

CARTOGRAPHY AND MICROPARAMETRIC VARIATION: CRITERIAL V2 IN SWISS ROMANSH VARIETIES

CARTOGRAFIA E VARIAÇÃO MICROPARAMÉTRICA: V2 CRITERIAL EM VARIEDADES DO ROMANCHE SUÍÇO

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ABSTRACT

In this article, I shall provide evidence for a theory of microparametric variation among Swiss Romansh varieties adopting a cartographic notion of parameter in terms of syntactic operations triggered by morphosyntactic features in functional projections. I shall discuss evidence showing how such a notion of parameter is extremely powerful in describing linguistic variability at a microlevel of the syntactic architectures. Adopting the guidelines of a Criterial V2, in which the inflected verb creates a Spec-Head configuration with the highest activated criterial head in the syntactic architecture, I shall observe microparametric variation within Swiss Romansh and with respect to other V2 languages, such as German. The language variability only relies on the interactions of basic factors, such as the presence of a functional projection and the syntactic operations triggered by the functional element. In the specific, it is possible to observe German and Swiss Romansh varieties vary in the activation of syntactic instructions in discourse related functional projections such as SubjP, ModP and ForceP. The role of morphosyntactic features thus describes in microparametric terms the richness of configurations predicted by cartographic guidelines and provide fine-grained typologies of set of languages.

Keywords: Cartography, Microparameters, Verb Second, Romansh, Criteria

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RESUMO

Neste artigo, fornecerei evidências de uma teoria da variação microparamétrica entre as variedades do romanche suíço adotando uma noção cartográfica de parâmetro em termos de operações sintáticas desencadeadas por traços morfossintáticos em projeções funcionais. Discutirei evidências que mostram como essa noção de parâmetro é extremamente poderosa na descrição da variabilidade linguística em um nível micro das arquiteturas sintáticas. Adotando as diretrizes de um V2 criterial, no qual o verbo flexionado cria uma configuração Spec-Head com o núcleo criterial ativado mais alto na arquitetura sintática, observarei a variação microparamétrica no interior do romanche suíço em comparação com outras línguas V2, como o alemão. A variabilidade das línguas depende apenas das interações de fatores básicos, como a presença de uma projeção funcional e as operações sintáticas desencadeadas pelo elemento funcional. Especificamente, é possível observar que as variedades alemã e Romanche Suíço variam na ativação de instruções sintáticas em projeções funcionais relacionadas ao discurso, como SubjP, ModP e ForceP. O papel dos traços morfossintáticos descreve, assim, em termos microparamétricos, a riqueza de configurações previstas pela abordagem cartográfica e fornece tipologias refinadas de conjuntos de línguas.

Palavras-chave: Cartografia, Microparâmetros, Verbo em segunda posição, Romanche, Posições criteriais

1. Introduction: cartography and microparametric variation

One of the most important contributions of cartographic studies is to have provided a powerful tool for comparative syntax. The interaction of fine-grained maps of syntactic configurations and basic computational operations has contributed to detailed descriptions of language architectures and language variation.

The idea that linguistic variability could be reducible to a series of a limited number of parameters has resulted a basic component in comparative syntax in both diachronic and synchronic perspectives from the very first steps of generative grammar (see RIZZI, 2017, p. 159 for a brief history of the notion of parameter). As for this work, I adopt Rizzi (2017, p. 165 based on RIZZI 2014)'s definition of a parameter, in which “a parameter is an instruction for the triggering of a syntactic operation, expressed as a morphosyntactic feature associated to a functional head”. As for theoretical guidelines, I will follow those provided by the Cartography of Syntactic Structures (CINQUE; RIZZI, 2010; RIZZI; CINQUE, 2016) because, as noted by Rizzi (2017, p. 185), “cartographic studies suggest that the functional lexicon is very rich, hence if the parametrization is associated to this component

the system will specify many parameters”. In other words, the fine-grained maps, which are not syntactic primitives (RIZZI, 2013), uncovered by the cartographic enterprise yield clear predictions on language variability at both macro- and micro-level.

In this work, I will focus on those functional projections at the interfaces with scope-discourse semantics properties in a set of Verb Second (henceforth V2, see HOLMBERG, 2015) varieties of Swiss Romansh (HAIMAN; BENINCÀ, 1992; ANDERSON, 2005, 2016, p.169) spoken in the south-west of Switzerland, belonging to the family of Romance languages. The label Swiss Romansh (henceforth, SR) denotes the set of varieties of (i) Surselvan, (ii) Sutselvan, (iii) Surmiran, (iv) Putér and (v) Vallader which will be investigated throughout this work. The aim of this contribution is to observe microparametric variations in the activation of the Left Periphery of the clause (RIZZI 1997) within SR varieties and their status in the set of V2 languages, focusing on the comparative dimension with German.

In section 2, I shall discuss how a notion of parameters in terms of syntactic operations interacts with the criterial approach to scope-discourse semantics developed in Cartography. In section 3, I shall provide evidence for a microparametric typology for Swiss Romansh variation in terms of morphosyntactic operations in activating discourse-based functional projections and complementizer position.

2. Parameters, Criteria and the Left Periphery

2.1. Rizzi (2017)’s notion of parameter

Following the ‘Borer-Chomsky conjecture’ (BORER, 1983), the functional lexicon is the locus of variation among languages. Adopting a concept of parameters merging cartographic maps of syntactic configurations and basic computational operations, language variability could be exhaustively and elegantly described. A formal account of the notion of ‘parameter’ (RIZZI, 2017) which I adopt is given in (1).

- (1) Parameter (adapted from RIZZI, 2017 p. 166 ex. 6)

X has F

Where:

X is an element of the functional lexicon (e.g. functional heads, CINQUE; RIZZI, 2016)

F is a morphosyntactic feature triggering the operation of [merge], [move], [spell-out]

In this work, I will adopt a series of functional sequences which are relevant with the data I shall

When functional element enters syntax becoming a functional head in the relevant configuration, it will trigger one syntactic operation on the structure which is built. The syntactic operations are simple, highly learnable and restricted to an extremely reduced set for reasons of learnability. These operations are the operation of (i) *merge*, that is the opportunity of merging a specific functional projection in the analysed language, (ii) *move*, which concerns the probe-goal relation and the movement of both head and phrases, and finally (iii) the operation of *spellout*. See Rizzi (2017) for an exhaustive discussion on the format of the syntactic operations, presented in (6).

(6) Operations

1. Merge

2. Move

- a. Search: Probe-goal relation at the phrasal level
- b. IM: Internal merge of phrases
- c. Search_{lex}: Probe-goal relation at the head level
- d. IM_{lex}: Internal merge of heads

3. Spellout

In sub-section 2.2., I shall provide an example of how language vary in activating heads in the LP, observing syntactic operations triggered by one specific functional projection, FocusP, in natural languages.

2.2. Language variability in activating criterial functional projections: the example of FocusP

Criterial heads in criterial positions start the application of interpretative routines at the interface with the system of sound, through the assignment of the appropriate intonational contour (BOCCI, 2013), and at the interface with the system of meaning, by interpreting the dependent of the criterial head in terms of the appropriate notions (e.g. Topic – Comment, Focus – Presupposition, etc.). In other words, the criterial head in a criterial position (i) attracts a phrase bearing the matching criterial feature and creates a Spec-head configuration with a dependent element (XP); (ii) gives instructions to the system of sound and meaning to properly interpret the dependent element (BOCCI, 2013) and (iii); the dependent element is “frozen in place, and becomes unavailable to further movements” (RIZZI, 2015, p. 317).

Languages vary in activating functional heads and the strategy in how these projections are realized. Let us observe the syntactic operations triggered by one specific functional projection in the Left Periphery, FocusP.

The combinations of the syntactic operations [merge], [move] and [spell-out] create the variability of the syntactic strategies adopted by different languages. The strategy in Gungbe is to *merge* the functional projection FocusP and to *spell-out* the head which triggers the movement of an XP (*Search*, *IM*). The Italian's strategy, on the other hand, partially differ from the one of Gungbe, since the *spell-out* of Focus° is not required. Finally, the syntactic operations in German (and plausibly generalizing all V2 languages and Focus adjacency languages⁶) require both head movement (*Search*_{lex}, *IM*_{lex}) and phrasal movement (*Search*, *IM*).

The parametrization is to be observed in (10), summing up the three strategies described in the examples (7 – 9). The Boolean values are adopted for the features coding, by indicating if the relevant operation is active *1* or not *0*.

(10) Language Variability in activating FocusP

<i>Language</i>	<i>Merge</i>	<i>Spell-out</i>	<i>Search</i>	<i>IM</i>	<i>Search</i> _{lex}	<i>IM</i> _{lex}
Italian	1	0	1	1	0	0
Gungbe	1	1	1	1	0	0
German	1	0	1	1	1	1

The factorial combinations of the Boolean operators shall lead to finer crosslinguistic and typological variation of the strategies adopted by languages in activating and syntactically realizing the different functional projections of the syntactic architecture.

A typology of V2 languages is expected according to the syntactic operations triggered by the different functional projections in the LP. We thus expect to find variation among V2 languages, especially at the microlevel within SR varieties.

3. Role of morphosyntactic features in microparametric variation among Romance languages.

Following the parametric approach of the one developed in section 2 based on the theoretical assumptions in Rizzi (2017), a fine-grained typology of expected patterns among SR varieties and their comparison with other V2 languages like German should be provided. Section 3.1. will be dedicated to the V3 orders and the microparametric typology concerning the syntactic operations provided by the instructions given in SubjP; Section 3.2. shall deal with the V3 orders generated if the functional projection ModP does not trigger head movement; section 3.3 shall develop some notes

6 The adjacency of INFL with a focussed item also occurs, strategy often referred to as Focus Adjacency, occurs crosslinguistically in many natural languages such as, among others, Hindi-Urdu (KIDWAI, 2000), Malagasy (KEENAN, 1976), Georgian (SKOPETEAS; FANSELOW, 2010), Standard Arabic (SHLONSKY 2000), Hungarian (PUSKÁS, 2000) and Modern Greek (TSIMPLI, 1995).

concerning V3 orders involving Left Peripheral elements as leftmost items and finally section 3.4. shall discuss the nature of the complementizer in embedded clauses in SR varieties.

3.1. Syntactic operations triggered by subject positions.

Adopting a Criterial approach to V2 (SAMO, 2019), German creates Spec-Head configuration in the highest subject position in a cartography of Subject positions (CARDINALETTI, 2004) in “canonical” subject-initial clauses⁷, as given in (11).

- (11) German
- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| [_{SpecSubj} | Giotto | [_{Subj^o} - malte | [dieses Fresko]] |
| | Giotto | painted.3SG | this fresco |
- ‘Giotto painted this fresco’

Logically speaking, there are several diagnostics to locate the landing site of the verb in “canonical” subject-initial clauses. In this sub-section, I shall present, respectively, a case of asymmetry of morphosyntactic realization among subject initial and non-subject-initial contexts and intervening material between the subject and the lexical verb.

The first dimension of diagnostics I would like to investigate is related to asymmetries in the occurrences of subject clitics in subject- and non-subject-initial contexts. Following Anderson (2005), Surmiran subject clitic doubling is optional in non-subject-initial contexts, as given in (12a,b), but the presence of the clitic leads to ungrammaticality in subject-initial contexts (12c, d).

- (12) Surmiran (ANDERSON, 2005, p. 206-207, ex. 7.43, 7.44a, 7.45a, 7.45b).
- a. Rumantsch discorra Ursus stupent
Rumantsch speaks.3sg Ursus excellently
‘Ursus speaks Rumantsch very well’
 - b. Rumantsch discorra=¹I Ursus stupent
Rumantsch speaks.3sg-3sg.m Ursus excellently
‘Ursus speaks Rumantsch very well’
 - c. Ursus discorra stupent Rumantsch
Ursus speaks.3sg excellently Rumantsch
‘Ursus speaks Rumantsch very well’

⁷ Such a hypothesis follows the asymmetric analysis proposed by Travis (1984) and Zwart (1997) according to which the verb does not move to the CP in subject initial clauses.

- d. *Ursus discorra=**I** stupent Rumantsch
Ursus speaks.3sg.3sg.m. excellently Rumantsch
Ursus speaks Rumantsch very well'

According to the description in Linder (1987) and Fuß (2005), Sutselvan clearly shows a slightly different (and I would add more cartographic) form of clitic doubling: the clitic doubling “appears to be more common” and now is “almost an obligatory phenomenon that has lost its function as a stylistically marked structural option” (FUSS, 2005, p. 192). Indeed, the subject DP does not receive stress (LINDER, 1987, p. 150), resulting, plausibly in a “canonical” subject.

(13) Sutselvan (LINDER, 1987, p. 148, 149, 153, 193)

- a. Egn da quels lev-**i** ear jou
One of those wanted-cl1s also I
'I also wanted one of those'
- b. Ascheia vain-**sa nus** arviart igl mulegn...
so have-cl1p we unlocked the mill
'So we have unlocked the mill'
- c. Igl fetschi preaschas, â-l **el** getg.
It is urgetn, has-cl3sm he said.
'He said it's urgent'
- d. Cunquegl c'igl eara november, vev-**la la scola** antschiat
since it was November, had-cl3sf the school begun
'Since it was November, the school had begun'
- e. Natiral vev-**in las matàns** radetg sei mailenders.
Of course had-cl3p the girls brought up Milans
'Of course, the girl had brought up some Milans [pastries]'

The clitic doubling is evidence that the inflected verb, does not move to Subj^o, but rather to a lower position. According to Samo (SAMO, 2019), a candidate position is plausibly Agr^o in terms of Cardinaletti (2004)'s system.

The second evidence for different instructions between SR and German in the activation of SubjP in V2 languages is the opportunity of finding intervening material, such as focusing adverbs (see TESCARI NETO, 2012), between the canonical subject and the inflected lexical verb, as the evidence provided in Surselvan in (14). Similar patterns could be found in other V2 languages like Icelandic (THRAINSSON 2007) and Norwegian (NIELSEN 2003).

- (14) Surselvan (<http://www.sms4science.ch/>; Corpus SMS4science, Sms n. 24022)
 Jeu bunamein sedurmentel
 I almost fell.asleep
 ‘I almost feel asleep’

In other words, no Spec-Head configuration in SubjP is detected and, plausibly, INFL moves to a lower position within the IP domain (see SAMO, 2018b for an overview and discussion), such as a T° position or the head of the FocAdvP, which plausibly lies in the peripheral low IP area proposed by Belletti (2004), hosting Topic and Focus positions. A derivation is given in (14’).

- (14’) [_{SpecSubj} Jeu [_{SpecFocAdv} bunamein [_{T°/FocAdv°} sedurmentel]]]
 I almost fell.asleep
 ‘I almost feel asleep’

A first parametric variation between SR varieties and German is clear. In German, the subject creates a Spec-Head configuration with the subject, whereas in Surmiran, Sutselvan and Surselvan the inflected verb moves to a lower position. Table (15) shows the different strategies adopted by languages: in German, the subject creates a Spec Head configuration, whereas such a pattern is ruled out in the investigated SR varieties.

(15) Language Variability in activating **SubjP**

<i>Language</i>	<i>Merge</i>	<i>Spell-out</i>	<i>Search</i>	<i>IM</i>	<i>Search_{lex}</i>	<i>IM_{lex}</i>
German	1	0	1	1	1	1
Surmiran	1	0	1	1	1	0
Sutselvan	1	0	1	1	1	0
Surselvan	1	0	1	1	1	0

In other words, both the case of asymmetry of morphosyntactic realization among subject initial and non-subject-initial contexts and intervening material between the subject and the lexical verb imply the lack of IM_{lex} in SR varieties. Table (15) presents that V2 languages do not behave as a homogenous group. In sub-section 3.2., I shall investigate the syntactic operations triggered by Mod(ification)P (RIZZI, 2004), a landing site of “highlighted” adverbials and complements in the LP.

3.2. Syntactic operations triggered by Mod(ification)P

A diagnostic tool to investigate dissimilarities among V2 languages is the quality of violations to the V2 constraint, tendentially referred to as V3 (see SAMO, 2019).

Within the LP, Rizzi (2004, p. 241)’s Mod(ification)P has been described as the landing site

- (17) Vallader (OETZEL, 1994, p. 157)
 Prö üna chasa da vaschins üna merla ha fat seis gnieu
 On a house of neighbours a blackbird has made her nest
 'On one of the houses of the neighbours, a black bird made its nest'
- (18) Putèr (OETZEL, 1994, p. 157, 161)
- a. Uossa Ciglia **la clama**
 Now Ciglia her calls
 Now Ciglia calls her'
- b. Nodvart l'alp Giuvannes **evra** a la fin la buocha
 This-side of alps Giuvannes opened finally the mouth
 'Once in this side of Alps, Giuvannes finally started talking'

On the other hand, there are two ways to detect if ModP requires the movement of INFL: (i) if the lack of Spec-Head configuration in ModP is ungrammatical, as in the example (19) from Surselvan, and (ii) if the grammaticality of “highlighted” adverbials/ results from standard V2 clauses, as in the German example in (20).

- (19) Surselvan
 *Ussa el bab **clama** la onda
 Now the father calls the aunt
 'Now, the father is calling the aunt'
- (20) German
 Jetzt **ruft** der Vater die Tante an.
 Now calls the father the aunt prep
 'Now, the father is calling the aunt'

Summing up, in (21) we can observe the typology of elements triggering the Spec-Head configurations in ModP. While German and Surselvan requires the head movement (IM_{lex}), the strategy adopted by Putèr and Vallader does not.

(21) Language Variability in activating ModP

Language	Merge	Spell-out	Search	IM	Search _{lex}	IM _{lex}
German	1	0	1	1	1	1
Surselvan	1	0	1	1	1	1
Putèr	1	0	1	1	1	0
Vallader	1	0	1	1	1	0

Microparametric variations are thus observed concerning the instructions given in ModP. Putér and Vallader microparametrically differ from Surselvan, showing linguistic variability at the micro-level in SR varieties. In subsection 3.3., I will analyse V3 orders if elements like Topic or Focus do not trigger head movement.

3.3. Some notes on V3 orders with internally merged items

Focus and Topics differ from a semantic, syntactic (RIZZI, 1997, p. 240) and phonological (BOCCI 2013) point of view. A criterial V2 predicts that these elements can co-occur in the LP, as they do in Italian, but INFL targets the highest activated criterial functional projection, yielding a V2 order. If the highest activated criterial position does not require the Spec-Head configuration, then a V3 order is created.

In Putér, a particular type of V3 order is attested. A left peripheral element precedes the subject without creating the Spec-head configuration with INFL, as given in (22).

(22) Putér (OETZEL, 1994, p. 163, 164)

- a. Da quella Maria **nu** **pudaiva** sfügir
From that Maria NEG can escape
'From that, Mary could not escape'
- b. per bgers ün purtret **es** ün bun amih
For many a portrait is a good friend
'For many people, a portrait is a good friend'
- c. ma da que üngün **nu** **s'ho** inachüert ünguotta
But of that nobody NEG refl.have noticed nothing
'About that, Nobody noticed anything'
- d. a Ludwig ils ögls **haun** cumanzo a glüschir
to Ludwig the eyes **have** started to glow
'Ludwig's eyes started glowing'

Each leftmost item in (22) seems to be extracted from the sentence and they all share two properties: (i) they all bear a preposition (ii) and these plausibly topical PP do not obligatorily realize a resumptive element within the IP as in Italian. Inspired by Casalicchio & Cognola (2016), these V3 orders may result from the lack of locality violations between the two fronted elements and the presence of a null resumptive element could be related to the lack of Spec-Head configuration requirements in the criterial position. As for (22d), a further hypothesis is to consider the fronting to

the LP of a chunk of XPs containing the hierarchy of complements proposed by Schweikert (2005) and the object (that can only occur as last element in the cluster), as it has been proposed by Samo (2018a) for ‘superficial’ V3 orders in German. Further research is required; however, it is clear that a criterial approach is able to predict and provide a fine-grained analysis of V3 orders.

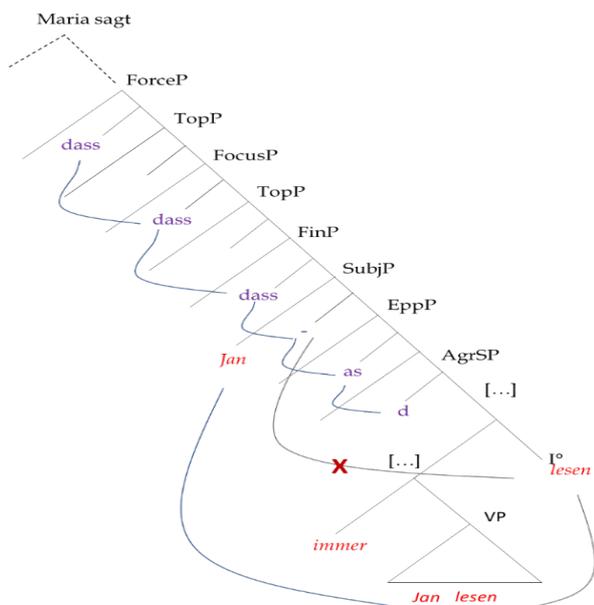
3.4. On the nature of the complementizer: syntactic operations triggered by ForceP.

German does not allow V2 in embedded clauses, as given in the example in (23). As the example (23) shows, the verb does not move to the LP remaining in a IP-internal position.

- (23) German
 Maria sagt **dass** Jan immer Bücher **liest**
 Mary says that John always books reads

Inspired by Leu (2015)’s proposal, Samo (2018a) postulates that the subordinators in (non-embedded V2 languages like) German are first generated IP internally (in an AgrSP position in CARDINALETTI 2004’s system) and then moved to Force° through Fin° and all the activated criterial positions. The lack of a Spec-Head configuration in LP positions is due to the fact that the copy of the complementizer in the IP is able to block the movement of the verb to the head of the activated criterial position in terms of fRM, as in (24)¹⁰. Therefore, there is no V2 (to be read as Spec-Head configuration with INFL) even in subject or expletive subject-initial clauses.

- (24) No Embedded V2 in standard German (from SAMO, 2018a: 141; 25)



¹⁰ The hypothesis here involves a right-branching of the inflectional head, compatible with Kayne (1994)’s anti-symmetry theory, adopting some specific movements. For reason of space, I will not discuss the implementation here.

However, different V2 languages allow V2 in embedded contexts. SR varieties belong to this set of languages, as the examples given in (25) with both subjects and non-subjects elements.

(25) Surselvan

- a. El a detg **che** Renzo **lavura** a Cuir
 he has said that Renzo works in Chur
 Surmiran (ANDERSON, 2005, p. 212, ex. 7.56, 7.57a, b)
- b. Ia pains **tgi** dultschems **vegia** Corinna gugent
 I think that sweets have.SBJT.3s Corinna gladly
 ‘I think Corinna likes sweets’
- c. Cartez **tg’** igl settember **turnan**=s ainten chel hotel
 Believe that the September return.SBJT.1P in this hotel
 ‘Do you think in September we’ll come back to this hotel?’

In embedded V2 languages, there is no violation in terms of locality. Such patterns bring further evidence for a base-generation hypothesis of the complementizers in the relevant varieties. As for SR varieties, the complementizer of the *che/tgi* type may work exactly like the one in Romance languages (and therefore Italian *che*, cf. RIZZI 1997). In other words, I propose that the complementizer in SR varieties is directly generated in Force^o, and not internally merged from the IP, towards all the relevant activated criterial heads. Translating these results in table (26), we can observe that German¹¹ strategy is to internally merged the head of ForceP, whereas the strategy in Surmiran and Surselvan is to *spell-out* the functional head.

(26) Language Variability in activating ForceP

Language	Merge	Spell-out	Search	IM	Search _{lex}	IM _{lex}
German	1	0	0	0	1	1
Surmiran	1	1	0	0	1	0
Surselvan	1	1	0	0	1	0

The nature of the complementizer is therefore a further variable in exploring the dimension of variation between SR varieties and German.

11 See Jivanyan & Samo (2017) for a syntactic account of *weil* in German, which syntactically realizes at least two functional projections according to the pragmatic reading of the element (speech-act, epistemic and content).

Conclusion

After having presented a notion of parameters in terms of morphosyntactic features and adopting the guidelines of a criterial approach to V2 (SAMO, 2018a; 2019), I discussed how this notion is able to account for language variability among V2 languages concerning the functional projections in the LP. The elements discussed in this work may thus indicate that variation among SR varieties and other V2 languages, such as German, is extremely microparametric. The language variability only relies on the interactions of basic factors, such as the presence of a functional projection and the syntactic operations triggered by the functional element. The role of morphosyntactic features thus describes in microparametric terms the richness of configurations predicted by cartographic guidelines, providing fine-grained typologies of set of languages. In the specific, it is possible to observe German and SR varieties vary in the activation of syntactic instructions in discourse related functional projections such as SubjP, ModP and ForceP. If this line of argumentation is on the right track, finer-grained distinctions shall be detected for every functional projection of the syntactic architecture. In other words, superficially complex variability could be explained with extremely clear tools and basic elements. The Cartography of syntactic structure (CINQUE; RIZZI, 2010; RIZZI; CINQUE, 2016) may represent a formal tool able to reconstruct the picture of language variability with a small set of syntactic operations triggered by a set of functional elements.

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