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
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
discuss in section 3. My focus will rely on criterial elements, whose properties of scope-discourse semantics are expressed by sets of operators and sets of positions used to express “articulations relevant for the structuring of discourse” (RIZZI; CINQUE, 2016, p. 145), contributing to the “syntacticisation” (CINQUE; RIZZI, 2010; RIZZI, 2013) of semantics, pragmatics and prosodic properties.

First of all, I will adopt the map of the fine structure of the Left Periphery (henceforth, LP) provided Rizzi & Bocci (2017) given in (2), whose elements function at the interfaces with the systems of sound and meaning such as the criterial position of Topic and Focus.

(2) The fine structure of the Left Periphery (RIZZI; BOCCI, 2017; RIZZI; CINQUE 2016, p. 146)
[Force [Top* [Int [Top* [Focus [Top* [Mod [Top* [Qemb [Fin [IP [...]]]]]]]]]]]]]

A subject criterion as well has been proposed to cartographically express the classical EPP feature (Rizzi 2006). As for the landing site of “canonical” subjects, I shall adopt a cartography of subject positions proposed by Cardinaletti (2004), given in (3).

(3) Cartography of subject positions (CARDINALETTI 2004)
[SpecSubjP [SpecEPP [SpecAgrSP ]]]

Questions of movement and interpretation of criterial heads are related to other domains of the syntactic architecture, such as the functional projections within the Inflection Phrase (IP). As for this work, I will adopt the map of the invariant ordering clausal functional projections in (4), drawn from cross-linguistic evidence presented in Cinque (1999).

(4) Cinque (1999)’s hierarchy of adverbials

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{MoodSpeech-act} \quad \text{frankly} \\
\text{MoodValuative} \quad \text{fortunately} \\
\text{MoodEvidential} \quad \text{allegedly} \\
\text{ModEpistemic} \quad \text{probably} \\
\text{That} \\
\text{once} \quad \text{then} \\
\text{ModRealis} \quad \text{perhaps} \\
\text{ModNecessity} \quad \text{necessarily} \\
\text{ModPossibility} \quad \text{possibly} \\
\text{AspHabitual} \quad \text{usually} \\
\text{again} \quad \text{often} \\
\text{ModVolitional} \quad \text{intentionally} \\
\text{AspCelerative(I)} \quad \text{quickly} \\
\text{Tnterior} \\
\text{already} \quad \text{no longer} \\
\text{AspTerminative} \quad \text{still} \\
\text{AspPerfect} \quad \text{always} \\
\text{AspRetrospective} \quad \text{just} \\
\text{AspProximate} \\
\text{soon} \quad \text{briefly} \\
\text{AspDative} \quad \text{characteristically} \\
\text{AspGeneric/Progressive} \quad \text{almost} \\
\text{AspPerspective} \quad \text{AspSg.Completive(I)} \\
\text{completely} \quad \text{tutto} \quad \text{Voice well} \\
\text{AspPl.Completive} \quad \text{AspSg.Completive(II)} \\
\text{often} \quad \text{AspFrequenta}
\end{array}
\]

Schweikert (2005) proposed an enrichment of Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy, adding a hierarchy of complements and PP modifiers, which is presented in (5).

(5) Hierarchy of complements (SCHWEIKERT, 2005, p. 132)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TEMPORAL} \quad \text{LOCATIVE} \quad \text{COMITATIVE} \quad \text{BENEFACTIVE} \quad \text{REASON} \quad \text{SOURCE} \\
\text{GOAL} \quad \text{MALEFACTIVE} \quad \text{INSTRUMENTAL} \quad \text{MATTER} \quad \text{MANNER}
\end{array}
\]
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\textsubscript{lex} Probe-goal relation at the head level
   d. IM\textsubscript{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.
In many natural languages, such as Gungbe (ABOH, 2004), the head of the functional projection Focus° triggering the movement of an XP to its Spec bearing the relevant feature is realized with a specific particle morpheme, as given in the example in (7).

(7) Gungbe (ABOH, 2007 p. 85 ex. 9c)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SpecFoc} \\
\text{Kòfì} \\
\text{Foc}° \\
\text{Kòfì} \\
\text{wè} \\
\text{ùn} \\
\text{yró} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I called Kòfì’

A Focus head triggering the movement of a focussed XP could also be realized as null in natural languages, as it is given in the Italian example in (8).

(8) Italian

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SpecFoc} \\
\text{IL LIBRO} \\
\text{Foc}° \\
\text{- [ Gianni } \\
\text{ha} \\
\text{letto ___ (non l’articolo) ]]} \\
\text{The book} \\
\text{Gianni} \\
\text{has} \\
\text{read ___ (not the article) } \\
\end{array}
\]

Finally, a further strategy is to move an already merged head² to activate Focus°. A plausible candidate head able to undergo such a movement is the inflected verbal head (henceforth, infl).

Adopting the proposal that the V2 constraint is a sum of Spec-Head configurations between the inflected verb and an XP bearing informational properties in every head of the LP³ (Criterial V2⁴, SAMO, 2019), an example of a Focus configuration in a V2 language is given in (9) drawing evidence from German, in which an element bearing corrective focus⁵ has been fronted to the LP.

(9) German (Corrective Focus)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SpecFoc} \\
\text{DIESES FRESKO} \\
\text{Foc}° \\
\text{- [ Giotto ]} \\
\text{This fresco} \\
\text{Giotto} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘It is THIS FRESCO which Giotto painted (e.g. not the one there)’

---

2 Head movement is not subject to criterial freezing.

3 ForceP: Imperative clauses, Conditionals, Exclamatives, Optative sentences; TopicP: Topicalized elements; FocusP: Wh questions, Focalized elements (BIANCHI; BOCCI; CRUSCHINA, 2015); ModP: Highlighted adverbials and complements (RIZZI, 2004); SubjP: “Canonical” subject sentences (CARDINALETTI 2004).

4 The criterial approach to V2 (SAMO, 2018a, SAMO, 2019) predicts that infl moves to every criterial activated position until it halts at the highest one, ultimately the second position of the clause. As a result, multiple heads can simultaneously trigger the movement of infl, if the fronted XPs do not violate any standard locality effects in terms of featural Relativized Minimality (fRM, RIZZI, 1990, 2004; STARKE 2001). An ideally syntactic architecture is given in (i), in which four XPs bearing different morphosyntactic features (+Topic, +Focus, +Mod, RIZZI, 2004 and +Subj, RIZZI, 2006) do not block each other in terms of fRM. In (i), the set of IP internal XPs bearing informational properties is unordered.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ForceP} \\
\text{[Force°]} \\
\text{[TopP] XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{FocP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{SpecSubjP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\text{XP} \text{XP} \\
\end{array}
\]

5 For a finer-grained typology of Foci, see Bianchi et al. (2015)
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*_lux) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Merge</th>
<th>Spell-out</th>
<th>Search</th>
<th>IM</th>
<th>Searchₗₑₓ</th>
<th>IMₗₑₓ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gungbe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
[\text{SpecSubj}] \text{Giotto} & [\text{Subj} - \text{malte]} & [\text{dieses Fresko}]] \\
\text{Giotto} & \text{ painted.3sg} & \text{this fresco} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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=’I 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=’l 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°, but rather to a lower position. According to Samo (SAMO, 2019), a candidate position is plausibly Agr° 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/](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 as 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Merge</th>
<th>Spell-out</th>
<th>Search</th>
<th>IM</th>
<th>Search\textsubscript{lex}</th>
<th>IM\textsubscript{lex}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surmiran</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutselvan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surselvan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\textsubscript{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
for “highlighted” adverbs (CINQUE, 1999) and PP modifiers (SCHWEIKERT 2005), “assuming modification to be the substantive relation between an adverb and the structure it relates to”.

The criterial approach expects a particular type of asymmetry: since “canonical” subject should remain in their SpecSubj position lower than ModP and objects can only move to criterial positions (MOHR 2009, p. 154) higher than ModP (e.g. TopicP, FocusP), the prediction is that one should encounter asymmetries between “subject-initial” contexts, or better to say “subject-second”, and “object-initial” sentences, as given in (16).

(16) Expected asymmetries under a criterial approach

Subject-Initial sentences: V3

\[
[\text{ForceP} \ldots [\text{SpecMod} \text{Yesterday/There} [\text{Mod}^\circ \ldots [\text{SpecSubjP} \text{the student} [\text{Subj}^\circ \text{read [IP the book]]]]]]]
\]

Object-Initial sentences: V2

\[
[\text{ForceP} \ldots [\text{SpecFocus} \text{The book} [\text{Foc}^\circ \text{read [SpecMod yesterday/there} [\text{Mod}^\circ \ldots [\text{SpecSubjP} \text{the student} [\text{IP ]]]]]]]]
\]

In Subject-initial clauses the inflected verb moves and creates a Spec-Head configuration with the subject: since ModP (the highest activated left peripheral functional projection) does not require the Spec-Head configuration, a V3 order is found. In case of an object-initial clause, a double step movement is required: (i) INFL first moves to Subj° to create a Spec-Head configuration in SubjP and (ii) moves higher to create a Spec-Head configuration with the highest activated criterial configuration (FocusP in this case), resulting in a V2 order.

Therefore, I should expect V3 orders with the leftmost element as a temporal or locative element, if and only if the subject is the second element of the clause. The expected pattern is observed in two SR varieties. ModP seems not requiring Spec-Head configuration in Vallader (17) and Putèr (18a, b).

8 Distributional properties do suggest that highlighted adverbials (RIZZI, 2013, p. 203) fill positions distinct from those of topics, as the clause following a preposed adverb does not typically function as a comment on it since highlighted adverbials do not require connection with the background. Fronted adverbials might be genuine Topics or Foci, but “in neutral context they are neither”. (RIZZI; BOCCI, 2017).

9 These predictions work for those items which are extracted. I will not discuss those cases of V3 orders with the leftmost element which is generated in a higher layer / structure of the clause. Indeed, in the literature concerning one SR variety, Putèr, it is also possible to observe a specific V3 order with something that it is generated higher than Force°, such as the element uschê ‘so’ with we may label as a speech-act adverb.

(i) Putèr (OETZEL, 1994, p. 161)

uschê niaunch’orma nu savaiva nouvas da la gramma
so no soul NEG know news on the cream

‘Nobody knew anything on the cream’
(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Merge</th>
<th>Spell-out</th>
<th>Search</th>
<th>IM</th>
<th>Search^lex</th>
<th>IM^lex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vallader</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 glüschihr
      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)\textsuperscript{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 Cuira
   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.ip 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°, and not internally merged from the IP, towards all the relevant activated criterial heads. Translating these results in table (26), we can observe that German 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Search</th>
<th>IM</th>
<th>Search_{lex}</th>
<th>IM_{lex}</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surmiran</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surselvan</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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