COMP AND THE LEFT-PERIPHERY: COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE FROM ROMANCE

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ABSTRACT

The combination of the recent interest in functional projections and their breaking down into syntactically and semantically different heads on the one hand, and of the recognition that the head of the Complementiser Phrase (CP) does more than simply demarcate clause boundaries on the other, has motivated the formulation of a more complex CP structure (cf. Rizzi, 1997; Benincà, 2001; Benincà and Poletto, 2002). In this system, what was traditionally known as the CP is split into a series of projections, semantically and syntactically distinct. Force and Finiteness delimit the system upwards and downwards respectively, acting as interfaces with the superordinate structure and the propositional content of the clause. Force° encodes information on the illocutionary force of the clause and Fin° expresses information on relating to finiteness and modality.

Through a comparative investigation this thesis addresses the issue of the content and function of an element's belonging to the category traditionally labelled as 'COMP', the finite complementiser *che*.

The aim of this work is two-fold. Empirically, it aims to present a detailed description of new or little studied data, focusing on the position that the elements hold with respect to each other. Theoretically, it aims to make a contribution to the understanding of the left periphery of the clause and of the status of the elements hosted therein. Furthermore, through the investigation of mood and agreement features, it addresses the relation and modality of interaction between the inflectional and the complementiser domains.

The empirical evidence is derived from two dialects – i.e. non-standard varieties – spoken in North-western Italy, Turinese and Ligurian, from Romanian, from Early Romance and child French: these languages all share a construction in which what appear to be two finite complementisers are allowed to co-occur in the same sentence. In spite of the obvious similarities the constructions are the instantiation of different strategies: mood expression in the dialects and Romanian and topicality in Early Romance and child French.

After having ascertained that both instances of *che* fill a position within the left periphery in Turinese and Ligurian, and that the lower *che* is a mood marker, Rizzi's (1997) claim that the complementiser system reduplicates syntactic information expressed at the inflectional level is reinforced.

The clear separation of the IP and CP systems is called into question when analysing the Romanian particle *să* and the Romanian left periphery. The conclusion is that in Romanian the CP and the IP can be syncretic categories: the IP thus is specified for features typically associated with the CP, such as [+wh] and [+focus].

A final comparison is made with another construction in which it seems that the complementiser is realised twice. The source of the data are Early Romance texts and child French: the 'double complementiser' is used as a strategy to give discourse prominence to a thematised phrase.

As well as reinforcing the close connection between the CP and the IP domains, my findings support the idea of a differentiation within the complementiser system, and suggest that the use of the term 'complementiser' is not adequate and should be instead replaced by 'subordinating particle', 'modal particle' and 'topic-marker particle'.

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The following are abbreviations used in the glosses for the examples in languages other than English

acc – accusative
cond – conditional
dat – dative
fut – future indicative
imper – imperative
imperf – imperfect indicative
inf – infinitive
L – invariable subject clitic 'l' used together with other SCLs before 'to be' and 'to have' verb forms beginning with a vowel
loc – locative
p – plural
part – partitive clitic – the equivalent to the standard Italian *ne*
pple – past participle
pr – present indicative
rem – passato remoto (simple past)
rf – reflexive clitic
s – singular
S – present subjunctive
SCL – subject clitic
StPr – strong pronoun (only used initially in chapter 2)
SubjPart – subject particle (only used initially in chapter 2)
TOP – left-dislocated element
FOC – focalised element
1,2,3 – first, second, third person

[InfFoc] – information Focus
[ConFoc] – contrastive Focus
ER – Early Romance
LD – left-dislocated elements
Lig – Ligurian
Tur – Turinese
SI – standard Italian

INTRODUCTION

Within the generative grammar framework, functional projections have received great attention in recent years. This interest has been motivated by the recognition that their specification is what is responsible for language variation.

Cross-linguistic investigations have led linguists to realise that the head of the Complementiser Phrase (CP), COMP, does more than simply demarcate clause boundaries.

The combination of these two factors has inspired the formulation of more refined structural representations to account for these facts: the traditionally labelled COMP has been broken down into a series of projections that reflect its discourse properties as well as its relation to the embedded context.

In this spirit, this thesis sets off to investigate the left periphery of the clause and in more detail the information encoded therein.

This is achieved by comparing three structures, the 'Double *CHE* Construction' (DCC) in two North-western Italian varieties, Turinese and Ligurian, the Romanian '*ca – să*' construction and the 'DCC' in Early Romance texts and in French acquisition. In spite of the superficial similarities, i.e. the apparent repetition of the finite complementiser, the first two constructions are shown to differ systematically from the third. In the North-western varieties and in Romanian the co-occurrence of what corresponds to the traditional 'complementiser' is due to mood, while in the early Romance texts and in French acquisition the phenomenon is the overt realisation of a Topic head.

The aim of the investigation is two-fold. First, to provide a detailed description of the constructions in their three domains of existence, focusing on the position occupied by the 'repeated complementiser', its function and on the interaction of the elements found in the left periphery. Secondly, on the theoretical level, to make a contribution of the understanding of the left periphery and of the category COMP.

It will be claimed that the term 'complementiser' applied to elements occurring in the left periphery is misleading and should be replaced by more precise terms such as 'subordinating particle', 'modal particle' or 'topic particle'.

The thesis is structured in two parts that follow a theoretical introduction to the CP in chapter 1. This also includes a brief reference to the defining features of Turinese and Ligurian, and an explanation of the methodology behind data collection and the choice of informants. Part I focuses on Turinese and Ligurian, and it consists of two chapters. In chapter 2 a detailed investigation of the subject clitics found in Turinese and Ligurian is carried out, and they are analysed in Poletto's (2000) system as belonging to the CP domain. The relevance of this investigation lies in the adjacency between the subject clitics and *che2*, the lower *che* that co-occurs with a higher *che* in the DCC in the dialects. Identifying the position that subject clitics occupies can reveal the position filled by *che2*. Chapter 3 turns to the investigation of the DCC in Turinese and Ligurian, looking into the factors that trigger it, the restrictions operative on it and on the nature and function of *che2*: this is analysed as a clitic that expresses the mood content of an impoverished verb form, the subjunctive. An analysis of the subjects that occur between the two *che* reveals some interesting facts about quantified subjects: if they occur to the left of a left-dislocated phrase they are to be analysed as left-dislocated themselves; if they occur to their right they are in a position that belongs to the Focus field, either a position only available to bare quantifiers or an information focus position.

Part II turns to the study of two terms of comparison for the DCC in the two dialects. Chapter 4 looks into the left periphery of Romanian and the interaction of the elements therein included: the conclusion reached is that it is the IP rather than the CP left periphery that hosts focalised, topicalised and wh-phrases in Romanian. As a consequence the particle *să* is also analysed as belonging to the IP domain. A comparison between the occurrence of pre-verbal bare quantifier subjects in Turinese and Romanian reveals that the restrictions on quantifier pre-posing are different in the two languages: while in the latter a pre-verbal quantifier is licit only if non-specific, in Turinese a pre-verbal bare quantifier can either be specific and occupy a left-dislocated position, or be non-specific and occupy a focal position (or a position devoted to quantifiers). Chapter 5 gathers evidence from Early Romance texts and from the acquisition of French, which also display what appears to be a DCC. Considering the different restrictions operative on the two, i.e. Turinese and Ligurian on the one hand

and Early Romance and child French on the other, it is shown how *che2* in its latter domain of existence is the overt realisation of a Topic head, triggered by the occurrence of a topicalised phrase between the complementiser and the embedded verb.

Having highlighted the different properties of these various elements that can all be labelled as 'complementisers' the thesis concludes claiming that the differentiation of information encoded at the COMP level should be matched by the use of more specific terminology: *che2* in Turinese and Ligurian, as well as *să* in Romanian, are instances of mood particles; *che2* in Early Romance and child French is a topic-marker particle; the canonical complementiser, 'canonical' in the sense that it delimits clause boundaries, is a subordinating particle.

Chapter 1

The Complementiser Phrase

and

Methodology

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and
Methodology

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with an overview of the development undergone by the Complementiser Phrase within the framework of Generative Grammar – from its conception to its establishment as a fully fledged functional projection – and the content of its head, C. Furthermore, the proposals that have become known as the 'Split CP hypothesis' will be analysed in some detail, and the fundamental assumptions and strongholds of the theoretical framework adopted in this thesis will be presented. More specifically, Section 1 focuses on the history of the CP, placing it within the context of functional projections and following its development from its 'birth' and introduction in the system to its acquisition of the status of syntactic head. Drawing on a variety of languages, it also includes information on the content of C and the types of elements that can occupy the C-position. Section 2 pursues an in-depth analysis of recent work that has led to the fragmentation of the CP into a series of syntactically and semantically distinct projections. This will provide a scene-setting background to the data presented in the following chapters, allowing the reader to situate its relevance and interest. Section 3 outlines the syntactic framework adopted, its fundamental ideas and concepts and their translation into theory-specific restrictions. Section 4 is a brief introduction to the North-western Italian varieties investigated in this thesis and section 5 presents how the data were collected.

SECTION 1 – THE CP: ITS HISTORY AND CONTENTS

1.1 – THE RISE OF FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES

> *'One of the most important recent innovations in syntactic theory concerns the shift from language-specific, construction-specific rules to analyses to terms of general principles from interacting modules of grammar'.*

<div align="right">Jaeggli (1986:587)</div>

In the last thirty years the formal expression of syntactic theory has undergone dramatic changes and the structure assigned to the clause has gradually become more and more refined. This is due to a combination of reasons. First of all, the development of the 'Principles and Parameters' approach in the wake of Chomsky (1981)[1] provided a more systematic approach to language universals and a solid foundation for the origin of comparative studies in syntax[2]. This meant that an increasingly higher number of languages started being taken into consideration with the result that more complex structures were needed, for example, to account for a richer inflectional system than English - which had been, up to that point, the major focus of linguistic research. Secondly, the recognition of the importance of functional categories[3] in the make-up of language structure and their essential role in reaching the formulation of universal parameters, led to the introduction in the system of an increasing number of projections. Thirdly, a combination of the two, i.e. the study of comparative syntax within a framework in which new weight is given to functional categories provided the linguist with increasingly finer tools for capturing syntactic nuances.

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[1] This was inspired by Kayne (1975) and Quicoli (1976a, b) who showed how some constructions in Romance were subject to the same abstract conditions posited by Chomsky in relation to some completely unrelated constructions in English.

[2] The underlying strength of this approach lies in the belief that the theory of grammar is an innate component of the human brain, and that it establishes a relationship among all languages, not just those related via common ancestry. Accounting for an incredibly greater variety of languages, the theory should then be able to reach explanatory adequacy, and the focus is shifted from the grammar of a particular language to the Universal Grammar (UG) that contains rules and principles applicable to all languages.

[3] The importance played by functional categories is not recognised unanimously. Borsley (2000) in a collection of papers calls into question the validity of the notion and questions the need for its existence altogether.

In such a framework, languages are investigated as reflections of particular aspects of UG, and their differences captured in terms of variation in the setting of certain values for a specific principle[4]. More explicitly,

'A language, is not, then, a system of rules, but a set of specifications for parameters in an invariant system of principles of UG. ... There remains a derivative sense in which a language L is a 'rule system' of a kind: namely, the rules of L are the principles of UG as parametrized for L.'

Chomsky (1991:417)

According to the Functional Parametrization Hypothesis, functional categories are the special locus of the parameters that distinguish the grammars of different languages (cf. Atkinson, 1994:2942; Ouhalla, 1991: Pollock, 1989, Smith and Tsimpli, 1995:24), and Radford (1990) has suggested that they are missing form child language. Within this context, functional categories are invested with new interest:

'It has been suggested that parameters of UG relate, not to the computational system, but only to the lexicon. We might take this to mean that each parameter refers to properties of specific elements of the lexicon or to categories of lexical items... Properties of the lexicon too are sharply constrained, by UG or other systems of the mind/brain. If substantive elements (verbs, nouns, and so on) are drawn from an invariant universal vocabulary, then only functional elements will be parametrized.'

Chomsky (1991:419)

Thus language variation can be accounted for in terms of the interaction between functional categories and the general principles of UG. Given their role in the theory of language, the importance of functional categories becomes evident also in the structural representation of language: they come to be viewed as the 'nuts and bolts' of the clause and as such they have received increasing attention (cf., among others, Fukui and Speas, 1986; Baker, 1988; Pollock, 1989; and Ouhalla, 1991). The immediate consequence is

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[4] This was first suggested by Rizzi (1982) who introduced the 'null subject parameter' to capture the differences between Italian and English with respect to verbal inflection and optionality of pronominal subjects.

the introduction into the system of a great number of functional projections related to all non-lexical categories – cf., for example, Abney (1987) for the DP, Tenny (1987), Rivero (1990) and Speas (1990) for AspP, Pollock (1989) for TP and AgrP, M(ode), Voice, Fin(iteness).

I(Inflection) and C(Complementiser) are the two oldest non-lexical categories that were introduced in the system. How was C first introduced? Where did the term 'complementiser' originate from? What did it refer to?

1.2 – THE COMPLEMENTISER

The term 'complementiser' is due to Rosenbaum (1967: 24-32), who introduces it as the abbreviation for '*complementizing morpheme*'. Complementisers are a '*unique set of markers*' (1967: 24) that introduce predicate complements and include items such as *that*, *for, to*, *poss* (i.e. possessive, ''*s*' morpheme), *-ing* as in the following examples, taken from Rosenbaum (1967:24):

(1) a. I think <u>that</u> Fords are too expensive

b. I dislike argu<u>ing</u> about silly matters

c. I am concerned about John<u>'s</u> being so lazy

d. The king ordered the proclamation <u>to</u> be read

e. I should like very much <u>for</u> you to reconsider your refusal

Within these five cases Rosenbaum notices that there are some mutual inclusions and exclusions – for example *that* can only appear on its own, while *for* and *to*, and *poss* and *–ing* respectively can co-occur with each other – so that a three-way division of the morphemes into the '*that*' type, the '*for-to*' type and the '*poss-ing*' type suggests itself.

The use of the term 'complementiser' to refer to these morphemes implies that they are '... *a function of predicate complementation and not the property of any particular sentence or set of sentences*' (1967:25). Their introduction into the structure could be accounted by the theory of the time by invoking two possible mechanisms: either a phrase structure rule or as a result of a transformational rule. Rosenbaum chooses the second alternative purely on the basis of its familiarity, and identifies three factors that determine the choice of complementiser in its introduction into the structure: the

classification of the complementiser and the means by which this classification is expressed[5], the selecting restrictions holding between the main sentence and the complementiser of the complement phrase and the type of tense or mood that each complementiser selects.

It is not until Bresnan (1970) that the complementiser acquires status as a syntactic category and is inserted into the derivation as COMP in the phrase structure rule S → (rewrites as) COMP S.

Bresnan observes that in order to achieve descriptive adequacy the characterisation of a complementiser-insertion transformation must include the selecting predicate, be it an adjective or a verb, so that the presence of the complementiser is restricted to embedded contexts only. Bresnan also makes an important contribution to the characterisation of the category COMP, and she claims that it has semantic content. It had already been noticed by Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1968), Anscombe (1967) and Bolinger (1968a) that some classes of verbs change meaning depending on their choice of complementiser[6]. Building on this, Bresnan claims that there is indeed some semantic content attached to each complementiser, which, interacting with the particular properties of a verb, triggers different interpretations. Given these considerations, it was impossible to maintain the view that many transformationalists had at the time (cf. Kajita (1967:113)) that complementisers were semantically empty.

In order to support the introduction of COMP as a grammatical category in its own right, Bresnan puts forward two main pieces of evidence. First, the selection of a complementiser by a verb must be encoded in the verb specification – given, as we have seen above, that different complementisers introduce complements with different meanings, and that not all verbs are compatible with all complementisers. This is exactly

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[5] Rosenbaum here refers to the fact that transformations are sensitive to the type of complementiser chosen and the properties exemplified by the three types – i.e. *that, for-to, poss-ing* – are different.

[6] Bolinger (1968a:127) does not focus, strictly speaking, on the different types of complementisers. His contribution highlights the semantic contrast between *–ing* and *for-to* complements, which, according to him, must be captured by an additional constituent of the deep grammar of English. A similar comparison was carried out by Kirsner and Thompson (1976). They analysed the semantic differences between three types of complements to sensory verb: *that*, '*accusative-plus-infinitive*' and *–ing* complements. While the former two are an interpretation of a perception, i.e. they describe a deduction from something perceived, the latter expresses a basic physical perception.

the kind of phenomenon that characterises subcategorisation, which makes of the selected item, a category. Secondly, the fact that wh-items and complementisers are in complementary distribution indicates that wh-items – an already well-identified class of elements that appeared in re-structuring sentence rules – are complementisers and they use COMP as their landing site[7].

Bresnan's contribution is the first systematic approach to the internal syntax of COMP, and to its role in the structure of sentences. Her proposal to assign the structure

(2) [s' COMP   [s   XYZ]]

to all sentences of languages that make use of complementisers was a real step forward in the development of syntactic theory, the core of which was to remain undisputed until the mid-Eighties.

Subsequent linguistic contributions focused on the structural refinement of Bresnan's suggestion. In particular, Stowell (1981, mentioned in Penner and Bader (1995)) addressed the issue of the status of COMP within S', and suggested that COMP was to be considered the head of the projection. Chomsky (1980, 1981) suggested that an extra position could be made available in COMP by adjunction of a moved phrase to COMP, as shown in the following bracketed structure, taken from Chomsky (1981:53)

(3) [COMP   XP[COMP   [±wh]/ for]]

The specification of the internal COMP draws a distinction between complementisers such as *that* – [-wh] – and *whether* – [+wh]. Chomsky and Lasnik (1977)'s well-known 'Doubly filled COMP' filter – a language specific restriction – ensured that the outer and inner layers were not simultaneously filled, preventing the production of ungrammatical constructions in Modern English such as

* He asked me **where that** I had been.

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[7] It must be born in mind that the X-bar schema had not been formulated yet at this stage, and there was only one position available, C. Nevertheless, Bresnan points out cases in Middle English where both a wh-word and the complementiser *that* co-occur:
*'... Til it was noon they stoden for to see **who that** ther come'*   -   Chaucer

With the formulation of the X-bar module the structural representation of categories was constrained by rule schema of the form in (1):

(4) a.   X' = X YP

    b.   XP = ZP X'

The leading concept in the formulation of the X-bar module is that phrase structure should not allow for any freedom, and that each X° element – or head – should head its own projection XP – maximal projection. In other words, all projections should be endocentric. Furthermore, each projection should have a Specifier position available for a maximal projection.

The development of the X-bar module within the Principles and Parameters theory introduces structural restrictions on the way the clause is to be represented configurationally. One of the clearest advantages of the new system is its ability to express the difference between subcategorised and non-subcategorised categories in relation to the head achieved through a hierarchical configurational representation. An intermediate level is inserted between the maximal – or 'phrasal' projection – and the head – or 'zero bar' level: the X bar level. The relationships between these elements are expressed in terms of motherhood, e.g. XP is the mother of X', sisterhood, e.g. X' and Spec XP are sisters – and daughterhood, e.g. X is daughter of X'. The Specifier position – daughter of XP and sister of X' - is often referred to as the 'subject' position and it hosts maximal projections. The Specifier and the head of each projection are intimately connected by the so-called 'Spec-Head' Agreement rule that states that a head X and its Specifier Spec XP must agree in relevant features.

It was in the light of this restriction that the rule generating clause structure

    S   → (rewrites as) NP VP

became inappropriate. Chomsky (1986b) explicitly declared that the X-bar schemata were to be extended to all categories, lexical and otherwise, so that the variable X in (1) ranged over all types of categories. Consequently, the clause, too, was reformulated as an endocentric projection, the IP – Inflectional Phrase – headed by I(inflection). The X-bar schema was also extended to the other 'non-lexical' category known at the time, C:

the embedded clause, previously labelled *S'*, is now christened 'CP', Complementiser Phrase – cf. Pesetsky (1982). Its head C is considered to be the position where complementisers are placed, and its Specifier as the landing site for moved wh-phrases. The 'Double Filled COMP' filter is re-worded to adapt to the 'Spec-Head' Agreement condition: the [+wh] features carried by a moved wh- phrase are incompatible with the [-wh] feature specification of *that*.

In light of these facts, it is understandable how considerable attention was given to the phrases that could occupy [Spec, COMP]. Some attention was, nevertheless, given to the head position itself, C, and a variety of studies investigated the elements that could occupy such position.

1.3 – C: CONTENT AND FUNCTION

As mentioned above, C has been viewed primarily as the position in which complementisers occur. Although there is some general consensus among linguists as to which morphemes should be identified as complementisers, the situation becomes rather complicated and confused when trying to decide which morphemes should be included in the category of complementisers. Among all the many works that have dealt in some way with the CP it is not possible to find a clear definition: Emonds (1985:287) is in a way an exception: he claims that if the complementiser is an X° element, it is a preposition.

The category complementiser is

1) exemplified through a list of examples – cf. Chomsky (1986a:161) '... *Assume further that there is another non-lexical element COMP (complementizer) which in English may be that, for or null...*'; Noonan (1985: 47), talking about the diachronic development of complementisers, mentions three of the English complementisers: *that*, *if* and *to*;

2) or defined through an analogy with the complementisers in a given language – cf. Lefevbre (1980), where the complementisers in Cuzco Quechua are categorised as such by analogy with their English counterparts;

3) or explained through the function that the morpheme performs – cf. Noonan (1985:44-45), '... *Complement types often have associated with them a word, particle,*

clitic, or affix whose function it is to identify the entity as a complement. Such forms are known as complementizers'; Givón (1990:552 ff) describes them as subordinating, i.e. separating, morphemes;

4) or by the different meaning that different complementisers give to the clause they introduce – cf. Noonan (1985: 91) '*…the choice of complementizer may also affect the meaning of a complement*';

5) or through the position it fills – cf. Bickerton (1981:109), who states that in order to be classified as a complementiser an element must appear before the embedded clause.

Frajzyngier (1995:474) ascribes this lack of agreement among linguists to the adoption of the term complementiser itself, which '*… includes the old term 'subordinating particle''*. This implies that the function of a complementiser morpheme is, by definition, to mark the boundary between the main clause and its embedded complement clause. Such a description fails to provide a systematic analysis of complementisers that appear in matrix clauses, where, clearly, there is no need for demarcation, or of complementisers that do not appear at the beginning of an embedded clause, or still of cases where a sequence of two or more complementisers is necessary to express a certain concept. Furthermore, it seems that to justify the existence of a morpheme on the basis of its separating function is superfluous: the two clauses do not overlap anyway.

The idea that a complementiser may perform more than just a delimiting a demarking function appeared first in the works of Ransom (1977, 1986). In her 1977 article, Ransom investigates two particular types of modality, Truth and Control[8], and states (1977: 373) '*…there seems to be some correlation between them (i.e. complementisers) and modality*', more precisely, the *that* complementiser would be more productive for the Truth modality complements, while *for-to* for Control modality

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[8] Truth and Control modality refer to the difference between the following sentences (Ransom 1977: 361):
   i)   She told them / decided / remembered that the ERA was necessary
   ii)   She told them / decided / remembered to support it
Truth modality is 'about' the truth of a proposition, while Control is 'about' control of an act, event or state described in the complement. Ransom highlights the fact that the difference between the two corresponding sentences can only be accounted for in terms of modality and not in terms of the embedding predicates.

ones. She also adds that there is no one-to-one correspondence with modality – i.e. *that* can also be compatible with some Control modality complements – but a connection is made and co-occurrence of a specific complementiser and a particular type of modality is seen as dependent upon some sort of feature compatibility.

Bickerton's (1981) investigation of Creole languages brings to light particular data where modality is expressed through the use of particular morphemes. These are also particles that can be used as complementisers – cf. Bickerton (1981:95) – and they differ from other functions they perform in that they express *irrealis* meaning[9]. A similar view transpires from Palmer's (1986, 2001) book, where different complementisers – correlated to the choice of indicative versus subjunctive – are seen as linked to, to a certain degree, modality.

With the broadening of the field for investigation, an increasing number of languages is brought to the attention of linguists where complementisers perform a more subtle function that just signalling the edge of a clause.

The modal import of complementisers is explicitly recognised by Frajzyngier (1995) and supported with data from a variety of languages. He asserts that complementisers encode modal information of different types, and for this reason they are neither restricted to appearing at the beginning of the embedded clause and nor, for that matter, is their number restricted to one per clause. There are in fact languages that have recourse to a sequence of complementisers to express a particular type of modality. In these cases, then, we could say that we are dealing more with modal particles than with canonical complementisers[10].

More recently, the modal content of C is argued for in Poletto (1995, 2000), Rizzi (1997) and Calabrese (1992). Poletto refers to a lower C head with modal content identifiable in Complementiser Deletion constructions. Rizzi hints at a possible modal

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[9] I will not concern myself here with the validity of such a term. An extensive discussion of the issue can be found in section 1.2.1 in chapter 2.

[10] While the import of data from morphologically rich languages can be extremely revealing and provide useful insights into the theory of grammar, it also raises questions. In this particular case, the very identity of the complementiser category is at stake: what makes a complementiser a complementiser? Which are its defining properties?

content of the lower C head that he postulates in his system. Calabrese, analysing the two different complementisers in Salentino, *ka* and *ku*, concludes that *ku* encodes modal information.

C can also encode other information and host different elements. den Besten (1983) suggests that V raises to C in Germanic languages; Vincent (1993:153) refers to the attraction of negation to C drawing on Finnish and Latin[11].

We will now turn to the analysis of the so-called 'split-CP' hypothesis.

SECTION 2 – THE SPLIT-CP HYPOTHESIS

The pioneering works of Klima (1964), Emonds (1978) and Pollock (1989) – whose work was inspired by the previous two linguists – made the very revealing connection between word order and syntactic phenomena. Word order has always been one of the basic criteria in the syntactic description of a language, whether, for example, it had free or fixed word order and what positions specific elements could fill within that given order. In the Sixties the introduction of the transformational framework made a very important connection, between hierarchical order and syntactic relations such as anaphoric and antecedent binding. Phrase Structure rules were introduced as a way to capture both linear and hierarchical order, so that word order became significant for each language. Klima, Emonds and Pollock looked at the different positions occupied by the verb with respect to adverbials in English and French and made a further connection, that was to inspire future works by influential linguists: between the position filled by adverbials and the syntactic phenomenon of verb movement. In particular, the relative position of verb and adverbials was interpreted as an indication, if not a reflection, of verb movement. The strength of this interpretation lies in the assumption that the

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[11] In Finnish the negative auxiliary *ei* can be combined with the complementiser *etta* to form the compound *ettei* – (cf. Kenesei 1991). In Latin, the purpose clause complementiser, *ut*, 'in order to' can merge with negation to produce *ne*, 'in order that not'.

position occupied by different classes of adverbials is constant across languages[12]. The result of these insightful observations and their interpretation has led to the splitting of Infl into two further functional projections, Tense and Agreement.

In his revolutionary book, Cinque (1999) develops to a much greater depth Pollock's interpretation of the interaction between verb forms and adverbials, and further refines the representation of the structure of the clause invoking a split of Infl into more than forty functional projections. The heads of these projections encode specific semantic features and their Specifiers host the adverbial that realises the particular semantic features. The hierarchical ordering of these adverbs is fixed across languages, as consequently is the position filled by adverbs.

In recent years, a series of studies has suggested that the structure hypothesised for the CP – a head, C projecting a maximal projection, the CP, which made available two positions, the Specifier and the head – was not sufficient to account satisfactorily for variation. More positions were needed there, too[13].

A way of 'creating' new space in the syntactic representation was proposed by a number of studies on the phenomenon of inflected complementisers in a variety of languages: West Flemish, as investigated by Haegeman (1986), Dutch in Zwart (1993), Hebrew in Shlonsky (1994) and the Germanic languages in Vikner (1995)[14]. The evidence they brought forward, provided strong evidence for the need for an Agreement functional projection in C[15].

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[12] This is by no means a universally accepted belief. Iatridou (1990), for example, opposes the strategy of basing the individuation of the sequence of functional categories on adverb positions. Williams (1994), too, rejects the idea that adverbs are distributed in the same way across languages and consequently that any alternation observed in their position with respect to the position of verbs is a reflection of verb movement.

[13] As seen above, a similar situation arose in the Eighties – cf. Chomsky (1981) – and an extra position was 'created' by postulating adjunction of a moved phrase to COMP.

[14] Roberts (1997:240) makes reference to an example pointed out by Rizzi: in the Bantu language Kinande a fronted wh-phrase agrees in class with its complementiser.

[15] Inflected complementisers had also been the subject of an investigation by Bayer (1984). Bavarian data was brought to light and an agreement process – rather than a separate agreement projection – through which Comp and Infl were linked by a rule was claimed to be responsible for the person morphology on the complementiser.

Another strategy to integrate more material in the CP was to allow for CP recursion, i.e. have a repetition of the CP projection. This was adopted by Authier (1992), Iatridou and Kroch (1992), Vikner (1994) and Browning (1996) among others. Authier (1992) investigates embedded topicalisation in English and accounts for it by invoking a recursion of the CP projection. A similar solution is suggested by Vikner (1994), who investigates topicalisation in a variety of languages: Danish, Yiddish, Icelandic and English. A limited CP recursion analysis was also invoked by Rizzi and Roberts (1989), and Rizzi (1996).

A third representational choice, that follows from the increased interest in functional projections, is the breaking down of the CP into a number of projections, each headed by its own head that encodes semantic and syntactic properties that distinguish it from the others. This is the proposal that has found most consensus among comparative linguists working within the generative framework, who keep refining further the map of observed projections. The CP recursion analysis does not distinguish in any way the different CP projections that appear in the structure, and there does not seem to be a systematic account for the particular order in which topicalised phrases and wh-phrases hold with respect to each other. The split-CP hypothesis, on the other hand, provides the linguist with a finer-grained tool to express syntactic nuances and capture linguistic variation.

Within this tendency, we find Hoekstra (1993), Alber (1994), Rizzi (1997, 2001), Poletto (2000), Benincà (2001), and Benincà and Poletto (2002). Hoekstra (1993) investigates Frisian Dutch and West Flemish structures where a sequence of three morphologically different complementisers is found:

(5)　　Dat　　is　niet　　zo　gek　　als of　dat hij gedacht　　had
　　　　That　　is　not　　so　strange　C1 C2 C3 he　thought　　had
　　　　'This is not so strange as he thought'

<div align="right">from Hoekstra (1993:161)</div>

These complementisers are shown to have different semantic properties and to appear in specific contexts and be incompatible with others: *dat* is found in declarative contexts, *of* is associated with wh-contexts, *als* is used in comparative contexts. Quite clearly, they encode different information and the features they carry are distinct. Basing his observations on this evidence, Hoekstra claims that each complementiser fills a separate head, distinct from the others both semantically and syntactically. Each C projection is identified by means of a label that characterises its function: C1 appears in comparative contexts, C2 in interrogative contexts and C3 is a topic projection. He further shows how V to C movement – assumed by the standard analysis of verb-second phenomena – targets two of the three head positions, but is incompatible with the third.

More support for such an analysis comes from Alber (1994). Drawing on Tyrolean German data, Alber further refines the structure mapped out and she suggests a sequence of five different projections:

[InterrogP⌉

(6)　　　　　⎰　[RelP [DecP [　TopP [AgrCP

[ComparP⌋

<div align="right">from Alber (1994:5)</div>

The most external projection could be either an Interrogative or a Comparative CP and under this we find a Relative CP that hosts relative pronouns and relative complementisers. Embedded under this there is a Declarative CP, where the declarative complementiser appears; this can select a CP that hosts Topicalised phrases, followed by a projection where the inflectional features for the complementisers are generated[16].

Rizzi (1997) devises a system where the CP is broken down into four different projections, each headed by its own head: Force, Topic, Focus, Topic and Finiteness. The two Topic positions are claimed to be recursive and can appear both higher and lower than Focus projections. Force and Finiteness delimit the system downwards and

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[16] Cf. above discussion of Bayer (1984) and Shlonsky (1994).

upwards, acting as interfaces with the superordinate structure and the propositional content respectively. They are also the positions where the Standard Italian (SI) complementisers are found: *di* in Finiteness and *che* in Force. *Che* selects finite embedded clauses and *di* non-finite ones. The role of the complementiser in the clause is two-fold: it marks the sentence as a question, a declarative, a relative, an exclamation, etc, and it indicates the content of the IP embedded under it[17]. Topic and Focus are the intermediate positions where left-dislocated and focalised elements respectively appear, and Topic can be recursive.

Rizzi investigates SI data and observes the relative order of the finite complementiser *che*, left-dislocated (LD) phrases, focalised (FOC) phrases and the non-finite complementiser *di*: they all appear to fill specific positions which hold a specific order with respect to each other. This can be seen in the following examples from Rizzi (1997: 288): *che* can appear before LD phrases (7) b but not after (7) c, while *di* can appear after an LD element (8) c but not before (8) b:

(7) a.   Credo che loro apprezzerebbero molto il tuo libro
         'I believe that they would appreciate your book very much'
              THAT   LD
    b.   Credo che   il tuo libro, loro lo apprezzerebbero molto
         'I believe that your book, they would appreciate it very much'
                   *LD   *THAT*
    c.   *Credo,   il tuo libro,   che lo apprezzerebbero molto
         'I believe, your book, that they would appreciate it very much'

(8) a.   Credo di apprezzare molto il tuo libro
         'I believe 'of' to appreciate your book very much'
              **OF*   LD
    b.   *Credo   di   il tuo libro, apprezzarlo molto
         'I believe 'of' your book, to appreciate it very much'

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[17] The property of the CP to encode a rudimentary indication of the tense feature of the embedded clause had already been put forward by den Besten (1983). Here Rizzi assumes this property to relate only to finiteness and not to the whole range of fully-fledged features that T expresses.

           LD   *OF*

c. Credo,   il tuo libro,   di apprezzarlo molto

    'I believe, your book, 'of' to appreciate it very much'

Rizzi also considers structures where there appears more than one LD phrase:

(9)   Credo che   a Gianni   QUESTO,domani,   gli dovremmo dire

              C   Top   Foc   Top   IP

     'I believe that to Gianni, THIS, tomorrow, we should say'

Focalised phrases, on the other hand, are unique, maybe due to their interpretive characteristics, and a sentence can only contain one. LD and FOC phrases also display a different behaviour with respect to weak cross over effects and binding phenomena, which make FOC phrases quantificational.

This is the articulated structure that is proposed:

(10)   ForceP

    Spec

    Rel   Force   TopP

    Ops   CHE Spec

               Top   FocP

                    Spec

                    Q   Foc   TopP

                    Ops   V   Spec

                            Top   FinP

                           Spec

                               Fin   IP

                             DI
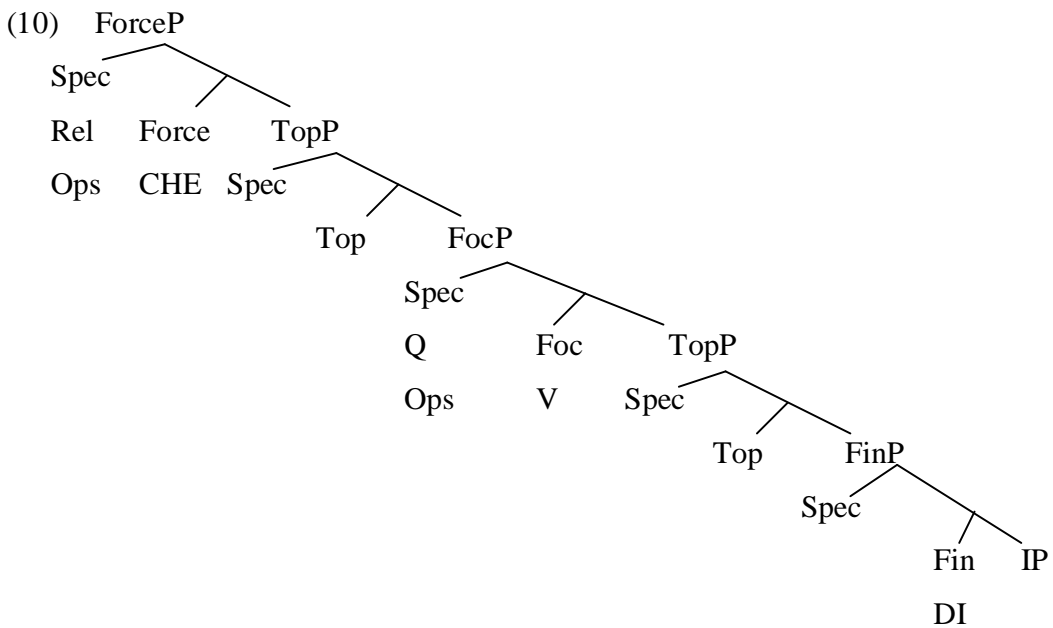
In [Spec, Force] we find relative operators such as *a cui* 'to whom', and in Force the finite complementiser *che*. The Specifier of TopP and FocP hosts, respectively, LD

phrases and FOC phrases and question operators. In Fin we find the non-finite complementiser *di*.

Rizzi assumes that the complementiser system does not need to be adopted by all languages in its 'expanded' version. The minimal positions included are Force and Fin, while Top and Foc are optional.

Rizzi's structure is further refined by Benincà (2001). Focusing on the two internal projections, TopP and FocP, Benincà shows that there are restrictions on the order of LD and FOC elements and that TopP is not a recursive projection, as previously assumed by Rizzi. She identifies two types of constructions that can produce a marked Topic or Theme, Left Dislocation (LD) and Hanging Topic (HT), which differ from one another in some crucial respects. In the case of LD, the whole argument is on the left, a resumptive clitic is needed with direct and partitive objects and is optional in all other cases. HT constructions, on the other hand, are characterised by only the DP moved to the left with no preposition, and the resumptive clitic is always obligatory. These are clearly distinct from focalised constructions, a difference recognisable in weak cross over effects. Some examples of the two are given in (11), from Benincà (2001: 44):

(11)　a.　Mario, non ne parla più nessuno　　　　　　　　　HT
　　　　　Mario, not of him talks anymore nobody
　　　　　'Mario, nobody talks of him anymore'

　　　b.　Di Mario, non ne parla più nessuno　　　　　　　　LD
　　　　　Of Mario, not of him talks anymore nobody
　　　　　'Of Mario, nobody talks (of him) anymore'

　　　c.　Mario, gli amici gli hanno fatto un brutto scherzo　　HT
　　　　　Mario, the friends to him have made a nasty trick
　　　　　'Mario, his friends have made him a nasty trick'

　　　d.　A Mario, gli amici (gli) hanno fatto un brutto scherzo　LD
　　　　　To Mario, the friends to him have made a nasty trick
　　　　　'To Mario, his friends have made (him) a nasty trick'

Investigating the relative order of these elements with respect to wh-elements, relative pronouns, embedded interrogatives and exclamative phrases, Benincà comes up with a refinement of the mapping of the left periphery. The relative order of the elements analysed is rigid, and must respect some constraints. The structure obtained is the following: a discourse phrase (DiscP) hosts a HT in its Specifier; the structure then remains the same as defined by Rizzi, with a ForceP, hosting exclamative phrases in its Spec position, a TopP where LD phrases land, a FocP for wh- and focalised phrases, and finally FinP. Benincà individuates three positions where the finite complementiser *che* can appear, in the head of DiscP, the head of ForceP and the head of TopP. This is necessary to be able to account for the fact that the complementiser can either precede or follow a TopP, and can only precede a FocP and follow a HT.

Benincà and Poletto (2002), building on the fact that TopP is not a recursive projection, further refine the Foc and Top sub-layers. They show that all projections lower than Top have the syntactic characteristics of focused elements, and that Top and Foc are to be considered not as single projections but as 'fields' hosting a number of topicalised and focalised phrases. Within the topicalised field they identify two positions, one for left-dislocation and one for list interpretation; within the focalised field they posit three positions, the first two related to contrastive focus and the third to information focus.

Rizzi (2001) enriches his (1997) structure by investigating the position occupied by the interrogative complementiser *se*. He recognises that complementisers are the lexical expression of Illocutionary Force (Force P), marking a sentence as a declarative, or interrogative, or exclamative or relative, etc, and Finiteness, encoding finite and non-finite information. These two positions are separate and filled in Italian by two different complementisers, the non –finite *di* and the finite *che*. Investigating elements bearing contrastive focus, left-dislocated elements and the wh-item *perché* in embedded interrogative clauses, Rizzi concludes that *se* 'if' fills a position that is lower than Force, where the declarative *che* is hosted, but higher than Foc and the position filled by wh-items in embedded question. The 'new' position introduced to act as host for *se* is Interrogative Phrase, and its Spec is the landing site for *perché* 'why' and other wh-

elements corresponding to higher adverbials. This solution can also account for the peculiar behaviour of *perché* 'why' and for the fact that it does not trigger obligatory I-to-C movement in main questions in Italian and other Romance languages.

Rizzi (1997) and the revision to his system proposed in Benincà (2001) and in Benincà and Poletto (2002) will be the analyses on which I have based and structured my account.

SECTION 3 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Throughout this work I have assumed a theory of grammar that interprets syntactic structure as a direct representation of the hierarchical ordering that exists between different elements in the clause. Thus, the order in which these elements appear in the clause is a reflection of their unambiguous hierarchical structure.

In order for a theory to successfully bear out such assumptions, is has to be restrictive: it must have a precise set of general requirements operational at a very deep level that restrict the number of possible configurations available to syntactic representation. This is very difficult to attain. A step towards the achievement of this goal has been made by Kayne with two important contributions. His (1984) imposition that branches should only branch in a binary way and his (1994) derivation of X-bar theory from a single axiomatic principle, the Linear Correspondence Axiom, and a revised definition of c-command, have enhanced the Principle and Parameters framework with new rigour.

His ideas have found widespread consensus and a whole school of linguists has emerged as a consequence, inspired by the rigour and scientific approach of such a theory. The works of Belletti, Benincà, Cinque, Poletto, Rizzi and Zanuttini, just to mention a few, have successfully applied this methodology and achieved remarkable results. These are most noticeable when working with dialectal variation within comparative syntax, which have given rise to the so-called 'cartography' tradition, namely, the mapping out as precisely as possible of the make up of functional projections.

The roots of this research strategy can already be found in the pioneering approaches of Klima (1964) and Emonds (1978), further elaborated in Pollock (1989), where word order variation phenomena have been interpreted as a reflection of head movement. Kayne further extends this claim, interpreting the rigid linear ordering displayed by language as the reflection of hierarchical structure and ultimately, UG principles.

Kayne's contribution has deep effects on the inner make-up of representational strategies. The standard assumption at the time was that the relation between linear order and hierarchical structure was a fairly free one. This was also reflected in the freedom of operations and the hierarchical ordering made available to the representational theory of X-bar. In some languages a complement follows its head, yielding the linear order H-C, while in others only the opposite order, C-H, is allowed; in some other languages both of these orders are possible, depending on the type of category taken into consideration. In the same fashion, both right and left adjunction are allowed in the system, this being a distinguishing feature between languages or, within the same one, between different types of constructions. The image that transpires from this representation is that human language is very flexible and permissive.

The need to posit clear constraints on the representational tool, X-bar theory, had already emerged from works by Fukui and Speas (1986), Hoekstra (1992) and Larson (1988), among others. Kayne pursues his aim to achieve a restrictive theory of syntax introducing two constraints: a) only binary branching is available for branches, b) the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA). Their combination derives a rigid system where representational strategies of the human language faculty are restricted in number and form.

The LCA, as formulated by Kayne, reads:

> *'To express the intuition that asymmetric c-command is closely matched to the linear order of terminals, let us, for a given phrase marker, consider the set A of ordered pairs $<X_j, Y_j>$ such that for each j, X_j asymmetrically c-commands Y_j. Let us further take A to be the maximal such set, that is, A contains all pairs of nonterminals such that the first asymmetrically c-*

commands the second. Then the central proposal I would like to
make is the following (for a given phrase marker P, with T the
set of terminals and A as just given):
  Linear Correspondence Axiom
  d(A) is a linear ordering of T'.

Kayne (1994:6)

The basic claim made by the LCA, in simplistic terms, is that words must be linearly ordered in a temporal sequence, i.e. that there is an invariant mapping between the hierarchical relations of non-terminal nodes and the linear ordering of terminal nodes in a tree. At a deeper level, the rigid linear order also reflects a property of the human faculty of language.

With the introduction of these restrictions, Kayne is able to derive X-bar theory from general principles of natural language rather than considering it as a primitive component of UG. More specifically, X-bar is the expression of a set of antisymmetric properties of phrase structure. A consequence that the LCA has for syntactic representations is that heads must always precede their complements, and that adjunction, be it a head or a phrase, is only allowed to the left, i.e. adjoined elements are always to the left of the phrase they adjoin to. The result is that X-bar representations acquire new rigour and find justification for their internal make up in underlying general principles. The adoption of the LCA has a two-fold effect on the standard X-bar theory: first, by deriving some properties from its general restrictions, it reduces the number of independent postulates of the theory, and secondly, by virtue of the same restrictions, it excludes some other properties, thus making the schemata more restrictive.

The supporting theoretical framework of this thesis is the result of the integration of Kayne's antisymmetry theory into the so-called 'Principles and Parameters', the new name given by Chomsky (1991) to 'Government and Binding', which is the natural development of earlier versions of generative grammar, initiated by Chomsky more than thirty years ago. The core system consists of a combination of universal principles from which the properties of particular grammatical phenomena are derived, and language specific parameters. Some of these principles may be absolute, for example the restriction that a phrase may move to a higher position in the syntactic tree but not to a lower one, and are invariant across languages. Others may be only restricted to some

languages, and their values range over a limited number of possibilities. The definition of these values is left open and set during the acquisition of a particular language through exposure to some specific linguistic environment.

The value and strength of the combination of the two become apparent in a comparative investigation of different languages. First, variation of word order with respect to a given set of elements, e.g. adverbials, can be interpreted in a very revealing way as a reflection of the hierarchical ordering that those elements hold with respect to each other in the mental structure. Secondly, investigating different varieties and comparing the variation displayed by them is of crucial importance for providing us with and identification of what could be encoded in some language universal principle and what, on the other hand, could be ascribed to a language specific parameter.

These assumptions are also the strongholds of the contributions made by Benincà, Poletto and Rizzi, which have inspired and shaped much of the ideas presented here. The most appealing feature of this type of approach is, on a personal level, the control that the linguist can have over the investigation. By observing word order variation phenomena and experimenting with them, the linguist takes on the role of a scientist in a laboratory: in the investigation of all the possible combinations, all the variables are but one are kept constant, so that the effects observed can be traced back to the variation in that particular element. This is, I feel, a very scientific way of conducting linguistic research and one that I find most rewarding and reliable.

Within such a theoretical framework, the comparison of very similar dialects gains new interest and value:

> *'...In a linguistic group of interrelated dialects with little differentiation we can expect to find realised only those possibilities which are admitted by the theory. It is evident, then, that the more the dialects are similar to one another, the more possible it becomes to find, for a specific grammatical area, the ideal case of some dialects differing only with respect to the phenomena that can be traced back unambiguously to a simple parameter...'*

Benincà (1989:3)

The comparative approach, thus, can contribute to the theory on two main levels: from the observation of general principles at work in specific languages it can contribute

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to a more accurate representation of the theory of grammar; by comparing very closely related systems it can contribute to a better understanding to the *knowledge* of language, what can be retraceable to general principles of UG and what is a language specific constraint.

With the one-to-one mapping of linear order onto hierarchical structure and the projection of each terminal node of its own maximal projection I combine the more recent development within the generative tradition of the Minimalist Program, as formulated by Chomsky (1995). Occasional reference will be made to later works, such as Chomsky (2001).

The structure-building operations that I assume are Merge and Move. The first I also refer to as base-generation, and the second I assume to be motivated by feature checking. Features can be either interpretable or uninterpretable: to the former belong categorial features, nominal agreement features, interrogative features and tense features. Uninterpretable features are the categorial features [V] or [D] of functional projections: I recognise C, T and v as functional projections. Following Rizzi (1997) and subsequent works, C is analysed as a field hosting different projections.

I also assume that Nominative Case can be assigned by v – cf. Chomsky (2001) on the possibility that the EPP be available to the heads of phases.

Morphological richness on lexical categories is interpreted as a reflection of the 'strength' of the relevant feature on the corresponding functional category. Strong features on functional categories motivate movement.

Finally, it must be pointed out that although I believe in a very detailed structure with a considerable number of functional heads, I also believe in the need to project them only if there is positive evidence offered by the language analysed. Gungbe[18], for example, has a number of elements that overtly realise the topic and focus heads, as well as having complementisers and mood markers – cf. Aboh (1999, 2002): the representational structure for Gungbe would therefore reflect this and be the 'expanded' version of the complex CP. Other languages that do not offer positive evidence for the

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[18] Gungbe belongs to the Gbe family, a subgroup of Kwa.

expansion of the CP would only have a 'reduced' form, possibly comprising Force and Finiteness.

SECTION 4 – THE DIALECT DATA

In this section I briefly introduce the two North-western Italian varieties investigated in this thesis, Turinese and Ligurian, presenting some of their morpho-syntactic characteristics.

4.1 – TURINESE MORPHO-SYNTACTIC NOTES[19]

The aim of this section is to give a brief outline of the main features that characterise Turinese. Although the features described here have been observed in the particular variety of Piedmontese I have analysed, they are general enough to apply to the *koiné*, too – apart from specific features that are typical of the Turinese I analysed rather than of the more standard Piedmontese: these are presented below.

By no means is this meant as a comprehensive introduction to the morphological and syntactic characterisation of Piedmontese. The reader is referred to Parry (1997) and references cited there.

The particular variety that has been the object of my investigation is a rather conservative type of Piedmontese spoken in the city of Turin. I will refer to it as Turinese. The term 'conservative' is here used to describe some characteristics that make this particular type more similar to the Piedmontese spoken a few generations ago. These conservative features can be found in the lexical choices made by my informants, who use, for example, the old-fashioned *òj* instead of the modern *si* 'yes', the former

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[19] The term 'Piedmontese' is used both to refer to the different dialects spoken in central Piedmont and to the koiné that has established itself in Turin since the 17th century. Turinese reached koiné status for two main reasons: a political one – the House of Savoy chose Turin as the capital of Italy – and a literary one – the vast literary production led to the standardisation of its writing system and grammar. For these reasons, Piedmontese is considered by many to be a language in its own right: such believers are enraged when Piedmontese is referred to as a 'dialect' rather than as a 'language'. I will here refer to it as 'Turinese' to indicate that, as shown in this section, it is not the variety spoken by the majority of people.

either a borrowing from Occitan *oc* or a cognate form, the exclamation *contacc!*, nowadays dated and rarely heard, *pom ëd tèra* versus *patate* 'potatoes', the former a clear borrowing from French just like *seure* versus *sorela* 'sister', *caté* versus *compré* 'to buy', and *vitura* versus *machina* 'car', etc. In addition their being conservative can also be noticed in some syntactic constructions they use: for example the dated *A l'é-lo ch'it l'has-to vedù tò barba*? as opposed to the more common *It l'has vist tò barba*? 'have you seen your uncle?', *Lòn ch'it l'has-to fàit?* as opposed to *Lòn ch'it l'has fàit?* 'what have you done?', with the former displaying an enclitic as well as a proclitic subject clitic (-*to* and *it* respectively).

For this reason any Turinese speaker of the present generation will find discrepancies, both on a lexical and on a syntactic level, with the data reported in this thesis. Some of these differences are addressed in chapter 3, section 1.4.2. It must also be stressed that the particular structures analysed in this thesis are extremely difficult to come across and are not considered possible by the great majority of Piedmontese speakers.

Turinese, like all North Italian dialects, has a set of clitic pronominal particles that co-occur with pronominal, quantificational and full DP subjects in finite contexts[20].

In Northern Italy there has been a generalised substitution of Latin -*amus* with -*emus* (Rohlfs, 1968: 250ff). In France, the same process applied to -*umus*, and 'u' (or 'o') became the thematic vowel. Such inflection is still found nowadays in Piedmontese, and the person plural endings in the present indicative (*speroma* 'we hope', *andoma* 'we go', *mangioma* 'we eat', etc.) set Piedmontese aside from the other Northern Italian dialects.

Turinese is a Null Subject language, and subjects can be either pre- or post-verbal, on a par with Standard Italian (SI).

Direct object (DO), reflexive (rf), partitive (part), locative (loc) and indirect object (IO) clitics follow the past participle in compound tenses:

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[20] A descriptive characterisation is given in chapter 2.

(12)

DO	I l'hai vëdu-*te* jer
	'I saw you yesterday'
rf	Marìa a l'ha sciairas-*se* a lë specc
	'Mary has seen herself in the mirror'
part	I l'hai vist-*ne* un përfond ëd përson-e parèj
	'I have seen a lot of people like this'
loc	It ses vnu-*je* 'dcò ti
	'You have been there as well'
IO	A l'é riva-*je* na litra
	'A letter has reached him'

Turinese also seems not to allow clitic climbing. In SI in the presence of a non-finite verb form, a clitic can either precede the finite verb or cliticise onto the non-finite verb, as in *Vuole vederli oggi* but also *Li vuole vedere oggi* 'S/he wants to see them today'. In Turinese, on the other hand, only the first option is available, *A veul vëdd-je ancheuj* 'S/he wants to see them today'.

Sentential negation is marked post-verbally, either by *nen* or *pa*[21]: *I mangi nen ëd carn*, 'I don't eat meat'.

Finally, again like many other Northern Italian dialects, Turinese displays a generalised use of the complementiser (in italics in the examples), which co-occurs with wh-phrases (underlined in the examples) both in root (R) and embedded (E) questions:

(13)

R	<u>Lòn</u> *ch*'i mangioma?
	'What do we eat?'
E	A l'han ciamame <u>antè</u> *ch*'i andoma
	'They asked me where we are going'

The same is also found with both adverbial and interrogative subordinating conjunctions.

4.2 – LIGURIAN MORPHO-SYNTACTIC NOTES

There are a number of different varieties of Ligurian, as claimed, for example by Forner (1997), among others, and the one analysed here is spoken within the administrative area of Borghetto di Vara, in the province of La Spezia. Under Forner's (1997) classification this belongs to the 'Central Ligurian' group, to which also Genoese belongs. For simplicity here I will just refer to it as 'Ligurian'.

This section is not meant to be an exhaustive introduction to Ligurian morphology and syntax. The reader is referred to Forner (1997) and the references cited there, Ambrosi (1966) and Merlo (1934).

On a parallel with the majority of Northern Italian dialects, Ligurian has a set of pronominal subject clitics that co-occur with full DP, pronominal and quantified subjects[22]. The set is not complete, and only second person singular, and third person singular and plural are present.

Sentential negation is pre-verbal, expressed through the negative marker *nu* 'not', which interacts in an interesting way with subject clitics (underlined in the examples). While third person singular and plural appear before the negative marker, cf. *A Teeja a nu mangia de carne* 'Teresa does not eat meat', *U Giorgiu u nu mangia de carne* 'George does not eat meat', *Luatri i nu mangia de carne* 'They do not eat meat', the second person singular follows it, cf. *Ti nu ti mangi de carne* 'You do not eat meat'. In the investigation of subject clitics in chapter 2 this fact is given a systematic explanation within Poletto's (2000) system.

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[21] Piedmontese does not allow for both negation markers to co-occur, unlike French.
[22] Chapter 2 presents a detailed description and an analysis of these elements.

Proper names are preceded by a definite article, both the feminine and the masculine ones, similarly to the Veneto dialects where only the feminine names are used with the article, cf. *A Teeja* '(The) Teresa', *U Francu* '(The) Frank'.

Ligurian, too, is a Null Subject language, and subjects can either appear pre- or post-verbally. When post-verbal, the subject can either be right-dislocated for focalisation purposes, or inverted. While SI signals the difference between these two functions through a different intonational pattern, Ligurian syntactically marks an inverted construction by lack of agreement between the verb and the subject. Thus, while in *A l'é vegnua a meistra* 'The teacher (female) has arrived', *meistra* is focalised, and gender agreement is marked both on the subject clitic and on the past participle, in *U l'é vegnuu a meistra*, *meistra* is inverted, and no agreement obtains.

The masculine indefinite article *in*, cf. SI *un*, as in *I fanti i l'han cattau <u>in</u> regalu a-a lalla* 'The children have bought a present for the aunt', is morphologically identical to the preposition in, cf. SI *in*, as in *Vegnìghe <u>in</u> tanti grandi e picìn* 'Come numerous, adults and children'.

The verb *turnà* 'to come back, to return', has also developed an adverbial function, and is used to indicate repetition: *U turna a ciöva* 'It rains again', *E turna!* 'And again'[23].

SECTION 5 – METHODOLOGY

This section is divided in two subsections: the criteria used in choosing the informants and the format of the mediums used to collect data.

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[23] cf. Parry (2001) for a comprehensive description and account of the phenomenon.

5.1 – THE INFORMANTS

The number of informants who contributed to my research is extremely low: one main informant and one 'control' informant per variety, so four in total. Because the investigation involved looking at a number of different syntactic phenomena, i.e. nature of subject clitics, dynamics of the 'double che construction', position of subjects, position of adverbs, it was necessary to work with one particular grammar, i.e. one particular individual, rather than with a group.

This fact has caused a negative reaction in some people who have commented on the lack of credibility of a study based on such a low number of informants. This was enforced the nature of the research, which investigated a number of related phenomena, the rarity of the phenomena analysed and the limited time available for data collection. There are, furthermore, also theoretical reasons. It must not be forgotten that the definition and description of a linguistic code as a consistent system is an abstraction: in actual fact rather than with one single linguistic entity, we are dealing with a family or related varieties, each represented by a speaker. This variation may be insignificant but may also reveal some deeper major differences.

What I am presenting in this thesis is the study of TWO particular grammars, a Turinese and a Ligurian one, in which a series of phenomena have been the subject of an in-depth investigation. Furthermore, I feel that rather than diminishing the credibility of the results shown in this thesis, the fact that the data is derived from one specific source rather than from a few increases its internal consistency and does not create a specification of a 'cumulative' variety, i.e. one in which different grammars have been mixed up.

Dealing with a mixture disguised under the belief that it represents a single variety, can be very misleading: firstly because of the merging of two or more separate systems, secondly because this way some fundamentally different parameters in operation may remain unrevealed.

Each linguistic code has its own intrinsic structure, which is defined by an internal system of rules and allows its speakers to express grammaticality judgements about it. For this reason, each variety with its underlying structure deserves to be the object of a

linguistic investigation, not least because it reflects particular aspects of Universal Grammar.

My two main informants were chosen on the basis of some data that they had already produced for the *Centro di Dialettologia* for the *ASIS* project [24]. Thanks to the kind permission of the researchers in Padova, I was able to conduct a first screening by browsing through the variety of data they had collected throughout the years on a number of dialects[25]. The two main informants were singled out because of the particular constructions displayed by their speech, the DCC, which involved the Complementiser Phrase and the area where I wanted to carry out my research. They also seemed to be ideal informants, because of a number of factors:

    i.   they spontaneously provided variants of the structures that were asked of them, and were able to contrast the differences between these variants,

    ii. they were rather stable in their judgements,

    iii. they showed a certain degree of sensitivity to their neighbouring varieties.

In addition to this, both seemed perfectly comfortable with transcribing their variety and were able to use a precise and well-defined convention to graphically express specific sounds. As I discovered later, they were both used to reading and writing texts in their dialect, and were clearly sensitive to the relevant word separation: for example a complementiser cliticised together with a subject clitic was interpreted as a merging together of two different entities and this separation was signalled in the choice of an apostrophe after the complementiser. This particular sensitivity was extremely important for me, giving that I would not be able to collect all the data I needed in person, and part of the process would be carried out through written media.

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[24] *Atlante Sintattico dell'Italia Settentrionale* 'Syntactic Atlas of Northern Italy' at the University of Padova, Italy A description of how the project started and developed, its aims and the methodology can be found in Renzi and Vanelli (1983).

[25] Part of this data is available on line, at the address http://asis-cnr.unipd.it.

5.2 – THE QUESTIONNAIRES

'Questionnaire' is the term used by the Centre in Padova to describe the medium used to collect data, although it is not, strictly speaking, a questionnaire: it is a collection of sentences in SI which the informants have to translate into their own variety.

The use of written questionnaires is of great help, partly because they are a less time consuming and less expensive way of collecting data, and partly because they can be designed with a specific analysis in mind.

A first questionnaire is usually a wide spectrum one, in which a number of different structures are investigated[26]. The sentences investigated for this study are all written in SI, and the informant had to provide a proper translation in the variety they speak. It is of crucial importance that the informant understands that the investigation is aimed at finding out more about THEIR OWN variety and not about the one spoken by their friends or neighbours, so as to avoid mixing up different systems.

In spite of the various advantages of a written questionnaire, there are some disadvantages that may impair the validity of the data collected:

i. there may be an interference factor between the SI sentence and the same sentence in the dialectal variety, so that a particular structure is translated word by word into the dialect, the result of this being a structure that does not exist in the variety;

ii. the informant may have difficulties in writing a variety that is usually used orally: in particular the transcription of particular sounds that do not have corresponding ones in SI may be problematic;

iii. by using a questionnaire in SI it is not possible to test structures that are ungrammatical in SI;

iv. by investigating only one specific structure in the same questionnaire, it may be possible to create a 'repetition' phenomenon in the informant, who will get tired and bored of very similar sentences, not read them properly and just translate them all in the same way;

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[26] Some examples of the preliminary questionnaires can be found in the Appendix.

v. the informant may not produce the phrase requested of them because it is not very natural, although possible.

These problems can be overcome fairly easily. The questionnaire could explicitly ask for optional structures; given that the main aim of the investigation is syntactic, the informant could be reassured by being told that the transcription is not of primary importance, and maybe a simple way of coding sounds not present in SI could be suggested; the informant could be presented with some impossible SI sentences (or maybe sentences already translated in their variety, once the researcher has familiarised themselves with the particular variety they are investigating) and be asked whether such a construction were be possible in their variety; the questionnaire should investigate a minimum of three different phenomena, so that there is a mixture of information requested that will not cause any repetition effects. It is also a good idea to avoid presenting the informants with translation tasks of sentences containing learned SI words that could create an immediate problem, both for the translation itself, and for the register interference factor that could derive from them.

A very useful format to include in the questionnaire is the multiple-choice task, which may be used when familiarisation with the variety under investigation steps in: the informant is presented with already translated sentences in a variety of forms where slight variation is introduced. Thus the interference and the transcription problems are avoided, and it is possible to collect an array of possibilities available for a particular structure or phenomenon.

The first screening of data had already given me an idea of the structure of the variety that I wanted to investigate, and by observing the sentences provided I was able to familiarise myself with its lexicon and syntactic rules. The first round of data collection was in both cases carried out in person. The questionnaires I prepared were a mixture of translation and multiple-choice tasks, based on the data that were already available, supplemented with a series of sentences aimed at revealing the particular role played by a variety of factors. As well as writing down their responses, which were checked by them for accuracy, these were also recorded so that I could go back to them

in order to check their comments on the possibility of having different versions of a particular sentence, or to check for specific intonation patterns.

When the informants had difficulties in translating a sentence because of the lack of situational background, I provided them with an appropriate context where that particular construction would make sense and be actively used. In some cases I also found the informants themselves translating a sentence and providing me with a possible context where its use would be appropriate. Although at the beginning of my investigation I had no competence whatsoever in the varieties researched, I soon came to develop a good grasp of their meaning and in particular of their structure and graphic conventions. Nevertheless, when presenting the informants with sentences already translated I was always making sure that an ungrammaticality judgement was not due to the wrong choice of word or wrong spelling.

Further questionnaires were designed on the basis of the particulars discovered in the previous ones, and were aimed at observing the interaction of a particular phenomenon with a series of factors. I made sure that they exhausted all the possible combinations – which in a way was like carrying out an experiment in a scientific laboratory, observing the changes caused by the change of one variable while maintaining another one constant – so that the questionnaires were very long and detailed and had to be administered in separate parts. In all of them I included a variety of phenomena that I wanted to observe, so, although long and elaborate, they were not affected by a repetition reaction by the informants.

On more than one occasion I sent a questionnaire to my informants also making a telephone appointment for when they had the chance to look at the questionnaire, and with the written text in front of them, I would also ask them about other possibilities and the reasons why a particular sentence was not considered grammatical. At the same time I would propose different variants or ask them to do so and check how they differed from the one with which they were originally presented. Given the limited amount of time available for travelling and data collection, I found that this method was particularly useful and effective, and allowed me to maintain some kind of social contact with my informants.

Part I

Chapter 2

Turinese and Ligurian Subject clitics

TURINESE AND LIGURIAN SUBJECT CLITICS

INTRODUCTION

A detailed and exhaustive analysis of Turinese SCLs lies outside the scope of this piece of research. The reader is referred to Poletto (1993, 1996, 1999, 2000) for a comprehensive comparative synchronic study on Northern Italian SCLs, to Parry (1993, 1997, 1998 and references cited there) and Goria (2001) for a specific synchronic study on Turinese SCLs, and to Parry (1994 and references cited there) for a diachronic account of the development of Turinese SCLs.

The interest that this research has in SCLs is motivated by their adjacency to the lower *che*, *che2*, in the 'Double *CHE* Construction'. Gaining a thorough understanding of the nature and position of SCLs is necessary to help identify the position occupied by *che2*. It is impossible to ascertain the exact head where *che2* is in absolute terms, hence the need to turn to strategies that exploit the relative order of adjacent elements.

Poletto (1993, 2000) is the underlying thread throughout this chapter both for the theoretical framework adopted and for the tests used to handle empirical data.

This chapter is structured as follows. First of all, a brief introduction will be given to what it is meant by the term 'clitic', and what the general characteristics that identify an element as a clitic are in section 1. These will be then applied to Turinese SCLs to show that they really are clitic elements. It will also be pointed out, through examples taken from Kayne (1975) and Rizzi (1986), that the notion of clitic is syntactically spurious. Sections 2 and 3 focus, respectively, on a description of the array of Turinese SCLs highlighting their characteristics and the conditions that determine their appearance, and on Poletto's (2000) system, the different types of SCLs she individuates, and how her criteria can be applied to Turinese. It is shown how the SCLs under analysis belong to the Deictic type and are situated in the higher portion of the clause. Section 5 turns to a descriptive representation of Ligurian SCLs, and in section 6 they are analysed against Poletto's system. The conclusion is that Ligurian SCLs belong to two different types:

while third person singular and plural pattern with the Deictic type, second person singular belongs to the Person type.

SECTION 1 – WHAT IS A CLITIC?

In spite of much discussion being devoted to clitics in the literature, there is not a definition that universally captures their nature and behaviour. Nevertheless clitics display a set of general properties that set them aside from strong pronouns (StPr). A well know piece of work that gathers a few test criteria is Kayne (1975), a study on French pronominal clitics.

Kayne identifies a set of phonological and syntactic properties that allow us to recognise a clitic pronoun and applies them to French subject clitics. I will exemplify these properties in (2) through data from Standard Italian. In Standard Italian, similarly to most Romance languages, two types of object pronouns are found, shown in (1):

(1)

	Tonic Pronouns (StPr)		Clitic Pronouns (Cl)	
	Sing	*Plur*	*Sing*	*Plur*
I	me	noi	mi	ci
II	te	voi	ti	vi
IIIm	lui	loro	lo	li
IIIf	lei	loro	la	le

Let us turn, now, to the properties identified by Kayne.

(2) a. The sequence clitic + verb cannot be split by anything (except other clitics), while a parenthetical can appear between a strong pronoun and a verb:

    i. *Lo,   mi   pare,   ho   visto   ieri

         He/it.acc.Cl to me   seem.pr.3s have.pr.1s see.pple   yesterday

         'I think I saw him/it yesterday'

ii. Lui, mi pare, ho visto ieri

 He.acc.StPr to me seem.pr.3s have.pr.1s see.pple yesterday

 'I think I saw him/it yesterday'

b. Clitics cannot bear contrastive stress, while strong pronouns can:

i. *LA vedo domani, non Marco

 She.acc.Cl see.pr.1s tomorrow not Mark

 'I'm seeing HER tomorrow, not Mark'

ii. LEI vedo domani, non Marco

 She.acc.StPr see.pr.1s tomorrow not Mark

 'I'm seeing HER tomorrow, not Mark'

c. Clitics can be neither conjoined nor modified, while strong pronouns can:

i. *Lo e la vedo

 He.acc.Cl and she.acc.Cl see.pr.1s

 'I see her and him'

ii. Vedo lui e lei

 See.pr.1s he.acc.StPr and she.acc.StPr

 'I see him and her'

iii. * Proprio li vedo

 Exactly they.acc.Cl see.pr.1s

 'I see exactly them'

iv. Vedo proprio loro

 See.pr.1s exactly they.acc.StPr

 'I see exactly them'

d. Clitics cannot stand alone, independent from the verb, while strong pronouns can:

i. Chi   hai   visto?   *Li

Who.acc   have.pr.2s see.pple   They.acc.Cl

'Who did you see? Them'

ii. Chi   hai   visto?   Loro

Who.acc   have.pr.2s see.pple   They.acc.StPr

'Who did you see? Them'

e. Clitic clusters have an internal rigid order, while a sequence of strong pronouns can be freely ordered:

i. Me   lo   vendono dopo

To me.Cl   it.acc.Cl   sell.pr.3p   after

'They will sell it to me afterwards'

ii. *Lo   mi   vendono dopo

It.acc.Cl   to me.Cl   sell.pr.3p   after

'They will sell it to me afterwards'

iii. Presentano   lei   a lui   (e non a Marco)

Introduce.pr.3p she.acc.StPr   to he.acc.StPr (and not to Mark)

'They introduce her to him (and not to Mark)'

iv. Presentano   a lui   lei   (e non Marco)

Introduce.pr.3p to he.acc.StPr   she.acc.StPr   (and not to Mark)

'They introduce to him her (and not Mark)'

Let us now turn our attention to Turinese and see how SCLs behave with respect to these criteria. In order not to pre-empt the result of the tests, I will temporarily refer to SCLs as 'subject particles (SubjPart)'. Turinese displays a complete set of subject particles as well as a complete set of tonic pronouns. A summary is shown below:

(3)

	Subject Particles (SubjPart)		Tonic Pronouns (StPr)	
	Sing	*Plur*	*Sing*	*Plur*
I	i	i	mi	noi / nojàutri
II	i t	i	ti	voi / vojàutri
IIIm	a	a	chìel	lor / loràutri
IIIf	a	a	chila	lor / loràutri

Applying the criteria summarised in (2) to the minimal pair Turinese SubjPart / StPr, this is what we find:

(4) a. A parenthetical cannot interrupt the sequence SubjPart – verb, while it can appear between a StPr and the verb:

   i. *I   miraco   mangio 'l pòm

      SubjPart   perhaps   eat.pr.1s   the apple

      'Perhaps I eat the apple'

   ii. Mi   miraco   i   mangio 'l pòm

      I.StPr   perhaps   SubjPart   eat.pr.1s   the apple

      'Perhaps I eat the apple'

  b. SubjPart cannot bear contrastive stress while StPr can:

   i. *IT   deve   parlé,   nen   chiel

      SubjPart   must.pr.2s speak.inf   not   he.StPr

      'YOU have to speak, not him'

   ii. TI   it   deve   parlé,   nen   chiel

      You.StPr SubjPart must.pr.2s speak.inf   not   he.StPr

      'YOU have to speak, not him'

  c. SubjParts cannot be coordinated nor modified; StPr can:

i. *A   e   it   parloma   après!
SubjPart   and SubjPart   speak.imp.1p after
'I and you will speak later!'

ii. Mi   e   ti   parloma   après!
I.StPrt and You.StPr   speak.imp.1p   after
'I and you will speak later!'

iii. *Pròpi i   i   parle!
Just   SubjPart   SubjPart   speak.pr.2p
'And you can say that!'

iv. Pròpi vojàutri   i   parle!
Just   You.StPr   SubjPart   speak.pr.2p
'And you can say that!'

d. SubjPart cannot stand in isolation while StPr can:

i. Chi   ch'   a   mangia   ij pom ëd tèra? *I!
Who   that   SubjPart   eat.pr.3s   the apple of earth? SubjPart
'Who eats the potatoes? I do!'

ii. Chi   ch'   a   mangia   ij pom ëd tèra? Mi!
Who   that   SubjPart   eat.pr.3s   the apple of earth? I.StPr
'Who eats the potatoes? I do!'

e. SubjParts in clusters are rigidly ordered:

i. A   se   scusa
SubjPart   rfl   excuse.pr.3s
'(S)He apologises'

ii. *Se   a   scusa
    Rfl   SubjPart   excuse.pr.3s
    '(S)He apologises'

It is clear now, that Turinese SubjParts are indeed clitic elements, and thus the label 'SCLs' is justified. However, this does not mean that they belong to a natural syntactic class. Van Riemsdijk (1999) points out how failing to reach a coherent and unified definition of clitics could reflect the fact that there is no such thing as a homogeneous category of clitics. Indeed, even among a subclass of clitics, subject clitics, there seem to be some important differences.

Rizzi (1986) had already claimed that the notion of subject clitic is phonologically natural but syntactically spurious. Comparing the behaviour of French and Trentino (a Northern Italian dialect) subject clitics, he noticed some crucial discrepancies between the two with respect to coordination phenomena. While French SCLs are not repeated in the second conjunct of a coordination construction where two different verbs share the same subject, Trentino SCLs do, as shown in the following examples, taken from Rizzi (1986: 402-402):

(5) i. Elle   chante   et   ∅ dance
        SCL   sing.pr.3s   and   dance.pr.3s
        'She sings and dances'

   ii. *La   canta   e   ∅ bala
        SCL   sing.pr.3s   and   dance.pr.3s
        'She sings and dances'

   iii. La   canta   e   la   bala
        SCL   sing.pr.3s   and   SCL   dance.pr.3s
        'She sings and dances'

His conclusion was that such a difference could be captured syntactically by claiming that while French subject clitics filled the Specifier of IP, Trentino subject clitics were I heads.

Throughout the Eighties and especially in the Nineties there has been an increasing interest in functional categories, the 'nuts and bolts' of the sentence where differences between languages are encoded. As more and more researchers have made them the object of their investigations, the syntactic representation of the structure of the clause has become increasingly refined and complex. Let us just think of the IP, that started off as a single projection, expanded into Tense and Agreement with Pollock (1989), to be fragmented into 'at least forty' different functional projection in the work of Cinque (1999). This pervasive tendency towards a 'functional projection galore', although at first sight undesirably complex, enables the linguist to express syntactically very subtle differences that have been left unspecified in the generative tradition.

As will be seen in section 3, even among Northern Italian Dialects there are clear differences between the SCLs of different varieties. The first descriptive observations on the distribution patterns of SCLs were contributed by the work of Renzi and Vanelli (1983), who discovered some general trends in the SCL system of the thirty dialects they observed. They revealed an internal hierarchy that held cross-linguistically: if a dialect only has one SCL, this will be second person singular; if it has two, these will be second and third singular; if it admits three, these will be second singular and third singular and plural. They also noticed a bi-univocal relation between inflection and SCLs: if in a dialect some persons are not morphologically distinct by verb morphology, then the SCLs will mark this distinction, in other words they will have different forms for each of them, and vice versa[27]. These observations have reached syntactic maturity in Poletto's works (1993, 1996, 2000), especially in the latter, in which Renzi and Vanelli's descriptive statements have found a clear syntactic interpretation in her detailed structural representation for the CP.

The following section, section2, is a description of the different types of SCLs that can be found in Turinese: proclitics, enclitics and invariable particles. The observations

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[27] A dialect may mark the distinction on both SCL and verbal inflection.

that I make will then find a syntactic interpretation in section 3, within Poletto's framework.

SECTION 2 – TURINESE SCLS: A DESCRIPTIVE PRESENTATION

2.1 – PROCLITIC SCLS[28]

Turinese SCLs are obligatory, for all persons, in all finite contexts[29]. Here I present the data organised according to the type of element with which preverbal SCLs can co-occur and according to the position of the subject (pre- or post-verbal). These clitics must co-occur with *pro* or a strong pronoun, as shown, respectively, in (6) and (7). The symbol *() indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical if the SCL is omitted. In (7) both pre- (i- vii) and post-verbal (a-g) strong pronouns are shown:

(6) i.   Ancheuj *(i)   mangio   an piòla

      Today   SCL   eat.pr.1s   in rustic restaurant

      'Today I eat in a pub'

  ii. *(It)   parle   con   Marìa

      SCL   speak.pr.2s with   Mary

      'You speak with Mary'

  iii. *(A)   scriv   na litra

      SCL   write.pr.3s a   letter

      'He writes a letter

  iv. *(A)   les   un lìber

      SCL   read.pre.3s a   book

      'She reads a book'

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[28] This section will exclusively be looking at SCLs. For the various uses of other clitics, such as '*se*' – impersonal, reflexive, reciprocal, passive, middle – the reader is referred to Parry (1994).

[29] Some context where SCLs are not obligatory will be shown in section 3. For the time being this approximation will suffice.

v. *(I)   guardoma un film
SCL   watch.pr.1p a   film
'We are watching a film'

vi. *(I)   feve   sempe l' istess bàilo
SCL   make.pr.2p   always the same   mistake
'You always make the same mistake'

vii. *(A)   coro
SCL   run.pr.3p
'They run'

(7)i.   Mi   *(i)   parlo   a Teresin
I.StPr   SCL   speak.pr.1s to Teresa
'I speak to Teresa'

a.   *(I)   vado 'dcò   mi
SCL   go.pr.1s also   I.StPr
'I'm going, too'

ii.   Ti   *(it)   mange   na torta
You.StPr   SCL   eat.pr.2s   a cake
'You eat a cake'

b.   *(It)   lo   cate   sempe ti
SCL   it.acc buy.pr.2s   always you.StPr
'You always buy it'

iii. Chiel   *(a)   canta
He.StPr SCL   sing.pr.3s
'He sings'

c. *(A)   riva   chiel
    SCL   arrive.pr.3s he.StPr
    'He arrives'

iv. Chila   *(a)   les   un lìber
    She.StPr   SCL   read.pr.3s a   book
    'She reads a book'

d. *(A)   parla   chila
    SCL   speak.pr.3s she.StPr
    'She speaks'

v. Nojàutri *(i)   durmioma sì
    We.StPr   SCL   sleep.pr.1p here
    'We sleep here'

e. *(I)   la   catoma   nojàutri
    SCL   it.acc   buy.pr.1p   we.StPr
    'We buy it'

vi. Vojàutri *(i)   mange   de pom   ëd tèra
    You.StPr SCL   eat.pr.2p   of apple of earth
    'You eat potatoes'

f. *(I)   parle   tròp   vojàutri
    SCL   speal.pr.2p too much   you.StPr
    'You speak too much'

vii. Loràutri *(a)   diso   parèj
    They.StPr SCL   say.pr.3p   so
    'They say so'

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g. A   fumo   motobin   loràutri
   SCL   smoke.pr.3p a lot   they.StPr
   'They smoke a lot'

Third persons SCLs also obligatorily co-occur with both pre- (i-iii) and post- (a-c) verbal full DP or quantified subjects, as shown in (8) and (9) respectively:

(8)i. Giòrs *(a)   lese   'd lìber
     George SCL   read.pr.3s of book
     'George reads books'

   a. Sì   *(a)   deurm   Gioann
      Here   SCL   sleep.pr.3s John
      'Here sleeps John'

   ii. Marìa *(a)   veul   pa capì
      Mary SCL   want.pr.3s not understand.inf
      'Mary doesn't want to understand'

   b. *(A) ven   toa   seure
      SCL   come.pr.3s your   sister
      'Your sister is coming'

   iii. Luch e Giòrs *(a)   studio   sempe volonté
      Luke   and George SCL   study.pr.3p always willingly
      'Luke and George always study willingly'

   c. *(A) casco   le feuje
      SCL   fall.pr.3p   the leaves
      'The leaves are falling'

(9) i. Cheidun *(a) rivrà dòp
   Somebody SCL arrive.fut.3s after
   'Somebody will arrive late'

   a. *(A) riva cheidun
      SCL arrive.pr.3s somebody
      'Somebody is coming'

   ii. Gnun *(a) mangia la mnesta
      Nobody SCL eat.pr.3s the soup
      'Nobody eats the soup'

   b. Sì *(a)- i é gnun
      Here SCL loc be.pr.3s nobody
      'There is nobody here'

   iii. Tuti *(a) cato costi quàder
      Everybody SCL buy.pr.3p these paintings
      'Everybody buys these paintings'

   c. *(A) në parlo tuti
      SCL part speak.pr.3p everybody
      'Everybody is talking about it'

Turinese also displays obligatory SCLs co-occurring with a wh- element in wh-questions, both root and embedded (i-ii), in cleft sentences (iii), root and embedded yes-no questions (iv-v), restrictive relative clauses (vi) and with weather (vii) and impersonal (viii) verbs:

(10) i. Antè ch'*(a) van?
      Where that SCL go.pr.3p
      'Where are they going?'

ii. I   sai   pa   antè   ch'*(a)   van

     SCL   know.pr.1s not   where   that SCL   go.pr.3p

     'I don't know where they are going'

iii. It   ses   ti   ch'   *(it)   lo   cate   sempe

     SCL   be.pr.2s you.StPr   who   SCL   it.acc   buy.pr.2s   always

     'It's you who always buys it'

iv. *(A)   ven   'dcò   Toni?

     SCL   come.pr.3s also Tony

     'Is Tony coming, too?'

v. A-   m   ciamo   se *(a)   ven   ëdcò   Toni

     SCL-   to me   ask.pr.3p   if   SCL   come.pr.3s   also   Tony

     'They are asking me whether Tony is coming, too'

vi. Ël fieul   ch'   *(a)   riva   doman   a-   s   ciama   Majo

     The boy   who   SCL   arrive.pr.3s tomorrow   SCL   refl call.pr.3s   Mario

     'The boy who is coming tomorrow is called Mario'

vii. *(A)   fioca

     SCL   snow.pr.3s

     'It snows'

viii. *(A)   venta   parte

     SCL   need.pr.3s   leave.inf

     'One needs to leave'

Although Turinese SCLs are obligatory in all finite syntactic contexts, as the above examples clarify, there are cases in which the SCL seems to be absent. This is found with 1st person plural SCLs, as the following data exemplify:

(11)i. Ø Pensoma   mach al   përfond ëd përson-e che a   sopòrto…
    Think.imp.1p   only to the quantity of people who SCL   bear.pr.3p
    'Let's only think of all those people who put up with …' (la Slòira, 3/00, pg 7)

  ii. Ancheuj Ø mangioma   an piòla!
    Today   eat.imp.1p   in rustic restaurant
    'Let's eat at the pub today!'

As the translation indicates, the meaning conveyed by these sentences is an exhortation, and the verbal form is in the imperative mood. The imperative is a non-finite form and as such it is not compatible with the presence of a SCL. Given that the first person plural form of the verb is identical in the indicative and in the imperative, just by looking at the verb it would be impossible to decide on the modality of the sentence. The choice of inserting or omitting the SCL disambiguates the meaning: when the SCL is present the sentence is a statement, while when it is absent it is an exhortation.

2.2 – ENCLITIC SCLs

Although Turinese does not appear on Renzi and Vanelli's (1983) list of dialects displaying subject-verb inversion in interrogative contexts, a literary type of Turinese, based on the dialect of Turin, and some conservative dialects spoken in Piedmont have preserved a set of enclitic SCLs. These are particles that cliticise onto the finite verb form in root interrogatives, and this feature is consciously promoted by Turinese grammar books – cf. Brero and Bertodatti (B&B)(1988).

These enclitic SCLs are -ne for 1st person singular, -to for 2nd person singular, -lo for 3rd person singular, and -ne for both 1st and 3rd person plural. They co-occur with the proclitic forms, so that in the sentence there are two SCLs, one on either side of the verb, as shown in the following examples. I will indicate the encliticisation of the SCLs with the '+' symbol in the glosses:

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(12) i. Còsa ch' scl peuss-ne dije?

       What   that SCL   can.pe.1s+enc   tell.to him

       'What can I tell him/her?' (la slòira 06/01, pg 11)

    ii. It capisses-to tut, ti?

       SCL   understand.pr.2s+enc   everything   you.StPr

       'Do you understand everything?'

    iii. A sarà-lo pròpi parèj?

       SCL   be.fut.3s+enc   just   so

       'Will it be really like this?'   (la slòira, 06/01, pg 11)

    iv. Còs i farom-ne?

       what   part   do.fut.1p+enc

       'What are we going to do?'   (B&B 1988:117)

    vi. Còs a fara-ne?

       what   SCL   do.fut.3p+enc

       'What are they going to do?'   (B&B 1988: 117)

The earliest appearance of enclitic SCLs is attested in Asti, at the beginning of the 16th century, in the 'Comedia de l'Homo' and 'Farse carnovalesche' by G.G. Alione (see Parry, 1993:102).

Parry (to appear) explains how a wh- item followed by inversion is the oldest strategy to form wh-interrogatives. This is different from the type described in (12) where there are both a proclitic and an enclitic SCL. This type emerges at a later stage, from the end of the 18th century in Turinese. At the same time we see the development of interrogative structures formed by a wh-item followed by the complementiser *che* and a proclitic SCL, which seems to be the most widespread strategy used nowadays.

As well as in root interrogatives, enclitic SCLs were also found in some types of exclamatives, attested, again, in farces by G.G. Alione, which date back to the early 16th century, as show the following examples, taken from Parry (to appear:10):

(13) i.   Quant   affan   eu-i   pôrtà   per vôi!
           how much   trouble   have.pr.1s+enc   carry.pple   for you
           How much suffering have I endured for you!'

      ii. Côm   sogn-i   mai   reid   and'la schina!
           How   be.pr.1s+enc   ever   stiff   in   the   back
           'How stiff my back is!'

Parry also notes how inversion can only be found in exclamatives not introduced by the sequence '*che* + NP': this latter could be considered as the element characterising 'true exclamatives', as opposed to those in (13) where the only factor distinguishing them from their interrogative counterpart is intonation.

Nowadays, inversion is found only in main interrogatives and it is more productive with some grammatical persons than with others. As already mentioned, this phenomenon is still retained by some conservative varieties of Turinese and by standard literary Turinese. In my data I have found the second and third persons singular to be the most used in inversion:

(14) i.   Con   chi   ch'   it   ruses-to   sempe?
           with   who   that   SCL   fight.pr.2s+enc   always
           'Who do you always fight with?'

      ii. Lòn   ch'   a   fa-lo?
           what   that   SCL   do.pr.3s+enc
           'What does he do?'

2.3 – INVARIABLE SCLs

In some contexts, SCLs co-occur with another particle, '*l*'. As the following examples show, this happens with all SCLs for all persons, but not with all verbs (the symbol (*) means that the sentence is ungrammatical if the element within brackets is present). In traditional grammar books this '*l*' is described as an additional subject

particle that appears together with SCLs when the verb form that follows begins with a vowel[30]. The examples in (15) clearly show this not to be the case: while *esse* 'to be' or *avèj* 'to have', both when main or auxiliary verbs, trigger this particle, other verbs that begins with a vowel do not trigger it (16):

(15)i.
I	l'	avìa	ancontra-la[31]	a la	Famija	turinèisa
SCL	L	have.aux.imperf.3s	meet.pple-she.acc	at the	Family	Turinese

'I had met her at the 'Turinese Family''

ii.
Con	vàire	ch'	it	l'	avìe	parlà	'd sòn?
With	which	that	SCL	L	have.aux.imperf.2s	speak.pple	of this

'With whom had you talked about this?'

iii.
Giòrs	a	l'	é	'ndàit
George	SCL	l	be.aux.pr.3s	go.pple

'George has gone'

iv.
I	l'	oma	el piasì	d'	anformé	…
SCL	L	have.pr.1p	the pleasure	of	inform.inf	

'We have the pleasure to inform …'

v.
Ëd lòn	ch'i	l'	eve	parlà?
Of what	that SCL	L	have.aux.pr.2p	speak.pple

'What did you talk about?'

vi.
I-	m	ciamo	lòn	ch'a	l'	abio	nen	fàit
SCL-	to me	ask.pr.1s	what	that SCL	L	have.aux.subj.3p	not	do.pple

'I wonder what they haven't done'

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[30] Burzio (1986: 172, note 47), claims that this is a euphonic sound inserted by a phonological rule that concerns the verbs '*to be*' and '*to have*'.

[31] In Turinese the object clitic appears cliticised onto the past participial and the infinitival forms of verbs, as mentioned in chapter 1, section 4.1. This process starts in the 18th century due to a combination of syntactic and semantic factors – cf. Parry (1993:112), (1995), (1994).

vii. …un che a **l'** abia 'l concét ëd lòn ch' a

    one who SCL L have.aux.subj.pr.3s the concept of what that SCL

    dev esse 'l teatro…

    must.pr.3s be.inf the theatre

'…one who has an idea of what the theatre should be …'

viii. …la considerassion che i **l'** oma 'd costa espression…

    the consideration that SCL L have.pr.1p of this expression

    '…the consideration that we have of this expression…'

ix. I **l'** eve nen la pretèisa 'd presenté dabin tuti…

    SCL L have.pr.2p not the pretense of present.inf really all

    'You don't have the pretense to present every single one of them …'

(16)i. Mi i (*l) **a**mbreujo mai

    I.StPr SCL cheat.pr.1s never

    'I never cheat'

ii. Ël luv a (*l) **u**ca

    The wolf SCL ululate.pr.3s

    'The wolf ululates'

iii. Nojàutri i (*l) **i**ntroma an tuti ij negòssi

    We.StPr SCL enter.pr.1p in all the shops

    'We go in all the shops'

iv. Vojàutri i (*l) **i**ntre sempe da la surtèa!

    You.StPr SCL enter.pr.2p always from the exit

    'You always come in from the exit!'

v. Lor a (*l) **a**mprendo l' alman

    They.StPr SCL learn.pr.3p the German

    'They are learning German'

Further confirmation that this insertion in not a purely phonological phenomenon can be derived from example (15) viii and from the data in (17), where we have a restrictive relative clause and '*l*' is triggered only if the verb is either *esse* or *avèj*, but not others:

(17)i. GG e FG che   **a** *(l)   **o**noro   'd soa   colaborassion…

      GG and FG who   SCL   honour.pr.3p of their   collaboration

      'GG and FG who honour (us) with their collaboration…' (la slòira, 3/00, pg 18)

ii. … fàita …   da paisagi   dl' anima ch'**a** *(l)**a**rzigo   d' arduve la poesìa

      make.pple by passages   of the soul that SCL risk.pr.3p of reduce the poetry

      '... made by passages of the soul that risk to reduce poetry (to)…' (la slòira, 3/00, pg 18)

As the data above clearly exemplify, the insertion of this '*l*' is not a purely phonological phenomenon, nor does it affect all verbs beginning with a vowel. We can conclude that the condition that the following verb begins with a vowel is not sufficient by itself, given that only *esse* and *avèj* trigger it. On the other hand, the verb class itself, is not a sufficient condition to trigger it either: not all forms of *esse* and *avèj* require the presence of '*l*':

(18)i. I   (*l)   **son**   figura-me

      SCL   be.aux.pr.1s   imagine.pple-rfl

      'I imagined'

ii. I   vorìo   savèj   an che   manera Giulia a

      SCL   want.imperf.1s know.inf   in what   way   Giulia SCL

      *(l) **fussa**   tombà

      be.aux.subj.imperf.3s   fall.pple

      'I wanted to know how Giulia had fallen'

ii. A   chërdìo   che   ti   it   *(l) **fusse**   andàit

      SCL   think.imperf.3p that   you.StPr SCL   be.subj.imperf.2s   go.pple

      a   sin-a

      to dinner

      'They thought you had gone to dinner'

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iii. A   veulo   savèj   an   che   manera   Giulia   a   (*l)   **sia**
    SCL   want.pr.3p   know   in   what   way   Giulia   SCL   be.subj.3s
    vesti-sse
    dress.pple-rfl
    'They want to know how Giulia got dressed'

iv. I   (*l)   **soma**   senta-sse
    SCL   be.aux.pr.1p   sit.pple-rfl
    'We have sat down'

v. I   *(l)   **seve**   senta-sse
    SCL   be.aux.pr.2p   sit.pple-refl
    'You have sat down'

vi. …che a   (*l)   **sio**   vesti-sse
    … that SCL   be.aux.subj.3p   dress.pple-rfl
    '… that they have got dressed'

The conclusion is that the condition that triggers the particle '*l*' is a combination of two factors, i.e. that the verb is either *esse* or *avèj* AND that it begins with a vowel.

It can be further noticed that '*l*' is replaced by '*j*' in the imperfect and pluperfect forms of *esse* 'to be', except for the 3rd person singular, which retains '*l*':

(19)   mi i **j**'era   noi i **j**'ero
        ti it **j**'ere   voi i **j**'ero
        chiel a **l**'era   lor a **j**'ero

Finally, an observation on the spreading of '*l*'[32]. Two particular phenomena lead us to believe that '*l*' has not completely reached full lexicalisation: firstly, the graphy '*l*' indicates that it is considered as a separate particle from the verb; and secondly, when it

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[32] The reader is referred to Parry (1993:107ff) and (1998:340ff) for a diachronic account.

appears in conjunction with another proclitic complement clitic the latter often replaces it:

(20)   i.   Vàire   ch'   it   n'   has-to   mangia-ne?
           How many that   SCL   part   have.pr.2s+enc eat.pple-part
           'How many of them have you eaten?

Poletto (1993) discusses in detail the nature and behaviour of these particular types of clitics, proposing firstly, that they are totally different from SCLs and are subject to different syntactic constraints, and secondly, that they are expletive clitics. The reader is referred to her work which includes also a revision and critique of Roberts' (1991) analysis of Franco-Provençal SCLs.

Summing up, Turinese displays a complete set of subject clitics that obligatorily co-occur with a null subject, a strong pronoun, a lexical subject and a quantified subject when these are either in pre- or post-verbal position. They surface with finite form of the verb and are not compatible with non-finite ones such as the imperative or the infinitive – cf. also Goria (2001). Some varieties of Turinese have also retained a set of enclitics that cliticise onto the finite verb in interrogative contexts. Finally, there is also an additional particle, an invariable '*l*', which in some circumstances is realised as a glide '*j*', that appears before the verbs *esse* and *avèj* in the forms that begin with a vowel. The following section will concentrate on Poletto's (2000) criteria to classify SCLs. I will go through each of them in turn applying them to Turinese SCLs in order to establish their classification and to identify the position they fill.

SECTION 3 – SCLs: A CLASSIFICATION

3.1 – POLETTO'S SYSTEM

Poletto has carried out extensive research on Northern Italian Dialect SCLs. Both her books (1993, 2000) and her numerous papers present data from a wide variety of dialects spoken in Northern Italy. Her (2000) work is an elaboration and extension of her

doctoral thesis, including more than a hundred varieties, and it aims to provide a deeper understanding of the upper portion of the sentence. The second chapter focuses on the distribution of SCLs, and it is on her analysis that I base the organisation of my data.

Renzi and Vanelli (1983) in their comparative research had shown that the paradigm of SCLs for the six persons is not consistent across dialects. Their observations enabled them to formulate a set of descriptive generalisations that captured the distribution of SCLs across varieties and revealed some general tendencies that hold across the different dialects. If a variety has only one SCL pronoun, this will be second person singular; if it has two, these will be second and third person singular; if it has three these will be second and third singular and third plural. Their descriptions reach explanatory adequacy in Poletto's work, where the observed generalisations are justified on the basis of both morphological and syntactic differences between the SCLs of different varieties'.

Poletto analyses the syntactic distribution of SCLs across a hundred different varieties, investigating their properties and behaviour with respect to a set of phenomena. These observations allow her to identify four different classes of SCLs, each occupying a specific position in the structure. The first test that allows a clear split in two main groups within SCLs is their relative position with respect to a strong preverbal negative marker, in other words a negative marker that can negate a clause by itself. It is necessary to use strong markers that can only appear as the head of NegP – cf. Zanuttini (1997) – given that SCLs are always structurally higher than weak negative markers. Pre-negative SCLs are in turn split into two types by virtue of their different behaviour in coordination, their compatibility with wh-items and their ability to mark the sentence they introduce as new information. Post-negative SCLs can also be subdivided into two more groups on the basis of their properties with respect to coordination and inversion phenomena.

The four groups of SCLs isolated are, in their hierarchical order, Invariable SCLs, Deictic SCLs, Person SCLs and Number SCLs. Invariable SCLs are exactly what their name describes, complete sets of vocalic clitics that do not show any variation across grammatical persons. They can also appear in combination with other types of SCLs.

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The clitic that Benincà investigated in her (1983) contribution, the invariable 'a' in Paduan, belongs to this class, and it has the specific function of marking the sentence as a carrier of new information. Deicitic SCLs are so called because of the features they encode. They are complete sets where a morphological distinction marks the division between third person SCLs on the one hand and first and second on the other. First and second person pronouns refer to the two parties present in a conversation and third person pronouns to those that are not. They can co-occur with other types of SCLs, but never with Invariable SCLs. Person SCLs consist of a consonant plus a vowel and usually realise second and third person singular, but never first. On the basis of this observation, Poletto captures their nature as an expression of a [± hearer] feature, which differentiates between the listener and an absent party from the discourse. The fourth type, Number SCLs, is formed by a consonant plus vowel cluster, realises third person singular and plural and marks gender. Number SCLs are analysed as being specified for [-hearer], [± feminine] and [±number] features. The first two groups are also defined as 'vocalic' SCLs and the last two as 'agreement' SCLs. The following table summarises the characteristics of the four groups:

(21)

Pre-preverbal negation, vocalic SCLs		Post-preverbal negation, agreement SCLs	
Invariable	**Deictic**	**Person**	**Number**
Signal new info, complete set, can co-occur with Num and Per SCLs	Mark deictic distinction complete set, can co-occur with Num and Per SCLs	Encode [±hearer] feature, realise 2nd and 3rd p sing, can co-occur with Inv and Deictic SCLs	Encode [-hearer], [±feminine], [±number] features, realise 3rd p sing and plur, can co-occur with Inv and Deictic SCLs

3.2 – TURINESE SCLs: AN ANALYSIS

In order to classify Turinese SCLs I will make use of Poletto's tests, applying each of them in turn: preverbal negation, inversion, clustering with the complementiser, interaction with wh- items, compatibility with left-dislocated items and various types of coordination.

The first test involves the position of SCLs with respect to preverbal negation. Turinese, just like French, does not have a preverbal negative marker. Negation is expressed through the particles *nen* and *pa* that follow the finite verb[33]. Some examples are given below:

(22)i. Mi   i   parlo   nen
    I.StPr SCL   speak.pr.1s not
    'I don't speak'

ii. Mi   i   parlo   pa
    I.StPr SCL   speak.pr.1s not
    'I don't speak'

This test does not apply to post-verbal negative markers, and we need therefore to turn to the others.

SCL-verb inversion is a phenomenon attested in interrogative clauses, where the SCL is cliticised onto the finite verb. Poletto (1998) shows how inversion is the most traditional way of marking a sentence as interrogative and how this is being replaced by other strategies, providing a diachronic as well as a synchronic account of its evolution. SCL-verb inversion is an instantiation of movement of the inflected verb inside the CP layer (see Poletto, 2000:42-55 for arguments supporting this analysis).

Turinese, as we have seen in the previous section, displays some inversion in interrogative clauses which in the spoken language is restricted to second and third

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[33] See Zanuttini (1997: 69-72) for arguments that the two occupy different positions, with *pa* higher than *nen*. As the following examples show, *pa* is higher than *nen*:

(23)i. Teresin a   mangia   pa pì   'd carn
    Teresa SCL   eat.pr.3s   not anymore   of meat

ii. *Teresin   a   mangia pì pa 'd carn

iv. Giòrs a   bèiv   pì   nen ëd vin
    George SCL   drink.pr.3s anymore   not of wine

v. *Giòrs a   bèiv   nen   pì   ëd vin

    pa > pì > nen

person singular. Even then, the SCLs are still in their pre-verbal position:

(24) i. Lòn   ch'**i**   mangio?

      What   that SCL   eat.pr.1s

      'What do I eat?'

  ii. **It**   lo   cates-to?

      SCL   it.acc   buy.pr.2s+enc

      'Do you buy it?'

  iii. Antè   ch'**a**   va-lo?

      wher   that SCL   go.pr.3s+enc

      'Where is he going?

  iv. Antè   ch'**i**   andoma   adess?

      Where   that SCL   go.pr.1p   now

      'Where are we going now?'

  v. **I**   ven-esto[34]   pa?

      SCL   come.pr.2p   not

      'Are you not coming?'

  vi. **A**   ven-o   sì?

      SCL   come.pr.3p   here

      'Are they coming here?'

According to Poletto's system, only Number SCLs necessarily undergo inversion in interrogative clauses. The examples show that even when SCL-verb inversion obtains a proclitic SCL is still present, preceding the verb, and interestingly, the enclitic and the proclitic forms are different. This test provides us with some evidence against Turinese SCLs being of the Number type, but we need more evidence to support this.

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[34] The hyphen used here and in the next example (i.e. *ven-esto* and *ven-o*) is a graphic convention and does not refer to the cliticisation of the enclitic. The enclitic in indicated with a '+' symbol in the glosses.

Let us now turn to coordination. As mentioned above, there are different types of coordination. Kayne (1975) used coordination of two clauses in order to show that French subject clitics are different from object clitics. While two coordinated verbal clauses can share the same subject clitic, they cannot share the same direct (or indirect) object clitic. Thus, while the subject clitic can be left out in the second conjunct in a co-ordinated structure, the object clitic must be repeated (the examples are from Kayne, 1975):

(25)i. **Il**   mangera de la viande et **Ø** boira   du bon   vin
     SCL   eat.fut.3s of the meat   and   drink.fut.3s of good   wine
     'He will eat some meat and drink some good wine'

  ii. *Paul **les**   lit   très   vite   et **Ø** relit   soigneusement
     Paul they.acc read.pr.3s very   quickly and   re-read.pr.3s carefully
     par la suite
     for the suite
     'Paul reads them very quickly and re-reads them carefully immediately after'

This different behaviour reflects the different structural position that the two types of clitics occupy: those that do not need to be repeated are structurally higher than those that do, i.e. they are outside the portion of the structure that is being coordinated.

Object clitic omission in coordination structures is possible when the verbs that are being coordinated share one or more object clitics:

(26) Jean le   lit   et **Ø** relit   sans cesse
     Jean they.acc read.pr.3s and   re-read.pr.3s without pause
     'Jean reads and re-reads them incessantly'

These cases are subject to strong constraints, namely that the two verbs must share many semantic traits, so that they could be considered as a complex verb rather than two simple ones. In the case of '*reads and re-reads*' we have the same verb with the same tense and agreement structure, appearing in its 'base' and iterative form. Decomposing the features, we could say that Tense and Agreement are kept constant and the change is

introduced as Aspect features. The similarity between the two verb forms allows the overt object clitic to license an empty one in the second conjunct.

Exploiting these observations – cf. Benincà and Cinque (1993) who apply the facts observed in (26) to Italian – Poletto selects three types of coordination used as tests to identify different types of SCLs:

(27)   i. Type 1: Coordination of two distinct verbs with their separate objects (*I eat soup and drink tea*)

ii. Type 2: Coordination of two distinct verbs that share the same object (*I use and waste too much water*)

iii. Type 3: Coordination of a 'complex' verb (i.e. the same verb coordinated with a different prefix or tense) with a shared object (*I read and reread the same book*). In this last type, both subject and object are shared by the verb forms.

Only types 1 and 3 will be used in my investigation of Turinese SCLs, since type 2 does not contribute to the isolation of a class of SCLs, and it merely reinforces the results given by type 1.

Poletto observes that Invariable SCLs, those that occupy the highest position in the structure, can be left out in the first type of coordination. Deictic, Person and Number SCLs, on the other hand, being for independent reasons lower in the structure, need to be repeated. As for coordination of the third type, it can be used to distinguish between the two post-negation types, Number and Person SCLs. Person SCLs must be repeated, while Number SCLs do not.

Turning now to Turinese data, we can see that in co-ordination of type 1 the SCLs need to be repeated in the second conjunct, for all persons:

(28)i. I   mangio   de pom   ëd tèra   e   *(i)   beivo   de vin   për ëstè
       SCL   eat.pr.1s of apple of earth and SCL   drink.pr.1s of wine   for stay.inf
       alegher
       happy
       'I eat potatoes and drink wine to keep happy'

ii. It   mange   de pom ëd tèra   e *(it)   beive   de vin   përëstè

SCL   eat.pr.2s   of apple of earth   and SCL   drink.pr.2s of wine   for stay.inf

alegher

happy

'You eat potatoes and drink wine to keep happy'

iii. A   mangia   de pom ëd tèra   e *(a)   beive   de vin   përëstè

SCL   eat.pr.3s   of apple of earth   and SCL   drink.pr.3s of wine   for stay.inf

alegher

happy

'S/He eats potatoes and drinks wine to keep happy'

iv. I   mangioma   de pom ëd tèra   e *(i)   bevoma   de vin   për

SCL   eat.pr.1p   of apple of earth   and SCL   drink.pr.1p of wine   for

ëstè   alegher

stay.inf happy

'We eat potatoes and drink wine to keep happy'

v. I   mange   de pom ëd tèra   e *(i)   beive   de vin   përëstè

SCL   eat.pr.2p   of apple of earth   and SCL   drink.pr.2p of wine   for stay.inf

alegher

happy

'You eat potatoes and drink wine to keep happy'

vi. A   mangio   de pom ëd tèra   e *(a)   beivo   de vin   përëstè

SCL   eat.pr.3p   of apple of earth   and SCL   drink.pr.3p of wine   for stay.inf

alegher

happy

'They eat potatoes and drink wine to keep happy'

According to Poletto's system, only Invariable SCLs can be omitted in the second conjunct of this type of coordination. We can thus exclude that Turinese SCLs belong to the Invariable type.

If a SCL must be repeated in the second conjunct of a coordination type 3, then the SCL belongs to the Number type. In Turinese the SCL in the second conjunct can be omitted. Interestingly, the '*t*' of *it* can be repeated, indicating that it probably belongs to one of the lower types, possibly Person: it then merges with *i* to produce *it*:

(29) i. **I**   leso   e **Ø** arleso   l' istess lìber
     SCL   read.pr.1s   and Ø   re-read.pr.1s   the same   book
     'I read over and over again the same book'

   ii. **It**   lese   e **'t/ Ø** arlese   l' istess lìber
     SCL   read.pr.2s   and Ø   re-read.pr.2s   the same   book
     'You read over and over again the same book'

   iii. **A**   les   e **Ø** arles   l' istess lìber
     SCL   read.pr.3s   and Ø   re-read.pr.3s   the same   book
     'S/He reads over and over again the same book'

   iv. I   foma   e **Ø** arfoma   sempe l' istess travaj
     SCL   do.pr.1p   and   re-do.pr.1p   always the same   job
     'We do over and over again always the same job'

   v. I   feve   e **Ø** arfeve   sempe l' istess travaj
     SCL   do.pr.2p   and   re-do.pr.2p always the same   job
     'You do over and over again always the same job'

   vi. A   fan   e **Ø** arfan   sempe l' istess travaj
     SCL   do.pr.3p   and   re-do.pr.3p always the same   job
     'They do over and over again always the same job'

The results of this test strongly suggest that Turinese SCLs do not belong to the Number type, and reinforces what has already emerged from the inversion test in (21).

Let us now consider clustering with the complementiser. Those SCLs placed higher up in the structure, Invariable and Deictic SCLs, will necessarily cluster with the complementiser, while lower ones, Number and Person, will only optionally do so. From

the Turinese data it emerges that SCLs must cliticise onto the complementiser. Failure to do so yields ungrammaticality:

(30) i. E mi, lòn ch'i (*che i) mangio?
And I.StPr what that SCL eat.pr.1s
'And me, what do I eat?'

   ii. Cand ch'it (*che it) ses-to andàit?
When that SCL be.pr.2s+enc go.pple
'When did you go?

   iii. Anté ch'a (*che a) l' ha-lo butalo?
Where that SCL l have.pr.3s+enc throw.pple-it.acc
'Where has s/he put it?'

   iv. An che manera ch'i (*che i) scrivoma?
In which way that SCL write.pr.1p
'How do we write it?

   v. Lòn ch'i (*che i) feve adess?
What that SCL do.pr.2p now
'What do you do / are you doing now?'

   vi. Anté ch'a (*che a) van?
Where that SCL go.pr.3p
'Where do they go / are they going?'

On the basis of this evidence, we can conclude that Turinese SCLs belong to the higher types, either Invariable or Deictic. From the data in (25) we already know that they cannot be of the Invariable type.

The last test, compatibility with left-dislocated items, will provide the final piece of the jigsaw, given that only SCLs of the Deictic type can co-occur with left-dislocated items. Turinese data confirm the conclusions reached in (28) and clearly show that its SCLs do not belong to the Invariable type:

(31) i. Mi,   *(**i**)   devo   andé?
      I.StPr SCL   must.pr.1s go.inf?
      'And me, do I have to go?'

   ii. Ti,   *(**it**)   la   cate?
      you.StPr, SCL   it.acc buy.pr.2s
      'And you, are you buying it?

   iii. Chiel,   *(**a**)   l'   ha   vist-la?
      he.StPr   SCL   l   have.pr.3s see.pple-it.acc
      'And he, has he seen it?'

   iv. Nojàutri, *(**i**)   mangioma   an piola?
      We.StPr SCL   eat.pr.1p   in rustic restaurant
      'And we, are we eating in the pub?'

   v. Vojàutri, *(**i**)   ven-esto pa?
      You.StPr SCL   come.pr.2p not
      'And you, aren't you coming?'

   vi. Loràutri, ante   ch' *(**a**)   van?
      They.StPr where that SCL   go.pr.3p
      'And they, where are they going?'

We can now conclude that Turinese SCLs belong to the Deictic type, and are placed in the higher portion of the clause, as shown in (32), from Poletto (2000:36):

(32)   [LDP   invariable SCL$_i$ [CP deictic SCL   [FP t$_i$ [IP …

SECTION 4 – CONCLUSIONS

In these sections I have presented a descriptive overview of Turinese SCLs. After a brief review of the properties that define clitic items based on Kayne (1975), Turinese SCLs were tested for the relevant features. It was also pointed out how difficult it is to

individuate a structurally uniform and natural syntactic class of clitics, structurally uniform. I described the different types of Turinese SCLs, proclitics, enclitics and invariables, focusing on their distribution with respect to pre- and post- verbal subjects, showing how they are obligatory in all finite contexts. Some issues were only touched upon and the reader was referred to pieces of work exhaustively dealing with those particular phenomena. Section 3.1 concentrated on Poletto's organisation of the CP layer, the identification of four different types of SCLs in Northern Italian Dialects and the tests used by her to identify them. Applying her tests to Turinese SCLs I was able to establish that Turinese SCLs belong to one of the two types placed in the higher portion of the clause, Deictic SCLs.

In the next sections a parallel investigation is carried out on Ligurian SCLs.

SECTION 5 – LIGURIAN SCLS: A DRESCRIPTIVE PRESENTATION

In these sections I pursue a parallel line of presentation for Ligurian SCLs, testing them for clitics status and then investigating their behaviour with respect to Poletto's (2000) system to individuate the group with which they pattern.

This chapter is organised as follows. Section 5.1 tests Ligurian pronominal particles against the general criteria based on Kayne (1975) in order to verify their clitic status, and introduces the data, describing proclitic and invariable particles. Section 6 investigates the behaviour of Ligurian SCLs with respect to the criteria used by Poletto (2000).

5.1 – PROCLITIC SCLS

As well as having a complete set of tonic pronouns, Ligurian also displays an incomplete set of subject particles that mark second person singular, and third person singular and plural. The third person singular particles also distinguish between masculine and feminine subjects. I refer to them simply as Subject Particles for the time being in order not to pre-empt the test that follows. Table 1 shows the tonic pronouns and the particles:

(33)

	Subject Particles - SubjParts		Tonic Pronouns - StPrs	
	Sing	*Plur*	*Sing*	*Plur*
Ist	-	-	mi	nuatri
IInd	ti	-	ti	vuatri
IIIrd masc	u	i	le	luatri
IIIrd fem	a	i	le	luatri

From the following examples can be seen that tonic pronouns and subject particles are different and are not interchangeable. Kayne's (1975) criteria applied to the Ligurian minimal pair subject particle/tonic pronoun highlight the differences. Only the grammatical persons that do display both a subject particle and a tonic pronoun have been tested – second singular and third singular and plural.

a. A parenthetical cannot interrupt the sequence SubjPart – verb, while it can appear between a StPr and the verb:

(34) i. Ti   fosci preferisci u pullu
           SubjPart   perhaps prefer.pr.2s the chicken
           'Perhaps you prefer chicken'

      ii. Ti   fosci ti   preferisci u pullu
           StPr   perhaps SubjPart   prefer.pr.2s the chicken
           'Perhaps you prefer chicken'

      iii. *U   fosci   mangia   u pummu
           SubjPart   perhaps   eat.pr.3s   the apple
           'Perhaps he eats the apple'

      iv. Le   fosci u   mangia   u pummu
           StPr   perhaps SubjPart   eat.pr.3s   the apple
           'Perhaps he eats the apple'

v. *A,　　　a　quest'ua,　nu　puliscia　e　scae

　　　SubjPart　at　this time　　not clean.pr.3s　the stairs

　　　'At this time, she doesn't clean the stairs'

vi. Le,　　a　quest'ua,　a　　　　　nu puliscia　e　scae

　　StPr　at this time　　SubjPart　not clean.pr.3s　the stairs

　　'At this time, she doesn't clean the stairs'

vii.*I　　　　de　següu　pasean　l'　easamme

　　　SubjPart　of　sure　pass.fut.3p　the exam

　　　'They will certainly pass the exam'

viii.　　Luatri de següu　i　　　　pasean　　l'　easamme

　　　　StPr　of sure　　SubjPart　pass.fut.3p　the exam

　　　　'They will certainly pass the exam'

b. SubjParts cannot bear contrastive stress while StPrs can[35]:

(35)　i.　*TI　　　lezi　　　　sempre　u　mejimu　libru,　nu le

　　　　SubjPart　read.pr.2s　always　　the same　　book　not he.StPr

　　　　'YOU always read the same book, not him'

　　ii. TI　　ti　　　lezi　　　sempre　u　mejimu　libru,　nu le

　　　StPr　SubjPart　read.pr.2s　always　　the same　　book　not he.StPr

　　　'YOU always read the same book, not him'

　　iii. *U　　　preppara　　na surpreisa,　nu mi

　　　SubjPart　prepare.pr.3s　a　surprise,　not I.StPr

　　　'HE is preparing a surprise, not me'

　　iv. LE　u　　　　preppara　　na surpreisa, nu mi

　　　StPr　SubjPart　prepare.pr.3s　a　surprise,　not I.StPr

　　　'He is preparing a surprise, not me'

---

[35] Capitals here indicate contrastive intonation.

v. *A preppara na surpreisa, nu mi
 SubjPart prepare.pr.3s a surprise, not I.StPr
 'SHE is preparing a surprise, not me'

vi. LE a   preppara na surpreisa, nu mi
 StPr SubjPart prepare.pr.3s a surprise, not I.StPr
 'SHE is preparing a surprise, not me'

vii. *I nu mangia de carne, nu nuatri
 SubjPart not eat.pr.3p of meat not we.StPr
 'THEY don't eat meat, not us'

viii. LUATRI i   nu mangia de carne, nu nuatri
 StPr SubjPart not eat.pr.3p of meat not we.StPr
 'THEY don't eat meat, not us'

c. SubjParts cannot be coordinated nor modified; StPrs can:

(36) i. *U e a i   nu mangia de carne
  SubjPart and SubjPart SubjPart not eat.pr.3p of meat
  'He and she don't eat meat'

  ii. Le e le i   nu mangia de carne
  TonP and StPr SubjPart not eat.pr.3p of meat
  'He and she don't eat meat'

  iii. *Ti e i   prepparè na surpreisa
  SubjPart and SubjPart prepare.pr.2p a surprise
  'You and they prepare a surprise'

  iv. Ti e luatri prepparè na surpreisa
  StPr and StPr prepare.pr.2p a surprise
  'You and they prepare a surprise'

d. SubjParts cannot stand in isolation while StPrs can:

(37)　　Chi　u　　　l'　è　　che　ti　　　è　　　vistu　vei?

Who　SubjPart　L　be.pr.3s　that　SubjPart　have.pr.2s　see.pple　yesterday?

*A/ *U/ *I　　-　Le /Le/ Luatri

SubjPart　　　　StPr

'Who did you see yesterday?　Her/Him/Them'

e. SubjParts in clusters are rigidly ordered:

(38)　　i. Ti　　　te　lavi

SubjPart　rf　wash.pr.2s

'You are washing yourself'

ii. *Te　ti　　　lavi

rf　　SubjPart　wash.pr.2s

'You sit down'

iii. U/A　　　se　lava

SubjPart　rf　wash.pr.3s

'He/She is washing himself/herself'

iii. *Se　u/a　　　lava

rf　　SubjPart　wash.pr.3s

'He/She is washing himself/herself'

iv. I　　　　se　lava

SubjPart　rf　wash.pr.3p

'They are washing themselves'

v. *Se　i　　　lava

rf　　SubjPart　wash.pr.3p

'They are washing themselves'

What the tests above show is that there are clear differences between the two sets of nominal elements, and that the set that I have labelled as 'Subject Particles' behave like clitic elements. The label 'Subject Clitic', adopted at the beginning of the chapter is now justified.

Ligurian SCLs are obligatory, for the persons specified, in all finite contexts. They must co-occur with *pro* or a strong pronoun, as shown, respectively, in (39) and (40). In (40) both pre- (i- iv) and post-verbal (a-d) strong pronouns are shown:

(39)   i.   *(Ti) lezi   u   giurnale
              SCL   read.pr.2s   the newspaper
              'You read the newspaper'

      ii. *(A) catta   tanta   verdura
              SCL   buy.pr.3s   much   greens
              'She buys a lot of vegetables'

      iii. *(U) risulve   u   prublema
              SCL   solve.pr.3s the problem
              'He is going to solve the problem'

      iv. *(I)   zogan   a-e   carte
              SCL   play.pr.3p   at-the   cards
              'They play cards'

(40)   i.   Ti   *(ti)   preferisci u pullu
              StPr   SCL   prefer.pr.2s the chicken
              'You prefer chicken'

      a. *(Ti) catti   u   pan   ti
              SCL   buy.pr.2s   the bread   StPr
              'You are buying the bread'

ii. Le　　*(a)　puliscia　e　scae

StPr　　SCL　clean.pr.3s　the　stairs

'She cleans the stairs'

b. *(A)　catta　　u　pan　le

SCL　buy.pr.3s　the　bread　StPr

'She is buying the bread'

iii. Le　　*(u)　beiva　　du　vin

StPr　　SCL　drink.pr.3s　of　wine

'He drinks wine'

c. *(U)　parla　le!

SCL　speak.pr.3s　StPr

'Look who's talking!'

iv. Luatri *(i)　parlan　　d' ascusu

StPr　　SCL　speak.pr.3p　of　hide.pple

'They speak secretrely'

d. *(I)　cantan　　luatri　duman

SCL　sing.pr.3p　StPr　　tomorrow

'They are singing tomorrow'

Third persons SCLs also obligatorily co-occur with both pre- (i-iii) and post- (a-c) verbal full DP or quantified subjects, as shown in (41) and (42) respectively:

(41) i. U Giorgiu　*(u)　mangia　　u　pummu

the George　　SCL　eat.pr.3s　　the　apple

'George eats the apple'

a. *(U) mangia u pummu u Giorgiu
SCL eat.pr.3s the apple the George
'George eats the apple'

ii. A Teeja *(a) canta a-u teatro
the Teresa SCL sing.pr.3s at-the theatre
'Teresa sings at the theatre'

b. *(A) leza u libru a Maria
SCL read.pr.3s the book the Mary
'Mary reads the book'

iii. E donne *(i) l' impastan egua e faìna
the women SCL L mix.pr.3p water and flower
'The women are mixing water and flower'

c. *(I) nu cattan mai de fruta e mé sö
SCL not buy.pr.3p never of fruit the my sisters
'My sisters never buy any fruit'

(42) i. Quarchedun *(u) riveà in ritardu
somebody SCL arrive.fut.3s in delay
'Somebody will arrive late'

a. *(U) riva quarchedun
SCL arrive.pr.3s somebody
'Somebody is coming'

ii. Nisciun *(u) mangia a menestra
nobody SCL eat.pr.3s the soup
'Nobody eats the soup'

b. *(U) nu m'   ha   vistu nisciun
    SCl   not I.acc have.pr.,3s see.pple nobody
    'Nobody has seen me'

iii. Tutti   *(i)   cattan   u tö   libru
     everybody SCL   buy.pr.3p the your   book
     'Everybody buys your book'

c. *(I) venan   chi   tutti
    SCL   come.pr.3p here everybody
    'Everybody is coming here'

Ligurian SCLs are also found in existential and (indefinite) passive *se* constructions and with weather verbs, as shown, respectively, in (43) i, ii and iii:

(43) i. Tütü 'n zìu   *(**u**) l' ea   'n gran petesà
          all in round SCL   L be.imperf.3s a big   being busy
          'And all around everybody was busy'

      ii. Quarche anu   fa *(**u**) se beveiva   inseme
          some   year ago SCL   imp drink.imp.3s together
          'Some years ago we used to drink together'

      iii. *(**U**) ciöva[36]
           SCL   rain.pr.3s
           'It rains'

---

[36] It is interesting to notice that the absence of the SCL denotes surprise. The sentence in (10) iv can be uttered by someone who is spending some time outdoors, the weather is beautiful and the sun is shining. Then they go indoors briefly and when they come out again it's raining:

    (43)   iv. Ciöva!

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Ligurian also displays obligatory SCLs co-occurring with a wh-element in wh-questions, both root and embedded (i-ii), in cleft sentences (iii), root and embedded yes-no questions (iv-v) and restrictive relative clauses (vi):

(44) i. Quand   *(i)   van   via?
          when   SCL   go.pr.3p away
          'When are they going away?'

      ii. Nu   so   quand   *(u)   va   via
          not   know.pr.1s when   SCL   go.pr.3s away
          'I don't know when he's going away'

      iii. Ti   l'   è   ti   che   *(ti)   sbragi   sempe
          SCL   L   be.pr.2s you.StPr who   SCL   shout.pr.2s always
          'It's you who always shouts'

      iv. A Maria *(a)   mangia   de carne?
          the Mary SCL   eat.pr.3s of meat
          'Does Mary eat meat?'

      v. Nu   so   se a Maria *(a)   mangia   de carne
          nto   know.pr.1s if the Mary SCL   eat.pr.3s   of meat
          'I don't know whether Mary eats meat'

      vi. A donna ch'   *(a)   puliscia   e scae   a   l'   è   maota
          the woman who   SCL   clean.pr.3s the stairs SCL   L   be.pr.3s ill
          'The woman who cleans the stairs is ill'

In the next section we turn to invariable SCLs.

5.2 – INVARIABLE SCLs

Ligurian has, along with the proclitic forms of subject clitics, also an invariable element, '*l*', that appears together with some proclitic SCLs. It is found with the third person singular and plural SCLs, *u*, *a* and *i*, with forms of the verbs *ëse* 'to be', and *avéj* 'to have' both when main (45) a-f and auxiliary verbs (46) a-f, but only when the verb form begins with a vowel:

(45) a. U Giorgiu   u   *(l')   ha   tantiscimi   puisci
          the George   SCL   L   have.pr.3s   very many   peas
          'George has a lot of peas'

     b. A Teeja a   *(l')   ha   na bella   ca
          the Teresa SCL   L   have.pr.3s   a   beautiful   house
          'Teresa has a beautiful house'

     c. I fanti   i   *(l')   han   na bella   lalla
          the children   SCL   L   have.pr.3p   a   beautiful   aunt
          'The children have a beautiful aunt'

     d. U postu u   *(l')   é   fin,   u postu u *(l')   é   bellu
          the place SCL   L   be.pr.3s fine   the place SCL L   be.pr.3s   beautiful
          'The place is fine, the place is beautiful'

     e. Me   lalla   a   (*l')   é   maota
          my   aunt   SCL   L   be.pr.3s   ill
          'My aunt is ill'

     f. Luatri i   l'   enan maoti
          they   SCL   L   be.pr.3p ill
          'They are ill'

i. U Mariu u (*l') ha mangiau a menestra
the Mario SCL L have.pr.3s eat.pple the soup
'Mario has eaten the soup'

ii. A Teeja a (*l') ha mangiau a menestra
the Teresa SCL L have.pr.3s eat.pple the soup
'Teresa has eaten the soup'

iii. Luatri i (*l') han za mangiau u pummu
they SCL L have.pr.3p already eat.pple the apple
'They have already eaten the apple'

iv. U diretù u (*l') é rivau
the manager SCL L be.pr.3s arrive.pple
'The manager has arrived'

v. A meistra a (*l') é vegnua
the teacher SCL L be.pr.3s come.pple
'The teacher has come'

vi. U Giorgiu e u Gianni i (*l') enan za andai
the George and the John SCL L be.pr.3p already go.pple
'George and John have already left'

The same observations made in section 2.3 for the Turinese invariable SCL *l* also apply to Ligurian *l*: in particular, the condition that triggers it is a combination of two factors, i.e. that the verb is either *ëse* or *avéj* AND that it begins with a vowel.

Let us now turn to the analysis.

5.3 – LIGURIAN SCLs: AN ANALYSIS

This section will parallel the one in the previous sections, and Poletto's (2000) criteria will be used to establish the group with which Ligurian SCLs pattern. The tests that I will use are:

- Position with respect to pre-verbal negation
- Clustering with the complementiser
- Coordination type 1 and 2
- Compatibility with left-dislocated items
- Interaction with wh- items

Recall that in Poletto's system there are four morphological classes of SCLs, two preceding and two following pre-verbal negation. A summary is given in (47):

(47)

Invariable	>	Deictic	> **Neg** >	Number	>	Person

left periphery　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**IP**
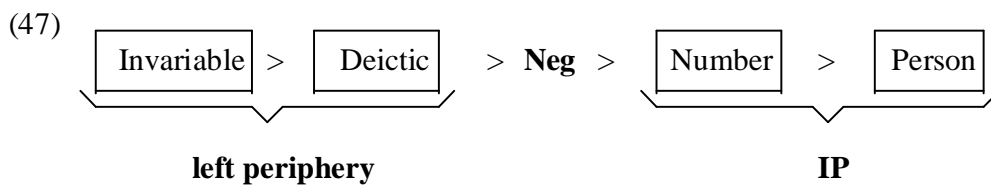
The first test involves the position of SCLs with respect to preverbal negation. Ligurian has a preverbal negative marker, *nu*, which clearly divides Ligurian SCLs in two, as the following examples show:

(48)　i.　Ti　　　　**nu** *ti*　　mangi　　de carne
　　　　　you.StPr　not SCL　eat.pr.2s　of　meat
　　　　　'You don't eat meat'

　　　ii.　A　Teeja *a*　　**nu** mangia　de carne
　　　　　The Teresa　SCL　not eat.pr.3s　of　meat
　　　　　'Teresa doesn't eat meat'

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iii. U Marcu *u* **nu** mangia de carne
the Mark SCL not eat.pr.3s of meat
'Mark doesn't eat meat'

iv. U Giannie a Teeja *i* **nu** mangia de carne
The John and the Teresa SCL not eat.pr.3p of meat
'John and Teresa don't eat meat'

According to these examples, while the second person singular SCL belongs to one of the lower types, third masculine and feminine singular and plural SCLs belong to one of the higher types.

The second test, clustering with the complementiser, helps distinguish between higher and lower SCL types: while Invariable and Deictic SCLs necessarily cluster with the complementiser due to their higher position within the structure, the operation is only optional for Number and Person SCLs. The examples from Ligurian indicate that clustering only occurs with third person singular and plural SCLs:

(49) i. U Gianni u dija **ch' a** canta ben
the John SCL say.pr.3s that SCL sing.pr.3s well
'John says that she sings well'

ii. A dija **ch' u** parta doman
SCL say.pr.3s that SCL leave.pr.3s tomorrow
'She says he's leaving tomorrow

iii. U dija **ch' i** mangian tropu
SCL say.pr.3s that SCL eat.pr.3p too much
'He says that they eat too much'

Lack of clustering yields ungrammaticality, suggesting that third person SCLs, singular ad plural, belong to one of the higher types:

(50)i. *U Gianni   u   dija   **che** **a**   canta ben

the John   SCL   say.pr.3s   that   SCL   sing.pr.3s   well

'John says that she sings well'

ii. *A   dija   **che** **u**   parta   doman

SCL   say.pr.3s   that   SCL   leave.pr.3s tomorrow

'She says he's leaving tomorrow

iii. *U   dija   **che** **i**   mangian tropu

SCL   say.pr.3s   that   SCL   eat.pr.3p   too much

'He says that they eat too much'

Turning now to coordination, under Poletto's system Invariable SCLs can be omitted in the second conjunct of a type 1 coordination, i.e. coordination of two different verbs that share the same subject but have a different object. Ligurian SCLs, not allowing SCL omission, do not pattern with the Invariable type:

(51)i. U Giorgiu   u   mangia   da menestra e ***(u)**   beiva   du vin

The George   SCL   eat.pr.3s   of soup   and SCL   drink.pr.3s of wine

'George eats soup and drinks wine'

ii. A Maria a   canta   cun ti e ***(a)** balla   cun   mi

The Mary SCL   sing.pr.3s   with you and SCL   dance.pr.3s with   me

'Mary sings with you and dances with me'

iii. Ti   mangi   da menestra e ***(ti)** beivi   du vin

SCL   eat.pr.2s   of soup   and SCL   drink.pr.2s of wine

'You eat soup and drink wine'

iv. U Marcu e u Gianni i   mangian da menestra e ***(i)** beivan

The Mark and the John SCL eat.pr.3p of soup   and SCL drink.pr.3p

du vin

of wine

'Mark and John eat soup and drink wine'

Let us now consider another type of coordination, coordination type 3, i.e. coordination of two forms of the same verb that differ from one another in tense or aspect, i.e. they share most semantic and syntactic features so that they can be considered as a complex verb rather than two separate verbs. This particular type of coordination allows us to distinguish between the two post-negative SCL types, Number and Person SCLs: only these latter must be repeated in the second conjunct.

(52) i. Ti   lezi   e (ti) rilezi   sempre   u mejimu libru

SCL   read.pr.2s and SCL re-read.pr.2s always   the same   book

'You read the same book over and over again'

ii. Ti   dija   e (ti) dijeà   sempre   a mejima cosa

SCL   say.pr.2s and SCL say.fut.2s always   the same   thing

'You say and will always say the same thing'

The evidence brought forward in examples in (48) had already highlighted the fact that the second person singular SCL is lower than the others. The examples in (52) confirm this and further indicate that *ti* patterns with the Number SCLs.

Let us now turn to third person SCLs. So far it has been shown that they belong to one of the two higher types, and the coordination 1 test revealed that they pattern with the Deictic type. This last test confirms this: only Invariable SCLs cannot co-occur with a left-dislocated subject. As expected, third person SCLs can:

(53) i. Luatri,   **i**   l'   enan   za   andai
          They.StPr   SCL   L   be.pr.3p   already   go.pple
          'Them, they have already gone'

      ii. Lè,   **u**   a-a   catta?
          He.Ton.Pr   SCL   it.acc.fem   buy.pr.3s
          'And he, is he buying it?'

      iii.A   Teeja, **a**   nu   ghe   l'   ha   anca   dattu
          The Teresa SCL   not   to him it.acc have.pr.3s yet   give.pple
          'Teresa, she's not given it to him/her yet'

And finally, we turn to the compatibility with wh-items: Ligurian SCLs can all co-occur with them:

(54) i. Dunde **ti**   studi?
          Where SCL   study.pr.2s
          'Where do you study?'

      ii. Quand **i**   van   via?
          When   SCL   go.pr.3p   away
          'When are they going?'

      iii. Cus' **u**   disa?
          What   SCL   say.pr.3s
          'What is he saying?'

      iv. Cus' **a**   disa?
          What   SCL   say.pr.3s
          'What is she saying?'

Inversion is not present in Ligurian, neither in yes-no nor in wh-questions.

Concluding, the tests carried out on Ligurian SCLs have revealed that they do not belong all to the same type. Third person SCLs, both singular and plural, pattern with

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one of the higher types, Deictic SCLs, while second person singular shows the typical behaviour of the Number type.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has presented a detailed description and analysis of Turinese and Ligurian SCLs. The main purpose of such an investigation was to provide a solid basis for the identification of the position occupied by *che2* in the 'Double CHE Construction'.

This may seem as an unnecessary lengthy diversion. As discussed in chapter 1 I take linear word order to reflect hierarchical structure; in this light, the linear adjacency between the SCLs and *che2* takes on renewed importance.

Having established that the position occupied by SCLs lies within the left periphery of the clause has important consequences for the items that precede it, i.e. *che2* and subjects, which are investigated in detail in chapter 3.

Chapter 3

The 'Double *che* construction' in Turinese and Ligurian

THE 'DOUBLE *CHE* CONSTRUCTION' IN TURINESE AND LIGURIAN

INTRODUCTION

Two dialects spoken in North-western Italy, a conservative variety of Turinese and a variety of Ligurian – Tur and Lig henceforth – offer an interesting area of research for an investigation on the make up of the CP and of the category COMP.

In some contexts Tur and Lig allow for what appears to be the equivalent of the standard Italian finite complementiser *che* to be realised twice, as a higher *che* (*che1*) and a lower *che* (*che2*). *Che* is also the finite complementiser in the dialects, and it is used in all cases of finite complementation. At present I do not wish to commit myself to identifying both of them as '*complementisers*': although *che1* seems to belong to this category it will be seen in sections 1.4.1 and 1.4.2 that *che2* has particular properties that distinguish it from *che1*, which can be thought of as the canonical complementiser. Thus, until their precise nature and syntactic status is established, they will be simply referred to as *che*.

An example of the data under investigation is shown in (1): throughout this chapter the examples from Tur are marked with a letter of the alphabet (e.g. a, b, c, etc) and those from Lig, with a Roman number (e.g. i, ii, iii, etc):

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

   b. Majo   a   chërde   **che**   Luch   **ch**'a   sia   dësmentiass-ne
       Mario   SCL   believe.pr.3s that   Luke   that SCL   be.S.3s forget.pple.rf-part
       'Mario believes that Luke has forgotten about it'

c. Majo a pensa **che** Franchin **ch'**as n' ancorza

Mario SCL think.pr.3s that Frank that SCL+rf part realise.S.3s

'Mario thinks that Frank realises it'

i. A Teeja a spera **che**u Gianni**ch'**u se tagia i cavei

the Teresa SCL hope.pr.3s that the John that SCL rf cut.S.3s the hair

a-u ciü fitu

at-the more soon

'Teresa hopes that John has his hair cut as soon as possible'

ii. A Teeja a credda **che** a Maria **ch'**a parta duman

the Teresa SCL believe.pr.3s that the Mary that SCL leave.S.pr.3s tomorrow

'Teresa believes that Mary will leave tomorrow'

iii. A Teeja a pensa **che** Ida **ch'**a se ne sciggia pentia

the Teresa SCL think.pr.3s that Ida that SCL rf part be.S.3s repent.pple

'Teresa thinks that Ida has repented of it'

The use of *che2* is not compulsory: all the examples in (1) are perfectly grammatical if *che2* is omitted. Its realisation is, in actual fact, a matter of preference. Nevertheless, its presence is totally excluded from some contexts, as will be seen below, and it is on this negative evidence that I have based my observations. In those contexts that do allow it, *che2* seems to be realised 'more readily' with specific types of verbs that are morphologically composed of the verb stem and a combination of a reflexive and partitive clitics[37], such as Tur *andassne* 'to go away from there', *ambrignesne* 'to not care about it', and Lig *pentisne* 'to repent of it', *acorgesne* 'to realise it'. This is addressed more in depth in section 1.5; at this stage it suffices to descriptively point out this detail.

The aim of this chapter is two-fold. First of all, to provide a detailed description of the structural and distributional properties of the particular construction found in these two

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[37] This is true of Tur and, to a certain extent, of Lig, too.

varieties. The data presented here are mainly unknown: brief reference to the phenomenon can be found in Poletto (2000:61, 148-150) and Goria (2001:149ff). As mentioned in chapter 1, these data are the result of repeated data collection processes carried out throughout my doctoral research. It thus represents a valuable contribution, both for its empirical import and for its relevance to a better understanding of the left periphery. Interpreting the facts presented here and relating them to the theoretical background is the second aim pursued in this chapter.

There are two main sections in this chapter. Section 1 investigates *che2*, the restrictions operating on it, its function, its position, its syntactic status, and it offers an analysis based on the links between C and I. A digression investigates subjunctive mood and the controversial issue of the feature [*irrealis*] often associated with it in the literature. Section 2 turns to the elements that can appear between *che1* and *che2*, focusing on the status of bare quantifier subjects. The issue is addressed again in the next chapter, which presents a comparison between Tur and Romanian.

Unfortunately, my Lig informant interrupted the collaboration due to work commitments half way through my investigation: there are therefore some gaps, and the section on bare quantifier subjects is based on Tur only.

The conclusions reached in this chapter are that *che2* is a morphological marker of modality and that it is a clitic: the term 'modality' is used in a loose sense to refer to the subjunctive. As such it is subject to both syntactic and phonological constraints. Its function is two-fold: semantically, it creates a link with the CP, thus 'anchoring' (cf. Enç, 1987) the verb in the embedded clause by providing a temporal interpretation for the subjunctive; syntactically, it expresses the bundle of mood features of the verb and checks them in a mood-related projection. I will assume a strict dependency between morphology and the ability to undergo movement for checking purposes. I interpret the poor morphological distinction between forms of the indicative and the subjunctive as the reason for which the latter cannot reach the position where such mood features can be checked. *Che2* originates in the head position of the functional projection vP as the expression of such features. Being a clitic, *che2* cannot 'survive' in isolation: a link is established between the semantic clitic nature of the mood features that *che2* carries, which need to be associated with a verb, and its syntactic clitic nature. This link is

instantiated through a c-commanding relation between *che2* and the verb, re-established when the verb raises to check its [person, number] features.

Finally, the investigation of the status of bare quantifier subjects reveals that when they occur to the left of left dislocated phrases they are to be analysed as left dislocated themselves.

SECTION 1 – *CHE2*: INVESTIGATION AND ANALYSIS

1.1 – RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OF *CHE2*

The use of *che2*, in both varieties, is a matter of optionality. It occurs, as the examples above show, in embedded contexts, where the verb in the main clause selects a finite complement. The examples of verbs witnessed are *to think*, *to believe*, and *to hope*. These form a natural class in languages, often referred to as 'verb-of-belief' type.

The optionality on the use of *che2* is problematic insofar as it is impossible to elicit strong and clear-cut judgements from the informants: the acceptability of the sentences ranges over a scale of increasing 'optionality' at the one end and of increasing 'desirability' at the other. We are clearly dealing with grey areas rather than a black-and-white contrast, and as will be seen, even with different shades of grey.

As already mentioned, in some contexts the presence of *che2* makes the sentence completely ungrammatical: these are clear-cut judgements. What are these restrictions? In both dialects, the two *che* cannot appear in a sequence: they must be separated by phonetically realised syntactic material. So, for example, in sentences in which the subject of the embedded clause is null and realised as *pro*[38], and there is no phrasal element interposed between the two *che*, *che2* is not allowed. This can be seen in (2). The restriction holds in both varieties:

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[38] Both Tur and Lig are, just like Standard Italian, null subject languages: an overt subject, be it a pronominal element or a full DP, can be omitted in tensed clauses. As already illustrated in chapter 2, Tur has a complete set of SCLs and Lig an incomplete set, having a clitic only for second singular and third singular and plural in all tensed clauses.

(2) a.   *Ghitin   a   spera   **che**   Ø   **ch'**as   në   vada tòst

         Margaret   SCL   hope.pr.3s   that   pro   that SCL+rf part   go.S.3s soon

         'Margaret hopes that (he/she) leaves as soon as possible'

   b.   *Majo   a   pensa   **che**   Ø   **ch'**a   sia   dësmetiass-ne

         Mario   SCL   think.pr.3s   that   pro   that SCL   be.S.3s forget.pple-part

         'Mario thinks that s/he has forgotten about it'

   c.   *Gioanin   a   chërde   **che**   Ø   **ch'**a   sio   pentiss-ne

         John   SCL   believe.pr.3s   that   pro   that SCL   be.S.3p   repent.pple-part

         'John thinks that they have repented of it'

   i.   *A Maria   a   spera   **che**   Ø   **ch'**i   vegnan   a-u ciü fitu

         the Mary   SCL   hope.pr.3s   that   pro   that SCL   come.S.3p   at-the more soon

         'Mary hopes that they come as soon as possible'

   ii.   *U Mariu   u   pensa   **che**   Ø   **ch'**i   se ne sciggian acorti

         the Mario   SCL   think.pr.3s   that   pro   that SCL   rf part be.S.3p   realise.pple

         'Mario thinks that they have realised it'

   iii.   *U Giorgiu   u   credda   **che**   Ø **ch'**u   se rumpa   cun

         the George   SCL   believe.pr.3s   that   pro that SCL   rf break.S.3s with

         facilitè

         easiness

         'George thinks that it breaks easily'

The second restriction, which operates in conjunction with the first, is on the mood of the verb in the embedded clause. Although there are no restrictions on the tense of the verb in the main clause, the embedded verb must be in the subjunctive mood for *che2* to be realised. The examples in (3) show, respectively, how the present, future and imperfect indicative, and the conditional are not compatible with *che2*, either in Tur or in Lig. The ungrammaticality judgement is very clear:

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

b. Giòrs a spera **che** Majo **(*ch')** as n' andarà tòst
George SCL hope.pr.3s that Mario SCL+rf part go.**fut**.3s soon
'George hopes that Mario will go away soon'

c. Gioanin a dis **che** Marìa miraco**(*ch')** a mangiava
John SCL say.pr.3s that Mary perhaps SCL eat.**imperf.**3s
già nen ëd carn a la Pasca
already not of meat at the Easter
'John says that Mary wasn't already eating meat at Easter'

d. Majo a pensa **che** Franchin **(*ch')** as n' ancorzerìa
Mario SCL think.pr.3s that Frank SCL+rf part realise.**cond**.3s
'Mario thinks that Frank would realize it'

i. U Gianniu disa **che** a Maria **(*ch')** a nu mangia de
TheJohn SCL say.pr.3s that the Mary SCL not eat.**pr**.3s of
rainocce
frogs
'John says that Mary does not eat frogs'

ii. U Francu u spera **che** u Gianni**(*ch')** u telefuneà a-u
TheFrank SCL hope.pr.3s that the John SCL phone.**fut**.3sat-the
ciü fitu
more soon
'Frank hopes that John phones as soon as possible'

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iii. U Gianniu dija **che** a Teeja e u Mariu **(*ch')** i

the John SCL say.pr.3s that the Teresa and the Mario SCL

vueivan zogà a-e carte

want.**imperf**.3p play.inf at-the cards

John says that Teresa and Mario wanted to play cards'

iv. U Gianniu credda **che** Margaitin **(*ch')** a mangeescia

the John SCL believe.pr.3s that Margaret SCL eat.**cond**.3s

guentea sta turta

willingly this cake

'John thinks that Margaret would eat this cake willingly'

The conclusion to be drawn is that the subjunctive is the only mood compatible with *che2*.

The two restrictions described here operate simultaneously: in order for *che2* to be licit the embedded verb must be in the subjunctive AND there must be phonetically realised syntactic material between the two *che*. Each of them in isolation is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the realisation of *che2*: it is their combination that captures the evidence. This can be expressed in a conjunctive formula:

(4)   Insert *che2* if and only if:

a.   there is phonetically realised syntactic material between the two *che*,

AND

b.   the embedded verb is in the subjunctive mood.

(A first approximation)

Lets us look at each in turn.

The resistance against *che1* and *che2* appearing in a sequence is similar to the observation made by a number of authors – cf. Menn and MacWhinney (1983), Yip (1998) among others – that languages avoid the accidental repetition of morphemes. A parallel restriction is witnessed at the phonological level: the Obligatory Contour

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Principle – cf. Leben (1973), Goldsmith (1979a) and much subsequent work – requires adjacent morphemes to be contrastive.

Neeleman and van de Koot (2001) investigate the ways in which languages cope with repetitions of morphemes at the syntactic level: there can be 'tolerance' towards the repetition, or suppletion of one of the forms with another morphologically related but at the same time distinct form, or 'merging' of the two forms into one which cumulatively expresses the features of each individual one, or deletion of one of the morphemes. The latter is defined as haplology, a process by which one of the offending morphemes is suppressed. It seems plausible to assume that syntactic haplology is also active in Tur and Lig and the all the examples in (3) are ungrammatical because the process has not applied. Some further support for this analysis can be found in the way personal pronouns combine with each other. In Tur the second person singular reflexive pronoun and the second person singular SCL are homophonous, *it*. As discussed in chapter 2, Tur requires SCLs to be present in all finite contexts. When the two *it* need to be realised simultaneously – i.e. in a finite sentence with a second person singular subject and a reflexive clitic – instead of realising them both, as in *ti* (strong pronoun, you) *it* (SCL) *it* (reflexive clitic) *mange j'onge* 'you bite your nails', Tur deletes one of the two, *ti it mange j'onge*. Prescriptively, it is not correct to write the remaining morpheme as '*it*': the graphic convention is to signal the presence of the reflexive form by using an apostrophe, *i't*. Neeleman and van de Koot (2001) claim that the same language may resort to more than one strategy to prevent the repetition of morphemes: thus, if *it* was to be analysed as *i't*, it could be claimed that Tur could either apply the deletion or the suppletion rule.

Concluding, the first restriction that applies to the realisation of *che2* is not a constraint unique to the DCC but the effect of a more general strategy to which the language resorts to avoid the adjacent realisation of identical morphemes.

The focus is thus directed to the second one, the link with the subjunctive. What sort of dependency is it? Is it semantic? Or syntactic? Or the result of a combination of both syntactic and semantic factors?

The answer to these questions is not straightforward and immediate: it will therefore be necessary to investigate *che2* and its relation with the subjunctive in further detail.

The investigation of SCLs carried out in chapter 2 has revealed that in Tur and Lig those clitics that form a cluster with *che2* – all SCLs in Tur and third person singular and plural in Lig – belong to one of the higher types identified in Poletto's (2000) system, the Deictic type. These, together with Invariable SCLs occupy a position within the CP: given that *che2* necessarily precedes them, the conclusion to be drawn is that *che2* is itself in the left periphery. Further support for this claim is given in sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2.

The CP does not consist of a single projection and the exact position occupied by *che2* is not immediately apparent. It is necessary to address the issue concerning its function, which, in turn, requires an investigation of the subjunctive, pursued in section 1.2.

So far it has been shown that *che2* can only be realised if the verb in the embedded clause is in the subjunctive mood. This applies to both cases where the subjunctive is selected as an embedded verb by a higher predicate or indeed when it is selected by a conjunction, in relative clauses and as a suppletive form for the imperative and in optative clauses. The examples (5) a, b, i and ii show dependency from a conjunction, (5) c and d show its occurrence in relative clauses and (5) e and f its use as a suppletive form for the imperative in Tur:

(5)   a. <u>Contut</u>che'l temp **ch'**a fussa pët pët, i soma
with all that the weather that SCL be.S.imperf.3s so so SCL be.pr.1p
'ndàit a marcé an montagna
go.pple to walk.in in mountain
'Although the weather was not promising, we went walking in the mountains'

    b. I veno volonté, <u>basta mach che</u> Gioann **ch'**a staga
SCLcome.pr.1s willingly as long as John that SCL stay.S.3s
nen solo
not alone
'I will come willingly as long as John is not left on his own'

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c. 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 doctor who believes in alternative medicine'

d. March a   serca   na fomna **che**,   ëd coste   robe,   **ch'**as

Mark   SCL   search.pr.3s a   woman who   of these   things   that SCL+rf

n'   ambrigna

part   not care.S.3s

'Mark is looking for a woman who does not care about these things'

e. **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!'

f. **Che**   'l cél   **ch'**am   giuta!

that   the sky   that SCL+I.acc help.S.3s

'Heavens help me!'

i. U Gianni u l' é   entrà   <u>senza   che</u>u Mariu **ch'**u   se n'

the John   SCLL   be.pr.3s enter.pple   without that   the Mario   that SCL   rf part

acursescia

realise.S.imperf.3s

'John came in without Mario realising it'

ii. Vegnu   cun   ti <u>basta che</u>   me mae   **ch'**a   nu   resta   da

come.pr.1s with   you as long as   my mum   that SCL   not   stay.S.3s   by

sula

alone

'I will come with you as long as my mum is not left on her own'

These examples reinforce the relation between *che2* and the subjunctive. Furthermore, they underline that the role played by the selecting verb does not seem to be the issue at stake here: the focus is directed away from the semantic properties of the predicate and turned to the actual relation of dependency between *che2* and the subjunctive, whatever its 'existing' environment is.

With these premises it seems plausible to acknowledge that the realisation of *che2* is unequivocally dependent on the presence of the subjunctive. In order to understand the nature of such a connection, a diversion into the investigation of the nature of the subjunctive is necessary.

1.2 – THE SUBJUNCTIVE

The subjunctive has often been analysed in opposition to the indicative. The dichotomy between them is a rather complex issue, both because of the extent of cross-linguistic variation and for the difficulties faced by a semantic analysis aimed at capturing what appear to be the many idiosyncrasies displayed by languages.

 This opposition has been investigated in terms of *realis* and *irrealis* mood: this section will briefly touch upon the issue, to highlight how this is an intuitive rather than an effectively explanatory classification.

I will start with a brief overview of the main analyses that have been proposed for the subjunctive mood in the literature, which highlight the difficulty of capturing the meaning and function of the subjunctive cross-linguistically.

1.2.1 – AN OVERVIEW OF PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS – *REALIS* AND *IRREALIS*

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 their different domains. 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 research on the contrast between indicative and subjunctive has also served another purpose, i.e. to investigate and describe modality. Modality is a category that closely

interacts with two others, tense and aspect, to provide information on the predication of an event in a given sentence. Tense refers to the time span in which the event takes place; aspect to the nature of such an event, e.g. whether the action has a starting and an end point, whether it is ongoing, etc, namely its 'internal temporal constituency' (cf. Comrie, 1976:3). Modality is concerned with the speaker's attitude towards a given event, i.e. whether it is possible or necessary that something happens or has happened (epistemic modalities), or whether the speaker has the intention or desire or ability to do something, or still, whether the speaker is obliged to do something or give permission to do something (deontic modalities). The speaker's attitude can be expressed by means of verbal mood in one language or by means of mood markers, independent words such as modals, auxiliaries, particles, in another.

The traditional interpretation of the indicative/subjunctive contrast in embedded contexts is based on the opposition between, respectively, *realis* and *irrealis*, i.e. between the real and the non-real worlds – cf. Sapir (1930), Mithun (1999), Roberts (1990), Palmer (1986, 2001) among others:

> '…*The notion of different possible worlds would seem to be a basic domain of human cognition such as time and space and therefore reflected in language. Also basic is the notion of 'real' world versus possible or 'unreal' world. While there can be many possible worlds there can only be one real world. The real world is one in which events are actualized. Other non-real worlds are then related to the real world by modal concepts'.*
>
> Roberts (1990:367)

Or, in other words,

> '…*a* realis *proposition prototypically asserts that an event or state is an actualised or certain fact of reality, while an* irrealis *proposition prototypically implies that an event belongs to the realm of the imagined or hypothetical, and as such it constitutes a potential or possible event but it is not an observable fact or reality'.*
>
> Elliott (2000:66-67)

Thus the two terms identify domains equivalent to those defined by the terms 'assertion' and 'non-assertion', which are referred to later on in this section.

One of the earliest occurrences of the term *irrealis* can be found in Sapir (1930:168): the *irrealis* mood suffix in Southern Paiute is described as indicating:

> '...that the activity expressed by the verb is unreal, i.e. either merely potential or contrary to fact'
>
> Sapir (1930:168, in Elliott, 2000:55)

Since then, the terms *realis* and *irrealis* have met the favour of a great number of linguists, and have been widely adopted in a variety of theoretical frameworks, largely due to the intuitive distinction that they make between a declarative (or real) and a non-declarative (or non-real) world. More specifically:

> '...The realis *portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The* irrealis *portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination'.*
>
> Mithun (1999:173)

Palmer (1986, 2001), a comprehensive cross-linguistic investigation of the categories of mood and modality, makes *realis* and *irrealis* two of the basic notions upon which his study rests. Their validity, he claims, derives from the fact that they have the advantage over other terms such as 'factual' and 'non-factual', or 'real' and 'unreal' of being:

> '...obviously technical, avoiding any connotations of the more familiar terms'.
>
> Palmer (2001:1)

As well as being accepted as notional features, *realis* and *irrealis* are also interpreted as typological categories, Realis and Irrealis, obtained from the former through a process of grammaticalisation. By adopting this terminology, Palmer also embraces the implication that the category of modality ranges over two distinct values.

In Elliott (2000) *realis* and *irrealis* are re-analysed as *values* for a grammatical category rather than as a specific category themselves. Examining a number of Australian, Austronesian and Papuan languages, she argues for the recognition of *reality status* as a grammatical category, interpreted as in Lyons (1977), namely the result of the grammaticalisation of a semantic feature that contains contrasting elements. This category ranges over two values, *realis* and *irrealis.* By doing so Elliott aims to reconcile the confusion between modality on the one hand and *irrealis* on the other: the two are often discussed in terms of each other, and the contextual assumptions underlying epistemic and deontic modalities can be described as *irrealis* in terms of their reality status.

The binary distinction that the terms *realis* and *irrealis* imply is also adopted by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, 2000). Although they see the limitations of the coarse-grained distinction generated by the adoption of such terminology, which runs into difficulties when trying to account for cross-linguistic variation, Giorgi and Pianesi base their analysis of mood choice on it. By recognising that the semantic factors that determine the choice between indicative and subjunctive in a clause are largely, though not entirely, determined by the properties of the selecting matrix verb, they divide predicates in two classes, the indicative and the subjunctive. The choice of the indicative over the subjunctive or vice versa reflects the 'evaluation context', i.e. the semantic environment in which the truth of a proposition is evaluated:

> '...the indicative mood appears whenever the (proposition corresponding to) a given clause is true of the actual world (*realis*), and the subjunctive appears when it is not true of the actual world...'
>
> Giorgi and Pianesi (1997:201)

In spite of the high degree of acceptance of the terms *realis* and *irrealis*, the consensus they have obtained is by no means unanimous. Doubts have been raised about the validity of the distinction they make. The lack of a precise, commonly accepted and clear definition of the domains identified by these two terms has been met by some scepticism as to the actual import of their adoption. What has been mostly called into question is the typological validity of the binary system in the expression of modality

that the adoption of these terms generates. Bybee et al (1994), Bybee and Fleischman (1995:9-10) and Bybee (1998), among others, have raised a number of objections. The first concerns the term *irrealis* itself:

> *'...the term 'irrealis' is simply too general to be useful,*
> *except as a pointer to a very broad domain'*
>
> Bybee (1998:269)

The second concerns the fact that modality is rarely realised in language in such a binary way: the expressions designated to instantiate modality are placed along a continuum, with 'real' at one end and 'unreal' on the other, rather than in two well delimited and separated values.

The third concerns the observation that there is great variation between languages as to what grammatically bears the *realis / irrealis* distinction, and that there is a considerable mismatch

> *'...between the* irrealis *as defined and the actual distribution*
> *of forms in languages'.*
>
> Bybee et al (1994:238)

Chung and Timberlake (1985), also support this view, observing that:

> *'... there is great variation between languages as to which*
> *events are evaluated as actual (and expressed morphologically*
> *by the* realis *mood) vs non-actual (and expressed by the* irrealis
> *mood)'.*
>
> Chung and Timberlake (1985:241)

Furthermore, there is also the relation between mood selected and the selecting verb: the binary distinction seems to run into serious difficulties. As noted by Farkas (1992), so-called 'fiction verbs' like 'to dream' or 'to fantasise', which never force the hearer to assume the truth of their complement, should select the subjunctive in a system which ascribes to the binary *realis / irrealis* distinction. This is not the case, and the choice of mood is subject to considerable cross-linguistic variation: while the embedded clause

selected by 'to dream' takes the indicative in Italian, French and Romanian, the complement of 'to imagine' takes the indicative in French and Romanian and either the indicative or the subjunctive in Italian.

In a similar fashion, a *realis / irrealis* distinction cannot account for cases where a language allows both the indicative and the subjunctive in a particular context. Part of this mismatch generates from the identification of two sets of terms – indicative and subjunctive on one hand and *realis* and *irrealis* on the other – which have been used to capture very different realities. While the former have been mainly used to describe European languages, where mood distinctions are marked on the tense system, thus being closely integrated with person, number, tense and voice, *realis* and *irrealis* have been introduced by investigating the native languages of North America and the languages of the Pacific, where mood is often marked by single words, affixes or clitics – cf. Palmer (2001:150-152). Without denying the intuitive value of the distinction the two terms make, it is clear that a direct application of the characteristics and properties of the *realis / irrealis* dichotomy observed in the languages of North America and the Pacific which could satisfactorily and exhaustively account for the mood nuances of language in general is not a viable option.

Let us turn to the data at hand, where there does not seem to be a one-to-one correspondence between subjunctive mood and *irrealis*. First, non-real events may be described using a variety of tenses or paraphrases: in Tur, for example, the future indicative is used by a speaker who wants to express, as well as an action that it still to take place, a certain degree of uncertainty about an event. Thus, while (6) a states that it is certain that the girls will do the washing up, perhaps because it has been already decided, (6) b states that this may happen, although it is not certain:

(6)   a. Le   fije   a   lavo   ij piat
            The   girls   SCL   wash.pr.3p the dishes
            'The girls are going to do the washing up'

b. Le   fije   a   lavran   ij   piat

   The   girls   SCL   wash.fut.3p the   dishes

   'The girls may do the washing up'

The same is also witnessed in Lig:

(6)   i. A Teeja   a   canta   duman

      the Teresa   SCL   sing.pr.3s tomorrow

      'Teresa is going to sing tomorrow'

      ii. A Teeja   a   canteà   duman

      the Teresa   SCL   sing.fut.3s tomorrow

      'Teresa may sing tomorrow'

Conversely, the subjunctive may be used to describe events other than non-real ones.
One of the most eloquent examples concerns the so-called 'factive-emotives' (a term
used, for example, by Farkas, 1992) such as 'to hate', 'to regret', 'to be sorry' and so on.
Factive verbs derive their name from the fact that they imply the truth of the
complement they select, and the embedded clause can be introduced by the paraphrase
'the fact that', e.g. 'John hates (the fact that) Mary does not laugh at his jokes'. In other
words, the clause embedded under a factive verb is, using the terms discussed above,
[+*realis*]. Yet, the verb of the embedded clause is in the subjunctive mood in standard
Italian as well as in Tur and Lig, as shown, respectively, in the examples (7), (7) a and i:

(7)   A Maria dispiace   che   Gianni parta   così   presto

         to Mary feel sorry.pr.3s that   John   leave.S.3s   so   soon

         'Mary is sorry that John leaves so soon'

      a. Marìa a   regreta   che   Giòrs ch'a   sia   dësmentiass-ne

         Mary SCL   regret.pr.3s that George that SCL be.S.3s forget.pple.rf-part

         'Mary regrets the fact that George forgot about it'

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i. A-a   Maria ghe   despiaza   che   u Mario ch'u   sbragia
   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'

Concluding, there are cases of *irrealis* being expressed through tenses/moods other than the subjunctive and cases of the subjunctive expressing *realis*. After the considerations put forward here, it is apparent that the relation between *irrealis* and subjunctive is not an exclusive one, at least not in the varieties taken into consideration, and as it stands, it cannot be maintained.

1.2.2 – AN OVERVIEW OF PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS – OTHERS

Alternative analyses of the subjunctive have been proposed exploiting both syntactic and semantic theories and frameworks. A comprehensive overview can be found in Quer (1998:5-27) and in Portner (1998)[39].

Some linguists – cf. Bolinger (1968b), elaborated in Terrell and Hooper (1974), and Klein (1975) – have argued that the use of the indicative and the subjunctive can be accounted for in terms of 'assertion' and 'non-assertion'. In particular, the subjunctive indicates that the predicated situation is purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination. The existential domains identified by these concepts seem to be rather similar to those created by the notions of *realis* and *irrealis* without any real advantage.

Others have analysed the subjunctive as an operator or an operator-licensed element – cf. Kempchinsky (1987), Avrutin and Babyonyshev (1997), based on the lexico-semantic properties of the selecting predicate. This has led to the recognition of two types of subjunctive: one, complement to volitional and directive verbs, and another, embedded under epistemic predicates. In the former, but not in the latter, the embedded complementiser is an operator.

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[39] This latter is more about mood in general.

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Manzini (1996) reaches a similar conclusion starting from different premises: considering that the subjunctive is triggered not only when selected by a predicate but also by an operator such as Neg, Q and If, she concludes that T is morphologically realised as a subjunctive whenever there is a syntactic dependency. In other words, it is the syntactic dependency that triggers the subjunctive.

On the same lines, Barbaud (1991) recognises three subsets in the category 'subjunctive' in French: the subjunctive of selection, dependent on a lexical head (e.g. selected by one of N, A or P), the induced subjunctive, dependent on some grammatical element in the main clause (e.g. selected by Neg, indefinite relative clauses, etc), and illocutionary subjunctive, appearing in jussive, hypothetical and desiderative contexts – selected by the characterisation of the sentence-type. What the three types have in common is a dependency relation with an element higher in the clause, be it overtly realised as a verb or null as a clause-type operator.

The lexico-semantic properties of sentence-embedding verbs are the focus of Farkas (1992), Giannakidou (1998) and Quer (1998, 2001), who investigate their interaction with discourse interpretation and context change. The former two exploit the different selectional properties of two types of predicates, strong and weak intensional predicates, as defined by McCawley (1981)[40], which select, respectively, subjunctive and indicative mood complements. Quer proposes that mood constitutes the overt marking of information about model interpretation and does not adopt a rigid approach: rather than concentrating on the mood itself, he focuses on mood changes, analysing them as the overt marking of shift of the model for the evaluation of the proposition.

Other linguists – cf. Picallo (1984), Progovac (1993, 1994), Raposo (1985-86) – have focussed on the 'dependent' nature of the subjunctive, interpreting it in syntactic terms: in order to receive its temporal interpretation, the subjunctive completely relies on the tense specification of the matrix clause. This relationship is expressed though a syntactic

---

[40] According to McCawley's (1981) classification, the two types of predicates are defined in terms of assertive context change potential. Weak intensional predicates are categorical epistemics, such as 'to believe' and 'to think', declaratives such as 'to say', commissives such as 'to promise' and fiction verbs such as 'to dream', and they introduce a single world where the content of the proposition predicated about is true. Strong intensional predicates are modals, directives, desideratives, and they introduce a set of worlds where the propositional content is true.

relation, anaphoricity, established between the temporal features of the subjunctive and those of the verb in the root clause.

Others still exploit the parallelism between the nominal and clausal domain, establishing a parallel between subjunctive and indefinite NPs – cf. Tsoulas (1994) and Giannakidou (1995). Tsoulas (1994) observes how clausal indefiniteness can be realised through features that can either be hosted in C° or in I° (T°), yielding different results. More specifically:

> '...a. [-DEFINITE] in C gives raise to (Inflected) Infinitive-
> type structures with particular COMPs;
> b. [-DEFINITE] in I results in specific morphology,
> sometimes bound, French subjunctives, and sometimes not,
> English infinitival to'.

Summing up, alternative (i.e. not invoking the *realis / irrealis* distinction) accounts of the subjunctive are based:

·   on the lexico-semantic properties of the selecting verb,

·   or on a parallel between the nominal and clausal domains and specificity,

·   on the syntactic interpretation of such semantic properties as a 'dependency' syntactic relation.

1.2.3 – AN EVALUATION

Although very attractive from a theoretical point of view, a purely semantic analysis of the subjunctive is not desirable for the degree of idiosyncrasies that one is forced to allow in order to answer for cross-linguistic variation. Conversely, if one is to formulate an analysis that is lax enough to account for the great degree of variation, it is inevitable that the assumptions underlying it be too loose with the result of over-generation.

An example of the first case can be seen, for example, in Farkas (1992). Her analysis is formulated on an investigation of French and Romanian, and her account of the choice between indicative and subjunctive, expressed in terms of accessibility relations[41], relies

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[41] Cf. Farkas (1992:85):'...*the choice between the indicative and the subjunctive is whether the proposition is interpreted with respect to a particular world or whether it is interpreted with respect to a set of worlds...*'.

on the properties of the selecting predicate. In her system, both 'to say' and 'to believe' fall in the weak intensional predicate class, which, as we have seen above, typically select the indicative by introducing a single world where the proposition can be evaluated. Both in standard Italian and the dialects while 'to say' selects the indicative, 'to believe' selects the subjunctive. Thus, their different behaviour is not captured by a theory founded on the distinction between strong and weak intensional predicates. Farkas herself recognises how cases of embedded subjunctives in Italian cannot be accounted for under her theory. She keeps them separate from the other data and labels them as cases of 'subjunctive of indirect speech'. This is how she justifies the use of the subjunctive in these particular cases:

> '...In these cases then the conditional or the subjunctive are used to indicate that a proposition is not to be taken as true ... Note that the use of the non-indicative in the complements of declaratives does not commit the speaker to a negative evaluation of the propositional content of the complements; the non-indicative mood simply stresses that the speaker is not committed to a positive valuation. The complement is therefore not counterfactual but rather 'afactual' as far as the speaker is concerned...'.
>
> Farkas (1992:82)

Under this approach, cases of subjunctive embedded under factive emotive verbs (e.g. 'to hate') would not be accounted: taking them as examples of indirect speech, the use of the subjunctive would erroneously imply the 'afactuality' of the complement.
A similar situation is witnessed in Giorgi and Pianesi (1997). Their account arranges predicates according to two types, as we have seen, the indicative and the subjunctive. If arranged along an imaginary line in order of increasing 'indicativeness', there seems to be uniformity across languages as to the types of verbs that belong to the extreme positions, i.e. some verb types consistently select indicative complements across languages and some verbs do the same for subjunctive complements. The area lying between these two extremes, on the other hand, presents a high level of cross-linguistic variation, which is to be considered dependent on idiosyncratic properties of those languages. Such a system would not be able to account for those cases in which the

subjunctive is found embedded under a conjunction or negation, or when it acts as a suppletive form of the imperative, since it would still imply that the semantic factors just described are at work.

The second case is represented by an attempt I made to apply semantic criteria to the facts in Tur and Lig. The proposal (Paoli, 2001, 2002) relies on the link between the subjunctive and a loose concept of modality as previously described, i.e. as an expression of the attitude towards the content of the proposition uttered: this is not the speaker's attitude but, as explained below, the attitude of the subject of predication.

I have claimed that *che2*, and consequently the use of the subjunctive, can find some justification if interpreted as an indication of the *subjective/personal* character of what is being communicated. Such a suggestion is motivated by the nature of factive emotive verbs, which represent a sort of paradox, in that they select a subjunctive complement and at the same time they imply its truth.

This paradox could be overcome and the use of the subjunctive justified if we looked at them from another perspective. These types of verbs derive their name from the fact that as well as predicating about a fact that has happened, and is therefore, real, have an 'emotive' import. In the sentence '*A Mario dispiace che Laura sia partita*' – Mario is sorry that Laura has left – the verb *dispiacere* 'to be sorry' introduces a fact, Laura's departure, and also predicates about Mario's reaction to the fact, i.e. he is sorry about it. We could therefore say that factive emotive predicates just as their name suggests, contribute information on two levels: they assert the truth value of the selected clause and they express the personal view that the subject of predication holds. Once the existence of these two levels is recognised, the 'paradox' finds a straightforward explanation.

The 'emotive' import of the factive emotive predicates thus justifies the choice of the subjunctive, taken to be the means to express 'subjectivity', versus the 'objectivity' import of the indicative. Their factive character rests in the asserted truth value of the complement selected.

In a similar fashion, the use of the subjunctive with verbs such as 'to hope', 'to believe' and 'to think' would be justified as an expression of the 'subjective' import they contribute to the meaning of the sentence, and the subjunctive found in suppletive forms

of the imperative in optatives and directives would also be a reflection of the emotional import.

Stretching this idea to account for the subjunctive selected by conjunctions such as *benché* 'although', it could be claimed that it expresses some sort of surprise from the subject of predication, i.e. their emotional reaction, with respect to a fact that happened contrary to expectations. As for other conjunctions such as *senza che* 'without' it could be claimed that they depend on the negative operator included in '*senza*', literally 'without', and therefore be treated on the same lines as cases of negative polarity subjunctive[42]: there would be no room for the newly introduced idea of 'subjectivity' or 'emotional import'.

Although mildly justifiable from an intuitive point of view, this interpretation relies on a rather vague concept of 'subjectivity' and 'personal import', much on a par with the criticised notions of *realis* and *irrealis*, which I am unable to refine and elaborate on. Needless to say, an attempt at applying it cross-linguistically would highlight its total inadequacy.

It lies outside the scope of this thesis to engage in a detailed analysis of the semantics of the subjunctive, since this in itself would constitute material for a life-time crusade whose outcome would not necessarily be a clear result. I interpret the observations just made as an indication that an analysis that takes the semantics as given and concentrates on the syntax may offer a more appropriate description, if not an explanation, of the phenomenon.

Concluding, I will not pursue any further a semantic characterisation of the subjunctive, and, consequently, of the semantic function of *che2*. Whatever the specific semantics linked to the subjunctive, here I will simply acknowledge that *che2* is an expression of mood, interpreted here in a non-specific, loose sense. The two proposals made by Manzini (1996) and Barbaud (1991) will be considered again in section 1.4.2.

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[42] Negative polarity items were first defined in English as a rather non-homogenous group of adverbs adjectives and idiomatic expressions that may only be used in a sentence whose main verb is negated – such as 'any', 'yet', 'in years' etc. The reader is referred to the vast literature on the subject and to Nathan (1984), Borgonovo (2001) and Acquaviva (2001), among others.

1.3 – *CHE2*: POSITION

In chapter 2, the investigation of those elements that cluster with *che2*, SCLs, suggested that *che2* belongs to the CP domain. There is more evidence supporting this conclusion.

1.3.1 – EVIDENCE FROM RELATED PHENOMENA

When introducing the varieties under investigation, Tur was described as a 'conservative' variety of Tur due to both lexical and syntactic choices made by its speakers – cf. chapter 1, section 4.1. Only a few Italian dialects have maintained the present subjunctive, and some, for example Tur and Lig as seen above, are losing or have completely lost the distinction between indicative and subjunctive. This is especially true for the present subjunctive, which has been replaced by the present indicative.

Thus, the 'conservatism' of the speakers who use *che2* could also be seen in their keeping indicative and subjunctive distinct.

Che2 is not used at all by the younger generations: as well as lacking *che2* the latter also lack a number of other constructions. I want to claim that these are all linked, in that the conservative speakers have 'more syntactic structure' at their disposal.

Let us exemplify this. The conservative speakers form wh-questions resorting to two question marker strategies at the same time, the overt realisation of the complementiser *che* after the wh-element AND SCL–verb inversion. The younger generations only make use of the first strategy. Parry (1996) in an investigation of the formation of interrogatives in the various Piedmontese dialects observes how in some varieties there is the insertion of the finite complementiser and in others the alternative is chosen, i.e. SCL-verb inversion. From a diachronic point of view, subject-verb inversion was the first one to occur, already apparent in the 12th century 'Sermoni subalpini': this strategy was in fact used whenever the first element of the clause was not the subject. The insertion of *che* in interrogative clauses is a common phenomenon that concerns other North Italian varieties as well as popular French: it first appeared in embedded contexts and then spread to main clauses. Parry reports examples dating back to the 1860s for Piedmontese.

Turning now to the contemporary data, the following examples show the difference between the two types of Tur:

(8)   a. Coma **ch'**it   l' has-**to**   cusinà?   Conservative Tur

          how   that SCL   L   have.pr.2s-SCL cook.pple

          'How have you cooked it?'

    b. Chi   **ch'**a   ven-**lo**   stasséira?   Conservative Tur

          who   that SCL   come.pr.3s-SCL tonight

          'Who is coming tonight?'

    c. Coma **ch'**it   l' has   cusinà?   Younger Gens Tur

          how   that SCL   L   have.pr.2s   cook.pple

          'How have you cooked it?'

    d. Chi   **ch'**a   ven   stasséira?   Younger Gens Tur

          who   that SCL   come.pr.3s tonight

          'Who is coming tonight?'

It has been argued, for example by Goldsmith (1979b), among others, that complementiser and subject–verb inversion in interrogative clauses are in complementary distribution[43]. Maintaining that subject–verb inversion is an instantiation of V-to-C movement, as maintained by, among others, den Besten (1983) and Poletto (2000), I would like to interpret the evidence in (8) as a further indication that the extra position made available by *che2* in the older speakers belongs to the left periphery of the clause.

A final piece of additional evidence can be derived from the observation of the relative position of other elements. It is generally accepted (cf. Zanuttini, 1997) that Neg° subcategorises for IP complements, thus marking the boundary between the CP and the

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[43] In the pre-split CP days, this was interpreted as the two competing for the same position. Although this interpretation is no longer acceptable within Rizzi's (1997) system, it indicates that subject clitic–verb inversion is an instance of V-to-C movement.

IP. Comparing the relative positions of the negative marker and *che2* can therefore help identify the position occupied by the latter.

In Tur negation is expressed post-verbally, by either *nen* or *pa*, so unfortunately this test cannot be applied. In Lig, on the other hand, negation is pre-verbal, expressed by *nu*, which precedes the second person singular subject clitic *ti*, but follows the third person singular *a* and *u* and plural *i*. When *che2* is triggered, it appears to the left of negation, thus suggesting that it belongs to the CP rather than the IP domain:

(9)   i.   A Maria   a   credda   che, a quest'ua, **ch'**u **nu**   suna   u
           the Mary   SCL   believe.pr.3s that at this time   that SCL not   play.subj.3s the
           campanellu   nisciun
           bell   nobody
           'Mary thinks that, at this time, nobody would ring the bell'

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

Concluding, the relevance that the evidence gathered in chapter 2 has for the identification of the position occupied by *che2* finds further support in the following facts:

·   the formation of Tur interrogatives in the conservative speakers suggests that the 'extra' position available to them is in the CP, and is related to the presence of *che2*;

·   the relative order of negation and *che2* in Lig suggest that *che2* is higher than negation and therefore belongs to the CP domain.

Section 1.3.2 is a brief investigation of the relative position of *che2* and some of the 'higher' adverbs in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. No conclusive evidence is found.

Cinque's (1999) adverb hierarchy rests on the theoretical assumption that adverbs occupy the Specifier position of an ordered system of projections expressing mood, aspect and tense information. These positions are fixed, so that any differences in word order between an element and these adverbs is to be interpreted as an indication that the element has undergone movement. The various functional projections are all assumed to belong to the IP: they are, in actual fact, its decomposition.

The evidence gathered in this section is not conclusive: even if the relative position of *che2* and the adverbs seems to indicate that the modal particle occupies a position within the IP, evidence from other dialects questions the IP status of these adverbs, consequently questioning the results shown.

The data presented here is from Tur only.

The adverbs that are tested here belong to the higher types, i.e. those that are at the top edge of the IP: *për boneur* 'fortunately', *belavans* 'unfortunately', *miraco* 'perhaps' and *për forsa* 'necessarily'. Other high adverbs such as 'frankly', 'allegedly' and 'probably' could not be tested: the first does not have an equivalent and is interpreted as a focalising element – cf. *Franch Gioann* 'John himself'; the second does not exist and the third is translated as a circumlocution, *a peul desse*, lit 'it can give' – cf. standard Italian *può darsi*.

This is the order in which these adverbs appear in Cinque's hierarchy:

frankly > fortunately / unfortunately > … > probably > … > perhaps/necessarily

The same order is also found in Tur:

(10) a. Për   boneur miraco a   ven   nen
          for   fortune perhaps SCL come.pr.3s not

      b. *Miraco për boneur   a   ven   nen
          perhaps   for fortune SCL   come.pr.3s not
          'Luckily perhaps s/he will not come'

c. Belavans miraco a ven nen

    unfortunately   perhaps SCL   come   not

d. *Miraco belavans a ven nen

    perhaps   unfortunately   SCL   come   not

    'Unfortunately perhaps s/he will not come'

Miraco 'perhaps' and *për forsa* 'necessarily' are semantically opposites and cannot co-occur in the same sentence; their relative order cannot be tested.

Let us look at their interaction with *che2*.

Che2 is not allowed to the left of *për boneur* 'fortunately':

(11) a. Gioanin a pensa che Maria <u>për boneur</u> **ch'a** **sia**

    John   SCL   think.pr.3s that Mary   for fortune that SCL   be.S.3s

    andass-ne

    go.pple-part+rf

b. Gioanin a pensa che <u>për boneur</u> Maria **ch'a** **sia**

    John   SCL   think.pr.3s that for fortune Mary   that SCL   be.S.3s

    andass-ne

    go.pple-part+rf

c. *Gioanin a pensa che Maria **ch'a** **sia** <u>për boneur</u>

    John   SCL   think.pr.3s that Mary   that SCL   be.S.3s for fortune

    andass-ne

    go.pple-rf+part

    'John thinks that luckily Mary has gone'

The same is also true for *belavans* 'unfortunately':

(12) a. Gioanin a chërd che belavans Maria **ch'a** **sia**
John SCL believe.pr.3s that unfortunately Mary that SCL be.S.3s
dësmentiass-ne
forget.pple-rf+part

b. Gioanin a chërd che Maria belavans **ch'a** **sia**
John SCL believe.pr.3s that Mary unfortunately that SCL be.S.3s
dësmentiass-ne
forget.pple-rf+part

c. * Gioanin a chërd che Maria **ch'a sia** belavans
John SCL believe.pr.3s that Mary that SCL be.S.3s unfortunately
dësmentiass-ne
forget.pple-rf+part
'John thinks that unfortunately Mary has forgotten about it'

The same order restrictions also apply to *për forsa* 'necessarily' and *miraco* 'perhaps':

(13) a. Maria a pensa che për forsa Ghitin **ch'as** **në** torna
Mary SCL think.pr.3s that for force Margaret that SCL+rf part return.S.3s
a cà
to home

b. Maria a pensa che Ghitin për forsa **ch'as** **në** torna
Mary SCL think.pr.3s that Margaret for force that SCL+rf part return.S.3s
a cà
to home

c. *Maria   a   pensa   cheGhitin   **ch'as**   **në**   torna

     Mary   SCL   think.pr.3s that Margaret   that SCL+rf part return.S.3s

     <u>për forsa</u>   a   cà

     for force   to   home

     'Mary thinks that Margaret (will) necessarily go back home[44]'

(14) a. Majo a   chërd   che<u>miraco</u>Gioann   **ch'a sia**   dësmentiass-ne

         Mario SCL   think.pr.3s that perhaps John   that SCLbe.S.3s forget.pple-rf+part

      b. Majo a   chërd   cheGioann   <u>miraco</u> **ch'a sia**   dësmentiass-ne

         Mario SCL   think.pr.3s that John   perhaps that SCL be.S.3s forget.pple-rf+part

      c. *Majo a   chërd   cheGioann   **ch'a   sia**   <u>miraco</u>dësmentiass-ne

         Mario SCL   think.pr.3s that John   that SCL be.S.3s perhaps forget.pple-rf+part

         'Mario thinks that perhaps John forgot about it'

All instances of the adverb occurring to the left of the subject are characterised by 'comma intonation', suggesting that the adverb is left dislocated.

Summing up, these are the results highlighted by the observation of the position of the adverbs and *che2*. A tick indicates that *che2* can occupy that position, a cross that it cannot:

(15)   ✗ *për fortuna / belavans* ✓

               ✗   *për forsa /miraco* ✓

If we follow Cinque (1999) in assuming that all the above adverbs represent Specifier positions within the IP, then the examples above seem to suggest that *che2* belongs to the IP domain. Cross-linguistic evidence, on the other hand, suggests that 'perhaps' may in actual fact belong to the CP domain, given that in some varieties it selects a CP rather than an IP as a complement: cf. the following examples from Triestino:

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[44] (13) c is fine with *për forsa* taking scope over *a cà* rather than on the whole VP.

(16) a. Forsi che doman no xe tuta 'sta calura

       perhaps that tomorrow not be.pr.3s all this heat

    b. *Forsi doman no xe tuta 'sta calura

       perhaps tomorrow not be.pr.3s all this heat

       'Perhaps tomorrow there won't be such heat'

It seems plausible that given the high degree of decomposition of both the CP and the IP, the higher part of the IP and the lower part of the CP could actually overlap: the result would be that the lower portion of Rizzi's CP would coincide with the upper part of Cinque's IP.

Whether this is a possible analysis or not – there is currently an open debate on whether the CP and the IP comprise two separate domains or are the extended projection of the other, cf. Rizzi (1997), Poletto (2000) among others – the existence of data such as (16) does not allow us to draw any major conclusions from these tests.

Not taking the evidence brought forward here as conclusive, the other facts discussed above remain unaffected, and I will therefore accept that *che2* does indeed belong to the CP domain. The next section attempts to identify its exact position.

1.3.3 – DEFINING THE POSITION

Section 1.3.1 has provided further support to an analysis of *che2* as a CP element. Let us go back to the point where the digression on the subjunctive in section 1.2 started. The idea of investigating *che2* and its function more closely was motivated by the need to identify with more precision the position occupied by *che2*. The conclusion reached in the digression is that *che2* expresses mood information by virtue of its link with the subjunctive; no further information will be sought as to the specific type of modality. Exactly which head position within the CP does *che2* occupy?

Very often in the literature, the concepts of Force and Mood have been discussed in terms of each other, implying a close connection between the notions of mood and of clause type. Rivero and Terzi (1995), for example, propose that an imperative operator, representing the illocutionary force of the clause, is characteristic of the imperative

mood. Similarly, it is not unusual to find reference to 'interrogative mood' or 'declarative mood' or still 'exclamative mood'.

The notion of force goes back to Frege (1977), and it refers to the 'force' of a sentence, i.e. the way the content of a sentence is expressed. For example, an asserted thought is expressed with an assertive force. A declarative utterance and an imperative utterance can have the same content – i.e. express the same thought – but they will differ in their force, assertive in one case and directive in the other.

The notion of force has been also used in syntactic theory (Cheng, 1991[45]; Chomsky, 1995; among others): illocutionary force, a pragmatic phenomenon, becomes Force, a grammatical category expressing information on whether the sentence is a question, a declarative, an exclamative, a comparative, etc.

Sadock and Zwicky (1985) make the distinction between mood and force explicit, defining a clause type as a formally, i.e. syntactically or morphologically, distinct category associated with the purpose of the sentence, e.g. asking a question, giving an order or making a statement. Every clause, thus, belongs to one and only one of these types. In this characterisation, clause type must be kept separate from mood: both a question and an exclamation, for example, are expressed in the indicative mood; yet, their illocutionary force is different.

The distinction between the two categories is addressed more formally by Rizzi (1997), where illocutionary force and mood are assigned their own individual domains. The two projections at either end of the expanded structure, Force and Finiteness, encode, respectively, information on the type of clause and on its mood content. Breaking down the single CP projection, which has been traditionally thought of as the 'complementiser' projection, with 'complementiser' mainly referring to the ability of the elements belonging to that particular category to separate clauses, into a series of functional projections, Rizzi captures the fact that the complementiser acts as an interface between the lower, propositional content and the higher, superordinate structure.

Force can either be expressed morphologically, through overt markers, or by the relevant type of operator, hosted in the head of the projection. Finiteness contains some

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[45] In Cheng's dissertation the term used is actually 'clausal Type', but it expresses the same concept.

rudimentary tense specification, determined by the choice of complementiser, which match the inflectional properties of the clause selected.

More specifically, Rizzi describes Fin° as:

> '... the core IP-related characteristics that the complementizer system expresses; languages can vary in the extent to which additional IP information is replicated in the complementizer system: some languages replicate mood distinctions (special subjunctive complementizers in Polish, etc), some replicate subject agreement (different Germanic varieties ...), some seem to express genuine tense distinctions (...), negation (Latin, Celtic), etc.'
>
> Rizzi (1997:284)

Considering the adjacency to SCLs and its mood content, I would suggest that *che2* fills the head position of this lower projection, FinP.

A final consideration. Poletto (2000:118 ff) identifies a lower head with mood content in her expanded CP. This is the position targeted by the verb in the so-called 'complementiser deletion' (CD) constructions – cf. also Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, 2000) – found in standard Italian: in certain contexts the finite complementiser can be omitted. An example is given in (17):

(17)   Penso   (che) possa   essere interessante
        think.pr.1s that   can.S.3s   be.inf   interesting
        'I think it could be interesting'

Following Rizzi (1982), the author provides convincing arguments that CD is an instantiation of V-to-C movement, and drawing a parallel with verb second phenomena she argues that the two processes are triggered by the selectional properties of the same class of verbs, the 'verbs-of-belief' type, also known as 'bridge verbs'. Poletto claims that CD is ungrammatical unless the selecting verb belongs to this class: a factive verb, for example, does not allow the omission of the complementiser:

(18) Detesto   *(che) lo   faccia di nascosto
     hate.pr.1s   that   it.acc   do.S.3s of hidden
     'I hate the fact that s/he does it in secret'

Because of this reason, the author claims that V-to-C is triggered by the presence of a [-*realis*] feature hosted in C. Further support for the [-*realis*] content of this position derives from the fact that CD can also apply in sentences with other tenses traditionally associated with [-*realis*], conditional and future indicative[46]:

(19) a. Credo   (che) arriveranno   in tempo
         believe.pr.1s   that   arrive.fut.3p   in time
         'I think they will get here in time'

      b. Credo   (che) mangerebbero   volentieri questa torta
         believe.pr.1s   that   eat.cond.3p   willingly   this cake
         'I think that they would eat willingly this cake'

The [-*realis*] feature on C needs to be checked: this is either achieved via the overt realisation of the finite complementiser or by the verb raising into the position. The two possibilities are illustrated structurally in (20):

(20)   [CP [C che][AgrP [Agr° abbia] [TP]]]
        [CP [C abbia] [AgrP [Agr° t] [TP]]]

(20) implies that the verb occupies a higher position in CD constructions than it does when the complementiser is present. This is indeed the case: taking adverbs to occupy a fixed position within the structure – *à la* Cinque (1999) – the following examples show that the position occupied by the verb is different in CD and non-CD constructions:

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[46] I personally find it very difficult to allow for CD with conditional and future verbs. A certain discomfort is also caused by the present subjunctive, but not with the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive.

(21) a. Dicono   che   <u>fortunatamente</u> **abbia**   lasciato   la città

        say.pr.3p that   fortunately   have.S.3s leave.pple the city

    b. *Dicono che**abbia**   <u>fortunatamente</u>   lasciato   la città

        say.pr.3p that have.S.3s   fortunately   leave.pple the city

    c. * Dicono <u>fortunatamente</u>   **abbia**   lasciato   la città

        say.pr.3p fortunately   have.S.3s leave.pple the city

    d. Dicono   **abbia**   <u>fortunatamente</u> lasciato   la città

        say.pr.3p have.S.3s   fortunately   leave.pple the city

        'They say that fortunately he left town'

<div align="right">from Poletto (2000:123)</div>

Giorgi and Pianesi (2000:13ff) claim that the complementiser that introduces the subjunctive mood has different properties to the one that introduces the indicative and that it occupies a lower position than this latter. They also propose that subjunctive morphology realises a syncretic category, i.e. a category projecting both agreement and mood features, MOOD/AGR. When the two sets of features are projected syncretically, the verb raises into the MOOD/AGR head specified for strong φ-features, and checks both its agreement and its mood features. In this case the complementiser is not realised. If, on the other hand, the features are scattered into two separate projections, the verb raises into AGR overtly and then into MOOD to check its [+mood] features covertly because the position is occupied by the complementiser. Thus CD effects are the result of the combination of two factors: movement of the verb into the AGR head and the particular properties of this head, namely the possibility of realising its features syncretically.

Clearly, the low C mood head identified by Poletto cannot be the same head hosting *che2*, given the different restrictions CD and the DCC are subject to.
It is not desirable to postulate the existence of two different mood heads within the CP, one linked to CD and one to *che2*. Perhaps the label used by Poletto to define the content

of the lower mood C° head, [-*realis*] is not precise: this could indeed be the case if we considered the following example. To my ear (22) – a factive verb with CD – is perfectly acceptable, suggesting that CD is possible in [+*realis*] contexts, thus breaking the link between CD and [-*realis*]:

(22) Mi   dispiace   non   possa   venire   (alla   mia   festa)
      I.dat   feel sorry.pr.3s not   can.S.3s   come.inf   to-the my   party
      'I am sorry s/he cannot come (to my party)'

Unfortunately, even concluding that the position that hosts the verb in CD constructions is not specified for [-*realis*] features, the fact that CD is realised with conditional and future indicative would still remain unaccounted for.

Personally, I do not find CD acceptable in conditional or future contexts: the only cases in which I do accept it are in instances when the embedded clause has a verb in the subjunctive. Taking these observations into consideration and pursuing them further, CD would have the same mood restrictions as the DCC, and the condition on the verb being able to reach the mood head in the CP in CD constructions would be its subjunctive mood.

Tur and Lig totally lack CD: the complementiser *che* cannot be omitted in any instance of subordination. Following Giorgi and Pianesi's (2000) proposal, this can be due either to the absence of syncretic categories in the two varieties, i.e. AGR and MOOD must be realised by two separate heads, or to the inability of the verb to raise into the lower C head. Since in section 1.4 I claim that FinP is a syncretic category, hosting both mood and finiteness features, which implies that the 'non-scattering' feature option is available in the two dialects, the reason for lack of CD must rest with properties of the verb[47].

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[47] An alternative analysis is as follows: CD involves the raising of the verb into a low mood head in the CP domain, possibly Fin°. When realised overtly, the complementiser in CD contexts is thought of as occupying a lower position than the complementiser in 'normal' cases of complementation: the position of the latter could be identified as Force°. In Tur and Lig Force° and Fin° are occupied, respectively, by *che1* and *che2*: the higher is realised in all cases of 'normal' complementation, the latter only in the subjunctive contexts we have seen. Whether *che2* is realised overtly or as a null expletive, Fin°is unavailable for the verb to raise into; *che1* remains in Force°. Thus, while in Italian the finite complementiser *che* can occur either in Force° or in Fin°, depending on the mood of the embedded clause it introduces, in Tur and Lig the 'canonical' complementiser can only occupy Force°, irrespectively of the mood of the embedded clause, and it is always realised.

In other words, the fact that CD is allowed in standard Italian but not in Tur is due to the feature specification that the verb form has in the two languages. I would like to suggest that the morphological representation of [person, number] features on the verb is responsible for the raising (or inability to do so) of the verb to the C head. More specifically, the fact that a subjunctive paradigm in one language marks the distinction between different persons at the morphological level more than in another has a part to play in the position that the verb is able to reach in the syntactic representation.

This claim predicts that since the subjunctive verb in Italian can reach the position occupied by the complementiser and give raise to CD phenomena and the verb in Tur and Lig is not able to do this, the subjunctive in Italian has morphologically better represented [person, number] features than the subjunctive in Tur. This is indeed the case: the following table illustrates a paradigm for a regular verb in the present subjunctive for both standard Italian (SI) and Tur: the conclusion is that while in SI there are four different forms – *parli, parliamo, parliate, parlino* – in Tur there are only three – *parla, parle, parlo*:

(23)

	SI Pres Subjunctive	Tur Pres Subjunctive
Is	che io **parli**	che mi i **parla**
IIs	che tu parli	che ti it **parle**
IIIs	che lui parli	che chiel a parla
Ip	che noi **parliamo**	che noi i **parlo**
IIp	che voi **parliate**	che voi i parle
IIIp	che loro **parlino**	che lor a parlo

Some further support for such an analysis can be derived from subject-verb inversion in questions with a subjunctive verb form.

Even in those dialects that resort to SCL-verb inversion in interrogatives, this is never an option in clauses with a verb in the present subjunctive (Poletto, p.c.). This is also witnessed in Tur: (24) a shows how inversion applies to indicative interrogatives, while the operation is excluded in subjunctive interrogatives in (24) b:

(24) a. Lòn   ch'a   l' a-lo   mangià?
          what that SCL L have.pr.3s-SCL eat.pple
          'What has he eaten?'

     b. *Ch'a   l' abia-lo   mangià   'd carne?
         that SCL L   have.S.3s-SCL eat.pple   of meat
         'Do you think he ate meat?'

     c. Ch'a   l' abia   mangià   'd carne?
         that SCL L   have.S.3s   eat.pple   of meat

Interestingly, this asymmetry is not witnessed in Friulian. Friulian requires SCL-inversion in interrogative contexts, irrespectively of whether the verb is in the indicative or subjunctive mood:

(25) a. Marie e   je   rivade
          Mary   SCL   be.pr.3s arrive.pple
          'Mary has arrived'

     b. Is-**e**   rivade   Marie?
         be.pr.3s-SCL   arrive.pple Mary
         'Has Mary arrived?'

     c. (Jo) E   crôt   che   Marie e   sedi   rivade
         I   SCL   think.pr.1s that   Mary   SCL   be.S.3s arrive.pple
         'I think Mary arrived'

     d. Che   sedi-**e**   rivade   Marie?
         that be.S.3s-SCL arrive.pple Mary
         'Do you think Mary has arrived?

Incidentally, Friulian is one of the very few diaalects of the Italian peninsula that has retained the use of the subjunctive, and the paradigm is highly differentiated for [person,

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number] morphologically: each person has its own different entry, as the following table shows.

(25)   d.   Friulian *durmí* 'to sleep'

	Pres Subjunctive
1s	che jo e duarmi
2s	che tu tu duarmis
3s	che lui el duarm
1p	che no e durmin
2p	che vo e durmîs
3p	che lor e duarmin

These facts make more plausible the link between the morphological richness of the feature [person, number] of the subjunctive and its ability to reach a higher position in the structure. It must be stressed that this is a tentative rather than conclusive observation: further research is needed, especially cross-linguistically, to test its validity and evaluate the predictions it makes.

Concluding, this section has suggested that *che2* occupies the head position of the lower projection in Rizzi's (1997) system, Fin°. A digression into CD was made. Poletto (1995, 2000) argues that the head involved in CD constructions belongs to the CP and carries a [-*realis*] feature. Clearly, *che2* cannot be identified with the same position. Because of some discrepancies between my grammaticality judgements and the sentences reported in the literature, I assumed that CD and the DCC are subject to the same restrictions, namely they both require V to be in the subjunctive mood. Taking CD as a process resulting from the combination of two factors, verb movement into a C head and the properties of the verb itself, I suggested that the fact that Tur and Lig totally lack CD could be related to the inability of the subjunctive verb to raise to a C position due to its poor morphological distinction within the subjunctive paradigm. This was given some support from a morphologically rich subjunctive verb form triggering SCL-verb inversion in subjunctive interrogative clauses in Friulian but not in other dialects in which the subjunctive paradigm is not complete. Thus a link was

suggested between the rich morphological realisation of [person, number] features and the ability of the verb to raise to a high position[48].

Section 1.4 investigates the status of *che2* and proposes a derivation for the DCC.

1.4 – *CHE2*: ANALYSIS

1.4.1 – *CHE2*: STATUS

In all the examples that we have seen so far *che1* is always found in its full form, i.e. 'che', while *che2* clusters with SCLs, reflexive, dative and partitive clitics, and appears in the reduced '*ch*' form. The order within the cluster is rigid: it cannot be altered nor the sequence interrupted by a phrasal element such as an adverb:

(26)   a. Marìa a   spera   chedle fior,   **ch' as**   **në** dësmentia   gnun

            Mary SCL   hope.pr.3s that of the flowers   that SCL+rf part forget.S.3s   nobody

            'Mary hopes that nobody forgets about the flowers'

      b. *Marìa a   spera   chedle fior,   **che n'**   **as**   dësmentia gnun

            Mary SCL   hope.pr.3s that of the flowers   that part   SCL+rf forget.S.3s nobody

      i. A Maria a   credda   che, a-a Teeja,   **ch'u**   **gh'e** **n'** agia

          the Mary SCLbelieve.pr.3s   that to-the Teresa   that SCL   to-her part have.S.3s

          zà   parlau   u Giorgiu

          already speak.pple the George

          'Mary believes that George has already spoken to Teresa about it'

      ii. *A Maria a   credda   che,   a-a Teeja,   **che gh'e n' u**

          the Mary SCL   believe.pr.3s   that   to-the Teresa   that to-her part SCL

          agia   zà   parlau   u Giorgiu

          have.S.3s   already speak.pple the George

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[48] Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) make a similar claim: [person, number] features are responsible for V movement.

The rigid word order restrictions are reminiscent of the restrictions on clitic clusters, suggesting that *che2* itself could be a clitic.

Some more support for this claim can be derived from looking at adjacency requirements: an XP element cannot intervene between either *che2* and the SCL, or between the SCL and the inflected verb. This is witnessed in both Tur and Lig:

(27) a. Ghitin   a   pensa   cheti **ch'it**   **finisse**   doman
        Margaret   SCL   think.pr.3s   that you that SCL   finish.S.2s   tomorrow
        'Margaret thinks that you will finish tomorrow'

     b. *Ghitin   a   pensa   cheti **che**   <u>miraco**it**</u>   **finisse**   doman
        Margaret   SL think.pr.3s   that you that   perhaps SCL   finish.S.2s   tomorrow

     c. * Ghitin   a   pensa   cheti **ch'it**   <u>miraco**finisse**</u>   doman
        Margaret   SL think.pr.3s   that you that SCL   perhaps finish.S.2s   tomorrow

     i. A Teeja   a   credda   che u Giorgiu   **ch'u**   **preferisca** u pullu
        the Teresa   SCL   believes   that the George   that SCL   prefer.S.3s   the chicken
        'Teresa thinks that George prefers chicken'

     ii. *A Teeja   a   credda che u Giorgiu   **che**   <u>fosci</u>   **u**   **preferisca**
        the Teresa   SCL   believes that the George   that   perhaps SCL   prefer.S.3s
        u   pullu
        the   chicken

     iii. *A Teeja   a   credda cheu Giorgiu   **ch'u**   <u>fosci</u> **preferisca**
        the Teresa   SCL   believes that the George   that SCL   perhaps prefer.S.3s
        u   pullu
        the   chicken

On the other hand, an X° element such as Lig *nu* 'not' or a clitic can live in such a context:

(28) a. Ghitin a spera chelor **ch'as** **n'** andèisso tost

　　Margaret SCL hope.pr.3s that they that SCL+rf part go.S.imperf.3p soon

　　'Margaret hopes that they go as soon as possible'

　　i. A Teeja a pensa cheu Marcu **ch'u** **nu** mangia de carne

　　the Teresa SCL think.pr.3s that the Mark that SCL not eat.S.3s of meat

　　'Teresa thinks that Mark does not eat meat'

The fact that a phrasal element cannot interrupt the clitic sequence nor intervene between the cluster and the verb but an X° element can, lends itself to be interpreted as a reflection of the clitic status of both SCLs and *che2*.

In the discussion on clitics in chapter 2 it was mentioned that clitics do not constitute a homogeneous class. *Che2* is a clitic in the sense that[49]:

· Syntactically it occurs in a head position and it is subject to word order
　　restrictions with respect to the other elements with which it clusters;

· Morphologically it occurs in a reduced form;

· Phonologically it needs another element to which to attach to.

I will take the evidence gathered here to be sufficient to justify the claim made regarding the status of *che2*.

1.4.2 – *CHE2*: SYNTACTIC INTERPRETATION

Let us briefly summarise what has been claimed so far: *che2* is a clitic, morphological marker of subjunctive mood and it occupies Fin°.

Why would 'subjunctivity' be expressed at the C° rather than at the I° level?

The close connection between C and I has often been observed.

Stowell (1982), comparing the behaviour of infinitival and finite tensed clauses on the one hand and gerunds on the other, observes that the former two, but not the latter, have a clause-internal COMP position targeted by either complementisers or wh-phrases, and they have a tense operator that anchors the time frame of the complement clause to the

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[49] Spencer (1991:350) who captures the different levels at which cliticisation applies and defines it as '*a meeting point of morphology, syntax and phonology*'.

tense of the main clause. The author claims that the two properties, i.e. the presence of COMP and of the tense operator, are related: COMP is the position where tense operators must appear at some level of the representation[50].

Enç (1987) reaches a similar conclusion. Considering that the selection of complementiser types depends on the [+/- finite] specification of Infl, Enç assumes it is plausible to locate the specifier of tense in COMP. Tense is not interpreted as a sentential operator but as a referential expression: all tenses refer to expressions in the object language. Following Partee's (1973) argument that tenses behave like pronouns, since they have antecedents in the discourse or sentence-internal antecedents, Enç concludes that tense must be specified. The specifier of tense can be located in COMP for the reasons reported above, i.e. complementiser selection depending on [+/- finite] status of embedded clause: COMP can optionally carry a temporal index and function as the specifier of tense, yielding an interval as its semantic value.

Thus, the link between tense and COMP is of a semantic nature: in order to be interpreted, tense needs to be linked to the speech time. This link is direct for tense in main clauses, while for embedded tense it is indirect, mediated by the tense in the main clause.

This relation is expressed syntactically through an anchoring process that each tense must abide by, which obtains locally, via binding relations within the governing category: Enç states that

> '... a Comp carrying a temporal index can function as the specifier of the tense (…) if and only if it governs the tense'
>
> Enç (1987:641)

A syntactic interpretation of the dependent nature of the subjunctive has been given by Barbaud (1991), as mentioned in section 1.1.2. He posits a modal complementiser, which enters into a binding relation with the Infl category it c-commands: the interaction of the feature specification of Infl (e.g. [+/- tense]) and the modal (or null) content of the complementiser gives rise to the different grammatical modes, indicative, infinitive,

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[50] den Besten (1978) suggests that COMP hosts the tense operator at D-Structure.

subjunctive and conditional. The subjunctive is derived through the combination of a [+tense] Infl and an empty modal complementiser.

Assuming that a component of what makes up the subjunctive is empty – in Barbaud's case the modal complementiser – causing it to rely on the content of other elements for its interpretation, reflects the logico-semantic 'dependency' that underlies the use of the subjunctive.

Manzini (1996) also addresses the 'dependent' nature of the subjunctive, and interprets it at the syntactic level in requiring that it be licensed by an operator-type element.

I follow Enç (1987) and von Stechow (1995) in assuming, respectively, that the subjunctive needs to be anchored and that this is so because it is tenseless. The semantic properties of the subjunctive are reflected at the syntactic level in its need to be anchored, or bound, or licensed. I will assume that the subjunctive is made up of two 'parts', one with functional properties and one with lexical properties: this will be interpreted representationally by assuming a Larsonian (1988) VP shell. I follow von Stechow (1995) and claim that the subjunctive is deficient and as such it is 'tenseless'. Let us elaborate these ideas.

It has been argued in the literature (cf., among others, Giorgi and Pianesi, 1997; von Stechow, 1995) that the subjunctive is deficient. The term 'deficient' could be interpreted both morphologically and semantically. Semantically, because on its own the subjunctive does not give rise to any real temporal interpretation and relies on the temporal interpretation of the verb in the main clause.

Expanding on Abusch (1993), von Stechow (1995) claims that because of this deficiency, subjunctive forms select ι-tense. This can be seen in standard Italian in the following examples, in which the subjunctive form is compatible with past, present and future adverbs of time:

(29) Pensavo   che   andasse   ieri / oggi / domani   dal   dottore
       think.imperf.1s that   go.S.imperf.3s yesterday / today / tomorrow to-the   doctor
       'I though s/he would go to the doctor's yesterday / today / tomorrow'

A parallel situation is also witnessed in Tur and Lig. In the following examples the temporal interpretation of the sentence depends on the choice of adverb, strongly suggesting that since the subjunctive does not take part in this process, it is a tenseless form:

(30) a. I   chërdìa   ch'a   mneissa   ier / ancheuj / doman
          SCL believe.imperf.1s that SCL   come.S.imperf.3s   yesterday / today / tomorrow
          'I though s/he would come yesterday / today / tomorrow'

      i. Pensavo   ch'u   andescia   vei / uè / duman   dal dotor
          think.imperf.1s that SCL   go.S.imperf.3s yesterday / today / tomorrow to-the octor
          'I though he would go yesterday / today / tomorrow to the doctor's'

This deficiency is also expressed at the morphological level: sometimes there is no real differentiation between the forms of the indicative and those of the subjunctive. von Stechow (1995:13) points out that in English the past subjunctive is in most cases identical to the simple past, except for the verb 'to be', where the alternation between two forms suggests that the distinction still exists to some extent:

(31)   If I were / ?was not in Austin, I would be in Prague

The author adds that:

> '... the co-existence of the subjunctive and the indicative
> forms in this context shows [...] that the latter is _semantically a_
> _subjunctive'_ (my underlining)
>
> von Stechow (1995:13)

This lack of mood morphological differentiation between the subjunctive and the indicative is also found in Tur and Lig. The following tables compare the indicative and subjunctive paradigms for verbs of the three conjugations, highlighting in bold those forms that are different in the two moods: it is evident that the distinction is not well represented:

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(32)   a. Tur: first conjugation *parlé* 'to speak'

	Pres. Indicative	*Pres. Subjunctive*
1s	**mi i parlo**	**che mi i parla**
2s	ti it parle	che ti it parle
3s	chiel a parla	che chiel a parla
1p	**noi i parloma**	**che noi i parlo**
2p	voi i parle	che voi i parle
3p	lor a parlo	che lor a parlo

   b. Tur: second conjugation *scrive* 'to write'

	Pres. Indicative	**Pres. Subjunctive**
1s	**mi i scrivo**	**che mi i scriva**
2s	ti it ëscrive	che ti it ëscrive
3s	**chiel a scriv**	**che chiel a scriva**
1p	**noi i scrivoma**	**che noi i scrivo**
2p	voi i scrive	che voi i scrive
3p	lor a scrivo	che lor a scrivo

   c. Tur: third conjugation *finì* 'to finish'

	Pres. Indicative	**Pres. Subjunctive**
1s	**mi i finisso**	**che mi i finissa**
2s	ti it finisse	che ti ti finisse
3s	**chiel a finiss**	**che chiel a finissa**
1p	**noi i finoma**	**che noi i finisso**
2p	voi i finisse	che voi i finisse
3p	lor a finisso	che lor a finisso

i. Lig: first conjugation *parlà* 'to speak'

	Pres. Indicative	Pres. Subjunctive
1s	**mi parlu**	**che mi parla**
2s	ti ti parli	che ti ti parli
3s	lé u/a parla	che lé u/a parla
1p	nuatri parlemmu	che nuatri parlemmu
2p	vuatri parlei (lé)	che vuatri parlei (lé)
3p	luatri i parlan	che luatri i parlan

ii. Lig: second conjugation *tase* 'to be silent'

	Pres. Indicative	Pres. Subjunctive
1s	**mi taju**	**che mi taja**
2s	ti ti taji	che ti ti taji
3s	lé u/a taja	che lé u/a taja
1p	nuatri tajemmu	che nuatri tajemmu
2p	vuatri tajei	che vuatri tajei
3p	luatri i tajan	che luatri i tajan

iii. Lig: third conjugation *vinse* 'to win'

	Pres. Indicative	Pres. Subjunctive
1s	**mi vinsu**	**che mi vinsa**
2s	ti ti vinsi	che ti ti vinsi
3s	lé u/a vinsa	che lé u/a vinsa
1p	nuatri vinsemmu	che nuatri vinsemmu
2p	vuatri vinsei	che vuatri vinsei
3p	luatri i vinsan	che luatri i vinsan

In Lig only the first person singular morphologically encodes the mood distinction and in Tur it is the first person singular and plural for all conjugations and additionally the third person singular for verbs belonging to the second and third conjugation that do so. In view of what has just been described, I would like to propose that *che2* is a 'support' for the deficiency of the subjunctive. More precisely:

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· semantically, it creates a link with the CP which anchors the subjunctive through the variable binders for its temporal interpretation;

· morphologically, it complements the poor mood morphology of the subjunctive, which I take to be responsible for the inability of the verb to raise into the mood position[51].

Let us see how this works in more detail.

Chapter 2 has shown that SCLs are only triggered in finite contexts, strongly suggesting that they are an expression of finiteness – cf. also Goria (2001:146ff). FinP encodes information on the [+/- finite] status of the clause. Consequently, given that Tur and Lig SCLs have been identified with one of the two higher types in Poletto's (2000) system, it is plausible to assume that they are generated in Fin°.

I claim that *che2* originates in the head position of a vP projection which dominates a VP projection in a Larsonian VP-shell type of structure. Larsson (1988) originally formulated the VP-shell for verbs such as *put* and *give* which along with their double objects posed a problem for the binary branching restriction on syntactic representations. These verbs were thought of as having a complex structure, i.e. of consisting of two verbal projections, a higher one, vP, and a lower one, VP, an impoverished version of the verb itself.

I would like to extend this structural configuration to the representation of verbs in the subjunctive mood. I have argued that subjunctive verbs are deficient and that *che2* 'compensates' for this deficiency by expressing those [+mood] features that are not well represented on the verb morphology[52]. Given that v° is associated with the functional as well as the semantic content of the verb and considering the function that has been recognised to *che2*, it seems plausible to associate *che2* with vP. In such a system, *che2* is the overt realisation of the bundle of functional features related to mood for which v° is specified: recall that the functional features on v° can only be licensed by a functional particle or by an expletive. In addition I assume the presence of a sister node to the v°

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[51] The ability to raise into a higher position is possible as a result of a combination of two factors, [person] and [modal] feature content of the verb.

[52] Modal particles in Greek (e.g. *tha, na, as*) and Romanian (e.g. *să*) have received analysis based on similar assumptions: *na* has been analysed as a subjunctive marker, motivated by the deficient nature of the subjunctive (cf., for example, Veloudis & Pilippaki Warburton, 1983 cited in Roussou, 2000). Romanian *să*, as will be seen in the next chapter, serves the same morphological purpose.

filled by *che2*: another v° containing a null light verb specified for other formal features related to Nominative Case assignment/checking. The subject originates in [Spec, vP] (cf. Chomsky, 1995: 329ff, 351-352).

The subjunctive itself is base-generated in V°. It has been claimed that the subjunctvie is a tenseless form: as a result, the IP dominating vP does not contain any tense feature. An uninterpretable [D] feature on IP, namely those agreement features that the verb in null subject languages bears, such as specification for [person, number], motivates movement of the VP. The [person, number] features percolate from V to VP and the whole VP then moves to [Spec, IP] to check them. I assume that Nominative case is assigned *in situ* by the null light verb in v°: Chomsky (2001) claims that the EPP (Extended Projection Principle) is available in the heads of phases, i.e. C° and v°. On a similar line, cf. also Sifaki (2003), who claims that every functional projection may have an EPP.

In this system *che2* moves out of its position in order to check its uninterpretable [+mood] features: the position it targets is Fin°, host of the mood features already discussed. Fin° is a syncretic category, having both mood and finiteness features. *Che2* adjoins to the position occupied by the SCL.

I assume that positive morphological evidence for features motivates movement. The subjunctive verb form is deficient and as such cannot reach Fin°. The mood features originate as a distinct head from the verb, in v°, and they can either be realised overtly as *che2* or remain morphologically empty and simply move as a bundle of silent features – cf. Chomsky (1995).

After *che2* has moved to Fin°, the whole VP moves to [Spec, IP] and deletes the uninterpretable [D] feature on the IP though a [Spec, head] relation: the [D] feature on IP can only be checked by a maximal projection raising into its specifier position – cf. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), the only difference being that the EPP is not checked by V°-to-I° raising, but by the whole VP raising. I invoke Move/Merge X° versus Move/Merge XP. This also satisfies a more generalised requirement that [Spec, IP] be filled[53].

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[53] For independent reasons of why V-to-I raising cannot account for a number of structures in Null-Subject Languages the reader is referred to Sifaki (2003). Furthermore, cf. Lee (2000), Massam (2000) and Travis

A desirable consequence of this movement is that the subjunctive verb enters a c-commanding relation with *che2*[54], through which the mood features are re-associated with the verb form. By virtue of its position, *che2* receives through percolation the [person, number] features for which Fin° is specified and these, too, are re-associated with the verb[55].

The subject in [Spec, vP] can either remain *in situ* since it does not need to move for case purposes, or, if specified for a [+Top] or [+Foc] feature, it moves to the relative Specifier positions to check it[56]. This possible movement is shown with a dotted linein (33).

I will take *che1* to be the canonical finite complementiser in the two varieties. Following Rizzi (1997), and as such to fill Force°[57].

The tree below illustrates the derivation:

& Rackowski (2000), who claims that the VP-fronting analysis is motivated for reasons of EPP-satisfaction.

[54] I here assume a definition that allows c-commanding to obtain across the X' level: Fin' does not count as a barrier.

[55] Recall that these features are assumed to be weak on V.

[56] By assuming that the subject can move to [Spec, Foc] or [Spec, Top] I implicitly assume that both operations are achieved through movement. Rizzi (1997) differentiates between the two by claiming that the former but not the latter involves movement. Whether left-dislocation involves movement or not is still an open matter, and there are differing opinions. Dobrovie Sorin (1994) for example, claims that left dislocation involves movement of an NP from an IP-internal base-generated position to an IP-external position. Cf. Also Alboiu (2000) in the next chapter. I will not pursue further the matter here: it will suffice to say that assuming movement for left dislocated elements is not an implausible option. More research into the effects of this claim is needed.

[57] This is not a unanimously accepted view: Benincà (2001) – discussed later in the discussion of subjects, in section 2.3 – identifies three positions where the finite complementiser *che* can appear in standard Italian, in the head of DiscP(HT), the head of ForceP and the head of TopP. This is necessary to be able to account for the fact that the complementiser can either precede or follow a TopP, and can only precede a FocP and follow a HT. I will not pursue this further here and simply assume that *che1* occupies Force°.

(33)   … ForceP

Force°   TopP
che1   Spec
         Top°   FocP
         Spec
              Foc°   FinP [-intM], [-intFin]
                    Spec
                    Fin°   IP [-intD]
              che2$_i$ SCL   Spec
              [+M]   [+Fin]   I°   vP [-intD]
                              Spec
                              Subject   v°   VP
                              t$_i$ Ø
                                              V
                                              |
                                              verb
                                              [+D]
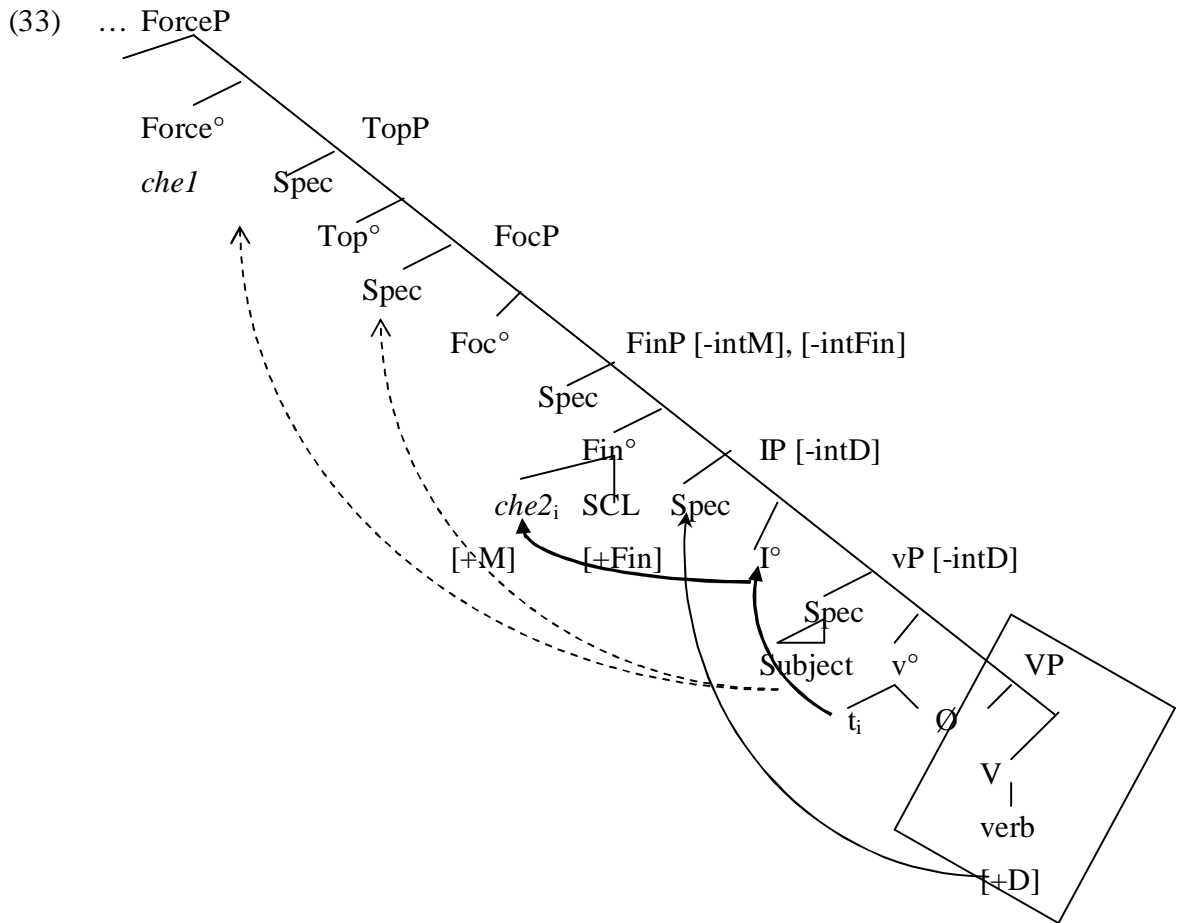
This structure makes the following predictions:

·   no element can intervene between *che2*, the SCL and the subjunctive verb;

·   given that movement of *che2* from its base generated position in v° to Fin° respects left adjunction, it follows that Tur does not allow for right adjunction;

·   the subject will not appear pre-verbally unless it carries some discourse prominent features that need to be checked in the relevant Specifiers, in which case the subject will appear between *che1* and *che2*;

·   the subject does not leave [Spec, vP] for Case assignment reasons;

·   the subjunctive verb cannot raise into Fin° unless its mood is marked overtly on the morphology, in which case only *che1* surfaces; this also predicts that a verb form with morphologically 'strong' mood features will be

able to reach the postion;

· *che2* is preferably realised overtly to support the morphological deficiency
of the subjunctive verb.

Let us now see how the above predictions are met.

· The first one is borne out: given the strict adjacency in the *che2*+SCL+verb
cluster, no element can interrupt the sequence. [Spec, IP] would not be
available to a subject since it contains the raised VP;

· the second one reflects a more general restriction on representations,
Kayne's (1994) ban on right adjunction;

· the third and the fourth tie in with the first one: these are tested in the next
section;

· the fifth one is also borne out: cf. examples of SCL-verb inversion in Friulian.

· the last one suggests that if no mood morphological deficiency is present, i.e.
the subjunctive forms are morphologically distinct from the indicative ones,
then there is no actual need for *che2* to be realised overtly: this means
that a sentence without *che2* would be preferable to one in which *che2* has
been realised. This follows from economy considerations since not being
overtly realised *che2* will be an empty operator.

It was mentioned that the realisation of *che2* is a matter of optionality. If its presence
were indeed related to the morphologically deficient subjunctive, then we would expect
che2 to be 'less' optional with those forms of the verb that are identical in both
indicative and subjunctive, i.e. in those cases in which its function were more needed,
and 'more' optional with those that are morphologically distinct. In other words, its
presence would be 'more' optional with first person singular and plural and for the
second and third conjugations third singular too in Tur, and with first person singular in
Lig. The prediction is confirmed for Tur: the following examples are the preferred
versions of the examples[58] – preferred to those with or without *che2*:

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[58] It must be stressed that we are dealing with shades of greyness rather than with clear-cut judgements.
These are general trends and do present a certain degree of variation.

(34) a. A   veulo   chemi i   disa   la vrità
     SCL   want.pr.3p   that I SCL   say.S.1s   the truth
     'They want me to tell the truth'   (cf. Ind: *diso*, different)

   b. A   penso   cheti   **ch'**it fase   le spèise   doman
     SCL   think.pr.3p   that you that SCL   do.S.2s the shopping   tomorrow
     'They think you will do the shopping tomorrow' (cf. Ind: *fase*, same)

   c. A   veulo   chechiel   a   disa   la vrità
     SCL   want.pr.3p   that he   SCL   say.S.3s   the truth
     'They want me to tell the truth' (cf. Ind: *dis*, different)

   d. I   spero   cheTeresin   **ch'**a-j   parla   nen   a Majo
     SCL hope.pr.1s   that Teresa   that SCL+dat   speak.S.3s not   to Mario
     'I hope Teresa does not speak to Mario'   (cf. Ind: *parla*, same)

   e. A   veulo   chenoi   i   diso   la vrità
     SCL   want.pr.3p   that we   SCL   say.S.1p   the truth
     'They want us to tell the truth' (cf. Ind: *disoma*, different)

   f. Majo   a   spera   chenoi   i   guadagno la scomëssa
     Mario   SCL   hope.pr.3s   that we   SCL   win.S.1p   the bet
     'Mario hopes that we will win the bet'(cf. Ind: *guadagnoma*, different)

   g. Marìa a   spera   chevoi**ch'**i   passe   l' esam
     Mary   SCL   hope.pr.3s   that you that SCL   pass.S.2p   the exam
     'Mary hopes that you clear the exam' (cf. Ind: *passe*, same)

   h. Majo a   pensa   chelor   **ch'**a   torno   da   sì n'ora
     Mario   SCL   think.pr.3s   that they   that SCL   return.S.3p from   here an hour
     'Mario thinks that they will be back in a hour's time' (cf. Ind: *torno*, same)

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The situation in Lig is not as linear: from my hypothesis the presence of *che2* should be less preferred with a verb inflected for first person singular, and more preferred with a verb inflected for all other persons. The data reveals that this is not the case: *che2* seems to be less preferred with verbs inflected for first and second singular and plural person:

(35) i. A Teeja   a   pensa   chemi leza   sti   rumanzi
          the Teresa   SCL   think.pr.3s that I   read.S.1s   these   novels
          'Teresa thinks that I read these novels'

      ii. U Gianniu   pensa   cheti ti   digghi a veitè
          the John   SCL   think.pr.3s that you SCL   say.S.2s the truth
          'John thinks that you are telling the truth'

      iii. U Mariu u   pensa   chelè **ch'**u   passa   l' esamme
          the Mario SCL   think.pr.3s that he that SCL   pass.S.3s   the exam
          'Mario think that he will clear the exam'

      iv. Creddan   chenuatri   mangemmu sulu   de fruta
          believe.pr.3p   that we   eat.S.1p   only   of fruit
          'They believe that we only eat fruit'

      v. A Maria a   spera   chevuatri pulisciu   ben   a cujina
          the Mary   SCL   hope.pr.3s   that you   clean.S.2p   well   the kitchen
          'Mary hopes that you will clean the kitchen well'

      vi. U Mariu u   pensa cheluatri **ch'**i   pituan   a ca   de russu
          the Mario SCL   think   that they   that SCL   paint.S.3p the house of red
          'Mario thinks that they are painting the house red'

If the presence of *che2* were exclusively dependent on the morphological mood deficiency of the subjunctive verb form, then the examples above would not find a desirable explanation. It is nevertheless immediately apparent that *che2* is produced 'more willingly' with those persons that have a SCL that belongs to the Deictic type, i.e.

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one of the two higher types. *Ti*, the second person singular SCL, is the only Lig SCL that does not cluster with *che2*, and, incidentally, the only SCL that does not seem to 'encourage' its realisation. I would like to claim that this is linked to the clitic status of *che2*: the particle is produced 'more readily' when there is a clitic cluster to which it can attach, e.g. SCL+verb. This requirement operates at PF. This would also explain the reason why *che2* is realised more readily when followed by a 'morphologically complex' verb, i.e. a verb with a reflexive and partitive clitic, such as Tur *dësmentiassne* 'to forget about it'.

Concluding, there are both morphological and phonological restrictions on the appearance of *che2*: the former apply at the syntactic level while the latter apply at PF, in the given order:

(36)a.   Realise *che2* overtly if:

syntax   {
     i. the verb in the embedded clause is in the subjunctive mood,
         AND
     ii. the subjunctive is morphologically deficient

PF   {
     iv. there is some syntactic material phonologically realised
         between *che2* and the embedded verb
         AND
     iii. there is another clitic onto which *che2* can cliticise.

In other words:

(36) b   *Che2* appears iff:

- the subjunctive is morphologically modally deficient, AND
- there is another clitic onto which *che2* can cliticise

    Che2 is produced but not pronounced if:

- the subjunctive is not morphologically deficient, OR

- there is not another clitic cluster.

(A second approximation)

Finally, I would like to address an ongoing language change in Tur: the loss of the subjunctive. The Tur spoken by Younger Generations (YGTur) does not allow for the realisation of *che2*, which reduces the morphological differentiation between subjunctive and indicative to the point of the two moods being practically indistinguishable. I would like to claim that the subjunctive and the indicative in YGTur are syntactically equivalent, but semantically different.

It was claimed – cf. section 1.3.1 – that more support for claiming that *che2* belongs to the CP domain could be found in some differences between the traditional Tur (tTur) and the YGTur. Specific reference was made to the way interrogative clauses are formed by the two: while tT resorts to both an overt complementiser and SCL-verb inversion, only the first strategy is used by YGTur. This was interpreted as an indication that tT, by allowing for *che2*, has 'more' structure available. Consequently, the different amount of structure available to the two varieties should give rise to some word-order differences between them.

This is not the case. Recall that von Stechow (1995) claimed that the co-existence of indicative and subjunctive forms in a given context suggests that semantically, the two are equivalent – cf. (31). I would like to elaborate on his claim and say that the loss of the subjunctive to the indicative taking place in YGTur is not affecting the semantic but the syntactic level.

The semantic anchoring needed for the verb in order for the latter to receive its temporal interpretation is achieved through the relation established between the verb and the empty category of *che2*, an operator which has moved into a C position. Syntactically, the verb is an indicative and therefore does not need the expression of mood features, assuming that indicative mood features are a default 'setting' for the verb and do not need to be expressed.

Thus, the verb would still occupy the same position as the subjunctive in traditional Tur and no word order differences would result between the two Tur types. Thus the loss of

the subjunctive would not have any 'visible' effects apart from the obvious empty realisation of *che2*.

To sum up, in this section the following claims have been made:

·   *che2* is a clitic element;

·   the subjunctive is deficient: semantically, it is tenseless, morphologically, it   can be lacking mood differentiation from the indicative;

·   its semantic deficiency must be obviated through an anchoring process with an element in the C system;

·   its morphological deficiency is recompensated by entering a c-commanding relation with a mood operator – either empty or realised as *che2*;

·   subjunctive verbs are to be analysed as 'composite' verbs, being generated in VP and dominated by a vP projection in which the functional features encoded by v° and lacking from V° are either realised overtly or by an expletive; the choice between these two is encoded parametrically. If a language has a mood particle at its disposal then it will make use of it, hence making the expletive redundant – cf. Greek and Romanian;

·   *che2* is a morphological marker encoding modality: its presence is preferred when the mood features on the following verb are morphologically poor;

·   at PF *che2* needs to attach to another clitic element: if the condition is not met, then it is not pronounced;

·   the morphological mood deficiency of the verb prevents it from reaching a position in the C system when modality is the only reason for movement.

The following section investigates the status of subjects that are found between *che1* and *che2*. The third and fourth predictions made are borne out: a subject can only raise to the C system if it needs to check an operator-type feature – such as [+Foc] or [+wh] – or a discourse-prominent-type feature – such as [+Top] or [+HT].

SECTION 2 – ELEMENTS THAT CAN APPEAR BETWEEN *CHE1* AND *CHE2*

Having identified the position occupied by *che2* as Fin° has some obvious consequences, i.e. that all material that precedes it is, in turn, in the left periphery of the clause. This section investigates the different types of phrases that can intervene between *che1* and *che2*: left dislocated and focalised phrases, adverbs and subjects. An in-depth analysis of the status of bare quantifiers as subjects reveals some interesting facts. A note of clarification is in order. The terms Topicalisation and Focalisation are used differently from when they were first introducedin the literature: I will use focalisation for an operation that involves contrast with the context or with active presuppositions. This was referred to as topicalisation because of its similarities to the English topicalisation discussed by Chomsky (1977). All other cases of pre-posing without contrast are labelled topicalisation: these include cases of 'CLLD', i.e. **CL**itic **L**eft-**D**islocation described by Cinque (1990), and Hanging Topic. Assuming Rizzi's (1997) split-CP, focalised phrases occupy [Spec, Foc] while topicalised elements target [Spec, Top].

This section looks into Cardinaletti's (2001) hierarchy within the class of pronouns of strong and weak elements, and shows that this subdivision does not seem to be relevant for the data at hand. The examples will reinforce the relation between the poverty of the morphological differentiation of subjunctive form the indicative and *che2*.

An investigation of bare quantifier subjects in the left periphery reveals that they are to be considered as left dislocated when they appear to the left of left dislocated phrases and possibly as focalised when appearing to their right.

2.1 – LEFT DISLOCATED ELEMENTS

As discussed in the introductory chapter, a variety of elements can be left dislocated, but only direct object DPs require a compulsory resumptive clitic.

The examples in (37) show the range of phrases that can be left dislocated (LD henceforth): direct and indirect objects, PPs and adverbs respectively. In the examples, the left dislocated elements are all underlined.

(37)a. A chërdo **che**, <u>col lìber</u>, **ch'**a l' abia già lesulo

SCL believe.pr.3p that that book that SCL L have.S.3s already read.pple.it.acc

'They believe that s/he has already read that book'

b. I spero **che,** <u>'l vot brut</u>, **ch'** a-j lo diso doman,

SCL hope.pr.1s that the mark ugly that SCL+dat it.acc say.S.3p tomorrow

nen ancheuj a Giulia

not today to Giulia

'I hope that they will tell Giulia about the bad mark tomorrow, not today

c. Marìa a l' ha tëmma**che**, <u>dle fior</u>, **ch'**as n'

Mary SCL L have.pr.3s fear that of the flower that SCL+rf part

arcòrda gnun

remember.S.3s nobody

'Mary fears that nobody remembers the flowers'

d. Giòrs a spera **che**, <u>a Ghitin</u>, **ch'**a-j l' abio già

George SCL hope.pr.3s that to Margaret that SCL+dat L have.S.3p already

dàit la bona neuva

give.pple the good new

'George hopes that they have already given the good news to Margaret'

e. Gioann a spera **che**, <u>a ca soa</u>, **ch'** as në torno tòst

John SCL hope.pr.3s that to house their that SCL+rf part return.S.3p soon

'John hopes that they go back home soon'

f. Luch a pensa **che**, <u>dal dotor</u>, **ch'**a-j vado doman

Luke SCL think.pr.3s that to the doctor that SCL+loc go.S.3p tomorrow

'Luke thinks that they will go to the doctor's tomorrow'

g. Franchin a pensa **che**, <u>a st' ora</u>, **ch'**as në vada gnun

Frank SCL think.pr.3s that at this time that SCL+rf part go.S.3s nobody

'Frank thinks that nobody would go away at this time'

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h. Giòrs a chërd **che**, <u>për boneur</u>, **ch'**a sia

George SCL believe.pr.3s that for fortune that SCL be.S.3s

ancorzuss-ne gnun

realise.pple.rf- part nobody

'Goerge thinks that fortunately nobody realised it'

i. U Gianni u credda **che**, <u>quelu libru</u>, **ch'**u l' aggia

the John SCL believe.pr.3s that that book that SCL L have.S.3s

zà lettu

already read.pple

'John believes that he has already read that book'

ii. A Maria a credda **che**, <u>quella zuvena</u>, **ch'**i nu-a

the Mary SCL believe.pr.3s that that young woman that SCL not-she.acc

suportan propiu

bear.S.3p really

'Mary thinks that they cannot stand that young woman'

iii. Creddu **che**, <u>a-u Gianni</u>, **ch'**i ghe parlan duman

believe.pr.1s that to-the John that SCL to-him speak.S.3p tomorrow

'I think that they will speak to John tomorrow'

iv. Speru **che**, <u>a-a Teeja</u>, **ch'**i ghe l' aggian dattu u

hope.pr.1s that to-the Teresa that SCL to her L have.S.3p give.pple the

regalu

present

'I hope that they have already given the present to Teresa'

v. U Mariu u   spera   **che**, <u>a ca sö</u>,   **ch'**i   se   ne   turnan
the Mario SCL   hope.pr.3s that   to house their   that SCL   rfl part return.S.3p

a-u   ciü presto
at-the   more soon

'Mario hopes that they go back to their house as soon as possible'

vi. U Gianniu pensa **che**, <u>cun ti</u>, **ch'**u   l' aggia   zà   balau
the John   SCL thinks that   with you that SCL   L have.S.3s already dance.pple

'John thinks that he has already danced with you'

vii.I   pensan   **che**, <u>a quest' ua</u>, **ch'**u   l' aggia   zà   mangiau
SCL think.pr.3p that   at this hour   that SCL   L have.S.3s already eat.pple

'They think that he will have already eaten at this time'

viii.U Mariu u   pensa   **che**, <u>fosci</u>, **ch'**i   diggan   a   veitè
the Mario SCL   think.pr.3s that   perhaps that SCL   say.S.3p   the truth

'Mario thinks that perhaps they are telling the truth'

As well as appearing in isolation, left dislocated elements can also appear combined
with each other, in a sequence:

(38)a. I   spero   **che**, <u>'l vot brut</u>, <u>a Giulia</u>, **ch'**a-j   lo   diso
SCL   hope.pr.1s   that the mark ugly   to Giulia   that SCL+dat it.acc say.S.3p

doman,   nen   ancheuj
tomorrow   not   today

'I hope that they will tell Giulia about the bad mark tomorrow, not today

b. A   chërdo   **che**, <u>Marìa</u>, <u>për boneur</u>, **ch'**a   l' abia
SCL believe.pr.3p that   Mary   for fortune   that SCL   L have.S.3s

pairà   a   vëdd-la
manage.pple   to see.inf-she.acc

'They think that s/he luckily managed to see Mary'

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c. Marìa   a   pensa   **che**, <u>al dotor</u>, <u>doman</u>, **ch'**a-j   parla   nen

Mary SCL   think.pr.3s that   to the doctor tomorrow   that SCL+dat   speak.S.3s   not

'Mary thinks that to the doctor s/he will not speak tomorrow'

i. U Giorgiu u pensa   **che**, <u>a-a lalla</u>, <u>in regalu</u>, **ch'**i   ghe   l'

the George SCL think.pr.3s that   to the aunt   a present   that SCL   to-her   L

aggian   zà   catau

have.S.3p   already buy.pple

'George thinks that they have already bought the aunt a present'

ii. A Teeja   a   pensa   **che**, <u>quella ca</u>, <u>a quest'ua</u>, **ch'**i   nu-a

the Teresa   SCL   think.pr.3s that   that house   at this time   that SCL   not-it.acc

l'   aggian   zà   vista

L   have.S.3p   already see.pple

'Teresa thinks that they haven't seen that house at this time'

iii. A Maria   a   credda   **che**, <u>a-a Teeja</u>,   <u>fosci</u>, **ch'**u   ghe

the Mary   SCl believe.pr.3s   that   to the Teresa   perhaps that SCL   to-her

parla   duman

speak.S.3s   tomorrow

'Mary thinks that perhaps he will speak to Teresa tomorrow'

I will not interpret the fact that in a sentence there can be more than one LD phrase as an indication that TopP is a recursive projection, as claimed by Rizzi (1997). In the general view that all functional projections have distinct properties and host different types of elements – cf. for example, Cinque (1999) for the IP – it is not a desirable option to have a theory of language that allows the repetition of identical projections.

I will follow Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2002) in assuming that the topicalised and the focalised projections in the split CP are an area rather than a single projection. More specifically, each comprises a number of distinct projections, expressing different semantic information – for a parallel claim made for the Topic projection in Hungarian cf. Puskás (2002). The topicalised field is limited downwards by

the focalised field: no topicalised items are allowed to appear to the right of focalised phrases.

2.2 – FOCALISED ELEMENTS

Contrastively focalised phrases are not allowed to appear sentence-initially in Tur: irrespective of the category of the focalised elements – as shown in the following examples – the element must appear post-verbally in order to receive contrastive interpretation[59]:

(39)a. Gioann   a   l' ha   catà   IL GELATO, nen   la torta

John   SCL   L   have.pr.3s buy.pple   the ice-cream   not   the cake

 b. * IL GELATO   a   l' ha   catà   Gioann,   nen   la torta

the ice-cream   SCL   L   have.pr.3s   buy.pple   John   not   the cake

'It is the ice-cream that John has bought, not the cake'

 c. A   l' han   s-cjairà-je   el problema A GIOANN, nen a Marc

SCL   L   have.pr.3p explain.pple-dat the problem   to John   not to Mark

 d. *A GIOANN a   l' han   s-cjairà-je   el problema, nen   a   Marc

to   John   SCL   L   have.pr.3p explain.pple-dat the problem   not   to   Mark

'It is to John that they have explained the problem, not to Mark'

 e. Giòrs a   l' é   andàit AL CÌNEMA,   nen   al   teatro

George SCL   L   be.pr.3s go.pple to the   cinema   not   to the   theatre

 f. * AL   CÌNEMA Giòrs a   l' é   andàit, nen   al   teatro

to the   cinema   George SCLL be.pr.3s go.pple not   to the   theatre

'It is to the cinema that George has gone, not the theatre'

_____

[59] I have translated all the examples with a contrastively focalised phrase as cleft sentences.

Lig, on the other hand, does allow for focalised phrases to appear pre-verbally, as shown in (40):

(40) i. U TÖLIBRU i   l' han   cattau,   nu   u sö
the your book   SCL L have.pr.3p buy.pple not the his/hers
'It is your book that they have bought, not his/hers'

ii. A-A TEEJA i   ghe   l' han   dattu   u regalu, nu a mi
to-the Teresa SCL to-her L have.pr.3p give.pple the present not to I.dat
'It is to Teresa that they have given the present, not to me'

When the conditions in (4) are met, i.e. the embedded verb is in the subjunctive and there is phonetically realised syntactic material following *che1*, focalised phrases can also appear between the two *che*:

(41) i. Creddu   **che**, DE QUESTU, **ch'**i   ghe   parlan,   nu de quelu
believe.pr.1s that   of this   that SCL dat   speak.S.3p not of that
'I think that it is this they are talking to him about, not that'

ii. U Gianni u   credda   **che**, I TÖ, **ch'**i   nu-a   suportan,
the John SCL believe.pr.3s that   the your that SCL not-she.acc bear.S.3p
nu   i   me
not the my
'John thinks that it is your parent who cannot stand her, not mine'

Contrastively focalised elements can also co-occur with LD elements, and when they do, LD elements appear higher than focalised elements:

(42) i. Pensu   **che**, <u>a-u Gianni</u>, DE L'ESAMME **ch'**i   ghe   n'
think.pr.1s that   to-the John   of the exam   that SCL dat   part
aggian zà   parlau, nu   d' u libru
have.S.3p already speak.pple not of the book
'I think that it is about the exam that they have spoken to John, not the book'

Concluding, the area between *che1* and *che2* can host LD elements in Tur and both LD and contrastively focalised phrases in Lig.

As the examples in (1), repeated here for convenience, show, the position can also host subjects:

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

  b. Majo   a   chërde   **che**   Luch   **ch**'a   sia   dësmentiass-ne
     Mario   SCL   believe.pr.3s   that   Luke   that SCL   be.S.3s   forget.pple.rf-part
     'Mario believes that Luke has forgotten about it'

  c. Majo   a   pensa   **che**   Franchin **ch'**as   n'   ancorza
     Mario   SCL   think.pr.3s   that   Frank   that SCL+rf part   realise.S.3s
     'Mario thinks that Frank realises it'

  i. A Teeja   a   spera   **che**   u Gianni **ch'**u   se tagia i   cavei
     the Teresa   SCL   hope.pr.3s   that   the John   that SCL   rf cut.S.3s the hair
     a-u   ciü fitu
     at-the   more soon
     'Teresa hopes that John has his hair cut as soon as possible'

  ii. A Teeja a   credda   **che**   a Maria **ch**'a   parta   duman
     the Teresa SCL   believe.pr.3s   that   the Mary   that SCL   leave.S.pr.3s tomorrow
     'Teresa believes that Mary will leave tomorrow'

  iii. A Teeja a   pensa   **che**   Ida **ch'**a   se ne sciggia   pentia
     the Teresa SCL   think.pr.3s   that   Ida that SCL   rf part be.S.3s   repent.pple
     'Teresa thinks that Ida has repented of it'

Because of the conclusions reached in section 1.3 – i.e. *che2* is in the left periphery – it follows that the subjects in these examples are in the left periphery, too. What is their

status? Do they appear in a canonical position or are they discourse-prominent? These are the questions addressed in the next section.

2.3 – SUBJECTS

2.3.1 – PRONOMINAL SUBJECTS

Pre-verbal subjects are taken to be considerably different in null subject languages (NSLs)– such as Italian – and non-null subject languages (nNSLs) – such as English. In NSLs, unlike in nNSLs, a pre-verbal subject has been analysed as occupying an A'-position (i.e. a non-argumental position) by a number of authors – cf. Contreras (1991), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Moro (1993), among others. Another difference concerns the position to which Nominative case is assigned: in nNSLs only the pre-verbal position can receive Case while in NSLs Case can either be assigned to a pre-verbal or a post-verbal position – cf. Contreras (1991), Koopman and Sportiche (1991), Rizzi (1996), Roberts (1993).

Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) and Chomsky (1995) identify two positions – in addition to the VP internal one, a thematic position identified by Koopman and Sportiche (1991), among others – 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 (2001) 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 rejects the proposals according to which pre-verbal subjects have a different status in NSLs and nNSLs, reducing the differences between the two types of languages to the nature of the agreement head, which would license a null subject in the former but not the latter. Two subject positions are identified: a higher one, hosting the subject of predication, and a lower one, targeted by the grammatical subject. Because of their different feature specification, the two positions are available to different types of subjects: while the former can host strong pronouns, full DPs and non-Nominative DPs, the latter is available to weak pronouns (neither strong nor clitic elements, such as standard Italian *tu* 'you' in subjunctive

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clauses, as argued in Cardinaletti and Starke, 1999) and *pro*. The author firmly rejects the idea that either of these be placed in the left periphery (2001:2, 28, 30).

Thus according to Cardinaletti, different types of subjects target different positions, none of which are to be found in the left periphery.

Poletto (2000:139ff) claims that pre-verbal subjects in Northern Italian dialects target a position within the CP rather than the IP as currently assumed, and that quantified subjects and DP subjects occupy different positions. The author further argues that although DP subjects probably fill a 'topic like' position, they are not to be interpreted as always being LD.

Concluding, according to Cardinaletti's analysis the subjects in (1) would not occupy their canonical position, and according to Poletto's ideas, they may not necessarily be LD.

The position between the two *che* can be occupied by different types of subjects: as well as proper names, both simple and coordinated, we can also find full DPs and bare pronouns. While the situation seems to be rather consistent with DP subjects, differences arise when using pronouns: while with some the co-occurrence with *che2* is highly preferred, with others it is not.

(43)a.

Gioann	a	chërde	**che**	Ida	**ch'**a	sia	ancorzuss-ne
John	SCL	believe.pr.3s	that	Ida	that SCL	be.S.3s	realise.pple-part

'John believes that Ida has realised it'

b.

Giòrs	a	pensa	**che**	Majo e Ghitin	**ch'**a	sio
George	SCL	think.pr.3s	that	Mario and Margaret	that SCL	be.S.3p

ancorzuss-ne
realise.pple-part

'John believes that Mario and Margaret have realised it'

c.

Luch	a	pensa	**che**	ij tò	**ch'**a	sio	ancorzuss-ne
Luke	SCL	think.pr.3s	that	the your	that SCL	be.S.3p	realise.pple-part

'Luke thinks that your parents have realized it'

d. I   spero   **che** cola fija **ch'**a-j   parla   al   dotor
   SCL   hope.pr.1s   that   that girl   that SCL+dat speak.S.3s to the   doctor
   'I hope that girl speaks to the doctor'

e. A   veulo   **che** mi   'm   në   vada
   SCL   want.pr.3p   that   I   SCL   part   go.S.1s
   'They want me to go away'

f. A   veulo   **che** ti   **ch'**it   në   vada
   SCL   want.pr.3p   that   you   that SCL   part   go.S.2s
   'They want you to go away'

g. A   veulo   **che** chiel   **ch'**as   në   vada
   SCL   want.pr.3p   that   he   that SCL   part   go.S.3s
   'They want him to go away'

h. A   veulo   **che** chiel   a-j   scriva   sùbit   al   dotor
   SCL   want.pr.3p   that   he   SCL+dat   write.S.3s immediately to the   doctor
   'They want him to write to the doctor immediately'

i. A   veulo   **che** nojàutri 'n   në   vado
   SCL   want.pr.3p   that   we   rf   part   go.S.1p
   'They want us to go away'

j. A   veulo   **che** vojàutri vë   në   vade
   SCL   want.pr.3p   that   you.pl   rf   part   go.S.2p
   'They want that you go away'

k. A   veulo   **che** vojàutri **ch'**i   parle   sùbit   al dotor
   SCL   want.pr.3p   that   you.pl   that SCL   speak.pr.2p immediately to-the doctor
   'They want you to speak to the doctor immediately'

l. | Gioann | a | veule | **che** | lor | **ch'**as | në | vado |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| John | SCL | want.pr.3s | that | they | that SCL+rf | part | go.S.3p |

'John wants them to go away'

In section 1.4.2 it was claimed that the subject of the embedded clause stays in [Spec, vP] unless it has some discourse-prominent features to check in the appropriate positions, i.e. either [Spec, TopP] or [Spec, FocP]. I would therefore like to claim that the full DP subjects that appear between *che1* and *che2* are to be considered as left dislocated. Assuming that TopP is delimited downwards by FocP and given that in Tur contrastively focalised elements are not licit in a pre-verbal position, suggesting that there is no FocP contrastive projection, this claim cannot be supported nor refuted. Another possibility is that the subject occupies [Spec, FinP], which implies that it is not discourse prominent. I leave this possibility unexplored here.

Why would it be the case that there is variation as to the realisation of *che2* when the subject of the embedded clause is represented by a pronoun? Perhaps the presence versus absence of *che2* reflects a different position occupied by the pronoun, namely that when it is realised the pronoun occupies a higher position, while when it is absent the pronoun is in a lower position.
Cardinaletti (2001) makes a distinction within the class of pronouns between strong and weak elements. She claims that the pronoun *tu* 'you' that occurs in subjunctive clauses cannot be topicalised, as the following examples from standard Italian show:

(44) a. | Crede | che | tu | sia | ricco |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| believe.pr.3s | that | you | be.S.2s | rich |

    b. | *Tu | crede | che | sia | ricco |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| you | believe.pr.3s | that | be.S.2s | rich |

'S/He thinks that you are rich'

from Cardinaletti (2001:13)

Tu cannot be considered a clitic, since there is no requirement that it be adjacent to the verb:

(45) a. Crede   che   tu solitamanete esca   alle   due
          believe.pr.3s   that   you usually   go out.S.2s at the two
          'S/He thinks that you usually go out at two'

                                                        from Cardinaletti (2001:13)

Because of these properties, Cardinaletti claims that *tu* occurring with subjunctive verbs is a *weak* pronoun, and occupies a lower position than strong pronouns and DP subjects. Looking at the examples in (43), the presence (or absence) of *che2* could be interpreted as a reflection of their different status.

Cardinaletti's distinction within the class of pronouns does not seem to find support from the Tur data: the fact that the same pronoun behaves differently in the two sentences would suggest it has a different status in each of them. (43) g, for example, *chiel* 'he' is preferred with *che2* while in (43) h it is preferred without it. It seems hardly plausible that in (43) g *chiel* was to fill a higher position than in (43) h. The same observation can be applied to the other instances of the pronouns being realised with and without *che2*.

What is relevant in this case is the morphology of the verb. The tables in (32) showed the poor morphological differentiation between the indicative and the subjunctive paradigms. The first person singular and plural are the only two that differ from one another in all three conjugations, and these are exactly those where the preference for *che2* is not high. The second person singular and plural and the third person plural, on the other hand, have the same form for both indicative and subjunctive: these are precisely those forms that are preferably produced with *che2*. As for the third person singular, verbs of the second and third conjugation have a form morphologically distinct from the indicative, while verbs of the first conjugation do not: the verb in (43) h belongs to the second conjugation, and does not really 'need' *che2*. In (43) g, on the other hand, the SCL is clustered with the reflexive clitic and followed by the partitive *në*. The fact that *che2* is triggered even if the actual verb form is distinct from the indicative

one – cf. subjunctive *vada* versus indicative *va* – seems to suggest that the phonological preference for clitics to cluster together applies at PF and causes *che2* to be realised overtly.

Concluding, Cardinaletti's subdivision within the class of pronouns is not responsible for the presence versus absence of *che2*. Once again the evidence gathered supports the analysis of *che2* as a morphological mood marker.

We thus reach a third approximation of the conditions operating on the realisation of *che2*:

(46)   Realise *che2* overtly at the syntactic level if:
   i.   the verb in the embedded clause is in the subjunctive mood,

                    AND

   ii. the subjunctive is morphologically deficient.

                          OR

Realise *che2* overtly at the phonological level if:
   i.   the verb in the embedded clause is in the subjunctive mood,

                    AND

   iii. there is a clitic cluster onto which *che2* can cliticise.

2.3.2 – QUANTIFIED SUBJECTS

In this section the positions occupied by bare quantifiers and their status is investigated. Their position will be evaluated with respect to the position filled by LD phrases. The bare quantifiers investigated here are Tur *gnun* 'nobody', *cheidun* 'somebody' and *tuti* 'everybody'.

Let us now turn to the interaction of quantified subjects and LD elements. A bare quantifier subject can either appear to the left or immediately to the right of LD phrases. As for the position to the left of LD phrases, there seems to be some variation as to the grammaticality judgement given with respect to the different quantifiers used: *gnun* 'nobody' is the one that gives raise to differing judgements:

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(47) a. A vorrìo **che** gnun, a st' ora, **ch'**as n' andèissa

SCL want.cond.3p that nobody at this time that SCL+rf part go.S.imperf.3s

'They would like nobody to go away at this time'

b. Gioanin a pensa **che** gnun, ëd cola bruta facenda, **ch'**a

John SCL think.pr.3s that nobody of that ugly business that SCL

sia dësmentiass-ne

be.S.3s forget.ppple-part

'John thinks that nobody forgot about that awful business'

c. *A chërdo **che** gnun, ant cost mond, **ch'**a l' abia na

SCL believe.pr.3p that nobody into this world that SCL L have.S.3s a

vita fàcil

life easy

'They believe that nobody has an easy life in this world'

d. *?Giòrs a chërd **che** gnun, d' un bon consèj,**ch'**as

George SCL believe.pr.3s that nobody of a good advice that SCL+rf

n' ambrigna pròpi

part not care.S.3s really

'George believes that nobody ignores a good piece of advice'

e. A spera **che** tuti, 'd cost anfreidor, **ch'**as në

SCL hope.pr.3s that everybody of this cold that SCL+rf part

libero tòst

free.S.3p soon

'S/He hopes that everybody gets rid of this cold soon'

f. Marìa a chërd **che** tuti, 'd coste robe, **ch'**a

Mary SCL believes that everybody of these things that SCL

sio ambrignass-ne

be.S.3p not care.pple-part

'Mary believes that nobody worried themselves about these things

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g. *?A pensa **che** tuti, ant cost mond, **ch'**a l'
   SCL think.pr.3s that everybody into this world that SCL L

   abio ij sò problema
   have.S.3p the their problems

   'S/He thinks that everybody has their problems in this world'

h. *?Marìa a chërd **che** tuti, dle maldicense, **ch'**
   Mary SCL believe.pr.3s that everybody, of the gossip that

   as n' ambrigno
   SCL+rf part not care.S.3p

   'Mary believes that nobody worry themselves about gossip'

i. Marìa a spera **che** cheidun, stasseira, **ch'**a tasta
   Mary SCL hope.pr.3s that somebody tonight that SCL taste.S.3s

   la torta 'd pom
   the cake of apple

   'Mary hopes that somebody tastes the apple pie tonight'

j. Majo a pensa **che** cheidun, a Teresa, **ch'**a-j l'
   Mario SCL think.pr.3s that somebody to Teresa that SCL+dat L

   abia già daje sto lìber
   have.S.3s already give.pple.dat this book

   'Mario thinks that somebody has already given the book to Teresa'

k. ?March a spera **che** cheidun, a l' ambient, **ch'**a-j
   Mark SCL hope.pr.3s that somebody to the environment that SCL+dat

   pensa
   think.S.3s

   'Mark hopes that somebody thinks about the environment'

If we now turn to the distribution of pre-verbal bare quantifier subjects in the position immediately to the right of LD phrases, we find a similar situation, i.e. the judgements vary:

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(48) a. Ghitin   a   spera   **che**, d'avèj   fàit   na bon-a assion,
      Margaret SCL   hope.pr.3s that   of have.inf make.pple a   good   action

      gnun   **ch'**   as   në   pentissa
      nobody that SCL+rf part   repent.S.3s
      'Margaret hopes that nobody regrets having done a good deed'

    b. Giòrs a   chërd   **che**,   d'un bon consèj, **gnun** ch'as
      George SCL   believe.pr.3s   that   of a good advice   nobody that SCL+rf

      n'   ambrigna   pròpi
      part   not care.S.3s   really
      'George believes that nobody ignores a good piece of advice'

    c. ?*Marìa   a   spera   **che**, dle fior,   gnun   **ch'**as   në
      Mary   SCL   hope.pr.3s that   of the flowers   nobody that SCL+rf part

      dësmentia
      forget.S.3s
      'Mary hopes that nobody forgets about the flowers'

    d. Luch   a   pensa   **che**, 'd sòn,   tuti   **ch'**a   sio
      Luke   SCL   think.pr.3s that   of this   everybody that SCL   be.S.3p

      dësmentiass-ne
      forget.pple-part
      'Luke thinks that everybody has forgotten about it'

    e. ?Marìa   a   spera   **che**, l' esame, tuti   **ch'**a   l'
      Mary   SCL   hope.pr.3s that   the exam everybody that SCL   L

      abio   passa-lo
      have.S.3p   pass.pple-it.acc
      'Mary hope that everybody passed the exam'

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f. ?Ghitin   a   spera   **che**,   a   Teresin,   tuti   **ch'**a   l'

Margaret   SCL hope.pr.3s   that   to   Teresa   everybody   that SCL   L

abio   daje   un bel   cadò

have.S.3p   give.pple-dat   a   beautiful   present

'Margaret hopes that everybody gave a nice present to Teresa'

g. Giòrs   a   spera   **che**,   ëd coste ròbe, cheidun   **ch'**as

George   SCL   hope.pr.3s   that   of   these   things   somebody   that SCL+rf

n'   arcòrza

part   realise.S.3s

'George hopes that somebody realises about these things'

f. Majo   a   pensa   **che**,   a   Teresin,   cheidun   **ch'**a-j   l'

Mario   SCL   think.pr.3s   that   to   Teresa   somebody   that SCL+dat   L

abia   già   daje   la bon-a neuva

have.S.3s   already   give.pple-dat   the good   new

'Mario thinks that somebody has already given the good news to Teresa'

g. ?*Ghitin   a   spera   **che**,   dle fior,   cheidun   **ch'**as

Margaret   SCL   hope.pr.3s   that   of the flowers   somebody   that SCL+rf

n'   arcòrda

part   remember.S.3s

'Margaret hopes that somebody remembers about the flowers'

Let us analyse these positions in turn, starting from the data exemplified in (47). In these examples there is a quantified subject filling a position to the left of LD elements, i.e. a position higher than TopP, but lower than *che1*.

In order to identify this position it is necessary to consider all the projections in the left periphery.

As mentioned at the beginning of section 2, Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2002), refining Rizzi's (1997) decomposition of the CP, introduce a projection to the left of ForceP – labelled DiscP, Discourse Phrase, in the former and HT, Hanging Topic, in the latter –, a position targeted by marked Topic or Themes. These types of phrase

corresponds to those identified by Cinque (1977) and Benincà (1988), and display properties that distinguish them from LD phrases. These are summarised in (49), taken from Benincà (2001:44), and the first two exemplified for standard Italian in (50):

(49)

LD	HT
The entire argument (i.e. DP and any preposition) appears on the left	Only the DP appears on the left
The resumptive clitic is only obligatory with direct and partitive objects	The resumptive clitic is obligatory in all cases
The resumptive clitic agrees with the Topic in gender, number and case	The resumptive clitic agrees with Hanging Topic in number and gender
Can appear in both root and embedded contexts	Is restricted to root contexts

(50) a. Mario,   non   ne   parla   più   nessuno   HT
         Mario   not   part speak.pr.3s anymore nobody
         'As for Mario, nobody talks about him anymore'

      b. Di Mario,   non   (ne) parla più   nessuno   LD
         of Mario   not   part speak.pr.3s anymore nobody
         'Of Mario, nobody talks (about him) anymore'

The pragmatics of these constructions is the same, i.e. they are both thematised constructions, and they are indistinguishable when the thematised element is either a direct object – for which the resumptive clitic becomes obligatory in both constructions – or a subject – in which case there is no resumptive clitic available in standard Italian:

(50)c.   Gianni,   *(lo)   incontriamo domani   LD/HT
          John   he.acc   meet.pr.1p   tomorrow
          'John, we'll meet him tomorrow'

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d.   Gianni,   parla   sempre   troppo   LD/HT
        John   speak.pr.3s always   too much
        'John always talks too much'

With this 'new' position available in the left periphery, the quantified subjects that
appear to the left of LD phrases in (47) can occupy one of the following positions:

    a.   their canonical position, the Specifier of a possible SubjQP; or

    b.   [Spec, DiscP], and therefore be a Hanging Topic; or

    c.   [Spec, TopP], and therefore be LD; or

    d.   [Spec, Foc], and therefore be focalised.

Let us consider them in turn.

If the quantified subjects in (47) appeared in their canonical position, the reading
associated with that word order would be a neutral one, i.e. the quantified subject would
not receive any informational relevance. This seems to be the case in standard Italian: to
the question 'What happened?' there is a preference to answer with (51)a; the question
'Who passed the exam?' triggers the answer in (51) b:

(51)a.   Non   ha   superato   l'esame   nessuno
          not   have.pr.3s   pass.pple the exam   nobody
          'Nobody has passed the exam'

  b.   Nessuno   ha   superato   l'esame
          nobody   have.pr.3s   pass.pple the exam
          'Nobody has passed the exam'

A similar situation is also found in Tur: to the question 'What happened?' the most
natural answer would be (52) a, while (52) b would be the preferred answer to 'Who ate
the soup?':

(52)a.   A   l'   ha   mangià   la mnesta   gnun
          SCL   L   have.pr.3s   eat.pple the soup   nobody
          'Nobody ate the soup'

b.	Gnun	a	l'	ha	mangià	l	mnesta
	nobody	SCL	L	have.pr.3s	eat.pple		the soup

In the second example *gnun* 'nobody' is presupposed, while in the first it is not. Being presupposed it would occupy a Focus position, suggesting that this is not a canonical subject position.

If, on the other hand, the quantified subjects were to fill [Spec, HT], they would occur higher than *che1*, and this is not the case.

By assuming a CP system in which the areas available to topicalised and focalised phrases are separate and the former is higher than the latter[60] – cf. Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2002) – no focalised element can appear to the left of a LD phrase. The third option is thus ruled out.

In order to investigate the fourth alternative, i.e. that the quantified subjects be themselves LD, it is necessary to make a diversion into the properties of LD.

2.3.2.1 – CLLD

Before attempting to investigate the phenomenon of left-dislocation it is necessary to clarify some issues concerning the use of terminology adopted to describe similar constructions. The structure labelled 'left-dislocation' by Ross (1967) and Chomsky (1977) is the same as Hanging Topic in Benincà's (2001) system. The structure labelled 'left-dislocation' by Rizzi (1997), is more specifically an instance of 'clitic left-dislocation', CLLD, as described in Cinque (1977, 1990). Finally, what Cinque (1990) refers to as 'topicalisation' is an instance of 'focalisation' in Rizzi (1997).

Cinque (1990) sets out to investigate four major cases of A'- dependencies – successive cyclic wh-movement, long wh-movement, apparent wh-movement of NPs and the relation between a resumptive pronoun and a sentence-initial phrase in the CLLD

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[60] TopP and FocusP host a number of projections for LD and focalised phrases respectively. The Top field hosts LD elements and elements with a list interpretation; the Foc field is a landing site for contrastive and informational focus elements.

constructions – with the aim of finding a unifying account that can satisfactorily derive them from more general principles.

He claims (1990:xv) that the conditions on long wh-movement are not to be viewed as conditions on this specific type of movement *per se*, but as a more general condition on A'-chains, be they created by movement or base-generated. The author also identifies (1990:xiv) in '*the intrinsic referential character*' of a phrase the prerequisite for undergoing long wh-movement. Given that the conditions on this type of movement are to be considered as conditions on A'-chains, we must conclude that referentiality is a requirement for A'-dependencies, including therefore CLLD structures.

In other words, in order for an element to be able to undergo left-dislocation it must be referential, in the sense of Pesetsky's (1987) D-linking.

Thus a link is created between what Rizzi (1990) labels as 'referentially θ-marked' phrases – i.e. a phrase can undergo long wh-movement only if it receives one among agent, theme or goal θ-role – and the requirement that these phrases be strictly referential, i.e. that they refer to specific members of a pre-established set.

The importance of the role played by referentiality becomes even more apparent when a further connection is established between left-dislocation and the ability of entering a binding relation: CLLD is a '*pure representation of binding relations*' (Cinque, 1990:164, note 15). Binding, in turn, is defined in terms of 'referential index' – from Rizzi (1990):

(53)   X binds Y iff:
   i) X c-commands YAND
   ii) X and Y have the same referential index

Summing up: an element can be LD only if it is intrinsically referential, which in turns implies that it must be able to enter into a binding relation.

Given these conditions, it is easy to see how quantified elements – that are generally considered not able to undergo left-dislocation – can indeed enter CLLD constructions as long as they can be interpreted as specific.

Turning back to the examples in (47), it seems that when the bare quantifier can be interpreted as specific – because present in the discourse domain or referring to a specific individual or a member of a pre-established set – it is allowed to appear to the left of LD phrases. The difference between (47) a and b on the one hand and (47) c and d on the other is the degree of specificity of *gnun* 'nobody': while in a and b *gnun* can be easily interpreted as 'nobody of the people at this party' or 'nobody of our friends', i.e. as specific, in c and d the context favours a non-specific interpretation of *gnun*. Thus, while *gnun* can be licit in a LD position in (47) a and b because of its specific interpretation, its position results in the sentence being ungrammatical in (47) c and d due to its non-specific reading. This is also the case for the examples in (47) e and f, and g and h, with *tuti* 'everybody'. *Cheidun* 'somebody', on the other hand, is the easiest of the three to be interpreted as specific: thus the deviance rather than ungrammaticality of (47) j.

This interpretation is supported by some interesting facts in Paduan. Paduan has SCLs for third person singular and plural which are realised either when there is no lexical subject or when the subject is LD. If a LD phrase intervenes between a pre-verbal subject and the verb, the SCL is obligatorily realised, suggesting that the subject is LD itself. This is shown in the examples in (54):

(54)a.　Mario　　(el)　　me　　vede　　　volentera
　　　　Mario　　SCL　　I.acc　see.pr.3s　willingly
　　　　'Mario meets me with pleasure'

　　b.　Mario,　　mi,　　*(el)　me　　vede　　　volentera
　　　　Mario　　I.acc　SCL　　I.acc　see.pr.3s　willingly
　　　　Mario, me, he meets with pleasure'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　from Benincà (2001:56)

A quantified subject is not compatible with a SCL unless it is followed by a LD phrase, in which case the SCL is obligatory:

(55) a. Credo che nissuni, <u>na idea simile</u>, *(el) possa ver-la

believe.pr.1s that nobody an idea similar SCL can.S.3s have.inf-it.acc

vua

have.pple

'I think that a similar idea, nobody can have had it'

b. Credo che nissuni (*el) possa ver-la vua

I believe that nobody SCL can have-it had

'I think that nobody can have had it'

<div align="right">Benincà (p.c.)</div>

Concluding, the bare quantifier subject that occupies a position to the left of a LD phrase is to be considered LD itself.

Turning to the examples in (48) in which the bare quantifier subject occupies a position immediately to the left of *che2* and to the right of LD phrases, a cue as to the nature of this position can be derived from Paduan. If a bare quantifier subject appears to the right of a LD phrase the SCL is not allowed, suggesting that the subject is not LD:

(56) Credo che, <u>na idea simile</u>, nissuni, (*el) possa ver-la

believe.pr.1s that an idea similar nobody SCL can.S.3s have.inf-it.acc

vua

have.pple

'I think that a similar idea, nobody can have had it'

<div align="right">Benincà (p.c.)</div>

I propose that this is the situation in Tur, too, and that this position can either belong to the focalised field or to a special projection targeted by bare quantifiers.
It has been shown how Tur does not allow contrastively focused elements to appear pre-verbally. Benincà and Poletto (2001) argue for the existence of two fields in the left periphery, one for LD elements and one for focalised elements. They identify within the former field a specific position for LD elements and one for those receiving what they

call 'List interpretation[61]'. Within the focalised field they identify three positions, two higher ones for contrastively focused elements – the higher position for adverbs and objects, the lower for circumstantial adverbs – and a lower one for information focus. What is information focus? A distinguishing feature of speakers of southern Italian dialects that is transferred to their variety of Italian is the pre-position of the element that carries new information, as shown in the following examples[62]:

(57)   a. Antonio   sono
            Anthony   be.pr.1s
            'I am Anthony'

        b. In chiesa   sono   andate
            in church   be.pr.3p   go.pple.fp
            'They have gone to church'

A similar construction is also witnessed in medieval Italian:

(58)   Una   portantina fece   il   re   Salomone
       a   sedan chair make.rem.3s   the king   Salomon
       'King Salomon had a sedan chair made'

                                            from Benincà and Poletto (2002:10)

These sentences in SI are not considered grammatical: it seems that in order for the information focus position to be activated and available, the field must have been 'opened' by a contrastively focused element – cf. Benincà and Poletto (2002:10). Thus,

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[61] An example of this would be: *la frutta la vendiamo, la verdura la regaliamo* 'fruit, we sell it, veggies, we give them away'.

[62] Ledgeway (p.c.) notices how (57) a and d are not equivalent. While the word order and the prosody in (57) a are unmarked, (57) b is marked: it expresses surprise, and is characterised by rising intonation, typical of echo-questions. It is not clear how to catpure syntactically this difference; further research is needed to understand the exact dynamics of the construction.

(59) a is possible, but (59) b is not, unless prosodically marked by contrastive intonation[63]:

(59) a. A TERESA, questo libro, devi   comprare

          to Teresa   this   book must.pr.2s   buy.inf

          You must buy this book for Teresa'

      b. *Questo libro   devi   comprare

          this   book   must.pr.2s   buy.inf

          'You must buy this book'

A link has been established between quantificational nature and focus – cf., among others, Cinque (1990), Rizzi (1997): focus is quantificational in the sense that the phrase undergoes A'-movement and creates an operator-variable chain. It is plausible, therefore, to assume that the quantifier subjects to the right of LD elements occupy a position that belongs to the Focus field. In view of the fact that Tur does not have a contrastive focus projection in the left periphery, I claim that this position is an information focus position, and therefore the quantifier subject receives discourse prominence[64].

This interpretation is compatible with the analysis of pre-verbal bare quantifiers given by Quer (2003)[65].

Cinque (1990) analyses instances of pre-posed bare quantifiers as examples of CLLD in which no resumptive clitic is necessary. This is the case since the object empty category would come to be A'-bound by a proper operator (a bare quantifier in an A'-position external to IP). As examples of such cases the author brings the following from Italian:

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[63] In the system *à la* Rizzi in which LD phrases are allowed to occur to the right of LD phrases, it could be argued that the example in (59) illustrates a case where the contrastively focalised element is followed by a LD phrase. Notice, however, that when a direct object is LD it must obligatorily have a resumptive clitic. The direct object in (59) does not occur with a resumptive clitic, suggesting that it is not LD.

[64] Cf. a similar conclusion reached in Goria (2001:150).

[65] Quer's analysis would not be applicable *in toto* since he investigates weak quantificational elements such as some, few, many, etc.

(60) a. Qualcosa,   farò   (non   preoccuparti)
          something   do.fut.1s   not   worry.imper.you.rf
          'I will do something, don't worry'

      b. Qualcuno,   troverò   di sicuro per questo compito
          somebody   find.fut.1s   of sure   for this   task
          'I will certainly find somebody for this task'

                                                    from Cinque (1990:74)

The resumptive clitic is still needed with quantified NP objects:

(61) a. Qualche   sbaglio,   ogni   tanto, *(lo)   fa   anche   Gianni
          some   mistake   every much   it.acc   make.pr.3s even   John
          'Even John makes some mistakes, every now and then'

      b. Tutti   i   tuoi   errori,   prima   o   poi,   *(li)   pagherai
          all   the your   mistakes   before   or after they.acc pay.fut.3s
          'You will pay for all your mistakes sooner or later'

                                                    from Cinque (1990:74)

Cinque claims that the resumptive clitic is obligatory in these examples because the NP
in left dislocated position fails to qualify as an operator and is thus unable to identify the
IP-internal empty category as a variable. Quantified NPs behave more like names than
quantifiers: bare quantifiers are instantiations of NP rather than of [Spec, NP]:

Bare Quantifiers: [NP [QP Q]]
Quantified NPs: [NP [QP Q][N' N]]

Cinque further discusses cases in which a bare quantifier can co-occur with a resumptive
clitic:

(62) a. Qualcosa, (la)   vedo   anch' io
          something it.acc see.pr.1s   even   I
          'Even I can see something'

      b. Qualcuno, (l')   ho   trovato,   non   preoccuparti
          somebody he.acc have.pr.1s find.pple not   worry.imper.you.rf
          'I have found somebody, don't worry'

                                                          from Cinque (1990:75)

Why is a clitic possible in these cases?

According to Cinque the optionality of the resumptive clitic is only apparent: in fact left dislocated bare quantifiers are systematically ambiguous between one use as bare quantifiers, in which the clitic is impossible, and one use as quantified NPs, in which the clitic is obligatory. In other words, the presence versus absence of the resumptive clitic correlates with a property of the interpretation of the NP: whether it is referential (specific) or non-referential, respectively.

When a specific referential interpretation is clearly forced by the context, then the clitic is obligatory, again:

(63) a. A: Li   conosci,   quelli?
             they.acc   know.pr.2s those
             'Do you know them?'

      b. B: Sì   qualcuno, *(l')   ho   già   conosciuto
             yes   somebody he.acc have.pr.1s already met
             'Yes, I have already met somebody'

                                                          from Cinque (1990:75)

What these examples suggest is that the 'pure' quantifier use of an NP is incompatible with a specific referential interpretation, and, consequently, with the presence of the resumptive clitic. When the referential reading is forced, only the name-like quantified-NP use is possible – requiring the presence of a resumptive clitic.

I would like to claim that the examples in (60) are not instances of CLLD but of quantifier fronting, as discussed in Barbosa (2001), Vallduvì (1993), Quer (2003). Quantifier fronting (QF) is a left-detachment strategy which differs from both left-dislocation and focalisation. In section 2.3.2.1 it was concluded that the specificity of a phrase was the necessary condition for being left dislocated. Given that the pure quantifier use of an NP is not compatible with a resumptive clitic – i.e. it is non-specific – I claim that the NP is not to be considered left-dislocated.

Quer (2003) compares QF to cases of contrastive focalisation. The two share a set of defining features:

i. no clitic can resume the moved phrase;

ii. only one constituent at any one time can undergo movement but it can co-occur with LD phrases – which must appear to its left;

iii. QF and focalised phrases are, descriptively speaking, in complementary distribution;

iv. they both license parasitic gaps and require adjacency with the verb.

Nevertheless, they differ with respect to two major features: prosodic intonation and a Definteness effect. With QF the bare quantifier does not receive any contrastive phonological contour and the element can only be non-specific: if a quantified NP is used instead of a bare quantifier, then the resumptive clitic is necessary.

Considering that under current assumptions – cf. Benincà and Poletto (2002) – Focus is not a single projection devoted to hosting contrastively focalised elements only but a field that also allocates informational Focus, the position identified by Quer as a landing site for QF – to the right of LD phrases – could justifiably be assumed to be [Spec, InfFoc][66].

The next chapter investigates similar cases in Romanian, where a bare quantifier can only appear pre-verbally if it identifies without exclusion, i.e. if it is non-specific. Recall that in the instances of QF investigated in Tur the bare quantifier is non-specific. Given

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[66] A possible objection to this interpretation derives from the fact that it has been independently shown – cf. Tortora (1997:67), among others – that bare quantifier subjects occupy a different position from non-quantified DP subjects. Szabolcsi (1994:173) claims that the position targeted by quantifiers is placed between a Topic and a Focus projection. I will leave the matter open here.

that an information Focus position is not available pre-verbally in Romanian, as claimed by É. Kiss (1998), and yet, QF occurs, it seems that the position targeted by QF cannot be identified with an informational Focus position in Romanian. I would like to maintain that the position is the same: while Tur and SI do have a projection devoted to information focus, Romanian does not, since this type of focus does not involve movement, and the element remains *in situ*.

Section 4.2 in the next chapter investigates in some depth the differences between information and contrastive focus in Romanian as discussed in É. Kiss (1998). Here I would simply like to anticipate some of the conclusions reached there through a comparison with Romanian: whether the quantificational features carried by information focus phrases are checked at LF or in the syntax is a matter of parametrisation. Some languages, such as Romanian, choose the former option not allowing an element carrying information focus to raise overtly to a pre-verbal position, others, such as Southern Italian dialects, SI, Tur,choose the latter.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has investigated the DCC in Tur and Lig, defining its characteristics, the restrictions operative on it, and has presented an interpretation of the status, function and mechanism of realisation of *che2*.
Che2 has been analysed as:
·   a morphological marker linked to the subjunctive mood;
·   base generated in v° as the morphological realisation of the bundle of
        functional features which the deficient verb lacks;
·   a clitic which is subject to both syntactic and phonological constraints:
    being a morphological marker encoding modality, its presence is preferred
        when the mood features on the following verb are morphologically poor;
        being a clitic, whether after having being licensed in the syntax its realisation
        takes place at PF is influenced by the presence of other clitics or clitic clusters;
·   an element whose content can be either overtly realised if the language has

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mood particles in its inventory, or remain null in those languages that do not have modal particles;

· undergoing movement to Fin° to check the mood features it carries.

Furthermore, the subjunctive has been analysed as:

· a tense-less verb form, deficient both morphologically and semantically; its morphological deficiency is obviated by the presence of an element specified for mood features – which can either be overt or null; its semantic deficiency is obviated through an anchoring process with an element in the C system;

  · a 'composite' verb form, being generated in V°, a projection dominated by vP in which the functional features lacking from V° are either realised overtly or by an expletive;

· a verb form whose deficiency – both in terms of agreement and mood features – prevents it from occupying a position within the CP.

The investigation of the subjects that appear between *che1* and *che2* has highlighted that:

  · full DP subjects are to be analysed as LD;
  · the interaction between pronouns and *che2* does not provide any support for Cardinaletti's distinction between strong and weak pronouns;
  · a bare quantifier subject occurring to the left of LD elements is to be analysed as being LD itself;
  · a bare quantifier occurring between a LD element and *che2* is to be analysed as having undergone QF and as occupying a position within the Focus field, information focus more specifically.

Some issues have been touched upon but left open for further research. One is the status of [Spec, FinP], the other is whether the position targeted by QF can be identified with [Spec, InfFoc]. If a subject were to occur in that position, then it would mean that movement out of the IP would not be only to obtain discourse prominence: [Spec, FinP] would be a position available to subjects in the left periphery. If this were the case, then

Poletto's (2000:153ff) claim that subjects target a CP position could be true[67]. If the position targeted by QF and [Spec, InfFoc] were not the same position, then an extra position would have to be allowed in the structure, investigating its interaction with other elements in the left periphery.

The next chapter will compare these findings to a similar construction found in Romanian. Some differences will be identified: *să* occupies a position that seems to belong to the IP rather than the CP domain; the impossibility in Romanian of having a bare quantifier subject occurring to the left of LD phrases is due to the fact that only non-specific quantifiers are licensed pre-verbally. Recall that the requirement for a phrase to undergo left-dislocation is that it be specific, thus this cannot take place in Romanian. Finally, the impossibility of having a bare quantifier subject in a pre-verbal position to the right of LD phrases is due to the absence of an information focus projection in Romanian, but not in Tur or SI.

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[67] All I would like to add is that, perhaps, FinP and IP are to be considered as 'matching categories' – cf. Müller & Sternefeld (1993) – in the sense that they can be identified as a single XP. This is obtained if one immediately dominates the other AND at least one of their Specifier positions is empty. The resulting category would not be a 'pure' CP nor a 'pure' IP category, and the subject filling its position, accordingly, would not belong to the CP. Following this line of reasoning, *che2* would thus appear as a hybrid category, on a parallel with Romanian *să*, and the structure of Tur and Romanian would be more closely related.

Part II

Chapter 4

Romanian

ROMANIAN

INTRODUCTION

This chapter turns to the investigation of the Romanian left periphery and the particle *să*, an interesting term of comparison for the DCC in Turinese and Ligurian. As well as focusing on the content and position of *să*, this chapter concentrates on wh-phrases, focalised and topicalised elements and on the position they occupy with respect to each other. Following É. Kiss (1998) and Alboiu (2000) it is claimed that in Romanian there is no InfFoc position in the left periphery; moreover, cases of object pre-posing which have been identified as the Romanian equivalent of Cinque's (1990) CLitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) constructions are analysed as an instantiation of a more general scrambling operation, as first defined by Ross (1967) for English, as the leftward movement of object NPs. This claim, combined with the conclusions reached in the previous chapter on Turinese, in turn provides an account for the differences between the two languages concerning the possibility of allowing quantified subjects in the upper portion of the clause.

There is an ongoing debate on whether *să* belongs to the IP or the CP domain, i.e. whether it is a modal particle or a complementiser. Such a controversy also surrounds the status of other subjunctive particles – cf. Philippaki-Warburton (1987) and Rivero (1994), who argue in favour of their inflectional status, and Agouraki (1991), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) and Tsoulas (1994), who argue in favour of their complementiser status. Recent investigations of the Greek particle *na* and the Southern Italian – Calabrian – particle *mu/mi* – cf., among others, Roussou (1999, 2000) and Roberts (2002), and Roberts and Roussou (2003) respectively – have argued for an analysis which accounts for both their inflectional and complementiser-like properties. This is achieved by acknowledging their modal content and providing evidence that suggests they fill a position within the left periphery, Rizzi's (1997) Fin° more specifically.

In a similar spirit, I will follow Dobrovie-Sorin's (1994) view that the projection hosting Romanian *să* has a 'spurious' nature, in the sense that it shares properties with both the

complementiser and inflectional domains. This is expressed structurally by proposing a process of reanalysis by which functional heads merge with each other giving raise to a complex head of the form Comp-…-Tense-V-Agr cumulatively specified for the features carried by the individual heads. The Specifier of the resulting complex head is an A'- position, not a canonical position for subjects but available to topicalised phrases. The syncretic nature of the Romanian I head and the A' status of its Specifier position are also supported by Alboiu (2000). Investigating wh- and contrastively focalised phrases she convincingly argues in favour of an analysis where these are hosted in the IP, along with polarised items and non-D-linked quantifiers.

I will claim that the position filled by *să* is to be identified with Rizzi's (1997) Fin in the left periphery.

The chapter is organised in 5 sections. The first is a brief introduction to some morphological, lexical and syntactic defining features of Romanian. Section 2 looks at the syntactic characteristics of Romanian in more detail and provides a summary of the analyses proposed to account for them in the literature. Section 3 is a descriptive account of the use of the subjunctive and reviews some of the leading analyses proposed in the literature for *să*. Section 4 turns to elements found in the left periphery of Romanian, wh- phrases, focalised and topicalised elements, focussing on their relative as well as their absolute positions. Section 5 turns to bare quantifiers and their interaction with topicalised and focalised phrases: it is claimed that the clitic found in what is considered to be the Romanian equivalent of the Standard Italian (SI) **CL**itic **L**eft **D**islocation constructions (CLLD) is not a resumptive clitic but a clitic that 'doubles' the pre-posed object. In other words, a pre-posed object is analysed as an instance of a more general phenomenon of scrambling – cf. Gierling (1997). A comparison with the different restrictions on Turinese and SI pre-verbal bare quantifiers is accounted for by claiming a 'reduced' structure for the Romanian left periphery which, following É. Kiss (1998) and Alboiu (2000), is thought of as lacking an InfFoc projection. Section 6 summarises the points put forward in the chapter and concludes.

SECTION 1 – LEXICAL AND MORPHO-SYNTACTIC NOTES

1.1 – HISTORICAL AND LEXICAL NOTES

The aim of these first two introductory sections is to offer the reader an insight into the deeply intertwined Romance and Slavic features that characterise Romanian, at the lexical – section 1.1 – and at the syntactic – section 1.2 – levels. The comparative evidence gathered here is of interest as an example of the Balkan Romance status of Romanian.

There are four varieties of Romanian: Istro-Romanian, Macedo-Romanian, Megleno-Romanian and Daco-Romanian, this latter being the one that stemmed from the variety of Latin spoken in the Roman province of Dacia, which lay north of the Danube, and then developed into modern Romanian. The scarce written testimony suggests that a literary norm was never recognised, except for Daco-Romanian, for which a literary standard was established in 1688 with the translation of the Bible.

It is a commonly accepted belief that the core of the basic vocabulary of Romanian is Latin – according to Mallinson (1988: 417) around 80% of the vocabulary used by newspapers nowadays is of Latin origin. The Latin heritage is apparent at all linguistics levels, clearly making Romanian a member of the Romance group. This is in itself a rather incredible fact, if we consider how the short period of time in which the territory was under the Roman Empire[68] – less than two hundred years – ensured the establishment of Latin.

In the literature two hypotheses have been put forward in order to explain this fact. The first one, supported by the historical evidence provided by Eutropius (quoted by Elcock, 1975:494), the author of *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*, claims that this could be due to the fact that most of the indigenous inhabitants of Dacia were slaughtered during the Roman invasion and those who survived preferred to abandon their land and settle in areas that lay outside the Roman Empire, thus leaving behind empty territories which

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[68] First conquered between 101 A.D. and 106 A.D., under the reign of Trajan, then abandoned in 271 A.D. under Aurelian, the province was the least enduring of all the territories that were part of the Roman Empire.

were filled by colonists brought there by Trajan[69]. This testimony was taken as the main piece of evidence supporting the view that it was through these Roman settlers and their progeny that the Roman identity in the Dacian territories was maintained and preserved, throughout the Middle Ages, making Romanian the direct heir of Latinity.

The second one, held mainly by non-Romanian scholars, identifies in the Roman provinces of Illiricum and Moesia, which lay south of the Danube, the cradle where Romanian was first born. This area remained under the Roman Empire for a longer period of time and from here the language was then 'exported', so to speak, to the Dacian province by later migrations, possibly pushed to do so by the advent of Slavonic speakers. Some support for this theory is derived from the earlier corpus of Slavonic loan words in Romanian, which is clearly of southern origin.

The late appearance of Romanian texts – which date only from the 16th century, as mentioned above – makes the choice between these two theories, as well as knowing what went on for the previous 1300 years, almost impossible. Perhaps the truth does not rest solely with either of these theories, but with a combination of both. Maybe a form of Romance vernacular did persist in the area north of the Danube and at a later stage either provided or received support when migrations from the southern areas took place and brought with them Latin speakers.

A much more recent strong Romance influence made its impact in the early 19th century, when the renewed interest in literary writing made of French and Italian literature an inspiration and model source, contributing to a large number of new 'Romance' words being introduced into Romanian. These were mainly French, and a considerable number of French words were introduced into Romanian at the expense of words of Slavic origin in this period.

In spite of the undisputed Latin origin of Romanian, an etymological analysis of the words that make up its modern lexicon also reveals Turkish, Hungarian and Slavic elements. Through the settlement of the Slavs in South-eastern Europe in the 7th century and through the settlement of the Magyars in Central Europe in the 9th century –

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[69] Eutropius describes this as '*Traianus victa Dacia ex toto orbe Romano infinitas eo copias hominum transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendas*' – After having conquered Dacia, Trajan gathered from all the Roman cities a large number of people who settled in the countryside as well as in towns.

Romanian was cut off from the Western Latin area and had an independent evolution from the other Romance languages. This isolation meant, for example, that Vulgar Latin did not influence Romanian as it did the other Western Romance languages, with the result that Romanian is in some ways more conservative than its fellow Romance languages and is nearer to classical Latin than they are – cf., for example, the retention of a distinct dative and accusative morphological case. This isolation from the Romance-speaking world also meant that Romanian was influenced by the other Eastern European languages.

These Eastern European languages with which Romanian came in contact have had a very strong influence on its development. Elcock (1975: 497) reports a very interesting text dating back to 1559, the Lord's Prayer, taken from a Protestant catechism translated from Hungarian, which suggests the extent of this impact:

> *Tatăl nostru* (Our Father) *ce eşti în ceri* (who art in Heaven),
> *sfinţească-se* (hallowed be) *numele tău* (Thy Name), *să vie*
> (come) *împărăţie ta* (Thy Kingdom) *fie* (be done) *voia ta* (Thy
> Will) *cum în ceri* (as in Heaven) *aşà şi* (so also) *pre pămînt* (on
> earth). *Pită noastră* (Our daily bread) *saţiosă* (satisfying) *dă-ne*
> *noao* (give us) *astăzi* (this day), *şi iartă noao* (and forgive us)
> *greşalele noastre* (our trespasses) *cum ertăm* (as we forgive) *şi*
> *noi* (we too) *greşiţilor noştri* (those who trespass against us), *şi*
> *nu-ne duce* (and lead us not*) în năpaste* (into temptation*) ce ne*
> *izbăveaşte pre noi* (but deliver us) *de hitleanul* (from the evil), *că*
> *a ta e împărăţïe* (for Thine is the Kingdom) *şi putere* (and
> Power) *în vecïe* (in eternity), *Amin.*

Elcock comments on the text describing it as:

> '*... typically Romanian, but with a high proportion of loan*
> *words. Of Slavonic origin are:* pită, *a kind of coarse bread;*
> greşală '*sin', 'error', and the verb* a greşi '*to err', of which the*
> *past participle,* greşit, *is here used as a substantive;* năpastă*, pl.*
> năpaste '*misfortune';* a izbăvi '*to save', and* vecïe '*eternity'. The*
> *verb* a se sfinţi*, which appears in the third person singular of the*
> *present subjunctive,* sfinţească-se *(…) is a hybrid form deriving*
> *from* sînt *(Romance) and* sfînt *(Slavonic). One word is*
> *Hungarian, viz.* hitlean '*cunning'. Among the less obvious words*
> *of Romance origin* pămînt *is the Lat.PAVIMENTUM, 'the*

pavement' having become the 'earth', as opposed to heaven;
(...).'

<div align="right">from Elcock (1975: 497)</div>

The Turkish and Hungarian elements are due to the Ottoman ruling of Moldavia and Muntenia during the 18th and early 19th centuries and to Transylvania being part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1919. The words of Turkish and Hungarian origin include a mixture of military, administrative and everyday words as well as bound morphemes such as *–giu* and *–lic*, pejorative suffixes of Turkish origin found, for example, in *scandalagiu* 'scandalous' and *avocatlîc* 'lawyer', Mallinson (1988:415). The impact that Slavic had in the development of Romanian has left very substantial evidence, as can be seen even from the short text above – for a comprehensive and recent investigation of Slavic features in Romanian see Petrucci (1999) and references cited there. The introduction of the Slavic element in Romanian can be roughly divided into three main stages: the oldest lexical additions are of Bulgarian origin (cf. Mallinson, 1988:413-414) and are mainly of a popular nature; these were followed by the strong influence of Old Church Slavonic[70], which introduced more learned lexical items; finally, a more recent action has made a lexical 'exchange' possible with neighbouring Slavic countries, thanks to which a word-borrowing process has been active in both directions, leading to the existence of cognate words between these languages.
The affinity with the Balkan languages can also be witnessed in some Romanian idiomatic expressions that find an almost identical counterpart in the other Balkan languages but not in the Romance ones. Rosetti (1973:63) gathers a few examples: one is a phrase used to described a very critical situation where nobody knows what to do, *cu sufletul la gură* (R), *me shpirt ndë gojë* (A), *zabi mi se dušata* (Bulg), literally 'with the spirit in the mouth'; also in Greek *me tin psixi sto stoma* (Sitaridou, p.c.). Another is a very colourful way to say 'lies', *cai verzi pe pereţi* (R), *ti do kalë jeshil* (A), literally

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[70] Slavic has also served as a medium for Greek, which has entered Romanian through Old Church Slavonic in the first instance and then through non-religious Slavic language. The impact of Greek can be recognised in some religious terms such as *chilie* 'cell', derived from κελλιον (from Mallinson (1988: 414)).

'green horses on the walls'[71]. An insight into the possible origin of this expression can be found in Classical Greek: the expression *prassein aloga* lit. 'to act irrationally', being phonologically similar to *prasinaloga* 'green horses', was registered as such in people's minds and associated with the idiomatic meaning of the latter, 'lies' (Sitaridou, p.c.). The investigation of some of these lexical similarities has generated diverging interpretations. The reader is referred to Joseph (1983) for a comprehensive analysis of the various hypotheses.

Concluding, although the elements that influenced the lexical development of Romanian can be readily identified, the process through which they exerted their influence and the extent to which they interacted with one another are not uncontroversial matters. What the evidence gathered here reveals is a deeply intertwined combination of Romance and Slavic features, a situation also witnessed at the syntactic level, where the Western Romance and the Eastern European elements cannot be always indisputably singled out, as shown in section 1.2.

1.2 – SYNTACTIC NOTES

On a syntactic level, the similarities shared by the languages spoken in the Balkan Peninsula – Romanian, Macedonian, Albanian, Greek, Bulgarian – are significant and contribute to group them together. These elements are often referred to in the literature as the 'Balkan Sprachbund' – cf. Sandfeld (1930) among others.

Petrucci (1999: 10-18) gives a summary of the 'Balkanisms' present in Romanian: the syncretism of the genitive and dative Cases, object doubling, enclitic possessive pronouns, periphrastic future, the loss of the infinitive and post-posed definite articles. To these we can add the way Romanian forms the numbers between 11 and 19, and the formation of multiple wh-questions.

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[71] (R) stands for 'Romanian', (Bulg) for 'Bulgarian' and (A) for 'Albanian'. The translations are my addition to Rosetti's examples.

In spite of the fact that this series of phenomena has been labelled as 'Balkanisms' there is controversy as to their exact origin, as will be seen, leaving once again the line between Romance and eastern European influences rather blurred.

In Romanian, Albanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian the genitive and dative are collapsed into one Case and are expressed by one nominal form. Roberts and Roussou (2003) point out how this is an instance of grammaticalisation processes found in other languages, too. In Greek, for example, the syncretism of the genitive and dative Cases is due to the morphological weakening of the dative and the consequent assuming of its function by another inherent Case, namely genitive. This suggests that this may not be a pure 'Balkanism' after all.

The same conclusion is also reached for the doubling of objects: a similar phenomenon is also found in standard (peninsular) Spanish, where just as in Romanian but differently from Albanian, Bulgarian and Greek, the doubling of the direct object is only permitted when the clitic pronoun is co-indexed with a DP whose referent is [+human]. This, once again, would suggest a complex interaction between Balkan and Romance traits.

In Romanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Greek and the Tosk dialect of Albanian the future is formed resorting to a periphrasis formed by the verb *a voi* 'to want' followed by the main verb. Petrucci claims that this periphrastic construction in Romanian could have developed language-externally or language-internally and that there is not enough evidence to settle the debate, which remains open (cf. also Roberts and Roussou, 2003). Even what is considered to be the most typical Balkan feature of Romanian, the use of the subjunctive mood where other Romance languages use the infinitive, does not seem to be an unequivocally 'Balkan' trait – cf., for example, Southern Italian dialects (Lombardi, 1997; Ledgeway, 2000). Joseph (1983) notices how all the Balkan languages had at some point an infinitive form which gradually became more and more restricted or even disappeared: Modern Greek and Macedonian no longer have an infinitive while the form still exists in Romanian as in Bulgarian, the Tosk dialect of Albanian and the eastern dialects of Serbo-Croat, but its use is limited to few structures. So, for example, in phrases such as 'I want to eat', in contrast to the French *je veux manger*, the SI *voglio mangiare* and the Spanish *quiero comer* Romanian uses *vreau să mănînc*, literally 'I

want that I eat'. The same construction, a finite verb preceded by a particle, is also attested in the Tosk dialect of Albanian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croat and Modern Greek:

(1) a. Vazhdoj   të   shkruaj
     continue.pr.1s COMP write.1s
     'I continue to write'

                     Tosk, from Joseph (1983:85)

   b. Něsma prišela da   služiti
     am-not.pr.1scome COMP serve.1s
     'I have not come to serve'

           14th cent. Bulgarian, from Joseph (1983:119)

   c. Mogu   da   činim
     can.1s COMP do.1s
     'I can do'

           Eastern Serbo-Croat, from Joseph (1983:140)

   d. O Yanis theli na figi
     the John want.3s na leave.3s
     'John wants to leave'

              Modern Greek (Sitaridou, p.c.)

There is some debate as to the identity of the first language in which the loss of the infinitive took place, and whether its origin is Balkan or Romance. Sandfeld (1930: 175) claims that it first happened in Greek and then spread to the other Balkan languages, taking as supporting evidence the fact that languages of areas under Greek influence – such as southern Italy – also lost the infinitive. Mirčev (1963) and Demiraj (1969), both cited in Petrucci (1999:16), claim that the loss of the infinitive originated first in Bulgarian and Albanian respectively, and then spread to the neighbouring languages. Iliescu (1968), Saltarelli (1981) cited in Petrucci (1999:16) suggest that the process

continued a tendency of Vulgar Latin to replace some infinitival clauses with finite ones, thus ascribing the phenomenon to Romance territory.

Finally, Joseph (1983:204ff) proposes that the process was the result of a mixture of language- internal and external developments: each one of Romanian, Bulgarian and Albanian abandoned the use of the infinitive in certain constructions in their own right; at the same time they also increased the use of finite forms in place of the infinitive due to the contact with Macedonian and Greek, which by then had completely lost it.

The post-position of the definite article is often cited as a Balkan trait of Romanian, a feature also shared by Albanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian, but not Greek[72]. The definite article is suffixed on the noun or, when present, on the modifying adjective if this precedes the noun. So, while in *mamele bune* 'the good mothers' the definite article *–le* appears on *mame* 'mothers', in *bunele mame* where the adjective is fronted for added emphasis it follows *bune* 'good'. In actual fact, there is considerable evidence of the frequent postnominal position of ille in late Latin (cf. Peregrinatio Egeriae, see Vincent, 1997).

Finally, Romanian, on a parallel with other languages spoken in the Balkan area, requires that all wh-phrases in multiple wh-questions be sentence initial. More details and an analysis are given in section 4.3.

Concluding, these first two sections have focused on some characteristics that Romanian shares with the other Balkan languages. Because of the complex ways in which languages interact with each other and the scarcity of early written records for Romanian make it extremely difficult to ascertain the origin of these defining features. The evidence gathered here has nevertheless highlighted that Romanian is an intricate combination of Romance and Slavic.

The next section focuses on the defining syntactic properties of Romanian and summarise the analyses that have been proposed in the literature to account for them.

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[72]Albanian: *shok* 'companion'   *shok-u* 'the companion'
Bulgarian: *trup* 'body'   *trup-ăt* 'the body'
Macedonian: *glas* 'voice'   *glas-ot* 'the voice'   BUT
Greek: *spíti* 'house'   *to spíti* 'the house'   (from Petrucci, 1999:13)

SECTION 2 – ROMANIAN SYNTACTIC FEATURES

This section turns to the description of some basic facts in Romanian syntax and the interpretation – within the framework of generative grammar – that they have received in the literature. Only those areas that are relevant to the comparison with the Turinese and Ligurian data have been considered, which means that this does not attempt to be an exhaustive or comprehensive survey. The reader is referred to the introduction in Motapanyane (2000) – Alboiu & Motapanyane (2000) – for an outline of studies in Romanian syntax in the last twenty years within the generative framework and to the references cited therein.

The section is organised under five headings: word order and position of verb, subject positions and their status, clitic doubling, negation, and questions.

2.1 – WORD ORDER AND POSITION OF THE VERB

Romanian is a null subject language. It has been proposed – cf., among others, Alboiu (2000), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) – that Romanian has VSO basic word order, with the most natural position for the subject being post-verbal. In declarative clauses alternative word orders are possible, as shown in (2) where all five variants are translations of the sentence 'John has eaten the apple pie':

(2) a. A   mâncat   Ion   plăcinta   cu   mere   VSO
         have.pr.3sg eat.pple   Ion   pie-the   with   apple

     b. A   mâncat   plăcinta cu   mere   Ion   VOS
         have.pr.3sg eat.pple   pie-the   with   apple   Ion

     c. Ion   a   mâncat   plăcinta   cu   mere   SVO
         Ion   have.pr.3sg eat.pple   pie-the   with   apple

d. Ion [PLĂCINTA CUMERE]$_i$ a   mâncat-o$_i$ SOV

Ion pie-the   with   apple   FOC   have.pr.3sg eat.pple-it

e. [Plăcinta cu   mere]$_i$ Ion   a   mâncat-o$_i$ OSV

pie-the   with   apple   TOP   Ion   have.pr.3sg eat.pple-it

from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:20)

In (2) d and e the direct object is discourse prominent, focalised and topicalised respectively; there is some controversy as to the status of the subject in (2) c – this will be discussed later on.

Finite lexical verbs are always assumed to raise out of the VP – even in the presence of an auxiliary verb, unlike French[73] – to reach the highest functional head within the IP domain of the root clause – cf., among others, Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:6ff), Rivero (1994), Motapanyane (1995), Cornilescu (2000). The 'highest' functional projection is identified as Infl° by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994)[74], as Agr° by Rivero (1994), as AgrS°[75] by Motapanyane (1995) and as Mood° by Cornilescu (2000)[76]. As well as drawing on the morphological structure of verbal forms and Baker's (1988) Mirror Principle – by which the structural order of functional projections dominating a verb form is the mirror image of the relative positions they have in the make up of the verb – which suggests the order

MoodP > AgrSP > TP > AspP, Cornilescu (2000) also supports her claim with evidence from adverb positions. Following Cinque (1999) in assuming that specific types of adverbs fill specific positions in the structure, she takes the relative position of verb and adverbs to reflect their structural hierarchy. When both an aspectual – e.g. *zilnic* 'daily' – and a temporal – e.g. *acum* 'now' – adverb is present, the preferred order is temporal > aspectual, confirming the TP>AspP relative ordering of heads.

As far as auxiliary verbs are concerned, they must be adjacent to the lexical verb and do not allow for any intervening maximal projections: the sequence auxiliary-lexical verb can only be interrupted by clitic-like elements[77]:

(3)   a.   A   venit   Răzvan   /el ieri?

             have.pr.3s   come.pple   Razvan /   he   yesterday?

             'Has Razvan / he come yesterday?'

       b.   *A   Răzvan   /   el venit   ieri?

             have.pr.3s   Razvan /   he come.pple   yesterday?

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[73] Compare the following examples, adapted from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:9), which show the relative positions of the auxiliary and the lexical verbs, and the floating quantifier *all*. In Romanian, but not in French, the lexical verb appears to the left of the floating quantifier – assumed to mark the VP boundary (cf. Pollock, 1989), suggesting that in Romanian the lexical verb has raised out of the VP:

(4) a.   Les enfantesont (tous)   écrit   (*tous) un   poème
       the childrenhave   all   written   a   poem
       'The children have all written a poem'

    b.   Elevii   mei vor (*toţi)   scrie   toţi o   poezie
       studentsmy will all   write   a   poem
       'All my students will write a poem'

[74] Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) does not assume a split-IP structure.

[75] Motapanyane (1995) further distinguishes between compound and simple tenses: simple tenses raise to the highest functional head while in compound tenses it is the auxiliary that reaches AgrS while the lexical verb doesn't raise any higher than AgrO.

[76] Mood is, in Cornilescu's analysis, the highest of the four projections into which the IP is split: MoodP > AgrSP > TP > AspP.

[77] Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:62) includes the negation marker, *nu*, in the inventory of Romanian clitics.

c. A   nu venit   ieri?

    have.pr.3s   neg come.pple   yesterday?

    'Has (s/he) not come yesterday?'

<div align="right">adapted from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:16)</div>

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:49ff) analyses the Romanian auxiliary as a syntactic clitic: it is assumed to be base-generated within the IP domain and to take as a complement the IP to which the lexical verb raises. She further assumes this IP complement not to have a Specifier position, in view of the strict adjacency conditions discussed above. This has interesting consequences for the positions available to subjects, discussed in the next section.

2.2 – SUBJECT POSITIONS AND THEIR STATUS

In section 2.1 it was mentioned that the most natural word order in the Romanian clause is VSO, with the subject appearing post-verbally. Example (2) c, on the other hand, shows a subject surfacing pre-verbally, thus suggesting that there are two positions available to subjects, one after and one before the finite verb. While it is generally accepted – cf., among others, Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) – that a post-verbal subject appears in its base-generated position, [Spec, VP][78], there is no unanimous consent on the analysis of pre-verbal subjects.

Some proposals – cf. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) and Cornilescu (2000) – analyse the pre-verbal position as non-argumental. Dobrovie-Sorin identifies the position filled by the subject as [Spec, IP], which in her analysis is an A'-position available to topicalised phrases (cf. also, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998). Cornilescu argues that there is only one AgrSP projection in Romanian[79], and that it is situated post-verbally. Consequently, both [Spec, VP] and [Spec, AgrSP] are post-verbal. Pre-verbal subjects

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[78] Cf. Cornilescu (2000) who suggests that in addition to [Spec, VP] Romanian also has another argumental subject position available, [Spec, AgrSP], available to subject clitics.

[79] Cf. Cardinaletti (2001) who argues for the existence of two AgrS projections, both pre-verbal. While the lower one is targeted by weak pronouns and in *pro*-drop languages is the position where *pro* is licensed, the higher is available to strong pronouns and strong DPs.

are also considered to surface in an A'-position and to be either left dislocated or focalised.

Others – cf. Motapanyane (1989, 1994) – argue for the existence of a pre-verbal argumental position for subjects, which is to be kept distinct from the position occupied by topicalised and focused elements. Assuming that Romanian clauses are AgrSPs, Motapanyane identifies two argumental subject positions, [Spec, VP] and [Spec, AgrSP], which differ from each other in terms of the mechanism used for nominative Case assignment, government and [Spec, head] agreement respectively.

The main argument which supports Dobrovie-Sorin's (1994) analysis draws on the fact that several maximal projections may be topicalised in Romanian, and they can either precede or follow a pre-verbal subject, suggesting that the subject itself fills a position for topicalised elements, therefore an A'-position. This is shown in the following examples, where the subject is underlined:

(5) a. Ieri   <u>Ion</u>   drept în mijlocul grădinii   făcea   plajă
         yesterday John   right in   middle-the garden-the.gen make.imperf.3s beach

     b. Ieri,   drept în mijlocul grădinii,   <u>Ion</u>   făcea   plajă
         yesterday   right in   middle-the garden-the.gen John   make.imperf.3s beach

     c. <u>Ion</u>   ieri,   drept în mijlocul grădinii,   făcea   plajă
         John   yesterday   right in   middle-the garden-the.gen make.imperf.3s beach
         'Yesterday, Ion was sunbathing right in the middle of the garden'

                                                              adapted from Cornilescu (2000:114)

Motapanyane's (1989) analysis of the pre-verbal subject position as an A-position is based on the behaviour of bare quantifiers. She assumes that bare quantifiers, because of the requirement that when they undergo raising at LF they must enter a well-formed chain, must occupy an A-position at S-structure. Since they can appear pre-verbally, she concludes that there must be a pre-verbal A-position available at least to quantified subjects. To support her claim she considers the following minimal pair, where the

quantified subject, *cineva* 'somebody' is allowed to appear both pre- and post-verbally, suggesting that both positions are argumental:

(6)   a. Cineva   a   bătut   la uşă
              someone   have.pr.3s   knock.pple at door-the

        b. A   bătut   la uşă   cineva
              have.pr.3s   knock.pple at door-the   someone
              'Someone knocked at the door'

Alboiu (2000), following Kiss's (1998) analysis of Hungarian, observes how bare quantifiers in Romanian are allowed to appear pre-verbally only when they can be interpreted as 'non-unique'. 'Non-unique' is here taken to mean 'non exclusive', in other words a quantifier has a non-unique reading when it identifies without exclusion, i.e. it does not single out a specific individual. The pre-verbal position occupied by *cineva* 'somebody' is considered focalised. She compares the following minimal pairs:

(7)   a. Să stea   cineva   la uşă
              să stay.pr.3s   someone   at door-the

        b. Cineva   să stea   la uşă
              someone   să stay.pr.3s   at door-the
              'Someone should stay at the door'

        c. Te-a   căutat   cineva   la telefon
              you.acc-have.pr.3s   search.pple someone   at phone

        d. *Cineva   te-a   căutat   la telefon
              someone   you.acc-have.pr.3s search.pple at phone
              'Someone asked for you on the phone'

<div align="right">from Alboiu (2000:221)</div>

The difference in grammaticality between the pre-verbal *cineva* in (7) b and in (7) d is a reflection of the different interpretation that the bare quantifier has in the two sentences.

While in (7) a and b *cineva* 'somebody' identifies without exclusion, i.e. it does not single out a specific individual, in (7) c and d it refers to the particular individual who rang. Assuming that the underlying base position for subjects in Romanian is post-verbal, in the former case, but not in the latter, *cineva* 'somebody' is allowed to raise to a pre-verbal focalised position, from where it can felicitously bind a variable within the IP. This is not the case for *cineva* 'somebdoy' in (7) d: the bare quantifier has a unique reading (acquired contextually) which precludes it from binding a variable within the IP, and consequently, it cannot leave its position.

The contrast between examples (7) a and b and (7) c and d shows how pre-verbal quantifier raising is clearly scope related, suggesting that the position identified by Motapanyane as a pre-verbal subject position is, in actual fact, not a canonical subject position, but rather an A'-position, in line with what is argued by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) and Cornilescu (2000).

2.3 – CLITIC DOUBLING

Parallel to Spanish, but differently from SI and French, in certain contexts Romanian presents clitic doubling of object DPs. In order for the DPs to be doubled by a clitic, they must be specified for the semantic features [+human] and [+specific]:

(8)   a. Ion l_i-   a   invitat   pe prietenul$_i$ meu
          Ion   he.acc   have.pr.3s invite.pple pe friend.the.acc   my
          'Ion has invited my friend'

      b. Ion i_i-   a   dat   o carte prietenului$_i$ său
          Ion   he.dat   have.pr.3s give.pple   a book friend.the.dat   his
          'Ion has given a book to his friend'

                                               from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:12)

Direct objects – cf. (8) a – are embedded under *pe*, a 'dummy preposition' comparable to *a* in Spanish, whose role is still the subject of some discussion (cf. Farkas, 1978; and Farkas and Kazazis, 1980 for examples and different interpretations on its role).

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Indirect objects, on the other hand, are morphologically marked for dative Case. Clitic doubling also applies to objects undergoing Clitic Left Dislocation – cf. section 5.1 for a unified account of the two.

2.4 – NEGATION

Negation in Romanian is expressed through the morpheme *nu* 'not', which must be strictly pre-verbal. *Nu*, in Zanuttini's (1997) terms, is a strong negation marker, i.e. it can negate a sentence by itself, without requiring the presence of an additional marker – cf. the French *ne-pas* pair. *Nu* is an X° element, it must be adjacent to the verb and can only be separated from this latter by clitic-like elements such as pronominal clitics, auxiliaries and some adverbs – *tot* ' still', *prea* 'too, very', *mai* 'more', cf. Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:21). This suggests that *nu* itself is a clitic[80]. The following examples show how in Romanian all clitic-like elements are required to appear pre-verbally, and *nu* must be the left-most element*:*

(9) a. Ion   mâine   **nu** cântă   la pian

Ion   tomorrow   neg play.pr.3sg at piano

'Ion won't be playing the piano tomorrow'

b. Mama   **nu** i-   ar   mai   tot   certa dacă   ar   fi

mother-the neg them- would more continuously scold if   would be

linişti̧i

well behaved

'Their mother wouldn't be scolding them all the time if they were well behaved'

from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:21)

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[80] This is an example of syntactic clitic. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:65) specifies that the notion of *syntactic* clitic must be kept distinct from that of *phonological* clitic. She defines a syntactic clitic as *'... an element which is licensed by Functional Coindexation/Restructuring Incorporation with Infl'* (1994:65). Furthermore, syntactic clitics do not necessarily have a non-clitic counterpart. *Nu* is a head that takes IP as its complements: this implies that a clitic is not defined as such by virtue of occupying a position adjoined to IP or I°.

2.5 – INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

Turning now to interrogative contexts, Romanian unlike other Romance languages does not allow for the so-called 'subject-auxiliary inversion' phenomenon, i.e. the interposition of the subject between the auxiliary and the finite verb. Yes-no questions are characterised by a final rising intonation – cf. Mallinson (1986:4ff) – and the subject can either appear pre-verbally, sentence initial, or post-verbally, as example (10) a shows:

(10) a. (Ion) va   (*Ion) veni   (Ion) mâine?
            Ion   will.3sg John   come.inf   John   tomorrow
            'Is Ion coming tomorrow?'

                                      from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:28)

The intonation pattern of wh-questions is more similar to declaratives than to yes-no questions, ending in a fall rather than a rise – cf. Mallinson (1986:7ff): the wh-word appears sentence-initially and bears intonation stress. The subject can either appear to the left of the wh-word or post-verbally, but it is not allowed to occupy either of the positions to the left or to the right of the auxiliary. This is shown in example (10) b:

(10) b. (Ion) când   (*Ion) va   (*Ion) veni   (Ion)?
            Ion   when   John   will.3sg John   come.inf   John
            'When is Ion coming?'

                                      from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:28)

Because of the lack of word order asymmetries between declarative and interrogative clauses it has been argued – cf. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) – that the finite verb does not raise to C in Romanian interrogative clauses.

A further interesting property of Romanian, which has been already mentioned in section 1.2, is the requirement that all wh-words in multiple wh-question appear sentence-initially. This is investigated below.

Summing up, this section has introduced some defining properties of Romanian, which will be referred to later on in the chapter, when analysing wh- and focalised phrases and left dislocated constructions:

· Romanian has VSO basic word order;

· V always raises out of the VP;

· pre-verbal subjects are either topicalised or focalised;

· Romanian presents clitic doubling of both direct and indirect objects;

  · the negative marker *nu* is a clitic-like element that selects IP as its complement;

  · there is no subject-auxiliary inversion in Romanian interrogative clauses.

The next section turns to the investigation of the particle *să*.

SECTION 3 – *SĂ*: ITS FUNCTION AND SYNTACTIC INTERPRETATION

As mentioned in the previous section, Romanian makes use of finite constructions where the western Romance languages use non-finite ones. More specifically, to express a

sentence such as 'The girl wants to leave' Romanian resorts to the particle *să* followed by the subjunctive form of the verb[81]:

(11)   Fata   vrea   să   plece
                  girl.the must.pr.3s   să   leave.S.3s
                  'The girl wants to leave'

from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:19)

(11) is, in actual fact, ambiguous between two readings, one involving one individual – the girl – and one involving two – the girl and somebody else. This latter can be translated as 'The girl wants that s/he leaves'. In languages like French and SI the two readings are kept separate by the use of the infinitive for the former and of the subjunctive for the latter: the infinitive implies co-reference between the subjects of the main and the embedded clauses, while the subjunctive necessarily forces a split reference reading. This is known in the literature as *obviation* – cf. Picallo (1984) among others – and is absent in Romanian.

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[81] This is not due to the absence in Romanian of the infinitive, which, unlike in Greek and Macedonian, is still present. Romanian has two types of infinitives, the so-called 'short infinitive' – e.g. *a citi* 'to read' – and the 'long infinitive' – e.g. *citidire* 'the action of reading'. While the latter has almost completely lost its verbal nature and is nowadays considered a nominal form, the former is considered a 'true' infinitive, consisting of the particle *a* and the infinitive stem, and is used in literary styles which gives it a formal and archaic flavour. See Mallinson (1986:43ff) for a summary of the differences between the two. A third form is the bare infinitive used after *a voi* 'to want' – this is the auxiliary use of 'to want', cf. its lexical twin *a vrea* – to form the future or after modals such as *a putea* ' to be able to'. Mallinson (1986:45-46) points out that these forms can be used interchangeably, without no real difference in meaning. Alboiu (p.c.) differentiates between the forms in the following way: *de citire* is the nominal form and needs to be translated with a noun; for example, in a context such as 'Instead of language arts – i.e. 'reading' as a subject of study, we'll do some Maths', *În loc de citire, facem matematica*. *De a citi* is considered archaic, while *să citească* is the standard form:

(11)a.   În   loc   de citire
           in   place   of read.inf
           'Instead of reading'

    b.   În   loc   de a   citi
           in   place   of part   read.inf
           'Instead of reading'

    c.   În   loc   să   citească
           in   place   part   read.S.3s
           'Instead of reading'

Rivero and Ralli (2001:3-16) provide an exhaustive summary of the various analyses given to the phenomena of raising, control and obviation in the last two decades. Since the main interest of this chapter is to provide a term of comparison for the DCC in Turinese and Ligurian, here I do not address control, raising or obviation effects. The reader is referred to the above reference.

This section focuses on the use of *să* + subjunctive mood: section 3.1 provides a description of the contexts where the construction is found and an investigation of the nature of *să*, its function and an overview of the analyses it has received in the literature is provided in section 3.2.

3.1 – A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF *SĂ* + SUBJUNCTIVE

The finite complementiser found in SI, French and Spanish – *che*, *que* and *que* respectively – finds two corresponding elements in Romanian: *că* and *să*. Both are invariable particles that introduce finite clauses but their domains are distinct: while *că* is restricted to indicative clauses, *să* introduces subjunctive clauses. In actual fact *să* does not just *introduce* the subjunctive, but is *part of* it. In Romanian subjunctive morphology appears on the verb only on third singular and plural persons, all the other persons being identical to the corresponding forms in the indicative. Subjunctive verb morphology is impoverished and the particle *să* assumes the role to mark it. In other words, the Romanian subjunctive can be considered as an analytic form, made up of the particle *să* and a deficient verb form[82]. Thus, it is through the particle *să* that subjunctive modality is expressed[83].

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[82] There are instances where the subjunctive is expressed without *să*, as, for example in *Trăiască regele!* 'Long live the King' – taken from Nandris (1953:161). This is considered a fossilised form – cf. Mallinson (1986:291) – and it only appears in the third person, while the second singular, for example, still requires *să*: cf. *Să trăieşti!* 'May you live long!', from Nandris (1953:183). Interestingly, in the fossilised form, the word order is very strict: the subject can only appear post-verbally. In order for it to be licit in a pre-verbal position, then the particle *să* must be introduced, *Regele să traiască*, perhaps suggesting that the verb occupies a different position in the two. More specifically, the verb fills a higher position in *Trăiască regele!* than in *Regele să trăiască!*.
The fact that *să* can be omitted only with the third person forms suggests that this could have something to do with the fact that the third persons are the only ones where the distinction between indicative and subjunctive are morphologically encoded.

[83] For an overview of the mood choice between indicative and subjunctive, see Mallinson (1986:284-291).

The subjunctive in Romanian is used in a variety of contexts, in both embedded and main clauses. As we have already seen, it is used where the western Romance languages use the infinitive, in some raising and control constructions. In embedded clauses the subjunctive is found when selected by specific classes of verbs, such as volitionals – *a vrea* 'to want', object control – *a ordona* ' to order', and modals – *e posibil/necesar* 'it is possible/necessary'. Semantic type of verb and choice of subjunctive, however, are not in an exclusively one-to-one relation. For example, while *a vrea* ' to want' favours the selection of a subjunctive embedded clause, *a spera* 'to hope' and *a crede* 'to believe'[84] can select both indicative and subjunctive embedded clauses without changing the meaning of the sentence – cf. (12) a and b, and c and d. The presence of negation affects also factive verbs, such as *a şti* 'to know', which require *să* + subjunctive when negated[85] – cf. (12) e:

(12)   a. Sper   să mor   sănătos
            hope.pr.1s   să die.pr.1s   healthy
            'I hope to die healthy'

      b. Sper   că voi   muri   sănătos
            hope.pr.1s   that want.1s die.inf healthy
            'I hope I will die healthy'

      c. Nu   cred   să mai vină   Ion   astăzi
            not   believe.pr.1s   să more come.S.3s   Ion   today
            'I don't believe Ion is coming again today'

      d. Nu cred   că   Ion mai vine   astăzi
            not   believe.pr.1s   that Ion   more come.pr.3s today
            'I don't believe Ion is coming again today'

                                                from Mallinson (1986:36)

e. Nu   ştii   să   citeşti?

    not   know.pr.2s să   read.pr.2s

    'Don't you know how to read?

<div align="right">from Mallinson (1986:35)</div>

Examples (12) c and d reveal an interesting difference in behaviour between *că* and *să*. While *că* can be separated from the embedded verb by a maximal projection, a full DP subject in this case, *să* can only be separated from the verb by a clitic-like element – *mai* in this case – but not by a maximal projection. A parallel situation is found in SI, where the finite and non-finite complementisers *che* and *di* respectively, behave differently with respect to verb adjacency. While *che* allows for a maximal projection to separate it from the verb, *di* does not:

(12) f. Credo   che   <u>loro</u>   apprezzerebbero molto   il   tuo libro

        believe.pr.1s   that   they   appreciate.cond.3p a lot   the   your   book

        'I think that they would very much appreciate your book'

    g. Credo   che,   <u>il   tuo libro</u>, <u>loro</u>   lo   apprezzerebbero molto

        believe.pr.1s   that   the   your book   they   it.acc   appreciate.cond.3p a lot

    h. Credo   di   apprezzare   molto   il   tuo   libro

        believe.pr.1s   of   appreciate.inf   a lot   the   your   book

        'I think I appreciate your book a lot'

    i. *Credo   di, <u>il tuo libro</u>,   apprezzarlo   molto

        believe.pr.1s   of   the your book   appreciate.inf-it.acc a lot

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[84] Lombard (1974:282) explains how verbs such as *a spune* 'to say' and *a crede* 'to believe' generally select *că* + indicative. When negated, however, they allow for the alternation between *că* + indicative and *să* + subjunctive. In French, factive verbs take the subjunctive and when negated, the indicative.

[85] In this case the verb is translated as 'know how to' rather than 'know that'.

j. Credo, il tuo libro, di apprezzarlo molto
believe.pr.1s the your book of appreciate.inf-it.acc a lot

<div align="right">SI from Rizzi (1997: 289)</div>

In root clauses the subjunctive is used to express a wish – as shown in footnote 15 – an order[86], an exhortation or an oath – cf., respectively, (13) a, b and c:

(13) a. Să plece copii!
să leave.S.3p children-the
'The children may leave!'

<div align="right">from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:30)</div>

b. Să se facă dreptate!
să rf make.S.3s justice
'Let justice be done!'

<div align="right">from Nandris (1953:162)</div>

c. Dracu să -l ia!
devil să he.acc take.S.3s
'May the devil take him!'

<div align="right">from Mallinson (1986:291)</div>

It is also found in exclamatives, and with the auxiliary *a avea* 'to have', where it has a future meaning – cf. Nandris (1953:183) – and in relative clauses as shown in (14):

(14) a. Caut o bicicletă care să fie roşie
seek.pr.1s a bicycle that să be.S.3s red
'I'm looking for a bicycle that is red'

<div align="right">from Mallinson (1986:67)</div>

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[86] The imperative in Romanian is expressed either through the 'real' imperative forms for the second person singular and plural or through suppletive forms. These can be the infinitive for second person singular negative commands, the indicative for second person, or the subjunctive with all persons in both negative and positive commands.

3.2 – *SĂ*: ITS FUNCTION, STATUS AND SYNTACTIC INTERPRETATION

In section 3.1 it has been highlighted how *să* is a subjunctive particle, used both in main and embedded clauses, which must be adjacent to the verb it 'supports'. It was mentioned that the Romanian subjunctive is a deficient form, in that it is morphologically equivalent – except for the forms of the third person singular and plural, indicated in bold in the table below – to the indicative. The verb shown below, *a cănta* 'to sing', belongs to the first conjugation:

(15)

	Present Indicative	**Present subjunctive**
I sg	(eu) cânt	(eu) să cânt
II sg	(tu) cânți	(ti) să cânți
III sg	(el, ea) **cântă**	(el,ea) **să cânte**
I pl	(noi) cântăm	(noi) să cântăm
II pl	(voi) cântați	(voi) să cântați
III pl	(ei, ele) **cântă**	(ei, ele) **să cânte**

from Nandris (1986:95)

The morphological distinction marked on the forms of the third person singular and plural is also witnessed in the other conjugations: where the indicative ending is –*e*, the subjunctive one is –*ă*, and vice-versa.

In some cases – cf. footnote 15 – the subjunctive can appear without *să*. This can happen in root clauses with a volitional/exhortative function, which can be considered a fossilised expression, only found with a restricted number of verbs. In these instances, it is only the forms of the third person singular and plural that allow the omission of *să*. Incidentally, it is exactly these forms that are morphologically different from the corresponding indicative forms, as the table in (15) shows. It would therefore appear that *să* can be omitted when the verbal morphology suffices to indicate whether a verb is in the indicative or subjunctive mood, suggesting a link between morphology and the presence of absence of *să*. In other words, it seems that the function of *să* is to signal the distinction between the two moods; thus, when this is already achieved through other means, its presence is not required. Therefore, it could be concluded that *să* acts as a

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subjunctive marker, encoding those modal features which are left unspecified by the morphology of the verb, and could be categorised as an inflectional element.

The situation is not, however, so straightforward. The possibility of omitting *să* only arises in root clauses: its presence is compulsory in embedded clauses, with all persons, whenever the subjunctive mood is selected. This suggests that there is more to the function of *să* than simply to mark modality: the main/embedded asymmetry seems to suggest that *să* is also a marker of the embedded status of the clause.

The dual nature of such particles was already recorded in Householder, Kazazis and Koutsoudas (1964:166), who noticed how Greek *na* behaves both as a complementiser and as a modal particle.

The issue of the nature of *să* has been often touched upon in passing while discussing raising, control and obviation phenomena. Because of the mixture of its properties – i.e. *să* behaves both as a complementiser and as an inflectional particle – some authors have analysed it as a spurious element. While Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) has interpreted this nature in the structural representation of the projection that hosts it as a CP/IP hybrid, resulting from a re-analysis process which allows functional heads to incorporate into each other, Motapanyane (2002) has claimed that *să* can either occupy a position within the IP or the CP domain – M° or Fin° respectively – depending on the constructions in which it appears[87].

These two proposals are analysed in turn in the next sections.

3.2.1 – DOBROVIE-SORIN (1994)

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:82ff) claims that *să* – as well as the infinitival particle *a* – is both a Comp and an Infl element: more specifically, *să* is generated under Comp but is indistinguishable from Infl given their adjacency. Dobrovie-Sorin adopts a process of re-analysis by which functional heads merge with each other, creating incorporated heads of the form Comp – Neg – cl – Tense – V – Agr. The complex head thus obtained has all the properties of the individual heads merged in it. Furthermore, Dobrovie-Sorin does

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[87] Cf., on a similar line, Farkas (1982) who analyses the hybrid nature of *să* by suggesting that it is not generated in C but may raise there in the course of the derivation, thus acquiring 'complementiser-like' characteristics. Rivero (1989) makes the link between I and C explicit by assuming a head-head agreement process that allows feature sharing between the two heads.

not assume a Specifier position for each functional projection: in her system there is only one Specifier position: this can either be an A-position which hosts the subject in SVO languages, or an A'-position targeted by any constituent in V initial languages. In the particular case of the CP/IP projection, the head shares properties with both domains and the Specifier position is an A'-position – as seen in 2.2.

These assumptions allow Dobrovie-Sorin to account for the mixture of properties displayed by *să* which clearly suggest its hybrid nature. These are briefly described here. Among the properties that group *să* together with inflectional elements, is its position relative to *ca* – a complementiser-like element that appears together with *să* in embedded subjunctive clauses, different from the indicative *că* – and the embedded finite verb. *Ca* co-occurs with *să* when a topicalised element is present. In these cases, the order is *ca* – topicalised phrase – *să*: *ca* must occupy the left-most position, suggesting that it fills C°. *Să* must be adjacent to the embedded verb, no maximal projections are allowed to intervene: a lexical subject intervening between *să* and the embedded verb causes the sentence to be ungrammatical: – cf. (16) a and b. The sequence *să*-verb can only be interrupted by clitic-like elements such as *nu* 'not', pronominal clitics, the auxiliary *fi* 'to be' and some adverbs such as *mai* 'again', or *prea* 'too' – cf. (16) c:

(16) a. Vreau   ca   [pînă mîine **să termine**   Ion cartea asta]
          want.pr.1s that   until tomorrow să finish.S.3s   Ion book   this
          'I want that Ion finishes this book for tomorrow'

     b. * Vreau   ca   [pînă mîine **să** Ion   **termine**   cartea asta]
          want.pr.1s that   until tomorrow să Ion   finish.S.3s   book   this
                                            from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:93-94)

     c. Ar   fi dorit **să** nu   -i mai   fi **dat**   veşti proaste
          would be wished să not   him more be given news bad
          'He wished he hadn't given him any more bad news'

                                      from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:33-34)

The evidence in (16) suggests 1) that *să* is a clitic and 2) that it belongs to the verb cluster – Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:54) assumes that clitics are adjoined to a Spec-less IP, and as such mark the left edge of the IP.

Another inflectional property of *să* is its ability to co-occur with wh-elements: these are not allowed to co-occur with the complementiser *că*, suggesting that the two elements are different and occupy different positions. More specifically, being able to appear alongside wh-phrases, *să* seems to occupy an Infl position:

(17) a. Am   cu   **cine** **să** plec
             have.pr.1s   with   who   să leave.S.1s
             'I have somebody to leave with'

      b. Caut   o   fată   cu   **care** **să** plec   la   munte
          seek.pr.1s a   girl   with which să leave.S.1s for   mountains.the
          'I am looking for a girl with whom to leave for the mountains'

      c. Caut   fata cu   **care** **(*că)** pleacă Ion   la   munte
         seek.pr.1s girl.the with which that   leave.pr.3s Ion   for   mountains.the
         'I look for the girl with whom Ion is leaving for the mountains'
                                         from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:95)

This latter could also be a reflection of the fact that wh-phrases and *să* occupy, respectively, the Specifier and the head position of the same projection.

Let us now turn to the 'Comp-like' properties of *să*: it is an invariable particle and it can head an embedded clause. In addition, while co-occurring with other clitics and negation, it must occupy the left-most position, preceding the negative marker *nu* and the other clitics. It is generally accepted – cf. Zanuttini (1997) – that Neg° selects an IP but not a CP complement: this means that a pre-verbal marker marks the border between the CP and the IP domains. Given that *să* must appear to the left of *nu*, it follows that it occupies a position within the CP:

(18) a. Vreau   să nu-l   mai   întîlneşti
         want.pr.1s să neg-he.acc again   meet.S.1s
         'I don't want to meet him again'

      b. *Vreau   nu   să -l   mai   întîlneşti

      c. *Vreau   nu -l   să   mai   întîlneşti

from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:95)

As already mentioned, there are cases in which *să* can be omitted, as in the following
examples. In such cases the verb is found to the left of the reflexive clitic:

(19) a. Să se întîmple ce   s-o   întîmpla
         să rf arrive.S.3s what   rf-may arrive.inf
         'Arrive what may'

      b. Intîmple-se   ce   s-o   întîmpla
         arrive.S.3s-rf   what   rf-may arrive.inf
         'Arrive what may'

      c. *Să   întîmple-se   ce   s-o   întîmpla
         să   arrive.S.3s-rf   what   rf-may arrive.inf

      d. *Intîmple-se să   ce   s-o   întîmpla
         arrive.S.3s-rf   să   what   rf-may arrive.inf

from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:96)

The sentences without *să* differ in word order: while in (19) a the reflexive clitic
precedes the verb – and it follows *să* – in (19) b it appears enclitic on the verb,
suggesting that the verb has raised to a higher position. Dobrovie-Sorin interprets this as
an instance of what den Besten (1983) analyses as V-to-C movement. This interpretation
is further supported by the ungrammaticality of (19) c and d where the presence of *să* in

incompatible with clitic-verb inversion, suggesting that they are both competing for the same position: a position within the CP.

Dobrovie-Sorin translates the hybrid behaviour of *să* in a structural representation in which the particle occupies the head position of a projection obtained through a process of incorporation.

3.2.2 – MOTAPANYANE (2002)

Motapanyane (2002) accounts for the duality of *să* by assuming that it occupies a modal head, M°, located within the IP domain, but is allowed to raise into Fin° in certain constructions – cf. Roussou (2000).

Motapanyane claims that the parametric variation thought to operate at the Fin° level – cf. Rizzi (1997) – also operates at the Force° level, drawing a clear distinction in the organisation of the left periphery between ForceP and FinP languages – SI belonging to the former type and Romanian to the latter. More specifically, she claims that while SI projects to ForceP and therefore has focalised and topicalised phrases in the CP, Romanian only projects to IP, and its discourse prominent elements are hosted within the IP.

In her investigation of the complementiser phrase in Romanian, Motapanyane looks into the distributional properties of the various items of the complementiser system, some of which are summarised in the following table:

(20)

	Clause Type		Compatible verbal mood				
	Decl	Other	Ind	Cond	S	Inf	Supine
că	+	-	+	+	+[88]	-	-
ca	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
de	+	O	+	-	-	+	+

from Motapanyane (2002:3)

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[88] 'Rare and colloquial' – from Motapanyane (2002:26)

Că is the so-called indicative complementiser, selected by main verbs such as *a spune* 'to say' and *a şti* 'to know'. Its presence is obligatory in all embedded indicative clauses. *Ca* is the subjunctive complementiser, found in subjunctive complement clauses selected by *vrea* 'to want' and followed by *să*. Its presence is context-dependent, i.e. it is usually licensed by the presence of topicalised material – cf. Alboiu (2000:240, ft5). *De* introduces the infinitive – usually preceded by the particle *a* – the indicative and the supine.

Although 'rare and colloquial', *că* can also be used in embedded subjunctive clauses, and when it does it is in complementary distribution with *ca*:

(21) a. Zicea că (*ca) Ion să nu mai plece la câmp
         said that Ion să not more go.S to field
         'She said that Ion should not go to the field'

      b. Zicea ca (*că) Ion să nu mai plece la câmp
         said that Ion să not more go.S to field
         'She said that Ion should not go to the field'

<div align="right">from Motapanyane (2002:6)</div>

Motapanyane interprets this as evidence that *ca* and *că* compete for the same position. Developing further her argument, she observes how both *că* and *de* are compatible with indicative embedded clauses and how they are interchangeable in causative constructions. Nevertheless, they are not allowed to co-occur, i.e. they appear to be in complementary distribution:

(22) a. ?M-a făcut (*aproape) că (*de)-aproape-am plâns
         me has made almost -have cried
         'She almost made me cry'

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b. M-a   făcut (*aproape)   de (*că)-aproape-am plâns

me has made   that   almost -have cried

'She almost made me cry'

from Motapanyane (2002:7)

(22) a and b show how the position of the adverb *aproape* 'almost' is the same with respect to both *de* and *că*, reinforcing what their complementary distribution has already suggested, i.e. that they fill the same position. Motapanyane concludes that if *ca* and *că* compete for the same position and so do *că* and *de*, by transitivity *ca* and *de* must also fill the same position.

In order to cast some light on what this position may be, Motapanyane observes the relative word order of *ca/că*, left dislocated and contrastively focalised phrases, relative and wh- phrases, concluding that *ca/că* can only appear to the left of focalised and left dislocated phrases, but to the right of relative and wh-phrases:

(23) a. Zicea (*mâine) **că/ca mâine**   să nu   se ducă la câmp

said tomorrow-TOP that   tomorrow-TOP să not rf go   to field

'She said that tomorrow he should not go to the field'

b. Zicea (*numai mâine) **că/ca numai mâine** să nu   se ducă la câmp

said   only tomorrow-FOC that only tomorrow-FOC să not   rf go   to field

'She said it's only tomorrow that he should not go to the field'

from Motapanyane (2002:6)

c. Iar din   inima   lui simte un copac **cum că**   răsare…

and from   heart-the his feels a   tree   how   that it grows

'And he feels how a tree grows from his heart…'

d. Am   miluit boiarimul domniei   mele…cu   satul Borăşti **căce**

have   blessed domain-the kngdom-gen   my   with   village.the Borasti which

că- au fost lui   moşie…

that has been   to him property

'I have blessed my kingdom with the village of Borasti which had been his property'

The data in (22) c and d date back to earlier stages of Romanian – no more specific information is provided by the author – which allegedly had a more complex CP, projecting to ForceP in all contexts and not just to FinP as claimed for modern Romanian – cf. Motapanyane (2002:27 ft6).

Assuming that like modern SI, earlier Romanian wh-phrases and relative pronouns targeted, respectively, [Spec, Foc] and [Spec, Force] and that some sort of filter prevented both Specifier and head from being simultaneously filled, Motapanyane concludes that *că* must be in Fin°. From the previous lines of reasoning, it must also follow that *ca* and *de* fill the same position. Incidentally, both left dislocated and focalised phrases must target a position in the left periphery of the IP, and not the CP, as in SI.

Placing *ca* in Fin° bears in turn on the position filled by *să*: in *ca-să* constructions *să* is consequently taken to fill a position within the IP, possibly M° (Motapanyane, p.c.). Motapanyane also investigates cases in which *ca* can be deleted. The presence of *ca* in the *ca-să* constructions is strictly linked to the presence of a maximal projection, usually a topicalised item, which follows it. It could in fact be claimed that there is a two-way dependency relation between the two: *ca* licenses a topicalised phrase, which in turn licenses the presence of *ca*. In the absence of a topicalised phrase *ca* is excluded; vice-versa, in the absence of *ca* no lexical material can appear in front of *să*:

(24) a. Spera   ca,   <u>florile,</u>   să le   trimită   Ioana   la birou
          hope.pr.3s   that   flowers-the   să they.acc   send.S.3s   Ioana   to office
          'He hopes, the flowers, that Joan sends them to the office'

      b. *Spera   ca să trimită   Ioana   florile   la birou
          hope.pr.3s   that să send.S.3s   Ioana   flowers-the   to office
          'He hopes that Joan sends the flowers to the office'

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c. *Spera <u>florile</u>, să le trimită Ioana la birou

hope.pr.3s flowers-the să they.acc send.S.3s Ioana to office

'He hopes, the flowers, that Joan sends them to the office'

<div align="right">Alboiu, p.c.</div>

When *ca* undergoes deletion in subjunctive complements, Motapanyane claims that *să* raises to Fin° from its modal M° position. This interpretation finds further support in causative constructions: assuming that a verb is consistent in its selectional properties, and given the exchangeability of *să* and *de*, we must conclude that the selected complement is the same in both cases, i.e. a FinP:

(25) a. M- a lăsat [$_{FinP}$ de-am privit filmul]

me have.pr.3s let.pple of to-me watch film-the

b. M- a lăsat [$_{FinP}$ să privesc filmul]

me have.pr..3s let.pple să watch.S.1s film-the

'She has let me watch the film'

<div align="right">from Motapanyane (2002:27)</div>

Summing up, Motapanyane assumes a FinP structure for sentential complements and ForceP structures for any other type of complement clause. Thus the choice of FinP versus ForceP is dictated by the selectional properties of the verb rather than by the intrinsic features of complementisers. The dual nature of s*ă* is thus captured by assuming that it can occur both at the IP level, in M° when co-occurring with *ca*, and at the CP level, in Fin° in *ca*-deletion constructions.

In the next section I present some points for reflection on Motapanyane's analysis.

3.2.3 – SOME REFLECTIONS ON MOTAPANYANE (2002)

In spite of accepting the undeniable evidence that *să* is a hybrid element, I do not accept *in toto* Motapanyane's argumentation. More specifically, I feel that there are some problems with her arguments of *că* and *de* competing for the same position and with the identification of this position.

One of the pieces of evidence that suggests that *că* and *de* fill the same position is their complementary distribution in examples such as (22) above, which show that while causative constructions are compatible with either of them, they become ungrammatical if both are simultaneously realised. The same example also shows how their position with respect to the adverbial *aproape* ' almost' is the same, i.e. they both have to be higher than the adverb, evidence which is taken to mean that the two must fill the same position.

I do not find the evidence compelling for two reasons.

First of all, the fact that *că* and *de* are not allowed to co-occur may not necessarily mean they are competing for the same position. It seems plausible to assume that there may be an independent constraint on the language that prevents two complementisers to be simultaneously realised. If the function of *că* and *de* is, in this case, identical, i.e. to introduce a causative construction, a minimality constraint would rule out the redundant co-occurrence of the two since the second complementiser would not serve any purpose. Secondly, Motapanyane assumes that *aproape* 'almost' is topicalised, but no examples showing its 'usual' position are given. Cinque (1999:106) places its English counterpart, *almost*, in an aspectual position belonging to the IP domain, Asp $_{prospective}$. In the Romanian examples *aproape* forms a cluster with both the complementiser – be it *că* or *de* – an X° element, and the auxiliary, argued to be a clitic-like element – cf. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) – as can be seen in the following: a maximal projection is not allowed to intervene between the auxiliary and the verb but the clitic-like adverb *mai* 'again' can:

(26)   a.   *A   Răvzan/el   venit   ieri?
           aux.3s Răvzan/he   come.pple   yesterday
           'Did Răvzan/he come yesterday?'

                                                          from A & M (2000:16)

       b.   Am   mai   văzut   Ion
           aux.1s   again   see.pple   Ion
           'I have seen John again'

                                                          Alboiu, p.c.

The fact that *aproape* 'almost' clusters with a clitic may suggest that it is itself a clitic, on a par with *mai* 'again'. If this were indeed the case, the fact that the sequence *aproape*-complementiser is ungrammatical could be due to the strict word order found in clitic clusters. The following examples seem to suggest that *aproape* is not a clitic after all, since it cannot 'live' in the clitic domain:

(27)   a. Aproape   ca am   plins
            almost   that have.pr.1s   cry.pple
            'I almost cried'

       b. Eram   aproape   să   (*aproape)   pling
            be.imperf.1s   almost   să   cry.S.1s
            'I almost cried'

                                                      Alboiu (p.c.)

Nevertheless, the evidence adduced in (22) seems to point to the fact that *aproape* is an X° element; as such, its left-dislocated status is called into question.

Whatever the nature of *aproape* and its status, it seems it does not represent a good choice for a topicalised element: it is impossible to topicalise it. Being a VP adverb, if it needs to be made discourse-prominent, then the whole VP must be made discourse-prominent.

Turning now to the position filled by these complementisers, Motapanyane analyses some data from previous stages of Romanian – no reference is given as to the date or the origin of the examples – where a wh- and a relative phrase co-occur with the complementiser *că*. The author assumes that in its earlier stages, Romanian clauses projected all the way to ForceP, so that their left-periphery was more complex than in Modern Romanian. In the examples she brings forward, the wh-word and the relative pronoun are adjacent to *că* – cf. (23) c and d, repeated here for convenience:

(23)   c. Iar   din   dinima   lui simte un copac **cum că**   răsare…
           and   from   heart-the his feels   a   tree   how   that it   grows
           'And he feels how a tree grows from his heart…'

d. Am   miluit boiarimul domniei   mele…cu satul   Borăşti **căce**

have   blessed domain-the kingdom-gen   my   with village.the Borasti   which

că- au fost   lui moşie…

that has been   to him   property

'I have blessed my kingdom with the village of Borasti which had been his

property'

<div align="right">from Motapanyane (2002:8)</div>

As previously mentioned, Motapanyane assumes that the wh-phrase *cum* 'how' and the relative pronoun *căce* 'which' target, respectively, [Spec, Force] and [Spec, Foc], as in SI, and that some sort of filter on 'doubly filled' ForceP applies so that *că*, unable to fill Force°, must necessarily fill Fin°. Again, I do not find this line of argumentation completely convincing. The fact that the wh-phrase and the relative phrase appear both adjacent to the complementiser *că* and that in the examples provided there is no element intervening between the two, although not proving that the two are in a [Spec, head] relation, it indicates that this may be indeed the case. The assumption of a filter that prevented both positions of the Force projection to be simultaneously filled does not appear to be particularly motivated, rather it seems to be an *ad hoc* solution. Resorting to explanations invoking idiosyncrasies weakens the validity of an analysis and diminishes its import on the comprehension of linguistic phenomena. In view both of the ascertained complexity of the Old Romanian CP and of the fact that this particular strategy is not *a priori* excluded from the options available to language – cf. earlier stages of Italian allowed an equivalent construction, and nowadays many Northern

Italian dialects resort to this strategy[89] - it does not seem plausible to accept Motapanyane's conclusion. More evidence from earlier stages of Romanian is needed to understand whether such a filter was indeed operative[90] and whether it affected any other domains.

Finally, the observation of how in modern Romanian a phrase such as a vocative – cf. (29) below – can intervene between the wh-word and the complementiser[91], suggesting that the two are not in a [Spec, head] relation, cannot be directly applied and assumed for earlier stages of the language, given the more complex structure of the CP:

(29) Mă- ntrebam **cum**, Doamne, **de** se poate aşa ceva în lumea asta
to-me ask.imp.1s how God-voc of se can.inf this something in world-the this
'I was asking myself how, for God's sake, something like this is possible in this world'

from Motapanyane (2002:8-9)

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[89] Some examples from Triestino: embedded interrogatives, exclamatives and relatives, where the omission of the complementiser *che* yields ungrammaticality:

(28)a. Te ghe ga dito dove *(che) se trovemo?
SCL to-him aux.3s say.pple where that rfl find.pr.1p
'Have you told him/her where we're meeting?'

   b. Che pien de bori *(ch') el xe!
that full of money that SCL be.pr.3s
'How loaded he is!'

   c. Te sa chi *(che) go visto ieri?
SCL know.pr.2s who that have.pr.1s see.pple yesterday
'Do you know who I saw yesterday?'

Moreover, nothing can intervene between the wh-phrase and the complementiser: (28) d shows how a high adverb such as *forsi* 'perhaps' between the two makes the sentence ungrammatical:

(28)d. *Te ghe ga dito dove forsi che se trovemo?
SCL to-him aux.3s say.pple where perhaps that rfl find.pr.1p
'Have you told him/her where perhaps we're meeting?'

[90] Assuming a complex CP it does not make sense any more to talk about a 'doubly filled' Comp filter. Rather, in the spirit of Chomsky's [Spec, head] agreement, we could invoke a mismatch of features between the Specifier and its head.

[91] In the example that follows *că* is substitued by *de*, a diachronic change. Recall, however, that according to Motapanyane they are all located in the same position.

Although the evidence brought forward in examples (23) c and d does not exclude that a sequence such as the one in (29) was possible, certainly it does not seem to suggest it in any way[92].

Concluding, of the two analyses investigated here, Dobrovie-Sorin's and Motapanyane's, the latter seems to present some unconvincing points.

I will here follow Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) and assume that *să* occupies the head position of a hybrid projection obtained through a process of incorporation of functional heads. Being adjacent to each other, Comp and Infl first undergo co-indexation via the 'Functional Coindexation' rule (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1994:17, '*Coindex adjacent functional X° categories*'), and are then adjoined through the 'Functional Adjunction' rule (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1994:17, '*Adjoin X° categories to the YP functional projection with which they are coindexed*'), and thus become indistinguishable. The Specifier of the resulting projection can be targeted by a variety of constituents such as verbal complements, adverbs, PPs, etc., suggesting that it is an A'-position.

Assuming that *să* is generated under a hybrid CP/IP position avoids the complications that stem from a hypothesis in which it is generated under a 'pure' functional projection – either I° or C°. This becomes apparent when considering a typical structural representation for the clause of the type [$_{CP}$ Spec [C° [$_{IP}$ Spec [I° [$_{VP}$ Spec [V° [NP]]]]]]], and assuming that V raises into I° and that the subject NP generated in [Spec, VP] raises into [Spec, IP]. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:98) observes how if *să* were generated under Infl, we would need to postulate two Infl positions for Romanian, one to allocate the verb raising from V, which, as we have seen, is an obligatory movement, and one for *să*: such a requirement would not be needed with indicative embedded clauses. If it were generated under Comp, its obligatory adjacency with the verb in the embedded clause would imply that the IP selected by C° did not have a Specifier position – again, a requirement not needed in indicative embedded clauses, where the complementiser *că* can be separated from the embedded verb by left dislocated constituents. It would also imply that all dislocated phrases occupied [Spec, CP], and that, similarly, an additional

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[92] It does not seem appropriate to use formulaic expressions such as 'For God's sake' and similar as XPs to test for subjacency.

C° position would have to be posited to allocate the other particle that co-occurs with *să* in subjunctive constructions, *ca*.

The existence of such a hybrid projection finds some more support in the next section that deals with wh- and focalised phrases.

The existence of ambiguous particles such as *să* is not witnessed in English: in Romance, on the other hand, such aprticles can be found in the southern Italian dialects of Calabrian and Sicilia (*mu/ma/mi*) and Salentino (*cu*)[93]. Also, in Welsh the elements *y* 'that' and *a* 'who' introduce tensed and relative clauses respectively, and have been analysed as belonging to the VP – cf. Harlow (1983), Rouveret (1990). Given that Welsh is also a VSO language, Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) derives the possibility of having hybrid particles from the specific word order, which allows for the adjacency of Comp and Infl[94].

Dobrovie-Sorin's analysis was conceived in a 'pre-split-CP' system. Considering the modal content of *să* and what has already been said about Turinese *che2*, it would be tempting to claim that they occupy the same position, namely Rizzi's (1997) Fin°. The nature of *să* and the properties of wh-phrases, investigated in section 4, do not allow for a direct application of Rizzi's analysis to Romanian. Leaving aside the exact identification of the projection occupied by *să*, we are left with its hybrid nature, suggesting that it is a syncretic category.

Alboiu's (2000) investigation of the Romanian left periphery provides more support for assuming a hybrid projection which as well as inflectional and modal features it can also host focus and wh- features.

The investigation of wh-constructions carried out in the next section provides more support to this idea, and enables us to account systematically for some differences between Romanian and Turinese pre-verbal subject quantifiers.

Concluding, this section has highlighted both the inflectional and complementiser-like properties of *să* and has followed Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) into translating these properties

in a structural representation in which *să* occupies a hybrid projection: the exact identity of this projection has not been found.

SECTION 4 – THE ROMANIAN LEFT PERIPHERY

In this section I investigate the nature and position of the elements found in the Romanian pre-verbal field, namely wh-phrases, left dislocated and contrastively focused phrases. After a brief overview of the main analyses the phenomena have been given in the literature, the section will focus on Alboiu (2000:Ch.4), an analysis of wh-phrases formulated within the Minimalist Programme that provides further support to the existence of a syncretic category in Romanian.

In the investigation of topicalisation, focalisation and wh-movement I have focused on the position targeted by such phrases without addressing in depth the details of how these operations are instantiated. The reader is referred to Alboiu (2000) for a comprehensive insight into the type of features, operations and constraints involved in wh-movement and focus constructions.

I follow Alboiu's (2000) argumentation and claim that contrastively focalised and topicalised phrases, as well as wh-phrases target the left periphery of the IP rather than the CP, unlike SI. All three operations involve movement, albeit driven by different processes. Throughout the chapter the terms 'topicalised' and 'left dislocated' are used interchangeably: see chapters 1 and 3 for a brief clarification of the use of this terminology.

As seen previously, the basic word order in the Romanian clause is VSO. Alternative word orders are allowed: a pre-verbal NP is licensed only if discourse-prominent, i.e.

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[93] Also, cf. Rizzi (1982) for an analysis of Italian *di*.

[94] This combines with the conclusion reached by Dobrovie-Sorin when observing the behaviour of auxiliaries and infinitives that the Specifier position of the embedded IP is necessarily empty. I will not address this issue here.

only if it is either topicalised or focalised. Let us turn to the characteristics of topicalised phrases.

4.1 – TOPICALISED PHRASES

Topicalised phrases in Romanian do not require adjacency to the verb, and other than processing constraints, there does not seem to be a limit on the number of topics that can appear in the left periphery of the sentence, as illustrated in (30):

(30) a. <u>Mioarei</u>, <u>Anghel</u>, <u>inelul</u>, <u>la nuntă</u> i   l-a   dat

          Mioara.dat Anghel   ring.the at wedding he.dat it.acc.-have.pr.3s   give.pple

          'Anghel gave Mioara the ring at the wedding'

      b. <u>Inelul</u>, <u>Anghel</u>,   <u>Mioarei</u>, <u>la nuntă</u> i   l-a   dat

          ring.the Anghel   Mioara.dat at wedding he.dat it.acc.-have.pr.3s   give.pple

          'Anghel gave Mioara the ring at the wedding'

                                          from Alboiu (2000:265)

All the preverbal elements – underlined in the examples – are topicalised in (30). The word order sequence in (30) a is indirect object – subject – direct object – locative, but alternative word orders are also possible, a shown in (30) b, suggesting the ordering within topicalised elements is not rigid[95].

Alboiu (2000) takes this as evidence that topicalised phrases are not driven by the need to check any particular syntactic feature; consequently, she does not assume the existence of a TopP projection for Romanian, contra Rizzi (1997) and Cornilescu (2000)[96].

Assuming that Romanian lacks a TopP projection, topicalised elements can be analysed in two possible way: they are either base-generated as adjuncts in the Romanian left

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[95] Alboiu (2000:266) notices that there are interpretation differences depending on topic word order, but the basic meaning does not change. She observes that the leftmost topic is understood as having maximum relevance, presumably because it has highest scope.

[96] The same holds for other discourse configurational languages such as Greek and even Spanish – cf. É. Kiss (1995).

periphery (cf. Motapanyane, 1995), or they involve movement from an IP-internal base-generated position (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990, 1994).

Culicover (1996) proposes that, in English, topicalisation involves A'- movement. In support of his claim he highlights two facts: first, topicalisation allows for reconstruction, which is a test for A'- movement; and secondly it is not clause-bound, suggesting that the phrase has moved from another position.

These properties also hold for Romanian: in (31) a and b *pe sine* 'himself' is an anaphor that needs to be bound in its governing category: the grammaticality of such an example suggests that the left dislocated constituent in (31) a has a copy (or trace) which is properly bound. Moreover, the topicalised anaphor in (31) b is not clause-bound, so that it cannot be concluded that it was base-generated in its surface position:

(35) a. Pe sine$_i$,   Victor nu   s$_i$-ar   pune   în pericol t$_i$

         pe self$_i$ Victor not   rf-have.cond.3s place   in danger   t$_i$

         'Himself, Victor would not endanger'

      b. Pe sine$_i$,   Victor spune   că   nu s$_i$-ar   pune   în pericol t$_i$

         pe self$_i$ Victor say.pr.3s   that not rf-have.cond.3s place   in danger   t$_i$

         'Himself, Victor says he would not endanger'

                                                                from Alboiu (2000:268)

A similar conclusion is reached by Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994). Following Cinque (1990) the author discusses left-dislocation structures in Romanian, focussing on showing that, contra Cinque (1990), these structures do involve movement. She distinguishes between two similar Romanian constructions, the equivalent of Cinque's (1990) CLLD and the English type of left-dislocation, (ELD), exemplified, respectively, in (36) a and b below. The former but not the latter is claimed to involve movement:

(36) a. Pe Ion$_i$ l$_i$-am   întîlnit   (* pe el$_i$)   anul   trecut.

         pe Ion   he.acc-have.pr.1s   meet.pple   pe he.acc   year   last

         'I met John last year'

b.(Cît despre) Ion$_i$, (pe el$_i$) nu l$_i$-am văzut de anul trecut.

as for Ion pe he.acc not he.acc-have.pr.1s see.pple of year last

'(As for) John, I haven't seen him since last year'

from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:218)

Dobrovie-Sorin argues that there is obligatory 'connectivity' in CLLD (i.e. the dislocated element behaves as if it occupied the argumental position with which it is co-indexed). In these structures the sentence-internal element can only be a clitic, and (36) a shows how an emphatic pronoun is ruled out. This follows under the assumption that *pe Ion* 'Ion' is base generated within the clause and undergoes movement into the left periphery. This is not the case with ELD, as shown in (36) b: an emphatic pronoun, which is assumed to be co-indexed with the sentence-internal position, is grammatical, suggesting that the pre-posed phrase is base-generated there.

The two constructions differ with respect to other characteristics: while the left dislocated element of CLLD can be of any maximal category and there is no theoretical limit to the number of dislocated elements in this construction – apart from processing constraints – in ELDs essentially only left dislocated NPs are allowed and only one at a time. Dobrovie-Sorin's conclusion is that, while ELDs do not rely on movement, CLLD structures do.

These differences are similar to those existing between two different types of topicalisation in SI. Benincà (2001) – following Cinque (1983) and Benincà (1988) – distinguishes between 'Left Dislocation (LD)' and the SI equivalent of the ELD, i.e. what she defines as 'Hanging Topic (HT)'. While both constructions produce a marked Topic or Theme, they differ with respect to their requirement of a resumptive clitic. In LD constructions:

a. the whole argument appears on the left, including any prepositions,

b. a resumptive clitic is necessary with direct and partitive objects but optional in other cases; when present it agrees in gender, number and case with the object it refers to.

In HT constructions, on the other hand:

a. only noun phrases are found on the left, with no prepositions,

b. the resumptive clitic is obligatory in all cases, and only agrees in number and gender with the object if refers to.

In Benincà's (2001) system the two occupy different positions, with HT filling the Specifier position of the highest projection, Discourse Phrase, and LD the Specifier of TopP. The issue of whether they involve movement or not is not addressed by Benincà.

An argument against movement in topicalised constructions is provided by Motapanyane (1995). The author shows there is systematic contrast between wh-movement and topicalisation: while topics do not license parasitic gaps, wh-phrases do:

(37)　a.　[Ce scrisori$_i$　ai　　　　trimis t$_i$　　　[fără　să　verifici e$_i$?]]
　　　　　　what letters　　have.pr.2s　send.pple　　without să　check.S.2s
　　　　　　'What letters did you send without checking?'

　　　　b.　*Scrisorile$_i$　**le**-ai　　　　　trimis t$_i$　　[fără　să verifici e$_i$?]]
　　　　　　letters-the　　they.acc-have.pr.2s　send.pple　　　without să　check.S.2s
　　　　　　'Have you sent the letters without checking'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　from Motapanyane (1995:39)

The differences in (37) are taken by Motapanyane to be evidence against the idea that topics involve movement: she claims that they are base-generated in their surface position.

On this point I follow Alboiu (2000) in not taking this evidence as conclusive: the fact that topicalised elements cannot co-occur with parasitic gaps reveals that the parasitic gap is not licensed, but not that they do not involve movement. Alboiu claims that the reason is to be found in the nature of the resumptive pronoun: since parasitic gaps are licensed by a variable and these are ungrammatical when occurring in left dislocated constructions, then it follows that there is no variable to license them in structures involving topics. Drawing on other cases where parasitic gaps are not allowed, Alboiu concludes that the trace (or copy) left behind does not count as a variable: following Safir (1999), the author claims that the trace/copy left behind is a pronoun.

Summing up, in Romanian:

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- topicalised phrases do not require verb adjacency;
- there can be a theoretically unlimited number of them in any one sentence;
- they are not hosted by a TopP projection;
- there is convincing evidence to support a movement analysis.

4.2 – FOCALISED PHRASES

Focused elements can either appear VP internally, or move (to a pre-verbal or post-verbal position). If they do so, they can only move into a position immediately to the left of the verbal complex, which comprises the raised verb plus any clitic material that may be present. This requirement holds for both main and embedded clauses, irrespective of the clause type. The verb adjacency requirement is shown in (38)[97]:

(38) a. MAŞINĂ vrea   Victor,   nu casă.
          car$_i$ want.pr.3s   Victor   not house
          'It's a car that Victor wants, not a house.'

      b. Am   spus   că VICTOR n-a   venit   acasă   (nu Ion).
          have.pr.1s say.pple   that Victor$_i$ not-have.pr.3s   come.pple   home   not Ion
          'I said it was Victor that hadn't come home, not Ion.'

                                                                              from Alboiu (2000:259)

The examples in (39), where the presence of material intervening between the fronted focused element and the verbal complex disrupts the required adjacency, are ungrammatical. There is no asymmetry between main and embedded clauses:

(39) a. * MAŞINĂ   Victor   vrea   nu casă
            car   Victor   want.pr.3s   not house
        'It's a car that Victor wants, not a house.'

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[97] Contrastively focused phrases are represented in capitals throughout the examples and translated in English by means of a cleft clause.

b. *Am   spus   că VICTOR acasă   n-a   venit (, nu Ion)

have.pr.1s say.pple   that Victor   home   not-have.pr.3s come.pple (, not Ion)

'I said it was Victor that hadn't come home (, not Ion)'

<div align="right">from Alboiu (2000:260)</div>

The same adjacency requirement is operative when bare quantifiers are fronted to a sentence initial position: consider the examples in (40), parallel to those in (39), in which material intervening between the fronted quantifier and the verbal complex makes the sentence ungrammatical:

(40)   a. $Nimic_i$ (* Petre)   nu   ştie t_i (Petre)

nothing$_i$ (* Petre)   not   know.pr.3s t_i (Petre)

'Petre doesn't know anything.'

b. $Cineva_i$ (* la uşă) să   stea t_i de pază (la uşă).

somebody$_i$ (at door)   să   stay.S.3s t_i of guard (at door)

'Somebody should guard the door.'

<div align="right">from Alboiu (2000:260)</div>

As pointed out in section 4.1, this requirement does not hold for topicalised phrases. These latter may precede wh-phrases, fronted bare quantifiers and focused constituents in any order and any (processable) amount. In example (41) a the topicalised direct object *pe Victor* 'Victor', underlined, precedes the fronted wh-phrase, in (41) b it precedes the bare quantifier *nimeni* 'nobody' and in (41) c two topics precede the focalised *CĂRŢI* 'books', immediately adjacent to the verbal complex:

(41)   a. <u>Pe Victor$_i$</u> cine$_j$-l   a şteaptă t_j t_i la aeroport?

pe Victor$_i$ who$_j$-he.acc wait.inf t_j t_i at airport

'Who's going to wait for Victor at the airport?'

b. <u>Pe Victor$_i$</u> nimeni$_j$ nu l-a văzut t$_j$ t$_i$ afară

　　pe Victor$_i$ nobody$_j$ not he.acc-have.pr.3s see.pple t$_j$ t$_i$ outside

　　'Nobody has seen Victor outside.'

c. <u>Mihai$_j$ Ioanei$_k$</u> CĂRŢI$_i$ i-a citit t$_j$ t$_k$ t$_i$, nu ziare

　　Mihai$_j$ Ioana.dat$_k$ books$_i$ they.acc-have.pr.3s read.pple t$_j$ t$_k$ t$_i$ not newspapers

　　'It's books that Mihai read to Ioana, not newspapers'

<div align="right">from Alboiu (2000:261)</div>

In her discussion of the Romanian pre-verbal segment, Motapanyane (1994, 1995) argues for a clear hierarchy for topic and focus. Following Rudin (1992), the author assumes the interrogative morpheme *oare* to be base generated within the CP: she claims that all constituents preceding it occupy a topic position, whereas those following it fill a focus clause-internal position. In the examples in (42), the constituent in topic, preceding *oare*, bears little stress and represents old information, while the constituent in focus, following *oare*, conveys new information, bears the main sentence stress and has a contrastive reading[98]:

(42)　a　Scrisorile, *oare* ieri le-a primit Ion? (sau azi)

　　　　　letters.the Q yesterday they.acc-have.pr.3s receive.pple John (or today)

　　　　　'As for the letters, was it yesterday that John received them, (or today)?'

　　　b.　Ieri *oare* scrisori a primit Ion? (sau colet)

　　　　　yesterday Q letters have.pr.3s receive.pple John (or parcel)

　　　　　'Yesterday, was it letters that John received, (or a parcel)?'

<div align="right">from Motapanyane (1994:729)</div>

According to Motapanyane topicalised phrases occupy [Spec, CP], a slot that also hosts wh-elements, focalised phrases as adjoined to I', while pre-verbal subjects fill [Spec, IP], an argumental position in her analysis.

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[98] Farkas and Kazazis (1980) notice that, in Romanian, clitics in the pre-verbal field are ordered according to topicality: the most topical clitic always preceding the less topical clitic.

É. Kiss (1998), in her investigation of focalised phrases, argues that identificational (or contrastive) focus is associated with an operator and occupies a functional projection of its own, FocP. This is usually located above IP, within the CP, but requires adjacency to the verb. The author claims that this position is cross-linguistically realised whenever there is an element specified for [+focus] in the sentence.

She recognises two different types of focalised phrases, systematically distinct from each other with respect to both semantic and syntactic properties: 'identificational' or 'contrastive' focus – referred to as ConFoc from now on –, instantiating a quantification-like operation, and 'information' or 'presentational' focus – referred to as InfFoc from now on –, not involving movement.

ConFoc is defined as representing the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold, in other words it expresses the exhaustive subset for which the predicate phrase actually holds. On a semantic level, ConFoc represents the value of the variable bound by an abstract operator: from the set of possible candidates, ConFoc picks out a specific individual and its value is set on that particular individual only. On a syntactic level, ConFoc itself acts as an operator, undergoing movement to a scope position and it binds a variable.

Information (presentational) focus, on the other hand, is not associated with movement. It expresses non-presupposed material, i.e. new information, and is not associated with any formal feature.

Every sentence has an InfFoc – by virtue of contributing new information to the discourse – but not every sentence has a ConFoc.

In Hungarian, these two types of focus are associated with distinct structural positions. Consider the examples in (43):

(43)   a. Tegnap   este MARINAK mutattam be   Petert
            last   night Mary.dat   introduce.1s perf   Peter.acc
            'It was TO MARY that I introduced Peter last night'

b. Tegnap este be mutattam Petert Marinak

last night perf introduce.1s Peter.acc Mary.dat

'Last night I introduced Peter to Mary'

Hungarian, from É. Kiss (1998:247)

In (43) a, 'TO MARY' represents ConFoc: within the set of individuals for which the predicate 'introduced Peter last night' can potentially hold Mary is the only person I introduced to Peter last night. In (43) b, on the other hand, 'to Mary' expresses new information, and there is no assumption as for Mary being the only person to whom I introduced Peter.

Identification focus requires special licensing conditions and seems to be a property of several levels of grammar. Cross-linguistically, it is marked in a number of ways: (i) by intonation (i.e. phonology), (ii) by affixation (i.e. morphology), or (iii) by structural position (i.e. syntactic). The lexical items that represent new information in a sentence not being specified for the feature [+ focus], do not require special licensing conditions, and are exempt from most restrictions.

É. Kiss (1998:267) claims that the feature specification of the ConFoc is subject to parametric variation: it can be specified as [±exhaustive] and as [±contrastive]. In Hungarian, as well as in English, it is [+exhaustive] and [± contrastive], while in SI, Catalan and Romanian it is [+exhaustive] and [+contrastive].

With specific reference to Romanian, citing Göbbel (1996), she (1998:268-269) demonstrates how the two different types of foci are associated with different positions in the clause: while ConFoc appears sentence-initially, in a position that Göbbel identifies as [Spec, PolP], InfFoc can only remain *in situ* in its VP internal position. Consider the responses to the following utterance:

(44) a. Am auzit ca i-ai invitat pe Ion si pe Ioana

have.pr.1s hear.pple that they.acc-have.pr.2s invite.pple pe Ion and pe Ioana

'I heard that you invited Ion and Ioana'

b. [PolP NUMAI PE ION l-am [VP invitat]]

only pe Ion he.acc-have.pr.1s invite.pple

'It is only Ion I invited'

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(45) a. Am   auzit   ca   ai   multi musafiri
          have.pr.1s   hear.pple   that   have.pr.2s   many   guests
          'I heard that you had many guests'

      b. *[PolP NUMAI   PE   ION   l-am   [VP invitat]]
               only   pe   Ion   he.acc-have.pr.1s invite.pple

      c. L-am   [VP invitat   numai pe Ion]
          he.acc-have.pr.1s invite.pple   only   pe Ion
          'I invited only Ion'

<div align="right">from É. Kiss (1998:268)</div>

When identifying a subset of the set *pe Ion si pe Ioana* 'Ion and Ioana' *numai pe Ion* 'only Ion' is ConFoc; when, on the other hand, identifying a subset of the set *multi musafiri* 'many guests' which does not denote a closed set whose members are known to both participants in the discourse, *numai pe Ion* 'only Ion' expresses InfFoc, and as such must remain *in situ*. The appropriateness of one or the other is dictated by the discourse context.

Summing up, according to É. Kiss ConFoc in Romanian denotes a closed set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase actually holds. Syntactically, the contrastively focused element acts as an operator, moving into a scope position in the preverbal field. Descriptively speaking, this movement is not obligatory. Presentational focus, on the other hand, expresses new, non-presupposed information, it does not undergo movement and has to remain *in situ* in its base-generated position (within the VP): it does not have the syntax, semantics or phonological/morphological properties of ConFoc.

This distinction between the two types of foci – and the cross-linguistic variation within the structural representation of InfFoc – will be invoked in section 5, when investigating bare quantifiers.

The next section turns to the investigation of wh-phrases.

4.3 – WH-PHRASES

The characteristics of wh-phrases set Romanian aside from the Romance family: Romanian, on a parallel with Slavic languages, requires that all wh-phrases present in a sentence raise out of their base-generated position overtly to a sentence-initial position. This implies two things: first, that wh *in situ* is not available and secondly, that Romanian is a multiple wh-checking language. This is exemplified in (46)[99]:

(46) a. **Cine**$_i$ **cui**$_j$ **ce**$_k$ a   dat t_i t_j t_k ?
          who   whom what   have.pr.3s give.pple t_i t_j t_k

     b. ***Cine**$_i$ **cui**$_j$ a   dat t_i t_j **ce**?   (unless an echo-question)
          who   whom have.pr.3s give.pple t_i t_j what
          'Who has given what to whom?'

<div align="right">from Alboiu (2000:156)</div>

Within the Slavic languages two groups are identified (cf. Rudin, 1988 and then Richards, 1997), according to the number of wh-phrases allowed to appear sentence-initially. The first group includes those languages where only one wh-phrase targets [Spec, CP] and the rest target [Spec, IP] (such as, for example, Serbo-Croat, Czech, and Polish). The second class includes languages such as Bulgarian and Romanian, in which all wh-phrases target the same position, assumed to be [Spec, CP] by the two authors. Richards (1997) has defined the languages belonging to the first type as 'IP-absorption languages' and those patterning with the second as 'CP-absorption languages'.
A number of authors – cf. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Comorovski (1996), Motapanyane (1995), among others – have all argued along these lines for a [+wh] feature in C° for Romanian, although the strategies invoked for licensing the feature and for accounting for verb movement are different. While Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) maintains that the verb does not raise any higher than I°, Comorovski (1996) and Motapanyane (2000) argue that in wh-constructions the verb raises to I° and further to C° where it licenses the [+wh] feature. The wh-phrase is assumed to have moved to [Spec, CP], either directly or

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[99] Wh-phrases are indicated in bold in these examples.

via [Spec, IP], in order to check its focus feature first – cf. Motapanyane (2002). Cornilescu (2000), on the other hand, proposes that the [+wh] feature in Romanian is checked in the highest inflectional projection, which in her analysis is [Spec, M(ood)P], and belongs to the IP domain.

In a similar spirit, Alboiu (2000) casts some doubt on Richard's (1997) classification of Romanian as a CP-absorption language by comparing the relative position of moved wh-phrases and clitic clusters in IP- and CP-absorption languages.

In an IP-absorption language such as Serbo-Croat, only one wh-phrase is allowed to raise to the left of a clitic cluster and any other wh-phrase can only raise to a position to its right, with result of the clitic cluster intervening between the two sets of wh-phrases.

In languages belonging to the CP-absorption type, such as Bulgarian and Romanian, on the other hand, all wh-phrases must raise to the left of a clitic cluster, as shown in the following examples:

(47) a. **Ko** mu je **šta** dao?
　　　　who him have.pr.3s what give.pple
　　　　'Who has given what?'

Serbo-Croat, from Rudin (1988:462)

　　　b. **Cine ce** ți-a spus?
　　　　who what you.dat-have.pr.3s say.pple

　　　c. ***Cine** ți-a **ce** spus?
　　　　who you.dat-have.pr.3s what say.pple
　　　　'Who told you what?'

Romanian, from Alboiu (2000:157)

It has been argued for Serbo Croatian – cf. Tomic (1996) – that clitic clusters form in the CP. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) has argued that the Romanian clitic cluster is formed in the IP. In the light of these observations, the evidence put forward in (47) suggests that while in Serbo Croatian it is clear that one wh-phrase must target a Specifier position within the CP layer, the Romanian examples only say that the position targeted by wh-

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phrases lies to the left of the clitic cluster, which can equally belong to the IP or CP domains. Thus, IP is not excluded *a priori* as a target for the wh-phrase.

The examples in (46) show not only that all wh-phrases must be raised to a pre-verbal position overtly, but also the adjacency requirement between these latter and the finite verb: failure to meet this requirement causes the sentence to be ungrammatical:

(48) a. **Cui**   (*deja)   ai   telefonat   (deja)?
          who.dat (*already) have.pr.2s   phone.pple   (already)
          'Whom have you already called?'

                                                    Romanian, from Alboiu (2000:163)

Recalling how the Romanian finite verb is always assumed to raise out of the VP and to reach a position within the IP domain, the adjacency requirement between wh-phrases and verb can be interpreted as a reflection that the wh-phrase targets a position in the same domain as the raised verb. Indeed, this is what Alboiu (2000) argues: in her analysis wh-phrases target [Spec, IP], a position not related to Case but to discourse – as already previously claimed by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994).

In order to explore further this possibility and to shed light on the position targeted by wh-movement, it is necessary to make a slight diversion and investigate the interaction between wh-phrases and topics.

Topicalised phrases can appear in both main and embedded clauses, and there are no asymmetries between the two cases, as the following – the topicalised phrase is underlined – shows:

(49) a. Victor mîine   are   un recital de trombon.
          Victor tomorrow have.pr.3s a   recital of trombone
          'Victor has a trombone recital tomorrow.'

      b. Ştiu   că Victor mîine   are   un recital de trombon.
          know.pr.1s   that Victor tomorrow have.pr.3s a   recital of trombone
          'I know that Victor has a trombone recital tomorrow'

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In (49) *Victor* and *mîine* 'tomorrow' are topicalised in both (a) and (b) – recall that the default word order for Romanian is VSO and that material in the preverbal field is more restricted and receives discourse prominence. If we now turn to the embedded context, the topicalised elements follow the complementiser *că* 'that', assumed to fill the C° position. Thus, it follows that topicalised elements occupy a position lower than C°. Turning to the relative order of topics and wh-phrases, the examples in (50) clearly indicate that in Romanian wh-phrases can be preceded by one or more topics – the topicalised phrases are underlined:

(50) a. **Pe cine**$_j$ a   văzut Mihai $t_v\ t_j$ la film?

          pe who   have.pr.3s   see.pple Mihai $t_v\ t_j$ at movie

      b. <u>Mihai$_i$</u>   **pe cine**$_j$ a   văzut $t_i\ t_v\ t_j$ la film?

          Mihai   pe who have.pr.3s see.pple $t_i\ t_v\ t_j$ at movie

      c. <u>Mihai$_i$ la film$_k$</u>   **pe cine**$_j$ a   văzut $t_i\ t_v\ t_j\ t_k$?

          Mihai at movie   pe who have.pr.3s   see.pple $t_i\ t_v\ t_j\ t_k$

          'Whom did Mihai see at the movies?'

The same is also true in multiple wh-phrases constructions:

(51) a. Ieri   la film **cine** **pe cine** a   văzut?

          Yesterday at movie   who   pe who   have.pr.3s   see.pple

          'Who saw whom yesterday at the movies?'

      b. La concert **cine** **ce** ți-a   spus?

          at concert   who   what you.2s.dat-have.pr.3s say.pple

          'Who told you what at the concert?'

Following the observations above and assuming topicalised phrases to be situated below C°, it cannot be concluded that wh-phrases target the CP domain. Alboiu (2000) concludes that the interaction with topics supports the postulation of a [+wh] feature in I°, rather than in C° for Romanian.

A possible objection that could be raised is that perhaps the verb raises to C° in interrogative clauses, and the adjacency between the wh-phrase and the verb is a reflection of both items occupying a position in the CP domain. There is evidence against this interpretation.

First of all, in Romanian, there are no subject-auxiliary inversion effects present in root interrogatives, which suggests that the verb has not undergone movement from I° to C° (cf. also Cornilescu, 1997; Dobrovie-Sorin, 1994; Ştefănescu, 1997). Compare the examples in (52) a and (52) b:

(52) a (Victor)   cîntă   (Victor)   la trombon   [- wh]
         (Victor)   sing.pr.3s (Victor)   at trombone
         'Victor plays the trombone.'

      b. (Victor)   cîntă   (Victor)   la trombon?   [+ wh]
         (Victor)   sing.pr.es (Victor)   at trombone
         'Does Victor play the trombone?'

<div align="right">from Alboiu (2000:188)</div>

The interrogative clause in (52) b maintains the same word order flexibility as its non-interrogative counterpart in (52) a. Furthermore, the two do not differ in word order, the only difference between them being one of intonation. It was shown in (50) how subject NPs (or any other material) are freely topicalisable to the left of the moved wh-phrase(s) in root interrogatives in Romanian, as in (53):

(53)   Mihai$_i$ la film   **pe cine**$_j$ a   văzut t_i t_v t_j ?
         Mihai   at movie   pe who   have.pr.3s   see.pple t_i t_v t_j
         'Whom did Mihai see at the movies?'

It was also claimed above, that topicalised material is situated below C°, presumably being adjoined to the IP. Consequently, the examples in (52)-(53) clearly indicate lack of V° to C°.

A further piece of evidence against V° to C° derives from the inability of the verb to raise above the clitic cluster, as in (54) b below:

(54)   a. L-ai   vǎzut   pe   Ion?

            he.acc – have.pr.2s   see.pple   pe   Ion

       b. *Vǎzutu-l-ai t_v pe   Ion?

            see. pple-he.acc-have.pr.2s t_v pe   Ion

            'Have you seen Ion?'

It seems implausible, therefore, to conclude that V° to C° takes place in Romanian interrogative clauses. The requirement that the wh-phrase be adjacent to the verb must, therefore, be taken as evidence that the two occupy a position within the same domain. More specifically, the verb continues to occupy I°– to which it moves for independent reasons – which consequently means that wh-phrases are also hosted by the IP domain. One of the formal consequences of analysing wh-phrases as occupying a position within the IP is that I° becomes a syncretic category, capable of hosting at least the feature [+wh], alongside with its intrinsic verbal features.

Let us summarise the content of this section so far. The lack of subject-auxiliary inversion in wh-contexts, the absence of any requirement for any constituent apart from the wh-phrase(s) to move in interrogative clauses and the lack of V-to-C in Romanian are taken to be strong indications that wh-phrases are hosted in the IP. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) has already convincingly argued that [Spec, IP] is not a Case-related position: these conclusions provide additional support to her analysis, and further claim that it is an operator/scope position.

Contrastively focalised elements, bare quantifiers and wh-phrases all require adjacency to the verb. An immediate consequence of this is that they cannot occur along side each other, as shown in (55):

(55) a. * Pe cine$_j$ nimeni$_i$ n-a   vrut   să vadă   t$_i$ t$_j$?

             pe   who$_j$ nobody$_i$ not-have.pr.3s want.pple   să. see.S.3s   t$_i$ t$_j$

             'Whom did nobody want to see?'

      b. * Cineva$_i$ pe cine$_j$ vroia   să lovească   t$_i$ t$_j$?

          somebody$_i$ pe who$_j$ want.past.3s să hit.S.3s   t$_i$ t$_j$

          'Who did somebody want to hit?'

      c. * Unde$_k$ MIHAI$_i$ pleacă   t$_i$ t$_k$, (nu Ion)?

          where$_k$ Mihai$_k$ leave.pr.3s t$_i$ t$_k$ (not Ion)

          '* Where is it that it is Mihai that is leaving for (rather than Ion)?'

      d. * VICTOR$_i$ cu nimic$_j$ nu   m-a   deranjat   t$_i$ t$_j$.

          Victor$_j$ with nothing$_j$ not   I.acc-have.pr.3s bother.pple   t$_i$ t$_j$

          'It was Victor who didn't bother me with anything'

                                  from Alboiu (2000:262)

The examples above are all ungrammatical: in (55) a the wh-phrase *pe cine* 'whom' cannot co-occur with the negative bare quantifier *nimeni* 'nobody' in the preverbal field; in (55) b *cineva* 'someone' cannot precede the wh-element – or follow it, for that matter; in (55) c and d the co-occurrence of wh-elements and bare quantifiers with a preverbal ConFoc is shown not to be possible. All the above examples are grammatical if only one of the elements surfaces pre-verbally.

Alboiu, following Kayne (1998), interprets this adjacency requirement as the reflection of a [Spec, head] relationship existing between the moved phrase – e.g. the wh-phrase, the focalised element or the quantifier – and the head of the position targeted by the phrase itself, and takes this to be I°.

Concluding, the accounts of the Romanian left periphery that have been presented above all support a division within the upper portion of the clause between topicalised and focalised elements, the former higher than the latter. Within the individual categories, a distinction has been made between CLLD and ELD for the former and identificational and information for the latter. The main issues addressed in the literature have been mainly concerned with whether topics involve movement or base-generation and whether a [+focus] feature needs to be licensed within a specific functional projection. CLLD are seen as involving movement, while ELD are not. As far as the distinction between identificational and InfFoc is concerned, it was concluded that:

(i) ConFoc is unique, is prosodically marked, can appear pre-verbally and requires specific licensing conditions;

(ii) InfFoc does not involve movement from its base-generated position and does not require special licensing conditions. Consequently, it is a discourse property. Wh-phrases, bare quantifiers and contrastively focused phrases all require verb-adjacency and, consequently, are in complementary distribution (descriptively speaking). Any of the above operators can be preceded by topicalised material. Following Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) and Alboiu (2000) I will assume that left-dislocation is the result of a movement operation in Romanian – I have made a parallel claim for Turinese in chapter 3, section 1.4.2. Furthermore, given Alboiu's convincing argumentation, I will also assume that topicalised, focalised and wh-phrases are all hosted within the IP – I will not address the issue of the internal make up of the resulting IP[100].

The hierarchy between these elements in the left periphery is as follows:

(55)   e.   *ca* > topic(s) > wh-phrase(s) / bare quantifier > *să* > pron clitics > verb

Accepting that wh-phrases and bare quantifers target [Spec, IP] and that they precede *să*, it follows that the subjunctive particle occupies a head position within the IP domain,

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[100] Alboiu assumes a multiple Specifier structure, allowing both topicalised and wh- phrases to adjoin to IP.

possibly I°. This in Alboiu's (2000) analysis corresponds losely to Dobrovie-Sorin's (1994) hybrid CP/IP, with the difference that the former does not assume this to be always the case. Complements of desideratives may or may not appear with a lexical C:

(56)   a. Vreau   (ca miine)   ă   plece   Mihai la Londra
            want.pr.1s that tomorrow să   leave.S.3s Mihai at   London
            'I want Mihai to leave for London tomorrow'

                                                                Alboiu (p.c.)

According to Alboiu C would be present in both cases: in the absence of a lexical C, e.g. *ca*, and of an element in the pre-verbal field, e.g. *miine* 'tomorrow', the category would be a syncretic CP/IP projection.

On the other hand there are contexts in which C is ruled out in subjunctives, e.g. with complements of aspectual and raising verbs: in these cases *să* is associated with a syncretic I, in the sense that it is specified for both inflectional and modal features:

(56)   b. Incep   (*ca   miine) să citesc   Mrs   Dalloway
            start.pr.1s that tomorrow să read.S.1s   Mrs   Dalloway
            'I'm starting to read Mrs Dalloway'

Thus, it seems fairly safe to conclude that *să* belongs to the IP domain and it occupies a head position which is specified for a number of features.

These premises will be called upon in the next section, a comparison between the behaviour of pre-verbal bare quantifiers in Romanian and Turinese.

SECTION 5 – ROMANIAN BARE QUANTIFIERS

5.1 – SOME REFLECTIONS ON BARE QUANTIFIERS, CLITIC DOUBLING AND CLLD

It was mentioned in section 4.2 that contrastively focused elements in Romanian need not occupy the pre-verbal field; however, irrespective of whether they surface pre-

verbally, immediately adjacent to the verb, or *in situ*, the contrastively focused constituent is always intonationally marked.

This flexibility with respect to the position occupied is also shared by bare quantifiers: they can either appear within the VP or pre-verbally. I take 'bare quantifier' to include items such as *nimeni* 'nobody', *cineva* 'somebody', *oricine* 'anybody', *ceva* 'something' and *nimic* 'nothing'. There is evidence that a pre-verbal quantifier has a different scope than a VP internal one. É. Kiss (1998:252) argues that, in order for a universal quantifier to be licit in the preverbal scope position, it has to be interpreted as identifying without exclusion – i.e. have wide scope, much on a par with contrastively focalised phrases. This follows since only non-unique quantifiers (i.e. quantifiers that are non-exclusive, in other words that do not pick out an individual) can bind a variable within the IP domain. The following examples show how bare quantifiers can only front in Romanian when they can be interpreted as non-unique: (57) illustrates the behaviour of a quantifier with non-unique reading, and (58) does the same for a quantifier with a unique reading:

(57)　a.　Să　　　stea　　　**cineva**　　la uşă
　　　　　să　　　stay.S.3s　someone　　at door

　　　b.　**Cineva**$_i$　　să　stea　　　t$_i$　la uşă
　　　　　someone　　　să　stay.S.3s　t$_i$　at door
　　　　　'Someone should stay at the door.'

(58)　a.　Te-a　　　　　　căutat　　　**cineva**　　la telefon.
　　　　　you.acc-have.pr.3s　search.pple　someone　　at phone

　　　b.　***Cineva**$_i$　te-a　　　　　căutat　　　t$_i$　la telefon.
　　　　　someone　　you.acc-have.pr.3s　search.pple　　at phone
　　　　　'Someone asked for you on the phone.'

<div align="right">from Alboiu (2000:221)</div>

Alboiu interprets these facts as follows. In (57), the bare quantifier is licensed in pre-verbal position (i.e. [Spec, IP]) by virtue of its non-unique interpretation, i.e. for the fact

that it identifies without exclusion. As such, it can felicitously bind a variable within IP. Movement to a scope position is licit. In (58), on the other hand, the bare quantifier has a unique reading (acquired contextually): thus it cannot bind a variable within the IP and, consequently, it cannot move to a pre-verbal position[101].

The same result obtains with *ceva* 'something': only the quantifier identifying without exclusion can raise to the preverbal field:

<u>non-unique reading</u>

(59) a. Vei   face   **ceva**   pînă   la urmă.
          go.pr.2s do   something   to   at end

      b. **Ceva**   vei   face   pînă   la urmă.
          something   go.pr.2s do to   at end
          'In the end you will find something to do.'

<u>unique reading</u>:

(60) a. Se scurge   **ceva**   din   plasă
          rf. drip.pr.3s   something   from   bag

      b. *****Ceva**   se scurge   din   plasă.
          something   rf. drip.pr.3s   from   bag
          'There's something dripping from your bag.'

<div align="right">from Alboiu (2000:222)</div>

This evidence clearly suggests that raising to a pre-verbal position in Romanian is strictly linked to the need to attain scope.

As mentioned in the previous section, because wh-phrases, focalised elements and bare quantifiers all require verb adjacency, they are, from a descriptive point of view, in complementary distribution. This suggests that they all presumably target the same position.

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[101] It must be remembered that non-unique quantifiers cannot be topic, and therefore cannot undergo left dislocation.

Let us recall that in SI CLLD constructions the entire phrase appears on the left, including any prepositions that may be present, and a resumptive clitic is obligatory with direct left dislocated objects and optional in all other cases – obviously, impossible if the type of dislocated phrase does not have a corresponding appropriate clitic (cf. Cinque, 1983, 1990; and Benincà, 1988, 2001). Some examples are given below:

(61)   a. Giulia,*(l')   ho   appenasalutata
           Julia   she.acc have.pr.1s just   greet.pple.fs
           'Julia, I have just greeted her'

       b. Di Platone,   (ne)   abbiamo   già   discusso lo scorso trimestre
           of Plato   part   have.pr.1p   already discuss.pple the last   term
           'About Plato, we have already discussed last term'

Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994) recognises the parallel of the CLLD in Romanian, where the clitic referring to *Ion* is obligatory:

(62)   (Pe)   Ion*(l)-am   întîlnit   anul   trecut
           pe   Ion   he.acc-have.pr.1s   meet.pple year   last
           'I met Ion last year'

<div align="right">from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:218)</div>

This is not the only instance of an object being 'resumed' by a clitic: in some contexts – cf. section 2.3 – accusative and dative DP objects can co-occur with, respectively, an accusative and dative clitic, as (63) shows – repeated from section 2.3:

(63)   a. Ion l_i-   a   invitat   pe prietenul$_i$ meu
           Ion   he.acc have.pr.3s   invite.pple pe friend.the.acc   my
           'Ion invited my friend'

b. Ion	i$_i$-	a	dat	o	carte	prietenului$_i$	său
Ion	he.dat	have.pr.3s	give.pple	a	book	friend.the.dat	his

'Ion has given a book to his friend'

<div align="right">from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:12)</div>

In both (63) a and b the clitic is obligatory: its omission results in the sentence being ungrammatical. This restriction is only operative on accusative and dative objects specified for [+human] and [+specific] features – cf. Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1994) and Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000) – and the phenomenon is known as 'clitic doubling', a construction that Romanian shares with Spanish.

The fact that the 'extra' clitic is not found exclusively in left dislocated constructions suggests that it is the effect of a more generalised rule affecting the nature of the item moved rather than the context that has triggered its movement.

I would therefore propose that the clitic in (62) is not a resumptive clitic as such, but the effect of the process that triggers clitic doubling. Thus, what has been identified as an instantiation of CLLD is in actual fact, an example of a more general scrambling process – I adopt here the most general meaning for scrambling as defined by Ross (1967) as *'leftward movement of objects NPs'*.

A parallel between CLLD of NP objects and clitic doubling phenomena is also established by Cecchetto (2000): he claims that if a language has clitic doubling then it will necessarily also have CLLD. The reverse relation does not hold, in other words CLLD does not imply clitic doubling. A similar view is also found in Gierling (1997): the author notices a correspondence between clitic doubling and raising of the object to a position outside the VP, namely that only clitic doubled DPs can move out of the VP and that only a DP (with the appropriate feature specification) 'resumed' by a clitic can undergo scrambling[102]. The converse is not true: objects can be doubled regardless of whether they raise out of the VP or not.

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[102] Gierling further claims a link with a [Focus] feature: [Focus] cannot project from a doubled DP. I will not address this issue here.

An interesting difference arises when comparing the behaviour of bare quantifiers in what is claimed to be a CLLD construction: no clitic is allowed, as shown in the following examples:

(64) a. Pe nimani   n-am   supărat
          pe nobody   not-have.pr.1s annoy.pple

       b. *Pe   nimaninu   l-am   supărat
          pe   nobody not   he.acc-have.pr.1s annoy.pple
          'I haven't annoyed anybody'

       c. Ceva   ai   să descoperi şi tu
          something   have.pr.2s   să discover.inf also you

       d. *Ceva   ai   să-l   descoperi şi tu
          something have.pr.2s   să-it.acc   discover.inf also you
          'You will discover something, too'

<div align="right">from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:220)</div>

If we accept the conclusion reached above that the clitic present in CLLD constructions is not a resumptive pronoun but the manifestation of clitic doubling, the ungrammaticality of (64) b and d is readily accounted for. One of the restrictions on clitic doubling is that the DP be [+human] and [+specific]. Recall that in order for a bare quantifier to be licensed in a pre-verbal position it must identify without exclusion, i.e. be non-specific (have wide scope). Thus the non-specific bare quantifier cannot trigger clitic doubling, hence the ungrammaticality of (64) b and d.

An interesting difference within the class of quantifiers and wh-elements provides some more support to this claim. Quantified object NPs, which identify a definite set of contextually or situationally given elements known to the discourse participants, require the doubling clitic:

(65) a. *Toţi   elevii   tăi   nu   cred   că pot   examina   mîine
     all   students.the your   not   think.pr.1s that can.pr.1s examine.inf tomorrow

   b. Pe toţi elevii   tăi   nu   cred   că-i   pot   examina
      pe all students.the your   not   think.pr.1s   that-they.acc can.pr.1s   examine.inf
      mîine
      tomorrow
      'All your students, I don't think I can examine tomorrow'

<div align="right">from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:221)</div>

A parallel effect is also witnessed within the class of wh-elements: while interrogatives headed by *cine* 'who' and *ce* 'what' functioning as objects do not tolerate the presence of a clitic, those headed by *care* 'which' and *cîţi* 'how many' require it:

(66) a. Pe cine   (*l-)   ai   văzut?
        pe who   he.acc   have.pr.2s   see.pple
        'Who have you seen?'

   b. Ce   (*l-)   ai   citit?
      what   it.acc   have.pr.2s   read.pple
      'What have you read?'

   c. Pe care   băiat   *(l-)   ai   văzut?
      pe which boy   he.acc have.pr.2s see.pple
      'Which boy have you seen?'

<div align="right">from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:198)</div>

Rather than ascribing the differences shown in (66) to the different types of clause in which these elements are found – i.e. relative versus interrogative – it seems more plausible to analyse them as dependent on the type of element itself: the definiteness of the wh-word is responsible for whether or not the clitic is permitted, suggesting that these are once again cases of clitic doubling and as such must abide by the restrictions imposed on them.

A question that arises is the following: are the examples in (64) an instantiation of CLLD? Let us recall that CLLD constructions are characterised by the presence of a resumptive clitic that refers to the element that has been dislocated, in other words, the requirement for an NP to be left dislocated is that it be specific. In (64) the bare quantifier is allowed to raise to a pre-verbal position: recall that this is a licit operation in Romanian only when the quantifier 'identifies without exclusion', i.e. it is non-specific. Given that in the examples in (64) the presence of the clitic results in ungrammaticality, and that the pre-verbal bare quantifier is non-specific, I would claim that the examples do not represent a case of CLLD but of simple quantifier raising.

Summing up, in this section the following claims have been made:

1) Romanian examples of CLLD are to be interpreted as simple instantiations of object scrambling: the clitic, when present, is a doubling clitic whose occurrence depends on the [+human] and [+specific] specification of the moved object;

2) cases of bare quantifiers in CLLD are to be analysed as simple instances of quantifier raising to a position at the edge of the IP: the driving feature for this operation are the quantificational properties and the non-specific interpretation of the bare quantifier.

5.2 – BARE QUANTIFIERS: A COMPARISON WITH TURINESE (TUR) AND STANDARD ITALIAN (SI)

In the previous chapter some controversial data concerning quantifiers in the left periphery were investigated. The conclusions reached are summarised here:

1) a bare quantifier preceding a left dislocated element is to be interpreted as [+specific] and is itself left dislocated;

2) a bare quantifier in a pre-verbal position is to be considered as filling a focalised position: this was identified as an [InfFoc] projection.

Let us now see how these facts compare with Romanian.

SI and Tur allow for subject bare quantifiers to appear to the left of LD elements, in both root and embedded clauses:

(67) a. Nessuno, queste cose, potrà mai dimenticarle SI
  nobody these things can.fut.3s never forget.inf-they.acc
  'Nobody will ever be able to forget these things'

  b. Pensa che nessuno, queste cose, potrà mai dimenticarle SI
  think.pr.3s that nobody these things can.fut.3s never forget.inf-they.acc
  'S/He thinks that nobody will ever be able to forget these things'

  c. Gnun, coste ròbe, a l' ha già dije T
  nobody these things SCL L have.pr.3s already say.pple-they.acc
  'Nobody has already said these things'

  d. A penso che gnun, coste ròbe, a l' ha già T
  SCL think.pr.3p that nobody these things SCL L have.pr.3s already
  dije
  say.pple-they.acc
  'They think that nobody has already said these things'

The same sentences, in Romanian, are thoroughly ungrammatical:

(68) a. *Nimeni, aceste lucruri, nu va fi capabil să le
  nobody these things not go.pr.3s be.inf able să they.acc
  uite
  forget.S.3s
  'Nobody will forget these things'

  b. *Promisese ca nimeni, aceste lucruri, nu va fi capabil
  promise.past.3s that nobody these things not go.pr.3s be.inf able
  să le uite
  să they.acc forget.S.3s
  'S/He promised that nobody would forget these things'

  Motapanyane (p.c.)

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Evidence from Paduan suggested that the bare quantifier to the left of a LD phrase is itself LD: *nessuno* and *gnun* 'nobody' take on a 'specific indefinite' meaning, i.e. the variable associated with the quantifier ranges over a definite subset of individuals, present in the discourse domain, either because it has been previously introduced or because it is present in the minds of both listener and speaker.

In Romanian, on the other hand, a bare quantifier can only appear in a pre-verbal position if it identifies without exclusion, i.e. if it is non-specific. The ungrammaticality of the examples in (68) obtains given that the position to the left of a LD is targeted by LD elements, and given that a requirement for a phrase to undergo left-dislocation is that it be [+specific].

Drawing on some evidence from Paduan, it was established that a bare quantifier appearing to the right of a LD phrase was not left dislocated: recall how Paduan requires LD subjects to co-occur with a SCL. Two possible alternatives were put forward: it was either the case that the bare quantifier filled the Specifier of an InfFoc projection – which fills a position lower than ConFoc, cf. Benincà and Poletto (2001), or it was the case that bare quantifiers have some inherent focus/emphatic features which need to be checked in a specific position: given the dependency between quantificational nature and focus, it was concluded that the projection targeted by them belongs to the Focus field. Recall that according to É. Kiss (1998) InfFoc is to be distinguished from ConFoc. The two differ with respect to a series of properties, one of them being the presence versus absence of movement: while ConFoc involves movement, InfFoc does not. Interpreted in syntactic terms, this means that while ConFoc exists as a functional projection, InfFoc does not, and this type of elements remain *in situ*. She also claimed that the feature content of ConFoc – which corresponds to what has been here referred to as 'ConFoc' – is subject to parametric variation.

I propose that this variation affects presentational focus, too. Tsimpli (1994) in her analysis of Greek, describes InfFoc as an identificational operator which needs to move into scope position at LF. Building on this I would like to claim that in some languages the feature specification of InfFoc requires that the element raise to the Specifier of a Focus projection overtly. Just as ConFoc, as pointed out by Alboiu (2000), can remain *in*

situ and delay raising to its scope position until LF, so can InfFoc undergo raising before LF.

This claim is supported by empirical evidence that clearly suggests that this option is available to languages. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, Section 2.3.1, a trait that is carried over to their variety of Italian by speakers of Southern Italian dialects, is the pre-position of elements marked as new information to the pre-verbal area[103]:

(69)   a. Antonio   sono
             Anthony   be.pr.1s
             'I am Anthony'

       b. In chiesa   sono   andate
            in   church   be.pr.3p   go.pple.fp
            'They have gone to church'

A similar situation is also found in medieval Italian:

(70)   Una   portantina fece   il re   Salomone
        a   sedan chair make.rem.3s   the king   Salomon
        'King Salomon had a sedan chair made'

                               from Benincà and Poletto (2002:10)

In SI such sentences are not considered grammatical: it seems that in order for the InfFoc position to be activated and available, the field must have been 'opened' by a contrastively focused element – cf. Benincà and Poletto (2001:10). Thus, (71) a is possible, but (71) b is not, unless prosodically marked by contrastive intonation:

(71)   a. A TERESA, questo libro, devi   comprare
            to Teresa   this   book   must.pr.2s   buy.inf
            You must buy this book for Teresa'

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[103] These examples have already been discussed in the previous chapter in Section 2.3.1: cf. the comments made in chapter 3, footnote 26, p. 179.

b. *Questo   libro   devi   comprare
   this   book   must.pr.2s   buy.inf
   'You must buy this book'

As previously mentioned, Turinese does not have a ConFoc projection available in the pre-verbal field: contrastively focused elements must appear post-verbally:

(72) a. *LA TORTA a   l'   a   catà,   nen   il   gelato
         the cake   SCL L   have.pr.3s buy.pple   not   the   ice-cream

      b. A   l'   ha   catà   LA TORTA,   nen   il   gelato
         SCL L   have.pr.3s buy.pple   the cake   not   the   ice-cream
         'S/He has bought the cake, not the ice-cream'

This does not exclude that Turinese may have a position available to InfFoc elements: this seems to be a plausible conclusion when looking at data where a phrase can occur to the right of LD elements:

(73) a. Giòrs a   spera   che,'d coste ròbe,gnun ch' as   në   dësmentia
         George SCl hope.pr.3s that of these things nobody that SCL+rf part   forget.S.3s
         'George hopes that nobody will forget about these things'

Gnun 'nobody' fills a position within the left periphery; recall that *che2* was assumed to fill Fin°. Evidence from Paduan – cf. (56), previous chapter – indicates that this is not a LD position, suggesting that in a system that assumes a Top field delimited downwards by a Foc field the position filled by *gnun* in (72) may belong to the Foc field. Interestingly, the Romanian equivalent of (73) is grammatical without the need for *cineva* 'somebody' to be contrastively focused[104]:

(73)   b. Spera   ca   <u>de data asta</u>   **cineva**   să se poata   ocupa

           hope.pr.3s   that   of   time   this   somebody   să   rf   can.S.3s   take care.inf

           numai de fete

           only   of girls

           'He promised that this time somebody would tend only to the girls'

It was assumed following É. Kiss (1998) that in Romanian only ConFoc, but not InfFoc, can undergo movement to a pre-verbal position. So what is the position filled by *cineva* in (73)?

In the previous chapter – cf. section 2.3.2 – it has been claimed that in SI instances of a bare quantifier raising to a position in the left periphery are not to be analysed as cases of CLLD, as claimed in Cinque (1990), but as examples of quantifier fronting (QF) – cf. Quer (2003). It was also claimed that the position targeted by this left detachment operation can be identified as [Spec, InfFoc]. I would like to extend this analysis to these Romanian cases: *cineva* in (73) has undergone QF. The difference between SI and Tur on the one hand and Romanian on the other can be reduced to the inability of the latter to license InfFoc pre-verbally.

Thus, cross-liguistically I am maintaining the existence of a projection that hosts QF: in some languages, cf. Southern Italian, SI, Tur, this position is syncretic in the sense that it coincides with InfFoc; while in others, cf. Romanian, in which InfFoc does not involve movement the position only hosts element that have undergone QF.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has investigated the Romanian left periphery. Following Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Motapanyane (2002) and Alboiu (2000), it was claimed that Romanian does not have an expanded CP projection as such, but a hybrid projection displaying both discourse- and inflectional-like properties. Furthermore, this projection, identifed by Alboiu as [Spec, IP] can host wh- phrases and bare quantifiers. Since the subjunctive *să*

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[104] Note, incidentally, that the order Q – LD is not allowed in Romanian, suggesting that the position targedet by the Q is to the right of LD. This makes the link with the phenomenon identifed as QF even

follows wh-phrases, it seems plausible to assume that it occupies a position within the IP domain.

Investigating CLLD and clitic doubling constructions I have suggested that what has been identified as CLLD by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) is in fact an instance of a more general scrambling operation.

The properties of bare quantifier movement revealed some interesting differences between Romanian on the one hand and SI and Turinese on the other. A bare quantifier can only raise to a pre-verbal position in Romanian if identifying without exclusion. This means that such an element will never be able to undergo left-dislocation in Romanian. In addition, Romanian does not have an InfFoc available in the pre-verbal field – as claimed by É. Kiss (1998).

The situation is different in Turinese and SI: they allow a bare quantifier with specific interpretation to appear to the left of LD elements. i.e. to be left dislocated, and they both seem to have an InfFoc position in the left periphery.

On a theoretical level, it has been claimed that InfFoc as well as ConFoc, is subject to cross-linguistic variation: while some languages only allow InfFoc elements to raise to a scope position at LF, others allow them to do it in the syntax.

Some of the claims made raise some interesting points for reflection, which I leave here open to further research.

i. If Romanian wh-phrases target a position within the IP, in a similar fashion to the so-called 'IP-absorption' languages, then Romanian would be grouped with Serbo-Croat rather than with Bulgarian, contra what is claimed by Rudin (1988). This conclusion would be problematic since there are properties that clearly group Romanian and Bulgarian together and distinguish them from Serbo-Croat (cf., for example, superiority effects, which are displayed by the first two but not by the latter). Perhaps the solution to this question rests with the idea that the opposition within the group of languages that display multiple wh-questions is not binary, as assumed so far, but scalar.

ii. If wh- and contrastively focalised phrases and pre-verbal bare quantifiers in Romanian all target the same position and the driving force behind their movement is

stronger.

the need to check their respective features, the position where they move to must be specified for the totality of those features. Which means that the Romanian IP is a highly syncretic category: as well as tense features it also contains [+focus] and [+wh] features. A question that poses itself is 'Why should it be the case that Romanian is so prone to syncretism'?

The next chapter investigates some diachronic and acquisitional data which compares interestingly with Tur and Lig and the Romanian cases in that it allows for a similar construction where two *che* are simultaneously realised in the same sentence. The data are of interest as a term of comparison, not because it is believed that they are in any way related to the DCC in Tur and Lig. Some interesting conclusions on the type of information encoded in the left periphery are reached.

Chapter 5

The 'Double *QUE* construction' in Early Romance and child French

THE 'DOUBLE *QUE* CONSTRUCTION' IN EARLY ROMANCE AND FRENCH ACQUISITION

INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters have investigated the co-occurrence of what appear to be two finite complementisers: the 'Double *che* Construction' in Turinese and the '*ca – să*' construction in Romanian. Both *che2* and *să* are associated to subjunctive mood, and occupy a position in the left periphery, of the CP and IP respectively.

This chapter presents an interesting term of comparison: an apparently parallel construction found in Early Romance texts (ER) – examples are taken from 13th century Castilian, 14th century French and 13th century Tuscan, as well as from Mussafia's (1983) collection of examples from Boccaccio's Decameron – and in acquisition data from French.

The comparison is very revealing in that it highlights that the two constructions serve a different purpose: while *che2* in Tur and Lig, as well as *să* in Romanian, are an expression of mood, the use of a second complementiser in ER and child French is a stylistic strategy to give prominence to a thematised phrase.

The chapter is organised as follows: section 1.1 turns to the Early Romance data, concentrating on Tuscan and Castilian. Section 1.1.1 focuses on the type of elements that can appear between the two *QUE*, section 1.1.2 highlights that the DCC in ER and child French is not related to mood. Section 1.1.3 proposes an analysis, which is supported by evidence from child French, in section 1.2. A more complete analysis is put forward in section 1.3.

SECTION 1 – THE FACTS

1.1 – ER DATA

13th century Romance varieties exhibit a construction where two finite complementisers (*che/que*, henceforth, *QUE1* and *QUE* 2) co-occur in the same sentence. This is the case

when some syntactic material appears between *QUE1* and the verb in the embedded clause.

Since the construction seems to be consistently realised across ER languages – in Castilian, just as in Tuscan and French, the *QUE* occurs twice when some element of the sentence intervenes between the higher complementiser and the verb of the embedded clause – I concentrate on the Early Tuscan and Castilian data.

The examples collected for Tuscan are all from texts dating from the 13th century. By the end of the 16th century the DCC is on its way out in Castilian: Keniston (1937:675) in his statistical analysis of different constructions in Castilian prose, reports that out of 97 examples of DCC counted, 66 occur in the first half of the century. He 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'*

During the data collection, I never came across a case in which the two *QUE* were allowed to appear in a sequence. I therefore take this as a strong indication that *QUE1* and *QUE2* could not be simultaneously realised unless they were separated by phonetically realised syntactic material.

Similarly to what has been claimed in chapter 3 for the restriction on *che1* and *che2* I will take this to be an instantiation of the syntactic haplology constraint, i.e. a restriction on the repetition of identical morphemes.

The Early Tuscan data comes from the *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* – OVI – Internet database, and the other Early Romance data is taken from Wanner (1995). Some examples are given in (1)[105]:

(1) a. Poi a lui promectere se fe' **che**, poi ch'elli averia Isocta al re Marco menata, **ch'**esso tornaria a lui in sorlois, perché esso volea lui e Lancelocto insieme avere

'And then he got promised that after having escorted Isocta to king Marco, that he would return to him in Sorlois because he wanted to have together him and Lancelocto'

(Con, 21:155, 13th-c. *Tuscan*, OVI)

b. Sire, je te adjure par le vray Dieu **que** ta fille Tarsienne, **que** tu ne la donnes a mariage a autre que a moy

'Lord, I beg you in the name of the true God that your daughter Tarsienne that you do not give her in marriage to anybody but me'

(Apoll, f48b, 14th-c. *French*, in Wanner, 1995:421)

c. Onde dize Josepho **que** en casa de so padre **que** le llamaron primera mientre Ciro

'Where Joseph says that in his father's house that he was first called Ciro'

(Gen Est 177r2.6, 13th-c. *Castilian*, in Wanner, 1995:422)

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[105] The glosses for all the examples in this chapter are not given word by word but simply as a literary translation.

Abbreviations of Early Romance texts:
Berceo = *Berceo de Gonzalo*, in Wanner (1995)
Con = *Conti di Antichi Cavalieri*, 13th-century Tuscan Text, OVI
DistrTr = *Da un libro della distruzione di Troia*, 13th-century Tuscan Text, OVI
TrRicc = *Il Tristano Riccardiano*, 13th-century Tuscan, OVI
Gen Est = *General Estoria*, in Wanner (1995)
Apoll = *Le roman d'Apollonius de Tyr*, in Wanner (1995)
Opera del Vocabolario Italiano – OVI – (Firenze -Chicago): http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/
Dec = *Decameron*, in Mussafia (1983)

Section 1.1.1 turns to the investigation of the type of elements that can be sandwiched between the two complementisers.

<center>1.1.1 – ELEMENTS THAT CAN APPEAR BETWEEN *QUE1* AND *QUE2*</center>

As Keniston observes, there is a fair variety of elements that can occupy the position between the two *QUE*. In Early Castilian texts the position can be filled by a causative – (2) a, a time adverbial – (2) b, c and d, a prepositional phrase – (2) e and f, a subject – (2) g, h and i, an object – (2) j[106]:

(2)   a.   ... diz **que** <u>porque</u> la poblara alli brennio pora premia & danno de los Romanos **que** pusiera aquell nombre verona (Gen Est; f171r1.14)
'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'

        b.   ... fueron los desuiando de leuar los consigo en la batalla diziendo les **que** <u>daquella uez</u> **que** escusar los podien (Gen Est;179v2.19)
'And they managed to avoid to take them with into battle by saying that on that occasion that they could be excused'

        c.… & assi les fue con este Rey dario **que** <u>quando</u> los poderosos los mezclauan con ell. **que** les non era el tan bueno (Gen Est;173v2.16)
'And things were such with this king Dario that when the powerful mingled with him that he wasn't as good'

        d.   Mas assi fue. **que** luego <u>quando</u> Cacim llego a la Çibdad de Seuilla **que** los moradores del logar cerraron le las puertas (Est Esp;111v2.9)
'But it happened that when Cacim arrived presently to the city of Seville that the inhabitants of the place closed the doors'

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[106] All the Early Castilian data is taken from Wanner (1995).

e. Onde dize Josepho **que** <u>en casa de so padre</u> **que** le llamaron primera mientre
    Ciro (Gen Est 177r2.6)
    'Where Joseph says that in his father's house that he was first called Ciro'

f. ...Cuenta Maestre Godofre en la quinzena parte del libro patheon que
    ... & **que** <u>de espada</u>, nin aun de otra arma, **que** non auien piedad
    ninguna contra sos enemigos en batalla (Gen Est; 171r1.22)
    'Master Godofre says in the 15th part of his book 'Pantheon' that ... and that
    they would not spare their enemies the sword or any other weapon while in
    battle'

g. ... & diz **que** <u>las que eran sabidoras del mal</u> **que** murieron dello & las otras que
    les non touo danno ninguno (Gen Est; 172v2.6)
    'And they say that those who knew about the illness that they died of it; and
    that the others did not receive any harm'

h. .. & ordenaron assi **que** <u>los germanos</u> **que** fincassen en sus tierras … (Gen
    Est; f171v2)
    'And they ordered thus that the Germans that they stayed in their land'

i. ... muchos ydolos fechos a grandes Noblezas assi que dize el autor **que** <u>la cosa</u>
    <u>mas onrrada & el mayor tesoro que los daquella ysla auien</u> **que** aquellos ydolos
    eran (Gen Est; 172v2.26)
    'Many idols made in great luxury, so that the biggest treasure owned by those
    on that island that were those idols'

j. Et sobresto la demanda del Conde don Sancho era esta. **Que**. vi. castiellos
    que Almançor ganara de los xcristianos en otro tiempo estonces Yssem **que**
    gelos diesse (EstEspf106v2.37)

    'And about this Count don Sancho's request was this: that Yssem the six castles
    that Almançor had won from the Christians long before that he gave them to him'

This variety is not completely matched in the Tuscan texts. The majority of the
examples of the DCC have a hypothetical, (3) a, b and c, a temporal, (3) d and e, or a
causal, (3) f, g and h clause intervening between the two *QUE*:

(3)   a. ... A queste novelle, si pensò ir re Pelleus **che**, <u>se</u> elli potesse tanto fare
          che Giason suo nepote volesse andare in quella isola per lo tosone
          conquistare, **che** mai non tornerebbe, e in tal maniera si diliverebbe di
          lui; (Distr Tr; XDIV 1, page 152, 21-25)

          '... king Pelleus thought that, if he could do so that his nephew Giason wanted
          to go to that island to take that ..., that he would never come back, and so he
          could get rid of him'

      b. ... però vi priegho in lealtade e fede **che**, <u>sse</u> ttue vuoli del mio avere,
          che ttu ne tolghi, e di ciò che mestiere ti sia (Distr Tr; XDIV 1,
          page 155, 26-28)

          '...but I pray you for your loyalty and faith that, if you want my things, that
          you take of them,...'

      c. ...Ed esso, ..., non lasciò quella pace a li Romani fare, dicendo a loro ch'ei non
          piacesse a Deo **che**, <u>s</u>'elli avea êlla sua gioven'età servito a Roma, **ch'**ora êlla
          vecchiezza sua li volesse danno fare (Con, 8:108)
          'And he ... did not allow the Romans to make that peace, telling them that
          God did not like that, if he had in his youth served Rome, that he now, in his
          old age, would want to damage it'

      d. ... e egli allora fue vie piue innamorato de lei che non iera dapprima, e amava sò
          fforte mente che a llui sì era tutta via viso **che** <u>quando</u> persona neuna la

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sguardasse, **che** inmantenente iglile togliesse (Tr Ricc; Cap 75, page 149, 25-28)

    '...and he loved so intensely that to him it was shown that, when nobody was watching, that immediately he would take them off her'

e. ... Poi a lui promectere se fe' **che**, <u>poi</u> ch'elli averia Isocta al re Marco menata, **ch'**esso tornaria a lui in Sorlois, perché esso volea lui e Lancelocto insieme avere (Con, 21:155)

    'And then he got promised that after having escorted Isocta to king Marco, that he would (have) returned to him because he wanted to have together him and Lancelocto'

f. ... E tanto savio bello e largo portamento ver' de ciascuno facea, che tanti d'onne parti cavalieri trassero a llui, **che** <u>per</u> lo gran senno e valore suo e larghezza e per bona cavallaria che lui seguia, **che** XXVIII reami se soctomise. (Con, 21:150-151)

    '... that for his great sensibility, value and greatness and for the quality of his cavalry that followed him, that he conquered twenty nine kingdoms'

g. … giurovi **che**, <u>poichè</u> io così la veggio disposta, **che** mai di questo voi non sentirete piú parola (Dec: 3,3)

    'I swear to you that because I see her under this light, that you will never hear another word about this'

h. … mi concedi **che**, <u>poiché</u> a grado non ti fu ch'io tacitamente e di nascosto con Giuscardo vivessi, **che** 'l mio corpo col suo … palese stea (Dec: 4,1)

    'You allow me that, since it did not please you that I secretly lived with Guiscardo, that my body be with his openly'

The position can also be filled by interjections:

(3)   i.   … Largo fo tanto **che**, <u>sì co' 'l libro dice</u>, **che** se l' oro tucto el mondo stato

fosse suo, sì l' averia donato a bona gente (Con, 7: 58)

'And he was so generous that, as the book says, that is the whole gold in the world

has been his he would have given it to good people'

It is readily apparent that in the Tuscan examples the element that appears between the
two *QUE* is detached from the main clause by comma intonation. This is the case
irrespective of the type of element intervened:

(4)   a.   … ti priego **che,** se egli avviene ch'io muoja**, che** le mie cose ed ella ti sieno

raccomandate (Dec: 2, 7)

'… I ask you that, if it happens that I should die, that my things and her would be

entrusted to you'

b.   … comandò **che,** se'l prod'uomo ad alcun servigio là entro dimorar volesse**,**

che egli vi fosse ricevuto (Dec: 2,8)

'… he ordered that, if the man … wanted to reside in there, that he would be

welcomed'

c.   … credeva certamente **che,** se egli diece anni o sempre mai fuor di casa

dimorasse**, che** ella mai a cosí fatte novelle non intenderebbe (Dec: 2,9)

'... he believed surely that, if he never resided out of the house for ten years or for

always, that she would not believe those stories'

d.   … mi pregò **che,** se io n'avessi alcuno alle mani che fosse da ciò**, che** io gliele

mandassi (Dec: 3, 1)

'… he asked me that, if I had in my hands some(thing) that was from that, that I

would send them to him'

e.   … conceduta l'ho la licenzia **che,** se tu più in cosa alcuna le spiaci**, ch'** ella

faccia il piacer suo (Dec: 3, 3)

'... I have given her permission that, if you upset her again in any way, that she

could do what she pleases'

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f. … fu chi gli dicesse **che,** se egli quello addimandasse**, che** egli l'avrebbe (Dec: 3, 5)

'… was who told him that, is he asked for that (thing), that he would have it'

g. … so bene **che** oggimai**,** poscia che tu conosci chi io sono**, che** tu ciò che tu facessi faresti a forza (Dec: 3, 6)

'… I know well that today, since you know who I am, that you would do what you do because you have to'

h. …pregandolo **che,** se per la salute d'Aldobrandino era venuto**, ch'** egli s'avvacciasse (Dec: 3, 7)

'… asking him that, if he had come for the health of Aldobrandino, that he would get closer'

i. … le disse **che,** s' ella aveva cosa che l'aggradisse**, che** le piaceva (Dec: 3,9)

'… she told her that, if she had something that she liked, that she was pleased'

j. … mostra mal che conoscano **che,** perché il porro abbia il capo bianco**, che** la coda sia verde (Dec: 4, pr)

'… it shows that (…), in order for the leek to have the root end would be white and the top end green'

k. … avvenne un giorno **che,** domandandone ella molto instantemente**, che** l'uno de' fratelli le disse (Dec: 4, 5)

'… and pone day it happened that, asking her about it/him all of a sudden, that one of the brothers told her'

l. …**che,** se così facesse**, che** egli le potrebbe uscir di mente (Dec: 7, 5)

'… that, if s/he did this,that he cold get out of her head'

m. … la pregò … **che,** dove questo far non volesse**, che** … ella fosse contenta (Dec: 7, 7)

‘ … s/he asked her that, where she would not want to do this, that she would be happy’

n. … veramente confesso io **che,** come voi diciavate davanti**, che** io falsamente vedessi (Dec: 7, 9)

‘… I truly confess that, as you were saying before, that I wrongly saw’

o. … vi priego per Dio **che,** innanzi che codesto ladroncello … vada altrove**, che** voi facciate (Dec: 8, 5)

‘… I ask you that, before this little thief goes elsewhere, that you do’

p. … vi priego **che,** quando il vostro disiderio avrete …**, che** vi ricordi di me (Dec: 8, 7)

‘… I ask you that, when you have your desire, that it reminds you of me’

1.1.2 – MOOD OF THE EMBEDDED CLAUSE

As far as the type of verb in the main clause and the mood of the verb in the embedded clause are concerned, there is a degree of variety. There does not seem to be any particular restriction that the main verb belong to any specific type: the only requirement is that it selects a finite embedded clause. In Early Castilian we find ‘to say/tell that’ – cf. *diz* (2a), *diziendo* (2b), *dize* (2e), *cuenta* (2f), *diz* (2g), *dize* (2i) –, ‘to order that’ – cf. *ordenar* (2h) –, ‘to be that’ – cf. *assi les fue* (2c), *assi fue* (2d), *era esta* (2j). Similarly, in Early Tuscan we have ‘to ask’ – cf. *priego* (3b), *priego* (4a), *priegò* (4d), *pregandolo* (4h), *priegò* (4m), *prego* (4o), *prego* (4p) –, ‘to think/believe’ – cf. *pensò* (3a), *credeva* (4c) – , ‘to say’ – cf. *dicendo* (3c), *dicesse* (4f), *disse* (4i) –, ‘to allow’ – cf. *concedi* (3h), *conceder* (4e) –, ‘to know’ – cf. *so* (4g) –, ‘to swear’ – cf. *giurovi* (3g) –, ‘to confess’ – cf. *confesso* (4n) –, ‘to promise’ – cf. *promectere* (3e) –, ‘to order’ – cf. *comandò* (4b) –, ‘to happen’ – cf. *avvenne* (4k) –, ‘to show/be shown’ – cf. *era viso*

(3d), *mostra* (4j) –, and correlative expressions of the type 'so good that' – cf. *tanto savio che* (3f), *tanto largo che* (3i).

Turning to the mood of the verb in the embedded clause, in Early Castilian we find both indicative – cf. *pusiera* (2a), *era* (2c), *cerraron* (2d), *llamaron* (2e), *touo* (2g) – and subjunctive – cf. *podien* (2b), *fincassen* (2h), *auien* (2f,i), *diesse* (2j).

Likewise, in Early Tuscan we find indicative verbs – cf. *vuoli* (3b), *avea* (3c), *soctomise* (3f), *sentirete* (3g), *piaceva* (4i), *disse* (4k) –, subjunctive verbs – cf. *potesse* (3a), *togliesse* (3d), *stea* (3h), *fosse stato* (3i), *sieno* (4a), *fosse ricevuto* (4b), *mandassi* (4d), *faccia* (4e), *s'avvacciasse* (4h), *sia* (4j), *fosse* (4m), *vedessi* (4n), *facciate* (4o), *ricordi* (4p) –, and conditional verbs – cf. *tornaria* (3e), *intenderebbe* (4c), *avrebbe* (4f), *faresti* (4g), *potrebbe* (4i).

In Early Tuscan we witness a high proportion of verbs in the subjunctive: this fact is readily explained once we look at the high frequency of hypothetical clauses that intervene between the two *QUE*. The verb in the subjunctive mood is thus triggered by the preceding if-clause.

Recall that the necessary condition for *che2* to be triggered in Tur and Lig is that the embedded clause be in the subjunctive. The situation is not matched in ER: *QUE2* is realised when the verb in the embedded clause is in the subjunctive as well as in the indicative mood – in Early Tuscan in the conditional, too. No link with modality can therefore be claimed. It seems that the only requirement on the realisation of *QUE2* is that there be phonetically realised syntactic material between the two *QUE*:

(5) Insert *QUE2* if and only if:
there is intervening syntactic material between *QUE1* and the embedded verb.

I will take (5) to be the sufficient and necessary condition for the realisation of *QUE2*. The next section turns to the investigation of the purpose that *QUE2* serves in the sentence.

1.1.3 – *QUE2*: FUNCTION AND POSITION

The fact that *QUE2* is compatible with the indicative as well as with the subjunctive, suggests that the mood restriction operative on the presence of *che2* in Tur and Lig does not apply to *QUE2*. Thus, if *QUE2* is not an expression of mood, what is its function? In his investigation of ER, Wanner (1995) interprets the presence of two subordinating conjunctions as a strategy to give prominence to the thematised phrase located between them:

> *'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[107]…'*

<div align="right">Wanner (1995:421)</div>

What Wanner describes as 'preposition of the element inside the embedded clause' for discourse reasons is strongly reminiscent of the operation of left-dislocation. Following Wanner's intuition and combining it with Rizzi's (1997) system, I would like to claim that the elements appearing between *QUE1* and *QUE2* are topicalised and that *QUE2* is the overt realisation of Top°, the head of the projection to which left-dislocated phrases move in standard Italian. The claim is easily applicable to those cases in which the thematised element is a direct object. More data needs to be taken into consideration to justify the claim for subjects and clauses.

It was assumed above that the absence of instances of adjacency between *QUE1* and *QUE2* is a reflection of the necessary – and as we have seen also sufficient – condition for the realisation of *QUE2*: a constraint imposed by the resistance of the repetition of morphemes defined in chapter 3 as syntactic haplology. Nevertheless, the material appearing between the two *QUE* seems to do more than just be there in order to separate

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[107] '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'.

the two conjunctions: it represents a pre-posed phrase/clause which by virtue of its position is discourse prominent.

Let us take a closer look at these elements. The examples in (2), (3) and (4) show a degree of variety as to the category of the material intervening between *QUE1* and *QUE2*: *if*-clauses, *because*-clauses, time adverbials, prepositional phrases, subject, and objects.

The examples in which an object appears between *QUE1* and *QUE2* are very revealing. In (1) b and (2) j, repeated here for convenience, the pre-posed object (underlined) is resumed by a clitic (in bold) in the embedded clause, suggesting that the object is left-dislocated. Recall that in left-dislocated constructions, direct objects are obligatorily resumed by a clitic:

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

(2)   j. Et sobresto la demanda del Conde don Sancho era esta. **Que**. <u>vi. castiellos</u>
        que Almançor ganara de los xcristianos en otro tiempo estonces Yssem **que**
        ge**los** diesse (EstEspf106v2.37)
        'And about this Count don Sancho's request was this: that Yssem the six castles
        that Almançor had won from the Christians long before that he gave them to him'

Thus, the direct objects occupying the position between the two *QUE* are left-dislocated. It was observed above that the intervening clauses – be they *if*-clauses, *because*-clauses or adverbial clauses – are all 'detached' from the main clause by a set of commas. One of the defining features of a topic is that it is

> *'set off from the rest of the clause by 'comma intonation' and*
> *normally expressing old information, somehow available and*
> *salient in previous discourse'*
> Rizzi (1997:285)

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This would seem to suggest that the intervening clauses could be topicalised.

It would be desirable to claim that the various intervening elements are all topicalised. Subjects, too, are found in the intervening position: neither Early Castilian nor Early Tuscan have subject clitics that behave in a parallel way to object clitics, i.e. signalling that the subjects have undergone left-dislocation. Thus, it is not possible to decide on the status of the subjects in (2) g and h.

French, on the other hand, does have a set of subject clitics that co-occur with a pronominal or lexical subject when this latter is left-dislocated:

(6)   a.   Pierre, il   est   parti

               Pierre   SCL   be.pr.3s leave.pple

               'Pierre, he's left'

Children acquiring French as their first language occasionally produce sentences similar to those seen in ER. An example is given below:

(7)   Quand **que** les Indiens **qu'** i veulent l'attaquer

        'When the Indians that they want to attack it'

<div align="right">from Labelle (1993: 254)</div>

Let us look in more detail at this construction.

1.2 – CHILD FRENCH

The data discussed here is taken from Labelle (1993, 2001) – who in turn collected it from the following sources: Méresse-Polaert (1969), corpus Emirkanian-Dubuisson (unpublished), Bouvier and Platone (1976), Labelle (1988, 1990). The children who were the subject of the different studies came from both French and Canadian French speaking communities. This, together with the relative frequency with which the

repetition of *que* occurred, indicates that it is a phenomenon that applies cross-linguistically.

Around the age of 5 or 6 French-speaking children occasionally produce sentences where *que* is repeated inappropriately if compared to the target adult utterances. This is found in embedded complement clauses – cf. (8) a-b, in adverbial clauses – cf. (8) c-e, in relative clauses – cf. f-i[108]:

(8) a. I savaient pas [**que** [leur maman [**qu'** elle était rentrée]]]
         'They did not know that their mother that she had come back'

     b. Elle croyait [**que** [les loups [**qu'**i les avaient mangés]]]
         'She thought that the wolfs that they had eaten them'

     c. [Quand **que** [les Indiens [**qu'**i veulent l'attaquer]]]
         'When that the Indians that they want to attack it'

     d. [Quand **que** [mon père [**qu'**il l'a pris]]]
         'When that my father that he has taken it'

     e. On a passé [d'où **que** [le train [**qu'**i passe]]]
         'We passed where that the train that it passes'

     f. C'est la balle [**que** [le petit gars [**qu'**i lui donne un coup de pied]]]
         'It's the ball that the little boy that he gives it a kick'

     g. Un trésor [**que** [le bandit [**qu'**i avait camuché]]]
         'A treasure that the thief that he had hid'

     h. Celle [**que** [le monsieur [**qu'**i change la roue]]]
         'The one (=the car) that the man that he is changing the wheel'

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i. Celui [**que** [le nours [**qu'**i est cassé]]]

The one (=the boy) that the (teddy) bear that it is broken'

The adverbial clauses in the above examples all display an 'extra' *que*: this is a colloquialism found in both French and Canadian French (cf. Labelle, 1993:253).

An interesting fact about the above examples is that the element between *QUE1* and *QUE2* is always the subject. The presence of the subject clitics suggests that the subject is not in its canonical position but is left-dislocated: I therefore analyse it as filling the Specifier position of TopP.

I would like to extend this analysis to the ER cases, and claim that subject, as well as objects, that appear between the two *QUE* are left-dislocated, and occupy [Spec, TopP].

What about the different clauses that appear in the same position? Are they to be analysed as topicalised? von Fintel (1994:78ff) discusses *if*-clauses and shows that they can express old information and be topical (more commonly) or represent new information and be focus, the topic-focus status depending on its initial or final position respectively.

Let us see how this works.

1.3 – TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS

von Fintel discusses examples such as the following:

(9) 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

(10) 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

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[108] All the data from French acquisition is taken from Labelle (1993:253-255).

The initial position for the *if*-clause is preferred when the clause expresses given information, which has either been presented before or is known to both speaker and interlocutor. The final position is preferred when the *if*-clause contributes new information[109].

Furthermore, conditional clauses are analysed as correlatives: in *if-then* correlative conditional the *if*-clause can be considered as the left dislocated element, while the *then* clause is the resumptive element.

The idea that 'if then' clauses form a class distinct from other types of conditional clauses is also supported in Haegeman (2002). She distinguishes between two types of conditional clauses, *event* and *premise*. An example is given in (11):

(11)   a. If it rains we will all get terribly wet and miserable.

  b. If [as you say] it is going to rain this afternoon, why don't we just stay at home and watch a video?

The conditional clause in (11) a modifies the event expressed in the matrix clause. In other words, it creates a sequential relation between the event of raining and that of getting wet and miserable. This is an event conditional. In (11) b, on the other hand, the conditional clause is simply introducing the premises for the question following it. This is a premise conditional. The two types are claimed to differ both with respect to their internal make up and to the position they occupy in the sentence. More specifically, Haegeman analyses event conditional as more embedded than premise conditionals, i.e. the former is part of the speech act of the matrix clause, while the latter has independent illocutionary force.

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[109] Cf. Munaro (2002) for the application of this classification to the introduction of two functional projections in the upper part of the left periphery: ConcessiveP and HypotheticalP.

As previously mentioned, the great majority of examples of material between the two *QUE* in ER – Early Tuscan in particular – is represented by conditional clauses. They are all instances of *if-then* conditionals, where the *if*-clause is sequentially related to the content of the matrix clause.

I would like to extend this analysis as correlatives to other clauses, too: *since-then*, *when-then*, *in order to-then* and *before that-then* clauses. Combining von Fintel's (1994) idea and Rizzi's (1997) split CP system, *then* would be the resumptive element and the part preceding it, the topicalised element. Translating these observations in representational terms, the *if*-clause would occupy [Spec, Top], and *QUE2* would fill Top°. I would like to suggest that in ER – and child French, too – a topicalised element requires its Specifier position to be matched by a head carrying [+Top] features, *QUE2*.

Applying this classification to the Early Tuscan data, this is the division we obtain:

(12)

if-then	**che**, <u>se</u> elli potesse tanto fare che Giason suo nepote volesse andare in quella isola per lo tosone conquistare, **che** mai non tornerebbe (3) a
	che, <u>sse</u> ttue vuoli del mio avere, **che** ttu ne tolghi (3) b
	che, <u>s</u>'elli avea êlla sua gioven'età servito a Roma, **ch'**ora êlla vecchiezza sua li volesse danno fare (3) c
	che, se egli avviene ch'io muoja, **che** le mie cose ed ella ti sieno raccomandate (4) a
	comandò **che,** se'l prod'uomo ad alcun servigio là entro dimorar volesse, **che** egli vi fosse ricevuto (4) b

	credeva certamente **che,** se egli diece anni o sempre mai fuor di casa dimorasse**, che** ella mai a cosí fatte novelle non intenderebbe (4) c
	mi pregò **che,** se io n'avessi alcuno alle mani che fosse da ciò**, che** io gliele mandassi (4) d
	conceduta l'ho la licenzia **che,** se tu più in cosa alcuna le spiaci**, ch'** ella faccia il piacer suo (4) e
	fu chi gli dicesse **che,** se egli quello addimandasse**, che** egli l'avrebbe (4) f
	pregandolo **che,** se per la salute d'Aldobrandino era venuto**, ch'** egli s'avvacciasse (4) h
	le disse **che,** s' ella aveva cosa che l'aggradisse**, che** le piaceva (4) i
	che, se così facesse**, che** egli le potrebbe uscir di mente (4) l
when-then	**che** <u>quando</u> persona neuna la sguardasse, **che** inmantenente iglile togliesse (3) d
	e fe' **che**, <u>poi</u> ch'elli averia Isocta al re Marco menata, **ch'**esso tornaria a lui in Sorlois (3) e
	vi priego **che,** quando il vostro disiderio avrete …**, che** vi ricordi di me (4) p
since-then	**che** <u>per</u> lo gran senno e valore suo e larghezza e per bona cavallaria che lui seguia, **che** XXVIII reami se soctomise (3) f
	giurovi **che**, <u>poichè</u> io così la veggio disposta, **che** mai di questo voi non sentirete piú parola (3) g

	che, <u>poiché</u> a grado non ti fu ch'io tacitamente e di nascosto con Giuscardo vivessi, **che** 'l mio corpo col suo … palese stea (3) h
	so bene **che** oggimai, poscia che tu conosci chi io sono, **che** tu ciò che tu facessi faresti a forza (4) g
in order for-then	mostra mal che conoscano **che,** perché il porro abbia il capo bianco, **che** la coda sia verde (4) j
before that-then	vi priego per Dio **che,** innanzi che codesto ladroncello … vada altrove, **che** voi facciate (4) o

In examples such as (3) i, **che**, <u>sì co' 'l libro dice</u>, **che**, and (4) n, veramente confesso io **che,** <u>come voi diciavate davanti</u>, **che** io falsamente vedessi, I analyse the material between *QUE1* and *QUE2* as being left-dislocated because of their comma intonation.

By the end of the 16th century, alongside constructions with *QUE1* and *QUE2* there were examples in which only one of them was realised, *QUE1* or *QUE2*. This co-existence indicates that there were two competing grammars: one where Top° was overt and another in which Top° was empty. The interaction of these systems gave rise to cases in which *QUE1* was omitted and *QUE2* still acted as the Top° element – cf. (13) d in which a direct object is left-dislocated and then resumed by a clitic. (13) a-b shows *QUE1* – theme – Ø, and (13) c-d shows Ø – theme – *QUE2*:

(13)   a. & acaescio les alla <u>tal</u> pestilencia **que** <u>la mayor parte dellos</u> Ø murieron
ý (Gen Est 174r1)
'And such a plague came over them that the majority of them dies there'

    b. Cuenta Maestre godofre en el noueno capitulo de la .xvia. parte del libro
pantheon. **que** <u>los cabdiellos de Jermania</u> Ø de grant bien andanca fueran. & muy
altos & onrrados (171v1)

'Master Godofre says in chapter 9 of the 16th part of the book pantheon that the German leaders were in a very good position and very high up and respected'

c. quiero **Ø** <u>de los tesoros</u> **que** me dedes pitança (Berceo133d)

'I want of the treasures that you give me a share'

d. tu sabes **Ø** <u>esti baso</u> **que** sin grado lo bevo (Berceo102d)

'You know this glass that I drink (from) it without consent'

A similar pattern is also found in child French:

(14)   a. Il s'est aperçu **Ø** <u>la porte</u> **que** elle était ouverte

'He noticed the door that it was open'

     b. J'attends **Ø** <u>mon père</u> **qu'**i arrive

'I am waiting my father that he comes'

In these examples, too, the element preceding *QUE2* is left-dislocated, suggesting that *QUE2* still has its function of marking the presence of a topicalised element[110].

To summarise, in ER and child French the following rule is operative:

(15)   Insert *QUE2* if and only if:

there is an intervening topicalised phrase between *QUE1* and the embedded verb.

CONCLUSIONS

The data analysed in this chapter compares interestingly with the evidence found in Tur and Lig. While in the dialectal varieties the use of the DCC depends on mood factors, in

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[110] Alternatively, we could take *la porte* and *mon père* to be Hanging Topics, and the *que* following them would then be the realisation of *QUE1* rather than *QUE2*.

ER and child French the same strategy, i.e. the repetition of *che/que*, is used to give prominence to a pre-posed element.

Following von Fintel (1994) and combining his intuitions with Rizzi's (1997) split CP system, I have claimed that *QUE2* is the overt realisation of Top, the head of the projection whose Specifier hosts the topicalised element.

A diachronic and a maturational process are responsible for the lack of DCC in modern Romance languages and French speaking adults respectively: the evidence that reflects the transition process offers an interesting insight into the change that *QUE2* underwent. Although still specified for [+Top] features, it is also being re-analysed as a subordinating conjunction, which results in *QUE1* being omitted. Eventually, once the change is complete, *QUE2* disappears.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis set off with two aims: to present a detailed description of relatively unknown data, and, through its investigation, to contribute to the understanding of the make up of the left periphery.

The evidence from Turinese and Ligurian reinforces the close connection between the inflectional and the complementiser domains: mood information relating to the embedded clause is expressed at the CP level through the realisation of a mood particle, *che2*.

Romanian, with the distinctive features of wh-phrases and focalised items, reaffirms this strong relationship, with an IP that is specified for both features generally associated with the CP domain, [+wh] and [+focus]. This is further strengthened by the existence of the particle *să*, a subjunctive marker with complementiser-like and inflectional properties.

Within the Principles and Parameters framework a distinction has been made between lexical and functional categories, the latter being responsible for the encoding of the differences between languages. Grimshaw (1991) has proposed that functional categories are associated with specific lexical categories. Thus, C(omplementiser) and T(ense) are verbal categories. Are the domains of functional and lexical categories totally distinct?

A similar question arises when considering the high degree of decomposition that the two major functional projections have undergone recently within the generative tradition: are the CP and the IP two clearly demarcated projections? Rizzi (1997) suggests that the lower projection in his complex CP, Fin°, reduplicates temporal information of the IP in a 'very rudimentary' way – cf. Rizzi (1997:283). Cinque (1999) posits some Mood heads in the higher part of his fragmented IP, one of which is connected with speech act. Bringing an example from Korean (1999:53), Cinque associates the 'interrogative' mood marker –*kka* with the IP; in a footnote (ft3, p 186) he acknowledges that Yoon (1990) analyses the declarative –*ta* as a kind of complementiser, hence as belonging to the CP, and

> *'…leave(s) open here the question whether these speech act moods should be identified with the head of Rizzi's (1997) ForceP, within the 'complementiser' space …'*

Returning to the issue later on he argues that since in Italian 'frankly' – the highest adverb in his system – appears to the right of contrastive focus, which is lower than ForceP, it follows that it belongs to the IP space.

Why would a language choose to reduplicate information from one level to the next?

The evidence I have collected does not support a clear demarcation between the IP and the CP domains: there seems to be a continuum that stretches between Discourse on the left and Inflection on the right, with an intermediate area which seems to be able to host elements with properties shared with both categories.

As far as the make up of the left periphery is concerned, the differences between the two *che* in Tur and Lig, *che1* and *che2* on the one hand and the differences between *che2* and *QUE2* found in ER and child French, clearly point to the inadequacy of the term complementiser. Although all morphologically related to the finite complementiser, *che2* has been analysed as a mood particle and *QUE2* as a topic marker, occupying, respectively, Fin° and Top°. *Che1*, on the other hand, would be a subordinator.

A similar differentiation is proposed in Bhatt and Yoon (1991). They identify two functions attributed to lexemes called complementisers: to indicate clause type and to act as subordinators. In some languages the two functions are lexicalised as a single lexeme, like in English, Italian, French, etc, while in highly agglutinative languages, such as Korean and Japanese, the functions are carried out by separate lexemes.

The authors observe how each clause must be marked by a lexeme identifying its force[111], which is different from the subordinating particle. The following examples show this:

(1) a. John-i   wa-ss-**ta**

          John-NOM come-PAST-DECL

          'John came'

b. Bill-un   [John-i   wa-ss-**ta**-**ko**]   sayngkakhanta

   Bill-TOP   John-NOM   come-PAST-DECL-SUBthinks

   'Bill thinks that John came'

c. John-i   wa-ss-**ni**?

   John-NOM   come-PAST-INTERR

   'Did John come?'

d. Bill-un   [John-i   wa-ss-**nya**-**ko**]   mwulessta

   Bill-TOP   John-NOM   come-PAST-INTERR-SUB   asked

   'Bill asked if John came'

<div align="right">from Bhatt and Yoon (1991:42)</div>

In Korean, *ko* is used as a subordinating particle, while *ta* and *ni* are the overt realisation of Force°, marking, respectively, a declarative and an interrogative clause. On the basis of this observation they suggest the COMP system be dissociated into two different categories, one expressing information on the clause type and one hosting subordinators.

Incorporating this distinction into Rizzi's system, we obtain a tripartite structure, where to Force and Finiteness a new position is added, Subordinator:

(2)   Subordinator > Force > Finiteness > Tense > Verb

Roussou (2000) reaches a similar conclusion for Greek.

This tripartite system, which would then be implemented by Rizzi's (1997) TopP and FocP, offers a language the possibility to allocate distinct positions to elements that performs different functions. The projection of such positions would only occur if the language has positive evidence for them.

The investigation of the DCC in Tur and Lig has made the following claims:

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[111] 'Bhatt and Yoon label particles indicating the type of clause as 'Mood markers' (cf. Bhatt and Yoon, 1991:42), but I will refer to them as Force markers.

(3) the subjunctive is:

- a tense-less verb form, deficient both morphologically and semantically; its morphological deficiency is obviated by the presence of an element specified for mood features – which can either be overt or null; its semantic deficiency is obviated through an anchoring process with an element in the C system;
- a 'composite' verb form, being generated in V°, a projection dominated by vP in which the functional features lacking from V° are either realised overtly or by an expletive;
- a verb form whose deficiency – both in terms of agreement and mood features – prevents it from occupying a position within the CP;

(4) *che2* is:

- a morphological marker linked to the subjunctive mood;
- base generated in v° as the morphological realisation of the bundle of functional features which the deficient verb lacks;
- a clitic which is subject to both syntactic and phonological constraints: being a morphological marker encoding modality, its presence is preferred when the mood features on the following verb are morphologically poor; being a clitic, whether after having being licensed in the syntax its realisation takes place at PF is influenced by the presence of other clitics or clitic clusters;
- an element whose content can be either overtly realised if the language has mood particles in its inventory, or remain null in those languages that do not have modal particles;
- undergoing movement to Fin° to check the mood features it carries.

(5) the investigation of the subjects that appear between *che1* and *che2* in Tur has highlighted that:

- full DP subjects are to be analysed as LD;
- the interaction between pronouns and *che2* does not provide any support for

Cardinaletti's distinction between strong and weak pronouns;

· a bare quantifier subject occurring to the left of LD elements is to be analysed as being LD itself;

· a bare quantifier occurring between a LD element and *che2* is to be analysed as having undergone QF and as occupying a position within the Focus field, information focus more specifically.

(6) The investigation of Romanian has highlighted that:

· The Romanian IP is a syncretic category, hosting both inflectional and operational elements;

· Some differences between the occurrence and interpretation of bare quantifiers in Tur and SI on the one hand and Romanian on the other have been accounted for in terms of movement and absence of an information focus projection in Romanian: a bare quantifier can only raise to a pre-verbal position in Romanian if it identifies without exclusion. This means that such an element will never be able to undergo left-dislocation in Romanian. In addition, Romanian does not have an InfFoc available in the pre-verbal field;

· on a theoretical level, it has been claimed that InfFoc as well as ConFoc, is subject to cross-linguistic variation: while some languages only allow InfFoc elements to raise to a scope position at LF, others allow them to do it in the syntax..

(7) The discussion of ER and child French data has concluded that *QUE2* is the overt realisation of a Top head: evidence of two competing grammars has been shown, suggesting that in the process from ER to modern Romance languages – and by the same token from child and adult French – the option of overtly realising the [+Top] feature was lost and *QUE2* was re-analysed as a subordinator.

Finally, some issues have been addressed but not discussed. They are left open for future research:

· The status of [Spec, FinP] and which types of subjects it can host (if any);

· Can the position targeted by QF be identified with [Spec, InfFoc]?

· The position of multiple wh-languages: is there a binary opposition within the group or does the distinction lie along a continuum?

· What is the syncretism witnessed in Romanian due to? Why should it be the case that Romanian is so prone to syncretism?

Some more general issues have been addressed indirectly, but a clear answer has not been given. These are points for future research:

· To what extent does the CP reduplicate syntactic information expressed in the inflectional domain and why?

· Are the CP and the inflectional phrase distinct domains?

· Could they be conceived as a single extended projection following Grimshaw (1991)?

· What are the dynamics of the interface between the two?

· Is it appropriate to model these phenomena in terms of a seemingly infinite number of functional projections?

APPENDIX

QUESTIONARIO N.1

La preghiamo di tradurre le seguenti frasi nella sua varietà dialettale e di dare delle alternative quando possibile.
Please provide a translation of the following sentences in your own dialect variety, giving possible alternatives when available.

1 Piove

2 Non è arrivato nessuno

3 Bisogna partire

4 E io, cosa mangio?

5 Vado anch'io con loro?

6 Chi ho dimenticato?

7 Non so chi laverà i piatti

8 Se non piove, venite da noi?

9 Il bambino mangia la mela

10 La donna che pulisce le scale è malata

11 Fumano molte sigarette, quelle ragazze!

12 Mangio la mela

13 Le ragazze laveranno i piatti

14 Vado a casa

15 Compro il pane io, oggi?

16 Non piove più

17 Si dice così

18 Arriva un bambino

19 Oggi mangiamo in trattoria

20 Arrivano sempre in ritardo

21 Non si dice così

22 Chi viene al posto tuo?

23 C'è un bambino

24 Maria, che conosci anche tu, è a Napoli

25 Arriva il postino

26 Chi mangia le patate?

27 Non bisogna arrivare tardi

28 Chi piange di là?

29 Verrà tua sorella

30 Carlo, che mangia molto, è più magro di te

31 Il bambino che ho visto ieri è partito

32 Le donne che puliscono le scale son andate via

33 Non so cosa faccia Gianni

34 Dimmi cosa mangia Maria

35 Tu parli troppo e loro parlano troppo poco

36 Noi partiamo oggi, voi partirete domani

37 Dei libri che avevi ordinato ne arriveranno solo tre

38 Qualcuno arriverà in ritardo

39 Cadono le foglie

40 Non mangia mai frutta, quella ragazza

41 La signora che hai incontrato ieri è mia zia

42 I tuoi figli, che studiano sempre, vanno volentieri a scuola

43 Non mi ha visto nessuno

44 Dimmi chi ha preso il quadro

45 Parti subito?

46 Arrivate sempre tardi

47 Nessuno ha mangiato la minestra

48 Dimmi chi viene stasera

49 Non comprano mai frutta, le mie sorelle

50 I bambini mangiano le caramelle

51 Giorgio e Franco, che volevamo invitare a cena, sono partiti

52 La compri o non la compri?

53 Qualcuno telefonerà al professore

54 Maria parte domani

55 Va e viene continuamente

56 Non c'è nessuno qui

57 Adoperi sempre la stessa macchina!

58 Nessuno mi capisce

59 Qui dorme Gianni

60 Io sono nato qui, conosco bene il paese

61 Non compri mai mele

62 Dimmi dove è andato Giorgio

63 Cosa facciamo adesso?

64 Cosa fate adesso?

65 Non compra mai niente

66 Arriva qualcuno

67 Ho capito tutto

68 Non mangiamo mai frutta

69 Lo leggi e rileggi continuamente

70 Lei (femm sing) legge un libro di storia

71 Sono arrivato in ritardo

72 E' partito da Roma

73 Siamo andati in macchina

74 Abbiamo mangiato a Firenze

75 Hanno rubato il quadro

76 Dimmi chi è venuto

77 Non leggete mai dei libri

78 Hai visto tuo zio?

79 Viene anche Antonio?

80 Canta e balla tutte le sere

81 Che cosa ha fatto?

82 Ha mangiato in fretta

83 Dove vanno?

84 Non venite?

85 Che cosa hai fatto?

86 Si guarda e si riguarda sempre allo specchio

87 Oggi arriva Gianni

88 Non mangi la mela?

89 Il bambino che è venuto ieri è mio nipote

90 Legge e rilegge sempre lo stesso libro

91 Andiamo subito?

92 Chi non inviteranno?

93 Mangio e bevo per stare allegro

94 Che cosa fanno?

95 Lo legge e lo rilegge continuamente

96 Chi hanno visto?

97 Dove devo andare?

98 Cosa fate?

99 Chi ha mangiato la torta?

100   Chi è arrivato?

101   Dove vai?

102   Dove lo metti?

103   Mangiano la minestra i bambini?

104   Dove andiamo?

105   Vengono qui?

106   Lo hanno rubato

107   Tu mangi e bevi tutto il giorno

108   Ne parlano tutti

109   Chi ha preso il libro che era qui?

110 Sei tu che non vuoi capire

111 E' Piero che non vuol partire

112 Fai e rifai sempre lo stesso lavoro?

113 Sei tu che la compri sempre

114 Tu, la compri?

115 La compriamo?

116 Quando parti?

117 Dove sei andato?

118 Dove hai mangiato?

119 Chi porta il pane?

120 Chi lo ha rubato?

121 Dove è andato?

122 Dove va?

123 Dove lo ha messo?

124 Leggi e rileggi sempre lo stesso libro

125 Il ragazzo che arriva domani si chiama Mario

126 L'uomo che pulisce le scale è malato

127 La minestra che fa la tua mamma è proprio buona

QUESTIONARIO N.2

La preghiamo di tradurre le seguenti frasi nella sua varietà dialettale e di dare delle alternative quando possibile.
Please provide a translation of the following sentences in your own dialect variety, giving possible alternatives when available.

1 Prima che Mario parta, digli di telefonare.

2 Prima che arrivi la nonna, preparate la tavola.

3 Speriamo di finire il lavoro senza che nessuno si stanchi

4 Prima che entri qualcuno, chiudiamo la porta

5 Bisogna che Mario mangi di più

6 Bisogna che lo compri Alberto

7 Bisogna che nessuno faccia rumore

8 Bisogna che non parli nessuno

9 Volevamo che la mamma venisse con noi

10 Avrei voluto che venissero i miei amici

11 Vorrei che qualcuno si facesse vivo

12 Volevate che non venisse nessuno

13 Credevamo che fosse tardi

14 Tutti pensavano che avrebbe piovuto

15 Sono convinto che Mario abbia studiato poco

16 Credo che abbia telefonato Gianni

17 Sembra che qualcuno abbia scritto una lettera anonima

18 Sembra che non abbia gridato nessuno

19 Sembra che abbia gridato qualcuno

20 Nessuno si muova!

21 Qualcuno mi aiuti; per favore!

22 Che non entri nessuno!

23 Che Mario si presenti subito dal direttore!

24 Chiunque abbia detto questo, non conosceva la situazione

25 Qualsiasi cosa abbia detto Mario, non bisogna credergli

26 In qualsiasi modo il direttore voglia risolvere questo problema, non ci interessa

27 Non so chi abbia parlato con Maria

28 Non so chi sia arrivato

29 Mi hanno chiesto dove Maria fosse andata

30 Non so dove la mamma abbia comprato i fiori

31 Non so cosa la mamma abbia comprato per cena

32 Non so dove qualcuno potrebbe trovare qualcosa di meglio

33 Che cosa avrà mai detto Gianni? / Cosa che abbia detto, Gianni?

34 Dove avrà mai messo quel libro tuo fratello? / Dove che abbia messo quel libro tuo fratello?

35 Spero sia arrivato in tempo

36 Crediamo tu possa farcela

37 Credono io non sia capace

38 Spero qualcuno venga

39 Dicono non sia stato visto nessuno

40 Credo tutti abbiano passato l'esame

41 Spero Gianni legga questo libro

42 Fosse stato più attento, non sarebbe a questo punto

43 Andasse anche Giorgio, saremmo a posto

44 Spero arriveremo in tempo

45 Penso sarebbero in grado di farlo

46 Credo qualcuno arriverà in tempo

47 Spero lui telefonerà al più presto

48 Penso mangerebbero, se avessero fame

49 Venga o non venga, noi dobbiamo partire

50 Piova o non piova, noi facciamo una passeggiata

51 Entri, signor Antonio

52 Venga pure anche il vostro amico

53 Parli pure, signor Antonio

54 Che abbia detto la verità?

55 Che sia partito?

56 Che bel libro mi hai regalato!

57 Fosse arrivato in tempo!

58 Cosa che abbia detto, Giorgio?

59 Il pensiero (che)arriverà domani mi sconvolge

60 L'idea (che) qualcuno sia disonesto non è nuova

61 Il fatto (che) potrebbe telefonare è importante

62 Ma, tu (che) sei qui, potrai vedere tutto

63 Fai quello (che) vuoi

64 Sei tu (che) avrai qualcosa da raccontarmi

65 Bisogna (che) tu te ne vada subito

66 Il libro (che) scrivono è noioso

67 Mario, (che) ho incontrato ieri, è partito stamattina

68 Sono certo (che) ci è andato Giorgio

69 Ho l'impressione (che) Mario sia arrivato

70 Ha detto (che) Mario non verrà

71 Mi pare (che) queste sedie siano molto comode

72 Son tre ore (che) t'aspetto

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