UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Department of Theoretical
and Applied Linguistics

NEREUS 2016

Referential properties of the Romance DP in the context of multilingualism

2nd & 3rd of December 2016

English Faculty Building, Room G-R 05

University of Cambridge, UK

Organiser: Dr Teresa Parodi, University of Cambridge

NEREUS 2016

2-3 December 2016, English Faculty, Room G-R 05, University of Cambridge, UK

Friday 2 December 2016

10.00 -10.15   Welcome and Introduction

10.15 -11.00   ***DOM in acquisition and in contact varieties: an overview***
Teresa Parodi* & Larisa Avram** (*Cambridge, **Bucarest)

11.00 -11.30   Coffee break

11.30 -12.15   ***DOM retraction in Caribbean Spanish and Heritage Spanish in the US***
Marco García-García*, Klaus von Heusinger*, Silvina Montrul**
& Alexandra Morales Reyes***
(* Cologne, **Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, ***Universidad de Puerto Rico, Mayagüez)

12.15 -13.00   ***Differential Object Marking in Spanish as a heritage language***
Kathrin Neuburger, Katrin Schmitz & Natascha Pomino (Wuppertal)

13.00 -14.00   Lunch

14.00 -14.45   ***Investigating the properties of D in the varieties of the extreme south of Italy: Greek-style genitive and Differential Object Marking***
Adam Ledgeway, Norma Schifano & Giuseppina Silvestri (Cambridge)

14.45 - 15.30   ***DOM in ditransitive constructions in language contact Spanish – Basque***
Klaus von Heusinger* & Georg Kaiser** (*Cologne, **Konstanz)

15.30 - 15.45   Coffee break

15.45 - 16.30   ***Ditransitive constructions in Romanian***
Alexandra Cornilescu*, Anca Dinu* & Alina Tigau*/** (*Bucarest, **Cologne)

16.30 - 17.15   ***Clitic doubling and language contact***
Susann Fischer, Mario Navarro & Jorge Vega Vilanova (Hamburg)

Saturday 3 December 2016

10.15 - 11.00   ***On expletive articles and long weak definites***
                  M. Teresa Espinal* & Sonia Cyrino** (*Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona,
                  **UNICAMP/University of Campinas)

11.00 - 11.30   Coffee break

11.30 - 12.15   ***Variation in faire-par nominalisations across Romance varieties***
                  Michelle Sheehan (Anglia Ruskin, Cambridge)

12.15 - 13.00   ***Clitics and past participle agreement in children with SLI and TD children***
                  Maria Teresa Guasti (Milan-Bicocca)

13.00 - 14.00   Lunch

Abstracts

- Teresa Parodi & Larisa Avram

DOM in acquisition and in contact varieties: an overview

The current presentation aims at offering an overview of acquisitional accounts relevant for the acquisition of DOM. This should, in turn, provide a bridge between the acquisition of DOM and DOM in contact situations.

Recent accounts of L2 acquisition focus on aspects relevant for the study of DOM, such as the distinction between interpretable and uninterpretable features (Interpretability Hypothesis, Tsimpli & Dimitrakopoulou 2007, Tsimpli & Mastropavlou 2008) and the interfaces between narrow syntax on the one hand and semantics or discourse structure on the other (Interface Hypothesis, Sorace & Filiaci 2006, Sorace 2011).

These issues of interpretability and of interfaces have been at the core of studies that compare different types of acquisition, in the attempt to pin down where the differences between L1 and L2 acquisition, bilingual acquisition, child and adult learners, heritage and attrited speakers.

DOM represents an excellent phenomenon (or range of phenomena) as a testing ground for the hypotheses mentioned as it touches both upon narrow syntax (Case) and interface domains such as animacy, specificity, topicality, affectedness, telicity as well as the referentiality scale, at the core of current analyses (Bossong 1991, Aissen 2003, Torrego 1998, Leonetti 2004, Rodríguez Mondoñedo 2008, among many others). In other words, DOM offers a link both to interpretability and to interface domains.

An overview of the acquisition of DOM in different languages (mostly Spanish, but also Romanian and, outside Romance, Persian) and across various learning contexts will complement the studies of DOM in contact varieties represented in several other presentations in the workshop.

References

Aissen, J. (2003). Differential Object Marking: Iconicity vs. Economy. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 21, 435-483.

Bossong, G. (1991). Differential Object Marking in Romance and Beyond. In Kibbee, D. & D. Wanner (eds.), *New Analyses in Romance Linguistics*. Philadelphia: Benjamins, 143-170.

Leonetti, M. (2004). Specificity and differential object marking in Spanish. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 3, 75-114.

Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, M. (2008). The acquisition of differential object marking in Spanish. *Probus* 20(1), 111-145.

Sorace, A. (2011). Pinning down the concept of "interface" in bilingualism. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* 1(1), 1-33.

Sorace, A. and Filiaci, F. (2006). Anaphora resolution in near-native speakers of Italian. *Second Language Research* 22(3), 339-368.

Torrego, E. (1998). *The dependencies of objects*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Tsimpli, IM & M. Dimitrakopoulou (2007), The Interpretability Hypothesis: evidence from wh-interrogatives in second language acquisition. *Second Language Research* 23, 215-242.

Tsimpli, IM & M. Mastropavlou (2008), Feature interpretability in L2 acquisition and SLI: Greek clitics and determiners. In Liceras, J. & al. (eds.), *The role of formal features in second language acquisition.* New York: Lawrence Erlbaum. 143-183

- Marco García García, Klaus von Heusinger, Silvina Montrul & Alexandra Morales Reyes

DOM retraction in Caribbean Spanish and Spanish in the US?

While the Spanish of Mexico and the Spanish of Argentina show a slight tendency of DOM expansion to inanimates (Montrul 2013, Bautista Maldonado and Montrul 2016), the Spanish of the US shows retraction in Differential Object Marking (DOM) in SVO sentences (Montrul & Sanchez-Walker 2013, Montrul 2014). Grosjean and Py (1991) also found DOM retraction in the Spanish spoken in Neuchâtel, Switzerland. The informants of these studies are speakers or children of speakers of Mexican Spanish in the US and children of European Spanish in Switzerland. It is likely that the retraction found in bilingual speakers in the US and in Switzerland is a result of language contact with English and French, respectively, which do not show any DOM marking. At the same time, Alfaraz (2011) observes that Caribbean Spanish also loses DOM marking along the referentiality scale. However, her study included Cuban speakers who were recent arrivals in the United States and not Caribbean speakers in their homelands. Given Alfaraz's findings, the questions that arise are 1) whether DOM retraction in the United States also follows the referentiality scale, and 2) whether DOM retraction is occurring in Caribbean varieties spoken in the homeland. If we find retraction in all these varieties, then it will be possible to relate DOM in the US and the Caribbean to an areal phenomenon. We will present preliminary data from questionnaires testing DOM in different varieties of Caribbean Spanish (Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic) and Spanish in the United States using the same instruments that will allow us to discuss a possible relation to DOM retraction in Heritage Spanish in the US.

References

Alfaraz, Gabriela G. 2011. Accusative object marking a change in progress in Cuban Spanish? *Spanish in Context* 8(2). 213–234.

Bautista Maldonado, Salvador & Silvina Montrul. 2016. An experimental investigation of Differential Object Marking in Mexican Spanish. Paper presented at the Hispanish Linguistics Symposium, Georgetwon University, October 7-9.

Grosjean, François & Py, Bernard. 1991. La restructuration d'une première langue: L'intégration de variantes de contact dans la compétence de migrants bilingues. La Linguistique 27, 35-60.

Montrul, Silvina. 2013. Differential Object Marking in Argentine Spanish. An experimental study. In L. Colantoni and C. Rodríguez Louro (Eds.). *The Handbook of Argentine Spanish*. Frankfurt: Vervuert Iberoamericana, pp. 207-228.

Montrul, Silvina. 2014. Structural changes in Spanish in the United States: Differential object marking in Spanish heritage speakers across generations. *Lingua* 151. 177–196.

Montrul, Silvina & Noelia Sánchez-Walker. 2013. Differential object marking in child and adult spanish heritage speakers. *Language Acquisition* 20(2). 109–132. 10.1080/10489223.2013.766741. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10489223.2013.766741.

▪ Kathrin Neuburger, Natascha Pomino & Katrin Schmitz

Differential Object Marking in Spanish as a heritage language

As is well-known, English, German and Spanish all belong to the accusative case alignment type, i.e. the single argument of an intransitive clause receives the same case marking as the most agent-like argument of a monotransitive clause (which is usually zero-coded), whereas the most patient-like argument of a monotransitive clause receives (abstract) accusative case (cf. e.g. Comrie 2013). For some languages, however, this typological classification holds only for certain verbal arguments, i.e. mainly for pronominal ones. Yet, if we leave pronouns apart, we detect a significant difference in argument marking among the three languages (cf. (1)): English patterns to a certain extent with languages with neutral case alignment in the sense that, on the overt level, there is only one single case and this is morphophonologically always zero. In contrast, German keeps separate the functions of subject and direct object in some NPs/DPs (cf. nominative *der Junge* and *der Wagen* vs. accusative *den Jungen* and *den Wagen*). And finally, in Spanish, a language where differential object marking (DOM) is active, direct objects are divided in two different classes, depending on several semantic, pragmatic-discursive and referential factors: only one of the classes receives a marker, the other being unmarked (cf. *al niño* but *el coche*).

(1)   Differences in argument marking
     a.   The man sees the boy / the car.
     b.   Der   Mann   sieht   den   Jungen
                                                / den   Wagen.
          det.NOM.M.SG man.M.SG   see.3SG   det.ACC.SG   boy.ACC.SG
                                                det.ACC.SG   car.ACC.SG
          'The man sees the boy / the car'
     c.   El   hombre   ve   al   niño
                                                / el   coche.
          det.M.SG   man.M.SG   see.3SG   DOM.det.SG   boy.M.SG
                                                det.M.SG   car.M.SG
          'The man sees the boy / the car'

These differences raise the question of how bilingual individuals do acquire the case system in the language combinations English/Spanish and German/Spanish, in particular we are interested in Spanish heritage speakers who often received a reduced input and are deemed to be subject to incomplete acquisition of their heritage language (see survey of the state of research in Guijarro-Fuentes & Schmitz 2015). While the acquisition of DOM for the language combination English/Spanish has been studied in some detail (see in particular Guijarro-Fuentes 2011, 2012, Guijarro-Fuentes & Marinis 2011 for L2 acquisition and Montrul & Bowles 2009, Montrul & Walker 2013 for heritage language acquisition) with the crucial result that English dominant heritage language speakers of Spanish do not fully acquire DOM but show persistent inaccuracy in their marking system but perform still much better then L2 learners. If the second (and as general rule the dominant) language is indeed the cause of strong transfer (and possibly incomplete acquisition), we should expect a different outcome for the so far under-studied language combination German-Spanish since German possesses overt case-marking on verbal arguments. We therefore want to discuss in our talk how differential object marking in Spanish is acquired by Spanish heritage speakers raised with German as (dominant) L2 in addition to their heritage L1

Spanish. Our research questions are the following ones: (1) Does the L2 German influence the acquisition of the heritage language (here: Spanish)? (2) If yes, are there (quantitative and/or qualitative) differences between English-Spanish and German-Spanish bilinguals?

Since there is almost no study on the acquisition of DOM by Spanish heritage speakers (apart from a preliminary one by Schmitz 2015 based on spontaneous speech data, see results in Guijarro-Fuentes & Schmitz 2015 without evidence for incomplete acquisition), we have created an online questionnaire to check how Spanish monolinguals, heritage speakers (Spanish-German) and advanced Spanish learners deviate from the descriptive use of DOM in Spanish. In our questionnaire, we considered different modus operandi: grammaticality judgements based on 40 sentences, fill-in-the-blank texts with 35 sentences and synonymy checking with 9 sentences. Apart from the synonymy checking, which is the last task in our questionnaire, all other tasks contained filler sentences (i.e. ungrammatical sentences, senseless sentence and sentences regarding other phenomena) and the order of the sentences were randomized between the different interviewees.

In our talk, we will present first results of this still ongoing experimental study and compare them with the results of the above mentioned studies on Spanish heritage speakers in an English speaking surrounding.

References

Bernard Comrie. (2013). Alignment of Case Marking of Pronouns. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) The World Atlas of Language Structures Online. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at http://wals.info/chapter/99, Accessed on 2016-10-06.)

Guijarro-Fuentes, P. (2011). Feature composition in Differential Object Marking. *EUROSLA Yearbook*, 138-164.

Guijarro-Fuentes, P. (2012). The acquisition of interpretable features in L2 Spanish: Personal a. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 15 (4), 701-720.

Guijarro-Fuentes, P. & Marinis, T. (2011). Voicing language dominance. Acquiring Spanish by British English/Spanish bilingual children. In: Potowski, K. & Rothman, J. (eds.), *Bilingual Youth. Spanish in English-speaking societies*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 227-248.

Guijarro-Fuentes, P. & Schmitz, K. (2015). The nature and nurture of heritage language acquisition. In: Guijarro-Fuentes, P. & K. Schmitz (Hrsg.), *Fundamentally (in)complete grammars? Emergence, acquisition and diffusion of new varieties*, Special Issue der Zeitschrift *Lingua*, Vol. 164 B, 139-150.

Montrul, S. & Bowles, M. (2009). Back to basics: Incomplete acquisition of Differential Object Marking in Spanish heritage speakers. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 12 (3), 363-383.

Montrul, S. & Sánchez-Walker, N. (2013). Differential Object Marking in Child and Adult Spanish Heritage Speakers. *Language Acquisition* 20, 109-132.

Schmitz, K. (2015). Talk at the XLIV. Annual Meeting of the Sociedad Española de Lingüística (SEL) on "*La adquisición del Marcado Diferencial de Objeto en hablantes bilingües español-alemán en Alemania*", Madrid/Spain, January 28, 2015.

■ Adam Ledgeway, Norma Schifano & Giuseppina Silvestri

Investigating the properties of D in the varieties of the extreme south of Italy:
Greek-style genitive and Differential Object Marking

Introduction. It has often been reported that the Romance dialects of extreme southern Calabria have extended the distribution of the genitive preposition di 'of' to convey several of the traditional uses of the dative, the so-called 'dativo greco' (Rohlfs 1968:§639; Trumper 2003:232-3; Manolessou-Beis 2006; Ledgeway 2013:9-13), which mirrors the original pattern of the substrate language, i.e. Italo-Greek (Joseph 1990:160; Horrocks 1997:125-6; Ralli 2006:140-1). As previously pointed out by Ledgeway (2013), this Greek-style marking of indirect objects (IO) is not obligatory in southern Calabrese, with indirect arguments frequently surfacing in the dative marked by the preposition a 'to' (1a). Also, the genitive-marked indirect object DP is always obligatorily doubled by a dative clitic (nci, si and allomorphs) (1b). Therefore the genitive structure is not autonomous, as is the case of standard Modern Greek, but it is instead a hybrid structure in which the IO is referenced through dative marking on the verbal head as well as through genitive marking on the nominal dependent. Finally, the use of the so-called Greek-style genitive is not arbitrary, but carries a marked pragmatic interpretation, i.e. (1a-b) cannot be employed interchangeably.

(1) a. La machina, nci la vindu a nu studenti (Bovese, RC; Ledgeway 2013:11)
the car to.him= it= I.sell to a student
'I'll sell the car to a student (=not known to me, any gullible student I can find)'

b. La machina, nci la vindu di nu studenti
the car to.him= it= I.sell of a student
'I'm selling a student the car (= specific student known to me)'

The argument that is licensed by the 'dativo greco' in Calabrese implies a specific reading of the 'student' when marked by the genitive (1b) in contrast to its non-specific reading when it surfaces in the dative (1a).

New Data. Evidence collected through our recent fieldwork in southern Calabria confirms these properties but also discloses uncharted aspects, i.e. correlations with the presence of the definite determiner in D and the direct object (DO) marking. In the dialect of Gioiosa Jonica the Greek-style genitive is allowed only if D is filled with definite article (2b). On the contrary, if the N(-to-D) raising occurs the dative carries its own prepositional mark 'a' (2a):

(2) a. Nci detti nu libbru a Maria (Gioiosa Jonica)
to.her= gave.1SG a book to Maria
'I gave a book to Mary'

b. Nci detti nu libbru d'i figghjioli
to.them= gave.1SG a book of.the kids
'I gave a book to the kids'

The possibility for N to raise to D determines also the marking of the DO (see for (Italo-)Romance Rohlfs 1971; Bossong 1991; Jones 1995; Sornicola 1997; Andriani 2016, a.o.). The DO crucially displays a prepositional mark 'a' when N raises to D (3a). If N does not raise and D is filled with a definite article, the direct object is not differentially marked (3b).

(3) a. Tant'ann'arretu Petru ammazzau a Maria (Gioiosa Jonica)
many years ago Petru killed to Maria
'Many years ago Petru killed Maria'

b. Petru mazzau a soru i Rita
Petru killed the sister of Mary
'P etru killed Mary's sister'

A piece of striking evidence is provided also by the conservative variety of San Luca, which displays no N(-to-D)-raising, as it is revealed by the requirement that D be lexicalized with the expletive article with proper names. As in the dialect of Gioiosa J., the presence of definite article systematically correlates with the realization of the Greek-style genitive, which is always expressed when D is overtly realized:

(4) a. Stamatina si detti nu pocu i pani d'u Petru (San Luca)
this morning to.him gave.1SG a little of bread of.the Petru
'This morning I gave a bit of bread to Petru'

b. D'i cotrari si detti nu pocu i durci
of.the kids to.them= gave.1SG a little of sweet
'I gave a bit of dessert to the kids'

Also, the lexicalization of the definite article rules out the prepositional marking of DOs (5) (except for strong pronouns), regardless of the definiteness hierarchy (Bossong 1985) or animacy scale (Comrie 1986).

(5) U Petru mazzau a Rita (San Luca)
the.MSG Petru killed the.FSG Rita
'Petru killed Rita'

With full DPs and lexicalized D, the dialect of San Luca exhibits a binary Case system whereby the oblique cases are marked with 'di' and the direct cases display no mark.

Patterns emerging from contact. In extreme southern Calabrian the lexicalization of D in strong-D (Guardiano-Longobardi 2005; Guardiano 2006) affects Case marking. More specifically, the impossibility for N to move to D in some of these dialects (e.g. San Luca) is one of the key-properties of Calabrian (and Apulian) Greek as well. Given this evidence, we can single out two Case systems for southern Calabrian (both available in Gioiosa J.). In System A, which is characterized by N(-to-D) raising, direct arguments bear distinct markings (Ø for Nom, 'a'-phrases/Ø for Accusative) and so do the indirect ones ('di'-phrases for Genitive and 'a'-phrases for Dative/Applicative) (total: 3/4 distinct marks). In System B (the only possible pattern for San Luca), in which D is filled with definite article, no dedicated mark signals the direct arguments, whereas the preposition 'di' marks both Genitive and Dative (total: 2 distinct marks). The binary setting of System B is arguably the

result of a simplification induced by the underlying tri-partite inflectional Case system of Calabrian Greek (Nominative vs Accusative vs Genitive/Dative). The difference lays in the fact that in the Romance varieties the overt definite D is not able to assign a distinct (third) mark to the DO.

The hypothesis that the Italo-Greek plays a key role in the assignment of Case to Romance DPs is further supported by the Case markings of the indefinite DPs. In Calabrian (and Apulian) Greek the indefinite determiners hardly express Case distinction, so that the surrounding Romance dialects lack a solid model and show either the same pattern of the definite DPs (System B; San Luca) or a tri-partite Romance system (Ø mark for Nominative/Accusative vs 'di'-phrases for Genitive vs 'a'-phrases for Dative; e.g. Gioiosa J.).

If this interpretation proves valid, the set of correlations between D and the Case assignment mechanisms represents further corroboration of the structural pervasive effects of a long-lasting contact between two types of varieties which are genealogically and typologically different.

- Klaus von Heusinger & Georg A. Kaiser

DOM in ditransitive constructions in language contact Spanish - Basque

We assume with the recent literature that some Basque dialects have developed DOM supposingly as a contact phenomenon from Spanish or Spanish dialects (Fernández & Rezac 2012; Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2013). The borrowing might be additionally facilitated by the phenomenon of (animate) leísmo in the Spanish dialects surrounding the Basque dialects under investigation. We assume that DOM in Basque has grammaticalized to a similar extend as DOM in Spanish. There is one particular interesting behavior of DOM in ditransitive sentences in languages that mark DOM in the same way as the indirect object: Under certain conditions, DOM of the direct object is blocked while the indirect object is always marked. The literature assumes that clitic doubling of the indirect objects obligatorily blocks DOM of the direct object. However, we have elsewhere (von Heusinger, Romero & Kaiser 2016) shown that the blocking effect crucially depends on the verb class. We hypothesize that verb class is a crucial parameter for DOM in ditransitive constructions in Basque dialects, too.

References

Fernández, Beatriz & Milan Rezac. 2012. Differential object marking in Basque varieties. In Beatriz Fernández & Jon Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), *Microparameters in the grammar of Basque*, 93–138. John Benjamins.

von Heusinger, Klaus, Diego Romero & Georg A. Kaiser. 2016. Differential Object Marking in Spanish ditransitive constructions. An empirical approach. In Susann Fischer & Mario Navarro (eds.), *The syntax/semantic interface in Romance DPs. Arbeitspapier*, Konstanz: Universität Konstanz.

Rodríguez-Ordóñez, Itxaso. 2013. Contact-induced phenomena in gernika basque: The case of dative over-marking. In Chad Howe et al (ed.), *Selected proceedings of the 15th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, 236–251. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

- Alexandra Cornilescu, Anca Dinu & Alina Tigau

Ditransitive constructions in Romanian

The analysis of ditransitive configurations has vacillated between two accounts: the alternative projection account and the derivational account. The alternative projection account was first proposed for English by Pesetsky (1995) and it is founded on the existence of assumed systematic differences between the prepositional Dative and the Double Object Construction (DOC). The two configurations are argued to be independent one of the other in the sense that one does not derive from the other.[1] According to the derivational account, on the other hand, one of the constructions is syntactically derived from the other.[2]

In the Romance domain (see Demonte 1995, Cuervo 2003, among many), including Romanian (Diaconescu and Rivero 2007, D&R from now on), a distinction has been set up between the cliticless construction, assimilated to the prepositional *to*-Dative of English and the CD construction, which is assimilated to the English DOC. In this description, the Romance DOC is viewed as an applicative construction and the clitic is interpreted as a spell-out of the applicative head.

This paper is devoded to the study of ditransitive configurations in Romanian and presents some new experimental data arguing against the purported existence of two distinct configurations i.e., a DOC and a Prepositional Dative in this language. We will thus argue that a unified analysis of ditransitive constructions is more appropriate for Romanian and refute the claim according to which Romanian ditransitives with a clitic doubled dative object correspond to DOCs, while their non-doubled counterparts correspond to the so-called Prepositional dative constructions, contra D&R (2007). More specifically, we will defend the view that Romanian ditransitives instantiate the DOC configuration irrespective of whether they carry Clitic Doubling (CD) or not. One experimental result supporting this claim is the fact that the two objects in the Romanian ditransitive construction have symmetrical binding potential and roughly equal privileges with respect to binding phenomena.

We tentatively propose that a derivational account of the DOC has a better empirical coverage than the alternative projection account discussed above. We agree with Larson (2010) that the Goal is part of the argument structure of the verb, which assigns it basic thematic interpretation. The Goal always merges in a low position, where it is c-commanded by the Theme. Furthermore, the dative Goal is always an applied argument, always case-licensed by a (raising) applicative head.

In addition to its case-valuation role, the Applicative head is optionally endowed with a strong EPP[feature]. This feature is valued by movement of a semantically appropriate or clitic-doubled dative to the Spec ApplP, in a position where it c-commands the Theme. The higher possessor reading of the dative is thus derivationally obtained by valuing the strong [person] of the Vappl head.

The basic Theme > Goal structure: The two DPs are theta-licensed by the lexical verb and they are respectively case-licensed by Appl and by the v-head. Appl necessarily agrees with the Goal. If it agreed with the Theme, the Goal could not be case-licensed, since it is not visible to little

---

[1] Proponents of the Alternative account are Oherle (1976), Marantz (1993), Pesetsky (1995), Harley (1995, 2002), Bruening (2001, 2010), Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) a.o.

[2] Some supporters of this account espouse the view that the DOC is derived from the Prepositional Dative (Larson 1988, 1990, den Dikken 1995, Ormazabal & Romero 2010, 2012 a.o.), while others claim that the Prepositional is derived from the DOC (Dryer 1987, Aoun & Li 1989 a.o.).

v (nesting paths are disallowed). The essential property of the low dative construction is that the Goal is licensed *in situ*.

The derived Goal>Theme structure: The underlying configuration is the same but the [*u*person] feature checked by the GoalDP is EPP so that the Goal phrase will not only agree with VAppl, but also be attracted to its Specifier. The configuration is the same as proposed by Diaconescu and Rivero (2007), except that it is a derived configuration. Valuation of the person feature secures the Possessor interpretation. By moving to Spec, VApplP, the dative c-commands the Theme and can function as a binder.

The proposed analysis makes a number of correct predictions: In the first place, it is expected that an undoubled Theme may bind into an (un)doubled Goal, since in the basic configurations the Theme c-commands the Goal. This is indeed the case as the results of the experiment show. Secondly, given that in certain derivations, the dative must be [+person], given its Possessor role and may be doubled, we expect phrases whose idiomatic interpretation stands or falls with the presence of the clitic. This expectation is also confirmed.

References

Aoun, Joseph and Audrey Yen-Hui Li. 1989. Scope and constituency. In *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 141–172.

Bruening, Benjamin. 2001. QR obeys Superiority: Frozen Scope and ACD. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 233-273.

Bruening, Benjamin. 2010. Double object constructions disguised as prepositional datives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41:287-305.

Cuervo, M. C. 2003. *Datives at large*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Demonte, V. 1995. Dative alternation in Spanish. *Probus* 7, pp. 5-30. http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/prbs.1995.7.1.5

Diaconescu, Constanţa Rodica & María Luisa Rivero. 2007. An applicative analysis of double object constructions in Romanian, *Probus*, 7, pg. 5-30.

Dikken, Marcel den. 1995. *Particles: On the syntax of verb-particle, triadic, and causative constructions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dryer, Matthew. 1987. On primary objects, secondary objects, and antidative, *Language 62*: 808-845.

Harley, Heidi. 1995. Subjects, Events and Licensing. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

Harley, H. 2002. Possession and the DOC. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 2, pp. 31-70. http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/livy.2.04har

Larson, Richard K. 1988. On the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19, 335–391.

Larson, Richard K. 1990. Double objects revisited: Reply to Jackendoff. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:589–632.

Marantz, Alec. 1993. Implications of asymmetries in double object constructions. In *Theoretical aspects of Bantu grammar, vol. 1*, ed. by Sam A. Mchombo, 113–150. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Oehrle, R. 1976. *The grammatical status of the English dative alternation*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Ormazabal, Javier & Juan Romero. 2010. The derivation of dative alternations. In *Argument structure and syntactic relations: A cross-linguistic perspective*, ed. by Maia Duguine, Susana Huidobro, and Nerea Madariaga, 203–232. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ormazabal, Javier & Juan Romero. 2012. PPs without Disguises: Reply to Bruening. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43.2:455-474.

Pesetsky, David. 1995. *Zero Syntax: Experiencers and Cascades*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Pineda, A. 2013. Double object constructions in Spanish (and Catalan) revisited. In F. A. C. Drijkoningen (ed.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2011*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pylkkänen, L. 2002. *Introducing Arguments.* Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.

Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing arguments*. MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.

- Susann Fischer, Mario Navarro & Jorge Vega Vilanova

Clitic Doubling and language contact

As its name suggests, Clitic Doubling (CLD) involves the doubling of a verbal argument by a clitic pronoun inside the same propositional structure (1). From a generative perspective, it was initially investigated focusing on its properties as exhibited in those Romance languages where it is attested.

(1) **El**   vam veure   <u>a ell</u>.   Cat
    him   saw   to him.
    'We saw him.'

Over the years, many factors have been discussed and held responsible for the occurrence and distribution of CLD. We find grammatical factors such as e.g. pronominal vs. non-pronominal, accusative vs. dative, the occurrence vs. non-occurrence of DOM, and semantic and pragmatic factors such as e.g. animacy, specificity, definiteness, partitivity.

Jaeggli (1982) who was the first to notice the theoretical importance of CLD, describes it for River Plate Spanish spoken in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, for a variety that has been in constant contact with other languages. Looking at the different Romance varieties that allow CLD now-a-days, e.g. Judeo-Spanish, Basque-Spanish, Catalan shows that language contact seems to favour the emergence of clitic doubling.

In this talk we will discuss the role of language contact in the emergence of clitic doubling in Romance. We will present new diachronic and synchronic data from Catalan and Judeo-Spanish showing that the diachronic development and synchronic distribution of CLD can be analysed as a cyclic change that is higly influenced by language contact. We will show that on the one hand CLD emerges as a consequence of a specific stage of object clitic w.r.t. the grammaticalisation path and the parametric specification of the verb-movement hierarchy (responsible for the information structure of a language). On the other hand, however, we will show that clitic doubling as an interface phenomenon is vulnerable in language contact situations.

▪ M. Teresa Espinal & Sonia Cyrino

On expletive articles and long weak definites

There is a consensus in the literature that there are different types of DPs. On the one hand, strong DPs (1) show a cluster of properties that differentiates them from other weak DPs: they denote uniqueness (Kadmon 1990; Elbourne 2008, 2013), maximality (Sharvy 1980) and familiarity (Heim 1982, Roberts 2010), manifest scopelessness with respect to other operators (Carlson 1980), have no distributional restrictions (Longobardi 2001), refer to individual objects, show no discourse referential restrictions, and do not occur in existential/presentational constructions.

(1) Pedro limpiaba el baño todos los días. (S) [strong reading]
Pedro cleaned the bathroom all the days
'Pedro cleaned the bathroom everyday.'

On the other hand, weak definites, among them long weak definites (2) (Poesio 1994, Barker 2005), show a contrasting cluster of properties: they denote non-uniqueness, manifest narrow scope with respect to other operators, have a restricted distribution, arise with (non)relational nouns, and may occur in existential/presentational constructions.

(2) a.La mano del bebé cogía el dedo del cirujano. (S) [weak reading]
the hand of.the baby grasped the finger of.the surgeon
'The baby's hand grasped the finger of the surgeon.'

b.El conductor perdió el control del vehículo cuando explotó la rueda del camión.
the driver lost the control of.the vehicle when exploded the wheel of.the truck
'The driver lost the control of the vehicle when the wheel of the truck exploded.'

Additionally, expletive definites (3), in the sense of Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992), introduce a non-denoting determiner, show non-uniqueness, and express inalienable possession.

(3) Pedro se lavó la cara esta mañana. (S) [expletive reading]
Pedro CL washed the face this morning
'Pedro washed his face this morning.'

In this paper we focus on some issues involving expletive articles and long weak definites in Romance (mainly Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese and Catalan), in comparison to DPs that elicit a strong reading. The first issue relates to the status of the notions of (syntactic) optionality and (semantic) expletiveness of the article. Second, we address some common properties of expletive articles and definite articles of so-called long weak definites, and we postulate a common analysis for them in grammar. We argue that the article of expletive and long weak definites is to be characterized as a semantic sensitive polar item, and that the definite in Romance comes in two variants: the referentially unique variant (to be translated as the semantic iota operator) and the polar variant that encodes a weak bound reading (to be semantically translated by an existential operator).

- Michelle Sheehan

Variation in faire-par nominalisations across Romance varieties

In this talk, I take up joint work with Sonia Cyrino in which we investigate the proposal by Bordelois (1988), Guasti (1993, 1996) and Folli & Harley (2007), that the Romance faire-par construction actually involves the causative verb FARE taking a nominalised complement. I show that this proposal finds additional support from variation in the availability of faire-par in Catalan and varieties of Spanish and Portuguese. Interestingly, though, while some varieties of Spanish allow faire-par (notably Rioplatense), others do not and Catalan permits faire-par only where the by-phrase remains suppressed. I propose a parametric model of this variation in terms of a parameter hierarchy. I also note that French and Italian, which permit faire-par more productively, also use FARE as a light verb more extensively than Portuguese and Spanish, pointing to further repercussions of this parameter.

- María Teresa Guasti

Clitics and past participle agreement in children with SLI and TD children

Vender et al. (2016) found that 5-year-old typical developing (TD) L2 learners of Italian with at least one year of exposure to the L2 have difficulties with clitic production (BITD); the same behavior is observed in monolingual children with SLI (see also Belletti and Guasti 2015). Unlike monolingual children with SLI, the L2 children do not omit clitics, but use an incorrect form or produce irrelevant sentences. Bilingual children with SLI (BISLI) at the age of 5 years produce fewer clitics than BITD (27% vs. 73%). Their performance does not only differ quantitatively from that of BITD, but also qualitatively. The prevalent error of BISLI was omission (40% vs. in BTD 11%), while that of BITD was use of a noun. These findings invite the following conclusions: BITD's profile results from failure to produce the relevant morpheme that expresses the syntactic features (Lardière 1998; Prévost and White 2000a,b; Haznedar 2001), while BISLI's profile results from failure in the computation involved in cliticization. Clitic production involves movement to a non-canonical position and past participle agreement, a process that is challenging for children with SLI. To support this conclusion, we provide evidence from monolingual children with SLI showing that the agreement configuration involved in past participle agreement is particularly taxing for these children (with Moscati, et al), while agreement between and article and a noun is not. Although children with SLI rely on a syntactic representation that is expressed in hierarchical terms, they are challenged by the expression of morphosyntactic feature that require non-local relation.

Getting around Cambridge
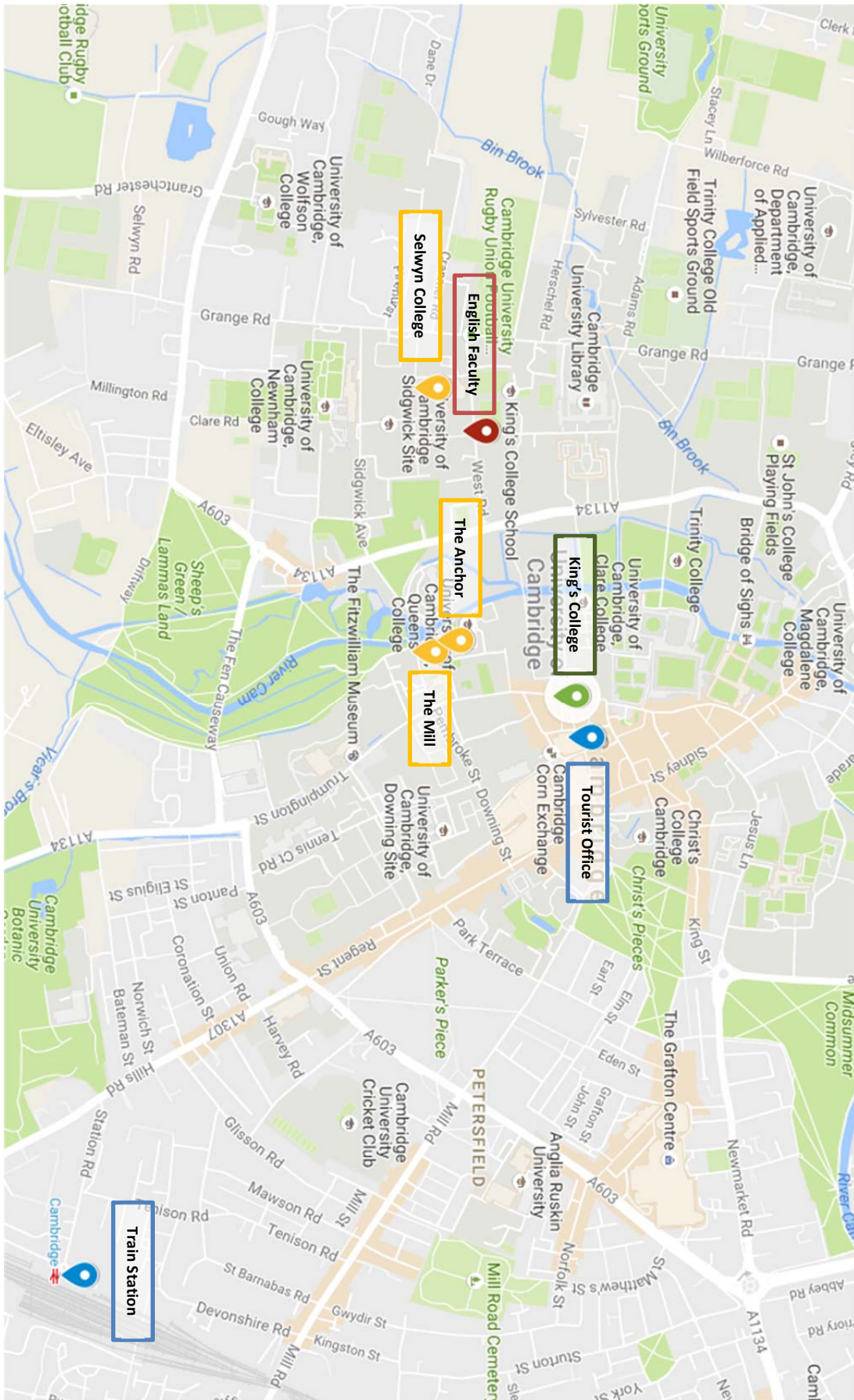
Getting around Cambridge

Find the interactive version of this map in the link below:
https://drive.google.com/open?id=1UNeIEysiK6iUbSX4li9uTOSGmSw&usp=sharing

English Faculty: The NEREUS workshop will take place in the English Faculty, GR 05, located in Sidgwick Site. The walk from the centre of Cambridge to the Faculty takes approximately 15 minutes. GR 05 is located in the ground floor: enter the building, and turn right, walk to the end of the room, and turn left at the corridor.

Train Station: The train station is located in the south east of Cambridge. The walk from the station to the centre takes approximately 35-45 minutes. There are taxis available outside the station (right hand side), with a cost of £8-12 pounds to get anywhere in town.

MAKE SURE TO KEEP YOUR TRAIN TICKET: YOU WILL NEED IT TO EXIT THE STATION.

Tourist office: If you have time to spare in Cambridge, you can always head to the Tourist Office and get a map to explore the city.

Useful phone numbers/websites:

Panther Taxi: +44 01223 715715

Train schedules: http://www.nationalrail.co.uk/

Bus schedules: http://www.nationalexpress.com/home.aspx

Weather forecast: http://www.bbc.co.uk/weather/2653941

Social Programme

Thursday 1st of December: Dinner at 'The Mill'

If you are arriving to Cambridge on **Thursday 1st**, join us for dinner (and a sneaky pint) at 'The Mill', a charming pub by the river. The menu includes vegetarian, vegan, gluten free and dairy free options, traditional English dishes that go far beyond fish'n'chips, and a wide selection of British beers and ales. Meet us at **19.15** in front of **King's** to walk there together, or from **19.30** at the pub.

Friday 2nd of December: Workshop dinner at 'The Anchor'

The workshop's dinner will take place in 'The Anchor', a renowned gastropub with great views on the river and Queens' College. You should contact us regarding your menu choice and dietary requirements by the 21st of November. Meet us at **19.15** in the lower part of the restaurant for pre-drinks, or at **19.25** upstairs for dinner.

Saturday 3rd of December: Lunch at Selwyn College

Before leaving Cambridge, we will get a taste of the Cambridge student experience by having lunch at Selwyn College's impressive hall.