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Morphosyntactic variation in a migration context:
L1 attrition and L2 acquisition among L1 German – L2 Spanish bilinguals in Spain.

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This study reports intra-generational and also intra-speaker morphosyntactic variation of German and Spanish in the adult grammars of a group of 32 late-sequential L1 German – L2 Spanish bilinguals with an average of 24 years of residence in Spain. Two morphosyntactic properties: predicative adjective gender agreement and negation were tested. The study is – to the best of my knowledge – the first two investigate L1 attrition of German under the influence of a Romance language, to reveal bi-directional cross-linguistic influence in the morphosyntax of both German and Spanish, and to investigate predicative adjective gender agreement and negation in attrition in adult grammars.

In German, gender agreement is never marked morphologically on adjectives in predicative position whilst in Spanish such agreement marking is obligatory e.g.:

German	Spanish
Der Hund ist schwarz(-ø)	El perro es negr-o
The.MASC dog(MASC) is black-MASC	The.MASC dog(MASC) is black-MASC
The dog is black.	The dog is black.

Standard German is a type of Double Negation language: sentential negation is achieved through a single semantically negative element. Spanish is a type of Negative Concord language: two or more negative elements yield one semantically negative reading. This gives rise to a number of cross-linguistic contrasts. The following negation structures are tested in this study (NEG – negative marker, NQ – Negative Quantifier, NCI – Negative Concord Item, NPI- Negative Polarity Item):

German

a) Peter trinkt nichts.
   Peter drinks nothing.NQ
   Peter drinks nothing.
b) *Peter trinkt nicht nichts.
   Peter drinks not.NEG nothing.NQ
   Peter drinks nothing.
c) *Niemand trinkt nichts.
   No one.NQ drinks nothing.NQ
   No one drinks anything.
d) Niemand trinkt etwas.
   No one-NQ. drinks anything-NPI.
   No one drinks anything.

Spanish

a) *Pedro bebe nada.
   Pedro drinks nothing.NCI
   Pedro drinks nothing.
b) Pedro no bebe nada.
   Pedro not.NEG drink nothing.NCI
   Pedro drinks nothing.
c) Nadie bebe nada.
   No one-NCI. drinks nothing-NCI.
   No one drinks anything.
d) *Nadie bebe algo.
   No one.NCI drinks anything.NPI
   No one drinks anything.

The findings reported herein are part of larger study on L1 grammatical attrition (understood to be any instance of restructuring of adult L1 morphosyntactic representations) and L2 acquisition which tests multiple L1 – L2 combinations and multiple morphosyntactic properties within each combination in order to investigate the role of cross-linguistic similarity, both in terms of the overall holistic similarity of the two languages in contact and also at the level of individual grammatical structures, in attrition. In particular, the study empirically tests a recent Minimalist model of grammatical attrition: The Attrition via Acquisition Model (Hicks

and Domínguez, 2020a, 2020b). In the model, the possibility of attrition is determined by the availability of intake (defined as processed input) and the potential for Feature Reassembly (FR) (Lardiere, 2009) of a previously acquired L1 structure. Two broad predictions follow from the model's assumptions. Firstly, attrition is in principle only possible for an L1 structure which has an analogous/equivalent L2 form which nonetheless differs in its respective functional feature specifications. In attrition contexts there is the potential for the L1 feature specifications of such structures to be re-assembled to match those of the corresponding L2 structure. Secondly, attrition is facilitated in cases where the L2 is holistically more similar to the L1. To develop the predictive power of the model, the study also formulates and investigates the novel hypothesis that attrition is further facilitated for L1 structures which would need to undergo less complex FR for their morphosyntactic feature specifications to match those of the corresponding L2 structure due to greater overlap in the relevant L1-L2 feature assemblies (essentially, cross-linguistic structural similarity formalised in Minimalist terms). In light of these predictions, attrition of L1 German under the influence of L2 Spanish is assumed to be unlikely in the first place. According to the set of criteria formulated to establish the degree of complexity of FR required for attrition, German predicative adjective agreement is predicted to be more likely to attrite than negation under the influence of L2 Spanish.

These two properties are tested by means of a bimodal Acceptability Judgement Task (AJT). There is a German and an equivalent Spanish version. In order to investigate the relationship between L2 acquisition and L1 attrition, the potential attriters completed both L1 and L2 versions of the relevant AJT. Cumulative Link mixed effects modelling revealed no statistically significant differences between the potential attriter group and an L1 German control group on any of the 8 experimental conditions. However, on a number of conditions the judgements of several individual participants are indicative of L1 attrition due to L2 influence. Such attrition manifested primarily as L2 convergence and L1 – L2 optionality both within and across the conditions. For example, some participants strongly and consistently accepted German sentences with overt predicative adjective agreement with both masculine and feminine nouns, or accepted the negation structures b) and c) above, in line with the L2 Spanish grammar. A number also rejected the grammatical German structure d), again in line with the Spanish grammar. Others exhibited optionality by alternating between strongly accepting and strongly rejecting the same structure within the same condition. In some cases, participants' L2 Spanish grammars showed clear L1 influence – particularly for the negation structures – despite their length of residence in Spain. Finally, some participants exhibited bi-directional cross-linguistic influence in that near identical patterns of L1-L2 optionality were found in both their L1 and L2 for the equivalent structures.

The nature and causes of these patterns of intra-speaker morphosyntactic variation in both languages, as well as how best to account for such patterns with existing Minimalist models of grammatical variation, will be discussed in detail. The implications of these findings are also briefly considered both with reference to the AvA model and for theoretically modelling grammatical variation in attrition more generally.

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Prescribing syntactic variation in Catalan

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It is well known that standardization processes and linguistic codification tend to reduce linguistic variation to achieve more communicative efficiency in formal and public language use (Haugen 1966). Nevertheless, the *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana,* published by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in 2016, is presented as a normative grammar in which linguistic variation is considered when establishing the linguistic norm (GIEC 2016). So that, the main aim of this research is to analyse the role of linguistic variation, both dialectal and functional, in the prescriptive syntax statements of this grammar.

To analyse the data quantitatively and qualitatively, I created a corpus with 489 normative statements with linguistic variation from the «Syntax» chapters (that is, from chapter 13 to 35). These statements have been classified, distinguishing, first, between those with normative marks (e.g. «is avoided», «is accepted», among others) (1) and those with apparently descriptive marks (e.g. the use of verbs or indicators of frequency, among others) (2) (Benavent 2023), for instance:

1. Col·loquialment, *així* presenta variants del tipus *aixís, aixins, aixina* o *aixines*, que s'eviten en els registres formals (pàg. 797, lletra menuda). ['Colloquially, *així* shows variation such as *aixís, aixins, aixina* o *aixines*, which are avoided in formal registers']

2. En registres informals es troben els derivats col·loquials de *fotre*, com *fotimer, fotral, fotralada* o *fotracada*: *un fotimer de vegades, un fotral d'anys* (pàg. 521, lletra menuda). ['In informal registers there are colloquial derivatives of *fotre*, such as *fotimer, fotral, fotralada* o *fotracada*']

Secondly, the statements have been classified according to their marks of dialectal variation (3), functional variation (4), or the combination of the two types (5) (Gregory&Carroll 1978), for instance:

3. En els parlars baleàrics i septentrionals hi ha també el pronom *qualcú*, sinònim de *algú* (*Hi ha qualcú*?) (pàg. 648, lletra menuda). ['In Balearic and Northern Catalan varieties there is also the pronoun *qualcú*, synonym of *algú* (*Hi ha qualcú*?)']

4. En els registres molt formals, a més, també s'usa *quant* com a modificador d'adjectius i adverbis: *Quant savi era, Llull!; Quant intensament que viu aquest viatge*! (pàg. 1272, lletra grossa). ['In more formal registers, in addition, it is also used *quant* as a modifier of adjectives and adverbs: *Quant savi era, Llull!; Quant intensament que viu aquest viatge!*']

5. Encara que en certs parlars s'usa com a invariable la forma *dos*, en els registres formals és preferible mantenir la variació de gènere (pàg. 627, lletra menuda). ['Despite in some varieties is used *dos* in its invariable form, in formal registers it is preferable to maintain variation in gender']

The results are as follow:

- Statements including only functional or dialectal variation predominate over those which combine the two types of variation.

- In statements with dialectal variation, the predominance is found in those with geographic variation; temporal variation is less mentioned and there are no social variation indicators.

- In statements with functional variation, the predominance is found in the level of formality; other parameters (e.g. styles, field, specific registers, or tenor) have a secondary role.

- When prescribing the linguistic norm, this grammar does not always show explicit position regarding the phenomena; it mostly uses description for prescriptive purposes.

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Comparative contact: Loss of N-to-D movement in Daco-Romance & Italo-Romance

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The present work discusses changes in noun movement within the Determiner Phrase (DP) in two different Eastern Romance varieties, in distinct language contact scenarios. In particular, we explore changes in Eolian (a southern Italo-Romance variety = SID) as a result of contact with Milazzese (SID), and in Megleno-Romanian (a Daco-Romance variety) due to contact with the Slavic languages of Bulgarian and Macedonian.

Eolian (spoken in the Eolian archipelago) presents three distinct structural possibilities in the use of possessives with kinship terms – (a) a strong, postnominal possessive, (b) a weak (clitic) postnominal possessive, and (c) a weak (clitic) prenominal possessive. With common nouns, only the first option, is possible: postnominal possessives thus appear to be the most conservative. The third type is the only one found in most of Sicily, including Milazzese, for all types of nouns.

1. a.　　u　frate　mia
　　　　the brother my
　 b.　　fratema
　　　　brother=my
　 c.　　me frate
　　　　my brother
　　　　'My brother'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Eolian)

The present approach aims to provide an account of this variation (previously mentioned to varying degrees by Franceschi [1965:162] and Fanciullo [1983:65 fn.132]) through fieldwork that considers variables such as speaker age (19-25 vs. 58-70 years old), origin (Eolian, other Sicilian, Neapolitan, Moroccan), and schooling location (in loco vs. on mainland Sicily). Ultimately it is found that younger speakers, most of which received schooling in Milazzo (Sicily), strongly prefer the weak, prenominal form (option c), regardless of origin.

It is argued that the change from a postnominal to a prenominal possessive with kinship terms is being accelerated due to the intense contact between Eolian and Milazzese, which has increased with the recent trend of schooling children in Milazzo, where children may temporarily relocate with their mothers. In particular, we claim this should be interpreted as a loss of noun movement to the (possessive) D-head, which fails to obtain in the innovative form with prenominal possessives, the only option available to Milazzese speakers.

2. [DP [D fratema　[NP　frate]]] > [DP [D me [NP frate]]]
　　　　brother=my　brother　　　　my　　　brother
　'my brother'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Eolian)

This thesis is made more robust in comparison with what is argued to be a similar change in the Daco-Romance variety of Megleno-Romanian, a highly endangered variety spoken in the Meglen region straddling Greece and Northern Macedonia. After its split from common Romanian in the X century, it was in contact with Turkish, Greek, but especially the Slavic varieties of Bulgarian and Macedonian (highly related genealogically and typologically). While Megleno-Romanian presents the typical Balkan characteristic of postnominal articles, possessives are largely prenominal.

3. a.　　　[DP [D noastră] [NP casă]]

	our	house		(Megleno-Romanian)
b.	[DP [D -ta]	[POSSP nashata [NP kuka]]]
	the	our=the	house
	'Our house'			(Macedonian; Franks 2000)

This patterns largely with the surface word order of Bulgarian and Macedonian, which crucially present prenominal possessives (regardless of their structural position). Indeed, the only exception
to this pattern is precisely with kinship terms, where Megleno-Romanian preserves postnominal (clitic) possessives, just like the Slavic languages with which it is in contact.

4.   a.   [DP [D sor-ta]   [NP sor(ă)]]
          sister=your   sister
          'your sister' (Megleno-Romanian)
     b.   [DP [D majkamu] [NP majka]]
          mom=his   mom
          'his/her mom'   (Bulgarian/Macedonian; Franks 2000)

As with Eolian, Megleno-Romanian nouns lose their capacity for movement to the D-head due to contact with Slavic varieties, which present postnominal possessives (and low noun movement), as exemplified in the transition from a conservative form with postnominal possessives lacrimele tali to the more widespread prenominal possessives noastră casă (5).

5.   [DP [D lacrimele [POSSP tali [NP lacrimi]]] > [DP [D noastră] [NP casă]]
        tears=the   your   tears   our   house
        'Your tears' // 'Our house'   (Megleno-Romanian)

This parallel change in the loss of nominal movement nonetheless shows opposite behavior with kinship terms – loss of movement to D in the case of Eolian, and retention in the case of Megleno-Romanian – which reflects the different contexts in which the change begins.

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The transitivization of unaccusatives in spoken Italian

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One of the most interesting topics in (generative) linguistics is the distinction between unaccusative and unergative concerning intransitive verbs (Burzio 1986). According to this hypothesis, unaccusative verbs cannot assign accusative case to their object nor a theta-role to their subject. Verbs of this class, such as the Italian motion verbs *uscire* ("to go out") and *andare* ("to go"), exhibit monothematic structures. They cannot form the passive; they do not allow for causation and they use the auxiliary *essere* ("to be"). In spoken Italian, however, we observe transitivization of some (but not all) motion verbs, showing agentive and causative (ex. 1, 2), and more rarely passive constructions:

(1) Esco   il   cane
     go.out.1SG   the   dog
     Lit. „I go out the dog"
     "I take out the dog"

(2) Mario entra   la   macchina   in   garage
     Mario go.in-3SG   the   car   in.the   garage
     Lit. „Mario goes the car inside the garage"
     "Mario drives the car into the garage"

The main goal of this talk will be a detailed analysis of these constructions, as well as a syntactic and semantic description of this phenomenon. On the basis of newly assembled data, I will discuss how many and which verbs and verb classes are involved in transitivization, which ones are not involved, and why we find this distribution. A second aspect involves the investigation of which regional dialects use these constructions and which do not. Furthermore, it will be discussed whether we are confronted with an innovation or an old pattern, or whether this is an interference between dialects and standard Italian. In the latter case, the role of new communication media and their relevance for the spread of language phenomena on a national scale, mostly among younger speakers, should be investigated.

The geographical distribution shows a higher concentration in Southern and Centre Italy, although similar transitivizations might also be found in the North, in what appears to be a different paradigma with other roots:

(3) Tornami   la   penna
     go.back-2SG.IMP.-me   the   pen
     Lit. „go back the pen to me"
     "Give me the pen back"

A first analysis of the collected data suggests that these constructions tend to appear when canonical transitives are perceived as either too elaborate (for example, as the combination of a transitive verb and a preposition) or too formal.

Finally, comparing spoken Italian with Spanish, Catalan and French varieties, interesting similarities emerge (Jiménez Fernández & Tubino 2019, Lara Bermejo 2020, Pineda 2018), with Portuguese (both Brazilian and European) being a significant exception, not showing any transitivization of unaccusatives. The essential paradigmatic differences regarding the roots involved in the transitivization, the degree of subject agentivity, the role of information structure

and the acceptability rates characterize the crosslinguistic comparison and might help explain the observed difference.

The study is based on assumptions about causativity, agentivity and transitivity made by Haspelmath 1993 and Hopper & Thompson 1980, among others. Thus, the semantics of the most common verbs of motion and of the relation between their structural and idiosyncratic meaning (Beavers & KoontzGarboden 2020) will be investigated. A structural description of these transitivizations and of the influence of factors such as aspect, animacy and definiteness of the arguments, as well as the development of the grammaticalization process, will therefore be examined. The pilot study which I carried out offers a first insight into the current situation concerning the spontaneous acceptability rates given by speakers to transitive unaccusatives, as well as their active production. The first results of the pilot study which took place in Southern Latium (Latina) in 2021 and 2022 suggest that animacy and definiteness play a role concerning the acceptability of transitive unaccusatives. Furthermore, there seems to be an interrelation between the degree of proficiency in Standard Italian and the dialectal variety of the speaker on the one hand, and the production and acceptability of transitive verbs of motion on the other (see also Busso & Romagno 2021).

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Explaining cross-linguistic influence in bilingual contact grammars:
The case of perfective and imperfective marking by Spanish heritage speakers

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Heritage speakers, bilinguals raised in language contact contexts in which the heritage language is not societally supported outside the home, often diverge from monolingually-raised native speakers of that language, with cross-linguistic influence (CLI) from the social majority language resulting from reduced input to the heritage language frequently cited as a principal source of this divergence (Polinsky & Scontras, 2020). Putnam and Sánchez (2013) argue against this position, instead claiming that CLI obtains when the heritage language is less activated in the bilingual speaker's mind. Consequently, these two accounts offer competing predictions of the conditions in which CLI will obtain in individual-level language contact.

Previous research in the USA has shown that Spanish heritage speakers often diverge from other native speakers in the Preterite-Imperfect contrast (e.g., Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Montrul, 2002; Cuza et al., 2013). Speakers in these studies frequently use the Preterite, a perfective marker, in imperfective contexts, where the Imperfect would be expected. This behaviour is attributed to CLI from English, which does not grammaticalize the perfective-imperfective distinction. As such, this contrast is an ideal test case for examining CLI in situations of language contact at the individual level. However, previous studies have not systematically examined these two possible predictors of CLI. It is consequently unclear which of these accounts best explains the patterns of CLI observed in these contact grammars.

In order to test these two accounts, 20 child heritage speakers of Spanish living in the UK and 15 of their parents completed the *Cat story* (Domínguez et al., 2013), an oral narrative retelling task designed to test the Preterite-Imperfect contrast. Data from 15 monolingual Spanish speakers provided a baseline for the parents. The heritage speakers' exposure to and use of Spanish was calculated using the Bilingual Language Experience Calculator (BiLEC; Unsworth, 2013), in addition to their speech rate in Spanish, a proxy for language use. We conducted Wilcoxon rank sum tests to compare the groups' production rates. Subsequently, we computed binomial mixed effects models to investigate the relative usefulness of measures of exposure and use in predicting whether CLI obtained in the heritage speakers' grammars. Table 1 summarises the headline results:

Table 1: Mean production rates for the Preterite in perfective contexts and the Imperfect in imperfective contexts by Monolingual speakers, Parents, and Heritage speakers.

	Monolinguals	Parents	Heritage speakers
Use of the Preterite in perfective contexts	97% (0.08)	96% (0.09)	68% (0.39)
Use of the Imperfect in imperfective contexts	99% (0.02)	98% (0.04)	65% (0.30)

The monolingual speakers and parental groups were not statistically different in either the perfective (W = 92, p = .489) or imperfective (W = 116.5, p = .523) contexts. However, the heritage speakers were substantially different from the parental baseline in both contexts. Their unexpected divergence in perfective contexts was driven by the Present Perfect (W = 90, p = .011). Further examination showed that only a subgroup of speakers whose parents come from countries where the Present Perfect is becoming a general perfective marker used this form in this innovative way. Including the Present Perfect alongside the Preterite, there is no difference between the parents and heritage speakers in associating a perfective form with perfective contexts (W = 141, p = .971). In imperfective contexts, the heritage speakers were more likely to use a perfective marker (W = 90, p = .011) or the Present (W = 35, p < .001).

In sum, we find that the heritage speakers diverge from the parental baseline specifically in their use of the Imperfect in imperfective contexts, in accordance with patterns of CLI seen in the USA. Given these findings, we computed mixed effects logistic regression models to ascertain which variables were associated with use of the Imperfect in imperfective contexts. Potential confounding predictors, such as number of Spanish speaking parents were also examined, but none of these variables improved the fit of the models. Table 2 provides a comparative summary of the degrees of freedom and residual deviance of the final models, in addition to a 'delta' value showing the extra deviance compared to the best model.

Table 2: Comparison of five mixed effect models ordered by residual deviance.

	Resid. DF	Resid. Dev.	Delta
Spanish speech rate	272	250.0	0
Relative output in Spanish	272	250.2	0.2
Relative exposure to Spanish	272	252.7	2.7
Null model	273	256.7	4.6
Cumulative exposure to Spanish	272	255.8	5.8

Models with a delta value of less than 2 have substantial support and should be considered alongside the best model, whereas models with a delta value up to 7 have considerably less support. Both models within the substantial support range include a proxy for Spanish activation, namely Spanish speech rate and relative output in Spanish. The two measures of input quantity, relative exposure and cumulative exposure, have greater deviance and therefore have considerably less support as predictive models; indeed, the model for cumulative exposure is less predictive than the simpler model. In sum, this comparative technique provides us with substantial evidence in favour of Putnam and Sánchez's (2013) claim that CLI in heritage speakers' grammars obtains following reduced activation of the heritage grammar rather than reduced input, advancing our understanding of how grammatical change obtains at the individual level in situations of language contact.

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When Latin meets Balkan: on head-directionality parameter in old Daco-Romance DPs

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It is well-known that, unlike other Romance varieties, Romanian displays postnominal definite articles. From a cartographic point of view, it can be noted that Romanian nouns raise above articles, possessives, and adjectives, which occupy fixed positions within DPs (cf. 1).

(1) [$_{DP}$ [$_D$ *copilul*]   [$_{PossP}$ **meu**   [$_{AP}$ **frumos**]]]
             child=the   my   beautiful
    'my beautiful child' (Romanian)

Definite articles are absent from (late) Latin texts (Adams 2013:§8). It is only from around the eight century that the D-head started to be lexicalized by the definite article, but, significantly, the use of the article in the earliest Romance texts, e.g. *Jurament feudal* (1028–47), 'proves anything but systematic' (Ledgeway 2012:96f.). On the other hand, Balkan varieties seem to have developed articles at a much earlier date. For example, in Greek the overt lexicalization of the D-head by the article can be traced back to Homeric poems (Manolessou 2000:16). Also relevant here is the case of south Slavic which underwent rapid changes in the way it encodes definiteness, shifting from the use of long/short adjectives in Old Church Slavonic to second position definite articles (Dimitrova 2008:53). The different developments encountered in Romance and Balkan languages are by no means fortuitous, representing instead a situation that could be easily accounted for in typological terms. If early Balkan varieties are taken to have displayed head-initial tendencies since an early date (Taylor 1994), typological theories predict that they would also start using functional elements, such as articles and auxiliaries, early on (Dryer 2008:205). On the other hand, the shift from head-final to head-initial was slower in the case of (Latin and) the rest of Romance varieties, which indeed translates in a later use of functional categories (Bauer 2009:293).

Now, given that the first texts written in (Daco-)Romanian date from the early 16th century, a typological analysis which takes into account both the Balkan and the Romance nature of (Daco-)Romanian can shed light on the unattested stages. In my presentation, I will show that Daco-Romanian, in particular, and Daco-Romance, in general, developed definite articles significantly earlier than the rest of Romance due to the Balkan substrate. This way of reasoning would indeed straightforwardly account for the differences encountered between Daco-Romance and other Romance varieties. In short, given that the Daco-Romance unity was disrupted around the tenth century (Sala 2006:33), a period when the definite article was not systematically employed in other Romance varieties (cf. *Jurament feudal*), the expected outcome is that, at least in the case of Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, and Istro-Romanian (spoken outside Romania), postnominal articles are either absent or characterized by a dwindling usage. Nevertheless, (second position) postnominal definite articles are present, and consistently employed, in all Daco-Romance varieties (cf. 2). This leads us to assume that postnominal articles had been grammaticalized in Daco-Romance before this process took place.

(2) a. *poarta* (gate.NOM.SG.F=the.NOM.SG.F) 'the gate' (Megleno-Romanian)
    b. *omlu* (man.NOM.SG.M=the.NOM.SG.M) 'the man' (Aromanian)

c. *cåsa* (house.NOM.SG.F=the.NOM.SG.F) 'the house' (Istro-Romanian)

Consequently, the aims of my paper are twofold: (i) to provide a descriptive account of the historical development of postnominal articles, taking into account both the Balkan and the Romance nature of Daco-Romance; and (ii) to offer a principled account of different formal developments across Daco-Romance in the marking of definiteness.

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Phonetics as last: innovation and preservation in the Gallo-Italic dialects of Sicily

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The Gallo-Italic dialects widespread within central-eastern Sicily represent the result of the medieval immigration of settlers from southern Piedmont and Liguria, after the Norman conquest of the island (1061-1091). As far as the language spoken by these communities is concerned, an oddity has recently been highlighted (De Angelis 2023): most of their lexical and syntactic features developed further through contact with the neighboring Sicilian varieties, whereas, at a phonetic/phonological level, they have remained very conservative, largely maintaining their original northern characteristics.

As far syntax is concerned, Gallo-Italic show many Sicilian (or, more generally, southern) features, such as the extensive use of DOM (1); the deontic periphrasis 'to have' + Prep. + Infinitive (2); the 'want + past participle' periphrasis with a volitional meaning (3); the clitic climbing (4); the so-called Pseudo-Coordination (5), and so on:

(1)   [atʃaˈmɛi̯   a   ˈʤwæni]
        call.PST.1SG   DOM   John
        'I (just) saw you!' (San Fratello, Militana 2027)

(2)   d-am'a   sparagnè
        PREP=have.1PL=PREP   save.INF
        'We have to save' (Nicosia, Menza 2017, 2019)

(3)   vuò   strengiud'   a   man
        want.3SG   held.PAST.PART.F   the   hand.F
        '(S)he wants his/her hand held' (Nicosiano, Menza 2027)

(4)   Gianni t'à   da   parrere   de   cucina
        John   you=have.3SG   PREP   speak.INF   about   cooking
        'John has to speak to you about cooking' (Aidone, A. Trovato 2020)

(5)   [ˈvɛi̯   ˈkjɛti   u   ˈpɛã]
        go.IMPV.2SG Ø buy.IMPV.2SG   the   bread
        'Go and buy the bread' (San Fratello, Militana 2019)

Not all these features are exclusively traceable to the contact with Sicilian. The construction in (2), for example, is attested in many northern varieties too. With regard to the feature (4), clitic climbing was mandatory in some Mediaeval northern dialects, such as Old Piedmontese (Parry 1993). In these cases, the intereference with Sicilian could have been reinforced structural traits already present in these varieties before the migration in the Island.

On the contrary, at the phonetic/phonological level, Gallo-Italic generally preserves its original *facies*, differentiating itself from the neighboring Sicilian dialects. We can quote, among others, the diphthongization of Ĕ and Ŏ, which occurs under conditions other than those which trigger diphthongization in central-eastern Sicily, see e.g. Gallo-It. [paˈrjeḍːa] 'pan', [ˈfrjɛva] 'fever' (San Fratello), where diphthongs are attested (also) when the final vowel is -/a/, whereas in the diphthongized areas of Sicily these outcomes are exclusively triggered by the final vowels -/i, u/ (that is, they are metaphonetic outcomes).

With regards to consonants, it is noteworthy the preservation of the degemination rule at phonological level, as it documented by several Sicilian loans in which the original double

consonants are degeminated, see e.g. Nicosiano [ˈkɔpəla], [ˈkɔpọla] 'flat cap' < Sic. [ˈkɔpːula]; [taˈbutọ] < Sic. [taˈbːutu]; [ˈʃekọ] 'donkey' < Sic. [ˈʃɛkːu] etc.

Aim of this talk is to examine the possible causes underlying such a split: if the transfer of syntactic structures can be triggered by the presence of bilingual speakers who become progressively "dominant" in Sicilian as L2 (for the notion of dominance see Van Coetsem 1995; Winford 2005), the preservation of the original phonetic and phonological features might be hiding sociolinguistic motivations. Indeed, Gallo-Italic speakers could have preserved their original phonetic and phonological features as a tool for defending their identity, both from an ethnic and linguistic perspective, and for distinguishing themselves from surrounding Sicilian-speaking communities. Such a need is greater the scarcer the regard or even contempt with which the Gallo-Italic people and all these dialects were dealt by Sicilian communities. Local traditions are full of popular and offensive nicknames towards Gallo-Italic communities. In these conditions, this sort of phonetic resistance ("phonetics as last"), regardless of the extensive disruption of the syntax in favor of Sicilian models, is aimed at preserving local identity, according to a well-known model in which local identity is proposed as motivating linguistic change (see at least Labov 2001).

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Spanish speakers in the USA and in the UK:
the role of input and intake in investigating changes in their native grammars

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In this talk I will examine possible changes/modifications in the grammars of native Spanish speakers (i.e., grammatical attrition) in two contexts: the US and the UK. Whilst changes have been widely reported for first generation immigrants and their children in the US (Cuza 2010; Flores-Ferrán 2002,2004; Otheguy and Zentella 2012; Silva-Corvalán 1994; Montrul 2004; Shin & Otheguy 2005a, 2005b, 2009), the same type of grammatical change (affecting I-language) is not usually observed for Spanish native speakers in the UK (Cazzoli-Goeta & Young-Scholten 2011; Domínguez 2013). Likewise, code-switching between English and Spanish is one of the most salient features of the speech of Spanish speakers in the US (Lipski, 2014); in contrast, this is not a common practice among Spanish speakers in the UK (Domínguez 2013). These findings point out to substantial differences in the way that native grammars can change by similar populations of speakers according to their linguistic context. In this talk I will show how contact with other varieties of Spanish (i.e., the characteristics of the input) at community level plays an important role in explaining native grammatical attrition for Spanish immigrant speakers.

After reviewing existing evidence, I will discuss the 'Attrition via Acquisition (AvA)' formal model of the human language faculty (Hicks and Domínguez, 2020) that accommodates the possibility of attrition of morphosyntactic properties in a first language. I will show how the model can account for why attrition is observed in Spanish speakers in the US, but it is harder to observe for Spanish speakers in the UK. The AvA model integrates a formally explicit generative grammar (see Chomsky 2000, 2001) into a generalised model of language acquisition that decouples linguistic input from acquisitional intake (following Lidz and Gagliardi, 2015). A key feature of this model is that the mechanism of attrition exists independently of the language faculty via the language acquisition device. This implies that L1 grammatical attrition is simply a possible (and expected) outcome of acquisition under a particular set of external and internal conditions.

I will review some of the main empirical studies investigating possible attrition of null and postverbal subjects, two properties traditionally associated with the null subject parameter in bilingual Spanish-English contexts. For instance, Domínguez (2013) and Domínguez and Hicks (2016) investigated a group of bi-dialectal Spanish speakers in Miami (exposed to Cuban and Mainland Spanish varieties with different grammatical properties concerning null and postverbal subjects) and a group of Spanish- English bilinguals (exposed to Mainland Spanish and English) in the UK. Differences in the outcomes of L1 changes between these two groups (i.e., only the bi-dialectal group behave differently than the monolingual controls) show that prolonged exposure to dialectal variation in Spanish within the community leads to the reconfiguration of formal feature specifications of the L1. The same type of L1 grammatical restructuring was not attested for the bilingual Spanish speakers, who have become in contact with English and have not been exposed to L1 input from other varieties.

Finally, I will also introduce a new study by Hicks, Domínguez, Jamieson and Schmid (in press) which is part of a larger project testing the AvA model. In this study we investigate 30 late Spanish-English bilinguals who have settled in the UK for over 15 years. Specifically, we explore whether aspectual marking is a vulnerable area for the native grammar of these speakers using a multi-method approach to data collection and analysis. As Table 1 shows, Spanish and English each have two ways to express an event in the present (whether the event is ongoing or habitual) but they differ in the specific contexts in which each of these forms can

be used. In English, the simple present form is used for generic/habitual actions, while the periphrastic be+-ing form is used is in the progressive/ongoing aspect. In Spanish, there is an overlap in the aspectual interpretations of the two verb forms: the corresponding *estar+-ndo* form is also used in the progressive/ongoing aspect, but the simple present can be used for both generic/habitual actions and the progressive/ongoing aspect.

	English	Spanish
Ongoing	Now she **is running**.	Ahora ella **está corriendo**. Ahora ella **corre**.
Habitual	Every day she **runs**.	Todos los días ella **corre**.

Table 1. Distribution of verbal forms to express ongoing and habitual actions in English and Spanish

We chose this grammatical property as it is predicted to undergo attrition by the AvA model and because attrition has been, indeed, attested (e.g., Cuza 2010) for this structure for a group of Spanish-English bilinguals in the USA. We predicted that attrition, if attested, would manifest in a preference for the *estar+-ndo* form over the simple present in ongoing situations as this is the only form available in English in this context. We elicited three types of data using a self-paced reading task (online), an acceptability judgment task (offline), and sociolinguistic interviews (oral). These results were compared with similar data from a group of monolingual Spanish speakers who also took part in the study. Modelling the results of the experimental tasks shows no overall attrition at group level. This is a striking finding since Cuza (2010) found attrition for the same property for Spanish speakers in the US.

Overall, the evidence available from these studies suggests that change/attrition is more likely when speakers are in contact with speakers of other L1 varieties as key morphosyntactic differences are available in the input shared by the community of speakers. This is a situation often observed in the US, but not in the UK. This also supports the AvA model as it predicts that syntactic representations in native grammars can indeed be modified if specific changes in the quantity and quality of the L1 input occur.

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Theoretical and sociolinguistics at the interface: Revisiting language contact intensity and morphosyntactic change through Ibero-Daco Romance

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The mechanisms behind structural borrowing within situations of intense language contact have been widely debated in contact linguistics. More generally, scholars have long maintained that sustained intensity of language contact is needed for effective syntactic borrowing to occur, with Thomason and Kaufman (1988) categorising 'language contact intensity' through their 5-point intensity scale, whereby the longer two linguistic groups are in contact (thus higher up on the scale), the chances of deep, structural changes are more likely to occur. While this single-focussed, sociolinguistic (and predominantly diachrony-focussed) approach adequately provides the groundworks on which to assess contact-induced change, it ultimately impedes wider extra-linguistic and theoretical explanations triggering syntactic borrowing, such as linguistic genealogy (cf. the polarising *Resistance Grammar Principle,* De Angelis, 2021; Guardiano and Stavrou, 2021), whereby it is arguably only through languages with converging syntactic (and parametric) systems that structural transmission in the recipient language may occur, as they have data already "familiar" to them (Sitaridou, 2014). To our knowledge, no holistic exploration into the implications of *both* the aforementioned theoretical *and* sociolinguistic 'intensity' factors on contact-induced syntactic change has yet to be completed in (Romance) contact studies, thus far.

Therefore, in this talk, we challenge the aforementioned mono-dimensional prerequisites for contact-induced change and showcase that morphosyntactic change within Romance is not always limited to situations of sustained intense language contact (e.g., diachrony). Instead, we maintain that successful syntactic borrowing *can* occur synchronically within Romance thanks to the interplay of concurrent theoretical *and* sociolinguistic factors which expedite contact-induced change. To this end, this talk undertakes a novel, qualitative investigation on Romance-Romance contact of Ibero- and Daco-Romance in Spain (cf. Schulte, 2018), whose grammatical data, outcomes and linguistic factors will be benchmarked against the well-documented, long-standing evidence and case of Romance-Greek contact in South Italy (cf. Ledgeway, Schifano and Silvestri, 2020). The superficially contrasting (socio-)linguistic settings in Italy and Spain render these contexts the ideal grounds on which to test the required 'intensity' factors for contact-induced morphosyntactic change as their diametrically diverging variables enable us to compare and contrast the levels of intensity. In recognition of the additional (extra-)linguistic factors interfering and expediting the structural borrowing process within Romance-Romance contact, too, we establish the following frameworks, which we will explore in this talk, to collectively assess contact intensity: (i) the diachronic impact; (ii) role of linguistic genealogy and parametric systems of the varieties in contact; and (iii) extra- and sociolinguistic factors triggering morphosyntactic change (viz. bilingualism, directionality of change, the role of L1/L2 and/or adult and child speakers, and geographical adjacency between the countries in which these varieties are spoken). Ultimately, we reach our conclusions in this talk that syntactic borrowing within Romance cannot be measured by diachrony (or sustained, intense language contact) alone, by supplementing the aforementioned sociolinguistic factors with existing theoretical data as a result of Romanian contact in Spain; for example, evidence proving the bidirectional transmission of the use of the genitive, dative and temporal constructions, as in (1).

Standard Spanish

(1a) Ayer   me   dijeron   que…
      yesterday to.me   say-3PL.PST   that

Standard Romanian
(1b) Ieri   mi-au   spus   că…
      yesterday to.me-have-3PL   told   that…

Spanish (spoken in Castellón)
(1c) Ayer   me   **han**   **dicho**   que…
      yesterday to.me   have-3PL   said   That 'yesterday they told me that…'

(Schulte, 2018:606)

     Furthermore, our linguistic laboratory of Romance-Romance contact allows us to confront further considerations and limitations in language variation and syntactic borrowing in this talk, thanks to the great microvariation present within the varieties under investigation. Therefore, we end this talk by considering some such theoretical implications regarding 'intense' structural borrowing within this particular Romance-Romance landscape, such as: (i) internal factors of language change (cf. *endogenous* and *exogenous* factors; Willis, 2017) within Romance-Romance contact (raising additional typological concerns here with Romanian's belonging to the *Balkan Sprachbund*); and (ii) the extent to which borrowing has successfully occurred, such as transmission of *pattern* vs *matter* borrowing (Sakel and Matras, 2004), *refunctionalisation* (Smith, 2011) and/or *exaptation* (Haiman, 2017) which may, indeed, affect our understanding of contact (within Romance). By addressing these typological, theoretical and sociolinguistic implications in this talk overall, through examples of languages which have only recently come into contact, we hope to offer new insights into contact studies within Romance, in particular, as well as wider existing theories on language contact.

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Laurentian French and its Breton substrate

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The genesis of Laurentian French (hereinafter: LF) is well-understood, inasmuch as it is clear that LF is transplanted Parisian-more accurately: Aristocratic Parisian-French, with no significant input from other oïl varieties (Morin 2002), leaving aside some vocabulary items, notably agricultural/rural terminology deriving from the dialects of the Perche region (Chauveau 2000). This is in marked contrast to Acadian French (hereinafter: AF), which owes a great many of its features to the oïl dialects of the Saintonge-Poitou area, as has been recognized by all serious scholars since the work of Massignon (1962).

However, comparison between LF and other varieties of overseas French (hereinafter: OF) has revealed some shared features which *prima facie* do not appear to be shared with contemporary Parisian French, and which suggest that the common ancestor of LF and other non-Acadian OF varieties may have differed significantly from the Parisian French (Aristocratic) standard.

One such anomaly was first discovered by the late Robert Chaudenson (repeated in his 1992 book), who showed that a conservative branch of Laurentian French in Québec (The dialect of l'Îles-aux-Coudres, as described by Seutin 1975: Hereinafter ICF) shared with Réunionnais Creole a strikingly idiosyncratic feature: A near-categorical division of labor between the inflected future tense, used solely with negative sentences, and the analytical *aller*-future, used solely in affirmative sentences:

La première année i (=le bois) sèchera pas, i va plutôt faire des pousses
« On the first year it (=the wood) will not dry, instead it will produce shoots" (Seutin *op. cit*.: 149)

Tellingly, while negation has been found by some scholars to favor the use of the inflected future in Hexagonal French (Nicolas 2012), the effect is weak, and quite unlike the near-categorical division of labor found in the above-named OF varieties. Even more tellingly, some scholars have failed to detect any effect of negation in this context (Villeneuve and Comeau 2016).

Related to this is an anomaly found in LF and other OF varieties regarding the expression of the analytical *aller*-future in French: This is the existence, in the first person singular, of a special form /mɑ/ (normally spelled *m'a* in eye-dialect) used solely as a future-marking auxiliary (Dörper 1990): Thus, in Montreal French (author's knowledge) either *M'a leur dire ce que je pense* or *Je vais leur dire ce que je pense* "I will tell them what I think" are possible, but *m'a* is impossible as a lexical verb expressing movement: *Je vais à Québec* "I am going to Quebec city" is possible, but **M'a à Québec*" is quite impossible. The auxiliary is quite unusual, indeed unique, inasmuch as it is quite incompatible with the (otherwise universal and obligatory) first-person singular subject clitic *je*, making this is a most unexpected innovation.
The distribution of this auxiliary among OF varieties, tellingly, matches closely that of varieties which, like ICF, make a near-categorical distinction between *aller*-future forms in affirmative and synthetic future forms in negative sentences.

The goal of the proposed presentation is to argue that both features can be explained by postulating a strong Breton influence (Data drawn from Ternes 2011) upon OF varieties (minus Acadian): Breton makes a clear distinction between synthetic and analytical verb forms, with the former being obligatory in negative sentences. Furthermore, the first person singular personal pronoun /me/ is obligatory in many contexts, and, it is suggested, its influence partly explains the genesis of the future-marking auxiliary /mɑ/. Finally, a number of other anomalous features (i.e. ones not explicable as linguistically inherited from Aristocratic Parisian French) will be examined in various OF, all of which, it will be argued, are due to Breton influence. In the case of one hitherto-unnoticed datum from a now-extinct OF variety, indeed, it will be argued that the case for Breton influence is quite simply irrefutable.

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Pragmatic "quello" from dialect to regional standard

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Introduction. Campanian dialects (i.e., the primary Italo-Romance dialects) show a pragmatic use of the third-person demonstrative *chillo* 'that'. This pronoun, apart from being used regularly as a subject pronoun, can also function as an expletive subject of impersonal predicates and is also involved in certain topic constructions (double subject constructions, henceforth DSC) (Sornicola 1996; Ledgeway 2010; Gaeta 2014). In both cases, it has a function at the discourse level. Due to contact, a similar pragmatic use of the demonstrative *quello* (expletive: ex. (1); topic: ex. (2)) percolates in the regional varieties of Italian (De Blasi & Fanciullo 2002: 636). Pragmatic *quello*, therefore, can be considered a contact-induced feature characterizing this group of varieties. Through contact with the dialect, the Italian spoken in Campania (henceforth: CI) has acquired syntactic and informational feature which is absent in the standard language. With CI we intend the regional varieties filling the linguistic space between regiolects and regional standard (Auer 2005; Cerruti & Crocco & Marzo 2017).

(1) *Quello*   *piove*
    that.N   rain.3SG
    '(that is because/the fact is that) It rains.' (De Blasi & Fanciullo 2002: 636)

(2) *E*   *certo,*   *quello*   *il brodo*   *di*   *gallina è*   *sostanzioso.*
    and   sure   that.M   the broth.M of   chicken be.3SG substantial
    'And certainly, chicken broth is substantial.' (De Filippo, *Natale in Casa Cupiello*)

This study aims at exploring the use of pragmatic *quello* in a group of corpora of spoken CI. Despite the widespread use of pragmatic *quello* in CI we only have a handful of observations concerning the frequency of the different types of pragmatic *quello*. Furthermore, being a contact-induced feature, which is also a point of divergence between standard and dialect, pragmatic *quello* is likely to be socially marked (Berruto 1987 [2012]). However, its usage does not seem to be limited to lower regiolectal varieties (Maturi 2002: 225).

Research questions/aims. The goal of this study is to document the usage of pragmatic *quello* in present-day IC thereby examining the distribution of this feature in the contact area between standard language and dialect. We address the following research questions:

(RQ1) Do *quello* as expletive subject and *quello* in DSC show the same distribution within and across the corpora?

(RQ2) What is the place occupied by pragmatic *quello* in the variational continuum from regiolect to regional standard?

Corpus and methodology. The CI corpora analysed here (total duration = c. 205h) have been collected with different techniques. The corpora contain speech produced during an estimated timespan of 35 years (ca. 1990 – 2023) by speakers from Campania. This collection of corpora intentionally features interactions produced in a diverse range of communicative contexts (including task-oriented speech, talk-shows, comedy sketches, semi-structured interviews) by speakers with different sociolinguistic backgrounds, thereby providing a snapshot registering the actual linguistic uses in the relevant area. The proposed methodology is novel in that it combines a syntactic analysis of the occurrences of *quello* found in the corpora with a sociolinguistic perspective.

Results and conclusions. Based on the available data, we provided a first answer to the proposed research questions:

(**RQ1**) *Quello* constructions are present in all corpora (tot. N = 190). Expletive *quello* is less frequent than *quello* in DSCs: while *quello* in double-subject constructions is a more represented type (N = 28), expletive *quello* only occurs sporadically (N = 11). The most frequent use of *quello* is as a subject pronoun (N = 151). However, the range of constructions involving pragmatic *quello* seems more complex and need to be further investigated. In particular, DSCs can have a range of discourse functions that is still to explore.

(**RQ2**) *Quello* constructions are not typical of a specific corpus, speech style or speaker. This feature seems therefore not bounded to one particular social group or context. Pragmatic *quello* is also attested, albeit sporadically, in the productions of speakers with a university-level education in a relatively formal contexts (semi-structured interviews and task-oriented dialogues). The presence of pragmatic *quello* in these contexts supports the hypothesis that this contact-induced feature shows a fair degree of acceptance also in cultivated speech, i.e., a reduced social markedness. Pragmatic *quello*, therefore, despite being truly foreign to standard Italian, seems a relevant feature for the definition of a (spoken) regional standard of Campania (Cerruti & Regis 2014).

Conclusions. The data on pragmatic *quello* can be framed in the larger picture of morpho-syntactic variation in Italo-Romance on the one hand, and of the processes of re-standardization of Italian on the other. On the morphosyntactic level, the interference with Neapolitan introduces a range syntactic-pragmatic devices in CI, thereby impacting the structural configuration and the pragmatic dynamics of the variety in ways that are still to be explored. At the same time, the ubiquity of pragmatic *quello*, along with its acceptance in cultivated CI speech, can be interpreted in the framework of a larger process of "downward convergence" (Auer & Hinskens 1996) of standard Italian leading to the fragmentation of the standard variety into regional standards.

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Focus marking in language contact: the case of Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish

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The present contribution investigates the focus-induced word order variation in two groups of informants from Bulgaria: bilingual speakers of Bulgarian (BG) and Judeo-Spanish (BJS), and monolingual speakers of BG. Judeo-Spanish refers to the varieties of Spanish spoken by the Sephardic Jews in their new areas of settlement after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula in the 15th century. From that point on, it developed independently from other Spanish varieties but in close contact with the respective surrounding languages. The Bulgarian variety of JS is spoken today by probably less than 25 native speakers, the youngest of whom were born in the 1960s. All speakers are at least bilingual and clearly dominant in BG. Their BJS is known to show both many archaic structures resembling Old Spanish and many contact-induced innovations (Fischer/Vega Vilanova 2018; Gabriel/Grünke 2022).

Regarding the realization of focus, Modern Mainstream Spanish (MMS) and BG use both syntactic and prosodic strategies, i.e. either reordering of constituents or manipulations of the intonation contour. For Spanish, most syntacticians contend that narrow informational or neutral focus must obligatorily be realized in sentence-final position, i.e. through *p*-movement, as in (1), while *in situ* marking is only possible with contrastive focus (Zubizarreta 1998).

(1) Context: Who bought the newspaper?
   Compró el periódico [F *MaRÍa*].
   bought the newspaper   María

Recent empirical studies focusing on prosody, on the other hand, have shown that the nuclear accent tends to be the strongest reflex of focus in Spanish (Gabriel 2010; Muntendam 2013; Hoot 2017, among many others). Yet, Feldhausen/Vanrell (2014) have shown that in Peninsular Spanish informational focus is typically marked through *p*-movement and contrastive focus through special syntactic constructions such as clefts or frontings. For BG, no dedicated studies are available so far, but general syntactic literature describes its word order as free, thematic information typically preceding new information (Siewierska/Uhlířová 1998; Makartsev 2020; Avgustinova 1997).

The analysed data from an elicited production task based on the methodology of Gabriel (2010), in which the participants were presented with two short picture stories and subsequently asked 21 questions targeting different information structural readings. It was recorded in November 2022 and March/September 2023 from 16 speakers of BJS (ages: 71–100) and 9 monolingual speakers of BG (ages: 79–86) stemming from different cities across Bulgaria, the present contribution sets out to answer the following research questions: (1) Which syntactic and prosodic means are used to mark focus in monolingual and bilingual BG? (2) How is focus realized in BJS and how does this variety compare to MMS and the surrounding language BG? (3) Since BJS has assumedly undergone attrition (almost all speakers have a time lapse of several decades in which the language was hardly used), we expect that more economical constructions are preferred over more complex constructions (e.g. *in situ* constructions over Merge-and-Move, cf. van Gelderen 2004 and related work). That is, focus features do not trigger movement anymore and information structure is marked post-syntactically through intonation.

Our results show that *in situ* focus marking by prosodic means is indeed the preferred strategy in both BJS and BG, although *p*-movement occurs with some regularity with focused

direct objects (cf. Table 1). According to van Gelderen (2004), this is an expected outcome for the non-dominant language BJS – more economical *in situ* derivations that do not require movement are produced more often. Cross-linguistic influence from BG possibly reinforces this tendency. Nevertheless, BJS also shows a greater variety of possibilities, especially in the case of contrastively focused subjects, where it patterns with other Romance languages in using cleft constructions, which never occur in BG. This higher amount of variability seems to be derivable from the Interface Hypothesis (Sorace 2011). Finally, both languages present some interesting cases of double focus marking, i.e. by both prosodic and syntactic means:

(2) BG   Simona   dava [F na MAJka si]   limonite (indirect object)_____.
        Simona   gives   to mother her   lemons-the
(3) BJS   Simona   da   a la [F SUya]   madre   las limonas (direct object)_____.
        Simona   gives   to the her   mother   the lemons

Table 1: Use of different focus marking strategies in BJS, bilingual, and monolingual BG in %.

focus constituent	strategy	BJS		bilingual BG		monolingual BG	
		neutral	contrastive	neutral	contrastive	neutral	contrastive
subject	*in situ* (non-final)	91	57	86	96	96	97
	p-movement	9		14	4	4	3
	cleft sentence		43				
direct object	final	39	50	8	19	6	19
	in situ (non-final)	29	40	51	71	55	65
	p-movement	29	10	29	10	19	8
	dislocation			4		10	5
	fronting	4		4		10	3
indirect object or adjunct	final	93	92	85	100	82	100
	fronting	7	8	15		18	

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Practicing community-based research in contexts of critical language endangerment

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In Medical and Psychological research, it is now a common expectation among policy-makers and research funders that researchers demonstrate they have involved the researched communities in the design and conduct of their projects (a model known commonly as *Patient and Participant Involvement*, e.g. Locock et al. 2016:837). Conversely, this approach—couched in terms of *Participatory* or *Community-based Research*—is rarely operationalized across the language sciences, even as awareness has grown across paradigms of the importance of good ethical conduct in researching minoritized and under-studied linguistic varieties (e.g. Bodó et al. 2022; Rodríguez Louro & Collard 2021; Chandra, D'Alessandro & Putnam Fc.).

Adopting a community-based approach offers clear advantages: from democratizing knowledge and strengthening research ties (and therefore research conduct) to ensuring that communities benefit from the work being conducted. However, commentators have questioned the extent to which such emancipatory research practices can be successfully applied when power asymmetries inherent to the research process abound: e.g. the standard governance framework for research funding, which is inherently hierarchical and recalcitrant to participatory engagement; or that power asymmetries among participant groups themselves can be reflected in the research design itself. What then does good ethical practice look like in collaborating with communities and partners on research designs relating to language where there may not be consensus on priorities, aims, and objectives?

In the first part of this talk, I consider some key principles of community-based research, drawing in particular on work in Indigenous studies and more recent work in sociolinguistics, which provide a viable framework of ethical conduct in working with critically endangered language communities. I then move to describe and reflect on the early-phase design and conduct of a multidisciplinary, participatory research project to document and revitalize Chagossian Creole.

It has been over fifty years since Chagossians were forcibly displaced from the Chagos Archipelago by the British government. While no right of return has been granted, Chagos islanders were awarded British citizenship in 2002, and since then, have been migrating to Crawley, Manchester, and London from Mauritius and the Seychelles. Chagossians face a number of ongoing, well-attested struggles as an ethnic group, including, but not limited to, racism, stigmatization, and high levels of social deprivation transnationally (e.g. Benjelloun 2005, Jeffrey 2011, Human Rights Watch 2023), but their critically-endangered Creole, which enjoys little or no recognition at all, remains conspicuously absent from this discourse. In exile, Chagossians cling to their cultural heritage (Jeffery 2011). However, no published work is available on Chagossian linguistic practices in any site where it is spoken, complicating the task of addressing key issues as identified by the communities themselves: e.g. stemming the tide of critical language endangerment; the deficit framing of Chagossian culture and linguistic practices in UK schools (see Allen 2018). I will discuss how the research team, of which I am a part, have worked to achieve broad consensus around suitable parameters and research questions ahead of pilot work, using principles in participatory research, in collaborating with community members with very different social profiles, and with a number of urgent but competing concerns.

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Language Contact and Variation in *Magna Graecia*: Convergence, Layering and Hybridism

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Greek and Romance contact in southern Italy. As is well known, Greek has been spoken as an indigenous language in southern Italy, so-called *Magna Graecia* (Consani 2016), since ancient times. As a consequence, Italo-Greek and Latin (first) and Italo-Romance (later) have been in close contact for a particularly extended period of time (almost 3 millennia), offering the linguist an extraordinary opportunity to study a wealth of language variation and change under contact. In this presentation we bring together a number of case studies collected over almost a decade of investigations on these varieties, producing one of the most complete pictures available to date about the ways in which linguistic structures can be transferred under intense and prolonged contact. Thanks to this exceptionally exhaustive picture, which practically touches upon every contact phenomenon attested across the nominal, sentential, and clausal domains, we rethink some of the principles and effects that have been discussed in the wider contact literature, including CONVERGENCE, LAYERING, and HYBRIDISM. In particular, we re-interpret and formalise these notions in relation to *ReCoS*-style parameter hierarchies (cf. Roberts & Holmberg 2010; Roberts 2012; 2019), pioneering the extension of these tools, typically employed for understanding and modelling linguistic variation, distance and change, to the study of contact-induced change.

Parameter hierarchies: endogenous vs exogenous change. Contrary to theories of language change which draw a distinction between endogenous vs exogenous changes (e.g. Trudgill 1983), we argue that a separate theory of contact-induced change is not needed, inasmuch as exogenous change is subject to the same general linguistic principles as endogenous change. However, even if the outputs of both types of change are indistinguishable on the surface, we show that exogenous change operates in a distinctive manner. In particular, by modelling a selection of case studies in terms of parameter hierarchies, we show that endogenous change involves incremental parametric shifts, moving either up or down the hierarchy in stepwise fashion (cf. green arrows in 1), while exogenous change often involves abrupt and saltatory movements through the parametric space (cf. orange arrow in 1) – a hallmark of contact-induced change in *Magna Graecia* which we label CATAPULT EFFECT.

(1)

Endogenous change   Exogenous change
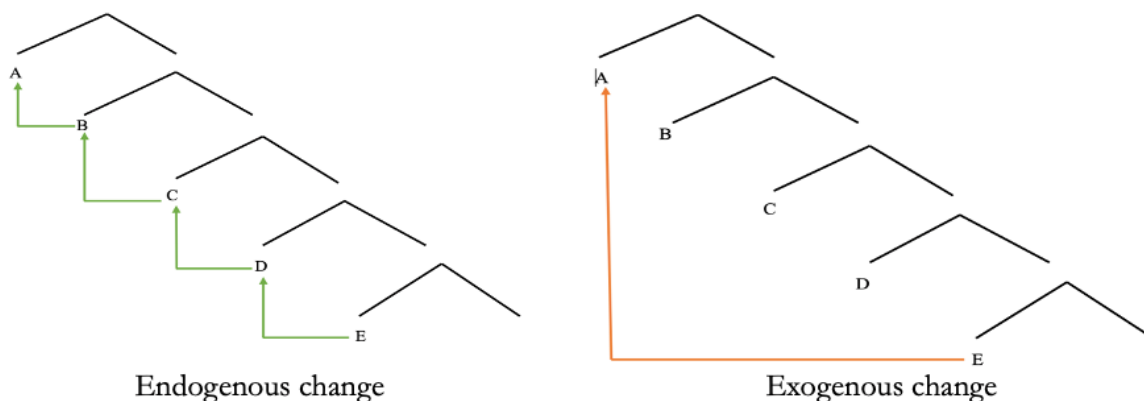
Convergence. This parametric approach to contact-induced change also allows us to provide a formal definition and characterization of a phenomenon which has received a great deal of attention in the contact literature, that is so-called CONVERGENCE. While existing definitions barely go beyond rather intuitive and loose characterizations (cf. Gumperz and Wilson 1971), by modelling our data in terms of parameter hierarchies we show that (unilateral) convergence consists in movements across the parametric space which place one linguistic variety of the same branch as another, as shown by the case of the generalized auxiliary BE in Aspromonte Calabrese, which was catapulted by contact on the same branch as Greko (2).

(2)
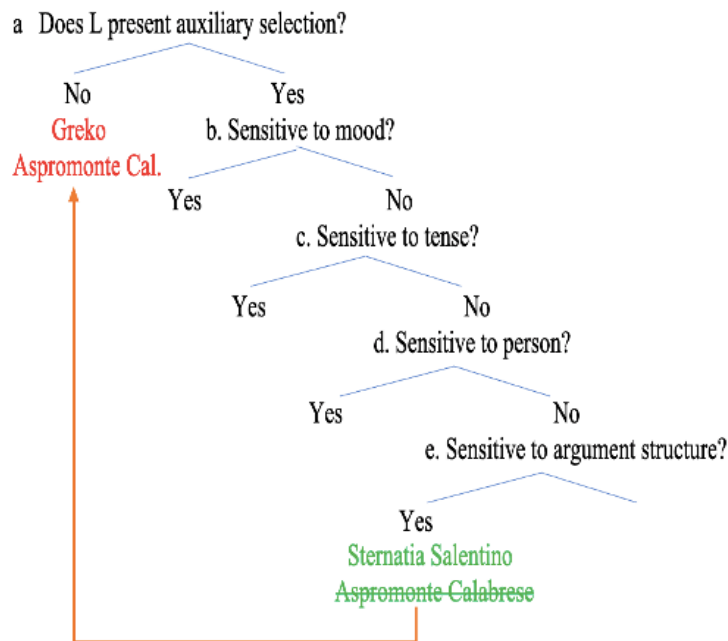
Layering and hybridism. By discussing the development of so-called Greek-style dative in Calabrese and, more generally, the marking of internal arguments in the Romance varieties of Magna Graecia, we also formalize the notions of LAYERING and HYBRIDISM. By the former, we mean the sum of two changes, where at least one of them must be exogenous and must be clearly tied to a previous or subsequent related change. In particular, we show how the relative ordering of the two changes matters and we offer a principled explanation for the fact that cases of exogenous changes followed by endogenous changes represent the most frequent scenario in our case studies. As for HYBRIDISM, we will argue that this consists of instances of 'approximation', whereby both varieties surface on successive branches of a hierarchy, rather than on the same branch, transparently reflecting different degrees of linguistic relatedness and distance.

Conclusions. Finally, all the discussed evidence will also be used to undermine a frequent claim found in the contact literature whereby 'anything goes' in contexts of heavy structural borrowing (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:91, Thomason 2000; 2007; Grant 2020). Our case studies clearly show instead that contact-induced change is subject to structural constraints, insomuch as parallel changes can be observed in both the regional 'laboratories' under investigation (Calabria and Salento).

"Stars and Tulips":
The Nominal Morphology of Romanian between Latin Heritage and Balkan Influences

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The aim of my presentation is to outline a "micromonography" on what have been considered one of the "morphological facts of Latin origin [that] are peculiar only to Romanian" (Sala 2010: 842), i.e. the existence of an inflectional class of feminine noun (subst. and adj.) and pronoun (possessive) characterized by the way in which it realises the morphosyntactic feature specification of NA.sg vs. GD.sg and pl. Here I will deal only with the nominal class. In its contemporary form, such inflectional class is better exemplified by the following Dacoromanian nominal declension:

	sg	pl
NA	√V́-ø	√V́-le
GD	√V́-le	

stea 'star' *lalea* 'tulip'	sg	Pl
NA	*stea* *lalea*	*stele lalele*
GD	*stele* *lalele*	

As such, I will refer to it as "F√V́-ø" for contemporary Dr. and Istroromanian and as "F√V́-u̯ă" for Common Romanian, Aromanian and Meglenoromanian. Regardless of the synchronic interpretation adopted as to the type of allomorphy involved (the predominant version postulates the allomorphy of the inflectional morpheme *-e ~ -le*: GLR 2005 I: 79-80; Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1968: 73; an alternative proposal analyzes it in term of root morpheme allomorphy *stea ~ stel-*: Maiden et al. 2021: 35-36; Dobrovie-Sorin, Giurgea 2013: 834-841), such phenomenon remains a peculiarity of the Romanian inflectional system in novel dress.

The first part of the presentation (5 minutes) will be devoted to presenting the origin of this class (the result of a peculiar phonetic evolution taking place in "Danubian Latin"; Sala 1969: ILR 1969 II: 208-209; Sala 1970: 49-51, 87-94; Sala 1976: 87-90, 136-170; TILR 2018: 366-367) and its possible consistency in Common Romanian (from the comparison of present-day Romanian dialects, a very small number of terms: 1.2% of the approximately 2,402 inherited Latin words preserved in present-day Romanian dialects; ILR 2018: 494-537).

The second part (10 minutes) will be devoted to presenting the evolution of this class in the four dialects of the Romanian language and to discussing this evolution in relation to the different situations of language contact that characterise the history of the four dialects.

Dr. develops this inflectional class in a spectacular fashion, counting today around 400 such F nouns, thanks to the *rich* popular and – particularly in the standard language – cultured contribution of Turkish and, to a lesser degree, Greek and – later – French oxytonic loanwords. In Ar. and Mr. it is preserved only partially, since F√V́-u̯ă nouns switched to other, more common F classes and the *massive* intake of Greek, Turkish and Bulgarian-Macedonian oxytonic loanwords has enter other inflectional classes. In Ir. it this class disappears almost completely, owning to the loss of most of the original Latin F√V́-ø nouns (the few that remain tend to switch to other F declension classes or even to M/N declensions, or to be replaced by derivatives belonging to more "vital" inflectional classes) and the complete lack of new terms of this type, due to the absence of contact with languages abundant in oxytonic words suitable for integration into F√V́-ø.

The third and last part (5 minutes) will be devoted to the discussion of some conclusions regarding the history of the Romanian language that can be drawn from the data presented in the second part. The evolution of C.R. F√V́-u̯ă illustrate in an exemplary way at least three fundamental features of the linguistic and cultural history of the Romanian space: (1) as shown by the idiosyncratic phono-morphological evolution of the Latin elements which gave rise to C.R. F√V́-u̯ă, it exemplifies the distinct individuality of the evolutionary patterns of Carpathian-Balkanic Latinity, which oftentimes develop general tendencies of spoken Latin in unique ways; (2) in general, as shown by Dr. F√V́-ø spectacular growth fostered first and foremost by the massive borrowing of new lexicon from the languages of the Balkan, it illustrates the enrichment brought to Romanian Latinity by the contact with the non-Romance languages and cultures of South-Eastern Europe; (3) more specifically, it epitomizes the distinctive phenomenon of the conservation and/or strengthening of linguistic features of Latin origin through to the contribution of non-Romance languages (Niculescu 2003/2007).

From Danubian Latin to contemporary Romanian, the history of F√. F√V́-u̯ă is a brilliant illustration of how the Romance structure of Romanian was able to assimilate and rework the linguistic-cultural input coming from the non-Latin South-Eastern European space in which it developed and evolved for centuries.

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Exploring the morphosyntax of minoritised varieties: Restructuring in the Gallo-/Ibero-Romance continuum

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1. Background: The objective of this study is to delineate a continuum of morphosyntactic phenomena found in Romance, specifically Restructuring and (subject, object) clitics. The latter have both been extensively investigated in standard varieties (European Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, French, and Italian), revealing significant microparametric variation (Cinque 2004, Roberts 2019, Pescarini 2021). However, most minoritised varieties have not been explored in this context. In this presentation, we aim to demonstrate that regional languages spoken in southern Gallo-Romance, Occitano-Romance, and northern Catalano-Romance constitute the keystone to account for morphosyntactic variation, leading to an enhanced formal understanding of Restructuring. Our study focuses on a selection of phenomena, namely Clitic Climbing (CC), Auxiliary Switch (AS), the presence of subject clitics, the *pro*-drop parameter, and the opposition proclisis vs. enclisis with infinitives. Whilst there is evidence of a consistent crosslinguistic pattern at an earlier stage (although Old Occitan has been studied to a lesser extent), modern varieties show variation (Table 1). As such, the distribution of each phenomenon drifted in diachrony.

Table 1: Phenomena under study

Language	Clitic climbing	Auxiliary switch	Clitic placement with [-fin]	Subjects
Old Catalan	yes	yes	enclisis	*pro*
Old Occitan	yes	?	?	*pro*
Old French	yes	yes	enclisis	*pro*
Catalan	yes	no	enclisis	*pro*
Occitan	yes	yes	proclisis	*pro*
French	no	no	proclisis	clitic

We fill in the gaps in analysing the distribution of each phenomena in a selection of underdocumented minoritised varieties spoken at the south of the Loire (Croissant, Lemosin), in southern France (Languedocian varieties, Gévaudanais, Northern Gascon, Southern Gascon), and in the Pyrenees (Aranese, Pallarese, Ribagorçan, Roussillonese and Benasquese). In addition to presenting a holistic documentation of the geographical distribution of the abovementioned phenomena, we question their relationship on formal grounds. In particular, there are debates in the literature on whether enclisis and CC stem from the same 'parameter' (Kayne 1989, 1991) or not (Manzini & Savoia 2005; Olivier et al. 2023), and whether *pro*-drop connects to the availability of CC (Kayne 1989, 1991, Solà-Pujols 2002, Paradís 2019). Further, we question whether AS is necessarily found in languages that have both CC and binary auxiliary selection.

2. Phenomena and crosslinguistic data
2.1. Auxiliary Switch: This phenomenon can only be attested in languages where auxiliary selection oscillates between *have* and *be* (which de facto excludes languages like Modern Catalan). French and Catalan lost AS, yet the construction remains in some varieties: it is the case of Southern Gascon (Guilhemjoan 2006), where it is obligatory (1), and some Occitan varieties (Jensen 2010). This phenomenon is poorly documented crosslinguistically (both synchronically and diachronically).

(1)   Que **soi** devut anar a l' espitau. [Southern Gascon] (Guilhemjoan 2006: 95)
       subj be.1sg must.pp go.inf to the-hospital
       'I had to go to the hospital.'

Despite limited evidence, AS appears to be restricted to Southern Gascon and to be on the way out from most Occitan varieties, where *have* seems to generalise, as in Aranese (Suïls 2008).

2.2. Clitic Climbing: This construction is not attested in the Croissant (Guérin 2019), a small dialectal continuum at the border of French and Occitano-Romance. Instead, proclisis is always found on finite verbs and infinitives. A similar pattern is attested in Northern Gascon, which does not allow CC (Romieu and Bianchi 2005). Turning to varieties that have CC, it is either optional (Southern Gascon, Languedocian, Roussillonese, Pallarese), preferred (Aranese, see Carrera 2007), or obligatory, as in Gévaudanais (2).

(2) **Lous**   bouguiô   prene.   [Gévaudanais] (Camproux 1958: 352)
    cl.acc.3pl wanted.3sg take.inf
    'He wanted to take them.'

CC is absent from northern varieties, where contact with French has taken place over an extended period. This contact may have been a driving force towards the generalisation of proclisis to the infinitive in Restructuring clauses, but also in other contexts (see section 2.3).

2.3. Clitic placement with infinitives: All the analysed varieties that lack CC systematically exhibit proclisis on the infinitive (3), like in French. In varieties where CC is optional, the non-climbing option involves enclisis in the south west and the Pyrenees (Southern Gascon, Aranese, Pallarese, Ribagorçan, Catalan), and proclisis eastwards, as in Gévaudanais and Languedocian (Alibèrt 1935: 289-290). Roussillonese also has proclisis (Gómez 2016, Paradís 2019), despite being geographically adjacent to other Catalan varieties exhibiting enclisis.

(3) I va   **te**   getar   la péire   [Haute Vienne] (Guérin 2019: 102)
    I go.aux.1sg cl.dat.2sg throw.inf the stone
    'I'll throw you the stone.'

Enclisis tends to be found in southern varieties bordering the Pyrenees (Carrera 2007, Llop and Paradís 2023), although recent developments suggest that proclisis is generalising on the northern side of the mountains (Bèc 1968). Because French is the predominant language of the area, contact appears to drive changes in clitic placement as it does with the loss of CC.

2.4. Subject clitics: In the Croissant, subjects can never be dropped and pattern like French subject clitics (Guérin 2019). We identify Lemosin (4) and surrounding varieties as an area of transition, for they exhibit partial *pro*-drop (Kaiser, Oliviéri and Palasis 2013). Westwards, Northern Gascon also displays the use of subject clitics.

(4) [kɔ   pl'øj]   [Lemosin] (Kaiser, Oliviéri and Palasis 2013: 356)
    subj.cl.3sg rains
    'It is raining.'

French, Northern Gascon, Croissant, and Lemosin, all varieties with subject clitics, lack CC and AS. This supports the hypothesis that CC, AS, and *pro*-drop are connected.

3. Concluding remarks: We draw several conclusions. First, contact with French drives a generalisation of proclisis and subject clitics. Second, AS is only found in varieties that have both CC and binary auxiliary selection, which supports the hypothesis that AS and CC depend on the same set of formal features. Third, we do not find evidence for a variety that would have both subject clitics and CC. Whilst the former depend on the TP-domain, the latter depend on the *v*P-domain. We propose a formal analysis that connects the two domains, that is where *v*'s features interact with T's. Lastly, Southern Gascon appears to be the most conservative dialectal area, as it kept all core characteristics of earlier Romance (cf. Table 1): *pro*-drop, CC, enclisis, and AS. In our talk, we will further expand on varieties mentioned throughout this abstract, and discuss the distribution of these phenomena with regards to formal analyses of Restructuring.

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The role of language contact in the context of a minoritized language: the emergence and expansion of Differential Object Marking in Catalan

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This talk offers an in-depth analysis DOM in Catalan. First, I will briefly discuss the origins and motivations of this phenomenon in Romance languages. Then, I will present the data from present-day Catalan: I will first refer to the prescriptive tradition that has regulated the phenomenon in Standard Catalan and then show how the actual use of the language has followed and continues to follow a very different path. The role of language contact will also be assessed, Catalan displaying a sociolinguistically unique scenario with different contact situations: in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Country, Catalan is in contact with Spanish; in Rosselló, it is in contact with French (and Occitan); and in L'Alguer, in Sardinia, it is in contact with (Regional) Italian and Sardinian. Crucially, data from a pioneering, unique macrodialectal survey carried out with more than 400 individual interviews with speakers from all Catalan dialects will be provided.

In addition, the diachronic dimension of DOM in Catalan will also be analysed through a large-scale corpus study, focusing on the emergence and expansion of the phenomenon since the earliest texts in Old Catalan (covering the period 11th – 16th centuries). Interestingly, DOM was already present back then, although from the 16th century on it undergoes a sharp increase, coinciding with the start of a harsh sociolinguistic pressure of Spanish as a consequence of the socio-political events of the time. It is during that time that the percentages of DOM increased exponentially across all types of direct objects. The influence of Spanish thus was more quantitative than qualitative, in the sense that a hitherto relatively discreet mechanism in Catalan began to be used much more profusely. I will also see how DOM fully consolidated in the period of Modern Catalan (17th – 18th centuries), when across the Catalan-speaking territories there is an even more advanced stage of linguistic subordination to Spanish. Finally, we will observe how in Contemporary Catalan (19th – 20th century), in a context where most grammarians attributed solely to Spanish the generalized use of DOM in Catalan, there is a sudden turning point when it comes to written formal texts, once the first prescriptive grammar is published in 1918. The drop in the use of DOM, however, was only successful in written texts, authored or revised by people aware of the norms, whereas the uses in the street continued to display a wide use of DOM, as they do today.

UK Ecuadorian Spanish: mood and V-movement under contact

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Objectives. The aim of this presentation is to discuss the results of an investigation about two grammatical properties of the varieties of Spanish spoken by the Ecuadorian community living in the UK, i.e. (i) the expression of evidential and (ad)mirative values via the present perfect, and (ii) patterns of movement of different verb forms. The data presented were collected with 15 first-generation Ecuadorian speakers who migrated to the UK (at least) after the age of 20 (late sequential bilinguals, Group 1), 5 of whom had previously lived in Spain for an extended period of time (late sequential bidialectal, Group 2), checked against 11 control speakers (3 from Ecuador and 8 from Spain).

Evidential and (ad)mirative values. Ecuadorian Spanish has developed some innovative values in its use of the analytic past perfect which, in addition to conveying the prototypical value of present relevance, can also be selected to mark evidential and (ad)mirative values, including: (i) the source of information (the speaker wants to convey that they have not witnessed the event), (ii) the certainty of the information (the speaker wants to convey that they do not commit to the truth of the event), (iii) surprise, and (iv) sudden discovery (Bustamante 1991). Because of the presence of obligatory evidential markers in Quechua, these innovative values have been ascribed to contact with this indigenous variety, consistently with their attestation in the analytic perfects of many other varieties of Andean Spanish with Quechua and Aymara substrate (Palacios Alcaine & Pfänder 2018).

Evidentiality under contact. Palacios Alcaine (2007) showed that these innovative values can be lost under the pressure exerted by other varieties of Spanish, as in the case of Ecuadorian speakers living in Madrid for a sustained period of time. In order to test any contact effects in the parallel laboratory represented by the UK, my informants were administered an aural preference task and a production task. The results show that the innovative expression of these modal values via the present perfect can be affected by contact with peninsular Spanish but not by contact with English: while Group 2 is quite distant from the Ecuadorian control (mean percentage of divergent answers: 39.2%), Group 1 remains closer to the control (mean percentage of divergent answers: 13%). This finding is expected under Hicks & Domínguez's (2020a; 2020b) 'Attrition via Acquisition' model: $L1_a$ (Ecuadorian Spanish) and $L1_b$ (peninsular Spanish) share the grammaticalization of evidentiality via morphosyntactic means (V can carry [+Evid]), but differ in terms of which other TAM features can combine with [+Evid] (only [+Cond] in peninsular Spanish, [+Perf] too in Ecuadorian Spanish). In addition to supporting this model, this case study offers two additional insights. First, attrition can also result in loss. Although this is typically a less likely outcome (Hicks & Domínguez 2020:216), I will argue that loss is expected in this case as a consequence of the so-called INSTABILITY EFFECT (Ledgeway, Schifano & Silvestri in prep.), whereby exogenous changes (as in the case of evidentiality in Ecuadorian Spanish, originally triggered by Quechua) make the system susceptible to further developments because they create an instability in the system. Second, this case study allows us to gain a more nuanced understanding of what may count as a sufficiently fine-grained distinction which can trigger attrition, which in this case is a nanoparametric difference between related varieties.

Verb-movement. Building on previous cartographic studies, Schifano (2018) has shown that it is possible to identify at least four different typologies of verb-movement within the Romance family, as shown by the relative placement of the present indicative verb with respect to the rich inventory of hierarchically-ordered adverbs mapped by Cinque (1999). Modelling this instance of variation in terms of a parameter hierarchy (cf. Roberts & Holmberg 2010; Roberts

2012, 2019 and publications from the *ReCoS* research group), Schifano (2018) argues that these four different typologies represent four different microparametric options, where Spanish selects the 'very low' movement option, in that the present indicative verb does not climb beyond very low adverbs like 'already' and 'always' (Sp. *María **ya** conoce esta historia*), on a pair with English lexical verbs (En. *Mary **already** knows this story*). In order to account for opposite orderings (Sp. *María conoce **ya** esta historia*), accepted by speakers of peninsular Spanish but perceived as pragmatically marked, Schifano (2018) invokes the left dislocation of low adverbs, in a configuration where V remains low. In peninsular Spanish, the auxiliary HAVE exhibits the same low default placement (Sp. *ya he comido*), whereby adverbs can never been interpolated between the auxiliary and the participle (Sp. **he ya* comido*), contrary to English (En. *I have **already** eaten*). However, a small subset of modally/temporally marked auxiliaries can exceptionally target a higher position in peninsular Spanish, for feature-checking reasons, creating sufficient structural space for adverbs to intervene (Sp. *había/habría ya comido* 'I had/would have already eaten') – a smaller, nanoparametric option which can be observed in other (very) low movement Romance languages (Schifano 2018:223).

Verb-movement under contact. In order to test any contact effects in the UK laboratory, my informants were administered 3 aural preference tasks and 1 acceptability rating task. In terms of default placement (present indicative), an interesting difference emerged: Group 2 shows lower acceptance of Adv_{low}-V orders and higher acceptance of V-Adv_{low} than the Ecuador control group and Group 1, in line with the parallel finding that the Spain control group shows lower acceptance of Adv_{low}-V orders in emphatic contexts. The role of peninsular Spanish in this case is again expected under Hicks & Domínguez's (2020) model, and shows how attrition can also result in an increase in frequency of rule (viz. adverb focalization), as often observed in the contact literature (e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2003). Notably, my data also show the role that English could play in relevant configurations: Group 1 exhibits a considerably higher rate of acceptance of Aux-Adv_{low}-V orderings (e.g. Sp. *habrá **ya** comido*) than all the other groups. Notably, this higher acceptance only affects all the tested modally-marked auxiliaries (*habría* 'have.COND.1/3SG', *habrá* 'have.COND.3SG', *haya* 'have.SBJV.1/3SG', *hubiera* 'have.IPFV.SBJV.1/3SG'), including forms usually not accepted by speakers of peninsular Spanish before a low adverb (e.g. *haya*), but never the present indicative one (e.g. **he ya comido*). I will argue that this change has been triggered by English, whose microparameter ("move all auxiliaries higher") caused a change in a related nanoparameter of Spanish ("move *había/habría* higher" > "move all modally-marked auxiliaries higher"), but did not lead to the wholesale replication of its higher microparametric choice (so **he ya comido* remains ungrammatical).

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Bilingual patterns of result lexicalization with manner verbs: Production data from two varieties of French in comparison to English

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It is a well-known fact that French and English have opposite preferences with respect to lexicalizing the conceptual components manner and result in event descriptions and various aspects of lexicalization patterns have been studied in different theoretical frameworks (cf. a.o. Talmy 2000). Event structural approaches typically focus on the constraints that determine whether manner verbs can combine with result-denoting constituents in a single VP (cf. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2019). Unlike English, French has very limited ability to do so, which influences the "packaging" of meaning components. It tends to be denser in English than in French, where manner and result are known to occur more frequently in two different clauses.

Drawing on creation events as a test ground, this study addresses the following **questions**:

1) How and where is the result/product of a creation event lexicalized if manner is encoded in the finite verb?
2) How does bilingualism with English relate to the occurrence of different lexicalization choices in French?

Regarding **question 1**, two possibilities for lexicalizing the result in the same VP with the manner verb can be identified: an effected object as in (1a) and a resultative PP headed by *en* as in (1b) (cf. Jezek 2014 for a taxonomy of creation verbs).

(1) a. Paul a sculpté *une poupée* à partir du bois.   b. Paul a sculpté le bois *en (une) poupée*.
     'Paul carved a doll out of the wood.'   'Paul carved the wood into a doll.'

Interestingly, both constituents are neither freely available nor categorically barred in Romance languages (but cf. Folli & Harley 2020). For French, it is possible to distinguish between two classes of manner verbs based on verbal dictionaries (cf. Danlos, Nakamura & Pradet 2014). Some verbs are "flexible" as they can map the result onto either an object DP or a resultative PP, cf. *sculpter* in (1) above. Others (henceforth called "inflexible") do not allow for an effected object canonically, cf. *plier* in (2a). The result is thus either mapped onto a resultative PP, (2b), or it is lexicalized outside the VP headed by the manner verb, e.g., in a coordinate clause, (3).

(2) a. Paul a plié un bateau en papier.
     (i)   ?/#'Paul created a paper boat by folding.'
     (ii)   'Paul folded an existing paper boat.'
   b. Paul a plié le papier *en (un) bateau*.
     'Paul folded the paper into a boat.'
(3) Paul a plié le papier et (en) a fait *un bateau*.
   'Paul folded the paper and made a boat.'

In order to address **question 2**, data from bilingual speakers of Canadian French [CaFr] are compared with data from Hexagonal French [HFr] and two possibilities of contact-related influence are taken into consideration. Based on Johanson's (2002) Code-Copying Model, they qualify as semantic and combinatorial copying respectively. First, there is the possibility that event structural properties of English manner verbs such as *to fold* are copied onto French equivalents (e.g., *plier*) making the latter (more) compatible with effected-object-readings, cf. (2a)i. above. Second, English's general preference for a denser packaging of meaning could lead to more frequent lexicalizations of manner and result in the same VP in bilingual French. In this context, it can be assumed that the speaker's linguistic profile affects how often the

result is lexicalized in a particular way. This study draws van Coetsem's (2000) Agentivity Model according to which non-material copying is more likely to be introduced under source language agentivity than under recipient language agentivity. It is thus expected to show up more frequently in bilingual CaFr-speakers who are English-dominant in at least certain domains.

The following **hypotheses** are tested: Packaging all semantic components into the same VP is more frequent with syntactic flexible verbs than with inflexible verbs (H1). Speakers from the CaFr-group package all components into the same VP more often than speakers from the HFr-group (H2). Furthermore, speakers from the CaFr-group use effected objects more often than speakers from the HFr-group (H3). Within the CaFr-group, packaging all semantic components into one VP is expected to become more frequent with increased dominance in English (H4).

Methodologically, the study is based on an oral production task in which single-sentence event descriptions were elicited with 83 test subjects (currently 33 for CaFr, 50 for HFr). Within the CaFr-group, language dominance was assessed using the *BLP* (cf. Birdsong, Gertken & Amengual 2012), based on which 11 speakers are considered English-dominant, 10 balanced and 12 French-dominant. Test subjects were presented with pictures showing creation events and three lexemes: a manner verb, a material-denoting noun and a result-denoting noun (e.g., *sculpter*, *bois*, *poupée*). They were instructed to use the manner verb as the "main verb" of the sentence. The experiment is based on a within-subject design and critical items were presented along with fillers using counter-balancing and pseudo-randomization. All test subjects were recruited via *Prolific.* The experiment was run in *Labvanced*. Data collection has yielded 1185 valid responses which were coded with respect to packaging of meaning ("Are all components lexicalized in a single VP?") as well as the constituent in which the result is lexicalized (object DP, resultative PP, separate clause).

The **results** show that manner and result are more often lexicalized in the same VP with flexible manner verbs than with inflexible ones (H1) and that lexicalization preferences also differ between the test groups (H2). French-dominant CaFr-speakers pattern with the HFr-group in lexicalizing all components in the same VP in about 75% of the cases, while the balanced and English-dominant bilinguals lexicalize all components in a single VP in even 90% of the cases (H4). Both verb class and test group survive as significant predictors in the binomial GLMM. Sentences that point to semantic copying did occur but do not allow for robust generalizations as test subjects produced a considerable number of ambiguous VPs (H3). Based on an ongoing control experiment involving Canadian English, it remains to be shown to which extent the differences between the test groups can be related to copying. Furthermore, it is being analyzed how sociolinguistic factors (e.g., the community of residence and its linguistic profile) might contribute to lexicalization choices in bilingual CaFr.

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Object realisation in heritage Portuguese: a tale of stability and change!

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We report experimental data from an aural guided elicitation and picture task carried out via Zoom with bilingual speakers of English and European Portuguese, all of whom have lived in the UK for 4-19 years (n=25 but data collection is still ongoing). Speakers who arrived before age 11 and have completed all secondary schooling in English, we classify as heritage speakers and we are interested in differences in the use of object pronouns between this group and our bilingual controls.

In the guided elicitation, participants were presented with a written question+response and asked to read both out loud. The response was incomplete, containing an unconjugated verb in capital letters. Participants were instructed to manipulate the verb in any way they wanted in the response. This left participants free to conjugate the verb and include whatever pronominal form (or not) they thought necessary:

1) Matrix inanimate context
   Foste   buscar   a   revista?   Fui   e   [ENCONTRAR] na   gaveta.
   went.2SG search.for the magazine   went.1SG and FOUND   in.the drawer
2) Matrix animate context
   Dançaste   com a   tua   namorada afinal?   Dancei!   [ENCONTRAR] no   corredor.
   Danced.2SG with the your   girlfriend finally danced.1SG FOUND   in.the corredor

Note that a different verb was used in questions vs. responses to avoid the potential confound of VP-ellipsis and verbal responses to yes/no questions, which are known to exist in European Portuguese with different syntactic properties (Martins 1994, 2013, Cyrino & Matos 2016). Four syntactic contexts were tested: (i) matrix, (ii) embedded, (iii) restructuring and (iv) islands with both animate and inanimate referents. These test items were interspersed with fillers which featured no pronominal objects. Participants were left with the impression that this was a test of verb conjugation (morphology).

**Figure 1: Proportion of overt objects by group and animacy**
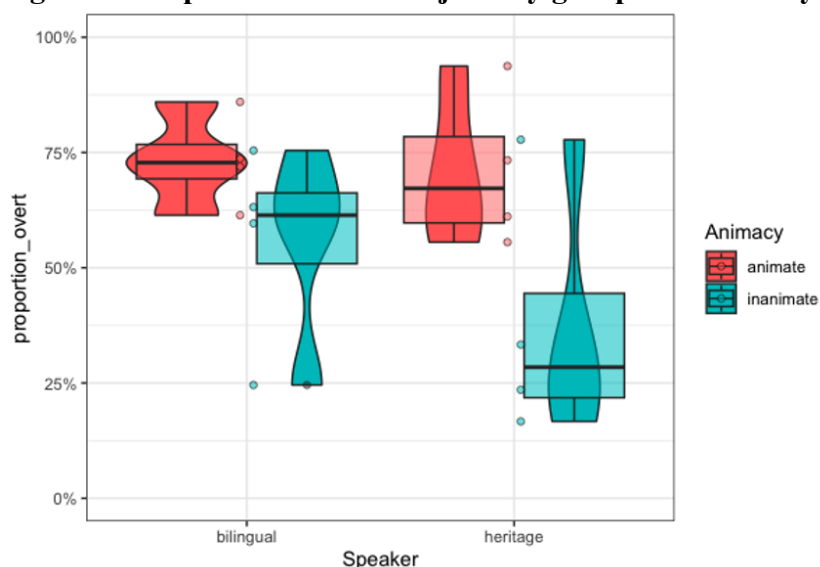
As per Fig 1, when the referent of the pronoun was animate, both the heritage group and the bilingual group tended to use overt clitic pronouns. Whereas, when the referent was

inanimate, Heritage speakers tended to use a null subject, unlike bilingual controls. A generalized linear mixed model fit by maximum likelihood (Laplace Approximation) ['glmerMod'] shows that there is a main effect of animacy here (p=0.000293). However, the interaction between animacy and heritage status is only approaching significance (p=0.057300).

A glmerMod shows that there is also a main effect of syntax. Interestingly, heritage speakers, like bilingual controls, showed strong sensitivity to islandhood. As shown in Fig 2, both groups of speakers tended to produce overt objects inside islands, especially with inanimate referents.

Fig 2: Proportion of overt objects but group, animacy and syntactic context
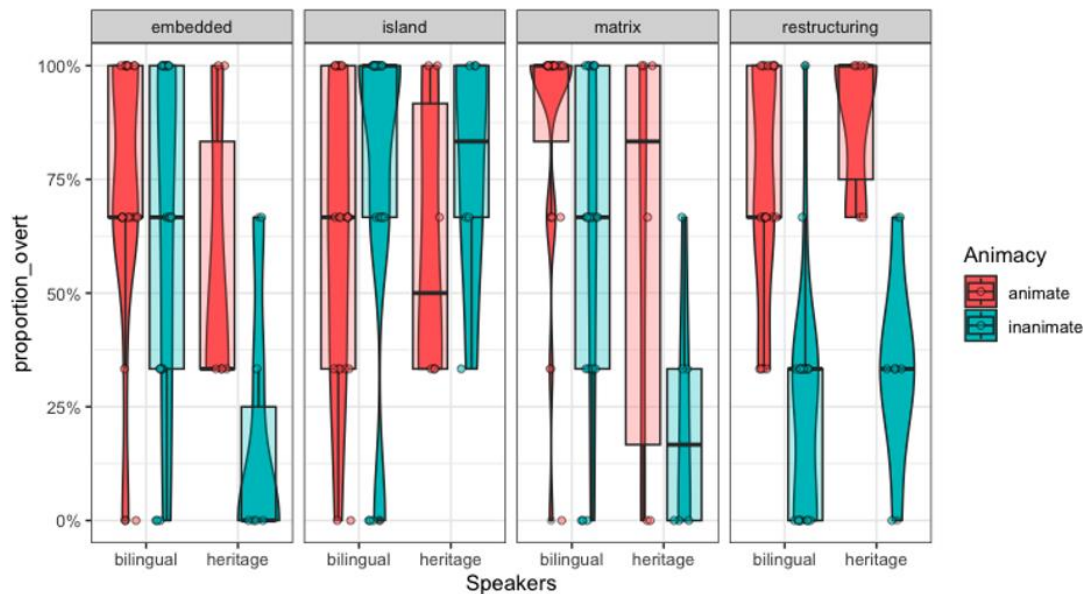
Note, especially, the contrast between heritage speakers' use of inanimate pronouns in island conditions vs. all other contexts. Once we factor syntactic context into our model (using model comparison), the interaction between syntax and heritage status becomes significant (p=0.004658).

The implication is that while heritage speakers overwhelmingly opt for null objects with inanimate referents, they use overt pronouns to mark either (i) animacy, especially in matrix clauses (see also Cyrino, Duarte and Kato 2000; Rinke, Flores, Barbosa 2017), and (ii) islandhood (Raposo 1986; Costa and Duarte 2003). We therefore see both (i) change (in terms of the referential hierarchy), and (ii) stability (of the island constraint) in the grammar of heritage speakers. The results are broadly compatible with Sorace's (2005) interface hypothesis because the core grammar of the heritage speakers has not fundamentally changed but their usage preferences are different from those of the control group.

We will also present a qualitative analysis of more naturalistic production data from our picture task which provides additional evidence of grammatical innovation, such as the use of full object pronouns with animate referents by this English dominant heritage speaker of European Portuguese, born in the UK (age 18). This pronominal strategy is usually limited to Brazilian Portuguese:

2) e   depois   ele viu ela
    and   afterwards   he   saw her
    '…and afterwards, he saw her.'

Morphosyntactic instability in Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish as a heritage language

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Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish (BJS) is an endangered minority variety of Spanish spoken by the descendants of Jewish people expelled from the Iberian Peninsula after 1492 and settled in several countries in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, among them Bulgaria. It is currently the language of probably less than 30 bilingual speakers in their 70es or older whose dominant language is Bulgarian. They learnt BJS from their grandparents and stopped speaking it in their adulthood. In the late 90s, some speakers started relearning and using BJS again. Their linguistic behaviour rather resembles that of a heritage speaker with an incomplete acquisition in childhood (cf. Putnam & Sánchez 2013). Therefore, BJS offers a unique setting to test theories of language acquisition, language contact and change, besides being a challenge to our current methods of data collection.

The aim of this talk is twofold: first, on the basis of newly assembled data, we will document and describe the morphosyntactic peculiarities of this variety as spoken by the (probably) last generation of speakers; and second, we would like to discuss how the observed properties (e.g., stable behaviour of clitic placement, auxiliary selection, etc., but instability and innovations w.r.t. clitic doubling, adjective placement, verb morphology, etc.) are shaped by the specific conditions of intergenerational language transmission and the sociolinguistic context in which BJS is used. In consonance with Sorace (2006 and subsequent work) and Slabakova (2019), we claim that only certain domains in the grammar of a non-dominant language, such as the one under consideration, are subject to cross-linguistic influence (CLI) and show innovative features, namely those domains that involve the combination of information coming from different linguistic modules.

To show this, we examined different kinds of constructions, either within a specific module or at the interface between modules. Due to the particularities of the investigated population (i.e. age, type of bilingualism, lack of regular activation of BJS, etc.), commonly used empirical methods such as grammaticality judgment tasks have proven to be insufficient (Fischer & Vega 2018). For this reason, we also elicited data on several target constructions (clitic doubling, clitic climbing and placement, adjective placement, verbal mode and aspect, stylistic fronting, etc.) by means of a translation task. These data were combined with the analysis of spontaneous speech in semi-directed interviews. Our results so far have shown that core syntactic phenomena, such as clitic placement or clitic climbing, respond to internal change processes and are rather unaffected by the contact language, whereas interface phenomena, such as adjective placement and verb morphology, are much more variable and susceptible to CLI.

Clitic placement is quite different in Bulgarian compared to BJS. Whereas Bulgarian and Old Spanish (OS) show Tobler-Mussafia effects, i.e. clitics are excluded from the initial position in the clause, clitics in BJS do not have this constraint (1). Clitic placement is considered a core syntactic phenomenon (Uriagereka 1995), as such early learnt in language acquisition and stable over time (Sorace 2006), however undergoing changes like in other Spanish varieties (where only residual Tobler-Mussafia effects are preserved). Also, in a scenario of incomplete acquisition, it is expected that such early acquired features are quite resistant to attrition, as can be observed in our data.

(1) **me**   vino   el mosafir   (SP1_bi_m_Sofia)
     me   came   the guest
     'My guest arrived'.

Similarly, the progressive loss of clitic climbing cannot be attributed to language contact. In OS (cf. Pescarini 2021), clitics had to leave the infinitival clause when this was selected by certain auxiliary or modal verbs such as *querer*, *poder*, etc. This movement is currently optional in Peninsular Spanish as well as in BJS. The simpler structure without clitic movement (i.e., without restructuring) is gaining ground. Again, clitic climbing is a core syntactic phenomenon and is not vulnerable to change even in language-contact settings.

(2) **vos** vo   kontar /   vo   kontar**vos**   (SP8_bi_f_Sofia)
     you   I-go tell   I-go tell-you
     'I will tell you…'

Phenomena that apply at different linguistic modules, however, show a very different behaviour. This is the case, e.g., with adjective placement, which is situated at the interface between morpho-syntax and semantics. Interface phenomena can be assumed to be acquired later – at a point where our speaker had already stopped getting input in BJS. In most Spanish varieties, as well as in OS, there is a strong tendency to place adjectives after the noun (NA). Certain classes can only remain after the noun (e.g., relational or deverbal adjectives; cf. Fábregas 2007) and others must be placed before the noun to convey special readings (*pobre hombre* 'pitiful/unlucky man' vs. *hombre pobre* 'poor/non-wealthy man'; cf. Camacho 2018). In Bulgarian, adjectives almost obligatorily precede the noun. Especially within the younger, less-proficient generation of bilingual BJS speakers, adjectives are placed as in Bulgarian, i.e. in front of the noun (3). The deverbal adjective *pezgado* is usually excluded from the pre-nominal position in Spanish, but it is necessarily pre-nominal in Bulgarian. Morpho-syntactic and semantic distinctions are getting lost in BJS and cross-linguistic influence is evident.

(3) Esto es muy pezgado lavoro (instead of *lavoro muy pezgado*)   (SP2_bi_m_Sofia)
     this is very hard   work
     'This is a very hard work.'

Last, the verb morphology to express tense, aspect and mood in BJS seems to be severely impaired. We find much morphological hesitation (e.g. *kantavo*, *kantava*, *kantar(a)*, *kantiva*… for 1st p. sg. imperfect) but also a reorganization of verb tenses: although Bulgarian has a rich expression of perfectivity, BJS tends to confound the uses of the imperfect tense and progressive periphrasis, and shows unexpected uses of perfect and imperfect tense.

All in all, our data confirm Slabakova's (2019) proposal that the "bottleneck" in L2 acquisition and the primary source of variability –and thus of instability– is the choice of morphology and not core-syntax (Silva-Corvalán 2008, Fischer & Vega 2018).

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