reveal «potentially-gradual differences» existing among different Hispano-Romance languages. In addition, the author presents comparative evidence that allows him to speculate that steeper falls of Majorcan Catalan could be interpreted as a conservative feature compared to the *plateau* found in Castilian Spanish. However, since the type of analysis performed

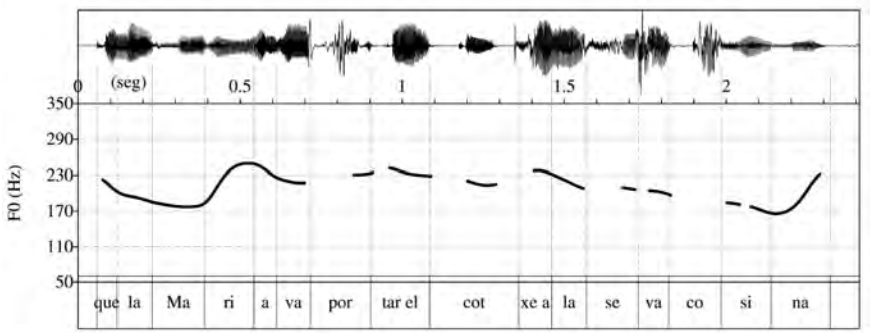


Figure 2. Waveform and F0 contour of the broad focus declarative *Que la Maria va portar el cotxe a la seva cosina* 'that Maria brought the car to her cousin' produced by a speaker of Central Catalan.

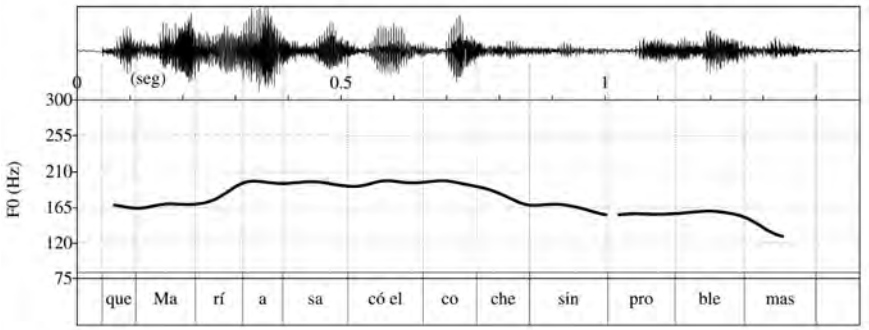


Figure 3. Waveform and F0 contour of the broad focus declarative *Que María sacó el coche sin problemas* 'that María took out the car without problems' produced by a speaker of Spanish of the Basque Country.

as well as the goals of our work do not allow us to go in depth into this, we will leave this issue for further research.

3.1.2. Informational focus

As for (narrow) informational focus, Catalan seems to present a particular behavior in the sense that the tendency is to right dislocate non focalized material (as opposed to focus in situ, p-movement or other strategies which are commonly used in Spanish). This is consistent with Vallduví's (1994) claim that the constituent(s) which belong to the «tail» part of the ground information are marked by the syntactic strategy of right dislocation (RD) in Catalan, whereas languages like English make use of the phonological strategy of stress or prominence shift (and only very marginally of RD). On the other hand, Villalba (2011) shows that while RD is a pervasive mechanism in Catalan for activation and continuation topics, Spanish makes very marginal use of this strategy. Right-dislocation does occur in Spanish (Sedano 2006) and has a topic-marking function in cases like (3):

(3) a. Lo he leído, ese libro.
ACC have.PRES.1SG read that book

b. Ya lo sé que estás cansada.
already ACC know.PRES.1SG that be.PRES.2SG tired

But the studies show that Spanish RD is restricted to «sentences, demonstratives and DPs, and to subject and object functions, and shows a sharp preference for topic activation» (Villalba 2011: 1959). Villalba's study demonstrates that Spanish resorts to realization in canonical position where Catalan uses right dislocations.[5]

5. For comparison this author analyzes the Spanish translation of the classical Catalan play *Terra baixa* by Àngel Guimerà, which represents a (colloquial spoken) register where RD is especially favored.

Spanish canonical realizations tend to correspond to what the author calls *activation topics*, and to inferable and nonlocal antecedents.

So it seems clear that Catalan has a more active right periphery than Spanish. As for the parameter behind this contrast, Villalba suggests that there is a relation between the different formal mechanisms available for information packaging (Spanish, unlike Catalan, cannot fully resort to RD) and the fact that Spanish lacks a full paradigm of pronominal clitics (including oblique partitive and locative). This, according to the author, «makes Spanish RD a less regular and unambiguous mechanism for marking activation topics. In contrast, realization in canonical position is a maximally efficient mechanism: any category or function receives a similar treatment.» (2011: 1960). As a result, it seems that Spanish treats the information that Catalan encodes by means of RD as if it were new information. This would cause potential informational ambiguity between focus and canonical realization of background material that, as Ziv (1994) suggests, can be resolved by means of additional prosodic mechanisms.

Contrary to what has been said (Solà 1990 for Catalan, Zubizarreta 1998 for Spanish), in our data fronting is not restricted to contrastive focus. Thus, both in Eastern Catalan (BAL_CAT and CENTR_CAT) and in Spanish of the Basque Country (BC_L1SPA_SPA and BC_L1BAS_SPA) we find an important percentage of instances of constituent fronting (about 30% for the two varieties of Catalan and BC_L1SPA_SPA and about 15% in BC_L1BAS_SPA). See (4):

(4) a. Què va entrar, na Maria, amb dificultat? *BAL_CAT*
what put into.PAST.3SG PERS.ART Maria with difficulties
Es cotxe va entrar na Maria amb dificultat.
the car put into.PAST.3SG PERS.ART Maria with difficulties.

b. A qui va enviar la carta, el mariner? *CENTR_CAT*
to who send.PAST.3SG the letter the sailor)
A la dama va enviar la carta el mariner.
to the lady send.PAST.3SG the letter the sailor

c. ¿Qué le dio el marinero al viejo? *BC_L1BAS_SPA*
what DAT give.PAST.3SG the sailor to-the old.man
La carta le dio el marinero al viejo.
the letter DAT give.PAST.3SG the sailor to-the old.man

d. ¿Qué sacó María sin problemas? *BC_L1SPA_SPA*
what take out.PAST.3SG María without problems

e. *El coche* sacó María sin problemas
the car take out.PAST.3SG María without difficulties

The causes for constituent fronting in informational focus structures are difficult to determine. One could hypothesize that in Catalan it is related to a more extensive use of the sentential left periphery (as proposed by Cruschina 2011, 2012 for languages such as Sardinian and Sicilian). That arises further typological

questions such as why Romance languages differ as to the placement of the focus as well as to the possible special meanings associated to it (Cruschina 2012). For reasons of space we will not address these questions here. In Spanish spoken in the Basque Country, the high occurrence of informational focus declaratives with fronting (compared to CAN_SPA or CAST_SPA) could be due to the influence of Basque (Urrutia 1995, Gómez Seibane 2012). However, it is important to highlight that this fronting is only found in sentences where there is one constituent under focus and never in broad focus declaratives (or sentences in which the whole sentence is the focus).

Other common strategies are focus prosodically marked in situ (in VAL_CAT, CAN_SPA, CAST_SPA and BC_L1BAS_SPA). Since VAL_CAT only has the oblique clitic corresponding to the partitive *en*, its behavior on a par with Spanish is somehow expected.

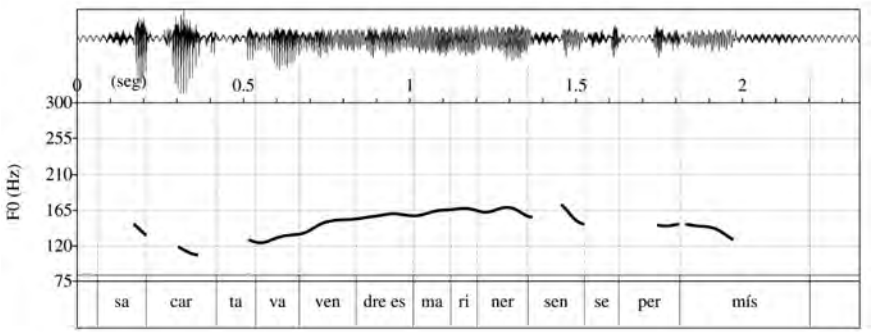


Figure 4. Waveform and F0 contour of the (narrow) informational focus declarative *Sa carta va vendre es mariner sense permís* 'The letter (obj), sell.PAST.3SG the sailor (subj) without permission produced by a speaker of BAL_CAT.

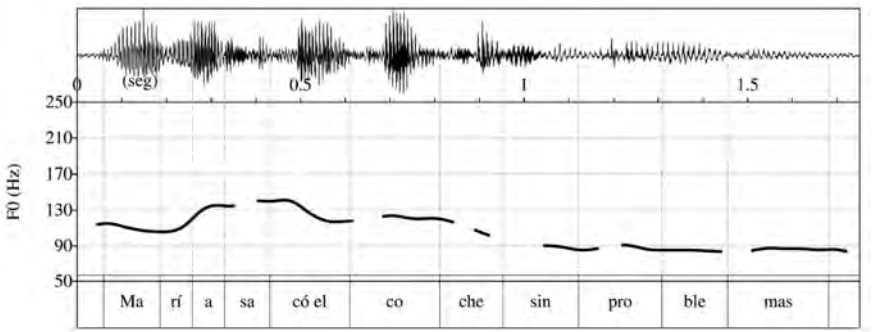


Figure 5. Waveform and F0 contour of the (narrow) informational focus declarative *María sacó el coche sin problemas* 'María took the car out without problems' produced by a speaker of CAN_SPA.

As for intonation, in both Catalan and Spanish (narrow) informational focus we find an increase of occurrences of rising patterns. However, the falling patterns are still dominant. This difference in the intonational pattern is often due to the syntactic strategy used to mark the constituent under focus. Thus, whereas there is a high correlation between focus marked in situ and rising intonational patterns, other strategies such as dislocation of the non-focal material or fronting seem to select falling intonational patterns. Figure 4 shows an informational focus declarative as produced by a speaker of Balearic Catalan. As we can observe, a falling movement is associated to the syllable *car-* (*carta* 'letter') followed by a downstepped edge tone. Unlike contrastive focus, Catalan fronted constituents with an informational meaning do not display postfocal compression. Thus, as we can observe in Figure 4, after the downstepped edge tone the contours keep rising until the right edge of the first part of the postfocal section ([*es mariner*] 'the sailor'), where it starts to fall until the end of the contour. Figure 5 illustrates the rising pattern (generally less common but still dominant in the Spanish varieties) as produced by a speaker of Canarian Spanish. A rising pitch accent is observed on the syllable *co-* (*coche* 'car') followed by postfocal compression.

3.1.3. Contrastive focus

In our data for contrastive focus declaratives, again the distinction between languages preferring dislocation (mostly Catalan) and languages that use other strategies (fronting of the focus constituent and focus marked prosodically in situ) arises. Another interesting finding is that fronting becomes a more frequent option in CAT_VAL and SPA_CAST, languages that cannot resort to this strategy for informational focus. Coming back to the issue of whether contrast is necessary for the focus constituent to be moved to the left periphery, we observe that the varieties studied here divide in two groups: on the one hand, we have languages for which contrast is not essential (Eastern Catalan and Basque Spanish) and, on the other hand, languages for which contrast is an indispensable condition (VAL_CAT and CAST_SPA). CAN_SPA is outside this classification, since it seems to disprefer focus fronting for any of the two meanings.

Our results support the proposal made in Face and d'Imperio (2005), which show that the word order versus intonation focal typology is too rigid and that a revised typology of a continuum of word order and intonation in marking focus should be proposed. According to them, this typology allows «for a distinction between word order languages and intonation languages, but also for distinction between languages that use both mechanisms of focal markings to different degrees» (Face and D'Imperio 2005: 274). This can be led to the field of dialectal variation. Thus, also different varieties of the same language can be on different points of this continuum or use both mechanisms to a different degree.

Interestingly, languages which move informational focus divide into two tendencies for contrastive focus: BAL_CAT and CENTR_CAT make crucial use of right dislocation (see (5) and (6)), whereas BC_L1SPA_SPA and BC_L1SPA_SPA have focus in situ (as seen in (7) and (8)).

(5) No, li va dur ses pomes, a(n) es príncep, na Blancaneu *BAL_CAT*

no DAT bring.PAST.3SG the apples to the príncep PERS.ART Snow.White

(6) No, li va portar el cotxe, la Maria, al seu veí *CENTR_CAT*

no DAT bring.PAST.3SG the car PERS.ART Maria to-the her neighbor

(7) No, MARÍA llevó el coche a su prima *BC_LIBAS_SPA*
no María bring.PAST.3SG the car to her cousin

(8) No, María sacó EL COCHE sin problemas *BC_LISPA_SPA*
no María take out.PAST.3SG the car without problems

With respect to intonation, in both Catalan and Spanish contrastive focus declaratives, rising nuclear configurations experiment a drastic increase (from 40% of occurrences in informational focus declaratives to 71% of occurrences in contrastive focus). This increase in the percentage of appearance of rising contours correlates (though not exclusively) with an increment in the use of constituent fronting as a marker of contrastive focus. As has been described in the literature, contrastive focus usually precedes postfocal compression (Xu 1999, Xu et al. 2012, Vanrell et al. 2013). However, it is important to note that although postfocal reduction is a very significant mechanism to mark contrast in both languages studied here, it is not a prerequisite. In a previous study conducted by Vanrell et al. (2011) on Catalan, Italian and Spanish and with the gating paradigm, it was shown that hearers have no need to hear the postfocal region to distinguish between two focal conditions (contrastive vs. non-contrastive). Thus, they were able to recognize fairly well the presumed contrastiveness of the tonal accent just by listening to the portion going from the beginning of the sentence to three quarters of the way through the syllable bearing the contrastive accent. Figure 6 shows an example of a contrastive focus declarative produced by a speaker of VAL_CAT. A rising tone is associated to the syllable *-si-* (*cosina* 'cousin') and then followed by a falling final tone and postfocal compression. Figure 7 displays the same intonational pattern as produced by a speaker of CAST_SPA.

To sum up, our results confirm that in Catalan and Spanish the intonational prominence tends to be located in clause-final position but this is completely true only for broad focus declaratives, since the main prominence can also fall on clause-initial position in Eastern Catalan and Basque Spanish informational focus declaratives or remain in situ in both informational and contrastive focus declaratives (especially in VAL_CAT or Spanish). Thus, our data seem to support the claim defended in Gabriel (2010: 189): «The mechanism of syntactic focus marking is governed by strict rules to a lesser degree than suggested in much of the literature» and we could also add that it is subject to dialectal variation.

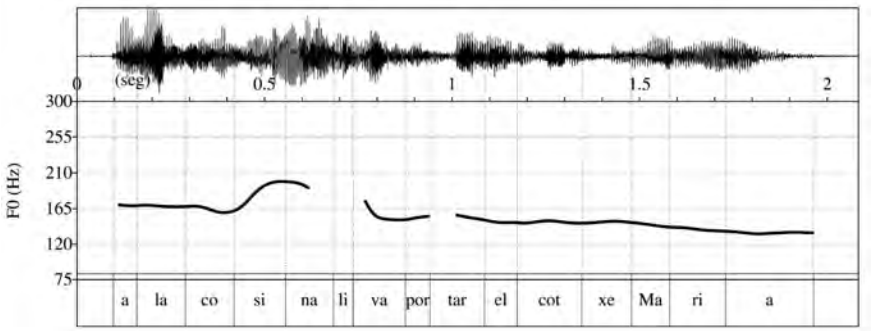


Figure 6. Waveform and F0 contour of the contrastive focus declarative *A la cosina li va portar el cotxe Maria* 'to the cousin DAT bring.PAST.3SG the car Maria (subj)' produced by a speaker of VAL_CAT.

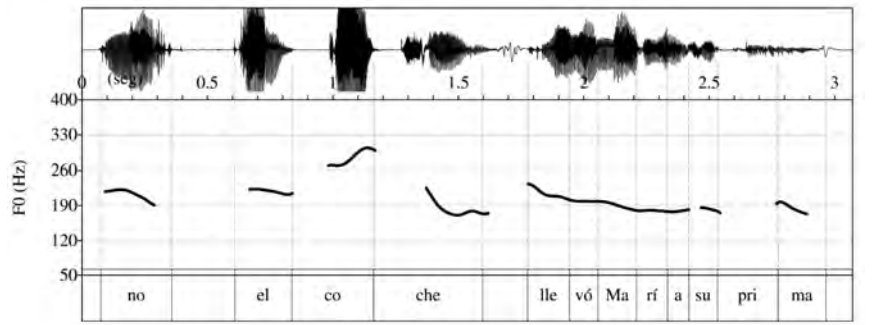


Figure 7. Waveform and F0 contour of the contrastive focus declarative *No, el coche llevó María a su prima* 'no, the car (obj) bring.PAST.3SG María (subj) to her cousin' produced by a speaker of CAST_SPA.

Regarding the discussion about the canonical order in Catalan (SVO vs. VOS: Solà 1992, Vallduví 1993, Rosselló 2002, Hernanz 2002, López 2003) or Spanish (SVO vs. VSO: Suñer 1982, Groos and Bok-Benema 1986, Hernanz and Brucart 1987, Fernández-Soriano 1993, Demonte 1994, Zubizarreta 1998), our data reveal that a) postverbal subjects in Catalan informational or contrastive focus declaratives are marginal and always subject to the realization of the objects as a clitic (i.e., *No, la hi va donar el mariner, la carta, al vell* 'No, ACC DAT give.PAST.3SG the sailor (subj), the letter (obj), to.the old.man' vs. ?*No, va donar la carta al vell el mariner*) whereas they are more common in Spanish (i.e., *Se llevó las manzanas sin permiso Blancanieves* 'REFL take.PAST.3SG the apples without permission Snow.White (subj)') and *b*) we do not find any instance of VSO order neither in Spanish nor in Catalan.

Figures 8 and 9 summarize the more frequent syntactic and prosodic strategies found for each language variety and focus structure (informational and contrastive focus).

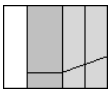
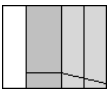
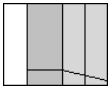
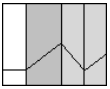
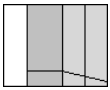
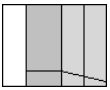
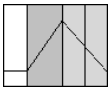
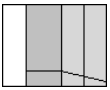
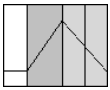
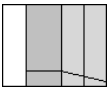
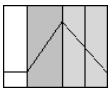
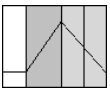
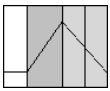
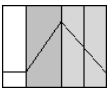
Informational focus *Language varieties*	More frequent option		Second more frequent option	
	syntax	prosody	syntax	prosody
BAL_CAT	fronting		RD	
CENTR_CAT	RD		fronting	
VAL_CAT	LD		RD	
CAN_SPA	focus in situ		LD	
CAST_SPA	focus in situ		p-movement	
BC_L1BAS_SPA	focus in situ		fronting	
BC_L1SPA_SPA	fronting		fronting/focus in situ	

Figure 8. Main syntactic and prosodic strategies used to mark informational focus for each language variety under study. Boxes shaded in dark grey indicate the tonal movement associated to the nuclear stressed syllable whereas boxes shaded in light grey indicate the tonal movement aligned with the postnuclear syllables.

3.2. Interrogative modality

The word order-prosody interface in Catalan and Spanish questions has not been examined in depth, especially when applied to dialectal variation. For Central Catalan, Rigau (2002) shows that in the interrogative modality the subject appears in the sentence periphery, both in yes-no questions and in wh-questions. Spanish data analyzed by Escandell (1999) indicate that word order in Castilian Spanish yes-no questions is free although VS order seems to be the unmarked order compared to SV. Wh-questions in Castilian Spanish typically show wh-movement to the left periphery of the sentence and subject inversion.

3.2.1. Wh-questions

From our data we can draw the following generalizations. For root wh-questions, a clear-cut partition shows up between BAL_CAT and CENTR_CAT on one side and VAL_CAT and Spanish on the other. The former make crucial use of the right dislo-

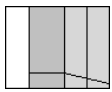
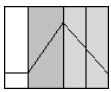
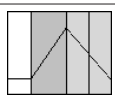
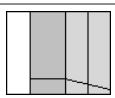
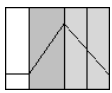
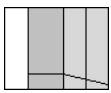
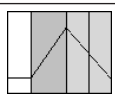
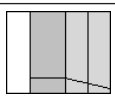
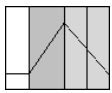
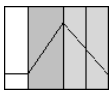
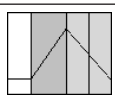
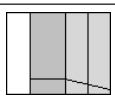
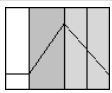
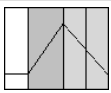
Contrastive focus *Language varieties*	More frequent option		Second more frequent option	
	syntax	prosody	syntax	prosody
BAL_CAT	RD		fronting/RD	
CENTR_CAT	RD		RD	
VAL_CAT	fronting		LD	
CAN_SPA	focus in situ		LD	
CAST_SPA	focus in situ		fronting	
BC_L1BAS_SPA	focus in situ		p-movement	
BC_L1SPA_SPA	focus in situ		fronting	

Figure 9. Main syntactic and prosodic strategies used to mark contrastive focus for each language variety under study. Boxes shaded in dark grey indicate the tonal movement associated to the nuclear stressed syllable whereas boxes shaded in light grey indicate the tonal movement aligned with the postnuclear syllables.

cation strategy whereas the latter clearly do not. The result is that examples such as (9) are common in Balear and Central Catalan and those like (10) are the norm in Spanish as well as in the variety of Catalan spoken in Valencia.

(9) I quan fa feina, n'Aina? *BAL_CAT*
and when make.PRES.3SG work PERS.ART-Aina

(10) a. ¿Dónde nació Ana? *CAST_SPA*
where be.born.PAST.3SG Ana

b. Què volia el fill de la veïna? *VAL_CAT*
what want.PAST.3SG the son of the neighbor

Our data also show that the possibilities of appearing in preverbal position increase in the case of first and second person pronominal subjects, that is, sen-

tences like (11) are possible, whereas sentences like (12) are more marginal, though still possible.

(11) a. I jo quan faig feina? *BAL_CAT*
and I when make.PRES.1SG work

b. Oye, ¿tú cuándo trabajas? *CAN_SPA*
listen.IMP.2SG you when work.PRES.2sg

(12) a. Quan treballo, jo? *CENTR_CAT*
when work.PRES.1SG I

b. ¿A quién le entregué yo el paquete? *CAN_SPA*
to who DAT deliver.PAST.1SG I the package

Our data reveal that in Spanish the second person formal form *usted*, which agrees in 3rd person with the verb, appears more frequently in postverbal position (see (13)) than first and non formal second person pronominal subjects. In Catalan it tends to be dislocated but it can also appear in preverbal position (see (14)).

(13) a. ¿A quién entregó usted el paquete? *CAN_SPA*
to who deliver.PAST.3SG 2SG.FORMAL the package

b. ¿Dónde nació usted? *BC_LIBAS_SPA*
where be born.PAST2SG. 2SG.FORMAL

(14) a. Quan fa feina, vostè? *BAL_CAT*
when make.PRES.3SG work 2SG.FORMAL

b. Vostè què volia? *CENTR_CAT*
2SG.FORMAL what want.PAST.3SG

This form has been shown to have a special behavior in standard Spanish. In particular it has been observed, on the one hand, that the explicit realization of *usted(es)* is much more frequent than that of the rest of pronominal (strong) pronouns.[6] This has been related both to pragmatic and grammatical factors (see Fernández Ramírez 1951, Keniston 1937, Rosengren 1994 and Enríquez 1984). It is also important to note that the presence of the form *usted* does not correlate with any particular (contrastive/distinctive) interpretation, contrary to all the other pronominal strong forms.[7] A clear (and extreme) example is provided by imperative forms, which generally does not allow for an explicit (second person pronoun) subject unless it carries a strong contrastive value (and receives contrastive strength):

6. This is at least the situation in European Spanish. For the dialects spoken in Latin America, as Kany (1951) already notes, the form *usted* is regularly omitted in the dialects in which subject and object strong pronouns are generally dropped. Kany suggests that this is due to the lack of coexistence with the familiar counterpart (at least in the plural).
7. Sánchez López (1993) presents a detailed description and a tentative analysis of the facts. See also Fernández Soriano (1999).

(15) a. Siéntese usted (vs. #Siéntate tú).
sit.IMP.3SG 2SG.FORMAL sit.IMP.2SG you

b. Dígame usted qué desea (vs. #Dime tú qué deseas).
say.IMP.3SG 2SG.FORMAL what wish.PRES.3SG say.IMP.2SG you what wish. PRES.2SG

But most interestingly, this «neutral» interpretation of *usted* obtains in restricted positions (where full DP's -pronominal or not- are excluded). In particular subject *usted(es)* is not contrastive or focalized when it appears in «sentence second position», that is, immediately after the finite verb or auxiliary verb, both in declaratives and interrogatives:

(16) a. Habrá usted notado la diferencia.
have.FUT.3SG 2SG.FORMAL noticed the difference
(vs. *Habrás tú notado la diferencia.)
have.FUT.2SG you noticed the difference

b. Se irá usted acostumbrando a ello.
REFL go.FUT.3SG 2SG.FORMAL getting used to it
(vs. *Te irás tú acostumbrando a ello.)
REFL go.FUT.2SG you getting used to it

c. ¿Puede usted verlo? (vs. ??¿Puedes tú verlo?)
can.PRES.3SG 2SG.FORMAL see.INF-ACC can.PRES.2SG you see.INF-ACC

It is also important to note that in this case, *usted* is not incompatible with a dislocated explicit subject. Again this is impossible for the rest of tonic pronouns:

(17) a. (En cuanto a los clientes), están ustedes invitados.
in respect to the customers be.PRES.3PL 2PL.FORMAL invited
(vs. *estáis vosotros invitados.)
be.PRES.2PL you invited

b. Los médicos, son ustedes un colectivo muy admirable.
the doctors be.PRES.3PL 2PL.FORMAL a collective very admirable
(vs.*sois vosotros un colectivo muy admirable.)
be.PRES.2PL you a collective very admirable

The reason for this particular behavior has been related to a mismatch between the features of *usted* (which is a second person, formal) and the features in INFL (third person). Our data also indicate that there is a specific position for this form inside IP.

As for the position of the subject in wh-interrogatives, in traditional dialectal studies it has been claimed that Spanish spoken in the Canary Island follow the

tendency observed for Caribbean varieties to lack subject inversion. Lipski, for example, states that: «Non-inverted questions of the sort *¿qué tú quieres?* 'what do you want?' are usual in Cuban, Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish, somewhat less so in Venezuelan and Panamanian Spanish, and quite uncommon in the remainder of Latin America, as well as being extremely rare in the Iberian Peninsula. In the Canary Islands, non-inverted questions are not as common as in the Caribbean, but among older speakers in rural regions, the frequency rises appreciably, indicating a higher rate of usage in the past, when the Canary influence on Caribbean Spanish was strongest. […] The tight concentration of non-inverted questions in Latin American Spanish, limited to the Antilles and a few coastal Caribbean regions, correlates neatly with Canary Island influence, and also with recent Galician arrivals.» (Lipski: personal webpage).

Nevertheless, our results show no cases of interrogatives without inversion in CAN_SPA.

As for intonation in interrogative modality, first we would like to highlight the crucial role of prosody in marking whether the subject is dislocated or not. Each dislocated element constitutes a tonal unit which is independent of the core sentence. Hence, an intonational contour made of a core sentence and two dislocated elements (i.e., *Vindrà, la Maria, demà?* 'Will come, Maria, tomorrow?') is produced with three different tonal units. Most instances of dislocated subjects in our data are right dislocations. Right dislocated elements reproduce the intonational pattern of the core sentence but with some variation depending on whether the intonational contour is rising or falling. When the core sentence is characterized by a rising intonational pattern, the dislocated element replicates the same intonational pattern but with a higher final pitch (as can be observed in Figure 10). By contrast, when a falling contour is found, the intonation of the right dislocated element is very similar to that of postfocal material (see section 3.1.3), that is, the intonational pattern is falling too but produced in a compressed pitch range (seen in Figure 11).

Generally speaking, wh-questions in our data can be grouped into two different intonational patterns, depending on the pitch tonal event associated with the nuclear

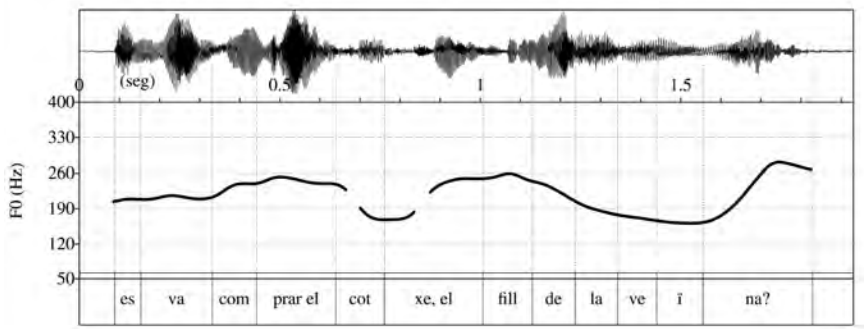


Figure 10. Waveform and F0 contour of the yes-no question with the subjet right dislocated after the coma *Es va comprar el cotxe, el fill de la veïna?* 'Self bought the car, the son of the neighbor' produced by a speaker of CENTR_CAT.

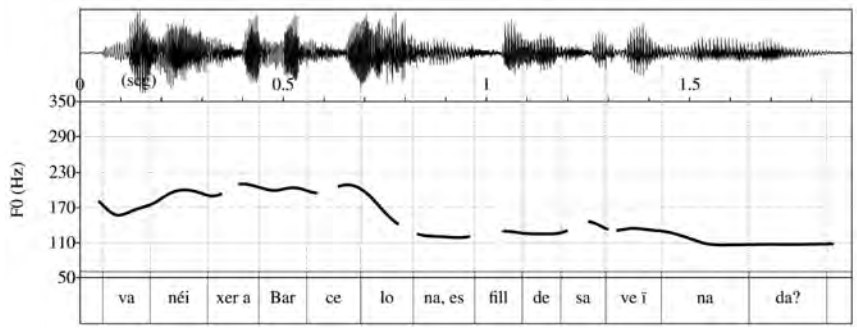


Figure 11. Waveform and F0 contour of the yes-no question with the subject right dislocated *Va néixer a Barcelona, es fill de sa veïnada?* 'Was he born in Barcelona, the son of the neighbor?' produced by a speaker of BAL_CAT.

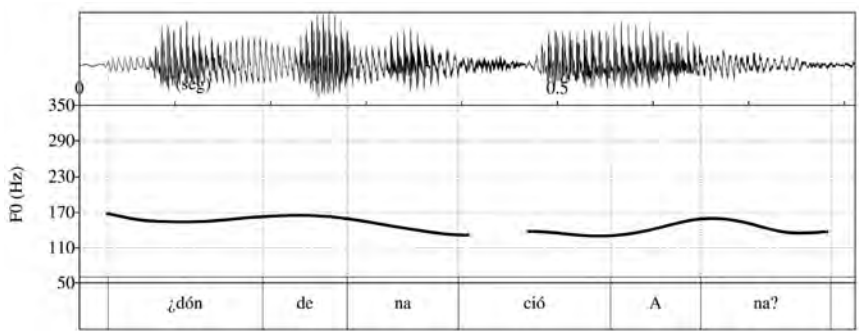


Figure 12. Waveform and F0 contour of the wh-question *¿Dónde nació Ana?* 'Where was Ana born?' produced by a speaker of CAN_SPA.

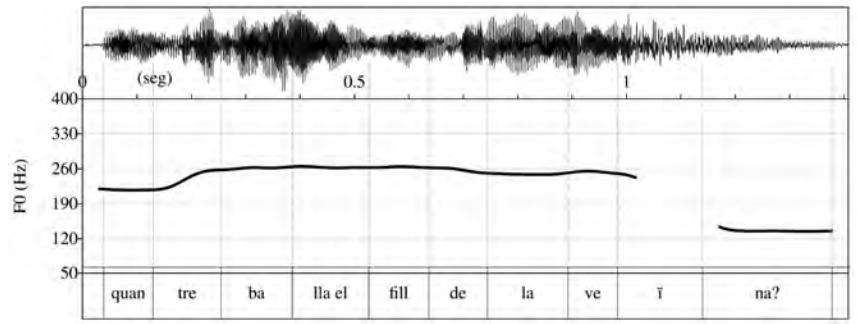


Figure 13. Waveform and F0 contour of the wh-question *Quan treballa el fill de la veïna?* 'When does the son of the neighbor work?' produced by a speaker of VAL_CAT.

syllable: high and falling/low. Whereas CENTR_CAT and CAN_SPA follow the first pattern, the rest of varieties are characterized by the second pattern. The tonal trajectory following the nuclear syllable tends to be low but in BAL_CAT and CAST_SPA can also be rising. Figure 12 illustrates a wh-question produced by a speaker of CAN_SPA. A high tone during the nuclear syllable (*A-* from *Ana*) can be perceived, followed by a final fall. Figure 13 displays a wh-question produced by a speaker of VAL_CAN. The nuclear syllable *-ï-* (*veïna* 'neighbor') is realized with a falling tone and the postnuclear tonal movement is low. The more frequent presence of falling nuclear configurations in wh-questions could be due to the fact that they are formally marked by a wh-word and therefore they do not need to be marked intonationally.

3.2.2. Yes-no questions

For root yes/no questions, again BAL_CAT and CENTR_CAT tend to right dislocate the subject, as in (18); in VAL_CAT and CAN_SPA, the verb does not have to move so we find preverbal subjects as in (19). Our data also indicate that in CAST_SPA, BC_L1EUSK_SPA and BC_L1SPA_SPA, the subject is postverbal in most of the cases, as in (20). Interestingly, 1st and 2nd person pronominal subjects are more common in preverbal position, as in (21). Again, it is interesting to isolate the behavior of the form *usted*. As was seen for wh-interrogatives, this pronominal forms does not behave as the rest of personal pronouns in Spanish, neither as a full DP (see Fernández Soriano 1999). In our cases it appears dislocated in BAL_CAT and CENTR_CAT, and tends to be inverted in the rest of the varieties analyzed, see (22):

(18) a. Treballa fins tard, el fill de la veïna? *CENTR_CAT*
work.PRES.3SG until late the son of the neighbor

b. Fa feina fins tard, es fill de sa veïnada? *BAL_CAT*
work.PRES.3SG until late the son of the neighbor

(19) a. Maria és francesa? *VAL_CAT*
Maria is French

b. ¿La mujer de Juan es francesa? *CAN_SPA*
the wife of Juan is French

(20) a. ¿Nació el hijo de la vecina en Madrid? *CAST_SPA*
be born.PAST.3SG the son of the neighbor in Madrid

b. ¿Compró el hijo de la vecina el coche? *BC_L1EUSK_SPA*
buy.PAST.3SG the son of the neighbor the car

(21) a. Tu vares comprar un cotxe? *BAL_CAT*
You buy.PAST.3SG a car

b. ¿Tú eres francés? *CAST_SPA*
you are French

(22) a. Va néixer a Barcelona, vostè? *CENTR_CAT*
be born.PAST.3SG in Barcelona 2SG.FORMAL

b. ¿Compró usted el coche? *BC_LIBAS_SPA*
comprar.PAST.3SG 2SG.FORMAL the car

If we now go to embedded questions, our data show a general tendency to have the subject in final position (VOS order) in wh-questions (see (23)) and to have pre-verbal subjects in yes/no questions (as in (24)).[8]

(23) a. Es meu amic me demana a mem quan compraria *BAL_CAT*
the my friend DAT ask.PRES.3SG PRT when buy.COND.3SG
es jersei es fill de sa veïnada.
the pullover the son of the neighbor

b. Mi amigo me ha preguntado a quién le ha dicho algo *CAST_SPA*
my friend DAT has asked to who DAT has said something
el amigo de María.
the friend of María

(24) a. El meu amic m'ha preguntat si Joan va comprar el cotxe. *VAL_CAT*

the my friend DAT-has asked whether Joan buy.PAST.3SG the car

b. Mi amigo me ha preguntado si Juan nació *CAST_SPA*
my friend DAT has asked whether Juan be born.PAST.3SG
en Madrid.
in Madrid

It has been observed that in Caribbean Spanish the use of explicit pronouns is much more widespread than in Standard Spanish. Alba (1982), for example, notes that the second person pronoun *tú* is almost obligatory in the Spanish variety spoken in Santiago (Dominican Republic). This phenomenon has been related to influence of English and to the weakening of verbal inflection as a result of the loss of final *-s*, and the subsequent convergence of the three singular forms of the verb, and nasal reduction (Hochberg 1986). The deletion of final *-s* is also present in Peninsular Spanish dialects such as Andalusian or Canarian Spanish. As in the case of Caribbean Spanish, this deletion makes that second and third persons singular become identical in most of forms. Ranson (1991) carried out an analysis of contextual personal markers aiming to test whether subject pronouns in Andalusian Spanish were used to resolve the ambiguity in verb forms. Contrary to what was found by Hochberg (1986) with respect to Puerto Rican Spanish, the results reveal that Andalusian Spanish shows no increased use of subject pronouns

8. Since dislocation and focused subjects are less likely to appear in these contexts, the most general tendency with pronominal subjects is omission, again with the exception of *usted*.

when verb endings are ambiguous and that other factors such as contextual markers have an important effect on indicating person. Yet, according to Ranson (1991), resolving ambiguity in the verb form is not the only function of subject pronouns in Spanish (Bentivoglio 1983, D'Introno 1989, Silva-Corvalán 1982).

In any case, against traditional belief (Lipski and others), in our data the percentage of pronominal subject drop is not particularly low in en CAN_SPA. Nevertheless, the participants explicitly claimed to have the impression that the second person pronoun *tú* was much more frequent in their dialect than in other varieties of Spanish.

In none of the cases, a clear correlation is obtained between subject «heaviness» and subject position nor between degree of presupposition and subject position. The exception is tag questions with a high degree of presupposition in which the subject tend to occupy preverbal position (with the exception of *usted* in Spanish that tends to be postponed).

As in the case of wh-questions, yes-no questions in our data can be grouped into two categories according to the tone associated to the nuclear syllable: high (Spanish varieties) and low/falling (Catalan varieties). The final tonal trajectory can also be rising (CENTR_CAT and VAL_CAT) or falling/low (BAL_CAT for Catalan and Spanish varieties). One could hypothesize that the variation found regarding the nuclear tone is related to language variation (Catalan vs. Spanish) whereas the tonal variation located at the final stretch of the contour is related to the syntactic marking of modality. In other words, languages marking interrogative modality by subject inversion or dislocation do not need to resort to rising final intonation, but languages not obligatorily using subject inversion or dislocation (such as VAL_CAT and CAN_SPA) have rising final tones available in their intonational grammars. This is just a generalization and we have to acknowledge that there are languages such as CENTR_CAT or CAN_SPA that display mixed patterns (falling or rising). Figure 14 shows an instance of a yes-no question produced by a CENTR_CAT speaker characterized by a low-rising nuclear configuration. In Figure 15, the high-falling pattern found in CAST_SPA is illustrated.

To summarize, Figure 16 shows the different syntactic and prosodic strategies that arise for different question types (wh- and yes-no questions) and different language varieties.

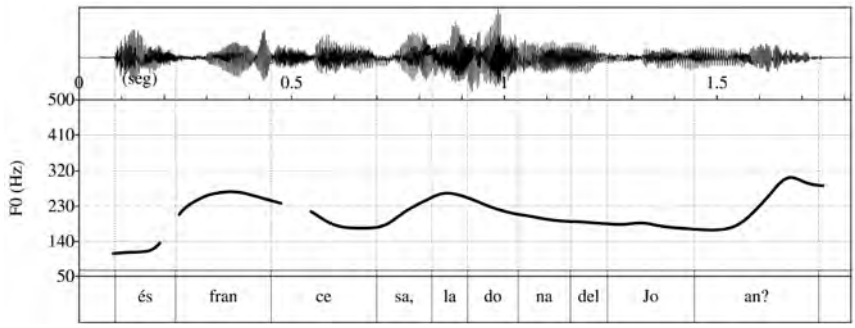


Figure 14. Waveform and F0 contour of the yes-no question with right dislocation of the subject *És francesa, la dona del Joan?* 'Is she French, Joan's wife?' produced by a speaker of CENTR_CAT.

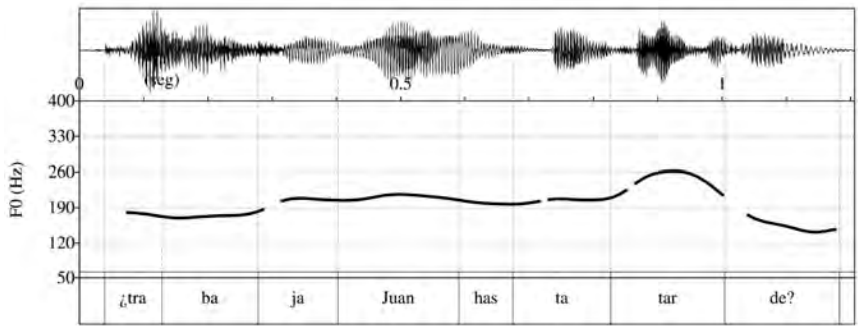


Figure 15. Waveform and F0 contour of the yes-no question *¿Trabaja Juan hasta tarde?* 'Does Juan work until late?' produced by a speaker of CAST_SPA.

Language varieties	Wh-questions		Yes-no questions	
	syntax	prosody	syntax	prosody
BAL_CAT	subject dislocation		subject dislocation	
CENTR_CAT	subject dislocation		subject dislocation	
VAL_CAT	subject inversion		preverbal subject	
CAN_SPA	subject inversion		preverbal subject	
CAST_SPA	subject inversion		postverbal subject	
BC_L1BAS_SPA	subject inversion		postverbal subject	
BC_L1SPA_SPA	subject inversion		postverbal subject	

Figure 16. Main syntactic and prosodic strategies used to mark wh-questions and yes-no questions for each language variety under study. Boxes shaded in dark grey indicate the tonal movement associated to the nuclear stress syllable whereas boxes shaded in light grey indicate the tonal movement aligned with the postnuclear syllables.

3.2.3. The left periphery and the node INT. «External» questions

As Rizzi (2001) notes, in Italian some wh-operators like *perché* 'why' and other higher adverbials, like *come mai* 'how come', behave differently from ordinary ones in the sense that they do not require subject inversion. Rizzi provides the examples in (25):

(25) a. Perché Gianni è venuto?
why Gianni is come

b. Come mai Gianni è partito?
how come Gianni is left

They are also consistent with short adverbials preceding the inflected verb as in (26). Clearly, these elements do not trigger I to C movement:

(26) a. Perché (i tuoi amici) già hanno finito il lavoro?
why the your friends already have.PRES.3PL finished the work

b. Come mai (voi) già siete tornati a Milano?
how come you already be.PRES.2PL come back to Milan

Acording to Rizzi (2001), these adverbs occupy the specifier position of an extra peripheral node, INT. «The Spec of INT is presumably filled by a null operator in main and embedded yes-no questions, so it may be specialized for other operator-like elements which can be base generated there. Perhaps, INT selects in its Spec clausal operators, which are first merged there […]. If INT is intrinsically endowed with the feature wh, no inversion is needed». These adverbials can co-occur with focus, as seen in (27):

(27) a. Perché QUESTO avremmo dovuto dirgli, non qualcos'altro?
why this have.COND.1PL must.PP say.INF-DAT not whatever

b. Come mai IL MIO LIBRO gli ha dato, non il tuo?
how come the my book DAT has given not the yours

In our data, the same situation is obtained both in Spanish and in Catalan. Although it is not fully systematic, speakers show a preference for preverbal subjects in these cases:

(28) a. Per què li ha dit això, n'Aina, a(n) en Joan? *BAL_CAT*
why DAT has said this PERS.ART-Aina, to PERS.ART Joan
(vs. Però i ara per què n'Aina ha dit això a en
but and now how come PERS.ART-Aina has said that to PERS.ART
Joan?
Joan

b. ¿Por qué trabaja Ana tanto? *CAN_SPA*
why work.PRES.3SG Ana so.much
(vs. ¿Por qué Ana trabaja tanto?)
how come Ana work.PRES.3SG so.much

4. Discussion and conclusions

This study set out to investigate how word order interacts with prosody in the expression of sentence modality and different focus structures in Ibero-Romance using the same controlled methodology. To this end, two production experiments were designed aiming to elicit different focus constructions (question-answer pairs from short picture stories presented in a PowerPoint slide show) and different question types (DCT methodology). The collected data were prosodically and syntactically (syntactic strategies used to mark focus, subject position, syntactic order of the constituents) annotated with Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2013). We controlled the focus survey for embeddedness and focused constituents and the question survey for verb type, subject type, degree of presupposition and for the behavior of «external adverbials» of the type *how come* (Rizzi 2001).

After performing a quantitative analysis not illustrated here for the sake of brevity, we conclude that, broadly speaking, in Catalan and Spanish the intonational prominence tend to fall on the right-edge of the clause. An exception to this rule is found in Eastern Catalan and Basque Spanish informational focus declaratives, where focus constituent can be moved to the left periphery of the sentence and in Western Catalan and Spanish informational or contrastive focus declaratives in which focus marked prosodically in situ (also called prominence shift in previous studies) is an available strategy. Right dislocation is used to a greater extent in Catalan than in Spanish and that is explained by a difference in information packaging between Catalan and Spanish potentially causing ambiguity that can be resolved by means of prosody (Ziv 1994). Prosody serves to mark the different types of focus. Thus, broad and informational focus declaratives tend to be expressed by means of falling/low contours, whereas the contrastive focus declaratives are characterized by rising-falling contours, that is, a rising pitch accent followed by a low final tone. Rising-falling configurations usually trigger postfocal compression, meaning that the postfocal material is realized in a compressed pitch tonal range.

We found three factors that play an important role in the expression of interrogative modality by means of word order: question type (y/n, wh-, direct or indirect questions), language variety and subject type (nominal, pronominal or *usted*). An important distinction is made between languages that can present subject-verb inversion in direct questions (VAL_CAT and Spanish) and languages that cannot (Eastern Catalan). In Eastern Catalan the subject is dislocated. An exception to this behavior is exhibited by pronominal subjects (1st and 2nd person singular). In this case, we found more instances of preverbal subjects. Formal pronoun *usted* works as nominal subjects in this respect. We gave an explanation for that based on the lack of matching between the features of the form *usted* (a second person, formal) and the features in INFL (third person). Our data support the existence of a particular position for this form inside IP. VAL_CAT and CAN_SPA have a preference for preverbal subjects in yes-no questions also when the subject is nominal. Indirect wh-questions are characterized by subject verb inversion in all the varieties, whereas indirect yes-no questions present preverbal subject. We observe no effect of the presupposition about the truth-value of the proposition on the word order.

Tag questions are an exception in our data since they display declarative word order (although the form *usted* tends to be inverted).

As for intonation in the expression of interrogative modality, our interpretation is that the absence of syntactic marking (wh-word, subject-verb inversion or subject dislocation) for questions corresponds to a more salient intonational marking. Thus, wh-questions tend to be characterized by falling intonational patterns (although the tonal movement associated to the nuclear syllable can be high or falling/low). Yes-no questions can be classified depending on the nuclear tone (preference for low tones in Catalan and high tones in Spanish) and the final tone (low for language varieties with subject inversion or dislocation, but optionally high for those that do not present syntactic marking in a compulsory way).

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On the Causes of Superiority Effects in Spanish: Preliminary Results and Prospects*

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Abstract

This article reports the results of a series of experiments (acceptability rating tasks) on a group of speakers of Andalusian Spanish. The main result is that, contrary to previous claims in the literature (cf. Jaeggli 1982 et seq), Spanish does exhibit a Superiority effect in multiple wh- questions. However, this effect can be subsumed under a generalized mild penalty on object wh- fronting, also not described in previous literature. Consequently, this article provides novel support for approaches to Superiority effects where locality violations play at most a minor role.

Keywords: superiority; object fronting; wh- questions; relative clauses; Spanish.

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1. Introduction
2. Participants and materials
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4. Conclusions and outlook
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1. Introduction

The classic definition of Superiority states that, in a multiple wh- question, the wh- phrase that undergoes fronting is the structurally highest one —i.e., a low wh- phrase cannot skip over a higher one—. Thus, (1a) is a well-formed multiple question, but (1b) is not.

* This article would not have been possible without the assistance of Javier Martín González (who distributed the questionnaires among his students), Sebastian Grüner (who carefully tabulated many pages of results), and Jana Häussler and Shravan Vasishth (who were always read for discussions about statistical analysis). All remaining errors are nobody's fault but mine.

(1) a. Who read what?

b. *What did who read?

Given that that Superiority effects are usually dependent on the relative structural height of the wh- phrases in question, and given that this relation can be equated with the asymmetric c-command relation, many approaches have attempted to reduce Superiority to general locality restrictions (e.g., Relativized Minimality, the Minimal Link Condition, and other similar formulations). For example, Chomsky (1995) subsumes Superiority effects under the more general Attract Closest condition, which states that «α can raise to target *K* only if there is no legitimate operation Move β targeting *K*, where β is closer to *K*», where closeness is defined in the usual c-command terms. While this approach is undoubtedly elegant and simple, it has to face two separate problems. The first one is the existence of missing Superiority effects i.e., environments where expected Superiority effects fail to appear. For example, Pesetsky (1987) already observed that Superiority effects in English disappear if the wh- words are D-linked: compare (1b) to (2b).

(2) a. Which student read which book?

b. Which book did which student read?

Similarly, it has also been observed that other languages have a distribution of Superiority effects that doesn't match the one observed in English. For example, Fanselow (2004) and Fanselow and Féry (2008) show that German exhibits Superiority effects with non-D-linked wh- words only if the two wh- words are not clause mates.[1] Similar effects obtain in a number of other languages.

(3) a. Wer hat was gesagt?
who has what said

b. Was hat wer gesagt?
what has who said
'Who has said what'

c. Wem hat er t_{wem} empfohlen, [was zur Safari mitzubringen]?
who has he recommended what to.the Safari bring
'Who has he recommended to bring what for the Safari?'

d. #Was hat er wem empfohlen, [t_{was} zur Safari mitzubringen]?
what has he who recommended to.the Safari bring
'Who has he recommended to bring what for the Safari?'

The second problem, the existence of unexpected Superiority violations, is the counterpart of the missing Superiority effects problem. As an illustration, consider

1. Featherstone (2005) disputes the acceptability of (3b). See, however, Fanselow et al (2011) for an explicit discussion of this issue.

Aoun and Li's (2003) discussion of Lebanese Arabic, who argue that standard locality-based approaches cannot account for the unacceptability of examples like (4). Here, the base positions of the two wh- words don't c-command each other. On the assumption that asymmetric c-command is a necessary condition for Superiority effects, neither wh- word ought to induce a Superiority effect on wh- fronting of the other. Additionally, note that *-ayya walad* 'which boy' is contained inside an adjunct island. On the assumption that Superiority effects require both wh- words to be eligible for wh- fronting, *-ayya walad* should not block fronting of *miin*.[2]

(4) *Miin fakkar-to la-inno l-mʔ ʔikʔt maʔ -ayya walad -ʔ
who thought.2PL because the.teacher.FEM spoke with which boy that
l-mudiira ʔa-t-ʔ-a-o?
the.principal.FEM will.3.FEM.SG.expel.him.
'Who did you think that the teacher spoke with which boy because the principal will expel (him)?'

(5) *Schematic representation of (4)*
$[_{CP}$ who$_i$ $[_{IP}$ ... $[_{island}$ ... which boy ...] ... him$_i$]]

When it comes to the analysis of data like these, one can distinguish two different lines of attack in the literature. One of them attempts to preserve the traditional intuition that locality is the main predictor of acceptability, and postulates various amendments to the standard theory of locality in order to account for the offending sentences. For example, Aoun and Li (2003) propose to augment the standard definition of locality with a Minimal Match Condition (effectively, an additional locality constraint) in order to account for unexpected Superiority effects like (4). Similarly, Fanselow (1997) and Müller (2004) both argue (although with different technical implementations) that the lack of Superiority effects in (3b) reflects the fact that German objects can routinely scramble to the left of subjects. This possibility allows wh- movement of *was* 'what' to start from the scrambled position, so that no illegal wh- crossing over *wer* 'who' obtains. Finally, Pesetsky (1987, 2000) argues that the lack of Superiority effects with D-linked wh- phrases (2b) is a consequence of the fact that they do not actually move to Spec,CP —they are simply base-generated there and then associated to their variables through unselective binding—.

In opposition to this trend, the second major approach to Superiority effects downplays the importance of locality factors, and proposes instead that much, if not all, of the observed deviance stems from an independent set of factors. For example, Chomsky (2005), reversing his earlier approach to this issue, writes that «standard

2. Notably, similar configurations in English are judged as acceptable in the literature. Consider (i), from Fiengo et al (1988). As in (4), the base positions of the wh- words don't c-command each other, and *where* is ineligible for movement by virtue of being contained in a subject island. See Fitzpatrick (2002) for additional discussion.

(i) What did [people from where] try to buy t_{what}?

efforts to account for Superiority effects in terms of locality do not apply, at least in an obvious way», although he doesn't elaborate on this idea any further. More specific is the study of Fanselow and Féry (2008), who argue that the unacceptability of (3d) is not due to a low wh- word crossing over a higher one, but rather to the general badness of long-distance wh- movement in German (see Fanselow 2004, Haider 2004, and Fanselow et al 2001 for additional arguments to this effect).

The goal of this paper is to provide additional support for the latter approach by examining Superiority effects in Spanish. The argumentation is based on the results of three experiments (acceptability rating tasks), each targeting a different operator fronting construction in Spanish, viz., single questions, multiple questions, and relative clauses. I am aware that some readers might wonder about the adequacy of using Spanish to investigate this particular topic, given that Spanish is one of the languages where Superiority effects are claimed to be absent. For example, Ordóñez (1997: 53), citing Jaeggli (1982), provides the following pair of sentences, with judgments as quoted here, and with the explicit comment that «a Superiority effect does not arise between a wh- word in Spec,CP and the postverbal wh- word».

(6) a. ¿Quién compró qué?
who bought what

b. ¿Qué compró quién?
what bought who

However, Experiment B (section 3.2) shows that this judgment is inaccurate. The mean rating of sentences comparable to (6b) is somewhat lower than that of sentences comparable to (6a), and the difference turns out to be of high statistical significance. Thus, it is necessary to accept that (at least for speakers of the particular dialect sampled here), fronting of a low wh- word across a higher one incurs a non-trivial penalty. The relevant question is whether this penalty is the reflection of a Superiority effect as traditionally understood —i.e., a violation of Relativized Minimality, Attract Closest, or some equivalent locality condition on movement—. As we will see, the three experiments I present suggest that this question should be answered in the negative: fronting of a wh- object correlates a mild penalty irrespective of whether it crosses over a wh- subject or not, and this can account for at least a significant part of the deviance of object-initial multiple wh- questions. Due to the limited scope of this study, it is not possible yet to totally exclude locality factors from consideration. However, the results I present here (to the extent that they can be replicated and extended in future studies) point towards an analysis of Superiority effects in Spanish where pure locality factors play at most a marginal role as predictors of acceptability.

2. Participants and materials

The participants in the experiments were 64 undergraduate students from the University of Seville, all of them native speakers of Spanish (13 male, median age 24). With the exception of only 4 participants, all of them reported some non-

native knowledge of at least one foreign language —mainly English (45), French (26), and/or Italian (13)—. Within the confines of this study, it is not possible to determine to what extent knowledge of a foreign language influences judgments, given the lack of a strictly monolingual group of sufficient size to use as a comparison baseline.

The study, which was carried out in April 2013, consisted on an acceptability rating task over a 7-point scale (with 7 corresponding to total acceptability) using paper questionnaires. The experimental items are a close replication of those used in an ongoing study by Gisbert Fanselow and Jana Häussler on Superiority effects in German, English, and Czech. The items comprise five separate experiments (see below for details), and they were constructed in such a way that the items from any four experiments could serve as fillers for the fifth. In addition, there were 12 independent fillers not related to any of the subexperiments. 12 separate questionnaires were created (96 items per questionnaire, including fillers) using a set of custom Python scripts that ensured that the experimental items were properly distributed across questionnaires. Specifically, this script ensured that, within each questionnaire, (i) no items from the same experiment appeared directly adjacent to each other, and (ii) once an item from a certain experiment was encountered, the next item from the same experiment would belong to a different condition. Interested readers can download a compressed folder with all the experimental materials (list of items, randomization scripts, questionnaires, and .csv tables of the results) from http://www.luisvicente.net/supplemental_materials/superiority.tar.gz.

The discussion in this article will be limited to results of three of these five experiments. One of the experiments that I don't discuss tested the acceptability of wh- extraction out of complement clauses and relative clauses, yielding the rather unsurprising result that extraction out of relative clauses is severely degraded compared to extraction out of complement clauses. The other experiment was meant to test whether the absence/presence of a c-command relation between the base positions of multiple wh- words has an effect on Superiority effects, but these data had to be discarded due to a generalized design flaw in the experimental items.

3. Results and discussion

All results were analyzed using linear mixed effects models, with both Subjects and Items as random effects (the fixed effects vary across experiments and will be detailed in the following subsections). The goal of this approach is to avoid the language-as-a-fixed-effect fallacy (Clark 1973) as well as certain limitations of carrying out separate by-subjects and by-items analyses (Raaijmakers 2003). Throughout this section, I present p-values (with $\alpha = .05$, as customary) estimated from Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) sampling (cf. Baayen et al 2008 and references). To assess the validity of these analyses, I have also performed likelihood ratio tests comparing the models with fixed effects to null models with only the random effects. All the calculations have been done with the aid of the R statistical software (http://www.r-project.org) and specifically, the packages *lme4* (Bates et al 2009) and *languageR* (Baayen 2009).

3.1. Experiment A: object vs. subject wh- fronting in single questions

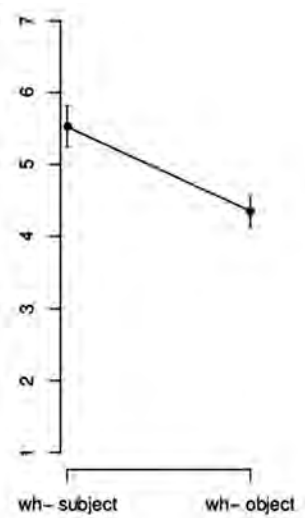
This experiment (items 30101 to 31202 in the item list) establishes a baseline by comparing the acceptability of single questions with a wh- subject vs. that of single questions with a wh- object. It consists of a single factor Fronted Argument, with levels *subject* and *object.* Twelve lexicalizations of this design were prepared, one of which is provided below for reference. In all the lexicalizations, simple wh-words were employed *(quién* 'who' and *qué* 'what') and the non-wh- argument was a simple indefinite *(alguien* 'someone' and *algo* 'something'). Similarly, in all cases the subject was animate and the object was inanimate, and the rightmost constituent of the embedded clause was a time or place adverbial.

(7) *Sample items*

a. Carlos no nos dijo quién había comprado algo en la feria.
Carlos not us told who had bought something in the fair
[subject wh- fronting]

b. Carlos no nos dijo qué había comprado alguien en la feria.
Carlos not us told what had bought someone in the fair
[object wh- fronting]

The results are summarized in the plot and the table in Figure 1 below. A linear mixed effects model (with Subjects and Items as random effects and Fronted Argument as a fixed effect) reveals that the difference in means is highly significant ($p < .001$). A likelihood ratio test against a null model also yielded a highly



wh- subject	wh- object	
5.52	4.34	mean
1.59	1.85	std. deviation
0.28	0.22	std. error

Figure 1. Results of Experiment A.

significant result ($p < .001$), supporting the conclusion that the fixed effect should be considered a predictor of acceptability.

This result (i.e., that object wh- fronting is degraded relative to subject wh-fronting, even in the absence of a Superiority configuration) is surprising because, to the extent of my knowledge, it has not been reported in previous literature on Spanish. However, this doesn't mean it is crosslinguistically unique. The ongoing study on Czech by Gisbert Fanselow and Jana Häussler, on which the present study is heavily based, reports an effect of a comparable magnitude (on separate by-subjects and by-items analyses, $F_1 = 35.56$, $p < .001$, $F_2 = 26.77$, $p < .001$; see the examples below). However, they also report that this effect is absent in German and English. At present, I am not in a position to speculate why only some languages impose a mild penalty on object wh- fronting.

(8) *Czech: significant effect of order*

a. Domovník pozoroval, kdo ze zásob něco kradl.
caretaker observed who PRT held something stolen
'The caretaker noticed who had stolen something'
[subject wh- question: mean rating 5.73]

b. Domovník pozoroval, co někdo kradl ze zásob.
caretaker observed what someone stolen PRT held
'The caretaker noticed what someone had stolen'
[object wh- question: mean rating 4.84]

3.2. Experiment B: interaction of animacy and order in multiple wh- questions

The second experiment (items 10101 to 12004 in the item list) tracks the effects of object animacy in multiple questions with either subject or object wh- fronting. It consists of two factors: (i) Fronted Argument, with levels *subject* and *object;* and (ii) Object Animacy, with levels *animate* and *inanimate.* The addition of Object Animacy as a factor is motivated by the results of Fanselow et al (2011), who show that it does have an effect in German A-bar movement constructions (cf. the discussion in section 3.6). Twenty lexicalizations of a 2 × 2 design were prepared, one of which is provided here for reference.[3]

3. In this set of examples, the gloss DOM is the acronym of Differential Object Marker, required for human/ animate objects. This gloss reflects the consensus in the literature that, in this particular environment, *a* is a genuine case marker, rather than a preposition (cf. Strotzer 1976, Suñer 1988, Cuervo 2003).

(9) *Sample items*

a. Nadie sabía quién había votado a quién en las elecciones.
nobody knew who had voted DOM who in the elections
[subject wh- fronting; animate object]

b. Nadie sabía quién había votado qué en las elecciones.
nobody knew who had voted what in the elections
[subject wh- fronting; inanimate object]

c. Nadie sabía a quién había votado quién en las elecciones.
nobody knew DOM who had voted who in the elections
[object wh- fronting; animate object]

d. Nadie sabía qué había votado quién en las elecciones.
nobody knew what had voted who in the elections
[object wh- fronting; inanimate object]

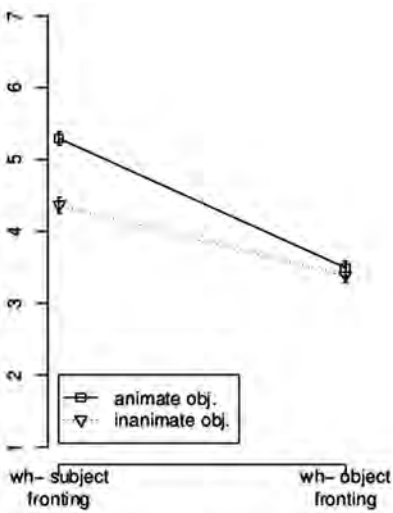
The results of the experiment are summarized in Figure 2. A linear mixed effects analysis reveals a highly significant main effect for the Fronted Argument factor ($p > .001$) but not for the Object Animacy factor ($p = .60$).[4] Additionally, the Fronted Argument × Object Animacy interaction is also significant ($p < .001$). A likelihood ratio test against a null model yields a significant result ($p < .001$), supporting the conclusions of the linear mixed effects analysis.

3.3. Comparison of experiments A and B

The most important conclusion of Experiment B is the significant main effect of the Fronted Argument factor, which reverses previous claims in the literature to the effect that Spanish lacks Superiority effects (cf. the discussion around example (6b) above). The issue I want to address now is whether this is a genuine Superiority effect in the traditional sense of the term (i.e., a violation of a locality condition on movement). Experiment A already showed that fronting of a wh- object in single questions is already associated to a significant penalty on its own. How much of the deviance of examples like (9c) and (9d) can be attributed to this penalty? To put it in a different way, once we factor in the generalized badness of object wh- fronting, is there any room left for locality factors in the analysis of (9c) and (9d)?

Answering this question requires a comparison of Experiments A and B, and this is complicated by the fact that the two experiments have different designs —specifically, Experiment A features the single factor Fronted Argument, whereas Experiment B crosses this factor with Object Animacy to yield a 2×2 design—. This asymmetry can be partly corrected by capitalizing on the fact that all the

4. Note, however, that subject initial examples with an inanimate object receive a lower mean rating than their counterparts with an animate object. The ongoing study by Gisbert Fanselow and Jana Häussler reports a similar asymmetry in Czech, but not in English or German. As above, I am not in a position to speculate why this is the case in some languages but not others.



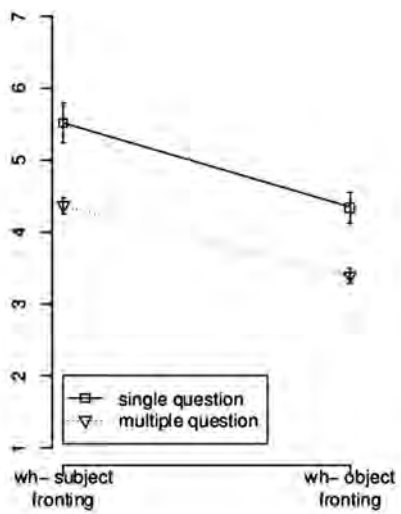
		animate obj	inanimate obj	marginal
subj. fronting	mean	5.29	4.37	4.88
	std dev	1.85	1.92	1.94
	std err	0.10	0.11	0.10
obj. fronting	mean	3.49	3.39	3.44
	std dev	1.81	1.91	1.86
	std err	0.10	0.11	0.11
marginal	mean	4.49	3.88	
	std dev	2.04	1.97	
	std err	0.11	0.11	

Figure 2. Results of Experiment B.

items in Experiment A feature an inanimate object. Therefore, it is possible to compare them against the items in Experiment B that also have an inanimate object. The resulting data frame crosses the Fronted Argument factor (levels *subject* and *object*) with the Question Type factor (levels *multiple* and *single*) to obtain a 2×2 design.

The results of the comparison are summarized in Figure 3. A linear mixed effects model (with Subjects and Items as random effects and Fronted Argument and Question Type as fixed effects) yields a significant main effect for both the Fronted Argument factor ($p < .001$) and the Question Type factor ($p < .001$), but not for the Fronted Argument × Question Type interaction ($p = .41$). A likelihood ratio test against a null model yields a significant result ($p < .001$), supporting the hypothesis that both fixed effects should be considered predictors of acceptability.

The fact that the Fronted Argument factor yields a significant main effect is unsurprising, given that it already yields a main effect of a comparable magnitude in both Experiment A and Experiment B. The significant main effect of the Question Type factor indicates that multiple questions incur a penalty, whereas single questions do not. What is relevant for the purposes of this paper is the lack of an interaction effect. These results argue against an analysis of Superiority effects in Spanish based on locality factors (i.e., violations of the Minimal Link Condition, Relativized Minimality, or some equivalent locality constraint). Specifically, if this type of analysis were correct, we would expect the penalty associated to a locality violation to pile upon the penalty associated to wh- object fronting. That is, the difference in acceptability between the subject wh- fronting condition and the object wh- fronting condition should be larger in multiple questions than in single questions. Such an effect would show up in the plot in Figure 3 as clearly diverging



		single quest.	multiple quest.	marginal
subj. fronting	mean	5.52	4.37	5.01
	std dev	1.59	1.92	1.83
	std err	0.28	0.11	0.07
obj. fronting	mean	4.34	3.39	3.44
	std dev	1.85	1.91	1.93
	std err	0.22	0.11	0.07
marginal	mean	4.93	3.88	
	std dev	1.82	1.97	
	std err	0.16	0.11	

Figure 3. Comparison of Experiments A and B.

lines. In reality, as we have seen, this is not the case (cf. the nearly parallel lines in the plot). Rather, the data collected in these two experiments argue in favor of an approach in which the observed Superiority effect can be subsumed under the generalized deviance of object wh- fronting.

3.4. Experiment C: interaction of subject/object relativization with animacy

The final experiment (items 20101 to 22004 in the item list) examines the interaction of two factors in relative clauses, namely, Relativized Argument (with levels *subject* and *object*) and Object Animacy (with levels *animate* and *inanimate*). The goal here is to determine whether the effects observed in Experiment A and Experiment B are exclusive to wh- questions or whether they generalize to other A-bar movement constructions —in this particular case, relative clauses—. As in Experiment B, twenty lexicalizations of a 2×2 design were prepared, one of which is provided below for reference.

(10) *Sample items*

a. El artículo hablaba sobre un reportero que había grabado a un
the article talked about a reporter who had filmed DOM a
terrorista en Irak.
terrorist in Iraq

[subject relativization, animate object]

b. El artículo hablaba sobre un reportero que había grabado un
the article talked about a reporter who had filmed a
atentado en Irak.
bombing in Iraq

[subject relativization, inanimate object]

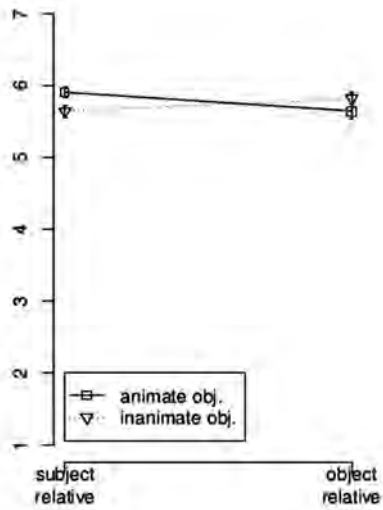
c. El artículo hablaba sobre un terrorista al que un reportero había
the article talked about a terrorist DOM who a reporter had
grabado en Irak.
filmed in Iraq

[object relativization, animate object]

d. El artículo hablaba sobre un atentado que un reportero había
the article talked about a bombing which a reporter had
grabado en Irak.
filmed in Iraq

[object relativization, inanimate object]

The experimental results are summarized in Figure 4 below. A simple visual inspection of the plot, which exhibits nearly horizontal lines with barely any separation, suggests that one is unlikely to find significant effects of any kind. A linear mixed effects model (with Subjects and Items as random effects, and Object Animacy and Relativized Argument as fixed effects) confirms this intuition, as there is no significant main effect for either the Object Animacy factor (p = .42)



		animate obj.	inanimate obj.	marginal
subject rel.	mean	5.91	5.64	5.77
	std dev	1.43	1.83	1.66
	std err	0.08	0.10	0.07
object relative	mean	5.68	5.82	5.77
	std dev	1.60	1.46	1.54
	std err	0.08	0.08	0.06
marginal	mean	5.80	5.74	
	std dev	1.53	1.66	
	std err	0.06	0.07	

Figure 4. Results of Experiment C.

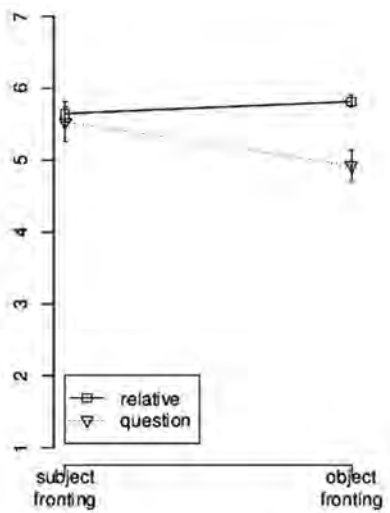
or the Relativized Argument factor (p = .31). The Object Animacy × Relativized Argument interaction also fails to reach significance (p = .16). Furthermore, a likelihood ratio test against a null model also reveals a non-significant difference (p = .66), further supporting the conclusion that neither Object Animacy nor Relativized Argument should be considered acceptability predictors with respect to this particular data set.

3.5. Comparison of Experiment C with Experiments A and B

Given the results of Experiments A and B, it is noteworthy that Experiment C doesn't yield any significant main effect or interaction effect. Consider, for illustration, a comparison of Experiment A against the items in Experiment C with an inanimate object. This comparison can be arranged in a 2×2 design with

factors Fronted Argument (with levels *subject* and *object*) and Clause Type (with levels *question* and *relative clause*). The results are summarized in Figure 5 below. A linear mixed effects model (with Subjects and Items as random effects and Fronted Argument and Clause Type as fixed effects) reveals a significant main effect of the Fronted Argument factor ($p < .001$) as well as of the Clause Type factor ($p < .001$). The Fronted Argument × Clause Type interaction is also significant ($p < .001$). Comparison against a null model also yields a significant result ($p < .001$), supporting the conclusions of the linear mixed effects model.

The fact that object relativization doesn't receive the same penalty as object wh- fronting is somewhat surprising from a theoretical perspective, given that both relativization and wh- movement are cases of A-bar movement and share many syntactic and semantic properties. Regrettably, the question of why these two constructions differ in this particular way cannot be answered without further



		question	relative	marginal
subj. fronting	mean	5.52	5.64	5.58
	std dev	1.59	1.83	1.79
	std err	0.28	0.10	0.06
obj. fronting	mean	4.34	5.82	5.02
	std dev	1.85	1.46	1.84
	std err	0.22	0.08	0.07
marginal	mean	4.93	5.74	
	std dev	1.82	1.66	
	std err	0.07	0.07	

Figure 5. Comparison of Experiments A and C.

testing, and here there are two important factors to take into account. The first one concerns word order: as attentive readers might have noticed, all the wh- questions (both single and multiple) featuring object wh- fronting involve subject-verb inversion. This is a requirement for many dialects of Spanish, (cf. Baković 1998) and references), with lack of inversion typically resulting in unacceptability. Compare:

(11) a. Carlos no nos dijo qué había comprado alguien en la feria.
Carlos not us told what had bought someone in the fair
[subject-verb inversion]

b. *Carlos no nos dijo qué alguien había comprado en la feria.
Carlos not us told what someone had bought in the fair
[no subject-verb inversion]

In contrast, object relativization is more lenient and permits both subject-verb inversion and lack thereof (cf. the examples below).

(12) a. El artículo hablaba sobre un atentado que había grabado un
the article talked about a bombing which had filmed a
reportero en Irak.
reporter in Iraq
[subject-verb inversion]

b. El artículo hablaba sobre un atentado que un reportero había
the article talked about a bombing which a reporter had
grabado en Irak.
filmed in Iraq
[no subject-verb inversion]

Furthermore, an anonymous reviewer of this paper points out that Southern Spain dialects don't require subject-verb inversion if the fronted wh- phrase is D-linked, offering (13) as an illustration. These patterns indicate that future investigations of this paradigm should incorporate Subject-Verb Inversion as an additional factor (with levels *inversion* and *no inversion*).[5]

(13) Carlos no sabía qué marca de manzanilla Juan había bebido en la feria.

Additionally, focus effects might arguably play a role too. As has been sometimes been noted in the literature, object focus fronting is more restricted in Spanish

5. The characterization of *qué marca de manzanilla* as D-linked comes from the reviewer. At present, I do not know if the relevant factor is D-linking or just the additional morphosyntactic complexity of the wh- phrase. Note also that (13) features the proper name *Juan* as the subject of the embedded clause, in contrast to the simple indefinite *alguien* 'someone' used in Experiments A and B. At present, I do not know if this is a significant factor. Similarly, the reviewer doesn't comment on the acceptability of (13) relative to a counterpart exhibiting subject-verb inversion. As mentioned above, further testing is required to determine if there is a significant difference.

than it is in other languages. Specifically, Adli (2011) notes that, even among speakers that accept it, object focus fronting is significantly more degraded than the in situ alternative. Consider the following minimal pair as an illustration:

(14) a. [$_F$ El móvil] perdió Martín por casa.
the cell.phone lost Martín at home
[object focus fronting: mean rating, 61.8/100]

b. Martín perdió [$_F$ el móvil] por casa.
Martín lost the cell.phone at home
[object focus in situ: mean rating, 74.6/100]

Wh- questions and sentences with foci are similar to each other, and different from relative clauses, in a non-trivial way: wh- questions and foci impose a specific focus-background partition on the sentence, but relative clauses do not. Therefore, it is conceivable that Spanish penalizes certain ways of articulating this partition —among them, those that involve fronting of an object focus or wh- word—. If further testing incorporating sentences with foci reveals a significant correlation in this respect, there will be a possibility to properly model the observed difference between object wh- fronting and object relativization.

3.6. Effects of object animacy

Experiments B and C have shown that the Object Animacy factor is not a good predictor of acceptability in Spanish —i.e., it doesn't give rise to a main effect in either relative clauses or multiple questions, and it interacts only weakly with the Fronted Argument factor in multiple questions—. Compare this result with the one reported in Fanselow et al (2011), where it was found that, in German multiple questions, «acceptability is reduced when a[n object] wh- phrase crosses a wh- subject with which it agrees in animacy». The following pair illustrates the relevant contrast.

(15) a. Wen hat wer im Garten besucht?
who.ACC has who.NOM in.the garden visited
[animate wh- object fronting]

b. Was hat wer im Garten besucht?
what.ACC has who.NOM in.the garden visited
[inanimate wh- object fronting]

Participants were presented with a forced-choice test, where they had to indicate whether they accepted or rejected the items in question. Fanselow et al report that, while up to 97.5% of the participants accepted the examples with an inanimate object (15b), this proportion dropped to 70% in the case of examples with an animate object (15a). This difference is significant, but (as mentioned above) Experiments B and C failed to replicate it for Spanish.

4. Conclusions and outlook

The main empirical result of this paper is that, contrary to what has been claimed in previous literature, Spanish does exhibit a Superiority effect, where multiple questions with a fronted wh- object are significantly less acceptable than their counterparts with a fronted wh- subject. Importantly, this penalty on object wh-fronting is replicated in single questions. This much suggests that the deviance of object wh- fronting in multiple questions is not a consequence of Superiority effect as traditionally understood (i.e., a violation of a locality principle like Relativized Minimality or Attract Closest), but rather a reflection of a more general ban on object wh- fronting. Moreover, Experiment B shows that relative clauses do not show any significant penalty on object relativization when compared to subject relativization. This implies that the penalty found in Experiments A and C doesn't range over A-bar movement constructions in general. At present, however, it is unclear to me how to integrate these asymmetries within the current theory of syntax. Similarly, Experiments B and C show that the animacy of the object is, at best, a very weak predictor of acceptability in both relative clauses and multiple questions. Compare this result with the one reported in Fanselow et al (2011), where object animacy does affect the overall acceptability of multiple questions. Again, it is not obvious how to account for the fact that Spanish and German differ in this respect.

More broadly, this article supports an approach to syntax in which the acceptability of a given A-bar construction doesn't depend on one single factor (e.g., an overarching locality condition), but on the interaction of a number of independent factors. As an anonymous reviewer helpfully mentions, it is arguable that subject-verb inversion (cf. Adli 2011) and specificity (cf. Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández 2013) also play important roles, and as such merit being incorporated in future studies of this topic.

In his discussion of subject-verb inversion restrictions in Spanish, Goodall (2010) points out that experimental techniques (including both properly designed questionnaires and quantitative analysis of the results) «can give us more certainty about the status of data where there have been disputes or doubts, as well as more precision in dealing with subtle contrasts among sentences». Here, I hope to have shown that Goodall's comment also holds in the realm of Superiority effects —i.e., by carefully crafting the experiments and by gathering data from a large number of speakers, it is possible to detect data asymmetries that often escape introspective author judgments—. Regrettably, though, the detection of an empirical effect doesn't necessarily lead us to a theoretical account of said effect, and as such I am forced to conclude this article with more open questions than there were at the beginning.

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Resums

Bruno Camus Bergareche

Sobre el *deísmo*. Un altre cas de variació en el sistema de complementació de l'espanyol

El propòsit d'aquest treball és oferir una descripció suficient d'una construcció no normativa de l'espanyol actual coneguda amb el nom de *deísmo*. El *deísmo* es pot definir com l'ús de la preposició *de* davant d'una oració subordinada d'infinitiu, com ara *No permito a mis hijos de llegar tarde* 'No permeto als meus fills arribar tard'. Aquesta estructura no és gens desconeguda en les variants cultes d'altres idiomes romànics, però en espanyol ha quedat confinada sobretot als dialectes meridionals. A partir de les dades subministrades pels parlants de Castella - la Manxa, s'oferirà una anàlisi detallada de la construcció, a més d'un breu informe dels fets de naturalesa similar d'Andalusia, Extremadura i Amèrica. Finalment, abordarem la presència de *deísmo* també al castellà antic i clàssic abans de completar el panorama amb l'atenció a l'ús de les mateixes estructures a la Romània occidental, de manera que puguem disposar de les claus necessàries per tal de entendre el fenomen dins del context més ampli de la variació que experimenten els sistemes romàniques de subordinació.

Paraules clau: sintaxi; oracions d'infinitiu; complementadors; sistema de complementació en llengües romàniques; espanyol de Castella - la Manxa.

Ricardo Etxepare

Adposicions primàries del basc des d'una perspectiva oracional

L'objectiu d'aquest article és explicar una interessant asimetria detectada en el conjunt d'adposicions primàries del basc: mentre la resta d'afixos espacials s'adjunten a bases nominals escarides, les adposicions locatives semblen requerir un SD. Defenso que el pressumpte determinant que encapçala el complement del sufix locatiu és en realitat un al·lomorf del sufix ergatiu, i proporciono una explicació de per què es necessita un marcador independent de cas en aquests sintagmes adposicionals, però no en la resta de construccions espacials. L'explicació porta a reconsiderar gran part de les conclusions sintàctiques establertes sobre les quals es fonamenten les anàlisis tradicionals de les adposicions del basc. Per fer-ho, desenvolupo la idea original de Koopman (2000) que cal analitzar els sintagmes amb adposicions mantenint un paral·lelisme estricte amb la sintaxi oracional. Les diferències microsintàctiques entre els dialectes proporcionen algunes de les proves crucials de la proposta.

Paraules clau: adposicions; complements locatius; cas ergatiu; noms de relacions espacials; el·lipsi nominal; parts axials; fons; basc.

Ana Maria Martins

La interacció entre coordinació i ordre VSO en dos tipus d'exclamatives sense gradació

Aquest article estudia dos tipus diferents d'estructures en indicatiu que tenen inversió subjecte-verb i que no han rebut gaire atenció en els estudis sobre l'ordre VS al portuguès europeu. Ambdues estructures expressen la comparació/contrast mitjançant la coordinació, presenten l'ordre VSO i poden ser classificades com a oracions exclamatives sense gradació. Mentre que en el primer tipus (tipus I) el subjecte postverbal rep una lectura de focus contrastiu, l'altre tipus (tipus II) es caracteritza per tenir un patró menys general d'inversió subjecte-verb que no requereix ni focus del subjecte ni sintaxi de V2, però que afegeix al contingut proposicional de l'oració un comentari implícit que denota una actitud de desaprovació per part del parlant respecte a l'estat de coses descrit. Es proposa que el factor que unifica els dos tipus d'exclamatives sense gradació és la presència d'un tret valoratiu a dintre del domini del CP que dóna lloc al trasllat de V a C. Les estructures de tipus I mostren desplaçament de V a C en tots dos membres de la coordinació i comporten, a més, trasllat del subjecte a SFoc. A les de tipus II no hi ha trasllat de focus i el trasllat de V a C només es produeix en el primer membre de l'estructura coordinada, ja que l'element que satisfà el tret valoratiu del segon membre de la coordinació és el nucli de l'estructura (la conjunció coordinant).

Paraules clau: exclamatives sense gradació; ordre VSO; coordinació; focus contrastiu; significat valoratiu; portuguès europeu.

Gabriela Matos

Inversió citativa en el portuguès peninsular, en espanyol i en anglès

Els parentètics de citació es caracteritzen per presentar un complement elidit i, en funció de la llengua, per poder invertir el subjecte. Aquest article dóna prou evidència a favor de la idea que la citació no s'origina com a part del complement del parentètic. Ben al contrari, el parentètic és un adjunt de la citació i pot ocupar diferents posicions dins seu. D'aquesta manera, com a anàlisis anteriors, es considera que l'objecte elidit és una variable lligada per un operador buit que pot ser recuperat per la citació. L'obligatorietat de la inversió del subjecte als parentètics del portuguès europeu i de l'espanyol peninsular és el resultat de restriccions estructurals sobre el focus: en aquestes llengües el focus informatiu, només es troba en les posicions postverbals, ja que el focus desplaçat al principi és interpretat com a contrastiu. Pel contrari, a l'anglès, el focus preverbal no és només contrastiu sinó que també pot ser informatiu, que de fet és el patró més habitual. Tot i així, l'anglès permet focus informatiu en posició postverbal en algunes construccions, com, per exemple, la inversió de citació.

Paraules clau: parentètics de citació; inversió de citació; complement elidit; focus informatiu; espanyol peninsular; portuguès europeu.

Isabel Oltra-Massuet, Elena Castroviejo

A la recerca de resultats en verbs deadjectivals del català i de l'espanyol

L'objectiu d'aquest article és analitzar la variació morfo-semàntica en la derivació lèxico-sintàctica del verbs deadjectivals en català i castellà formats amb el sufix *-ejar/-ear* (VDE d'ara en

endavant), tals com *groguejar/amarillear*. Específicament, formulem dos tipus de qüestions; d'una banda, ens ocupem de les diferències interlingüístiques que exhibeixen els VDE en aquestes dues llengües romàniques; de l'altra, abordem les implicacions teòriques que poden tenir aquestes diferències de comportament per a la gramàtica de les formacions verbals deadjectivals. Argumentem que mentre els VDE del castellà són verbs de canvi d'estat que comporten una transició amb una relació de coincidència terminal, és a dir, tenen una configuració morfo-sintàctica que inclou tant un Lloc com una Trajectòria, els VDE catalans són predicacions estatives que només contenen un Lloc, que té com a nucli una preposició de coincidència no terminal abstracta PROP DE.

Paraules clau: verbs deadjectivals; estructura argumental; telicitat; causativitat; incoativitat; català; espanyol peninsular.

Javier Ormazabal, Juan Romero

Objectes no acusatius

En aquest article proposem una anàlisi asimètrica de la legitimació de cas en què, d'una banda, l'arquitectura funcional del sistema verbal només legitima, com a màxim, un SD, i, de l'altra, només un cert tipus de SD requereix una legitimació formal. La nostra proposta explica, sense complicacions addicionals, els problemes clàssics que afecten la sintaxi de les construccions amb Marcatge Diferenciat de l'Objecte (MDO) i amb elevació d'objecte, així com els efectes de la restricció de persona i cas, tant en espanyol com en altres llengües. També analitzem les conseqüències i els reptes que la nostra proposta planteja per explicar el comportament dels clítics en dialectes laïstes en contextos en què els dos arguments interns semblen legitimar-se de maneres formalment independents: un mitjançant el MDO i l'altre gràcies a un clític de datiu. En aquest sentit, demostrem que aquest clític datiu no estableix cap relació de concordança, sinó que és un determinant que s'incorpora, com passa amb els clítics acusatius de tercera persona (Ormazabal i Romero 2013a).

Paraules clau: cas; concordança; Marcatge Diferenciat de l'Objecte; pronoms clítics; variació microdialectal; construccions amb *se*; espanyol.

Iván Ortega-Santos

Microvariació a les comparatives de l'espanyol

Si bé les comparatives de desigualtat amb el marcador *que* (*Pedro es más inteligente que yo*) han rebut molta atenció en l'estudi de l'espanyol (e.g., Bolinger 1950, Plann 1984, Sáez del Álamo 1990, Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1994, Romero Cambrón 1998, Brucart 2003 o Reglero 2007), la variació dialectal no ha figurat de manera prominent en la bibliografia. La microvariació a l'espanyol de Xile proporciona proves clares a favor de l'existència d'una anàlisi amb oració reduïda i d'una anàlisi com a SP del segment *que*-XP; això contrasta amb l'espanyol estàndard, on només la primera anàlisi és possible. Aquesta microvariació és resultat de tenir dues entrades lèxiques per *que* (complementador pur vs. preposició) o bé de la inexistència d'una de les dues. L'anàlisi com a SP és consistent amb el canvi gradual de *de* a *que* en la història de les comparatives en espanyol (Romero Cambrón 1998).

Paraules clau: construccions comparatives; microvariació; el·lipsi; sintaxi experimental; espanyol.

Sílvia Planas-Morales, Xavier Villalba

La perifèria dreta de les interrogatives en català i en espanyol: interaccions entre sintaxi i prosòdia

S'ha destacat en la bibliografia que les oracions interrogatives del castellà i del català es comporten de manera ben diferent respecte a la inversió subjecte-verb: mentre aquelles permeten la inversió VS 'clàssica' i, en especial, l'ordre VSO, aquestes recorren sistemàticament a la dislocació a la dreta en tots els casos (V(O)#S). En aquest article revisem aquesta observació a partir d'un estudi de corpus i afegim a la descripció els trets prosòdics i pragmàtics de les interrogatives. Mostrem que les interrogatives del català afavoreixen la dislocació a la dreta, en clar contrast amb el castellà, que prefereix la realització *in situ* del material del rerefons. Aquesta última opció té conseqüències importants per als contorns prosòdics de les interrogatives castellanes, que marquen els constituents focals finals amb un to ascendent i el material del rerefons amb una lleugera caiguda.

Paraules clau: oracions interrogatives; dislocació a la dreta; inversió; estructura informativa; prosòdia; català; espanyol.

Vidal Valmala

Sobre l'elevació del nus dret en català i en espanyol

La derivació de les construccions d'elevació del nus dret (END) ha estat objecte de força debat en la bibliografia generativista, però l'anàlisi d'aquest tipus de construccions no ha rebut, fins ara, gaire atenció en els treballs dedicats al català i a l'espanyol. En aquest article analitzo les propietats de l'END en aquestes dues llengües i proposo que també hi ha la distinció introduïda a Valmala (2012) per a les construccions equivalents de l'anglès: defenso que en català i en espanyol hi ha dos tipus d'END que contenen propietats sintàctiques, prosòdiques i d'estructuració de la informació diferents. A les END amb pivot focalitzat, el sintagma que fa de pivot és focus i va precedit per una ruptura en l'entonació, i hi ha trasllat de cap a cap en els dos constituents coordinats (és a dir, el pivot és *ex situ*). Contràriament, a les END amb pivot no focalitzat aquest element no és focus, no va precedit per cap ruptura entonacional i ocupa la seva posició canònica (és a dir, és *in situ*). Aquest tipus d'END és conseqüència d'un procés d'elisió del primer conjunt de la coordinació o d'una relació de multidominança del pivot.

Paraules clau: elevació del nus dret; trasllat de cap a cap; focus; elisió; multidominança; construccions parentètiques; català; espanyol.

Maria del Mar Vanrell Bosch, Olga Fernández Soriano

Variació a les interfícies en iberoromànic: ordre de paraules i prosòdia en espanyol i en català

En aquest estudi investiguem la interacció entre l'ordre de mots i la prosòdia a l'hora d'expressar la modalitat i diferents construccions de focus en una sèrie de dialectes del català i de l'espanyol. Hem analitzat un corpus obtingut mitjançant dues tasques: a) una tasca de producció dissenyada per obtenir diferents construccions de focus mitjançant parells de pregunta-resposta amb petites històries presentades a partir de figures i b) la metodologia de la tasca de compleció del discurs. Les dades recollides s'han analitzat prosòdicament i sintàctica. Les nostres dades confirmen que en català i en espanyol la prominència entonativa tendeix a recaure al final de l'oració, però això és del tot cert només en les declaratives de focus ample, ja que la prominència principal pot recaure a

l'inici de l'oració en les declaratives de focus informatiu en català oriental i en espanyol del País Basc o restar in situ tant en les declaratives de focus informatiu com en les de focus contrastiu (especialment en valencià o espanyol). Quant a la modalitat interrogativa, podem fer una distinció important entre les llengües que poden presentar inversió del subjecte-verb en les interrogatives directes (valencià i espanyol) i les llengües que no (català oriental). En català oriental el subjecte apareix dislocat.

Paraules clau: ordre de paraules; prosòdia; focalització; modalitat declarativa; modalitat interrogativa; variació dialectal; català; espanyol.

Luis Vicente

Sobre les causes dels efectes de superioritat en espanyol: resultats preliminars i perspectives de futur

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Aquest article presenta els resultats d'experiments (tasques de determinació d'acceptabilitat) fets a un grup de parlants d'espanyol d'Andalusia. El resultat fonamental és que, contràriament al que s'havia dit a la bibliografia (cf. Jaeggli 1982 et seq), l'espanyol mostra efectes de superioritat a preguntes qu- múltiples. Aquest efecte pot ser concebut com a una penalització suau quan hi ha trasllat de paraula qu-, que tampoc ha estat gaire estudiada a la bibliografia anterior. En conseqüència, l'article presenta evidència a favor de teories de superioritat on les violacions de localitat no juguen un paper gaire important.

Paraules clau: superioritat; anteposició de l'objecte; interrogatives qu-; oracions de relatiu; espanyol.