

on Uriagereka's (1995) metrics of "active F", which is also characteristic of conservative Iberian NSLs. We follow Gupton (2010) in assuming that Fin and F are the same syntactic projection and additionally propose that [-R] Dominican expletives interact with Fin^o, which encodes logophoricity – informally, speaker/hearer point of view – via a [±R] feature following Bianchi's (2001) proposal for subject control and subjunctive disjoint reference effects in Italian.

2. Background

In section 2.1, we give a brief description of the pronoun *ello* in Spanish. In section 2.2, we review the claims in the literature linking pronoun behavior in Caribbean varieties to an evolutionary change in progress.

2.1. An extremely brief history of the pronoun *ello*

The neuter personal tonic pronoun *ello* in Modern Spanish evolved from the Latin neuter pronoun ILLUD (Penny 1991: 119; Lloyd 1987: 278) as part of a general specialization of demonstratives (e.g. ILLE > elle > él, ILLA > ella) as personal pronouns in Iberian Romance. According to the Real Academia Española (RAE) this use of neuter *ello* survives to this day, largely in conjunction with *todo* in order to refer to the totality of a group of referents (with mixed genders and numbers) in a preceding discourse (4, RAE 2009: 1414, from Serrano 2001).^{3,4}

- (4) Los recuerdos se me arremolinan: los perros, la transición, la gran noticia, **todo ello** girando...
'Memories swirl about me: dogs, the transition, the big news, everything spinning...'

The use of *ello* as an expletive pronoun is attested in Old Spanish as a cataphoric reference to a subordinate clause. The RAE cites examples of this function (5a, RAE 2009: 1170, from López Úbeda 1977 [1605]), as well as examples of it combining with the existential verb *haber* from the 17th century (5b, RAE 2009: 1170, from Gracián 1977 [1646]).

- (5) a. Ello no me espanto que el hombre temiera aquella mujer.
'It doesn't surprise me that the man feared that woman.'
b. Ello hay tales caprichos en el mundo.
'There are such caprices in the world.'

According to the RAE (2009), it is the expletive and impersonal uses of *ello* – what Henríquez Ureña (1940: 226) claims to be "linguistic fossils" – that have persisted in Dominican Spanish (however, see e.g. Lipsky 2002 for an interesting discussion on the possibility that *ello* is a product of "linguistic drift and innovation" in Dominican Spanish that may have roots in Afro-Romance creoles).

2.2. A change in progress in Caribbean varieties?

One of the earlier mentions of a possible change in progress in the grammar of Caribbean Spanish (henceforth CS) appears in Cameron's (1993) examination of Spanish pronoun expression in San Juan (Puerto Rico) and Madrid Spanish data, in which he notes the documented connection between a loss of null subjects and loss of V-S word order, e.g. in Middle French (Kroch 1989: 213). Cameron argues against Hochberg's (1986) Functional Compensation Hypothesis, by which higher frequency of pronominal expression in CS is a compensatory effect in a weakened system of agreement marking (in particular, variable deletion of 3p /-n/ and 2s /-s/). He suggests that, despite differences in overall frequency percentages for overt pronouns (see Table 1 below), VARBRUL weights with respect to pronoun reference remain constant in the corpora.

³ Translations of Spanish literary examples in (4) and (5) are those of the first author.

⁴ Boldface in examples throughout is for expository purposes only.

	Overt pronoun (switch reference)		Overt pronoun (same reference)	
	percent	VARBRUL weight	percent	VARBRUL weight
San Juan	66	.65	35	.35
Madrid	38	.66	14	.35

Table 1. Summary of overt pronoun reference statistics from Cameron (1993: 315)

Alternatively, he proposes the Constant Rate Hypothesis, by which the two dialects represent two stages on a continuum with respect to the increase in the expression of pronominal subjects.

Toribio (2000) discusses a change in progress in Dominican Spanish (henceforth DS), but suggests that speakers of DS are “between parameter settings” involving strong v. weak Tense/Agr features, and are bilingual (i.e. bi-dialectal) speakers of two different Spanish varieties. She proposes that since DS maintains S-V inversion and null subjects, this change is not expected to introduce NNSL structures and patterns, but rather to suppress competing NSL structures.

Cabrera-Puche’s (2008) examination of DS found expression rates for overt subjects of all types to be 68% in Santo Domingo and 70% in El Cibao. Her ensuing analysis for DS/CDS follows Toribio (2000) in suggesting a syntactic change in progress from a strong Agr feature to an optionally weak Agr feature, which may be optionally checked by the overt expletive *ello*.

Ortiz López (2009) examines word order preferences among 62 CS-speaking natives from Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, and Cuba and 11 advanced-level non-native speakers (French/Haitian Creole L1). He gathered judgments of unaccusative and unergative predicate structures in neutral,thetic (N=13) and subject narrow-focus (N=14) contexts. Despite the fact that the data suggests emergence of fixed SV order in CS regardless of predicate type or information structure context, similar to Haitian Creole, French, and English with respect to the obligatoriness of preverbal subjects (p.90), he is hesitant to claim that this is evidence of an innovation in the grammar. He questions the suggestion that CS varieties have actually *lost* semantic and discourse parameters typical of standard Spanish, and suggests that CS varieties may never have had them in the first place: “una pregunta legítima es si esta variedad hispánica caribeña ha ido perdiendo aquellos otros parámetros semánticos (predicate-governed word order) y discursivos (discourse-governed word order), o si nunca han sido partes de esta variedad” (p. 91).

Camacho (2008, 2012) examines DS and BP, focusing on matters of (micro)parametric variation in these varieties, behavior that distances them from core NSLs such as Spanish or Italian. He proposes that a frequency-related change in the feature composition of overt pronouns leads to a change in their interpretation from [+R] (referential) to [-R] (i.e. not contrastive or emphatic). There are three consequences to this change, by his analysis, the first of which is that as [-R] overt and [-R] null pronominals become interchangeable, verb inflection changes from [+R] to [-R], thus leading to a loss of the Avoid Pronoun Principle (Chomsky 1981), as in (6) from BP (Camacho 2008: 425, ex. 15, op. cit. Duarte 2000: 20).

- (6) [A casa]_i virou um filme quando ela_i teve de ir abaixo.
 the house become.PST.3sg a movie when she have.PST.3sg to go under
‘The house became a film when it had to be demolished.’

The second consequence of this change is a loss of contrast between arbitrary and non-arbitrary interpretations for overt pronouns (7, Camacho 2008: 425, ex. 16).

- (7) Você, no Canadá, você pode ser o que você quiser.
 you in-the Canada you can.PRS.3sg be.INF it that you want.FUTSBJ.3sg
‘In Canada, you can be whatever you want.’

The above changes result in a change in overt pronoun binding by quantified expressions (8), thus undoing Overt Pronoun Constraint (OPC) effects (Montalbetti 1984, 1986).⁵

⁵ See however Rothman, Iverson & Judy (2009) for important experimental data suggesting the contrary in BP.

- (8) [Ninguém no Brasil]_i acha que ele_i é prejudicado pelo Governo.
 no-one in-the Brazil think.PRS.2sg that he be.PRS.3sg harmed by-the government
 'No one in Brazil thinks that he is harmed by the government.'

What emerges from the literature is that no previous study has focused on the importance or relevance of the behavior of overt expletive data with respect to the issue of a potential parametric change in progress. We examine such data as well as its implications for the syntactic analysis of CDS and CS in the following section.⁶

3. Data and preliminary analysis

In the subsections below we examine the behavior of (referential) overt and null pronouns and expletive pronouns in English (a NNSL) and Finnish (a PNSL) as compared to CDS in order to establish that CDS does not exhibit behavior typical of a NNSL or a PNSL.

3.1. Expletives v. null and overt subject pronouns in NNSLs and PNSLs

Unlike Spanish varieties, the use of null subjects in English is reduced to diary drop (9a), coordinated structures (9b), and other colloquial registers (9c). Overt expletives are never optional in English weather expressions (9d) and existential expressions (9e).

- (9) a. Went to school, had fun at recess, came home. Typical day.
 b. John worked late and didn't have dinner till one in the morning.
 c. Told you not to play in the mud. Now look at you.
 d. *(It) is raining.
 e. *(There) are a lot of cars in the parking lot.

In Finnish, a partial null-subject language, first- and second-person referential forms may be null, but pronoun expression is obligatory for third-person forms (10, from Holmberg & Nikanne 2002: 76, ex. 7).

- (10) (Minä) olin väsynyt. 'I was tired.'
 (Sinä) olit väsynyt. 'You were tired.'
 *(Hän) oli väsynyt. 'S/He was tired.'
 (Me) olimme väsyneitä. 'We were tired.'
 (Te) olitte väsyneitä. 'You (pl.) were tired.'
 *(He) olivat väsyneitä. 'They were tired.'

Despite relatively higher frequency rates for CDS as discussed above, subject pronouns are always optional, as in other varieties of Spanish (see e.g. Toribio 2000 for extensive examples and discussion). Note, however, that there are clear differences w.r.t. variable binding (i.e. OPC effects, viz. Montalbetti 1984, 1986) in CDS, as it allows for variable binding of an overt or null pronoun by a quantified expression (11), a reference possibility not found in other varieties of Spanish or in BP (cf. 8).⁷

- (11) Cada candidato_i cree que Ø_{i/*j} /él_{i/j} va a ganar la elección.
 each candidate think.pst.3sg that Ø /he go.prs.3sg to win.inf the election
 'Each candidate thinks that he is going to win the election.'

⁶ We follow Toribio (2000) in assuming that speakers of Dominican Spanish in particular have two competing mental grammars: a Dominican home variety and a normative Spanish standard variety. We examine CDS due to its reported (Toribio 2010) freedom of influence from the normative standard.

⁷ Due to space considerations, we leave this issue for further research. For the moment, we point out this extremely interesting phenomenon in CDS simply to bring to light differences between it and BP, a PNSL.

With respect to overt expletives, Hinzelin & Kaiser (2007) and Cabrera-Puche (2008) found preference rates of expression in declaratives at approximately twenty percent, thus suggesting that 1) *ello* does not behave like other preverbal subjects or subject pronouns, and 2) *ello* is always an optional element. In section 3.2 we examine overt expletives in greater detail, in particular, which predicate types may select an overt expletive.

3.2. Compatible predicate types and EPP-checking

Holmberg & Nikanne (2002: 71, exs. 1b-c, 2a-b) demonstrate that Finnish permits null subjects with weather predicates (12a), but with an “inverted” third-person subject (12b, c), a preverbal constituent, such as an expletive pronoun (12b) or a locative adverbial (12c), must appear, presumably for EPP-checking purposes.

- (12) a. Sataa (vettä).
rain.PRS.3sg water
'It is raining.'
- b. *(Sitä) leikkii lapsia kadulla.
expl play.PRS.3pl children in.street
- c. Kadulla leikkii lapsia
in.street play.PRS.3pl children
'There are children playing in the street.' / 'Children are playing in the street.'

In CDS, expletive pronouns may be optionally null with weather predicates (13a=1), impersonal expressions (13b), and defective existential predicates such as *haber* (13c), similar to the overt expletive *sitä/se* in Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002, Holmberg 2005).

- (13) a. Ello hace calor. (RAE 2009: 1170)
'It is hot.'
- b. Ello es fácil llegar... (Hinzelin & Kaiser 2007: 173, ex. 3)
EXPL be.PRS.3sg easy arrive.INF
'It is easy to arrive...'
- c. Ello hay maíz. (Hinzelin & Kaiser 2007: 173, ex. 4)
EXPL EXIST.3sg corn
'There is corn.'

The overt expletive in CDS, however, may not appear with transitive predicates (14a), with agentive animate postverbal subjects (14b, cf. 14c), or adjacent to another potentially EPP-checking element (14d).

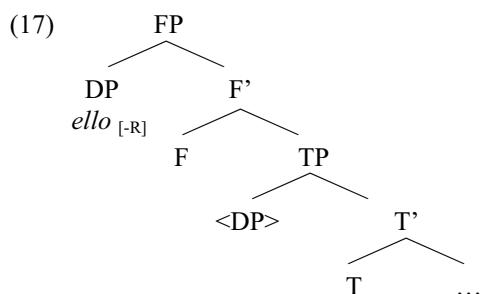
- (14) a. ??Ello baila mucha bachata en ese club.
EXPL dance.PRS.3sg a lot of bachata in that club
'There dance a lot of bachata in that club.'
- b. *Ello llegó mi hermano a las 9.
EXPL arrive.PST.3sg my brother at the 9
'There arrived my brother at nine.'
- c. Ello llegó la guagua para Santiago hace poco.
EXPL arrive.PST.3sg the bus for Santiago do.PRS.3sg little
'There arrived the bus for Santiago a short time ago.'
- d. *Ello mucha gente baila en ese club.
EXPL a lot of people dance.PRS.3sg in that club
'There many people dance in that club.'

Although it appears that overt expletives provide an alternative way of satisfying the EPP in CDS, as in Finnish, if CDS were becoming a PNSL like Finnish (15a) or BP (15b), we also expect to find

null generic subject pronouns, another hallmark of PNSLs noted by Holmberg et al (2009: 63, 95, exs. 6a, 10a). However, CDS lacks such pronouns (16a), as does EP (16b).^{8,9}

- (15) a. Kesällä herää aikisin. (Finnish)
 in-summer wake.PRS.3sg early
 'In the summer one wakes up early.'
- b. É assim que faz o doce. (BP)
 be.PRS.3sg so that make.PRS.3sg the sweet
 'It's this way that one makes sweets.'
- (16) a. Así *(se/uno) prepara un pastelón. (CDS)
 so SE/one prepare.PRS.3sg a pastelón
 'This is how one prepares a pastelón (Dominican sweet).'
- b. É assim que *(se) faz o doce. (EP)
 be.PRS.3sg so that SE make.PRS.3sg the sweet
 'It's this way that one makes sweets.'

Given the above differences between CDS and non-null subject languages and partial null-subject languages, we reject the notion that CDS is becoming either a NNSL or a PNSL, and rather propose that CDS is (still) a null-subject language. To capture the differences between CDS and other NSLs, we propose that CDS is endowed with an active functional projection (FP) as suggested for archaic varieties of Romance such as Galician and European Portuguese (17), following Uriagereka (1995).



We initially propose that the [-R] expletive pronoun *ello* appears in Spec, FP drawn by a strong edge feature in F (perhaps inherited from T), as in (17) above. We further investigate the rationale behind this analysis, as well as complications for it in section 4.

4. Further analysis

In the final two subsections we examine possible syntactic analyses for overt expletive pronouns in CDS.

⁸ Given the loss of /-s/ in CDS and Caribbean Spanish in general, it is difficult to know for sure if a null generic subject is found in an example like (i), which may involve a null 2s subject, though we suspect not given the presence of overt generic subjects (ii) and impersonal SE (iii) in the literature on CDS.

- (i) Así hace(s) el pan.
 (ii) Uno habla regularcito aquí.
 (iii) Se habla regularcito aquí.

⁹ An anonymous reviewer notes that impersonal *uno* has been suggested by Lizardi (1993) to act as a defocalizing strategy in Puerto Rican Spanish, encoding speaker centeredness. At present, we are unsure of the exact details regarding how *uno* behaves in CDS. Therefore, we leave a treatment of this phenomenon, as well as its relation to the current paper, for future research.

4.1. Support for active F

We present data in support for an “active F” in CDS, which is evidenced in three hallmarks of archaic Romance varieties (e.g. Galician, Leonese, and European Portuguese) discussed in Uriagereka (1995a, b): 1) enclisis in finite matrix declaratives (18a, b, from Toribio 2010: 44, 51); 2) clitic “tripling” with affective colloquial clitics (19, from DS in González López 2008: 61, ex. 6); and 3) personal infinitives (20, from Toribio 2000: 323, ex. 10a, 10c).¹⁰

- (18)a. Abrió la puerta, entró ei relámpago, y **arreglós[e]**
 open.PST.3sg the door enter.PST.3sg the lightning and fix.PST.3sg-SE
 todo, y fue y se acostó.
 everything and go.PST.3sg and SE lie down.pst.3sg
 ‘*S/he opened the door, the lightning came in and s/he arranged everything and s/he went to bed.*’
- b. Como no tenía burros, **decidiose** irse a pies...
 as no have.IMPV.3sg burros decide.PST.3sg-SE leave.PST.3sg-SE on feet
 ‘*Since s/he didn’t have burros, s/he decided to go on foot.*’
- (19) **Se te me** casó la hija.
 SE COLLOQ CL.DAT.1sg marry.PST.3sg the daughter
 ‘*My daughter got married (on me).*’
- (20)a. Ven acá, para **nosotros** verte.
 come.IMP.2sg here for us see.INF-CL.ACC.2sg
 ‘*Come here for us to see you.*’
- b. Me gusta la forma de **ellos** hablar.
 CL.DAT.1sg please the way of they talk.INF
 ‘*I like how they talk.*’

As verbs and clitics are proposed to cluster in languages with active F according to Uriagereka (1995 a, b; see also Raposo & Uriagereka 2005 for an updated version), preverbal subjects (in a Subject-cl-V sequence) and overt expletives must necessarily appear in a structurally higher Spec, FP position. By Uriagereka’s proposal, the appearance of constituents in Spec, FP predicts that they should encode speaker-related point of view features in the discourse, a position also taken by Hinzelin & Kaiser (2007, following remarks in Martín Zorraquino & Portolés Lázaro 1999), who propose that *ello* encodes point of view as a discourse marker of deontic modality, thus indicating a speaker’s commitment to a proposition. A crucial difference in Hinzelin & Kaiser’s proposal, however, is the suggestion that *ello* is clause external in DS, based on (21a-c, from Hinzelin & Kaiser 2007: 173, exs. 9-11, examples and glosses of *ello* from Henríquez Ureña 1940: 227-228).

- (21)a. Ello... así decían.
 EXPL so say.IMPV.3pl
 ‘*Well, that’s how they were saying it.*’
- b. — ¿Vas al pueblo? — Ello (= ‘Eso dependerá’)
 go.PRS.2sg to-the town EXPL that depend.FUT.3sg
 ‘— *Are you going to town?* — *Well (= That will depend)*’
- c. — ¿Quiere bailar? — Ello (= ‘Sí, ya que me invita’)
 want.PRS.3sg dance.INF EXPL yes nowthat CL.ACC.1sg invite.PRS.3sg
 ‘— *Do you want to dance?* — *Well (= Yes, now that s/he asks me to)*’

For Hinzelin & Kaiser, (21a) exemplifies the “concessive or evasive” use of *ello*, while (21b, c) exemplify a meaning of “vacillation, probability or acceptance”. The variable semantic behavior of *ello* in these replies might suggest that these expletives are syntactically (HTLD) hanging topics, which have been analyzed as base-generated, clause external “orphans” in the literature (López 2009,

¹⁰ Properties 1 and 3 appear in Uriagereka (1995a), while property 2 appears in Uriagereka (1995b). Both articles discuss the concept of “active F” as well as the F projection in detail. We leave remaining properties of archaic Romance such as clitic interpolation, recomplementation, and overt focus movement for further research.

following Haegeman 1991, Shaer & Frey 2005). Therefore, assuming *ello* to be a clause external element for the moment, following Hinzelin & Kaiser (2007), we predict that it should not be able to appear in a subordinate clause in CDS, true to fact (22).

- (22) *Juana no cree que **ello** lleguen guaguas después de las 5 de
 Juana NEG believe.PRS.3sg that EXPL arrive.PRSSBJ.3sg buses after of the 5 of
 la tarde.
 the afternoon
 ‘Juana doesn’t think that there arrive buses after 5 in the afternoon.’

However, the ability of overt expletives to appear under subordination (presumably in Spec, FP) is not what is at stake; rather, comparing (22) with (23), we discover the importance of the matrix predicate for licensing a point-of-view-encoding overt expletive in the subordinate clause.

- (23) Juana cree que **ello** llegan guaguas hasta las 6.
 Juana believe.prs.3sg that expl arrive.prs.3pl buses until the 6
 ‘Juana believes that buses arrive until six.’

The inability of *ello* to appear under a negated epistemic (22) then is predicted if *ello* is a clause-internal discourse marker, thus encoding speaker-oriented features. In section 4.2 we further examine the issue of speaker-oriented discourse features and our proposal for their syntactic materialization.

4.2. Is active F enough?

The data in (21) above suggest that *ello* may be clause external in one-word replies, as suggested by Hinzelin & Kaiser (2007), but may also be clause internal (23) if the appropriate speaker features are encoded. Crucially, the data in (22) suggests that the overt expletive alone is insufficient for encoding point-of-view features. So what feature and associated projection are responsible for encoding such features? Platzack (1995: 201-202) proposed that finiteness is the relevant feature and category with the following:

“...unless a predication is related to the time of the utterance via the concept finiteness, we have no basis for expressing the relative position in time of the situation expressed by the predication vis-à-vis the utterance, and we cannot relate the attitude of the speaker to this situation.”

Bianchi (2001) proposes that the functional projection Fin^0 (Rizzi 1997) encodes an internal logophoric center (ILC)¹¹, and that this center can only license a [-R] (referential) feature in its specifier.¹² Fin^0 encodes an external logophoric center (ELC) to [+R] DPs in a structurally lower specifier (e.g. Spec, TP), whose features are checked via an Agree relation. So, how does the functional projection F fit into this discussion, given clear similarities in the proposed characteristics of Fin and F? Are F and Fin the same functional syntactic projection, as proposed by Gupton (2010)? Considerations of economy in (24=14c) suggest so, as it is unclear what feature-checking purpose FP would serve between Fin and T (i.e. $\text{FinP} > \text{FP} > \text{TP} \dots$) if Fin encodes speaker point of view.¹³

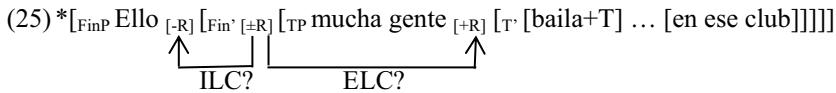
- (24) [FinP Ello [$_{[-R]}$ [Fin^0 [$_{[+R]}$ [TP <ello> [T^0 [$\text{llegó}+\text{T}$] [VP <llegó> [DP la guagua para Santiago ...]]]]]]]]]
 ILC (speaker’s point of view)

¹¹ See Sells (1987) for more on logophoricity.

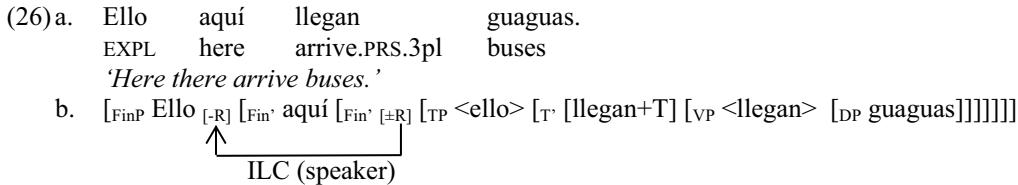
¹² See Camacho (2008) for a discussion of referential features in a different light. I assume that this referential feature encodes *reference* to the internal logophoric center [-R] or the external logophoric center [+R], pace the feature [$\pm\text{log}$] suggested in e.g. von Bremen (1984), Kameyama (1984, 1985), Kuno (1986), Maling (1984).

¹³ If it is the case that Fin inherits T’s EPP-feature, it is possible then that *ello* would not be attracted to Spec, T. Nothing appears to hinge on this possibility.

Now we have a straightforward explanation as to why preverbal subjects are ruled out with expletives: a point of view conflict arises between [-R] *ello* and [+R] *mucha gente* in (25=14d).



The CDS point of view conflict in (25) is centered in *Fin*, which cannot at once encode an internal logophoric center (i.e. the speaker) to the overt expletive while encoding an external logophoric center to the grammatical subject *mucha gente*. That logophoric center is what is at stake as opposed to a unique preverbal syntactic position in CDS (i.e. for EPP-feature checking) is exemplified by the fact that the adverbial locative *aquí* may appear in a preverbal position following *ello* (26a).¹⁴



The locative *aquí* possesses inherent deictic reference (dependent on the speaker) and, as an adjunct, is freely adjoined, as proposed in (26b). Therefore, it is not a candidate for logophoric center and poses no problem for interpretation or grammaticality.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined the behavior of the overt expletive *ello* in Cibëño Dominican Spanish, examining the claim in the literature that this behavior is indicative of a change from null-subject language to otherwise in this variety. We have shown that CDS does not behave like partial null-subject languages or non-null-subject languages, but rather more like archaic Romance null-subject languages such as European Portuguese and Galician in that it allows for (sporadic) finite-verb enclisis, clitic tripling, and personal infinitives. We have examined Uriagereka's (1995a, b) proposal on "active F" as a possible analysis for *ello*. We have also examined Hinzelin & Kaiser's (2007) suggestion that CDS expletives are clause external discourse markers. However, as we have shown, in certain cases, *ello* alone may not encode speaker-related point-of-view features in the discourse. Therefore, we have adopted Bianchi's (2001) characterization of *Fin*⁰ – originally proposed to account for control structures and subjunctive disjoint reference effects – involving the role of referential [R] features in the encoding of logophoric center. The encoding of one logophoric center (internal or external) by *Fin*⁰ appears to make correct predictions for CDS. The strength of this proposal will be borne out by future research.

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¹⁴ Other varieties of Spanish do not place limitations (beyond regular, semantic and processing-related ones) on the number of constituents that may appear in a CLLD position. See Casielles (2003) for discussion and examples from peninsular Spanish in particular. See also Kempchinsky (2002) for a proposal against locative EPP-checking in apparent locative inversion structures in Spanish. Note that we do not approach the question as to whether Spec, F(in)P is an A or A' position, and remain agnostic as to this matter in this article, leaving the matter to further research. For a more in-depth review of related issues, see e.g. Gupton (2010, 2014), Villa-García (2012), and references therein.

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