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Dialectal Variation in the Northern Italian Domain

Dialectology from a language internal perspective

- External language is the manifestation of internal language: we can look at the product to discover how the "machine" is made
- Each person has a minimally different language (as in a family of bacteria each has a minimally different DNA). Hence, dialectal variation is the natural way in which language manifests itself.
- Not only a single grammar follows a rational path which can reveal the internal structure, but also language variation can be conceived as following grammatical patterns.

2. Why Dialectology is so interesting

- In many cases (depending on the extra-linguistic situation) there is no formal pressure towards homogeneity as in the standard language.
- Dialectology constitutes a privileged observation point for determining language variation: it is as close as possible to an experiment where variables are controlled
- We might find that dialectal variation is different from typological variation: no "macroparameters" involved, but smaller differences, which can shed light on the question whether there are clusters of properties (parameters) that go together or not. If all parameters have to do with the properties of functional heads, there must be "clusters" of parameters that go together, whatever the reason for this might be.

THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF AGRS AND SUBJECT CLITICS

A. Introduction

- There are at least four distinct positions for subject clitics

- Two of them are in the CP layer, two in IP

- The splitting of AgrS in Gender-Number-Person phrases does not seem to be correct, more "basic" features seem to be necessary

- Clitic doubling can involve any of the four subject clitic positions

B. Declarative Preverbal Subject Clitics

Possible analyses of subject clitics

(a)   AGRSP
SPEC   AGRS'   AGRS°

	(b)	AGRSP		(c)	AGRS1P
cl + V	SPEC	AGRS'		SPEC	AGRS1'
		AGRS°			AGR1°
		TP			AGRS2P
		cl			cl
		T°			SPEC
					AGRS2'
		verb			AGRS2°
					verb

- Not necessarily clitics and verbs are adjacent

Triestino

(0)   El me sempre disi
                          Benincà and Cinque (1993):(25)
                             He to-me always says

- Four morphological types of subject clitics

(1)

	1	2
	3	4
	5	6
	a	a
	a	a
	a	a

Invariable SCLs are found in many Veneto, Lombard and Emilian varieties and may cooccur with other types of clitics (as in (2b)):

(2)   a   A vegni mi
                          Lugano (Swiss Lombard) Vassere (1993)
                                            inv. SCL come I
                                                 'I come'
                                       b   A ta vegnat ti
                                          inv. SCL SCL come you
                                                'You come'
                                       c   A vegn luu
                                            inv. SCL come he
                                               'He comes'
                                       d   A vegnum
                                            inv SCL come

		'We come'
e	A vegnuf	
	inv. SCL come	
		'You come'
f	A vegn lur	
	inv. SCL come they	
		'They come'

The second class of SCLs encodes a deictic feature, as it only has two forms: one used for the first and second person (singular and plural) and one for the third person (singular and plural):

(3)

1	2
3	4
5	6
i	i
a	i
i	a

Deictic clitics are found in Friulian and Piedmontese varieties. They may also cooccur with other types of SCLs (but never with invariable clitics, cf. section 5.2.3 for all possible cooccurrences among different types of SCLs)

(4)

		a		I mangi
S. Michele al T. (Friulian)				
				deict. SCL eat (I)
				'I eat'
		b		I ti mangis
				deict. SCL SCL eat (you)
				'You eat'
		c		A l mangia
				deict. SCL SCL eat (he)
				'He eats'
		d		I mangin
				deict. SCL eat (we)
				'We eat'
		e		I mangè
				deict. SCL eat (you)
				'You eat'
		f		A mangin
				deict. SCL eat (they)
				'They eat'

These two classes will be referred to as vocalic clitics

(5)

1	2
3m	4
5	6
-	t+V
V+l	-
	-

[+/-hearer] feature. The second person singular is the marked form specified as [+hearer] and third person singular masculine is the unmarked form of the opposition and is specified as [-hearer]. Clitics of this class do not encode any [speaker] feature, as there are no first person clitics in the paradigm.

Moreover, this type of SCL does not encode any number features (an example is provided in (4)), where the person clitic occurs to the right of the deictic clitic in the second and third person singular. This class of SCLs will be referred to as "person clitics".

The fourth type of SCLs is generally instantiated by a consonant + a vowel. It encodes person, number and gender features and has the following distribution:

(6)

	1	2
	3f	4
	5	6m
	6f	
	-	-
	l+a	-
	-	(l)+i
	l+e	

This type of SCL realizes a [-hearer] feature that has already been seen for person SCLs, though it also encodes number and gender features. Hence, those persons that include a [speaker] specification are again excluded from the paradigm. It ought to be noted that third person masculine is not instantiated by this type of SCL. All other third person clitics are formed by the same consonant *l* (that expresses the person feature) and by a vowel that expresses the number and gender distinction. In all cases, the vowel follows the consonant. This class of SCLs thus expresses - in addition to person features - a [+/-plural] and a [+/-feminine] distinction.
An example of this type of system is Venetian:

(7)

	a	La magna
		Venice
		SCL eats
		'She eats'
	b	I magna
		SCL+masc. eat
		'They eat'
	c	Le magna
		SCL+fem. eat
		'They eat'

This type of subject clitics will be defined as "number clitics", to distinguish them from the class of person clitics that do not encode number and gender features, but only person features.
Person and number SCLs exemplified in (5) and (6) have similar though not identical properties and form a unique class with respect to several syntactic phenomena. They will therefore be defined as Agreement Clitics in the following discussion as opposed to vocalic (deictic and invariable) SCLs. Subject clitics can thus express several different features depending on their form:
1) they may be invariable
2) they can express a [+/-deictic] feature
3) a [+/-hearer) feature or
4) [-hearer) and in addition a [+/-plural] and [+/-gender] feature.
The distribution of the four morphological types across the different persons is summarized in the following table:

(8)

	1	2

| | 3 | 4 |
	5	6
Invariable		+
	+	+
	+	+
	+	
Deictic		
	+	+
	+	+
	+	+
Person		
	-	+
	+	-
	-	-
Number		
		-
	-	+
	-	(+)
	+	

It may be noted that first person singular and plural are never realized with an unambiguous clitic; they may be expressed by a deictic clitic, which nevertheless does not distinguish it from second person (either singular or plural). It therefore appears that the [speaker] feature has no specific morphological counterpart within the domain of SCLs.

B.1 Distinguishing between two "zones" of subject clitics

- **First Test: Subject Clitics and the Preverbal Negative Marker**

(9)   a   A no vegno   Polesano
S.c. not come (1.p.)
b   No la vien
Not s.c. comes (3.p. f.)

Several NIDs have two preverbal negative morphemes, one before and one after direct and indirect object clitics:
Are there varieties where all s.c. are preneg?   Yes

(10)   a   A nu so
Ligurian
I not know
b   Ti nu catti
You not find
c   U/a nu catta
He/she not finds
d   A nu mangiamu
We not eat
e   I nu lezei

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                                                    You not read
                    f   I nu catta
                                                    They not find
                    g   U nu ciove
                                                    It not rains

(11) a   No ti vien   b
                                                    Ti nu catti
                        Venetian   Ligurian

                    Not you come   You not find

(12)   a   La un viene
                                                    Fiorentino
                                                    b
                            No la vien   Venetian

        She not comes   Not she comes

(13)   a   b
                        E un viene   Nol vien
                        Fiorentino
                                                    Venetian
        He not comes

                                                    Not he comes

(14)
                        A no magnè   b
                                                    Un vu venite
                        Polesano   Fiorentino

                        You not eat   Not you come

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(15)   a   No i vien

Venetian

Not they (+masc.) come

b   No le vien

Not they(+fem.) come

(16)   A no vegnin Friulian (S. Michele al T.)

They not come (No gender distinction)

(17)   If a s.c. belongs to the vocalic class , it occurs before the preverbal negative marker,

If a s.c.belongs to the consonantic class it occurs after the preverbal negative marker.

(18)   FP1

NEGP

FP2

invariable SCLs.

number SCLs

deictic SCLs

person SCLs

split clitics:

(19)   a   Al ven

Friulian

b   A nol ven

(20)   a   A*l* compra e *l*'venda al medesim libar tut' al di

Pavese

He buys and he sells the same book all the day

b A*t* comprat e *t*'vendat al medesim libar tut' al di

You buy and you sell the same book all the day

c   A*t* lesi e '*d* rilesi sempre li stes liber

Piedmontese

You read and reread always the same book

(21)   a   Al compra al libar

Pavese

He buys the book

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	b	A lo compra
		He it buys

B. 2 Second Test: Cooccorrences between SCL Types

a) invariable SCLs are compatible with both number and person SCLs:

(22)	a	A l'è bela
Loreo (Veneto)		
		SCL SCL is nice+fem
		'She is nice'
	b	A te vien
		SCL SCL come
		'You come'
(23)	a	A l è vegnu
Montagnola (Lugano, CH)		
		SCL SCL is come
		'He has come'
	b	A ta vegnat
		SCL SCL come
		'You come'

(24)	a	A la vien
Padua (Veneto)		
		SCL SCL come
		'She is coming'
	b	A i vien
		SCL SCL come
		'They are coming'

No cases were found in which an invariable and a deictic SCL cooccur.
b) deictic SCLs are also compatible with person and number SCLs,

(25)	a	I t manges
Torino (Piedmontese)		
		SCL SCL eat/
		'You eat'
	b	A la ven
Remanzacco. (Friulian)		

c) number and person SCLs cannot cooccur.
The following schema sums up the possible coocurrences of SCL classes found in the corpus:

(26)		invariable	deictic
number		+	
			+
person			+
		+	

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B3 Third Test: Clustering with the complementizer

Invariable and deictic SCLs necessarily cluster with the complementizer, whenever there is one.

(27) a Ara ch'a vegno
Loreo (Veneto)

look that+SCL come
'Look, I am coming'
b *Ara che a vegno
c No so sa vegno
not know if+SCL come
'I do not know whether I will come'
d *No so se a vegno

Number and person SCLs may also be clustered with the complementizer, though the process is totally optional:

(28) a Ara che el vien
Loreo (Veneto)

look that+SCL comes
'Look, he is coming'
b Ara ch'el vien

Analysis of clitic clustering with the complementizer

(29) a $[_{C°}$ chi+SCL $[_{C°}t_i$ [IP]]
b

CP

NEGP

IP
invariable SCLs.

number SCLs

deictic SCLs

person SCLs

This amounts to admitting that:
a) the CP layer is not a single projection but a set of FPs
b) the complementizer raises inside this domain
c) deictic and invariable SCLs are merged inside the CP and not in the IP layer.

C. Evidence for four types

Invariable clitics are a syntactic class:

- Theme/rheme relations

Benincà (1983) first noted that invariable clitics are found in sentences conveying new information or in exclamative contexts. More precisely, she reports that invariable clitics may be used to indicate that the whole sentence is new information, hence the whole sentence is a rheme.

(30) a A piove!
Padua
SCL rains!
'Look, it's raining!'

	b	E vvu venite! Florence
		SCL SCL come!
		'You are coming!'

This is not compatible with a focalized element or with wh-items, while these are compatible with yes/no questions:

(31)	a	A ve-to via?
		Benincà (1983):24
		SCL go-you away?
		'Are you going away?'
	b	*Dove a zelo ndà?
		where SCL is-he gone?
		'Where has he gone?'
	c	*A dove zelo ndà?
		SCL where is-he gone?

(32)		*EL GATO a go visto
		the cat SCL (I) have seen
		'I have seen the cat'

Moreover, invariable clitics are not compatible with left-dislocated items:

(33)	*Co ti, a no voio ndare
	with you SCL not want to go
	'I do not want to go with you'

(34)　[LDP SCLi [FocusP ti　[IP]]]

- Type 1 coordination

(35)	a	A canto co ti e balo co lu Loreo
		SCL sing with you and dance with him
		'I sing with you and dance with him'

(36)　　　　invariable SCLs may be omitted in a type 1 coordination.

Deictic SCLs are a syntactic class

- Interaction with wh-elements

Deictic SCLs are compatible with certain wh-items, while they are incompatible with others:

(37)	a	Se (*a) fanu?
		S. Michele al T (Friulian)
		what SCL do+they?
		'What are they doing?'
	b	Do (*a) vanu?
		where SCL go+they?
		'Where are they going?'

Moreover, within the same dialect, deictic SCLs necessarily occur together with another class of wh-items (essentially the wh corresponding to 'when' and wh-complex phrases):

(38)	a	Quant *(i) mangi-tu?
		S. Michele al T.
		when i eat+you?
		'When are you going to eat?'

b   Quantis caramelis *(i) a-tu mangiat?
how many sweets i have+you eaten?
'How many sweets did you eat?'

The occurrence of deictic clitics in wh-structures splits the class of wh-elements in two; monosyllabic wh-items do not tolerate the presence of a deictic SCL, while other wh-items do. The phenomenon is restricted to the deictic class, and is not found (at least to my knowledge) with number or person clitics, which are always compatible with all types of wh-items.

(39)   [CP wh   [CP deictic SCL   [CP wh.....[IP]]]

- No theme/rheme distinctions

(40)   A ciasa o soi già laat
Palmanova (Friulian)
at home SCL am already been
'I have already been at home'

Deictic SCLs are not sensitive to theme/rheme distinctions, and will be therefore kept separate from invariable SCLs.

- Type 1 coordination

In a type 1 coordination, deictic SCLs cannot be omitted in the second conjunct of the coordination structure:

(41)   a   I cianti cun te e i bali cun lui
Cervignano (Friulian)
SCL sing with you and SCL dance with him
'I sing with you and dance with him'
b   *I cianti cun te e bali cun lui

(42)   a   [LDP SCL$_i$ [FocusP t$_i$ [IP]]]
b   [CP wh   [CP deictic SCL   [CP wh.....[IP]]]

If all wh-items are focalized, and weak wh-items are located lower than deictic SCLs, then the focus position must occur lower than deictic clitics. Therefore, the Focus position from which invariable SCLs move to LD° is lower than the position where deictic clitics occur:

(43)   [LDP inv SCL$_i$ [wh [CP deictic SCL [FocusP t$_i$ [IP]]]

Deictic SCLs interfere with invariable SCL movement and this accounts for the incompatibility between deictic and invariable SCLs, which in fact never cooccur.
The incompatibility between deictic and invariable SCLs is not due to the fact that they occupy the same structural position, but rather to the fact that one interferes in the movement path of the other.

Number and person SCLs: two syntactic classes

- Coordination tests

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As for type 1 coordination, number and person clitics should behave as deictic SCLs, as they are located lower in the structure.

(44)	a	*La magna patate e beve vin
			Venice
		SCL eats potatoes and drinks coffee
		'She eats potatoes and drinks coffee'
	b	*Ti magni patate e bevi vin
		SCL eat potatoes and drink wine
		'You eat potatoes and drink coffee'

Type 2 coordination

(45)	a	*Ti lesi e rilesi sempre el stesso libro
			Venice
		SCL read and reread always the same book
		'You read and reread always the same book'
	b	Ti lesi e ti rilesi sempre el stesso libro
		SCL read and SCL reread always the same

book

		'You read and reread always the same book'
(46)	a	*Nisun l'ha e avarà vist la Maria...
			Cornuda
		nobody SCL has and will+have seen the

Mary

		'Nobody has seen and will see Mary'
	b	Nisun l'ha e l'avarà vist la Maria...
		nobody SCL has and SCL will+have seen the

Mary

(47)		Te lesi e rilesi sempre el stesso libro
			Padua
		SCL read and reread always the same book
		'You read and reread always the same book'

As for number SCLs, these may be omitted in a type 3 coordination:

(48)		La lese e rilese sempre el stesso libro
			Cereda
		SCL reads and rereads always the same book
		'She reads and rereads always the same

book'

The contrast between person SCLs and number SCLs can be directly accounted for by splitting the postnegative domain into two positions:

(49)	[NegP
	[NumbP SCL
	[PersP
	[IP...]]]

- Inversion in interrogative contexts

(50)   a   Cossa ghe-to?

Padua

what have+SCL

'What's the matter with you?'

b   *Cossa te ghe?

what SCL have?

c   Coss' ti ga?

Venice

what SCL have?

(51)   a   Cossa ga-lo?

Venice

what has he?

'What the matter with him?'

b   Cossa se che'l ga?

what is that he has?

c   *Cossa el ga?

what he has?

(52)   La lese e rilese sempre el steso libro

SCL reads and rereads always the same book

'She reads and rereads always the same book'

(53)   [NegP   [NumbP SCL [HearerP SCL   [SpeakerP V [TP...]]]

Problem: discrepancies between the morphological and the syntactic class:

- There are two preverbal negative marker

(54)   a I **n** te **n** dan nent u libru Cosseria (Ligurian)

(Parry 1997:251, Zanuttini (1997):17)

SCL neg OCL neg give 3plur neg the book

'They do not give you the book'

b   E **n** te **n** capisc

Carcare (Ligurian)

SCL neg OCL neg understand

'I do not understand you'

- Clitic climbing inside the clitic field

(55)   a   N' i vien mina

Loreo

not SCL come not

'They are not coming'

b   *I ne vien mina

SCL not come not

(56)   a   I m'ha dito che n'i vien mina, sato

Loreo

know+you know'

> SCL to-me has told that not SCL come not,

> 'They told me that they are not coming, you know'

    b   I m'ha dito ch'i ne vien mina, sato know+you

> SCL to-me has told that+SCL not come not,

    c   *I m'ha dito che i ne vien mina, sato

(57)   a   *Te tu un mangi

Incisa Val d'Arno (Florentine-Tuscany)

> you you not eat
> 'You are not going to eat'

    b   Te un tu mangi

> you not you eat

    c   Te tu un mangi?

> you you not eat?

> 'Don't you want to eat?'

    d   Te tu un mangi!

> you you not eat!
> 'You are not going to eat!'

In the Incisa dialect a C° position permits raising of the SCL only if it is activated by some strong feature, such as in interrogative or exclamative clauses. The same speakers that find (60c,d) acceptable give the following judgments:

(58)   a   Che mangi?

> Incisa Val d'Arno
> that eat?
> 'Are you eating?'

    b   *Che tu mangi?

> that you eat?

    c   Tu mangi?

> you eat?

Complementary distribution between the clitic and the complementizer

HYP: there is a position for each type of SCL and that when a SCL is found higher than its normal position it must have moved there, is strengthened by the fact that there do exist clear cases of SCL movement to higher than normal positions.

One more position: Declarative postverbal Subject Clitics

(42)   a   A cant**i**

Mendrisio (CH)

    b   Ta canta**t**

    c   Al canta

    d   A cant**um**

    e   A cant**uf**

    f   I canta

-never third or sixth person

-it can appear in: present and imperfect indicative, present and imperfect subjunctive, present conditional.

The agreement field

(59) [LDP inv SCL$_i$ [CP deic SCL [FocusP t$_i$ [IP [NegP [NumbP SCL [HearerP SCL [SpeakerP inflV [TP]]]]]]]]]]

Renzi and Vanelli's generalizations

(60)
a   If a variety has only one SCL this is the second singular

b   If a variety has two SCLs, these are second singular and third person

c   If a variety has three SCLs, these are second singular, and third person singular and plural

Renzi and Vanelli's generalizations

(61)

	1. / 3. / 2pl.	2. / 1pl. / 3.pl
a.	/	+
	/	/
	/	/
b.	/	+
	+	/
	/	/
c.	/	+
	+	/
	/	+

Table of distribution of subject clitic classes across the verbal paradigm

(62)

	1 / 3 / 5	2 / 4 / 6
a) Invariable		+
	+	+
	+	+
	+	
b) Deictic		+
	+	+
	+	+
	+	
c) number		-
	-	+

	-	-
	+	

d) person

		-
	+	+
	-	-
	-	

Most dialects realize the marked opposition of the lowest SCL class, while several dialects realize the unmarked value of the [+/hearer] opposition as well. Certain dialects realize only the IP positions. This suggests that Renzi & Vanelli's generalizations can be directly encompassed by our hypothesis on the syntactic layering of SCLs, providing it is assumed that the syntactic projections of the Agreement field are occupied starting from the lowest position up to the highest one.

(63) features in a field have to be realized starting from the lowest one

DECLARATIVE SUBJECT CLITICS AND DOUBLING

There is an implicational scale concerning doubling of different DP types

(64)a *La* va via doman
Venetian

She goes away tomorrow

b La Maria 0 va via doman
The Mary goes away tomorrow

c Nisun (no) 0 va via doman
Noone (not) goes away tomorrow

d 0 rivarà to sorea
Will-arrive your sister

e No 0 rivarà nisun
Not will-arrive noone

f La dona che 0 neta le scale,...
The woman that cleans the stairs

(65) a *La* va via doman
Trissino (VI)

She goes away tomorrow

b La Maria *la* va via doman
The Mary she goes away

c Nisuni 0 magna la minestra
Noone eats the soup

d 0 Vegnarà to sorea
Will-come your sister

e No 0 riva nisuni
Not arrives noone

f La dona che 0 neta le scale
The woman that cleans the stairs

(66)a *La* leze el libro
Montesover (TN)

She reads the book

b   Le putele *le* laverà zo i piati

The girls they will-wash the dishes

c   Qualchedun *el* vegnarà tardi

Somebody he will-come late

d   0 vegnarà to sorela

Will-come your sister

e   0 vegn qualchedun

Arrives somebody

f   La dona che 0 neta le scale,...

The woman thatcleans the stairs

(67)a   *La* lies en liber

Rocca Pietore (Belluno)

She reads a book

b   Le tosate *le* lavarà su i piac

The girls they will-wash the dishes

c   Valgugn 0 riarà terz

Somebody will-arrive late

d   *La* mangia la Maria

She eats the Mary

e   0 rua valgugn

Arrives somebody

f   La femena che 0 neta le scale,...

The woman that cleans the stairs,...

(68)a   *A* les un liber

Torinese (Piedmontese)

She reads a book

b   Le fije *a* lavo i piat

The girls they wash the dishes

c   Cheidun *a* rivrà dop

Somebody he will-arrive late

d   Sì *a* deurm Gioann

Here he sleeps John

e   *A* riva cheidun

He arrives somebody

f   La fomna che *a* polido la scala,...

The woman that cleans the stairs,...

(69)   a   If DPs are doubled in a given dialect, tonic

pronouns are ALSO doubled,

b   If QPs are doubled, both DPs and tonic

pronouns are doubled,

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c   If variables in wh-contexts as relative,

interrogative and cleft structures are doubled,   then doubling is always obligatory with all

other types of subjects.

(70)   tonic pronoun

DPs

QPs

variables

	tonic pronoun / DPs	QPs / variables
a	+	
		-
	-	
	-	
b	+	
		+
	-	
	-	
c	+	
		+
	+	
	-	
d	+	
		+

+

+

(71)	a [SubjecP QP/DPSubjecti [NegP [NumbP ti [HearerP ti [SpeakerP inflV.[TP]]]]]]]]]

b [SubjecP QP/DPSubject [NegP [NumbP [HearerP [SpeakerP inflV.[TP]]]]]]]]]

(72)	a	quan credou que la mourt que tustabe au pourtau	(Ronjat (1937))

when believed that the death that knocked at the door

'When he thought that the death was knocking at the door'

b

You que parli	(Ronjat (1937))

I that speak

'I speak'

c

*You parli

I speak

(73)	a	A venta che gnun ch'a fasa bordel

Turin (Piedmontese)

19

it needs that nobody that+cl do+subjunctive noise

'It is necessary that nobody make noise'

b

A venta che Majo ch'a mangia pi' tant

SCL need that Majo that cl eat more

'Majo has to eat more'

(74)   a   Gnun ch'a s'bogia!

nobody that+a cl move-subj!

'Nobody moves'

b

Mario ch'a s presenta subit...

Mario that+a cl go-subj immediately

'Mario has to go immediately...'

(75)   Sperem che Gianni ch'u lese questu libru

Borghetto di Vara (Ligurian)

hope that G. that SCL reads this book

'We hope that John reads this book'

(76)   [$_{CP}$ che [$_{CP}$ subject [$_{CP}$ che [$_{IP}$.[$_{NegP}$ [$_{NumbP}$ SCL [$_{HearerP}$ SCL [$_{SpeakerP}$ inflV [$_{TP}$]]]]]]]]]

INTERROGATIVE POSTVERBAL SUBJECT CLITICS

-Interrogative inversion is a root phenomenon

(1)   a   Cossa fa-lo?

                                                         Cereda (Central Veneto)

                                                                  what does-he?

                                                              'What does he do?'

                b   No so cossa che el fa

                                                      (I) not know what that he does

                                                       'I do not know what he does'

                c   *No so cossa (che) fa-lo

                                                       (I) not know what does-he

                d   *Cossa (che) el fa?

                                                              what (that) he does?

                                                              'What does he do?'

(2)   a   El fa cusì

                                                                   SCL does so

                                                                  'He does so'

                b   *(El) fa-lo cusì

                                                               (SCL) does-he so

                c   I dise che el fa così

                                                        SCL say that SCL does so

                                                       'They say that he does so'

                d   *I dise che (el) fa-lo così

                                                        SCL say that (SCL) does-he so

-It does not only occur in interrogative contexts but also in subjunctives:

(3)　　　　　　　a　　　　　　　Fusse-lo rivà!

Scorzè (Central Veneto)

were-he come!

'Had he come!'

b　　　　Vinisi-al tjo pari, o podaresin là

Clauzetto (Friulian)

came-he your father, we could go

'If your father came, we could leave'

c　　　　　　　quanto belo se-lo!

Padua

how nice is-it!

'How nice it is!'

d　　Sedi-al puar o sedi-al sior, no m'impuarte

Clauzetto

be-he poor or be-he rich, not to me-interests

'I do not care whether he is rich or poor'

(4)　　　　　　　a　　　　　　　Chi ch a fasi-v?

Forlì (Romagnolo)

what that SCL do-you?

'What are you doing?'

b　　　　　I m a chiest chi ch a fasi-v

SCL to me have asked what that SCL do-you?

'They asked me what you are doing'

c　　　　　　　A n lisi-v mai di livar

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SCL not read-you never some books

'You never read books'

- three criteria for determining whether a V to C analysis is correct for a given dialect are the following:

a) main versus embedded asymmetry;

b) presence of SCI in other typical V to C contexts (cf. English hypothetical clauses); and

c) SCI not generalized to declarative clauses.

If SCLI corresponds to I to C there are three logical possibilites:

a)interrogative subject clitics are located in C°

b)interrogative subject clitics are inverted declarative subject clitics

c)interrogative subject clitics are located on a higher head

(5)   CP

SPEC
C'
wh

C°

-int. s.c.

X

Y

Z

W

Verb

(6)

CP
SPEC
C'
wh

                C°
                X

                int.s.c.

Y

int.s.c.   Z

                int.s.c.
W

int.s.c.

                Verb

(7)   CP
SPEC
C'
wh

                C°
                JP
                (che)

SPEC
J'

                J°

(8)   a   Lon ch'*a l'*ha*lo* fat?
Piedmontese
What that cl cl has-cl done?

(9)   a   Cossa che te fa?
Veneto (Portogruaro)
What that cl do?
b   *Cossa che fato?
What that do-you

(10) a   *I sai pa lon ch'a l'halo fat
I know not what that cl cl has-cl done
I sai pa lon ch'a l'ha fat

(11)   Antè *i t* va*lo*?
Torinese

Where cl-you-go-cl?

(12)

	1	2
	3	4
	5	6
declarative		-
	te	el/la
	-	-
	i/le	Paduan
interrogative	i	to
	lo/la	i
	o	li/le

(13)

		1
	2	3
	4	5
	6	Rodoretto di Prali (Piedmontese-

Provençal)

		lo
	tu	lo
	lo	ou
	lo	

		/
	tu	a/i
	nou	ou
	i/laz	

(14)   a   Al plof

Collina (Friulian)

It rains
b   Plof?
Rains?

(15)   a   Piove

Montesover (TN)

Rains
b   Piovel?
Rains-it?

Variation concerning SCLI

-presence vs. absence of a complementizer
-cooccurrence of interrogative subject clitics with declarative subject clitics
-complete vs incomplete paradigm of interrogative subject clitics

More on SCLI as syntactic movement

In Monnese SCLI obligatorily triggers ''fà-support'' (cf. Beninca & Poletto (1997)), in contexts in which English triggers ''do-support''

(16)   a   Ngo fa-l ndà
        where does-he go
        Where is he going?

                                b. Ngo fè-t ndà
        where do you-singular go

Where are you going?
c. Ngo fè-f ndà
    where do you-plural go

Where are you going?

(17)   L'achatte-tu ou qu' tu l'achatte pa?
     it buy-you or that ut buy not

                             Are you going to buy it or not?

(18)   Olà vas-t pa?
     where go you particle
     Where are you going?

     where particle you go   b. Olà pa tu vas

     where particle go you   c. *Olà pa vas-t?
a.   *Olà tu vas pa?
     where you go particle

Variation in main interrogatives

- Missing inversion

(19)   a   Unde i van?
                                                         Caserta Ligure (Ligurian)
                                                               where they go?
                                                          'Where are they going?'
                                           b   Dund i van?
                                                            Alassio (Ligurian)
                                                               where they go?
                                                          'Where are they going?'
                                           c   Se fan?
                                                             Milano (Lombad)
                                                                 what do?
                                                          'What are they doing?'
                                           d   In duè ta veet?
                                                         Vaprio d'Adda (Lombard)
                                                                where you go?
                                                          'Where are you going?'
(20)   a   *Unde Mario (l) va?
                                                              Caserta Ligure
                                                         where Mario (SCL) goes?
                                                            'Where is M: going?'
                                           b   Dund Mario (l) va?
                                                                  Alassio
                                                         where Mario (SCL) goes?
                                           c   Se la Maria (la) fa?
                                                                   Milano
                                                         what the Mary (SCL) does?
                                                             'What is M. doing?'
                                           d   In duè la Maria (la) va?
     Vaprio d'Adda

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where the Mary (SCL) goes?
'Where is M. going?'

- Presence of a complementizer

(21)   Cossa che te fa?   Portogruaro (Veneto-Friulian)
                                         what that you do?
                                         'What are you doing?'

- Inversion +sentential particle

(22)   a   Ciuldì ciant-el (pa)?
                                         Selva di Val Gardena (Rhaetoromance)
                                         why sings-he interr. marker?
                                         'Why is he singing?'
                              b   Ciant-el (pa)?
                                         sings-he interr. marker?
                                         'Is he singing?'

- Vocalic clitic + SCLI

(23)   a   Quant a van-u a Pordenon?
                                         S. Michele al T. (Friulian)
                                         when a go-they to P.?
                                         'When are they going to P.?'
                              b   Ks a fen-i?
                                         Bologna (Emilian)
                                         what a do+they?
                                         'What are they doing?'
                    c   A vag-ia anka mi?
          Bondeno (Emilian)

                                         a go+I also me?
                                         'Shall I go too?'
                    d   Parchè a magna-t an pom?
          Guastalla (Emilian)

                                         why a eat-you an apple?
                                         'Why are you eating an apple?'
                              e   A magnom-ia l pom?
                                         Guastalla
                                         a eat-we the apple?
                                         'Are we going to eat the apple?'
                              f   Chi an vo-t mia vedar?
                    Gualstalla

                                         who a not want-you not see?
                                         'Who don't you want to see?'

- Complementizer +vocalic clitic+SCLI

(24)   a   Cossa ch'a l'a-lo fait?

Torino (Piedmontese)

what that s.c has+he done?
'What has he done?'

SCLI and the complementizer are compatible only in those dialects in which two complementizers are found in embedded clauses (see above)

(25)   A venta che gnun ch'a fasa bordel
Torino (Piedmontese)

SCL needs that nobody that+cl do+subjunctive noise

'It is necessary that everybody be quite'

- Cleft constructions

(26)   a   Ch el c a fiv adess? Albosaggia (Alpine Lombard)

what is -it that SCL do now?
'What are you doing now?'
b   Al so ca chi c a l'e c a l'è ruat
SCL know not who that SCL SCL is that

SCL SCL is come

'I do not know who has come'

(27)   [$_{CP}$ wh [$_{CP}$ ch' [$_{CP}$ wh [$_{CP}$ SCL [$_{AgrCP}$ wh V+SCL [$_{CP}$ pa/ch/lo]]]]]

ON SOME DESCRIPTIVE GENERALIZATIONS IN ROMANCE

1. Introduction

Claims:

- The development of clitic elements is sensitive to a thematic hierarchy
- A wide descriptive basis narrows down the number of possible analyses

2. The CP layer and wh clitics
Crosslinguistic and diachronic generalizations

(1)   a   If only one wh-item behaves like a clitic, it is either *what* or *where*.
     b   Elements like *who* and *how* can also display clitic-like properties but this is less frequently the case; moreover, the presence of clitic/tonic pairs for *who* and *how* in a language implies that both *where* and *what* also behave as such.
     c   The wh element corresponding to *why* never behaves as a clitic, and is always expressed by a compound

2.1 The wh-item *what*

(2) a *Que ou qui a-t-il vu?
what or who has-he seen?
'What or who did he see?'
b *De que a-t-il parlé?
of what has-he spoken?
'About what did he spoke?'
c *Que?
What?
d Que fait-tu?
what do-you?
'What are you doing?'
e Qu'a fait Jean?
what has done Jean?
'What has John done?'
f *Que il fait?
what he does?
'What is he doing?'
g *Il a fait que?
he has done what?
'What has he done?'
g Je ne sais pas *(ce) que il a fait
I not know not what he has done
'I do not know what he did'

2.2 The clitic element *where*

(3) a *Do e quant (a) van-u?
S. Michele al T.
where and when go-they?
'Where and when do they go?'
b Dulà?/ *Do?
where?
c Di dulà/*di do al ven-ja?
from where SCL comes-he?
'Where does he come from?'
d I so-tu zut dulà? *I so-tu zut do?
SCL are+you gone where?
'Where have you gone?'

(4) a *Do a van-u?
where SCL go+they?
'Where are they going?'
b Dulà a van-u?
where SCL go+they?
'Where are they going?'

(5) a A mi an domandat dulà ch al era zut
SCL OBL have asked where that he was gone
'They asked me where he had gone'

b   *A mi an domandat do ch al era zut

SCL OBL have asked where that he was gone
'They asked me where he had gone'

(6)   a   Can vas-to pa?
Pera di Fassa
when go-you particle?

'When are you leaving?'

b   Can pa tu vas?
when particle SCL go?
'When are you leaving?'

(7)   a   Co l fas-to pa?
Pera di Fassa
how it do-you particle?

'How do you do it?'

b   *Co pa tu l fas?
how particle you it do?
'How do you do it?'

(8)   a   Che compres-to pa?
what buy-you particle?
'What are you buying?'

b   *Che pa tu compre?
what particle you buy?
'What are you buying?'

Several factors conspire to produce the most frequence clitic forms
-thematic hierarchy
-semantic poverty
-case considerations

3. Implications in the emergence of pronominal clitics

(10)   a   If a Romance language has clitics, it has at least direct object clitics.

b   If a language has partitive and/or locative clitics, it has dative clitics:
(there exist languages with direct and indirect object clitics but without partitives, no language having direct object and partitive clitics lacks indirect object clitics).

c   If a language has subject clitics, it also has direct and indirect object clitics.

d   There is no implication between locative and partitive and between locative, partitive and subject clitics.

e   Adverbial clitic forms for elements which are never selected by a verb are much rarer and imply the presence of argumental clitics.

Brigels and Camischollas (in the Grisons region) only have tonic pronouns (AIS data)

(11)   a   nus amflayan el
we find it
noi lo troviamo

b   vus amflayas bec el
you find not it
voi non lo trovate

		yu amfla netur el
c		I find nowhere it
		io non lo trovo da nessuna parte
	d	i an caciau giodor el
		they have chased away him
		essi lo hanno cacciato

(12) a gi kuai ad el
tell that to him
diglielo

b dai e a nus
give of it to us
daccene

c k eu mondi
that I go (there)
che ci vado

d koy figesas kun el?
what do I do with it?
cosa ne faccio?

The dialects of Remüs and Ardez only have direct object clitics

(13) a se tu il vos
if you it want
se lo vuoi

b di ad el
tell to him
digli

c k e ia
that I go (there)
che io ci vada

d tʃe fessat cun el?
what do-you do with it?
cosa ne farete?

Standard Italian does not have subject clitics but direct, indirect, partitive and locative clitics

(14) a gli parlo
b ne voglio una
c ci vado

Friulian has subject clitics but no locative and only a residual partitive

(15) Toni al ven
Friulian
Toni he comes

(16) Toni al è
Toni he is
'Toni is there'
Toni c'è

(17) a Toni a nd-a comprât doi
Toni he of-them-has bought two
'Toni bought two'

		Nd ai vjodut nome doi	Clauzetto
		Of-them have seen only two	
	c	O viodi nome doi	
		I see only two	

Spanish has no subject clitics and no partitive but only a residual locative

		Juan a comido	
(18)	a		Spanish
		Juan has eaten	
	b	Ay Juan	
		has-there Juan	

Direct and indirect objects cluster tegether

		*Gli regalo a Mario il mio violino
(19)	a	To-him give(I) to Mario my violin
	b	*Glielo regalo a Mario il mio violino
		To-him-it give(I) to Mario my violin
	c	Glielo regalo a Mario
		to-him-it give(I) to Mario

Partitive and locative cluster together

		Ce ne sono due
(20)	a	Italian
		there ofthem are two
		'There are two of them'
	b	Ci sono due ragazzi
		there are two boys
	c	Ce n'è due
		there of them are two
		'There are two of them'
	d	* C'è due ragazzi

		*(Ghe) ne zé do	Venetian
e		there of them are two	
f		Ghe ne compro do	
		there of them buy(I) two	
g		Te (*ghe) ne compro do	
		to you there of them buy(I) two	
h		Ghi *(n')è un tozo	Coneglianese
		there of-it is a boy	
		'There is a boy'	
i		Ngegghi rivà na fiola	Borgomanerese
		of it there is there arrived a girl	
		'There arrived a girl'	

4. A comparison between pronominal and wh-clitics

(21) a   in both cases the first elements that give rise to a clitic/strong opposition are internal

arguments.
  b   in both cases the clitic corresponding to the external argument is less frequent and implies the presence of direct and indirect object clitics
  c   non argumental clitic forms are rares and imply the presence of argumental clitics

Problems: a) wh-clitics are sensitive to the [+/-animate] feature, pronominal clitics are not
                  b) case seems to be involved too

(22)   a   *Que s'est passé?
                                                                                    what has happened?
                                                                     b   Que s'est-il passé?

5. Wh doubling and *wh-in situ*

(23)   a If *wh-in situ* is found with a single wh-item, this wh-item corresponds to "what"

                                                     a'   If wh-doubling is found with a single wh-item, this wh-item corresponds to "what"
  b   If a language allows wh-in situ cooccurring with SCLI, the only wh-items that can be left in situ are those that can become clitics.
  b'   If a language allows wh-doubling cooccurring with SCLI, the only wh-items that can be left in situ are those that can become clitics.
  c   If a language allows a *wh-in situ* strategy, this is applied to wh–phrases only if it applies to wh-words
  c'   If a language allows a wh-doubling strategy, this is applied to wh–phrases only if it applies to wh-words
  d   Wh-doubling in embedded contexts is possible only when the complementizer is not lexicalized

generalization (23a-a')
(24)   a.   kus tal ʃerki?
                                    Borgomanerese (Tortora (1997))

                                                                     what you look for?
                                                                     'What are you looking for?'
                                                     a'   *tal ʃerki kus?
                                                                     you look for what?
                                                     b.   tal ʃerki kwe?
                                                                     you look for what?

      b'   *kwe tal ʃerki?
                                                   what you look for?
                                                     c   Che olè-u che epia metù che?
                                                                    Bellunese (Munaro (1997))
                                                                    what want-you that have put what?

                                                                    'What on earth should I have put there?'
(25)   a   S a-lo fato che?
                                                                    Illasi
                                                                    what has-he done what?
                                                                    'What did he do?'
                                                     b   %Ndo va-lo andoe?
                                                                    where goes-he-where?
                                                                    'Where is he going?'

c   %Ci e-to visto ci?
                                                                   who have-you seen who
                                                                   'Whom did you see?'

Generalization (24b-b')
(26)   a   *Che a-tu fat?
                                                                   (Munaro (1997:3.62)
                              Tignes d'Alpago
                                                                   what have-you done?
                    'What have you done?'
                                                          b   A-tu fat che?
                                                                   have-you done what?
(27)   a   *Chi laore-lo?

                                                                   who works-he?
                    'Who is working?'
                                                          b   E-lo chi che laora?
                                                                   is-he who that works?
(28)   a   Va-lo andè?

                                                                   goes-he where?
                    'Where is he going?'
                                                          b   ??Andè valo?
                                                                   where goes-he?
(29)   a   Se ciame-lo comè?

                                                                   himself call-he how?
                    'What is his name?'
                                                          b   ??Come se ciame-lo?
                                                                   how himself calls-he?
(30)   a   In che botega a-tu compra sta borsa?

                                                                   in which shop have-you bought this bag?
          'In which shop did you buy this bag?'
                                                          b   *A-tu comprà sta borsa in che botega?
                                                                   have-you bought this bag in which shop?
(31)   a   Parché sie-o vegnesti incoi?
                                                                   why are-you come today?
                                                                   'Why did you come today?'
                                                          b   *Sie-o vegnesti incoi parché?
                                                                   are-you come today why?
(32)   a   che fet majà que?
                                                                   Monno (BS)
                                                                   what do-you eat what?
                                                                   'What are you eating?
                                                          b   ch'el chi che vè al to post?

                                                                   what-is-he who that goes at your place?

                                                                   'Who is it going at your place?'
                                                          c   ngo el ndat ngont?

where is-he gone where?

'Where did he go?'

generalization (23d)

(33)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　a　　　I m a domandà cossa ho fato stamatina

Illasi (VR)

they to-me asked what I-did this morning

?They asked me what I did this morning'

　　b　　　I m a domandà cossa che ho fato stamatina

they to-me asked what that I-did this morning

　　c　　　I m a domandà sa ho fato stamatina

they to-me asked what I-did this morning

　　d　　　* I m a domandà sa che ho fato stamatina

they to-me asked what that I-did this morning

　　e　　　? I m a domandà sa ho fato che stamatina

they to-me asked what I-did what this

morning

f　　　Sa' alo fato che stamatina

what has-he done what this morning?

'What did he do this morning?'

g　　　*Cossa alo fato che stamatina?

what has-he done what this morning?

(34)　　　　　　Clitic wh-items are not compatible with a complementizer

6. Negation and the clitic pattern

(35)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　a　　　preverbal negation (Neg1)

　　b　　　pre and postverbal negation (Neg 1/2)

　　c　　　postverbal negation (Neg2)

Preverbal negation:

- Interferes with I to C in interrogatives

(36)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　a　　　Vienlo?

Paduan

　　b　　　*No vienlo?

　　c　　　Nol vien?

- Interferes with true imperative clauses

(37)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　a　　　Magna!

Venetian

Eat+imp.!

　　b　　　*No magna!

Note at+imp.

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c	No magnare!	
	Not eat+inf.	

- Requires negative concord with postverbal negative QPs (in some dialects also with preverbal negative QPs)

(38)
No vien nisun
Paduan and Venetian
Not comes nobody

(39)
Nisun no vien
Venetian
Nobody not comes

- Two preverbal negative markers:

(40)

a		U
mi-n		sent
nent		
		Scl
me-neg hears		neg.
b		U n-i sent nent
		Scl not-them hears neg

Postverbal negation

- Does not interefere with I to C in interrogatives

(41)
Vien-lo mina?
comes-he not?
'Isn't he coming?'

- Is not sensitive to true imperative forms

(42)
a		Bugia!
		move
		'Move yourself!'
b		Bugia nen!
		move not
		'Don't move!'

- Can be moved to SpecC

(43)
par nen ch'a se stufieissa
Piedmontese (Zanuttini (1997))
For not that cl gets tired

(44)
Miga che el sia stupido, ...
Venetian

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- Does not require negative concord

(45)   *A l'ha vist no nisun
                                   Milanese
                                   he has seen not nobody
                                   'He has not seen anybody'

- Postverbal negative markers have different etymologies: some derive from a negative QP corresponding to 'nothing' like Piedmontese *nen*, Rhaetoromance *nia* etc. (for the sake of conciseness we will call them type I) ; others are homophonous with the pro-sentence form 'no', as Milanese and more generally Lombard *no* (type II). Those of the third type originally indicated a very small quantity like Veneto *miga*, Lombard *minga*, Emilian *brisa*, Alpine Lombard *buca*, and French *pa*. Moreover, those of the third type can be combined with both type I or type II:

(46)   a   A fa *pa nen* lu lì
                    Piedmontese (Zanuttini (1997))
                                                   Scl does not not that there
                                  b   A l'è *minga* vignù *no*
                                   Milanese
                                                   Scl is not come not

(47) [$_{NegP1}$ non [$_{TP2}$ [$_{NegP2}$ pa [$_{TP2}$ already [$_{NegP3}$ nen [$_{Asp\,perf}$ anymore. [$_{Asp\,gen/progr.}$always [$_{NegP4}$ no]]]]]]]]]

- Postverbal negative markers are sensitive to verb type if not obligatory

NO is connected to a presuppositional value

(48)   a   Nol me piaze NO
                                                   Not-it me likes NO
            'I do not like it'
                                  b   Nol te piaze?
                                                   Not-it you like?
                                                   'Don't you like it?'

Miga as well
(49)   b   Nol me piaze gnente
                                                   Not-it me likes nothing
                                  c   Nol me piaze miga
                                                   Not-it me likes not

Gnente requires psych-verbs or real intransitives. It seems to be incompatible with a real object
(50)   a   Nol lavora gnente
                                                   Not-he works nothing
        b   Nol dorme gnente
                                  Not-he sleeps nothing
        c   *Nol leze gnente libri
                                  Not-he reads nothing books

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	d	*Nol magna gnente la roba dolse
		Not-he eats nothing the stuff weet
	e	*Nol vien gnente
		Not-he comes nothing

Problems

Postverbal negation which seems to behave like preverbal negation

(51)   movrat mia   Emilian
        move+inf not
        do not move

Hyp: these dialects have a null preverbal negative marker

Problem: how do we consider cases of optional negative concord with postverbal negation?

(52)   A ne l'è mina vignù nisun   Loreo (Ve)
                    CL not cl is not come nobody
                    'Nobody came'

(53)   A l'a nen vist gnun
                    Piedmontese (Zanuttini (1997))
                    CL cl has not seen nobody
                    'He did not see anybody'

-Expletive negation
only preverbal negative markers can be expletive negation
German *nicht* is postverbal and ican be used as an expletive

7. Some theoretical considerations
-why do clitics exist?
-why is the Jespersen's cycle only reanalyzing high negation as low negation and never the opposite?
 -clitics and the development of low negation are tightly related: in both cases the loss of movement to a given FP is mediated through movement of a "smaller" category containing only the features relevant for checking the FP
- Hence: we can reinterpret Antinucci (1980) analysis of clitics by assuming that clitics move to check the feature object DPs checked in SOV Latin
- in many cases a preverbal negative position is still active though not marked by any morpheme
-if clitics develop when XP movement is lost, clitic doubling (on a par with negation doubling) becomes a very central phenomenon

SENTENTIAL PARTICLES AND SENTENCE TYPING

- Typical phenomenon in the NIDs is the development of sentential particles

A. The Syntax of Imperative Particles: Evidence from Rhaetoromance
Poletto and Zanuttini (2003)

-A modal head is always activated in addition to C° in imperative contexts
-In some Rhaetoromance varieties a modal feature is checked   -by the particle in positive imp.

-by the particle or

-by the negative marker *no* in

negative imp.

The feature in C° can be checked: -by the verb in positive imperatives

-by the verb or by negation in negative imperatives (depending

on the verbal form)

Thus, negation can substitute for the particle in Mod and for the inflected verb in C

B. Imperative particles

Four possible particles with a different meaning, but no bare imperative form
(1)		a	* li:l
			read it
		b	li:l ma
		c	li:l pa
		d	li:l mo
		e	li:l poe

1) ma:advice, permission,
it does not appear in other constructions apart from the imperative context

(2)		a	fa:l ma, a l è na bona idea
			do-it prt. it is a good idea
			'Do it, it's a good idea'
		b	mangl ma ke spo krasest
			eat it that afterwards grow (you)
			'Eat it and you'll grow'

(3)		a	Zit ma tre:s a darta fora
			go+2 plur prt. always straight ahead
			'Keep going straight ahead'
		b	va ma tre:s a darta fora
			go+2 sing. prt. always straight ahead

| (4) | | a | santet ma |

sit+2 sing prt

'Have a seat'

b   sit+2 sing prt

siediti pure

Italian

sit+2 sing adverb

(5)   a   kal vagnes ma ince os kumpagn

that+he come-subjunctive prt. also your friend

'Your friend may come in'

b   che venga pure anche il vostro amico

Italian

that comes+subjunctive adverb also your friend

2) *mo: order*
<u>other constructions in which it appears: adversative</u>

(6)   a   al è bun mo pezok

it is good but heavy

b   impruma el gny mo spo s n e-l jy

first is-he come but then has-he gone

'First he came but then he left'

<u>not the same as the adversative as they cooccur</u>

(7)   mo fa:l mo!

but do 2sing+it prt!

'Do it' (sing)

(8)   fa:l mo!

do-it prt.

'Do it'

(9)   a   *fa:l mo, s t os

do-it prt., if you want

'Do it, if you want'

b   *fa:l mo k al è na bona idea

do-it prt. that it is a good idea

'Do it, it's a good idea'

(10)   *va mo tre:s a darta fora

go prt. always straight ahead

'Keep going straight ahead'

(11)   a   *n l fa mo no

not it do+2 sing prt. not

b   *n l fajet mo no

not it do+2plur. prt. not

c   * n l fajun mo no

not it do+1plur prt. not

3)*pa: order+ presupposition*

as the speaker knows that the hearer does not want to do what he is ordered to

other constructions in which it appears: interrogatives, exclamatives, negatives, focalizations

(12)   a   vast pa a venetsia?
go-you prt.to Venice?
'Are you going to Venice?'

b   al è pa bun!
It is prt. good!
'It is really good!'

c   al n è pa bun
it not is prt. good
'It IS'NT good'

(13)   a   kan vast pa a venetsia?
when go-you prt. to Venice
'When are you going to Venice'

b   *kan vast a venetsia?
when go-you to Venice?

(14)   a   ??fa:l pa s t os
do-it prt. if you want

b   fa:l pa l è na bona idea
do-it prt. it is a good idea

(15)   ??mangl pa ke spo krasest
eat-it prt. that then you grow

(16)   a   va: pa tre:s a darta fora
go prt. always straight ahead
'Keep going straight ahead' (sing)

4)poe: advice + presupposition

other constructions in which it appears: negatives (but it does not have negative meaning) and exclamatives

(17)   a   al è poe bun!
it is prt. good!
'Sure it is good'

b   al n va poe *(nia)
he not comes particle not
'He IS NOT coming'

advice but the speaker knows that the hearer does not want to do what he is adviced to do

(18)   fa:l poe k al è na bona idea
do-it prt. that it is a good idea
'Do it, it's agood idea'

(19)   va: poe tre:s a darta fora
go prt. always straight ahead
'Keep going straight ahead'

(20)   mangl poe s' no vagnl frait
eat-it (2. sing.)prt. otherwise it gets cold
'Eat it or it'll get cold'

(21) *n l fa poe no
not it do prt not
'Don't do it'

Explanation of the meaning of the four particles:
two presuppositional elements: one does not change the truth value of the sentence, the other does
point of view expresses the distnction between advice and order

(22)
point of view

	-presupposition	+presupposition
+speaker	mo	pa
+hearer	ma	poe

C. The position of the particles

higher than the highest modal adverb that remains in IP (all other adverbs are located in V2 first position)

(23) a fajel ma duman
do-it prt. for sure
'Definitely do it'
b fajel pa duman
c fajel mo duman
d fajel poe duman

(24) a l fajun ma duman
it do (1 plr) for sure
b l fajun pa duman
c l fajun mo duman
d l fajun poe duman
'let's definitely do it'

ma is lower than the complementizer

(25) k al vagnes ma intse os kumpagn!
that he comes prt also your friend
'Your friend may come in'

cooccorrences: describing the meaning of the grammatical sentences

(26) a mangl poe ma
eat-it prt prt
'Eat it'
b mangl pa ma

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	c	mangl pa poe
	d	*mangl ma poe
	e	*mangl ma pa
	f	*mangl poe pa

(27)   a   *mangl mo pa/poe/ma

eat it

    b   *mangl pa/poe/ ma mo

the sequence is the following

(28)   pa   poe

ma

hypothesis: (see below for data supporting the idea that *pa* is in a C head)

(30)   C

Mod

presupp.
point of view

a)   pa

ma

b)   pa

poe

c)   poe

ma (poe could be found in an intermediate

position between Mod and C)

the interpretation correlates with the loss of modal meaning of pa when it occurs higher than *poe* and *ma*: it retains only its presuppositional value and the same is true for *poe* when occurring higher than *ma*

why is mo incompatible with all others???

D. Negative imperatives

Usual negation:

(31)   maria n vagn nia a cjaza

M. not comes not at home
'Mary is not coming home'

Three postverbal negative markers

(32)   a   *n vae a venetsia

(I) not go to Venice
'I am not going ot Venice'

    b   n vae nia a venetsia

    c   n vae min a venetsia

    d   n vae pa a venetsia

(33)   a   vast a venetsia?

go you to Venice?
'Are you going to Venice?'

    b   no

imperatives:

(34)	a	*n l fa nia
		not it do not
	b	*nia l fa
		not it do
	c	*n l fa min
		'Don't do it'
	d	*min l fa

two postverbal negative markers admitted: no and pa, or no raising higher than the verb (to n?)

(35)	a	n l fa no
		not it do not
	b	no l fa
		not it do
		'Don't do it'

in (36a) pa is the negative marker, in (36b) it is the modal particle

(36)	a	n l fa pa
		not it do prt
	b	*n l fa
		'Don't do it'
	c	n l fa pa no
		not it do prt not

(37) n l fa pa ma no
not it do prt prt not
'Don't do it

pa can also be the particle, here it is higher than ma as in positive imperatives
arguments for pa as a negative in a:
-the meaning of the two sentences is different
-n cannot occur alone in a negative structure

(38) n l fa ma no
not it do prt not
'Don't do it'

a) negative imperatives are not compatible with the usual type of postverbal negative markers *nia* and *min*, they occur with *no* or *pa*
b) when the postverbal negative marker occurs in preverbal position the preverbal negative marker *n* desappears
c) the imperative particles that are obligatory in positive imperative are not obligatory in negative imperatives, but when they occur they maintain the semantics they usually show in positive imperatives.

E. Verb and negation movement

if the negative marker is preverbal the verb remains lower than the particle:

(39)	a	no pa l fa
		not prt it do
	b	no ma l fa
		'Don't do it' (sing)

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this is not possible with the second plural and first plural

(40)   a   %no ma l fajet
                                                not prt it do(2plr)
              b   *no pa l fajet
                                                'Don't do it' (plr)

(41)   a   *no pa l fajun
                                             not prt it do (1plr)
              b   *no ma l liun
                                               'Let's not do it'

the verb remains very low in the structure, lower than all adverbs:

(42)   a   n l fa pa ploe
                                               not it do prt anymore
              b   n l fa ma no ploe
                                               'Don't do it anymore'

(43)   a   no ploe l fa (only young generation)
                                               not anymore it do
                                               'Don't do it anymore'
              b   no pa ploe l fa
                                             not prt anymore it do
              c   no ma ploe l fa
              d   *no l fa ploe
                                               not it do anymore
              e   *no pa l fa ploe
                                               not prt it do anymore
              f   *no ma l fa ploe

(44)   a   n l fa ma no tre:s
                                               not it do prt not always
              b   n l fa pa no tre:s
              c   no ma tre:s l fa
                                               not prt always it do
              d   no pa tre:s l fa
              e   *no ma l fa tre:s
                                               not prt it do always
              f   *no pa l fa tre:s
                                               'Don't do it all the time'

(45)   a   n l fajet ma no tre:s
                                            not it do (2 pr) prt not always
                                           'Don't do it all the time' (plr)
              b   no ma tre:s l fajet
                                           not prt always it do (2plr)
              c   *no ma l fajet tre:s
                                           not prt it do (2plr) always

Imperatives:

-C features checked by the verb or the negative marker

-Mod features checked by particle or the negative marker

-Lack of verb raising if *no* raises

Analysis of a single particle: the case of *pa* across sentence types

1. Overview

- The syntactic position of *pa* can shed light on the structure of the left periphery.
- An understanding of the semantic contribution of *pa* is potentially revealing for the organization of discourse.

Hypothesis: despite superficial differences, *pa* always occupies the same structural position in all the contexts in which it appears.

2.1 The distribution of *pa* in a verb second variety

(1)   a   T   vas a Venezia duman. (S. Leonardo - V2 variety)

you go to Venice tomorrow
'You're going to Venice tomorrow.'
b   Duman vas-t a Venezia.
tomorrow go-you to Venice
c   *Duman t vas a Venezia

Distribution of pa with respect to the verb in a root declarative:

(2)   a   Al è (pa) gny inier.

SCL is pa come yesterday
'He came yesterday.'
b   *Al è gny pa inier

c   *Al è gny inier pa

Pa follows the finite verb, precedes the participle.

Distribution of *pa* in negative clauses:

(3)   a   *I n mang soni
SCL neg eat potatoes
'I don't eat potatoes.'
b   I n mang nia soni.
SCL neg eat neg potatoes
c   I n mang min soni.
SCL neg eat neg potatoes
'I don't eat potatoes.' (presuppositional negation)

d   I n mang pa soni.

SCL neg eat   pa potatoes
'I don't eat potatoes.'

Pa licenses pre-verbal negation.

Co-occurrence of *pa* with other negative markers:

(4)   a   I   *n*   mang *pa nia* soni.
                                                     SCL neg eat   pa neg potatoes
                                'I don't eat potatoes.'
        b   *I   *n*   l a   *nia pa* ody
                              SCL neg it has neg pa seen

Co-occurrence of negative markers and *pa* with negative indefinites:

(5)   a   I   *n*   a   ody *degugn*.
                                                     SCL neg have seen nobody
                                                     'I didn't see anybody.'
        b   *I   n   a   *nia* ody *degugn*.
                              SCL neg have neg seen nobody
                                        c   *I   n   a   *min* ody *degugn*.
                                                 SCL neg have neg seen nobody

(6)   I   *n*   a   *pa* ody *degugn*.
                              SCL neg have pa   seen nobody

To sum up our observations so far:

- *pa* follows the finite verb in V-2 contexts (and precedes the rest of the clause);
- *pa* cannot express negation on its own;
- *pa* can license preverbal *n*, like *nia*, *min* and negative indefinites;
- *pa* co-occurs with negative indefinites, contrary to *nia*.

We conclude that *pa* is not a "standard" negative marker, as in Runggaldier (1994).

Distribution of *pa* with respect to adverbs:

(7)   a   I   n   a   *pa nia ciamò* mangé ncoe.
                                                SCL neg have pa neg yet   eaten   today
                                                `I haven't yet eaten today.'
        b   *I   n   a   *ciamò pa nia* mangé ncoe
                             SCL neg have yet   pa neg eaten   today

(8)   a   Al   a   *d sigy* mangé.
                                                          SCL have of sure eaten
                                                          `He ate for sure.'
                                           b   Al   a   *pa d sigy* mangé.
                                                          SCL have pa of sure eaten
        c   *Al   a   *d sigy   pa* mangé.

                                                          SCL has of sure pa eaten

(9)   a   Al a *magari* bel   mangé.
                                                          SCL has perhaps already eaten
                                                          `Perhaps he has already eaten.'

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	b	Al a *pa magari* bel mangé.
		SCL has pa perhaps already eaten
	c	*Al a *magari pa* bel mangé
	d	*Al a *magari bel pa* mangé

(10)   a   Al vagn *duman.*
                 SCL comes tomorrow
                 `He is coming tomorrow.'
        b   Al vagn *pa duman*
                 SCl comes pa tomorrow
        c   *Al vagn *duman pa*
                 SCL comes tomorrow pa

Distribution of *pa* in imperatives:

(13)   a   Faal *pa duman*!
                 do-it pa tomorrow
                 'Do it tomorrow!'
        b   Faal *pa trees*!
                 do-it pa always
                 'Always do it!'
        c   Faal *pa d sigy*!
                 do-it pa for sure
                 'Definetely do it!'

(14)   a   Faal *pa poe*!
        b   *Faal *poe pa*!
        c   ?(?)Faal *pa ma*!
        d   *Faal *ma pa*!

To sum up our observations so far:

> - *pa* is higher than both lower and higher adverbs in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy.
> - *pa* follows the imperative verb, precedes other imperative particles.

Distribution of *pa* with respect to the subject:

(15)   a   Inier   a *pa* Giani mangé la ciara.
              yesterday has pa John eaten the meat

                                              'Yesterday John ate meat.'
        b   *Inier   a *Giani pa* mangé la ciara.
                 yesterday has John pa eaten the meat
                 'Yesterday John ate meat.'

Co-occurrence of *pa* and embedding complementizers:

(16)   a *A i   m a domané *s* al   n fus *pa* bel.
          SCL SCL me has asked   if SCL neg was pa nice
                 'They asked me whether it was nice.'
        b *A i   m a domané *ci che* al a (**pa*) dit.

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SCL SCL me has asked what that SCL has pa

said

'They asked me what he said.'

c Al m a dit *c* al n ee *pa nia* bel.

SCL me has said that SCL neg is pa neg nice

'He told me that it isn't nice.'

Distribution of *pa* in matrix questions:

(17) a Ulà *vas-t pa*?

where go-SCL pa

'Where are you going?'

b *Ula *che* t vas?

where that SCl go

c *Ulà *pa tu vas*?

where pa SCL go

d Ulà *vas-t*?

where go-SCL

(18) a Ulà a-i *pa* ody Giani, l'ultimo ja:d?

where have-SCL pa seen John,   the last time

'Where did they see John last time?'

b ??Ulà *pa* t a-i ody?

where pa you have-SCL seen

c *Ulà t a-i ody *pa*?

where you have-SCL seen pa

d *Che a tut mi liber *pa*?

who has taken my book pa

'Who took my book?'

Pa follows the verb that has undergone SCLI (Subject Clitic Inversion), precedes the participle.

To sum up our observations so far:
- *pa* precedes the subject in [Spec,TP];
- *pa* is incompatible with the interrogative complementizer;
- *pa* follows SCLI in matrix questions.

2.2 The distribution of *pa* in a non V-2 variety.

Distribution of *pa* in matrix questions:

(19) a O'la vas-to *pa*?

Fassano (Benincà 1995:67)

where go-SCL pa

'Where on earth are you going?'

b O'la *pa* tu vas?

where pa SCL go

c *O'la *pa* vas-to?

		where pa go-SCL
d		*O'la tu vas *pa*?
		where SCL go pa

Pa follows the verb if there is SCLI, precedes the subject and the verb otherwise.

(20)	a	Olà *che* tu vas?
		where that you go
		'Where are you going?'
	b	*Olà *che* vas-to (*pa*)?
		where that go-you pa?
	c	*Olà vasto *che* (*pa*)?
		where go-you that (pa)
(21)	a	*Olà *che pa* tu vas?
		where that pa you go
		'Where are you going?'
	b	*Ola *pa che* tu vas?
		where pa that you go

Pa does not co-occur with the complementizer *che*. It co-occurs with SCLI, while *che* does not.

(22)	a	Dime co che tu l fas
		tell-me how that you it do
		'Tell me how you do it.'
	b	*Dime co che *pa* tu l fas?
		tell-me how that pa you it do
	c	*Dime co *pa* che tu l fas?
		tell-me how pa that you it do

Pa does not occur in embedded clauses.

To sum up, in Fassano the possible sequences in matrix questions are (see first lesson):

(23)	a	Olà vasto?
		SCLI
		where go-you
		Where are you going?
	b	Olà vasto *pa*?
		SCLI pa
		where go-you pa?
	c	Olà *pa* tu vas?
		pa SCL V
		where pa you go
	d	Olà *che* tu vas?
complementizer		
		where that you go

and the impossible sequences are:

| (24) | a | *complementizer-SCLI |
| | b | *SCLI-complementizer |

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c	*complementizer-*pa*
d	*_pa_-complementizer
e	*_pa_- SCLI

To sum up our observations from questions in the non V-2 variety spoken in Pera di Fassa:

> - *pa* follows SCLI ;
> - *pa* is incompatible with the complementizer *che* in matrix questions;
> - *pa* does not occur in embedded questions, where the complementizer is obligatory.
>
> This leads us to conclude that *pa* is not among the highest elements in the left-periphery. It is in complementary distribution with the complementizer which introduces embedded questions.

2.3 From data to structure

The following analyses are all compatible with the data we observed. (25)a is the only one which does not require additional stipulations.

(25) a $[_{CP} [_{C°} \text{V+SCL} [_{CP} pa [_{C°} \text{che}]]]]$

 b $[_{CP} [_{C°} \text{V+SCL} [_{CP} [_{C°} pa/\text{che}]]]]$

 c $[_{CP} [_{C°} pa/\text{che}] [_{CP} [_{C°} \text{V+SCL}]]]$

  Benincà (1995)

 d $[_{CP} [_{C°} \text{V+SCL} [_{CP} [_{C°} pa [_{CP} [_{C°} \text{che}]]]]]$

 e $[_{CP} [_{C°} \text{V+SCL} [_{CP} [_{C°} \text{che} [_{CP} [_{C°} pa]]]]]$

- problems with (25b)--(25e): why does *che* block SCLI while *pa* does not?
- additional problems with (25d) and (25e): why are *pa* and *che* incompatible?

Moreover, only (25a) can account for the data from another V-2 variety of Rhaetoromance, spoken in Gardena (cf. Anderlan-Obletter 1991):

(26) Can *compra pa* Piere n liber? (Gardenese – V2)

  when buys pa Peter a book

  'When does Peter buy a book?'

Pa in Gardenese follows the finite verb and precedes the subject in [Spec,TP].

Pa alternates with the form *a*:

(27) a Can compr-*i* *pa* n liber?

  1st sg

  when buy-SCL pa a book

  'When do I buy a book?'

 b Can compres'a n liber?

  2nd sg

  when buy a a book

 c Can compr-*el* *pa* n liber? 3rd sg

  when buy-SCL pa a book

d	1st pl	Can cumpron*s*'a n liber?
		when buy a a book
e	2nd pl	Can cumprëis'a n liber?
		when buy a a book
f	3rd pl	Can compr-*i* *pa* n liber?
		when buy-SCL pa a book

A and subject clitic inversion are in complementary distribution. We hypothesize that *a* is a head, contrary to *pa*; as such, it blocks verb movement to the SCLI position.

3. Conclusion

> - *pa* always occupies the same low CP projection:
>   ForceP TopicP FocusP WhP FinitenessP
> - *pa* is lower than the declarative complementizer;
> - *pa* is in complementary distribution with the interrogative complementizer (which is assumed to be lower than the declarative complementizer, cf. Poletto 2000);

3. Other sentential particles

1. Introduction

Many other dialects have developed sentential particles. Sentence typing is not limited to marking the interrogative vs exclamative *vs* imperative nature of the clause, but can also include finer distinctions concerning the speaker's attitude with respect to the background presuppositions.

SPs share the following properties:
a) they are sensitive to the clause type: no particle can occur in declarative clauses
b) they never occur in embedded contexts
c) all of them can occur in sentence final position
d) only those particles that can occur immediately after the wh-element can also occur with the wh-item in isolation
e) they are all incompatible with real sentential negation (not with "expletive" negation)
f) they also share semantic properties:
- They always occur in "special" contexts, never in "prototypical" questions, exclamations...
- They are related to a presupposition in the clause determined either by the linguistic context or by the universe of the discourse

Syntactic analysis: all these particles are located in high positions in the CP structure; the sentence final position of the particles is derived by movement of the whole CP to the specifier position of the particle, as illustrated in (1):

(1)   [$_{\text{Specprt}}$ CP$_i$ [prt. t$_i$]]

We will show that a) they are heads b) they belong to the CP layer

SP have to be distinguished from purely typing particles like *e,* which have different properties; particles like *e* have a purely typing function and consequently are obligatory in the clause type they mark, they do not convey any "special" meaning and occur sentence initially:

(2) a *E* c bel libro c l'à scrito!

Taglio di Po (Southern Veneto)

b **C(he) bel libro* c l'à scrito *e*!
[E] what a nice book that he-has written [e]

c **Che bel libro* c l'à scrito!

What a nice book that he-has written

2. Sentential particles as X° categories

The head status of the *SPs* is suggested by the fact that they *cannot be modified, focalized or coordinated*:

(3) a *Cossa gali fato, proprio ti?!

Ve

What have-they done, just ti

b *Zeli partii, proprio po?

Ve

Have-they left, just po

c *Quando riveli, proprio mo?!

Pg

When arrive-they, just mo

d *L'é fret incoi, proprio lu!

Pg

It-is cold today, just lu

(4) a *Cossa gali fato, TI?!

Ve

What have-they done TI

b *Quando riveli, MO?!

Pg

When arrive-they MO

c *Eli partidi, PO?

Pg

Have-they left PO

d *L'é fret incoi, LU!

Pg

It-is cold today LU

(5) a   *Cossa gali fato po e ti?

Ve

what have-they done PO and TI

Evidence for the head status of *SPs* is also provided by their diachronic evolution: two of these particles, namely *ti* and *lu, were originally tonic pronouns*, the second singular and third singular masculine forms respectively; however, they have a different distribution with respect to subject pronouns:
a) the particle *ti* is *compatible with third person subjects* and
b) *can cooccur with the omophonous tonic pronominal subject ti*:

(6) a   Dove zelo ndà, ti?

Ve
Where has-he gone, ti
b   Ti, dove ti ze 'ndà, ti?

Ve
You, where you-have gone, ti

The same is true for the particle *lu, which* is *compatible with a singular or plural third person subject* (though not with first and second person subjects) and can cooccur with the omophonous tonic pronoun:

(7) a   L'é rivà al to amigo, lu

Pg

It-has arrived your friend, lu
b   L'é riva i to amighi, lu

Pg

It-has arrived your friends, lu
c   Lu l'è rivà, lu.
He he has arrived, lu

d   *Son vegnest anca mi, lu

Pg

Have come also I, lu

While the particle *lu* is restricted to third person subject clauses in Pagotto, this restriction does not hold in Paduan, where, as discussed in Benincà (1996):

(8) a   A ghe go dito tuto a me sorèla, mi, lu!
Paduan
A cl-dat-have told everything to my sister, I,
lu
b   A te ghe fato ben, ti, lu!

55

A you-have done well, you, lu

c   A le gera vignù trovarte, le toze, lu!

A they-had come see you, your daughters, lu

As for the other two particles, *mo* and *po*, they were most probably temporal adverbs in origin, *po* being connected to Latin *post* ('afterwards', cf. Pellegrini (1972)) and *mo* to Latin *quomodo* ('now', cf. among others Rohlfs (1969)).

SPs are the result of a grammaticalization process which includes a phonological as well as a semantic impoverishment along with the development of special syntactic properties; such a process is generally attested in the case of elements becoming the overt realization of (marked values of) functional heads, and not with specifiers. Hence, we analyze the **SPs** considered here **as filling functional heads**.

3. SPs are CP particles

3.1 The syntactic distribution of SPs

(9)   a   *SPs* can occur in sentence final position;

b   those *SPs* which can occur immediately after the *wh*-element, can also cooccur with the *wh*-item in isolation;

c   *SPs* are sensitive to the clause type: they cannot occur in declarative clauses;

d   *SPs* never occur in embedded contexts;

e   *SPs* can/must be followed by right dislocated arguments

A - the sentence final position is always available for the particle, independently of the clause type it is associated with:

(10)   a   Dove valo, ti?

Ve

b   *Ti, dove valo?

[Ti] where goes-he [ti]

(11)   a   Dove zelo ndà, ti?

Ve

b   *Dove zelo, ti, ndà?

Where has-he [ti] gone [ti]

(12)   a   Parècia sta minestra, mo!

Pg

b   *Mo parècia sta minestra!

[Mo] prepare this soup [mo]

(13)   a   Vien qua, mo!

                     Ve

      b   *Mo, vien qua!

                          [Mo] come here [mo]

(14)   a   Ali magnà, mo?

                         Pg

      b   *Mo, ali magnà?

                     [Mo] have-they eaten [mo]

(15)   a   Quando rivelo, mo?

                         Pg

      b   *Mo, quando rivelo?

                     [Mo] when arrives-he [mo]

The sentence final occurrence is also attested with the particles *po* and *lu*, appearing in interrogative and exclamative contexts respectively:

(16)   a   Quando eli rivadi, po?

                  Pg

                     When have-they arrived po
      b   Eli partidi, po?

                         Pg
                       Have-they left po

(17)   a   Dove zei ndai, po?

                         Ve
                    Where have-they gone po

      b   Zei ndai via, po?

                         Ve
                  Have-they gone away po

(18)   a   L'à piovest, lu!

                         Pg
      b   (*Lu) l'à (*lu) piovest!

                    [Lu] it has [lu] rained [lu]

B - among those *SPs* that occur in *wh*-contexts, some can also occur immediately after the *wh*-item and with a *wh*-item in isolation; this is the case of the particles *mo* and *po* in Pagotto, but not of *ti*, for example:

(19) a Quando rivaràli, mo?

Pg
 b Quando, mo, rivaràli?
When [mo] arrive-fut-they [mo]

(20) a Che mo?
 b
Andé mo? Pg
What mo

Where mo

(21) a Quando eli rivadi, po?

Pg
 b Quando, po, eli rivadi?

When [po] have-they arrived [po]

(22) a Andé po?
 b
Quando po? Pg
Where po

When po

(23) a *Dove, ti, zelo ndà?

Ve
 b *Dove ti
Where [ti] has-he gone

C - all *SPs* are sensitive to clause type: *SPs* always occur in interrogative, exclamative or imperative clauses and are never found in declarative clauses.

 (24) * El ze ndà casa, (*po), (*mo), (*ti) (lu*)
   He is gone home, prt.

D - the occurrence of *SPs* is restricted to main contexts; as shown by the following data, particles are banned from embedded clauses, independently of the clause type they are associated with:

(25) a El me ga domandà dove (*ti) che i ze ndai
(*ti)   Ve

    He-me-has asked where [ti] that they-have
gone [ti]

  b No so dirte quando(*ti) che i é partidi (*ti)
      Pg
    I can't tell you when [ti] that they-have left

[ti]

(26) (*mo)   a   I me a domandà cossa (*mo) che avon fat
                                     Pg

                                          They-have asked me what [mo] that we have
done [mo]

                                     b   No so andé (*mo) che i é ndadi (*mo)
                                     Pg
                                          I don'y know where [mo] that they-have gone
[mo]

(27) (*po)   a   I me à domandà parché (*po) che l'à parlà
                                     Pg

                                          They-me-have asked why [po] that he-has
spoken [po]

                                     b   No so dove (*po) che el ze ndà (*po)
                                     Ve
                                          I don't know where [po] that he-has gone
[po]

(28) (*lu)   L'à dit (*lu) che l'à piovest (*lu), ieri sera
                                     Pg
                                          He-has said [lu] that it-has rained [lu]
yesterday evening [lu]

Lu is compatible with a subjective clause, that can be either preceded or followed by the particle:

(29)   a   L'é meio, lu, che te vegne ale nove

                                     b   L'é meio che te vegne ale nove, lu
                                          It is better [lu] that you-come at nine [lu]

(30)   a   L'é bel, lu, sveiarse tardi ala matina

                                     b   L'é bel sveiarse tardi ala matina, lu
                                          It is nice [lu] to wake up late in the morning
[lu]

E - arguments are generally right dislocated (as witnessed by the presence of resumptive clitics) in interrogative clauses containing a particle:

(31)   a   Dove le gavarò messe, ti, le ciave?!
                                     Ve
                                          Where acc.cl have-fut-I put where, ti, the
keys

                                     b   Quando lo àla magnà, mo, al polastro?!
                                     Pg
                                          When acc.cl has-she eaten, mo, the chicken

However, this effect is not due to the presence of the particle, but is a general property of main *wh*-questions (cf. Antinucci & Cinque (1977) and Munaro, Poletto & Pollock (2001) for further discussion on this issue).
This effect is in fact not attested in imperative clauses:

(32)   a   Magna sta minestra, mo!

Ve/Pg

     b   Magna, mo, sta minestra!

Ve

     c   Magnela, mo, sta minestra!

Pg

Eat (cl) [mo] this soup [mo]

(33)   a   Gnen qua che finison sto laoro, mo!

Pg

     b   Gnen qua, mo, che finison sto laoro!

Come here [mo] that we finish this work

[mo]

(34)   a   Vien che fazemo sta roba, mo!

Ve

     b   Vien mo, che fazemo sta roba!

Come [mo] that we do this thing [mo]

3.2 The Clause Fronting Hypothesis

- Movement hypothesis:

(35) $[_{FP}$ CP$_i$ $[_{F°}$ *particle*$][_{CP}$ t$_i$$]]$

- Null hypothesis:

(36) $[CP$ $[AgrSP$ $[TP$ … $[FP$ $[_{F°}$*particle*$]$ $[VP]]]]]$

Against (36):

a) what is FP? Usually low functional projections encode aspectual distinctions in Italian (cf.
Cinque (1999)), while our SPs encode typical "left periphery" meaning.

b) arguments are located at the left of the particle, we are forced to admit that they all move outside VP - possibly [Spec,AgrOP] - including PPs, an hypothesis which is not supported by any empirical argument in Italian.

c) if SPs are heads, as shown above, in a structure like (36) they should block verb movement

d) they are sensitive to sentence type and to the main/embedded character, but usually low FPs are not

In favour of (35):

a) As is well known, parentheticals cannot intervene between a head and its specifier, while they can intervene between two maximal projections

(37)   a   *L'à piovest, son sicur, lu, ieri sera

Pg

It-has rained, I'm sure, lu, last night

     b   *Cossa falo, diseme, ti?

Ve

What does-he, tell me, ti

c   *Vien, sa, mo!

Ve

Come, you know, mo

b) SPs have typical CP properties:
- they are sensitive to clause type
- they are sensitive to main/embedded clauses
- they encode point of view or presentation of the event

c) Right dislocation can be preceded by a focalized XP, which is prosodically tied to the verbal complex (cf. Benincà (1988)); this does not hold for the kind of constructions examined here:

(38)   a   *Vèrzila mo SUBITO, sta finestra
                                        Ve
         b   Vèrzila mo, subito, sta finestra
            Open-it [mo] soon [mo] this window

(39)   a   *L'àtu vist mo IERI, to papà?
                                          Pg
         b   L'àtu vist mo, ieri, to papà?
       Him-have-you seen [mo] yesterday [mo] your father

In the examples (38b) and (39b) the adverb cannot be focalized, which shows that the object must have undergone left dislocation at some stage of the derivation. Right dislocation of DPs should be treated along the lines of Kayne & Pollock (2001) and Munaro, Poletto & Pollock (2001), where it is proposed that these cases are to be analyzed as left dislocation of the prosodically emarginated constituent to the specifier of a Topic projection, followed by remnant movement of the whole clause; according to our analysis, the XPs occurring after the particle are left dislocated to a CP position lower than the one occupied by the particle itself.

Hence, **SPs are C heads whose specifier must be filled by either CP or a wh-item**

3.3 The layering of the SPs

SPs do not occupy a single projection, as they coocurr:

(40)   Quando eli rivadi, po, ti?

Pg
when are-they come, [po] [ti]

Two possible derivations for (40):

(41)   a   [[ti] [po] [$_{CP}$ quando eli rivadi]]
                 b   [[ti] [[$_{CP}$ quando eli rivadi]$_x$ [po]] t$_x$]
                 c   [[[[[$_{CP}$ quando eli rivadi]$_x$ [po]] t$_x$]$_y$ [ti]] t$_y$]

(42)   a   [[po] [ti] [CP quando eli rivadi]]
        b   [[po] [[CP quando eli rivadi]x [ti]] tx]
        c   [[[CP quando eli rivadi]x [po]] [tx [ti]] tx]

On the basis of the hypothesis that SPs are located in the CP layer, we can also derive the distribution of *mo* and *po*, which can occur sentence finally but also immediately after the wh item.

(43)   a   Parché gnenlo, mo?

                                                                     Pg
                                                    Why comes-he, mo
        b   Quando eli rivadi, po?

                        Pg

                                    When have-they arrived, po

(43)   a   Parché, mo, gnenlo?

                                                                     Pg
                                                    Why, mo, comes-he
        b   Quando, po, eli rivadi?

                        Pg

                                    When, po, have-they arrived

(44)   [FP *wh*i [F° *particle*] [CP ti [IP …ti…]]]

The choice between (35) and (44) has interpretive consequences.

When a SP can occur either sentence finally or after the wh-item, the interpretation varies: when the SP is sentence final either Tense or Mood become relevant for the interpretation.

We claim that the IP has to move to the SpecSP in order to be taken into account for the interpretation.
Therefore, there is an interpretive reason for CP fronting to SpecSP.
Note that under the "null hypothesis" sketched in (36) this generalization would remain unexplained.

Summary

- Sentential particle are generally heads marking functional projections not realized in the Standard language
- The same particle (i.e. *mo*) can have different properties in different dialects depending on the functional projection it realizes

- Dialectal variation is connected to the properties of functional projections. The differences are not only connected to the lexical realization of functional heads, but also to the way they are checked in the structure (doubling and splitting clitics)