

Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory

14

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Selected papers from  
the 46th Linguistic  
Symposium on Romance  
Languages (LSRL),  
Stony Brook, NY

*edited by*  
Lori Repetti  
Francisco Ordóñez

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## Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 14

# *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory (RLLT)*

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The yearly events of both 'Going Romance' and 'Linguistic Symposium on Romance languages' feature research in formal linguistics of Romance languages, in the domains of syntax, morphology, phonology and semantics. Each volume brings together a peer-reviewed selection of papers that were presented at one of the meetings, aiming to provide a representation of the spread of topics at that conference, and of the variety of research carried out nowadays on Romance languages within theoretical linguistics.

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## **Volume 14**

Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 14. Selected papers from the 46th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), Stony Brook, NY  
Edited by Lori Repetti and Francisco Ordóñez

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Francisco Ordóñez  
Stony Brook University

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## Introduction LSRL 46 Stony Brook

The present volume emerges from the 46th annual Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL) that took place at Stony Brook University from March 31 to April 3, 2016. During this very successful event, linguists working on Romance languages had the opportunity to exchange ideas about different topics ranging from morphology, phonology, semantics, and syntax, to historical linguistics and sociolinguistics. Following the tradition of LSRL, here we provide a selection of papers presented at the event. Given the limitations imposed by the publisher of this volume, we had to leave out many excellent papers that were submitted. The criteria we followed in making a selection included quality as determined by a blind peer review process, as well as a balance of topics and languages represented. We sincerely thank the reviewers of the abstracts and the papers for their time and professionalism. Without their expertise this volume would not have been possible.

Various papers focused on information structure, left-right periphery, exclamatives, and *wh*-questions. Mayol and Villalba's contribution ("Bridging and dislocation in Catalan") discusses the relation of Right Dislocation and the notion of Bridging. Based on experimental results they show that speakers use Right Dislocation beyond contexts of Bridging. González and Reglero ("*Dime una cosa: Are wh-in-situ questions different in Spanish? Evidence from intonation*") show that echo-repetition and echo-surprise questions differ mostly in their intonational properties. These findings support a differential analysis between information-seeking questions and echo-questions on the one hand, and echo-repetition and echo-surprise questions on the other. In her study of "Morphological doublets in Brazilian Portuguese *wh*-constructions," Kato studies the distribution of *wh*-words from a diachronic and synchronic point of view. She studies Brazilian Portuguese *wh*-questions, and discusses the intriguing problem of apparent syntactic doublets, or optionality, in this domain. Exclamatives are studied by Sánchez-López ("*Romance evaluative que/che/sã sentences as inverted optatives*"). Her paper proposes that Romance evaluative sentences are expressive sentences with the overt complementizer that expresses the speaker's emotion about a proposition. She proposes a semantics based on bouletic alternatives and speakers' attitudes.

The morphology, semantics, and syntax of pronominals are also treated in various contributions. Charnavel studies the long-distance binding properties of the French pronoun *soi* in “Long distance binding of French reflexive *soi*: First-person oriented logophoricity”. She shows that *soi* is a standard anaphor that must be locally bound unless the relevant logophoric conditions are met. Maddox (“Licensing conditions on null generic subjects in Spanish”) studies Holmberg’s null generic subject generalization according to which only partial null subject languages allow null generic third-singular subjects, while consistent null subject languages do not. Maddox rejects Holmberg’s generalization based on the study of generic *uno* in Spanish and presents an alternative of the licensing conditions on null generics. The study of the syntax of resumptive pronouns is the subject of Sportiche’s contribution (“Resumed phrases (are always moved, even with in-island resumption)”). He concludes that resumption of a phrase by a pronominal element involves movement of the phrase in and outside island contexts. He proposes that movement takes place in two steps, the first being one of the Left Dislocation options, which feeds wh-movement or Left Dislocation. Reed (“Against Control by Implicit Passive Agents”) criticizes the idea that the agent of a passive verb is syntactically projected as a weak implicit argument. The article gives empirical arguments in support of an explanation in which the implicit agent of a passive verb is determined post-syntactically. Pescarini (“Stressed enclitics are not weak pronouns: A plea for allomorphy”) compares a morpho-phonological approach and a syntactic approach to stress shift and enclisis/proclisis asymmetries. The former approach assumes the same pronouns (allomorphs) are found in stress-shifting and non-stress-shifting contexts, while the latter assumes two series of pronouns belonging to different morphological classes. Pineda provides a nano-syntactic analysis of verbs of inherently directed motion with the presence of clitic *se* in “Causativization of verbs of directed motion in Romance languages”. Clitics are also the subject of Kayne’s contribution: “Clitic doubling, person and agreement in French hyper-complex inversion”. He analyzes hyper-complex inversion in which the object clitic agrees with the subject in some exceptional cases, providing an analysis in terms of clitic doubling.

Two articles examine negation. Déprez and Yeaton (“French negative concord and discord: An experimental investigation of contextual and prosodic disambiguation”) study double negation readings in negative concord languages by looking at context and prosody with new experimental data. Cépeda (“Expletive negation is not expletive: Evidence from aspect in Spanish”) looks at the semantics and syntax of negation in *until* clauses in Spanish and challenges the idea that Spanish punctual *hasta* clauses (‘until’) have identical meaning when containing (or not) an expletive negation. According to her proposal, negation in *hasta* clauses does in fact play a role in the meaning calculation.

Turning to semantics, Giorgi investigates the properties of counter-expectational surprise yes-no questions in Italian in her article “*Ma non era rosso?* (But wasn’t it red?): On counter-expectational questions in Italian”. She proposes that *ma* is a discourse head in a cartographic approach. Panaitescu (“Dependent numerals and dependent existentials in Romanian”) discusses Romanian dependent indefinites introduced by the distributive marker *câte*, and proposes a semantic analysis of their distribution.

In the area of morphology, Pinzin presents a historical study of Latin deponent verbs: “Latin denominal deponents: A syntactic analysis”. He shows that the use of deponents in Late Latin can be syntactically analyzed, contrary to purely morphological approaches to this phenomenon. Di Caro and Giusti study the inflected construction in Sicilian dialects (“Dimensions of variation: The inflected construction in the dialect of Delia (Caltanissetta)”), and provide an alternative syntactic analysis using ideas by Cardinaletti and Giusti on how functional projections interact in this dialect.

Vogel, Athanasopoulou, and Brambatti Guzzo test the hypothesis that syllable-timed languages (such as European Spanish) do not alter duration to express prominence, while non-syllable-timed languages (such as Brazilian Portuguese) do. Their findings, reported in their contribution “Timing properties of (Brazilian) Portuguese and (European) Spanish,” support the hypothesis and contribute to our understanding of rhythmic typology and the function of duration in a language’s prosodic system.

Guardiano, Michelioudakis, Cordonì, Irimia, Radkevich and Sitaridou (“Parametric comparison and dialect variation: Insights from Southern Italy”) apply micro-parameters in the nominal domain to show that the distribution of patterns agrees with the dialectal structure of Italo-Romance.

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