MORPHO-SYNTACTIC INTERACTIONS BETWEEN *V* AND *C* IN ROMANCE[1]

Ángel J. GALLEGO

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

angel.gallego@uab.cat

Abstract

This paper discusses a series of morpho-syntactic (a)symmetries that emerge in the vP and CP levels of different Romance languages. The (a)symmetries considered indicate a P or D oriented nature for specific functional heads placed in the vP and CP domains, an idea that has been at the forefront of micro-parametric studies ever since the 80s (cf. Kayne 1984, 2000; Uriagereka 1995). The consequences of this investigation for the status of parameter theory are further considered (cf. Chomsky 1981; Baker 2001; Biberauer 2008; Kayne 2000; Picallo 2014) and the study of the lexicon, arguably the main locus of linguistic variation (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993; Hale & Keyser 1993; Starke 2014; Uriagereka 2008).

INTERACCIONES MORFOSINTÁCTICAS ENTRE *V* Y *C* EN ROMANCE

Resumen

Este trabajo discute una serie de (a)simetrías morfosintácticas que aparecen en los niveles del Sv y el SC de diferentes lenguas románicas. Dichas (a)simetrías indican que núcleos funcionales pertenecientes a los dominios Sv y SC despliegan una naturaleza similar a P o a D, una idea que ha

---

estado muy presente los estudios microparamétricos desde los años 80 (cf. Kayne 1984, 2000; Uriagereka 1995). El presente artículo también considera las consecuencias de esta investigación para el estatus de la teoría paramétrica (cf. Chomsky 1981; Baker 2001; Biberauer 2008; Kayne 2000; Picallo 2014) y el estudio del lexicón, supuestamente la principal fuente de variación de las lenguas (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993; Hale & Keyser 1993; Starke 2014; Uriagereka 2008).

Palabras clave

complementantes, léxico, microparámetros, lenguas románicas, variación, verbos

1. Introduction

This paper has two goals. First and foremost, it discusses a series of morpho-syntactic asymmetries that has *v* as its locus, showing a continuum that goes from highly configurational Romance languages of the French type to partially configurational Romance languages of the Spanish type, with languages such as Catalan and Italian being along the way, showing a hybrid behavior. Building on Gallego (2013, 2014), I show that the morpho-syntactic phenomena in (1) align in a systematic way:

(1)   vP-related morpho-syntactic phenomena

      a. VOS sentences

      b. VSO sentences

      c. Differential Object Marking

      d. Oblique clitics

      e. Clitic doubling

      f. Leismo/Laismo

      g. Participial agreement

Adopting a micro-parametric approach (cf. Kayne 2000; Biberauer *et al.* 2009), I take the functional category *v* (Chomsky 1995) to be associated with an additional projection, which I label *f* (in the spirit if not the letter of Uriagereka 1988, 1995), and whose featural content and exact position may vary along the Romance family. More specifically, I focus on well-known word-order and Case asymmetries that are

294

regulated by *v* (and *f*, I contend), and propose the basic configuration in (2), where *f* can vary along two specific parameters: its ɸ-feature endowment (it can be ɸ-complete or ɸ-defective) and its location (it can be projected above or below *v*).

(2) $[_{XP}$ (*f*) $[_{vP}$ EA *v* $[_{XP}$ (*f*) $[_{VP}$ V IA $]\,]\,]\,]$ *f* = ± ɸ-complete

I relate the ɸ-feature endowment and position of *f* to the morpho-syntactic (a)symmetries in (1) and show that they have a natural correlation with a cluster of properties deployed in the CP domain in Romance, which I associate with the relevant counterpart of *f*, labelled F (cf. Uriagereka 1988, 1995).

The second goal of the paper matches its very aim to contribute to our understanding of parametric variation of closely related languages by exploiting the old intuition, embodied in the so-called "Borer-Chomsky Conjecture" (cf. Baker 2008) that linguistic variation resides in the functional inventory of the lexicon, which makes syntax cross-linguistically invariant, as stated by the *Uniformity Principle* (UP; cf. Chomsky, 2001):[2]

(3)   Uniformity Principle (UP)

In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances

[from Chomsky, 2001: 2]

Discussion is divided as follows: section 2 reviews a series of (a)symmetries concerning the dependencies between verbs and objects in Romance languages; in section 3 I introduce the basic ingredients of the micro-parametric approach put forward in this paper; section 4 shows that the facts that concern the *v*P domain find a natural correlate in the CP domain; in section 5 I sketch an approach of the facts adopting a micro-parametric point of view; finally, section 6 summarizes the main conclusions.

---

[2] There are different ways to approach the *Uniformity Principle*. Some of them are discussed in Picallo (2014), Eguren *et al.* (in press), and references therein.

2. The data: Object asymmetries in Romance languages

The literature has pointed out a series of (a)symmetries that licensing of objects, their distribution, agreement properties, and clitic compatibility in Romance languages. This section reviews them.

2.1. VOS sentences

The literature on word order has shown that the VOS pattern is not available in all Romance languages. In particular, it seems that languages allowing the VOS order make use of different strategies: either they raise the object to a position above the subject (cf. Ordóñez 1998, 2007) or else they front the VP to a similar position (cf. Belletti 2004). The following examples, where binding from the object into the subject is forced, show how those strategies are resorted to by different languages:[3]

(4)   a. Recogió   cada coche$_i$ su$_i$ propietario   (Spanish)
        picked-up-3.SG each car   its owner
        Its owner picked up each car
      b. *Hanno   salutato Gianni$_i$ i   propri$_i$ genitori   (Italian)
        have-3.PL greeted Gianni the own   parents
        His own parents have greeted Gianni

                         [data from Belletti 2004; Ordóñez 1998]

As can be seen, Spanish (like Galician, Romanian, and European Portuguese; cf. Costa 2002; Uriagereka 1988) deploys object shift (OS) whereas Italian (like Catalan; cf. Ordóñez 1998, 2000; Picallo 1998) does VP fronting (VPF).

---

[3] An anonymous reviewer is not sure that the examples in (4) are actually VOS. However, as argued by Belletti (2004) and Ordóñez (1998) at lenght, there is no other plausible option. In Spanish this is clear, as the alternative would trigger DOM in the sentence final DP (the would-be animate object); the same holds in the case of Italian, given the agreement dependency between the verb and the plural DP *i propri genitori*.

2.2. VSO sentences

More severe restrictions seem to operate in VSO sentences. Only outermost Romance varieties (namely Spanish, Galician, European Portuguese, and Romanian) license it (cf. Belletti 2004; Ordóñez 1998, 2000; Zubizarreta 1998).

(5)   a. Todos los días compra   Juan el diario   (Spanish)

        all   the days buy-3.SG Juan the newspaper

        Juan buys the newspaper everyday

    b. O   invita   cam de   Ion pe fata acesta   (Romanian)

        CL-her invite-3.SG quite often Ion PE girl the-that

        Ion invites that girl quite often

    c. *Fullejava   en Joan el diari   (Catalan)

        browsed-3.SG the Joan the newspaper

        Joan was browsing the newspaper

    d. *Ha   comprato Maria il giornale   (Italian)

        have-3.SG bought   Maria the newspaper

        Maria has bought the newspaper

                    [data from Belletti 2004; Picallo 1998; Zubizarreta 1998]

As can be seen, and Gallego (2013) discusses at length, there seems to be a connection between the licensing of VOS sentences via object shift and the licensing of VSO. Later we will see how this interaction can be captured, together with other properties.

2.3. Differential Object Marking (DOM)

Cross-linguistically, many languages use some particle or Case-marker to render an argument different from the other (Hindi-Urdu, Persian, Kiswahili, to name but a few). Within Romance, both Spanish and Romanian feature DOM (cf. López 2012 and references therein):

(6)   a. Il   caut **pe** un student   (Romanian)

CL-ACC   seek PE a   student

I'm looking for a student

b. *J'ai   vu   **a** un enfant   (French)

I-have seen to a   kid

I have seen a kid

In the examples above, the particles *pe* and *a* make the direct objects different, a morpho-phonological effect that is coupled with certain interpretive effects (animacy, specificity, etc.).

2.4. Oblique clitics

As many authors have pointed out, the pronominal paradigm of French, Catalan, and Italian contains partitive and locative clitics (cf. Bonet 1995, and references therein). Examples of such clitics (in bold letters) are in (7):

(7)   a. J'**en** ai   bu   (French)

I-CL have drunk

I drank some

b. **Hi** he   viscut molt de temps   (Catalan)

CL have lived   a-lot of time

I have lived there for a long time

Other Romance languages (e.g., Spanish, European Portuguese, Galician, and Romanian) do display oblique clitics, but restricted to the dative case.[4]

2.5. Clitic doubling

Only some Romance languages (Romanian and some dialects of Spanish) can use a clitic to double a full DP receiving accusative Case (the doubling of strong pronouns,

---

[4] There are some well-known cases of non-oblique clitics recycled to be used as oblique (cf. Longa *et al.* 1996).

298

or that of indirect objects is more general; cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003; Jaeggli 1982, 1986; Ordóñez 2008; Torrego 1994):

(8)　　a. **Lo** he　visto a　Juan　　　　　　　(River Plate Spanish)

　　　　　CL have seen to Juan

　　　　　I have seen Juan

　　　b. **I** -am　　　văzut pe　Popescu　　　　(Romanian)

　　　　CL have-1.SG seen　PE　Popescu

　　　　　I have seen Popescu

　　　c. *****Lo** vedrò　domani　Gianni　　　　(Italian)

　　　　　CL will-see tomorrow Gianni

　　　　　I have seen Juan

　　　d. *Jean **la** connaît　　Marie　　　　(French)

　　　　　Jean　CL know-3.SG　Marie

　　　　　Jean knows Marie

2.6. Leísmo and Laísmo

European Spanish varieties manifest morpho-syntactic processes whereby, on the one hand, direct objects receive dative Case (so-called "leísmo") and, on the other, indirect objects receive accusative Case (so-called "laísmo").[5, 6]

(9)　　　　a. **Le**　　vi　(al　niño)　　　　　(European Spanish)

　　　　　CL-DAT saw-1.SG　the kid

　　　　　I saw him

　　　　b. **La**　　dije que Luis viene hoy　　(Central-Castillian Spanish)

　　　　　CL-ACC said that Luis come today

　　　　　I told her that Luis comes today

---

[5] I am putting side the existence of different types of leismo. As dicussed by Fernández-Ordóñez (1993, 1999), dative clitics in European Spanish can substitute animate DPs (this is the most extended use, almost standard in the entire Peninsula), inanimate DPs, and mass-denoting DPs. For the purposes of this paper, we do not need to discuss these types of leísmo.

[6] Laismo is much more restricted than leismo, a fact I return to in section 4.

Most interestingly, both leísmo and laísmo are ruled out in other Romance languages, as seen in (10) and (11). It is somewhat surprising that the phenomena we are discussing are also ruled out in languages that co-exist with Spanish, like Catalan.

(10)   a. ***Gli**   ho   visto   (Italian)

             CL-DAT have seen

             I have seen him

      b. ***Li**   he   vist   (Catalan)

             CL-DAT have-1.SG seen

             I have seen him

(11)   a. ***La**   ho   detto che Luigi viene oggi   (Italian)

             CL-ACC have said that Luigi come today

             I have told her that Luigi comes today

      b. ***La**   he   dit que en Lluís arriba   avui   (Catalan)

             CL-ACC have said that the Lluís arrive-3.SG today

             I have told her that Luigi comes today

Such phenomena have received much attention within the descriptive literature, and in the recent years they have become the focus of much research (cf. Fernández-Ordóñez 1993, 1999; Romero 1997, 2011).

2.7. Participial agreement

Languages that make use of non-dative oblique clitics are also special in that they license participial agreement with a shifted object:

(12)   a. Combien de **tables** as-tu   **repeintes**?   (French)

          how-may of tables have-2.SG-you repainted-FEM.PL

           How many tables did you repaint?

      b. Jean **les**   a   **repeintes**   (French)

          Jean CL-FEM.PL have-3.SG repainted-FEM.PL

          Jean has repainted them

300

As the data in (13) and (14) show, there is also a more subtle micro-parameter distinguishing topicalization and wh-movement (in Catalan and Italian, only the former triggers agreement):

(13)   a. Paolo **le**   ha   **viste**   (le ragazze) (Italian)

              Paolo CL-FEM.PL have-3.SG seen-FEM.PL the girls

              Paolo has seen them

        b. **Le ragazze** que Paolo ha   {visto / ***viste**}   (Italian)

              the girls   that Paolo have-3.SG seen-MASC.3.SG/FEM.3.PL

              The girls that Paolo has seen

(14)   a. En Pau **l'**   ha   **trencada**, la clau   (Catalan)

              the Pau CL-FEM.SG-have-3.SG broken   the key

              Pau has broken it, the key

        b. **Quina clau** ha   {trencat/***trencada**},   en Pau?   (Catalan)

              which key have-3.SG broken-MASC/FEM.3.SG the Pau

              Which key has Pau broken?

Regardless of what the most adequate analysis of the facts is (cf. Kayne 1989; Paoli 2006; D'Alessandro & Roberts 2008), the data above indicate a connection between participial agreement and oblique clitics. As we are about to see, the connection is even more complex, covering possessive HAVE and auxiliary selection too.

2.8. V + causee + INF

One final property to be considered here, which aligns with DOM and clitic doubling languages, concerns the position of the causee in causative structures. Only certain varieties of Spanish, as well as Romanian, allow for the causee to appear sandwiched between the causative verb and the infinitival (cf. Treviño 1994; Guasti 2006; Ordóñez 2008; Ciutescu 2012).

(15) a. L   -au facut **(pe el)** a compune piesa   intr-o ora   (Romanian)

CL-ACC have made PE him to compose song-the in   an hour

They made him compose the song for an hour

b. Hicimos   **a los chicos** comprar los libros   (European Spanish)

made-1.PL to the boys   buy   the books

We made the boys buy the books

[data from Ciutescu, 2012; Ordóñez, 2008]

Catalan, Italian, French, and River Plate Spanish preclude this position for the causee.

(16)   a. *Pierre a   fait **a Jean** ouvrir la porte   (French)

Pierre have made to Jean open   the door

Pierre made Jean open the door

b. *Gianni fece   **a Daniele** aprire la porta   (Italian)

Gianni made to Daniel   open   the door

Gianni made Daniel open the door

c. *En Joan a   fet   **la Maria** obrir la porta   (Catalan)

the Joan have made the Maria open the door

Joan made Maria open the door

d. *Hicimos   **a los chicos** comprar los libros   (River Plate Spanish)

made-1.PL to the boys   buy   the books

We made the boys buy the books

[from Ordóñez 2008: 1, 2]

2.9. Interim conclusions

In the previous pages we have seen that Romance languages align and disalign with respect to a series of morpho-syntactic phenomena, all of which have are associated to some object-related projection. If we put all these pieces together, the following parametric mosaic obtains:

302

(17)	Outer Romance				Central Romance		
	E.POR.	GAL.	SPA.	ROM.	CAT.	ITA.	FRE.
1. VOS (OS)	☒	☒	☑	☑	☒	☒	☒
2. VSO	☑	☑	☑	☑	☒	☒	☒
3. Diff. Object Marking	☒	☒	☑	☑	☒	☒	☒
4. Oblique clitics	☒	☒	☒	☒	☑	☑	☑
5. Clitic doubling	☒	☒	☑	☑	☒	☒	☒
6. Leísmo / Laísmo	☒	☒	☑	☒	☒	☒	☒
7. Part. agreement	☒	☒	☒	☒	☑	☑	☑
8. V + causee + INF	☒	☒	☑	☑	☒	☒	☒

The correlations in (17) do not have a pinpoint accuracy — and things could of course be more intricate if subvarieties (dialects) were taken into account —, but they show pretty steady tendencies between outer and central Romance languages.
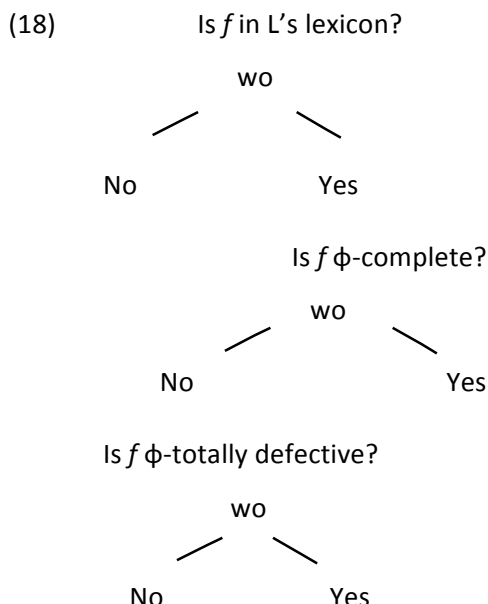
3. Theoretical assumptions: a micro-parametric approach to variation

The study of linguistic variation was the empirical hallmark of the Principles and Parameters framework to solve the tension between descriptive and explanatory adequacy (cf. Gallego 2011). The dominant perspectives on parameters in the current fall into two broad categories: (i) macro-parametric, and (ii) micro-parametric. In macro-parametric approaches, variation is located in general operations; in micro-parametric ones, variation is encoded in the lexicon, where different views are available (distributed morphology, nano-syntax, neo-constructionism, etc.; cf. Picallo 2014 and references therein).[7]

In this paper, I put forward a micro-parametric solution to the cluster of data witnessed in the previous section. In particular, I endorse and make use of the idea that micro-parametric variation is to be encoded in the inventory of functional lexical items of a language L (e.g., "Does L have *f*?") and in their morphological endowment

---

[7] Along with the macro-parametric and micro-parametric approaches, some scholars have also considered the possibility that variation is restricted to externalization mechanisms (cf. Berwick & Chomsky 2013; Chomsky 2007, 2010). I will assume that this is a variant of micro-parametric approaches.

(e.g., "Is f φ-complete?"), thus yielding a basic two-layer schema (cf. Raposo & Uriagereka 2005; Uriagereka 1995):

(18)   Is f in L's lexicon?

             wo

    No   Yes

                Is f φ-complete?

                  wo

        No   Yes

    Is f φ-totally defective?

             wo

    No   Yes

The first choice to be made in (18) has a clear syntactic effect and also consequences for our view on the functional sequence of functional categories. Here I assume that the decision between having f in the syntax or in the morphology — the choice between (19a) and (19b) — is largely a matter of notational implementation. As already noted, the facts seen in section 2 suggest that v, a functional category encoding the licensing the Case-agreement properties of internal arguments, is the locus of the relevant parameter. With that in mind, the application of (18) would entail either (19a) or (19b):

(19)   a. [$_{vP}$ EA [$_{v'}$ v_f [$_{VP}$ V IA]]]
        b. [$_{vP}$ EA [$_{v'}$ v [$_{XP}$ f [$_{VP}$ V IA]]]]

The hypothesized f category closely resembles Uriagereka's (1988, 1995) F, which will become more relevant in section 4. In Uriagereka (1988, 1995), F was placed in the vicinity of C and v respectively, and was regarded as responsible for a series of morpho-syntactic phenomena. Under the assumption that the position of f may also vary within the array of functional projections, the two-layer schema in (18) becomes a

much more powerful mechanism of micro-parametric characterization, taking into account lexical, syntactic, and morphological factors.

(20)   a. Lexical micro-parameter: Is *f* in L's lexicon?

         b. Syntactic micro-parameter: Is *f* above or below *v*?

         c. Morphological micro-parameter: Is *f* ɸ-complete?

In the next section I show that the data of section 2 find a natural correlate with morpho-syntactic phenomena that affect the CP layer. Then, in section 5, I argue how the micro-parametric machinery introduced in this section, where the possibility that *f* is a source of ɸ-features can help us understand the (a)symmetries reviewed in section 2 and ideally find a comprehensive analysis.

4. Morpho-syntactic variation of C across Romance

The asymmetries discussed in section 2 with respect to the *v* of Romance languages has interesting simmilarities in the CP field (cf. Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2005; Gómez Torrego 1999; Leonetti 1999; Picallo 2002; RAE-ASALE 2009; Serrano 2008). In this section I concentrate on two specific phenomena that correlate with the Case-agreement facts of section 2.

4.1. Dequeísmo

Reference grammars of Spanish (cf. Gómez Torrego 1999; RAE-ASALE 2009) and many authors (cf. Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2005) have noted that both European and American varieties of Spanish feature the semantically inert preposition *de* preceding the complementizer, mostly in object position. The same proposition appears to be blocked in the same context of otherwise closely related Romance languages:

(21)   a. Dudo [CP **de** que María haya entendido el libro]   (Spanish)

       doubt   of that María has understood the book

       I doubt María has understood the book

       b. Dubto [CP (***de**) que la   Maria hagi entés   el   llibre]   (Catalan)

       doubt   of that the Maria has   understood the book

       I doubt María has understood the book

       c. Dubito [CP (***di**) que tu   abbia capito   quel libro]   (Italian)

       doubt   of that you have   understood that book

       I doubt you have understood that book

The dequeísmo pattern is somewhat analogous in nominal and adjectival environments: in these cases, the CP cannot be introduced by the preposition *de*.

(22)   a. La posibilidad [CP **de** que venga   ] me preocupa   (Spanish)

       the possibility   of that come-SUBJ-3.SG me worries

       The possibility that she comes worries me

       b. Estoy   cansado [CP **de** que te   critiquen]   (Spanish)

       be-1.SG tired   of that you criticize-3.PL

       I am tired that they criticize you

       c. La possibilitat [CP (***de**) que vingui]   em preocupa (Catalan)

       the possibility   of that come-SUBJ-3.SG me   worries

       The possibility that she comes worries me

       d. Estic   cansat [CP (***de**) que et   critiquin]   (Catalan)

       be-1.SG tired   of that you criticize-3.PL

       I am tired that they criticize you

Clearly, the two syntactic environments in (21) and (22) must be treated separately. In (21), the preposition is not making any contribution on syntactic grounds, as long as the verb manages to license the object CP. The same is not obvious for (22), since nouns fail to Case-license complements. Nevertheless, Romance languages seem to align with respect to whether CPs can be introduced by a presumably dummy Case-marker (although see Demonte & Fernández-Soriano, 2005 for a more articulated proposal).

306

4.2. Spurious clausal article

One other intricacy of Spanish clausal syntax concerns the possibility to spell-out a spurious clausal article right before the complementizer (which I will dub "elqueísmo" for ease of reference), in both subject (preferably) and complement position. This is revealing, as we are about to see, since it is either a vacuous preposition or article that can appear before C — the moment the preposition is not vacuous (as shown in (26)), both elements are blocked.

Consider first the fact that CPs in subject position can feature elqueísmo in Spanish, but not in other Romance languages (cf. Leonetti 1999; Picallo 2002):

(23)   a. **(El)** [$_{CP}$ que   viniera] fue   una sorpresa   (Spanish)

      the   that come   was a   surprise

      The fact that he came was a surprise

      b. **(*El)** [$_{CP}$ que vinguis] va   ser una sorpresa   (Catalan)

       the   that come   AUX be a   surprise

      The fact that he came was a surprise

In the literature it has been noted that the same article cannot appear in object position (modulo factive verbs; cf. Uriagereka 1988):

(24)   a. Dijo   [$_{CP}$ **(*el)** que había entendido   el   libro]   (Spanish)

      said-2.SG the that had   understood the book

      'S/He said that he had understood the book'

      b. Lamento [$_{CP}$ **(el)** que hayas   suspendido]   (Spanish)

      regret-1.SG   the that have-SUBJ-2.SG failed

However, Serrano (2008) shows that the clausal article can appear even when the CP occupies an object context. And, again, this is excluded in Catalan and other Romance languages.

(25)   a. Su actitud facilitó   [_{CP} **(el)** que vengas]   (Spanish)

her attitude eased-3.SG   the   that come

Her attitude made it easier for her to come

b. La seva actitud va   facilitar [_{CP} **(*el)** que vinguis]   (Catalan)

the her attitude AUX-3.SG ease   the   that come

Her attitude made it easier for her to come

Interestingly enough, this pattern is blocked in the context of a non-Case-vacuous preposition, even in Spanish (cf. RAE-ASALE 2009):

(26)   a. Independientemente [_{PP} **de(*l)** que estemos aquí]   (Spanish)

independently   of the that be-1.PL here

Even though we are here

b. Aparte [_{PP} **de(*l)**   que los datos fueran   falsos]   (Spanish)

apart   of the that the data   were   false

Apart from the fact that the data were false

The same holds with embedded interrogatives, which block the clausal article too (cf. RAE-ASALE 2009):

(27)   No sé   [_{CP} (***el**) quién llamó]   (Spanish)

not know-1.SG   the who   called

I don't know who called

Summing up, Spanish has the possibility to use two expletive elements before declarative complementizers, either a preposition or an article. Notwithstanding their (controversial) semantic impact, I assume here that both elements are connected to the Case-agreement systems. The first piece of evidence comes from them occupying structural Case positions (subjects and objects), not oblique ones (see (26)). The second piece of evidence concerns the fact that they are incompatible: I know of no dialect of Spanish that displays the structure in (28).

308

(28)   [$_{CP}$ el$_{EXP}$ de$_{EXP}$ [$_{CP}$ que . . .]]

A third piece of evidence is gathered from extraction. It is well-known that agreement renders domains opaque for extraction (cf. Uriagereka 1988), and as Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2005) show, CPs in a dequeísmo guise become opaque:

(29)   a. *Qué cosa$_i$ me   dijiste [$_{CP}$ **de** que habías   comprado t$_i$]?

             what thing CL-to.me tell-2.SG of that had-2.SG bought?

          'Qué cosa me dijiste que habías comprado?'

          b. *Dónde$_i$ sabes   [$_{CP}$ **de** que   vive t$_i$]?

             where   know-2.SG of   that live-3.SG ?

          'Dónde sabes que vive?'

                              [from Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2005: 1070]

The possibility that both dequeísmo and elqueísmo are integrated in the Case-agreement systems is interesting inasmuch the facts we review in section 2 are too. In the next section I sketch a micro-parametric approach that connects both set of facts.

5. A micro-parameter for the facts

This section outlines a micro-parametric account of the cluster of data revised in section 2 and 4. Capitalizing on the first three asymmetries (namely, VOS, VSO, and DOM), all of which seem to be connected in a rather straightforward fashion (cf. Gallego 2013), I sketch an analysis that takes Chomsky's (1995) *v* to be associated with a functional category that is responsible those phenomena. The category I have in mind has been assimilated to different notions pertaining to the case-aspect-agreement continuum the literature (P, Asp, Appl, Voice, Agr$_O$, etc.; cf. López 2012; Torrego 1998). In order to remain theoretically neutral and leave the content of such category open I will simply call it *f* (a shorthand for 'further,' as in Uriagereka 1988,

1995). Thus, I will adopt the basic vP structure in (30), with f being sandwiched above or below v.

(30) $[_{XP} (f) [_{vP} EA v [_{XP} (f) [_{VP} V IA]]]]$ $f = \pm \phi$-complete

This projection, conveniently adjusted to carry ϕ-features, should account for the facts in section 2. It is precisely the morphological make-up of f that will be responsible for the (a)symmetries between outer and central Romance. In this vein, I will exploit ideas in Kayne (1994) and Torrego (1999) and assume a key distinction between D (Agr) and P, which I reinterpret in the following sense: If f is ϕ-defective, then f is prepositional-like.

In order to justify (30), let me go back and connect f with VOS (OS), VSO, and DOM. Assuming that OS is an instance of A-movement, I take it that f is ϕ-complete in the Romance languages featuring VOS (OS), VSO, and DOM (roughly, outer Romance varieties):

(31)   a. $[_{vP}$ IA $[_{vP}$ EA $v [_{XP} f_{\phi} [_{VP} V t_{IA}]]]]$ $f = \phi$-features (outer Romance)
         b. $[_{vP} [_{VP} V IA] [_{vP} EA [_{XP} f t_{VP}]]]$ $f = P$ (central Romance)

The fact that f is a source of ϕ-features features has a clear relevance for the syntax of clitics, as we saw in (7) above, for only a subgroup of outer Romance has clitic doubling. From the analysis envisaged in (30), clitic doubling is nothing but the morphological spell-out of ϕ-complete f.

A natural extension of the phenomena we have just considered concerns the position of the causee in syntactic causative constructions (which is only allowed in DOM-licensing languages). It is plausible to conclude that the position occupied by causee *a María* (Eng. 'to María') in (32) is the same of DOM objects more generally ([Spec, vP] in López 2012, [Spec, XP] in the current proposal):

(32)   La crisis $[_{TP}$ hizo $[_{XP}$ **a María**$_i$ $[_{TP}$ t$_i$ perder la esperanza]]] (Eur. Spanish)
         the crisis   made-3.SG to María   lose-INF the hope
         The crisis made María lose hope

310

Let us consider next oblique clitics and participial agreement. The literature on clitics has treated these elements either as determiners base-generated in argument positions or as agreement morphemes base-generated as heads of some functional projection (cf. Ormazabal & Romero 2013 and references therein). Though different, both views attribute *v* (alternatively, Clº or Agr_O) a key role in the licensing of clitics. If the nature of *f* in (30) is prepositional (agreement-less), then it makes sense for this projection to be responsible for the licensing of argumental partitive and locative clitics.

The lack of ɸ-features in *f* for central Romance seems to be related to the possibility that dative clitics become locative under certain circumstances (typically when some morphological-repair strategy applies). For Catalan, the connection as already been made by Bonet (1995, 2002), Mascaró (1985), Rigau (1978, 1982), and Roca (1992), and could be understood as taking *li* as *l* + (locative) *hi* (cf. Kayne, 2008) for Central romance. It is well-known that dative Case is spelled-out as locative in the presence of accusative Case in standard Catalan (cf. Bonet 1994, 2008):[8, 9]

(33)   Donarem   els diners a la Maria → Els {***li** / **hi**}   donarem

        will-give-1.PL the money to the Maria CL_{ACC} $CL_{DAT/LOC}$ will-give-1.PL

        We will give the money to Maria

In the same vein, there are further contexts where davite Case in outer Romance becomes partitive in central (cf. Roca 1992). Consider the following examples:

(34)   a.   Los alumnos se ríen de María   →   Los alumnos se **le** ríen

           the students SE laugh of María   the students SE LE laugh

           The students laugh at María

---

[8] Things are much more complex in colloquial / substandard and dialectal Catalan. I put these facts aside.

[9] There are similar results when the dative argument is inanimate in some varieties of Catalan, according to Rigau (1978, 1982).

(i)   En Joan donà   cops a la porta → En Joan **hi**   donà   cops   (Catalan)

      the Joan gave-3.SG blows to the door   the Joan there gave-3.SG blows

      Joan struck the door   Joan struck it

      b.   El ladrón se escapó de la policía →   El ladrón se **le** escapó

           the thief SE escaped of the police   the thief SE LE escaped

           The thief escaped from the police

      c.   Se apiadaron de él   →   Se **le** apiadaron

           SE took-pity of him   SE LE took-pity

           They took pity on him

(35)   a.   Els alumnes se **n'** enriuen (de la Maria)

           the students SE EN laugh   of the Maria

           The students laugh at her

      b.   El lladre se **n'** ha pogut escapar (de la policia)

           the thief SE EN have could escape   of the police

           The thief could escape from it

      c.   Se **n'** han penedit   (d' en Pere)

           SE EN have taken-pity of the Pere
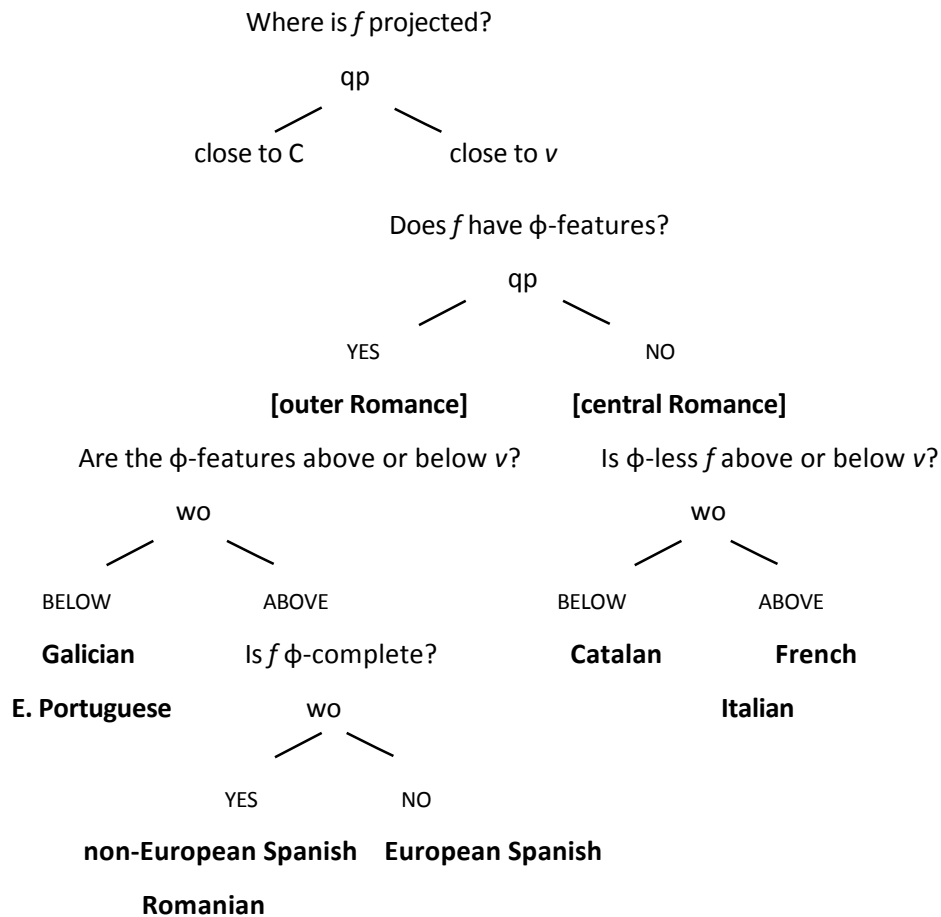
           They have taken pity on him

[from Roca 1992: 50]

All of this, yet again, suggests that the licensing of argumental clitics in central Romance has a prepositional / ɸ-less status. Consider participial agreement next. I assume the agreed upon idea that this type of agreement arises because of a close dependency between Agr_O (here, f) and the IA. This would appear to suggest that f is a source of ɸ-features, but I take it to indicate that f is P under the assumption that participles in central Romance are adjectival. If so, and if adjectives involve a preposition (or a Case morpheme) in their l-syntax (as argued for by Kayne 2011; Mateu 2002), then the agreement facts follow from f copying the ɸ-features of the IA in central, not outer varieties.[10]

---

[10] The same happens, of course, with subject agreement with passives more generally. The micro-parameter concenring objects could be expressed by assuming that the IA (after rising) and v are within the same phase in central Romance, but not in central varieties (cf. D'Alessandro & Roberts 2008).

312

Considered in perspective, and taking the hypothetical *f* to be implied in all the variation we have seen, the following parametric schema suffices to account for Romance languages:[11]

(36)   Micro-parametric schema of *f*'s variation

Where is *f* projected?

qp

close to C   close to *v*

Does *f* have φ-features?

qp

YES   NO

[outer Romance]   **[central Romance]**

Are the φ-features above or below *v*?   Is φ-less *f* above or below *v*?

wo   wo

BELOW   ABOVE   BELOW   ABOVE

Galician   Is *f* φ-complete?   **Catalan**   **French**

E. Portuguese   wo   **Italian**

YES   NO

non-European Spanish   European Spanish

Romanian

Let me clarify how the questions and answers above work within the overall proposal. The first question is the one determining whether the focus is on subject or object properties. The second question teases apart languages where *f* has φ-features (outer Romance) from those where it does not (central Romance). Now we have a bifurcation. Consider the right branch first, which brings together languages with oblique clitics and participial agreement. There is only one relevant question for them, which is where *f* is merged: below or above *v*. As discussed in Gallego (2014), I submit
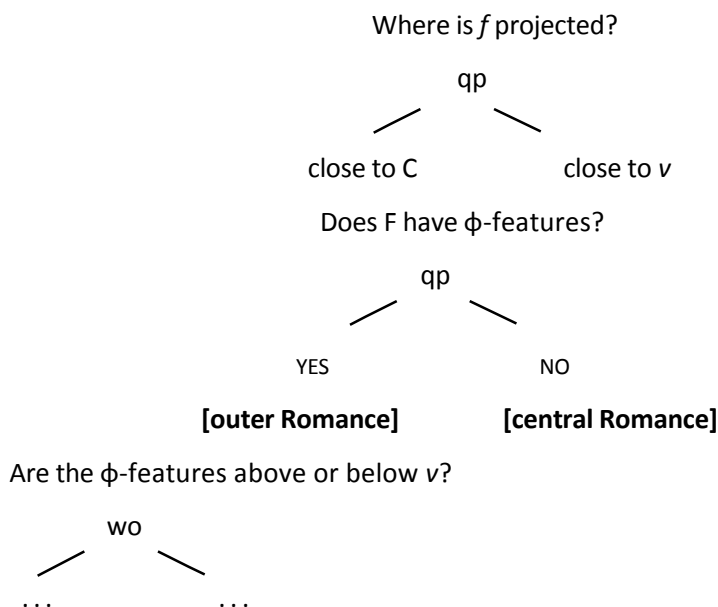
---

[11] Needless to say, the schema in (36) is meant to capture the (object-centered) variation that has *f* as its locus, not all the properties of Romance languages. For example, (36) leaves aside all the (subject-centered) variation that plausibly has T as its locus (pro-drop, etc.).

that the answer to that question provides the language with the relevant tools to display (or not) auxiliary selection and possessive HAVE, thus teasing apart Catalan from French and Italian.

Let us go back to the left branch, which covers outer Romance languages. The first question there is whether f (φ) is projected below or above v. In order to isolate DOM-less languages (Galician and E. Portuguese), I assume that DOM is related to the position of f: since DOM appears to be connected to object raising above v, I assume f is above that very projection.[12]

Consider, to conclude, how the facts in section 4 can be made compatible with this micro-parametric above. First of all, we should be able to connect "dequeísmo" and "elqueísmo" to the kind of schema in (36). Following Uriagereka (1988, 1995), I will assume the presence of a functional category in the CP domain that is akin to f: F. The reader must keep in mind that F is nothing but a contextual variant of f (it is not an independent category).

(37)   Micro-parametric schema of F's variation

Where is f projected?

qp

close to C   close to v

Does F have φ-features?

qp

YES   NO

[outer Romance]   **[central Romance]**

Are the φ-features above or below v?

wo

…   …

---

[12] This division may suggest that Galician and E. Portuguese actually belong to the central Romance group. Such a possibility is worth considering, but facts like VOS and VSO, plus the unavailability of oblique clitics and participial agreement, make Galician and E. Portuguese more outer-like. Some variants of Aragonese raise more subtler concerns, for they display many outer traits, but have oblique clitics, which may follow from their vicinity with Catalonia (in fact, it is regarded as a wetern variety of Catalan). I leave a more careful dialectal research for future work.

314

The schema in (37) is nothing but a sketch. Nevertheless, it suffices to locate F within the outer Romance group, which is what we want if we want to integrate the dequeísmo and elqueísmo data. Once we are there, we must of course investigate whether the position of F plays any role. In his original work, Uriagereka (1988, 1995) identified the presence of F below C in Western Romance, but we have seen that the facts in section 4 indicate F may actually be projected above C, at least in Spanish. If that is correct, then probably (37) should be completed as in (38).

(38)   Are the ɸ-features above or below *v*?
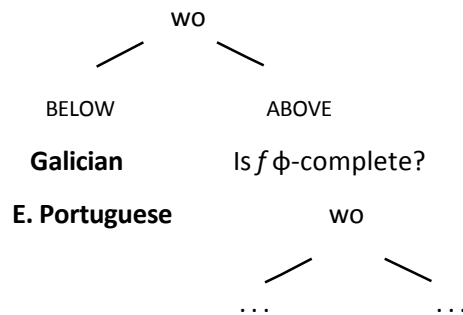
I leave this possibility open for future work, noting it would be consistent with the fact that Eur.Portuguese and Galician are precisely the languages that lack DOM.

6. Conclusions

The rise of comparative work of closely related languages in the last decades has shown that micro-parameters are a methodologically very useful tool to study linguistic variation (cf. Kayne 2000). In the previous pages I have discussed a wide range of (a)symmetries that concern Romance languages. As we have seen, facts that could be taken as independent from each other at first glance go hand in hand when considered more closely. Building on ideas that have their source in the so-called Borer-Chomsky Conjecture, I have argued that the facts under consideration can be approached from a three-way micro-parametric perspective. In particular, I have

315

assumed that the data can be handled by answering the questions in (20), repeated here for convenience:

(39) a. Lexical micro-parameter: Is *f* in L's lexicon?

  b. Syntactic micro-parameter: Is *f* above or below *v*?

  c. Morphological micro-parameter: Is *f* ɸ-complete?

The questions in (39) have lexical, syntactic, and morphological repercussions, and they have been tested in the structure in (30), where the square-one of the micro-parametric schema deployed in (36) is *f*. Depending on *f*'s morphological endowment and its position within the low IP area, we obtain one language or another.

(40) [$_{fP}$ (*f*) [$_{vP}$ EA *v* [$_{XP}$ (*f*) [$_{VP}$ V IA]]]] *f* = ± ɸ-complete

Interestingly enough, independent evidence in the CP field suggest that the first, and ultimately key, distinction of the micro-parametric schema is on the right track. Different pieces of evidence suggest that C can be associated to an additional functional category that contains ɸ-features, as we saw in section 4.

These facts deserve a more careful study, but they signal to a steady network of correlations that can be accounted for by customary micro-parametric machinery.

References

ALEXIADOU, A. & E. Anagnostopoulou (2001) "The subject in situ generalization, and the role of Case in driving computations", *Linguistic Inquiry,* 32, 193-231.

ANDRIANI, L. (2011) "Differential Object Marking, Clitic Doubling, and Argument Structure in Barese", MA Thesis, U. Leiden.

BELLETTI, A. (2004) "Aspects of the Low IP Area", in L. Rizzi (ed.), *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures (vol. 2)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 16-51.

BIBERAUER, T. (ed.) (2008) *The Limits of Syntactic Variation*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

BIBERAUER, T., A. HOLMBERG, I. ROBERTS & M. SHEEHAN (eds.) (2009) *Parametric Variation: Null Subjects in Minimalist Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BONET, E. (1994) "The person-case constraint: A morphological approach, in *The Morphology-*

Syntax Connection. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, MIT Press, Boston, MA, 33-52.

BONET, E. (1995) "Feature structure of Romance clitics", *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory,* 13, 607-647.

BONET, E. (2002) "Clitització", in J. Solà *et al.* (eds.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, Barcelona: Empúries.

BONET, E. (2008) "The person-case constraint and repair strategies", in R. D'Alessandro, S. Fischer & G. H. Hrafnbjargarson (eds.), *Agreement Restrictions,* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 103-128.

BORER, H. (1984) *Parametric Syntax: Case Studies in Semitic and Romance Languages.* Dordrecht: Foris.

CARDINALETTI, A. (2004) "Towards a cartography of subject positions", in L. Rizzi (ed.), *The structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures (vol. 2)*, New York: OUP, 115-165.

CHOMSKY, N. (2001) "Derivation by Phase", in M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1-52.

CIUTESCU, E. (2012) "Notes on the Syntax of Analytical Causative Constructions in Three Romance Languages". Ms., CLT-UAB.

COSTA, J. (2002) "VOS in Portuguese: Arguments against an analysis in terms of remnant movement", in A. Alexiadou *et al.* (eds.), *Dimensions of Movement*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 69-89.

D'ALESSANDRO, R. & I. G. Roberts (2008) "Movement and agreement in Italian past participles and defective phases", *Linguistic Inquiry,* 39, 477-491.

D'ALESSANDRO, R. (2007) *Impersonal si constructions.* Berlin: MdG.

D'ALESSANDRO, R. (2012) "Merging Probes. A typology of person splits and person-driven differential object marking", Ms. LUCL Leiden.

DEMONTE, V. & O. FERNÁNDEZ-SORIANO (2005) "Features in Comp and syntactic variation. The case of "dequeísmo" in Spanish", *Lingua,* 115, 1063-108.

DOBROVIE-SORIN, C. (1994) *The syntax of Romanian: Comparative studies in Romance*, Berlin: MdG.

DOBROVIE-SORIN, C. (1998) "Impersonal *se* Constructions in Romance and the Passivization of Unergatives", *Linguistic Inquiry,* 29, 399-437.

FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEZ, I. (1993) "Leísmo, laísmo y loísmo: estado de la cuestión", in O. Fernández Soriano (ed.), *Los pronombres átonos*, Madrid: Taurus.

Fernández-Ordóñez, I. (1999) "Leísmo, laísmo y loísmo", in I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española,* Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

Gallego, Á. J. (2011) "Parameters", in C. Boeckx (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Minimalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 522-549.

Gallego, Á. J. (2012) *Phases. Developing the Framework*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gallego, Á. J. (2013) "Object shift in Romance", *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory,* 31, 409-451.

Gallego, Á. J. (2014) "vP asymmetries in Romance: A micro-parametric view", *The 45th Annual Meeting of North East Linguistic Society*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge (Massachusetts), October 31-November 2.

Gómez Torrego, L. (1999) "La variación en las subordinadas sustantivas: dequeísmo y queísmo", in I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2105-2148.

Guasti, M.T. (1996) "Semantic restrictions in Romance causatives and the incorporation approach", *Linguistic Inquiry,* 27, 294-313.

Kayne, R. (1989) "Facets of Romance past participle agreement", in Paola Benincà (ed.), *Dialect variation and the theory of grammar*, Dordrecht: Foris, 85-103.

Kayne, R. (1993) "Toward a Modular Theory of Auxiliary Selection", *Studia Linguistica,* 47, 3-31.

Kayne, R. (2000) *Parameters and Universals*, Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kayne, R. (2011) "Antisymmetry and the Lexicon", in A. M. Di Sciullo & C. *Boeckx* (eds.), *The Biolinguistic Enterprise*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 329-353.

Leonetti, M. (1999) "El artículo", in I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 787-890.

López, L. (2012) *Indefinite objects*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Mascaró, J. (1985) *Morfologia*, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana.

Mateu, J. (2002) *Argument Structure: Relational construal at the syntax-semantics interface*, PhD Dissertation, UAB.

Ordóñez, F. (1997) *Word Order and Clause Structure in Spanish and Other Romance Languages*, PhD dissertation, City University of New York.

Ordóñez, F. (1998) "Post-verbal asymmetries in Spanish", *NLLT,* 16, 313-346.

Ordóñez, F. (2008) "Las causativas y la distribución del sujeto causado en el español de Río de la Plata y el español peninsular: evidencia para un núcleo aplicativo", ALFAL, Montevideo, Romania Nova, August 20 2008.

ORMAZABAL, Javier & Juan ROMERO (2013) "Object clitics, agreement and dialectal variation", *Probus* 25(2), 301-314.

PAOLI, S. (2006) "On the relation of [gender] Agreement", in J. Costa & M.C. Figuereido Silva (eds.), *Studies on Agreement*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 223-242.

PICALLO, M.C. (1998) "On the EPP and Null Expletive Subjects", *Probus,* 10, 219-241.

PICALLO, M.C. (2002) "Abstract Agreement and Clausal Arguments", *Syntax,* 5, 116-147.

RAE-ASALE (2009) *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española*, Madrid: Espasa.

RIGAU, G. (1978) ""Hi" datiu inanimat", *Els Marges,* 12, 99-102.

RIGAU, G. (1982) "Inanimate Indirect Object in Catalan", *Linguistic Inquiry,* 13, 146-150.

ROBERTS, I. (2010) *Agreement and Head Movement: Clitics, Incorporation and Defective Goals*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

ROCA, F. (1992) *On the Licensing of Pronominal Clitics: the Properties of Object Clitics in Spanish and Catalan*, MA Thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

ROMERO, J. (1997) *Construcciones de doble objeto y gramática universal*, PhD dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

ROMERO, J. (2011) "Accusative datives in Spanish", Ms., Universidad de Extremadura.

SERRANO, S. (2008) *Un caso poco estudiado de la subordinación en español: sustantivas en posición de objeto precedidas por* el, Master Thesis, UAM / IUOG.

TORREGO, E. (1995) "On the nature of clitic doubling", in H. Campos & P. Kempchinsky (eds.), *Evolution and revolution in linguistic theory*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 399-418.

TORREGO, E. (1998) *The Dependencies of Objects*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

TREVIÑO, E. (1994) *Las causativas del español con complemento infinitivo*, México: Colegio de México.

URIAGEREKA, J. (1988) *On Government,* PhD Dissertation, UConn.

URIAGEREKA, J. (1995) "An F Position in Western Romance", in K. Kiss (ed.), *Discourse configurational languages*, Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 153-175.

ZUBIZARRETA, M.L. (1998) *Prosody, focus, and word order*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.