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**On the vP Left
Periphery and
so-called
'Doubling
Structures' in
the Dialect of
Cona (Venice)**

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Abstract

This thesis has the empirical goal of describing the syntax of subject pronouns in the dialect of Cona, a small village in the province of Venice. This will be achieved through grammatically judgement and repetition task of 100 sentences administered in written and oral form in the dialect. The theoretical goal is to argue that so-called ‘doubling structures’ do not support Belletti’s (2005/2009) hypothesis of a vP left periphery.

I will consider subject clitics in sentences displaying a ‘doubling structure’, co-occurring with a Focus or a *wh*- element. I will argue that, unlike simple declarative sentences, which optionally require the presence of the clitic, there are structures which totally refuse it. The distribution of subject clitic pronouns in the dialect of Cona contradicts Belletti’s (2005/2009) analysis. The data empirically support Cardinaletti’s (1999) theory according to which what is traditionally defined as a ‘doubling structure’ is not a doubling phenomenon, but rather an instance of subject inversion. Moreover, as stated in Cardinaletti (2018) the occurrence of postverbal subjects is not discourse-motivated and there is no one-to-one correlation between their syntactic distribution and their interpretation.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In this dissertation I take into consideration the existence of a vP left periphery by analysing so-called ‘doubling structures’ both in Italian and the dialect of Cona (Venice). In Chapter 2, I present some of the theories found in the literature on the existence of a left periphery located above vP, closely resembling the CP left periphery: Belletti (2005/2009) for the analysis of Italian ‘doubling structures’, Giorgi (2013) for Italian epistemic adverbs like *probabilmente*, Poletto (2014) for Old Italian scrambling phenomena, Munaro (2012) for Northern Italian Dialects focalising items like *anca* and Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print) for Modern Eastern Armenian indefinites.

In Chapter 3, I focus on so-called ‘doubling structures’ and compare Belletti’s sentences with data from the dialect of Cona. My discussion bases on the judgments of thirty native speakers of this variety, investigated through a questionnaire. The informants were asked to rate the acceptability of 100 sentences, administered both in written and oral form in the dialect. Through the questionnaire, I examined the occurrence of subject clitic pronouns in declarative, coordinate and interrogative clauses, sentences with Focus, cleft or *wh*- subjects and sentences displaying both a full DP in preverbal position and a strong pronoun in postverbal position.

In Chapter 4, I account for the syntax of Italian ‘doubling structures’ by rejecting Belletti’s proposal and supporting Cardinaletti’s analysis of postverbal subjects. I then illustrate the syntax of subject clitic pronouns and those elements traditionally included in the array of subject clitics of Northern Italian Dialects. Finally, I deal with the syntax of so-called ‘doubling structures’ in the dialect of Cona. The distribution of subject clitic pronouns in this variety, in fact, leads to reject Belletti’s analysis of strong pronouns as occurring in a Focus or Topic position in the left periphery of vP.

In Chapter 5, I add a few closing remarks on the idea of parallel phases and the vP left periphery by claiming that I do not intend to argue against it, however there is evidence which undermines one of the arguments supporting the theory of its existence. So-called ‘doubling structures’, in fact, can be accounted for in a different way than Belletti’s, both in Italian and the dialect of Cona. As for these structures, there is no need to postulate a left periphery located above vP. The last aim of my work is to diminish the theories

presented in Chapter 2, however, I think that some of the results that I will reach in this dissertation may be of relevance for the study of the vP left periphery and might lead to a reconsideration of the arguments supporting this theory.

Chapter 2

Low Left Periphery: The State of the Art

2.1 Introduction

The second chapter is dedicated to a discussion of the various hypotheses in the literature proposing a vP left periphery, alongside with a CP left periphery. I will offer an overview from different languages supporting and challenging the idea of a vP left periphery. I first illustrate the distribution of Italian doubling structures, which will be then analysed as an instance of inversion rather than doubling. I then present epistemic adverbs like *probabilmente* and Old Italian scrambling phenomena that are not to be treated as instances of movement to the CP left periphery. I then discuss focalising items like *anca* in Northern Italian Dialects. Finally, I illustrate the distribution of indefinites in Modern Eastern Armenian, a partial V2 language.

2.2 Italian Doubling Structures (Belletti 2005/2009)

Doubling structures in Italian have been taken by Belletti (2005/2009) to be evidence for the existence of a low left periphery. While Belletti mainly focuses on the derivation of postverbal strong pronouns, doubling patterns have long been debated in the literature. Cinque (1977, 1990), for example, has been studying the apparent problematic structures occurring in Clitic Left Dislocation – CLLD– and Right Dislocation – RD– constructions, where the same argument seems to be realized twice, despite the presence of only one *theta*-role and one Case.

1. a. Il ragazzo, lo vedo.
the boy OCL see.1sg
'The boy, I see him.'

- b. Lo vedo, il ragazzo.
'I see him, the boy.'

Cinque takes the clitic occurring in CCLD (1a) and RD (1b) and the lexical part as deriving from one single DP, which is both *theta*- and Case-marked in the position where it is merged. By virtue of the relation occurring between the two parts, the one bearing

Case assigns Case to the other part and the same holds for *theta*-role which gets to be assigned to both the clitic and the lexical part. A similar proposal was provided by Sportiche (1988) for floating quantifiers. Both clitic dislocations and floating quantifiers are then to be interpreted in terms of movement+stranding. Both display one single argument split into two parts, so somehow doubled.

2. I ragazzi vanno tutti a teatro.
the boys go all to theatre
'The boys all go to the theatre.'

The original big constituent is split into a lexical part, called *doublee*, and a functional word, called *doubler*. *Theta*-role reasons exclude the occurrence of two lexical parts, but there can be more functional elements:

3. I ragazzi li ho visti tutti a teatro.
the boys OCL have seen all at theatre
'The boys, I have seen all of them at the theatre.'

Also notice that *doublee* and *doubler* have the same reference. The original big DP is held responsible for this interpretative property.

Doubling structures, however, can also involve strong pronouns. Belletti refers to this phenomenon as to Strong Pronoun Doubling – SPD–.

4. a. Gianni verrà lui.
Gianni come.fut.3sg he
'Gianni himself will come.'
- b. Gli studenti risponderanno loro.
the students answer.fut.3pl they
'The students themselves will answer.'
- Belletti (2009, p. 204)

The doubler of SPD constructions is not a clitic but a strong, stressed pronoun that cannot therefore be stranded in the same position of clitics. Nor is it stranded in the same position as floating quantifiers. The following examples, in fact, display how floating quantifiers

can be located between the auxiliary and the past participle, while strong pronouns cannot:

5. a. I miei amici hanno tutti parlato.
the my friends have all spoken
'My friends have all spoken.'
- b. *I miei amici hanno loro parlato.
the my friends have they spoken
Belletti (2009, p. 205)

With respect to the positions occupied by strong pronouns, Belletti suggests the existence of a left periphery above vP, closely resembling the CP left periphery and containing a number of positions with a discourse-related nature. The pronoun in SPD would be stranded in one of these positions:

6. [_{TopP} Top [_{Foc} FOC [_{Top} Top ... vP]]]
Belletti (2009, p. 207)

As stated in Belletti, the pronoun in sentences like (7a), which can be interpreted as an adverbial expression like *in persona* 'in person', occupies a [Spec; Focus] position. In example (7b), instead, *loro*, which would occupy a Topic position, is preceded by a neat pause and a downgrading intonation preceding the pronoun, similarly to RD in sentence (1b).

7. a. Gli studenti risponderanno loro, non cercheranno che lo faccia qualcun
altro al loro posto.
the students answer.fut.3pl they not try.fut.3pl that it does somebody else
at their place
'The students will personally answer, they will not try that somebody else
does in their place'

- b. Gli studenti risponderanno, loro. I professori non so se faranno altrettanto.
 the students answer.fut.3pl they. the professors not know is do.fut.3pl the-
 same
 ‘The students will answer, as far as they are concerned, as for the
 professors, I do not know whether they will do the same’
 Belletti (2009, pp. 207-208)

When the complement of the transitive verb is a PP, Belletti analyses the strong pronoun as being in a Focus position in the vP left periphery. The PP, instead, is VP-internal.

8. a. Gli studenti risponderanno loro all’appello.
 the students answer.fut.3pl they to-the call
 ‘The students themselves will answer to the call’
 Belletti (2009, p. 209)

- b. Maria risponderà lei alla lettera.
 Maria answer.fut.3sg she to-the letter
 ‘Maria herself will answer to the letter’

The same hypothesis holds for postverbal subjects, she claims.

9. Risponderà Maria alla lettera.
 answer.fut3sg Maria to-the letter
 ‘Maria will answer to the letter’
 Belletti (2009, p. 209)

However, when the complement is a direct object, strong pronouns differ from postverbal subjects:

10. a. ?Maria scriverà lei la lettera.
 Maria write.fut.3sg she the letter
 ‘Maria herself will write the letter’

- b. *Scriverà Maria la lettera.
 write.fut.3sg Maria the letter
 Belletti (2009, p. 210)

According to Belletti, the interfering subject in (10b) blocks Case-assignment.¹ The strong pronoun, on the contrary, does not interfere in the same way: it is allowed to further move to a dedicated strong pronoun position.

Belletti also claims that strong pronouns and postverbal subjects differ with respect to the adverb *bene*:

11. a. ?Di questo (Maria) si informerà lei bene.
 of this (Maria) herself get-informed.fut.3sg she well
 ‘Of this, Maria herself will get the information’
- b. *Di questo si informerà Maria bene.
 of this will get informed Maria well
 Belletti (2009, p. 210)

The strong pronoun can occur in postverbal position before the low adverb, independently from its doubling relation with the NP. Therefore, Belletti assumes that the postverbal strong pronoun or the doubler strong pronoun is in a higher position than postverbal subjects. It rises from its Topic/Focus position in the vP left periphery and reaches a higher dedicated position.

On how the strong pronoun receives Nominative Case, Belletti assumes that the lexical part of the original big DP is marked with Nominative Case and the strong pronoun is also Case-marked through its doubling relation, similarly to what happens with subject clitic constructions in Northern Italian Dialects.

¹ In this respect, I do not agree with Belletti and think the sentence works fine with the right intonation.

12. Ea Maria ea parla.
 the Maria SCL.3sg speak.3sg
 ‘Maria speaks.’
 Cona (Venice)

Nominative-Case marking is unambiguously evident with a first person singular because of its morphological realization:

13. a. *pro* parlerò io.
pro speak.fut.1sg I
 ‘I myself will speak’
 Belletti (2009, p. 212)

- b. **pro* parlerò me.
pro speak.fut.1sg me

The examples above display a silent null subject instead of an overt lexical NP. Therefore, subject inversion can also be analysed in terms of doubling relation.

SPD can also occur in infinitival clauses:

14. Penso di [PRO parlare io di questo problema].
 (I) think to speak I of this problem
 ‘I think that I myself will speak of this problem’
 Belletti (2009, p. 214)

Nominative case in (14) is not a consequence of the doubling structure, as PRO is not a Nominative position. Belletti suggests that Nominative is a default realization of Case, in a context where no other Case would be available.

As for raising verbs, let us consider examples (15a) and (15b):

15. a. I ragazzi risultarono [aver risposto loro alla domanda].
 the boys turned out to have answered they the question

- b. *I ragazzi risultarono [loro aver risposto alla domanda].
 the boys turned out they to have answered the question
 Belletti (2009, p. 222)

The ungrammaticality of *loro* in (15b) follows from the fact that the pronoun, in that position, does not serve any discourse requirements.

Doubler and doublee are also subject to ordering constraints:

16. a. Gianni verrà, lui.
 Gianni will come he
- b. Lui verrà, Gianni.
 he will come, Gianni
- c. Gianni verrà lui.
 Gianni will come he
- d. *Lui verrà Gianni.
 he will-come Gianni
 Belletti (2009, p. 217)

The Focus interpretation in (16d) is excluded as it violates the Relevant Discourse Constraint according to which Topics cannot be less informative than Foci when they are related. The lexical part of (16d) is richer than the pronoun in the relevant sense. This constraint is also visible with floating quantifiers and weak pronouns:

17. a. Hanno tutti parlato, i linguisti.
 have all spoken, the linguists
- b. *Hanno tutti parlato i linguisti.
 have all spoken the linguists
 Belletti (2009, p. 219)
- c. Loro hanno (tutti) parlato (tutti), i linguisti.
 they have (all) spoken (all), the linguists

- d. *Loro hanno (tutti) parlato (tutti) i linguisti.
 they have (all) spoken (all) the linguists
- e. Hanno (tutti) parlato (tutti), loro, i linguisti.
 have (all) spoken (all), they, the linguists
- f. *Hanno (tutti) parlato (tutti) loro, i linguisti.
 have (all) spoken (all) they, the linguists

Note that a personal pronoun is richer than a QP, in the relevant sense.

To sum up, doubling structures seem to be uneconomical, as there are more elements, which are split into different positions, contributing to the realization of one single argument. However, the split is necessary because of their licensing conditions. Both clitics and strong pronouns have to move to a dedicated position: the first move for Case reasons, as clitics contribute to license case to the lexical part. According to Belletti, the latter move because of discourse requirements: strong pronouns contribute to the informational content of the clause by adding new information – Focus– to a given Topic or by iterating a given Topic.

Belletti argues in favour of the existence of a vP left periphery, which displays a series of positions that are closely connected with discourse related relations of Focus and Topic, similarly to the positions available in the clausal left periphery.

Finally, Belletti points out that there are languages, like English, that despite having strong pronouns do not recur to a doubling strategy like Italian does. In the following examples the subject is doubled, but the kind of doubler and the position it fills look very different from those discussed for Italian.

18. a. I myself would say that.

b. John himself will come.

Belletti (2009, p. 222)

Doubling, in English, does not seem to occur in the same way. Belletti suggests the two languages might activate the vP left periphery in a different way. This question, left open

in Belletti, finds an answer in Cardinaletti's (1999) analysis of emphatic pronouns, which I illustrate in the following section.

2.3 Italian Postverbal Subjects and Emphatic Pronouns (Cardinaletti 1999, 2018)

Before Belletti (2005/2009), Burzio (1986) also analysed postverbal pronouns occurring with preverbal subjects. According to Burzio, these pronouns are to be intended as emphatic pronouns: anaphoric elements which are coreferential with the preverbal thematic subject. The so-called 'emphatic pronouns' would occupy a trace position in the case of unaccusative verbs (19) and a non-trace position in the case of transitive (20) and intransitive verbs (21).

19. a. Giovanni_i interviene t_i.

Giovanni interviene.3sg

b. Giovanni interviene lui.

Giovanni interviene.3sg he

20. a. Esaminerà Giovanni il caso.

examin.fut.3sg Giovanni the case

b. Giovanni esaminerà lui il caso.

Giovanni examin.fut.3sg he the case

21. a. Ha telefonato Giovanni.

has phoned Giovanni

b. Giovanni ha telefonato lui.

Giovanni has phoned he

Cardinaletti (1999, p. 61)

However, Cardinaletti (1999) points out that so-called 'emphatic pronouns' occur in the same position as postverbal subjects, they hence need to be analysed as a case of inversion rather than an instance of doubling. Postverbal pronouns undergo the same distributional

restrictions of postverbal full DPs. In fact, they both can precede an embedded clause displaying an unaccusative verb:

22. a. Interverrà Giovanni a risolvere il problema.
intervene.fut.3sg Giovanni to solve the problem

b. Interverrà lui a risolvere il problema.
intervene.fut.3sg he to solve the problem
Cardinaletti (1999, p. 64)

Both are also not allowed with embedded transitive verbs:

23. a. *Lo viene Giovanni a prendere.
it come.3sg Giovanni to fetch

b. *Giovanni lo viene lui a prendere.
Giovanni it come.3sg he to fetch
Cardinaletti (1999, p. 65)

In addition, they cannot co-occur, in either order:

24. a. *Interviene Giovanni lui.
intervene.3sg Giovanni he

b. *Interviene lui Giovanni.
intervene.3sg he Giovanni
Cardinaletti (1999, p. 65)

Given all these facts, Cardinaletti concludes that it is not that ‘emphatic pronouns’ occur in the same position as postverbal subjects, they actually are postverbal subjects, hence arguments. The only difference between postverbal subject pronouns and postverbal full DPs is that the first can also appear in infinitival clauses.

25. a. Sperava di intervenire lui a risolvere il problema.
hoped.3sg to intervene he to solve the problem

- b. ?*Sperava di intervenire Giovanni a risolvere il problema.
hoped.3sg to intervene Giovanni to solve the problem
Cardinaletti (1999, p. 63)

As shown in (25), strong pronouns are ruled in, while full DPs are not, as infinitival clauses are not contexts for Nominative-Case checking. Full DPs lack receiving Case and are therefore excluded. Pronouns, instead, being intrinsically Case-marked can occur in non-finite clauses on a par with finite ones.

Being the postverbal subject pronoun analysed by Burzio the thematic subject of the clause, the preverbal full DP, supposed to be in a doubling relation with the pronoun, cannot be argumental: it actually occupies a sentence-peripheral position, presumably TopicP, while the canonical subject position is occupied by expletive *pro*.

26. [_{TopicP} Giovanni [_{IP} *pro*_{expl} viene lui]]
Cardinaletti (1999, p. 66)

This conclusion also explains why postverbal subject pronouns are not found in Non-Null Subject languages, like English.

27. a. *John decided to do it him/to do him it.

b. John decided to do it himself.
Solà (1992, p. 191)

In conclusion, preverbal subjects like the one occurring in (26) are not ordinary subjects in a doubling relation with an emphatic pronoun. If they were, it would also be hard to account for the ungrammaticality of sentences displaying non-referential DPs, such as *wh*- phrases or quantifiers, and other elements, like weak pronouns, which cannot occur in a sentence-peripheral position.

28. a. *Chi è venuto lui?
who has come he

b. *Nessuno è venuto lui.
nobody has come he

c. *Egli interverrà lui.
he.weak intervene.fut.3sg he.strong
Cardinaletti (1999, pp. 70-71)

Therefore, the postverbal subject pronouns analysed above are not emphatic pronouns. Both Non-Null Subject languages and Null-Subject languages, however, have true emphatic elements which are not thematic and consist of anaphoric elements, used alone or combined with a pronoun. Italian subject pronouns can be modified by *stesso*, both in preverbal and postverbal position.

29. a. Gianni stesso è venuto.
Gianni self has come

b. È venuto Gianni stesso.
has come Gianni self

c. Lui stesso è venuto.
he self has come

d. È venuto lui stesso.
has come he self

e. Gianni ha fatto questo lui stesso.
Gianni has done this he self

f. Gianni ha lui stesso fatto questo.
Gianni has he self done this
Cardinaletti (1999, pp. 85-86)

As shown above, modified pronouns can occupy different positions in the clause and are similar to floating quantifiers, in that they are left floating by DP movement to the Specifier of IP:

30. Gianni_i ha [fatto questo]_j [t_i lui stesso] t_j.

Cardinaletti (1999, p. 87)

True emphatic elements also differ from Burzio's so-called 'emphatic pronouns' as they are compatible with non-referential DPs, like quantifiers, and with other focused or contrasted elements, while 'doubled pronouns' are not.

31. Everybody/nobody did the work himself/herself/themselves.

Solà (1992, p. 70)

32. a. Il Rettore ha lui stesso aperto IL CONVEGNO, non la seduta.

the Dean has he self opened the conference not the meeting

b. *Il Rettore aprirà lui IL CONVEGNO, non la seduta.

the Dean open.fut.3sg he the conference not the meeting

Cardinaletti (1999, p. 80, 88)

As shown by example (32b), postverbal subjects are necessarily focused and need to be followed by deaccented material. That is not the case of non-finite clauses, where the postverbal subject pronoun is not necessarily focused and can also co-occur with a focused element. Their distribution correlates and depends on different focus properties.

33. a. Il Rettore ha deciso di aprire LUI il convegno,

the Dean has decided to open he the conference

non il suo rappresentante.

not the his delegate

b. Il Rettore ha deciso di aprire lui IL CONVEGNO, non la seduta.

the Dean has decided to open he the conference not the meeting

Cardinaletti (1999, pp. 79-80)

This leads Cardinaletti to conclude that postverbal subject pronouns in finite and non-finite clauses do not occupy the same position. In Italian finite clauses, subjects must raise to the Specifier of IP to satisfy Nominative Case checking. In infinitival clauses, on the contrary, strong pronouns, which are intrinsically Case-marked, can check their Case-feature DP-internally, in a Middle-Field Subject position labelled as [Spec; NeutP]. Moreover, Burzio's 'emphatic pronouns' cannot occur in restructuring contexts, Complementizer Deletion and Aux-to-Comp constructions, while true emphatic elements can. This can happen because the mentioned contexts do not allow left-dislocated elements, therefore postverbal subject pronouns cannot co-occur with preverbal DPs.

34. a. Giovanni lo è lui stesso venuto a prendere.

Giovanni it is he self come to fetch

b. *Giovanni lo è lui venuto a prendere.

Giovanni it is he come to fetch

35. a. Credo Gianni intervenga lui stesso.

think.1sg Gianni intervene.subj.3sg he self

b. *Credo Gianni intervenga lui.

think.1sg Gianni intervene.subj.3sg he

36. a. Essendo Gianni lui stesso intervenuto, ...

being Gianni he self intervened

b. *Essendo Gianni intervenuto lui, ...

being Gianni intervened he

Cardinaletti (1999, p. 89)

With respect to the pragmatic distribution of postverbal subjects, Cardinaletti (2018) does not agree with Belletti (2005/2009) and claims that their occurrence is not discourse-motivated: there is no one-to-one correspondence between interpretation and syntactic structure. In languages like English not only are subjects preverbal both when they are old and new information, but in languages like Italian there are postverbal subjects, which

are not narrow informational Foci. Contrary to Belletti, Cardinaletti argues that new information Foci do not need to be associated to specific positions in the clause. Their position depends on the syntax of subjects in the language. In English, they occur in the canonical subject position, while in Italian they occur in their VP-internal position. See the following example where the postverbal subject is a contrastive Focus:

37. A: Maria ha parlato al convegno.

‘Maria has spoken at the conference.’

B: Ha parlato GIANNI, non Maria.

‘GIANNI has spoken, not Maria.’

Cardinaletti (2018, p. 85)

Postverbal subjects can also be marginalized Topics preceded by contrastive Foci, as in the case of Marginalization (38), or they can also belong to a broad Focus sentence, as in Resumptive Preposing (39), where the heavy subject does not raise and is moved across by the fronted constituent.

38. A: Gianni ha parlato bene?

‘Did Gianni speak well?’

B: No, ha parlato MALE, Gianni, non bene.

‘No, Gianni spoke badly, not well.’

39. A: Il ministro propose di votare il disegno di legge.

‘The minister proposed to vote the bill.’

B: La stessa proposta fece (poi) il partito di maggioranza

‘Then, the majority party made the same proposal.’

Cardinaletti (2018, pp. 88-89)

As stated in Cardinaletti, the subjects in (38) and (39) do not occur in the low left periphery but in the VP-internal position. Arguments supporting this hypothesis come from the fact that it is possible to add additional material to the Focus *in situ* but not when it is left-peripheral (40) and the fact that only *in situ* Foci are in the scope of the matrix clause negation while left-peripheral ones are not (41).

40. A: Al convegno ha presentato bene, Maria?
 at-the conference has presented well, Maria
 B: a. No ha presentato (il poster) MALE (il poster), Maria.
 no, has presented (the poster) BADLY (the poster), Maria
 b. #No, MALE ha presentato (il poster), Maria.
41. A: Il documento hai detto [che Maria lo leggerà bene].
 the document have.2sg said that Maria it read.fut.3sg well
 B: a. Non ho detto [che lo leggerà BENE, Maria], ma male.
 not I.have said that it.read.FUT well, Maria, but badly
 b. #Non ho detto [che BENE, lo leggerà, Maria], ma male.
 Cardinaletti (2018, p.89)

Moreover, there are some varieties of Italian which, due to the contact with partial *pro*-drop languages like Northern Italian Dialects and fully *pro*-drop languages like English, display new-informational subjects in preverbal position. This is particularly evident with transitive and intransitive verbs, where the preverbal position is strongly preferred. Unaccusative verbs, instead, allow for both positions but the preverbal one is more natural with narrow Focus than with broad Focus, which prefers the postverbal position of the subjects, as in Standard Italian.

42. A: Chi ha rotto il vaso?
 who has broken the vase
 B: Gianni l'ha rotto.
 Gianni it has broken
 Cardinaletti (2018, p. 97)

Belletti (2005/2009) is not the only one to argue in favour of a low left periphery. In the literature, other authors as well have adopted the hypothesis of its existence to account for various phenomena in different languages. In the following part of the chapter, I will briefly sketch the main studies on the topic. However, the present dissertation will then go back to focussing on doubling structures which constitute the core argument of the research. In the next paragraphs I will illustrate how the hypothesis of a vP left periphery

hypothesis has been applied to account for Italian epistemic adverbs, Old Italian Scrambling phenomena, NIDs focalising items and Modern Eastern Armenian indefinites.

2.4 Italian Epistemic Adverbs (Giorgi 2013)

Italian epistemic adverbs can appear in several positions, meaning that the same adverb can occupy different positions, sometimes giving rise to different interpretations, some other times without causing significant changes in the meaning.

Cinque (1999) argues that they always occupy the same position above IP and the various orders we encounter are derived via movement of the other phrases around them. Giorgi (2013), instead, argues that for these adverbs there are two different basic positions.

Now consider the following sentences:

43. a. Probabilmente Gianni ha mangiato la torta.
probably Gianni has eaten the cake

b. Gianni probabilmente ha mangiato la torta.

c. Gianni ha mangiato probabilmente la torta.
'Gianni probably ate the cake'

Contrary to (43a) and (43b), where the adverb has sentential scope, (43c) is a sentence where the adverb only has local scope on the DP and the meaning is that Gianni ate something, which is probably a cake. In this case, the position of the adverb also determines the different interpretation of the sentence.

Epistemic adverbs can be defined as propositional adverbs in that, by means of their presence, the speaker qualifies the whole subsequent domain. They can occur in transitive sentences both with a flat intonation and a comma/parenthetical intonation:

44. (Probabilmente₁) Gianni (probabilmente₂) ha (probabilmente₃) mangiato (probabilmente₄) la torta (*probabilmente₅).
'(Probably₁) Gianni (probably₂) has (probably₃) eaten (probably₄) the cake (probably₅).'

45. (Probabilmente1,) Gianni (, probabilmente2,) ha (, probabilmente3,) mangiato (, probabilmente4,) la torta (, probabilmente5).

‘(Probably1,) Gianni (, probably2,) has (, probably3,) eaten (, probably4,) the cake (, probably5).’

Giorgi (2013, pp. 101-102)

With the flat intonation, position 1, 2 and 3 have sentential scope, while position 4 only has DP-scope and position 5 is unacceptable. On the contrary, all occurrences are fully acceptable with the comma intonation. There seem, therefore, to be constraints on the position of the adverb with the flat intonation, while none can be found with the comma intonation, except the lack of local scope. The parenthetical adverb always has sentential scope.

As for negative sentences, consider the following examples:

46. (Probabilmente1) Gianni (probabilmente2) non ha (#probabilmente3) mangiato (#probabilmente4) la torta (*probabilmente5).

‘(Probably1) Gianni (probably2) NEG has (probably3) eaten (probably4) the cake (probably5).’

47. (Probabilmente1,) Gianni (, probabilmente2,) non ha (, probabilmente3,) mangiato (, probabilmente4,) la torta (, probabilmente5).

‘(Probably1,) Gianni (, probably2,) NEG has (, probably3,) eaten (, probably4,) the cake (, probably5).’

Giorgi (2013, pp. 102-103)

The adverb in position 1 and 2 of (46) conveys the meaning that what is probable is Gianni not eating the cake. The adverb has scope over negation. The sentence with the adverb in third position, instead, is uninterpretable: the speakers find it odd and say that it means nothing. Position 4 is ruled out, while when the adverb occupies position 5, sentential negation is impossible. Hence, position 1 and 2 are the only positions truly compatible with sentential negation. On the contrary, all occurrences of the adverb in (47) are grammatical and have the same interpretation: the adverb has scope over negation and can never have local scope.

To sum up, there is a contrast between affirmative and negative sentences, with respect to position 3 which is not available with negation. There is also a contrast between flat and comma intonation with respect to position 4 and 5, which are fully acceptable with the comma intonation. When the adverb is a parenthetical, all occurrences are possible, with or without negation. How can we account for that?

From a syntactic point of view, parentheticals have been analysed as both illocutionary independent from their hosts and deeply connected to them. Giorgi (2010) suggests that they are syntactically integrated and are generated in a position on the left of CP, in a layer called *KommaP* – *KP* –, where the head *K* encodes the feature [+ Comma]. The comma intonation occurs in a variety of structures: *as*- clauses, non-restrictive relatives, nominal appositives, free indirect discourses, quotations, etc.

Consider the following examples with Free Indirect Discourse:

48. The new ration did not start till tomorrow and he had only four cigarettes left, thought Winston.

Giorgi (2013, p. 106)

The function of the parenthetical here is that of resetting the speaker temporal and spatial coordinates in the leftmost complementizer position in the CP layer, roughly coinciding with Rizzi's (1997) Force. The [Comma] features project a *K* constituent. *KP* is projected on the left of the left periphery and all the possible orders are derived from this basic structure:

49. [_{KP} K [thought Winston [_{KP} K [_{CP}...]]]]

Giorgi (2013, p. 106)

This is followed by re-merging of the whole CP in *KP*:

50. [_{KP} [_{CP}...]_i K [thought Winston [_{KP} K \overline{CP}_i]]]

Giorgi (2013, p. 106)

Now consider (51) and (52), with re-merging of only one portion of the embedded structure:

51. The new ration, thought Winston, did not start till tomorrow and he had only four cigarettes left.

52. [_{KP} [the new ration]_i K [thought Winston [_{KP} K [_{IP} ~~the new ration~~ di not start...]]]]

Giorgi (2013, p. 107)

The same happens with quotations. The basic structure of sentence, followed by re-merging of the CP, is given in (53).

53. a. I will leave tomorrow, said John.

b. [_{KP} K [said John [_{KP} K [_{CP}...]]]]

c. [_{KP} [_{CP}...] K [said John [_{KP} K **CP**]]]

Giorgi (2013, p. 107)

Free Indirect Discourse and Quotation parentheticals, however, cannot be embedded. On the contrary, the parenthetical adverb *probabilmente* can be embedded.

54. *Luigi disse che Gianni, pensò Maria, sarebbe partito domani.

‘Luigi said that Gianni, thought Maria, would leave tomorrow.’

55. Mario mi ha detto che (, probabilmente₁,) Gianni (, probabilmente₂,) (non) ha (, probabilmente₃,) mangiato (, probabilmente₄,) la torta (, probabilmente₅).

‘Mario told me that (, probably₁,) Gianni (, probably₂,) has (, probably₃,) eaten (, probably₄,) the cake (, probably₅).’

Giorgi (2013, pp. 107, 110)

All parenthetical orders of *probabilmente* are derived from the basic structure in (56a), where it occupies the specifier position of a K projection. The structure in (56b) displays re-merging of a constituent in a still higher position. In such a case, the specifier of the higher K is occupied by the subject.

56. a. [_{KP} K [_{KP} probabilmente K [Gianni (non) ha mangiato la torta]]]

- b. [_{KP} Gianni K [_{KP} probabilmente K [~~Gianni~~ (non) ha...]]]
 ‘Probably Gianni (NEG) has eaten the cake.’
 Giorgi (2013, p. 108)

A K also appears on the left of the adverb hosting the re-merged part. The clause might then be further re-merged, giving rise to the order with the adverb in position 5:

57. [_{KP} Gianni (non) ha mangiato la torta K [probabilmente [_{KP} K [~~Gianni~~ (non) ha...]]]
 Giorgi (2013, p. 108)

On the left of the adverb we could also find a Clitic Left Dislocated phrase:

58. Gianni, probabilmente, lo hai visto ieri.
 ‘Gianni, probably, you him-saw yesterday.’
 Giorgi (2013, p. 108)

The dislocated phrase could either occupy [Spec; KP] or a position higher than the one occupied by the parenthetical in the left periphery. Note that it is impossible, or very marginal, for a contrastive Focus to occur between the adverb and the Topic. However, the Focus can appear between the adverb and the rest of the sentence.

59. ?*Gianni, MARIO, probabilmente lo ha visto ieri (non Paolo).
 ‘Gianni, MARIO, probably (he) him-saw yesterday (not Paolo).’

60. Gianni, probabilmente, MARIO lo ha visto ieri (non Paolo).
 ‘Gianni, probably, MARIO (he) him-saw yesterday (not Paolo).’
 Giorgi (2013, p. 108)

Giorgi concludes that the adverb in the left periphery is higher than contrastive Focus, however it never appears in the scope of negation and cannot have a non-sentential scope. She also claims that both the CP and the vP phase admit a left periphery. Giorgi hypothesizes that there are two basic positions for these adverbs, one for each phase: one above vP and one in the CP layer, i.e. Cinque’s (1999) position. In this sense, Giorgi’s idea supports Poletto’s (2014) theory of parallel phases, which will be better analysed in the next section. Poletto has been studying Topic and Focus projections in Old Italian and

claims that not only phases are built in a parallel way but they also share the formal properties of their functional projections. Giorgi suggests extending Poletto's point of view to epistemic, evaluative and evidential adverbs: all adverbs expressing the speaker's point of view on the content of the clause.

Position 1 and 3 are the base generated positions in the left periphery of the two phases. Position 2 is derived via movement of the subject to a higher position on the left of the adverb. This, like position 1, is higher than sentential negation. In both cases, *probabilmente* and *non* have sentential scope and *probabilmente* modifies the negated sentence. Position 3, on the contrary, is lower than negation. When negation is not present, *probabilmente* keeps its sentential scope, but when negation is there a conflict arises. That is why the sentence is judged odd and uninterpretable. When the adverb occupies position 4 and 5, instead, it is in the scope of negation, but it is not generated in a propositional position and can only have local scope, which is excluded when *probabilmente* is in position 5. There is no possible derivation for those cases and these positions are available only with the comma intonation.

Sentences with the copula *be* and the verb *have* seem to constitute an exception, as the adverb can appear in a position on the right of negation, without giving rise to ungrammaticality. Kayne (1993) argues that these verbs incorporate an empty, abstract P. Their structure is impoverished: it is a sort of small clause, whose phasal nature is different and allows for configurations not admitted otherwise. Giorgi suggests that only one position is available here, instead of two, and that is the higher one. The epistemic and evaluative adverbs are generated in Cinque's position and have sentential scope:

61. a. (?)?Gianni non è probabilmente stato felice a Parigi.

‘Gianni NEG has probably been happy in Paris.’

b. (?)?Gianni non ha probabilmente avuto occasione di telefonarle.

‘Gianni NEG has probably had occasion to call her.’

c. (?)?Gianni non è fortunatamente stato malato a Parigi.

‘Gianni NEG has fortunately been sick in Paris.’

d. (?)?Gianni non ha fortunatamente avuto occasione di telefonarle.

‘Gianni NEG has fortunately had occasion to call her.’

Giorgi (2013, p. 114)

The sentences above mean that what is probable, or fortunate, is the negative eventuality. There is no conflict between the adverb and negation. The non-perfect status of the sentences might be due to the reversed linear order where the negation precedes the adverb. This order is a derived one and does not sound completely natural to native speakers.

2.5 Old Italian Scrambling Phenomena (Poletto 2014)

Poletto (2014) argues that OV orders in Old Italian – OI – are not instances of V2 but instances of movement to the vP left periphery. OI, in fact, displays all the typical properties of a VO language. See the following examples that Poletto takes from the OVI online database:

- The order of the arguments is direct object-PP:

62. Torquato, consolo di Roma, fece per iustizia tagliare [Dpla testa]

Torquato consul of Rome had.3sg for justice cut.inf the head

[ppal figliuolo]

to-the son

‘Torquato, consul in Rome, had someone cut the head off his son in order to do justice’

Poletto (2014, p. 36)

- Auxiliaries/modals/aspectual/causative verbs precede past participles/non finite verbs:

63. La quale non potea avere luogo in voi

the which not could.3sg have place in you

‘Which could not take place inside you’

Poletto (2014, p. 106)

- There are prepositions instead of postpositions:

64. E con la detta gente vegnendo per la cittade
 and with the mentioned people coming through the city
 ‘And with the aforementioned people he was coming through the city’
 Poletto (2014, p. 39)

- Complements and relative clauses generally follow the head noun:

65. a. E a Seleuco, figliuolo d’ Antioco, ee data la signoria dell’ oste
 and to Seleuco son of Antioco is given the control of-the army
 ‘And the control of the army is given to Seleuco, son of Antioco’

b. Ciò è rettorica quella scienza per la quale noi sapemo
 it is rhetoric that science for the which we know.1pl
 ornatamente dire e dittare
 beautifully say.inf and dictate.inf
 ‘Rhetoric is that science according to which we speak and write
 beautifully’
 Poletto (2014, p. 39)

- There are sentence-initial complementizers, not sentence-final ones:

66. Perciò che esso non ne trattò così del tutto apertamente
 so that he not of-it dealt.3sg so of-the all openly
 ‘So that he did not deal with it completely openly’
 Poletto (2014, p. 40)

Poletto hence concludes that OI is already a VO language and OV instances cannot be reduced to V2 phenomena. OV cases are referred to as scrambling. According to Poletto, the proof that it is not phenomenon occurring in the CP layer comes from the fact that the phenomenon is insensitive to clause type. Scrambling, in fact, is also attested with infinitival clauses and embedded clauses of any type.

67. E fare le genti peccare
 and make.inf the people sin.inf
 ‘And make the people sin’
 Poletto (2014, p. 109)

Scrambling can also target any kind of XP. Again, see the following examples:

- Objects:

68. I nimici avessero già [il passo] pigliato
 the enemies had.subj.3pl already the pass taken
 ‘The enemies had already occupied the pass’
 Poletto (2014, p. 40)

- Quantified DPs:

69. Quand’ebbi così chiaramente [a ogni cosa] risposto
 when had.1sg so clearly to everything answered
 ‘When I answered to everything so clearly’
 Poletto (2014, p. 41)

- Indirect PP objects:

70. Se non è prima [da Dio] concesso
 if not is before from God allowed
 ‘If this is not allowed by God in advance’
 Poletto (2014, p. 41)

- Predicates of copular sentences:

71. Sono sozzissime armi divenute
 are.3pl filthy weapons become
 ‘They have become horrible weapons’
 Poletto (2014, p. 42)

- Passive subjects:

72. Comandò che fossero tutte quelle genti menate
ordered.3sg that were.3pl all those people led
'He ordered to lead all those people'
Poletto (2014, p. 42)

- Locative pronouns:

73. Le Virtudi che sono qui raunate
the virtues that are here gathered
'The Virtues who are gathered here'
Poletto (2014, p. 42)

- Locative prepositions:

74. Quelli che sono già avanti iti
those that are.3pl already forward gone
'Those who have already gone forward'
Poletto (2014, p. 43)

- Secondary adjectival predicates:

75. Da tutta la gente sarai scarso tenuto
by all the people be.fut.2sg poorly considered
'You will be poorly considered by everyone'
Poletto (2014, p. 43)

- Low adverbs:

76. Il cavaliere era molto bene costumato
the knight was very well educated
'The knight was well educated'
Poletto (2014, p. 43)

However, low adverbs can also occur to the right of the past participle:

77. Dice ch' a fatto bene
say.3sg that has done well
'He says that he acted well'
Poletto (2014, p. 44)

There seem to be lack of movement of the past participle in front of low adverbs. If so, two different explanations for the two different orders would be necessary. However, the OI past participle seems to move more, not less than Modern Italian – MI –: it is more widespread and possible even with postverbal objects. Syntactic change goes in the direction of less movement: MI is not expected to suddenly start moving the past participle higher than before, but rather the opposite. Poletto then concludes that the reason why low adverbs can also be found on the left of past participles in OI is linked to the possibility of OV orders and not to the fact that the past participle moves less. Poletto also points out that not only can any XP be fronted but more than one XP can be moved: this possibility is referred to as *multiple scrambling*.

78. Vedemmo che fue tutta in quattro parti divisa
saw.1pl that was all in four parts split
'We saw that the whole was split into four parts'
Poletto (2014, p. 46)

When more constituents are fronted, there seems to be no fixed order among them. That is why the corpora display the occurrence of minimal pairs. Moreover, the movement seems to be optional: OI texts not only reveal that scrambling phenomena are optional, but also that they are far more frequent in prose. Philologists have argued it is a residual aspect of a more conservative grammar mimicking Latin. According to a double base hypothesis, there was a stage where the speakers could master two grammars and could freely alternate them. However, Poletto maintains that the apparent optionality of the phenomenon depends on the semantic and pragmatic value of the clause, which changes according to the Topic/Focus distributions of its XPs. Hence, the OV order is a pragmatically marked order and there is no need to recur to such a mechanism as a double grammar stage. OI can be explained within one single system. The first instances of VO order were restricted to topical objects (79). Non-topical objects in Late Latin were still OV:

79. Adcognosco inquit, Cappadocem
 know.1sg said.3sg Cappadocian.acc
 ‘I recognize him, she said, the Cappadocian’
 Polo (2007, in Poletto 2014, p. 49)

Assuming Belletti’s (2004) hypothesis of a low left periphery where the object lands in a Topic position followed by movement of the VP to a position preceding the object, Poletto concludes that the order of the arguments in the low vP periphery is sensitive to their informational value. Arguments supporting the idea of a movement derivation come from:

- Coordinated structures like complex DPs, where part of the DP has been extracted and part is *in situ*.

80. Avegna che neuno possa buono avvocato essere né perfetto.
 happens that no one can.subj.3sg good advocate be.inf nor perfect
 ‘Even if no one can be a good nor perfect lawyer’
 Poletto (2014, p. 51)

- Object/past participle agreement structures: agreement is obligatory with OV orders, optional with VO (Egerland, 1996). The same is true for Modern Friulan, as noticed by Loporcaro (1998):

81. a. O ai dismenteadis lis sigaretis.
 I have forgotten.agr the cigarettes.agr

b. O ai dismentat lis sigaretis.
 I have forgotten.sg the cigarettes.pl

c. O ai lis sigaretis dismenteadis
 I have the cigarettes.agr forgotten.agr

d. *O ai lis sigaretis dismenteat
 I have the cigarettes.pl forgotten.sg
 Loporcaro (1998:7, in Poletto 2014, p. 52)

This also holds for subject agreement, studied by Guasti and Rizzi (2002): it is obligatory with preverbal subjects and optional with postverbal ones. The authors suggest that if a feature is checked in the overt syntax, then it is expressed in the morphology.

Since movement requires the fullest agreement pattern possible, OV order is an instance of movement exactly like V2. However, while V2 movement targets the CP left periphery, Poletto argues that scrambling movement targets the vP left periphery.

While the CP left periphery is given, by Benincà and Poletto (2004), a tripartite structure, Poletto suggests that the vP left periphery probably lacks the highest layer which, in the CP, is dedicated to discourse-related elements like Hanging Topics and Scene-Setting adverbs. Still, the low left periphery has a series of Topic projections followed by Operator moved XPs. Poletto leaves the debate open to further investigation in order to establish the exact number of these projections and the precise location of the periphery. The only suggestions on the topic come from Belletti (2005/2009) and Cognola (2010). The first has been studying the distribution of the adverb *bene* with respect to postverbal subjects and claims that the vP left periphery is located higher than all adverbs except *bene*, which is higher than postverbal subjects. Belletti assumes that *bene* also moves into the vP left periphery but is generated lower. Cognola, instead, has been studying Mòcheno, a German variety spoken in Trentino which displays both OV and VO orders. According to the author, the first order is possible if the XP triggering subject-verb inversion is generated above the low left periphery. The second is possible only if the low [Spec; FocusP] is saturated by an XP moving to the higher [Spec; FocusP]. Cognola argues that the vP left periphery is located between the adverbs *schua* ‘already’ and *schia* ‘well’.

As for object/past participle agreement, Poletto assumes it is triggered in the same way as subject agreement is. As this one is triggered in TP, not in the CP left periphery, she claims that object/past participle agreement is triggered below the vP left periphery. In the movement to the low periphery, the object passes through a functional head AspP, deriving OV orders. When VO orders are found, agreement is optional: when there is no agreement there is no movement of the object, which remains in its VP-internal position; when agreement occurs the object moves to [Spec; Asp] and the past participle moves higher, to an Operator position, in order to derive the exact order.

Poletto also argues that the properties of functional heads remain constant across phases: the OperatorP keeps the same properties throughout all phases and must be filled by a

head in all phases. The verb fills it in the CP layer triggering V2, while the past participle fills it in the vP phase triggering OV orders and agreement.

Poletto's idea of parallel phases leaves the expectation that all phases are built in the same way and have a complex left periphery. Poletto suggests that, in OI, the left periphery of each phase has an Operator position that must be filled by a head and is thus phase-independent. Another property of OI which seems to be valid across phases, according to Poletto, is the necessity of moving a Topic or a Focus to a dedicated position in the left periphery. She hence concludes that information/pragmatic structure only 'sees' phases.

2.6 Northern Italian Dialects Focalising Items (Munaro 2012)

Subject and object focalising items like *anca* generally focalise the phrase they go with. However, sometimes they have scope on the whole sentence. Munaro (2012) suggests that they can be merged in the head of a Focus projection located in the left of each phase. The focalized phrases are then attracted to [Spec; FocusP]. The crosslinguistic variation depends on the activation of a higher functional projection which attracts the focalizer to its head and, eventually, remnant material to its Specifier.

Munaro adopts Kayne's (1998) derivation of sentences with focalizers:

82. a. Only John came to the party.
- b. Only [John came to the party]
- c. [John]_x only t_x came to the party
- d. [only]_y W^o [John]_x t_y t_x came to the party
- Kayne (1998, in Munaro 2012, p. 108)

According to Kayne, the English focalizer *only*, merged in the left edge of the clause, attracts the subject to its Specifier and further moves to W^o, a functional head which determines the linear order of the elements. Following this reasoning, Munaro argues that the same holds for dialects like Paduan and Bellunese. See the following examples for the focalization of preverbal subjects:

- The focalizer precedes the subject:

83. a. Anca TONI vien./ *Anca Toni vien. (Paduan)

also Toni comes

‘Toni comes as well’

b. Anca Toni (al) vien. (Bellunese)

also Toni cl.3sg comes

- The focalizer follows the subject:

84. a. TONI, anca, vien./ *Toni anca vien. (Paduan)

b. Toni anca, al vien./ *Toni anca al vien. (Bellunese)

Munaro (2012, pp. 108-109)

As shown above, both in Paduan and Bellunese the focalizer can either precede or follow the subject. However, in Paduan, when the subject follows *anca* it is also prosodically prominent. When it precedes it, instead, the two of them must be separated by a pause. Munaro suggests the focalizer occupies the head of a Focus projection in the CP left periphery. The linear order of the sentences would be derived via movement of the subject to [Spec; FocusP], with different prosodic effects from dialect to dialect. There can be, then, further raising of the focalizer to a functional head W° , preceding the subject.

As for postverbal subjects, let us consider the following examples:

- The focalizer precedes the subject:

85. a. Vien anca Toni. (Paduan)

b. (Al) vien anca Toni. (Bellunese)

- The focalizer follows the subject:

86. a. Vien TONI, anca./ *Vien Toni anca. (Paduan)

b. (Al) vien Toni, anca./ *(Al) vien Toni anca. (Bellunese)

Munaro (2012, p. 110)

Both in Paduan and Bellunese the order focalizer-subject is accepted, as shown in (85a) and (85b). The reverse order, on the contrary, is excluded if associated with a flat intonation and becomes grammatical when subject and focalizer are separated by a pause, as in (86a) and (86b). In this last case, however, the sentence is ambiguous, as the focalizer can have scope on the whole sentence and the speaker could mean that, among other things, it also happens that Toni comes. The order of (85a) and (85b) is a derived one: *anca* is merged in Focus^o in the left periphery of the clause, there is raising of the subject to [Spec; FocusP], movement of *anca* to W^o and remnant movement of the IP to [Spec; WP].

87. a. [_{FocP} [_{Foc^o} *anca*] [_{IP} Toni (al) vien]]
- b. [_{FocP} Toni_x [_{Foc^o} *anca*] [_{IP} t_x (al) vien]]
- c. [_{WP} [_{W^o} *anca*_y] [_{FocP} Toni_x [_{Foc^o} t_y] [_{IP} t_x (al) vien]]]
- d. [_{WP} [_{IP} t_x (al) vien]_z] [_{W^o} *anca*_y] [_{FocP} Toni_x [_{Foc^o} t_y] t_z]]
- Munaro (2012)

For the order in (86a and b), instead, given its ambiguity, Munaro suggests two possible derivations: one with raising of the whole clause to [Spec; FocusP] and subsequent focalization of the whole sentence, the other one with movement of the postverbal subject to the Specifier of a lower FocusP located in the left periphery of vP.

As for the focalization of objects, Kayne hypothesizes the following derivation:

88. a. John criticized only Bill.
- b. John [Bill]_x only criticized t_x
- c. John [only]_y W^o [Bill]_x t_y criticized t_x
- d. John [criticized t_x]_z [only]_y [Bill]_x t_y t_z
- Kayne (1998, in Munaro 2012, p. 112)

As displayed in (88), the object raises to the Specifier of the projection occupied by *only*, followed by movement of the focalizer to W° and remnant movement of the VP to [Spec; WP].

For Paduan and Bellunese, Munaro proposes the following examples:

- The focalizer precedes the object:

89. a. Go magnà anca la torta. (Paduan)
 have.1sg eaten also the cake

b. Ho magnà anca la torta. (Bellunese)
 have.1sg eaten also the cake
 ‘I ate the cake too’

- The focalizer follows the object:

90. a. Go magnà LA TORTA, anca./*Go magnà la torta anca. (Paduan)

b. Ho magnà la torta, anca./*Ho magnà la torta anca. (Bellunese)
 Munaro (2012, pp. 112-113)

The sentences in (90a) and (90b) are ambiguous: the focalizer can, in fact, have scope on the whole sentence and the speaker could mean that, among other things, he also ate the cake. For the order of (89a) and (89b), Munaro suggests that *anca* is generated in the head of a FocusP located in the left edge of the vP. He also argues that the object raises to the Specifier of this Focus projection. The focalizer then raises to W° , followed by remnant movement of the vP targeting [Spec; WP].

As for the interpretation of (90a) and (90b), two possible analyses are given: *anca* is generated in the head of the FocusP situated in the low left periphery and the whole VP raises to its Specifier (91a), alternatively the object moves to [Spec; FocusP], followed by a second movement of the remnant vP to [Spec; WP], displayed in (91b).

91. a. [IP Ho [FocusP [vP magnà la torta]_x [Focus^o anca] t_x]]

- b. [IP Ho [WP [vP magnà t_x]_z [W^o] [FocP [LA TORTA]_x [Foc^o anca] t_z]]]
Munaro (2012, p. 115)

Preposed objects can also be focalised.

- The focalizer precedes the object:

92. a. Anca LA TORTA, go magnà. (Paduan)

b. Anca la torta, ho magnà. (Bellunese)

- The focalizer follows the object:

93. a. LA TORTA, anca go magnà. (Paduan)

b. La torta anca, ho magnà. (Bellunese)

Munaro (2012, p. 115)

Munaro argues that the focalizer is generated in the head of FocusP in the CP left periphery and attracts the object to its Specifier, giving rise to the orders in (93a) and (93b). The subsequent movement of the focalizer to W^o gives rise to the order in (92a) and (92b).

94. a. [FocP [Foc^o anca] [IP ho magnà la torta]]

b. [FocP [la torta]_x [Foc^o anca] [IP ho magnà t_x]]

c. [WP [W^o anca]_y] [FocP [la torta]_x [Foc^o t_y][IP ho magnà t_x]]]

d. [WP [IP ho magnà t_x]_z [W^o anca]_y] [FocP [la torta]_x [Foc^o t_y] t_z]]

Munaro (2012, p 116)

Munaro takes the data from Paduan and Bellunese to support Kayne's hypothesis according to which focalizers always attract constituents to their Specifiers. Cross-linguistic variation is the result of the activation of a higher functional projection that attracts the focalizer in its head and remnant material in its Specifiers. This remnant

movement strictly depends on the movement of the focalizer to W° . Moreover, focalizers would be generated in two different positions: the head of a Focus projection in the CP left periphery or the head of a Focus projection in the vP left periphery. According to Munaro, the availability of two different positions would allow to account for the ambiguity of sentences like (86b) and (90a) and (90b).

2.7 Modern Eastern Armenian Indefinites (Giorgi and Haroutyunian, in print)

As shown by the following example, Modern Eastern Armenian – MEA – is a verb final SOV language:

95. Siran-ə salor-ə ker-el ē
Siran.art plum.art eat.prf.ptcp aux.3sg
'Siran has eaten the plum'
Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 2)

However, in some sentences, V2 orders are also found:

96. A: Mariam-ə salor-ə ker-el ē
Mariam.art plum.art eat.prf.ptcp aux.3sg
'Mariam has eaten the plum'
B: SIRAN-n ē salor-ə ker-el
Siran.art aux.3sg plum.art eat.prf.ptcp
'SIRAN has eaten the plum'
Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, pp. 2-3)

Notice that all indicative forms, present tense included, are periphrastic: the past participle is not inflected, while the auxiliary bears person and number inflection. Moreover, the auxiliary is also a clitic, hence it cannot occupy the first position in the sentence. However, it can be found in second position. MEA, in fact, is a partial V2 language, as the inflected verb can occupy the second position when the phrase preceding it is

interpreted as a Focus, both contrastive/corrective and informative, or is a *wh*- Operator, both simple and complex.²

97. Inč ē Siran-ə ker-el?
what aux.3sg Siran.art eat.prf.ptcp
'What has Siran eaten?'

98. Ov inč ē ker-el?
who what aux.3sg eat.prf.ptcp
'Who has eaten what?'
Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, pp. 4-5)

This seems to fit Rizzi's (1990) definition of *residual V2*, in that it looks to be a relic of a previous stage of the language.

Giorgi and Haroutyunian claim that V3, V4, etc. orders are also found, but the phrases preceding the focused one are base generated in the left periphery of the clause. This predicts that the inflected verb can occupy various positions depending on the information structure of the sentence. When there is a Focus, the inflected verb moves to the Focus head in the CP left periphery and the focused phrase moves to its specifier. V3, V4, etc. orders are possible, provided that only one phrase is focused. This must be next to the auxiliary, while the phrase to the left, which is base generated there, is interpreted as a given phrase:

99. A: Siran-ə xnjor-ə ker-el ē
Siran.art apple.art eat.prf.ptcp aux.3sg
'Siran has eaten the apple'
B: Siran- ə SALOR-n ē ker-el
Siran.art plum.art aux.3sg eat.prf.ptcp
'Siran has eaten THE PLUM'
Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 3)

² In Italian, on the contrary, the left peripheral Focus can only be a corrective Focus, while informational Foci generally appear to the right of the verb.

This kind of structures, in Italian, is usually realized as a CLLD. However, CLLDs are base generated structures, while focalization is a movement phenomenon.³

100. La prugna, GIANNI, l' ha mangiata (non Mario).
the plum Gianni it(cl) has eaten (not Mario)
'GIANNI ate the plum.top'
Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 10)

Besides this difference, MEA does not display clitics of the Italian type and V3, V4, etc. orders behave differently from Italian CLLD as for weak-crossover effects. CLLD, in fact, is immune to them.

101. Gianni_i, suo_i padre l_i' ha licenziato.
Gianni his father him has fired
'His father fired Gianni.top'

102. *GIANNI_i, suo_i padre ha licenziato t_i.
Gianni his father has fired
'His father fired GIANNI'
Benincà and Poletto (2004, p. 56)

MEA has two types of possessives: a possessive pronoun *nra* 'his/her' and a possessive reflexive *ir* 'self's'. Weak-crossover effects are expected with the first, when the object is focused, but not when it is topicalized. However, the contrast with a non-V2 sentence is not very strong:

103. *SIRAN-i-n_i ē nra_i sŭn-ə kc-el.
Siran has her dog bitten
'Her dog bit Siran'

³ See Cinque (1990) and Frascarelli (2000) for a more detailed discussion.

104. ^{??}Siran-i-n_i nra_i sŭn- ə kc-el ē.
 Siran.dat.art her dog.art bite.prf.ptcp aux.3sg
 ‘Her dog bit Siran’
 Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 11)

Notice that *nra* strongly favors antecedents outside the sentence and the meaning would preferably be something like *Anna’s dog bit Siran*. The fully grammatical option for expressing coreference is with *ir*, which can have an antecedent either in the same clause or in the higher one.

105. Anna-n_i ir_i hor-ə barev-el ē.
 Anna.art self’s father.dat.art greet.prf.ptcp aux.3sg
 ‘Anna greeted her father’

106. Siran-n_i as-ac’ wor ir_i mayr-ə mekn-el ēr.
 Siran.art say.aor.3sg that self’s mother.art leave.prf.ptcp aux.imp3sg
 ‘Siran said that her mother has left’
 Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 12)

Now consider the following contrast:

107. Ir_i hor-ə Anna-n_i barev-el ē.
 self’s father.dat.art Anna.art greet.prf.ptcp aux.3sg
 ‘Anna greeted her (self’s) father’

108. *Ir hor-ə ANNA-n ē barev-el.

109. ANNA-n ē ir hor-ə barev-el.
 Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 13)

Because of the position of the auxiliary in (108) and (109) we can tell the subject is focused. The ungrammaticality of (108) is expected, as the anaphor must be c-commanded by its antecedent. *Ir hor-ə* in (107), instead, does not precede the focused phrase and can regularly be bound by the lower copy of *Anna* under reconstruction. The distribution of the anaphoric possessive *ir* is a strong argument in favour of the view

according to which V3, V4, etc., orders are not derived via movement. The phrase occurring in the left periphery is base generated there.

MEA embedded clauses display the same order found in main clauses, i.e. the auxiliary usually occurs in final position but occupies the second position when the sentence contains a corrective/contrastive Focus.

110. A: Bolor-ə git-en wor Siran-ə salor-ə ker-el ē.
 everybody.art know.3pl that Siran.art plum.art eat.prf.ptcp aux.3sg
 ‘Everybody knows that Siran ate the plum’
 B: Woc’, bolor-ə git-en wor KARINE-n ē salor-ə ker-el.
 ‘No, everybody knows that KARINE has eaten the plum’
 Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 14)

Italian and MEA also differ in terms of long distance Focus. In Italian, in fact, a focused phrase can appear indefinitely far from its clause, while in MEA the only possible strategy for long distance focalization is the cleft sentence.

111. *Woč’, KARINE-n ē, wor bolor-ə git-en, wor
 no Karine.art aux.3sg that everybody.art know.3pl that
 salor-ə ker-el ē.
 plum.art eat.prf.ptcp aux.3sg
 ‘No, it is Karine that everybody knows that has eaten the plum’
112. *Woč’, KARINE-n ē bolor-ə git-en, wor salor-ə ker-el.
 Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 15)

The embedded auxiliary of (112) moves to the Focus head next to the focused phrase and the sentence is ungrammatical. The same happens with *wh*- Operators in (113) and (114) and informational Focus in (115) and (116): it is impossible to move the auxiliary up to the Focus position of the superordinate sentence: the cleft sentence is the only strategy available.

113. Um ē, wor Karine-n as-um ē,
whom aux.3sg that Karine.art say.pr.ptcp aux.3sg
wor Siran-ə handip-el ē?
that Siran.art meet.prf.ptcp aux.3sg
'Who is that Karine says that S. met?'
114. *Um ē, Karine-n as-um ē, wor Siran-ə handip-el?
115. HAKOB-i-n ē, wor Karine-n as-um ē,
Hakob.dat.art aux.3sg that Karine.art say.pr.ptcp aux.3sg
wor Siran-ə handip-el ē.
that Siran.art meet.prf.ptcp aux.3sg
'It is Hakob that Karine says that Siran met'
116. *HAKOB-i-n ē, wor Karine-n as-um ē, wor Siran-ə handip-el.
Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 15-16)

MEA cleft sentences, however, seem to have different properties with respect to those found in Italian, where the semantic difference between left peripheral Focus and clefts is usually expressed in terms of exhaustivity. In MEA simple sentences, instead, both V2 focalization and the cleft strategy are available but neither of them is exhaustive. Exhaustive readings must be made explicit by means of *only*.

117. Miayn Hakob-i-n ē Siran-ə handip-el
only Hakob.dat.art aux.3sg Siran.art meet.prf.ptcp
(*ev nayeV Silva-yi-n).
and also Silva.dat.art)
'Siran met only Hakob (*and Silva as well)
Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 17)

In Italian the presence of *solo* 'only' also gives rise to exhaustivity:

118. Solo Gianni ha telefonato (*e dopo un po' ha telefonato
 only Gianni has called and after a while has called
 anche Maria.
 too Maria
 'Only Gianni called and after a while Maria called as well'
 Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 17)

Italian subject clefts can express information Focus, while non-subject clefts can only express corrective/contrastive Focus. A non-subject cleft, instead, cannot be used for answering a question concerning a non-subject. In MEA, on the contrary, subject and non-subject clefts do not differ with respect to question-answering. This seems to lead to the conclusion that these are not 'proper clefts': the features of the embedded auxiliary are copied in the superordinate left peripheral layer, where the focused phrase is licensed. It is a long V2 strategy.

Also, in MEA the two copulas must be identical in terms of tense, while in Italian the tense can vary.

119. È Gianni che tutti dicono che aveva incontrato Maria.
 is Gianni that everybody says that had met Maria
 'It is Gianni that everybody says met Maria'

120. *Hakob-n ē, wor bolor-n as-um-en,
 Hakob.art aux.3sg that everybody.art say.pr.ptcp.3pl
 wor Mariam-i-n handip-el ēr.
 that Mariam.dat.art meet.prf.ptcp aux.imp.3sg
 'It is Hakob that everybody says met Mariam'

121. Hakob-n ēr, wor bolor-n as-um-en, wor Mariam-i-n handip-el ēr.
 Hakob.art aux.imp.3sg...
 'It was Hakob...'
 Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 19)

Poletto (2014) states that in certain languages the left periphery is a layer that must be activated: it can play its role and hosts specifiers only when a head is moved there.

According to Giorgi and Haroutyunian's hypothesis, MEA is such a language, while Italian is not. So, in order to host a Focus in its left periphery, a verb must occupy the Focus head giving rise to V2 orders. This also holds for Medieval Romance Languages, as stated by Benincà (2004, 2006).

MEA V2 orders sometimes give rise to ungrammatical sentences. This is the case of long distance Focus, where it is impossible to copy the auxiliary of an embedded clause in the superordinate one and pronounce only the upper copy.

Therefore, what appears to be a cleft sentence in MEA is actually a long V2, a copy of the copula. This strategy licenses the left-periphery and allows a Focus to occupy the specifier of the copula. This is copied in the left periphery and the lower one can either be pronounced or not. When both are, the lower one must agree in ϕ -features with the subject, while the higher one shares the ϕ -features of the focused phrase. Even when these features are different from those of the subject, tense must still be the same.

Belletti (2005/2009, 2012, 2014) suggested the existence of a low left periphery, which hosts informational Focus in Italian and French. In MEA, on the contrary, both types of Focus, informational and corrective/contrastive, are realized in the left peripheral position. The question is whether there is a low left periphery in this language. In order to answer the question, Giorgi and Haroutyunian looked at indefinites:

122. Siran-ə mi salor ē ker-el.
Siran.art a plum aux.3sg eat.prf.ptcp
'Siran has eaten a plum'

123. *Siran-ə mi salor ker-el ē.
Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 20)

As (122) and (123) show, the auxiliary must be next to the indefinite. The basic order where it appears in verb final position is ungrammatical, although it is the preferred order by children and adults when speaking motherese.

According to Giorgi and Haroutyunian, the verb is copied in the head of the projection on the left of VP and the indefinite moves to its specifier. If we conceive of Focus as evoking a set of alternatives contextually identified, indefinites can somehow fit in this definition. Therefore, they trigger V2, but the projection exploited is lower. This can be told thanks to the simultaneous presence of a Focus and an indefinite.

124. a. SIRAN-n ē mi salor ker-el.

b. *SIRAN- ə mi salor ē kerel.

c. *SIRAN- ə mi salor kerel ē.

Giorgi and Haroutyunian (in print, p. 21)

The auxiliary appears next to the focused phrase, even when the sentence contains an indefinite: it cannot stay in a lower position. The inflected verb moves from the low vP left periphery, where it licenses the indefinite, to the higher left periphery, where it licenses Focus.

Giorgi and Haroutyunian then conclude that in MEA there is indeed a low left periphery, but that is not exploited for expressing informational Focus: it actually licenses indefinites. As indefinites share some properties with Focus, they claim that both peripheries universally contain a Focus projection. Each language then specifies which type of focused phrase can appear in each one.

2.8 Conclusions

In this chapter, I collected the various hypotheses the literature offers in terms of vP edge. I started by presenting Belletti's (2005/2009) analysis of doubling structures, on which I will base my discussion on the dialect of Cona (Venice). Strong pronouns appear higher than postverbal subjects and seem to argue in favour of an area above vP with a series of discourse-related projections. However, as discussed in paragraph 2.3, what is traditionally referred to as a 'doubling structure' is nothing but an instance of inversion. Cardinaletti (1999), in fact, argues that so-called 'emphatic pronouns', occurring in postverbal position, are not true emphatic pronouns but ordinary postverbal subjects. Cardinaletti (2018) also claims that the distribution of postverbal subjects is not discourse-motivated and that there is no one-to-one correlation between syntactic distribution and interpretation. I then illustrated Italian epistemic adverbs like *probabilmente*, whose occurrence strongly differs depending on the flat/comma intonation associated. Although the adverb can be used as a parenthetical, its distribution is not the same as parentheticals like Free Indirect Discourse and Quotation, which cannot be embedded. Moreover, *probabilmente* occurs higher than contrastive constituents. The

hypothesis is that these adverbs have two basic positions, one for the CP phase and another one for the VP phase. I then dedicated a paragraph to OI scrambling phenomena which are not to be interpreted as instances of V2 movement to the CP left periphery. OI, which is already a VO language, displays scrambling in all types of sentences, proving that the movement does not affect the CP layer. What is more, XPs fronting is optional and related to the semantic and pragmatic distribution of the scrambled elements which seem to target the Topic and Focus projections of the low left periphery. I also analysed Northern Italian Dialects focalizers like *anca*. The hypothesis is that their merge position is the head of a Focus projection located in the left periphery of each phase, CP and vP. The cross-linguistic variation found among dialects is due to the activation of a higher functional projection attracting the focalizer in its head and possible remnant material in its Specifier. The existence of a low left periphery in a language like Modern Eastern Armenian was also discussed: while the Italian informational Focus generally appears to the right of the verb, in MEA both corrective/contrastive Focus and informational Focus target the CP left periphery. However, the distribution of indefinites, which attract the auxiliary exactly like a Focus does, seems to prove that MEA has indeed a low left periphery, which is not exploited for expressing Focus but for expressing indefinites. However, since the two of them share similar properties, the empirical conclusion is that both peripheries contain a Focus projection. To conclude, despite the amount of works one can possibly find in the literature, the topic of a vP left periphery remains open to further investigation. What I propose in the following chapters only adds a little piece to the puzzle. In the next chapter, I will depart from these empirical conclusions and discuss data from the dialect of Cona. In particular, I will focus on ‘doubling structures’ displaying a preverbal full DP and a postverbal strong pronoun with respect to the distribution of subject clitic pronouns. If strong pronouns occurring in a ‘doubling structure’ were located in a Focus position of the low left periphery, we would expect for subject clitic pronouns to be excluded from these structures, exactly like they are in sentences displaying a Focus, cleft or *wh*- subject in CP.

Chapter 3

Data from the Dialect of Cona

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss data from the dialect of Cona, a small village in the North East of Italy, Venice. My aim was to see whether, in this dialect, the ‘doubling structures’ discussed in section 2.2 of Chapter 2 are better treated following Belletti’s (2005/2009) proposal or Cardinaletti’s (1999) proposal. As a native speaker of both the dialect of Cona and Italian, sentences like (7a) and (7b) are better without a subject clitic. However, the clitic pronoun does not make the sentences ungrammatical. I decided to investigate other speakers’ judgments, by means of a questionnaire and the results confirmed that, despite the slight preference for the absence of the subject clitic, both options are accepted. In the questionnaire, I also elicited for judgements on sentences with Focus, cleft and *wh*-subjects. Again, my intuitions were confirmed: subject clitics are excluded from those contexts. I then looked at the occurrence of subject clitic pronouns in simple declarative clauses also displaying a full DP. This confirmed that a subject clitic occurring with a DP seems to be optional in most contexts.

3.2 The Questionnaire

Sentences (7a) and (7b), repeated in (125a) and (125b), correspond to sentences (126a) and (126b) in the dialect of Cona.

125. a. Gli studenti risponderanno loro, non cercheranno che lo faccia qualcun altro al loro posto.
the students answer.fut.3pl they not try.fut.3pl that it does somebody else at their place
‘The students will personally answer, they will not try that somebody else does in their place’

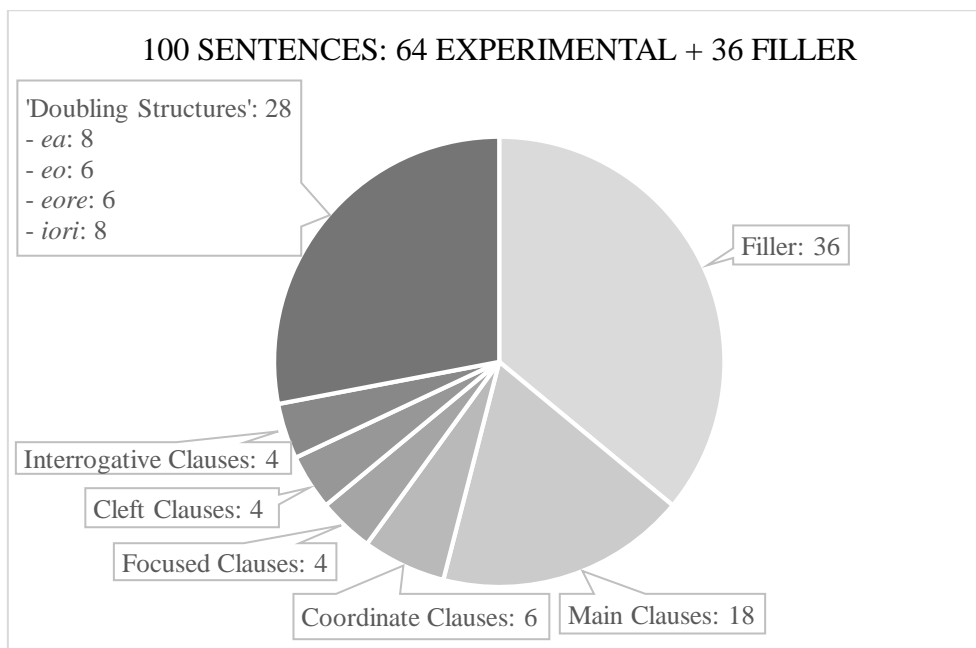
- b. Gli studenti risponderanno, loro. I professori non so se faranno altrettanto.
 the students answer.fut.3pl they. the professors not know is do.fut.3pl
 the-same
 ‘The students will answer, as far as they are concerned, as for the professors, I do not know whether they will do the same’
 Belletti (2009, pp. 207-208)

126. a. I studenti (i) risponderà iori,
 the students (SCL.3pl.m) answer.fut.3pl they
 no i scercarà che eo fassa qualcun
 not SCL.3pl.m try.fut.3pl that it does.subj.3sg somebody
 altro al so posto.
 else at-the their place
- b. I studenti (i) risponderà, iori.
 the students (SCL.3pl.m) answer.fut.3pl they.
 I professori no so se i farà eo stesso.
 the professors not know if SCL.3pl.m do.fut.3pl the same

When, in sentences like (126a) and (126b), no subject clitic occurs, the dialect of Cona is identical to Italian, presumably displaying a *pro* in preverbal subject position. However, the sentences with a subject clitic are acceptable as well.

In order to find out whether there was a dominant rule for this kind of structures, I investigated other speakers’ judgments via questionnaire. I prepared a set of 100 sentences, which were arranged into pairs. Among the 100 sentences, 64 were target sentences, while 36 were distractors. The experimental sentences counted 18 main clauses, 6 coordinates, 4 focused sentences, 4 clefts, 4 *wh*- clauses questioning the subject and 28 clauses with a so-called ‘doubling structure’. This last type of sentences was split into 8 sentences containing the third person singular subject clitic *ea*, 6 displaying the third person singular *eo*, 6 sentences occurring with the third person plural *eore* and 8 sentences containing the third person plural *iori*.

127. Sentences in the Questionnaire



Each couple of sentences in the questionnaire displays two different conditions: the target sentences are all divided into Condition 0, i.e. sentences with no subject clitic, and Condition 1, i.e. sentences displaying the occurrence of the clitic pronoun. The 100 sentences were first randomized and presented to the speakers via PowerPoint in a fixed order. In each slide of the presentation, the written sentence was associated to an audio file which the speakers would listen to and were asked to repeat. The speakers were then asked to give a grammatical judgment by rating each sentence from 1 to 5, according to the Likert Scale, where 5 meant the sentence sounded perfect and 1 meant it didn't sound acceptable at all. I investigated thirty speakers, man and women, aged from 27 to 79 years old. Twenty-four of them have been living in Cona since their birth. Three of them left at the age of 25, 35 and 30 respectively. Three other speakers, instead, started living in Cona at 2, 3 and 5 years old and have been living there since then.

In the following table I recap the socio-linguistic data of my sample, also indicating the educational level.

128. Speakers: Gender, Age, Educational Level, Living in Cona since

Speaker 1	W	62	2 Years Course after High School	From Birth
Speaker 2	M	69	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 3	M	42	High School	From Birth
Speaker 4	W	63	Secondary School	Birth – 25Y
Speaker 5	W	32	High School	From Birth
Speaker 6	W	55	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 7	W	64	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 8	W	48	Secondary School	Since 2Y
Speaker 9	W	61	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 10	M	27	Master’s Degree	From Birth
Speaker 11	W	42	2 Years Course after High School	From Birth
Speaker 12	M	48	High School	From Birth
Speaker 13	M	58	High School	From Birth
Speaker 14	W	58	2 Years Course after High School	From Birth
Speaker 15	W	66	2 Years Course after High School	From Birth
Speaker 16	M	70	2 Years Course after High School	From Birth
Speaker 17	W	28	Bachelor’s Degree	From Birth
Speaker 18	W	31	High School	From Birth
Speaker 19	W	63	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 20	M	67	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 21	W	60	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 22	W	29	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 23	W	74	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 24	M	79	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 25	W	50	Secondary School	From Birth
Speaker 26	W	35	Master’s Degree	Till 35Y
Speaker 27	W	70	Secondary School	From 3Y
Speaker 28	W	32	2 Years Course after High School	From 5Y
Speaker 29	M	33	Bachelor’s Degree	Till 30Y
Speaker 30	W	31	Master’s Degree	From Birth

3.3 Subject Clitics’ Distribution in Main Clauses

Among the 64 experimental items, 18 were main clauses. These sentences displayed the occurrence of a full DP with and without the corresponding subject clitic. Below I report the sentences and the rates given by the speakers.

129. Main Clauses: Items

a. Item 2

Condition 0: Paolo ga teefonà ieri.

Condition 1: Paolo el ga teefonà ieri.

Paolo (SCL.3sg.m) has phoned yesterday

‘Paolo phoned yesterday.’

b. Item 4

Condition 0: Me sorea ga fato na torta.

Condition 1: Me sorea ea ga fato na torta.

my sister (SCL.3sg.f) has made a cake

‘My sister made a cake.’

c. Item 6

Condition 0: Ea Maria xé rivà casa stamatina.

Condition 1: Ea Maria ea xé rivà casa stamatina.

the Mary (SCL.3sg.f) is arrived home this-morning

‘Mary arrived home this morning.’

d. Item 8

Condition 0: Me sorea ga dormio via.

Condition 1: Me sorea ea ga dormio via.

my sister (SCL.3sg.f) has slept away

‘My sister didn’t sleep at home.’

e. Item 10

Condition 0: Paolo ga magnà un pomo.

Condition 1: Paolo el ga magnà un pomo.

Paolo (SCL.3sg.m) has eaten an apple

‘Paolo ate an apple.’

f. Item 12

Condition 0: Me fradeo xé vegnù casa domenega.

Condition 1: Me fradeo el xé vegnù casa domenega.

my brother (SCL.3sg.m) is come home Sunday

‘My brother came home on Sunday.’

g. Item 25

Condition 0: Ea Maria xé rivà casa in tempo par fare ea poenta.

Condition 1: Ea Maria ea xé rivà casa in tempo par fare ea poenta.

the Mary (SCL.3sg.f) is come home on time to make the
polenta

‘Mary came home on time to make polenta.’

h. Item 29

Condition 0: Paolo ga ciamà casa par dire ch’el riva tardi.

Condition 1: Paolo el ga ciamà casa par dire ch’el riva tardi.

Paolo (SCL.3sg.m) has called home to say that
SCL.3sg.m comes late

‘Paolo called home to say he runs late.’

i. Item 33

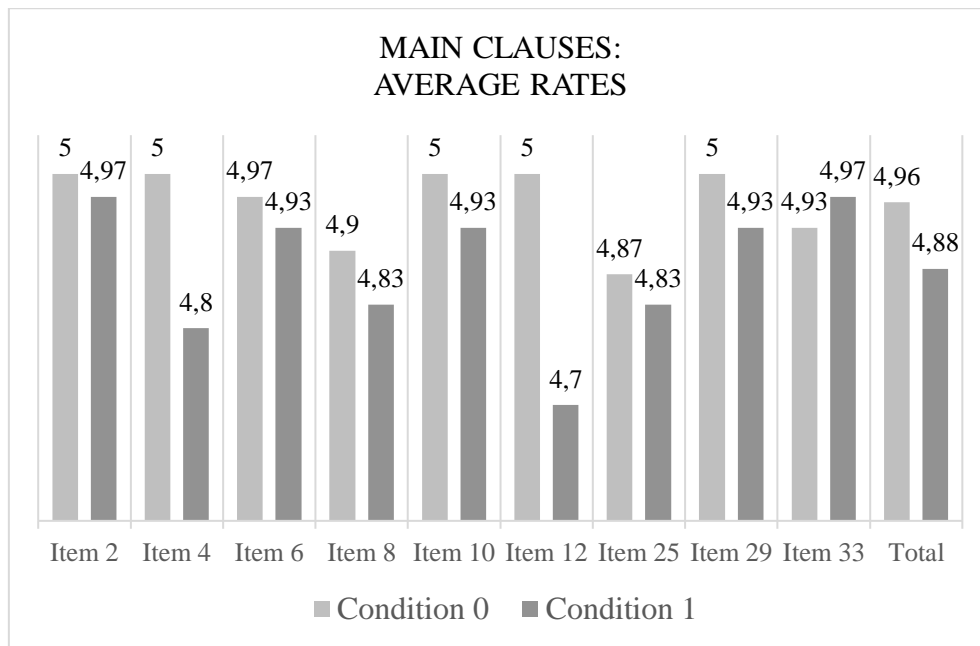
Condition 0: Me papà ga fato el baccaèa.

Condition 1: Me papà el ga fato el baccaèa.

my dad (SCL.3sg.m) has done the baccalà

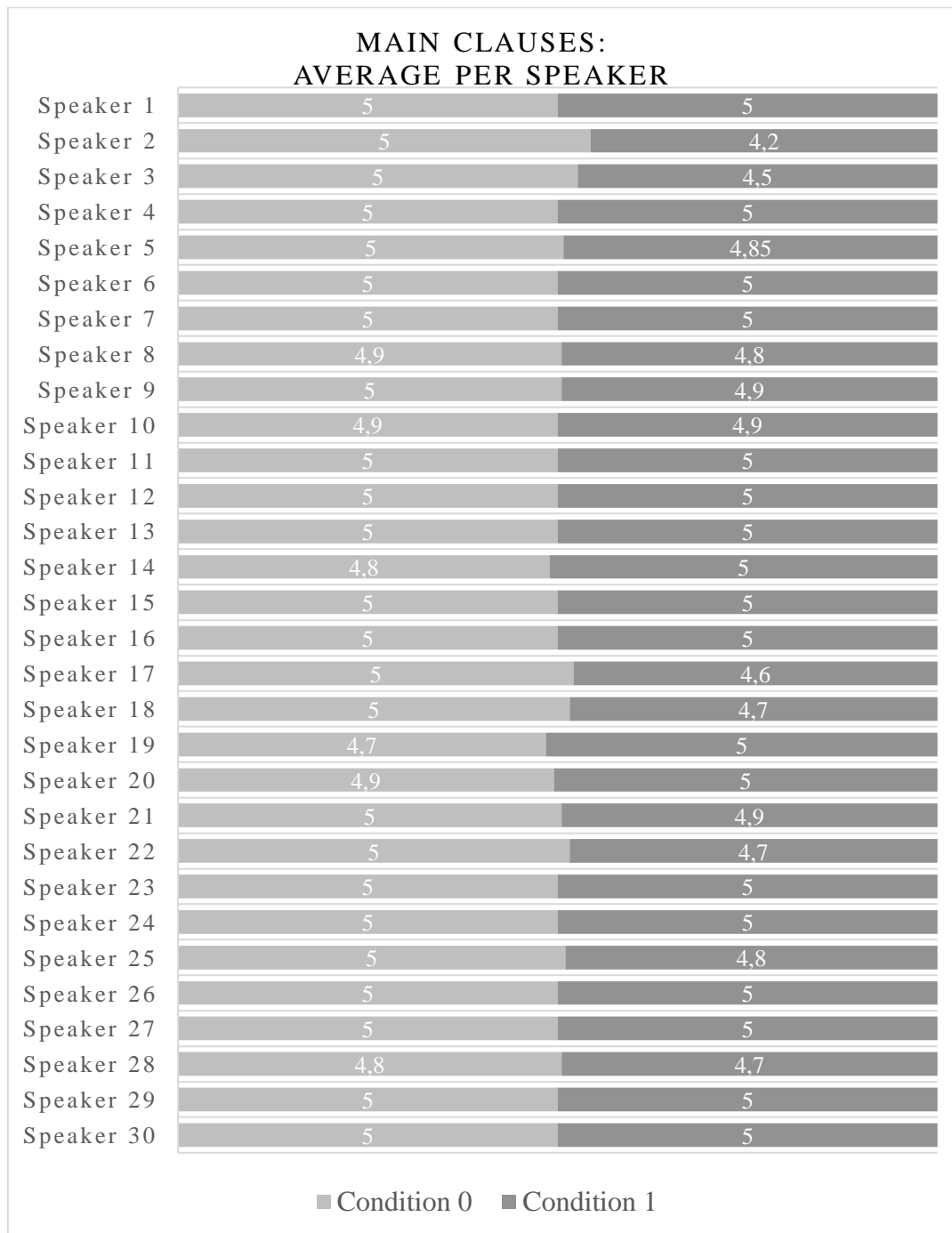
‘My dad made baccalà.’

130. Main Clauses: Average Rates



As shown by the chart in (131), in all cases except one, Condition 0, with no clitic, is preferred over Condition 1, where the clitic occurs. However, despite this tendency, the presence of the clitic is still strongly accepted. In fact, the sentence with a clitic is rated 4,88 over 5, while the sentence without clitic is rated 4,97. On the whole, there is no much difference between the two types of sentences.

131. Main Clauses: Average per Speaker



3.4 Subject Clitics' Distribution in Coordinate Clauses

As for coordinate clauses, the questionnaire presented 6 sentences where the first predicate always occurred with the subject clitic, while the second conjunct of the coordination alternated between Condition 0 e 1. As shown in the following table, Item

19 and 21 display a strong preference for the presence of the clitic in the second conjunct. On the contrary, the Condition 0-sentence of Item 15 was highly rated, however I ascribe the result to the fact that the sentence occurred in the second slide of the PowerPoint and the speakers still had to set their minds on the answers.

132. Coordinate Clauses: Items

a. Item 15

Condition 0: Mario el xé rivà e ga cuzinà ea poenta.

Condition 1: Mario el xé rivà e el ga cuzinà ea poenta.

Mario SCL.3sg.m is arrived and (SCL.3sg.m) has
cooked the polenta

‘Mario arrived and cooked polenta.’

b. Item 19

Condition 0: Me sorea ea ga dormio fin ae oto dea matina e xé rivà
tardi scuoera.

Condition 1: Me sorea ea ga dormio fin ae oto dea matina e ea xé rivà
tardi scuoera.

my sister SCL.3sg.f has slept till the eight of-the
morning and (SCL.3sg.f) is arrived late school

‘My sister slept till eight in the morning and ran late for
school.’

c. Item 21

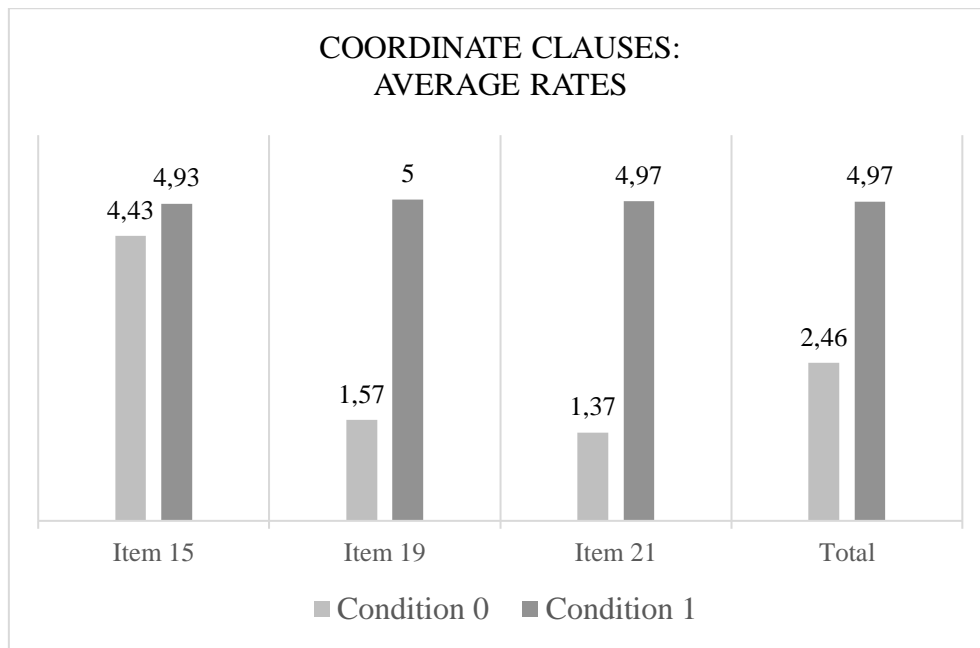
Condition 0: Ea Maria ea magna pan e beve vin.

Condition 1: Ea Maria ea magna pan e ea beve vin.

the Mary SCL.3sg.f eats bread and (SCL.3sg.f) drinks
wine

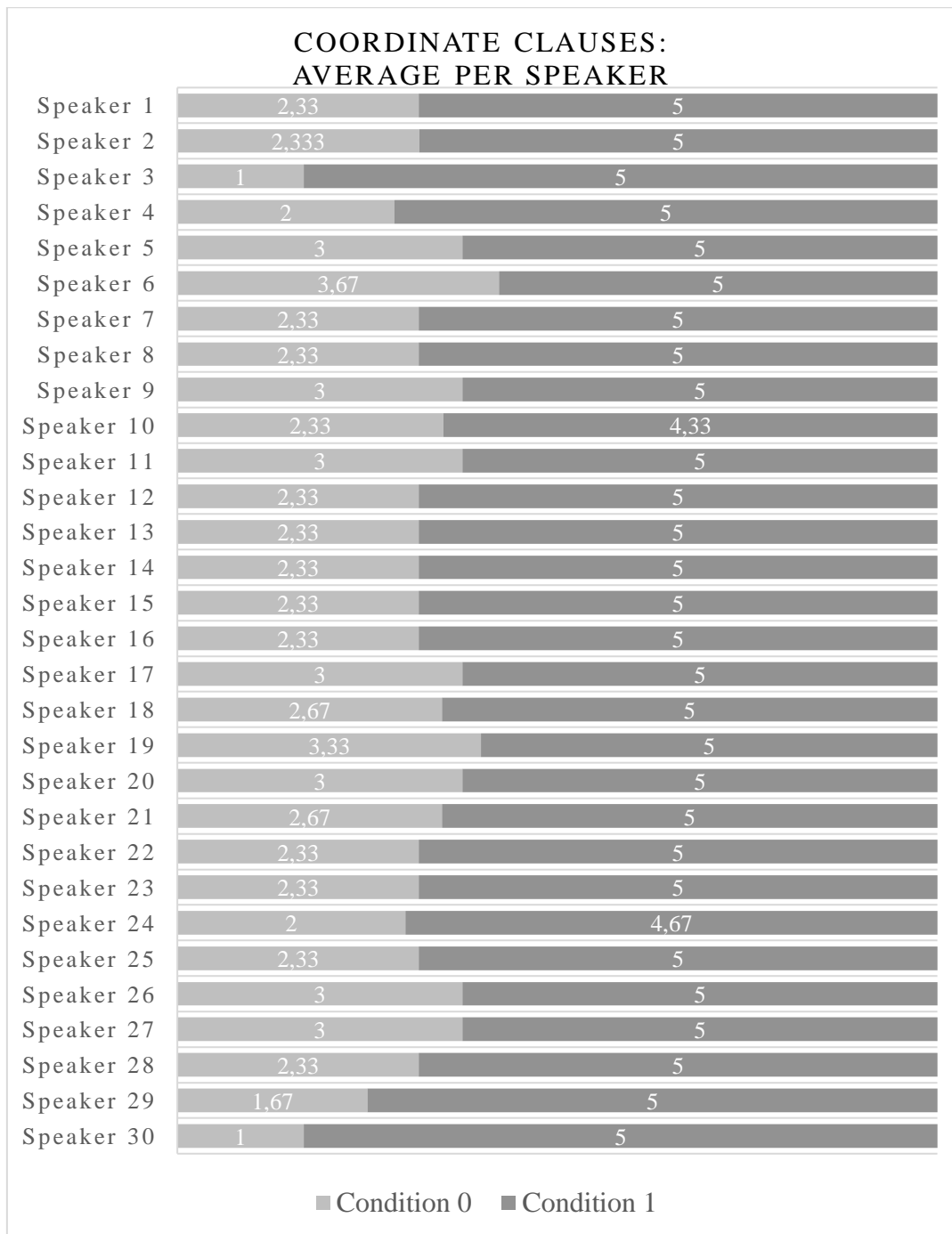
‘Mary eats bread and drinks wine.’

133. Coordinate Clauses: Average Rates



The preference for Condition 1 is shared by all speakers: everyone, in fact, gives a 5 to the sentence repeating the clitic in the second conjunct. On the contrary, in all cases, except two, the average of the Condition 0-sentence is influenced by the fact that the sentence with no clitic of Item 15 was presented at the beginning of the questionnaire. Most speakers said the sentence was acceptable, however with Item 19 and 21 the rate everyone gives is much lower and the sentence where the clitic is not present does not seem to be acceptable.

134. Coordinate Clauses: Average per Speaker



3.5 Subject Clitics' Distribution in Focused Sentences, Clefts and *wh*- Clauses

In the questionnaire, I also tested the occurrence of SCLs in three different contexts, all involving the CP left periphery and movement of the subject. I asked my informants to give judgments about sentences occurring with a focalized subject, a *wh*- element

questioning the subject or a cleft focussing on the subject. Again, I provided randomized couples of sentences. Contrary to main and coordinate clauses, the subject clitic here was almost totally excluded in all three contexts. I only provided two couples per type as I felt pretty sure about the outcome and, in fact, the speakers' answers confirmed my initial intuition: subject clitics are omitted when the subject of the clause is focused, when there is an interrogative on the subject or a cleft sentence focussing on the subject.

I report below the sentences and the charts with the analysis of the speakers' answers.

135. Focused Clauses: Items

a. Item 16

Condition 0: Xé partia me sorea, no me fradeo.

Condition 1: Ea xé partia me sorea, no me fradeo.

(SCL.3.sg.f) is left my sister not my brother

'My sister left, not my brother.'

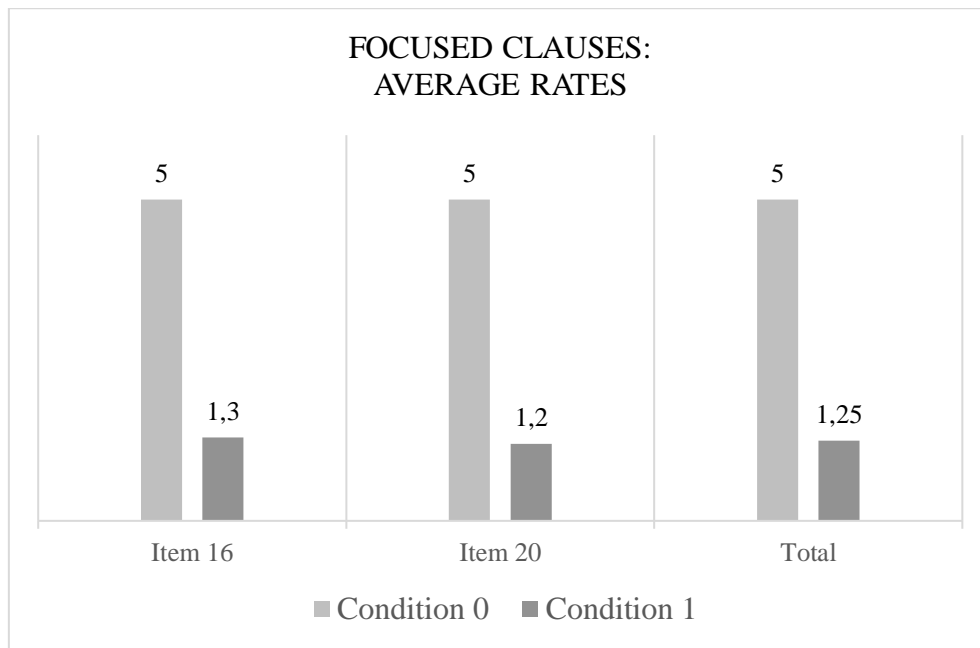
b. Item 20

Condition 0: Me sorea xé partia, no me fradeo.

Condition 1: Me sorea ea xé partia, no me fradeo.

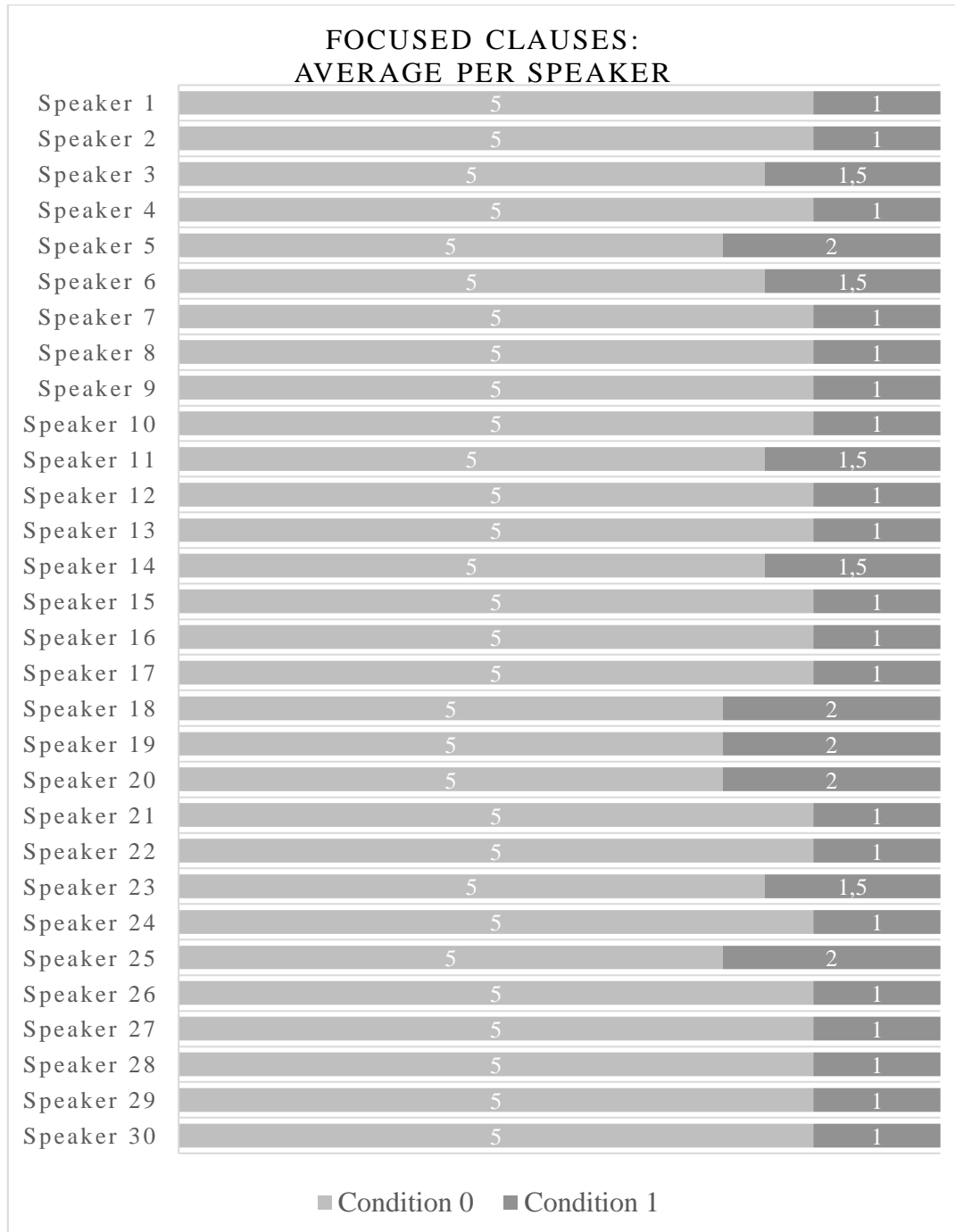
my sister (SCL.3sg.f) is left not my brother

136. Focused Clauses: Average Rates



As shown in (137), all thirty speakers agree in giving a 5 to the sentences where no subject clitic occurs. The Condition-1 sentences, instead, are given very low rates by everyone. The maximum rate they got is 2.

137. Focused Clauses: Average per Speaker



138. Cleft Clauses: Items

a. Item 18

Condition 0: Xé me sorea che xé partia, no me fradeo.

Condition 1: Xé me sorea che ea xé partia, no me fradeo.

is my sister who (SCL.3.sg.f) is left not my brother

‘It is my sister who has left, not my brother.’

b. Item 22

Condition 0: Me mama xé che ga fato i gnocchi, no me papà.

Condition 1: Me mama xé che ea ga fato i gnocchi, no me papà.

my mum is who (SCL.3sg.f) has made the gnocchi not
my father

‘It is my mum who made gnocchi, not my father.’

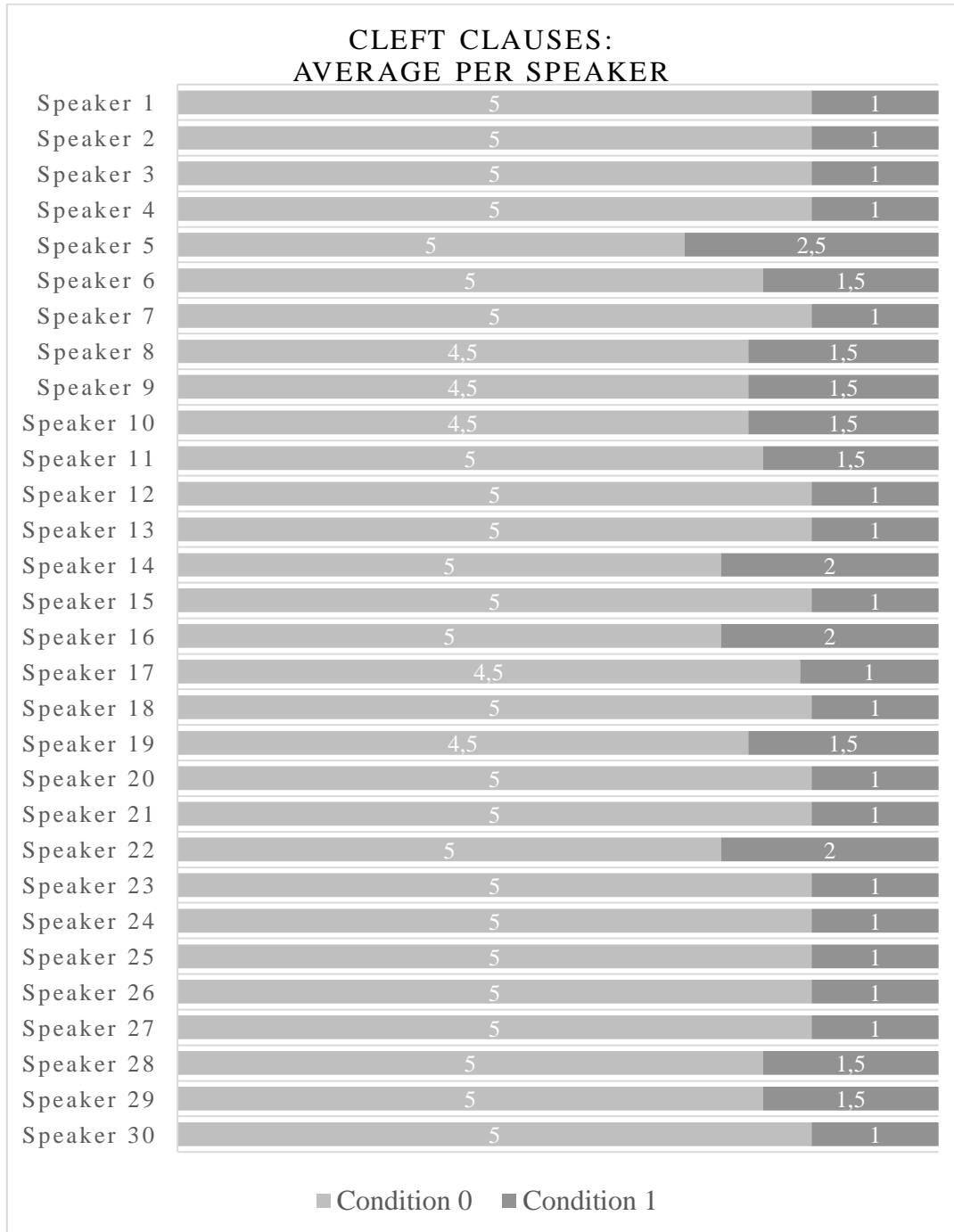
139. Cleft Clauses: Average Rates



Cleft clauses with no clitic, contrary to the focused ones, are not given a 5 by everyone. Five of the thirty speakers, in fact, stated that they would have used a different structure to express the same meaning. However, their judgment never affected the presence of the

subject clitic. In the absence of the clitic, instead, the sentences sounded odd to everyone and got a 1 by eighteen of the speakers over thirty.

140. Cleft Clauses: Average per Speaker



141. Interrogative Clauses: Items

a. Item 14

Condition 0: Chi xé che te credi che gabbia teefonà?

Condition 1: Chi xé che te credi ch' el gabbia teefonà?

who is that you believe.2sg that (SCL.3sg.m) has phoned

'Who do you believe has phoned?'

b. Item 24

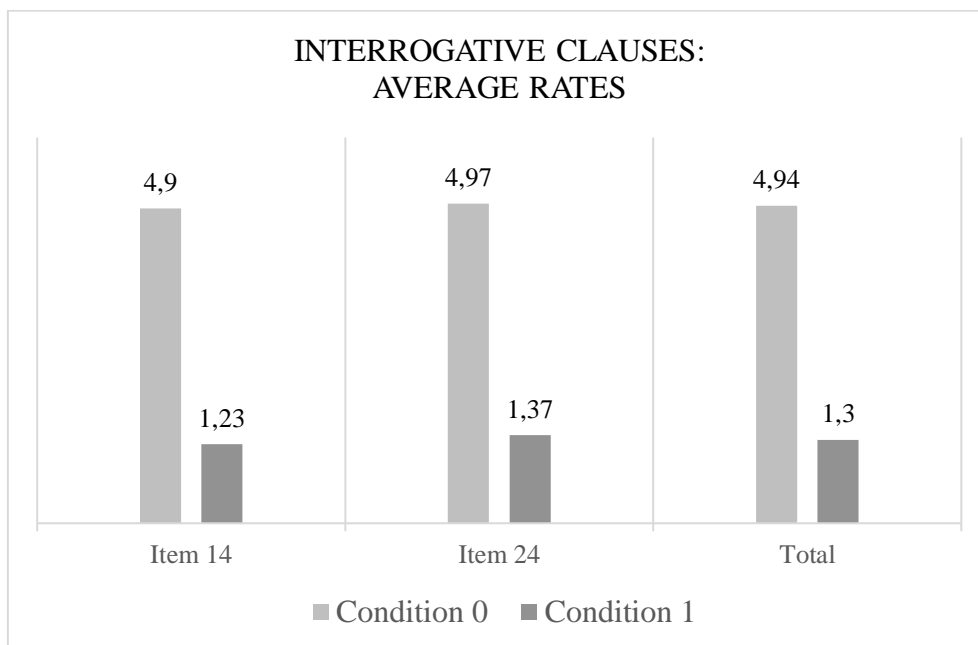
Condition 0: Chi xé che te pensi che gabbia dormio qua?

Condition 1: Chi xé che te pensi ch'el gabbia dormio qua?

who is that you think.2sg that (SCL.3sg.m) has slept here

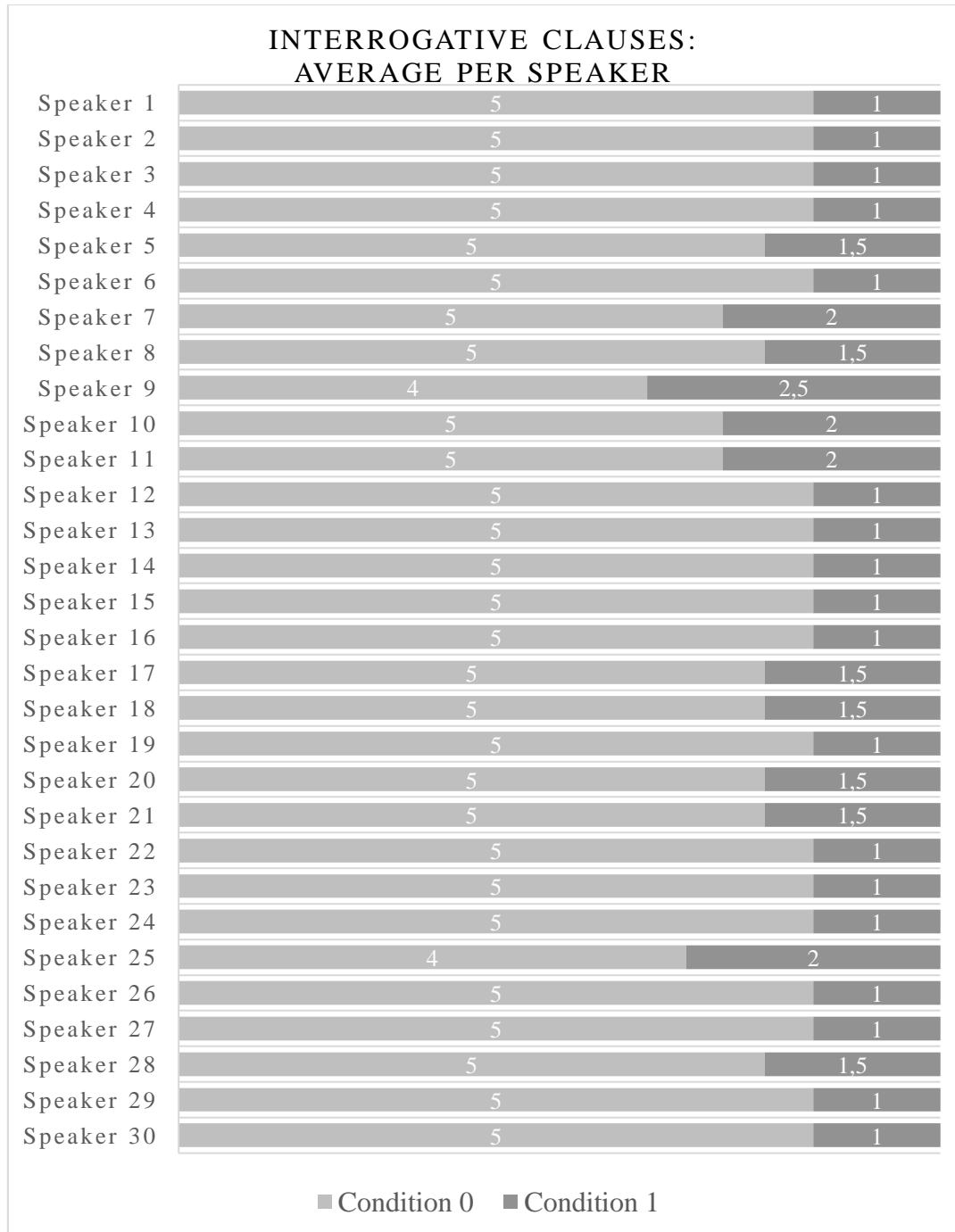
'Who do you think has slept here?'

142. Interrogative Clauses: Average Rates



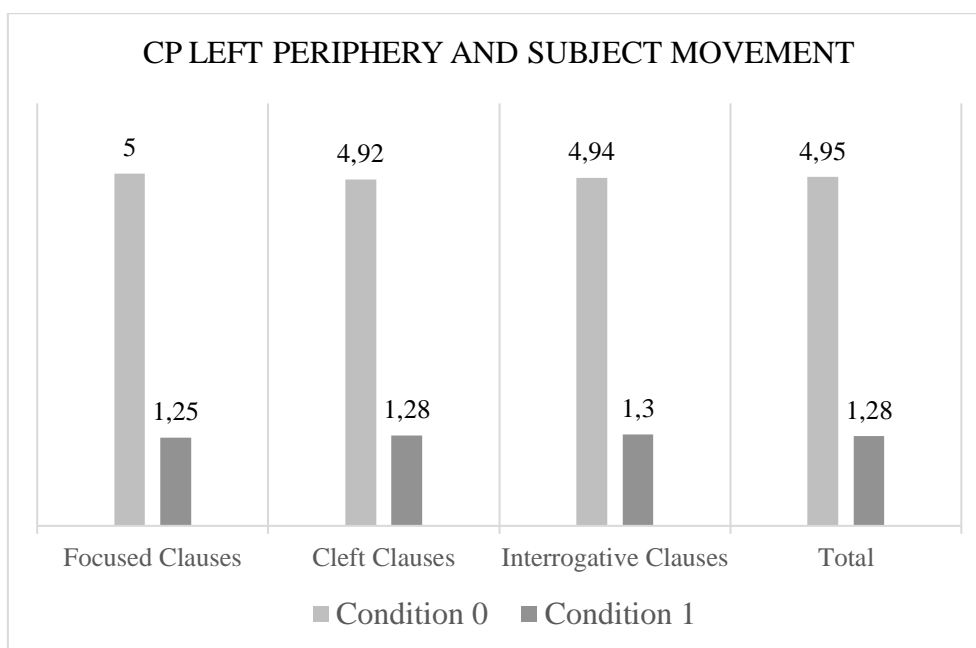
With interrogative clauses, the informants seem agreeing in accepting the Condition 0-sentences as totally perfect. Twenty-eight speakers over thirty, in fact, give these sentences a 5. The other two a 4. As for the Condition 1-sentences, eighteen speakers rate them as a 1, meaning that the sentences sound completely wrong in the dialect of Cona.

143. Interrogative Clauses: Average per Speaker



The table in (144) summarizes the three average rates of focused sentences, cleft clauses and *wh*- sentences. The last column calculates the total average of these three structures and shows how the presence of the subject clitic is excluded in those contexts involving a CP left periphery and the movement of the subject.

144. Distribution of SCLs w.r.t CP left Periphery and Subject Movement



3.6 Subject Clitics' Distribution in 'Doubling Structures' Clauses

Of the 64 investigated sentences, 28 were dedicated to the analysis of so-called 'doubling structures'. I gave extensive space to these structures as I wanted to find out whether the clitic was used or not in sentences like those repeated in (125), in particular (125a). If these structures were indicative of the occurrence of the strong pronoun in a Focus position of the vP left periphery, we would expect for the clitic to be absent, as it is in those contexts involving subject-extraction and movement to the CP left periphery. However, the prediction is turned down: subject clitics, in fact, seem to be as optional as they are in regular main clauses displaying a full DP.

I analysed structures involving feminine and masculine subject clitic pronouns, both singular and plural. Below, I report the investigated sentences, the results according to the different type of clitic and the total results, where it is shown that the presence of subject clitics is preferred but their absence is still abundantly tolerated.

Item 17, 26, 30 and 36 of the questionnaire displayed the occurrence of the third person singular subject clitic *ea*. In all four sentences, the speakers preferred the Condition 0-sentence, however Condition 1 is still highly rated.

145. Doubling Structures with *ea*: Items

a. Item 17

Condition 0: Me mama ghe parlarà ea col dotore.

Condition 1: Me mama ea ghe parlarà ea col dotore.

my mum (SCL.3sg.f) _{Dative}to-him/her talk.fut.3sg she
with-the doctor

‘My mum herself will talk to the doctor.’

b. Item 26

Condition 0: Ea Maria ghe teefonarà ea in banca.

Condition 1: Ea Maria ea ghe teefonarà ea in banca.

the Mary (SCL.3sg.f) _{Dative}there phone.fut.3sg she in
bank

‘Mary herself will phone the bank.’

c. Item 30:

Condition 0: Ea Maria no ga teefonà ea. Xé Paolo che ga ciamà.

Condition 1: Ea Maria no ea gà teefonà ea. Xé Paolo che ga ciamà.

the Mary not (SCL.3sg.f) has phoned she is Paolo that
has phoned

‘It is not Mary who has phoned. It is Paolo.’

d. Item 36:

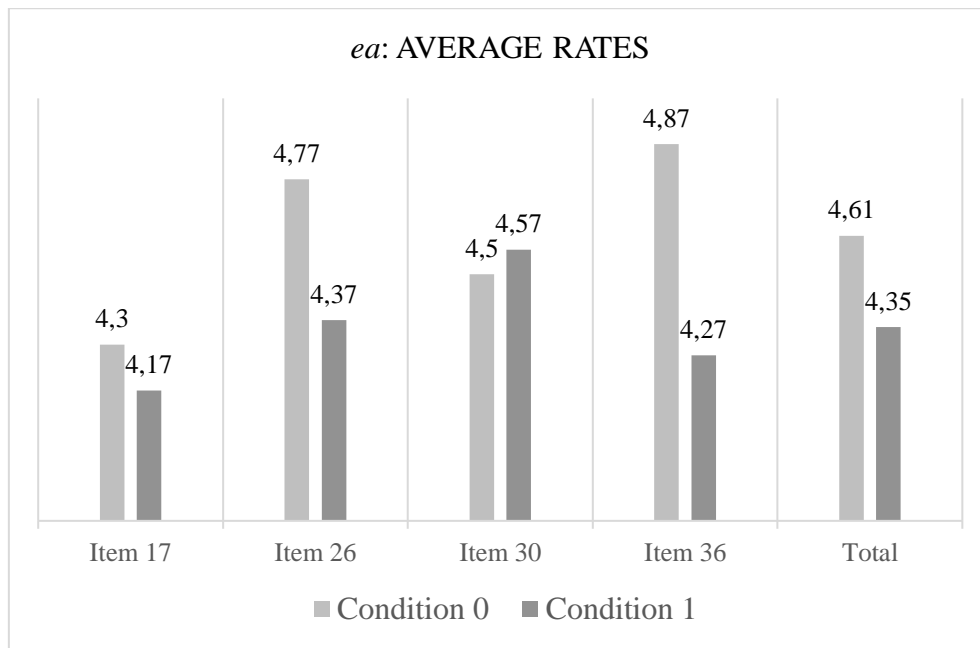
Condition 0: Ea Maria vegnarà ea a tirare zo e tende.

Condition 1: Ea Maria ea vegnarà ea a tirare zo e tende.

the Mary (SCL.3sg.f) come.fut.3sg she to pull down the
curtains

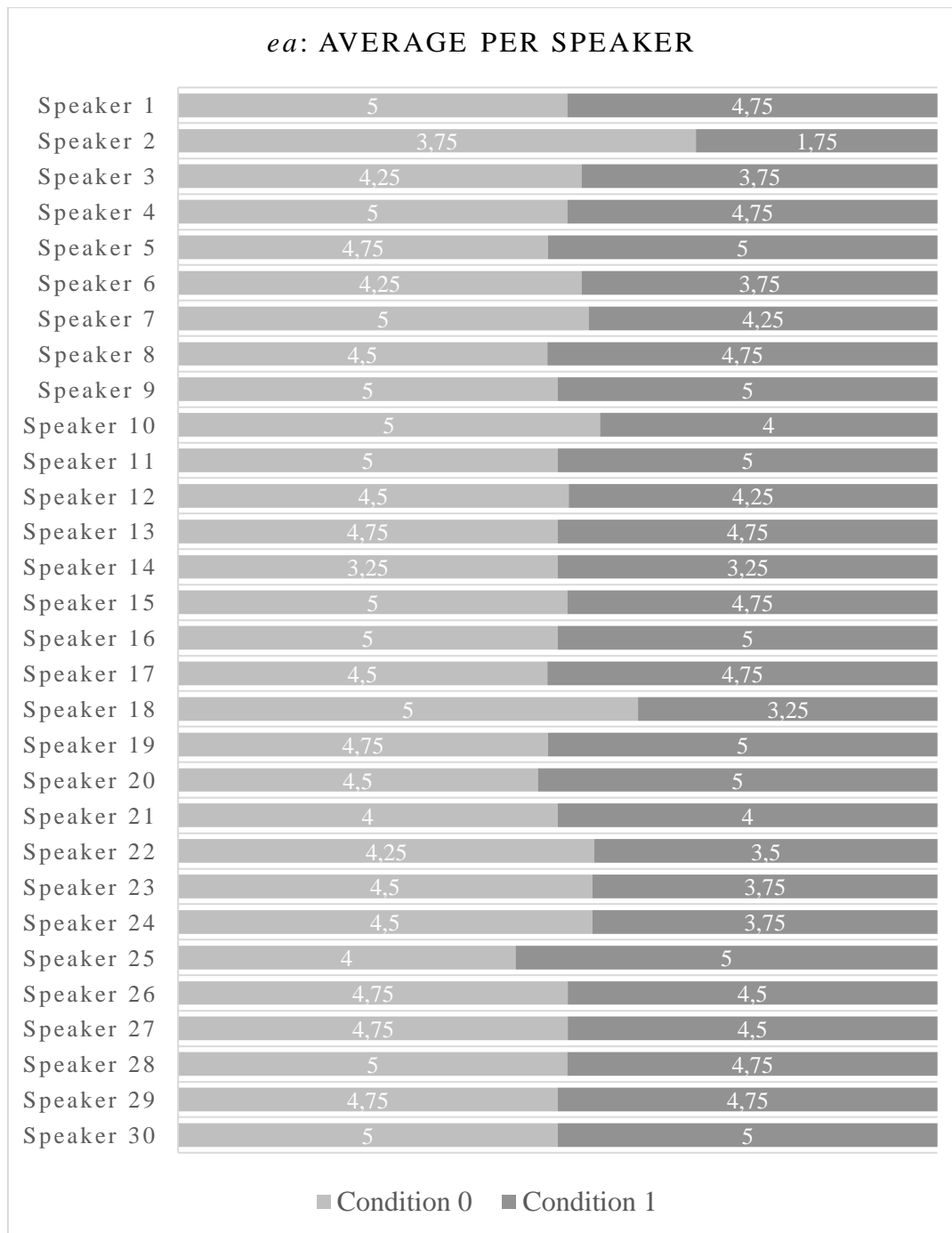
‘Mary herself will come to pull down the curtains.’

146. 'Doubling Structures' with *ea*: Average Rates



As shown above, both Condition 0 and 1 are accepted by the speakers. Despite the preference for the sentences where no clitic occurs, eight of the informants give the exact same rate to both Conditions. Four speakers give both kind of sentences a 5, two a 4,75, one a 4 and another one a 3,25.

147. ‘Doubling Structures’ with *ea*: Average per Speaker



The same optionality found with *ea* is also found with *eo*, the masculine counterpart of the third person singular subject clitic. The sentences in the corpus displaying *eo* are 3: Item 32, 38 and 44. Again, both Condition 0 and 1 are widely accepted by the speakers.

148. ‘Doubling Structures’ with *eo*: Items

a. Item 32

Condition 0: Paolo vegnarà eo de persona. Nol mandarà so fradeo.

Condition 1: Paolo el vegnarà eo de persona. Nol mandarà so fradeo.

Paolo (SCL.3sg.m) come.fut.3sg he in person.
not.SCL.3sg.m send.fut.3sg his brother

‘Paolo himself will come. He will not send his brother.’

b. Item 38

Condition 0: Paolo xé rivà in tempo par magnare ea poenta calda, eo.
Mario, invesse, ea ga catà freda.

Condition 1: Paolo el xé rivà in tempo par magnare ea poenta calda,
eo. Mario, invesse, ea ga catà freda.

Paolo (SCL.3sg.m) is come on time to eat the polenta
warm he. Mario instead it has found cold

‘Paolo made it on time to eat warm polenta. Mario,
instead, found it cold.’

c. Item 44

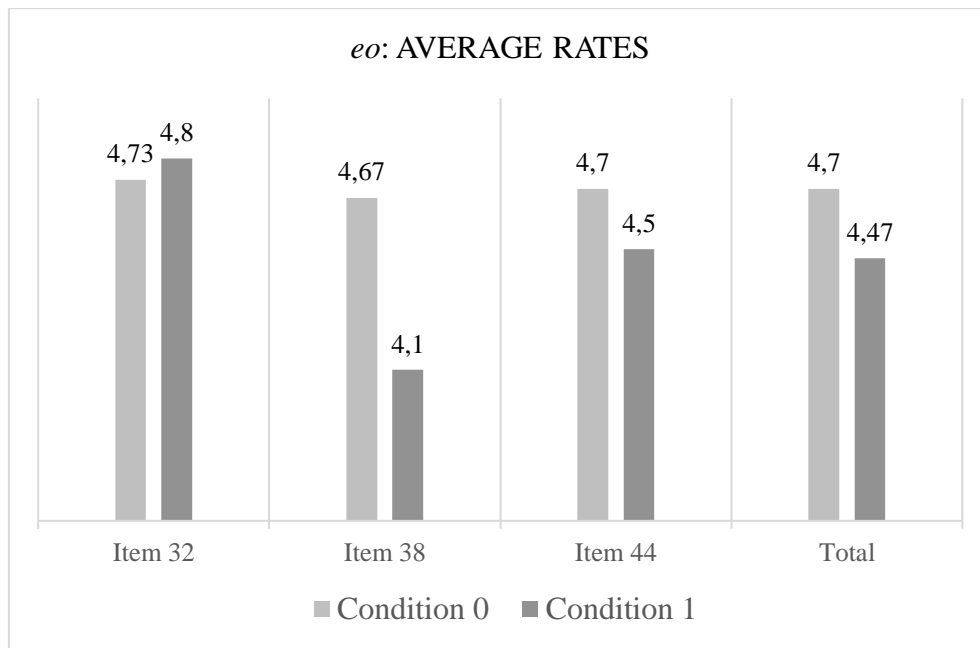
Condition 0: Me fradeo dorme come on ghiro, eo. Mi, invesse, me
sveglio co qualsiasi rumore.

Condition 1: Me fradeo el dorme come on ghiro, eo. Mi, invesse, me
sveglio co qualsiasi rumore.

my brother (SCL.3sg.m) sleeps like a rock he. I instead
me wake up with every noise

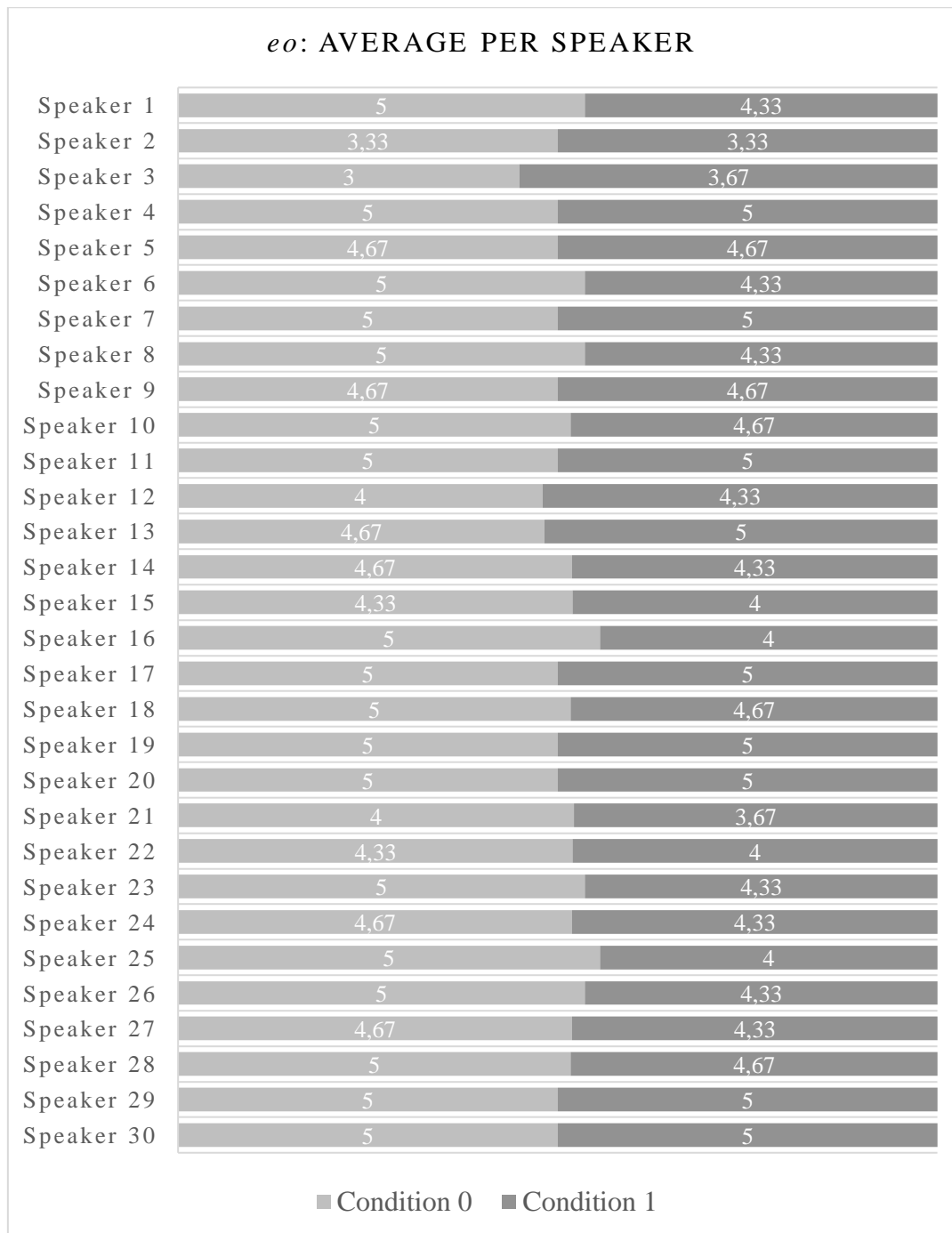
‘My brother sleeps like a rock. I, instead, wake up with
every noise.’

149. ‘Doubling Structures’ with *eo*: Average Rates



With *eo*, the speakers giving the same rate to both Condition 0 and 1 are eleven: for eight of them the sentences with and without subject clitic are equally perfect and given a 5, for two of them they are worthy a 4,67, for one of them they are both given a 3,33.

150. ‘Doubling Structures’ with *eo*: Average per Speaker



As for plural subject clitic pronouns, 3 sentences were dedicated to the feminine subject clitic *eore* and 4 to the masculine clitic *iori*. In the first case, the Condition 0-sentences are slightly preferred, while, in the second case, the speakers better rate the Condition 1-sentences.

151. ‘Doubling Structures’ with *eore*: Items

a. Item 40

Condition 0: To cugine vegnarà catarte doman, eore. Paolo, invesse, el ga dito ch'el vien domenega.

Condition 1: To cugine e vegnarà catarte doman, eore. Paolo, invesse, el ga dito ch'el vien domenega.

your cousins (SCL.3pl.f) come.fut.3pl meet.you
tomorrow they.f. Paolo instead SCL.3sg has said that
SCL.3sg comes Sunday

‘Your cousins will come meet you tomorrow. Paolo, instead, said he will come on Sunday.’

b. Item 42

Condition 0: Me soree xé rivà co ea so calma, eore. Paolo, invesse, el iera anca in anticipo.

Condition 1: Me soree e xé rivà co ea so calma, eore. Paolo, invesse, el iera anca in anticipo.

my sisters (SCL.3pl.f) are come with the their calm
they.f. Paolo instead SCL.3.sg.m was also in advance

‘My sisters came with no rush. Paolo, instead, was even early.’

c. Item 50

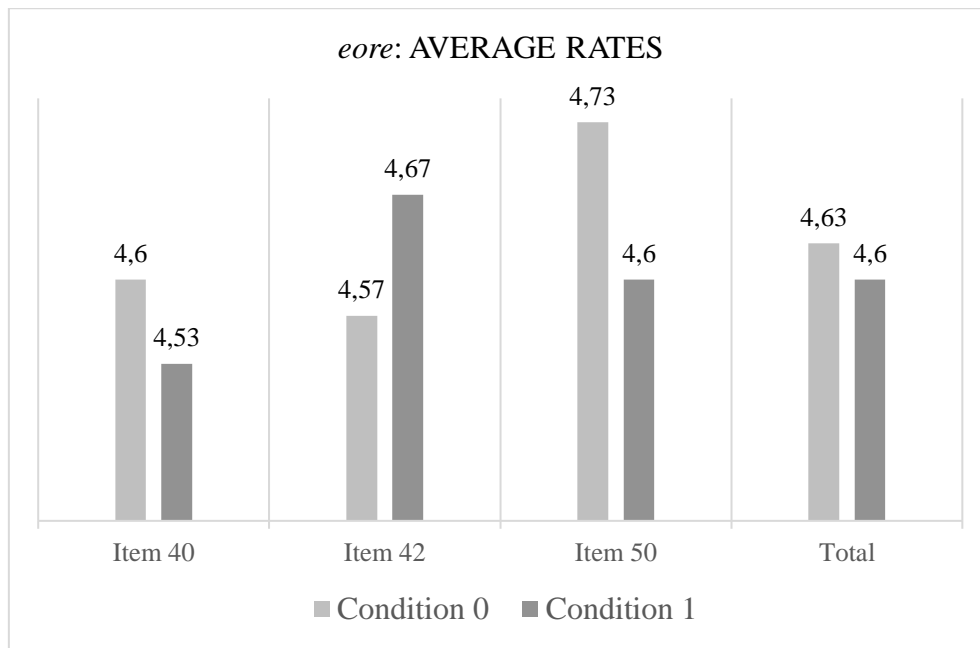
Condition 0: To zie ga teefonà eore par dirteo.

Condition 1: To zie e ga teefonà eore par dirteo.

your aunts (SCL.3pl.f) have phoned they.f to tell you

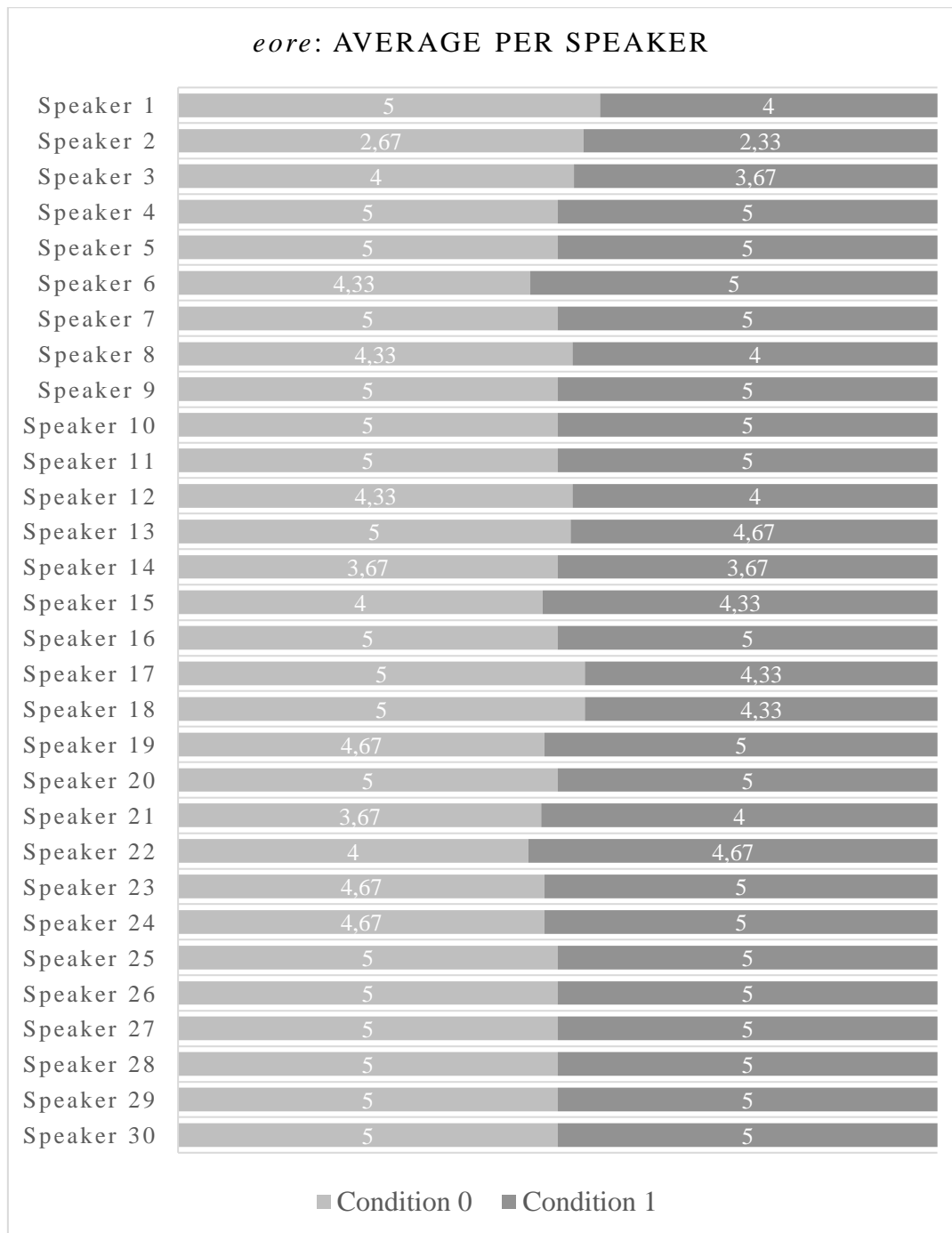
‘Your aunts themselves have phoned to tell you.’

152. ‘Doubling Structures’ with *eore*: Average Rates



Fourteen of the thirty speakers equally rate both options and give them a 5. One of them, instead, rate them as a 3,67. The other informants give a more split judgment, however the two Conditions are both fully accepted. The only speaker who was not very fond of the doubling structure construction was Speaker 2. His judgments, however, were more oriented to the structure itself rather than to the presence or the absence of the subject clitic.

153. ‘Doubling Structures’ with *eore*: Average per Speaker



154. 'Doubling Structures' with *iori*: Items

a. Item 28

Condition 0: I putei ga dormio ben, iori. Noialtri, invesse, semo sta svegli tuta ea note.

Condition 1: I putei i ga dormio ben, iori. Noialtri, invesse, semo sta svegli tuta ea note.

the kids (SCL.3pl.m) have slept well they.m. We instead have been awake all the night

'The kids slept well. We, instead, have been awake all night.'

b. Item 34

Condition 0: I sui ghe teefonarà iori aea maestra par dirghe ch'el xé maeà.

Condition 1: I sui i ghe teefonarà iori aea maestra par dirghe ch'el xé maeà.

his (parents) (SCL.3pl.m) _{Dative}to-her phone.fut.3pl they.m to.the teacher to tell-_{Dative}her that SCL.3sg.m is sick

'His parents themselves will phone the teacher to tell her he is sick.'

c. Item 46

Condition 0: I putei da Monsoe xé rivà scuoea in pullmin, iori. Quei da Pegoeote i xé vegnù a piè.

Condition 1: I putei da Monsoe i xé rivà scuoa in pullmin, iori. Quei da Pegoeote i xé vegnù a piè.

the kids from Monsole (SCL.3pl.m) are arrived by bus they.m. Those from Pegolotte SCL.3pl.m are come by foot

'The kids from Monsole arrived by bus. Those from Pegolotte came by foot.'

d. Item 48

Condition 0: I mii dorme so ea camara grande, iori. Noialtri, invesse, ghemmo na camareta pi picoea.

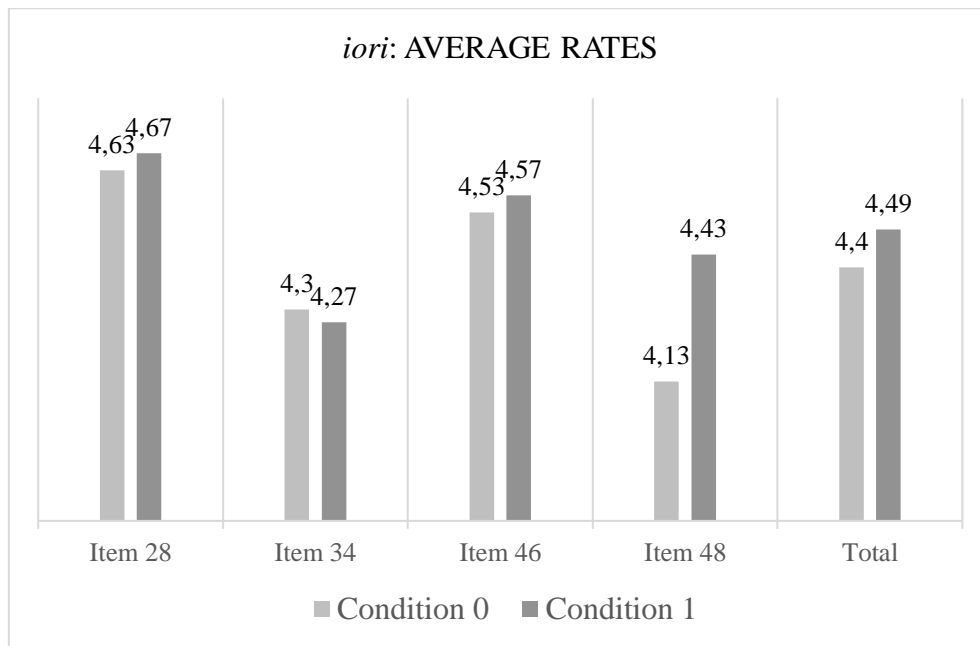
Condition 1: I mii i dorme so ea camara grande, iori. Noialtri, invesse, ghemmo na camareta pi picoea.

the mine (SCL.3pl.m) sleep.3pl in the room big they.m.

We instead have.1pl a room more small

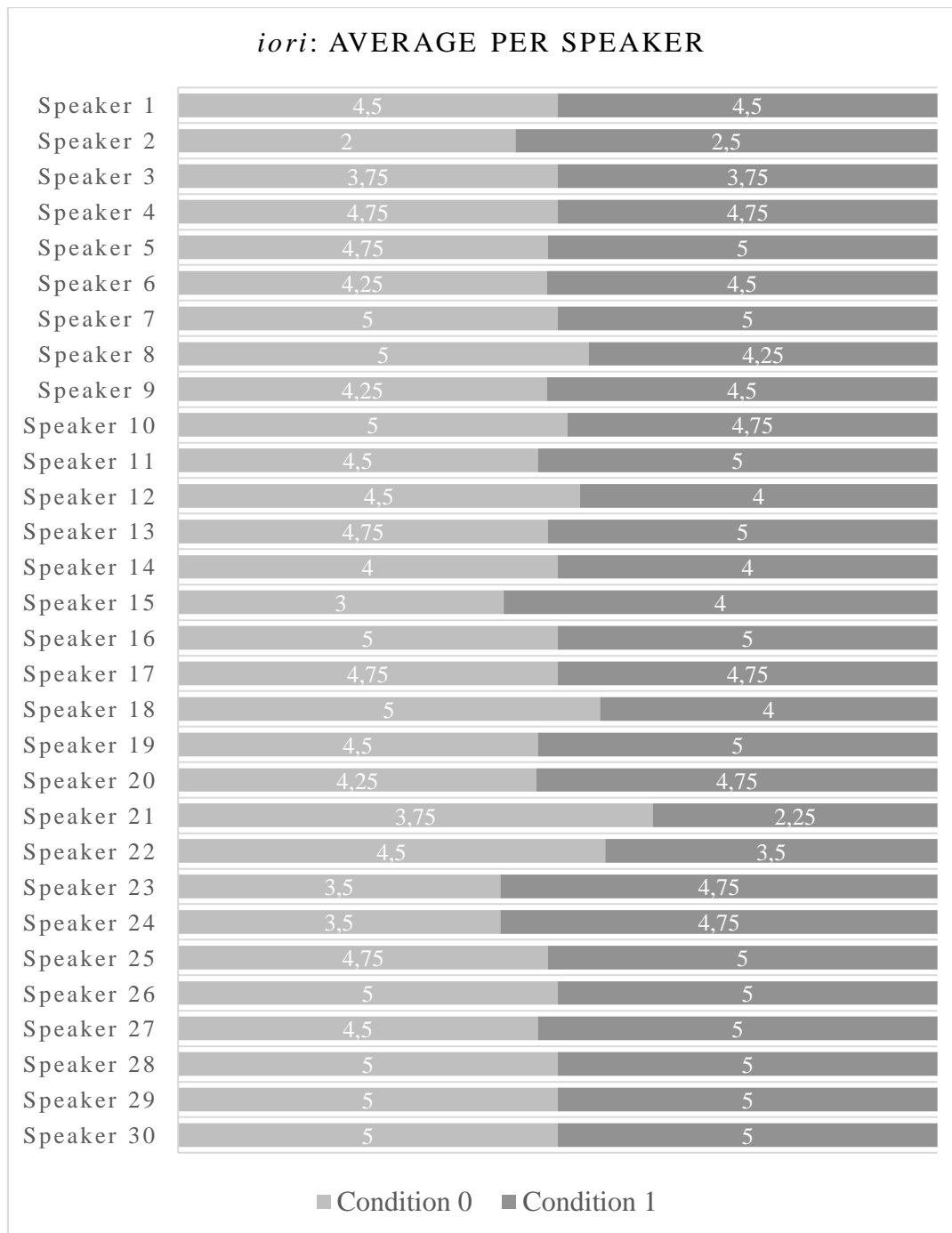
‘My parents sleep in the big room. We, instead, have a smaller room.’

155. Doubling Structures with *iori*: Average Rates



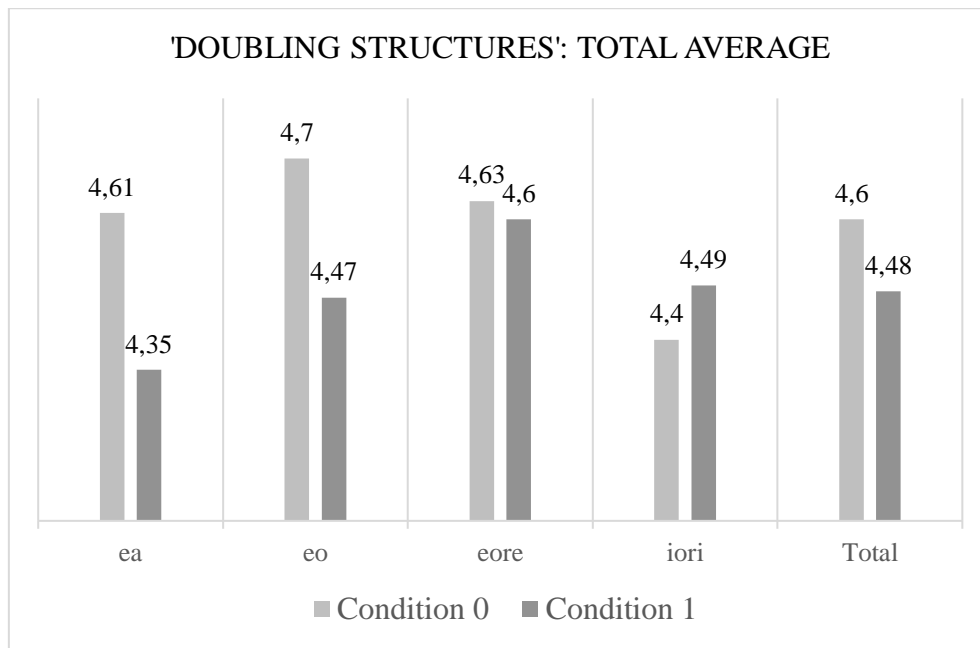
Both Conditions sounded alike for eleven speakers over thirty: six of them gave them a 5, two a 4,75, one a 4,5, one a 4 and another one a 3,75.

156. ‘Doubling Structures’ with *iori*: Average per Speaker



The following table sums up the results of the four different types of ‘doubling structures’ and gives the average rate for ‘doubling structures’ in general. If these structures were to be analysed following Belletti’s hypothesis, the presence of the clitic would be banned, at least for the Focus interpretation of the strong pronoun. Instead, contrary to what expected, subject clitics are fully accepted.

157. ‘Doubling Structures’: Total Average



3.7 Conclusions

The results obtained with the questionnaire lead to the conclusion that, despite a mild preference for the sentences without a clitic, both possibilities are accepted in main declarative clauses. On the contrary, subject clitic pronouns are totally excluded when there is a focalized subject, a cleft or a *wh*- item investigating the subject. In coordinated structures, instead, the speakers strongly prefer the sentences with the clitic in the second conjunct of the coordination. As for the declarative sentences where a full DP is ‘doubled’ by a strong pronoun, the presence of the clitic seems to be optional. Since the speakers still highly accept for the clitic to be used, I exclude that this kind of structures involve a vP left periphery, as stated in Belletti (2005/2009). By maintaining Belletti’s hypothesis of ‘doubling structures’, where strong pronouns, in sentences like (125a), occupy a Focus position in the vP left periphery, we would have to provide two different explanations for the two different Focus positions, in the CP and vP left periphery, respectively. However, this would be uneconomic. On one hand there would be a Focus position which is higher and incompatible with subject clitic pronouns, on the other hand, there would be a lower Focus position which allows for both sentences, with and without subject clitic. In the next Chapter, I will account for the structure of these sentences without assuming that the

pronoun is in a Focus position. I will account for sentences like (125b), as well. Those too, in fact, can be explained without hypothesizing a low left periphery.

My theory does not argue against the proposal regarding the existence of a vP left periphery, however, according to my data, so-called ‘doubling structures’ are no argument in favour of this proposal. The strong pronoun doubling the full DP does not occur in a Topic position, nor is it located in a Focus one. If it were, it would not occur with a subject clitic. On the contrary, based on the acceptability judgments of thirty native speakers, I feel pretty confident in stating that subject clitics can be accepted in ‘doubling structure’ contexts.

Chapter 4

On the Syntax of ‘Doubling Structures’ Occurring with Subject Clitics

4.1 Introduction

In the following chapter, I will account for the syntax of Italian ‘doubling structures’ by quickly summing up both Belletti’s (2005/2009) and Cardinaletti’s (1999) analyses of these structures, as illustrated in Chapter 2. I will offer an overview of the different types and locations of subject clitic pronouns and other preverbal elements occurring in Northern Italian Dialects. Finally, I will account for so-called ‘doubling structures’ occurring in the dialect of Cona, by rejecting Belletti’s proposal on the occurrence of the strong pronoun in a Focus position above vP and by supporting Cardinaletti’s analysis of postverbal strong pronouns as postverbal subjects of the clause. On the contrary, as for those sentences where Belletti takes the strong pronoun to occur in a Topic position, I propose the same derivation given in Giorgi (2013) for Italian epistemic adverbs like *probabilmente*.

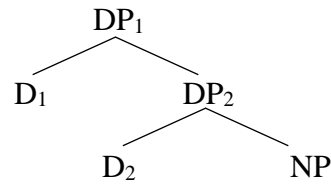
4.2 On the Syntax of Italian ‘Doubling Structures’

With respect to a sentence like (4a), repeated in (158), Belletti suggests for the strong pronoun to occupy a Focus position in the left periphery of vP.

158. Gianni verrà lui.
 Gianni come.fut.3sg he
 ‘Gianni himself will come’.
 Belletti (2009, p. 204)

As stated in Chapter 2, Belletti takes both the strong pronoun and the full DP to originate from one single DP, whose structure is given in (159).

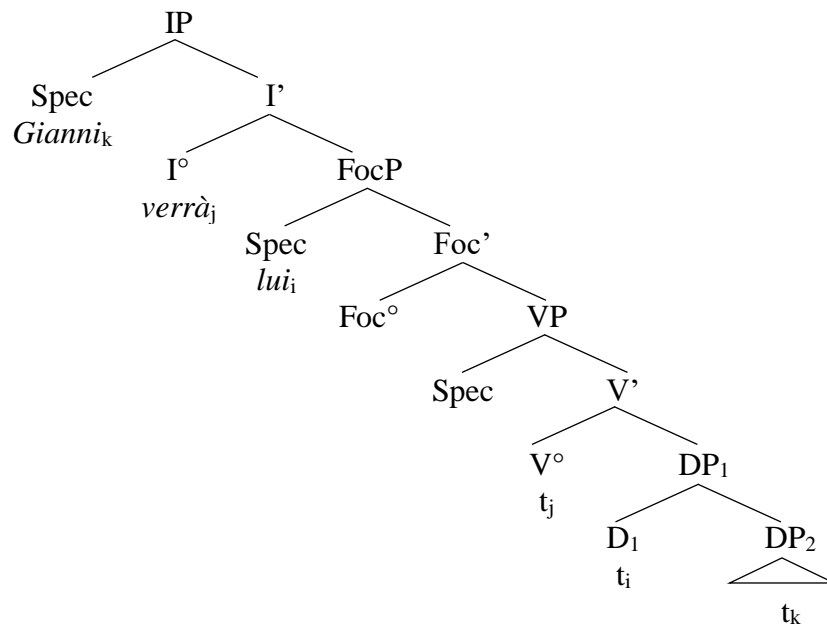
159.



Belletti (2009, p. 205)

According to the hypothesis, the strong pronoun *lui*, the doubler, occupies the D₁ position, while DP₂ hosts the full DP *Gianni*, which constitutes the doublee of the doubling structure. The original big constituent is then split into two and, from this position, DP₂ moves «[...] to some position in the clause structure [...]» and DP₁ undergoes remnant movement towards a position reserved to strong pronouns.⁴ Belletti suggests they are stranded in one of the discourse-related positions located in the left periphery of vP. In a sentence like (158), in fact, the strong pronoun, seems to add new information to the subject, which is a known Topic. Since its interpretation is similar to that of an adverbial expression like *in persona* ‘in person’, Belletti suggests for it to occupy the Specifier of a FocusP above vP.

160.



⁴ Belletti (2004, p. 205)

On the contrary, in a sentence like (161) the meaning of the strong pronoun, as well as the pronunciation, differs from the strong pronoun in (158). For these structures, Belletti suggests that the strong pronoun is in a Topic-like position above vP.

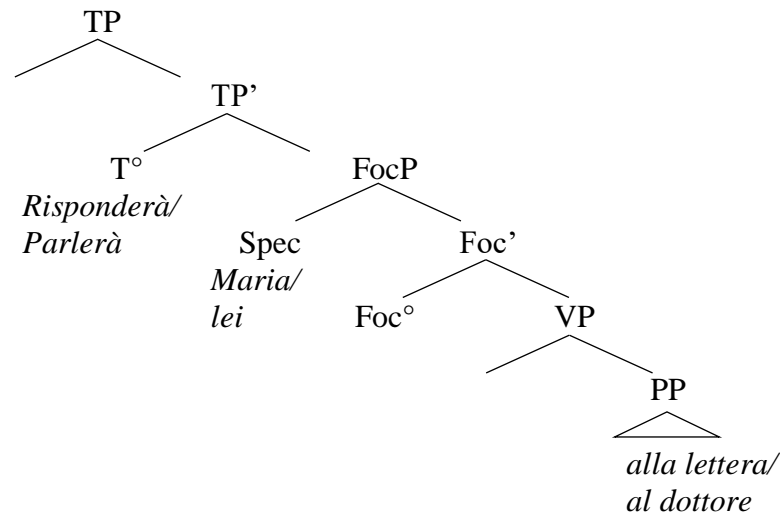
161. Gianni verrà, lui; lo conosco, so che è affidabile.
Gianni come.fut.3sg he him know know that is trustable
‘Gianni will come, as far as he is concerned; I know him, I know he is trustable.’
Belletti (2009, p. 208)

The structure in (160) is given for the sentences displaying an intransitive verb with no complements. As for the sentences with transitive verbs, Belletti distinguishes between those where the complement is a PP and those where it is a direct object. In the first case, she points out that the structure seems to be the same of sentences displaying a postverbal subject followed by a prepositional complement:

162. Risponderà Maria alla lettera.
answer.fut3sg Maria to-the letter
‘Maria will answer to the letter.’
163. Maria parlerà lei al dottore.
Maria speak.fut.3sg she to-the doctor
‘Maria herself will talk to the doctor.’
Belletti (2009, p. 209)

Belletti first hypothesizes for both the strong pronoun and the postverbal subject to occur in a low Focus position, while the prepositional complement remains vP-internal.

164.



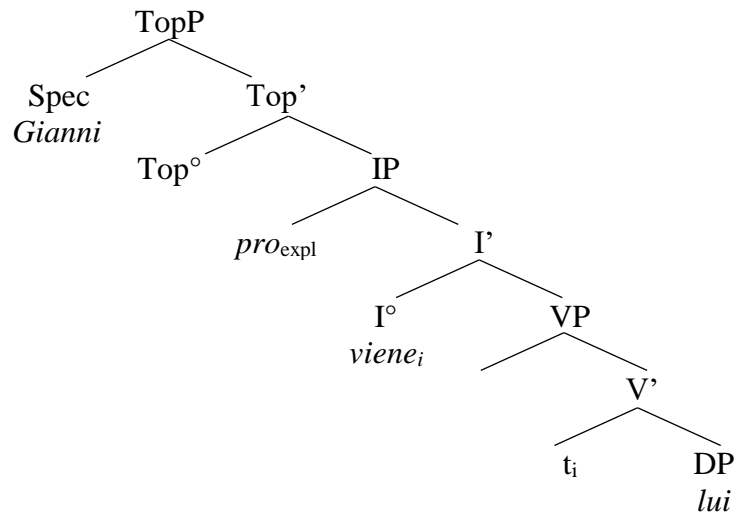
However, examples (10a) and (10b) in Chapter 2, repeated in (165a) and (165b), show that, when the complement of the transitive verb is a direct object, strong pronouns differ from postverbal subjects. Belletti therefore concludes that strong pronouns further move to a higher dedicated position in the clause structure.

165. a. ?*Maria scriverà lei la lettera.*
 Maria write.fut.3sg she the letter
 ‘Maria herself will write the letter’
- b. **Scriverà Maria la lettera.*⁵
 write.fut.3sg Maria the letter
 Belletti (2009, p. 210)

This hypothesis, she states, would also be supported by the distribution of low adverbs like *bene* which can be preceded by strong pronouns, but not by postverbal subjects, as shown in (11a) and (11b), repeated in (166a) and (166b).

⁵ As stated in Chapter 2, in this respect I do not agree with Belletti and personally think that (165b) works fine, with the right intonation. The same holds for (166b), although it may sound odd, like (166a) does.

168.

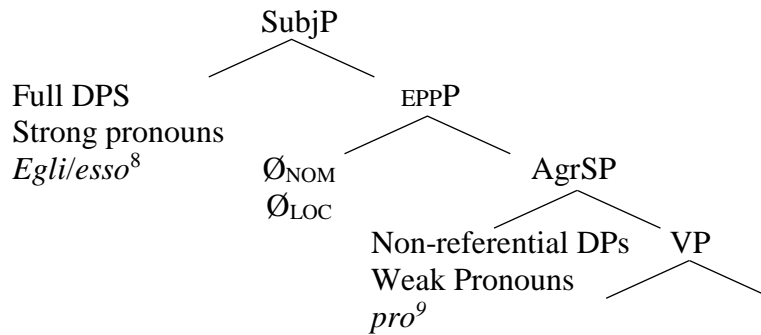


Following Cardinaletti's (2004) Double Subject Hypothesis, *pro* actually occurs in the Specifier of AgrSP, a functional projection where *phi*-features ϕ are checked. This projection can in turn be split into further FPs, like the Middle-Field Subject Position, each one realizing a different ϕ -feature.⁷ Here follows Cardinaletti's structure of subject positions, occurring as a set of projections above VP, where the thematic position of the subject is.

⁷ I refer to Ordóñez (1997) for a neutral subject position lacking Case and labelled as [Spec; NeutP].

- i. Ayer ganó [SpecNeutPJuan] la lotería.
 yesterday won Juan the lottery
 'Juan won the lottery yesterday.'
 Cardinaletti (2004, p. 118)

169.



A first projection, labelled as ‘SubjP’, was postulated in order to host preverbal subjects. However, subjects cannot all occur in [Spec; SubjP]: there are, for instance, dative and locative PPs and predicative DPs, which occur in subject position without agreeing with the verb and being assigned Nominative Case.

170. a. [_{DativePP}A Gianni] è capitata una grande disgrazia.
to Gianni is happened a big misfortune
‘A big misfortune happened to Gianni.’

b. [_{LocativePP}Su Gianni] cadde una grande disgrazia.
on Gianni fell a big misfortune
‘A big misfortune fell on Gianni.’

c. [_{Predicative DP}La causa della rivolta] sono Gianni a Maria.
the cause of+the riot are Gianni and Maria
‘Gianni and Maria are the cause of the riot.’
Cardinaletti (2004, pp. 123-125)

The movement of such XPs to [Spec; SubjP] cannot be motivated by ϕ -features and Nominative Case checking. Cardinaletti, hence, concludes that Subj^o is not endowed with

⁸ I refer to Cardinaletti (2004) for the different behaviour of *egli/esso* with respect to weak pronouns.

⁹ Expletive subject pronouns can either occur in [Spec; AgrSP] or in [Spec; EPPP], depending on their need to check Nominative Case and ϕ features.

ϕ - and Case- features and must contain some features which attract this heterogeneous set of elements alongside with subject DPs. She identifies this feature with the [Subject-of predication] feature which is the feature shared by all these phrases when they occur in preverbal position. Therefore, SubjP is the projection which encodes in the syntax the semantic properties of the subjects and where the [Subject-of-predication] feature is checked. AgrSP, instead, is the necessary head needed for Case- and ϕ - features checking. In addition, there is an EPPP projection, required by the EPP requirement, which «[...] captures the necessity of expletives when no argument is raised to the preverbal subject position [...]».¹⁰

171. a. [SubjP [EPPP \emptyset_{LOC} [AgrSP \`e ... [VP arrivato Gianni]]]]
 b. [SubjP Gianni_k [EPPP t_k [AgrSP t_k \`e ... [VP arrivato t_k]]]]
 c. [SubjP [EPPP \emptyset_{NOM} [AgrSP ha [chiamato_v [Piero_i [VP GIANNI t_v t_i]]]]]
 Cardinaletti (2004, p. 153)

Verified that subject pronouns are not doubling emphatic pronouns, Cardinaletti (1999) also accounts for true emphatic elements which, in Italian, are indeed present and consist of anaphoric elements recurring alone or alongside with pronouns, as illustrated in Chapter 2. Similarly to floating quantifiers, true emphatic elements occupy different positions in the clause and, like floating quantifiers, they are left floating by DP movement to the Specifier of IP.

172. a. Gianni_i ha [t_i lui stesso] fatto questo.
 Gianni has himself done this
 ‘John has done it himself.’
 b. ??Gianni_i ha fatto [t_i lui stesso] questo.

¹⁰ Cardinaletti (2004, p. 151)

c. Gianni_i ha [fatto questo]_j [t_i lui stesso] t_j.
Cardinaletti (1999, pp 87-88)

4.3 On the Syntax of Northern Italian Dialects Subject Clitics

In the literature, from Benincà (1983), Brandi and Cordin (1989) to recent works, the label of ‘subject clitic’ has been used to define what seems to be a heterogeneous range of elements. In this array of subject clitics, the disparate variety of morphemes grouped together is usually taken to occur between AgrP and CP. However, Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004) argue in favour of their occurrence within the Inflectional domain, supporting therefore Cardinaletti’s (2004) proposal on subject positions. Moreover, many authors have tried to account for subject clitic pronouns by hypothesizing two distinct paradigms for proclitics and enclitics. Cardinaletti and Repetti, however, claim that no two-paradigm hypothesis is needed.

As stated above, in most studies on Northern Italian Dialects, all the preverbal material is taken to be a subject clitic. Poletto (2000), for example, distinguishes between vocalic and consonantal subject clitics, as well as among Person, Number, Deictic and Invariable subject clitics. According to Poletto, these four different types of subject clitics all occupy a different position in the structure, which can be determined by looking at their distribution with respect to other elements, e.g. their occurrence to the left/right of the preverbal negative markers, their occurrence in coordinates structures, etc. In Poletto’s analysis, Person subject clitics encode a distinction between second and third person, the first being associated with a [+ Hearer] feature, the second with a [- Hearer] feature.

173. a. (Ti) te dormi.
(you) persSCL.2sg-epenthetic vowel sleep.2sg
‘You sleep.’
- b. (Eo) el dorme.
(he) epenthetic vowel-persSCL.3sg.m sleep.3sg
‘He sleeps.’
Cona (Venice)

Notice that what is usually referred to as ‘subject clitic’ is actually the occurrence of a subject clitic with an epenthetic vowel. Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004), in fact, argue that

only /t/ and /l/ are true subject clitics, alongside with /i/ found in the third person plural.¹¹ The epenthetic nature of the vowel is confirmed by those contexts where the consonantal clitic occurs without involving any vowel. See the following example, where there is no need to recur to an epenthetic vowel as Poletto's Deictic already acts as the syllable nucleus for the subject clitic cluster.

174. A l mangia.
 deicSCL persSCL.3sg.m eat.3sg
 'He is eating.'
 San Michele al Tagliamento (Venice) – Poletto and Tortora (2016, p. 775)

Moreover, /t/ and /l/ can both be syllabified as a coda or as an onset. The position of the vowel varies according to its distribution: as pointed out in Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004), in the dialect of Donceto (Piacenza), the vowel follows the consonant if followed by /s/ + stop consonant cluster.

175. a. ət be:v
 you.sg drink
 'You drink.'

¹¹ Both Vanelli (1984) and Poletto (1999) give a list of the various epenthetic vowels the two consonantal clitics combine with.

- ii. a. 2sg: [at], [et], [it], [ə], [ot]
 [ta], [te], [ti], [tu]
 b. 3sg: [al], [el], [il], [əl], [ol], [ul]

I just want to point out that, in the dialect of Cona, the third persons subject clitics have undergone a phonological process of reduction and their actual forms are *eo* and *ea*. Although /l/ is considered to be the true subject clitic, the forms attested in Cona do not display any /l/.

b. Tə skri:v

you.sg write

‘You write’

Donceto (Piacenza) – Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 16)

The position of the vowel is, hence, totally predictable only by assuming its epenthetic nature.

The preverbal vowel found in the third person plural, instead, is not taken to be epenthetic as it is not sensitive to the phonological context: its occurrence is obligatory with all verbs independently of their initial sound. In addition, contrary to the vowel occurring with /t/ and /l/, it cannot be deleted when occurring with a complementizer.

176. a. /so + k*(e)+ (ə)t + be:v/

‘I know that you.sg drink.’

b. /so + k*(e)+ (ə)l + be:v/

‘I know that he drinks.’

c. /so + k(e) + i +be:vən/

‘I know that they drink.’

Donceto (Piacenza) – Cardinaletti and Repetti (pp. 20, 23)

The vowel of the complementizer in (176c), being unstressed, can be deleted in rapid speech, while it cannot be deleted in a context like (176a), or (176b), where it is the necessary to insert an epenthetic vowel.

On the positions of the three subject clitics, Cardinaletti and Repetti abandon the traditional analyses where a *pro* occurs in subject position and subject clitics enrich the head of Inflection in order to license the null subject. In their proposal, subject clitics occur in the head of a FP above AgrSP, the projection where weak pronouns occur.

Poletto (2000), on the contrary, distinguishes four different projections, where she locates the four different types of clitics she identifies. As said above, Person subject clitics encode a [+/- Hearer] feature. In Number subject clitics, instead, Poletto and Tortora (2016) include those clitics encoding the features of person, number and gender: the consonantal clitic /l/, bearing the [- Hearer] feature, combines with a vowel, which is not

epenthetic, expressing number and gender features. Like Person subject clitics, they are not found throughout the whole paradigm and are only displayed in the third person feminine singular and plural.¹²

177. a. La magna.
numbSCL.3sgf eat.3sg
'She is eating.'

b. Le magna
numbSCL.3pl.f eat.3pl
'They are eating.'

Venetian – Poletto and Tortora (2016, p. 776)

Deictic subject clitics, instead, encode a participant feature: the first and second persons of the paradigm being [+ Participant], the third persons being [- Participant].

¹² Northern Italian Dialects display different behaviours with respect to the realization of what Poletto labels as 'Number subject clitics': there are varieties, for example, that do not distinguish between masculine/feminine in the third person plural.

iii. a. Al ven.
persSCL.3sg.m come.3sg
'He is coming'

b. E ven.
numSCL come.3sg
'She is coming.'

c. E vegnin.
deicSCL come.3sg
'They are coming.'

Felettis di Palmanova (Udine) – Poletto and Tortora (2016, p. 776)

178. a. I mangin.
deicSCL eat.1pl
'We are eating.'

b. A mangin.
deicSCL eat.3pl
'They are eating.'

San Michele al Tagliamento (Venice) – Poletto (2000, p. 13)

In the variety of Donceto, the first person singular and plural and the second person plural are realized as a *schwa*, which is not taken to be epenthetic nor to be a subject clitic. Cardinaletti and Repetti, in fact, claim that subject clitics are always obligatory, while the preverbal *schwa* found in these persons of the paradigm is optional. The *schwa* seems to behave like Poletto's Invariable clitics, as it occurs higher than negation and cannot be repeated in coordinated structures. According to Poletto, Invariable clitics, include those clitics that do not encode any subject feature at all and that, whenever present, display the same morphological form for all persons of the paradigm.

179. a. A vegni mi
invSCL come.1sg I
'I am coming.'

b. A ta vegnat ti.
invSCL persSCL come.2sg you
'You are coming.'

c. A vegn luu.
invSCL come.3sg.m he
'He is coming.'

d. A vegnum.
invSCL come.1pl
'We are coming.'

e. A vegnuf
 invSCL come.2pl
 ‘You are coming.’

f. A veng lur.
 invSCL come.3pl.m they
 ‘They are coming.’

Lugano (Ticino) – Poletto (2000, pp. 12-13)

The same holds for Paduan clitic *a*, which is not related to any subject position and marks the entire sentence as new information.¹³ The clitic displays the same morphological realization for all persons of the paradigm, however its occurrence depends on the pragmatic function of the sentence. That is why, in Paduan, minimal pairs like the following one can be found:

180. a. Piove.
 rain.3sg
 ‘It is raining.’

b. A piove!
 invSCL rain.3sg
 ‘It is raining!’
 Paduan – Benincà (1983, p. 19)

What Poletto identifies as Deictic pronouns, in Cardinaletti and Repetti is not taken to be a subject clitic, but the realization of a functional head *Z* hosting the features of first person singular and plural and second person singular. In this case, contrary to what suggested for the third person singular and plural and the second person singular, Cardinaletti and Repetti take the subject to be a weak pronoun *pro*.

¹³ This is also confirmed by the fact that *a* is not etimologically derived from a nominative subject pronoun, exactly like *ke* in Provençal. I refer to Benincà (2017) for further details.

181. [ZP (ə) [AgrSP *pro* be:vi ... [VP tk ti]]]
 ‘I drink’

Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 31)

Since Cardinaletti and Repetti assume that the functional head encoding ϕ - features is located in the IP layer and that ZP is located in the subject-field, the *schwa* occurring in the first and second persons of the paradigm is labelled as ‘subject-field vowel’. In this respect, their analysis contrasts Poletto’s, according to which both Invariable and Deictic pronouns are located in the CP layer. The distribution of Person subject clitics, she points out, differs from the distribution of Invariable ones with respect to preverbal negative markers and their occurrence in coordinated structures.

182. a. No el vien.
 not persSCL.3sg.m come.3sg
 ‘He is not coming.’
- b. *El no vien.
 persSCL.3sg.m not come.3sg
- c. El magna e el beve.
 persSCL.3sg.m eat.3sg and persSCL.3sg.m drink.3sg
 ‘He is eating and drinking.’
- d. *El magna e beve.
 persSCL.3sg eat.3sg and drink.3sg
183. a. A no vegno.
 invSCL not come.1sg
 ‘I am not coming.’
- b. *No a vegno.
 not invSCL come.1sg

c. A magno e bevo.
 invSCL eat.1sg and drink.1sg
 ‘I eat and drink.’

d. ?A magno e a bevo.
 invSCL eat.1sg and invSCL drink.1sg
 Cona (Venice)

Since *el* occurs to the right of the preverbal negation and needs to be repeated in the second conjunct of the coordination, it is taken to occupy a position which is lower in the structure than the position occupied by Invariable clitics like *a*. The Person subject clitic in (182a – d) has a different distribution than the Invariable subject clitic in (183a – d), which has a much more similar distribution to full DPs in (184a – d):

184. a. Mario no(l) vien.
 Mario not(persSCL.3sg.m) come.3sg
 ‘Mario is not coming.’

b. *No Mario vien.
 not Mario come.3sg

c. Mario magna e beve.
 Mario eat.3sg.m and drink.3sg
 ‘Mario eats and drinks.’

d. ?Mario magna e Mario beve.
 Mario eat.3sg and Mario drink.3sg
 Cona (Venice)

As they occur higher than preverbal negative markers, Poletto takes both Deictic and Invariable subject clitics to be merged higher than NegP. On the contrary, Number and Person subject clitics, generally occur on the right of preverbal negative markers, hence below NegP. The distinction between clitics occurring in prenegative position and clitics

occurring in postnegative position would be confirmed, according to Poletto, by the fact that the first obligatorily cluster with a complementizer, whenever present.

185. a. Ara ch'a vegno.
look that+invSCL come.1sg
'Look, I am coming.'

b. *Ara che a vegno.
Loreo (Rovigo) – Poletto (2000, p. 21)

With Number and Person subject clitics, instead, clustering is optional.

186. a. Ara ch' el vien.
look that+persSCL.3sg.m come.3sg
'Look, he is coming.'

b. Ara che el vien.
Loreo (Rovigo) – Poletto (2000, p. 21)

As Kayne (1990) excludes right-adjunction, Poletto accounts for the mandatory cluster in (185a) by hypothesizing that Invariable and Deictic subject clitics are merged in the CP layer, in a higher position than the position occupied by the complementizer. From this position, it is the complementizer that moves to adjoin to the subject clitic. However, as illustrated above, the clustering constraints can easily be explained by adopting Cardinaletti and Repetti's analysis on the nature of the epenthetic vowel occurring in (186) and the subject-field position of the vowel in (185).

Poletto argues that, Invariable and Deictic subject clitics, besides interacting with CP elements, are also sensitive to the type of *wh*- items.

187. a. Co vegno, a te lo digo.
when come.1sg invSCL you it tell
'I will tell you when I come.'

b. *Co ca vegno, a te lo dico.
when that come.1sg invSCL you it tell

- c. *Co a vegno a te lo digo.
 when invSCL come.1sg invSCL1 you it tell
 Adria (Rovigo) – Poletto (1993, p. 27)

Since *a* is in complementary distribution with a complementizer, Poletto (1993) argues that *co*, a reduced form for *quando*, must be located in C, contrary to other *wh*- items which are usually located in [Spec; CP].

Although Invariable and Deictic subject clitics are both taken to occur in the CP layer, only Invariable subject clitics express a theme/rheme distinction. Benincà (1983), in fact, points out that in Paduan the clitic *a* is used in sentences conveying new information and in exclamative contexts. This explains why *a* occurs in yes/no questions (188a) but not in *wh*- questions (188b) and why it is incompatible with left-dislocated XPs (189).

188. a. A veto via?
 invSCL go-ICL.2sg away¹⁴
 ‘Are you going away?’
- b. *Dove a zelo ndà?
 where invSCL be.3sg+ICL gone
189. *EL GATO a go visto.
 the cat invSCL have seen
 ‘I have seen the cat.’
 Paduan – Benincà (1983, p. 26)

Marking the sentence as new information, Invariable subject clitics are incompatible with *wh*- items, left dislocation and focalization. Therefore, Poletto argues that they move

¹⁴ Both Benincà (1983) and Poletto (1993, 2000) label as ‘ICL’, Interrogative Clitic, the clitic occurring in postverbal position. Although this set of elements is usually described as a different paradigm of subject clitics, Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004) argue in favour of a unified analysis of subject clitics. I will illustrate the hypothesis in the following pages.

within CP, from the head where *wh*- items occur to the left-dislocated position, via FocusP.

190. [LD_{CP} inV_{SCL_i} [_{FocusCP} t_i [_{WhCP} t_i [IP]]]]

Poletto (2000, p. 24)

Deictic subject clitics, on the contrary, do not encode any theme/rheme distinction and are compatible with dislocated items:

191. A ciasa o soi già laat.

at home deicSCL be.1sg already been

‘I have already been at home.’

Palmanova (Udine) – Poletto (2000, p. 26)

Deictic subject clitics also interact with *wh*- items by being compatible with some of them and incompatible with others:

192. a. Do (*a) vanu?

where deicSCL go.3pl

‘Where are they going?’

b. Quantis caramelis *(i) atu mangiat?

how many candies deicSCL have.2sg+ICL.2sg eaten

‘How many candies did you eat?’

San Michele al Tagliamento (Venice) – Poletto (2000, p. 25)

Wh- elements seem, therefore, to split into two classes: monosyllabic *wh*- items, incompatible with Deictics, occur lower, while other *wh*- items occur higher than Deictic subject clitics:

193. [_{CP} *wh*- [_{CP} deicSCL [_{CP} *wh*- [IP]]]]

Poletto (2000, p. 27)

On the basis of the data discussed above, Poletto proposes the following structure:

194. [LD_{CP} inV_{SCL_i} [_{CP} deicSCL [_{WhP} t_i [IP]]]]

Poletto (2000, p. 27)

As shown in (194), Deictic subject clitics interfere with the movement of Invariable subject clitics, thus deriving their non-compatibility. In the IP layer, instead, are taken to occur Person and Number clitics. Poletto suggests that Person subject clitics occur lower in the structure.

195. [NegP [NumbP numbSCL [PersP persSCL [IP]]]]
 Poletto (2000, p. 28)

However, Number subject clitics, which also encode a Person feature, must be generated where Person subject clitics are and then move higher to check the features for number and/or gender. This accounts for the reason why the two types of subject clitics never co-occur. Thus, subject clitics are allowed to move within the agreement domain. This proposal also accounts for those dialects where Person and Number subject clitics occur before preverbal negative markers or those varieties, like Paduan, where Person subject clitics behave like Number subject clitics in that they can be omitted in the second conjunct of coordinated structures if the two verbs are different, but the object is the same. Notice that there are no subject clitics expressing a [+/- Speaker] feature. Poletto, however, hypothesizes that this is also present, but belongs to a lower position of Person subject clitics. No clitic is found in this position, which is the landing site for the inflected verb.

196. [NegP [NumbP numbSCL [HearerP persSCL [SpeakerP V [TP]]]]]
 Poletto (2000, p. 31)

The fact that the position in SpeakerP is occupied by the inflected verb explains why, in most Northern Italian Dialects, there are no subject clitics for the first person. The whole structure of the Agreement Field, i.e. the set of FPs structurally encoding subject clitics as stated in Poletto, is reported below.

197. [LDP invSCL_i [CP deicSCL [WhP t_i [IP [NegP [NumbP numbSCL [HearerP persSCL [SpeakerP infIV [TP]]]]]]]]]
 Poletto (2000, p. 36)

Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004), however, disagree with the analysis above and claim that the fact that the Deictic, which is actually a subject-field vowel, occurs before negation

does not demonstrate its occurrence in the Complementizer layer. In fact, there are also full subjects that occur before negation and yet they are located in the Inflectional domain. Therefore, the subject-field vowel occurring before negation can also be located within IP.

198. a. ə n be:v mia.

‘I do not drink.’

b. me (ə)n be:v mia.

‘I do not drink.’

b. Giani əl nə be:və mia.

‘John does not drink.’

Donceto (Piacenza) – Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 32)

As shown in (198b), the subject-field vowel follows the strong pronoun *me*, which occurs in [Spec; SubjP], in the Inflectional layer. As a consequence, the *Z* must also occur in IP. Its occurrence in the subject-field would also be confirmed by the great cross-linguistic variation found, among Northern Italian Dialects, in the phonetic realization of this vowel and by the fact that, contrary to true subject clitics that are omitted, it is always preserved in the speech of aphasic patients. If this preverbal *schwa* were a subject clitic, on a par with /t/, /l/ and /i/, there would be no way to account for such a selective deficit.

Furthermore, as seen in the previous section of the chapter, Cardinaletti’s (2004) analysis of subject positions reconsiders the occurrence of preverbal subjects in the Complementizer domain, by claiming that «[...] subjects *can* appear in the Comp domain, not that they *must*». ¹⁵ She also states that Poletto’s (2000) assumption of Deictic subject clitics occurring in CP is only based on the fact that they precede the complementizer in some Northern Italian varieties.

¹⁵ Cardinaletti (2004, p. 142)

199. a. A venta che gnun ch' a fasa bordel.

SCL need.3sg that nobody that+SCL do_{SUBJ} noise

'It is necessary that nobody makes noise.'

Turin – Cocchi and Poletto (2000, p. 7)

b. Mario ch' a s presenta subit.

Mario that+SCL go_{SUBJ} immediately

'Mario has to go immediately.'

Borghetto di Vara (La Spezia) – Cocchi and Poletto (2000, p. 7)

Cardinaletti (2004) points out that sentences like those displayed in (199a) and (199b) all contain a subjunctive verb. If the low complementizer is taken to realize the irrealis Mood head, located in the Inflectional domain, then Deictic subject clitics as well can be taken to occur within Inflection. According to Cinque (1999), Subjunctive, alongside with Future, is an inflectional head which realizes morphosyntactic features of the verb and needs therefore to be considered as occurring in the Inflectional domain. This conclusion leads Cardinaletti to postulate that all subject positions are located in the Inflectional domain. Consequently, despite the massive language variation found with respect to the distribution of preverbal subjects and despite the assumption that more than one subject position must be assumed, the preverbal subject-field has the exact same properties both in Null Subjects and in Non-Null Subject Languages and is thus located in the Inflectional domain. Cardinaletti rejects the hypotheses according to which preverbal subjects in Null Subject and Non-Null Subject languages have a different status, as «The difference between the two types of languages reduces to the nature of the agreement head, which in the former languages, but not in the latter, is able to legitimate a null subject.»¹⁶

On the nature of the vowel labelled by Poletto as 'Invariable clitic' and occurring in all persons of the paradigm, Cardinaletti and Repetti argue that it is not an epenthetic vowel, as it is not sensitive to the phonological context, nor it is a subject-field vowel as it is found in all forms of the paradigm, nor a subject clitic, otherwise it would be obligatory. On the contrary, so-called Invariable clitics are optional. As pointed out by Benincà (1983), in Paduan they can occur both in declarative sentences conveying new

¹⁶ Cardinaletti (2004, p. 116)

information and yes-no questions. In other dialects, like Donceto, they can only occur in yes-no questions. Both in declarative and interrogative sentences, they can co-occur with other subject clitics. If both of them were true subject clitics, it would be impossible to account for them in light of a derivational approach to clitics. There cannot be, in fact, two subject pronouns moving from one and the same position. Nor can two clitics be linked to one and the same position.

As pointed out in Benincà (1983) and Poletto (2000), Invariable subject clitics express a theme/rheme distinction and are incompatible with *wh*-, focused and topicalized items. Poletto assumes they are generated in a *wh*- position and then moved to the Topic head, via Focus, thus deriving the incompatibility with the contexts mentioned above.

200. [TopicP inVSCL_i [FocusP t_i [whP t_i [IP]]]]

Poletto (2000, p. 24)

However, as illustrated in Cardinaletti and Repetti, there are also vocalic entities, like those found in Donceto, that do not fit Poletto's typology: the preverbal *schwa* optionally co-occurring with postverbal clitics does not express any theme/rheme distinction and does not cluster with complementizers. Cardinaletti and Repetti argue that it is not a clitic, but a different syntact entity, optionally realizing a functional head activated in questions.

201. [FocusP (ə) [YP be:vi-ət_k [AgrSP t_k t_i ... [VP t_k t_i]]]]

drink.2sg-SCL.2sg

'Do you drink?'

Donceto (Piacenza) – Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 42)

As shown in (201), the verb moves from the position it occupies in declarative clauses to the position which precedes the subject clitic, in YP. The movement is triggered by the need for the verb to check the inflectional [*wh*-] feature.

Contrary to *a* found in Paduan, which cannot occur in *wh*- questions, Donceto's *schwa* is obligatory realized. In order to explain why it is obligatory in *wh*- clauses but optional in yes-no questions, Cardinaletti and Repetti hypothesize that *wh*- phrases move into the Specifier of the Focus head realized by the interrogative vowel. This, in turn, would be

«[...] the realization of the Spec-Head agreement between the *wh*- phrase and the interrogative functional head.»¹⁷

202. a. kwã:t an ə gɛ-t
how-many years you2sg have
'How old are you ?'

b. * kwã:t an gɛ-t

Donceto (Piacenza) – Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 43)

In yes-no questions, instead, they hypothesize the presence of an empty Operator, which is merged higher than [Spec; FocusP], presumably in InterrogativeP. Since the Operator is not moved from a lower position, there is no Spec-Head agreement with the Focus head taking place and the occurrence of the *schwa* is optional.

Among Norther Italian Dialects, there are other varieties as well displaying preverbal vowels like those found in Paduan or Donceto. If they were all the same Invariable clitic, as in Poletto's analysis, they would not have such a different distribution or such a different function, e.g. marking the sentence as new information. These differences, however, can be accounted for by hypothesizing they are not subject clitics but realizations of different functional heads. Therefore, the syntactic behaviour of preverbal vowels depends on which functional head they realize.

To sum up, in preverbal position, besides true subject clitics, there can be epenthetic vowels, subject-field vowels and interrogative vowels. True subject clitics can also be found in postverbal position. Although they are usually taken to constitute a different set of clitics behaving like inflectional affixes, Cardinaletti and Repetti take them to belong to one single paradigm, alongside with preverbal subject clitics. This would be confirmed by the fact that true subject clitics cannot occur both in proclitic and enclitic position at the same time.

203. a. *ət be:v-ət
proclitic.2sg drink-enclitic.2sg

¹⁷ Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 43)

b. *əl be:və-l
 proclitic.3sg drink-enclitic.3sg

c. *i be:vən-jə
 proclitic.3pl drink-enclitic.3pl

Donceto (Piacenza) – Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 63)

On the contrary, enclitics can occur with what Cardinaletti and Repetti have identified as a subject-field vowel. The mandatory occurrence of the former and the optionality of the latter not only confirms that they are different syntactic entities, but also proves that enclitics are true subject clitics, while the subject-field vowel is not. The same holds for the interrogative vowel occurring in yes-no questions and *wh*-questions: if it were a clitic, it could not co-occur with enclitics. On the contrary, examples like (204) are found.

204. dō:d ə vo-jə
 where interrogative vowel go.1sg-enclitic.1sg
 ‘Where do I go?’

Donceto (Piacenza) – Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 66)

The sentence above cannot be taken to be an instance of clitic doubling, which is excluded in a derivational approach to clitics: the preverbal *schwa*, in fact, realizes a functional head and is not a subject clitic pronoun. The pronouns occurring in enclisis, instead, are all obligatory and taken to be true subject clitics. Enclisis, however, only occurs if «[...] the verb is morphologically complete, i.e., it has checked all its morphologically relevant features before adjoining to (the clitic is adjoining to) the head Y [...]».¹⁸ The occurrence of the enclitic pronoun is also motivated by Cardinaletti and Starke’s (1999) Deficiency Theory, according to which clitic pronouns have a smaller structure than weak ones. Since the smallest possible structure is chosen, whenever possible, the enclitic in (205a) is expected, while the occurrence of a weak pronoun like *pro* in (205b) is ruled out.

¹⁸ Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 82)

205. a. be:v-jə
 drink-enclitic.1sg
 ‘Am I drinking?’
- b. *be:v *pro*
 drink *pro*
 ‘Am I drinking?’
 Donceto (Piacenza) – Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, pp. 80-81)

To conclude, while in declarative sentences there is a weak pronoun *pro*, the movement of the verbs makes a clitic pronoun possible in interrogatives.

206. a. [AgrSP *pro*_k be:v_i ... [VP t_k t_i]]
- b. [YP be:v_i-jə_k [AgrSP t_k t_i ... [VP t_k t_i]]]
- c. *[YP be:v_i [AgrSP *pro*_k t_i ... [VP t_k t_i]]]
- Donceto (Piacenza) – Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 83)

Northern Italian Dialects display great cross-linguistic variation in the realization of enclitic pronouns: there are varieties where they occur in all the persons of the paradigm and varieties where they only occur in some persons of the paradigm. Their occurrence depends on the scope of verb movement. However, it never happens that the clitics found in enclitic position are fewer than those found in proclitic position. They can only be more, in line with Renzi and Vanelli’s (1983) Generalization 9:

207. If interrogative sentences are formed via subject-inversion, (i) the number of enclitic pronouns found in interrogative sentences is equal to or greater than the number of proclitic pronouns in declarative sentences, and (ii) the subject pronouns found in proclitic position are also found in enclitic position.

The limited scope of the verb is also responsible for the occurrence of *pro* in declarative clauses. A clitic pronoun should always be preferred over a weak one, unless the clitic itself is excluded. A pronoun can only raise above the weak position and cliticize if the

verb moves sufficiently high in the structure. The scope of the verb often depends on the features that the verb has to check overtly.

In pioneering studies by Renzi and Vanelli (1983), the following generalizations were also given:

208. a. Generalization 1: if a variety has at least one subject clitic, it is 2sg;
 b. Generalization 2: if a variety has two subject clitics, they are 2sg and 3sg;
 c. Generalization 3: if a variety has three subject clitics, they are 2sg, 3sg, 3pl.

According to what stated in (208), the second person singular verb moves higher than the verbs conjugated in the other persons. Its movement makes the clitic pronoun possible instead of the weak pronoun *pro*. If a variety has two subject clitics, instead, it also has a verb that, in the second and third persons singular, moves higher than the verb conjugated in the other persons. If three subject clitics are found, the third person plural verb in turn moves even higher. Therefore, similarly to what stated in Poletto (1999), Cardinaletti and Repetti also suggest a serialization of clitic pronouns, whose realization is correlated to the scope of verb movement.

209.	3 rd pl.	3 rd sg.	2 nd sg.	
				[AgrSP <i>pro</i> V _i]
			V _i	[AgrSP t _i]
		V _i	t _i	[AgrSP t _i]
	V _i	t _i	t _i	[AgrSP t _i]

Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 91)

As a result, the whole serialization of the functional heads occurring in the subject-field would be represented as follows:

210.	1 st sg.&pl., 2 nd pl.	<i>wh-</i>	3 rd pl.	3 rd sg.	2 nd sg.	
	[ZP \emptyset		[YP	[X'P /i/	[X'P /l/	[XP /t/ [AgrSP <i>pro</i>]]]]]]

Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004, p. 92)

The implication that the occurrence of subject clitics is correlated to overt verb movement allows to account for the differences between proclitic and enclitic pronouns in addition to the differences between the persons that have a proclitic pronoun and those displaying the weak pronoun *pro* as the subject. Subject clitics, however, undergo the typical clitic derivation, i.e. XP-movement followed by X^o-movement. The occurrence of the subject clitic implies that verb movement took place, otherwise a *pro* would occur.

4.4 On the Syntax of Northern Italian Dialects ‘Doubling Structures’

As illustrated by the data in Chapter 3, subject clitics are excluded with Focus (211a), cleft (211b) or *wh*- subjects (211c).

211. a. Me sorea (*ea) xé partia, no me fradeo.
 my sister (SCL.3sg.f) is left not my brother
 ‘My sister has left, not my brother.’
- b. Che xé che te credi che (*el) gabbia teefonà?
 who is that SCL.2sg believe.2sg that (SCL.3sg.m) have.subj phoned
 ‘Who do you believe has phoned?’
- c. Xé me sorea che (*ea) xé partia, no me fradeo.
 is my sister that (SCL.3sg.f) is left not my brother
 ‘It is my sister who has left, not my brother.’
 Cona (Venice)

For this kind of structures, Benincà (1983) proposes the following derivations:

212. a. El tozo che (*el) ze vignù ieri...
 the boy who (*SCL.3sg.m) is come yesterday
 ‘The boy who came yesterday...’
- b. [F [SN El tozo [F' wh che [F [SN t] [SV ze vignù ieri]]]]...]
- c. *[F [SN El tozo [F' wh che [F [SN t] [SV [pro el] ze vignù ieri]]]]...]

213. a. GIORGIO (*el) ze rivà, no Carlo.
 GIORGIO (*SCL.3sg.m) is come not Carlo
 ‘GIORGIO came, not Carlo.’
- b. [_F GIORGIO [_F *wh* [_F [_{SN} t] [_{SV} ze rivà]]]], [no Carlo].
- c. *_F[_F GIORGIO [_F *wh* [_F [_{SN} t] [_{SV} [_{pro} el] ze rivà]]]], [no Carlo].
 Paduan – Benincà (1983, p. 22)

The subject position in (212c) and (213c) is already occupied by a variable, i.e. the trace left by *wh*- movement, and the clitic is ungrammatical. The fact that clitics and variables are in complementary distribution, supports Benincà’s (2017) proposal on the occurrence of subject clitics with respect to lexical DPs. Benincà, in fact, argues that subject clitics are not optional, as it seems, when occurring with preverbal full DPs. The two categories co-occur, she claims, only when the lexical subject is left-dislocated, thus deriving the non-compatibility of subject clitics with subject-like Operators, which cannot be left-dislocated. Therefore, the apparent optionality of subject clitics in simple declarative clauses depends on the actual position of the lexical subject.

In the three contexts illustrated in (211), all the informants always chose the sentence with no subject clitic over the sentence where the subject clitic occurs. As stated above, this preference can be accounted for by postulating that when in the subject position there is a trace of *wh*- movement, the occurrence of subject clitics is banned. They cannot occur, in fact, in a structure where they compete with the trace of the extracted subject because of *theta*-role assignment. This prediction leaves with the expectation that subject clitics are arguments. However, as Nicola Munaro made me notice, in the dialect of Belluno, subject clitics can optionally be realized, despite the presence of a focalized subject.

214. GIANNI (al) vien doman, no Mario.
 Gianni (SCL.3sg) come.3sg tomorrow not Mario
 ‘It is Gianni that comes tomorrow, not Mario.’
 Bellunese

Bellunese seems to turn down the assumption that the clitic is in an argumental position. However, since this is not relevant for the present discussion, I leave the question aside in order to focus on so-called ‘doubling structures’.

For a sentence like (215), Belletti argues that the strong pronoun occurs in a Topic position in the left periphery above vP.

215. Paolo xé rivà in tempo par magnare ea poenta calda, eo.
Paolo is come on time to eat the polenta warm he
Mario, invesse, ea ga catà freda.
Mario instead it has found cold
‘Paolo came on time to eat warm polenta. Mario, instead, found it cold.’
Cona (Venice)

The fact that in (215) the occurrence of a subject clitic is fully accepted may seem to support both Belletti’s (2005/2009) proposal of a vP left periphery and Cecchetto’s (1999) analysis of Right-dislocation structures. The strong pronoun in (215) and (216) seems to occur in a Topic-like dislocated position above vP, thus deriving the grammatical occurrence of what seems to be a resumptive clitic.

216. Paolo el_{SCL.3sg.m} xé rivà in tempo par magnare ea poenta calda, eo. [...]
Cona (Venice)

Subject clitic pronouns, in fact, are taken to be ungrammatical when occurring with postverbal subjects which are not right-dislocated.

217. a. *El vegnarà Paolo.
SCL come.fut.3sg Paolo
‘Paolo will come.’

b. El vegnarà, Paolo.
Cona (Venice)

However, since there is evidence, from the dialect of Cona, to argue against Belletti’s (2005/2009) location of strong pronouns in a Focus position above vP, I claim that a different analysis is also needed for those pronouns taken to occur in a Topic position. I

therefore propose for the strong pronoun in (215) and (216) to be a parenthetical, i.e. an expression interpolated in the so-called ‘host clause’. This proposal would also account for the downgrading intonation of the clause, when uttered.

By assuming that both (215) and (216) are parentheticals, the presence of the clitic is not problematic as it is in those structures where the strong pronoun occurs, according to Belletti, in a Focus position. For the structures of (215) and (216), I refer to the theories presented in Chapter 2 for Italian epistemic adverbs like *probabilmente*: I take the strong pronoun to be the instantiation of a head K, encoding a [+Comma] feature which is responsible for the comma intonation associated with the pronoun.

As illustrated in Giorgi (2010), parentheticals are projections headed by K, in the layer of KommaP, occurring on the left of CP. Giorgi also states that «[...] the host sentence is always realized twice: once in the KP on the left of the parenthetical and once as the KP complement, on its right, even in those cases where no fragment appears on the right [...]».¹⁹ Based on these assumptions, the basic structure of (215) and (216) would be the following one, independently from the occurrence of the subject clitic pronoun.

218. [_{KP} K [*eo* [_{KP} K [_{CP} Paolo (el) xé rivà in tempo...]]]]
 Cona (Venice)

From the basic structure in (218), the linearization of the elements is derived through re-merging of the whole CP in KP:

219. [_{KP} K [_{CP} Paolo (el) xé rivà in tempo...]_i K [*eo* [_{KP} K **CP_i**]]]
 Cona (Venice)

As for those sentences where Belletti takes the strong pronoun to occur in a Focus position, I agree with the analysis given in Cardinaletti (1999) for sentences like (158), in Italian. Cardinaletti argues for the pronoun to occupy the canonical vP-internal subject position and to be the thematic subject of the clause. The preverbal subject position, instead, is filled by the expletive pronoun *pro*, while the preverbal lexical DP is taken to occupy a non-argumental, sentence-peripheral position, presumably TopicP.

¹⁹ Giorgi (2013, p. 9)

220. TopicP To zie AgrsP *pro* expl ga teefonà $\text{eore}_{\text{postvSubject}}$ par dirteo.
 your aunts have phoned they.f to tell-you
 ‘Your aunts themselves have phoned to tell you.’
 Cona (Venice)

During my investigation, the speakers were given a repetition task: contrary to (215) and (216), the strong pronoun in (220) was not associated with a downgrading intonation, nor it was uttered after a neat pause in the sentence. Besides the different intonation, the strong pronoun in (220) also has a different interpretation with respect to the pronouns in (215) and (216). The meaning it conveys is similar to that of an adverbial expression like *in persona* ‘in person’.

Again, the occurrence of subject clitics was abundantly accepted in these structures as well:

221. To zie $\text{eSCL}_{3\text{pl.f}}$ ga teefonà eore par dirteo.
 Cona (Venice)

However, if we conceive of strong pronouns, in sentences like (220), as occurring in a Focus position, the grammatical status of the subject clitic in (221) is unexpected. As illustrated in (211a), (211b) and (211c), in fact, subject clitics are excluded when the sentence contains Focus, cleft or *wh*- subjects. The inconsistency between the behaviour of the Focus positions in CP and the Focus position above vP, leads me to reject Belletti’s hypothesis and adopt, for (220) and (221), the same analysis Cardinaletti gives for so-called ‘doubling structures’ in Italian. Therefore, (220) and (221) as well need to be considered as an instance of subject inversion, rather than a doubling phenomenon.

To sum up, if the strong pronoun were to be interpreted as being in a doubling relation with the full DP, it would occupy a Focus position at the edge of vP. The lexical DP occurring in preverbal position, instead, would be derived from one single big DP inside VP, containing the pronoun as well. From this argumental position, the big DP would split and give raise to the order of the elements displayed in (220). However, if the strong pronoun were in a Focus position, it would not be compatible with the subject clitic in (221). On the contrary, subject clitics are abundantly accepted in this kind of structures. The only way to account for their occurrence is to postulate that the strong pronoun is not in a Focus position, otherwise we would have to provide two different explanations for

the Focus positions in CP behaving in a different way with respect to the Focus position(s) above vP. This, of course, would be uneconomical and would lack a certain logic. It seems much easier to claim that the strong pronoun occupies the VP-internal subject position and that the full DP is located in a non-argumental, sentence-peripheral position, as in (222). I therefore conclude by supporting Cardinaletti's (1999) statement on postverbal pronominal subjects as being a case of inversion rather than a doubling structure.

222. [TopicP To zie [XP (e) [IP ga teefonà_i [VP ti eore par dirteo]]]],
Cona (Venice)

4.5 Conclusions

In the first section of this chapter, I focused on the syntax of what Belletti takes to be an instance of subject doubling in Italian. However, as Cardinaletti points out, these structures can only be conceived of as a case of subject inversion, rather than a doubling phenomenon. The strong pronoun occurring in postverbal position is actually located in the argumental position inside VP, whereas the full DP, occurring in preverbal position, is in a non-argumental, sentence-peripheral position. Belletti, on the contrary, argues for the pronoun and the DP to originate from one single big constituent, from where they both undergo movement to occupy the preverbal subject position and a Focus or Topic position in the left periphery of vP.

In the second section of the chapter, I presented an overview of the syntax of Northern Italian Dialects subject clitics. By doing so, I considered both Poletto's and Cardinaletti and Repetti's analyses of the different FPs associated to what, in the literature, all belongs to the heterogeneous range of 'subject clitics'. As illustrated by Cardinaletti and Repetti, however, not all the preverbal material can be taken to be a true subject clitic. Above the projections where true subject clitics occur, in fact, there is a series of functional heads hosting subject-field vowels and interrogative vowels. Moreover, the paradigm of preverbal subject clitics can be attributed to the same paradigm of subject clitics found in postverbal position, their distribution correlating with overt verb movement. I then illustrated Cardinaletti's assumptions on the positions of subjects, all located inside the Inflectional domain. While Poletto postulates the occurrence of so-called Invariable and Deictic clitics in the Complementizer domain, Cardinaletti argues in favour of a unitarian analysis of subject positions, holding for both Null Subject and Non-Null Subject

languages, where the positions all occur within IP. Besides the thematic position inside VP, she identifies at least three different subject positions, namely SubjP, EPPP and AgrSP.

In the third and last section of the chapter, I analysed so-called ‘doubling structures’ in the dialect of Cona. Based on the evidence provided by the data illustrated in Chapter 3, I rejected Belletti’s hypothesis of strong pronouns as located in the left periphery above vP. Both Belletti’s Topic and Focus positions can be accounted for without assuming the existence of a low left periphery. In the first case, the strong pronoun can be analysed as a parenthetical, i.e. a projection headed by K, encoding the [+Comma] feature responsible for the downgrading intonation of the sentence. In the second case, the strong pronoun can be taken to occur in its VP-internal subject position, like it does in Italian. The assumption that it is not located in a Focus position derives from the non-grammaticality of the subject clitic, optionally co-occurring with it. If the strong pronoun were in a Focus position in the vP left periphery, we would expect for subject clitics to be banned, as they are when occurring with Focus, cleft and *wh*- subjects in CP. This prediction, however, is turned down and the occurrence of subject clitic pronouns, in these structures, is abundantly accepted.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

This dissertation deals with the existence of a low left periphery, alongside with the left periphery located in CP, and what Belletti (2005/2009) labels as a ‘doubling structure’.

In Belletti’s proposal, there are sentences displaying the simultaneous occurrence of a preverbal lexical subject and a postverbal strong pronoun, doubling the DP. Belletti takes them to originate from one single big constituent, which is then split, deriving the linearization of the elements. From its basic position, the strong pronoun would move to a Focus or Topic position located above the vP phase, which would display a left periphery closely resembling the CP left periphery. However, Cardinaletti’s (1999) analysis of this kind of structures turns down Belletti’s hypothesis. The strong pronoun occurring in postverbal position is the argumental subject of the sentence, while the preverbal full DP is located in a non-argumental, sentence-peripheral position, presumably TopicP. Based on this assumption, I provided evidence from the dialect of Cona, supporting Cardinaletti’s proposal. In this variety, in fact, so-called ‘doubling structures’ can optionally display the occurrence of a subject clitic pronoun. The problem with the optionality of subject clitics, in these sentences, is connected to their ungrammaticality in sentences with a Focus, cleft or *wh*- subject in CP.

In order to look at the distribution of subject clitic pronouns in the dialect of Cona, I investigated other speakers’ judgements. A questionnaire of 100 sentences was administered to a sample of thirty native speakers of this variety. The informants were given a repetition task and were asked to rate the acceptability of declarative, coordinate and interrogative clauses, sentences with Focus, cleft and *wh*- subjects and so-called ‘doubling structure’ sentences. The results confirmed that subject clitics are optionally realized in so-called ‘doubling structures’ as they are in simple declarative sentences, whereas they are excluded when, in the subject position, there is a trace of *wh*- movement. One of the main goals of my discussion was to demonstrate that, by adopting Belletti’s analysis, it would be hard to account for such a different distribution of subject clitics. If the strong pronoun occurring in a ‘doubling structure’ were actually located in a Focus position of the low left periphery, we would expect for the subject clitic to be excluded, as it is when there is a Focus, cleft or *wh*- subject in the CP left periphery. These structures

can only be accounted for by adopting an analysis à la Cardinaletti, i.e. by maintaining that the strong pronoun occurs in the VP-internal subject position, while the preverbal full DP is located in a sentence-peripheral position. This assumption also supports Cardinaletti's proposal (2004, 2018) on subject positions, all located within the Inflectional domain, and the proposal according to which the occurrence of postverbal subjects is not necessarily discourse-motivated: there is no one-to-one correlation between their syntactic distribution and their interpretation.

By rejecting the occurrence of the strong pronoun in a Focus position above vP, I also reject its possible location in a Topic position. The sentences where the strong pronoun is not interpreted as an adverbial expression like *in persona* 'in person' can also be accounted for without hypothesizing the existence of a low left periphery. For these structures, I propose a parenthetical derivation, where the strong pronoun occurs in a KP projection headed by a K head endowed with a [+ Comma] feature, responsible for the downgrading intonation of the sentence. The host sentence CP is realized as the KP complement and the linearization of the elements is derived through re-merging of the whole CP in KP.

The idea of a low left periphery leaves with the expectation that all phases are built in the same way, as stated in Poletto (2014). It is desirable to have phases which display the same behaviour and share the same formal properties. However, by hypothesizing that the strong pronoun occurs in a Focus position above vP, we would have to account for the different behaviour of the Focus position(s), in vP and CP respectively. On one hand, there would be a Focus position which is higher and incompatible with subject clitic pronouns, on the other hand, there would be a lower Focus position which allows for both sentences, with and without subject clitics. Therefore, there is evidence from the dialect of Cona to argue against Belletti's proposal, which turns out to be uneconomical. We can account for both interpretations of the strong pronoun without hypothesizing a low left periphery. It is not my intent to argue against the proposal of a vP left periphery, however so-called 'doubling structures' are not an argument in favour of this theory.

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Appendix

The Questionnaire: Sentences Sorted per Items.

1. So ndà magnare fora.
So ndato magnare fora.
(Filler)

2. Paolo ga teefonà ieri.
Paolo el ga teefonà ieri.
(Experimental, Main)

3. Me nona ea zuga carte.
Me nona ea zuga a carte.
(Filler)

4. Me soarea ga fato na torta.
Me soarea ea ga fato na torta.
(Experimental, Main)

5. Lu el va via.
Eo el va via.
(Filler)

6. Ea Maria xé rivà casa stamatina.
Ea Maria ea xé rivà casa stamatina.
(Experimental, Main)

7. Noialtri femo cussì.
Noialtri a femo cussì.
(Filler)

8. Me soera ga dormio via.
Me soera ea ga dormio via.
(Experimental, Main)
9. Vo mi a verzare ea porta.
Vago mi a verzare ea porta.
(Filler)
10. Paolo ga magnà un pomo.
Paolo el ga magnà un pomo.
(Experimental, Main)
11. Nisuni va fora stasera.
Nisuni el va fora stasera.
(Filler)
12. Me fradeo xé vegnù casa domenega.
Me fradeo el xé vegnù casa domenega.
(Experimental, Main)
13. Xé vegnù Maria a tirare zo e tende.
Xé vegnù ea Maria a tirare zo e tende.
(Filler)
14. Chi xé che te credi che gabbia teefonà?
Chi xé che te credi ch'el gabbia teefonà?
(Experimental, Interogative)
15. Mario el xé rivà e ga cuzinà ea poenta.
Mario el xé rivà e el ga cuzinà ea poenta.
(Experimental, Coordinate)

16. Xé partia me sorea, no me fradeo.
Ea xé partia me sorea, no me fradeo.
(Experimental, Focused)
17. Me mama ghe parlarà ea col dotore.
Me mama ea ghe parlarà ea col dotore.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*)
18. Xé me sorea che xé partia, no me fradeo.
Xé me sorea che ea xé partia, no me fradeo.
(Experimental, Cleft)
19. Me sorea ea ga dormio fin ae oto dea matina e xé rivà tardi scuoea.
Me sorea ea ga dormio fin ae oto dea matina e ea xé rivà tardi scuoea.
(Experimental, Coordinate)
20. Me sorea xé partia, no me fradeo.
Me sorea ea xé partia, no me fradeo.
(Experimental, Focused)
21. Ea Maria ea magna pan e beve vin.
Ea Maria ea magna pan e ea beve vin.
(Experimental, Coordinate)
22. Me mama xé che ga fato i gnocchi, no me papà.
Me mama xé che ea ga fato i gnocchi, no me papà.
(Experimental, Cleft)
23. Me nona xé drio a lavorare a feri.
Me nona xé drio lavorare a feri.
(Filler)

24. Chi xé che te pensi che gabbia dormio qua?
Chi xé che te pensi ch'el gabbia dormio qua?
(Experimental, Interrogative)
25. Ea Maria xé rivà casa in tempo par fare ea poenta.
Ea Maria ea xé rivà casa in tempo par fare ea poenta.
(Experimental, Main)
26. Ea Maria ghe teefonarà ea in banca.
Ea Maria ea ghe teefonarà ea in banca.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*)
27. Ghe xé el to can in strada.
A ghe xé el to can in strada.
(Filler)
28. I putei ga dormio ben, iori. Noialtri, invesse, semo sta svegli tuta ea note.
I putei i ga dormio ben, iori. Noialtri, invesse, semo sta svegli tuta ea note.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*)
29. Paolo ga ciamà casa par dire ch'el riva tardi.
Paolo el ga ciamà casa par dire ch'el riva tardi.
(Experimental, Main)
30. Ea Maria no ga teefonà ea. Xé Paolo che ga ciamà.
Ea Maria no ea gà teefonà ea. Xé Paolo che ga ciamà.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*)
31. Ieri sera ghemo portà ea machina giustare.
Ieri sera a ghemo portà ea machina giustare.
(Filler)

32. Paolo vegnarà eo de persona. Nol mandarà so fradeo.
Paolo el vegnarà eo de persona. Nol mandarà so fradeo.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eo*)
33. Me papà ga fato el baccaeà.
Me papà el ga fato el baccaeà.
(Experimental, Main)
34. I sui ghe teefonarà iori aea maestra par dirghe ch'el xé maeà.
I sui i ghe teefonarà iori aea maestra par dirghe ch'el xé maeà.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*)
35. Sabo semo ndà al cinema.
Sabo semo ndati al cinema.
(Filler)
36. Ea Maria vegnarà ea a tirare zo e tende.
Ea Maria ea vegnarà ea a tirare zo e tende.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*)
37. Go incontrà Mario.
A go incontrà Mario.
(Filler)
38. Paolo xé rivà in tempo par magnare ea poenta calda, eo. Mario, invesse, ea ga catà
freda.
Paolo el xé rivà in tempo par magnare ea poenta calda, eo. Mario, invesse, ea ga
catà freda.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eo*)
39. Ghemo fato el tè pa ea nona.
Gavimo fato el tè pa ea nona.
(Filler)

40. To cugine vegnarà catarte doman, eore. Paolo, invesse, el ga dito ch'el vien domenega.

To cugine e vegnarà catarte doman, eore. Paolo, invesse, el ga dito ch'el vien domenega.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eore*)

41. Ghetto visto Mario?

A ghetto visto Mario?

(Filler)

42. Me soree xé rivà co ea so calma, eore. Paolo, invesse, el iera anca in anticipo.

Me soree e xé rivà co ea so calma, eore. Paolo, invesse, el iera anca in anticipo.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eore*)

43. No go visto se i xé za tornà.

No go visto se i xé za tornai.

(Filler)

44. Me fradeo dorme come on ghiro, eo. Mi, invesse, me sveglio co qualsiasi rumore.

Me fradeo el dorme come on ghiro, eo. Mi, invesse, me sveglio co qualsiasi rumore.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eo*)

45. Te si ndà ti tore i putei scuoea?

Sito ndà ti tore i putei scuoea?

(Filler)

46. I putei da Monsoe xé rivà scuoea in pullmin, iori. Quei da Pegoeote i xé vegnù a piè.

I putei da Monsoe i xé rivà scuoa in pullmin, iori. Quei da Pegoeote i xé vegnù a piè.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*)

47. Me pare che i sia in ritardo.

Me pare che i xé in ritardo.

(Filler)

48. I mii dorme so ea camara grande, iori. Noialtri, invesse, ghemo na camareta pi picoea.

I mii i dorme so ea camara grande, iori. Noialtri, invesse, ghemo na camareta pi picoea.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*)

49. Credo che i vaga via doman.

Credo che i va via doman.

(Filler)

50. To zie ga teefonà eore par dirteo.

To zie e ga teefonà eore par dirteo.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eore*)

The Questionnaire: Randomized Items. How They Were Presented to the Speakers.

1. Xé vegnù ea Maria a tirare zo e tende.
È venuta Maria a tirare giù le tende.
(Filler, Item 13)

2. Ea Maria ea magna pan e beve vin.
Maria mangia pane e beve vino.
(Experimental, Coordinate, Item 21, Condition 0)

3. No go visto se i xé za tornai.
Non ho visto se sono già tornati.
(Filler, Item 43)

4. Vo mi a verzare ea porta.
Vado io ad aprire la porta.
(Filler, Item 9)

5. Me nona xé drio lavorare a feri.
Mia nonna sta lavorando a maglia.
(Filler, Item 23)

6. Mario el xé rivà e el ga cuzinà ea poenta.
Mario è arrivato e ha cucinato la polenta.
(Experimental, Coordinate, Item 15, Condition 1)

7. Me mama ghe parlarà ea col dotore.
Mia mamma parlerà lei col dottore.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*, Item 17, Condition 0)

8. A ghetto visto Mario?
Hai visto Mario?
(Filler, Item 41)

9. Chi xé che te credi ch'el gabbia teefonà?
Chi è che credi che abbia telefonato?
(Experimental, Interrogative, Item 14, Condition 1)
10. Credo che i vaga via doman.
Credo che vadano via domani.
(Filler, Item 49)
11. So ndà magnare fora.
Sono andato a mangiare fuori.
(Filler, Item 1)
12. Ea Maria ea xé rivà casa in tempo par fare ea poenta.
Maria è arrivata a casa in tempo per fare la polenta.
(Experimental, Main, Item 25, Condition 1)
13. Xé partia me sorea, no me fradeo.
È partita mia sorella, non mio fratello.
(Experimental, Focused, Item 16, Condition 0)
14. So ndato magnare fora.
Sono andato a mangiare fuori.
(Filler, Item 1)
15. Me sorea ea ga fato na torta.
Mia sorella ha fatto una torta.
(Experimental, Main, Item 4, Condition 1)
16. Me mama xé che ea ga fato i gnocchi, no me papà.
Mia mamma è che ha fatto gli gnocchi, non mio papà.
(Experimental, Cleft, Item 22, Condition 1)

17. Sabo semo ndà al cinema.

Sabato siamo andati al cinema.

(Filler, Item 35)

18. Me nona ea zuga carte.

Mia nonna gioca a carte.

(Filler, Item 3)

19. Paolo el xé rivà in tempo par magnare ea poenta calda, eo. Mario, invesse, ea ga catà freda.

Paolo è arrivato in tempo per mangiare la polenta calda, lui. Mario, invece, l'ha trovata fredda.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eo*, Item 38, Condition 1)

20. Me nona xé drio a lavorare a feri.

Mia nonna sta lavorando a maglia.

(Filler, Item 23)

21. Me soarea ea ga dormio fin ae oto dea matina e ea xé rivà tardi scuoera.

Mia sorella ha dormito fino alle otto del mattino ed è arrivata tardi a scuola.

(Experimental, Coordinate, Item 19, Condition 1)

22. I putei da Monsoe xé rivà scuoera in pullmin, iori. Quei da Pegoeote i xé vegnù a piè.

I bambini di Monsole sono arrivati a scuola col pullmino, loro. Quelli di Pegolotte sono venuti a piedi.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*, Item 46, Condition 0)

23. Vago mi a verzare ea porta.

Vado io ad aprire la porta.

(Filler, Item 9)

24. Paolo el ga ciamà casa par dire ch'el riva tardi.
Paolo ha chiamato a casa per dire che arriva tardi.
(Experimental, Main, Item 29, Condition 1)
25. Ea Maria vegnarà ea a tirare zo e tende.
Maria verrà lei a tirare giù le tende.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*, Item 36, Condition 0)
26. To zie ga teefonà eore par dirteo.
Le tue zie hanno chiamato loro per dirtelo.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eore*, Item 50, Condition 0)
27. Paolo el ga teefonà ieri.
Paolo ha telefonato ieri.
(Experimental, Main, Item 2, Condition 1)
28. Me sorea ga dormio via.
Mia sorella ha dormito via.
(Experimental, Main, Item 8, Condition 0)
29. Credo che i va via doman.
Credo che vadano via domani.
(Filler, Item 49)
30. I putei ga dormio ben, iori. Noialtri, invesse, semo sta svegli tuta ea note.
I bambini hanno dormito bene, loro. Noi, invece, siamo stati svegli tutta la notte.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*, Item 28, Condition 0)
31. Me nona ea zuga a carte.
Mia nonna gioca a carte.
(Filler, Item 3)

32. Paolo el ga magnà un pomo.
Paolo ha mangiato una mela.
(Experimental, Main, Item 10, Condition 1)
33. Me sorea ea xé partia, no me fradeo.
Mia sorella è partita, non mio fratello.
(Experimental, Focused, Item 20, Condition 1)
34. Ea Maria ea vegnarà ea a tirare zo e tende.
Maria verrà lei a tirare giù le tende.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*, Item 36, Condition 1)
35. Ieri sera a ghemo portà ea machina giustare.
Ieri sera abbiamo portato la macchina ad aggiustare.
(Filler, Item 31)
36. I mii dorme so ea camara grande, iori. Noialtri, invesse, ghemo na camareta pi
picoea.
I miei dormono nella camera grande, loro. Noi, invece, abbiamo una cameretta
più piccola.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*, Item 48, Condition 0)
37. Me fradeo xé vegnù casa domenega.
Mio fratello è venuto a casa domenica.
(Experimental, Main, Item 12, Condition 0)
38. Paolo ga ciamà casa par dire ch'el riva tardi.
Paolo ha chiamato a casa per dire che arriva tardi.
(Experimental, Main, Item 29, Condition 0)
39. Ea Maria ea ghe teefonarà ea in banca.
Maria telefonerà lei in banca.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*, Item 26, Condition 1)

40. Ghemo fato el tè pa ea nona.
Abbiamo fatto il tè per la nonna.
(Filler, Item 39)
41. Paolo ga magnà un pomo.
Paolo ha mangiato una mela.
(Experimental, Main, Item 10, Condition 0)
42. A go incontrà Mario.
Ho incontrato Mario.
(Filler, Item 37)
43. Me soree e xé rivà co ea so calma, eore. Paolo, invesse, el iera anca in anticipo.
Le mie sorelle sono arrivate in tutta calma, loro. Paolo, invece, era in anticipo.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eore*, Item 42, Condition 1)
44. Noialtri femo cussì.
Noi facciamo così.
(Filler, Item 7)
45. Paolo vegnarà eo de persona. Nol mandarà so fradeo.
Paolo verrà lui di persona. Non manderà suo fratello.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eo*, Item 32, Condition 0)
46. Gavemo fato el tè pa ea nona.
Abbiamo fatto il tè per la nonna.
(Filler, Item 39)
47. No go visto se i xé za tornà.
Non ho visto se sono già tornati.
(Filler, Item 43)

48. Me fradeo el xé vegnù casa domenega.
Mio fratello è venuto a casa domenica.
(Experimental, Main, Item 12, Condition 1)
49. Lu el va via.
Lui va via.
(Filler, Item 5)
50. Chi xé che te credi che gabbia teefonà?
Chi è che credi che abbia telefonato?
(Experimental, Interrogative, Item 14, Condition 0)
51. Me papà el ga fato el baccaeà.
Mio papà ha fatto il baccalà.
(Experimental, Main, Item 33, Condition 1)
52. I sui ghe teefonarà iori aea maestra par dirghe ch'el xé maeà.
I suoi telefoneranno loro alla maestra per dirle che è ammalato.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*, Item 34, Condition 0)
53. Xé vegnù Maria a tirare zo e tende.
È venuta Maria a tirare giù le tende.
(Filler, Item 13)
54. Paolo el vegnarà eo de persona. Nol mandarà so fradeo.
Paolo verrà lui di persona. Non manderà suo fratello.
(Experimental, 'Douling Structure' *eo*, Item 32, Condition 1)
55. Ea Maria ea xé rivà casa stamatina.
Maria è arrivata a casa stamattina.
(Experimental, Main, Item 6, Condition 1)

56. Me fradeo dorme come on ghiro, eo. Mi, invesse, me sveglio co qualsiasi rumore.
Mio fratello dorme come un ghiro, lui. Io, invece, mi sveglio con qualsiasi rumore.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eo*, Item 44, Condition 0)
57. Ea xé partia me sorea, no me fradeo.
È partita mia sorella, non mio fratello.
(Experimental, Focused, Item 16, Condition 1)
58. Ieri sera ghemo portà ea machina giustare.
Ieri sera abbiamo portato la macchina ad aggiustare.
(Filler, Item 31)
59. Ea Maria no ga teefonà ea. Xé Paolo che ga ciamà.
Maria non ha chiamato lei. È Paolo che ha chiamato.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*, Item 30, Condition 0)
60. Gheto visto Mario?
Hai visto Mario?
(Filler, Item 41)
61. Paolo xé rivà in tempo par magnare ea poenta calda, eo. Mario, invesse, ea ga catà
freda.
Paolo è arrivato in tempo per mangiare la polenta calda, lui. Mario, invece, l'ha
trovata fredda.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eo*, Item 38, Condition 0)
62. Me soree xé rivà co ea so calma, eore. Paolo, invesse, el iera anca in anticipo.
Le mie sorelle sono arrivate in tutta calma, loro. Paolo, invece, era in anticipo.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eore*, Item 42, Condition 0)
63. Me sorea ga fato na torta.
Mia sorella ha fatto una torta.
(Experimental, Main, Item 4, Condition 0)

64. Ea Maria xé rivà casa stamatina.
Maria è arrivata a casa stamattina.
(Experimental, Main, Item 6, Condition 0)
65. Me pare che i sia in ritardo.
Mi sembra che siano in ritardo.
(Filler, Item 47)
66. Eo el va via.
Lui va via.
(Filler, Item 5)
67. Xé me sorea che xé partia, no me fradeo.
È mia sorella che è partita, non mio fratello.
(Experimental, Cleft, Item 18, Condition 0)
68. I putei i ga dormio ben, iori. Noialtri, invesse, semo sta svegli tuta ea note.
I bambini hanno dormito bene, loro. Noi, invece, siamo stati svegli tutta la notte.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*, Item 28, Condition 1)
69. I sui i ghe teefonarà iori aea maestra par dirghe ch'el xé maeà.
I suoi telefoneranno loro alla maestra per dirle che è ammalato.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*, Item 34, Condition 1)
70. To cugine vegnarà catarte doman, eore. Paolo, invesse, el ga dito ch'el vien domenega.
Le tue cugine verranno a trovarti domani, loro. Paolo, invece, ha detto che verrà domenica.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eore*, Item 40, Condition 0)

71. I putei da Monsoe i xé rivà scuoa in pullmin, iori. Quei da Pegoeote i xé vegnù a piè.

I bambini di Monsole sono arrivati a scuola col pullmino, loro. Quelli di Pegolotte sono venuti a piedi.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*, Item 46, Condition 1)

72. Go incontrà Mario.

Ho incontrato Mario.

(Filler, Item 37)

73. Me soarea xé partia, no me fradeo.

Mia sorella è partita, non mio fratello.

(Experimental, Focused, Item 20, Condition 0)

74. Noialtri a femo cussì.

Noi facciamo così.

(Filler, Item 7)

75. Chi xé che te pensi ch'el gabbia dormio qua?

Chi è che pensi che abbia dormito qua?

(Experimental, Interrogative, Item 24, Condition 1)

76. Mario el xé rivà e ga cuzinà ea poenta.

Mario è arrivato e ha cucinato la polenta.

(Experimental, Coordinate, Item 15, Condition 0)

77. Sabo semo ndati al cinema.

Sabato siamo andati al cinema.

(Filler, Item 35)

78. Te si ndà ti tore i putei scuoea?

Sei andato tu a prendere i bambini a scuola?

(Filler, Item 45)

79. To cugine e vegnarà catarte doman, eore. Paolo, invesse, el ga dito ch'el vien domenega.

Le tue cugine verranno a trovarti domani, loro. Paolo, invece, ha detto che verrà domenica.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eore*, Item 40, Condition 1)

80. Sito ndà ti tore i putei scuoea?

Sei andato tu a prendere i bambini a scuola?

(Filler, Item 45)

81. To zie e ga teefonà eore par dirteo.

Le tue zie hanno chiamato loro per dirtelo.

(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eore*, Item 50, Condition 1)

82. Me mama xé che ga fato i gnocchi, no me papà.

Mia mamma è che ha fatto gli gnocchi, non mio papà.

(Experimental, Cleft, Item 22, Condition 0)

83. Ea Maria ea magna pan e ea beve vin.

Maria mangia pane e beve vino.

(Experimental, Coordinate, Item 21, Condition 1)

84. Nisuni el va fora stasera.

Nessuno va fuori stasera.

(Filler, Item 11)

85. Me sorea ea ga dormio fin ae oto dea matina e xé rivà tardi scuoea.

Mia sorella ha dormito fino alle otto del mattino ed è arrivata tardi a scuola.

(Experimental, Coordinate, Item 19, Condition 0)

86. Chi xé che te pensi che gabbia dormio qua?

Chi è che pensi che abbia dormito qua?

(Experimental, Interrogative, Item 24, Condition 0)

87. Ea Maria no ea gà teefonà ea. Xé Paolo che ga ciamà.
Maria non ha chiamato lei. È Paolo che ha chiamato.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*, Item 30, Condition 1)
88. Me mama ea ghe parlarà ea col dotore.
Mia mamma parlerà lei col dottore.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*, Item 17, Condition 1)
89. Xé me sorea che ea xé partia, no me fradeo.
È mia sorella che è partita, non mio fratello.
(Experimental, Cleft, Item 18, Condition 1)
90. Me sorea ea ga dormio via.
Mia sorella ha dormito via.
(Experimental, Main, Item 8, Condition 1)
91. Ea Maria ghe teefonarà ea in banca.
Maria telefonerà lei in banca.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *ea*, Item 26, Condition 0)
92. Me papà ga fato el baccaeà.
Mio papà ha fatto il baccalà.
(Experimental, Main, Item 33, Condition 0)
93. Me pare che i xé in ritardo.
Mi sembra che siano in ritardo.
(Filler, Item 47)
94. Nisuni va fora stasera.
Nessuno va fuori stasera.
(Filler, Item 11)

95. Ea Maria xé rivà casa in tempo par fare ea poenta.
Maria è arrivata a casa in tempo per fare la polenta.
(Experimental, Main, Item 25, Condition 0)
96. A ghe xé el to can in strada.
C'è il tuo cane in strada.
(Filler, Item 27)
97. Me fradeo el dorme come on ghiro, eo. Mi, invesse, me sveglio co qualsiasi rumore.
Mio fratello dorme come un ghiro, lui. Io, invece, mi sveglio con qualsiasi rumore.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *eo*, Item 44, Condition 1)
98. Paolo ga teefonà ieri.
Paolo ha telefonato ieri.
(Experimental, Main, Item 2, Condition 0)
99. I mii i dorme so ea camara grande, iori. Noialtri, invesse, ghemo na camareta pi picoea.
I miei dormono nella camera grande, loro. Noi, invece, abbiamo una cameretta più piccola.
(Experimental, 'Doubling Structure' *iori*, Item 48, Condition 1)
100. Ghe xé el to can in strada.
C'è il tuo cane in strada.
(Filler, Item 27)

Indagine sul dialetto di Cona (VE). Consenso informato.

Il presente questionario è volto a raccogliere dati linguistici del dialetto di Cona (VE), nell'ambito di uno studio di ricerca sulla sintassi del dialetto in questione.

Prerequisiti fondamentali per poter partecipare alla raccolta dati sono, oltre al parlare il dialetto preso in esame, l'aver vissuto nella zona di interesse dalla nascita o dalla fase di apprendimento del linguaggio e minimo fino al compimento della maggiore età. I dati raccolti saranno riportati e analizzati nella tesi di Laurea Magistrale in Scienze del Linguaggio della Dott.ssa Sara Bernardinello (810581@stud.unive.it), sotto la guida della Prof.ssa Giuliana Giusti (giusti@unive.it) e potrebbero essere utilizzati in successivi lavori di altri/e studenti e docenti del Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Culturali Comparati dell'Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, che possono essere finalizzati a pubblicazioni scientifiche e divulgative.

La raccolta dati prevede una breve fase compilativa di tipo biografico, volta a verificare i requisiti di cui sopra. Seguirà poi una fase di espressione del giudizio di grammaticalità su frasi del dialetto analizzato, in cui il parlante ascolterà degli audio registrati dall'intervistatrice e dovrà esprimere un giudizio di accettabilità con un valore da 1 a 5 (dove 1 rappresenta il valore minimo e 5 il valore massimo). A tal proposito, si segnala che l'esperimento è disegnato per analizzare l'appartenenza delle frasi al dialetto e non è, in nessun modo, volto a giudicare le conoscenze grammaticali del partecipante.

Le risposte fornite verranno registrate al solo fine di permettere il controllo successivo della raccolta dei dati. Sottoporsi al questionario non comporta alcun rischio. Tuttavia, in qualunque momento e per qualunque ragione l'intervista potrà essere sospesa momentaneamente o definitivamente.

Dopo aver raccolto il consenso informato, verrà associata una sigla (ad esempio, S1) ad ogni partecipante, in modo da garantire l'anonimato del soggetto stesso. Ai partecipanti è garantita la tutela dei dati e l'anonimato secondo il d.lgs. 196/2003 s.m.i. – Codice in materia di protezione dei dati personali. Inoltre, il progetto di ricerca e i ricercatori si atterranno al Codice di deontologia e di buona condotta per i trattamenti di dati personali per scopi scientifici e statistici – G.U. n. 190 del 14 agosto 2004. In nessun momento i dati raccolti saranno collegati alle informazioni personali.

Per ulteriori informazioni, l'intervistatrice può essere ricontattata al seguente indirizzo e-mail: 810581@stud.unive.it.

Io sottoscritto/a, nato/a a il
..... e residente a in via n.
.....,

CON LA FIRMA DEL PRESENTE MODULO DICHIARO DI

- Essere stato/a informato/a degli obiettivi dell'indagine;
- Essere stato/a informato/a degli scopi e delle modalità di trattamento dei dati personali;
- Acconsentire alla partecipazione all'indagine attraverso la risposta al questionario che avverrà in modalità orale;
- Acconsentire alla registrazione dell'intervista.

Cona, il

Firma

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