

SEKTION 3

NULL in Morphologie und Syntax

1. Eulàlia Bonet (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona):

NULL in Morphophonology

The surface absence, or apparent absence, of a morpheme's exponent is a quite common situation that can lead to different interpretations (see, for instance Nevins 2012). In this presentation I will concentrate on cases where some phonological factor is crucially intervening in this lack of exponence. I will argue that in all the cases presented NULL amounts to the absence of a morphosyntactic feature or the absence of an exponent; that is, NOTHING.

A first type of case that will be reviewed is related to the surface absence of a plural sigmatic exponent in contexts of nominal concord, illustrated in (1) with an example from North-Eastern Central (NEC) Catalan, in which the low dash (_) indicates the site of the non-surfacing plural exponent.

- (1) el_ bon_ vins
 the.M good.M wine.M.PL
 'the good wines'

As shown in Bonet, Lloret and Mascaró (2015), the plural exponent fails to surface only in prenominal position and only when it would give rise to a triconsonantal cluster. Three possible interpretations of this fact will be discussed: (a) there is lack of concord and a default \emptyset singular is inserted; (b) there is lack of concord and a bare root is realized; (c) there is concord but the plural exponent is not inserted. Drawing a parallelism with Italian varieties it will be concluded that (c) is the option to be preferred, as argued for in Bonet (2018).

A second type of case to be discussed involves phonologically conditioned allomorph selection and avoidance of identical sequences, with a particular focus on the alternations $-o \sim \emptyset$ found in masculine nouns and adjectives in Catalan. Sibilant-ending masculine stems like *gos* 'dog' take $-o$ before the sigmatic plural, *gossos*, while the default for nominal stems ending in other consonants is \emptyset (cf. *got-gots* 'glass'). Bonet, Lloret and Mascaró (2007) propose that the input to phonology of masculine nominals contains a set of ordered allomorphs $\{\emptyset > o\}$, the selection in each context being determined by a constraint PRIORITY. This view will be confronted with an alternative without \emptyset morphemes in which the masculine exponent is a floating $-o$ which gets associated only under specific phonological conditions, as suggested by Scheer (2016). The data set will also include the $-o \sim \emptyset$ alternations found in pronominal clitics in enclisis vs. proclisis, as well as other cases in which phonological identity gives rise to haplogy, understood as deletion or coalescence, as defended in de Lacy (1999).

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2. Anne-Li Démonie (Masaryk University) & Pamela Goryczka (University of Vienna):

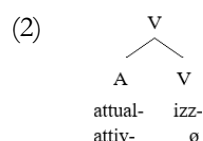
Not much ado about ZERO: Deadjectival verbs in Italian

This paper examines deadjectival verbs derived by suffixation and conversion (i.e., zero derivation) in Italian. More specifically, it provides a formal analysis of adjective-verb conversion within the framework of Nanosyntax. The core tenet of the proposal is the idea that derivational zero suffixes do not exist and that conversion can be accounted for in terms of phrasal spellout, i.e., a morphophonological exponent spells out more than one morphosyntactic unit.

Italian has several overt suffixal verbalizers whose common property is that they must always combine with a theme vowel (1a-c), which determines the conjugation class of the verb. Alternatively, the verbalizer may not be phonologically overt (1d). The verbalizer is always followed by a theme vowel (1a-c), which suggests that the theme vowel itself is not a verbalizer (but cf. Fábregas 2017).

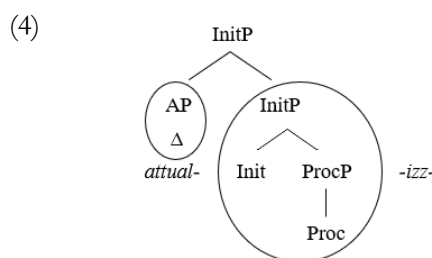
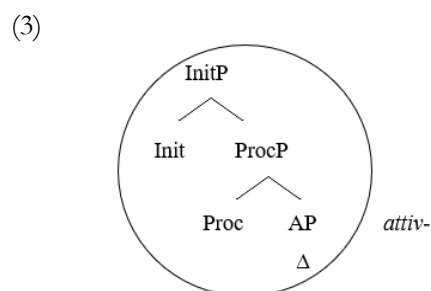
- (1) a. actual-**izz-***a-re* ‘update’ c. bianch-**eggi-***a-re* ‘whiten’
 b. intens-**ific-***a-re* ‘intensify’ d. attiv-**Ø-***a-re* ‘activate’

Traditional analyses attribute the same underlying structure to all cases in (1), the only difference being whether the verbalizing suffix is overt or not (2) (Grossmann 2004).



Assuming zero morphemes thus is a convenient way of accounting for different forms with identical morphosyntactic functions, while leaving surface differences to arbitrary morphophonological representations (Dahl & Fábregas 2018). However, the main question arising is how to account for (1) in an equally unifying way within a theory that does not rely on zero suffixes.

Building on previous nanosyntactic analyses on Germanic and Slavic languages (Caha et al. 2022), we adopt the structural makeup of verbs introduced in Ramchand (2008) according to which verbs can be decomposed into a series of heads, i.e., Initiation (INIT), Process (PROC) and Result (RES). Following Ramchand, we take the deadjectival verb to structurally contain the adjective; along the same lines, INIT contains PROC (cf. Caha et al. 2022 for evidence in support of these assumptions). To account for the surface differences between deadjectival verbs, we assume that a single lexical entry is able to realize a complex node comprising two or more abstract heads (cf. Superset Principle, Starke 2018). Due to phrasal spellout, there is no need to use zero morphemes since, e.g., the lexical entry *attiv-* can cumulatively realize several heads, i.e., INIT, PROC and Δ (3). The lexical entries in (1a-c) do not allow for the cumulative exponence of these functional heads. As illustrated in (4), the lexical entry *actual-* is only capable of spelling out Δ while the overt suffix *-izz-* realizes the two functional components INIT and PROC.



Hence, from the perspective of Nanosyntax, it all comes down to the absolute size of the (morphological) root. With respect to the Italian data, we are thus dealing with two types of roots, i.e., large(r) roots which spell out the whole decomposed vP structure, and smaller roots which only realize the adjectival root.

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3. Prudence de Pontbriand (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen):

L'optionalité de l'objet dans les langues romanes médiévales

Les langues romanes médiévales, en particulier l'ancien français (AF) et l'ancien Toscan (AT), ont la possibilité d'omettre le clitique objet lorsque leur référent est proéminent dans le discours (cf. exemple (1)) (Egerland, 2002 ; Donaldson, 2013). De telles structures ne sont plus grammaticales en français ou italien modernes, mais l'étaient en latin (Luraghi, 1998).

(1) a. et tolu \underline{e} \emptyset li eust il

‘et il __ lui eut pris \underline{e} ’ (AF, *Graal*, 113)

b. e io messo gli in una mia cassa senza annoverare \emptyset

‘et je les mis dans une de mes caisses sans compter __’ (AT, *Dec.*, I, 1)

Dans l'exemple en AF, le participe passé porte la marque du féminin, cependant, aucun élément de la phrase ne peut déclencher cet accord (les deux arguments exprimés, le sujet et l'objet indirect, sont masculins). L'accord est déclenché par le clitique objet direct qui n'est pas prononcé mais qui reste syntaxiquement actif.

A l'aide d'un corpus de textes d'ancien français (entre le XIIe et le XIVe siècle) et d'un corpus de l'ancien toscan (textes entre le XIIIe et le XVe siècle), cette présentation explorera la possibilité d'omettre le clitique objet dans les langues romanes en la considérant sous le chapeau d'une « optionalité sémantiquement vide » (*semantically vacuous optionality* de Biberauer et Richards, 2006). Ce type d'optionalité permet la coexistence, dans une seule et même grammaire, de deux (ou plus) variations d'une même structure sans différence d'interprétation. Dans le cas qui nous intéresse, les deux variations sont i) l'expression de l'objet ou ii) son omission. En effet, les différents contextes présentant des omissions ont aussi la possibilité de réaliser ouvertement le clitique objet (cf. exemple (2)).

(2) a. Quant il voit venir Galaad si \emptyset vet a l'encontre

‘quand il voit venir Galaad, il __ court à l'encontre’ (AF, *Graal*, 43)

b. quant ele voit Boort entrer laienz si **li** cort a l'encontre

‘quand elle voit Bohort entrer là, elle **lui** court à l'encontre’ (AF, *Graal*, 200)

De tels exemples ne semblent pas se différencier en ce qui concerne leur structure informationnelle : exemples a) et b) sont des paires minimales, et le focus de la phrase ne peut être le clitique, étant donné que de tels éléments ne peuvent être accentués (Pescarini, 2021). La différence entre les deux structures semble donc seulement être entre l'expression et l'omission de l'objet.

Dans cette présentation, j'argumenterai qu'en AF et AT, dans certaines structures, deux possibilités s'offrent au clitique objet : i) être réalisé ouvertement, ii) être omis, sans différence d'interprétation. Lorsque l'objet est omis, il est encore syntaxiquement actif et peut déclencher l'accord sur le participe passé.

Cependant, cette optionalité reste marginale : l'AF et l'AT montrent tous deux une préférence générale pour l'expression de l'objet. La présentation explorera donc la possibilité d'une compétition entre deux grammaires (celle du latin, qui permettait l'omission de ces objets, et celle des langues romanes modernes, qui n'ont plus cette possibilité). La fréquence plus élevée d'omission en ancien français comparée à l'ancien toscan laisse aussi présager une différence de vitesse dans la perte de cette grammaire latine.

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4. Antonio Fábregas (University of Tromsø):

The perks of not having zero

The goal this talk is to present an integral analysis of Spanish verbal inflection where zeroes are not necessary, even though, as argued in Dahl & Fábregas (2021), there is no theoretical principle that really blocks the possible existence of exponents that identify sets of syntactic features but lack any phonological representation. Instead of using zeroes, I will argue that situations where there is apparently no morpheme corresponding to a syntactic head in Spanish verbal inflection fall into two classes:

- Situations where, through phrasal spell out or spanning (Caha, 2009), the same exponent covers more than one head, so one of the properties seems not to be expressed.
- Situations where the syntactic head that should in principle correspond to the missing morpheme is actually not projected in syntax.

With respect to the first case, I will argue that this case is what happens with theme vowels in present indicative contexts, which will be able to explain the pattern of data in (1):

(1) a. sal-e

- b. sal
- c. salg-o

A typical pattern is one where the theme vowel is present in the present indicative, but it is not present in the 2sg form of the imperative; all verbs that display the alternation in (1a) and (1b) above show the property in (1c): the present indicative form, and the present subjunctive form, are irregular. I will show how an analysis that uses phrasal spell out instead of zeroes is able to account for this pattern without having to refer to diacritic features, postsyntactic morphological rules or any other artifact that is not independently necessary in the architecture of grammar. My approach only uses syntactic structures, lexical entries relating syntax to exponents, and spell out.

With respect to the second case, I will argue that in so-called present subjunctive and imperfective subjunctive contexts several heads are missing because they are not part of the semantics or form of the forms. This will explain why the three conjugations become two conjugations in subjunctive, that is, why the set in (2) becomes (3), and why imperfective subjunctive forms share irregularities with the prefective (4).

- (2)
 - a. cant-a
 - b. beb-e
 - c. viv-i
- (3)
 - a. cant-e, cant-a-ra
 - b. beb-a, beb-ie-ra
 - c. viv-a, viv-ie-ra
- (4)
 - a. tuv-o
 - b. tuv-ie-ra

I will advocate in general for a principle of Project only what is needed, which contrasts with standard cartographic approaches such as (Cinque, 1999), where all projections are present even when not interpreted semantically or needed. The main consequence of this approach is that, dynamically, one language can alternatively use temporal or modal anchoring, among other options, to define a proposition.

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5. Clarissa Facchin (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona):

Evidence in favour of an empty C head in Spanish *que*-less clauses.

Spanish allows Complementizer Deletion (CD) in certain complement clauses if the embedded verb is in the subjunctive or another *irrealis* mood, as in (1):

- (1) Espero (que) se solucionen pronto los problemas causados por el huracán.
 I.hope that CL solve.SBJV.3PL soon the problems caused by the hurricane
 (Brovetto 2002)

(1) is grammatical both with and without *que*, the two versions being semantically equivalent. But besides Spanish other languages allow the optional CD, i.e., Italian and English, and the lack of an overt C has led

to argue that C-less clauses are bare IPs. Grimshaw (1997) hypothesized for English a more radical proposal of that-less clauses as IPs or VPs, depending on the presence of overt material in the clause. For the IP-hypothesis in Spanish cf. Brovotto (2002).

The aim of this study is to provide new empirical evidence from a rich corpus data of Spanish que-less clauses to claim the hypothesis of a C-layer as an empty category. By assuming Rizzi's (1997) split CP hypothesis, and by means of 2 main arguments, I propose that que-less clauses present an empty Fin projection.

The first evidence was noted by Torrego (1983) who proposed the possibility of optional omission under a long-distance extraction from a complement clause (cf. (2)). An embedded C-layer is required as intermediate landing site for long A'-movement of the wh-phrase.

- (2) Mantenemos una relación maravillosa que espero (que) dure mucho tiempo.
 We.have a relationship wonderful that I.hope that last.SBJV.3SG long time
 (CORPES, 2002)

The second evidence is provided by the presence of the subjunctive mood in que-less clauses. In fact, subjunctive and *irrealis* moods testify that there is a C-T relation in these structures.

Therefore, assuming the existence of an empty CP is required to account for (i) the presence of subjunctive mood, and (ii) the possibility of long A'-movement from inside the que-less clause. However, empirical data suggest that these structures lack a full-fledged CP. In fact, the data I gathered contains sentences showing that the preverbal embedded position can be filled only by unmarked subjects and low adverbs, as in (3), and topic or focus are impossible in this position.

- (3) a. [...] algo que me produce verdadera ilusión y que espero **los lectores**
 something that cl. produces true illusion and that I.hope the readers
 disfruten tanto como yo he disfrutado al fraguarlo.
 they.enjoy.SBJV as much as I have enjoyed when forging
 (CORPES, 2008)
- b. Ese día, que espero **pronto** veamos, la ciencia habrá encontrado su camino.
 That day that I.hope soon we.seen.SBJV the science will.have found its path
 (CORPES, 2011)

Hence, I assume that CD structures have a reduced C-field, but still this includes Fin projections (cf. (4)) for the reasons stated above.

- (4) algo que espero [t Fin° [los lectores disfruten t]]

The necessity of postulating the presence of an empty head is the best theoretical way to account for empirical data that, otherwise, would remain unexplained.

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6. Irene Fally (Universität Wien) & Eva-Maria Remberger (Universität Wien):

Null in der Verbalderivation – Transkategoriale Präfixe oder parasynthetische Bildungen?

In formalen Modellen morphosyntaktischer Theorien sind Nullelemente verschiedensten Typs (Expletiva, Spuren/Kopien, pro, PRO, leeres T°, D°, C° etc.) schon lange affirmiert und in der Wortbildung werden Nullelemente ebenfalls ausführlich diskutiert (vgl. Dahl & Fábregas 2018). Auch in den romanischen Sprachen erlaubt die Annahme von Nullelementen in der Verbalderivation, nicht-binäre Ableitungen oder auch funktionale Redundanzen zu vermeiden: So könnte man zwar die Ableitung von frz. *geler* von *gel* so analysieren, dass die Infinitivendung {er} gleichzeitig als Flexions- und Derivationssuffix fungiert (vgl. 1a), man könnte sie aber auch erklären, indem ein Nullelement postuliert wird (vgl. 1b) (vgl. Galli 2012; Corbin 1987). Die Existenz sichtbarer morphologischer „Gegenstücke“ für das angenommene Null-Element, wie {ifi} in (2) und {is} (3) würden diese Segmentierung unterstützen:

- (1) *gel* 'Eis' --> *geler* '(ge)frieren'
 - (a) {gel} {er}
 - (b) {gel} {∅} {er}
- (2) *plan* 'Plan' --> *planifier* 'planen'
{plan} {ifi} {er}
- (3) *sympathie* 'Sympathie' --> *sympathiser* 'sympathisieren'
{sympath} {is} {er}

Auch bei der verbalen Präfigierung spielt die Frage der Existenz von Nullelementen eine zentrale Rolle. Verbale Präfigierung kann in zwei Kontexten beobachtet werden: 1) bei deverbaler (4a) oder denominaler Verbalisierung, wobei das Nomen hier „gleichzeitig“ verbalisiert und präfigiert wird (= parasynthetische Bildung, 4b). Der Logik von Corbin (1987), Di Sciullo (1997) und Galli (2012) folgend, die davon ausgehen, dass verbale Parasynthese kein „echtes“ Phänomen ist, müsste es „préfixes récatégorisateurs“ geben, die eine Wortartveränderung erlauben. Diese Vorstellung von transkategorialen Präfixen stellt aber nun die klassische Rolle von Präfixen in Frage (cf. Montermini 2008: 193 ff.).

Die zentrale Frage, die sich also aus der angegebenen Datenlage ergibt, ist: Können die in der Derivation in (1b) angenommenen Null-Elemente auch Fälle wie (4a, b) erklären?

- (4) (a) *gel* --> *geler* --> *dégeler*
- (b) *courage* 'Mut' --> *décourager* 'entmutigen'

Ziel unseres Vortrags ist es, die Notwendigkeit oder Redundanz von Null-Elementen in Fällen wie den hier geschilderten Verbalisierungen einerseits vor dem Hintergrund eines kohärenten, aber stets entwicklungs-fähigen grammatiktheoretischen Modells (*Distributed Morphology* – DM, basierend auf Halle & Marantz 1993) zu diskutieren, andererseits mithilfe des Entwurfs eines geeigneten Experiments den Weg zu einer psycholinguistischen Überprüfung zu ebnen.

Vor dem Hintergrund des morphosyntaktischen Modells ist klar, dass man ganz ohne Null-Elemente nicht auskommen wird – die Frage, die sich aber hier ergibt, ist der Status der Null-Elemente selbst: Sind es Spuren/Kopien? Leere syntaktische Köpfe? Nicht-realisierte syntaktische Köpfe? Leere Vokabeln? Ergeb-

nisse kontextueller Tilgungsregeln? Oder kontextueller Unterspezifizierung? Oder beruht ihre oberflächliche „Unsichtbarkeit“ auf der Realisierung mehrerer adjazenter syntaktischer Knoten durch reduziertere Vokabeln? Die theoretischen Weiterentwicklungen im Rahmen von DM erlauben hier die Diskussion verschiedener Analysen unterschiedlichen Potentials.

Vor dem Hintergrund psycholinguistischer Wissensbildung wäre ein Experiment in Form einer lexikalischen Entscheidungsaufgabe mit Priming als eine Weiterentwicklung von Tsapkini et al. (2004) für das Französische denkbar. Anhand von „parasynthetischen“ Verben mit nominalen und adjektivischen Basen wird überprüft, ob Sprecher*innen auf den Wortstamm der Verben zugreifen können und wie lange Sprecher*innen in der Regel benötigen, um parasynthetische Verben zu verarbeiten (Reaktionszeiten). Durch einen Vergleich mit der Verarbeitung „regulärer“ Präfixverben kann herausgearbeitet werden, welche Auswirkungen die beiden Arten der verbalen Präfigierung auf der Verarbeitungsebene haben.

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7. Jan Fliessbach (Universität Potsdam):

Über „fehlende“ Verben in französischen und spanischen *wie-das(s)*-Interrogativsätzen

Französisch *comment ça* ‘wie das’ (1) und Spanisch *cómo que* ‘wie dass’ (2) unterscheiden sich dadurch, dass die spanische Struktur nicht ohne nachfolgendes Material eine vollständige Äußerung bilden kann (2)b. Sie ähneln sich allerdings darin, dass dieses Material kaum syntaktischen Beschränkungen unterworfen ist (1)c/(2)c.

- (1) a) A: J'ai quitté mon travail. (Französisch)
‘Ich habe meine Arbeit aufgegeben.’
b) B: Comment ça?
‘Wie das?’
c) B’: Comment ça travail? T’as un travail?
‘Wie das Arbeit? Du hast einen Job?’
- (2) a) A: Deje mi trabajo. (Spanisch)
‘Ich habe meine Arbeit aufgegeben.’

b) B: * ¿Cómo que?

wie dass

c) B` : ¿Cómo que trabajo? ¿Tienes empleo?

‘Wie das Arbeit? Du hast einen Job?’

Dieser Beitrag zeigt zunächst auf der Grundlage von Korpusbeispielen aus soziolinguistischen Interviews und Drehbüchern, dass die Beschränkung auf satzwertige Komplemente bei Spanisch *que* aufgehoben wird. Stattdessen kann jede fokussierbare Konstituente die Äußerung vervollständigen. Die Abwesenheit dieser Beschränkung liefert Evidenz gegen eine Analyse von *cómo que* als Spaltsatz mit Kopulatilgung (3)b,c (Rosemeyer, 2021) und entsprechend auch gegen eine Bewegungs- und Tilgungsanalyse im Sinne von Ross (1969).

(3) a) A: Deje mi trabajo. (Spanisch)

‘Ich habe meine Arbeit aufgegeben.’

b) B: * ¿Cómo es que trabajo?

wie ist dass Arbeit

c) B` : * ¿Cómo \emptyset_{cop} que trabajo?

wie \emptyset_{cop} dass Arbeit

Stattdessen wird für eine Ausweitung des Direkten Interpretationsansatzes nach Ginzburg und Sag (2000), den Smirnova und Abeillé (2021) erfolgreich auf *comment ça* angewendet haben, auf *cómo que* plädiert. In diesem Zusammenhang wird auch die Frage berührt, ob *que* in *cómo que* auf einem Spektrum von Selektionsbeschränkungen zwischen Pronomen und Komplementierer liegt (Hudson, 1999; Roussou, 2020).

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8. Katja Friedewald (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen):

Sprachwandel eines Nullelements? *pro* > PRO in Relativsätzen mit *voici*

Angenommen, Nullelemente existieren im Sprachsystem – müssten sie dann nicht Wandlungs- und Grammatikalisierungsprozessen unterliegen, wie overte Elemente auch? Dieser Frage wird anhand der Untersuchung von Relativsätzen im Französischen nachgegangen, die als einziges (sichtbares) Element, neben dem Komplementierer *que*, die Partikel *voici* enthalten:

- (1) « [...] sa fille a à son tour eu un enfant **que voici** [...] »
(Céline Laurens, *Là où la caravane passe*, 2021, p. 108, via Frantext)

Diese Konstruktion erscheint auf den ersten Blick rätselhaft. Zum einen liefert sie, angesichts der Tatsache, dass ein Relativsatz normalerweise eine verbale Komponente beinhaltet, ein Argument für die Annahme, die Partikel *voici* verfüge selbst über verbale Eigenschaften – eine Annahme, die sich überdies auf weitere Argumente stützen kann (cf. u. a. Bergen/Plauché 2005; Morin 1985). Zum anderen stellt sich die Frage nach der offensichtlichen Subjektlosigkeit des Relativsatzes. Von Interesse ist hier daher, wie diese zu erklären ist, ob ein Nullsubjekt vorliegt und falls ja, welcher Natur es angehört. Mithilfe einer diachronen Korpusanalyse (basierend auf Datenerhebungen aus der *Base du Français Médiéval* und *Frantext*) wird rückverfolgt, welcher Art von morphologisch-syntaktischem Grammatikalisierungsprozess die Partikel *voici* und somit gleichzeitig das als Arbeitshypothese angenommene Nullsubjekt unterliegen.

Bisherige Ergebnisse bestätigen, dass der Ursprung der Konstruktion bereits im 12. Jahrhundert zu finden ist, hier noch als reguläres Syntagma:

- (2) a. La zone ardante vait / En terre, ki nus fait / Cez estencelemenz / **Que veëz ci** dedenz.
(Philippe de Thaon, *Comput*, ca. 1119, via BFM)
- b. « [...] J'ai une seror mout cortoise qui de vos grant joie fera, et cil sires vos i manra **que vos veez ci** devant moi. »
(Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval*, ca. 1185, via BFM)

Das fehlende Subjekt in (2a) lässt sich, wie im Vergleich mit (2b) deutlich wird, durch eine strukturelle Eigenschaft des Altfranzösischen erklären, nämlich dessen generelle *pro*-Drop-Fähigkeit (cf. u. a. Prévost 2011). In der Folge setzt ein Grammatikalisierungsprozess ein, der das konjugierte Verb mit dem Lokativadverb verschmelzen lässt und auf diese Weise eine unflektierbare Partikel hervorbringt. Dass dieser nach wie vor verbale Eigenschaften zugerechnet werden, wird unter anderem an der Tatsache deutlich, dass um das 16. Jahrhundert die zunächst gängige Form *veci* analog zum Lautwandel von *veoir* > *voir* zu *voici* reanalysiert und an das Paradigma des Verbes angeglichen wird. Parallel zu diesem Vorgang wird der Wandel des französischen Sprachsystems hin zu einer Nicht-*pro*-Drop Sprache abgeschlossen (cf. Adams 1987, 27). In diesem neuen System existiert nach Standardannahmen nur noch das in nicht finiten Sätzen auftretende Nullsubjekt PRO (zu dessen Distribution s. u. a. Martin 2001). In dem Vortrag wird, gestützt auf eine Untersuchung der syntaktischen sowie semantisch-pragmatischen Eigenschaften des in Frage stehenden Nullelements, der Hypothese nachgegangen, dass bei *voici* das ursprüngliche Nullsubjekt *pro* seinen Status gemäß den gewandelten sprachlichen Prinzipien aus syntaktischen Gründen in Richtung PRO verändert, welches wiederum an einen (i. d. R. außersprachlichen) Adressaten gebunden ist.

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9. Gabriele Ganau (Università di Palermo) & Jan Casalicchio (Università di Palermo):

Null elements in Southern Italian Inverse Vocatives

This paper deals with the inverse vocative (or inverse allocution, see Renzi 1968; henceforth, ‘IV’). IV is a typologically rare phenomenon in which the speaker uses an apparent vocative form referred to her/himself, instead of the addressee. It is found in Southern Italian varieties, Romanian, Turkish, Hungarian and some other languages, cf. (1):

- (1) A mother to her son: “Mangia {a/la/Ø} mamma!” (lit. “Eat {to/the/Ø} mommy!”)
(Southern Reg. Italian)

The example (1) (attested with article, preposition or with a bare noun) should be intended as “Eat, my son!”. There is thus an inversion, where a term usually referred to the speaker (mom) is assigned to the addressee (the son). From the perspective of Italian, the main challenge is whether to classify it as a ‘true’ vocative (‘IV’) or as some sort of indirect object with benefactive value.

Crucially, various accounts of this construction posit that the nominal (‘mamma’ in (1)) is introduced by a null element that is:

- a) a null dative/benefactive marker, which is in complementary distribution with the preposition *a* (SgROI 2012; Iovino & Rossi 2014);
- b) a null predicative element, corresponding to the adjective *bello* (thus (1) should be intended as *Mangia bello di mamma*, lit. ‘Eat, beauty of your mom’), Iovino & Rossi (2016);
- c) a null verb (e.g. *ascolta a mamma* ‘listen to mom’), Iovino & Rossi (2014);
- d) a patronymic expression with Greek origin (*Mangia (figlio di) mamma*, ‘Eat, (son of your) mom’), Abate (2010).
- e) Another hypothesis is that IVs are always related to a (usually) silent TVs as coreferential (but opposite) antecedent (*Mangia (Elio) a mamma* ‘Eat (Elio), my son’), and this would explain why the order TV-IV is grammatical, but the opposite is not (Abate, 2010; Iovino & Rossi, 2016).

In this paper we present the preliminary results of a study on the use of IVs in both the dialects and the regional Italian variety of Palermo and Terrasini, a neighbouring village. The aim is to analyse the relationship between TVs and IVs, and the possible presence of a null element. To answer these questions, we have prepared a questionnaire that investigates the use of IVs. Due to the peculiarities of this construction, which implies a high degree of familiarity and affection between the speech participants, our enquiry is based on a qualitative investigation in which the informants are asked both open questions about the IV, and acceptability judgements.

The preliminary results show first of all that there is a high degree of interspeaker variation, e.g. concerning the presence of the introducer *a*, which is obligatory for 4 out of 6 informants, while the remaining 2 consider it ungrammatical. In addition, the results lead us to exclude that the introducer *a* is a dative/benefactive marker (hypothesis (a) above), because no informant accepts the *raddoppiamento sintattico* (syntactic gemination), which is obligatory when the preposition *a* is used (2). Informants also reject hypotheses (b-d) because they do not match their interpretation of IVs. Finally, hypothesis (e) is falsified by the fact that the order IV-TV is judged grammatical (although the co-occurrence of an IV with a TV is considered marginal in general):

- (2) Mangia a {mamma/*mmamma}
 (3) Mangia mamma Elio! “Eat, Elio my son!”

Therefore, our preliminary data suggest that in the Palermo varieties IVs are not characterized by a null element, but that they should be analysed on a par with TVs, along the lines of the recent proposal by Corr (2022), according to which (in a nutshell) TVs and IVs share the same basic structure, while the interpretive differences depend on the nominal used (which may be coreferential with the addressee or the speaker).

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10. Steffen Heidinger (Universität Graz):

Nullpronomen vs. Hintergrundtilgung in französischen Präpositionalphrasen

Im Französischen können manche Präpositionen mit Nullkomplement (= kein overt Komplement) vorkommen (1). Für Nullkomplemente in französischen PPs wurden unterschiedliche strukturelle Eigenschaften vorgeschlagen: u.a. syntaktisch repräsentiertes Nullpronomen (*pro*) ([1], [2], [3], [4]), syntaktische Spur (diatopisch markiertes *preposition stranding* (2)), Fehlen eines strukturell repräsentierten Komplements ([3] für *pour*).

Im Vortrag wird gezeigt, dass je nach informationsstrukturellem Status der Präposition zwei unterschiedliche Typen von Nullkomplement vorliegen. Wenn die Präposition nicht eng fokussiert ist (1), wird die Komplementposition durch ein Nullpronomen besetzt ([1], [2], [3], [4]). Bei eng fokussierten Präpositionen wird das Komplement als Teil des Hintergrunds getilgt (3B) ([5] zu Hintergrundtilgung). Ausgehend von experimentellen Daten werden zwei Argumente für diese Unterscheidung zwischen Nullpronomen und (Hintergrund)Tilgung präsentiert. Die Daten stammen aus einem Onlineexperiment, in dem 42 einsprachige SprecherInnen des europäischen Französisch und 42 des europäischen Spanisch schriftliche Stimuli auf einer 5-Punkt-Likert-Skala hinsichtlich der grammatischen Akzeptabilität beurteilt haben.

Argument 1: Im Französischen scheinen Nullkomplemente stark auf nicht-menschliche Referenten beschränkt ([1], [6]). Die experimentellen Daten zeigen jedoch, dass diese Belebtheitsbeschränkung vom informationsstrukturellen Status der Präposition abhängt und bei fokussierten Präpositionen nicht gilt (Abb. 1a). Dies legt nahe, dass bei fokussierten Präpositionen eine andere Art von Nullkomplement vorliegt, nämlich das Resultat einer Hintergrundtilgung.

Argument 2: Spanische Akzeptabilitätsdaten bieten weitere Evidenz für unterschiedliche Typen von Nullkomplementen in (1) und (3). Die Akzeptabilitätsrate von Nullkomplementen hängt im Spanischen stark davon ab, ob die Präposition fokussiert ist oder nicht (Abb. 1b): Die Akzeptabilität ist deutlich höher bei fokussierten Präpositionen (franz. (3) entsprechend). Diese Asymmetrie lässt sich erklären, wenn man in den beiden Kontexten zwei unterschiedliche Arten von Nullkomplement annimmt (Nullpronomen vs. Tilgung), von denen im Spanischen nur die Tilgung möglich ist.

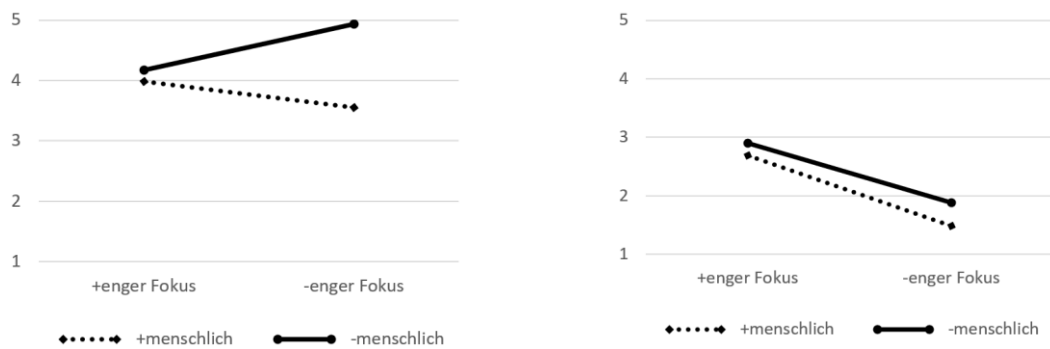
Die Hintergrundtilgung zeigt sich im Vergleich zum Nullpronomen in zweierlei Hinsicht weniger eingeschränkt: (i) sprachübergreifende Verfügbarkeit, (ii) semantische Eigenschaften (= Belebtheit) des Komplements. Dies ist wenig überraschend, da Tilgungen anders als Nullpronomen nicht das Pronomeninventar der Sprache betreffen und somit weniger in die Kerngrammatik eingreifen.

(1) J'aime bien cette valise. Je voyage toujours avec. [3]

(2) Qui_i tu as fait le gâteau pour *t_i*? [2]

(3) A: Tu cours plus vite sans les chaussures?

B: Non, je cours plus vite avec les chaussures.



a. *Französisch*

b. *Spanisch*

Abb. 1: Akzeptabilität von Nullkomplementen (5 = höchste Akzeptabilität)

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11. Peter Herbeck (Bergische Universität Wuppertal / Universität Wien) & Natascha Pomino (Bergische Universität Wuppertal):

Do we need zero in morphology? A spanning approach to Valencian Catalan past tense inflection

Apparent zero forms in inflectional paradigms can be the result of different processes in grammar: they can be the result of a zero morpheme, a zero allomorph, an impoverishment rule which removes features from the morphological representation, or a phonological deletion operation etc. Furthermore, zero elements can potentially represent different components of the internal structure of verb forms, such as the spell-out of phi-features, tense, aspect or theme vowels. Considering the imperfective form of a verb like *cantar* ‘sing’ in Catalan, the 1st and 3rd person plural forms are highly transparent because one Vocabulary Item corresponds to one terminal node. Furthermore, no zero forms are contained in their representation. The corresponding singular forms, on the other hand, are less transparent because there is no exponent for or a (default) zero spell-out of the phi-specification of 1sg and 3sg:

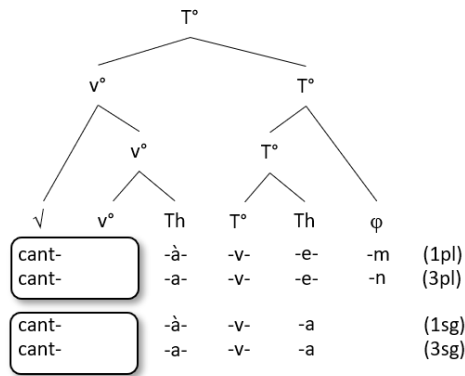


Figure 1: Catalan imperfective forms

In Catalan, apart from the imperfective past, there are two competing options for expressing perfective past: the *passat simple* (see (1)) and the *passat perifràstic* (see (2)), the latter being formed by means of the auxiliary GO plus a nonfinite lexical verb (cf. e.g. Perez Saldanya & Hualde 2003; Juge 2006):

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------|----------|-----------------|
| (1) | <i>passat simple</i> | cantà | | |
| | | sing.PST.3SG | | |
| (2) | <i>passat perifràstic</i> | va | cantar | |
| | | GO.3SG | sing.INF | ‘(he/she) sang’ |

In most spoken Catalan varieties, the simple past has been substituted by the periphrastic past, but in some Valencian Catalan varieties, the simple past is still used in alternation with the periphrastic forms (see Perea 2007). However, systematic studies of the factors governing the alternation between (1) and (2) in these spoken varieties are rare. In our talk, we argue that the factors for the choice of either the simple or periphrastic past in spoken Valencian Catalan lie in differences with respect to their morphological transparency and that these are best explained in an approach that does not need to recourse to impoverishment rules (see Oltra Massuet 1999) or zero elements in the underlying representation, but on spanning (Svenonius 2012, Pomino & Remberger 2022a,b,c).

Previous studies have shown that the simple past is replaced by the periphrastic past first in the 1st person singular. By means of corpus data from spoken Valencian Catalan (the *Parlars* corpus; Montserrat & Segura 2020), we show that this previous observation, even though confirmed by our data, needs to be refined: the simple past is also losing ground in 3SG and, furthermore, the factor of conjugation class plays a role. Thus, the periphrastic past most often substitutes 1SG and 3SG verb forms of irregular verbs and subsequently in the 2nd and 3rd conjugation classes. Plural forms, on the other hand, are still productively used in the simple past.

The theoretical solution we offer is that the substitution of the simple by the periphrastic past takes place in those contexts in which there is a low degree of morphological transparency. As shown in Figure 2, the 1SG and 3SG verb forms of the simple past have low morphological transparency because the respective Vocabulary Items have to target more than one terminal node, i. e. they span over several nodes. In contrast, plural forms maintain morphological transparency. With irregular verb forms and in the 2nd conjugation class, even lower morphological transparency is observed.

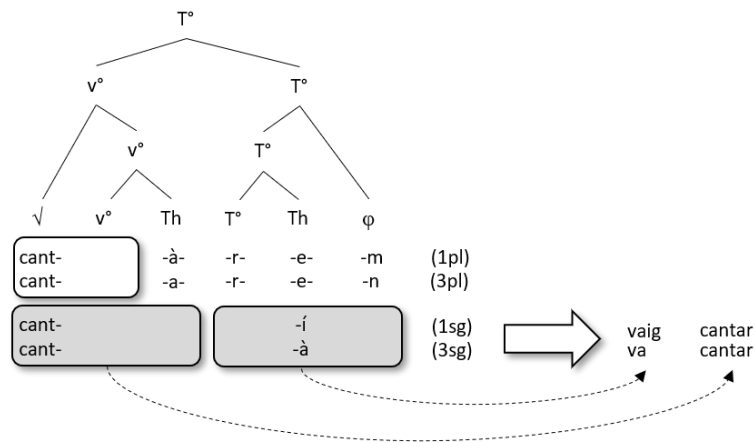


Figure 2: Catalan *passat simple*

In our talk, we will show that in all those cases where the *passat perifràstic* takes over, the verbal forms correspond to the low degree of transparency illustrated in Fig. 2 with *cantí* ‘(I) sang’ and *cantà* ‘(he) sang’. In contrast to Oltra-Massuet (1999), we do not assume readjustment rules and/or impoverishment of CC-features to explain the “shortness” of the untransparent forms, but spanning. The direct benefits of our analysis are (i) that we reduce the post-syntactic processes to a minimum and (ii) that we have one and the same morphosyntactic structure for all verbal forms, but different realizations of it. What is more, we will argue that verbal forms which are realized with (only) two adjacent spans of the type represented in Figure 2 are prone to change from a synthetic to an analytic verbal form.

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12. Georg A. Kaiser (Universität Konstanz):

La determinación de los sujetos nulos y la propiedad de sujeto nulo en las lenguas romances.

Las lenguas romances, con la excepción del francés (estándar) y de ciertas variedades retorromances, se caracterizan en general por la propiedad de sujeto nulo, ya que los pronombres sujetos de las cláusulas finitas suelen omitirse y realizarse sólo en caso de énfasis o de posible ambigüedad. Sin embargo, se ha observado que en distintas variedades de estas lenguas las omisiones de sujeto son más raras que en las lenguas estándar y están sujetas a restricciones adicionales, por lo que a menudo se asume que estas variedades sólo tienen la propiedad de sujeto nulo de forma limitada. Esto se aplica especialmente al español caribeño o al portugués brasileño. Por otra parte, se supone que muchas variedades del norte de Italia son lenguas de sujeto nulo a pesar de la existencia de un paradigma (en su mayoría incompleto) de pronombres clíticos de sujeto, ya que estos pronombres se analizan como afijos verbales debido a su uso mayoritariamente obligatorio y a otros

comportamientos especiales. Del mismo modo, el francés coloquial suele analizarse como una lengua de sujeto nulo.

En esta ponencia se pretende comprobar empíricamente estos análisis a partir de un estudio comparativo de distintas lenguas romances, en particular el portugués brasileño y el francés coloquial. Esto se hace sobre la base de una determinación explícita de lo que cuenta como sujeto nulo. Para ello, en primer lugar se intenta aclarar qué se entiende por ‘sujeto nulo’. Se pretende contrarrestar un problema de muchos estudios empíricos anteriores, y es que hay poca información al respecto y, por tanto, las evaluaciones de los datos son muy poco transparentes. En los análisis del portugués brasileño, por ejemplo, no está claro si y hasta qué punto se asume un sujeto nulo (preverbal) en oraciones con sujetos postverbales (o sustantivos predicados) o si los sujetos ausentes en oraciones coordinadas (con sujeto idéntico) u oraciones con infinitivo flexionado se cuentan como sujetos nulos. En los análisis del francés (coloquial) en los que los clíticos de sujeto se consideran afijos, además de determinar el francés coloquial, existe la dificultad de cómo proceder con las oraciones que no contienen un clítico de sujeto, como ciertas construcciones impersonales o construcciones con pronombres interrogativos o relativos de sujeto. En este caso, habría que suponer un afijo nulo, cuya aparición está sujeta a restricciones sintácticas específicas.

El estudio empírico presentado se basa en datos procedentes de varios corpus de textos paralelos en lenguas romances. Entre los figuran traducciones de un fragmento de la Biblia (*Primer Libro de Samuel*), así como el texto original francés y traducciones de un álbum de Astérix (*La serpe d'or*) y de una novela policíaca (J.-C. Izzo, *Total Khéops*). Este enfoque permite comparar directamente textos del mismo tipo textual o estilo narrativo (discurso directo y texto narrativo) o construcciones idénticas en distintas lenguas, de modo que se puedan determinar con mayor precisión las condiciones específicas de aparición u omisión del sujeto. La evaluación muestra que, dependiendo de cómo se determine un sujeto nulo, se llega a distintas frecuencias de omisión de sujeto. En conjunto, sin embargo, los resultados de las evaluaciones confirman las tendencias de desarrollo observadas en portugués brasileño y francés coloquial con respecto a la propiedad de sujeto nulo. Al mismo tiempo, sin embargo, también muestran que ambas variedades (todavía) se comportan como las lenguas estándar correspondientes o como otras lenguas (romances) de sujeto nulo o de sujeto obligatorio.

13. Nelli Kerezova (Goethe University, Frankfurt):

Factors determining the antecedent of null objects in European Portuguese

There is a large body of research concerning anaphoric resolution of null and overt subjects in Romance languages and beyond (cf. Carminati 2002, Sorace & Filiaci 2006, among others). The factors determining the choice of the antecedent of null objects (NO) has received almost no attention. Based on a corpus study, this paper investigates what kind of antecedent anaphoric NOs in European Portuguese (EP) tend to select compared to object clitics (CL). The results suggest that the choice between the two options of object realization is determined by the sentential context (intra- vs. intersentential contexts), the syntactic function of the antecedent (object vs. subject) as well as the animacy of the antecedent (animate vs. inanimate referents).

The mentioned factors are also relevant for the choice of null (NS) and overt subjects, but in a different way: Carminati (2002) suggests for Italian that NSs pick a referent in subject position, while overt subjects take an antecedent occupying a non-subject position (Position of the Antecedent Hypothesis, PAH). However, there seems to be a difference w.r.t. the choice of referent when the potential antecedent is within the same sentence or in the preceding one(s). In EP, in the intersentential context, the PAH is weakened, and

both the NS and the overt pronoun may retrieve the subject of the preceding clause as their referent (Morgado 2013). W.r.t. animacy, it seems to be clear that overt subject pronouns have a strong tendency to refer to animate subject referents (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999) whereas there are no such restrictions for NSs.

The present study is based on data collected and analyzed from the corpus Museu de Pessoa (Almeida et al. 2000). The study includes 713 sentences, with 462 containing a CL, and 251 – a NO.

The corpus analysis reveals that both NOs and CLs prefer an antecedent in non-subject position (DO, IO or oblique). NOs choose an object referent in 77.7% of the cases, CLs - in 65.4%. Interestingly, the preference for choosing an object referent is weakened in intersentential contexts, but only for CLs and not for NOs. In such cases, NOs still pick the object referent in 73.7% of all cases but CLs only in 54.3%, presenting an almost equal distribution between choosing a subject and an object referent as their antecedent. W.r.t. animacy, there is a clear preference for choosing an inanimate referent for NOs (90%), but no preference for CLs (45,8%).

Comparing NOs and NSs in EP, the results reveal that differently from the NS, the NO does not tend to take the most prominent referent in the discourse, they tend instead to select the object referent. The same syntactic preference is found for object CLs, but only in intrasentential contexts. In intersentential contexts, this tendency is weakened, and CLs refer to both object and subject antecedents to the same extent.

I conclude that null elements within the same language show sensitivity to the same factors when selecting their antecedent, but in different ways. While NSs opt for a subject referent, NOs prefer an object referent.

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14. Carlos Martínez García (Complutense University of Madrid):

Is a [definite] Feature Needed to Account for Anaphoric Null Subjects in Spanish?

In the literature, it is assumed that in *pro-drop* languages, such as European Spanish, anaphoric *null subjects* (NSs) behave like definite pronouns (Cole 1987). Even when linked to indefinite non-specific antecedents, like in (1), their interpretation is definite.

- (1) No sé si habrá visitas guiadas todavía. En verano Ø se llenan rápido.

‘I do not know if there are guided tours yet. In summer they fill up fast.’

Romance languages do not permit indefinite readings of NSs like those of Japanese (Oku 1998), and this leads to think that NSs in Spanish are linked to a definiteness feature (Holmberg 2010). However, there

exist some data of NSs that bear an indefinite reading in Spanish, under restricted circumstances. Two NSs with indefinite readings appear in (2).

- (2) a. Vienen turistas de Europa. Y Ø vendrán también de Asia.
‘Tourists from Europe come. And tourists from Asia will also come.’
b. No sé si habrá plazas ya, aunque ayer todavía Ø quedaban...
‘I do not know if there are places now, but yesterday there were still.’

(Personal communication, Manuel Leonetti)

The indefinite readings of the NSs in (2) are possible under the following conditions:

- a) The crucial condition is that the antecedent must be a bare nominal (with an existential reading itself).
- b) The null subject represents an argument that could occur as a bare nominal (usually, it has to be an internal argument, which provides the adequate environment for the existential reading to *survive*).
- c) Indefinite readings imply ‘identity of sense’ anaphora (not coreference).

It is interesting to point out that these NSs share basic properties with non-anaphoric *indefinite null objects* (INOs), like those in (3), which receive an indefinite reading as well and appear under the same conditions in (a)-(c). This suggests that both phenomena of argument omission could be analyzed in the same way, and even more when the subject and the object are both internal arguments in these cases.

- (3) a. Quería comprar pasteles, pero no había Ø.
‘I wanted to buy cakes, but there were not.’
b. Siempre había tomates en esta tienda. Parece que ya no tienen Ø.
‘There were always tomatoes in this shop. It seems that they no longer have.’

The possibility of having indefinite readings for anaphoric NSs leads to reflect on the following:

- 1) It is common to suppose that NSs display the very same properties as preverbal subjects (Camacho 2013), but in (2) they receive a reading that corresponds more to postverbal subjects, whose structural position would be the same as that of objects (internal argument) in (3). Is it possible to account for this fact under the same approach?
- 2) It is not clear how to reconcile the data in (2) with the fact that the feature [+DEFINITE] is involved in the licensing of NSs. If we take into account the data in (2), it seems reasonable that the definiteness feature of NSs is not specified in the grammar of NSs in Spanish.
- 3) If the INOs in (3) are interpreted just like NSs in (2), should they be analyzed in the same way? It seems that both null arguments cannot be analyzed under the empty category *pro*, because in the literature *pro* is typically linked to the feature [+DEFINITE]. Another problem is that there should be a natural connection between the occurrence of (in)definite interpretation and the external/internal status of the subject argument.
- 4) What role would ellipsis have in an alternative perspective?

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15. Guido Mensching (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen):

Zu den „leeren“ Kategorien *pro* und *PRO* in den romanischen Sprachen

Der Vortrag thematisiert verschiedene Aspekte hinsichtlich der „Nullelemente“ der Typen *pro* und *PRO* in den romanischen Sprachen, mit denen sich der Verfasser in diversen Publikationen beschäftigt hat. Hierbei soll zum einen eine Formalisierung im Rahmen des neueren Minimalistischen Programms (im Anschluss an Chomsky 2000, 2001 ff.) angestrebt werden, zum anderen werden die Beziehungen zwischen phonetisch leeren und nicht-leeren Elementen sowie Fragen der empirischen Motivation der beiden Nullelemente diskutiert werden.

Vorgesehen sind zwei Themenkomplexe:

1. *Zum Zusammenhang zwischen PRO, pro und Spuren (Kopien) auf der einen Seite und overten Elementen auf der anderen Seite.* Hierbei geht es insbes. um sog. emphatische Pronomina:

- (1) a. Gianni, l'ha fatto *lui*.
- b. Jean, l'a fait *lui-même*.
- (2) a. DP_i ... per farlo *lui*.
- b. DP_i ... pour le faire *lui-même*.

Das Pronomen in (1a) lässt sich im Anschluss an Burzio (1986) als overte Spur deuten, was insbes. ab ca. 1990 (nach der Annahme, dass Subjekte VP-intern basisgeneriert werden), plausibel ist. Das Pronomen in (2a) kann hingegen als eine Art Doppelung von *PRO* gesehen werden. Wie der Parallelismus zum Französischen in den Beispielen (1b) und (2b) zeigt, handelt es sich bei der Existenz solcher anaphorischen Pronomina übrigens nicht um eine Eigenschaft von Nullsubjekt-Sprachen (contra Cardinaletti 1999). Mensching (2000) gehört zu den ersten Arbeiten, in denen die Hypothese aufgestellt wurde, dass die emphatischen Pronomina in (1b) und (2b) overte Gegenstücke zu *PRO* sind (vgl. in der Folge z.B. Alonso-Ovalle/D'Introno 2001, Szabolcsi 2009, Herbeck 2015). In dem Vortrag wird die ursprüngliche Argumentation aus Mensching (2000) nachgezeichnet und durch einige Anmerkungen ergänzt. Hierbei wird u.a. diskutiert, ob emphatische Pronomina ein Instrument darstellen, um Hypothesen über die strukturelle Position von Nullelementen zu testen.

2. *Zum Zusammenhang zwischen argumentalem pro, expletivem pro und dem „Nullsubjektparameter“.* Zu den wenigen Teilen des in den 1980er Jahren postulierten Nullsubjektparameters, zu denen bisher kaum Ausnahmen gefunden wurden, gehören die Korrelate zwischen der Existenz von *pro* und a) dem Fehlen von overten Expletiva sowie b) der Möglichkeit der Subjekt-Inversion (hier verstanden als Verbleiben des Subjekts in seiner VP-internen Basisposition) in konsistenten Nullsubjektsprachen. Vgl.:

- (3) a. Juan llegó.
- b. *pro* llegó.
- c. Llegó Juan.

Eine in der generativen Syntax oft vertretene Ansicht kann die Koexistenz der Strukturen in (3a) und (3b) herleiten: Wenn eine Sprache Nullsubjekte kennt (*pro*), können diese als Expletiva fungieren:

- (4) [TP *pro*_{expl.} arriva [VP Gianni ~~arriva~~]]

Der Vortrag folgt zunächst den in Mensching/Remberger (2011) und Mensching/Weingart (2016) dargestellten Theorien, die darauf abzielen, den Zusammenhang zwischen expletivem *pro* und argumentalem *pro* aus der minimalistischen Merkmalstheorie abzuleiten. Es folgen einige Erweiterungen sowie eine Diskussion der Relevanz dieser Theorien für die unter 1. besprochenen Fälle und für die Sektionsthematik.

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16. Vitor A. Nóbrega (University of São Paulo):

The interplay of exocentricity and null head nouns in Romance compounds

In this paper, I will advance the assumption that exocentricity in Romance possessive (1), deverbal (2), and de-prepositional compounds (3) is the direct result of the presence of null head nouns in their (morpho-)syntactic structures. I will argue that possessive compounds modify a pronominal empty noun, i.e. their head, similarly to what is observed in noun ellipsis with adjectives (viz., [_N (who possesses) [N+A]]), and that deverbal and de-prepositional compounds have their heads realized as *pro*; which stands for the subject of a reduced relative clause, in the former type (i.e., [*pro* who/which [~~pro~~ [V+N]]]), and the subject of a PP predicate, in the latter (i.e., [*pro* [P+N]]) (Bok-Bennema & Kampers-Manhe, 2006; Nóbrega & Panagiotidis, 2020).

(1) a. Pt. <i>casca-grossa</i> skin+thick ‘thick skinned person’	(2) a. Pt. <i>tira-teima</i> remove+stubbornness ‘replay’	(3) a. Pt. <i>sem-vergonha</i> without+shame ‘shameless person’
b. It. <i>quattro-occhi</i> four+eyes	b. It. <i>mangia-maccheroni</i> eat+macaroni	b. It. <i>dopo-guerra</i> after+war

‘person with glasses’	‘good-for-nothing’	‘after IIWW period’
c. Sp. <i>cabeza-cuadrada</i>	c. Sp. <i>llena-cines</i>	c. Sp. <i>sobre-cama</i>
head+square	fill+theaters	over+bed
‘methodic person’	‘popular movie’	‘bed sheet’

Evidence for the assumption of null head nouns comes from morphological exocentricity, i.e. when the compound’s ϕ -features diverge from those of its constituents (4). I will dispute the assumption that such ϕ -feature mismatch results from the featural content of a nominalizer head taking the compound’s structure as a complement (Ferrari-Bridgers, 2005). Such account renders natural gender agreement completely arbitrary, once the ϕ -feature values codified in the nominalizer are totally adventitious. Using anaphoric binding tests, I will provide further evidence that morphological exocentricity involves a covert head noun, which governs agreement relations with the compound, and also accounts for the different interpretations it might have (agentive or instrumental).

- (4) a. Pt. *o* [casca+gross-a]
 DET.M.SG skin+thick-F.SG
 ‘the thick-skinned guy’
- b. It. *il* [poggia-test-a]
 DET.M.SG rest+head-F.SG
 ‘the headrest’
- c. Sp. *el* [sobre-cam-a]
 DET.M.SG over+bed-F.SG
 ‘the bed sheet’

Finally, I will show that the null head nouns inside these compounds also display an overt counterpart. In deverbal compounds, for instance, the subject of the embedded clause can be overtly realized whenever it refers to a specific referent (5), *contra* Franco (2015), who claims they instantiate a conversion case, where the VN compound is in fact an adjective.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (5) a. Pt. [porta [corta-fogo]] | b. It. [mostruo [come-gente]] | c. Sp. [navio [rompe-bielos]] |
| door cut+fire | monster eat+people | ship break+ice |
| ‘fireproof door’ | ‘people-eating monster’ | ‘icebreaker’ |

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17. Michelle Sheehan (Newcastle University):

Unexpressed/covert arguments and Romance causative and perception verbs

In this talk, I consider argument expression in causative and perception verbs across French, Italian and European Portuguese. Both French and Italian have the *faire par* construction (following Kayne 1975), whereby causative verbs select a non-finite complement with transitive causees optionally expressed as a by phrase.

- (1) Marie a fait [écrire une lettre (**par** Jean)]. [French]
 Marie has made write a letter by Jean
 'Marie had John write a letter.'

Under the FACERE cognate verb in both languages, the causee behaves like an adjunct, unable to control PRO or bind anaphors (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993). One kind of analysis of this construction takes the causee to be absent from the argument structure in such contexts because the complement is a VP lacking an external argument (Burzio 1986, Folli & Harley 2007).

In European Portuguese, something which looks superficially like (1) is possible (though not with *fazer* 'make') but speakers do not allow the causee to be expressed (Barbosa & Raposo 2013).

- (2) A Ana mandou/deixou /viu/ *fez [construir um anexo (***por alguém**)]. [E. Por]
 the Ana ordered /let /saw /made build an annex by someone
 'Ana had/let/saw/*made an annex (be) built.'

The impossibility of a by phrase here raises the question of whether (2) is parallel in structure to (1). In this talk, I explore this question and argue that sometimes the causee is projected in *faire par* and sometimes it is not. In European Portuguese, for example, we find that inalienable possession and non-passivizable idioms are possible under *mandar* but not *deixar* or *ver*. Given that *deixar* and *ver* pattern with French *faire* and Italian *fare* in this respect (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986), it is surprising that the silent causee of *mandar* is nonetheless unable to control PRO:

- (4) A professora_i mandou *pro_j* entregar todas as tarefas para **PRO_{i/*j}** poder passar de ano.
 the teacher ordered hand.in.INF all the assignments to be.able pass the year
 'The teacher had people hand in all the assignments for her to be able to pass the year.' [E. Por.]

Casalicchio and Sheehan (2021) show similar minimal contrasts in Italian, comparing the *faire par* complement of *fare* vs. *vedere*. In Italian, although, non-passivizable idioms like *prendere la medicina* 'take the medicine' retain their idiomatic meaning only under *vedere*, it is only with *fare* that the causee cannot control PRO:

- (7) *pro_i* feci riparare l' auto **da Ugo_j** [per PRO_{i/*j} poter partecipare alla corsa]
 made.1sg repair the car by Ugo for be.able participate to.the race
 'I had the car repaired by Ugo in order to participate in the race.'

- (8) *pro_i* l'ho vista riparare **da Ugo_j** [per PRO_{z_i/j} poter partecipare alla corsa]
 it=have.1sg seen repair by Ugo for be.able participate to.the race
 'I saw it [the car] repaired by Ugo in order to be able to participate in the race.' [Italian]

I further show that, only where the causee is truly absent, are long object passives possible. This explains why they are possible under FACERE in Italian and (with masculine singular objects only – Bouvier 2000) French and under *mandar* in European Portuguese, but not with other verbs in these languages. This follows from the approach to passivization in Sheehan & Cyrino (2018, 2023), Casalicchio & Sheehan (2021).

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18. Petra Sleeman (University of Amsterdam):

Zero-suffixes in French: an alternative approach

Zero-affixes have been used in morphology within pre-generative analyses, lexicalist analyses and syntactic approaches to morphology. An influential syntactic approach of the latter type is Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993). Within Distributed Morphology, category-less lexical roots are inserted in syntactic structures. Marantz (2001) proposes that the category is provided by functional categories such as little *v*, little *n* or little *a*, dominating a zero-morpheme or features that will be realized by an affix at spell-out. This means that a root can become a verb, a noun or an adjective, depending on the type of functional projection that is merged above the root.

The (over)use of zero-affixes has also led to criticisms and to alternative approaches (see Don, 1993; Don, in press; Dahl & Fábregas, 2018). A syntactic approach to derivation in which the use of derivational zero-affixes is rejected is Borer's Exo-Skeletal model (2003, 2013: Ch. 7). Borer argues that functional categories such as T(ense) are sufficient to change a category-less root into a verb and that zero-suffixes performing this job can be dispensed with altogether. Category-less roots can also get a category by being subcategorized by a derivational morpheme. Besides specifying its own category, the derivational morpheme also determines the category of the root that is its complement. A derivational morpheme can also be merged above a root that has already been categorized by dominating functional projections. Crucially, in both cases, the derivational morpheme cannot be a zero-suffix. A possible counterargument that can be advanced against the ban on zero-affixes in the Exo-Skeletal model, is the existence of $V \rightarrow N$ conversions in English, as in *my constant change of mentors from 1992-1997*. In this case the root would be dominated by verbal functional projections and a null suffix would be needed to change the verb into a noun. Borer argues that examples like these are very marginal and rare in English and that $V \rightarrow N$ conversions produce result nouns rather than Argument Structure nouns. Result nouns are root derived by means of nominal functional projections added to the category-less root.

In this paper it is shown that in French $V \rightarrow N$ conversions are much more productive than in English. Three cases are discussed. First, nominalized infinitives, productive in Old French, as in (1). Second, deverbal nouns comparable to the English example with *change* mentioned earlier, as in (2). Third, VP $\rightarrow N$ compounds, as in (3):

- (1) *au passer le cemetire*

at-the crossing the graveyard

‘while crossing the graveyard’

(2) *le mélange de divers éléments*

‘the mixture of various elements’

(3) *le gratte-ciel*

‘the skyscraper’

In the Exo-Skeletal model it is not allowed to add a zero-suffix to the V(P)s in (1)-(3). For nominalized verbal infinitives it has been proposed by Alexiadou, Iordăchioaia & Schäfer (2011) that they simply result from nominal functional structure dominating verbal functional structure, without a zero-suffix producing the category change. This is the solution that is proposed in this paper for all three cases. Since they are all masculine by default, a zero-morpheme which would determine the category of the nominalized form does not seem to be necessary. Allowing that nominal functional projections dominate verbal ones, without intervening categorizers, requires a simple adaptation of Borer’s Exo-Skeletal model. The structures of (1)-(3) differ in the number and nature of verbal and nominal functional projections.

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