

## PARAMETERS OF LINGUISTIC VARIATION

Roberta D'Alessandro  
LUCL Leiden  
r.dalessandro@hum.leidenuniv.nl

### MACROPARAMETRIC CLASSIFICATION OF ROMANCE

Contreras (1963), Körner (1987)

#### SYNTETICITY/ANALITICITY PARAMETER

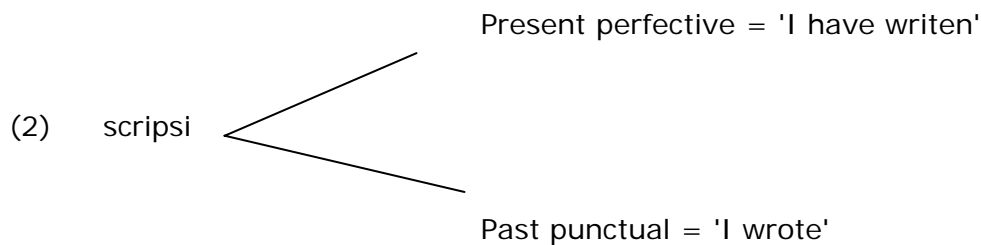
(1)	FRENCH, ITALIAN	PRT, SPA, SAR, ROM, ENGADINE
Partitive (DE + Article)	+	-
PP agr with preposed direct object	+	-
preferred topicalization	+	-
possibility of non-pro-drop	+	-
prepositional accusative	-	+
preferred left dislocation with clitic doubling	-	+
substantivized infinitives	-	+
infinitives with overt subjects	-	+

### MICROPARAMETRIC VARIATION IN ROMANCE

#### 1. AUXILIARY SELECTION

CLASSICAL LATIN PERFECT

Latin perfect = syncretistic category



Principal Romance developments:

- i) perfect specialised to mark punctual value
- ii) analytic aux + participle construction marks present perfective value

MINOR ROMANCE DEVELOPMENTS

- i) Diamesic variation: 'written' perfect
- ii) Diatopic variation: 'spoken' perfect (Prt, L-America)
- iii) go-past

1.1. ORIGINS OF HABERE PERIPHHRASIS

*habere*: lexical verb of possession

- (1) pecunias                    magnas                    habent  
money-fem pl acc    great-fem pl acc    have-3<sup>rd</sup> pl  
'They have a lot of money'

TRANSITIVE VERB?

- i) Bivalent: < subject (locative), object (theme/patient) >
- ii) Prototypical transitivity includes an agent

Aspectual resultative periphrasis in conjunction with participle:

- (2) a.    in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas    habent (Cic.)  
          in that province money great    invested    they-have
- b.    multa bona                    bene parta                    habemus (Plautus)  
          much property            rightly acquired            we-have

Indeterminacy of implied agent:

- (3) a.    pecunias magnas    ?    collocatas    habent

REANALYSIS & GRAMMATICALISATION

Reanalysis: change in underlying structure but with no overt surface manifestation

- i) habere: subcategorisation frame 2 > 0 (argument inheritance)
- ii) habere lexical ⇒ auxiliary

- (4) a. pecunias magnas collocatas habent  
          theme                  predicate agent-aux

#### GRAMMATICALISATION

(5)

habere = lexical	habere = auxiliary
Resultative	Present perfective
2 subjects / biclausal	1 subject /monoclausal
Adjectival PP	Verbal PP
+ Participial Agr	± Participial Agr
Transitives	Transitives > Unergatives

Earliest examples limited to experiencer verbs (e.g. cognosco, comperio):

- (6) uti...matematicam notam habeat (Vitruvius *De architectura* I.i.8)

#### EARLY EXAMPLES

- (7) a. si dominum iratum haberes (S. Augustine)  
      b. metuo...ne ibi vos habeam fatigatos (ib.)  
      c. episcopum invitatum habes (S. Gregory of Tours)

#### 1.2. ORIGINS OF ESSE PERIPHRAISIS

CL esse + PP: perfective passive and deponents:

- (8) a. Caesar laudatur ⇒ caesar laudatus est (< Brutus laudavit Caesarem)  
      b. Caesar proficiscit ⇒ caesar profectus est

Spoken Latin developments:

- i) loss of transitive deponents: HORTOR, LOQUOR

ii) retention of intransitive deponents: *morior*, *NASCOR*, *PROGREDIOR*, *GRADIOR*, *IRASCOR*, *LABOR* (though morphology lost > \**MORIO*, \**NASCO*, \**PROGREDI(S)O*, etc)

iii) Extension of intransitive deponent *esse* + PP pattern to other intransitives with similar meaning (themes / patients, not \*agents; no control):

Change of location: *PARTITU*, \**CADITU*, (DE)*SCENSU*, \**VENITU*/*VENUTU*, \**ITU*

Change of condition: \**CRESCITU*, *DESPARITU*

Continuation of condition: *DURATU*, *STATU*, *REMAS(T)O*

Existence of condition: *PARITU*, *EXISTITU*

### 1.3. AUXILIARY DISTRIBUTION ACROSS ROMANCE: PAST & PRESENT

#### EARLY ROMANCE

i) have / be alternation widespread (until 16/17th in Ibero-Romance)

ii) verbs occurring with be are those that take *essere* in Modern Italian

(9)

Old French	Old Spanish	Old Catalan	Old Portuguese
<i>être, courir,</i>	<i>descender, huir,</i>	<i>néixer, morir,</i>	<i>chegar, partir,</i>
<i>volere,</i>	<i>llegar, entrar,</i>	<i>esdevenir,</i>	<i>morrer, nascer</i>
<i>marcher,</i>	<i>ir, partir,</i>	<i>romandre,</i>	
<i>couler, croître,</i>	<i>nacer, morir,</i>	<i>restar, anar,</i>	
etc.	etc.	<i>fugir, eixir,</i>	
		<i>salir, etc.</i>	

MODERN ROMANCE

(10)	Passive	Unaccusati ve	Reflexive	Unergative	Transitive
Portuguese					
Spanish					
Fr/Sp Cat					
St. Catalan					
N/B/Alg Cat					
French					
Occitan					
Sardinian					
Rhaeto-R.					
NIDs					
Italian					
SIDs					
Vegliote					
Megl-R/Ar.					
Rumanian					

	esse
	Alternating habere / esse
	habere

SOME EXAMPLES

i) Conservative varieties:

- (11) a. *ha dormito vs. è venuto* (It)  
 b. *tu as pleuré vs. il était monté* (Fr)  
 c. *en Joan ha menjat una poma vs. en Joan és arribat* (Balearic Catalan)  
 d. *sézi vangút vs. éras anát* (Alghero Catalan)  
 e. *ai vist vs. es arribada, èron intrados* (Occ)

- f. *am jurat* vs. *sam vinít* (Arumanian/Megleno-Rum)
- g. *appo faeddatu a Juanne* vs. *Juane est andatu, Maria est ghirata*  
(Sard)

ii) Advanced varieties:

- (12) a. *he venido, me he lavado* (Sp)
- b. *tenho (hei) estado doente* (Prt)
- c. *ja havia marxat, s'ha fet protestant* (Cat)
- d. *Ju ai venut, Ju ai ssait, se jai martuot* (Vegliote)
- e. *ha bbenuto, ha mmuruto, ce ammo lavate* (Neapolitan)

## 2. ROMANCE SPLIT INTRANSITIVITY

Consequences of Late Latin developments:

habere: agent/experiencer subjects (e.g. *read, think*)

esse: theme/patient subjects (e.g. *die, exist, fall*)

### 2.1. ROMANCE SPLIT S-SYSTEMS

Modern Italian / French

i) unergatives (  $S = A$  (ag/exp)  $\Rightarrow S_A$ ): *avere / avoir*

ii) unaccusatives (  $S = O$  (th/pat)  $\Rightarrow S_O$ ): *essere / être*

#### 2.1.1. OBJECT PROPERTIES OF $S_O$

Comparison with passives:

- (13) a. *La marina ha affondato la nave*  
the navy sank the boat
- b. *La nave è stata affondata [t<sub>la nave</sub>] (dalla marina)*  
the boat is been sank by the navy
- (14) *È affondata la nave*  
is sank the boat

#### 2.1.2. POSITION

WHAT HAPPENED?

- (15) a. *Il treno ha bloccato la stazione*  
the train has blocked the station

- b. ***Il treno*** *fischiava*  
the train whistled
- c. *È arrivato* ***il treno***  
is arrived the train
- (16) a. \**Il* *a mangé* ***l'enfant*** *le bonbon*  
*expl* has eaten the child the candy
- b. \**Il* *a dormi* ***l'enfant***  
*expl* has slept the child
- c. *Il* *est arrivé* ***le train***  
*expl* is arrived the train
- (17) a. ***Un desconegut*** *va portar la bandera*  
A stranger is going to carry the flag
- b. ***Un desconegut*** *passejava en el pis*  
A stranger walked in the flat
- a. *Ha arribat* ***el tren*** (cf. What has happened to the train? ***El tren ha arribat***)  
Has arrived the train
- (18) a. *Han vist* ***animals***  
Have seen animals
- b. \**Han dormit* ***animals***  
Have slept animals
- c. *Han passat* ***animals***  
Have passed animals

### 2.1.3. INDE-CLITICISATION

- (19) a. *Studio* ***molts*** *llibres* ⇒ ***Ne*** *studio* [***molts*** t<sub>ne</sub>]  
I-study many books Of them I-study many
- b. ***Molts*** *estudiants* *leggon* ⇒ \***[*Molts*** t<sub>ne</sub>] ***ne*** *leggon*  
Many students read Many of-them read
- c. *Arriben* ***moltes*** *senyores* ⇒ ***Ne*** *arriben* [***moltes*** t<sub>ne</sub>]  
Arrive many ladies Of-them arrive many

- (20) a. *Je vois **trois filles** ⇒ J'en vois [**trois** t<sub>en</sub>]*  
I see three girls I-of-them see three
- b. ***Trois filles** dorment ⇒ \* [**Trois** t<sub>en</sub>] **en** dorment*  
three girls sleep three of-them
- c. *Il arrive **trois filles** ⇒ Il **en** arrive [**trois** t<sub>en</sub>]*  
expl arrive three girls
- (21) a. *Prendre **café**? ⇒ No, **gràcies**, ja **n'he** pres [t<sub>en</sub>]*  
Will you take coffee no thanks already of-it have taken
- b. ***Tres fills** dormen ⇒ \* [**Tres** t<sub>en</sub>] **en** doormen*  
three girls sleep
- c. *Ha vingut **algun client**? ⇒ -No, no **n'ha** vingut [**cap** t<sub>en</sub>]*  
has come any client no, not of-them has come any

#### 2.1.4. ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLES

- (22) a. *Studiati **tre libri**, i ragazzi uscirono a mangiare*  
studies three books the boys went out to eat
- b. *\*Dormiti **i ragazzi**, uscirono a mangiare*  
slept the boys went out to eat
- c. *Arrivati **i ragazzi**, noi li salutammo*  
arrived the boys we them greeted
- (23) a. ***La lettre** écrite, Jean sabla le champagne*  
the letter written Jean opened the champagne
- b. *\***Les amis**\* causé(s), ils se sont embrassés*  
the friends caused they felt themselves embarrassed
- c. ***Les parents** partis, Jean s'est mis à organiser la fête*  
the parents left, Jean started organizing the party

#### 2.1.5. PARTICIPIAL AGREEMENT

- (24) a. ***La lettre** que Marie a écrite*  
the letter that Marie has written
- b. ***Marie** a écrit(\*e)*

- c. **Marie** est morte  
Marie is dead
- (25) a. *Maria ha scritto la lettera / L'ha scritta*  
b. **Maria** ha scritto(\*a)  
c. *È morta Maria*

SPLIT: LEXICALLY DETERMINED

i) Mismatch between syntax & semantics: *sweat* vs *fall*

ii) Limited fluidity:

- (26) a. *L'aereo **ha** volato alto nel cielo*  
b. *Il passerotto **è** volato verso la foresta*

- (27) a. *Gianni **ha** corso a casa*  
b. *Gianni **è** corso a casa*

- (28) a. *Il vaso **ha** traboccato di vino*  
b. *Il vino **è** traboccato dal vaso*

iii) Overlap:

- (29) a. *Le livre **est** / **a** paru récemment*  
b. *Il **est** / ?**a** passé maître dans l'art de plaire*  
c. *Il **avait** / ?**était** passé pour compétent*  
d. *La cause **a** / ?**est** jusqu'à present échappé à toutes les recherches*  
e. *Son secret lui **est** / ?**a** échappé*

- (30) a. *La temperatura **è** / ?**ha** salita/o improvvisamente*  
b. *La guerra **è** / ?**ha** durata/o a lungo*  
c. *Questo stato di cose **è** / **ha** persistito per dieci anni*  
d. *Paolo **ha** / \***è** persistito nel suo atteggiamento*  
e. *Il cibo **è** / **ha** scarseggiato tra i terremotati*

MICROPARAMETER? HOW DO WE DEFINE IT?

### 3. AUXILIARY SELECTION IN ITALIAN DIALECTS

#### NORTHERN ITALIAN DIALECTS (cf. Cordin 1997: 93-95)

##### TRANSITIVES/UNERGATIVES

i) generally take 'have':

- (31) a. [a **ja** vist] (Canavese, Piem)  
b. [a **ma** vist] (Canavese, Piem)  
c. [a **ja** lo vist so barba] 'has he seen his uncle?' (Canavese, Piem)  
d. [koz i **laj** nE fajt]? 'What have I done?' (TO)  
e. [u mla ·amle] 'he gave it to me' (Sth Piem)

ii) 'be' in N.Piem. (Carpignano):

- (32) a. [i **suŋ** vist] 'they have (lit. are) seen'  
b. [i **suŋ** tro·va] 'they have (lit. are) found'  
c. [**suŋ** krum·pa] 'I have (lit. am) bought'  
d. [**suŋ** sa·y] 'I have (lit. am) known'  
e. [**suma** var·'da] 'we have (lit. are) looked'

##### UNACCUSATIVES

i) generally take 'be':

- (33) a. [a **suŋ** aŋ·dajt] 'I went' (Piem)  
b. [u l **e** ve·nyu ·lana] 'Ana has come' (Lig)  
c. [la ·me:ma la z **ε** ·vjeda] 'mum as gone' (Rom)

ii) often 'have' in Veneto and less frequently in Liguria:

- (34) a. [**ga** ka·la] 'he's gone down' (Ven)  
b. [**ga** sba·sa el ·preso] 'the price has gone down' (Ven)  
c. [**ga** bizogna an·dar] 'It was necessary to leave' (Ven)  
d. [me **ga** pia·so] 'I liked it' (Ven)

##### REFLEXIVES: FREQUENTLY 'HAVE'

- (35) a. [el s a la·va] (Ladin) 'he washed himself'  
 b. [m ɔ fat la ·barba] (Trent) 'I shaved' (lit. I have made myself the beard'  
 c. [el s a spa·kao] (Friul) 'It has broken'  
 d. [al s a le·va sy] (Lomb) 'He has raised'  
 e. [el se ga ne·ga] (VE) 'He has denied that'  
 f. [s a iŋdormen·za] (VE) 'He fell asleep'  
 g. [·el s a al·sa] (VR) 'He woke up'  
 h. [´m l a·veva imagi·na] (PR) 'I had imagined'

METEOROLOGICAL VERBS

- (36) i. Lig, Lomb, E-Rom 'be': Lomb [l e pjo·vy];  
 ii. Piem, MI, Ven, Trent 'have': Trent. [l a fjo·ka]

**CENTRAL-SOUTHERN ITALIAN DIALECTS**

GRAMMATICAL PERSON Central-Southern Italy, Catalan (+Capcir, Fenouillet, Olot, Gerona):

(37)

		Cori (Lazio)	
Transitive		Unaccusative	
<i>so rotta la brocca</i>	<i>simo rotta la brocca</i>	<i>so ito/ita</i>	<i>simo iti</i>
<i>si rotta la brocca</i>	<i>site rotta la brocca</i>	<i>so ito/ita</i>	<i>site iti</i>
<i>Ntonio è rotta la brocca</i> <i>Maria è rotta la brocca</i>	<i>èo rotta la brocca</i>	<i>Ntonio è ito</i> <i>Maria è ita</i>	<i>èo iti</i>

- (38) a. **Sun** *agut/cregut/sapiut/tingut* (Capcir, Fenouillet)  
 b. **So** *bist/vingut* (Olot, Gerona)

TENSE (Procidano, San Leucio del Sannio)

- (39) a. **Eggio** (*\*so'*) fatto tutto quello ch'eggio pututo  
'I have (\*am) done all that I could'
- b. **Erem'** (*\*avevamo*) auta dice quello che diceveno loro  
'we had had to (lit. were had to) say what they said'
- c. **Iti** (*\*siti*) venuto priesto?  
'Have (\*Are) you arrived early'
- d. *illu era* (*\*aveva*) venuto priesto  
'he had come early'

MOOD: REALIS VS IRREALIS (OLD NEAPOLITAN / SICILIAN)

- (40) a. *ben che avessero* puro foyuto per luongo spacio de via (238:29-30)  
b. *erano* fuyute a li templi de li loro Diey (74:27-8)
- (41) a. *E se illo avesse* arrivato in Grecia, averriamole facto plu honore cha no  
nde ave facto illo a nuy (54:36-7)  
b. *a la fine sono* arrivato quive desaxiato e povero (294:10, P)

FINITENESS (Rumanian)

- (42) a. *A fi mîncat; înainte de a fi mîncat* 'To have eaten; before having eaten'
- b. *Nu cred sa( fi terminat Ion* 'I do not believe that John has finished'
- c. *Va fi chemat* 'He will have called'
- d. *Ar fi telefonat* 'He would have phoned'

- (43) *am/ai/a/am/ati/au mîncat/plecat*  
'I/You/He/We/You/They have eaten/left'

D'Alessandro & Roberts (to appear)

Upper Southern Italian dialects with split auxiliary selection according to person

(44)

Abruzzese unaccusative			
1st sg	ji	so'	cascate
	I	am-1st sg	fallen-pp sg
2nd sg	tu	si	cascate
	you	are-2nd sg	fallen-pp sg
3rd sg	esse	a	cascate
	she	has-3rd sg	fallen-pp sg
1st pl	nu	seme	caschite
	we	are-1st pl	fallen-pp pl
2nd pl	vu	sete	caschite
	you-pl	are-2nd pl	fallen-pp pl
3rd pl	jisse	a	caschite
	they	have-3rd pl	fallen-pp pl

[D' Alessandro & Roberts to appear: 3]

These varieties show a complex v. v licenses the subject.

(45) If a language has person-driven auxiliary selection, that language must be a null-subject language.

[D' AI & R to appear: 29]

Cluster of properties caused by a microparameter?

What would this microparameter be? D'Alessandro & Roberts: v has person (i.e. it can agree with the subject, so it can assign Nominative to it, it can license it. No need for T. Rich v)

### 3. WORD ORDER IN ROMANCE

**QUESTION:** can we really talk of a macroparametric change in word order from SOV to SVO and many microparametric changes?

### 3.1. CLASSICAL LATIN

UNMARKED DECLARATIVE SENTENCES (S)OV

- i) Linde (1923): 70% of sentences (S)OV in Livy (59 BC -17 AD)
- ii) Predominant (S)OV order in accordance with general typology of Latin:

OV ORDER	VO ORDER
Case system and/or post-positions	Prepositions; residual suffixal morphology
Verbs mainly synthetic; few AUXs (follow main verbs)	Many aux's (precede main verbs)
Standards precede comparatives (paulo altior)	Comparatives precede standards
Modifiers (adjectives, relatives, genitives) precede nouns	Modifiers (adjectives relatives, genitives) follow nouns

iii) Changes in (S)OV for pragmatico-stylistic reasons:

- (46) a. PAULUS BRUTUM AMAT  
'Paul loves Brutus'
- b. BRUTUM PAULUS AMAT  
'It's Brutus that Paul loves'
- c. AMAT PAULUS BRUTUM  
'Paul LOVES Brutus'

### 3.2. SPOKEN LATIN

(S)OV ORDER LOSING GROUND

- i) Linde (1923): 30% of sentences in *Peregrinatio* (5th century) have (S)OV
- ii) Classical Latin (S)OV probably prescriptive, fossilised relic of early Latin
- iii) Early loss/effacement of final -s/-m ⇒ greatly weakened case system
- iv) Loss of case system = loss of (S)OV or loss of (S)OV = loss of case system?
- v) Transitional TVX period, as attested in medieval Romance

### 3.3. MEDIEVAL ROMANCE

MAIN CLAUSES: PREDOMINANTLY OV(X) (OR FOCUS V(X)):

- i) O V (S)
- (47) a. *Grande duelo avien las yentes cristianas* (Cid, 4, 29)

- b. *Autre chose ne pot li roi trouver* (M. Artu, 79, 24)
  - c. *Mal conseil donet Pilat* (Occ. (Venj, 106))
  - d. *ciò tenne il re a grande meraviglia* (Nov. 64, 14)
  - e. *E todo o contrairo faz a Escritura* (Diálogos de S. Gregório 3.34.27)
- ii) IO (or Prep. O) V (S) (O)
- (48) a. *a gran honor la reçibieron* (Ramsden 1963:83)
- b. *A ceste paroles respont la reine* (M. Artu 59, 84)
- c. *a me non dispiace se la mi lascia stare* (Vita Nuova XIX)
- d. *D'algus cousas me calarei* (Diálogos de S. Gregório 1.5.25)
- iii) Adv V (S) (O)
- (49) a. *Assi posó mio Cid...*(Cid 61)
- b. *Or voiz tu bien* (M. Artu 72, 7)
- c. *Tost veirai ieu* (J.Rudel 58, 39)
- d. *manifestamente l'hoie veduto nelle cose* (Nov. II, 45)
- e. *Com tanta pazeença sofria ela esta enfermidade* (Diálogos de S. Gregório 4.13.13)
- iv) S V (O)
- (50) a. *Mio Cid querrá lo que ssea aguisado* (Cid 9, 132)
- b. *Et messire Guavins prist le glaive au chevalier* (M.Artu 84, 4)
- c. *Thitus pres Pilat* (Venj. 118, 69)
- d. *Lo cavaliere prese i marchi* (Nov. 66, 23)
- e. *O honrado padre São Beento deu totalas cousas* (Diálogos de S. Gregório 2.28.2)

#### SIGNIFICANT FACTS

- i) pro-drop possible in main clauses (esp. Fr)
  - ii) preposed thematicised objects never accompanied by resumptive pronoun
- [See (1)]
- (51) a. *Si errent \_\_\_\_ tant en tele maniere qu'il vindrent en la praerie de Wincestre* (Artu 16, 66)

'so wandered(3pl) \_\_\_ so much in such a way that they came in the prairie of Winchester'

b. *Atant en lessent \_\_\_ la parole ester et chevauchent a petites jornees tant que il vindrent a Kamaalot* (Artu 31,1)

'Then make \_\_\_ the speech stop and ride by easy stages so that they came to Camelot'

c. *Cel jour fist \_\_\_ moult lait tans, car il plut et espart* (Berthe au grand pied, 76-77)

'That day was \_\_\_ very nasty weather, because it rained and there was lightening'

(52) a. *Itiex paroles disoit la reine a soi meisem* (Artu 32, 30)

b. *Ces mots la reine (elle) **les** a dites*

#### SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

i) SVO (predominantly, though Hispano-Romance more liberal)

ii) Pro-drop infrequent (It, Prov, Sp, Prt / impossible (Fr)

(53) a. *Endementiers que il regadoient les letres et la damoisele, que il plaignoient sa mescheance* (Mort A. 71, 47-48)

'While that they looked at the letters and the young lady, [and that] they regretted her misfortune'

b. *E la honret q'ella fetz so q'el volc* (Razos 30, 1)

'And he honoured her such that she did that [which] he wanted'

c. *Elli conosce certamente ch'elli avea ucciso lo migliore cavaliere del mondo* (Trist. Ricc. CCXXVIII, 6-7)

'He certainly knows that he had killed the best knight in the land'

#### SUPERFICIAL CONCLUSIONS

i) main clauses: Theme / Focus +V+(S)+O+IO+Adv

ii) subordinate clauses: SVO

OCCASIONAL EXAMPLES OF EMBEDDED THEME / FOCUS V (S)...

- (54) a. ***si** grant amor pusieremos en uno* (Don Juan Manuel IX.21)  
b. ***que** bien li doit l'en porter honor* (Skårup 1975:186) 'really one must honour him'  
c. ***qu'ara** vos a el ben mestiers totz* (Razos 10) 'now to-you has it really need whole'  
d. ***che** di tutte le cose t'intendi* (Nov. II.27) 'of everything you have knoweldge'  
e. ***que** estas letras nom visse nhuum* (Pádua 1960:159) 'these letter non see no-one'

### 3.4. V2 PARAMETER

#### COMPLEMENTISERS AND INTERROGATIVES

- (55) a. *John must leave*  
b. ***Must** John (t-must) leave?*
- (56) a. *John must leave **on Wednesday***  
b. ***When must** John (t-must) leave (t-when)?*
- (57) a. *I asked **if** John must leave*  
b. *\*I asked **if must** John (t-must) leave*
- (58) a. *I asked **when** John must leave*  
b. *\*I asked **when if** John must leave (t-when)*  
c. *\*I asked **when must** John (t-must) leave (t-when)*
- (59) a. ***If** I were rich, I'd give it all away*  
b. ***Were** I rich, I'd give it all away*  
c. *\***If were** I rich, I'd give it all away*

#### V-2 LANGUAGES

- i) Verb must raise to complementiser position (if vacant)  
ii) Topicalised (focused) constituent must raise to position to left of moved verb

- (60) a. *...**ich** sprach gestern mit dem Direktor*

- b. Ich sprach [ (t-ich) (t-sprach) *gestern mit dem Direktor* ]
- c. Gestern sprach [ *ich* (t-sprach) (t-gestern) *mit dem Direktor* ]
- d. Mit dem Direktor sprach [ *ich* (t-sprach) *gestern* (t-mit dem Direktor) ]

- (61) a. *Sie sagte, daß ich gestern mit dem Direktor sprach*  
b. \**Sie sagte, daß gestern sprach ich (t-gestern) mit dem Direktor (t-sprach)*

#### MEDIEVAL ROMANCE

- i) main / subordinate clauses: underlying (S) V O IO Adv
- ii) main clauses: V2 (hence observed asymmetry):
- iii) pro-drop linked to V2 (cf. Fr. loss of V2/pro-drop beginning ca. 16th)
- iv) Residual Romance V2: interrogatives, Adverbials

17 a COMP (S) V O IO Adv ⇒ O V (S) IO Adv  
↑                   | |

b COMP (S) V O IO Adv ⇒ IO V (S) O Adv  
↑                   | |

c COMP (S) V O IO Adv ⇒ Adv V (S) O IO  
↑                   | |

d COMP S V O IO Adv ⇒ S V O IO Adv  
↑           | |

#### NON-THEMATIC CLAUSES: NO MOVEMENT

- i) Yes-No Interrogatives (traditionally termed verb-subject inversion): V S (X)
- (62) a. <<¿*Ides vos, Minaya, a Castiella la gentil?*>> (Cid 829)  
b. *Avez vous veüe la chiere que li roiss Artus m'a moustree?* (M.Artu 89, 4)  
c. *sabes tu d'acquest luzieu cossi era ples d'aur?* (Venj. 87)  
d. *volete voi udire meraviglia?* (Trist. Ricc. CCXXXIII, 36)

e. *Cuidas, padre, que este homen ouve alguu meestre que o ensinasse?* (Diálogos de S. Gregório 1.2.17)

ii) Declaratives (non-thematic): V X

- (63) a. \_\_\_ *Vió puert<sup>a</sup>s abiertas e usos sin cañados* (Cid, 3)  
 b. *et* \_\_\_ *furent departies les nés* (Villeh.)  
 c. *E* \_\_\_ *duret longa sason lor jois* (Razo, 30, 2)  
 d. \_\_\_ *Mandolli per li detti ambasciatori tre pietre* (Nov. 62, 9)  
 e. \_\_\_ *Conven, Pedro, que te cales* (Diálogos de S. Gregório 2.14.3)

CLITIC PLACEMENT: WACKERNAGEL'S LAW > TOBLER-MUSSAFIA LAW

i) Clitics attach enclitically to first (strong) constituent of clause

ii) Verbs occur in 2nd position (thematic) or 1st (non-thematic) position:

(64)

Theme + Clitic	V2	X	
<i>a lo quem</i>	<i>semeja</i>	...	(Cid 157)
<i>Quelli li</i>	<i>prese</i>	...	(Nov. 62, II)
	<i>Partios</i>	<i>dela puerta</i>	(Cid 51)
	<i>Mandolli</i>	<i>per li detti ambasciatori</i>	(Nov. 62, 9)

iii) Irrespective of presence/absence of Theme, V2 guarantees adjacency of verb and clitic

iv) Clitic semantically dependent on verb

v) Clitic reanalysed as variously pro- or enclitically attached to verb (univerbation):

Theme	Clitic + V2	X
<i>Hoy</i>	<i>le dan</i>	<i>el libro</i>
<i>Oggi</i>	<i>gli danno</i>	<i>il libro</i>
Theme	V2 + Clitic	X
	<i>Danle</i>	<i>el libro hoy</i>
	<i>Dannogli</i>	<i>il libro oggi</i>

### 3.5. MEDIEVAL ⇒ MODERN ROMANCE

FRENCH / (NORTHERN) OCCITAN / O.TUSCAN

- i) Loss of residual case system & Subject / Theme
- ii) Gradual grammaticalisation of SVO in V2 language
- iii) Non-emphatic subject realised to maintain V2
- iv) Loss of pro-drop (⇒ subject clitics) and V2

IBERO-ROMANCE / SOUTHERN ITALIAN DIALECTS / RUMANIAN:

- i) Retention of case system / Emergence of differential object marker
- ii) Free word order maintained by overt argument marking (cf. Green's claim that VSO is fundamental order)
- iii) No grammaticalised SVO, no subject clitics
- iv) Fully pro-drop

- (65) a. *Les monges no estimen a/ana les nenes* (Catalan)  
'The nuns don't like the girls'
- b. *Está buscando a María* (Spanish)  
'He's looking for María'
- c. *Pedro coroou rainha à sua amante morta* (Portuguese)  
'Pedro crowned his dead mistress queen'
- d. *Chiamàu a Micheli* (Calabrian)  
'He called Micheli'
- e. *L'am vazut pe el* (Rumanian)  
'I have seen him'

WHAT WOULD THE MICROPARAMETERS BE?

### REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

Ayres-Bennett, W. & Carruthers, J. (2001) *Studies in the modern French language. Problems and perspectives*, London: Longman, pp.248-272.

- Benincà, P. (1995) 'Complement clitics in Medieval Romance: the Tobler-Musafia Law', in A. Battaya and I. Roberts (eds), *Clause structure and language change*, OUP, pp.325-44.
- Benveniste, E. (1960) 'être" et "avoir" dans leurs fonctions linguistiques', *Bulletin de la Société linguistique de Paris*, 55: 113-34. Reprinted in E. Benveniste *Problèmes de linguistique générale I*, Paris: Gallimard 1966, pp.187-207.
- Benzing, J. (1931) 'Zur Geschichte von *ser* als Hilfszeitwort bei den intransitiven Verben in Spanischen', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 51: 385-460.
- Blake, B.J. (1994) *Case*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Cornu, M. (1953) *Les formes surcomposées en français*, Berne: Francke.
- Dias da Costa, A. (1976) 'Periphrastic verbal expressions in Portuguese' in J. Schmidt-Radefeldt (ed.) *Readings in Portuguese Linguistics*, Amsterdam, pp. 187-243.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (1993) *The syntax of Romanian*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Elcock, W.D. (1975) *The Romance languages*, London: Faber & Faber, pp. 68-81.
- England, J. (1982) '*Ser* and *aver* with the past participles of intransitive verbs in the works of Don Juan Manuel', *Don Juan Manuel: VII centenario*, Universidad de Murcia & Academia Alfonso X el Sabio: 117-33.
- Ewert, A. (1953) *The French language*, London: Faber & Faber, pp. 125-131.
- Gaeng, P.A. (1984) *Collapse and reorganization of the Latin nominal flexions as reflected in epigraphical sources*, Potomac: Scripta Humanistica.
- Grandgent, C.H. (1908) *An introduction to Vulgar Latin*, D.C. Heath: Boston, pp. 30-32, 42-48.
- Green, John (1976) 'How free is word order in Spanish?' in Martin Harris (ed.), *Romance syntax: Synchronic and diachronic perspectives*, Salford: University of Salford, 7-32.
- Green, J. (1988) 'Spanish' in N. Vincent & M. Harris (eds) *The Romance languages*, London: Routledge, pp. 114ff.
- Haiman, J. & Benincà, P. (1992) *The Rhaeto-Romance languages*. London: Routledge (pp. 108-112).
- Harre, C.E. (1991) *Tener + Past Participle*, London: Routledge.
- Harris, M. (1976) 'A typological approach to word-order change in French' in M. Harris, *Romance syntax*, University of Salford, pp. 33-53.
- Harris, M. (1978) 'The simple sentence' (ch. 2) in *The evolution of French syntax: A comparative approach*, London: Longman.

- Harris, M. (1988) 'French' in N. Vincent & M. Harris (eds) *The Romance languages*, London: Routledge, pp. 235ff.
- Hirschbühler, P. (1995) 'Null subjects in Verb-First Embedded Clauses in Philippe de Vigneulles' *Cent Nouvelles*', in A. Battaye and I. Roberts (eds), *Clause structure and language change*, OUP, pp.257-291.
- Irmen, F. (1966) 'O pretérito composto em português', *Revista de Portugal, Serie A*, 31: 222-38.
- Jones, M.A. (1993) *Sardinian Syntax*, London: Routledge (pp. 130-64).
- Jones, M.A. (1996) *Foundations of French Syntax*, Cambridge: CUP (pp. 80-95)
- Kayne, R.S. (1993) 'Toward a modular theory of auxiliary selection', *Studia Linguistica*, 47: 3-31.
- Kempchinsky, P. (1996) 'Perfective auxiliaries, possession and existence in Romance', in K.Zagona (ed.) *Grammatical theory and Romance languages*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp.135-144.
- de Kok, Ans C. (1985) *La place du pronom personnel régime conjoint en français. Une étude diachronique*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Kroll, W. (1918) 'Anfangsstellung des Verbums im Lateinischen', *Glotta* 9:112-123.
- Ledgeway, A.N. (1997a) 'Auxiliary alternations in Neapolitan', Proceedings of the III Workshop on the Syntax of the Central Romance Languages, Universitat de Girona.
- Lapesa, R. (1980) *Historia de la lengua española*, Madrid: Gredos, pp. 217-219, 267-268, 407-408.
- Ledgeway, A. (1997b) [2000], *I tempi sovracomposti nel napoletano antico*, *L'Italia Dialettale* 60: 105-124.
- Ledgeway, A.N. (2000) A comparative syntax of the dialects of southern Italy: a minimalist approach, Oxford / New York: Blackwell (ch. 6)
- Ledgeway, Adam (2007), 'Old Neapolitan word order: some initial observations', in Anna Laura Lepschy and Arturo Tosi (eds), *Histories and dictionaries of the languages of Italy*. Ravenna: Longo, pp. 121-49.
- Ledgeway, Adam (2008), 'Satisfying V2 in early Romance: Merge vs Move'. *Journal of Linguistics* 44: 437-470.
- Lucot, R. (1940) 'Remarque sur l'emploi de *habeo* avec le participe en *-to-*' in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à Alfred Ernout*, Paris, pp. 247-9.

- Nicolau, M. (1936) 'Remarques sur les origines des formes périphrastiques passives et actives des langues romanes', *Bulletin Linguistique*, 4: 15-30.
- Pádua, Maria da Piedade Canaes e Mariz de (1960) *A ordem das palavras no português arcaico (frases de verbo transitivo)*, Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra.
- Penny, R. (1991) *A history of the Spanish language*, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 101-106.
- Pichon, E. (1934) 'L'auxiliaire être dans le français d'aujourd'hui', *Le Français Moderne*, 2: 317-30.
- Pinkster, H. (1987) 'The strategy and chronology of the development of future and perfect tense auxiliaries in Latin', in M. Harris & P. Ramat (eds) *The historical development of auxiliaries*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 193-223.
- Poletto, C. (1992) The aspect projection: an analysis of the "passé surcomposé". In E. Fava (ed.) *Proceedings of the XII Meeting of Generative Grammar*. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, pp. 289-312.
- Porena, M. (1938) 'Sull'uso degli ausiliari "essere" e "avere" in italiano', *L'Italia Dialettale*, 14: 1-22.
- Posner, R. (1996) *The Romance Languages*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Price, G. (1979) *The French language: present and past*, London: Grant & Cutler.
- Ramsden, H. (1963) *Weak prnoun position in the early Romance languages*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Renzi, L. (1987) 'Genesi degli ausiliari romanzi' in L. Renzi *Nuova introduzione alla filologia romanza*, Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 146-52.
- Renzi, L. (1987) *Nuova introduzione alla filologia romanza*, Bologna: Il Mulino, pp. 138-143.
- Ribeiro, I. (1995) 'Evidence for a verb-second phase in old Portuguese', in A. Battaye and I. Roberts (eds), *Clause structure and language change*, OUP.
- Riiho, T. (1988) *La redundancia pronomial en el iberorromance medieval*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Rivero, M.-L. (1997) 'On two locations for complement clitic pronouns: Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian and Old Spanish', in A. van Kemenade and N. Vicent (eds), *Parameters of morphosyntactic change*, CUP.
- Rohlf, G. (1969) *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. III Sintassi e formazione delle parole*. Turin: Einaudi (cf. pp.119-27).
- Salvi, G. (1982) 'Sulla storia sintattica della costruzione romanza *habeo + part. Perf*', *Révue Romane*, 17: 118-33.

- Salvi, G. (1987) 'Restructuring in the evolution of Romance auxiliaries', in M.Harris & P.Ramat (eds) *The historical development of auxiliaries*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 225-36.
- Salvi, G. (1991) 'Difesa e illustrazione della legge di Wackernagel applicata alle lingue romanze antiche: la posizione delle forme pronominali clitiche', in L.Vanelli & A.Zamboni eds), *Per Giovan Battista Pellegrini. Scritti degli allievi padovani*, Padua: Unipress, 439-462.
- Salvi, G. (2001) 'The two sentence structures of Early Romance', in G.Cinque & G.Salvi (eds), *Current studies in Italian syntax. Studies offered to Lorenzo Renzi*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp. 297-312.
- Schøsler, L. (1984) *La déclinaison bicasuelle de l'ancien français: son rôle dans la syntaxe de la phrase, les causes de sa disparition*, Odense: University Press.
- Seifert, E. (1935) *Tenere 'Haben' im Romanischen*, Florence.
- Seifert, E. (1957-8) 'Die Verben *Habere* und *Tenere* im Katalanischen', *Estudis romànics*, 6: 1-74.
- Skårup, P. (1975) *Les premières zones de la proposition en ancien français*, København: Akademisk Forlag.
- Smith, J.C. (1995) 'Perceptual factors and the disappearance of agreement between past participle and direct object in Romance', in J.C.Smith & M.Maiden (eds) *Linguistic Theory and the Romance Languages (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory: 122)*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 161-80.
- Sorace, A. (1993a) "Incomplete vs divergent representations of unaccusativity in non-native grammars of Italian". *Second Language Research* 9: 22-47.
- Sorace, A. (1993b) "Unaccusativity and auxiliary choice in non-native grammars of Italian and French: asymmetries and predictable indeterminacy". *Journal of French Language Studies* 3: 71-93.
- Sorace, A. (1995). 'Acquiring linking rules and argument structure in a second language: the unergative/unaccusative distinction', in L.Eubank et al. (es), *The current state of interlanguage*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, pp. 153-75.
- Sorace, A. (2000). "Gradients in auxiliary selection with intransitive verbs". *Language* 76: 859-890.
- Tekavcic, P. (1972) *Grammatica storica dell'italiano, Vol. II: Morfosintassi*, Bologna: Il Mulino (cf. pp. 227-33; 252-3, 335-36).
- Tuttle, E. (1986) 'The spread of ESSE as universal auxiliary in Central Italo-Romance', *Medioevo Romanzo*, 11: 229-287.

Vance, B. (1997) *Syntactic change in medieval French. Verb-second and null subjects*, Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Vincent, N. (1976) 'Perceptual factors and word order change in Latin' in M. Harris (ed) *Romance syntax*, University of Salford: Salford, pp.54-68

Vincent, N.B. (1982) 'The development of the auxiliaries *habere* and *esse* in Romance', in N.Vincent & M.Harris (eds) *Studies in the Romance verb*, London: Croom Helm, pp. 71-96.

Vincent, N. (1986) 'Latin' in N. Vincent & M. Harris *The Romance languages*, London: Routledge, pp. 59ff.