

## Chapter 22

### Dependency, licensing, and the nature of grammatical relations

Anna Cardinaletti and Giuliana Giusti

#### 22.1 Introduction

Dependency is a general term that refers to different structural relations. We highlight three very general classes of phenomena that are often captured by this term: (i) the structural relation between a lexical head (e.g., V, N, A) and the functional structure projected by it such as the relation between a verb and an auxiliary or between a noun and a determiner; (ii) the local selectional relation between a lexical head and the constituents that are combined with it to satisfy its argument structure, as in the case of the verb and the direct and indirect objects; (iii) the structural relation created by two different constituents that share the same referential index. In the latter case, we observe two major types: a constituent is displaced, as in the case of the subject of a passive clause or a *wh*-constituent; or two constituents share the same referent but have different functions in the clause (or in different clauses), as is the case of pronouns and their antecedents.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 22.2 presents head-head dependencies. In so doing, it deals with parallels between clauses and nominal expressions in the linearization of the lexical head with its functional structure. Section 22.3 is devoted to head-argument dependencies, namely the encoding of the major grammatical relations: the subject in the clause, direct and indirect objects in the predicate, and the possessor in the nominal expression. The dependencies dealt with in the first two sections are ‘local’. Sections 22.4-5 focus on the structural relations between two full-fledged phrases, one dependent for its interpretation on the other, which may be quite ‘distant’. A long-distance dependency can be created by the displacement of one and the same constituent triggered by some functional feature (associated with the constituent itself or the position to which it moves, or with both). Section 22.4 considers the different types of long-distance dependency created by displacements. Section 22.5 considers long-distance dependencies created by pronouns.

#### 22.2 Parallels between nominal expressions and clauses

Investigation of Romance languages has contributed significantly to the development of the generative framework from the late 70s. In the late 80s, the application of X-bar theory was extended to functional heads, and the observation that functional features are hierarchically rigidly ordered was mainly based

on Romance facts. This investigation, applied to both sentences and nominal expressions, also made it possible to uncover structural parallelisms between the two domains, which had gone unnoticed before.

### 22.2.1 Split IP, split CP, and verb movement

Chomsky (1986) applied X-bar theory to the structural representation of auxiliaries and complementizers. The extension of the X-bar schema to functional heads on the one hand placed greater attention on functional words and features and, on the other hand, made it possible to uncover language variation in the linearization of the head with respect to its modifier dependents, which is captured in generative grammar through head-to-head movement. The empirical evidence from Romance languages confirmed the power of this model, but at the same time the need for a richer articulation of sentence structure.

Assuming Chomsky (1986), Pollock (1989) explained the difference between English and French in verb positions (cf. also §23.2.3), i.e., after or before negation (1), adverbs (2), and floating quantifiers (3), in terms of the impossibility vs obligatoriness of Verb-movement to INFL, respectively:<sup>1</sup>

- |   |   |            |                              |         |                                      |              |
|---|---|------------|------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1 | a | John       | [INFL does]                  | not     | [ <sub>V</sub> like]                 | Mary.        |
|   | b | Jean (n')  | [ <sub>V+INFL</sub> aime]    | pas     | [ <sub>V</sub> <del>aime</del> ]     | Marie. (Fr.) |
|   |   |            |                              |         |                                      |              |
| 2 | a | John       | [INFL ]                      | often   | [ <sub>V</sub> kisses]               | Mary.        |
|   | b | Jean       | [ <sub>V+INFL</sub> embrasse | souvent | [ <sub>V</sub> <del>embrasse</del> ] | Marie. (Fr.) |
|   |   |            |                              |         |                                      |              |
| 3 | a | My friends | [INFL ]                      | all     | [ <sub>V</sub> love]                 | Mary.        |
|   | b | Mes amis   | [ <sub>V+INFL</sub> aiment]  | tous    | [ <sub>V</sub> <del>aiment</del> ]   | Marie. (Fr.) |

The French-internal contrast displayed in (4) shows that Chomsky's (1986) CP-IP-VP model is insufficient. An extra functional head between the adverb *souvent* and the negation *pas* is necessary to host infinitival verbs, which appear before *souvent* but after *pas* in (4):

#### French

<sup>1</sup> In (1) and throughout the paper, the barred character indicates the base-generated position of moved elements.

- 4 a Souvent paraître / Paraître souvent triste pendant son voyage de noce, c'est rare.  
 often look / look often sad during one's honeymoon, that is rare  
 'To often look sad during one's honeymoon is rare.'
- b Ne pas paraître / \*\*Ne paraître pas triste pendant son voyage de noce, c'est normal.  
 NEG not look / NEG look not sad during one's honeymoon, that is normal  
 'To not look sad during one's honeymoon is normal.'

Pollock proposed to split INFL into two heads, each encoding one of the inflectional features attributed to Infl: T and Agr(eement).

On the basis of Italian data, Belletti (1990) argued for a refinement of the ordering of Tense and Agreement, based on Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle: in inflected words, Agreement morphemes follow Tense morphemes, hence they should be higher in the structural hierarchy. The AgrP-TP-VP model was generally adopted, even if criticized by Chomsky (1995), who denies the existence of Agr projections and claims that  $\phi$ -features do not play any role at LF and are thus uninterpretable.

Belletti (1990) also showed that infinitives and past participles can appear higher in Italian than in French and extended the analysis to more adverb classes than Pollock had proposed. This prompted further research in the functional organization of sentence structure.

Ten years later, Cinque's (1999) detailed investigation of adverbs led to an explosion of functional heads in the inflectional domain of the clause. Adverbs are inserted as specifiers of functional projections encoding aspectual, mood, and modal features. Many more functional projections were therefore assumed. As a consequence, the verb was argued to have more movement possibilities, appearing before or after many adverbs of the functional hierarchy. This is the case of Italian, where verb movement is optional up to the position between habitual and repetitive adverbs, i.e., up to the highest position of low adverbs (Cinque 1999:180, n.80; 214, n.7). In (5), the grammatical positions of the verb are indicated by  $\surd$ , the ungrammatical positions by \*\*; some examples are provided in (6):

- 5 ... \*\* saggiamente \*\***di solito/solitamente** ||  $\surd$  **di nuovo**  $\surd$  spesso/raramente  $\surd$  rapidamente  $\surd$  ...  
 wisely usually again often / rarely rapidly
- 6 a Gianni lo merita di nuovo / raramente.  
 Gianni CL.ACC deserves again / rarely  
 'Gianni deserves it again / rarely.'
- b \*\*Gianni lo merita solitamente / francamente / probabilmente.

Gianni CL.ACC deserves usually / frankly / probably

The micro-variation observed in verb placement, both language-internally with regard to different verbal forms (e.g. finite vs non-finite in French) and cross-linguistically among different Romance languages, has been recently investigated by Schifano (2018), who suggests that the morphological shape of paradigms devoted to the expression of Tense, Aspect, and Mood determines whether the licensing is achieved through movement (syntactic strategy) or not (morphological strategy).

As argued by Cardinaletti (2007), (5) summarises the verb placement possibilities in declarative sentences. In questions, the verb may precede *di solito/solitamente* and higher adverbs (cf. Rizzi 2001). The different verb placement in declarative and interrogative sentences is well-known from the study of English and other Germanic languages. Since the late 70s (Emonds 1976; Besten 1983; Thiersch 1978), auxiliaries and finite verbs are claimed to raise in questions to a position preceding the subject, identified with C°. The fact that in Romance, subject-verb inversion is only found with pronouns (*Est-il / \*\*Est Jean parti?* ‘is=he/is Jean left?’) suggests that V-movement targets heads lower than C° (cf. Sportiche 1993/98; Kayne 1994), subject to micro-variation (Cardinaletti 2014).

Mainly on the basis of Italian, Rizzi (1997) shows that Chomsky’s (1986) CP-IP-VP tripartition is also insufficient for the CP layer and suggests a split-CP. More structural positions are needed to host different complementizers and topicalized and/or focalized elements, which may occur between the complementizer and the subject in the so-called clausal left-periphery. The functional hierarchy arrived at by Rizzi (1997) is in (7a), where the Force head hosts finite complementizers (It. *che* ‘that’, Fr. *que* ‘that’, etc. found in finite complement and relative clauses), and the Fin head hosts infinitival complementizers (e.g. It. *di* lit. ‘of’). TopP is reserved for topics (and can be recursive, and indicated by <sup>REC</sup>Top), while FocP is the projection hosting focalized and *wh*-constituents. Rizzi (2001) further refines the articulation of the CP layer as in (7b), where two more projections are assumed. IntP hosts interrogative complementizers (e.g. It *se* ‘if’) and *wh*-words for ‘why’, which have a peculiar behaviour in Romance languages (Korzen 1985 for French; Contreras 1989 for Spanish; Shlonsky and Soare 2011 for Romanian), while WhP hosts *wh*-elements introducing embedded clauses, which may follow foci:<sup>2</sup>

7 a Force <sup>REC</sup>Top Foc <sup>REC</sup>Top Fin IP

---

<sup>2</sup> More Italian facts supporting Rizzi’s serialization, in particular the occurrence of (Familiar) Topics after Foci, are discussed by Cardinaletti (2016b).

b ... Force... Int ... Foc ... Wh ...

Finally, an IP-internal articulation of discourse-related positions immediately above VP, the so-called ‘low’ periphery, is suggested by Belletti (2001; 2004) to host postverbal foci and topics.

Rizzi’s proposal has been challenged by De Cat (2007a,b) for French, López (2009) for Spanish, and by Kempchinsky (2013) for western Iberian languages (Asturian and Portuguese). They suggest that for these languages, which have fewer fronting possibilities than Italian, a much simpler left periphery should be adopted. De Cat suggests adjunction of the topic(s) to TP, López analyses topics and foci as multiple specifiers of FinP, and Kempchinsky assumes a Discourse Shell projection (following Emonds 2004).

#### 22.2.2 The adjectival hierarchy and the position of N

The possibility of adjectives in prenominal and postnominal position in Romance (cf. It. *una simpatica ragazza* ‘a nice girl’ / *una ragazza simpatica* lit. ‘a girl nice’) raises the question of how the modifier-noun dependency is represented in syntactic structure. The competing hypotheses are multiple and regard the possibility to directly insert the adjective and the noun in either AN or NA order or derive one order from the other by movement. In the former case, alternatives regard the directionality of insertion and the nature of adjectives as specifiers or heads of dedicated functional projections, or adjuncts. In the latter case, alternatives regard whether N moves as a head (Cinque 1994) or carries along part of its projection (Cinque 2010), or whether adjectives move to dedicated positions (Demonte 1999; 2008).

The hypothesis that nominal structure parallels clausal structure regards N-movement into functional heads as well as the proposal that adjectives are specifiers of hierarchically ordered functional heads (Cinque 1994). In (8a), we observe the order Speaker oriented > Subject oriented > Manner > PP in an event nominal, with the adjectives inserted as specifiers of hierarchically ordered functional heads (X, Y, Z) and the lexical N moving through Z to Y. In (8b), the same relative order of adverbs and V is displayed by a perfectly parallel clause:

8 a [la [<sub>XP</sub> probabile [<sub>YP</sub> goffa [<sub>N</sub> reazione] [<sub>ZP</sub> immediata [<sub>N</sub>] [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>N</sub>] [<sub>PP</sub> alla tua lettera]]]]]]  
the probable clumsy reaction immediate to.the your letter  
‘the probable clumsy immediate reaction to your letter’

b [<sub>XP</sub> Probabilmente avranno [<sub>YP</sub> goffamente [<sub>V</sub> reagito] [<sub>ZP</sub> subito [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub>] [<sub>PP</sub> alla tua lettera.]]]]]]

probably      have.3P.PL.FUT.IND clumsily reacted immediately      to.the your letter  
 ‘Probably, they will have clumsily immediately reacted to your letter.’

Object-denoting nominals also display hierarchically ordered adjectives, which include Evaluating > Size > Colour > Material, and intermediate N-movement. Most Romance languages behave like Italian in favouring an ANA order. There is however cross-Romance variation in the position of N. In (9a), we observe in French and Ladin (Cinque 1994) the same order found in Italian (8a). In Wallon (9b), N is quite low, following a colour adjective (cf. Bernstein 1991, from Remacle 1952). In Sardinian (9c), N is quite high preceding evaluative adjectives (cf. Jones 1993). In Romanian (9d), N is generated with the definite article and can precede a demonstrative set in a projection higher than the Evaluating adjective (Dobrovie-Sorin 1987; Grosu 1988; Giusti 1994; Cornilescu 1994):

- 9    a    [DP un    [XP joli    [YP gros    [N ballon] [ZP rouge [~~N~~]    [NP [~~N~~]]]]]]      (Fr.)  
       [DP una    [XP bella [YP granda    [N palla]    [ZP cotchna [~~N~~]    [NP [~~N~~]]]]]]      (Lad.)  
           a          nice          big            ball            red  
           ‘a nice big red ball’
- b    [DP one [XP bèle [ZP bleûve [N cote] [NP [~~N~~]]]]]      (Wal.)  
           a          nice          blue          dress
- c    [DP una [XP bella [N mala] [YP manna    [ZP rubia [~~N~~] [NP [ ~~N~~]]]]]]      (Srd.)  
           a          nice          apple          big            red  
           ‘a nice big red apple’
- d    [DP [<sub>N+D</sub> băiatul] [KP acesta [N băiat] [XP frumos [N băiat]]]]      (Ro.)  
           boy-the          this                          nice  
           ‘this nice boy’

All examples in (9) display the hierarchy Evaluating > Size > Colour. The different positioning of the head N supports the proposal that there is a functional head for each adjectival modifier where the head N could appear, according to a parametric choice of the language.

Demonte (1999; 2008) proposes an alternative approach to the strict functional hierarchy, noting that in Spanish the order of prenominal adjectives is not as strict as the literature on Italian suggests. Demonte points out four classes of possible prenominal adjectives: (i) modal and epistemic modifying the denotation assignment function, (ii) intentionally oriented (intensifiers, restrictive, and evaluative)

modifying central properties, (iii) circumstantial modifying a temporal interval, and (iv) non-restrictive adjectives expressing an extreme property. She also points out that sequences of adjectives in prenominal position can only display one qualitative adjective (iv) and a variable number of members of the other three classes, as in (10).

Spanish

- 10 a \*\*mi alto simpático amigo                      \*\*QUAL > QUAL > N  
      ‘my tall nice friend’  
      b mi posible futura amplia vivienda    MOD.EP > CIRCUM > QUAL > N  
      ‘my possible future spacious house’

Demonte then observes that classes (i) and (ii) can cooccur in either order, with class (iv), as in (11)-(12):

Spanish

- 11 a el presunto delgado asesino                      MOD.EP > QUAL > N  
      ‘the alleged thin murderer’  
      b el delgado presunto asesino                      QUAL > MOD.EP > N  
      ‘the thin alleged murderer’
- 12 a mi única divertida colega                      INT.OR > QUAL > N  
      ‘my only funny colleague’  
      b mi divertida única colega                      QUAL > INT.OR > N  
      ‘my funny only colleague’

Finally, Demonte observes that adjectives of classes (i)-(iii) can co-occur with another adjective of the same class in either order, again with different scope interpretations, as in the pairs in (13)-(15):

Spanish

- 13 a la supuesta falsa declaración                      MOD.EP > INT.OR > N  
      ‘the supposedly false statement’  
      b la falsa supuesta declaración                      INT.OR > MOD.EP > N

‘the false supposed statement’

- 14 a el presunto supuesto asesino MOD.EP<sub>x</sub> > MOD.EP<sub>y</sub> > N  
 ‘the alleged supposed murderer’  
 b el supuesto presunto asesino MOD.EP<sub>y</sub> > MOD.EP<sub>x</sub> > N  
 ‘the supposed alleged murderer’
- 15 a mi verdadero único amigo INT.OR<sub>x</sub> > INT.OR<sub>y</sub> > N  
 ‘my true only/unique friend’  
 b mi único verdadero amigo INT.OR<sub>y</sub> > INT.OR<sub>x</sub> > N  
 ‘my only/unique true friend’

Following insights by Corver (1997a,b), Demonte argues that all adjectives start as the predicate of a small clause complement of a null nominal head N coindexed with the NP subject of the small clause. Potentially gradable adjectives are associated with an uninterpretable feature to be checked by a higher head Deg(ree). SpecDegP is then available for movement of the NP subject of the predication, which can recursively contain a predicate AP:

- 16 el [DegP [NP sombrero rojo] [A+Deg bellísimo] [NP N [SC NP [A] (Sp.)]  
 the hat red very.beautiful  
 ‘the very beautiful red hat’
- 

Adjective movement to Deg accounts for prenominal qualitative adjectives with non-restrictive interpretation, while their base generation as predicates of a small clause accounts for the restrictive interpretation of qualitative adjectives in postnominal position. The free ordering in prenominal position in (11)-(15) is accounted for by the assumption that modal (class i) and circumstantial (class iii) adjectives can be adjoined to NP or DegP.

Against a universal hierarchy and in favour of right-/left-adjunction, Lamarche (1991) and Bouchard (1998; 2002:124) observe that in (17), *malhonnêtes* has scope over *chinoï*s as expected in a right-adjunction proposal, and unexpected in the N-movement hypothesis in (9), while *présu*més is three times ambiguous, due to different possibilities of adjunction, as depicted in the glosses:

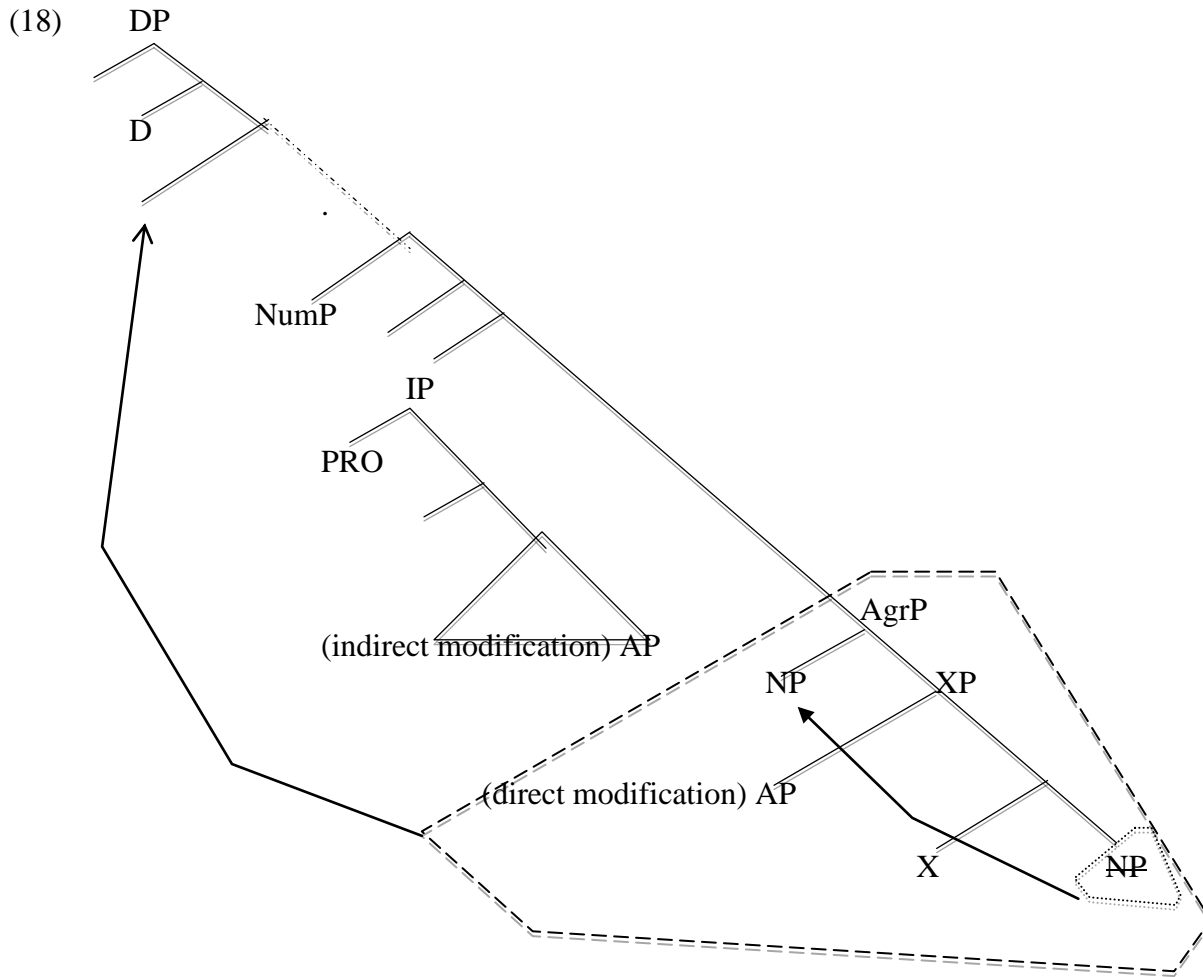


### French

- 17    les présumés professeurs chinois malhonnêtes  
      the alleged professors Chinese dishonest
- (i)    les [présumés [[professeurs chinois] malhonnêtes]]  
         ‘the alleged dishonest Chinese professor’
- (ii)   les [[présumés [professeurs chinois]] malhonnêtes]  
         ‘the dishonest alleged Chinese professor’
- (iii)  les [[[présumés professeurs] chinois] malhonnêtes]  
         ‘the dishonest Chinese alleged professor’

Laenzlinger (2005) and Cinque (2010) derive the mirror order of postnominal adjectives following Kayne’s (1994) antisymmetric proposal, which bans right-adjunction as well as head-movement. They assume that each functional projection is dominated by an AgrP, whose specifier can host the NP and the portion of structure pied-piped along with it.

The predicate/adnominal divide is defined by Cinque (2010) as indirect/direct modification. Cinque claims that indirect modification is a reduced relative clause (IP) inserted hierarchically higher than direct modification (XP); the whole projection of direct modification will then be moved in the dotted line between D and NumP, as shown in (18):



As a consequence of mandatory movement of the highest AgrP in the direct modification spine to the left of IP, indirect modification is linearized at the left of direct modification in N-final languages, such as English, and at the right of postnominal modification in ANA languages such as all Romance varieties, which also display some direct modification adjectives in postnominal position. Thus, adjectives that can be ambiguously interpreted as direct or indirect modification are prenominal in Germanic and postnominal in Romance. The Italian sentences in (19a-b) provide an example of the different semantic readings obtained from the direct vs indirect modification dependencies:

### Italian

#### 19 a Individual-level vs stage-level readings

- i. Le invisibili stelle di Andromeda sono molto distanti. (unambiguous)

the invisible stars of Andromeda are very far

‘Andromeda’s stars, which are generally invisible, are very far.’ (individual-level)

#‘Andromeda’s stars, generally visible, which happen to be invisible now, are very far.’

(stage-level)

ii. Le stelle invisibili di Andromeda sono molto distanti. (ambiguous)

the stars invisible of Andromeda are very far

‘Andromeda’s stars, which are generally invisible, are very far’ (individual-level) or

‘Andromeda’s stars, generally visible, which happen to be invisible now, are very far’ (stage-level)

b Restrictive vs non-restrictive readings

i. Le noiose lezioni di Ferri se le ricordano tutti. (unambiguous)

the boring lessons of Ferri CL.REFL CL.ACC.F.PL remember.3PL.PRES.IND all

‘Everybody remembers Ferri’s classes, all of which were boring.’ (non-restrictive)

#‘Everybody remembers just those classes by Ferri which were boring.’ (restrictive)

ii. Le lezioni noiose di Ferri se le ricordano tutti. (ambiguous)

the lessons boring of Ferri CL.REFL CL.ACC.F.PL remember.3PL.PRES.IND all

‘Everybody remembers Ferri’s classes, all of which were boring.’ (non-restrictive)

‘Everybody remembers just those classes by Ferri which were boring.’ (restrictive)

Prenominal orders apparently contradicting the hierarchy are explained by Giusti’s (1996) proposal that DP can be split to host discourse features (arguably contrast, Giusti 2006), like the clausal CP. Language variation regards what elements can be hosted in the nominal left periphery. The Italian nominal left periphery only hosts contrasted topical adjectives, which can occur at the left of a prenominal possessor as in (20b-c), where (20b) apparently violates the hierarchy displayed by the unmarked order in (20a):

#### Italian

20 a le sue lunghe trecce bionde

the her long braids blond

b le BIONDE sue lunghe trecce ~~bionde~~

the blond her long braids

c le LUNGHE sue ~~lunghe~~ trecce bionde

the long her braids blond

‘her long blond braids’

Giusti (2005) proposes that the Romanian nominal left periphery can host a contrasted topical adjective, moved to the left of the cardinal *trei* and inflected for the suffixal article in (21b) or a contrastively focused demonstrative in turn preceded by the noun carrying the suffixal article in (21c). Note that the demonstrative is the highest element in the unmarked order (21a). Its focalization is therefore obtained by filling the highest head of the DP with an inflected N (21c). Only one displaced position is possible in these utterances, which are only appropriate in marked contexts and certainly have borderline acceptability, but contrast sharply with the severely ungrammatical (21d-e):

### Romanian

- 21 a [[<sub>DP</sub> aceste [<sub>FP</sub> trei [<sub>FP</sub> amabile [<sub>NP</sub> scrisori]]]] primite ieri]  
           these       three   nice           letters       received yesterday
- b ??[[<sub>DP+KON</sub> AMABILELE [<sub>FP</sub> trei [<sub>FP</sub> ~~amabile~~ [<sub>NP</sub> scrisori]]]] primite ieri ]  
           nice-the       three                   letters       received yesterday
- c ??[[<sub>DP</sub> scrisorile [<sub>FocP</sub> ACESTEA [<sub>FP</sub> trei [<sub>FP</sub> amabile [<sub>NP</sub> ~~scrisori~~]]]]] primite ieri]  
           letters-the   these       three   nice                   received yesterday
- d\*\*scrisorile ACESTEA AMABILE trei primite ieri  
           letters-the these    nice       three received yesterday
- e\*\*AMABILELE ACESTEA trei scrisori primite ieri  
           nice-the   these       three letters received yesterday

Giusti and Iovino (2014; 2016) extend the split-DP hypothesis to Latin. The Latin nominal left periphery only hosts a single element, which can be an adjective of any category (22a-c), a genitive (22d), or an adjective extracted from an embedded genitive (22e):

### Latin

- 22 a [<sub>LP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> uetere] [<sub>DP</sub> illa [<sub>FP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> ~~uetere~~] [<sub>NP</sub> disciplina]]]]  
           old.ABL.F.SG that.ABL.F.SG       discipline.ABL.F.SG  
           ‘that old discipline’ (Cic. *Pro Cluentio* 76)
- b [<sub>LP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> tres] [<sub>DP</sub> illi [<sub>FP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> ~~tres~~] [<sub>NP</sub> fratres]]]]  
           three       those.NOM.M.PL   brothers.NOM.M.PL  
           ‘those three brothers’ (Cic. *Epistulae ad Familiares* 9,21,3)

- c [LP [AP Picentium] [[AP nouorum] [[AP ~~Picentium~~][N sociorum]]]]  
 Picene.GEN.M.PL new.GEN.M.PL allies.GEN.M.PL  
 ‘of new Picene allies’ (Liv. 10,11,7)
- d [LP [DP2 Caesaris] [DP1 hic [NP [DP2 ~~Caesaris~~] [N’ [PP per Apuliam  
 Caesar.GEN.M.SG this.NOM.M.SG through Apulia ACC.F.SG  
 ad Brundisium] cursus]]]]  
 to Brundisium.ACC.M.SG march.NOM.M.SG  
 ‘this march through Apulia to Brundisium of Caesar’s’ (Cic. *Epistulae ad Atticum* 8,11,7)
- e Sed abiit [LP [DemP2 huius] [DP1 [NP tempus [DP2 [DemP2 ~~huius~~] [NP querellae]]]]]  
 but has.gone.away this.GEN.F.SG time.NOM.N.SG regret.GEN.F.SG  
 ‘But the time of this regret is far away.’ (Cic. *Pro Caelio* 74)

The split-DP analysis provides a framework to account for the parametric change from Latin to Romance (Giusti 2014). Latin is an apparently free order language without articles and with ease of extraction from the nominal expression because the DP-layer in the split-DP is lower than the left periphery. Romance languages, which all display articles, have a more restricted order than Latin, and a much more restricted possibility of extraction, because the DP-layer in the split-DP is higher than the left periphery.

### 22.3 Encoding and licensing of grammatical relations

The encoding of grammatical relations such as subject, direct and indirect objects, oblique complements, and circumstantials theoretically concerns major areas of the research in syntax, morphology, semantics, and pragmatics that aims to explain word order alignments, agreement (on the selector), case assignment (on the dependent) and the different semantic and pragmatic phenomena arising with these phenomena.

The rich morphology on verbs, different classes of personal pronouns, variation in word order found with different classes of verb and different semantic and pragmatic interpretations are all empirical properties that characterize Romance languages and have inspired competing analyses set in different approaches. In this section, we provide a brief sketch of some of these phenomena and their accounts.

Grammatical relations are encoded by either DPs (subject, direct object) or PPs (oblique objects). No other modern Romance language except Romanian displays morphological case on DP internal elements. Abstract Case on DPs is supported by the morphological case realized on corresponding

clitic pronouns which are attested in the different Romance languages.<sup>3</sup> Northern Italian dialects, Provençal, and Rhaeto-Romance varieties display nominative clitic pronouns (Renzi and Vanelli 1983); accusative and dative clitic pronouns are attested in almost all Romance languages (with few exceptions, see Loporcaro 2010:note 25 and Paoli 2009, 2014); locative and genitive/partitive clitic pronouns are less widespread and found nowadays in Catalan, French, and Italian.

The properties of Romance clitic pronouns have been described in detail by Kayne (1975), who recognized two morphologically and syntactically different series of pronouns, clitic and strong pronouns. Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) show that clitic pronouns also differ from weak pronouns and propose that natural languages may possess not two, but three pronominal classes. The rich Romance clitic system leads to the following generalization: clitic pronouns only realize arguments of the verb because they need to be extracted, and only arguments allow extraction (Cardinaletti 2015; 2016a). Non-arguments, such as temporal (23a) (from Cinque 1990:119) and causal adjuncts (23b) and frame locatives (23c) (from Rizzi 1990:127, n.9), are never realized by clitic pronouns:

- |    |   |   |    |   |
|----|---|---|----|---|
| 23 | a | Rimarrò            tre    settimane.<br>stay.FUT.IND.1P three weeks<br>‘I will stay three weeks.’                               | a’ | **Spero                    di rimanerle    in allegria.<br>hope. PRES.IND.1P to stay.INF-CL.3P.PL in joy<br>‘I hope to stay being jolly.’ |
|    | b | Telefono                    per questo motivo.<br>phone.PRES.IND.1P for this    reason<br>‘I phone for this reason.’            | b’ | **Ci            telefono.<br>there phone. PRES.IND.1P<br>‘I phone for this.’  |
|    | c | Gianni è felice a casa    dei genitori.<br>Gianni is happy at home of.the parents<br>‘Gianni is happy at their parents’ house.’ | c’ | **Gianni ci            è felice.<br>Gianni there is happy<br>‘Gianni is happy there.’   |

Finally, consider null realizations of the arguments of the verb. Null subjects, found in most Romance languages (except modern French and Brazilian Portuguese, Duarte and Figueiredo Silva

---

<sup>3</sup> Strong and weak pronouns display residual manifestations of morphological case (cf. Italian strong subjects *io* ‘I’ and *tu* ‘you’ vs objects *me*, *te*; weak subject *egli* ‘he’ vs object *lui* ‘him’; French weak subjects *je* ‘I’, *tu* ‘you’, *il* ‘he’, *ils* ‘they’).

2016),<sup>4</sup> and null objects, which are less frequent, require licensing in accordance with parametrization. Null subjects are licensed by rich inflection (Rizzi 1982), null objects are either *pros*, licensed by the verb (Italian, Rizzi 1986) or a null clitic (French, Tuller 2000; Brazilian Portuguese, Cyrino and Matos 2016), or variables bound by null topics (European Portuguese, Cyrino and Matos 2016).

Grammatical relations are licensed structurally: in unmarked word order, subjects are preverbal and objects are postverbal. Romance languages also allow different postverbal positions for the subject, and show intricate language variation in this clausal space.

### 22.3.1 Encoding the subject

Subjects are licensed in a high position within the sentential core, namely SpecTP, where nominative Case and agreement features are checked. Romance languages provide evidence for a richer ‘subject field’, composed of the projections TP and SubjP, which encode different subject features:  $\phi$ -features at the basis of subject-verb agreement and the subject-of-predication feature, respectively (Cardinaletti 2004). The crucial empirical evidence is provided by those cases in which preverbal subjects of predication are not DPs, but dative or locative PP arguments of unaccusative verbs, as in Italian (24) (Belletti and Rizzi 1988; Cardinaletti 1997), or locative PPs, as in Brazilian Portuguese (25) (Quarezemin and Cardinaletti 2017):

#### Italian

- 24     a     [SubjP a Gianni [TP è [VP ~~a Gianni~~ piaciuto il regalo ]]]  
                  to Gianni     is                   pleased the present  
                  ‘Gianni liked the present.’
- b     [SubjP su Gianni [TP è [VP ~~su Gianni~~ caduta una grande disgrazia]]]  
                  on Gianni     is                   fallen a big misfortune  
                  ‘A misfortune befell Gianni.’
- 25     [SubjP Naquela loja [TP pro<sub>gen</sub> vendem [VP ~~naquela loja~~ livros]]] (BrPt.)  
                  in.that store     pro<sub>gen</sub> sell.3PL.PRES.IND                   books  
                  ‘In that shop, they sell books.’

---

<sup>4</sup> The analysis of northern Italian dialects as pro-drop languages is debated, cf. Poletto (2000) and Cardinaletti and Repetti (2010) for different analyses.

Further evidence is provided by French Complex Inversion (Kayne 1983). The clitic subject pronoun adjoins to Subj, the auxiliary adjoins to it, and the strong subject occupies SpecSubjP (see Kayne 1994:139, fn.15 and Sportiche 1999 for similar analyses):

- 26      Quand [SubjP Pierre / lui            a-t-il    [TP ~~il~~ a [VP ~~il~~ téléphoné ]]] ? (Fr.)  
           when            Pierre / he            has-he                            called

The canonical subject position is thus preverbal. With (in)transitive verbs, this is the case in all Romance languages. Language variation is found with unaccusative verbs, with which the unmarked subject position is postverbal with the exception of French (Burzio 1986). Postverbal subjects are also licensed with transitive and intransitive verbs when they are narrow foci. To capture the correlation with null subjects (Rizzi 1982), Belletti (2005) interprets postverbal subjects as the result of subject movement to clause-internal SpecFocP, followed by verb-raising to an aspectual head above the subject and movement of referential *pro* to the preverbal subject position (DP and *pro* are generated as constituents of one single nominal expression, called “big DP”, as happens in doubling structures, cf. Torrego 1995; Uriagereka 2005):

- 27      [TP *pro* ha [AspP parlato [FocP Gianni [VP ~~Gianni parlato~~]]]]. (It.)  
           has      spoken            Gianni  
           ‘Gianni spoke.’

If the ‘doubling + low periphery’ hypothesis is not adopted, these cases require a different way of licensing the subject, via either covert movement to the preverbal subject position or the Agree relation suggested by Chomsky (2000; 2001), a dependency-creating operation between the INFL-Probe and the subject Goal.

Finally, Spanish and Romanian also allow postverbal subjects in the wide-focus order VSO, as in (**Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.**a) from Ordóñez (1997:31) and (**Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.**b) from Laenzlinger and Soare (2005:41), where an extra subject position is assumed (Ordóñez 1998; 1999; 2007; Zubizarreta 1998):

- 28    a    Ayer            ganó Juan    la lotería. (Sp.)



yesterday won Juan the lottery  
'Yesterday Juan won the lottery.'

b A citit Ion cartea. (Ro.)  
has read Ion book-the  
'Ion read the book.'

The possibility of VSO is often correlated with the differential object marking (DOM) found in Spanish and Romanian (see section 22.2 below): Languages that allow VSO have DOM (Belletti 2004; Gallego 2013). The reverse is not true: Southern Italian dialects (Ledgeway 2016), Catalan (Escandell-Vidal 2007, 2009; Benito Galdeano 2017) and Portuguese (Schwenter 2014) have (some instances of) DOM, but they do not allow VSO.<sup>5</sup>

#### 22.3.2. Encoding objects

In Romance languages, direct objects are distinguished from indirect and prepositional objects through the absence vs presence of a dependent-marker. In this respect, they are similar to subjects. In fact, nominative and accusative are often called direct cases, to be distinguished from all other functions that are marked with indirect/oblique cases.

In Nichols' (1986) typology of head vs dependent marking languages, following insights by Vincent (1997), Ledgeway (2011:434-37) notes that Romance languages are of a mixed type. Head-marking appears in the form of subject-agreement on verb-morphology (cf. §22.2.1 above) and as object (rarely subject) clitics affixed on the selecting head V. It is well-known that both series of pronouns in all Romance languages also display dependent-marking in the form of case-morphology (cf. §22.4.2 below). In full DP-objects, eastern Romance presents a residue of oblique case mainly on determiners (29a). But prepositions are abundantly used to distinguish indirect objects, while direct objects are generally prepositionless. Note that in both Romanian and Spanish, the dative dependent of a double object predicate is optionally doubled by a clitic, which can be considered head-marking:

---

<sup>5</sup> In Italian (Cardinaletti 2001) and European Portuguese (Costa 2004:119-124), VSO is a legitimate order when both the subject and the object are focused with a pair-list reading. Here, the subject is taken to be VP-internal.

- 29 a (Le)-am dat bomboane băieților / la băieți. (Ro.)  
 CL.DAT.3.PL=have.1SG given sweets boys-the.DAT / to boys  
 ‘I gave given the boys sweets’ (Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2016: 920)
- b Pablo (le) mandó un diccionario a Gabi. (Sp.)  
 Pablo CL.DAT.3.SG sent a dictionary to Gabi (Cuervo 2003)  
 ‘Pablo sent a dictionary to Gabi.’

There are many apparent exceptions to the bare direct object / marked indirect object generalization. Direct objects in Spanish, Romanian, and some Italo-Romance varieties can be marked by a preposition, as in (30)-(31):

- 30 a Atacamos a Pepe (Sp., Fábregas 2013:5)  
 attack.IND.PRES.1PL *a* Pepe  
 ‘We attack Pepe.’
- b L-am văzut pe Ion (Ro., Dobrovie-Sorin 1987:200)  
 CL.ACC.3.SG =have.1SG seen *pe* Ion  
 ‘I saw Ion.’
- 31 a Appo vistu a Juanne (Srd., Jones 1995)  
 have.1SG seen *a* Juanne  
 ‘I saw Juanne.’
- b Emu infattatu à Petru (Cor., Ledgeway 2016:226)  
 have.1PL met *a* Petru  
 ‘We met Petru.’

This phenomenon is known as prepositional accusative or differential object marking (DOM). It is quite widespread across languages (Bossong 1985; 1991) and presents different forms across Romance languages, mainly AD>*a*, but also (SU)PER>*pe* in Romanian, sometimes IN MEDIO (AD) > *ma/me* in central Italy, and DE+AB > *da* in Sicilian Gallo-Italic varieties (A. Ledgeway p.c.). Typological and functional linguistics has established that differently marked direct objects are high in one or all the hierarchies in (32) regarding the interpretation of NPs, while canonically (un)marked direct objects are low (cf Levin 2019, and references therein). The direct object of a transitive verb has greater chances of

being differentially marked the lower the verb is in the transitivity scale (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Tsunoda 1985; Herslund 2002):

- 32    a    Animacy scale: First/second > Third pronoun > Name > Human > Animate > Inanimate  
      b    Definiteness scale: Pronoun > Proper name > Definite > Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP  
      c    Affectedness scale: ACTION > PERCEPTION > PURSUIT > KNOWLEDGE > FEELING

Variation across languages, constructions, and even speakers involves not only the point(s) of the hierarchies which discriminate the two opposites, but also many other properties of individual languages with which DOM interacts, making DOM a privileged object of theoretical studies.

The lexical properties of the verb class and the morphosyntactic properties of the nominal expression are the most important factors that interact with DOM. This leads many linguists to argue that ‘transitivity’ is a clausal, not just a verbal property (Delbeque 2002; Cennamo 2003).

From the point of view of historical linguistics, Sornicola (2011:36-40) notes that verbs such as ‘help’, ‘pray’, ‘call’, ‘listen’ can select a dative object in many old and modern Romance languages, including French, a language which does not display DOM. The direct/prepositional object alternation is claimed to have started from the co-existence of these intransitive bi-argumental verbs with fully transitive verbs. The preposition *a* may have then appeared on strong (dative) pronouns as an expletive, in order to maintain the bisyllabic structure derived from Lat. MIHI, TIBI, surfacing as old Sp. *miue*, *teue*, centr. and south. Ital. *mene*, *tene* and *mia*, *tia*, most of which were otherwise getting lost and then be extended to accusative pronouns. Note, that Lat AD itself selects accusative. According to Sornicola, the need to distinguish objects with topical or animacy features from subjects may have helped the propagation of the phenomenon rather than being triggered by it. Von Heusinger and Kaiser’s (2011) corpus search on [+human] objects of transitive verbs across three different periods of Spanish confirms the hypothesis that spread of DOM on human objects depends on the level of Affectedness of the predicate and relative degree of ‘agentiveness’ of the object. This is also confirmed by Fiorentino (2003) for different stages of Neapolitan.

Data from the development of the locative preposition *pe* in Romanian go in a different direction. According to Mardale (2009), Hill (2013), and Hill and Mardale (2017), *pe* bleaches into a differential object marker through an intermediate stage as a topic marker. The hypothesis is that *pe* was projected in the left periphery of the nominal expression (cf. §22.2.3) with features checked at the left periphery

of the clause. This proposal is in line with Brugè and Brugger's (1996) proposal that Spanish *a* heads a projection (KP) above DP which is overt when KP is accusative. Null K is possible in object position either when the DP is not [+animate] or when it is assigned partitive case, which is the case displayed by genitive clitic *ne* in Italian according to Cardinaletti and Giusti (1992; 2016).

Generative approaches have implemented different versions of Larson's (1998) VP-shell hypothesis and its development into the *v*P-phase (Chomsky 2001; 2008; Gallego 2010) to account for the correlation between the semantic interpretation of the marked direct object and the occurrence of the *a*-marker (cf. Torrego 1998; Cuervo 2003; Belletti 2004; Leonetti 2004; Ordóñez 1998; 2007; Ledgeway 2011; López 2012).<sup>6</sup> The split *v*P structure presents a functional head above the lexical VP (little *v*) assigning the theta role to the external argument and at the same time assigning structural accusative case to the internal argument. The issue is here whether accusative *a* and dative *a* are markers of the same structural dependency (as argued by Manzini and Franco 2016 for Italo-Romance; Gallego 2010 and Torrego 2010 for Ibero-Romance) or whether there are two *a*-markers occurring in different positions (Torrego 1998; López 2012). This issue does not arise in Romanian due to the locative origin of *pe*.

The split *v*P hypothesis permits one to analyse clitic doubling as an overt marker of agreement between the case-assigning *v* and the targeted DP. The considerable microvariation found with the occurrence of the doubling clitic is expected on the hypothesis that parameters are features associated with functional heads. In this line of research, the iteration of *v*-heads and the parametrization of a D-feature that can be absent or present in *v* and, if present, can be complete or incomplete, can capture many apparently unrelated facts that characterize Romance languages (for overviews cf. D'Alessandro and Roberts 2008; Fábregas 2013; Mardale 2017; Gallego 2018, and references therein). Among these, we mention the following three facts.

(i) The dative/accusative alternation found in causative constructions in Italian and French suggests that the *a*-marker serves to differentiate the embedded initiator subject of a transitive predicate from the main causer subject of the causative event, as in (33a). The subject of an embedded intransitive is instead assigned accusative when the embedded predicate is monoargumental (regardless of whether it is unaccusative or unergative), as in (33b):

#### Italian

33    *a*    Maria    ha    fatto    bere        il    vino    *\*\*(a)* Gianni.

---

<sup>6</sup> In simple terms, a 'phase' is a derivational domain, which enjoys phonological, semantic, and syntactic autonomy.

Maria has made drink.INF the wine to Gianni  
 ‘Maria made Gianni drink wine.’

- b Maria ha fatto bere (\*\*a) Gianni.  
 Maria has made drink.INF to Gianni  
 ‘Maria made Gianni drink.’

Note that the accusative clitic *lo* in (34a) either resumes the patient role of transitive ‘drink’ as in (33a) or the agent role of unergative ‘drink’ in (33b). The dative subject of transitive ‘drink’ can also be cliticized, as in (34b):

Italian

- 34 a Maria lo ha fatto bere.  
 Maria CL.ACC.SG=has made drink.INF  
 ‘Maria made him drink’ / ‘Maria had it drunk’  
 b Maria glielo ha fatto bere.  
 Maria CL.DAT.SG=CL.ACC.SG= has made drink.INF  
 ‘Maria made him drink it.’

(ii) The dative/accusative alternation is also found on the experiencer objects of unaccusative verbs (Belletti and Rizzi 1988; Pineda and Royo 2017; Folli and Harley 2007; Torrego 2010):

Italian

- 35 a La storia interessa (a) Maria.  
 the history interests to Maria  
 ‘History interests Maria.’  
 b La storia le/la interessa.  
 the history CL.DAT/ACC interests  
 ‘History interests her.’

(iii) Accusative Goals alternating with the more canonical dative can be passivized (Ledgeway 2000:30f.; Andriani 2011:53f.; Piñeda and Royo 2017), showing that they are exactly parallel to canonical direct objects:

- 36 a Maragall ha estat telefonat personalment pel president. (Cat.)  
 ‘Maragall has been phoned in person by the president’  
 b Marijə ha stətə təlefonátə (dò marítə). (Bar.)  
 ‘Mary has been phoned (by her husband)’  
 c Socrama fuje telefonata. (Nap.)  
 ‘My mother-in-law was phoned’

The three properties above are related to the presence of a functional feature (an applicative, following insights by Pylkkänen 2002; cf. Cuervo 2003 for Spanish, Diaconescu and Rivero (2007) for Romanian). This functional feature is mingled with  $v$  but subject to parametric variation as regards the precise point in which it is projected.

In addition to PPs (37a) and genitive DPs (37b; cf. Grosu 1988), arguments of nouns may be realized by possessives. Romance languages provide evidence that possessives may be of different grammatical categories: determiners as in French and Spanish (38a), adjectives as in Italian (38b), and genitive personal pronouns as in Italian and Romanian (38c) (Cardinaletti 1998; Cornilescu 1994):

- 38      a      sa (belle) maison / su (bella) casa (Fr./Sp.)  
                  her/his.F.SG beautiful house
- b      la sua (bella) casa (It.)  
                  the his/her.F.SG beautiful house  
                  ‘her/his beautiful house’
- c      la loro      (bella)      casa /      elegantul      lui/ei/lor      apartment (It./Ro.)  
                  the they.GEN beautiful house / elegant-the he.GEN/she.GEN/they.GEN apartment  
                  ‘their beautiful house / her/his/their elegant apartment’

The categorial realization does not have an impact on the grammatical relations encoded by possessives. While with common nouns (38) possessives realize a possessive relation, with deverbal nouns they realize either the theme or the agent of the noun:

- 39     a        sa            description / su        descripción (Fr./Sp.)  
                  his/her.F.SG description / his/her description
- b        la    sua            descrizione (It.)  
                  the his/her.F.SG description  
                  ‘her/his description’
- c        la    loro        descrizione / descrierea lui (It./Ro.)  
                  the they.GEN description / description-the he.GEN  
                  ‘their/his description’

Cinque (1980a,b) suggests that possessives realize the subject of the noun phrase, thus establishing a parallelism between nominal expressions and clauses. The realization of the theme of the noun as a possessive is constrained if the agent is also present; the ungrammatical sentence in (40b) contrasts with (40a), where the possessive realizes the agent; the possessive can be the theme of the noun only if the noun is turned into a passive (40c) (cf. Milner 1977 for French and Cornilescu 1994 for Romanian):

#### Italian

- 40     a        la sua descrizione dell’evento  
                  the his description of.the event
- b        la sua descrizione di Gianni (\*\* in the intended reading ‘its description by G.’)  
                  the its description of Gianni
- c        la sua descrizione da parte di Gianni  
                  the its description (on the part of (=by) Gianni)  
                  ‘its description by Gianni’

The occurrence of possessives immediately after the determiner (38b,c) suggests that (i) they are licensed in a position parallel to the clausal subject position, and (ii) the licensing of prenominal

possessives ‘can be compared to structural case-assignment to an argument’ (Picallo 1994:269). Let us call this projection Poss(essive)P (Sportiche 1990/98:217).

Strong possessive adjectives as in Spanish and Italian may however stay in their NP-internal thematic positions, usually occupied by PPs and DPs, (37) (Cardinaletti 1997; Brugè 2002):

- 41     a        la casa sua (Sp.)  
          b        la casa sua (It.)  
                  the house his/her.F.SG  
                  ‘his/her house’

Post-nominal possessives are analysed as in (42a) (in-situ possessives end up post-nominal due to N-movement to F, Cinque 1994). The pre-nominal and the thematic position of possessives are transformationally related (cf. Langacker 1968; Kayne 1975; Belletti 1978). The derivation of (38b) is (42b):

- 42     a     [<sub>DP</sub> la [<sub>POSSP</sub>        ... [<sub>FP</sub> casa [<sub>NP</sub> sua ~~casa~~]]]]  
          b     [<sub>DP</sub> la [<sub>POSSP</sub> sua    ... [<sub>FP</sub> casa [<sub>NP</sub> ~~sua~~ ~~casa~~]]]]

Some central Italian dialects (e.g., Ancona, Marche (43a)) and all modern southern Italian dialects (e.g., Lanciano, Abruzzo (43b)) with the exception of Sicilian only allow postnominal possessives (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2019), paralleling VSO languages in which the subject does not raise. Possessive movement to prenominal subject position is thus subject to language variation as is the case of subject movement to preverbal subject position:

- 43     a     [<sub>DP</sub>    el [<sub>POSSP</sub>    [<sub>FP</sub>    ca’        [<sub>NP</sub>    mio ~~ea~~<sup>2</sup>]]]]  
          b     [<sub>DP</sub>    lu [<sub>POSSP</sub>    [<sub>FP</sub>    canə    [<sub>NP</sub>    mé ~~canə~~]]]]  
                  the                    dog                    my

## 22.4 Long-distance dependencies

Long-distance dependencies are instantiated either by ‘movement’ or by coreference. In this section, we present cases of the former type.



In a theory that strives for economy, movement is a costly operation; it therefore only obtains when needed. There are three types of long-distance movement: A-movements create a link between the highest argument of the predicate phase and the subject of the clause, satisfying some version of the ‘Extended Projection Principle’, which requires a proposition to have a subject. Clitic movement displaces an element that is at the same time a phrasal constituent and a head from its initial position (where it is interpreted as a constituent) to a head position. A-bar movements create discourse structures such as different clause types (interrogative, exclamative, jussive, etc.), with displacements of different amounts of structures.

#### 22.4.1 A-movements

At many points in this chapter, we have had recourse to the notion ‘subject’. The subject is the external argument of the predicate, which comes into a special dependency relation, often called agreement, with T(ense). The dual nature of subject as a dependent of both V and T is captured in the generative literature by the so-called VP-internal subject hypothesis first proposed by Koopman and Sportiche (1991), according to which the subject originates in SpecVP (or SpecvP, in more recent terms), where it receives its theta-role locally assigned by v/V but no case. For this reason, it moves to SpecTP where it is assigned nominative by a finite T. The hypothesis has the theory-internal advantage of keeping structural relations such as theta-role and case assignment local. It is empirically supported by Sportiche’s (1988) analysis of floating quantifiers. Notably, quantifiers can be found in a long-distance dependency with the quantified nominal expression only if the nominal expression moves leaving the quantifier in place, as is the case of the subject in (44a) and the clitic object in (44c), but not the object in (44b):

##### Italian

- 44    a    {Tutte} *Le bambine* {\*\*tutte} hanno {tutte} mangiato {tutte} un panino {tutte}.  
          {all}    the girls            {all}    have    {all}    eaten        {all}    a sandwich {all}
- b    *La bambina* ha mangiato {tutti} i panini {\*\*tutti}.  
          the girl        has eaten {all.M.PL} the sandwiches.M.PL {all.M.PL}
- c    *La bambina li*            ha mangiati {tutti} ~~li~~.  
          the girl CL.ACC.M.PL has eaten.M.PL {all.M.PL}

When the external argument is absent, as is the case of a passive predicate, the internal argument moves to the subject position to receive case. In a theory of economy, this is only possible if the passive verb is unable to assign accusative case to its internal argument. Most Romance languages signal this non-canonical subject-T dependency with auxiliary BE (which was already present in Latin in passive compound tenses), which agrees for the person features of the subject, as usual.<sup>7</sup> Central Romance languages also display gender and number agreement on the past participle:

- 45    a    Le torte                      sono      state              mangiate.  
          the cakes.F.PL           are        been.F.PL       eaten.F.PL  
          ‘The cakes have been eaten.’
- b    I panini                      sono      stati              mangiati.  
          the sandwiches.M.PL   are        been.M.PL     eaten.M.PL  
          ‘The sandwiches have been eaten.’


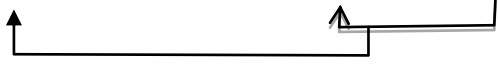
This was analysed by Kayne (1989a) as evidence for local movement through the specifiers of past participle projections (cf. §19.3.1). In a theory of spec-head agreement, Belletti (2001) proposed an Agr projection above each participial head. In the more recent theory of phases, D’Alessandro and Roberts (2008) propose that this is derived by the defective character of the passive *v* and the consequent need to extend the lower phase (the *v*P) to the higher phase (the CP). The argument is built on independent evidence provided by Belletti (2001:30) that active past participles have to move across a low manner adverb such as *bene* ‘well’, while passive past participles can but do not have to. Note that the active past participle does not agree with the feminine singular features of the object (46a), while it must agree when the object is promoted to subject in (46b):

#### Italian

- 46    a    Hanno {\*\*bene} accolto {bene} la sua interpretazione solo loro.  
          have {well} received {well} the his.F.SG performance.F.SG only they  
          ‘Only they have well received his performance.’
- b    La sua interpretazione è sempre stata {bene} accolta {bene}.  
          the his.F.SG performance.F.SG is always been.F.SG {well} received.F.SG {well}

<sup>7</sup> In many Ladin varieties, the auxiliary is not ‘BE’, but ‘COME’. Some dialects of Basilicata and north-western Puglia optionally use ‘HAVE’ alongside ‘BE’. See Ledgeway (in press).

According to D'Alessandro and Roberts, the obligatory movement of the active past participle in (47a) is evidence that the lower  $\nu$ P is an independent phase; it assigns accusative to its internal argument (DP2), which is interpreted in  $\nu$ P independently of the upper CP-phase. In the case of a passive past participle in (47b), the internal argument (DP1) needs to remain in the computation of the CP-phase, where it is interpreted as the subject of the clause. For this reason, the participle may remain in place where it can therefore follow *bene*. But for the internal argument to be interpreted as part of the upper phase, the past participle must move into the  $\nu$ P which is dependent on the passive auxiliary BE. For this reason, the relationship with its internal argument must be overt:

- (47) a. [CP C [TP T+ $\nu$ Aux.HAVE [ $\nu$ P  $\nu$ Aux.HAVE [ $\nu$ PrTP DP2  $\nu$ Part [ $\nu$ P V DP1]]]] transitive  $\nu$ P
- 
- b. [CP C [TP T+ $\nu$ Aux.BE + $\nu$ Part [ $\nu$ P  $\nu$ Aux.BE+ $\nu$ Part [ $\nu$ PrTP  $\nu$ Part [ $\nu$ P V DP1]]]] passive  $\nu$ P
- 

This is also the case with unaccusative verbs (48a) and *se/si* constructions (48b), which are characterized by the extension of the phase because they only have a DP1 internal argument that is interpreted as the clausal subject sharing person features with T and number and gender features with  $\nu$ Part:

#### Italian

- 48 a. Sono arrivate tre ragazze.  
are arrived.F.PL three girls  
'Three girls arrived.'
- b. Si sono visti tre ragazzi.  
CL.REFL are seen.M.PL three boys  
'Three boys were seen.'

#### 22.4.2 Clitic movement

Cliticization shares properties with A-movement. It is TP-internal (clitic pronouns target a position to the right of preverbal subjects (49)) and local (clitic pronouns never move out of embedded clauses (50)):

49 a Jean la voit ~~la~~ / Gianni la vede ~~la~~. (Fr./It.)

Jean CL.ACC.F.SG sees / Gianni CL.ACC.F.SG sees

‘Jean/Gianni is seeing her.’

b Jean l’ a vu/vue ~~le/la~~ / Gianni l’ ha visto/vista ~~lo/la~~. (Fr./It.)

Jean CL.ACC has seen.M/F.SG / Gianni CL.ACC has seen.M/F.SG

‘Jean/Gianni saw him/her.’

### Italian

50 a Gianni ha deciso [<sub>CP</sub> di dir**lo** ~~lo~~ a Maria].

Gianni has decided to say.INF-CL.ACC.M.SG to Maria

a’ \*\*Gianni **lo** ha deciso [<sub>CP</sub> di dire ~~lo~~ a Maria].

Gianni CL.ACC.M.SG has decided to say.INF to Maria

‘Gianni decided to say it to Maria.’

b Gianni ha deciso [<sub>CP</sub> che **lo** dirà ~~lo~~ a Maria].

Gianni has decided that CL.ACC.M.SG say.FUT.3SG to Maria

b’ \*\*Gianni **lo** ha deciso [<sub>CP</sub> che dirà ~~lo~~ a Maria].

Gianni CL.ACC.M.SG has decided that say.FUT.3SG to Maria

‘Gianni decided that he will say it to Maria.’

Mandatory past participle agreement as in French and Italian (49b) led to the view that cliticization is decomposed into two steps: DP-movement triggering agreement on the past participle (Kayne 1989a), followed by cliticization proper, i.e., head movement to the inflected auxiliary (Sportiche 1990/98; Belletti 1999; Cardinaletti and Starke 1999):

51 [<sub>TP</sub> Jean [<sub>T</sub> l’a [<sub>AgrOP</sub> ~~la~~ vue [<sub>VP</sub> Jean ~~vue~~ ~~la~~ ]]]].

The proposal by Kayne (1989b) that clitic pronouns are heads is supported by the observation that they undergo movement together with their hosts. In French interrogatives (52a) (Kayne 1975) and Italian hypotheticals (52b) and gerunds (52c) (Rizzi 2000:108), the verb moves to a position to the left of the subject taking the object clitic pronoun along:

- 52 a [SubjP [Subj L' as] [TP tu [~~l'~~as] [VP vu ~~le~~]]? (Fr.)  
 CL.ACC have you seen  
 'Did you see him?'
- b [CP [C L' avesse] [TP Gianni [~~l'~~avesse] [VP programmato ~~le~~ in anticipo]]] ... (It.)  
 CL.ACC had Gianni programmed ahead, ...  
 'If Gianni had programmed it ahead, ...'
- c [CP [C Avendola] [TP Gianni [~~avendola~~] [VP restituita ~~la~~ al direttore]]] ... (It.)  
 having-CL.ACC.F.SG Gianni given.back to.the director  
 'Since Gianni gave it back to the director, ...'

Romanian shows that cliticization also applies to adverbs which appear between clitic pronouns and finite verbs (53a) and are taken along by imperative verb movement to C' (53b) (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994):

#### Romanian

- 53 a Îl mai văd.  
 CL.ACC.M.SG again see.1SG  
 'I am seeing him again.'
- b [CP [C Mai spune-] [TP mi ~~mai spune~~]]  
 again tell.2SG-IMP me.DAT  
 'Tell me again!'

An alternative analysis of cliticization is put forward by Sportiche (1996/98), who takes clitic pronouns to realize functional heads in the clausal skeleton (CliticVoices), into whose specifier a null object is moved to establish a specifier-head relation with the clitic head, the so-called Clitic Criterion:

- 54 [TP Gianni la vede [CliticVoiceP *pro* ~~la~~ [VP Gianni vede ~~pro~~ ]]]. (It.)  
 Gianni CL.ACC.F.SG sees  
 'Gianni is seeing her.'

In Sportiche's analysis, one and the same structure accounts for simple cliticization, as in (54), and clitic doubling, where clitic pronouns co-occur with argument XPs: either direct objects (55) (River

55 a Lo vimos a Juan. (Sp.)  
CL.ACC.M.SG see.PST.IND.1PL to Juan  
'We saw Juan.'

b L- am văzut pe Ion. (Ro.)  
CL.ACC.M.SG have. PRES.IND.1SG seen acc Ion  
'We saw Ion.'

56 a Le entregué las llaves al conserje. (Sp.)  
CL.DAT.M.SG give.PAST.IND.1SG the keys to.the janitor  
'I gave the keys to the janitor.'

b Gliele ho date a Gianni. (It.)  
CL.DAT-CL.ACC.F.PL have.1SG given.F.PL to Gianni.  
'I gave them to Gianni.'

57     a     Syntax:     [CliticVoiceP lo [<sub>VP</sub> vimos a Juan]]].  
        b     LF:        [CliticVoiceP a Juan lo [<sub>VP</sub> vimos ~~a Juan~~]].

		<u>Italian</u>				
58	a	Voglio	farlo $\text{\textcircled{h}}$ .	a'	Lo voglio	fare $\text{\textcircled{h}}$ .
		want.PRES.IND.1SG	do.INF-CL.ACC		CL.ACC want.PRES.IND.1SG	do.INF
		'I want to do it.'			'I want to do it.'	
	b	Comincio	a farlo $\text{\textcircled{h}}$ .	b'	Lo	comincio a fare $\text{\textcircled{h}}$ .

	start.PRES.IND.1SG	to do.INF-CL.ACC		CL.ACC	start.PRES.IND.1SG	to do.INF
	‘I am starting to do it.’			‘I am starting to do it.’		
c	Vado	a farlo $\emptyset$ .	c'	Lo	vado	a fare $\emptyset$ .
	go.PRES.IND.1SG	to do.INF-CL.ACC		CL.ACC	go.PRES.IND.1SG	to do.INF
	‘I go and do it.’			‘I go and do it.’		

Clitic climbing is reduced to TP-internal movement by enriching grammar with either a restructuring rule applying in the presence of modal, aspectual, and motion verbs, by which these verbs and the lexical verb create a complex V (Rizzi 1978), or the base generation of these verbs as functional heads in the clausal skeleton (Cinque 2004; 2006). When clitic climbing applies, restructuring verbs indeed lose their argument structure and behave like functional verbs (Cinque 2004; Haegeman 2006). (59) is a schematic representation where FP stays for the functional projections associated with the lexical verb, subject to rigid ordering restrictions, and clitic indicates the landing site of clitic climbing as in (58a'-c'):

59 [CP ... [TP clitic [FP V<sub>restr</sub> [FP ... [VP V<sub>lex</sub> ]]]]]

To account for enclisis as in (58a-c), a low clitic position above VP must be assumed, as schematized in (60) (Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004):

60 [CP ... [TP clitic [FP V<sub>restr</sub> [FP ... [FP clitic [VP V<sub>lex</sub> ]]]]]]

An argument for the existence of two clitic positions is provided by (61): auxiliary *essere* ‘be’, selected by the unaccusative verb *andare*, not only occurs with proclisis (61a) but also with enclisis (61b). Since *essere* is only possible with restructuring verbs (cf. *Gianni ha / \*\*è detto [di andare a Roma]* ‘Gianni has/\*\*is said to go to Rome’), both (61a) and (61b) are restructuring contexts, where *ci* occupies the high and the low clitic position, respectively:

#### Italian

- 61 a Gianni ci è voluto [VP andare ~~ci~~].  
 Gianni CL.LOC is wanted go.INF
- b Gianni è voluto [FP andarci [VP ~~andare~~ ~~ci~~]].

Gianni is wanted go.INF-CL.LOC  
 ‘Gianni wanted to go there.’

Another argument comes from (62), where two links of the clitic chain are spelled out: one on the infinitival verb and the highest one in the functional domain (Kayne 1989b:257, n.37):

62 Gianni li vuole [FP vederli [VP ~~vedere~~ li]]. (It.)  
 Gianni CL.ACC.M.PL wants see.INF-CL.ACC.M.PL  
 ‘Gianni wants to see them.’

In addition to proclisis and enclisis, European Portuguese (in future and conditional tenses), Spanish and Italian dialects (in positive imperatives) also display mesocclisis. A lively debate between morphological and syntactic accounts continues (Vigário 1999; Harris and Halle 2005; Kayne 2010; Manzini and Savoia 2011; Arregi and Nevins 2018).

#### 22.4.3 A-bar movements

A-bar movement differs from A-movement in targeting a position to the left of the subject, SpecFocP in Rizzi’s (1997) articulated CP-structure (63), and allowing long-distance dependencies (64).

#### French

63 Qui [a-t-elle ~~a~~ vu ~~qui~~ ]?  
 whom has-she seen  
 ‘Who did you see?’

64 Qui crois-tu [CP ~~qui~~ qu’[TP elle a vu ~~qui~~ ]]?  
 whom think-you that she has seen  
 ‘Who do you think that she saw?’

Romance languages have much contributed to the understanding of the properties of A-bar movement. First, while in most Romance languages *wh*-movement is mandatory, French shows that *wh*-movement may be optional. Alongside (63), (65) is also possible:



- 65 [TP Elle a vu qui ]? (Fr.)  
 she has seen whom  
 ‘Who did you see?’

Shlonsky (2012) convincingly argues that the *wh*-phrase in (65) is *in situ* and that Chomsky’s (2001) Agree is not sufficient to account for the parallel behaviour of *wh* in situ and moved adjuncts (both are banned in negative complements and *wh*-islands). Movement to SpecFocP of a null operator (Mathieu 1999) or the *wh*-feature (Chomsky 1995) should also be involved.

Second, *wh*-movement is not necessarily contingent on verb/auxiliary movement to C°, as is the case in Germanic languages (Besten 1983). Alongside (63), (66) is also possible (cf. Rizzi 1996):

- 66 Qui [TP elle a vu ~~qui~~ ]? (Fr.)  
 whom she has seen  
 ‘Who did you see?’

Third, subject extraction may take place from either the thematic subject position (as in Italian 67, cf. Rizzi 1982:ch.4) or the preverbal subject position (as in French 68), in which case the subject trace in SpecTP is licensed by the agreeing complementizer *qui* (Rizzi 1990:56), instead of *que* ‘that’:

- 67 Chi credi [CP ~~chi~~ che [TP abbia [VP ~~chi~~ visto Maria ]]]? (It.)  
 who think.PRES.IND.2SG that have.SUBJ.3SG seen Maria  
 ‘Who do you think saw Mary?’

#### French

- 68 a Quelle fille crois-tu [CP ~~quelle fille~~ \*\*que/qui [TP ~~quelle fille~~ a [VP ~~quelle fille~~ vu Marie ]]]?  
 which girl think-you that has seen Marie  
 ‘Which girl do you think has seen Marie?’  
 b L’homme [CP que [TP je crois [CP ~~homme~~ \*\*que/qui [TP ~~homme~~ viendra [VP ~~viendra homme~~]]]]  
 the man that I think that come.FUT.3SG  
 ‘the man that I think will come’

Fourth, Romanian shows that multiple *wh*-fronting may be compatible with a single Foc projection in the left-periphery (Rizzi 1997), in that it involves remnant movement of a structural chunk containing the *wh*-constituents (Laenzlinger and Soare 2005):

- 69 [FocP [XP Cine ce] [TP a scris [~~X~~P ~~eine~~ a scris ee]]]? (Ro.)  
 who what has written  
 ‘Who wrote what?’

Constituents with different types of discourse-related features, such as foci and topics, also enter A-bar dependencies. While the former have quantificational properties being sensitive to weak cross-over (70a) and incompatible with clitic pronouns (71a) on a par with *wh*-phrases (70b)-(71b), the latter do not: topics are insensitive to weak cross-over (70c) and resumed by clitic pronouns (71c) (Rizzi 1997):

#### Italian

- 70 a ??GIANNI<sub>i</sub> sua<sub>i</sub> madre ha sempre apprezzato (non Piero).  
 Gianni his mother has always appreciated (not Piero)  
 ‘It is Gianni who his mother has always appreciated, not Piero.’  
 b \*\*Quale<sub>i</sub> ragazzo sua<sub>i</sub> madre apprezza?  
 which boy his mother appreciate?  
 ‘Which boy does his mother appreciate?’  
 c Gianni<sub>i</sub>, sua<sub>i</sub> madre lo ha sempre apprezzato.  
 Gianni, his mother CL.ACC.M.SG has always appreciated  
 Gianni, his mother always appreciated him.’  
 71 a IL TUO LIBRO (\*\*lo) ho comprato (non il suo).  
 the your book (\*\*CL.ACC.M.SG) have.1SG bought (not the his)  
 ‘I bought YOUR book, not HIS.’  
 b Cosa (\*\*lo) hai comprato?  
 what (\*\*CL.ACC.M.SG) have.2SG bought  
 ‘What did you buy?’  
 c Il tuo libro, lo ho comprato.  
 the your book CL.ACC.M.SG have.1SG bought

‘I bought your book.’

A-bar movement may also target topics which are not resumed by clitic pronouns and which are sensitive to weak cross-over, as in Italian resumptive preposing (Cinque 1983; 1990; Cardinaletti 2009):

- 72 Il presidente giurò di non avere avuto contatti con esponenti del governo straniero  
the Chairman swore to not have.INF had contacts with members of.the government foreign  
e [la stessa cosa] giurò anche il suo segretario. (It.)  
and the same thing swore also the his secretary  
‘The Chairman swore that he had had no contacts with members of the foreign government and  
his secretary did as well.’

While movement is commonly assumed to account for the dependency between fronted *wh*-, focalized, and resumptive preposing elements and their base-generated positions, there is an ongoing debate on the analysis of clitic left-dislocation as in (70c)-(71c): via syntactic movement to the left periphery out of a clitic doubling configuration (Sportiche 1996/98; Cecchetto 2000; Belletti 2005; López 2009; Kempchinsky 2013 a.o.) or base-generation in the left-periphery, with a dependency being created with the clause-internal clitic (Cinque 1990 for Italian; De Cat 2007a,b for French).

Finally, Romanian shows that when they have a definite interpretation, *wh*-phrases may also enter doubling configurations with clitic pronouns on a par with topics and do not therefore qualify as syntactic quantifiers (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994):

- 73 Per care (băiat) l- ai văzut? (Ro.)  
which (boy) CL.ACC.M.SG have.2SG seen  
‘Which (boy) did you see?’

## 22.5 Pronominal dependencies

Dependencies between pronouns and their antecedents are licensed representationally. Depending on the type of pronouns involved, they are called binding and control dependencies.

### 22.5.1 Binding

While reflexive pronouns require their antecedents to be in one and the same clause (74a), the antecedents of personal pronouns occur in a superordinate clause (74b) or in the discourse (74c). Clitic pronouns found in Romance languages behave like reflexive and personal pronouns, respectively (75), and are subject to binding theory too:

#### Italian

- 74 a Maria ha detto [che Gianni<sub>i</sub> apprezza se stesso<sub>i</sub>].  
Maria has said that Gianni appreciates himself
- b Maria<sub>i</sub> ha detto [che Gianni apprezza solo lei<sub>i</sub>].  
Maria has said that Gianni appreciates only her
- c Cosa pensi di Maria<sub>i</sub>? Gianni apprezza solo lei<sub>i</sub>.  
what think-2SG of Maria? Gianni appreciates only her  
'What do you think of Maria? Gianni appreciates only her.'
- 75 a Maria ha detto [che Gianni<sub>i</sub> si<sub>i</sub> apprezza].  
Maria has said that Gianni CL.REFL appreciates  
'Maria said that Gianni appreciates himself.'
- b Maria<sub>i</sub> ha detto [che Gianni la<sub>i</sub> apprezza].  
Maria has said that Gianni CL.ACC.F.SG appreciates  
'Maria said that Gianni appreciates her.'
- c Cosa pensi di Maria<sub>i</sub>? Gianni la<sub>i</sub> apprezza.  
what think-2SG of Maria? Gianni CL.ACC.F.SG appreciates  
'What do you think of Maria? Gianni appreciates her.'

Italian displays two types of reflexive elements: clause-bound *se stesso* as in (74a) and subject-oriented, non-local *sé*, as in (76) (Giorgi 1990):

- 76 Quel dittatore<sub>i</sub> pensava che i libri di storia avrebbero parlato a lungo di sé<sub>i</sub>. (It.)  
that dictator thought that the books of history have.COND.3PL told for long of self

‘That dictator thought that history books would tell about him for a long time.’

Among Romance reflexives, French *lui-même* is peculiar in being possible with object antecedents and logophoric antecedents (Zribi-Hertz 1989; 1990).

Finally, differently from clitic pronouns (77a), strong personal pronouns may be co-referential with a DP in one and the same clause (77b):

#### Italian

- 77 a \*\*Gianni<sub>i</sub> lo<sub>i</sub>                      apprezza.  
Gianni CL.ACC.M.SG appreciates  
b Gianni<sub>i</sub> apprezza solo lui<sub>i</sub>.  
Gianni appreciates only him  
‘Gianni only appreciates himself.’

In (77b), the two elements co-refer by referring independently of each other to one and the same individual, a situation sometimes called ‘accidental coreference.’ Since Romance languages display different morphological paradigms for personal pronouns, they show that this situation only arises when pronouns have a referential index, as is the case of strong pronouns (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999:224,fn.57).

#### 22.5.2 Control constructions

Null subjects of infinitival clauses (called PRO) are dependent on DPs in the superordinate clause in order to be interpreted. This dependency is called ‘control’:

- 78 Gianni<sub>i</sub> ha promesso a Maria [di PRO<sub>i</sub> partire]. (It.)  
Gianni has promised to Maria to            leave  
‘Gianni promised to Maria to leave.’

Partial Control is possible in Romance languages with verbs selecting a (hidden) comitative argument (Sheehan 2014). See the European Portuguese example (79a). The analysis is the same as English (79b), where exhaustive control, derived by movement, combines with a null comitative object *pro* (replacing a *withP*) (Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes 2010:185):

European Portuguese

- 79 a O João<sub>i</sub> preferia [PRO<sub>i</sub>+ reunirse mais tarde].  
the João prefer.PAST.IND.3SG meet.INF-CL.REFL more late  
'João preferred to meet later on.'  
b The chair hoped [~~the chair~~ to meet *pro*<sub>comitative</sub> at 6].

The subject of a control infinitive can be coreferential with the object of the matrix verb. Interestingly, clitic climbing in this case is not allowed, as shown by the Spanish example in (80):

- 80 a \*\*Maria lo convenció a Juan<sub>j</sub> [de PRO<sub>j</sub> comer].  
Maria CL.ACC.M.SG convince.PAST.IND.3SG a Juan *de* eat.INF  
b. Maria convenció a Juan<sub>j</sub> [de PRO<sub>j</sub> comerlo].  
Maria convince. PAST.IND.3SG a Juan *de* eat.INF-CL.ACC.M.SG  
'Maria convinced Juan to eat it.'

Terzi (1996) takes the contrast in (80) as evidence that restructuring involves coindexing the infinitival T with the matrix T. This is only possible in subject control infinitives because the two Ts check the same index through agreement. The contrast between subject and object control is also found in languages that lack infinitives. Among Romance languages, this is the case in Romanian and some southern Italian dialects in Apulia and Calabria. All these Romance varieties are *pro*-drop. The issue arises whether the null subject of the embedded subjunctive is a PRO parallel to control infinitives (Kempchinsky 1986; Landau 2004; Jordan 2009) or a *pro* parallel to finite clauses (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; 2001; Motapanyane 1994 for Romanian; Calabrese 1992 for Salentino; Cardinaletti and Giusti (forthcoming) for different varieties of southern Italian dialects). Evidence for the former hypothesis is the fact that co-reference is mandatory, and not optional as would be expected with a *pro* (cf. example (81) taken from Jordan 2009:134):<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> The subject position preceding *să* reflects Terzi's hypothesis that *să* is a T-marker. It could however be following *să*, if *să* is taken to be a low complementizer, according to Rizzi's (1997) split-CP system, as argued for by Hill and Alboiu (2016). This is also the stance taken by Cardinaletti and Giusti (forthcoming) for the Salentino data.

### Romanian

- 81 a Mara<sub>i</sub> a încercat PRO<sub>i</sub> să scrie o scrisoare.  
 Mara has tried să write.SUBJ.3SG a letter  
 ‘Mara tried to write a letter.’
- b \*\*Mara<sub>i</sub> a încercat Ana/pro<sub>j</sub> să scrie o scrisoare.  
 Mara has tried Ana să write.SUBJ.3SG a letter

A second piece of evidence for the PRO hypothesis, adduced by Terzi (1996), is the contrast in Salentino (82), where in the absence of the complementizer, the clitic may (but need not) climb to the matrix T:

### Salentino

- 82 a Karlu voli (ku) lu kkatta ɫ.  
 Karlu want.IND.PRES.3SG ku CL.ACC.M.SG buy.IND.PRES.3SG
- b Karlu lu voli (\*\*ku) ɫ kkatta ɫ.  
 Karlu CL.ACC.M.SG want. IND.PRES.3SG buy.IND.PRES.3SG  
 ‘Karlu wants to buy it.’

Cardinaletti and Giusti (forthcoming) propose that Salentino has two different structures: one with the complementizer *ku* parallel to Romanian *să* in (81a), which does not allow clitic climbing (83a), the other is parallel to the ‘Inflected Construction’ found with motion verbs in Sicilian (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001; 2003; Cruschina 2013; Di Caro 2018; Del Prete and Todaro 2019), which is a mono-clausal complex event construction and, as such, displays obligatory clitic climbing (83b) (also see Ledgeway 2013; 2015):

- 83 a \*\*Mara<sub>i</sub> a încercat-o să scrie ɔ  
 Mara has tried-CL.ACC.F.PL să write.SUBJ.3SG  
 ‘Mara tried to write it.’
- b U vaju a {\*\*u} accattu ɬ gnignorno  
 CL.ACC.M.SG go.IND.1SG a buy.IND.1SG every day

## 22.6 Conclusions

In this chapter, we have presented the major contributions provided by the linguistic literature analysing different types of dependencies in Romance languages. All of these analyses aim to relate the relative richness in inflexional morphology to variation in word order, argument marking, agreement, and the realization of pronominal reference.

## References

- Andriani, L. (2011). *Differential Object Marking, Clitic Doubling and Argument Structure in Barese*. Leiden University: unpublished research master thesis,
- Arregi, K. and Nevins, A. (2018). 'Beware Occam's syntactic razor: morphotactic analysis and Spanish mesocclisis', *Linguistic Inquiry* 49:1-125.
- Baker, M. (1985). 'The Mirror Principle and morphosyntactic explanation', *Linguistic Inquiry* 16:373-415.
- Belletti, A. (1978). 'Strutture coordinate e possessivi', *Rivista di grammatica generativa* 3:127-42.
- Belletti, A. (1990). *Generalized Verb Movement*. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Belletti, A. (1999). 'Italian/Romance clitics: structure and derivation'. In van Riemsdijk, H. (ed), *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin-New York: Mouton, 543-79.
- Belletti, A. (2001). 'Inversion as focalization'. In Hulk, A. and Pollock, J.-Y. (eds), *Subject Inversion in Romance and the Theory of Universal Grammar*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 60-90.
- Belletti, A. (2004). 'Aspects of the low IP area'. In Rizzi, L. (ed), *The Structure of IP and CP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, II. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 16-51.
- Belletti, A. (2005). 'Extended doubling and the VP periphery', *Probus* 17:1-35.
- Belletti, A. and Rizzi, L. (1988). 'Psych-Verbs and Theta Theory', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6:291-352.
- Benito Galdeano, R. (2017). *Differential Object Marking in Catalan: Contexts of Appearance and Analysis*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona: unpublished MA thesis.
- Bernstein, J. (1991). 'DPs in French and Walloon: Evidence for parametric variation in nominal head movement', *Probus* 2:1-26.
- Besten, H. den (1983). 'On the interaction of root transformations and lexical deletive rules'. In Abraham, W. (ed), *On the Formal Nature of Westgermania*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 47-131.



- Boeckx, C., Hornstein, N. and Nunes, J. (2010). *Control as Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bossong, G. (1985). *Empirische Universalienforschung: Differentielle Objektmarkierung in den neuiranischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Bossong, G. (1991). 'Differential object marking in Romance and beyond'. In Wanner, D. and Kibbee, D. (eds.), *New analyses in Romance Linguistics: Selected papers from the XVIII Linguistics Symposium on Romance Linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 143-170.
- Bouchard, D. (1998). 'The distribution and interpretation of adjectives in French: a consequence of Bare Phrase Structure', *Probus* 10:139-183.
- Bouchard, D. (2002). *Adjectives, Number and Interfaces: why languages vary*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Brugè, L. (2002). 'The position of demonstratives in the Extended Nominal Projection'. In Cinque, G. (ed), *Functional Structure in DP and IP*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 15-53.
- Brugè, L. and Brugger, G. (1996). 'On the accusative *a* in Spanish', *Probus* 8:1-52.
- Burzio, L. (1986). *Italian Syntax: a Government-Binding approach*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Calabrese, A. (1992). 'The lack of infinitival clauses in Salentino: a synchronic analysis'. In Laeufer, C. and Morgan, T. (eds), *Theoretical Analyses in Romance Linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 267-94.
- Cardinaletti, A. (1997). 'Subjects and clause structure'. In Haegeman, L. (ed). *The New Comparative Syntax*. London: Longman, 33-63.
- Cardinaletti, A. (1998). 'On the deficient/strong opposition in possessive systems'. In Alexiadou, A. and Wilder, C. (eds), *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 17-53.
- Cardinaletti, A. (2001). 'A second thought on emarginazione: destressing vs. "right dislocation"'. In Cinque, G. and Salvi, G. (eds), *Current Studies in Italian Syntax. Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 117-35.
- Cardinaletti, A. (2004). 'Toward a cartography of subject positions'. In Rizzi, L. (ed), *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, II*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 115-65.
- Cardinaletti, A. (2007). 'Subjects and *wh*-questions. Some new generalizations'. In Camacho, J., Flores-Ferrán, N., Sánchez, L., Déprez, V., and Cabrera, M.J. (eds), *The Best Romance: selected papers from the 36th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, (LSRL)*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 57-68.

- Cardinaletti, A. (2009). 'On a (wh-)moved Topic in Italian, compared to Germanic'. In Alexiadou, A., Hankamer, J., McFadden, T., Nuger, J., and Schaeffer, F. (eds), *Advances in Comparative Germanic Syntax*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 3-40.
- Cardinaletti, A. (2014). 'Cross-linguistic variation in the syntax of subjects'. In Picallo, C. (ed.), *Linguistic Variation in the Minimalist Framework*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 82-107.
- Cardinaletti, A. (2015). 'Syntactic effects of cliticization'. In Kiss, T. and Alexiadou, A. (eds), *Syntax - Theory and Analysis. An International Handbook*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 42/1:595-653.
- Cardinaletti, A. (2016a). 'Sui limiti dei pronomi clitici: inventario e estrazione'. In Ledgeway, A., Cennamo, M., and Mensching, G. (eds), *Actes du XXVII Congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes (Nancy, 15-20 Juillet 2013). Section 4: Syntaxe*. Nancy: ATILF, 48-62.
- Cardinaletti, A. (2016b). 'Some new observations on the cartography of Topic and Focus', *RGG. Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 38:45-63.
- Cardinaletti, A. and Giusti, G. (1992). 'Partitive ne and the QP-Hypothesis'. In Fava, E. (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVII Meeting of Generative Grammar*. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 121-41.
- Cardinaletti, A. and Giusti, G. (2001). 'Semi-lexical motion verbs in Romance and Germanic'. In Corver, N. and van Riemsdijk, H. (eds), *Semi-lexical Categories: the function of content words and the content of function words*. New York / Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 371-414.
- Cardinaletti, A. and Giusti, G. (2003). 'Motion verbs as functional heads'. In Tortora, C. (ed.), *The Syntax of Italian Dialects*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 31-49.
- Cardinaletti, A. and Giusti, G. (2016) 'Quantified expressions and quantitative clitics'. In Everaert, M. and van Riemsdijk, H.(eds), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax. Second Edition*, 1-61.
- Cardinaletti, A. and Giusti, G. (2019). 'Micro-variation in the possessive systems of Italian dialects'. In Emonds, J., Janebová, M., and Veselovská, L. (eds), *Language Use and Linguistic Structure. Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium 2018*. Olomouc: Palacký University.
- Cardinaletti, A. and Giusti, G. (forthcoming). 'Multiple agreement constructions in southern Italian dialects'. In Franco, L., Lorusso, P., and Belucci, G. (eds), *Linguistic Variation: Structure and Interpretation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cardinaletti, A. and Repetti, L. (2010). 'Proclitic vs enclitic pronouns in northern Italian dialects and the null-subject parameter'. In D'Alessandro, R., Ledgeway, A. and Roberts, I. (eds), *Syntactic Variation. The Dialects of Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 119-34.
- Cardinaletti, A. and Shlonsky, U. (2004). 'Clitic positions and restructuring in Italian', *Linguistic*

*Inquiry* 35:519-57.

- Cardinaletti, A. and Starke, M. (1999). 'The typology of structural deficiency: a case study of the three classes of pronouns'. In van Riemsdijk, H. (ed), *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin / New York: Mouton, 145-233.
- Cecchetto, C. (2000). 'A comparative analysis of left and right dislocation in Romance', *Studia Linguistica* 53:40-67.
- Cennamo, M. (2003). '(In)transitivity and object marking: some current issues'. In Fiorentino, G. (ed), *Romance Objects. Transitivity in Romance Languages*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 49-103.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Barriers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). 'Minimalist inquiries: the framework'. In Martin, R., Michaels, D., and Uriagereka, J. (eds), *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 89-155.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). 'Derivation by phase'. In Kenstowicz, M.(ed), *Ken Hale: a life in language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1-52.
- Chomsky, N. (2008). 'On phases'. In Freidin, R., Otero, C., and Zubizarreta, M.-L. (eds) *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory: essays in honor of Jean- Roger Vergnaud*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 134-66.
- Cinque, G. (1980a). 'Sulla nozione di "soggetto di sintagma nominale" in italiano'. In *Studi di filologia romanza e italiana offerti a Gianfranco Folena dagli allievi padovani*. Modena: S.T.E.M.-Mucchi, 555-70.
- Cinque, G. (1980b). 'On extraction from NP in Italian', *Journal of Italian Linguistics* 5:47-99.
- Cinque, G. (1983). "'Topic" constructions in some European languages and "Connectedness"'. In Ehlich, K. and van Riemsdijk, H. (eds), *Connectedness in Sentence, Discourse and Text*. Tilburg: KUB (Reprinted in Anagnostopoulou, E., van Riemsdijk, H. and Zwarts, F. (eds) (1997), *Materials on left dislocation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 93-118).
- Cinque, G. (1990). *Types of A'-Dependencies*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Cinque, G. (1994). 'On the evidence for partial N-movement in the Romance DP'. In Cinque, G., Koster, J., Pollock, J.-Y., Rizzi, L., and Zanuttini, R. (eds), *Paths Towards Universal Grammar. Studies in Honour of Richard Kayne*. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 85-110.
- Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and Functional Heads*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.

- Cinque, G. (2004). “‘Restructuring’ and functional structure’. In Belletti, A. (ed), *Structures and Beyond. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, III. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 132-191.
- Cinque, G. (2006). *Restructuring and Functional Heads. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, IV, Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, G. (2010). *The Syntax of Adjectives*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Cinque, G. and Giusti, G. (eds) (1994). *Advances in Roumanian Syntax*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Contreras, H. (1989). ‘Closed Domains’, *Probus* 1:163-80.
- Cornilescu, A. (1994). ‘Rumanian genitive constructions’. In Cinque, G. and Giusti, G. (eds), 1-54.
- Corver, N. (1997a). ‘*Much* support as a Last Resort’, *Linguistic Inquiry* 28:119-64.
- Corver, N. (1997b). ‘The internal syntax of the Dutch Extended Adjectival Projection’, *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15:289-368.
- Costa, J. (2004). *Subject Positions and Interfaces: the case of European Portuguese*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cruschina, S. (2013). ‘Beyond the stem and inflectional morphology: an irregular pattern at the level of periphrasis’. In Cruschina, S., Maiden, M. and Smith, J. C. (eds), *The Boundaries of Pure Morphology: diachronic and synchronic perspectives*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 262-83.
- Cuervo, M. C. (2003). *Datives at Large*. MIT: unpublished doctoral thesis.
- Cyrino, S. and Matos, G. (2016). ‘Null objects and VP-ellipsis in European and Brazilian Portuguese’. In Wetzels W., Menuzzi, S and Costa, J. (eds.) (2016). *The Handbook of Portuguese Linguistics*. Wiley Blackwell, 294-317.
- D’Alessandro, R. and Roberts, I. (2008). ‘Movement and agreement in Italian past participles and defective phases’, *Linguistic Inquiry* 39:477-91.
- De Cat, C. (2007a). *French Dislocation: interpretation, syntax, acquisition*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.
- De Cat, C. (2007b). ‘French dislocation without movement’, *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25:485-534.
- Del Prete, F. and Todaro, C. (2018). ‘The morphosyntax-semantics interface and the Sicilian *Doubly Inflected Construction*’. In Cruschina, S., Ledgeway, A., and Remberger, E. (eds) (2018). *Italian Dialectology at the Interfaces*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 131-54.

- Delbeque, N. (2002). 'A construction grammar approach to transitivity in Spanish'. In Davidse, K. and Lamiroy, B. (eds), *The Nominative & Accusative and their Counterparts*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins, 81-130.
- Demonte, V. (1995). 'Dative alternations in Spanish', *Probus* 7:5-30.
- Demonte, V. (1999). 'A minimal account of Spanish adjective position and interpretation'. In Franco, J. A., Landa, A., and Martín, J. (eds). *Grammatical Analyses in Basque and Romance Linguistics : papers in honor of Mario Saltarelli*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 45-75.
- Demonte, V. (2008). 'Meaning-form correlations and adjective positions in Spanish'. In McNally, L., and Kennedy, C. (eds). *Adjectives and Adverbs : syntax, semantics, and discourse*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 71-100.
- Di Caro, V. (2018). 'The inflected construction in the dialects of Sicily: parameters of micro-variation'. In Cruschina, S., Ledgeway, A., and Remberger, E. (eds) (2018). *Italian Dialectology at the Interfaces*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 63-78.
- Diaconescu, C. and Rivero, M. L. (2007). 'An applicative analysis of the double object construction in Romanian' *Probus* 19:209-33.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (1987). 'A propos de la structure du groupe nominale en roumain', *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 12:123-52.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (1990). 'Clitic-doubling, wh-movement, and quantification in Romanian', *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:351-97.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (1994). *The Syntax of Romanian. Comparative Studies in Romance*. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (2001). 'Head-to-head merge in Balkan subjunctive and locality'. In Rivero, M. L. and Ralli, A. (eds), *Comparative Syntax of Balkan Languages*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 44-73.
- Dragomirescu, A. and A. Nicolae (2016). 'Case'. In Ledgeway, A. and Maiden, M. (eds) *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 911-923.
- Duarte, I. and Figueiredo Silva, M.C. (2016). 'The Null Subject parameter and the structure of the sentence in European and Brazilian Portuguese'. In Wetzels W., Menuzzi, S and Costa, J. (eds.) (2016). *The Handbook of Portuguese Linguistics*. Wiley Blackwell, 234-253.
- Egerland, V. (2009). 'La doppia base della ristrutturazione'. In Cardinaletti, A. and Munaro, N. (eds), *Italiano, italiani regionali e dialetti*. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 99-114.
- Emonds, J. (1976). *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Emonds, J. (2004). 'Unspecified categories as the key to root constructions'. In Adger, D., de Cat, C., and Tsoulas, G. (eds), *Peripheries: syntactic edges and their effects*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 75-120.
- Escandell-Vidal, V. (2007). 'Acusatiu preposicional i dislocació amb clític'. *Caplletra* 42:1-24.
- Escandell-Vidal, V. (2009). 'Differential Object Marking and topicality: The case of Balearic Catalan'. *Studies in Language* 33: 832-884.
- Fábregas, A. (2013). 'Differential object marking in Spanish: state of the art', *Borealis. An International Journal of Spanish Linguistics* 2:1-80.
- Fiorentino, G. (2003). 'Prepositional objects in Neapolitan'. In Fiorentino, G. (ed) *Romance Objects. Transitivity in Romance Languages*. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 117-52.
- Folli, R. and Harley, H. (2007). 'Causation, obligation, and argument structure: on the nature of little v'. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38:197-238.
- Gallego, Á. (2010). *Phase Theory*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Gallego, Á. (2013). 'Object shift in Romance', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 31:409-51.
- Gallego, Á. (2018) 'Morphosyntactic variation in Romance v. A microparametric approach'. Ms. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Giorgi, A. (1990). 'On the Italian and French anaphoric and pronominal systems', *Rivista di Linguistica* 2:9-26.
- Giusti, G. (1994). 'Heads and modifiers across determiners: evidence from Rumanian'. In Cinque, G. and Giusti, G. (eds), *Advances in Roumanian Syntax*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins, 103-25.
- Giusti, G. (1996). 'Is there a FocusP and a TopicP in the noun phrase structure? *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 6:105-28.
- Giusti, G. (2005). 'At the left periphery of the Rumanian noun phrase'. In Coene M. and Tasmowski L. (eds), *On Space and Time in Language*. Cluj-Napoca: Clusium, 23-49.
- Giusti, G. (2006). 'Parallels in clausal and nominal periphery'. In Frascarelli, M. (ed), *Phases of Interpretation*. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 163-84.
- Giusti, G. (2014). 'On Force vs. Case and Fin vs. Num'. In Cardinaletti, A., Cinque, G., and Endo, Y. (eds), *On Peripheries. Exploring Clause Initial and Clause Final Positions*. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo Publishing, 189-207.
- Giusti, G. and Iovino, R. (2014). 'A split-DP hypothesis for Latin and Italo-Romance'. In Veselovská, L. and Janebová, M. (eds), *Complex Visibles Out There. Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics colloquium 2014: language use and linguistic structure*. Olomouc: Palacký University, 127-43.
- Giusti, G. and Iovino, R. (2016). 'Latin as a split-DP language', *Studia Linguistica* 70:221-49.

- Grosu, A. (1988). 'On the distribution of genitive phrases in Roumanian', *Linguistics* 26:931-49.
- Haegeman, L. (2006). 'Clitic climbing and the dual status of *sembrare*', *Linguistic Inquiry* 37:484-501.
- Harris, J. and Halle, M. (2005). 'Unexpected plural inflections in Spanish: reduplication and metathesis', *Linguistic Inquiry* 36:192-222.
- Herslund, M. (2002). 'Romance Transitivity'. In Davidse, K. and Lamiroy, B. (eds), *Nominative and Accusative and their Counterparts*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 16-39.
- Hill, V. (2013). 'The Direct Object-marker in Romanian: a historical perspective', *Journal of Australian Linguistics* 33:140-51.
- Hill, V. and Alboiu, G. (2016). *Verb Movement and Clause Structure in Romanian*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hill, V. and Mardale, A. (2017). 'On the interaction of differential object marking and clitic doubling in Romanian'. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 62:393-409.
- Hopper, P., and Thompson, S. (1980). 'Transitivity in grammar and discourse', *Language* 56:251-99.
- Jaeggli, O. (1982). *Topics in Romance Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Jones, M. A. (1993). 'The prepositional accusative in Sardinian'. In Smith, J. C. and Maiden, M. (eds), *Linguistic Theory and the Romance Languages*, Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 37-67.
- Jordan, M. (2009). *Loss of Infinitival Complementation in Romanian Diachronic Syntax*. University of Florida: unpublished doctoral thesis.
- Kayne, R. (1975). *French Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kayne, R. (1983). 'Chains, categories external to S, and French complex inversion', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 1:107-39.
- Kayne, R. (1989a). 'Facets of Romance past participle agreement'. In Benincà, P. (ed), *Dialect Variation and the Theory of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Foris, 85-103.
- Kayne, R. (1989b). 'Null subjects and clitic climbing'. In Jaeggli, O. and Safir, K. (eds), *The Null Subject Parameter*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 239-61.
- Kayne, R. (1991). 'Romance clitics, verb movement and PRO', *Linguistic Inquiry* 22:647-86.
- Kayne, R. (1994). *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kayne, R. (2010). 'Toward a syntactic reinterpretation of Harris & Halle (2005)'. In Bok-Bennema, R., Kampers-Manhe, B., and Hollebrandse, B. (eds), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2008: selected papers from 'Going Romance' Groningen 2008*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 145-70.

- Kempchinsky, P. (1986). *Romance Subjunctive Clauses and Logical Form*. UCLA: unpublished doctoral thesis.
- Kempchinsky, P. (2013). 'CLLD as a window on the Left Periphery'. In Howe, C., Blackwell, S., and Lubbers Quesada, M. (eds), *Selected Proceedings of the 15th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium (HLS 2011)*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 310-27.
- Koopman, H. and Sportiche, D. (1991). 'The position of subjects', *Lingua* 85:211-58.
- Korzen, H. (1985). 'Pourquoi et l'inversion finale en français: étude sur le statut de l'adverbial de cause et l'anatomie de la construction tripartite', *Revue Romane* numéro supplémentaire 30.
- Laenzlinger, Ch. (2005). 'French adjective ordering: perspectives on DP-internal movement types'. *Lingua* 115:645-689.
- Laenzlinger, C. and Soare, G. (2005). 'A cartographic approach to Wh-movement in Romanian', *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics* 1:23-60.
- Lamarche, J. (1991). 'Problems for N<sup>o</sup>-movement to NumP', *Probus* 3215-36.
- Landau, I. (2004). 'The Scale of Finiteness and the Calculus of Control', *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 22:811-877.
- Langacker, R.W. (1968). 'Observations on French possessives', *Language* 44:51-75.
- Larson, R. (1988). 'On the double object construction', *Linguistic Inquiry* 19:335-391.
- Ledgeway, A. (2011). 'Syntactic and morphosyntactic typology and change'. In Maiden, Smith, and Ledgeway, 382-471.
- Ledgeway, A. (2013). 'Contatto e mutamento: Complementazione e complementatori nei dialetti del Salento'. In Benedetti, M. (ed), *Lingue e grammatiche. Contatti, divergenze, confronti*, special issue of *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* 41:459-480.
- Ledgeway, A. (2015). 'Reconstructing Complementiser-drop in the Dialects of the Salento: A Syntactic or Phonological Phenomenon?'. In Biberauer, T. and Walkden, G. (eds), *Syntax Over Time: Lexical, Morphological, and Information-structural Interactions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 146-62.
- Ledgeway, A. (2016). 'Italian, Tuscan, and Corsican'. In Ledgeway, A. and Maiden, M. (eds) *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 206-27.
- Ledgeway, A. (in press). 'Passive periphrases in the Romance languages'. In Gardani, F. and Loporcaro, M. (eds), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Romance Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leonetti, M. (2004). 'Specificity and differential object marking in Spanish', *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 3:75-114.



- Levin, T. (2019). 'On the nature of differential object marking. Insights from Palauan'. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 37:167-213.
- López, L. (2009). *A Derivational Syntax for Information Structure*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.
- López, L. (2012). *Indefinite objects. Scrambling, Choice Functions and Differential Marking*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Loporcaro, M., D'Ancona, A. R. and Fatini, P. (2010). 'Clitici soggetto nel dialetto di Pantelleria'. *Vox Romanica* 69:75-110.
- Maiden, M., Smith, J. C., and Ledgeway, A. (eds). (2011). *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*. I. *Structures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manzini, M. R. and Franco, L. (2016). 'Genitive / of arguments in DOM contexts', *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 62:427-44.
- Manzini, M. R. and Savoia, L. M. (2011). 'Mesoclis in the imperative: phonology, morphology or syntax?', *Lingua* 121:1101-20.
- Mardale, A. (2009). *Les Prépositions fonctionnelles du roumain : études comparatives sur le marquage casuel*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Mardale, A. (2017). 'Introduction. Le marquage différentiel de l'objet dans les langues romanes: quelques nouvelles pièce du puzzle', *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 62:352-57.
- Mathieu, E. (1999). 'Wh in situ and the intervention effect'. In Iten, C. (ed.), *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*. London: University College, 441-472.
- Milner, J.-C. (1977). 'A propos des génitifs adnominaux en français'. In Rohrer, C. (ed.), *Actes du colloque franco-allemand de linguistique théorique*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 67-107.
- Motapanyane, V. (1994). 'NP-movement from finite clauses in Romanian'. In Cinque G. and Giusti G. (eds), 161-71.
- Nichols, J. (1986). 'Head-marking and dependent-marking grammar', *Language* 62:56-119.
- Ordóñez, F. (1997). *Word Order and Clause Structure in Spanish and Other Romance Languages*. City University of New York: unpublished doctoral thesis.
- Ordóñez, F. (1998). 'Post- verbal asymmetries in Spanish'. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16:313-45.
- Ordóñez, F. (1999). 'Focus and subject inversion in Romance'. In Gutiérrez-Rexach, J. and Martínez-Gil, F. (eds), *Advances in Hispanic linguistics: papers from the 2nd Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 502-18.

- Ordóñez, F. (2007). 'Cartography of postverbal subjects in Spanish and Catalan'. In Baauw, S., Dijkonigen, F., and Pinto, M. (eds), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2005: selected papers from 'Going Romance', Utrecht, 8–10 December 2005*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 259-80.
- Paoli, S. (2009). 'Gerarchie di Caso e Persona nei paradigmi dei pronomi atoni obliqui: il caso dei dialetti del Comelico', *Rivista Italiana di Dialettologia* 33:59-84.
- Paoli, S. (2014). 'Defective object clitic paradigms and the relation between language development and loss', *Journal of Linguistics* 50:143-183.
- Picallo, C. (1994). 'Catalan possessive pronouns: the avoid pronoun principle revisited', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12:259-99.
- Piñeda, A. and Royo, C. (2017). 'Differential indirect object marking in Romance (and how to get rid of it)', *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 62:445-62.
- Poletto, C. (2000). *The Higher Functional Field: evidence from Northern Italian dialects*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pollock, J.-Y. (1989). 'Verb-movement, Universal Grammar, and the structure of IP', *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:365-424.
- Pylkkänen, L. (2002). *Introducing arguments*. MIT: unpublished doctoral thesis.
- Quarezemin, S. and Cardinaletti, A. (2017). 'Non-topicalized preverbal subjects in Brazilian Portuguese, compared to Italian', *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie Occidentale* 51:383-409.
- Remacle, L. (1952). *Syntaxe du parler Wallon de La Gleize. I: Noms et articles ; Adjectifs et pronoms*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Renzi, L. and Vanelli, L. (1983). 'I pronomi soggetto in alcune varietà romanze'. In Benincà, P, Cortelazzo, M., Prodocimi, A.L., Vanelli, L., Zamboni, A. (eds), *Scritti linguistici in onore di Giovan Battista Pellegrini*. Pisa: Pacini, I:121-45.
- Rizzi, L. (1978). 'A restructuring rule in Italian syntax'. In Keyser, J. (ed.), *Recent Transformational Studies in European Languages*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 113-58.
- Rizzi, L. (1982). *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Rizzi, L. (1986). 'Null objects in Italian and the theory of pro', *Linguistic Inquiry* 17:501-57.
- Rizzi, L. (1990). *Relativized Minimality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, L. (1996). 'Residual verb-second and the Wh-criterion'. In Belletti, A. and Rizzi, L. (eds), *Parameters and Functional Heads. Essays in Comparative Syntax*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 63-90.

- Rizzi, L. (1997). 'The fine structure of the Left Periphery'. In Haegeman, L. (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 281-337.
- Rizzi, L. (2000). 'Three issues in Romance dialectology'. In *Comparative Syntax and Language Acquisition*. London: Routledge, 80-95.
- Rizzi, L. (2001). 'On the position INT(ERROGATIVE) in the Left Periphery of the Clause'. In Cinque, G. and Salvi G. (eds), *Current Studies in Italian Syntax*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 287-96.
- Schifano, N. (2018). *Verb Movement in Romance*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schwenter, S.A. (2014). 'Two kinds of differential object marking in Portuguese and Spanish'. In Amaral, P. and Carvalho, A.M. (eds), *Portuguese-Spanish Interfaces. Diachrony, Synchrony, and Contact*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, pp. 237-60.
- Sheehan, M. (2014). 'Partial control in Romance languages. The covert comitative analysis'. In Lahousse, K. and Marzo, S. (eds), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2012. Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Leuven 2012*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 181-98.
- Shlonsky, U. (2012). 'Notes on *Wh* in situ in French'. In Brugè, L., Cardinaletti, A., Giusti, G., Munaro, N., and Poletto, C. (eds), *Functional Heads. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, VII. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 242-52.
- Shlonsky, U. and Soare, G. (2011). 'Where's 'why'?', *Linguistic Inquiry* 42:651-69.
- Sornicola, R. (2011). 'Romance Linguistics and historical Linguistics: reflections on synchrony and diachrony'. In Maiden, Smith, and Ledgeway, 1-49.
- Sportiche, D. (1988). 'A theory of floating quantifiers and its corollaries for constituent structure', *Linguistic Inquiry* 19:425-449.
- Sportiche, D. (1990/98). 'Movement, Agreement, and Case'. In *Partition and Atoms of Clause Structure*. London: Routledge, 88-243.
- Sportiche, D. (1993/98). 'Subject clitics in French and Romance'. In *Partition and Atoms of Clause Structure*. London: Routledge, 308-341
- Sportiche, D. (1996/98). 'Clitic constructions'. In Zaring, L. and Rooryck, J. (eds), *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 213-276.
- Sportiche, D. (1999). 'Subject clitics in French and Romance. Complex inversion and clitic doubling'. In Johnson, K. and Roberts, I. (eds), *Beyond Principles and Parameters*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 189-221.
- Terzi, A. (1996). 'Clitic Climbing from finite clauses and tense raising', *Probus* 8:273-295.
- Thiersch, C. (1978). *Topics in German Syntax*. MIT: unpublished doctoral thesis.

- Torrego E. (1995), 'On the nature of clitic doubling'. In Campos, H. and Kempchinsky, P. (eds), *Evolution and Revolution in Linguistic Theory*. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 399-418.
- Torrego, E. (1998). *The Dependencies of Objects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Torrego, E. (2010). 'Variability in the case patterns of causative formation in Romance and its implications', *Linguistic Inquiry* 41:455-70.
- Tsunoda, T. (1985). 'Remarks on transitivity', *Journal of Linguistics* 21:385-96.
- Tuller, L. (2000). 'Aspects de la morphosyntaxe du français des sourds', *Recherches linguistiques à Vincennes* 29:143-56.
- Uriagereka, J. (2005). 'On the syntax of doubling'. In Heggie, L. and Ordóñez, F. (eds.), *Clitic and Affix Combinations*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 343-74.
- Vigário, M. (1999). 'Pronominal cliticization in European Portuguese: a postlexical operation', *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics* 7:219-37.
- Vincent, N. (1997). 'The emergence of the D-system in Romance'. In van Kemenade, A. and Vincent, N. (eds), *Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 149-69.
- von Heusinger, K. and Kaiser, G. (2011). 'Affectedness and differential object marking in Spanish', *Morphology* 21:593-617.
- Zribi-Hertz, A. (1989). 'Anaphor binding and narrative point of view: English reflexive pronouns in sentence and discourse', *Language* 65:695-727.
- Zribi-Hertz, A. (1990). 'Lui-même argument et le concept de « pronom A »', *Langages* 97:100-27.
- Zubizarreta, M. L. (1998). *Prosody, Focus and Word Order*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.