# The fine structure of the left periphery: COMPs and subjects Evidence from Romance

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## Abstract

This article explores the characteristics and syntactic behaviour of a peculiar construction in which what seem to be two finite complementisers are allowed to co-occur in specific subordinate clauses. As well as providing a detailed description of the structure in a number of Romance varieties, this research focuses on the different roles played by items belonging to the category traditionally labelled as COMP and on the status of the subjects found in the left periphery. Adopting the so-called split-CP hypothesis the proposed analysis argues for the expression of both discourse and inflectional features at the C level, overtly realised as distinct heads, and claims that there are both topicalised and focalised positions available to pre-verbal subjects in the left periphery, be they a DP or a quantified element.
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## 1. Introduction

In the last 30 years, the formal expression of syntactic theory has undergone dramatic changes and the structure assigned to the clause has gradually become increasingly refined. Within the generative approach, the Romance languages have played a fundamental role. As well as

representing the original trigger for the 'explosion' of functional projections (cf. Kayne, 1975; Quicoli, 1976a,b; Pollock, 1989; Rizzi, 1997), being characterised by a high degree of microvariation, they also represent the ideal testing ground for assessing and understanding parametric variation. Thanks to their morphological richness, which affords evidence of a complex underlying syntactic structure, the Romance languages are the perfect means to investigating and refining further our current understanding of the functional architecture of the clause (cf. the works arising from the so-called 'cartographic' programme, Poletto, 2000; Cinque, 2002; Rizzi, 2004; Belletti, 2004a).

The traditionally labelled Complementiser Phrase (CP), has also undergone a close scrutiny, with the conclusion that its head, $C°$, does more than simply separate clauses; rather, it is the locus of expression of both discourse and inflectional features. This is reflected in the formulation of a much more complex CP structure (cf. Rizzi, 1997; Benincà, 2001; Benincà and Poletto, 2004) than previously assumed, in which features relating to both discourse and inflectional domains find an overt expression in distinct heads. The expansion of the CP from a single projection into an articulated space has an immediate consequence on the traditional expression 'complementiser': used specifically to refer to an element introducing a subordinate clause and more generally to identify an $X°$ element occupying the head $C°$, the term has lost its defining purpose, and it needs to be revisited in view of the increased acknowledged complexity of the C area.

A number of Romance varieties (two north-western Italian dialects, 13th c. French, Castilian and Tuscan, acquisition of French as L1) allow a construction in which two instances of the finite complementiser *che/que* 'that' are licensed in the same clause. The first one appears to the immediate left of the main verb, the second one follows some syntactic material overtly realised after the first one, as exemplified in (1)[1]:

(1)  a.  *Gioanin a      spera     **che** Ghitin  **ch'** as        në   vada    tòst*
         'John    SCL hope.pr.3s that Margaret that SCL + rfl part go.S.3s soon'
         John hopes that Margaret leaves soon (Turinese)

     b.  *A Teeja a       credda      **che** a Maria **ch'** a      parta*
         'the Teresa SCL believe.pr.3s that the Mary  that SCL leave.S.3s'
         Teresa believes that Mary is leaving (Ligurian)

     c.  *Poi a lui promectere se fe'              **che,** poi ch' elli averia*
         'then to him promise.inf rfl make.pt.3s that after that he have.cond.3s
         *Isocta al      re   Marco menata, **ch'** esso tornaria        a lui in*
         Isocta to-the king Marco take.pple that he   return.cond.3s to him in
         *sorlois, perché esso volea     lui e   Lancelocto insieme avere*
         Sorlois because he   want.imp he and Lancelocto together have.inf'
         And then he got promised that after having escorted Isocta to king Marco, he would return to him in Sorlois because he wanted to have together him and Lancelocto (Con, 21:155, 13th-c. *Tuscan*, OVI)

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[1] Throughout the examples presented in the paper the following abbreviations are used: SCL = subject clitic; L = invariable subject clitic 'l' used together with other SCLs before 'to be' and 'to have' verb forms beginning with a vowel; 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person; s/p = singular/plural; rfl = reflexive clitic; part = partitive clitic; loc = locative clitic; neg = negation; pr = present indicative; S = present subjunctive; pt = simple past; cond = conditional; imp = imperfect; inf = infinitive; ger = gerund; fut = future; ppl = past participle.

d. *Sire, je te adjure par le vray Dieu **que** ta fille Tarsienne, **que***
   'Sir I you beg.pr.1s for the true God that your daughter Tarsienne that
   *tu ne la donnes a mariage a autre que a moy*
   you not her give.pr.2s at marriage to other than to me'
   Lord, I beg you in the name of the true God that your daughter Tarsienne you do not
   give her in marriage to anybody but me (Apoll, f48b, 14th-c. *French*, from
   Wanner, 1995:421)

e. *Onde dize Josepho **que** en casa de so padre **que** le llamaron*
   'where say.pr.3s Josepho that in house of his father that to-him call.pt.3p
   *primiera mientre Ciro*
   first -ly Ciro'
   Where Joseph says that in his father's house he was first called Ciro (Gen Est
   177r2.6, 13th-c. *Castilian*, from Wanner, 1995:422)

f. *Elle croyait **que** les loups **qu'** i les avaient mangés*
   'she think.imp.3s that the wolves that they them have.imp.3p eat.pple'
   She thought that the wolfs had eaten them (French acquisition, from
   Roehrs and Labelle, 2003)

Assuming a theory of syntax in which linear order unambiguously reflects hierarchical structure, and in which recursion of identical projections is not admitted, the above examples cannot be analysed as a simple repetition of the finite complementiser *che/que*. In the general view that all functional projections are distinct (both in terms of the features they express and the elements they host), recursion of the same functional projection is not an option available to natural language.

With these premises, the purpose of the present article is to investigate closely the construction exemplified in (1), exploring in detail the function of the second *che/que* in the various domains of existence of the structure. Furthermore, exploring the left periphery of the clause, this paper also offers the opportunity to reflect on the status of pre-verbal subjects occurring within this space: data from Turinese and Paduan pose an interesting question for the traditional concept of left dislocation and the conditions restricting it, with specific reference to quantified DPs, and support McCloskey (1997), Poletto (2000) and Cardinaletti (2004) in their proposals of semantically and syntactically distinct subject positions.

The sources of the data are two north-western Italian dialects, a conservative variety of Turinese[2] and a variety of Ligurian (Tur and Lig henceforth), early Romance texts (examples collected from from Wanner, 1995, and from the 'Opera del Vocabolario Italiano' (OVI) online database), and French acquisition data (taken from Labelle, 1988, 1990, 1993; and from Roehrs and Labelle, 2003).

## 2. The 'Double Che Construction' in Tur and Lig

As exemplified in (1) a and b, in two north-western Italian varieties, Tur and Lig, we find a construction in which an apparent repetition of the finite complementiser *che* is allowed: alongside the 'main' complementiser (*che1* henceforth) selected by the main verb, these varieties

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[2] The variety of Turinese discussed in this article is not the 'mainstream' type of Turinese spoken in Turin, and speakers of this type do not allow the 'reduplication' of the complementiser.

also license a second *che*, *che2*, which follows, in the above examples, the subject of the embedded clause. Both varieties have in common the fact that whilst *che1* is obligatory, *che2* can be omitted: examples (1) a and b are also grammatical without it.[3] There are nevertheless clear-cut cases in which the presence of *che2* yields ungrammaticality: *che2* in Tur is incompatible with present and future indicative ((2) a and b, respectively) and conditional (2c), and it is only licensed when the verb in the embedded clause is in the subjunctive mood[4]:

(2)    T a.    *\*A   dis    che Marìa e Gioann **ch'** a    mangio  nen ëd rane*
               'SCL say.pr.3s that Mary and John   that SCL eat.**pr**.3p neg of frogs'
               S/He says that Mary and John do not eat frogs

    T b.    *\*Giòrs  a   spera     che Majo **ch'** as      n'  andarà  tòst*
               'George SCL hope.pr.3s that Mario that SCL+ rfl part go.**fut**.3s soon'
               George hopes that Mario goes away soon

    T c.    *\*Majo  a   pensa     che Franchin **ch'** as      n'  ancorzerìa*
               'Mario SCL think.pr.3s that Frank    that SCL+rfl part realise.**cond**.3s'
               Mario thinks that Frank would realise it

The same is also true for Lig:

(2)    L i.    *\*U Gianni u   disa     che a Maria **ch'** a    nu mangia de rainocce*
               'the John   SCL say.pr.3s that the Mary  that SCL neg eat.**pr**.3s of frogs'
               John says that Mary does not eat frogs

    L ii.    *\*U Francu u   spera     che u Gianni **ch'** u    telefuneà*
               'the Frank  SCL hope.pr.3s that the John    that SCL phone.**fut**.3s'
               Frank hopes that John phones

    L iii.    *\*U Gianni u   credda    che a Margaitin **ch'** a    mangeescia*
               'the John   SCL believe.pr.3s that the Margaret  that SCL eat.**cond**.3s
               *guentea sta turta*
               willingly this cake'
               John thinks that Margaret would willingly eat this cake

The data in (2) are very revealing. As well as showing a strong link between *che2* and the subjunctive mood, they also suggest that the type of selecting verb in the main clause is not a determining factor in the licensing of *che2*. The main verbs in (1) a and b and in (2) b, c, ii and iii belong to the so-called 'verbs of belief' type, a group of verbs that share a number of properties among which the inability of asserting the truth of their complement clause, either because the event predicated about has not yet happened, or because it exists only in the realm of hypothetical ideas. An initial hypothesis in which the verb of the main clause played a central role in the licensing of *che2* could see the latter as an expression of a non-veridicality or 'irrealis' feature.[5] However, comparing the minimal pairs (2) b with (1) a, and

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[3] This 'optionality' is explored in section 2.1.

[4] Tur examples are marked by T and Lig ones by L.

[5] We will not address the highly controversial use of the term 'irrealis' and the semantic category identified by it.

(2) iii with (1) b shows that this proposal does not suffice. Although in all the examples the main clause contains a 'verb of belief', namely Tur *speré* 'to hope' and Lig *credde* 'to believe', *che2* is only licensed in (1) a and b, i.e. those sentences in which the embedded verb is in the subjunctive mood.

Further support for the irrelevance of the role played by the main verb derives from two pieces of evidence. The first one is of a syntactic nature: *che2* can be licensed in sentences where the subjunctive mood is not selected by a verb, as we can see in (3) a, in which the subjunctive is selected by a conjunction:

(3)  T a.  *I    veno     volonté, basta mach* **che** *Gioann* **ch'** *a      staga*
           'SCL come.pr.1s willingly as long as   that John     that SCL stay.S.3
           *nen solo*
           not alone'
           I will come willingly as long as John is not on his own

in (3) b and c, in which the subjunctive acts as a suppletive form of the imperative:

(3)  T b.  **Che** *ij cit    **ch'** a     vado    a pluché sùbit!*
           'that the children that SCL go.S.3p to sleep.inf immediately'
           The children should go to sleep immediately!

(3)  T c.  **Che** *'l  cél **ch'** am       giuta!*
           'that the sky that SCL+me help.S.3s'
           Heavens help me!

and, finally, in (3) d, in which the subjunctive is used in a relative clause in order to achieve a specific interpretation[6]:

(3)  T d.  *Giòrs   a    veul     parlé    con un dotor* **che**, *ant    la meisin-a*
           'George SCL want.pr.3s speak.inf with a   doctor who inside the medicin
           *autërnativa,* **ch'** *a-j       chërda*
           alternative    that SCL+loc believe.S.3s'
           George wants to speak to a(ny) doctor who believes in alternative medicine

What these examples do underline is the dependent nature of the subjunctive, which is being selected by an element that is, in turn, a conjunction (cf. (3) a), an imperative force operator (cf. (3) b and c), and a relative operator (cf. (3) d).

The second piece of evidence is of a semantic nature: *che2* occurs in subjunctive clauses selected by a factive verb. As well as reinforcing the fact that the verb type in the main clause does not play a part in licensing *che2*, these examples also disassociate *che2* from a possible link with 'irrealis' mood:

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[6] These sentences are also compatible with the indicative mood, but the reading is slightly different (cf. standard Italian 'They look for a man who knows about cars', *Cercano un uomo che se ne intende di macchine* (indicative), vs. *Cercano un uomo che se ne intenda di macchine* (subjunctive). In the former example, they are looking for a specific man who happens to know about cars, while in the latter they are simply looking for any man who knows about cars.

(4)     T a.     *Marìa a    regreta    **che** Giòrs **ch'** as      në dësmentia*
                   'Mary SCL regret.pr.3s that George that SCL rfl part forget.S.3s'
                   Mary regrets the fact that George forgets about it

        L i.     *A-a    Maria ghe    despiaza      **che** u   Mario **ch'** u      bragia*
                   'to-the Mary   to.her feel sorry.pr.3s that the Mario that SCL   scream.S.3s
                   *sempre*
                   always'
                   Maria is sorry that Mario is always screaming

As their name suggests, factive verbs imply the truth of their complement clause, and with respect to this property they can be considered to be semantically opposite to the 'verb of belief' type. The fact that *che2* is found with both types of verbs constitutes strong evidence against an analysis in which the semantics of the selecting verb plays a role in the licensing of *che2*. Furthermore, this compatibility with both semantic categories, strengthens a syntactic analysis, in which the subjunctive mood is the indispensable syntactic licensing condition for *che2*. In the following sections, we investigate more closely the function performed by *che2* and the position it occupies within the clause.

## 2.1. Che2: its function and position

### 2.1.1. Function

In order to investigate the function of *che2*, we first need to establish the precise role of the only common denominator in all its triggering contexts, namely the subjunctive mood in the embedded clause.

The interest in the subjunctive mood and the research stemming from it has been traditionally based on a comparison with the indicative mood and the definition of the different domains in which they operate. The distinction between the two, dating back to ancient grammarians, views the subjunctive as a dependent mood, used in subordinate clauses, and the indicative as the independent mood, freely occurring in both main and embedded clauses. The subjunctive has also been defined as 'deficient' (cf., among others, Giorgi and Pianesi, 1997; von Stechow, 1995), both semantically and morphologically. Semantically, because on its own the subjunctive does not give rise to any real temporal interpretation and has to be valued against the tense in the main clause or the pragmatic context. Morphologically, because in many languages there is no real morphological distinction in the present tense between the indicative and the subjunctive paradigms.[7] This morphological underspecification is also witnessed in Tur and Lig, in which some forms of the two paradigms coincide, as Tables (5) a and b show for two verbs of the first conjugation, Tur *parlè* and Lig *parlà*, 'to speak'. A similar, but not identical, pattern is also found with verbs of the second and third conjugations.

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[7] Incidentally, within the subjunctive paradigm itself we also find morphological syncretism for two or more forms, even in morphologically rich languages. Here we focus exclusively on the syncretism between the indicative and subjunctive paradigms, and not on the 'internal' one affecting the subjunctive.

(5)   a.  Tur

|       | **Present Indicative** | **Present Subjunctive** |     |
|-------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| **1sg** | mi i parl**o**        | che mi i parl**a**      |     |
| **2sg** | ti it parl**e**       | che ti it parl**e**     | ⬅   |
| **3sg** | chiel a parl**a**     | che chiel a parl**a**   | ⬅   |
| **1pl** | noi i parl**oma**     | che noi i parl**o**     |     |
| **2pl** | voi i parl**e**       | che voi i parl**e**     | ⬅   |
| **3pl** | lor a parl**o**       | che lor a parl**o**     | ⬅   |

    b.  Lig

|       | **Present Indicative** | **Present Subjunctive** |     |
|-------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| **1sg** | mi parl**u**          | che mi parl**a**        |     |
| **2gs** | ti ti parl**i**       | che ti ti parl**i**     | ⬅   |
| **3sg** | lé u parl**a**        | che lé u parl**a**      | ⬅   |
| **1pl** | nuatri parl**emmu**   | che nuatri parl**emmu** | ⬅   |
| **2pl** | vuatri parl**è**      | che vuatri parl**è**    | ⬅   |
| **3pl** | luatri i parl**an**   | che luatri i parl**an** | ⬅   |

The tables clearly show the high degree of syncretism between the two paradigms: four forms out of six in Tur (2sg, 2pl, 3sg and 3pl) and five out of six in Lig (1sg, 2sg, 2pl, 3sg and 3pl) are morphologically undistinguished. This morphological syncretism is closely linked to the licensing of *che2*. It was mentioned in section 2 that the use of *che2* is not obligatory in those cases in which it is licensed. This is not simple, free optionality: we are actually faced with 'degrees' of preference motivated by morphological factors. There is a strikingly almost 100% correspondence between the poor morphological differentiation of the subjunctive form from its indicative counterpart and the occurrence of *che2*, which is more 'readily' produced precisely with those entries in the paradigm that coincide in the two moods. For example, referring to a verb of the first conjugation, the presence of *che2* is more preferred than its absence with 2sg, 2pl, 3sg and 3pl than with 1sg and 1pl in Tur, and with 1pl, 2sg, 2pl, 3sg and 3pl than with 1sg in Lig. Conversely, *che2* is felt to be dispensable with 1sg and 1pl in Tur and 1sg in Lig, and is usually omitted. The following tables summarise the evidence found according to whether the indicative and the subjunctive paradigms are morphologically distinct and to whether *che2* is preferably inserted or omitted for the different persons:

(5)   c.  Tur

|       | **Subjunctive form distinct from Indicative** | **_che2_ is preferably** |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| **1sg** | yes                                         | omitted                  |
| **2sg** | no                                          | present                  |
| **3sg** | no                                          | present                  |
| **1pl** | yes                                         | omitted                  |
| **2pl** | no                                          | present                  |
| **3pl** | no                                          | present                  |

d. Lig

|  | Subjunctive form distinct from Indicative | che2 is preferably |
|---|---|---|
| **1sg** | yes | omitted |
| **2sg** | no | present |
| **3sg** | no | present |
| **1pl** | no | present |
| **2pl** | no | present |
| **3pl** | no | present |

On the basis of these observations we suggest that *che2* serves as a suppletive morphological subjunctive marker, expressing overtly those features that remain morphologically underspecified on the verb due to syncretism with forms of the present indicative. Resorting to an additional element to express mood morphologically depleted on the verb is an option available to natural languages: in Romanian for example, the particle *să* is used with the indicative form of the verb to give the subjunctive,[8] and in Greek, which also lacks a subjunctive paradigm, the particle *na* appears alongside the verb to express the subjunctive. Likewise, Tur and Lig employ this strategy, and we claim that *che2* is a subjunctive particle.

Cinque (1999) posits several heads with modal content at the edge of his extended IP; Rizzi (1997) assumes the lower of the heads in the CP, Fin°, to encode modality. Establishing whether mood is lexicalised in a head that belongs to the IP or whether it is part of the CP domain is not a straightforward issue, further complicated by the high degree of decomposition that the two functional spaces have undergone within the cartographic approach.[9] A similar dilemma also affects the analysis of Romanian *să*: there has been considerable debate as to whether it fills a position in the CP or the IP. Indeed Dobrovie (1994) has concluded that the position *să* lexicalises is a complex head obtained through the incorporation of Comp and Tense inflectional heads. A similar conclusion has also been proposed by Calabrese (1992) for Salentino *cu*. What can we say about the position occupied by *che2*?

### 2.1.2. Position

Within a system in which linear order is interpreted as a reflection of structural hierarchy, the adjacency between *che2* and those pronominal particles that in the examples have been glossed as 'SCL', subject clitics, becomes significant. Adopting the classification in Poletto's (2000) exhaustive inventory of the various kinds of subject clitics found in Northern Italian dialects and their corresponding characteristics, it is possible to identify to which type Tur and Lig SCLs belong and, consequently, which position they occupy within the structure.

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[8] Interestingly, its presence is obligatory also in the case in which the verb forms are morphologically distinct in the indicative and the subjunctive (cf. *vorbeste* and *să vorbeasca*), extended by analogy to all verbs.

[9] Furthermore, modal features may not necessarily be encoded *exclusively* in one space, but they may find different degrees of expression in both the IP and the CP, with the former expressing a 'fuller' range of values than the latter.

Poletto identifies four types of SCLs: Invariable, Deictic, Person and Number. The first two are placed within the left periphery, the latter two are hosted in the IP. The different position they fill is reflected by the way in which they interact with either CP or IP elements. Tur SCLs pattern with the Deictic type, being compatible with left dislocated elements and necessarily clustering with the complementiser. The same is also true for those Lig SCLs, 3rd person singular and plural, that cluster with *che2*. Deictic SCLs are hosted in the CP, which implies that *che2* in both Tur and Lig lexicalises a head within the left periphery.

A further piece of evidence supporting the C status of *che2* can be found in Lig, which, unlike Tur, has a pre-verbal, 'strong' negative marker, *nu*,[10] which occupies the head of NegP. It is generally accepted (cf. Zanuttini, 1997) that this position subcategorises for IP complements, marking the boundary between the CP and the IP. Lig *nu* follows third person singular *a* and *u* and plural *i*, the SCLs that in the cluster with *che2* occupy the position to the right of the latter, providing additional support for the CP analysis of these clitics, and consequently, of *che2*:

(6)     L i.     *U  Gianni u     credda     che, quella ca, **ch' i**    nu   l' aggian*
                 'the John    SCL believe.pr.3s that  that house that SCL neg L have.S.3p
                 *zà       vista*
                 already see.ppl'
                 As for that house, John thinks that they haven't already seen it

If *che2* lies in the left periphery, which position does it fill? The highest of the heads identified in Rizzi's (1997) split CP system, Force, hosts the standard Italian finite complementiser *che* 'that', and could be assumed a priori to host *che1* in the two dialectal varieties. The lowest head in his system, Finiteness, expresses information related to the finite/non-finite status of the embedded clause and it has an intimate connection with the IP it dominates, encoding '... *core IP-related characteristics* ...' (Rizzi, 1997:284). It has been recognised that a number of inflectional properties can be expressed at the CP level, such as mood distinctions,[11] subject agreement features, tense and negation. Vincent (1998) claims that finiteness and mood are equivalent and they are to be viewed as two sides of the same coin. Exploiting this intimate association between finiteness and mood, and combining it with the licensing conditions for *che2* seen in the previous section and the analysis of SCLs proposed here, we conclude that *che2* lexicalises Fin°, morphologically expressing those mood features that are left opaque on the embedded verb. This is the simplified structure that we obtain:

(7)     [ForceP [Force° *che*       [...       [FinP          [Fin° *ch'a* ...

### 2.1.3. Syntactic interpretation

The close link between *che2* and the deficient subjunctive morphology of the embedded verb is interpreted structurally by assuming that the particle is generated as a separate head from the verb encoding the mood features that are morphologically underspecified on the predicate. We propose that *che2* merges in one of the high modal heads identified by Cinque (1999) and it subsequently raises to Fin°, a derivation that both reinforces the link between the inflectional and

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[10] 'Strong' in the sense of Zanuttini (1997:24).
[11] Cf. den Besten (1983) and Stowell (1982).

the complementiser domains and that exploits the 'hybrid' nature of Fin. It was mentioned in footnote 9 that there may be a degree of feature reduplication between functional categories: this is precisely the case with Fin, which expresses at the C level information relating to the propositional content of the clause. As will be seen, this 'reduplication' is not to be understood as an exact repetition of those features already expressed at the I level, but a reduced, simplified version, ranging over a binary [±] specification rather than the full array of values.
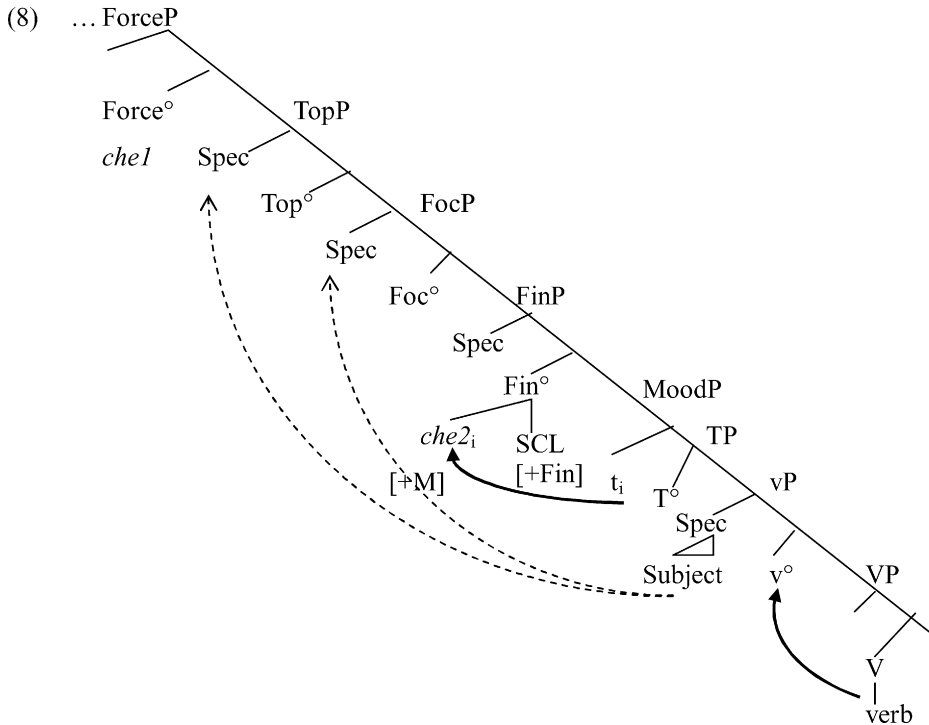
We propose that *che2* is merged in the embedded extended IP that dominates the vP projection, in the head of a Mood projection. It then moves out of its original position and raises into Fin° to check its [+mood] features: this operation is not available to the verb since it has no mood feature to check. This derivation for *che2* finds theory-internal support in the fact that the relative order of *che2* and the SCL with which it forms a cluster can only be treated as a result of *che2* having raised to that position by a system that does not admit right adjunction.[12] Raising to Fin°, *che2* cliticises onto the SCL, which we can also assume to occupy Fin°. SCLs only occur in finite clauses, suggesting that they are, at one level, an expression of finiteness; furthermore, as we have seen, the SCL belongs to the left periphery. If finiteness and mood are indeed two sides of the same coin, the idea that Fin° hosts expressions of both is perfectly plausible: we therefore assume that Fin° is a syncretic category, encoding both [+fin] and [+mood] features, which are expressed overtly by the SCLs and *che2,* respectively.

In order to account for the optionality of *che2* discussed in section 2.1, in other words for those cases in which *che2* is licensed but can be omitted, we assume that *che2* is a bundle of features that can either remain silent or be realised overtly, a choice that depends on the morphology of the verb. More specifically, if the verb is morphologically transparent, namely its morphology clearly expresses its mood, its lexical and functional features are expressed syncretically on the verb itself, and *che2* is not lexicalised. In this case the verb incorporates into v° and finally raises to the inflectional domain. If, on the other hand, the verb is morphologically opaque, its functional and lexical features are realised as two separate heads that follow different derivation paths. Maintaining that its lexical traits are lexicalised in V, its functional features can be expressed in one of two possible ways: either as *che2*, the option preferred by older generation speakers, or as a bundle of silent features, preferred by the younger generations.[13]

We take the subjunctive to be a tenseless verb form (cf. Enç, 1987; and von Stechow, 1995) and the T projection that dominates the embedded clause to be devoid of features. Its emptiness in terms of features and the inability of the verb to raise into it jeopardises the projection of the canonical subject position in [Spec, T]: if we relate to the EPP as a requirement that a D feature is checked by a suitable configuration of subject and verb, the inability of the verb to raise into it results into the failure of the projection of the Specifier position itself. This explains the impossibility of having a pre-verbal subject intervening between *che2* and the finite verb. The complete derivation is shown in (8): the dotted lines refer to the two alternative positions that the embedded subject can occupy, which are discussed in detail in section 2.2.

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[12] Alternatively, it could be assumed that either *che2* and the SCL form a phonological cluster, and hence, no movement is involved.

[13] Whether the mood features associated with the subjunctive are realised overtly as a modal particle, or on the verb morphology, or remain morphologically empty and simply move as a bundle of silent features (cf. Chomsky, 1995), is a parametrised choice available to natural languages.

(8)   … ForceP

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        Force°        TopP
        che1    Spec
                      Top°        FocP
                           Spec
                               Foc°      FinP
                                    Spec
                                        Fin°        MoodP
                                     che2ᵢ   SCL        TP
                                     [+M]   [+Fin]   tᵢ        vP
                                                        T°           vP
                                                           Spec          v°        VP
                                                        Subject                         V
                                                                                        |
                                                                                       verb
```

Let us now consider some of the consequences arising by assuming this derivation. Firstly, as already mentioned, analysing *che2* as merged in one position and then raising to Fin° respects the representational ban on right adjunction (cf. Kayne, 1994) and accounts for the order *che2*-SCL. Secondly, from the fact that [Spec, TP] is not projected, and hence cannot host a pre-verbal subject, it follows that a pre-verbal subject will necessarily be discourse prominent, namely either topicalised[14] or focalised. While the first point refers to a more general restriction on syntactic representation, the second one is specifically directed to a more 'core' issue, the status of pre-verbal subject positions within the left periphery, with consequences that reach beyond the data we are analysing here. We claim that these positions are available to specific types of subjects which receive a particular interpretation, providing some independent support for McCloskey (1997), Poletto (2000) and Cardinaletti (2004) in their proposals of semantically and syntactically distinct subject positions.

## 2.2. Subjects in the left periphery: their status

Claiming that *che2* is in the left periphery of the clause has an immediate consequence for all the elements that occur to its left, subjects included: they occupy a position within the CP space. What is the status of these elements?

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[14] We use the terms 'topicalised' and 'left dislocated' in an interchangeable way here, taking them to be equivalent to each other.

Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) and Chomsky (1995) identify two positions, in addition to the VP internal one, where pre-verbal subjects can appear: [Spec, TP] and [Spec, AgrSP], the former being a Case checking position and the latter an agreement checking one. No subject positions are identified above [Spec, TP]. Cardinaletti (2004) identifies multiple pre-verbal subject positions within the traditionally labelled 'IP', each specified for a specific feature, or set of features, and available only to specific types of subjects. She firmly rejects the idea that any of these be placed in the left periphery of the clause.

In the dialect examples seen so far, the position between the two *che* can be filled by full DP subjects, but this is not the only possibility. There are in fact a number of other elements that can occupy this position, among which:

- a quantified subject:

(9)  T a.  *Marìa a    spera   **che** <u>gnun</u>   **ch'** as       në  dësmentia*
           'Mary SCL hope.pr.3s that nobody that SCL rfl part forget.S.3s'
           Mary hopes that nobody forgets about it

     L i.  *A Margaitin a     pensa    **che** <u>quarchedun</u> **ch'** u    l' aggia   avuu*
           'the Margaret  SCL think.pr.3s that somebody   that SCL L have.S.3s have.ppl
           *in bun   vutu*
           *a  good mark*'
           Margaret thinks that somebody has got a good mark

- a left dislocated object (direct and indirect, respectively):

(10) T a.  *A   chërdo    **che**, <u>le fior,</u>   ch'a    l' abia    già     cataje*
           'SCL believe.pr.3p that  the flowers thatSCL L have.S.3s already buy.pple.them'
           They think that s/he has already bought the flowers

     L i.  *U  Gianni u    credda    **che**, <u>a-a lalla,</u> **ch'** u   ghe  l' aggia*
           'the John    SCL believe.pr.3s that  to-the aunt that SCL to-her L have.S.3s
           *zà      dattu    u libru*
           already give.ppl the book'
           John thinks that he has already given the book to the aunt

- constrastively focused phrases in Lig[15]:

(11)   L   *I     pensan   **che** <u>I TÖ</u>   **ch'** i   nua   suportan   propiu,*
           'SCL think.pr.3p that the your that SCL neg.her tolerate.S.3p really
           *nu i   mè*
           neg the my'
           They think that it is your parents who cannot stand her, not mine[16]

---

[15] Tur does not seem to allow contrastively focalised items in pre-verbal position.

[16] Capital letters indicate contrastively focalised elements. Following a widely accepted convention, we have translated these examples as cleft sentences in English.

• a combination of left dislocated and contrastively focalised phrases in Lig:

(12)  L   *I*      *pensan*    **che**, _quella zuvena,_ <u>*I TÖ*</u>   **ch'**  *i*    *nua*
          'SCL think.pr.3p that  that    young  the your that SCL neg.her
          *suportan*      *propiu, nu  i    mè*
          tolerate.S.3p really   neg the my'
          They think that it is your parents who cannot stand that young woman, not mine

Addressing the question of whether these elements occur in their canonical position or not proves fairly easy for topicalised objects and contrastively focused phrases. Topicalised objects usually precede the subject and co-occur with a resumptive clitic, which in the case of direct objects is compulsory; contrastively focused elements are characterised by a contrastive intonation. Within the split CP system, we can assume that they occupy [Spec, Top] and [Spec, Foc], respectively.

### 2.2.1. Quantified subjects

The status of both quantified and DP subjects, on the other hand, is not immediately evident. Considering that they fill a position within the left periphery, there are two viable possible analyses for them, offered by the Topic–Focus projections in the structure: they can be either focalised or left dislocated. We follow Benincà and Poletto (2004) in assuming that the Top projection is not recursive (cf. Rizzi, 1997), and that Top and Foc are not single positions but rather articulated fields of pragmatically distinct positions, clearly separated from one another. The Top space comprises of a position for scene setting adverbs (Hanging Topic), a position for left dislocated phrases and one available for list interpretation; the Foc space accommodates both contrastive and information focus.

Contrastive focused phrases are both intonationally and syntactically marked, rectifying in a contrastive intonation erroneous information provided in the previous turn. Information focused elements, on the other hand, are not as distinctive: syntactically, they represent new information, but they do not have a marked contour. Given that the subjects in the above examples are not accompanied by any contrastive intonation, and considering furthermore that contrastively focused phrases are only licensed post-verbally in Tur, it can be safely ruled out that the pre-verbal subjects in (9) a and i occupy a contrastive Focus position.

A number of linguists (cf., among others, Poletto, 2000:139ff) have claimed that pre-verbal subjects in Null Subject languages are to be analysed as occupying a position within the CP, possibly a 'topic-like' position. Considering the positions made available by the Topic–Focus articulation of the structure, we assume that the pre-verbal DP subjects seen in the examples can either occupy the Specifier of a topic position within the Topic field with thematic properties, or represent new information and fill the Specifier of a Focus position. We also extend this analysis to quantified subjects: we show that they, too, can be left dislocated or focalised.

It has been shown (cf. Rizzi, 1990; Cinque, 1990) that bare quantifiers are generally unable to undergo left dislocation. There are nevertheless instances in which they can be left dislocated, and this happens when they are 'intrinsically referential'. Cinque (1990:xiv) identifies in '*the intrinsic referential character*' of a phrase, i.e. the ability to refer to specific members of a pre-established set, the prerequisite for undergoing A'-movement, of which 'Left Dislocation' constructions (CLLD) is an instance. He (1990:164, footnote 15) also defines CLLD as a '*pure representation of binding relations*', of which being referential is a primary requirement. It is clear, therefore, that if a

quantified subject can be interpreted as specific it has the ability to enter a binding relation and, consequently, to be left dislocated.

This is indeed what we find in Tur: when a bare quantifier appears to the left of a left dislocated phrase, as the example in (13) shows, it is understood as being a specific individual or a member of a pre-established set (e.g. nobody among his colleagues in the office, for example), and not as a general 'nobody':

(13)  T  *Majo  a  spera  **che** gnun,  dle  fior,  **ch'** as  në*
         'Mario SCL hope.pr.3s that nobody of the flowers that SCL rfl part
         *dësmentia*
         forget.S.3s'
         Mario hopes that nobody forgets about the flowers

Undoubtedly, this interpretation is also favoured by the very specific content of the sentence: the speaker is referring to some identifiable flowers and has a definite event in mind, to which a specific set of individuals will take part. Crucially though, the specific interpretation of the quantified subject follows from the position it occupies: the sentence is judged as marginal if *gnun* appears post-verbally. Given the above context, the most natural position for the quantifier is to the left of the left dislocated phrase. It would therefore appear that there is a connection between the possible specific interpretation of a quantified subject and its position: more specifically, the referential reading of a quantified subject does not seem to be available to a post-verbal position, and its specific interpretation results from its preverbal position, to the left of left dislocated material.

This analysis finds some support in some interesting facts in Paduan, a Venetan variety spoken in Padua. Paduan does not exhibit the obligatory use of SCLs with all subjects: SCLs can only co-occur with the subject when the latter is left dislocated. Paola Benincà (personal communication) points out that a bare quantifier subject cannot usually appear alongside a SCL:

(14)     *Nissuni (\*el)  vol      star    male*
         'nobody SCL want.pr.3s stay.inf bad'
         Nobody wants to be ill

If, on the other hand, the quantified subject precedes a left dislocated element, the SCL is not only allowed, but necessary:

(15)  a.  *Credo      che nissuni, <u>na idea simile</u>, \*(el) possa   ver-la    vua*
          'believe.pr.1s that nobody an idea similar SCL can.S.3s have.inf-it have.ppl'
          I think that a similar idea, nobody can have had it

Furthermore, if the left dislocated phrase is removed from the sentence, the presence of the SCL is not grammatical:

(15)  b.  *\*Credo      che nissuni el possa ver    vù      na idea simile*
          'believe.pr.1s that nobody SCL can.S.3s have.inf have.ppl an idea similar'
          I think that nobody can have had a similar idea

What these examples suggest is that *nissuni* 'nobody' can be left dislocated only if it precedes a left dislocated phrase; if no left dislocated element follows the quantifier, the SCL is not allowed, and hence the subject is not pragmatically salient. Thus, there exists a specific position to the left of left dislocated elements in which quantified subjects receive a specific interpretation: in this position they are referential and are themselves left dislocated.

Furthermore, it seems that the extended Top field needs to be already activated by a left dislocated object in order to license a bare quantifier in one of its positions. We claim that when the Top and Foc fields are not activated, the system projects a syncretic head destined to host discourse salient elements, in other words both focalised and topicalised phrases. The result of this is an ambiguous interpretation of the element occupying the Specifier position: *nissuni* in (15) b is ambiguous between a new and an old information interpretation. We further speculate that in Paduan, the SCL is only licensed by an element filling [Spec, Top]; in other words, it is the overt realisation of a [Spec, head] agreement relation. If a subject fills a 'hybrid', collapsed position, as in the case of a reduced CP only realising one head with Top/Foc properties, then the SCL is not licensed. This would explain why the presence of the SCL makes the sentence in (15) b ungrammatical.

Let us now return to example (13): there is a further position that can be occupied by the quantified subject, to the right of a left dislocated phrase:

(16)   T   *Majo a     spera    **che**, dle   fior,    gnun   **ch'** as       në*
           'MarioSCL hope.pr.3s that  of the flowers nobody that SCL+rfl part
           *dësmentia*
           forget.S.3s'
           Mario hopes that nobody forgets about the flowers

We analyse *gnun* in (16) as an expression of information focus. It was mentioned above that Benincà and Poletto (2004) argue for a hierarchical order within the Top and Foc fields, in particular they claim that contrastive focus is higher than information focus. As previously mentioned, Tur does not have a pre-verbal contrastive focus position: contrastively stressed phrases must appear post-verbally, and, following Belletti (2004), they could be assumed to occupy an IP internal position. This does not prevent a position being available to information focus, though, and we assume that this is precisely what we see in Tur.

Romanian, as argued by Kiss (1998), does not have a pre-verbal position available to information focus phrases. Following Benincà and Poletto (2004) in assuming a Top field higher than, and delimited downwards by, a Foc field, we ascribe the deviance of the following (Alboiu, personal communication) to *cineva* 'somebody' being in a non-licensed position:

(17)   a.   *?*Spera      ca de data asta, numai de fete, cineva    să se poată*
             'hope.pr.3s that of this time   only   of girls somebody SA rfl can.S.3s
             *ocupa*
             mind'
             S/He hopes that somebody this time will take care of the girls only

Here *numai de fete* 'only of girls' is contrastively focused. Given that in any one clause only one element can bear contrastive stress, the quantified subject *cineva* 'somebody' cannot be interpreted contrastively, and it occupies an illicit position, since there is no other slot within the Foc field that could be filled by quantifier. If we move *cineva* to a post-verbal position the grammaticality of the sentence improves dramatically:

(17)   b.   *Spera        ca  de data asta, numai de fete, să  se poată   ocupa cineva*
             'hope.pr.3s that of this time only   of girls SA rfl can.S.3s mind   somebody'
             S/He hopes that somebody this time will take care of the girls only

In Tur we have what could be described as the reverse situation, namely there is no preverbal space available to contrastively focused elements. The fact that the corresponding Tur sentence (16) does allow for a quantified subject to precede *che2*, and considering the parallel between Romanian *să* and Tur *che2*, we conclude that the position occupied by *gnun* is an information focus position. Following Benincà and Poletto's (2004) subdivision of the CP, it makes perfect sense that the positions to the right of left dislocated elements fall within the Focus field.[17]

Summing up, this section has investigated the status of preverbal subjects in the left periphery. It has been claimed that DP subjects can either be an instance of Topic or Focus. We have identified three positions within the left periphery in which a quantified subject can appear: to the left of left dislocated material, on its own between the two *che*, or to the right of left dislocated phrases. In the highest of these positions the quantifier receives a specific interpretation and, exploiting Cinque's (1990) concept of 'intrinsic referentiality', we have analysed it as being left dislocated itself. Adopting Benincà and Poletto's (2004) division of the Topic/Focus area into fields of distinct projections, we have analysed a quantified subject occurring in the lowest position as representing information focus. When neither the Top nor the Focus fields have been activated, the system projects a syncretic head, carrying hybrid properties of both Top and Foc. This is the case when the quantifier occupies the intermediate position, and its interpretation is ambiguous.

Concluding, these are the claims that have been made in the first part of the article:

(a) *che2* is not the repeated realisation of the finite complementiser: *che2* is not a complementiser with the canonical function of selecting a complement clause, but a particle encoding mood;

(b) *che2* lexicalises Fin°, a syncretic head hosting both mood (*che2*) and finiteness (SCL) features, and raises to it from a lower Mood position;

(c) the subjects that appear between the two *che* are discourse prominent, namely they are either topicalised or focalised;

(d) quantified subjects can undergo topicalisation, contrary to what traditionally assumed, and are interpreted as specific; furthermore, they occupy a position to the left of left dislocated elements such as objects;

(e) quantified subjects occupying a position to the right of left dislocated phrases represent information focus.

## 3. The 'Double Que Construction' in early Romance

In this second part, we turn to a similar construction to the one we have just analysed, which brings forth more support for the variety of functions performed by C elements.

In various 13th century Romance texts (Tuscan, Castilian, French), a superficially identical construction to the one we have just seen in Tur and Lig can be found: a construction in which two finite complementisers (*che/que,* henceforth, *QUE1* and *QUE2*) are allowed to be simultaneously realised.[18] In the examples collected, there is no evidence of the two *QUE*

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[17] Notice, however, that this seems to be an exception. In general, in Romance, precisely as seen for Romanian, the presence of an Information Focus position is only available if there is already a Contrastive Focus one activated. This is not the case for Tur.

[18] The data presented here are drawn from two different sources: the early Italian data come from the 'Opera del Vocabolario Italiano' (OVI Internet database) and the other early Romance data are taken from Wanner (1995).

appearing in a sequence: we interpret this as a restriction on the realisation of the two *QUE*. *QUE1* and *QUE2* could not be simultaneously realised unless they were separated by phonetically realised syntactic material; as we see below, this material occupies a discourse prominent position.

Keniston (1937:675) describes this construction as '... (*a*) *special use of annunciative que ... repeated, after another word or phrase ... it is a common practice in the sixteenth century to repeat annunciative que when some element of the sentence intervenes between que and the verb of the clause. This usage is especially common when an adverbial clause precedes the verb; but it is also found after relative clauses, or even after other elements, such as the subject or object of the verb*'. The variety described by Keniston is matched by what we find in the data investigated here. Among the elements that can occupy the position between *QUE1* and *QUE2* we have:

- an object:

(18)  a.  *Et   sobresto la demanda del   Conde don Rancho era    esta. **Que.** vi.*
          'and over    the question of the Count don Sancho be.imp this. that 6
          <u>*castiellos*</u> *que Almançor ganara   de los xcristianos en otro  tiempo*
          castles    that Almançor win.pt.3s of the Christians  in other time
          *estonces Yssem **que** gelos        diesse*
          therefore Yssem that to him-them give.S.imp.3s'
          And about this Count don Sancho's request was this: as for the six castles that
          Almançor had won from the Christians long before, that Yssem gave them to him
          (EstEspf106v2.37)

      b.  *Sire,  je te  adjure    par le vray Dieu **que** <u>ta</u>    <u>fille</u>    <u>Tarsienne</u>, **que***
          'Lord I   you beg.pr.1s for the true God that your daughter Tarsienne that
          *tu  ne la  donnes   a mariage a autre que a moy*
          you neg her give.S.2s to marriage to other than to me'
          Lord, I beg you in the name of the true God that, as for your daughter Tarsienne, you
          do not give her in marriage to anybody but me (Apoll, f48b, 14th-c. *French*)

- a hypothetical clause:

(18)  c.  *A  queste novelle, si pensò       ir  re   Pelleus **che**, <u>se elli potesse</u>*
          'to these  stories  rfl think.pt.3s the king Pelleus that if  he  could
          *tanto fare  che Giason suo nipote   volesse       andare in*
          a lot do.inf that Jason   his nephew want.S.imp.3s go.inf  in
          *quella isola  per lo tosone conquistare, **che** mai    non*
          that   island for the fleece conquer.inf  that never neg
          *tornerebbe,    e  in tal   maniera si diliverebbe di lui*
          return.cond.3s and in such way      rfl rid.cond.3s of him'
          On hearing these stories king Pelleus thought that, if he could do so that his
          nephew Giason wanted to go to that island to take the (golden) fleece, that he
          would never come back, and so he could get rid of him (Distr Tr; XDIV 1,
          152: 21-25)

• a 'because' clause:

(18)   d.   . . . *diz*   ***que*** <u>*porque*</u> *la  poblara alli   brennio pora premia  &    danno*
'say.pr.3s that because the people  there Brennio for    pressure and harm
*de los Romanos **que** pusiera   aquell nombre verona*
of the Romans   that put.pt.3s that    name   Verona'
S/He says that because Brennio had populated it to put pressure on and harm
the Romans, that he had given it the name of Verona (Gen Est; f171r1.14)

      e.   . . . *E tanto savio* [. . .] ***che*** <u>*per*</u> *lo  gran senno   e    valore  suo e*
'and  very wise       that for the great wisdom and courage his and
*larghezza e    per bona cavalleria che lui    seguia,        **che** XXVIII*
greatness and for  good cavalry     that him follow.imp.3s that 28
*reami       se soctomise*
kingdoms rfl conquer.pt.3s'
. . . And so wise [. . .] that because of his great sensibility, value and greatness
and for the quality of his cavalry that followed him, he conquered twenty eight
kingdoms (Con, 21:150–151)

• a temporal clause:

(18)   f.   . . . *e egli allora fue      viepiue       innamorato de lei  che non*
'and he the    be.pt.3s there more in love        of her that neg
*iera         dapprima, e   amava      sò fforte mente che a  llui  sì*
be.imp.3s before    and love.imp.3s so strong ly    that to him so
*era         tutta via viso      **che** <u>*quando*</u> *persona neuna la*
be.impr.3s anyway  show.pple that when   person  no     her
*sguardasse,  **che** inmantenente iglile      togliesse*
look.S.imp.3s that immediately  he to her take off.S.imp.3s'
. . . And he was then in love with her so much he had not been before, and he loved
so intensely that to him it was anyway shown that, when nobody was watching,
that immediately he would take them off her (Tr Ricc; 75; 149:25–28)

• a subject:

(18)   g.   . . . *& ordenaron assi **que** <u>los germanos</u> **que** fincassen       en sus tierras* . . .
'and order.pt.3p  so    that the Germans  that stay.S.imp.3p in their lands'
. . . And they ordered thus that the Germans that they stayed in their land
(Gen Est; f171v2)

Differently from what we have seen for Tur and Lig, the use of *QUE2* in early Romance does not
appear to be subject to any mood restrictions: the verb in the embedded clause can be in the
indicative, subjunctive and conditional. In spite of the fact that the subjunctive features in high
proportion (cf. (18) a, b, f and g), its presence is not very significant in itself, and it is evident that the
function performed by *QUE2* is quite different from the expression of mood of *che2* in Tur and Lig.
The subjunctive in the early Romance varieties is due to the high percentage of hypothetical
clauses that occupy the space between the two *QUE* (around 51% in Tuscan), and does not
correlate in any way with the mood dependency seen in the two north-western Italian dialects.

Wanner (1995:421) interprets the 'Double Que Construction' (DQC henceforth) in early Romance as a strategy to give prominence to a thematised phrase located between the two complementisers: '*La syntaxe médiévale des langues romanes permet une mise en relief dans la phrase subordonnée. Le procédé consiste en une antéposition de l'élément relevé à l'intérieur de la subordonnée (son thème) suivi d'une deuxième conjonction subordonnante apparemment superflue.*[19] What Wanner describes as 'preposition of the element inside the embedded clause' for discourse reasons is strongly reminiscent of the operation of left dislocation. Combining this intuition with Rizzi's (1997) characterisation of left dislocated elements and with his articulated analysis of the left periphery, we claim that all elements between the two *QUE* are left dislocated, and that *QUE2* is not a subordinating particle, but the overt realisation of Top°. The head is lexicalised only when its Specifier position is filled: the presence of a phrase specified for [+Top] features triggers a [Spec, head] agreement matching relation making *QUE2* visible.

### 3.1. Elements between QUE1 and QUE2: their status

The elements that can be most easily shown to occur in a left dislocated position are direct objects, as they require the presence of a resumptive clitic. In examples (18) a and b the element that intervenes between the two *QUE* is a direct object, *vi. castiellos* 'six castles' and *ta fille Tarsienne* 'your daughter Tarsienne'; these are resumed, respectively, by the clitics *los* 'them' and *la* 'her', which unequivocally identify them as left dislocated.

Let us now turn to example (18) c. Hypothetical clauses can be either topical, and express old information, or focus, and express new information (cf. von Fintel, 1994:78ff), depending on the position they occupy. If occurring in a sentence initial position they are topics, while in sentence final position they are an instance of focus. This distinction is exemplified in (19) and (20)—the preceding questions clarify which portion of the answer has already been introduced:

(19)    What will you do if I give you the money?
      a1 If you give me the money, I'll buy this house
      a2 #I'll buy this house if you give me the money

(20)    Under what conditions will you buy this house?
      a1 # If you give me the money, I'll buy this house
      a2 I'll buy this house if you give me the money

<div align="right">from von Fintel (1994:81)</div>

In (19), the only acceptable reply to the question is a1, in which the information already introduced by the question, or indeed known to both speaker and interlocutor, is at the beginning of the sentence. In (20), on the other hand, the *if*-clause contributes new information, and the only position that it can occupy is sentence final.[20] In (18) the *if*-clause between the two *QUE* refers

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[19] 'The medieval syntax of the Romance languages allows a 'giving-prominence' strategy in the embedded clause. The process consists in the pre-posing of the element inside the embedded clause (its theme) connected with an apparently superfluous second subordinating conjunction'.

[20] Interestingly, the answer to the question (19) can be thought of as having a silent 'then': 'If you give me the money, *then* I will buy this house'. In other words, the *if*-clause has a correlate *then*-clause, be this overtly realised or not. See Haegeman (2003) for an analysis of 'if–then' clauses as a distinct class from other types of conditional clauses and on their external position with respect to the main clause.

back to the content of one of the stories heard by king Pelleus: the presence of the DP *quella isola* 'that island', clearly marks the clause as background information known to both speaker and interlocutor. It seems therefore appropriate to claim that the clause is topicalised.

A final piece of evidence lending further support to this analysis derives from an observation by Benincà (1995). Investigating instances of enclisis in Medieval Italian varieties, which respected the verb-second restriction, she notices that these are caused by the presence of hypothetical, causal and in general all extra-sentential complements that appear in sentence-initial position. Cases of subject–verb inversion are triggered by pre-verbal, topicalised elements:

(21)    a.      . . . *e quando il    vide,     raffigurollo*
                'and  when   him see.pt.3s recognise.pt.3s-him'
                . . . And when he saw him, he recognised him

                                          (Schiaff 77, 17, in Benincà, 1995:336)

On the basis of this significant evidence we conclude that in (18) c the hypothetical clause is left dislocated. We extend this analysis to temporal and 'because' clauses: firstly, they could also be thought of as being part of a correlation similarly to *if–then, when–then* and *because–then*, respectively; secondly, they, too, cause subject–verb inversion in Medieval Italian. Concluding, all sentential complements appearing between the two *QUE* are topicalised and occupy [Spec, Top].

We turn now to the remaining example, (18) g, a subject. Unlike left dislocated object, topicalised subjects are not so transparent, as there were no subject clitics in the early Romance varieties investigated here to accompany them. In modern French, on the other hand, a pronominal or lexical subject co-occurs with a subject clitic when left dislocated, as we can see in (22):

(22)    a.      *Pierre, **il**    est       parti*
                'Pierre SCL be.pr.3s leave.ppl'
                As for Pierre, he has left

Children acquiring French as their first language occasionally produce sentences similar to those seen in early Romance, in which there seems to be a repetition of the finite complementiser *que*:

(23)    a.      *Elle croyait      **que** les loups **qu'** i    les    avaient       mangés*
                'she think.imp.3s that the wolves that SCL them have.imp.3p eat.ppl'
                She thought that the wolves had eaten them

        b.      *Quand **que** les Indiens **qu'** i      veulent     l' attaquer*
                'when  that the Indians that SCL want.pr.3p it attack.inf'
                When the Indians want to attack it

        c.      *I     savaient     pas **que** leur maman **qu'** elle était      rentrée*
                'they know.imp.3p neg that their mum    that SCL be.imp.3s return.ppl'
                They did not know that their mother had come back

                                                      from Labelle (1993:254)

In all these examples, the element between the two *que* is a subject, and it is resumed in the embedded clause by a subject clitic, suggesting that it is not in its canonical position but is left

dislocated. We extend this conclusion to the early Romance data, and we claim that those subjects that occupy the position between the two *QUE* are also left-dislocated.

Concluding, it has been shown that all the different elements that intervene between *QUE1* and *QUE2* are left dislocated, and we assign to them the syntactic position of [Spec, Top]. Because *QUE2* is licensed by the presence of these elements, we conclude that *QUE2* is the overt realisation of Top°, made visible by an element carrying a [+Top] feature and entering a [Spec, head] agreement relation with it. Consequently, *QUE2* can be considered a 'complementiser' because it is an element that occurs within the CP, but it cannot be analysed as a 'complementiser' because its function is not to introduce a clause but to lexicalise [+Top] features. It is, therefore, a particle signalling that the preceding element is discourse prominent.

## 4. Conclusions

Recent interest in functional projections and comparative Linguistics has led to the formulation of a finer-grained structure, a tool that enables the linguist to account in an explanatory manner for a considerable amount of data and to capture and express with precision subtle differences between varieties. From a purely theoretical point of view, this line of reasoning has not met the unanimous favour of all linguists, especially of those in favour of translating the relative simplicity of the language faculty on a theoretical level into simple and concise structures on the syntactic level. If we interpret unambiguously ordered elements as the output of hierarchical relations between linguistic objects, then the empirical evidence reflects a highly refined linguistic architecture, which must be matched by an equally complete structural system. One of the most controversial aspect of such an approach and one which has been strongly criticised is the high number of projections which, assumed a priori to characterise all natural languages, goes against principles of economy.

This article has investigated two superficially identical elements, *che2* and *QUE2*. While the former is the overt realisation of the Fin° head and it encodes modal information related to the subjunctive mood, the latter lexicalises Top° and is overtly realised as a consequence of the [Spec, head] agreement relation triggered by left dislocated elements raising to its Specifier. An investigation of subjects appearing in the left-periphery of the clause has concluded that full DP subjects occupy a topic-like position, whereas quantified subjects can either be left dislocated or focalised, depending on whether they precede or follow a left dislocated phrase, respectively. In the absence of a dislocated phrase co-occurring with them, the subjects remain ambiguous between a topicalised and a focalised interpretation. By identifying in referentiality and specificity the necessary requirements that an element must have in order to be left dislocated, we have argued that, contrary to what traditionally assumed, quantified subjects, too, can be left dislocated.

The data in this article offer an example of how the different positions generated by the new, complex system, are necessary if we are to account for significant differences between elements that appear in the same portion of the clause. The high number of positions may not be desirable from a theoretical point of view, but is undoubtedly necessary when trying to account for rich cross-linguistic variation.

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