

Adjective Adverb Interfaces in Romance

Edited by

Martin Hummel
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Parameters in Romance adverb agreement

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Many Romance varieties are known to employ adjectives in adverbial function. This paper explores the parameters involved in the distribution of agreement of adjectival manner adverbs across Romance. Agreement is shown to be sensitive to specific structural configurations which can ultimately be retraced to the phenomenon of split intransitivity: agreement is typically controlled by nominals which at some level of representation are associated with the object relation, although some exceptions to this generalization are noted producing what appear to be ergative patterns. Looking at such evidence from within and beyond Italy, the paper sketches a typology of the differing licensing conditions on adjectival adverb agreement in Romance in an attempt to identify the precise semantico-syntactic parameters involved in the relevant patterns.

1. Introduction: Narrowing the field

Following Hummel (2000; 2011: 4; 2014: 36), Romance attribution may be expressed either by a bicategorical system (1a), where the categories of adjective and adverb are formally distinguished, or a monocategorical system (1b), in which the two categories fall together into a single syncretic class:

- (1) a. (Cat.)
En Joan és excepcional / canta excepcionalment
 the Joan is exceptional sings exceptionally'
- b. (Rom.)
Ion este / cântă excepțional
 Ion is sings exceptional.MSG
 'John is exceptional/sings exceptionally'

However, even standard varieties with bicategorical systems show monocategorical uses of specific adjectives (2a–e; cf. Chircu 2008: 106, 251f; Hummel 2011: 18; 2014: 37f; 2013: 226f):

- (2) a. (Sp.) *Los hombres trabajan duro*
 b. (Pt.) *Os homens trabalham duro*
 c. (Fr.) *Les hommes travaillent dur*
 d. (It.) *Gli uomini lavorano sodo*
 e. (Cat.) *Els homes treballen dur*
 the men work.3PL hard.MSG.
 ‘The men work hard’

The distribution of the two options appears to be subject to diachronic, diatopic, diamesic and diastratic variation, inasmuch as bicategorical attribution “appears to be a cultural phenomenon that recurrently occurs in socio-historical contexts of standardized literacy”, whereas monocategorical attribution “is profoundly rooted in oral tradition(s) and consequently reemerges where the impact of literacy fails or weakens” (Hummel 2014: 48). Unsurprisingly, then, adjectival adverbs prove most frequent in those periods and areas of Romance predating the rise of standardization (e.g. early Romance) or the establishment of a shared western literary tradition and the rise of *-men(t(e))* adverbs (e.g. Daco-Romance; Hummel 2014: 48),¹ or where the effects of standardization have been less conspicuous (e.g. colloquial usage, *România nova*; Hummel 2011: 13, 16; 2015: § 5.2) or absent (e.g. dialects of Italy; Rohlfs 1969: 243–5; Ledgeway 2000: 272–5; 2003; 2009: 724–9; 2011a: § 6.2.4; 2011b; Manzini & Savoia 2005: III, 211–13; Cruschina 2010).

Furthermore, we find variation across Romance between contexts and varieties in which the adjective in adverbial function may display agreement with an accompanying nominal, witness the contrast between (3) and (4):²

- (3) a. (Sp.) *María hablaba bajo/*-a*
 b. (Pt.) *A Maria falava baixo/*-a*
 c. (Cat.) *La Maria parlava baix/*-a*
 d. (It.) *Maria parlava basso/*-a*
 e. (Fr.) *Marie parlait bas/*-se*
 f. (Rom.) *Maria vorbea liniștit/*-ă*
 Mary spoke quiet.M/FSG.
 ‘Mary spoke quietly’
- (4) a. (coll.Sp.) *Vamos directos a la playa*
 b. (coll.Pt.) *Vamos diretos à praia*
 we.go direct.MPL to the beach
 ‘We go directly to the beach’

1. Cf. Dinică (2012), Mîrzea Vasile (2012a; b), Dinică & Mîrzea Vasile (2013).

2. In what follows we do not discuss the frequent agreement of so-called tertiary attributes (Chircu 2008: 127; Hummel 2011: 22; 2014: 40–2; 2015 § 3; in press a).

- c. (Leccese) *A bui bu trattamu bueni*
 to you.PL you.PL= we.treat good.MPL
 ‘We treat you well’
- d. (Catanzarese) *Nèscia spontanea*
 it.comes.out spontaneous.FSG
 ‘[The word.FSG] comes out spontaneously’
- e. (Sic.) *Basta ca ti mariti bedda pulita*
 it.suffices that you= marry beautiful.FSG nice.FSG
 ‘You simply need to marry well’

The structural conditions determining the agreement or otherwise of the adjectives in (3)–(4) will form the focus of the rest of this article, where we shall review the different parameters of adjectival adverb agreement observed across Romance. In the final section we shall briefly sketch how such agreement patterns may be interpreted in theoretical terms and in relation to current assumptions regarding parameters.

2. Parameters of adverbial agr(ement)

2.1 Pattern 1: No agr

We begin our survey with monocategorial systems in which the adjective proves totally inert for agreement, invariably occurring in the masculine singular default form irrespective of the presence of any potential nominal controllers. This is the situation found in Romanian (Mîrzea Vasile 2012a, b; Dinică & Mîrzea Vasile 2013: 437) and some northern Italian dialects (Rohlf's 1969: 244; Manzini & Savoia 2005: 211), witness the following examples where the adjective fails to agree with the clausal object, be it a full DP (5a) or a clitic (6), or the clausal subject (5b):

- (5) a. (Rom.)
Rezolv legal/-ă problema*
 I.solve legal.MSG/FSG problem.F.the.FSG
 ‘I solve the problem legally’
- b. (Rom.)
*Fetele răspund corect/*e*
 girls.the reply.3PL correct.MSG/FPL
 ‘The girls answer correctly’
- (6) (Cerano, Piedmont)
 ɔ ‘faʃa-l/-la / ‘faʃ-i pi’lit
 I.have done=it.M/=it.F done=them clean.MSG
 ‘I did it/them well’

To conclude, we should recall that this pattern of zero agreement also characterizes those standard Romance varieties which, despite displaying a system of bicategorical attribution, allow adjectival adverbs in a small number of restricted contexts (cf. 3a–f).

2.2 Pattern 2: Full active/stative split

The second pattern we consider is widely found among southern Italian dialects (Ledgeway 2011b; 2012: Chapter 7),³ which systematically show agreement of adjectival adverbs under specific structural conditions. In these varieties agreement of the adjective cannot be controlled by an Agent/Actor subject (A/S_A), namely a transitive/unergative subject, but can be controlled by a transitive object (O) or an Undergoer subject (S_O), namely an unaccusative subject. The result is a classic active/stative split (7), where adverb agreement systematically discriminates between internal arguments generated as immediate constituents of the verb in the complement position, from which they can license agreement, and external arguments generated as modifiers of the verb+complement constituent from where they fail to license agreement.

$$(7) \quad [_{VP} [_{NP} A/S_A]_k [_{V'} V \text{ Adv}_i [_{NP} O/S_O]_i]]$$

This explains why in the following Cosentino examples the adverb fails to display agreement with the transitive/unergative subject in (8a), but does agree with the transitive object in (8b) and the unaccusative subjects in (8c–d).

- (8) a. (Cos.)
*Maria studia bonu / *bona ('u libbru)*
 Maria studies good.MSG good.FSG the.MSG book.M
 'Maria studies (the book) hard'
- b. (Cos.)
Maria un' criscia buoni a ri figli
 Maria not raises good.MPL to.ACC the children.MPL
 'Maria does not bring the children up properly'
- c. (Cos.)
Maria haddi cada bona
 Maria will fall.INF good.FSG
 'Maria will come down well and truly with a bump'

3. Where examples appear without references, they come from the author's own investigations with native informants. In some cases, examples have also been taken from published sources (e.g. plays by local playwrights).

d. (Cos.)

Maria *si* *lítica* *bona* *ccu* *ra* *suoru*
 Maria self= argues good.FSG with the sister
 ‘Maria argues fiercely with her sister’

Significantly, it is this same active/stative split that we find in the distribution of participle agreement in many Romance varieties such as Italian (Loporcaro 1998, 2016: § 49.2; Bentley 2006: 189ff.; Ledgeway 2012: § 7.3.1.2), where participle agreement is also controlled by transitive objects (9b) and unaccusative subjects (9c–d), but never by transitive/unergative subjects (9a):⁴

(9) a. (It.)

Maria *ha* *studiato*/*-a (*il* *libro*)
 Maria has studied.MSG/FSG the.MSG book.M
 ‘Maria studied (the book) hard’

b. (It.)

I *figli*, *Maria* *non* *li* *ha* *tirati*/*-o *su* *bene*
 the kids Maria not them= has pulled.MPL/MSG up well
 ‘The kids, Maria didn’t bring them up properly’

c. (It.)

Maria *è* *caduta*/*-o *male*
 Maria is fallen.FSG/MSG badly
 ‘Maria came down well and truly with a bump’

d. (It.)

Maria *si* *è* *litigata*/*-o *bene* *con* *la* *sorella*
 Maria self= is argued.FSG/MSG well with the sister
 ‘Maria argued fiercely with her sister’

Given the presence of such adverb agreement, varieties such as Cosentino can readily discriminate between subject- and object-oriented readings (cf. event- vs participant-oriented attribution in Hummel 2011: 26–7; 2013: 246s). Thus, although both versions of (10) can both be translated as ‘Anna shuffled the cards well’, the non-agreeing *buonu* signals an eventive subject-oriented reading of the adverb (*viz.* ‘Anna was adept at shuffling the cards’), whereas the agreeing feminine plural *bone*

4. The parallelism referred to here concerns the structural conditions under which both adverbial agreement and past participle agreement are licensed. This does not imply, however, that a variety that displays participle agreement necessarily exhibits adverb agreement or *vice versa* (cf. independence of distribution of participle agreement and argument-driven *have-be* auxiliary selection across Romance). On the contrary, the two phenomena represent separate parametric options, as highlighted by the absence of any reference to participle agreement in the adverb agreement parametric subhierarchy in Figure 2.

licenses an object-oriented reading in which the resultant state of shuffling the cards is emphasized (*viz.* ‘Anna gave the cards a good shuffle’).

(10) (Cos.)

Anna miscava bonu / bone 'i carte
 Anna shuffled good.MSG good.FPL the.PL cards.F
 ‘Anna shuffled the cards well’

Indeed, as argued in Ledgeway (2011b), the agreeing form in examples such as (10) licenses a resultative reading of the adjective which functions as a predicative complement of the Undergoer argument whilst simultaneously specifying the manner in which the event is brought about. Consequently, the predicative resultative and manner readings fall together formally and semantically in monocategorical systems (at least in those licensing agreement), as in the Matinese example (11a), whereas in bicategorical systems like Italian the two readings are kept formally and semantically distinct through the distinctive use of the adjective (11b) and adverb (11c), respectively.

(11) a. (Matinese)

Ttocca nne lu tanimu bonu
 it.is.necessary us= him= we.keep good.MSG

b. (It.)

Bisogna che ce lo teniamo buono
 it.is.necessary that us= him= we.keep good.MSG
 ‘We’ve got to keep him favourable (-ly)’

c. (It.)

Bisogna che ce lo teniamo bene
 it.is.necessary that us= him= we.keep well
 ‘We’ve got to take good care of him’

The same active/stative split is also attested in various diachronic and diatopic varieties of Spanish and French in those cases and registers in which they make recourse to an adjectival adverb. For instance, from an examination of the Spanish *CNDE* corpus (www-gewi.uni-graz.at/dicoadverbe),⁵ 298 inflected forms (excluding ambiguous masculine singular forms) were identified. Excluding 36 probable cases of secondary predication and 3 inexplicable cases,⁶ the remaining 259 cases

5. I thank Martin Hummel for making this database available to me.

6. The relevant examples are:

of adverb agreement were controlled either by a transitive object (12a–b) or an unaccusative subject (12c–d):⁷

- (12) a. (Sp.)
Mandólos *colgar* *altos*
 she.ordered=them.M hang.INF high.MPL
 ‘She ordered that they be hung up high’ (*Libro de buen amor*; 1330–43)
- b. (Sp.)
Ofrecía *baratos* *los* *iconos*
 he.offered cheap.MPL the.MPL icons.M
 ‘He offered the icons cheaply’ (*El escarabajo*; 1982; Argentina)
- c. (Sp.)
la *noche* *que* *avanzaba* *lenta*, *pausada*, *numismática*
 the.FSG night.F that advanced slow.FSG unhurried.FSG numismatic.FSG
 ‘the night which was advancing slowly, unhurriedly, gradually’
 (*El Señor Presidente*; 1933–46; Guatemala)
- d. (Sp.)
dirigióse *rápida* *a* *su* *alcoba*
 she.directed=self quick.FSG to her bedroom
 ‘She quickly went off to her bedroom’ (*Tipos y paisajes*; 1871)

An analogous distribution is found in the *DICO-FR* corpus, where out of 492 audible inflected forms (excluding masculine singular forms) 24 probable cases of secondary predication were identified leaving a residue of 468 cases of adjectival adverbs in which agreement is variously controlled once again either by a transitive

-
- (1) a. (Sp.)
e *asy* *dize* *alta* *en* *otro* *testo*
 and thus (s)he.says loud.FSG in other text
 ‘and thus it(?) is said explicitly(?) in another text’
 (*Traducción y glosas de la Biblia de Alba*, II; 1422–1433)
- b. (Sp.)
QUE *Portugal* *mire* *humana* *al* *Rey* *que* *en* *la* *tumba* *yace*
 that Portugal look.SBJV human.FSG to.the king that in the tomb lies
 ‘That Portugal should look upon the King humanly/as a human(?)who lies in the tomb’
 (*Descripción de las reales exequias de Carlos III que se hicieron en la ciudad de Guatemala*; 1789; Guatemala)
- c. (Sp.)
Vamos *rápida*, *que* *se* *nos* *desangran*
 we.go quick.FSG that self= us= they.bleed
 ‘Let’s leave quickly, ‘coz they’re bleeding us dry’ (*La fuente de la edad*; 1986)

7. Martin Hummel (p.c.) points out that, in contrast to Latin America, such examples occur in the Iberian Peninsula only until around the 17th century.

object (13a–b) or an unaccusative subject (13c–d), but never by a transitive/unergative subject:

- (13) a. (Fr.)
la coupe de cèdre que le bûcheron a creusée assez
 the.FSG cut.F of cedar that the woodcutter has hollowed quite
profonde dans le bois
 deep.FSG in the wood
 ‘the cut in the cedar which the woodcutter cut deeply into the wood’
- b. (Fr.)
la vie était abominable, comment pouvait-on la vivre
 the.FSG life.F was awful how could=one it.F= live.INF
paisible et heureuse?
 peaceful.SG and happy.FSG
 ‘life was awful, how could you live it peacefully and happily?’
- c. (Fr.)
Même une feuille morte qui tombe toute légère
 even a.F leaf.F dead.FSG that falls all.FSG light.FSG
 ‘Even a dead leaf which lightly falls’
- d. (Fr.)
des colonnes de fumée s’ élevant toutes droites
 some columns.F of smoke self= raising all.FPL straight.FPL
 ‘columns of smoking rising straight up’

Returning now to the varieties of southern Italy, also of interest here are apparent counterexamples to the active/stative split. To all appearances, these involve agreement with an unergative subject, as in the Sicilian examples (14a–b):

- (14) a. (Sic.)
Iddi sunu. Boni travagghianu
 they are good.MPL they.work
 ‘It’s them. They are good workers’
- b. (Sic.)
Mi pari ca a famigghia camina bona
 me= it.seems that the.FSG family.FSG walks good.FSG
 ‘I don’t think, after all, that our family is so badly off’

Nonetheless, it is well known that some intransitives prove ambiguous,⁸ allowing both an unergative and unaccusative reading. Such is the case in (14a–b) where

8. Cf. Burzio (1986: 122–6), Lonzi (1986), Saccon (1992), Parry (2000), Cresti (2003), Bentley (2006: 230–42, 267–8). It should be noted here for clarification that unaccusative readings of

travagghiari and *caminari* are not being used with their canonical unergative activity/accomplishment interpretations ‘to work’ and ‘to walk’ with an Agent subject, but are being employed as unaccusatives with the respective stative readings ‘to be a (good) worker’ and ‘to make (good) progress, function’ with an Undergoer subject. This explains the observed adverb agreement in these examples.

A similar explanation accounts for the agreeing/non-agreeing forms of Italian *svelta/svelto* in (15) taken from Antrim (1994): in the former case the predicate functions as an unaccusative predicating an ongoing characteristic of the subject (namely, ‘Maria is a quick-talker’), hence the observed agreement with the Undergoer subject, whereas in the latter case there obtains an unergative activity reading (namely, ‘Maria is talking quickly’) and agreement with the Agent/Actor subject proves impossible.

- (15) (It.)
Maria parla svelta / svelto (Maria = S_{O/A})
 Maria speaks swift.FSG swift.MSG
 ‘Maria is a quick-talker / is talking quickly’

A more telling case is provided by the Italian contrast with *correre* ‘to run’ in (16a–b) where, following Napoli (1975:423f.), we see that the adverb agreement facts correlate with the other canonical reflexes of the active/stative split manifested in the choice of auxiliary and the absence/presence of participle agreement:

- (16) a. (It.)
*Maria ha corso *svelta / svelto* (Maria = S_A)
 Maria has run.MSG swift.FSG swift.MSG
- b. (It.)
*Maria è corsa svelta / *svelto* (Maria = S_O)
 Maria is run.FSG swift.FSG swift.MSG
 ‘Maria ran fast’

To conclude, we summarize in Table 1 the distributional patterns of adverb agreement observed so far. Whereas in Romanian (together with other standard Romance varieties) and northern Italian dialects (NIDs) adjectival adverbs were shown to be entirely inert for agreement (Pattern 1) – presumably underlying a nominative/accusative alignment according to which all subjects are marked uniformly (albeit without further differentiation from objects) –, Pattern 2 was shown to instantiate a robust active/stative split in southern Italian dialects (SIDs) in which

unergative verbs in examples such as (14) and (15) are independent of the presence or otherwise of adjectival adverbs, inasmuch as adverb agreement in such examples is a consequence, and not the cause, of the relevant readings.

adverb agreement is licensed solely by Undergoer/internal arguments, but never by Agent/external arguments.

Table 1. Distribution of Romance adverb agreement

		Pattern 1: Nominative/Accusative Split Rom., NIDs	Pattern 2: Full Active/Stative Split SIDs, coll./old Sp./Fr./It.
		-Agr	±Agr
Active	A	-	-
	S _A	-	-
Stative	S _O	-	+
	O	-	+

2.3 Pattern 3: Restricted active/stative split

Above we observed how the active/stative split witnessed in the distribution of Romance participle agreement is paralleled by the distribution of agreement with Romance adjectival adverbs. Thus, conservative Romance varieties like modern Lengadocien (Loporcaro 1998; Ledgeway 2012: 300f., 317–19) robustly display past participle agreement with unaccusative subjects (17a) and all types of transitive object, irrespective of whether they surface as full DPs in postverbal (17b) or preverbal (17c) position or as clitic pronouns (17d). Similarly, numerous southern Italian dialects systematically display Pattern 2 agreement of adjectival adverbs with unaccusative subjects (18a) and transitive objects, be they full DPs in postverbal (18b) or preverbal (18c) position or clitics (18d):

(17) a. (Lgd.)

Ma maire era tombada
 my.FSG mother was fallen.FSG
 ‘My mother had fallen down’

b. (Lgd.)

Avèm visitadas fôrça vilas coma Lorda
 we.have visited.FPL many towns.F like Lourdes
 ‘We have visited many towns like Lourdes’

- c. (Lgd.)
Los vilatges qu' avèm traversats
 the.MPL villages.M that we.have crossed.MPL
 'The villages we've passed through'
- d. (Lgd.)
Vos ai menats a Lourda
 you.PL I.have led.MPL to Lourdes
 'I took you to Lourdes'
- (18) a. (Leccese)
Ll' affari ànu fiacchi
 the matters.M go.3PL bad.MPL
 'Business is going badly'
- b. (Matinese)
Quannu faci e cose bone le faci
 when you.do the.FPL things.F good.FPL them.F= you.do
a metà
 at half
 'When you do things well you don't finish them off'
- c. (Cos.)
na canzuna ca sacciu sunà bona a ra chitarra
 a.F song.F that I.know play.INF good.FSG at the guitar'
 'a song that I can play well on the guitar'
- d. (Leccese)
L' à uardata bona?
 her= you.have looked.at good.FSG
 'Did you take a good look at her?'

However, there are a number of less conservative Romance varieties where participle agreement reveals a more restricted active/stative split (Smith 1993, 1999; Loporcaro 1998, 2016: 804; Bentley 2006: 189ff., 242–7). Exemplary in this respect is modern Italian which has unrestricted agreement of the past participle with unaccusative subjects (19a), but displays a more restricted distribution of agreement with transitive objects. In particular, full DP objects, whether in postverbal or preverbal position, invariably fail to license agreement (19b), while object clitics invariably trigger agreement if third person (19c) and only optionally so if non-third person (19d–e), with a growing tendency for non-agreement to obtain in this latter case.

- (19) a. (It.)
I vicini sono partiti
 the.MPL neighbours.M are left.MPL
 'The neighbours have left'

- b. (It.)
 (I vicini che) avevo visto/*-i i vicini
 the.MPL neighbours.M that I.had seen.MSG/MPL the.MPL neighbours.M
 ‘(The neighbours which) I had seen the neighbours’
- c. (It.)
L’/li/le avevano vist-o/-a/-i/-e
 it.M/F=/them.M/F=they.had seen-MSG/-FSG// -MPL/-FPL
 ‘They had seen him/her/them’
- d. (It.)
Mi/ ti avevano vist-o/-a
 me= /you.SG= they.had seen-MSG/-FSG
 ‘They had seen me/you (= FSG)’
- e. (It.)
Ci/ vi avevano vist-o/-i/-e
 us= /you.PL= they.had seen-MSG/-MPL/-FPL
 ‘They had seen us/you (= M/FPL)’

Significantly, this restricted active/stative split found in the distribution of participle agreement in many Romance varieties such as Italian is paralleled in the distribution of adverb agreement in some southern Italian dialects.⁹ By way of illustration,

9. As Martin Hummel (p.c.) points, an interesting question which remains to be investigated is the robustness of agreement with secondary predication in French according to the structural conditions outlined in (19). For instance, we might expect agreement in examples such as (1.a) to be more resilient than in examples such as (1.b–c), a question we leave for future research.

- (1) a. (Fr.)
La soupe que j’ ai mangée chaud(e)
 the.FSG soup.F that I have eaten(.FSG) hot.FSG
 ‘The soup which I ate hot’
- b. (Fr.)
Je l’ ai mangée chaud(e)
 I it.FSG have eaten.FSG hot(.FSG)
 ‘I ate it hot’
- c. (Fr.)
J’ ai mangé chaud(e) la soupe
 I have eaten.MSG hot(.FSG) the.FSG soup.F
 ‘I ate the soup hot’

While we have already seen an example of type (i.a) in (13a) above, an example of type (i.b) has been pointed out to me by M. Hummel (p.c.) and is exemplified in (2).

- (2) (Fr.)
je l’ ai tirée basse dans le ventre
 I it.FSG= have shot.FSG low.FSG in the belly
 ‘I shot it [= harpoon arrow] in the lower belly [of the kingfish]’

consider the following examples from the eastern Abruzzese dialect of Arielli (R. D'Alessandro, p.c.):

- (20) a. (Arielli)
Tutte li cose a riscite bbune
 all the.PL things.F have turned.out good.PL
 'Everything has turned out well'
- b. (Arielli)
*Giorge pittineve bbone/*bbune li fiije*
 Giorgia combed good.SG/good.PL the children
 'Giorgia combed the children's hair well'
- c. (Arielli)
*Giorge li pittineve bbune/*bbone*
 Giorgia them= combed good.PL/good.SG
 'Giorgia combed them well'

Whereas the adverb agrees freely with unaccusative subjects (20a), agreement with a transitive object proves more selective, inasmuch as it is excluded with a full DP object (20b), but proves obligatory if the object is cliticized (20c). Indeed, the parallels between Ariellese adverb agreement and Italian participle agreement extend even further, as illustrated by the following Ariellese examples where the transitive object is represented by various classes of pronominal clitic. In (21a) the clitic is third person and agreement with the adverb proves obligatory, just as in the case of Italian participle agreement (cf. 19c). However, if the clitic is first or second person (21b), then the acceptability of agreement is considerably degraded with speakers' judgments ranging from marginal to entirely ungrammatical (R. D'Alessandro p.c.), largely on par with the facts seen above for Italian (cf. 19d–e). A further distinction also arises in conjunction with third-person reflexives, where agreement proves robust with argumental reflexives (21c), but at best marginal or ungrammatical with non-argumental reflexives in accordance with their antipassive (21d) or middle (21e) function:

- (21) a. (Arielli)
*Falle bbone / *bbone!*
 do.IMP2SG=them good.PL good.SG
 'Do them well!'
- b. (Arielli)
Gianne j' / v' a mminite bbone / ?bbune
 Gianni us= you.PL has beaten good.SG good.PL
 'Gianni gave us/you a good beating'

- c. (Arielli)
Z' a mminite *bbune bbune*
 selves= they.have beaten good.PL good.PL
 'They gave one another a good thrashing'
- d. (Arielli)
Z' a litte *bbone / *bbune* lu giornale
 selves= have read good.SG good.PL the newspaper
 'They've read the newspaper'
- e. (Arielli)
Z' a 'ngazzite *bbone bbone / *bbune bbune*
 selves= have got.angry good.SG good.SG good.PL good.PL
 'They got really angry'
- f. (Arielli)
*Nin z' avé ddurmite bbone / *bbone*
 not selves= they.had slept good.SG good.PL
 'They hadn't fallen asleep properly'

As summarized in Table 2, the adverb agreement pattern observed in varieties such as Ariellese exemplifies an active/stative split similar to Pattern 2, but with the difference that it further discriminates between different types of DP object controller in accordance with the nominal vs pronominal distinction.

Table 2. Distribution of Romance adverb agreement

		Pattern 1: Nominative/Accusative Split Rom., NIDs	Pattern 2: Full Active/Stative Split SIDs, coll./old Sp./Fr./It.	Pattern 3: Restricted Active/Stative Split Ariellese
		-Agr	±Agr	-
Active	A	-	-	-
	S _A	-	-	-
Stative	S _O	-	+	+
	O _{Pron}	-	+	+
	O _{DP}	-	+	-

2.4 Pattern 4: Ergative split

The final pattern of adverb agreement that we have identified can be informally defined in terms of an ergative split. This pattern is found once again in a number of southern Italian dialects (cf. Manzini & Savoia 2005: 211–13; Silvestri 2014), notably in Campania (Torre Orsaia, S. Giorgio del Sannio), Puglia (Minervino Murge), Calabria (Gizzeria, Iacurso), and Sicily (Mussomeli (S. Cruschina p.c.), Belmonte Mezzagno). On a par with other southern dialects, in these varieties adjectival adverbs systematically agree with Undergoer arguments, namely transitive objects (22a–b, 23a) and unaccusative subjects (22c–d, 23b):

- (22) a. (Muss.)
*I sacciu fari bùani / *bùanu i spacchetti*
 them= I.know do.INF good.PL good.MSG the.MPL spaghetti.M
 ‘I know how to cook spaghetti well’
- b. (Muss.)
*S’ u liggjaru bùanu / *bùani u giornali*
 selves= it.M they.read good.MSG good.PL the.MSG newspaper.M
 ‘They read the newspaper thoroughly’
- c. (Muss.)
*Pasqualina e Cuncetta cadiaru bùani / *bùanu*
 Pasqualina and Cuncetta fell good.PL good.MSG
 ‘Pasqualina and Cuncetta took a great fall’
- d. (Muss.)
*Iddri un s’ avivanu addrummisciutu bùani / *bùanu*
 they not selves= they.had fallen.asleep good.PL good.MSG
 ‘They hadn’t fallen asleep well/deeply’
- (23) a. (Gizzeria)
u / a / i 'lavu b'bonu / b'bona / b'boni
 him= her= them= I.wash good.MSG good.FSG good.PL
 ‘I wash him/her/them properly’
- b. (Gizzeria)
'illu / 'illa s a 'llavatu b'bonu / b'bona
 he/she self= has washed good.MSG good.FSG
 ‘H/she washed thoroughly’

However, in contrast to dialects exhibiting the active/stative agreement Patterns 2 and 3, dialects of this group also permit agreement with an intransitive Agent/Actor subject, namely with the subject of an unergative predicate:¹⁰

10. For the behaviour of northern Calabrian dialects, see the discussion in relation to Figure 2 below and, in particular, the discussion in Silvestri (this volume).

- (24) a. (Muss.)
L' abbocati parlaru lianti
 the lawyers spoke slow.PL
 'The lawyers spoke slowly'
- b. (Muss.)
Maria joca bona
 Maria plays good.FSG
 'Maria plays well'
- c. (Muss.)
Iddra canta stunata
 she sings off.key.FSG
 'She sings out of tune/badly'
- (25) a. (Gizzeria)
'i||u/'i||a a ddɔr'mutu b'bɔnu / b'bɔna
 he/she has slept good.MSG good.FSG
 'He/She has slept well'
- b. (Iacurso)
a'via dɔr'mutu b'buenu / b'bɔna
 had.3SG slept good.MSG good.FSG
 'He/She had slept well'
- c. (Torre Orsaia)
a ddur'mutu 'tantu b'bellu / b'bella
 has slept so pretty.MSG pretty.FSG
 'He/She has slept so well'
- d. (Minervino Murge)
ɔ dɔr'mutə b'bunə / b'bonə
 has slept good.M good.F
 'He/She has slept well'
- e. (S. Giorgio)
'isso/'essa 'rɔrme b'buono / b'bɔna
 he/she sleeps good.MSG good.FSG
 'He/She sleeps well'
- f. (S. Giorgio)
'rɔrmono b'buoni / b'buone
 they.sleep good.MPL good.FPL
 'They sleep well'
- g. (Belmonte Mezzagno)
rur'mi b'bɔnu / b'bɔna // rur'meru b'bɔnə
 slept.3SG good.MSG good.FSG they.slept good.PL
 'He/She // They slept well'

However, agreement with an unergative subject in such cases is not obligatory, but is subject to meaningful variation (see below), witness the possibility of apparently default masculine singular agreement (*chiaru*) alongside masculine plural agreement (*chiari*) with the subject in (26):

- (26) (Muss.)
L' abbocati parlaru chiaru / chiari
 the lawyers talked clear.MSG clear.MPL
 'The lawyers talked clearly'

To understand such variation, we propose, following classic proposals in Hale & Keyser (1993; 2002), that unergatives should be analysed as hidden transitives derived from underlying structures in which a null (light) verb selects for a cognate object, a nominal root, which raises to incorporate into the verbal root, as informally sketched in the simplified Figure 1 for *talk*:

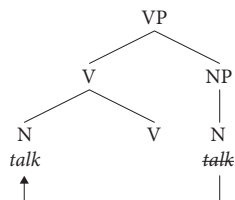


Figure 1. Structure of unergatives

On this view, the variation witnessed in examples such as (26) now finds a principled explanation: whenever the adverb agrees with the subject we obtain a subject-oriented reading (27a) which simultaneously implies an eventive reading (namely, ‘the lawyers were clear, hence their talk was given clearly’), while the masculine singular form of the adverb (27b) does not signal a lack of agreement but, rather, highlights an overt agreement relation with the implicit cognate object, hence the so-called default masculine singular form assumed by the adverb (cf. also lexicalized cases of the masculine singular adjective in the standard varieties observed in (2a–e) and (3a–f) above). This analysis is further confirmed by the interpretation of such sentences where the adverb predicates a resultative reading of the implied complement, e.g. ‘the lawyers gave a clear talk’, albeit simultaneously implying an eventive interpretation (namely, ‘the talk was given clearly by the lawyers’).

- (27) a. (Muss.)
L' abbocati_i parlaru chiari_i
 the lawyers spoke clear.PL
 ‘The lawyers spoke clearly (= the lawyers were clear, hence their point/talk made/given clearly)’

b. (Muss.)

L' avvocati parlaru chiaru_i OBJECT_i

the lawyers spoke clear.MSG OBJECT

'The lawyers made their point clearly/gave a clear talk (= point made clearly by the lawyers)'

The difference between the two structures in (27a–b) is further highlighted by the differing aspectual properties of their eventive interpretations (cf. Vendler 1967; Dowty 1979): while the subject-oriented reading of the adverb gives rise to an activity interpretation of the verb in (27a), the masculine singular agreement with the implied object in (27b) necessarily licenses an accomplishment reading of the verb. This is straightforwardly substantiated by standard diagnostics for activity and accomplishment readings such as the felicity of durative *for*-adverbials (activities) and time span *in*-adverbials (accomplishments), witness the ungrammaticality of the masculine singular form of the adverb in (28) with the durative adverbial *pi uri* 'for hours', as well as the contrasting minimal pair in (29a–b):

(28) (Muss.)

*L' avvocati parlaru chiari / *chiaru pi uri*

the lawyers spoke clear.PL clear.MSG for hours

'The lawyers spoke clearly for hours' (*'The lawyers gave a clear talk for hours.')

(29) a. (Muss.)

*Maria arrispunni giusta / *giustu pi uri*

Maria replies just.FSG just.MSG for hours

'Maria answers correctly for hours'

b. (Muss.)

*Maria arrispunni giustu / *giusta ntra n' ura*

Maria replies just.MSG just.FSG in an hour

'Maria answers correctly (= finds/gives correct answer) in an hour'

Although adverb agreement with unergative subjects appears principally restricted to certain dialects of southern Italy, our Spanish CNDE corpus also provides two otherwise isolated early examples of agreeing *claro* 'clear' with *hablar* 'talk' (30a–b) surprisingly similar to examples such as (27a), although the examples in (31a–c) would appear to show, as in southern Italy (cf. 27b), that such agreements oscillate with the masculine singular form of the adverb:

(30) a. (OSp.)

hablemos claros

speak.SBJV.1PL clear.MPL

'let us speak clearly' (= let us be frank in our speech?; *Correo del otro mundo*; 1725)

- b. (OSp.)
Don Félix, hablemos claro
 Don Félix speak.SBJV.1PL clear.MPL
 ‘Don Félix, let us speak clearly’ (= let us be frank in our speech?; *La pemetra*; 1762)
- (31) a. (OSp.)
hablemos claro
 speak.SBJV.1PL clear.MSG
 ‘let us speak clearly’ (= let us put it frankly?; *El viaje entretenido*; 1603)
- b. (OSp.)
Mire, Ascanio, hablemos claro
 look Ascanio speak.SBJV.1PL clear.MSG
 ‘Look, Ascanio, let us speak clearly’ (= let us put it frankly?; *Loa...*; 1638)
- c. (OSp.)
Hablemos claro
 speak.SBJV.1PL clear.MPL
 ‘Let us speak clearly’ (= let us put it frankly?; *El siglo pitagórico...*; 1644)

The synopsis of adverb agreement patterns presented in Table 3 highlights how the present pattern of agreement is not oriented towards an active/stative split distinguishing between Agent/Actor (A/S_A) and Undergoer (O/S_O) arguments but, rather, operates in terms of an ergative split. In particular, the Pattern 4 distribution of

Table 3. Distribution of Romance adverb agreement

		Pattern 1: Nom/Acc Rom., NIDs	Pattern 2: Full Active/Stative Split SIDs, coll./old Sp./Fr.	Pattern 3: Restricted Active/Stative	Pattern 4: Ergative	
				Split Ariellese	Split Muss, SIDs	
		-Agr	±Agr	±Agr	±Agr	
Active	A	-	-	-	-	Ergative
	S_A	-	-	-	+	
Stative	S_O	-	+	+	+	Absolutive
	O_{Pron}	-	+	+	+	
	O_{DP}	-	+	-	+	

adverb agreement overtly discriminates on the one hand between transitive Agents/Actors (A), which fail to control agreement, and all other arguments, namely intransitive subjects (be they Agents (S_A) or Undergoers (S_O)) and transitive objects (O) on the other, which all systematically qualify as adverb controllers.

3. Formal approach: A quick sketch

Keeping the technical detail to a minimum, in this final section we briefly sketch how the different parameters of agreement observed above can be accounted for in formal terms. The approach is based on recent analyses in Ledgeway (2011b: 55ff; in press a: § 2.1.1.3) who, following Jackendoff (1972), Ramat & Ricca (1998) and Cinque (1999: 19–28), argues that adverbs may occur in one of three positions within the clause: (1) a high position Adv1 associated with the Infl/T-domain licensing subject-oriented adverbs which may occur before or after auxiliaries; (2) a clause-medial position Adv2 associated with the pre-*v*-VP area licensing event-oriented (manner) adverbs that occur after the lexical verb; and (3) a low VP-final position Adv3 licensing resultative process-oriented (manner) adverbs that occur in clause-final position. These three adverb positions and their distinct interpretations are exemplified in the Italian sentence (32) taken from Ledgeway (in press a), where all three positions are simultaneously lexicalized:

(32) (It.)

Ugo (ha) furbamente (ha) risposto sovversivamente alle loro
Ugo (has) cunningly (has) replied subversively to.the their
domande erroneamente
questions erroneously

‘Ugo was cunning by replying in a subversive manner to their questions with incorrect answers’

As revealed by the English translation, the so-called manner adverbs (characterized by their distinct *-mente* ‘-ly’ ending) in (32) have different scopal properties, the first serving to modify the subject (‘cunningly’), the second the manner in which the event constituted by the Infl-/T-domain was carried out (‘subversively’), and the third the manner in which the process denoted by the lexical VP was completed (‘incorrectly’). These readings are confirmed by their relative appropriateness as answers to the three questions in (33a–c).

- (33) a. (It.)
Com' è stato Ugo nel rispondere alle loro domande? (Adv1)
 how is been Ugo in.the reply.INF to.the their questions
 'How was Ugo in his answers to their questions?'
- b. (It.)
Come ha risposto Ugo? (Adv2)
 how has replied Ugo
 'How did Ugo answer?'
- c. (It.)
Come ha risposto alle loro domande, Ugo? (Adv3)
 how has replied to.the their questions Ugo
 'How did Ugo answer their questions?'

In relation to the low Adv3 position which licenses the resultative interpretation, we note that in many instances even in standard bicategorical Romance varieties adverbs can variously alternate in this position with adjectives, the formal category canonically employed to mark resultative predication. This is illustrated below with the following Italian alternations where the formal choice of adjective or adverb is for many speakers subject to free variation, although both options are often equally judged to be less than perfectly grammatical.¹¹

- (34) a. (It.)
 (?)*da Forgione pagherai queste scarpe*
 at Forgione's you.will.pay these.F shoes.F
salatamente / salate
 expensively expensive.FPL
 'You'll pay for these shoes dearly at Forgione's'
- b. (It.)
 (?)*Ugo mi tagliava i capelli stranamente /*
 Ugo me= cut.PST the.MPL hairs.M strangely
strani (strani)
 strange.MPL strange.MPL
 'Ugo left my hair looking (most) strange'

11. The resultative interpretation of the adverb/adjective in this position is further evidenced by the fact that many speakers strongly prefer reiteration of the adjective in such cases, a typical reflex of resultative predication in (Italo-)Romance (cf. Bentley 2006: 340).

- c. (It.)
 (?)*D' estate Ida vestiva i bimbi leggermente /*
 of summer Ida dressed the.MPL kids.M lightly
leggeri (leggeri) (It.)
 light.MPL light.MPL
 'In the summer Ida would dress the children in light clothing'
- d. (It.)
La ragioniera calcolerà i costi precisamente /
 the accountant will.calculate the costs precisely
 (?)*precisi (precisi)*
 precise.MPL precise.MPL
 'The accountant will calculate the costs (most) precisely'

If we now integrate the three adverb positions identified above with general assumptions about the structure of the clause, we can interpret the relevant Romance adverb facts in terms of the representation in (35):

- (35) [_{IP} Aux Adv1 [_{VP} ACTOR(A/S_A) V-*v* Adv2 [_{VP} UNDERGOER(O/S_O) *Adv3*-ResultP]]]

We begin our analysis with the active/stative Pattern 2 where we noted that in these varieties the adverb agrees exclusively with Undergoers (O/S_O), inasmuch as it functions as a resultative predicative complement of the Undergoer argument whilst simultaneously specifying the manner in which the event is carried out. Taking Cosentino Example (36) as our model,¹² we maintain that the adjectival adverb is first generated in the lower Adv3 position from where it enters into a local agreement relation with the object inside the VP licensing the observed resultative interpretation of the same. From this base position, however, we argue that the adjectival adverb raises to the clause-medial Adv2 position, a movement which crucially explains both the superficial linear order, whereby the adverb typically comes to precede the object, and the observed hybrid resultative-eventive reading of the adverb, which not only functions as a resultative predicative complement of the Undergoer argument (licensed in its base-position Adv3), but also specifies the manner in which the process was carried out (licensed in its derived position Adv2).

- (36) (Cos.)
Anna miscava [_{VP} *bone* [_{VP} *i* [*carte*_{*i*} *bone*]]]
 Anna shuffled good.FPL the.PL cards.F good.FPL
 'Anna gave the cards a good shuffle'

12. Note that for expository simplicity, we do not illustrate the movement of the lexical verb from within the VP in the following simplified structural representations.

Turning to the minimally different example (37) where the adverb now fails to show agreement appearing in the default masculine singular form, here we argue that the adjectival adverb is directly inserted in the clause-medial position Adv2. This immediately explains why the adjectival adverb fails to agree with the object and license a resultative reading of the latter, since it does not enter into a local agreement configuration with the object in the VP at any point in the derivation. By contrast, being base-generated within the ν P naturally predicts the adverb's observed event-oriented reading, though, note, that in varieties displaying Pattern 2 the adverb does not agree with the Agent/Actor subject (*viz.* the external argument) also base-generated in the ν P.

- (37) (Cos.)
Anna miscava [ν P *buonu* [ν P 'i *carte*]]
 Anna shuffled good.MSG the.PL cards.F
 'Anna shuffled the cards well/competently/adeptly'

As for Pattern 3, we have observed that dialects such as Ariellese behave essentially like varieties displaying Pattern 2, with the difference that objects only trigger agreement under particular structural conditions. The relevant facts are illustrated again in (38a–b):

- (38) a. (Arielli)
 A *pittite* [ν P *bbone* [ν P *chilli* *mure_i* *bbone_k*]]
 he.has painted good.SG those.M walls.M good.SG
 'He gave the walls a good paint'
- b. (Arielli)
L' a *pittite* [ν P *te_i* *bbone_i* [ν P *te_i* *bbone_k*]]
 them= he.has painted them= good.PL them= good.SG
 'He gave them a good paint'

As in Kayne's (1989) classic analysis of Romance participle agreement, the correct empirical generalization is that in these varieties a full DP in its base position within the VP is unable to control agreement of the adjective in Adv3 (cf. 38a), but must overtly raise through the potential agreement target (cf. 38b) to produce the required configuration that triggers agreement on the adverb. In short, the relevant locality configuration which licenses agreement in varieties displaying Pattern 2 proves insufficient in Ariellese. Rather, for agreement to obtain in Ariellese the adjective and the object must enter into a very specific local agreement configuration which can only obtain when the object passes through the left edge of the adverb (or, more precisely, through the adverb's associated specifier position), a movement which only arises when the object is represented by a pronominal clitic as in (38b). As a clitic, the latter is forced to raise (initially as a DP) from its base-position within

the VP to cliticize as a head to the finite verb raised to the Infl/T-domain, passing *en route* through the adjectival adverb now raised to Adv2 from Adv3. Note that this equally explains the relevant agreement facts with unaccusative subjects (cf. 20a) which, in raising from their base-position within the VP to the canonical preverbal subject position within the Infl/T-domain, must also pass through the specifier of the adjectival adverb producing the required local specifier-head relationship that licenses the observed agreement.¹³

We now turn to the ergative Pattern 4, where we observed, in contrast to Patterns 2 and 3, unergative contrasts such as (39a–b) from the Sicilian dialect of Mussomeli.

- (39) a. (Muss.)
L' abbocati parlaru [_{VP} *ɸ abbocati chiaru*]
 the lawyers spoke the lawyers clear.MSG
 [_{VP} OBJECT_i *chiaru_i*]
 OBJECT clear.MSG
- b. (Muss.)
L' abbocati_i parlaru [_{VP} *ɸ abbocati_i chiari_i* [_{VP} OBJECT]]
 the lawyers spoke the lawyers clear.MPL OBJECT

In (39a) we have a canonical case of the adjectival adverb base-generated in Adv3, from where it licenses a resultative interpretation of the implicit null object (OBJECT) within the VP and with which it enters into a local agreement configuration, hence the apparent default masculine singular agreement on the adjective. As noted, however, in examples such as (39a) the adverb receives a hybrid resultative-eventive reading which we interpret once again as a direct consequence of adverb raising from Adv3 to Adv2, from where the scope of adverbial modification ranges over the event instantiated by the vP constituent (ultimately producing the observed accomplishment reading ‘the lawyers gave a clear talk’). Crucially, this analysis explicitly excludes the possibility of the raised adverb entering into an agreement relation with the subject *l'abbocati* in its base-position within the vP, since it has already agreed with the implicit object in the VP such that its agreement features are no longer available for re-evaluation in its derived surface position.

13. Note that in many varieties such as Ariellese unaccusative subjects also frequently occur *in situ* within the VP, in which case any co-occurring adverbs continue to exhibit agreement. In such cases we assume that the postverbal subject establishes a long-distance dependency (e.g., a CHAIN) with a preverbal null argument (pro) in the canonical subject position (Cardinaletti 1997; 2004), a dependency which can only be established by the subject's features being copied into the intermediate specifier position of the adverb raised to Adv2.

In (39b), by contrast, the adjective is directly inserted in Adv2, from where it licenses an event-oriented (but crucially not a resultative) reading of the adverb. Consequently, the adverb does not enter into a prior agreement relation with the object and is *a priori* free to agree with any other nominal in the structure. Indeed, unlike in the other southern varieties that we have seen, from this pre-VP position the adjectival adverb enters into a local agreement configuration with the subject, also base-generated in the vP, giving rise to the reported subject-oriented activity reading ‘the lawyers spoke clearly’.

3.1 Parameter hierarchies

Since the conception in early Government and Binding Theory of Universal Grammar in terms of a small set of abstract parameterized options, much work over recent decades has radically departed from this view with a focus on predominantly surface-oriented variation (cf. Borer 1984). This has led to the proliferation of a remarkable number of local, low-level parameters interpreted as the (PF-) lexicalization of specific formal feature values of individual functional heads in accordance with the so-called Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (Baker 2008b: 353). While this approach may prove descriptively adequate in that it predicts what precisely may vary (cf. Kayne 2000; 2005a, b; Manzini & Savoia 2005), it suffers considerably from explanatory inadequacy. Among other things, it necessarily assumes such microparameters to be highly local and independent of one another. This assumption seriously increments the acquisitional task of the child who has to set each value in isolation of the next on the basis of the primary linguistic data alone, and at the same time exponentially multiplies the number of parametric systems and, in turn, the number of possible grammars predicted by UG (cf. Kayne 2005b: 11–15; Roberts 2014).

One way to avoid the proliferation of grammatical systems that such a microparametric approach predicts, while still accommodating morphosyntactic variation like that witnessed for Romance adverb agreement, is to assume a theory that combines some notion of macroparameters alongside microparameters (Baker 1996; 2008a; b). Following ideas first proposed by Kayne (2005b: 10) and further developed by Roberts & Holmberg (2010) and Roberts (2012), progress in this direction has recently been made by the *Rethinking Comparative Syntax (ReCoS)* research group based in Cambridge;¹⁴ their central idea is that macroparameters

14. Recent publications of the *ReCoS* project (<http://recos-dtal.mml.cam.ac.uk/>) include Biberauer, Holmberg, Roberts & Sheehan (2012), Biberauer & Roberts (2012, in press), Roberts (2012). See also Ledgeway (2013, 2015, in press b).

should be construed as the surface effect of aggregates of microparameters acting in unison, ultimately as some sort of composite single parameter. On this view, macroparametric effects obtain whenever all individual functional heads behave in concert, namely are set identically for the same feature value (e.g. in a consistently head-final language such as Japanese *all* heads will bear a movement feature of some kind guaranteeing uniform head-finality which invariably places complements to the left of their heads), whereas microparametric variation arises when different subsets of functional heads present distinct featural specifications (e.g. in mixed languages such as German where verbal heads bear the relevant movement feature, but nominal heads do not). Conceived in this way, parametric variation can be interpreted in a scalar fashion and modelled in terms of parametric hierarchies. Macroparameters, the simplest and least marked options that uniformly apply to all functional heads, are placed at the very top of the hierarchy, but, as we move downwards, variation becomes progressively less ‘macro’ and, at the same time, more restricted with choices becoming progressively more limited to smaller and smaller proper subsets of features (namely, no $F(p) > \text{all } F(p) > \text{some } F(p)$, for F a feature and p some grammatical behaviour). More specifically, functional heads increasingly display a disparate behaviour in relation to particular feature values which may, for example, characterize: (1) a naturally definable class of functional heads (e.g. [+N], [+finite]), a case of mesoparametric variation; (2) a small, lexically definable subclass of functional heads (e.g. pronominals, auxiliaries), a case of microparametric variation proper; and (3) one or more individual lexical items, a case of nanoparametric variation.

In light of these assumptions, we may now reinterpret the distribution of Romance adverb agreement in terms of a small-scale parametric hierarchy along the lines of Figure 2, ultimately part of a larger hierarchy related to clausal alignment (for discussion, see Sheehan 2014, in press).

The gradual cascading effect produced by the options presented in Figure 2 highlights how variation in relation to the ability of the (functional projection hosting the) adjectival adverb to probe the person/number agreement features of specific nominals is not uniform but, rather, licenses differing degrees of surface variation in accordance with the growing markedness conditions that accompany the available parametric options as one moves down the hierarchy. The simplest and least constrained system is exemplified by Romanian and northern Italian dialects (Pattern 1), where the adverb quite simply never displays any agreement, failing to enter into an agreement relation with any DP. Its mirror image is the pattern of adverb agreement analysed by Silvestri, this volume (cf. also Silvestri 2014), for some northern Calabrian dialects such as those spoken in Verbicaro (Vb.), Santa Maria del Cedro (SM.) and Orsomarso (Om.), where the adverb simply agrees with any plural DP, be it the internal or external argument (with the expected concomitant

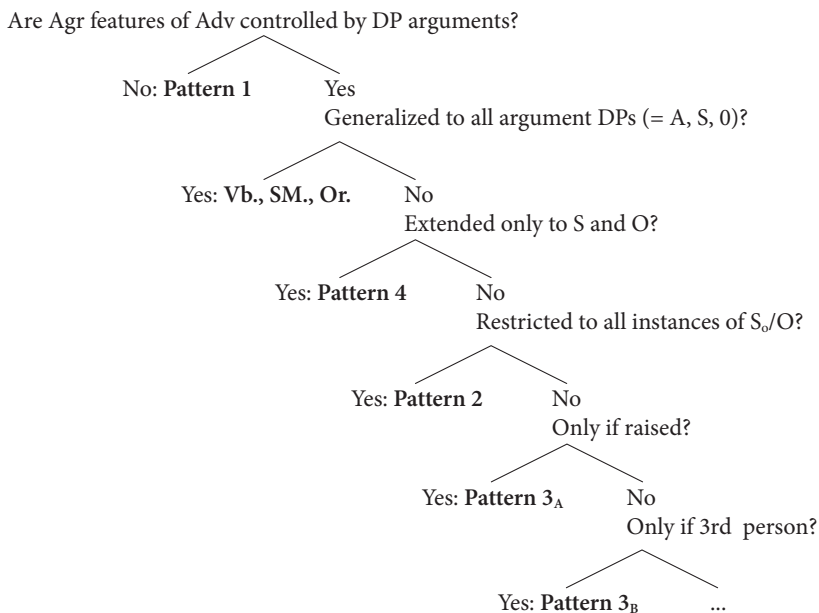


Figure 2. Parametric hierarchy for Romance adverb agreement

interpretive differences). Consequently, in these latter dialects the adverb can probe the person/number features of transitive (40a), unergative (40b) or unaccusative (40c) subjects, as well those of transitive objects (40d).

(40) a. (SM.)

Rita mètə svelta u granə
 Rita reaps quick.FSG the.MSG wheat.m
 ‘Rita quickly harvests the wheat’

b. (Or.)

Chira quatrara ha zumbata bona ppu scantə
 that.FSG girl has jumped good.FSG for.the fear
 ‘That girl jumped out of her skin out of fear’

c. (Vb.)

Maria no campədə bəna
 Maria not lives good.FSG
 ‘Maria hasn’t got an easy life’

d. (SM.)

Vitə sta pəttənnə pulita sa parita
 Vito stands painting clean.FSG this.FSG wall.F
 ‘Vito’s painting the wall accurately’

In this respect, both groups of languages represent rather simple and relatively unmarked options, in that the adverb in these varieties either indiscriminately fails to probe all DP arguments or, on the contrary, systematically probes all DP arguments.

Slightly more constrained, though still liberal by general Romance standards is the pattern found in varieties such as Mussomelese (Pattern 4), where the adverb only probes a subset of DP arguments, namely intransitive subjects (whether S_A or S_O) and transitive objects (O), but not transitive subjects (A), giving rise to an ergative split. This ergative pattern is further constrained in many southern Italian dialects (Pattern 2) by the further restriction that the adverb can only probe the person/number features of a subset of intransitive subjects, namely those bearing the Undergoer role (S_O). The result is an active/stative split-S alignment in which the absence/presence of agreement on the adverb formally distinguishes between S_A (aligned with A) and S_O (aligned with O).

In all four cases considered so far we are dealing with mesoparametric variation, in that the four options can be subsumed within a naturally definable class insofar as they exclusively make reference to a single functional head [D], in turn further specified for an increasingly selective subset of this class, namely internal (O, S_O) and intransitive external (S_A) arguments (Pattern 4) > internal (O, S_O) arguments (Pattern 2).

We observe however a shift from meso- to microparametric variation as we move down the hierarchy to varieties such as Ariellese (Pattern 3), insofar as the relevant class of triggers for adverb agreement is no longer represented *tout court* by a naturally definable class of functional heads (*viz.* [D]), but now also includes reference to a small and lexically definable subclass of Ds, namely pronominals. In particular, the generalization that adverb agreement in Ariellese is controlled by internal arguments is subject to the additional restriction that the internal argument be overtly raised to the Infl/T-domain. This further restriction derives the observation that, apart from subjects of unaccusatives and passives displaced under object-to-subject raising, adverbs only display agreement with pronominal object clitics since this subclass of objects is systematically required under cliticization to vacate the VP and pass through the adverb *en route* to its surface position. However, we noted in § 2.3 that the relevant agreement facts with pronominal clitics are not uniform across all speakers of Ariellese, but show further microvariation. In particular, we can identify a more conservative Pattern 3_A according to which agreement of the adverb holds with all types of pronominal object (41a), alongside a more innovative Pattern 3_B where the adverb is further restricted to agreeing only with third-person pronominal clitics (41b). Arguably, in this latter case where this lexically definable subclass is broken down into the ever more marked pronominal categories of third-person vs first-/second-persons, we are entering nanoparametric

intransitive external arguments (*viz.* Agent/Actor subjects) also enter into a local agreement relation with the adjectival adverb base-generated in Adv2.

Significantly, we have also seen how languages such as Spanish and French, despite predominantly employing bicategorical systems with *-men(t(e))* adverbs since their earliest written attestations (Company 2014: 495–8), seem to obey the same broad structural tendencies in those diachronic (*viz.* early) and diatopic (*viz.* Latin American) varieties which show productive uses of adjectival adverbs. In particular, we have observed how agreement in these varieties follows the active/stative Pattern 2 and, in a small number of cases, may also show a distribution suggestive of ergative Pattern 4. Observations like these underline how the synchronic comparison of a number of conservative dialectal Romance varieties reveals how minimal differences among otherwise highly homogenous systems can be used to investigate microvariation along the diachronic axis to reconstruct facts of earlier stages of Romance which are only sporadically reflected in early texts and which have often been blurred, not to say filtered out, by the the diachronic and synchronic effects of standardization. It remains to be seen whether future investigations of diachronic and synchronic Romance variation will bring to light new patterns of adverb agreement in addition to the four patterns identified in this study or further restrictions on these same four patterns, but the evidence of Silvestri (this volume) and, in particular, the growing body of work by Hummel on diachronic, diamesic and diatopic Romance variation in this area suggest that the typology of adverb agreement is likely to be much larger.

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